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Dutch grammar in Japanese words: reception and representation of European theory of grammar in the manuscripts of Shizuki Tadao (1760 - 1806)

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DUTCH GRAMMAR IN JAPANESE WORDS

Reception and Representation of European Theory
of Grammar in the Manuscripts of Shizuki Tadao
(1760 – 1806)

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DUTCH GRAMMAR IN JAPANESE WORDS

Reception and Representation of European Theory
of Grammar in the Manuscripts of Shizuki Tadao
(1760 – 1806)

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DUTCH GRAMMAR IN JAPANESE WORDS

Reception and Representation of European Theory
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(1760 – 1806)

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If I claimed that compiling this dissertation has not been difficult and tiresome, I would be lying. I would be lying more blatantly if I claimed that I did not enjoy every moment of it. Starting an intercultural PhD in the academic year 2019-20 has not been the luckiest of coincidences. While the mirage of flying to Japan was being repeatedly taken away from me, the academic world was finally more welcoming toward online exchanges. This, along with many compromises, allowed me to ultimately be able to focus my research in a way I would describe as a successful.

Claiming that this book is only based on what I have discovered during the last three years is also inaccurate. Since my Bachelor's in Bologna, I have pursued both Japanese and Dutch studies with the same dedication, eventually writing a thesis on Sugita Genpaku. I had almost abandoned the way with my Master's thesis in Venice, but after some second thoughts, I decided to change my plans. Being in Japan at the time, I have hoarded any store of any book with the character *ran* 蘭 in the title and started pursuing *rangaku* again. It is by reading those books that I realized how much was still unknown regarding them study of the Dutch language in Japan. This compelled me to discover it myself and eventually led to the compilation of the present dissertation.

I could not have possibly done it all by myself. This is why I must mention and thank a few academics whose support and expertise have been fundamental to my scholarly upbringing. I would like to do that in the order I have met them. It was 2012 when I started studying Dutch in Bologna, with Prof. Dr. Marco Prandoni. He did not only teach me the language, but he also accepted to supervise both my theses, even though the subject was rather distant from his own expertise. His selfless support throughout the years certainly exceeds what one would expect from an academic toward a student and I will never cease to thank him for what he did. In Venice, I chose Prof. Patrick Heinrich as the main supervisor for my Master's thesis and, for some reasons I am still not able to fully grasp, not only did he accept my proposal unquestionably, but he also always fully supported all my decisions. For my PhD, I was assigned to the meticulous Prof. Dr. Giuseppe Pappalardo, and reasonably so, considering his immense knowledge of diachronic phenomena of the Japanese language. I thank him for the support and aid he contributed with in the compilation of the present work. Early in the research, I started working with Prof. Dr. Gijsbert Rutten whose knowledge of the history of Dutch and of its grammatical tradition together with his unrivaled professionalism has been fundamental in the completion of the present work as it is now. Lastly, I would also like to deeply thank Prof. Dr. Wim Boot, who also selflessly decided to share his immense knowledge and materials with me. The fun and insightful conversations we had on Shizuki and Early Modern Japan will always remain impressed in my memory. Of course, this list cannot but be incomplete, and all the individuals and institutions that have contributed to the finalization of the present book are also thanked generously, even though I could not name them.

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I do not believe a PhD dissertation to be serving the researcher receiving the doctorate; or, at least, this is not the state of mind with which I have engaged in this endeavor. Do forgive me, thus, if I have indulged in personalizing this section by mentioning my biographical information and the individual relationships I have built with other scholars. I do believe that this has scientific relevance, clarifying some of my personal biases and influences. My goal has always been to provide the scientific world with a fair picture of Shizuki Tadao's intellectual work and to revive the subject of *rangaku*. For this reason, I can only ask Shizuki and his fellow *rangakusha* forgiveness for any eventual imprecision in the representation of their words and their stories. My only hope is that the present work will reinvigorate the research on *rangaku*, making it an appealing subject again, worthy of new research with updated tools. It is with this goal in mind that I have always pushed myself forward – even when my skills appeared not to be sufficiently developed yet, and even when the world was locking itself down – inspired by what are claimed to have been the last words of Master Tezuka Osamu, greatgrandchild of *rangakusha* Tezuka Ryōsen. It is claimed that Tezuka-*sama*, while hospitalized and terminally ill, desperately asked, in one of his last days: “I beg of you, just let me work!”.

SPELLING CONVENTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

I will provide a diplomatic transcription of historical documents and manuscripts. This entails always including special and non-standard uses of characters. For example, as far as modern technology allows, I will always maintain the character < f > and all diacritics. I will not be able to do the same for a few special characters, such as those for some consonant clusters, such as < ct >, as they are not currently available in Unicode. Other minor orthographic issues will be handled pragmatically, such as the difference between lower and upper case, which is not always easy to make, specifically when it comes to handwriting.

All texts and words in languages different from English will be translated, with the exception of the French entries to the Dutch-French dictionaries as they mostly are French translations of the Dutch text.

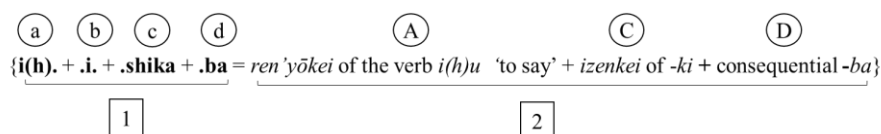
All Japanese text will be Romanized according to the Hepburn system and all Chinese text in Pinyin. Japanese text will always be written in MS Mincho, though this font does not always support all the special characters I need. For this reason, I have preferred maintaining the special character, albeit in a different font, rather than “normalizing” it into a more common character. This is the case, for example, of the character 𐤎, that is typed in the font named MingLiU-ExtB. I will sometimes need to cite Chinese characters as to provide metalinguistic analysis regarding their use in Japanese. Since Chinese characters possess multiple reading in Japanese, I decided to cite them according to the method I witnessed in Ogyū, thus by using their *on’yomi*. When copying Japanese manuscripts, I will always use the hiragana syllable *ha* は, even in those instances in which its spelling resembles its *katakana* version, whenever the syllable is featured within a word, or a sentence otherwise written in hiragana. This differs from what I have often witnessed in secondary literature.

GRAMMATICAL NOTATION

The conjugation of Japanese adjectives and verbs mostly relies on the combination with specific elements that are nowadays called *jodōshi* 助動詞 ‘auxiliary verbs’. I will call these “(verbal/adjectival) affixes”. Historically, these phenomena have been studied by means of the *kana* syllabary even though the variations occurred within the syllables themselves. For this reason, the analysis of classical Japanese conjugations will be carried out disregarding the *kana* spelling but focusing on the single sounds that compose each syllable, in their romanization.

In Shizuki’s analysis of Dutch grammar, each Japanese affix roughly corresponds to one specific element in the Dutch sentence. In order to illustrate which affixes compose one specific predicate I will use the following grammatical notation, always written in brackets and divided by an equal’s sign $= >$. On the lefthand side one finds the bare division of the morphemes composing the verbal or adjectival construct, while on the righthand side one finds a brief explanation of each member of the compound. Each member of the compound, within the lefthand side, will be provided in bold, while, on the righthand side they will be typed in italics. As a rule, on the righthand side I will use dots to distinguish the roots of the main verb/adjective, from their inflected vowel ending and then, from the affixes they combine with. Since the verbal affixes’ roots are less consistent than those of the main predicate, I will not divide each affix in its root and in its inflected ending. The root of the main predicate in the compound will be recognizable by the presence of a single dot after the morpheme. The inflecting vowel will present two dots, one before and the other after, while the affixes will only present a dot preceding them. This should not be interpreted as implying that the inflecting vowel requires something to be attached to in a subsequent position, or that the affixes only require something to be attached to in a preceding position. This is a simple graphical tool I have adopted to intuitively distinguish them.

I shall raise an example for the sake of clarity, with the verbal construct *iishikaba* ‘if one (had) said’. Its grammatical notation, to which I have also added letters and numbers for reference, will look as follows:



As can be seen, the notation is divided into two sides, identified by the numbers 1 and 2, in the scheme above. On the righthand side, number 1, corresponds to the bare division in morphemes. Element *a* identifies the root of the main verb since it only presents a dot afterward. In this particular case, one can also notice the use of the parenthesis to signal consonants that do not realize in all conjugated forms. This is specific to some verbs, particularly those that, in classical Japanese, were written

with the syllables of the *ha-gyō* は行 line, that have been substituted with a combination of the syllabic characters from the *a-gyō* あ行 and *wa-gyō* わ行, in contemporary standard Japanese. Element *b*, instead, by presenting two dots, can be recognized as the inflecting part, specifying which of the six traditional forms the verb is inflected into. Elements *c* and *d* are both affixes as can be understood by the presence of a single dot before them.

On the righthand side, after the equal's sign, one can find the explanation of each morpheme. Since *b* was the inflected ending of *a*, on the right side, I have combined them into *A*, specifying the inflected form and presenting the verb in its citation form, with a simplified English translation, for rapid reference. In *C* one finds the specification of the affix corresponding to *c*, on the lefthand side, and the same goes for *D*, referring to *d*. In *D* one can also see that the suffix *-ba* is not specified in which form it appears, this is because *-ba* only exists in one form. However, in classical Japanese grammar one can distinguish between two types of the suffix *-ba*, one combining with a preceding *izenkei* form, generally expressing consequentiality, just like the one in this example, and another *-ba* combining with a *mizenkei*, expressing hypotheticals. In these cases, on the righthand side of the notation, it will not be rare for the suffixes to be briefly explained or qualified, as well.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

*Hoe toch zou men eene goede beschrijving van een Rijk kunnen
geven, zonder dezelfs taal te verstaan?*

“How could one give a good description of an empire, without
understanding its language?”

Hendrik Doeff, *Herinneringen uit Japan* (1833, page 2)

1. Introduction

1.1 Scope of the research and state of art

The goal of the present research is to study the works on Dutch grammar attributed to Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 (1760 – 1806). This goal is multifaceted. As I will argue in 1.6, Shizuki was most likely the first Japanese scholar who engaged with the study of the theory of grammar. As a first issue, I would like to specify the difference between “grammar” and “theory of grammar”. One can learn a language, its rules, and the exceptions to those rules without ever taking a grammar class. This is generally how one first learns one’s own mother tongue. At a certain age, some start attending school, where the study of one’s own native language is one of the subjects. A school is generally the first context in which one learns about concepts such as “nouns”, “verbs”, “conjugations” and the “passive voice”. Nonetheless, native speakers can use them “perfectly”, they can arrange and inflect words with relative ease without the need of ever having to take a grammar class. This is the distinction between “grammar” and the “theory of grammar”. With “grammar” I refer to the loose and nuanced rules governing the morphosyntax of a specific linguistic code. With “theory of grammar” I refer to the array of “philosophical” tools utilized to rationalize and formalize such grammatical phenomena into the scholarly subject of grammar. In whatever way a philosopher of language, or a modern linguist, theorizes the rules of the plural in English, a native speaker will know that the plural of “dog” is “dogs”. The misconception of these two different ideas often leads to the ironic situation in which a learner of a specific language can explain the details of how to call each verbal class or conjugation to a native speaker of that language, only to hear, as a response: “I don’t know, I’m not good at grammar”.

The distinction between “grammar” and “theory of grammar” is particularly relevant for the history of the study of Dutch in Japan. The Dutch had already been in Japan for 160 years when Shizuki was born. His ancestors had been communicating with the Dutch for most of that time and this certainly implies some degree of understanding of the grammar of their language. However, as far as we know, no research on the theory of grammar, as mediated by the Dutch, has ever been carried out before Shizuki. Shizuki really was the first Japanese who wrote manuscripts wherein he tried to interpret the complex and often inconsistent Greek-Latin-based tradition of grammatical theory, mediated by Early Modern Dutch sources, without any previous exposure to it.

My research question, thus, arose from acknowledging this issue. How could a Japanese scholar of the Edo Period make sense of those theories on the “nine parts of speech” and all the things related to them, with only having access to a few books written in that same language he was trying to study? What puzzled me is the fact that, apparently, Shizuki not only understood these theories, but he also wanted to translate them into Japanese in order to spread them across his disciples and colleagues. How could one man in “isolated” Japan manage to do that? I assumed that he had to rely on philosophical and cultural elements of his own surroundings. Regardless, one can hardly claim that a concept akin to the European “grammar”

was present in Japan, at the time. Shizuki must therefore have “grammaticalized” concepts that were originally used in different fields of knowledge with different nuances in meaning. How that happened is exactly what I aim to investigate in the present study.

The study of this topic allows for the broadening of the academic knowledge on numerous subjects. Within the very specific field of studies concerned with Shizuki’s biography and bibliography, the present research will be able to provide further notions regarding the works of the scholar. Not enough is known regarding his life and the chronology of the compilation of his works on language; this information could be reached by analyzing the details of what Shizuki argued within the manuscripts. There have been a few publications in this area. In 2006, with the 200th anniversary of Shizuki’s death, a few scholars have gathered in Nagasaki to hold a symposium and give lectures commemorating the great scholar. These lectures have been collected in 2007 in a Japanese-language book (AIKAWA et al, 2007) which has been subsequently translated into English (REMMELINK et al, 2008). Since each chapter of these two books contains information on diverse aspects of Shizuki’s life and works, I will cite them quite often. When it comes to the specific topic of Shizuki’s works on language, besides the two abovementioned books, there are four important additional sources. The first and forth volumes of the large series by SUGIMOTO (1976, 1981) contain much information regarding what is known about Shizuki’s life and the details of the different copies of his manuscripts on language. However, the philological issues concerning these manuscripts are here only briefly touched upon, and these works are moreover, at times, slightly out of date. More recently, there have been two scholars who have analyzed Shizuki’s works, namely ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019) and DE GROOT (2005) with his PhD dissertation and his article presented at the abovementioned symposium in Nagasaki (DE GROOT 2007, 2008). Even though I will rely strongly on these two scholars, particularly in my Chapter II, many questions regarding Shizuki’s life and works still remain unclear. Adding to this, the two often disagree.

Shizuki’s story is the story of the Dutch studies in Japan, so-called *rangaku* 蘭学. On this topic, many books have been published in the last decades. For example, the book of KATAGIRI (1985) represents an early example of historical research on the Japanese interpreters of Dutch, also providing attempts at identifying the sources they used in order to learn the language. The book has been revised in recent years (KATAGIRI 2016). The same author also published important research in the history of the ceremonial attendance of the Dutch in Edo (KATAGIRI 2008) and of the relationship between the VOC agents and the prostitutes or concubines of Nagasaki (KATAGIRI 2018). The content of the series of SUGIMOTO has also been reworked and republished in the last decades, producing further publications, such as SUGIMOTO (1991) and SUGIMOTO (2013). These are not the only publications on this topic, of course; for example, SAITŌ (1985) also represents early research on the works on Dutch produced by the Japanese.

The presence of the Dutch in Japan did not only lead to the study of their language. The long relationship between the two countries entailed a plethora of interactions and historical events. One of the most well-known studies is probably GOODMAN

(2000). Another scholar who also researched this subject is MATSUKATA (2010, 2015). There are furthermore three publications edited by HARA (2016, 2017, 2018), collecting lectures of the group of researchers on *rangaku* of Okayama (岡山蘭学の群像). These last ones are all in Japanese. In European languages, I have found interesting and detailed historical notions in IANNELLO (2012) and CORRADINI (2005), both written in Italian. More recently, the history of the Dutch (language) in Japan has been covered by JOBY (2021) whom I will also often cite, though I will sometimes be redirected to the original sources, because of the significant use of secondary literature in JOBY (2021). Additionally, one can also refer to the big atlas, published by BLUSSÉ, REMMELINK & SMITS (2000).

The works of Shizuki are not only relevant within the restricted field of *rangaku*. Shizuki drew notions from many other Japanese scholars of his time, and, for this reason, my research will also discuss the history of the study of language in Japan, more generally. As I will argue in Chapter VI, there are a few publications in this field, mostly in Japanese which, however, never fully address all the issues I needed in order to understand Shizuki's words. The first modern work in this sense is probably SHIGEMATSU (1959) who is mostly concerned with research on the Japanese language, rather than linguistics in Japan, in general. The same can be said about FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972) and, partially, about MABUCHI & IZUMO (2021), originally published in 1999 and TOKIEDA (2017), originally published in 1940. Additionally, I have consulted a few works in this field that only focused on specific topics of investigations, such as MATSUO (1943) and SHIMADA (1979) who analyzed the history of so-called auxiliary verbs and their relationship with verbal transitivity and intransitivity. All these books are written in Japanese. For an English language publication in this sense, one might want to consult DOI (1976), although this is fairly limited in its scope. For the specifics of Confucian studies, I refer to TUCKER (1998, 2006), AIHARA (2019), BOOT (2013), all of them in English covering the figure of Ogyū Sorai and his predecessors in the field of Neo-Confucianism.

Shizuki Tadao studied the European tradition of the theory of grammar as mediated through Dutch sources. A clear definition of what "Dutch theory of grammar" means can hardly be provided. Were one to define it as "the collection of all grammars and grammatical notions ever written on Dutch", then they would also accidentally include sources written in foreign languages that Shizuki likely had no possibility of reading. Restricting the definition to "any grammar of Dutch written in Dutch" is also rather unpractical, considering that grammatical investigations on vernacular languages were often mediated by Latin, and written grammars of a specific non-classical language written in that same language are, historically speaking, a rather new phenomenon, when it comes to early modern Europe. One could try, thus, to broaden the definition to "all grammars of Dutch written in either Dutch or any other foreign language that was commonly known by Dutch speakers". This new definition is also limited by the fact that, for centuries, grammatical books mostly concerned Latin and Greek, and in addition other European languages developed their own traditions of grammar that some Dutchmen probably had access to. This would disregard all the influences in the context of the theory of grammar that Dutch authors of the time might have received from literature written in diverse

languages. Think of the influence from the English tradition on Willem Séwel (1654 – 1720) and from the French one on Pieter Marin (1667/8 – 1718) and François Halma (1653 – 1722), for example. Another option would be to include all the grammatical works that early modern Dutch authors could have possibly read, regardless of the language those works were describing or were written into. This definition does not take into consideration a fundamental component of the spreading of knowledge: indirect influence. For a Dutchman in the 18th century, not all the books that were ever written on language were available, specifically the original research on language carried out by the ancient Greeks. However, I would dare anyone to claim that Greek grammarians had no influence whatsoever on the Dutch authors of the 1700s. This is because the knowledge of the ancient Greek authors had been absorbed by the authors who lived after them, and those after them as well, creating a connecting thread of ideas being absorbed and reworked through millennia. Consequently, it can be claimed that when one says “Dutch grammatical theory”, one refers to all sources on language that have ever been known within the European territories since the invention of writing, that might have appeared somewhere in the millennium-long thread connecting all grammatical investigations up and until the Netherlands of the 18th century. Clearly, this definition is so broad that no one can ever employ it in any productive way. Thus, one needs to accept the fact that an easy and concise definition cannot be postulated. However, what one can do is assume each of the relevant author’s theory to represent their own interpretation of what a “Dutch theory of grammar” is. Certainly, claiming that Séwel’s definition of what a verb is had nothing to do with Aristotle’s postulation of *rhema*, is fundamentally wrong, yet knowing that it is, helps very little in the context of the research question of the present work. In fact, the Japanese, when studying Dutch grammar, only had those specific books as representation of this millennium-long phenomenon. What the Japanese were studying was, thus, the reception(s) of this phenomenon by some Dutch-speaking authors, living in the Low Countries of the 17th and 18th centuries. Although not possessing the context of the history of grammar in Europe, the Japanese had to make sense of it only basing their knowledge on those sources and their representations of such history. Even though the Japanese could ignore such tradition, I cannot afford the same. In Chapter IV, I will analyze the contents of Séwel’s grammar, as well as the sources of Halma and Marin, as to understand the grammatical theory that can be deduced by reading them. However, since they did not happen in a vacuum, but within the process of reception and adaptation of the classical Greek-Latin studies, one cannot be ignorant, in this regard. One cannot analyze the definitions these three authors provided for the parts of speech if one does not know what had been done until then, on that topic. To make a concrete example, one cannot understand Séwel’s definition of what neuter verbs are, or compare it to that of Halma and Marin, if one does not know how these terms had been used before them. Not knowing this will simply make the research on the Japanese reception of these source impossible. If one needs to quantify and qualify the extent to which Shizuki adopted and adapted the grammatical theory he read from those Dutch books, one first needs to know what was really contained in those books and, thus, how they functioned within the history of “Dutch theory on grammar”. For this reason, Chapter III is meant to provide a contextualization of the socio-historical elements necessary to understand

the theories found in Séwel, Halma and Marin. I will start from the very beginning, naming some of the most relevant individuals of the so-called Greek-Latin tradition (3.1), and I will then discuss the period I am mostly interested in, namely the 1600s and 1700s (3.3). The chapter has no ambition of representing the history of grammar in Europe in its entirety, nor does it aim at representing the entirety of the history of grammar in the Dutch-speaking world. For this purpose, those who might be interested in learning more about the topic can refer to the main bibliography that I have used to compile the present chapter, namely: ROBINS (1951; 1967); LUHRMAN (1984); RUIJSEDAAL (1991); VAN STERKENBURG (1984), among others.

When analyzing the situation in post-medieval Low Countries, DIBBETS (1995) is the undisputed main source, concerning the *trivium*-period (3.2). When it comes to the period of interest for the present research, namely the end of the 17th century, and the beginning of the 18th century (3.3), the state of the art is organized a bit differently. For decades, the most relevant sources had been KNOL (1977) and DE TOLLENAERE (1977), both complaining about the scarcity of secondary literature covering this period. In the late 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century, new research has been conducted about this period (e.g., RUIJSEDAAL 1991, DE BONT & DIBBETS 1995, DIBBETS 2003). Many researchers produced monographs on specific grammarians of this period, see for example RUTTEN (2006) for Van Hoogstraten, SCHAARS & TE WILT (1989) for Nyløe's biography and bibliography, SCHAARS (1988) and DIBBETS (1992) for Moonen. For Verwer there is VAN DE BILT (2009), while Ten Kate's life and works have been thoroughly investigated by VAN DER WAL (2000; 2002; 2009) and NOORDEGRAAF & VAN DER WAL (2001) and, ultimately, for Huydecoper, I referred to DE BONT (1998) and VAN DE BILT (2009). In 3.4, I will focus on the biographies of Séwel, Halma and Marin. Although information about them can be found in many of the sources listed above, a specific mention should be made of HULL (1933) who presented a complete biography of Séwel, concentrating on his role as a Quaker, while Marin and Halma are covered by VAN DEN GRAFT (1965), LOONEN (1997) and VAN EEGHEN (1965).

1.2 Methodology

In order to analyze Shizuki's theories, I first need to interpret the words written in his manuscripts. Most manuscripts have been preserved in a few copies, each differing often only slightly. For this reason, I firstly needed to provide a philological analysis of these works. Unfortunately, there is little philological research on these sources except SUGIMOTO (1976) and ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019). Therefore, I have found myself in need of further information that I could not find anywhere else. Consequently, Chapter II comprises my attempt at summarizing and expanding on the philological research on Shizuki's manuscripts, building in addition on DE GROOT (2005, 2007, 2008). Unfortunately, I had to set limits here.¹ For example, I did not get the chance to consult each existing copy of each

¹ This is the unfortunate consequence of the historical moment in which the present research has been carried out, where I was not allowed to enter Japan for most of the time, forcing me to limit the scope of the research to what realistically feasible via internet.

manuscript attributed to Shizuki. As also argued by ŌSHIMA (2019), this type of research is very much necessary and still requires to be fulfilled. Chapter II makes the research by SUGIMOTO (1976) and ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019) accessible to the non-Japanese speaking readers and, in addition, I provide philological details resulting from my own research, which can account for further issues in the composition of Shizuki's manuscripts and their sources. Eventually, Chapter II covers all the philological issues I needed to solve for the sake of the present research.

While I am studying Shizuki's theories on Dutch grammatical theory, what I am ultimately interested in is Shizuki's rendition of what I will call the Greek-Latin grammatical tradition. What one means with this term is not at all unequivocally clear, yet I am sure everyone has some sort of idea of what such tradition entails, probably thinking of concepts such as nouns, verbs, or the subjunctive mood. Since the concept of the Greek-Latin tradition is so central in the present research, I will discuss it in Chapters III and IV.

As I have already discussed in 1.1, Shizuki was not exposed to the entirety of the history of the Greek-Latin tradition of grammatical theory. Shizuki became acquainted with it through the mediation of certain 17th and 18th century Dutch sources. Some of these sources he mentions himself, and some others I have identified in Chapter II. The theoretical contents of the Dutch sources I have deemed most influential in Shizuki's theories are discussed in Chapter IV. Shizuki covered the major morphosyntactic issues in his works. In the present study, I concentrate on the two main topics of morphology (mostly concerning word classes) and the morphosyntax of verbs. These are topics Shizuki covers frequently and in much detail, and in various manuscripts.

As one could expect, Shizuki did not only use and cite Dutch books as sources, but he also used a few Japanese works. When I started the research, I had overestimated the contents of secondary literature. This is not an evaluation regarding its quality, rather its quantity. I came to realize that there are very few studies about the Japanese sources on language that Shizuki used. These sources represent the theoretical and philosophical tools Shizuki used to navigate in the unknown field of Dutch grammatical theory. Without knowing the content of these sources, it would have been impossible to interpret Shizuki's words. This compelled me to analyze in detail the contents of two Japanese works on language coming from two very distinct schools, so distinct that they not only adopted a different theoretical framework, but they also adopted two different writing systems and they analyzed two different languages altogether. Although the language used by Shizuki in his works is not extremely different from modern Japanese, the sources on language that he consulted covered either literary Chinese or literary classical Japanese. The complex evolution of the study of languages in Japan, that only incidentally ends up getting close to European grammatical studies, will be investigated in Chapter V. In Chapter VI, I will analyze the contents of the Japanese sources that Shizuki directly cites. Afterwards, I will be able to analyze the content of Shizuki's manuscripts. In Chapter VII, I will concentrate on the morphological classes of words and in Chapter VIII, I will investigate Shizuki's rendition of the theory of the rules governing the morphosyntax of verbs.

1.3 Presentation of the theoretical framework

Before presenting the theoretical framework, which will be discussed through sections 1.3.1 to 1.3.4, a few preliminary words are necessary to contextualize my approach. On the one hand, I did not find one specific source or school of theory that could neatly suit my necessities. In some sense, some might argue, that much of what I will claim is broadly in agreement with several already existing approaches, for example Reception Theory.² On the other hand, I still believe my approach not to agree, in its totality, with any one theoretical framework. For example, I do not ascribe to Reception Theory completely, as I still believe in the importance of postulating and considering an “original form” of an idea which is, to a large extent, independent from the reader, as I will discuss in 1.3.2. In doing this, thus, I am not only considering how the works spread and were received by their readers, but I can also address how specific wordings and ideas came about and contextualize them within the continuum of the cultural discourse they belong to. While there certainly is some truth in the Italian proverb *tradurre è tradire* – a play on the similar-sounding verbs *tradurre* “to translate” and *tradire* “to betray” – the corruption (or betrayal) only occurs after an idea has formed, has been put into words and thus reinterpreted by the audience. It is not only this form taken by the idea that I am interested in studying.

In fact, in order to study Shizuki’s works I need to also postulate a more proactive role of the translator and also assume specific attitudes, goals and processes performed by the translator in varying degrees of consciousness. My deductions, in this sense, appear to near the assumptions of what is known as Skopos theory. The translator is understood as actively engaging in the process of translation with a specific goal in mind, that I assume is to render a set of notions accessible to a different target audience, in the case of Shizuki. In addition, Skopos theory also explicitly defines the phenomena that cooperate in the creation of what I will call Broader Context. Skopos theorists call them “refractions” – as they use the metaphor of light being refracted through a prism – of which they find a total of five (REIß & VERMEER 2014, 23-24). However, I do not particularly agree with their choice in the definition of culture as

“whatever one has to know, master or feel in order to be able to judge whether a particular form of behaviour shown by members of a community in their various roles conforms to general expectations or not”.³

This definition is not particularly functional to me as it implicitly focuses too much on the external evaluation of an individual’s behavior, and as it leaves little space to internal inconsistencies of cultural systems, individual behaviors and of the group one identifies as a community.

² See, for example, ISER (2006).

³ REIß & VERMEER (2014, 24) take this definition from GÖHRING, H. (1978) *Interkulturelle Kommunikation: Die Überwindung der Trennung von Fremdsprachen- und Landeskundeunterricht durch einen integrierten Fremdverhaltensunterricht* in W. Kühlwein and A. Raasch (eds) *Kongreßberichte der 8. Jahrestagung der GAL*, Stuttgart: Hochschulverlag, 9-14.

An approach that, to some extent, tried to challenge this more rigid consideration of culture is that of the postmodernist movement. In fact, when it comes to the Early Modern period across the world, an academic approach that is very common today is that which is known as “postcolonialism”. Within postcolonial studies, a renowned theoretical framework is that provided by “orientalism”. Both these approaches fall within the broader Critical Theory school of thought. With early modern Netherlands being a worldwide colonial power and Japan being an East Asian country, one might assume this framework to be particularly useful in understanding the events that I cover. Nevertheless, I still think these approaches do not come to a fulfilling help when it concerns the history of Dutch studies in Japan. A common tenant across these approaches is the idea that two peoples interact in an uneven relation of power. In particular, it is believed that the Western populations often viewed the “Oriental” ones and their cultures in function of their own superiority. SAID (1978) posed that, specifically in the history of colonialism, the cultural identity of the colonized Asian people was construed by the Westerners and/or on the basis of their own prejudices. Although this might be a useful tool to understand specific historical encounters between humans, I do not believe that these theories function as well in the context of Dutch studies in Japan. In short, I will not make use of the tools provided by Critical Theory as I do not think they are particularly fitting in the context of my research.

In sum, since I have not been able to find a complete set of tools in these theoretical approaches that could help me in my analysis, I came up with my own theoretical tools. In the following sub-sections, I will discuss a few theoretical issues and present additional instruments that I believe are more functional when it comes to the analysis of Shizuki’s manuscript on language. Because of the specificity of some of the topics I refer to, I have decided to develop my own theoretical framework which, in principle, is not directly dependent from any one specific source or school of thought. Nonetheless, I too have my own Broader Context – as I will call it – in which I have been living, from which I cannot prescind.

1.3.1 The danger that ought (not) to be ignored

This is why I do not yet see whether what I am trying to think of as the nature of language is also adequate for the nature of the Eastasian language; whether in the end – which would also be the beginning – a nature of Language can reach the thinking experience, a nature which would offer the assurance that European-Western saying and Eastasian saying will enter into dialogue such that in it there sings something that wells up from a single source.

Martin Heidegger⁴ in *A Dialogue on Language between a Japanese and an Inquirer*

⁴ Throughout the paragraph, all English translation of Martin Heidegger’s *Unterwegs zur Sprache* (1959) come from Peter D. Hertz’s *On the Way to Language*, Harper & Row Publishers, New York, 1982. The original German text is from Vittorio Klostermann, Frankfurt am Main, 1985. English text from HEIDDEGER (1982, 9). Original German text of the present quote (HEIDDEGER 1985, 89): “Der Ausblick für das Denken, das dem Wesen der

In the 1959 collection of brief works titled *On the Way to Language* (*Unterwegs zur Sprache*), the famous German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889 – 1976) re-imagines a dialogue he had with Japanese scholar of German literature Tezuka Tomio 手塚富雄 (1903 – 1983) in 1954, discussing the concept of *iki* 粋, as postulated by the Japanese philosopher Kuki Shūzō 九鬼周造 (1888 – 1941). Whereas all three of them could speak German, Heidegger was the only one who could not speak any Japanese. This placed an insurmountable hurdle in front of Heidegger's path of truly comprehending the meaning of this Japanese philosophical concept, that can only be understood by means of appeals to Japanese ideas and concepts. Heidegger could not solve the fundamental doubt of whether his thoughts on language could also apply to what he calls "East-Asian languages".

Though I am not espousing Heidegger's ideas, nor will I claim to be a connoisseur of his philosophy, I believe this quote to be helpful in illustrating an important theoretical point I would like to raise. The vocabulary of grammar, in all traditions, makes profuse use of philosophical concepts – think of the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy (see 8.4.1) – or reference to the natural world, such as the grammatical genders (which the Japanese often connected back to philosophical concepts, see 7.2.1). While one cannot postulate internal human nature to be the cause of different philosophical postulations across cultures, the Broader Context in which each individual finds his or herself does. For example, in the Dutch translation of *Ontleedkundige Tafelen*,⁵ the first anatomical book that reached Japan and that was translated into this language, the shape of the human heart is compared to a *kegel*, the skittle of a popular Germanic game, similar to modern bowling. At the time, a *kegel* often had the shape of a cone, roughly resembling that of a human heart. If one pictures the individuals who first pioneered modern anatomy in Northern Europe dissecting the first heart out of a human chest, one can understand the instantaneous connection between such a cultural-specific item and the purpose of this comparison: all the readers of the book could easily imagine the shape of a heart by virtue of the fact that all of them, supposedly, had had experience with a *kegel*. When Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733 – 1817) and Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723 – 1803) decided to translate this very book, compiling the famous *Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書 ('New Book on Anatomy'), they eventually reached the section where the human heart was described. After what I assume was lengthy research on what a *kegel* was, the two had to choose how to adapt that into Japanese. Ultimately,

Sprache zu entsprechen sich abmüht, bleibt in seiner ganzen Weite noch verhüllt. Darum sehe ich noch nicht, ob, was ich als Wesen der Sprache zu denken versuche, auch dem Wesen der ostasiatischen Sprache genügt, ob am Ende gar, was zugleich der Anfang wäre, ein Wesen der Sprache zur denkenden Erfahrung gelangen kann, das die Gewähr schenkte, daß europäischabendländisches und ostasiatisches Sagen auf eine Weise ins Gespräch kämen, in der Solches singt, das einer einzigen Quelle entströmt".

⁵ The book was originally published in German by Johann Adam Kulmus (1689 – 1745) with the title *Anatomische Tabellen*. The Dutch translation was provided by Gerardus DICTEN (1696 – 1770) in 1734. The quote in question is found on page 143 of the Dutch edition: "Shape: The shape is, from the top, round, going towards the bottom it makes a cuspidal point, in the manner of a reversed skittle" (*Gedaante: het is van boven rond van gedaante, en nederwaarts gaande maakt het, spits toelopende, een punt, op de wyze van een omgekeerde kegel*).

they decided to maintain the exotic cultural reference, explaining that a *kēgeru* ケーゲル – their *katakana* adaptation of the Dutch *kegel* – was a Dutch toy, whose shape resembled a not-yet-blossomed lotus flower, turned upside-down.⁶ A clear example of a foreign cultural reference explained by means of an autochthonous cultural reference to the surrounding natural world. I believe this concrete example explains what I mean with Broader Context much better than any philosophically loaded paraphrase ever could. This Broader Context, a mixture of the surrounding nature and culture, is often invoked when rationalizing abstract linguistic concepts; an example is grammatical gender, which is often rather arbitrarily connected to biological sex, and which is utilized to conceptualize a grammatical dichotomy.

Those dealing with the study of language cannot ignore the same fundamental issue Heidegger found himself pondering about. Such fundamental issue is the undefeatable uncertainty regarding the ability of rendering in either language, what one could simplify in the labels of “Dutch ideas” and “Japanese ideas”. If complete universalism is not to be presupposed for the abovementioned reasons, then this implies that “Dutch ideas” and “Japanese ideas” diverge too much from each other for them to be explained, in any precise manner, in the other language. On the contrary, if one presupposes that, regardless of the broader context in which humans are found, their nature is fundamentally the same, then humans would only be able to come up with ideas that lead toward the same original primordial image, in a similar fashion to Carl Jung’s (1875 – 1961) archetypes of the collective consciousness (*kollektives Unbewusstes*),⁷ thus negating the uniqueness of cultures.

Notwithstanding, the present work is compiled in English, a different language from both Dutch and Japanese and not my native language, either. Here too lies the same danger evidenced by both Heidegger and Tezuka, in their dialogue:

J: I would be the last to venture it, else I should not have come to Germany. But I have a constant sense of danger which Count Kuki, too, could obviously not overcome.

I: What danger are you thinking of?

J: That we will let ourselves be led astray by the wealth of concepts which the spirit of the European languages has in store, and will look down upon what claims our existence, as on something that is vague and amorphous.⁸

⁶ The quote is found in section 15, on folio 7v of volume 3 (ヤ 3 1060 4, in Waseda University’s collection). It reads: “Shape: round at the top, pointy at the bottom. It looks like a *kēgeru*. This is the name of a Dutch toy, whose shape resembles that of an upside-down lotus flower that is not yet opened.” (其形。上圓下尖。如圭偈縷 和蘭人翫器之名。其形如未開立蓮倒懸; I had to remove *kanbun kundoku* annotations from the original quote to allow it to fit in a footnote).

⁷ As he postulated in *Über die Archetypen des kollektiven Unbewussten*, from *Von den Wurzeln des Bewusstseins*, Zurich, Rascher, 1954.

⁸ Original German text: “J: Ich bin der Letzte, der es wagte, sonst wäre ich nicht nach Deutschland gekommen. Aber ich spüre immerfort die Gefahr, der offensichtlich auch Graf Kuki nicht Herr geworden ist. F: Welche Gefahr meinen Sie? J: Daß wir uns durch den

The fundamental danger of discussing what “Dutch ideas” and “Japanese ideas” are supposed to be in one language or the other is to ultimately force the “foreign” concept to adapt into the non-native target language with the consequence of only obtaining something that is made “vague and amorphous” by the rhetorical and philosophical appeals to the target language’s culture and ideas. As further quoted from Heidegger’s dialogue with Tezuka:

Because I now see still more clearly the danger that the language of our dialogue might constantly destroy the possibility of saying that of which we are speaking.⁹

The two ultimately conclude that the only way for the non-Japanese-speaking Heidegger to inquire Tezuka regarding the Japanese idea of *iki* is to ignore said “danger” (*Gefahr*) of only corrupting the original concept, being forced to carry out the conversation in German.

While writing about the Japanese investigation of the Dutch language, I also need to keep in mind that, most of the time, I am doing the same: I am consciously ignoring the fact that that danger exists and cannot be overcome in any way. For that reason, it does not really matter what language the present work is written in, since the destruction of the “original idea” has already been carried out by the Japanese scholars; themselves interpreters of “foreign ideas” into Japanese. However, it can be asserted that, unlike Heidegger and Tezuka, I will not ignore the existence of said “danger” but I will, in turn, indulge in it by investigating how the Japanese scholars of Dutch tried to overcome such danger – or, at least, deal with it – in a cultural and linguistic context that was much less influenced by the “foreign” rhetorical tools of Europe, as compared to post-*sakoku* Meiji Japan.

In order to do this, I need to understand the manner in which ideas propagate, and I will theorize a model in the following section that will allow me to more directly visualize the process, not ignoring the postulated “danger”, yet posing it – to some extent – as the subject of my research.

1.3.2 The process of transmission of ideas

In order to solve the fundamental issue of discussing how ideas are spread and received across individuals, I need to postulate the process by which ideas propagate and get molded and adapted. Heidegger’s “danger”, discussed in the previous section, is indeed a very concrete hurdle that, if it remains unaddressed, makes the whole purpose of a research such as the present collapse on its foundations. While

Reichtum des Begrifflichen, den der europäische Sprachgeist bereit hält, verleiten lassen, das, was unser Dasein in den Anspruch nimmt, zu etwas Unbestimmtem und Verfließendem herabzusetzen” (HEIDDEGER 1985, 84-85). English translation from HEIDDEGER (1982, 3).

⁹ Original German text: “Weil ich jetzt noch deutlicher die Gefahr sehe, daß die Sprache unseres Gespräches fortgesetzt die Möglichkeit zerstört, das zu sagen, was wir besprechen” (HEIDDEGER 1985, 98). English translation from HEIDDEGER (1982, 15).

Heidegger does indeed have a point in stating that one cannot thoroughly comprehend a concept that is native to another cultural and linguistic context, expressed in a foreign language and, thus, by means of different cultural tools, I believe there is a way to bypass this, not directly addressing the “original idea”, yet deducing it by analyzing the concrete forms that such abstract idea takes in its transmission by one mediator to their audience. In fact, I already took distance from a monolithic and communal definition of “culture”, believing that each individual requires to be understood as an original interpreter of malleable shared traditions. In understanding the process by which an idea gets passed over from one individual – the Creator of such idea – to another individual – who interprets it – one needs to first presuppose the impossibility of the Interpreter to actually access the original “thought” idea. I need to clarify the terminology I am going to use in the following lines. An idea, a concept, is thought by an individual: the Creator; in other words, the **Creator** is the one who creates an “original idea”. Such original idea only exists as a thought, that is why I refer to it also as the **Thought Idea**. It being a thought implies that, in order for it to propagate, it requires to be reified by means of a certain language, be it spoken, written, non-verbal, etc. The Creator needs to transform his thoughts into a linguistic code giving birth to a new form of the original Thought Idea that I will call **Produced Idea**. The process of linguistically codifying a Thought Idea into a Produced Idea can only occur by means of limited instruments, mostly including the cultural and linguistic tools one is afforded (as argued in 1.3.1), but also, for example, technological limitations (e.g., before Sugita Genpaku, the Japanese in the 18th century could only see detailed drawings of the human interior body, because photography had not been invented yet), depending on which medium one chooses to express their ideas with. Once the Creator codified the Produced Idea in any linguistic medium, the audience, takes the role of the **Interpreter**. An Interpreter will never have access to the original Thought Idea, because that is abstract and remains within the cerebral activities of the Creator. What the Interpreter does have access to is only the Produced Idea, that differs to a varying extent from the original Thought Idea and cannot represent it faithfully. While interpreting the Produced Idea, the Interpreter is bound to reshape it via their own individual process of understanding it which is, yet again, fundamentally limited by the contingent factors illustrated above (the Broader Context I just mentioned). Thus, after reaching the Produced Idea, the Interpreter will come up with their own interpretation of it, that differs both from the original Thought Idea, as well as the Produced Idea. I shall call this new form taken by the idea as **Processed Idea**. I have drawn this process in Table 1.

If one applied the scheme in Table 1 to the way knowledge was passed down from the original Dutch sources to the Japanese scholar, then the Creator of the idea would be the Dutch author, while the Interpreter would correspond to the Japanese scholar studying such Dutch book. Consequently, the content of the Dutch books is what I have called Produced Idea, that is the consequence of the Dutch author (the Creator) linguistically codifying his Thought Idea into written words. As such, one will never be able to gain access to the underlying Thought Idea behind the Dutch book but can only unfaithfully deduce it by reading the Produced Idea. The reader, who consciously takes the role of Interpreter – in the present case being the Japanese

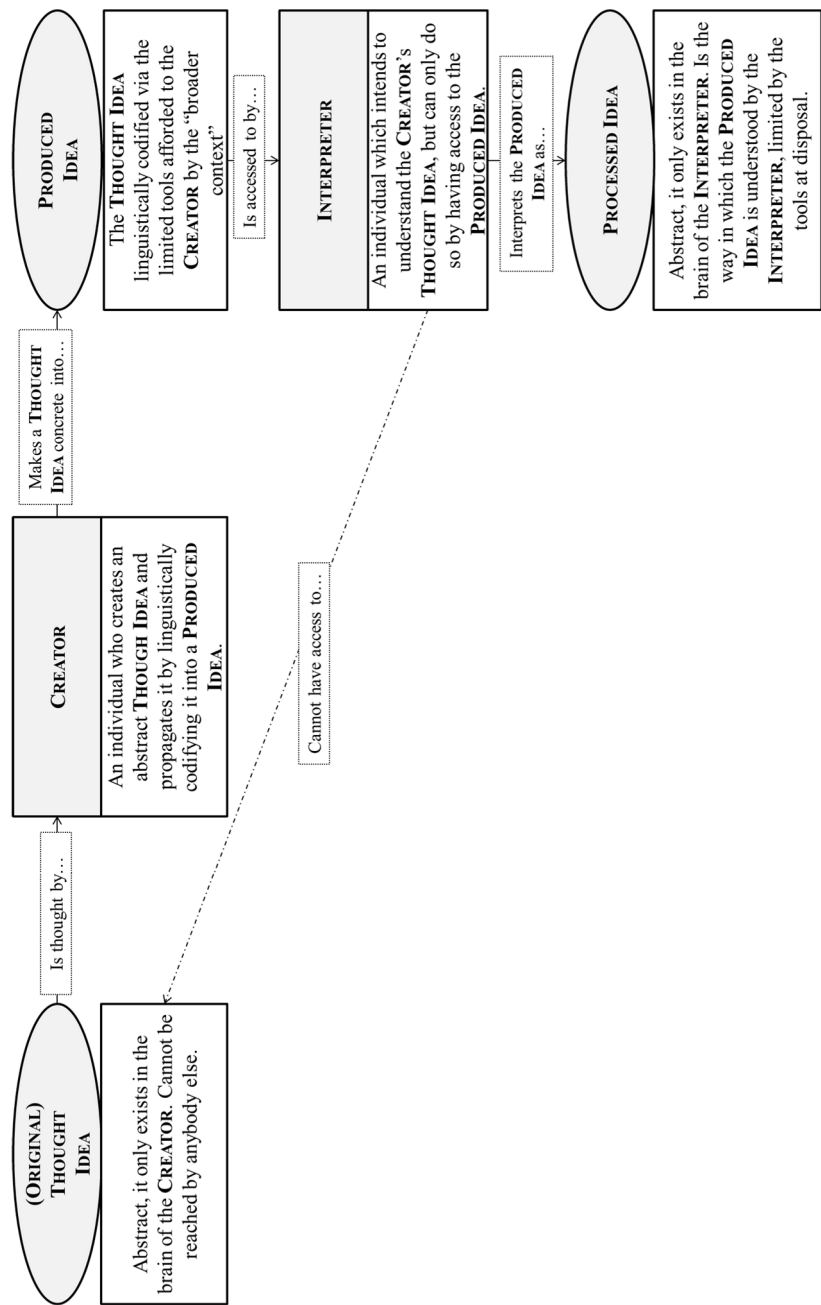


Table 1 First half of the process of transmission of ideas.

scholar – is left with “only” an educated guess with regard to what the Creator originally meant. The reader, thus, can only interpret the Produced Idea by means of their own limited cultural and linguistic tools (the Broader Context) and re-imagine what was read into a new Thought Idea, that I have called Processed Idea.

Luckily, many Japanese scholars had the willingness to put their Processed Ideas into written words. This corresponds to the content of Shizuki’s manuscripts, in my case. The assumption is that, after having interpreted the (Dutch) Produced Idea, the Japanese scholars wanted to spread it to their own audience, in this case by means of written Japanese. At this phase, the Japanese scholar (formerly in the role of the Interpreter) takes the role of **Mediator**. The Mediator is the person who, after reading somebody else’s Produced Idea, decides to re-write it for a different audience. In my case study, this also entails a translation toward another distinct language, but this does not always have to be the case. The act of mediation initiated by the Japanese scholar simply means to put one’s own abstract Processed Idea into a language (written Japanese, in my case) for others to be able to gain access to it. What is thusly created I call it a **Mediated Idea**. I have added these new steps to Table 2.

What has hitherto been presented is nothing more than a simplification of the process by which ideas spread. Of course, ideas do not exist in a vacuum, wherein some intellectual simply comes up with a completely new and original idea totally independent of the past postulations they came into contact with. These are included in what I have called Broader Context. This schematization of the process, nonetheless, is useful in order to visualize, in practice, what the present research is going to investigate. As Heidegger and Tezuka rightfully point out, there is no way in which the German philosopher could ultimately ever understand what Count Kuki means when he referred to the Japanese philosophical term *iki*, if the conversation were to be carried out in German. I would add that the cultural and linguistic background differences between the three philosophers were not the only issues hindering the thorough comprehension of such concept. In fact, the thoughts, and ideas the human brain is capable of creating outnumber immensely what each human language can express. However, one does always need a language – be it verbal or otherwise – in order to communicate such ideas to other individuals. Consequently, if one applies Heidegger’s example to the table above, Count Kuki, being the Creator, can only represent his original Thought Idea of the concept of *iki*, via the German language, through the rendition of an unfaithful Produced Idea that Heidegger only understands in the form of his Processed Idea, appealing to his (North-)European and individual background. In *On the Way to Language*, thus, Heidegger correctly acknowledges the impossibility for him to fully grasp Count Kuki’s Thought Idea of *iki*, since it cannot exist, in that very form, outside of his brain. There is no reason for him not to be content with being able to at least have the opportunity to “process” Count Kuki’s Produced Idea of *iki*, even in its German translation.

Similarly, I have to concede that it is impossible for any researcher to reach the true essence of what I have called the Thought Idea and the Processed Idea, both of which are only abstract. What I can do, nonetheless, is investigate both the Produced

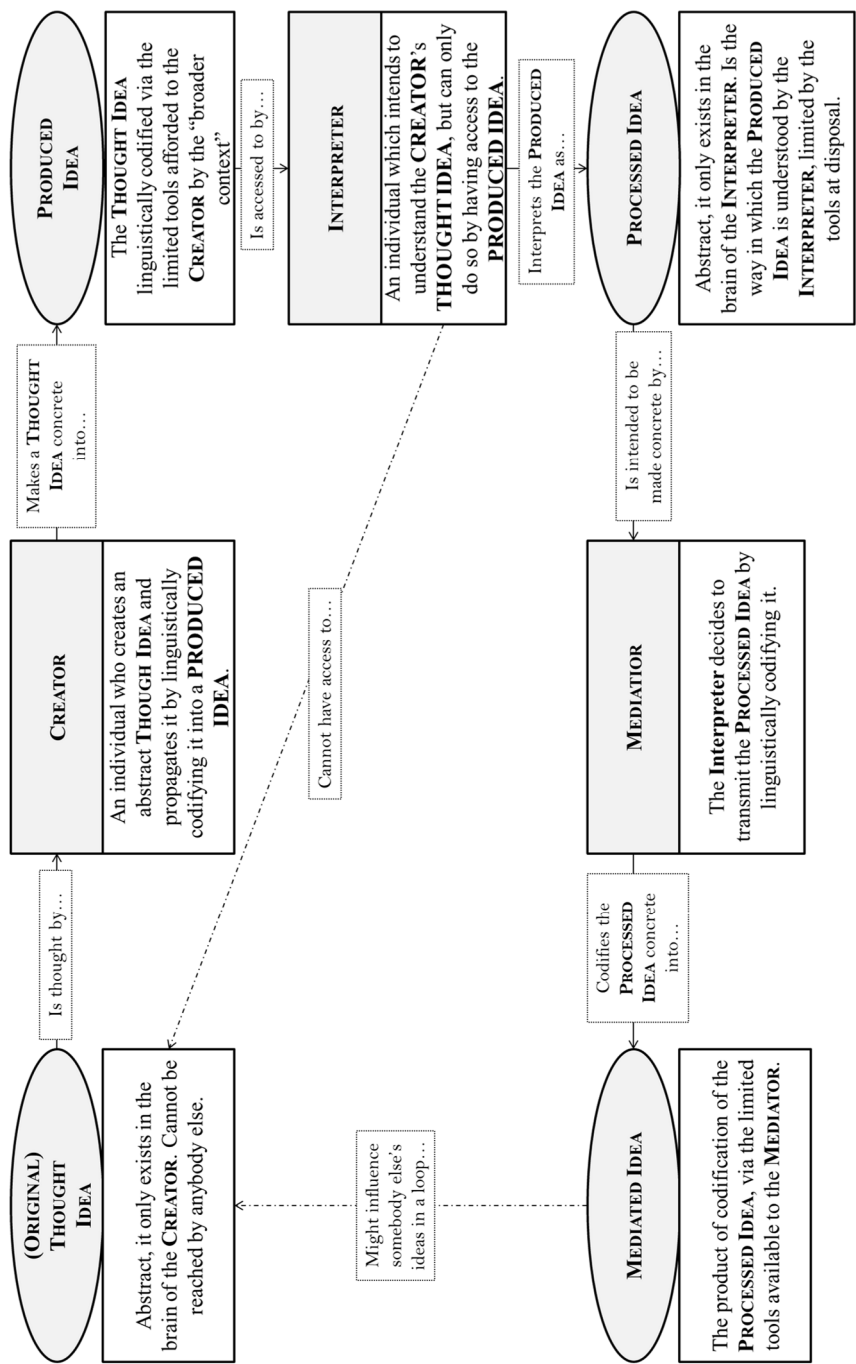


Table 2 Complete process of transmission of ideas.

Idea and the Mediated Idea that the Dutch and the Japanese authors have put into words and subsequently compare them with each other. Only then will I be able to approach the vicinities of what Shizuki's Processed Idea might have looked like. This is, broadly, what I am going to do in the following chapters. The reader should, thus, keep this in mind and understand that any broad claim with regard to the original Thought Idea and the Processed Idea can only be put forth after indirect research analyzing their unfaithful renderings via the author's own limited linguistic tools. However, the process by which I will carry out this research is still fundamentally empirical in nature, as I will base my interpretation of the data on the principles of falsifiability and reproducibility. I also consider the present paragraph an answer to the first issue raised by ŌSHIMA (2019) concerning the analysis of Shizuki's manuscripts, as I will illustrate in 2.3.

1.3.3 In defense of “mistakes”

The easiest way to explain to someone the difference between linguistics and prescriptive grammar is to say that the latter tries to describe the correct use of language, advising users of a specific linguistic system not to indulge in specific irregular and formally disapproved choices of words and morphosyntax. A real linguist – one might add – is not going to tell you that one specific word or sentence you have just used is not correct, thus making you revise your speech, on the contrary, he or she would accept it as an interesting variation worthy of scientific analysis. Although, in general terms, this is true, such type of phrasings often lead to the misconception that, in linguistics, anything goes, and anything is considered an acceptable variation by virtue of its own existence. This is most obviously not the case. In linguistics, one does make use of concepts such as “agrammatical” to refer to specific phrasings that would be recognized as improper use of language by virtually all speakers of said linguistic code.

According to what just claimed with regard to the process of origination and propagation of an idea (1.4), the only thing that research on the Dutch studies of Japan can directly analyze, is what I have called the Mediated Idea. The Mediated Idea is the form in which the Interpreted Idea manifests, after the Interpreter decided to put their understanding of an original Thought Idea into words. Thus, if one were to identify mistakes in the Mediated Idea, that would imply that something has gone awry in the process of interpretation and/or mediation. However, I do not believe this to be the correct approach to my field of studies.

I believe there are only two types of mistakes: “mistakes” and “non-mistakes”. Both types certainly cause disruption and misunderstanding, but they nonetheless need to be treated very differently. What I just called “non-mistakes” are those types of disruptions that manifest in those instances in which one would expect some type of correspondence between the original Thought Idea and the Mediated Idea but is unable to find it. In these instances, one could be tempted, by their own biases and preconceptions, to dismiss such non-correspondence as a “mistake” or a “misinterpretation” of the original source. This happens more easily whenever the original Thought Idea is conceived of as a hard and well substantiated truth, that requires no questioning. This, however, is not based on the Thought Idea, or the

Produced Idea, either. One's labeling of something as a mistake is based on one's own Processed Idea, instead.

I have experienced this hardship often within the research on the history of Dutch studies in Japan, specifically when it comes to the manuscripts on the Dutch language. Regardless of the undeniably high quality of most research, too often have I witnessed the projection of the researcher's own preconceived notions of what grammar "should be" onto the Japanese works on Dutch they were analyzing. As I will discuss in depth in the present work, Japanese scholars, such as Shizuki Tadao, have come up with their own categories to illustrate Dutch grammar and morphosyntax. Their objective was, presumably, to provide reference material that could aid a Japanese scholar in the translation of Dutch books into Japanese. Often, however, the analysis of these texts has been carried out from the standpoint of individuals living after the standardization process of most national languages, thus taking for granted certain grammatical and philosophical nuances that are not monolithic. This is the reason why, despite the insightful work he presented, DE GROOT is seen repeatedly claiming that Shizuki used the term *joshi* 助詞 to refer to all those categories that the Japanese scholar could not directly provide a translation to, or find an appropriate category for, in the Japanese language.¹⁰ This is most evidently not the case. Although it is true that Shizuki has used this category quite loosely, at times, as I will argue in both Chapters VII and VIII, he did not use this term as a simple all-encompassing container, useful to compensate for the fact that he could not distinguish all the other categories, implying he did not understand the "real" grammatical theory of Dutch as the Europeans unequivocally had written in their books. As I will illustrate in Chapter V, most of the contents of the Dutch sources used by Shizuki were very much lacking exactly in the topics Shizuki himself was mostly interested in. Regardless, Shizuki's theories were often extremely refined, and distinct, in theory and methodology, from the Dutch sources. Consistently with my theoretical frame, disregarding this is very perilous. This could lead the researcher to ignore the possibility that the reason why one has not found the expected correspondence between the contents of the "original" source and the "mediated" source, is not that the "mediator" might have purposefully re-worked what he read, by imposing their own biases and preconceptions. On the contrary, I would argue, the Japanese scholars of Dutch have always been seen through the binary lenses of "correct" or "incorrect". Fortunately, these two categories cannot always be superimposed so easily upon all contexts. In such instances the researcher would make the methodological error of under-interpreting what the scholar they are studying is trying to convey, and this should be avoided.

¹⁰ He claims that, for example, in his PhD thesis (DE GROOT 2005), on page 147-149 and I believe this is also somewhat implied in his article (DE GROOT 2008), on page 127. A similar approach is implied, I think, in phrasings such as "Shizuki struggled to render the Dutch equivalent of 'adverb in Japanese'" which can be found in JOBY (2021, 358). JOBY (2021) is not to be blamed for this wording, since he cited it directly from secondary literature which, in turn, refers to other sources, in support of this very claim. The claim appears to be an innocuous miswording that got cited across secondary literature, but it still evidences an implicit bias that considers the correctness of Shizuki's theories in function of their faithfulness in representing the Greek-Latin tradition.

A specific type of “non-mistakes” I have identified within *rangaku* is the tendency to presume some kind of ignorance on the side of the Japanese scholars with regard to the Dutch language. If one assumes that anything that deviates from (modern) Dutch normative grammars must be a mistake, then one is going to see mistakes even where there are none. This type of over-use of the term “mistake” has led, in my view, many academics to find misspellings in almost every Dutch sentence written by a Japanese person in the Edo period. Since many Japanese wrote in – sometimes sloppy – cursive, a badly written letter is often just a badly written letter. Of course, a letter < L >, instead of an < R > is noticeable, even when non-capitalized, and is also consistent with what is known about Japanese phonology. On the contrary, I would argue, a badly written < a > does not have to be an < o > and – unless proven differently – it does not have any phonological justifications in the context of the Japanese language, thus it should be considered a badly written < a > and transcribed accordingly. Furthermore, and I include myself in this claim, by insisting on its deviant graphic rendition, one might just end up seeming like one is trying to demonstrate one’s knowledge of Dutch, and this serves no scientific purpose. All these hypercorrective behaviors I have proactively tried not to engage with.

The second type of mistakes consists of “real” mistakes. As I said above, not all instances of non-correspondence between the “original” source and the “mediated” source are to be considered subjective variations. Sometimes one can definitely assert that something is a mistake made by the author or the copyist when, for example, one is talking about uses of grammatical structures that are not attested anywhere else in the literature (see 8.5.6, for example). These instances I hold to very high scientific importance since they are to be understood as “cracks” in the ideology of the Mediator, that allow to see beyond the hard crust of formal theory. Whenever a Japanese scholar makes an objective and overt mistake, the modern researcher has the duty to investigate the reason why that is so, and why the Mediator ended up thinking that that was a viable rendition of Dutch grammar, for example. This goes back to what I have just said: if the modern researcher assumes the Japanese scholar of Dutch to be ignorant toward the formalized use of the Dutch language, they experience a wrongly worded sentence as just a confirmation of their own bias, thus they are going to dismiss it as a “mistake” from which little is to be attained. This leads to disappointing missed opportunities, even within research of the highest value. Nowhere in the secondary literature does any researcher provide a detailed analysis of a “wrong” sentence. Even in SAITŌ (1985), for example, who does present much of the contents of Shizuki’s *Rangaku seizenfu*, one does not find any single reference to those sentences that contain mistakes, such as *omdat hij hier zou gewoond geweest zijn*. As will be argued extensively in 8.5.6, it is precisely from such mistakes that one can really get to understand the way in which the scholar conceived of the original Thought Idea. It is thanks to these mistakes that one can really go beyond the appearance of the Mediated Idea and get a glance at the abstract Interpreted Idea that would otherwise remain unreachable.

For these reasons, I completely disavow the claim that works such as *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* present a less polished and realistic representation of Dutch grammar only because they do not describe it as faithfully to what Dutch

grammarians claimed.¹¹ On top of that, as I will have proven by the end of the present research, the sole idea of the existence of one correct manner to describe any language's categories of speech and morphosyntax is but a myth.

In conclusion, the assumption that one can easily identify “mistakes” in the works the Japanese made, is fundamentally faulty and should be avoided. The idea that there existed one Dutch grammar and one interpretation thereof is a dangerous fallacy, and this goes well beyond the talk of dialectal varieties. The present research, instead, is based on the belief that all mistakes should not be overlooked but must be appreciated as evidence of the superimposition of the Japanese scholars' biases and preconceptions upon the theory of Dutch grammar. Just like consistently writing an < R > instead of an < L > demonstrates confusion between the two phonemes in the Japanese phonological system, I assume that an ungrammatically constructed sentence can reveal much about what the author really believes.

1.4 Historical context, the beginnings of the Dutch-Japanese relations

The traditional historiography of Japan considers 1603 to be the beginning of the Edo period, with the official establishment of the long-lasting Tokugawa shogunate (*bakufu* 幕府) by the first shogun (*shōgun* 将軍) Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543 – 1616). While the most impactful policies known as *sakoku-rei* 鎖国令 have only been issued in 1639, to understand the reasons for these policies, one cannot disregard the events of the 16th century, that led the shogunate to these decisions. After all, as the famous Japanese historian Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 (1866 – 1934, pseudonym of Naitō Torajirō 内藤虎次郎) wrote in 1921: “Roughly, if one intends to conduct research on the history of Japan, in order to understand present-day Japan, one does not need to do research on the ancient period at all. If one knows its history since the Ōnin War,¹² that is already a lot. All that happens before cannot but be experienced in the same way as the history of a foreign country. However, all that happens since the Ōnin War onwards is a history that really touches us as deep as our very flesh and bones. If one actually knows this, one can say that this is sufficient for a history of Japan”.¹³

Since I do not believe one needs to go as far back in time as the 15th century, in order to understand the historical context of the Dutch studies of Shizuki, I have decided to start this short story in the year 1534, when the first Portuguese ship arrived in Japan, in the island of Tanegashima 種子島, south Kyūshū 九州 (KATAGIRI 2016, 18). The Portuguese presence has certainly enhanced the

¹¹ I assume this to be implied in claims such as in DE GROOT (2008, 132-133).

¹² The Ōnin War (*Ōnin no ran* 応仁の乱) was a civil war that lasted since 1467 to 1477.

¹³ Original quote: “大体今日の日本を知る為に日本の歴史を研究するには、古代の歴史を研究する必要は殆どありません、応仁の乱以後の歴史を知って居たらそれで沢山です。それ以前の事は外国の歴史と同じ位にしか感ぜられませぬ、応仁の乱以後は我々の真の身体骨肉に直接触れた歴史であって、これを本当に知っておれば、それで日本歴史は十分だと言っていいのであります。”. I have cited it from TAJIRI (2012, 4-5), my English translation.

commerce of Japan, particularly when their *naus da prata* ‘silver-ships’ functioned as middlemen when Japan’s relations with China started deteriorating. However, tradesmanship was not the only reason that motivated the Portuguese to maintain the relations with Japan. After the foundation of the diocese of Macao, owned by Portugal, by pope Gregory VIII in 1576, the goal of Catholic conversion of the Portuguese missionaries in East Asia got more intensely pursued. Regardless, the process of conversion of the Japanese had already been started in 1549, by the missionary Francis Xavier (1506 – 1552), with much success (IANNELLO 2012, 19-20). It is thanks to this mutual interest that the Portuguese started to study the Japanese language, and some Japanese started to learn Portuguese. The missionaries wanted to learn Japanese in order to convert the locals, while the Japanese interpreters learned the language of the trading partners mostly for the sake of commerce (KATAGIRI 2016, 19).

A first disruption in the partnership between the Japanese and the Portuguese was brought by the accidental arrival of the Dutch trading ship *De Liefde* (‘Love’), on the coast of Bungō 豊後, a province in North-Eastern Kyūshū, on March 19 of the year 1600. The captain was Jacob Quaeckerneck (1543? – 1606), and the ship was the only survivor of a destructive storm that sank four of the five ships of the fleet. On board of *De Liefde*, among the few survivors, there was the Englishman William Adams (1564 – 1620), known in Japan as *Miura Anjin* 三浦按針 ‘the pilot of Miura’, who worked hard to gain the trust of the Japanese government and who is credited as the person who allowed for the opening of Japan to the trade with the Dutch (IANNELLO 2012, 29; KATAGIRI 2016, 20). The Dutch ship *De Liefde*, however, did not belong to the VOC, since the company would only be founded officially in 1602. There were, however, already since the last decades of the 16th century a few smaller and underregulated companies, that are now called *voorcompagnieën* ‘pre-companies’, that already operated in Asia since the year 1594 (GAASTRA 1982, 9-21; IANNELLO 2012, 29-30). The trade with the Dutch was formally institutionalized in 1609, with the establishment of the Dutch trading post (*Oranda shōkan* オランダ商館) in the city of Hirado 平戸 (KATAGIRI 2016, 20).

In the year 1603, Japan’s political situation had changed drastically, with the foundation of the Tokugawa shogunate, that moved the capital to Edo 江戸 (nowadays Tokyo) and *de facto* seized the power from the emperor and claimed it for the Tokugawa dynasty. This is generally called Edo period, from the capital of its government, or the Tokugawa 徳川 period, from the family name of the ruling dynasty or, at times, it is also called feudal Japan, because of the social system enforced by the central government. The shogunate saw the Christian missionaries as a possible threat to its newly established power and started persecuting the *kirishitan* 切支丹 (‘Christians’) as early as 1614 (IANNELLO 2012, 36-37). The shogunate probably feared that if too many Japanese converted to Christianity, this would have led to the rise of a new opposition that could have threatened the stability of the state. In fact, in 1630, the third shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604 – 1651) imposed a “ban on books” (*kinsho* 禁書) concerning Western ideas (IANNELLO 2012, 43). The ban, often known as the Kan’ei edict (from the Kan’ei 寛永 era, that spanned since 1624 to 1644), mostly concerned books that the shogunate

believed to contain Christian propaganda. This included books in Chinese, often translations of European material, and mostly excluded books that only incidentally mentioned Christianity and European culture (GOODMAN 2000, 34-35), as I will further discuss below. The situation escalated in December of 1637, when a violent rebellion erupted in the city of Shimabara (*Shimabara no ran* 島原の乱), where a few Christian converts protested against the local government. The rebellion was sedated by the intervention of the central government, aided by Dutch forces (KATAGIRI 2016, 20). The reaction of the shogunate to this event was very severe, enacting a series of policies aimed at restricting the circulation of Christianity and any foreign ideas, banning Christians from entering Japan, and prohibiting the Japanese to leave the country (IANNELLO 2012, 67-72; KATAGIRI 2016, 21). The persecution of Japanese Christians was further pursued with the institution of the Office of Investigation of Christians (*kirishitan shūmon aratame yaku* 切支丹宗門改役), a bureau whose goal was to identify and, eventually, force any Christian convert to repudiated Christianity (CORRADINI 2005, 117). The aversion of the shogunate toward anything that could have had even the vaguest connection to the Christian faith reached, in this period, such high levels of suspiciousness that it is reported that when in 1640 the agents of the VOC erected a new building in their station bearing a plaque with the year according to the Gregorian calendar, the Japanese government ordered the demolition of the whole structure (GOODMAN 2000, 15).

Perhaps because of their assistance in the sedation of the Shimabara rebellion, the Dutch managed to maintain their relationship with Japan, although their presence was also very much regulated. In 1641, the Dutch trading post was moved from Hirado to Nagasaki, specifically on the small artificial island of Dejima 出島.¹⁴ The VOC agents were forced to remain on the island, unless they received explicit permit from the local government. The island was rented, meaning that the Dutch had to pay the Japanese government for using it, for receiving water, and each agent had to even arrange the furniture for his lodging himself (GOODMAN 2000, 19; IANNELLO 2012, 25). The Japanese themselves could not enter the island, except for a few individuals, mostly interpreters and concubines, the latter also being the only ones allowed to stay the night (IANNELLO 2012, 84).¹⁵

¹⁴ It is probable that the name of this island was pronounced as Deshima, by the locals, at that time. In the Dutch documents compiled from the 17th to the 19th century, the spelling *Decima* was not rare, echoing the pronunciation as Deshima. Still today, in Dutch-language literature, the island is called Deshima. However, in most other languages, the modern standard Dejima can be found more often. The name literally means “Protruding Island”, as it somewhat used to elongate from the main city of Nagasaki. Nowadays, the land formerly occupied by the Dutch has been incorporated by the expansion of the city, and part of it has been retrieved by the institutions and transformed into a museum recreating the older Dutch-inhabited Dejima.

¹⁵ KATAGIRI (2018) points out a few interesting matters concerning the role of the concubines (*yūjo* 遊女) in the use of the Dutch language, even identifying love-letters written in Japanese by the concubines destined to some Dutch men, presenting Dutch words annotated onto their Japanese counterpart. This suggests that the interpreters also read out Japanese letters, while orally translating them into Dutch, for the receiving agent. Further research in this field is necessary.

It is believed that, for the whole time that the Dutch trading post was in Hirado, the Japanese and the Dutch communicated in Portuguese. Since the Portuguese had reached Japan many decades before, there were already some Japanese who had learned their language. Furthermore, because of the importance of Portuguese in the world of commerce at the time, it was not rare for a Dutch ship to have at least one person who could function as interpreter of that language (KATAGIRI 2012, 21; MATSUKATA 2010, 4; SUGIMOTO 1981, 2). With the ban of the Portuguese, their language started to decrease in importance for Japan, and many interpreters decided to study Dutch, instead. The post of interpreter, called *tsūji* 通詞, was hereditary (KATAGIRI 2016, 87). The first structured institution of interpreters of Dutch appeared in 1656, and slowly grew until it became a proper guild. Although its structure varied, the posts of the interpreters have always been strictly hierarchically organized. At the top there were the *ōtsūji* 大通詞, who were followed by the *kotsūji* 小通詞. The first formal grade in the hierarchy was to become a *keikotsūji* 稽古通詞 ‘apprentice interpreter’, although there were other less central posts (KATAGIRI 2016, 143-149).

The local government of Nagasaki was also strictly structured. The shogunate expressly created the posts for two *bugyō* 奉行 in Nagasaki, to keep the city and the foreigners under direct control of the central government. The *bugyō* were state representatives. They had a role of high responsibility since they were directly accountable for anything that happened under their jurisdiction; and of high authority since they had executive power, being at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy. Below them were the *machidoshiyori* 町年寄, whom the Dutch called *stadbuurgermeester* ‘city mayor’. Below them, there were the *otona* 乙名, called *wijkmeester* ‘district governor’ by the Dutch, who also had a relevant role in the relations with the Dutch. It was the duty of the *otona* to check the fairness of commerce; they also had to approve the acceptance of a new Dutch ship in the bay of Nagasaki and they possessed the keys to the gate called *suimon* 水門, which was the only access by sea to the island (KATAGIRI 2016, 7; IANNELLO 2012, 81).

The Dutch trading post also had internal hierarchies. The head of the post had the title of *opperhoofd*, though it was often called *oranda kapitan* ‘Dutch captain’ (or a variation thereof), both terms likely coming from two Portuguese words, namely: *Holanda* ‘Holland’ and *capitão* ‘captain’. His subordinates were called *onderkoopmannen*, and he was often accompanied by a *schrijver* ‘scribe’. Another figure of importance among the crew was the *oppermeester* or *opperchirurgijn* the ship’s doctor, who was accompanied by his own assistants, the *ondermeesters*. There were other functions, like a *pakhuismeester* ‘warehouse master’ and a *boekhouder* ‘bookkeeper’. Additionally, there was a variable number of assistants, including servants from the colonies, for an average of about twenty Dutchmen on the whole island at the same time (GOODMAN 2000, 20-24).

In order to strengthen the authority of the central government, the second shogun Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579 – 1632) implemented the practice of *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 ‘alternate presence’. According to this rule, all the *daimyō* 大名, the

local lords, were required to travel periodically¹⁶ all the way to Edo, in order to pay homage to the shogun. This meant, specifically for the lords ruling over the farthest territories, to invest a lot of wealth and time in month-long travels, that kept them far from their areas of influence, preventing any seditious alliances. For this purpose, the Dutch *opperhoofd* was also granted the title of *daimyō* 大名 and was also requested to partake in the *sankin kōtai* (IANNELLO 2012, 25; 101-104). The *hofreis* ‘court journey’ – as the Dutch called it – or *Edo sanpu* 江戸参府 – as it is called in Japanese – was a long trip across Japan, that was the only real moment in which the *opperhoofd* and a few other agents had the possibility of seeing Japan beyond Nagasaki. They brought with them gifts for the shogun and valuables they could sell to the locals on the way (KATAGIRI 2016, 33-37; KATAGIRI 2008, 2-3; 25). Part of the ceremony with the shogun entailed the reading of the trade agreement (*gojōmoku* 御条目), whereby the VOC vowed to respect the rules of the shogun in order to maintain the privileged position. The *opperhoofd* Hendrik Doeff (1777 – 1835) also reports that the agreement was read at the arrival of a new ship, by the *bugyō* of Nagasaki. Doeff also copied what he claimed to be the entirety of its text, in its Dutch version, as can be read below:¹⁷

Het is, van oude tijden af, aan de *Hollanders* toegestaan om in *Japan* te komen; zoo zij dit willen blijven doen, zullen zij zich wachten, de Christelijke Godsdienst in *Japan* te verbreiden. Zoo zij eenige aanslagen of ondernemingen van vreemden tegen *Japan* mogten vernemen, zullen zij daarvan aan den Gouverneur van *Nagasaki* kennis geven. De op *Japan* af- en aanvarende Chineesche jonken zullen zij op zee niet aandoen, maar vrij laten varen. De *Liqueërs*¹⁸ zullen zij, als onderdanen van *Japan*, insgelijks vrij laten varen.

It has been allowed to the Dutch since ancient times to come in Japan; and should they want to keep doing it, they must refrain from spreading the Christian religion in Japan. Should they come to know of any onslaught or alliance of foreigners against Japan, they must give notice to the governor of Nagasaki [i.e., the *bugyō*]. They must not interfere with the Chinese junks coming in and departing from Japan, they must let them sail freely. Similarly, they must let the Ryukyans sail freely, as Japan’s subjects.

Another provision was included in the agreement between the VOC and the Japanese government: every time a new Dutch ship arrived, they were also demanded to share any information regarding the historical events occurring in the world. In fact, because of the limited contacts with other countries that the shogun had ensured through to the *sakoku* policies, Japan was mostly cut off from the rest of

¹⁶ Initially each year, until 1764, when it started being once in two years and, ultimately, once in four years since 1790 to 1850 when it was canceled (JANSEN 1984, 544).

¹⁷ Original text from DOEFF (1833, 144), my English translation. MEYLAN (1830, 39-40) presents a slightly longer version, though the content is rather similar.

¹⁸ The word *Liqueërs* is probably an adaptation of the Japanese *Ryūkyū* 琉球, the name given to civilization living in the southmost archipelago currently part of Japan. This interpretation is reinforced by the term provided by MEYLAN (1830, 40) where a better correspondence between the Japanese term and Dutch spelling can be seen: *Likiöenen*, where < oe > corresponds to /u/.

the world. They remedied this by enacting this policy, that would demand the compilation of what are known as *fūsetsu gaki* 風説書 or, simply, *nieuws* ‘news’ as the Dutch called them. These documents were compiled in a formal manner, according to stringent bureaucratic steps and allowed the shogunate to stay up to date with the events of the world. The first such document was requested by Iemitsu to the *opperhoofd* Jan van Elserack in 1641 (MATSUKATA 2010).

The policies restricting the freedom of movement of the Japanese and the importation of people, goods and ideas enacted by the shogun were not called *sakoku* by the government itself. The term *sakoku* was coined by Shizuki Tadao in 1801, when he published his work *Sakoku-ron* 鎖国論 ‘Theory of the Chained Country’ (BOOT 2008b). This work is a rather faithful translation of the Dutch version of *History of Japan* by Engelbert Kaempfer (1651 – 1716), where the author writes that “the current empire is locked up from all commerce and relations with foreign nations” (*het gantsche Ryk opgesloten is van allen Handel en gemeenschap met vreemde Natien*, on page 3). More recently, historians have been trying to counter the idea that Japan was completely isolated from the rest of the world on the basis of the so-called *yottsu no kuchi* 四つの口 ‘the four openings’, corresponding to four cities through which the Japanese could still maintain contacts with a few foreign populations. In contrast with the modern national borders of Japan, the Japanese of the Tokugawa era still had contacts with the Kingdom of the Ryūkyū, via the city of Satsuma (*Satsuma-guchi* 薩摩口) and with the Ainu, via the city of Matsumae (*Matsumae-guchi* 松前口). Furthermore, the Japanese could also reach the Joseon dynasty of Korea, through the city of Tsushima (*Tsushima-guchi* 対馬口). The last opening, of course, is the city of Nagasaki (*Nagasaki-guchi* 長崎口), where the Chinese and the Dutch were allowed to conduct their commerce (MATSUKATA 2012, 4-9).

The commerce with the Dutch started to shrink as early as the 1710s, when the number of VOC ships that reached Japan decreased massively (MATSUKATA 2012, 12). By the end of the 18th century, specifically after the war with England broke out in 1780, the VOC suffered immensely (GAASTRA 1982, 148). Nonetheless, the partnership with the Dutch remained lively well after the arrival of the American ships of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794 – 1858) in 1854, so much so that some argue that the first exchanges with many Western countries, such as the United States, Russia and Denmark, were conducted in Dutch.¹⁹

Perhaps counterintuitively, it is only in the second half of the 18th century that one can witness an increase in the interest of Dutch books in Japan. Eventually, the agents of the VOC realized that their books were highly valued by the Japanese and probably started trading them on purpose. This is claimed by BOOT (2013), who also summarizes what is known regarding the actual importation of foreign books –

¹⁹ This is claimed, for example, by JOBY (2021, 414-417), based on HALL (1992), *Japan through American eyes: the journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama, 1859–1866*, Fred G. Notehelfer, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, (p. 27-70); and on DE RUYVER (2016) *The First Treaty Between Belgium and Japan (1866)*, in W. F. VANDE WALLE (2016), *Japan & Belgium: An Itinerary of Mutual Inspiration*, Tiel: Lannoo, pp. 23-29; 50-73.

mostly Chinese and Dutch – during the Edo period. As already mentioned, the ban on foreign books that was part of the so-called *sakoku* policy mostly impacted texts in Chinese containing direct mentions to Christianity. The fact that Dutch books were not as strictly inspected might have multiple explanations, but it is not unrealistic to believe that the enforcement of such restriction was caused by a lack of bureaucratic institutions that could read Dutch proficiently. Whenever a foreign ship reached Nagasaki, all of its cargo had to be meticulously inspected and catalogued, and this included books. In order to assess the danger of the contents of the imported documents, the *bakufu* founded a Zen temple, in 1630, called Shuntokuji 春徳寺. There was no such an institution appointed with the inspection of Dutch books. BOOT (2013) also adds that until the end of the 18th century, all Dutch books were imported as gifts, either requested by the Japanese government, or for private collectors. Because of the fragmented nature of the book market, it is likely that many of the foreign books imported in Japan during most of the Edo period have remained unrecorded.

1.5 The beginning of Dutch studies in Japan

The details of the first attempts of the Japanese to learn the knowledge imported by the Dutch are lost in history. Because of the common use of Portuguese in the first half of the 17th century, it is unlikely that any structured learning of Dutch was ever achieved and, consequently, that the Japanese translated any Dutch books on European science at the time. The first Japanese to learn Dutch were most certainly the interpreters at Hirado. Initially, they were not governmental employees. They were instead employed directly by the Dutch. It is only with the moving of the Dutch trading post from Hirado to Dejima that a few individuals were officially hired by the government to assist in the moving. A few interpreters also moved with their families to Nagasaki, specializing in interpreting the Dutch language, some even abandoning the Portuguese or the Chinese language they had been learning and working with. It is in the year 1643 that the first official appointment as interpreters was given to the Shizuki family (GOODMAN 2000, 33).

For most of the 17th century, it is safe to say that the only Japanese who learned any Dutch were the interpreters of Nagasaki, who had no structured knowledge of the language and probably only learned it by memorizing spoken phrases and annotating useful expressions in *katakana*. Some entries in the *dagregisters*²⁰ also show that already in 1671, a few young Japanese, mostly sons of the interpreters between the age of 10 to 12, were sent to Dejima to learn Dutch on a daily basis. The same source also shows that Dutch books on European science were already circulating among the Japanese, before the 1670s (GOODMAN 2000, 34-35).

²⁰ The *dagregisters* were the personal journals of the Dutch agents. Extensive study of these sources has been carried out in the thirteen-volume series published by the Institute for the History of European Expansion and curated by Leonard Blussé, Cynthia Viallé, Paul Van der Velde and Ton Vermeulen titled *The Deshima Dagregisters: their original tables of contents*, Leiden, (1980 – 2010).

There are questions concerning the actual level of spoken Dutch that the interpreters of Nagasaki reached. Many entries in the *dagregister*, as well as citations from the memoirs compiled by the Dutch suggest their level was very shallow (GOODMAN 2000, 36). I have been able to confirm that the generally negative evaluation of the linguistic skills of the interpreters by the Dutch was very common even in later years. For example, Hendrik Doeff wrote, in his memoir (1833), on page 2, the following:

[D]e tolken, die het Nederduitsch enkel door den omgang met de *Hollanders* in *Japan* leeren, bij het aankomen van nieuwe ambtenaren, wier taal hun nog vreemd is, de grootste moeite hadden om dezelve te verstaan, terwijl tevens hunne uitspraak en hunne geheele taal, naar de Japansche spraakwendingen gewijzigd, voor die aankomelingen ten hoogste moeilijk zijn.

The interpreters, who learn Dutch only through the encounters with the Dutch in Japan, in the occasion of the arrival of new officials, whose language is still foreign to them, had the hardest problems understanding them, while at the same time their pronunciation and the entirety of their language, distorted by the Japanese changes in speech, is extremely difficult for the newcomers.

Again, on page 142 of his 1856 memoir, Cornelis Theodoor van Assendelft de Coningh (1821 – 1890) writes about “the miserable Dutch of the interpreters” (*het ellendig Hollandsch der tolken*). As for the Dutch actually spoken in Dejima, it is worth mentioning that the accents spoken by each agent certainly varied significantly. The agents on board of VOC ships originally came from various cities of the Republic, as can be seen from an example of a crew list from the ship *Princes Marianne*, that reached Dejima on 23 July 1833 (KATAGIRI 2016, 8-11). In fact, the VOC often also hired international crew members, as it is also attested by Van Assendelft de Coningh in his own memoir, in the excerpt below, found on page 27:

Daar de bemanning op onze koopvaardijfchepen uit een mengelmoe van allerlei natiën bestaat, en de mijne zeker voor twee derde uit vreemdelingen was zamengesteld, had ik den stuurman vooraf een monsterrol doen gereed maken, om voor te lezen, waarbij hij van alle niet-Hollanders, Amsterdammers, Rotterdammers, en Schiedammers had gemaakt, en liep er al eens eene enkele Finlander of Italiaan onder, die het Hollandsch zóó deerlijk radbraakte, dat zelfs een Japansche tolk het opmerkte, dan heette het maar, dat hij een Berg-Hollander was, die bij ons uit het gebergte in het binnenland van daan kwam.

Since the crew of our trading ships is composed of a mixture of all sorts of nations, and mine was certainly made of two thirds of foreigners, I had informed the steersman about it, so that he could make a crewmembers’ list – that had to be read out – where all non-Dutch people were turned into citizens of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Schiedam. There were even a Finn and an Italian whose Dutch was so broken that the Japanese interpreters themselves could notice it. We would call them Mountain-Hollanders, who thus had come to us from the mountainous inland regions.

Since the Dutch source admits to lying on the official documents regarding the nationality of the crewmembers, in order for them to be allowed into Japan even

though they were not of Dutch nationality, I do not believe it is possible to know how many of the VOC agents in Japan were actually not native of any of the territories corresponding to the present-day Netherlands and Flanders. There is also no reason to believe that Van Assendelft de Coningh's ship, with two thirds of the crew being composed of foreigners, has been the norm in the circa 250 years of Dutch-Japanese relations. It is known that a few Germans stayed in Japan among the Dutch, just like the abovementioned Engelbert Kaempfer and Philip Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796 – 1866), the latter often known as *yama no orandajin* 山のオランダ人 'the Dutch of the mountains', exactly to hide his German nationality to the Japanese officials.

Some Japanese sources of the time state that because of the so-called *sakoku* policies, any deep knowledge of the Dutch language could not be attained in the first half of the Edo period, because it was not allowed for their ancestors to even read any Dutch. This is claimed, for example, by Baba Sajūrō, as I will claim in 2.1, but also by Sugita Genpaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku, as evidenced by GOODMAN (2000, 36), although the accuracy of these claims may also be questioned. GOODMAN (2000) also adds that he believes that the reason for the shortcomings in the ability of the Japanese to speak Dutch were not connected to the limitations imposed by the government, but rather by the fact that the Japanese scholars lacked "essential materials (grammar, dictionaries, etc.)". This is an interesting point, for the purpose of the present research, and it certainly concerns the important role of Shizuki's works: he was the first Japanese who studied the theory of grammar of Dutch and put it in a written form, so that his knowledge could spread among the Japanese scholars. Regardless of the interpreter's skills of Dutch, in the second half of the 17th century there are numerous examples of Dutch physicians imparting lessons to a few Japanese individuals (GOODMAN 2000, 38-42).

It is only at the turn of the century, and mostly in the first half of the 18th century that things start to change. The socio-political situation of Japan evolves from a militaristic state to a more intellectualism-oriented society – also epitomized by the fall of the samurai class – and this gives birth to a few new schools of thought (see Chapter VI). The openness toward new ideas also characterized the shogunate. Starting from the eighth shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684 – 1751), who ruled between the years 1716 and 1745, the pursuit of Dutch studies was actively incentivized by the *bakufu* themselves (GOODMAN 2000, 49-65; HORIUCHI 2003, 148). It is in this period that one also sees the rise of a new type of scholar of Dutch: the so-called *Edo no rangakusha* 江戸の蘭学者, the scholars of Dutch of Edo. These individuals, who worked in the capital, were directly employed by the shogun to provide translations of Dutch books on various topics concerning European knowledge. They were different from the interpreters of Nagasaki (*Nagasaki tsūji* 長崎通詞), in that the latter were believed to be mostly concerned with spoken language, so much so that Sugita Genpaku used the term *setsujin* 舌人 'men of tongue' to disparage them (see 2.1), reinforcing the idea that the Nagasaki interpreters could not really read Dutch but only speak it, an idea GOODMAN (2000, 36) calls a "legend". However, the relationship between these two types of scholars was probably not as grim as suggested. It was far from uncommon, in fact, for a

scholar of Edo to spend some time in Nagasaki in order to improve their knowledge of the language, through contact with the interpreters and with the Dutch themselves, in a social practice called *yūgaku* 遊学 (SUGIMOTO 2013, 146-149), a concept that roughly corresponds to “exchange study”. It is exactly in such an occasion that Shizuki Tadao got acquainted with the Ōtsuki family, and it is believed that it is thanks to the latter that Shizuki’s manuscripts reached Edo (see 2.1). Ōtsuki Gentaku, specifically, has played a central role in the foundation in 1811 of the translation bureau (*bansho wage goyō* 蛮書和解御用) by the Japanese government (GOODMAN 2000, 119), often known in English as *Bansho shirabesho* 蕃書調所, the name it took in 1856 (GOODMAN 2000, 5). Most of the scholars who participated in the *yūgaku* were physicians who originally received an education based on Confucianism and Chinese studies (MATSUDA 2008, 140).

It is with the legendary story of Sugita Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku’s 1774 translation from Dutch of the first book on anatomy and the subsequent publication of the story of that process in *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始, in 1815 (see 2.1) that the concept of *rangaku* ‘Dutch studies’ really got popularized and started to flourish, with many Japanese engaging with similar endeavors. The term “Dutch studies” or *rangaku* 蘭学, in Japanese, is often used to refer to the entirety of the research conducted by the Japanese on anything concerning the Dutch. The Japanese used the Dutch language for so many different purposes. Dutch was used to communicate with the VOC agents, to trade with them, to entertain friendly and romantic relationships, to arrange bureaucratic agreements and oftentimes to learn new knowledge and ideas, by reading and translating the books they imported. If one defines *rangaku* so broadly, one can claim that this school existed from the very first encounter with the Dutch in 1600 until the end of the Edo period, in the second half of the 19th century. However, I believe that this definition is too broad and does not allow for a concrete appreciation of the reality of the evolution of the Japanese research on Dutch things. As I have argued in the present section, no real research on Dutch knowledge had started before the second half of the 17th century. When it comes to language, it is likely that no structured study started before the second half of the 18th century. In fact, I believe that a distinction needs to be made between the broader label of *rangaku* and the more precise concept of *rangogaku* 蘭語学, the study of the Dutch language. Of course, some Dutch was known in Japan as early as the first half of the 17th century, yet when I talk about *ragogaku* I only want to focus on the structured scholarship of the research on the Dutch language, intentionally recorded in manuscripts and handed down among the Japanese scholars. With this definition, it appears that *rangogaku* did not start until the second half of the 18th century, when Aoki Kon’yō 青木昆陽 (1698 – 1769) and Noro Genjō 野呂現丈 (1693 – 1761) started to compile the first glossaries (MATSUDA 2008, 139; see also section 1.8). Nonetheless, in order to avoid the confusion between these two concepts, I will refrain from using either term. I do not find these terms particularly useful, and one might end up inadvertently pigeon-holing into one subject scholars whose works were certainly much more diverse than one can describe by “sticking a label onto them”, as one says in Japanese by means of a Dutch-derived expression: *retteru wo haru* レッテルを貼る.

1.6 Research question

The research carried out by Shizuki on the Dutch language is evidently distinct from what other Japanese scholars of Dutch were doing, at the time. None of the research on Dutch conducted by Shizuki's precursors and contemporaries ever included thorough analysis of grammar, let alone the theory of grammar. This might have also been caused by the fact that the Dutch sources on language they could access were limited in their scope. MATSUDA (2008, 139) attests that the Dutch sources of these first scholars were mostly limited to primers and similar publications, only covering the alphabet in its various fonts, the pronunciation of each letter and syllable, a few words and, occasionally, also elementary algebra. MATSUDA (2008) names *Opregt onderwys van de letter-konst* (1752) by Berend Hakvoord (c. 1660 – 1730), *Trap der jeugd* (1732, first edition 1640) by Carel de Gelliers (? – 1644) and *Groot ABC Boek*.²¹ As I will discuss in 5.1, approaching the research of a language by studying its script and the sounds connected to that very script was a rather common method in Japan before and during the Edo period. Thus, it only makes sense that the earliest structured manuscripts on Dutch compiled by the Japanese covered these issues. For example, Shizuki's master Motoki Yoshinaga 本木良永 (1735 – 1794, also Ryōei) published *Wage reigen* 和解例言 ('Japanese Understanding of Some Examples of Word'), that roughly features the following content: the Latin alphabet, its fonts, and special characters; the numerals; pronunciation of each letter; and a long table of all Dutch syllables with *katakana* annotation. Another early work was published by Aoki Kon'yō, with the title *Oranda moji ryakukō* 和蘭文字略考 ('Brief Thoughts on Dutch Letters') that also contained explanations of the Latin alphabet in different scripts, the numerals, the pronunciation of complex syllables and a small glossary of Dutch words divided in syllables. Interestingly, these words are provided with two pronunciations: a pronunciation based on each syllable's sound, and one spelling out each letter.²² Another early author of documents on the Dutch language is the abovementioned Maeno Ryōtaku who published several works. In *Jigaku shōsei* 字学小成 ('Small Success in the Study of Characters'), Maeno briefly illustrates a few issues concerning the pronunciation of Dutch letters. In *Oranda yakusen* 和蘭訳筌 ('Fishing Net of Dutch Translation', see 6.1.1), he deals with similar topics, though in much deeper details, this time also including a few Dutch words and sample sentences whose Japanese translation gets explained. Since these translations occur according to a reworked *kanbun kundoku*, there are a few mentions to the parts of speech of the tradition of Chinese studies (see 5.5), albeit very limited. The brief

²¹ MATSUDA (2008, 139) simply names this title without specifying the author or the edition. The question regarding which specific abecedaries used to circulate in Japan at the time is still unresolved, as I discuss in 2.4.4 and, mostly, in 3.3.9.

²² The syllabic division of these words does not seem to be particularly faithful to the Dutch traditional fashion. For example, the Dutch word *rood* 'red' has one syllable. Aoki recognizes two syllables < roo > and < t >, this is because the Japanese (*katakana*) transcription features the two syllables *rō* ロー and *to* ト. Additionally, Aoki provides a *katakana* adaptation of the spelling of each letter as follows: *era* エラ (for the letter < R >), *o* フ, *o* フ, *te* テ.

Rango zuihitsu 蘭語隨筆 (‘Loose Thoughts on Dutch’)²³ also mostly ponders on the pronunciation of Dutch letters and syllables. This approach to Dutch, strongly connected to its written form, is also visible in authors who published roughly in the same period as Shizuki, like Ōtsuki Genkan 大槻玄幹 (1785 – c.1838), who will eventually meet and become friends with Shizuki (see 2.1). Ōtsuki Genkan’s father was the renowned Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757 – 1827) who published the famous *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯 (1788, ‘Introductory Steps in Dutch Studies’), whose content is not particularly different from the abovementioned works, at least as far as its general topics are concerned.²⁴

Shizuki’s works represent a breaking point from this traditional approach. He does not cover “elementary” topics such as the alphabet and its pronunciation. Instead, he chooses dictionaries, grammar handbooks and literary works (NESPOLI 2022) as sources for grammatical rules. In a cultural context in which Dutch studies only happened via the methodologies I have just illustrated above, one wonders how Shizuki could come up with his theories. Where does his pivotal methodology – so distinct from his precursors and contemporaries – come from? The knowledge of Dutch grammar visible from his works is certainly very detailed but what is more astounding is his understanding of complex and subtle morphosyntactic mechanics of Dutch that one can hardly find in any Dutch source of the time either. On the one hand, this means Shizuki must have had access to more Dutch books than usually assumed (see NESPOLI 2022 and Chapter II below). On the other hand, Dutch handbooks of grammar and dictionaries could not have been the only tools Shizuki utilized to construct his complex and unique theories on grammar. This is the reason why one needs to also know and deeply understand the (pseudo-)grammatical contents of the Japanese sources Shizuki consulted. Understanding how the process of creation of Shizuki’s theories on grammar happened is the ultimate goal of the present research. After Shizuki’s theories spread among his disciples and beyond, the *rangogaku*, the study of Dutch language in Japan mostly shifted focus, with many authors deciding to write about Dutch grammar, rather than its letters and pronunciation (for example Baba Sajūrō, Mitsukuri Genpo or Tsurumine Shigenobu).

²³ The concept of *zuihitsu* 隨筆 (literally ‘according to the brush’s will’) refers to a literary genre consisting of books that were compiled mostly without precedent planning, where the author spontaneously wrote about his or her feeling observing the surroundings. For this reason, I have adapted it as “Loose Thoughts”.

²⁴ DE GROOT (2005) describes a few additional works of this type, some even containing entries in both Dutch and Portuguese together. This source also demonstrates that the practice of compiling glossaries of Dutch words lasted until most of the Edo period.

CHAPTER II

Life and Works of Shizuki Tadao

これは讀わけ解すべきものにやといひしに、〈略〉、國異
に言殊なるといへども、同じく人のなす所にして

There is no reason why one should not be able to read and
understand these books. [...] Even though they are from a different
country, written in a foreign language, they are still made by
humans like me.

(Maeno Ryōtaku, 1785)¹

¹ This is quoted from Sugita Genpaku's *Rangaku kotohajime*. He alleges Maeno had written these words in his *Oranda yakusen*, though I have not been able to find any correspondence.

2. Life and works of Shizuki Tadao

2.1 Biographical information

Born Nakano Ryūho 中野柳圃 (1760 – 1806), from a wealthy family in Nagasaki, Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 was soon adopted into the Shizuki family of interpreters, by Shizuki Magojirō 志筑孫次郎 (JUN 2013, 235). Shizuki was also known with the names of Chūjirō – written as 忠次郎, 忠二郎, 仲治郎 or 忠治郎 – and Eichō 盈長 (SUGIMOTO 1981, 121). There is reason to believe that his adoptive family name was pronounced as Shitsuki, in Nagasaki (TANAKA-VAN DAALE 2008). Nowadays, he is best known as the author of the famous *Sakoku-ron* 鎖国論 that, inspired by Kaempfer's *De beschryving van Japan*¹ 'The Description of Japan', initiated the debate about the protectionist nature of the ruling system of the Tokugawa dynasty, thus coining the term *sakoku* itself (BOOT 2008b). Shizuki also served as *keiko tsūji* 稽古通詞 'practicing interpreter' for roughly one year, forced to quit, when he was 18, because of his weak health conditions (SUGIMOTO 2013, 20). Other sources report that he might have worked as an interpreter until 1782 (HARADA 2008), or even until 1786 (TANAKA-VAN DAALEN 2008). Sources from other scholars of Dutch seem to suggest his poor health as both the reason of his choice to quit the career as interpreter and his cause of death. Yoshimura Usai 吉村迂斎 (1749 – 1805) refers to a 'rare illness' *kishitsu* 奇疾 (in *kanbun*) Shizuki was supposedly suffering from (SUGIMOTO 1981, 124; KOGA 1974, 329-332). Shizuki's most famous pupil Baba Sajūrō 馬場佐十郎 (1787 – 1822), mentioned a 'very weak constitution' in the following text he wrote in Dutch, as a preface to *Oranda gohō kai* 和蘭語法解 ('Understanding the rules of the Dutch language', 1815) by Fujibayashi Fuzan 藤林普山 (SUGIMOTO 1981, 119):²

Hij is zeer zwaak van gesteltenis geweest, maar door zijn leerzugtigheid van aart heeft hij altoos den neus op de boeken gehouden, en eindelijk zodanig groot dienst voor ons gedaan, maar tot ons ongeluk is hij drie jaaren daarna, in het vierde jaar boenkwa, op 47 jaar oud, in Nangazaky, gestorven. de Nakomelingen, van den heer liúho³ zijn maar

He has been very weak in constitution, but he has always kept his nose on the books because of his love for learning and in the end, after all that he has done to us, yet for our misfortune, he has died three years later, in the fourth year of the Bunka⁴ era, when he was 47, in Nagasaki. The successors of master Ryūho are only three, namely:

¹ The book was originally published in English in 1727 with the title *The History of Japan* by J.G. Scheuchzer (1702-29), who translated the original manuscript, written in German. It has thereafter been translated into a multitude of languages but, ironically, the German edition has not been published until recently (2001). In 1733, the Dutch edition came out and was subsequently brought to Japan and read by Shizuki (BOOT 2008b). This book is today commonly known in Japan with the localized title *Nihon-shi* 日本誌.

² The original Dutch text can be found copied in SUGIMOTO (1981, 119). I have based the present transcription on Waseda's 本 10 1896, folios 9v-10r. My English translation. Any citation from *Oranda gohō kai* will be quoted from this source.

³ This is a romanization of Shizuki Tadao's birth name and pen name: Nakano Ryūho.

drie in het Eerste namelijk J. Rokziro, N. Kitsemon en de ondergetekende, maar van de Eerste is nú ook in Nagasaky, de tweede is reets dood, en de derde word daarna aan 't hut edo ontboden.

Yoshio Rokujirō 吉雄六次郎, Nishi Kitsueemon 西吉石衛門 and the undersigned, but the first is also in Nagasaki now, and the second has also passed, and the third is summoned in Edo.

Some have assumed that one of the reasons for Shizuki's abandonment of his career as interpreter could have been a tendency to introversion, which might have also meant he did not have too many disciples around (SUGIMOTO 1981, 123). This claim is reinforced by the content of *Rangaku kotohajime* (1815) by Sugita Genpaku who, although he never met Shizuki, reports that he lived in some sort of hermitage. More recently, the veracity of these claims has been questioned, on the basis of the exceptional skills of Shizuki, which could hardly be explained without proficient networking with other scholars (BOOT 2008a). It can be assumed that he had more than just the three students mentioned by Baba in *Oranda gohō kai*: one should name at least Suetsugu Tadasuke 末次忠助 (1765 – 1838), who went on studying astronomy. All his works circulated well beyond his pupils, and he is recognized by many as the initiator of Dutch linguistics in Japan, which has also been claimed by the famous Dutch scholar Ōtsuki Gentaku. Shizuki drew much of his inspiration from scholars such as Motoki Yoshinaga 本木良永 (also pronounced as Motoki Ryōei and also known as Motoki Rankō 本木蘭皐) and Yoshio Kōgyū 吉雄耕牛 (SUGIMOTO 1981, 122). SUGIMOTO provides a useful graph representing the relationships between the scholars surrounding Shizuki. I have reworked this graph in Table 3.⁵

After Shizuki had quit his job as an interpreter, he authored some forty manuscripts concerning Dutch studies. He is recognized as the first Japanese who studied Newtonian science and spread it throughout the country, by providing a translation of the Dutch book *Inleidinge tot waare Natuur-en Sterrenkunde* ('Introduction to real physics and astronomy', 1741) – originally published in Latin by the Brit John Keill (1671 – 1721) – in his pivotal *Rekishō Shinsho* 暦象新書, roughly 'New Book of Astronomy'. Shizuki studied and wrote many documents regarding European astronomy, physics, historiography, geography, international diplomacy, and the Dutch language as well. All these subjects are defined by BOOT (2008a, 22) as being "related to the areas of responsibility of the *bakufu*". His works on language, allegedly, did not circulate beyond his pupils and those close to his circle (KATAGIRI 2016, 316), probably because his treaties on language were intended for scholars of Dutch with particularly advanced language skills.

⁴ This is the fourth year of the *bunka* 文化 era, corresponding to the year 1807. The romanization used by Baba mirrors Dutch spelling conventions (*oe* for /u/) and Early Modern Japanese pronunciation (/k/ labialized to [kʷ]). Contrarily to what claimed here by Baba, it is generally believed that Shizuki has died in 1806.

⁵ In Table 3, scholars Udagawa Genzui and Udagawa Genshin do appear twice, and scholar Shingū Ryōtei receives inspiration by both Yoshio Rokujirō and Nishi Kitsueemon.

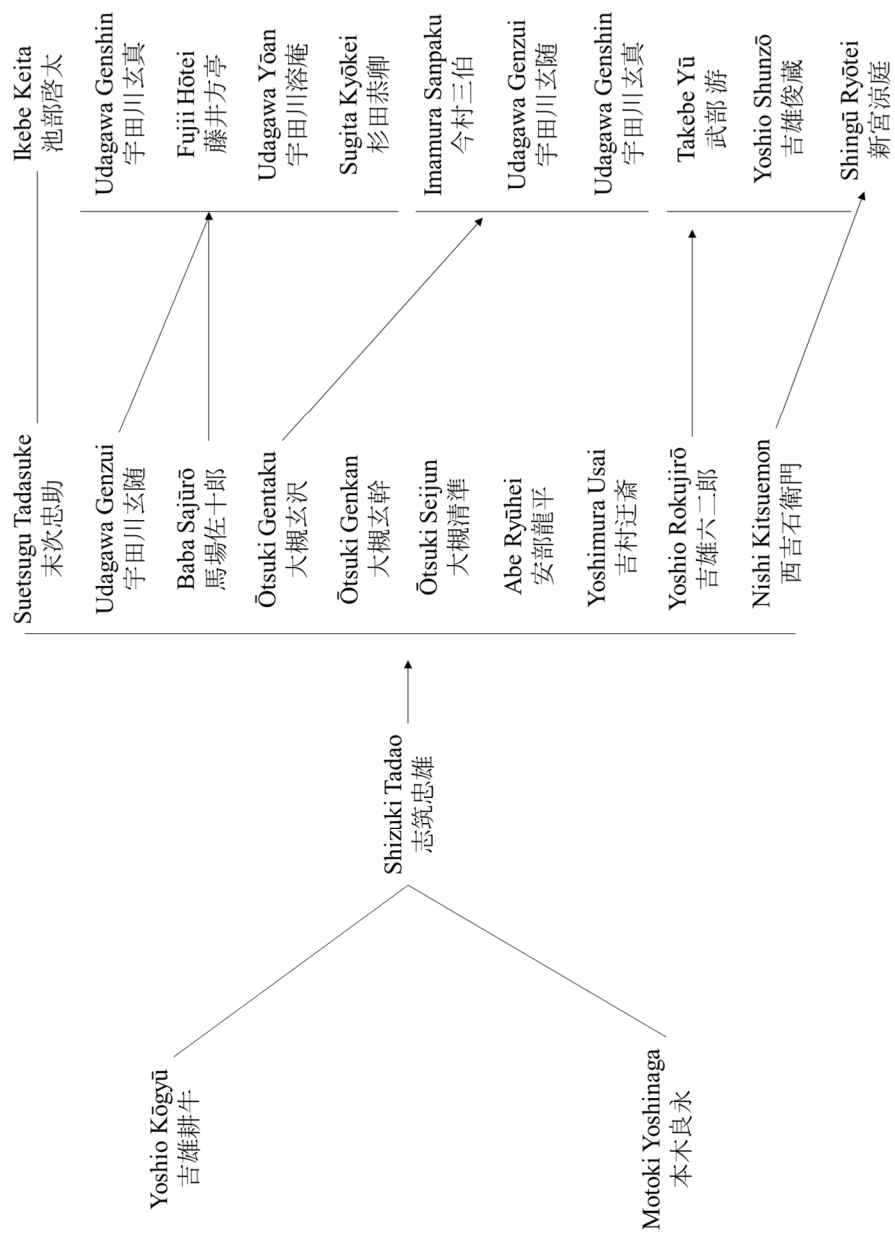


Table 3 Network of influence around Shizuki.

Shizuki's theoretical explanations appeared to be too complicated, even for experienced scholars, such as Ōtsuki Genkan. His knowledge of the Dutch language, in any case, received much attention amongst his contemporaries and was cherished by his disciples (DE GROOT 2005, 141). Baba reported in *Oranda gohō kai*, in Dutch, on folios 8v-9r:

Voor omtrent 100 jaaren waaren verboden dat de Japanders de hollandsche letteren te schryven, en had men de hollandsche taalen by mondeling geleert, dus was het onmogelyk te bevorderen, maar na het permissie van dezelve te leeren, van tijd tot tijd was merkelyk bevorderd, en dewijl 'er nogtans geen regt regel en wijs van spraaken genoeg bekend was, heeft men wel abúijs zo in het schryven als in het vertaalen gedaan, maar zedert de ontdekking van de opregt smaak van de spraakkonst, door onzen wijdberoemde meester N: liúho in het jaar boenkwa Eerste, gedaan, zijn de duister' wolken, die hier en daar overhingen, geheelverdweenen, gevolglijk moet men hem altoos in eerbied blijven;

For about 100 years it was forbidden to the Japanese to write the letters of Dutch and they had learnt the language orally. It was, thus, impossible to make any progress, but after the permission to learn it, from time to time, impressive progress was made. Since no correct rule and knowledge of speech was known sufficiently, mistakes were made in the writing, as well as in the translation, but since the discovery of the correct taste of the grammar by our widely known master N: liúho in the First year boenkwa, the dark clouds which used to hang here and there, above us, have completely disappeared. Therefore, we must always honor him;

In this excerpt, Baba claims that the study of the Dutch language was difficult for two main reasons. The laws of the *bakufu* were very stringent, until the ban was lifted by the ruling authorities. This is a reference to the so-called *kinsho* 禁書 'prohibited book' policy, that was only abolished in the year 1720, previously halting any systematic translation of Dutch books that were not directly ordered by the *shōgun* for more than a hundred years after the arrival of the first Dutch ship. The second reason was a fundamental lack of shared knowledge concerning the correct grammar that, according to Baba, was only reached in 1804 via an enlightening discovery by his mentor Shizuki.

Details about Shizuki's life are rather limited and generally come from sources whose reliability should be questioned, as I will argue below. As I have mentioned above, Shizuki is also named in the famous *Rangaku kotohajime*, by Sugita Genpaku. Sugita's story of the "beginnings" of the Dutch studies has been used by many historians as a reliable source, however, the many imprecisions therein contained do make it an unreliable source, as evidenced by HONMA (2008, 27-28). Nevertheless, since it certainly became a popular book in the context of Dutch studies, it is worth considering its contents, in so far as it concerns Shizuki. It needs to be added that Sugita never met Shizuki in person, but he got to know of his existence probably through Ōtsuki Gentaku's words. Ōtsuki was a student of Sugita and had direct contact with Shizuki, and he is also believed to have been the person who reworked the definitive copy of *Rangaku kotohajime* after the original manuscript was lost in a fire (HONMA 2008, 33).

Below one can read what Sugita wrote about Shizuki:⁶

昔、長崎にて西善三郎はマーリンの
釈辞書を全部翻訳せんと企てしと聞
きしが、手はじめまでにて、事成ら
ずと聞けり。明和安永の頃にや、本
木栄之進といふ人、一二の天文曆説
の訳書ありとなり。その余は聞くと
ころなし。この人の弟子に志筑忠次
郎といへる一訳士ありき。性多病に
して早くその職を辞し、他へゆづ
り、本姓中野に復して退隠し、病を
以て世人の交通を謝し、ひとり学ん
で専ら蘭書に耽り、群籍に目をさら
し、その中かの文科の書を講明した
りとなり。文化の初年、吉雄六次
郎、馬場千之助などいふ者、その門
に入りて、かの属文並びに文章法格
等の要を伝へしとなり。この千之助
は今は佐十郎と改名し、先年臨時の
御用にて江戸に召し寄せられしが数
年在留し、当時御家人に召し出さ
れ、永住の人となり、専ら蘭書和解
の御用を勤め、この学を好めるも
の、皆その読法を伝ふることとなれ
り。若しこの人退隠せずして在職に
てあらば、却つてかくまでには至ら
ざるべきか。これ、或は江戸にてわ
が社の師友もなくして、推してかの
国の書を読み出だせるこのはじまり
しに、かの人も憤発せるのなすところ
かとも思はる。これまた昇平日久
しく、これらのことも世に開くべき
の氣運といふべし。

I have once heard that Nishi Zenzaburō had planned to provide a complete translation of Marin's dictionary. However, I heard he never got to start. Between the Meiwa and An'ei eras, a certain Motoki Einosuke [Motoki Yoshinaga] compiled a translation of the twelve theories on astronomy. I have heard much more about it. His disciple Shizuki Chūjirō was also an interpreter. Because of his ill nature, he quit his job quite early and moved to something else: he readopted his birthname Nakano and withdrew into private life, refraining from having direct contacts with the people of the world because of his illness. He immersed himself in Dutch books, studying alone any book he could find, theorizing about the contents of books on such arguments. In the first year Bunka, Yoshio Rokujirō and Baba Sennosuke became his pupils, receiving teachings on the rules of text composition. That Sennosuke goes today by the name of Sajūrō. A few years ago, he was appointed for a temporary post in Edo, where he stayed for several years and eventually got promoted to *gokenin* ['vassal of the shogun']. He thus became a permanent resident [of Edo]. He was appointed with translating Dutch books into Japanese. Everyone who got to be interested in this discipline has, at some point, transmitted his method of reading. If that person [Shizuki] had not withdrawn into private life and had continued working [as interpreter] he would have probably never reached this level. However, had our society in Edo not existed, even these people would have never felt inspired to start reading the books of that country. We can say that these things have been possible thanks to the long period of peace in this world.

Sugita was a doctor of Edo and has often displayed snobbish attitudes toward the interpreters of Nagasaki regarding their achievements in Dutch studies. This excerpt provides further information concerning Shizuki's biography. Sugita suggests that, at some point after having quit his job as an interpreter, Shizuki must have readopted the name of the family he was born into, namely Nakano. Although Shizuki was, in fact, buried in the Nakano family temple (BOOT 2008a, 19), there is no clear indication that the relationship with his adoptive family had been broken off. People

⁶ Original text from SUGITA (2015, 67-68), my English translation. HONMA (2008) also translates parts of this excerpt.

have also pondered about the real meaning of the term *taian* 退隱, used by Sugita, that I have translated as ‘retiring to private life’, that could also be adapted as ‘hermitage’. BOOT (2008a, 20) suggests that it should be interpreted as referring to an individual who quit his job and was not employed in any specific post. If this is true, it would imply that the allegation of Shizuki’s hermitage was a consequence of either mistranslations or misinterpretations of such phrasings as that used by Sugita. By reading this excerpt, furthermore, it appears probable that the event described by Baba in the introduction to *Oranda gohō kai* referred to the fact that Yoshio and Baba themselves had become Shizuki’s disciples. In *Ran’yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航 (“Guide to Dutch Translation”, 1816), Ōtsuki Gentaku writes that Shizuki provided the correct method of pursuing Dutch studies in the first years of the Tenmei period, that spans through from 1781 to 1789. It is also known (BOOT 2008a, 20) that in the years 1803-1804, Shizuki had been visited by Ōtsuki Genkan, son of Gentaku, whom Shizuki gave some of his writings on language, which Genkan probably brought back with him to Edo. This is a testimony of the spreading of Shizuki’s theories on language and of the way they were brought from Nagasaki to Edo, where they eventually remained and spread.

The present research concentrates on the study of Shizuki’s material on language. Shizuki was however mostly known for his translations of Dutch books on a variety of topics: mathematics, astronomy, geography, and international relations, to name a few (BOOT 2008a, 9). This is a complete list of works attributed to Shizuki (SUGIMOTO 1981, 141-142):⁷

- *Oranda kyūri sanpō** 和蘭窮理算法, compiled circa 1801;
- *Kaki happō den** 火器発法伝, 1787;
- *Kakuyōkan tenzu** 各曜観天図;⁸
- *Kyūryoku hōron* 求力法論, 1784;
- *Tenmon kanki* 天文管闕 (‘An Ignoramus’ View of the Heavens’, 1782);
- *Bangoku kanki* 万国管闕 (‘An Ignoramus’ View of the World’, 1785);
- *Kaijō chinki-shū* 海上珍奇集 (‘Collection of Marvels from Abroad’);⁹
- *Kaijō yakuhin-ki* 海上薬品記 (‘Record of Foreign Medicines’). Here it is recorded that the Dutch source upon which this work was based is *Medico-Physicum, of Schatkamer der Genees- en Natuur-kundige zaaken* (1741) by Johannes Jacob Woyt, and *Huishoudelijke woordenboek* (1743) by Chomel Noël, a Dutch translation of the French *Dictionnaire Oeconomique* (1709) (HORIUCHI 2008, 51);

⁷ Some of these titles have never been phonetically transcribed in either Japanese syllabaries or in Latin characters. For these texts I will provide my own romanization, based on the Sino-Japanese readings of the characters. However, each sinogram often has more than one possible reading, and it could be expected that some of these were meant to be read with a less common Sino-Japanese reading. It is also possible that a transcription of these titles exists somewhere in a primary or secondary source, with perhaps a different interpretation. For this reason, I will signal the romanization I have provided myself with an asterisk.

⁸ When no year is specified, it means that the date of compilation is not known.

⁹ Whether this work is to be attributed to Shizuki is debated. HORIUCHI (2008, 50) convincingly argues in favor of including it in his bibliography.

- *Kōko shinpen* 鈎股新編 (‘A New Book about Rectangular Triangles’, 1785), also called *Kōi sanjutsu kōko shinpen** 紅夷算術鈎股新編;
- *Kōmō kajutsu hitsuden-shō** 紅毛火術秘伝鈔
- *Sakoku-ron* 鎖国論, 1801;
- *Sankaku teiyō hissan* 三角提要秘算 (‘The Essentials of Trigonometry – Secret Calculations’, 1803);
- *Sankaku sankigen* 三角算起源 (‘The origin of Trigonometry’);¹⁰
- *Yonjūgo yō** 四十五様;
- *Shoyōkaiten** 諸曜廻転;
- *Seion hatsubi* 西音発微;
- *Seiyō tenmon gakujutsu kōkai** 西洋天文学術後解;
- *Seiyō tenmon yakusetsu** 西洋天文訳説;
- *Dōgaku shinan** 動学指南;
- *Dokureki zōkōsei** 読曆象考成;
- *Doryō-kō** 度量考;
- *Nisshoku esan** 日蝕絵算;
- *Hachien-gi** 八円儀 1792;
- *Rekigaku hitsubi** 曆家必備 1802;
- *Rekishō shinsho* 曆象新書 1802;
- *Rekishō shinsho zukai* 曆象新書図解;
- *Roshiakoku ōkōkoku bun no jōsho** 魯西亜国王皇国文之上書;
- 魯西亜人止白里併有来;
- *Seiiki tengaku raireki* 西域天学来歴 (‘History of Western Astronomy’);
- *Shii zusetu* 四維図説 (‘The Four Directions Explained through Diagrams’);
- *Roshia raireki* 魯西亜来歴 (‘History of Russia’, 1795), also known as *Roshia shifuroku* 魯西亜志附録 ‘Appendix to Description of Russia’, this is a partial translation of *Van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* by François Valentijn (1666 – 1727) (TORII 2018, 107).
- *Nikokkai meiroku* 二国会明録 (‘Record of the Conclusion of a Treaty between two Countries’, 1806), written by Abe Ryū while being dictated by Shizuki (TORII 2018, 107).

2.2 Dating the works

Shizuki’s works on language have survived through a number of manuscripts most likely copied over by his own disciples and, generally, people who studied his theories. This entails two main issues. Firstly, it makes it harder to understand when a specific work had been initially compiled and secondly, it makes it harder to distinguish between Shizuki’s words and those of the copyist. The dating is also made more problematic by the fact that these works have rarely been directly cited

¹⁰ The three works *Kōko shinpen*, *Sankaku teiyō hissan*, *Sankaku sankigen* are all based on Keill’s *Inleidinge* (YOSHIDA 2008, 68).

by other sources and their date of compilation is almost never specified. Additionally, as some have speculated, they often circulated with different titles from those known today (DE GROOT, 142-143). There are three scholars who have engaged in the dating of Shizuki's manuscripts, namely SUGIMOTO (1976), DE GROOT (2005, 2008) and ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019). Their dates often vary significantly, as I will discuss below.

One work that has a particularly debated identification is that which goes by the title *Oranda shihin-kō* 和蘭詞品考 ('Thoughts on the Parts of Speech of Dutch', henceforth *Shihin-kō*). As of today, no manuscript carrying this title has been identified, yet there are three citations that hint at its existence. Baba Sajūrō, reports having received, in 1814, from Nishi Kichiemon 西吉右衛門 (正典, 可圭),¹¹ a manuscript by the title of *Rango kuhin-shū* 蘭語九品集 ('Collection of the Nine Parts of Speech of Dutch'). Baba believed this to be a later version of the original *Shihin-kō*, which he had heard about in his youth, and thus decided to re-edit it, in order to correct and update its contents. The product of this re-editing is the work known today as *Teisei rango kuhin-shū* 訂正蘭語九品集 (DE GROOT 2005, 157-158).

Another attempt at identifying the original *Shihin-kō*, was made by Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦 (1847 – 1928), grandson of Ōtsuki Gentaku, who believed that a manuscript by the title of *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* 柳圃中野先生文法 ('Grammar of Master Nakano Ryūho'), which he had managed to obtain, actually corresponded to a revised version of *Shihin-kō*. This is clear from the following claim: "The title of this book is *Oranda shihin-kō*, that can be seen in *Teisei rango kuhin-shū* by Baba Kokuri [Baba Sajūrō]".¹² It is believed that this note was written by Ōtsuki Nyoden (SUGIMOTO, 1976, 405).¹³ DE GROOT (2005, 159) believes the correspondence between these two works not to be possible, because it would contradict his personal dating, which I will discuss below. SUGIMOTO (1976, 405) and ŌSHIMA (2019), instead, seemed to agree with this correspondence, although SUGIMOTO (2013, 73) adds a "perhaps" (かな) after the claim. The library of Kyōto University, where this manuscript is being kept, lists it as corresponding to *Shihin-kō*.

In *Rangaku hizō* 蘭学秘蔵 (30r) by Udagawa Genzui, one can read a definition of *zelfstandig naamwoord* 'substantive noun' that appears to be cited from a work titled *Joji-kō* 助辞考¹⁴ by a disciple of Motoki 元木 – probably referring to Motoki

¹¹ DE GROOT (2005, 158) reports these possible alternatives in the writing of Nishi's name. The spelling 正典 can be found, for example, in SUGIMOTO (1976, 503).

¹² Original quote from SUGIMOTO (1976, 405): 此書ノ題名ハ和蘭詞品考ナリ馬場穀里ガ訂正蘭語九品集ノ諸言ニ見ユ. My English translation.

¹³ DE GROOT (2005, 145; 158), however, claims that note has been added by Ōtsuki Fumihiko who, nonetheless, agreed this manuscript to correspond to *Oranda shihin-kō*, as evidenced by SUGIMOTO (1976, 405).

¹⁴ May the non-Japanese-speaking reader not be confused with the similar title *Joshi-kō* 助詞考.

Yoshinaga/Ryōei 本木良永 – whose name was Shizuki Chūjirō 志築忠次郎,¹⁵ Shizuki Tadao's initial name of adoption. SUGIMOTO (1976, 420-421) demonstrates that the definition of *zelfstandig naamwoord* found in *Rangaku hizō*, which seems to be coming from that unknown manuscript of Shizuki titled *Joji-kō*, resembles quite closely the content of *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, which both Ōtsuki Nyoden and Ōtsuki Fumihiko believed to be *Shihin-kō*. Udagawa Genzui died in 1797, and never went to Nagasaki. However, in 1785, Ōtsuki Gentaku went back to Edo from his period of study in Nagasaki, and this makes SUGIMOTO (1976, 420) speculate he might have brought a copy of that work back with him and given it to Udagawa. In this case *Joji-kō* and *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* both refer to the same work also called *Oranda shihin-kō*, which must be dated before the year 1785. ŌSHIMA (2019) agrees with this reconstruction.

As just evidenced with the example of *Shihin-kō*, the philological reconstruction of Shizuki's works is rather arduous and debated. Furthermore, references to the time of compilation of these works of Shizuki are rare. There is one quote by Baba, written in Dutch in *Oranda gohō kai* (see 2.1) which has led many scholars to speculate about its meaning. The quote claims that Shizuki only understood the “correct nature [*smaak*] of grammar” in 1804. Although its meaning is unclear, some have used it to justify their own theories regarding the dating of Shizuki's works. SAITŌ (1985, 78) writes: “I get the impression that some work on grammar with some sort of meaningfulness must have been published that year” (この年に何か有意義な文法の著作がなされたような印象を受けるのである). According to DE GROOT (2005, 148), SAITŌ (1985) claims that Baba was referring to the publication of works such as *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu*, but this is not possible since it is known that at least the former must have been published much earlier, as I will show below. DE GROOT (2005, 2008) believes that the quality of Shizuki's works has increased significantly since his reading of Séwel and his embracement of Séwel's grammatical theory. For this reason, he assumes that Baba was referring to the year when Shizuki read Séwel's grammar. Consequently, DE GROOT (2005, 144) claims that Shizuki's works need to be divided into two periods, depending on whether Shizuki had already read Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, thus dividing Shizuki's bibliography into all that came before 1804 and all that came after 1804. The dating of Shizuki's works carried out by DE GROOT (2005) is thusly based on this premise and on his judgment regarding the degree of influence from Séwel. For example, he comes to the conclusion that the manuscript *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* must have been written before 1804, by claiming “The fact that it makes no mention of, nor appears to be influenced by Séwel, indicates that Shizuki wrote this work before his surrender to Séwel's grammar” (DE GROOT 2005, 145).¹⁶ As will be demonstrated in

¹⁵ Udagawa probably misspelled 筑 as 築.

¹⁶ DE GROOT (2005, 156) describes what he calls “post-Séwel Shizuki” in the following fashion: “At some stage, however, Shizuki seems to have experienced a kind of epiphany, which caused him suddenly and completely to abandon his attempts to reconcile Japanese and Dutch on their own respective terms, and henceforth to apply European linguistic principles to the Japanese language. Since all his subsequent linguistic works were entirely based on William Séwel's *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst*-indeed, they were little more than translations of sections of Séwel's book with Japanese equivalents added-it seems fair to conclude that it

Chapter VII and VIII, there is no reason to believe that Shizuki had a fundamental change of mind in his interpretation of Dutch grammar. In fact, as I will demonstrate in Chapter IV, Séwel was still lacking in many regards in sophistication, specifically when it concerns the theory on morphosyntax of verbs, a field Shizuki was particularly interested in.

Dividing Shizuki's bibliography into two periods, according to his encounter with Séwel's grammar, as DE GROOT (2005) did, does not help identify the year of publication of Shizuki's works. However, his division still helps visualize the works of Shizuki that display overt influence from Séwel and distinguish them from those that do not. In the "pre-Séwel period" one finds *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*. In the "post-Séwel period" DE GROOT (2005) includes *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, *Sanshu shokaku*, *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, *Zokubun kinnō* and *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*. That Shizuki got to read Séwel is a fact nobody has denied. The influences from this source can be seen from the contents of many of Shizuki's works. There are also records claiming that Shizuki was shown a copy of Séwel by his student Nishi Kichiemon (KOGA 1974, 333). This is also attested in *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* 和蘭文範摘要, where Baba claims that his master Ryūho had made use of a certain *Garamachika* ガラマチーカ, i.e. *grammatica*, by a Dutchman named Seweru 泄物尔 (in *katakana*: セウエル). There, Baba states the following:¹⁷

其書ハ同館西某ノ蔵本ナリト告ク然ルニ西生恒ニ此書ヲ帳中ノ秘トシテ妄リニ人ニ許ザルヲ知ル故ニ敢テ是レヲ請フヲ得ズ爰ヲ以テ唯毎ニ先生ノ示セル所ヲ筆記口授スルノミ然レト余其書ヲ求メント欲スルヲ萬ク一日敢テ彼生ニ借与センヲ請フニ云々ヲ以テ生固ヨリ謝シテ肯ンゼス尚コレヲ懇ニ請フヲ再三ニ及ビシニ漸クニシテ五日ヲ限リテ借シ与ヘタリ余コレヲ得ルヤ雀躍音ナラズ乃チ取テ是レヲ讀ミ先遠ニ是レヲ寫了セント欲スルニ紙葉ノ多キト期日ノ限アルニ因テ忝カニ是ヲ果スコトヲ得ズ故ニ決然トシテ唯其書中ノ最要ノ諸説ヲ抄セントシ日以テ夜ニ繼キ其書寫譯文ヲ勤ルニ期日ニ至ル

I had been informed that this book was in the collection of my colleague, a certain Nishi. Because I knew that Mr Nishi always kept this work hidden in his room and did not let others [have a look at it] without good reason, I never had the opportunity to ask him for it. Thus he only accepted [questions] and then imparted, in writing or orally, things the Master has shown him. However, I did want to see the book [itself] very much, and one day I was so bold as to ask Nishi to lend it to me. He refused for some reason and did not accede¹⁸ to my request. When I had pleaded with him again and again, he finally lent it to me, but for no more than five days. When I had it, I danced for joy. I began to read it, and I wanted to copy it out immediately, but that was problematic, because there were many pages and time was limited. I could not do it quickly. There-fore, I doggedly tried to copy just the most important teachings in the book. I slaved away day and night in order to copy and translate it, but though I reached the agreed day, I had not yet completed the job. Then

was Séwel's grammar that provided Shizuki with insights and solutions that he had been searching for".

¹⁷ English translation from DE GROOT (2008, 133-134), including the brackets. Original text copied by me from Waseda's 文庫 08 C0554, folios 2v-3v.

¹⁸ Sic!

トイヘ任其業ニ牟ヘザリキ然ルニ
果シテココレヲ促メ止マス尚コレ
ヲ固ク請ヒ其餘ノ二三日ヲ留メテ
僅ニシテ其大要ヲ取テ草々畧譯ヲ
為シ以テ本主ニ復セリ即チ其原稿
是レナリ爰ヲ以テ草草ノ際或ハ書
中引證諸等ニ至テハ誤写アラン然
レ任余既ニ先生ノ要言ヲ聞キ後此
書ヲ得テ畧譯スルニ及ンデ毎時諸
群籍ヲ讀誦スルノ間其章句ノ本旨
ヲ融會發明シ自ラ知ラス担手シテ
喜聲ヲ發スルヲ數回アリ實ニ此書
ハ我業ニ於ル千金ノ鴻寶ナリ

[Nishi] really did press me for [the book] without letting up, but I entreated him and kept it, saying it would be for two or three days more. I barely got the main points, and hurriedly read it through. Then I returned it to its owner. This is that manuscript. It may contain copying errors, therefore, in the quotations or the examples in the book, [which I made] as I was rushing along. I had already heard my Master's central teachings. When afterwards I had obtained this book and had made this condensed translation, I understood and discovered the true meaning of the clauses and sentences whenever I was reading one of the many books. Many times I clapped my hands and shouted with joy, without meaning to do so. This book truly is a great treasure for my profession, worth a thousand pieces of gold.

The dating of *Kuhinshi myōmoku* and *Ryūho sensei kyōshi-kō* is unknown, according to ŌSHIMA (2019). *Shihō shoji taiyaku* gives 1805, and no scholar seems to find an issue with that. *Shihō shoji taiyaku* cites *Sanshu shokaku*, which means that the latter must predate 1805. This is the only certain hint at a date of compilation of *Sanshu shokaku*. However, each scholar seems to deduce very different dates, according to their own premises. SUGIMOTO (1976, 424; 440) notices that *Sanshu shokaku* references Johan Keill, author of the book on astronomy that Shizuki was able to obtain in 1780. This means that Shizuki must have written *Sanshu shokaku* sometime between 1780 and 1805, although SUGIMOTO (1976, 424) suggests the beginning of the 1780s as a likely date of compilation. DE GROOT (2005, 160) disagrees with this dating since he considers it to be a post-Séwel book, so it must have been compiled after 1804. ŌSHIMA (2019) supports yet another timeframe. He claims that, in order to understand the date of compilation of *Sanshu shokaku*, an important clue is the way Shizuki is referred to. ŌSHIMA (2018, 13) claims that it is visible from Shizuki's works that he started signing his works as Ryūho since *Nisshoku kaisan* ('Figures of Calculations on Eclipses'), that is dated 1803. It has been assumed that *Sanshu shokaku* precedes *Shihō shoji taiyaku* (1805). Thus, ŌSHIMA believes that *Sanshu shokaku* has been compiled between the second half of 1803 and 1805. This reasoning entails another issue, however, and that is that the same reasoning can be applied to *Rangaku seizenfu*, which is cited in *Shihō shoji taiyaku* as well, and uses the name Ryūho. ŌSHIMA (2019) provides indeed the same dating for *Seizenfu*. DE GROOT (2005, 148) provides totally different dates for *Seizenfu*. Firstly, he considers *Seizenfu* a pre-Séwel work, meaning it must have been published before 1804. However, he believes that it was most likely compiled together with *Joshi-kō* because: "[i]t is likely, considering the style and content of these works, that they were designed as companion works". Since *Seizenfu* contains citations from Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, published in 1779, he adds that both these works of Shizuki must have been published after that year. In order to date *Joshi-kō*, he cites KATAGIRI (1985, 503), claiming that Udagawa Genzui was shown a copy of it by Ōtsuki Gentaku who received it during his trip to Nagasaki in

1786. This would mean that *Joshi-kō* was already complete by that year. This leads DE GROOT (2015) to assume that both *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* must have been published between 1779 and 1786. The idea that *Joshi-kō* and *Seizenfu* must have been compiled together because of their alleged intended use in combination remains a theory of DE GROOT (2005). However, SUGIMOTO (1976, 266) does not agree with the details of the anecdote of Udagawa and believes that Udagawa's source contains a misnomer, calling *Joshi-kō* what was supposed to be *Ryūho Nakano sensei bupō*. ŌSHIMA (2019) agrees that Udagawa Genzui's *Rangaku hizō* actually demonstrates that both *Joshi-kō* and *Shihin-kō* were compiled before 1789. ŌSHIMA (2019) addresses the difference in dating with DE GROOT (2007),¹⁹ taking issue with the latter's assumption that Séwel played a fundamental role in distinguishing between two different periods, preferring to distinguish between the works written while Shizuki was alive and those written posthumously. He writes:²⁰

“Henk de Groot, who considers *Rangaku seizenfu* as the best work out of all the books on grammar edited by Shizuki Tadao, divides his [Shizuki's] works into two, splitting both types of books [posthumous and before Shizuki's death] in the year 1804, and placing *Ryūho Nakano sensei bupō* (*Oranda shihin-kō*), *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* in the era previous to 1804, and all the rest thereafter. [...] However, there is no basis to believe that *Rangaku seizenfu* was compiled in 1804. Furthermore, since the grammatical vocabulary used in *Oranda shihin-kō* differs from that of *Sanshu shokaku* and *Rangaku seizenfu*, the outlook and distribution of Shizuki's works on the Dutch language is problematic.”

In light of what I have illustrated above, it appears that ŌSHIMA (2019) had to some extent misunderstood the theories of DE GROOT. DE GROOT (2005) did not claim *Rangaku seizenfu* was compiled in 1804, rather some time before that year. Regardless, their dating of that work still differs. However, there is one additional issue that has not been taken into consideration by either scholar. In Shizuki's *Joshi-kō*, there is a reference to a document titled *Sanze-kō* 三世考 (‘Thoughts on the Three Times’) that is credited as a work by the author himself. This reference is

¹⁹ ŌSHIMA (2019) is quoting DE GROOT from his 2007 article, which is a previous Japanese-language edition of the English-language DE GROOT (2008), where the author reiterates his division of Shizuki's bibliography into two periods.

²⁰ Original quote from ŌSHIMA (2019, 52): “志筑忠雄によって成されたオランダ語文法書の中で「蘭学生前父」を 最高の仕事と評価するヘンク・デ・フロートは、同書の成立年次を一八〇四年とした上で、これを分岐点として、「柳園中野先生文法」（「和蘭詞品考」）、「助詞考」、「蘭学生前父」の三作を前期著作とし、それ以外を後期著作としている。「柳園蘭語学の影響」（『蘭学のフロンティアー志筑忠雄の世界』、長崎文献社、二〇〇七年）。しかしながら、「蘭学生前父」が一八〇四年に執筆されたとする根拠は無く、また、「和蘭詞品考」において使用された文法用語が「三種諸格」や「蘭学生前父」と異なる点からも、志筑蘭語学に対する整理と見通しに問題がある”。 My English translation.

found in the *Rei* 例 section of *Joshi-kō* (see 2.3.2 and 8.2), when contextualizing some of the tenses of Japanese, in the following quote:²¹

又昔物語ノ中ニテモいひきナト、訳
スヘキ所モアリ是等ハ予カ三世考ノ
中ニ辨セリ

Furthermore, there are also instances of stories of the past which one translates as *ihiki* etc. This and more are discussed in my *Sanze-kō*.

The question is, thus: what was Shizuki referencing here? We do not have any work titled *Sanze-kō*, nor am I aware of any of Shizuki's contemporaries citing anything similar. In *Rangaku seizenfu*, a central point of Shizuki's theories is based on the so-called *Sanze-zu* 'The Table of Three Times' (see 8.4.2), where the scholar illustrates how a few Dutch auxiliaries are to be used and translated in order to render six combinations of "time". If *Sanze-kō* is part of *Rangaku seizenfu*, however, then the dating of ŌSHIMA (2019) would be wrong. ŌSHIMA (2019) believes *Seizenfu* to have been compiled between 1803 and 1805, on the basis of the fact that Shizuki signed his foreword (序) as Ryūho, a name he started adopting in 1803. However, *Joshi-kō* and *Oranda shihin-kō* (the latter believed by ŌSHIMA to correspond to *Ryūho sensei bunpō*) are both dated as being published before 1798, the year in which *Rangaku hizō* by Udagawa Genzui was published. However, Udagawa Genzui technically cites neither, in his *Rangaku hizō*, naming *Joji-kō* 助辞考 as the source. I have to assume that ŌSHIMA (2019), trusting SUGIMOTO (1976, 420-423), assumed *Joji-kō* to actually correspond to *Ryūho sensei bunpō* and, thus, *Oranda shihin-kō*, probably also assuming that since Udagawa misnamed *Oranda shihin-kō* as *Joji-kō*, a similarly named work (i.e., *Joshi-kō*)²² by Shizuki must have already existed. Unfortunately, this theory is based on too many assumptions.

Conversely, if *Sanze-kō* does correspond to *Rangaku seizenfu*, then one could support the theory of DE GROOT (2005, 148), according to which both *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* have been compiled together and were meant for combined use. For the reasons above, DE GROOT (2005) assumes that *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* were published together sometime between 1779 and 1786. Even though the claim that Shizuki had underwent a sudden change regarding his theories on Dutch grammar is an overstatement, it is true that the term *sanze* 三世 used to refer to the three "times" of verbs is only found in *Rangaku seizenfu*. The possibility is, thus, that *Sanze-kō*, although not referring to *Rangaku seizenfu*, was still a work tightly connected to it, at least in its contents, which has been lost since. Furthermore, judging by the

²¹ I have been able to personally evidence this stands true for at least three of the copies of *Joshi-kō*, the two at Waseda University, and the one from the Wakabayashi collection. See for example Waseda's 文庫 8 B 109, folio 5r.

²² Note that the difference between the title cited by Udagawa Genzui as *Joji-kō* and Shizuki's *Joshi-kō* only differ in one Chinese character: *ji* 辞 for the former and *shi* 詞 for the latter. Both can mean 'word' or 'character' (see 5.6). However, as I will discuss in 5.2, variations of *Joji-kō* were very common titles during the Edo period, for works on language, specifically within Chinese studies. One should thus not completely rule out the possibility of this term being used regardless of the existence of Shizuki's own *Joshi-kō*.

content of *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*, it does seem, at times, as if one is relying on the other. For example, a straightforward definition of the concept of *jiseki* is not found in *Seizenfu*, but it is in *Joshi-kō*. Conversely, the concepts and terminology connected to verbal tenses used in *Joshi-kō* are very similar to what is said in *Seizenfu*. It is also possible that *Seizenfu* was a later update of an older, and possibly the first published work of Shizuki that tackled similar topics as *Seizenfu*. However, as I will discuss below, it is also likely that some of the sections of *Joshi-kō*, and specifically those regarding the tenses of verbs, might have been added afterwards. I also do think that *Sanshu shokaku* must have been published after *Seizenfu* since the latter does not cite Séwel at all, while *Sanshu shokaku* does, and all the work that both DE GROOT (2005) and ŌSHIMA (2019) consider more recent than both these works do cite Séwel, as well. However, I would not agree with their dating of *Rangaku seizenfu*. As just said, *Seizenfu* does not have to correspond to *Sanze-kō*, although apparently presenting similar contents, thus there is the possibility that what DE GROOT (2005) assumed to be a manuscript meant for combined use with *Joshi-kō* was not *Seizenfu*, as he claims, but rather *Sanze-kō*. This possibility makes the reason for his dating of *Seizenfu* not solid anymore. At the same time, there is no reason to believe that Shizuki would not have signed his works with the name Ryūho before 1803, since that was his birthname, anyway. Since there is no evidence of Shizuki ever breaking the tie with his adoptive family, there is no real reason to assume Shizuki never used his birthname Ryūho before 1803, thus allowing *Seizenfu* to be dated, again, before that year.

In conclusion, I would consider the theories of DE GROOT (2005, 2008) and ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019) both correct and imprecise at the same time. DE GROOT (2005, 2008) argues that one can deduce the date of compilation of Shizuki's works by comparing the terminology and explanations contained in each. It is undeniable that Séwel's *Spraakkonst* has played an increasingly important role in more recent works of Shizuki. However, I do not agree with DE GROOT, when he claims that Shizuki must have read Séwel in 1804, and I believe this to be an overinterpretation of Baba's words. I also do not agree that one can claim that Séwel changed Shizuki's ideas completely (DE GROOT 2005, 144; 2008, 132-133). For this reason, I will not follow his pre-Séwel/post-Séwel chronology faithfully. ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019), suggested a more useful distinction between posthumous and in-life sources. However, his assumption that one can date Shizuki's works by means of the employment of his pseudonym and birthname Ryūho is not completely convincing. Furthermore, *Rangaku seizenfu*, while featuring the name Ryūho, also presents the term *Sanze* "Three Times" that *Joshi-kō* was referencing many years before, but which does not appear in any other work by Shizuki. This issue is not considered by ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019), and it suggests that the date of compilation of *Rangaku seizenfu* could have been rather different. Table 4 is a translation of the table of the dating provided by ŌSHIMA (2019, 39).

Title	Period of compilation	Reference for the period of compilation	Content	Notes
During Shizuki's life				
<i>Oranda shihin-kō</i> 和蘭詞品考	Before 3 February 1798 (寛政 9 年 12 月 18 日)	Cited in <i>Rangaku hizō</i> 蘭学秘蔵 by Udagawa Genzui 宇田川玄随 (Waseda University's copy)	Terms of grammar, explanation of vocabulary and phrases	
<i>Joshi-kō</i> 助詞考 (<i>Joji-kō</i> 助字考 <i>Oranda jogo-kō</i> 和蘭助語考)	Before 3 February 1798 (寛政 9 年 12 月 18 日)	Cited in <i>Rangaku hizō</i> 蘭学秘蔵 by Udagawa Genzui 宇田川玄随 (Waseda University's copy)	Collection of terms like articles, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, phrases ecc.	
<i>Sanshu shokaku</i> 三種諸各	Between the second half of 1803 (享和 3 年) to 1805 (文化 2 年 2 月)	Cited in <i>Shihō shoji taiyaku</i> 四法諸時対訳 (Gifu Prefectural Archives)	The gender of nouns, declination, inflection of verbs according to the person.	In Gifu City Museum of History's copy, it is written "Saihi authored by Master Nakano Ryūho of Nagasaki" (西肥 岐陽柳圃中野先生撰著)
<i>Rangaku seizenfu</i> 蘭学生前父	Between the second half of 1803 (享和 3 年) to 1805 (文化 2 年 2 月)	In the foreword (序文) using the pseudonym Ryūho, <i>Shihō shoji taiyaku</i> 四法諸時対訳 (Gifu Prefectural Archives)	Theory of Japanese translation.	
<i>Shihō shoji taiyaku</i> 四法諸時対訳 <i>Ranbunpō shoji</i> 蘭文法諸時	1805 (文化 2 年 2 月)	Ending of the copy at Gifu Prefectural Archives	Tenses and moods.	It refers to <i>Rangaku seizenfu</i> and <i>Sanshu shokaku</i> (Gifu City Museum of History), which uses the pseudonym Ryūho.
<i>Ranshi sakuhō</i> 蘭詩作法 <i>Sangoku shukushō</i> 三国祝章	Circa 1805 (文化 2 年)	Index of <i>Sangoku shukushō</i> 三国祝章 (However, in Waseda University's copy the part <i>Ranshi sakuhō</i> 蘭詩作法 is missing).	Text writing.	
Posthumous (after 1806)				
<i>Ryūhō Bunshū</i> 柳圃文集	After 1803 (享和 3 年 8 月)	Manuscript of Ōtsuki Nyoden.	Dutch translation of a collection of Japanese texts of various types.	Perhaps a posthumous collection.
<i>Rango kyūhin-shū</i> 蘭語九品集	After <i>Sanshu shokaku hen</i> 三種諸各編 and <i>Rangaku seizenfu</i> 蘭学生前父.	From the copy of Seikadō Bunko Art Museum.	Tenses, moods, parts of speech etc.	After Shizuki's death Nishi Kichiemon compiled <i>Rango kuhin-shM</i> , afterwards, Baba SajMrL in <i>Teisei rango kuhin-shM</i> (where it is stated that it has been compiled in the ninth month of the eleventh year Bunka) cites <i>Sanshu shokaku</i> and <i>Rangaku seizenfu</i> .
<i>Zokubun kinnō</i> 属文錦囊 (Possibly compiled by Yoshio Gonnosuke from Shizuki Tadao's teachings)	1821 (文政 4 年 8 月)		Interpretation of texts (syntax)	Sugimoto Tsutomu concluded these are Shizuki's teachings.

<i>Shijūgo-yō</i> 四十五様 (Perhaps authored by Morita Sen'an from teachings of Shizuki Tadao)	Perhaps after 1823 (文政 6 年)	Kazuo Katagiri (2010), Okada Kazuko (2011)	Things pointing at the conjugation of verbs	Reference table
<i>Rangaku han</i> 蘭学凡	1824 (文政 7 年 8 月)	Foreword (序) of <i>Rangaku han</i> 蘭学凡, Waseda University's copy.	Comprehensive theory of grammar	
<i>Seion hatsubi</i> 西音発微	After Shizuki's death, 1826 (文 政 9 年 1 月)	Printed	Pronunciation	
Compilation unknown				
<i>Oranda gokaku</i> 和蘭語格	Unknown	No further reference than 本朝医家著述目 録	Unknown	
<i>Kyūhinshi meimoku</i> 九品詞名目	Unknown	Sugimoto Tsutomu (1991)	Parts of speech	
<i>Bunso</i> 文楚	Unknown		Collection of grammatical vocabulary	
<i>Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō</i> 柳圃先生虚詞 考	Unknown	Sugimoto Tsutomu (1991)	Collection of terms such as articles, pronouns etc.	

Table 4 Manuscripts on language by Shizuki according to ŌSHIMA.

2.3 The problems with analyzing the manuscripts

The dating of Shizuki's works is as complicated as incomplete, leading to very different conclusions. With that problem aside, I will now illustrate the structure and contents of each manuscript on language attributed to Shizuki, also accounting for the differences across the copies available today. Unfortunately, I have not been able to personally access each of the different copies,²³ thus I will sometimes rely on secondary literature, mostly SUGIMOTO (1976).

When analyzing the works attributed to Shizuki, one must keep in mind a series of complex issues. ŌSHIMA (2019, 37) lists three of them, which I will translate into English:

1. Shizuki's works all survive through copied manuscripts. Thus, it is necessary to compare all the copies. Any interpretation needs to be based on the philological method. However, no such effort has ever been made;²⁴

²³ During most of the process of compilation of the present research, Japan was not open to inbound travels, limiting my reach toward the sources that are only obtainable by physically being in Japan.

²⁴ Original quote: “第一に、志筑の著作は全て写本で残存しているため、論を進めるには、諸本を校合した上でテキストを定める文献学的手法に基づく必要があるが、かような取り組みが為されてこなかったこと”.

2. No difference has ever been made between the works compiled while he was alive and posthumous texts. Specifically, regarding the works written after his death, it can be assumed that they also include the handwriting of his students. For this reason, one cannot treat them indistinctly from the works compiled while Shizuki was still alive;²⁵
3. There has never been a thorough investigation of the scholarly tradition by which Shizuki was influenced, including Confucianism, National studies [*kokugaku* 国学] and the books on Dutch grammar Shizuki used as sources;²⁶

The fact that Shizuki's ideas only survive through copies made by other scholars implies the impossibility of having access to the "original" source and, thus, makes it appear as if one will never be able to read Shizuki's own ideas directly. Whether this is to be considered an insurmountable obstacle can be questioned, considering the theoretical framework that I have illustrated in 1.3. Searching for a definitive "original" document, or "original" portrayal of any idea is, to some extent, a utopistic achievement that ends up hindering the research and leads the scholar to overlook sources that would otherwise be extremely valuable. However, it is true, whenever I will reference the contents of these manuscripts with wordings such as "Shizuki writes", "according to Shizuki" etc., one must keep in mind that that phrasing is nothing more than an approximation; all manuscripts attributed to Shizuki that I will reference were ultimately written by somebody else, after all.

The first issue has been already addressed in 2.2, above, and I will expand upon it in the rest of the present chapter. The third point is the most relevant for the present research. As ŌSHIMA (2019) claims, the research that has been carried out until now is not exhaustive with respect to the sources used by Shizuki. This has many explanations which I will deal with in the dedicated section of each source. On a general note, one can say that the sources that influenced Shizuki have not been previously investigated from the point of view of the history of the studies on language.

Another issue to add to those listed by ŌSHIMA (2019), is the fact that, even if one were to find all the original copies of Shizuki's manuscripts, inconsistencies across them are obviously to be expected. Even though it is not known precisely when each manuscript has been compiled, one must assume Shizuki to have reworked and refined his theories across the years. The idea is thus not to reconstruct one theory of Shizuki, but rather to compare how he described specific grammatical phenomena across the different sources. Just like one should not expect to be ideally able to reach the "original" ideas of Shizuki, one should not assume his ideas not to present internal inconsistencies.

²⁵ Original quote: “第二に、志筑の生前に成された著述と没後のそれとを弁別していないこと。特に没後の著作には門人をはじめとした書写者の手が加わっていることが想定でき、生前の著作との扱いを同一にすることはできない”。It is in note to this that ŌSHIMA takes issue with what was argued by DE GROOT (2007), as we saw above in 2.1.

²⁶ Original quote: “第三に、志筑が典拠としたオランダ語文法書に加え、影響を受けた国学や儒学といった学問背景が十分に究明されていないことである”.

What makes this last approach complicated is the fact that Shizuki's sources are rarely clearly mentioned in his works. This means that an accurate picture of what type of theory Shizuki could access, and from which he could draw inspiration, can hardly be obtained. It is known that Shizuki must have had access to works such as Marin's and Halma's dictionaries rather early in his life, as I will illustrate below. Additionally, it is clear that he also read Séwel's *Spraakkonst* at some point in his life, although the specific moment is not easy to determine. Some of the works attributed to him also seem to cite other Dutch sources, like Zeydelaar and Ten Kate, as I will discuss below. However, the fundamental issue with the research into Shizuki's sources is that one cannot be sure about the extent to which the manuscript corresponds to Shizuki's own words and ideas. It is also not known when specific manuscripts have been written and by whom. This means that just because one has found traces of a specific work that could have been used as a source for grammatical theory, one should not take for granted the fact that that work was actually used by Shizuki himself. This issue is particularly true for those manuscript whose compilation date and authorship are more doubtful, and relatively less so for those that are generally agreed to have been written during Shizuki's life, such as *Joshi-kō*, *Rangaku seizenfu*, *Sanshu shokaku* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. However, I would argue that even for these, one should not simply assume that the naming or citing of a specific author or source, means that Shizuki himself read it. It could be the case that sections of these manuscripts have been added subsequently by the copyist, like the last section from Marin's *Spraakwyze* in *Seizenfu* (see Appendix 3) or perhaps the grammatical section (sections?) in *Joshi-kō*. MATSUDA (2008, 140-141) claims that Shizuki had come up with his theories on grammar based on four grammar books and two dictionaries. The two dictionaries are, of course, the very well documented dictionaries of Marin and Halma, while the grammars that MATSUDA (2008) lists are somewhat unexpected: apart from Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, one finds Zeydelaar's *Nederduitsche spraakkunst*, Van der Palm's *Nederduitsche spraakkunst voor de jeugt* and Moonen's *Nederduitsche spraakkunst*. Unfortunately, MATSUDA (2008) does not cite any source for this claim. Although Séwel and Zeydelaar are, indeed, cited in two of the works attributed to Shizuki, Moonen and Van der Palm never seem to be mentioned in any of the documents I could analyze. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that Shizuki probably used a large number of Dutch sources, including dictionaries and grammar books, but also scientific and literary works. In fact, as I will also discuss in Chapter VIII, it appears that Shizuki utilized Dutch poetry, specifically Jacob Cats' emblems, as sources for language use that were at the basis of the creation of some of his theories (see also NESPOLI 2022). This means that, even if one were to find a complete list of all the grammar books that Shizuki had read, this would still only paint a partial picture of his sources. As I have explained in 1.3, however, a complete knowledge of the sources and processes of influence Shizuki underwent, is not required.

2.4 Structure and contents of Shizuki's works on language

In this section, I will provide a description of the content of the works on language attributed to Shizuki. Each sub-section will be devoted to one specific manuscript and will provide a description of chapters, topics, stylistic characteristics, and other

structural details. In doing this, I will mostly reference SUGIMOTO (1976) and some further information will be drawn from ŌSHIMA (2018; 2019). At the end of each sub-section, I will also provide a list of relevant terminology used in each manuscript.

2.4.1 *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*

There is only one copy of this work, kept at Kyoto University. This manuscript is what Ōtsuki Fumihiko believed to be the so-called *Oranda shihin-kō*, an otherwise unidentified early work by Shizuki (see 2.2). In his *Teisei rango kuhin-shū* Baba mentions having read *Shihin-kō* that he is there presenting in a revised version. A very similar content can also be found in *Rangaku hizō*, by Udagawa Genzui, citing Shizuki's *Joji-kō* as a source.

While SUGIMOTO (1976, 406) dates the manuscript to the beginning of the Tenmei period (1781 – 1789), ŌSHIMA (2019, 39) only gives Udagawa Genzui's *Rangaku hizō* of 1798 as the *terminus ante quem*. As I have discussed in 2.2, above, DE GROOT (2005, 157-158) does not agree with the idea that *Nakano Ryūho sensei bunpō* corresponds to *Shihin-kō*, and that it should be counted as one of Shizuki's works.

The only source directly cited in this work is Marin, whose name is spelled, in *katakana*, as *mārin* (either マーリン or マアリン). Which book of Marin Shizuki is referring to is not clear, although one can assume he was referring to his dictionary, as I will demonstrate below. However, there are doubts regarding the extent to which the content of *Ryūho sensei bunpō* was actually based on that source. Marin is only cited in the following phrase on folio 3r:

geenerlij werkwoord ハマーリンニテハ	A <i>geenerlij werkwoord</i> ['neuter verb'] is called
onzydig w: ト云自然ノ語也又 werk: w:	
ハマアリンニテハ zijdig w: 也	
	<i>onzijdig w:</i> in Marin. This is a <i>jinen</i> word. Furthermore, a <i>werk: w:</i> [active verb] is called <i>zijdig w:</i> , in Marin.

This sentence has a couple of implications. Firstly, it appears that Shizuki is implying that *geenerlij werkwoord* and *werkend werkwoord* (*werk: w:*) are the main Dutch terms he himself employs to refer to neuter verbs and active verbs, respectively, with Marin's terms being handled as extra information. Furthermore, the term *zijdig* referring to active verb is rather exceptional and is not found in Marin's dictionary, as far as I know. I am also not aware of any Dutch source that does adopt this term to refer to active verbs. A second implication is the fact that, if *onzijdig* and *zijdig* are alleged to be terms used in Marin, it means that the others are not. This requires, thus, at least another source for these terms. After inspecting the rest of the terms and sample sentences, I conclude that Shizuki must have used Halma's dictionary as well. However, although it can be confirmed that Shizuki used the first edition of Halma's dictionary in order to compile his *Joshi-kō*, some of

the references found in *Sensei bunnō* are only found since the second edition onward of Halma's dictionary.²⁷ Examples of quotes from Halma include:

- The sentence *hij is wonderbaarlijk gered* 'he is miraculously safe' (spelled *gerd*, in the Japanese document) that is found in all editions of Halma, under the entry to *wonder* 'wonder'.
- The term *ondervraagende voornaamwoord* 'interrogative pronoun', in reference to *wie* 'who', a term that appears from the second edition of Halma's dictionary onwards. The term is not used in Marin, nor in Halma's first edition.
- The sentence *hij gaf dat den regter over* 'he handed that over to the judge', is found in all editions of Halma's dictionary, under the entry to *de* 'the', when illustrating the *beschuldigend geval* 'accusative case'. Both the sentence and the name of the case are found in *Sensei bunnō*, although in that source the subject of the sentence is *ik* 'I'. The entry to *de* also includes examples such as *de dapperheid der mannen* or *de sterkte des mans* or *van den man*, that also resembles the contents of *Sensei bunnō*.
- The sentence *hij heeft zig omgebracht* 'he has killed himself' is found in a slightly different version in all editions of Halma's dictionary under the entry to *ombrengen* 'to kill', in the form *hij heeft zich zelve omgebracht*.
- The entry to the word *opletten* does not present the derived word *oplettendheid* in Marin, but it does in Halma, from the second edition onwards.

The biggest issue is with the term *ondervragend voornaamwoord* that is only used by Halma in his second edition – and never by Marin – only in the entry to *wie* 'who' and *welk* 'which'. Although Shizuki lists other interrogative pronouns, thereafter, in no edition of Halma are they labeled as such. The only similar label is given under *waar* 'where', which is however called an adverb that is sometimes interrogative and sometimes relative.²⁸ The Dutch names of the parts of speech are generally provided with a more or less direct translation, a traditional Sino-Japanese counterpart, and an explanation of their role in the sentence, as illustrated in Table 5.

Dutch	Trans-lation	Japa-nese	Explanation	English trans-lation
Zelfstandig naamwoord	自立名語	実語	有体有実 “Has body and filling” 萬物ノ名 “Name of all things” 萬事ノ稍 “Naming of all actions”	Noun
	三種			3 genders
z.m.	男自立名語			Masculine noun

²⁷ I discuss the contents of Halma's dictionary in 4.2.

²⁸ Original quote: “Waar is een *bijwoord* dat nu *ondervragend* en dan *opzigtelijk* is.”

z.v.	女自立名語			Feminine noun
geenerlij zelfstandign. z.g.	中間自立名語			Neuter noun
Bijvoegelijk naamwoord	傍寄名語	形容語	無実形 “Has no shape or filling” 事業ニアラザルノ語 “A word which does not concern actions” 物ノ貌 “Shape of things” 事ノ勢 “Impetus of actions”	Adjective
Bijwoord	傍語	助語	voorzetzel ト似テ別 “They look like prepositions, but are different” 諸ノ問語 “They include <i>mongo</i> (‘interrogatives’)”	Adverb
		問語		Interrogative pronouns
		事語		Verbs
Werkend werkwoord zijdig w.	為事語	使然ノ語		Active verb
Geenerlij werkwoord onzijdig w.	由亡語 ²⁹	自然ノ語		Neuter verb
Voorzetzel	節		處ノ上ニ云、実語ニ由テ言フナルモノ也 “They are said before a place, and are used in reference to full words”	Preposition
Koppelwoord Voegwoord	連續語			Conjunction
Onduitsch woord			純粹ナラス “They are not pure” ドイツノ正語ニアラス “No proper words of Dutch”	Non-Dutch word
Onvolmaakte tijd Voorleden tijd		過去ノ語		Imperfect tense Past tense
Deelwoord				Participle
Zamengestelde woord		合成語		Compound word

²⁹ SUGIMOTO (1976, 409) assumes this to be a misspelling of 由己語, as seen in Udagawa Genzui.

Eerste persoon		一番人		First person
Tweede persoon		二番人		Second person
Derde persoon		三番人		Third person
Persoonelijk voornaamwoord		ホー ルナ ーム		Pronoun

Table 5 Parts of speech in *Nakano Ryūho sensei bunpō*

Interestingly, by the end of this manuscript, on folios 12r-12v, one can find a sentence explaining the different uses of the verb *ombrengen* ‘to kill’, that can be made reflexive, by means of the pronoun *zich*. There, it is also claimed that whenever the verb is not used reflexively, it can be employed in sentences such as “he kills him” (彼レ彼ヲ殺ス) as in “Jacob has killed Casper with his own hands” (「ヤーコップ」カ手ニカケテ「カスプル」ヲ殺タル時ナトナリ). This example is quite unique, since it employs two Dutch names: Jacob, transcribed as *Yākoppu*, and Casper, transcribed as *Kasupuru*. Utilizing Dutch names, or any person’s name, in making sample sentences for grammatical explanations is not something I have witnessed elsewhere in Shizuki’s works. For this reason, I first thought this could have been a reference to a specific sentence the Japanese found in some Dutch source. However, I have not been able to find anything comparable in the known sources of Shizuki. Nonetheless, it can still be assumed that Shizuki could have made this sentence up, also considering that Marin’s dictionary presents, at the beginning of the book, a list of common Dutch names, divided according to sex.

2.4.2 *Joshi-kō*

It appears that one cannot understand the theory contained in either *Rangaku seizenfu* or *Joshi-kō*, by only reading one of the two. Although the focus of each is quite different, they share many of the terms and examples. Some terms, though used in both works, are only explained in one. For example, while *Rangaku seizenfu* presents morphosyntactic explanations of how Dutch verbs conjugate, *Joshi-kō* mostly appeals to these concepts without ever explaining them. This led some, like DE GROOT (2005), to speculate about the possibility of them being supposed to be used in combination, as discussed in 2.2.

Joshi-kō presents a list of Dutch words, all considered *joshi* 助詞 ‘auxiliary words’. They are collected in alphabetical order and have been compiled by referencing Marin’s dictionary. This is clear by the presence of the rare conjunction *quanquis*, of Latin origin, equated in meaning to *als*, *gelijk als*, that is not found in Halma. Moreover, many of the sample sentences are straightforwardly copied from the entries of Marin’s dictionary. This *modus operandi* is in no way new to the scholars of Dutch: it is a methodology of linguistic investigation that dates back to the very

first research of Nagasaki *tsūji* such as Nishi Zenzaburō and Maeno Ryōtaku. As SUGIMOTO (1976, 252) argues, this has probably been passed down from these interpreters to Motoki Yoshinaga, who then influenced Shizuki's learning of Dutch, in turn eventually teaching this to his disciple Baba Sajūrō who was then employed at the shogunate in Edo, where he could spread this methodology in the capital, being read by Udagawa Genzui, for example. It needs to be said though, that using sample sentences in order to illustrate linguistic phenomena is not a technique unique to these specific scholars, nor is it limited to scholars of Dutch. Confucianists used quotes from Confucius, *kokugakusha* used *waka*, while scholars of Dutch, having limited resources from which they could draw sample sentences, often resorted to quoting the sentences found in the entries of Dutch-French dictionaries.

As is clear from the title, *Joshi-kō* aims at presenting the category of *joshi*. A straightforward definition of *joshi* is not to be found. However, as I will discuss in Chapter VII, Shizuki used the term *joshi* to refer to those words among conjunctions, adverbs, prepositions, and sometimes auxiliary verbs, that have an impact on the morphosyntax of the predicates in the Japanese translation, rather than representing semantic concepts, such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Furthermore, as I will argue in Chapters V and VI, the concept of *joshi* is not new to Chinese studies and was oftentimes adopted and readapted by those who studied the Japanese language into corresponding to the Japanese particles, otherwise called *te ni wo ha*. Knowing that Shizuki had read Ogyū Sorai, one also needs to assume influence in the compilation of this manuscript from Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, which is itself a list of “auxiliaries”, there called *jogo* 助語. Indeed, this work by Shizuki echoes a series of publications that, within the tradition of *jigi* 字義 “interpretative dictionaries”, aimed at listing and defining all the Chinese characters belonging to the category of “auxiliary”, just like in *Joji-kō* 助辞考 by Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670 – 1736). I will return to this in 5.5, and again in 7.2.4.

Joshi-kō does not present a structured division in chapters as *Seizenfu*, and the same contents are not always featured in all the copies of *Joshi-kō*. SUGIMOTO (1976, 325-326) identifies seven copies of this work, that differ to varying degrees in content. The main sections identified by Sugimoto are ‘index’ (*mokuji* 目次), the presence of which is the most inconsistent across the versions; ‘examples’ (*rei* 例); ‘main body’ (*honbun* 本文), including the various entries of each word (*tango* 単語) and the ‘example sentences’ (*kan'yōku* 慣用句);³⁰ additionally, some copies also include a ‘grammatical explanation’ (*bunpō kaisetsu* 文法解説). SAITŌ (1985, 78) adopts the same structure and terminology. Because of the inconsistent appearance of these chapters, SUGIMOTO (1976, 325-326) suggests dividing them into three groups, mostly disregarding the presence (or absence) of the Index.

³⁰ The term *kan'yōku* 慣用句 generally refers to idiomatic phrases. However, I have not been able to testify the presence of any specific section corresponding to that title. I have interpreted this term to refer to the Dutch phrases used to demonstrate the use of each word, within the entries. Because many of these sentences are taken from Marin's dictionary, many of them happen to be somewhat idiomatic. However, I have preferred to translate the term as ‘example sentences’ for the sake of clarity.

Group A (甲): These are the copies presenting the following structure: Examples (例), Index (目次) and Main body (本文). To this group belong:

- *Ryūho Oranda joji-kō* 柳圃和蘭助辞考, kept at Tenri University Library (天理図書館蔵);
- *Kyoji-kai* 虚辞解, kept at the Library of Graduate School of Letters, Kyōto University (京大文学部図書館蔵);
- *Joji-kō Ryūho sensei ikyō* 助字考 柳圃先生遺教, kept at Seikadō Bunko Library in Tokyo 静嘉堂文庫蔵. This copy does not feature the Index.

Group B (乙): These copies present the following structure: Examples (例), Index (目次), Main body (本文) and Grammatical explanation (文法解説). To this group belong:

- *Ryūho sensei joshi-kō* 柳圃先生助詞考, kept at the Waseda University in Tokyo (早大蔵);
- *Joshi-kō* 助詞考, also kept at the Waseda University in Tokyo. This copy does not feature the Index;
- *Rango kun'yaku* 蘭語訓訳, kept at Kyōto University's the Library of Graduate School of Letters. This copy does not feature the Index.

Group C (丙): Is composed of only one copy which features no Index, no Grammatical explanation and no Examples. To this group belongs:

- *Joshi-kō yakuhen* 助詞考約編, kept at Kyōto University's the Library of Graduate School of Letters.

The contents of the section on grammatical explanation, that is only found in three out of the seven copies, differ from the rest of the book. The main body of *Joshi-kō* is structured as a dictionary, where each Dutch word has its own entry. The last section features two tables illustrating the parts of speech, loosely based on Neo-Confucian traditional Chinese grammar. It is worth evidencing that the parts of speech illustrated in these tables (that I will analyze in 7.2.1) are all those that do not belong to the *joshi* category (i.e., “empty” and “full” words). Subsequently, all the parts of speech are discussed, using terms that often cannot be found elsewhere in the rest of the book, nor in any other work by Shizuki. However, these two tables are also cited and schematized at the end of *Rangaku seizenfu*. In addition, in this section on grammar of *Joshi-kō*, one finds lists and tables representing the various conjugations of verbs and declination of articles in a fashion that also is not found in either dictionary Shizuki claimed having used, or in *Seizenfu*, even though verbs are covered in detail, in the latter. Such organization of Dutch verbs and articles can be found in works such as Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, for example, where one can also recognize the terminology found in this section on grammar. All these hints seem to suggest that *Joshi-kō*'s section on grammar could have been added later by one

specific copyist who, perhaps, thought it necessary to have a reference to the totality of the grammatical theory as illustrated by Shizuki and his disciples in other works.

Shizuki only references Marin as his source, meaning Marin's dictionary, the third edition of which has been confirmed as source by Shizuki in *Seizenfu* (see 2.3.3). One can assume that the same edition was also the source for *Joshi-kō*. Indeed, many of the sample sentences provided as example to the use of each *joshi* are copied – to various degrees of faithfulness – from Marin's dictionary. DE GROOT (2005, 271) has already attempted to find correspondence between the sample sentences in *Joshi-kō* and those in Marin. There are still some sentences used in *Joshi-kō* without a confirmed source. However, some of these sentences might have been invented by the author himself, many being slight variations of the same sentence to demonstrate how changing each *joshi* makes the meaning and the morphosyntax of the sentence vary, in a similar fashion to what is done in the *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai* section in *Seizenfu* (see 8.4.4). Variations of the sentence “When he is home nobody dares to speak” are featured in both manuscripts and offer a valuable comparative tool to analyze the theory contained in the two works. The presence of this sentence in both manuscripts can be interpreted in many ways. On the one hand, it could reinforce the idea of DE GROOT (2005, 148) who believed *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* to be meant for combined use, by Shizuki. On the other hand, it could suggest that the section on grammar could have been added subsequently, inspired by *Seizenfu* itself, because of its rather distinct content as compared to the main body of the work, and because of its inconsistent presence across the many copies.

Within the grammatical section (52v-53r) one reads a quote that seems to be a redacted version of the first chapters of *Sanshu shokaku*. Or, perhaps, is *Sanshu shokaku* to be considered an expanded version of this. The title of this short section is *hassei wo mochiizaru mono* 発声ヲ用ヒザル者 ‘Not using articles’, which is almost identical to the chapter found in *Sanshu shokaku* on folios 2v to 4v, where one could read *hassei wo mochiizaru koto* 発声ヲ用ヒザルコト, where *mono* is substituted with its semi-synonym *koto*, two words used for the nominalization of verbs.

発声ヲ用ヒザル者	Not using articles
人名地名	Names of people and places
god, een, twee, drie, vier, vyf, enz.	<i>god, een, twee, drie, vier vijf</i> etc.
山ノ名川ノ名海ノ名是等ニハ発声ヲ用フ	With names of mountains, of rivers, of seas etc. one uses articles.
(略)	[...]
凡ソ動詞ヲ其儘ニ死用スルニハ het. ヲ用ユ ‘t eeten, ‘t drinken.	In general, with verbs used as “dead”, one uses <i>het</i> , like ‘ <i>t eeten</i> , ‘ <i>t drinken</i> .

Although in *Sanshu shokaku* there are three types of elision of articles, these one-liners can be found in full sentences within that work, as well. The first line of *Sanshu shokaku* claims the following (see 7.4):

人名地名ナトニハ發聲ヲ去ル (略)	One refrains from using the article with the names of people or of places. [...]
多シ人名地名ニテモ上ニ 虚詞 ヲ 添ル寸ハ發聲ヲ用ルノ例ナリ	There are also examples of names of people and countries in which one still uses an article whenever they are preceded by an adjective.

The following line of *Joshi-kō* lists a series of words one does not use articles with. Most of them are numerals, except for the first word, that is *god* ‘god’. If one wonders why these words are listed together here, the answer is probably that it was an abbreviated version of a similar sentence found in *Sanshu shokaku*, 2v, that claims:

又 god ニモ用ヒス星ノ名ナドニ ハ用ユ又 twee maanen ナド、数 ノ字ヲ使フ寸ハ發聲ヲ用ヒズ	Furthermore, one does not use it [the article] with <i>god</i> , either. One does use it with the names of planets and stars. However, one does not use the article when using a numeral character, as in <i>twee maanen</i> [‘two moons’].

On page 65, Séwel covers exactly the use of the word *god* and other nouns, in combination with articles. There it is claimed the following:

By eygene naamen van menſchen komen de Lédekens zelden te pas; want hoewel men zegt, <i>David verfloeg den Reus</i> , nógtans mag men niet zeggen <i>den Goliath</i> , ’t en waare daar een Byvoegelyk Naamwoord by quam, als, <i>den trótsen Goliath</i> ; dòch men mag wel zeggen, <i>Deeze was de Christus</i> , Zo zegt men ook, <i>Engeland is magtig ter zee</i> , en <i>het vruchtbaar Engeland</i> . Onder de eygene naamen moet men ook ſtellen <i>GOD</i> , ’t en waare men ’er eenen vallen Gód door verftond; evenwel zegt men, <i>De Gód des Hemels en der aarde</i> , om hem van andere Goden te onderſcheyden.	With proper nouns of humans, articles are rarely appropriate; because even if one says <i>David versloeg de Reus</i> , still one cannot say <i>den Goliath</i> , unless there is also an adjective, like <i>den trotsen Goliath</i> ; still one can say <i>Deeze was de Christus</i> . Likewise, one says <i>Engeland is magtig ter zee</i> and <i>het vruchtbaar Engeland</i> . Amongst proper nouns one must also consider <i>GOD</i> , unless one means a false God; in anyway, one says <i>De God des Hemels en der aarde</i> , to distinguish him from other Gods. ³¹

³¹ Translations of the sentences: *David versloeg de Reus* ‘David defeated the giant’; *den trotsen Goliath* ‘[to] the proud Goliath’; *Deeze was de Christus* ‘This was Christ’; *Engeland is magtig ter zee* ‘England is powerful on the sea’; *het vruchtbaar Engeland* ‘the fruitful England’; *De God des Hemels en der aarde* ‘The God of the Heavens and of the Earth’.

Also from *Sanshu shokaku* (1v-2r):

本名ニモ山ノ名川ノ名ハ發聲ヲ添フ
皆 de ヲ添ル格ナリ但シ het alpen³²
gebergte ト云フヲアリ此ハ Gebergte
ト云詞 generlij ニナル故ソレニ附タル
het ナリ又俗ノ名ニモ de ヲ附ルナリ
de spaniaarde, de pootugiese ナドノ類

In proper names, as well, like the names of mountains or of rivers, one uses the article. They all belong to the *de* type. However, one also says *het alpen gebergte*. This is because *gebergte* is *generlij* ['neuter'] and needs *het* to be added. Furthermore, one also uses *de* with name of peoples, like *de spaniaarde*, *de portugiese*, etc.

Although similar explanations are found in Séwel in the chapter on the gender of nouns (*Van het geslacht der Naamwoorden*, 92-107), the example with the Alpine Mountain range cannot be found there. However, in Marin's dictionary, on page 272, under the entry for *gebergte*, one reads the example of '*t Alpische gebergte*. The examples of verbs being nominalized in their infinitive form found in the grammatical section of *Joshi-kō*³³ can also be seen very similarly in *Sanshu shokaku*, in the following quote (11v):

又 het eeten, het drinken, ナドハ werkwoord
ヲ zelfstandig ノ格ニナスナリ

Words like *het eeten*, *het drinken* etc. are *werkwoord* made *zelfstandig*.

On pages 105-106, Séwel claims the same, using as examples the same nominalized verbs:

Alle Werkwoorden van de Onbepaalde wyze,
die als een Naamwoord worden gebruykt,
zyn van 't Onzydig geflacht, als *Het gaan*
verveelde my; *Het eeten vieler schraal*; *Het*
drinken is zuur:

All Verbs of the Indefinite mood, which are used as Nouns, are of the neuter gender, like *Het gaan verveelde my*; *Het eeten vieler schraal*; *Het drinken is zuur*.³⁴

A similar list, with *het eten* and *het drinken* as first examples, is also found in Séwel on page 97, where they are defined as "Verbs used as Nouns" (*Werkwoorden, als Naamwoorden gebruykt*). Another piece that most likely comes from Séwel's *Spraakkonst* is the following list of words, found on folio 54r:

vryen werkwoord vryen ヨリ出タリ
vryer. 男女ノヲ

Vryen comes from the verb *vryen*
Vryer a thing of men and women

³² This word is spelled particularly badly. It looks more like *ulpen*.

³³ See, for example, folio 52r, in Waseda's 文庫 8 B109. Unless explicitly stated, all references from *Joshi-kō* are from this copy.

³⁴ Translations of the sentences: *Het gaan verveelde my* 'Going [there] bored me'; *Het eeten vieler schraal* 'The food was scanty'; *Het drinken is zuur* 'Drinking is sour'.

vryery ヲ sub.也

vryery is a noun.

On page 78 of Séwel's *Spraakkonst* there is a small paragraph tackling a similar topic. This section is absent in the first edition of *Spraakkonst*.

Het woord *Vryer*, gelyk men eenen ongehuuwden, die nooit getrouwd was, noemt, is eygentlyk iemand die *Vryt*, dat is, eene vrouwesperfoon aanzoeckt; en dewyl dit *Vryen* meeft van jongmans gelchiedt, noemt men eenen jongeling, schoon hy niet vryt, ook een' *Vryer*; welk woord men insgelyks zou kunnen afleyden van het Engelfch Naamwoord *Fryer*, dat eenen *Monnik* betekent, en afkomstig schynt van het Franfch woord *Frere* [Broër], gelyk men de *Monniken* noemt, als *Broër Felix*, *Broër Kornelis*, enz.

The word *Vryer* ['lover'] with which one calls somebody who has never been married, is also someone who *vryt* ['to court'], that is somebody who is looking for a female person; and since this *vryen* occurs more with young men, even when they do not court, young men can be called a *vryer*; a word which one could trace back to the English noun *Fryer* [modern spelling "friar"] which refers to a monk, and appears to derive from the French word *Frere* [Broër], just like one calls monks as *Brother Felix*, *Brother Kornelis*, etc.

The word *vryer*, in its meaning of 'lover', is considered as derivative from the verb *vryen*, as claimed in the Japanese text as well. However, Séwel does not refer to the noun *vryery* 'courtship', that can however be found in Halma and Marin's dictionaries. The dictionaries, nonetheless, do not reference the derivative nature of *vryer* from *vryen*. It appears, thus, that this section of *Joshi-kō* was inspired by Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, yet the author must have double-checked these words in one of the dictionaries.

The fact that the content of the grammatical section cites Séwel and *Sanshu shokaku* might make it appear as if this would mean that *Joshi-kō* was written after Shizuki read Séwel and compiled *Sanshu shokaku*. However, since not all copies of *Joshi-kō* contain such section, this could suggest that the grammatical section itself was added later, based on the contents of *Sanshu shokaku* and either *Rangaku seizenfu* or the unknown *Sanze-kō*.

Another reference to other sources that can be found in *Joshi-kō* (28v) is contained in the following sentence:

De ニこそノ訓ナルヲ woordenboek
ニモナキヲナレト予ガ愚見ノミテ云
ニハ非ス蘭臯先師ニナラヘル事也

The word *De* is translated into Japanese [訓] as *koso*. This cannot be found in the *woordenboek*. However, this is not simply my personal opinion, I have learned it from Master Rankō.

The author of this section claims to have referenced a Dutch dictionary, a *woordenboek*, and not having found the correspondence of the Dutch article *de* with the Japanese word *koso*こそ 'this one', 'this exactly'. However, he does know this to be the case since he was taught that from Master Rankō, meaning Motoki

Yoshinaga, the teacher of Shizuki. Of course, the word *de* is featured in both Marin and Halma's dictionaries. However, what the author is probably referencing here is the marked use of the article as to emphasize the fact that one is referring to "the one and only". This quote serves as a reminder of the fact that knowledge regarding Dutch used to also spread through non-written forms, like oral teachings from a master to his disciples. In the specific case of Shizuki it is known from many sources that he had learned Dutch from Motoki, who, however, has not published any work on Dutch grammar.

As far as the vocabulary on grammar is concerned, *Joshi-kō* is a rather peculiar case. As I have mentioned, the structure of this manuscript varies across the different copies, with some versions also including a section on grammar. The terminology adopted in the grammatical section is not completely in agreement with the terms featured in the main body of the work. Furthermore, one can also find inconsistencies within this section on grammar itself. Specifically, one of the first contents of the section on grammar is a table illustrating the relations between the different parts of speech, that is mostly based on the Sino-Japanese tradition, in combination with Marin's gender rules (see 7.2.1). After these tables, however, the grammatical section features rather different terms most of which are not found anywhere else in Shizuki's bibliography. For this reason, in Tables 6, 7 and 8, below, I have split the terminology regarding grammar according to the section the terms are found in. The three main chunks I have identified are: the "main body" of the work, that is, the list of *joshi* with their translations and sample sentences; the tables of the parts of speech, found within the section on grammar; and, lastly, the rest of the section on grammar. In fact, the terminology employed in the second part of the section on grammar does not completely overlap with what is claimed in the table, making one deduce that there might have been two or more sources referenced when compiling this section.

Main body		
Japanese	Dutch	Meaning
<i>fukushi</i> 復詞 <i>shūshi</i> 衆詞	meervoudig woord 衆詞ト言ハ復詞ノ㐂也即チ meervoudig ノ 㐂也 “When referring to a <i>shūshi</i> word, it is said <i>fukushi</i> . Basically, this is <i>meervoudig</i> ”	Plural
<i>jidōshi</i> 自動詞	V.N.	Neuter verb
<i>dōtashi</i> 動他詞 <i>dōta</i> 動他	W.W. V.A.	Active verb
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞		Verb
<i>gechi no kotoba</i> 下知ノ詞		Imperative

<i>seikatsushi</i> 静虚詞 <i>seishi</i> 静詞	ADJ	Adjective
<i>kako</i> 過去		Past
<i>mirai</i> 未来		Future
<i>tatoe</i> 假令		<i>Tatoe</i>
<i>genzaishi</i> 現在詞		Present
<i>hassei</i> (<i>no kotoba</i>) 発声(ノ 詞)		Article
<i>joji</i> 助辭 <i>joshi</i> 助詞 <i>jogo</i> 助語		<i>joshi</i>
<i>jisshi</i> 実詞		Substantive
<i>jisshi-shishi</i> 実詞死詞		Full words dead words
<i>shishi</i> 死詞		Dead word
<i>dōkatsushi</i> 動活詞		Lively moving word
<i>seikatsushi</i> 静活詞		Lively quiet word
<i>yōshi</i> 陽詞		Masculine
<i>dokushi</i> 独詞		Singular
<i>shiyō</i> 死用		Use as dead (nominalization)

Table 6 Parts of speech within the main body of *Joshi-kō*.

Tables		
Japanese	Dutch	Meaning
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞 <i>katsudōshi</i> 活動詞	werkwoord	Verb
<i>jisshi</i> 実詞 <i>shijitsubutsu</i> <i>ushō</i> 死実物称 <i>jitaishi</i> 自 体詞	Zelfstandig naamwoord	Noun
<i>shi</i> 死		Dead
<i>yō</i> 陽		Masculine
<i>chū</i> 中		Neuter
<i>in</i> 陰		Feminine

<i>seikatsu</i> 静活	Adje	Lively quiet
<i>shisei</i> 死静	Adje subst	Dead quiet
<i>seishi</i> 静詞 <i>seikatsushi</i> 静活詞 <i>kyoseikatsu</i> <i>shi</i> 虚静活詞	Adje toevoegelijk naamwoord	Adjective Empty quiet lively word
<i>dōta</i> 動他 <i>shizen</i> 使然	VA werkend werkwoord	Active verb
<i>jidō</i> 自動 <i>jinen</i> 自然	onzijdig werkwoord	Neuter verb
<i>kyoshi</i> 虚詞		Empty (Includes “adjectives” and “verbs”)
<i>seishi</i> 静詞 <i>kyoseishish</i> <i>i</i> 虚静死詞	toevoegelijk zelfstandig naamwoord	Nominalized adjective, Empty dead quiet word
<i>joshi</i> 助詞 <i>dōktakushi</i> 動客詞		Adverbs
<i>shiyō</i> 死用		Use as dead
<i>dōshi no</i> <i>shiyō</i> 動詞 ノ死用	verbalia	Dead of a verb
<i>sei no shi</i> 静ノ死 <i>seishi</i> 静死		Death of a quiet word, nominalization of an adjective
<i>shū</i> 衆		Plural
<i>doku</i> 独		Singular
<i>shishi</i> 死詞		Dead word
<i>seikyoshi</i> 静虚詞		Quiet empty word
<i>yōsu no</i> <i>kotoba</i> 様子ノ詞		Adverbs derived from adjectives by means of affixation (see 6.2.3)
<i>keshiki no</i> <i>kotoba</i> 気色ノ詞		Adjectives derived from adjectives by means of affixation (see 6.2.3)
<i>shijitu</i> 死実		Dead full
<i>keiyōshi</i> 形容詞		Specific uses of originally adjectival characters (6.2.2)

Table 7 Parts of speech from the two tables of *Joshi-kō*.

Rest of grammatical explanation		
Japanese	Dutch	Meaning
<i>ugokanu kotoba</i> ウゴカヌ詞 <i>shijitsutsūshō</i> 死実通称	zelfstandig naamwoord	Noun
<i>waza no shishi</i> ワサノ死詞 <i>dōshishi</i> 動死詞	werkwoordelijk zelfstandignaam.	Nominalized verb
<i>yōshu no shishi</i> ヤウスノ死詞 <i>keshiki no shishi</i> ケシキノ死詞 <i>sei no shishi</i> 静ノ死詞	toevoegelijk zelfstandignaam.	Nominalized adjective
<i>yōsu no shishi</i> ヤウスノ詞 <i>keshiki no shishi</i> ケシキノ詞 <i>seikatsushi</i> 静活詞	teovoegelijk naamwoord	Adjective
<i>waza no kotoba</i> ワサノ詞 <i>katsudōshi</i> 活動詞	werkwoord	Verb
<i>ugoku kotoba</i> ウゴク詞 <i>jidō</i> 自動	onzijdig werkwoord	Neuter verb
<i>ugokasu kotoba</i> ウゴカス詞 <i>dōta</i> 動他	werkend werkwoord	Active verb
<i>yū</i> 雄		Masculine
<i>chū</i> 中		Neuter
<i>shi</i> 雌		Feminine
<i>doku</i> 独		Singular
<i>shū</i> 衆		Plural
<i>hassei</i> 発声		Article
<i>jiseki</i> 事跡		<i>jiseki</i> (see 8.5.1)

<i>kakoshi</i> 過去詞		Past
<i>genzaishi</i> 現在詞		Present
<i>kako no genzai</i> 過去ノ現在		Present of the past
<i>kako no kako</i> 過去ノ過去		Past of the past
<i>jogo</i> 助語		<i>joshi</i>
<i>jisshi</i> 実詞		Full word
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞		Verb
<i>shijitsu</i> 死実		Dead full
<i>kyosei</i> 虚静		Empty quiet
<i>gechi no kotoba</i> 下知ノ詞		Imperative
<i>tatoe</i> 假令		<i>tatoe</i> (see 8.4.6)
<i>dan</i> 男		Masculine
<i>jo</i> 女		Feminine
<i>manshi</i> 慢詞	voorzetsel	Preposition
推シ量ル		“Hypothetical of reality”
<i>daimeishi</i> 代名詞	persoonelijk naamwoord ホールネーム <i>hōrunāmu</i>	Pronoun

Table 8 Parts of speech from the section on grammatical explanation in *Joshi-kō*.

The morphological implications of these different explanations will be studied in 7.2. The contents of the section I have referred to as “Grammatical explanation” display remarkable features. In particular, it appears that the information there looks more like a collection of loose thoughts and ideas that might have been gathered and added in a later moment since the original compilation of *Joshi-kō*. This would also explain why this section is not present in all the existing copies. The similarity of some of its information with the supposedly later work *Sanshu shokaku* and with Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* might suggest this section to have been added after the publication of the former and the reading by Shizuki of the latter. I am more inclined to believe that the section on grammar was added by some later scholar who possessed a copy of *Joshi-kō* and had already read *Sanshu shokaku*, and possibly other works by Shizuki. However, the evidence is still not enough to support any definitive claim. This means that, in the process of understanding the date of

compilation of *Joshi-kō*, the grammatical explanation should not be considered. This is reinforced by the fact that four out of the seven copies of *Joshi-kō* do not include this section. This would also imply that the addition of that section and, thus, all the copies that include it, ought to be dated after the compilation of *Sanshu shokaku*.

2.4.3 *Rangaku seizenfu*

There are four copies of this manuscript (ŌSHIMA 2019, 37). One is owned by Waseda University, currently available also digitally, catalogued as 文庫 08 B0057. This seems to have been previously owned by Okamura Chibiki 岡村千曳 (1882 – 1964). It presents the name of Udagawa Yōan, written in Latin characters, and the phrase 岐陽柳圃先生發明 that can be translated as either “the invention of Master Ryūho from Nagasaki” or “the teachings of Master Ryūho from Nagasaki”. SUGIMOTO (1975, 269) believes this to be the copy that Baba Sajūrō brought from Nagasaki to Edo in 1808, after being handed it from either Ōtsuki Gentaku or Ōtsuki Genkan. There are also the two copies owned one by the foundation Mukyūkai (公益財団法人無窮会専門図書), in Tokyo, and the one present at the Wakabayashi Collection (若林正治コレクション) at Kanda University of International Studies (神田外語大学附属図書館). SUGIMOTO (1976, 269) claims these two editions to be identical in their contents. A fourth one is kept in the Gifu Prefectural Archives (岐阜県歴史資料館). Some of the copies also present an introduction (序) signed by Ryūho himself (柳圃著), that reads the following:³⁵

物氏の訳箋に漢学をせんものは文字の本来の面目を識れといへるが如く蘭学もまたさるわさなるからおのれ此ころ和漢の語をゑらひて訓訳しつる此文の名をしもかの生れぬ前の父そこゐしきとよめるが本来の面目をいへる哥なるによそへてなん蘭学生前父とは名つける

Just like one can say that *Yakusen* [*Yakubun sentei*] by Mister Butsu [*Ogyū Sorai*] records the real forms of characters, *rangaku* is no different. Thus, while one can read the title of this text – wherein I chose Chinese and Japanese words for the translation [訓訳] – as “longing for the father before one was even born”, perhaps the real form is only stated by a poem. Therefore, I called it 蘭学生前父.

In this introduction, Shizuki explains the title of *Rangaku seizenfu* that, according to ŌSHIMA (2019), is based on an orally transmitted *dōka* 道歌, a form of *tanka* 短歌 ‘short poem’ containing teachings on values and morals (hence *dō* 道), that went: *yami no yoru ni nakanu karasu no koe kikeba umarenu saki no chichi zo koishiki* 闇の夜に鳴かぬ鳥の声聞けば生まれぬ先の父ぞ恋しき ‘If you cannot hear the voice of the crow that does not caw in the dark night, you long for your father before your birth’. This poem reflects on the perception of existence. If you cannot see, nor hear a crow that does not mean it does not exist, yet you are left with no way of knowing it. Similarly, you cannot exist without your parents. Your parents are concrete evidence of your existence. Had they not existed, then you would have not

³⁵ Original text quoted from SUGIMOTO (1962, 270), my English translation.

existed either. Just like you deem a crow existent by evidence such as seeing or hearing it, then you also need such evidence to prove your own existence, and that evidence is your parents' existence. When you see no evidence of existence (you do not see a crow), then you long for evidence of your own existence (your parents). To understand this explanation, one also needs to consider the term *honrai no meimoku* (also *menboku* or *menmoku*) 本来の面目 'original form', that appears to be a citation from the introduction of Ogyū's *Yakubun sentei*. There, it is claimed that the practice of *kundoku* (that Ogyū calls *wakun* 和訓), although sometimes helpful, has made the Japanese less capable of understanding the real meaning of Chinese texts. That is why he intends to illustrate the "original form" of Chinese characters. This is also a poetical reference (父母未生以前本来面目), that more or less refers to the same idea: how can you know your original form before the birth of your own parents? The name *Rangaku seizenfu* 蘭学生前父, that should probably be read as *oranda manabi umarenu saki no chichi* 'not-yet-born father of Dutch studies', should be interpreted consequently. Shizuki proposes to explain the original form of Dutch, to those who are still not aware. A correct form of Dutch exists regardless of you knowing it, however, by knowing the "not-yet-born father" – in this case: Master Shizuki as an expert of Dutch – one has the evidence required to prove its existence, just like one needs to hear or see a crow in order to know it exists in the dark of the night (ŌSHIMA 2019, 37-40). I have also searched whether and where Ogyū Sorai mentioned the concept of "original form" in *Yakubun sentei*, and it appears it is featured at the beginning of the work, in the following quote:³⁶

Therefore learning the language of the Chinese and apprehending its **original features** should be the primary task of the scholar. Moreover the **original features** of that language are unknown to the Chinese themselves. How are they any different from the inhabitants of Mount Lu not knowing its true features? If we take our Japanese language and use it as a means of investigating the Chinese language, we come to understand what exactly the Chinese language is in a manner impossible for the Chinese—just as the northerner who goes south can perceive that the climate is sunny and warm, whereas the southerner who lives there does not notice anything unusual.

In addition to Ogyū Sorai, this work also references Motoori Norinaga and specifically his *Kotoba no tama no o* 詞の玉緒. Their theories have certainly played an important role in Shizuki's understanding of language, an influence that is particularly visible in *Seizenfu*. I will cover this in Chapters VII and VIII. From the Dutch authors, Shizuki directly cites the first edition of Halma's dictionary and the

³⁶ English translation from PASTREICH (2001, 147-148). The translator renders *honrai no menmoku* into English as "original feature" and I have added the bold font in order to focus of these words. As PASTREICH explains, the Mount Lu mention is a reference to a poem by the Chinese Sū Shī 蘇軾 (1036 – 1101) by the title *Tí xīshānbì shī* 題西山壁詩 ('Inscription on the cliff of the Western Mountain'), where it was postulated that those who inhabited the very top of Mount Lu (Lúshān 廬山) had a worse perception of its real form, as compared to those who lived far from it, and could see it in its entirety.

third edition of Marin's. This can be deduced by comparing what claimed in the quote below (9v) with the actual content of those sources, that I will cover in Chapter IV:³⁷

hebben ハマーリン三板ニ A トアリ hadden モ同シハルマ初板ニ自動トセ ルハ恐クハ誤レリ	In the third edition of Marin, <i>hebben</i> is an A ["Active"], and <i>hadden</i> is the same. In Halma's first edition it is considered a <i>jidō</i> , although this is probably a mistake.

There is no direct citation of Séwel, nor does any of the content of *Seizenfu* point indirectly to the fact that Shizuki might have read Séwel's *Spraakkonst* before compiling this work. However, there is one quote that most certainly comes from one verse of the Dutch poet Jacob Cats. In the chapter titled *Kusagusa no kotobazukai* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ 'The use of many types of words' Shizuki presents twenty-seven Dutch sentences that served the purpose of illustrating his theory on the tenses of verbs. These sample sentences are particularly useful for a contrastive understanding of the different tenses and moods (the latter term is not used by Shizuki, in this work), since they are just modifications of a few sample sentences. One of these sentences surely stands out among the others, and that is sentence number twelve (15v): *Al heeft een hoer [een] mooi gezigt, het is een lantaarn zonder licht* 'Even if a whore has a beautiful face, it is a lantern without light'. DE GROOT (2005, 152) had already pointed out that this sentence could be found in very similar forms in *Compleet Nederduitsch en Fransch woordenboek* 'Complete Dutch and French dictionary' by Pieter Marin (1667/8 – 1718), that is a well-attested source of Shizuki. It is found there, on page 8 of the second volume of the third edition, in the form '*t is een lantaern zonder licht, een groot weetniet* 'It is a lantern without light, a big know-nothing', under the entry to *lantaern* 'lantern'. He also realized that the sentence could also be found in a work by Cats, by the title *Spiegel van ouden en nieuwen tyt* "Mirror of old and new time" originally published in 1632, in the form "Al heeft een hoer een schoon³⁸ gezicht, 't is een lanteerne zonder licht" as the motto of an emblem titled *Mulier sine verecundia, lampas sine lumine* "Woman without shame, lantern without light", as can be seen in Figure 1.

The other sentence that is used and modified in *Seizenfu* is found quite identically written in Marin's dictionary, on folio 24v, under the entry to *als*, written as: *als hy te huis is durft 'er niemand spreken*. Additionally, the phrase *niet durven spreken* is also found under the entry to *durven*, on page 233.

³⁷ All folios references concerning *Rangaku seizenfu* are based on Waseda's 文庫 8 B57, unless otherwise specified.

³⁸ The fact that in Shizuki we have the adjective *mooi*, instead of *schoon* meaning 'beautiful', as in the original, might suggest either that Shizuki cited this verse by memory, or that he changed the word, on purpose, maybe implying *mooi* to be an easier term for a Japanese speaker of Dutch. It could also be that the term ended up changing in the processes of copying over the original manuscript could have had *schoon*. I have not been able to find a version of this poem with *mooi*, in any Dutch publication.

Mulier sine verecundia, lampas sine lumine.



*Al heeft een hoer een schoon gezicht /
't Is een lanteerne sonder licht.*

Figure 1 Emblem of the poem “Mulier sine verecundia, lampas sine lumine” from Jacob Cats’ 1632 *Spiegel*.

Regarding the compilation of this section Shizuki adds the following remark, on folio 20r:

以上二十七則ノ語ハ余カ作為ニ
出タレト各本ツク所ナキニアラ
ズ然レト猶倒置等ノ謬トアルベ
ケレハ後人ノ正シ玉シヲメ希
フ第四則ト第十二則トハ全キ本
文アリ殊ニ妓女ノ語ハ gezigt,
ligt, ト韻ヲ押リ

These twenty-seven sentences I have made them myself. However, it is not as if they are not written in any book. In fact, even though there are certainly mistakes such as inverted word-orders etc., I hope that the people after me will be able to correct them. Sentences four and twelve are entirely as in the original text. Furthermore, in the sentence of the prostitute, *gezig* and *ligt* rhyme.

This excerpt informs the reader that the sentences found in *Kusagusa no kotobazukai* are made by Shizuki himself, although he has based (most of) them on sentences he found in some original source. In particular, he claims that sentences four and twelve are both completely copied over from an original source. This refers to sentence four *Als hij te huis is durft 'er niemand spreken*, which comes from Marin’s dictionary, and sentence twelve which is the citation from Jacob Cats’

poem. Furthermore, Shizuki adds that the sentence about the prostitute presents a rhyme³⁹ in the words *gezigt* and *ligt*.

Rangaku seizenfu presents an internal structure comprising many sections, some very brief, some much longer. In Gifu's copy, there is also a table of contents, listing thirteen chapters, as follows:

1. **Wago-rei** 和語例 – ‘Examples of Japanese language’
It presents a table of some verbal and adjectival endings in the Japanese language as to introduce the concepts of *kiruru kotoba* 切ルゝ詞 and *tsuzuku kotoba* 續ク詞 (see 8.2);
2. **Ryō-go no i** 両語之異 – ‘Differences Between Both Languages’
It broadly explains the main issue of non-correspondence between some Japanese verbal construct with Dutch ones. This mostly concerns the difference in how the Dutch auxiliary *zijn* cannot be used in present perfect tenses of some active verbs (see 8.2);
3. **Rango sanze meimoku** 蘭語三世名目 – ‘Names of the Three Times of Dutch’
It introduces the three times (present, past and future) of the Dutch language (see 8.4.2);
4. **Kiruru go** 切ルゝ語
It presents different conjugations of the Dutch verbs *vallen*, ‘to fall’ and *spreken*, ‘to speak’, in their Japanese translations, *ochi* 隕 (neuter) and *ii* 言 (active), respectively, as to display the use of *kiruru kotoba*;
5. **Tsuzuku go** 續ク語
Similarly to the previous section, Shizuki presents examples of *tsuzuku kotoba* with a first introduction to the Dutch auxiliary verbs. The verbs *ochi* and *ii* are again used to demonstrate how neuter and active verbs behave in the context of relative clauses; This chapter includes three sub-paragraphs: *dōtashi* 動他詞 ‘active verbs’; *jidōshi* 自動詞 ‘neuter verbs’; *seikyoshi* 静虚詞 ‘adjectives’.

³⁹ The expression *in o osaeri* 韻ヲ押リ to refer to the concept of “rhyming” reminds of the terminology utilized in the last section of *Sangoku shukushō* where, allegedly, Shizuki's thoughts on Dutch poetry were being reported (see NESPOLI 2022).

6. **Sanze-zu** 三世圖 – ‘Table of the Three Times’
Presentation of the three times of Dutch verbs, in combination with two additional concepts: *gense* 現世 and *kako oyobi tato* 過去及ヒ假令 (see 8.4.2);
7. **Roku-shi o kasanuru hiyaku** 六詞ヲ重ヌル秘訳 – ‘Secret Translations of the Overlapping of the Six Word’
Here, Shizuki portrays the different Japanese translations that one can provide to the combined use of the Dutch auxiliary verbs he has presented in the previous section;
8. **Jiseki no kotoba** 事迹ノ詞
A small table presenting the relation between verbal tenses in the context of Shizuki’s concept of *jiseki* (see 8.5.1);
9. **Kusagusa no kotoba-zukahi** 種々ノ詞遣ヒ – ‘The Use of Many Types of Words’
A long section comprising 26 sample sentences, accompanied by their literary Japanese translation and in-depth explanation (see 8.4.4).
10. **Zouden no koto** Zouden 之事 – ‘About Zouden’
The use of the Dutch auxiliary verb *zouden* in comparison to the Japanese structures used in literary classics (see 8.4.6);
11. **Kusagusa no musubi go** 種々ノ結ヒ語 – ‘Various types of connecting words’
Presentation of the concept of *musubi-kotoba* and their use in comparison to Dutch sentences (see 8.4.11);
12. **Roku-shi hiyaku, nami, teikaku** 六詞秘訳 並 定格 – ‘Secret Translations of the Six Words’
Further tips on how to translate the six auxiliaries of the Dutch language previously presented in the *sanze* table;
13. **Shihin-zu** 詞品圖 – ‘Tables of the Types of Words’
Graphs presenting Shizuki’s rationalization of the parts of speech of the Dutch language, admittedly adapted from *Joshi-kō* (see 7.3);
14. **Van de Woordenschikking** – ‘About the Syntax’
Conclusive Dutch-language section presenting scattered information about syntax. Copied from *Nederduitsche Spraakwyze*, by Marin (see Appendix 3). This section is not present in all copies of *Rangaku Seizenfu*.

As I will demonstrate in Chapters VII and VIII, this work represents what can be assumed to be the first comprehensive work on Dutch morphosyntax. In addition, the theories here included are not only quite original, but also extremely detailed in topics rarely ever touched upon by other Japanese scholars of Dutch before Shizuki or by Dutch authors themselves. No wonder SUGIMOTO (2013, 90) went as far as calling *Rangaku seizenfu* ‘the starting point of the research on Dutch-Japanese contrastive grammar’ (日蘭対照比較語法研究の出発点).

Japanese	Romanization	Meaning
推ハカル	<i>oshihakaru</i>	Hypothetical of the non- <i>tatoe</i> type (see 8.4.6.2)
過去	<i>kako</i>	Past
過去中ノ過去	<i>kakochū no kako</i>	Past within the past
過去ノ現在 過去ノ現世	<i>kako no genzai</i> <i>kako no gense</i>	Present within the past
假令	<i>tatoe</i>	Hypothetical of irreality (see 8.4.6)
形容詞	<i>keiyōshi</i>	Specific type of adjectives (see 7.2 and 7.3)
下知	<i>gechi</i>	Imperative
現在中ノ過去	<i>genzaichū no kako</i>	Past within the present
現世 現在	<i>gense</i> <i>genzai</i>	Present
現世ノ過去	<i>gense no kako</i>	Past within the present
現世ノ現世	<i>gense no gense</i>	Present within the present
現世ノ未来	<i>gense no mirai</i>	Future within the present
使令	<i>shirei</i>	Imperative
衆詞	<i>shūshi</i>	Plural
真ノ過去	<i>shin no kako</i>	Real past
真ノ未来	<i>shin no mirai</i>	Real future
事迹 事跡	<i>jiseki</i>	<i>jiseki</i> (see 8.5.1)
自動	<i>jidō</i>	Neuter verb
實詞	<i>jitsushi</i> <i>jisshi</i>	Noun
助字	<i>joji</i>	Auxiliary word
静虚	<i>seikyo</i>	Quiet empty
静詞	<i>seishi</i>	Quiet word
動詞	<i>dōshi</i>	Verb
動他	<i>dōta</i>	Active
未来	<i>mirai</i>	Future tense
結ヒ詞	<i>musubi-kotoba</i>	A few specific verbal affixes of classical Japanese (see 8.4.11)

Table 9 Parts of speech in *Rangaku seizenfu*.

The main body of *Rangaku seizenfu* is written in *kanji-katakana majiri-bun* 漢字カタカナ交じり文, a combination of Chinese characters and the *katakana* syllabary. The *hiragana* syllabary is still used in *Seizenfu*, but it only serves the specific purpose (outside of the introduction) of representing text in literary Japanese, marking its difference from what Shizuki calls *zokugo* 俗語, popular language, that is always written, in turn, in *katakana*. Shizuki's popular Japanese features grammatical structures more closely related to contemporary Japanese, as well as a modernized *kana* use (e.g., the use of *a-gyō* for verbs traditionally ending in *ha-gyō*). Conversely, citations from literary classics and other Japanese language texts are always presented in the mixed use of Chinese characters and *hiragana* (*kanji-hiragana majiri-bun* 漢字ひらがな交じり文).

The terminology referencing grammatical categories is rarely written in Dutch. Many of the Dutch sentences are translated both in classical Japanese and in Chinese. For this reason, the meanings of Dutch verbs are often compared to one or more specific Chinese character.

2.4.4 *Sanshu shokaku*

There are three known copies of this work (ŌSHIMA 2018, 7-8). One is part of the Wakabayashi Collection (若林正治コレクション) at Kanda University of International Studies (神田外語大学附属図書館). Another one is kept in the Gifu Prefectural Archives (岐阜県歴史資料館). The last one is currently found at the Siebold Memorial Museum in Nagasaki (長崎シーボルト記念館). This last copy can be distinguished from the others by the fact that it also features the table of contents (目次), and by the fact that the title presents the addition of the three Chinese characters for the three genders (陰陽中) before the common title. The work is divided in the following sections:

1. **Table of contents** (*mokuji* 目次): Only present in Siebold Memorial Museum's copy.
2. **The elision of articles** (*Hassei wo saru koto* 發声ヲ去ルコト): It covers the instances in which nouns are not preceded by articles, by rule;
3. **The omission of articles** (*Hassei wo ryaku suru koto* 發声ヲ略スルコト): It cover supposed cases in which articles can be omitted, yet not by rule;
4. **When not to use articles** (*Hassei wo mochi hizaru koto* 發声ヲ用ヒザルコト): Instances in which articles are not to be used, at all;
5. **Exceptions of the three genders** (*Sanshu henkaku no koto* 三種変格之例): Illustrates the labels of the three genders, and a couple of examples concerning irregular declination of nouns;
6. **The words used in the six cases** (*Rokkaku shoyō no kotoba* 六格所用ノ詞): It presents the six cases of Dutch and provides Japanese adaptations, specifically concerning particles;
7. **All the cases for masculine, feminine neuter and plural** (*In-yō-chū-fuku shokaku* 陰陽中複諸格): Illustration of declined forms of many pronouns, adjectives and articles;

8. **The cases of the participles** (*Deelwoord no kaku* deelwoord 之格): Explanation of the declination of participles;
9. **The use of *het*** (*Het wo mochihiro mono* het ヲ用ル者): Remarks on the use of the article *het*;
10. **Mixed additions** (*Konpu* 混附): Further remarks on the uses of cases and genders;
11. **About the Present and Past** (*Gense kako no koto* 現世過去ノコト): The use of present and past tenses, from the example of a text contained in the introduction to Johann Keill's *Inleidinge tot de waare natuur-en sterrekunde* 'Introduction to the real physics and astronomy';
12. **The addition of '*er*'** (*'er wo kuwaru koto* 'er ヲ加ルコト): Remarks on the use of '*er*';
13. **All types of negations** (*Fu-mu-hi no koto* 不無非ノコト): All manners of expressing negation, in Dutch.

The main topic of this work, as suggested by the title, concerns the six cases and three noun classes. Cases are translated into Japanese as *kaku* 格, often in the phrasing *rokkaku* 六格 for "six cases", while the gender is called *geslacht*, in Dutch, and translated as *shu* 種, in Japanese, often in the phrasing *sanshu* 三種 for the "three genders". Some information regarding verbs can be found in the chapter *gense kako no koto* 現世過去ノコト 'About the past and the present' (see 8.4.2). Another peculiarity of this work is the fact that grammar is organized quite strictly on a Greek-Latin traditional fashion, with specific terminology for each part of speech recognized by the European tradition, including the subcategories and all the other relevant terminology concerning classes and inflecting patterns. A difference between this *Sanshu shokaku* and the other works of Shizuki, is the fact that this tends to adopt Dutch terminology without providing a Japanese translation. Another issue, probably specific to Sophia University's copy, is the difference between the terminology used within the main body of the text, and what is presented annotated on the righthand side of Dutch words, as *furigana*. A remarkable example is that of the names of the different cases that, in the main body are called in three ways: by their Latin name; by their Dutch name; and, in Japanese, by cardinal numbers, as it was not uncommon in the Dutch literature of the time. The annotated terminology, instead, uses Chinese characters similar to those seen in other works by Shizuki, like *Kyoshi-kō* (2.4.5) or *Shihō shoji taiyaku* (2.4.7). The fact that these Chinese characters have only been written as notes might suggest a later addition from either the copyist or an owner of the manuscript. In Table 10, I illustrate the grammatical terminology found in *Sanshu shokaku*, differentiated according to whether each specific term is found only in note, or also in the main text.

Japanese	Category	Dutch	Notes
<i>sanshu</i> 三種	Thee genders	N/a	
<i>rokkaku</i> 六格	Six cases	Zes naamvallen	
<i>hassei</i> 發聲	Articles	N/a	
<i>jitsushi</i> (<i>jisshi</i>) 実詞	Full words	N/a	
<i>kyoshi</i> 虚詞	Empty words	N/a	
<i>jogo</i> 助語	Auxiliary word	N/a	
<i>yō</i> 陽	Masculine	Mannelyk M	
<i>in</i> 陰	Feminine	Vrouwelyk F	
<i>chū</i> 中	Neuter	Geenerlyk Onzydig O	
<i>tan</i> 單	Singular	N/a	
<i>fuku</i> 複	Plural	Meervoud MV	
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞	Verb	Werkwoord	
<i>jidōshi</i> 自動詞	Neutral verb	N/a	
<i>dōtashi</i> 動他詞	Active verb	Werkend werkwoord	
N/a	Impersonal verb	Onerzoonlyk werkwoord	
<i>daiichi</i> 第一	Nominative	Nominativus Noemer	正 (Only in note)
<i>daini</i> 第二	Genitive	Genitivus Teeler	主 (Only in note)
<i>daisan</i> 第三	Dative	Dativus Geever	与 (Only in note)
<i>daiyon</i> 第四	Accusative	Accusativus Aanklaager	所 (Only in note)
<i>daigo</i> 第五	Vocative	Vocativus Roeper	呼 (Only in note)
<i>dairoku</i> 第六	Ablative	Ablativus Neemer	取 (Only in note)
<i>jiseki</i> 事跡	<i>jiseki</i> (see 8.5.1)	N/a	
<i>daimeishi</i> 代名詞	Pronoun		Only in note, present only as <i>furigana</i> to the word <i>doctor</i> , used as a pronoun.

Table 10 Parts of speech in *Sanshu shokaku*.

There are five Dutch sources cited in *Sanshu shokaku*, namely Keill's *Natuurkunde* (*Keiru no nachūrukunde* ケイル之ナチュールキュンデ); Séwel's *Spraakkonst* (*Supurākakonsuto* スプラーカコンスト); an unidentified *Redenkonst* (*rēdenkonsuto* レーデンコンスト); an unidentified edition of a *ABC-Boek* (*abesebūku* アベセブーク); and Marin's dictionary (*mārin* マーリン and *wōrudenbūku* ウォールデンブーク). It can be understood that the word *wōrudenbūku*, that stands for the Dutch *woordenboek* 'dictionary', refers to Marin's dictionary from the quote below (14v):⁴⁰

実詞皆陰陽中ノ三種アリ遂一ニ挙ル
 不能「ウワールデンブーク」ヲ檢
 シテ知ベシ其中男ニ属スル詞ハ陽ナ
 リ女ニ属スル詞ハ陰ナリ唯 *wijf* ハ中
 ナリ又 *verlossing*, *twijffeling* ナド末
 ニ *ing* ノ附タルハ *schoonheid*,
zuiverheid ナド末ニ *heid* ノ附タルハ
 皆陰ナリ此外「スプラーカコンス
 ト」ニハ三種ヲ分別スベキ様々ノ例
 格ヲ出シアレトモ此ニハ畧也

Full words all have three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. I cannot cover them all. One should look them up in a *Woordenboek*. Amongst them, the words belonging to men are masculine, and those belonging to women are feminine. However, the word *wijf* is neutral. Words like *verlossing*, *twijffeling*, since they have *-ing* at the end, and words like *schoonheid*, *zuiverheid*, having *-heid*, at the end, are all feminine. Beyond these, there are many examples of the distinction of the three genders in *Spraakkonst*, which I will not cover here.

This is a reference to one of the rules on gender that can be found in the foreword to the reader written by the editors of Marin's dictionary (4.2), that has also been cited in *Joshi-kō*, in a very similar manner (see 7.2.1). Furthermore, Shizuki also cites an excerpt from Johan Keil's *Inleidinge tot de waare natuur- en sterrekunde*, that Shizuki has translated (see 8.4.2). There are many further example sentences that do not seem to come from any of these sources. Some sentences can be found in Halma's dictionary, although Shizuki does not cite it in this manuscript. Other sentences I have not been able to identify, yet I assume some of them must come from the unidentified source that Shizuki cites by the title *rēdenkonsuto* レーデンコンスト, from the Dutch *rede(n)konst* 'rhetoric'. It appears that the author of such book is named by Shizuki as *yoshina* ヨシナ. This is written in *katakana*, which must mean it refers to a foreign name, although that combination of syllables does sound bizarre for a Japanese rendition of a Dutch name.⁴¹ Table 11, below contains the Dutch citations found in *Sanshu shokaku*. Whenever possible, I specify the

⁴⁰ All references to the folios of *Sanshu shokaku* are based on Gifu's copy, unless otherwise specified.

⁴¹ Since the citation is written as 「ヨシナ」ガ「レーデンコンスト」 one possibility is that the copyist could have misunderstood the writing of the original document and thought that the syllable *ga* was to be considered a particle, instead of being the last syllable of the name, that would read *Yoshinaga*, perhaps corresponding to Motoki Yoshinaga, teacher of Shizuki. This remains a hypothesis with little supporting evidence. Another possibility could be that the copyist simply misread some *katakana*, perhaps mistaking *ko* コ for *yo* ヨ and similar. Until the source titled *Rede(n)konst* is identified one can only speculate.

source. Short and common phrases are not included since their sources cannot be traced with certainty.

het alpen gebergte	In Marin (pg. 272) in the entry to <i>gebergte</i> : <i>'t alpische gebergte</i>
de in de golf van Mexico liggende Eilanden	Unidentified
de zoon des keyzers van China	Unidentified
zijne heeren tabakspijp	Unidentified
ik gaf de bruk (?) ⁴² aan de boer	In Séwel's <i>Spraakkonst</i> (pg. 100, in the section <i>Van het geslacht der naamwoorden</i>): <i>ik gaf den broer de brief</i>
zij deed het van zelve	In Marin, under <i>zelf</i> (581)
dat spreekt van zelfs	In Marin, under <i>zelf</i> (581)
god is de godheid zelve	In Marin, under <i>zelf</i> (581)
dat heb ik zelf gezien	In Marin, under <i>zelf</i> (581)
met zulk eene vrouw moet men geen vleeslijk gemeenschap houden	Unidentified
Eene vrouw tot de andere,	Unidentified
van het eene lichaam tot het andere	Unidentified
van den eenen man tot den andere	Unidentified
Degeene die dat gesprook heeft is gek	Unidentified
het zullen groote peenen zijn	Unidentified
het is vandaag weeten (?)	Unidentified
de wind waait uit den westen	In Halma under the entry to <i>west</i>
hier was haar wagen geplaatst, hier haare wapens	In Séwel's <i>Spraakkonst</i> , in the section <i>Van de Letter-. En spraak-konstige figuren</i> (pg. 378)
nog ik nog gij hebben het gedaan	Unidentified
daar kwamen twee anderen aan vliegen, de ééne van 't oosten, de andere van 't westen	In Séwel's <i>Spraakkonst</i> , in the section <i>Van de Letter-. En spraak-konstige figuren</i> (pg. 379)
de een van het oosten de andere van het westen	Unidentified
dat is een ouwe kaart	In Marin under the entry to <i>kaart</i>

⁴² This word is unclearly spelled although the letter *br* are most certainly recognizable, making it possibly correspond to the word *brief* 'letter'. The copyist might have confused the spelling *ie* for a *ú*. The letter < u > was commonly spelled with an acute accent diacritic by Japanese scholars of Dutch.

wel te leezen is grond van wel te spreken	Unidentified
dan is het ongezond dat nu te veel eet	Unidentified
dan is het nu te veel eet ongezond	Unidentified
ik verzoek mij niet te beschuldigen	Unidentified
ik verzoek dat men mij niet verschuldige	Unidentified
liever te sterven dan zo gehoord te zijn	Unidentified
na dat nadaer gezien te hebben	Unidentified
hij ziet de graaf van holland	Unidentified
moordegraaf van een gaaven mensch	Unidentified
Jong rijs is te buigen maar geen oude boomen	This is a rather common proverb which also happens to be featured in Halma's dictionary, in the entry to <i>rijs</i> , in the same form.
Ik ben de Heere uwe God die u uit egyptenland gelyd hebbe	This is from the first commandment, thus present in most, if not all, <i>A B C Boek</i> (see below).

Table 11 Dutch citations in *Sanshu shokaku*.

Some of the grammatical explanations are clearly inspired by the content of Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, like the section below, on folio 1v:

het gelukkig Engeland ト云ノ类ナリ地名 geenerlijke naamw ナル故ニ het ヲ添ルナリ但シ geenerlijk ハ manlijk ト同然ニ zyn ト云格ナレト in zijn bozem ナト、云フ地名ニハ使ヒタシ地名ノ上ニハ此ノ如キ所ハ vrouwelijk ノ如ク也 in haar bozem ト云ヘレト「スプラーカコンスト」ニ見ヘタリ國名地名皆右ノ如シ又 wijf.ニモ haarkind ナト云ヘレトアリ

This is the type of *het gelukkig Engeland*. With toponyms, since they are *geenerlijke naamw* ['neuter nouns'], one adds *het*. However, even if with both *geenerlijk* and *man(ne)lijk* one adds the type *zijn*, one does not say *in zijn bozem* with toponyms. With toponyms one should treat the above as if they were *vrouwelijk* and say *in haar bozem*, as can be seen in *Spraakkonst*. This applies to names of places and lands. The same also goes for *wijf*, when one says *haar kind* etc.

Séwel has a similar passage in a section which is present in all editions (page 96, in the second edition). The only difference across the editions is that, in the first one, the examples of Italy and Rome are not present. There are some differences between the excerpt from Shizuki and that of Séwel. For example, in Séwel England was “fertile” (*vruchtbaar*) while in Shizuki it was “blissful” (*gelukkig*). The grammatical issues dealt with in both excerpts is identical, suggesting Shizuki might have reworked what he found in Séwel providing slightly different examples and

combining information already in his possession. Perhaps, however, there exists another source employing the same examples used by Shizuki.

De naamen van Landen, Steden, en Dórpen, als *Italie, Engeland, Vrankryk, Hólland, Rome, Londen, Parys, Amſterdam, Amſterveen, Ouwerkerk, Diemen, Buykflood, Heemſtede, Heyloo*. Hiervan is uytgezonderd de *Haage*, en evenwel zegt men *Het vermaakleyk 'sGraavenhaage*. Dóch hoewel men zegt, *Het vruchtbaar Engeland, het vólkryk Hólland, het magtig Amſterdam, het beſchaafd Europa*, echter is het veel tegenſpraak onderworpen, als men zegt *Europa koestert boven andere werrelddeelen de Geleerdheyd in zynen ſchoot*: ik zou liever zeggen, *in haaren ſchoot*.

The names of Lands, Cities and Towns, like Italy, England, France, Holland, Rome, London, Paris, Amsterdam, Amsterveen, Ouwerkerk, Diemen, Buyksloot, Heemstede, Heyloo. From this The Hague is an exception, and one says *Het vermaakleyk 'sGraavenhaage*. However one says *Het vruchtbaar Engeland, het volkryk Holland, het magtig Amsterdam, het beschaaft Europa*, although one can contradict oneself by saying *Europa koestert boven andere werrelddeelen de Geleerdheyd in zynen schoot*: I would prefer saying *in haaren schoot*.⁴³

Shizuki also cites a certain *A be se būku*, that stands for the Dutch *A B C Boek* ‘ABC Book’, a common title for primers. Shizuki claims that the sentence *Ik ben de Heere uwe God die u uit egyptenland gelyd hebbe* ‘I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt’, originally from the First Commandment of Judeo-Christian religions, is cited from an *A B C Boek*. ŌSHIMA (2018, 17) attests three possible sources: *Groot A. B. C. Boek* (1750), *Een Nieuwlijks Uitgevonden A. B. C. Boek* (1759) and *Geschenk voor de Joodsche Jeugd, of A. B. C. voor dezelve* (1793). In all these sources, the words *uit den diensthuysen* ‘out of the house of bondage’ are also present. ŌSHIMA (2018) believes the spelling of the sentence found in the last one to be the one closer to what is written in *Sanshu shokaku*. For this reason, he suggests assuming this to most likely be the source used by Shizuki. As I will discuss in 3.3.9, however, no such claim can be made regarding the specific source of this sentence across the different editions of *A B C Boeken* published in the Netherlands in the 18th century, since their circulation has not been recorded with particular exhaustivity, nor was it rare for them to contain the text of the Ten Commandments.

2.4.5 *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*

There appears to be only one copy of this work, part of the Wakabayashi Collection (若林正治コレクション) at Kanda University of International Studies (神田外語大学附属図書館) (SUGIMOTO 1976, 447). It has not received much scholarly attention, probably because of its short extension of nine folios. It mostly covers the

⁴³ Translation of the sentences: *Het vermaakleyk 'sGraavenhaage* ‘The amusing The Hague’; *Het vruchtbaar Engeland, het volkryk Holland, het magtig Amsterdam, het beschaaft Europa* ‘The fertile England, the populous Holland, the powerful Amsterdam, the civilized Europa’; *Europa koestert boven andere werrelddeelen de Geleerdheyd in zynen schoot* ‘Europe fosters education more than all the other places in the world’.

topic of cases, though the title suggests that the document would cover the topic of “adjectives”, since the term *kyoshi* 虚詞 is translated, within the manuscript itself as the Dutch *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*. However, adjectives are mostly left uncovered, and the work only illustrates the six cases, providing a Japanese translation for each and both the Dutch and Latin terminology, as can be seen in Table 12.

Japanese	Dutch	English
六格	Zes naamvallen	Six cases
陽	N/a	Masculine gender
陰	N/a	Feminine gender
中	N/a	Neuter gender
主事	Nominativus Noemer Werker	Nominative
有物	Genitivus Teeler Eigenaar	Genitive
所与	Dativus Gever Ontfanger	Dative
所被	Accusativus Aanklager Leyder	Accusative
所呼	Vocativus Rooper [Roeper] toehoorden	Vocative
所取	Ablativus Nemer Derver	Ablative
複	Meervoud ⁴⁴	Plural
虚詞	Bijvoegelijk naamwoord	Adjective
發声	N/a	Article

Table 12 Parts of speech in *Ryūho sensei kyoshi kō*.

The work *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō* (henceforth *Kyoshi-kō*) is rather peculiar. Its date of publication is unknown. ŌSHIMA (2019) simply records it as unknown, while DE GROOT (2005) categorizes it within his post-Séwel period. However, there is no

⁴⁴ Originally, the word *meervoud* ‘plural’ was actually spelled as *meerhoud*, reinforcing the idea that, for late Edo Japanese speakers, the distinction between the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ and the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ (possibly devoiced to /f/) was hard to grasp.

evidence for any of its content to be related to Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, as far as I could confirm.

The manuscript directly cites the name of one source, by only naming the author: *sēderāru* セーデラール. As DE GROOT (2005, 167) points out, this probably refers to the Dutch grammarian Ernst Zeydelaar (1742 – 1820), who authored a series of works, many of which on French. For that reason, DE GROOT (2005) assumed that the source must have been the work featured as *Grammaire française et hollandaise* in the inventory list of a Dutch trade mission member who died in 1786, which DE GROOT (2005) speculates might have corresponded to *Grammaire Générale raisonnée française et hollandaise* (1768). However, there seems to be a better correspondence with another work of Zeydelaar: *Nederduitsche spraakkonst, ten dienste der Nederlandsche taalbeminnaars* (1781). As I will demonstrate, this work uses similar names for the cases and contains a couple of the sample sentences found in *Kyoshi-kō*. There is much text in Dutch in this brief work of Shizuki that might help with identifying possible sources. However, since most of that text is composed of examples of declinations of elementary words, such as *man* or *vrouw*, it does not help much with understanding the source, since almost all works on grammar use these terms as examples. There are, however, a couple of sentences that can more convincingly point to Zeydelaar's *Spraakkonst*, and these are the following: *David vlugte voor zijn zoon*, *In de vergadering zisten [zitten]*, *In de vergadering gelaten worden*. These are all found in Zeydelaar's *Spraakkonst* on page 277, spelled as: *hij zit in de Vergaderinge*, *hij is in de Vergadering toegelaten* and *David vlugtte voor zijnen Zoone*. On page 265 of Zeydelaar's *Spraakkonst*, one can also read the sentence: *welk voorneemen 't past ter uitvoer te brengen*, that is also present in the first page of *Kyoshi-kō*.

I have not been able to find a single source that contains the terminology related to the names of the cases found in *Kyoshi-kō*. DE GROOT (2005) claims that the terminology corresponds to that used by Kornelis Elzevier in *Drie dichtproeven, bestaende in drie dichtstukken: de waere dichtkonst, zedezang; God verheerlykt in zyne werken of reis door 't heelal: een Eerkroon voor de matigheid; benevens een proef van een nieuwe Nederduitsche spraekkunst* (1761) and Kornelis van der Palm's *Nederduitsche Spraekkunst voor de jeugd* (1769). However, although it could be possible that the terminology of *Kyoshi-kō* was a collection of more sources, there is no evidence of influence from Van der Palm's work, in my opinion. Table 13, below, draws in comparison the names of the cases used in the sources just mentioned, including Séwel with two sources by Shizuki that feature similar lists.

As one can see from Table 13, there is not one complete correspondence with one specific source. Although Zeydelaar appears to be the best match, since it includes two different names for each case, the terms do not correspond precisely. For example, the first Dutch term translating the accusative case is *aanklager*, in *Kyoshi-kō*, and *klaager*, in Zeydelaar. However, *aanklager* is used by Ten Kate, Elzevier and Séwel.

	<i>Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō</i>	Zeydelaar	Ten Kate	Van der Palm	Elzevier	Séwel	<i>Sanshu shokaku</i>
Nominative	Nominativus Noemer Werker	Nominativus Noemer Werker	Nominativus Noemer	Nominativus Werker	Nominativus Noemer Werker	Nominativus Noemer	Nominativus Noemer
Genitive	Genitivus Teeler Eigenaar	Genitivus Teeler Eigenaar	Genitivus Baerer	Genitivus Eigenaar Bezitter	Genitivus Teeler Baerer Eigenaar	Genitivus Teeler	Genitivus Teeler
Dative	Dativus Gever Ontfanger	Dativus Gever Ontvanger	Dativus Gever	Dativus Ontvanger	Dativus Gever Ontvanger	Dativus Geever	Dativus Geever
Accusative	Accusativus Aanklager Leyder	Accusativus Klaager Lijder	Accusativus Aanklager	Accusativus Lyder	Accusativus Aanklager Lyder	Accusativus Aanklaager	Accusativus Aanklaager
Vocative	Vocativus Roeper Toehoorder	Vocativus Roeper Geroepene	Vocativus Roper	Vocativus Toehoorder	Vocativus Roeper Toehoorder	Vocativus Roeper	Vocativus Roeper
Ablative	Ablativus Nemer Derver	Ablativus Neemer Derver	Ablativus Nemer	Ablativus Derver	Ablativus Nemer	Ablativus Afneemer	Ablativus Afneemer

Table 13 Comparison of the names of the cases across seven Dutch and Japanese sources.

The second Dutch alternative translation to the vocative case is *toehoorder*, in *Kyoshi-kō*, but *geroepene* in Zeydelaar. The alternative *toehoorder* is found in Van der Palm and Elzevier. Conversely, the term *derver*, for the ablative is not found in Elzevier, but it is used by both Zeydelaar and Van der Palm. Since *Sanshu shokaku*, as seen in the right column of Table 13, already included all the first name for the cases, in Dutch, this might mean that the alternative terms were added subsequently, after having consulted another source in addition to that used for *Sanshu shokaku*. This might also imply that *Kyoshi-kō* was compiled after *Sanshu shokaku*. If this is true, one would not need to find a Dutch source in which both terms are used for each case simultaneously. The Dutch source that features all the second terminology found in *Kyoshi-kō*, regardless of the correct correspondence of the first terminology, would be Van der Palm. The name of Van der Palm has been cited as a possible source for Shizuki by both DE GROOT (2005, 167) and MATSUDA (2008, 140), both without providing much evidence for this claim. Except for this instance, that would still need many assumptions to be substantiated in order for it to be proven true, I have not been able to detect any direct evidence of Van der Palm's influence on Shizuki.

Additionally, there are a few clues indicating that some of the contents of *Kyoshi-kō*, were actually inspired by Ten Kate's *Aenleiding tot de kennis van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* (first published in 1723). In fact, when explaining the accusative case, Shizuki adds the following remarks (3v):

Accusativus motivus, om hem, van wegens hem, tegen hem, over hem, tot iets liefde tot wellust ナド又 acsat: localis, bij om, omtrent, vandam, maast, nabij, na, voor ogten, tussen, behalfe, neffens, sedert, tegen, volgens, op, boven, beneden, onder, tegen, hem aan, doordat, binnen, buiten, ナト物ノ前後左右ナドノ辺傍ニカゝルモノハ皆此格属ス

Accusativus motivus, om hem, van wegens hem, tegen hem, over hem, tot iets liefde tot wellust etc. Furthermore, all the things here belong to the case *acsat: localis*, and are used next to [a word] to refer to “before”, “after”, “right”, “left” etc.: *bij om, omtrent, vandam, maast, nabij, na, voor ogten, tussen, behalfe, neffens, sedert, tegen, volgens, op, boven, beneden, onder, tegen, hem aan, doordat, binnen, buiten*

Shizuki names two specific uses of the accusative case: *accusativus motivus* and *accusativus localis*. I have not been able to find any occurrences of these terms in Dutch works, except in Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding*, on page 276-277, where one would also find a very similar list of prepositions and conjunctions that trigger these two specific types of accusative case. Below one can see the similar contents found in Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding*:

Maer onder welk geval betrekke ‘t, als we zeggen, *Om HEM, Van wegen en voor HEM, tegen HEM, over HEM, en Tot IET*, enz?

L. Dit kan men noemen, het Toe-ftrekkende Geval, of het Bewerkte Beweegmiddel, of in ‘t Latijn den *Accusativus motivus*. Zoo bedient men zig ook van nog andere *Præpositi*: bij den *Accusativus localis*, die het plaetfelijk bewerkte geval bekleed, als men zegt, *Bij, Om, Rontom, omtrent, naeft, nabij HEM, beneden, onder, en Over HEM, tegen HEM aen, door DAT, en door DAT heen, en Binnen, en Buiten DAT*, hoewel men dit *Binnen en Buiten*, ook eertijds bij den *Genitivus* gevoegt heeft, als toebehoorende; en hier van zegt men nog *BINNEN en BUITEN* ‘s HUIS, even of het ware *In ‘t binnene des huizes*.

But what case is involved when one says *om hem, van wegen* and *voor hem, tegen hem, over hem*, and *tot iet* etc.?

L. This can be called the *Toe-strekkende Geval* [Extended Case] or the *Bewerkte Beweegmiddel* [Modified Means of Motion], or in Latin the *Accusativus motivus*. In fact, one uses other prepositions, as well with the *Accusativus localis*, which serves the locational modified case, like *bij, om, rontom, omtrent, naest, nabij hem, beneden, onder* and *over hem, tegen hem aen, door dat* and *door dat heen* and *binnen* and *buiten dat*, although people have been conflating these *binnen* and *buiten* with the *Genitivus*: and one says still *Binnen en Buiten* ‘s Huis, as if it were *In ‘t binnene des huizes*.

As one can see, the list of examples is similar to that found in *Kyoshi-kō* and it also uses the two rare Latin terms *accusativus motivus* and *localis*. In addition, in another section on page 277 of Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding*, one can read the sentence *Liefde tot wellust* ‘Love to lust’, which is the only Dutch phrase in *Kyoshi-kō* not present in the excerpt from Ten Kate cited above.

Even though the title of this manuscript is *Ryūho sensei kyoshi kō*, most of its contents is devoted to the illustration of the six cases. The category of *kyoshi* 虚詞 ‘empty words’ only appears in the last page, where it is used as translation to *bijvoegelijk naamwoord* ‘adjective’. Not much is written there, except for a few

Dutch example phrases illustrating the use of adjectives in combination with nouns, articles, and cases. Again, these examples use very basic words like *man* ‘man’, *vrouw* ‘woman’, *kind* ‘child’ and *groot* ‘great’, that are used in virtually every Dutch source I have consulted. It appears that the only copy of this work that exists as of today is an incomplete work, that only contains the introduction of the original manuscript. In fact, the document ends abruptly after only introducing the category of *kyoshi*, that gives the title to the work. This could also mean that this is a book Shizuki was working on in his last days, and never managed to complete it before his death. Since there is no reference of time whatsoever, regarding this manuscript, one can only speculate.

2.4.6 *Kuhinshi myōmoku*

There is one known copy of this work, that SUGIMOTO (2013, 74) reports being in possession of Wakabayashi Seiji 若林政治, though it appears not to be part of the Wakabayashi Collection (若林正治コレクション) at Kanda University of International Studies (神田外語大学附属図書館). The entirety of this work is scanned in SUGIMOTO (1991, 574-579). The work is composed of 22 folios, and covers the nine parts of speech, providing many useful terms connected to grammar and morphological categories. Although no source is cited, it is apparent that the main inspiring work was Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*. This can be claimed by witnessing the order in which the parts of speech are presented, the specific terminology used to describe each subtype, as well as the Latin terminology, as I will illustrate below. One striking example is the fact that the so-called “subjunctive or optative” mood is presented in its Latin translation comprising of the conjunction *vel* ‘or’, corresponding to the Dutch *of*, in the names *subjunctivus vel optativus*, *aanvoegende of wenshende wyze*. This work features very little grammatical information concerning the definitions and practical uses of each part of speech, yet it consists of a list of vocabulary regarding grammatical concepts, and these are not found often in other works attributed to Shizuki. In Table 14, below, I list these terms along with their Latin and Dutch versions, as found in the manuscript. The connection between this work and Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* is clear from the specific names of the different types of each conjunction and interjection. Furthermore, some of the examples remind rather closely to the examples found in Séwel, like the phrases *werkende man* ‘working man’ and *naaijende vrouw* ‘sewing woman’.

Japanese	Dutch	English
文学	Grammatica Letter (文字) en spraakkonst (語術)	Grammar
諸字反切科	Orttcographia [orthographia] Letter (文字) beschrijving (識) of spelkonst	Orthography (Spelling)
音母	Klinkers	Vowels
韻母	Medeklinkers	Consonants

一音	Syllaben, lettergreep (持ツ)	Syllables
詞品科	etymologia, oorsprongkunde (天 ヲ正ス術)	Etymology
九品	Negenderly spraakdeelen	Nine parts of speech
發声詞	Articulus Ledeken	Articles
静詞	Nomina Naamwoorden (動詞ノ外ヲ皆虚詞トニ静詞 ト云フ)	Nouns
本名	Propria Eygene	Proper
実	Substantiva Zelfstandige	Substantive
通名	Appellativa Gemeene	Appellative
微物之稱	Diminutiva Verklynnnaamw:	Diminutive
種類	Geslacht	Gender
陽	Masculinum Mannelyk	Masculine
陰	Foemininun Vrouwelyk	Feminine
中	Neutrum Onzydig Generly	Neuter
複	Meervoudig	Plural
単	Enkelvoudig	Singular
変化	Declinatio Buyging der naamwoorden	Declination
虚	Adjectiva Byvoegelyk	Adjectives
形容す	[Only as a verb]	The verb has the meaning of “to qualify” (see 6.2.2)
虚字変化	Declinatio Buyging der byvoegelyk naamwoorden	Declination of the adjectives
比較	Comparatio Vergelyking	Comparison
稱	Positivus Stellige	Positive
勝	Comparativus Vergelykenden	Comparative
最	Syperlatus [superlativus] Overtreffend	Superlative
代名詞	Pronomina voornaamwoord	Pronouns
真ノ名詞	Aanwyzende Demonstrativa	Demonstrative

代再言	Betrekkelijke Relativa	Relative
問名	Vragende Interrogativa	Interrogative
有物	Bezeffende [Bezittende] Possessiva	Possessive
普通代名詞	Onbepaalde Voornaamwoord	Indefinite pronouns
六格	Casus Naamvallen Zes naamvallen	Case
正	Nominativus Noem	Nominative
主	Genitivus Teel.	Genitive
與	Dativus Gev.	Dative
所	Accusativus Aank.	Accusative
呼	Vocativus Oes.	Vocative
取	Ablativus Neem.	Ablative
動詞	Verbum Werkw.	Verb
動他	Activa Bedryvende Dadelyke Werkende	Active
被動	Passiva Lydende	Passive
自動	Neutra Generlyke Onzydige	Neutral
在	Zelfstandig werkw.	Independent verb
常用動詞 (俗ニ云助詞)	Hulpwoorden	Auxiliary
四法	Vierderly wyzen	Four moods
直説	Indicativus modus Aantonend wyze	Indicative mood
使令	Modus imperativus Geiedende wyze [Gebiedende]	Imperative mood
分註	Subjunctivus vel optativus Aanvoegende of wenschende wyze	Subjunctive or optative mood
普通	Modus infinitivus Onbepaalde wyze	Infinitive mood
四時	Viergetyden	Four times
現在	Tegenwoordige tyde	Present time
過去	Voorleeden tyd	Past time

未来	Toekomende tyd	Future time
普通	Onbepaalde tyd	Indefinite time
(未現在)	Onvolmaakt	Imperfect time
(過去) ⁴⁵	Volmaakten	Perfect
(増加 過去)	Meer dan volmaakte	Pluperfect
(第二現在ノ過去 過去)	Tweede onvolmaakte voorleden tyd	Second imperfect past time
(将来)	Toekomende tyd	Future time
動静詞	Deelwoorden Participium	Participles
形動詞	Adverbium Bywoorden	Adverbs
助詞	Coniunctio t Zamen voegsel	Conjunction
連續詞	toe zaame heften	Conjunctive
不一ノ詞	Schiftende	Separating
雖詞	Toe staande	Concessive
	Weerstreevende ⁴⁶	Adversative
原始詞	Oorzakelyke	Causative
結意詞	Redenkavelende	Of reason
設令詞	Voorwaardelyke	Conditional
選取ノ詞	Verkiesende	Selective
接意詞	Vernogtende	Unitive
唯除詞	Uyt zonderende	Exclusive
補意ノ詞	Vervullende	Fulfilling
慢詞	Prapositio Voorzetselen	Preposition
嘆息詞	Interjectio Tussen werpselen	Interjection
悲哀ニハ	Van bedroefdhyd	Of sadness
歡喜	Van blydschap	Of happiness
驚歎	Van verwonderinge	Of bewilderment
東威	Van bedryginge	Of threat
祝賀	Van wenschinge	Of wish
顛墜	Van smeekige	Of supplication
讚美	Van goedkeuringe	Of approval
辱之	Van versmadinge	Of disdain
侮慢	Van bespottinge	Of teasing
發笑	Van gelag	Of laughter

⁴⁵ In the original text, there appears to be an unclear writing before the two characters *kako* 過去. In Baba's revised version of the document, this tense is simply labeled as *kako* 過去, as reported by SUGIMOTO (1976, 510).

⁴⁶ This term does not have a Japanese translation; however, SUGIMOTO (1976, 497) claims it deducible from "other things of Shizuki", that the translation should have been 雖然 (Original quote: "訳語なし、他の柳圃のものから、〈雖然詞〉と訳していることがわかる").

招呼	Van beroep	Of calling
哭泣	Van gehuyl	Of cry
令黙	Om te doen zwygen	To make silent

Table 14 Parts of speech in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*.

2.4.7 *Shihō shoji taiyaku*

This work exists in two copies. One copy is credited by SUGIMOTO (1976, 453) as being in possession of Wakabayashi Seiji, meaning in the Wakabayashi Collection (若林正治コレクション) at Kanda University of International Studies (神田外語大学附属図書館), while the other one, known with the title *Ranbunpō shoji* 蘭文法諸時, is kept in the Kyoto University Library. The work *Shihō shoji taiyaku* comprises thirty-three folios and covers the topic of verbal tenses and moods. It cites directly Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, that is written in Latin characters, and it also repeatedly cites Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu* (cited as *Seizenfu* 生前父). It also cites *Sanshu shokaku* 三種諸格, when referring to the variations of verbs according to person and number. Its contents appear to be very much inspired by Séwel's section on verbs, within his chapter on etymology (meaning “morphology”, see Chapter III and IV). It presents all the verbal tenses and moods illustrated in Séwel, with a Japanese translation, strongly connected to the theory and terminology found in *Seizenfu*. This work is dated March 1805 (‘Second month of the second year of the Bunka era, spring’, 文化二歳乙丑春二月) and Ryūho is the attested name of the author.

There are not many Dutch phrases and citations coming from sources other than Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, however, three quotes point to interesting new sources. When illustrating the *mirai no kako* 未来ノ過去 ‘the past of the future’ of the *aanvoegende wyze*, the ‘subjunctive mood’, Shizuki takes a quote from the Hippocratic oath as an example. The quote reads (6v):

al het geen ik gehoord en gezien zal hebben omtrent myn patient, van he(i)melyke dingen dat zal liever met mij sterven dan dat ik het iemand bekend maaken zouden	Everything secret I will have heard and seen concerning my patient, that should better die with me than be shared with somebody else.

Although this was probably a common quote in Dutch medicine books, I have been able to identify a probable source. The sentence is found in a rather similar form in *Het Nieuw Hervormde Examen van Land- en Zee-chirurgie*, a manual of medicine by Johannes Daniel Schlichting, published in Amsterdam by Abraham Graal in the year 1748. The book is a re-edition of *Zee-Chirurgie* by Johannes Verbrugge, whose first edition appears to be dated 1680, by the publisher Johannis Ten Hoorn, in Amsterdam. In Schlichting's edition the quote appears on page 659, in the final section of the book, where the author (probably Schlichting) devotes a few words to the Hippocratic oath. The sentence there is found in the following form: *Al 't gene ik gehoord, en gezien zal hebben omtrent myne of andere Patienten, van heimelyke dingen, dat zal liever met my sterven, dan dat ik het iemand bekent maaken zoude.*

There are furthermore, two citations from Jacob Cats. The first sentence, that Shizuki calls *tori no uta* 鳥ノ詩 ‘The poem of the bird’, reads *Al vloog ik in de woud, leefde ik evenwel in veelderhanden zorgen* ‘Even if I flew in the wood, I still lived/would still live in many worries’, (henceforth “Sentence 1”) while the second one reads *Al viel wereld gantsche een gaar, de vrome schrikt voor geen gevaar* ‘Even if the whole world fell, the pious startles for no fear’ (henceforth “Sentence 2”). Both these sentences present what was called by Séwel and Shizuki an *aanvoegende wijze*, a “subjunctive mood” with a past tense *vloog* (that, in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, is misspelled as *voog*) as preterit of *vliegen* ‘to fly’, and *viel* as preterit of *vallen* ‘to fall’. SUGIMOTO (1976, 453-471) provides a lengthy description of the content of *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, however, he is not able to find an original source for these sentences and he also believed both to belong to the so-called “Poem of the bird”. He writes:⁴⁷

つぎに〈鳥ノ詩〉のことであるが、これもスペリングのミスから全部を解することは難解であるが、〈森ノ中デ歌ウ〉というような意の詩であろう。〈ik〉と名乗るものが鳥なのかもしれない。〈al〉に導かれる分註法を示し、〈zorgen〉(〈京大本〉では *songen*)が過去であるというのであろうか。いずれにせよ蘭詩の一部を柳園が示している点、彼が自然科学や医学関係のみでなく、文学の方面にも—前にはデカルトが出てきて哲学のことがみられた—手をのばしていたことがうかがれて、これまた興味深い。ただ記述内容は、他の著作とも重複する点が多くみられる。

Subsequently, we find the “Poem of the bird” (*tori no uta*). Although difficult to interpret because of its misspellings, it seems to be a poem about “singing in the forest” (*mori no naka de utau*). The *ik* [“I”] probably refers to a bird. It illustrates the use of *al* in the “subjunctive mood”, where probably *zorgen* (*songen* in *Ranbunpō shoji*), is a “past” (*kako*). In any case, the point that Ryūho took a part of a Dutch poem, is also interesting since it shows that he was reaching out to literary sources beyond medicine and natural sciences (as we saw previously about the philosopher Descartes).

When SUGIMOTO names Descartes he is referencing the quote from *Sanshu shokaku* 三種諸各, where Shizuki copied an excerpt from James Keill’s *Inleidinge tot de waare natuur- en sterrenkunde*, where Descartes was being mentioned (see 2.4.4, above). Claiming that Shizuki was “reaching out” to philosophical sources based on this might not be justified.

In SUGIMOTO’s evaluation of these poems, one can see him mistaking the noun *zorgen* ‘worries’, for a verb, probably *songen*, as he claims it is written in *Ranbunpō shoji*, that I assume he interpreted as the past simple of *zingen* ‘to sing’. In fact, although Shizuki calls it *tori no uta* – where the word *uta* could translate both “poem”, as well as “song” – this piece of text does not refer to the act of singing as, instead, Sugimoto seems to imply by interpreting it as depicting the “singing in the forest” (*mori no naka de utau*).

⁴⁷ Original quote from SUGIMOTO (1976, 461-2), my English translation.

Both sentences come from the same work. These sentences are originally found in the 1627 edition of *Sinne- en minne-beelden*,⁴⁸ by the poet Jacob Cats,⁴⁹ an extremely popular figure in Dutch literature. Cats' *Sinne- en minne-beelden* is composed of numerous poems, that belong to the tradition of emblems, generally introduced by an illustration, depicting the short story presented in the poem, mostly portraying the lyrical subject of the poem in question. The general structure of these compositions presents two main parts, where the first described the emblem, while the second explained the moral. Emblems, in general, but particularly those of Cats, are aimed at educational purposes and were written in a rather simple language, for everybody to be able to read them (LUIJTEN 1996, 47-8).⁵⁰ The presence of Dutch emblems in Edo Japan has also been pointed out by SMITS (2020).

The two sentences quoted by Shizuki appear in two different poems. Sentence 1 appears in poem 14, titled *Amissa libertate laetior* "Rejoicing in lost freedom" – although it appears that Shizuki had cut out a few clauses from it – which originally read *Al vloogh ic in het wout, al sat ic daer verborgen, | Noch leefd'ic evenwel in veelderhande sorgen* "Even if I flew in the wood, even if I sat there hiding, | still I [would have] lived with many worries". Sentence 2, instead, was featured under emblem 48, titled *Dissidet quod impar est* "He who belies is uneven", as adaptation from Latin, of a verse by Horace, reading *Si fractus illabatur orbis, Impavidum ferient ruinae* "Even if the Earth broke down to pieces, its ruins would find me unafraid". Both only appear in this form since the 1627 edition, although the first one was already present, in a different form, in 1618, when the book was initially titled *Silenus Alcibiadis, Sive, Proteus: Vitae Humanae Ideam, Emblemate Trifariam Variato, Oculis Subijciens*.⁵¹ Apparently, Cats decided to re-edit his older poems to make them more easily readable and poignant (LUIJTEN 1996, 46). Of these, Sentence 1 was narrated from the point of view of a caged parrot, which can be seen depicted in its emblem, in Figure 2, thus explaining Shizuki's use of the phrase *tori no uta* 'The poem of the bird'.

As discussed in 2.4.3, this is not the only instance in which Shizuki quotes Cats' emblems in order to explain specific grammatical issues, particularly connected to hypothetical sentences and the concept of *tatoe* (see 8.4.6). I have analyzed these quotes, their implications, and the relationship of Shizuki with poetry lengthily in

⁴⁸ The term *zinnenbeelden*, literally 'meaning-images' also spelled *sinnebeelden* and similar, was a Dutch adaptation of the Latin term *emblema*.

⁴⁹ Jacob Cats was born in 1577, in the small city of Brouwershaven, in Zeeland, and he managed to pursue his education in the close city of Zierikzee, which allowed him to subsequently work as a jurist. Cats only started publishing poetic works in the second half of his life, from 1618 onwards, when he was already 41. The poet Jacob Cats, later known as Vader Cats 'Father Cats', was very popular also in the eighteenth century, cited by many of those authors whose works will become classics in Dutch literature (TEN BERGE 1979, 15-38; 198-225).

⁵⁰ With this work, Cats initiates the creation of a new style in love emblems, which he will refine with his later compositions. Specifically, Cats brought a new type of "love", in Dutch and European poetry, where the Petrarchan stone-hearted woman was substituted with more realist stories and daily *topoi* (STRONKS & BOOT 2007, 4).

⁵¹ For an explanation of the title of this work see PORTEMAN & SMITS-VELDT (2016, 310-1).

NESPOLI (2022). I will go back to these sentences in Chapter VIII, though I still suggest checking my article, if one is interested in this topic, since there I could go deeper in the poetical aspect of Shizuki's claims and scholarship.



Figure 2 Emblem of poem 14, “Amissa libertate laetior” in Jacob Cats’ 1627 edition of *Sinne- en minne-beelden*

In *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, one also finds a list of verbal conjugations and moods. The different forms are exemplified by means of the first-person singular of each conjugation of the verb *leren* ‘to learn’, in a much similar fashion to what was done by Séwel (see 4.5.1). Just like in Séwel, the passive form of the verb *leren* – i.e., *geleerd worden* – is treated as a different verb altogether. Shizuki employs similar terminology to what is found in *Rangaku seizenfu*, and in the grammatical section of *Joshi-kō*, not without important differences, still. In table 15, below, I list the grammatical terminology adopted by Shizuki in *Shihō shoji taiyaku* to refer to the different conjugated forms of verbs. In order to better visualize which term was used to refer to which conjugation, in the column on the right I have added all the forms of the first-person singular of the verb *leren* (and *geleerd worden*), regardless of the mood they belong to.

Japanese	Dutch	English	Notes or conjugated tenses it refers to
<i>hō</i> 法		Mood	
<i>jī</i> 時		Tense	

<i>genzai</i> 現在	Tegenwoordig tijd	Present tense	• Ik leer • The entire imperative mood • Dat ik leer • Leeren • Leerende • Ik word geleerd • Geleerd worden • Geleerd • Geleerd wordende • Ik ben een geleerd man • Een geleerd man te zijn • Een geleerd man zijnde • Een boek te hebben • Hebbende een boek • Ik word een geleerd man • Een geleerd man te worden • Een geleerd man wordende • Het woord is gesproken • Gesproken te zijn • Gesproken zijnde
<i>kako</i> 過去	Volmaakte voorleeden tijd	Past (perfect) tense	• Ik heb geleerd • Dat ik geleerd hebben • Geleerd hebben • Geleerde • Ik ben geleerd geweest • Geleerd geworden • Geleerd geworden zijnde • Ik ben een geleerd man geweest • Een geleerd man geweest te zijn • Een geleerd man geweest zijnde • Een boek gehad te hebben • Een boek gehad hebben • Ik ben een geleerd man geweest • Ik was een geleerd man geweest • Een geleerd man geweest te zijn • Een geleerd man geweest zijnde • Het woord is gesproken geweest • Gesproken geweest te zijn • Gesproken geweest zijnde

<i>mirai</i> 未来	Toekomende tijd	Future tense	• Ik zal leeren • Dat ik leeren zal • Te zullen leeren • Zullende leeren • Ik zal geleerd worden • Als ik geleerd zal worden • Gellerd te zullen worden • Zullend geleerd worden • Een geleerde man te zullen zijn • Zullende een geleerd man zijn • Een boek te zullen hebben • Zullende een boek hebben • Ik zal een geleerd man zijn • Een geleerd man te zullen worden • Zullende een geleerd man worden • Gesproken te zullen zijn • Zullende gesproken zijn • Het worden zal gesproken worden • Ik zal een geleerd man worden
<i>genzai no kako</i> 現在ノ過去	Onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd	Imperfect past tense	• Ik ben geleerd geworden • Een geleerd man geweest te zijn • Een geleerd man geworden zijnde
<i>kako no kako</i> 過去ノ過去	Meer dan volmaakte voorleeden tijd	Pluperfect tense	• Ik had geleerd • Dat ik geleerd had of hadde • Ik was geleerd geweest • Ik was een geleerd man geweest • Een geleerde man geweest te zijn • Het woord was gesproken geweest
<i>fugenji</i> 不限時	Tweede toekomstige tijd of onbepaalde tijd der aanvoegende wijze	Second future tense or indefinite tense of the subjunctive mood	• Ik zou leeren • Schoon ik geleerd zou hebben • Als ik geleerd zou worden • Ik zou een geleerd man zijn
<i>fugenji</i> 不限時	Derde toekomstige tijd of onbepaalde tijd, der aanvoegende wijze	Third future tense or indefinite tense of the subjunctive mood	• Ik zou boek hebben • Ik zou een geleerd man worden • Het woord zoude gesproken

<i>kako no genzai</i> 過去ノ現在			- Ik zal gegaan hebben - Dat ik leerde - Ik was een geleerde man - Ik werd geleerd - Ik werd een geleerd man - Het woord was gesproken
<i>kako no mirai</i> 過去ノ未来 ⁵²	Tweede volmaakte voorleeden tijd, of onbepaalde tijd der aanvoegende wijze	Second past perfect tense or indefinite tense of the subjunctive mood	
<i>mirai no kako</i> 未来ノ過去	tweed toekomstende tijd	Second future tense	- Dat ik geleerd zal hebben - Als ik geleerd zal geworden
<i>chokusetsu-hō</i> 直説法	Aantoonende wijze	Indicative mood	
<i>shirei-hō</i> 使令法	Gebiedende wijze	Imperative mood	
<i>shigo-hō</i> 死語法	Aanvoegende wijze of wensende wijze	Subjunctive mood or optative mood	Also misspelled as 死諸法
<i>fugen-hō</i> 不限法	Onbepaalde wijze	Indefinite mood	
<i>fudan-hō</i> 不断法	Deelwoord	Participles	
<i>Dōshi</i> 動詞		Verb	
<i>tatoe</i> 假令		<i>tatoe</i>	
<i>jisshi</i> 實詞		Noun	
<i>kako no genzai no kako</i> 過去ノ現在ノ過去			Ik was geleerd geworden
<i>fugen no kako</i> 不限ノ過去			Indien ik geleerd zou (gewoorden zijn)
<i>tsuzuku kotoba</i> 續ク詞			Used as explanation for the function of participles
<i>suiryō</i> 推量		“Hypothetical of reality”	(see 8.4.6)
<i>jiseki</i> 事跡		<i>jiseki</i>	(see 8.5.1)

Table 15 Grammatical vocabulary in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*.

⁵² In *Shihō shoji taiyaku* the word *mirai* 未来 is not readable. It is, however, in *Ranbunpō shoji*, as attested in SUGIMOTO (1976, 454).

2.4.8 *Zokubun kinnō*

There are six copies of this work, each presenting a different version of the title. SUGIMOTO (1976, 472-473) divides them into two groups of three, according to how close he deemed them to be to Shizuki's theories. ŌSHIMA (2019) considers this work to be posthumous.

- The copy titled *Sakubun hitsuyō yakusho shuchi – Zokubun kinnō* 作文必用 属
訳書須知 属文錦囊 ‘Things necessary for text composition of a translation one should not forget – Brocade bag of text composition’ appears after the manuscript *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, thus it also belongs to the Wakabayashi Collection (若林正治コレクション) at Kanda University of International Studies (神田外語大学附属図書館). This copy is entirely scanned in SUGIMOTO (1991, 592-594).
- The copy titled *Sakubun hitsuyō yakka shuchi – Zokubun kinnō* 作文必用 属文
訳家須知 属文錦囊 ‘Things necessary for text composition a translator should not forget – Brocade bag of text composition’ features the name of Tsuji Ranshitsu 辻蘭室 (1756 – 1836) and is kept at the Kyōto University Library (京都大学附属図書館). SUGIMOTO (1976, 472) calls this MsE.
- The copy titled *Yakubun hitsuyō – Zokubun kinnō* 訳文
必用 属文錦囊 ‘Things necessary the translation of a text – Brocade bag of text composition’ presents the disclaimer 岨山堂秘蔵. It is located at the Seikaidō Bunko (静嘉堂文庫) Museum of Art in Tokyo. SUGIMOTO (1976, 472) calls this MsB.

Of these three, the last two present the writing 吉雄権之助口授 ‘Oral teachings of Yoshio Gonnosuke’, absent in the former, a detail that leads SUGIMOTO (1976, 472) to deduce that the former copy needs to be considered the most faithful to Shizuki's original text. There are three additional versions of this work, that SUGIMOTO (1976, 473), however, considers less faithful to the supposed original text.

- The copy titled *Jūtei Zokubun kinnō* 重訂属文錦囊 ‘Heavily revised Brocade bag of text composition’ is kept in the Museum of Kamada, in the city of Sakaide (坂出市鎌田博物館) and features the name of Udagawa Yōan
- The copy titled *Yakubun hitsuyō – Zokubun kinnō* 訳文
必用 属文錦囊 ‘Things necessary for text composition of a translation – Brocade bag of text composition’ is kept at the Tōhoku University Library (東北大学附属図書館), in the city of Sendai.
- The copy titled *Joan Oranda Zokubun kinnō-shō* 如淵和蘭属文錦囊抄 ‘Joan's Dutch brocade bag of text composition’, with Joan being a pseudonym of Gon'nosuke, is kept at Tenri Central Library (天理図書館) in Nara.

The content of *Zokubun* (also *Shokubun*) is rather short. It covers Dutch syntax, demonstrating by means of matrixes how words are to be ordered according to five moods: indicative, subjunctive, imperative, interrogative, and indefinite. The names of the moods are not the same as those found in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, although the two are found together in one of the copies. The work starts with eight points,

covering the main broad rules concerning Dutch syntax. The interpretation of the morphological classes of *Zokubun* can be read in section 7.8. No source, Dutch or Japanese, is cited in this work. The only full sentence in Dutch used here is *laat hem hier komen* ‘let him come here’, that cannot help much with the tracing of any specific source.

Japanese	Dutch	English
<i>hassei</i> 発声		Article
<i>keidōshi</i> 形動詞		Adverb
<i>jisshi</i> 実詞		Noun
<i>kyoshi</i> 虚詞		Adjective
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞		Verb
<i>shozaishi</i> 所在詞 ⁵³		Preposition
<i>chokusetsu-hō</i> 直說法	Aantoonende wijze	Indicative mood
<i>bunchū-hō</i> 分註法	Aanvoegende wijze	Subjunctive mood
<i>shirei-hō</i> 使令法	gebiedende wijze	Imperative mood
<i>mongō-hō(?)</i> 問叩法	Vraagende wijze	Interrogative mood
<i>futsū-hō</i> 普通法	Onbepaalde wijze	Indefinite mood
<i>tatoe</i> 假令		<i>Tatoe</i>
<i>kako</i> 過去		Past
<i>genzai</i> 現在		Present
<i>mirai</i> 未来		Future
<i>joshi</i> 助詞		Auxiliary verb
<i>shu</i> 主		
<i>kyaku</i> 客		
<i>tanshō</i> 単称		Singular
<i>fukushō</i> 複称		Plural
	Scheidelijk woord	Separable verbs

Table 16 Parts of speech and grammatical vocabulary in *Zokubun kinnō*.

⁵³ Misspelled as 取在詞, in the copy attached to *Shihō shoji taiyaku*.

Most grammatical terms are only found in Japanese. One interesting term, namely *scheidelijkwoord*, literally ‘separable word’, is only used in Dutch and it refers to separable compound verbs.

There is substantial difference in the terminology utilized in MsB, as compared to the other copies of *Zokubun*. SUGIMOTO (1976, 474) recognizes in the names of the categories of speech of MsB the terminology adopted by Yoshio Shunzō 吉雄俊蔵, speculating this to be a later readaptation of the original content of *Zokubun*. Below one can see the main differences in the names of the categories of speech, as found in MsB:

MsB	MsA	
<i>shūshi</i> 宗詞	<i>hasseishi</i> 発声詞	Articles
<i>baimeishi</i> 倍名詞	<i>kyoshi</i> 虚詞	Adjectives
<i>fukushi</i> 副詞	<i>keidōshi</i> 形動詞	Adverbs
<i>gyōshi</i> 業詞	<i>dōshi</i> 動詞	Verbs
<i>zenshi</i> 前詞	<i>shozaishi</i> 所在詞	Prepositions

Table 17 Alternative terminology in *Zokubun kinnō*.

2.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have introduced and discussed the works on the Dutch language attributed to Shizuki. ŌSHIMA (2019) points out that these documents are still lacking a thorough philological analysis, including a calligraphic examination. The lack of clarity about the exact dating of the manuscript and the order in which they were produced has led to different interpretations. DE GROOT (2005) attempted to find a correspondence between Baba Sajūrō’s words and an alleged enlightenment of Shizuki after the latter read Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*. Albeit a helpful distinction, this is not sufficient to date the works of Shizuki with certainty. In fact, since none of the existing manuscripts can be considered to be the “original” copy, one must assume a certain degree of influence from the copyist(s) who might have added references to Séwel at a later point in time. This seems to be the case, for example, for many of the copies of *Joshi-kō*, where the section on grammar might have been added subsequently and includes references to Séwel, amongst others. ŌSHIMA (2019) disagreed with DE GROOT (2005), pointing out that a better way to distinguish between the different works attributed to Shizuki is to identify those written while he was alive and those produced posthumously. Additionally, ŌSHIMA (2018) proposed another way to help dating Shizuki’s works, namely by establishing which are signed by the name Ryūho. Even if this method were to be completely trustworthy, most of Shizuki’s works are actually not signed at all. For these reasons, the history of the compilation of Shizuki’s works is still largely unclear.

Nonetheless, this does not hamper my research. It is my aim to analyze the contents of these works in order to illustrate Shizuki's theories of grammar in the form in which they have spread. The analysis of these theories, as far as topics connected to morphosyntax are concerned, will be presented in Chapters VII and VIII. In Chapter VII, I will provide an analysis of the morphological categories and the parts of speech, as illustrated in the works attributed to Shizuki. There, I will try to make sense of the terminology and categories introduced in the sections above. In Chapter VIII, I will expand on the way in which syntax is covered, with a specific focus on verbs. Before being able to do this, one first needs to establish what type of grammatical theory Shizuki had access to. This will be done in the next four chapters.

In order to better visualize the difference and similarities, along with the main issues found in all the manuscripts containing the works attributed to Shizuki, I have collected all the terminology connected to grammar (*bunpō yōgo* 文法用語) in Appendix 1.

CHAPTER III

Early European Studies on the Dutch Language

Bergen en daalen ontmoeten elkander nooijt, maar menschen wel.

Mountains and valleys never meet each other, but men do.

(Hendrik Doeff, 1814)

3. Early European studies on the Dutch language

3.1 European tradition on grammar, from Socrates to *Twe-spraeck*

Before analyzing the studies on language and grammar that have been carried out in the Low Countries about Dutch, I should first briefly illustrate the origin of what I will henceforth simplify with the phrasing “Greek-Latin tradition”. The present section will mainly function in two directions. Firstly, it will illustrate how the theories of Ancient Greece spread throughout Europe, during the centuries. Secondly, it will evidence the fact that some of the issues and topics I will deal with in the present book, have been discussed since the very conception of the idea of grammar.

When it comes to the “Greek-Latin tradition” of grammar, it is generally believed that the first postulations of this kind have been made roughly in the 5th or 4th century BC, in Greece, by philosophers such as Socrates (470 – 399 BC), Plato (428/427 or 424/423 – 348/347 BC) and Aristotle (384 – 322 BC). As claimed by ROBINS (1951, 6), a peculiarity of the beginnings of the grammatical investigations in Greece is that it was strongly motivated by the need to understand and reinterpret the language of the classics, namely Homer. Generally, ROBINS adds, the birth of a grammatical conscience arises in a specific culture when encountering a foreign language, but this was not completely true for Greece.

In Protagoras (480 – 410 BC), one can already see the detecting of two verbal moods (indicative and conjunctive) and three genders. Democritus (470 – 360 BC), instead, had already tried to justify the “correctness of language” based on the language used by the poet Homer, with the principle of *orthoepeia* ὀρθοέπεια. Appealing to an honorable source, specifically a poetic one, in order to justify one’s own theories on grammar will be a pattern that can be witnessed across the ages, and even in Japan. After Plato’s *Cratylus* (Κρατύλος), Aristotle is probably one of the first figures to provide a somewhat structured description of the parts of speech. In his *De Interpretatione* (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας), he divides words in three categories: *onomata* “nouns”, *rhemata* “verbs” and *sundesmoi*, literally “conjunctions”, the latter including words that only conveyed grammatical meaning (RUISENDAAL 1991, 12; ROBINS 1951, 17-18). Along with the distinction between “nouns” and “verbs”, another grammatical issue that was already investigated by the early Greeks, is the question of grammatical gender; how to categorize the different classes of nouns, and to what extent real-world sexual features could help with such categorization (ROBINS 1951, 14).

Subsequently, learned individuals started gathering in the city of Alexandria. For them, Homer’s language was already becoming noticeably distant and obscure. This incentivized new studies on the classics and a tendency to strive to maintain a Greek language that could be as close as possible to that of the classics themselves. The scholars of Alexandria intended to redeem Greek from decadence. It is in this context that one can see extreme tendencies, like Zenodotus who started emending Homer’s language when it did not comply with Attic Greek grammar (ROBINS 1951, 37-38). After a period of centrality of the Alexandrine school, that pondered on

whether grammar should be *techné* (art) or *empeiria* (experience), the pivotal *Techné grammatiké* is published, a brief collection of notions regarding language, written in the first century BC and attributed to Dionysius Thrax, himself from Alexandria. This work stands out as a first attempt at treating language as a single entity, based on experiential knowledge (*empeiria*) and normal language-use (*usus*) of poets and writers. A grammar serving literature (RUIJSEDAAL 1991, 48-49). What is most interesting for the present research, regarding Thrax's grammar, is the fact that it presents eight parts of speech: nouns, verbs, participles, articles, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions. Verbs, in Thrax, were defined as "the part of speech without case-inflection, admitting inflection of tense, person and number, signifying an activity or a being acted on" (ROBINS 1951, 40). In the 2nd century AD, in Alexandria, lived Apollonius Dyscolus, who created a theory of syntax while trying to find a working system behind all grammatical constructions, even irregular ones. An interesting feature of his theory is that verbs are considered secondary to nouns because they are used to specify the active or passive state of nouns themselves (RUIJSEDAAL 1991, 58-59). The grammar attributed to Dinoyisius Thrax has created a system whereby the grammatical investigation was focused on the categorization of words, and has been maintained for centuries (LUHRMAN 1984, 13). This approach has been defined by ROBINS (1967, 25) as "word based grammar", that he believes involves three main implications, which I copy verbatim:

"the identification of the word as an isolable linguistic entity; the establishment of a set of word classes to distinguish and classify the words in the language; the working out of adequate grammatical categories to describe and analyze the morphology of words entering into paradigms of associated forms and the syntactic relations obtaining between words in the construction of sentences"

These implications are what LUHRMAN (1984, 15) asserts leading to the necessity, in most post-Thraxian grammars, of defining what a word is, what the categories of said words are and how words are inflected morphologically. In order to explain the role of such morphological modifications, the ancient grammarians came up with the concept of *accidens*, that can be traced back to Aristotle. Each variable category was to be inflected according to a number of *accidentia*, in order to express their morphosyntactic function, like tense and mood, for verbs, or case and number for nouns, etcetera. Although I will cover this concept in 3.2, one *accidens* that deserves to be anticipated is that of *genus* 'gender'. Grammatical gender was not something unique to nouns or to those parts of speech that needed to be inflected accordingly in combination to nouns but was also extended to verbs. The *accidens genus* of verbs is a particularly complicated issue to cover, since this term has been used in a plethora of senses, often conflating activeness and passiveness, that correspond today to the "voice" (*vox*) of verbs, and the concepts of transitivity and intransitivity (LUHRMAN 1984, 381). Little mention was made to the concept of *accidens genus* after the *trivium* period. However, even within the grammatical theory relevant to the present research, the common approach was to divide verbs in three types: active, passive, and neuter. Similar distinctions could be seen already in the writings of Roman

grammarian Aelius Donatus who, in the 4th century, described five genders of verbs, in Latin, as follows:

1. *Activa*: those verbs that present the ending -o in the first person singular present indicative form, and that can be turned passive by the ending -or;
2. *Passiva*: those verbs that present the ending -or in the first person singular present indicative form, and that can be turned active by the ending -o;
3. *Deponentia*: those verbs that end in -or, while always having an active meaning;
4. *Communia*: those verbs that end in -or and have either an active or neutral sense according to the context;
5. *Neutra*: those verbs that end in -o but cannot be turned passive by the ending -or. Also those verbs that do not end in either -o or -or, in their first person singular present indicative form, but rather in -t, -i, or -um.

As LUHRMAN (1984, 382) points out, these definitions depend fundamentally on the two “main” categories of “active” and “passive”. In fact, the other three categories are all defined depending on their possibility of expressing activeness or passiveness. The tendency of defining neuter verbs as those that cannot express either an action or a “suffering”, is very well documented, however, Priscian, who lived in the 6th century, was already criticizing this definition that stated that all verbs express actions that are *aut patitur aut agit* “either suffering or action”. What Priscian proposes instead, is to use the concept of neutrality to refer to those verbs that cannot combine with a genitive, accusative or dative, and cannot be turned passive, a definition that coincides with modern intransitive verbs. This means that neutrality was shifted from a purely morphological category to a morphosyntactic one (LUHRMAN 1984, 382-3).

The summoning of Crates of Mallus to Rome, during the 2nd century BC, is considered the moment when Greek grammar entered the Latin-speaking world. The works of Crates are considered fundamental in inspiring of what is believed to be the first book of Latin grammar, authored by Marcus Terentius Varro (116 – 27 BC), by the title *De lingua latina* (RUIJSEDAAL 1991, 67-69).

When Greek grammar reached Rome, the Latins could thus base the grammar of their own language on the work that had already been done by the Greeks, whose culture the Romans tended to admire. Many Roman scholars decided to adopt and adapt Greek grammar, by including the main differences between the two languages, namely: the absence of a definite article, in Latin, and the six-case system of Latin against the five of Greek. The close relatedness of Latin and Greek made it possible for the Romans to simply adopt Greek grammar with just a few adjustments (ROBINS 1951, 48-49). After Varro, other Romans started working on grammar, also coining many of the Latin terms that are seen in 17th and 18th century Dutch grammars as well, starting from the adaptation of Thrax’s term *Technè grammatikè* into *Ars grammatica*. Notable mention should be made of Latin authors such as Quintus Remmius Palaemon and his student Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, both rhetoricians. The Roman period is considered to end with Priscianus Caesariensis (5th century AD) author of *Institutio de arte grammatica*, also known as *Institutiones grammaticarum*. This book is acknowledged as the last Latin grammar book that can

be considered authored by a native speaker and has been at the basis of the grammars of the Middle Ages (RUISENDAAL 1991, 88-129). A turning point from the ancient era is Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (480 – 524), who is known as the one who first used the term *quadrivium* to refer to the “four” liberal arts, namely: arithmetic; geometry; astrology and music (RUISENDAAL 1991, 139). It is Roman scholar Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (485 – 580) who provided the following definition of grammar:¹

Grammatica vero est peritia pulchre loquendi
ex poetis illustribus, oratoribusque collecta.
Officium ejus est sine vitio dictionem
prosalem metricamque componere.

Grammar really is the analysis of the
collection of the beautiful speeches of
distinguished poets and orators. Their job is
to compose prose and metric without errors.

This demonstrates the continuation of the approach to grammar with the intention of describing and prescribing the use of language of famous and respected authors.

ROBINS (1951, 70-75) divides the grammatical studies of the Middle Ages into two periods. The first period spans from the 8th century to the 12th, while the second goes until the Renaissance. The first period was considered “formative”, by ROBINS, while the second period was described as “more productive and significant”. During the Middle Ages one also sees the affirmation of the seven liberal arts, that were composed of the two groups: *trivium* and *quadrivium*, to which I will go back in 3.2.

With time, one also starts seeing grammars of Latin being produced in lands where Latin had never been native. The English Bede (672/3 – 735) and Alcuin of York (735 – 804) are particularly relevant as they reintroduced the dialogued style in their grammar books, meant for teaching (RUISENDAAL 1991, 148-153). The dialogue-form will still be used by some Dutch authors, in the eighteenth century, even among those that reached Japan, like Marin’s *Spraakwyze* (see 4.4).

The Italian Renaissance stimulated humanism that meant an interest in the Classical world and, thus, in the Latin language and literature. It is in this context that Lorenzo Valla (1407 – 1457) compiled his *Elegantium linguae latinae libri sex*, where it is claimed that there is only one type of Latin that can be considered good, and that is the type of Latin used by authors such as Virgil and Ovid and no later than Priscianus (RUISENDAAL 1991, 183-187). Humanism steadily spreads from Florence toward the northern lands of Europe, inspiring Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466 – 1536) who believed grammar to be the basis of all disciplines (*Grammaticen esse deisciplinarum omnium fundamentum*). Travelling across Europe, Erasmus is convinced that the arid learning of grammatical rules makes little sense if one is able to practice daily with actual speakers of such language. For humanists, grammar was generally concerned with four fields of investigation: orthography; etymology (that corresponded more closely to what we would today call “morphology”); prosody; and syntax (RUISENDAAL 1991, 195-205). The year 1540 is often acknowledged as a turning point for European grammatical tradition and the year in which the studies of the classics reached their peak. This is because

¹ Quoted from RUISENDAAL (1991, 140), my English translation.

in that year the Italian Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484 – 1558), latinized name for Giulio Cesare della Scala, published his *De causis linguae latinae*, where he proposes a return to the Aristotelian theoretical framework, and a more empirical approach to the study of language. He criticizes the other humanists for not having considered language as an abstract system that required to be analyzed scientifically. In fact, he believed language not to be a form of *ars*, but rather a form of *scientia* (RUIJSENDAAL 1991, 206-207). These authors and movements certainly did not stay confined within the borders of their homelands and spread all throughout Europe. One still needs to wait, however, until the foundation of the University of Leiden in 1575, for a more prominent role of the Low Countries, in the context of the studies of grammar. The University of Leiden attracted many important scholars of the time, among whom one should mention the philologist Justus Lipsius (1547 – 1606). Ludolffus Lithocomus of Dusseldorf (dates unknown) authored *De grammatica latina*, that spread in the Low Countries since the year 1584. This work still employed the subdivision of grammar in orthography, prosody, etymology, and syntax. Lithocomus' *De grammatica latina* has been notably used in the Low Countries for the subsequent decades, also employed as the basis for Christiaan van Heule's Dutch grammar in 1625. The hegemony of the use of *De grammatica latina* will not be superseded until the publication, in 1635, of *Aristarchus, sive De arte grammatica libri septem* by Gerardus Vossius (1577 - 1649). For Vossius, grammar was but an instrument by means of which to teach, and the specific rules of a language needed to be learned in the context of one's own daily life (RUIJSENDAAL 1991, 232-233).

The first traces of learned individuals defending the use of the so-called “vulgar language” in literary contexts can be found in Italy, particularly with the 1304 *De vulgari eloquentia* by Tuscan author Dante Alighieri (1265 – 1321). What is considered to be the first European grammar on a “vulgar language” – or, better said, “vernacular language” – is indeed Tuscan, specifically with the 1443 book *Grammatica della lingua toscana*, by Leon Battista Alberti (1404 – 1472). One still needs to wait until the year 1492 for the second such book, a grammar of Castilian Spanish by the title *Gramática castellana* by Antonio de Nebrija (1444 – 1522). Slowly, in the rest of Europe, other lands developed their own vernacular grammars, often motivated by nationalism and empire-building (RUIJSENDAAL 1991, 245-246).

In the Dutch speaking territories, the literary interest in the vernacular language developed mostly from the need to provide a readable translation of the Bible, consistent with the Lutheran Reformation. However, most attempts at providing translations into a language that could be accessible to all speakers of the Dutch varieties had little success during the 16th century. A concrete step forward was made in 1618 with the Synod of Dordrecht where many literates came together and finally agreed on how to proceed with the translation of the Bible in a form of the vernacular language that could be accessible to all speakers of Dutch. Nonetheless, there were not only religious reasons that motivated the adoption of a form of vernacular language in the Low Countries. In fact, the language of politics and institutions also needed to be more accessible to the masses, gradually abandoning the custom of communicating in Latin, French or German (RUIJSENDAAL 1991, 250-251).

In the process of de-Latinization of scholastic knowledge, of the 16th and 17th centuries, one must remember the support in favor of the use of Dutch from great authors such as Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert (1522 – 1590), Simon Stevin (1548 – 1620) and Hendrik Laurenszoon Spiegel (1549 – 1612) (RUISENDAAL 1991, 257), this last one recognized as the author of the anonymous *Twe-spraeck vande Nederduitsche letterkunst* (henceforth *Twe-spraeck*) in 1584, the first book of Dutch grammar written in Dutch. *Twe-spraeck* was a pivotal work, that started what is called the *trivium*-period in the Netherlands (3.2). This work was also structured in the form of a dialogue. This explains the division in four parts, namely: *orthographia* ‘orthography’; *maatklank* ‘prosody’; *etymologia* ‘etymology’ (closer to modern morphology); *t’samenvoeghing* ‘syntax’ (RUISENDAAL 1991, 294-302).

The present paragraph 3.1 does not have the ambition of presenting a complete and comprehensive description of all the works on grammar ever made in Europe across history. This work has been already done by many scholars, some of whom I have cited in the present paragraph, and who could devote to this topic many more pages than it is necessary for the present research. The scholars of Dutch with whom I am concerned, probably did not read most of these sources directly, and were surely not immersed in this type of cultural environment. In fact, Dutch grammarians of the 18th century generally only cited authors contemporary to them or belonging to the near past, with the exception, maybe of Hooft and Vondel, undisputed symbols of good Dutch, and the first Dutch grammar *Twe-spraeck* of 1584. However, disregarding the whole process of development of a grammatical thinking in Europe that can – and must – be traced back to the first philosophical abstractions of Greek authors and, thus, the long tradition of Latin studies should not be permitted. Although not being direct sources, many of the concepts that were created in this distant past had preserved in grammatical studies and were still being employed and were oftentimes assumed as commonly known concepts. Instead, the intent of this paragraph is to provide a loose picture of what will be pointed at when the term “Greek-Latin tradition” will be used. Certainly, I cannot claim that Dutch grammarians of the 18th century always employed such broadly defined Greek-Latin tradition consciously, but one needs to acknowledge the fact that what the Japanese got to read from sources such as Séwel, can be defined as the 18th century Dutch reception of such Greek-Latin tradition. In 3.2, I will present the so-called *trivium*-period, that concerns a series of Dutch authors preceding the 18th century, who have adopted and adapted the Greek-Latin tradition of grammar to the description of Dutch, for the first time in history.

3.2 The *trivium*-grammarians and the concept of *spraakkunst*

The coining of the term and concept of “grammar” is attributed to the Hellenistic grammarian Dionysius Thrax (170 - 90 BC), who referred to it as *téchnē grammatikḗ* τέχνη γραμματική that was subsequently translated into Latin as *ars grammatica* ‘grammatical art’ evolving, during the Dutch Renaissance, into the term *letterkonst*, composed of the terms *letter* ‘letter’ and *konst/kunst* ‘art’. This term has been used profusely by many authors in the 16th and 17th centuries, but it was ultimately substituted by the term *spraakkunst* (or variations thereof) after Christiaen

van Heule (? - 1655) first introduced it in the Dutch language, in his 1625 work by the title *De Nederduytsche Grammatica ofte Spraec-konst*, as *spraec-konst*, composed of the terms *spraec* ‘speech/language’ and *konst/kunst* ‘art’ (DIBBETS 1995, p. 10). The main reason why this newly coined term is preferred, is explained by the author in the following excerpt:²

De spraeckonst wort in het latijn <i>Grammatica</i> genaemt, welk op het duitsch Letterkonst beteykent, maer om dat in dit werk de spraeke meer aengevoert wort, als wel het gene dat den letteren aengaet, so heeft ons het woort <i>Spraeckonst</i> best behaecht.	The <i>spraeckonst</i> is called <i>Grammatica</i> in Latin, which corresponds to the Dutch <i>letterkonst</i> but since in this work we will concentrate more on the speech, rather than letters, we believe the word <i>spraeckonst</i> to be better suited.

The term *spraeckonst* used by Van Heule has been subsequently used to refer to many publications on language, like schoolbooks; treatises on spelling, pronunciation, word categories or syntax; as well as books for Dutch speakers to learn a foreign language, or speakers of a foreign language to learn Dutch (DIBBETS 1995, i). Structurally, grammar books in the *trivium*-period still generally presented the subdivision in four parts, covering orthography, etymology (i.e., morphology), prosody, and syntax, where the former two tended to occupy foremost importance (RUIJSEDAAL 1991, 245).

3.2.1 The parts of speech in the *trivium*-grammars

The categorization of the parts of speech can be done according to different methodologies that consider different characteristics of the words of a language. DIBBETS (1995) argues that the Dutch *trivium*-grammarians have been less prone to adopt the category of articles since it did not exist in the Latin language (see 3.2.2). In the first half of the *trivium*-period, there still was no consensus on how the concept of “word” was to be defined and where the line distinguishing between syllables and words ought to be drawn (DIBBETS 1995, 25-28). In this regard, Joos Lambrecht (1491 – 1566/7) wrote, in his *Nederlandsche Spellinghe* in 1550, the following:³

D’earste silleben van dézen voorgaanden woorden, te wéten be, ghe, naar, onder, ont, ende ver, zijn ledsilleben, of <i>articuli praepositivi</i>, dats voorwoorden, of voorsilleben, diemen zomtijds voor ander woorden steld, tot staerker beteakenes.	The first syllables of these previous words, namely <i>be-</i>, <i>ghe-</i>, <i>naar-</i>, <i>onder-</i>, <i>ont-</i> and <i>ver-</i> are <i>ledsilleben</i>, or <i>articuli praepositivi</i>, which are <i>voorwoorden</i>, or <i>voorsilleben</i> which sometimes, when placed before other words, strengthen their meanings.

² Quoted from DIBBETS (1995, 11), my translation.

³ Quoted from DIBBETS (1995, 28), my translation.

Prefixes are considered here as a type of words belonging to the *voorwoorden*, literally ‘pre-words’, also *voorsilleben*, literally ‘pre-syllables’, that Lambrecht calls *ledsilleben* in Dutch, or *articuli praepositivi*, in Latin. The term *led*, often *lid*, is nowadays used in compound words referring to the category of articles (i.e., *lidwoord*, also see 3.2.2). Even Halma, in the 18th century, used to refer to the prefix *ge-* as an article (see 4.2).

The debate of whether syllables ought to be considered words and to what extent this should be done was particularly lively in the *trivium*-period, but it remained present up until the 18th century. The author Christiaan (van) Varenbraken (dates unknown), in 1530, asserts that monosyllabic words cannot be considered as “words” even when they are combined with other syllables, in which case they become simple syllables. That is to say that the syllable *brac*, in isolation, is a word, while the same syllable in the word *bracker* – where the suffix *-er* is added – is not a word anymore but a syllable, instead (DIBBETS 1995, 26).

After drawing the distinctive line between words and syllables, the Dutch *trivium*-grammarians tried to define the different types of parts of speech, or at least a system by means of which the vocabulary of the Dutch language could be categorized. The approaches in the *trivium*-period were mainly two, both considering the fundamental distinction of categories that could undergo inflection and those that could not. In this approach, one would initially divide words in “inflectable” (*buigelijk* or *veranderlijk*) and “non-inflectable” (*onbuigelijk* or *onveranderlijk*) and, subsequently, place the different types of words in either category. This is the conception of Dutch parts of speech presented, for example, by Van Heule. Amongst the *trivium*-grammarians this was adopted by the pivotal *Twe-spraeck*, published in 1584 by an unnamed author, although generally attributed to Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel (1549–1612). Alternatively, dividing words between inflectable and non-inflectable could be done after first dividing them into the eight/nine categories (DIBBETS 1995, 34-36). The idea that words must be divided according to the possibility of inflection is derived from the Aristotelian philosophy, where the term *sumbebēkós* σὺμβεβηκός indicated what was being incidentally added to a word (see 3.1). This was reworked by the Latin authors into the terms *observatio* and *accidens*, from which the Dutch term *toeval* ‘accident’ was coined and used throughout the *trivium*-period to indicate the different types of inflection (DIBBETS 1995, 41-43).

Although counting nine parts of speech was probably the most common practice, their number varied. For example, Van Heule, in his 1633 *De Nederduytsche spraec-konst ofte tael-beschrijvinghe*, claims that Dutch has six parts of speech, where all the non-inflectable words are collected in the *help-woord* ‘help-word’ category (DIBBETS 1995, 36). Another influential school of grammarians, particularly prolific in the French-speaking world, believed the parts of speech to be eight, not including articles (DIBBETS 1995, 50-51). In the following sections, I will provide a brief overview of how each part of speech was conceived of by some of the influential grammarians of the *trivium*-period, in order to understand precisely what type of background knowledge each 18th century author of Dutch grammars had. This is necessary when analyzing Halma and Marin’s dictionaries, since their grammatical content is sparse, scattered and, often, inconsistent. Without the

knowledge of the schools of thought that have preceded them, it is impossible to interpret and contextualize the definition of each grammatical term they used, also considering that most of these terms only occur once in their dictionaries.

3.2.2 Articles

Articles did not exist in Latin, yet they did in Ancient Greek. Consequently, the Greek philosophers had postulated the existence of such category, using the term *árthra* ἄρθρα (singular: *árthron* ἄρθρον), originally ‘limb’. This word was then translated into Latin as *articuli* (singular: *articulus*, from *artus* ‘limb’ + *-culus* diminutive suffix) and, subsequently, into Dutch in many ways. For example, *lidwoord*, *lid*, *ledeken* and *voorleeden* were terms used until the 19th century, where *lid* and *le(e)d* correspond to the idea of “limb”, thus “small part”. Among German grammarians the term *artykel* – also *artikel* – was also often used (DIBBETS 1995, 49). Since articles did not exist in Latin, this category has been re-purposed by Latin grammarians to indicate parts of speech that are nowadays categorized differently. Varro has used the term *articuli* to refer to the pronouns of Latin, which is understandable since, in Romance languages, the definite articles have developed from the demonstrative pronouns of Latin.⁴ Because of their role in the Ancient Greek language, and their absence in Latin, articles were considered, by the *trivium*-grammarians, to be words directly connected to the gender and case of the nouns they referred to (DIBBETS 1995, 50), an idea that lived on well into the 18th century (see Chapter IV).

3.2.3 Nouns and adjectives

The category of noun was first postulated by Greek philosophers via the term *ónoma* ὄνομα, on the basis of which the Latin *nomen* was coined, consequently adapted by the Dutch grammarians as *naam* ‘name’. This term has been used up until the *trivium*-period, when the modern *naamwoord* was coined. The definitions given to nouns by the *trivium*-grammarians tended to specify that they referenced ‘things’ (*ding*, *iet*, *zaak*), that are both concrete as well as abstract (the latter rendered with terms such as *on-lichaamlijk* or *on-lijfflijk*) (DIBBETS 1995, 79-81). The term *naam(woord)* has been always used, and still is, to refer both to nouns as well as adjectives, an approach that was started by Greek-Latin grammarians in the 2nd century BC (DIBBETS 1995, 38). To distinguish nouns from adjectives, the former ones were called *zelfstandig naamwoord* ‘substantive noun’, ‘independent noun’ while the latter *bijvoegelijk naamwoord* ‘adjectival noun’, ‘adjunct-noun’, or similar phrasings. “Common” (*gemeen*) nouns were either considered a subcategory of substantives or a supercategory that included substantives as well as adjectives (DIBBETS 1995, 88). As mentioned above, gender and case were mostly seen as being informed via the use of articles, yet the terms *naamval* or *geval*, calques from Latin *casus nominis*, was not uncommon in the *trivium*-period, as well, demonstrating the conception of “case” as an *accidens* of nouns. This can be seen in

⁴ See, for example, PATOTA (2016, 128-135) for the origin of articles in the Italian language.

the following quote from the 1628 *Taelbericht der Nederlandsche spellingé* by Samuel Ampzing (1590 – 1632):⁵

[...] voorneemste buijginge, die in onse tale het onderscheijdt der gevallen maakt, geschied in de ledekens der selfstandige ofte rechte Naamen, ende niet so seer in de rechte Naamen selfs	[...] main inflection, which in our language indicates the difference between the cases, occurring in the articles of the substantive or proper nouns, and not in the substantive nouns themselves.

The description of the *accidens/toeval* of the cases of nouns was generally based upon their structure in Latin, often to justify the elegance of the Dutch language. In the *Twe-spraak*, one can read the following quote:⁶

De Latynen hebbender zes, die wy in dezen Vólgen zullen, om daar deur tót grondlyker Naspeuring der eighenschappen onses taals te komen.	The Latins had six of them, which we would abide by, here, in order to reach a thorough understanding of the qualities of our language.

It was also not uncommon for Dutch grammarians in the 18th century to refer to the concept of the *casus obliqui* ‘oblique case’. This is a term used by Latin grammarians to distinguish the nominative case, the only *casus recti* ‘direct case’, from all the others. This distinction could be seen, for example in Van Heule (1625), where he uses the terms *rechte gevallen* and *gebogene*⁷ *gevallen* for *casus recti* and *casus obliqui*, respectively (DIBBETS 1995, 162).

The correct use of each grammatical gender was already considered a fundamental skill for the educated and proper use of the language in the *trivium*-period (DIBBETS 1995, 102-107) and, as I will discuss, it was still lively in the 18th century.

3.2.4 Pronouns

The Dutch terms *voornaam* and *voornaamwoord* were already used to refer to pronouns since the end of the 14th century. This is a calque from the Latin *pronomén* that translated the Greek *antōnymía* ἀντωνυμία (DIBBETS 1995, 193). The definition of this category was anything but clear during the *trivium*-period and was surely in line with the works published in the rest of Europe (DIBBETS 1995, 228). Furthermore, French, and English grammarians tended not to go too deep into the quality of pronouns, contrarily to the German tradition (DIBBETS 1995, 208). This could explain why 18th century Halma and Marin, both very much influenced by French grammars, present rather confused explanations regarding pronouns, as will be seen in Chapter IV. In this period, one can witness the use of terms such as *aan-*

⁵ Quoted from DIBBETS (1995), my translation.

⁶ Quoted from DIBBETS (1995), my translation.

⁷ From the verb *buigen* ‘to bow’, thus “oblique”.

wijzende for ‘demonstrative’, *betrekkelijk* for ‘relative’, *vragende* for ‘interrogative’, *we(d)erkerig* for ‘reflexive’ and *bezittende* for ‘possessive’.

One fundamental difference from the *trivium*-period and the grammarians of the 18th century is that in the 1600s the second person singular pronoun *du*, and its inflexed forms *dij* and *dijn*, were still used by many authors (DIBBETS 1995, 210). This pronoun disappears almost completely from the grammars of the following century; favoring *gij*, *u* and *uw*, that are today often replaced by *jij*, *jou* and *jouw*, in many instances, in contemporary Dutch.⁸

3.2.5 Verbs

In the first decades of the *trivium*-period the term for verb was simply *woord* ‘word’. This was a consequence of the adaptation of the Latin term *verbum*, which is still used in languages such as English and French, but which originated from the Platonic-Aristotelian *rhêma* ῥῆμα, simply indicating ‘word’, indeed. In the 16th century, it was not rare to see this part of speech being called *dadich woort* or *wervig woort*, both meaning something like ‘doing-word’. Peeter Heyns (1537 - 1598), in his *Cort onderwijs van de acht deelen der Franschoiser talen* (‘Short teaching of the eight parts of the Franch language’), uses the term *werck-woorden* ‘work-words’, first (1571) for verbs in general, and subsequently (1605) only for active verbs, where *werck* ‘work’ is, supposedly, a translation of the Latin *actio* ‘action’. Although many other words have been used throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, the term *werkwoord* became the most common by the 18th century. Dutch verbs were always divided into two or three main categories: active verbs, neuter verbs and, sometimes, passive verbs. This categorization, while ultimately coming from Latin (see 3.1), was mediated by the *trivium*-grammarians by means of the definitions they provided of verbs which, they claimed, could express *doen* ‘doing’, *lijden* ‘suffering’ (i.e., ‘passivity’) or *geschieden* ‘happening’. The verbs expressing something that happens (by Van Heule also, ‘an action done by somebody else’) were for a long time conflated with the category of *onpersoneel* ‘impersonal’ but have developed by the 18th century into the category of ‘neuter verbs’ (DIBBETS 1995, 229-233). In the definition of neuter verbs, during the second half of the 17th century, many grammarians started substituting the concept of ‘happening’ with the concept of ‘being’, either with the term *wezen* or *zijn*. Regarding the verb *zijn* ‘to be’, it needs to be added that conceiving it as a *zelfstandig werkwoord*, as a ‘substantive’ or ‘independent verb’ started with Latin grammarians and was maintained until the 18th century, although this appears to be an adaptation of Apollonius Dyscolus’ claim describing the Latin verb *esse* ‘to be’ as the ‘verb of existence’ (DIBBETS 1995, 235; RUIJSENDAAL 1991, 360). Van Heule (1625) claims that the verb *worden* – a verb often used in the construction of passives – also needs to be considered as *zelfstandig* (DIBBETS 1995, 239). Van Heule (1625) claims that this distinction belongs to the *accidens genus*, meaning these three types of verbs

⁸ VAN DER WAL & VAN BREE (2021, 138-141) point out that the pronoun *gij* and its declined forms, originally a second person plural, was considered a politer version of *du*, for the second person singular, already in Middle Dutch.

belong to the distinction in gender of verbs. He calls them, in fact, *het werkende geslacht* ‘the active gender’, *het lijdende geslacht* ‘the passive gender’ and *het derde geslacht* ‘the third gender’ (DIBBETS 1995, 240). An early interpretation of “neuter verbs” as coinciding with the idea of intransitivity is found in Allardus Lodewijk Kók (1616 – 1653) (DIBBETS 1995, 244-245).

The concept of *helpende werkwoord* ‘auxiliary verb’ is also found in some *trivium*-grammars. Van Heule (1625) claims that the *zelfstandig* verbs *wezen*, *zijn* and *worden* are all auxiliaries, along with the verb *hebben* ‘to have’. In the *Twe-spraack* the auxiliary verbs are *hebben*, *zijn* and *zullen*. Surely, the understanding of auxiliary verbs was particularly not reliant on the Latin-Greek traditions since neither features such category. At the same time, the French language, while having auxiliaries (and modals, a term that does not appear in any Dutch grammar here analyzed), does not have direct correspondence to the Dutch *zullen* and *worden*.⁹ The most common *accidentia* of verbs across *trivium*-grammars are tense and mood. The *trivium*-grammarians often identified the present, past, future tenses, along with the perfect, imperfect, and pluperfect. DIBBETS (1995, 260) claims that this derives from a French re-working of Donatus’ (4th century AD) idea of verbs as being divided into three main tenses – *praesens*, *praeteritum* and *futurum* – with the *praeteritum* featuring three subcategorizations in *imperfectum*, *perfectum* and *plusquam-perfectum*.

3.2.6 Participles

Participles have been considered a category on their own quite unanimously by *trivium*-grammarians, and by 18th century authors as well. Initially, the term *deelneming* was rather common, coined as a calque of the Latin *participium*, although since Van Heule used the term *deelwoort* (a probable calque) in 1625, grammarians have been adopting this term, up until today. Even though some authors have categorized them differently, their approach did not gain much traction. The issue with categorizing participles lies in the fact that, although they originate from verbs, they behave much similarly to “nouns”, specifically, “adjectival nouns”. In fact, *trivium*-grammarians recognized four *accidentia* in the use of participles, namely: *genus* ‘gender’; *comparatio* ‘comparison’; *casus* ‘case’, that are typical of nouns and adjectives; and *tempus* ‘time’ (‘tense’), typical of verbs (DIBBETS 1995, 281-290).

3.2.7 Adverbs

The Dutch term for “adverb” is *bijwoord*, that was coined as a calque of the Latin term *adverbum*. As such, the *woord* part of this term should be understood as a translation of the Latin *verbum* and corresponding to the concept of “verb”, instead

⁹ Passives in French are constructed via the verb *être* ‘to be’, while the future tense is rendered through inflection. The acknowledgement of the use of the verb *aller* ‘to go’, in the construction of the future tense, in pre-modern prescriptive sources should not be taken for granted.

of referring to the idea of “word”. In general, adverbs were understood as being in a tight connection to verbs, specifying them in the same fashion “adjectives” (*bijvoegelijke naamwoorden*) modify the meaning of a “noun” (*zelfstandig naamwoord*). That is the reason why some Dutch grammarians used to refer to adverbs with the wording *bijvoegelijk woord* (with *woord* still referring to verbs). Among the *trivium*-grammarians the term *helpwoord* – that many have used for auxiliary verbs – was not uncommon to refer to adverbs (DIBBETS 1995, 291). There is a tendency in Van Heule (1633) and Leupenius (1653) to use the term *bywoord* for all those parts of speech they defined as *onveranderlyk* ‘unchangeable’, meaning “non-inflectable” (DIBBETS 1995, 300). At the same time, in France, some authors started to define each adverb according to the meanings they conveyed from which many *trivium*-grammarians have drawn inspiration (DIBBETS 1995, 303).

3.2.8 Prepositions

The first use of the term *voorzetsel* for “preposition” can be found in the *Twe-spraeck* (1584) and subsequently in Heyns (1605). Prepositions were considered by *trivium*-grammarians as an *onveranderlyk* ‘unchangeable’ word, and some authors, like Van Heule (1633), included them in the broader category of “non-inflectable” words (*helpwoord*, in Van Heule), while others recognized them as a category on their own. The Greek-Latin tradition, using the terms *próthesis* πρόθεσις, in Greek, and *praepositione* in Latin, divided this part of speech in three sub-categories, according to the possibility of finding each preposition independent from another word. Those “prepositions” that could only be used in combination with another word are what we would call prefixes today; like *ge-* or *be-*, in Dutch (DIBBETS 1995, 306-309).

3.2.9 Conjunctions

There were many terms that 18th century grammarians of Dutch used for the category of conjunctions. Such diversity is a direct consequence of the different wordings that the *trivium*-grammarians employed to translate the Latin term *coniunctio*, that can be interpreted as conveying both the meaning of “jointing” and “binding”. In order to render that, Dutch grammarians have used terms derived from verbs like *binden* ‘to bind’, *voegen* ‘to joint’ or *koppelen* ‘to couple’. The last two had become particularly common in words such as *koppelwoord* and *voegwoord*. Although *voegwoord* is the term still used today, *koppelwoord* has been used well into the 18th century, and eventually decreased in popularity (DIBBETS 1995, 317-318).

3.2.10 Interjections

The category of interjections has been present for a long time in the European grammatical tradition. While the Greeks did not consider interjections any different from adverbs, the Latins thought that in their language their use was quite distinct and, thus, deserved to be treated as a different category. Many Dutch terms have been coined for this category, particularly variations of *tusschen worpinghe* ‘thrown

in-between' have been used since the Middle Ages, while in the 17th century, variations of *inwerpsel* (also from the verb *werpen* 'to throw') have seen an increase in popularity. Today one generally uses the term *tussenwerpsel*. The precise labels specifying the use and meaning of each interjection were already adopted, with some variation, by the *trivium*-grammarians (DIBBETS 1995, 329).

3.3 Authors and publications of the late 17th and 18th centuries

In the second half of the 1600s, the *trivium*-period can be considered mostly concluded. In this paragraph, I will present the context in which Halma, Marin and Séwel were active while working on their grammatical publications. Here, I will present the contemporaries, colleagues, adversaries, and sources of the main individuals whose works I will cover in Chapter IV, in order provide a context in which to understand their theories and their ideas. As I will make clear, the early 18th century was a period of vital exchange of grammatical ideas, with many books being published by authors who often knew and collaborated with each other and not rarely also fought publicly with their adversaries. However, until recent times it has been believed that the period including the second half of the 17th century and most of the 18th century was characterized by a decreased interest in grammatical studies in the Low Countries. So much so that RUIJSEDAAL (1991, 340) calls the second half of the 17th century a "transitory time" (*overgangstijd*). The scarcity of publications on Dutch grammar in the second half of the 17th century, was an issue about which grammarian Jacobus Nyloë (1670 – 1714) himself was complaining (DIBBETS 2003, p. 11). In the second half of the 20th century, KNOL (1977, 65) took the duty of writing a chapter on the grammatical tradition of Dutch in the 18th century. The very first words of the introduction to that chapter, which I will quote and translate in English below, demonstrate his uncertainty and lack of confidence regarding this specific field of study, consequent to the fact that he could not find much literature about it:

De Nederlandse taalkunde in de achttiende eeuw is tot nog toe zeer onvoldoende bestudeerd. Er is geen overzicht waarin het tijdvak in zijn geheel uitputtend wordt behandeld. Monografieën zijn slechts gewijd aan de twee grootsten uit deze eeuw, Lambert ten Kate en Balthazar Huydecoper

[...]

Bij deze stand van zaken kan in het onderstaande slechts een gebrekkig overzicht gegeven worden van wat de achttiende eeuw op taalkundig gebied te bieden heeft. Het is het resultaat van een beperkt onderzoek, gericht op de belangrijkste werken.

The studies on Dutch in the eighteenth century have not been, until now, sufficiently studies. There is no overview where this period is treated exhaustively, in its entirety. Monographies are merely dedicated to the two greatest [scholars] of this century, Lambert ten Kate and Balthazar Huydecoper

[...]

In this state of affairs, one can only give an imprecise overview of what the eighteenth century has to offer, in the context of studies on the language. This is the result of a limited research, focused on the most important works. Works of secondary

Geschriften van secundair belang konden we in dit onderzoek nauwelijks of in het geheel niet betrekken. Ook moest de vergelijking met buitenlandse bronnen, waaraan alleen voor Ten Kate iets gedaan is, blijven liggen. Onze schets is dus zowel in de breedte als in de diepte onvolledig en verdient daarom niet meer dan de naam van een ‘voorlopige schets’.

importance could mostly not be covered in the present research. We also had to pass over the comparison with foreign sources, which we only did limitedly with Ten Kate. Our sketch is, thus, incomplete both in broadness and in depth, and deserves as such nothing more than the name ‘provisional sketch’.

Fortunately, however, things have changed substantially since then. Publications such as SCHAARS & TE WILT (1989), DE BONT (1998), VAN DER WAL (2000, 2002, 2009), DIBBETS (2003), RUTTEN (2006), VAN DE BILT (2009), NOORDEGRAAF & VAN DER WAL (2001) among others, have provided a better understanding of this otherwise neglected period.

Impactful in the tradition of Dutch grammar, in this period, have been the *Waarnemingen op de Hollandsche tael* ‘Observations on the Dutch language’ (henceforth simply *Observations*) by the poet Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581 – 1647), a series of notes on pocketbooks or loose papers, dating from 1635 to 1641, that, apparently, had subsequently come into the hands of preacher and predicant Geeraert Brandt (1626 – 1685) and ultimately reached scholar Lambert ten Kate (1674 – 1731), who authored many works on the Dutch language (DIBBETS 2003, p. 6). Hooft’s *Observations* have been extremely influential in the publications on the Dutch language that followed him, and his theories have been embraced by many of the most relevant authors of the 18th century, including Séwel himself. The language of poetry has been the reference for the correct and proper use of language for most of the 18th century, as I discuss below, with only few exceptions. Along with the frequently cited poet Hooft, all scholars of the 18th century could not but pay their respect toward the cherished poet Joost van den Vondel (1587 – 1679). The language of Vondel was quite unanimously regarded as the undisputed quintessence of proper Dutch and any unorthodoxy could be justified by finding parallel uses of the language in one of the works by Vondel. Another poetic contribution to Dutch grammatical tradition was afforded by the author Johannes Vollenhove (1631 – 1708). According to DIBBETS (2003), Vollenhove had contacts with many of the important authors of his century, like Nyloë and Moonen, and even Halma recognized him as fundamentally influential in the works of other authors, such as Lukas Rotgans (1653 – 1710). Among his works, the most relevant has probably been the poem titled *Aan de Nederduitsche schryvers* ‘To Dutch writers’, included in the 1686 *Poëzy* ‘Poetry’, where he rhymes about what he considered to be the correct and refined use of the Dutch language (DIBBETS 2003, 42). This approach, although overwhelmingly supported in the Dutch scholarship of the time, was certainly not without detractors, such as the 1705 work by Johannes Hilarides (1649 – 1726), titled *Nieuwe Taalgronden der Nederduytsche Taal* (DE BONT & DIBBETS 1995, 1).

In the grammatical investigations of the 18th century, KNOL (1977, 73-77) identified three main approaches, often in striking and active contrast with each other. The one

that was, likely, the most widespread, was the idea that the rules of language had to be deduced by studying the use of language employed by the cherished authors of the past, mostly Hooft and Vondel. This is what KNOL (1977, 74) calls *het achtbare gebruik* ‘the honorable use’ and is most exemplarily adopted by scholars such as Moonen and Van Hoogstraten. The other competing methodology was still fundamentally reliant on the Greek-Latin concept of “common language” (*lingua comunis*), distinct from the “special languages”, that the Romans called *dialecti* ‘dialects’, among which the *dialectus poetica* ‘dialect of poetic’. This position is epitomized by author Adriaen Verwer (1655 – 1717) whose fierce critique of Moonen, that he initially wrote in his 1707 *Linguae Belgicae Idea, grammatica, poetica, rhetorica; deprompta ex adversariis Anonymi Batavi: in usum proximi amici*, addressed exactly this point, drawing clear lines between the two concepts of language and grammar, and influencing other publications such as the works of Ten Kate and Huydecoper. Verwer has also put forth strong opinions against the inclusion of the study of the spoken language in grammatical publications of his contemporaries, including Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*. The third idea, that was also embraced by Séwel, argued that spoken language could also be used to notice and deduce linguistic patterns to be included in one’s grammatical publications (KNOL 1997, 77).

While in Chapter IV, I will provide an overview of the grammatical contents one could find in Halma and Marin’s dictionaries, in the present section I will introduce the most relevant approaches to the description of Dutch grammar, as displayed by other authors of the 18th century. The books on grammar of this period generally used the term *spraakkunst* (also *spraakkonst*) as a translation of the Greek *grammatica* ‘grammar’. As a similar yet different approach from that of the preceding centuries, authors in this period tended to recognize, within the discipline of grammar, different fields of investigations. These subjects, of clear Greek-Latin influence, could be considered as different steps of focus-broadening in the way a language can be observed. In general, the first chapter would be devoted to the teaching of spelling, that the Dutch called *spelkonst* ‘art of spelling’ or *orthographie* ‘orthography’, within which basic phonological issues were also tackled. Since a Dutch standard language was still lacking, in any functional sense, different authors preferred different pronunciations, according to their background, and that was mirrored in their spelling choices. For this reason, the chapter on spelling often also included indications on diction. A second chapter was generally titled *woordoorsprongkonst* (as in *Korte schets der Nederduitse spraakkonst*, a 1755 publication of Jan van Belle), *woordgronding* (as in Moonen) or *oorsprongkunde* (in Séwel), that corresponded to the Greek *etymologia*. Regardless of its name, nonetheless, “etymology”, in the 18th century, was not dealing with the reconstruction of the historical evolution of words, rather, it was much more similar to what one would call today “morphology”, as it researched the different classes words could be categorized in and morphological issues such as inflection and word formation. The contemporary use of the word “etymology” will not become the norm until the last two decades of the 18th century (KNOL 1977, 80). The chapter on *woordschikking(konst)* ‘syntaxis’ was also often present in many works, including Van Belle, Moonen (who called it *woordvoeging*), but also Marin (in *Spraakwyze*)

and Séwel, as I will demonstrate below and, not rarely, one could also find a chapter on prosody, by the name of *maatklank(kunst)*.

From the point of view of grammatical rule-finding, the topic that undisputedly attracted the most attention was that of gender. One could easily explain the specific attention given to this topic by the fact that, for centuries the use of gender and cases had already been decreasing in consistency, especially in freer contexts of language-use. Gender and cases were often covered together, as it was generally believed that their specification was provided by the appropriate use of the articles, that were, indeed, defined as those parts of speech that made the gender of words explicit, a definition also adopted by Moonen and Séwel. In the categorization of the parts of speech, it was normal to identify nine of them, within which adjectives and nouns were both under the broad category of *naamwoord*, and “participles” (*deelwoorden*) were a distinct category from either verbs and adjectives, except in Verwer who does include them among verbs.¹⁰ These categories were initially collected into two bigger classes according to their ability to inflect, as is also seen in Séwel (KNOL 1977, 87-88). The distinction of verbs into the classes of “personal” and “impersonal” is also very common, as well as the “active-passive” dichotomy, to which the concept of neutrality is also added, defined as the category of those verbs that are neither active, nor passive. An approach that can be seen as early as Moonen (KNOL 1977, 94).

In the following sections, I will provide a brief introduction and contextualization of the main authors of grammars who were active in this period. These individuals certainly entertained relationships with each other, often influencing and citing their colleagues, within their works. The intent of these paragraphs is to, thus, frame the context of grammatical studies within which Marin, Halma and Séwel worked, and understand their interconnections and possible inspirations.

3.3.1 Joannes Vollenhove (1631 – 1708), *Aan de Nederduitsche schryvers* (1686)

Poet and pastor Vollenhove did not publish any actual handbook of Dutch grammar, yet he has been a fundamental figure in the Dutch-speaking literate world. In his collection of poems published in 1686, with the title *Poesy*, there is one poem titled *Aan de Nederduitsche schryvers* “To Dutch writers” where Vollenhove illustrated what he believed to be the proper use of Dutch, particularly, yet not exclusively, focusing on the correct use of genders and cases. Vollenhove’s ideas on Dutch are to be deduced, thus, from that poem or from other private documents (DIBBETS 1991, 63). It is known that Vollenhove entertained epistolary relations with many of the main individuals concerned with the Dutch language and poetry, in his time. DIBBETS (1991) does a splendid job collecting the most notable of these connections, finding relevant information regarding what Vollenhove thought about the correct use of Dutch. Among others, Vollenhove knew the poets Willem Sluiter

¹⁰ To some extent this could also be claimed regarding Séwel and Marin (*Spraakwyze*) who, although naming “participles” as one of the nine parts of speech, still provided them within the conjugation of table of verbs, along with their respective tenses.

(1627 – 1673) and Geeraert Brandt (1626 – 1685). He had a personal friendship also with the author Lukas Rotgans (1653 – 1710), whom Halma claims he had to thank for his relationship with Vollenhove and Moonen, allowing him to maintain a purer language, in his works. Vollenhove's poems were particularly appreciated by Vondel, himself. Furthermore, as I will cover in 3.3.3, Nylöe's *Aanleiding* cites often Vollenhove's poem *Aan de Nederduitsche schryvers*, showing obvious influence in the grammatical environment of his time (DIBBETS 1991, 19-32). Although not specifically publishing works on grammar, Vollenhove's ideas spread greatly across the literate élite of the late 17th century, thanks to his tight epistolary connections and friendships with individuals who were curating works on language.

3.3.2 David van Hoogstraten (1658 – 1724), *Aenmerkingen over de geslachten der zelfstandige naemwoorden* (1700)

David van Hoogstraten, whose father François was an editor, translator and poet, published in 1700 his *Aenmerkingen over de geslachten der zelfstandige naemwoorden* ('Remarks on the genders of substantive nouns', henceforth simply *Aenmerkingen*). This book is a list of nouns with a precise specification of the gender they belong to, since Van Hoogstraten believed that many Dutch authors of the time were not using them correctly. The rules are mostly based on the use of language witnessed in Vondel and Hooft, yet with an evident preference for the former (RUTTEN 2006, 46). Van Hoogstraten's *Aenmerkingen* has been generally praised by his contemporaries, such as Moonen, Ten Kate and Elzevier. Willem Séwel called it a "praiseworthy auxiliary tool" (*pryslyk hulpmiddel*) in a review he published in 1702. As I will argue in 3.3.3, this work has also been at the basis of Nylöe's *Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche taal*. Van Hoogstraten's *Aenmerkingen* has been republished in 1710, 1711 and in 1723, in a revised edition with the title *Lyst der gebruykelykste zelfstandige naemwoorden, betekent door hunne geslachten* 'List of the most useful substantive nouns, according to their genders' (RUTTEN 2006, 19). The motivations for Van Hoogstraten's publication were most notably two. The first one, that I have already mentioned, is what RUTTEN (2006, 122) defines a "complaint" (*klacht*) over the limitedness of the grammatical works of his contemporaries. Secondly, the pedagogical intent was also very lively. In the first edition, one can read *voor u, ô edelmoedige Jeugt, heb ik deze proeve enkel opgesteld* 'For you only, oh magnanimous youth, have I compiled this essay'. The pedagogical goal was not very common across Dutch grammatical works until the 1750s (RUTTEN 2006, 137-140). Despite the positive review Séwel published in favor of *Aenmerkingen*, Van Hoogstraten has not been as favorable toward him. Verwer and Van Hoogstraten, who were friends since their youth, started teaming up against Séwel. Their disdain toward him was so great that they also started avoiding naming him, preferring periphrastic wordings (RUTTEN 2006, 372-375).

3.3.3 Jacobus Nyloë (1670 – 1714), *Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche taal* (1703)

Nyloë was a Protestant preacher who published anonymously *Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche taal* (1703), as a collection of notes on grammar. It is the second such work from the 18th century, after Van Hoogstraten's *Aenmerkingen*. Originally, it was probably intended for personal use, as a collection of remarks for the interpretation of the language used in the holy scriptures. Nyloë publishes a second edition in 1707, this time making his authorship public. This edition has been reworked after commentary added by Vollenhove. There are six further editions: one in 1711, two in 1723, and others in 1746, 1751 and 1778. The work analyzes language starting from the smallest units (letters), then continuing incrementally with syllables, words and then conglomerate of words. The influence from Van Hoogstraten's *Aenmerkingen* is evident, particularly in the third chapter titled *Van de zelfstandige en byvoegelijke Naamwoorden, hunne geslachten en buigingen* ('About substantive and adjectival nouns, their genders and declension'). Regarding Van Hoogstraten, Nyloë wrote the following:¹¹

De Hr. D. van Hoogstraten, een geleert en deftig Taalkundige, heeft de moeite genomen, om uit Hooft, Vondel, en andere opbouwers onzer tale, een register van de voornaamste en gebruiklijkste woorden te verzamelen, met aanwijzinge in wat geslachte elk zelfstandig naamwoord by die grote mannen gebruikt wort: het is een klein boekje, maar van veel nuttigheit.

Mr. D. van Hoogstraten, a learned and stylish Linguist, has made the effort of collecting, from Hooft, Vondel and others who have built our language, a record of the main and most useful words, with indications regarding the gender in which each substantive noun was used by those great men: it is a small book, yet very useful.

Influence from Vollenhove's *Aan de Nederduitsche schrijver* is also evident. Minor citations from the *Twe-spraack* and Van Heule are also present (SCHAARS & TE WILT 1989, 267-294).

3.3.4 Arnold Moonen (1644 – 1711), *Nederduitsche Spraekkunst* (1706)

Arnold Moonen was a preacher in Deventer since 1676. He was born in Zwolle, where he attended a Latin school, where Allardus Lodewijk Kók was rector, a figure Moonen himself will define as "my beloved master" *myn geliefden meester*. Moonen carried out research in many fields, with his main interest being theology, yet he was also a productive scholar of history and poetry (SCHAARS 1988, 2-7). Moonen's theories on grammar have been first published in his 1700 *Poësy*, in the introduction of which he also mentioned the fact that he was working on a new Dutch grammar. However, a previous mention of the compilation of such grammar could already be read in Van Hoogstraten's *Aenmerkingen*, that also came out in 1700, just a few months earlier than Moonen's *Poësy* (DIBBETS 1992, 259; SCHAARS 1988, 7). By

¹¹ From page 22 of Nyloë's *Aanleiding* (1703), as quoted in RUTTEN (2006, 19).

reading private letters between Moonen, Vollenhove and Halma, the latter being Moonen's publisher, it appears that *Nederduitsche Spraekkunst* was initially supposed to come out before *Poësy* and that its compilation, that was already started in 1699, had been strongly incentivized by Halma, himself (DIBBETS 1992, 260). In his letters to Vollenhove, Moonen mentions having consulted Petrus Francius and some advisor in Amsterdam, in order to compile his grammar (DIBBETS 1992, 262). However, in the introduction, Moonen names directly his sources, amongst whom one should mention Ampzing, Brandt, Nyloë, Francius, Van Heuele, Van Hoogstraten, Kók, Leupenius, Vollehove, and *Twe-spraeck*, along with Hooft and Vondel (SCHAARS 1988, 52-59). A few pre-print manuscripts have preserved until our times, which can be used to understand the process of compilation and evolution of Moonen's theories according to the sources he got to read. The oldest manuscript, that is probably to be dated no later than 1700, is notably shorter and less similar to the final product. The main differences are to be found in the way Moonen covers the topic of the gender of nouns. In the oldest manuscript, this topic was mostly based on Van Heule and Kók, while already since the second manuscript, the influence from Van Hoogstraten's *Aenmekringen* is undisputed (SCHAARS 1988, 44-45). An interesting choice of Moonen is that of dividing his grammar into two parts: *woordgronding* 'etymology' and *woordvoeging* 'syntaxis'. This is in striking contrast with the general approach of dividing grammar in four, including *maatklank* 'prosody' and *spelling* 'spelling'. Moonen did cover these topics, as well, though under the first part on etymology. A similar division could be found in the German book *Ausführliche Arbeit Von der Teutschen HauptSprache* (1663) by Justus Georg Schottel (1612 – 1676) (SCHAARS 1988, 74-77). Moonen divides words into nine parts of speech. The difference between "variable" (*veranderlyk*) and "invariable" (*onveranderlyk*) was secondary (SCHAARS 1988, 135). Concerning verbs, Moonen defines them as follows:¹²

DE <i>werkwoorden</i> [...] zyn zulke Veranderlyke woorden, die eenigh werk van <i>Doen</i> , <i>Lyden</i> of <i>Weezen</i> beteekenen met de omstandigheden van den <i>Tegenwoordigen</i> , den <i>Voorgaenden</i> en den <i>Toekomenden</i> Tyt	Verbs [...] are those variable words which mean some action of <i>Doing</i> , <i>Suffering</i> or <i>Being</i> with the circumstance of <i>Present</i> , <i>Past</i> and <i>Future Time</i> [Tense]

Moonen's grammar has been widely cited and used as a source in the following years, particularly by Séwel. He has been very active in the literate environment of the early 18th century, working with Halma and supporting the works by Verwer and Van Hoogstraten, also playing a role in the quarrel with Séwel.

3.3.5 Adriaen Verwer (1655 – 1717), *Linguae Belgicae idea grammatica, poetica, rhetorica* (1707)

Adriaen Verwer, born in Rotterdam, is believed to have received his education in a Latin school, growing up in a familial and social context where any type of *scientia*

¹² Quoted from SCHAARS (1988, 253), my English translation.

was cultivated, immersed in studies on theology, history, philosophy, literature, and Latin. His family has been for generations in good relations with the Van Hoogstraten family, where the linguist David was born, who shared a friendly relationship with Verwer since their youth. Verwer moved to Amsterdam in 1680, working as a merchant and it is there that he started interacting with groups of learned individuals, and ultimately developed his fascination for the works of the Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza (1632 – 1677). It is within the context of these biographical circumstances that Verwer published his work on Dutch grammar, in 1707, by the title *Linguae Belgicae idea grammatica, poetica, rhetorica; deprompta ex Adversariis Anonymi Batavi: In Usum Proximi Amici* (henceforth *Idea*), published by Halma. *Idea* was published anonymously, with the author mentioned as an “anonymous Dutch” a choice Verwer humbly made “because I am not a member of the renowned Writers” (*om dat ik geen lidt der Schryveren van name en ben*). Verwer claims that the book was the collection of many notes he had been taking down regarding language since the 1670s. It was Van Hoogstraten who published *Idea* and who dedicated the work to Moonen who, in turn, had just published his *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* one year before, in 1706 (VAN DE BILT 2009, 29-36).

The reason why *Idea* was written in Latin was because Verwer believed that his theories on grammar were meant for a cultivated target audience anyway. Verwer’s theories on language have not only been written down inside *Idea* but can also be read in three letters he published in two journals. In 1708, Verwer published on *De Boekzaal der geleerde Weeraeldt*, two open letters to Van Hoogstraten, signing himself as “the anonymous author of the *Idea*”. In the May-June 1708 issue, Verwer published the letter titled *Brief, door den ongenoemden Schryver der Idea, of Schetse der Nederduitsche Spraakkunst, aen den Heere David van Hoogstraten*, and in the September-October issue he came out with the letter titled *Brief, door den ongenoemden Schryvere der Idea Grammatica &c. ofte Schetse der Nederduitsche Taelkunst aen den Heere David van Hoogstraten over de echte Nederduitsche Vocaelspellinge*. Both letters contained a postscript where Willem Séwel’s newly published *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* was criticized and which Séwel will address in the Foreword to his second edition (see 3.4.1). A third letter containing Verwer’s thoughts on language was published by the bookseller of Utrecht Willem Broedelet, with the title *Brief aen den Heere Adriaen Reland, Professor in de Oostersche Talen in de Academie tot Utrecht, vanden Schryver der Linguae Belgicae Idea Grammatica: &c. tot rekenschap vande Aenmerkingen vanden Heer Arnold Moonen op dezelve Idea; en van ’t richtig Nederduitsche, zoo als door onze Hooge Overheit gebruikt is in Hare nieuwe overzetting des Bybels* (VAN DE BILT 2009, 49).

It is furthermore believed that Verwer might have had Lambert ten Kate as one of his students. What is out of doubt is the impact Verwer had on Ten Kate’s production, specifically in his first famous publication *Gemeenschap tussen de Gotische spraek en de Nederduitsche* (1710). Theoretically, the similarities between Verwer and Ten Kate are very evident, both believing language to be something that grows along with a specific society and whose irregularities derived from a process of transformation of an originally simple and regular language. Both also believed in the fundamental connection of one language with one people and,

thus, one country and that language has a “binding characteristic” in bringing together individuals belonging to the same civilization. Each language had, thus, their own *genus loquendae*, term that Verwer used to describe the specific characteristics of a language, regarding its syntax, phonetics, and morphology. One important difference between Verwer and Ten Kate is the fact that the former believed nouns to be the first category of speech developed by humans, while Ten Kate believed it to be verbs (VAN DE BILT 2009, 63-74).

After Verwer’s death, his *Idea* has been noticed by a scholar of classical languages, literature and history and a productive translator Adriaan Kluit (1735 – 1807), who worked on the fifth edition of Van Hoogstraten’s *Lyst*, published in 1759. He translated Verwer’s *Idea* into Dutch and has been a fundamental figure in the spreading of Verwer’s linguistic works in the rest of the eighteenth century (VAN DE BILT 2009, 100). Kluit’s editions also influenced Pieter Weiland (VAN DE BILT 2009, 203).

3.3.6 Lambert ten Kate (1674 – 1731), *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verheven deel der Nederduitsche sprake* (1723)

Lambert ten Kate is an interesting and innovative figure in Dutch grammatical studies. He has published anonymously, in 1710, a work by the title *Geméenschap tussen de Gotische spraeke en de Nederduytsche* (‘The Affinities and Similarities between the Gothic and Dutch Languages’) where he analyzed linguistic phenomena of variation across Germanic languages. This work introduced many topics that will be expanded later with the foundation of comparative historical linguistics. This is an extremely relevant book, that was also suggested to Jacob Grimm (1785 – 1863), when he was pursuing his famous studies on the Germanic languages. The main work of Ten Kate is, however, his 1723 book *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verheven deel der Nederduitsche sprake* (‘Introduction to the knowledge of the most important part of the Dutch language’). His *Aenleiding* was praised by his contemporaries, and spread also abroad, with notable appreciation recorded by the Scot James Boswell (1740 – 1795) and the Italian Giuseppe Gaspare Mezzofanti (1767 – 1854) (VAN DER WAL 2002). Ten Kate believed that grammatical rules were to be deduced from the actual use of the language, rather than made up *a priori*. However, this did not distance him from basing his theories on the “honorable use of the language” (*achtbare taalgebruik*) of Hooft and Vondel (DE BONT 1998, 13-14). Because Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding* was published in 1723 and the authors he inspired worked some decades later,¹³ his figure is less relevant for the present work. Valuable research has been carried out, on this figure, by VAN DER WAL (2000; 2002; 2009), and via the commented edition of the *Aenleiding* of NOORDEGRAAF & VAN DER WAL (2001). It is known that Ten Kate had come to possess Hooft’s *Waernemingen*, that he studied and helped spread and preserve (DIBBETS 1991, 3-4). The figure of Lambert ten Kate is also an evident

¹³ Amongst the direct influences of Ten Kate, we should mention Jan van Belle, Josua van Ieperen, Matthias Kramer, Frans Burman, Korn Elzevier, Frans de Haes, Kornelis van der Palm, Derk Mestingh and Klaas Stijl (VAN DER WAL 2002, 53).

demonstration of the intention to “elevate” (hence *verheven deel* in the title, literally “elevated part”) the Dutch language, particularly when compared to the prominence of French. Such an approach was rather common amongst the grammarians and *literati* of the 18th century (DE BONTH 1991, 11). In this regard, Ten Kate wrote the following about Dutch:¹⁴

ten uiterste Rijk en Kragtig van Woorden, Edel in 't Onderscheiden, beminnde Klaerheid van Schikking, Vloeyendheid en Zuiverheid van Klanken, zonder vrugtlooze By-geluiden, bequaem tot allerhande Stijl, zo Deftig en Hoogdravend, als Nederig en Gemeenzaem; Behoevende in dit alles niet te zwigten nogte voor 't vermaerde Grieksch, nogte veel min voor 't Latijn; en bezittende daerenboven niet alleen die gemakkelijckheid van Woord-koppeling, die aen de Grieksche Tael haren groten luister toegebracht, maer ook [...] die gewigte en nooit genoeg te prijzene eigenschap, dat ze altoos het Waerdigste en Zakelijke deel van een Woord ons allernadrukkelijckst doet uitspreken.

extremely rich and powerful of words, noble in the differentiation, lovable clarity of composition, fluidity and purity of sounds, without purposeless sounds, complete of all styles, solemn and pompous, as well as lowly and colloquial; Needing not to yield before the illustrious Greek, let alone Latin; and owning furthermore not only the ease in word-composition, which afforded the Greek Language its greater splendor, but also [...] its weight and never enough praised qualities, that it always makes us pronounce the worthiest and pragmatic part of a word in the most expressive way possible.

3.3.7 Balthazar Huydecoper (1695 – 1778), *Proeve van Taal- en Dichtkunde* (1730)

Huydecoper published his *Proeve van Taal- en Dichtkunde* in 1730, immediately praised by many of his contemporaries, like Pieter la Ruë (1695 – 1770), and still appreciated decades later by literates such as Herman Tollius (1742 – 1822) who claims that, along with Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding*, there is “no other more useful or judicious work” (*geen nutter noch ordeelkundiger arbeid*) (DE BONTH 1998, 6-8). Huydecoper’s main inspirations are certainly Moonen and Séwel’s grammars, although the importance of Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding* should not be underestimated, either (DE BONTH 1998, 117). Huydecoper was also a productive playwright, authoring three plays, namely: *De triompheerende standvastigheid of verydele wraakzucht* (1717); *Achilles* (1719, of which another version was published in 1728); *Atzases of 't edelmoedig verraad* (1722). He additionally translated *Ædipe* by Pierre Corneille (1606 – 1684), that came out in 1720 with the title *Edipus*, and the same year he also wrote a pamphlet in defense of his own translation, titled *Corneille Verdedigd*. In 1726 he translates Horace with his *Hekeldichten en brieven van Q. Horatius Flaccus* (1726) (DE BONTH 1998, 60-72). Huydecoper cites Verwer in his *Proeve*, evidencing he drew inspiration from him in believing that after the Middle Ages, Dutch knew a period of decadence. An opinion also shared by Ten Kate (VAN DE BILT 2009, 89).

¹⁴ In his *Aenleiding* (1723), on page 11. Cited from DE BONTH (1998, 11).

3.3.8 Lexicography of the 17th and 18th centuries

While the tradition of grammar can be traced back to the first Greek philosophical works, lexicography was not as common in the ancient world. The Greeks and the Romans did not compile full-fledged dictionaries. The closest things to a dictionary, from the Classical world, are glossaries of difficult terms, that could be defined as jargon from specific subjects, like philosophy for example. The first known lexicon of Europe is attributed to Papias, who lived in the Italian peninsula, in the 11th century. Any lexicographical work concerned Latin until the 17th century, when the first monolingual dictionaries started being compiled on the vernacular language. The first European publication on a vernacular language is the Italian *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, printed in Venice in 1612, that was followed in 1694 by the first French dictionary published by the Académie Française that eventually served as an example for the other European countries to compile one of their own national languages (VAN STERKENBURG 1984, 6-9).

As far as the Dutch language is concerned, in 1562, Christoffel Plantijn (1520 – 1589) from Antwerp published his Latin dictionary with each entry translated into Greek, French and Dutch, with the title *Dictionarium Tetraglotton seu voces Latinae omnes et Graecae eis respondents cum Gallica et Teutonica, (quam passim Flandricam vocant) earum interpretation.* His specific goal was to provide the youth of Gallic Belgium with a dictionary in their own “dialect” (*ut toties Galliae Belgicae pubes commune habeat vernaculo idiomate Dictionarium*). In 1573, Plantijn publishes another dictionary, by the title *Thesaurus Theutonica Linguae*, with the express goal of providing to Dutch the same type of tool that Robert Estienne (1503 – 1559) provided to French with his *Dictionarium Latinogallicum* (1552) (SCHAARS 1988, 30-31).

Although Latin was still undoubtedly considered a core reference for issues regarding language, in the 17th century, its hegemony underwent sensible reduction, amid the emergence in importance of other European languages, particularly French. This is specifically visible in the context of lexicography, as evidenced by DE TOLLENAERE (1977, 219-221). Bilingual dictionaries of many languages saw the light, starting from Séwel’s English-Dutch, Dutch-English dictionary, but also including works on Spanish and Italian, with French still being the undisputed leader in Dutch lexicography of the 18th century. The most active lexicographers of the time were probably François Halma and Pieter (Pierre) Marin, whose works have been massively used in Japan for the learning of Dutch. These two, as I will discuss below, have had some conflicts during their respective careers, although, at some point, Marin was working for Halma (see 3.4.2), who also was a productive publisher, as mentioned above.

One point that needs to be made clear here is the role of lexicography, in the context of Dutch studies in Japan and, thus, within the present research. In Chapter IV, I will analyze the content of two Dutch-French dictionaries, namely those of Halma and Marin. Although it is undeniable that they have been used as basis for the compilation of the first Dutch-Japanese dictionaries, it does not mean that the Japanese received them solely as lexicographical works. As I will demonstrate in

Chapter VII, for example, the introduction of Marin's dictionary has most likely inspired Shizuki's understanding of the genders of words and the ways by which one can turn one part of speech into another, in Dutch, by means of suffixes. The reason why I cover the topic of lexicography is, thus, not because I intend to also cover the reception of Dutch lexicographical works in Pre-Modern Japan as such, but rather because the Japanese, specifically Shizuki, used dictionaries as sources on grammar. In the rest of this Chapter III, I will introduce the authors and their books that have reached Japan, concentrating onto the most influential among those Shizuki has read. The analysis of the content of these books, that is the result of my personal investigations, will be presented in Chapter IV. In 3.4, I have relied mostly on HULL (1933), for Séwel's biography, and on VAN DEN GRAFT (1965), LOONEN (1997) and VAN EEGHEN (1965) for what concerns Marin and Halma. But first, a few words are in order regarding the Dutch tradition of abecedaries.

3.3.9 Primers, abecedaries, and *haneboeken*

Another type of source that has reportedly been used by the Japanese to learn the basics of the Dutch language are so-called *A B C Boeken* 'A B C Books', that the Japanese often called *a be būku* アベブック or *a be se būku* アベセブック. These are not only attested directly by Japanese sources, but there are also examples of Dutchmen reporting the Japanese interpreters learning by heart and repeating religiously their content, as it is read in the diary of Captain Dirck de Haas, in its entry in 1677. There is also a copy of an *A B Boek* that appears to have belonged to the Kyōto scholar of Dutch Koishi Genzui 小石元瑞 (1784 – 1849) (KATAGIRI 2016, 38). Within the context of the research on Dutch studies in Japan, many have tried to understand which specific abecedaries the Japanese have made use of, like ŌSHIMA (2018) or KATAGIRI (2016), however identifying the specific edition will probably remain an impossible task. This is a consequence of two main issues: most *A B C Boek* ever made have gone lost and, secondly, their content did not vary too much, to begin with.

The tradition of *A B C Boeken*, in Northern Europe can be traced back to the so-called hornbooks, very popular in England, America and the Netherlands. These were rectangular wooden boards upon which a piece of paper containing the alphabet was fastened, and covered with a plate of horn, hence the name. Unfortunately, not many original hornbooks have preserved to our days, thus a specific dating of the beginning of the adoption of such tool is not clear. However, one can deduce when they were used, by secondary sources, like books and painting. This allows to know that hornbooks have started appearing in Western Europe sometime in the 15th or 16th century (TER LINDEN 1995, 9-10).

An *A B C Boek* is, instead, a small booklet made from one single piece of paper folded three times as to make sixteen pages. It generally contains one page with the alphabet in different fonts, the twelve Apostles' Creeds, the Ten Commandments, the prayer Jesus taught to his disciples, and some additional prayers meant to be read before and after sleeping and eating (STELLINGWERFF 1979, 8). The content of such books was, thus, very much religiously oriented. It was supposed to provide the very basic education to Dutch children, teaching them how to read and how to be good

Christians. The origin of this type of educational material can be traced back to the German *Fibel*, that where books inspired by the writings of Martin Luther, who believed that it was a good Christian's mission to write books that provided literacy and religious teachings to the young. Indeed, what is considered to be the first *A B C Boek* of history, is probably the German *Teütsche Kinder Tafel, Anfang des Christenlichen Glaubens und Teütscher sprach, wie sie die jungen kinder in den teütschen schulen lernen sollen*, published in 1534 in Nuremberg by Jobst Gutknecht (STELLINGWERFF 1979, 20). The religious motive has always been a fundamental component of the *A B C Boeken*, also visible in the publications made by the Dutch in their colonies, particularly in Formosa (Taiwan), where the *A B C Boeken* have been one component of a series of attempts at Christianizing the island (STELLINGWERFF 1979, 45).

For the 16th and 17th centuries, only one copy of *A B C Boeken* per century has remained until today (STELLINGWERFF 1979, 7-8). The 18th century brought with it a renewal that would change the look of *A B C Boeken* for the rest of their history. The first page of 18th century *A B C Boeken* featured the illustration of a rooster, called *haan* in Dutch, hence these books became famous with the name of *haneboeken* 'roosterbooks' (STELLINGWERFF 1979, 9). Characteristic of these *haneboeken* were the two rhymed verses which made analogies between the rooster as a symbol of waking up early, and the children, who also needed to wake up early, read their prayers and go to school (TER LINDEN 1995, 11-12).

It is generally believed that these *A B C Boeken* were used both at school and at home. Inside the class, the teacher would have a board with the alphabet and the children were commanded to repeat its content (TER LINDEN 1995, 14). The fundamental pedagogical idea of *A B C Boeken* is the combination of memorizing the letters and prayers, by repeating them with the learning of letters by calling them each by their names. This is called *spelmethode* 'spelling-method' and is based on the idea that children were to learn how to write by spelling the words out. To make an example, if the child was learning how to spell the word *god*, homographic with its English translation 'god', then the child would have to say out loud *ge-o-de*.¹⁵ This method slowly became outdated, and was replaced, by the end of the 18th century, by the *klankmethode* 'sound-method', that taught children how to spell by associating sounds, images, and letters. There was no spelling out of each letter of words anymore. Words were accompanied by an illustration, they were pronounced in their entirety, and then shown the spelling. This change occurred in the Netherlands with the 1790 book by the Leiden-based Swede J. J. Schneither, titled *Nieuwe leerwijze, om kinderen, binnen zeer korten tijd te leeren leezzen en denken* (DE VRIES 1995, 19-21).

Because of the fact that only a very limited number of copies of all the different editions ever made of such *A B C Boeken* have preserved until today, and because their contents were often extremely similar, understanding which specific edition the Japanese used is an almost impossible goal. As I have mentioned in 2.4.4, even though Shizuki cites one whole sentence from one *A B C Boek*, since that sentence

¹⁵ As I have mentioned in 1.5, a similar method can also be seen in some of the early Japanese manuscripts on Dutch.

corresponds to the First Commandment, there is no way to trace that back to one single source. Furthermore, as STELLINGWERFF (1979, 50) points out, 18th-century *A B C Boeken* generally contained the so-called *statenvertaling* of the Bible, meaning the 1618 translation by the Synod of Dordrecht, implying a homogeneity in the form of the religious content, as well.

3.4 Books on the Dutch Language that Reached Japan

At present, a complete list of the books that have reached Japan during the Edo period might not be available. The way these books have been preserved, of course, along with calamities, might have completely deleted from history any trace of the circulation of a specific text or a specific edition of a book during the over two hundred years of Tokugawa rule. In particular, one should not forget the consequences of the fact that, at least until 1720, when the ban on books was repealed by eighth shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1716 – 1745) (IANNELLO 2012, p. 105), foreign books might have been smuggled inside the archipelago, leaving no direct trace of entrance behind them as their owners held their presence secret.

Tracing back the original Dutch sources that were used by each single scholar of Dutch is no simple task either. Clear and unambiguous citations of the source books are rare. One could see the example of Maeno Ryōtaku's *Oranda yakusen*, where the author copies over the entirety of the title pages of Hakvoort's *Opregt Onderwys*, as well as *De Cijfferinghe* (first edition in 1604) by Willem Bartjens (1569 – c.1638). In the latter case, this is done down to the year of publication, as well as the editor. Unfortunately, this is far from being the rule. In fact, if one is lucky, one can at most find the quotation of a part of the Dutch original title in *katakana*, accompanied by the name of the author, also in *katakana*. In most cases, nonetheless, one is only left with a generic title, transliterating Dutch words like *spraakunst* 'grammar', or *samenspraken* 'dialogues'¹⁶ that, of course, were quite common choices among authors as titles for their books on the Dutch language, or of specific chapters. When only parts of the original title were cited, it was also not uncommon for the Japanese to nickname them with different phrasings. This is the case of the famous *tāheru anatomia* ターヘルアナトミア (probably from Dutch *tafel* 'table' and Latin *anatomia* 'anatomy') cited by the famous Sugita Genpaku in *Rangaku kotohajime* as the Dutch source for his *Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書 'New Book of Anatomy'; the actual title, in Dutch, was *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* 'Anatomic Tables'. In some other instances, the Japanese scholars used to refer to sources simply by naming their author. This is the case, for example, of Shizuki,

¹⁶ Famously, Sugita Genpaku, in his pivotal *Rangaku Kotohajime* has been found claiming: "Furthermore, learning the [Dutch] letters has been possible since Nishi Zenzaburō's team had received from some Dutchman a book titled *Konstwoord* ['spelling'] and has managed to copy it up to 3 times.", original quote: 「これによりて文字習ひ覚ゆること出来、西善三郎等先づコンストウワールドといふ辞の書を和蘭人より借り得しを、三通りまで写しよし」 (SUGITA 2015, 17). This *Konstwoord*, probably an abbreviation of *Konstwoordenboek* or *Kunstwoordenboek*, is still an unknown source (SUGITA 2015, 80).

who writes about a “third edition of Marin” (*mārin sanban* マーリン三板) and a “first edition of Halma” (*haruma shohan* ハルマ初板), that can be deduced to correspond to, respectively, Pieter Marin’s third edition of his *Compleet Nederuitsch en Fransch woordenboek* (1752) and François Halma’s first edition of his *Nieuw woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche taalen* (1710). In other instances, a combination of the above is adopted as citation method. This is the case of Laurens Heister’s *Heelkundige Onderwyzingen* (‘Surgical Teachings’), that Sugita refers to as *heisuteru no shuruzein* ヘイステルのシュルゼイン; *heisteru* stands for the author’s surname Heister, and *shuruzein*¹⁷ approximates the Dutch word *chirurgijn* ‘surgeon’ (SUGITA 2015, 90). The names of the authors, be they of French origin, like Marin, or German, like Heister, were all adapted into *katakana* as if they were to be read according to Dutch spelling conventions, making the recognition of the names much harder.

While citations are thus not always particularly useful, fortunately the scholars of Dutch have also shown a strong tendency of copying – more or less systematically – whole sentences and paragraphs from the sources they had direct access to. This proves extremely useful for the philological reconstruction of the original source, down to the smaller details, such as the precise edition. This is the case for the edition of Marin’s *Spraakwyze* whose section of syntax is found as an appendix to Waseda’s copy of Shizuki’s *Rangaku Seizenfu* (although hardly written by Shizuki himself, see Appendix 1). However, it was not rare for a Japanese scholar to copy Dutch sentences from other Japanese-made manuscripts. The sample sentences in Maeno Ryōtaku’s *Oranda yakusen*, for example, originally taken from older editions of Marin’s *Spraakwyze*, his dictionary and, probably, other sources, can be seen in quite the same order in different manuscripts. This suggests that copying from other Japanese material was a quite common practice in the compilation of such manuscripts (I will go back to this in 4.4).

In sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, I will present some biographical and bibliographical information regarding the three authors who most inspired Shizuki, namely: Willem Séwel, François Halma and Pieter Marin. The purpose of these sections is to make the reader aware of the context in which the books Shizuki read were compiled, to identify the influences and relations between each grammarian and his theories. The three authors knew and collaborated with each other, yet they also engaged in disputes that can explain not only their different persuasions, but also the reason why, for example, Halma’s dictionary happens to have a rather divergent and inconsistent content. This paragraph is fundamental for a good understanding of the analysis of their books as presented in Chapter IV.

¹⁷ The Japanese approximation in *katakana* testifies that the pronunciation of the word *chirurgijn* in Dutch, back then, used to be much more influenced by French phonology, as compared to today, where the letter < g > is now pronounced as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] (or variations thereof), always represented with the *ga-gyō* by the Japanese *rangakusha*, while here it represented as the *za-gyō* (e.g. *shuruzein* instead of *shurugein*), suggesting that < g > to be pronounced by Dutch native speakers as a sound closer to the French voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ] (see NESPOLI 2019, for further information on the Japanese phonological adaptations of Dutch).

3.4.1 Dutch grammarian Willem Séwel and the struggle of a Quaker of English descent

Willem Séwel (1653 – 1720) was a Dutch Quaker of English background who, in 1708, published the first edition of *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst, Waarin de Gronden der Hollandsche Taale Naauwkeuriglyk opgedólven, en zelfs voor geringe Verstanden, zo ten aanzien der Spellinge als bewoordinge, duydelyk aangewezen zyn* ('Dutch Grammar, wherein the foundations of the Dutch language are accurately dug out and clearly indicated even for lesser minds, to demonstrate the spelling, as well as the phrasings', henceforth *Spraakkonst*), that became one of the most renowned and read manuals of Dutch in the Republic, Great Britain and Japan. In contrast with the French-oriented Halma and Marin, Séwel was more productive in the context of the English language and market, also authoring *A New dictionary English and Dutch* (1691), subsequently edited for the United Provinces as *Groot Woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederduytsche Taalen, A Large Dictionary English and Dutch* (first edition in 1708), that is also referenced often in his *Spraakkonst* as *myn Engelsch en Nederduytsch Woordenboek* 'my English and Dutch Dictionary'. HULL (1933) managed to gather much information regarding his bibliography. HULL (1933) particularly focuses on the figure of Séwel as a Quaker and on his work on Quaker historiography. Indeed, most of Séwel's biography has been handed down via his own publication on Quakerism, first published in Dutch, in 1717, titled *Histori van de Opkompste, Aanwas en Voortgang der Christenen bekend by den naam van Quakers*, thus translated into English, in 1722, with the title *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers*. As HULL (1933, 1-2) reports that the information contained in these two works is often dissimilar, with each version focusing on specific issues, according to the target readers, considering their nationality. According to *History*, Willem's father, James Williamson Sewel,¹⁸ was an Englishman who decided to exile himself in the Republic for religious reasons, where he got married with Willem's mother, Judith Zinspenning, of mixed Dutch, Flemish and Walloon descent. They are reported as being amongst the first "genuine Quaker believers" (*rechtzinnige Quakersgezinden*) of Amsterdam. Séwel's literary skills were undoubtedly exceptional, besides knowing numerous languages (Latin, French, German and Greek, beyond English and Dutch, which can be assumed to have been his mother tongues), he also authored many translations, and has worked with some of the most active intellectuals of his period (HULL 1933, 31-32). For example, in this regard, it is known he has helped François Halma in the compilation of his first Dutch-French dictionary, implicating himself in one of the longest intellectual fights in the history of Dutch grammar, lasting centuries after both had died (of which more in 3.4.2). The book that made Séwel first gain popularity was his 1691 English-Dutch dictionary that made him initially famous as an Anglicist, and as a Dutch lexicographer in Great Britain. His was not simply a dictionary, as it also presented an introduction covering grammatical issues that he always claimed to be his own invention (HULL 1933, 34), regardless of having drawn inspiration from Nyloë, Van

¹⁸ The spelling Séwel was adopted by Willem for it to be more easily read by Dutch speakers.

Hoogstraten and Moonen, but also Van Heule, for his second edition. Nonetheless, he was probably accused of plagiarism, on account of some noticeable and striking similarity with an earlier dictionary by Henry Hexham (c. 1585 – c. 1650), who published an earlier work with the title *Het groot woordenboek: gestalt in 't Nederduytsch ende in 't Engelsch*, in 1648. Séwel addressed and refuted openly having drawn any inspiration from this author. In turn, Séwel has been an inspiration for Halma in his Dutch-French dictionary where the classification of words as *boertig* ‘comedic’, *plomp* ‘coarse’ and *straattalig* ‘language of the street’ was also used (DE TOLLENAERE 1977, 227). Similar terminology was also used by Marin, and is also found in Shizuki’s *Joshi-kō*, although the Japanese copyist simply took over these terms without ever really employing them, nor defining them (see 2.4.2). Séwel addressed some of the accusations that were made against him in the two versions – one for the first edition, the other for all the subsequent editions – of the *Voorreede aan den Lezer* “Foreword to the reader” he wrote for his *Spraakkonst*. In the first introduction he also states quite directly which sources on Dutch he had consulted and what specifically he took from them.

In this valuable excerpt, which can be read in its entirety with my English translation in Appendix 4, Séwel lists all the sources he was inspired by, when coming up with his theories on language. Firstly, it must be remembered that many of his theories had already appeared in his English-Dutch dictionary, some sixteen years before. He claims that he cited all the works on grammar that he read, not overlooking any, for a total of six works:

- Arnold Moonen’s *Nederduytsche spraakkonst* (1706);
- Adriaen Verwer’s *Linguae belgicae idea grammatica, poetica rhetorica* (1707), Séwel refers to as “Drafts of Dutch Grammar in Latin”;
- *Twe-spraeck* (1584), anonymous, yet attributed to Hendrik Laurenszoon Spiegel;
- Jacobus Nyloë’s *Aanleyding tot de Nederduytsche taal* (1703);
- *Aanmerkingen omtrent de geslachten* (Remarks on Genders) by Geeraart Brandt;
- Van Hoogstraten’s *Aenmerkingen over de Geslachten* (1700).

While swearing that these were his only sources, he also adds that he found literary reference in the language used by Hooft and Vondel. He further adds that he knew that the Society of arts (*konstgenootschap*) named *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, was working on a publication on Dutch grammar. However, since he preferred not to be influenced from works not already published, he decided not to look at its drafts. This work was never concluded, although part of it has been published in 1728 with the title *Verhandeling van der letteren affinitas of verwantschap: van het gebruik der accentus of toonen in de Nederduytsche vaerzen: en van de metaplasmus of woordvervorming* (DE BONTH & DIBBETS 1995, 53). The critique Séwel is strongly defending himself against is a claim according to which his theories on gender were copied from Halma. Séwel responds to this by stating that although they had been working together (see 3.4.2), his ideas on gender were his own. One explanation he provides for the similarities in the theory of gender between the two sources is the fact that both authors have read the same sources, namely Brandt, *Twe-spraeck* and

Van Hoogstraten. This is an interesting claim as it clarifies in which specific topics Séwel was inspired by those sources. However, it must be added that Van Hoogstraten and Verwer, who were friends from their youth, engaged in a fierce public critique of Séwel, publishing open letters and remarks on his work containing negative opinions, specifically concerning the spelling adopted by Séwel. Although the critiques seemed to be more often motivated on personal attacks, Van Hoogstraten has also criticized the way Séwel described impersonal verbs, claiming that one cannot say “I thunder” or “I rain”, although in certain metaphorical contexts one could indeed utter those words (RUTTEN 2006, 372-378). This critique will be addressed by Séwel in the Foreword to the second edition, as can be read in Appendix 5.

There is one section of this Foreword where Séwel mentions emblem literature, a genre of underestimated importance in the Dutch studies of Japan (see 2.4.3 and 2.4.7), citing the Latin quote *Aliis inserviando consumer*, that can be translated as “One gets consumed by serving others”. Séwel claims that this has been used in combination with the illustration (*zinnenbeeld*) of a burning candle. DE BONTH & DIBBETS (1995, 57) claim that variations of this saying, and its association with a burning candle is rather old and can be found in many sources.¹⁹ However, emblem 31 found in volume two of *Gabrielis Rollenhagii Selectorum emblematum centuria secunda* (1613), by Gabriel Rollenhagen (1583 – 1619), that can be seen in Figure 3, seems to fit the description quite accurately.

Since the second edition of Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* onwards, the contents of the book have been thoroughly revised and expanded. For this reason, its introduction has been reworked as well. It appears that some have noticed commonalities between Séwel’s first edition and Christiaan van Heule’s *De Nederduytsche spraec-konst ofte Tael-beschrijvinghe* (1633). Séwel claims that he only got to know Van Heule’s works while his first edition of *Spraakkonst* was already being printed. Reportedly, he decided not to read it until he would work on a second edition, in order not to make it appear as if he consulted it without acknowledging it. Séwel adds that he had also been accused of not being of proper Dutch descent, thus not being entitled of publishing Dutch grammars. He deflects these attacks by both affirming his “Dutchness” and insinuating that he was not being criticized because of the contents of his works, but because of the religion he professed. The entire “Foreword to the reader” present from the second edition onward of Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* can be read in Appendix 5, with my English translation.

¹⁹ In this regard DE BONTH & DIBBETS (1995, 57) reference GRAF, F., *Aliis inserviando consumer. Zur Entwicklung einer lateinischer Sentenz in Arcadia*. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft 4, 1969, p. 199-201.



Figure 3 Example of candle emblem by Gabriel Rollenhagen.

3.4.2 François Halma and Immortal Sea-Monster Pieter Marin

While little research has been carried out on the grammatical contents of Marin and Halma's works, much of their public personas can be deduced from the introductions to their respective publications. DE TOLLENAERE (1977, 221) understood that they must have, at some point, worked together. They are nowadays recognized as the main authors of Dutch-French lexicography in the 18th century and as the main sources used by the Japanese scholars of Dutch. However, they are often also known because of their long-lasting quarrel.

François Halma was born in 1653 in Langerak, a small town in the region of Southern Holland. His father died when he was only 7 years old. In 1660, his mother decided to live with a group of beguines in Utrecht, where he and his five siblings could be fed and educated. Halma himself attended the St. Hieronymusschool and he eventually decided to find a job as bookseller in order not to be a burden on his mother's economy, although initially his life seemed to lead him toward religion. He probably worked in Pieter Elsevier's bookshop in Pausdam, in Utrecht, from whom he received training in bookselling and in the French language. This allowed him to start working as a translator and earn enough money to be able to open his own shop in 1675. During his life, he managed to get good connections with many from the higher classes of society, including aristocrats, politicians, and foreign rulers. He

was also an active poet, who dedicated rhymes to king William III. His poetic works were mostly requested for wedding ceremonies. He was also a proficient publisher and became renowned for his works on the French language, the first being the co-publication of *Dictionnaire nouveau, français et flamand* in 1686, together with Claude Rouxel. He moved from Utrecht to Amsterdam in 1699, then further to Leeuwarden, in 1710, where he was awarded with the title of *landschapdrukker* 'land printer', by the states of Friesland. He died in Leeuwarden in 1722 (VAN DE GRAFT 1965).

Pierre Marin was born in France in the town of La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, in the Île-de-France region, not far from Paris, in either 1667 or 1668. He moved to the Dutch city of Delft in 1685, where he lived for three years before moving to Amsterdam in 1688, where he lived until his death in 1718. In the Republic of the United Provinces, where he was known with his "Dutchified" name of Pieter, he worked as a teacher of French and Dutch in French schools. While teaching, he also authored a considerable number of books and dictionaries, mostly intended for his students, or students at French schools, in general, for them to learn French.²⁰ Notably, in Marin's bibliography one's attention cannot but be caught by the fact that his works have been reprinted all the way until the end of the 19th century, so much so that in an 1854 edition of the magazine *Navorscher*, a reader asked the question of whether this Pieter Marin was *onsterfelijk* 'immortal' when he found a copy of an older 1775 edition of Marin's *Nouvelle Méthode* (or *Spraakwyze*), that included an introductory poem, from the hands of the author, dated 1697, and new editions of his works were still being published with speedy tempo (LOONEN, 1997).

Another specific feature of Marin's publication is that many of his books seemed to be self-published. This can be explained by the fact that Marin tended not to have good relations with many publishers. In particular, it is worth mentioning the long-lasting altercation with Halma. After publishing *Le Grand dictionnaire* in 1686, with Rouxel, Halma started working on its new edition, together with Johannes La Gruë. When in 1694 Halma included Marin in the project, they wrote a contract wherein Halma was taking the responsibility of the publication of the dictionary, establishing the pay and the role of each collaborator, specifically requesting the two to check the French translations of the definitions of each entry. After having assigned the revision of the letter M to La Gruë, and letter N to Marin, Halma seemed not to be able to proceed in the compilation, and the two were left with little work to do. In the meantime, Marin decided to publish other works for the use of his disciples, asking Halma for permission, which he granted on the promise that it would not be too big of an endeavor. In the meantime, probably to make the work proceed faster, Halma assigned the compilation of letters S to Z to Séwel, breaching the contract. This did not seem to have worked out too well for Halma, either, since Séwel, also overloaded with translations, did not work at a good pace and his inclusion in the project caused complaints from La Gruë and Marin. Inside Leiden University's

²⁰ For a list of Marin's publications and their innumerable editions, refer to LOONEN (1997).

library I have found a letter,²¹ sent by Séwel to Halma, in 1696, where the Quaker is asking the printer elucidations concerning the compilation of the dictionary.

Gunstige Vrind François Halma,

Alzo ik UE in lang mondeling niet heb gesproken, als hebbende t' elkens van Uw aanweezen in deeze stad niet geweeten, dan naa Uw vertrek, zo zal UE by deezen eens vraagen, of in het voorige gedeelte van 't Woordenboek, waaraan ik arbeyde, onder de letter IJ die woorden gebragt zyn, welke men meerderdeels, en ook van ouds onder de letter Y plagt te brengen; op dat ik mag weeten hoe my in 't vervolg daarin te gedraagen, wanneer ik zo verre zal gekomen zyn: Ik heb La Grue daarna gevraagd, doch hy zeyde zulks niet te weeten, maar oordeelde 't echt noodig dat men 't by UE eens onderstond, om gene dubbeld werk te doen: ik hoop als Gy eens weder in de stad komt, dat my gelegenheyd zal gegeeuen worden om daar over mondeling eens met UE te spreken.

Graceful friend François Halma,

Since I have not spoken to you in a long time, as I have not known of you having been present in this city, until after you left, with the present I shall ask you, whether, in the preceding parts of the dictionary, which I am working on, under the letters IJ those words are put which one generally, also in the past, uses to put under the letter Y; so that I could know how to behave as a consequence, when I will have come thus far. I have asked La Grue, yet he said not to know about it, but he judged it to be necessary to consult you on this, as not to do any double work: I hope that if you ever come back in this city, that I will be given the possibility to have a spoken conversation with you.

Séwel is confused regarding the way the digraph < ij >²² was to be treated in their dictionary, whenever he would get to work on that letter, and his doubts were also

²¹ The document is recorded as *Brief van Willem Séwel (1654-1720) aan François Halma (1653-1722)* within PAP 15, it is dated 21 October, in Amsterdam, signed by W^m. Séwel, and destined to François Halma, *Boekverkoper en drukker den Academia ten Utrecht*, "Bookseller and printer at the Academia in Utrecht". The full text of the letter, with my full English translation is found in Appendix 3, at the end of the present dissertation.

²² The issue is caused by the fact that the digraph < ij >, in Dutch, was and had been often interchangeably written with the letter < y >. Since the four authors were taking care of the compilation of different parts of the dictionary Séwel was wondering regarding who had to take on the job of covering the entries starting with that letter (or digraph), since if one treated those words as starting with < ij >, or < i > and < j >, then they would have needed to be covered between the letters < h > and < k >, while < y > would find the same place it has in the English alphabet. The adoption of either would have meant a change in responsibility for the covering of that letter, possibly between Séwel and La Gruë, himself. Ultimately, in the first edition of Halma's dictionary, the letters < i >, < j > and < y > are all treated as the same letter, and the following text is added, on page 265: "J. I. The ninth letter of the A b c. Which also includes the letter Y, which is also used as a sixth vowel by the Dutch" (*J. I. De negende letter van 't A b c. Waar onder wy ook betrekken de Y, die voor een zesde klinker by de Nederlanders gebruikt wordt*). Marin, in his dictionary, considered the three letters as distinguished, and in the first page of the entries for Y he writes, on page 1023: "The Y, is a letter that some are trying to ban out of the Dutch alphabet, but which is used in the following words by most based on reason" (*De Y, is een Letter die zommige uit het Nederduits Alphabets zoeken te bannen, maar die in de volgende woorden van de meesten met grond van reden gebruikt word*). The inconsistent categorization of these three letters can also be seen in

not clear to La Gruë, whom he had also consulted with little success in the solving of this doubt. This is a testimony that the project was still lagging, well into the year 1697.²³

The complaints about Séwel's introduction in the project convinced Halma to reconsider his decision and take back the role of compiling the dictionary, that he subsequently asked Marin to revise. Marin declined because he was too busy and because he feared reproaches for borrowing from their project for his own dictionary. With Marin's project having grown disproportionately in largeness, and after his claims of underpayment, the two came to a breaking point in their relationship and started working each on their own dictionaries. After this, Marin felt justified in printing the first part, from the letters A to O, of his *Nieuw Frans en Nederduits woordenboek*, in 1701. Subsequently, the altercation between Halma and Marin became public, with Halma trying to sabotage Marin's work who, nonetheless managed, through his acquaintances, to obtain a privilege for the publication of his *Compleet Fransch en Nederduitsch Woorden-boek* in 1710. Meanwhile, between 1706 and 1707, Halma, who was approaching the conclusion of his French-Dutch dictionary, was boasting about the fact that he had obtained a privilege for his publication, while Marin (still) had not. In a 1707 issue of the journal *De Boekzaal*, edited by Halma, his work was announced and, with Marin's indignation, a review of it was commissioned to Séwel, who eulogized it overtly (VAN EEGHEN 1965).

In 1710, together with Marin's French-Dutch dictionary, Halma also released the first edition of his own Dutch-French dictionary, known as *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen*. This was a luscious opportunity for Halma to reassess his position in the market of French lexicography in the Republic, by slandering his competitor Marin in a preface spanning eight pages, an insulting

what the Japanese wrote regarding the Dutch alphabet. Sugita Genpaku is particularly known for writing that the Dutch alphabet contained 25 letters, with some contemporary commentators deeming this a mistake of Sugita. This is claimed, for example, in a 1969 English translation of *Rangaku kotohajime*, translated by Matsumoto Ryōzō, by the titled *Dawn of Western Science in Japan: Rangaku Kotohajime* (Hokuseidō Press, Tokyo).

²³ As VAN DEN ELSEN & FOX (2005) correctly point out, Séwel's letter was not sent with the main purpose of asking Halma to solve this issue. By reading the complete text of the letter (Appendix 3), it is clear that the main reason why Séwel sent the letter to Halma, was to ask the "friend", who happened to be a publisher, to fund the publication of a Dutch version of a Christian book, originally published, in German, in Frankfurt, the year before, that he intended to translate. The book in question is Gottfried Arnold's (1666-1714) *Die erste Liebe der Gemeinen Jesu Christi, das ist, wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen nach ihern lebendigen Glauben und heiligen Leben: worinnen zugleich des William Cave Erstes Christenthum nach Nothdurfft erläutert wird*. Halma would never accept this offer, for reasons one can read in VAN DEN ELSEN & FOX (2005), although Séwel would, eventually, manage to publish his translation, in 1700, with the publishers of Amsterdam Jacobus van Hardenberg, Barent Visscher and Jacobus van Nieuweveen, with the title *Waare afbeelding der eerste Christenen. Volgens hun leevendig geloof, en heylig leeven. Uyt de getuygenissen, voorbeelde en redenen der oudste en achtbaarste kerkelyke schryveren, volgens de waarheid der eerste en eenigste Christelyke godsdienst, allen liefhebberen der geschiedenissen, en voornaamelyk der aaloudheyd, als een nutte kerkelyke historie, getrouwelyk en onzydiglyk voogesteld, door Godfreid Arnold, laatst professor der historiën te Giessen*.

poem, and a degrading illustration. To get an idea of the dishonorable epithets spewed against Marin in Halma's dictionary, one can read some of the critiques written in the "preface to the reader", below, alongside my English translation:

Dat wy dit Woordenboek voor een *volkomen* werk de wereldt zouden poogen op te dringen, gelyk de verwaande Taalbrabbelaar *Marin* onlangs de schaamteloosheit heeft gehad, om dit van zyn Franfch en Duitfch Woordenboek te bevestigen, terwyl het van leemten en gebreken, (waar van in 't vervolg nader) grimmelt, hebbe niemant van ons te wachten; naardien alle menfchen, waarin de reden door eenen gezwollen waan, gelyk in deezen Franfchman, niet t'eenemaal gedooft is, overreedt zyn, dat geen Woordenboeken *volkomen* (*compleet* fchryft hy) konnen geheeten worden, vooral van dubbele taalen, die de een de andere moet verklaaren; en dat hy zulks voorgeeft, zoowel de verachtinge als befpottinge over zyne verwaantheit verdient; gelyk hy die ook zekerlyk van alle verftandigen reeds heeft en verder ter wachten hebbe

[...]

Echter durven wy u wel, zonder eenige opfnyderye, verzekeren, dat 'er tot noch toe geen Nederduitsch Woordenboek, met eenige Uitheemfche taale gepaart, is gezien, zoo rykelyk geftoffeert, en met zoo veel deugden ter onderwyzinge voorzien, als dit tegenwoordige, waar omtrent wy geerne de proeve van den allerlafterzugtigften Momus willen uitftaan; als wel verzekert, dat, wat galle de Boosheit verder tegen ons moge uitbraaken, Grooten en kleenen hier over hunne neuze (als flechts eenen vergiftigen ftank van een nieu Zeegedrocht, *un nouveau Monstre Marin*) zullen toehouden; terwyl de rechte Wetenfchap door de Waarheit altoos zal opgebeurt, en met den lauwre gekroont worden; niet onaardig door onzen fchranderen Tekenaar op onze Tytelprent verbeeldt.

No one should expect from us that we would ever try to impose this dictionary in the world as a 'complete' [*volkomen*] work, just like the presumptuous babbling *Marin* has shamelessly done with his French-Dutch dictionary, regardless of the swarm of shortcomings and faults (which we will see below). As all people agree, those whose reason has not been at once quenched through a swollen delusion, just like this Frenchman, no dictionary can be called *volkomen* (*compleet*, he writes). Especially for the bilingual ones, which must clarify one language through the other; and that he purports, having earned both the contempt and derision because of his presumption; which he certainly acknowledges and is still awaiting for more.

[...]

We do, indeed, dare to reassure you, without boasting, that no one has ever seen since now a Dutch dictionary paired with such an alien language, so richly upholstered, and provided with so many virtues for the instruction, as the present, in this regard we are ready to face the challenge of this Momus, the worst slanderer of all; as reassured, that regardless of the bile which anger might spew against us, we should all, young and old, hold our noses (comparable only to the poisonous stank of a new sea monster, *un nouveau Monstre Marin*); whereas the righteous Science shall always be supported by the Truth and crowned with laurel; as not unkindly depicted by our slim-witted artist on our frontispiece.

The preface continues with a series of examples of mistakes purportedly found in Marin's dictionary. The unpleasant image described by Halma, representing Marin as a sea monster, playing a pun on his name and the French word for "maritime",

has been indeed drawn into an illustration, found as frontispiece to the first edition of this dictionary. The scene described in the text above can be observed in all its details, down to the meek expression in Marin's face, who appears in the form of a repulsive amphibious creature, stepped on by those whom the "truth of science" favors, as can be seen in Figure 4.

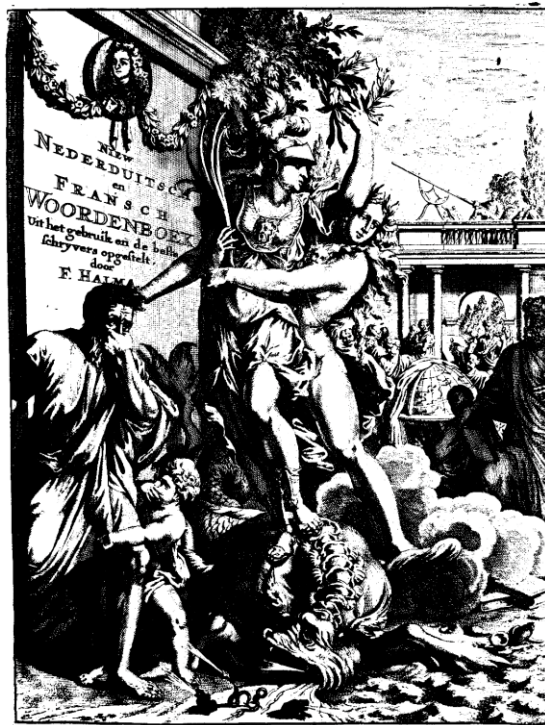


Figure 4 Illustration in Halma's dictionary, depicting Pieter Marin in the form of a repugnant sea monster.

In the first part of the quote above, there is another of the main critiques moved against Marin, namely the fact that, according to Halma, not only is the word *compleet* unrequested, as no dictionary can claim perfection, let alone Marin's "mistake-ridden" work, but also that the word *compleet*, used as *onduits* ('non-Dutch') translation of *volkomen*, cannot be used in Dutch, to refer to the completeness of a work, unless one is pointing at the conditions of the physical book they are talking about. This is argued further in the preface, in the text below:

Twyfelzinnig konde hier het Fransch woordt Compleet, en het onduitsch Compleet zyn, dat deeze verwaande Taalmeester in zyn opschrift gebruikt; overmids het woordt <i>compleet</i> by de	Doubtfully can one use the French word <i>Compleet</i>, and the non-Germanic <i>Compleet</i>, as does this arrogant language teacher in his heading; while with the word <i>compleet</i>,

Nederlanders en Franfchen, ten aanzien der boeken, in het eerfte opzigt betekent, het geen volkomen omtrent de bladen is, of waaraan niets van de bladen ontbreekt; maar de fnorkende Schryver geeft ‘er zelf, op dat men zich niet vergiffe, de verklaringe over, op zyne 202 bladtzyde daar hy dit woordt dezer voegen uitledeg.

both the Dutch and French, as far as books are concerned, they mainly mean that it is complete with regard to the pages, or that none of the pages is missing; but the grunting writer provides himself the clarification, so that nobody can be mistaken, on page 202, where he explains this word this way.

While Halma further proceeds by smearing Marin’s name, calling him a “smug” (*windtbuil*) in his preface-closing poem, and criticizing his use of the term *Hollandois*, to refer to the entirety of the Republic of the Seven Provinces, this semantical issue he raises can be seen in an interesting parallelism with the treatment of the so-called *Edo no rangakusha*, the ‘Dutch scholars of Edo’, toward their semi-colleagues the interpreters of Nagasaki.²⁴

Stabs at Marin and his “complete” dictionary can be found all the way into the third edition of Halma’s, dictionary, published in 1758, 40 years after Marin’s death and 36 after Halma’s. Particularly, the second edition, dated 1729 (when both authors had already died), begins with a preface listing all the major mistakes found in his competitor’s dictionary, demonstrating the fact that their feud had also been played through by the editors, probably to convince the readers that the other most famous Dutch-French dictionary was not to be considered comparable in correctness. Regardless of the critiques that Marin received from his former collaborator in a battle that he certainly engaged in himself as well, had he known the future of their publications after their respective deaths, he would have probably rested more contently. In fact, while Halma’s publications have mostly been impactful in the 18th century, as noticed above, Marin’s works have been re-edited until the end of the 19th century. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter II, while it is true that Halma’s dictionary has been used as the basis of the first Dutch-Japanese dictionaries, since Shizuki Tadao had access to the first edition of Halma (the Dutch-French version of that which had a troubled compilation), and Marin’s third edition, the Japanese scholar found mistakes in Halma that made him rely more on Marin, when compiling *Rangaku seizenfu*, and *Joshi-kō* for example. However, traces of subsequent editions of Halma’s dictionary can be found in other manuscripts by Shizuki.

3.5 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have provided context to the Dutch authors whose works I will analyze in Chapter IV. Starting from ancient Greece, I have briefly illustrated the history of the studies on grammar that occurred and spread in Europe during the

²⁴ The famous Sugita Genpaku mocked the interpreters of Nagasaki, whom he called ‘people of tongue’ (*setsujin* 舌人), by claiming that their knowledge of the language was so underdeveloped that they could not even properly use the appropriate term for “cold”, not being able to distinguish between “cold food” and “cold weather”, as proper Japanese would require (see 1.7).

centuries. This served two main purposes: defining what I will refer to as the “Greek-Latin tradition”; and illustrating how the Greek-Latin tradition developed through the centuries, and was received by grammarians of Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries. Having a broad picture of how these grammatical theories were born, spread, and adapted is essential in understanding the context and historical background of the Dutch authors I will cover in Chapter IV.

Even though European grammatical studies were already very ancient, Dutch grammarians of the 17th century could only rely on a short tradition as the first Dutch grammar had only been published in 1584. In Europe, when the first grammars of vernacular languages were compiled, the only grammars their authors could take as an example were, indeed, those on the classical languages, particularly Latin. It is no wonder, thus, that the grammars of the early *trivium*-period, in the Low Countries, were still fundamentally influenced by and based on the structure and categories of the past.

By the 18th century, Dutch grammarians began to distance themselves from those conventions, and came up with new ones. It is in this context that one must place the authors of Shizuki’s sources, namely: Séwel, Halma and Marin. These three authors worked in a period when Dutch grammatical studies were trying to find new ways to approach language, slowly gaining independence from the previous *trivium*-period. All these elements point toward a grammatical landscape that cannot be considered unified or settled. On the contrary, each author provided his personal interpretation of the rules of grammar, participating in the creation of a varied scholarship.

It is in this environment that Séwel, Halma and Marin operated. Furthermore, the three knew each other and collaborated in the composition of each other’s works on Dutch. In this sense, Shizuki was exposed to a very specific subsection of the studies on Dutch. In addition, the biographic notions of the three authors demonstrate how they interacted with the other works and authors and how their mutual acquaintance certainly played a role in the formation of their own grammatical theories. In particular, as I will argue in Chapter IV, there is evidence to believe that the troubled compilation of the first edition of Halma’s Dutch-French dictionary has impacted the correctness and cohesiveness of its contents, ultimately having repercussions on Shizuki’s works.

In Chapter IV, I will investigate, explain, and contextualize the grammatical contents of the Dutch publications that directly interest the present research. This process will allow me to compare the information therein contained with Shizuki’s claims about Dutch (and Japanese) grammar in order to establish to what extent these Dutch sources have been absorbed by the Japanese scholar. I will do this in Chapters VII and VIII. It will also allow me to understand whether and to what extent these grammatical notions on Dutch have been embraced by Shizuki who eventually extended them to the grammar of Japanese.

CHAPTER IV

The Grammatical Theory of Shizuki's Dutch Sources

西域ノ諸州文字ナシ唯訓語ヲ為テ通用ス故ニ先書ヲ素
讀シ而後ニ師ニ其意ヲ聞テ理ニ通ゼントスルハ迂遠ナ
ラサヤ彼國音ヲ以テ通スルユヘニ天理地理ニ通曉セン
ト欲セハ其書ヲ視テ日本ノ假名ヲ讀ガコトシ嘗テ雅言
俗語ノ差別ナシ故ニ師ナクメ天地ノ理ニモ通スル也其
簡辨カクノゴトシ

The Western nations, instead of characters, use signs which
merely indicate the pronunciation. Is it not a waste of time to
read books first without understanding the meaning and only
then to ask a teacher about it? Since in the West they use the
sounds of their own language in writing, they have but to
look at a book if they want to learn about the principles of
heaven and earth. It is like reading Japanese *kana*. There is
never a distinction made between elegant and common
language. Thus one can learn the fundamental principles
without having need of a teacher.¹

Shiba Kōkan, in *Oranda tensetsu*, 1796

¹ Original quote from *Oranda tensetsu* 和蘭天説, on folio 4r of Waseda's 二 5
2428. Translation from KEENE (1952, 92). From the original text I have removed
furigana and corrected misspellings.

4. The grammatical theory of Shizuki's Dutch sources

4.1 Identifying the sources

In this chapter, I will analyze the grammatical notions that can be deduced by reading the Dutch sources that reached Japan. Of course, I cannot provide such an analysis for each and every Dutch book that reached Japan. Firstly, a complete list of all Dutch books that reached Japan is probably never to be compiled. Secondly, not all Dutch books are equally relevant when studying Shizuki's works. The problems with the first point lie in the fact that the Japanese rarely cited their sources clearly and unambiguously. As for Shizuki, his theories have been handed down by his disciples. In many of Shizuki's works there are direct and indirect citations from Halma and Marin's dictionary. In some works, a clear influence from Séwel's *Spraakkonst* can also be seen. All these points are lengthily discussed in Chapter II. In order to try to understand the extent to which these Dutch sources have impacted Shizuki's theories, I will proceed, in Chapter IV, with an analysis of the sources that can be assumed Shizuki had referenced when compiling his manuscripts.

The sources that I will analyze are the following: the first edition of François Halma's *Nieuw woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche taalen* (1710); the third edition of Pieter Marin's *Compleet Nederduitsch en Fransch woordenboek* (1752); the 1790 edition of Marin's *Spraakwyze* and all editions of Séwel's *Spraakkonst*.¹ The grammatical information contained in these Dutch publications was far from standardized. As I will argue in this chapter, inconsistency can be found not only across different authors or works by the same authors, not only across editions but also within the same document. In the case of Waseda University's copy of Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu*, a whole section from Marin's *Spraakwyze* has been copied over, although probably not by Shizuki himself. It is known that this manuscript circulated among the Japanese scholars of Dutch. In order to assess to what extent it influenced Shizuki's theory of grammar, I will also provide a brief analysis of its contents, in 4.4.

The two dictionaries were not primarily supposed to be used as reference for grammatical rules. However, one can still find scattered grammatical notions which allowed Shizuki to also utilize them in this way. They are particularly useful in the analysis of the labels referring to the different parts of speech, and their grammatical features. The introduction to Marin's dictionary contains a series of rules that identify the correct gender of each noun. This information will be collected in the sections below, in order to provide the most cohesive and complete picture of all the grammatical notions one could deduce from these lexicographical works.

Séwel's *Spraakkonst* and Marin's *Spraakwyze*, instead, are both manuals of grammar, with the latter concentrating on French. For this reason, each single page

¹ Since it is not known which specific edition of Séwel circulated among the circle of Shizuki's disciples, I have taken a broad look at all editions. Specifically, from the second edition onwards, the content had been greatly expanded, and this will also be accounted for, in section 4.5.

contains information on grammar. Providing a complete analysis of the grammatical contents on grammatical theory of these works would be an unjustifiably large endeavor for the purpose of the present research. Consequently, I have chosen to concentrate on two main topics: the morphology of the parts of speech; and the morphosyntax of the category of verbs, with a specific focus on tenses and auxiliaries. I have chosen these two topics because these are also the two topics I will analyze in Chapters VII and VIII, concerning Shizuki's manuscripts.

The purpose of the present chapter is to provide a clear picture of the European-made theory on Dutch grammar along with its terminology that Shizuki could access. This will provide the tools necessary to compare Shizuki's theories with the Dutch tradition mediated by the source he referenced and, subsequently, cross-compare it with the Sino-Japanese tradition of grammar; the latter will be discussed in Chapters V and VI. The idea is to provide a more workable and concrete image of how Dutch studies on grammar reached Japan and thus, what specific ideas the Japanese were being exposed to, when studying these sources. Specifically, if one only treats Dutch grammar as a general monolith that must have originated from the Greek-Latin tradition then the chances one is going to superimpose one's own biases on it are very high. This can be seen, for example, in the fact that the categories of "active" and "neuter" verbs have been often treated as corresponding to and completely overlapping with "transitivity" and "intransitivity".² Ignoring the often-blurry differences between these two concepts makes it difficult to understand what these terms meant for the Dutch authors and for Shizuki himself. Another danger lies in believing that the morphological categories of speech the Dutch authors referred to were always defined neatly and unanimously across the sources. As discussed in Chapter III, and as will be shown in the present chapter, this was far from being the case. A possible consequence of these faulty premises is to assume that whenever a category was used unclearly and, apparently, inconsistently by Shizuki, this must have been the result of confusion on his part.³ As I will

² This can be seen, for example in MATSUDA (2008, 144), and DE GROOT (2005, 145). As a general rule, in Japanese-language research, the terms "active" and "neuter" are adapted into the modern terms of *jidōshi* and *tadōshi*, as a consequence of the fact that these are almost identical to the terminology adopted by Shizuki. These terms are nowadays used as Japanese correspondence to the English "transitive" and "intransitive" and using them as direct adaptation of Shizuki's terms might lead to the misconception that the two concepts overlapped completely. This is reinforced by the example of MATSUDA (2008), for example, that is an updated English translation of an original Japanese article (MATSUDA 2007, 69), where the terms "transitive" and "intransitive" do translate the original *tadōshi* and *jidōshi*. The same claim can also be read in JOBY (2021, 359), where the author cites SAITŌ (1967). The claim in question is found in SAITŌ (1967, 173) and is written in Japanese. This implies that the *rangaku* term *jidō* is simply compared to contemporary *jidōshi*, though the author realizes that it corresponds to the concept of neuter or impersonal verbs, rather than intransitive verbs, wondering what that actually meant. It is from this specific source that JOBY (2021, 359) also draws the claim that the term *jidō* is first attested in 1811 within *Seibun kihan* 西文規範 by Baba Sajūrō. However, the term is also often found in Shizuki's works, and the general concept of *jita* 自他 being connected to issues concerning predicates was very much present in *kokugaku* literature all throughout the Edo period, as I will discuss in Chapter V.

³ I have already discussed this in 1.3.3.

demonstrate here, each Dutch author defined and used the categories of speech differently and no such uniformity can be expected from the Dutch, either. Furthermore, Shizuki's use of these categories is far more consistent than generally accredited, and most unexpected claims can be explained against the background of the Sino-Japanese tradition, as I will demonstrate in Chapter VII.

4.2 *Nieuw Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen*, by François Halma

One of the oldest publications regarding the Dutch language that has reached Japan is François Halma's *Nieuw Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen – Dictionnaire Nouveau Flamand et François* ('A New Dictionary of the Dutch and French Languages', henceforth "Halma's dictionary").⁴ Halma's dictionary is undoubtedly among the most studied Dutch books on Dutch of the Edo period, having been the basis for the compilation of the first ever Dutch-Japanese dictionaries in history, namely *Halma wage* (*Haruma wage* ハルマ和解, often entirely in *kanji* as 波留麻和解, literally 'Japanese Interpretation of Halma') and *Doeff-Halma*,⁵ subsequently re-edited into *Ran-wa Goi* 蘭和語彙 and *Oranda Jii* 和蘭字彙 (KATAGIRI 2016, 102-112). Halma's dictionary has been reprinted in four editions; after the first in 1710, the second edition came out in 1729, the third in 1758, and the fourth, and last, in 1781. These editions all present different contents, although, I would argue, the first edition differs the most from the others. Shizuki Tadao, while compiling *Rangaku Seizenfu*, had access to the first edition of Halma's dictionary. This can be inferred by reading the following quote (8v):⁶

hebben ハマーリン三板ニ A ト アリ hadden モ同シハルマ初板 ニ自動トセルハ恐クハ誤レリ	In the third edition of Marin, <i>hebben</i> is an A ["Active"], and <i>hadden</i> is the same. In Halma's first edition it is considered a <i>jidō</i> , although this is probably a mistake.

Shizuki most likely used the term *shohan* 初板 to refer to the first edition of Halma's dictionary. This is reinforced by the claim regarding the neutrality of the verb *hebben*. The word *jidō* 自動 is Shizuki's Japanese adaptation of the concept of "neuter verbs" (see 8.3) and, indeed, the Dutch verb *hebben* 'to have' is only

⁴ The dictionary presented three variations of the same title. In the illustration, present in the first two editions, the title was *Nieuw Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek*, in the title page it read *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen*, while in the initial page of the dictionary itself the title reads *Nieuw woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Franche Taalen*. The latter is the only one present in the last two editions, accounting for the different spelling *nederduytsch*. Regardless, this is version of the title that is the most consistently present, thus it is the one I have adopted.

⁵ This is often rendered in *katakana* as *Dūfu haruma* ドーフ・ハルマ, or *Zūfu haruma* ツーフ・ハルマ.

⁶ Unless specifically stated, all citations from *Rangaku seizenfu* refer to Waseda's 文庫 8 B57.

categorized as a neuter verb (*g. w.*) in the 1710 version of Halma's dictionary. In subsequent editions, it is categorized as active.⁷ Whether this should be considered a "mistake" is debatable, since other auxiliaries, as I will show below, were considered "neuter" in this first edition, yet have been changed to active in later editions. These differences could have been the consequence of the troubled compilation of the dictionary (see 3.4.2). However, as I have claimed in Chapter II, there is enough evidence to claim that Shizuki must have had access also to other editions of Halma's dictionary when compiling works different from *Seizenfu*. For this reason, when deemed necessary, I will discuss the differences between the first edition and the subsequent ones.

The dictionary does not contain a section on grammar or anything like it. Any information regarding Dutch grammar is quite sparse and scattered inside the many entries. Since *Rangaku seizenfu* attests that these dictionaries were also used for grammatical reference, one needs to understand what type of notions regarding Dutch grammar could be found in them. One way to understand this is to consider which categories of speech Halma recognized in his work. I should stress that the following analysis is not an attempt to fully represent Halma's grammatical theory. The purpose of this section is to reconstruct what type of grammatical theory could be deduced by a Japanese scholar only by reading the entries of this dictionary. The same also applies to the subsequent section on Marin's dictionary.

Verklaaring der Teken en die de Natuur der Woorden aanduiden.

z. m. z. v. z. g. byv. w. byw. w. w. g. w. Voorz. Koppelw. Voegw. Tusschenw. Ond. w. Onv. tijd.	is te zeggen is te zeggen	Mannelijk Vrouwelijk Geenerlei. Byvoegelijk naamwoord. Bywoord. Werkende werkwoord. Geenerlei werkwoord. Voortzetsel. Koppelwoord. Voegwoord. Tusschenwerpsel. Onduitfch woord. Onvolmaakte tijd.	zelfstandig naamwoord.

Figure 5 List of abbreviations from Halma's dictionary.

⁷ The entry for *hebben* appears in the following pages in each edition of Halma (in chronological order): p. 230; p. 249; p. 205; 208. It is also worth noting that, in the two earlier editions, the verb *hebben* did not technically have its own entry but was, instead, put under the entry for *hebbelijk* 'habitual', 'capable', an adjective/adverb that is etymologically related to the verb *hebben*.

In Halma, the grammatical details of each word are presented in the form of initials of Dutch terminology. Although a legend of the abbreviations is only present from the second edition onward, the same labels are used quite consistently across all editions, accounting for the differences I will discuss below. Figure 5 the legend present from the second edition onwards:⁸ The labels can be translated as follows, in Table 18:

Initials	Full word	Meaning
<i>z. m.</i>	<i>Mannelijk zelfstandig naamwoord</i>	Masculine noun
<i>z. v.</i>	<i>Vrouwelijk zelfstandig naamwoord</i>	Feminine noun
<i>z. g.</i>	<i>Geenerlei zelfstandig naamwoord</i>	Neuter noun
<i>byv. w.</i>	<i>Byvoegelijk naamwoord</i>	Adjective
<i>byw.</i>	<i>Bywoord</i>	Adverb
<i>w. w.</i>	<i>Werkende⁹ werkwoord</i>	Active verb
<i>g. w.</i>	<i>Geenerlei werkwoord</i>	Neuter verb
<i>Voorz.</i>	<i>Voorzetsel</i>	Preposition
<i>Koppelw.</i>	<i>Koppelwoord</i>	Conjunction
<i>Tusschenw.</i>	<i>Tusschenwerpsel</i>	Interjection
<i>Ond. w.</i>	<i>Onduitsch woord</i>	Non-Dutch word
<i>Onv. tijd.</i>	<i>Onvolmaakte tijd</i>	Imperfect tense

Table 18 Translation of the list of abbreviations from Halma's dictionary.

The only label that was not used in the first edition is the one indicating the imperfect tense of verbs (*onvolmaakte tijd*). One might argue Halma's dictionary to be inadequate as a source to deduce any structured knowledge of Dutch grammar. However, one should also not underestimate its widespread use by the Japanese scholars, especially before any full-fledged grammar – like Séwel's *Spraakkonst* – ever spread amongst them. By reading the sources written by the Japanese scholars of Dutch, it is obvious that these dictionaries were thoroughly investigated, not only as word references, but also as rudimentary sources for grammatical notions. Only this attitude can explain the meticulousness needed for Shizuki to notice and correct such a small detail as one “mistaken” letter in the sub-entry *hebben*, which changed its grammatical function from active to neuter verb. Furthermore, Halma's dictionary did comprise words that are used as grammatical terms adding in such entries *een woord der spraakkunde* in Dutch, and *terme de grammaire*, in French, meaning ‘(a) term of grammar’.

One further remark needs to be made, with regard to the labels in Table 18: they do not only include grammatical categories, but also the etymological assertion of *onduitsch woord*, ‘non-Dutch word’ or ‘non-Germanic word’, for those terms that

⁸ The image is taken from the third edition (1758). The content is the same in the last three editions, although the disclaimer *Verklaaring der Teken en die de Natuur der Woorden aanduiden* (‘Clarification of the Symbols which specify the Nature of the Words’) is only present in edition 3 and 4. The phrasing is *te zeggen* means ‘(that) is to say’.

⁹ In the fourth edition the adjective *werkende* ‘active’ (lit. ‘working’) gets inflected according to the subsequent neutral noun *werkwoord* ‘verb’ into *werkend*.

were perceived as not belonging to the native vocabulary, because of their overt French origin as loanwords. As for other labels, they all refer to grammatical categories and, with the exclusion of the “imperfect tense”, all refer to the labels for the parts of speech. In addition, Halma also used the abbreviation *deelw.*, short for *deelwoord* ‘participle’. According to this categorization, one could recognize either eight parts of speech, or nine, if they were to include “non-Dutch words”. In the order they are listed above, they are:

1. **Nouns** (*zelfstandig naamwoord*), comprising three **genders** (*geslacht*):
 - **masculine** (*mannelijk*);
 - **feminine** (*vrouwelijk*);
 - **neuter** (*geenerlei*).
2. **Adjectives** (*byvoegelijk naamwoord*);
3. **Adverbs** (*bywoord*);
4. **Verbs** (*werkwoorden*), mainly divided into two sorts, namely **active** (*werkend*) and **neutral** (*geenerlei*). **Passive** (*lydend*) verbs are also acknowledged, although they do not appear as a separate category; they are considered only as inflected forms;
5. **Prepositions** (*voorzetsel*);
6. **Conjunctions** (*koppelwoord* or *voegwoord*);
7. **Interjections** (*tusschenwerpsel*);
8. **Participles** (*deelwoorden*).

Nonetheless, the parts of speech that refer to grammatical categories recognized by Halma are nine in total. In fact, within the body of the dictionary, Halma also acknowledges the category of pronouns, albeit not present in the table above, bringing the total parts of speech up to nine, and making his dictionary align with the mainstream tendencies of his contemporaries.

4.2.1 Nouns

Halma refers to nouns with the term *zelfstandig naamwoord*, which he abbreviates to *z.* A proper definition of this term does not exist in Halma’s 1710 dictionary, in fact, it is only used as an example in the entry *zelfs* ‘even’ on page 1006, where it is simply stated that it is a word of grammar. All the entries to nouns present, after the initial *z.*, one of the following initials: *m.*, for *mannelyk* ‘masculine’; *v.* for *vrouwelyk* ‘feminine’ and *g.* for *geenerlei* ‘neuter’. The term used for “gender” is *geslacht*, defined on page 191, where one can read the following examples (italics in the original, my English translation):

Het verfcheide geflacht der woorden. <i>Le diferend genre des noms, ou des mots.</i>	The different gender of words. <i>Le diferend [sic!] genre des noms, ou des mots.</i>
Dat is een woord van ‘t mannelyk, van ‘t vrouwelyk, van ‘t geenerlei, of onzydig	That is a word of the masculine, feminine or neuter gender. <i>C’est un nom du genre</i>

geflacht. <i>C'est un nom du genre masculin, du</i>	<i>masculin, du féminin, du neutre.</i>
<i>feminin, du neutre.</i>	

The definitions regarding each gender do not provide any relevant information, in fact they simply state their literal meaning.¹⁰

4.2.2 Adjectives

Halma generally calls adjectives *byvoegelijk naamwoorden*, however, except for the label *byv.* and for the entry to *bywoord* (see 4.2.3), the wording *byvoegelijk naamwoord* is never mentioned within the first edition of the dictionary. Although not common, the French *adjectif* is also used. In these cases, the Dutch translation generally adopts other phrasings that eliminate the direct reference to the term. This changes completely from the second edition onwards, where the term *bijvoegelijk* is compared to the subjunctive mood of verbs (see 4.2.4). The only reference to *bijvoegelijk naamwoord* (now spelled *byvoegelyk*) is found in the entry for *bywoord* 'adverbs' (see 4.2.3).

4.2.3 Adverbs

Halma calls adverbs *bywoord*, which he abbreviates to *byw.* A definition of this concept is found on page 82:

BYWOORD, z. g. Een woord dat by een werkwoord, en byvoegelyk naamwoord gevoegt word.	BYWOORD, z. g. A word that gets connected to a verb and an adjective.

Halma includes in the category of adverbs, many terms that are nowadays considered conjunctions (see 4.2.6).

4.2.4 Verbs

A "verb" is called by Halma a *werkwoordt*. The entry to this term, on page 979, simply states it to belong to the vocabulary used in grammar (*Een woordt der spraakkunde*). The category of *deelwoorden* 'participles' is not included, as they are treated as a separate category (see 4.2.8). In the table of abbreviations, there are two explicitly stated subcategories of verbs: *werkend werkwoord* 'active verb', abbreviated as *w. w.*; and *geenerlei werkwoord* 'neuter verb', abbreviated as *g. w.* However, the term *werkend* never appears within the body of the 1710 edition of Halma's dictionary, while the term *geenerlei*, when conceived of as a grammatical term, only refers to the neuter gender of nouns. The definition of *geenerlei*, on page 173, simply explains it to mean "neither" (*geen van beide*). On page 388, under the

¹⁰ Definitions for each found on: *mannelyk*, p. 400 (under the main entry *mankop* 'poppy'); *vrouwelyk* p. 939 (under *vrouw* 'woman'); *geenerlei*, p. 173 (under the adjective *geen* 'no'). In the entry for *geenerlei*, the alternative *onzydig* is also attested. An entry for this word is not found, although the definition to *onpartydig* 'impartial' (p. 517) redirects to it.

entry for *lydelyk* ‘passive’, the following definitions are found, introducing it as a term of grammar, as well as naming the label *lydelyk werkwoordt* ‘passive verbs’:

Lydelyk, byv. (Een woordt der ſpraakkonſt.) <i>Paſſif, paſſive. (Terme de grammaire.)</i>	Lydelyk, byv. (A word of grammar.) <i>Paſſif, paſſive. (Terme de grammaire.)</i>
Een lydelyk werkwoordt. <i>Verbe paſſif.</i>	A paſſive verb. <i>Verbe paſſif.</i>

Further mention of passive verbs is only found in the entry to the prefix *ge-*, which helps construct the past participle of verbs, found on page 167:

GE, is een artykel of lid waar van men, in ‘t Neêrduitsch, de Præterita van de daadelyke werkwoorden maakt, by voorbeeld, <i>Ik heb gemaakt</i> , van ‘t werkwoord <i>maaken</i> ; <i>Ik heb geſchreven</i> , van ‘t werkwoord <i>ſchryven</i> , en zoo van alle de anderen; ook maakt men hier van het deelwoord (participe) der lydelyke werkwoorden, als, by voorbeeld; <i>geſchreven</i> , <i>gemaakt</i> , enz. van de werkwoorden <i>ſchryven</i> , <i>maaken</i> , enz.	GE, is an <i>artykel</i> by means of which one can make, in Dutch, the preterit of active verbs, like for example, <i>Ik heb gemaakt</i> [‘I have made’], from the verb <i>maaken</i> [‘to make’]; <i>Ik heb geſchreven</i> [‘I have written’], from the verb <i>ſchrijven</i> [‘to write’], and similarly for all the others; one can also make the participle of passive verbs, such as, for example; <i>geſchreven</i> [‘written’], <i>gemaakt</i> [‘made’], etc. from the verbs <i>ſchrijven</i> [‘to write’], <i>maaken</i> [‘to make’], etc.

This entry clarifies that Halma conceived the verbal tense nowadays called “present perfect” to be called “preterit”, using the Latin word *præterita*, plural of *præteritum*. This appears to be another of those terms that are not used again in the dictionary, probably also because participles are not featured in their own entry throughout the dictionary. However, its French translation *prétérit* (also spelled as *preterit*) does appear a few additional times.¹¹ The same occurs with the word *onbepaald*, as in *onbepaald werkwoord* ‘infinitive verb’, that only appears in the entry to *afgebeedelt*, participle of the verb *afbeedelen* ‘to beg for money’, ‘to cadge’, on page 21, in the form of an explanation of the editorial choices adopted in the dictionary regarding the entries to all the other participle forms of verbs:

AFGEBEEDELT. Zie <i>Afbeedelen</i> . Zie vorder alle de <i>Deelwoorden</i> , op de onbepaalde <i>Werkwoord</i> , alwaar wy ze, om ons werk met geen onnutte herhalingen te vergrooten, meest alle met een voorbeeld hebben uytgedrukt.	AFGEBEEDELT. See <i>Afbeedelen</i> . For all the other <i>Participles</i> refer to the infinitive [form of the] <i>Verb</i> since, in order not to lengthen this work with repetitions of little use, we have, in most cases, represented them through examples.

¹¹ However, some past simple tenses are labeled *pret. imp.*, abbreviation for *praeteritum imperfectum*, like *schreef*, past simple of *schrijven* ‘to write’ (page 717).

Similarly, on page 619, there is a reference to another category of verbs, the *persoonelyk werkwoordt* 'personal verb'. Generally, although not in Halma, they were contrasted to *onpersoonelyk* 'impersonal' verbs. The entry here simply cites personal verbs without explaining them. Impersonal verbs are never mentioned.

Since no explanation or further reference is ever made to the categories of *werkend werkwoord* 'active verbs'; *geenerlei werkwoord* 'neuter verbs'; *lydelyk werkwoord* 'passive verbs'; *præterita* 'preterits'; *onbepaald werkwoord* 'infinitive verbs'; *persoonelyk werkwoord* 'personal verbs'; *onpersoonelyk werkwoord* 'impersonal verbs', it is very unlikely that any reader of Halma could have understood these concepts without knowing them previously.

Shizuki Tadao in *Rangaku Seizenfu*, mostly analyzed the auxiliaries *zullen* 'shall' or 'will', *zijn* 'to be', *hebben* 'to have', *worden* 'to become' (or 'to get' in passive sentences), *moeten* 'must', *kunnen* 'can', *mogen* 'may'. For this reason, I will illustrate how they were described in Halma's dictionary.

- **Hebben:**

The verb *hebben* 'to have' is only mentioned for its role as expressing possession, on page 230, "erroneously" as a neuter verb. Not much can be extrapolated from this definition with regard, to its use as an auxiliary for the construction of the perfect forms. The information contained in this entry is also in contrast with what is claimed by Marin, as well as the subsequent editions of Halma's dictionary;

- **Zyn:**

The verb *zijn* 'to be' has its own entry on page 1022, where it is labeled as a *zelfst. w.*, short for *zelfstandig werkwoord* 'independent verb'. Halma only uses this label for the verb *zijn* (see 3.2.5). Synonyms provided for *zijn* are *weezen* (categorized as a neuter verb in its entry on page 971) and *bestaan* 'to exist'. On page 199, there is the entry for *geweest*, participle of *zijn*, defined as "the perfect, past tense, connecting to the verb *Ik ben* ['I am']";¹²

- **Zullen:**

The verb *zullen*, cognate to the English "shall", indicating the future tense, similarly to English "will", has no French counterpart. Its entry is found on page 1016, where it is called a *helpwoordt* 'auxiliary' for the construction of the future tense for the first and third person.¹³ The word *helpwoord* is not used in present-day Dutch grammatical theory, but it has been replaced by the somewhat similar phrasing *hulpwerkwoord* 'auxiliary verb', that comprises more verbs than its counterpart in Halma's dictionary. The label *helpw.* and its extended form *helpwoordt* are only used for the verb *zullen*, its singular form *zal* (p. 999), its past form *zou* (also *zoude*, p. 1015) and the

¹² Original quote: "GEWEEST, [De volmaakte, voorledene tyd, gevoegt by 't werkwoord *Ik ben*]'".

¹³ Original quote: "ZULLEN, Helpw. van den toekomende tyd in den eerfte en derde perfoon".

verb *worden* ‘to become’ as shown below. This could be a consequence of the fact that none of these verbs, when used as auxiliaries, has a direct counterpart in French. In Halma, the entry for *zal* simply states it to be an auxiliary of the future tense, while the one for *zou* specifies its descent from *zal*, of which it represents the “imperfect tense” (*onvolmaakte tyd*);¹⁴

- **Moeten:**

The entry on page 425 of the verb *moeten* ‘must’ only categorizes it as a “neuter verb”;

- **Worden:**

The verb *worden*, literally ‘to become’, can be used as an auxiliary for the passive voice. On page 991 it is considered a *helpwoord* (*verbe auxiliaire* in French) and it is only treated as such;¹⁵

- **Kunnen:**

The verb *kunnen* ‘can’, which Halma spells *konnen*, expresses capability. It is not considered an auxiliary but, rather, a neuter verb in its entry on page 324;

- **Mogen:**

The verb *mogen* ‘may’, expressing possibility, is not treated as an auxiliary but, rather, as a neuter verb in its entry on page 425.

Note that the verbs *moeten*,¹⁶ *kunnen*¹⁷ and *mogen*,¹⁸ contrarily to what is stated in the first edition, from the second edition onwards, are all considered active. Furthermore, no mention regarding their function as auxiliaries is ever made.

On page 816 the entry to *tydt* (Halma’s preferred spelling for *tijd* ‘time’, ‘tense’) is to be found, where three dimensions of time are listed, disjointed from any reference to the grammar of verbs: *de tegenwoordige tydt* ‘the present time’; *de verleedene tydt* ‘the past time’; and *de toekomstige tydt* ‘the future time’. No grammatical reference is present in the entry to *wyze* (i.e., *wijs* ‘mood’), although, in subsequent editions, this entry has been extended.¹⁹

¹⁴ Original quotes: “ZAL. ‘t Helpwoordt van den toekomenden tydt.” and “ZOU. IK ZOU. of ZOUDE. (‘t Helpwoordt. van zal afkomstig in den onvolmaakten tydt.)”.

¹⁵ This changes in the second edition, where *worden* is categorized primarily as a neutral verb and secondly as an auxiliary (*helpwoord*) for passive verbs (*leidende werkwoorden*) and remains so throughout the editions. Page reference for *worden*: 2nd edition, p. 972; 3rd edition, p. 786; 4th edition, p. 795.

¹⁶ Page reference for *moeten*: 2nd edition, p. 427; 3rd edition, p. 351; 4th edition, p. 356.

¹⁷ Page reference for *kunnen*: 2nd edition, p. 333; 3rd edition, p. 275; 4th edition, p. 279.

¹⁸ Page reference for *mogen*: 2nd edition, p. 428; 3rd edition, p. 352; 4th edition, p. 357.

¹⁹ Since the third edition onwards, the following is added under the entry to *werk* ‘work’, on page 774: “Werkwijze. z. v. Woord der Spraakkunde. Wijze van de vervoeging der werkwoorden. *Mode ou mæf dans las conjugaison des verbes: terme de Grammaire.*”, where the Dutch text describes it as a “word of grammar” and “the mood [“manner”] of conjugating the verbs”. This entry has been, subsequently, copied over into the Japanese adaptations of Halma, as in *Oranda jii* 和蘭字彙 (see Waseda’s 本 10 379 5, folio 137v) where one can read

4.2.5 Prepositions and Articles

The word *voorzetsel* (or *voorzetsel*) is shortened to *voorz.*, and is defined, on page 938, as “One of the non-inflecting parts of speech” (*Een der onbuigzaame deelen van een rede*). It corresponds to the French *préposition*. The label *voorzetsels* is used for many words, not all of which are generally considered prepositions, nowadays. In particular, the definite articles *de* and *het*, both ‘the’, are categorized as prepositions in Halma.²⁰ The indefinite article *een* ‘a’, defined on page 145, presents no label at all. The modern word for ‘article’ in Dutch is *lidwoord*. This word only exists in Halma’s dictionary in two instances, spelled differently. The first instance is on page 991, in the entry *woordtlit* (under the main entry for *woordt* ‘word’), where it is defined as a *letterkundige woord* ‘grammatical word’,²¹ synonym to *woordleedje*, lit. ‘small piece of word’. In this instance, *woordtlit* corresponds to the French *article* ‘article’. The second instance, spelled as *woordlid*, is found on page 238, in the entry for *her-*, a prefix expressing iteration (similar to English “-re”). The entry reads as follows (italics as in the original):

HER. *Een woordlid, beduidende zoo veel als weder, wederom, gelyk in 't Franſch re, waar van ſtraks verſcheide voorbeelden zullen volgen.*

HER. *A woordlid, expressing both again and afresh, like the French re, many different examples will now follow, further below.*

In this case, the word *woordlid* is used to refer to a prefix, although this word is rendered in French as *particule* ‘particle’, a term Halma also uses as a translation of *woordje* ‘small word’, on page 991. The words *artykel* and *lid* can also be found in the entry for the prefix *ge-*, on page 167, used to create the participle of verbs (see 4.1.4). Since this element has no counterpart in the French language, instead of providing a translation, Halma explains its function, as seen above.

Halma further includes among prepositions a few noticeable words. The pronoun *wat* ‘what’, explained in French as a *pronom relatif* ‘relative pronoun’, although it also functions as indefinite and interrogative pronoun. The impersonal pronoun *men* ‘one’ is also categorized as a preposition on page 410. Furthermore, on page 1013, the word *zonder* ‘without’, is defined with the phrasing *uitsluitend voorzetsel* ‘exclusionary preposition’, akin to the French *préposition exclusive*.

the following “*werkwijze. z.n. word der spraakkunst, wijze van de voeging der werkwoorden 動詞ノ遣ヒ方*”, where the Japanese definition simply states: “Manner of using the verbs”. This translation evidences the fact that verbal “moods” were not understood, in practice, by those who curated the first Dutch-Japanese dictionaries.

²⁰ The word *de* is defined on page 114, while *het* on page 234.

²¹ Although Halma has consistently used the term *spraakkunde* to refer to grammar, here he uses the term *letterkundig*, even though the French translation still presents, as usual, the term *grammaire* ‘grammar’.

4.2.6 Conjunctions

There are not many words categorized as conjunctions, in the first edition of Halma's dictionary. Two words are used rather interchangeably to refer to this category, namely *koppelwoord* (lit. 'couple-word') and *voegwoord* (lit. 'connect-word'). Both terms are used to classify mostly conjunctions but also some words that one would today consider belonging to other categories of speech. Furthermore, neither term has its own entry. On page 991, under the main entry to *woordt*, the word *koppelwoordtje* is featured, only translated into French as *conjonctive* and *conjunction*. On page 818, under the main entry to *t'zamenvoegen* 'to conjoin', one can find the entry to *t'zamenvoeging*, defined as "A *koppelwoordt* in grammar" (*Een koppelwoordt in de spraakkunst*), and translated into French as *conjonction* and *conjonctive*, labeled as *terme de grammaire* 'a term of grammar'. From these two entries, it might appear that Halma preferred the term *koppelwoordt* for 'conjunction'. Nonetheless, he also presented other terms some grammarians used at the time, like *t'zamenvoeging*, that has the same root (*voegen* 'to connect') as *voegwoord*. It is somewhat puzzling to understand why Halma decided to use two different words for the same concept without defining either. On top of that, both labels are not used often. In total I have found only 21 words categorized as conjunctions in this dictionary, 10 are labeled with either *voegw.*, or the extended *voegwoord*, the other 11 with *koppelw.* or the extended *koppelwoord*; see them all in the tables below. Table 19 portrays conjunctions labeled as *koppelwoord*, Table 20 those labeled as *voegwoord*.

KOPPELWOORD			
Word (+main entry)	Page	Today's category	Meaning
<i>Middelertyt</i>	414	Adverb	Meanwhile
<i>Nademaal</i>	443	Adverb and Conjunction	Because
<i>Noopende</i>	459	Preposition	Regarding
<i>Of</i>	462	Conjunction	Or
<i>Trouwens</i> (<i>Trouwant</i>)	812	Adverb	By the way, Besides
<i>Verder</i> (<i>Verder</i> as adverb)	855	Adverb	Further
<i>Voorzoveel</i>	939	Conjunction	Since, Because
<i>Want</i>	958	Conjunction	Because
<i>Weshalve</i>	980	Adverb	For this reason
Zulks (Zulk)	1016	Demonstrative pronoun	Such

Table 19 Words labeled as *koppelwoord*, in the first edition of Halma's dictionary.

VOEGWOORD			
Word (+ main entry)	Page	Today's category	Meaning
<i>Aangaande</i>	5	Preposition	Regarding
<i>Aangezien</i>	6	Conjunction	Because
<i>Ten einde</i> (<i>Einde</i>)	151	Conjunction	In order to
<i>En</i>	153	Conjunction	And
<i>Gemerkt</i> (<i>Gemerkt</i>)	183	Conjunction and preposition	Since, Because
<i>Maar</i>	395	Conjunction	But
<i>Mits</i>	422	Conjunction	Provided that
<i>Mitsdien</i> (<i>Mits</i>)	422	Preposition	Meanwhile
<i>Mitsgaders</i> (<i>Mits</i>)	422	Adverb	Furthermore
<i>Namelijk</i> ²²	445	Adverb	Namely
<i>Overmids</i>	597	Adverb, conjunction and preposition	Because

Table 20 Words labeled as *voegwoord* in the first edition of Halma's dictionary.

As can be seen, Halma used the two labels quite interchangeably for terms today generally ascribed not only to conjunctions, but to adverbs and other classes, as well. Words that convey the same meaning have also been categorized with different labels. Furthermore, judging by the pages on which the two labels have been used, it appears that *voegwoord* is only used in the first half of the dictionary, and *koppelwoord* only in the second, with an overlapping of the two around pages 400 to 600. Although it could still be possible that this represents a more or less conscious switch, it is more likely that this might be derivative of the fact that, as I have illustrated in 3.4.2, during the troubled process of compilation of this dictionary, different sections of it have been revised by different individuals. In later editions of Halma, these words obtain their own entries where, nonetheless, *voegwoord* (p. 282) simply redirects to *koppelwoord* (p. 738)²³ the entry to which only states that it is a word used in grammar and the word is translated into French as *conjonction* 'conjunction'.

4.2.7 Interjections

Even though Halma presents the label *tusschenw.*, abbreviation of *tusschenwerpsel* for 'interjection', it is only used three times in total for the entries to *stil!* 'halt!' (p.

²² The word *namentlijk*, in the same entry, defined as *byzonderlijk, met naamen* 'especially, by name', is labeled an adverb.

²³ Full entry, found under the main entry *koppelen* 'to pair', quotes: "Koppelwoord. z. g. Woord der Spraakkunst. *Conjonction, terme de Grammaire.*" (Italics for French in the original).

766), *sus!* ‘shush!’ (p. 781), *tsa!* ‘tsk!’ (p. 813). Other exclamations are labeled as *uitroeping*, that is the case of the following words: *aai!* ‘ouch!’ (p. 1); *eilaas!* ‘halas!’ (p. 151); *hem* ‘him’²⁴ (p. 237); *o!* ‘oh!’ (p. 462); and *o, wee!* ‘oh, darn!’ (p. 606). Another term used to refer to this type of words is *inwerpzel*. No grammatical information is provided in the definitions to the entries of *tusschenwerpsel* (p. 814), *uitroeping* (p. 828) or *inwerpzel* (p. 218). The French words used to adapt these three are either *exclamation* or *interjection*.

4.2.8 Participles

Participles are treated as an independent category, called *deelwoord*, abbreviated in the label *deelw*. They can be further categorized in *lydelyk deelwoorden* ‘passive participles’ (p. 115), when used in a passive form. As seen in 4.2.4, the prefix *ge-* is recognized as an “article” for the construction of the participle of verbs. Judging by this entry, it can be understood that a participle was conceived of as having two functions: the creation of a preterit, meaning a present perfect tense; or the construction of a passive, in combination with the verb *worden* (or – in principle – *zijn*, although passives with *zijn* are never really mentioned by Halma).

4.2.9 Pronouns

Although not specified in the legend, there actually is another category Halma refers to in his dictionary: ‘pronouns’, *voornaamwoorden*. There are a few words labeled as *voornaamw*. The entry to this term is found on page 930, where it is spelled as *voornaamswoordt*. Here, a pronoun is defined as “part of speech that comes before, or instead of, the nouns”.²⁵ The entries to the different pronouns are not particularly consistent; most of them are simply defined as *een voornaam*, ‘a pronoun’ or just the abbreviation *voornaamw*. A few others present additional information regarding their declination according to gender and number. A smaller amount of them features a specification of type, be it ‘personal pronoun’ *persoonelyk voornaam* or ‘possessive pronoun’ *bezittende voornaam*. There is only one case, with the word *hun* ‘their’, where the term *voornaam* is substituted by *byvoegzel*, that literally means “appendix” or “adjunct” and this is the only definition attested in the entry to this word on page 82, meaning it is not treated as a term of grammar, there. This does not occur from the second edition onwards, as pronouns are there presented according not only to gender and number, but also their case. Table 21 presents the entries to each pronoun in Halma’s dictionary, 1710 edition.

²⁴ In the sense of sentences like ‘He, over there!’ and similar.

²⁵ Original quote: “Gedeelte der rede voor, of in plaats des naam komende”.

PRONOUN	ENTRY DATA	PAGE	MEANING	COMMENT
Ik	Only French	270	I First person singular subject pronoun	
U	<i>voornaamw.</i>	819	You Second person singular and plural object pronoun	The plural <i>Ulieden</i> is also attested with no particular additional information
Gy	[<i>De tweede perfoon in 't enkel getal.</i>]	205	You Second person singular and plural subject pronoun	'The second person in the singular number'
Hy	<i>de voornaam van 't mannelyk geslacht</i>	244	He Third person singular masculine subject pronoun	'pronoun for the masculine gender'
Zy	(vrouwelyk enkelvoudige en meervoudige voornaam, van de derde perfoon.) Zy, zylieden. (Meervoudige mannelyke voornaam van de derde perfoonen.)	1022	She Third person singular feminine subject pronoun - They Third person plural subject pronoun	'feminine singular and plural pronoun, of the third person' - The adjective <i>vrouwelyk</i> 'feminine' here only refers to 'singular'. When corresponding to a 'they' it can be used indistinctly both for males as well as for females. A further entry presents both <i>zy</i> and <i>zylieden</i> as plural masculine pronoun for the third person.
Wy	een voornaamw. veelv.	994	We First person plural subject pronoun	'a pronoun plur.' - <i>veelv.</i> Stand for <i>veelvoud</i> 'plural', a label he tends to use often in other entries but nowhere else does Halma use it with regard to a pronoun, where he prefers the synonym <i>meervoud</i> .
Gylieden	[<i>De tweede perfoon in 't meervoud.</i>]	205	You Second person plural subject pronoun	'The second person in the plural'

My	(Een perfoonlyke voornaam.)	436	Me First person singular object pronoun	‘A personal pronoun’
Hem	(een uitroeping om iemand te roepen.)	237	Him Third person singular masculine object pronoun	‘An exclamation to call somebody’ - This is not recognized as a pronoun but, rather, as an interjection, see above under interjection.
Haar	De bezittende voornaam van eene <i>of</i> meer vrouwen.	220	Her Third person singular feminine object pronoun - Her Third person singular feminine possessive pronoun - Their Third person plural possessive pronoun	‘The possessive pronoun of one or more women’ - The use as an object pronoun ‘her’ is not recognized. It is, nonetheless, recognized as also functioning as a possessive for a group of women. This last use is no more standard in modern Dutch, we can assume it was already falling out of commonality in the 18th century.
Ons	onze. Een bezittende voornaam in ‘t meervoud.	519	Us First person plural object pronoun - Our First person plural possessive pronoun	‘onze. A possessive pronoun in the plural.’ - Both <i>ons</i> and <i>onze</i> are only interpreted as possessives, although <i>onze</i> can be considered as an inflected form of <i>ons</i> , when used as possessive pronoun. The use of <i>ons</i> as object is not attested by Halma.
Hen	Henlieden: ‘t meervoud van hem.	238	Them Third person plural object pronoun	‘Henlieden: the plural of <i>hem</i> .’
Myn	(Een bezittende voornaamw.)	436	My First person singular possessive pronoun	‘A possessive pronoun.’

Uw	(voornaamw.)	819	You Second person singular and plural possessive pronoun	No mention to its sense of possession.
Zyn	(een bezittende voornaamw.)	1022	His Third person singular masculine possessive pronoun	'a possessive pronoun.'
Zyne	't meervoud van den bezittende voornaam.	1022	His Third person plural masculine possessive pronoun	'the plural of the possessive pronoun.' - According to Halma this needs to be considered a plural to <i>zijn</i> , thus a third person plural masculine possessive.
Onze	ons. (Een bezittende voornaam van 't enkelvoud, en 't meervoud.)	550	Our First person plural possessive pronoun	'A possessive pronoun for the singular and plural.' - It gets equated to <i>ons</i> (see above). It is worth noticing that the Dutch definition claims it to be used with both numbers, while the French one with all genders. This might be a consequence of the different way in which personal pronouns are used in romance languages and Germanic ones; namely: in French one specifies the gender and number according to the grammar of the possessed element, while Germanic languages require the gender of the possessor to also be specified by using the correct pronoun, in some cases.
Hun	Hunne. (Een perfoonelyk byvoegzel.)	255	Their Third person plural possessive pronoun	'A personal annex' - The only instance in which the word <i>voornaam</i> is substituted by the puzzling <i>byvoegzel</i> , 'annex'.

Zich	<i>Een voornaamw.</i>	1008	Himself Herself Themselves Third person singular and plural reflexive pronoun	
Dit	[Een voornaam van 't geenerlei geflacht]	123	This Singular neuter demonstrative	'A pronoun for the neutral gender' - The French entry presents the label <i>pronom demonstratif</i> 'demonstrative pronoun'.
Die	[Een voornaam, zoo van 't mannelyk als 't vrouwelyk geflacht; in 't enkel, en meervoudig getal; hy heeft in 't barend, geevend en befchuldigend geval dien]	119	That Singular masculine Singular feminine Plural demonstrative	'A pronoun for both the masculine and feminine gender; in the singular and plural number; it becomes <i>dien</i> in the accusative and dative case.'
Dewelke	<i>een voornaam [beter zegtmen Die.]</i>	118	That Singular masculine Singular feminine Plural relative pronoun	'A pronoun [one should say Die.]'
Dat	[Een byw. Om iets aan te wyzen.]	114	That Singular neuter demonstrative pronoun	'An adverb to point at something.' - This is the only demonstrative pronoun which is labeled as adverb.
Zelf	<i>Een voornaamw.</i>	1006	Self	
Welk	<i>Een voorn. Wat.</i>	976	Which Interrogative, indefinite, relative pronoun.	Although <i>welk</i> is translated as <i>wat</i> , this word is considered an adverb by Halma.
Wie	voorm. Welke perfoon.	981	Who Interrogative, indefinite, relative	

Table 21 Pronouns in the first edition of Halma's dictionary

4.2.10 Conclusions

In conclusion, it can be asserted that Halma's dictionary, particularly in its 1710 edition, could hardly function as a proper source for grammatical knowledge. The parts of speech are not presented in a coherent way, the labels used to refer to them vary without justification and, moreover, they differ substantially from subsequent editions of Halma's dictionary. The entries sometimes seem to refer to grammatical explanations aimed at French speakers who want to learn Dutch or Dutch speakers who want to learn French, providing information that a Japanese speaker with no knowledge of French could hardly contextualize, let alone comprehend.

Since the 1710 edition was used by Shizuki Tadao for his *Rangaku seizenfu*, at the turn of the 19th century, particular attention should be provided to how verbs are treated by Halma. Verbs are split into two main categories, namely 'active' *werkend* and 'neuter' *geenerlei*. Halma also used the term *helpwoord* 'auxiliary' for the future-tense verb *zullen*, and for the passive-voice verb *worden*. The verb *zijn* 'to be' is categorized as *zelfstandig werkwoord* 'independent verb', although its alternative form *weezen* is only labeled as neuter. Participles are considered as a different category and, just like verbs, they also have a "passive" (*lydelyk*) form. There is no reference to the uses of tenses and moods, although the preterit form is cited (only once and, arguably, incorrectly), and the entry for *tydt* 'time' and 'tense', presents three subdivisions of time: present (*tegenwoordige tydt*); past (*verleedene tydt*); and future (*toekomende tydt*). However, these do not point at grammatical categories. Their spelling is different from what found in Shizuki,²⁶ thus suggesting a different source for his work, as far as verbal tenses are concerned. The other auxiliaries, namely *moeten* 'must', *kunnen/konnen* 'can'; and *mogen* 'may' are categorized as neuter verbs, although this is changed from the 1729 edition onwards. A comparative analysis of the parts of speech adopted by Shizuki will be provided in Chapter VII, however, I can already anticipate that the role of the first edition of Halma's dictionary in Shizuki's understanding of Dutch morphology is rather limited, as compared to the other sources. This does not deny a strong importance of Halma's dictionary for Shizuki's study of the Dutch language, since he certainly made extensive use of it to look up words he did not understand, while also noticing how Halma had grammatically categorized them. In fact, I have been able to confirm that some subsequent edition of Halma was at the basis of Shizuki's *Sensei bunnō* (see 2.4.1). In order to understand these grammatical concepts, nonetheless, I deem it necessary for Shizuki to have had access to further information from other sources, including Marin's dictionary, which I will analyze below.

²⁶ Mainly, the spelling *tydt* with a final < t > is totally absent in Shizuki's works and the word for past in *Seizenfu*'s tripartite verbal system is spelled as *voorleden*, contrarily to Halma's *verleeden*. Additionally, one could expect these concepts and spelling to also be featured in *Sensei bunnō*, a work based on Halma's dictionary, yet the tripartite envision of verbs does not appear there.

4.3 *Compleet Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek*, by Pieter Marin

Pieter Marin's Dutch-French dictionary was published six times throughout the 18th century. The first edition in 1717, the second in 1730, the third in 1752, the fourth in 1768, the fifth in 1782 and the sixth in 1793. The title that was most frequently used is *Compleet Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek – Dictionnaire Complet Hollandois & François* ('Complete Dutch and French Dictionary'), although some editions also provide the alternative title of *Groot Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek – Grand Dictionnaire Hollandois & François* ('Great Dutch and French dictionary', henceforth "Marin's dictionary"). The work is split into two volumes, dividing the letter K from the letter L.

As already mentioned, in the quote from *Seizenfu*, Shizuki claimed he used the first edition of Halma's dictionary, and the third edition of Marin's. I have confirmed that the terminology used by Shizuki, namely *haruma shohan* ハルマ初板, does refer to Halma's first edition because of what is claimed regarding its contents (4.1). Consequently, it can be assumed that the homologous wording *mārin sanban* マーリン三板 refers to the third edition of Marin's dictionary.²⁷

V. A. of w. w.	<i>Verbum Activum.</i>	Werkend Werkwoord.
V. N.	<i>Verbum Neutrum.</i>	Onzydig Werkw.
Pret.	<i>Preteritum.</i>	Voorleden tyd.
Part.	<i>Participium.</i>	Deelwoord.
M.	<i>Masculinum.</i>	Mannelyk.
F.	<i>Fœmininum.</i>	Vrouwelyk.
N.	<i>Neutrum.</i>	Onzydig.
Adv.	<i>Adverbium.</i>	Bywoord.
Subst.	<i>Substantivum.</i>	Zelfftandig.
Adj.	<i>Adjectivum.</i>	Toevoegelyk.
Ir.	<i>Ironice.</i>	Gekfscheerend.
Boert: fpr.		Boertige Spreekwyze.
Fig.		Figuurlyk.
Gekfch.		Gekfscheering.
Gem. Spr.		Gemeenzame Spreekwyze.
Gem: of Gemeen w.		Gemeen woordt.
Schr. Spr.		Schriftuurlyke Spreekwyze.
Spreekw.		Spreekwoord.

Figure 6 List of abbreviations in Marin's dictionary.

²⁷ With regard to these wordings, it needs to be specified that there would be no reason to take for granted that the Chinese character *han* 板, here, is used to translate the Dutch *druk* or *editie* 'edition'. Nonetheless, the combinations it is found in, namely with *sho* 初 'first' and *san* 三 'three', compared with Shizuki's claims regarding their contents, leaves little doubt to interpret them in this manner.

In the third edition of Marin's dictionary the information regarding grammar is internally much more cohesive and consistent when compared to Halma's first edition. From the second edition (1730) of Marin's dictionary onwards, the work is introduced by a brief section titled '[from] the publishers to the reader' (*de drukkers tot den lezer*) where some matters regarding the editorial choices of that edition are addressed. This foreword, which remains unchanged until the fifth edition, is also used to present some grammatical issues and includes the legend of the abbreviations used in the dictionary. There is strong evidence to believe that this introductory excerpt has influenced the tables found in *Joshi-kō* (see 2.4.2 and 7.2.1). The entire text can be found in Appendix 6, that originally also contained Figure 6.

The foreword, initially presented in the second edition, then retained in all the subsequent editions except the last one, addresses many different issues. It is apparent that the intended target audience of this dictionary comprises both Dutch speakers studying French, as well as French speakers studying Dutch and this, of course, has implications regarding the way entries are written. Particular importance is given to the categorization of nouns according to their gender. Specifically, the second point in the list of changes (see Appendix 6) presents an explanation of how gender works in relation to nouns (and not articles!), that appears to be quite similar to what Shizuki wrote in *Rangaku seizenfu*. The publishers explain that for the specification of the genders of nouns they have followed three main rules that, allegedly, only have few exceptions. The rules are as follows:

- **Gender rule 1:** *Alle Naamwoorden die Mannen passen zyn mannelyk, en die Vrouwen passen vrouwelyk* ('All the Nouns that suit Men are masculine, and those that suit Women are feminine'). This means that all the nouns that clearly refer to either male or female individuals and animals are gendered accordingly, and no label is needed in the dictionary. Further in the text it is, indeed, acknowledged that this rule cannot apply to all such terms. In that case, the gender label will be added;
- **Gender rule 2:** *Alle verbalia in ing zyn Vrouwelyk; gelyk Baring, Verlossing, Twyffeling, &c.* ('All verbalia in -ing are Feminine; like Baring, Verlossing, Twyffeling etc.'). This rule, similar to the third one, categorizes the genders of nouns according to their ending. There are many ways to instantly recognize the grammatical gender of a Dutch word from the ending suffix it presents (e.g., the diminutive -je always makes the noun neuter), in this rule the suffix -ing, turning verbs into nouns – that are called with the Latin term *verbalia* – only generates feminine nouns.
- **Gender rule 3:** *Alle Naamwoorden in heid of heit zyn Vrouwelyk; gelyk Schoonheid, Zuiverheid, &c.* ('All Nouns in -heid or -heit are Feminine; like Schoonheid, Zuiverheid, etc.'). Just like in rule 2, the suffix -heid (also -heit, in Marin), that turns adjectives into nouns, only generates feminine nouns.

It needs to be added that the cases covered by these three rules are extremely limited when compared to all the nouns of the Dutch language. An important piece of information is the label *verbalia* from the Latin phrasing *nomina verbalia* 'verbal

nouns'. This term is used to refer to nouns created from verbs via the addition of the suffix *-ing*. This is a rather unique term, that is not found in Halma or Séwel, but is adopted by Shizuki Tadao. The term *verbalia* is only used once more in the third edition of Marin's dictionary, precisely on page 178, vol. 2, in the entry to the verb *opgeeven* 'to give up' or simply 'to give', where the *verbalium opgeeving* is accompanied by the following text:

OPGEEVING is in 't Franſch als honderd diergelyke <i>verbalia</i> niet uit te leggen als door omſchryving.	OPGEEVING can only be expressed in French through paraphrasing just like hundreds of such <i>verbalia</i> .

Marin's dictionary also features a list of abbreviations that is much longer than the one in Halma, as can be seen Table 22:

V. A. of w. w.	<i>Verbum Activum.</i>	Werkend Werkwoord.	Active verb
V. N.	<i>Verbum Neutrum.</i>	Onzydig Werkw.	Neuter verb
Pret.	<i>Preteritum.</i>	Voorleden tyd.	Past tense
Part.	<i>Participium.</i>	Deelwoord.	Participle
M.	<i>Maſculinum.</i>	Mannelyk.	Masculine
F.	<i>Fæmininum.</i>	Vrouwelyk.	Feminine
N	<i>Neutrum.</i>	Onzydig.	Neuter
Adv.	<i>Adverbium.</i>	Bywoord.	Adverb
Subſt.	<i>Subſtantivum.</i>	Zelfſtandig.	Noun
Adj.	<i>Adjectivum.</i>	Toevoegelyk.	Adjective
Ir.	<i>Ironiè.</i>	Gekſcheerend.	Ironie
Boert: ſpr.		Boertige Spreekwyze.	Comical/Coarse
Fig.		Figuurlyk.	Figurative
Gekſch.		Gekſcheering.	Ironie
Gem. Spr.		Gemeenſame Spreekwyze.	Informal Expression
Gem: of Gemeen w.		Gemeen woordt.	Common word
Schr. Spr.		Schriftuurlyke Spreekwyze.	Written Expression
Spreekw.		Spreekwoord.	Saying

Table 22 Translation of the list of abbreviations in Marin's dictionary.

Firstly, one important difference with Halma's dictionary is the use of abbreviations deriving from Latin terminology instead of Dutch, causing the table to feature both the Latin and Dutch term. The only exception is the label for active verbs, that presents both the Latin-derived *V. A.*, and the Dutch *w. w.* These Latin-derived abbreviations are often found in Shizuki's works, as opposed to the Dutch-derived

ones. However, Shizuki tended to adopt the Dutch full names for these labels, in combination with the Latin initials V.A and V.N. (see Chapter VII). Another element distinguishing Marin's dictionary form that of Halma is the preferred use of *onzydig* for 'neuter', used both for the gender of nouns and of verbs. As mentioned above, Halma preferred to use the synonym *geenerlei* in both cases. No alternative abbreviation to V.N. for this type of verbs is provided by Marin. The term for "adjective" is also different, since Halma used *byvoegelyk*, while Marin uses the alternative *toevoegelyk*. Similar to Halma is the use of the Latin term *praeteritum* (Halma spelled it *praeteritum*), although in Halma it was used for any past tense, adapted into Dutch as *verleeden tydt*, – which Marin spells *voorleden tyd* – and only used *praeteritum* with imperfect past tenses (i.e., the past simple tense). Participles (*deelwoord*) have their own labels in Marin as well. Furthermore, the labels *part.* and *pret.* are mostly found preceded by the French definite article *le* 'the', that points to the interpretation that they were only used in the French explanation. In Dutch, the extended '*t Praeteritum* 'the preterit' and '*t Participium* 'the participle' are also featured. Neither term is ever defined, although on page 193, vol. 1, the entry to *deelwoord* 'participle' reads as follows:

DEELWOORD. n. Werkwoord dat fomtyds als een *Adjectivum*, Toevoegelyke Naam, werd gebruikt. *Participe*. m. *Terme de Grammaire*. Een gebroke stok, een gebroke been. *Un baton rompu, une jambe rompuë*. Een getrouwd man, een getrouwde vrouw. *Un homme marié, une femme mariée*. De spreekwyze in den lydende zin ter neder gesteld fynde, komt het Deelwoord agter aan. Hy, zy wierd geagt, gehaat, geflagen, geftraft. *Il fut estimé, hai, battu, puni, elle fut estimée, haie, battue, punie*.

DEELWOORD. n. A verb that sometimes is used as an *Adjective*, Toevoegelyk Naam. *Participe*. m. *Terme de Grammaire*. A broken stick, a broken leg. *Un baton rompu, une jambe rompuë*. A married man, a married woman. *Un homme marié, une femme mariée*. In the passive sentence the participle comes after. He, she gets esteemed, hated, hit, punished. *Il fut estimé, hai, battu, puni, elle fut estimée, haie, battue, punie*.

Marin recognizes the category of past participles as verbs that can be used as adjectives, contrarily to Halma who considered participles as a full-fledged stand-alone category. Furthermore, Marin does not sub-categorize past participles into passive participles, like Halma did, but simply acknowledges their use in the "passive sense" (*lydende zin*).²⁸ Marin also only provides examples of past participles in this entry, and no present participles. From the definition, one understands that there are two types of participles, both corresponding to what one would call "past participles", discerned according to their use. The two uses are, namely: the attributive use, and the use in the construction of a passive predicate which, according to Marin's examples, always occurs by means of the verb *worden* in Dutch, and *être* 'to be' in French. There is only one occurrence of the term

²⁸ The Dutch word *zin*, that translates 'sense', is today also used to translate 'sentence'. On page 586, volume 1, of Marin we see two definitions to this word. The first one defines it as its generic meaning of sense, while the second specifies its use as to refer to the meaning of a sentence, yet not as a translation of "sentence" itself. The second one is most likely the one Marin intended when using the word *zin* in the definition to grammatical concepts.

“passive participle”, found in the entry to *opgang* ‘upward path’, on page 178, volume 2, where Marin indicates the editorial choice of not presenting the *participia passiva* ‘passive participle’ of each verb starting in *opge-* in their own entry as that would redundantly lengthen the dictionary. The entry makes it also clear that the reader will find such information in the entry to the *infinitiva*, ‘infinitives’ of each original verb.²⁹ In Marin’s dictionary, one can find many other labels that do not concern grammar but rather the use of language according to the context, that I will not investigate since it does not appear to have had any influence on Shizuki’s understanding of Dutch grammatical theory. From the legend of Marin’s dictionary, one can recognize four different parts of speech, namely: verbs; nouns; adjectives; and adverbs. Nonetheless, on page 415, volume 2, in the entry to *tussenwerpsel* ‘interjection’ Marin states that there are nine parts of speech. I will now illustrate how each is treated within Marin’s dictionary.

4.3.1 Verbs

A verb is called *werkwoord*, and is defined quite lengthily in its entry on page 548, volume 2:

WERKWOORD. n. Gedeelte der Reden dat in Werkwyzen en Tyden afgedeeld werd. *Verbe. m. Partiè de l'Oraison qui se distingue in Modes & Temps.* Beminnen is een daadlyk Werkwoord. *Aimer est un Verbe actif.* Bemind worden is een lydend Werkwoord. *Etre aimé est un Verbe passif.* Gaan is een onzydig Werkwoord. *Aller est un Verbe neutre.* ‘t Werkwoord geeven bestier het geevend geval. *Le Verbe donner régit le datif.* Termes de Grammaire.

WERKWOORD. n. Part of Speech which is divided in Moods and Tenses. *Verbe. m. Partiè de l'Oraison qui se distingue in Modes & Temps.* To love is an active Verb. *Aimer est un Verbe actif.* To be loved is a passive Verb. *Etre aimé est un Verbe passif.* To go is a neutral Verb. *Aller est un Verbe neutre.* The Verb to give needs the dative case. *Le Verbe donner régit le datif.* Termes de Grammaire.

Here, verbs can be recognized as belonging to three main types: “active verbs”; “neuter verbs”; and “passive verbs”. I shall now investigate all the information provided by Marin regarding each type.

Active Verbs: Active verbs are identified by the label *v. a.*, from the Latin *verbum activum*, in the legend corresponding to Dutch *werkend werkwoord*, thus abbreviated into *w. w.*, as well.³⁰ The entry to *werkwoord* also has the term *daad(e)lyk* for active

²⁹ Original Entry: “Wy zullen om eene nodelooze langwygheit te ontgaan hier alle participia passiva die met OPGE aanvangen niet bybrengen; maar alleen de voornaamste om dat men derzelver betekenis altoos by de Infinitiva kan vinden, en het zekerft is die by dezelve te zoeken.”

³⁰ The abbreviation *w. w.*, although explicitly recognized in the legend inside the *Foreword to the Reader* section, is actually only ever used in the entries to the participle *omwonden* ‘wrapped up’ (p. 114, vol. 2) and the participle to the verb *ondergraaven* ‘to mine’ (p. 125,

verbs, although its entry, on page 185, volume 1, features no reference to its grammatical meaning. The same goes for the many entries to *werk* and similar words, found on pages 547 and 578, volume 2. Besides the examples found in the entry to *werkwoord*, there is not much information regarding verbal activeness, nor is it clear that the terms *werkend* and *daad(e)lyk* both refer to the same verbal characteristic, without knowing some French.

Neuter Verbs: Neuter verbs are recognized by the label *v. n.*, from the Latin *verbum neutrum*, corresponding to the Dutch *onzydig werkwoord*, which is never abbreviated. The alternative term *geenerlei*, that was used in Halma's dictionary, is never used in any context in Marin's dictionary. In the entry to *onzydig*, on page 169, volume 2, no reference to neuter verbs is to be found.

Passive Verbs: A passive verb is called *lydend werkwoord*, similar to yet different from Halma's *lydelyk*. The term is referenced both in the entry to *werkwoord*, as quoted above, as well as in an example under the main entry to *lydend* 'passive', 'suffering' on page 43, volume 2:

De daadelyke Werkwoorden werden LYDENDE gemaakt met <i>Werden</i> of <i>Worden</i> in 't Duitſch, en <i>Etre</i> in 't Franſch.	The active Verbs are made PASSIVE with <i>Werden</i> or <i>Worden</i> in Dutch, and <i>Etre</i> in French.

This entry could potentially contain valuable information about the grammar of Dutch verbs. The definition explains that only "active" (here *daadelyk*) verbs can be conjugated into their passive forms, and that happens via the use of the verb *werden* or *worden*. The possibility of creating a passive via the verb *zijn* 'to be' is not mentioned here. It is clear from the rest of the dictionary (e.g., the legend), and also from the rest of the bibliography, that passive verbs were generally conceived of as belonging to a different level of analysis compared to active/neuter verbs, meaning that they were inflected forms of active verbs, rather than a specific category on their own; the latter distinction being adopted by Séwel (4.5.1.1), instead. The entry to *werkwoord* also states an important characteristic of verbs, that is the fact that verbs are divided into "moods" (*werkwyzen*, lit. 'work-manners') and "tenses" (*tyden*, lit. 'times').

Moods: The term *werkwyze* does not have its own entry and the word *wyze*, on page 567, vol. 2, presents no reference to verbal moods. Marin mentions two verbal moods, namely the indicative and the subjunctive that are translated into Dutch via two similar terms: *aantoonend* (p. 18, vol. 1) and *toonend* (p. 405, vol. 2) for the indicative, and *byvoegende* and *aanvoegende* (both on p.168, vol. 1) for the subjunctive. Their entries read:

vol. 2). Interestingly, only the participles are categorized as *w. w.*, while the infinitive of the verb presents the otherwise more common *v. a.*

AANTOONEND. Adj. Dat aantoond, aanwyft. *Indicatif, qui indique, marque*. De Aantoonende Werkwyze in de *Conjugatie* der Werkwoorden. *Le Mode Indicatif dans la Conjugaison des Verbes*.

TOONENDE WYZE. Eerste werkwyze van de werkwoorden. *Indicatif; Mode, moeuf Indicatif; le premier moeuf des verbes*.

De BYVOEGENDE of AANVOEGENDE Werkwyze, in de *Conjugatie* der Werkwoorden. *Le Mode Subjonctif ou Conjonctif dans la Conjugaison des Verbes*.

AANTOONEND. Adj. Which indicates, points at. *Indicatif, qui indique, marque*. The Indicative Mood in the *Conjugation* of the Verbs. *Le Mode Indicatif dans la Conjugaison des Verbes*.

TOONENDE WYZE. First mood of the verbs. *Indicatif; Mode, moeuf Indicatif; le premier moeuf des verbes*.

The BYVOEGENDE or AANVOEGENDE Mood, in the *Conjugation* of the Verbs. *Le Mode Subjonctif ou Conjonctif dans la Conjugaison des Verbes*.

Not much information is provided on the use and meaning of each verbal mood, although one important term is used here (which Halma did not adopt) and that is the term *conjugatie* ‘conjugation’.³¹ Understanding the concept of conjugation as a characteristic of verbs, that transforms them on the basis of morphosyntax, would help the comprehension of this specific part of speech. One additional reason why the Japanese scholars might have had a hard time understanding this concept is the fact that, in the grammars of the Romance languages, the term “conjugation” also refers to the different classes (generally three) according to which a verb is to be conjugated. This use of the term “conjugation”, that does not really have a direct counterpart in Germanic languages,³² may have posed some difficulty in the understanding of both uses, that were mixed up by Marin himself. This can be seen in the entry to *conjugatie* ‘conjugation’ in Marin’s dictionary, that presents the following definition on page 181, vol. 1:

³¹ As an anticipation of the contents of Chapters V and VI, the idea of “conjugation” and “inflection” was, most likely, foreign to the Japanese scholars of language. This was not because Japanese did not have any conjugation – unlike Chinese – but rather because conjugation was mostly understood as alternation of the distribution of specific syllabic character (*kana-zukai* 仮名遣い), rather than word-inflection, i.e., morphemic modification. The modern term of *katsuyō* 活用 is certainly connected to the terminology seen, for example, in Ogyū Sorai, who considered the use of Chinese characters, in the context of *kundoku*, in combination with specific *kana*, as their ‘lively use’ *katsu no yō* 活ノ用. This “lively use” did not include the inflections of the root of the verb into the six “forms”, but only the cases in which a verb or an adjective got combined with an affix. Furthermore, while classical Japanese made use of such affixes to express tense, mood, and aspect, that is done in many ways in Dutch, namely: via the addition of affixes; via the combination with auxiliary verbs; or via the use of specifically varied forms (e.g., *gaan* ‘to go’; *ging* ‘went’). Additionally, Dutch verbs need to also be conjugated according to the person and number of the subject, an element that is completely foreign to Japanese grammar. At the same time, the idea of conjugation, in Japanese, applies not only to verbs, but also to adjectives.

³² One could take the example of the distinction between so-called “weak verbs” and “strong verbs”, two categories that have been also used in Dutch, although I would deem it redundant to cover them here, as no trace of this theoretical issue can be seen in Shizuki.

CONJUGATIE. f. Woord der Spraakkonst, SAMENVOEGING, onder een leiding, als men van Werkwoord spreekt. *Conjugaison*. f. *Terme de Grammaire*. In 't Nederduitsch is maar een Conjugatie, nog loopt die zeer onzeker. *Il n'y a qu'une Conjugaison en Hollandois, encore est elle bien incertaine*. Een Werkwoord CONJUGEEREN, door de onderscheidene Werkwyzen en tyden leiden. *Conjuguer un Verbe, le faire passer par les differents Modes & temps*.

CONJUGATIE. f. Word of Grammar, SAMENVOEGING, in some accordance, if one talks about Verbs. *Conjugaison*. f. *Terme de Grammaire*. In Dutch there is only one Conjugation, it is still quite unclear. *Il n'y a qu'une Conjugaison en Hollandois, encore est elle bien incertaine*. TO CONJUGATE a Verb, through the accordance with the different Moods and times. *Conjuguer un Verbe, le faire passer par les differents Modes & temps*.

The definition of conjugation provided by Marin conflates the two meanings of this term. If the term "conjugation" refers to the inflecting patterns of verbs, according to moods and times, as stated at the end of the definition, then the first part of the definition would appear to state that Dutch only has one such pattern, which is obviously untrue. This is, of course, not what is claimed in the entry, as it is referring to the French conjugation classes, instead, that do not have a direct counterpart in the Dutch language. Ultimately, it can be concluded that this entry would not allow a clear understanding of the concept of conjugation, perhaps even muddying the water because of its French-centered approach, combined with concepts and terminology originating from the Dutch grammatical tradition.

Tenses: The term used in Dutch for verbal tenses is *tyd*, literally 'time'. The entry to this word, on page 416, volume 2, is rather long, but lacks references to its use in the context of verbal tenses. On page 398, volume 2, the entry to *toekomend* 'future' references the existence of three times for the verbs:

In de Werkwoorden zyn drie tyden: de tegenwoordige, de voorlede en toekomende tyd.

In the Verbs there are three tenses: the present, the past and the future tense.

This assertion is in contrast with the content of Marin's *Spraakwyze* (see 4.4), wherein the author also recognizes the *volmaakte tyd* 'perfect tense', the *meer als de volmaakte tyd* 'pluperfect tense', as well as the *wenschende tyd* 'optative tense', that is today considered a mood. Below, the entries to two of the additional tenses, originally found, respectively, on page 498 and 574, both in the second volume:

Ik heb bemind, is de volmaakte tyd, en ik had bemind, de meer als de volmaakte tyd van de Toonende wyze des Werkwoords Beminnen.

Ik heb bemind ['I have loved'], is the perfect tense, and *ik had bemind* ['I had loved'], the pluperfect tense of the Indicative mood of the Verb *Beminnen* ['to love'].

WENSCHENDE TYD. Zekere tyd van de Byvoegende Werkwyze. *L'Optatif, temps du Mode conjonctif: terme de Grammaire.* 't Werkwoord staet daar in de wenshende tyd.

WENSCHENDE TYD. Tense of the Subjunctive Mood. *L'Optatif, temps du Mode conjonctif: terme de Grammaire.* The verb is in the optative tense.

Even though the reference to the perfect and pluperfect tenses is accompanied by examples of their uses, the entry for the optative tense is shorter. One noticeable feature is the reference to the moods that such tenses belong to, namely the indicative for the perfect and pluperfect tenses and the subjunctive for the optative. The entries to the other tenses, namely *voorleden* 'past' (p. 504, vol. 2) and *tegenwoordig* 'present' (p. 391, vol. 2), are concise and they only mention their existence without additional grammatical explanation.

Tenses and moods are not the only ways according to which verbs can be inflected. Marin presents a few additional terms, namely:

- **Onbepaald** 'infinitive', on page 119, volume 2;
- **Onregelmaatig** 'irregular', on page 146, volume 2, only in the sample sentence 'There are in French many irregular verbs' (Daar zyn in 't Franckh veel ONREGELMAATIGE Werkwoorden);
- **Persoonlyk** 'personal', on page 221, volume 2;
- **Samengesteld**, on page 286, volume 2. This refers to the compound tenses of verbs, translating the verb *temps composes*;
- **Enkel(d)**, on page 249, volume 1. In French *les temps simples des verbs*, probably referring to the simple tenses of verbs.

In addition to these vaguely mentioned labels, one can also find two other categories for verbs in Marin's dictionary: *behulpsaam* 'auxiliary' and *zelfstandig* 'independent'. The latter is only used for the verb *zijn* 'to be'. The label *behulpsaam* is only used for the verb *hebben* 'to have', in two instances that I will mention below, but a similar label *hulpwoord*, lit. 'help-word', is used to describe the verb *zullen*. The term *hulpwoord* is not to be interpreted as being interchangeable with *behulpsaam* since, although the latter always corresponds to the French *auxiliaire* 'auxiliary', *hulpwoord* is never translated into French. Below, I am showing the entries to each of these verbs. The entry for *zelfstandig*, on page 581, volume 2, does not present any reference to the verb *zijn*, the entry for *behulpsaam*, on page 79, volume 1, references the verb *hebben* as an example.

Zijn: The verb *zijn* 'to be' (spelled *zyn*) is defined on page 604, volume 2, through a rather lengthy definition that features many examples and a couple of grammatical references. As I have already mentioned, *zijn* is the only Dutch word defined as a *zelfstandig werkwoord* 'independent verb', and that was a rather common approach amongst Marin's contemporaries (see Chapter III). In its entry, it is added that "the

independent verb *zyn* is found in the compound tenses of all the other verbs".³³ This is not true in contemporary standard Dutch, where some verbs can either exclusively only combine with the verb *zijn* or with the verb *hebben*. In 18th century Dutch it was not impossible at all to find both auxiliaries combined with any verb. In this entry, Marin claims that *zijn* can combine with a particular type of participle he refers to with the Latin term *supinum* 'supine'. It is also claimed that in such compound tense, the verb *zijn* is sometimes rendered in French with the verb *avoir* 'to have'.³⁴ Marin provides the following sentences as examples of this use of the verb *zijn*: *De schepen die in zee gezien zijn* 'The ships that are seen in the sea' and *De getuigen die gehoord zijn* 'The witnesses who are heard'. The word *supinum* is found in only two more occurrences. One is featured in the entry to the verb *gaan* 'to go', where it is stated that an alternative use of the word *gaan* is as its *supinum* or *deelwoord* 'participle', substituting *gegaan* 'gone'. This allows to understand that, according to Marin, the *supinum*, albeit identical to the participle, is not to be considered as the same verbal form. In Halma's dictionary, participles were divided into two types, one of which was called *lydelyk deelwoord* 'passive participle', that would include, albeit not limited to, Marin's *supinum*. The difference is slight, yet fundamental: while Marin simply differentiates the two uses of the same verbal construction into "participle" and "supine", Halma believes both to be two different types of "participles", one being a "passive participle". An example of the use of *gaan* in this fashion, namely in substitution to its participle *gegaan*, is the sentence provided by Marin *Ik was gaan zien waar hy bleef* 'I had gone to see where he remained/stayed', i.e. 'I had gone to see when he was coming'. This phenomenon is known as the IPP effect (*infinitivus pro participio* effect). The third and last occurrence of the word *supinum* in Marin's dictionary is on page 118, volume 2, in the entry to the preposition *om*, where the following can be read:

OM. dit woordje werd voor eerft kotsheids halven als een *Supinum* of voorledene tyds deelwoord gebruikt. De wind is OM, dat is: de wind is omgelopen.

OM. this small word is used for brevity as a *supinum* or participle of the past tense. De wind is OM, that is: de wind is omgelopen.

This is a reference of the use of some "prepositions" (in this case Marin call this a *woordje* 'small word') without the necessity of explicitly specifying the main verb of the sentence, that would be, indeed, a participle. This claim could be understood as stating that the *supinum* participle *omgelopen* 'shifted', gets abbreviated to only its preposition *om*. It is important to notice that Marin, after being explicit in the difference between a *supinum* and a participle used in the perfect tense (*voorledene tyds deelwoord* 'participle of the past tense'), in this entry equates them to each other. What one would probably understand by reading these entries, is that the verb *zijn* is an "independent verb" expressing existence that can also be used to express a

³³ Original quote: "Het zelftandig Werkwoord ZYN komt in de famengefelde tyden van alle andere Werkwoorden".

³⁴ Original quote: "ZYN, dit woord by 't Supinum der andere Werkwoorden ftaande, word in 't Frans met Avoir vertaalt".

supinum ‘supine’ or a *voorleden* ‘past’, when combined with a main verb conjugated in its *deelwoord* ‘participle’ form, that only includes “past participles”.

Hebben: The verb *hebben* ‘to have’, is the only verb defined as a *behulpzaam werkwoord* ‘auxiliary verb’. In its entry on page 377, volume 1, it is stated that “*hebben* is the auxiliary verb used to form all the compound tenses in the active sense”.³⁵ Shizuki claims in *Rangaku seizenfu* (8v) that in the third edition of Marin’s dictionary *hebben* presents the label A. for “active”. In actuality, the entry does not present that label, only referring to activeness in the phrasing *werkelyke zin*, that can be translated as ‘active sense’, according to the entry on page 1012, volume 2, where one reads: “That which works, that has the power to work. *Actif*”.³⁶ On page 181, volume 1, this term is used as a translation to *daadelyk*, in its entry, a term often used to refer to active verbs. This phrasing is also used, on pages 519-520, volume 1, in the entry for the verb *leggen* ‘to lay’. Just like the English counterparts ‘to lie’ and ‘to lay’, the Dutch verbs *leggen* and *liggen* ‘to lie’ were allegedly often confused and used both in the transitive and intransitive context interchangeably. While *leggen* is considered a “neuter verb”, it is added that it can also be used in the *werkelyke zin*, meaning in the transitive/active manner.³⁷ Consequently, the meaning of the definition provided by Marin for the verb “to have” is that it is an auxiliary that creates compound tenses of “active verbs”; that is to say that, in practicality, Marin does not label *hebben* as an active verb – like Shizuki claims – but, rather, as a verb that can be used in an active sense. The use of the “*onduits*” verb *formeeren* ‘to form’ here is also unusual as compared to the other entries, although its definition, on page 261, volume 1, does claim explicitly that it represents a synonym to *samen stellen* ‘to compose’, an expression from which the term *samengestelde* ‘compound’ derives.³⁸

Zullen: The verb *zullen*, is defined on page 596, volume 2, as a “A ‘helpwoord’ used to display the future tense” (*Hulpwoord om den toekomende tyd aan te toonen*), where the term *hulpwoord* does not correspond to a French “auxiliary”.³⁹ This also does not correspond to the *behulpzaam werkwoord* label used in the entry for the verb *hebben*. Its past form *zouden*, or any other conjugated form of this verb, has no entry.

³⁵ Original quote: “HEBBEN, is het behulpzaam Werkwoord om alle samengestelde Tyden in den werkelyken zin te formeeren”.

³⁶ Original quote: “*Dat werkt, dat de kragt heeft van te werken* [FR: *Actif*]”.

³⁷ This is not directly claimed, in the dictionary, but it can be determined by comparing the examples provided for the neutral use, like *Te bed liggen* ‘To lie in bed’ and the *werkelyke zin* examples, like *Zyn mantel op een stoel leggen* ‘To lay his cape on a chair’.

³⁸ Original entry: “De tyden van een Werkwoord FORMEEREN, samen stellen. *Former les temps d’un Verbe.*”

³⁹ The French definition uses the generic term *mot* ‘word’.

Konnen: The verb *konnen/kunnen* ‘can’ has its entry on page 497, volume 1, and is simply labeled as a “neuter verb”.

Worden: The verb *worden/werden* is categorized as a neuter verb, on page 561, volume 2, both in its literal use of ‘to become’, as well as its use as auxiliary (term not used by Marin, here) to the passive form of verbs. The entry states the following:

WORDEN of WERDEN. v. n. Woord uit zig zelf van een onbepaalden zin, maar dat by de participia der Daadelyke Werkwoorden gevoegd, dezelve lydende doet worden.	WORDEN or WORDEN. v. n. In and of itself, it is a word of indefinite meaning, but connected to a participle of an Active Verb its turns it passive.

What Marin meant with *onbepaalde zin* ‘indefinite sense’ is not completely clear and might not be a proper grammatical term.⁴⁰ Since *worden* is labeled as “neuter”, it can be deduced that the passive form (different from the *supine*) is understood as a combination of the neuter verb *worden* plus a participle (*participium*) of an active verb.

Mogen: The verb *mogen* ‘may’ (spelled *moogen*) is only defined as an active verb, on page 78, volume 2, in contradiction with what Halma stated in the first edition of his dictionary (see 4.2.4).

Moeten: The verb *moeten* ‘must’ is defined in four entries, on page 74 of volume 2. This verb is explained as corresponding to two verbs in French, namely *falloir* and *devoir*. Another reason for its lengthy definitions is that Marin treats its root *moet* as a noun (*zelfstandig*), thus necessitating a more complex explanation.⁴¹ The verb itself is never labeled as active, neuter or any other name. Marin, moreover, suggests the reader to refer to another work he authored, that he calls *Grammatica* or *Oprecht*

⁴⁰ One possibility would be to consider *onbepaald* as referring to the “indefinite mood” (*onbepaalde wyze*, as it is called in *Spraakwyze*, although no mention of the verb *worden* is made there. Séwel, in his *Spraakkunst*, uses the term *onbepaalde tyd* to refer to verbs conjugated in their infinitive forms and combined with the auxiliary *zou(den)*.

⁴¹ Original entry: “Op dit woord van MOETEN afkomstig valt heel veel te zeggen: ‘t kan voor eerft Zelfftandig gebruikt werden. Het is een moet. *C’est un faire il le faut*. Het zelfde woordje IL FAUT of IL DOIT overgezet. Het moet laater zyn als gy zegt, want de Poort is toe. *Il faut qu’il soit, il doit être plus tard que vous ne dites, car le Porte est fermée*. MOET, van GY voorgegaan kan tweezins uitgedrukt werden. GY MOET ‘er ook gaan. *Il faut que vous y alliez auffi*: ou bien: *vous devez y aller auffi*: zynde de eerste spreekwyze eigender als de tweede in ‘t Fransch. GY MOET nog een daalder hebben. *Il vous faut encore une pièce de trente fous*. Hier zoude il faut que vous ayiez oneigender zyn. Hy MOET van daag prediken. *Il faut qu’il prêche aujourd’hui*; en ook, *il doit pêcher aujourd’hui*. Hy kan ‘t alleen niet doen, hy moet een hulper hebben. *Il ne sçauroit le faire seul, il lui faut un aide*. Men MOET willen wat God wil. *Il faut attendre, il faut voir*. Zynde voor een Infinitivus, IL FAUT, beter en zagter Fransch als ON DOIT ”.

Methode, abbreviation of his *Nouvelle Grammaire Françoise – Nieuwe Franche Grammatica ofte Oprechte Methode* (firstly published in 1704, according to LOONEN 1997, 17)

In conclusion, verbs are defined as a part of speech “divided” (*afgedeeld*) in *werkwyzen* ‘moods’ and *tyden* ‘tenses’. There are two moods: the indicative, called both *aantoonende wyze* as well as *toonende wyze*; and the subjunctive, called both *byvoegende wyze*, as well as *aanvoegende wyze*. Neither is defined. As for the tenses, Marin claims, on the one hand, that there are three of them in Dutch, namely: *tegenwoordige tyd* ‘present tense’; *voorlede tyd* ‘past tense’; and *toekomende tyd* ‘future tense’. On the other hand, Marin also names three additional tenses: *volmaakte tyd* ‘perfect tense’; *meer als de volmaakte tyd* ‘pluperfect’; and *wenschende tyd* ‘optative tense’. Verbs are also described as possessing three additional qualities, namely: *daadelyk*, or *werkend*, for ‘active’, from the Latin *verbum activum*; *onzydig* for ‘neuter’, from the Latin *verbum neutrum*; and *lydend* for ‘passive’. An active verb is made passive when combining its *deelwoord* ‘participle’ (only once referred to as *lydend deelwoord* ‘passive participle’), to the verb *werden* or *worden*. The participle of active verbs, when combined with the independent verb *zijn*, is considered a *supinum* ‘supine’. Marin, furthermore, introduces the concept of *conjugatie* ‘conjugation’, but he does so from the perspective of French, mixing up the two meanings that this word generally expresses in that language: verbal inflection and verbal classes. Since the concepts of verbal classes in the two languages do not overlap, the claim that “Dutch only has one conjugation” is wrong, possibly hindering the comprehension of this useful idea of grammatical theory, that might have helped the understanding of the role played by each inflected form. There is a handful of additional labels Marin used but never explained, namely: *onbepaald* ‘indefinite’; *onregelmatig* ‘irregular’ (with only reference to French verbs); *persoonlyk* ‘personal’ (but not *onpersoonlyk* ‘impersonal’); *samengesteld* ‘compound’; *enkel(d)* ‘simple’, ‘singular’ (used both for verbs and nouns); *zelfstandig* ‘independent’ (used only for the verb *zijn*, ‘to be’); *behulpzaam* ‘auxiliary’ (used only for the verb *hebben*, ‘to have’); and *helpwoord* ‘help-word’ (used only for the verb *zullen* ‘shall’, ‘will’).

The information contained in Marin is quite different from what was claimed in Halma’s dictionary, particularly in its first edition. Furthermore, while Halma was quite dependent on French grammatical theory, Marin relied even more on French categories and terminology. Marin also used many more Latin terms, leaving little to no context for a Japanese scholar to understand them. Auxiliary verbs and modals, fundamental in *Rangaku seizenfu*, also present many notable discrepancies between the two dictionaries that Shizuki used. Table 23 presents a comparison of the content of the two with regards to the relevant verbs.

VERB	HALMA (1710)	MARIN (1752)
Zijn	<i>Zelfstandig Werkwoord</i> Independent Verb	<i>Zelfstandig Werkwoord</i> Independent Verb
Hebben	<i>g. w.</i> (<i>Geenerlei Werkwoord</i>) Neuter Verb	<i>Behulpzaam Werkwoord</i> Auxiliary Verb
Zullen	<i>Helpwoordt</i> Help-word	<i>Hulpwoord</i> Help-word
Kunnen	<i>g. w.</i> (<i>Geenerlei Werkwoord</i>) Neuter Verb	<i>v. n.</i> (<i>Verbum Neutrum</i>) Neuter Verb
Mogen	<i>g. w.</i> (<i>Geenerlei Werkwoord</i>) Neuter Verb	<i>v. a.</i> (<i>Verbum Activum</i>) Active Verb
Moeten	<i>g. w.</i> (<i>Geenerlei Werkwoord</i>) Neuter Verb	<i>Zelfstandig (Naamwoord)</i> Noun [Its use as a verb is also recognized, albeit never categorized as any precise label].

Table 23 Brief recap of the categorization of Dutch auxiliary verbs in Halma and Marin's dictionaries

4.3.2 Nouns

The entry to *naamwoord* 'noun' is found on page 87, volume 2, where it is defined as a "name in the grammatical style".⁴² It is also added that "adjectives and nouns need to agree in Number, Gender and Case".⁴³ In the same entry, a reference to *herzamelend* 'collective' nouns can also be found. These are also referred to as *verzamelend*, on page 342, volume 1. The three inflecting characteristics (*accidentia*) of nouns, namely number, gender and case were not as explicitly illustrated in Halma. While the entries to *getal* 'number', on page 315, volume 1, and *geslacht/geslacht* 'gender', on page 309-310, volume 1, present no grammatical reference, *geval* 'case' is also presented with the synonym *naamval*, expressing a 'word of grammar' *woord der Spraak-konft*. Two cases are given as an example, here, the *noemend* 'nominative' and the *baarend* 'genitive', that are simply mentioned and not inflected. This entry also restates the fact that "nouns vary in genders, numbers and cases".⁴⁴ On page 111, volume 2, there is the entry to *noemend geval* 'nominative case':

NOEMEND GEVAL. n. Woord der Spraakkonft. <i>Cas Nominatif</i> . m. <i>terme de</i> <i>Grammaire</i> . 't Noemend en Besculdigend	NOEMEND GEVAL. n. Word of Grammar. <i>Cas Nominatif</i> . m. <i>terme de Grammaire</i> . The Nominative and Accusative Case have the

⁴² Original quote: "Naam in de Spraakkundige styl".

⁴³ Original quote: "Men moet de Toevoegelyke en Zelfftandig Naamwoorden doen overeen komen in Getal, Geslacht en Geval".

⁴⁴ Original quote: "De Naamen veranderen naar de gellagten, getallen en gevallen".

Geval hebben ‘t zelfde woordlidt in ‘t Franſch. <i>Le Nominatif & l’Accusatif ont le même article en François.</i>	same article in French. <i>Le Nominatif & l’Accusatif ont le même article en François.</i>

In the entry to the preposition *van*, on page 439, volume 2, one also finds reference to the *onfangend geval* ‘dative case’, without much context. Another reference to cases is found in the entry to *naamval* ‘noun case’, on page 87 of volume 2, where it is stated that “the adjectives *goed, groot, hoog, sterk* etc. get EN before masculine nouns in the oblique cases of the singular”.⁴⁵ Marin makes, indeed, extensive use of the Latin term *casus obliquus* (often, also, *casus obliquis*) ‘oblique case’ in his dictionary, particularly regarding pronouns (see 3.2.3).

Reference to the *getal* ‘number’ of nouns is made in the two entries to *eenvoud* ‘singular’, on page 240, volume 1, and *meervoud* ‘plural’ on page 59, volume 2 that presents some additional indications about grammar:

MEERVOUD. n. Meervoudig getal. <i>Pluriel, Nombre pluriel</i> . m. Mannen, ſchepen, zorgen, zyn naamen in ‘t meervoud, zyn meervoudige naamen, <i>Hommes, vaiſſeaux, joins, font noms pluriels, font des noms au nombre pluriel</i> . Alle MEERVOUDIGE naamen hebben DE in ‘t Duits, en LES in ‘t Franſch, in <i>Nominativo</i> . De mannen, de vrouwen, de kinderen. <i>Les hommes, les femmes, les enfants</i> .	MEERVOUD. n. Plural number. <i>Pluriel, Nombre pluriel</i> . m. Mannen, ſchepen, zorgen, are nouns in the plural, are plural nouns, <i>Hommes, vaiſſeaux, joins, font noms pluriels, font des noms au nombre pluriel</i> . All PLURAL names have DE in Dutch, and LES in French, in <i>Nominativo</i> . De mannen, de vrouwen, de kinderen. <i>Les hommes, les femmes, les enfants</i> .

Here, there is additional grammatical information regarding the use of nouns, in combination with articles. The terms used by Marin to refer to the declination of nouns according to the cases are either *buigen*, lit. ‘to bow’, ‘to bend’ and *declineeren*. They are both defined in the same entry, on page 159, volume 1, where the following can be read:

BUIGEN, DECLINEEREN in ‘t Onduitſch, Letterkonſtig woord. <i>Decliner</i> . Een Naamwoord buigen door alle dezelfs trappen (<i>caſus</i>) doen gaan.	BUIGEN, DECLINEEREN in Non-Dutch, Grammatical word. <i>Decliner</i> . To bend a noun according to each case (<i>caſus</i>).
BUIGEN. Declinatie der Naam-woorden.	BUIGEN. Declination of the Nouns.

Firstly, one notices the use of both a Dutch term (*buigen*) for declination, as well as a loanword (*declineeren*). The topic of *geslacht* ‘gender’ is not dealt with in depth, within its entry. The entries to *man* ‘man’ and *manlyk/mannelyk* ‘masculine’, on pages 52-53, volume 2, do not present any reference to grammar, nor do the entries to *vrouw* ‘woman’ and *vrouwelyk* ‘feminine’, on page 515, volume 2. There is, nevertheless, reference to the neuter gender in the entry to *neutraal* ‘neuter’, on page

⁴⁵ Original quote: “De Toevoegelyke Naamen goed, groot, hoof sterk &c. neemen EN voor Zelfſtandige manlyke in de onrechte Naamvallen van het eenvoud”.

108, volume 2, attested as synonym to *onzydig*, a term Marin otherwise uses everywhere else in the dictionary. Beside the remarks written by the editors (see 4.2), no further information is provided on the theory of grammatical gender in the main body of Marin's dictionary. Other terms referring to noun categories are: *samengestelde* 'compound' (p. 276, vol. 2) and *onbuiglyk* 'non-declinable' (p. 447, vol. 1). Both categories are only mentioned by name, and it is assumed that the reader is already acquainted with such terminology, hindering the Japanese scholar's comprehension of them. It can be assumed that not much information about noun declination can be obtained just by reading Marin's dictionary.

4.3.3 Adverbs

The Dutch term for adverb adopted by Marin is *bywoord*, abbreviated into *Adv.* from the Latin *adverbum*. The entry to this term is on page 168, volume 1, defined as an "indeclinable word that gets connected to and placed by a verb".⁴⁶ The entry to the word *onveranderlyk* 'indeclinable', (lit. 'unchangeable') found on page 160, vol. 2, relates it unequivocally to the French *indéclinable* and presents *bywoorden* 'adverbs' and *voorzetselen* 'prepositions' as examples of indeclinable parts of speech. Adverbs in Marin's dictionary are described by means of notable labels that specify the use of each adverb. However, each term is only used once, within the dictionary. See Table 24.

Word	Type	Translation	Page and Volume
<i>Ja, Jaa</i>	<i>Bevestigend bywoordje</i>	Affirmation	445, vol. 1
<i>Meer</i>	<i>Meenigte, vergelyking</i>	Multitude, comparison	58, vol. 2
<i>Na dat</i>	<i>tyd-bepaaling</i>	Time-specification	93, vol. 2
<i>Nog, Noch</i>	<i>Tydaanwyzend</i>	Time-indicating	111, vol. 2
<i>Tog, Toch</i>	<i>Bevestiging, ontkenning</i>	Affirmation, negation	402, vol. 2
<i>Veel</i>	<i>Hoedanigheid</i>	Quality	443, vol. 2
<i>Waar</i>	<i>Plaats-aanwyzing</i>	Place-pointing	523, vol. 2
<i>Waarom</i>	<i>Ondervraaging</i>	Questioning	525, vol. 2

Table 24 A few types of adverbs in Marin's dictionary.

Beside these, Marin also uses the adjective *bywoordelyk* 'adverbial' to refer to the sentence-level analysis of grammar. On page 396 of volume 1, one can see the entry to *heug en meug* defined as an "adverbial expression" (*bywoordelyke spreekwyze*) that conveys the meaning of 'against one's will', 'reluctantly'. Similarly, on page 187 of volume 1, Marin defines the wording *daar na* 'subsequently', 'after that', as a *bywoordelyke vraag* 'adverbial question', with no further elucidation of what he meant. All those words now considered adverbs, that Halma had labeled as conjunctions, are considered adverbs in Marin.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Original quote: "Onveranderlyk woord, dat by een Werkwoord geplaatst, gevoegd word".

⁴⁷ Reference to each entry, all in volume 2: *nademaal* p. 93; *namentlyk*, p. 96; *weshalven* p. 549; *verders* p. 450; *trouwens* p. 412.

4.3.4 Adjectives

Marin calls adjectives *toevoegelyk naamwoorden*, but abbreviates them as *Adj.*, from the Latin *adjectivum*. The entry to this word is found on page 401, volume 2, where little grammatical information is given besides presenting four examples of adjectives (*wit* ‘white’; *zwart* ‘black’; *lang* ‘long’; *kort* ‘short’). On page 167, volume 1, the synonym *byvoegelyk* is also attested, again with little additional information, except four similar examples (*wit* ‘white’; *zwart* ‘black’; *hoog* ‘high’; *laag* ‘low’). As already mentioned, *deelwoorden* ‘participles’ are also described, on page 193, volume 1, as “verbs that sometimes gets used as an adjective”.⁴⁸ As discussed in 4.2.2, there is a small reference to the fact that adjectives need to agree in gender, number, and case with the nouns they agree with, in the entry to *naamwoord*, on page 87, volume 2.

4.3.5 Articles

The term preferred by Marin to refer to “articles” is *woordlid*, defined on page 561, volume 2, as follows:

WOORDLID. n. Woordjen in de Letterkonft voor een Naamwoord komende om deffelfs geslagt, getal en geval aan te wyzen. *Article*. m. *Sorte de particule qui précède ordinairement les noms, pour en maquer le genre, le nombre & le cas*. EEN, DEN, DE, HET, zyn woord-lidjes van een groot gebruik en zwaarigheid in de Franfe en Nederduitfe Taalen. *Un, LE, La, L', font des article d'un grand usage & d'une grande difficulté pour ceux qui apprennent les Langues Françoisfe & Hollandoife*.

WOORDLID. n. Small Word in Grammar which comes before a Noun in order to indicate its gender, number and case. *Article*. m. *Sorte de particule qui précède ordinairement les noms, pour en maquer le genre, le nombre & le cas*. EEN, DEN, DE, HET, are articles of great use and difficulty in the French and Dutch Languages. *Un, LE, La, L', font des article d'un grand usage & d'une grande difficulté pour ceux qui apprennent les Langues Françoisfe & Hollandoife*.

Marin also uses the term *lidtwoord*, quite interchangeably, as seen in its entry on page 24, volume 2:

LIDTWOORD. ofte *Articulus*: woord der Spraakkunde. *Article*. m. Terme de Grammaire. Het lidtwoord *den* wyft de *Dativus* of ‘t geevend naamval voor de enkelvoudige manlyke naamen. *L'Article au marque le Datif des noms masculins singulairs*.

LIDTWOORD. or *Articulus*: word of Grammar. The article *den* indicates the *Dativus* or dative case for the singular masculine nouns. *L'Article au marque le Datif des noms masculins singulairs*.

⁴⁸ Original quote: “Werkwoord dat somtyds als een Adjectivum, Toevoegelyke Naam, werd gebruikt”.

According to Marin, cases are not related to nouns as much as they are to articles. Since cases are specified or, rather, “indicated” – utilizing Marin’s term *wijzen* – by articles, one finds better information with regards to them in each entry for the declined forms of determinative articles, as shown in Table 25.

ARTICLE	ENTRY	ENGLISH	PAGE
De	Woord-lidje tot buiginge der Naamen noodzaakelyk, aanwyzende de <i>Nominativus</i> of Noemer der Mannelyke en Vrouwelyke Naamen in ‘t eenvoud, en de <i>Nominativus</i> der drie Geflachten in ‘t meervoud. - NB. Dit lidt-woordje heeft DEN in de zydelingse naamen ofte <i>Cafus Obliquis</i> voor mannelyke naamen, gelyk op zyn plaats zal blyken.	Small article used in the declination of the Nouns, indicating the <i>Nominativus</i> or Noemer [Nominative] of the Masculine and Feminine Nouns in the singular, and the <i>Nominativus</i> [Nominative] of the three Genders in the plural. - NB. This small article has DEN in the <i>Casus Obliquis</i> [‘Oblique Case’] and finds its place before masculine nouns.	192, vol. 1
Het	Lidtwoordje voor onzydige zelfftandige Naamen, Werkwoorden, toevoegelyke Naamen en Voorzetsels in den Zelfftandige zin ter neder gefield, komende.	Small article for the neutral Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives and Prepositions in the Independent clause.	395, vol. 1
Der	Woord-lidje dat de <i>Genitivus</i> der Vrouwelyke Naamen in ‘t eenvoud, als mede ‘t meervoud, aller foorten van naamen, aantoond.	Small article that indicates the <i>Genitivus</i> [‘Genitive’] of the Feminine Nouns in the singular, as well as in the plural of all types of nouns.	196, vol. 1
Den	Woord-lidje dat het Mannelyk geflacht der naamen in <i>Cafus Obliquis</i> , ofte zydelingse Naamvallen aanwyft.	Small article that indicates the <i>Casus Obliquis</i> , or <i>zydelingse Naamvallen</i> [‘Obliquos Case’] of the nouns of Masculine gender.	195, vol 1
Des	Woord-lidje den <i>Genitivus</i> voor Mannelyke en onzydige naamen in ‘t eenvoud aanwyzende, doende zoo veel als VAN DEN en VAN HET.	Small article of the <i>Genitivus</i> [‘Genitive’] for the Masculine and neutral nouns in the singular, doing the same which VAN DEN and VAN HET [of the] do.	196, vol. 1
Dan ⁴⁹	Befluitend woord-litje.	Concluding particle [FR: <i>particule de conclusion</i>]	190, vol. 1

Table 25 Articles in Marin’s dictionary

⁴⁹ The word *dan* ‘than’ is not an article, it is either an adverb or a conjunction, yet I have added to this table since Halma labels it as a *woord-litje*.

As illustrated in the table above, these articles are never referred to as “definite”. On the other hand, the indefinite article *een* ‘a’ is defined as the *onbepaald* ‘indefinite’ article for all the nouns in Dutch.⁵⁰ The term *woordlidje* is also used in reference to the impersonal pronoun *men* in its entry on page 61, volume 2, where it is defined as a *verzamelend woordlidje* ‘collective article’ that is always used in substitution to the third person.⁵¹ There is one other word that can allegedly be also used as an “article” (*lidwoordje*), that is the adverb *af*, that Marin claims to be used as indication of location.⁵² It needs to be added that this category remains quite obscure, since terms such as *woordlid* are used mostly literally as “part of word”, “small word”, rather than being a full-fledged distinct category.

4.3.6 Conjunctions

Halma tended to use the labels corresponding to the concept of “conjunction” quite often, even for those words that are generally not considered conjunctions today (see 4.2.6). Marin, instead, does quite the opposite. In fact, he is rather parsimonious in the use of this label. The word *koppelwoord* is often used by Marin, whereas Halma used it as the Dutch translation to the French *article*. Marin, however, uses this term to refer to compound words, as is made clear from page 7, volume 1, in the entry to *aangekoppeld* ‘coupeled’, where *koppelwoord* and *aangekoppeld woord* are presented as synonyms, corresponding to the French *mot composé* ‘compound word’. This interpretation is reinforced by the entry for *bind-woord* (lit. ‘bind-word’) on page 124, volume 1, translated as both *koppelwoord* and *samenvoegsel* in Dutch, and *conjonction* in French. This term is not used anywhere else in the dictionary. On page 287, volume 2, one finds the entry to the word *samenvoegsel*, that explains it as “that which adjoins or gets adjoined to something”.⁵³ As examples of conjunctions the same entry provides a non-exhaustive list of words: *ende* ‘and’; *want* ‘because’; *op dat* ‘for that’; *alhoewel* ‘although’; and *tot dat* ‘until’. Nonetheless, in the entry to each of these words, contradictory information is presented, namely: *op dat* (p. 176, vol. 2) and *tot dat* (p. 405, vol. 2) are considered adverbs and no reference to them as conjunctions is made; *want* (p. 530, vol. 2) is only described as a “small word indicating cause and decision”;⁵⁴ *ende* (p. 248, vol. 1) is defined as a ‘renowned conjunction’ *bekend koppel-woordje*; *alhoewel* (p. 47, vol. 1) is the only word, together with *binnen* ‘inside’ (p. 124, vol. 1) presenting the Latin abbreviation *conj.* for “conjunction”,⁵⁵ even though the former is an adverb. On page 309, volume 2, one finds the word *schoon* ‘although’, whose entry states

⁵⁰ Found on page 119, volume 2, under the main entry to *onbepaald*, citing: “Het onbepaald lidtwoordje is EEN voor alle naamen in ’t Nederduits”.

⁵¹ Original entry: “MEN. Verzamelend woordlidtje van Man afkomstig, beftaande altyd de plaats van de derde perfoon in ’t eenvoud”.

⁵² Found in its entry on page 26, volume 1. Mainly defined as a preposition, it is also claimed that: “AF, werd nog als een lidwoordje van plaats-aanwyzige gebruikt”.

⁵³ Original quote: “’t geen by iets of tot iets gevoegd werd”.

⁵⁴ Original quote: “Oorzaak toonend en besluitend woordje”.

⁵⁵ The word *buiten* ‘outside’, antonym of *binnen* ‘inside’, is considered an “adverb” in its entry on page 161, volume 1.

that it can also be used as a *conjunctio* 'conjunction'. On page 258, volume 1, the entry to the verb *flanssen* 'to cobble', asserts its use in combination with the *koppelwoordjes aan* and *in*, both categorized as *voorzetselwoordje* 'prepositions' in their respective entries on page 2, volume 1 and page 429, volume 1.

Like Halma, Marin proposes a rather incoherent and contradictory categorization of this part of speech, where the term *koppelwoord*, used by Halma only for conjunctions, is used by Marin for compound words, or those words that can combine into compound words. The confusion arises from the fact that these terms all refer to the idea of "conjunction", "adjunction" mixing up the very different concepts of "compound words" and "conjunctions".

4.3.7 Prepositions

The term Marin uses for 'preposition' is exclusively *voorzetzel*, sometimes extended to *voorzetzel woordje* or reduced into *voorzetseltje*. It is defined on page 510, volume 2, where its entry states it to be "One of the non-inflectable parts of Speech".⁵⁶ It corresponds to the French *préposition*, that gets abbreviated into *prep.* only on page 42, volume 1, in the entry for *agter* 'behind'. The only definition of a preposition is found on page 590, volume 2, about *zonder* 'without', that is defined as an *uitsluitend woordje* 'exclusionary small word', like Halma's phrasing *uitsluitend voorzetsel* 'exclusionary preposition'. The term *woordje*, diminutive form of *woord* 'word', is used often by both authors. Nonetheless, contrarily to Halma, Marin seems to only use it to literally refer to small word units, explaining why it recurs so often in the entries to prepositions. The term has its own entry on page 561, volume 2, where its use as translation to the French *particule* 'particle' is also attested referring to the impersonal pronoun *men*, in Dutch, and *on*, in French, and the exclamation *O!* in both languages. A recurrent characteristic assigned to prepositions is a reference to their inseparableness, via terms such as *onscheidelyk*, *onscheidbaar* or *onafscheidelyk*, probably referencing the idea of them not being used in isolation, but rather in so-called "inseparable compound verbs" (*onscheidbare samengestelde werkwoorden*).⁵⁷ Prepositions, furthermore, are also referred to as *onveranderlyk* 'unchangeable' (meaning "non-inflectable") words, on page 160, volume 2, along with adverbs and other non-specified words.⁵⁸ The most problematic entries connected to prepositions and articles found in Halma's first edition where the two prefixes *ge-* and *her-* that, in Marin's dictionary, are simply

⁵⁶ Original quote: "Een der onbuiglaame deelen van de Reden".

⁵⁷ Verbs that combine with other parts of speech, generally prepositions, are called in Dutch *samengestelde werkwoorden* 'compound verbs'. There are two types of them, either *scheidbaar* 'separable' and *onscheidbaar* 'inseparable'. When a compound verb is inseparable, the two elements remain adjoined in all its conjugations. In a separable compound verb, instead, according to the conjugation, the verb and the adjoined element must disjoin from each other.

⁵⁸ Original quote, found as a sample sentence under the definition to *onveranderlyk* 'unchangeable', on page 160, volume 1: "De Bywoorden, Voorzetselen en andere onveranderlyke woorden".

called *lettergreep* ‘syllable’.⁵⁹ Most prepositions are further categorized according to their function, as seen in the following Table 26.

Prepo- sition	Entry	English	Page
Aan	Dit voorzetselwoordje werd in veelderley samengefelde Werkwoorden en Namen gevonden, als AANBINDEN. - Werd nog als een plaatfelyk voorzetsel gebruikt.	This small preposition is found in many compound Verbs and Nouns, like <i>aanbinden</i> [‘to bind’]. - It is also used as a preposition of space.	2, vol. 1
Af	Dit voorzetsel-woordje werd in verſcheiden <i>Infinitiva</i> en <i>Participia</i> gevonden, en fluit een beroovenden zin in zig: Als AFBYTEN. <i>Mordre & emporter la pièce.</i>	This small preposition-word is found in many <i>Infinitiva</i> [‘infinitives’] and <i>Participia</i> [‘participles’], and concludes a privative sentence: Like <i>afbyten</i> [‘to bite off’]. <i>Mordre & emporter la pièce.</i>	25, vol. 1
Agter Achter	prep.	[From French <i>préposition</i>]	42, vol. 1
By	Voorzetsel woordje van een zeer uitgefterkt gebruik, beteekende voor eerſt DICHT aan.	Small preposition-word of a very extensive use, mainly meaning <i>dicht</i> [‘close’].	164, vol. 1
In	Dit voorzetsel-woordje is niet zonder zwaarigheid: ſpreekende van eenig Landſchap, in den ruimen zin.	This small preposition-word is not without hardships: referring to a place in the sense of location.	429, vol. 1
In de	Voorzetsel van plaats aanwyzing.	Preposition indicating the place.	492, vol. 1
Met	Aankoppelend voorzetsel	Coupling preposition.	65, vol. 2
Na	Voorzetel van beweging voor de naamen met een Medeklinker van zommige in den zin van NAAR gebruikt.	Preposition of movement for nouns with a Consonant, used for some in the sense of <i>naar</i> [‘towards’].	85, vol. 2
Naar	Een beweging verbeeldende, werd in de plaats van NA, wel heeft omtrent naamen met een Vocaal beginnend, als een Voorzetsel-woordje gebruikt.	Representing a movement, it is used as a small word of preposition in substitution to <i>na</i> [‘towards’], often with nouns which begin in a Vowel.	87, vol. 2
Op	Plaatfelyk voorzetselwoordje van veelderlei gebruik.	Small preposition-word of place, used in many ways.	174, vol. 2

⁵⁹ “HER, is also the first syllable of Verbs and Nouns, and makes the iteration known” (“HER, is verder de eerſte Lettergreep der Werk- en Naamwoorden, en geeft en herharling te kennen”, pg. 390, vol. 1); “GE. Syllable for the composition of past tenses serving as participles” (“GE. Lettergreep tot de ſamenſtelling der voorleden tyds Deel-woorden diende, pg. 271, vol. 1).

Over	Voorzetfelwoordje van veelderley beteeckenissen, eerstelyk word het zelfde als een voorledene tyds Deelwoord gebruikt.	Small preposition-word of many meanings, mostly used as Participle of the past tense.	198, vol. 2
Te	Voorzetfel van veel beteeckenissen.	Preposition of many meanings.	388, vol. 2
Tegen	Voorzetfel van tegenheid, afkeer, frydigheid &c.	Preposition of opposition, aversion, discordance etc.	389, vol. 2
Ten	Voorzetfel van tyd, van voorneemen, uitweking &c.	Preposition of time, intention, consequence etc.	392, vol. 2
Ter	Voorzetfeltje van aanwyzing, redeneering &c.	Small preposition of indication, reasoning etc.	393, vol. 2
Toe	Voorzetfeltje van bepaaling, betrekking &c.	Small preposition of determination, relation etc.	396, vol. 2
Tot dat	Adv. Voorzetfel de Byvoegende wyze vereiffende.	Adv. Preposition which requires the Subjunctive mood.	405, vol. 2
Tot	Voorzetfeltje van plaats aanwyzing &c.	Small preposition indicating place etc.	405, vol. 2
Wan	Onfscheidelyk voorzetfel	Inseparable preposition	529, vol. 2
Weder	Onfscheidbaar voorzetfel	Inseparable preposition	535, vol. 2
Weer Weder	Onaffscheidelyk voorzetfel	Inseparable preposition	538, vol. 2
Zonder	Uitfluitend woordje.	Small exclusionary word	590, vol. 2

Table 26 Preposition in Marin's dictionary.

Unlike conjunctions, the terminology used by Marin to refer to prepositions displays much more consistency. The use of terms like *woordje* 'little word', nonetheless, is surely not helpful to distinguish this category from others, like conjunctions, for example. Although not much theoretical information is given regarding the concept of preposition, it is not impossible for a Japanese to, at least, recognize prepositions as a full-fledged category, with each expressing its own specific meaning.

4.3.8 Pronouns

In Marin, pronouns are also presented in a much more cohesive and complete way, as compared to the first edition of Halma. Here, they are called *voornaam* or *voornaam woord*. The specification of the person, gender and number expressed by each personal pronoun is rather consistently presented in the entries and, also, the terminology adopted by Marin tends to vary to a lesser degree. On top of the two sub-categorizations of pronouns already seen in Halma, namely *persoon(e)lyk* 'personal' and *bezittend* 'possessive', Marin also uses the term *aantoonend* 'demonstrative', *betrekkelyk* and *opzigtelyk* for 'relative' (also presented in French as *relatif* and in Latin as *relativum*) and *zelfstandig* 'independent' (only for *ons*). Almost all these labels are presented in the definition on page 505, volume 2, stating the following:

VOORNAAM. m. Gedeelte der reden voor of in de plaats van naam komende. *Pronom.* m. Terme de Grammaire. *Partie du discours, tenant lieu de nom.* Myn, zyn, uwe, onze, zyn bezittende voornaamen. *Mon, son, vôtre, nôtre, font des pronomes possessifs.* Aantoonende voornaam. *Pronom démonstratif.* Opzigtelyke voornaam. Perfoonelyk voornaam. *Pronom relatif.* *Pronom personnel.* Termes de Grammaire.

VOORNAAM. m. Part of speech coming before or in substitution to a noun. *Pronom.* m. Terme de Grammaire. *Partie du discours, tenant lieu de nom.* Myn, zyn, uwe, onze, are possessive pronouns. *Mon, son, vôtre, nôtre, font des pronomes possessifs.* Demonstrative pronoun. *Pronom démonstratif.* Relative pronoun. Personal pronoun. *Pronom relatif.* *Pronom personnel.* Termes de Grammaire.

The concept of *casus obliquus* ‘oblique case’ recurs particularly often in the entries to the pronouns. The detailed information, with regard to this particular part of speech can be seen in Table 27:

Pro-noun	Entry	Page	Meaning	Comment
Ik	Eerste Perfoons voornaam, voor ‘t eenvoudig getal in ‘t Conjugeren der Werkwoorden gebruiktelyk.	428, v. 1	I First person singular subject pronoun	“First person pronoun, for the singular number useful in the Conjugation of the Verbs.”
U	Tweede perfoons voornaam.	418, v. 2	You Second person singular object pronoun	“Second person pronoun.” - The plural <i>Ulieden</i> is also attested with no particular additional information
Gy	Tweede perfoons voornaam [...]	356, v. 1	You Second person singular subject pronoun	“Second person pronoun [...]”
Hy	Derde perfoonelyke voornaam, voor ‘t mannelyke enkelvoudige.	427, v. 1	He Third person singular masculine subject pronoun	“Third personal pronoun, for the singular masculine.”
Zy	Vouwelyke enkelvoudige voornaam voor de derde perfoon. - Zy, ‘t meervoud van de manlyke perfoonelyke voornaam HY.	603, v. 2	She Third person singular feminine subject pronoun - They Third person plural subject pronoun	“Feminine singular pronoun for the third person” - “Zy, the plural of the masculine personal pronouns hy” - The use of plural zy is only acknowledge as masculine.
Wy	Perfoonelyke voornaam voor ‘t meervoudig getal van de eerste perfoon.	564, v. 2	We Second person plural subject pronoun	“Personal pronoun for the plural number of the first person.”
Gylieden	Word dikwyls ter onderschedinge van ‘t meervoud in de plaats van GY gezegt.	356, v. 1	You Second person plural subject pronoun	“Is often said as distinction of the plural in substitution to gy.”

My	Eerfte perfoons voornaam, in 't geevend, en befchuldigend geval gebrukelyk.	84, v. 2	Me First person singular object pronoun	"First person pronoun, used in the dative, and accusative case."
Hem	Mannelyke voornaam, de derde Perfoon aanwyzende zynde <i>lui</i> in <i>Dativo</i> , en <i>le & l'</i> in <i>Accufativo fingulari</i> , in 't Franfch.	388, v. 1	Him Third person singular masculine object pronoun	"Masculine pronoun, indicating the third Person, being <i>lui</i> in <i>Dative</i> , and <i>le & l'</i> in <i>Accusativo fingulari</i> ['singular accusative'], in French." - This is recognized as a pronoun and not as a way to call somebody as see in in Halma.
Haar	Woordje dat de Franfchen en andere Vreemdelingen geweldig belemmerd, om dat het een vrouwelyke perfoonlyke, en met eenen een bezittende voornaam is, en om dat deze laafte in het Franfch het geflacht van dat bezete zaak volgen, en niet dat van den bezitter, en te gelyk van bezete zaak als in het Nêeduitfch. - Als perfoonelyke voornaam aangemerkt, is de <i>cafus obliquus</i> van ZY, in het enkelvoudig, en in het meervoud. - Als een bezittende voornaam aangemerkt, is het enkelvoudig en meervoudig, en heeft eenige verandering in de <i>cafus obliqui</i> .	359, v. 1	Her Third person singular feminine object pronoun - Her Third person singular feminine possessive pronoun - Their Third person plural feminine possessive pronoun	"Small word that is of great obstacle to the French and other Foreigners, because it is a feminine personal and, with some, a possessive pronoun and, since in the latter in French it follows the gender of the possessed thing, and not of the possessor and, simultaneously, the possessed thing, as in Dutch." - "As personal pronoun, it is the <i>cafus obliquus</i> ['oblique case'] of <i>zy</i> , in the singular, and in the plural." - "As a possessive pronoun, it is singular and plural, and has some differences in the <i>cafus obliqui</i> ['oblique case']."
Ons	Zelfftandige voornaam of eerfte perfoon van 't meervoud. - Bezittend [sic!] voornaam, die voor de <i>Neutra</i> , of naamen van 't onzydig Geflacht in het enkelvoudig gefelt word.	146, v. 2	Us First person plural object pronoun - Our First person plural possessive pronoun	"Independent pronoun or first person of the plural." - "Possessive pronoun, that gets used before <i>Neutra</i> , or nouns of the neutral gender in the singular."
Hen	't meerv: van den manlyken voornaam HEM in <i>Accufativo</i> , en volgens weinige in alle <i>cafus obliqui</i> .	389, v. 1	Them Third person plural object pronoun	"The plural of the masculine pronoun HEM in the <i>Accusativo</i> ['accusative'] and, according to some, in all the <i>cafus oliqui</i> ['oblique cases']."

<i>Myn</i> <i>Myne</i>	Bezittende voornaam des eerften perfoons.	85, v. 2	My First person singular possessive pronoun	“Possessive pronoun of the first person.”
<i>Uw</i> <i>Uwe</i>	Bezittende voornaam voor de tweede perfoon, in de twee getallen.	435, v. 2	You Second person singular possessive pronoun	“Possessive pronoun for the second person, in the two numbers.”
<i>Zyn</i> <i>Zyne</i>	Bezittende voornaam voor de derde perfoon der beide Geflagten in ‘t eenvoud.	604, v. 2	His Third person singular masculine possessive pronoun	“Possessive pronoun for the third person of both Genders in the singular.” - Even though this pronoun is today only used for masculine singular, it used to be used also for the feminine gender, as well as, in particular, the form <i>zijne</i> , for the plural number. It is interesting to notice that Marin talks about “both” genders, either referring to French grammar or suggesting this pronoun to be used only for humans and animals, thus excluding <i>het</i> as subject version of it.
<i>De Zyne</i>	Bezittende en opzigtelyke voornaam van den derden perfoon voor beide getallen.	604, v. 2	His Theirs	“Possessive and relative (?) Pronoun of the third person for both numbers.” - The term <i>opzigtelyk</i> does not seem very common across grammars of Dutch. I assume it to refer to relative pronouns, although further research is needed.
<i>Onze</i>	Werd voor mannelyke en vrouwelyke naamen in ‘t eenvoud; als ook voor die der drie Geflachten in ‘t meervoud gebruikt.	168, v. 2	Our First person plural possessive pronoun	“It is used for masculine and feminine nouns in the singular, as well as the plural of the three genders.”
<i>Hun</i>	Manlyke bezittende en Perfoonlyke voornaam, voor ‘t meervoud.	425, v. 1	Their Third person plural possessive pronoun	“Masculine possessive and Personal pronoun, for the plural.”
<i>Hunne</i>	Werd van Mannen spreekende voor enkele vrouwelyke in de plaats van HUN gezegt, en diend ook voor meervoudige naamen.	425, v. 1	Their Third person plural possessive pronoun	“Is said talking about Men for some feminine instead of <i>hun</i> , and serves also for plural nouns.”
<i>Hunner</i>	Is de Genitivus van ‘t woord HUN, in den bezittenden zin.	425, v. 1	Their Third person plural possessive pronoun	“Is the <i>Genitivus</i> [‘genitive’] of the word <i>hun</i> , in the possessive sense.”

Zig	Enkele en meervoudige voornaam van den derden perfoon in de wederkerige Werkwoorden. - Derde perfoonelyke enkelvoudige voornaam van alderlei geflagten.	585, v. 2	Himself Herself Themselves Third person reflexive pronoun	"Singular and plural pronoun for the third person in the reflexive Verbs." - "Third personal singular pronoun of all the genders."
Dit	DIT, DAT Aantoonende voornaam voor de <i>Neutrale</i> Naamwoorden komende. - DAT en DIT zyn eenzinnige woordjes	203, v. 1 192, v. 1	This Singular neutral	"DIT, DAT Demonstrative pronoun coming before the Neutral Nouns." - "DAT and DIT are small words with many meanings"
Die	Aantoonende voornaam, van dezelfde beteekenis als DEZE. - Betrekkelyke voornaam.	199, v. 1	That Those Singular masculine; Singular feminine; Plural indicative pronoun	"Demonstrative pronoun, of the same meaning of DEZE." - "Relative pronoun."
Deze	Aantoonende voornaam, voor mannelyke en vrouwelyke Naamwoorden in 't eenvoud, en voor alle foorten van naamen in 't meervoud te gebruiken.	198, v. 1	This These Singular masculine; Singular feminine; Plural indicative pronoun	"Demonstrative pronoun, for the use with masculine and feminine Nouns in the singular, and for all the types of nouns in the plural."
Dewelke	DEWELWE, WELKE Opzigtelyke voornaam.	198, v. 1	That Singular masculine Singular feminine Plural	"Relative [?] Pronoun."
Dat	DIT, DAT Aantoonende voornaam voor de <i>Neutrale</i> Naamwoorden komende. - DAT en DIT zyn eenzinnige woordjes. DAT, is ook een <i>pron: relativum</i> voor de onzydige Naam-woorden.	203, v. 1 192, v. 1	That Singular neutral	"DIT, DAT Demonstrative pronoun coming before the Neutral Nouns." - "DAT and DIT are small words with many meanings. DAT is also a relative pronoun for the neuter Nouns.2"
Zelf	<i>Pronom.</i>	581, v. 2	Self Demonstrative pronoun	"Pronoun."
Dezelve	<i>Pronom demonft:</i> - <i>Pronom relaitf</i>	198, v. 1	The self Demonstrative pronoun	"Demonstrative pronoun." - "Relative pronouns."
Welk	DEWELWE, WELKE Opzigtelyke voornaam. - WELK, WELKE <i>pronom.</i>	198, v. 1 545, v. 2	Which Interrogative, indefinite, relative	"Relative [?] pronoun."

Wie	Welk mensch, welke vrouw.	551, v. 2	Who Interrogative, indefinite, relative	“Which person, which woman.”

Table 27 Pronouns in Marin’s dictionary.

4.3.9 Interjections

Interjections are also present in Marin as a category, although in a limited number of instances. I have been able to identify a total of four occurrences of this label. The term used for ‘interjection’ is either *tusschenwerpsel* (three occurrences) or *tussenwerpsel* (two occurrences). They are defined on page 415, volume 2 as “One of the nine parts of Speech, representing a passion, etc.”.⁶⁰ The spelling without the letters < ch > is only further attested in the entry to the interjection *op*, on page 174, volume 2, where this term is categorized as an interjection of *aanmoediging* ‘prompting’. The same information is claimed about the interjections *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, found in the same entry on page 45, volume 1, also attesting their use to convey *ongenoegen* ‘displeasure’. On page 397, volume 1, the interjections *hey* or *hei* are defined as expressing *verwondering* ‘wonder’ or *gekscheering* ‘joke’. On page 407, volume 1, *hola* is defined as expressing *waarschouwing* ‘warning’ or *verhinderend* ‘inhibition’, amongst other meanings. All other interjections are referred to with the term *uitroeping* ‘exclamation’, as in Halma.

4.3.10 Conclusions

In conclusion to this analysis of Marin’s dictionary, one can assume its reader to be able to deduce, to some extent, some sort of an image of the parts of speech of Dutch. Inside the dictionary it is stated that the Dutch language possesses nine parts of speech, although a proper list is never presented. Labels tend to be used more consistently, when compared to Halma’s first edition, although discrepancies are far from infrequent. Verbs are presented in a relatively more sophisticated way, stating the existence of three times – yet presenting six tenses – and two moods. Nonetheless, an understanding of the meaning of each tense and mood is not an easy task if one solely relies on this source. The verbs *zijn*, *hebben* and *zullen* are treated somehow differently from other verbs, being categorized, respectively, as a *zelfstandig werkwoord* ‘independent verb’, a *behulpzaam werkwoord* ‘auxiliary verb’ and a *hulpwoord* ‘help-word’.

Verbs are broadly categorized in the two groups “active” and “neuter”, for which the Latin-derived abbreviations of *v.a.* and *v.n.* are provided. The adoption of the Latin terminology is evidently in contrast with Halma and Séwel, specifically in its abbreviation to the initials. This is something Shizuki picks up from Marin, as will be discussed Chapter VII. Just like Halma, Marin recognizes two types of “participles”, broadly referring to those that appear in a “perfect tense” and those that appear in a “passive voice”, although this does not seem to have been adopted by Shizuki. In the third edition of Marin’s dictionary, the editors added a rather long

⁶⁰ Original quote: “Een der negen deelen der Rede, verbeeldende een hartstogt &c.”.

preface wherein they also tried to provide rules concerning the gender of nouns and this doubtlessly inspired the tables in *Joshi-kō* (see 7.2.1). However, by only consulting these two dictionaries, I believe it to be rather arduous to obtain a complete and cohesive picture of Dutch theory of grammar. The terms are often underdefined and inconsistently used, particularly in the first edition of Halma's dictionary, which implies the necessity of the combined use of a better structured grammar handbook, such as those I will present below.

4.4 *Nouvelle Methode* or *Spraakwyze*, by Pieter Marin

In 1692, Pieter Marin published a book by the title of *Schets eener Fransche letterkonst* 'Draft of a grammar of French', a handbook aimed at Dutch learners of French. The book will be subsequently re-edited, in 1694, and published by Pieter Scoperus in Amsterdam with the title *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre les principes et l'usage des langues françoise et hollandaise*. *Dat is, Nieuwe Fransche en Duitsche spraakwyze* (henceforth simply *Spraakwyze*). This book was republished repeatedly until 1826, by an estimated total of twenty-eight editions (LOONEN 1997, 15). The contents of this work remained largely unchanged throughout the versions. This work is a full-fledged French handbook for Dutch speakers who are interested in learning the French language. This is stated many times in the introductory pages of the book, that presents the disclaimer: "This last edition of Pieter Marin's *Nouvelle Methode*, or *Nieuwe Spraakwyze*, is again entrusted to all the French language masters and teachers for the use of their disciples by their Serviceable Servant, Hendrik Botter".⁶¹ Most of the contents of this book are presented in both French and Dutch, side by side. Marin's *Spraakwyze* circulated vastly and very early among the Japanese scholars of Dutch. This can be claimed on the basis of the fact that the introduction to the first dialogue was copied, analyzed, and translated in many Japanese manuscripts. The first two lines *Ik wensch u goeden dag, Myn Heer. Ik ben uw Dienaar* ('I wish you a good day, sir. I am your servant') were copied by Ōtsuki Gentaku in his *Rangaku kaitei*,⁶² while Maeno Ryōtaku, in *Oranda yakusen*⁶³ also retained, yet with some discrepancies, the subsequent lines *Hoe vaart gij al? Ik vaar wel, God dank*. 'How is it going with you? It is going well, thank God.'

KATAGIRI (2016, 96-102) also believes this source to correspond to what Sugita Genpaku, in *Rangaku kotohajime*, calls *sāmensupurāka* サーメンズブラーカ, a Japanese adaptation of the Dutch *samenspraak* 'dialogue', that gives the title to this section of *Spraakwyze*. This may be correct, since Sugita worked with Maeno on the

⁶¹ Regardless of the editor, accounting for small differences in spelling conventions, this disclaimer is identical across many editions. In the 1790, for example, this quote is found on page 4, reading the following: "Aan alle Fransche taalmeesters en schoolhouders, word deze laatste druk van *Pieter Marin*, *Nouvelle Methode* of *nieuwe spraakwyze* tot nuttig gebruik hunner leerlingen wederom opgedraagen en toege-eigend, door hunnen *Dienstwilligen Dienaar*, Hendrik Botter".

⁶² See Waseda's 文庫 8 C1 2, folio 20r.

⁶³ See Waseda's 文庫 8 C18, folio 22v.

translation of *Kaitai shinsho*. In Waseda's copy of *Rangaku seizenfu*, after the main body of the work, someone has copied over a long excerpt from Marin's *Spraakwyze*, specifically from the chapter on syntax (see Appendix 1). Whether Shizuki had the chance to read Marin's book is not clear, although I have not been able to find any reason to believe he did, except the appendix found in one copy of *Seizenfu*, which was likely added by somebody else. Marin's *Spraakwyze* could have functioned as a useful source for grammatical theory as it investigates, in the form of dialogues, all the issues concerning the parts of speech and their morphosyntactic characteristics. However, the contents of this book have been compiled with the goal of teaching French grammar to a Dutch-speaking reader. This can be seen, for example, from the contents of the section of syntax, where some explanations only work in the context of French. *Spraakwyze* is quite different from the other Dutch sources cited by Shizuki. For example, Marin only recognizes three parts of speech or "three types of words" (3 *soorten van woorden*), namely: *namen* 'nouns', including adjectives; *werkwoorden* 'verbs'; and *bijwoorden* 'adverbs', including all non-inflectable words (*De woorden die nooyt veranderen*). Since articles are inflectable parts of speech, one wonders how they were treated according to this categorization. In fact, articles are named in the French version (*articles*) specifying that they are used to distinguish the cases and genders of nouns, yet the same sentence, in Dutch, refers to articles with the generic terms *woord* 'word' and *woordje* 'small word'.

S A M E N S P R A A K E N. 143	
BEKNOPTE en LEERZAAME	
SAMENSPRAAKEN	
over allerhande Stoffen.	
D I A L O G U E P R E M I E R.	E E R S T E S A M E N S P R A A K.
Je vous souhайте le bon jour, Monsieur.	<i>Ik wensch u goeden dag, Myn Heer.</i>
Je suis votre Serviteur.	<i>Ik ben uw Dienaar.</i>
Comment vous portez-vous?	<i>Hoe vaart gy al?</i>
Je me porte bien, Dieu merci.	<i>Ik vaar wel, God dank.</i>
J'en suis bien aise.	<i>'s Is my zeer lief.</i>
Où allez vous?	<i>Waar gaat gy na toe?</i>
Je m'en vais chez Monsieur P.	<i>Ik ga na myn Heer P.</i>
Où demeure-t-il?	<i>Waar woont hy?</i>
Dans la Rue neuve.	<i>In de nieuwe straat.</i>
Que fait-il?	<i>Wat doet hy?</i>
C'est un Marchand.	<i>'s Is een Koopman.</i>
J'ai l'honneur de le connaître.	<i>Ik heb de eer van hem te kennen.</i>
C'est un fort honnête homme.	<i>'s Is een zeer eerlyk Man.</i>
Faites lui mes Baisemains, s'il vous plait.	<i>Doet hem myn Gebiedenis, als 's u belieft.</i>
Je n'y manquerai pas.	<i>Ik zal 's niet vergeeten.</i>
Vous m'obligerez beaucoup.	<i>Gy zult my veel verplichten.</i>
Quelles Nouvelles?	<i>Wat nieuws?</i>
Je n'ai rien appris.	<i>Ik heb niets gehoord.</i>

Avez

Figure 7: From Marin's *Spraakwyze*.

Verbs differ from the other “types of words” because they are “the words that provide knowledge about the action”.⁶⁴ They can be split into 3 subtypes:

- **Persoonelyke werkwoorden** (‘Personal verbs’), “the actions that are inside of man”.⁶⁵ These are all the verbs of which a human can be the subject/agent, thus occurring “inside” of man;
- **Onpersoonelyke werkwoorden** (‘Impersonal verbs’), “the actions that are outside of man”.⁶⁶ These are the verbs expressing actions occurring out of human control, generally referring to the weather or natural events and requiring an impersonal subject ‘t in Dutch;
- **Wederhoorige werkwoorden** (‘Reflexive verbs’), “the actions that turn toward the agent”.⁶⁷ These are reflexive verbs, which require a reflexive pronoun in accordance with the subject.

Every verb can “vary” in three ways: according to ‘verbal moods’ (*werkwyzen*); to ‘times’ (*tyden*, i.e., ‘tenses’); and to ‘persons’ (*persoonen*). What Marin calls ‘variations’ (*veranderingen*) corresponds to the concept of conjugation. Marin names four moods, defined as follows:

- **Toonende wys** ‘Indicative mood’: “it indicates the action simply and directly”;⁶⁸
- **Gebiedende wys** ‘Imperative mood’, “it commands the action”;⁶⁹
- **Byvoegende wys** ‘Subjunctive mood’, “it states the action conditionally”;⁷⁰
- **Onbepaalde wys** ‘Infinitive mood’, “it shows which conjugation the verb belongs to”.⁷¹

These ‘moods’ (*wys*) are subsequently shown in a full conjugation table, according to ‘time’ (*tyd*), i.e., ‘tense’. For the indicative mood (now called *tonender wys*), there are six tenses, namely: *de tegenwoordig tyd* ‘the present time’; *de eerste voorlede tyd* ‘the first past time’; *de tweede voorlede tyd* ‘the second past time’; *de volmaakte tyd* ‘the perfect time’; *meer als volmaakte tyd* ‘pluperfect time’; *de toekomstige tyd* ‘the future time’. The subjunctive mood (now *byvoegender wys*) features four tenses: *de tegenwoordige tyd* ‘the present time’; *de onvolmaakte tyd* ‘the imperfect time’; *de wenshende tyd* ‘the optative time’ and *de deelwoorden* ‘participles’. The imperative only has one conjugation, just like the infinitive. The verb ‘to be’ (*être* in French, and *wezen* or *zyn* in Dutch) is called it an “independent verb” (*verbe substantief*, in French, and *zelfstandig werkwoord*, in Dutch). The verb ‘to have’ (*avoir* in French, *hebben* in Dutch) is defined as *behulpzaam werkwoord*, ‘auxiliary verb’.

⁶⁴ Original quote: “De woorden die daade te kennen geven”.

⁶⁵ Original quote: “De Daaden die inden Mensch zyn.”.

⁶⁶ Original quote: “De Daaden die buyten den Mensch zyn”.

⁶⁷ Original quote: “De Daaden die tot den Daader keeren”.

⁶⁸ Original quote: “Zy toond de daad enkel en zeeker”.

⁶⁹ Original quote: “Zy gebied de daad”.

⁷⁰ Original quote: “Zy steld de daad Conditioneelyk”.

⁷¹ Original quote: “Zy toond van welke Conjugatie ‘t Werkwoord is”.

In conclusion, Marin's *Spraakwyze* is primarily a handbook on French. The contents are almost entirely focused on the French language with Dutch only being a means by which to explain French grammar and morphosyntax to a Dutch-speaking reader. There are consequently several inconsistencies between the explanations and the examples, since the rules there described concern French, yet they are sometimes stated as if they were linguistic universals. The fact that *Spraakwyze* was mostly a handbook of French, was probably understood, to a certain degree, by the Japanese scholars. This is reinforced by the fact that, whenever quoted, *Spraakwyze* was generally used for its chapter on dialogues (*samenspraken*). Even there, though, one could wonder how realistic of a portrayal of a natural Dutch conversation these "dialogues" really were, and to what extent – if any – were they influenced from their French counterpart, that I suppose was the original text, subsequently translated into Dutch.

Regardless of the answers to these questions, *Spraakwyze* was probably of very little use for a learner of Dutch. On top of that, the way in which the categories of speech were divided and presented was probably found in no other source that reached Japan. The division of the nine categories was better represented in Marin's dictionary, and the use of *bijwoord* as to refer to all those words that were not nouns (including adjectives) nor verbs (including participles), is doubtlessly unique, in this context. That said, if one were to compare it to the Japanese tradition, this tripartite categorization was probably very familiar for someone who was acquainted with the Chinese-derived "empty-full-auxiliary" division or with the Japanese native *tai/yō/te ni wo ha* division, accounting for the fact that adjectives were grouped together with verbs and not with nouns.⁷²

4.5 *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst*, by Willem Séwel

In contrast to Marin's *Spraakwyze*, Séwel's *Spraakkonst* is a full-fledged grammar of Dutch that intends to report the rules of this language its pronunciation and its spelling, to a Dutch speaking audience. This is stated in its introduction (see Appendixes 4 and 5). There, one can also read that the grammar contained in *Spraakkonst* is mostly a reworking of what was found in Séwel's English-Dutch dictionary with the addition of theories he developed during the sixteen years that had since passed. With the second edition of 1712, the content of *Spraakkonst* has been greatly expanded with the addition of chapters covering issues of metaphors, peculiar uses of language, as well as a long list of nouns with specification of gender (see Appendix 7 for a comparison of the contents of this book across the editions). The core of the grammatical theory is fairly consistent. The characteristic of this work, in contrast with the other sources used by Shizuki, is that it draws parallels

⁷² In the original concept, the present paragraph 4.4 was supposed to be much longer, presenting the detail of the theory of grammar contained in *Spraakwyze*, focusing on the morphosyntax of verbs. However, because of the apparently insignificant influence of the grammatical theories therein contained on the work of Shizuki or any other Japanese scholar of Dutch, I have decided to sensibly reduce it. However, some of its original content can still be seen in Appendix 1, where I also deal with a few philological issues concerning Waseda's copy of *Rangaku seizenfu*.

with the English language, instead of French, and that the religious element is much more present, with sample sentences often drawn from biblical quotes. This is consistent with the biography of the author, as I have illustrated in 3.4.1.

When it comes to the grammatical contents of Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, it is immediately clear how much more cohesive and structured his theory of grammar was in comparison to Marin and Halma's dictionaries, and how much more focused on Dutch the explanations are, in contrast with Marin's *Spraakwyze*, where French was the main focus. Séwel always adopts the same terminology for each part of speech, not causing confusion to the reader, whereas in the Dutch-French dictionaries, many terms were used inconsistently for the same category, as demonstrated in the sections above. While always adopting Dutch terminology for each grammatical phenomenon, Séwel also provides the Greek-Latin traditional term, either in note, or within the text, as an explanation. Séwel's *Spraakkonst* was meant for readers with an already rather sophisticated knowledge of the language and its written rendition since he oftentimes deems it unnecessary to explain certain concepts. This is an unfortunate editorial decision for a Japanese reader who might have yearned for basic definitions, along with the more advanced notions on grammar. The first page of the main text of Séwel's *Spraakkonst* introduces the topic as follows:⁷³

Wat de SPRAAKKONST, óf vólgens het Grieksch woord *Grammatica*, de *Letterkonst* zy, is zo menigmaal gezegd, dat ik het nodeloos achte zulks alhier te herhaalen; te meer dewyl de Nederduytsche benaaming uyt zich zelve haare betékenis aanwyft, en een iegelyk wel begrypt dat men daar door verstaat een *Kennis van de Letteren en de Spraake*.

Het eerste dan dat alhier te verhandelen staet, is de *Letterbeschryving*, óf *Spelkonst*. Wat nu een Letter zy, behoef ik hier niet te melden, dewyl ik niet schryf voor zulke die des onkundig zyn. Dóch nademaal veele die de letteren kennen, haare kracht evenwel niet volkomenlyk verstaan, en daarom menigmaal in de Spellinge doolen, zal ik die alhier aanwyzen.

What grammar is or, according to the Greek word *Grammatica*, the 'art of the letters', has been already so often said that I consider it useless to repeat it here, again; also, since the Dutch naming refers directly to its meaning, and thus anybody can understand it as the *Knowledge of letters and language*.

What is to be treated firstly is, thus, the description of the letters, or the art of spelling. What a letter is, I do not need to explain here, since I do not write this for people who are not educated in this regard. Nonetheless, many of those who know the letters, still do not perfectly understand their power, and thus often wander in the field of spelling, which I will refer to, here.

⁷³ A few words on the spelling conventions adopted by Séwel within *Spraakkonst*: the digraph < ij > is always written as < y >, although the combination of the characters < i > and < j > can, indeed, be found whenever they follow other vowels (e.g., *bloeiende*). The letter < y > is also used instead of the letter < i >, in the diphthongs that are nowadays written as < ui > and < ei >, thus spelt < uy > and < ey >, by Séwel. A short < o > in a closed syllable is also often written with an acute accent on top of it, as in *dóch*, *nóg*, *tót*, but also *komt*, *om*, *botste*. The letter < é > is also attested in some open syllables (*betékent*). The letter < f > is always used instead of < s >, whenever it appears at the beginning of a syllable.

As already mentioned, it was common practice during Séwel's times to call "etymology" the subject studying the parts of speech, that corresponds more closely to the contemporary concept of morphology. In agreement with the Dutch tradition of grammar, Séwel recognizes nine parts of speech, with *naamwoorden* 'name-words' including *zelfstandig* 'substantive' (i.e., nouns), and *bijvoegelijk* 'adjectival' (i.e., adjectives), while *deelwoorden* 'participles' being considered a separate category. This is introduced on page 63, in the following fashion:

Van de OORSPRONGKUNDE

Door de *Oorfprongkunde* onderfcheydt men de woorden in zekere Spraakdeelen, die by de Nederduytfchen negen in getal zyn, en genoemd worden een *Lédeken* (Articulus), *Naamwoord* (Nomen), *Voornaamwoord* (Pronomen), *Werkwoord* (Verbum), *Deelwoord* (Participium), *Bywoord* (Adverbium), *t' Zamenvoegfel* (Conjunctio), *Voorzetfel* (Praepositio), en *Tufchenwerpfel* (Interjectio).

Hier van zyn de vyf eerfte veranderlyk, ende vier laaftte meerderdeels onveranderlyk.

On ETYMOLOGY

Through Etymology, one divides the words in specific parts of speech, which are nine, in Dutch, and which we call *Lédeken* (Articulus) ['Article'], *Naamwoord* (Nomen) ['Noun'], *Voornaamwoord* (Pronomen) ['Pronoun'], *Werkwoord* (Verbum) ['Verb'], *Deelwoord* (Participium) ['Participle'], *Bywoord* (Adverbium) ['Adverb'], *t' Zamenvoegfel* (Conjunctio) ['Conjunction'], *Voorzetfel* (Praepositio) ['Preposition'], en *Tuschenwerpsel* (Interjectio) ['Interjection']. The first five of these are variable, while the last four are mostly invariable.

The nine parts of speech – articles, nouns (including adjectives), pronouns, verbs, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections – are further divided on the basis of their quality of "variability", that is to say, whether they can be conjugated or declined. In the following pages of the chapter on "etymology" (i.e., "morphology"), Séwel provides an explanation of each of the nine categories, with tables illustrating their inflection, and their behavior within a sentence when interacting with the other categories. Below, I will provide a broad overview of all the introductory definitions of all nine parts of speech and, subsequently, I will provide a more specific analysis of verbs.

On page 63, articles are presented and defined as the elements of a sentence that specify the genders and cases. Articles are said to be three, in total: *de*, *het* and *een*, which implies that all the other forms were considered as inflected versions of these three "unmarked" forms.

Van de LEDEKENS.

De *Lédekens* dienen om een onderfcheyd te maaken in de Geflachten, en de Naamvallen, en zyn, *De*, *Het*, *Een*.

On the ARTICLES

The *Articles* serve the making of distinction between the genders and the cases and are: *de*, *het*, *een*.

Afterwards, a small but comprehensive list of all inflected forms for each article is presented. Subsequently, on page 68, Séwel covers the category of *naamwoorden* 'nouns'. The category of nouns was split into two sub-categories, *zelfstandig*

'substantive' or 'independent', and *bijvoegelijk* 'adjectival'. The difference is that the former can exist on their own, while the latter always require a substantive noun to be combined with, in order to be correctly used.

Naamwoorden zyn woorden waarmede men alle dingen en hoedaanigheden benoemt en onderscheydt, als *een Mensch*, *een kind*, *een beest*, *de Hemel*, *Gód*, *kruyd*, *toorn*, *heerlykheyd*; *Goed*, *quaad*; *wit*, *zwart*, *rood*, *groen*; *groot*, *kleyn*, *lang*, *kort*; *breed*, *smal*; *oud*, *jong*.

Deeze Naamwoorden worden verdeeld in *Zelfftandige*, en *Byvoegelyke*.

Een zelfftandig Naamwoord bestaat op zichzelve, en beteként de zaaken zonder behulp van een ander woord, als, *Hemel*, *Aarde*, *Zee*, *Mensch*, *Koning*, *Boom*, zo dat het met byvoeging van een *Werkwoord* eenen volkomen zin kan uytmaaken, als, *Het paard loopt*. *Het kind schreyt*. *De zon schynt*.

Een *Byvoegelyk* Naamwoord, dat de hoedaanigheyd eener zaake beteként, als, *Sterk*, *zwak*, *schoon*, *vuyt*, *droog*, *nat*, kan alleen niet gebruykt worde, als hebbende geen volkomene betekenis, 't en zy men 'er een *Zelfftandig* Naamwoord byvoege: want wie kan verstaan wat men meent, als 'er gezegd wordt, *De verwoede bruyfcht*, 't en zy men 'er *Zee* óf *stroom*, óf iets diergelyks, byvoege?

Niettemin gebeurt het wel dat een *Byvoegelyk* Naamwoord in een *Zelfftandig* veranderd wordt, als *De donker begint te vallen*: *Het groen is nu op zyn krachtichft*: *De wilden hebben hem doodgeslagen*.

Nouns are words by means of which one can call and differentiate all things and properties, just like *een Mensch* ['a Person'], *een Kind* ['a Child'], *een Beest* ['a Beast'], *de Hemel* ['the Heavens'], *God* ['God'], *kruyd* ['Herb'], *toorn* ['Wrath'], *heerlykheyd* ['Bliss'], *Goed* ['Good'], *quaad* ['evil']; *wit* ['white'], *zwart* ['black'], *breed* ['wide'], *smal* ['narrow']; *oud* ['old'], *jong* ['young'].

These *Nouns* are divided into *Substantive* and *Adjective*. A *Substantive Noun* exists on its own, and means things without the help of another word, like *Hemel* ['Heaven'], *Aarde* ['Earth'], *Zee* ['Sea'], *Mensch* ['Person'], *Koning* ['King'], *Boom* ['Tree'], so that by the addition of a verb a complete sentence can be made, like *Het paard loopt* ['The horse walks'], *Het kind schreyt* ['The child screams'], *De zon schynt* ['The sun shines'].

An *Adjective Noun*, which means the quality of a thing, like *Sterk* ['strong'], *zwak* ['weak'], *schoon* ['neat'], *vuyt* ['filthy'], *droog* ['dry'], *nat* ['wet'], cannot be used alone, as they do not have any complete meaning, unless one adds a *Substantive Noun*: since how can one understand *The furious gurgles* without adding 'see', 'river' or something similar?

Nonetheless, it happens often that an *Adjective noun* turns into a *Substantive noun*, just like 'The dark begins to fall'; 'The green is now in its strongest'; 'The wild have beaten him to death'.

On page 71, one can read another definition of nouns:

Van de ZELFSTANDIGE
NAAMWOORDEN.
De *Zelfftandige* Naamwoorden zyn *Eygene* óf
Gemeene.

On the SUBSTANTIVE NOUNS
The *Substantive Nouns* are Proper (*Eygene*)
or Common (*Gemeene*).

As mentioned, nouns and adjectives behave similarly in Dutch, in the sense that they both require to be inflected according to gender, number and case and, thus, it makes

sense to group them together in the broad category of “name-word”. The list of examples of *naamwoorden*, wherein nouns and adjectives are listed together indistinctly, is reminiscent of Ogyū Sorai’s listing of Chinese characters belonging to the same broad group of *kyo* ‘empty’, wherein verbs and adjectives are grouped together and only subsequently being split into their specific sub-categories of *dō* ‘movement’, for “verbs”, and *sei* ‘quietness’, for “adjectives”. This only makes sense as Japanese morphosyntax treats adjectives similarly to verbs, instead of nouns. I will discuss this in Chapters V and VI.

Consistently with the long tradition of studies on grammatical gender, on pages 93 and 94, Séwel provides a specific description of this grammatical phenomenon stating that it is not only a difficult matter for foreigners, but also for natives. Specifically, he claims, the issue with grammatical gender is very problematic for English speakers, whose language has, allegedly, adopted the neuter gender for all nouns. This claim is, probably, based on the fact that the English “that”, used indistinctively for all nouns, is a cognate of the Dutch *dat*, that is only used for neuter (singular) nouns.

Van het GESCLACHT Der Naamwoorden.

Het Gellacht der Naamwoorden is eenigfins aan de Lédekens te kenne, gelyk pag. 63 en 64. reeds is aangewezen; dóch dewyl die aanwyzing gebreklyk is, niet flechts ten aanzien van vreemdelingen, inzonderheyd Engelfchen die gewoon zyn te zeggen *Dat man*, *Dat vrouw*, zo wel als *dat kind*, om dat alle de Naamwoorden van hunne eygene taal van ’t Onzydig gellacht zyn, maar ook ten aanzien van inboorelingen, door dien de gemeene spraak het ondrfcheyd tuffchen *Een* en *Eene* niet in acht neemt, en men al zo wel gewoon is te zeggen *Een vrouw*, als *Een Man*, zo is ’t noodig een nadere aantooning der Gellachten te doen.

On the GENDER of Nouns

The Gender of Nouns is solely known through the Articles, just like it is also reported on page 63 and 64; yet although that indication is not perfect, not only concerning the foreigners, in particular the English who use to say *Dat man*, *Dat vrouw*, as well as *dat kind*, because all the nouns of their own language are of the neuter gender, but also concerning the natives, who in their average speech do not respect the difference between *Een* and *Eene*, and they generally say *Een vrouw*, as well as *Een Man*, thus it is needed to more closely display the genders.

On page 232, Séwel defines pronouns:

Van de VOORNAAMWOORDEN.

Een *Voornaamwoord* wordt doorgaans voor een Naamwoord, dat is, in plaats daar van, gebruykt, het zy tót aanwyzinge van een perfoon óf zaak, óf om betrékking op iets te maaken, óf om iets te vraagen, óf om de bezitting te betékenen

On PRONOUNS

A *Pronoun* is used instead of a noun, be it referring to a person, a thing, in relation to making something, asking something or to make explicit the ownership of something

On page 313, one can find the definition of the category of participles:

Van de DEELWOORDEN.

Deelwoorden worden zo genoemd omdat zy aan de *Werkwoorden* deel hebben, en ook geboogen worden als de *Byvoegelyke Naamwoorden*; Zy worden verdeeld in *Tegenwoordige* en *Verleedene*; zynde de eerfte *Bedryvende*, als *Slaande*, en de laafte *Lydende*, als *Geflagen*; deeze woorden worden ook in de *Geflachten* onderfcheyden, en aldus geboogen.

On PARTICIPLES

Participles are called this way because they are part of the *Verbs* and are inflected like *Adjectival Nouns*; They are distinguished in *Present* and *Past*; the former being *Active*, like *Slaande* ('hitting'), and the latter being *Passive*, like *Geslagen* ('hit'); these words are also divided on the basis of *Gender*, and thusly inflected.

Interestingly, Séwel specifies that the category of participles, although originating from verbs, behaves much more similarly to adjectives. This is repeated on page 230, where he claims that "some adjectives are actually participles". Furthermore, he adds, participles of the present tense are always active, while those of the past tense are always passives. This description seems to imply that neuter verbs do not have a participle form, although I would doubt that he would not recognize the existence of words such as *dalende* 'declining' or *gedaald* 'declined', from the verb *dalen* 'to decline', that he categorizes as neuter. I will tackle this issue further below. On page 318, one finds the definition of adverbs:

Van de BYWOORDEN.

Een *Bywoord* is een onveranderlyk *Spraakdeel*, dat by een *Naamwoord* óf *Werkwoord* gevoegd wordt, om de hoedaanigheyd óf omftandigheyd van een bedryf te kennen te geeven.

On ADVERBS

An *Adverb* is an invariable Part of speech, which is followed by a Noun or a Verb, in order to inform about the quality and contingency of an action.

On page 321, one finds the definition of conjunctions:

Van de TZAMENVOEGSELEN.

Een *tZamenvoegfel* is een onbuygelyke *Spraakdeel*, waarmede men woorden en reeden t'zamenvoegt een aanéén fchakelt, zynde van verfcheydenerleye foort, te weeten

On CONJUNCTIONS

A *Conjunction* is an invariable part of speech, by means of which words and clauses are connected and linked together, which exist in many types, namely

On page 323, one finds the definition of prepositions:

Van de VOORZETSELEN.

Een *Voorzetfel* is een onbuygelyke *Spraakdeel*, dat voor andere woorden gezét wordt, om de plaats, oorzaak, óf tyd te betékenen

On PREPOSITIONS

A *Preposition* is an invariable part of speech, which is placed before other words, as to signify the place, cause or time

On page 325, one can find the definition of interjections:

Van de TUSSCHENWERPSELEN.

Een *Tuffchenwepfel* is een onbuygelyk woord dat uyt zich zelven eenen zin uytmaakt en zo genoemd wordt, omdat men het tuffchen de reede inwerpt, tót uytdrukkinge eener hartstógt

On INTERJECTIONS

An *Interjection* is an invariable word which makes, in and on itself, a sentence, and are named so because one “ejects” them “within” the speech, as to express an emotion

Séwel does not devote many words to these categories, thus, I will now analyze the category of verbs, as both Séwel and Shizuki have studies it in depth.

4.5.1 Dutch verbs in Willem Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*

The section *Van de Werkwoorden* ‘About Verbs’, starts on page 241 and presents first the definition of verbs, and then their subdivision into active, passive and neuter.

Een *Werkwood* is een *Spraakdeel*, betekende *te zyn, doen óf lyden*, als *Ik Ben, Ik Bemin, Ik word gehaat*. Hierom verdeelt men de *Werkwoorden* in *Bedryvende, Lydende, en Geenerleye*.

De *Bedryvende* betekenen het doen van iets, als *Onderwyzen, Hooren, Leezen, Slaan, Verachten*.

De *Lydende* betekenen eene aandoening óf lyding van iets, als *Onderweezen worden, Gehoord worden, Geleezen worden, Geflagen worden, Veracht worden*.

De *Geenerleye* óf *Onzydige Werkwoorden* betekenen eygentlyk nóch doen nóch lyden, als *Blinken, Glinfteren, Flikkeren, Daalen, Stinken, Vaaren, Staan, Woonen, Blyven, Vertrekken, Komen, Leeven, Durven*. Tot de *Onzydige* behooren ook *Klimmen, Loopen, en Zitten*, om dat zy niet in *Lydende* veranderd kunnen worden; want men mag niet zeggen. *Ik word geklommen, Ik word gelopen, en Ik word gezeten*.

Ook zyn ‘er *Bedryvende* en te gelyk *Onzydige Werkwoorden*, als *Beginnen, Branden, Droogen, Veranderen, Bederven*

A *Verb* is a part of speech, meaning *to be, do or suffer*, like *I Am, I Love, I am hated*. For this, Verbs are dived in *Active, Passive and Neuter*.

Active [*Bedryvende*] means the doing of something, like *to Teach, to Hear, to Read, to Hit, to Despise*.

Passive [*Lydende*] means an affection or suffering of something, like *to get Taught, to get Heard, to get Read, to get Hit, to get Despised*.

Neuter Verbs [*Geenerleye* or *Onzydige*] actually mean neither doing nor suffering, like *to Shine, to Glisten, to Flash, to Descend, to Stink, to Fare, to Stay, to Inhabit, to Remain, to Leave, to Come, to Live, to Dare*. Amongst *Neutrals* we also have *to Climb, to Walk* and *to Sit*, because they cannot be changed into *Passives*; since one cannot say *I get climbed, I get walked, and I get seated*.

There are also Verbs that are both *Active* and *Neuter*, like *to Begin, to Burn, to Dry, to Change, to Spoil*

This explanation of Séwel is similar to what is found in other Dutch works, but at the same time it also displays a striking difference. Verbs are here divided in three

types, namely 'active' *bedryvend*, 'passive' *lydend* and 'neuter', for which both the terms *onzydig* and *geenerley* are provided. Each is explained in the traditional way, namely by stating that they express a "doing", a "suffering" or neither. A remarkable difference is that Séwel accounts also for the possibility of some verbs being both active and neuter. This is the case of *beginnen* 'to begin', *branden* 'to burn', *droogen* 'to dry', *veranderen* 'to change' and *bederven* 'to spoil', amongst others. It is also worth mentioning that Séwel does not annotate the activeness or neutrality of verbs, in his English-Dutch and Dutch-English dictionary. Thus, contrarily to Marin and Halma's dictionaries, wherein verbs were fundamentally divided between active and neuter ones, with passivity being a possible form only available to active verbs. Séwel, however, proposes a more complex distinction. Firstly, the main distinction is between active verbs and passive verbs that are defined as expressing a 'doing' (*doen*) and a 'suffering' (*lyden*), while neuter verbs are those that do not express either. In this sense, neutrality represents a "third" category, in Séwel, defined in opposition to the two "main" categories. If neutrality is defined as "neither active nor passive", then the concept of neutrality is fundamentally dependent on both, making the idea of neutrality the "additional" category. If one had defined verbs according to the possibility of turning them into their passive forms, instead, then one would have activeness and neutrality as main categories, and passivity as distinctive quality, rather than a category in and of itself. This last approach seems to better describe what Marin and Halma did in their dictionaries. Séwel still acknowledges the fact that active and neuter verbs diverge in the possibility of being conjugated into a passive form. If one combines this with what read in the previous paragraph concerning participles, one also understands that a present participle is always active, while a past participle is always passive. This means that Séwel acknowledges a way to have a passive predicate without using any auxiliary verb, namely by using a past participle as an adjective, as in *een geslage(ne) vrouw* 'a battered woman'. But this would also mean that there is a way to make a neuter verb into an active one, and that is by making its present participle form, since Séwel does not mention restrictions concerning the activeness of present participles, nor did he claim neuter verbs not to be able to be turned into present participles. That would mean that the present participle *dalende*, from the neuter verb *dalen* 'to descend', is actually active. Similarly, *gedaald*, its past participle, would be a passive, although neuter verbs, in principle, cannot be made passive. It appears to me that this seemingly inconsistent explanation of Séwel originated from the fact that the concepts of "active" and "neuter", in his mind, started moving from being qualities intrinsic to each verb, to characteristics dependent on verbal usage. This means from morphological to syntactical categories. However, he seems to be employing these terms in both senses, simultaneously. Furthermore, past participles are not only used in passive or pseudo-passive constructions. In fact, they are also used in the perfect forms of verbs, wherein only the combination of "intransitive verb plus the auxiliary *zijn*" can, arguably, be interpreted as (pseudo)-passives (as I will mention in 8.5.5). Considering the other three Dutch sources I have analyzed, Séwel's claims would reinforce the idea that verbs are found in the three "active-passive-neuter" types, with passive being derivative, either by affixation (past participle) or a combination of affixation and the auxiliary *worden*, although this difference is never directly stated and can only be implied by analyzing the

examples and explanations of Séwel. However, this would be in contrast with what deduced from the definitions of these categories I have illustrated above. In fact, Séwel seems to indulge in not explaining what mostly interests the present research, by claiming that said concept is already very well known or already clear enough not to require any further explanation. He does the same with the different verbal conjugations, and the categories of *wyzen* ‘moods’ and *tyden* ‘tenses’, as seen on page 248, in the following excerpt:

De Werkwoorden worden door verfcheydene Wyzen en Tyden veranderd óf verſchikt, welke VERSCHIKKING in 't Latyn CONJUGATIO genoemd wordt, en by die benaaming beſt bekend is. Dóch alle de Wyzen en Tyden, en derzelver betékeniffen, alhier omftandig te befchryven, acht ik noodeloos; dewyl men uyt de Voorbeelden, welke hier ſtaan te vòlgen, zulks beſt zal kunnen begrypen. Nademaal nu tót het veranderen der Werkwoorden zekere Hulpwoorden noodig zyn, zal ik de verandering daarvan laaten voor af gaan, en beginnen met het gebreklyk Hulpwoord <i>Zullen</i> .	Verbs are changed or conjugated by means of different moods and times. Such ‘conjugation’ [<i>verschikking</i>] is called <i>conjugatio</i> in Latin and is best known with this name. Nonetheless, all the moods and times [tenses], and their respective meanings, I deem unnecessary to describe here; as one can understand them better by means of the examples which follow. Since for the changing of verbs certain auxiliaries are needed, I will begin with their changes, namely with the incomplete auxiliary <i>Zullen</i> .

As stated in this excerpt, Séwel will not provide a definition or an explanation of the use of the different moods and tenses of the inflection of verbs. The reader’s knowledge in this regard is taken for granted, thus the author does not expand beyond illustrating the different inflecting patterns of several verbs. Furthermore, different verbs often feature different tenses. Beyond the verb *zullen* – that only presents a very limited inflecting pattern – one easily finds inconsistencies in the specific tenses for each verb. Whenever I will deem it relevant, I will present these differences in note. I will refer to the conjugating patterns, as to exemplify the specific form, by citing the first-person singular of each.⁷⁴ This is also consistent with what is done by Shizuki in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, that is mostly based on this section of Séwel. By analyzing the tables of conjugation, one can identify four moods, namely:

1. *aantonende wyze* ‘indicative mood’;
2. *gebiedende wyze* ‘imperative mood’;
3. *aanvoegende* or *wenshende wyze* ‘subjunctive or optative mood’;
4. *onbepaalde wyze* ‘infinitive mood’.

Except for the imperative mood, that only presents one conjugation pattern, the other three moods are subsequently divided in *tyden* ‘times’, meaning ‘tenses’.

⁷⁴ Except for the imperative mood, for which the second person singular is sampled, as this mood lacks a form for first persons.

The **indicative mood** is divided in six tenses, namely:

1. *tegenwoordige tyd* 'present time' (*ik leer*);
2. *onvólmaakte verleeden tyd* 'imperfect time' (*ik leerde*);
3. *volmaakte verleeden tyd* 'past perfect time' (*ik heb geleerd*);
4. *meer dan volmaakte verleedene tyd* 'pluperfect' (lit. 'more than past perfect time' (*ik had geleerd*);
5. *toekomende tyd* 'future time' (*ik zal leeren*);
6. *tweede toekomende tyd óf onbepaalde tyd* 'second future time, or indefinite time' (*ik zou leeren*).⁷⁵

The **subjunctive** or **optative mood** comprises eight tenses, namely:

1. *tegenwoordige tyd* 'present time' (*dat ik leerde*);
2. *onvolmaakte verleeden tyd* 'imperfect past time' (*dat/schoon ik leerde*);
3. *tweede onvolmaakte verleeden óf onbepaalde tyd* 'second imperfect past' or 'indefinite time' (*ik leeren zoude*);⁷⁶
4. *volmaakte verleeden tyd* 'past perfect time' (*dat/hoewel ik geleerd heb/hebbe*);
5. *meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd* 'pluperfect', lit., 'more than past perfect time' (*indien/dat ik geleerd had/hadde*);
6. *toekomende tyd* 'future time' (*als ik leeren zal*);
7. *tweede toekomende tyd* 'second future time' (*als ik geleerd zal hebben*);
8. *derde toekomende óf onbepaalde tyd* 'indefinite time' (*schoon ik geleerd zou hebben*).⁷⁷

The **indefinite mood** comprises the three standard tenses *tegenwoordig* 'present'; *verleeden* 'past'; and *toekomend* 'future', along with a subcategory of *deelwoorden* 'participles', wherein the same three standard tenses can be identified. In Table 28, one can read the schematization of the way verbs are categorized by Séwel, taking as a sample the verb *zijn*, as to compare it with Marin's *Spraakwyze*. The tenses and moods are ordered according to the morphological verbal form, regardless of the name they are given in the respective source. A first thing one can notice is the fact that Séwel recognizes many more forms compared to Marin's *Spraakwyze*, specifically within the "subjunctive" mood. The only tense that is present in Marin and not in Séwel is that which Marin calls *de tweede voorlede tyd* 'the second past time' of the indicative mood. The conjugation of the Dutch verb in this tense is

⁷⁵ This last tense, the *tweede toekomende of onbepaalde tyd*, that corresponds to the construction of *zouden* + infinitive, is particularly inconsistent. Firstly, it is not present for the verb *zijn* 'to be', although the conjugation *ik zou(de) zijn* does appear as *onbepaalde tyd* of the subjunctive mood. For the verb *hebben* 'to have', this tense – that takes the form of *ik zou hebben* – is only called *onbepaalde tyd* and, in its homonymous subjunctive mood version, it becomes *schoon ik gehad zou hebben*.

⁷⁶ Absent for verbs such as *hebben* and *zijn*.

⁷⁷ For verbs such as *hebben* and *zijn*, this tense is simply called *onbepaalde tyd*.

identical to that of the *eerste voorlede tyd* ‘first past time’ (which Séwel calls *onvolmaakte tyd* ‘imperfect time’), namely *ik was*.

Séwel's <i>Spraakkonst</i>	Marin's <i>Spraakwyze</i>
AANTOONENDE WYZE	TONENDER WYS
Tegenwoordig tyd <i>Ik ben</i>	De Tegenwoordige Tyd <i>Ik ben</i>
Onvólmaakte tyd <i>Ik was</i>	De eerfte voorlede tyd <i>Ik was</i>
N/a	De tweede voorlede tyd <i>Ik was</i>
Volmaakte verleeden tyd <i>Ik ben geweest</i>	De Volmaakte Tyd <i>Ik heb geweest</i>
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd <i>Ik was geweest</i>	Meer als volmaakte Tyd <i>Ik had geweest</i>
Toekomende tyd <i>Ik zal zyn/weezen</i>	De toekomende Tyd <i>Ik zal zyn</i>
GEBIEDENDE WYZE	GEBIEDENDER WYS
<i>Wees</i>	<i>Zyt</i>
AANVOEGENDE óf WENSCHENDE WYZE	BYVOEGENDER WYS
Tegenwoordige tyd <i>Dat ik ben/zy</i>	De Tegenwoordige Tyd <i>Op dat ik zy</i>
Onvolmaakte verleeden tyd <i>Dat ik was</i>	De Wenshende tyd <i>Ik wenschte dat ik was</i>
Volmaakte veerleden tyd <i>Dat ik geweest ben/zy</i>	N/a
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd <i>Dat ik geweest waare</i>	N/a
Toekomende tyd <i>Dat/indien/als ik zyn/weezen zal</i>	N/a
Tweede toekomende tyd <i>Als ik zal geweest zyn</i>	N/a
Onbepaalde tyd <i>Ik zou/zoude zyn</i>	De Onvolmaakte tyd <i>Ik zou zyn</i>
ONBEPAAALDE WYZE	
Tegenwoordige tyd <i>hebben</i>	
Verleeden tyd <i>gehad hebben</i>	N/a
Toekomende tyd <i>te zullen hebben</i>	
Deelwoorden	De Deelwoorden
Tegenwoordige tyd <i>zynde/weezende</i>	N/a <i>Zynde</i>
Verleeden tyd <i>geweest</i>	N/a <i>Geweest</i>
Toekomende tyd <i>zullen zyn/geweest</i>	N/a

Table 28 Conjugation comparison between Séwel and Marin

This is because, the difference between these two tenses is actually based on the different tenses of French, non-existent in Dutch, that Marin translated identically into Dutch. Unlike Marin's *Spraakwyze* – a handbook of French grammar for speakers of Dutch – Séwel had no necessity of contrastive analysis, since his book was mainly meant for Dutch readers to learn Dutch, although references to English were anything but rare.

The relatively high number of tenses present within the subjunctive mood is particularly interesting. As I will discuss in Chapter VIII, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki was especially concerned with the illustration of morphosyntactic agreements in Dutch, especially between a main and a subordinate clause with specific focus on hypotheticals. None of the other sources available to Shizuki, portrayed this topic in such depth. Although *Spraakwyze* was already using non-verbal elements to illustrate how subjunctive moods functioned (e.g., *ik wenschte dat ik was* 'I wished that I were'; *op dat ik zy* 'so that I would be'), Séwel does so in a much more exhaustive way; he conjugates several verbs using, often inconsistently, the tenses illustrated above. When presenting the subjunctive tenses, he also provides conjunctions that require a subjunctive clause to follow. Séwel begins the illustration of the patterns of conjugation by presenting the verbs that he calls *hulpwoord* 'auxiliary', including: *zullen*; *hebben*; *worden* (or *werden*); *konnen*; *moeten*; and *mogen*.⁷⁸ The verb *zyn* 'to be', is called a *zelfstandig werkwoord* 'independent verb', and is also attested in the form *weezen*. The verb *zullen* only features a *tegenwoordig tyd* 'present time' and an *onbepaalde tyd* 'infinitive time', I assume of the indicative mood. Subsequently, Séwel conjugates, in their entirety, both *hebben*, *zyn* and *worden* – in this order – and only partially presents the conjugations of the other auxiliaries. Next, Séwel conjugates the verb *leeren* 'to learn', and its passive form *geleerd worden* 'to be learned'. A passive verb is here treated as a different verb altogether, as I will analyze further below. Subsequently, Séwel provides schematized conjugations for the verbs: *vermaanen* 'to reprove'; *antwoorden* 'to answer'; *binden* 'to find'; *gebieden* 'to order'; *gaan* 'to go'; and *treeden* 'to tread'. Syntactically, the idea of subjunctive moods is more strongly connected to the movement of the verb in modern Dutch, be it the main verb or its auxiliary, that gets inverted with the subject. Alternatively, specific conjunctions can cause the verb to move to the end of a clause, which becomes subordinate. In Séwel's Dutch, this was not completely true, as specific conjugated forms for the subjunctive mood were still rather productively used. Thus, a subjunctive clause would not only vary in the morphology of the verbs, but also in the syntactic relationships between words.⁷⁹ In order to provide evidence to this, Séwel used a few conjunctions, generally employed in the construction of a subjunctive mood in a subordinate clause. Nonetheless, these conjunctions are not consistently used in the same tenses, across all the verbs. These conjunctions, with their respective translations, are: *als* 'when', 'if', 'as'; *dat* 'that'; *indien* 'in case', 'if'; *toen* 'back when', 'back then' ('when' in past sentences); *hoewel* 'although'; *schoon* 'even if'.

⁷⁸ This use of the category of *hulpwoord* is much broader, as compared to what we saw in Marin and Halma.

⁷⁹ In *Spraakwyze*, the morphologically distinctive forms of the subjunctive moods of Dutch, were mostly neglected, exception be made for the verb *zijn* 'to be'.

In Table 29, I show Séwel's use of these conjunctions in combination with specific tenses and moods, regardless of the verb in question.

Tegenwoordig tyd	<i>als</i> <i>dat</i>
Onvolmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>dat</i> <i>als</i> <i>schoon</i>
Volmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>dat</i> <i>hoewel</i>
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>dat</i> <i>als</i> <i>toen</i> <i>indien</i>
Tweede meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>als</i>
Toekomende tyd	<i>als</i> <i>dat</i> <i>indien</i>
Tweede toekomende tyd	<i>als</i> <i>indien</i>
Derde toekomende tyd	<i>als</i> <i>schoon</i>
Vierde toekomende tyd	<i>indien</i>
Tweede onvolmaakte tyd of onbepaalde tyd	<i>schoon</i> <i>als</i> <i>toen</i>

Table 29 Conjunctions used by Séwel in combination with subjunctive tenses.

A couple of the tenses above I have not yet covered, as they only concern passive verbs. Séwel's inconsistent use of these conjunctions with different verbs makes me deduce that his were only suggestions or indications, as to exemplify the contextual use of the subjunctive mood. They should not be taken as representing any rule in the combined use of each specific conjunction with each specific verb. There is no apparent reason why the verb *hebben* would require, for example, the conjunction *schoon*, in its *onbepaalde tyd*, while *worden*, in the same tense, would need *als*. To simplify Séwel's reasoning one could say that: since the subjunctive mood is used in subordinate clauses, and subordinate clauses require a marked placement of the verb, these tenses are generally introduced by a subordinating conjunction of the type of the five above.

Although Séwel distinguishes across three types of verbs, namely "active", "passive" and "neuter", his main distinction is drawn between active and passive verbs, whereas neuter verbs are implicitly treated as the exception to this binary categorization.⁸⁰ As claimed above, Marin and Halma tended to consider active and neuter verbs as the main dichotomy, while passivity was to be understood more of as a "quality" distinguishing those verbs that could be made passive, i.e., active verbs,

⁸⁰ Neuter verbs being defined as 'neither of the two' *geen van beide*.

and those who could not, i.e., neuter verbs. Instead of treating passive verbs as a specific inflected form of an original active verb, Séwel treats them as another verb altogether. Within his chapter on verbs, in fact, Séwel provides the complete conjugation table of the verb *geleerd worden* 'to get learned', passive of *leeren* 'to learn'. Séwel recognizes both the verbs *zyn* 'to be', as well as *worden* 'to become', as auxiliaries by means of which to make a verb passive. This can be understood by their introduction on pages 253 and 257, respectively, which I have copied and translated in English, below:

Het zelfstandig Werkwoord <i>zyn</i> óf <i>weezen</i> , voornamentlyk gebruikt tót behulp der Lydende Werkwoorden, [...]	The independent verb <i>zyn</i> or <i>weezen</i> , mostly used in aid to Passive Verbs, [...]
Het Hulpwoord <i>Worden</i> of <i>Werden</i> , 't welke gebruykt wordt om de lyding van iets te betékenen, [...]	The Auxiliary <i>Worden</i> or <i>Werden</i> , which is used to mean the suffering of something [...]

Both *zijn* and *worden* are said to be used as auxiliaries for passive verbs. While *worden* is considered a *hulpwoord* 'auxiliary', *zyn* is considered a *zelfstandig* 'independent' verb, serving the purpose of 'helping' (*behulp*) a passive verb. The difference between these two auxiliaries in the construction of a passive verb is further investigated by Séwel on page 268. This can be read in the text below. This excerpt functions as an introduction to the conjugation table of the passive verb *geleerd worden* and is featured right after Séwel illustrated its present indicative conjugation, inflected via the use of *worden*.

Alhier staat aan te merken, dat als men 't woord <i>Ik Ben</i> gebruykt, zulks de betékenis iets verandert; want <i>Ik Ben Geleerd</i> , is niet alleen te zeggen, dat men onderrechting bekomen heeft, maar ook dat men een Geleerde is, immers heeft zulks plaats als men zegt, <i>Hy is Geleerd</i> . Echter <i>zyn</i> 'er eenige <i>Onzydige Werkwoorden</i> die het woord <i>Ik Ben</i> tót zich neemen, als <i>Ik ben gebleeven</i> , <i>Ik was vertrokken</i> , <i>Ik ben geklommen</i> , <i>Ik was gekomen</i> , <i>Ik was gedaald</i> .	It must be noticed, here, that if one uses the word <i>Ik Ben</i> 'I am', it will change the meaning a bit; since <i>Ik Ben Geleerd</i> 'I am learned' does not only mean, that one has undergone teaching, but also that one is a Scholar, this is so when one says <i>Hy is Geleerd</i> 'He is a scholar'. Furthermore, there are some neutral verbs which take the word <i>Ik Ben</i> , just like <i>Ik ben gebleeven</i> 'I have remained', <i>Ik was vertrokken</i> 'I had left', <i>Ik ben geklommen</i> 'I have climbed', <i>Ik was geklommen</i> 'I had climbed', <i>Ik was gedaald</i> 'I had descended'.

Here, Séwel nonchalantly addresses a plethora of issues of Dutch grammar connected to the verb *zyn*, without really investigating any. The author does recognize that there is a difference between saying *ik word geleerd* and *ik ben geleerd*, yet he misses the opportunity to address the different meanings conveyed by the two auxiliaries, by getting his attention caught by the fact that the adjective *geleerd* 'learned', past participle of the verb *leeren*, can also be nominalized as to

mean ‘a learned person’, i.e., ‘a scholar’. Nonetheless, one can see that his initial intuitions were directed toward the interpretation of *geleerd zyn* as a passive form alternative to *geleerd worden*, by the fact that he subsequently shifts his attention toward the perfect tenses of some neuter verbs, whereby an auxiliary *zyn* is required, instead of *hebben*. To put it simple, Séwel introduces the form *ik word geleerd* ‘I get learned’, a straightforward and intuitive passive tense, with *worden* as an auxiliary, traditionally recognized as the one auxiliary for the passive form. He notices, nonetheless, that a similar sentence could be produced by substituting *worden* with *zyn* ‘to be’, in the phrasing *ik ben geleerd* ‘I am learned’, a (pseudo-)passive with *zyn* as auxiliary. When imagining that, though, he realizes that the word *geleerd*, in that sentence, can also be interpreted as a noun – derivative of an adjective, derivative of a past participle –, meaning ‘scholar’, thusly reinterpreting *zyn* as a copula, and not as an auxiliary, anymore. After coming to such awareness, he would have probably gone back to cover the use of *zyn* as auxiliary for a passive, had he not also noticed that some neuter verbs conjugate into their (non-passive) perfect forms by means of the auxiliary *zyn*, instead of *hebben*. This makes Séwel lose the focus from the topic of passivity through the auxiliary *zyn*, an issue that he ultimately does not cover at all. There is no other reason as to why he would have mentioned so many different topics, had it not been for the fact that he probably did not realize that the verb *zyn* can be used in so many varied manners, namely as copula for a nominal clause, as auxiliary for the perfect tenses of some neuter verbs and as an auxiliary for specific types of passives. What these specific types of passives actually are is indirectly portrayed by Séwel in his table of conjugation of the passive verb *geleerd worden*, wherein the verb *zyn* is only and exclusively used in the conjugation of perfect tenses, as can be seen in Table 30, where I provide an abridged version of the conjugating patterns of the passive verb *geleerd worden*, as found in Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*:

In Table 30, all the tenses that feature the verb *zyn* for the passive form are highlighted by a darker background. There are only five/six conjugations using *zyn*, instead of *worden*, out of the twenty-one/twenty-two total forms identified by Séwel. These forms are all and only the perfect tenses, namely the *volmaakte verleeden tyd* ‘past perfect tense’ and *meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd* ‘pluperfect’, in the indicative mood; *volmaakte verleeden tyd*, with two alternative forms, *meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd* and *tweede meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd* ‘second pluperfect’, for the subjunctive mood.

Interestingly, Séwel provides an alternative form, that he labels as *anders* ‘otherwise’, for the so-called “past perfect tense” of the subjunctive mood, although the two forms actually represent two different tenses. The phrasing *dat ik geleerd geweest ben* ‘That I have been taught’ could be interpreted as a present perfect, while *was ik geleerd geweest* ‘Had I been taught’ would be a past perfect, with *geleerd* as adjective. Furthermore, the two verbal constructs also differ in the fact that the former features a subordinating conjunction *dat* ‘that’, that moves the auxiliary to the end of the clause (SOV), right after the past participle(s), whereas the latter, while still being a subordinate clause, does not present any conjunction and, thus, the word order compels the auxiliary to

be featured as first element, inverting its position with the subject, that is placed right after (VSO).

<i>Geleerd worden</i>	
AANTOONENDE WYZE	
Tegenwoordige tyd	<i>ik word geleerd</i>
Onvolmaakte tyd	<i>ik werd geleerd</i>
Volmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>ik ben geleerd geweest</i>
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>ik was geleerd geweest</i>
Toekomende tyd	<i>ik zal geleerd worden</i>
Tweede toekomende tyd	<i>ik zou geleerd worden</i>
GEBIEDENDE WYZE	
	<i>word geleerd</i>
AANVOEGENDE of WENSCHENDE WYZE	
Tegenwoordige tyd	<i>als/dat ik geleerd word/worde</i>
Onvolmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>dat ik geleerd wierd/wierde</i>
Volmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>dat ik geleerd geweest ben/zy</i>
Anders.	<i>was ik geleerd geweest</i>
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>dat/indien ik geleerd geweest waare</i>
Tweede meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	<i>als ik geleerd geweest zoude zyn</i>
Toekomende tyd	<i>als ik geleerd zal worden</i>
Tweede toekomende tyd	<i>indien ik geleerd zoude worden</i>
Derde toekomende tyd	<i>als ik geleerd zal geworden zyn</i>
Vierde toekomende tyd	<i>indien ik geleerd zou geworden zyn</i>
ONBEPAAALDE WYZE	
Tegenwoordige tyd	<i>geleerd worden</i>
Verleeden tyd	<i>geleerd geworden</i>
Toekomende tyd	<i>geleerd te zullen worden</i>
Deelwoorden	
Tegenwoordige tyd	<i>geleerd/geleerd wordende</i>
Verleeden tyd	<i>geleerd geworden zynde</i>
Toekomende tyd	<i>zullende geleerd worden</i>

Table 30 Example of conjugation table of passive verbs in Séwel.

It is, indeed, counterintuitive to consider these two tenses as being semantically and morphologically interchangeable, when they actually are not and, on top of that, it makes little sense to mention, only now, and only for this specific tense, the possibility of it being used in subjunctive subordinate clauses that are not introduced by any conjunction. In this sense, actually, the form *was ik geleerd geweest* is morphologically much more similar to *dat ik geleerd geweest waare*, wherein *was* is substituted with *waare*, the corresponding past subjunctive of *zyn*, whose role could, indeed, be played by *was*, in non-prescriptive usages of the language.⁸¹ This form with *waare* is labeled *meer dan volmaakte verleeden*

⁸¹ Just like one could say 'If I was' instead of the 'If I were', in English.

tyd ‘pluperfect’ or ‘more than past perfect time’, by Séwel. Additionally, Séwel calls *tweede meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd* ‘second pluperfect’, the tense, wherein *waare/was* is substituted by the combination of *zouden* and *zyn*, that makes the verb a conditional. This is also interesting, since this is the only instance in which *zouden* is used by Séwel, for a tense that is not of the *toekomende* ‘future’ time, also including *zullen*. A very similar verbal construction is found under the label of *vierde toekomende of onbepaalde tyd* ‘fourth future or indefinite time’, where there is the conjugation *indien ik geleerd zou geworden zyn*, and where *zouden* appears in its indicative form *zou*, instead of its subjunctive *zoude*.⁸² This is not to claim that, according to Séwel, there was not much difference between the indicative and subjunctive forms. On the contrary, across pages 287 to 291, he engages in a persuasive defense of the distinction between the two, specifically from a morphological point of view, standing in striking contrast with those who believed that the present indicative itself needed to be conjugated by an ending *-e* that would have made the two forms identical. It does, nonetheless, imply a preference of syntax, in the expression of the distinction between indicatives and subjunctives, where the morphological conjugation is oftentimes redundant. The “subjunctive” mood, in fact, presents the same identical inflected forms of the “optative” mood, so much so that they are presented together in the table. A subjunctive mood, contrarily to an optative mood, does not always require the verb to be conjugated in the morphological form of “subjunctive”, since the “subjunctive” nature of the phrase is already being expressed by having moved the verb in a marked position, thus in a syntactical manner. This is argued on pages 293-294, in the following quote:

Daar zyn ‘er die den *Subjunctivus* dus uytdrukken, *Zie of hy dat gedaan hebbe*. Maar my dunkt het veel beter dat men zegge, *Zie of hy dat gedaan heeft*: want de *Subjunctivus* wordt duydelyk uytgedrukt door de verplaatfing van het Hulpwoord *Heeft*: doordien men in de *Aantoonende wyze* zegt, *Hy heeft het gedaan*; *Hy is vertrokken*: En men drukt de *Aanvoegende Wyze* volkomenlyk uyt als men zegt, *Zie of*

There are those who express a subjunctive as *Zie of hy dat gedaan hebbe* [‘See whether he has done that’, with *hebbe* being the present subjunctive of *hebben*]. But it appears to me to be much better if one said, *Zie of hy dat gedaan heeft*, since the subjunctive is clearly expressed by moving the auxiliary *heeft*, thus one says, in the indicative mood, *Hy heeft het gedaan*; *Hy is vertrokken*; and one expresses completely the subjunctive mood by saying,

⁸² VAN DER WAL (2012, 145) reports the use of the ‘subjunctive’ *conjunctief* tenses, in Middle Dutch, was still very much in use, also in sentences which were not to be interpreted as subjunctive in nature like *Amelant waende dat hi doet ware* ‘Amelant feared that he was dead’. Verbs in subordinate sentences introduced by the conjunction *dat* ‘that’ can also be conjugated by means of a morphological subjunctive form, as attested by Séwel, although he does provide the indicative auxiliary, as a viable alternative. Further, on pg. 151-152, VAN DER WAL adds that, in Middle Dutch, the morphological differences between indicative and subjunctive were already rather miniscule, suggesting a lesser degree of reliance on pure morphology, and more on the morphosyntactic combination of the main verb with an auxiliary, in order to express the conjunctive.

hy dat gedaan heeft, Ik heb verstaan dat hy vertrokken is. Maar om de *Wenschende Wyze* te betékenen, is het noodig te zeggen, *Dat hy zyne wil hebbe; Dat hy te vrede gesteld zy, óf worde.* Uyt het gezeyde zal men wel kunnen begrypen dat ik het onnoodig achte, het woord *Werd* tót het betékenen van den *Onvolmaakten Verleeden Tyd* der *Aantoonende Wyze* te gebruyken, in plaatse van *Wierd*; onaangezien men zulks by den *Historifchyver Hooft*, en eenige andere *Schryveren*, doorgaans vindt: want tót betékeninge van de *Aanvoegende wyze* heeft men niet anders te doen, dan het woordtje *Wierd* te verplaatfen, als, *Ik wierd daar toe verzócht*; En *Eer ik daartoe verzócht wierd*. Waaruyt dan zonneklaar blykt, dat men zich van zulk een arm behulp, als *Werd* voor het *Praeteritum Imperfectum Indicativi*, en *Wierd* alleen voor het *Imperfectum Subjunctivi*, (de *Ongeletterden* gelieven my dit *Latyn* ten goede te houden) niet behoeft te bedienen.

Zie of hy dat gedaan heeft, Ik heb verstaan dat hy vertrokken is. But in order to mean an optative, one must say *Dat hy zyne wil hebbe; Dat hy te vrede gesteld zy, or worde.* By saying this one can understand why I believe it unnecessary to use the word *Werd* to refer to the “imperfect past tense” of the indicative mood, instead of *Wierd*; not since one usually finds by such historiographers as Hooft, and other writers: since in order to express the subjunctive mood one needs no more than to move the word *Wierd*, like *Ik wierd daar toe verzocht* [‘I got requested there’]; and *Eer ik daartoe verzocht wierd* [‘Before I was requested there’]. Whereby it seems extremely clear that one does not need to dispose of such negligible aid of using *Werd* for the *Praeteritum Imperfectum Indicativi* [‘Indicative Imperfect Preterit’] and *Wierd* only for the *Imperfectum Subjunctivi* [‘Imperfect subjunctive’] (may the illiterates forgive my Latin).

To summarize, according to Séwel there is a morphological distinction between the tenses belonging to the indicative mood, and those belonging to the subjunctive and optative mood. In the case of the third person singular of the auxiliary *hebben* ‘to have’ – featured in Séwel’s own examples – the forms would be *heeft* for the indicative and *hebbe* for the subjunctive/optative. Nonetheless, a characteristic of subjunctives is that, since they are subordinate clauses, their verbs are regularly moved in a marked position. Because of this, the difference between an indicative and a subjunctive is already clear from its syntactic ordering and the verb does not have to be morphologically changed although it can. An optative, instead, whose verb is also moved in marked position, must always present the appropriate morphological inflection, and cannot be found in the “indicative” form.⁸³

4.5.1.1 Active and neuter verbs in Séwel, a morphological or syntactic distinction?

At last, a few words are in order on the issue of verbal activeness. As already mentioned, Séwel identifies the three traditional categories of *bedryvend* ‘active’, *lydend* ‘passive’ and *geenerley* ‘neuter’. Passive verbs are, generally, active verbs that are conjugated by means of the auxiliary *worden* (sometimes *zijn*), combined

⁸³ Séwel also uses this occasion to cover the different forms of the verb *worden* which, back then, could also be often found in the form *werden*, for its present tense, with *wierd* being its preterit. Nowadays, the standard language adopted *werd*, as its preterit, thus disposing of *wierd*, altogether.

with a past participle. Séwel considers a past participle to always be passive, and a present participle to always be active, although this implies a few contradictions, as already argued above. Active verbs are defined as verbs that express a “doing”, while passive verbs are defined as verbs expressing a “suffering”. Neuter verbs are verbs that express neither. What does this mean? As I have mentioned, the categories of “active” and “neuter” have been, oftentimes, in modern academia, conflated with the idea of transitivity and intransitivity. That the two are not to be conflated is a point I have already made. Séwel, in turn, seems to display a more complex approach, in that he uses the active/neuter dichotomy apparently only sometimes conflating it with (in)transitivity. In Marin and Halma, verbs were generally categorized as either being “active” or “neuter”, as to imply this dichotomy to be an intrinsic morphological characteristic of each verb, regardless of its use, within the sentence. Marin and Halma’s dictionaries did not present an entry for each form of “passive verbs”, since, for them, passives are derivative of active verbs. If one knows the participle of an active verb, one can automatically conjugate it in its passive form by adding the verb *worden*. This is not to say that passivity was treated solely as an “inflected form”, it was, indeed, treated as a characteristic used to categorize specific verbs in a distinctive relationship, as compared to neuter and passive ones. This can be seen in Marin’s entry for *werkwoord* (see 4.2.1.), where *beminnen* ‘to love’, and *bemind worden* ‘to get loved’ are treated as separate verbs, belonging to separate categories, active and passive, respectively. The fact that passive verbs did not have their own entries with their own label made it appear, nonetheless, as if they were not a “proper” category with the same distinctive value as the labels of “active” and “neuter”. In their description, though, one could understand that the difference between an active and a neuter verb, according to both authors, was that the former possessed a morphological passive form, while the latter did not. If one compared this to the present concept of (in)transitivity, it would mean that all transitive verbs, when used intransitively, would still be considered active verbs, since they did nonetheless possess a productive morphological passive form. Although still based on this approach, Séwel presents a rather original interpretation that, I would argue, seems to be mixing up the two concepts. At first, in the part of his *Spraakkonst* that is present in all editions, he claims what I have already covered, concerning activeness, neutrality and passiveness, also adding examples of verbs belonging to the three classes. By looking at these examples, one can see that within the “active” category there are verbs that can be used either transitively or intransitively, conjugated in their (infinitive) active voice, in the examples *onderwyzen* ‘to teach’, *hooren* ‘to hear’, *leezen* ‘to read’, *slaan* ‘to hit’, *verachten* ‘to despise’; and under “passive” verbs there are only active verbs conjugated in their passive form via the auxiliary *worden*, in the examples *onderweezen worden* ‘to get taught’, *gehoord worden* ‘to get heard’, *gelezen worden* ‘to get read’, *geslagen worden* ‘to get hit’, *veracht worden* ‘to get despised’. In the explanation of neuter verbs, accordingly, there is a list of verbs that can be, arguably, only used intransitively in Dutch. In the definition of neuters, it is claimed that these are verbs that express neither a “doing” nor a “suffering”. Séwel adds the following remark (p. 241):

Tót de *Onzydige* behooren ook *Klimmen*, *Loopen*, en *Zitten*, om dat zy niet in *Lydende* veranderd kunnen worden; want men mag niet zeggen, *Ik word geklommen*, *Ik word geloopt*, en *Ik word gezeten*.

The neutral [verbs] also include *Klimmen* 'to climb', *Loopen* 'to walk' and *Zitten* 'to sit', because they cannot be changed into passives; since one cannot say *Ik word geklommen* 'I get climbed', *Ik word geloopt* 'I get walked' and *Ik word gezeten* 'I get sat'.

The phrasing of this sentence is puzzling, in the sense that it is not clear for what reason Séwel felt the need to add these three verbs as an "extra", to the main list, specifying that they still belonged to this category because they do not possess a passive. Should this be interpreted as meaning that the other verbs are not considered "neuter" only based on their lack of a passive form, but on other reasons as well? If so, are those to be considered neuter because they express neither a "doing" or a "suffering", on top of not possessing a passive form? Should one also deduce that *klimmen*, *lopen* and *zitten* are only considered neuter because they lack a passive form, yet since they do express a "doing" (and, I assume, no "suffering"), had they had a passive, they would have indeed been considered active? While these questions might never be answered, Séwel continues this excerpt by adding yet another puzzling remark, as can be read below (p.241-242):

Ook zyn 'er *Bedryvende* en te gelyk *Onzydige* Werkwoorden, als *Beginnen*, *Branden*, *Droogen*, *Veranderen*, *Bederven*: want men zegt, *Een werk beginnen* en *De zomer begint eerst*

There are also verbs which are "active" and "neutral" simultaneously, just like *beginnen* 'to begin', *branden* 'to burn', *droogen* 'to dry', *veranderen* 'to change' and *bederven* 'to spoil': since one says, *Een werk beginnen* 'To begin a work' and *De zomer begint eerst* 'The summer begins first'

This statement appears to be in striking contrast with what claimed thus far in two manners. Firstly, it claims that activeness and neutrality are not mutually exclusive categories, and one verb can be both. Secondly, Séwel seems to imply that the difference between the two categories is to be identified in their syntactical use and not based on the morphological ability of possessing a passive form. In the example sentences of verbs that can be both – of which I have only sampled the first one, in the excerpt above – Séwel describes quite intuitively the instances in which a verb is used transitively in a sentence ("To begin a work") and intransitively ("The summer begins first"). No mention of passivity can be found here. Considering the questions raised above, and considering the contradictory nature of what Séwel writes, as compared to the rest of his book and also the rest of the books that I have analyzed in this Chapter IV, I am more prone to believe that Séwel is mixing up the concepts of activity/neutrality – that were traditionally treated as morphological categories – with transitivity/intransitivity – that are syntactical categories. One might now be questioning the idea to consider Séwel's dichotomy of activeness/neutrality as being different from transitivity/intransitivity. Could one not just be content with assuming that "active" and "neuter" are just terms by means of which Séwel refers to the modern idea of transitivity? After all, the impossibility of conjugating an intransitive verb into its passive voice is no new postulation. I would argue, though, that while

there is much overlap between the concepts of activeness and that of transitivity, to begin with, there is more evidence to believe that Séwel did not treat activeness as an alternative for transitivity. I substantiate this claim based on the fact that in his chapter on syntax (not present in his first edition), Séwel actually adopts the terms *overgangklyk* and *onovergangklyk*, as translations to the Latin *transitivum* and *intransitivum*, and explains them in a fashion that resembles rather closely the contemporary definitions of these concepts. These terms can be seen in scattered instances across the book, and mostly in the part concerning cases, with specific connection to the accusative case. Below the instances wherein transitivity is mentioned, in Séwel's *Spraakkonst*.

On page 327:

De *Noemer* wordt vereyft by Werkwoorden die niet overgangklyk zyn, als *Zyn*, *Loopen*, *Zitten*, *Gaan*, *Staan*: want men zegt, *Ik ben reeds een bedaagd man*. *Daar loopt een paerd*. *Op dien fioel zat de Koning*. *Daar gaat een groot man*. *Ginder flaet een ós*. Een overgangklyk Werkwoord is een woord dat van den éénen perfoon (óf zaak) tót den anderen overgaat, hoedaanig de meeste Werkwoorden zyn, als *Begeeren*, *maaken*, *krabben*, *stooten*, *schoppen*, *eeten*, *drinken*, enz. waar van straks meer, onder den *Accusativus*.

The nominative is required by verbs which are not transitive, like *zyn* 'to be', *loopen* 'to walk', *zitten* 'to sit', *gaan* 'to go', *staan* 'to stand': since one says *Ik ben reeds een bedaagd man* 'I am still an elderly man', *Daar loop teen paerd* 'There walks a horse', *Op dien stoel zat de Koning* 'On that chair sat the king', *Daar gaat een groot man* 'There goes a great man', *Ginder staan een os* 'There is an ox'. A transitive verb is a word which goes from one person (or thing) to the other, just as most verbs are, like *begeeren* 'to desire', *maaken* 'to make', *krabben* 'to scratch', *stooten* 'to bump', *schoppen* 'to kick', *eeten* 'to eat', *drinken* 'to drink', etc. of which more to come under the accusative.

On page 331:

De *Accusativus* wordt vereyscht by overgangklyke Werkwoorden, als *De Smidt maakt eenen hamer*. *Zy krabde haaren man*.

The accusative is required by transitive verbs, like *De smidt maakt eenen hamer* 'The blacksmith makes a hammer', *Zy krabde haaren man* 'She scratched her man'

On page 332:

Het onovergangklyk Werkwoord *Sterven*, beheerscht ook eenen *Accusativus*, als *Hy sturf eenen barden dood*.

The intransitive verb *sterven* "to die", can also combine with an accusative as in *Hy sturf eenen barden dood* "He killed a bard" [lit. "He died a bard dead"]

On page 339:

Het grootste gedeelte der *Overgangklyke* Werkwoorden beheerscht eenen *Accusativus*, [...] als *Eenen hond slaan*. *Eenen ós dooden*. *Eenen vogel vangen*. *Zy haat haaren man*. *Men bondt hem vast*. *Ik bragt haar t'huys*. En hoewel 't

Most of the *Transitive verbs* combine with an *Accusative*, [...] like *Eenen hond slaan* 'To hit a dog', *Eenen os dooden* 'To kill an ox', *Eene vogel vangen* 'to catch a bird', *Zy haat haaren man* 'She hates her man', *Men bondt hem vast* 'One binds it tight', *Ik bragt haar t'huys* 'I brought her home'. And although the word *spreken* 'to speak' is not

woord <i>Spreeken</i> geen Overgangklyk Werkwoord is, nógtans zegt men, <i>Ik heb hem gesproken. Ik spraak uwen vader gisteren</i> ; gelyk men ook zegt, <i>Zy wist haaren man aardig te bepraaten</i>	transitive verb, one still says <i>Ik heb hem gesproken</i> 'I have spoken (to) him', <i>Ik sprak uwen vader gisteren</i> 'I spoke (with) your father yesterday'; and one similarly also says, <i>Zy wist haaren man aardig te bepraaten</i> 'She knew how to talk gently (toward) her man.'

These examples demonstrate the complete and conscious adoption of the terms and concepts of transitive and intransitive in the chapter on syntax. This should be expected, because, as I have already argued, while activeness is traditionally a morphological category – meaning it categorized verbs in classes according to the form they can be changed into – transitivity refers to the syntactic use of verbs, in combination with the other elements of the sentence (e.g., accusative case for the direct object). Therefore, Dutch verbs in Marin and Halma's dictionaries were categorized as either "active" or "neuter" instead of "transitive". Since transitivity depends on how one employs a specific verb, one cannot assign a specific label of transitivity to a specific verb, like one can with the idea of activeness. You could, instead signal whether each verb could be used both transitively and intransitively, as commonly done in modern dictionaries. In theory, you would not need to see how that verb is used into a specific sentence to know whether it possesses a passive form (activeness), while you do need the context of the sentence to be able to know whether the verb "to eat", for example, is being used transitively or intransitively. With this in mind, Séwel appears not to be consistent in the use of these categories. He defines a transitive verb as a "word that goes from one person (or thing) to the other". This definition derives from the fact that the term *overgangklyk* 'transitive', derives from the verb *overgaan* 'to go over', 'to transit'. Although this definition has little scientific clarity, from the examples he provides, it can be deduced that the idea of *overgaan* refers to the fact that the action, starting from a subject (in the nominative case) is passed over to the other element in the sentence, marked by the accusative case, indeed generally used for a direct object. These definitions show similarity with Moonen's *Spraekkunst*, where, at first, in chapter XXII (SCHAARS 1988, 138) verbs are defined as follows:

DE <i>Werkwoorden</i> , waer toe wy nu overgaen, zyn zulke Veranderlyke woorden, die eenigh werk van <i>Doen</i> , <i>Lyden</i> of <i>Weezen</i> beteekenen met de omstandigheden van den <i>Tegenwoordigen</i> , den <i>Voorgaenden</i> en den <i>Toekomstenden</i> Tyt;	<i>Verbs</i> , that we will cover now, are those variable words that refer to actions of <i>Doing</i> , <i>Suffering</i> or <i>Being</i> , with the circumstances [<i>accidens</i>] of <i>Present</i> , <i>Past</i> and <i>Future tense</i> .

It is important to notice, here, that, even though he uses the traditional "doing", "suffering" and "being" distinction, Moonen does not connect these three concepts to the three concepts of "active", "passive" and "neuter", directly. Moonen defines them in chapter 24, where he writes the following, which I have quoted from SCHAARS (1988, 163-164):

Want de byzondere Werkwoorden zyn drieërlei, Bedryvende, Lydende, en Onzydige.

Bedryvende Werkwoorden zyn, die eenigh bedryf uitdrukken, dat tot een voorwerp overgaet; als Bidden, Hooren, Leezen, Pryzen.

Lydende Werkwoorden zyn, die eene Lyding, van buiten iemant aankoomende, betekenen; als Gebeeden Worden, Gehoort Worden, Geleezen Worden, Gepreezen Worden.

Onzydige Werkwoorden zyn, die, in den werker met de daet blyvende, en niet overgaende, iet tenvollen betekenen; als Zyn, Worden, Staen, Bloeien, Leeven, Sterven.

Because Verbs are of specifically three types, *Bedryvende* ['Active'], *Lydende* ['Passive'] and *Onzydige* ['Neuter'].

Active Verbs are those which express an action which transits to an object; like *Bidden*, *Hooren*, *Leezen*, *Pryzen*.⁸⁴

Passive Verbs are those which refer to a Suffering coming from outside of someone; like *Gebeeden Worden*, *Gehoort Worden*, *Geleezen Worden*, *Gepreezen Worden*.⁸⁵

Neuter Verbs are those which refer to something fully, without transiting, and which remain working in the action; like *Zyn*, *Worden*, *Staen*, *Bloeien*, *Leeven*, *Sterven*.⁸⁶

The three categories of verbs are presented as morphological characteristics embedded within each specific verb. At the same time, it is asserted that a main distinguishing characteristic is whether they “transit” (*overgaen*) toward an object or not, which is a syntactic claim. From the rest of Moonen’s book, it appears that these three classes of verbs are fundamentally connected to their conjugations, specifically when it concerns auxiliaries. It needs to be added that these three categories had already been used in the preceding chapter 23, where he claimed that specific tenses, with specific auxiliaries were typical of one or two of these three categories, in their conjugations.⁸⁷ In Van Heule’s *Spraec-konst*, which Séwel claims having consulted before editing his second edition, the same edition in which the section on syntax is

⁸⁴ Translations of these verbs: *bidden* ‘to pray’; *hooren* ‘to hear’; *leezen* ‘to read’; *Pryzen* ‘to praise’.

⁸⁵ Translations of these verbs: *gebeeden worden* ‘to get prayed’; *gehoort worden* ‘to get heard’; *geleezen worden* ‘to get read’; *gepreezen worden* ‘to get praised’.

⁸⁶ Translation of these verbs: *zyn* ‘to be’; *worden* ‘to become’; *staen* ‘to stand’; *bloeien* ‘to blossom’; *leeven* ‘to live’; *sterven* ‘to die’.

⁸⁷ To raise one example, Moonen claims that, as quoted in SCHAARS (1988, 143), my English translation: “The Auxiliary *Hebben* [‘to have’] makes in Dutch all the Perfect Tenses in all Moods of Active Verbs. By means of the Verb *Zyn* [‘to be’], one makes all the Perfect Tenses of all Moods of the Passive Verb. The Perfect Tenses in all Moods of the Neuter Verb, are in some made by *Hebben* and in other by *Zyn*; so that the Neuter Verbs, in their conjugation, sometimes agree with Active verbs and some other times with Passive ones.” (*Het Helpwoort Hebben maekt by de Nederduitschen alle Volmaekte Tyden in alle Wyzen der Bedryvende Werkwoorden. Door het Helpwoort Zyn worden alle Volmaekte Tyden in alle Wyzen van het Lydende Werkwoord gemaakt. De Volmaekte Tyden in alle Wyzen der Onzydige Werkwoorden, worden ten aenzien van zommige door Hebben, en ten aenzien van andere door Zyn gemaakt; zoo dat de Onzydige Werkwoorden in hunne Tytvoegingen of met de Bedryvende of met de Lydende overeenkoomen.*).

added, the gender of verbs is connected to their transitivity, as can be seen from his definitions:⁸⁸

Van het Geslacht Dear zijn drie geslachten der Werkwoorden / als <i>Het werkende</i>, <i>Het lijdende</i>, ende <i>Het derde geslacht</i>, yders aert wort van de Werkwoorden uytgedrukt.	On gender There are three genders of Verbs, namely: <i>The active</i>, <i>The passive</i> and <i>The third gender</i>, the nature of each gets expressed by the Verbs.
Van de Werkende woorden Alle werkende Werkwoorden / die beteykenen eene werkinge / tot eenigen Persoon ofte tot eenich ding / als <i>Ik beminne mijnen Vader</i>, <i>Ik drinck Bier</i>, <i>Ik ploug het Lant</i>.	On Active verbs All active Verbs refer to an action toward people or things, like <i>Ik beminne mijnen Vader</i>, <i>Ik drinck Bier</i>, <i>Ik ploug het Lant</i>.⁸⁹
Van de lijdende Werkwoorden. De lijdende Werkwoorden / worden altijd met het Zelfstandig werkwoord uytgesproken / als <i>Ik worde geslaegen</i>, <i>Ik worde geleert</i>.	On passive Verbs Passive Verbs are always pronounced with the independent verb, like <i>Ik worde geslaegen</i>, <i>Ik worde geleert</i>.⁹⁰
Van de Werkwoorden des derden geslachts De Werkwoorden des derde geslachts / die en beduyden geene Werkinge nochte lijdinge als / <i>Ik schijn</i>, <i>Ik blinck</i>, <i>Ik bloeye</i>. Hier by behoort ook het Zelfstandig werkwoord / met de werkwoorden <i>Bestaen</i>, <i>Ontsaen</i>, <i>Staen</i>.	On the Verbs of the third gender The Verbs of the third gender signify no Action or suffering, like <i>Ik schijn</i>, <i>Ik blinck</i>, <i>Ik bloeye</i>. Independent verbs like <i>Bestaen</i>, <i>Ontstaen</i> and <i>Staen</i> also belong here.⁹¹

Van Heule's definition of the genders of verbs also presents a mixture of morphological and syntactic information. Gender is defined as a morphological category, meaning a characteristic embedded in each verb. However, the definition of active verbs refers to a syntactic feature, namely their characteristic of being transitive. Van Heule phrases this by saying that active verbs express an action (*werkinge*) toward people or things. The definition of passive verbs, instead, is purely morphological, claiming that they distinguish by always being conjugated in combination with the verb *worden*, that Van Heule refers to as "the independent/substantive verb" (*het zelfstandig werkwoord*). Neuter verbs – or "the

⁸⁸ Quoted from CARON (1953, 38-39).

⁸⁹ Translations to these sentences: *Ik beminne mijnen Vader* 'I love my father'; *Ik drinck Bier* 'I drink beer'; *Ik ploug het Lant* 'I plow the land'.

⁹⁰ Translations to these sentences: *Ik worde geslaegen* 'I get hit'; *Ik worde geleert* 'I get taught'.

⁹¹ Translations to these sentences and words: *Ik schijn* 'I look like' or 'I shine'; *Ik blinck* 'I glitter'; *Ik bloeye* 'I blossom'; *Bestaen* 'to exist'; *Ontstaen* 'to originate'; *Staen* 'to stand'.

third gender” (*de derde geslacht*), according to Van Heule – is defined as that which does not express either of the former two.

Séwel’s definition of transitivity is connected to cases. He claims that the nominative case is characteristic of intransitive verbs (or verbs that are not transitive). Although this is a questionable claim, what he probably meant was that intransitive verbs – not being able to combine with a direct object – are only linked to a nominative. These are today often called monovalent verbs. Again, Séwel’s phrasing does not seem to be particularly precise, and the reader is left puzzling about his words. Had Séwel only claimed this, one could consider the case closed, as he would have defined transitivity differently when compared to activeness, and closer to what one would expect from a modern point of view. Nonetheless, Séwel adds that there are a couple of examples – he raises the verbs *sterven* ‘to die’ and *spreken* ‘to speak’ – that, although being intransitive, they can be used transitively. He thus goes back to supporting the same contradiction again, namely considering transitivity as a morphological category, just like activeness. However, he did differentiate between them previously, considering transitivity a syntactic category, and not morphological. To me, this can be explained by stating that Séwel, although vaguely conscious of the fact that activeness and transitivity were to be considered as two different categories, does not manage to really differentiate them consistently. The term “active” sometimes refers to “active verbs”, sometimes it refers to verbal transitivity. Theoretically, activeness should have been considered as being mutually exclusive to neutrality, discriminating on the basis of the fact that only active verbs could be changed into passives, yet Séwel claims that some neuter verbs can be considered active, by demonstrating their use in transitive contexts. This confusion is by no means unexpected by referencing Séwel’s sources. In conclusion, Séwel did not manage to distinguish between the ideas of activeness and transitivity completely, often mixing the two up, and providing contradictory explanations, although the fact that transitivity belongs to syntax can be deduced from the fact that it is a term that only appears in that section, while activeness only appears in the part of the book dedicated to “etymology”.

4.6 Conclusions

In the present Chapter IV, I have analyzed the information regarding grammar, morphology and morphosyntax contained in the three main Dutch sources of Shizuki. Through most of his research on Dutch grammar, Shizuki relied strongly on Marin and Halma’s Dutch-French dictionaries. At some point, Shizuki came into contact with Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*, although the precise moment when that happened remains to be established.

In analyzing the contents of these sources, I have evidenced a common use of the Latin-derived categories of the parts of speech, with some specific traits of Dutch grammatical tradition, such as considering substantives and adjectives as two subcategories of nouns. However, there are still many differing details across the source, specifically when it concerns the terminology used to address the categories. Such inconsistency is mostly evident in the first edition of Halma’s dictionary, where different terms are used in different sections for the same category. I have

assumed this to be one evident undesired consequence of the troubled compilation of this work, as I have illustrated in 3.4.2.

As Shizuki reports in *Rangaku seizenfu*, he referenced the first edition of Halma's dictionary and the third edition of Marin's. The latter came out a few years later, and its contents had been revised since the first edition. The editors of this edition added a few introductory remarks concerning the treatment of some of the grammatical issues within the dictionary itself. In particular, they reworked and updated the information regarding the grammatical gender of Dutch nouns, conforming to a few rules that are accurately described. As I will demonstrate in Chapter VII, this section strongly influenced the way Shizuki understood the parts of speech of Dutch.

Except for these references to grammatical issues, that still assume quite a bit of prior knowledge, Marin and Halma's dictionaries do not provide much information on the theory of grammar. In particular, when it comes to Dutch verbs, the information becomes quite scattered and superficial, impairing any understanding of the grammatical theory at the basis of their function. What these dictionaries certainly provided was a long list of example sentences endowing Shizuki with innumerable references for deducing grammatical patterns.

Séwel's grammar, instead, was a much more exhaustive source on the theory of grammar. The overall structure of the categories of speech did not differ much from what was contained in Halma and Marin's dictionaries, but now these labels are accompanied by lengthy explanations that make their meanings explicit. Séwel devotes many pages to the description of the conjugations and uses of verbs, in a complex interaction of tenses and moods. A few sections of this work, specifically those concerning the uses of the auxiliary *zijn*, seem to address issues related to those described by Shizuki in his manuscripts. However, as I will argue in Chapters VII and VIII, Séwel's book is also not enough to explain the original and complicated theories of Shizuki. For this reason, in the following Chapters V and VI, I will analyze Shizuki's Japanese sources on language and their context.

CHAPTER V

History of Japan's Thought on Language

“Dit zijn in het kort de grondregels van de deelen der rede in de Japansche taal, en wat nu de spraak of uitspraak betreft, daar is misschien geene natie ter wereld, die zich minder houdt aan den regel: *spreek zoo als gij schrijft*.”

“These are the basic rules of the parts of speech of the Japanese language. When it comes to spoken language and its pronunciation, there is probably no other nation in the world that keeps less to the rule: *speak as you write*.”

(Germain Felix Meijlan, 1830, *Japan voorgesteld in schetsen*, p. 123)

5. History of Japan's thought on language

5.1 Early investigations of language in Japan

There is no evidence of any form of written language in Japan before the introduction of Chinese artifacts and texts.¹ These texts, written in older stages of Chinese, introduced into Japan the continental language in its literary version, which was subsequently studied by Japanese scholars and preserved in its ancient form across generations, although not without changes and adaptations specific to the necessities of the Japanese. These sources in classical Chinese were generally of two types. They were either texts compiled in China concerning Confucianism, or Chinese translations of books originally written in other languages, mostly imported from India or the so-called 'Western Regions' (Central Asia) that concerned Buddhism. The development of a writing system for the Japanese language was a slow process spanning several centuries involving the adaptation of the Chinese script to the specific morphophonemic necessities of the Japanese language. Before being standardized into present-day *kanji-kana-majiribun* 漢字仮名交じり文 – a 'mixed' (*majiri* 交じり) 'text' (*bun* 文) of 'Chinese characters' (*kanji* 漢字) and the two 'phonetic syllabaries' (*kana* 仮名) – written language in Japan appeared in many different forms, fundamentally based on Chinese characters and texts. Consequently, the linguistic investigations in Japan have long been deeply dependent on Chinese written language, as well as on Sanskrit, which reached Japan mediated by Chinese sources. In sum, one can say that research on language, in Japan, started with the study of Chinese texts, a foreign language, rather than with the investigation of the native language(s) of the archipelago (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 14).

In addition to the focus on foreign languages, the history of the studies of language in Japan generally displays another pattern: most investigations were initiated by the necessity to teach how to translate or read texts written in Chinese. Broadly speaking, no scholarly light was shed upon the Japanese language until the Heian period (794 – 1185), when greater attention was afforded to the appreciation of the *waka* 和歌 poems, a form of poetry that was first written down during the preceding Nara period (710 – 784). The most ancient forms of *waka* poetry are found in works such as *Kojiki* 古事記 ('Records on Past Events', circa 711) or *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 ('Collection of Ten-Thousand Leaves', compiled sometime before 759). These were initially written in Japanese, in a sort of hybrid script that used Chinese characters both logographically and phonologically. In these texts, Chinese characters could thus represent either a concept – that ought to be read out in its Japanese name – or a sound, thus requiring that character to be read out in its Chinese reading that would supposedly approximate a specific Japanese sound. In other words, Chinese characters were used in two ways: first, in order to 'provisionally substitute'

¹ FRELLESVIG (2010, 11-12) claims that the very first contact of the Japanese with written Chinese happened during the Yayoi 弥生 period (c. ?1000 BC – 300 AD) although no real awareness of how written language functioned can be assumed for that time. The earliest texts written in Japanese, by means of Chinese characters, are dated to the V century, although writing did not become widespread until the second half of the VII century.

Japanese phonology² – hence the name *kana* 仮名, literally “provisionary or substitutive names” – and secondly as logograms to refer to a concept, thus pronounced by its Japanese name. Over time, these specific uses of Chinese characters referring to Japanese sounds crystalized and each specialized for one Japanese syllable and, after undergoing processes of simplification, the two phonological *kana* syllabaries came to be. The necessity of understanding and interpreting the above-mentioned literary classics led to the birth of what is called *kagaku* 歌学 “poetic studies”, which flourished during the Heian period. These studies represent the first instances of metalinguistic analyses of the Japanese language carried out by the Japanese, originating from a need of exegetical interpretation of the poetic language.

The development of a written form of language specific to Japanese and independent from Chinese does not imply a decrease in importance of the continental language. Chinese was the language of documents imported from the mainland, and the Japanese continued to use it to write their own texts. Consequently, the Chinese language in Japan started to develop specific features that made it more practical for a Japanese speaker. Thus, Chinese remained the main written language for scholars of Buddhism or Confucianism, well beyond the Edo era. Most Japanese scholars kept using Chinese as their only form of written language for centuries, since understanding and interpreting old Chinese religious and philosophical texts still required dedication and life-long studies. In order to facilitate the consultation of such important sources, it is believed that by the very end of the Nara period, some Confucian scholars started to use the so-called *kunten* 訓点 glossing method (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 28). This annotation method allowed a Japanese speaker to easily read a Chinese sentence as if it were written in Japanese. Although there have been many ways in which such glosses were annotated within the Chinese text, I shall present one example, here corresponding to the most common system found in the manuscripts of the Edo period. Chinese and Japanese texts were mostly written vertically, from right to left. On the righthand side of the Chinese text one would find *furigana* (phonetic readings of the character), *okurigana* (grammatical endings attached to that word, required according to Japanese morphosyntax) and particles, while on the lefthand side, one would find symbols indicating the way each word had to be rearranged according to Japanese syntax, called *kaeri-ten* 返り点 ‘recurring marks’. Generally, these symbols included the Chinese characters for the numbers ‘one’ 一 and ‘two’ 二, for ‘up’ 上 and ‘down’ 下, or the traditional Heavenly Stems, often used to classify things ordinally, 甲 and 乙 and the so-called *re-ten* ㄣ点, for its resemblance to the *katakana* character *re* レ. The ordinal symbols were placed at the bottom left side of two characters, in order to specify that the one presenting the second should move below the one presenting the first character (i.e., the character presenting the number 2, moved below the character marked with 1), while the *re-ten* was used between two adjacent characters to signify that their placement had to be inverted. All these glosses were intended for

² This peculiar use of Chinese characters found in these ancient texts are now called *man'yō-gana* 万葉仮名.

a Japanese person to be able to read Chinese texts as if they were written in Japanese, they were “instructions” for “reading” and interpreting a text in a foreign language. In Chinese, the character 訓, that the Japanese pronounce *kun*, meant ‘instruction’, from which the word *kundoku* 訓読 ‘reading instruction’ was coined, referring to this practice of glossing Chinese texts into a Japanese reading. It is thus from this association of meanings that the character *kun* 訓 started to refer in Japanese to the idea of ‘Japanese reading’, maintaining its original broader sense of “instruction” only in some compound words (e.g., *kunren* 訓練 ‘training’). In the Edo period, this character was very often used in this new sense, evolving into the verb *kun-zu* 訓ス, that meant ‘to read the Japanese way’ (FRELLESVIG 2010, 258-274). This character should not be understood as meaning “translating into Japanese” as that is a different concept altogether, for which the character *yaku* 訳 (spelled 譯 in *kyūjitai*) was used, that led to the coinage of the verb *yaku-su* 訳ス ‘to translate’. The difference is important, as the alternation of these two concepts can be seen quite consistently across all the works of the Edo period I have consulted and is specifically important in Ogyū Sorai’s translational studies (see 6.1.1 and 6.1.2.1). Contrary to *yaku* 訳, that was always used to refer to a full-fledged “translation” of a language into another, mostly in the context of the compilation of a Japanese adaptation of a foreign text, *kun* 訓 only directly refers to the reading of a foreign text in a Japanese way. In the context of a Chinese text, one refers to this practice as *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読 ‘Japanese reading of a Chinese text’. As FRALEIGH (2019) points out, the translation of Dutch texts was often done by initially applying annotations very similar to *kundoku*, as demonstrated by Maeno Ryōtaku in his *Oranda Yakusen* 和蘭譯筌, where he explains his methodology. Similar approaches have also been adopted even as late as the *bakumatsu* period, as demonstrated by VERWAYEN (1998), who studied the translation of Dutch legal texts. Whether *kundoku* could be considered as a type of translation from one language to another or, rather, as something more similar to a collection of tools facilitating the reading of a text in a language different from that in which it was originally written, is still being debated in the academic world. FRALEIGH (2019, 6) points out that, although not being too different from a prototypical translation, the *kundoku* annotation had the peculiarity of always presenting a source text in a written language (classical Chinese, in the context of *kanbun kundoku*), and a higher degree of faithfulness to the original. Another specific characteristic of *kanbun kundoku* is the fact that the original text remained intact in the “translated” version. That is to say, one could simply ignore the *kaeriten* and the other glosses and still be able to read the original classical Chinese text in the same document. Furthermore, a Japanese author would oftentimes write a Chinese text with annotations on it, thus, in practice, bypassing the phase in which the text would only present *kanji* ordered according to Chinese syntax. What I would add to this theory of FRALEIGH is the fact that the faithfulness of the translation to the original text in *kundoku* was so high that the Japanese version could only use all the Chinese characters present in the original, without adding or eliminating any. This is probably one of the main causes that influenced the Japanese language found within *kundoku* that differed noticeably from non-*kundoku* uses of Japanese, which FRALEIGH calls ‘translationese’. Indeed,

there was no *kaeriten* gloss for “do not read this character”³ or “add this character”. All Chinese characters present in the original text had to be somehow utilized and one could only add glosses regarding grammatical elements absent in Chinese (particles and inflections of verbs and adjectives, mostly). When adapting into *kundoku*, for example, one could not add a word to paraphrase a concept that read more straightforwardly in Chinese and, at the same time, every Chinese character needed to find a place in the Japanese sentence. The former is the cause of the fact that, for example, the character *mi* 未 ‘not yet’, that was mostly used in initial position in the Chinese clause, can be seen as being adapted into Japanese as either the clause-opener adverb *mada* ‘not yet’, or as the negative affix *-zu*, and sometimes as both simultaneously. This is not true for Ryōtaku’s glossing of Dutch, for example, where the words that were difficult to translate into Japanese (that he usually called *joshi*, or something similar) were marked with a circle and were thus neglected in the Japanese translation.

The practice of glossing Chinese texts made Japanese speakers realize the linguistic differences between their own language and Chinese. It is no wonder, therefore, that the very first linguistic investigations carried out in Japan were mostly contrastive analyses of these two languages with a strong philosophical component of Buddhism and Confucianism. Furthermore, since the practice of *kundoku* was focused on providing tools for the reading of Chinese texts into Japanese, the oral element was very much embedded in these studies of written languages. Furthermore, since the reading of sutras was a fundamental component of Buddhism, the Japanese have also always been aware of the phonetic studies coming from the Indian peninsula, originating in the so-called Siddhāṃ (*shittan* 悉曇) writing system of Sanskrit, mediated by the Chinese. These studies, that included the categorization of sounds according to the organs of the oral cavity used to produce each, were combined with the Chinese studies on the pronunciation of Chinese characters, resulting in the common use of the ‘table of the fifty sounds’ (*gojū-on-zu* 五十音図).⁴ DOI (1976, 1-3) attests the fact that Sanskrit studies started spreading

³ One might point out the existence of the so-called *okiji* 置き字 (see 5.5), that referred to those Chinese characters that did not have a direct Japanese corresponding word. However, these characters were not completely ignored, in the translation, but tended to be rendered via *okurigana* referring to verbal endings or affixes, thus still being present, somehow, in the Japanese translation.

⁴ The table of the fifty sounds illustrates all the possible combinations of vowel and consonant sounds, in the Japanese language, according to the Japanese syllables. Since the Japanese writing system evolved from the ‘syllabic’ nature of *kanji*, that conception was mirrored in this classification of sounds. FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 83) point out how the Japanese table of the fifty sounds was probably created by combining Sanskrit traditional phonetic investigations, with the Chinese practice of *hansetsu* 反切. The *hansetsu* consisted, in Chinese linguistic tradition, in the classification of the pronunciation of a Chinese character, utilizing two different characters, one specifying the consonant sound and the other the vowel sound produced by the original character. Since, in Japanese, the adaptation of the original Chinese pronunciation of the *kanji* often resulted in a polysyllabic rendition – Japanese mostly lacking closed syllables – the *hansetsu* was used with the first character’s first syllable

already in the Nara and Heian periods, together with the expansion of Buddhism in Japan. According to that source, the “chief initiator” of Sanskrit studies in Japan was Kūkai 空海 (774 – 835), whose successor Annen 安然 subsequently published, in 880, a thorough study of Chinese phonetics based on Sanskrit studies, by the title *Shittan-zō* 悉曇藏 (‘Siddhāṃ Repository’). Siddhāṃ methodology kept being applied to the research on language in Japan all throughout the Edo period, only being temporarily halted in 1853, with the reopening of Japan. The most important Siddhāṃ publication of the Edo period is *Bongaku shinryō* 梵学津梁 (‘A Corpus of Sanskrit Literature: an Introduction’), by Onkō 飲光 (1718 – 1804).

The importance given to pronunciation, as I have discussed in 1.5, mostly in the first period of the study of Dutch, was certainly a consequence of this century-long tradition of phonetic studies. While there would be much to say regarding this topic, unfortunately, this falls beyond the scope of the present research and, as such, it will not be discussed any further.

Simultaneously to these linguistic studies on Chinese-language sources, starting from the very late Nara period, one can see the dawn of the *kagaku* scholarship, the study of the Japanese *waka* poetry written entirely in Japanese. For its historical and cultural relevance, the *Man'yōshū* has been adopted as an important reference for literary language use since the Nara period, when many Japanese scholars started to focus on research on the exegesis of it. As Japan entered the Kamakura period (1185 – 1333), the language then spoken was already very different from the one used to write the classical *waka* poetry. In fact, a scholar of *kagaku* was required to study an additional subject: *kana-zukai* 仮名遣 ‘the use of *kana*’ (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 144-154). According to FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA: “Although *kana-zukai* refers to the use of *kana*, more specifically, that word was used in two manners. First, it referred to the objective situation of the use of the *kana* within a specific Japanese document. [...] Secondly, it referred to the artificial rule specifying the use of a specific *kana* whenever one syllable was expressed by means of two or more types of *kana*”.⁵ One could therefore say, that the term *kana-zukai* referred to both the prescriptive and descriptive look at the use of *kana*. Because of this, most studies on the Japanese language in the centuries before the Edo period concentrated on this aspect.

In the history of glossing in Japan, it is relevant to remember that *kundoku* was not specific to *kanbun* Chinese texts. Since, in older works, *kanji* were also used as phonograms in order to write Japanese, the practice of glossing is also fundamental in the history of the research on Japanese texts. With the importance of *Man'yōshū*

(or, better, *mora*) used for the first syllable of the character whose pronunciation is being covered, while the second character for its second syllable.

⁵ Original quote: “「仮名遣」とは、仮名のつかい方ということであるが、詳しくいうと、この言葉には二つの異なった用法がある。第一は、日本語を仮名で書表わした文献の中で、どのような仮名が用いられているかという、客観的な状態をさすものである。〔略〕第二は、日本語を仮名で書表わすに当って、一つの音節に対して、二つ以上の種類の仮名がある場合、その内どれを使うべきかを定めた、人為的な規定である” (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 154-155).

investigations, the very first *kundoku* glossing system for this classical masterpiece was developed by the ‘Five Men of the Pear Chamber’⁶ (*nashitsubo no gonin* 梨壺五人), a team of scholars who defined what is now called *koten* 古点 ‘old glossing’ of the Heian period. This “old glossing” system had been adopted as the standard reading for the already outdated writing style of the *Man’yōshū*. Over time, however, changes had been made to it to adapt it according to the evolution of the Japanese language itself. These new forms of glossing of the *Man’yōshū* are called *jiten* 次点 ‘subsequent glossing’ and were the standard until the scholar Sengaku 仙覚 (1203 – 1273) began a new school of interpretation of the classics of Japanese, culminating in the publication of his pivotal *Man’yōshū chūshaku* 万葉集註釈 (‘*Man’yōshū* Interpreted and Annotated’) in 1270, which popularized his ‘new glossing’ (*shinten* 新点) method, enabling 13th century Japanese scholars to better understand the language used in the *Man’yōshū*. In Sengaku’s school, one can see the influence of previous research, and a strong dependence on Siddhām phonology that he, allegedly, formally integrated in the studies on Japanese (SHIGEMATSU 1959, 58-60).

By the end of the Kamakura period, Fujiwara no Sadaie 藤原定家 (1162 – 1241, also known as Teika) compiled the manuscript *Te ni ha daigai shō* 手爾葉大概抄. This is the earliest attested source covering the topic of *te ni ha*, that, with time, evolved into the name *te ni wo ha*. As I will discuss in the following sections, these syllables refer to the Japanese particles that are often connected to the Chinese parts of speech called ‘auxiliary word’, found in the spellings *joshi* 助詞, *joji* 助辞, *joji* 助字 and *jogo* 助語. As will be discussed, the so-called *te ni wo ha* included, according to the author, also the adjectival and verbal affixes (i.e., nowadays’ *jodōshi* 助動詞).⁷ Since the Muromachi period, some authors also started to recognize patterns in the combined use of such *te ni wo ha* elements, particularly in the agreement between particles and predicates, which was then re-discovered in the 18th century by Motoori Norinaga, whose interpretation ultimately evolved in what is now called *kakari-musubi*. A representative example is Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320 – 1378), who categorized the *te ni wo ha* in six main categories, including the *uke* 請 ‘receiving’ and the *kake* かけ ‘hanging’, ‘tie up’ categories that represented the use of the *te ni (wo) ha* particles in what he called the ‘upper clause’ *ue no ku* 上

⁶ The group of the Five Men of the Pear Chamber was composed by Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu 大中臣能宣 (921 – 991), Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911 – 983), Kiyohara no Motosuke 清原元輔 (908 – 990), Sakanoue no Mochiki 坂上望城 (dates unknown), Ki no Tokibumi 紀時文 (dates unknown).

⁷ It is precisely for this reason that I adopt the romanization as *te ni wo ha*, instead of the common *te ni o wa*. These characters were not to be considered as representing only the particles but, often, also verbal/adjectival affixes. For example, the character *ha* は, in the name *te ni wo ha*, does not only represent the particle *wa* (as the traditional reading might suggest) but also the two *-ba* affixes, for example. For this reason, I preferred adopting a transliteration treating each syllable as a *kana*, eventually varying in pronunciation according to the use (more faithful to their conception in Edo Japan), rather than normalizing it in the modern Japanese pronunciation.

ノ句 and the ‘lower clause’ *shita no ku* 下ノ句 (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 157-175), these latter terms also adopted by both Motoori Norinaga, and Shizuki Tadao.

The Japanese *kana* evolved as a graphic simplification of Chinese characters used as phonograms. Chinese characters have logographic valence: they are graphic units possessing meaning. Written Chinese only employs this type of characters, so that a Chinese sentence can be understood as a composition of units each possessing their own meaning. Even though written Japanese evolved into adopting phonetic characters used to represent sounds, and not meaning per se, the tight relationship between one character and one meaning was not completely abandoned when analyzing its grammar. This is why in the research about the *te ni wo ha* the many grammatical inflections of Japanese were often not treated as grammatical realizations of different morphosyntactic phenomena but as meanings conveyed by specific *kana*, instead. I will discuss this in section 6.2, where I will cover the research on *kakari-musubi* by Motoori Norinaga, but one can already see this in scholars preceding him. Mokuji Shōnin 木食上人 (1536 – 1608, also known as Ōgo 応其), for example, completed the work that goes by the title of *Mugon-shō* 無言抄 in 1580, but was only published in 1603. In this work the aforementioned approach is already visible. For example, the character *-nu* is considered to express two meanings: *fu no nu* 不のぬ, ‘negative *-nu*’ whenever it corresponded to the *rentaikei* form of the affix *-zu*, used for negations; and *owan nu* をはんぬ ‘finished *-nu*’ whenever it corresponded to the *shūshikei* form of the affix *-nu*, expressing completion. This type of reasoning shows the influence still played by the traditional Chinese-derived conception of characters. In other words, instead of conceiving *-nu* as an inflected form of two different grammatical inflecting patterns, most scholars conceived each character as expressing one or more meanings, which are thus embedded in the character itself. Another relevant example found in *Mugon-shō* is the way the author covers the character *shi* し, which is explained as expressing three meanings, corresponding to three locations of time: *kako no shi* 過去のし ‘past *-shi*’, *genzai no shi* 現在のし ‘present *-shi*’ and *mirai no shi* 未来のし ‘future *-shi*’. The affixes *-shi* here referenced are, in order, the *rentaikei* form of the past suffix *-ki*, the *shūshikei* ending of adjectives, and the *shi* character present in the *shūshikei* form of the suffix *-beshi* (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 173).

In the history of Japanese linguistics, many of the publications⁸ that composed my secondary literature use the phrasing *kokugogaku-shi* 国語学史, or something

⁸ This refers to most of the secondary literature I have referenced for the compilation of this chapter: SHIGEMATSU (1959), FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972) and MABUCHI & IZUMO (2021). Notably, in the last one, the subtitle reads “The history of the linguistic research of Japanese people” however, this book only covers the studies on language concerning Japanese and treating Chinese only as far as *kanji* are concerned. It disregards Dutch studies completely, yet it briefly mentions the *kirishitan gogaku* キリシタン語学, the Christian linguistic studies of the Iberic missionaries. Although this contradicts the subtitle, it reinforces the idea that with *kokugakushi* it is only meant the “linguistic studies of the national language” and not the “national studies on language”. TOKIEDA (2017, 19-29), instead, problematizes in length the use of the term *kokugo*, addressing a few of the issues I have addressed, as well.

similar. The term *kokugogaku*, although often translated as ‘Japanese linguistics’ by the authors themselves, actually means ‘national language studies’. Usually, these publications discuss “Japanese linguistics” not as “linguistics in Japan”, but rather as “linguistics of Japanese”. This means that they do not focus on the history of the linguistic investigations carried out on other languages, such as Chinese and European languages. An early publication on the history of Japanese linguistics is *Kokugogaku shōshi* 国語学小史 (‘A Small History of Japanese Linguistics’) by Hoshina Kōichi 保科孝一 (1872 – 1955). The author identifies five main periods of the history of on Japanese (HOSHINA 1899, 15-16):

1. The period before Keichū;
2. The sudden rise of Japanese linguistics, from Keichū to Motoori Norinaga;
3. The prosperity of Japanese linguistics, from Norinaga’s death to Tachibana Moribe 橘守部;
4. The decline of Japanese linguistics, from Moribe to the year 1886;
5. Since 1886 onward, when Japanese linguistics become an academic discipline.

This structure is also adopted by SHIGEMATSU (1959, 21-24) who reworks it in the following fashion:

1. The period before Keichū: Characterized by non-empiric and non-structuralized approaches handed down in *hidensho* 秘伝書;
2. From Keichū to Norinaga: Initiated by the publication of *Waji shōran-shō* 和字正濫抄 by Keichū. It includes the works of Norinaga and features the rapid advancement of the knowledge on Japanese linguistics, particularly concerning *kanazukai*, *te ni wo ha*, inflection, phonology, etymology, and vocabularies. In this period a more empirical approach is developed and *kokugaku* rises to prominence as an alternative to Confucianism;
3. After Norinaga to the *bakumatsu* period: It is a period of expansion of what was initiated by, mainly, Norinaga, particularly in the context of inflection;
4. Since the Meiji period onward, when the influence of Western studies gets stronger and more influential, also in the context of Japanese studies.

In both cases, the third period is the one in which one would find Shizuki’s works. Therefore, an overview of what has been done up until that point will be provided in the remainder of the present chapter.

5.2 Cultural movements of the Edo period and their research on language

Contrary to what one could assume from the protectionist policies called *sakoku*, the Edo period was characterized by a vital variety of schools of thought. The unity afforded to the country by the centralization of power in the Tokugawa shogunate came with a renewed national identity, that, according to TAJIRI (2012, 28) was mostly based on the idea of the direct descent of the Japanese people from the dynasty of the *shintō* gods: the *kami* 神. The idea that Japan was the ‘land of the gods’, or rather the ‘land of the *kami*’ (*shinkoku* or *kamiguni* 神国), allegedly

reinforced by some historical events, such as the repeated failure of Mongol invasion, has been a convincing reason to many for the ban on Christianity to be enforced. Such renewed awareness of the Japanese identity could be seen as an explanation for the general tendency of most cultural movements to concentrate on the historical and cultural roots of Japan's tradition, which can be seen among scholars of *waka*, as well as Confucians.

The research on *waka*, that had already been pursued for centuries by the time the Edo period began, led to the birth of a new school, that brought along with it a series of new methodologies and theoretical approaches. This scholarship is known as *kokugaku* 国学, 'studies on the [mother] land' – often referred to as "nativist studies" – and its genesis is generally attributed to the poet who went by the name of Keichū 契沖 (1640 – 1701), as well as Kada no Azumamaru 荷田春満 (1669 – 1736), although Motoori Norinaga is often regarded as the most representative individual of this movement. Based on the study of the classics of Japanese literature, the scholars of *kokugaku* were generally more aware about the fact that the transformation of the Japanese language throughout the centuries had made the true comprehension of the contents of such sources very difficult. Scholars of *kokugaku* were conscious about the changes in the way the world was conceived of since the 'ancient' (*inishie* 古) times. A concept of the world that could still be understood by studying these cherished books written in the purer ancient style. The idea that a higher wisdom was contained in these old sources is epitomized by Keichū's quote, found in his *Man'yō daishoki* 万葉代匠記, where he writes: "By looking at this collection [*Man'yōshū*], in order to attain the spirit of the people of the past, one needs to forget about the heart of today"⁹ (TAJIRI 2012, 134).

At the same time, in Confucian circles, the Neo-Confucian school of thought known as *shushigaku* 朱子学 gained importance. Scholars of *shushigaku* were mostly engaged with Chinese sources, since they were interested in the interpretation of Chinese characters, in the context of *kanbun*, and in the ways in which the Confucian sources should be rendered in current Japanese – via *kundoku* – in order for their real, original meaning to be intelligible to a speaker of Early Modern Japanese (TAJIRI 2012, 78). Neo-Confucian philosophy was continued by Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130 – 1200), mainly via his critical edition of the classical Four Books of Confucian literature *Sishū jizhù* 四書集注 ('Commentaries on the Four Books') – known in Japanese as *Shisho shūchū*, henceforth *Commentaries* – and his anthology *Jinsīlù* 近思錄 ('Reflections on Things at Hand') – known in Japanese as *Kinshiroku* –, the latter being co-edited by Lǚ Zǔqiān 呂祖謙 (1137 – 1181). The "Four Books" referred to the four ancient Chinese literary works investigating and promoting Confucian values and included: *Dàxué* (JP: *Daigaku*) 大學 "Great Learning"; *Zhōngyōng* (JP: *Chūyō*) 中庸 "Doctrine of the Mean"; *Lúnyǔ* (JP: *Rongo*) 論語 "Analects"; and *Mèngzǐ* (*Mōshi*) 孟子 "Mencius". Zhū Xī's *Commentaries* had already reached Japan in the 13th century when the book mostly

⁹ Original Japanese text, as quoted in TAJIRI (2012, 134): "此の集を見るには、古の人の心に成りて、今の心を忘れて見るべし". My translation.

circulated among Buddhists of the Zen school. Around the year 1223, a book by a disciple of Zhū Xī named Chén Běixī 陳北溪 (1159 – 1223) gets published, with the title *Xìnglǐ zìyì* 性理字義 ('The Meanings of Neo Confucian Terms'), known in Japanese as *Seiri jigi*. This work contained a lexicography of the philosophical ideas of his master Zhū Xī and only spread in Japan in the 1590s, after a 1553 Korean edition was imported in the archipelago. Japanese Neo-Confucian Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583 – 1657) manages to get access to a copy of Běixī's *Jigi*, how it started being informally called, and decided to work on his own version of it, with *kundoku* annotations, for a Japanese-speaking audience. This book was only posthumously published, in 1659, with the title *Seiri jigi genkai* 性理字義諺解, a ('Vernacular Translation of Běixī's *Jigi*'), as argued in TUCKER (1998, 18-20). With the introduction of Běixī's *Jigi* within the domestic discourse of (Neo-)Confucian studies in Japan, in some sense, one can say that a new literary genre started spreading. Neo-Confucians in Early Modern Japan believed that one of the fundamental roles of a scholar is to provide the correct interpretation of words, based on the fact that Confucius reportedly claimed, in the *Analects*, that a good policy on the proper use of language is fundamental for a good state (TUCKER 2006, 4). This led some Neo-Confucians to publish works aiming at rectifying the use of language, to provide a tool for the people of the ruling class. These works were all broadly based on the example provided by Běixī. Two fundamental Japanese scholars who authored impactful works within the genre of *jigi* 字義 – term that TUCKER (1991) uses to broadly refer to this type of publications – were Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627 – 1705) and Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666 – 1728). Jinsai famously authored *Gomō jigi* 語孟字義 ('Philosophical Lexicography of the *Analects* and *Mencius*'), where he articulated the vision on ethical issues and material interests of the so-called *chōnin* 町人 class, composed of merchants, artisans and, generally, townspeople. With this work he advocated returning to the ancient Confucian ideas, while rejecting the highly metaphysical Neo-Confucian notions of the scholars of the Song (*Sòng* 宋, 960 – 1279) Chinese dynasty (TUCKER 1998, 1). Jinsai believed that Confucianism was to be made accessible and applicable to "the people" (*min* 民), although what he specifically meant with "the people" has never been made punctually clear, particularly whether it was also supposed to be including the samurai class (TUCKER 1998, 3; 11). Ogyū, instead, had a less inclusive approach to Confucianism, since he mostly regarded the general public not smart and cultured enough to understand the sophisticated theories of the sages, believing that the masses were better off by following the highly educated elites, who could interpret and understand Confucian texts, and rules abiding by their teachings (TUCKER 2006, 9). Regardless of these differences, Ogyū had originally tried reaching out to Jinsai, by sending him a letter in 1702 (two years before the latter's death), asking whether he could become his disciple. Jinsai never answered to this request, probably for political reasons, which irritated Ogyū who ended up slandering and criticizing Jinsai's works and theories, as can be seen in his *Benmei* 辨名 ('Discerning the Meanings of Philosophical Terms', 1717), as discussed by TUCKER (1998, 8-11). Regardless of their differences, however, both Jinsai and Ogyū believed that, in order to understand the real meaning of the words and concepts used in the ancient

texts of Confucianism, one needed to go back to how those words were defined and conceived of by the people of those times. I will return to Ogyū's theories in 6.1.

It can be said that both Neo-Confucianism and “nativism” – Japan's main cultural and literary movements of the Edo period – were fundamentally oriented toward a linguistic approach in the investigation of their scholarships. This linguistic approach cherished the ancient use of language, both in Japanese *waka*, as well as in Chinese *kanbun*, aiming at a diachronic readoption of the ways of the past, upon which the modern approaches were superimposed. For both types of scholarship, the ultimate goal was to ascertain the real use of language of the past as to pursue the way (*michi/dō* 道), for the (Neo-)Confucians, or to understand the heart of the past (*inishie no kokoro* 古の心).

Consequently, it should be no surprise to realize that the Edo period saw a flourishing of linguistic investigations, from which research into the correct use of language originated. FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 183-184) divide the linguistic investigations on Japanese carried out in the Early Modern period in three phases:

1. The first phase lasts until the Genroku 元禄 period (1688 – 1704) and is characterized by wide-spread publications of the so-called *hidensho* 秘伝書, ‘secret books’ that circulated mostly among the wealthier and more educated elites. The studies were mostly focused on phonetics and were based on the Siddhānta tradition;
2. The second phase spans from the Genroku to the Meiwa 明和 (1764 – 1772) and An'ei 安永 (1772 – 1781) periods. These are the years in which the schools of thought of the Edo period really took shape. It is based on an approach that FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA call “empirical” (*jissshōteki* 実証的) and “objective” (*kyakkanteki* 客観的), based on the quote of Keichū: “Demonstrating by directly quoting from the ancient books, exposes that which is not personal”;¹⁰
3. The third and last phase, that covers the rest of the Edo period, sees the flourishing of the studies concerning the national language, where the main representative figures are Fujitani Nariakira 富士谷成章 (1738 – 1779) and Motoori Norinaga. These two initiate new subjects regarding the studies on Japanese, specifically deepening the knowledge on grammar and inflection, expanding from the traditional studies on phonology and *kana-zukai*. In particular, it is worth mentioning two works by each scholar: *Kazashi-shō* かざし抄 (1767) and *Ayuhishō* あゆひ抄 (1773), by Nariakira (see 5.3.1) and *Te ni wo ha himo kagami* てにをは紐鏡 (1771) and *Kotoba no tama no o* 詞の玉緒 (1785), by Norinaga (see 6.2). These two early scholars have subsequently been impactful in the development of younger authors, such as Suzuki Akira 鈴木朗 (1764 - 1837), in his work *Katsugo*

¹⁰ Original Japanese text, found in the introduction (*jo* 序) to Keichū's *Waji shōranshō* 和字正濫抄 (1693), here quoted from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 183): “古書を引て証することは私なき事を頭はせり”. My translation.

danzokufu 活語断続譜 (1803) (see 5.3.2) and Motoori Haruniwa (see 5.4.1) with his *Kotoba no yachimata* 詞八衢 (1806).

The main focus of the following Chapter VI will be the systemic understanding of both Motoori Norinaga's and Ogyū Sorai's theoretical frameworks with regard to languages. I will concentrate on them because they are certain sources of Shizuki who cites them directly. However, the research carried out by Motoori Norinaga and Ogyū Sorai did not happen in a vacuum. Particularly in the second half of the Edo period, the circulation of books and literary works increased, and most authors had the chance to read each other's works, shaping an intertwining net of influences, even across different schools of thought. While this was happening more and more Japanese literates, physicians and interpreters started to venture into the scholarship of *rangaku*, the Dutch studies. Yet hardly anybody was ever born a *rangakusha* and, even if one were indeed brought up in a Dutch interpreter's household, it was unlikely for them not to receive a traditional education in Japanese classics and not to keep themselves up to date regarding the main publications of the Japanese scholars contemporary to them. As MATSUDA (2008, 140) states, most Edo scholars were coming from a background in Chinese studies, anyway. Consequently, it is mandatory to also understand other authors of both *kokugaku* and Confucianism who worked in the same era as Shizuki, even those who were not directly cited by him.

In the remainder of the present Chapter V, I will provide an overview of other scholars of the Edo period whose works Shizuki might have read, although he did not cite them. Secondary literature is still lacking, with respect to the impact of figures such as Motoori Haruniwa, Norinaga's son. When splitting the Edo period in three phases, as shown above, FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 184) only briefly mention the investigations on Dutch during the last phase. They claim: "Furthermore, in this period [the 'third phase'], as an effect of the research on the Dutch language, we saw the birth of a movement that, having learnt Dutch grammar, intended to also apply the same structure to Japanese. This is, for example, Tsurumine Shigenobu's *Gogaku shinsho* ['New Book of Linguistics']".¹¹ These attempts had little influence among their contemporaries. Nonetheless, understanding to which extent they managed to harmonize the preceding studies on Japanese, with the structure of Western-style grammars, remains a future task. Furthermore, there were also foreigners who were engaged with the research on Japanese. Particularly after the reopening of the ports, we see individuals who could come directly to Japan, yet their results will not be presented until the Meiji period".¹²

¹¹ Scholar Tsurumine Shigenobu 鶴峰戊申 (1788 - 1859) who published *Gogaku shinsho* 語学新書 in 1831.

¹² Original Japanese quote: “また、この期には、オランダ語研究の結果、その文法にならって、国語も組織づけようとする動きが生じた。鶴峰戊申の「語学新書」などがそれである。この試みが当時に与えた影響は少なかったが、それまでの国学者の研究の成果と、洋風文典に従った文法体系とを、どのように調和統一するかということが、以後の課題として残される。また、外国人の中で、国語について研究するも

On the contrary, in Chapters VII and VIII, I will demonstrate the impact of Neo-Confucian and “nativist” studies, in the analysis of Dutch of Shizuki. Furthermore, I will also present evidence demonstrating that Shizuki's approach was already introducing many European tools into the Japanese cultural discourse on language, which made the analysis of language in Japan more similar to the modern approach. For this reason, I will now describe these tools, focusing on the investigations carried out during the Edo period, in Japan, as to identify the main theories on language that used to circulate back then, in order to be able to insert Shizuki – as well as the other scholars of Dutch – within the broader tradition of language studies in Japan.

5.3 Thoughts on language in Edo Japan

As a natural continuation of the studies on language in the preceding periods, the research on language in Edo Japan concentrated mostly on the study of sounds and *kana-zukai*, ultimately originating from the historical studies on the Siddhāṃ script, that allowed for the ‘table of the fifty sounds’ to be created and the composition of the *iroha uta* いろは歌, a poem composed of each and every original syllable with distinctive phonological value, used only once. This poem itself was derived from the phonetic studies of Sanskrit, and was inspired by Buddhist sutras (DOI 1976, 4).

Such investigations on phonology will not be discussed here, as they are not immediately relevant to my research question. Since I want to provide a clearer picture of how the Japanese theorized morphosyntactic and grammatical concepts, I will only concentrate on these topics. For this reason, figures like Keichū, who is seen as the father of *kokugaku*, and others who have contributed significantly to the development of Japanese linguistics, will not be discussed extensively.

Keichū, who devoted most of his work to the understanding of Japanese phonology and *kana-zukai*, in the context of grammatical theory is worth being mentioned mostly for his use of the distinction between the categories of *tai* 体 ‘body’ and of *yō* 用 ‘work’. This second category, that corresponded to the verbs *hataraku* and *ugoku*, both meaning ‘to work’, ‘to move’, loosely referred to those words that could be inflected (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 193). The dichotomy of *tai-yō* 体用, however, is much older than these investigations on language. It is not totally clear when and where it was firstly used, but it is clear that it was a concept that was being employed and investigated upon not only in the context of *kokugaku*, but amongst Confucian Sinologists as well.¹³ TUCKER (2006) translates these two characters into English as “substance” (*tai* 体) and “function” (*yō* 用). It appears that

のもあり、特に開港以後は、直接に来日する者も出てくるが、その主たる成果が発表されるのは、明治直前になってからである。” (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 184), my English translation.

¹³ NAKAMURA (1975, vol. 3, 911) provides the reading *taiyū*, and attests that this dichotomy has gotten very common during the Six Dynasties, a Chinese period spanning from circa 220 to 589 and that the concept was perhaps influenced by the Chinese author Zhuāngzǐ 莊子 (369 – 286Bc, JP: Sōshi). However, this does not refer to the grammatical use of the term.

trying to identify the origin of this dichotomy has been a goal many scholars in the Edo Period have pursued. In the *Běixī zìyì* 北溪字義 – *Hokkei jigī* in Japanese – in the entry to the Chinese character *shin* 心 ‘spirit’, ‘mind’, one can find a section titled “The theory on the substance and function of the mind” (論心有體用) where one reads that *tai-yō* 体用 is a dichotomy typical of the “mind” (*shin* 心):¹⁴

心有體有用具衆理者
其體應萬事者其用寂
然不動者其體感而遂
通者其用體即所謂性
以其靜者言也用即所
謂情以其動者言也

In the mind there is substance (*tai* 体) and function (*yō* 用). The substance is what puts all reason (*ri* 理) in order. What responds to all things is the function. That which is made quiet and does not move is the substance. That which feels all throughout is the function. The substance is, in other terms the “nature” (*sei* 性), that refers to things that are quiet. The function, in other terms, is the “passion” (*jō* 情), that refers to the things that move.

However, Itō Jinsai does not believe that this dichotomy was originally postulated by the ancient sages, rather, that it was a later addition of the Tang dynasty, subsequently reworked in the Song dynasty by Chéng Yí 程頤 (1033 – 1107) but which had ultimately originated in *Chán* (禪) Buddhism, the Chinese precursor of what will be known in Japan as Zen (禪) Buddhism (TUCKER 2006, 442). TUCKER (2006, 325) also evidences that Ogyū Sorai addresses these remarks by Jinsai, in his *Benmei* 弁明 (also 辨明), and agrees with his reconstruction claiming that the ancient sages did not employ this dichotomy and it had to be a more recent postulation. However, Ogyū himself does utilize this distinction in a couple of instances, as I will show in 6.1.2.

It appears to me that this dichotomy, regardless of its origin, must have been rather productive during the Edo period and was being employed and readapted at the author’s will. Many authors, as I claim in the present chapter, have used it to refer to linguistic issues. As made clear from the quote above, the *tai* had to do with a quiet substance, while the *yō* referred to the functions and actions performed on the substance. With these broad definitions, these units of meaning were adapted according to the concerned theory. For example, among Dutch studies, there is an interesting employment of this dichotomy in the manuscript titled *Oranda yakubun ryaku sōkō* 和蘭訳文略艸稿 by Maeno Ryōtaku. There, at the very beginning of the book, Maeno draws a table (see 文庫 8 F23, folio 4v) which he calls *tāfuru han retteru* ターフルハンレツテル¹⁵ that corresponds to the Dutch *tafel van letter*, roughly ‘table of letter(s)’, translated into Japanese as *moji no fu* 文字之譜.

¹⁴ Original text from Digital Collections of Keio University Libraries (慶應義塾大学メディアセンター デジタルコレクション), 110X 116 2, volume 1, folios 8v-9r, my English translation.

¹⁵ In the original document, the gemination is not signaled with ツ, as conventional today, but with a special character.

Dutch letters are divided by means of the two parameters of *tai* and *yō*, each including 4 characteristics of Dutch letters. For example, in the *tai* category – referring to the substance of letters – one finds the following Dutch words, accompanied by a literal Japanese translation:

- *drukletter* (*doryuku retteru* ドルユクレッテル) ‘lower case’ in the Gothic font, translated literally into Japanese as *assho* 壓書 (圧書), where *druk* and *atsu* literally mean ‘pressure’;
- *hoofdletter* (*hōfuto retteru* ホウフトレッテル) ‘upper case’ in the Gothic font, translated literally into Japanese *kaisho* 魁書, where *hoofd* and *kai* literally mean ‘head’;
- *merkletter* (*meruku retteru* メルクレッテル) ‘block letter’ in Romanic font, literally translated into Japanese as *insho* 印書, where *merk* and *in* mean ‘mark’, ‘sign’;
- *trekletter* (*terekki retteru* テレッキレッテル) ‘cursive letter’, literally translated into Japanese as *eisho* 曳書, where *trek* and *ei* both mean ‘to pull’.

All the *tai* relative to the letters correspond to scripts often rendered in Japanese with the character *sho* 書. The four “functions” (*yō*) of letters are, instead, the following. For these, Maeno does not coin new terms, rather, he compares them to concepts that already exist in Japanese, as follows:

- *syllaben* (*seiraben* セイラベン) ‘syllables’, corresponding to the Japanese *setsuin* 切匀;
- *woorden* (*wōruden* ウヲールデン) ¹⁶ ‘words’, corresponding to the Japanese *gengo* 言語;
- *lezen* (*rēsen* レーセン) ‘reading’, corresponding to the Japanese *shōdoku* 誦読;
- *schrijven* (*shikereihen* シケレイヘン) ‘writing’, corresponding to the Japanese *shaji* 写字.

It is also claimed that these are called *a be se* (‘ABC’) and are 25 in total. The difference between the *taiyō* dichotomy, in Maeno’s use, is between the shape and appearance of the letters (*tai*) and the use made of them (*yō*). Additionally, in the table, Maeno also reports the existence of two other types of letters that possess both a “differing substance” (*betsutai* 別体) and a “differing function” (*betsuyō* 別用). These are *cijferletter* (*seiheru retteru* セイヘルレッテル) ‘numbers’, called *sūji* 数字, in Japanese, and *tekenletter* (*tēken retteru* テーケンレッテル) ‘punctuation marks’, called *fūji* 符字, in Japanese. The formers are ten (十) in number, and the latter “many” (多).

¹⁶ In Waseda’s manuscript, this word presents a few misspellings. In the rest of the manuscript this is written as I have reported. In the table, however, the vowel-lengthening mark ー (*chōonpu* 長音符) is mistaken for the character *to* ト, while the combination of the two characters *u* ウ and *wo* ヲ, used by Motoori to approximate the Dutch syllable /vo/ is misspelled as a repetition of the character *ra* ラ.

Together with the development of the *taiyō* dichotomy, other approaches to the categorization of words are also developed during the Edo period. For example, there was an increased interest in word interpretation and etymology, based on the historical focus on phonology. This can be seen in 1700, when Kaibara Ekken 貝原益軒 (1630 – 1714) published his *Nihon shakumyō* 日本釈名, containing a categorization of words, based on their etymological origin, in an attempt to trace back the phonetic transformations across the centuries. This work was based on the semi-homonymous work by the Chinese Liú Xī (*Ryū Ki* 劉熙, in Japanese), who lived in the 4th century, and published the work known as *Shiming*, or *Shakumyō* 釈名 in Japanese. Kaibara identifies eight categories of words, based on their etymological pronunciation, in the following fashion (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 208-210):

- 自語 (*jigo*): Words pronounced ‘naturally’ (*ji* 自), as handed down since the ancient times, i.e., words that have not undergone any specific phonetic changes;¹⁷
- 転語 (*tengo*): Words that vary in their meaning by changing one of the vowels in one syllable. For example, *kami* 上 ‘up’, that becomes *kimi* 君 ‘you’, ‘prince’, with /a/ changing into /i/;
- 略語 (*ryakugo*): Words that are used in their abbreviated form. For example *hi* 氷 ‘ice’ is considered an abbreviated form of *hiyuru*;
- 借語 (*shakugo*): Homophones, words spelled with the same *kana*;
- 義語 (*gigo*): Characters originating from a concept. For example, the character *sei* 勢 ‘vigor’, read as *ikioi*, represents a *gigo* of the spelling 氣生, composed of the elements ‘energy’ and ‘life’;
- 反語 (*hango*): When two *kana* combine into one as in *hira* ‘surface’, that, allegedly, gave *ha* ‘leaf’ by combining the consonant of the first *kana* ‘hi’ and the vowel of the second *kana* ‘ra’;
- 子語 (*shigo*): Words that derive from a ‘mother character’ 母字 (*shi* 子 meaning ‘son’), as *hiru* ‘afternoon’, that allegedly comes from *hi* ‘sun’;
- 音語 (*ongo*): Literally ‘sound words’. These can be of three types, according to the original language the sound supposedly comes from. They can be Japanese native sounds, Chinese-derived sounds, and Sanskrit-derived sounds.

Although these categories represent an early division of words by a Japanese, their usefulness is limited, as they only function in the context of etymological studies. None of these categories holds morphosyntactic relevance, and they are based on the traditional Japanese conception of phonological units, that correspond to *kana*.

Another interesting trend that can be witnessed with many scholars of varying backgrounds, is the focus on the categories of *te ni wo ha* and *joshi/joji/jogo*. These two concepts, that come from the Japanese and Chinese traditions, are at the core of

¹⁷ This ignores the fundamental phonological changes in pronunciation of Japanese consonant and vowels throughout the history of the language, a phenomenon of which Edo Japanese individuals were mostly unaware.

numerous investigations and debates all throughout the Edo period and deserve special attention (see 5.5), also because of the relevance of the category *joshi* in the works of Shizuki (see Chapter VII).

The history of the study of Japanese inflection patterns cannot be understood without the history of Japanese studies on phonology. Traditionally, conjugation was conceived of as substitutions or patterns of alternation of *kana*, each with a meaning attributed to them (see 3.1). In fact, since the syllabic writing of *kana* did not allow a further segmentation of sounds, the studies on the Table of the Fifty Sounds (*gojūon-zu* 五十音図) and the *kana-zukai* were used as basis upon which to construct one's theory of inflection. That is why a first illustration of the patterns of conjugation can be found in a 1646 publication by the title *Inkyō-zu* 韻鏡図, another work based on the table of the fifty sounds, that identified five patterns of verbal inflection, according to the *kana* used as ending. The author identified five patterns:

- 若仮 (*jakka*)¹⁸ 'hypothetical', that corresponds to our *mizenkei* form + *-ba*;
- 未来 (*mirai*) 'future', that corresponds to our *izenkei* form + *-ba*;
- 過去 (*kako*) 'past', that corresponds to our *ren'yōkei* form + *-ki*;
- 現在 (*genzai*) 'present', that corresponds to our *shūshikei*;
- 下知 (*gechi*) 'imperative', that corresponds to our *meireikei*.

Although still fundamentally dependent on the studies on the Table of the Fifty Sounds, one can already see patterns in the combined use of verbal affixes with the change in verbal ending, in a way that appears to describe Japanese conjugation as inflection, rather than as *kana* substitution (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 218).

What is still missing from this picture is a categorization of words according to morphological parameters. As argued by FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 226), there has never been a real development of such a categorization, except for the binary distinction between *tai* 体 and *yō* 用 words, that only considered their quality of "non-inflecting" or "inflecting". A similar distinction can also be found in Ogyū's categories, although he used these two characters with a different meaning (see 6.1.2). It is indeed Ogyū himself, according to FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 216), who brought together the historical traditions of the linguistic studies on Chinese and Japanese. While Ogyū was mostly interested in the interpretation of Chinese characters and of *kanbun*, he did draw comparisons between *kanji* and the corresponding native Japanese word. The popularization of the Chinese grammatical categories, particularly in reference to the category of *joshi/jogo* that can be witnessed in the Edo period, could be traced back to the re-printing of *Jogo-ji* 助語辭, in 1674, a book originally published in China, in 1324 with the title *Yǔzhù* 語助 (*Gojo*, in Japanese) by Lú Yǐwěi 盧以緯. As the book title suggests, the main focus of this work concerned the category of *jogo* which was presented in the traditional distinction "full" (*jitsu* 実), "empty" (*kyo* 虚) and "auxiliary" (*jo* 助). Another early adopter of these three categories was Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670 – 1736), a

¹⁸ Tentative reading.

Confucian who, in 1763 published *Sōkō jiketsu* 操觚字訣 (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 226). In this source, the following is claimed:¹⁹

凡文字、而於乎哉ノ類ヲ、助字トイフ、文章ノテニハナリ。嗚呼如何稍亦ノ類ヲ語辭トイフ。文章ノコトハ字也。命スル見ル行クノ類、ハタラキニナル字ヲ虚字ト云。天地日月命令ノ類ヲ実字ト云、ソノカタチアルモノナリ。

Generally, as far as characters are concerned, the types of *ji* 而, *o* 於, *ko* 乎 and *sai* 哉 are called *joji* 助字, and are the *te ni ha* of a text. Characters like *mei* 嗚, *ko* 呼, *nyo* 如, *ka* 何, *shō* 稍 and *eki* 亦 are called “auxiliaries” (*goji* 語辭), these are the words of a text. Words like *mei suru* 命スル, *miru* 見ル and *yuku* 行ク are words that do work (*hataraki*), thus are called “empty” (*kyoji* 虚字). Characters like *ten* 天, *chi* 地, *nichi* 日, *getsu* 月, *mei* 命, *rei* 令 are “full” (*jitsuji* 実字), as they are things that possess a shape (*katachi*).

In this piece of text, one can see the distinction of the parts of speech into four categories, that appear to be applicable to both Chinese and Japanese. In addition, a distinction is made between *joji* 助字 and *goji* 語辭. According to this source, a *joji* is a Chinese character that corresponds to the Japanese *te ni wo ha* particles, while the category of *goji* mostly seems to include characters referring to interjections (*mei* 嗚, *ko* 呼), pronouns (*ka* 何) and conjunctions (*nyo* 如, *eki* 亦). Additionally, the categories of “full” and “empty” are named. An “empty” character is one expressing a “work” (*hataraki*), while a “full” character is one referring to things possessing a “shape” (*katachi*). Neither in the examples, nor in the explanations are adjectives ever distinguished. Many authors, including Ogyū Sorai, identified a subdivision of the “empty” category, called *hankyo* 半虚, ‘semi-empty’ that would correspond to adjectives (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 232). In *Kun'yaku jimō* adjectives are, instead, categorized as “empty-quiet” words, distinguishing from verbs that are “empty-moving” words, thus assigning the quality of “quiet” (*sei* 静) to adjectives, and of “moving” (*dō* 動) to verbs, both under the supercategory of “empty” (see 6.1.2). This same categorization can be seen in Shizuki’s *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* (see 7.2 and 7.3).

In the introduction (*sōron* 総論) to a work by Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園 (1734 – 1807) by the title *Joji shōkai* 助字詳解 (1811, ‘Detailed Understanding of Auxiliary Characters’), one can read another explanation of the distinguishing factors between the three categories of full-empty-auxiliary:²⁰

凡字義、実字ハ知り易ク、虚字ハ稍難シ。虚字ハ虚ニシテ、タゞ其模様ノミアリテ、人ノ心ニソノサマヲ持チテ後ニ、知ルベキ故ナリ。助字猶

In general, as far as the interpretation of characters (*jigi* 字義) is concerned, the category of “full words” is easy to know, while that of “empty words” is a bit complicated. An “empty word”, being made “empty”, can only exist in such a condition. They are held as such within the human heart, and as such they ought to be

¹⁹ Original quote cited from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 230), my translation.

²⁰ Original quote cited from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 233), my English translation.

更其虚字ヲ以テ、物若ハ事ノ
サマヲ形容スルニ付ケテ、其
ヲ聞ク人ノ心ニ、ソレヲ持チ
思フ処ニスケテ、其ソレヲ持
チテ思ヒヤフノ、心ノハヅミ
ヲ活シテ、思ハセントテ用ユ
ル文字ナル故ニ、尤モ心ニ入
リ難キモノナリ。

understood. Furthermore, the “auxiliaries” are annotated after taking an “empty word” as to qualify [*keiyō* 形容] the condition of a “thing” or an “action”.²¹ In the heart of the person hearing them, they help where one thinks while holding them, giving vitality to the impulse of the heart that makes it think while holding them. And since these are characters used without thinking, they are very hard to learn.

This explanation is particularly valuable, as it concisely qualifies most of the relevant terminology. In addition, Minagawa also ranks the parts of speech according to a hierarchy of difficulty. While *jitsuji*, the ‘full words’, are described as the easiest to understand, probably because they would be defined as representing the name of all existing things, *kyoji* ‘empty words’ are considered a bit more complicated, as they are used to qualify that which is expressed by the *jitsuji*. They are “empty”, in this sense, and can only be empty, because their meaning can only be fully expressed in combination with a *jitsuji*. The most complex category is that of *joji*, the “auxiliaries”, since they also only function in combination with another category, in this case that of *kyoji*.²² The category of *joji* is used, according to Minagawa’s definition, in order to afford “vitality” (活シテ) to the “impulse” (ハヅミ) of the heart. The use of *joji* in the context of conjugation, therefore, needs to be understood as a tool by which to express one’s own “heart”, one’s own expressible meaning. Minagawa adds that the *joji* are particularly difficult as compared to the other two categories of words, because of the fact that they are used without even thinking. I assume this assertion refers to the fact that, while *jitsuji* and *kyoji* both have a direct referent in the context of semantics, be it a ‘thing’, an ‘action’ or a ‘quality’, the *joji* only hold a grammatical meaning, specifying what we would call time, tense, conjugation and so on.

While many authors were using the full-empty-auxiliary categories, some others were also adopting a different system, closer to the *tai* 体 and *yō* 用 distinction found in Keichū. Ogyū Sorai often utilized the categories of *keijō* 形状, *sakuyō* 作用, *seiji* 声辞 and *butsumei* 物名 that would correspond to, respectively: adjectives; verbs; “auxiliary words”; and nouns. This distinction is found in the *kanbun* introduction to his *Yakubun sentei* yet they are not found in *Kun’yaku jimō*. A very similar distinction is also adopted by Suzuki Akira, in his *Gengyo shishuron* 言語四種論 (1824), where one can find the same names for verbs (*shiwaza* 作用) and adjectives (*arikata* 形状), the character *tai* 体 for nouns, just like in Keichū, and the label *te ni wo ha* for the category of *joshi* (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 227-228).

²¹ The two characters *mono* 物 and *koto/waza* 事, could be interpreted as referring to either the dichotomy between concrete and abstract things, as well as that between objects and actions.

²² Minagawa might be referring to only the *joji* which correspond to the verbal/adjectival affixes we call *jodōshi*, in contemporary Japanese, as the ‘particles’ we would today refer to as *joshi* would indeed also combine with nouns, e.g., *jitsuji*.

5.3.1 Parts of speech according to Fujitani Nariakira

A rather distinct approach was adopted by Fujitani Nariakira 富士谷成章 (1738 - 1779), the elder brother of Kyoto sinologist Minagawa Kien. Fujitani, who espoused *kokugaku*, was especially original in his interpretation of the categories of speech and the rules of Japanese. Since he lived in the central decades of the 18th century, he is particularly relevant to the historical period I am concerned with. His main works on language are *Kazashi-shō* かざし抄 (1767) and *Ayui-shō* あゆひ抄 (1778). These two works cover two of the four main categories of speech he identifies: the category of *kazashi* 挿頭, that is a term used to refer to head ornaments, and *ayui* 脚結, that was a sort of tie one would fasten on their trousers underneath the knee to enhance leg mobility. The term *kazashi* was used by Fujitani to refer to those parts of speech one would today call adverbs, conjunctions, pronouns, interjections, among others, while *ayui* was the term he used for particles (nowadays *joshi*) and verbal affixes (nowadays *jodōshi*), as they are generally added after a word. In addition to these two categories, Fujitani also identified the category of *na* 名 ‘name’ for nouns, and the category of *yosoi* 装 that translates into ‘attire’, ‘ornament’, and was used by Fujitani to refer to verbs and adjectives. Thus, although the nomenclature was rather distinct from the norm of his contemporaries, the four categories were not so different from tradition, where *na* would correspond to full/body words, *yosoi* to empty/function words, while *ayui* and *kazashi* were specific sub-categories of auxiliaries. In *Ayui-shō*, Fujitani explains: “The *na* 名 informs about the truth²³ of things, the *yosoi* 装 specifies the action,²⁴ the *kazashi* and *ayui* help the word”²⁵ (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 235-236). Even though Fujitani made a difference between the two categories of *kazashi* and *ayui*, both of them are defined as ‘helping’ (*tasuku*, verb connected to the character *jo* 助) the other ‘words’ *kotoba*.

As far as the category *yosoi* is concerned, Fujitani analyzes the inflecting patterns of verbs and adjectives in a way that is more similar to the modern approach. In *Ayui-shō*, Fujitani draws a table of all types of *yosoi* according to their patterns of inflection. He divides the category of *yosoi* in many sub-levels, starting from the two main categories of *waza* 事 ‘action’, that refer to verbs, and *sama* 状 ‘condition’, that refers to adjectives. It is worth mentioning that the character for *sama* 状 was also used by Ogyū Sorai and Suzuki Akira, both adopting the term *arikata/keijō* 形状 for adjectives (see 5.2.1). The category of *waza* has two sub-categories: the broadest one is called again *waza*, while the smaller one is called *a(ri)na* 孔 ‘hole’, that corresponds in the example to the verb *ari*, and refers to the category of the *ra-hen* ラ変 class of verbs. Adjectives, instead, appear in three categories: *arisama* 在,

²³ The verb *kotowaru* refers to the Chinese character *ri* 理, meaning ‘to specify the truth of things’, ‘to judge’.

²⁴ In this translation ‘thing’ translates *butsu (mono)* 物 and ‘action’ translates *ji* 事, that was here probably used as corresponding to the word *waza*.

²⁵ Original quote: “名をもて物をことわり、装をもて事をさだめ、挿頭・脚結をもてことばたすく。”, cited from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 236. My translation.

that refers to the category of *keiyōdōshi*; *shizama* 芝状, that refers to adjectives of the *-ku* type; and *shikizama* 鋪状, that corresponds to adjectives of the *-shiku* type.

Each of these categories combines with specific entries in each line that illustrates how each type ought to be inflected. The term *kishikata* 往 corresponds to the *ren'yōkei*, the term *menomae* 目 refers to the *meireikei* and, for some, the *izenkei*, as well, while the term *aramashi* 来 refers to the *mizenkei*. The character *moto* 本 refers to the root of the verb. As is known, not all verbal roots in Japanese end(ed) in a vowel, some ending with a consonant. However, since Japanese is written by means of syllabic characters, this difference was interpreted as the root requiring an extra syllable, that corresponded to the character *sue* 末, in Fujitani's terminology. It needs to be stressed that this extra syllable – that really is an extra consonant – does not include the cases in which a verb has more syllables in the root itself. For example, the verb *omo(h)i* has two syllables in its root (*o* and *mo*) and ends in a consonant (*h*), thus the *sue* 末 character, according to Fujitani, would only be *hu* (ふ) ²⁶ while both *o* and *mo* belong to the root (*moto* 本). Additionally, Fujitani uses other characters to express other inflecting patterns. With the character *nabiki* 靡, Fujitani refers to two different phenomena. With regards to verbs, this character refers to the additional *ra-gyō* ラ行 syllable that needs to be added in the *shūshikei* and *rentaikei* forms of some verbs, realizing as a *ru* syllable, identified by Fujitani with the combination of the characters *nabiki hiki** 靡引,²⁷ and for the *izenkei* form, realizing as the syllable *re*, that Fujitani calls *nabiki fushi* 靡伏. For adjectives, it corresponds to the additional character *ki*, in similar contexts, for which *nabiki hiki** 靡引 is used. Adjectives cannot inflect according to *nabiki fushi* 靡伏. With *fushi menomae* 伏目 and *tachi moto* 立本, Fujitani refers to the syllable *ke*, for the *izenkei*, and *ka*, for most forms of both *-ku* and *-shiku* adjectives.

Since not all verbs inflect by adding the “extra syllable” (*sue* 末) or a *ru* syllable (*nabiki* 靡), verbal and adjectival types, are categorized according to their capability (*yū* 有 ‘presence’) or incapability (*mu* 無 ‘absence’) of possessing either. The verb 居, whose root is *u*, belongs to a group of verbs that possess neither, thus is categorized in the group *mumatsu muhi** 無末無靡. The verbs 来 (root *ku*), 為 (root *su*), 寝 (root *nu*), 得 (root *u*), and 見 (root *mi*) all conjugate without the addition of an extra syllable (e.g., their roots end in vowel) but do present the *ru* syllable in their *rentaikei* form, and thus are categorized as *mumatsu yūhi** 無末有靡. The verbs 打 (root + extra syllable: *u-tsu*), 思 (root + extra syllable *omo-(f)u*) have an extra syllable in their roots, yet do not conjugate with the syllable *ru* in their *rentaikei*, thus are categorized as *yūmatsu muhi** 有末無靡. The verbs 捨 (root + extra syllable: *su-tsu*), 落 (root + extra syllable: *o-tsu*), 恨 (root + extra syllable: *ura-mu*)

²⁶ This, of course, refers to the historical spelling, where the *ha-gyō* used to refer to the consonant /p/.

²⁷ Not all compounds present *furigana*, for those terms I provide a provisional transcription in Latin characters trying to maintain consistency with the other names. In those cases, I will signal it by means of an asterisk.

and 越 (root + extra syllable: *ko-yu*) conjugate by having both an extra syllable as well as the syllable *ru*, thus are categorized as *yūmatsu yūhi** 有末有靡. The same category is also afforded to the *-shiku* adjectives category (鋪). The verbs in the *arina* 孔 category (*ra-hen*), as well as the *arisama* 在 (*jodōshi*) and the *-ku* adjectives (芝), present an extra syllable in their root, as well as a *hiki* 引, thus are categorized as *yūmatsu yūin** 有末有引. A *hiki* is similar to a *nabiki* 靡, but it is not to be considered an additional syllable, rather a modification of the syllable in the root.

On the one hand, Fujitani Nariakira's investigations are very original, apparently treating verbal conjugation as a morphological phenomenon rather than as *kana*-substitution, as it had been done in most of the Edo period. However, in some cases, Fujitani's interpretations were still hindered by the higher degree of reliance on the writing system of Japanese. Furthermore, Fujitani's theories were still developed within the theoretical framework of *kokugaku*. Even though he adopted rather unique terminology, he still operated within the distinction of the classes of the parts of speech typical of the Japanology of the time. Fujitani's works are a testimony of how the *kokugaku* scholarship was developing a theory on the morphosyntax of verbs, in its own independent fashion, beyond what Motoori Norinaga was doing, for example. In fact, there is no reason to believe that Shizuki was in any relevant form influenced by Fujitani's theory. However, Shizuki wrote a lot about the category of verbs, referencing Dutch, Japanese and Chinese grammar, and he reached out to *kokugaku* sources, as well, like Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*. It is however to be expected that, being Shizuki so interested in the category of verbs, he would have also been interested in sources different from Motoori Norinaga. While Fujitani, amongst others, was developing theories of grammar consistent with the tradition of *kokugaku*, Shizuki took some inspiration from that school, yet pursued a quite different field of investigation. Ultimately, contemporary Japanese grammar sure did not adopt Fujitani's theories and terminology, since terms such as *kazashi* and *ayui* are not used today to refer to the parts of speech, whereas terms such as *dōshi* 動詞, *keiyōshi* 形容詞 still are, for example. These derive from Neo-Confucian Chinese studies and were being re-elaborated by Shizuki and other scholars of Dutch so as to also be consistent with the Greek-Latin tradition of grammar, at the time mediated by the Dutch.

5.3.2 Parts of speech according to Suzuki Akira

Suzuki Akira 鈴木朗 (1764 – 1837) was a disciple of Motoori Norinaga who pursued the study of Japanese through the teachings of his master. His most relevant works are: *Katsugo danzokufu* 活語断続譜 (1803) where he covers the topic of *kakari-musubi*, following the work of Norinaga; *Gengyo shishu-ron* 言語四種論 (1824), in which he discusses the categories of the parts of speech; and *Gago onsei-kō* 雅語音声考 (1816), where he covers the topic of the phonology of classical

literary language (*gago* 雅語). In *Gengyo shishu-ron*, on folio 2r, Suzuki presents his division of the parts of speech of Japanese:²⁸

言語ニ四種ノ別アル事

クサ
詞ニ四種ノ別チトハ、一ツハ万
ツノ名目ニテ、体ノ詞、又動カ
ヌ詞ト云、一ツハテニヲハ、一
アリカタ シワザ
ツハ形状ノ詞、一ツハ作用ノ
詞、此ニツヲ合セテ、世ニハ用
ノ詞ト云、又働ク詞トモ、活用
ノ詞トモ、活語トモ云、終リニ
附クモジ、斷レ続キニ因リテカハ
ル故ナリ、カクテ此四種ノ別チ
ノ委シキ子細、又其一クサゴト
ニ、格聊ツ、別ツアル事ハ、
アゲツ
次々ニ 論 ラフヲ見ルベシ

The differentiation of the four types within language

The words [*kotoba* 詞] divide in four types. One is the *karada no kotoba* ['substance-word'], in the naming of all things. They are also called *ugokanu kotoba* ['words that do not move']. Another type is that of the *te ni wo ha*. Another type is that of the *arikata no kotoba* ['words of condition']. The other one is the type of *shiwaza no kotoba* ['words of action']. These [last] two together are called *yō no kotoba* [用ノ詞], also called *hataraku kotoba* ['working words'], or *katsuyō no kotoba* [活用ノ詞] or *katsugo* [活語]. That is because the ending characters which attach [to them] change according to the *kire-tsuzuki*. The differences across these four types are precise and accurate. Furthermore, the difference of each and every one of these types will be discussed further.

This excerpt introduces the work and sets the basics of the topic. Languages (*gengyo* 言語) are composed of four types – or categories – of speech. These four categories are:

- *karada no kotoba* 体ノ詞 'body-words', that are also called *ugokanu kotoba* 動カヌ詞 'words that do not move'. These are explained as being used in the labeling of all the things of the world (万ツノ名目);
- *te ni wo ha*;
- *arikata no kotoba* 形状ノ詞, 'words of condition';
- *shiwaza no kotoba* 作用ノ詞 'words of action'.

The last two of these categories are grouped together into the category of *yō no kotoba* 用ノ詞, also called *hataraku kotoba* 働ク詞 'working words', or *katsuyō no kotoba* 活用ノ詞 or *katsugo* 活語. One could schematize the description of the relations between the parts of speech, according to Suzuki's theories, in the manner illustrate by Table 31.

²⁸ Original text and folio references of *Gengyo shishu-ron* from the copy in possession of Toyama City Public Library (富山私立図書館), ID: 4422 W815 ケ 2147.

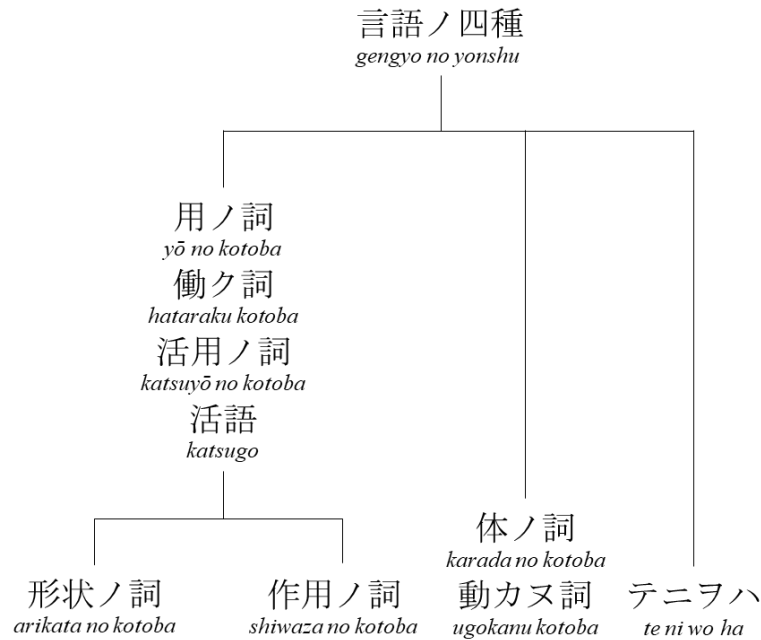


Table 31 Parts of speech in *Katsugo danzokufu* by Suzuki Akira.

This differentiation of the categories of speech, Suzuki claims, also applies to Chinese, although the *te ni wo ha* category is to be understood as being specific to Japanese. The concept of *kiri-tsuzuki* – literally ‘cut and continue’ – that he also mentions, corresponds to the *shūshikei* and *rentaikei* forms of verbs and adjectives, a terminology that is also seen in Shizuki Tadao (see 8.2), as well as many other authors of the time (also in Ogyū Sorai and Motoori Norinaga, as I will mention in Chapter VI). Suzuki expands on this distinction of words in four “types” by emphasizing that each category can be transformed into one of the other categories by means of specific mutations, mostly aided by a *te ni wo ha*. This is what he claims in the section titled “About body-words”, on folio 2v to 3v:

体ノ詞ノ事	About words of substance
体ノ詞ヲニツニ別ケレバ、形アル物 タガ ト形ナキ物トノ違ヒアレハ。惣テ物 アリカタ ニテモ事ニテモ。形状ニテモ。 コトワリ 理ニテモ。何ニテモ。一方ニ定メ	Even if one distinguishes between <i>katachi aru mono</i> [‘things with shape’] and <i>katachi naki mono</i> [‘things without shape’] thus dividing the <i>karada</i> words into two, be them used for ‘concrete things’ [物], ‘abstract thing’ [事, also, possibly, ‘action’], ‘conditions’ [形状], ‘value’ [理], ‘what’ [何], ²⁹ and on the other hand the

²⁹ I suppose he is referring to interrogative pronouns, here, as a whole, as it is done in Motoori Norinaga (see 6.2.1).

テ指シ呼ブ名目ノ詞ハ皆是ナリ

○体ノ詞ノ終リニツクモジ共ノ韻。
第一ノアノ韻ヨリ。第五ノオノ韻マ
デ。有ズト云事ナシ。其中ニハ第三
ノウノ韻ノモジノツク事。ヤ、少キ
ヤウニ覺ユルハ。其故アル事ナルベ
シ

○終リニ附モジノ動キ働ク事ナシ。
アメ
サレド天ヲアマ何。又アマノ何。酒
ヲサカ何。竹ヲタカ何ト云類ヒア
リ。又手ヲタ何ト云ヒ。又火ヲホ
何。又ホノ何。木ヲコ何又コノ何ト
云タグヒアリ

○シワザノ詞ヲ轉メ体ノ詞トスル事
アル。終リノモジ。第二ノイノ韻ト
第四ノエノ韻トニカギレリ。断續譜
我が著セル活語ノキ
レツマキノ語也ノ第四等コレ也。但シ人ノ
名トナル時ハ。第三ノ韻ニテモ。ヤ
ガテ体ノ詞ノ格ナリ。

○テニヲハヲ轉メ名目トスル事。物
イナ ウ
ノアハレヲ知ノアハレ。不モ諾モノ
イナ。ウ。アヤニカシコシノアヤ此タ
グヒ皆心ノ聲ニメ。テニヲハノタグ
ヒナルヲ。カク様ニ云寸ハ。体ノ詞
ニ轉ゼルナリ○体ノ詞ノ活語ニナル
事。是ハ本珍シカラヌ事也。活語ノ
終リニツケル。働クテニヲハヲ取棄ミ
レバ。名目ノ詞ナルガ多ク。サアラ
ヌモ全ク同シスガタナリ。然レハ体
ノ詞ニ働クテニヲハヲ添タルガ。ヤ
ガテ活語也。ト云テアリヌベシ。猶
下ニ論ズルヲミルベシ

○名目ノ辭ノ終リニモ。テニヲハノツ
ハタ ミツ
ケルガアルハ。一ツニツノツ甘チ世
モ、チ
デ百チ千チノチナリ

established names to call and refer to *meimoku no kotoba*, they are all of this type.

There is no denying that the syllable accompanying the character added at the end of the *karada* words can go from the first one 'a' to the fifth 'o'. Amongst them, it should be remembered that the third 'u' is rather rarely added.

The character added at the end does not 'move' nor 'work'. These are the types of *ama*+something or *amano*+something, from *ame* 天 'sky', *saka*+something, from *sake* 酒 'alcohol', *taka* something from *take* 竹 'bamboo'. There are also the types of *ta*+something from *te* 手 'hand', *ho*+something or *hono*+something from *hi* 火 'fire', or *ko*+something, *kono*+something from *ki* 木 'tree'.

There is the possibility of turning a *shiwaza* word into a *karada* word. This is limited to the final character of the second syllable 'i' and the fourth syllable 'e'. In the fourth of *kiretsuzukinofu* (This is my book *katsugo no kiretsuzuki no fu*). Nonetheless, when it comes to the names of people, even in the case they are in the third syllable ['u'], they still are *karada* words.

As for the changing of a *te ni wo ha* into a *meimoku* ['name label'], these are the types of *aware* in *mono no aware* or *chi no aware*; *ina* and *u* in *ina mo u mo* 不モ諾モ; *aya* in *aya ni kashikoshi*. All are made *kokoro no koe* and, when becoming *te ni wo ha*, they turn into *karada* words.

The turning into a *katsugo* of a *karada* word is not surprising. By seeing the taking and throwing away of of *te ni wo ha* which do work [働ク] attached at the end of a *katsugo*, there are many which become a word of *meimoku*. Even if it not so, all of them have the same shape. Furthermore, there is no denying that when adding a working *te ni wo ha* to a *karada* word, it still is a *katsugo*. This is discussed below.

There is the possibility of adding a *te ni wo ha* even at the end of a character of *meimoku*, like *tsu* in *hitotsu* and *futatsu*, or *chi* in *hatachi*, *mitsuji*, *momochi* and *chichi*.

This is the complete content of the explanation of “body-words”, in *Gengyo shishu-ron*. The definition provided in the very first sentence might appear counterintuitive, as it states that a *karada* word can refer to a plethora of things, among which *arikata* words are also listed, even though he previously claimed them to be a different category. Furthermore, the character *ji* 事, that often refers to “abstract things”, as opposed to *butsu* 物, referring to “concrete things”, might be interpreted in its reading *waza*, that would correspond to the concept of “action”, as a result of which it would coincide with the other category Suzuki called *shiwaza*. To understand what this means one probably needs to make a distinction that Suzuki himself did not make. The labels he gave to the parts of speech function both semantically, as well as morphologically. That is, even if a word might semantically express the meaning of a ‘condition’ *arikata*, it could still be a *karada* word, if it morphologically behaves as such. Additionally, Suzuki divides *karada* words into those that refer to things with a shape (*katashi aru mono*), and those without shape (*katashi naki mono*). This division, proposed as an alternative subcategorization, reinforces the idea of considering *ji* 事 as representing “actions” and not “abstract things”. Suzuki does not use these two categories anywhere else in the book.

Another characteristic of “body-words” is that they can end in any vowel, although the *-u* ending is quite uncommon. All the phonological variations illustrated by Suzuki in this context, that are fundamental to comprehend the way he viewed Japanese grammar, refer to the classical Siddhāṃ studies on pronunciation. The changes in final vowels that mostly occur in Japanese when two elements interact, are referred to by means of the Sino-Sanskrit tradition of enumerating syllables according to the order the vowels appear within the Siddhāṃ traditional order. That is, a syllable with the vowel *a* is referred to as “the first syllable” (第一ノ韻), while a syllable presenting the vowel *i*, for example, is referred to as “the second syllable”. This demonstrates how much impact the Table of the Fifty Sounds still had onto the investigations on language well into the Edo period. A connection is also visible with the studies on Japanese by Sengaku, who many centuries before was already discussing these specific phonological changes in word composition.³⁰

This vision of Japanese grammar, fundamentally connected to the phonological alternation of the last syllable of the word, is used to illustrate two phenomena, in the text above. First, Suzuki illustrates some phonological adaptations necessary when combining a noun with another element that ‘does not move nor work’ (動キ働ク事ナシ). This mostly refers to the context in which a noun (*karada*) is combined with a following non-inflecting element. In such cases it is indeed not rare for the first noun to change its final vowel or, generally, to undergo certain phonological adaptations for euphonic reasons. Suzuki provides some examples of this phenomenon, such as the word *ame* ‘sky’ that, in some compounds, gains the “first syllable” vowel *a* as ending, becoming *ama*, as in the name of the Shinto

³⁰ I base this claim on a quote in SHIGEMATSU (1959, 59), where many of the same examples (i.e., *sake* becoming *saka* and *take* becoming *taka*) are allegedly found in Sengaku, as well, who also references directly the Sanskrit language (*bongo* 梵語) thus basing his phonological patterns on Siddhāṃ phonological understanding.

goddess Amaterasu 天照 (my example), or as the word *take* ‘bamboo’, that also gets the “first syllable” vowel *a* as an ending, in some compounds, becoming *taka*. Suzuki also writes examples wherein the syllable is changed to the “fifth” one, corresponding to the vowel *o*, as *hi* ‘fire’ becoming *ho*. As I have shown in 5.1, many of these examples had already been introduced by Sengaku, which suggests either a direct reference to that material – that was already centuries old – or, rather, a crystallization of these words as the easiest and most representative examples of such phenomenon, within Japanese studies in Japan. A second fundamental phenomenon, implied by the vision of words – nouns included – in patterns of phonological variation, is the possibility of making a noun from a *shiwaza* word, a “verb”. This happens only when the vowel of the last syllable of a verb is turned into the second *i* or the fourth *e*, and Suzuki suggests consulting his other work *Katsugo no kire-tsuzuki no fu* (i.e., *Katsugo danzokufu*), where a detailed table illustrating the phenomenon of vowel alternation is presented.

Suzuki also claims that there is the possibility of turning a *te ni wo ha* into a *karada* word. The most representative example he provides is that of the quote *ina mo u mo* 不モ諾モ (also *ina mo o mo* 否モ諾モ), that should translate: ‘both yes and no’.³¹ As I will show in 7.2.4, Shizuki Tadao includes the Dutch *ja* ‘yes’ and *nee(n)* ‘no’ within the category of *joshi* in his *Joshi-kō*. Although Suzuki believed *te ni wo ha* to be specific categories of Japanese, thus denying any correspondence between them and the Chinese category of *joshi*, many authors have actually considered them to be the same (see 5.5, and 6.2 for Motoori Norinaga’s critique of this categorization). As such, one can understand why Suzuki considered *ina* ‘no’ and *u* ‘yes’ to be originally *te ni wo ha*, and that they have been turned into nouns in the sentence ‘both yes and no’. Another example is that of the conjunction (adverb?) *aya (ni)*, that conveys astonishment, or suspiciousness. This same example was also found in Sengaku, reinforcing the idea that Suzuki might have relied on his school of thought (see 5.1). In this sentence, one can also see Suzuki referring to concepts fundamental to Motoori Norinaga’s school of *kokugaku*, specifically in the term *mono no aware* and *chi no aware*, that points out the influence received from the earlier *kokugaku* scholars (see 6.2).

While until now Suzuki illustrated the possibility of turning different word categories into a *karada* word, he also adds that a *karada* word could become a *katsugo* ‘lively word’ – meaning “inflecting word” – by means of the interaction with a *te ni wo ha* that “does work” (*hataraku* 働ク). This implies that a specific quality of (some) *te ni wo ha* is their capability of “working”, a concept that should be understood as the specific quality that allows any category of words to be inflected (*katsu* 活 or *yō* 用). Nonetheless, not all *te ni wo ha* are to be understood in this way, since Suzuki subsequently adds mention to the instances in which a number (*meimoku*) combines with a *te ni wo ha* in what one could call the “neutral counter” –*tsu* (sometimes –*chi*). These examples do not represent *katsugo*, despite the fact that they are examples of *karada* combining with *te ni wo ha*, according to

³¹ He also refers to the term *aware*, fundamental to Norinaga’s philosophy. In this word, the syllable *a* should be interpreted as an interjection (SHIMADA 1979, 8).

Suzuki. This implies that it is the capacity of “doing work” (*hataraku* 働ク) that which makes a *te ni wo ha* capable of inflecting.

Starting on folio 3v until 7v, Suzuki begins a longer description of the categories of *arikata* and *shiwaza*, that are treated together as they both belong to words of *yō* 用 “function”, meaning that they can be inflected. There, the following can be read:

アリカタ シワザ
形状ノ詞作用ノ詞ノ事
用ノ詞。ハタラク詞。活語ナン
ト。古来一ツニ言来レルヲバ。今
アリカタシワザ クサ
形状作用ト。分チテ二種ノ詞ト
セルハ。終リニ附キテハタラクテ
ス
ニヨハノ。本語ニテキレ居ワリタ
ルモジノ。第二ノイノ韻ナルト。
第三ノウノ韻ナルトノ差別也。第
二ノ韻ナルハ。シ リノニツ也。
シハキラクシスカクシナンドノシ
ニテ其意シラル。即俗ニ何々シイ
ト云シイノコハロニテ。其有様ヲ
形容イヘル詞ナリ。ケシ。シツケ
ハル ケシ タシ。ウレタシ。メデタシ メカシ。
フルメカシ。オボメカシ。シ
ヒキ
高シ卑シ美シ悪シ悲シ樂シノタ
グヒノシ皆同意也。リハ有リ也。
アハアリク。アザヤカ。アラハル
アキラカノアニテ。物ニツバク寸
アブ ヲリ
ハ省カレ消ユル也。居ハ。キアリ
也。聞ケリ。見タリハ。聞アリ。
見テアリナリ。往ケリ。還レリ
ハ。ユキアリ。カヘリアリ也。カ
クリモジヲ終リニツクル時ハ。
シワザ アリカタ
本作用ノ詞ナルモ。皆其形状ニ
ナル也。サレバコノシ リノニモ
ジニテアル詞ハ。スベテ皆物事
ノ形状ナリ。第三ノ韻ナルハ。
ク。明ク 揚グ 刺ス
行ク 下サグ 馳ス
ツ。當ツ 撫ナツ 性イヌ
勝ツ 恥ツ 兼カヌ
フ。逢フ 浮ブ 編ム
買フ 並ブ 咬ム
ユ。愈ユ 消ユ 借ル
居ス 去ル ウ。
衝居ツキスウ ノ十二也。クハメク
アダメク
コメク
ノ類ヒフハナフ

About the words of *arikata* and *shiwaza*

The words of *yō* 用, of *hataraku*, and the *katsugo* have been recognized as one since ancient times. Here I divide them into two, namely *arikata* and *shiwaza*, which are to be discerned according to the ‘working’ *te ni wo ha* which is attached at the end of the original word [‘root’], which is either the second ‘i’, or the third ‘u’. As far as the second [‘i’] is concerned, there are two types: *-shi* and *-ri*. As for *-shi*, this is the type of *kirakirashi*, *sukasukashi* etc., which in the popular language is pronounced *-shii*. The heart of this is *-shii* which qualifies (形容) the ‘way it is’ (有様) of a word. All the *-shi* in the following examples are this type of *-shi*: *-keshi* (*shizukeshi* ‘calm’, *harukeshi* ‘distant’); *-tashi* (*uretashi* ‘detestable’, *medetashi* ‘joyful’); *-mekashi* (*furumekashi* ‘old’, *obomekashi* ‘blurred’) etc. In words such as *takashi* ‘high’, *hikishi* ‘shallow’, *utsukushi* ‘beautiful’, *warushi* ‘evil’, *kanashi* ‘sad’, *tanoshi* ‘enjoyable’, here the character *-shi* always has the same meaning. The types of *-ri*, are *ari* 有リ. The character *a*, as in the words *ariari* ‘certainly’, *azayaka* ‘vividly’, *arawaru* ‘to express’, *akiraka* ‘clearly’, and when follows a thing, gets reduced and deleted. The same goes for *ori* (*wori*), which means *i ari* (*wi ari*). For example: *kikeri* and *mitari*, correspond to *kiki ari* and *mite ari*, *yukeri* and *kaereri* correspond to *yuku ari* and *kaeri ari*. Each of these final *-ri*, although they are originally *shiwaza* words, each become *arikata*. That is to say that each and every word which presents one of these two characters *-shi* or *-ri*, refers to a *arikata* [‘condition’] of the things [物事]. When it comes to the third syllable [‘u’] there are 12 types: *-ku* (*aku* ‘to clear’, *yuku* ‘to go’); *-gu* (*agu* ‘to raise’, *sagu* ‘to lower’); *-su* (*sasu* ‘to pierce’, *hasu* ‘to distance’); *-tsu* (*atsu* ‘to correspond’, *katsu* ‘to win’); *-zu* [*-du*] (*nazu* ‘to pet’, *hazu* ‘to be embarrassed’); *-nu* (*inu* ‘to end up’, *kanu* ‘to serve as both’); *-fu* (*a(f)u* ‘to meet’, *ka(f)u* ‘to buy’); *-bu* (*ukabu* ‘to float’, *narabu* ‘to line up’); *-mu* (*amu* ‘to bind a book’, *kamu* ‘to bite’); *-yu* (*iyu* ‘to heal’, *kiyu* ‘to delete’); *-ru* (*karu* ‘to borrow’, *saru* ‘to arrive’); *-u* (*suu* ‘to sit’/‘to be’; *tsukisuu* ‘to kneel’).

伴ナフ 荷 ナツノ類^スハ為也。令ナリ。ヅ^{シム}ハ^{クサ}ブルノ意ナランカ。フ^{カハ}ヅ^{アリカタ}ムハ相通フ事アリ。此十二モジノテニヲハノ意ニハ。種々別チアルベケレドモ。一ニイヘバ皆為ト同韻ニテ。此韻ニテトマル詞ハ。皆シワザ作用也。人ニテモ物ニテモ何ニテモ。動キ働^{カハ}ラキ移リ變ルワザヲイフニテ。是ヲコソハ用ノ詞トメ体ノ詞ト反對スベキニ。カノ形状ノ詞ヲモ。一ツニ用ノ詞トイヒ来ルハ。少シイカバニテ。形状ハ体ニ近キ所アリ。其證ハ。善シ惡シ^{アリカタ}ト云ヒ有リ^{シワザ}マハト云フタグヒ。一モジニ續クサマ。体ノ詞ノ格ニ同シ。又作用ノ詞ノ終リヲ。第二ノ韻ニ轉メ名目トスル事アリ。御行。御執。使人。戀情ノ類也。是^{アリカタ}第二ノ韻ニハ定マリタル形ノ意ヲモチテ。形状ノ詞ノ体ニ近キハ。此故ニテモアラン坎。サレドモ体ノ詞ニハ働ク事ナキニ。此二ツ共ニ終リノテニハハ動キ働ク故ニ一ツニメ是ヲ働ク詞。又活語。又活用ノ詞ナドイハシハ。サル事也

○形状ノ詞ノ終リシトリトハ同韻ナガラ。一ツニハ云ガタカラン坎ト問フニ答ヘケラク。アリトナシトハ。反對ノ詞也。又善シ^{カラフミヨミ}惡シト云モ。善カリ^カアシカリト云モ。異ナル意ナシ。又漢籍訓ニ何々然タリト云事ハ。何々然トアリニテ。即何々シト云ニ同シ。是等ニテニモジノ意ハ異也ナガラ。同ジ趣キナル事ヲ知ベシ

Those with *-ku* are the type of *meku*, (*adameku* ‘to look flirty’, *komeku* ‘to look childish’) those with *-fu* are the types of *na(fu)* (*tomona(fu)* ‘to accompany’, and *nina(fu)* ‘to carry together’), and those with *-su* have the meaning of *su* ‘to do’ or *shimu* ‘to make do’. Those of the *-bu* type have the meaning of *-buru* [an ending expressing apparent similarity]. There is also the chance of substituting *-fu*, *-bu* and *mu*. All these 12 characters, with the meaning of *te ni wo ha*, diverge each in type. Nonetheless, to say it simply, they all have the same syllable as *su* ‘to do’ [為] and all words ending with that syllable have the meaning of *shiwaza*. Be they referred to people, things or anything, these are opposed to *karada* words, being *yō*, which express actions which ‘move’ (*ugoku*), ‘work’ (*hataraku*), ‘transfer’ (*utsuru*), ‘change’ (*kawaru*). Those *arikata* words, which have been called *yō*, as a single category, actually diverge a little bit, in the fact that *arikata* are closer to *karada*. As demonstration, one can take the types of *yoshi*, *ashi no* and *ari no mama*, which connect with the character *no*, thus they are the same of the *karada* type. Furthermore, there is the possibility of changing a *shiwaza*, into a *meimoku* by changing the ending to a second syllable. These are the types of *miyuki* ‘to go (formal)’, *mitorashi* ‘to take (formal)’, *tsukai* ‘to use’, *omoi* ‘to think’. These of the second syllable type, have the meaning of an established form. Maybe, because of this, we can say that *arikata* words are closer to *karada*. Furthermore, since there is no ‘work’ being done in *karada* words, these two together as ending *te ni wo ha* which do ‘move and work’, become one, and make a *hataraku kotoba*, also called *katsu go* and *katsuyō no kotoba*; they are all actions.

○ How to answer to the question that one might be wondering whether the characters *-shi* and *-ri*, being the same syllable at the end of an *arikata* word, can be collected into one? The words *ari* and *nashi* are opposites. Furthermore, one can say both *yoshi* and *ashi*, as well as *yoshikari* and *ashikari*, which do not differ in meaning. On top of that, when reading Chinese text, one says of an action that it is in the condition of ‘something *-tari*’ yet, being this the same as saying ‘something *to ari*’ it still has the same meaning of *-shi*. While in these and such the meanings of these two characters differ, yet they should be known as representing the same expression.

○悲^シ樂^シト云心ノ形状。悲^シズ
樂^シズト云寸ハ。シカ心ノ動ク
^{シワザ}作用ナル。戀^フ憂^フト云心ノ作用
^{ウレ}ヲ。コヒ^シ憂^ハシト云寸ハ。其
^{サマ}心ノ状トナル。是レ二種ノ詞ノ
互ニ相變ズル例ナリ

○体ノ詞ニテニヲハヲソヘテ二種
^{アヲシロクロ}ノ詞トナル事。譬ヘバ青白黒ト
云ハ。サル色共ノ名目ニメ。体ノ
詞ナルヲ。青^シ白^シ黒^シト云ヘバ
^{アリカタ}其形状ニナリ。青^ム。シラ^ム。
^{シワザ}黒^ムト云寸ハ。其動キ變ズル作用
ソレヲ又青メリ。白メリ。黒メリ
^{アリカタ}ト云寸ハ。又其形状トナル也

○テニヲハニテニヲハヲ添ヘテ用
ノ詞トスル事。ヨブノヨ。ヲメク
ノヲ。アハレムノアハレ。イナム
ノイナ。此タグヒ皆詞ニアラス聲
ナレバ。テニヲハノタグヒナルニ
^{シワザ}第三ノ韻ノモジヲソヘテ。作用ノ
^{アリカタ}詞トシタリ。第二ノ韻ニテ形状
ノ詞トスル事ハ。アヤシ。カナ
シ。イマダシ。ゲニクシノ類^ヒ也

○漢語ヲ和語ノ格ニ働カシ用ル
事。中昔ニハ執念ガマシキ事ヲシ
フネシ。シフネクナドイヒ。装束
スルヲサウゾク。サウゾキナド云
タグヒアリ。今ノ俗料理スルヲレ
ウル。彩色スルヲサイシク。乞食
スルヲコジクト云類オホシ。是又
^{シワザ}作用ト形状トニヨリテテニヲハ
^{アリカタ}ノ別ルハ趣。カハル事ナシ

○詞ノミニテ附^キタルテニヲハノ

○ The words *kanashi* and *tanoshi* represent the condition of the soul [*kokoro no sama*]. When saying *kanashibu* and *tanoshibu*, this becomes the action of a moving soul [*kokoro no ugoku shiwaza*]. The words *ko(f)u* and *ure(f)u* are action of soul [*kokoro no waza*], but when saying *kohisi* and *urehashi*, they become condition of the soul [*kokoro no sama*]. These are examples of the mutual substitution and inversion of these two types of words.

○ There are two types of words created by adding *te ni wo ha* to a *karada* word. For example, if one says *ao* 'blue', *shiro* 'white' and *kuro* 'black', being these names for the colors, they are *karada* words. When one says *aoshi*, *shiroshi* and *kuroshi*, they become *arikata* words. When saying *aomu* 'to get blue', *shiramu* 'to get white', *kuromu* 'to become black', these are *shiwaza* words, which express movement and change. These, if one says *aomeri*, *shiromeri* and *kuromeri* they become their *arikata* versions.

○ When adding a *te ni wo ha* to a *te ni wo ha*, this becomes a word of *yō*. The *yo* in *yobu*, the *wo* in *womeku*, the *aware* in *awaremu*, the *ina* in *inamu*, they all become 'absent voices in the words' [*kotoba ni aranu koe*]. In the types of *te ni wo ha*, when adding the third syllable ['*u*'], they become *shiwaza* words, when adding the second ['*i*'], they become *arikata* words. This is the type of *ayashi*, *kanashi*, *imadashi*, *genigenishi*.

○ Utilizing Chinese words as Japanese words. Since ancient times there have been many words of the types of: 執念, read as *shūneshi* or *shūneku*, 装束 read as *sōzoku*, *sōzoki*, just like nowadays' popular language's 料理 read as *ryōru*, 彩色, read as *saishiku* and 乞食, read as *kojiki*. These, according to the *te ni wo ha* can differentiate in expressivity, becoming a *shiwaza* or *arikata*.

○ Among words, the only ones which do not combine with a *te ni wo ha* are the *karada* words.

ナキヲ体ノ詞トス。働クテニヲハ
ノ附キテ。第二ノ韻ニテスワルヲ
形状ノ詞トシ。第三ニテスワルヲ
シワザ^{シワザ}カラ^{カラ}
作用ノ詞トス。漢國ニハ此ツキ
タルテニヲハナキ故ニ。此三種^{クサ}
ノ詞ノワカチ。タゞ意ノミニ在
テ。詞ノ上ニテハ別チアラズ。皆
此方ノ体ノ詞ノ様ナル物ユエニ。
オノヅカラ^{コハロ}意^{コハロ}モ互ニマギルハ事
多キ也。彼方ノ古書ノ詞ノ解リ^{サト}
難キハ。スベテノ詞ニテニヲハノ
働キナクシテ。過タ事也ヤ。今
ノ事也ヤ。行末ノアラマシニヤ。
又サアリト云ニヤ。サセヨト命^{オホ}
スルニヤ。何トモ別ガタキ事ノ^{ワキ}
多キニヨレリ。サレハ注釋ニ種^{クサ}
々ノ説出来テ。一ツニ落ガタキ
也。此活語ノテニヲハノ精シキヲ^{ダマ}
見テコソハ。我ガ大御國ノ言靈ノ
貴ク妙ニメ。万國ノ言語ノカケテ
モ及バザル事ハ知ラレケレ。其定^{ソリ}
レル規格ハ。師トヲ見テシルベシ

When adding a 'working' *te ni wo ha*, if it has a syllable of the second type ['i'], it becomes a *arikata* word, if it has a syllable of the third type ['u'] it becomes a *shiwaza* word. In China there is no such thing as *te ni wo ha*. Thus, the distinction of these three words is only in the meaning, there is no distinction on the level of words *kotoba*. Since everything becomes of the sort of the *karada* word, even the meaning [*kokoro* 意] of our own [language] has become difficult to discern. The hardship of interpreting the words of their [the Chinese's] ancient books lies in the fact that none of the words have a working of the *te ni wo ha*. Are we talking about something of the past? Is it something of the present? Is it something which has not happened yet? Are we saying something just is so? Are we ordering to do something? These types of difficult interpretations are numerous. As such, there have been created many types of theses, which hardly fall into a single one. Precisely by witnessing the specificity of these *te ni wo ha* of *katsugo* can one appreciate the uniqueness of the spirit of the language of our great country, which does not extend to the languages of all other countries. This establishment is known by learning from a master.

This section of *Gengyo shishu-ron* begins with a bold statement: historically, scholars of the Japanese language have always only considered *tai* 体 and *yō* 用 as two distinct parts speech. Suzuki, instead, prides himself of further dividing the *yō* category into two: *arikata* 形状 and *shiwaza* 作用 words. Although one might be tempted to identify their difference in the distinction between adjectives and verbs, this is not a precise approximation. In fact, both *arikata* and *shiwaza* are further divided according to their endings. There are two types of *arikata* words: those ending in *-shi* and those ending in *-ri*. These two are to be understood as the adjectival unmarked ending *-shi* (*yoshi* 善シ, *yashi* 悪シ), while *-ri* as a verbal affix that is today considered as expressing completeness. The suffix *-shi* is used to 'qualify' (*keiyō* 形容)³² the 'way things are' (*arisama* 有様), while *-ri* derives from the word *ari*, that is not considered a *shiwaza*, yet is used in combination with *shiwaza* words to turn them into *arikata*. The difference between these two characters *-shi* and *-ri* is, according to Suzuki, so slight that one can consider an adjective such as *yoshi* to correspond to its *-ri* conjugated version *yoshikari*. Within

³² Nowadays, adjectives are generally called *keiyōshi* 形容詞.

the *shiwaza* class, Suzuki also includes those words ending in *-tari*, that are used when “reading Chinese texts” (*kara fumi yomi* 漢籍訓). This is because the element *-tari* originates from the combination of *ari* with the particle *to*.³³ Those words that are conjugated by means of the suffix *-tari* in *kundoku*, are often categorized as adjectives, by Ogyū and Shizuki (see 7.2.3).

Additionally, Suzuki also proposes an interesting view of Japanese morphology concerning Chinese influence. As a premise, he states that Chinese does not possess *te ni wo ha* and, thus, all its words do not “do work”, meaning they do not inflect. Consequently, the Japanese themselves have always found it difficult to elaborate a difference in the morphological structure of Japanese. Here he also appears to make a distinction between the idea of “meaning” 意, read as *kokoro*, and the idea of “word” *kotoba* 詞, in a fashion that reminds of a distinction between a semantic meaning for *kokoro* and a morphosyntactic, as well as semantic, meaning of *kotoba*. As such, since Chinese has no *te ni wo ha*, Suzuki adds, there is no way of categorizing words according to their ability to inflect, meaning there are no *katsugo* 活語. This leads to the consequence of Chinese words (*kango* 漢語) used as Japanese words (*wago* 和語) being dependent in their categorization to the circumstantial *te ni wo ha* which is being used in combination with them.

To go back to the word classes of Suzuki, all other verbs are characterized by the ending of the third syllable *u*. Of such syllables Suzuki finds 12 types, one for each *kana* that can possibly be used as a verbal ending, excluding *-zu* and *-pu*. This is a reference to the *shūshikei* form of verbs that, regardless of the verb in question, always ended in *-u*. Suzuki adds that, in principle, each of these syllables should convey a specific meaning, related to the type of action they supposedly refer to, yet this can be simplified by considering all of them to correspond to the character *i* 為, meaning the Japanese verb *su* ‘to do’. In general, *shiwaza* words refer to the ideas of “movement”, “work”, “transfer” and “change”. These *u* types of *shiwaza* can become nouns (*meimoku*) whenever they are added a “second syllable” *i*. This is a reference to the *ren’yōkei* form of verbs that is often used to nominalize verbs.³⁴ Suzuki also points out that there are ways to turn each of the three types of words into any of the others. The word *kanashi* ‘sad’ is originally an *arikata* and would be categorized as an adjective. This type of word is called *kokoro no sama* 心の形状 ‘condition of the heart’ (note that *sama* is written with the same two *kanji* as *arikata*). If one adds the suffix *-bu* (one of the twelve *shiwaza* endings) then one obtains *kanashibu*, a verb, and is thus labeled a *kokoro no hataraku shiwaza* 心ノ働ク作用 ‘working action of the heart’. Conversely, if one takes a word that is originally a *shiwaza*, like *kou* ‘to love’, this is a *kokoro no shiwaza* 心ノ作用, but if one adds the suffix *-shi*, typical of *arikata* words, one obtains the word *koishi*, that is labeled as a *kokoro no sama* 心ノ状 (this time *sama* is written only with the second

³³ This etymological claim is consistent with modern academic knowledge FRELLESVIG (2010, 268-270), as I will discuss again in 7.2.2.

³⁴ All Japanese verbs end in the vowel *-i*, in their *ren’yōkei*, except for the two classes of *shimo ichidan*, and *shimo nidan*, which end in *-e*. Suzuki apparently neglects these two classes, in this explanation.

kanji it was previously written with). The difference between the *kokoro no hataraku shiwaza* and *kokoro no shiwaza* probably corresponds to the difference of a word that is “originally” a *shiwaza* (the latter) and a *shiwaza* obtained by inflection (the former). These labels are then dropped when covering the specific examples of the words referring to colors. These words are, allegedly, peculiar in behavior as, although they originally are *tai*, ‘substance’ (i.e., ‘nouns’) they can be inflected into all other categories, in different manners. If one takes the example of the word *ao* ‘blue’, this is a word of the *karada* type. If one adds the suffix *-shi*, typical of *arikata* words, it becomes *aoshi*, thus an *arikata*. If one added, to the root *ao*, the suffix *-mu* (one of the twelve *shiwaza* suffixes), it would become *aomu*, a *shiwaza* verb meaning ‘to turn blue’ or ‘to become blue’. If one were to add the suffix *-ri*, typical of *arikata* words, to this inflected word *aomu*, one would obtain *aomeri*, thus turning it into an *arikata*. The idea that words and characters are supposedly found in “original” forms, and that that “original” form can be modified, by means of affixes and suffixes, is an important tenant of the theory found, for example, in Ogyū Sorai (see 6.1.2) and Shizuki Tadao (7.2.1).

From folios 7v to 10v Suzuki covers the last of the four categories of words he identified: the *te ni wo ha*. The definition of this category can be seen below, although I will go back to this in 3.6, when covering the history of the category of *joshi* “auxiliary words”. The text below is found in folios 7v to 9v.

テニヲハノ事

テニヲハハ、モロコシニテハ語聲。
又語辭。又助辭。又嘆辭。又發語
辭。又語ノ餘聲ナド云類ヒニ惣ベテ
當レリ。辭ハ辭氣トモイヒテ。心ノ
聲也。サレドモ 唐^{モロコシ}ノ語辭ハイト
く粗キ物ニテ。我御國ノテニヲハノ
精ク詳ニシテ。條埋ノ細ヤカニ分
レ。規格ノヨク定レルニハ似ルベク
モアラス。御國ノ詞ノ万國ニスグレ
タル所ハ。專^{マタク}コノテニヲハノメデ
タキニ因レリ。委^{クワ}シクハ我師ノ詞ノ
玉ノ緒ヲ見テ知ベシ

○前ノ三種ノ詞ト。此テニヲハトヲ
對ヘミルニ。三種ノ詞ハサス所アリ。
テニヲハハサス所ナリ。三種ハ
詞ニシテ。テニヲハハ聲ナリ。三種
ハ物事ヲサスアラハシテ詞トナリ。
テニヲハハ其詞ニツケル心ノ聲也。

About the *te ni wo ha*

The *te ni wo ha* in our language all correspond to what the Tang people (*morokoshi* 唐) call *gosei* 語聲, *goji* 語辭, *goji* 助辭, *tanji* 嘆辭, *hatsugosei* 發語辭, *go no yosei* 語ノ餘聲 etc. The character 辭 can also mean *jiki* 辭氣 which is the ‘voice of the heart’ (*kokoro no koe* 心ノ聲). Furthermore, the Tang *goji* are extremely broad; contrarily to the specificity and conciseness of our country’s *te ni wo ha*, they cannot be neatly divided, nor do they have any semblance of established rule. What makes our country’s words better than any other country’s is indeed the uniqueness of our *te ni wo ha*. These can be known in detail by looking at my master’s *kotoba no tama no o*.

○ If we now move our attention from these three types of words to the *te ni wo ha*, there are things the three types refer to and things the *te ni wo ha* refer to. The three types are made into “words” (*kotoba* 詞), while the *te ni wo ha* are their voice. The three words refer to and express all things (物事), and are *kotoba*. while the *te ni wo ha* are the voice of the heart attached to such words. Words

詞ハ玉ノ如ク。テニヲハ、緒ノゴト
シ。詞ハ器物ノ如ク。テニヲハ、其
ヲ使ヒ動カス手ノ如シ。サレバ体ノ
詞ニテニヲハヲ添テ活語トナリ。其
死活ノ詞ドモヲハ。又テニヲハシテ
ヌキ
貫連ネ使ヒ動シテ。万ツノ詞トナ
ル。詞ハテニヲハナラデハ働カズ。
テニヲハ、詞ナラデハツク所ナシ

are like a sphere, while *te ni wo ha* are like the thread. Words are like an instrument, the *te ni wo ha* are like the hand using and working it. Furthermore, adding a *te ni wo ha* to a *tai* word, it is a *katsugo*. There is also the *shi-katsu* of words, which are all words, penetrated, moved, used and carried by means of *te ni wo ha*. Without *te ni wo ha* words do not move. Without words, *te ni wo ha* have no place to be attached to.

Suzuki initially acknowledges the historical connection between *te ni wo ha* and the “auxiliary” category of Chinese traditional grammar. The scholar lists a series of terms and labels, from Chinese grammatical tradition to which *te ni wo ha* supposedly correspond. These terms are *gosei* 語聲, *goji* 語辭, *joji* 助辭, *tanji* 嘆辭, *hatsugosei* 發語辭 and *go no yosei* 語ノ餘聲. As I discuss in 5.5, these terms have been used by many Chinese and Japanese authors to refer to different types of words different from “full” and “empty”, or “substance” and “function”. Among these, for example, one can see the word *tanshi*, that most likely referred to characters expressing exclamations and interjections, like 嗚呼, used to render an expression of astonishment or wonder. These Chinese categories are not the same as the category of *te ni wo ha*, that Suzuki believes to be the most specific and representative characteristic of the Japanese language. In Chinese, these categories are not neatly defined and their use, according to Suzuki, is not as strongly established as the Japanese *te ni wo ha*. Suzuki suggests the reader to consult his master’s *Kotoba no tama no o*, clearly Motoori Norinaga’s pivotal work regarding Japanese grammar and the category of *te ni wo ha*. The fact that he cites Norinaga, clarifies that the “established rules” of the use of these *te ni wo ha* – referred to with the verb *sadamaru* 定まる – likely refers to Norinaga’s theory on the divine origin of these *te ni wo ha*, thusly “established” in their use and nature by the *kami* of the Shintō religion (see 6.2).

Suzuki adds that the character *ji* 辭 – *kyūjitai* version of 辭 – used in the names of most of the labels of these “auxiliaries” (even in the word *joji* 助辭 itself), corresponds to *jiki* 辭氣 ‘energy of words’, that can be interpreted as meaning “the use of words”, “the expressivity of words”. It is, indeed, the way *te ni wo ha* are used, in combination with the other three categories – specifically referred to as ‘three types’ 三種, with the exclusion of the *te ni wo ha* – that makes them the most peculiar category of speech.

I would also like to focus on the peculiar terminology Suzuki utilized to describe the characteristics of each part of speech. The three categories of *karada*, *shiwaza* and *arikata* refer to all the things that exist, be they objects, actions, or qualities. The *te ni wo ha* do not display the capacity to refer to any of these semantic elements. What *te ni wo ha* do refer to is that which Suzuki calls the ‘voice’ *koe* 聲. Such *koe* might be understood as the semantic meaning of the *te ni wo ha* and seems to be directly connected to the idea of *katsugo* ‘lively word’, ‘lively speech’, that has been used to

refer to certain inflecting qualities of words. Suzuki claims that, in and of themselves, *te ni wo ha* are the 'voice' *koe* that is directly put into contrast with the "semantic meaning" of the other three classes of words. It is added, thus, that whenever *te ni wo ha* are attached to one of the other three categories, they are the 'voice of the heart': *kokoro no koe*. This same term was previously already used by Suzuki as an explanation of the term *jiki* 辞気 that, in theory, corresponds to the "use of words" or "expressivity of words". Additionally, the term *kokoro* has been used in other combinations to refer to other categories and concepts, all throughout the manuscript. The first mention of the term *kokoro no koe* is found, within *Gengyo shishu-ron*, in the context of explaining the transformation of a *te ni wo ha* into a *meimoku* word, which would thus correspond to a *karada*. In that case, the term *kokoro no koe* was used to refer to *te ni wo ha*. When explaining the other phenomena of word transformation causing a change of category, Suzuki used the following terms, for the following concepts:

- *kokoro no sama* for *arikata* words ending in *-shi* (i.e., adjectives), as well as *-shi* words derived from an original *shiwaza* word;
- *kokoro no ugoku shiwaza* for words resulting from the addition of one of the twelve *-u* suffixes to an original *arikata*;
- *kokoro no waza* for *shiwaza* words that do not derive from any other "originally" different category. There is, thus, a correspondence between the word *sama* and the category of *arikata*, where *sama* and *arikata* are very similar words, in meaning, to begin with, and another similarity between *waza* and *ugoku shiwaza*.

In order to understand these concepts, ZHAO (1999) claims one should look at them in the following terms. The concept of *koe* is also dealt with in Suzuki's other pivotal work *Gago onjō-kō*, wherein he uses the term *onsei* 音聲 (also *onjō*). According to ZHAO, Suzuki interprets the language as fundamentally originating from sounds, which he calls either *koe* 'voice' or *onsei/onjō* 'vocal sounds'. Not all human sounds have to refer to anything specific, there are sounds which, to use Suzuki's terms, are not connected to any specific 'nomenclature' *meimoku* 名目. In the moment in which a "sound" is assigned a "nomenclature" it becomes endowed with a "meaning", that Suzuki calls *kokoro* 心 (also 意), meaning 'spirit', 'heart', 'soul'. The "nomenclature" (*meimoku*) refers to all the words that have semantic meaning; thus things, actions and qualities are all included within the category of *tai* 体 'substance'. When these are connected to a *te ni wo ha*, they are made to 'move' (*ugoku*) or 'work' (*hataraku*), thus becoming the *yō* 用 'function' category that, as already mentioned, splits into two subcategories. The role of *te ni wo ha*, in this context, is to 'move' the *tai* category into *yō*, thus, they are the "movement" of the "spirit" of the intentions and ideas of humans, their "spirit". This reminds of what can be seen in the definition of this phenomenon in Běixī's *jigi*, in 5.3.

In some sense, one could say that Suzuki Akira's theory of language is representative of the development of the history of Japanese grammatical theory. Just like the research on language was started in Japan by Sanskrit investigations on phonology, mediated through Chinese books on Buddhism, Suzuki believes that at

the very basis of language there are the sounds, or “voices” as he calls them. His studies on phonology are influenced by the Siddhāṃ tradition, as he makes use of the Table of the Fifty Sounds to describe the phonological variations consequential to the interaction of the “substance-words” with the *te ni wo ha* category. Yet, he still displays difficulties in covering phonology independently from the graphical rendition of language. His division into three categories is not very different from the Chinese full-empty-auxiliary distinction. On the other hand, the *te ni wo ha* category is considered a unique feature of the Japanese language, put into contrast with Chinese “auxiliaries”. This is a clear agreement with Suzuki’s master Motoori Norinaga, whom he cites directly (see 6.2).

5.4 Categories of *jidōshi* and *tadōshi* in the history of Japanese thoughts on language

One of the most distinctive traits developed by Japanese grammarians in the Edo period is the distinction between *ji-ta* 自他 – or *konata-kanata* in its Japanese reading – in the categorization of verbs in morphosyntactic terms. Although today one often uses these two concepts to translate the European categories of “transitive” (*ta* or *kanata* 他) and “intransitive” (*ji* or *konata* 自), such an approximation is to some extent misguided and can lead to misinterpretations concerning the real meaning of these terms, specifically in their use during the Edo period. The most comprehensive work in this regard, has probably been done by SHIMADA (1979), where the entire history of the development of these two categories is presented in over 700 pages. Interestingly, however, SHIMADA, does not discuss Shizuki Tadao, who used this dichotomy quite often in his works. In fact, as I have argued, the scholars of Dutch are often overlooked in the history of Japanese linguistics, probably because of the label of *rangakusha*. Instead, the Japanese scholars of Dutch need to be understood as actively interacting with the rest of the cultural movements of Japan. In addition, Shizuki has likely been the first author to use the *jita* distinction in a manner that resembles contemporary usage the most, and certainly the first who used it in reference to the Greek-Latin categories of “active” and “neuter”.

The oldest instance of the use of the *jita* distinction can be traced back to a “mysterious” manuscript by the title *Ippo* 一步 ‘One Step’, dated 1676. The mysteriousness of this work comes from the fact that it is not known who authored it, and secondary literature regarding it is scarce. It is only mentioned by some sources with little philological information. All of these sources point to FUKUI (1965), who authored the ten volumes of the series *Kokugogaku taikei* 國語學大系 ‘Outline of Japanese linguistics’ (*kyūjitai* in the original). The sixth volume of this series presents the entire text of the manuscript, reconstructed in type – not scans of the original manuscript, thus – yet little information can be found regarding this document, in general, probably also because of its non-distinctive name. This work is particularly relevant because it presents many of the features and grammatical theories of Japanese that will be subsequently investigated and expanded upon during the Edo period by the other scholars I have mentioned. SHIGEMATSU (1959,

77) draws interesting parallels between *Ippo* and its predecessors, although he appears to underestimate this work's importance in the development of Japanese linguistics. In SHIGEMATSU, *Ippo* is considered to be directly influenced by Sadaie's *Te ni wa taigai-shō*, the anonymous *Anegakōjishiki* 姉小路式 (compiled in the Muromachi period), and the study on Japanese *renga* 連歌 poetry. SHIGEMATSU points out four main characteristics of *Ippo*, that he believes are the most relevant features that can be observed by reading it:

- The *te ni wo ha* are divided according to three dimensions of time *kako* 'past', *mirai* 'future' and *genzai* 'present'. This type of connection between the *te ni wo ha* and the reference of time was probably inspired by *Satomura Jōha* 里村紹巴 (1525 – 1602), a scholar of *renga*, who employed the same distinction in his *Renga shihō-shō* 連歌至宝抄, although it is a category that can be seen in many older works, as I have already argued;
- The use of the character *shi* し as a *te ni wo ha* expressing the three times. Whenever *-shi* refers to the ending of adjectives, it is considered "present", when it corresponds to the *rentaikei* of the verbal affix *-ki*, it represents a "past", while when part of the affix *-beshi* it points at the "future" time. This seems to be an expansion on the theory of grammar contained in earlier works, like the abovementioned *Anegakōjishiki* and *Mugonshō*;
- The distinction between the two types of *-nu* ぬ, namely, for the negative affix *-zu*, and for the past when it represents the affix expressing completion of an action. This was also already introduced in *Mugonshō*;
- The envision of words being distinguished by the dichotomy of *jita* 自他.

SHIGEMATSU does not connect this last point to any earlier work, that leads me to deduce that this is the earliest known document where he could record the use of the concepts of *jita* to distinguish grammatical phenomena. This is also reinforced by the fact that *Ippo* is indeed the first and earliest document discussed by SHIGEMATSU, in his history of the category of *jita*. As a comment to this characteristic, SHIGEMATSU claims that "regardless of the sharpness of the point of view, the sight was extremely narrow".³⁵

SHIMADA (1979) – who does not mention the *rangaku* scholarship, or the name of Shizuki Tadao – has tried to draw the lines of the process of creation and establishment of this concept in the Japanese tradition of linguistics. He connects the concepts of *jita* to Buddhist philosophy, particularly, to the Heian book *Henjōhokki shōryōshū* 遍照發揮性靈集 (also shortly *Shōryōshū*), wherein these two characters corresponded to the ideas of "self" (*ji* 自) and "other" (*ta* 他), that thus entered the studies on Japanese literature via the research on *renga* poetry, that envisioned it in the distinction between the "I" (*ware*) and the "others" (*yoso*), thus also "this

³⁵ Original quote: “着眼点の鋭かったにかかわらず偏見のはなはだしいものがある。”, SHIGEMATSU (1959, 77-78).

person” (*konata*) and “that person” (*anata*), “subject” (主) and “object” (客), “back” (裏) and “front” (表) (SHIMADA 1979, 2).

SHIMADA (1979, 4) seems to agree with SHIGEMATSU (1959) in that both recognize *Ippo* as the earliest relevant work on Japanese linguistic investigations that referred to the concepts of *jita* within the context of grammar. The distinction between *ji* 自 and *ta* 他 is as grammatically relevant as the distinction of the different *te ni wo ha* expressing the temporal meaning of ‘present’ (*genzai* 現在), ‘past’ (*kako* 過去) and ‘future’ (*mirai* 未来) or the ‘imperative’ (*gechi* 下知). WATANABE (1995, 219) recognizes a rather loose degree of interchangeability of words between these two categories and defines the use of *ji* 自 inside *Ippo* as referring to *konata*, that corresponds to the individual expressing the utterance of the sentence, while *ta* 他 as corresponding to anything outside of the individual expressing the utterance. SHIMADA (1979, 15; 462-463) reports the conclusions of the studies on the use of the *jita* dichotomy until the Edo period, carried out by MATSUO (1943, 3), who identified five main uses of it:

1. The *ji* 自 as pointing at the existence of effect of an action, regardless of transitivity, and the *ta* 他 as pointing at the intermittence of an action, in the transitive sense;
2. The *ji* 自 as first-person pronoun, the *ta* 他 as second- or third-person pronoun;
3. The *ji* 自 as corresponding to the speaker/writer, the *ta* 他 as corresponding to listener/reader;
4. The *ji* 自 as corresponding to what is (or concerns with) the topic of discussion (e.g. *konata*), the *ta* 他 as corresponding to what accompanies the topic (*kanata*);
5. The *ji* 自 as intransitive (also *shinen* 自然), and the *ta* 他 as transitive (also *shizen* 使然).³⁶

The way this *jita* dichotomy was used within *Ippo* hardly shows any consistency, yet it has little to do with verbal transitivity or valence. The differentiation between the two concepts of *jita* seems to actualize both in a semantic context, as well as in a morphosyntactic context as the author of this manuscript describes words as being specifically either *konata no kotoba* 自の詞 and *kanata no kotoba* 他の詞, as well as certain inflecting elements, regardless of the supposed category they belong to. Indeed, *jita* in *Ippo* is not a phenomenon that only concerns verbs, but it also involves adjectives and nouns. Semantically, it seems that specific words, because of their meaning, should be considered either *ji*, mostly when they express emotions of the subject, and *ta* when they refer to phenomena external to the subject. In particular, this *jita* distinction, when it comes to verbs, seems to be connected to the affix *-ri* that, depending on the context, can be of either type. Specifically, it seems

³⁶ The words ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’ are, here, my direct translation of contemporary Japanese *tadōshi* 他動詞 and *jidōshi* 自動詞, respectively.

that the author intended to point out the instances in which this suffix can be used to specify distance of the speaker from the action (or condition) which is expressed by the predicate to which the affix is attached. It would thus refer to actions happening outside of the subject's agency, consequently used as a tool to express formal respect towards the agent of said action (SHIMADA 1979, 4-10).

Fujitani Nariakira also adopts a similar distinction, although he uses the terms *ura* 裏 'back', for *ji* 自 and *omote* 表 'front', for *ta* 他, in both his works *Ayui-shō* and *Kazashi-shō*. The distinction is made in the former, where the *ura* type is defined as *mizukara no ue nari* 自らの上なり 'on the self', and *omote* as *hito mono waza no ue nari* 人物事の上なり 'on people, things, actions'. Similarly to what is claimed regarding *jita* in *Ippo*, the *ura-omote* dichotomy is not embedded in each specific word. In fact, *Ayui-shō* attests many instances in which it is the morphosyntactic use of each word that causes them to switch between the two categories. The idea behind this "back-front" dichotomy is made clear by the example of the explanation Fujitani provides for the *-ru/-raru* affixes, that are today often described as expressing a plethora of meanings including possibility, passivity, spontaneity and formality. Fujitani divides the uses of these affixes into two, the first of which he describes as: "although one plans an action, it does not mean that they are going to enact it" (*waza to omoi kamaete nasu ni wa arazu* わざと思ひかまへてなすにはあらず), to which he adds that "be it coming from the *omote* or from the heart, it is enacted in the self" (*omote ni yori mata kokoro ni yori onozukara nari yuku wo iu kotoba nari* 表により又心によりおのづから成りゆくを言ふ詞也). SHIMADA considers the *omote ni yori* to correspond to what are called passives, as it is to be interpreted as an action coming from the "other", and *kokoro ni yori* to correspond to the idea of "spontaneity", as it would come from one's own "heart". While his reasoning does seem compelling, I would argue that the most relevant notion one can grasp from this explanation is that what are today called "passivity" and "spontaneity" were, according to Fujitani, the same semantic and morphosyntactic verbal forms, yet only differing in the fact that the former has the *omote* "other" as agent, and the latter has oneself as agent. The second meaning would correspond closely to the formal use of the affixes, that Fujitani explains as *kashizuku tataru* かしづく 立ゝる 'to serve and raise', that would correspond to *omote* 表, as it entails an action outside the will of the speaker (SHIMADA 1979, 17-30). As for the fourth meaning of these affixes, namely potentiality, I wonder what difference is required to distinguish a "potential" from a "spontaneous" action, of the type that originates from one's heart (*kokoro ni yori*). Clearly, if one says: "I can swim", in contrast with "whenever I am in the sea, I spontaneously swim" the semantical difference is extremely slight. In both cases, in some sense, the action of swimming is enacted by the agent via an impulse internal to the agent itself. The action originating from the "other" (*omote ni yori*), which SHIMADA recognized to be a "passive", would require no additional semantical explanation: a passive action is an action the subject has no control over, hence, from his point of view it happens "spontaneously", meaning "independently from themselves". The difference between the *kokoro ni yori* and the *omote ni yori* uses of the affixes *-ru/-raru* is, thus, not semantic. This means that semantically there is no difference in the uses of *-ru/-raru* for the

potential/spontaneous use against the passive use, respectively. What does change is the presence of an external agent, in the passive (*omote ni yori*) that causes the involuntary action of the verb to happen to the subject. In this sense, a passive is an *omote* verb, that means it is a *ta* 他. Indeed, “active verbs” (*dōta* 動他) are traditionally those that can be made passive.

Although I will present the theory of language by Motoori Norinaga more fully in 6.2, it is worth anticipating that he too writes regarding this topic. The topic of *jita* is not particularly central in Motoori’s oeuvre, however there are a few mentions in *Kotoba no tama no o* and *Te ni wo ha himokagami* (as I will discuss in 8.3), as well as in his other work *Tama arare* 玉あられ, published in 1792. From what can be understood by reading *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori believed the *jita* dichotomy to be strictly binary: a verb was either (used) as *ji* or *ta*. Even though neither quality is intrinsically connected to one specific morphological form, Motoori still identifies morphological patterns that evidence the alternation between the *jita* uses of each verb in the addition of an extra syllable *-ru* in the *rentaikei* form of some verbs yet conflating it with the affix *-ru*. He does claim that for those verbs adding an extra *-ru*, that extra syllable signals the shift between *jita*, however, whether the form with the extra *-ru* is to be considered a *ji* or a *ta* can be based solely on its semantics. In *Te ni wo ha himo kagami*, Motoori writes similar claims, although he adds the examples of the two phrases *onozukara tsuzuku* 自読³⁷ ‘to continue itself’ (a *ji*) and *mono wo tsuzukeru* 読^{ケル}物^ヲ ‘to continue something’ (a *ta*), evidencing that *jita* distinction specifies the difference between an intransitive verb and a transitive one, respectively.

In *Tama arare*, the term *jita* 自他 is used in the explanation of the difference between the sentences *toku himo* とく紐 and *tokuru himo* とくる紐, two relative clauses constructed around the verb *toku* 解く ‘to loosen’, ‘to untie’ and the noun *himo* ‘rope’, ‘wire’. The difference between *ji* and *ta*, also according to Norinaga, lies again in the presence of the affix *-ru*,³⁷ in that *toku himo* is explained as “it is a man untying the rope” (*himo wo hito no toku koto* 紐を人のとくこと), while *tokuru himo* is explained as “the rope unties itself” (*himo no onozukara tokuru koto* 紐のおのづからとくる事) (SHIMADA 1979, 36-37). Clearly, since the rope is an inanimate object, the former sentence cannot be interpreted as a pure reflexive action, rather as a spontaneous event occurring to the rope, perceived to be a receiver with no agency. Norinaga expands on this topic with other examples concerning the *jita* alternation, with other affixes and verbal forms. The verb *miyuru* ‘to be visible’, and its inflected form *miete*, coming from the verb *mi(ru)* ‘to see’ are

³⁷ Understanding the difference between *toku himo* and *tokuru himo* as realizing by means of the syllable *-ru*, although functional in the representation of Edo grammarians’ perception of the grammar of verbs, could be considered quite inappropriate by a contemporary eye. The phenomenon Norinaga is indirectly addressing concerns the different inflection patterns of the verb *toku*, of the *yodan* class, which also developed a parallel form in the *shimo nidan* class, causing the different *rentaikei* (the form needed to construct a relative clause), in *toku* and *tokuru*. The *yodan* version of *toku* is nowadays considered a *tadōshi* a Japanese ‘transitive’, while *shimo nidan* version of *toku* would be a *jidōshi* ‘intransitive’.

categorized as *onozukara ni shikaru sama* おのづからに然るさま ‘the condition of happening within itself’, while the forms *misuru* and *misete*, that inflect by means of the *-su/sasu* affix, are categorized as *shikarashimuru* 然らしむる. The form *miyuru* is to be interpreted as corresponding to a *ji*, while the latter *misuru* and *misete* to a *ta*; a categorization in alignment with Norinaga’s son Haruniwa’s theories (see 5.4.1). Similar claims are found in Norinaga’s *Tama arare*, in the context of the verbs *tanomu* and *tanomuru*, also related to the distinction between *konata* (1st person) and *kanata* (2nd and 3rd person), where the second expresses an action affecting oneself, yet originating from a *kanata* agent (SHIMADA 1979, 38-43). Norinaga himself does not go into too much depth with his rationalization of the difference in the *jita* dichotomy. The influence of Norinaga’s incomplete definition of *jita* is, nonetheless, rather evident, both in the terminology he used, and in the fact that for a verb to be *ji* or *ta* one needs to understand both its semantic characteristics, as well as its morphological ones. That is to say, according to Norinaga, one should not conceive verbs as definitely splitting into these two categories and, subsequently, being able to make one out of the other through specific tools, as in Shizuki and the European tradition of grammar. In fact, in Norinaga’s theory, verbs do not have a *jita* quality embedded within them, rather their *jita* quality is dependent on the semantic meaning that each verb takes in each of its conjugations in each of the possible clauses. This is a fundamental theoretical difference that is also held by Haruniwa, but that is in contrast with part of the European tradition (mostly visible from the lexicographical works I have analyzed, in contrast with Séwel, for example, see Chapter IV) and the more modern tradition of Japanese grammatical theory that mostly adopts the idea of splitting verbs into the categories of *ji* and *ta* (or “neuter” and “active”, or even “intransitive” and “transitive”), to which one can add an inflecting affix that turns verbs into passives, potentials, and so on. This would make Shizuki the first Japanese to utilize the categories of *jita* based on European grammatical theory – as adaptation of the neuter/active dichotomy – and apply them onto Japanese grammar, a missing link in the evolution of the concept of *jita* that SHIMADA himself did not seem to be aware of. The same non-fixed attribution of the *jita* categories is also pointed out, by SHIMADA (1979, 46-49) in Ozawa Roan 小沢盧庵 (1723 – 1801), in his 1796 book *Furiwakegami* 振分髪.

5.4.1 Theory of the grammar of verbs according to Motoori Haruniwa

Motoori Haruniwa 本居春庭 (1763 – 1828), born in Ise 伊勢, was the son of Norinaga and he followed the steps of his father in the study of Japanese grammar through the analysis of the *waka*. He was particularly interested in the inflection of verbs and adjectives, and in the phenomenon of what is now called *kakari-musubi*, following the fundamentals laid by his father (see 6.2). He has authored two works investigating the Japanese language entitled *Kotoba no yachimata* 詞八衢 (completed in 1806) and *Kotoba no kayoiji* 詞通路 (completed in 1828). The former contains little about the *jita* category, while the latter can be considered as an ultimate and comprehensive final step in the Japanese evolution of the theory of *jita*. This can be claimed on the one hand because it adds numerous details regarding this

concept, on the other hand because the approach of the *kokugaku* school, arguably, will afterward lose prominence regarding the covering of the *jita* category. The work *Kotoba no kayoiiji* begins with the chapter *kotoba no jita no koto* 詞の自他の事 ‘about the *jita*³⁸ of words’. This shows the fundamental importance given to this category within this work. The explanation concerning the different types of *jita*, of which Haruniwa³⁹ recognizes seven (although two are morphologically identical), spans many pages and includes a long table illustrating how different classes of verbs render the seven different types of *jita* according to their morphological forms. The first words devoted to this category are the following:⁴⁰

歌よむにもふみかくにも事をする
すにもよろつの事をわかち其さま
をくはしくしらするなれはもはち
此自他の言葉の活をむねとこゝろ
うへきわさなりそはおのつからの
さたまり有てこなたのことをいふ
にはこなたにつかふへきことはを
もちひかなたの事をかたるにはか
なたに用ふへき詞をつかはされは
其事くはしくわかれす自他混雜し
て詞とゝのはす其さま聞えかたけ
れはなほさりに思ひすくさすよく
わきまへおくへき事なりそもく此
はたらきは上にもいへる如く千よ
ろつのことをくはしくいひわかつ
わさなれは其はたらきさまもくさ
くおほかるを世の人自他の詞は
たゝ煙などのたつといふはおのつ
からたつことをいひたつるといふ
は人のたつる事をいひまた花のち
るといふはおのつからちることち
らすといふはかせなとのちらすこ
となどゝのみなほさりに思ひてく
はしく考へしるへき事ともおもひ
たらす又この事をとかくあけつら
へる書もなければおのつから心を
つくるともからもなくおのれ哥よ
くよみものよくこゝろえたりとお
もふ人もおのつから取はつては
あやまる事なきにしもあらずまし
てうひまなひのともからはいとた

When reading poetry, writing a book, when noting down something, there are infinite things that are distinguished. Getting to know in detail these is the skill of learning deeply the ‘vitality’ [*katsu* 活] of words of *jita* 自他. Particularly, when we have a specification [*sadamari*] of the condition of the ‘self’ [*onozukara*], then we are talking about the *konata*, thus we will use words of *konata*. When we are telling a story regarding a *kanata*, then we will use words of *kanata*. If this is not well understood, one mixes up the *jita* and cannot arrange words. This way, even though that can be hard to comprehend, one should be able to discern it properly, without neglecting it. This could be similar to talking about working. Since this becomes a skill to discern in detail amongst the infinite things one could say, the ways of working are so numerous and diverse, in the words of humans, when one says things like the raising of smoke [*kemuri nado no tatsu* 煙などのたつ], then it raises by itself [*onozukara tatsu* おのつからたつ]. If one says *tatsuru*, then it is a person raising it. Furthermore, if one says ‘the spreading of flowers’ [*hana no chiru*], then it is *onozukara*. If one says *chirasu* then it is the wind spreading them. This is not thought of as a thing that ought to be known and pondered about in depth, in order to consciously correct it. There are not many books in which this thing is discussed extensively, and there are also none from our own heart’s perspective, even those individuals who think they would like to learn and read poetry by themselves, when approaching them and starting to study them for the first time, they generally develop many

³⁸ Probably supposed to be read *konata-kanata*, in the native reading.

³⁹ I will refer to Motoori Haruniwa by his first name, rather than his last name, as to distinguish him from his father.

⁴⁰ Original text from SHIMADA (1979, 55), my English translation.

とくしく常にあやまることおほけ
れば其定りををしへさとさむとて
くはしくかきしるなり

misunderstandings and make many mistakes, yet
by receiving the teachings of that *sadamari* one
can know how to write that in detail.

This introduction demonstrates the general approach to the study of Japanese grammar adopted by Haruniwa. Just like his father, Haruniwa believed words to be arranged in an “established” manner (*sadamari*). Unlike Motoori Norinaga, who mostly talked about an “establishment” in the use of the *te ni wo ha*, Haruniwa here refers to the “established” distinction between the two ideas of *jita*, that he calls *konata* and *kanata*. An important characteristic of Haruniwa’s version of *jita* is that they are directly connected to the “vitality” (*katsu* 活) of words, i.e., the inflection. This is not new, as it was already seen in the early manuscript *Ippo*, yet, as SHIMADA (1979, 60) correctly points out, this should be considered as a different type of description of the *jita* dichotomy. Indeed, before *Ippo*, the general idea – representing direct Buddhist influence – was to consider *jita* simply as a distinction between the “self” and the “other”. From *Ippo* onward, this started to evolve into the idea that there was a difference between the “subject” and the “agent” of a verb (also adjectives and nouns in *Ippo*). Personally, I do not believe this categorization of Haruniwa to be different enough to be considered as a “new” theory on *jita*, but rather as an expansion of the same traditional theory of which the first recorded stage is found in *Ippo*. In both works, the elements defining the different types of *jita* are mostly the same: namely the role of the subject and the agent, and the terminology used to explain these phenomena. As I will discuss in Chapter VIII, the first Japanese scholar to really provide a different categorization of *jita* – strongly influenced by Dutch sources – was, indeed, Shizuki Tadao, who believed it to be a characteristic embedded in each verb, that he cited in its uninflected form, akin to the use of the infinitives as citation forms, as was traditionally done in European lexicographic works. Furthermore, the basis upon which each verb is either *ji(dō)* and *(dō)ta*, according to Shizuki and the Dutch tradition, is mostly connected to the idea of “neutrality” and “activeness”, respectively. Shizuki’s theory is remarkably different from the *Ippo* native tradition of *jita* and much more similar to modern theory, deserving to be considered as a “new” school of thought, branching off from the studies of the other “nativists”. I would not claim the same with regard to Haruniwa’s conception, instead. NAKAMURA (1996) portrays a useful picture of Haruniwa’s seven classes of *jita*, considering qualities such as the ‘spontaneity’ (*jihatsu* 自発), and the relationship between the agent and the patient.

Haruniwa’s theories sure deserve a deeper analysis than what I can provide here. Nonetheless, there are a few additional issues I would like to mention. Firstly, in Haruniwa’s categorization of the seven types of *jita* of verbs, the same verbal conjugation does not always correspond to the same category. This implies that the definition of the *jita* category is mostly based on the semantics of the verb (i.e., whether the verb refers semantically to an action of the “self” or of the “other” or on the syntactic level (i.e., how many and what types of arguments does the verb combine with). In this sense, thus, the specific morphological form of the verb is not

the only parameter in the categorization of *jita*, only considered in so far as it influences the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the verb itself.

Haruniwa's approach is wholly consistent with the *kokugaku* theorization of the *jita* category, although it develops further nuancing within that same traditional categorization. Haruniwa was almost contemporary to Shizuki, although his works came out after the latter's death. While I would assume a direct influence from Haruniwa to Shizuki rather improbable, as far as the theory of *jita* is concerned, this still demonstrates that the *kokugaku* school was still employing the traditional vision of the *jita* category all while Shizuki was developing a more European-influenced theory, that is closer to the modern use of this dichotomy in Japan.

5.5 Sino-Japanese uses of the category of “auxiliary words”

The category of *joshi* 助詞 is central in Shizuki's description of Dutch grammar. This can be easily deduced from the title of one of Shizuki's works: *Joshi-kō*. Understanding what Shizuki meant when he referred to the category of *joshi* in the context of Dutch is not possible by only looking at the entries of *Joshi-kō* from the perspective of Greek-Latin traditional grammar, since virtually all categories of speech are somehow represented in that manuscript (see 7.2.4). The term *joshi* – literally ‘auxiliary words’ – is nowadays used to refer to only those parts of speech that are called “particles” in English. These particles can be described as postpositions specifying grammatical qualities, many of which are comparable to the idea of cases. A similar term often found in contemporary Japanese grammars is *jodōshi* 助動詞, literally ‘auxiliary verb’, used to refer to the various affixes used in the inflection of Japanese verbs and adjectives. The idea that these specific word classes were distinguished in some fashion from the rest of the words can already be found in the early stages of written Japanese, when both *joshi* and *jodōshi* were written, by means of Chinese characters, in a smaller type, when compared to the words of the other categories (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 28). Early on, these specific words have been called *te ni wo ha*, a name that simply represents a list of the most common particles of Japanese.⁴¹ The work *Te ni ha taigai-shō* 手爾葉大概抄,⁴² defines the category of *te ni (wo) ha* as being similar to the idea of *okiji* 置字. These *okiji* were characters that, although present in *kanbun*, are not read, in *kundoku*. These were mostly characters necessary in the Chinese version of the text that had no direct counterpart in the Japanese reading, often expressing specific types of emphasis or interjection. Sadaie further distinguishes the *te ni ha* from the rest of the words, that he calls *kotoba* 詞 comparing the latter to a temple (*jisha* 寺社) and the former to the ornaments typically put on religious imagery inside a temple (*shōgen*, *shōgon* or *sōgon* 莊嚴). Until the first attempts at establishing a writing

⁴¹ A more precise phrasing would probably be “a list of the most common *kana* used to write Japanese particles”.

⁴² This work is generally attributed to Fujiwara no Sadaie, who lived at the beginning of the Kamakura period, however, it is believed that the work itself was compiled between the end of the Kamakura period and the beginning of the subsequent Muromachi period, according to the *Dejitaru daijisen*.

system for the Japanese language, the mainstream approach appears to have divided the categories of speech into two, based on the fact that *te ni wo ha*, in contrast to the rest of words, had the main use of “adorning” all the other words in the composition of a sentence (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 162). In contemporary terms, this could be understood as a manner to describe the fact that the *kotoba* category was composed of independent words – words possessing their own meaning – while the *te ni wo ha* were used only in combination with the other categories and functioned only when adjoined to a *kotoba*.

The research on *waka* poetry has had clear influence on the way in which Japanese scholars interpreted the categories of speech. Terms of poetics, like *makura kotoba* 枕詞 (a concept similar to an epithet, literally ‘pillow word’) or *hatsugo* 発語 (literally ‘initiating word’, for those words used at the beginning of a clause) were also often employed (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 133). However, they cannot be considered as grammatical or morphological labels, as they were categorized based on their function within the exegesis of poems and not as grammatical entities. Still, as I have mentioned in 2.4.4, terms related to *hatsugo*, were apparently also used by Shizuki in *Sanshu shokaku* to refer to the Dutch part of speech of “articles”, probably by virtue of the fact that one uses articles before nouns, and often at the beginning of a clause, as a consequence, in the SVO or SOV structures.

A first clear example of the understanding of the multifaceted nature of the category of *te ni wo ha* can be seen in Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320 – 1378), who studied the use of Japanese in the context not only of *waka* but also *renga*, in his *Renri hishō* 連理秘抄. Here, the author identifies six types of *te ni wo ha*, testifying his awareness of the concept of *kakari-musubi*, with the categories of *uke* ‘receive’ and *kake* ‘tie up’ defined on the basis of their interaction in an “upper clause/verse” (*ue no ku* 上の句) and a “lower clause/verse” (*shita no ku* 下の句) (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 169).

At the beginning of the Edo period, there was not only an increasing interest in the study of the Japanese language, but also a specific focus on the category of *te ni wo ha*. As already mentioned, in the anonymous *Ippo*, one can already find a specific sub-division of the *te ni wo ha* category, wherein it is claimed that they ought to be divided according to three dimensions of time, specifically when it came to verbal and adjectival affixes. Keichū, the forefather of *kokugaku*, provided an expansion on the former binary division of the parts of speech, believing that words needed to be divided in three main types: *tai* 体 for un-inflected words, *yō* 用 for inflected words and *te ni wo ha*, this last one mostly, but not only, used as a tool to inflect *tai* words into *yō* words. A similar categorization is also found in Suzuki Akira, who was born in the second half of the 18th century (see 5.3.2). Inspired by Keichū, Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697 – 1769) opened the path to a more evidence-based approach to the *kokugaku* study of Japanese poetry. This can also be seen in the work by Sasabe no Nobotsura 雀部信頼 (dates unknown), published in 1760 by the title *Te ni o ha gikan-shō* 氏爾乎波義慣抄, that broadly covers the topic of *kakari-musubi* by studying the classic book *Kokinshū*. Nine years later, another scholar

called Minamoto Kagemo 源影面,⁴³ deals with a similar topic, studying the same literary work, in the book *Kokinshū waka joji bunrui* 古今集和歌助辞分類 in which, as the title suggests, the *te ni wo ha* were considered as *joji* 助辞. In this regard he claims the following:⁴⁴

助辞とは天爾遠波といふことの借字
也。てにをは唯此四つの義にはあら
ず。語の意を成しむること葉の千
種万種を総て称せし名目也。

The word *joji* 助辞 is provisionary for the *te ni o ha*. With *te ni wo ha* I do not simply mean these four characters. All the millions of words that make the meaning of sentences are all called *meimoku* 名目.

Here, Minamoto divides words into two categories, namely *te ni wo ha* and all the rest, which he calls *meimoku*, similarly to Suzuki Akira. Amongst the *joji* category he includes pronouns, adjectives, verbs, conjunctions, particles, verbal affixes, and adverbs. Thus, the definition of these categories seems to be more oriented toward a distinction of nouns (*meimoku*) against everything else, meaning inflected words, and words used to inflect other words. This is a similar distinction also found in *Te ni ha abiki no zuna* てには綱引綱 (1770) by Tsuganoi Michitoshi 榎井道敏 (1722 – 1791), who only distinguishes between *te ni wo ha* and *kotoba* 詞 (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 213-215).

The introduction of the category of *joji* in the discourse on Japanese grammar appears to have occurred after the importation, in 1674, of *Yūzhū* 語助 authored by the Chinese *Lú Yǐwěi* 盧以緯, a 1592 research on Chinese characters that the author categorized as *gojo*.⁴⁵ One of the earliest and most impactful scholars who initiated this new approach to the categories of speech, combining Chinese theory to the Japanese tradition on poetical studies, is probably Ogyū Sorai who, among other things, compared the Japanese *te ni wo ha* to the category of *joshi* (*joji*), in his *Yakubun sentei*. This approach has subsequently been adopted by other authors such as Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670 – 1736), the aforementioned Minagawa Kien, and Daizai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680 – 1747). Itō, in his *Sōkō jiketsu* 操觚字訣 (1736),

⁴³ Also known as Murakami Kagemo 村上影面, amongst other names. I have not been able to find a reliable source recording his dates of birth and death.

⁴⁴ Original quote from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 215). My translation.

⁴⁵ I provide the complete list of the *gojo* present in the index in the 1717 version annotated and commented by Mōri Teisai 毛利貞斎 (dates unknown, he lived around the first half of the Edo period), by the title *Jūtei kankai jogoji* 重訂冠解助語辞 (Waseda Call No. ホ 04 00181): 也, 矣, 焉, 乎, 歟, 邪, 其, 於, 者, 之, 諸, 而, 則, 哉, 故, 是故, 故曰, 亦, 且, 以, 乃, 于, 所, 所以, 或, 然, 然後, 雖然, 然則, 然而, 不然, 粵, 蓋, 大抵, 夫, 今夫, 且夫, 原夫, 逮夫, 及夫, 及乎, 至於, 施及, 及, 一夫, 一於, 若夫, 及若, 至若, 甚矣, 甚哉, 於是, 是用, 既而, 己而, 方其, 嘗謂, 夫嘗, 無他, 要之, 要知, 今, 今也, 今焉, 今則, 今而, 今及, 自今, 方今, 初, 始, 先是, 嗚呼, 吁, 噫, 噫嘻, 或曰, 借曰, 諺曰, 何則, 何者, 何也, 是何也, 是何, 何哉, 何以, 何如, 如之何, 云, 惡, 猶, 庸, 顧, 殆, 毋, 惟, 唯, 維, 抑, 豈, 及安, 焉也, 曾, 凡, 儻, 故, 必, 已, 只, 止, 忌, 居, 諸, 且, 思, 斯.

distinguishes between the *joji* 助字 and the *goji* 語辭, where the former mostly included particles, while the latter term was used to refer to interjections, conjunctions, adverbs, etc. (嗚呼, 如何, 稍, 亦, 凡, 當, 抑, 又). Although only using the category of *joji* 助辭, as corresponding to the Japanese *te ni wo ha*, Daizai, in his *Watoku yōrei* 倭語要領 (1728), recognizes a difference in that some Chinese characters (e.g., 矣, 焉) had no direct corresponding word in Japanese. The idea of dividing the *joshi* in specific sub-categories can also be seen in *Kōeki jogoji* 広益助語辭 (1692) by Miyoshi Nisan (?)⁴⁶ 三好似山, who identified 15 types of *joshi* (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 226-231).

An original categorization can be found in Fujitani Nariakira, who divided the parts of speech in four categories: *na* 名; *kazashi* 挿頭; *yosoi* 装; *ayui* 脚結 (see 5.3.1). What was traditionally included in the *joshi* or *te ni wo ha* label, is now being divided into two, according to their position within the Japanese sentence. Indeed, the *kazashi* category mostly refers to the *joshi* being used at the beginning of the sentence (*kazashi* is a term used to refer to ornaments one would wear on their head) or at the end of it (*ayui* is written with the Chinese character for “feet” or “legs” and that for “to bind” and referred to ties used to fasten the legs of one’s trousers). The combined use of *kazashi* and *ayui* serves the purpose of “helping” (*tasuku*) the other two categories, that refer to “things”, e.g. nouns (物) and “actions”, e.g. verbs (事). This distinction is relevant, as it demonstrates a certain consciousness regarding the fact that particles and verbal affixes (*ayui*) behaved in a different manner than their sentence-initial counterparts (*kazashi*), that broadly referred to what one would today call adverbs, conjunctions, pronouns etc. (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 236-239).

Most of these approaches can be identified as inspiration for the scholars of Dutch in their analysis of language. Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723 –1803) is a representative figure, in this context. Maeno has famously worked with physician Sugita Genpaku on the first translation of a Dutch edition of a book on anatomy. Maeno’s knowledge of Dutch was so renowned it earned him the epithet *Oranda no bakemono* 和蘭の化物 ‘Dutch phantom’, reworked into *Ranka* 蘭化 ‘Hollandized’ (OGAWA 2016, 234-256).⁴⁷ Maeno published many works concerning the Dutch language, three of which can be found in the collection of Waseda University in one manuscript (文庫 08_c0018). This book contains, in order: *Jigaku shōsei* 字學小成, *Oranda yakusen* 和蘭譯筌 and *Rango zuihitsu* 蘭語隨筆. Notably, Sugita, in his *Rangaku Kotohajime* 蘭学事始 (also *Rangaku jishi*) discussed his difficulty with

⁴⁶ I have not been able to find a reliable source regarding the biographical information of this scholar. In fact, I could also not confirm the correctness of my transcription of his name in Latin characters.

⁴⁷ This is a play on words based on the fact that a *bakemono* 化物 is a class of monsters (*yōkai* 妖怪) in Japanese folklore mostly famous for their shapeshifting abilities. Their name contains the verb *bakeru* ‘to shapeshift’, that is generally written with the Chinese character *ka* 化, hence the name *Ranka* 蘭化 ‘Hollandized’. OGAWA (2016, 247) attributes the coinage of the name *oranda no bakemono* to the feudal lord Okudaira Masataka 奥平昌高 (1781 - 1855).

coming to grasp with the Dutch language and, specifically, words of the *jogo* 助語 category, of which he lists the examples of *de* (article); *het* (article); *als* (conjunction) and *welke* (relative pronoun). The knowledge of Dutch possessed by Sugita was indeed most likely enhanced by the assistance of Maeno, who had been studying Dutch. In his works, Maeno uses *joji* 助字 (once) and *jogo* 助語, though his favorite spelling was *joji* 助辞. The term *joji/jogo* is, in these three works, used for the following Dutch words and morphemes:

- Suffix *-s* in the adjective for nationalities;
- Suffix *-tig* for numerals;
- Suffix *-s* for the genitive case;
- Conjunction *en* in numerals;
- Preposition *te* expressing finality;
- Combination of the third person singular of the verb *zijn* ‘to be’, *is* plus the third person singular neutral pronoun *het* (*isuetto* イスエット, treated as one word);
- Definite article in the genitive case, both feminine *des*, and masculine *der*;
- First person singular of the verb *zijn* ‘to be’, *ben*;
- Genitive ‘s (originally an abbreviation of the article *des*);
- Relative pronoun *die*;
- Definite neutral article in the accusative case *ten*;
- Combination of preposition *in* and the definite article of common gender *de* (*inde* インデ);
- Preposition *in*;
- Reflexive pronoun *zich*;
- Third person singular of the verb *zijn*, *is*;
- Indefinite article *een*;
- Combination of the verb *zullen* in its third person singular conjugation *zal* and the impersonal pronoun *men*, in *sarumen* サルメン.

It needs to be added that, since Maeno was illustrating a sort of *kundoku* he came up with in order to translate Dutch, his employment of this concept is tightly connected to his necessities. In fact, it appears that Maeno mostly called *joshi* those Dutch words or morphemes that had no direct translation into Japanese, that he annotated with a circle in the chapter where he demonstrates how to use his translation method of Dutch (蘭化帝譯文式), in *Oranda yakusen*. Here, one can also notice the use of the poetic-derived term *hatsugo* 発語 for articles, that I have mentioned above. Although, as I will discuss, Shizuki appears to use the category of *joshi* in a more structured manner, there are many commonalities between the categories of the two scholars. This can be claimed not only on the basis of the corresponding European

categories of speech, grouped under the label *joji*, but also by the fact that in the definition of *joshi* by both authors one finds suffixes, prefixes and more words combined into one entry. The most relevant difference between the two approaches is that Maeno does not, in fact, translate into Japanese the words he categorizes as *joji/jogo* since they are often not needed in the Japanese corresponding sentence. For example, in the gloss to *inde* インデ (Dutch *in de*, ‘in the’), he writes that “this is a *joji* used to connect the lower word to the upper one” (インデ助辞ナリ下ノ言ヲ上ニ接スルナリ), a rather free explanation of the Dutch phrase, that gets lost in the translation to Japanese. Shizuki, instead, in his *Joshi-kō*, wanted to explain these “auxiliary words” of Dutch in detail and he provided a translation for each, thus always combining the Dutch *joshi* with a corresponding Japanese adaptation (see 7.2.4).

5.6 A word for “word”

When a Japanese referred to the names of languages, of categories of speech and even of specific words and letters, he could use a plethora of Chinese characters. Although sometimes this choice might appear arbitrary, the selection of a specific character in each specific context often mirrors the association of a well-defined semantic value. A Japanese author had at his disposal about five main Chinese characters that he could use to refer to the abovementioned concepts, namely: *ji* 字, *shi* 詞, *gen* 言, *go* 語, *ji* 辞. The readings I have provided coincide with the most common Sino-Japanese pronunciation of each character (*on’yomi*), however, some of them were often meant to be read in Japanese (*kun’yomi*), as: *kotoba* 詞, *koto* 言 and *kotoba* 辞. The term *kotoba*, nowadays often written as 言葉 (analyzed as a contraction of *koto no ha*, literally ‘leaves of speech’), has a complicated history and was used, as seen in the rest of this Chapter IV, above, to also refer to specific categories of speech by some authors of the Edo period. The word *kotoba* is nowadays generally understood as corresponding to the English concepts of “word” and “language”. As shown in Chapter II, Shizuki mostly used the Chinese character *shi/kotoba* 詞 as a suffix in the names of the categories of speech of Dutch, with the remarkable exception of his *Sensei bunpō*, where he uses the character *go* 語 for that same purpose. The names of the categories of speech, in *Sensei bunpō*, are direct translations – *cliques* – of the Dutch word, thus meaning that the suffix *go* 語 was used by Shizuki to translate the Dutch term *woord* ‘word’. In the history of the studies on language in Japan, these characters have been used varyingly to refer to different categories of speech. These uses have somewhat specialized each of the characters above in specific semantical contexts. Describing the history of the employment of each of these characters might indeed mean analyzing the entirety of the history of Chinese and Japanese literature, that I will refrain from doing, in the context of the present research for obvious reasons. However, it is indeed necessary to understand, at least broadly, the patterns of distribution of these characters that could be witnessed in the literary context in which Shizuki operated. For this reason, I will try to describe some of the patterns that can be deduced from the works mentioned in this Chapter IV in the use of these characters. In order to do so, I will

reference a few chapters written by MAËS (1975a; 1975b; 1975c) who, however, tends to be rather reluctant in providing the sources to his claims, making it hard to double check his statements.

A first issue that needs to be tackled is the fact that the two characters *shi* 詞 and *ji* 辭 (also written as 辭) are, in Chinese, simple graphical variants of the same character, pronounced *ci* (MAËS 1975b, 68). In contemporary Japanese, the two characters have developed different meanings and pronunciations. In *on'yomi*, 詞 is generally pronounced *shi*, while 辭 is pronounced *ji*. In their *kun'yomi*, both characters can be read as *kotoba*. In contemporary Japanese, the two characters are distinct, with some words requiring either one or the other. For example, the character *shi* 詞 is nowadays used in the names of all the parts of speech (e.g., *meishi* 名詞 ‘noun’; *dōshi* 動詞 ‘verb’ etc.). In these cases, *shi* 詞 cannot be substituted with *ji* 辭. In fact, the term *meiji* 名辭 is generally used in contexts in which one would translate it into English as “term”. Conversely, one cannot substitute *ji* 辭 with *shi* 詞 in words such as *jisho* 辭書 ‘dictionary’.

As discussed in this Chapter IV, the character 詞 (read *kotoba*) was often used in the context of *kokugaku*, yet with different nuances in meaning (as also attested by João Rodriguez, see 5.7.1). Since the very early *Ippo*, words such as *konata no kotoba* and *kanata no kotoba* are found, where *kotoba* is written with the character *shi* 詞. In *Te ni ha abiki no zuna* (1770) by Tsuganoi Michitoshi, I have already mentioned that the term *kotoba* 詞 was used to distinguish those words that did not belong to the *te ni wo ha* category. This contrastive use of the character *shi* 詞 is distinguished from what was originally done since the Heian era, when terms such as *kotoba* 詞, *koto* 言 etc., were used to refer to all those words not belonging to the category of *na* 名 ‘names’ (MAËS 1975b, 68). A similar distinction was made by Suzuki Akira, who used the character *shi* 詞 to refer to the different parts of speech, as he distinguished between the *karada no kotoba* 体ノ詞, and the *shiwaza no kotoba* 作用ノ詞. Suzuki added that the category of *te ni wo ha* corresponded to several terms from the Chinese tradition, among which one could find *joji* 助辭 and *goji* 語辭, both using the character *ji* 辭. This character, Suzuki adds, expresses the *jiki* 辭氣 ‘the energy of words’, it is the *kokoro no koe* 心ノ声 ‘the voice of the spirit’. In Itō Tōgai, the term *goji* 語辭 was defined as “the characters of the words of a text” (文章ノコトハ字), where the phrasing *kotoba (no) ji* ‘(Chinese) character of words’, could be homologous to the original use of *kotoba*, namely as opposing to *na* 名, as evidenced by MAËS (1975b, 68).

The character *shi* 詞 is used commonly across *kokugaku* literature, to refer to words, as can be seen also in Motoori Haruniwa, and in Motoori Norinaga, although the latter appears – from a superficial analysis – to be using the two characters *shi* 詞 and *ji* 辭 quite interchangeably.

Chinese studies tended to employ the character *ji* 字, meaning ‘character’, ‘letter’ to refer to characters holding an intrinsic semantic meaning. The use of this *ji* 字

character was also extended to the names of the categories of speech; it was characters holding the quality of “empty” or “full”, not “words”. In fact, even in Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, the categories of speech are called *jitsuji* 実字 and *kyoji* 虚字, etc., and the subject investigating them is called *jihin* 字品 ‘category of the characters’. However, Ogyū also recognizes the two categories of *jitsugo* 実語 (also *shōgo* 正語) and *jogo* 助語, that appear to be supercategories of all the types of characters. The character *go* 語, already seen in Suzuki's *goji* 語辞, is also often used with the meaning of ‘language’, ‘speech’, ‘sentence’ and even ‘word’. In fact, Ogyū also often uses it as suffix in the name of languages or specific varieties of speech, as in *wago* 倭語 ‘Japanese’, *zokugo* 俗語 ‘popular language’ etc. This same character *go* 語 is used by Shizuki, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, to cumulatively refer to the 27 sample sentences, each one dividing into two “clauses”, Shizuki refers to by means of the character *ku* 句, often used in poetry to refer to “verses”. In modern standard Japanese, the term *genko* 言語, combining two of the abovementioned characters, generally means “language”, as in *gengogaku* 言語学 ‘linguistics’. However, as I have mentioned in 5.3, Maeno Ryōtaku used this term to translate the Dutch *woord(en)* ‘word(s)’.

Uniform and coherent definitions of each of these characters and their uses cannot to be provided. As I have demonstrated, they were often used differently by each author, and some also tended to swap them without specifying the reasons. A very clear distribution can be identified in the use of the character *ji* 字 which never refers to any concept different from that of “character”. This stands true for the characters of any language, thus for Chinese characters, Japanese *kana* and the Latin alphabet. In fact, even in the documents on Dutch, the letters of the Latin alphabet are always referred to by means of the character *ji* 字 which, in turn, never refers to Dutch words or categories of speech.

As I will discuss in 6.1.2, Ogyū also deals with this issue, specifically in the first volume of his *Kun'yaku jimō*, where he defines translation (*yakubun* 譯文) as the “adjustment” (*naosu* 直ス) of the Chinese language into Japanese, where the character *go* 語 is used as meaning “language”. However, he adds, there are huge differences between Chinese words and those of Japanese, where the character *shi* 詞 is used as meaning “words”. The first difference is that Chinese is written in “character” (*ji* 字), while Japanese is written in *kana* 假名 (仮名). The *kana* are not unique to Japanese, according to Ogyū, since they are also found in other languages, such as Korean, Sanskrit etc. The definition of a *kana*, for the scholar, is a character that does not have a meaning but only expresses a sound, and the meaning is created by bringing together many *kana*. Instead, a character (*ji* 字) has both a meaning and a sound.

I have not been able to find any direct definition of the differences between these characters in the works authored by Shizuki, however, in *Sangoku shukushō*, in a

text written in *kanbun* by Ōtsuki Seijun allegedly based on Shizuki's own words, one can read the following:⁴⁸

平出
和蘭之詩、其猶國之歌、
唐之詩乎、而體製各異何
也、蓋土隔東西、則語殊文
異、吐又有辭音之別也、惟
平出
國則辭吐、字有聲無義、
義生於輯字、故整其句、而
曰字、若曰五字七
字、是也、惟唐則
音吐、其文有音有義、不貳
字[算]言、故字整其句而曰
言、若曰五言七言
之等、是也、惟和蘭
則辭吐、其文無音無義、
和蘭字總二十有五、皆無音義、但
五韻字為音、阿藹伊甌幽、是也、
而今曰無音、義者就
其多者、概言之矣 是以合字
成音、合音鑄辭也、

Dutch poetry, Tang poetry and our country's poetry all differ in style. Being lands far apart, things like their languages vary, as well as their texts. Furthermore, the pronunciation has a difference in the sound of words. In our country's language, we "pronounce characters" [辭吐] which have a sound but not a meaning. The meaning is given by the accumulation of characters [字]. Thus, creating a verse. Those are said characters [字] (Be they 5 or 7). The Tang people "pronounce syllables" [音吐], their texts have both sound and meaning. There is no double character. The characters which are ordered in their own sentence are called "words" [言] (Be they 5 or 7). The Dutch "pronounce characters" [辭吐] and their texts have no sound or meaning (In Dutch there are in total 25 characters. They all have no sound or meaning. However, there are 5 syllabic characters which have the sounds *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *yu*. What I have just said having no sound nor meaning, are the majority). Thus, a combination of characters makes a "syllable", and a combination of "syllables" forges a word. Furthermore, the ordering of "syllables" makes a verse.

In this excerpt, a difference is made between the pronunciation of Chinese, Japanese and Dutch, according to their writing systems. The Chinese language, it is claimed, "pronounces syllables" (*onto* 音吐), that means that their text possesses both "sounds" and "meanings" (有音有義). The character *on* 音 can be interpreted as meaning both "syllable" as well as "sound", since Chinese characters generally express each a syllabic sound, giving the illusion that a syllable is the smallest unit of sound. The combination of Chinese characters composes "speech" (*koto* 言). This is contrasted with the Japanese language that "pronounces words/characters" (*jito* 辭吐), meaning that their characters do have "sounds" but do not have "meaning" (有聲無義). In order to create meaning, in Japanese, one needs to combine more characters together. This is a reference to the Japanese *kana*, that do not hold a specific semantic meaning each, yet they do express a sound. The Dutch language, is also considered as "pronouncing words/characters" (*jito* 辭吐), just like Japanese. However, their characters (the Latin alphabet) do not possess either sound or meaning (無音無義). For a Japanese speaker with little exposure to any foreign spoken language, it makes sense to claim that the characters of the Latin alphabet, that mostly represent consonant sounds rarely pronounced in isolation, were but pieces required to be combined as to create a "sound", meaning a "syllable". If your native language is written in phonetic syllabaries, you would probably end up

⁴⁸ Original text from folio 23r of Waseda's 文庫 8 B9, my English translation.

thinking that the smallest unit of sound corresponds to a syllable. Indeed, Ōtsuki Seijun adds that the only characters of Dutch script that had their own “sounds” are *a, e, i, o, yu*, representing the Dutch pronunciation of vowel characters.⁴⁹ In Dutch, it is a combination of “characters” (*ji* 字) composing a “syllable” (*on* 音 or “sound”), and a combination of “syllables” composing “words” (*ji* 辭).

This excerpt is very informative, since it explains the meanings and uses of almost all of these similar characters, their definitions, and how they are to be interpreted in the context of three languages, including Dutch. The character *ji* 字 is used to refer to any one symbol of written language, including Chinese characters, Japanese *kana* and Latin letters. However, each of these characters are slightly different in the way they function in the composition of words and sentences. In Japanese, each character (*ji* 字) only possesses a syllabic sound (*on* 音) – or voice (*sei* 聲) – yet it does not have a specific meaning (*gi* 義) attached to it. The meaning is obtained by combining a few of these characters into a unit possessing a meaning, that is called a *ji* or *kotoba* 辭. Since this text is written in Chinese, it is reasonable to believe that the character *ji* 辭 is to be interpreted as a variant of *shi* 詞. In Chinese, instead, each character (*ji* 字) corresponds to both a syllabic sound (*on* 音) and a meaning (*gi* 義). Their combination creates a *koto* 言. In Dutch, which is nonetheless more similar to Japanese, characters (*ji* 字) do not have either a syllabic sound (*on* 音) or a meaning (*gi* 義) assigned to them. Each single character needs to first combine with others in order to first obtain a syllabic sound (*on* 音) and, only subsequently, can these combinations of sounds further combine with each other into a “word” (*ji* 辭) possessing meaning (*gi* 義).

If one were to solely rely on this excerpt, the following definitions would result:

- *go* 語 is used to refer to the concept of “language”;
- *ji* 字 is the smallest graphic unit. Corresponds to a “character”, regardless of its possession, or lack thereof, of “syllabic sound” and “meaning”;
- *gen* 言 is what results from the arranged combination of several characters that possess both “syllabic sound” and “meaning”, i.e. Chinese characters;
- *ji* 辭 (probably corresponding to *shi* 詞) is a unit possessing “meaning”, resulting from the combination of “syllabic sounds” that did not originally possess a “meaning” on their own;

Of course, this explanation by Ōtsuki Seijun should not be taken as a rule. Variations in employment of these specific characters is certainly to be expected across authors and even across the oeuvres of the same scholar. In fact, even in the works attributed to Shizuki, one can see that the character *go* 語 was used, in *Sensei*

⁴⁹ Particularly notable, here, is the adoption of the alphabetic order of the vowels, instead of the Japanese *a, i, u, e, o*, typical of the “Table of the fifty sounds” (五十音図). The letter < u > is transcribed as *yu* in order to represent the Dutch close front rounded vowel [y]. For a broad description of the way the Japanese approximated Dutch phonology through *katakana*, refer to NESPOLI (2019).

bunpō, as a suffix for the names of the parts of speech, when he would otherwise use the character *shi* 詞 quite consistently, in the rest of his works, where *go* 語 referred to sentences. For this reason, the present paragraph cannot but be a very limited address to a topic that would deserve focused attention from a thorough research of the uses of these characters across Chinese and Japanese literary works.

5.7 Japanese parts of speech in early European works

Portuguese missionaries reached Japan many decades before the Dutch first arrived, specifically somewhere between the years 1542 and 1543. Back then, studying the Japanese language was not legally impeded to a European individual. It is in the year 1604 that the first edition of a Japanese grammar by João Rodriguez⁵⁰ (1562 – 1633) was first published in Nagasaki, in the Jesuit college. The book goes by the name of *Arte da lingua de Iapam composta pello Padre Ioão Rodriguez Portugues da Cōpanhia de IESV diuidida em tres LIVROS* ('Art of the Japanese language composed by Father João Rodriguez from the company of Jesus divided in three books'). This represents the earliest European source trying to describe the grammar of Japanese that has preserved until today. Two earlier publications by Duarte da Silva (1536 – 1564) appear to also have existed, comprising a grammar *Arte da Lingua Japoneza* and a dictionary *Vocabulario da Lingua Japoneza*, however, both have been lost. Another work by João Fernandes (1526 – 1567) must have existed, whose manuscript has been used by missionaries in Japan to learn the Japanese language until the first printing machine was imported, in 1590. After 1614, when Christians started being persecuted by the Japanese government, the Portuguese studies of Japanology were carried out in Macao and Manila. Specifically, in Macao, in 1620, a more compacted version of Rodriguez's grammar has been published, by the name *Arte breve da lingua iapoa tirade da Arte Grande da mesma lingua, pera os que começam a aprender os primeiros principios della* ('Brief Art of the Japanese Language taken from the Great Art of the same language, for those who start learning the first principles of it') (ZWARTJES 2011, 93-95).

Although these are exogenous sources, they are particularly interesting. In fact, beyond applying the traditional Greek-Latin categories of speech, it seems that Rodriguez ended up also adopting some of the terminology and concepts the Japanese themselves were using in the 17th century. This implies that he might have read some Japanese works on the Japanese language. For this reason, Rodriguez's grammars are valuable sources that can provide an additional, external record of the theory of grammar that was circulating in Japan, at the time. Unfortunately, I am not sure it is possible to know which Japanese sources Rodriguez had read. However, traces of the categories covered in the present Chapter V, can be identified. The content of the two versions also varies a little, so I will discuss them separately, when necessary.

The first European grammar of Japanese after the banning of the Portuguese was published in 1857, in Leiden, authored by Janus Henricus Donker Curtius (1813 – 1879), a Dutch commissary who also happened to be the last *opperhoofd* in

⁵⁰ Also spelled as Rodrigues.

Nagasaki between the years 1852 and 1855. The book came out in Dutch with the title *Proeve eener Japansche spraakkunst* and was revised and edited by Johann Joseph Hoffmann (1805 – 1878), professor of Chinese and Japanese studies. Precisely ten years later, in 1867, Hoffmann publishes his own Japanese grammar, by the title *Japansche spraakleer*.

In this section, I will briefly introduce these four European sources, specifically as far as the description of the Japanese parts of speech is concerned. This is useful for the present research, since these sources portray Japanese morphology in an interesting way, reworking the Greek-Latin categories to better fit the Japanese language, on the one hand. On the other hand, they do contain reference to Japanese theories presumably based on Japanese sources on language.

5.7.1 Japanese parts of speech according to João Rodriguez

The first morpho-semantic assertion that is made, in both editions, is the fact that words in the Japanese language can either be *yomi* [*yomi* 読み]⁵¹ or *coye* [*koe* 声]. This is claimed in the piece of text below, in the first edition.⁵²

Toda a coufa na lingoa Japoa de ordinario tem dous nomes fignificados por efte dous vocabulos, *Va*, *Can*, ou *Can*, *Va*, que quer dizer China, & Japão: hum fe chama *Coye*, que significa a lingoa China, outro *Yomi*, que significa a lingoa natural de Japão; & por eſta cauſa a lingoa Japoa ou he naturalmête puro *Yomi*, ſem miſtura de *Coye*: ou de *Yomi*, com pouca miſtura de *Coye*, q̃ he a cômua, & vñada de todos, ou cômumête vñam os Iapões ã ſuas eſcrituras, & de que vñã a gente graue, & letrados; ou he foamente pura *Coye*, eſcuriſſima, da qual vñam os Bonzos nos liuros de ſuas feitas.

All the things in the Japanese language generally have two names, referred to by means of these two words: *Va* [*wa* 和], *Can* [*kan* 漢] or *Can*, *Va* that means China and Japan: the one is called *Coye* [*koe* 声], meaning the language of China, while the other is *yomi* [*yomi* 読み], and means the natural language of Japan; and because of this the Japanese language is either naturally pure *Yomi*, with no mixing with *Coye*: or *Yomi* with a bit of mixture with *Coye*, which is the most common one, used by everybody, and which is used by cultured and literate people; or is only purely *Coye*, very obscure, used only by priests in the books of their sects.

This first categorization is not properly related to morphology. Here, Rodriguez displays influence from the written language of Japan and the Japanese theories that were based on it. The distinction between *koe* and *yomi* corresponds to what is

⁵¹ Rodriguez utilizes two different romanization methods in either version of his grammar. Both are certainly based on Portuguese phonetics and spelling rules. In some, features specific to an older pronunciation of Japanese can still be evidenced. For this reason, I will always add, between brackets, the Hepburn romanization corresponding to contemporary Japanese, along with the Japanese script, even when the two might happen to be identical.

⁵² The following text is found on page 7 of *Arte*, in the introductory section titled “Some warnings for a better understanding of what is treated in this *Arte*” (*Algũas advertencias pera mayor intelligencia do que nefia Arte ſe trata*). The text was originally written in italics, but I have chosen to swap the italic alternation, in the present excerpt, for better clarity.

nowadays called *on'yomi* (*ondoku*) and *kun'yomi* (*kundoku*), respectively. In the second edition, the term *koe* gets translated into Portuguese as *voz* ‘voice’ and *yomi* as *interpretaçam* ‘interpretation’. These refer to the reading of Chinese characters according to either their Japanized Chinese reading or to the “native” Japanese word they refer to. Rodriguez attests that the more common version of Japanese is the one mixing a small percentage of *koe* (*on'yomi*, thus *kango*), within a *yomi* (*kun'yomi*, thus *wago*) sentence. However, he also claims that a version of Japanese free from Chinese words exists. The last sort, namely, the version of Japanese only pronounced in *on'yomi*, is a form of reading of Chinese texts used almost exclusively within the context of Buddhist prayers, where each character of the Chinese text was read out in its Japanized Chinese reading, rendering the text practically unintelligible when only heard.⁵³

Although Rodriguez tends to divide the parts of speech of Japanese according to the Greek-Latin tradition, he is also aware of the way the Japanese used to divide them. However, it seems that he tended to employ both simultaneously, to some extent. In the first edition, the section where the parts of speech are presented contains a printing error, with some words missing, as can be seen from the quote below.⁵⁴

Os Iapões diuidem as partes da oração em tres, de bayxo das quais comprehendem as demais, comuem a faber, Verbo; *Tenifa*, l. *Teniuofa*, l. *Sutegana*, l. *Voquiji*, de bayxo da qual comprehendem, os artigos dos nomes, & todo o genero de particulas assi dos tempos & modos dos verbos, como todas as de mais.

Porem falando propriamente, & em rigor as partes da oração Iapoa ão as oito acostumbradas da lingoa latina: mas pera mais clareza da Syntayxis, os diuidiremos em dez que ão as seguintes.

The Japanese divide the parts of speech in three, under which the most common are included, namely, the verbs; *Tenifa* [*te ni ha* テニハ], 1. *Teniuofa* [*te ni wo ha* テニヲハ], 1. *Sutegana* [*sutegana* 捨て仮名], 1. *Voquiji* [*okiji* 置き字], under which are included the articles of nouns and all the genders of particles, as well as tenses and moods of verbs, and all the rest.

However, properly speaking, the parst of speech of Japanese are strictly eight, similarly to Latin; but for a better clarity of syntax, we will divide them in ten, which are the following. *Noun*, *Pronoun*, *Verb*, *participle*, *Postposition*, *Adverb*,

⁵³ Regarding this type of pronunciation, one can read the following in *Uittreksel uit het dagboek* (‘Extracts from the journal’, 1860) by Willem Johan Cornelis Huyssen van Kattendijke (1816 – 1866) a Dutchman who was stationed in Japan between 1857-1859: “The priests would, for a fee, pray at the houses of the citizens in a language that is allegedly the original language of the Buddha. This is for the Japanese as unintelligible as the Latin of spoken by pastors for the average European. Their mumbling resembles the buzzing of blow flies and serves to impress; you can hear it from great distance” (Original text on page 42: *De priesters doen, tegen betaling, gebeden aan huis bij de burgers, in eene taal welke men beweert de oorspronkelijke Boeddhataal te zijn. Deze is voor den Japanner even onverstaanbaar als het Latijn der pastoors voor den gemeenen man in Europa. Hun prevelen gelijkt veel op het gonzen der bromvliegen en dient om indruk te maken; men kan het op grooten afstand hooren*).

⁵⁴ In that period, missionaries generally relied on a Latin grammar published by Manoel Álvares (1526 - 1583) with the title *De institutione gramatica*, firstly released in 1572. ZWARTJES (2011, 103) qualifies the influence of Álvares on the grammar of Rodriguez as “obvious”.

Nome, Pronome, Verbo, participio, Posposição, Aduerbio, Interjeição, Conjugação, Artigo, Particula.	Interjection, Conjunction, Article, Particle.

Unfortunately, written like this, this piece of text does not make much sense, as the category of noun is probably missing in the first list, whereas the *teniwofa* [*te ni wo ha*], *sutegana* [*sutegana*] and *voquiji* [*okiji*] are alternative names for the category of *tenifa*, known as *te ni wo ha*. Rodriguez claims that the tripartite division of the parts of speech is how the Japanese themselves divide them, however, that properly, the Japanese language possesses eight parts of speech, just like Latin. Nonetheless, for the sake of clarity, he will make a further distinction, recognizing up to ten parts of speech.

A similar claim can be found in *Arte breve*, where he claims the following (p 53r-v).

Os Iapoens comprehendem todas as partes da oraçam da sua lingoa de baixo de tres palauras: a primeira he, *Na*, que significa nome; de baixo do qual comprehendem todos os nomes subltantiuos, as conjunçoens, interjeiçoens, preposiçoens, ou posposiçoens, & quaes quer outros vocabulos, que tem propria letra que nam sam verbos. A segunda he, *Cotoba*, que significa, verbo (não fallando lato modo, em quanto quer dizer palaura, mas propriamente) de baixo da qual se comprende toda a forte de verbos afsi subltantiuos, como todos os de mais, & os verbos adiectiuos. A terceira. He, *Te, Ni, Fa*, ou, *Te, Ni, Vo, Fa*, ou *Sutegana*, ou, *Vokiji*, de baixo da qual comprehendemos artigos dos calos dos nomes, como sam, *Va, Ni, Vo, Vobi*, & todo o genero de particulas, afsi dos tempos, como todas as de mais de qualquer forte, que sejam, que nam tem letra propria, mas sam da lingoa Iapoa natural. Vt, *Mo, Nimo, De, Nite*, &c.

Mas fallando propriamente, as partes da oraçam da lingoa Iapoa sam dez, às quaes, ainda que cõmodamente se podem reduzir às oito ordinarias da lingoa Latina, pera mais clareza, as diuidimos em dez, que sam as seguintes, Nome, pronome, verbo, participio, posposiçam, aduerbio, interjeiçam, artigo, particula.

The Japanese include all the parts of speech of their language under three words: the first one is *Na* [*na* 名], which means nouns; under which all substantive noun are included, conjunctions, interjection, prepositions – or postposition – and some other terms having their own letter, not being verbs. The second one is *Cotoba* [*kotoba* 詞, or 辭], which means verb (not said in the broad sense since it would mean “word”, but [more] properly),⁵⁵ under which are included all the types of verbs, also substantives, and all the others, and adjectival verbs. The third one is *Te ni ha*, or *te ni vo fa*, or *Sutegana*, or *Vokiji*, under which we include the articles for the cases of nouns, like *Va, Ni, Vo, Vobi* and all the types of particles, as of time, and all the others of any sort be them lacking their own letter but do belong to the natural Japanese language. Cfr, *Mo, Nimo, De, Nite*, etc. But talking more correctly, the parts of speech of the Japanese language are ten, which can be reduced, for the sake of simplicity, to the ordinary eight of the Latin language, but we divide them into ten for more clarity, namely: Noun, pronoun, verb, participles, postposition, adverb, interjection, article and particle.

⁵⁵ It would be interesting to understand what this claim in parenthesis means, since both the Portuguese *verbo* as well as the Japanese *kotoba* can be used to mean both “verb” as well as “word”.

As Rodriguez reports in the excerpt above, the Japanese distinguish between three parts of speech, namely: *na* [な 名] ‘nouns’; *cotoba* [kotoba 詞 or, perhaps, 辞] including both verbs and adjectives; and the auxiliary particles. However, Rodriguez, much like he did in his first edition, also adds that he will not use these categories. In fact, in both versions of the *Arte*, Rodriguez employs a whole new method of distinguishing between the categories of speech. This new method, although certainly based on the Greek-Latin tradition, still includes some characteristics specific to the Sino-Japanese studies on grammar. In fact, the two new categories added in the system of ten parts of speech correspond to two specific uses of Japanese particles, so-called *te ni wo ha*. Interestingly, the category of “postpositions” (*posposições*), fifth part of speech, does not specifically include what are nowadays call “particles”. In *Arte breve* (p. 58r), he writes:

Nam tem preposições, mas em seu lugar usam de posposições. por que se pospoem aos nomes, & em seu significado respondem às nossas preposições, das quais algumas são propriamente nomes substantivos, que admitem todos os artigos, como os de mais nomes. Vt, *Vye*, *Xita*, &c. Outras são participios de verbos, que regem os casos de seus verbos. Vt, *Taixite*, *Tçuite*, &c. Outras são puramente particulas. Vt, *Yori*, *Cara*, &c. E destas há quem o artigo, *No*, outras, *Ni*, outras nenhum.

There are no prepositions but, in their place, postpositions are used, since they are postponed to nouns and, in their meaning, they correspond to our prepositions, of which some are properly substantive nouns which admit all the articles, just like most nouns. Cfr. *Vye* [ue 上 ‘up’, ‘on’], *Xita* [shita 下 ‘under’], etc. Other are participles of verbs which hold the cases of their verbs. Cfr. *Taixite* [taishite 対して ‘against’], *Tçuite* [tsuite ついて ‘regarding’], etc. Other are purely particles. Cfr. *Yori* [yori より ‘from’], *Cara* [kara から ‘from’], etc. And out of these some require the article *No* [no の], other *Ni* [ni に] and others no article at all.

The category of postpositions is, in fact, a rather broad category including words that simultaneously belong to other categories. However, there is a specific reason why the category of “particles” (*partículas*), the ninth part of speech, is distinguished from that of postpositions, and that can be read in the quote below, also from *Arte breve* (59r-v), that is rather similar to what claimed in the first edition of *Arte* (77r).

Tem esta lingua muita variedade de particulas, há articulares, outras de honra fômente, outras que servem na composição dos verbos, & nomes, há por causa de honra, outras para abater, outras para dar mais força, & energia aos verbos, outras que alteram a significação do verbo, outras que constituem tempos, & modos juntos aos

This language has a wide variety of particles, some are articular, others only of honor, others are used in the composition of verbs and nouns, some for the sake of honor, other to lessen,⁵⁶ to provide more force and energy to the verbs, others change the meaning of the verb, others make up the tenses and moods, when connected to verbs, others are negative,

⁵⁶ I assume this to refer to what is nowadays called *kenjōgo* 謙譲語, a humble system used to lower oneself when talking to a superior person.

verbos, outras negatiuas, outras, que separamas, ou lam aduerbios, ou conjuacoens, ou nomes, que tem forca de verbo, como se pode ver na rudimenta da arte grande, & na sintaxi, quando se falla de seu vario vfo. Comprehendem os Iapoens a particular de baixo destas palauras, *Te, Ni, Fa*, ou, *Te, Ni, Vo, Fa*. Em vfar bem, ou mal dellas confiste o certo, direito, & elegante fallar, & no contrario o barbaro, & improprio.

others which, when separated, are adverbs, conjunctions or nouns, which have the same force of the verb, just like how one can see in the rudiments of the great art [The first edition of *Arte*], and in the syntaxis, when covering their varied uses. The Japanese understand particles as belonging to the *Te ni ha*, or *Te ni wo ha*. By using them correctly, one distinguishes between a clear, direct, and elegant speech and, on the contrary, an improper and barbarian speech.

All these “particles” still distinguish from the category of articles by virtue of the fact that the “particles” belonging to the article category provide the information concerning the case of the noun, which also means that articles are particles that can only combine with this category of speech. Articles (*artigos*), the tenth part of speech, are defined as follows, in *Arte breve* (59v).

O artigo comprende certas particulas, q̃ respondem aos casos latinos juntas aos nomes, mostrando em que caso esteja o [unreadable], como se disse nos Nominatiuos, & se dira de seu vfo na sintaxi.

No que toca ao genero, & modo como distinguem o feminino, & masculino, & comum de dous, se veja na rudimenta da arte grande, onde se falla diffusamente delle.

The article includes certain particles which correspond to Latin cases, when combined with nouns, showing in which case the noun is and [unreadable], as I said when covering the Nominative, or will be said on its use, in the syntax.

As far as gender and how one distinguishes between feminine and masculine and the two common? look at the rudiments of the great art [First edition of *Arte*], where they are discussed profusely.

According to Rodriguez's hybrid morphological system, the Japanese category of *te ni wo ha* splits into three categories, namely: postpositions; particles and articles. Postpositions are those Japanese words that correspond to the prepositions of European languages. However, since in many cases an Indo-European preposition is translated as a paraphrase including a noun, in Japanese, the Japanese category of postposition includes words from different categories.⁵⁷ Japanese has no “articles” in the sense that it does not have words that serve the same purpose of the English “the” or the Portuguese *o* and *a*. However, as I mentioned in Chapter III and IV, it was very common to consider articles as those words carrying the specification of grammatical information such as gender, number, and case. The Japanese language possesses no grammatical gender or number (mostly) but, according to Rodriguez, it does possess cases. A Japanese article, according to Rodrigues, is thus a *te ni wo ha* that carries the meaning of cases. These include, thus, all those particles that are

⁵⁷ An example of this, would be the English phrase “on the desk”, which in Japanese would be translated as *tsukue no ue ni* 机の上に, literally “In the top of the desk”, where the preposition “on” corresponds to the Japanese postposition *ue*, more properly a noun.

today generally called *joshi* 助詞, in modern Japanese grammar, such as *wa* は, *ga* が, *no* の, *ni* に, etc. The category of particles is the more loosely defined, in Rodriguez's book, however, it can be deduced they referred to all those words the Japanese considered to be *te ni wo ha* but did not correspond to a European preposition nor did they inform about the case. This would include the affixes used to conjugate Japanese verbs and adjectives, for example. In the excerpts from both grammars of Rodriguez, there is one interesting element that evidences a strong reliance on Japanese sources by the author. Particles, articles, and postpositions are often distinguished according to whether "they possess their own letter/character" (*tem propria letra*). In order to understand what this claim means, one needs to be aware of how Japanese dictionaries of Chinese characters worked, and more broadly *kundoku*, in general. When applying *kundoku* signs onto a Chinese text, some specific Chinese characters with grammatical meaning, were utilized to function as Japanese particles. In order to better understand this, one should look at the explanation of a couple of particles, as defined in Rodrigues's *Arte* (149r-149v).

DAS PARTICVLAS ARTICVLARES,
Va, No, Ga, Ye, Vo, Ni, &c.

Destas em quanto artigos que mostram o caso em que esta o nome a que se juntão, se tratou atras, quando falamos do artigo: aqui tratarei dellas em quanto particulas, & de seu vario vfo, & significações. E por q̃ pera se saber da raiz o sentido, & vfo das particulas, importa saber se tem letra propria, ou não, no lugar de cada hũa se dira.

DA PARTICVULA, VA, BA.

Esta particula tem letra particular nos caracteres de Iapão cõ que se escreue, a qual no *Coye* tem duas vozes: a primeira he, *Xa*. 1. Homem, ou pessoa, Vt, *Gacuxa*, *Buguenxa*, *Finja*. A segunda he, *Va*, naqual vox não tem outra significação, mais que ser pura particula que se ajunta a todas as partes da oração, ainda aos de mais artigos com varios, e elegantes sentidos, como [aca ba passo] se pode notar.

Na voz de *Yomi*, tem duas vozes: a primeira, *Mono*, 1. *Fito*, que he o *Yomi* do *Coye*, *Xa*: a segunda, *Teireba*. i. *Sõ sureba*, que he significaçã particular que tambem tem esta letra.

On articular particles, *Va*, *No*, *Ga*, *Ye*, *Vo*, *Ni*, etc.

[*wa*, *no*, *ga*, *e*, *o*, *ni*]

It has already been treated of them as articles showing the case of the noun they get combined with, back when we talked about articles: here I will talk about them as particles and of their use and meanings. An since, in order to understand their root and meaning, it is important to know whether they have their own letter or they do not, this will be stated for each.

On the particle, *Va*, *Ba* [*wa*, *ba*]

This particle has its own letter in the characters of Japan in which it is written, whose *Coye* [*koe*] has two voices: the first one is *Xa* [*sha* 者]. 1. "Human", or "person", Cfr. *Gacuxa* [*gakusha* 学者 'scholar'], *Buguenxa* [*bugensha* 分限者 'rich person'], *Finja* [*hinja* 貧者 'poor person']. The second is *Va* [*wa*] whose voice does not hold any other meaning, but it is a pure particle which gets combined with all the parts of speech even to many articles with varied and elegant meanings, such as it can be noticed [below?].

In its *Yomi* [*yomi*], it has two voices: the first one is *Mono* [*mono*], 1. *Fito* [*hito*], which is the *Yomi* of the *Coye* [*koe*] *Xa* [*sha*]: the second is *Teireba*. i. *Sõ sureba* [*sū sureba*], that is the specific meaning that is also held by this letter.

This explanation shows evident influence from Japanese theory of grammar and the *kundoku* writing/translating system commonly used in Japan at the time. Indeed, the influence of the written language, typical of Japanese sources, as I have illustrated in the previous paragraphs of this Chapter IV, has been embraced fully by Rodriguez, in the explanation of these particles. Rodriguez connects the Chinese character *sha* 者 with three different elements: the Japanese words corresponding to it; its Japanized Sinitic reading; and the Japanese-specific particle it used to represent in *kundoku*. This can only be explained assuming Rodriguez had based his theories of Japanese grammar on the written language and, likely, on some Japanese source(s), probably a dictionary of Chinese characters. The character *sha* 者 has one main *on*-reading, and that is *sha* (*xa*, in Rodriguez), and it is used in compound words, mostly as a suffix, to mean “person”, as in the example provided by Rodriguez himself, *gakusha* 学者 (*gacuxa*, in Rodriguez), meaning “scholar”, literally “study-person”. The pronunciation *sha* is a Japanese corruption of the Chinese pronunciation of that character. The concept of “person” is expressed in Japanese with the terms *hito* or *mono*, both attested by Rodriguez as the *yomi* – i.e., *kun'yomi* – of that character. However, in the *kundoku* annotation, this same character was sometimes used as a correspondence to the Japanese particle *wa* (*va*, in Rodriguez). As I claimed, the Japanese *kana* were seen as units of meaning. This means that the character *wa* は (ハ, in *katakana*) refers to all the units of meaning and thus readings it could be used as. For this reason, it was the character *wa* itself that referred to all the different meanings connected to particles and affixes that were written by means of it, like the hypothetical/temporal *ba*, also written with the *kana* for は or ハ. This is what Rodriguez means when he claims that some particles possess their own character, or letter: it means that a specific particle was used as Japanese adaptation of a specific Chinese character – or, perhaps, vice versa – just like the particle *wa* was connected to the Chinese character *sha* 者. This manner of handling Japanese words is the consequence of the practice of *kundoku* and can be seen, for example, in a more recent source, by Ogyū Sorai, by the title *Kun'yaku jimō*, where one reads the following, as explanation of the Chinese character *sha* 者, considered a *joshi*, by the author.⁵⁸

○者ハモノト訓ズ。何ニテモ指ス辭ナリ。但シ。物ノ字トハ違フナリ。物ノ字ハ體ノアルモノヲ謂フ。者ノ字ハ。コトバナリ。時ヲ指シテ云フ。者ノ字モアリ。處ヲ指シテ云フ者ノ字モアリ。事ヲ指シテ云フ者ノ字モアリ。人ヲ指シテ云フ。物ヲ指シテ云フアリ。

The character *sha* 者 is read in Japanese as *mono*. It is a word (*kotoba* 辭) that points at something. It is different from the character *butsu* 物. The character *butsu* 物 is used to refer to things having a shape. The character *sha* 者 is a *kotoba*. There is also a *sha* 者 which refers to time. There is also a *sha* 者 which refers to places. There is also a *sha* 者 which refers to actions. It can refer to people (*hito*) or to things.

⁵⁸ Original quote from Waseda's 文庫 17 w36 (vol. 2), on folio 58r. All citations from Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō* are taken from these two volumes in Waseda's collection. My English translation.

(畧)

世人。多クハ。ムカシハ 昔者 イニシヘハ 古者
トハノ假名ニ用フルヲハ。悞リナ
リ。

(畧)

チンシャ 智者 ジンシャ 仁者 ナドノ者ノ字ハ。人
ヲ指ス。

[...]

People nowadays often use it as referring to the *kana wa* ハ, as in *mukashi wa* 昔者 [“once”, “in the past”] or *inishie wa* 古者 [“in ancient times”]. This is a mistake.

[...]

In *chisha* 智者 [“wise man”], *jinsha* 仁者 [“moral man”],⁵⁹ the character *sha* 者 refers to people (人).

By comparing the quote from Rodriguez with that from Ogyū, I do not mean to imply any direct connection. However, this comparison is a testimony to the history of Japanese linguistics. Shizuki, who got to read Ogyū’s works, has made use of a theoretical framework that had been used to describe Japanese grammar for a long time, so much so that even Portuguese missionaries such as Rodriguez, adopted some of those theories. Furthermore, it is interesting to notice that Rodriguez embraced the more Japanese-native tradition, of *na* ‘noun’, *kotoba* ‘words [that can be inflected]’ and *te ni wo ha*, instead of what is assumed to have derived from Chinese studies, with a similar triad of *jitsu* ‘full’, *kyo* ‘empty’ and *jo* ‘auxiliary’. This could be a testimony to the fact that Rodriguez had consciously selected texts that were not written in *kanbun*, when gathering sources on Japanese grammar. However, as can be seen from the example of the definition of the *ha* (*va*, *ba*, in Rodriguez) particles, the influence the practice of *kundoku* had on Japanese and the theories on the Japanese language was visible in both books by Rodriguez.

In 1632, Spanish-born Christian missionary Diego Collado (1587 – 1638 or 1641) published another grammar of Japanese, this time in Latin, printed by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, in Rome, by the title *Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae*. This work is much shorter, in comparison to the work of Rodriguez, only counting 74 numbered pages. Although admittedly inspired by the earlier work of Rodriguez, the parts of speech in Collado’s grammar are quite different. In fact, the Spanish missionary only recognizes seven parts of speech, namely: nouns (including adjectives); pronouns; verbs; adverbs; prepositions; conjunctions and disjunctions; and interjections. However, in the very beginning of the introduction to the book he claims the following, explaining that the Japanese language technically does not have any prepositions, but rather “particles” (*particulae*) that are called “postponed” (*postpositae*) to nouns. Nonetheless, in the section covering this part of speech (p. 6), Collado calls them “prepositions”.

In lingua Iaponica non sunt declinationes per
cafus ficut in Latina., fed sunt particulæ, quæ
postpositæ nominibus, cafuum; differentias
conftituunt in omnibus nominibus, tam

In the Japanese language there are no
declinations according to case like in Latin,
but there are particles, which, when postponed
to nouns, they constitute the difference in all

⁵⁹ These are terms specific to Buddhism, referring to people with good knowledge of the values of Buddhism.

appellatiuis, quàm proprijs.

nouns, be them common or proper.

This is the only attempt at providing a division of the parts of speech in Japanese, by Collado and no reference to the traditional categories the Japanese used can be found.

5.7.2 Japanese parts of speech according to Donker Curtius and Johann J. Hoffman

On pages 42 to 44, of *Japansche spraakleer*, Hoffmann introduces the parts of speech of the Japanese language, in a rather similar fashion to Rodriguez, whom Hoffmann cites as a source. This can be read from the quote below.⁶⁰ Hoffmann does present the parts of speech of Japanese firstly in the way the Japanese themselves conceived them yet presenting some differences with the terminology employed by Rodriguez. The reliance on the Greek-Latin traditional categories in Hoffman grammars is so evident that on page 30 of the 1857 the second chapter, devoted to the category of “articles” only contains the words: “The Japanese language has no articles” (*De Japansche taal heeft gene Lidwoorden*).

De Japanezen hebben oudtijds de woorden hunner taal in drie klassen verdeeld:

1. **Naamwoord**, ^ナ名 **Na**, d.i. naam (*nomen*) genoemd. Tot deze kategorie behooren, behalve het zelfstandig naamwoord, de voornaamwoorden, de bijvoegelijke naamwoorden, de telwoorden en de betrekkingwoorden, welke laatste als postpositie geplaatst, de dienst doen zowel van onze zoo genoemde praeposities, als gedeeltelijk ook van onze conjuncties.
2. **Werkwoord**, ^{コトバ}詞 **Kotoba** d.i. woord (*verbum*) bij uitnemendheid genoemd en als het levendige element in den zin beschouwd.
3. **Partikels** of vormwoorden, doorgaans achtervoegsels (*suffixa*), die de dienst van verbuigingsuitgangen (*casus*) doen, zoo als de partikels *te*, *ni*, *wo*, *va*, [*te ni wo ha*] en

The Japanese have divided the words of their language in three classes, since ancient times:

1. **Noun**, *na* 名, called “name” (*nomen*). Beyond substantive nouns, to this class belong also pronouns, adjectival nouns, numerals and connecting words, the latter are placed as postposition and serve as, what we call prepositions and, in part, also as our conjunctions.
2. **Verb**, *kotoba* 詞, called “word” (*verbum*) par excellence, considered the lively element of the sentence.
3. **Partikels** or “formword”, generally postpositions (*suffixa*), which serve as endings for the

⁶⁰ In copying from Hoffmann's *Spraakleer* a few changes have been made. The author maintained the writing style of Japanese manuscripts, that were written vertically. For a better graphical rendition, I have made the Japanese quotes horizontal, in line with the Dutch text. This also applies to the phonetic notation applied by Hoffmann in *katakana* on the right side of each Chinese character, faithful to the way the Japanese did. Furthermore, Hoffmann adopted his own romanization method, loosely based on Dutch phonology and spelling rules. In each case in which this does not align with the Hepburn rendition, I will provide the Hepburn version in brackets.

daarom onder den naam *Teniwova* [*te ni wo ha*] or *Teniva* [*te ni ha*] begrepen worden.

Aanmerking 1. Men late zich door de voor den naam *Teniva* [*te ni ha*] gebezigde schrikfwijze

出 余 葉 of 出 葉, waardoor aan het woord de beteekenis van “uitkomende bladerend” toegekend wordt, niet tot de gedachte verleiden, als waren deze partikels werkelijk uitspruitsels van woorden of wat men soms noemt organieke verbuigingsuitgangen, en geene toevoegsels. De aangehaalde schrijfwijze is niets anders, als een van de veelvuldig voorkomende figuurraadsels (*rebus*), waarbij men, om achter de waarheid te komen, van de beteekenis der gebezigde karakters moet afzien.

Aanm. 2. In eene Europeesche grammatica [Rodrigues] worden deze partikels ook “*Sutegana*” en “*Wokiy*” [*okiji*] genoemd; namen, die een nadere toelichting vereischen.

ステガナ

Sute-gána (捨假名), d.i. verlaten of te vondeling gelegde letters (een te vondeling gelegd kind wordt *sute-go* [*sutego* 捨て子] genoemd) heeten de met Japansch *Kána*-schrift tusschen of ter zijde van Chinesche karakters uitgedrukte uitgangen van Japansche woorden, welke woorden zelve door de Chinesche karakters slechts ideografisch aangeduid zijn. De merken ノ *no* en ク *ku* in 孔子ノ曰ク *Kou-si NO tamavaKU* [*kōshi no tamahaku*] (Spreuk van Confucius) of フ *fu* in 思フ *omoVU* [*omo(fu)*] zijn dus te vondeling gelegde letters, die bij het vertalen opgenomen worden.

オキジ

Oki-zi (置字) [*okiji*] – de schrijfwijze *Wokiy* blijkt eene drukfout te zijn – heeten die karakters van een Chineschen zin, welke bij het vertalen in het Japansch niet afzonderlijk vertaald, maar voorbijgegaan worden, zoo als 於 in 遊ニ於山中ニ (= *San-tsiu-ni asobu* [*sanchū ni asobu*] (= in het gebergte wandelen).

De *Oki-zi* zijn dus karakters, aan welke bij het vertalen in het Japansch de rol van statisten of stomme medespelers toegewezen wordt.

Door latere Japansche grammatici is aan het

タイノコトバ

naamwoord ook de naam van 體詞 *Tai no kotoba* of ligchamelijk woord, en aan het

ヨウノコトバ

werkwoord die van 用詞 *You no kotoba* [*yō no*

cases (*casus*), just like the particles *te*, *ni*, *wo*, *ha* which are thus understood under the name of *te ni wo ha* or *te ni ha*.

Remark 1. Do not get misled by the fact that for the *te ni ha* used before a noun one uses the writing

出 余 葉 or 出 葉, which would provide this word the meaning of “sprouting leaves”, as if they were actual sprouts of words, or what some call “organic conjugating endings”, and no adjuncts. The writing above is no more than one of the many image puzzles (*rebus*), which one should neglect when trying to grasp the actual meaning of these characters.

Remark 2. In one European grammar [in note: Rodrigues], these particles are also called *sutegana* and *okiji*; names which require a deeper elucidation.

ステガナ

Sutegana (捨假名), left or abandoned letters (an abandoned child is called *sutego*). This is the name of the endings of Japanese words which are expressed with Japanese *kana* in between Chinese characters; words which are otherwise only expressed ideographically by Chinese characters. The marks ノ *no* and ク *ku* in 孔子ノ曰ク *tamahaku* 孔子ノ曰ク (Thus spoke Confucius), or フ *fu* in 思フ [*to think*] are, thus, the abandoned letters, which are readopted when translating.

オキジ

Okiji (置字) – The writing *Wokiy* seems to be a typo – is the name of the characters of a Chinese sentence, which are not translated individually into Japanese, but are omitted, just like 於 in *sanchū ni asobu* 遊ニ於山中ニ (= to walk in the mountains).

The *okiji* are thus characters which are assigned the role of statist or mute participants.

Later Japanese grammarians have

kotoba] of dienstdoende woord gegeven, terwijl voor de partikels de naam *Teniwova* behouden is. Mag de Japansche grammaticus zich tot de onderscheiding van drie klassen van woorden bepalen, wij dienen, om de logische en grammatische waarde der woorden als zindeelen behoorlijk te kunne vaststellen, onze grammatische kategoriën, onze onderscheiding van de deelen der rede, op het Japansch toe te passen. Wij onderscheiden diensvolgens 1. Naamwoorden, daaronder begrepen 2. Voornaamwoorden, 3. Bijvoegelijke naamwoorden, 4. Telwoorden, 5. Bijwoorden, 6. Werkwoorden, 7. Achtervoegsels (*postposities*), eenvoudige, beantwoordende aan onze verbuiginsuitgangen, en zulke die aan onze betrekkingenwoorden en voegwoorden beantwoorde, 8. Interjecties.

given nouns also the name of *tai no* タイノコトバ *kotoba* 體詞, or “bodily word”, and ヨウノコトバ verbs the name of *yō no kotoba* 用詞, or “servicing word”, while keeping the name *te ni wo ha* for particles. Although the Japanese grammarian might still abide by the three-class distinction of the parts of speech, we will use our grammatical categories and adapt them to Japanese, in order to properly determine the logical and grammatical value of words as elements of the phrase. We distinguish thusly simply amongst 1. Nouns, including 2. Pronouns, 3. Adjectival nouns, 4. Numerals, 5. Adverbs, 6. Verbs, 7. Postpositions, corresponding to our declination endings, and corresponding to our connecting words and conjunctions, 8. Interjections.

Hoffmann, who read and quoted Rodriguez, presents the same Japanese classes of the parts of speech, expands on them, and updates them with what he calls “more recent” nomenclatures. The three-classes already presented by Rodriguez, are *na* ‘name’, *kotoba* ‘word’ and *te ni wo ha*. Hoffmann adds that “more recent” authors have started using the categories of *tai no kotoba*, for nouns, and *yō no kotoba*, for verbs. This is consistent with what discussed above, in the present Chapter V. The terms *okiji* and *sutegana*, that Rodriguez simply presented as an alternative name for the *te ni wo ha* category, are properly distinguished and defined by Hoffmann. Additionally, Hoffmann adds an interesting remark hinting at a deeper knowledge of the Japanese sub-categories of the parts of speech, from Hoffmann’s side. He adds that the *kotoba* category is “considered as the lively element of the sentence” (*als het levendige element in den zin beschouwd*). This claim is not further discussed by Hoffmann but it can be deduced that this was supposed to refer to the category of *katsu* 活 ‘lively’, that I will discuss below, and is seen being used by authors such as Ogyū Sorai and Motoori Norinaga, to refer to those parts of speech that can be inflected, although with different nuances (see 6.1 and 6.2). Just like Rodriguez, however, Hoffmann preferred using the Greek-Latin traditional categories, although with some differences from other Dutch authors as discussed in Chapters III and IV. Hoffmann claims that the adoption of the Greek-Latin categories, that he calls “our grammatical categories” (*onze grammatische kategoriën*), is necessary “in order to properly determine the logical and grammatical value of words as elements of the phrase” (*om de logische en grammatische waarde der woorden als zindeelen behoorlijk te kunne vaststellen*). This is an interesting remark that manifests the attitude of the grammarian toward the Japanese grammatical classes. Even though he

ended up not using them either, Rodriguez did not claim these classes to be somehow “inferior” as implied by Hoffmann’s quote, instead. In fact, Rodriguez adopted the Greek-Latin classes for the sake of clarity, assuming his own readers to be more acquainted with them and, thus, find them more practical for the learning of Japanese grammar. It must be added, nonetheless, that Rodriguez himself also claims that dividing the Japanese parts of speech in ten categories is “speaking more correctly/properly” (*fallando propriamente*).

5.8 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have briefly illustrated the history of the linguistic thought in Japan, in order to identify patterns in the development of the uses of specific terminology or in the methodologies adopted to treat of questions concerning language. This type of background is fundamental so as to contextualize firstly the content of the works of Ogyū and Motoori (Chapter VI) and subsequently, the theories of Shizuki (Chapters VII and VIII).

To understand the study of language in Japan, one needs to be aware of the existence of two broadly defined schools that operated in the archipelago since before the arrival of the Dutch. On the one hand, the importation of Chinese texts and philosophical/religious beliefs brought together with them the Chinese language, its characters and all the studies on language that were written in Chinese, like the Sanskrit studies on phonology, of the Siddhānt tradition. With Chinese texts being written in Chinese, the Japanese had to develop a way in which to read out and adapt that language to their own linguistic necessities, leading to metalinguistic investigations on the use of *kanji* and on the development of the practice of *kundoku*. On the other hand, the development of a Japanese written language and its own literary genres, fixed in time a specific linguistic variety of Japanese that, through the centuries, started losing intelligibility for Japanese speakers of more modern varieties. This led to the development of linguistic investigations concentrated on the “national” language. The two traditions do not imply a strict division into “Chinese studies” and “Japanese studies”. The studies on the language used in Chinese texts has always been accompanied by reflections on Japanese, so much so that most of these investigations included analyses on how to provide a functional *kundoku* or, at least, had *kundoku* readings annotated onto them. Conversely, the studies on Japanese literary classics could not neglect the study of the Chinese language since Chinese characters permeated the genre since its conception, just think about the deep knowledge of *kanji* that is required to interpret a Japanese text written in *man’yō-gana*. This is ultimately what is meant by the term *kana-zukai* and its research. Without a doubt, “Chinese studies” and “Japanese studies” have lived together for the longest time, in Japan, influencing each other, and using each other as a basis for their own investigations. In the Edo period, these two traditions started to identify more uniquely to either Neo-Confucian studies (*shushigaku*) or “nativist studies” (*kokugaku*). While the two scholarships were often in harsh contrast with each other, again, they still existed in a cultural continuum and were constantly in contact with each other and continued influencing each other, undoubtedly.

The two schools still differed in the literature they referenced for their philosophical exegesis. The importation of Chén Běixī's *Seiri jigi*, by the end of the 16th century, really initiated the metalinguistic investigations of the Neo-Confucian school. *Seiri jigi* was a philosophical work that provided the Neo-Confucian school with tools to dissect linguist issues. This gave birth to a whole new genre, that TUCKER (1998 & 2006) calls *jigi* 字義, based on the title of this book. It probably is a consequence of the promotion of the metalinguistic thought by the *jigi* genre that the Japanese Neo-Confucians reached out to Lú Yīwěi's *Jogoji*, a lexicographical work only covering the nature of the “auxiliary” characters of Chinese. The scholars of “national studies”, instead, analyzed the classics of Japanese literature, that was written in older forms of Japanese, based on – simplifying massively – the phonetic rendition of Chinese characters. These phonetic renditions were also useful in the annotation of grammatical features of Japanese that did not exist in Chinese. These grammatical features were often called *te ni (wo) ha*, and included particles and verbal/adjectival affixes, all elements of a sentence that had no direct correspondence in Chinese, except the uncommon presence of so-called *okiji*, a type of “auxiliary” character. It is by virtue of this conception of Chinese auxiliary characters that the Japanese *te ni wo ha*, started being understood as Japanese “auxiliaries”.

These auxiliaries, be they Chinese or Japanese, were peculiar words, mostly conveying a grammatical meaning rather than semantic, that could not be put in the same group as the other words. In Chinese tradition, words were generally conceived of as dividing between “full” and “empty”, their original definitions are somewhat lost in time, yet by the Edo period in Japan there is no doubt that these were unanimously understood as referring to “nouns” that are noninflecting and to “adjectives” and “verbs” that are inflecting. Also in the Edo period, the more Japanese-oriented scholars adopted another distinction loosely based on the dichotomy of “substance” and “function”, allegedly of Buddhist origin, that they also made to correspond to inflecting and noninflecting words. This was apparently a slightly different approach to what testified in the first European sources, by Rodriguez, who wrote about a categorical distinction between “names” (*na*) and “words” (*kotoba*), also referring to the inflecting/noninflecting distinction.

All these elements point at drawing a picture of the research on language in Japan that is both characterized by two distinct scholarships and, at the same time, by the synthesis of both approaches into arguably similar conclusions. It appears that the investigation of language, in Japan, really flourished during the Edo period. This could be based on a biased point, caused by the limits of the available primary sources, but it might also evidence a general phenomenon. Japan was being faced with new foreign languages, initially Portuguese and then – arguably more importantly – by Dutch, but also with new difficulties with interpreting the languages that had always been there. The Neo-Confucian school believed that the traditional interpretation of the classics of Confucianism was hindering the understanding of its content because of the shortcomings in the understanding of Chinese by the orthodox school. Similarly, those dealing with the classics of Japanese literature were often puzzled with trying to understand an ancient version of the Japanese (written) language that was not commonly understood anymore.

Perhaps, it is this very facing of obscure linguistic codes that inspired so many Japanese to pursue metalinguistic analyses, during the Edo period.

In the following Chapter VI, I will present the philosophies of the main figures of the two schools: Ogyū Sorai for Confucian studies and Motoori Norinaga for “native” studies, both directly cited by Shizuki. As I will demonstrate, the two strongly relied on the approaches I have hitherto discussed. At the same time, however, they provided so many new ideas and interpretations that led them to be such important figures in the history of philosophy and the linguistic thought, in Japan, as of today.

CHAPTER VI

Shizuki's Japanese Sources on Language

理氣陰陽ノ義ヲ不レ知故ニ凡鄙俗義ノ説也凡鄙俗義ナル故ニ愚昧
ノ凡俗迷ヒ安ク入安シ故南蛮學士皆蛮學ヲ世界第一ノ學道ト心得
テ他国迄其法ヲ進ムルナルヘシ是故ニ蛮學ハ邪見偏僻ニメ過去未
来ノ説ヲ進ル時ハ幻化ノ説多シ實ニ異端妖術也

Since [Westerners] do not comprehend the significance of *li-ch'i* and
yin-yang, their theory of material phenomena is vulgar and unrefined.
But this vulgarity appeals all the more to the ignorant populace, and
stupefies them. “Portuguese scholars” are convinced of the superiority
of their own learning and so go abroad to preach it. But their study is
utterly erroneous and prejudiced. Their preachment on the past and
future worlds are full of phantasms.

Mukai Genshō 向井元升 (1609 – 1677), in *Kenkon bensetsu* 乾坤弁説
(1659)¹

¹ Original quote copied by me from National Diet Library Digital Collections’ 特 1-2189, folios 7v-8r. English translation from NAKAYAMA (1969, 91). My brackets. Do notice that the author was referring to *nanbangaku*, the ‘studies of the southern barbarians’ that probably mostly corresponded to Portuguese studies.

6. Shizuki's Japanese sources on language

6.1 Theory of language by Ogyū Sorai and the Neo-Confucian school

Ogyū Sorai (1666 – 1728) was born in Edo. His father worked as a samurai physician for the soon-to-be third shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (1646 – 1709). Since his youth, he had been influenced by the school of Confucian Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627 – 1705). Ogyū was raised as a scholar of Confucianism (*jugaku* 儒学) though he subsequently got persuaded by the Neo-Confucian movement (*shushigaku* 朱子学). This happened after he learned *kanbun* when he found himself struggling with fundamental doubts: What does it mean to be able to read *kanbun*? Was the Japanese way of reading *kanbun* correct, or had the proper use of the classical Chinese language been corrupted? After extensive research, he came to the conclusion that his doubts were well founded and he did, indeed, find improper uses of *kanbun* among his contemporaries. For this reason, he started to pursue the correct use of *kanbun*, focusing on the concept of *kundoku* (i.e., the Japanese reading of *kanbun*) and on the idea that one should not simply “read *kanbun* in Japanese” (*kun* 訓), but rather “translate” the content into Japanese (*yaku* 訳). He believed that if one does not properly understand the Chinese language in the way the people of the ancient times did, one cannot be able to follow “the way” (*dō* 道). It is on the basis of these motivations that *Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄 (henceforth *Yakubun*) saw the light (TAJIRI 2012, 81-83). The first edition of *Yakubun sentei* has been published in 1714 or 1715, though it only included some preliminary studies of Ogyū, appearing with the complete title of *Yakubun sentei shohen* 訳文筌蹄初編 (‘The First Set of *Yakubun sentei*’). Initially, a “second set” (*kōhen* 後編) was also supposed to be published, however Ogyū apparently changed his mind, and stopped working on this project. The second part of the book did eventually come out posthumously in 1796. Apparently, the work known as *Kun'yaku jimō* 訓訳示蒙 was also published posthumously in 1738 and is to be considered a plagiarized version of *Yakubun sentei* (AIHARA 2019, 12).

A fundamental issue that I would like to raise here is the fact that, as a general rule, not much is written about him – if any at all – in the context of *kokugogakushi*, the “history of Japanese linguistic investigations”. This is because research on so-called “Japanese linguistics” mostly considers those works that focused on the analysis of the Japanese language, and not on the history of the investigations on language in Japan. As I have already mentioned, Chinese studies had been flourishing well before Japanese studies emerged and, undoubtedly, Japanese studies borrowed immensely from the research on Chinese. As I will demonstrate in Chapter VII, Ogyū Sorai has been extremely impactful in Shizuki's understanding of language, since he provided not only a methodology for the learning of Chinese, but also a rich contrastive analysis of Japanese, specifically when it comes to morphology. Furthermore, as I will expand on in the following pages, Ogyū allowed for the so-called “vernacular language” (*zokugo* 俗語) – the spoken Japanese of the time – to be used both as an instrument by means of which to teach the classics, as well as a

reference for the description of linguistic features. FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 227), consider Ogyū as a bridge between Sinology and Japanology.

Ogyū's education starts from his autodidactic learning in the rural town of Kazusa 上総, contemporary Chiba 千葉, where Ogyū distinguished himself as an exceptional mind, independent from well-established methodologies of traditional academia. This allowed him to develop his own vision more freely with regard to the manner of studying the Chinese classics and language. Fundamental to his vision was the idea that the Chinese language should be conceived of as a full-fledged foreign language that is needed in order to understand the classics, as opposed to the traditional conception of Chinese as a crystalized linguistic code of literature and philosophy. Consequently, he concluded that Chinese had to be studied as a lively language, including its pronunciation and grammatical features. On this topic, Ogyū also strongly criticized his Confucian colleagues who could only understand Chinese in its written ancient form, in a rather mechanical fashion, disregarding its sounds and morphosyntax, that allowed for a more arbitrary rearrangement of the units of meaning of Chinese text, thus distancing from the supposed original sense. Ogyū's goal was to come to the deepest and most faithful understanding of the way the ancient sages envisioned the world, but he did so by questioning the more recent interpretations that he believed to be based on fallacious and corrupted understandings of language. Language, as opposed to metaphysics, takes the core role in the exegesis of Confucian classics in Ogyū's school. In addition, Ogyū also believed vernacular language (*zokugo* 俗語) to be an extremely powerful tool in order to make the Japanese reader really understand the contents of such classics, in spite of the often-obscure classical use of Japanese. This was, at the time, a new approach that strongly influenced his contemporaries even outside Confucian circles, and that is also visible in Shizuki's study of Dutch. Ogyū's ideas have led him to a rather critical position toward, not only his contemporaries in authoritative Japanese academia, but also earlier works by Chinese authors (PASTREICH 2001, 119- 125).

In the first volume of *Kun-yaku jimō*, folio 6r, one can read the following excerpt on "popular language".

倭語ニサマぐ^{フウ}ノ風アリ^{ツネ}常ノ詞アリ。常
ノ詞ニモ^{ミヤコ}都^{ヒナ}ト鄙ノ違ヒアリ。書札ノ
詞アリ^{ソウシ}雙紙ノ詞アリ。其ノ如ク唐人詞
ニモ。サマぐ^{セフ}アリ。唐ノ俗語ハ。日本
ノ常ノ世話ナリ。鄙ノ語ハ。唐ノ方言^{ハウゲン}
ナリ。書札ノ文ハ唐ノ書札ノ語ナリ。
歌ハ唐ノ詩ナリ。雙紙ノ詞ハ。唐ノ書
籍ノ文ナリ。其内ニ又。時代ノ古今ニ^{ゴコン}
随テ。詞ノ趣^{オモムキ}違フナリ。譯文ヲセ

In Japanese, there are many styles, one is normal speech. Within the normal speech there are variations such as the speech of the capital, and that of the countryside. There is also the language of *shosatsu* and that of *sōshi*. Similarly, also the language of the Tang is varied. The popular language of the Tang corresponds to the common language of Japanese people today. The language of the countryside corresponds to the dialects of the Tang. The language of *shosatsu* corresponds to the language the Tang use in their *shosatsu*. Our songs correspond to the poems of the Tang. The words of our *sōshi* correspond to the

ント思ハズ。此意ヲ合點スベシ。ソノ
 内。日本ニテハ。雙紙ノ詞ガ正當ナル
 詞ナリ唐ニテモ書籍ノ文ガ正當ナル詞
 ナリ。然レモ。日本ノ雙紙ノ詞ハ日本
 久シク文盲ニナリタルユヘ。歌學セザ
 ルモノハ。此雙紙ノ詞ヲ。會得セスナ
 リ。又唐ノ俗語ハ當用ニ非ズ。故ニ
 今。風ノ違タルモノナガラ倭ノ俗語
 ヲ以テ唐土ノ書籍ヲ譯スルヲナリ。

text of the *shoseki*. Within these, the expressivity of languages also varies with the passing of time. You need to understand this if you want to make a translation. For example, in Japan, the language of *sōshi* is proper. The same goes for the *shoseki* of the Tang. However, the language used in Japanese *sōshi* has become unreadable. Thus, without the study of songs, we would not be able to understand them completely. The popular language of the Tang is also improperly used. Therefore, what I will do is translate the *shoseki* of the Tang into the popular language of Japan, taking the different styles into consideration.

Ogyū points out how languages vary through time, but also according to the literary genre that is being used. He points out some correspondence between the Chinese language used in specific genres and the Japanese language used in literary genres of Japan. He also adds that the spoken “vernacular” language of the Chinese is rather different from the ancient and literary form as it had been preserved by the classics of Chinese literature, in the same way that vernacular Japanese is different from the language used in Japanese classics that can only be understood after pursuing the *kagaku* scholarship. Because of the numerous varieties of both languages, Ogyū decides to provide translations in the Japanese vernacular language to the Chinese texts.

Ogyū was very much determined to study spoken Chinese. In order to learn the current pronunciation of that language, he also lived in a Chinese Zen Buddhist sect in Ōbaku 黄檗, not far from Kyoto, where he was taught the phonology of Chinese. The focus given to spoken language was rather innovative even if one considers the long tradition of Siddhānt-derived studies on phonology, that could be considered to be fundamentally serving the oral rendition of literary language. Ogyū, instead, believed the learning of spoken language to be relevant on its own and promoted its active use and teaching in his Translation Society (*yakusha* 訳社) he founded in 1711 with his brother Ogyū Hokkei 荻生北溪 (1670 – 1754). For the learning of spoken language, he found inspiration in the practices developed by the interpreters of Nagasaki, whose teachings he believed being one of the three fundamental pillars of Chinese studies (PASTREICH 2001, 126-133).¹ His embracement of spoken and vernacular language gains particular relevance if one considers the notorious disparagement perpetrated by Sugita Genpaku, for example, who lowered the interpreters' linguistic abilities calling them “men of tongue” (*setsujin* 舌人). The focus of Ogyū on reproducing Chinese pronunciation was certainly not shared by

¹ He referred to this as *kiyō no gaku* 岐陽の学, with *Kiyō* being the former name of Nagasaki. The other two pillars were ‘translation studies’ *yakubun no gaku* 訳文の学 and ‘ancient phraseology’ *kobun jigaku* 古文辞学 (PASTREICH 2001, 131).

everybody. One of Ogyū's harsher critics was Arai Hakuseki, who was also engaged in Dutch studies.

He claimed that:²

“Wanting to copy ‘Chinese pronunciation’, learn to mumble with bad accents a few phrases of the sort of Chinese spoken by the crews of the ships that come to Nagasaki [...] What is called ‘Chinese pronunciation’ is the vernacular spoken by Chinese of this kind of low station. [...] [T]hat it is of no use in mastering the language of the ancients is evident from the fact that the prose and poetry of these people studying ‘Chinese pronunciation’, for all their boasting about it, is unreadable [...] To refer to the language spoken by the crew and sailors who come to Nagasaki as ‘flowery [Chinese] sounds’ is to regard our country as barbaric. [...] There could be nothing else so disloyal and lacking in propriety toward our country.”

This type of aversion toward spoken language, was anything but uncommon and could be considered as a general bias of Edo scholars who worked closer to the higher bureaus of the government, afar from the “vernacular” language with fewer chances to train their speaking skills talking to native speakers of Chinese, who mostly were merchants located in Nagasaki. While there certainly were differences between the local variety of Japanese used in Edo, and that used in the very far island of Kyūshū, where Nagasaki is located, this is probably a prejudice originating from the *shinōkōshō* 士農工商 arrangement of classes, typical of feudal Japan, where the merchant class (*shō* 商) was at the bottom of the hierarchy. In this regard, the figure of Ogyū Sorai appears to be an exception since, even though he was born in Edo, his self-described exile in the countryside allowed him to appreciate a less elitist lifestyle that, in turn, allowed him to be more accepting of non-literary forms of language, both regarding Chinese and Japanese. This could also be conceived of as the reason why Ogyū opposed, to some extent, the existing academic establishment. Nonetheless, Ogyū's scholarship was still rather elitist in nature, as will be clear by the end of this paragraph.

Among Ogyū's publications, *Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄 is generally recognized as his most impactful work on language. This book, whose title could be translated as “A Tool for Translation” uses the metaphor of a fishing net (*sen* 筌) and a trap for rabbits (*tei* 蹄) as tools that are only useful until the prey is caught. This idea is derived from the Taoist Chinese text *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子,³ who considered words as tools serving a very specific purpose, that could be neglected once their goal was fulfilled. Just like one does not need the trap after catching the prey, one does not need words anymore, once the message they carried is successfully conveyed (PASTREICH 2001, 131). This work has inspired Maeno Ryōtaku's *Oranda yakusen* 和蘭訳筌 “Fishing Net of Dutch Translation”, an influence that is clear already in its title (TAJIRI 2012,

² English translation by TUCKER (2006, 46).

³ The romanization Chuang Tzu is also attested, while *Sōshi* or *Sōji* are both viable Japanese renditions.

156). In order to accomplish the conveying of one's thought by means of words, Ogyū regarded it necessary to define accurately such words used in communication. This is the fundamental reason that motivated him to compile *Yakubun* and that is still visible in *Kun'yaku jimō*, that I will also discuss. Both are lexicographical works, where Chinese characters are listed and defined in order to distinguish their meaning from semi-synonyms and antonyms. As I have claimed in Chapter IV, a consequence of the *kundoku* practice was the association of one word with different Chinese characters, in those cases in which Japanese did not distinguish between two or more different nuances in meaning. An example of this phenomenon can be seen in *Yakubun*'s introduction, where the author mentions the difference between the Chinese characters *kan* 閑 and *sei* 静, both glossed as *shizuka* in Japanese, meaning "peaceful", "quiet", that were to be used in different contexts, in Chinese. In order to correct such inaccuracies, Ogyū proposes to provide a guide to Japanese people to understand these different meanings and make use of Chinese characters with greater awareness. The necessity of understanding the difference between the modern "corrupted" usage of words, as opposed to that of the ancient times, is evident in the following quote from his *Sorai sensei gakusoku* 徂徠先生学則 ('Master Sorai's Instructions for Students', 1717), where he claims: ⁴

"Space is like time; time is like space. Thus, if we see the old words in terms of today's words, or today's words in terms of the ancient words, then in both cases they will be gibberish. There is no difference on this point between the ancient Chinese language and the Indian. The times change, bearing the words along; the words change, bearing the Way along. That 'the Way is not clear' is due chiefly to this fact."

6.1.1 Theory of translation in *Yakubun sentei*

Consistently with his self-affirmed contrariety toward the traditional approaches to the analysis of the classics, Ogyū also proposed an original approach to *kundoku* and to the idea of translation. As I have already mentioned in 5.1, whether the Japanese practice of annotating Chinese texts ought to be considered a type of translation or not has always been at the center of debates, and it remains so to this day. Ogyū discusses this in the introduction to his *Yakubun sentei*, in the following manner:⁵

"(2) Scholars in this region use the local language in their reading of Chinese books. This approach is known as *wakun* (Japanese annotation). The term takes its meaning from the word "annotation" (*kunko* 訓詁), but in effect it is actually a "translation." Yet readers do not know that it is a translation. Men of old said, "If one reads a book through a thousand times, its meaning naturally reveals itself." As a youngster I often wondered how those men of old were able to read when the meaning was unclear. The problem was that I did not understand that one reads Chinese books from the top straight down in the same manner Japanese read Buddhist *dharani*.

⁴ Quoted from BUSCHELLE (2020, 168).

⁵ English translation by PASTREICH (2001, 146- 149).

Thus even if one does not understand the meaning of a passage, one can nonetheless read it out loud. If one follows the reading habits of this country, one must first invert the word order and turn around the Chinese characters until they conform to our native language. That done, the meaning is understood when one reads it in Japanese. If the meaning is not understood, the passage cannot be read. Verily *wakun* deserves its name. Moreover, *wakun* appeals to scholars because it makes the task so easy.

But this country has its own language and China has its own language. The morphologies of the two languages are essentially different; How can we unite them? When we approach the problem by using the inverted word order of *wakun* annotation to read Chinese, although it may seem that we comprehend, what we get is in fact a distortion of the meaning.

People of our age are unaware of this fact. In their reading and composition they rely entirely on *wakun* annotation. Even if one's understanding is profound and one's erudition extends to all matters, still if one depends on *wakun* annotation, one's understanding of the writings of the ancients will be like scratching at an itch through a boot. Every time one takes up a pen and tries to express one's thoughts in writing, one's words will be as incomprehensible as the mumbling of barbarians or the chirping of birds. The reason is none other than what I said before: *wakun* annotation makes the task easy; in actuality *wakun* annotation is a curse.

Therefore learning the language of the Chinese and apprehending its original features should be the primary task of the scholar. Moreover the original features of that language are unknown to the Chinese themselves. How are they any different from the inhabitants of Mount Lu not known its true features? If we take our Japanese language and use it as a means of investigating the Chinese language, we come to understand what exactly the Chinese language is in a manner impossible for the Chinese – Just as the northerner goes south can perceive that the climate is sunny and warm, whereas the southerner who lives there does not notice anything unusual.

Let us consider the process by which Chinese word order is first inverted and afterward read in the *wakun* system. The syntax, overall structure, and phraseology are completely changed from what it was. In addition to the *wakun* expansion, *sutegana* must be added after each Chinese character before it can be read. We can tell from this fact that the Japanese language employs more particles than does Chinese. Chinese final particles such as *ye* 也, *yi* 矣, or *yan* 焉 have no *wakun* annotation in our language. Similarly, there are no cases in which particles of our language have corresponding Chinese characters.

We can see, then, that the principles underlying grammar, phraseology, and syntax differ for Japanese and Chinese. In many cases, different Chinese characters are assigned the same Japanese *wakun* readings. There are also examples of Japanese words that are never employed as *wakun* readings for Chinese characters. Therefore we can deduce that Chinese words do not necessarily have equivalents in Japanese. So also it follows that there are words in Japanese that have no equivalent in Chinese. One *wakun* reading can be applied to many different Chinese characters and one Chinese character may have many different *wakun* readings. The Chinese and the Japanese language match up with each other unevenly, and do not fall into a one-to-one correspondence. Chinese compounds such as “righteousness” and “morality” (*daode* 道德), “vitality” (*shengming* 生命), and “male element” and “female element” (*yinyang* 陰陽) have *wakun* readings. We can thus deduce that,

when in the land of the sages the names were determined and the teachings established, some things could not be fully expressed in ordinary words.

As for Chinese characters that have different connotations but are assigned similar *wakun* readings, or Chinese characters with uncertain *wakun* readings, they are more accurately translated with modern expressions. We can tell that in the past, when *wakun* readings were assigned to Chinese characters, the words in our language were few. In the writings of later ages, however, the number of words in Japanese doubled and tripled at an increasing rate. Yet the word order, overall structure phraseology remain essentially the same.”⁶

The most relevant issue in this extract is Ogyū's idea of translation. Ogyū believes that the practice of *kundoku* annotation – to which he refers with the term *wakun* 和訓 – should not simply be interpreted as “annotation” (*kunko* 訓詁) but, rather, as a full-fledged “translation” (*yaku* 訳). With this, he means that, if one considers the practice of *kundoku* as an annotation, this implies that they would be annotating a Chinese text into Japanese, which will impair the correct understanding of the contents. Ogyū insists that a proper *kundoku* should represent a complete translation into the target language, to clarify the otherwise unintelligible contents of the original Chinese source. He laments that his contemporaries seem to fail to grasp this, only considering *wakun* as a form of aid to the reading of Chinese, while the reality, according to him, is that the text resulting from the addition of *kundoku* annotation should, in fact, eventually lead to a translation into Japanese. A few lines after that, he also claims that since *wakun* is a translation of an original text into another language, the resulting text can only provide a “distortion” (*kenkyō* 牽強) of the original meaning. This reasoning explains why he also believes in the necessity of actually learning Chinese in order to understand the contents of the classics, instead of relying on the “Japanese translation” that, inevitably, leads the reader to misinterpretations. Such misinterpretations are caused, as he acknowledges, by the fact that there is no one-to-one correspondence between Chinese characters and Japanese words, with the same word being used for many characters or the same character being read in a multitude of ways.

⁶ I would like to clarify some of the terminology used here, and its English translation. PASTREICH uses the term “morphology” to render the term *taishitsu* 体質, that literally means ‘quality of the body’, and employs the phrasing “grammar, phraseology, and syntax” to translate the terms *gomyaku* 語脈 ‘word-connection’, and *bunsei* 文勢, that I will cover below. Although functional in the context of PASTREICH's translation, these terms can lead to the misconception that these Greek-Latin concepts had already been introduced in Japan, or that they had direct corresponding ideas, although that certainly was not the case. PASTREICH, notably, translates the word *josei* 助声 as ‘particles’. This term *josei* is used by Ogyū to refer to the category of words to which the Chinese particles *ye* 也, *yi* 矣, or *yan* 焉 belong to, thus analogous to the category of *joshi/jogo*. However, as I have discussed in 5.5, this whole category had a very specific historical development, and the use of the word “particle” to translate *josei* might be inconsistent with the language otherwise adopted within the present research.

Another interesting issue brought up by Ogyū in this introduction concerns the special connection between Japanese and Chinese against other languages.

In the third point of the introduction, he writes the following:⁷

(3) The word “translation” contains within it the deepest truth about the act of reading. As we all know, all Chinese texts consist of words. The words are Chinese. Since the language of foreigners from such countries as Holland are fundamentally different from that to which we are accustomed, naturally the foreigners speak in incomprehensible words as distant from human sentiments as are the squawking of birds and the yelping of beasts. China and this country, however, share the same linguistic sensibility.

Here, Ogyū puts forth a bold claim, namely that the Chinese and Japanese languages are supposedly in a tighter linguistic connection when compared to other languages, like Dutch, that are completely foreign to Japanese linguistic features. While the influence that the Chinese language had had on Japanese is certainly undeniable, it is interesting to notice that all other languages, including the arguably more popular Dutch language, were considered unintelligible from the standpoint of “linguistic sensibility”. One wonders whether these claims were asserted based upon complete ignorance of the language of the foreigners or whether, instead, Ogyū’s curiosity with regard to languages, had led him to casually consult publications concerning the Dutch language that, thus, led him to deduce that that language was extremely foreign to Japanese sensibility.

6.1.2 Theory of translation in *Kun’yaku jimō*

The title of the work *Kun’yaku jimō* 訓訳示蒙, explains the contents of the book quite clearly, since it can be translated as “Instructing the Ignorant on Translation and Japanese Reading”. The two concepts of *kun* 訓 ‘Japanese reading’ and *yaku* 訳 ‘translation’ are the focus of the first two volumes of the five total composing this work. Its contents are divided into two major blocks, where the author first introduces the theoretical framework in which he operates, and subsequently, he provides definitions of specific Chinese characters that are defined as *jogo* 助語. In some copies, the first two volumes (containing the essay on translation) bear the title *Kun’yaku sentei* 訓訳筌蹄, akin to the other famous work by Ogyū, I have just discussed in 6.1.1. The second half of the series spans through volumes 3 to 5. These are structured as a *jigi*, like a dictionary of Chinese characters, where characters that ended up taking similar meanings in Japanese are treated together and distinguished. In this sense, the structure of *Kun’yaku jimō* is very similar to that of *Yakubun sentei*, with the important difference being that, in the latter, one finds definitions to characters corresponding to Japanese words holding semantical meaning, thus mostly being nouns, verbs and adjectives. In *Kun’yaku jimō*, however, the characters that are defined, are considered in their more grammatical meaning. In this aspect,

⁷ English translation by PASTREICH (2001, 152).

Kun'yaku jimō was most likely inspired by what I have called the *joji-kō* sub-genre of *jigi*; the “Thoughts of Auxiliary Characters”, probably inspired by *Joji-ko* 助辞考 by Itō Tōgai, itself another glossary of Chinese characters in their use as “auxiliary”. The first words one finds written in Itō's work can be read below and are rather similar to what I will demonstrate Ogyū claimed, further in this paragraph.⁸

文字有テ虚實ニ而實ヲ為シレ
主ト虚ヲ為スレ賓ト天地日月山
川草木ハ字之實ナル者ノ也覆
載點臨流崎生榮ハ字之虚ナル
者ノ也所ノ下以テ道ヒキニ賓主之
際ヲ通スル中虚實之用ヲ上者ノ
ハ其レ助辞カ乎決茲ニ在リ

There exist full and empty characters. Full characters are the host [*shu* 主], while empty characters are the guest [*hin* 賓]. Full characters are: *ten* 天, *chi* 地, *hi* 日, *getsu* 月, *san* 山, *sen* 川, *sō* 草, *moku* 木. Empty characters are *fuku* 覆, *sai* 載, *ten* 點, *rin* 臨, *ryū* 流, *ki* 崎, *sei* 生, *ei* 榮. It is auxiliary words [*jogo* 助辞], in their combined use with “full” and “empty” characters that illustrate the contact between the host and the guest. I will discuss these below.

From this brief introduction by Itō Tōgai, one understands that “full” and “empty” characters are defined semantically, meaning whether they refer to concrete things, corresponding to nouns (“full”) or whether they refer to more abstract things, like actions (“empty”). However, admittedly, this definition is far from being clear. For example, the character *ten* 点 (點 in *kyūjitai*) means ‘point’, and can be used thus as a noun, although it does also refer to a number of verbs. Another characteristic that discriminates between “empty” and “full” characters is the fact that the formers are considered “guests” and the latter “hosts”. Again, no further explanation is provided for these concepts, although it is made clear that the use of “empty” and “full” characters, guiding the “host/guest” relation is aided by the *joji* “auxiliary words”.⁹ I will investigate Ogyū's concept of *joji* further below. First, I would like to look at volumes 1 and 2, where the theory of translation is introduced.

The first two volumes of *Kun'yaku jimō* are structured as a series of points, each tackling issues concerning translation from Chinese, addressing the malpractice Ogyū claims he had witnessed other Japanese scholars indulge in. In doing this, Ogyū provides interesting and, often, complex metalinguistic meditations concerning the analysis of a text, its translation, the concept of character, the differences between languages and their scripts and much more. This is a very interesting section for the purpose of the present research, since it allows to visualize rather directly a very clear and structured attempt at categorizing word classes, phrases, sentences and their hierarchical relations. The goal of this work by Ogyū is, as stated in the title, to instruct even the most ignorant scholar of Confucianism in

⁸ Original text copied from Waseda's 本 4 1868, folios 2r-2v. My English translation.

⁹ The adoption of the characters *shu* 主 and *hin* 賓 in the context of language can be also seen in Ogyū Sorai and sparsely, in Shizuki Tadao (see 7.2.3). However, in the latter, these two characters are only found inconsistently annotated above specific words, and it is hard to make any broad assumption regarding the meaning of this category. Nonetheless, it appears that this dichotomy held some function in the tradition of Chinese studies in Japan and would be worthy of further investigation regarding its meanings and uses across authors.

how to analyze a Chinese text, how to interpret it and to render it into Japanese. The Japanese rendition is the core of the instruction; Ogyū distinguishes between two concepts, whose difference is sometimes slight, yet very important. In interpreting and translating a Chinese text, there are two practices, namely: the *kun* 訓, that is a Japanese rendition of the text; and the *yaku* 訳 (譯), that is its thorough translation. In the very first bullet point, Ogyū laments that “scholars nowadays do not learn the basics, without which no real study of any scholarship can ever be accomplished” (今時ノ人學問ノ門戸ヲ得ズ門戸ヲ得ズメ學問セバ終ヒニソノ學問ノ成就スルヲ有ベカラズ, 3r). What Ogyū means with “scholarship” is, mostly, Confucianism, of course, since he makes it clear that in Confucianism, the reading of Chinese documents is fundamental, as can be read in the following quote, from folios 4r-4v.

サテ。ソノ儒學ヲシタク思ヒ。經學ヲ
トキ ショモツ
 シタク思フ寸ニ。書物ヲ見ズメハ。
 ナラスヲナリ。書物ハ何事ゾト云フ寸
タウジン イマドキ
 ニ。唐人ノ書キタルモノナリ。今時
シアン コハロウ
 ノ人ハ。書物ヲ。何ヤラ。ムシカシク
 思案メ。唐人ガ作りタルモノト心得ル
 ナリ。此レ又。大ヒナル取リソコナヒ
ジョセキ ソウシ
 ナリ。書籍ハ日本ノクサ雙紙ナリ。
タウジン
 唐人ガ常ニツカフ詞ヲ。紙ニ書キタル
コトバ
 物ナリ。然レバ書籍ニ書キタルハ。唐
 人 語 ト心得ルガ學問ノ大意ナリ。學
ヒツキョウ カンガク コハロウ
 問ハ畢 竟 ジテ。漢學ナリト心得ベ
ブツガク ボンガク コハロウ
 シ。佛學ハ畢竟メ。梵學ナリト意得
ソレガシ ヤクブン
 ベシ 某。箇様ニ存ズルユヘ。譯文
 ト云フヲ立テ。學者ヲ教フルヲナ
ツウジ
 リ。譯文トハ唐人詞ノ通事ナリ

When one is thinking about starting Confucian studies, or the studies of sutras, one cannot do it without consulting written documents. When one asks what written documents are, I mean those written by the Tang people. If a person today is wondering what these written documents could ever be, then I would suggest them to remember it as the things written by the Tang people. This is generally misunderstood. A *shoseki* is a Japanese *kusazōshi*. These are words that the Tang people commonly say written on paper. However, the most important concept of this scholarship one should remember is that a *shoseki* is written in the language of the Tang people. Ultimately, one should understand this scholarship as Chinese studies [*kangaku* 漢学]. Buddhism is ultimately to be understood as the study of Sanskrit [*bongaku* 梵学]. Thus, I teach my pupils how to make a translation according to this contingency. A translation is the interpretation of the language of the Tang people.

Thus, according to Ogyū, translation and the study of language are fundamental to the pursuit of Confucianism, or any other scholarship, really. He believes that, since the teachings of Confucianism are written in Chinese, pursuing Confucianism means, in practicality, becoming a sinologist, i.e., studying *kangaku* 漢学 ‘Chinese studies’. However, in order to spread Confucianism in Japan, the Chinese text needs to be “interpreted” (*tsūji* 通事). This interpretation is what Ogyū calls a *yakubun* 譯文 ‘textual translation’. In the subsequent point, on folio 4v, Ogyū expands on the

concept of “translation”, pointing out the differences between the languages of China and of Japan.¹⁰

譯文トハ畢竟。唐人ノ語ヲ日本ノ語ニ
ナラ コトバ
直スヲナリソコニ唐人詞ト。日本 詞
チガヒ モロコシ
ノ。大段ノ 違 アリ。ソレハ唐土ノ
コトバ カナ
詞 ハ字ナリ。日本ノ詞ハ假名ナリ。
テンヂク ボンジ
日本バカリニアラズ。天竺ノ梵字。
ココク コブン ダツシ ハンジ アナン レイ
故國ノ故文。韃子ノ蕃字。安南ノ黎
ジ ナンバン バンジン テウセン オンブン
字。南蠻ノ蠻字。朝鮮ノ音文。
ミナ コエ
皆。假名ナリ。假名ハ。音バカリニテ
イ
意ナシ。假名ヲ。イクツモ合セテ。ソ
コデ意^ガ出来ルナリ。字ハ音アリ。意
アリ。タトヘバ。日本ニテハ。アキラ
ヨコト カラ ミン
カト。四詞ニ言フ處ヲ。唐デハ明ト。
ヒトコト
一 詞ニテ。スマスナリ。日本ニテ。キ
ミコト チン
ヨシト。三言ニイフ處ヲ。唐デハ清
ト。一言ニテ。スマスナリ。サルニヨ
リ。日本ニテハ。イロハノ四十八字
ラチア
ニ。四十音アリテ。ソレニテ埒明クナ
コトバミヂカ
リ。唐土ニテハ。詞 短 キユヘ。同
ケイ ヂウ
ジ。チント云音ノ内ニ。輕 重。
セイダク ヒヤウジャウ キヨ ニフ
清濁。平 上 。去 。入 トテ。
サマク ヨビ コハロ
様々。呼ヤウニテ。ソレクニ 意 ガカ
ワルナリ。此^レ唐人ノ。コシラヘタル
シゼン エビス 千ウゴク
ヲニテハ。ナシ。自然ニ 夷 ト中國ノ
タガヒ チウコク
違 ニテ。如^ク此違フナリ中國ノ詞ハ
ブン シツ ミツ
文ナリ。夷ハ質ナリ。中國ノ詞ハ密
ナリ。夷ハ疎ナリ。キヨシト。三言ニ
〇 〇 〇
イフ處ハ。疎ナルナリ。チント。一言
〇
ニイフ處ハ。密ナリ。唐人ハ。同ジチ

Translation, after all, is the act of adjusting the Chinese language into Japanese. In this, there are huge difference between Chinese and Japanese. Chinese is [written in] characters [字]. Japanese is [written in] *kana* [假名]. They do not only exist in Japanese. Sanskrit in India, the text of barbarians, the Tatar script in the Tatar, the Vietnamese script, the script of Southern Barbarians, the phonetic alphabet of the Koreans, these are all *kana*. A *kana* does not have meaning, it only has a sound. Only by bringing together said *kana* can one obtain meaning. [Chinese] characters have sound and meaning. For example, in the word *akiraka*, in Japanese, we have four letters [詞], while in Chinese [*míng*] 明 is only one. In Japan, *kiyoshi* has three letters [言], while in Chinese [*qīng*] 清 it is just one. Furthermore, in Japanese the *iroha* are 48, creating 40 [syllabic] sounds. This is settled. Since words [詞] in Chinese are shorter, with just the sound *chin* チン one can pronounce it with a light intonation [輕], with a heavy intonation [重], with a clean pronunciation [清], with a dirty pronunciation [濁], with an even tone [平], with a rising tone [上], with a departing tone [去], with a checked tone [入], and they all have different meanings. This is not something put together by the Chinese people. Naturally, these are the differences between the Chinese and foreigners, such like this. The language of the Chinese is text [文]. The language of foreigners is *shitsu* 質. The Chinese language is concentrated [密], the barbarian languages are sparse [疎]. The fact that *kiyoshi* is expressed in three characters makes it sparse; the fact that 清 is one character makes it concentrated. That of the Chinese is a text that can express with the same *chin* sound one can pronounce it with a light intonation [輕], with a heavy intonation [重], with a clean pronunciation [清], with a dirty pronunciation [濁], with an even tone [平], with a rising tone

¹⁰ I have already analyzed part of this excerpt in 5.6.

○
 シノ内ニ。平。上。去。入。輕重。清
シナク ヨビ
 濁ノ。品々ノ呼ワケノアル處ハ。文ナ
○ ○ ○ ○
 リ。日本ハ。チンアレバ。チント云フ
 只一ツナル處ハ。質ナリ。

[上], with a departing tone [去], with a checked tone [入], this makes Chinese a *bun* [文] language. In Japanese, *chin* is only pronounced as *chin*.

This excerpt demonstrates that in Ogyū's theoretical framework the study of language still implied an intertwining of spoken language and writing conventions. Mostly, however, it raises a few issues concerning the differences between Chinese and Japanese. A first difference is related to the writing systems of the two languages. Chinese is written in “characters” *ji* 字. This character *ji* is defined as characters possessing both a (syllabic) sound *oto* (or, probably, *koe* 音) and a meaning *i* (or, probably, *kokoro* 意). Japanese, instead, is written in *kana* 假名. These are defined as characters possessing only a “sound” and no “meaning”. The *kana* writing system is not unique to Japanese, since many other languages are written through phonetic characters, instead of logographic ones. A consequence of these writing systems is the second difference, namely that for one Chinese character Japanese often uses more than one *kana*. The two Chinese characters *mei* 明¹¹ and *sei* 清¹² express, in just one character, what, in the Japanese language, is expressed by four and three *kana*, respectively. In Japanese, the character *mei* 明 corresponds to the word *akiraka* アキラカ, while *sei* 清 corresponds to *kiyoshi* キヨシ, respectively written with four and three *kana*. This is what makes the difference between a “concentrated” (*mitsu* 密) language, like Chinese, and a “sparse” one (*so* 疎), like Japanese.¹³ Another important difference between the two languages, is the fact that Chinese phonology features tones, while Japanese does not, according to Ogyū. A language possessing tones is called *bun* 文 and a language without tones is called *shitsu* 質, that is a peculiar choice of words, since the former generally means

¹¹ Pronounced *míng* in contemporary standard Mandarin.

¹² Pronounced *qīng* in contemporary standard Mandarin.

¹³ It is also worth mentioning that Ogyū uses two different *kanji* to refer to the characters used to write these two different words. With *mei* 明 and *akiraka*, Ogyū uses the character *shi* 詞, while with *sei* 清 and *kiyoshi* he uses the character *gen* 言. It is not explained in any manner why the characters used to write these two words are to be different, but the only thing I can deduce is that it might have something to do with the word class they belong to. Both *akiraka* and *kiyoshi* can be considered adjectives, however, *akiraka* is a so-called “adjectival noun” (*keiyōdōshi* 形容動詞), while *kiyoshi* is a simple adjective (*keiyōshi* 形容詞), in contemporary grammar. This means that in *akiraka*, all characters belong to the “root” of the adjective, that can be “conjugated” by adding the element *nari*. However, in *kiyoshi*, the last character *-shi* is an inflecting element, meaning that it can change into *-ku*, *-ki* etc. according to its morphosyntactic role. I can only assume that the character *shi* 詞 is used to refer to the characters *akiraka* アキラカ, since they are all characters referring to the “root” of the word, while *gen* 言 is used for *kiyoshi* キヨシ because they also include the inflecting character *-shi* シ. This could have been then extended to also work with the Chinese characters *mei* 明 and *sei* 清.

“text”, while the latter “quality” or “characteristic”. This might be a reference to a line in Confucius’ *Dialogues* (*Rongo* 論語), where *shitsu* 質 is used to refer to “simple” and “straight-forward” language, while *bun* 文 is “refined” and “adorned” language; with *bun* 文 referring to external beauty, while *shitsu* 質 to the inner characteristics of something.¹⁴

Ogyū continues, on folio 5v-6r, by pointing out the difference between the traditional practice of *wakun* 和訓 “Japanese reading/interpretation”, i.e., what is nowadays called *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読.

今。學者。譯文ノ學ヲセント思ハハ、悉ク
ナラヒキタ ワクン
古ヨリ日本ニ習 来ル。和訓ト云フモノト
カヘ ハジョ
字ノ反リト云モノトヲ。破除¹⁵スベシ。
シサイ
子細ハ。¹⁶字ニ反リトイフヲハ。和訓ト云フ
ツケ オコ
モノヲ付ルカヲ起リタルナリ。和訓ヲ立ツ
メ
ル。眼ヨリ見レバ。唐人ニモ。和訓ガアル
ト心得ルナリ。勿論

グハイコク
外 國ニハ皆。和訓ノヤウナルヲアリ。唐
サイゼン
土ハ。最前イフゴトク。字ノ音ト云フモノ
スグ クダ
ガ唐土ノ詞ヲ。直ニ書キ下シニ。唐人ガ書
キタルガ。今。書籍ニアル文ナリ。然レバ和
訓ト云フヲ日本ノ先輩ノ付ケラレタルヲナ
リ。ソレヲ破除スルト云フハ。如何ナルユヘ
ジャウカク
ナレバ。今時ノ和人ハ。和訓ヲ常 格ニ守リ
ジ ギ ヒトエ
テ。和訓ニテ字義ヲ知ラントスルユヘ。一種
ヒマク ヘダ ウヘ センバイ
ノ皮膜¹⁷ヲ隔ツルナリ。ソノ上古ノ先輩
イゼン タマチ
ノ。和訓ヲ付ケラレタル以前ハ。直ニ。ソ
ジダイ ウツ
ノ時ノ詞ヲ付ケラレタル處ニ。今。時代。移
ムカシ
リカワリテ。日本ノ詞。昔トハ違ヒタルヲ
タテヲ
多シ。今。倭訓ヲ立置ク寸ハ。倭訓ト云

The scholars who would like to study translation needs to dispose of the tradition of *wakun* and character substitution as they have been learned in Japan since ancient times. Specifically, it has happened that in the act of substituting characters, one has annotated the *wakun*. In the eyes of those who have construed it, the *wakun* has been learned as something the Chinese themselves have. Of course, as far as foreign countries are concerned, every country has something like *wakun*. In China, however, since the very beginning, they directly wrote the Chinese language in the way the characters were pronounced. This is the language we find now in the text of books. However, what we call *wakun* is what the teachers of Japan have annotated. Then why would one ever dispose of this? Because if the Japanese of today stick to this established *wakun*, they would never understand the *jigi* 字義, the “meaning of characters”. It is like changing one’s skin. The teachers of the past, when annotating the *wakun* they were annotating the language of those times. For this reason, it needs to be changed and adapted to our times, since the Japanese language has changed sensibly since the past. When making a *wakun* today, *wakun* is one thing only:

¹⁴ Original citation: “質勝文則野，文勝質則史。文質彬彬，然後君子。”

¹⁵ The alternative reading of *yaburi nozoku* ヤブリノゾク is also added on the lefthand side of the word.

¹⁶ The alternative reading of *sono wake* ソノワケ is also added on the lefthand side of the word.

¹⁷ The alternative reading of *kawa* カワ is also added on the lefthand side of the word.

In this bullet point, Ogyū discusses the core of his school of translation. He draws a clear line between “translation” *yakubun* 訳文 and “Japanese reading” *wakun* 和訓. He claims that the practice of *wakun*, has been misunderstood, by other scholars, in many aspects. Firstly, he claims that often times, other scholars have assumed that the practice of *wakun* – the interpretation and exegesis of Chinese texts – is a practice the Chinese themselves invented and employed. Ogyū’s critique addresses the fact that other Japanese scholars were used to rely on *wakun* so much, while reading Chinese texts, that they could not even understand the fact that the language these texts were written in was Chinese. Ogyū reminds them that Chinese texts were written by putting onto paper the Chinese language directly, that means that a Chinese speaker can read it without needing to annotate anything like the Japanese *wakun*. Of course, this argument would need further specification like, for example, the fact that the language of the classics of literature had certainly changed significantly as compared to the version of spoken Chinese with which Ogyū and other Japanese of the Edo period could have come into contact with, as can be seen in *Yakubun sentei* (see 6.1.1). However, this is a way in which Ogyū can remind the reader of the fact that the code in which these texts were written was actually a real language, spoken by people in China. For this reason, the Japanese rendition of such texts should not only be an interpretation of the text, by means of signs and characters conveying a semantic meaning that allow the Japanese speaker to reconstruct the logical relations between each Chinese character. Ogyū argues that the original text should not only be interpreted and be provided with a “Japanese instruction” (*wakun* 和訓) for the reading of it, but it should also be adapted and completely “translated” (*yaku* 訳) into the Japanese language, accounting for rhetorical features specific to the Japanese language. Furthermore, Ogyū does address the diachronic variation of language, when he claims that the *wakun* methodology, that is being used by his contemporaries, is an old practice, that refers to out-of-date uses of the Japanese language. For these reasons, he states boldly the controversial claim that the practice of *wakun* should be “disposed of” (*hajo* 破除), as it hinders the correct understanding of the *jigi* 字義 a term he uses to refer to the subject investigating the meaning of the characters, as discussed below. In fact, the

thoughtless employment of the practice of *wakun*, according to Ogyū, has led many scholars to conflate the same Japanese words into Chinese characters with different meanings, thus missing important nuances in the original text.

The fact that the practice of *wakun* cannot be enough in the Japanese rendition of a Chinese text, is further reinforced by another point, on folio 8r:

譯文ニ。直^{チョクホン}翻^{ギホン}。義翻ノニツアリ。直翻^{サンイヨウ}
ハ。一々。メノコ算用ニ。唐ノ文字
ニ。日本ノ詞ヲ付クルナリ。義翻トハ。
倭漢^{ワカン}。風土^{フウド}ノ異^{タガヒ}アリユヘ。語脈^{ゴミヤク}モソレ
ニツレテカワルナリ。故ニ。直翻ニナ
ラヌ處ヲバ。一句ノ義ヲ以テ譯スルヲ。
義翻ト云フナリ。タトヘバ不^フ短^ミヲミデ
カフナヒト云フハ。直翻ナリ。ソノ處ニ
ヨリ。長^{ナガ}ヒナリトチヨウドヂヤトナリ
ト云フハ。義翻ナリ。總メ。語脈ノ違フ
ト云フ。日本ノ内ニテモ。アルナ
リ。江戸ナドニテカフスルナト云フ詞
ヲ。上總ナドニテハナゼカフスルト云フ
ナリ。江戸ノ詞デ見レバ。カフスルナ
ト。云フハ。後ヲ制スル詞。ナゼカフス
ルト云フハ。今ヲ咎ムル詞ニテ。違フ
ナレト。風土ノ異ニテ。上總デハ。サ
ヤウニ云フナリ。是ヲ以テ見レバ。萬里ノ
海ヲ隔テタル。唐土ユヘ。語脈ノ異ハア
ルベキナリ。

In translation there are two things: direct translation (*chokuhon* 直翻) and interpretative translation (*gihon* 義翻). A direct translation means annotating a Japanese word for each one single Chinese character. The interpretative translation is [needed] when there are cultural differences between Japan and China. In this case, also the context of the sentence needs to be changed. Thus, the interpretative translation occurs when one translates the meaning of a phrase, in the context where no direct translation can be made. For example, the direct translation of the Chinese 不短 is *mijikakunai* ["not short"]. If in that case one translated as *nagai* or *chō do ja* ["long"], then this would be an interpretative translation. There are also differences in the contextual use of words within Japanese itself. What in Edo is said *kō suru na*, in Kazusa is pronounced *naze kō suru*. Seen from the point of view of Edo, *kō suru na* specifies the future, while *naze kō suru* blames the present, this is a cultural difference, however, and in Kazusa they do say it like this. Considering this, it is only reasonable that there are differences in the contextual use of words in China, which is ten thousand *ri* beyond the sea, distant [from Japan].

These two techniques of translation remind of an excerpt written by Sugita Genpaku, in his *Kaitai shinsho* where he explained some of the manners he employed in order to translate Dutch anatomical terms the Japanese language did not yet possess. Sugita wrote:¹⁸

¹⁸ Original text from the National Diet Library Digital Collections (国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション), from document わ 490. 9-15, folio 14r. My English translation.

譯有二三等。一ニ曰ク翻譯。二ニ曰
ク義譯。三ニ曰ク直譯。如下和蘭呼テ
ベンデレン
曰ニ価題驗一者即骨也。則譯メ曰
フカ上レ骨。翻譯是也。又如西呼テ
ラカベン
曰ニ加蠟假価ト一者。謂ニ骨ニメ而軟
カラカ
ナル者ニ也。加蠟假者。謂如下鼠嚙
ムレ器音ノ一然フ上也蓋取クニ義フ於
ベンベンデレン
脆軟ニ。価者価題驗之略語
也。則譯メ曰軟骨甲。義譯是
キリル
也。又如下呼テ曰ニ機里爾ニ一者。無
クニ語可レ當。無キハニ義可レ解フ。
キリル
則譯メ曰機里爾上直譯是也。余之
譯例皆如レ是也。読者思ヘ諸

There are three translations. The first one is *hon'yaku* 翻訳; the second is *giyaku* 義訳, the third is *chokuyaku* 直訳. What the Dutch call *benderen* are bones and thus this word is translated as *hone* 骨. This is the *hon'yaku*. However, there is a thing called [in Dutch] *kraakbeen* ['cartilage'], which is a type of soft bone. The word *kraak* is the sound made by a mouse when biting onto something. The meaning can be thus interpreted as "soft and fragile" [*nan* 軟]. The word *been* is short for *benderen* [*kotsu* 骨] and, thus we can translate *kraakbeen* as *nankotu* 軟骨 "fragile bone". This is a type of *giyaku*. Furthermore, words such as *klier* 'gland', that do not have an appropriate corresponding word in Japanese, nor can be interpreted, I have called them simply *klier*. This is a *chokuyaku*. The other examples of translations, all are like this. Keep this in mind when reading.

Sugita uses similar words to Ogyū, although the concepts are somewhat different, also accounting for the difference in necessities when translating from Chinese and from Dutch. The simple translation of one foreign word into the corresponding Japanese term is called *chokuhon* 直翻 by Ogyū, and *hon'yaku* 翻訳 by Sugita. The character *choku* 直 ‘direct’, that Ogyū uses for this type of translation, is used by Sugita to refer to the adoption of a Dutch word, when no Japanese correspondence can be found or calque can be made, thus coinciding with the phonetical adaptation of the Dutch word into the Japanese *kana*. He calls this type of translation *chokuyaku* 直訳, that is not addressed by Ogyū as a viable translating method, because of the nature of *kanbun kundoku*. Both scholars recognize an “interpretative translation”, called *gihon* 義翻 by Ogyū, and *giyaku* 義訳 by Sugita. However, with these terms they refer to two different approaches. Sugita uses this term to refer to the coining of new Sino-Japanese words on the basis of the literal translation of the morphemes of the original Dutch word, namely a calque. However, this corresponds more closely to what Ogyū called *chokuhon* ‘direct translation’. What Ogyū means with “interpretative translation” is, as he says, a translation that requires some degree of cultural mediation. He uses the example of the Chinese phrase *bùduǎn* 不短, literally ‘not short’. A “direct translation” of this phrase would be simply by translating it as *mijikakunai* into Japanese, that is the negative form of the adjective *mijikai* ‘short’. However, an “interpretative translation” would be, for example, translating it as *nagai* ‘long’. According to cultural and even dialectal uses of language, one could prefer an “interpreted translation”, more distant from the literal “direct translation” of a foreign phrase, in order to better express a specific concept into Japanese.

Subsequently, on folio 8r, Ogyū presents the entire structure of his approach to translation. He divides the subject into four sub-fields, each concerned with a phase in translation, in a hierarchical order, starting from the analysis of the smallest unit

of speech, that he believes to correspond to characters, up to the analysis of whole sentences.

譯文ニ。字義。文理。句法。文勢ト云
ジ ギ ブンリ クハウ ブンセイ
 フヲアリ。字義ト云フハ一字一字ノ意ナ
イチジク
 リ。字ヲ積ンデ句トナシ。句ヲ積ンデ
 文ニナシタルモノユヘ。字義ガ。本ナ
クスリ イチミ く ノウ シ
 リ。藥一味ノ能ヲ知ラザレ
ヤクハウ ハイザイ
 バ。藥方。配劑ハナラヌ如クナリ。
ザイモク イツボン く ダイセウ チャウタン
 材木。一本一本ノ。大小。長短。
ツカ ヤウ
 使ヒ様ヲ知ラザレバ。家ハ立テラレヌ
 如クナリ。サテ次ニ。文理ヲ知ラズン
 バアルベカラズ。コレハ。字ノ上下ノ
ヲキヤウ オナ モ ジ ジカズ オナジコト
 置様ナリ。同ジ文字デ字數モ同事
 ニテモ。上下ノ置キヤウニヨリ。意ハ
 カハルナリ。此文理ト。句法トハ違フ
 ナリ。文理ハ。二字ト文字ヲカサヌル
 處ニハ。ハヤ。イルナリ。句法トハ。
カウセツ ロン
 一句ノ上ニ巧拙ヲ論ズルヲナリ。文
ゼンタイ
 勢ハ。全體ノ文勢ナリ。故ニ。文ヲ
カク
 書ニ。先ヅ字義。文理テ合點スレバ。
 唐人詞ニナルナリ。句法文勢ハ。唐人
ウヘ ブン ジャウツ ヘタ
 詞ニナリテノ上ニテ文ノ上手。下手
 ヘカハルヲナリ。故ニ。字義。文理ノ
 違フト云フ。唐人ニハナキナリ。字
 義文理モ知ラズメ。句法。文勢ヲ論ズ
 ルハ。イキスギタルヲナリ。

In translation, we have the following things: *jigi* 字義, *bunri* 文理, *kuhō* 句法 and *bunsei* 文勢. The *jigi* refers to the meaning of each single character (*ji* 字). When characters accumulate, we have a phrase (*ku* 句). When phrases accumulate, we have a text (*bun* 文). For this reason, the *jigi* is the basis. It is like not being able to mix up medicines without knowing the effects of each single ingredient. It is like not being able to erect a house without knowing how to use each piece of lumber, be it big or small, long or short. In fact, when not knowing this, one should not go to the next step: *bunri*. This is the way of placing the characters. With the same characters, in the same number, in the same context, according to their placement, the meaning can change. This is the difference between the *bunri* and *kuhō*. The *bunri* is when two characters overlap and are inserted, while *kuhō* ponders whether one phrase (*ku*) is well formed. The *bunsei* is the entire *bunsei*. Thus, when writing a text (*bun*) one should first understand the *jigi* and *bunri* turning it into the language of the Tang people. The *kuhō* and *bunsei*, after having a text in the language of the Tang people, will make it well or badly written. For this reason, for the Tang people there is no difference between *jigi* and *bunri*. If one does not know the *jigi* and the *bunri*, then it will be too much to go as far as discussing the *kuhō* and the *bunsei*.

This bullet point presents the four main sub-fields of translation, according to Ogyū, namely: *jigi* 字義; *bunri* 文理; *kuhō* 句法; and *bunsei* 文勢. These can be understood both as subjects and as practices. In fact, each one studies and governs the proper Japanese rendition of a Chinese sentence. They are also put in incremental order, meaning that, when translating, one should first start from *jigi*, then continue to *bunri* etc. In order to understand this explanation, one needs to put oneself in the shoes of a Japanese translator of a Chinese text, in the Edo Period. When you are facing a Chinese text, you are presented with a series of logographic characters, representing concepts, and words most of which you probably recognize. These characters are put in the syntactical order of the Chinese language, that does

not make much sense from a Japanese point of view. When your intention is to make sense of that string of concepts, order them in a more Japanese-friendly manner and change them into a morphosyntactic form that makes sense according to Japanese grammar, the first thing you are required to do, is recognize the semantic meaning of each character. This is what is done by means of the *jigi* 字義, literally ‘character-meaning’. Since Chinese syntax is, to some extent, rather different from Japanese syntax, you will experience a Chinese text as a somewhat loose string of concepts waiting to be interpreted, connected with each other, and put into a more “logical” order. This is what the *bunri* 文理 does, literally “text/sentence-reason/logic”. A practical term that is used to describe the purpose of *bunri*, and that will be used often by Ogyū and Shizuki, as well, amongst others, is the word *jōka* 上下. The term literally means “up and down” and is used to refer to the placing of characters within a sentence, traditionally written vertically. This is a very useful concept, if one understands that the first step in the practice of *kundoku* is to add notations, such as the *kaeriten*, informing the reader about the reordering of the characters from the Chinese original. How to properly form a correct *bunri*, is explained in detail in volume two of *Kun’yaku jimō* (see 6.1.2.1). Thus, while the *jigi* considers each single character, and the *bunri* considers how characters interact with each other, the next step, the *kuhō* 句法, literally ‘phrase-rule’, is aimed at finding a good form to phrases. The last step instead, the *bunsei* 文勢, literally ‘text-expressivity’, treats the text in its entirety. Within *Kun’yaku jimō*, one can mostly learn the first two, namely *jigi* and *bunri*, as this work aims at introducing the reader to the very basics of translation.

Most of the rest of volume 1 covers the theory of the subject of *jigi*. This is a very useful topic for the purpose of the present research since, by virtue of the fact that it analyses the meaning of characters it also, incidentally, provides categories analogous to word classes. This can be read from folio 8v to 10r:

一 字義ハヒロキイツサイナリ。一切ツクノ。アル
ト。アラユル字義ヲ。知り盡スト云フジャウヨウ
ハ。ナリガタキシウレンナリ。故ニ。先ヅ常用
ノ字義ヲ知ルベシ。文理ハ格ヲ知クフウテ修煉
シ。工夫スレバ合點ノユクモノナリ

The *jigi* is a wide topic. Expressing it in its entirety is quite a difficult task. For this reason, one should first know the *jigi* of common use. If one finds out a way to know and practice each *bunri*, then one can proceed to understand.

一 字義タイカウノ大綱ヲ云フニ。字品。字勢ト云
フアリ。字品ハ。字ノ元來ノ種ス ジャウ姓ジヒンナ
リ。字勢ハ字ノナリフゼイナリ字品トハ。

The fundamentals of *jigi* are *jihin* 字品 and *jisei* 字勢. A *jihin* is the original class of the characters (*ji*). A *jisei* is the way each character is. Amongst the *jihin* we have

キョ ジツ セイ ジョ
 虚。實。正。助。ノ四ツナリ。虚字¹⁹ト
 ハ大 小 長 短 清 濁 明 暗
 キ ド アイ ラタ ヒ ソウ カ ブ
 喜 怒 哀 樂 飛 走 歌 舞ノ類
 也此ノ内ニ動ト静トアリ。静ノ虚字ハ。
 大 小 長 短 清 濁 明 闇等也。
 動ノ虚字ハ喜 怒 哀 樂 飛 走 歌
 舞等ナリ。實²⁰字トハ 天 地 日 月
 鳥 獸 草 木 手 足 頭 尾 枝
 エウ コン ケイ タイ
 葉 根 莖等ノ字ナリ。此ノ内ニ体ト
 イヨウ
 用トアリ天 地 日 月 鳥 獸 草
 木等ハ。體ナリ手 足 頭 尾 枝 葉
 根 莖等ハ。用ナリ虚實ト正ナリ。正
 ノヲ實語ト云。助ハ助語ナリ。
 シ コ
 者 也 矣 焉 哉ノ類ナリ。正ハ語
 シャウミ ○○○○
 ノ正味。助ハ倭歌ノテニヲハ也正ノ助ケニ
 ツウキョク
 ナルモノナリ。字勢ヲ云フ寸ニ。通 局。
 タンフク ゲンマン
 単 複。 嚴 慢 ナリ。通局トハ 山 ト云ヒ 川
 ト云フ字ハ義ヒロシ。故ニ通ナリ 峰 ト云ヒ
 ラン キシ ヒ
 巒 ト云ヒ 岸 ノ 瀨 ノト云フハ義セバシ。故ニ
 局ナリ。又動ノ字ハ通ナリ。飛 走 從
 ドウチウ サイモク
 來ハ動中ノ細目ナルユヘ。局ナリ。嚴
 ハ。意ノケハシキ字ナリ。一 二 三
 四又ハ東 西 南 北又ハ青 黃 赤
 白等ノ字ナリ。慢ハ。意ノブラリトシタ
 ル字ナリ。邊 傍 時 際 處ナドヤ
 ヘン ハウ シ サイ ショ
 ウノ字ナリ。單ハ。一字ニテ義ノ聞ユル
 セウエウハウフツ
 字ナリ。複ハ逍遙彷彿ノ類一字。用ラレ
 ス字ナリ。

four: *kyo* 虚, *jitsu* 實, *sei* 正 and *jo* 助.
 Amongst the *kyoji* 虚字 we have the sort of
 大, 小, 長, 短, 清, 濁, 明, 暗, 喜, 怒, 哀,
 樂, 飛, 走, 歌, 舞. These divide into *dō* 動
 and *sei* 静. A *kyoji* of *sei* is 大, 小, 長, 短,
 清, 濁, 明, 闇. A *kyoji* of *dō* is 喜, 怒, 哀,
 樂, 飛, 走, 歌, 舞. A *jitsuji* 實字 is 天, 地,
 日, 月, 鳥, 獸, 草, 木, 手, 足, 頭, 尾, 枝,
 葉, 根, 莖. Amongst them we have *tai* 体
 [also 體] and *yō* 用. The characters 天, 地,
 日, 月, 鳥, 獸, 草, 木 are all *tai*, while the
 characters 手, 足, 頭, 尾, 枝, 葉, 根, 莖 are
 all *yō*. Both *kyo* and *jitsu* are *shō* (正). A
shō is also said *jitsugo* 實語. A *jo* is a *jogo*
 助語, the type of 之, 乎, 者, 也, 矣, 焉, 哉.
 A *sei* is the real core of the word, a *jo*
 corresponds to *te* テ, *ni* ニ, *wo* ヲ and *ha*
 ハ, in the *waka*. It is the 'help' (*jo*) of a
shō.

When talking about *jisei*, we have *tsū-*
kyoku 通局, *tan-fuku* 単複, *gen-man* 嚴慢.
 As for the *tsū-kyoku*, saying *yama* 山
 'mountain' and *kawa* 川 'river' the concept
 is wide, then it is a *tsū*, when saying *mine*
 峰 'peak', *mine* 巒 'peak', or *kishi no se* 岸
 瀨 'the current on the coast', the concept
 is narrow and thus a *kyoku* 局. Furthermore, *dō* 動
 'movement' is a *tsū*. 飛, 走, 從, 來 are all *kyoku*
 as they are a specific type of movement. A *gen*
 嚴 has the meaning of 'steep', 'stern'. Thus, 一,
 二, 三, 四; 東, 西, 南, 北; and 青, 黃, 赤,
 白 are all *gen*. The character *man* 慢 has
 the meaning of 'to loosen', 'to relax'. Thus,
 it has the meaning similar to the characters
 邊, 傍, 時, 際, 處. A *tan* 單 is a character
 whose concept you can hear in one single
 character. A *fuku* 複 is a character which
 cannot be used alone, such as 逍遙, 彷彿.

¹⁹ The reading *munashiki* ムナシキ is provided on the left side.

²⁰ The reading *mitsuru* ミツル is provided on the left side.

一 字ノ用ハツアリ。死。活。精。
 粗。眞。假。輕。重。ナリ。死活ト云フ
 ハ。タトヘハ清^シ字。字ノマハナレバ^{クワツ}キヨ^{セイ}
 シ^ソトヨム。死字ニスル寸ハ^{ケイ}キヨ^{ヂウ}キ^シトヨ
 ム。活字ニスル寸ハ。キヨム^カトヨム歌ノ
 字。字ノマハナレバ^フウタ^フトヨム。死字
 ニスル寸ハ^フウタ^フトヨム。活字ニスル寸ハ
^フウタ^フハシム^フトヨム。舞ノ字字ノマハナレ
 バ^フマウ^フトヨム。死字ニスレバ^フマヒ^フトヨ
 ム。活字ニスル寸ハ^フマハス^フトヨム。餘ハ
 レイ
 例メ知ルベシ。精粗トハ。クワシク用ル
 ト。アラク用ト違フナリ。^{タト}疾^{シツ}ノ字
^{ソク}速^{アヒニ}ノ字。意。相似テ違フヲ。違フマハニ
 用ルハ精ナリ^疾ノ字^速ノ字ヲ。通ハメ用
 ルハ粗ナリ。眞假トハ。タトヘハ^シ鏡^{カバミ}ノ
 字。眞^シノ^{カバミ}鏡^{カバミ}ノ事ニ用ルハ。眞ナリ月ノ
 事ヲ^{イッキョウセイヒ}一^{イッキョウセイヒ}鏡^{イッキョウセイヒ}精^{イッキョウセイヒ}飛^{イッキョウセイヒ}ナドハ用ルハ。假ナリ。
 輕重トハ。タトヘハ^{チウジヨサルコト}忠^{ミチ}恕^{ミチ}違^{ミチ}道^{ミチ}レ
^{ズハホカラ}不^{ズハホカラ}遠^{ズハホカラ}ト云フハ^{ヂヨ}恕^{ヂヨ}ノ字重ク^{チウ}忠^{チウ}ノ字輕シ。
 ヨ
 餘ハ推メ知ヘシ

The uses (*yō*) of the characters are 8: *shi-katsu* 死活, *sei-so* 精粗, *shin-ka* 眞假, *kei-jō* 輕重. As for *shi-katsu* 死活, for example, the character 清, in and of itself, is read *kiyoshi* キヨシ, when making a *shi* it is read as *kiyoki*, when *katsu* it is read as *kiyomu*. The character 歌, in and of itself, is read *utau* ウタウ, when making a *shi* it is read as *uta* ウタ, when making a *katsu* it is read as *utawashimu* ウタハシム. The character 舞, in and of itself, is read as *mau* マウ, when making a *shi* it is read as *mahi* マヒ, when making a *katsu* it is read as *mawazu* マハス. The others can be understood by the examples. The *sei-so* 精粗 distinguishes the punctual use from the disperse use. For example, the two characters 疾 and 速 have similar meanings, yet they differ. If used differently it is a *sei* 精, if used interchangeably, it is a *so* 粗. As for the *shin-ka* 眞假, if one uses the character *kagami* 鏡 ‘mirror’ for an actual mirror, then it is a *shin* 眞. If one used refers to the Moon as “a flying spirit mirror” (一鏡精飛), then it is a *ka* 假. The *kei-jō* 輕重, for example, when one says “loyalty is not far from the way” (忠恕違道不遠), the character 恕 is heavy (*jō* 重), and the character 忠 is lighter (*kei* 輕). The rest functions the same way.

The scholar claims that the *jigi* is divided into two subjects: *jihin* 字品 and *jisei* 字勢. While the *jisei* mostly concerns the semantic relations between words, *jihin* is what most resembles a division in the categories of the parts of speech. On top of these two topics, Ogyū also identifies the *ji no yō* 字ノ用 ‘use of characters’, although he only mentions it at the end of this section. All the following categories are to be understood as representing dichotomies. The same dichotomous approach is also seen in Ogyū’s other work *Yakubun sentei*.

Ogyū claims there to be two opposites by means of which to categorize words according to their type (*hin* 品): the opposition *kyo* 虚 and *jitsu* 実 (實 in *kyūjitai*) and the opposition *sei* 正 and *jo* 助.²¹

²¹ In order to better understand these labels used by Ogyū, I have looked up the way some of them are defined in *Yakubun sentei*, expecting to find there a clearer semantical explanation. While it can be said that most of these characters are defined in this work, they are not covered in their use as labels for the parts of speech. However, in note, I have provided a few of these definitions so as to, at least, understand the semantical meaning he assigned to each character. Regarding the dichotomy of “full-empty”, in *Yakubun* these are quoted many times. On folios 41r-41v of the first volume, one can read the following regarding the character *kyo* 虚: “It is the opposite of *jitsu* 實 and the opposite of *ei* 盈. If *kū* 空 is *kara mono* [‘empty thing’], then *kyo* 虚 is *utsuketari suku* [‘to empty something’]. The fact of not having anything inside is *kū* 空. Having a lump inside, yet not being full, has the meaning of *kyo* 虚. Being hungry and not having a full stomach is also *kyo* 虚; *jitsu* 實 has the meaning of being completely full. Since *mei* 盈 has the meaning of having the stomach completely full, it [*kyo* 虚] is the contrary of *ei* 盈 and *jitsu* 實. Similarly, we can say that water and fire have *kyo* 虚 bodies, while wood and gold have *jitsu* 實 bodies, because water and fire cannot be held with one’s hands, while wood and gold can be very well held. This should clarify the meaning of the character *kyo* 虚, yet the two characters *kū* 空 and *kyo* 虚 are normally used this way.” (實ノ反對ナリ又盈ノ反對ナリ空ハカラモノナリ虚ハウツケタリスクナリ中ニスキト物ナキハ空ナリ中ニチクト物アリテ満チザルハ虚ナリ中スキテハイニツマラヌモ虚ナリ實ハシツカリト實〔ミ〕ノツマル意ナリ盈ハ一ハイニ満ルコトナリ故ニ盈實ノ反也又水火體虚木金體實ストイフモ水火ハ手ニトラレヌモノナリ木金ハシカトシタルモノナリ是等ニテ虚字ノ義明ナリサレドモ空虚ノ二字其義通用スルナリ). Ogyū is not referencing the categories of speech at all here, but this helps with the understand how he conceived the meanings of these characters. The character *kyo* 虚 is the opposite of either *jitsu* 實, the one used for the *jitsuji* category, and the character *ei* 盈, both meaning ‘full’. It is also compared to the character *kū* 空, which means ‘empty’. There is one little nuance in the meaning of these two ‘empty’ characters, as Ogyū points out. The character *kū* 空 indicates a complete absence of filling inside, a complete emptiness; while our *kyo* 虚 refers to a relative emptiness, an emptiness which is not absolute, yet it does not permit “fullness”. Ogyū references our stomach when we are hungry, which is not completely empty, yet it is not full enough for us to feel satiated. Another meaning conveyed by the character *kyo* 虚 is connected to the idea of intangibility. Ogyū claims that things like fire and water cannot be held with our hands, i.e., are not tangible, while things like wood and metals can. Regardless of the scientific accuracy of this claim, we do understand that bodies which are not tangible are to be described as *kyo* 虚, while tangible ones are *jitsu* 實. Although it is doubtful to think that both Ogyū and Shizuki would categorize the characters for “fire” and “water” as *kyoji* or *kyoshi*, since “nouns” typically belong to the “full” category, this allows for a deeper understanding of the way one should interpret the characters *kyo* 虚 and *jitsu* 實. Subsequently, on folios 41v-42r, with regard to the character *jitsu* 實, he writes: “It is the opposite of *kyo* 虚. With *kyo* 虚, the inside has empty space, while with *jitsu* 實 one inserts the ‘content’ (*mi* 實). In the medicine book titled *Shānghán Lùn* 傷寒論 it is said that illnesses of the bowel-swelling harden the interiors (實滿堅). The swelling of the belly is *man* 満, which can either be ‘empty’ *kyo* 虚 or ‘full’ *jitsu* 実. This differs according to the introduction of filling which either makes it soft or hard. Thus, one needs to say 實滿堅. This

To describe the category of *kyoji*, Ogyū lists the following characters: *dai* 大 ‘big’; *shō* 小 ‘small’; *chō* 長 ‘long’; *tan* 短 ‘short’; *sei* 清 ‘clean’; *doku* 濁 ‘dirty’; *mei* 明 ‘bright’; *an* 暗 ‘dark’; *ki* 喜 ‘happy’; *do* 怒 ‘angry’; *ai* 哀 ‘sad’; *gaku* 楽 ‘merry’; *hi* 飛 ‘to fly’; *sō* 走 ‘to run’; *ka* 歌 ‘to sing’; *bu* 舞 ‘to dance’. These characters generally indicate what one might call either an adjective or a verb. Additionally, within the category of *kyoji*, there is a further opposition of *dō* 動 ‘movement’ and *sei* 静 ‘quietness’. The characters from the list above that indicated an adjective are labeled *sei* 静, while those indicating a verb are called *dō* 動. It should be noted, here, that each of these characters can be used, in Japanese, for most other categories, just like *ka* 歌 can be used as a verb *utau* ‘to sing’, but also as a noun *uta* ‘song’. Similarly, the character *chō* 長 can be used as an adjective *nagashi* ‘long’ but also as a verb *nagameru* ‘to lengthen’. Clearly, thus, belonging to either category is not dependent on the actual and contextual use it is made of the characters (that is what the *ji no yō* analysis covers), but it is, rather, an intrinsic quality of the original meaning (*ganrai no shushō* 元来ノ種姓) of each character. Consequently, it is the character *ka* 歌 that belongs to a *sei no kyoji* 静ノ虚字 ‘quiet empty word’, and not the verb *utau* ‘to sing’, albeit written by means of the character *ka* 歌.

In *Yakusen*, the character *dō* 動 is explained as meaning ‘to move’, corresponding to the Japanese verb *ugoku*, that opposes *sei* 静.²² An interesting difference that is

differentiates *jitsu* 実 from *man* 満, in that *man* 満 is a character which does not refer to one place, while *jitsu* 実, refers to the complete filling of one place.” (虚ノ反対ナリ虚ハ中ノスキタルナリ實ハ中ノシツカリト實〔ミ〕ノイリタルナリ醫書ノ傷寒論ニ腹ノハル症ニ實満堅トイフコトアリハラノハルハ満ナリ満ニ虚満實満アルハ中ニシカト實ノ入リタルトヤハラカナルトノ異ナリ實ニシテ堅ナラヌモアリ故ニ實満堅トイフコトアリ是ニテ實満ノ異分ルハナリ満ハ一ハイナ處ヲ詮ニトル字也實ハシツコリトツマリタルトコロヲ詮ニトル字ナリ). Similarly to what claimed with regard to the difference between *kyo* 虚 and *kū* 空, the difference between *jitsu* 實 and *man* 満 lies in the fact that *man* 満 refer to a complete fullness, while *jitsu* 實 to a relative/partial fullness. This is the nuance in meaning which is implied in the use of *kyo* 虚 and *jitsu* 實, in grammatical terms. When referring to *Yakubun sentei*, I have referenced the six volumes of Waseda’s 文庫 1 1612.

²² The opposition between these two concepts is described in *Yakusen* by the following entries, both found in volume 1. First, on folio 21r, regarding the Chinese character *sei* 静, it is claimed: “Is translated into Japanese as *shizuka* [‘quiet’]. It is the opposite of the character *dō* 動 [‘movement’], which means that *sei* 静 refers to what does not move. Yet, understanding it as the Japanese *shizuka* might create misunderstandings. Furthermore, it is the opposite of the character *sō* 躁 [‘noisy’, ‘turbulent’]. In that case, it means something which is not ‘noisy’ (*sawagashikaranu koto*). One can use it to refer to the calmness in the voice, a calm person or a quiet retreat, and they all mean ‘something which is not noisy’. Furthermore, one can use it to refer to the quiet given by the white sun or by the color of the night, in which case it means to make the atmosphere quiet. In the popular language one can use it as ‘to calm down the sadness’.” (ハシツカナリト訓ス動字ノ反対ナリサレハ静カナリトハ動カヌコトナリシヅカトイフ倭語ヲ以テ解セバ誤アルベシ又躁字ノ反対ニモナルナリソノ時ハサハガシカラヌコトナリ聲ノ容静トイヒ為〔ナリ〕人〔ヒト〕沈

made explicit in Ogyū's definition is the fact that this should not be understood as expressing movement in the sense of 'changing location', but as antonym of 'quiescence' *sei* 静. Consistently, *sei* 静 is defined as the opposite to *dō* 動. The character *sei* 静 means 'quiet' not in the context of noise, but in the sense of 'not moving'.

The reason why these two categories are named this way, by Ogyū, is never explained directly, however, in the chapter on the *bunrei* – that corresponds to the second volume of *Kun'yaku jimō* – it is made somewhat more explicit that the concept of "moving" refers to verbs because, together with "auxiliaries", they are the only characters that are "moved" when reordering the Chinese sentence as to comply with Japanese morphosyntax (see 6.1.2.1). However, the dichotomy is not an invention of Ogyū, as can be seen in the excerpt from the school of Běixī, in 5.3.

The category of *jitsuji* 實字 includes the following characters: *ten* 天 'sky'; *chi* 地 'earth'; *nichi* 日 'sun'; *gatsu* 月 'moon'; *chō* 鳥 'bird'; *jū* 獸 'animal'; *sō* 草 'grass'; *moku* 木 'tree'; *shu* 手 'hand'; *soku* 足 'foot'; *tō* 頭 'head'; *bi* 尾 'tail'; *shi* 枝 'branch'; *yō* 葉 'leaf'; *kon* 根 'root'; *kei* 莖 'stem'. All these represent nouns, and they can also be divided according to a further segmentation into the dichotomy of *tai* 體 (also 体) 'body/substance' and *yō* 用 'use/function'. Although this dichotomy was very much present in the history of the studies on language of Japan, Ogyū uses it in a rather different fashion. In fact, he uses *tai* 体 to refer to those nouns that indicate a "whole body" – e.g., *ten* 天 'sky'; *jū* 獸 'beast'; *moku* 木 'tree' –, while those referring to "body parts" – e.g., *shu* 手 'hand'; *bi* 尾 'tail'; *kon* 根 'root' – are all categorized as *yō* 用.²³

Both *kyoji* and *jitsuji* are called *jitsugo* 實語 'real/full words' and are both found in the *shō* 正 'correct', 'actual' category that, Ogyū claims, is defined as the "real core of words" (*go no shōmi* 語ノ正味). The concept of *shō* is contrasted with *jo* 助 'auxiliary', as these words are those that get attached to *shō* words in order to "help" them (正ノ助ニナルモノナリ). As examples of *jogo*, Shizuki lists the Chinese characters *shi* 之, *ko* 乎, *sha* 者, *ya* 也, *i* 矣, *en* 焉, *sai* 哉.²⁴ Apparently, one can

静トイヒ退静トイヘル類皆サハガシカラヌナリ又白日静トイヒ晩色静トイヘハ景気ノモノシヅカナルナリ俗語ニサビシキコトヲ冷静トイフ). Regarding *dō* 動, on folio 24v, it is written: "It is translated into Japanese as *ugoku* ['to move']. It has not the meaning of *ieki* 移易 ['to change location']. It is the opposite of the character *sei* 静. Its meaning is rather wide. The difference between *dō* 動 and *shi* 止 concerns people, things, the sun, the moon and the winds." (ウゴクトイヘル訓更ニ移易スベカラズ静ノ反ナリ義極メテ廣シ動止ハ人物日月風気マテモ通用シテ動ト動キヤムトノ反對也).

²³ TUCKER (2006, 42) claims that these two concepts (though TUCKER was not specifically referring to the philosophy of language) were key terms in the discourse of Song and Post-Song Confucians. He also claims that Ogyū had denied that they were used by Confucians since ancient times, and that they were, rather, a Buddhist influence, as I have anticipated in 5.3.

²⁴ These Chinese characters correspond to the following Japanese particles: *shi* 之 is *no* の; *ko* 乎 is *kana* かな, *ya* や, *ka* か, *yori* より and *o* お (exclamation); *sha* 者 is *mono* もの; *ya* 也

understand the difference between a *jitsugo* 實語 (all *shō* 正 words) and a *jogo* 助語 as the difference between lexical and grammatical words, respectively. Ogyū adds that *jogo* correspond to what in *waka* 倭歌 – referring to classical written Japanese – is generally expressed as *te* テ, *ni* ニ, *wo* ヲ, *ha* ハ. To further explain the role of *jogo*, in relation to *jitsugo*, Ogyū adds the following remark, in the first volume, on folio 10v:

文理ヲ知ントセバマヅ字品字勢ト字ノ用
トヲ能合點メ其上ニ字義ヲ能トクト合點
ナカン
スヘシ就レ 中 助語ヲ知ラサレハナラヌ
シマ リ
トナリ助語ハ文ノ 關鍵ナリ 實語ヲ引マ
ハスモノナリ

If one does not know the *bunri*, one must be able to understand the *jihin*, *jisei* and *ji no yō*, only then will one be able to understand the *jigi*. When doing that, if one does not know the *jogo*, it does not work. The *jogo* are the locks of the sentence. They drag the *jitsugo* around.

This quote specifies that a *jogo* is a fundamental part of speech that is essential to the understanding of how to pursue a correct *bunri*. The role of *jogo* is to “lock” a sentence and fasten it while “dragging full words around”. For the sake of clarity, Ogyū is using the term *jitsugo* ‘full word’, that includes both “full” characters (nouns) as well as “empty” characters (verbs and adjectives). A further explanation of these concepts is found again within the first volume, on folio 11v, in the quote below:

總メ一句ノ内ニテモ。一段ノ内ニテモ。
イッペン ジョジ
一篇ノ内ニテモ。虚實。死活。助字ノ分ケ
モノ ダウグ
ヲ知ルヘシ。實字。死字ハ物ナリ道具ナ
シュジン タツ
リ。ソノ道具ノ内ニテ。主人ヲ立ルヲアリ
ホカ
又外ニ立ルヲモアリ。静ノ虚字ハソノ道具
カ。又ハ主人ノナリフゼイ。シナ様子ナ
ドウジクハツジ ワザ ツカ
リ。動字 活字ハ事ナリ。故ニ其道具ヲ使
フ字ナリ。助字ハ文勢ナリ。故ニ。全體ノ
セイシン
精神ナリ

Generally, you should know the difference between empty-full-dead-lively-auxiliary characters, within a phrase, within a *dan* and within a *hen*. Full characters and dead characters are things, instruments. Amongst those instruments, there are those raising the owner and those raising the others. A quiet empty word indicates the condition of the instrument or of the owner. Moving character and lively characters are actions. Thus, they are the characters that use the instruments. An auxiliary character is the *bunsei*, thus it is the spirit of all.

Here, Ogyū claims that “full characters” and “dead characters” are used to name things and people, “moving characters” and “lively characters” are used to refer to actions and “quiet empty characters” are used to refer to qualities and conditions. These correspond quite directly to nouns, verbs, and adjectives, respectively. The

is *nari* なり; *i* 矣 is *kana* かな; *en* 焉 is *kore* これ; *sai* 哉 is *kana* かな. This is not a complete list.

more unclear remark is added about “auxiliary characters”, however. They are explained as corresponding to the *bunsei*, the last level of translation, and they are the “spirit” of it all. Perhaps, this means that “auxiliary characters” are to be considered as one of the last steps in the forming of a well-done translation. For this reason, they are the “spirit” of all (the text). Their addition, in the correct spot, provides cohesiveness and expressivity to the text in its entirety.

As for the category of *jisei* 字勢, it represents the way characters interact semantically with each other. In *jisei* there are three dichotomies: *tsū-kyoku* 通局; *gen-man* 嚴慢; and *tan-fuku* 單複. The *tsū-kyoku* 通局 opposition, in more familiar terms, refers to the relationship of “hypernymy” (*tsū* 通) and “hyponymy” (*kyoku* 局). Indeed, among *tsū* characters one can find *san* 山 ‘mountain’ and *sen* 川 ‘river’, while in the *kyoku* category one finds *hō* 峰 ‘peak’. Ogyū adds the example of the *tsū* hypernym *dō* 動 ‘movement’ and the *kyoku* hyponyms *hi* 飛 ‘to fly’, *sō* 走 ‘to run’ etc. This points out that the *jisei* categorization disregards the previous *jihin* categorization as the two subjects consider characters from two different aspects.

The *gen-man* 嚴慢 opposition regards characters indicating very precise and “strict” (*kewasiki* ケワシキ) meanings, and those indicating imprecise, vague and “loose” (*burari* ブラリ) meanings. That is why Ogyū provides, as examples to *gen* 嚴, the Chinese characters for the numbers, the cardinal points, and some colors, as they all represent very established and precise definitions. For the *man* 慢 category, instead, Ogyū writes the characters *hen* 邊 (also 辺) ‘around’; *bō* 傍 ‘next to’, ‘close’; *ji* 時 ‘time’, ‘when’; *sai* 際 ‘moment’, ‘when’; *sho* 處 ‘place’, ‘where’.

The last dichotomy within *jisei* 字勢 is *tan-fuku* 單複, where *tan* 單 ‘single’, identifies the Chinese characters that can be used without being combined with other characters, i.e., independent *kanji*, while *fuku* 複 ‘plural’, identifies the Chinese characters that can only be used in combination with other characters, i.e., dependent *kanji*.

The last branch of *jihin* 字品 is *ji no yō* 字ノ用 ‘the use of characters’ or ‘the function of characters’. Among these, there are four dichotomies, two of which will have strong impact on Shizuki’s theory of grammar. The first opposition provided by Ogyū is *shi-katsu* 死活, where *shi* 死 means ‘death’ and *katsu* 活 means ‘vitality’. This is a very important distinction that deserves a closer analysis. Ogyū proposes three characters as examples: *sei* 清 ‘clean’, ‘pure’; *ka* 歌 ‘to sing’, ‘song’; *bu* 舞 ‘to dance’. He adds that these characters, in and of themselves, ought to be read as *kiyoshi*, *utau* and *mau*, respectively. When used as *shi* 死 ‘dead’, they must be read as *kiyoki*, *uta* and *mai*, respectively. When used as *katsu* 活 they must be read as *kiyomu*, *utawashimu* and *mawazu*. All these renditions apparently have nothing in common, and just seem arbitrarily selected variations, yet one can indeed find patterns, as exemplified in Table 32.

Chinese character	清	歌	舞
Unmarked reading	kiyoshi キヨシ <i>shūshikei</i> form of adjective	utau ウタウ <i>shūshikei</i> form of verb	mau マウ <i>shūshikei</i> form of verb
Use as ‘dead’ <i>shiyō</i> 死用	kiyoki キヨキ <i>rentaiki</i> form of adjective	uta ウタ noun	mahi マヒ <i>ren’yōkei</i> form of verb
Use as ‘lively’ <i>katsuyō</i> 活用	kiyomu キヨム verbalized form	utawashimu ウタワシム <i>mizenkei</i> form of verb + <i>shūshikei</i> of suffix -shimu	mahazu マハス <i>mizenkei</i> form of verb + <i>shūshikei</i> of suffix -zu

Table 32 “Dead” and “lively” use of Chinese characters, in Ogyū’s *Kun’yaku jimō*.

What Ogyū calls the reading of the character “in and of itself” – that I have adapted as “unmarked reading”, within the table – corresponds to what the scholar identifies as the “original” reading connected to that character. This implies that, in an isolated context, the Japanese readings of these characters correspond to the “in and of itself” reading. In fact, although one might be tempted to read *ka* 歌 as *uta* ‘song’ (a noun), it is clear that it must be read as *utau* ‘to sing’, since Ogyū refers to it as a *dō no kyo* ‘empty moving’ character. Furthermore, these three examples all belong to the *kyo* category, this implies that the *shi-katsu* dichotomy only affects verbs and adjectives. This would agree with Shizuki’s elaboration of this concept (see 7.2.1). The “unmarked readings” of these characters all feature the corresponding Japanese *kyo* word, conjugated in its *shūshikei* form, with no additional affix adjoined to it. Instead, the use as “lively” (*katsu*) always sees the intervention of an external element, an affix, that changes the nuance in meaning of the “original” character. The fact that there is no consistency in the three different “lively” forms might suggest the idea that a “lively” use of a character corresponds to any instance in which the unmarked reading combines with one or more affixes. The use as “dead” (*shi*), instead, seems to encompass the forms in which a specific character is used in a nominalized fashion. This is because, in Japanese, adjectives and verbs can be conjugated and combined with affixes, thusly affording “vitality”, while nouns cannot, thus not being able to be “vital”, meaning they are “dead”, “un-inflectable”. Indeed, the character *ka* 歌, originally read *utau* ‘to sing’, in its ‘dead’ use is read *uta*, ‘song’; the character *bu* 舞, originally read *mau* ‘to dance’, is read *mai* ‘dance’; while the character *sei* 清, originally read *kiyoshi* ‘clean’, is now read as *kiyoki*, its *rentaiki*, a form that can be used to nominalize an adjective. A specific characteristic of these nouns is that they are not to be considered as originally belonging to the noun category. In Japanese, according to Ogyū’s explanation, these characters probably do not turn into the *jitsu* category and remain within the *kyo* category, albeit “dead”. In addition to this, while covering the theories of Ogyū, one needs to keep in mind that his explanations were not fundamentally linguistic or

grammatical, in nature. Ogyū intended to teach Japanese scholars to “properly translate” a Chinese text into Japanese, by means of *kundoku* annotation. In this sense, thus, there might be another explanation that would only incidentally correspond to what I have just illustrated. The two main operations one would need to enact while applying *kundoku* annotations to a Chinese text where the reordering of the characters, according to Japanese syntax, and the application of *okurigana*, specifying things like the grammatical inflections absent in Chinese, yet necessary in Japanese. In this context, thus, one could understand the vital use of a character, as the instance in which, in order for it to be properly rendered into a Japanese sentence, it required the translator to apply additional *okurigana*, while its dead use would be when no *okurigana* was required to be added. Since only adjectives and verbs can be conjugated (thus can have *okurigana* added to them), the fact that the “dead” use mostly corresponded to nouns would simply be incidental, for Ogyū.

The next opposition within the “use of the characters” (*ji no yō* 字ノ用) is the *sei-so* 精粗, that identifies the use of two semi-synonymic characters as different nuances (*sei* 精) or as the same nuance (*so* 粗), that means treating them as full synonyms.²⁵

²⁵ In *Yakubun*, on folio 33r of volume 2, one can read the following definition, for the character *sei* 精: “Is the character of polished rice. This is seen in compounds such as *seisaku* 精鑿 [‘polished rice’], *seirai* 精萊 [‘polished goosefoot’]. When it is read as *kuwashiku* ‘precise’, ‘accurate’, even in compounds such as *seisai* 精細 ‘detailed’; *seishō* 精詳, it means ‘concentrating onto the examination and being very careful of the details’.” (シラゲ米ト云フ字ナリ精鑿精萊ナド是ナリ故ニクハシトヨム時精細精詳ト連用スレドモ吟味ヲツメテ細カニ念ノ入リタルコトナリ). The character *sei* 精 is, thus, connected to concepts of ‘precise’, ‘detailed’, ‘polished’ and the Japanese words *kuwashii* and *komakai*, both expressing slightly varying nuances of these same concepts. In the *sei-so* dichotomy, then, the use of two semi-synonymic Chinese characters as representing different nuances in meaning is considered ‘precise’ or ‘polished’, ‘careful of the details’. Interestingly, no mention is made in this entry to the character *so* 粗, which Ogyū uses as opposite to this, referring to the use of semi-synonymic characters as if they were full synonyms. Regarding the character *so* 粗 one read the following, on folio 37r of the same volume: “It is the contrary of *sei* 精. It is the contrary of *mitsu* 密. It is the act of distancing oneself from the *seimitsu* 精密, ‘accuracy’. The character *ryaku* 略 is the opposite of *shō* 詳. Also, *ryaku* 略 means to distance oneself [from accuracy] but, in this case, it is not something negative. When *so* 粗 is the opposite of *sei* 精, originally *sei* 精 means ‘polished rice’, thus it means to concentrate onto the examination. Conversely, *so* 粗 has the meaning of ‘poor’, ‘shabby’ and expresses something negative.” (精ノ反對ナリ密ノ反對ナリ精密にナクアラキコトナリ略ノ字ハ詳ノ反對ナリ略モアラキコトナレドモアシキコトニナラズ粗ハ精ノ反對ニテ精ハモトシラゲヨネト云字ナルユヘ吟味ノツマリタル意アリ粗ハソノウラナルユヘ粗末ナル意アルユヘアシキ方ナリ). As we see from this entry, the concept of *so* 粗 is more tightly related to its opposite *sei* 精, than what *sei* was with *so*. The character *so* 粗 is defined as lacking details, lacking accuracy, thus it is connected to the character *ryaku* 略, which means ‘abbreviation’, ‘omission’. The fundamental difference between the two is that *so* 粗 actually expresses a negative type of lack of accuracy, while *ryaku* 略 has no sense of moral evaluation attached to it. Consequently, we can assume the difference between the characters meaning ‘accurate’, *sei* 精 and *shō* 詳, to differ in the fact that *sei* actually expresses a

The next dichotomy is *shin-ka* 眞假 (simplified: 真假), that identifies the use of a certain Chinese character as literal (*shin* 眞, meaning ‘real’, ‘actual’) or non-literal (*ka* 假, meaning ‘provisional’). This mostly refers to those compound words in which a character is not used for its literal meaning.

The last dichotomy distinguishes between *kei-jō* 輕重. The character *kei* 輕 (simplified: 轻) means ‘light’ as in the opposite of ‘heavy’, that is, in turn, expressed by the character *jō* 重. Some characters are considered “heavier” than others. In order to explain this, Ogyū cites a quote from *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Chūyō* 中庸), one of the fundamental books of Confucianism. The Chinese sentence goes as follows *zhōngshù wéi dào bù yuǎn* 忠恕違道不遠 and can be translated as ‘Honesty is not far from the path’, where “honesty” is the rough translation of the word *zhōngshù*, pronounced *chūjo* 忠恕, in Japanese. This word, that should be better translated as “acting in honesty and consideration toward others” is composed of the two characters *chū* 忠, meaning ‘loyalty’ and *jo* 恕, meaning ‘acting considerately/with loyalty’. To explain the opposition between *kei-jō* ‘light and heavy’, Ogyū claims that the character *chū* is “light”, while *jo* is “heavy”. The reason why *jo* is to be considered “heavy” and *chū* “light” is not at all intuitive. Perhaps this has something to do with compound words, since *chūjo* is one. Since *chū* 忠 means ‘loyalty’ and *jo* 恕 means ‘acting with loyalty’ and the whole compound means ‘acting with loyalty’, I assume the concept of *kei-jō* to refer to which character transmits the main meaning to the resulting compound word. In modern linguistic terms this would be referred to as the “head” of the compound and, in this sense, it does indeed correspond to the character that possesses the highest “weight” in the compound.

However, this dichotomy is also used in the context of *bunri*, where it refers to the use of characters within a sentence. In fact, on folio 21r, Ogyū refers to this characteristic with regard to the character *ko* 古 ‘old’, ‘ancient’, within the sentence:

daigaku no motte hito wo oshibeshi tokoro no kohō nari

コハウナリ
大学ノ所ニ以教ヘシレ人ヲ之古法也

‘The Great Learning, is an ancient rule by means of which one can teach people’

Ogyū adds that “When one writes like this, the character *ko* 古 becomes light. In order to make it heavy, it has been raised above” (左様ニ書ットキハ。古ノ字ガ輕

positive type of accuracy, while *shō* 詳 – which Ogyū places as contrary to *ryaku* 略 – is a morally neutral type of accuracy. This allows us to also claim that the *sei-so* distinction is fundamentally based on the assumption that using semi-synonymic *kanji* as if they were full-synonyms is considered a poor stylistic choice, one should refrain from indulging in, a rather fundamental belief in Ogyū’s theory of translation.

クナルナリ。[古]字ヲ重クセン為メニ。上ニ掲ゲタルナリ。). After this claim, the sentence is reworked into:

inishie no daigaku wo motte hito o oshiuru beshi tokoro no hō nari

古ノ之所^{ナリ}以下^{ナリ}以テニ大學ヲ教ヘシ上レ人ノ法也

‘It is a way of teaching people by means of the ancient Great Learning’

This second sentence is actually the original quote from the *Great Learning*. Here the character *ko* 古 is in first position and is read in Japanese as *inishie* ‘antiquity’ which modifies the term *daigaku* 大学 ‘Great Learning’ by means of the genitive particle *no*. What Ogyū wants to explain is the fact that, according to how one interprets the character *ko* 古, in that Chinese sentence, within the context of *kundoku*, it could refer to two elements. Since Chinese sentences were conceived of as a string of characters that needed to be reordered to translate them into Japanese, one could place the character *ko* 古 either before (above) the characters *daigaku* 大学 or before (above) the character *hō* 法 ‘rule’, as to form the compound word *kohō* 古法 ‘ancient rule’.

In the first volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū anticipates the “light-heavy” dichotomy in the context of *bunri*. On folios 10v-11r, he writes the following:

文理ト云フハ。畢竟字ノ上下ノ置キ
ヤウナリ。先ヅ。語ノ斷續^{ダンゾク}ヲ知ル
ベシ。ツバク字キルハ字。ト云フ
ヲ知リテ。サテ上下ノ置ヤウニ。氣^キ
ヲ付ケ。雜合^{ザツガウ}メ見ルベシ。其内ニ。
同等ノ字ト云フアリ輕重大小ノ同
ジ位ナル字ナリ。天^{テン}地^チノ日^{ニチ}月^{ゲツ}ノ
長^{チヤウ}短^{セン}ノ大^{ダイ}小^{ショウ}ノ清^{セイ}明^{メイ}ノ虚^{キョ}空^{クウ}
ノナドハ云フヤウナル。同等ノ字上
下ヘ重ネタレドモ。並ンデ。ヲル意
ニテ上下ノ僉議^{ケンギ}ハ。イアラヌヲナ
リ。此類ヲ除^{フタ}キテ其外ハ。實字ニテ
モ。死字ニテモニツカサヌレバ下ノ
字ガ重キナリ。下ノ字ガ詮^{アキラカ}ニ

Ultimately, the *bunri* comes down to how you arrange characters vertically, above or below. Firstly, you need to know the *danzoku* (*kiretsuzuku*). When you know whether a character is *tsuzuku* or *kiruru*, you notice how they distribute vertically and look at how they mix with each other. Among these there are equal characters. These are characters that have the same position according to their weight and dimension. Equal characters such as “heaven” and “earth”, “sun” and “moon”, “long” and “short”, “big” and “small”, “clean” and “bright”, “empty” and “empty” etc., even though they pile vertically there is no unanimity regarding their positioning, and how their meanings are ordered. With only this exception, in all full and dead

²⁶ On the left-hand side of the characters, the alternative reading *kiretsuzuki* キレツバキ is also annotated.

イリイヨウ
入用ノフニナルナリ。活字。助字
ハ皆。上ノ字ガ君ニナルナリ。下ノ
字ヲ取リテ引廻スナリ。上ノ字デ
畢^{ヒツキヤウ} 竟^{ギリ} 27ノ義理ガ埒明ナリ。タトヘ
バ。^{イシヤマ}石山ト云ヘバ^{ヤマイシ}山石ト云ヘバ
^{メウジ}石ハ苗字ニナルナリ^{ヤマイシ}山石ト云ヘバ
^{タットリ}石ガ體ニナルナリ^{タットリ}山ハ苗字ナリ。實字
ハ陰ナリ。陰ハ下ヲ尊^{フヒツカウ}ブ理ナリ。
^{ラクジャク}不必好ト云ヘバ^{ヒツフカウ}不^{ナヒ}ノ字ニテ義理
落^{カナラズデハ}着ス。^{ナヒ}必不好ト云ヘバ^{ヨヒガ}必^{ヨウ}ノ字ニ
テ義理落着ス。皆上ノ字ガ。下ノ字
ヲ引廻スナリ。
^{カナラズジャ}必^{ナヒ}レ不^{ナヒ}レ好^{ヨウ} 如^{ナヒ}ク^{ナヒ}是ナリ。

characters, if two pile up, the lower is heavy. Its use and insertion become clearer. With lively words and auxiliaries, the upper character becomes their lord, as it takes the lower character and drags it around. It is in the upper character that the meaning is ultimately made clear. For example, when one says *Ishiyama*, *yama* is the body, while *ishi* is the name. However, when one says *Yamaishi*, *ishi* is the body, while *yama* is the name. Full words are feminine. The feminine is the principle of respecting that which is below. For example, if you say 不必好, the meaning is specified by the character 不. If you say 必不好, the meaning is specified by the character 必. In both, it is the upper character that drags the lower ones around, as in the sentences *kanarazu dewa nai yoi ga* and *you nai koto ga kanarazu ja*.

Here Ogyū restates that the heaviness of a character is to be factored in whenever you need to arrange characters piling up. He presents a few exceptions to what would otherwise be a unanimous agreement on the order in which characters need to be (re)ordered. Regularly, with full characters and dead characters, the lower one is heavy. This would be in agreement with what he claimed above regarding the word *chūjo* 忠恕. He provides two further examples, with the terms *Ishiyama* and *Yamaishi*. Both terms are composed of the two characters *yama* 山 ‘mountain’ and *ishi* 石 ‘stone’. However, according to which of the two characters appears second (lower character), the compound changes its meaning. In the word *Ishiyama*, *yama* is the lower character and is thus the real “body” of the compound, while *Ishi* is just a name. This would be like saying “Stone Mountain”, in English, where Stone is the name of the mountain. Conversely, in *Yamaishi*, the word *ishi* appears below, thus it becomes the “body” of the compound, while *yama* is just a name. This would be like saying “Mountain Stone”, where Mountain is the name of the stone. The fact that full and dead characters rely on the lower element to clarify the meaning of the compound makes them “feminine” (陰). Instead, lively characters and auxiliaries work quite differently. For these characters, the upper element becomes their “lord”, which takes and spins the lower characters around. This is a figurative reference to how these types of characters behave according to the *kundoku* annotation. Ogyū provides two Chinese phrases, composed of the same three characters which are

²⁷ On the left-hand side of the character, the alternative reading *tsumari* ツマリ is also present.

placed in a slightly different order, and are glossed in *kundoku*, in a different manner. The characters are *hitsu* 必 ‘necessarily’, ‘certainly’; *fu* 不 ‘not’; and *kō* 好 ‘good’. In the first sentence, the characters are ordered as *fu hitsu kō* 不必好 and the character *fu* 不 is the one that “clarifies the meaning”. The *kundoku* rendition of this sentence reads *kanarazu de wa nai yoi*, where *fu* is moved after *hitsu*, in the meaning of ‘it is not necessarily good’. The second sentence, instead, places the characters in the order *hitsu fu kō* 必不好. Here, Ogyū claims that it is the character *hitsu* 必 which “clarifies the meaning”. Thus, the upper characters grab their lower ones and spin around them. This expression is a reference to the so-called *re-ten*, a symbol used in *kundoku* to signal that two adjacent characters need to swap place. Specifically, this is glossed underneath the upper character, thus giving the graphic impression that it grabs the lower one and spins around it, ending up after (below) it. In this second phrase, both *hitsu* and *fu* are glossed with a *re-ten*, meaning that all upper characters grab the character below them and spin around it, thus the sentence ends up in Japanese as *yoi nai koto ga kanarazu ja*, meaning ‘it is certainly not a good thing’.

On folios 48v-49r, in the third volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū mentions the same dichotomy when covering the characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 而.²⁸ After having provided the two sentences *sono haikan miru ga gotoku shikari* 若視其肺肝然 and *i aimotomuru gotoku shikari* 意如相求然, Ogyū references the heavy and light uses of the character *zen* 然, here corresponding to *shikari*. He adds that “used in this way, the character *zen* 然 is extremely light” (カヤウニ用フル時ハ甚輕キ辭ナリ). This is contrasted with the use of the same character *zen* 然 that Ogyū compares to the character *ji* 而 (although he claims that this is mostly featured in the middle of sentences) and the combination of the two characters 如此 meaning ‘similarly’ in *kundoku*, an expression often used at the beginning of sentences. Other examples of this “heavy” use attributed to *zen* 然 by Ogyū correspond to expressions such as *saredomo*, *shikaredomo* etc., roughly corresponding to the English “however” or “nonetheless”, also generally used at the beginning of sentences. The “heaviness” of this use of the character *zen* 然 is explained by Ogyū with the expression “The character *zen* 然 is heavy. It pushes and fixes the upper sentence, and it moves its meaning to [the sentence] below.” (然ノ字ハ重モシ上ノ文ヲヲサヘトバメテ下ヘウツル意ナリ). This use of the “light-heavy” category refers thus to the syntactic property of specific characters.

Sometimes, a character influences the whole sentence, in which case it is called “heavy”, some other times, the scope of the semantical meaning of a specific character is limited to just a few other members of the sentence, in which case the character is considered “light”. Because of how Japanese morphosyntax works, a “heavy” character tends to appear at the beginning of a sentence, while a “light” character is generally found in the lower end of it. It can be said that this “light-heavy” dichotomy was used within the context of *kanbun kundoku* to help a translator and a reader of a Chinese text understand the syntactical relations between

²⁸ I will go back to these sentences in 7.2.2.

each character, so that one could be able to move and translate that specific character according to Japanese morphosyntax and semantics.

In conclusion, there are three different uses of the *kei-jō* dichotomy. In the first example, it referred to compound words. When two full characters combine in one word, the lower character is “heavy”. This weight is not a consequence of its position, but a consequence of the fact that it is the lower character that clarifies the meaning of the compound, which really possesses the “body”. This distinction is perhaps less intuitive with example of the word *chūjo*, however, it is much clearer via the two examples with “mountain” and “stone”. In all these cases, thus, the heavy character is what is nowadays called the “head” of the compound. The second use of the dichotomy refers to the heaviness of a character within a sentence. This is what the example of *ko* 古 intended to express. In this case, for *ko* to be “heavy” it needed to be found in an upper position. This is because it being above allowed its semantical meaning to impact more elements within the sentence. In those two sentences, when the character is placed before the character *hō* 法 and at the end of the sentence, *ko* only modifies *hō*, as in “ancient rule”. However, when *ko* is put at the beginning of the sentence, it modifies the entirety of the sentence. Specifically, in the first case, the sentence would be translated into “The *Great Learning*, is an ancient rule by means of which one can teach people”. Here, “ancient” (*ko*) only really modifies “rule”. In fact, the *Great Learning* is not “ancient”, neither is the “means” or the “teaching of people”. The second case, instead, translates into “The ancient *Great Learning* was a rule by means of which it used to be taught to people”. The word “ancient” directly modifies *Great Learning* and still semantically influences the other element of the sentence. In fact, if the *Great Learning* is ancient, then the rule also is, which implies it was an ancient means by which ancient people were being taught. The last use of the *kei-jō* dichotomy refers to the use of characters across sentences. A heavy character, in this case, is one that brings two sentences together, by fixing the upper one and dragging its meaning toward the lower one.

What hitherto presented are all the categories and subcategories in which the theory of “translation” (*yakubun* 譯文) can be divided. It is known that Shizuki knew and relied on Ogyū Sorai’s theory, as he mentions the Confucianist colleague in his own works (generally as *Busshi* 物氏, from his alternative name *Bussorai* or *Butsusorai* 物徂徠). Thus, as I will demonstrate in Chapters VII and VIII, it can be asserted that Shizuki had embraced, to a large extent, these categories, yet he repurposed them to the necessities of the Dutch language. While explaining how to translate a Chinese text into Japanese, Ogyū was mostly concerned with finding categories that could guide the annotator in the understanding of how to treat each character. This is the *jigi* 字義 part of translation, that could be understood as the “study of the meaning of characters”. The *jigi* is divided in three sub-fields: *jihin*, *jisei* and *ji no yō*. The *jihin* 字品 ‘sorts of the characters’, that categorizes them in ‘full’ *jitsu* 実 and ‘empty’ *kyo* 虚, and further into ‘rightful words’ *shō* 正 and ‘auxiliaries’ *jo* 助. These roughly represent morphological categories, corresponding to the field of “etymology” in 18th-century Dutch grammatical tradition. The *jisei* 字勢 ‘expressivity of the characters’ covers the topic of how characters are semantically

related to each other, as well as the relationships of morphosyntactic interdependence across characters. The last field, the *ji no yō* 字ノ用 engages with the way in which characters are to be “treated”, or “used”. Since this regards issues such as conjugation and semi-synonymity, it appears to be more focused on the *kundoku* rendition of the text. Ogyū never intended for his theories on translation to be utilized as grammatical framework for either Chinese or Japanese.

Ogyū's categories can be ordered hierarchically in the following manner, as illustrate in Table 33.

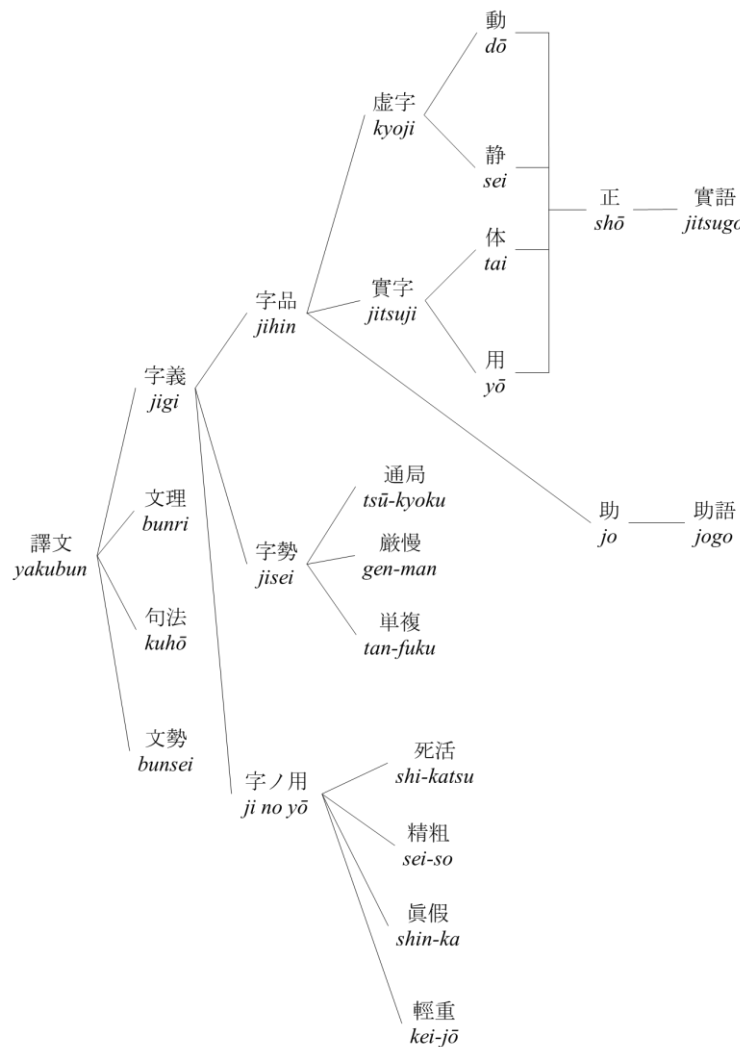


Table 33 Structure of the theory of translation according to Ogyū Sorai.

However, these are all categories that concern the field of *jigi*, the interpretation of characters. The rest of the essay written in the first two volumes of *Kun'yaku jimō* covers the subject of *bunri*, that also contains relevant notions concerning morphosyntax, and specific reworkings of these categories, in the context of the re-ordering of Chinese characters. I will provide a sample of these theories in the following paragraph, as they allow to better understand some of the concepts hitherto mentioned which Shizuki adopted and readapted in his works, to some extent.

6.1.2.1 The subject and concept of *bunri* in Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō*

The entirety of the second volume of *Kun'yaku jimō* comprises the section titled *Bunri-rei* 文理例 'Examples of *bunri*'. As the title suggests, in this volume, Ogyū demonstrates with practical examples how to produce a correct translation of Chinese text, using the proper *bunri*. As discussed in the previous section, the *bunri* concerns the understanding of how the characters of a Chinese text are to be ordered and combined when forming Japanese sentences. The example sentences used by Ogyū to demonstrate his theories, come from the text written by Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130 – 1200) as introduction to his commented version of the *Great Learning* (*Dàxué* 大學), known in Japanese with the title *Daigaku shōku jo* 大学章句序. As Ogyū claimed in the beginning of volume 1, according to how the translator treats the *bunri*, the interpretation of a sentence can change, even when it has a fixed amount of characters. He will demonstrate this by presenting, for each sentence of Zhū Xī's text, one Japanese reading (*kun*) and a plurality of translations (*yaku* 譯), evidencing that the same characters in one Chinese sentence can create a multitude of Japanese sentences with different meanings, according to the way one reorders them. I will not go into too much detail with these sentences since their analysis is beyond the scope of the present research. However, it is worth raising a few examples, so as to understand how the *jigi* and *bunri* are to be applied, in practice, in order to provide a "correct" Japanese translation. Furthermore, many of the important parts of speech, as illustrated by Ogyū in the context of *jigi*, are covered again in this section, providing further context for their interpretation.

In the original text of the introduction to the *Great Learning*, there is a Chinese sentence that, in Modern Mandarin would be read as *gài zì tiān jiàn shēngmín zé jì mòbù yǔ zhī rényì lǐzhì zhī xìng yī* 蓋自天降生民則既莫不與之以仁義禮智之性矣. Ogyū covers the first character in another section, and provides to the rest of the sentence the following Japanese reading (*kun*):

sunawachi sude ni kore ni atauru ni jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto nashi
 スナハチスデニナシ ト云フ アタフルニコレニ モツデセ ジンギレイチノセイヲ
 則 既 莫 不 與 之 以 仁義禮智之 性 矣

As viable translations, Ogyū provides the following three alternatives:

1. *kō areba nai sore ni jingireichi no sei wo yarazu to iu koto wa tokku ni*

カフアレバトクニ ナヒスト云ハ ヤラ ソレニヲ
則 既 ニ 莫 不 ーレ與之_三以_二仁義禮智ノ之性ヲ_一矣

2. *sō areba nai sore ni yaranu to iu koto wa tokku ni jingireichi no sei wo*

サウアレバトクニ ナヒスト云ハ ヤラ ソレニヲ
則 既 ニ 莫 不 ーレ與_レ之_レ以_二仁義禮智ノ之性_一矣

3. *sō areba nai yaranu to iu koto wa tokku ni sore ni jingireichi no sei wo*

サウアレバトクニ ナヒスト云ハ ナラソレニヲ
則 既 ニ 莫 不 ーレ與之_三以_二仁義禮智ノ之性_一矣

All these sentences roughly mean something along the lines of “If not so, then they would not be provided with the nature of *jingireichi*”, where “they” refers to the people of this world, while the “true nature of *jingireichi*” refers to a group of spiritual values the people of this world have been given from the Heavens, according to the Confucian creed. The most notable differences, across these translations are in the way the words are re-ordered, and consequently changed as to comply with Japanese morphosyntactic rules. Between the *kun* and the many *yaku*, there are also notable word changes. The only real difference between translations 2 and 3, for example, is the location of the word *sore ni*, Japanese adaptation of the Chinese character *shi* 之, that in sentence 2 is comprised within the relative clause with *yaranu* ‘do not provide’ as predicate, while in sentence 3 it gets unbounded from it and placed outside of that clause. It is worth pointing out that these are not complete sentences, as the main clause lacks a predicate. These translations are commented as follows, on folio 25v:

則ノ字ハ。上ノ文ヲウケテ。コレナレバト云フ意也。矣ノ字ハ。結語ノ強キ文字ナリ。コウナレバコウデヤト。強ク言ヒトメタル辭ナリ。故ニ。此句ハ則ノ字矣ノ字ニテ。シメテ置キタル句法ナリ。ソノ間ニテハ。語ノ斷續ト云フヲ知ルベシ。既ハトツクニトノ詞ナリトツクニト云フ詞ニハ。トツクニ。ドウシタト云フガ。下ニナクテハ叶ハヌナリ。故ニ。下ヲ看タレバ莫ノ字ナリ。俗語カ又ハ。詩ニテハナカレトナシヤトヨム。文デハ無ノ字ト同ジ。然レバ。トツクニ。ナイナリ。何ガトツクニナイ。其下ニ不與之ト云フ詞アリ。然レバ不與之ト云フハ。トツクニナイ道理デヤト云フナリ。然レト。何ヲ不與之ト云フハ。トツクニナト云フガナケレバキコヘヌナリ。下ニ以仁義禮智之性

The character *soku* 則, receives the sentence above and has the meaning of *kore nareba*. The character *i* 矣, is a reinforcing character of connection. It is a word that reinforces the phrase *kō nare ba kō ja* (‘If so, then so’). Thus, this phrase has the *kuhō* of placing and pulling together the character *soku* 則 and *i* 矣. You should know that what lies between them is the interruption-connection of words. The character *ki* 既 is the word *tokku ni*. The word *tokku ni* has the meaning of *tokku ni dō shita*. However, if it is not below, then it is not complete. That is why one sees the character *maku* 莫, below. In popular language, or in poetry, in phrases where one can read *nakare* or *nashi ya*, it is the same as the character *mu* 無. However, it becomes *tokku ni nai*, or *nani ga tokku ni nai*. Underneath, there is the phrase *fu yo shi* 不與之. This phrase basically means *tokku ni nai dōri ja*.

ト云フ七字アリ。然レバ。仁義禮智之性ヲ
 以テ。ソレニ與ヘヌト云フハ。トツクニ
 ナイト云フテ。下ノ^{ケツ}矣^{アタ}ノ字デ。ヒシト。ズ
 ント。ナイト結シタルナリ。與ヘ手ハ上
 ニアル^テ天^{カミ}ナリ。與ヘラレ手ハ^{コレ}之^{コレ}ナリ^{コレ}之^{コレ}ト
 ハ上ニアル^{セイミン}生民^サヲ指シタル字ナリ。與ヘ
 モノ物ハ^{モノ}仁義禮智之性ナリ。

However, when one says *fu yo shi* 不與之, one does not hear it without a *tokku ni nai*. Below, there are the seven characters *i jin gi rei chi shi sei* 以仁義禮智之性. However, when you say that the *jingi reichi no sei* is not provided, you say *tokku ni nai*, and the character *i* 矣, below, connects most certainly the word *nai*. The one giving is the sky above (*ten* 天). What one giving is the sky above (*ten* 天). What receives it is *shi* 之 *kore* ‘this’. This “this” points at the characters *seimin* 生民 ‘the people of this world’, above. The provided thing is the *jingi reichi no sei*.

Here, Ogyū specifies the meanings and relations between the characters. He finds a tight relation between the two characters *soku* 則 and *i* 矣, that hold the sentence together. The character *ki* 既, instead, has a tight relation with *maku* 莫, since together, regardless of their positioning in the Japanese sentence, they mean “already not”. At last, he also specifies the subject-object relations of the different nouns, relative to the predicate. He wrote that, while the central verb is *yaru* ‘to provide’, ‘to give’, the one providing is the character *ten* 天 ‘Heavens’, the one receiving is the character *shi* 之 – here interpreted as a demonstrative pronoun –, that refers to the noun *seimin* 生民 ‘people of this world’ above, and the thing that is being provided is the “nature of the *jingireichi*”.

He subsequently flips the Chinese sentence into *zé jì yǔ zhī mòbù rényì lǐzhì zhī xìng yǐ* 則既與之莫不以仁義禮智之性矣, inverting the position of the two characters *mòbù* 莫不 and the two characters *yǔ zhī* 與之. The Japanese reading he provides is²⁹

sunawachi sude ni kore ni ataeni jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto nashi

ト云フハ
 則既ニ與之ニ莫シレ 不レ以テセ仁義禮智之性ヲニ矣

The sentence is, thus, translated into Japanese as

sō areba yaru ga sore ni tokku ni jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto nashi

レバトツクニ ヤルガソレニ ナイト云フハ
 則 既 ニ 與 之 ニ 莫 レ 不 レ 以 ニ 仁義禮智之性ニ 矣

The main difference between these versions and the previous ones is that the negation is not relative to the verb *yaru* / *atauru* anymore, but it is added to the verb *su* ‘to do’ that combines with *motte* ‘with’. This makes the new sentence mean “If

²⁹ The readings of some of characters that are not specified here, are based on the readings previously provided for the *kun* of the sentence before flipping it.

thusly provided, there is no way the nature of *jingireichi* is not given". The difference is thus not in the ultimate meaning of the sentences, but rather on the nuance in morphosyntax with which a similar concept is expressed. In the previous translations to the original form of the sentence, the structure, simplified, was "if you do not do this, you will not get this". In this new version, the structure is "if you do this, you cannot not get this". Ogyū adds the following explanation, on folio 26v:

原文ノ如クナレバ^{バクフ}莫不^{モクフ}ノ二字ガ^{カミ}既^キノ字ノ
下。総句ノ上ニアリ。故ニ^{ソウク}既^キノ字ハ^{カミ}莫^モノ
字ヘカ^{カミ}ハリテ。トヅクニナイト云フ義理
ニナリ。^{モクフ}莫不^{モクフ}ハ下ヘカ^{カミ}ハリテ^{モクフ}莫^モシレ^ル不^レ
與^ヘ。^{モクフ}莫^モシレ^ル不^レ以^テセト。ニツヘカ^{ハル}ナル
ナリ。然レバ^{モクフ}莫不^{モクフ}ノ二字ヲ合メ。^{ジン}盡^{ジン}ノ字
ノ意ニモナリ^{ヒツ}必^{ヒツ}ノ字ノ意ニモナリテ下文
ノ^{ワクフノウセイ}或不能齊^{ワクフノウセイ}ト云フトヨク相應スルナリ此
文ニオ如クニ^{モクフ}莫不^{モクフ}ヲ下ニ置寸ハ^{カミ}與^{カミ}フルト
云フ字ヘハカ^{ハル}ラズ^{カミ}以^{カミ}ノ字ヘバカリカ^{ハル}
ルナリ。然レバ。生民ノ内ヲ。一人モノ
コサズ。天ヨリ^{ノコ}與^{ノコ}ヘラルト云意ハナキ
ナリ。生民ノ内ガ^{ノコ}残ルノ^{ノコ}残ラヌノ。盡ク
皆^{センギ}與^{センギ}フルノ^{センギ}盡クハ^{センギ}與^{センギ}ヘヌト云フ^{タダ}僉議ヲバ
云ハズ只^{タダ}既^{タダ}ノ字ガ^{タダ}與^{タダ}ノ字ノ上ニアルカ
ラ。生民^{イマダ}未^{イマダ}生^{イマダ}以前カラ。トヅク
ニ天カラ^{イカヤウ}與^{モノ}ヘラル、其ノ^{モノ}與^{モノ}ヘラルハ
如可様ノ物ヲ。與^{モノ}ヘラルト云ヘバ。仁
義禮智之性ト云フ物ヲ。以^{モノ}テセヌト云フ
ハナキナリ。然レバ。仁義禮智之性ヲ
以^{モノ}テセヌカ。以^{モノ}テスルカト云フ處ヘ。強
クカ^{モノ}ハリタル僉議ナリ。去^{モノ}ルニヨリ。此
^{モクフ}莫不^{モクフ}ノ二字ハ^{カミ}必^{カミ}ノ字ノ意ガ。ヲモキナ
リ。與^{モノ}ヘ物ヘバカリ強クカ^{モノ}ハリテ。コレ
デナイト云フハナキ^{モノ}必^{モノ}ズコレヂヤト云フ

Similar to the original text, the two characters *baku fu* 莫不, are below the character *ki* 既 and above the entirety of the phrase. The character *ki* 既 interacts with the character *maku* 莫, meaning *tokku ni nai*. The characters 莫不 interacting with what is below, interact in both 莫不與 (*ataezuru koto nashi*) and 莫不以 (*motte sezure koto nashi*). However, the two characters 莫不 combined can have the meaning of the character *jìn* 盡 [尽 'exhaustive']. They can also have the meaning of the character *hitsu* 必 ['definitely', 'necessarily']. It corresponds quite accurately to the lower sentence 或不能齊. Similar to this sentence, when putting 莫不 below, it does not interact with the character *atauru* 與フル, but only with the character *i* 以. However, it does not mean that all the people of this world with no exceptions have received it from the Heavens. It is not given a unanimous and definitive claim regarding whether there are people in this world remaining who might have not received it yet. The character *ki* 既, being above the character *yo* 與 means that the people of this world have been receiving it from before their life. If we can say that such a thing has been provided, it means that there is no possibility of the "nature of the *jingireichi*" not being taken. However, it is unanimous that this reinforces the point of whether the *jingireichi no sei* is being included or not. Furthermore, these two characters 莫不 have the meaning of a heavy character *hitsu* 必. Interacting only strongly with the thing being provided, it means *nai to iu koto wa nai*, meaning "it must be so", and there is no unanimity regarding whether

³⁰ The additional reading *zaru* ザル is added on the left side of the character.

○ ○
テ。與ヘラレ手ノ生民ノ内。残ルカ残ラ
ヌカノ僉議ハナキナリ。

among the people of this world, any is still to receive it.

Ogyū is demonstrating the fact that, through the practices of *kundoku*, the meaning that the sentence takes can vary sensibly. In the original quote, the two characters *ma* 莫 and *fu* 不 are both interpreted as expressing negation and are found together, one right after the other, in that order. However, according to the interpretation, they can either negate the word *motte su* – a verbal compound that best translates the English ‘with’ – or the verbs *atau* or *yaru* ‘to provide’. This creates a different nuance that could be simplified as “without the nature of *jingireichi*”, in these last examples, or “not providing the nature of *jingireichi*”, as of the previous examples. In the last examples, the verb “to provide” is positive, and roughly correspond to “if done so/so provided, then there is no way they [the people of this world] do not have the nature of *jingireichi*”. In the former examples, it was the verb “to provide” itself that was negative and used to render the meaning of “If you do not do this, then the nature of *jingireichi* is that which you do not provide”, where the character *i* 以 – previously *motte* – is analyzed as corresponding to the direct object particle *wo*.

Ogyū subsequently (27r-27v) reorders the sentence again, providing a new Japanese reading:

sunawachi sude ni kore ni atae to shite jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto nashi

則既ニ莫ニ與トメレ之ニ不ト云フニ以テセニ仁義禮智ノ之性ヲニ矣

This sentence gets translated as:

sō areba nai sore ni yaru to iu koto wa tokku ni mono wo jingireichi no sei wo denai

トツクニ ナヒヤルト云フハ ソレニデナヒ モノヲ
則レハ 既ニ莫ニ與ニレ之ニ不ニ以ニ仁義禮智ノ之性ヲニ矣

sō areba tokku ni sore ni yaru koto nakereba, jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu

則既ニ莫ニケレバレ與ルレ之ニ不レ以セニ仁義禮智ノ之性ヲニ矣

如クレ此ノ置ク寸ハ。此。訓ト譯ノ如クニ心得
テ。文理ガヨクスムナリ裏ヘ返シテミル寸
ハ。不ニハレ以テヒニ仁義禮智ノ之性ヲニ餘ノ物ヲ
以テスルナリ。仁義禮智ヨリ外ノ物ヲ。ヤ
ルト云フハトツクニ。ナイト云フ道理ナ

When putting them in this way, learning this *kun* and this *yaku*, the *bunri* is well put. When one tries to invert it, meaning “without the *jin gi rei chi no sei*”, then it means with the remaining things. But this means one is specifically not giving other things from the *jin gi rei chi*. When one attempts at interrupting the verse, if one does not say “giving this”, the *jin gi rei*

リ。句ヲ斷^{タチ}テミル寸ハ。之ニ與[○]フルト云フ[○]ナケレバ。仁義禮智ハイラス。與[○]フルナレバ。仁義禮智ヂヤト云フ文法ナリ。然レバ。生民ノ内ガ。殘ルカ殘ラスカト云フ僉議ハ。勿論ナシ。必^{ヒツヂヤウ}定[○]與[○]フル[○]見ヘヌナリ。與[○]フルトナレバ。餘ノ物ヲバ與[○]ヘヌナリ。城^{ヂヤウナシ}無^{トコロトメズト云フ}處^{ヒクハナラ}不^{ト云フ}飛^{ト云フ}花^{ト云フ}ト云フモ。此ノ文理ナリ。

chi is not it. The rule of the phrase specifies that it is the *jin gi rei chi* that is being given. However, it is not being discussed whether there are individuals remaining [i.e., not having received it yet] among the people of this world. Even though they have received, they are not to be seen. If they get to receive it, they are still to receive the other things. Also, the sentence *shunjō tokoro tome hika narazu to iu koto nashi* have the same *bunri*.

Ogyū flips the sentence again so as to provide a new Japanese reading:

sō areba tokku ni sore ni jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto naki wo atau
 則^{レバ}既^ニ與^ニ之^ニ仁義禮智之莫^{キヲ}不^レト云^フ以^テ性^ヲ矣

This is translated as:

sō areba yaru jingi reichi no sono sei wo motte senu to iu koto nai to iu mono wo sore ni tokku ni
 則^{レバ}既^ニ與^ニ之^ニ仁義禮智之^{ソノナヒト云モノヲ}莫^{ヌト云フ}不^レ以^テ性^ヲ矣

As a comment to this, he adds the following remarks (28r):

之^{ナキ}ノ字ノ下ハ。必^ズ。死字ニナルナリ。故ニ。訓ニ^{ナキ}ト點ジ。譯ニ^{ナヒモノ}ト點^{ホドコ}ズ。コレハ文理ノマヽニ。訓ト譯ヲ施^{ナワケナチガヒ}ス。仁義禮智ト性トハ。總メ。名別名異ノ分^{ヂゾ}デ。實^{アヒダ}ハ一物ナル間。カヤウナ文ハ。何クニモアルマジキナリ。今。試ニ字ヲ入カヘテ。文理ヲ論ゼン。

Below the character *shi* 之, there must be a dead character. Thus, in the *kun*, it is annotated as *naki*. In the *yaku* it is annotated as *nai mono*. In accordance with the *bunri*, the *yaku* is improved by means of the *kun*. So-called *jigni reichi* and *sei* are generally divided and distinct according to the name, however, in reality, they are one thing. There is nothing else regarding this type of texts. Now, let's try to insert different characters and discuss this *bunri*.

Ogyū refers here to concepts he discussed in the first volume, concerning the parts of speech. According to Ogyū, the Chinese character *shi* 之, can be adapted into Japanese in two manners, namely: as the particle *no*, expressing possession; or as a

demonstrative pronoun (in the oblique case) *kore ni* or *sore ni*. Either way, he adds that below this character one always finds a “dead” character. That is why, he adds, in the Japanese reading, he annotated the reading of the subsequent character *maku* 莫 as *naki*, while he wrote *nai mono*, in the translation. The grammar Ogyū is referencing here is not classical grammar, where the form *nai* (written as *nahi* なひ) did not exist. But it also does not correspond to Contemporary Standard Japanese, however, it can be deduced from the way he utilized the two inflected form of the adjective *nashi*, that the form *naki* is a “dead word”, just like what he claimed with regard to the adjective *kiyoki* (see 6.1.2) that can function as a noun, thus, being followed, in Ogyū’s sample sentence, by the direct object particle *o*, generally only combining with nouns. The form *nai*, however, is an attributive form, thus requires the reading *nai mono* – where *mono* is used to nominalize it – thus making it “dead”.

Ogyū subsequently (28r) provides the following Chinese sentence, where the *on* reading of each character is annotated:

soku ki yo shi ki do ai raku shi baku fu i ki i
ソク キ ヨ シ キ ド アイラク シ バク フ イ キ イ
則 既 與 之 喜 怒 哀 樂 之 莫 不 以 氣 矣

In contemporary Mandarin, this would be read as *zé jì yǔ zhī xǐ nù āi lè zhī mò bù yǐ qì yǐ*. Syntactically, this sentence is very similar to the last version of the previous one, with the only notable changes being semantic, namely: the substitution of the four characters *jin gi rei chi* 仁義禮智, with the four characters *ki do ai raku* 喜怒哀樂 and the substitution of the character *sei* 性 with *ki* 氣, whereby *jin gi rei chi no sei* is thus substituted with *ki do ai raku no ki*.

之[○]字ノ下。死字ニオルナリ。物ニナ
ルナリコヽデハ喜怒哀樂ヲ細[○]釋[○] 31シ
タル辭ニナルナリ喜怒哀樂ト云フモノ
ハ氣ヲ以テ動カネバ叶ハズ。故ニ文意
喜怒哀樂ト云フ物ノ。ソノ氣ヲ以テ。
動カヌト云フハナイ物ヲ。之ニ與フル
ト云フ意ナリ。與[○]之[○]ノ二字。總メ。上
ニアルカラ。喜[○]字ヨリ下。皆。與ヘ
物ニナルナリ。

Below the character *shi* 之 there is a dead character. It becomes a thing. This becomes a character that interprets the *ki do ai raku* in detail. In the so-called *ki do ai raku* if the phrase *ki wo motte* [‘with the energy’] does not move, [the sentence] does not work. Thus, the sentence would mean that with the energy of the *ki do ai raku*, what does not move gives something that is not to them. As far as the two characters *yo* 與 and *shi* 之 combined are concerned, since they are above, all the things below the character *ki* 喜 are what is being provided.

³¹ The alternative reading *komaka ni toku* コマカニトク is also added on the left side of the characters.

This excerpt demonstrates that the quality of “dead” and the capacity of being able to “move” has also strong implications in the context of the *bunri*, and not only in the *jihin*, as it might have appeared by only reading the content of the first volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*. The Chinese character *shi* 之, always requires a dead word underneath it, and this stays true regardless of the two very different Japanese readings that can be provided for this character. Ogyū explains that the *bunri* dictates the reordering of characters according to logic. For example, in the sentence he quoted above, the character *maku* 莫, that corresponds to a negation *nai*, in Japanese, is put right after the character *shi* 之, analyzed as functioning as a genitive to the nominal compound *kidoairaku*. However, if one does not move the character *maku* 莫 from that position, according to Japanese syntax, the character *maku* would negate the *kidoairaku*, and the sentence would end up meaning that the *kidoairaku* does not exist and, logically, one cannot give (*atauru* 與) something that does not exist. For this reason, the character *i* 以 needs to be moved after (underneath) the character *ki* 氣, that becomes its direct object, and needs to be placed before the character *maku* 莫, that becomes its negation, in the form *ki wo mottesenu to iu koto nai to iu mono o*.³²

This phrasing uses the verb *ugoku* to refer to the movement of Chinese characters in order to provide a *kundoku* reading of a Chinese sentence. This can be taken as a hint as to what the term “to move” also means when it is used regarding the categories of “nouns” and “verbs”. If the verb *ugoku* ‘to move (intransitive)’ refers to the act of displacing a Chinese character within the practice of *kundoku*, one might deduce that the label of *dōji* 動字 ‘moving character’ for verbs could refer to the fact that verbal characters ought to be moved, when translating a Chinese sentence in *kundoku*. Indeed, if one looks at the examples of *kundoku* (be they *kun* or *yaku*) within this chapter on *bunri* from *Kun'yaku jimō*, one would notice that all the characters that are “moved” are either verbal characters (*dōji*) or auxiliary characters (*joji*). Even when a character is moved underneath another one that requires a “dead” character (e.g., under *shi* 之), the character that was moved is a dead version of an “empty” character and never an originally “full” character. Within this chapter there are approximately thirty *kun* or *yaku* renditions of Chinese sentences (depending on how one counts them), and within all of them, the only characters that are “moved”³³ are the following: the auxiliary *sho* 所, read as *tokoro no*, as the past affix *-ta* etc.; the verb *kyō* 教, read as *oshiuru*, *oshie* etc.; the auxiliary

³² For the sake of specificity: *ki o* is the character *ki* 氣; *motte se* is the character *i* 以; *nu to iu koto* is the character *fu* 不; and *nai to iu mono wo* is the character *maku* 莫, based on the *kundoku* provided for the previous sentence.

³³ I have considered a character as “moved” whenever that character presents a *kaeriten*, thus either a *re-ten* or a numeral, except for the number one, or a position, except the “up” position. This is because, if a character is either annotated with “one” or “up” this means that they receive the other character(s) below itself, thus, the character in question is not itself being moved, it is the other characters moving below it. I relied on the list of auxiliaries present inside *Kun'yaku jimō* in the confirmation of whether a Chinese character was to be considered as an auxiliary.

i 以, read as *mochihi*, *motte*, and as the particle *wo*; the verb *kei* 繼 (繼), read as *ato wo tsugi*; the verb *ritsu* 立, read as *tate*; the auxiliary *ma* 莫, read as *nai*, or *nashi* and variations thereof; the auxiliary *fu* 不, corresponding to forms of the negative affix *-zu*; the auxiliary *ki* 既, read as *to(k)ku ni*; the auxiliary and verb *yo* 與, read as the verb *ataeru* or the particle *to*; the auxiliary *shi* 之, read as *sore ni* or the particle *no*; the auxiliary *waku* 或, read as *mo ari*; the auxiliary *nō* 能, read as *naru*; the verb and auxiliary *yū* 有, corresponding to the verb *ari*; the auxiliary *zen* 全, corresponding to the phrase *mattaku suru koto*; the verb *chi* 知, corresponding to the verb *shiredomo*; the auxiliary *ji* 自, read as the particle *yor*; the verb *shi* 至, read as the compound *itaru made* (verb+particle); the verb *nyū* 入, read as *iri*; the verb and auxiliary *kyū* 及, read as *oyobeba*; the verb *kyū* 窮, read as *kiwame*; the adjective *shō* 正, read as *tadashiku* (thus in its adverbial use); the verb *shū* 脩, read as *osame*; the verb *chi* 治, read as *osamuru*.

In the reordering of Chinese characters as to form a sentence coherent with Japanese syntax, there needs to be a fixed methodology. For example, if one could reorder any character at one's own will, the reader would find him or herself to always deal with different notations. It makes sense, thus, to expect the *kundoku* system to be based on a few common rules. One rule that governed the practice was, probably, to never put *kaeriten* (except for “one”, “up” and similar characters signaling the target location of the movement) underneath a “full dead” word. Since in both languages adjectives are placed before the modified noun, this allows the reader to expect that whenever a character is annotated to be moved below in the sentence, that character is either a verbal character or an auxiliary (*joji*), albeit with exceptions. This might also be the reason why adjectival character are called “quiet”. Adjectives are “empty” words; thus, they distinguish from “full” words because they require to be combined with a full word and they need to be conjugated (in Japanese), however, they are not “moving” since they are generally found, within the Chinese sentence, in the same location one would find them in the Japanese sentence. This also explains why Ogyū needed to distinguish between the category of “full” and “dead” even though they are almost always treated together. There are certain characters, like *shi* 之, that, by rule, always require a non-inflecting word after them, a “thing” (*mono* 物), using Ogyū's words. The “dead” use of “empty” characters functions as a non-inflecting form thereof that can be used in such circumstances. Morphologically, Ogyū has already discussed the difference between the “dead” and “lively” use of words, as I have illustrated in 6.1.2.

To make the topic of “dead words” clear, Ogyū adds yet another example from the *Great Learning*, in the phrase *kishitsu no hin* 氣質之稟 “to receive the dispositions”, in the excerpt below (28v):

之ノ字ノ下ハ。必ズ。死字ニナルナ リ。ウケル^{ワザ}ト云ヘバ活字ナリ。事ナ リウケト云^ビウケタルト云ヘバ。一	Below the character <i>shi</i> 之 there must be a dead character. If you say <i>ukeru</i>, then it is lively. It is an action. If you say <i>uke</i> or <i>uketaru</i>, it becomes one thing, however, this is a dead character. Even when read in <i>on'yomi</i> they all become dead

物ニナルナリ然レバ。死字ナリ。音 | characters.
ニヨミテモ。皆死字ニナルナリ。

In Chinese, the character *bǐng* 稟, corresponding to the Japanese verb *ukeru* (“being endowed” or “receiving from someone or something above”), is not conjugated in any fashion. Regardless of its syntactical role within the phrase, the verbal character *bǐng* 稟 always retains its morphological characteristics. In Japanese, this is not possible, since verbs and adjectives must be conjugated according to different parameters. This makes the interpretation and translation of a Chinese text particularly difficult since one needs to deduce, from the context, which Japanese conjugated form a specific Chinese character corresponds to, in each of its uses. In this case, Ogyū claims, the context is clear enough to understand that this character *bǐng* 稟 needs to be adapted into Japanese as a “dead form”. In fact, he adds, the form *ukeru* would be a “lively word”, thus it cannot be the correct reading of the character *bǐng* 稟 since it is featured after the character *shi* 之. Among the viable “dead” versions of the verb *ukeru*, Ogyū provides the form *uke* and *uketaru*.

After this, Ogyū continues by providing a few other examples and sample sentences, to illustrate the meanings and Japanese renditions of other Chinese characters. Afterwards, by the end of this volume 2, on folio 32v, he adds two interesting points that are worth looking at carefully. He writes:

総メ。字ニ。^{ジケイ ジオン}字形字音。字義。字品。字勢
ト云フアリ。字形ハ。^{テンクワクヘンハウ}字ノ點 畫 偏 傍 ナ
リ。コレハ文 章 家ニハ。^{ブンシヤウ カ}サマデイラヌヲ
ナリ。然レト。字義。字音ノ。本トヅク所ナ
ル 間。^{アヒダ}知ライデモナラヌヲナリ。字音。字
義ハ。^{センイチ}專一ニシルベキヲナリ。字品。字勢
ハ。詩ノ。三輕。三緯ノ如シ。字品ハ。粗
ナレバ三輕ノ如シ。字勢ハ。細ナレバ三緯
ノ如シ。コレ皆。一字くノ上ノヲナリ。俱
ニ。一ノ卷ニ委シク見ヘタリ。字用ノ
ハツシュ。^{ウヘ}八種ハ。一字くノ上ノ事ナレト。コレハ。
字ヲ積ンデ。一句。一語ニナリタル時。一
字くノ上ニアルヲナリ。コレモ一ノ卷ニア
リ。サテ。右ノ字品。字勢。字義。字用
ヨクカンベン。^{クミタツ}ヲ。能勘辨メ。一句。一語ヲ。組立ル寸
ニ。上ニ置ク字。下ニ置ク字ノ。分ケヲ知
テ。組立ツルガ。布置ト云フモノナリ。時

Generally, when it comes to characters, we have things like *jikei*, *join*, *jigi*, *jihin* and *jisei*. The *jikei* is the drawing of radicals. This is not something concerning the writer of a text. However, things do not work if one ignores the *jigi* and *jion* of characters. The *jigi* and *jion* must be known. The *jihin* and *jisei* are like the *sankei* and *san'i* of [Chinese] poetry. The *jihin* is like the *sankei*, the *jisei* is like the *san'i*. This concerns each and every character. This can be seen in the first volume. Even if the nine types of *jiyō* [字用 “uses of characters”] also concern each and every character, this is the overlapping of characters, in one phrase, one sentence. This can also be seen in the first volume. Being able to distinguish properly between these *jihin*, *jisei*, *jigi* and *jiyou*, when making a phrase and a sentence, knowing how to tell whether to put a character above or below, this is called *fuchi*. Sometimes, the upper character glares at lower one, that draws the upper one toward itself, according to the logic of speech. This is

ニ。其上ノ字ハ。下ノ字ヲニラミ。下ノ字
ハ。上ノ字ヘヒキテ。脉理。相通ズル所
ガ。文理ナリ。然レバ。布置ハ。人ノ頭身
手足ノ如シ。文理ハ人ノ氣血。筋脉ノ如
シ。頭身。手足。骨肉。皮毛ヲ。ツギタテ
ネバ。人ノ形ハ出来ズ。然レバ。氣血。筋
脉ガ。流通サゼレバ。死シタル人ナリ。ソ
ノ如ク。布置ニテ。語句ノ体ガ立テテ。文理
デ。語句ノ用ヲタスナリ。コレデ。モハハ
ヤ。語句ト云フモノニ。成リタル。漢字ヲ以
テ造リタル語句ニ。唐人コトバト云フモノ
ヨ。サテ其上ニ。分間ト云フモノガアリ。
コレハ。布置ノシヤウマクバリノヨキヲナ
リ。布置文理マデハ。句法ノ巧拙ヘハワタ
ラヌヲナリ。然レバ。語句ト云フモノデハ。
アルナリ。ケリヤ拙キ語句。巧ミナル語句ノ
差別ハアルベキゾ其上ニ分間ト云フモノヲ合
點シタル寸ニ。巧ミナル語句ト云フモノニナ
リテ。唐人コトバノ上手ニナルナリ。タト
ヘバ。頭身。手足。骨肉。皮毛ガ修テ。
氣血。筋脉ガ貫通スレバ。人ハ人ヂヤケ
レバ又或ハ。頭ガ大き過ぎタカ。足ガ短ヒ
カ。手ガ一方長ケレバ。ブナリナル人ナ
リ。ソノ如ク。分間ガアシケレバ。ブナリ
ナル語句ナリ。分間ノヨキハ。ナリ格恰ノ
ヨキ人ト云フモノナリ。

called *bunri*. However, the *fuchi* is like the head, body, arms, and legs of humans. The *bunri* is like the energy, the blood, the muscles, and the veins. If the head, body, arms, legs, bones, flesh, skin, and hair are not held together, one cannot have a human body. However, if the spirit and blood do not flow in the muscles and veins then you have a dead man. Similarly, with the *fuchi* one can raise the “body” [*tai* 体] of the *goku* [語句 ‘sentence and phrases’], in the *bunri*, one adds the “function” [*yō* 用] to the *goku*. In this way, with Chinese characters that make the *goku*, on top of that *goku* that is made, one can get closer to the so-called language of the Tang people, where there is the thing called *bunkan*. This is just the correct spreading of the *chifu*. Until the *fuchi* and *bunri*, the good or bad *kuhō* does not pass through. However, there is the thing called *goku*. There is indeed a difference between a well done *goku* and a badly done *goku*. On top of that, when one has understood the *bunkan*, becoming a well done *goku*, one is good at Chinese. For example, when the bones, flesh, skin, and hair suit the head, body, arms and legs, if the energy and blood flow in the muscles and veins, then a person becomes a person, however, otherwise, if the head is too big, or the legs too short and one arm is longer than the other, that is one ugly person! Similarly, if the *bunkan* is bad, the *goku* is ugly. A pretty *bunkan* is a person with nice looks.

This excerpt expands on the theoretical framework, while also addressing some new issues and concepts. This passage is dealing with the concept of character (*ji* 字), a term he uses to refer to Chinese logograms specifically. He claims that in the understanding of characters, there are six subjects to consider, namely: *jikei* 字形; *jion* 字音; *jigi* 字義; *jihin* 字品; *jisei* 字勢 and *jiyō* 字用. The *jikei*, literally “character-form”, refers to the graphic rendition of Chinese characters, meaning the order of the strokes and the radicals that compose them. The *jion*, literally “character-sound”, refers to the pronunciation of each character. One can assume

this to refer to the *on'yomi* reading of characters that Ogyū annotated – through *furigana* – on top of each Chinese character in the sentence, before providing its *kun* and *yaku* renditions. This should be understood, in the context of translation theory, more as a sort of way to “call” characters, similar to how the letter < b > is called *bee*, in English, when reciting the alphabet, for example. The *jigi*, literally “character-concept” is the meaning of the logograms. The meaning of Chinese characters, corresponds, thus, to a series of Japanese words that are to be used and annotated when providing a Japanese rendition of the Chinese sentence. The *jihin*, literally “character-sort”, is what I have discussed in 6.1.2. The *jiyō*, literally “character-use”, is how each character is employed within a specific sentence. I have covered these in 6.1.2, as well. Ultimately, the *jisei*, literally “character-expressivity” is a bit more complicated, as it is not directly defined. In order to explain this, the excerpt refers to the *Shījīng* 詩經 an ancient collection of Chinese poems that is structured according to so-called *rikugi* 六義 ‘six concepts’. These six concepts are further divided into two groups, namely the ‘three warps’ *sankyō* 三經 and the ‘three wefts’ *san’i* 三緯. The “three warps” correspond to the three concepts of *fū* 風, *ga* 雅 and *shō* 頌; while the “three wefts” are *fu* 賦, *hi* 比 and *kyō* 興. Without going too much into detail, the three warps roughly correspond to poetical genres, while the three wefts correspond to styles or manners of expression. Ogyū compares the three genres to the *jihin*, and the three styles to the *jisei*. One can understand, thus, that the *jihin* corresponds to the types of characters, like genres of poems, while the *jisei* corresponds to the way in which characters are used in order to express specific meanings and concepts. Unfortunately, Ogyū does not really expand on the concept of *jisei* and does not explain how one is supposed to employ it and study it. On the contrary, he proceeds by presenting yet another series of concepts. He relates the concept of *bunri* 文理 with a new term, namely: *fuchi* 布置. The *fuchi* is defined as being able to discern where to place each character according to the *jihin*, *jisei*, *jigi*, *jiyō* and subsequently being able to construct each and every clause and sentence. The *bunri*, instead, is when one can make each character interact with each other, according to the logic of speech. If one looks at the sample sentences above, thus, the *fuchi*, roughly corresponds to being able to put each character in a logical position, while the *bunri*, corresponds to the practice of annotation, meaning being able to understand the logic behind the *kaeriten* annotation. A more intuitive metaphor used by Ogyū to explain the difference between the *fuchi* and the *bunri*, equates the *fuchi* to a human body and the *bunri* to the blood and energy (*ki* 氣) glowing inside muscles and veins. These are references to Chinese traditional medicine, according to which it was believed that veins and muscles were channels through which blood and the “vital energy” flowed. In this metaphor, the *fuchi* corresponds to the different body parts that are essential to make a human. Without them you cannot have a body. However, without the *bunri* – the vital energy – the *fuchi* is nothing more than a dead body. Subsequently, Ogyū expands this metaphor, by stating that the *fuchi* raises the “substance” (*tai* 体), while the *bunri* adds the “functions” (*yō* 用). As I have discussed in Chapter V, the characters *tai* 体 and *yō* 用 have been used by Japanese scholars to refer to “nouns” and “adjectives/verbs” respectively. However, the way Ogyū uses these concepts

only indirectly points at these categories. He claims that the *fuchi* allows the writer and the translator to build up the body of the text, meaning to order the Chinese characters that are necessary to create a sentence. However, since these characters are not put into a linguistically logical order, from the Japanese point of view, then one needs to understand the correct *bunri*, which allows Chinese characters, to move, interact and conjugate according to a sensed Japanese morphosyntax. The rules governing these interactions are comparable to those governing a healthy human body. Going back to the word classes, as illustrated by Ogyū in volume 1, I can now re-interpret them as referring to linguistic concepts by considering them as organs of a body. The subsequent point does precisely that, as can be read below (34r):

布置ノ事。一ノ卷ヨリ^{シル}記ス所ノ。語ノ
斷續ナリ。字ノ死活ナリ。静死ノ字
^{アヒダ}ハ。陰ナル間。^{ウケ}下ガ。上ヲ承テハ。
重キ^{クハン}下ニアリ。動活ノ字ハ。陽ナル
間。上ガ。下ヲ管メハ。上ヲ以テ。義
理落著スルナリ。然レ^{イチレツ}亡。死字ト死字
ト一列。活字ト活字ト一列ニハ。ナリ
テヲラスモノナリ。死活入リマザル
^{アヒダ}間。^{アガ}或ハ上リ。^{サガ}或ハ下リテ。
^{サクソウヘンクハ}錯綜變化スルナリソコデ。語ノ斷續
^{シュツタイ}ト云フ物ガ出^{インヘイ}來スルナリ斷續升^{シャウカウ}降
ノ入リマザル處カラ。因並ト云フ。一
出^{アヒヨリ}來スルナリ。因トハ。^{アガ}一^{クダ}字ヅハ
相因テ上リ。相因^{ブンガウ}テ下ル^{イゾ}ナリ。並
トハ。其内ニ。キレ^{シメ}ぐ。ハナレ^{シメ}ぐナル
字ヲ。ナラベタルナリ。ソノ因並ヨ
リ。分^{シメ}合ト云フ^{シメ}出ルナリ。圖ヲ以テ
コレヲ示ス。

As far as the *fuchi* is concerned, these are the connections-interruptions (*danzoku* 斷續) of language, as written in the first volume. It concerns the “dead” and “lively” [use] of characters. When a “dead quiet” character is feminine [陰], the lower part receives the upper part. This is heavy; thus it goes below. When a “moving lively” character is masculine, the upper part ties up with the lower part, thus the proper duty (*giri* 義理) is defined based on the upper part. However, one cannot have two dead characters or two lively characters in succession. Dead and lively characters must be inserted scattered through the text, sometimes going up, other times going down, thus making changes while inserting them in a scattered fashion. This is how one can obtain the flow of the language. The scattered insertion [of characters] in the upper and lower position within the flow, allows us to obtain what we call *inhei* 因並. The *in* 因 is when each character meets and either goes down or goes up. The *hei* 並 is when, after doing that, the characters that are sparse and separated, are properly ordered. Based on this *inhei*, we obtain the *bungō* 分合.

This excerpt deals with two main topics. Firstly, it states that the *fuchi* is no different from the previously mentioned (see 6.1.2) *danzoku*, that corresponds to the distinction between Shizuki’s and Motoori’s *tsuzuki kotoba* and *kiruru kotoba* (see 8.2). This *danzoku* is specified by the characters being “dead” or “alive”. However, Ogyū also adds two new concepts, central in Taoism: the Yin (*in* 陰) and the Yang (*yō* 陽). He claims that “dead quiet characters”, meaning nominalized adjectives, are Yin, while “lively moving characters” are Yang. He claims that dead adjectives are

considered Yin because the lower character receives the upper one, and the heavy part is in the lower character. Verbs are Yang, instead, because the upper character has control on the lower one, so the meaning is established by the upper part. I assume this to be a reference to the fact that adjectives are placed before the modified noun, in Japanese, meaning that the “heavy” part, the “head” of the phrase, will be below, while since verbs are placed at the end of phrases, what “controls” them, meaning the subject, is always above. The term Yin is thus used in order to refer to the instance in the combination of characters, whereby the “head” of the compound is in a lower position, in the vertical writing, while Yang is the opposite, meaning that the character that defines the meaning of the compound is found above.

Ogyū afterwards introduces another concept, called *inhei* 因並 (likely pronounced *inpei*). The *inhei* is composed of two steps: firstly, the *in* 因 is when two characters meet and combine and they move either upwards or downwards, while the *hei* 並 is the arrangement of such characters that were previously split and scattered. From this *inhei* one obtains the *bungō* 分合. This new concept is not further explained in words, however, Ogyū draws a series of schemes illustrating precisely this. The first scheme, that can be seen below, addresses the *bungō* 分合 of the series of characters found in the first sample sentence I have quoted at the beginning of this paragraph, namely: *yǐ rén yì lǐ zhì zhī xìng* 以仁義禮智之性.

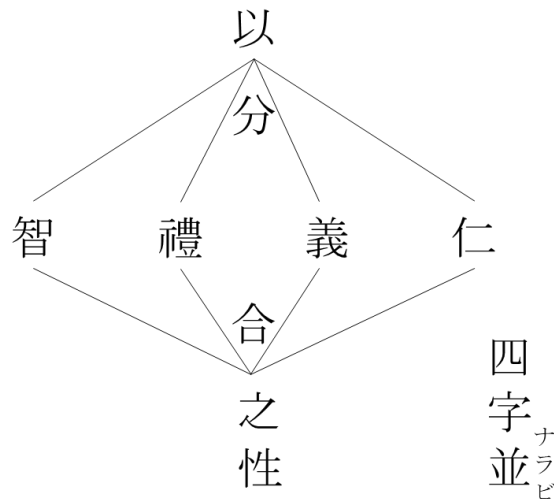


Figure 8 Illustration of the function of *bungō* in a sample sentence, from *Kun'yaku jimō* from Waseda University's 文庫 17 W36.

This phrase, that Ogyū generally adapted into Japanese as *jingireichi no sei wo motte*, references four values of Confucianism, namely: *jin* 仁 ‘benevolence’; *gi* 義 ‘human relations’; *rei* 禮 (礼) ‘rites’; and *chi* 智 ‘wisdom’. All these characters are

connected by means of the character *shi* 之 ‘of’, to the character *sei* 性 ‘nature’, and are introduced by the character *i* 以, that functions similarly to a conjunction “with”, “by means of”. In the interpretation of this sentence, however, the four characters *jin* 仁, *gi* 義, *rei* 禮 and *chi* 智 all interact individually with the characters *shi* 之 and *sei* 性. According to the *bungō* 分合, thus, the characters first split (*bun* 分) after the character *i* 以, meaning that they are to be interpreted as “with/by means of” (*i* 以) the “nature of the *jin*” (*jin no sei* 仁之性), the “nature of the *gi*” (*gi no sei* 義之性), the “nature of the *rei*” (*rei no sei* 禮之性) and the “nature of the *chi*” (*chi no sei* 智之性). However, the characters combine (*gō* 合) into the phrase *jingireichi no sei* 仁義禮智之性, with *i* 以 being read as *motte*, and moved, in the Japanese sentence, after the compound, to which it connects by means of the particle *wo*. As Ogyū adds, this table illustrating the *bungō* – the division and combination of characters – does not only work in the making of a *inhei* 因並 of these four characters, but it can also refer to broader structures, including an entire text.

6.1.3 Conclusions

The first two volumes of Ogyū Sorai’s *Kun’yaku jimō* contain a complex essay on translation, with specific focus on the practice of *kundoku*, by means of which one can render a Chinese text into Japanese. The first point raised by Ogyū is, in fact, on the nature of translation itself. Ogyū distances himself from the traditional practice of *kun* 訓 – the Japanese reading of a text – in favor of a new series of techniques that allowed a Japanese scholar to actually “translate” (*yaku* 訳) a Chinese text. It is only in function of translation that Ogyū engaged with linguistic and grammatical issues, in the first place. Ogyū’s focus is on evidencing the fact that Chinese and Japanese are two different languages, and the contents of Chinese texts (*kanbun* 漢文) need to be analyzed as a foreign language. In order to become a professional translator, one needs to pursue all the subjects that fall under translations studies.

The first level is *jigi* 字義. The subject of *jigi* studies the interpretations of characters. Many Neo-Confucians books have been published about it, during the Edo period, belonging to the genre TUCKER (1998 & 2006) calls with this very term. It is within this sub-level of translation studies that one finds the categories that are used by Shizuki to refer to Dutch grammatical vocabulary, such as “empty-full” (*kyo-jitsu* 虚実), “quiet-moving” (*sei-dō* 静動) and “dead-lively” (*shi-katsu* 死活).

After mastering the *jigi* of characters, one can engage with the subject of *bunri* 文理. The *bunri* is the principle/logic of a text. It teaches how to logically bring the characters together, according to Japanese morphosyntax. This subject is very complicated as Ogyū demonstrates that to each Chinese sentence corresponds one Japanese reading (*kun*) yet, possibly, many translations (*yaku*) according to how one interprets the *bunri*. It is only by understanding Ogyū’s conception of *bunri*, I believe, that one can also understand what those categories he named in the *jigi* really mean. It is in the level of *bunri* that one sees these categories in action and understands why they are distinguished and on what basis.

As I will discuss in Chapters VII and VIII, Shizuki too was interested in translation, and this is probably why he reached out to sources such as Ogyū's book. Nonetheless, (Neo-)Confucian studies on translation were apparently not sufficient for Shizuki as he also relied on Motoori Norinaga's theories, from the *kokugaku* school, that I will present in the following paragraph 6.2.

6.2 Theory of language by Motoori Norinaga

Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730 – 1801) was born in the city of Matsusaka 松阪 in the Ise 伊勢 province and moved to the city of Kyoto at the age of 23, where he was trained as a physician for six years. During that time, he developed an interest in *kagaku*, the study of Japanese poetry, as well as *kangaku* 'Chinese studies', and began his research on Japanese and Chinese literature. Afterwards, he returned to his hometown continuing both his medical job and his research on the ancient language used in the classics of Japanese literature. He thus published several annotated and commented versions of literary works, such as *Kojiki-den* 古事記伝 (between 1790 and 1798) or *Genji monogatari tama no okushi* 源氏物語玉の小櫛 (1796). The analysis of the language used in these texts made him understand the necessity of developing instruments to describe Japanese. Thus, Motoori is also known for his publications on language. His language-related works comprise *Gengo katsuyō-shō* 言語活用抄 (1781), covering the conjugation of inflecting words in Japanese, *Jion kana-zukai* 字音仮字用格 (1776) on the phonetic use of *kana*, and *Kanji san'on-kō* 漢字三音考 (1785), concerning the pronunciation of Chinese characters (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 248). His most relevant publication in the context of the present research is *Te ni wo ha himo kagami* てにをは紐鏡 (1771), presenting a table illustrating the inflecting patterns of Japanese verbs and adjectives and their affixes. The table lists, for each ending or affix, the *shūshikei*, the *rentaikei* and the *izenkei*, which are the general forms resulting from the interaction of the main predicate of the sentence and a particle, in the relation that is nowadays called *kakari-musubi*. The theory upon which this relation is based is explained in *Kotoba no tama no o* 詞の玉緒 (1785), by means of real usage of the language found in citations from the classics. This last book is cited by Shizuki and influenced Shizuki's understanding of grammar.

Motoori Norinaga is mostly known as a scholar of *kokugaku*, a term that he did not favor personally, preferring terminology that did not put his scholarship in contrast with *kangaku*, the 'Chinese studies'. This idea is expressed in his other work *Ui yama bumi* うひ山ぶみ, where he writes the following:³⁴

物学³⁴とは、皇朝の学問をいふ。そもくむかしより、たゞ学問とのみいへば、漢学のことなる故に、その学と

The term *mono manabi* 物学 ('learning things'), refers to the studies on our empire. Since ancient times it has simply been called "study" (*gakumon* 学問), but when "Chinese studies"

³⁴ Original quote from TANAKA (2020, 6). My English translation.

わか
分むために、皇国の事の学をば、和
あるひ
学 或 は国学などいふならひなれど
なり
も、そはいたくわろきいひざま也。
みづからの国のことなれば、皇国の
学をこそ、たゞ学問とはいひて、漢
学をこそ、分て漢学とふべきことな
れ。それもし漢学のこととまじへ
いひて、まぎるゝところにては、皇
朝学などはいひもすべきを、うちま
かせてつねに、和学国学などいふ
ヨソ
は、皇国を外にしたるいひやう也。
おらんだ
もろこし朝鮮於蘭陀などの異国より
こそ、さやうにもいふべきことな
わが
れ、みづから吾国のことを、然いふ
しか
べきよしなし。

(*kangaku* 漢学) started, in order to distinguish between this study and that of our empire, we began using words such as “Japanese studies” (*wagaku* 和学) or “National studies” (*kokugaku* 国学). These are, nonetheless, very bad terms. This is our country. Precisely because it is the study of our empire, then we should simply use the term “study” to refer to it and use *kangaku* to distinguish Chinese studies from it. If one judges it possible that it could be confused with *kangaku*, then one could use terms such as *kōchōgaku* 皇朝学 (‘studies on the empire’), yet terms such as *wagaku* and *kokugaku* imply looking at our empire from the outside. They take the point of view of foreign countries such as the Tang people, the Koreans or the Dutch, thus it is not a good manner of referring to things of our own country.

Motoori is trying to define Japanese culture and literature in a way that allows it to be referred to without the employment of exogenous elements and interpretations of what Japan is, or ought to be. Terms such as *wagaku* and *kokugaku* can only exist if one first postulates the existence of something that is not “Japan” or is not “our country”. This is why Motoori believes that, when talking about Japanese studies, a Japanese should just use the general term of “study” (*gakumon* 学問), that does not imply a distinction with the foreign. A similar but opposite perception of the term *kokugaku* and *kokugo* is displayed, nowadays, in the thesis according to which these terms, by virtue of containing the character *oku* 国 ‘country’ are better used by natives – i.e., the Japanese – to refer to their own country’s language and culture, as opposed to the more “neutral” *nihongo*, that simply means “Japanese language”. This position is embraced by MABUCHI & IZUMO (2021, 1) in their history of Japanese linguistics, originally published in 1999. They begin with the premise that “[...] foreigners can call the language of the Japanese as *nihongo*, but they cannot call it *kokugo*”.³⁵ They add that the term *kokugo* is unique to Japanese, Chinese and Korean, while all European languages lack such a term and refer to their own language with words such as English, *français* or *das Deutsche* that allegedly point to them from an external standpoint. This type of reasoning is not particularly dissimilar from Motoori’s assertion, although the term *kokugo*, deemed by Motoori himself as pointing exceedingly toward the “outside”, is now being promoted as the term that represents a completely endogenous nomenclature, to the point where foreigners are, supposedly, not allowed to make use of it. Furthermore, the endogenous point of view of terms such as “English” is still to be demonstrated, and

³⁵ Original quote: “外国人は日本人の言葉を「日本語」と呼ぶことはできるが、「国語」と呼ぶことはできない”.

the lack of corresponding words to *kokugo* is also questionable, as phrasings such as *vaderlandsche taal* ‘fatherland’s language’, for example, were anything but rare up until the recent past.³⁶

Motoori believed that disregarding the Chinese influences on Japan was necessary in order to understand the language and message contained in the Japanese classics. The Chinese “heart”, or *karagokoro* 漢意, as he called it, needed to be abandoned when trying to understand the “purer” way of the classics, along with Confucianism. This is because he saw a smaller influence from the foreign philosophies in the language and culture expressed by the Japanese classics, that had become unintelligible as a consequence of the corruption of the Japanese way and the Japanese language (TAJIRI 2012, 137-138). Similarly to Ogyū, he understood that modern awareness could not be used to understand the “heart” of the Japanese who authored the classics, thus calling for a readoption of an older form of language. Unlike Ogyū, though, who believed in the fundamental utility of “popular” spoken language (俗語), in order to make contemporary Japanese people understand the teachings of the past, Motoori was much more holistic in his favoring the classical language, displaying a tendency to write, even his “essays”, in a *kango*-free fashion, with strong awareness of the historical use of *kana*.

The influence from Motoori Norinaga on Shizuki is undeniable, and this can be claimed not only from the fact that this is one of the two Japanese sources Shizuki cites directly, but also from the general understanding of how verbs functioned in Dutch, particularly in his twenty-seven sentences in *Seizenfu* (see 8.4.4). The work *Kotoba no tama no o* is the only source of Motoori’s that is directly quoted by Shizuki and, as such, I will provide a general presentation of its contents, theory and methodology.

6.2.1 *Kotoba no tama no o* and the (re)discovery of *kakari-musubi*

The work *Kotoba no tama no o* serves the purpose of illustrating through real-language examples the use of *kakari-musubi* as drawn in the table of another work by Motoori, titled *Te ni wo ha himo kagami* てにをは紐鏡. A *kakari-musubi* is a particular grammatical construction of Old and Early Middle Japanese, that was rather outdated in the spoken language of the 18th century, but that was preserved in classical-style written Japanese. In most Old and Early Middle Japanese sentences, the predicate ought to end in a *shūshikei* form, that signals the end of the sentence. When a specific particle appears, called *kakari*, the predicate, the *musubi*, turns into a different form from *shūshikei*, according to the specific particle used. There are five such particles, namely: *zo* ぞ; *koso* こそ; *namu* なむ (also *nan* なん); *ka* か; and *ya* や. They are mostly used to identify the focus of the sentences and/or to turn

³⁶ Note also that the three examples of “foreign countries” that Motoori mentions include the land of the Dutch. This element mirrors the importance that the Republic had in the context of the cultural discourse in Edo Japan, particularly when it comes to the definition of the Japanese culture in contrast with the foreign. The Dutch are listed along with China (the Tang dynasty) and Korea, two countries that undoubtedly had had a much longer cultural and historical interaction with Japan.

the sentence into a question. When one of these particles is added, the final verb must end in a *rentaikei*, except for *koso*, that requires an *izenkei*. Most *kakari-musubi* appear in the middle of a sentence, except for *ka* that is also found at the end. FRELLESVIG (2010, 249-252) identifies one main use as focus construction, comparable to the *thema-rhema* distinction in traditional Greek grammar, although for poetic uses is not rare to find these *kakari-musubi* contributing to the construction of a sentence holding an exclamative, interrogative or doubting nuance in meaning. The term *kakari-musubi*, that could be literally translated as ‘hanging-tying’, refers to the two elements that interact in this grammatical construction. The predicate corresponds to the specific *musubi*, that “ties up” the sentence, in agreement with the previous *kakari*. FRELLESVIG also points out that, although traditionally *kakari-musubi* were seen as an automatic agreement rule, more recent studies emphasize the syntactic differences between sentences with and without *kakari-musubi*.

In *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori Norinaga deals with this topic in a slightly different fashion as compared to modern approaches. The first section of this work is a long table that is based on *Te ni wo ha himokagami*. Firstly, he identifies eight types of “particles”, that he divides in “three columns” (*misuji* 三條). These three columns are ‘right’ *migi* 右, ‘center’ *naka* 中 and ‘left’ *hidari* 左, according to the order in which they appear in the table. The entirety of the first part of this book presents this division for each verbal ending such *kakari* can combine with. The table is called by Motoori *himo kagami no misuji no ōtsuna* 紐鏡の三條の大綱 “The great net of the three columns of *himo-kagami*”.

As for the manner in which linguistic phenomena are illustrated, Motoori Norinaga mostly relies on the language of *waka* in order to draw examples of historically attested grammatical forms. This is not dissimilar to what Ogyū did. Ogyū, as a Confucian interested in the Chinese language, often relied on Chinese-language quotations from Confucian sources, like the *Great Learning*. I would argue that the centrality of the sample sentences in both authors and schools of thought is an element of fundamental agreement in the way languages were studied in Edo Japan. I would argue that drawing sample sentences from authoritative sources in order to provide what was conceived of as the most correct use of the language was an approach to language-learning very well established in Japan, regardless of the school. As discussed in Chapter III, the Dutch often did the same. Of course, depending on the personal persuasion of the scholar, what was regarded as a source worthy of citation varied. What Confucians regarded as authoritative sources were, obviously, Confucian sources that implies an embedded sense of sacrality and religiousness of these written texts. Such sacrality was of fundamental importance, as seen in the introduction to Ogyū’s *Kun’yaku jimō*, on folio 3v, volume 1, where he wrote the following claim explaining the difference between the Confucian school (*jugaku* 儒学) and the Japanese *waka* school:

儒学ハ。勿論侍ノ道ナレト。中華ニハ。	Even if Confucianism is also a way of the samurai, in China there are people

セイジン

聖人ト云フ人ガ出デタリ。日本ハ。聖人ノナ
 ブ イツバウ ヘン
 キ國ユヘ。ソノ侍道ガ。武ノ一 方ヘ偏ナル
 處ガアルゾ。

called “saints” [*seijin* 聖人]. Japan is a country without “saints”. For this reason, the way of the samurai is a part of warfare.

Ogyū is implying that the study of *waka* is ideologically inferior to the study of the Confucian school in that Confucianism is a Chinese philosophy, created by *seijin* 聖人 ‘saints’, a specific type of people that do not appear in Japan. The samurai, who are at the top of Edo Japan’s social structure, are not “saints” and their study of the Japanese *waka* is still connected to the philosophy of war, and the cultural establishment of the *bushidō* 武士道, ‘the way of the warrior’. In Ogyū’s judgement, this makes the study of *waka* an inferior scholarship as compared to the Confucian school, since it lacks a justification in sacrality.

Motoori Norinaga does not agree with this claim, yet he does not disregard the argument of sacrality, at all. In *Kotoba no tama no o*, in fact, he opens the introduction with the following remark:

てにをはは。神代よりおのづから萬
 のことばにそなはりて。その本末を
 かなへあはするさだまりなん有て。
 あがれ世はさらにもいはず。中昔の
 ほどまでも。おのづからよくとゝの
 ひて。たがへるふしはをさゝゝなか
 りけるを。世くだりては。歌にもさ
 らぬ詞にも。このどゝのへをあやま
 りて。本末もてひがむるたぐひのみ
 おほかるゆゑに。おのれ今此書をか
 きあらはせるは。そのさだまりをつ
 ぶさにをしへさとさんとてなり。

The *te ni wo wa* have been afforded to us, since the era of the gods, in the form of countless words, and have been established in their [position at the] end or beginning (*moto-sue*).³⁷ There is nothing more to be said regarding that time. Even until less ancient times, we have orderly used them completely without mistakes. Yet, with the passing of the ages, we have started misunderstanding that order, even in the words of the poems [i.e., *waka*]. Because there are many misconceptions with their type, concerning their positioning at the end or beginning, I will now discuss them in the present book. That established [order] shall be thoroughly and accurately discussed and explained.

Motoori states the sacrality of the Japanese language or, rather, a specific graphical-grammatical feature of the Japanese language, that finds its origin in the era of the

³⁷ The term *moto-sue* 本末 literally means ‘root-tip’. It is used often in *Kotoba no tama no o*, though, I would argue, with two different nuances in meaning, that somehow overlap in poetical studies. As attested in *Kogorei-kai jiten* (on page 446), the character *sue* 末 can be used with the meaning of “(ultimate) effect” (何かが行われた、その結果。あげくの果て). Alternatively, the character *sue* 末 can also be used as a synonym of *shita no ku* 下の句 ‘lower verse’ (as attested in the same source, on page 447), where the term *moto* 本 opposes to it, with the meaning *ue no ku* 上の句 ‘upper clause’ (same source, on page 806). Within *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori uses both nuances, probably reinforced by the fact that, according to Japanese syntax, the lower clause often includes the resolution of the setting described in the upper clause (e.g., protasis and apodosis, in the hypothetical sentence).

gods, referring to the *kami* 神 of the creation myth in Shinto, the native religion of Japan. The implication consequential to believing that the Japanese language was a gift from the gods to the Japanese people is that any variation from its original form is a deviation from what the gods intended. Consequently, Motoori wants to reconstruct and reestablish the purest form of classical Japanese that (n)ever existed. What can be assumed, regarding Motoori's description of the language of the *waka*, is a preference of prescriptivism and formalized use of language, and a disregard of the description of linguistic tendencies and natural uses of a variety of Japanese that was, in the 18th century, mostly kept alive through conservative uses of written language, and copies of ancient sources. This is to say that Motoori Norinaga's description of Japanese cannot be interpreted as a description of 18th-century Japanese, written or spoken, nor can it be interpreted as a description of classical Japanese either, as his prescriptivism must have inevitably led to a constructivist approach, superimposing his preferences and expectations upon the linguistic patterns he found, that were less consistent in oral uses. Keeping this in mind, I will now provide a concise overview of Motoori's description of Japanese grammar, that concentrates on the phenomenon of *kakari-musubi* since, as will be discussed in Chapter VIII, his theories and methodologies have strongly influenced Shizuki's.

As I mentioned, Motoori divides his table in three sections or 'branches' (*misuji* 三條): *migi* 右 'right', *naka* 中 'middle' and *hidari* 左 'left'. Each of these "branches" corresponds to a variable number of Japanese particles that, in the context of *kakari-musubi*, influence the conjugation of the predicate it relates to. The particles in the right branch are those that require the predicate to end in a *shūshikei*, that can be considered the "unmarked" ending of Japanese sentences. The particles in the center are those requiring the sentence to end in a *rentaikei*, that is otherwise generally used in relative clauses. The particle *koso* こそ, that is the only particle present in the left branch, requires a *izenkei* form, that would otherwise not be found without another affix attached to it. In the right branch, agreeing with a *shūshikei*, there are the particles *wa* は and *mo* も, and the Chinese character *to* 徒, for which the reading *tada* is provided in *furigana*. While *wa* and *mo* need no introduction, the Chinese character *tada* 徒 is used to refer to the instances where no particle is used at all (徒とははもぞのや何こそなどいふのなきを今かりにかくいふ也). Clearly, with no specific particle, there is no element influencing the conjugation of the final predicate. In the central branch, agreeing with a *rentaikei*, there are the particles *zo* ぞ, *no* の, *ya* や and the Chinese character *ka* 何. This Chinese character is used to refer to many words that could be called interrogative pronouns, while Motoori still categorizes them as *te ni wo ha*. The complete list of the particles in this category present in *Kotoba no tama no o* is: *tare* たれ 'who', *iku* いく 'how much', *ikani* いかにか 'to what extent', *nado* など 'etcetera', *nani* なに 'what', *izure* いづれ 'which', *itsu* いつ 'when', *nazo* なぞ 'why', *taga* たが 'who(se)', *izu* いづ 'where', *ika* いか 'how much'. In the last branch, the left one, agreeing with an *izenkei*, only *koso* こそ is to be found. Table 34 illustrates this more concisely:

Position	Left 左	Center 中	Right 右
Particles	<i>koso</i> こそ	<i>zo</i> ぞ <i>no</i> の <i>ya</i> や Interrogative pronouns 何	<i>wa</i> は <i>mo</i> も None 徒
Conjugation	<i>izenkei</i> 已然形	<i>rentaikei</i> 連体形	<i>shūshikei</i> 終止形

Table 34 Illustration of the three columns in Motoori Norinaga's *Himo kagami* table.

At this point, one might wonder why only three out of the six predicative forms are considered here, by Motoori. The reason, as already said, is that the *kokugakusha*, in this work, is only presenting the *kakari-musubi* phenomenon, and not the entirety of Japanese verbal-adjectival inflecting patterns. The two “particles” interacting in the *kakari-musubi* phenomenon tie the whole sentence up in a clamp of morphosyntactic agreement. What I have called “particles”, here, is referenced to as *te ni wo wa* by Motoori. Motoori uses this term to refer to all the elements involved in the phenomenon of *kakari-musubi*. In the introduction to *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori adds the following remarks, regarding these particles (vol. 1, p. 1):

○近き代に或人。てにをはからぶみ漢文の助字の如しをいへり。此言あたれるやうなる故に。さることのみ心得する人おほかゞめり。ますにいとよく似てはあれども。しか思ふは猶てにをはをよくしらぬものになん有ける。そのゆゑはかのからぶみの助字をいふなる物は。その本と末とをあひてらして。かなへあはするさだまりはなきものなるを。てにをはゝ。たしかに此さだまりのあと有て。いさゝかもたがひぬれば。言の葉とゝのはず。歌も何もすべていたづらごとになんなるめるを。いまだしきともがらはさる物にて。近き世には歌よくよむと思ひて。いたくこれに心する人だに。とりはづしては。ほゝゆがめもてそこなふたぐひ。よにおほきぞかし。さるをかの助字といふ物と。もはら同じことゝのみ思ひとりたらんには。此本末をばかなへんものともおもひたどらで。たゞおのか心にまかせつゝ物すべからめれば。いよくいみしきひがすのみ引出なんものをや。

In recent times, some have been saying that the *joji* 助字 of Chinese texts are similar to the *te ni wo ha*. Since this claim might be appropriate, there are many people who only learn this. Although they might look very similar, one might never really know the *te ni wo ha*, if one conceives of them simply this way. Furthermore, when one refers to Chinese *joji*, comparing them to the *moto* and *sue*, there is no established matching, while in the *te ni wo ha* there are certainly traces of such “establishment” (*sadamari*) which, when sensibly differing, words do not get orderly in place. In poems, and anything else, it probably becomes completely useless, being this an incomplete relationship [between the two]. In recent times, of the people who believe they are correctly reading poetry, with the exclusion of those who understand this, there are many who are doing damage by stating the untrue. Had them just completely relied on our own “heart” without ending up thinking unreasonable distortions on the *moto-sue*, such as assuming these *joji* to be completely identical [to the *te ni wo ha*], that would have been to us a highly appreciated gift.

Motoori addresses a plethora of interesting issues, in this excerpt. Firstly, similarly to Ogyū, he acknowledges the fact that the Chinese category of *joji* had oftentimes been compared to the Japanese *te ni wo ha* and, just like Ogyū claims, although there are, indeed, similarities, the two do differ sensibly. Motoori seems to suggest that one could simplify the explanation of these two categories of speech by comparing them to each other for practicality in more casual conversations. However, if one intends to properly read “poems” (*uta* 歌) – meaning *waka* 和歌 – thus, classical written Japanese – then one would need to properly distinguish between them and learn the specifics of the Japanese *te ni wo ha*. There are a few specific characteristics of the Japanese *te ni wo ha* that make them differ from the Chinese *joji*. From a philosophical – and nationalistic – point of view the *te ni wo ha* are godly gifts, afforded to the Japanese by the *kami* a long time ago. From a linguistic point of view, instead, it could be said that the Japanese *te ni wo ha* differ, from the Chinese *joji*, in two aspects, namely: the “established arrangement” and the *moto-sue* relationship. The “established arrangement”, for which one generally finds the terms *sadamari* 定まり ‘establishment’ and *totoi* 整い ‘to arrange’, ‘to put in order’, refers to the idea that the *te ni wo ha* were given to the Japanese people in a well-established and fixed distribution, within the Japanese language. This distribution is considered, by Motoori, specific to the Japanese language and endangered by the inconsiderate use of it by the more contemporary Japanese people. Since well into the Edo period, linguistic phenomena of Japanese were still mostly conceived of as a series of displacements and substitutions of characters, their “established arrangement” refers to the correct manner of enacting such substitutions. One peculiar example of the arrangement of the *te ni wo ha* is referred to, by Motoori, with the terms *moto* 本 ‘basis’, ‘root’ and *sue* 末 ‘tip’ or ‘end’, as I have addressed above.

In order to understand what these two concepts refer to, one should look at one sample sentence used by Motoori, to explain the effects of specific *te ni wo ha* in influencing the form of a clause-ending adjective. The sentence *ariake no tsurenaku mieshi wakare yori akatsuki bakari ukimono wa nashi* 有明のつれなく見えしわかれより暁ばかりうきものはなし (“I could clearly see the moon of Ariake, since parting with that chilled person, there has never been a harsher time than before dawn”), that he took from *Kokin wakashū*, is placed on the right column, meaning it requires a *shūshikei* form, and under the *wa* class. Indeed, Motoori underlines the character *ha* (read *wa*), corresponding to a topical particle. The other character that is underlined is *shi*, the last one, that represents the *shūshikei* ending of the adjective *nashi* ‘no’, ‘non-existent’. Had there been a different particle than *wa*, for example one belonging to the “left” side of the table, like *koso*, then there would have been an *izenkei* form, that would have turned that *shi*, into a *kere*. An example of this, is another *waka*, that Motoori also takes from *Kokin wakashū*, reading *kokoro koso utate nikukere somezaraba utsurou koto mo o shikaramashi ya* こゝろこそうたてにくけれ染ざらばうつろふ事もをしからましや (“If my heart does not get tainted by not caring [about you], would I feel saddened by my heart changing, as well?”). In this sentence, Motoori underlines the “particle” *koso*, that expresses focus on the preceding element, and the characters *kere*, here the *izenkei* ending of

the adjective *nikushi* 憎し ‘detestable’, ‘unlikeable’. These two examples portray how Motoori envisioned the “established arrangement” of the *moto-sue* interaction of the Japanese *te ni wo ha*, according to which it is the presence of *koso* in the second example, and of *wa*, in the first one, that influences directly the “arrangement” of the character *shi*, instead of *kere*, where *shi* and *kere* are two different inflected endings of Japanese adjectives.

The book *Kotoba no tama no o* is composed of seven volumes, each containing subparagraphs covering different aspects of Japanese grammar. The structure of the work is as follows:³⁸

- **Volume 1** 一の巻: Introduction (総論); Poetic evidence of the three changes (三転証歌);
- **Volume 2** 二の巻: The *te ni wo ha* which change the above from the end of the sentence (留まりより上へかへるてにをは); Overlapping *te ni wo ha* (重なるてにをはの格); Irregularities (変格); The sort transferring to real songs (本歌にゆづる格); *Te ni wo ha* in out of tune songs (てにをは不調歌 廿一代集の内をむねとあぐ選集の外はことごとくはあぐるにたへざる故に。おほくはもらせり); Songs with single cases of mistaken *te ni wo ha* transcription (一本にてにをはを写し誤れる歌).
- **Volume 3** 三の巻: *ha* は; *ba* ば; *mo* も; *zo* ぞ; *no* の; *ga* が.
- **Volume 4** 四の巻: *ya* や (doubt); *ya* や (exclamation); *ya* (plurality); *ka* か; 何の類 (‘pronoun’ type)
- **Volume 5** 五の巻: *koso* こそ; *to* と; *do* ど; *wo* を; *ni* に; *te* て; *de* で; *na* な; *mi* み; *yo* よ; *ne* ね; *shi* し; *raku* らく; *maku* まく; *keku* けく; *kashi* かし.
- **Volume 6** 六の巻: *musubikotoba* むすびことば (*shi* し; *zu* ず; *nari* なり; *keri* けり; *nu* ぬ; *tsu* つ; level 19 to 32 of *Himokagami*; *n* ん; *ran* らん; *ken* けん; *nan* なん; *mashi* まし; *rashi* らし; *tsutsu* つゝ; *kana* かな; *gana* がな), see 8.6.1;
- **Volume 7** 七の巻: *inishie buri* 古風 “Ancient style”

As it can be seen, the entirety of the content of this work concentrates on the category of *te ni wo ha* and to the comparative study of how they behaved in the language of the classical masterpieces. In the first volume, there is also an introduction presenting the historical and theoretical framework within which Motoori operates, parts of which I have already presented above, together with the main table that illustrates what one could understand as the “regular” functioning of *te ni wo ha*, in the context of *kakari-musubi*. This section is called *Santen shōka* 三転証歌 ‘Poetic evidence of the three changes’, where the “three changes” refer to

³⁸ From FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 253-254).

the *shūshikei*, *rentaikei* and *izenkei* forms, in this order. These variations are demonstrated by *waka* quotes from the classics, wherein each of the *kakari* particle interacts with one of the affixes in a specific form out of those three. The second volume presents some specific uses of *te ni wo ha* that might fall outside of the cases presented in the first volume. Particularly interesting is the paragraph on the overlap of more *te ni wo ha*, that refers to the combined use of more *te ni wo ha* in a single string of words, a similar phrasing to what Shizuki uses in the context of compound verbs in Dutch, of which more will be discussed in 8.4.1. I would also like to shed some light on the paragraph titled *henkaku* 変格 ‘Irregularities’, since this is also a term adopted by Shizuki, in *Rangaku seizenfu*. The introductory explanation to this section claims that (vol. 2, p. 13):

これは上にぞ の や 何等の辞をお
かずして。ぬる つる なる ける せ
る るゝ ぬ_不し_{過去}など結ひて。定め
る格にはづれながら。てにをは不レ
調とは聞えぬ歌共を。今かりに変格
となづけて。こゝに出せり

In these, one does not place *zo*, *no*, *ya*, *nani* etc. They connect [*musubi*] with *nuru*, *tsuru*, *naru*, *keru*, *seru*, *ruru*, *nu* (negation), *shi* (past) etc., while being the exception to the established type, together with poems in which *te ni wo ha* are not heard in dissonance. These we would call *henkaku* [‘irregularities’] and are shown here.

These “irregularities” are all instances in which specific predicates are featured in their *rentaikei* form, even though there are no *zo*, *no*, *ya*, *nani* types of *kakari* particle, which is what one would expect otherwise, if they found a predicate (*musubi*) in that form. One could consider these, thus, as irregular exceptions of the use of *kakari-musubi*, that are, nonetheless, part of the “established” (*sadamari*) distribution of Japanese *te ni wo ha*.

In volume 6, Motoori writes a chapter titled *musubi (no) kotoba* (that he spells as both むすびのことば and むすび辭). This chapter covers a few affixes that Motoori had expressly not written in the forty-three levels (四十三段) of the *himo kagami* table. However, he writes, these are still to be considered *musubi kotoba*.

紐鏡三転四十三段。又そのほかな
るも。すべて結び辞を此巻に出せ
り。其中にことなることなき辞
は。はぶきていささず。

The 43 levels of the three changes in *Himo kagami*. Also, all those *musubi kotoba* other than those in that work are here presented. Among them, those which do not present variations have been excluded and will not be covered.

In this chapter, Motoori covers a few additional affixes or alternative forms of specific affixes, that he did not put in his *himo kagami* table. It will be especially clear that this section was closely studied by Shizuki, as I will claim in 8.6.1. To raise one example, I will illustrate how Motoori describes the first *musubi kotoba* in this chapter, relative to the characters *shi* and *ki*. As I have mentioned, most *musubi* words present three inflected forms (三轉), that correspond to the three forms that concern the phenomenon of *kakari-musubi*. This *musubi-kotoba*, however, only has

two, and that is because the two characters *shi* and *ki* actually correspond to two different morphemes of Japanese. Motoori writes the following (vol. 6, p. 1):

おほよそしときと相轉る言に三つのかはり有。一には紐鏡第一段。
 右の行りし。中の行りき。左行はけれ也
 これ也。二には第二段。右の行りし。中の行りしき。左行はしけれ也 これなり。三には第三段。右の行りき。中の行りし。左行はしか也 これ也。第四段第五段は第三段に同じ。さて此三つの中に。上二段第一第二のしは。いはゆる現在のし。
 下三段第三第四第五のしは。いはゆる過去後世の名目。にしにのみのしなり。現在過去の稍有て。きには此稍あることをきかず。そもく此五段ともに。しときとは。たゞその言の切るゝと。下へつゞく所とのけぢめにて。上のてにをはにしたがひて。かはるのみにこそあれ。意は全く同じくて。きにもしのごとく。現在過去の意はあれば。上二段のきは。現在のきといふべく。下三段のきは。過去のきといふべきにこそかくて上二段は。はも徒のかゝりの時しと結び。ぞのや何のかゝりのとききと結ぶを。下三段は。うちかへしてはも徒のかゝりのときと結び。ぞのや何のかゝの時しと結ぶ。此事初學のともがらはまどひやすし。紐鏡と此一の巻の三轉證歌とをよく考へ合せてわきまふべし。

As a whole, in the conjunct variation of [the characters] *shi* and *ki*, there are three changes. The first is what I drew in the first level of *Himo kagami*: right column *shi* and middle column *ki* (the left column is *kere*). The second is the second level: right column *shi* and middle column *shiki* (the left column is *shikere*). The third is the third level: right column *ki* and middle column *shi* (the left column is *shika*). The fourth and fifth levels are the same as the third one. Furthermore, in the two upper levels (levels one and two), the *shi* is the so-called “present *shi*”. The *shi* in the lower three levels (third, fourth and fifth) is the so-called “*shi* of past”. (In the name given by the later generations, *shi* has only the name of “present” and “past”. You do not hear any name for *ki*. Originally, also the fifth level, this *shi* and *ki* and their *kiruru* versions, they only change in the conjunction with the *tsuzuku* below, according to the *te ni wo ha* above, though the meaning stays the same. Even *ki*, just like *shi*, has the meaning of present and past. In the two upper levels, *ki* is called *ki* of present. In the lower three levels, *ki* is called *ki* of the past.) Thus, the two upper levels, with a *kakari* of the *wa*, *mo*, *tada* type, you have *shi* as a *musubi*. With a *kakari* of the *zo*, *no*, *ya*, *nani* type, you have *ki* as a *musubi*. With the lower three levels, it gets inverted. With a *kakari* of the *wa*, *mo*, *tada* type, you have *ki* as a *musubi*. With a *kakari* of the *zo*, *no*, *ya*, *nani* type, you have *shi* as a *musubi*. This issue easily confuses our colleagues of the elementary study. I discuss extensively this in *Himo kagami* as in the first volume [of *Kotoba no tama no o*] in the [chapter] Poetic Evidence of the Three Changes.

This excerpt demonstrates the main vocabulary used by Motoori in the description of Japanese grammar. Referencing the table drawn in *Himo kagami*, Motoori calls its columns *kudari* 行り (also called *misuji* 三條) and the lines “levels” *dan* 段. There are forty-three such “levels”, all referred to with cardinal numbers (第一段, 第二段 etc). The three columns are mentioned by their position in the table, namely “left” (*hidari* 左), “middle” (*naka* 中) and “right” (*migi* 右). Each column refers to one “mutation”, referred to with the character *ten* 轉 (転), likely read *korogari*, literally ‘to roll over’. The *te ni wo ha* referred to by the term *kakari* ‘to depend on’, ‘to hang on’ correspond to what are nowadays called “particles” (*joshi* 助詞), while

the *te ni wo ha* referred to by the verb *musubu* ‘to connect’ correspond to the verbal/adjectival affixes (nowadays *jodōshi* 助動詞). The first five levels of the *Himo kagami* table present the morphemes of specific affixes that possess *ki* and *shi* as viable forms, yet in different context. The first level features the adjectival endings of *-ku* adjectives (among which Motoori includes the ending for the affix *-beshi*). These are conjugated as *-kere* (left column, i.e., *izeneki*), *-ki* (middle columns, i.e., *rentaikei*) and *-shi* (right column, i.e., *shūshikei*).³⁹ The second level features the adjectival endings of *-shiku* type adjectives. These are conjugated as *-shikere* (left), *-shiki* (middle) and *-shi* (right).⁴⁰ The third level features the past affix *-ki*. This is conjugated as *-shika* (left), *-shi* (middle) and *-ki* (right).⁴¹ The fourth and fifth levels are a bit different from the others. Firstly, their left column is empty, suggesting such form (*izenkei*) not to exist. Secondly, they present the conjugation of the past affix *-ki* combined with either the affix *-nu* (fourth level) or the affix *-tsu* (fifth level). The fourth level, thus, presents the two forms *-nishi* (middle) and *-niki* (right);⁴² while the fifth level features the forms *-teshi* (middle) and *-teki* (right).⁴³ As one can notice, in most of these conjugated forms the syllables *ki* and *shi* are present, yet not always in the same column. These syllables, although really being different realizations of different morphemes, were probably sometimes confused by the Japanese of the Edo period and, for this reason, Motoori believed it necessary to distinguish among them precisely. In this explanation, he also mentions what he calls “the names of the later generations” (*gose no meimoku* 後世の名目), whereby he probably meant that that terminology is not found within the classics, yet it represents a later coinage by scholars of the classics. He distinguishes between a “past *shi*” (*kako no shi* 過去のし) and a “present *shi*” (*genzai no shi* 現在のし), with the former referring to the *shi* found in the middle column in the third, fourth and fifth level (*rentaikei* of past affix *-ki*), while the latter referring to the *shi* found in the right column in the first and second levels (*shūshikei* of the endings of both types of adjectives and that of the affix *-beshi*). This excerpt will be fundamental to understand Shizuki’s explanations in 8.6.1. In Motoori’s vocabulary, the term *musubi* and *musubi kotoba*, thus, referred to the *kana* relative to all the adjectival/verbal affixes and endings. In the chapter titled *Musubi kotoba*, Motoori is not introducing a new concept, he is only expanding on some less-clear issues concerning a few affixes/endings he already listed in the *Himo kagami* table or introducing a few elements – still acknowledged under the concept of *musubi kotoba* – that were not properly featured in that table (e.g., the words *ari* and *nari*).

³⁹ For example, the *-ku* adjective *yoshi* ‘good’ is conjugated as *yokere* (left column), *yoki* (middle column) and *yoshi* (right column). The affix *-beshi* is conjugated as *bekere* (left column), *beki* (middle column) and *beshi* (right column).

⁴⁰ For example, the *-shiku* adjective *ureshi* ‘happy’ is conjugated as *ureshikere* (left), *ureshiki* (middle) and *ureshi* (right).

⁴¹ For example, the verb *ii* ‘to say’ is conjugated as *iishika* (left), *iishi* (middle) and *iiki* (right).

⁴² For example, the verb *chiri* ‘to spread’ (generally referring to the spreading of the petals of cherry blossoms) is conjugated as *chirinishi* (middle) and *chiriniki* (right), with *-ni* being the *ren’yōkei* of the affix *-nu*. I discuss the two affixes *-nu* and *-tsu* in 8.2 and 8.4.8.

⁴³ For example, the verb *ii* ‘to say’ is conjugated as *iiteshi* (middle) and *iiteki* (right), with *-te* being the *ren’yōkei* of the affix *-tsu*.

Kotoba no tama no o by Motoori Norinaga represents something that one could compare to a dictionary of grammar, based on citations from the classics. The entirety of this work is focused on the analysis of those parts of speech that Motoori calls *te ni wo ha*, that are considered, to some extent, the Japanese parts of speech corresponding to the traditional Chinese *joji* “auxiliary” class of words. The *te ni wo ha*, according to Motoori, exist, in Japanese, as a divine concession that the people have started misusing, in the course of time, slowly losing the ability to “properly order” them (*totonoi*), according to the correct manner that the *kami* have “established” (*sadamari*), back when Japanese was created. The reasons why so much attention was given to the category of *te ni wo ha* could be explained in many ways. As claimed above, the *kokugaku* school was trying to defend the claim that that of the Japanese could be considered a complete culture that could exist regardless of the historical Chinese influence. The *te ni wo ha*, thus, required to be made special *vis à vis* their Chinese counterpart. Justification for this was found in the allegation of divine intervention in the creation and distribution of such particles. On more practical terms, instead, since these *te ni wo ha* solely held grammatical meaning, understanding them correctly in the context of centuries-old forms of the Japanese language was, often, a difficult task even for educated individuals, in 18th century Japan. An explanation with more modernized tools was, thus, certainly required for those approaching the exegesis of such ancient works. And that was Motoori's overt goal. At the same time, Motoori was also promotor of what he believed to be a better use of language, that ought to be based on such standards set by the classics. The myth of the divine intervention was, certainly, functional to the justification of his stringent prescriptiveness of proper use of Japanese and its morphosyntax. It is, indeed, morphosyntax which is laid in the focus of Motoori's research, trying to find fixed, “established” patterns in the use of such grammatical elements and particles. The “discovery” of *kakari-musubi*, by Motoori, is not simply self-serving. In fact, it could be said that Motoori was part of a movement that really discovered syntax, in the context of the Japanese language. Motoori did not only schematize and collect the rules of conjugations dependent on this specific category of speech, but he also expanded the discourse toward the idea that sentences cannot be understood as a series of independent phrases only connected by logic, but as pieces that coordinate and influence each other, also from a purely grammatical standpoint. If one understands Motoori's explanation of *kakari-musubi* as a much broader phenomenon than what one generally means with this term, one can understand that this “hanging-tying” relationship could be expanded to the entirety of the grammatical relationships between the *te ni wo ha*.

6.3 Conclusions

In the present chapter, I have presented the ideas and philosophies of the Neo-Confucian Ogyū Sorai and the *kokugakusha* Motoori Norinaga, with specific focus on their theories on language and translation. The two have been central individuals in the development of the culture and literature of Edo Japan. The importance that both gave to historical and classical sources is one of the causes that led them to deal with issues related to language. On the one hand, Ogyū needed to learn Chinese in

order to read Confucian texts, while on the other hand, Motoori needed to learn an older version of Japanese that was not quite intelligible anymore. This encounter with linguistic intelligibility sprouted the motivation to pursue investigations on language, in order to be able to read the much-cherished documents.

Motoori's approach was quite distinct from that of Ogyū. With *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori made a series of morphosyntactic phenomena of classical Japanese explicit which had mostly died off in the linguistic sensibility of the Japanese of his time. He also provided a very specific theoretical and methodological framework. Firstly, he believed that the rules of Japanese are preestablished and fixed; any diversion is to be interpreted as a corruption of the original form of the language from its divine conception. Secondly, he demonstrated how those rules can be deduced by reading analytically the classics of poetry and by noticing patterns of language use. Furthermore, Motoori, by discussing Japanese grammar, also provided concepts and terms concerning linguistic features that do not exist in Chinese but do exist in Dutch, like conjugation.

Ogyū's introduction to translation, instead, provided a way to conceptualize written text as the written form of a lively spoken language, aiding the idea that *kundoku* was but a practical expedient developed in the past by the Japanese to interpret the written form of the language of the Chinese. His pseudo-morphologic categories, most of which derived from Chinese philosophical concepts, provided a way to distinguish characters in groups according to which a Japanese translator could conduct a translation. They were not meant to be "grammatical" categories per se, but they eventually indirectly referred to grammatical issues by virtue of the fact that different Chinese characters represent different Japanese words which correspond to different word classes. Furthermore, the rest of Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō* contained what one might call a "glossary" of auxiliary characters. This glossary belongs to the *jigi* genre, and more specifically to the "Thoughts on Auxiliary Characters" sub-genre and probably provided Shizuki with a Sino-Japanese counterpart to European dictionaries. This is probably how Shizuki approached Marin and Halma's works, namely, by interpreting them as Dutch *jigi* books, from which he selected specific words that did not belong to the "empty" and "quiet" dichotomy, in order to compile his own *Joshi-kō*.

In the following chapter, I will analyze how Shizuki treated morphological and morphosyntactic issues, within his manuscript, evidencing how what just argued influenced his description of Dutch and its theory of grammar.

CHAPTER VII

Parts of Speech in the Works of Shizuki Tadao

Een oud zendeling, die meer dan 20 jaren in China, Cochinchina en Siam had doorgebracht, zeide mij eens: “volgens mijne ondervinding vindt men in de taal van een volk, de uitdrukking zijner beschaving, zijner deugden en ondeugden”, en in de meeste opzichten is dit zeer juist. Maar het woord beschaving heeft in vele landen nog eene te betrekkelijke waarde; wat de Oosterling beschaafd noemt, noemen wij barbaarsch, en omgekeerd; en als wij zien dat in het jaar 1866, in het midden van Europa nog bloedige oorlogen gevoerd worden, deels om persoonlijke opvattingen ten uitvoer te brengen, deels uit materieel winstbejag, deels om het regt der sterksten te huldigen, dan moeten wij toch toegeven, dat dit al zeer wonderlijke uitingen zijn van eene beschaving, welke zich beroemt aan het hoofd te staan van, en tot voorbeeld te moeten dienen aan alle volkeren der aarde.

An old missionary who spent more than 20 years in China, Cochinchina and Siam told me once: “according to my findings one can see in the language of a people the expression of its civilization, its virtues and vices”, and in most cases this is correct. However, the significance of the word civilization still is, in many lands, too relative; what the Easterners call civilized, we call barbaric and vice versa; seeing that in the year 1866 bloody wars are still being waged in the heart of Europe, partly for personal persuasions, partly for material gains and partly in honor of the right of the strongest, then we must admit that these are quite surprising expressions for a civilization that prides itself for being the head of, and example for all the peoples of the Earth.

Johan Lidijs Cathrinus Pompe van Meerdervoort (1829 – 1908) in *Vijf Jaren in Japan (1857–1863)*, p. 278

7. Parts of speech in the works of Shizuki Tadao

7.1 *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*

One way to find out whether the disputed *Sensei bunpō* belongs to Shizuki's bibliography is by analyzing its morphological categories. One remarkable difference between *Sensei bunpō* and the other works of Shizuki, such as *Joshi-kō* (7.2) and *Rangaku seizenfu* (7.3), is the fact that in *Sensei bunpō*, the categories of speech are covered starting from the Dutch word and by only subsequently providing a Sino-Japanese corresponding concept and a Japanese translation of the Dutch name, generally coining a calque. This means, for example, that when nouns are introduced, they are called *zelfstandig naamwoord*, and are thus explained in their use and meaning. Only subsequently, is the term *zelfstandig naamwoord* compared to the Sino-Japanese category of *jitsugo* 実語, and translated quite literally into *jiritsu meigo* (*myōgo*?) 自立名語 'self-standing name-word'. In the two other two works I have mentioned, the Dutch term does not consistently appear first, often only appearing in a secondary position to the Sino-Japanese term, as I will show below.

Judging by the morphological classes presented in this manuscript (2.4.1), it appears probable that the author took the Dutch names and concepts from the legend of abbreviations found in Halma's dictionary (see 4.2). It seems unlikely that this specific division of word-classes comes from a grammar book since there actually is no general "verb" category, and verbs are directly split into "active" and "neuter" instead. As argued, the category of verb is generally acknowledged in Dutch grammars at the time. Dictionaries, instead, tended to directly split verbs into the two categories. In fact, in both Marin and Halma's dictionaries, a label "verb" was not needed since all verbs were always categorized as either active or neuter in the entries. It thus seems likely that the division of categories in *Sensei bunpō* was based on one or more dictionaries as source for grammatical information. I will argue below that Halma was the main source, for *Sensei bunpō*, although some terms do come from Marin. Furthermore, not all terms from Halma's legend have been adopted, and some might come from the main body of the dictionary itself.¹

¹ One specific example is the term *onduitsch woord* 'non-Germanic (Dutch) word', that is used both by Marin and Halma to refer to words with overt French, Latin or Greek origin. As I have discussed in Chapter IV, in the list of abbreviations found in Marin's dictionaries, the term *onduitsch woord* is not featured, and that remains true across the editions. Marin does use the label *onduitsch woord* within the dictionary itself. As for Halma, in the first edition, there is no such a thing as a legend of abbreviations. The term *onduitsch* is only used in this source in the definitions of the entries. The legend of abbreviations added from the second edition onwards does include the abbreviation *ond. w.*, for *onduitsch woord*. However, since Shizuki claims, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, that he makes use of the first edition, no other edition should be necessarily assumed to have been read by him without substantive evidence. However, as I have already mentioned, in 2.4.1, there are elements in *Sensei bunpō* that do suggest the possibility that a different edition of Halma's dictionary was consulted for the compilation of this very manuscript.

In *Sensei bunpō* there are eight main parts of speech, covered in the following order:

1. Noun: *zelfstandig naamwoord*;
2. Adjective: *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*;
3. Adverb: *bijwoord*;
4. Active verb: *werkend werkwoord* or *zijdig werkwoord*;
5. Neuter verb: *generlijk werkwoord* or *onzijdig werkwoord*;
6. Preposition: *voorzetsel*
7. Conjunction: *koppelwoord* or *voegwoord*;
8. Non-Dutch words: *onduitsch woord*.

If one compares this list with the legend of abbreviations in Halma's dictionary (see 4.2), from the second edition onwards, one can notice an almost perfect match.² All the terms are the same, including the term *bijvoegelijk* for adjective, whereas Marin used *toevoegelijk*. Furthermore, right after presenting the categories of speech, *Sensei bunpō* covers the *onvolmaakte tijd* 'imperfect tense' of verbs that is the last entry to the legend of Halma's dictionary. Whenever one finds a term that is not used in Halma, the author claims to have taken it from Marin, such as *onzijdig* for "neuter" and *zijdig* for "active" verbs, although this last one seems to be a misnomer, since Marin uses the term *werkend* for active verbs, just like Halma. It could still be possible that this list of categories of speech just happened to be in the same order as the legend found in Halma's dictionary from the second edition onwards, whereas the terms could still have been taken from the first edition, by running into them across the entries. However, there is further evidence that the author of *Sensei bunpō* did indeed refer to a later edition of Halma. This is supported by comparing the entries to the Dutch words listed in *Sensei bunpō* as examples of *voorzetsel* 'preposition', that are only categorized as such in Halma from the second edition onwards, as can be seen in Table 35:

Preposition	Marin (3rd ed)	Halma (1st ed)	Halma (2nd ed)
<i>Onder</i>	Adv.	Byw.	voorzetsel
<i>Buyten</i>	Byw.	Byw.	voorzetsel
<i>Agter</i>	Prep.	Byw. (spelled <i>achter</i>)	voorzetsel (spelled <i>achter</i>)
<i>Tusschen</i>	Adv.	Voorz.	Voorzetsel

Table 35 Comparison of the labeling of four prepositions found in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* across different editions of Marin and Halma's dictionaries.

As can be seen from this table, in both Marin's third and Halma's first edition, these words were mostly treated as adverbs, labeled *adv.* in French, or *byw.* in Dutch.

² The legend found in Marin's dictionary is rather different in order and content, as can be seen in 4.3.

They become prepositions only from Halma's second edition onwards. All these hints, including those discussed in 2.4.1, lead me to assert that *Sensei bupō* was compiled mostly based on a later edition of Halma's dictionary. This implies that, if *Sensei bupō* is to be considered a work of Shizuki, he must have had access to at least two different versions of Halma, probably in two different moments of his life, specifically because in *Rangaku seizenfu* it is claimed that the first edition of Halma was the one the author had used, and the contents of *Seizenfu* partially align with the contents of the first edition of Halma.

As far as the category of nouns is concerned, it is initially claimed that these are words that possess both a "body" and a "filling" (有体有実). This can be interpreted in different manners, however, as discussed in Chapter IV. The character for 'body' 体, or 'substance' in TUCKER (2006), was used by many Japanologists to refer to nouns in opposition to adjectives and verbs that were grouped together in the category of *yō* 用 'use', which TUCKER (2006) translates as 'function'. Furthermore, the character for "full" 実 is a clear reference to the Sino-Japanese "full-empty-auxiliary" system, where "empty" words/characters included adjectives and verbs. Thus, a noun would be the "body" that is moved via the combined use of adjectives and verbs. One is also reminded of the metaphor Ogyū Sorai used to explain the distinction between *fuchi* 布置 and *bunri* 文理, whereby the *fuchi* was the "body", the "substance" (体) of the text, while the *bunri* was that which allowed to move the body, to "use" (用) it, via the blood and "energy" (氣) flowing through the veins (see 6.1.2.1). The *tai-yō* dichotomy was also used, by Ogyū, within what he called *jihin* 字品. This dichotomy was a subcategory of "full words", and it specifically referred to characters expressing "bodies/substances" (*tai* 体) or "sub-parts of bodies" (*yō* 用). For example, the character *moku* 木 'tree' was considered a *tai* 体, while *yō* 葉 'leaf' and *kon* 根 'root' are both "uses/functions" (*yō* 用).

Additionally, nouns are explained on the basis of their semantics. It is claimed that nouns are the "names of all things" (萬物ノ名) and of "all actions" (萬事ノ稍). Furthermore, nouns are defined morpho-syntactically. The explanation is based on the specific morphosyntactic use of Chinese characters, but is extended to Dutch, eventually running into a contradiction that is not acknowledged in the manuscript. It is claimed that the Chinese character *kō* 行 'to go' belongs to this category, namely "nouns", in sentences such as *senri no yuki* 千里ノ行, possibly from the Chinese quote attributed to Laozu *qiānlǐ zhī xíng, shǐyú zú xià* 千里之行, 始於足下, roughly meaning "Even a thousand miles journey starts from the first step". The same character would cease to belong to nouns if the sentence were *senri o yuki* 千里ヲ行, where the particle *no* of the previous sentence is substituted with the particle *o*. This explanation is based on *kanbun* and it requires knowledge of the theory of *kanbun kundoku* to be understood. The Japanese particle *no* ノ is used to express possession, connecting two nouns; in the sentence *senri no yuki* 千里ノ行, that would literally mean "the going of a thousand miles". Here, both *senri* 千里 "thousand miles" and *yuki* 行 "going" are to be considered nouns. If one were to substitute *no* with *wo* ヲ, a Japanese particle that indicates the direct object, then the

character *kō* 行 needs to be a verb and the sentence would be understood as meaning “to go a thousand miles” as in “to travel for a thousand miles”. This explanation is reminiscent of a section in Ogyū Sorai’s *Kun’yaku jimō* (see 6.1.2.1), where the author clarifies some of the uses of the Chinese character *shi* 之, which often corresponds to the Japanese particle *no*, and the following is written: “after [below] the character *shi* 之 there must be a dead [死] character” (之ノ字ノ下ハ必ズ死字ニナルナリ). This was claimed in the comment to the sentence *kishitsu no hin* 氣質之稟 roughly ‘to receive the dispositions’, a citation from the *Great Learning*, which is morpho-syntactically comparable to the example found in *Sensei bupō*. The character *hin* 稟, meaning ‘to receive from above’, is originally a “lively” character, referring to an action, thus corresponding to the Japanese verb *ukeru*. However, since it is used after the character *shi* 之, which always requires a dead word after it, one needs to understand it as a “dead” character and pronounce it accordingly as *uke* or *uketaru*, in Japanese. This is an issue characteristic of *kanbun kundoku*. In Chinese the character *hin* 稟 is pronounced the same, regardless of its role within the sentence. In Japanese, a language with verbal conjugation, that same character can correspond to many different forms of the verb *ukeru*, including its nominalized forms, depending on the syntactic role of the character *hin* 稟 within the sentence, hence the necessity of clarifying whether a specific Chinese character needs to be understood as “dead” or “lively”.

In *Sensei bupō* it is further claimed that the same also applies to adjectival characters, as in the sentence *manri no kinan* 萬里ノ危難 ‘the danger of ten thousand miles’, where the character *ki* 危 functions as “dead”, with the meaning of ‘danger’, even though it would originally be a *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*, thus an adjective. This is claimed in the following excerpt from *Sensei bupō* (2r):

Zelfstandig naamwoord 有体有実
ノ語也凡萬物ノ名及萬事ノ稍皆
是ニ属ス仮令ハ千里ノ行萬里ノ
危難ト云ヘハ行危難類トス又千
里ヲ行ト云ハ行ノ字則 w: w:也
gaan ナリ前ニアル行ハ gang 也
危難ハ gevaar 也

Zelfstandig naamwoord. They have body and filling. The names of all things and actions belong to this. For example, when one says *senri no yuki* 千里ノ行 and *manri no kinan* 萬里ノ危難, they are the types of *kō* 行 and *kinan* 危難. However, if one says *senri wo yuki* 千里ヲ行, the character *kō* 行 is an active verb [w:w:] and corresponds to *gaan*. The previous *kō* 行 is *gang* and *kinan* 危難 is *gevaar*.

Here there is a problematic claim that seems to be based on Japanese morphosyntax, but that is actually extended to include that of Dutch, making the claim incorrect. In fact, the verb *gaan* ‘to go’ cannot be considered an active verb in Dutch and neither Marin or Halma claim this.³ However, since one can have a direct object with the

³ There are instances in which the verb *gaan* could be considered transitive, as in the phrase *Ik ga mijn eigen weg/pad/gang* ‘I go my own way/path’, though I have not found, in contemporary dictionaries either, much support to the idea of the possibility of considering *gaan* a verb that can be used as transitive, and its use as such would be, indeed, limited to this

character *kō* 行 in Japanese, *Sensei bunpō* considers it as a w:w:, that is both Marin's⁴ and Halma's abbreviation for *werkend werkwoord* 'active verb'. Shizuki reports that, while the Chinese character *kō* 行, in *kanbun*, can play the role of either a verb or a noun, according to the context and, in the specific case of his example, according to the particle preceding it, in Dutch the transformation of the verb *gaan* – that semantically corresponds to the Chinese character *kō* 行 – into a noun also requires a modification of the pronunciation and spelling, resulting in the substantive noun *gang* '(the) going'. I will return to the category of verbs, as described in *Sensei bunpō*, further below. The explanation of nouns continues by covering genders (2r-2v).

右 zelfstandig naamwoord ノ内ニ三種アリ一ニ曰 mannelijk~ニニ曰 vrouwelijk~ 也此差別甚タ辨シ難シ或ハ曰ク其言自ラ殊也ト然レ oorlogs god mars ハ z.m.ニメ舶上ノ mars ハ z: v 也又曰婦人ニ附タル語及ヒ陰物ノ名ト然レ wijf ト云寸ハ婦人ノヲナレレ尚 z. v. ニアラスメ z. g. 也其定メ難キヤ此ノゴトシ曾テ蘭人ニ問トモ亦其詳ヲ得ス依テ此ヲ虧テ知者ヲ待ノミ又 geenerleg zelfstandign ハ右ノニツノ中也或又曰此等皆初音ノ強弱ニヨルト唯 zelfstandignaamwoord ニ而已此別アリテ他種ノ語ニ是ナキハナンリヤ

右実語譯ニ自立名語ト其語三種一曰男自立名語二曰女自立名語三曰中間自立名語

Amongst the *zelfstandig naamwoord* we saw on the right, there are three sorts. One is said *manneijk*, the other *vrouwelijk*. The difference between these two is rather difficult to say. We can say that it depends on the characteristic of each word. However, *oorlogs god mars* is masculine, while a *mars* on top of a vessel, is feminine. Furthermore, the word *wijf*, meaning "wife", although referring to a woman, is not feminine but neuter. I have tried asking a Dutchman the specifics of this complex establishment, but I could not get much of a detailed answer. I will wait for someone with deeper knowledge. The *geenerleij zelfstandign[aamwoord]* is in between the former two. I other words, all these distinguish between *zelfstandig naamwoord* according to the intensity of the initial sound. The other types of words do not have this.

These are "full words" and translated "self-standing name-word" (*jiritsu meigo* 自立名語). The first is said *dan-jiritsu meigo*, the second is a *jo-jiritsu meigo* and the third is a *chū-jiritsu meigo*.

This excerpt provides specific labels for the nouns according to their grammatical gender, another element that could be derived from Halma's legend. In Japanese, genders are referred to either with the Yin-Yang dichotomy or with the characters for "man" (*dan* 男) and "woman" (*jo* 女). Neuter is called in Dutch *geenerlij* and is translated as *chūkan* 中間, in Japanese. It is claimed that the neuter gender lies in between the other two. I have not been able to find a similar claim in a Dutch

sample sentence, where the argument *mijn eigen weg* can be considered different from a direct object, anyway. Furthermore, the verb *gaan* cannot be made passive, thus not qualifying as an active verb according to either one of the two parameters.

⁴ Marin, in his legend, does provide the abbreviation w.w. as a possibility of labeling *werkend werkwoorden* 'active verbs', however, as illustrated in 4.2, he prefers using the abbreviation v.a., from the Latin *verbum activum*.

source. The Dutch term for “neuter” does not refer to a middle position per se, either. The term *geenerlij* derives from the adjective *geen* ‘no’, in this case meaning ‘neither’. The other term used in Dutch for the neuter gender of nouns is *onzijdig*, which *Sensei bunpō* only uses to refer to neuter verbs. It literally means ‘non-sided’. I assume that the translation into *chūkan* was an elaboration on the concept of “neither” or “non-sided”, thus “in the middle”.

Furthermore, this excerpt is also an interesting testimony to the difficulties both the Japanese and the Dutch encountered when dealing with the grammatical gender of nouns. Shizuki recognizes the fact that, even though the names of the genders refer to the human sexes, the same grammatical gender does not always correspond to the same sex. This is the case of the word *wijf* ‘woman’, ‘wife’, for example, which is grammatically a noun of the neuter gender, although it refers to a female human. Additionally, Shizuki also provides the example of two homophones and, to some extent, also homographs that distinguish in gender. The word *mars*⁵ can be used to refer to the “god of war Mars”, in which case it would be of the masculine gender, however, when it refers to the “crow’s nest”⁶ on top of a vessel (*hakujō* 舶上), it becomes feminine. The author further claims to have asked Dutchmen for clarifications on how gender works, but that he has not received any clear answers, and he is thus waiting for a more enlightened person to solve this unclarity. This line of reasoning really evidences the way the author understood the Dutch language, in relation to its written form. For a person used to Chinese characters as written language, an identical writing must imply an identical unity of meaning. In this, the Dutch word *mars* “alternates” between being masculine and feminine in a similar way in which the Chinese character *kō* 行 alternates between being a noun and a verb, according to the use (morphosyntax) one makes of it within a specific sentence. The Japanese author did not, thus, understand the two meanings of *mars* as incidental homophones that would consequently be written identically according to Dutch spelling rules, but rather as one unity of meaning that is employed in two different contexts with two different meanings in accordance with which its grammatical gender varies. It is also interesting to notice that the rules of gender are referred to as an “establishment”, for which the verb *sadamaru* 定 is used, which recalls the terminology Motoori Norinaga adopted to refer to the “established” use of Japanese *kana*. In fact, one might say, that it would not make sense for a Japanese speaker to consider the two homophonic *mars* as one unity of meaning with two established gender patterns, instead of two different units of meaning that are only incidentally pronounced identically, since the Japanese written language had already developed a more or less phonetic writing system, namely the two *kana*. However, as I have discussed in Chapter V, it was not rare to consider each *kana* to represent one unit of meaning, which might manifest different nuances of meaning, according to their “established” use in context. For example, it was the character *shi* し that was considered to have the three meanings of time, that were expressed according to the “established” use of the *kana* itself, instead of understanding *shi* as three

⁵ The use of capital letters by the Japanese scholars of Dutch was often inconsistent.

⁶ A nautical term referring to the basket mounted on the top of the main mast of a vessel, used as a lookout location.

homophonic realizations of three totally different inflecting patterns of three different affixes, as one tends to do today.

Another important issue tackled in *Sensei bunpō* when covering each specific category of speech is how the categories relate to each other, and how one specific category can become another one. The origin of this reasoning should be found, probably, in the studies of Chinese. In Chinese, a character can play different roles and be used as different parts of speech quite interchangeably without morphologically, nor graphically, modifying it. When providing a Japanese version of a text in *kanbun kundoku*, the part of speech each character belongs to has implications for the morphosyntactic rendition of the Japanese sentence. In order to read a Chinese character in the proper morphological form when “translating” a Chinese sentence into Japanese, its role within the sentence needs to be specified. As illustrated in Chapter V, the conception of certain parts of speech as deriving from other categories was quite common in both Chinese- and Japanese-oriented linguistic works. It is therefore not surprising to find a similar approach in the description of Dutch. The importance of understanding the relations between the different parts of speech was so prevalent that the explanation of adjectives, in *Sensei bunpō*, almost only concentrates on it, as can be read below (2r-2v):

Bijvoegelijk naamwoord 無実形又
事業ニアザルノ語也凡諸形容字
ノ類皆是也若ハ物ノ貌若クハ事ノ
勢其象テ言ヘキモノ是也 groot 大
也 rond 丸シ ziek 疾ムト云ハ是ニ
属ス grootte 大 rondte 丸 ziekte 病ト
云寸ハ皆 Zelfstandignamwoord 也
又一二三ナントノ數ノ名モ皆ナ是
ニ属也 仮令ハ火トイフ寸ハ
zelfstandignamwoord ナリ vuur 也
燃ルト云ハ werkende werkwoord 也
brand ナリ 熱 シ ト 云 寸 ハ
bijvoegelijk heet 也右形容語譯傍寄
名語矣言不可獨立

The *bijvoegelijk naamwoord* are words with no filling nor shape and do not correspond to actions. These are the types of *keiyōji* 形容字. They express the form of things and the impulse of actions. The word *groot* is 大, *rond* is 丸シ, *ziek* is 疾ム, they all belong to them. The word *grootte* is 大, *rondte* is 丸, *ziekte* is 病, and these are nouns. Also the names of numbers, like “one”, “two” and “three” belong to this. For example, when one says *hi* 火, this is a noun, corresponding to *vuur*. When one says *moeru* 燃ル it is an active verb, corresponding to *brand*. When one says *atsushi* 熱シ it is an adjective, corresponding to *heet*. These are *keiyōgo* 形容語 and are to be translated as *bōki myōgo* 傍寄名語 and they cannot be independent.

Adjectives are described as “not full” (無実), in contrast with nouns that were full (有実). Indeed, adjectives were generally considered to be “empty” (虚) words, although that character is not used in this definition. It is also added that adjectives do not correspond to actions, and this is because verbs are also traditionally included in the broad category of “empty”. Adjectives are called *keiyōgo* 形容語. This word, very similar to what is still being used in contemporary Japanese today, can be found in other works by Shizuki and most notably in Ogyū Sorai’s *Kun’yaku jimō* (as I will discuss in 7.2.3), where it referred to Chinese characters that were originally adjective – meaning, “empty” and “quiet” – but that were combined with suffixes such as *-tari*, *-to shite* or *-ku*, and tended to modify verbs, rather than nouns.

In this sense, Ogyū's *keiyō* was much closer to the concept of adverb, rather than adjective.⁷ Afterwards, a series of Dutch adjectives are presented, with their Japanese counterparts. It is worth mentioning that the Dutch adjective *ziek* 'sick', is adapted into Japanese with the verb *yamu* 疾ム, probably out of lack of direct correspondence with a Japanese adjective. These Dutch adjectives are, thus, turned into nouns by the addition of the suffix *-te*, an element that does indeed serve this function although not with all Dutch adjectives. Ultimately, *Sensei bunpō* provides an example of words that are morphologically unrelated in both languages, each belonging to a different category of speech, but related on a semantical level, all referencing concepts related to fire. This last list is, thus, not meant to illustrate how the different categories are related morphologically, but rather semantically, in a similar fashion to what is done in the tables contained in *Joshi-kō* (see 7.2.1). The Dutch term *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*, however, is translated into Japanese as *bōki myōgo* 傍寄名語 literally meaning 'noun-words depending on what is nearby'. This translation is explained as referring to the fact that "they cannot be independent", that means that they must be "adjoined" to nouns. The verb "to adjoin" can be translated into Dutch as *bijvoegen*.

The next part of speech described in *Sensei bunpō* is that of adverbs, called *bijwoord*, in Dutch. Their definition is quite brief, which is understandable considering the inconsistent use of this category across the dictionaries of Marin and Halma (see Chapter IV). The brief explanation claims the following (2v):

Bijwoord 諸ノ問語 waar, wat, wanneer, wie, welk ナント及ヒ此ノ如キノ類皆是也 voorzetsel ト似テ別也 右助語譯傍語	Amongst <i>bijwoord</i> there are all interrogative words (問語), like <i>waar, wat, wanneer, wie, welk</i> etc. They do look like <i>voorzetsel</i> [preposition], but they are still different. These are <i>jogo</i> 助語 and translate <i>bōgo</i> 傍語.

This explanation is not very clear. It claims that all "interrogative words", that are called *mongo* 問語, belong to this category, yet no example of any other type of word belonging to *bijwoord* is mentioned. The only further information provided is that adverbs are similar to *voorzetsels* 'prepositions', which does not help much either. The idea that adverbs and prepositions are similar is probably a consequence of the fact that in both Marin and in the first edition of Halma, many of the words categorized as prepositions were considered "adverbs" from Halma's second edition onwards. The interrogative pronouns *waar* 'where', *wat* 'what', *wie* 'who', *wanneer* 'when' and *welk* 'which one' are also not consistently considered as adverbs in the Dutch dictionaries. In Table 36, one can see how these words were treated in each relevant dictionary.

⁷ As I will discuss in 7.2.3, Shizuki will adopt the term *keiyō* to refer to specific uses of adjectives that, similarly to Ogyū, tended to be closer to adverbs, in *Joshi-kō*.

Dutch interrogative pronoun	Marin (3 rd edition)	Halma (1 st edition)	Halma (2 nd edition)
<i>Waar</i>	Adv. bijwoord van plaats aanwijzing	bijw.	is een bijwoord dat nu ondervragend en dan opzigtelijk is
<i>Wat</i>	[Not labeled]	voorz.; pronom relatif	bijv w. word ook als een zelfstandige naamwoord gebruiken
<i>Wanneer</i>	Adv.	bijw.	bijw.
<i>Wie</i>	[Not labeled]	Voorn.	ondervragend voornaamwoord
<i>Welke</i>	Pronom.	Een voorn.	opzigtelijk voornaamwoord

Table 36 Comparison of the labeling of five interrogatives found, considered adverbs in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bupō*, across different editions of Marin and Halma's dictionaries.

In none of these editions does one find a consistent labeling of these interrogative pronouns – called “interrogative words” in *Sensei bupō* – as adverbs. The only occurrence in which one of them is called a preposition is with the term *wat*, in the first edition of Halma's dictionary, where one finds the abbreviation *voorz.* for *voorzetsel* ‘preposition’, followed, however, by the French *pronom relatif*. The author of *Sensei bupō* may have confused the abbreviation *voorn.*, standing for *voornaamwoord* ‘pronoun’, for *voorz.*, standing for *voorzetsel*. This could be reinforced by the fact that the table of abbreviations found from Halma's second edition onwards does not present any reference to pronouns. However, in the entries above, the abbreviation *voorn.* is only found in the first edition of Halma, which does not comprise a table of abbreviations to begin with. It is possible that the author of *Sensei bupō*, founding his knowledge on the table he found in another edition of Halma, went back to this first edition, and mistook the abbreviation *voorn.* for *voorz.* However, no such claim can be substantiated with the present evidence.

The word “adverb” is translated into Japanese as *bōgo* 傍語, literally ‘nearby-word’. However, adverbs are the only category that is called *jogo* 助語, in this manuscript. This term is also only found in this instance within *Sensei bupō*. Since the category of adverbs was already unclear in the Dutch sources, and the Japanese manuscript does not clarify much either, one is left wondering what type of words were to be understood by the label *jogo*, according to this source. The only thing one can deduce is that interrogative pronouns belonged to it.

Afterwards, consistent with Halma's list of abbreviations, *Sensei bupō* covers the category of verbs. As already mentioned, in dictionaries there was no need to present a general category of “verbs” since each entry always presented the specification of whether each verb was either active or neuter. The same can be seen in *Sensei bupō* (2v-3r):

Werkende werkwoord ハ brengen 運フ nemen 取ル maake 為ス verbergen 隠	A <i>werkende werkwoord</i> is like <i>brengen</i> – <i>hakobu</i> , <i>nemen</i> – <i>toru</i> , <i>maake</i> [<i>n</i>] – <i>nasu</i> , <i>verbergen</i> – <i>kakusu</i> etc. They all are words which “do an

ス等也皆事ヲナスノ語也 Wijna holland ハ我等阿蘭国ニ運フ也余準メ右譯ニ為事事語ト即然語 geenerlij werkwoord ハマーリンニテハ onzydig w: ト云自然ノ語也又 werk: w: ハマーリンニテハ zijdig w: 也使然ノ語也己レニ依テ而モ他ニヨラサルヲ自然ト云行ク立ツ成ル等也行ル立ツ成ス等ハ皆使然也又何ノ使然語ニテモ其先ニ zig アレハ自トナル假令ハ ombrengen ハ殺スナリ zig ombrengen ハ自殺ナル故 zigdig 意ニナル也又自然語ノ前ニ laaten アレバ使然トナル laaten gaan ハ行カシムル也右自然語譯由亡[己]語

action”. Wij [brengen] na Holland – warera oranda no kuni ni hakobu. All the others as well translate *ijigo* 為事語, these are *zenzo* 然語. A *geenerlij werkwoord*, in Marin, is called *onzijdig w:*, and is a *jinen no go* 自然ノ語, furthermore a *werk: w:*, in Marin, is a *zijdig w:*. This is a *shizen no go* 使然ノ語. For this, others are called *jinen* since they do not concern others. These are the likes of *yuku*, *tatsuru* and *naru*. Verbs like *yukuru*, *tatsuru* and *nasu* etc. are *shizen*. For whatever *shizen* verb, if there is *zig* after it, it becomes *ji(nen)*. For example, *ombrengen* means *korosu*, *zig ombrengen* means *jisatsu suru*. It gets the meaning of *zigdig*. Furthermore, if there is *laaten* before a *jinen*, it becomes *shizen*, like *laaten gaan* becomes *yukashimuru*. The translation of *shizengo* is *yukogo* 由己語.

This is a rather complicated excerpt to interpret since it also contains questionable information and a few misspellings. The text starts by presenting active verbs and by listing a few examples in both Dutch and Japanese. These active verbs are *brengen* – *hakobu* ‘to bring’, ‘to carry’; *nemen* – *toru* ‘to take’; *maken* – *nasu* ‘to make’ and *verbergen* – *kakusu* ‘to hide’. These are further explained as “words that do an action” *waza wo nasu go* 事ヲナス語, a phrasing that SUGIMOTO (1976, 408) claims coming from Ogyū Sorai, without specifying where precisely in Ogyū’s works it comes from. In *Kun’yaku jimō* one can read a comparable quote (see 6.1.2), stating that “moving characters and lively characters are actions. Thus, they are characters [expressing] the use of an instrument” (動字活字ハ事ナリ故ニ其道具ヲ使フ字ナリ). As a sample sentence one finds an incomplete Dutch phrase reading *Wij na Holland* ‘We to Holland’ that one can assume was supposed to include the verb *brengen* ‘to bring’ from the presence of the verb *hakobu* in the Japanese translation, a term that the author had just used to translate the Dutch verb *brengen*, a few lines before. This type of verb is translated into Japanese as *ijigo* 為事語,⁸ that literally translates ‘words doing actions’.

Neuter verbs are called *geenerlij werkwoord*, a term also found in Halma. In Marin, as it is indeed pointed out in *Sensei bunpō*, neuter verbs are referred to as *onzijdig*. Here, it is also claimed that Marin refers to active verbs as *zijdig* verbs, but that is not a factual claim. Both Marin and Halma do refer to active verbs as *werkend* and the term *zijdig* is not attested in any of the sources I have been able to refer to. The term is translated into Japanese as *yukogo* 由己語, which SUGIMOTO (1976, 409) considers the correct spelling of what is spelled as 由亡語, in *Sensei bunpō*. Japanese terms corresponding to these two concepts are *shizen* 使然, for ‘active verbs’, and *jinen* 自然, for ‘neuter verbs’. These are terms that one can find in the

⁸ The reduplicated presence of the character *ji* 事, in the original text is to be considered a misspelling (SUGIMOTO 1976, 409).

table of the parts of speech contained in *Joshi-kō*, where they are accompanied by the alternative names of *dōta* and *jidō*, that are, on their turn, the same terms used in *Rangaku seizenfu* (see 7.2.1 and 7.3).

At the end of this excerpt, the author illustrates two manners in which one can turn Dutch transitive verbs into intransitives and vice versa. It is claimed that if one uses *zig*, a reflexive pronoun for the third persons, in combination “with any active verb” (何ノ使然語ニテモ), the verb becomes neuter. *Sensei bunpō* only presents the example of the verb *ombrengen* ‘to kill’, ‘to murder’, translated into Japanese as *korosu*. Its reflexive version *zig ombrengen* ‘to kill oneself’ is, instead translated as *jisatsu suru* where the character *satsu* 殺 ‘to kill’ is combined with the character *ji* 自 ‘self’. This is a very intuitive example, I assume, for a Japanese speaker to understand the meaning and the difference between *ombrengen* and *zig ombrengen*. The point is that the Dutch term *zig* corresponds directly to the Chinese character *ji* 自, that is also the character distinguishing active verbs (使然) from neuter verbs (自然), in their own labels. Traditionally, verbs interacting with *zig* (also spelled *zich*), were called “reflexive”, in Dutch grammars. I have searched for the entries of both *zig* and *ombrengen* in Marin and Halma’s dictionaries. Marin considers *ombrengen* a neuter verb, although he does provide a transitive example in the sentence *iemand ombrengen* ‘to kill somebody’. Halma considers it an active verb, across all editions, however, only the first edition has the example *hy heeft zich zelven omgebracht* ‘he has killed himself’. None of the entries to *zig* (spelled *zich* in Halma’s first edition) provides any relevant information in this regard.⁹

Conversely, according to *Sensei bunpō*, one can turn a neuter verb into an active one by adding the verb *laaten* ‘to let’ in front of it, as in the example of *laaten gaan* ‘let go’, ‘make go’, which is translated into Japanese as *yukashimu*, thus by the addition of the affix *-shimu*, generally considered to correspond to causative constructions.

The next part of speech are prepositions, which are explained in the following manner (3r):

voortsetgel ハ onder, buiten, agter, tusschen 等也多ハ處ノ上ニテ云テ実語ニ由テ言ヲナスモノ也其下ニ其外カ其後等也又 van ハ之ノ字ノ意ヲナス語也若王之子ト云フ寸ハzoon van de koning ト云王之前ト云

A preposition is like *onder*, *buiten*, *agter*, *tusschen* etc. They are often said regarding a place, and they make a *koto* 言 depending on a “full word”. They mean things like “below”, “outside” or “afterwards”. Furthermore, the word *van* corresponds to the meaning of the character 之. For

⁹ It appears that the idea of considering *zig ombrengen* as a neuter verb has to do with the fact that Japanese morphology calls neuter verbs with the character *ji* 自, which corresponds to the Dutch *zig*. The point is that, with a reflexive verb in either language, *zig* and *ji* 自, correspond to the patient of the action. However, since the term *zig* is considered to be a reflexive pronoun detached from the verb, one can understand the verb to be some sort of active verb with a reflexive pronoun as direct object. In the Japanese example provided by Shizuki, however, the character *ji* 自 becomes part of the verb itself, while still representing the patient of the verb, thus meaning that the verb does not technically have a direct object. However, this is just speculative.

寸ハ voor van de koning ト云フテ而
 モ voor van de koning ト云ス是レ
 voor ハ voorzetsel ニメ zoon ハ然ラ
 ス凡ソ其語 voorZ: ノ寸ハ van ハナ
 キノ例也 van モ又 voorZ 但シ極テ
 廣キ語也亦 bijvoeg lijken ヲ次ニ
 zelfstandig naamworod アル寸ハ de,
 het ノ類ハナキ例也 groot koning 大
 王ノ類也

example, when one says *ō no ko* 王之子 it is [in Dutch] *zoon van de koning*. However, if one says *ō no mae* 王之前, it is not *voor van de koning*. This is because this *voor* is also a preposition and is not like *zoon*. This is an example of the absence of *van* when there is a preposition. The word *van* is also a preposition. It is a broad word. Furthermore, when you have a noun after an adjective, you do not use the type of *de*, *het* [i.e., articles]. The type of *groot koning*, which is *ōō* 大王.

As claimed above, the examples of prepositions found in this excerpt are only categorized as *voorzetsel* from the second edition of Halma's dictionary onwards. There is an interesting explanation worth discussing here. The text claims that the Dutch word *van* corresponds to the Chinese character *shi* 之 which, in turn, corresponds to the Japanese particle *no*. In both Chinese and Japanese this word connects the owner to the owned element, placed in this order. However, the Dutch word *van* works the other way around, much like English "of", meaning that the owned element appears before *van* and the owner after it. With this in mind, the author of *Sensei bunpō* rendered the simple sentence *ō no ko* 'the son of the king' by translating each character/word literally, into *zoon van de koning*. In Japanese, the same construction can be used to express the location of something. The sentence "before the king", in fact, would also be structured as *ō no mae* (with *mae* meaning 'before', 'in front of'), but the direct translation *voor van de koning* does not work in Dutch, and one needs to say *voor de koning* precisely because the word *voor* 'before', in Dutch, is another preposition and you cannot combine the two prepositions *voor* and *van* in this manner. Another interesting remark in the excerpt above concerns the use of prepositions. It is claimed that they are often used with locations, and this makes sense specifically considering the examples of Dutch prepositions provided. However, it is also claimed that, when depending on a "full" word, they are used to make a *koto* 言. What this term specifically refers to is not so intuitive. As I have mentioned in 5.6, the term *koto* 言 has been used with many meanings in the history of linguistic studies in Japan. In *Sangoku shukushō*, it is claimed that the term *koto* 言 refers to the combination of Chinese characters, which possess both (syllabic) sound and a meaning. One could interpret this use of the term *koto* as corresponding to something similar to what is claimed in this manuscript. When describing verbs, it was claimed that they are used to "make actions" (*waza o nasu* 事ヲナス); adjectives were defined as "not being actions" (*waza ni arazaru* 事業ニアラザル), nouns were defined as "the name of all things, the nomenclature of all actions" (*manbutshi no na oyobi manji no shō* 萬物ノ名及萬事ノ稍). Could it be that the term *koto* 言 needs to be understood in relation to these categories? This would mean that the term *koto* 言 is to be understood as a combination of a "preposition" and a "full" word that would not be too far from the use of the term *koto*, as found in *Sangoku shukushō*.

The text continues (3v) by covering articles, which had just been introduced.

woordlid トハ de, het ノ類ヲ云
是ハ実語ノ先ニ必アルモノ也
但シ人名國名数名及ヒ god ニ
ハ是ナシ右語譯節

A *woordlid* is the type of *de* and *het*. These must be placed before full words. They are not used with names of people, names of countries, names of number and with the word *god*. The translation of this word is *setsu* 節.

Many words have been used in Dutch to refer to “articles”, mostly including a variation of the term *lid*, which had been adopted as a direct translation of the Latin term *articulus*, diminutive of *artus* ‘limb’ (see Chapter II). The Chinese character *setsu* 節, used here to translate this part of speech, might derive from this literal interpretation of the term *woordlid*. In Marin’s and Halma’s dictionaries, there is no reference to this word in their legends of abbreviations. The term is found, however, within the entries to the two articles, with some variations. In Marin’s third edition, *de* is described as a *woord-lidje*, while *het* as a *lidwoordtje* or as a *woordje* ‘small word’. In Halma’s first edition *de* is referred to as a *woordleedje* and *het* as a *voorzetsel*, a “preposition”. From Halma’s third edition onwards, *de* was called both a *woordlid* and a *woordleedje*, while *het* a *lidwoordje* and *woordje*, just like in the first edition. The only real occurrence of the term *woordlid*, is in Halma’s definition of the article *de*, from the second edition onwards. However, no reference to the absence of articles with specific nouns is found in these entries. A similar claim with regard to the fact that one does not use articles with specific names, with numerals and with the word *god* ‘god’ is also present in other works of Shizuki, namely *Sanshu shokaku* and *Joshi-kō* (see 2.4.2), and I argued it seemed possible that such information could have been drawn from Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*. Since there does not seem to be any other reference to that Dutch source in *Sensei bunpō*, it is unlikely that its author could have directly read Séwel. What is more probable is either that these sentences just happened to be similar to what was claimed by Séwel or that it was mediated by another Japanese source after being taken from Séwel and before reaching *Sensei bunpō*. However, because of the debated origin of this manuscript (2.2), no definitive statement can be asserted with certainty, as of now.

The next category of speech are conjunctions (3v). As discussed in Chapter IV, the terminology found in Marin’s and Halma’s dictionaries regarding conjunctions was inconsistent. Looking at the relevant examples of *Sensei bunpō* again shows the fact that this work was mostly based on an edition of Halma different from the first one.

Koppelwoord ハ indien, als, schoon, 上
句ト下句トノ意ヲツナク也 als ik zie
我ト¹⁰見ルナラハト云テ次ノ是意ヲ
生ス又 terwijl ik daar was 我彼所ニア
ル間ト云ヘハ意味断ル所アリ故ニ
此語ハ傍語ニ属メ此ニ入ラズ gelijk
de dief 如盗ト云フ寸モ又傍語ニナ

A *koppelwoord*, like *indien*, *als* and *schoon*, connect the meaning of the upper clause to the lower one. It gives the meaning of *als ik zie* – *ware to* (sic!) *miru naraba*. When one says *terwijl ik daar was* – *ware asoko ni aru aida*, since this is where the meaning gets interrupted, this belongs to a preposition, and cannot be inserted here. When one says *gelijk de dief* – *nusumi gotoshi*, this is also

¹⁰ Likely a misspelling.

ル故意味断ル也右語連續語 | a preposition, and the meaning gets interrupted. A
voegwoord 蓋 koppelwoord ノ事也 | voegwoord or koppelwoord is said *renzokugo*.

In the table of abbreviations present in Halma's dictionary from its second edition onwards, one does see both the terms *koppelwoord* and *voegwoord*. In 4.1, I claimed that the use of these labels appeared to be distributed unevenly across to the pages of this dictionary, meaning that *koppelwoord* tended to be used mostly in the first half of the work, while *voegwoord*, was more common in the second half of it. I have speculated this to be a consequence of the distribution of the compilation of this dictionary across the different individuals. In Marin's third edition, neither term is present in its table of abbreviation. By looking at the examples of conjunctions present in the excerpt from *Sensei bunpō* above, one can see that, none of them was categorized as a conjunction in Halma's first edition. However, they are all categorized as such, from the second edition onwards. In Halma's first edition, one also finds the entry *t'zamenvoeging*, another term for "conjunction", where it is explained as a *koppelwoord*, that is also a word of grammar (*Een koppelwoord in de spraakkunst*). Marin does not categorize these terms as conjunctions either, except for the word *schoon*, which is called, in Latin, a *conjunctio*.

Conjunction	Marin (3 rd edition)	Halma (1 st edition)	Halma (2 nd edition)
<i>Als</i>	<i>gelyk, indien, wanneer</i>	<i>gelyk, terwyl, wanneer</i>	<i>koppelwoord gelyk, terwyl, wanneer</i>
<i>Gelyk</i>	<i>Adv. Adj.</i>	<i>byw.</i>	<i>byv. w. byw. koppelwoord</i>
<i>Indien</i>	<i>Adv.</i>	<i>een voorzetsel</i>	<i>koppelwoord</i>
<i>Schoon</i>	<i>Conjunctio</i>	<i>byv. (Only recognized as an adjective)</i>	<i>koppelworod</i>
<i>Terwyl</i>	<i>Adv.</i>	<i>byw.</i>	<i>byw. voegwoord</i>

Table 37 Comparison of the labeling of five conjunctions found in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* across different editions of Marin and Halma's dictionaries.

I conclude that this section was also based on a later edition of Halma's dictionary. The fact that these words could also be used in manners different from conjunctions, was also understood by the author of *Sensei bunpō*. In fact, both *gelyk* and *terwyl* are also called both conjunctions and adverbs (*byw.*) from Halma's second edition onwards. In *Sensei bunpō*, they are called *bōgo*. According to *Sensei bunpō*, adverbs and conjunctions are rather similar, while their use is opposite. Conjunctions are defined as words that "connect" (*tsunagu* ツナグ) two clauses; hence, they are called *renzokugo* 連續語, from *renzoku* 連續 meaning 'connection'.

Adverbs, on the other hand, have the role of “interrupting the meaning” or “dividing the meaning” (意味断ル).

The excerpt above has three sample sentences, namely: *terwyl ik daar was* ‘while I was there’, *als ik zie* ‘If/when I see’ and *gelijk de dief* ‘like the thief’. I have not been able to find the last sentence, or anything comparable, in any of the dictionaries. There are, however, sentences that are phrased similarly to the former two. In the entry to *als*, in all editions of Halma, one can find the sentence *Als ik den hemel aanzie* ‘when I look at the sky’, that could have been simplified into *als ik zie*, by eliminating the direct object and utilizing the simpler verb *zien* instead of *aanzien*. The sentence *terwyl ik daar was* has been most likely taken from the sentence *Dat gebeurde terwijl ik daar was* ‘That happened while I was there’, which can be found in the entry to *terwyl*, in all editions of Halma. However, a very similar phrase can also be found in the entry to *terwyl* in Marin’s third edition of his dictionary, in the form *Dat gebeurde terwijl ik ‘er was*.

The last part of speech is that of loanwords, called *onduitsch woord* by both Marin and Halma. In *Sensei bunnō*, these are defined as “impure words” (*junsui narazu* 純粋ナラス) and “not correct words of Dutch” (*doitsu no shōgo ni arazaru* ドイツノ正語ニアラザル). Another term that is relevant, in this quote, is the term *shōgo* 正語, which can be understood as “correct” or “proper word”, implying that loanwords were not “proper Dutch words”. However, as seen in 6.1.2, the term *shōgo* 正語 was used by Ogyū Sorai in his *Kun’yaku jimō* to refer to quite a different concept. The term *shōgo* 正語 was, in fact, used by Ogyū to categorize both “full” and “empty” words, in contrast to the “help” words that he called *jogo* 助語. A *shōgo*, according to Ogyū is, thus, any type of word that is not a *jogo*. This does not seem to be the nuance in meaning intended in *Sensei bunnō*, regarding *onduitsch* words. Below the excerpt describing this category (4r).

onduisch woord ハ純粋ナラス凡
ノカワリタル語也ドイツノ正語
ニアラサル也 *qiuspitoor* ナトノ
類也今日本ニモ此類アリ

An *onduisch* [sic!] *woord* is a word which is not pure. It generally is an alternative word. These are “improper words” in Dutch. These are the types of *qiuspitoor* etc. Nowadays, we have these in Japanese as well.

It would have been interesting to know which words the author of *Sensei bunnō* perceived to be the Japanese equivalence to a Dutch *onduitsch woord*. However, no such example is provided.¹¹ There is one example of an *onduitsch* word, but it is not clearly spelled and understanding which word it supposedly referred to is not easy. It seems to spell something along the lines of *qiuspitoor*. Since it is known that *onduitsch* words were often Latin- or French-derived, one can assume that the letters

¹¹ One can get an idea of how European loanwords, specifically from Dutch and Portuguese, were treated in Edo Japan by reading, for example Ōtsuki Gentaku’s *Ransetsu benwaku* 蘭説辨惑, that GOODMAN (1952, 71) translated as “A clarification of misunderstandings in theories [about] the Dutch”. Reference this source for a complete English translation of the manuscript.

< qiu > were probably < qui > since in both languages the letter < q > is always followed by < u >. Consequently, one would obtain a word that would be just one letter apart from the word *quispidoor*, an alternative spelling of *quispedoor* ‘spittoon’, ‘cuspidor’. The entry to *quispidoor* is found both in Marin and in Halma, yet not in the first edition of the latter. In Marin the “Dutchified” spelling *kwispedoor* is also attested, while the spelling *quispidoor*, with < i >, instead of < e >, as it seems to be spelled in *Sensei bunnō*, is only attested in Halma, from the second edition onwards. Even though none of these sources categorize it as an *onduitsch woord*, it is true that this is a loanword, namely from Portuguese *cuspidor*, from the verb *cuspir* ‘to spit’, ‘to spew’.¹²

In principle, the list of parts of speech discussed in *Sensei bunnō* should now be concluded. However, this section of the work is based on Halma’s legend of abbreviations, which was not meant to represent only morphological categories of speech. In fact, the last line of the legend included the word *onvolmaakte tyd* ‘imperfect tense’. For this reason, *Sensei bunnō* continues (4r) with this topic:

onvolmaalcte tijd ハ voorleden tijd, had,
hebben 之 voorleyden tijd 也総テ voorl:
ト deelw: トノ別ハ凡ソ ge ノツキタル
ハ皆 deelwoord ハ gegeven 也其 vool:
tijd ハ gaf 也 ik gaf トハエ凡ik gegeven
トハイワス

The *onvolmaalcte tijd* is the *voorleden tijd*, *had* is the *voorleyden tijd* of *hebben*. The difference between a *voorl:* and a *deelw:* is that all those which have *ge* attached to them are *deelwoord*, like *gegeven*. Its *vool: tijd* is *gaf*. You can say *ik gaf* but you cannot say *ik gegeven*.

In this entry, Shizuki compares the word *onvolmaakte tijd* ‘imperfect tense’, as found in Halma’s legend, with the word *voorleden tijd* ‘past tense’, as is found in Marin. He also takes this opportunity to specify the difference between a past tense and a *deelwoord* ‘participle’. A participle can be distinguished, according to Shizuki, by the presence, or lack thereof, of the element *ge-*, as in *gegeven* from the verb *geven* ‘to give’. This is a prefix that can indeed be regularly used to conjugate most verbs in their past participle forms. In both Marin and Halma, the prefix *ge-* has its own entry, as can be seen in Table 38.

Subsequently, *Sensei bunnō* mentions compound words, called *zamengesteld woord* in Dutch, which Shizuki translates literally into Japanese as *gōseigo* 合成語. It is not clear which source this term comes from. In Halma’s second edition, under the entry to the word *konst* ‘art’, one does find the word *t’zamengestelde naamen*, referring to compounds with *konst*. However, no such reference can be found in *Sensei bunnō*. The first example found in the Japanese source is the separable compound verb *wederkomen* ‘to come back’. However, the entries to this verb contained in the three dictionaries do not present any relevant information in this regard. I assume that this

¹² VETH (1889, 11-15) claims that this word was generally believed to be a Spanish loanword, dating back to the Eighty Years’ War (1568 – 1648). However, the author claims the Portuguese origin to be more likely, entering Dutch in the Asian contacts between the two languages. The word would, thus, come from the Portuguese verb *cuspir* ‘to spit’, found in words such as *cuspeira* and *cuspidor*. Both can mean “spittoon”.

information probably came from another source. However, in this section all sorts of compound words are covered, not only compound verbs. Specifically, one finds compounds with prefixes, suffixes, and prepositions.

Marin (3rd edition)	Lettergreep tot de samenstelling der voorledene tyds Deel-woorden diende.	Syllable serving the composition of the participles of the past time.
Halma (1st edition)	GE, is een artykel of lid waar van men, in 't Neêrduitsch, de Præterita van de daadelyke werkwoorden maakt, by voorbeeld, <i>Ik heb gemaakt</i> , van 't werkwoord <i>maaken</i> ; <i>Ik heb geschreeven</i> , van 't werkwoord <i>schryven</i> , en zoo van alle de anderen; ook maakt men hier van het deelwoord (participle) der lydelyke werkwoorden, als, by voorbeeld; <i>geschreven</i> , <i>gemaakt</i> enz. van de werkwoorden <i>schryven</i> , <i>maaken</i> enz.	<i>Ge</i> , is an article or <i>lid</i> from which one makes, in Dutch, the preterit of the active verbs, for example, <i>Ik heb gemaakt</i> ['I have made'], from the verb <i>maaken</i> ['to make']; <i>Ik heb geschreven</i> ['I have written'], from the verb <i>schryven</i> ['to write'], and the same for the others; one can also make with it the participles (participle) of passive verbs, like, for example; <i>geschreven</i> ['to write'], <i>gemaakt</i> ['made'] etc. from the verbs <i>schryven</i> ['to write'], <i>maaken</i> ['to make'] etc.
Halma (2nd edition)	GE, is een lettergreep dat gebruik is om de deelwoorden van de voorleden tijd, te maaken. Als, <i>gemaakt</i> , van 't werkwoord <i>maaken</i> ; <i>geschreven</i> , van 't werkwoord <i>schrijven</i> .	<i>Ge</i> , is a syllable which is used to make participles of the past tense. Like, <i>gemaakt</i> ['made'], from the verb <i>maaken</i> ['to make']; <i>geschreven</i> ['written'], from the verb <i>schrijven</i> ['to write'].

Table 38 Definitions to the syllable *ge-* in Marin and Halma's dictionaries.

The manuscript proceeds (7v-8v) by covering the topic of personal pronouns, dividing them according to the three persons, that are presented in Dutch and translated into Japanese in the following fashion: *eerste persoon* – *ichiban-jin* 一番人 'first person'; *tweede persoon* – *niban-jin* 二番人 'second person'; *derde persoon* – *sanban-jin* 三番人 'third person'. The author of *Sensei bunnō* also provides explanations for the uses of each, specifying which person each pronoun refers to and also providing a Japanese counterpart. The first-person pronouns *ik* and *wij* are translated as *ware* or *wa* 我; the second-person pronouns *gij* and *gijlieden* are translated as *nanji* 汝; the third-person pronouns *hij* and *zij* are translated as *kare* 彼.

Eerstepersoon 一番人ト云シカ如シ我ヲ云ナリ此内三様ノ別アリ *ik*, *mij*, *mijn*,也 *ik*, ハ我起テ物ヲ先タツノ意アリ *ik zal u geven* 我汝ニ與エント也 *mij* ハ我居テ物ヲ待テ又物来テ我ニ容タルノ意アリ凡 *mij* ハ静ニシテ人ニ役セラレ *ik* ハ働テ物ニ役ス *gij*

The *eerste persoon* is like saying the "first person" and it refers to *ware* 我 ['I']. Within this there are three types *ik*, *mij* and *mijn*. The *ik* has the meaning of "advancing things originating from *ware*". For example: *ik zal u geven* – *ware nanji ni ataen* 'I will give you'. The *mij* expresses the meaning of "in me [*ware*] things are possessed, come or enter within me". If *mij* is made quiet, used by people, *ik*

zult mij geven ハ汝我ニ与フベシトナ
リ与フルハ彼ナリ 挙ゲ受ルハ我ナ
リ惣テ ik ニハ必スツツノ事語アリ
テ是ニ對ス mij ニハ附カス右ノ zult
モ彼ニツクモノナリ又 mijn ハ我其
物事ノ主タル也 mijn kind 我カ子
mijn, hand 我手ノ類ナリ又 wij, ons,
onze モ我ナリ但シ二人以上ノ語ナ
ル故我等ト云ンカ如シ而テ wij, ik
ノ如ク ons ハ mij ノ如ク onze ハ
mijn ノ如シ右男女ニ通テ也

Tweede persoon 二番人ト云カ如シ我
ニ對スルモノヲ云所謂汝ナリ又三
種アリ gij ハ ik, 如ク u ハ mij ノ如ク
uwe 又 uw ハ mijn ノ如シ又二人以上
ニ汝等ト云フ gijluden ト云 gij ト
モ云其外差別ナシ右男女ニ通メ
也

Derde persoon 三番人ト云ンカ如シ
我ニ非ス汝ニ非サルヲ云所謂彼レ
ナリ hij, hem, zijn 次第前ニ同シ又二
人以上ニハ zij, hem, hun ト云 右男
語也

婦人一人ナレバ zij, haar, haare ト云
二人以上モ一也

works using the thing. Like *gij zult mij geven* – *nanji ware ni atau beshi*. What is given is *kare*. The person receiving is *ware*. All these certainly correspond to one word: *ik*. In the contrary, one does not add *mij*. The *zult* above also regards the “he”. The *mijn* refers to “me being the owner of that thing”. For example *mijn kind* is *wa ga ko*, *mijn hand* is *wa ga te*. Also *wij, ons* and *onze* are *ware*. However, they are words concerning two people or more, so it is probably something like saying *warera*. Furthermore, *wij* is similar to *ik*, *ons* to *mij* and *onze* to *mijn*. These regard men and women, indistinctly.

The *tweede persoon* is like saying “second person”. It is said in opposition to *ware*, meaning *nanji*. There are three types. The *gij* is similar to *ik*, *u* to *mij*, *uwe* to *mijn*. Furthermore, when talking about two or more people, it is *gijlieden*. One can also say *gij*. There is no further difference. These regard men and women, indistinctly.

The *derde persoon* is like saying “third person”. This is neither *ware* or *nanji*. It is *kare*. The sequence *hij, hem* and *zijn* is the same as before. When used for two or more people one says *zij, hen, hun*. These are words for males.

When talking about a single woman it becomes *zij, haar, hare*. For two or more it is the same.

After dealing with personal pronouns, *Sensei bunpō* transitions (8v-9r) into interrogative pronouns and the interrogative construction of sentences.

ondervraagende voornaamwoord ハ誰
ト問也 wie is het ト云寸ハハ誰ノヤ
ト云フ也 wie wien, wiens ト云寸ハ
其次第前ノ如シ三様ノ別也又所ヲ問
ニハ waar ト云時ヲ問ニハ wanneer ト
云物ヲ問ニハ wat ト云數物ノ中ニ於
テ別テ問フ寸ハ welke ト云 wat ト云
又右ノ語其所其時其物ト云フ事ニモ
ナル但シ問否ノ別テシレハ自ラ別ル
事語ハ必ス自立名語ニ對スルノ也其
事語自立名語ノ前ニアルハ問語也
zal ik Eeten ハ問語也 ik zal eeten ハ否
ラス此ノ如キ類

An *ondervraagende voornaamwoord* asks who, like *wie is het* is *dare no ya*. The sequence *wie, wien* and *wiens* is the same as the three types before. Furthermore, when asking the place, we say *waar*, when asking the time, we say *wanneer*, when asking a thing, we say *wat*, when we need to distinguish between many things, we say *welke* or *wat*. These can also refer to “that place”, “that time”, “that thing”. Understanding the difference of whether a sentence is a question or not is in the verb itself, which must come in contrast with a noun. In case such verb comes before the noun it is an interrogative. For example, *zal ik eeten* is an interrogative sentence, while *ik zal eeten* is not [an interrogative].

This argumentation appears to be a less-detailed version of what is found in *Zokubun kinnō* (see 2.4.8), where Shizuki illustrates the order of words in each specific type of sentence, including interrogative ones.

In the last few pages of *Sensei bunpō*, one finds some extra information about pronouns, verbs, articles, and negation. Here, one can also see the Dutch terms *voornaamwoord* ‘pronoun’ and *persoonlijk voornaamwoord* ‘personal pronouns’ being used. An interesting issue is raised when the author of the manuscript notices that the Dutch term *voornaam* can also be used to refer to the first name of people. The term *voornaam* is transcribed in *katakana* characters as *hōrunāmu* ホールナー ム that can also be found in *Joshi-kō*’s section on grammar as *furigana* to the word *daimeishi* 代名詞, referring to pronouns (see 7.2.2). Approximately one page is devoted to explaining the conjugation of the verbs *weezen* ‘to be’ and *hebben* ‘to have’ in their present tenses according to the subject pronouns, and the difference between a preterit, or *vooredentijd* ‘past time’, called *kako* 過去, in Japanese, and *deelwoord* ‘participle’, meaning a past perfect. Articles are divided into two types: *de* and *het*, with the rest being their declined forms. Here, it is briefly explained how to use the two, also considering the *meervoud* ‘plural’ form of the noun they refer to. When explaining the use of articles, there is a small section about the accusative case, *beschuldigend geval* in Dutch, which provides a sample sentence straight from Halma’s dictionary that is not present in the first edition (under the entry to *de*). The article *de* is here defined as a *woordlid* (while in the first edition it was called either a *voorzetsel* ‘preposition’ or *woordleedje*), which becomes *den* in the *geevend* and *beschuldigend* cases, ‘dative’ and ‘accusative’, respectively. This can be read in the section from *Sensei bunpō* below (10v).

den ト云フ寸ハ其自立名語静ニ受
ルノ意ニナル是時 beschuldigende
geval ト云貢時ト云ンカ如シ hij
gaaf dat den regter over ノ類ナリレ
クトル静ニメ受ルモノナリ

The *den* has the meaning that the noun receives quietly. In this case, it is like a *beschuldigende geval* [accusative case], as in the type of *hij gaaf* (sic!) *dat den regter over* [‘He passed it over to the judge’]. The *regter* is made quiet and is the one receiving.

This explanation is interesting since it claims that the word *regter* ‘judge’, in the sample sentence is “made quiet”. This is expressed through the Chinese character *sei* 静, the same used for the category of “quiet words” in the Sino-Japanese tradition, generally referring to adjective. SUGIMOTO (1976, 417) believes that the phrasing *shizuka ni shite* 静ニメ “is made quiet” corresponds to the concept of direct object. However, SUGIMOTO (1976) did not interpret the Dutch sentence correctly to begin with, since he translates it into Japanese as *kare wa sore ni hantei wo ataeta* 彼はそれに判定を与えた ‘He gave it a judgement’, where he mistook the word *regter* ‘judge’ for ‘judgment’ (this would be *oordeel* or *vonnis*, in Dutch) and assumed *dat* ‘that’ to be the receiver/indirect object of the action of giving, rather than the direct object itself. Consequently, the phrasing “is made quiet”, since it refers to *regter* (transcribed as *rekutoru* レクトル, in Japanese), must refer to the concept of indirect object or, better said, the dative case. In this sense, thus, “being made quiet”

refers to the idea that the role of a noun in the dative case is to receive the action being neither the one moving, or the one being moved. Nonetheless, the excerpt above only mentions the accusative case (*beschuldigend geval*), which the form of the article *den* can also serve. In fact, this piece of text is likely based on the entry to the definite article *de* found in Halma's dictionary (on page 115 of the first edition, and on page 128 of the second one). There it was claimed that "this article *de* changes in the dative and accusative case into *den*" (Dit woordleedje *de* verandert in 't geevend en beschuldigend geval in *den*). Subsequently the same sample sentence is presented. Thus, in both Halma's quote and in the Japanese one, the form *den* – albeit used in a dative context – is compared to its accusative counterpart.

As a conclusion, I claim that the manuscript titled *Nakano Ryūho sensei bunpō* is largely based on the legend of abbreviations, found in Halma's dictionary from the second edition onwards. The author probably interpreted the terms therein as referring to concepts comparable to word-classes, or what Ogyū would have called *jihin* 字品. A unique characteristic of this manuscript that is not seen in the other works attributed to Shizuki is the fact that the parts of speech are first introduced with their Dutch name, followed by an explanation and some examples and, only afterwards, with a Japanese literal translation – oftentimes a calque – and the concept from the Sino-Japanese tradition to which the Dutch term could be compared. If it is true that this manuscript corresponds to what is otherwise known as *Oranda shihin-kō* 和蘭詞品考, this would imply that this work is the one Shizuki must have compiled earlier in his life. Were this to be true, then one would need to find an explanation for the fact that *Sensei bunpō* was based on an edition of Halma subsequent to the first one. The first edition of Halma has been used for other works, such as *Seizenfu*, that would need to be a later compilation to *Shihin-kō*, and that Shizuki believes contained mistakes. In my view, the content of *Shihin-kō* is very different from the rest of Shizuki's works, specifically *Joshi-kō* and *Seizenfu*. Why do most of the calques coined by Shizuki in this work never appear again in any other of his sources? Why is the general understanding of the parts of speech so different from what can be found in the other sources? Perhaps, if one were to consider this an early work, it would mean that Shizuki had not yet extensively read the works of Ogyū Sorai and Motoori Norinaga.

One might claim that European lexicographical works were not the best sources if one intended to learn Dutch grammar and its theory. Marin's and Halma's dictionaries were mostly meant for Dutch speakers to acquire French vocabulary and did not aim to inform their readers about the complexities of grammar, syntax, and morphology. Moreover, the tables of abbreviations found at the beginning of both dictionaries were not meant to be comprehensive lists of the categories of speech, and often included concepts uncommon in morphology, while not including some important categories of speech. It is precisely because he used such sources that the author of *Sensei bunpō* ended up only recognizing the categories of "active verbs" and "neuter verbs", and lacking a general category of "verbs", for example.

7.2 *Joshi-kō*

As I have mentioned in 2.4.2, when it comes to the categories of the parts of speech, *Joshi-kō* is quite a peculiar source. Firstly, because not all the copies of this manuscript include a section on grammar. Secondly, because the information contained in the section on grammar often appears to be internally inconsistent, often presenting multiple names for the same category without many elucidations. Because of this, I have speculated that a section on grammar might have been added later to the original source, perhaps by some copyist, and that this new combination (glossary + section on grammar) was afterwards copied over, starting a new lineage in the philological history of *Joshi-kō*. Consequently, the information in *Joshi-kō* regarding the parts of speech to be discussed in the present section is quite extensive. I have thus chosen to split the present section into three sub-sections: the first containing the analysis of the tables and their comments (7.2.1), and the last two (7.2.2 and 7.2.3) containing the rest of the grammatical explanations, divided according to the labels there used for the parts of speech.

7.2.1 The two tables

Shizuki's *Joshi-kō* can be understood as a glossary to be used as a reference guide for the category of *joshi* 助詞 'auxiliary word'. Functionally, it is a Dutch-Japanese dictionary limited to translating words belonging to this category and, as already argued (see section 5.5), it fits neatly within the Neo-Confucian sub-genre of the *jigi* 字義, which I have called "Thoughts on Auxiliary Characters". However, what Shizuki means by the term *joshi* is not per se intuitive. This has led some to assume that this term was used to refer to all those categories of speech of Dutch that he could not distinguish or properly understand (DE GROOT 2005, 147-149). However, as I will argue in this chapter, combined with the evidence collected in Chapter VIII, this description is far from being true and Shizuki's use of the term *joshi* can be better explained by comparing and analyzing the explanations scattered across his works. As illustrated in 2.4.2, *Joshi-kō* is a rather long work, whose main body is devoted to listing all the Dutch words that are considered *joshi*, for which a classical Japanese translation is generally provided, often adding example sentences in Dutch, that get translated into classical Japanese as well. It is well documented that these entries are based on Marin's dictionary (DE GROOT 2005, 151-152; SUGIMOTO 1976, 397-404). As I will show in 7.2.4, the list of Dutch words found here includes the parts of speech generally considered to be conjunctions, adverbs, articles and pronouns in the Greek-Latin tradition. Thus, from a Dutch point of view, grouping them together seems rather arbitrary however, as I will argue further below, there is a clear reason why Shizuki does group them together. In fact, eventually, I will be able to argue that the category of *joshi* can also be considered productive within the context of Dutch grammar. In addition, in some copies of *Joshi-kō* there is also a section with "grammatical explanation". As I have discussed in 2.4.2, there are reasons to believe that these sections were added later.

In the first page of the grammatical explanation (48r), one finds a rather explicative table, that illustrates the relations between the categories of speech, mostly based on the Chinese tradition of “empty-full”, as seen in Table 39.

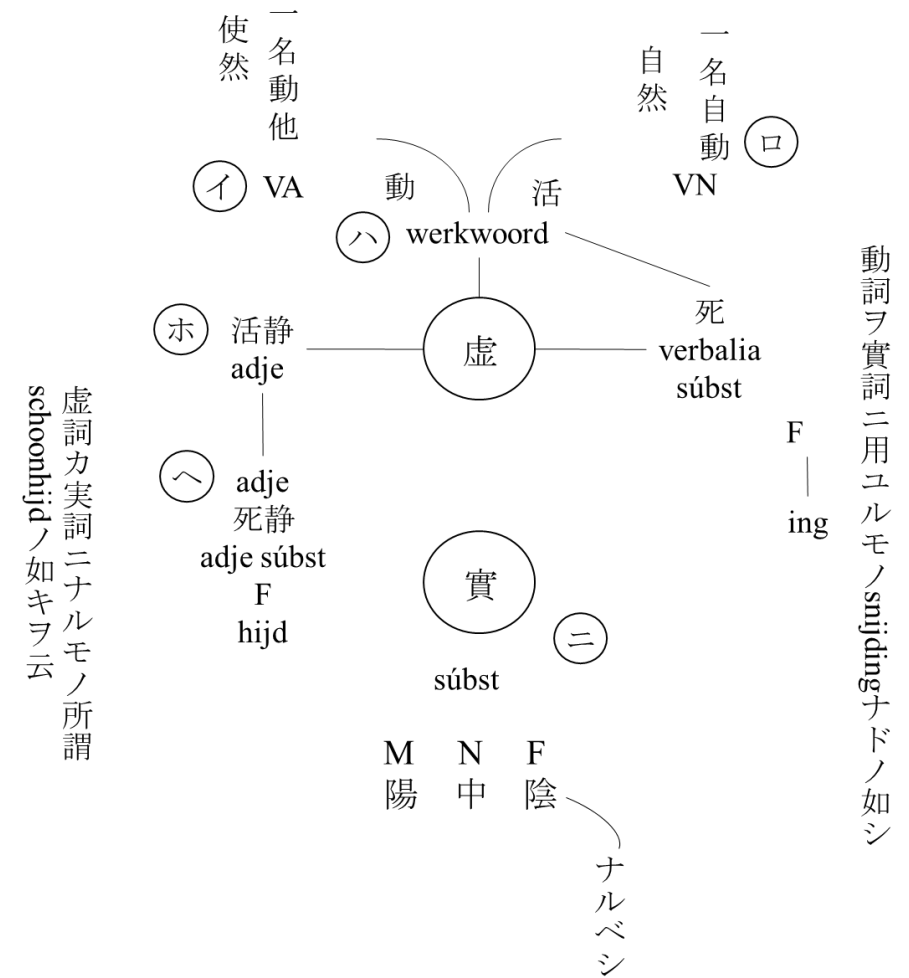


Table 39 Copy of the table of the parts of speech in *Joshi-kō*.

This table illustrates the relations between the parts of speech that do not belong to the *joshi* category. Next to each category, one finds *katakana* characters in the *iroha* order, which are used to refer to text outside the table (see below). This table should probably be read from the center moving toward the outside, starting from either one of the two *foci*: “empty” 虚 or “full” 実. The lower *focus* “full” 実 presents the Latin characters *subst*, abbreviation of the Latin term *substantivum*, standing for

“substantive” nouns. It is added that “full” words can be of three types: *M*, for “masculine”, translated into Japanese as *yō* 陽 ‘Yang’; *F*, for “feminine”, translated into Japanese as *in* 陰 ‘Yin’; and *N*, for “neuter”, translated into Japanese as *chū* 中 ‘middle’. As I have discussed in Chapter IV, the use of the first letter from the Latin words for the genders was probably taken from Marin’s dictionary. In fact, in Halma’s dictionary genders are always abbreviated from their Dutch term. The *iroha* character *ni* 二 is written on the side of the Chinese character for “full”. This refers to the following page, where one finds additional terminology related to nouns: *zelfstandig naamwoord*, that is the Dutch term for “noun”; the Latin-derived abbreviation *subst*; and a couple of additional terms in Chinese characters. Nouns are here called *shijitsusōshō* 死実惣稱, composed of the character *shi* 死 ‘dead’, *jitsu* 実 ‘full’, *sō* 惣 ‘all’, *shō* 稱 (称) ‘nomenclature’. The combination of *sōshō* 惣稱 ‘all nomenclatures’ probably refers to the idea that nouns are used to name the objects of the world (semantic definition). This is a similar phrasing to *Sensei bunpō*, where nouns were defined as “the names of all things and the nomenclature of all actions” (萬物ノ名及萬事ノ稱). The character for “dead” was also found in Ogyū Sorai’s *Kun’yaku jimō* (see 6.1.2), where it was employed to refer to the “use” (*yō* 用) of verbs or adjectives in a way that did not allow them any further inflection and it was there often equated to nouns (“full words”, *jitsu* 実). It is added that the term *shijitsusōshō* 死実惣稱 can be abbreviated into *jisshi* 実詞 “full word”. This can be called a morphosyntactic definition. An alternative name for nouns provided here, is *jitaishi* 自体詞, which appears to be a direct translation of the Dutch *zelfstandig naamwoord*, with *zelfstandig* ‘independent’ or ‘substantive’ adapted as *jitai* 自体 ‘autonomous’, ‘itself’. In *Sensei bunpō* (7.1), there is another literal translation of the Dutch term for noun, namely *jiritsu myōgo* 自立名語, where the idea of ‘independent’ (*jiritsu* 自立) recalls that of ‘autonomous’ (*jitai* 自体). Furthermore, the character *tai* 体, often used for nouns, in Japanese traditional studies, was also mentioned in the definition of nouns in that source, in the phrasing “they have shape and filling” (有体有実).

The second *focus* of the table corresponds to the category “empty words” (*kyo* 虚). This category splits into three sub-categories. The first sub-category is that of verbs, called *werkwoord* in Dutch and *katsudō* 活動 ‘lively moving’, in Sino-Japanese. Both these characters serve to distinguish the category of verbs, from the two other types of “empty words”. Adjectives are called *seikatsu* 静活 ‘quiet lively’, with the character *sei* 静 ‘quiet’, contrasting with *dō* 動 ‘moving’ used for verbs. The character *katsu* 活 ‘lively’, instead, contrasts with the third and last sub-category of “empty words”, namely *shi* 死 ‘dead’. In fact, one could also interpret the table as implying that there are two main sub-categories of “empty words”, namely “lively” (*katsu* 活) and “dead” (*shi* 死) words. In this sense, “quiet” (*sei* 静) and “moving” (*dō* 動) words would be considered as sub-categories of “lively” words. However, as will be shown below, “dead words”, although stemming from “empty words” are said to belong to the category of “full words” (実ノ属).

An alternative abbreviated name for verbs is *dōshi* 動詞. This term is the most common name for “verbs” across Shizuki’s bibliography and it is still commonly used today. The category of verbs splits into two further sub-categories that are identified as *VA* and *VN*. Shizuki provides the correspondence of *VA* to *werkende werkwoord*, a word Marin and Halma used for “active verbs”, in their dictionaries, and *VN* to *onzijdige werkwoord*, which Marin adopts for neuter verbs, while Halma used the term *geenerlei*. Thus, the letters *VA* and *VN* are abbreviations of *verbum activum* and *verbum neutrum*, the Latin terms that Marin used in his dictionary, instead of the Dutch initials, found in Halma. Either type of verb is provided with two Japanese names: neuter verbs are called either *jidō* 自動 or *jinenshi* 自然詞; while active verbs are called *dōta* 動他 or *shizenshi* 使然詞. Unfortunately, a proper definition for any of the subcategories of verbs is not provided here, thus it is not clear just by reading *Joshi-kō* how one should interpret these concepts. However, the terms *jidō* and *dōta* 動他 were used and explained in *Rangaku seizenfu* (see 8.3). The terms *jinenshi* and *shizenshi* are not very common within Shizuki’s works, only really being featured in *Sensei bunpō*, where the terms *jidō* and *dōta* do not appear at all. As discussed in 5.4, these terms have been used in Japanese sources to refer to what MATSUO (1943, 462-463) seems to imply to correspond to the idea of transitivity and intransitivity.¹³

Adjectives are called *seikatsu* 静活 ‘quiet and lively’ to distinguish them from “lively moving” words, i.e., verbs. Below this category one finds the letters *adje*, an abbreviation of Latin *adjectivum*. The Dutch name is *toevoegelijk naamwoord*, also found in Marin, instead of the alternative *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*, found in Halma. The Japanese full name of this category is *kyoseikatsushi* 虚静活詞, which provides all the references to the morphosyntactic sub-categories adjectives belong to, namely: *kyo* for “empty”; *sei* for “quiet” and *katsu* for “lively”.

Both adjectives and verbs can be “used” (*yō* 用) as “dead” (*shi* 死). This recalls Ogyū Sorai’s *Kun’yaku jimō*, where the “use of characters” (*ji no yō* 字ノ用) was one of the sub-branches of his translation. While the connection between “full” and “dead” words was not as clear in that source, Shizuki makes it evident. The table claims that “lively quiet” (adjectives) and “lively moving” (verbs) words can be turned “dead”. Within the Sino-Japanese framework this means turning an “empty” word into a “full” word. Within the Greek-Latin framework, instead – it refers to the nominalization of adjectives and verbs. This is clear from the quotes added to both sides of the table. On the left, one reads: “Turning an “empty” word into a “full” word, that is like saying *schoonhijid*” (虚詞カ実詞ニナルモノ所謂 *schoonhijid* ノ如キヲ云). On the right, one reads: “Using a verb as a “full” word, that is like

¹³ Unfortunately, I have not been able to find much secondary literature concerning the use of these two specific terms – namely, *jinen* 自然 and *shizen* 使然 – nor have I been able to conduct any deeper research in this regard as the secondary literature is extremely lacking, requiring extensive literary research. While it would be certainly interesting to know the history of the use of these terms, supposedly of Buddhist origin, within linguistic investigations, I will have to limit myself to the observation that they were mostly treated as synonyms to the pair *jidō* and *dōta* in Shizuki’s works.

snijding” (動詞ヲ実詞ニ用ユルモノ *snijding* ナドノ如シ). As illustrated in the table, this is done, in Dutch, by means of specific suffixes. In the examples, *schoonhijd* ‘beauty’ is the noun derived from the composition of the adjective *schoon* ‘beautiful’, plus the suffix *-hijd* (usually *-heid*). Similarly, the word *snijding* ‘cutting’ is the nominalized version of the verb *snijden* ‘to cut’, whose root is *snijd*-plus the suffix *-ing*. Shizuki adds that when using these two suffixes, the resulting noun is feminine (F). These are the same examples found in the second rule of the genders of nouns that was added by the editors in the third edition of Marin (see 4.3). There, it was claimed that the suffixes *-heid* (or *-heit*) and *-ing* are used to turn adjectives and verbs, respectively, into nouns of the feminine gender. Shizuki also adopts the term *verbalia*, which Marin – or, rather, his editors – uses to refer to nominalized verbs. The term *verbalia* does not appear in either Séwel or Halma. This is defined by Shizuki as the “dead use” (死用) of verbs, that are also labeled as *subst*, meaning “noun” and “full”. Nominalized adjectives are not labeled in any specific way in Marin’s dictionary. However, Shizuki also provides a sub-category for them. He calls this *seishi* 静死 “quiet dead”, in contrast with *seikatsu* 静活 “quiet lively”, the term he uses for non-nominalized adjectives. What is particularly interesting is that Shizuki not only comes up with a new Sino-Japanese category, probably inspired by Ogyū’s “dead use”, but he also invents a Dutch term for it. Shizuki labels nominalized adjectives as the Latin abbreviations *adje subst* and refers to them in Dutch as *toevoegelijk zelfstandig naamwoord* combining the name of adjectives (*toevoegelijk naamwoord*) with the name of nouns (*zelfstandig naamwoord*). I have not been able to find this term in any Dutch source and it appears to be a personal invention of Shizuki. The closest thing I could find to this term are particular wordings in Séwel¹⁴ where he talks about nominalized adjectives or the combined use of adjectives with nouns. In all the editions of the *Spraakkonst*, Séwel uses *byvoegelyk* instead of *toevoegelyk*, the latter being the preferred term by Marin. The complete name of this category is *kyoseishishi* 虚静死詞, which differs from the full name of adjectives (*kyoseikatsushi* 虚静活詞) only for the character “lively” (*katsu* 活) being substituted with “dead” (*shi* 死). When explaining

¹⁴ Séwel is seen relating adjectives and nouns very often, in his *Spraakkonst*. In particular, he covers the nominalization of adjectives in the following way: “Nitemin gebeurt het wel dat een Byvoegelyk Naamwoord in een Zelfstandig veranderd wordt, als *De donker begint te vallen. Het groen is nu op zyn krachtigst. De wilden hebben hem doorgeslagen*. Men voegt dikwils twee *Zelfstandige* Naamwoorden byeen, waarvan het voorste de plaats van een Byvoegelyk bekleedt [...]”. (‘However, it does happen that an adjective gets turned into a noun, like *The dark begins to fall. The green is now at its strongest. The wilds have beaten him*. One also often connects two nouns together, of which the first one plays the role of an adjective [...].’) The closest thing to Shizuki’s *toevoegelyk zelfstandige naamwoorden* is found in phrasing such as ‘*byvoegelyk en zelfstandige naamwoorden*’ as in page 191 of the first edition, where Shizuki could have interpreted the conjunction *en* ‘and’ to be relating the adjectives *bijvoegelyk* and *zelfstandige* as both qualifying *naamwoord*, rather than referring to two types of nouns, as in *bijvoegelyk (naamwoorden) en zelfstandige naamwoorden*. This is just speculation, and I cannot state anything definitive. However, what one can say is that this category is mostly an invention of Shizuki, that could perhaps have been reinforced by misinterpreting some of the content of Séwel, or some other source.

adjectives Shizuki adds a few examples of their uses as compared to what one would call adverbs. He writes that the Dutch adjective *goed* ‘good’ corresponds to three different conjugated forms of the Japanese *yoshi*, *yoki* and *yoku*. These are considered *seikatsu* 静活 ‘adjectives’ and are labeled with the Latin abbreviation *adje*. The Dutch adverb *wel* ‘well’, is labeled as *adje* in some copies, but it is labeled as *adv*, an abbreviation of *adverbium*, in Waseda’s C559. I assume the copies with *adje* to be misspellings on the side of the copyist. In Sino-Japanese, *wel* is categorized as a *joshi* 助詞 and corresponds to the Japanese words *yoshi* and *yoku*. The reason why *goed* (an adjective) can also be translated into Japanese as *yoki* and *wel* (an adverb) cannot, is because *yoki*, a *rentaikei* form, allows the adjective to be used attributively. The form *yoshi* is a *shūshikei*, that would correspond to the predicative use of the adjective, while *yoku*, a *ren’yōkei*, allows for the adjective to be used adverbially. As a further explanation of the distinction between *goed* and *wel*, Shizuki adds that: “This is a type of *joshi*, I will call things like this *dōkyakushi* 動客詞” (助詞中ノ一種如此者今名動客詞). This is a very interesting issue, since Shizuki is identifying a difference in the use of *goed* and *wel*, that correspond to different conjugated forms of Japanese adjectives. An adverb is recognized as a different category, which Shizuki calls *dōkyakushi* 動客詞, which should probably be interpreted as “verb-substitute”, not differing too much from the original meaning of “adverb”, as I discussed in 3.2.7. The adaptation of the Dutch *bijwoord* “adverb” as *dōkyakushi*, seems to be closer to the interpretation of the term, where *woord* is a direct translation of *verbum*, with the sense of “verb” and not “word”, thus interpreting *bijwoord* as “word close/substitute to a verb”. Conversely, in *Sensei bunpō* the translation *bōgo* 傍語 was adopted, that implies the interpretation of its meaning as “close-word”, with *woord* meaning “word” and not “verb”. Marin defined adverbs as an “invariable word, that gets placed by or attached to a verb” (*Onveranderlyk woord, dat by een Werkwoord geplaatst, gevoegd word*). It is worth mentioning and further investigating the fact that even though the information regarding adverbs – their name and their definition – was well in reach, the author of this section of grammar in *Joshi-kō* consciously decided to partially neglect this information and still categorize adverbs within the broader category of *joshi*. This is consistent with what I will argue in 7.2.4.

The “dead use” (死用) is further explained in the following quote (49v):

動詞ヲ死用セルモノ ing.ヲ帶
フ verbalia ノ中ニモ komst.
gang.ナドノ如キハ ing.ナシ然
モ其意一ナリ但 ing.アル者ハ
必ス f ナリ 静ノ死ニモ hÿd.ナ
キモアリアルハ必ス f ナリ 静
死ハ多クハ hÿd.ヲ帶タリ

In using a verb as a ‘dead’ word, *-ing* is added. Amongst the *verbalia* there are also [words] like *komst* [‘coming’] *gang* [‘going’], without *-ing*. Nonetheless, they are the same concept. Furthermore, whenever there is *-ing* it must be a F [‘feminine’]. Even amongst the ‘deaths of an adjective’ (*sei no shi* 静ノ死) there are those which do not have *-hÿd*. When there is, they are F [‘feminine’]. In many ‘deaths of adjectives’ *-hÿd* is added.

Shizuki is adding that the suffix *-ing* is not the only way to turn a verb into a substantive. He raises the examples of *komst* from *komen* ‘to come’ and *gang*, from

gaan ‘to go’ and adds that even among adjectives there are examples of “dead adjectives” that are not turned into substantives by means of the suffix *-hij* (*-heid*), although he provides no example of this.

In general, one can say that the broad structure of the theory of the categories of speech, as found in the tables of *Joshi-kō* is based on the Sino-Japanese tradition, exemplified by the “empty-full” dichotomy. This theoretical framework is very much in line with Ogyū Sorai’s *Kun’yaku jimō*. In addition, this was combined with what was found in Marin’s dictionary, specifically in the introduction written by the editors. Indeed, the main categorization of the parts of speech is ultimately based on the “full-empty” dichotomy, typical of Chinese studies, a scholarship that further distinguishes between two additional dichotomies, namely “lively-dead” and “moving-quiet”. By combining these qualities, one obtains specific sub-categories, that correspond to the traditional Dutch categories. That is to say that, if one takes an “empty-lively-quiet” word, then one would have a Dutch *toevoegelijk naamwoord*, an “adjective”. Had one taken an “empty-lively-moving” word, then one would have a “verb”, instead. Were one to use that same verb as “dead”, instead of using it as “lively”, then one would obtain “nominalized verbs”, which would become “full” and be called *verbalia*, according to the terminology found in Marin’s dictionary. Since Dutch grammar does not really analyze nominalized adjectives as a separate category, the author comes up with a Dutch term for them: *toevoegelijk zelfstandig naamwoord*, which are “empty-quiet” words used as “dead”. In this regard, I would like to mention an implication of the Sino-Japanese theoretical framework that is brought over by Shizuki onto the Dutch framework. If a word like *schoonheid* is called a “dead quiet” word and not a “full” word (although it does belong to the latter category), then it means that words are to be considered as having an “original” form that defines the “original” category they belong to. Through suffixation one can modify words to make them change their morphosyntactic qualities. However, they cannot change the class they originally belong to. This is similar to what was argued by Ogyū, for example, when he explained the “dead use” of lively words, where he cited Chinese characters according to their supposed “original” form and showed how they could be used as “lively” and as “dead” (see 6.1.2). In the Dutch word *schoonheid*, composed of the root *schoon* and the affix *-heid*, it is *schoon* that is an originally empty word, which is turned into a “dead” word by means of the affix *-heid*. This idea that words possess an original non-derivative version according to which one categorizes them morphologically is typical of the Sino-Japanese tradition. However, it does not appear to me that the same could be used to describe the Dutch sources Shizuki read. In this sense, Shizuki afforded to the Dutch categories characteristics typical of the Sino-Japanese understanding of Chinese characters, still based on that introduction in Marin’s dictionary.

In order to better understand the table above, the author draws it again (49r) by adding examples of words semantically related to flora, in order to illustrate how words change according to each category. Table 40 is a copy of it:

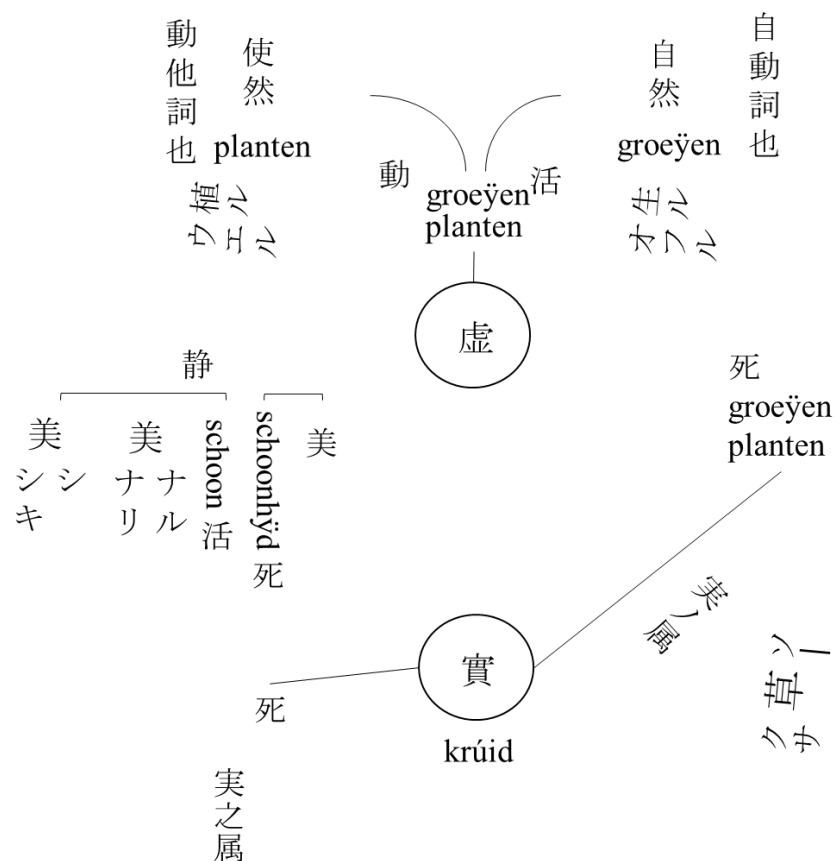


Table 40 Table of the parts of speech in *Joshi-kō* with word examples.

Table 40, just like Table 39, ought to be read from the center toward the outside, starting from the two *foci*, represented by “empty words” (*kyo* 虚) and “full words” (*jitsu* 実). In this example related to flora, the “full word” is *kruid* – a generic term that can be used to refer to any type of vegetation – that is translated into Japanese into the homologous *kusa* 草. The word *kruid* is a noun, just like *kusa*, and it does not derive from the modification of an original word belonging to any other category. They are both “originally” substantive words. For this reason, this term is considered the “full word” in the semantic context of vocabulary related to flora. The “empty” category splits into three. On the top, one finds the category of verbs comprising *groeyen* ‘to grow’¹⁵ for neuter verbs (*jidō* 自動 or *shizen* 使然), and *planten* ‘to plant’ for active verbs (*dōta* 動他 or *jinen* 自然). The active *planten* is

¹⁵ Note that the Dutch verb *groei(j)en* cannot be used as a transitive, unlike the English ‘to grow’.

translated into Japanese as *ueru* 植ル, while the neuter *groeijen* as *ouru* 生ル. They both can be used as “dead” (*shi* 死) and thus belong to the “full” category (実ノ属), yet the “dead” form of both is left unchanged from the infinitive; this is understandable for *groeijen* since it cannot combine with the suffix *-ing*, and less so for *planten* that could combine with the suffix *-ing*. A similar thing is claimed regarding adjectives (*seishi* 静詞). To represent adjectives Shizuki gives the example of the word *schoon* ‘beautiful’.¹⁶ The “lively” (*katsu* 活) form *schoon* is translated as *utsukushiku naru* 美ナル, *utsukushiku nari* 美ナリ, *utsukushi* 美シ and *utsukushiki* 美シキ. The “dead” (*shi* 死) form is, reportedly, *schoonhijd*, translated as *mi* 美 that belongs to the “full” category (実ノ属).

In conclusion, I argue that in *Joshi-kō*, all non-*joshi* words exist in combinations of six morphological categories, representing three dichotomies: “full” (*jitsu* 実) – “empty” (*kyo* 虚); “moving” (*dō* 動) – “quiet” (*sei* 静); “lively” (*katsu* 活) – “dead” (*shi* 死). This implies the existence of an “original” version of each word, or semantic unit, that belongs to one specific combination of these categories, yet most “original” word can be modified, via suffixes, and be turned into a different category. This is exemplified by the category of “full” words that only includes nouns that do not derive from any other category. These words are “originally” nouns, i.e., they are nouns in their “original” form.¹⁷ However, one can turn an adjective or a verb into a “full” word, by using it as “dead”, that means by adding a suffix that does not allow any further conjugation to happen, as implied by Ogyū Sorai (see 6.1.2). All nouns are “dead” to begin with, which is why Shizuki calls them *shijitsusōshō* 死実惣稱, using both the characters for “dead” (*shi* 死) and for “full” (*jitsu* 実). Nominalized adjectives and verbs, instead, although “belonging to full words” (実ノ属), still present the character “empty” (*kyo* 虚) in their names.

7.2.2 The first part of the grammatical explanation

The transformation of “empty” words into “full” words also entails information regarding their gender. This might be the reason why the first issue dealt with in the section on grammar that follows the two tables is that of articles and their gender specification. Shizuki writes the following (49v):

de 凡ソ陰詞陽詞中詞ノ衆及ヒ陰詞陽詞ノ独ナルモノ皆コレヲ冠ス	de generally used to crown all the plural of masculine, feminine and neuter words, as well as all the singular of masculine and feminine words.
het 凡ソ中詞ノ独ナルモノ及ヒ動	het is generally used to crown all the singular neuter

¹⁶ It is not clear whether Shizuki chose the adjective *schoon* because he believed beauty to be an intrinsic quality of flora or, rather, because that is precisely the example raised by Marin in the introduction to his dictionary (see 4.3). A combination of the two might also be a viable answer.

¹⁷ As I will show below, the term “original” (*ganrai* 元来), in this sense, will be used by Shizuki himself.

詞静詞ノ死セルモノ皆コレヲ冠ス	words, as well as the death of verbs and adjectives.
het ヲ附テ死詞ニナルアリ het leezen het schryven. ノルイ	When adding <i>het</i> , it becomes a dead word (<i>shishi</i> 死詞) of the sort of <i>het leezen</i> , <i>het schrijven</i> .

Firstly, one should notice the use of the verb *kuwansu* 冠ス ‘to crown’, to refer to articles, that echoes the modern term for articles *kanshi* 冠詞, lit. ‘crown-word’. It is also necessary to point out that, while the term *kanshi* is never used by Shizuki, he does sometimes refer to articles with the term *hassei no shi* 発声ノ詞, literally ‘word of voice initiation’. This term is very similar to the terms *hatsugo no kotoba* or *hatsugoji* 發語辭 used by Ogyū in *Kun’yaku jimō*. In Ogyū’s use of this word, he seemed to refer to Chinese characters of the *joshi* type, that tended to be used at the beginning of sentences. This makes sense if one considers that the terms *hatsugo* and *hassei* can be understood as meaning “speech-initiating”. Chinese characters called *hatsugoji* by Ogyū are, for example: *i* 惟 and *i* 維, when they correspond to the Japanese *kore* ‘this’; *ei* 繫, that mostly represents an interjection; *ki* 其, *shi* 此 and *hi* 彼, *fu* 夫, also meaning “this” and “that”; among others. These characters all correspond to Japanese words that are systematically placed at the beginning of a phrase as to introduce it and connect it to the text that came before. As for the characters meaning “this” and “that”, Ogyū adds that they are “words that point at things” (物ヲ指ス辭). These words, indeed, often correspond to demonstrative pronouns and adjectives referring to a previously mentioned fact, object, or person and, in this sense thus, they do behave similarly to determinate articles. The term *hassei* 発声 for “articles” is also witnessed in *Sanshu shokaku*, by Shizuki (see 2.4.4). It is not clear what Shizuki meant when claiming that *het* is used with nominalized adjectives – *seishi no shi* 静詞ノ死 – since all the examples he mentions were made with the suffix *-hijō* (*-heid*), that makes the noun feminine, hence requiring the article *de*, instead. It is also worth briefly illustrating the terminology used by Shizuki to refer to the grammatical genders and numbers of words. As already shown, genders are rendered by means of the Taoist concepts of Yin (*in* 陰, ‘feminine’) and Yang (*yō* 陽, ‘masculine’) and the word *chū* 中 ‘center’ for the neuter gender. In this sentence, they are combined with the Chinese character *shi* 詞 for ‘word’, creating the terms *inshi* 陰詞 for ‘feminine word’; *yōshi* 陽詞 for ‘masculine word’ and *chūshi* 中詞 for ‘neuter word’. As discussed in 6.1.2, Ogyū Sorai did adopt the concepts of Yin and Yang in his theory of translation within the work *Kun’yaku jimō*. There, it appeared that this dichotomy was used to refer to the relation between two characters where the Yin character “receives” the Yang character, in a concept comparable to that of “head” within a compound, a phrase or a sentence. There seems to be no direct connection between Shizuki’s use of the dichotomy and that of Ogyū, and it seems that the former simply used it to translate quite directly the binary of masculine and feminine gender, if one considers that, in Taoism, the Yin is often connected to the feminine, while the Yang to the masculine element.

The singular number is rendered via the Chinese character *doku* 独 ‘single’, ‘lonely’, while the plural through the character *shū* 衆, ‘numerous’. Regarding this last character, it must be added that Shizuki previously felt the need to specify its meaning, in the introduction to the manuscript, by stating that it coincided with the character *fuku* 複, ‘repeat’, ‘overlap’, suggesting that Shizuki expected the reader not to be accustomed to the use of *shū* 衆 for “plural”, while the term *fukushi* 複詞 was supposed to be more easily understandable (5v):

衆詞ト言ハ複詞ノㇿ也即チ meervoudig woord ノㇿ也	The <i>shūshi</i> 衆詞 is a <i>fukushi</i> 複詞, which means it is a <i>meervoudig woord</i> [‘plural word’].

Ogyū Sorai, in his *Kun'yaku jimō*, presented a similar *tan-fuku* 単複 ‘singular-plural’ dichotomy. In that case, nonetheless, since grammatical number does not exist in any meaningful manner in either Chinese or Japanese, it was used to refer to those *kanji* that can be used autonomously (independent *kanji*), and those who always require to be used in combination with other Chinese characters (dependent *kanji*). This might imply that, although Shizuki has adopted this same dichotomy, he has applied it to a completely different concept, in order to explain a new grammatical feature introduced in the linguistic environment of Japan by the Dutch language. This is similar to what he did with the Yin-Yang dichotomy, for example.

Following the two tables above (49v-50v), in *Joshi-kō*, Shizuki presents a brief list of examples of words for each of the categories he identified. The list tends to use words from the same root, whenever possible, to stress the grammatical difference and the variation of words according to the category they belong to. The list is shown in Table 41.

In this table, another slightly different system of the categories of speech is presented, still only considering non-*joshi* words. This new system divides the parts of speech into five, as follows:

1. **Dead verbs**, *dōshi no shi* 動詞ノ死 – **verbalia**: These are nominalized verbs, including those created by the addition of the suffix *-ing*;
2. **Full words**, *jisshi* 実詞: These are non-derivative nouns, i.e., nouns that are not created by the addition of a suffix to an “empty word” (*kyoshi* 虚詞);
3. **Verbs**, *dōshi* 動詞: These are full-fledged verbs that can be conjugated, thus belonging to the category of “empty” (*kyoshi* 虚詞);
4. **Adjectives**, *seikyoshi* 静虚詞: These are full-fledged adjectives, for which both the *shūshikei*, as well as the *rentaikei* forms are provided;
5. **Adjectives belonging to full words**, *jisshi ni zokusu seikyoshi* 実詞ニ属ス静虚詞: These are those adjectives to which a nominalizing suffix is added, making them belong to the “full word” category, just like all other nouns.

As for this last category, Shizuki finds two types of such words, being able to draw a parallel between Dutch and Japanese. In Dutch, the two suffixes used to turn

adjectives into nouns are *-hijd* (misspelling of *-heid* or *-heit*) that Shizuki has already covered lengthily, and *-te*.

gang	行キ	komst	来キ	右動詞ノ死 verbalia
planting	植ヒ			
overgave	渡シ	loop	アユミ 歩	
hemel	天	aard	地	右実詞
menssch	人	vúúr	火	
water	水	zon	日	
gaan	行	komen	来ル	右動詞
planten	植ル	overgave	ワタ 渡ス	
lopen	歩ム			
hoog	高シ	lang	長キ シ	右静虚詞
wit	白シ キ	heet	熱シ キ	
schoon	美シ シキ	groot	大キ シ	
hooghijd	高キㇿ	langhijd	長キㇿ	右実詞ニ属ス静虚詞
withijt	白キㇿ	schoonhijd	美キㇿ	
groothijd	大キㇿ			
hoogte	高サ	langte	長サ	右実詞ニ属ス静虚詞
hitte	熱サ	grootte	大サ	
breedte	潤サ	diepte	深サ	

Table 41 Examples of word classes, in *Joshi-kō*, and their morphological connections

The author further provides a Japanese translation for each one, namely *-ki koto* キㇿ for *-hijd*, and *-sa* サ for *-te*. An example is the adjective *hoog/takashi* ‘high’, ‘tall’. The Dutch adjective *hoog* can combine with both the suffixes *-hijd* and *-te*, originating the terms *hooghijd* ‘highness’ and *hoogte* ‘height’, that Shizuki translates into Japanese as, respectively, *takaki koto* and *takasa*. From a morphological standpoint, the words are pretty similar: both are the composition of the adjective *hoog/takashi* with a suffix that makes nouns out of adjectives. However, Shizuki claims they differ semantically, as can be read below (50v):

高キㇿト言ト高サト言ト小異アリ高キ
ㇿハ其徳ヲイヒ高サハ其量ヲイフ長熱
ノ類モコレニ準ス高シト高キトノ別ヲ
イハ、左ノ如ク下ニ e ヲ添ルナリ

In saying *takaki koto* or *takasa* there is a small difference. While *takaki koto* expresses the value (*toku* 徳), *takasa* expresses the measure (*ryō* 量). The same goes for *nagashi* [‘long’] or *atsushi* [‘warm’]. With regard to the difference between *takashi* and *takaki*, one adds a < e > at the end, just like the following examples:

hoog. 高し wit. 白し groot. 大し
 hooge. 高き witte. 白き groote. 大き

hoog *takashi* wit *shiroshi* groot *ooshi*
 hooge *takaki* witte *shiroki* groote *ooki*

高台白馬大人ナドノ類サレトモ e ヲ添
 ルベキ所ニテ e ヲ略セルモ多シ

These are the sorts of *takadai* 高台, *sirouma* 白馬 and *takahito* 大人. Furthermore, there are also many instances in which *-e* ought to be added, yet it gets elided.

Shizuki is here referencing another morphosyntactic characteristic of the use of adjectives in the Dutch language, drawing a parallelism with Japanese. In Dutch, in most cases, when an adjective is used attributively, it needs to be inflected by adding a final *-e* to its root. This tends not to happen in limited instances, namely when the adjective is combined with an indefinite neuter singular noun. In Japanese, instead, in all instances in which an adjective is used attributively, it requires to be conjugated in its *rentaikei* form (ending in *-ki*), functionally making it a relative clause. Shizuki further claims that in many instances *-e* may be dropped. It is unclear whether he is referencing the rule regarding indefinite neuter singular nouns, I just mentioned, or whether he is stating that this rule is not always followed by native speakers themselves. One needs to still point out that no mention of the different conjugation pattern for adjectives with indefinite neuter singular nouns would otherwise be present in *Joshi-kō*. The reason why this grammatical element is presented here might be a consequence of the fact that one might mistake the suffix *-te*, that nominalizes some adjectives, for the *-e* suffix that is used to decline adjectives in attributive position. This is a consequence of Dutch spelling rules. The confusion could arise most evidently when an adjective like *wit* ‘white’ requires an additional < t > when adding the suffix *-e*, in order not to make the syllable an open one, preserving the original pronunciation of the vowel. Indeed, when the adjective *wit* combines with the suffix *-e*, an extra < t > needs to be added forming the word *witte* and creating the illusion that a suffix *-te* was actually added. For this reason, the word *witte* (*wit* + *-e*; i.e., attributive form of ‘white’) ends up looking very similar to *hitte* ‘heat’ (*heet* ‘hot’ + *-te*; i.e., nominalization of ‘hot’). Subsequently (51r), Shizuki presents a couple of additional suffixes that he utilizes to introduce yet another categorization system of Dutch parts of speech.

ig. matig. ナトノ如シ死詞実詞ヲ
 静活ノ詞トナス故様子ノ詞ト心得
 得〈ベ〉シ実詞死詞ニカゝル動
 詞ニカゝル時モアリ

-ig as in [*matig*] etc. makes ‘lively adjectives’ out of ‘dead words’ and ‘full words’, one should understand them as ‘words of condition’ (*yōsu no kotoba* 様子ノ詞). They can be relative to verbs as well as nouns.

The Dutch suffix *-ig* is, indeed, used in combination with nouns to form adjectives. Shizuki adds that these resulting adjectives can be used in combination with verbs as well as nouns. There are a few misspellings and inconsistencies across the different copies of *Joshi-kō*. For example, the Dutch word *matig* ‘moderate’ is spelled as *matig* (in Waseda’s B109 and in Kyōto’s *Rango kun’yaku*) or *maatig* (in Waseda’s

C559). This is a combination of the noun *maat* ‘measure’ and the suffix *-ig*. Subsequently, there are two examples, allegedly, of the use of this suffix *-ig*. The first example is *machtig rijk* ‘mighty empire’ in both Waseda’s B109 and Kyōto’s *Rango kun’yaku* but written as *magtig rijk* in Waseda’s C559. Here the adjective *machtig* ‘mighty’ is the combination of the noun *macht* ‘might’, ‘power’ and the suffix *-ig*. Below this phrase, one can read ‘full word’ *jisshi* 実詞, that refers to the fact that the adjective *machtig* is modifying the noun *rijk* ‘empire’, in this example. There is another example, whose spelling is also inconsistent across the copies and which I believe is correctly written in Waseda’s C559, where one reads *schelmagtig verraden* ‘to roguishly betray’, below which the word *dōshi* 動詞 ‘verb’ is written, signaling that this is an example of an adjective with the suffix *-ig* modifying a verb (*verraden* ‘to betray’), that means it is an adverb.¹⁸ This phrase is used as an example of an instance in which an “adjective” obtained by the addition of the suffix *-ig* modifies a verb. The author describes these as “words of condition” (*yōsu no kotoba* 様子ノ詞). In order to understand what is meant by this expression one also needs to read the subsequent quote, explaining the suffix *-lijk* (51r):

lijk 死詞実詞ニツケテ静活
詞ト為スノミニ非ス元来ノ
静活詞ニモツケ matiglijk ナ
ドノ如シ気色ノ詞ト心得ベ
シ 形容詞也 コレモ亦静
活ニ属ス動詞ニカゝル死実
ニモカゝル時アリ

The element *-lijk* is not only added to a ‘dead word’ or a ‘full word’ to create a ‘lively adjective’. It is also added to an original ‘lively adjective’, and one must understand them as ‘words of quality’ [*keshiki no kotoba* 気色ノ詞], the likes of *-matiglijk*. (This is a *keiyōshi* 形容詞.) This also belongs to a ‘lively adjective’. They can be relative to verbs as well as nouns.

Here, Shizuki mentions several issues that will be better comprehended in the following pages. The Dutch suffix *-lijk* can be used to make both adjectives as well as adverbs. In many of the works of Shizuki, one does not see adverbs being considered as a stand-alone category, generally being treated as a type of *joshi*. Here, Shizuki refers to two different uses of the suffix *-lijk*, that might suggest he recognized two different categories of words ending in *-lijk*, perhaps coinciding with that of adjectives and adverbs. He first presents the example of the word *matiglijk* ‘moderate(ly)’, that originates from the addition of both the suffixes *-ig* and *-lijk* to

¹⁸ In both Waseda’s B109 and Kyōto’s *Rango kun’yaku*, this phrase is spelled as *schermagtig randen*, where the letter < l > is confused with an < r >, probably on the basis of phonological reasons, and the verb *verraden* is completely misspelled as *randen*. The word *randen*, in Dutch would mean ‘edges’, thus a noun, even considering the letter < r > as a misspelling of < l >, thus making the word *landen* ‘lands’, this would still remain a noun, which would not explain the author’s labeling of this as a verb. In Marin’s dictionary, one can find the entry to the word *schelmagtig* ‘roguishly’, with the sample sentence *Hij heeft het land schelmagtig verraden* ‘He has betrayed the land roguishly’, supporting my interpretation. Judging by these misspellings, there appears to be a closer relation between Waseda’s B109 and Kyōto’s *Rango kun’yaku*, which, in turn, might be more distantly related to Waseda’s C559. In the word *schelmachtig*, however, the suffix *-ig* is present within the suffix *-achtig*, a suffix that roughly corresponds to the English “-like” or “-ish”.

the noun *maat*. This is used to exemplify the claim he just put forward, that is contrasted with what claimed regarding the suffix *-ig*. While for *-ig* it was claimed that it was only attached to “dead” and/or “full” words to make them adjectives, for *-lijk* it is also claimed that it can be added to words that are “originally” (元来) adjectives. This means that one can understand *matig* as an example of a word that is “originally” an adjective, to which the suffix *-lijk* is added. However, also *matiglijk* is to be considered an adjective, or rather, a “quiet lively” word. These types of words are called *keshiki no kotoba* 気色ノ詞, roughly meaning “words of quality”. In order to further explain the meaning of this expression, it is added that these “words of quality” are the same as *keiyōshi* 形容詞.¹⁹ In addition, Shizuki provides two further examples of words with *-lijk* modifying a noun and a verb. These examples are: *ontmoediglijk bedanken* ‘to thank discouragingly’ and *keizerlijk majesteit* ‘imperial majesty’. As Shizuki points out, both his examples with *-ig* and with *-lijk* do modify nouns (adjectival use) and verbs (adverbial use). In order to further explain this concept, the author adds the following remarks (51v), appealing to the reader’s knowledge of Chinese characters.

然モ多クハ動詞ニカヽルナリ忽
然卒爾ノ然ノ字爾ノ字ノ如シ善
言速行是等ノヨクハヤクノクノ
字動詞ニカヽレリ ilyk.ノ意ナリ

Furthermore, it [*-lijk*] often combines with verbs. Similarly to the characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 爾 in *kotsuzen* 忽然 and *sotsuji* 卒爾, *-lijk* also has the meaning of the character *-ku* ク in *yoku* ヨク and *hayaku* ハヤク as in *yoku ihi* 善言, *hayaku yuki* 速行 etc.

This is a reference to the adverbial use of *-lijk*. He draws comparisons between this Dutch suffix and the Chinese characters *zen* 然, in *kotsuzen* 忽然 ‘unexpected(ly)’, and *ji* 爾, in *sotsuji* 卒爾 ‘unexpected(ly)’, ‘careless(ly)’. Additionally, the use of the suffix *-lijk*, in Dutch, is also compared to the use of *-ku* (*ren’yōkei* ending) with adjectives, in Japanese, such as *yoku* 善 ‘well’ and *hayaku* 速 ‘fast’ in the sentences *yoku ii* 善言 ‘speaking well’ and *hayaku yuki* 速行 ‘going fast’. These examples need to be understood as Japanese counterparts to the Dutch example the author has previously provided as *ontmoediglijk bedanken* ‘to thank discouragingly’. The ending *-ku* in Japanese adjectives is generally described as being used to render the adverbial form of said adjective.

There is a very similar claim made by Ogyū Sorai in the third volume, on folios 48v-49r, of his *Kun’yaku jimō*, when covering the difference between the two Chinese characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 爾. He writes:

¹⁹ In contemporary Japanese grammar, the term *keiyōshi* is used to refer to adjectives, specifically those that do not belong to the “adjectival noun” (*keiyōdōshi* 形容動詞) category.

然 爾

然。シカレ^レハサレ^レハ。シカフメ
ハサウメ。シカリハサウジヤ。シカル
ハ。サウアルナリ。大抵。而ノ字ニ
オモムキニ
趣ノ似タル字ナリ。但シ。而ノ字
ハ。句中ニ在テ。前後ヲ分ツ詞ナリ。然
ノ字ハ。重^キシ。上ノ文ヲ。ヲサヘトバ
メテ。下ヘウツル意ナリ。如^レ此ノ二
字ヲ。合シタルモノナリ。カクノゴト
クアツテ。サウメト。カヤウニ。ウツ
リ行ク文法ナリ。若^レ視ニ其肺肝
シカリイゴトクアヒモトムルシカリ
一然意如ニ相求一然カヤウ
ハナハダケイヨウ
ニ。用フル寸ハ。甚輕キ辭ナリ形容
ノ辭ナリ。處ニヨリテ。違フヘケレ
氏。ラシイト譯センカ。欣然イウゼン
タイガイオナジコト
ノ然ト。大槩同事ナリ。(略)

○爾ハ然ノ字ト。全ク同義ナリ。但
シ。然ハノブル。爾ハツマル味ヒナ
リ。

然 爾

然 This character corresponds to *shikaredomo*, *saredomo*, *shikau shite*, *sōshite*, *shikari*, *sōja*, *shikaru*, *sōaru*.²⁰ Its meaning resembles the expressiveness of the character 而 very much. The character *ji* 而 is found in between two sentences and is a word used to divide them. The character *zen* 然 is heavy.²¹ It pushes and fixes the upper sentence and its meaning is pushed toward the lower one. It corresponds to the combination of the two characters 如此 [‘similarly’]. The grammar means “Being like this, acting that way” (*kaku no gotoku atte sō shite to kayō ni utsuri yuku*). “sono haikan miru ga gotoku shikari” “i aimotomuru gotoku shikari” When used in this way it is an extremely light word (character). It is a *keiyō* 形容 word. Even if it changes according to the context, it might also be translated as *-rashii*. The character *zen* 然 in words such as *kinzen* 欣然 [‘frolicking’] or *yūzen* 悠然 [‘calmly’] is mostly the same thing. [...]

The characters *ji* 爾 and *zen* 然 have the same meaning. However, *zen* 然 means ‘to extend’ [*noburu*], while *ji* 爾 means ‘to fill up’ [*tsumaru*].

Here, the characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 爾, that are almost synonyms, are assigned the meaning of expressing a condition of how things are or ought to be. When *zen* translates the Japanese expressions *shikari* (‘like this’, ‘as such’), it is considered a *keiyō* 形容. The word *shikari* can be understood as expressing the condition or the state of something, what it looks like. The phrase *sono haikan miru ga gotoku shikari*, quoted from the *Great Learning* (大学), roughly translates to “It is like looking into someone’s lungs and livers”. It is this specific use of the character *zen* 然 that is referred to by Ogyū as a *keiyō* 形容. Semantically, the use of the character *zen* 然, referring to the Japanese word *shikari*, is acknowledged as a synonym to its use in compound words, such as *kinzen* 欣然 ‘frolicking’ and *yūzen* 悠然 ‘calmly’, both expressing the condition of an action, in a similar way an adverb would do. On folio 39v of the third volume of *Kun’yaku jimō*, Ogyū mentions the term *keiyōji* again, adding information to this concept, as can be read below.²²

²⁰ All these Japanese phrases express concepts such as “if so”, “like this”, “doing so” etc.

²¹ I have discussed the “heavy-light” dichotomy with specific reference to this entry in 6.1.2.

²² The Chinese sentence *zǐ zhī dàng xī* 子之蕩兮 is found in the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shījīng* 詩經), in *Lessons from the State* (*Guófēng* 國風), in *Odes of Chen* (*Chén* 陳), in the poem titled dedicated to the Wan Qiu (*wǎn qiū* 宛丘) district.

シキヤウ シ タウタル ヤウタル ノ ミツ
 詩 經ニ。子ノ之 蕩 兮。又。 楊 之 水
 兮²³トアリ。此等ハ。蕩モ。揚モ。形容字
 ナリ。形容字。皆。死字ナリ。動カヌ字ナ
 リ。故ニ之ノ字ヲ下シ得ル。ソノウヘ。
 シキヤウ コレヲ
 詩 經²⁴ノ此等ノ語ハ。皆。句法ヲ以テ置キ
 タル之ノ字ナリ。故ニ。常ノ文法トハ。違フ
 イ シ イヅセイ イチジョ
 意思アリ。一 正。一 助ノ句法ナリ。子ト
 蕩トハ正ナリ。之ト兮ハ助ナリ。

In the Classic of Poetry, there are the quotes 子之蕩兮 and 楊²⁵之水兮. In these, both 蕩 and 楊 are *keiyōji*. Every *keiyōji* is a dead character. These are characters which do not move. Thus, they obtain the character 之, below. Furthermore, in the Classic of Poetry, all these, in the *kuhō*, have placed the character 之. For this, they have a different concept from normal grammar. In the *kuhō* where you have one *shō* and one *jo*, 子 and 蕩 are *shou*, while 之 and 兮 are *jo*.

Here it is claimed that the characters *tō* 蕩 and *yō* 揚 – in the sentences cited by Ogyū from the *Classic of Poetry* – correspond to *tō taru* and *yō taru*, respectively. The character *tō* 蕩 covers a broad semantical field; since it can mean “to melt”, “to widen”, “to move”, among others, when used as a verb. Used as an adjective, it conveys the meaning of “being loose in morals” and it is this the sense in which this character is probably being used here. The sentence would be, thus, literally translated as “Oh, your loosely behaving”. The character *yō* 揚, instead, generally refers to the concept of “to raise” or “to rise”. The sentence could be translated literally as something like “Oh, the agitated waters”. Although these two characters differ semantically, they share a similar morphosyntactic characteristic, when analyzed within *kanbun kundoku*; namely they are both to be read in their *on’yomi* and to be inflected by means of the *-tari* element. Ogyū adds that a *keiyōji* is always a “dead” word and a word that does not move. A “dead” word being the opposite of a “lively” word, a category that generally includes all words that do inflect, like verbs and adjectives; while the opposite of a “moving” word is a “quiet” word, that generally refers to adjectives. What can be deduced from this information is that a *keyōji* is a specific type of adjective (a non-moving word, meaning a “quiet” word) that does not allow further inflection (a “dead” word). This does sound like a manner to refer to nominalized adjectives, however, there is another commonality, shared by these two examples, and that is that they both combine with the element *-tari*. The element *-tari* is known as originating from the contraction of the phrase *to ari*, that includes the verb *ari*, expressing existence, and roughly corresponding to saying “to be so”. Indeed, going back to what seen in 6.1.2.1, one can understand that Ogyū claimed that the character *shi* 之 – featured in both the examples from the *Great Learning* – needed to always be followed by a “dead” word and, as an example of such dead words he also provided the term *uketaru* composed by adding

²³ The Chinese sentence *yang zhī shuǐ xī* 揚之水兮 is found in *Lessons from the State* (*Guófēng* 國風), in *Odes of Zheng* (*zhèng* 鄭), in the poem titled *Yang zhī shuǐ* 揚之水.

²⁴ On the left side, the specification *hon no na* ホンノナ (本の名) ‘book title’ is added.

²⁵ This character is probably supposed to be 揚, with 楊 being a misspelling of the copyist.

the element *-tari* to the root of the verb *ukeru* ‘to receive’. It is also known that this *-tari* has originated within *kanbun* to provide a Japanese word, consistent with Japanese morphosyntax, comparable to Chinese characters mostly used adjectivally. FRELLESVIG (2010, 233-235), when covering Early Modern Japanese grammar, refers to this *-tari* element as a copula used with a restricted subset of adjectival nouns and in *kanbun kundoku*, opposed to *nari* that was the “general” copula. With the term “adjectival noun”, FRELLESVIG (2010) refers to what is generally called today *keiyōdōshi* 形容動詞, literally ‘adjectival verbs’, a category he claims to have emerged mostly in this phase of the Japanese language, as a distinct class. FRELLESVIG (2010) nonetheless claims that the term “nominal adjectives” would be best suited to refer to this category since they behave more similarly to adjectives. For example, he notices how *keiyōdōshi* cannot combine with “case particles”, just like all other adjectives, but unlike nouns. In this sense, thus, the explanation of FRELLESVIG (2010) on the *-tari* element seems to agree with Ogyū’s words on the *keyōji* category.

There is another interesting mention of the term *keiyō*, by Ogyū, this time from the first volume, on folios 23r-23v of the other work of the author, titled *Yakubun sentei*. There, the following is claimed:

寂 寞 寥 闕ノ四字大形同意ナ
リ 静字ノ下ニイヘル晩色静白
日 静トイヘル静字ノ意ニテ物
シツカナルコトヲイヒサビシ
ク物音ノナキコトニ多クハ用
ユソノ内寞字寥字ハ多クハ連
語ニテ寂寞寂寥ト用ユ単用ス
ルトキモ皆形容字ニテ寞トシ
テ寞タリ寥トシテ寥タリナ
ト、用ユハ下ニ乎字然字如字
ナトヲ付ルナリ寂ハ喧字ノ反
對ニテ物音ナクヒソトシタル
コトヨリ取用ヒテ静ノ極ヲイ
フナリ故ニ寂然不動ナト、云
ヘリ静字ヨリ義狭シ寞ハ漠ト
同字ナリハテシモナキ意アリ
沙漠大漠又沙漠大幕ニモ作ル
匈奴國ノ地ハ沙ハラニテ渺渺
トシタルヲイフ渺漠モ遠クシ
テハテシモナキナリ幽冥冥漠
ハ幽冥鬼神ノコトナドニ用ユ
幽冥ハ目ニ見ヘヌコトニテ目
ニモ見ヘズソコトモシレヌ意
ナリ雲漠漠雲漠漠皆ドコガキ
ワト知ラレズハテシモナキ義
ナリ沖漠ハ沖ハ虚ナリ空虚ニ

The four characters *seki* 寂, *baku* 寞, *ryō* 寥 and *geki* 闕 have roughly the same meaning. They have the meaning as the character *sei* 静, when used in sentences such as *ban shoku sei* 晩色静 and *haku jitsu sei* 白日静. It refers to things getting quiet. It is often used for lonely things with no sound. The characters *baku* 寞 and *ryō* 寥 are often used in compound words (*rengo* 連語), like *sekibaku* 寂寞 *sekiryō* 寂寥. Even used alone, they are all *keiyōji*, used as *baku to shite* (寞トシテ), *baku tari* (寞タリ), *ryō to shite* (寥トシテ), *ryō tari* (寥タリ) etc., in this case, below them one adds the characters *ko* 乎, *zen* 然, *jo* 如 etc. The character *seki* 寂 is the opposite of *ken* 喧, and has no sound. Since it is the thing not making any sound (*hisso to shitaru*), it is used as such. It is used to refer to quietness. Thus, it is used to refer to things which do not move or make a sound. The character *baku* 寞 is synonym to *baku* 漠, having a narrower meaning than *sei* 静. It has an infinite meaning. In the land of the Xiongnu, build in the Gobi Desert, it is said that one can walk infinitely in a valley of sand. A desert is also a far place without an end. Words like *yūmaku* 幽漠, *meimaku* 冥漠 are used, for example for the deep world of the gods (*yūmei kishin* 幽冥鬼神). The word *yūmei* refers to things which the eye cannot see, and even if they can be seen, they cannot be understood. Words such as *unmaku* 雲漠, *bakuun* 漠雲 and *bakubaku* 漠漠 refer to things which have no limit and whose borders are not to be

テソコトモイレヌコトナリ寥
ニハ虚濶ノ義アリ聞ハ全ク寂
字ノ義ナリソノ内ニ聞ハ専音
ナキコトヲイヒ寂ハ義廣シ畢
竟ハ四字大概相似タリ大抵コ
ノヤウナル形容字ハ倭語ニ譯
シカタシ倭語ニモリントシテ
シヤントシテナド云フヤウナ
ル形容ノ語亦漢語ニ寄シカタ
キカコトシ

known. In *chūbaku* 冲漠, the character 冲 is empty. The emptiness is given by nothing being inserted in it. The character *ryō* 寥 has the meaning of “empty space” (虚濶). The meaning of the character *geki* 聞 is exactly the same as *seki* 寂. The character *baku* 聞 states the lonely absence of sound. For a general conclusion, the meanings of these four characters are rather similar. Generally, it is hard to translate such these *keiyōji* 形容字 into Japanese. Even in Japanese [there are] such words called *keiyōgo*, that are hard to be approximated into Chinese, such as *rin to shite* ‘severely’ or *shan to shite* ‘properly’.

This quote reinforces the idea that the term *keiyō* was used by Ogyū to refer to those words/characters to which one adds the element *-tari*. Here, however, Ogyū also claims that the words that in Japanese add the suffix *-to shite* are also *keiyō* and are comparable to those ending in *-tari*. Thus, that the category of *keiyō*, for Ogyū, included those adjectives that, when combined with *-tari* or *-to shite*, modified the verb or functioned as a substitute to the verb, and expressed the way in which the action was being carried out. In this sense, thus, such description is very much in accordance with what Shizuki claimed regarding the Dutch adjectives modified by the suffixes *-lijk* or *-ig*. The words resulting from the addition of this suffix – regardless of whether they “originally” were adjectives or nouns – have the peculiarity of often being able to be used as either adjectives or adverbs, meaning that they can modify nouns or verbs, quite interchangeably. In this they are not too different from the Japanese adjectives with *-tari* and *-to shite*, that even though they originate from verbal elements (*-to ari* and *-to su*), are attached to adjectives and describe the condition in which the modified element exists.

Shizuki used the label *keiyōshi* only in reference to what he called *keshiki no kotoba* and not regarding the *yōsu no kotoba*. As Shizuki added, both could be used to modify verbs as well as nouns. However, there is one difference between the two: a *keshiki no kotoba*, while belonging to the category of “quiet lively”, can be generated from either a noun or an adjective, while a *yōsu no kotoba*, still being considered a “quiet lively” word, is not a *keiyōshi* and can only be created by suffixing a noun. This is the reason why the Dutch suffix *-ig* is related to *yōsu no kotoba* and *-lijk* to *keshiki no kotoba*. Ultimately, I would say, even though the difference between adverbial and an adjectival use has been addressed, here, for some reason the author decided that to be of secondary importance, as compared to the process of derivation of the parts of speech. Indeed, while a distinction is made in the syntactical modification of either verbs (adverbial use) or nouns (adjectival use), the categorization of the word classes is not based on this parameter. Instead, it is based on the part of speech the word in question has supposedly been derived from. This implies that, even though the difference between an adverb and an adjective was, in theory, clear to the author of this excerpt, it was neglected on purpose, favoring a different distinction that, I assume, was believed more useful in the understanding of the theory of morphology and the classes of the parts of speech.

7.2.3 The second part of the grammatical explanation

After the two tables (51v-52r), there is another list of the categories of speech in Dutch, featuring new concepts, terms and ideas. In Table 42, I present a comparison of the categories as described in this section (left) with those presented in the preceding sections (right):

Dutch category	New categories	Previous categories	Translation
<i>zelfstandig naamwoord</i>	死実通稱 ウコカヌ詞	死実惣稱 実詞 自体詞 Subst.	Nouns
<i>Werkwoordelijk zelfstandig naam(woord)</i>	動死詞 ワサノ死詞	Verbalia	Nominalized verbs
<i>toevoegelijk zelfstandig naam(woord)</i>	静ノ死詞 ヤウスノ死詞 ケシキノ死詞	虚静死詞 静詞	Nominalized adjectives
<i>toevoegelijk naamwoord</i>	静活詞 ヤウスノ詞 ケシキノ詞	虚静活詞 静詞 adje	Adjectives
<i>werkwoord</i>	活動詞 ワサノ詞	活動詞 動詞	Verbs
<i>onzijdig werkwoord</i>	自動 ウゴク詞	自然詞 VN	Neutral verbs
<i>werkende werkwoord</i>	動他 ウゴカス詞	使然詞 VA	Active verbs

Table 42 Parts of speech in the section of grammar of *Joshi-kō*.

These labels represent the names of each category of speech (at least, those recognized by Shizuki) according to their morphological characteristics. In the categorization starting on folio 51v, Shizuki adopts a different approach. The parts of speech are categorized according to their ability to “move” or “be moved”. Verbs are categorized as “words of action” (*waza no kotoba* ワザノ詞), most likely on a semantic basis. Contrastively, nouns are categorized as “words that do not move” (*ugokanu kotoba* ウゴカヌ詞), perhaps since they do not express an action, semantically, or in reference to the practice of *kundoku* (see 6.1.2). Nouns are further called *shijitsutsūshō* 死実通稱 ‘dead word for current names’²⁶ (previously called *shijitsusōshō* 死実惣稱 ‘dead word to name all things’). This label considers not only the semantic aspect (i.e., nouns are used to name all “things”), but also morphological aspects (they are “dead” and “empty”). In this dichotomy between “words that do not move” and “words of action”, active and neuter verbs are put into

²⁶ There seems to be no apparent connection between this use of the character *tsū* 通 and Ogyū Sorai’s dichotomy of *tsū-kyoku* 通局, by means of which he roughly referred to the concepts of hypernymy (通) and hyponymy (局).

a more direct contrast with nouns, since their names also include a conjugated form of the verb *ugoku* ‘to move’. While nouns were called *ugokanu kotoba*, where the verb *ugoku* was combined with the affix *-nu*, as to make it negative, neuter verbs present the verb in its intransitive form *ugoku*, and active verbs in its transitive form *ugokasu*. This can be interpreted as meaning that, while nouns are those words that do not move at all, verbs are word that allow movement. Such movement is either toward the outside (*ugokasu* – active verbs), or toward one’s own self (*ugoku* – neuter verbs). Adjectives are not provided with a new name, here, maintaining both the quality of “quiet” as well as “lively”, along with the distinction between *keshiki* and *yōsu*.

In this section (52r), there is also a direct citation from the gender rules found in Marin’s dictionary.

heid 静活詞ニツケテ死詞トナスモノ也
 schoonheid, zuiverheid ノ如シ
 ing 活動詞ニツケテ死詞ト為スモノ也
 baring, verlossing ノ如シ

When adding *heid* to a “lively quiet” word it is made “dead”, like *schoonheid*, *zuiverheid*.

When adding *ing* to a “lively moving” word it is made “dead”, like *baring*, *verlossing*.

This text stands out for several reasons. Firstly, the affix *-heid* is now written correctly, instead of the spelling *-hij* that appeared in the other text. Secondly, the words provided as example of the suffixation of *-ing* and *-heid* coincide precisely with the words present in Marin’s dictionary, namely *schoonheid* ‘beauty’, *zuiverheid* ‘purity’, *baring* ‘birthing’ (‘bearing’) and *verlossing* ‘release’ or ‘salvation’. Furthermore, verbs nominalized by means of their infinitive form, like *het drinken* ‘drinking’, *het eeten* ‘eating’, *het lezen* ‘reading’ are called 動即為死, although no further explanation is added. I believe this should be interpreted as *dō sunawachi ishi* “moving, also said dead action” with the character *i* 為 reminding of the labels used in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* for verbs (see 7.1).

Adjectives, called *toevoegelijk naamwoord* in Dutch, like in Marin, are here called *seikatsushi* 静活詞 a term that differs from the name found on folio 48v in that it lacks reference to its belonging to the “empty” category. To this information Shizuki adds the newly postulated characteristic of adjectives, being their use as “words of condition” (*yōsu no kotoba* ヤウスノ詞), or “words of quality” (*keshiki no kotoba* ケシキノ詞) as discussed above, in 7.2.2. Nominalized parts of speech are also given their own special label. A “dead” verb, *werkwoordelijk zelfstandig naam(word)* in Dutch, is called a *dōshishi* 動死詞 in Japanese and represents a ‘dead word of work/action’ *waza no shishi* ワサノ死詞; while nominalized adjectives, *toevoegelijk zelfstandig naam(word)* in Dutch, are called *sei no shishi* 静ノ死詞 ‘dead quiet word’ and further categorized into ‘dead word of condition’ *yōsu no shishi* ヤウスノ死詞 and ‘dead word of quality’ *keshiki no shishi* ケシキノ死詞.

Other categories Shizuki references in *Joshi-kō* are articles, pronouns, and prepositions. These categories are only mentioned once or twice in the entirety of

the manuscript. As I have already mentioned, Shizuki presents the articles of the Dutch language without assigning them to any specific category. They are to be considered a special type of *joshi* that is used “to crown” (*kawansu* 冠ス) nouns. The use of this *kanji* might have inspired other scholars, such as Mitsukuri Genpo to coin the term *kanshi* 冠詞 for articles,²⁷ that is also used in contemporary Modern Japanese. Interestingly, articles are here categorized according to gender (*in* 陰 for ‘feminine’, *yō* 陽 for ‘masculine’ and *chū* 中 for ‘neutral’) and number (*doku* 独 for ‘singular’ and *shū* 衆 for ‘plural’). Articles are further provided with variations according to their cases, with no real mention of cases however, and categorized, again, according to gender (*yū* 雄 for ‘masculine’, *shi* 雌 for ‘feminine’ and *chū* 中 for ‘neuter’) and number (*doku* 独 for ‘singular’ and *shū* 衆 for ‘plural’). Subsequently, there is another section where articles are called *hassei* 発声, titled ‘Things which do not use articles’ (発声ヲ用ヒザル者), that is very similar to one of the sections found in *Sanshu shokaku* (発声ヲ用ヒザルヲ). Both these sections illustrate a few instances in which one does not use articles, like with names of people or of places (人名地名) or with the words *god* ‘god’, *een* ‘one’, *twee* ‘two’, *drie* ‘three’, meaning numerals. As I have already discussed in 2.4.2, the similarities across the two works are remarkable and suggest that this grammatical section in *Joshi-kō* was either added in a later time, after *Sanshu shukaku* was published, or that they were based on the same source.

While presenting the pronouns *ik* ‘I’, *mij* ‘me’, *mijn* ‘my’ (58v-59r), Shizuki refers to the term *voorzetsel* ‘preposition’, translated as *manshi* 慢詞. Each pronoun is translated according to its grammatical role, meaning *ik*, a subject pronoun, is translated as *ware*, related to the Chinese character *shu* 主, probably identifying the subject, *mij*, an object pronoun, is translated as either *ware ni* 我ニ (indirect object) or *ware o* 我ヲ (direct object), to which the Chinese character *hin* 賓 is related, and *mijn*, a possessive pronoun, is translated as *wa ga* 我カ, with the use of *ga* as a genitive marker. Subsequently, Shizuki adds the following remarks:

自動ニ値ハ我ニナリ動他ニ
値ハ我ヲナリ又 *voorzetsel*.
慢詞 ニ値テ反リ読ベキノ
時 *bij mij*, *van mij* ナドイフ是
ヲ非賓非主ト云其意別ナリ
非賓非主ヲ *zesde naamval*. ト
イヘリ

When meeting a *jidō* it becomes *ware ni*, when meeting a *dōta* it becomes *ware wo*. Furthermore, when meeting a *voorzetsel* (*manshi* 慢詞), it should be read in the inverted order, as *bij mij* (*moto-waga* モトワカ) and *van mij* (*yori-ware* ヨリワレ), and this is neither a subject nor an object. This difference in meaning is expressed by the *zesde naamval*, which means neither subject nor object.

This is the only instance in which Shizuki connects the concept of *dōta* ‘active verbs’ with that of “direct object”, that in Japanese is marked by the particle *o*, as in the example *ware o*. He adds that, with *jidō* ‘neuter verbs’, the (first person singular)

²⁷ This is claimed in KUIPER (1993, 133). However, I would not disregard the possibility that this term might have been used earlier by other authors.

pronoun becomes *ware ni*, thus combining with the particle *ni* (oblique case). The Dutch term *voorzetsel* ‘preposition’ is translated as *manshi* by means of the character *man* 慢. Today, the concept of preposition is generally rendered, in Japanese, as *zenchishi* 前置詞, literally ‘words placed before’, that is found in later works, such as *Oranda jii*, probably after a first step as *zenshi* 前詞. As seen in 6.1.2, Ogyū Sorai considered the character *man* 慢 as being the opposition to *gen* 嚴, a dichotomy found within the subject of *jisei* 字勢. There, the Chinese characters that belonged to the *man* category were distinct from the *gen* category in the fact that the former had a looser and more undefined meaning, compared to the latter. Examples of *gen* characters, in Ogyū Sorai, were very fixed concepts such as numbers, the cardinal directions etc., while among the *man* one found less precise indications, such as *sho* 處 ‘place’, or *ji* 時 ‘time’. SUGIMOTO (2013, 83-84) discusses this, in a small paragraph, where he compares this specific term with those found in other Japanese works on the Dutch language. He claims that this is not a common term used by Shizuki who is mostly seen using the term *shozaishi* 所在詞 (also 处在詞), a word also adopted in the *Doeff Halma* dictionary, while the term *manshi* 慢詞 is considered, by him, surprising in the context of Shizuki. This might imply the intervention of an external hand. SUGIMOTO also argues that the Chinese character *man* 慢, used here, corresponds to the similar-looking character *man* 漫. SUGIMOTO argues that the term *shozaishi*, literally ‘words of place location’, has been invented by Shizuki influenced by the fact that prepositions are often used in combination with toponyms (*chimei* 地名). This might be true, also in light of what is written in *Sensei bunnō* regarding this part of speech (see 7.2.1). However, toponyms are just a tiny sample of the many uses of prepositions. If one were to concur with SUGIMOTO’s interpretation of *shozaishi*, I would say it is more likely that the term was chosen by Shizuki in reference to relative pronouns. In Dutch, many relative pronouns can be formed by combining a preposition with an adverb of location, in the forms *waarom* (‘where’ + ‘on’); *daarmee* (‘there’ + ‘with’); *hiervan* (‘here’ + ‘of’) or *erop* (non-specific ‘there’ + ‘up’). This is cognate to English phrasings such as ‘therein’ but are, arguably, much more common in use. It would thus make sense, for Shizuki, to interpret Dutch prepositions to be inherently connected to a semantical meaning of “spatial location” (*shozai* 所在). This interpretation would also explain the use of the Chinese character *man* 慢 as to render the label of this category. If one looks at Ogyū’s *Kun’yaku jimō*, the description given to this character is rather brief, only claiming: “The character *man* 慢 has the meaning of ‘loose’, like the characters *hen* 邊 ‘around’, *bō* 傍 ‘by’, *ji* 時 ‘time’, *sai* 際 ‘moment’, *sho* 處 ‘place’”.²⁸ These Chinese characters can be used, in Japanese, both as adverbs of location (e.g. *bō* 傍 as ‘on the side’; *sho* 處 meaning ‘where’) or as adverbs of time (e.g., *ji* 時 and *sai* 際 meaning ‘when’), making their use quite different from, yet related to, the Dutch prepositions. In *Yakubun sentei*, the character *man* 慢 is not featured, yet the version written as *man* 漫 appears

²⁸ The original quote: “慢ハ意ノブラリトシタル字ナリ邊傍時際處ナドヤウノ字ナリ” has already been analyzed, in context, in 6.1.2.

twice. In both entries (volume 1, folio 30r and volume 6, folio 31v) it is defined as “indiscriminate”, “confusing”, thus similar yet somewhat distant from what seen in *Kun'yaku jimō*, and with an arguably negative nuance attached to it. Furthermore, in neither entry is this *kanji* ever related to *gen* 嚴. These reasons make me deduce that Ogyū did not consider these two similar characters as being synonyms, contrarily to what SUGIMOTO (2013) states.

In the excerpt above, there is another interesting claim, referencing an issue that is not otherwise tackled in *Joshi-kō*, nor in any other of Shizuki's works. Phrasings such as *bij mij* ‘by me’ and *van mij* ‘of me’, ‘from me’, are explained with the term *hi hin hi shu* 非賓非主, meaning ‘neither guest neither host’. The two characters *shu* 主 and *hin* 賓 exist in contraposition with each other, where *shu* refers to an ‘owner’, a ‘host’ or a ‘lord’, while *hin* refers to the ‘guest’ or the ‘client’, in the dichotomy. In order to understand what these two terms likely refer to, one needs to look at another work of Shizuki, namely *Rangaku seizenfu*, where these characters are annotated above the word *woorden* ‘words’, in two different types of sentences. In the sentence *woorden die men gesproken heeft* ‘words that one has spoken’, the word *woorden* is labeled as *hin*, while in the sentence *woorden die gesproken zijn* ‘words that are spoken’, *woorden* is labeled as *shu*. In both sentences the word *woorden* is the subject, however, according to the theories on verbs Shizuki wrote in *Seizenfu*, one needs to understand that the difference between the two is the fact that in the first sentence, *woorden* is the patient of the action of speaking, enacted by the impersonal subject *men*, while in the second sentence, since there is no external subject, *woorden* is the only subject/agent. Roughly speaking, thus, the characters *shu* and *hin* broadly correspond to the concepts of subject/agent and patient/object, respectively. In the excerpt above one also read that, in Dutch grammar, the concept of *hi hin hi shu* corresponds to the *zesde naamval*, the ‘sixth case’, meaning the ablative case. Indeed, words declined in the ablative case cannot play the role of either the subject or the direct object. Unfortunately, within *Seizenfu*, these labels are not used consistently for all the sentences, and a deeper analysis of this concept is not feasible. However, on the last page of the second volume of Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, one can find an isolated sentence that appears to refer to this concept, stating that “nouns [full/dead words] divide in five types: *shu* 主, *hin* 賓, *gu* 具, *ji* 時, *sho* 處” (實字死字ハ主賓具時處ノ五ツナリ). If these are connected to the ideas of grammatical arguments and complements, then one could infer that these five characters convey an idea which could be compared to that of cases. This could mean that the character *shu* corresponds to the idea of “subject/agent”, *hin* to “direct object” or “patient”, *gu* to “means”, “instrument”, *ji* to a complement of time, and *sho* to a complement of location. Comparing this to the character *man* 慢 being used to refer to prepositions, discussed above, it becomes clearer why this part of speech was called this way. As Ogyū says, nouns come in five types: “subject”, “patients”, “instruments”, “times” and “locational”. Whenever a noun is combined with a preposition, it cannot be a “subject” or a “patient” anymore, as claimed by Shizuki, this means that it can only be one of the other types, like “time”, “locational” or “means”. These happened to be the characters and concepts referred to by Ogyū when explaining the meaning of the character *man* 慢. Shizuki must thus

have chosen this character since it refers, according to Ogyū's explanation, to Chinese characters that function like Dutch prepositions. However, it must be said that Ogyū's theory and that of Shizuki must have been based on very different levels of analysis. In particular, Ogyū probably referred to the unspecific meaning of the characters, while Shizuki talks about morphosyntax, where the characters refer to the role (and form, in Dutch) of a specific noun that interacts with a preposition, akin to the concept of cases.

Subsequently, Shizuki presents a comprehensive list of personal pronouns, categorized by gender (*dan* 男 for 'masculine' and *jo* 女 for 'feminine') and number (*doku* 独 for 'singular' and *shū* 衆 for 'plural'). This list is preceded by the Dutch label *persoonelijk voornaam* 'personal pronoun', which Shizuki translates as *daimeishi* 代名詞, where the Chinese character *dai* 代 stands for 'substitute', while *mei* 名 for 'name', from the Dutch *naam*. The term that Shizuki prefers to use to refer to them is – albeit only used twice – the *katakana* rendition of *voornaam*, as *hōrunāmu* ホールナーム.²⁹

²⁹ The use of the term *daimeishi* for 'personal pronouns' can be attested here. This term requires further investigation. It is often implied that the coinage of this term is to be attributed to Mitsukuri Genpo (1799 – 1863). This can be seen in JOBY (2021) twice. On page 81, JOBY claims that *daimeishi* 代名詞 and *dōshi* 動詞 where amongst the "Japanese grammatical terms developed by the leading Edo *rangakusha* Mitsukuri Genpo". Unfortunately, this claim is not provided with a direct reference to any source. On 356, instead, this information is mentioned, again, within a list of terms coined by Japanese scholars on the basis of, or under the influence of the Dutch language. JOBY (2021, 356) cites three pieces of secondary literature, in this section. SAITŌ (1985, 77-217) provides a compact list of terms referring to grammar used within many Japanese documents. Within that source, *Joshi-kō* is covered from page 78 to 80, however, I have not been able to find any reference to the term *daimeshi* as featured in this work of Shizuki. Another source JOBY (2021, 356) cites is Vos (2000, 103-104). While Vos (2000) does present a few lists of Japanese terms based on Dutch grammatical concepts, the author never claims Mitsukuri Genpo to have been the first using the term *daimeishi*. Vos (2000) attests that, in *Oranda bunten - zenpen* 和蘭文典前編 (1842), Mitsukuri Genpo does use the term *daimeishi* to refer to pronouns. However, in the same page, he also attests that an earlier work was already featuring a very similar term. Japanese scholar of Dutch Tsurumine Shigenobu 鶴峰戊申 (1788 – 1859) published *Gogaku shinsho* 語学新書, in 1833, nine years before Mitsukuri Genpo's work. There, pronouns were called *kaekotoba*, spelled as 代名言, whose *on'yomi* reading would be *daimeigen*, with *gen* 言 being a viable substitute for the character *shi* 詞. Ultimately, JOBY (2021, 359) adds that MILLER (1967, 315) records that the word *daimeishi* was already in use in the early 1800. I have also checked that source. Apparently, Miller claims: "The [...] term *daimeishi* (*dai* 'stand for,' *mei* 'noun,' *shi* 'word') appears as a translation for Dutch *Voornaamwoord* 'pronoun' around 1800 and is established as a grammatical term by 1814". Alas, no direct reference to any primary or secondary source is present in this context. One could hypothesize the possibility that this term was added subsequently in *Joshi-kō* by a copyist, and this would make sense considering the fact that this term is featured in the grammatical section of *Joshi-kō*, that I have already assumed as a probable later addition. However, were this the case, the addition of the word *daimeishi* must have happened quite early in the spreading of the copies of *Joshi-kō* that included the grammatical section since it appears in all the copies featuring such section.

Because of the different terminology employed in these two sections on grammar in *Joshi-kō*, there is reason to believe that they were compiled at different occasions and, possibly, by different hands. Another detail that might support this theory is the fact that, although consistently using the misspelling *-hij*d in the first half of the grammatical section, from the second half onwards the spelling *-heid* is suddenly adopted. This phenomenon can be seen in all the copies of *Joshi-kō* I have been able to check, which could suggest they are all based on one original copy that already combined these supposedly different sections.

This section on grammar also devotes a few words to verbs. However, since this category will be dealt with in Chapter VIII, I will not cover it here.

At the end of the grammatical section, there is a list of labels and abbreviations used in Marin's dictionary, together with the title itself "Clarification of the expressions and abbreviations used in this work" (*Verklaring der zintekens en verkortingen in dit werk gebruikt*).

7.2.4 Category of *joshi*

In the previous sub-paragraphs on *Joshi-kō*, I have mostly analyzed how "full" and "empty" words were treated within the manuscript. However, as I have claimed, *Joshi-kō* is first and foremost a glossary of Dutch "auxiliary words". It is a lexicographical work that fully fits into the "Thoughts on Auxiliary Words" sub-genre of the *jigi* 字義 tradition, in Neo-Confucian studies (see Chapter V). For this reason, the main body of the work is still entirely devoted to the analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the category of *joshi* 助詞. What is it exactly that Shizuki calls a *joshi*? In Appendix 9, I have copied all the entries to Shizuki's *Joshi-kō*, as to provide a clear list of the words the scholar considered to belong to this category. Most entries to each *joshi* present an explanation and/or one or more example sentences. The table in Appendix 9, however, only displays the Dutch words and phrases that were identified by Shizuki as *joshi* and only provides the direct translation, whenever present in the original. It is not a comprehensive illustration of the contents of *Joshi-kō*, since it neglects sentences and grammatical explanations. An in-depth analysis of each entry and its examples is beyond the scope of this research, and I will only analyze some of the contents of this part of the manuscript in the coming pages, and within Chapter VIII. The sections I have selected are those that expand on the topics I am covering in the present research.

The parts of speech featured in the entries to *Joshi-kō* include adverbs, adverbial phrases, conjunctions, interjections, pronouns (*zig zelfs, deselve*), articles (*de, het, een*) and prepositions (*om, van---tot---*). These are precisely the categories left out from Shizuki's tables, as illustrated in 7.2.1. Although, at a first glance, this might appear to be a rather random collection of Dutch words Shizuki did not know how to otherwise categorize,³⁰ if one looks deeper at the Japanese renditions, one can notice

³⁰ This has been argued, for example, in DE GROOT (2005, 149), where he writes: "[In *Rangaku Seizenfu*] Shizuki included only nouns, verbs and adjectives in his diagram. Everything else was deemed by him to belong to a third group, called *joshi* 助詞, or auxiliary

a rather coherent pattern, in the adaptation of these Dutch words. In fact, almost all the Japanese renditions are one of the following five categories:

- A verbal/adjectival affix (in contemporary Japanese: *jodōshi* 助動詞), like: *tomo* (*domo*) とも for the Dutch *dog*, *doch* ‘though’; *beki* べき for the Dutch *te* ‘to’; *mo* モ + *ba* バ or the *ba* of the future (未来ノバ) for the Dutch *indien* and *bij aldien als* ‘even though’.
- A particle (in contemporary Japanese: *joshi* 助詞), like: *yor* より for *als* ‘as’; *yor* より + *made* まで for Dutch *van* + *tot* ‘from + to’; *o* を and *ni* に for *om* and *aan* ‘on’.
- A Chinese character traditionally categorized as *joji* 助字, like: *yu* (*nao*) 猶 for *echter*, *nogtans*, *niettemin* ‘however’; *ji* (*toki*) 時 for *toen* ‘back when’; *sono ue* 其上 for *daar boven* ‘up there’ (in Japanese often used as “furthermore”); *zen* 然, *daku* 諾, *i* 唯, *a* 啊 for *ja* ‘yes’; *i* 為 for *om* ‘in order to’.
- A Japanese word corresponding to a Chinese character traditionally recognized as *joji* 助字, like: *shikaredomo* 然れとも for *maar* ‘but’; *gotoku* 如く for *als*, *gelijk* ‘like’; *sude ni* すでに (既に) for *al* ‘already’; *sono* その (其) for *deszelfs*, *derzelve* ‘itself’, *tatoeba* たとえば (仮令ば) for *bij voorbeeld* ‘for example’.
- Words that are neither “full” or “empty” in Dutch but that can only be rendered via a “full” or “empty” Japanese word. This one is rarer, only

words. In this respect he was still limited by the same gaps in linguistic knowledge that had prevented his predecessors from evolving towards an awareness of the structures of Dutch”. Similar claims can be found in the same work, scattered within the paragraph covering Shizuki. Compare also: “この著書の目的はいくつか選ばれた「助詞」を説明することであった。しかし、この当時、志筑は「助詞」という言葉を名詞、動詞、形容詞以外の他のすべてオランダ語の言葉（副詞、接続詞、など）に用いた。これは、たぶん彼がこの初期の段階ではこれらの三つの品詞以外の言葉の分類をまだ完全には理解していなかったことを示しているであろう。” (DE GROOT 2007: 60) Translation: “The objective of this book [*Joshi-kō*] is to explain a number of selected *joshi*. Nonetheless, at that time, Shizuki was using the word *joshi* to refer to all those Dutch words which were not nouns, verbs or adjectives (excluding adverbs, conjunctions etc.). This may point at the fact that, since he was still a beginner, he had not yet understood completely the categories of words beyond those three”. Another point I take issue with, in this quote, regards the alleged goal of Shizuki’s *Joshi-kō*, though one could say the same also for *Rangaku Seizenfu*. I believe that these types of publications were not intended to ‘explain’ Dutch *joshi*, in fact, the whole concept of *joshi* is never defined, as it was implied that the reader already knew what it meant. The main purpose of these two books was to provide translators with an easy reference of which Dutch word corresponded to which Japanese *joshi*, thus being translated accordingly. For this reason, there was no need, in Shizuki’s plan, to present categories of speech foreign to Japanese speakers and scholars of the time. To word it differently, the Japanese reader was supposed to already know what a *joshi* was, since works on this category were rather prolific, at the time, in scholarships different from *rangaku*.

comprising *hitotsu* ひとつ ‘one’ for *alleen*, *alleenlijk* ‘only’, ‘lonely’ and *aisu* 愛す ‘to love’ for *liever* (*hebben*) ‘rather (have)’.

The list of *joshi* in *Joshi-kō* allows for the identification of a clear pattern in the use of this category. I assume that there must be a reason why Shizuki selected these specific words from Marin’s dictionary. The title of this manuscript, presumably chosen by Shizuki himself,³¹ suggests that the work was part of the Sino-Japanese tradition of lexicographical works titled “Thoughts on Auxiliary Words/Characters” – or variations thereof – as I have already mentioned in 5.3. DE GROOT (2005) does not provide a compelling reason to believe that this category was used by Shizuki as a container for all those words he could not otherwise adequately categorize. I believe that the reasoning upon which this list was compiled was to provide a Dutch version of such materials for translators to be able to render specific Dutch words that, when translated into (Sino-)Japanese, generally corresponded to the traditionally recognized category of *joshi*. It was not supposed to make sense from the point of view of Dutch traditional grammar to begin with, because it was not supposed to be a treaty on Greek-Latin traditional grammar or grammatical theory. The work called *Joshi-kō*, just like its Sino-Japanese predecessors, was meant as short glossaries to aid translators with the meaning of specific words that did not correspond to either “empty” or “full” words. However, it can also be deduced that Shizuki combined the theory on Chinese *joji* with that of *te ni wo ha*, coming from the *kokugaku* studies. After all, there was no need to rely on Chinese language anymore, as opposed to Ogyū and Tōgai’s *Thoughts on Auxiliary Words*, and Shizuki could finally break away from redundant notions on language carried over from the tradition of Chinese studies. This combination is much more evident when one considers works such as *Rangaku seizenfu*, for example, and its theories on morphosyntax (see Chapter VIII). Accounting for a certain degree of speculation, still, what can be claimed with certainty is that the category of *joshi*, as used by Shizuki regarding Dutch grammar, was anything but based on his ignorance regarding the traditional categories used by the Dutch. On the contrary, it was a conscious decision to neglect that theory and adopt categories that he believed to be more practical and comprehensible for his readers. This is evident by looking at how adverbs are treated, for example, in the comments to the two tables of *Joshi-kō*: they are not neglected or ignored, yet they are not functionally adopted as a category. This means that Shizuki purposefully decided not to include this distinction since he thought it to be unnecessary. Again, this has to do with the purpose of this work. Unlike, arguably, some other works attributed to him, *Joshi-kō* was not meant as an investigation of Dutch theory of grammar, but was conceived as a guide for translators, much like *Kun’yaku jimō*, which belonged to the same tradition of glossaries on auxiliary words. I will provide further evidence for this in Chapter VIII.

³¹ As discussed in Chapter II, there is a very early testimony of a certain work of Shizuki that allegedly went by variations of the name of “Thoughts on auxiliary words/characters”. This suggests that the title this work is known with today must have been very similar to the title the manuscript had since it started circulating, in the last decades of the 18th century.

7.3 *Rangaku seizenfu*

The work titled *Rangaku seizenfu* focuses on the morphosyntax of verbs. For this reason, a more detailed analysis of the theoretical contents will be carried out in Chapter VIII. However, within this work, one can also find sparse references to the parts of speech, as well as two tables illustrating their relations, that are based on those found in *Joshi-kō*, as Shizuki himself reports. On a general note, the parts of speech are very similar to what seen in *Joshi-kō*. Verbs are here called *dōshi* 動詞 and are divided into neuter verbs *jidō* 自動, abbreviated as *N*, and active verbs *dōta* 動他, abbreviated as *A*. Nouns are called *jitsushi* 実詞 and adjectives are called either *seishi* 静詞 or *seikyo* 静虚, that are compositions of the characters for “quiet” and “empty”. The phrasing *kyo no sei* 虚ノ静, literally ‘quiet of empty’ is also attested. The term *joshi* itself is never used within the main body, only featured once within the title of *Joshi-kō*. There is one single occurrence of the use of the term *shūshi* 衆詞, similar to what seen in *Joshi-kō*. In *Seizenfu*, this term is used in reference to the plural number of the Dutch term *woorden* ‘words’, that causes the verb to be conjugated in the plural form.³² There is one occurrence of the term *keiyōshi* 形容詞, the term used today to refer to adjectives, that was also featured in *Joshi-kō* and which I have discussed in the previous paragraph 7.2.3. In *Seizenfu*, this term is featured within an explanation of the uses of the verb *zijn* combined with each part of speech, as I will argue in Chapter VIII. After tackling the use of *zijn* in combination with adjectives, Shizuki covers its uses in combination with *keiyōshi*, a term that is glossed with the expression *seikyo no zoku* 静虚ノ属 ‘belonging to quiet empty [words]’. From the interpretation of the explanation found in *Joshi-kō* – supported by the quotes by Ogyū Sorai – I have interpreted the word *keiyōshi* as referring to those Chinese character that are originally adjectives and are to be used in combination with the affix *-tari* – sometimes *-to shite*, as well –, often read in their *on’yomi* reading, and can modify either nouns or verbs. They correspond to the Chinese characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 爾, specifically when they are used in compound words. In *Seizenfu* on folio 23v, Shizuki writes:

又形容詞 静虚ノ属 ヲ音ニテ言フ寸
ハたりト訳ス赫たり瑟たりナト之
類ナリ瑟トアリ赫トアリ云フナリ

Furthermore, when pronouncing the sound [*on’yomi*] of *keiyōshi* (that belong to “quiet empty words”) it translates *tari*. Like the types of *kaku tari* and *shitsu tari* [*shittari*], that are *shitsu to ari* and *kaku to ari*.

Shizuki is referring to the practice of *kanbun kundoku*, whereby one can either read Chinese characters semantically, thus providing the Japanese translation for the concept expressed by each specific character (i.e., *kun’yomi*), or one can pronounce the character phonetically (*on’yomi*), meaning that the characters are read out according to the Japanized pronunciation of the Chinese sound it corresponded to

³² Original quote: “Since it refers to *woorden*, a plural word, then one does not use *is*” (*woorden* ニカヽル故衆詞ヲ用ウ *is* トハ使ハズ), found on folio 8v in Waseda’s copy, and on 6v, in Gifu’s copy.

when that character was introduced in Japan. FRELLESVIG (2010, 103-104) points out that the Japanese suffix *-tari* had originated from a contraction of *to ari* (roughly meaning ‘is so’) and broadly served the purpose of providing “morphologically versatile forms”, often to Sino-Japanese words. Shizuki uses the words *kaku tari* 赫たり ‘splendid’ and *shitsu tari* 瑟たり (probably *shittari*) ‘solemn’.³³ As argued in 7.2.3, the suffix *-tari* was not the only one associated with the concept of *keiyō* by Ogyū who, in fact, also attest the suffix *-ku* – typical of the *ren’yōkei* form of Japanese adjectives –, as well as *-to shite*, as viable *keiyō* morphological endings. In *Seizenfu*, however, only *-tari* is attested as an element typical of *keiyō* characters/words. It appears, thus, that the definition of this category should be based on semantic/syntactic reasons rather than purely morphological. While *-tari* might have been the affix that was mostly understood as typical of the category of *keiyō*, this category was defined on the basis of three parameters:

- Syntactic parameter: it modifies either verbs or nouns;
- Morphological parameter: it is created by suffixation of (Chinese characters that are originally) adjectives;
- Semantic parameter: it renders the “condition” of a noun or the “impetus” (*ikioi* 勢い) of an action.

In Greek-Latin traditional grammar, the category of *keiyō* would correspond to either adverbs or adjectives, according to their syntax. Not distinguishing between the adjectival use and the adverbial was probably reinforced by the fact that also in Dutch one can use the same morphologically identical form as either an adjective or an adverb, especially considering the suffix *-lijk*.

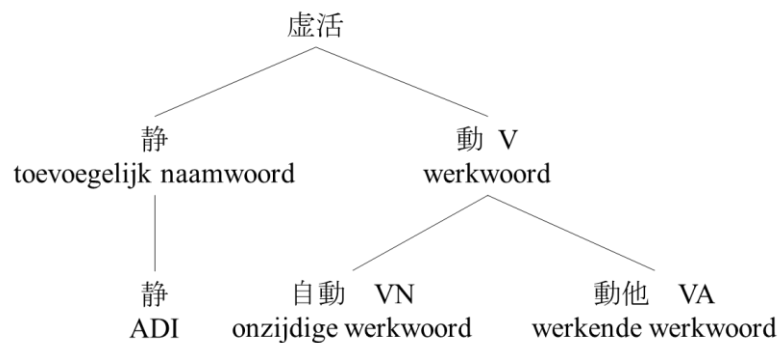


Table 43 Table of empty words in *Rangaku seizenfu*

At the end of *Rangaku Seizenfu* (24v-25r), in the chapter called *shihin-zu* 詞品図, ‘Tables of the Parts of Speech’, Shizuki draws two additional graphs illustrating the relationship between the parts of speech of Dutch. Table 43 presents ‘empty’ *kyō* 虚

³³ These two adjectives are also used in the *Great Learning* (*Dàxué* 大学).

and ‘lively’ *katsu* 活 words, while Table 44 those that are ‘full’ *jitsu* 実 (實) and ‘dead’ *shi* 死.

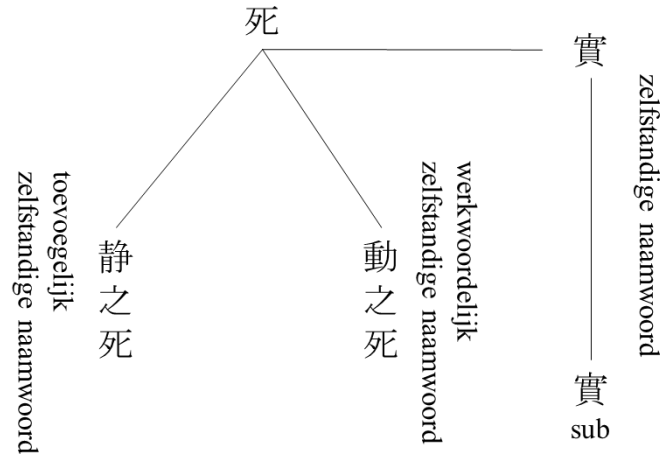


Table 44 Table of full words in Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu*

The contents of these tables are consistent with *Joshi-kō*, explaining that “empty lively” words are of two types: verbs (*werkwoord*, V, 動) and adjectives (*toevoegelijk naamwoord*, ADI, 静). Verbs split into two categories: active verbs (*werkend werkwoord*, VA, 動他); and neuter verbs (*onzijdig werkwoord*, VN, 自動). On the other hand, “full words” (*sub.*) are either nouns (*zelf.*, i.e., *zelfstandig naamwoord*) or “dead” words (死). Dead words distinguish from full words in that the former are nouns obtained by derivation, meaning by nominalizing an originally empty word. The “death of an adjective” (*sei no shi* 静之死) is called *toevoegelijk zelfstandig naamwoord*, while the death of a verb (*dō no shi* 動之死) is called *werkwoordelijk zelfstandig naamwoord*. A “dead verb”, in *Joshi-kō*, was called a *verbalia*, just like they were called in Marin’s dictionary. However, they are here called by another name, which also occurred once in *Joshi-kō* in the section on grammar. These are probably terms coined by Shizuki himself since I have not been able to find any correspondence to any Dutch source. In both these compounds, the terms *toevoegelijk* ‘adjectival’ and *werkwoordelijk* ‘verbal’ are used as adjectives modifying the *zelfstandig naamwoord* ‘substantive noun’ part of the compound. A nominalized or “dead” adjective is thus called an “adjectival substantive noun”, while a nominalized or “dead” verb is called a “verbal substantive noun”. Neither term is ever found again in any other manuscript of Shizuki. Before closing the manuscript, Shizuki adds the following remark, as a comment to the two tables

above: “The details of this are discussed in *Joshi-kō*, thus I will omit them, here” (右詳ナルヲハ助詞考³⁴ニイヘルカ故此ニ畧ス).

7.4 *Sanshu shokaku*

As suggested by the title, this work covers mostly the topic of the “three genders” (*sanshu* 三種), that influence the morphosyntax of nouns, adjectives, participles, and articles, and it shows how they are declined according to “all the cases” (*shokaku* 諸格). This work makes use of terms such as *jitsushi* 実詞, *kyoshi* 虚詞, *dōshi* 動詞 and *hassei* 発声, without describing or defining any of them. Because of the contents of this document, the term *hassei* for “article” is certainly central, being used quite often and consistently, as opposed to other works by Shizuki. The word *jogo* 助語 is also mentioned and is used in reference to the third person plural and singular of the reflexive pronoun *zig zelve*; the inflected articles *het*, *ten*, and the preposition *te*; some other adjectives that can also be used adverbially, or adverbs derived from adjectives, like *eenig* ‘only’, *alleen* ‘alone’, *geenzins* ‘at all’. The use of the term *joshi*, here, is consistent with *Joshi-kō*. The word *keiyō* 形容 is not used, neither are the characters *sei* 静, *katsu* 活 or *shi* 死.

It appears, thus, that the category of “empty” is being used here as translation to “adjective” and the category of *dōshi* 動詞 is not to be considered as a sub-category of “empty words”. This can be deduced from many quotes found within this work, most of which appear in notes added outside the margins of the main text, making it possible for them to be later additions of a copyist or an owner of the manuscript. Within the main body of the text, one finds the following quote, reinforcing this interpretation of the category of “empty” used in *Sanshu shokaku*. The first quote claims (1r):

多シ人各地各ニテモ上ニ虚詞詞ヲ添ル 寸ハ發声ヲ用ルノ例ナリ	There are also many examples of the use of articles, with names of people or places, when adding an “empty word”.

In this quote, the original text was probably missing a character as it only featured the character *shi* 詞 (*kotoba*), above which the word *kyoshi* 虚詞 “empty word” has been added as a correction. Concurring with the correction, it is claimed that articles can be used in combination with some names of people or places, whenever there is an “empty word” before them. By deduction, only adjectives can play this role. Furthermore, the subsequent sentence cites the example of *het gelukkig Engeland*, reminding of a section from Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* (page 65), seen before, that I quote again below.

³⁴ In Waseda’s copy the title of this work is spelled 助字考.

By eygene naamen van menſchen komen de Lédekens zelden te pas; want hoewel men zegt, *David verfloeg den Reus*, nógtans mag men niet zeggen *den Goliath*, 't en waare daar een Byvoegelyk Naamwoord by quam, als, *den trótfen Goliath*; dòch men mag wel zeggen, *Deeze was de Christus*, Zo zegt men ook, *Engeland is magtig ter zee*, en *het vruchtbaar Engeland*. Onder de eygene naamen moet men ook ſtellen *GOD*, 't en waare men 'er eenen vallen Gód door verſtont; evenwel zegt men, *De Gód des Hemels en der aarde*, om hem van andere Goden te onderſcheyden.

With proper nouns of humans, one rarely uses an article; because even if one says *David versloeg de Reus*, still one cannot say *den Goliath*, unless there is also an adjective, like *den trotsen Goliath*; still one can say *Deeze was de Christus*. Likewise, one says *Engeland is magtig ter zee* and *het vruchtbaar Engeland*. Among proper nouns one must also consider *GOD*, unless one means a false God; in anyway, one says *De God des Hemels en der aarde*, to distinguish him from other Gods.

Another quote using the term “empty word” within the main body of the text, covers an additional issue, regarding pronouns, as can be read below (8v):

又 zulk ander eenig zommig zulk alle elk
jemand niemand ナドハ onbepaalde
voornaam ト云モノナリ故ニ他ノ虚詞
トハ別アリ

Furthermore, words like *zulk*, *ander*, *eenig*, *zommig*, *zulk*, *alle*, *elk*, *jemand*, *niemand* etc. are all *onbepaalde voornaam*. For this reason, they are different from the other “empty words”.

The phrasing “different from the other empty words” (他ノ虚詞トハ別アリ) implies that an *onbepaalde voornaamwoord* ‘indefinite pronoun’ is to be itself considered an “empty word”. Why that is, is never really explained. Furthermore, the section in Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* that covers this topic never mentions adjectives, or any category connected to the concept of “empty”, in fact, in that section it is claimed that these pronouns are declined like nouns, as one can read from the quote below, originally found on page 239.

Nóg zyn 'er onbepaalde Voornaamwoorden, als
*Alle, Eenige, Sommige, Etyke, Zodaanig, De
Gene, Zulk, Ander, Zeker, Elk, een Ieder óf
Yder, een Iegelyk, Iemand, Niemand*. Deeze
worden geboogen als de Naamwoorden

There are also indefinite pronouns, like
*Alle, Eenige, Sommige, Etyke, Zodaanig,
De Gene, Zulk, Ander, Zeker, Elk, and
Ieder or Yder, and Iegelyk, Iemand,
Niemand*. These are declined like nouns

Another occurrence of the term *kyoshi* 虚詞 is inside an explicative note, under the title of the paragraph *het o mochiyuru mono* (het ヲ用ル者) ‘The use of *het*’. There, it is claimed that “When an empty word is made full, one adds *het*” (虚詞ヲ実詞ニスルニ *het* ヲ付ルヲナリ). This claim would stand true, to some extent, even if one were to interpret the term “empty word” to also include verbs, however, the examples provided after this claim make it clear that we are only talking about adjectives. In fact, the chapter ‘The use of *het*’ starts with the statement below (10r).

Het goed 善ナリ 善ノ身ナリ het voorst 前ナリ 前ナル所ナリ het rood 赤ナリ 赤ノ色ナリ コレヲ皆 bij voegelijk ニテ実詞トナスモノニシテ 含ム意ハナシ het roode een roode ト 云ヘハ赤キ木ナドノ意ヲ含メリ	The word <i>het goed</i> is ‘the good’, ‘the good body’. The word <i>het voorst</i> is ‘the before’, ‘the place coming before’. The word <i>het rood</i> is ‘the red’, ‘the color red’. When these are all <i>bijvoegelijk</i> , they do not have the embedded meaning of having been made “full”. Words like <i>het rood</i> , <i>een roode</i> etc. include the meaning of <i>the red tree</i> etc.

It is not totally clear what Shizuki means with this entry, but I assume, from the context, that he is referring to the fact that the composition of *het* plus an adjective does not imply that the adjective is being nominalized; it could still mean that the combination is meant to modify a subsequent noun, making the adjective a proper “empty word”. He provides the example of *akaki ki* 赤キ木 ‘red tree’. The Dutch word for “tree”, however, is *boom* and is of the masculine gender and it would thus require the definite article *de*, instead of *het*. Still, this would be an example of, as Shizuki writes, *een roode* ‘a red’ being used adjectivally in combination with a noun, as in *een roode boom* ‘a red tree’.

It is also interesting that adjectives are here called by the Dutch name that is used, amongst others, by Séwel,³⁵ namely *bijvoegelijk* (*naamwoord*) and not by the term *kyoshi* while nouns are, indeed, called “full words”. In fact, this section of *Sanshu shokaku* goes on claiming that also verbs – called *werkwoord* – when used as *zelfstandig*, they require the article *het*. If one also includes the quotes found outside the margins of the main text – that could have however been added subsequently by another hand – the idea that the term *kyoshi* ‘empty word’ is being used to refer to adjectives only, with the exclusion of verbs, gets reinforced. The following quote, found as explanation to the chapter titled *Deelwoord no kaku* (Deelwoord 之格) ‘The cases of participles’, claims (9r):

動詞ヲ虚詞ニ用ルヲテールウー トハ云假令バ werkend man ナドノ如 キナリ	When a <i>dōshi</i> is used as a <i>kyoshi</i> it is called a <i>dēruwōruto</i> [<i>deelwoord</i>], for example <i>werkend</i> <i>man</i> [‘working man’]

For a “verb” to be used as “empty” it must mean that a “verb” is not “empty”, to begin with. This is in clear contrast with what claimed in *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* (and Ogyū Sorai, for example). A participle is, thus, a “verb” acting as an “adjective”, as in the example *werkend(e) man*. However, the information regarding the definitions of these categories is rare and sparse within this manuscript. On top of that, one cannot be sure that the different quotes have been written by the same person, explaining the apparent inconsistency in the information they provide.

Furthermore, this document mostly concentrates on the declination of nouns (and adjectives). The terminology in this regard is much more detailed and accurately described. The name of the genders is consistent with the Yin-Yang approach, just like in *Joshi-kō*, for which Shizuki provides the Dutch term and a one-letter abbreviation of either the Dutch or Latin term, as one sees in the excerpt below (2r):

³⁵ As already mentioned in 4.2.4, Marin used *toevoegelijk*.

三種ハ mannelijk 今畧シテ M トス vrouwelijk 今畧シテ F ト ス geenerlijk onzijdig 今畧シテ O トス三種トニ meervoud アリ 今畧シテ MV トス M ハ陽 F ハ 陰 O ハ中 MV ハ複ト訳ス	The three genders are: <i>mannelijk</i> ['masculine'], which I will abbreviate as <i>M</i> ; <i>vrouwelijk</i> ['feminine'], which I will abbreviate as <i>F</i> ; <i>geenerlijk</i> or <i>onzijdig</i> ['neuter'] which I will abbreviate as <i>O</i> . In the three genders there is also the <i>meervoud</i> ['plural'], that I will abbreviate as <i>MV</i> . The <i>M</i> is translated as <i>yō</i> 陽 ['Yang'], the <i>F</i> as <i>in</i> 陰 ['Yin'], the <i>O</i> as <i>chū</i> 中 ['center', 'neuter'], the <i>MV</i> as <i>fuku</i> 複.

The Dutch words for the neuter gender, namely *geenerlijk* or *onzijdig*, and for the plural number, *meervoud*, get abbreviated with the initials of their Dutch name. The feminine gender, however, gets abbreviated into *F*, that is the initial of the Latin word for it. The masculine gender is abbreviated as *M*, and both the Dutch and the Latin terms do start with that same letter. The singular number, *enkelvoud*, does not get its own abbreviation, but is translated as *tan* 単 within the body of the text. The plural number is translated as *fuku* 複, as opposed to the character *shū* 衆 used in *Joshi-kō*.

The six cases are also listed, named, and translated accurately. They all present their names in both Latin and Dutch. They are listed according to their ordinal number, written in Arabic numerals. Each term is translated with one Chinese character and is also provided with Japanese adaptation, mostly concerning particles (*te ni wo ha*). Within the text, the cases are either mentioned with their Dutch name or with a Japanese ordinal number, in the form *daiikkaku* 第一格 'first case', *daisankaku* 第三格 'third case' etcetera. Below I drew a table containing all the terminology used to refer to cases in *Sanshu shokaku*, as well as the main Japanese translations.

By looking at the column on the right of Table 45, one can see that Shizuki's understanding of cases was very much inspired by *kokugaku*, specifically by Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*. This can be claimed for the fact that one of the Japanese translations of the nominative case is *tada* 徒, a word Motoori used to refer to those instances in which no *te ni wo ha* was to be used (see 6.2.1). Shizuki adds the following remark on the side of that Chinese character: "It means one does not add any *te ni wo ha*" (テニヲハツカヌ云), a similar phrasing was present in *Kotoba no tama no o*, as discussed in Chapter V.³⁶

It is worth stressing out the fact that Shizuki adapted the cases of Dutch via Japanese particles or, how they were called in the *kokugaku* scholarship, *te ni wo ha*. This is important because the *te ni wo ha* were, in some sense, a specific sub-set of what was commonly considered "auxiliary words/character" (see Chapter V).

³⁶ Motoori wrote there: 徒とははもそのや何こそなどいふのなきを今かりにかくいふ也.

1	第一格	Nominativus	Noemer	正	<i>ari</i> アリ <i>ni ari</i> ニアリ <i>wa</i> ハ <i>mo</i> モ <i>ya</i> ヤ <i>nari</i> ナリ <i>no gotoshi</i> ノ如シ <i>tada</i> 徒
2	(第二格) Not used ³⁷	Genitivus	Teeler	主	<i>no</i> ノ
3	第三格	Dativus	Geever	与	<i>ni</i> ニ <i>to</i> ト
4	第四格	Accusativus	Aanklaager	所	<i>wo</i> ヲ <i>ari</i> アリ (with <i>hebben</i>)
5	第五格	Vocativus	Roeper	呼	<i>yo</i> ヨ
6	第六格	Ablativus	Nemer	取	<i>yor</i> ヨリ <i>wo motte</i> ヲ以テ

Table 45 Dutch cases in Shizuki's *Sanshu shokaku*

It is also interesting to notice that Shizuki claims the accusative case to correspond to the Japanese verb *ari* whenever the Dutch sentence uses the verb *hebben* ‘to have’ as a possessive. This is a consequence of the fact that in Japanese possession is expressed by means of verbs of existence, like *ari*, rather than a transitive verb expressing possession, like *hebben*. This is claimed in the following quote (4r):

ik heb eenen zoon ナレバ^{アリ}ト添ス ベケレ^{凡俗}ニ子ヲ持リト云ノ格ナ ル故此格ナリ	If it is <i>ik heb eenen zoon</i> then even if one would need to add <i>ari</i>, this is similar to saying <i>ko wo motari</i> [lit. ‘I hold a son’], in the popular language. Thus, it belongs to this case.

Within *Sanshu shokaku* one also finds a series of terms that are not found in any of the attested sources. Specifically the term *neemer* for the ablative case, whereas Séwel uses *afneemer*. In Marin and Halma’s dictionaries, mention of the cases is extremely rare, and I have not been able to find any reference to the ablative case, at all. Another couple of terms that are not found in the known sources are *bepaalde geslagtwoord* ‘definite article’³⁸ and *onbepaalde geslagtwoord* ‘indefinite article’ used for the articles *de*, *het* and *een* respectively.³⁹ These terms are particularly

³⁷ Apparently, the genitive case is never explicitly abbreviated as *dainikaku* 第二格, although it can be implicitly deduced that this would have been the abbreviation in case one needed to use it.

³⁸ This is spelled as *geslagenwoord*, although it is probably a conflation of *geslagtwoord* with *geslagen word* ‘to get hit’.

³⁹ For the sake of certainty, I have also checked in Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding tot de kennis van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* and in Van der Palm’s *Nederduitsche Spraekkunst voor de jeugd*, since these were uncertain, yet plausible sources of Shizuki, as

interesting since it means that articles are referred to as ‘gender-word’, an approach Shizuki never adopts anywhere else in his bibliography, just like the concepts of definite and indefinite. Adjectives are often called *bijvoegelijk naamwoorden*, that is a term found in Séwel, while in other works of Shizuki, the term *toevoegelijk*, used in Marin’s dictionary, was more common. The terms *onbepaalde wijze* ‘indefinite mood’ and *voegende wijze* ‘subjunctive mood’ are also mentioned. The term *voornaamwoord* is used in different instances. This term is first used to refer to the subject pronouns *ik, gij, zij, hij* etc.

In the chapter titled *rokkaku shoyō no kotoba* 六格所用ノ詞 ‘Words using the six cases’, there are a few interesting remarks. The first case is the nominative case, called *nominativus*, in Latin, and *noemer*, in Dutch. There, it is added that “in the original book, the information in this regard is not detailed” (此間源書未詳, with 源 being a misspelling of 原). After this note, one finds the Dutch word *voorzetsel* ‘preposition’. After listing the Japanese words and particles corresponding to the Dutch nominative case, the text continues with another claim hinting at the shortcomings of the original source (此間原書闕 ニカヽモノヲ云, this sentence is also badly spelled). The way these pieces of text need to be interpreted is not completely intuitive, however. Since the terminology used here mirrors the one used by Séwel in his *Spraakkonst*, one can assume that this is the “original book” (原書) about which Shizuki was complaining. In this source, the following quote introduces the concept (pages 178-179):

Hoe vreemd nu deze benaamingen iemand ook moogen voorkomen, nógtans schynt de Reden, zo wel als de rechte eygenſchap der bewoordinge, aanleyding daartoe gegeven te hebben: want wat ongerymdheyd ſteekt ‘er tóch in, dat men den rechten naam, waarmede iets genoemd wordt, den *Noemer* heet, als *Vader, Moeder, Kind*?

Although these names might appear weird to some, they seem to have provided the introduction to the speech and the correct property of the wording: since what type of incongruity can it ever be to refer to the proper names by means of which things are named, as the *noemer*, like *Vader* [‘Father’], *Moeder* [‘Mother’], *Kind* [‘Child’]?

On page 180, one finds the following quote:

De *Nominativus*, betékend wordende door *Een, De, Het*, alsmede door *Ik, gy, hy, zy*, geeft den naam en de beduydenis van het Naamwoord te verſtaan, en wordt voor het *Werkwoord* geſteld, beantwoordende de vraagen *Wie? óf Wat?*

The *Nominativus*, means making the name and the understanding of the noun placed before the verb understood through *Een, De, Het*, but also through *Ik, gy, hy* and *zy*, answering the questions *Who? Or What?*

mentioned in Chapter II. However, in the former, the term for “article” is either the Latin *Articulus* or the Dutch *lid*. Definite and indefinite articles are always called, there, in Latin, *articulus definitivus* and *articulus indefinitivus*. In the latter source, articles are called *Lid- of geslachtwoord*, meaning either *lidwoord* or *geslachtwoord*. However, definite and indefinite articles are called *bepalende* and *onbepalende*, respectively, that is slightly different from the *bepaalde* and *onbepaalde*, that one finds in *Sanshu shokaku*.

As seen from this excerpt, Séwel does not mention prepositions in his explanation of the nominative case. However, the term *voorzetsel* is used in *Sanshu shokaku* without any context, after the name of the nominative case. By looking at the structure of the rest of the chapter, for each of the other cases one finds a small list of prepositions that are generally used with each case. For example, the preposition *van* is connected to the genitive case, and the prepositions *aan*, *in*, *tot* are linked to the dative case. For the accusative case (*accusativus*, *aanklaager*), one finds the following quote: “This has no preposition. There is only a variation of the article” (是ハ voorzetzel ナシ發声等ノ變アルノミ). It can be supposed, thus, that the word *voorzetsel*, written without context in the entry for the nominative case, was meant to also signal the fact that no specific preposition was to be used with the nominative case. This might be the consequence of a mistake made by the copyist.

Within *Sanshu shokaku* the term *onpersoonlijk werkwoord* ‘impersonal verb’ is used to refer to the verbs *regenen* ‘to rain’ and *hagelen* ‘to hail’. Séwel utilizes this term, in his *Spraakkonst*, however, the example of the verb *hagelen* is not featured. The term *verkleinde naam* ‘diminutive noun’ is also used, and it might echo the phrase *verkleynde naamwoorden* as found in Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*, on page 44. A few of the examples found in that source appear to be similar to what is found in Shizuki. Diminutives are composed in Dutch by means of the suffixes *-je* or *-ke(n)*, with the latter seemingly being perceived by Séwel as being less common and less correct. Shizuki provides the following examples: *zoontje*, *zoontien*,⁴⁰ *meisjes* and *jongsken*.⁴¹ Séwel uses all these words except *meisjes* ‘girls’. It is not clear whether this remark by Shizuki was actually influenced by Séwel, but I would like to shed some light on the following excerpt from that source, which demonstrates the preference of *-je*, rather than *-ke(n)*, by the Dutch author:

In *Ringetje* schynt de *t* ook niet wel te kunnen gemift worden; want *Ringsken* is geen goed Nederduytsch, fchoon men by Vondel *Jongske* in plaats van *Jongetje* vindt.

In *Ringetje* [‘small ring’] as well it appears that the *t* cannot be missed; as *Ringsken* is no good Dutch, although one can find *Jongske* instead of *Jongetje*, in Vondel.

This is not only a testimony to the prescriptivism based on literary language use, typical of the Dutch literature of the time, but it can also be an explanation for the fact that Shizuki only provided one example of a diminutive with *-ke(n)*, giving precedence to those with the affix *-je*.

In conclusion, the work known as *Sanshu shokaku* is almost completely focused on the analysis of the grammatical feature of Dutch known as case. For this reason, the theoretical content of this manuscript is, admittedly, less interesting for the purpose of the present research. However, *Sanshu shokaku* is a manuscript full of external references that can function as clear hints at Shizuki’s sources, as I have discussed in 2.4.4. While its contents concerning the morphosyntax of verbs are rather limited, it

⁴⁰ Probably a conflation of *zoontje* and *zoonken*, two alternative diminutive forms of *zoon* ‘son’.

⁴¹ The letter < j > is clearly written as < i > in all words except in *jongsken*.

does provide interesting information concerning the parts of speech. The most notable issue, in this regard, is the apparent adoption of a slightly different hierarchical structure, as far as the traditional Sino-Japanese categories are concerned. Specifically, the three categories of “full”, “empty” and “moving” seem to reflect the same level of analysis, whereas traditionally “moving” words were a sub-set of “empty” words, together with “quiet” words. It follows that the label for “empty” only refers now to adjectives, it does not include verbs anymore, and the label “quiet” is dropped definitively. Admittedly, the information in this regard is not directly specified by Shizuki and it appears that most of this has to be deduced by reading the glosses whose authorship is not clear. However, as I will demonstrate below, this new hierarchical structure is not unique to *Sanshu shokaku*.

7.5 *Shihō shoji taiyaku*

The work titled *Shihō shoji taiyaku* is entirely devoted to the description of verbal moods and tenses. The inspiration drawn from Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* is undeniable, being visible from the terminology utilized to refer to each tense and mood, and from the examples (see 2.4.7). Séwel’s book is, furthermore, directly cited in Latin characters, with Shizuki suggesting his readers to refer to that source if interested in knowing the complete conjugation of the verbs *leeren* ‘to learn’ and *geleerd worden* ‘to get learned’. At the beginning of the document, Shizuki also warns his reader that he will not provide all the conjugated forms according to each person and number. If one is interested in knowing that, then one can read his other work *Sanshu shokaku*.⁴² Shizuki will only present the first-person singular for each verbal tense. In that sentence, pronouns are mentioned but are not given a specific category, they are simply named by listing a few of them. As can be seen from the quote below (2v).

此ノ如キ ik, hij, gij ナトニヨリテ動詞ノ
格異ナルヲ並ニ余カ三種諸格ノ後ニ見タ
ルヲ以テニハ ik ノミヲ表シテ他ハ略セリ

Likewise, according to *ik, hij, gij* etc. the form of the verb changes. The rest can be seen in *Sanshu shokaku*, thus I will only specify the form *ik*, here.

The only other category of speech that is named in this manuscript are “full words” (實詞), mentioned once when referencing the use of participles (called *deelworod*) in combination with nouns, meaning in an attributive role. Since the entire work is devoted to illustrating verbal tenses and their use within sentences, I will cover the content of *Shihō shoji taiyaku* mostly in Chapter VIII. Unfortunately, because of the structure and goal of this work of Shizuki, there is not much more to say regarding morphological categories and their relations with each other.

⁴² Probably referring to the brief table on folios 19v-19r, in Kanda’s copy, where one can find a few conjugations concerning the verbs *zijn, zullen, hebben* and *leren*, as well as their past forms, according to the first person singular, the second person singular and plural, and the third person singular masculine.

7.6 *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*

The work titled *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō* is very brief and is mostly composed of a list of the six cases of Dutch, with Japanese translations and some examples. The theory of grammar is not further discussed either, in this work; thus, it is difficult to deduce any broad theory on the morphological categories of speech. However, there is one quote deserving special attention (2v).

末ニ e 之字ヲ附テ云フ詞ト附ル
能ワザルアリ一概ニハ心得ベカラ
ズ

頭ニカクル杯云フ如キ実事ニ於テ
ハ aan ヲ畧スルナシ Aande 之代
リニ陰詞ニ der ト云フヲ複ニモ云
ヘリ又陽中何レモ複ニモ aande ノ
代リ den ヲ用ルアリ」

in ハ静ノ寸ハ反テ此格ナリ於ノ意
ナルモ此格 in de vergaderinge
zisten ナドノ如シ動ト云ハ in de
vergadering gelaaten worden ナドノ
類ナリ又 gezet worden モ静ナリ op
モ in ノ如シ

It is not possible to write down the words that require a *-e* to be added at their end. It is not necessary to learn them all.

Others are similar to those I have written above, however depending on the thing in question, *aan* cannot be omitted. Instead of *aande*, with feminine words, one can say *der*, also in the plural. Furthermore, both with masculine and neuter words and their plural, one can use *den* instead of *aande*.

When quiet, *in* gets substituted and belongs to this case. It has the meaning of the character 於. However, it can be used in [sentences] like *in de vergaderinge zitten*. When moving, it is the type of *in de vergadering gelaaten worden* etc. Even *gezet worden* is “quiet”. This *in* is similar to *op*.

This excerpt is an explanation of the dative case. The author notices that, in some cases, the preposition *aan*, that would combine with the article *de*, can be omitted. In that case, the article *de* needs to be declined either as *den* or *der*, according to gender and number, and the noun itself requires the addition of a final letter *-e*, as in *aan de vrouw* or *der vrouwe*, both meaning ‘to the woman’. The same goes for masculine and neuter nouns, where *aan de* needs to be substituted with *den*, instead. In the following passage, the author makes a couple of unclear claims. It is claimed that, when the preposition *in* is “quiet” (*sei* 静) – rendered with the same character generally used to refer to adjectives – it has the same meaning as the character *o* 於.⁴³ This claim is put in a concessive clause (モ), stating that, even in such cases, the

⁴³ This character can convey a plethora of meanings. In *kundoku*, it was generally considered an “auxiliary character” corresponding to Japanese particles and similar elements used to refer to a location. It often corresponds to the Japanese phrase *ni oite* that would translate the English prepositions “in”, “at” etc. I have checked in Ogyū’s *Kun’yaku jimō*, as to have an Early Modern source on the meaning of this character and there one can find three entries addressing it. Two entries in the third volume, and the last in the fifth volume. In the first entry of the first volume, it is claimed that, just like the characters *en* 爰, *u* 于 and *etsu* 越, the character *o* 於 is read in Japanese as *koko ni* ‘here’ (+ particle *ni*). The combination of the two characters 於是 (read as *yúshì* in contemporary Mandarin, meaning ‘accordingly’) must be read as *koko ni oite*, where *koko ni* refers to the character *shi* 是, and *oite* to the character *o* 於.

Dutch preposition *in* still belongs to this type, probably referring to prepositions requiring the dative case, as in the sentence *in de vergadering zitten* ‘to sit in the meeting’. In case *in* is “moving” (*dō* 動) – rendered with the same character generally used to refer to verbs –, it is the type of *in de vergadering gelaaten worden* ‘to be let in[side] the meeting’. The phrase *gezet worden* ‘to get put/set’ is also “quiet”. Of course, if one considers the two characters *dō* and *sei* to refer to the categories of verbs and adjectives, as was traditionally done, this does not help with the interpretation of this explanation. There is no viable interpretation in which the Dutch preposition *in* can be considered either an adjective or a verb. Thus, I assume these could refer to the other words *in* was interacting with in the sample phrases. However, there is no clear reason why *zitten* and *gezet worden* should be considered adjectives, while *gelaaten worden* a verb. Thus, it is clear that these two Chinese characters do not refer to these two parts of speech, but to some otherwise unspecified concept. As I said in 2.4.5, these sample sentences are likely taken directly from Zeydelaar’s *Spraakkonst*. On pages 276 and 277 of that source, the following is claimed:

Het Voorzetsel *in* beheerscht den zesden Naamval, wanneer het de rust in eene plaats te kennen geeft. Dus zegt men: *Hij zit in de Vergaderinge*. Maar het beheerscht den vierden Naamval, wanneer het de beweeging en komst tot eene plaats uitdrukt; als: *hij is in de Vergadering toegelaaten*.

The preposition *in* requires the sixth case, when it informs about the quietness in a place. Thus, one says: *Hij zit in de Vergaderinge* [‘He sits/is in the meeting’]. However, it [*in*] requires the fourth case, whenever it expresses the movement and arrival to a place, like: *hij is in de Vergadering toegelaaten* [‘He is allowed into the meeting’].

It is now clear that the author of *Kyoshi-kō* used the two Chinese characters to translate the Dutch words *rust* “quietness”, “rest” and *beweeging* “movement”. These have nothing to do with the categories of speech, rather they refer to two types of complements or arguments. Zeydelaar calls it *rust* “quietness” when the preposition *in* is used to refer to a static location. When the location is the destination of a translocation, this is called *beweeging* “movement”. Since in Dutch the case used after the preposition *in* changes according to the semantics of the verb – i.e., whether the verb expresses a static location or a movement – this is what was being addressed here.

This combination is also provided the reading *soko de* ‘there’ (+ particle *de*), a claim that would concur with the entry on volume five. In the second entry of the first volume, however, the character *o* 於 is also compared to the characters *ko* 乎, *u* 于 again, and *sho* 諸, all of which are claimed to correspond to two *kana* each. For example, the character *ko* 乎 would correspond to the two *kana* (i.e., *te ni wo ha*) *ni* 二 and ㇿ. The two particles connected to the character *o* 於, however, are *ni* 二 and *he* へ, although the particle *wo* ㇿ is also attested, in some instances.

7.7 *Kuhinshi myōmoku*

Kuhinshi myōmoku is a glossary of Latin-Dutch terminology on grammar, rather than a proper essay on grammatical theory. The consequence of this is that there are just a few explanations of the mentioned categories and their use. One can, nonetheless, point out a few interesting elements, regarding the terminology adopted in this manuscript. Firstly, the term *joshi* 助詞 is used to only translate the category of conjunctions, called *conjunctio*, in Latin, and *tZamenvoegsel*, in Dutch. This is in contrast with works such as *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*, where *joshi* is a much broader category (see 7.2 And 7.3), and also not in line with *Sensei bunpō*, where it is used to only refer to adverbs (7.1). The term *joshi* is, nonetheless, also attested as popular nomenclature (俗ニ云) of the category of *hulpwoord* ‘help-word’ that is used here to refer to auxiliary verbs, as it is also done in Séwel, for example. One difference is that Séwel did not include the verb *zijn* ‘to be’ amongst auxiliaries, only categorizing it as *zelfstandig* ‘independent’, or ‘substantive’. The Japanese author did, in fact, categorize this verb, and its alternative form *wezen*, as *zelfstandig*, translating this label with the Chinese character *zai* 在 ‘to be (located at)’, but he also included it in the category of *hulpwoord*. Moods have been acknowledged in this work, appearing, in Dutch as *vierderlij wijze* ‘four-parted moods’, while in Japanese as *shihō* 四法 ‘four rules’ or ‘four ways’, with the word *dōshi* 動詞 ‘verb’ added as to specify what this term refers to. The entry to each mood also presents short explanations concerning their use. For example, the indicative mood, called *chokusetsu* 直説 ‘direct claim’, is defined as “Mood used when talking directly about things”.⁴⁴ The imperative mood is called *shirei* 使令. Its definition provides not only indications regarding the logical context in which to use it, but also morphological information on the conjugation, specifying that, when inflected in this form, one does not add *-d* or *-t* to the verb.⁴⁵ This assertion is not correct in and of itself, since the imperative form with *-t*, although somewhat outdated, has existed, and was still attested in sources, such as Marin’s *Spraakwyze*, for example. For the subjunctive or optative mood, translated as *bunchū* 分注, it is claimed that it refers to “words that add *dat* below a verb”.⁴⁶ This explanation refers to the fact that subjunctive clauses tend to be introduced by conjunctions such as *dat* ‘that’ as often demonstrated in the conjugation tables the Dutch made. However, the Japanese explanation is not completely correct since the verb conjugated in the subjunctive mood always comes after the conjunction *dat*. The infinitive mood, called *futsū* 普通 ‘normal’, ‘common’, is claimed to be the verb used after *om te* ‘in order to’ and, generally, all verbs are to be used in their plural form.⁴⁷ This last claim is based on the fact that the infinitive form is morphologically identical to the plural form of the present indicative tense. Tenses are called *vier getyden*, in Dutch, and *yoji* 四時, in Japanese, meaning ‘four times’. This term is not found in Séwel, nor is

⁴⁴ Original quote: “物ヲ直ニ云寸用ユル法”.

⁴⁵ Original quote: “語中主ヲ用ヒズ客ハ用ユ又動詞ノ尾ニ-d-t ト云フナシ”.

⁴⁶ Original quote: “動詞ノ下ニ dat ノツク語”.

⁴⁷ Original quote: “om te ノ付ク寸ニ用而メ動詞ヲ皆複ニ使フ”.

it consistent with the “times” presented by Séwel.⁴⁸ The four “times” acknowledged in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, are the classical three, namely: *tegenwoordige tijd*, *genzai* 現在 ‘present’; *voorleede tijd*, *kako* 過去 ‘past’; *toekomende tijd*, *mirai* 未来 ‘future’; with the addition of *onbepaalde tijd*, *futsū* 普通, the infinitive tense. However, all other tenses found in Séwel (see 4.5.1) are also listed within this manuscript, with rough translations annotated on their right, hinting at a later addition. Another relevant claim concerns the traditional classes of “empty” and “full”. The category of “full” (*jitsu* 実) is used, here, only to refer to nouns, namely *zelfstandig naamwoorden* ‘substantive nouns’, that are a subcategory of the broader class of *nomina*, *naamwoorden*. Adjectives or, rather “adjunctive nouns” (*bijvoegelijke naamwoorden*), are categorized as “empty” (*kyo* 虚). The supercategory of *nomina* is, instead, categorized as *seishi* 静詞 ‘quiet words’, to which it is added that “Outside of verbs, all words are said *seishi* ‘quiet words’, including “full” and “empty” 虚.”⁴⁹ This is strikingly in contrast with what was found in the tables in *Joshi-kō* based on Sino-Japanese traditional categories, where the fundamental distinction of the parts of speech was between “full” and “empty”, the former only including (substantive) nouns, and the latter including both “quiet words” (meaning “adjectives” or, rather, “adjectival nouns”) and “moving words” (verbs). This demonstrates a stronger reliance of *Kuhinshi myōmoku* on Dutch theory of grammar, as compared to *Joshi-kō*. In fact, from a Japanese point of view, grouping nouns and adjectives together, instead of putting adjectives in the same group as verbs, makes little morphosyntactic sense, while it is more intuitive in the context of Dutch, where adjectives are declined, just like nouns, rather than conjugated similarly to verbs, as it happens in Japanese, instead. The parts of speech are, thus, roughly divided into two major categories: *dō* 動, for verbs, and *sei* 静, for nouns. The latter includes four sub-categories, namely: *jitsu* 実 ‘full’, for substantive nouns; *kyo* 虚 ‘empty’, for adjectives; *honmyō* 本名 ‘real name’ for proper nouns; and *tsūmyō* 通名 ‘current name’ for “common nouns”. The category of participles is defined as verbs that are used as “quiet empty” words, meaning adjectives, after conjugating them (動詞ヲ以テ轉シテ静虚ノ如ク使ヘルモノナリ). Regarding participles, the following is also added (7r-7v):

geslagen, geweest ナトノ類ナリ
何レモ虚詞ノ格ナル故ニ六格
ニヨツテ変化スルヲ虚詞ニ同
シ但 ik heb hem geslagen ナド
云フ虚詞ニ於テ例ナキナリ

These are the type of *geslagen*, *geweest* etc. All belong to the category of “empty word” and must be declined according to the six cases. Thus, they are the same as “empty words”. However, there are no examples of “empty words” in sentences such as *ik heb hem geslagen* [‘I have hit him’].

⁴⁸ The only reference to “four” with verbal tenses, found in Séwel, is in the claim that Latin had “four conjugations” (*vier conjugatien*), where the word “conjugation” refers to the verbal classes, rather than the inflecting patterns themselves. In fact, the Dutch phrase *vier getijden* appears to be generally used to refer to the four seasons, rather than verbal tenses. On top of this, in most other works of Shizuki, verbs are consistently divided in three “times”, as they are better illustrated in *Rangaku seizenfu* (see Chapter VIII).

⁴⁹ Original quote: “動詞ノ外ヲ皆虚実トニ静詞ト云フ”.

The reason why participles are to be considered “quiet words”, specifically “empty quiet words” is precisely because they can be declined according to the six cases. However, participles are not always to be considered “quiet”, since sometimes they do not get declined. This happens when participles are used to construct a perfect tense, like in the sample sentence provided above.

There is another interesting remark regarding the difference between “empty” words and adverbs, however, the sentence is unclearly written, with seemingly a few misspellings and corrections, making its interpretation difficult.⁵⁰ It is claimed that the difference between the two is that adjectives qualify a “quiet thing”, meaning a noun referring to a thing, while adverbs qualify “moving actions” (虚詞ハ静物ヲ形容シ bijwoord ハ動作ヲ形容ス虚詞). The term used for “qualify” is *keiyō*, that Ogyū Sorai used – along with Shizuki himself in *Joshi-kō* (see 7.2.3) – where the term referred to the use of adjectival characters modifying nouns or verbs, via the addition of suffixes such as *-tari* or *-to shite*.

On a general note, one can thus claim that *Kuhinshi myōmoku* is mostly a translation of some vocabulary on Dutch grammar, as found in Séwel, with little reinterpretative intellectual work. The theory of grammar is not dealt with in depth, except for a few sparse remarks, many of which are not much different from what I have already covered in the paragraphs above. The most remarkable feature is the fact that the traditional Sino-Japanese empty-full and moving-quiet categories have been preserved, yet readapted in their relations, in a way that more closely represents Dutch grammatical theory and morphology. The adoption and readaptation of these categories is nothing new in Shizuki’s works. What is new is the fact that the relationships between these categories have been reworked to agree with Dutch traditional grammar, thus placing “empty” and “full” words, meaning adjectives and substantive nouns, respectively, under the same supercategory of “quiet”, reinterpreted as corresponding to the category of *naamwoord*, in contrast with “moving” words, meaning verbs. As I have illustrated in Chapter III, Dutch traditional grammar considered adjectives and substantive nouns as belonging to the same category, since they are both declined according to cases, numbers, and genders. However, Japanese treats adjectives much more similarly to verbs, being both categories conjugated according to similar patterns. This new hierarchical structure recalls *Sanshu shokaku* where the category of “empty” only referred to adjectives, instead of being a supercategory including “moving” words and “quiet” words. In Tables 46, 47, 48 and 49, I have schematized the relations between these categories of speech in *Joshi-kō* (conflated with *Rangaku seizenfu*), in Ogyū Sorai’s *Kun’yaku jimō* and in Willem Séwel’s *Nederduytsche spraakkonst*, which is identical to *Kuhinshi myōmoku*. This evidences the fact that in *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* the relations between the categories of speech resembled more closely the Sino-Japanese tradition, represented here by Ogyū Sorai; while *Kuhinshi myōmoku* got closer to Dutch theory. These tables do not represent the entirety of

⁵⁰ SUGIMOTO (1976, 497) could not interpret the writing completely either, and adds the following remark: “It should be clarified the point that the functions of adjectives and adverbs are clearly distinguished.” (形容詞と副詞の機能を確然と区別している点は、確認しておくべきである).

the systems of the parts of speech, as illustrated in each work; they only focus on the relations between the broad categories of “full-empty”, “quiet-moving” and, generally, on the Dutch categories of nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

<i>Kuhinshi myōmoku</i> 九品詞名目		
hinshi 品詞 Negenderlij spraakdeelen	hassei no kotoba 発声ノ詞 <i>Articulus, Ledeken</i>	
	daimeishi 代名詞 <i>Pronomina, Voornaamwoord</i>	
	seishi 静詞 <i>Nomina, Naamwoord</i>	jitsu 実 <i>Substantiva, Zelfstandig</i>
		kyo 虚 <i>Adjectiva, Bijvoegelijk</i>
		honmyō 本名 <i>Propria, Eigene</i>
		tsūmyō 通名 <i>Appellativa, Gemeene</i>
	dōshi 動詞 <i>Verbum, Werkwoord</i>	
	dōseishi 動静詞 <i>Deelwoord</i>	
	keidōshi 形動詞 <i>Adverbium, Bijwoord</i>	
	joshi 助詞 <i>Conjunctio, tZamenvoegsel</i>	
	manshi 慢詞 <i>Praepositio, Voorzetsel</i>	
	tansokushi 嘆息詞 <i>Interjectio, Tusschenwerpsel</i>	

Table 46 Schematization of the relations between the different parts of speech in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*

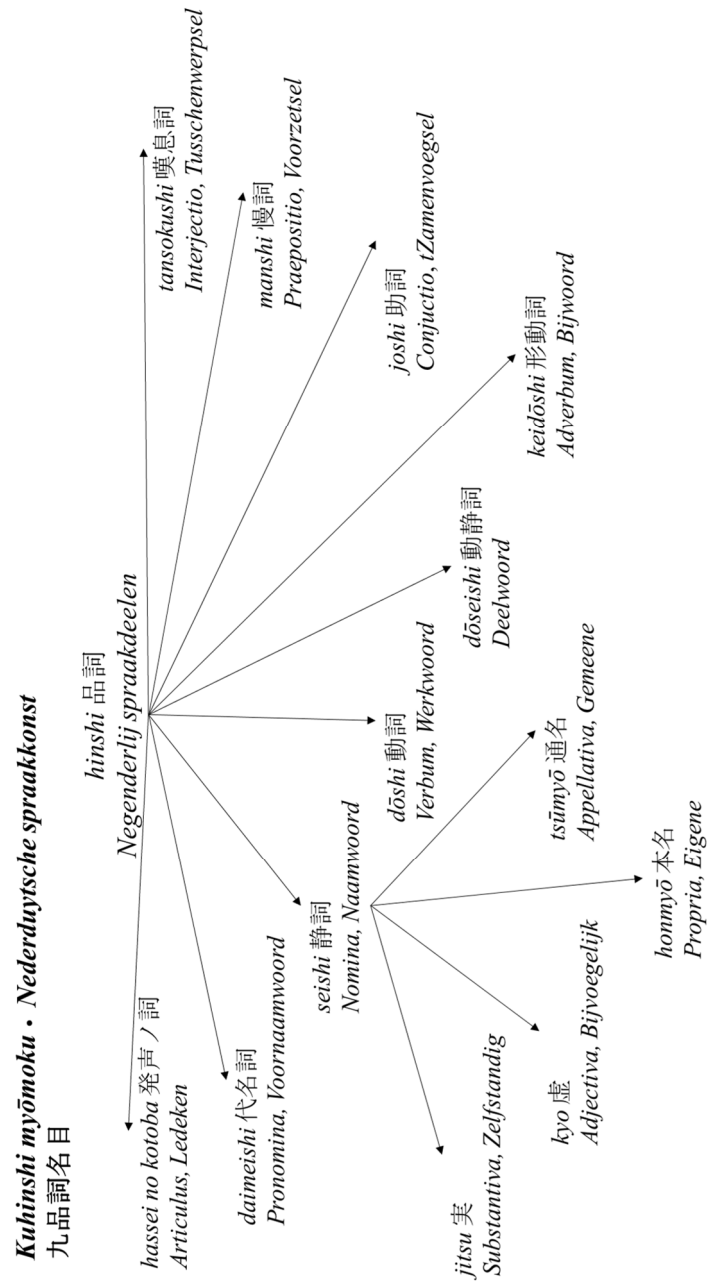


Table 47 Schematization of the parts of speech in *Kuhinshi myōmoku* and *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst*.

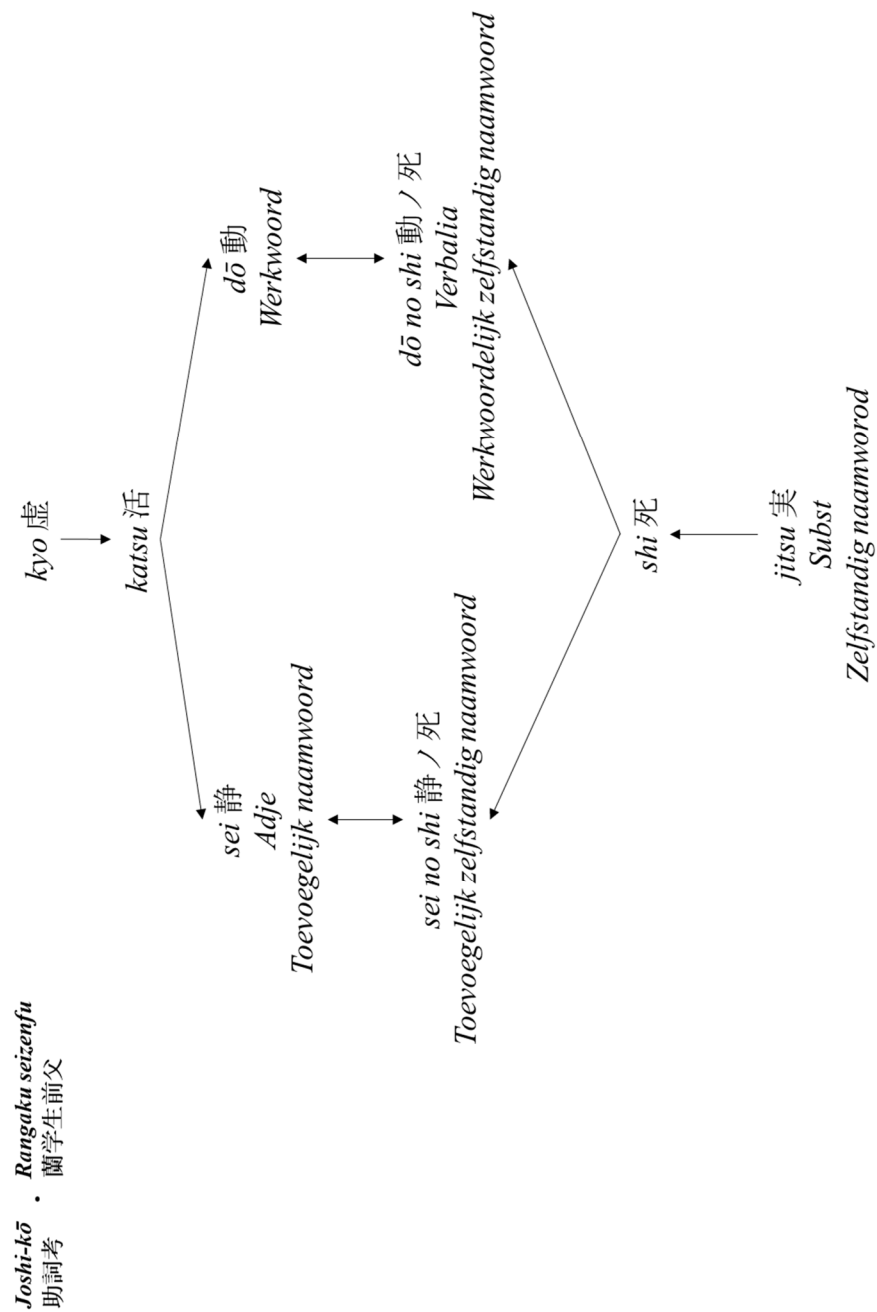


Table 48 Schematization of the parts of speech in *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu*

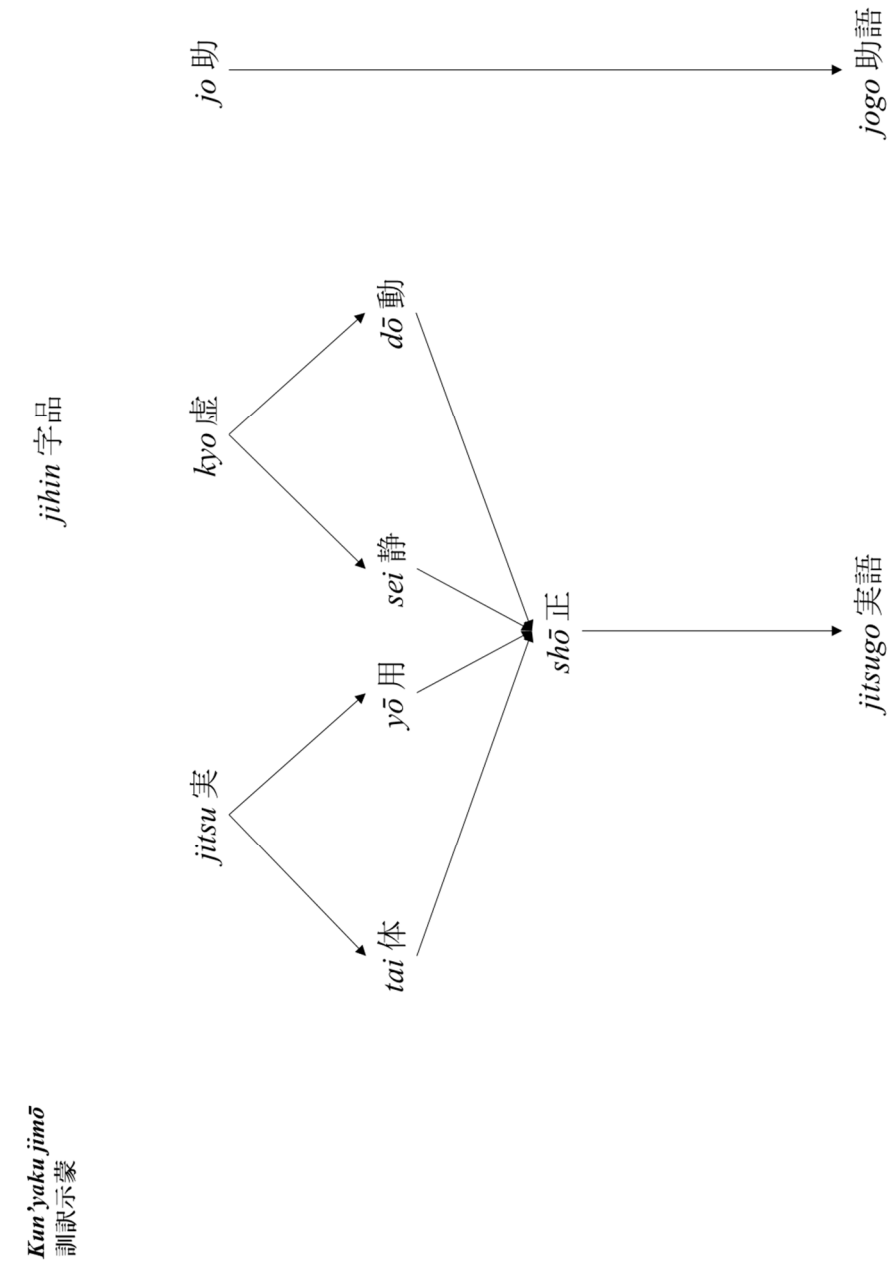


Table 49 Schematization of the parts of speech in *Kun'yaku jimō* by Ogyū Sorai

7.8 *Zokubun kinnō*

The work titled *Zokubun kinnō* mostly focuses on the syntax and word-order of the many types of sentences of Dutch, that also influence the mood of the verbal conjugation. In the copies of this work that are considered to be the closest to the supposed original document (see 2.4.8), one is only presented with a few matrixes, composed of Chinese characters referring to the various parts of speech, in order to illustrate how they have to be combined with each other and ordered within sentences. There are eight bullet points as introduction, specifying a few general rules concerning Dutch syntax. Because of this structure, the morphological theory according to which the different parts of speech ought to be ordered is not explicit. However, one should also not believe that this work was giving a complete overview of the parts of speech of Dutch, since its goal was different. Within *Zokubun kinnō* one finds seven parts of speech, listed below in no particular order. I refer to 2.4.8, to see the differences in terminology across the different copies.

- Nouns, 実詞 “full word”;
- Adjectives, 虚詞 “empty word”;
- Verbs, 動詞 “moving word”;
- Articles, 発声詞 “speech initiator”;
- Adverbs, 形動詞 “shape of verbs”;
- Preposition, 所在詞 “locational”;
- Auxiliary verb, 助詞 “auxiliary”.

Interestingly, this list lacks the character *sei* 静 “quiet”, used in other works to refer to adjectives, and in *Kuhinshi myōmoku* to refer to the super category of nouns, including both adjectival nouns and substantive nouns. Much similarly to *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, in fact, adjectives are called “empty words”, while verb are called “moving words”, meaning that they do not belong to the same supercategory, which in the Sino-Japanese tradition would have been, indeed, “empty words”. This structure is closely related to *Sanshu shokaku* (see 7.4). The category of participles, generally described as being somewhere in between verbs and adjectives, is not distinguished as a stand-alone category. It can be deduced that participles were to be categorized as either verbs or adjectives, according to their role within the sentence. This could be substantiated by the fact that the term *joshi* 助詞 is here utilized to refer to auxiliary verbs. Consequently, if a sentence possesses an “auxiliary verb” (*jo* 助) and a “verb” (*dō* 動), that last verb is either an infinitive (after *zullen*, *willen*, *mogen* and *worden*) or a participle (after *zijn*, *hebben* and *worden*). Which type of verbs the category of “auxiliary” includes, in *Zokubun kinnō*, is not clearly stated. As claimed in Chapters III and IV, this category tended not to be often used in Dutch sources, although there is no real reason to believe that the author of *Zokubun kinnō* based his interpretation of the category of “auxiliary” directly on any specific Dutch source. Some of the categories of speech that were included within the category of “auxiliary” in *Joshi-kō* are given, in *Zokubun kinnō*, their own independent category, namely: prepositions, that are called *shozaishi* 所在詞, where

shozai means ‘location’; and adverbs, that are called *keidōshi* 形動詞, probably referring to the idea of adverbs “qualifying” (*kei* 形) “verbs” (*dō* 動). This could be a re-elaboration of the concept of *keiyō* 形容, itself not adopted in this work, but seen in other works by Shizuki and also seen in Ogyū Sorai (see 7.2.3).

7.9 Conclusions

In the present chapter, I have illustrated the complex and often inconsistent theoretical framework adopted by Shizuki regarding the parts of speech; what one would call today “morphology” or, as the Dutch would have said back then, “etymology”. I have approached this analysis by initially trying to neglect any pre-supposition regarding any expectations concerning the structure in the interrelations between the parts of speech. This includes expectations derived both from the Greek-Latin and from the Sino-Japanese traditions. Only after having first understood Shizuki’s explanations, have I compared his theories with Japanese and Dutch sources to find overlaps, distinctions, and to eventually factor out such influences to identify Shizuki’s personal interpretations.

Morphological issues are represented quite differently across Shizuki’s manuscripts. In *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunnō*, the division of the parts of speech is closely based on the list of abbreviations of Halma’s dictionary, which are compared to traditional Sino-Japanese concepts and translated into Sino-Japanese words. Nonetheless, most of these terms are never featured again, in Shizuki’s oeuvre. If I am allowed to simply a little, I would acknowledge the existence of two main types of manuscripts, across Shizuki’s bibliography, with a few of the documents falling into a third “hybrid” genre.

The first genre is represented by works such as *Kuhinshi myōmoku* and *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*. These two works can be simplistically described as lists of Dutch words concerning morphology. These words are then translated into Japanese, and only briefly explained in their meaning and use. In both these works, the reliance on the Dutch source is evident and strong.

The second type is represented by works such as *Joshi-kō*, *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Zokubun kinnō*. These are works in which the explanation of the categories of speech is either overlooked (*Seizenfu*), relegated to an ancillary section (*Joshi-kō*), or only treated in so far as it is necessary to understand the theory contained in the main body (*Zokubun kinnō*). In this type of works, the Dutch-borne theory tends to be very present yet overshadowed by the Sino-Japanese one. Characteristic of these works is that they follow to some extent the style and structure of other works in the Sino-Japanese tradition, like *Joshi-kō* being part of the “Thoughts on Auxiliary Characters” genre, and *Seizenfu* mirroring the structure and theory of Motoori Norinaga’s *Kotoba no tama no o* (I will claim this in Chapter VIII).

The last type combines the former two and thus I have called it “hybrid”. It is best represented by *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunnō*, *Shihō shoji taiyaku* and *Sanshu shokaku*. Characteristic of these works is the much more evident reliance on the categories, structures, and theories of the Dutch sources they are based on. However, in contrast with the first type, they present much deeper and more personal

interpretations of those sources, often appealing to the Sino-Japanese tradition, or to the theories previously illustrated by Shizuki himself in other documents. A clear example of this is *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. As I have shown, the whole structure of the work is undisputedly based on the verbal conjugation system as illustrated in Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, however, each tense is always provided with a Japanese translation consistent with the theories contained in *Seizenfu*. Furthermore, in order to provide additional evidence of the use of specific tenses and moods, Shizuki draws examples from sources different from Séwel or any other grammatical or lexicographical book, reaching out to Jacob Cats' poems.

The purpose of the present chapter was, ultimately, to describe and analyze how Shizuki approached the subject of morphology. Nothing of what I have attested in the present chapter should have been taken for granted, otherwise. To begin with, the whole concept of "grammar" was far from being spread in a significant manner in premodern Japan, let alone that of "morphology". Furthermore, it is not a given that a Japanese of that time would simply repurpose the (Neo-)Confucian categories, loaded with very specific translational connotations, and use them to mediate those Greek-Latin traditional concepts. In fact, as I have illustrated in Chapter V, it is in the Edo Period that Japanese scholars really started developing the first methodologies for a systematic analysis of language. In some sense this "coincidence" has likely been fundamental for the development of Shizuki's theories. On the other hand, however, this implies that the discipline was too young, from the Sino-Japanese side, to provide Shizuki with a solid and reliable foundation upon which he could explain many of the characteristics his description of morphology. This is also attested by the fact that the morphological classes vary sensibly across Shizuki's bibliography. This does not only concern the vocabulary used to describe these categories, but also the theory itself. While it appears that the more traditional dichotomy of "full-empty", with "empty" including "quiet" (adjectives) and "moving" (verbs) words was much more common, in works such as *Kuhinshi myōmoku* and *Zokubun kinnō* this gets changed. In those works, "empty" words became a label specific to adjectives and, in the former of the two, the category of "quiet" goes on to correspond to the Dutch *naamwoord* that included "nouns" (*zelfstandig*) and "adjectives" (*bijvoegelijk*).

There is one specific issue that I would like to address here. Namely, the fact that I have been able to demonstrate that Shizuki's use of the label *joshi*, although not always perfectly consistent, was not consequential of an allegedly broken understanding of the corresponding Dutch categories. On the contrary, the concept of *joshi* was a rather neatly defined category, both (Neo-)Confucians and "nativists" had been dealing with for decades before Shizuki's life. From the point of view of Chinese studies in Japan, in fact, the category of "auxiliary" character (*joji* 助字) or word (*jogo* 助語 or *joji* 助辭) was rather well-established and fixed, defined as one belonging to the list provided by Běixī, for example, a theory Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō* expanded upon. For a Japanologist, instead, an auxiliary word was one corresponding to two concepts: the *te ni wo ha* particles, and the adjectival/verbal affixes. This will be further substantiated in Chapter VIII.

In conclusion, it is true that there are many inconsistencies across Shizuki's works regarding the use of the parts of speech and their definitions. However, if one considers the premises hitherto assumed, there sure are very few inconsistencies when it comes to Shizuki's methodology and approach to the study of grammar, something he must have quite certainly pioneered, within his own country. Such methodology allowed him to also deal with the complicated issue of the morphosyntax of verbs, as I will show in the following Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VII

Morphosyntax of Verbs in Shizuki Tadao's Works

されどもあるは好奇之媒となり、またはあしき事などいひ出す。さらば禁ずべしとすれど、禁ずれば猶やみべからず。況やまた益もあり。さらばその書籍など、心なきものゝ手には多く渡り持らぬやうにはすべきなり。

Sometimes, however, [Dutch books] invite idle curiosity or say evil things. If that is the case, we should prohibit them, but [people] would not stop [taking an interest in them], because we have prohibited [these books]. And then, of course, they are also profitable. That being the case, we must see to it that those books do not in large quantities pass into the hands of thoughtless people.

Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1758 – 1829) in *Uge no hitogoto* 宇下人言¹

¹ Original text copied from MATSUDAIRA (1942, 177), English translation adapted from BOOT (2013, 198).

8. Morphosyntax of verbs in Shizuki Tadao's works

8.1 Approaches to morphosyntax

In the seven Japanese manuscripts on Dutch discussed here, morphology and the parts of speech certainly are the main topics. For example, *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* can be described as an annotated translation of the list of abbreviations in Halma's dictionary. Shizuki's work known as *Kuhinshi myōmoku* was strongly based on Séwel's chapter on *oorsprongkunde* 'etymology', i.e., former name of morphology. In the works *Sanshu shokaku* and *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*, Shizuki analyzed the issue of grammatical cases and the use of articles and their declinations. In these works, verbs are often only briefly mentioned. When they are mentioned, they are only discussed as a morphological category. No further analysis is presented concerning their conjugation and syntactic behavior. Consequently, in the present Chapter VIII, I will not concentrate on these works. In three other works attributed to Shizuki, however, verbs are discussed in a very detailed manner. In *Joshi-kō*, verbs are covered in the grammatical section(s), where a few conjugation patterns are presented, along with their Japanese adaptations. Examples of the adaptation of Dutch verbs into Japanese are found in the main body of *Joshi-kō*, namely its glossary of "auxiliary" words. The work titled *Shihō shoji taiyaku* may superficially seem to be nothing more than a translation of a few verbal conjugations taken from Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, but it actually contains important comments that allow a deeper understanding of specific issues. The most important manuscript with respect to verbs is *Rangaku seizenfu*. This work deserves central focus in the present research for several reasons. Firstly, *Seizenfu* is not a direct translation or adaptation of a Dutch source. Although Shizuki cites Marin and Halma's dictionaries in *Seizenfu*, this work does not appear to be strictly following a specific Dutch source in its structure or its contents. Instead, I will demonstrate that Motoori's *Kotoba no tama no o* had a major influence on the text. Moreover, there are not many citations from Dutch sources, except a handful of sentences, one of which comes from a poem by Cats (see 2.4.3), so not from a dictionary, a handbook of grammar, or another metalinguistic text. I will argue that *Seizenfu* is unique in that it presents a coherent and comprehensive grammatical theory of Dutch only loosely based on Dutch sources.

In *Seizenfu*, Shizuki introduces many original grammatical concepts, some of which he kept using in other works. A central concept is *sanze* 三世 'three times' or 'three dimensions', a term that Shizuki uses to refer to what can be called "tenses", "moods" and "aspect". This term, although fundamental in the context of *Seizenfu*, is not mentioned in any other manuscript by Shizuki, except in the mysterious *Sanze-kō* 三世考 whose title is only mentioned once in the introduction to *Joshi-kō*, where it apparently refers to an as yet unidentified manuscript by Shizuki (see 2.2). Another important concept is *tatoe* 仮令, present all throughout *Seizenfu*, but also often used in *Joshi-kō* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. This concept is used in very specific instances, with reference to particular uses of hypothetical constructions, and appears to have a tight relationship with Dutch poetical forms such as the emblems by the Dutch poet Jacob Cats. I will investigate Shizuki's use of *tatoe* in 8.5.2.1. I have already discussed its relationship with Cats' emblems in NESPOLI (2022). In

short, the present Chapter VIII will be mostly based on *Rangaku seizenfu*. Where appropriate, I will also refer to *Joshi-kō* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*.

8.2 The two chapters on “Examples of Japanese”

Both *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* start with a brief chapter titled “Examples of Japanese language” (*wagorei* 和語例) and simply “Examples” (*rei* 例), respectively. The latter can be read below in its entirety:¹

例	Examples
一 右ノ記録中ニ過去ノ詞ヲ以テ訓スルモノ多シ	As recorded above, there are many ways to adapt words of the past into Japanese, like: <i>iiki</i> ; <i>iishi</i> ; and <i>iishikaba</i> . These are the translations when talking about the current time. However, in case we are writing a story occurring in the past, one ought to translate them [words of the past] as <i>ieri</i> , <i>ieru</i> , <i>iikeredomo</i> etc. All the other words also go like this. Moreover, even within a story occurring in the past, there are things that ought to be translated as <i>iiki</i> etc. I discuss these in my <i>Sanze-kō</i> 三世考.
いひき いひし	
いひしかば	
杯ノ類也是等ハ當時ノ話ニテノ譯也昔ノ物語ノ文ヲ訳スル時ヤハリ	
いへり いへる	
いひけれとも	
杯ト訳スヘシ其余ノ詞モコレニ準ス又昔物語ノ中ニテモいひきナト、訳スベキ所モアリ是等ハ予カ三世考ノ中ニ辨セリ	

This excerpt is supposed to be an explanation or, rather, a clarification on the practice of translation. Particularly, Shizuki mentions the term *kako no kotoba* 過去ノ詞 ‘words of the past’. What he specifically means with this term, will be at the core of most of the rest of this Chapter VIII, however, one can already understand that these “words of the past” can be used both when telling a story about the current time (*tōji no hanashi nite*) and with stories occurring in the past (*mukashi no monogatari* 昔ノ物語). When Dutch words of the past are to be translated into Japanese, they can be adapted in a few manners, according to whether they are used in stories of the past, or of the current time. Shizuki uses the verb *-iu* ‘to say’ in order to demonstrate some of these inflecting patterns. For the Japanese adaptation of Dutch words of the past used within a story of the present, Shizuki provides the following inflected forms:

- *iiki* {**i(h)**. + .**i**. + .**ki** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *-i(h)u* ‘to say’ + *shūshikei* of *-ki*}
- *iishi* {**i(h)**. + .**i**. + .**shi** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *-i(h)u* ‘to say’ + *rentaikei* of *-ki*}

¹ The following text is based on Kyōto University’s *Rango kun'yaku*, though little differences in spelling can be seen across the copies.

- *iishikaba* {**i(h)**. + **.i**. + **.shika** + **.ba** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *-i(h)u* 'to say' + *izeneki* of *-ki* + consequential *-ba*}

All these conjugated forms of the verb “to say” that Shizuki uses to exemplify the translation of Dutch “words of the past” within a “story in the current time” present the affix *-ki*. The difference between *iiki* and *iishi* is mostly contextual, in the sense that *iiki* is used mostly at the end of phrases, while *iishi* is used in so-called adnominal position, often corresponding to a relative clause. The form *iishikaba*, however, also feature the suffix *-ba*, the type attaching to a *izenkei* form. Shizuki adds that these are also sometimes used with stories occurring in the past, although the general conjugations for that instance are exemplified by the following forms of the verb “to say”:

- *ieri* {**i(h)**. + **.e**. + **.ri** = *meireikei* of the verb *-i(h)u* ‘to say’ + *rentaieki* (or *ren'yōkei*) of *-ri*}
- *ieru* {**i(h)**. + **.e**. + **.ru** = *meireikei* of the verb *-i(h)u* ‘to say’ + *shūshikei* of *-ri*}
- *iikeredomo* {**i(h)**. + **.i**. + **.kere** + **.domo** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *-i(h)u* ‘to say’ + *izenkei* of *-keri* + *-do(mo)*}

In these examples, the version with the hypothetical/concessive *-do(mo)* stands out also because it is the only one that is not conjugated by means of the affix *-ri*, but rather, with the affix *-keri*. In this section, Shizuki adds that these concepts are further explained in his work title *Sanze-kō*. Unfortunately, as discussed in 2.2, there exists no manuscript bearing this title as of today, thus, one can only speculate regarding its content. Regardless of whether one is to believe that this mysterious *Sanze-kō* corresponds to *Seizenfu*, it is true that the only known work of Shizuki where the term *sanze* ‘three times/dimensions’ is mentioned and thoroughly used is indeed *Seizenfu*. It is in this work where one finds the following quotation spanning across two very brief sections titled “Example of Japanese language” (*wagorei* 和語例) and “Differences between the two languages” (*ryōgo no i* 両語ノ異). First, however, Shizuki draws the following Table 50, with my romanization (2r):

<i>nuru</i> ぬる	<i>nu</i> ぬ
<i>tsuru</i> つる	<i>tsu</i> つ
<i>otsuru</i> おつる	<i>otsu</i> おつ
<i>shiroki</i> しろき	<i>shiroshi</i> しろし
<i>shi</i> し	<i>ki</i> き

Table 50 Copy of the table found in *Rangaku seizenfu* containing examples of the difference in conjugation between *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba*

In the righthand side of this table, there are three affixes, an adjective, and one verb all in their *shūshikei* forms, while on the left Shizuki put the same affixes, the same adjective, and the same verb, in their *rentaikei* forms. The affixes are *-nu*, *-tsu*, and *-ki*; the adjective is *shiroshi* ‘white’ and the verb is *otsu* ‘to fall’. The following comment is added: “On the right, there are *kiruru* words. On the left, there are *tsuzuku* words. We will see the difference between *-nu* and *-tsu* later” (右ナルハ切ルハ 詞ナリ左ナルハ續ク 詞ナリぬトつトノ別ハ後ニ見タリ). From this quote one can understand that what is nowadays called *shūshikei* was called by Shizuki *kiruru kotoba*, meaning ‘cutting words’, while today’s *rentaikei* was called by him *tsuzuku kotoba*, meaning ‘continuing words’. The so-called *shūshikei* (*kiruru kotoba*) was the form into which the predicate used to generally be conjugated at the end of a sentence, hence the name ‘cutting word’, since they split one sentence from the other. The *rentaikei* (*tsuzuku kotoba*), however, was often used in adnominal position, in the construction of a relative clause. These two forms are the only forms that can be used without the addition of an affix² and are actually quite common. This may be the reason why they are the only ones being mentioned here. However, as shown in Chapter V, at the time when Shizuki lived there was no theory treating the different forms of verbs as it is done today. The only proper distinction was, in fact, the difference between *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba*. For example, these terms were also used in the first volume, on folio 10v, of Ogyū Sorai’s *Kun’yaku jimō*, where the Confucian author introduces the concept of the *bunri* 文理 of translation:

文理ト云フハ。畢竟字ノ上下ノ置キヤウ
ダンゾク
 ナリ。先ヅ。語ノ斷續ヲ³知ルベシ。
 ツバク字キルハ字。ト云フヲ知^リテ。サ
キ ツ ザツガウ
 テ上下ノ置ヤウニ。氣ヲ付ケ。雜合メ
 見ルベシ。

The *bunri*, ultimately, is the way you place characters above and below. Firstly, you need to know the *danzoku* 斷續. One should see that, after having understood *kiruru* characters and *tsuzuku* characters, one can mix them paying attention to their placement above or below.

Ogyū treated *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* characters within the context of what he called *danzoku* 斷續 (斷続)⁴ that was defined as the practice of recognizing whether characters were “lively” (*katsu* 活) or “dead” (*shi* 死) and distribute them accordingly. One can correctly place characters “up or down” if one is able to understand whether they are *kiruru* or *tsuzuku*. Unfortunately, Ogyū does not expand

² Exception be made for the *meireikei* form for the imperative that arguably occurs less often, and the *izenkei* with specific *kakari-musubi*.

³ On the left side of the word, the alternative reading *kiretsuzuki* キレツベキ is also present.

⁴ May the non-Japanese speaking reader be aware of the fact that *zoku* 続 is the Chinese character generally used to write the Japanese verb *tsuzuku* ‘to continue’, while *dan* 斷 is used, in this context, as corresponding to the Japanese verb *tatsu* ‘to interrupt’. It is not the same character generally used to write the verb *kiru* ‘to cut’ (*setsu* 切), yet the term *danzoku* itself also points at meaning ‘cut/interrupt and connect’.

much on this topic. However, it can be understood that characters being either *kiruru* or *tsuzuku* is a consequence of their quality of being “dead-lively” and of their location within the sentence (syntax).

The concepts of *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* concerns the Japanese rendition of Chinese sentences; it is a characteristic of Japanese grammar. For this reason, this terminology was also employed in the context of Japanese studies. For example, Motoori Norinaga wrote the following in *Kotoba no tama no o* (vol. 1, p. 5-6):

すべての詞づかひ。切るゝところ
をつゞく所とのけちめあること
を。まづわきまへおくべし。是を
上の件にいへる ぬ つ る と
ぬる つる るゝ との例にてい
はゞ「花さきぬ」「鶯なきつ」もみぢ
葉ながるなどゝいふたぐひの ぬ
つ る は切るゝ辭也。これを
「櫻花散ぬる風の云々。」「鶯の鳴
つる枝を云々。」「もみぢのなが
るゝ川に云々などゝいふ時は。
「散ぬる風」「なきつる枝」「なか
るゝ川とやうに下へつゞけば。ぬ
る つる るゝ などはつゞく辭
ちりぬ風「なきつ枝」「ながる川などゝ
也。はつゞきがたし。」「又花ちりぬる」「鶯
なきつるもみぢはながるゝなどとひては。語
切れずと心得へし。かくのごとくたゞに ぬ
る つる るゝ といひても切るゝことと思
ふは。後世人のひがとなり。そのよしは下
にしくはし
ふべし。

かくて此切るゝ辭は。ことく紐
鏡の右行の段々にあり。つゞく辭
は中行の段々にある也。件の ぬ
つ る と ぬる つる るゝ
との例に准へて。いづれをも考へ
さとりべし。さて又。切るゝ所も
つゞく所も同じき詞もあり。聞成
まついふしる
待言知などの く す つ ふ
る のたぐひ。又 ん らん な
ん などの類也。これらは詞のつ
らねぎまにしたがひて。切れも
つゞきもする也。ひも鏡の第冊三
段 く い より 終りの
てん てめ まで 合せて

In the use of all words, first you ought to place and distinguish the difference between what is *kiruru* and what is *tsuzuku*. As said before, these are, for example -*nu*, -*tsu*, -*ru* and -*nuru*, -*tsuru*, -*ruru*. When you say *hana sakinu* ['The flowers have blossomed'], *uguhisu nakitsu* ['The warbler has sung'], *momiji ha nagaru* ['The colors of the autumn have spread'], the -*nu*, -*tsu* and -*ru* used in these sentences are *kiruru kotoba* “cutting words”. However, if you say things like *sakurabana chirinuru kaze* ['The wind that has scattered the cherry blossoms'], *uguhisu no nakitsuru eda* ['The branch of the crying warbler'], *momiji no nagaruru kawa* ['The river spreading the colors of the autumn'], in these, if -*nuru*, -*tsuru* and -*ruru* etc. connect with what is below, as in *chirinuru kaze*, *nakitsuru eda* and *nagaruru kawa* then they are *tsuzuku kotoba*. (It is hard to connect with *chirinu kaze*, *nakitsu eda* and *nagaru kawa*. Moreover, you should know that you cannot cut the phrase by saying *hana chirinuru*, *iguhisu nakitsuru* and *momiji ha nagaru* etc. For this reason, if, when saying -*nuru*, -*tsuru* and -*ruru*, you can think of them as *kiruru*, this is a difference of later people. I will talk about this further below).

Thus, these *kiruru kotoba* are generally put in the right column in the *himokagami*, while *tsuzuku kotoba* are put in the middle column. You must learn -*nu*, -*tsu*, -*ru* and -*nuru*, -*tsuru* and -*ruru*, from to their examples. Furthermore, there are also instances in which the same word is used for *kiruru* and *tsuzuku*. This is the type of -*ku*, -*su*, -*tsu*, -(f)u and -*ru*, in words such as *kiku* ['to hear'], *nasu* ['to make'], *matsu* ['to wait'], *i(h)u* ['to say'], *shiru* ['to know'], etc. and also the type of -*n*, -*ran* and -*nan*. These are words which can be “cut” or “continued” in their mutual connection. These are the words collected in the eleven levels, in the third level of *himokagami*, from the -*ku* (right column) and -*i* (left column) to the -*ten* (right column) and -*teme* (left column). All of these eleven levels can

十一段の辭これ也。此十一段は
皆。切るゝもつゝくも同じき故
に。みぎのくだり右行と中行と一つになれ
り。考へ見べし。

be *kiruru* or *tsuzuku* indistinctly, thus, the right column and the central column have been made one single column. Remember this.

Motoori introduces the concept of *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba*, also by means of the two affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*. However, Motoori also added the syllable *ru* that should not be interpreted as being a “verbal/adjectival affix” (*jodōshi* 助動詞). As I have said in Chapter V, it was very common in the context of Japanese studies and especially in *kokugaku* still well into the Edo period, to consider grammatical patterns as being connected to what could be called the semantic meaning of single *kana*. This is also a consequence of the fact that Japanese studies were written in *kana*, thus not allowing a further division of syllables or, better, *morae*. For this reason, Motoori treats this syllable *ru* at the same analytical level he treats the syllables for the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu* even though this *-ru* corresponds to the ending of some verbs and affixes mostly in their *rentaikei* forms, and not to a verbal affix itself. In fact, as it can be seen from the examples he provides, the syllable *ru* he refers to can be found, for example, in the verb *nagaru* ‘to flow’, ‘to spread’, that is a *shimo nidan*, thus presents the ending *nagar.u* in its *shūshikei* and *nagar.uru* in its *rentaikei*.⁵ Regardless, what Motoori is trying to exemplify is the fact that, oftentimes, the difference between a *tsuzuku kotoba* (*rentaikei*) and a *kiruru kotoba* (*shūshikei*) is the presence or lack thereof, respectively, of the additional character *ru*. However, in reality, the instances in which this extra *ru* is featured are very limited if compared to the totality of the *rentaikei* forms all Japanese verbs, adjectives and affixes. As far as verbs are concerned, although it is true that most verbal classes do include this extra *ru* in their *rentaikei* forms, *ra-hen* ラ変 and *yodan* 四段 verbs do not. This is also acknowledged by Motoori, in this excerpt, by listing a few Japanese verbs, whose roots all end with different consonants, meaning with different *kana*, according to Motoori’s approach. The verbs he lists are *kiku* ‘to hear’, *nasu* ‘to make’, *matsu* ‘to wait’, *i(h)u* ‘to say’, *shiru* ‘to know’, all being *yodan* verbs, thus maintaining the same form in their *shūshikei* and *rentaikei* inflection.

The examples of *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba* that Shizuki employs in his table in *Rangaku seizenfu* are varied. They include the two affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*; and a verb of the *kami ni dan* class, *otsu* ‘to fall’, for those adding an extra *ru* to their *tsuzuku* forms. For those not adding the extra *ru*, an adjective of the *-ku* inflecting pattern is found, *shiroshi* ‘white’; and the past affix *-ki*. This table, thus, also explains the two forms provided for the verbs *iiki* and *iishi*, as well as *ieri* and *ieru*, as found in the section titled *Examples (rei 例)*, from *Joshi-kō*. In this section, however, one does not find a reference to the character *shi* し. As discussed in Chapter V, the character

⁵ In the way Japanese verbs are understood today, one would not consider *ru* as being the ending of the verb since its root – meaning its invariable part – includes the *r*, in *nagar*. The ending *-u*, instead, represents the *shūshikei* inflected form of the verb, with *-uru* being its *rentaikei*, instead.

shi was traditionally considered to possess three different meanings, relating each to one of the three times, namely: present (*genzai* 現在); past (*kako* 過去); or future (*mirai* 未来). However, in each of these instances, the character *shi* corresponded to completely different morphemes. In the case of the present time, the character *shi* corresponded to the *shūshikei* ending of verbs. In the past time, *shi* corresponded to the *rentaikei* (and, perhaps, also the *shūshikei*) form of the past affix *-ki*. In the future, it corresponded to the *shi* syllable of the *shūshikei* form of the affix *-beshi*. This is mentioned, although very indirectly, in the introductory section of *Seizenfu*, but goes totally neglected in *Joshi-kō*'s *Examples* section. Nonetheless, in Waseda's B109 copy of the latter (5r), one can find that someone has added, outside of the margins of the page, the quote below, precisely referencing this issue. This annotation references four *waka*, coming from well-known classics of Japanese literature. In the English translation, on the right, I have added the source, in brackets.

凡動詞ニき、シヲ履
スレハ過去也虚詞ニ
履タルハ現世ナリ

In general, if one adds *-ki* き or *-si* し to a verb (*dōshi* 動詞) it is past (*kako* 過去). When added to an adjective (*kyōshi* 虚詞) it is present (*gense* 現世).

△手枕のすき間の風
も寒かりき身はなら
わしの物にぞありけ
る

- *tamakura no suki ma no kaze mo samukariki mi wa narawashi no mono ni zo arikeru* [*Shūi Waka-shū* 拾遺和歌集]
“Even the wind in the empty pillow was cold, in the things my body did not get used to”.

△みどりなるひとつ
草とぞ春は見し秋は
いろ々の花にぞあり
ける

- *midori naru hitotsu kusa to zo haru wa mishi aki wa iroiro no hana ni zo arikeru* [*Kokin waka-shū* 古今和歌集]
“I saw all the grass in one color green, and I saw spring, the flowers variedly colored in autumn.”

△我宿は雪ふり敷て
道もなしふみ分てと
ふ人しなければ

- *wa ga yado wa yuki furi shikite michi mo nashi fumi-wakete tō hito shinakereba* [*Man'yōshū* 万葉集]
“While I am home, snow keeps falling until the street disappear, there are no footsteps either, because nobody came to visit me.”

△のこりなくちるぞ
めて度桜花

- *nokorinaku chiruzomedetaki sakurabana* [*Kokin waka-shū* 古今和歌集]
“So good that the cherry blossoms spread covering all”

In these *waka*, there are a few examples of the use of the syllable *shi*, in the different ways evidenced in the introductory remark. For example, in the verb *narawashi*, a

combination of the verb *narau* ‘to get used to’, and the past affix *-ki*; or in the adjective *nashi* ‘non-existent’, where the ending *-shi* simply informs of the adjective being *shūshikei*, thus being a present. By reading the excerpts above, it can be claimed that the traditional approach considering each *kana* to convey a set of semantic meanings – typical of *kokugaku* and *kagaku* 歌学 (the study of *waka*) – was fundamentally adopted in the understanding of the conjugation of Japanese verbs, adjectives and affixes in Shizuki’s *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*. The last excerpt above, although probably added by the copyist, is not in any way inconsistent with what Shizuki does within his works, as I will demonstrate. Nonetheless, the concepts of *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* were not only employed by scholars of Japanese but were also adopted by Confucian sinologists such as Ogyū Sorai, who adapted this theory to Chinese characters. In fact, while Shizuki (詞) and Motoori (辭) talked about *kotoba*, Ogyū talked about *ji* 字 “characters” being either *kiruru* or *tsuzuku*. This is the main difference between the two approaches, whereby “characters” *ji* 字 refers to Chinese logograms, while *kotoba* refers to Japanese words being spelled in *kana*, or a mixture of Chinese characters and *kana*, at least. Ogyū, instructing on translation from Chinese to Japanese, referred to the quality of “characters” that needed to be treated according to Japanese morphosyntactic rules.

There is one further issue that requires to be clarified regarding these excerpts and that is the question of why the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu* were taken as examples, beyond the fact that their *rentaikei* required the addition of the extra character *ru*. This has to do with the fact that verbs, according to Shizuki, could be split into two categories, as I will discuss in the following paragraph.

In conclusion, these two brief chapters from the two manuscripts introduce to their reader the concept of *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* uses of words. This distinction is particularly important for *Seizenfu* as most of its first half concentrates on demonstrating the different uses of these forms and the different morphosyntactic issues raised in their renditions into Dutch, as I will discuss below. Another important point that is already raised here is the fact that classical Japanese grammar is evidently central in Shizuki’s theory. Furthermore, the methodological approach is also displayed. Shizuki will refer to the use of classical Japanese, as witnessed in the classics of literature in a fashion that shows its overt inspiration from Motoori’s school.

8.3 Active and neuter verbs

In *Rangaku seizenfu*, after the section on the examples of Japanese language, there is a brief section titled “Differences between the two languages” (*ryōgo no i* 両語ノ異). This section, found on folios 2r-2v, addresses one main issue concerning the difference in the conjugating patterns between Dutch and Japanese. This section also expands on the topic of *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* words.

和語ニハ言ヘル人・言へる語・ト両様ニイヘ		Although in the Japanese language one can say <i>ieru hito</i> 言ヘル人, as well as <i>ieru go</i> 言へる語, in the Dutch

言へる語ト言つる人いひし人
 ナト訳スベキハアレバいへる
 人ト訳スベキ者ナシ此類猶多
 シ動他ノ詞 言ハ動他ノ詞ナ
 リ ニ而己此異アリ然レバい
 へる人いひつる人左ノミ差別
 ナシト見タリ
 但シ隕ぬる石隕たる石ナドハ
 差別アリ自動詞 隕ハ自動ナ
 リ ナレバ也

language, while there are [sentences] translatable as *ieru go* 言へる語, *iitsuru hito* 言つる人, *iishi hito* いひし人 and so forth, there is no such thing translatable as *ieru hito* いへる人. Such difference only exists amongst the many *dōta no shi* 動他ノ詞 (*iu* 言 is a *dōta no shi*). Furthermore, only on the left, one can see the absence of difference between *ieru hito* いへる人 and *iitsuru hito* いひつる人. Nevertheless, difference is made between *ochinuru ishi* 隕ぬる石, *ochitaru ishi* 隕たる石 etc., these are *jidōshi* 自動詞 (*otsu* 隕 is a *jidō*).

In this section, Shizuki deals with a fundamental difference between Japanese and Dutch grammar concerning some verbal constructs that, in Dutch, allegedly behave fundamentally differently according to the category the verb belongs to. In this quote, Shizuki claims that in Japanese one can use expressions such as *ieru go* 言へる語 and *ieru hito* 言へる人. These are both relative clauses, hence the verb is in its *rentaikei* form, and presents the affix *-ru*.⁶ These are the same forms mentioned in *Joshi-kō*'s section titled "Examples", where they were considered "words of past" used when telling a story in the past. The two phrases *ieru go* and *ieru hito* differ only in the noun that is being modified, namely *go* 語 'word', and *hito* 人 'person'. Shizuki adds that, in Dutch, even if one does find phrasings such as *ieru go*, *iitsuru hito* (with the affix *-tsu*) and *iishi hito* (with the affix *-ki*) one does not find a direct correspondence to the sentence *ieru hito*. Before interpreting the meaning of this claim, one needs to first understand a few additional issues concerning verbs that are only briefly mentioned in the excerpt above. Shizuki distinguishes between two types of verbs: *jidōshi* (neuter) and *dōtashi* (active) and claims that there is a relevant difference in the use of *tsuzuku kotoba* across the two languages, according to the verb being either *ji* or *ta*. In order to exemplify this, Shizuki adopts the two verbs *iu* 'to say', 'to speak', a *dōtashi*, and *otsu* 'to fall', a *jidōshi*. The subsequent chapters 4 and 5 of *Seizenfu* are titled *kiruru go* and *tsuzuku go*, respectively, and cover this topic exactly. In those chapters, there are a few examples of these two verbs along with the adjective *shiroshi* being used in brief phrases in their *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* forms. At the beginning of the chapter on *tsuzuku* words, it is claimed that *dōta* corresponds to *A*, while *jidō* to *N*, a clear reference to the Dutch categories of active and neuter verbs, as often abbreviated in Marin's dictionary, that can also be seen in the tables of *Joshi-kō*. I will look at the entirety of these two sections further below. In those sections of *Seizenfu* one can find the exact Dutch adaptation of the Japanese phrases cited in the "Differences" section, namely: *ieru hito*; *ieru go*; *iitsuru hito*; *iishi hito*; *ochinuru ishi*; *ochitaru ishi*.

Unfortunately, in the following sections of *Seizenfu*, Shizuki does not translate all the sentences above into Dutch, however, there are enough examples to be able to

⁶ FRELLESVIG (2010, 68; 239) understands this as a being composed by the morphological stative auxiliary *-er-*, whose earliest attested form is *-yer-*, that ceased to be used sometime during the Late Middle period of Japanese, being then completely replaced by *-tari*.

understand the general pattern and deduce the Dutch adaptation of the Japanese sentences that are not directly provided. The sentence *ieru hito*, according to Shizuki, does not exist in Dutch, yet the same sentence with *go* instead of *hito* does exist and is adapted into Dutch in three different manners.⁷ The Japanese phrase *ieru go* is used to render the Dutch sentences *Woorden die men spreekt* ‘Words that one speaks’, *Gesproken woorden* ‘Spoken words’ and *Woorden die gesproken zijn* ‘Words that are spoken’. Within the *tsuzuku* chapter, all Dutch phrases are translated into classical Japanese. However, some phrases can also feature a Chinese translation, a popular Japanese translation (*zokugo* 俗語), and additional remarks. For the last one of the sentences above, a Chinese and a popular Japanese translation is provided. The Chinese translation is *yán zài zhī yǔ* 言在之語, where the verb *yán* ‘to speak’ is modified by being followed by the character *zài* and these two characters are thus turned into a relative sentence by means of the character *zhī*, modifying the noun *yǔ*. In popular Japanese, this sentence is translated as *ittearu go* 言テアル語. Shizuki claimed that, in Dutch, there is no possible adaptation of the Japanese phrase *ieru hito*, even though there exists one for the phrase *ieru go*. Indeed, if one substituted the word *woord*, with the word *men*, corresponding to the Japanese *hito*, one would obtain sentences such as **Men die men spreekt*, **Gesproken men* or **Men die gesproken is*, all grammatically incorrect. In fact, although in English one could say that “someone is said (to be something/to have done something)” this type of construct is not possible in Dutch, but it is in Japanese. This is what DE GROOT (2007, 59) says commenting on this section of *Seizenfu*: “To put it simply, what Shizuki wanted to say here is that, even though, in Dutch, one can say *iwareta kotoba* [‘Words that are said’], the expression *iwareta hito* [‘Person who is said’] is not a grammatically correct expression. That is because, the word *kotoba* [‘words’] is a direct object, while *hito* [‘person’] is an indirect object. In Dutch, one does not use the passive tense with indirect objects”.⁸

⁷ For the specific case of the Japanese phrase *ieru*, I would discourage referencing Waseda’s B57 copy as it is unfortunately lacking in this regard. Firstly, the Dutch sentence *Woorden die gesproken zijn* does not present any translation. Secondly, the translations and comments of the two sentences *Woorden die men spreekt* and *gesproken woord* are inverted. I suggest these to be the faulty versions since their content would not be much consistent with the content of the rest of the paragraph. For example, *gevallen steen* would be rendered morphologically identically to *woorden die men spreekt*, instead of the more logical *gesproken woord*, how it is done instead, in Gifu’s copy. The fact that *gesproken woord* and *gevallen steen* are to be adapted with the same morphological form in Japanese is also stated in Gifu’s copy in the following phrase found as an additional remark between the two adaptations: “It has the same meaning of the sentence before [*Woorden die men spreekt*], however, in the sentence before we have *go*, while here we have *ishi*. The following is also the same” (前ニアルト同意也但シ前ナルハ語[ノ]ヲナリ此ハ石ナリ以下モ同シ). In Waseda’s B57, the sentence is cut before referencing the word *ishi* ‘stone’ and makes little sense, since there is no difference made between the first sentence with *go* and the following ones with *ishi*. This is because, by inverting the translations and explanations, this text appears between two sentences featuring *go*, instead of between two sentences, one with *go* and the other with *ishi*.

⁸ Original quote: “簡単に言うと、ここで志筑が言おうとしていたのは、「言われた言葉」とはオランダ語でいうことができるが、「言われた人」というのは文法の構造上、正しい表現とはならない。というのは、この語の「言葉」は直接目的語だが、

Even though what DE GROOT has claimed here is completely correct, he seems to partially misinterpret Shizuki's text. The modern passive conjugation, in Japanese, that inflects in the form of *-(r)areru* is not a precise rendition of the concept Shizuki most likely intended to render with the *-ru* and *-tari* affixes. Furthermore, Shizuki actually does refer directly to the passive form in *Seizenfu* and he does that by means of the Dutch verb *worden*, used as an auxiliary for the passive voice, indeed, and he translates it there with the affix *-(ra)ru*, in the sentence *iwaruru go* 'Words that are/get said'. The forms *ieru go* and *ieru hito* can indeed represent passives, although a different type of passive, that Shizuki himself acknowledges as different. I will return to this in 8.4.1. As DE GROOT notices, the modern Japanese "passive" form with *-(r)areru* can also be adnominalized to the indirect object, whereby *iwareta hito* can also be used as to mean "the person to whom something was told", although the verb "was told" refers to the person and not the thing being said. Shizuki, in fact, notices that this incongruity can occur only with some *dōta* active verbs. With neuter verbs, such as the Japanese *otsu*, that translates the Dutch *vallen* 'to fall', one can always add the affixes *-ri* or *-tari*, in the relative clause. Shizuki provides the examples of the sentence *ochitaru ishi* that has a totally viable Dutch correspondence, as I will discuss in the coming sections. Nonetheless, one characteristic of neuter verbs is that they cannot become passive like active verbs do. Thus, if DE GROOT's analysis about verbal passivity is correct, then this should be a notable mistake by Shizuki, who must have misunderstood such a simple concept. But if one removes the modern superimposing label of "passive", and follows Shizuki's reasoning, one will be able to see that that is not what Shizuki is claiming.

Shizuki considers the suffixes *-ri* and *-tari* to correspond to the Dutch auxiliary *zijn* 'to be' (more on this in 8.5.5), thus, the sentence *ochitaru ishi* should not be translated as a passive **Steen die gevallen wordt*, that is grammatically incorrect, but as *Steen die gevallen is* 'Stone that has fallen'. Shizuki does provide this Dutch adaptation inside his chapter on *tsuzuku kotoba*, although he also adapts that Japanese sentence into *gevallen steen* 'fallen stone'. From this analysis one understands thus that the Japanese affixes *-ri* and *-tari* correspond to a handful of Dutch phrases, according not only to the activeness/neutrality of the verb, but also to the nature of the modified noun. They correspond to:

- The auxiliary *zijn* combined with a past participle for neuter verbs (*Steen die gevallen is*);
- The auxiliary *zijn* combined with a past participle for active verbs, except when it modifies an indirect object, case in which no Dutch counterpart exists (*Woorden die gesproken zijn*);
- The adjectival use of the past participle of an active verb modifying the direct object (*Gesproken woorden*);
- The adjectival use of a past participle of a neuter verb modifying the subject (*Gevallen steen*);

この語句にある「人」は間接目的語だからである。オランダ語では間接目的語は受身形では使えないのである。” (DE GROOT 2007, 59).

- The present tense of an active verb, where the direct object is being modified (*Woorden die men spreekt*).

The two affixes used by both Shizuki and Motoori to exemplify the differences between *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba*, namely *-tsu* and *-nu*, are described as being generally only used with active and neuter verbs, respectively. This means that active and neuter verbs do not only differ in the way the Japanese sentence with *-ri* or *-tari* can be rendered into Dutch.

For Shizuki, *-tsu* and *-nu* represent the different conjugation patterns followed by, respectively, active and neuter verbs, combined with the auxiliary verb *hebben* ‘to have’ (more on this in 8.5.3). Shizuki phrases this by stating that “Generally, with neuter verbs one adds *-nu*, *-nuru* and *-nure*, while with active verbs one adds *-tsu*, *-tsuru* and *-tsure*” (大概自動ハぬ、ぬる、ぬれ、ヲ帶ヒ動他ハつ、つる、つれ、ヲ帶ブ). Shizuki, as seen above, claimed that these two couples of suffixes (*-ri/-tari* and *-nu/-tsu*) could combine with both neuter and active verbs, with no exception. He, indeed, claims that the verbs “to say” and “to fall” can both combine with *-ri / -tari* as well as *-tsu / -nu*. That means that one can have verbal forms such as *gesproken zijn* (as in *ieru go*) and *gesproken hebben* (as in *iitsuru go*), but also *gevallen zijn* (as in *ochitari ishi*) and *gevallen hebben* (as in *ochinu ishi*). In contemporary prescriptive Dutch grammar, the last form *gevallen hebben* is not considered correct. That is because, the auxiliaries used to construct perfect tenses have specialized for each verb, to a large extent. Nonetheless, in 17th century Dutch, also in the sources used by Shizuki, there are some examples of the use of both *hebben* and *zijn* with the same verb. Shizuki, by consistently translating them differently, implies that the use of either was not simply a free variation of the form of each tense but, rather, a different expression conveying a different meaning. The semantic difference between these two couples of affixes will be dealt with in the next paragraphs, where direct examples will be drawn from Shizuki’s works as to paint a better-defined picture of what he meant. As for now, one should keep in mind that I am not persuaded to call “passives” those verbs combined with the suffixes *-ru* and *-tari*, because this leads to problematic misinterpretations, just like the one presented here. Furthermore, one also needs to understand that the meaning conveyed by these affixes is much more similar to that expressed by *-tsu* and *-nu*, rather than what is expressed by the “proper” passive suffix *-(ra)ru*, or its modern version *-(r)areru*.

In the listing of the forms of the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*, it can be noticed that the forms *-tsure* and *-nure*, both *izenkei* are also mentioned. This is in opposition to what was done in the table of the “Examples” section of *Seizenfu*. Citing these forms might be an influence from Motoori’s *himokagami* table, where these three forms of affixes are taken into consideration when covering the theory on *kakari-musubi*. There, the *shūshikei* form corresponded to the right column, the *rentaikei* to the middle column, and the *izenekei* to the left one. Motoori Norinaga, contrarily to his son Haruniwa, did not concentrate particularly on the *jita* 自他 dichotomy or, how he would have probably pronounced it, *konata-kanata*. However, on folios 11 to 13 of the sixth volume of *Kotoba no tama no o*, while explaining the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*, he does mention the issue, in the following quote:

さて又自他のかはりにて。此十四段の格と下の六段の格と。二様にわた^{とく}る詞もある也。其例をいはず。解はみづからとくるをいふ時は。「とく共「とく共いひて。此十四段の格なるを。他をとくをいふ時は。たゞ「とくとのみいひて。「とく共とはいはず。下の六段の格也。砕は。みづからくだくるには。「くだく共「くだく共いひて。此十四段の格。他をくだくには。「くだくといひて。「くだく共とはいはず。下の六段の格なり。折^{をる}、闕^{かく}切^{きる}、破^{やぶる}、なども同じ。此類皆なずらへ知べし。又立は。みづからたつをいふ時は。只「たつとのみいひて。「たつ共とはいはず。下の六段の格也。他をたつるに。はたつ共「たつ共いひて。此十四段の格也。頼は。みづからたのむには。只。たのむといひて。「たのむ共「たのむ共いひて。此十四段の格也。續^{つづ}く、入^{いる}、沈^{しづむ}、添^{そふ}なども同じ。此類なほおほしなずらへ知べし。後世の人は。件の自他のけぢめをわきまへずして。或は戀の歌などに。みづから頼むと。人を頼むとを。一つに心得。あるひは露などをよむとて。「おきそふといひては。一もじたらぬ時は。「おきそふるとよむたぐひ。皆ひがことなり。「たのむるといふは。萬葉に令憑の令の字を添て書て。人をして頼ましむる意なれば。みづから頼むとは異也。又露のみづからおきそふを。「おきそふるとはいひがたし。さる故に古人は。一もじたらぬ時は。「おきそはるとよめり。「そはるは「そふと同じ意也。「そふ^{そふ}は他を添る事にいふ辭也。これらに

However, with the changes of *jita*, there are words that cross the two types of these 14 levels and the lower 6 levels. For example, the verb *toku* ['to untie'] when *mizukara* [i.e., *ji* 自], can be both *toku* as well as *tokuru*. This is the type of the 14 levels. When one says they untie something else [*hoka* 他], then it can only be said *toku* and it belongs to the sixth level. The verb *kudaru* 'to smash', when it is *mizukara*, it can be both *kudaku* as well as *kudakuru* and it belongs to this type of the 14 levels. When one says they smash something else, one says *kudaku* and cannot say *kudakuru*. This is the type of level six below. The verbs *oru/oruru* ['to bend'], *kaku/kakuru* ['to be lacking'], *kiru/kiruru* ['to cut'] and *yaburu/yabururu* ['to break'], work the same. You ought to learn and memorize them. Furthermore, the verb *tatsu* ['to rise' or 'to raise'] when it is *mizukara*, you can only say *tatsu*, and you cannot say *tatsuru*. This is the type of level six, below. When you say you raise something else, then can be either *tatsu* or *tatsuru*. This is the type of the 14 levels. With the verb *tanomu* ['to request'], when it is *mizukara*, you can only say *tanomu*, and cannot say *tanomuru*. This is the type of level six, below. When you beg something or somebody else, then you can say both *tanomu* as well as *tanomuru*. This is the type of the 14 levels. The verbs *tsuzuku/tsuzukuru* ['to continue'], *iru/iruru* ['to insert'], *shizumu/shizumuru* ['to sink'], *sou/souru* ['to add'] all work the same. There are a lot of verbs like these, thus you ought to learn and memorize them. People in more recent times do not comprehend the distinction of *jita* and for this, in things such as poems of love, requesting to somebody else or to oneself become the same. Or, when they read dew, they say *okisou*, and when one character is not enough, they read *okisouru*. These are all incorrect. In the *Man'yōshū*, adding the character *rei* 令 in 令憑,⁹ if it has the meaning of making someone request a person (*hito wo tanomashimuru*), it is different from requesting oneself (*mizukara tanoshimu*). Also, when the dew adds itself, it is *okisou* and it is hard to say *okisouru*. Thus, the people of the past, when one character was not enough, read *okisowaru*, where *sowaru* has the same meaning of *sou*. One says *souru*, when it is a word meaning "the thing

⁹ In the *Man'yōshū*, the characters 令憑 have been used to write the verb *tanomu*.

て自他の意をわきまふべし。すべて
此十四段の辭は。右のことくくさく
心得あると也。みだりにすべからず

adding something else” (*hoka wo souru koto*).
This is the difference between *jita* you ought to
learn. All the words of this level 14 are like the
different types we saw above, and you ought to
learn each type. They do not have to be made
sparse.

Motoori only considers a bidimensional dichotomy, when it comes to *jita* 自他, just like Shizuki, but unlike his son Haruniwa. In Motoori, the distinction is made quite clearly between verbs that act on the “self” (*mizukara* みづから, 自) and those acting on “another” (*hoka* 他). In this binary, the only real morphosyntactic difference that is being identified concerns the use of verbs in relative clauses. However, Motoori distinguishes verbs into two groups: what he calls “14 levels” (十四段) and the “6 levels” (六段). These two groups, although apparently identical morphologically, display different behaviors when inflected in their *tsuzuku/rentaikei* forms. These different forms are not only dependent on whether verbs are conjugated adnominally (*tsuzuku*) or are used as final predicates of the sentence (*kiruru*), but they also depend on the semantic nuance in meaning they convey. This semantic meaning, namely the *jita* 自他 dichotomy, of course, also influences their syntactical relations with the other parts of speech, changing the agent and the patient of the action conveyed by the verb itself, generally closer to a reflexive, in the case of *ji* 自. In order to understand what Motoori meant by the phrasings “14 levels” and “6 levels”, one needs to refer to the *himo kagami* table Motoori had drawn in his work *Te ni wo ha himokagami*. There, one can see that the different *te ni wo ha*, although listed in succession within the table, are grouped together according to specific characteristics that Motoori deemed relevant in their morphosyntactic behavior. In that table, there are, indeed, fourteen *kana* that correspond to verbal endings. These fourteen verbal endings are, in order: *-nu*; *-tsu*; no verbal ending;¹⁰ *-su*; *-ru*; *-ku*; *-su*; *-tsu*; *-nu*; *-fu*; *-mu*; *-yu*; *-ru* and *-u*. These endings have the characteristic of necessitating an extra *ru* syllable, when conjugated in their *rentaikei* “adnominal” forms, while their *izeneki* adds an extra *re*, instead. The six levels following these fourteen are six additional verbal endings, in principle identical in their *shūshikei* (*kiruru*) forms, namely: *-ku*; *-su*; *-tsu*; *-fu*; *-mu*; *-ru*. However, these have the characteristic of conjugating identically in their *rentaikei* (*tsuzuku*) forms and substituting the < u > part in their roots, with an < e > (e.g. *-ku* becomes *-ke*; *-mu* becomes *-me* and so on). Motoori does not directly mention the *jita* 自他 dichotomy, within *Te ni wo ha himo kagami*, however, he is seen referring to a very similar concepts in the quote below, found on the margin of the fourteen levels, addressing the last nine levels thereof.

此九段のうち詞の首に。をし
るすはつかひやうによりて転

The words in these nine levels are words changing
according to the inflecting type since they are used by

¹⁰ This refers to verbs with monosyllabic *shūshikei* forms, like *su* 為 ‘to do’; *nu* 寝 ‘to sleep’; *u* 得 ‘to get’, etc.

ずる格のかはる詞也たとへは
 解は自解ルこゝろの時は「とく
 「とくる「とくれと留り解^ケレ
 物ヲこゝろの時は「とく「とけ
 と留る續は自續^クこゝろの時は
 「つゞく「つゞけ續^{ケル}レ物ヲ
 こゝろの時は「つゞく「つゞ
 くる「つゞくれと留る立は自
 立ときは「たつ「たて立^ル物ヲ
 ときは「たつ「たつる「たつ
 れと留る添は自添ときは「そ
 ふ「そへ添^ル物ヲときは「そふ
 「そふる「そふれと留る頼は
 我^カ頼^ム人ヲこゝろの時は「た
 のむ「たのめと留り人令^{ムル}ニ我
 ヲメ頼^マこゝろの時は「たのむ
 「たのむる「たのむれと留る
 也すへてこれらのわきまへ有
 べし猶くはしくは別にしるす

adding *wo* before them. For example, the verb *toku* 解 ['to untie'], when it means “to untie oneself” (自解^ル), it can become *toku*, *tokuru*, *tokure*. However, when it means “to untie something” (解^クレ物ヲ), it can become *toku* and *toke*. The verb *tsuzuku* ['to continue'], when it means “to continue oneself” (自續^ク), it can become *tsuzuku* or *tsuzuke*, when it means “to continue something” (續^{ケル}レ物ヲ), it can become *tsuzuku*, *tsuzukuru*, *tsuzukure*. The verb *tatsu* ['to raise'], when it means “to rise” (自立), it can be *tatsu* or *tate*, while when it means “to raise something” (立^ルレ物ヲ), it can become *tatsu*, *tatsuru* or *tatsure*. The verb *sou* 添 ['to add'], when it means “to add oneself” (自添), it can become *sou* or *soeru*, while when it means “to add something” (添^ルレ物ヲ), it can become *sou*, *souru* or *soure*. The verb *tanomu* ['to request'], when it means “I request a person” (我^カ頼^ム人ヲ), it can become *tanomu* or *tanome*. When it means “a person orders me to” (人令^{ムル}ニ我^ヲメ頼^マ), then it can become *tanomu*, *tanomuru* or *tanomure*. These are all to be understood this way. I will not go write about it in any more detailed fashion.

The examples of the differences in the *jita* 自他 dichotomy used in *Te ni wo ha himo kagami* are very similar to those found in the excerpt from *Kotoba no tama no o*, above. Without going too much into depth with the interpretation of this text, it can be claimed that Motoori envisioned the *jita* dichotomy to correspond to specific uses of Japanese verbs. This implies that “active” and “neuter” were not categories into which verbs could be divided, but rather specific uses of each verb. Verbs could be contextually used as either category, but “activeness” and “neutrality” – if one may borrow the terminology from the Dutch tradition – were not intrinsic qualities of each verb. The verb *toku* 解く ‘to untie’ could be used as both *ji* and *ta*, without any visible morphological change, in its *shūshikei* form. However, in the *rentaikei* and in the *izenkei* form, one must pay attention to whether the verb is used as *ji* or as *ta*, since the conjugation pattern of those forms is different, requiring an additional *-ru* for the *rentaikei*, or *-re* for the *izenkei*, in case the verb is used as a *ji*. In *Kotoba no tama no o*, this is phrased rather directly in the use of the character *ji* 自, standing for *mizukara* ‘oneself’, and the character *ta* 他, standing for *hoka o* ‘other (+ direct object marker)’. In *Te ni wo ha himo kagami*, instead, while the *ji* is still rendered with the character *ji* 自, the *ta* is rendered with the phrasing *mono wo* 物ヲ ‘thing (+ direct object marker)’. Thus, the syntactic difference between the *jita* category, according to Motoori, was whether the verb was enacted on the “self” (*ji* 自) or on “something else” (*ta* 他). Its morphological consequence is that the verb in question needs to be conjugated abiding by two different patterns, according to its “activeness” or “neutrality”. What is important to notice, however, is that the two viable conjugation patterns for the *ji* and *ta*, are not fixed. Any verb of these

fourteen levels is composed by a root and an ending *-u*, in its *shūshikei* form. When turning these into their *rentaikei* form they can follow either two or three patterns, if one also considers what was claimed in the excerpt from *Kotoba no tama no o*, above, namely: *-e*; *-uru*; or *-u*. The latter ending agrees with what claimed in *Kotoba no tama no o*, and correspond to the “lower six levels”, while the former two are viable alternatives for any verb. The difference between the two *rentikei* endings *-e* and *-uru* is that one is used when the verb is *ji* and the other when the verb is *ta*. However, verbs do not use the alternation of these two suffixes consistently, meaning that some verbs use the *-e* ending for their *ji* version, and *-uru* for their *ta* version (e.g., *tatsu* = *tate* (*ji* 自); *tatsuru* (*ta* 他)), while others do the opposite (e.g., *toku* = *tokuru* (*ji* 自); *toke* (*ta* 他)).

Going back to *Seizenfu*, it appears that the way Shizuki used the *jita* 自他 dichotomy was very different from the way Motoori used it, although with a few similarities. Firstly, Motoori never mentions the fact that the verbal affixes *-nu* and *-tsu* are used for “active” and “neuter” verbs respectively, as Shizuki does, instead. Secondly, Shizuki treats the two categories of *jita* as intrinsic qualities of each verb. Each verb is either “active” or “neuter” and this influences the way they combine with specific affixes. For Motoori, the *jita* dichotomy resided in the use of verbs. The conjugation pattern that verbs follow in their *rentaikei* and *izenkei* forms changes according to two main groups of verbs. Each verb could be used “actively” or “neutrally”, nonetheless. It seems that Shizuki’s understanding of *jita* verbs was more closely related to Dutch theory, specifically, to the practice of annotating whether a verb is neuter or active in the entries to European dictionaries. It is sometimes unclear whether the claims written in Shizuki’s manuscripts are to be interpreted to refer to one language specifically, or to both, thus it is not to be excluded that when he wrote things such as “to say is an active verb” (言ハ動他ノ詞ナリ) and “to fall is a neuter verb” (隕ハ自動ナリ), he meant to use the characters *gen* 言 and *in* 隕 as semantically representing the concepts of “to say” and “to fall”, thus only intending to refer to the Dutch way of expressing these concepts, namely the verbs *spreken* and *vallen*, instead of interpreting the two characters to also include the Japanese verbs *iu* and *otsu*. However, I would still lean more toward believing that Shizuki’s claims, unless stating the contrary, generally applied to both languages, in some sort of universalist approach to linguistics. In this sense, thus, the Japanese traditional understanding of the categories of *jita* 自他, as seen from Motoori Norinaga’s quotes, made little sense in the context of Dutch grammar, while, on the other hand, the Dutch traditional understanding of “active” and “neuter” verbs was, at least superficially, much more flexible (e.g., it was not linked to specific morphological forms unique to one language) and could be applied to the Japanese language as well. This is even truer if one considers that in both interpretations the relation between the verb and its agent/patient are the core factors distinguishing between the two types.

The relation between the verb and other elements of the sentence gets more complicated when Shizuki provides Dutch translations to the *tsuzuku* phrases I have mentioned above. The first two sentences of the section titled *Tsuzuku kotoba*, in *Seizenfu* are, in Dutch, *Woorden die men gesproken had* “Words that one had

spoken” and *Woorden die men gesproken heeft* “Words that one has spoken”. In both these sentences the impersonal subject pronoun *men* ‘one’ functions as the agent and subject of the predicate of the relative clause, while the term *woorden* ‘words’ is the modified noun. The verb *spreken* ‘to speak’ is conjugated in its past perfect and present perfect tenses, respectively. However, in neither of the two Japanese versions does one find a word comparable to the Dutch *men*. The first sentence is translated into Japanese as *iishi go* いひし語, thus by means of the affix *-ki*, and the second sentence as *iitsuru go* いひつる語, thus by means of the affix *-tsu*. The reason why this impersonal subject is added is not to be overlooked. This element allows to deduce the method Shizuki was working with since, even though the Dutch sentences are written above the Japanese renditions, it is more probable that Shizuki started from the Japanese sentence and, subsequently, provided a Dutch rendition. However, as he explained in the “Examples” introductory section of *Seizenfu*, not all Japanese *tsuzuku* phrases have a direct Dutch correspondence. In this case, in fact, in order to render the phrases *iishi go* and *iitsuru go*, Shizuki believed it necessary to add such impersonal pronoun. Why that is, is explained in the quote “*Spreeken* is an active verb, thus when it meets *had* or *hebben*, you must add *men*. *Had* and *hebben* are active verbs, as well” (spreken 動他詞ナル故ニ had, hebben ニ値ヘバ必ス men ヲ加サレバ言フヲ能ハズ had, hebben モ動他ナレバナリ). As already discussed, the fact that *hebben* was to be considered an active verb is an information he deduced from Marin’s dictionary, that, in this case, he believed to be more reliable than Halma’s first edition. Shizuki considered the impersonal pronoun *men* to be necessary because of the presence of the active (auxiliary) verb *hebben*. However, with a neuter auxiliary verb combining with the past participle of *spreken*, like the verb *zijn* ‘to be’ and its past tense *waren*, the impersonal pronoun *men* is not needed anymore and one can have the Dutch sentences *Woorden die gesproken waren* “Words that were spoken” and *Woorden die gesproken zijn* “Words that are spoken”. These are rendered into classical Japanese as *ierishi go* いへりし語 and *ieru go* いへる語 (in Gifu’s copy), respectively. Both these sentences are also provided with a popular Japanese adaptation, respectively *itte arishi go* 言テアリシ and *itte aru go* 言テアル語. In both these couples of sentences, the difference in the Japanese adaptation between the Dutch sentence with the auxiliary *zijn* and the one with its past tense *waren* lies in the addition, in the latter, of the affix *-ki*. The classical Japanese affix *-ru* is equated to the form *-te aru*, of popular Japanese, most similar to Modern Japanese. The reason why the impersonal subject *men* is not present in the Dutch renditions of these sentences is explained in the subsequent quote: “*Zijn* is a neuter verb, thus you do not need to add *men*. Since it refers to *woorden*, you need to use its plural, and not *is*” (*Zjn* ハ自動詞ナル故ニ men ヲ加ヘズ woorden ニカヽル故衆詞ヲ用ウ is トハ使ハズ). The presence, or lack thereof, of the impersonal subject *men*, in the Dutch rendition of these Japanese *tsuzuku* phrases is, thus, dependent upon two parameters: the main verb and the auxiliary used for its perfect tenses must both be active. These cases, thus, require Dutch syntax to always specify the subject of the main verb; additionally, the “subject” of the active auxiliary *hebben* must be specified, as well. Japanese syntax, instead, is much less reliant on the explicit

presence of the subject and thus the sentence *ieru go* – where *go* “word(s)” is not the agent of the act of saying – can still be grammatically correct. When, however, a neuter main verb (in its past participle) meets a neuter auxiliary verb, like *zijn*, *woorden* ‘words’ can function as grammatical subject of both the main verb and the auxiliary. This also works with other neuter auxiliaries, just like *worden*, literally ‘to become’, this auxiliary is often used in the construction of the passive voice. The sentence *Woorden die gesproken worden* “Words that get spoken”,¹¹ also does not need an impersonal-subject *men* since the auxiliary *worden* is considered neuter, and it behaves like the auxiliary *zijn* (worden 自動ナル故ニ Zŷn ニ準ズ). This relation between the activeness or neutrality of the auxiliary, in the specific case they combine with an active main verb, remains consistent across all auxiliary verbs. The Dutch sentences *Woorden die men spreken zou* “Words that one should/would speak” and *Woorden die men spreken zal* “Words that one will speak” are translated into Japanese as *iubeki go* いふべき語 and *iiten go*¹² いひてん語. These sentences feature the auxiliary verb *zullen* ‘will’, or ‘shall’, although, in the former in its past tense *zou(den)*. Shizuki also adds that “*zou* and *zal* are also active verbs, and thus adding *men* conforms with *had*” (Zou, Zal, 皆動他ニ属スル故 men ヲ加フルヲ had ニ準ナズ). Similarly, the verb *moeten* ‘must’, also requires the impersonal subject *men*, and it can be thus assumed that this is also to be considered, according to Shizuki, an active verb, since he provides the sentence *Woorden die men spreken moet*, adapted into Classical Japanese as *masa ni iubeki go* 正にいふべき語, and in popular Japanese as *iwade kanawanu go* イワデカナワヌ語.

If one understands the addition of the impersonal subject *men* as being dependent on the presence of an active auxiliary combined with an active main verb, then it can be deduced that this *men* is the explicit realization of the subject of the auxiliary verb. In this sense, thus, one can claim that what Shizuki probably meant to express with this section is a fundamental difference between how Dutch and Japanese conjugate verbs in the *tsuzuku*/relative form. Shizuki understood auxiliary verbs as being somewhat independent from the main verb they combine with, and each is assigned the quality of either being “active” or “neuter”. In the conjugation of compound tenses, the interaction between the auxiliary and the main verb, according to the activeness or neutrality of both, can create a difference between the subject of the two verbs. This difference occurs when an active verb is combined with an active auxiliary, that must be signaled, in Dutch, by adding the word *men*. Since Japanese is a language that does not require the specification of a subject (pro-drop), there is no need to rephrase the sentence in any different manner, as it must be done in Dutch, instead. This issue does not occur when the main verb is neuter, in combination with any auxiliary verb. In fact, the sample sentences with the neuter verb *vallen/otsu* are all conjugated without the addition of the impersonal pronoun *men*, for example the Japanese sentence *ochinuru ishi* 隕ぬる石 is adapted as *Steen*

¹¹ Since the difference between the (pseudo-)passive forms with the auxiliary *zijn* and the passives with *worden* is a central topic of my analysis of *Rangaku seizenfu*, I have chosen to consistently adapt into English those with *zijn* with the auxiliary ‘to be’, and those with *worden* with the auxiliary ‘to get’.

¹² The affix *-ten* is a composition of *-tsu* and *-n* (*-mu*).

die gevallen heeft “Stone that has fallen”, and *ochitaru ishi* 隕たる石 is adapted as *Steen die gevallen is* “Stone that is fallen”.

8.4 Morphosyntax of verbs in *Rangaku seizenfu*

In the previous sections, I have tackled a few preliminary issues concerning the morphosyntactic differences between Japanese and Dutch verbs. These issues were mentioned by Shizuki in the two “Examples” chapters found in the introduction to both *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu*. However, the theory of grammar in *Seizenfu* is much more extensively covered. This is what I will analyze in the present section. Instead of treating the contents following Shizuki's division in chapters, I selected specific issues that occur throughout the document. This will allow me to cover each verb, or each phenomenon in its own dedicated section. Where appropriate I will also refer to the content of *Joshi-kō*'s and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*.

8.4.1 Combining two auxiliaries: potentiality and passivity

In the previous section of the present chapter, I have introduced a few issues concerning the combination of Dutch auxiliaries – mostly *zijn* and *hebben* – with the past participle of a main verb. What happens, instead, when two auxiliaries are combined with each other in a Dutch phrase? This is covered in a few remarks added as comment to the sentence *Woorden die gesproken kunnen worden* “Words that can get spoken”, adapted into Japanese as *iitsubeki go* いひつべき語 (*iubeki go* 言べき語, in Waseda's copy). Here, the main verb *spreken* is combined with both the auxiliaries *worden* and *kunnen* (*kunnen* ‘can’). This phrase is further commented as follows:¹³

Konnen ヲ漢字ニテ訳スレバ
二義アリ動他ノ語ニテ云フ
ニ een man die spreken kan ト
云寸ハ能ノ字ニ当ル動カス
者ニカヽルカ故ナリ動カサ

If we translate *kunnen* into Chinese characters, it has two meanings. With active verbs, as in *Een man die spreken kan*,¹⁴ it has the meaning of the character *nō* 能, since it regards “things that move”, *ugokasu* 動カス.¹⁵ When it concerns things that are moved, “*ugokasaruru* 動カサル”,¹⁶ it combines with *worden*, and corresponds to the

¹³ The following excerpt is different across the copies of *Seizenfu*. The present version is mostly based on Gifu's copy, where it is found on folio 7v, with additional features from Waseda's copy, where it is found on folios 5v-6r. However, in both copies one can find additional text not found in the other version. In the original quote, I have evidenced the text only present in Gifu's copy with brackets and the text only present in Waseda's copy with braces. My English translation includes the entirety of the two texts combined and presents, in parenthesis, the translation of the text originally written in smaller font.

¹⁴ Translation: “A man that can speak”.

¹⁵ This is the transitive verb ‘to move’.

¹⁶ Formula of *ugokasaruru* {*ugokas.* + *.a.* + *.ruru* = *mizeneki* of the verb *ugokasu* ‘to move’ + *rentaikei* of *-(ra)ru*}. In Waseda's copy, this verb is written twice as *ugokasaru* 動カサル, which would be the *shūshikei* form of it. However, since it modifies the noun *mono* in both

ル[ハ]者ニカハル寸ハ
[worden ト合シテ]可字ニ当
ル佛家ニ能所ノ二義アルカ
如シ 能所ト動カスモノハ動
サル[ハ]モノト云フ

Marin 三枚ニ Konnen ハ AN
両用トアリ能ノ字ニ當ル寸
ハ A ナリ可ノ字ニ當ルトキ
ハ N ナルベシ 但シ可ノ字ハ動詞ニ
アラザレ[ハ]外ニ相當
ル者ナク又 Konnen ハ格別ノ動詞ニ
テ自ラ可[字]ノ意ニ合フモノナリ

Konnen. 実ハ和語ノ流れもあ
えぬ我はせきあえずナドノ
あえニ当レ[ハ]耳遠キ故ニ假
ニ{よくト訳シ 実ハよくサナレ
[ハ]和語ノ使ニヨ
リテよくト
訳スベシ 又ハ}つべし ぬ
べシト訳セリあえてト讀ム
敢ノ字ニ當レリ

character *ka* 可. This is similar to the two meanings of the Buddhist concept of *nōjo* 能所. (With *nōjo* we refer to “things that move”, *ugokasu mono*, and “things that are moved”, *ugokasaruru mono*).

In the third edition of Marin, it is written that *konnen* can be used both as active and neuter. When it corresponds to the character *nō* 能 it is active, when it corresponds to the character *ka* 可 it is neuter. (However, even when the character *ka* 可 is not a verb, there is nothing else that corresponds to it. The word *konnen*, with any distinct type of verb always has the meaning of *ka* 可).

Actually, in Japanese, *konnen* would correspond to *ae*, as in *nagaremo aenu* 流れもあえぬ or *ware wa seki aezu* 我はせきあえず. However, since this is not very commonly understood, we can translate it as *yoku*. (Actually, it would translate *yokusu*, however, according to the use, in Japanese, it can also translate *yoku*). Furthermore, it is also translated as *-tsubeshi* and *-nubeshi*. When it is read as *aete*, it corresponds to the character *kan* 敢.

A first issue that needs to be addressed concerns Shizuki’s claim regarding the contents of the third edition of Marin’s dictionary. In the entry to *konnen*, Marin only labels it as neuter (v.n.), however, he also provides a different entry, where *konnen* is given as an alternative to the verb *kennen* ‘to know’, as in the sample sentence *Verscheidene Taalen konnen* ‘to know/be able to speak many languages’. This latter entry is not labeled as either active or neuter, however, since it is used in a transitive context, it may be possible that Shizuki deduced that *konnen* could be used as an active verb. In Shizuki’s persuasion, the Dutch verb *konnen* corresponds to two Chinese characters, namely *ka* 可 and *nō* 能. However, the translation as *nō* 能 corresponds to *konnen* only when used as an auxiliary to an active verb, as in the example *een man die spreken kan*. In this instance, the activeness of *spreken* is rendered through the phrasing *ugokasu mono* “thing that moves”. Instead, *konnen* corresponds to the character *ka* 可, when it combines with a neuter verb, one meaning *ugokasaruru mono*, “thing that gets moved”. It is in this case that the character *ka* 可 corresponds to the combination of *konnen* with *worden*. The difference between “things that move” and “things that are moved” is exemplified by the Buddhist concept *nōjo* 能所, that allegedly refers to this specific difference, where *nō* 能 intuitively corresponds to “things that move”, thus the active voice of transitive verbs, and *jo* 所 to the passive voice, thus “things that get moved”. The

occurrences, it must be a *rentaikei*. Since *dakuon* 濁音 symbols were often missing, in manuscripts of the time, it could be possible to interpret this as *ugokazaru*, thus a combination of the intransitive version of the verb, *ugoku*, with the suffix *-zari*. However, this would make the phrase mean “thing that does not move (itself)” and this does not seem to be consistent with the rest of the excerpt. For this reason, I believe that the spelling in Gifu’s copy is to be preferred when interpreting this text.

character *ka* 可 would, thus, refer to the possibility of something being passively moved, thus a combination of *konnen* and *worden*. In order to confirm or refute this, one needs to look at a few of the Chinese translations provided by Shizuki to the previously mentioned Dutch and Japanese phrases. The Dutch phrase *Woorden die gesproken worden* “Words that get spoken”, in Gifu’s copy is adapted into Classical Japanese as *iu go* いふ語, that is a simple *rentaikai* form of the verb ‘to say’ without any affix added to it. In Waseda’s copy, instead it is adapted as *iwaruru go* 言るゝ語, this probably being the correct transcription. Shizuki provides two viable Chinese translations for it, namely: *suǒ yán zhī yǔ* 所言之語 and *bèi yán zhī yǔ* 被言之語, where the verb *yán* 言 ‘to speak’ is modified by the characters *suǒ* 所 and *bèi* 被, respectively. The Chinese character *suǒ* 所 corresponds to the *jo* element in the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy Shizuki referred to in the excerpt above. The nuance in meaning of the sentence *Woorden die gesproken worden* when it is translated into Chinese by means of this character corresponds to the concept of “thing that gets moved” (*ugosaruru mono*). In both Gifu (7r-7v) and Waseda’s copies there is a short comment to this translation, that is longer in Waseda’s copy, claiming the following (5r-5v):

言フモノハ人ナリ被ル者ハ
語ナリ然レト語ハ人ノ所對
ニ非ハガ故ニ被字ノ意輕ク
シテ所言之語ト相似タリ但
シ所言之語ハ別ニ下ニ見ユ

The one “saying” is a person, those “receiving” (被ル) are words. However, since words are not in the *jo* of the person, the meaning of the character *hi* 被 is lighter, and it becomes rather similar to the phrase *suǒ yán zhī yǔ* 所言之語. This sentence, nonetheless, is different, as can be seen below.

The *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy was often also mentioned as *nōtai jotai* 能對所對. Shizuki claims that, in the phrase above, when *go/woorden* is not in the *jo* position (i.e., “things that get moved”) of a specific person, the meaning of the character *hi* 被 turns “lighter” and the two phrases can end up having a very similar meaning. I assume this to refer to the cases in which a specific person speaking the words is not mentioned, and the focus is only laid on the words being spoken. Going back to the sentence *Woorden die gesproken kunnen worden*, Shizuki provides the following Chinese translation: *kě yán zhī yǔ* 可言之語, where the verb *yán* 言 ‘to speak’ is modified by the character *kě* 可. This translation is commented as follows:¹⁷

俗ニ言ツル語ト云是モイハレ
ヌベキ語可被言之語ト訳セサ
レバ語ガ言フヤウニ聞フ¹⁸ベ

In the popular language this is said *iitsuru go* or *iwarenu beki go*. When it does not translate [*kě bèi yán zhī yǔ*] 可被言之語, it is like saying “you should hear words as

¹⁷ The comment present here in Gifu’s copy is much shorter.

¹⁸ Although this *katakana* is written as *fu* フ, since it makes no sense to write it after the character 聞, I assume this to be a misspelling of the *katakana* ツ, composing the verb

キニ似タレ _レ 和漢共ニソレニ 拘ラザルニ似タリ	they have been said”. However, this does not concern either Japanese or Chinese.

Here, it is claimed that the composition of the two auxiliaries *konnen* and *worden* would be like combining the two Chinese character *ka* 可 and *hi* 被. However, this distinction is not relevant in Japanese or in Chinese, though it is in Dutch. The character *hi* 被 is similar to *sho* (jo) 所, yet the former is to be used mostly when the agent of the passive action expressed by the main verb is not specified. When it is specified, the character *sho* 所 is to be preferred. This is because this character is used in the Buddhist dichotomy of *nōjo* 能所, where the character *sho*/jo 所 corresponds to “the thing that gets moved”, as contrasted to the *nō* 能, that refers to “the thing that moves”. This character *nō* 能, however, while being the opposite of *sho*/jo 所, and thus of *worden*, is connected to the verb *konnen*, expressing possibility, only, when it is used actively. This is the example of the sentence *Een man die spreken kan* “A man that can speak”, where *kan* (third person singular of *konnen*) is said to correspond to *nō* 能. However, when used as a neuter verb, the verb *konnen* corresponds to the character *ka* 可. When combining with the auxiliary *worden* – a neuter verb – the auxiliary *konnen* translates *ka* 可, even though, in theory, the combination of *ka* 可 and *hi* 被, would be more literal, this difference is neglectable in both Chinese and Japanese. In this context, thus, the two Dutch auxiliaries *worden* and *konnen* meet in an oppositional relation, when *konnen* is used as neuter, and *worden* is used with a clear agent, recreating the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy of Buddhist thought.

In conclusion to the quote above, Shizuki adds that the Dutch verb *konnen* is actually mostly translated into Japanese as the word *aete* あえて. The word *aete* is an adverb that originated from a verb *au* that meant something like “to manage to”, “to succeed in doing”. This verb was often written with the Chinese characters *kan* 敢, as acknowledged by Shizuki himself. In the excerpt above, there are two phrases that could have been extracted from longer quotes in the *Kokin wakashū*. The two phrases are *nagare mo aenu* 流れもあえぬ, possibly coming from the quote *yamagawa ni kaze no kaketaru shigarami wa nagare mo aenu momiji narikeri* 山川に風のかけたるしがらみは流れもあへぬ紅葉なりけり, that can be translated as something like “In the windy mountainous rivers there was a fence through which not even the colors of the autumn could flow”. The quote *ware wa seki aezu* 我はせきあえず, might come from the verse *oroka naru namida zo sode ni tamawanasu ware wa seki aezu tagizusenareba* おろかなるなみだぞ袖に玉はなすわれはせきあへずたぎつせなれば, that can be translated as “My sloppy tears, had they become like pearls rushing like a torrent on my sleeves I am not able to stop”. In both these examples, the word in question appears as a negative form *aenu* (*rentaikei*) or *aezu* (*shūshikei*), with the meaning of “not being able to”.

kikitsubeki, consistent with the form *iitsubeki* found in Waseda’s translation of the verb in the sentence in question.

Shizuki, thus, compares each auxiliary of Dutch with specific Chinese characters. In particular, it is interesting to notice that the meaning of the two auxiliaries *konnen* and *worden*, that express possibility and passivity, respectively, meet in the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy. Shizuki cites this dichotomy as belonging to Buddhists (*bukka* 佛家), whereby the *nō* 能 element corresponds to the mover (*ugokasu mono*), while the *jo* 所 corresponds to the element being moved (*ugokasaruru mono*). On folios 42v-43r of the third volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū Sorai – himself a Confucianist – covers the many meanings of the character *sho/jo* 所. One of the meanings he recognizes is when this character becomes similar to the characters *hi* 被 and *ken* 見, both Chinese characters often understood as expressing passivity. Ogyū writes the following remarks:

又 為^{タメニ} 君^{キミガ} 所^ル 憎^{ニクム} 如^キ 此^ノ 上^ニ 為^キ 字^ナ
 レバ^ヒ 被^{ケン} 字^見 字^ナ ド、同^{ドウ} ジャウ^ニ 意^イ 得^ル
 ナリ^{ブツシヨ} 但^{ノウシヨ} シ 佛^{ノウ} 書^能 ニハ 能^所 ト云^フ アリ^能
 ハ^{シテ} 所^{シヨ} ハ^{サシテ} ナリ^{ナリ} 此^キ 時^ノ ハ^為 字^ナ
 ケレ^{ワガヨム} 氏^{ジヨ} 必^ズ ル^ハ トヨム^ト タトヘバ^我 讀^レ 書^ナ
 ト云^フ 寸^ハ 能^{ノウドク} 讀^ハ ワレ^{ナリ} 所^{シヨドク} 讀^ハ 書^ナ
 リ又^{シヨコウ} 僧^{ノウコウ} 弘^ム ル^ニ 法^ヲ 就^ス テ云^フ ヘハ^僧 ハ^能 弘^ム
 ナリ^{ブツ} 法^ハ 所^{シヨ} 弘^ム ナリ^{ナリ} コレ^ハ 佛^ノ バカリ^ノ フ
 ジウ^{シヨ} 儒^ニ 書^ハ ハサヤウ^ニ モ限^{ラズ} 何^ニ テモワザ^ヲ
 指^ス シ辭^ト 意^イ 得^ル ベシ^所 生^{シヨセイ} ト云^フ 寸^ハ 佛^ノ 書^ノ
 ト^ホ 通^ス リナレバ^{フボウ} ムマレ^タ モノユヘ^子 ナリ^儒 書^ハ
 デハ^父 母^ノ フ云^フ ナリ

Furthermore, in phrases such as *kimi ga tame ni nikumuru*, if there is the character *wi* 為 [tame ni] above, then it obtains a meaning similar to the characters *hi* 被 and *ken* 見. However, in Buddhist texts there is the so-called *nōjo* 能所, where the *nō* corresponds to *-shite*, and the *sho* corresponds to *-sashite*. In this occurrence, even when there is no character 為, it must be read as *ruru*. For example, when one says *wa ga jo [wo] yomu*, the *nōdoku* 能讀 is *ware* ['I'], while the *shodoku* 所讀 is *sho* 書. If you say *sō no hō wo hiromuru ni*, *sō* is the *nōkō* 能弘, while *hō* is the *shokō* 所弘. This is a thing specific to Buddhism, which does not include Confucian texts. In any case, it must be remembered as a word pointing to an action. When one says *shosei* 所生, in Buddhism, it concerns the one having been born is, namely the child, while in Confucianism, it refers to the parents.

This information on the *nōjo* dichotomy seems to be consistent with what is claimed by Shizuki. Firstly, the concepts of *nō* and *jo* are equated to the words *shite* and *sashite*, that probably refer to the verb *su* 'to do', where the latter is made causative.¹⁹ Subsequently, it is claimed that, when used in this sense, the character *sho* 所 must be read *ruru*, corresponding to the passive affix *-(ra)ru*. These are the instances of sentences like *wa ga sho [wo] yomu* "I read the book", where the verb

¹⁹ This is not contemporary standard grammar, nor classical grammar. However, the fact that *shite* and *sashite* are supposed to refer to the verb *su* 'to do' is suggested by the fact that they are treated relatively to the Chinese character *i* 為, that often corresponded to that verb.

yomu/doku 讀 is in a *nōjo* relation with either element. The subject *wa(re)* ‘I’, is in a *nō* relation with the verb (*nōdoku* 能讀), while the object *sho* “book”, is in a *jo* relation with the verb (*shodoku* 所讀). This means that, the *nōjo* dichotomy does not only exist in the context of a verb being specifically conjugated in a passive form or with a specific affix signaling possibility. The *nōjo* relation can ensue even in a simple active sentence, between the subject and the direct object of the action in question. However, Ogyū also adds another example, where the verb is conjugated by means of the affix *-(ra)ru*, in the phrase *sō no hō wo hirogamuru ni* “to spread the teachings of Buddhist monks”. In this phrase, the word “Buddhist monks” (*sō* 僧) is in a *nō* relation with the verb (*nōkō* 能弘), while the “teachings” (*hō* 法) is in a *jo* relation with the verb (*jokō* 所弘). In practice, this representation of the *nōjo* dichotomy represents the agent-patient relationship. In these two sample phrases, the patient is always the receiver of the action (*sho* 書 and *hō* 法), even though in the first sentence it corresponds to a direct object, while in the second sentence it corresponds to the subject. In case, thus, in which the grammatical subject is actually the patient of the action of the verb, this needs to be signaled by conjugating the verb via the affix *-(ra)ru*, that corresponds to the Japanese reading of the Chinese character *sho* 所, in *kundoku*. Nonetheless, Ogyū adds that this interpretation is actually specific to Buddhism, while in Confucianism, the interpretation is practically the opposite. That is why, in the sample phrase *shosei* 所生, Sino-Japanese reading of the Chinese phrase *suōshēng*, where the character *sho* 所 modifies the verbal character *sei* 生 ‘to give birth’, ‘to bear’, Buddhists interpret this as referring to the child – thus, with the meaning of “the one being given birth” – while Confucians interpret this to refer to the parents – thus, those giving birth – inverting the agent/patient relation.²⁰ This difference is specifically exemplified by the use of the affix *-(sa)su*, that was initially provided by Ogyū as Japanese meaning of the Chinese character *sho* 所. This affix is used to provide a causative meaning to the verb, thus implying that someone has made someone or something else do an action. With the *-(ra)ru* affix, instead, the verb gets turned into a passive voice, implying that someone or something are the receivers of the action. These two concepts, although they appear opposite, are both rendered by the character *sho* 所, in the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy. The two affixes, still, share a commonality since, in both cases, they refer to a member of the sentence that is not the agent of the main verb, that is referred to by the character *nō* 能, instead.

On folios 24r-24v of the fourth volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū mentions the character *sho* 所 again, this time contrasting it specifically with the characters *hi* 被, *ken* 見 and *sō* 遭.

²⁰ It is also worth noting that the word *suōshēng* 所生 is used in Contemporary Chinese with the meaning of “parents”, while in contemporary Japanese, *shosei* can refer to both the parents and the child.

【見 被 所 遭】

○四字トモニ。カハリナシ。但シ。
 所ノ字ハ。少コシカワリアリ。所ノ字
 條下ニ見ヘタリ。但シ。訓ノ通りナ
 リトテ。世俗ノ云フ辭ノ。カヤウセラ
 レマシテ。ドウラレマシテト云フ。ラ
 ノ意ニテハナシ。人ニカウセラレ
 タト云フ寸ノ。ラレノ意ナリ。

[ken 見, hi 被, sho 所, sō 遭]

There is no difference between these four characters, however, there is a slight difference in the character *sha* 所. The character *sho* 所 can be seen below. However, when providing a Japanese reading (*kun* 訓), in the popular language it does not correspond to the *-rare* in *kayō serare mashite* or *dō serare mashite*. It is the *rare* as in when one says *hito ni kō serareta*.

In this quote, Ogyū is probably trying to clarify that the meaning of the character *sho* 所, that can be translated as *-rare*, is not to be confused with the use of *-rare* in honorific speech, where the phrases *kayō serare mashite* and *dō serare mashite* are to be interpreted as honorific conjugations of the verb *su(ru)* ‘to do’, meaning, respectively “doing so” and “doing in what way”. Instead, in the phrase *hito ni kō serareta*, *su(ru)* is conjugated in the non-honorific past tense and would mean “make a person do so” or “to be done so by a person”, in this second case a passive. Motoori Norinaga also writes the following remarks about the affix *-(ra)ru*, in the seventh volume (p. 53) of *Kotoba no tama no o*:

おほよそ後世に。らる られ など
カナ
 いふ言萬葉に假字に書る所は。いづ
 れも皆右のごとく。らゆ らえ な
 ど、のみ書て らる られ など、
 書るはいとくまれ也古事記日本紀な
 どの歌もみな同じ然れば所泣所知所
マナ
 忘所僂など、真字に書る所もみな假
 字書の例のまゝに「なかゆ」「なか
 え」「しらゆ」「しらえ」「わすらゆ
 「わすらえ」「しぬばゆ」「しぬばえ
 などと訓べし。今の本にこれらのゆ
 えを。る られと訓るは古言にあらず
 みな正すべし

Generally, people of later eras say things like *raru* or *rare*. In the *Man'yōshū*, these were written in *kana*, and they were all only written as *rayu* and *rae*, etc. The spelling *raru* and *rare* is very rare. In the poems of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, they are all the same. However, even when writing in *kanji* things like 所泣, 所知, 所忘, 所僂 etc., they all become the same as in the example in the *kana* text, meaning *nakayu* and *nakae* (所泣); *shirayu* and *shirae* (所知); *wasurayu* and *wasurae* (所忘); *shinubayu* and *shinubae* (所僂) etc. In books today, these *yu* and *e* are all rendered in Japanese as *ru* and *re*, but since these did not exist in ancient speech, they must be corrected accordingly.

Motoori Norinaga recognized a correspondence between the *-rare* affix recorded by Ogyū Sorai, in the excerpt above with the character *sho* 所. However, while Ogyū believed that the popular language was a useful tool to make contemporary readers understand the classics, Motoori was on a mission to purify the language of his contemporaries from any modification the language underwent since the standards set by the classic of Japanese literature. For this reason, Motoori deemed these *rare* and *raru* forms incorrect, and a corruption of the original *-rayu* and *-rae* form.

Regarding the Chinese character *nō* 能, however, as can be read in the quote above, Shizuki also added that it could also be read as *yoku* or *yokusu*. In the fifth volume of his *Kun'yaku jimō*, on folios 44r-44v, Ogyū claims the same. This *yoku* – or *yokku*, as claimed by Ogyū – is not to be confused with the adverbial form of the adjective *yoki*, meaning ‘good’, instead it corresponds to a verb, that can be also found in the form *yokusu*, as reported by Shizuki, meaning “to be skilled”. Here, Ogyū does not connect the character *nō* 能 to any specific affix, as he instead does with the character *ka* 可, as can be read in the following entry.

可ト容ヘベイト譯ス。ラルハト譯シ。クル
シカラズト譯ス。ラルハト云フ譯ハ所被
見等ノ字ト同シヤウナレハ。所被見ハ。
クハコ
過去ナリ。ソノウヘ。人ニカウセラレタ。
セラルハト云フ。ラルハナリ可容二字ノ
ミライ
譯ハ。未来ナリ。カウセラルハカ。セラ
レヌカト。料簡メ。イカニモカウセラル
ハデヤト。心ニテ。許可許容スル意
ナリ。クルシカラズト云フ譯モ許可許容
ノ意ヨリ。出タリ。十分ニ。ヨキハ。ヲ
シデモナキナリ。八九分ハヨクテ。三分ハ
イコル処アル寸。大事モナイ。クルシフナ
イト許容スル意ナリ。

The characters *ka* 可 and *yō* 容 are translated as *bei* [*beshi*], as *raruru* and as *kurushikarazu* [“It does not hurt”]. In these cases, they are the same as the characters *sho* 所, *hi* 被 and *ken* 見. However, these are past. Furthermore, when you say to a person *kō serareta*, it is *seraruru*, it has the meaning of *raruru*. The two characters *ka* 可 and *yō* 容 are future. They have the meaning of pondering whether one will make somebody do something or not, in either case, this is the meaning of *kyōka* 許可 or *kyōyō* 許容, learned as *kō seraruru koto ja* [“(someone) is mate to do the thing”]. Even the translation *kurushikarazu* has the meaning of *kyōka* and *kyōyō*.

This excerpt raises a few additional issues, particularly as it concerns the difference between the character *sho* 所 and the character *ka* 可. In *Seizenfu*, Shizuki claimed that the character *sho* 所 corresponds to the Dutch auxiliary *worden*. He added that this same auxiliary could also be rendered with the, allegedly, “lighter” character *hi* 被. In both cases, the Japanese translation would be rendered through the affix - (*ra*)*ru*. However, Shizuki also used the character *sho* 所 to translate the auxiliary *zijn*, in past participles, as in the sentence *Woorden die gesproken zijn* ‘Words that are spoken’, case in which the affixes -*ri* or -*tari* are to be used in the Japanese rendition. The character *ka* 可, instead, was claimed to be the rendition of the Dutch auxiliary *konnen*, however when the Dutch sentence combines both the auxiliaries *konnen* and *worden*, the character *ka* 可 actually plays the role of a combination of both *ka* 可 itself with the character *hi* 被. Ogyū’s description is rather different, however. The Confucian scholar claims that the character *ka* 可 is translated into Japanese as the affix -*beshi*, claim that can also be seen in Shizuki’s Japanese translation of the sentence *Woorden die gesproken kunnen worden* ‘Words that can get spoken’, as *iitsubeki go*. However, Ogyū contrasts the character *ka* 可 against the two characters *sho* 所 and *hi* 被, on the basis of the fact that he considers the last two as referring to the past (*kako* 過去), while the former to the future (*mirai* 未来).

In both cases, however, the Chinese characters correspond to the affix *-(ra)ru*. This affix has been commonly described, in more recent times, as conveying a plethora of meanings, including formality (as also seen in the entry to *sho* 所, above), potentiality and passivity.²¹ If, thus, it is true that there is a tight relation between potential *-(ra)ru* and the Chinese character *ka* 可, and between passive *-(ra)ru* and the Chinese characters *sho* 所 and *hi* 被, as suggested by Shizuki, then one would need to interpret Ogyū's words as implying that passive *-(ra)ru* corresponds to a past time, while potential *-(ra)ru* corresponds to a future time. However, I believe that in order to interpret this, one needs to indulge in Ogyū's description, temporarily abandoning the modern concepts of "potentiality" and "passivity". While analyzing the Japanese language, Ogyū was faced with one single affix *-(ra)ru*, thus it can be assumed that this element was interpreted by a Japanese speaker without any substantial knowledge in foreign languages and grammatical theory as one single unit of meaning, instead of one morpheme covering a broad semantic field. In this sense, thus, the differentiation between the various meanings of the morpheme is only explicitly made in the Chinese adaptation (and, thus, Dutch for Shizuki). This is, for example, similar to the idea that the Japanese word *atsui*, meaning "hot" or "warm", used to describe the temperature of anything indiscriminately, in Japanese, needs to be written with either the Chinese character *netsu* 熱 or *sho* 暑, according to whether it refers to the temperature of things or of the climate, respectively. The different nuance in meaning, can only be seen in the written convention and derives from a morphosemantic difference that originally only existed in Chinese. Similarly, the different semantic values of *-(ra)ru* only actualize when the affix is contrasted with languages, such as Chinese and Dutch, that differentiate between "passivity" and "potentiality" by means of very different morphosyntactic tools. Just like *atsui* means "warm thing" or "warm climate" indistinctly, in Japanese, the affix *-(ra)ru* expresses "potentiality" and "passivity", indiscriminately. This is the reason why Shizuki can claim that the auxiliaries of a sentence such as *Woorden die gesproken kunnen worden* "Words that can get spoken", although literally corresponding to the combination of *ka* 可 (potentiality) and *hi* 被 (passivity), they can ultimately be rendered simply with the character *ka* 可, that he still decides to read as *-beshi*, instead of *-(ra)ru*. In fact, it is interesting to notice that Shizuki does not seem to agree with the idea that *kunnen* and, thus, the Chinese character *ka* 可 simply correspond to a future, in fact, his translations of the auxiliary *kunnen* often combine the affix *-beshi*, with either *-tsu* or *-nu* (expressing completion), according to the activeness or neutrality of the verb. The auxiliary *worden*, instead, corresponds to the affix *-(ra)ru* consistently. This can be seen, for example, further in *Seizenfu*, where Shizuki provides a few relative clauses (*tsuzuku*) using the verb *slaan/utsu* 'to hit'. The sentences with *worden* and *kunnen* present very similar Japanese adaptations to the sentences with *spreken/i(h)u*. The passive sentence *Een man die geslagen word* 'A man that gets hit' is adapted into Japanese as *ochiruru hito* 打ちるゝひと, thus with the affix *-(ra)ru*, and in Chinese with the

²¹ See, for example, WIXTED (2006, 150), SHIRANE (2005, 140), KOMAI & ROHLICH (1991, 114-117).

character *bèi* 被. The potential sentence *Een man die slaan kan* ‘A man that can hit’ gets translated as *utsubeki hito* 打べきひと, thus with the affix *-beshi*, and in Chinese with the character *néng* 能 (i.e., *nō* 能 in Japanese). The combination of the two, in the sentence *Een man die geslagen kan worden* ‘A man that can get hit’, is translated as *uchirenubeki hito* 打れぬべきひと, thus with a combination of *-(ra)ru*, *-nu* and *-beki*, while in Chinese as a combination of *kě* 可 and *bèi* 被, in this order. A comment is added to this translation, claiming that in the popular language, the conjugation *utsubeki* (or *yoku utsu*, in Waseda’s copy) is said *utsu eru* (or *utsu yuru* 打得る), while *uchirenubeki* is commonly said *utsururu*. The affix *-beshi*, thus, according to Shizuki, is less commonly used, in these sentences in the popular language, which might explain why Ogyū, who believed in the didactic qualities of popular language, mostly only used the *-(ra)ru* affix, to explain these Chinese characters.

In conclusion, it appears that the rendition of the Dutch auxiliaries *konnen* and *worden*, expressing “potentiality” and “passivity”, respectively, would have been particularly complicated had the Japanese not had previous contact with the Chinese language. In classical language (*-beshi*) and in popular language (*-(ra)ru*), both auxiliaries correspond to a single Japanese affix. However, since it was already known that Chinese employed two different characters, with two different nuances in meaning to render those affixes, the extension of this mechanic to Dutch grammar allowed for a smooth interpretation of the Dutch auxiliaries. As I will show in the following sections, this is a common practice adopted by Shizuki within his *Seizenfu*. However, it also true that Chinese translations of Dutch sentences are much more common in this section of *Seizenfu*, and specifically when it concerns the Dutch auxiliaries *worden* and *konnen*, as compared to the rest of the manuscript.²² This might reinforce the idea that a difference between *worden* and *konnen* could not be easily understood by only looking at the morphosyntax of Japanese verbs and required an additional contrastive comparison with Chinese characters. The difference in time that Ogyū alleges to exist between the two, is not mentioned at all by Shizuki, who, nonetheless, relied heavily on his theory of the “three times” (*sanze* 三世), within *Seizenfu*, as I will show in the following section.

8.4.2 The table of the three times

The third chapter of *Rangaku seizenfu* is titled *Rango sanze meimoku* 蘭語三世名目 ‘Index of the three times of Dutch’. The contents of this section are extremely brief, only presenting three “times” (*tijd/se*) each corresponding to one tense. These three “times” are as follows: *voorleden tijd* ‘past tense’, translated into Japanese as *kako* 過去; *tegenwoordig tijd* ‘present tense’, translated into Japanese as *genzai* 現在 or

²² As can be seen from table 53, in 8.4.3, the Chinese translation is only added once for the other auxiliaries, probably with the purpose of exemplifying their rendition into Japanese. The rest of the Chinese translations are provided, however, only to variation and/or combinations of the auxiliaries *worden* and *konnen*.

gense 現世;²³ and *toekomende tijd* ‘future tense’, translated into Japanese as *mirai* 未来. In addition, expanding on the concept of “past tense”, Shizuki writes “Otherwise used for *tatoe* phrases” (或假令ノ語ニ用ユ), while for the future tense he adds “Otherwise used for *shirei* phrases” (或使令ノ語ニ用ユ). I will cover these additions below, in this chapter. This tripartite division of Dutch times is central to the entirety of *Seizenfu* and, as I have argued, can still be seen in other works by Shizuki, like *Joshi-kō* and in other works that were, arguably, more directly influenced by Dutch sources, like *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. The concept *sanze* itself appears to be derivative of Buddhist philosophy, where it referred to, indeed, the three dimensions of time as recognized by Shizuki.²⁴ However, as I have discussed in Chapter IV, Dutch verbs were never really divided into only three tenses in any of the Dutch sources I could confirm Shizuki referenced, and I believe that this can be generalized to all Dutch sources. As I have mentioned in 4.3, Marin did mention this tripartite distinction of time, in the entry to *tydt* (his spelling of *tijd*), although this did not refer to verbal tenses and, furthermore, the word for “past” was *verleedene* and not *voorleden*, as it is found in Shizuki, instead. However, in the Japanese tradition of the research on the so-called *kana-zukai*, these three dimensions were very common, specifically, as I have claimed, in the context of the *kana* character *shi* し, that is endowed with one meaning per time: in the present time it is the *shūshikei* of adjectives; in the past time corresponds to the *rentaiki* form of the affix *-ki*; and in the future time it corresponds to the *shūshikei* form of the suffix *-beshi*. Nonetheless, also within *Seizenfu*, even though Shizuki calls these “the three times” (*sanze* 三世), the system of Dutch verbal tenses he recognizes is much more complex.

In the chapter titled *Sanze-zu* 三世圖 ‘Table of the Three Times’ (9r), Shizuki draws a table illustrating the tree tenses in relation to two new variables: *gense* 現世 and *kako oyobi tatoe* 過去及假令, which I have copied in Table 51.

²³ In Waseda’s copy, this is often spelled as *genzai* 現在, also meaning ‘present’. The use of *gense* and *genzai*, within that copy is rather inconsistent, and displays no real pattern that would suggest a specific difference in meaning.

²⁴ In NAKAMURA (1975) the term *sanze* is defined as follows: “It refers to the three ‘past’ (*kako* 過去), ‘present’ (*genzai* 現在) and ‘future’ (*mirai* 未来). It is the chronological division of the world according to Buddhism. The three dimensions. The three times. It is the ‘past’ (*Satita*, meaning that which has passed), the ‘present’ (*Spratyutpanna*, meaning that which has been initiated) and the ‘future’ (*Sanāgata*, meaning that which is yet to come). For the sake of brevity also called *kagenmi* 過現未 or *ikontō* 已今当. In Buddhism, time is not seen as something concrete or actual. It is seen as processes of mutation and change, though provisionally, we do not further distinguish these 3 times”.

現世			過去及ヒ假令		
未来	Zúllen	將	未来	Zouden	應
	Zul			Zoú	
	Zúlt			Zoude	
現世	Zÿn	在	現世	Waaren	曾在
	ben			was	
	is, Zijt			waart	
過去	hebben,	既 又 有	過去	hadden	曾 又 曾有
	heb, heeft,			had	
	hebt			hadt	

Table 51 Table of the Three Times from *Rangaku seizenfu*.

This table crosses the three times seen above, represented in the three horizontal lines, with the two variables, represented in the vertical columns. The two columns share the same names with two of the lines, only missing the *mirai* label. Furthermore, the *kako* column also contains the label *tatoe* 假令. Even though Shizuki does not employ any specific label to distinguish between the three lines and the two columns, for reasons of practicality, I will adopt the names “times” for the three lines, and “dimensions” for the two columns. Within *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki references this table by naming certain verbal tenses used in his sample sentences, by citing each box in forms such as *gense no mirai* 現世ノ未来 ‘future of the present’, *kako no kako* 過去ノ過去 ‘past of the past’ etc., where the first element corresponds to the “dimension” – i.e., the column of the table – while the second element corresponds to the “time” – i.e., the line of the table. Thus, the phrasing *gense no mirai*, for example, could be interpreted as “the future time of the present dimension”. In each box, in this table, one does not only find reference to the time it crosses with, but two additional features, namely: the conjugated forms of one Dutch auxiliary, and either one or more Chinese characters. Each box contains one specific Dutch auxiliary, that is only present in that one box. Furthermore, Shizuki treats the past forms of these auxiliaries as independent verbs, sometimes citing them by their plural forms (akin to the infinitive form of their present counterparts) or their root. Even though this is not commonly done in contemporary Dutch grammatical tradition, for the sake of better representing Shizuki’s theories, I will comply with his methodology, utilizing the plural forms of these auxiliaries as citational form. The six resulting auxiliary verbs present in the Table of the Three Times are: *zullen* (*gense no mirai* 現世ノ未来 ‘future of the present’); *zouden* (*kako oyobi tatoe no mirai* 過去及假令ノ未来 ‘future of the past or of *tatoe*’²⁵); *zijn* (*gense no gense* 現世ノ現世, ‘present of the present’); *waren* (*kako no gense* 過去ノ現世 ‘present of the past’); *hebben* (*gense no kako* 現世ノ過去 ‘past of the

²⁵ Since all “past” dimensions can include *tatoe*, I will only cite it when specifically necessary. Whenever the “past” dimension will be cited henceforth, the reader must be aware that the formula *oyobi taote* ‘or also *tatoe*’ has been simplified from the label.

present’); and *hadden* (*kako no kako* 過去ノ過去 ‘past of the past’). The Chinese characters provided in each box correspond to the Chinese word that is supposed to translate each auxiliary. The verb *zullen* is translated as the character *shō* 將, *zouden* as the character *ō* 應; *zijn* as the character *zai* 在, *waren* as the combination of the two characters *sōzai* 曾在; *hebben* as the characters *ki* 既 or *yū* 有; *hadden* as either the character *sō* 曾 or the combination of characters *sōyū* 曾有. Although these verbs can all be used as auxiliaries in Dutch, there is one fundamental difference among them; the verb *zullen*, and its past form *zouden*, are the only ones that can only be used as auxiliaries. Both the verbs *zijn* and *hebben* – along with their past forms *waren* and *hadden* – also have the semantical meanings of “existing” and “possessing”, respectively, just like their English counterparts “to be” and “to have”. This is the reason why the auxiliaries *hebben* and *hadden* have been translated with two Chinese alternatives, where *yū* 有 renders their meaning as “to possess”, while *ki* 既 and *sō* 曾 refer to their uses as auxiliaries. Even though the same applies to the verb *zijn*, however, this verb only gets one translation for each dimension, both including the character *zai* 在 and the reason for this will be explained further below.

In order to demonstrate the difference between present and past tenses, in *Sanshu shokaku*, Shizuki quotes an introductory piece from a Dutch book he translated, namely Johan Keill’s *Inleidinge tot de waare natuur-en sterrekunde*. The quote is found in the *Voor-rede van den schryver* ‘Foreword from the writer’,²⁶ and features different tenses of Dutch verbs. Shizuki comments this excerpt in a chapter he called *gense kako no koto* (‘About the present and the past’), in folios 17r to 18r:

○現世過去ノケイル之ナチュールキ
ユンデノ序ニ見タリ

Het Hooft van dit soort van wysgeeren is
名 人 科
das carts die schoon hÿ een Voornaam met
量 側 括惣
Kúndige geweest is egter om het gros van
luyē envadzige wÿs geeren, te behagen,
geen gebrúikt van meet kúnde in de wÿs
begeerte gemaakt heeft, en schoon hÿ
受合フニナル 現在ノ過去ナリ
v o o r g a t dat hÿ
alles op een werktúig kundige wyze Zoude
verklaren door de stoffe en beweeginge,
egter heeft hÿ een natúúr kúnde úit gedagt,

About the Present and Past (As seen in the introduction to Keill’s *Natuurkunde*)

“The head of this type of philosophers is Descartes, who, even though he has been a distinguished philosopher, he actually did not use algebra within his philosophy, to the delight of the bulk of the lazy and slothful philosophers; and although he, ahead of time, inventend a type of physics, by means of which he could explain everything on a mechanical manner, through matter and movement, his physics were as detached as possible from any truthful law of mechanincs”. In the words *wysgeeren is*, at the beginning, the word is present (*gensei*) since it theorizes about a

²⁶ Original text (1741): “Het Hooft van dit soort van Wysgeeren is *Descartes*, die, schoon hy een voornaam Meetkundige geweest is, egter om het gros van luyē en vadzige Wysgeeren te behagen, geen gebruyk van de Meetkunt in de Wysbegeerte gemaakt heeft; en schoon hy voorgaf, dat hy alles op een Werktuig-kundige wyze zoude verklaren door de stoffe en de beweeginge, egter heeft hy een Natuurkunde uitgedagt, die zo verre als het mogelyk is, van de ware Werktuig-kundige wetten afwykt”.

die zo 此処ニ o ノアル ナルタケ
心ニテ見ルベシ verre als h e t
magelyk is vande waare wektúig kúndige
willen af wýkt 初ノ Wysgeeren is, 之 is ハ
古今ノ人ヲ合論スル故ニ現世ナリ次ノ
geweest is gemaakt is, 其人ノ昔ヲ今ニ引
ツケテ云故過去ナリ voorgat, ハ以前ノ
亘ヲ云フノミニテ今ニ引ツケヌ²⁷故過
去ノ現世ナリ zoude verklaren, モ同シ其
次ノ heeft hy ハ又今ニ引ツケルナリ故
ニ過去ナリ末ノ mogelyk is ト af wýkt ト
ハ彼人ノ建立セル教ノ今ニアル物ノヲ
ナル故現在ナリ

person of the past from our present. The following *geweest is*, *gemaakt is*, are past (*kako*) since they draw things toward the present, regarding the past of that person. The word *voorgat* [*voorgaf*], is a present of the past (*kako no gense*) since it only refers to the things of the past, and does not draw it toward the present. The words *zoude verklaren* are the same. The *heeft hij* which follows, is also a past (*kako*), since it draws things toward the present. The words *mogelyk is* and *af wýkt*, at the end, are present, since they refer to a thing existing now regarding the teachings of that person.

Shizuki introduces five different verbal tenses, which he categorizes in the labels of *kako* 過去 ‘past’ and *gense* 現世 ‘present’, and variations thereof, with the following explanations:

1. “In the words *wysgeeren is*, at the beginning, the word *is* is present (*gense*) since it theorizes about a person of the past from our present”. The words *wysgeeren is* ‘philosopher is’ are not directly connected from a grammatical point of view, whereas, in fact, in the original sentence the verb *is* is referred to the subject *het hooft* ‘the head’, in the phrasing *Het Hooft van dit soort van Wysgeeren is Descartes* ‘The head of this sort of philosophers is Descartes’. Regardless, the verb *is* is recognized as a present (*gense* 現世), since it “theorizes” (合論スル) about a person of the past of today (古今ノ人), meaning a person who existed in a past time from the reference time of today;
2. “The following *geweest is*, *gemaakt is*, are past (*kako* 過去) since they draw things toward the present, regarding the past of that person.” The verbs *geweest is* ‘has been’ and *gemaakt is* ‘has made’ – this second one appearing in the form *gemaakt heeft*, in the excerpt – are present perfect tenses. Although these tenses have the present tense *is*, they are categorized as ‘past’ since they concern an event that occurred in the past and has gotten drawn toward the present. This wording expresses the idea that the event referred to by these verbs, while having occurred in the past, are drawn, in their duration, until the present time of the enunciator;
3. “The word *voorgat* [*voorgaf*], is a present of the past (*kako no gense*) since it only refers to the things of the past and does not draw it toward the present. The words *zoude verklaren* are the same.” The verb *voorgaf*, past simple of the verb *voorgeven* ‘to pretend’, is considered a “present of the past” (*kako no gense* 過去ノ現世). This is because the event described by

²⁷ Although the copyist clearly wrote the Chinese character *mata* 又 ‘furthermore’, it only makes sense on the basis of logical and morphosyntactic reasons, for this to be the character *nu* 又, for the *rentaikei* form of the negating affix *-zu*.

the verb occurs in a past and does not get extended beyond that dimension of time. Consequently, the event occurs within a “present dimension” in a past time, from the point of view of the reference dimension, that is the present of the enunciator. The words *zoude verklaren* ‘should clarify’ or ‘would clarify’ area also categorized as *kako no gense*, although this is a subjunctive mood;

4. “The *heeft hij* which follows, is also a past (*kako*), since it draws things toward the present”. The words *heeft hij* ‘he has’, are actually part of a present perfect tense, together with the main verb in its past participle form *uitgedagt*, from the verb *uitdenken* ‘to invent’. Except for the fact that the auxiliary verb is “to have”, here, instead of “to be”, this verb is morphologically comparable to those under 2, that are also categorized as *kako*. Like those, *heeft uitgedagt* is considered “past” because its action, while occurring in the past, is drawn toward the present, thus pointing at the idea of an event which occurred in the past of the present of reference where the enunciator is located;
5. “The words *mogelyk is* and *af wykt*, at the end, are present, since they refer to a thing existing now regarding the teachings of that person”. The words *mogelijk is* are a composition of the third person singular of the present simple tense of the verb *zijn* ‘to be’ with a predicative adjective *mogelijk* ‘possible’, while *afwijkt* is also a third person singular of the present simple tense of the verb *afwijken* ‘to distance’ or ‘to deviate’. These, since they refer to the theories put forth by “that person” (Descartes), which still exist in the “now” wherein the enunciator is speaking/writing, and thusly necessitate a present simple tense, which Shizuki labels as “present” *gensei*.

These brief explanations do appear to be broadly consistent with what claimed in *Rangaku seizenfu*. It is worth mentioning that the words utilized to refer to the past, in this excerpt, varied across the definition. In point 1, since the verbs refer to the people of the past until “now”, one finds the word *kokon* 古今, which indeed refers to the entirety of the past up until the present. When explaining point 2, one can find the phrasing *sono hito no mukashi* 其人ノ昔 ‘that person’s olden times’, which refers to a past relative to the present of Descartes. Point 3, instead, features the term *izen no koto* 以前ノ事 ‘previous things’, which is used to explain the use of a past simple.

These auxiliaries are central to the theories explained within *Seizenfu*. All the twenty-seven sample sentences found in the chapter titled *Kusagusa no kotobazukai* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ ‘Uses of All the Types of Words’ feature a combination of these auxiliaries to demonstrate how their employment in certain contexts can modify the meaning of a sentence in specific manners. I will mostly analyze this chapter in the following paragraphs. These fundamental auxiliaries, of which Shizuki identifies six, are also each provided with a few Japanese adaptations in the second to last chapter titled *Rokushi hiyaku* 六詞秘訳 ‘Secret Translation of the Six Words’, where the “six words” (*rokushi* 六詞) correspond to the present and past forms of the three Dutch auxiliaries. Each of these six words is further explained by

comparing them with classical Japanese grammar. These are the translations for each of the six words, as found in this chapter:

- **Zouden:** -nan なん; -ten てん; -beshi へし; -mashi まし;
- **Waaren:** -tariki たりき; -ni ariki にありき; -nariki なりき;
- **Hadden:** -ki き; -ariki ありき;
- **Zullen:** -n ん; “imperative” (*gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞);
- **Zijn:** -tari たり; -ni ari にあり; -nari なり; -shi し;
- **Hebben:** -tsu つ; -nu ぬ; -ari あり.

This can be considered as a concise table the translator could use for rapid reference in order to adapt these auxiliaries into Japanese. Each of these auxiliaries is further explained with a few additional words, although the comment to the verb *zijn* is evidently longer. The rest of the *Rokushi hiyaku* chapter contains the following text:²⁸

Zullen ハ将ノ字ノ如シ又其人
ニ對シ言フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナ
リ

Zÿn ハ在ノ字ノ如シ 動詞ニ遇
ハたりト訳ス言ヘリト訳スル
イヘリ
モ言テありナリ万葉ニ 言 有
ト書クヲアリ然レトZÿn ノ意
ハ在ノ字ニ當レリ[言ヒテ爰
ニ]²⁹在意ナリにありト言ズシ
テありト云故万葉ニハ有ノ字
ヲ書タルベケレト其実ハあり
ト云モ亦在ノ意ナリ其外降れ
リハ降りてありナリ隕たるハ
隕である也言へる降れる隕た
る上たるナトノ言ヒ様ハ詳ニ
本居翁ノ言葉ノ玉の諸ニモ見
エテ難キヲニハアラネト一向
ニ國學ニ無案内ナラン人ハ唯
ニ言たる降たるナト皆たるヲ
附テ心得ベシ訳ニ用ンモヨシ
たりハ即「てあり」ナリ虚ノ

Zullen is similar to the character *shō* 将. Furthermore, when said toward a person it becomes an imperative (*gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞).

Zijn is similar to the character *zai* 在. When it meets a verb, it is translated as *-tari*, even when translating it as *ieri* 言へり, it means *ihite ari* 言てあり. In the *Man'yōshū* we find the writing *ieri* 言有. However, the meaning of *zijn* corresponds to the character *zai* 在. In *iite* 言ひて, it has the meaning of *zai* 在. Since one does not say *ni ari*, but *ari*, although in the *Man'yōshū* this is written with the character 有, in reality, it corresponds to *ari*, which is simply the meaning of the character *zai* 在. Other verbs, like *fureri* 降り, becomes *furite ari* 降りてあり. The verb *ochitaru* 隕たる becomes *ochite aru* 隕である. Saying *ieru* 言へる, *fureru* 降れる, *ochitaru* 隕たる and *noboritaru* (or, perhaps, *agaritaru*) 上たる, can also be seen in details in Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*. Even if this is nothing particularly difficult, for a person who has not received any guidance in *kokugaku* 國學, words like *iitaru* 言たる, *furitaru* 降たる etc. should be understood as all adding *taru* たる, and can be used in the translation, as well. Anyway, *tari* たり is *te ari* てあり. When it meets a quiet empty word, it translates *nari* なり, like the type of *akiraka nari* 明かなり ['bright'], *oroka nari* 愚かなり

²⁸ This excerpt is mostly based on Waseda's copy (12r-12v). However, when I believe Gifu's copy (25v-26r) to present a clearer phrasing or spelling, I will signal this by placing the version of that text from that source in brackets, specifying in note the difference with Waseda's copy.

²⁹ In Waseda's copy, this was written as 言テ此ニ.

静ニアヘハなりト訳ス明カなり
愚なりナトノ類之但シ白し
清しナドハ即チ白くあり清く
ありトイフニ同シキ故しノ字
即くありノ意ニテ Zijن 二當ル
因テ是等ニアヘバ Zijن ヲシト
訳ス

又形容詞 静虚ノ属 ヲ音ニテ言フ
寸ハたりト訳ス赫たり 瑟たり
ナト之類ナリ瑟トアリ赫トア
リ云フナリ

實詞ニアフ寸モなりト訳ス此
時ハ也ノ字ニ通ス

het is vûur [Zijn]³⁰ それは火也

虚ニ遇寸ハにありト訳ス正ク
在ノ字ニ当レリ

但シなりモ「にあり」ノ約³¹
ニシテ元来ハ一ナリ古書ニハ
在ノ字ヲなりトモ讀メリ

Zij Zijn daar. 彼等かしこにあり
daar Zijn Zij. 彼所に彼等あり

此時ハありト訳スベケレト彼
所にあり彼ト云意也

Zijn ハ元来 Wezen ト云詞ナル
故ニ在ノ義ナリ

hebben 動詞ニ遇ハつ、つる、
ぬ、ぬる、ト訳スレト実詞ニ
遇ハありト訳ス物ヲ持[ツ]³²ノ
意アル字ナル故有ノ字ノ義也
静虚ニハ値フナシ

['sloppy'],³⁴ etc. However, this is the same as turning *shiroshi* 白し, *kiyoshi* 清し etc., into *shoroku nari* 白くなり, *kiyoku nari* 清くなり etc. In other words, the character *shi* し meaning *ku ari* くあり, corresponds with the verb *zijn*. For this reason, when it meets these [quiet empty words], *zijn* ought to be translated as *shi* し.

Furthermore, with *keiyōshi* 形容詞 (that belong to quiet empty words), when saying their sounds [*on'yomi*], it translates *tari* たり, as in *kaku tari* 赫たり ['read', 'bright'] and *shitsu tari* 瑟たり ['solemn'], etc. This has the meaning of *kaku to ari* 赫トアリ and *shitsu to ari* 瑟トアリ.

Also when meeting a full word, it is translated as *nari* なり, whereby it corresponds to the character 也.

Het is vuur [zijn] – sore wa hi nari それは火也

When meeting an empty word, it is translated with *ni ari* にあり, and correctly corresponds to the character *zai* 在.

However, *nari* なり also is an approximation of *ni ari* にあり, and were originally the same thing. In ancient texts the character *zai* 在 is read as *nari*.

*Zij zijn daar – karera kashiko ni ari*³⁵ 彼等かしこにあり

Daar zijn zij – kashiko ni karera ari 彼所に彼等あり

This time it should be translated as *ari*, however it has the meaning of *kashiko ni ari kare*.

Zijn was originally said *wezen*, thus it has the meaning of *zai* 在.

When *hebben* meets a verb, it should be translated as -*tsu*, -*tsuru*, -*nu*, -*nuru*. However, when it meets a full word, it is translated as *ari*, a character with the meaning of "holding/possessing something", thus, it has the meaning of the character *yū* 有.

³⁰ The word *zijn* is not present in Gifu's copy and would be grammatically incorrect, in this context. The copyist of Waseda's copy probably overindulged in the interpretation of Shizuki's explanation and added *zijn* at the end of the sentence as to mirror the term *nari* in the Japanese sentences, a correspondence that had just been explained in the line before. It might also be that the copyist did not realize that *is*, in that sentence, was a conjugated form of *zijn*.

³¹ In Gifu's copy it reads *ryaku* 略 'shortened'.

³² In Waseda's copy this is substituted with the Chinese character *yū* 有.

ik heb een pen ³³ 我に一筆あり 我有一筆 有ノ字	Ik heb een pen – <i>ware ni ippitsu ari</i> 我に一筆あり The character <i>yū</i> 有 as in the sentence [<i>wō yōu yī bī</i>] 我有一筆.
hadden 動詞ニアヘハき、し、 ト訳ス實詞ニアヘハありキト 訳ス hebben ニ準スベシ	<i>Hadden</i> , when it meets a verb is translated as <i>-ki</i> and <i>-shi</i> . When it meets a full word, it is to be translated as <i>ariki</i> ありき. It works like <i>hebben</i> .
waaren 是モ Zijn ニ準スベシ	<i>Waaren</i> this works like <i>zijn</i> .
Zouden 諸格前ニ詳ナリ	All the types of <i>zouden</i> have been covered in detail before.

In this excerpt, Shizuki cites Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o* and the renowned *kokugaku* 国学 school, when covering the verbal affix *-tari*. He claims that the fact that this *-tari* affix came from the simplification of the combination between *-te* and *-ari*, is not as hard to understand even for those who are uninitiated in the knowledge of *kokugaku*; that might imply he considered himself knowledgeable in that scholarship himself. Even though he redirects, thus, his readers to that source of Motoori Norinaga, I have not been able to find the specific quote Shizuki is supposedly referencing, here. The suffix *-tari*, and its conjugated forms *-taru* and *-tare*, do appear as tenth entry (on pages 20-21) of the first volume of *Kotoba no tama no o*, however, there one only sees how this suffix behaves morphologically according to the *kakari-musubi* theory of Norinaga, by providing eleven sentences sampled from different classics of Japanese literature. No additional remark is added regarding this affix all throughout the seven volumes of this work.³⁶ There is, however, a relatively more detailed comment concerning the word *nari*, where it is claimed that this also originated from the simplification of the verb *ari*, with the particle *ni*, in this case. This can be seen in the sixth volume of Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, in the following quote, on pages 3-4:

³⁴ In Gifu's copy this is changed with the adjective *ki naru* 黄なる 'yellow'.

³⁵ In Gifu's copy this is spelled as 彼等彼所にあり.

³³ Misspelled as *ik heb pen*, in Waseda's copy.

³⁶ I have also attempted to find different copies that might have included different information, in this regard. On first superficial research, I have managed to find one copy that reported, in the entry to *-tari* in the first chapter the sentence (Waseda's 文庫 30 E0237, Vol. 1, 24r): "*tari* is *te ari*, *to aru*, and *te iru*" (たりハテアリ也又トアリ也テキル也). This copy also included an annotation in red ink, in the top margin of that same page, reading: "The approximation of *te* and *a* gives *ta*, which is a *yodan* of the *ra* line. It is a *te ni wo ha* of the same type as *taraki*." (てあの約たよりら行時段にはたらき一種のてにをはとなれり). This specific copy presents a preface (序) signed by Inagaki Ōhira 稲懸大平, another name of Motoori Ōhira 本居大平 (1756 – 1833), adoptive son of Motoori Norinaga. Although this might suggest that Shizuki could have read Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o* through a copy curated by Inagaki, the evidence to support this is extremely limited and further research requires to be done in this sense, specifically firstly identifying other possible copies containing these remarks regarding the affix *-tari*, Shizuki could have read before writing *Rangaku seizenfu*.

新二貫之集 わが宿のものなりながらさ
くら花ちるをばえこそとゞめざりけれ

此なりはきゝなれぬこゝちすめれ共。に
ありをつゞめてなりとはいふなれば。我
宿の物にては有ながらといふこと也。同
じ貫之集に「くるゝ夜はおほかりながら
たなばたは年に一よやよるをしるらん。
此「おほかりながらも。おほくありなが
らをつゝめたるにて。同じこと也。是に
はかぎらず。すべてなりといふ辭は。皆
にありのつゞまりたるなり。さる故に萬
葉には在とも有ともかけり

*Shin'ni Tsurayuki-shū: waga yado no mono
nari nagara sakurabana chiru wo bae koso
todomezarikere*

Even though this *nari* feels uncommon to the ear, it approximates *ni ari*, and it becomes *nari*, meaning “while our house exists”. Similarly, in the *Tsurayuki-shū*, we read *kururu yoru wa ōkari nagara tanabata wa toshi ni hito yoya youru wo shiruran*. Also this *ōkari nagara* is the approximation of and is the same as *ōku ari nagara*. It is not limited to these. All the words with *nari* are approximations of *ni ari*. In the *Man'yōshū*, this can be seen written as *nari* 在 and *nari* 有, as well.

Motoori employs two citations from the classic of Japanese literature, titled *Kokinwaka-shū*, specifically from the section title *Tsurayuki* 貫之, in order to evidence the use of the element *nari*, that Motoori recognizes as the approximation of the combination of the verb *ari* and the particle *ni*. The first *waka* translates “While our house exists, the cherry blossoms cannot be stopped from spreading”, where *nari nagara* is the simplification of *ni ari nagara*, literally ‘while it is (there)’. Here, Motoori also evidences that this *nari* was written, in the *Man'yōshū* with both characters *zai* 在 and *yū* 有, as also claimed in the excerpt from Shizuki's *Seizenfu*, above. It appears that, even if this excerpt of Motoori does not directly cover the affix *-tari*, Shizuki might have based those remarks from this quote of Motoori.

As further claimed by Shizuki, the Dutch verb *zijn* always corresponds to the Chinese characters *zai* 在 (see also 8.5.5 and 8.5.6). Even though this stays true in most, if not all, instances in which *zijn* is used, Shizuki specifies a few different nuances in meaning with which one can translate this Dutch verb. On a general note, one can say that the Dutch verb *zijn* always corresponds to the Japanese verb *ari*. Both verbs are used in varied contexts that mostly overlap with each other. When *zijn* combines with a verb, meaning when it is used as an auxiliary, it corresponds to the affix *-tari*, that corresponds to *-ri*. There is no real difference between these two affixes, they are simply used with verbs with different roots, for euphonic reasons. Shizuki, treats them as the same affix, ultimately originating from the combination of *te* and *ari*. Shizuki acknowledges the fact that, in the *Man'yōshū* the word *ieri* (iu ‘to say’ + *-ri*) is spelled, in *kanji* as 言有, thus adapting *-ri*, meaning *-ari*, with the character *yū* 有, however the Dutch verb *zijn* correctly corresponds to the Chinese character *zai* 在. When *zijn* meets “quiet empty words” (adjectives), things get a bit more complicated, since Shizuki recognizes three correspondences. For *-nari* adjectives, *zijn* corresponds to the element *nari*, for *-shi* adjectives, *zijn* corresponds to the character *shi*, while for *keiyōshi* adjectives, when they are read in their *on'yomi*, *zijn* corresponds to *-tari*. Shizuki adds that the character *shi* for adjectives (that was traditionally considered “the present *shi*”, in the Japanese tradition), is also to be considered a translation of *zijn*, since it actually corresponds to the phrasing -

ku ari, as in *shiroku ari* ‘to be white’, where the adjective “white” is conjugated adverbially, as to modify the verb *ari*. Similarly, also with *keiyōshi*, the affix *-tari* originates from the combination of the particle *to* and the verb *ari*.

In conclusion, Shizuki found a way in which the Dutch verb *zijn* can always correspond to the Japanese verb *ari* and, thus, to the Chinese character *zai* 在. When combining with nouns, however, the verb *zijn* corresponds to the Chinese character *ya* 也, also corresponding to *nari* in *kundoku*. This is the case, for example of the sentence *het is vuur* ‘it is fire’ that Shizuki translates as *sore wa hi nari* それは火也. However, when the noun in question refers to a location, one needs to be more specific. In fact, even though in some cases it might appear that *zijn* would correspond to *ni ari*, thus, eventually, *nari*, this is not the case, and *zijn* only corresponds to *ari*. This is because the particle *ni* can be used to refer to a location, in combination with the verb *ari*. However, this particle *ni* is not part of the “copula” but remains connected more tightly to the noun expressing the location. For this purpose, Shizuki provides two almost identical Dutch phrases, both adapted into Japanese. The first sentence is *Zij zijn daar* ‘They are there’, that gets adapted into Japanese as *Karera kashiko ni ari* 彼等かしこにあり. In this sentence, *kashiko* ‘there’ functions as a noun, to which the particle *ni* is added, in order to specify its role as an argument expressing location. As Shizuki demonstrates, however, the fact that *ni* and *ari* appear one after the other, in this sentence, is purely contextual. In fact, if one were to scramble the position of the words of this sentence, as in *Daar zijn zij* ‘There they are’, this would dislocate, in the Japanese version, the argument referring to the location (*kashiko ni*) away from the verb *ari*, that must always be at the end of the phrase, according to Japanese syntax. The resulting sentence in Japanese would be *kashiko ni karera ari*, where *ni* is bound to follow the word *kashiko*, thus not appearing right before *ari*. This is provided by Shizuki as conclusive evidence that, in case *zijn* refers to a location, it is only translated as *ari*, in Japanese, and cannot be translated as *nari*, since the two words *ni ari*, when referring to a location, are not necessarily found one after the other, thus impeding the formation of the compound word *nari*.

As for the Dutch verb *hebben*, in this excerpt it is simply claimed that, when it is combined with a verb it corresponds to the affixes *-nu* and *-tsu*, previously understood to be used with neuter and active verbs, respectively (more in 8.5.3). While it is correctly claimed that *hebben* does not combine with adjectives, Shizuki adds that, when combining with nouns, it can also correspond to the Japanese verb *ari*, when *ari* has the meaning of “possessing/holding something”, corresponding to the Chinese character *yū* 有. This is, indeed, the consequence of the fact that possession in Japanese is often expressed by marking the owner with the particle *ni*, the owned object as the subject, and by means of the verb *ari*, expressing existence. This is exemplified by the sample sentence *Ik heb een pen* ‘I have a pen’, that Shizuki translates into Japanese as *ware ni ippitsu ari* 我に一筆あり, where *ware ni* means ‘to me’ and *ippitsu* ‘one pen/brush’ functions as subject of the verb *ari* ‘to be’. In order to summarize the information concerning the Japanese verb *ari*, the Dutch verb *zijn* and the Chinese characters *zai* 在, *yū* 有 and *ya* 也, it can be claimed that Shizuki identified seven different uses of the Japanese verb *ari*, of which all but

one corresponded to the Dutch verb *zijn*. Table 52 illustrates this information. One additional remark needs to be specified concerning this table. In the second column, containing the corresponding Japanese word, in all boxes the word is rendered in its citation form for reasons of brevity. This means that the verb *zijn* does not only translate the affix *-tari*, for example, when it is used as an auxiliary, but it can also translate, for example, its *rentaikei* form *-taru* etc. However, when it comes to adjectives, the *shūshikei* is, indeed, the only form of that word/affix that corresponds to the Dutch verb *zijn*. This is because when an adjective is used in its *rentaikei*, in Japanese, it corresponds to an adnominal use that, in Dutch, does not feature the verb *zijn*, at all. This is the same in English when one says phrases like: “The cloud is white” (*shūshikei*, predicative use) and “A white cloud” (*rentaikei*, attributive/adnominal use). These are examples used by Shizuki himself, as can be seen in 8.5.6. Whenever and adjective is combined with other affixes, instead, this might influence the conjugation of the verb *zijn*, either turning it into a past *waren* or combining it with other auxiliaries, thus implying that it is not *zijn* corresponding to those Japanese adjectival endings.

Combining word	Japanese translation	Corresponding Chinese character	Dutch word
Verb (<i>dōshi</i> 動詞)	<i>-tari</i> たり and <i>-ri</i> り (from <i>-te ari</i> てあり)	<i>zai</i> 在 (<i>yū</i> 有 in <i>Man'yō-shū</i>)	<i>Zijn</i> (Auxiliary)
Adjective (<i>-shi</i>) 虚ノ静 (し)	<i>-shi</i> し (comparable to <i>-ku ari</i> くあり)	<i>zai</i> 在	<i>Zijn</i> (Copula for predicative adjectives)
Adjective (<i>-nari</i>) 虚ノ静 (なり)	<i>nari</i> なり (from <i>ni ari</i> にあり)	<i>zai</i> 在	
<i>Keiyōshi</i> Adjectives 形容詞 (When read in <i>on'yomi</i>)	<i>-tari</i> たり (from <i>-to ari</i> トアリ)	<i>zai</i> 在	
Noun 実詞 (Except with locations)	<i>nari</i> なり (from <i>ni ari</i> にあり)	<i>ya</i> 也 (In ancient texts also <i>zai</i> 在)	<i>Zijn</i> (Copula for nouns)
Noun 実詞 (Only with locations)	<i>ari</i> あり	<i>zai</i> 在	<i>Zijn</i> (Copula for nouns)
Noun 実詞 (Possessive)	<i>ari</i> あり	<i>yū</i> 有	<i>Hebben</i> (Not when used as auxiliary)

Table 52 Recap of the different uses of the Japanese verb *ari* and its Dutch and Chinese renditions.

One additional remark needs to be specified concerning this table. In the second column, containing the corresponding Japanese word, in all boxes the word is rendered in its citation form for reasons of brevity. This means that the verb *zijn* does not only translate the affix *-tari*, for example, when it is used as an auxiliary, but it can also translate, for example, its *rentaikei* form *-taru* etc. However, when it comes to adjectives, the *shūshikei* is, indeed, the only form of that word/affix that corresponds to the Dutch verb *zijn*. This is because when an adjective is used in its *rentaikei*, in Japanese, it corresponds to an adnominal use that, in Dutch, does not feature the verb *zijn*, at all. This is the same in English when one says phrases like: “The cloud is white” (*shūshikei*, predicative use) and “A white cloud” (*rentaikei*, attributive/adnominal use). These are examples used by Shizuki himself, as can be seen in 8.5.5. Whenever an adjective is combined with other affixes, instead, this might influence the conjugation of the verb *zijn*, either turning it into a past *waren* or combining it with other auxiliaries, thus implying that it is not *zijn* corresponding to those Japanese adjectival endings.

In the excerpt above, the remaining four auxiliaries are only rapidly mentioned. The auxiliary *zullen* is only compared to the Chinese character *shō* 將, and it is also claimed that it can be used as an imperative (*gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞). The verbs *hadden* and *waren* are only claimed to behave as their present-tense counterparts. The verb *hadden* is also provided with a Japanese translation, corresponding to the affix *-ki*, when it combines with a verb, and as *ariki*, *ari* plus the affix *-ki*, when it combines with a noun. Comparing this to what claimed in the entry to *hebben*, it can be understood that, when *hadden* is used as a verb expressing possession, it simply corresponds to a “past” version of *hebben*, i.e., *hebben* is *ari*; *hadden* is *ariki*. However, when it is used as an auxiliary, *hadden* substitutes the affixes *-nu* and *-tsu* of *hebben*, with the affix *-ki*. I will go back to this in 8.5.3 and 8.5.4. As for the last auxiliary, the verb *zouden*, since it is thoroughly analyzed in its own chapter, the excerpt simply redirects the reader to that section, that I will cover in 8.5.2.

8.4.3 Translations of Dutch auxiliaries in a few sentences

The two chapters of *Rangaku seizenfu* titled *tsuzuku kotoba* and *kiruru kotoba* provide a rather comprehensive list of the main Japanese renditions of the “six verbs” (*rokushi* 六詞) of Dutch according to the context of use, also demonstrating the differences between neuter verbs, active verbs and adjectives. In Table 53, I have summarized the contents of these two chapters including the Dutch sentence, the Japanese translation and, whenever available, the Chinese translation and the translation into popular Japanese, corresponding to all the sentences until number 60.³⁷

³⁷ I have based the content of this Table 53, on both Waseda and Gifu’s copy of *Rangaku seizenfu*. Whenever the content of the two manuscripts was inconsistent, I have maintained the information I have deemed more coherent with the rest of the work. I have furthermore added numbers to the entries for easier reference, below. The transcriptions in the “Chinese” translation column are provided in *pinyin* based on Modern Standard Mandarin. However, of course, this is not representative of how these characters were supposed to be pronounced by

	Dutch	Japanese	Popular Japanese	Chinese
1	<i>Spreeken</i>	<i>iu</i> 言ふ		
2	<i>Gesprooken hebben</i>	<i>iitsu</i> 言つ		
3	<i>Gesprooken hadden</i>	<i>iiki</i> 言き		
4	<i>Gesprooken zijn</i>	<i>ieru</i> いへる		
5	<i>Gesprooken waaren</i>	<i>ieriki</i> いへりき		
6	<i>Zullen spreeken</i>	<i>iwan</i> いはん		
7	<i>Zouden spreeken</i>	<i>iubeshi</i> いふべし <i>iiten</i> いひてん		
8	<i>Sprooken (?)</i>	<i>iiki</i> いひき		
9	<i>Vallen</i>	<i>otsu</i> 隕つ		
10	<i>Gevallen hebben</i>	<i>ochinu</i> 隕ぬ		
11	<i>Gevallen hadden</i>	<i>ochiki</i> 隕き		
12	<i>Gevallen zijn</i>	<i>ochitari</i> 隕たり		
13	<i>Gevallen waaren</i>	<i>ochitariki</i> 隕たりき		
14	<i>Zullen vallen</i>	<i>ochin</i> 隕ん		
15	<i>Zouden vallen</i>	<i>otsubeshi</i> 隕べし <i>ochinan</i> 隕なん		
16	<i>Wit zijn</i>	<i>shorishi</i> 白し		
17	<i>Wit waaren</i>	<i>shirokariki</i> 白かりき		
18	<i>Ik zal spreeken</i>	<i>ware iwan</i> 我いはん		
19	<i>Ik heb gesprooken</i>	<i>ware iitsu</i> 我いひつ		

Shizuki himself, nor any other of his contemporaries. It simply provides a provisional phonetic guide.

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20	Steen is gevallen	<i>ishi wa ochitari</i> 石は隕たり		
21	Papier is wit	<i>kami wa shiroshi</i> 紙は白し		
22	Woorden die men gesproken had	<i>iishi go</i> いひし語	<i>itta go</i> 言タ語	<i>céng yán zhī yǔ</i> 曾言之語
23	Woorden die men gesproken heeft	<i>iitsuru go</i> いひつる語	<i>itta go</i> 言タ語	<i>jì yán zhī yǔ</i> 既言之語
24	Woorden die gesproken waren	<i>ieriki go</i> いへりき語	<i>itte arishi go</i> 言テアリシ語	<i>céng yán zài zhī yǔ</i> 曾言在之語
25	Woorden die gesproken zijn	<i>ieru go</i> いへる語	<i>itte aru go</i> 言テアル語	<i>yán zài zhī yǔ</i> 言在之語
26	Woorden die men spreken zou	<i>iubeki go</i> いふべき語	<i>itte arō go</i> 言テアラフ語	<i>yīng yán zhī yǔ</i> 應言之語
27	Woorden die men spreken moet	<i>masa ni iubeki go</i> 正にいふべき語	<i>iwade kanawanu go</i> イワデカナハ ヌ語	<i>dāng yán zhī yǔ</i> 当言之語
28	Woorden die men spreken zal	<i>iwan go</i> いはん語	<i>iu go</i> 言フ語	<i>jiāng yán zhī yǔ</i> 将言之語
29	Woorden die gesproken worden	<i>iwaruru go</i> 言る、語		<i>bèi yán zhī yǔ</i> 被言之語 <i>suǒ yán zhī yǔ</i> 所言之語
30	Woorden die gesproken kunnen worden	<i>iitsubeki go</i> いひつべき語	<i>iitsuru go</i> いひつる語	<i>kě yán zhī yǔ</i> 可言之語
31	Een man die spreekt	<i>Iu hito</i> いふひと		
32	Een man die slaat	<i>utsu hito</i> 打つひと		
33	Een man die geslagen word	<i>utaruru hito</i> 打る、ひと		<i>bèi dǎ rén</i> 被打人
34	Een man die slaan kan	<i>utsubeki hito</i> 打つべきひと		<i>néng dǎ rén</i> 能打人
35	Een man die geslagen kan worden	<i>utareubeki hito</i> 打れぬべきひと	<i>utsururu hito</i> うつる、人	<i>kě bèi dǎ rén</i> 可被打人
36	Steen die gevallen had	<i>ochiki ishi</i> 隕き石		
37	Steen die gevallen heeft	<i>ochinuru ishi</i> 隕ぬる石		
38	Steen die gevallen was	<i>ochitariki ishi</i> 隕たりき石		
39	Steen die gevallen is	<i>ochitaru ishi</i> 隕たる石		

40	Steen die vallen zou	otsubeki ishi 隕べき石 ochinan ishi 隕なん石		
41	Steen die vallen zal	ochin ishi 隕ん石		
42	Steen die valt	ochiru ishi 隕る石		
43	Steen die vallen kan	ochinubeki ishi 隕ぬべき石		
44	Wolk die wit was	shirokariki kumo 白かりき雲		
45	Wolk die wit is	shiroki kumo 白き雲 shiroku aru kumo 白くある雲		
46	Wolk die wit word	shiroku naru kumo 白くなる雲 shirogumo 白雲		
47	Wolk die wit worden kan	shiroku narinubeki kumo 白くなりぬへき雲		
48	Woorden die gesproken wierden	iki go いひき語		céng bèi yán zhī yǔ 曾被言語
49	Wolken die wit wierd	shiroku nariki kumo 白くなりき雲		
50	Steen die viel	ochiki ishi 隕き石		
51	Wolk die wit geworden is	shiroku nareru kumo 白くなれる雲		
52	Wolk die wit geworden was	shiroku nareriki kumo 白くなれりき雲		
53	Wolk die wit worden zal	shiroku naran kumo 白くならん雲		
54	Wolk die wit worden zou	shiroku narubeki kumo 白くなるへき雲		
55	Woorden die men spreekt	ieru go 言へる語		suǒ yán zhī yǔ 所言之語
56	Gesproken woord	iu go 言ふ語		
57	Gevallen steen	ochitaru ishi 墜たる石		
58	Witte wolk	shiragumo 白雲		
59	Spreekwoord	kotowaza 諺 iigo いひ語		

60	<i>Vallende steen</i>	<i>ochiru ishi</i> 隕る石		
61	<i>Geweest zijn</i>	<i>ariki</i> ありき <i>nariki</i> なりき		
62	<i>Geweest waaren</i>	<i>Ditto</i> 同意		
63	<i>Gehad hebben</i>	<i>ki</i> き		
64	<i>Gehad hadden</i>	<i>Ditto</i> 同意		
65	<i>Zullen zijn</i>	<i>aran</i> あらん		
66	<i>Zullen zeggen</i>	<i>iwan</i> いはん		
67	<i>Zouden zijn</i>	<i>narinan</i> なりなん <i>narubeshi</i> なるべし		
68	<i>Zouden zeggen</i>	<i>ihiten</i> いひてん <i>iu beshi</i> いふべし		
69	<i>Zouden geweest zijn</i>	<i>ariken</i> ありけん <i>aran toshiki</i> あらんとしき		
70	<i>Zouden gezegt hebben</i>	<i>iiken</i> いひけん <i>iwan to shiki</i> いはんとしき		
71	<i>Ik zoude 'er gegaan hebben</i>	<i>ware kashiko ni yukan to shiki</i> 我彼所に行んとしき		
72	<i>Hij zoude 'er gegaan hebben</i>	<i>kanohito kashiko ni yukiken</i> 彼人彼所に行けん		
73	<i>Hij wilde 'er gaan</i>	<i>kanohito kashiko ni yukan to hoshiki</i> 彼人彼所に行んと欲し き		
74	<i>Hij moest 'er gaan</i>	<i>kanohito masa ni kashiko ni yuku bekariki</i> 彼人正に彼所に行へか りき		

Table 53 List of Dutch sample phrases with Japanese and Chinese translation from *Rangaku seizenfu*.

Overall, the translations adopted in these two chapters of *Seizenfu* are consistent with the “Secret Translations of the Six Words” (see 8.4.3). I will not provide an analysis of each of these translations in the present paragraph, since I will refer to this table often in the following sections when dealing with the specific tense, corresponding to the six boxes drawn by Shizuki in the Table of the Three Times (8.4.2). In Gifu's copy, for most of these entries, one can also find the label specifying the tense and dimension, according to said table. This is not present in Waseda's copy, and this might mean that these labels were not assigned to each phrase by Shizuki himself, but by a later copyist. For this reason, I have decided to only mention these, if necessary, when analyzing the tenses in the sections below. The last three phrases are particularly interesting as they differ from the rest of the entries. These should correspond, I assume, to the instances in which the three couples of verbs/adjectives and nouns combine in compound words, at least in the Japanese counterpart. The phrase *witte wolk* ‘white cloud’ is translated into Japanese as *shiragumo* 白雲, with the simple juxtaposition of the two nouns *shiro* ‘white’ and *kumo* ‘cloud’. The verb *spreken* and *woord* are combined in *spreekwoord* ‘proverb’, translated into Japanese as *kotowaza* 諺 ‘proverb’, or as *ii go* いひ語.³⁸ The last phrase, a combination of *vallen* ‘to fall’ and *steen* ‘stone’, is *vallende steen* ‘falling stone’ where the verb is used in its present participle form.³⁹ This is translated into Japanese as *ochiru ishi* 隕る石, where the verb is simply put in its *rentaikei* form.

The seventh chapter of *Seizenfu* is titled *Rokushi wo kasanuru hiyaku* 六詞ヲ重ヌル秘訳 ‘Secret Translations of the Overlapping Six Words’. Here Shizuki provides translations to the combinations of two of these six auxiliaries together. Most of these can be considered as the combination between an auxiliary and a main verb, meaning the combination of an auxiliary with either *hebben* or *zijn* used as expressing “possession” and “existence”. This phrasing reminds of the section of *Kotoba no tama no o* covering these two particles, in the chapter titled *Kasanaru te ni wo ha no kaku* 重なるてにをはの格 ‘Types of Overlapping *Te ni wo ha*’. These can be found in Table 53, from number 61 until the end. In this section, together with phrases featuring “overlapping” auxiliaries, a few phrases with the verb *zeggen* ‘to say’ are added, I assume, in order to demonstrate the correspondence between the uses of specific auxiliaries with a main verb that is not part of the “Six Words”. Subsequently, Shizuki add four sample sentences demonstrating how these auxiliaries combine, also present in Table 53.

³⁸ Perhaps a misspelling or an alternative spelling of *iigoto* いひ事 ‘spoken words’, where the Chinese character *go* 語 represents a misspelling of *gen* 言, that can be pronounced as *koto/goto*, with the meaning of “word”, maybe interpreted as a better rendition of *ji* 事 ‘thing’.

³⁹ This sentence is misspelled, Waseda's copy, as *vallen dit steen*. However, this phrase is not grammatically correct in Dutch. The verb is either in the infinitive or in the plural form and seems thus not to be conjugated according to the noun *steen*, a singular noun. Furthermore, the demonstrative pronoun *dit* ‘this’ is only used with singular neuter nouns, and *steen*, although being singular in number, is of the masculine gender, thus requiring the demonstrative pronoun *deze*. Here, it is translated as 隕石, a word that is nowadays read in *on'yomi* as *inseki*, meaning “meteorite”.

When citing Table 53 in the following paragraphs, I will abbreviate it as T53, followed by the letter E for “entry” and the number of the specific entry in question. For example, if I will have to refer to the phrase *zouden zijn*, I will write this as T53E67.

8.4.4 The twenty-seven sample sentences in *Rangaku seizenfu*

Chapter nine is arguably the most interesting section in *Seizenfu*, as it presents twenty-seven Dutch sentences translated into classical Japanese and often extensively commented upon. This chapter is titled *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ, and features just a few different sample sentences, that are then modified, specifically in their verbal tenses and their conjunctions, in order to demonstrate how changing those elements, in the Dutch sentence, influences the Japanese translation. Another characteristic of these sentences is that they are all composed of two phrases, thus containing two main verbs that, interacting with a specific conjunction, trigger the use of different affixes, in the Japanese rendition.

There are a total of six original sentences, or matrixes, that get modified into twenty-seven sample sentences. The unmodified sentences are:

1. *Wanneer hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken* “When he is home, nobody dares to speak”. This sentence can be found in Marin’s dictionary (2.4.3);
2. *Omdat hij zo lang in Holland geweest is, zo spreekt hij het hollandsch zeer wel* “Since he has been so long in Holland, he speaks Dutch very well”. This appears twice. The second version, beyond changing the verbal tenses, also changed Holland with France (*francrijk*) and Dutch with French (*fransch*);
3. *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht* “Even if a whore has a pretty face, it is a lantern without light”. This appears to be a citation from Dutch poet Jacob Cats, as claimed in 2.4.3. Interestingly, in the subsequent modifications of this phrase the word *hoer* ‘whore’ is substituted with *zij* ‘she’.
4. *Al zoude ik te huis blijven, zal hij dog hier niet komen* “Even though I stayed home, he still would not have come”. This only appears once;
5. *Omdat hij te huis blijven zal, wil men 'er niet gaan* “Because he will stay home, people do not want to go there”;
6. *Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn, zo vinden wij zulke overblijfsel* “Since he should have lived here, we (can) find such remainings”. This sentence, and any of the variations of it featured in *Seizenfu*, is not grammatically correct.

In Table 54, I have copied all the twenty-seven sentences contained in the chapter titled *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*, of *Rangaku seizenfu*. I have based the entries mostly on Gifu’s copy, that I deem generally better written, and with fewer mistakes. For example, even though Waseda’s copy claims to be listing twenty-seven sentences, it actually only features twenty-six, missing the sentence that in Gifu’s copy appears as twenty-sixth. In the following paragraphs, I will often refer

to this table, citing it as T54, and adding the specific sentence as S, followed by its ordinal number. For example, when citing the sentence *Als hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken*, I will write T54S4.

	Dutch sentence	Japanese sentence	Time label
1	<i>Wanneer hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi</i> 彼人家にある時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなし	Present (<i>genzai</i> 現世)
2	<i>Wanneer hij te huis was, durfde 'er niemand spreken</i> (Gifu) <i>Wanneer hij te huis durft niemand spreken</i> (Waseda)	<i>kano hito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki</i> 彼人家にある時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき	Past (<i>kako</i> 過去)
3	<i>Toen hij te huis was, durfde 'er niet toen hij te</i> (Gifu) <i>Toen hij te huis was, durfde 'er niemand spreken</i> (Waseda)	<i>kano hito ie ni arishi toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki</i> 彼人家にありし時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき	Past (<i>kako</i> 過去)
4	<i>Als hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni areba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi</i> 彼人家にあれば彼所に在て敢ていふひとなし	Past (<i>kako</i> 過去)
5	<i>Omdat hij zo lang in Holland geweest is, zo spreekt hij het hollandsch zeer wel</i>	<i>kano hito kaku hisashiku oranda no kuni ni arishikaba oranda no go wo iu koto hanahada yoshi</i> 彼人かく久しく和蘭國にありしかは和蘭語をいふこと甚よし	Past to present (<i>kako yori gense ni kakete</i> 過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ)
6	<i>Omdat hij zo lang in francrijk geweest was, zo sprak hij het fransch zeer wel</i>	<i>kano hito kaku hisashiku furansu no kuni ni arishikaba furansu no go wo iu koto hanahada yoshi</i> 彼人かく久しく拂郎期國にありしかは拂郎斯語を言ふこと甚よし	Past (<i>kako</i> 過去)
7	<i>Omdat hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken.</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni aru kara kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi</i> 彼人家にあるから彼所に在て敢ていふ人なし	Present - Elision of past (<i>gense</i> 現世 <i>Kako ryaku nari</i> 過去略也)
8	<i>Vermist hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken.</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni aru ga yue ni arite aete iu hito nashi</i> 彼人家にあるか故に彼所に在て敢ていふ人なし	Present - Elision of past (<i>gense</i> 現世 <i>kako ryaku nari</i> 過去略也)

9	<i>Als hij te huis is, zal 'er niemand durven spreken.</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni araba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito araji</i> 彼人家にあらは彼所に在て敢えて言ふ人あらじ	Future (mirai 未来)
10	<i>Indien hij te huis is, zal 'er niemand durven spreken</i>	Ditto	Future (mirai 未来)
11	<i>Indien hij te huis was, zou 'er iemand durven spreken</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni ariseba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakaramashi</i> 彼人家にありせば彼所に在て敢ていふひとなからまし	tatoe 仮令
12	<i>Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht</i>	<i>gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran</i> 妓女に美色ありともこれ無光の燈ならん	Future (mirai 未来)
13	<i>Hoe wel zij een mooi gezicht heeft, is het een lantaarn zonder licht</i>	<i>kanojo ni bishoku aredomo kore mukō no tō nari</i> 彼女に美色あれともこれ無光の燈なり	Present (genzai 現世)
14	<i>Hoe wel zij een mooi gezicht had, was het een lantaarn zonder licht</i>	<i>kanojo ni bishoku arushikadomo kore mukō no tō nariki</i> 彼女に美色ありしかどもこれ無光の燈なりき	Past (kako 過去)
15	<i>Hoe wel zij een mooi gezicht had, is het een lantaarn zonder licht</i>	<i>kanojo ni bishoku arishikadomo kore mukō no tō nari</i> 彼女に美色ありしかどもこれ無光の燈なり	Past to present (kako yori gense ni kakete 過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ)
16	<i>Hoe wel zij een mooi gezicht gehad hebben [waseda: hadden], was het een lantaarn zonder licht</i>	Ditto	Past (kako 過去)
17	<i>Toen zij een mooi gezigt had, was het een lichtende lantaarn</i>	<i>kanojo ni bishoku arishi toki wa kore yūkō no tō nariki</i> 彼女に美色ありし時はこれ有光の燈なりき	Past (kako 過去)
18	<i>Al had zij een mooi gezigt, het zou een lantaarn zonder licht zijn</i>	<i>kanojo ni bishoku aran mo kore mukō no tō naramashi</i> 彼女に美色あらんもこれ無光の燈ならまし	tatoe 仮令
19	<i>Al zoude ik te huis blijven, zal hij dog hier niet komen</i>	<i>ware ie ni naramashikado kanohito koko ni koji</i> 我家にならましかど彼人爰に来じ	tatoe 仮令
20	<i>Omdat hij te huis blijven zal, wil men 'er niet gaan</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni araseba hito yuku koto wo horisezu</i> 彼人家にあらせば人行ことを欲せず	Future (mirai 未来)

21	<i>Omdat hij te huis blijven zou, wil men 'er niet gaan</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni aru bekerebah ito yuku koto wo horisezu</i> 彼人家にあるへければ人行ことを欲せず	Future (<i>mirai</i> 未来)
22	<i>Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn, zo vinden wij zulke overblijfsel</i>	<i>kano hito koko ni sumureba warera kakaru(ru) ato wo mitari</i> 彼人爰に住れめば我等かゝる(る)迹を見たり	Past (<i>kako</i> 過去)
23	<i>Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest waaren, zo vonden zij zulke overblijfsel</i>	<i>kano hito koko ni sumuremeba karera kakaru(ru) ato wo mitari</i> 彼人爰に住れめば彼等かゝる(る)迹を見たり	Past (<i>kako</i> 過去)
24	<i>Omdat hij daar zou gewoont geweest zijn, zo vonden wij zulke overblijfsel</i>	<i>kano hito kashiko ni sumitaru(ru) bekereba warera ka(ka)ru ato wo mitariki</i> 彼人彼所に住たる(る)べければ我等か(ゝ)る迹を見たりき	Past (<i>kako</i> 過去) Waseda: (<i>kagū</i> 過遇 <i>mērudan</i> メールダン)
25	<i>Hoewel hij te huis blijven zal, wil men 'er niet gaan</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni aramedo hito yuku koto wo horisesu</i> 彼人家にあらめど人行ことを欲せず	Future (<i>mirai</i> 未来)
26	<i>Hoewel hij te huis blijven zou, wil men 'er niet gaan</i>	<i>kano hito ie ni arubekeredo hito yuku koto wo horisezu</i> 彼人家にあるべけれど人行ことを欲せず	Future (<i>mirai</i> 未来)
27	<i>Hoewel hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn, zo vinden wij dog geen overblijfsel</i>	<i>kano hito koko ni sumuremedo</i> (Waseda: <i>sumimeredo</i>) <i>warera nao sono ato wo mizu</i> 彼人爰に住れめど(Waseda すみめれど)我等猶其迹を見ず	Past (<i>kako</i> 過去)

Table 54 The twenty-seven sentences from *Rangaku seizenfu*'s *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai* chapter.

On the column on the right-hand side of the table, I have added a label of time, as annotated in the original manuscript. However, these are simplifications of what is written in the actual manuscript, since each sentence is always accompanied by a few words of explanation, often concerning the specific use of the verbal tenses. In the following sections, I will focus on the understanding of Shizuki's theories as exemplified in his Table of the Three Times. Specifically, I am interested in how the author described these six auxiliaries, their relationships with the three times and two dimensions and, ultimately, what their respective Chinese and Japanese translations tell about Shizuki's interpretation of Dutch and Japanese grammar. In order to do this, I will devote each subsection of the following 8.5 to one auxiliary. The analysis will be based on *Rangaku seizenfu*, although I will also refer to *Joshi-kō* a few times.

8.5 The six auxiliary verbs in *Rangaku seizenfu*

Most of *Rangaku seizenfu* concentrates on the description of what Shizuki calls the “six words” (*rokushi* 六詞). These are six auxiliary verbs of Dutch, namely: *zullen* ‘shall’ (‘will’); *zouden* ‘should’ (‘would’); *hebben* ‘to have’; *hadden* ‘had’; *zijn* ‘to be’; and *waren* ‘was/were’. These verbs are discussed throughout the manuscript and are provided with translations in classical Japanese, popular Japanese and Chinese characters. Furthermore, their use is demonstrated via the example phrases and sentences I have listed in tables 54 and 55. In the following sections, I will collect and analyze all the information on these six auxiliaries contained in *Rangaku seizenfu* and compare it with what is claimed in other manuscripts by Shizuki and what was found in his sources. In doing so, I will often refer to the theories I have illustrated in the previous chapters of the present work.

8.5.1 The verb *zullen*

In the *sanze* table, the verb *zullen*, found in the crossing between the *gense* column and the *mirai* line, is coupled with the character *shō* 將 (将).⁴⁰ The meaning of this verb is exemplified by the following phrase (T53E28): *Woorden die men spreken zal*. This sentence is provided as an example to illustrate the use of the auxiliary *zullen* (here conjugated as *zal*, in its third person singular form) with a sentence that roughly translates to “Words that one shall speak”. It also features a literary Japanese translation (*iwan go* 言ん語), the popular Japanese translation (*iu go* 言ウ語) and the Chinese one (*jiāng yán zhī yǔ* 将言之語).

Another use of the character *shō* 將 is seen further below, where it is claimed that “Zullen is similar to the character *shō* 將. It is also a word of order [i.e., imperative], when said to a person” (Zulleen ハ将ノ字ノ如シ又其人ニ對シ言フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナリ). This is a very similar claim to what can be read in *Joshi-kō*, where it is written that “Furthermore, when said toward a person, it is a word of order” (又其人ニ向ヒ云フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナル也). The sinologist Ogyū Sorai covers this in his *Kun'yaku jimō*, on folios 15v-16r of volume 4, where the character *shō* 將 is given the Japanese reading of *masa ni* ‘actually’. The first part of the description to this character provided by Ogyū goes as follows:

マサニ 〔 將 且 行 往 看 〕	マサニ 〔 將 且 行 往 看 〕
○將ノ字ハ	○ If we read the sentence <i>masa ni sen to suru</i> , the character <i>shō</i> 將 is read twice. The <i>kundoku</i> reading <i>masa ni</i> , is not used. In fact, if it is read only as <i>suru</i> it is similar to, yet different from, the character <i>i</i> 為. Thus, to differentiate it from the character <i>i</i> 為 one
マサニ セント スル マサニト云フ訓ハ無用ナリ。	

⁴⁰ In classical Chinese the character *jiāng* 將 was used to indicate “[...] futurity. There is usually an implication of intention involved.” (PULLEYBLANK 1995, p. 120).

然レ氏。只[スル]トバカリヨメバ。[為]ノ字
トマガフニヨリ。[為]ノ字ト分タン為ニ。
[マサニ]ト云フ訓ヲ添フルナリ。カウクセ
フト。スルト云フナレバ。[ヲジハケ] [ヤガ]
[テ]ト云フ意アリ。

adds *masa ni* in *kundoku*. When saying ‘I will do it like this’ [*kō kō shō to suru*] it has the meaning of *wotsutsuke* [*ottsuke* 追つ付; ‘soon’, ‘immediately’] and *yagate* [‘soon’, ‘eventually’].

Ogyū asserts that the character *shō* 將, when used in *kanbun*, is to be duplicated, in the Japanese reading, corresponding to the adverb *masa ni* ‘certainly’ and the verb *suru* ‘to do’, at the same time, particularly in its combination with *sen to* ‘decide to do’. The first *kanbun* sentence presented by Ogyū, thus, should be interpreted as such: *masa ni* ... *sen to suru*, where the character *shō* 將 corresponds to both *masa ni* and (*sen to*) *suru*, thus requiring to be duplicated in the readings *masa ni*, that stays at the beginning of the phrase, and *suru*, to which the *kaeriten* 二 (2) is attached, that gets moved after the phrase *sen to*, below which one finds the *kaeriten* 一 (1). Thus, the new sentence would be, in *kanji*, 將—將, where the line — represents a blank space to fill in according to the necessities. If one adds the Japanese *kana* according to the *kanbun kundoku* reading notations, the sentence ought to be read as *masa ni* ... *sen to suru* 將ニ—セントスル. The author adds that, although the combination of *masa ni* and *suru* is to be implied from the use of the character *shō* 將, when reading the *kanbun* text in Japanese, one does read *masa ni*. Consequently, this character might end up being similar to the character *i* 為, generally used for the verb *suru* ‘to do’. To distinguish them, then, one adds *masa ni* to stress out the fact that within the verb *suru* relative to the character *shō* 將 one must imply the meaning of *ottsuke* (‘soon’, ‘immediately’) and *yagate* (‘soon’, ‘eventually’). Because of this, the character *shō* 將 does not simply mean *suru* ‘to do’ but implies the decision of acting in a certain manner (*kō kō shō to suru*) specifically used in the context of an action (*waza no ue de* 事ノ上デ). Further in the entry, Ogyū also claims that in the annotation to Chinese classic songs (*Shikyō* 詩經, ‘Book of Songs’) as annotated by Zhī Xī, he has noticed a tendency to adapt this character as *tai* 殆 or *ki* 幾. These two characters, though, seem to refer to something that is soon going to happen in a certain way (*yagate kō ari sō na mono ja*), thus implying some degree of lack of agency, while with *shō* 將 one “decides” (*sen to suru*) to enact a specific action in the close future. Such decision is triggered by an impulse (*ikioi* 勢) and not by one’s will. The Chinese character that Ogyū identifies as representing a decision triggered by one’s will, in fact, is the character *yoku* 欲 (‘desired’, ‘wanted’), that expresses the meaning of ‘I think I will do it like that’ (*kō kō shō to omou*). This decision comes from one’s heart (*kokoro no ue de* 心ノ上デ), meaning that it is triggered by one’s will, regardless of external “impulses” (勢). This difference is also evidenced by the use of the verb *omou* ‘to think’ for *yoku* 欲, and the construction *sen to suru* or *shō to suru* ‘to decide/to choose to do something’ for *shō* 將. It is worth underlying the overlapping of the concept of “futurity” and “will”, in Ogyū’s description, where *shō* 將 and *yoku* 欲 are somewhat put in contrast as they both are conceived of as expressing similar

nuances of the same concept. In English, it would be rather intuitive to rationalize someone “wanting” to do something as corresponding to the idea that someone “will” do something as the auxiliary “will” has nowadays crystalized as referring to both the idea of futurity, as well as willingness. In Dutch this was not done, and the verb *willen* is only used as corresponding to the English “to want”, while the future tense is created with *zullen*, cognate to the English “shall”. Shizuki, in fact, only uses *yoku* 欲 to translate the Dutch *willen* and *shō* 將 for *zullen*, with little need to explain their difference. It must be stressed, thus, that the character *shō* 將, in and of itself, does not convey any direct sense of futurity. The phrasing *sen to suru* expresses determination regarding someone’s decision to do something. The fact that one chooses to do something now, indirectly implies that such action is going to happen in a future time. I believe it is fair to say that Shizuki has not completely adopted this reasoning of Ogyū when explaining the Dutch verb *zullen* as he always translates it through the affix *-n* (still present in Ogyū’s *sen to suru*). Furthermore, I would add, in Ogyū’s rendition, the sense of futurity is specified mostly through adverbs expressing the idea of “soon” (*masa ni*; *ottosuke*; *yagate*), rather than a verbal conjugation, like Shizuki does in his Dutch grammar instead. If the grammatical sense of futurity is not to be implied in *sen to suru* or *shō to suru* (thus, also, *-n*), as the reference of time is only provided by the use of an adverb, then one must also postulate the idea that, according to Shizuki’s sources *-n* only expressed high probability regarding one’s conjecture, thus not corresponding directly to the Dutch grammatical tense of *toekomst* ‘future’ as Shizuki interprets it.⁴¹

In the table of the chapter *Rokushi hiyaku* ‘Secret Translation of the Six Words’, the verb *zullen* is translated as *-ran* and as a “word of order” (らん又ハ下知ノ詞), a very similar claim to what was found in the third chapter, where the *toekomende tijd* ‘future time’ was explained as *mirai* ‘future’ or *shirei no go ni mochiyu* 使令ノ語ニ用ユ (‘used as a word of order’).⁴² It can be deduced that the Dutch future tense is, according to Shizuki, always connected to the verb *zullen* that can be translated into the Japanese affix *-ran* (that he treats as a direct correspondence to *-n*, as I will demonstrate below). The verb *zullen* and the concept of “future” must be then treated as one thing, where *zullen* is the grammatical representation of such tense.

⁴¹ Personally – Ogyū adds – he believes that this character can also be translated as *zu*. This hypothesis is not investigated thoroughly by the author, who only provides two *kanbun* examples with two verbs *inu* 去 and *kuru* 來, that combine with *shō* 將 into *inauzu* and *koyauzu*. In these tenses the character *zu* is actually part of the suffix *-uzu*, abbreviation of *-muzu*, that is used to express conjecture regarding the future. Shizuki does, in a couple of instances I will discuss below, provide this suffix *-zu* (probably, to some extent, overlapping with *-ji*) in negative sentences implying some sense of future, however, the two characters do not belong to the same morpheme. Ogyū also adds another alternative notation for *shō* 將, that gets translated as *sei* 請. This character expresses “desire”, “hope” and both are said to correspond to *sue* 末, a character that refers to the ending part of something. This is another explanation that seems rather vague, yet it is picked up by Shizuki, as I will discuss below.

⁴² In *Oranda Jii* and *Doeff Halma* one can see the terms *shihai* 支配 and *gechi*, but never *shirei* in the entries for *gebied(en)* ‘(to) order’. The use of this word in the context of grammars is not featured in either dictionary.

Since the verb *zullen* can also convey the idea of “imperative” (“word of order”), one can also say that the “future tense” can be used to refer to an imperative. In practical terms, though, this is hardly functional. The issue with this interpretation is that, as already mentioned, both the future tense and the imperative mood do not require the use of the auxiliary *zullen*. Shizuki's interpretation does not seem, in any way, to be suggested by the Dutch language material. I have found no Dutch source attesting the construction of the future tense by means of the present tense and of the imperative by means of *zullen*. The fundamental reason for *zullen* and the *toekomende tijd* to be considered as expressing both posteriority and imperativeness is contextual and Shizuki suggests it in his abovementioned quote “*Zullen* is similar to the character *shō* 將. It is also a word of order, when said to a person.” (Zulleen ハ將ノ字ノ如シ又其人ニ對シ言フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナリ), in which the phrasing *sono hito ni taishi iu toki* ‘when said to a(nother) person’ is essential to understand his interpretation. Indeed, if one were to say the sentence *Ik zal het doen*, ‘I will do it’, the auxiliary here would mostly convey a promise of an action that the I-subject makes toward the listener.⁴³ If the subject were a second person “you”, for example, meaning one is saying it toward “another person”, one common interpretation would be its use as an imperative, as in the sentence *Gij zult het doen*, ‘You will do it’, implying “You must do it” or “I expect you to do it”.⁴⁴

In the *kiruru kotoba* section, *zullen* is used in the following phrases:

⁴³ To be fair, one could also imagine this sentence being used, in some rather isolated instances, as an imperative one imposes on themselves in some sort of internal monologue. I would consider this use very uncommon.

⁴⁴ I have also checked Marin and Halma's dictionaries, to see whether there is any reference to this idea of Shizuki. Marin's entry to the verb *zullen* (pg. 596 of volume 2) claims “Helpword to indicate the future tense.” (Hulpwoord om den toekomende tyd aan te toonen.). Marin also provides an entry to the *gebiedende wyze* the ‘imperative mood’ (pg. 272 of volume 1) claiming: “The imperative mood of verbs. *Modus Imperativus* in Latin. *Word of grammar*” (Gebiedende Werkwyze. *Modus Imperativus* in ‘t Latyn. *Woord der Spraakkonst*). Halma, instead, recognizes the verb *laten* ‘to let’ as a verb that serves in the construction of an imperative mood. The entry to *laat* (pg. 347) in Halma's dictionary reads: “imperative mood of *laaten*, serving as helpword in the imperative mood of other verbs, just like what will be clear enough from the following examples” (gebiedende wijze van Laaten, dient tot hulpwoord in de gebiedende wijze van de andere werkwoorden, gelijk het uit de volgende voorbeelden genoeg blijken zal), while the entry to *zullen* (pp. 1016-1017) simply reads: “Helpword serving the future time” (*Helpwoord tot den toekomenden tijd dienende*). Halma's dictionary does not feature an entry for the imperative, nor is it ever referenced in the definition for *werkwoord*. Nonetheless, verbs generally have an entry for their *gebiedende wijze*, just like the verb *laaten*, with its root *laat* defined as “imperative mood of *laaten*, serves as auxiliary (*hulpwoord*) in the imperative mood of other verbs”, as shown above. In Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, instead, the imperative mood is expressed by conjugating the verb, in the following fashion: the second-person singular *gy* takes the root of the verb; the third-persons singular *hy* and *zy* take the ending *-e*; the first- and third-persons plural *wy* and *zy* take the ending *-en*; and the second-person plural *gylieden* takes the ending *-t*. In none of the Dutch books I have consulted is the verb *zullen* ever defined as an auxiliary for the imperative. Whichever could have been Shizuki's inspiration to consider the auxiliary *zullen* as connected to the imperative mood, was certainly not either of these dictionaries.

- *zullen spreken* ‘will speak’ (T53E6), for the active verb *spreken/i(h)u*, that is translated into Japanese as *iwan* 言ん {**i(h)**. + **.a** + **.n**; mizenkei of *i(h)u* + -mu/n};
- *zullen vallen* ‘will fall’ (T53E14), for the neuter verb *vallen/otsu*, that is translated into Japanese as *ochin* 隕ん {**ot.** + **.i** + **.n**; mizenkei of *otsu* + -mu/n};
- *ik zal spreken* ‘I will speak’ (T53E18), translated as *ware iwan* 我レ言ん

In the *tsuzuku kotoba* section, *zullen* is used in the sample phrases:

- *woorden die men spreken zal* ‘Words that one will speak’ (T53E28), that is translated into literary Japanese as *iwan go* 言ん語, into popular Japanese as *iu go* 言ウ語, and into Chinese as *jiāng yán zhī yǔ* 将言之語;
- *steen die vallen zal* ‘Stone that will fall’ (T53E41), translated into Japanese as *ochin go* 隕ん語;
- *wolk die wit worden zal* ‘Cloud that will become white’ (T53E53), that is translated into Japanese as *shiroku naran kumo* 白くならん雲.

In the section titled *roku-ji wo kasanuru hiyaku* 六詞ヲ重ヌル秘訳 ‘Secret Translations of the Combination of the Six Words’ the verb *zullen* is used in the following phrases:

- *zullen zijn* ‘will be’ (T53E65), translated into Japanese as *aran* あらん {**ar.** + **.a** + **.n**; mizenkei of *aru* + -mu/n};
- *zullen zeggen* ‘will say’ (T53E66), translated into Japanese as *iwan* いはん {**i(h)**. + **.a** + **.n**; mizenkei of *i(h)u* + -mu/n}.

In all the examples above, *zullen* is always translated as *-n*. In the section titled *kusagusa no kotoba zukahi* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ, the verb *zullen* is used in the sentence T54S9: *Als hij te huijs is, zal ‘er niemand durven spreken* ‘If/when he is home nobody dares to speak.’, that is translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni araba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito araji* (彼人家にあらは彼所に在て敢えて言ふ人あらじ).

Protasis: {**ar.** + **.a** + **.ba** = mizenkei of *ari* + hypothetical *-ba*}

Apodosis: {**ar.** + **.a** + **.ji** = mizenkei of *ari* + *-ji*}

This sentence is labeled as *mirai*. After this example, Shizuki adds that when *zullen* and *niet* meet (combining into “will not”), they translate *-ji* じ.⁴⁵ The suffix *-ji* can be considered a negative version of *-n*. In this example, the word *niet* ‘not’ is not featured, although, one can say, it is implied in the word *niemand* ‘nobody’. In T54S10, Shizuki provides another sentence that he claims to be translated just like this one, although the Dutch *als* is substituted with *indien*, that can be considered a synonym. Since these sentences both mean the same, they are both *mirai*. Just by

⁴⁵ Original quote: “Zullen niet ト合へバジト訳ス”.

reading these, it is not quite clear what the label *mirai* ‘future’ is referring to. Although one might assume it to be referring to the whole sentence – both protasis and apodosis – it is still not clear. Even though, in *Seizenfu*, Shizuki refers to whole sentence as one of the labels of “time” (or “dimension”), in *Joshi-kō* he does so only to protases, as seen in the following phrases:

Als hij te huis is.

彼人家にあらは 未来

Indien hij te huis is.

彼人家にあらは 未来

These subordinate phrases are precisely the same protasis as the examples found in *Seizenfu*, yet here Shizuki claims that these phrases are *mirai*. Thus, it can be asserted that also in the examples above, the ones from *Seizenfu*, the label *mirai* refers to the protasis, or at least both the protasis and the apodosis. However, this would be the only instance in which Shizuki labels a sentence as *mirai*, although it does not present the verb *zullen* in Dutch, nor the adaptation into the affix *-n* in Japanese. Another interpretation might consider the label *mirai* to imply that these subordinates, require a main sentence with a word of *mirai*, meaning *zullen*. Indeed, *Seizenfu*'s T54S12 is an interesting example of a sentence that Shizuki labels as *mirai* and translates by means of the Japanese suffix *-n*, yet it does not present the verb *zullen*, in the original Dutch version, in any of its conjugated forms. The sentence *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht* “Even though a whore has a pretty face, it is a lantern with no light”, is translated into Japanese as *gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran* 妓女に美色ありともこれ無光の燈ならん. The subordinate clause – a concessive – is translated into Japanese via the suffix *-domo*, while the main sentence only presents the affix *-n*, that Shizuki always uses as a translation to the Dutch *zullen*. In this regard he adds that “Even though *heeft* and *is* are used as words of *gense*, the meaning of *zullen* is embedded in *al*. Consequently, it gets translated as *tō aran* 燈あらん”.⁴⁶ Thus, Shizuki implies that although *zullen* is the Dutch verb that expresses the future *mirai*, one can also make a *mirai* sentence (or phrase), by means of specific words – i.e., conjunction – within which the idea of *zullen* is embedded. This does imply that Shizuki is recognizing that using *zullen* is not the only way to make a sentence *mirai*, on the contrary, it tells us that whenever a sentence is *mirai* there must be a *zullen*, be it specified or implied in other words, e.g., embedded within a conjugation. Thus, according to Shizuki, the statement that *zullen* is the one and only way to make a sentence *mirai*, in Dutch, still stands true. Consequently, one can also say that the Japanese suffix *-n*, always corresponds to the Dutch *zullen* and to a *mirai* sentence. This principle is abided by in T54S20 that reads: *Omdat hij te huis blijven zal, wil men 'er niet gaan* “Since he will stay at home, one does not want to go there”, and is translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni arameba hito yuku koto o*

⁴⁶ The term *tō* 燈 translates *lantaarn* ‘lantern’, while *aran* is the verb *ari* plus the affix *-n*. Original quote: “右ノ如ク heeft, is ト現世語ヲ使ヘトイフ中ニ Zullen ノ意ヲ含メル故ニ燈あらんと訳スルヲ得”.

horisezu 彼人家にあらめば人行ことを欲せず. In this sentence, the verb of the upper clause is translated as *arameba* {**ar.** + **.a** + **.me** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *ari*; *izenkei* of suffix *-mu/n* + consequential *-ba*}. This sentence T54S20 is very similar to sentence T54S25, that is, however, constructed by means of a concessive *hoewel* ‘although’, instead of a consequential *omdat* ‘because’. Sentence T54S25 reads *hoe wel hij te huis blijven zal, wil men ‘er niet gaan* “Although he will stay home, one does not want to go there”. The Dutch verb is conjugated identically in both T54S20 and T54S25, however, since the conjunction is different, the Japanese predicate requires to be conjugated differently, as well. In fact, sentence T54S25 is translated as *kano hito ie ni aramedo hito yuku koto o horisezu* 彼人家にあらめど人行ことを欲せず, where the predicate of the subordinate clause becomes *aramedo* {**ar.** + **.a** + **.me** + **.do** = *mizenkei* of *ari*; *izenkei* of suffix *-mu/n* + *-do(mo)*}, that differs from the predicate of the subordinate clause of T25S20 only in the use of *-do* instead of *-ba*, both evidently translating the Dutch conjugation.

One additional element that is worth pointing out is the way Shizuki translated the main clause in these last sentences. The phrase in question is, in Dutch, *Wil men ‘er niet gaan* “One does not want to go there”, that is constructed by means of the auxiliary/modal verb *wil* ‘to want’. In Japanese this is rendered by means of the verb *horisu* 欲す ‘to want’, ‘to wish’, conjugated into its negative form via the suffix *-zu* and agreeing with the nominalized verb *yuki* ‘to go’ as direct object:

<i>hito</i>	<i>yuku</i>	<i>koto</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>horise-</i>	<i>-zu</i>
人	行	こと	を	欲せ	す
‘person’	‘go’	‘thing’ verbal nominalization	Direct object marker	<i>mizenkei</i> of the verb <i>horisu</i>	<i>shūshikei</i> of negative suffix <i>-zu</i>

The fact that the Dutch verb *willen* ‘to want’ is not taken into consideration by Shizuki in *Seizenfu* can be attributed to its Japanese correspondence. As seen above, though, in Ogyū’s impression, the characters *yoku* 欲 and *shō* 將 are very similar, only distinguishing on the basis that the former refers to someone’s “heart”, “will” (*kokoro no ue de* 心ノ上デ), while the latter expresses a decision (*sen to suru*) based on an external impulse (勢). Although Shizuki never directly references this specific interpretation of Ogyū, I do not believe the choice of this example presenting both *zullen* as well as *willen* to be a simple coincidence. Nonetheless, although the difference between *yoku* 欲 and *shō* 將 could be vague in Chinese, in Japanese the two characters are used in rather distinct contexts. The three auxiliaries that Shizuki considers in his Table of the Three Times not only correspond each to one of said three times, but they also correspond to verbal affixes, in Japanese, and not verbs. This stands also true for the other Dutch auxiliaries that Shizuki only rapidly mentions in his work (e.g., *moeten* ‘must’; *mogen* ‘may’; *kunnen* ‘can’). The character *yoku* 欲, in this sentence, corresponds to the verb *horisu* ‘to want’, ‘to

desire' that gets conjugated with the negative affix *-zu* (different from the *-zu* affix Ogyū claimed *shō* 將 to be translated as).

Sentence T54S19 combines a (subordinate) clause with *zouden* and a (main) clause with *zullen*. The sentence reads *Al zoude ik te huis blijven, zal hij dog hier niet komen* "Even if I would stay at home, he will still not come", and gets translated into Japanese as *ware ie ni naramashikado kano hito koko ni koji* 我家にならましかど 彼人愛に来じ. Shizuki claims that only the first clause (i.e., the subordinate) is to be labeled a *tatoe*. I will analyze the concept of *tatoe* in the next paragraphs, yet one can deduce that, if only the first clause is to be understood as a *tatoe*, it is safe to say that the second (main) clause is a *mirai*. The deduction is substantiated by the fact that the Dutch original presents *zullen*, that gets adapted into Japanese as *-ji*, the future negative suffix, in Shizuki's view, as covered above. I will analyze this sentence in the next paragraph when I will be covering the auxiliary *zouden*. As of now, this sentence provides knowledge regarding the way one should understand Shizuki's labeling of each example as *mirai*, *kako*, *tatoe*, etc. First, one can understand that the label of *tatoe*, is mutually exclusionary with the other labels, although one could have believed it to be either an additional quality of a *kako* (for *hadden*) or of a *mirai* (for *zouden*) or, perhaps, a combination of these two. Secondly, it can also be understood that, when not otherwise specified, the labels Shizuki provides pertain to the whole sentence and not just one clause. This has relevant syntactic implications. Shizuki claimed that the sense of future is afforded to a phrase by the presence of the auxiliary *zullen*, or a conjunction/adverb functioning as its proxy (e.g., *al* 'although'). This sense of futurity is rendered in Japanese by means of the suffix *-mu/n*, or *-ji* in case it is a negative sentence. Because of this, to label an entire sentence as *mirai*, even when only one clause (the lower and main clause) presents this feature, implies that, according to Shizuki, the main clause is to be understood as the head of the sentence, influencing the semantics of the entire sentence. That is to say, since the lower clause conveys the sense of future, in such cases, the whole sentence requires to be considered a future, even when the subordinate clause does not present such specification in its predicate. In *Joshi-kō* (56v), the verb *zullen* is briefly explained in a similar way it is in *Seizenfu*. It is claimed that it corresponds to the Chinese character *shō* 將, expressing the idea of future, to the Japanese affix *-n* ン. Shizuki also adds that this is the word to express the expectation of an established "future" (here *shōrai* 将来, instead of *mirai* 未来, the latter being the terms Shizuki mostly uses in grammatical contexts). The author adds that, when said toward an individual it becomes a 'word of order' *gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞.

Zullen. 將ト訓ス ン
將ノ意

決定メ将来ヲ期スルノ詞又其人ニ向
ヒ云フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナル也

Zullen. It translates characters *shō* 將 *n* ン
Meaning of *shō* 將.

Word expressing the expectation of an established future. Also, when said towards an individual, it becomes a word of order.

In the scheme below, I collect all the information discussed in the present paragraph about the Dutch verb *zullen*. A similar schematization will be provided for each of the six Dutch verbs Shizuki presents, as I will analyze them in the following paragraphs. Do note that the affix *-beshi*, traditionally cited as an example of the use of the *kana* for *shi* し as expressing future (*mirai no shi* 未来のし), as I have discussed in Chapter IV, is not recognized as a correspondence to the Dutch “future” verb *zullen*, by Shizuki.

ZULLEN

Type

gense no mirai 現世ノ未来
future time, present dimension

Meaning

Japanese

- 1 *-ramu/ran* らむ/らん; *-mu/n* む/ん (positive)
- 2 *-ji* じ (negative; *zullen niet*)
- 3 *gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞, *shirei* 使令, imperative.

Chinese character

shō 将 (將)

8.5.2 The verb *zouden*

The Dutch verb *zouden* is dealt with in a much more detailed fashion as compared to its present-tense counterpart *zullen*. This is because Shizuki identifies many functions served by this auxiliary, each to be adapted in varied manners in Japanese. Additionally, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki devotes an entire chapter to this auxiliary, titled *Zouden no koto* Zouden之事 ‘About Zouden’. Both in *Joshi-kō*, and in *Seizenfu*, this verb is compared to the Chinese character *ō* 應 (応). Shizuki often explains the meaning of this auxiliary with the term *oshihakaruru* 推シ量ル (‘to conjecture’, ‘to guess’) or, alternatively, as being tightly related to the idea of *tatoe* 仮令 ‘analogy’. The definition of *ō* 応 as representing an *oshihakaruru* type of conjecture is also found in Ogyū’s definition of it, in volume 5 of his *Kun’yaku jimō*, as well as in Motoori Norinaga’s *Kotoba no tama no o*, as I will demonstrate further below. According to these two meanings of *zouden*, the Japanese rendition can vary sensibly. Since Shizuki describes the differences between these two uses of *zouden* in a very detailed fashion, I will cover them separately in the two following sub-sections 8.5.2.1 And 8.5.2.2. Additionally, in *Joshi-kō*, one might identify a third rendition or “use” of the verb *zouden*, in two incomplete clauses, under entry to *als*, where *zouden* is rendered by means of the affix *-n* (in *naran*), that Shizuki otherwise always uses for the auxiliary *zullen* (as I have just illustrated in 8.5.1). These sentences represent two clauses, both missing a part that can be completed according

to contingent necessities. The grammar used in the first sentence is not particularly correct. Comparing it with its Japanese translation, one can understand that the first sentence is to be read *Wij zouden een kunstenaar gelijk worden die ...* that translates “We should/ought to become like an artist who ...”. This gets translated into *warera naninani suru geisha dōyō mono to naran* 我等何々する芸者同様ものとならん.⁴⁷

<i>warera</i>	<i>naninani</i>	<i>suru</i>	<i>geisha</i>	<i>dōyō</i>	<i>mono</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>naran</i>
‘we’	‘something something’	‘do’ (adnominal)	‘artist’	‘similar’	‘thing’ (nominalizing element)	(particle signaling the target)	Verb <i>nari</i> ‘to become’ + affix - <i>n</i>

The second sentence, whose grammar is arguably more correct, reads *Wij zouden gelijk een kunstenaar ... worden* “We should/ought to, like an artist, become ...” is translated into Japanese as *warera geisha no gotoku naninani to naran* 我等芸者の如く何々とならん.

<i>warera</i>	<i>geisha</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>gotoku</i>	<i>naninani</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>naran</i>
‘we’	‘artist’	possessive particle	‘like’	‘something something’	(particle signaling the target)	Verb <i>nari</i> ‘to become’ + affix - <i>n</i>

In both sentences, the verb *zouden* gets adapted into Japanese simply by means of the affix -*n*, that is noticeably in contrast with the rest of Shizuki’s literature, as I will discuss below. Unfortunately, context is lacking regarding these sentences, hindering any further interpretation. However, there is an additional element that requires to be taken into consideration here: in neither sentence is the verb *zouden* used to make a hypothetical; rather it expresses a moral duty/compulsoriness (‘We ought to become like an artist’) or to express expectation from the future (‘I assume we should become like an artist’). Since neither sentence expresses a hypothesis, as in ‘If A, then B’, these are not to be considered expressing either *oshihaku* or *tatōe* even though they feature the verb *zouden*. For this reason, Shizuki might have translated the verb into Japanese by the simple addition of the suffix -*n*, that he has previously described as the suffix for the future time of the present dimension and connected to the Dutch *zullen*. In this particular case, thus, Shizuki identified one use of *zouden* that corresponds to the meanings expressed by *zullen*. Nevertheless, this is a rather atypical adaptation of such auxiliary.

⁴⁷ In the phrase *naninani suru*, *naninani* is an abbreviation corresponding to saying “something something”, while *suru* is the verb ‘to do’.

8.5.2.1 The concept of *tatoe* and its connection to the verb *zouden*

The concept of *tatoe* is fundamental for the interpretation of Shizuki's works. As I have argued elsewhere (NESPOLI 2022), the term *tatoe* has been used by many Japanese scholars of Dutch to describe the type of language used in the literary genre of emblem poems. These poems were described by Japanese scholars as a poetic genre often using “analogies” (*tatoe*) to teach morals. From the point of view of grammar, the use of analogies implies the adoption of hypothetical structures that often correspond to what Shizuki calls *tatoe*. The term *tatoe* itself has a double meaning; it can either mean “analogy” – when used as a noun – or, when used as a conjunction, it means “even if”. This is the reason why, as I will demonstrate below, Shizuki utilizes three citations from the Dutch poet Jacob Cats, who is famous for his emblem poems, in order to describe precisely this topic. The citations, as I have mentioned in Chapter II, are found in two different documents of Shizuki, namely *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. That is why, in order to analyze this concept, I will also mention a few remarks from the latter document, within the present section.

In Shizuki's opinion, conjunctions are a fundamental part in the construction of hypothetical sentences. As I will demonstrate, Shizuki acknowledges that not all hypotheticals are created by means of the verb *zouden*, and that *zouden* is not only used in the construction of *tatoe* sentences. I believe that starting from the three citations from Cats is the best way to understand this concept. In *Rangaku seizenfu* Shizuki cites the following verse of Cats (T54S12): *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht het is een lantaarn zonder licht* ‘Even if a whore has a pretty face, it is a lantern without light’. This sentence is not considered a *tatoe*, by Shizuki, but rather a *mirai* ‘future’, even though there is no future tense. However, he adds, the verb *zullen* is always embedded within the conjunction *al*, thus triggering a future tense in the Japanese rendition. Shizuki translates this sentence as *gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran* 妓女に美色ありともこれ無光の燈ならん, where the Dutch conjunction *al* triggers the affix *-tomo* in the upper clause (*aritomo*), and the affix *-n* in the lower clause (*naran*).

The two citations from Cats that can be found in *Shihō shoji taiyaku* also present a similar structure. The two sentences are added as explanation to the conjugation *al leerde ik* ‘even if I learned’, which is translated into Japanese into two ways: *manabishikadomo* and *manabutomo*, where the former adds the *-ki* affix for the past.⁴⁸ The reason why this conjugation can present two Japanese translations is explained by means of the two verses by Cats. The first verse is *Al vloog ik in het woud leefde ik evenwel in veelderhanden zorgen* ‘Even if I flew in the woods, I [would have still] lived in many worries’. This sentence presents a simple past tense in both clauses (*vloog* ‘flew’ in the upper clause, and *leefde* ‘lived’ in the lower clause). This is a past, and whenever both clauses are a past – meaning that both clauses present a morphological past tense – then one uses forms such as *manabishikadomo*. Unfortunately, Shizuki does not provide Japanese translations to

⁴⁸ The difference between the two affixes *-domo* and *-tomo* was probably neglected by Shizuki in this context, and both are used to render the concessive sense of the Dutch conjunction *al*.

these two verses and sticks to the example of the verb *manabu* 'to learn', instead. However, he adds, whenever the morphological past tense in the upper clause combines with a morphological present tense in the lower clause, than one translates the upper clause as in the type of *manabutomo*, thus without the affix *-ki*. This is the case, of the third citation from *Cats*, the verse *Al viel wereld gansche en gaar de vrome schrikt voor geen gevaar* 'Even if the whole world fell, the pious startles before no danger'. Here, the upper clause features a past tense (*viel* 'fell'), while the lower clause a present tense (*schrikt* 'startles'). However, Shizuki adds, if one had *schrikte*, the past simple tense of *schrikt*, then this sentence would have been a past as well. These types, namely those with *al* combining with two past tenses, are all *tatoe*. I schematize Shizuki's analysis on these three verses below:

- Al vloog ik in het woud, leefde ik evenwel in veelderhanden zorgen
Conjunction *al* + past tense in upper clause + past tense in lower clause = past and *tatoe*
- Al viel wereld gantsche en gaar, de vrome schrikt voor geen gevaar
Conjunction *al* + past tense in upper clause + present tense in lower clause = present
Had there been *schrikte* (past tense in lower clause) = past and *tatoe*
- Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht
Conjunction *al* + present tense in upper clause + present tense in lower clause = future tense
gijo ni bishoku ari tomo *kore mukō no tō nara* n

From these sentences it can be understood that one of the requirements of a *tatoe* sentence is for both clauses to present a past tense. Such past tense gets rendered, in the upper clause of the Japanese translation with the combination *-shikadomo*, meaning the combination of the past affix *-ki* with *-do(mo)*. What conjugation the predicate in the lower clause would present, is not made explicit here. Additionally, one also understands that the *tatoe* needs a specific conjunction, that in these quotes from *Cats* was the conjunction *al*. However, as I will demonstrate, *al* is not the only conjunction that may trigger a *tatoe*. In fact, within *Joshi-kō*, Shizuki provides a thorough explanation of hypothetical *joshi* in the context of a sentence not presenting the auxiliary *zouden*. This verb is nonetheless mentioned, since the sentence represents, according to Shizuki, a *tatoe*. The explanation in question is found under the entry introducing the Dutch conjunctions *indien*, *bij aldien* and *als*, all meaning, roughly, 'since', 'as', 'because', but also 'if'. Shizuki provides four protases – without a realization (apodosis) – of the "If he were home" type, similar to those seen in *Rangaku seizenfu*. These four phrases present a combination of the two conjunctions *als* and *indien*, with two tenses of the verb *zijn*: present and past simple. The verb *zijn* is used here to express location. While *als* and *indien* are treated as perfect synonyms, not influencing the translation in any manner

whatsoever, their combination, with either tense, changes the meaning of the sentences, and their Japanese renditions quite sensibly. The present-tense sentences *Als/Indien hij te huis is* are translated as *kanohito ie ni araba* 彼人家にあらは, both labeled *mirai* 未来 ‘future’, while the past-tense sentences *Als/Indien hij te huis was* are rendered as *kanohito moshi ie ni araba* 彼人もし家にあらは and are both labeled either as *kako* 過去 ‘past’, or *tatoe* 仮令 ‘analogy’. In the Japanese translation, the verb *ari* ‘to be’, is always translated as *araba*, thus by the simple addition of the affix *-ba*, the one connecting to a *mizenkei* form. However, in the past-tense version, the word *moshi* (‘if’, ‘supposing’) is added. Interestingly, thus, in the Japanese versions one does not see any reference of time, except the embedded sense of futurity that Shizuki previously recognized in *-ba*. Should one interpret this adaptation of Shizuki as implying that it is the word *moshi* carrying the sense of “past” provided, in the original Dutch sentence, by the past tense? This question is answered in the comment provided by Shizuki to these four phrases, that can be read below (20v):

右ノもしハもしもかうともなら
ばトイフ意ナリもし死たるもの
が再び来るならばナドノ意也假
令ノ詞也たとひ○ばト訓ゼンモ
可ナラン過去ノ時ハ彼人もし家
にあらましかばナト訳スヘシ又
ありせばなりせばト訓スル所多
シ雅語ノ訳ニハコレヲ用フベシ
野辺に小松のなかりせばノ類也
カ様ノ所ニ indien ツツカヘリ又
動詞ニ合フ時ハませばト訓メヨ
キモアリコレモ雅語也飛鳥川し
がらみ渡しせかませはなかるゝ
水はのとけからまし zouden ト云
フ詞ガカ様ノ所ニテハのどけか
るましノましニ当ルナリ又かう
ありたらばト好ム意ノ時 indien.
ヲましかばト訓スベシ

In the previous sentences, the word *moshi* has the meaning of *moshi mo kō to mo naraba*.⁴⁹ It has the meaning of sentences such as: *moshi shinataru mono ga tabi-kuru naraba*.⁵⁰ This is a word of *tatoe*. It can also translate ‘*tatoe ... ba*’. In the past time, it ought to be translated as ‘*kano hito moshi ie ni aramashikaba*’⁵¹ etc. Furthermore, there are also many instances in which it translates *ariseba* and *nariseba*.⁵² These should be used when translating the literary language [*gago* 雅語]. It is the type of *nobe ni komatsu no nakariseba*. In this context, *indien* can be used. Furthermore, when meeting a verb, it can be translated as *maseba*, and this is also literary language. In such sentences as *asukagawa shigarami watashi-sekamaseba nagaruru mizu wa nodo kegaramashi*,⁵³ one can also use *zouden* as *mashi*, in the word *nodokekarumashi*. Furthermore, when it corresponds to the meaning of *kō aritaraba*, *indien* ought to be translated as *mashikaba*.

This piece of text is found under the same entry for *indien*, *bij aldien* and *als*, all considered *joshi*. The excerpt provides a detailed view of the uses of *zouden* in the

⁴⁹ Literally: ‘Even if it were that way...’.

⁵⁰ Literally: ‘Perhaps, if the dead could come back [to life] ...’.

⁵¹ Literally: ‘Perhaps, if he were home ...’.

⁵² The word *ariseba* is {*ar.* + *.i* + *.se* + *.ba* = *ren'yōkei* of *ari*; *mizenkei* of the suffix *-ki*; consequential *-ba*}; the word *nariseba* is {*nar.* + *.i* + *.se* + *.ba* = *ren'yōkei* of *nari*; *mizenkei* of the suffix *-ki*; consequential *-ba*};

⁵³ This is a quote from the classical literary piece *Man'yōshū*.

sentences where the word *moshi* was used as a word of *tatoe*, having the meaning of “If only it were this way” (*moshi mo kō to mo naraba* もしもかうともならば). Shizuki adds the example of a sentence expressing a hope that will be disappointed, stating “If only the dead would come back [to life]” (*moshi shinataru mono ga tabi-kuru naraba* もし死たるものが再び来るならば). This can be interpreted as Shizuki suggesting that, in this type of sentences, the idea of *tatoe* is rendered via a combination of *moshi* and *-ba*, in Japanese, and *zouden* combined with *indien* or *als*, in Dutch. This represents a hypothetical with *zouden*, that is used for actions/events that would take place in the present or future but that cannot possibly come true. I will call this a “hypothetical of future impossibility”.

Another interpretation of the use of *zouden*, identified by Shizuki, is its use in the past time (過去の時). Although one uses the verb *zouden*, a past tense, the sentences above did not point to a past time but, rather, a hypothetical future time that is known will never be. When used in reference to actions of the past, instead, the Japanese predicate cannot be simply *-ba* anymore and must become *-mashikaba*. In the example Shizuki provides a reworking of the “If he were home” sentences, where he uses this suffix in combination with, again, *moshi*. The suffix *-mashikaba* is a combination of the two suffixes *-mashi* and *-ba*. Shizuki also adds that there are many instances in which this type of *zouden* would correspond to a *-seba*, combination of past *-ki* and hypothetical *-ba*, as in the verbs *ariseba* and *nariseba* (both roughly meaning ‘if it were’). Shizuki also claims that this variant is to be preferred when translating the literary language (*gago* 雅語). In this regard, he quotes the protasis of a *waka* from the classic work *Shūi Wakashū* where the adjective *nashi* (‘absent’, ‘there is not’) is conjugated into *nakariseba* by the addition of the element *-seba*. The verse from *Shūi Wakashū* cited to demonstrate this particular meaning is: *ne no hi suru nobe ni komatsu no nakariseba chiyo no tameshi ni nani o hikamashi* 子の日する野辺に小松のなかりせば千世のためしに何をひかまし, of which Shizuki only copies the first part (the protasis). This sentence should translate “Had there not been pine saplings in the fields in the day of the rat, [I wonder] what we would have picked to ensure longevity”.⁵⁴ This is in complete accordance with sentence T54S11, in *Seizenfu*, where Shizuki proposes the full version of the abovementioned “If he were home” sentence, writing *Indien hij te huis was, zou ‘er niemand durven spreken* ‘If he were home, nobody would dare to speak’. This is translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni araseba asoko ni arite aete iu hito nakaramashi* 彼人家ニあらせは彼所に在て敢えて言ふ人なからまし and is labeled as *tatoe*. Here, the verb in the protasis features the combination *-seba*, and the adjective in the apodosis – that supposedly adapts the Dutch *zouden* – presents the conjugation *-mashi*. This is the same structure witnessed in the poetic citation from the classics of Japanese literature.

A striking difference between this hypothetical and the previous type, is that the action/event takes place in an imaginary past that has not happened. In the hypothetical of future impossibility, the action/event, while not happening, is

⁵⁴ The *waka* references the tradition of going out in the field on the first day of the rat in the new year to pick pine saplings as to ensure longevity.

supposed to be taking place in an imaginary future. To distinguish between the two, I will call this new type a “hypothetical of past impossibility”. Shizuki claims that the Dutch *zouden* should here correspond to either *-seba* or *-mashikaba* (and its more literary version *-maseba*), all including the hypothetical *-ba* in combination with another suffix expressing the idea of past, be it *-ki* (in *-seba*) or *-mashi* (in *-mashikaba* and *-maseba*). In these types of hypotheticals, Shizuki suggests the use of *indien*, in the Dutch version.

In this short piece of text, Shizuki shows yet another adaptation of the Dutch verb *zouden*, that he demonstrates by means of a citation from the classical literary piece *Man'yōshū*. The *waka* mentions the Asuka River, that Shizuki writes as 飛鳥, but that can also be found written as 明日香. The *waka* reads as follows: *asukagawa shigarami watashi sekamaseba nagaruru mizu wa nodo kegaramashi* 飛鳥川しがらみ渡しせかませはなかるゝ水はのとけからまし ‘Had I crossed a weir in the Asuka River obstructing it, would the streaming water turn quiet?’. This should also be interpreted as a hypothetical of past impossibility. It needs to be stressed out that the impossibility of this type of hypotheticals is not a universal, that is to say, the action/event is not possible anymore not because it refers to something judged impossible as a whole, but rather because, for the apodosis to become true, the protasis has to have already happened, but it has not. Shizuki utilizes this sentence to make clear that the interaction between *zouden* and the conjunction *indien* corresponds, in the Japanese sentence, to the use of the suffix *-mashi* in the apodosis and of *-mashikaba* in the protasis.

Motoori Norinaga covers this use of the affix *-ba* on pages 9 to 13 of volume 3. On page 9, he writes that *-seba* is often used with *-mashi* at the end of the sentence, meaning in the predicate of the main clause, with *-seba* being featured in the subordinate clause.⁵⁵ However, Motoori also acknowledges the possibility of the two affixes being presented in inverted order, namely with *-mashi* in the first clause, and *-seba* in the second one.⁵⁶ Another exceptional case identified by Motoori is when, although being *-seba* present in the upper subordinate clause, the affix *-mashi* is not present at all, and in its place one can find several affixes. It is not clear whether Motoori believed that the three affixes he provides as examples of this case were to be considered as comprehensive of all instances, however, this does show some similarity with what claimed by Shizuki (as will be seen below), since the affixes in question are: *-nan*; *-n* and *-beshi*. Motoori also reports instances in which the affix *-mashi* ought to be repeated in both the main clause and the subordinate clause, the former case requiring it to be combined with the affix *-ba*, resulting in the form *-mashikaba*. The citation from *Man'yōshū* on the Asukagawa river can also be found in this section of *Kotoba no tama no o*, along with a few additional citations demonstrating the use of *-maseba* with *-mashi* in the main clause. Motoori claims

⁵⁵ Original quote: “When it comes to *-seba*, there are many examples of it being used with *-mashi* at the bottom” (せばといへばおほくは下にましといふ例也).

⁵⁶ Original quote: “Furthermore, when stopping [i.e., ‘ending’] with *-seba*, one can also say *-mashi* above, in substitution” (又せばと留りたるは上へかへりてましといへり).

this *-maseba* to correspond to a contraction of *-mashiseba*.⁵⁷ Motoori also analyzes this affix *-mashi* on page 29, of the sixth volume, where he writes the following:

おほよそましは。んを延たる如く聞えて。大かたんといふと同じ意なり。然れども。んといふべき所を。皆ましといひては。かなはぬとおほし。そのけぢは。古への歌又文をつらく味ひ見てわきまふべし。然るを後世の歌には。らん な んなどゝいふべき所をも。みだりにましといへるひがとおほし又しもじを濁りて。まじと唱るもひがと也。必清べき辭也。これを濁るから。初學の輩は。不の意のまじと一つに心得て。まぎらはすことおほきぞかし。かの不の意のまじは別に下に出せり。

Generally, *-mashi* can also be heard expressing something similar to *-n*, and has often the same meaning as *-n*. However, if you always say *-mashi*, when you have to use *-n*, it does not always sound right. The difference must be understood by witnessing the taste of ancient songs and texts. There are also many errors in the confused use of *-mashi*, when one would have to say *-ran*, *-nan*, etc., or reading it with *-ji* with *nigori*, as in *-maji*. This ought to be clean in pronunciation [i.e., without *nigori*]. When this has the *nigori*, as it is learned in the elementary course, it must be learned as being one with the meaning of *fu* 不 [negation]. There are many differences that are difficult to spot. This *-maji* with the meaning of *fu* 不 will be dealt with later.

What is interesting in this quote from Motoori Norinaga is the fact that he compares the two affixes *-mashi* and *-n*, that are precisely the Japanese affixes Shizuki used to render the Dutch auxiliaries *zouden* and *zullen* respectively. With *zullen* being the morphological present tense of *zouden*, this relationship is somewhat mirrored in Motoori's description of the two Japanese affixes. As argued above, in *Joshi-kō* one can even find an instance in which the Japanese affix *-n* corresponds to a Dutch *zouden*, reinforcing the relation between the two affixes. However, it appears neither author acknowledged any time-related quality to either affix, as instead, is done regarding their Dutch counterparts. This is to say that, while *zullen* is certainly a word of the future and *zouden* is its corresponding word of the past (or *tatoe*), no such relation is specifically recognized in their Japanese counterparts. In fact, when it comes to hypotheticals, a relevant difference between Japanese and Dutch morphosyntax is the fact that the latter, just like English, often requires a morphological past tense that, nonetheless, does not have to refer to a past time. The morphological past tense is only used in order to convey a hypothetical meaning, regardless of the location in time of the action/event described by the predicate. This type of mechanism is totally absent in Japanese, and this is noticed by Shizuki.

Furthermore, if one understands Shizuki's concept of *joshi*, that he extends to include Dutch auxiliaries and Dutch conjunctions, among other parts of speech, one can add another fundamental interpretation of his theories. As already claimed before, and as can be seen from Table 54, in the twenty-seven sentences, the modifications to the original six matrixes were applied not only to the predicates but also to the conjunctions. This could imply that Shizuki believed that, in a Dutch

⁵⁷ Original quote: "This [*-maseba*] is the contraction of *-mashiseba*" (これはましせばの約まりたる也).

sentence, the *joshi* (including both the auxiliaries and the conjunctions) interacted as to create the meaning that was rendered into Japanese by means of verbal/adjectival affixes.

The interaction between conjunctions and auxiliaries, specifically in the context of the creation of a *tatoe* sentence, is made explicit in the continuation of the entry above, of *Joshi-kō*, where one finds the phrase *Indien de machten van Europa vereenigt waaren* ‘If the powers of Europe were united’, translated into Japanese as *Yōroppa no shosei o awasetaramashikaba* 欧羅巴の諸勢を合せたらましかば. This is a subordinate clause, presenting, in Dutch, a past tense *wa(a)ren* combined with the conjunction *indien*.

The Japanese sentence features the predicate *awasetaramashikaba*, from the *shimo ni dan* verb *awasu* ‘to collect (transitive)’ that can be analyzed according to the following formula:

{*awas.* + *.e.* + *.tara* + *.mashika* + *.ba* = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *awasu* + *mizenkei* of the affix -*tari* + *mizenkei* of the affix -*mashi* + hypothetical -*ba*}

The Japanese rendition of this sentence seems to agree with the explanation added before it (the quote above), and it would correspond to the type exemplified by the two *waka* citations. To explain this phrase, Shizuki adds the following text (21r):

是等ノ雅語皆的当ノ訓ナリ假令ニ
indien-----ノ下句ニ echter ニテ受テ
上句ともトナルヲ書ニ見ナリ
schoon トイへバともニナルヲ以テ
ナラン此書考フベシ

In all of these, this is the appropriate translation in the literary language. It can be seen that, in a *tatoe* with *indien*, when you have *echter* in the lower sentence, one writes *domo* in the upper sentence. If one says *schoon*, it will also mean *domo*.

Following this example and its explanation, Shizuki proceeds by providing yet another example with further explanation regarding the use of *zouden*. The sentence in question is a rather fixed expression corresponding to the English “please”, namely *als* ‘*t ú belieft* (literally “If it pleases you”), translated into Japanese as *sore ga nanji no kokoro ni kanawaba* それか汝の心になわば.⁵⁸ Here the verb *kanau* ‘to suit’ is only combined with the hypothetical -*ba*. This sentence is commented as follows (21v-22r):

か様ノ所ニテヤハリ indien ト全ク同
シ indien ハ詞長キ故平生ノ詞ニハ手
短ク als ト云ナリ但シ多ハ家には
ノ時ハ下ノ句ヲ Zal ニテウケもし家
にはノ時ハ下ノ句ヲ Zoude ニテ

In these instances [*als*] is completely the same as *indien*. Because of the length of the word *indien*, in every day’s speech, one says the shorter *als*. Also, often, in sentences such as *ie ni araba* [‘If (he) is home’], the second sentence has *zal*, in sentences such as *moshi ie ni araba*, the second

⁵⁸ Literally “If it suits your heart”.

受ク又家にあればノ時ハ下ノ句

als hy te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken.

彼人家にあれば人敢てものいわず

か様ニ durft ナドノ現在詞ニテ受ルナリ是其常格也物語ノ文ニハ凡ソ過去詞ヲ用ル也もし家にありたらはノ時ハ下ノ句必ス Zouden.カ moesten.ノカニテ受ク家ニアレバノ時ハ als hy te huis was, durfde ナド、言フ也か様ノ所ハ多クハ als トイハズメ wanneer ト言フ也彼人家にある時はひと敢てものいわずト訳スベシ

sentence has *zoude*. Furthermore, in sentences as *ie ni areba*:

Als hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken

kano hito ie ni areba hito aete mono iwazu

In these instances, one finds words of *genzai* ['present'] such as *durft* etc. This is the established form. In texts of storytelling [*monogatari*] one generally uses words of *kako* ['past']. In sentences such as *moshi ie ni aritaraba*, one can only find either *zouden* or *moesten*. In *ie ni areba*, one would say *als hij te huis was, durfde* etc. In these instances, *als* is often not said, but *wanneer* is said, instead. It ought to be translated as *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa hito aete mono iwazu*.

In this excerpt, Shizuki illustrates how the combination of the conjunction *als* with specific Dutch tenses influences the Japanese rendition. First, he claims that the word *als*, in sentences such as *als 't u belieft*, can be substituted with *indien*. Taking this claim at face value, this allows to always consider the sentences in this excerpt as featuring *als* and *indien* indistinctly. Shizuki takes the "If he were home" matrix and substitutes the verbal tenses in both clauses as to illustrate the differences in meaning. Firstly, he poses the distinction between the two Japanese subordinate clauses *ie ni araba* and *moshi ie ni araba*, both featuring a hypothetical *-ba* and only distinguishing because of the presence of the word *moshi*, in the latter. Shizuki claims that, in the former case (1) – no *moshi* plus hypothetical *-ba* – the lower clause would feature, in Dutch, the verb *zullen*, whereas, in the latter case (2) – with *moshi* and hypothetical *-ba* – the lower clause in Dutch would feature the verb *zoude*.⁵⁹ The same sentence, however, when it does not present either element in the lower clause, is to be translated into Japanese by means of consequential *-ba*, as in the sentence (3) *Als hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken*, rendered into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni areba hito aete mono iwazu*. This is the Japanese adaptation of a Dutch sentence featuring a word of present like *durft* 'dares'. However, in case it had a word of the past (e.g., *durfde* 'dared'), it would have become (4) *moshi ie ni aritaraba*, where the verb *ari*, is combined with both the hypothetical *-ba* and the affix *-tari*. In this case, however, the lower clause, in Dutch, would present either *zouden* or *moesten*. It is, instead, with the clause *ie ni areba* (consequential *-ba*) that one can have the Dutch sentence (5) *Als hij te huis was, durfde* etc., meaning words of the past in both clauses, though without having to use *zouden* or *moesten*, in the lower clause. In such case, it is also common to see the use of *wanneer*, instead of

⁵⁹ I have checked a few copies of *Joshi-kō*, and it appears that in all of them the verb is spelled as *zoude*, the subjunctive form, rather than *zouden*, the infinitive or plural indicative form.

als, corresponding to the Japanese sentence (6) *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa hito aete mono iwazu*, where the predicate of the upper clause is not combined with any affix, but is only put in its adnominal form creating a relative clause on the word *toki* ‘time’, ‘when’. Interestingly, in this sentence, neither predicate presents an affix referencing to a past tense. Below, I list these six Dutch sentences, according to the information contained in this excerpt. Not all the sentences are explicitly written out by Shizuki. In such cases, I will still construct a sentence based on the information shared in this excerpt, yet I will signal this by adding an asterisk before those sentences I have composed myself, allowing for different interpretations of Shizuki’s words. In parenthesis, I have added the Japanese upper clause, demonstrating the differences, as done by Shizuki. Furthermore, in the Dutch sentences, I will signal the conjunction by enclosing it in a square and underlying the verbs either with a double line in case it is a “word of past” or with one thick line, in case it is a “word of present” (in the latter I am including, for the sake of this list, also the auxiliary *zullen*, a “word of future”). The comma splits the subordinate clause from the main clause, in this order.

1. *Als hij te huis is, zal niemand durven spreken (*ie ni araba*) [T54S9 and T54S10]
2. *Als hij te huis is, zou niemand durven spreken (*moshi ie ni araba*)
3. Als hij te huis is, durft ‘er niemand spreken (*ie ni areba*) [T54S4]
4. *Als hij te huis was, zou(de)/moest ‘er niemand durven spreken (*ie ni aritaraba*) [T54S11]
5. Als hij te huis was, durfde ‘er niemand spreken (*ie ni areba*)
6. *Wanneer hij te huis was, durfde ‘er niemand spreken (*ie ni aru toki wa*) [T54S1 or T54S2]

Most of these sentences can be found, with a few differences, among the twenty-seven sentences in *Rangaku seizenfu*’s *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai* chapter. Sentence 1 is identical to T54S9 (*als*) and T54S10 (*indien*). Sentence 3 is identical to T54S4. Sentence 4 is similar to T54S11. In *Seizenfu*, however, the Dutch sentence presents the conjunction *indien*, and the predicate of the Japanese translation features the affix *-ki*, instead of *-tari* (in *ariseba*). Sentence 6 is identical, in its Dutch version, to T54S2, however, the Japanese translation is closer to T54S1, as it does not present any affix relative to the past. Sentences 2 and 5 are not represented among the twenty-seven sentences of *Seizenfu*. None of these sentences is labeled a *tatoe*, except T54S11 that, however, does not correspond in its Japanese translation with sentence 4.

To further understand the use of *zouden* and its use in *tatoe* sentences, Shizuki writes the chapter titled *zouden no koto* (*Zouden* 之事) ‘About Zouden’. In this section, Shizuki only covers the use of *zouden* in hypotheticals. He identifies two types of hypotheticals: one being a *tatoe*, and the other being a “speculative”

oshihakaru 推シ量ル, a term also found in *Joshi-kō*. In order to explain these, he utilizes the same Asuka River *waka* from *Man'yōshū* he also uses in *Joshi-kō*, as well as two additional *waka*, one from *Ise Monogatari* and the other from *Kokin Wakashū*. The chapter “About Zouden” is rather short, spanning through folio 20r to 20v, and is here cited entirely.

Zouden 之事	About Zouden
惣テ假令ノ時ハ Zouden ヲましト訳ス	In all the instances in which it is a <i>tatōe</i> it translates <i>-mashi</i> .
但シましト云語ハ耳遠シ故ニ假ニベシニ代フ	Since <i>-mashi</i> is a rather obsolete word, we can provisionally substitute it with <i>-beshi</i> .
飛鳥川しからみ渡しせかませハ流るゝ水はのどけからまし	<i>Asukagawa shigarami watashisekamaseba nagaruru mizu wa nodokeramashi</i>
世の中にたゑて桜のなかりせば春の心はのとけからまし	<i>yo no naka ni taete sakura no nakariseba haru no kokoro wa nodokekaramashi</i>
逢見すは恋しきこともなからまし音にそ人をきくへかりける	<i>aimizu wa koishiki koto mo nakaramashi oto ni zo hito wo kikubekarikeru</i>
下ノ句ノへかりけるノベシモましノ意ニ類セリ音にそ人をきかましト云ト同意ナリ然レハましトベシトハ近キ詞ナリト知ラル假令ト推ハカルトノ弁ハ右ノ哥ノ意ヲ以テ左ニ示スニテ知ラスベシ飛鳥川ニシガラミヲ渡シテセイテ見タラバサヅ流ル水ガノドカデヨカローニセカズニアルカラ一向ニノドカナヲハナイ	The <i>-beshi</i> in <i>bekarikeru</i> in the lower clause belongs to the category of meaning of <i>-mashi</i> . It has the same meaning of <i>oto ni zo hito wo kikamashi</i> . That is to say, <i>-beshi</i> and <i>-mashi</i> are to be understood as close words. The difference between the <i>tatōe</i> hypothetical and the <i>oshihakaru</i> speculation can be understood from the songs above, which are explained below. Had I seen crossing the weir of river Asuka, interrupting the flow of the water, would the stream calm down? Since it has not been interrupted, then there is no calmness.
右假令ナリ即本哥ノ意	This is a <i>tatōe</i> and the original meaning of the song.
飛鳥川ニシガラミ渡しテセクハヅカセカヌ笑カ未ダ知レネドモセクナラバ水ガノドカニ流ルルデラウ	It is not known whether the weir in Asuka River has been crossed and interrupted or not, in case it has been interrupted, would the stream quiet down?
右推ハカル意	This is the meaning of ‘speculation’ [<i>oshihakaru</i> 推ハカル]

This section is highly important in the understanding of *zouden* as well as the concept of *tatoe*. Shizuki initially purports two claims: first, whenever *zouden* corresponds to a *tatoe*, it ought to be translated as *-mashi*;⁶⁰ secondly, that the word *-mashi* is, in Shizuki's contemporary Japanese, quite obsolete, thus he suggests substituting it with *-beshi*.

These three quotes all appear in Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, as well. The first quote appears in volume 3, on page 13, where it is cited to demonstrate the use of *-maseba* (*-mashi* + *-ba*) in the upper clause, with *-mashi*, in the lower clause. The second quote appears twice: one time, it appears in volume 3, in the same section of the first quote, on page 9, where Motoori demonstrates the use of *-seba*, in the upper clause, with a *-mashi*, in the lower clause. Another occurrence of this quote is in volume 1, on page 55, under the entry to the affix *-mashi*, where it is cited to demonstrate the use of the *te ni wo ha* for *wa* in combination with the affix *-mashi*, within the same clause, in this case being the lower clause. On the same page 55, of the same volume 1, one also finds the third quote, cited in order to demonstrate the use of the affix *-mashi* in combination with the *te ni wo ha* for *mo*, within the same clause, in this instance being the upper clause.

This is the theoretical framework one needs to keep in mind when analyzing Shizuki's theory. Motoori argued that, among Japanese *te ni wo ha*, specific particles, that he called *kakari*, interacted with specific forms of the predicate, that he called *musubi*, according to "established" rules. These rules were the reason why, within the same clause, the particles *mo* and *wa* both required the affix *-mashi* to be in this form (see 6.2.1 for an introduction to Motoori Norinaga's methodology in *Kotoba no tama no o*). Similarly, these established rules, also regulate the relationship between the forms *-maseba* and *-seba*, in the predicate of the upper clause, and the affix *-mashi*, in the predicate of the lower clause. One can see these elements specified in the romanization of these three sentences, below. The underlining refers to the relations described in volume 1, while the squares represent the relations described in volume 3 of Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*. These are adaptations of signs present in the original document. I have also added a clearer division between the two clauses.

1. *Asukagawa shigarami watashiseka**maseba* || *nagaruru mizu wa nodokeram**mashi*
2. *yo no naka ni taete sakura no nakariseba* || *haru no kokoro* wa *nodokekara*mashi
3. *aimizu wa koishiki koto* mo *nakara*mashi || *oto ni zo hito wo kikubekarikeru*

This means that, for example, in sentence 3, it is the very presence of the particle *mo* that triggers the form *-mashi*, in the adjective *nakaramashi*. Analogously, in sentence 2, the form *seba*, in *nakariseba*, is related in an established manner with the *mashi* of *nodokekaramashi*.

⁶⁰ This informs also about the fact that sentence 4, above, was probably the non-*tatoe* use of the same sentence T54S11 in *Seizenfu*.

If one now looks at European-made conjugation tables of the time one could notice that the subjunctive mood was often illustrated by adding specific conjunctions before it. As I have discussed, in 4.5.1, for example, the verbal tables for the subjunctive mood in Séwel often included one or more of the following conjunctions: *als* 'when', 'if', 'as'; *dat* 'that'; *indien* 'in case', 'if'; *toen* 'back when', 'back then' ('when' in past sentences); *hoewel* 'although'; *schoon* 'even if'. Figure 9 is from page 281 of the second edition of Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, and illustrates a partial conjugation table of a few verbs, in the pluperfect and future tenses. As can be seen from that image, the conjugations were always introduced by one or two of the conjunctions I have listed above. By looking at this table, it appears logical to assume that the specific morphological form taken by verbs in the so-called subjunctive mood is dependent on the conjunction featured in the same clause. In some sense, thus, in Dutch, the relation between the conjunction and the morphosyntax of verbs is as "established" as the relations between *kakari* (particles) and *musubi* (forms of the predicate), in Japanese, as illustrated by Motoori Norinaga in *Kotoba no tama no o*.

SPRAAKKONST. 281

Indien	{ Vermaand Geantwoord }	Had	Indien	{ Vermaand Geantwoord }	Had
of Dat	{ Gebonden }		of Dat	{ Gebonden }	det.
Gy	{ Geboden }		Gyl.	{ Geboden }	Had.
	{ Gegaan }	hadt of		{ Gegaan }	det of
	{ Getreeden }	waart		{ Getreeden }	waart
In-	{ Vermaand }	Had of	Indien	{ Vermaand }	Had
dien	{ Geantwoord }	hadde	of Dat	{ Geantwoord }	den.
of	{ Gebonden }	Hadde of	Zy	{ Gebonden }	Had
Dat	{ Geboden }	waare		{ Geboden }	den of
hy of	{ Gegaan }			{ Gegaan }	waaren
zy	{ Getreeden }			{ Getreeden }	

Toekomende Tyd.

Eenv.			Meerv.		
Als	{ Vermaanen }	Zal	Als wy	{ Vermaanen }	Zullen
Ik	{ Antwoorden }			{ Antwoorden }	
	{ Binden }			{ Binden }	
	{ Gebieden }			{ Gebieden }	
	{ Gaan }			{ Gaan }	
	{ Treeden }			{ Treeden }	
Als	{ Vermaanen }	Zult	Als Gyl.	{ Vermaanen }	Zult.
Gy	{ Antwoorden }			{ Antwoorden }	
	{ Binden }			{ Binden }	
	{ Gebieden }			{ Gebieden }	
	{ Gaan }			{ Gaan }	
	{ Treeden }			{ Treeden }	
Als	{ Vermaanen }	Zal	Als zy	{ Vermaanen }	Zullen
Hy	{ Antwoorden }			{ Antwoorden }	
of	{ Binden }			{ Binden }	
Zy	{ Gebieden }			{ Gebieden }	
	{ Gaan }			{ Gaan }	
	{ Treeden }			{ Treeden }	

S 5 Twee-

Figure 9 Example of the conjugation table for the subjunctive mood in Séwel's *Spraakkonst*

I will not argue that this specific table from Séwel, or any other similar-looking illustration of Dutch conjugations from another source has directly inspired this interpretation of Shizuki. Firstly, there is no reason to believe that Shizuki had read any Dutch source on grammar, except the two dictionaries of Halma and Marin that do not present any such table, when compiling *Joshi-kō* and *Seizenfu*. Secondly, it is certainly true that Shizuki could have deduced these “established” rules in the use of conjunctions and verbal tenses of Dutch by analyzing the language that was used in Dutch sources. Specifically, if one considers that the poetical genre of Dutch emblems, in particular those of Jacob Cats, were often described by the term *tatoe* ‘analogy’, by Japanese scholars of the time (NESPOLI 2022), perhaps these structures are very common in that literary style, and that Shizuki was able to autonomously identify those patterns.⁶¹ However, the table in Figure 9 illustrates a graphic rendition of the conjugation of Dutch verbs that closely resembles the extended *karari-musubi* phenomenon, how Shizuki might have understood it.

The second *waka* is taken from *Ise Monogatari* and translates roughly to “If there were no cherry blossoms in the world, how could a man’s soul find quietness?”. This is a type of hypothetical where the condition in the protasis is not considered as ever being able to be true. Shizuki does not expand much on this example. On the contrary, he does much more so with the first *waka*, already seen in *Joshi-kō*. The *waka* from *Man’yōshū*, translates roughly: “Had I crossed a weir in the Asuka River obstructing it, would the streaming water turn quiet?”. Shizuki asserts that this sentence could be interpreted in two ways. One interpretation, that Shizuki understands as the original intended meaning of the *waka*, is that it would presuppose the speaker having seen that the stream had not been obstructed, thus there could be no resulting quietness. The speaker would, thus, be wondering whether, had there been an obstacle in the river, he would be now seeing a calmer stream. This is a *tatoe*. The hypothesis in the apodosis cannot realize because for it to become true the condition in the protasis should have had already occurred, but it has not. The second interpretation of this *waka*, that is not the supposed intended original meaning, considers the speaker to be ignorant regarding whether the stream had been obstructed. In this case he wonders whether obstructing it would make the streaming water become quiet. That is to say, this hypothesis does not belong to the *tatoe* type, since it is not impossible for the condition in the protasis to become true, it would only require the lyrical subject to go and obstruct the stream themselves, for example. This is the reason why Shizuki labels this hypothetical not as a *tatoe*, but as a *oshihakarū*, rather. Although this hypothetical is pondering regarding a future action/event, one should not confuse this with what I have previously called hypothetical of future impossibility. In that case, in *Joshi-kō*, Shizuki has defined the sentence “If only the dead could come back [to life] ...” *moshi shinataru mono ga tabi-kuru* as a *tatoe*. The reason for this is that for a sentence, or a clause, to be considered a *tatoe* is that the hypothesis has the characteristic of not being able to become true.

⁶¹ I would be interested in seeing a quantitative study of Dutch emblems, specifically those by Cats, as to identify how common the use of specific tenses in combination with the conjunctions mentioned above.

To further clarify the relationship between Shizuki's theories and Motoori's methodology, one could look at sentence T54S17 that reads: *Toen zij een mooi gezigt had, was het een lichtende lantaarn* 'When she had a pretty face, it was a shiny lantern'. Shizuki labels this a *kako* 'past' and it presents no verb *zouden*. Shizuki translates it into Japanese as *kanojo ni bishoku arishi toki wa kore yūkō no tō nariki* (彼女に美色ありし時はこれ有光の燈なりき). The syntactic structure of this sentence corresponds to the *waka* found in volume 1, on page 12, of Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, used by the author to illustrate the use of the affix *-ki*, remaining in the form *-ki*, when featuring the *te ni wo ha* for *wa*. For example, in Motoori, one can read the *waka* *kaze ni shimo nani kamakasen sakurabana nioi akanu ni chiru wa ukariki* 風にしもなにかまかせんさくら花にほひあかぬにちるはうかりき ('In the wind, where to rest? Even the scent of cherry blossoms does not satiate me, as their falling makes me anxious', from *Gosen waka-shū*). In the Dutch sentence, *toen* is analogous to the Japanese particle *wa*, in that it requires the verb to be in a past form *had*, just like *wa* requires the affix *-ki* to remain in the form *-ki*. Of course, however, *wa* and *toen* are otherwise completely different words, with completely different meanings, the latter corresponding to the word *toki*, in the Japanese sentence. Sentence T54S18, instead, reads *Al had zij een mooi gezigt, het zou een lantaarn zonder licht zijn* 'Although she had a pretty face, it would be a lantern with no light'. This sentence is translated into Japanese as *kanojo ni bishoku aran mo kore mukō no tō naramashi* 彼女に美色あらんもこれ無光の燈ならまし. This sentence is closer to the third quote from the excerpt above, namely the sentence *aimizu wa koishiki koto mo nakaramashi oto ni zo hito o kikubekarikeru* ('When you cannot meet or even frolic with the person you love, you can only resort to hearing about them', from *Kokin waka-shū*), where the particle *mo* interacts with the affix *-mashi*. The main clause, presenting the verb *zou zijn* in the original, is translated into Japanese by means of the verbal suffix *-mashi*. Shizuki labels this a *tatoe*.⁶²

In T54S19 Shizuki makes use of the subjunctive form of the verb *zouden*, i.e., *zoude*, in the sentence *Al zoude ik te huis blijven, zal hij dog hier niet komen* 'Should/would I stay home, still, he will not come here', translated into Japanese as *ware ie ni naramashikado kano hito koko ni koji* 我れ家にならましかど彼人爰に來じ. Shizuki adds that in this sentence, only the first clause should be considered a *tatoe*. One should assume, since the main clause presents the verb *zullen* in Dutch and the suffix *-ji* (negative version of future *-n*), that the second clause is to be thought of as being a *gense no mirai*. The verb in the upper clause is translated, into Japanese, as *naramashikado*, with a combination of the suffixes *-mashi* and *-domo*, corresponding to the English 'although'. Perhaps, thus, the apodosis in this example

⁶² In Waseda's copy one can also read an interesting additional remark, warning the reader not to confuse this tense with the previously mentioned *fusokuji* 不足時, that appears to be a literal translation (calque) of the Dutch term *onvoltooid* or *onvolmaakt* both being used in early modern Dutch sources to refer to the imperfect tense. Since this is the only occurrence of this term, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, or any other work of Shizuki, it appears safe to say that this was a later addition, based on some other work, or maybe a later copy of Shizuki's works, where the concept of *onvoltooid* was ultimately interpreted and added (see 8.5.4).

cannot be considered a *tatoe*, since the action of the apodosis will occur in the future (relative to the speaker) regardless of the unrealistic hypothetical posed by the protasis.⁶³ The verb in the upper clause is conjugated according to the following formula:

{**nar.** + **.a.** + **.mashika** + **.do(mo)** = *mizenkei* of the verb *nari* ‘to be(come)’ + *izenkei* of *-mashi* + *-do(mo)*}

Shizuki further adds the following quote to explain the different form (subjunctive) the verb *zouden* has taken here (17v):

凡ソ動詞 ik, gij, hij ニヨリテ別アル
凡諸書中ナルヲ見ルニ Zouúden ノミ
シカト定ル格ナキニ似タリ因テ此
ノ Zoude モ Zou ト異ナリト心得ベ
カラズ

Generally, verbs have different forms according to *ik* [‘I’], *gij* [‘you’], *hij* [‘he’]. Nonetheless, as can be seen in all books, it seems that only *zouden* has a fixed form. For this, this *zoude* should not be understood as differing from *zou*.

What Shizuki actually means by this is not particularly clear considering the time it is written in. It is true that in contemporary Dutch and, one can assume, in non-prescriptive uses of 17th century Dutch, the conjugation of the verb *zouden* does not feature different forms according to the person,⁶⁴ but this is done to all preterits, for all verbs. This might reinforce the idea that Shizuki considered *zouden* a verb on its own, not derivative of *zullen*. Regarding the difference between *zullen* and *zouden* Shizuki adds the following (17v-18r):

前ナル語ノ訳ヲあらんもト云フ古哥
ナドニハ見アタラズ古哥ニハカヤウ
ノ寸モヤハリありかもト云ルヲ多シ
然レ凡ソレニ習ヒテハ假令ト未来ト
ノ訳法分明ナラズ故ニ今ハ假ニあら
んもト訳ス

The *aranmo* we find the previous sentences cannot be found in ancient songs and such. In ancient songs, even in this context, one finds often *arikamo*. Furthermore, without distinguishing the manner of translation between *tatoe* and *mirai* [‘future’], as for now one can provisionally translate [both] as *aranmo*.

ならせは いはませば ならましか
はナドノせば皆同意ナリありせは
いはませど あらましかはナドノせ
ば ませとましかとモ然リ

The *-seba* element in *naraseba*, *iwamaseba*, *naramashikaba* always has the same meaning. The *-seba* in *ariseba*, *iwamasedo*, *aramashikaba* is similar to *masedo* and *mashikado*.

是等ノ語耳遠クシテ如何ント思ハハ

All these phrases are rather obsolete, thinking

⁶³ Contrast this with the citation from Cats seen above, *Al vloog ik in het woud, leefde ik evenwel in veelerdhanden zorgen*, where the apodosis is a past tense, referencing an occurrence in the past the speaker knows has not happened.

⁶⁴ Not according to the different persons, but it should indeed be conjugated according to the number of the subject pronoun. Shizuki is, here, only considering singular subject pronouns, thus one might need to ignore plurals, as well.

假ニありせはノ類ナルヲべくバニ代
へいはませはノ類ナルヲべけれどニ
代フベシ然レト實ハ甚異ナリへくば
べければト訳スル語ハ下ニ見タリ

about it, one could substitute the type or *ariseba* with *bekuba* and the type of *iwamaseba* with *bekeredo*. In reality, there is a small difference. Phrases translated as *bekuba* and *bekereba* can be seen below.

This excerpt assumes the reader to have difficulties distinguishing a *tatoe* from a *mirai* ‘future’, confusion that could have been created by the example above T54S19. Shizuki is saying that, in the past one would translate the predicate of the upper clause of sentence T54S18 *Al had zij een mooij gezigt* ‘Although she had a pretty face’ not as *aranmo*, where the suffix for the future *-n* combines with the concessive *mo*, but with the structure *arikamo*, where the *mizenkei* combines with the element *kamo*, that can express doubt and possibility. This difference, that is allegedly obsolete in Shizuki’s Japanese, would have, apparently, made clear the difference between a *tatoe* and a simple *mirai* (do not forget that Shizuki considered *al* to imply *zullen*). Consequently, this reinforces that adding *zouden* is not the only way one could make a *tatoe*, but also via *zullen* (direct correspondence to the Japanese suffix *-n*). Since older Japanese could make a difference between these two types of *zullen*, i.e. *mirai* ‘future’ *zullen* (*-n*) and *tatoe* ‘hypothetical’ *zullen* (*-kamo*), one should not assume that the protasis of hypotheticals of impossibility to be a *mirai* clause only because it gets translated as *-n*.

Shizuki also adds further suggestions of adaptation of *tatoe* suffixes with less ancient versions, conflating the suffixes *-ki* and *-mashi*, as he already did, in their combinations with the suffix *-ba*. The examples he brings up are the following:

- *naraseba* {**nar.** + **.a** + **.se** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *nari*; *-se*;⁶⁵ hypothetical *-ba*};
- *iwamaseba* {**i(h).** + **.a** + **.mase** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *i(h)u*; *mizenkei* of *-mashi*; hypothetical *-ba*};
- *naramashikaba* {**nar.** + **.a** + **.mashika** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *nari*; *izenkei* of *-mashi*; consequential *-ba*};
- *ariseba* {**ar.** + **.i** + **.se** + **.ba** = *ren'yōkei* of *ari*; *mizenkei* of *-ki*; consequential *-ba*};
- *iwamasedo* {**i(h).** + **.a** + **.mase** + **.do** = *mizenkei* of *i(h)u*; *izenkei* of *-mashi*; *-do(mo)*};
- *aramashikaba* {**ar.** + **.a** + **.mashika** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *ari*; *izenkei* of *-mashi*; consequential *-ba*}

⁶⁵ As far as I know, this syllable *-se* does not have a specific name, in the tradition of Japanese linguistic studies. Even SHIRANE (2005, 111) simply lists the combination *-seba*, attached to a *mizenkei* as a form often used in the subordinate clause, in combination with a *-mashi* in the upper clause.

In agreement with what he had already said, he suggests these *-seba* and *-mashikaba/-maseba* to be substituted by the more modern *-beshi*, in its combinations with *-ba* which gives the two alternative – yet homologous – forms *-bekuba* and *-bekereba*, but also *-bekeredo* for the suffix *-do(mo)*.

In the list below, I illustrate all the main information that could be deduced from this paragraph concerning the concept of *tatoe*, and how to form it:

- Generally, a *tatoe* features “words of past” in both clauses, in the Dutch version;
- The Japanese version does not have to present words of past, if the past conjugation of the Dutch verbs are only morphological forms used to render a hypothetical and do not refer to an actual past time;
- The Dutch conjunctions *als*, *indien* or *bij aldien* can be used to form a *tatoe* without words of past, even in the Dutch subordinate clause. In this case, they correspond to the combination, in the Japanese subordinate, to *moshi* plus hypothetical *-ba*. In this sentence, the word *moshi* would take the meaning of *moshi kō tomo naraba*. The main clause would probably feature the verb *zullen*, in Dutch, and the affix *-n*, in Japanese. In this case, the affix *-n* really corresponds to a classical Japanese *-kamo*;
- The Dutch conjunctions *als*, *indien* or *bij aldien*, can be used to form a *tatoe* with words of the past, case in which the main clause would probably feature the verb *zouden* or *moesten*. In these sentences, *zouden* translates *-mashi*, affording to the Japanese upper clause the affix *-mashikaba*.
- The affix *-mashi* is quite obsolete and corresponds to *-beshi*. When used in *tatoe* sentences in combination with hypothetical *-ba*, it can correspond to *-seba* or *maseba*;
- The Dutch conjugation *indien* can correspond to *-mashikaba*, in case it has the meaning of *kō aritaraba*;
- If a *tatoe* has *indien* in the subordinate clause, the upper clause could feature words such as *echter*, and *schoon*, that translate *-tomo* (and/or, perhaps, *-(do)mo*) in the Japanese upper clause;
- Conjunctions such as *wanneer* and *toen* do not trigger a *tatoe*;
- The hypothesis expressed by a *tatoe* can never become true, regardless of when it was supposed to happen;
- The verb *zouden*, when used in a *tatoe* clause, corresponds to the Japanese affix *-mashi*;

In the following paragraph, I will analyze the instances in which the verb *zouden* is used in contexts that are not considered *tatoe*.

8.5.2.2 Use of *zouden* in non-*tatoe* sentences

Not all uses of *zouden* are to be considered *tatoe* or hypotheticals. This is very clear in Shizuki's works, as the word *tatoe* is always systematically used only in the context of what I have called "hypotheticals of impossibility". As mentioned, *zouden* still conveys a plethora of meanings beyond its use in hypotheticals and these are mostly covered within *Seizenfu*. Phrase T53E7 features the verbal conjugation *zouden spreken* 'should/would speak', that is translated in Japanese both as *iubeshi* 言へし and as *iiten* 言てん, where *-beshi* and *-ten* (*-tsu* plus *-n*) are two different Japanese adaptations for the Dutch verb *zouden*. As I have discussed in the previous paragraph, for Shizuki *-beshi* corresponds to a modern version of *-mashi*. The ending *-mu/n*, is used, instead, to adapt T58E6 *zullen spreken*, a similar tense where the verb *zouden* has been substituted with *zullen*. The Japanese rendition provided for this phrase is only one: *iwan* 言ん, thus only adding the affix *-n*. Shizuki mostly considers this *-n* as representing the future tense. At the end of the chapter on the "Secret Translations of the Overlapping of the Six Words", Shizuki writes (8v):

Zouden ニ A ノ印ヲ附タレト此等ハ格別ノ語ナレバ動他トノミハ云ヒカタキニ似タリ marin ニモ何ト見ヘズサレト其使ヒヤウニテ考ルニ動他ノ例ナルユヘ右ノ如シ Zullen モ同ジ

Although for *zouden* the symbol A is attached, and even though this changes for each word, it seems hard to define it solely as a *dōta*. You also do not see this in Marin. However, after thinking about its uses there are indeed examples of *dōta*, it is as shown on the right. The same for *zullen*.

To consider *zouden* an active verb is absolutely an independent interpretation of Shizuki. Nowhere in Marin's publications, or in Halma's dictionaries is this ever asserted. The verb *zullen*, as well as its past form *zouden*, are either categorized as a *hulpwoord* 'auxiliary', or as a word with no real meaning on its own that is used to form the future tense (see 4.2.4 and 4.3.1). When Shizuki references what is written "on the right" he probably refers to the examples contrasting the meanings of *zullen* and *zouden* in the previous pages. In particular, one can look at T53E53 and T53E54, respectively reading: *Wolk die wit worden zal* 'Cloud that will become white' and *Wolk die wit worden zou* 'Cloud that should/would become white'. These are translated into Japanese as *shiroku naran kumo* 白くならん雲 and *shiroku naru beki kumo* 白くなるべき雲, respectively, thus assigning the affix *-n* to *zullen* and *-beshi* to *zouden*. This is also retained in the translation of the phrase *zullen vallen* ('will fall', T53E14) and *zouden vallen* ('would/should fall', T53E15), where the version with *zullen* is translated into Japanese as *ochin* 隕ん; while the sentence with *zouden* is provided with two alternatives: *otsu beshi* 隕へし and *ochinan* 隕ちなん, the latter a composition of the two affixes *-nu* and *-n*. Shizuki comments these phrases with the following remark (3v):

言ひてん隕なんノてんなん
和語ノ素姓ニ定マリアリ太

[The suffixes] *-ten* てん and *-nan* なん, as in *i(h)iten* 言ひてん and *ochinan* 隕なん, are established as originally

槩自動ハぬ、ぬる、ぬれ、 ヲ帶ヒ動他ハつ、つる、つ れ、ヲ帶ブ	Japanese. Generally, one links <i>-nu</i> ぬ, <i>-nuru</i> ぬる, <i>-nure</i> ぬれ to <i>jidō</i> verbs, and <i>-tu</i> つ, <i>-turu</i> つる and <i>-ture</i> つれ to <i>tadō</i> verbs.

These three forms provided by Shizuki are, respectively, the *shūshikei* (*-nu* and *-tu*), *rentaikei* (*-nuru* and *-tsuru*) and the *izenkei* (*-nure* and *-tsure*). The fact that these specific forms are provided, in this order, is a clear influence from Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, which also deals with this topic. Firstly, in volume 6, page 27, Motoori deals with the character *na* な, specifically identifying two similar uses of it, when followed by the character *n* ん. This is what he writes:

すべて願ふ意の <u>なん</u> の上のかゝり は。 <u>は</u> <u>も</u> <u>徒</u> のみ也。 <u>ぞ</u> <u>の</u> や <u>何</u> などの辭をおく例なし。 續後拾 遺十七「とにかくにうき身はなれぬ うきよとはいひて後ぞおもひしら <u>なん</u> 。此歌上 <u>ぞ</u> といひて。「しら <u>なん</u> と。願ひの格の <u>なん</u> にてとじめ たるはひがこと也。たとひ上に <u>ぞ</u> は なくても。本より「しらなんといふ べき歌にはあらず。もしいまだ世を いとはぬさきに。末をおしはかりた る意ならば。「しりなんといふべ し。もしは <u>ら</u> は <u>り</u> を寫し誤れるに や。然れ共一首の趣。すでに世をい とひはなれて後に。思ひしれる意の ごとか聞ゆれば。かならず「しりぬ ると結ぶべき歌なるをや	These are all used with the <i>nan</i> that has the meaning of “hope”, “wish” [<i>negau</i> 願ふ], and only with <i>wa</i> , <i>mo</i> and <i>tada</i> . There are not many examples of these with <i>zo</i> , <i>no</i> and <i>ya</i> . In the 17 th section of <i>Shokugoshūi Wakashū</i> we read <i>tonikaku ni ukimi hanarenu ukiyo to wa itoite ato zo omoishiranan</i> . ⁶⁶ In this song, there is <i>zo</i> and <i>shiranan</i> , but this is not the <i>nan</i> of the “wishing” type. For example, even if there had been no <i>zo</i> above, it would not be a song saying <i>shiranan</i> . For example, had it referred to before leaving this world, it would have had the meaning of pondering about the effect [<i>sue wo oshihakaru</i>], and one would thus need to say <i>shirinan</i> . However, if one misspells <i>ra</i> for <i>ri</i> their intentions might get mixed up. Ultimately, even when you hear it used with the meaning of knowing after the body has abandoned this world, still, it is a song connecting with <i>shirinuru</i> .

In this excerpt, Motoori makes the distinction between two superficially identical verbal affixes, both realized as *-nan*. In one case, this *-nan* is the abbreviation of *-namu*, and it attaches to a *mizenkei* form (represented by the character *-ra*, in this excerpt). Motoori calls this a *-nan* with the meaning of “wishing”, “hoping”, using the verb *negau* ‘to wish’. This, however, is not to be confused with another type of *-nan*, that attaches to the *ren'yōkei* form (here represented with *ri*), that can be understood as being the composition of the *mizeneki* form of the affix *-nu*, namely *-na*, and the affix *-n*. This second type of *-nan* is defined by Motoori as possessing the meaning of “pondering about the end” *sue wo oshihakaru* 末をおしはかる that is an identical phrasing to what Shizuki claims in *Seizenfu*, as I will discuss below.

⁶⁶ Rough translation: “Anyway, I wish you will only realize afterwards that you have abandoned the earthly world toward the floating world, without relinquishing you aching body.”

The excerpt by Shizuki also claims that the affixes *-ten* and *-nan* are to be used with active and neuter verbs, respectively. This is consistent with what Shizuki claimed in the opening chapter to *Seizenfu*, since *-ten* and *-nan* derive from the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*. While this is rather clear in Shizuki, it is less so in Motoori who, however, identifies a similar relationship between these affixes and verbal activeness, as he writes in volume 7, on page 47, in the excerpt I copied below. However, the way in which Motoori defined verbal activeness or neutrality was rather different from how Shizuki defined it (see 8.3).

此な古事記日本記の歌にもあり。いづれも皆んと同意也。てなはてん。なゝはなん也。ことさまにいへる説共あれども。皆かなはず。たゞなをんにかへて心得る外なし。但しんは。みずからの事にも。又他のうへにもわたりていふを。此なはたゞみづからしかせんとする事にのみいひて。他のうへをおしはかりうたがふやうの事にいへる例はなし。これんとのがひめ也。十七の巻に「道のなか國つ御神は旅ゆきもしゝらぬ君をめぐみたまはな。これは他のうへにいひて。「たまはなんとこひねがふ意に聞えたり。例なきこと也。もしは奈ノ字は。尼か年かなどの誤にて。「たまはねにはあらざるにや。

This *na* can also be seen in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*. It always has the same meaning as *n*. Also, *tena* is *ten* and *nana* is *nan*. Even if there are instances in which they are said so, they do not always correspond. Furthermore, there is no exception to the changing of *na* with *n*. In fact, *n* can be substituted even with “things of the self” [*mizukara no koto*],⁶⁷ and things about others [*hoka no ue*]. This *na* is only said regarding things one intends to do on their own. There are no examples in which this is used to talk about things that ponder [*oshihakaru*] on things other [form oneself]. This is the difference with *n*. In volume 17, we read, *michi no naka kunitsu mikani wa tabiyuki moshi shiranu kimi wo megumi tamawana*.⁶⁸ This is talking about another. There is not example in which one hears *tamawanan* used with the sense of “wishing” [*koinogau*]. Perhaps, the character *na* 奈 was misunderstood for *ni/ne* 尼 or *ne* 年, and the *waka* was *tamawane ni wa arazaru ni ya*.

Here Motoori explains that, in the construction of *-ten* and *-nan*, the *-n* should in theory be *-na*. I do not believe this to correspond to the truth, since *-n* derives from the affix *-mu* that possesses no *-na* form. Regardless, he distinguishes between the *-na* from which *-n* derives, and the *-na* that cannot be substituted with *-n*, the former namely being the *mizenkei* form of *-nu*. Motoori asserts that, even though *-n* can be said regarding the actions enacted by oneself (*mizukara*) and those enacted by another (*hoka*), the latter *-na* can only refer to actions one intends to enact oneself (*mizukara*). The affix *-ten*, here, is only mentioned because it also features this type of *-n*. It is thus not directly claimed that *-ten* is to be used only with active verbs (verbs enacted by another), although it is claimed that *-nan* can only be used with

⁶⁷ Or, perhaps, even “action of the self” (*mizukara no waza*), depending on how one interprets the Chinese character *ji* 事.

⁶⁸ This poem is found in the seventeenth volume of *Man'yōshū* (3930), it can be translated as: “May the gods that support the land be charitable toward you who have yet to know the way”.

neuter verbs (verbs enacted on the self). Furthermore, it is restated that this type of *-nan* is different from the one expressing a “wish” or a “hope” (*koinégau*).

By comparing the Japanese renditions of T53E15 and T53E7, presenting the *zouden* conjugation of, respectively, a neuter and an active verb, one can deduce two different renditions of the Dutch auxiliary verb, according to the type of verb it combines with. As already claimed, the Japanese affixes *-tsu* and *-nu* are considered synonyms, where, however, the former only combines with active verbs, and the latter with neuter ones. That is why, the non-*tatoe* translations of *zouden*, in these two phrases, changes according to whether it is combined with the active verb *iu* ‘to say’, giving *iiten* (*-tsu* + *-n*) or with the neuter verb *otsu* ‘to fall’, giving *ochinan* (*-nu* + *-n*). As I have discussed in 8.5.1, the affix *-n* always corresponds to the Dutch auxiliary *zullen*, even when this is not explicitly present, rendering the meaning of future of the present dimension (*gense no mirai* 現世ノ未来); as I will discuss in 8.5.4, instead, the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu* are connected to the Dutch auxiliary *hebben* that, when used as auxiliary, provides a past meaning (*gense no kako* 現世ノ過去). Literally, thus, the translation of it as *-nan* or *-ten* would infer the fact that *zouden* has the combined meaning of past completeness (*hebben*) of the action, as well as an uncertain future (*zullen*).

Sentence T53E26 is *Woorden die men spreken zou* ‘Words that one should/would speak’. This sentence is translated into classical Japanese as *iubeki go* いふべき語, thus by the addition of the affix *-beshi*. In popular Japanese, this same sentence is translated as *iu de arō go* 言デアロウ語, where one has to assume the affix *-de arō* to correspond to what in classical Japanese is expressed by means of the affix *-beshi*. The sentence is, furthermore, translated into Chinese as *yīng yán zhī yǔ* 應言之語. This is claimed in the excerpt below, on folio 4v.

言てん語トモ訳スベシいひて んありなんナド末ヲ推シハカ ル意ト本居氏イヘリ又應ノ字 モ推ハカル意ト物氏言ヘリ	It can be also translated as <i>i(h)iten go</i> . As for words like <i>ihiten</i> , <i>arinan</i> etc. Motoori said it of having the meaning of speculating about the end [<i>sue</i> 末], and Sorai said that also the character 応 expresses speculation (<i>oshihakaru</i>).
俗言デアロウ語ト言ソーナ語 トイフ	In the popular language (<i>zokugo</i>) it corresponds to <i>ihidearō go</i> as well as <i>ihisōna go</i> .

The Dutch sentence *Woorden die men spreken zou*, ‘Words that one would/should speak’ is translated into literary Japanese as *iubeki go*, thus with the suffix *-beshi*, into popular Japanese as *iidearō*, and in Chinese as *yīng yán zhī yǔ* 應言之語, thus by using the Chinese character 應. Within this explanation, Shizuki adds that he could have translated this sentence, in Japanese, also by using the phrasing *iiten go*, thus by combining the affix for a complete action in active verbs *-tsu* with the *-n*. In this regard, he explains, he read in Motoori Norinaga that those words having the ending *-ten* or *-nan* convey the meaning of “speculation on the effect” (*sue wo oshihakaru* 末ヲ推ハカル). This might come from the quote of *Kotoba no tama no o*, seen above. Shizuki claims that the same sense of speculation (*oshihakaru*) is

conveyed, according to Confucian Ogyū, by the Chinese character 應 (simplified: 応). Shizuki probably refers to the following quote, from volume 5, on folio 43v, of Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō*:

○應ハ^{レヨタク}料度ノ辞ト。註メカウアラ
ウト。ヲシハカル。コトハナリ。
ラフ ア シュンコンガクワメナリテ ツバメニネン
應レ有下 春 魂 化 為レ 燕 年
く トビ イリテビユイニ スムノガ
年 飛ニ 入 未央 棲 上

○ The character 應 is annotated as a word of 'measuring and pondering' (*ryōtaku* 料度), this is a word that ponders (*oshihakaru*) that something is probably like that (*kō arō*): *shunkon ga kashite tsubame ni narite nen'nen irite biyui ni tobi sumu no ga arō*.

This short definition directly refers to the meaning of this character coinciding with *oshihakaru* 'to ponder'. To illustrate its context of use, Ogyū cites *Gōng rén xié* 宮人斜 – also known as *Nèi rén xié* 内人斜 – a Chinese poem, attributed to Yōyūshi (Yōng Yūzhī) 雍裕之 poet of the Tang dynasty who lived around the year 813. The poem translates roughly as: "If the women serving in the Wèiyāng palace changed their nature, becoming swallows, would they still be flying every year inside the building, making their nests?". Here Ogyū uses the Chinese character 應 to render the popular Japanese suffix *-rō*. Shizuki also provides this popular language alternative translation for T53E26, in the phrase *iidearō go* 言デアラウ語, though he also adds the possibility of translating this into *iisōna go* 言ヒソーナ語, with the form *-sōna*.

These are the instances in which the Dutch verb *zouden* corresponds to the meaning of *oshihakaru*, that is "pondering", specifically about occurrences that might turn out to be true, as opposed to *tatoe*, whereby the hypothesis can never come true. There is, however, another use of *zouden* that does not correspond to either hypothetical; namely the use of *zouden* that ought to be translated as *-beshi*, into Japanese, while still not being a *tatoe*. This double translation of *zouden* is attested in most of the phrases where this verb is used, in *Seizenfu*, as in: T53E40 *steen die vallen zou* (*otsubeki ishi* 隕へき石 and *ochinan ishi* 隕なん石); T53E67 *zouden zijn* (*arinan* ありなん and *arubeshi* あるへし); *zouden zeggen* (*iiten* いひてん and *iubeshi* いふべし). In T53E54 *Wolk die wit worden zou* (*shiroku naru beki kumo* 白くなるべき雲), the translation with *-beshi* is the only attested.

The affix *-beshi* is also used in a few sentences within the twenty-seven sentences of the chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai*, like sentences T54S21 and T54S26 (the latter absent in Waseda's copy). T54S21 reads *Omdat hij te huis blijven zou, wil men 'er niet gaan* 'Since he should/would stay home, nobody wants to go there'. This sentence is labeled as future (*mirai* 未来) and is translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni arubekereba hito yuku koto wo horisezu* 彼人家にあるべければ人行ことを欲せず, where the verb *aru*, in the upper clause, is combined with the suffix *-bekereba*, a composition of the affixes *-beshi* and consequential *-ba*. These are the result of the interaction, in the Dutch sentence, of the conjunction *omdat* 'because', 'since' and the verb *zouden*. Sentence T54S26, is very similar, only substituting the

conjunction *omdat* with *hoewel* (‘even though’, ‘although’), and reads *Hoewel hij te huis blijven zou wil men ‘er niet gaan*, also labeled as *mirai* 未来 and adapted into Japanese analogously, only by substituting the consequential *-ba* with *-do*, mirroring the substitution in conjunction in the Dutch counterpart. The Japanese rendition of T54S26, thus, reads *kano hito ie ni arubekeredo hito yuku koto o horisezu* 彼人家にあるべければ人行ことを欲せず. The fact that both sentences are labeled as *mirai* implies that these are not to be considered *tatoe*, however, this can also be deduced by the fact that both are not introduced by conjunctions such as *indien* or *al*, but by *hoewel* and *omdat*, that have not been recognized by Shizuki as triggering a hypothetical of that type (see 8.5.2.1).

There is, however, another Dutch verb that ought to be translated as *-beshi*, in Japanese, according to Shizuki. This is seen in sentence T53E27 reading *Woorden die men spreken moet* ‘Words that one must speak’, where the verb *moeten* corresponds to the English “must”. The sentence is provided with a Chinese translation, a classical Japanese and a popular Japanese one. The classical Japanese translation reads *masa ni iubeki go* 正にいふへき語, where the only difference with T53E26 – the one with *zouden* – is the addition of the word *masa ni* 正に, thus Shizuki adds the remark “not to be confused with [the sentence] on the right” (右ト混スベカラズ). This same sentence is, thus, translated into Chinese as *dāng yán zhī yǔ* 當言之語, where the verb *moeten* is rendered via the character *dāng* 當 (当), pronounced *tō*, in Japanese. Shizuki provides two popular Japanese renditions, according to the alleged “heaviness or lightness” of the use of the verb *moeten* in the original sentence that must be translated into Japanese. When *moeten* is used as “heavy” then *moeten spreken* ought to be rendered, in popular Japanese, as *iwade kanawanu* イワデカナワヌ. However, when *moeten* is used as “light” the phrase is rendered as *iu hazu go* イウハズ語, thus with the word *hazu*, that Shizuki also writes with the Chinese character *katsu* 筈.⁶⁹ The classical Japanese version features a combination of an adverb *masa ni* (‘certainly’, ‘absolutely’) and the verbal affix *-beshi*. It is believed that this construction has originated from *kanbun kundoku*, where the adverb *masa ni* could be the reading, not only of the character *shō* 正, but also of the character *tō* 当.⁷⁰ Ogyū Sorai, however, in his *Kun’yaku jimō*, treats the character *tō* 當 (当) within the same entry as the character *ō* 応. This implies that their two meanings were often mixed up, by the Japanese, according to Ogyū. He makes the character *tō* 當 correspond to the word *hazu*. The following is found in volume 5 on folio 43v:

⁶⁹ Original quote: “俗イワデカナワヌ語ト言筈ノ語ト訓ス moet ニ輕重ノ二用アリ重キ方ナル時イワデカナワヌト訓スナリ”

⁷⁰ This is claimed in *Digital daijisen*. Original entry: “((漢文訓読から起こった用法)) [ア] (「当に」とも書く。「まさに・・・べし」などの形で) 当然あることをしなければならぬさま。ぜひとも。〈略〉 [イ] (「将に」とも書く) (「まさに・・・せんとする」などの形で) ある事が実現しそうだという気持ちを表す語。今にも。”.

○ 當 カフアルハヅヂヤ ト云フ意ナ
 リ。 當^{ハヅ サアル} 然 正當 的當 ト連用スルユ
 ヘ道理ヲ以テ。カフスルハヅト。キハム
 ル詞ナリ。但シ右ハ。正義ナリ。ソレヨ
 リ轉用メ。カフアルハヅヂヤカラカフセ
 イト云フ。義理ニテ。ヤハリ。タバ。カ
 ウセイト云フ詞ニ。用フルモアリ。
 ナンヂセヒ ドリヨク アスハアレガフ イカ
 汝 當ニ努力一 明日 彼 當レ去

The character *tō* 当 has the meaning of *kō aru hazu ja*. Holding the meaning of its combined uses, as in *sa aru hazu*, *seitō* and *tekitō*, it is a word that expresses the phrasing *kō suru hazu*. These refer to just values (*seigi* 正義). When inflected, it has the meaning of “since it has to be so, then certainly so”. In the duties (*giri* 義理) it is also used to simply mean *kō zehi* [‘certainly so’],⁷¹ as in *nanji doryoku zehi* and *asu wa are ga ikō*

Here, *tō* 当 is combined with three readings. Initially, Ogyū claims that, with the meaning of “justness” (*seigi* 正義), the character *tō* 当 corresponds to the reading *hazu*, as in the phrases *sa aru hazu* and *kō aru hazu ja*, both roughly meaning “it must be so”. This is the same meaning the character has when used in compound words, such as *seitō* 正当 ‘just’ and *tekitō* 的当 ‘appropriate’. However, when it holds the meaning of “duty” (*giri* 義理), then its meaning turns into *kō zehi* ‘certainly so’, as in the sentences *nanji doryoku zehi* ‘you certainly ought to cooperate’ and in *asu are ga ikō* ‘he should be going tomorrow’. In these last two sentences, the meaning of *tō* 当 corresponds to both *zehi* and the verbal conjugation *-ō*, a form Shizuki believed corresponded to the popular Japanese rendition of the character *ō* 応 (as in *de arō*). The reading *masa ni* is not acknowledged by Ogyū, although he does acknowledge it with the characters *shō* 正 and *teki* 適, as can be read further in the same volume 5. This last character *teki* 適 is also relevant if one considers that it is one of the characters used to write the Japanese verb *kanau*, meaning ‘to suit’, ‘to conform’. This verb is used by Shizuki in the construction of the “heavy” use of the character *tō* 当, in popular Japanese, in the form *iwade kanawanu*, a verbal compound that can be analyzed as follows:

{**i(w).** + **.a.** + **de.** + **kana(w).** + **.a.** + **.nu** = *mizenkei* of *i(h)u* ‘to say’ + *ren’yōkei* of negative affix *-zu* + *mizenkei* of *kanau* ‘to suit’, ‘to conform’ + *rentaikei* of negative affix *-zu*}

This is thus a construct with a double negation, that can be literally translated as something like “not saying does not suit”, thus paraphrasing the idea that one ought to speak. What Shizuki called the “light” use of *moeten* corresponded to the Japanese word *hazu* ‘expectedly’, that he writes with the character *katsu* 筈.

⁷¹ The phrase *kō zehi* ‘certainly so’ is featured twice within this entry, and the two instances are spelled differently. In Waseda’s 文庫 17 W36 2 it is spelled with the characters *ka fu se i* カフセイ, in the first instance, and as *ka u se i* カウセイ, in the second instance. In Waseda’s ホ 4 2434 5, it is first spelled as *ka fu se hi* カフセヒ and, afterwards, as *ka fu se i* カフセイ.

In Table 54, there are also a few additional sentences featuring the verb *zouden*, however, since the verb is actually used to modify a construction with the verb *zijn*, I will go back to them in the following paragraphs, when covering the latter. There are, nonetheless, some other relevant remarks to be found in the chapter *Rokushi o kasanaru hiyaku*. For example, sentence (T53E71) *Ik zoude 'er gegaan hebben* ‘I should/would have gone there’, translated into Japanese as *ware kashiko ni yukan to shiki* 我彼所に行んとしき. The form *-n to shiki* expresses willingness, or the determination of enacting the action expressed by the predicate. It is formed by the affix *-n* and by the verb *-su(ru)* to do, combined with the past affix *-ki*, into the form *shiki*. In this context, thus, *zouden* corresponds to this construct. However, this specific form can only be used, according to Shizuki, when talking about one’s own self. When talking about somebody else (他人ノ上ニテ言フ時), another form ought to be used. To exemplify this, Shizuki uses the same sentence as T53E71, changing the subject from *ik* ‘I’ to *hij* ‘he’, reading *Hij zoude 'er gegaan hebben* (T53E72) that is translated into Japanese as *kano hito kashiko ni yukiken* 彼人彼所に行けん. Here, the verb *zouden* corresponds to the affix *-ken* (abbreviated form of *-kemu*). Shizuki further adds that, if one intends to use a form similar to *-n to shiki* while talking about another person one can use the form *-n to hoshiki*, where the verb *su(ru)* is substituted with the verb *horisu* ‘to want’, ‘to like’ that corresponds in meaning to the Dutch verb *willen* ‘to want’, as can be seen from T53E73, *Hij wilde 'er gaan* ‘He wanted to go there’, rendered into Japanese as *kano hito kashiko ni yukan to horishiki* 彼人彼所に行んと欲しき. This is again contrasted with T53E74, where the sentence *Hij moest 'er gaan* ‘He had to go there’, is rendered into Japanese with the combination of *masa ni* and *beshi* combined with the affix *-ki* because of the presence of *moest*, a past tense. Thus, the Japanese sentence reads *kano hito masa ni kashiko ni yukubekariki* 彼人必に彼所に行べかりき. Shizuki adds here the following remarks (10v):

此二語前ナルハ好ム意アリ後ナルハ
彼ナルハ行サルヲ能ハサルノ意アリ
他人ノ上ニテハ右等ノ語ヲ用ウコノ
んとしきノ意ヲ事迹ノ書中ニイヘル
前カタニ イツテモ 既
ハ別ニ *te voeren*, *ooijt*, *reeds*. ナト云
詞ヲ加ヘテ過去中⁷²ノ過去ナルヲ明
カス「けん」ト「つらん」ト混ズル
ヲナカレ「つらん」ノヲハ彼ノらん
ノ條ニ見ヘタリ

The two sentences before this [T53E72 and T53E73] have the meaning of “to like” (*konomu* 好ム). The subsequent [T53E74] has the meaning of “not going is not possible”. When said toward another person one needs to use the words I have shown above. When saying the meaning of *n to shiki* in books of *jiseki* 事迹, one adds *te voeren*, *ooijt* and *reeds*, and it clarifies that it concerns the past within the past. Do not confuse *ken* with *tsuran*. This *tsuran* can be seen in the same line as *ran*.

⁷² In Waseda’s copy, above this term one can find the *katakana* for *mēru dan* メールダン, that I assume to be the abbreviation of the Dutch name for the pluperfect tense *meer dan volmaakte* or *voltooid*.

Shizuki starts this section by providing another additional viable translation for the verb *zouden* into Japanese. According to Shizuki, the verb *zouden* can also be used to express someone's willingness to do something, as in sentence T53E71 *Ik zoude 'er gegaan hebben* that can be assumed to be interpreted by Shizuki as meaning "I should have gone there" as in "I would have wanted to go there". With this meaning, thus, *zouden* corresponds to the Japanese construction *-n to shiki*. However, while in Dutch one can use the same construct to talk about the intentions, or willingness of somebody else, as in T53E72 *Hij zoude 'er gegaan hebben*, in Japanese this is not possible. The reason is not directly specified by Shizuki, however, since he used the phrasing *tanin no ue ni* 'on another person' – very similar to Motoori Norinaga's phrasings – one can assume that the difference lies in this concept. The form *-n to shiki* would be thus only viable when talking about "the self" (*onozukara – ji* 自). When talking about "someone else" (*kanata – ta* 他) the affix must change into *-ken/kemu*. This is because, if one used a similar construction with "the other", then the form *-n to horishiki* would not correspond to the Dutch verb *zouden* anymore, but to the preterit of verb *willen*, namely *wilde*.

Shizuki adds not to confuse this *-ken* with *-tsuran*, a composition of the affix *-tsu*, rendering the completion of an action, and *-ran*, an affix that Motoori Norinaga, on page 14 of volume 6 of his *Kotoba no tama no o*, defines as a "particle of doubt" (*utagai no te ni wo ha* 疑ひのてにをは). I will go back to these affixes when covering the chapter that Shizuki titled *Musubi kotoba*, in 8.6.1.

Regarding the excerpt above, one should notice that this is one of the few instances in which Shizuki apparently employs the traditional *kokugaku* concept of *jita* 自他, instead of the more European-influenced active-neuter dichotomy. In fact, in this excerpt the phrasing "when used on another person" implies that activeness/neutrality is not an intrinsic quality of each verb, as Dutch grammarians and, mostly, lexicographic works tended to theorize, but it depended on the contextual use of the verb within a specific sentence.

Ultimately, Shizuki also mentions the concept of *jiseki*, which I will discuss in 8.6.2. As for now, I can close this analysis of the verb *zouden* with the following scheme, resuming all the different nuances and Japanese translations identified by Shizuki.

ZOUDEN**Type***kako no mirai* 過去ノ未来: future time, past dimension**Meaning****Japanese**

- 1 Hypothetical of impossibility (*tatoe* 假令):

Classical language:

-*mashi* まし;
 -*seba* せば;
 -*mashikaba* ましかば;
 -*maseba* ませば

Early Modern language:

-*beshi* べし
 (-*bekuba* べくば, -*bekeredo* べけれど)

- 2 Hypothetical of possibility (*oshihakaruru* 推シ量カル)

Active *dōta* 動他 verbs:

-*ten* てん.

Neutral *jidō* 自動 verbs:

-*nan* なん.

Capability:

-*beshi* べし.

(Not in the construction *masa ni* + -*beshi*, as it corresponds to *moeten* and the Chinese character *tō* 当)

In past perfect:

-*ken* けん;

-*n to shiki* んとしき (speaking of oneself);

-*n to horishiki* んと欲しき (speaking of another person);

Chinese character

shō 将 (將)

8.5.3 The verb *hebben*

The Dutch verb *hebben* ‘to have’, corresponds, in Shizuki’s Table of the Three Times, to the “past time” of the “present dimension” (*gense no kako* 現世ノ過去). Just like its English counterpart, the verb *hebben* can be used in two main ways: as a verb expressing possession and as an auxiliary for a few present perfect tenses. The Japanese language did not have a direct translation to the possessive sense of the verb *hebben*: the verb *motsu* 持つ corresponds more closely to the concept of

“holding”, rather than “possessing”, and can only be used to render a very limited number of uses of possessive *hebben*; the construction *ni ari*, expresses possession by means of a verb signifying existence, namely *ari*, the same used to translate the verb *zijn*. However, the Chinese language helps Shizuki make the distinction quite clear thanks to the fact that, in Chinese, there is a distinction between “existence”, expressed by means of the character *zài* 在 and “possession”, rendered with the character *yǒu* 有. In the Japanese written language, traditionally, these characters have been used to write the verb *ari*, according to the different nuance in meaning. Shizuki acknowledges this by assigning the character *zai* 在 to the Dutch verb *zijn* and the character *yū* 有 to the verb *hebben*.

8.5.3.1 Non-auxiliary uses of *hebben*

The fact that the meanings of the two characters *zai* 在 and *yū* 有 were somewhat difficult to distinguish for a Japanese speaker, is evidenced by the entry found in Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, in volume 5 on folios 61v-62r, where the two are drawn into contrast:

〔在 有〕

○ 此二字。世俗ニ同ジク用フルハ。文旨沙汰ノ限リナリ。サレ氏。ヨホドノ者ガ。意得ソコナフ。實ニ倭訓ノ人ヲ 謬ル^{アヤマ}ト甚イカナ。有^有ト無^無ト對ス。

○ 在^{タマ}ハ没^没。又去^去ト對ス。有^有ハ只アリ。在^在ハニアリト心得ルナリ。在^在ハマシマス^{マシマス}トヨミテ。居^居ル意ニ使フモ。同ジクナリ。有^有ノ字ノ下ハ物ナリ。在^在ノ字ノ下ハ居處ナリ。市^市ニ有^有レ人^人。人在^在レ市^市ニコレニテ。ヨクスムゾ。又。在^在ノ字。処ニヨリテ。輕ク用ヒテ。於^於ノ字ト通フ^フアリ。又。有^有ノ字。下ノ字ニヲクカナヲ付^付ケテ反ル寸ハ。音ニテ有^有スル^{スル}トヨム。モツ^{モツ}モツテオル^{オル}ト云^云フ意

〔在 有〕

○ Albeit limited by the rules imposed by the meaning of the text, most people fail to understand the meaning of these two characters, which are generally used interchangeably. In reality, people reading in *kun'yomi* mostly misread them. The character *yū* 有 opposes *mu* 無.

○ The character *zai* 在 opposes *botsu* 没 or *kyo* 去. The character *yū* 有 should be learnt as simply meaning *ari* アリ, while *zai* 在 as meaning *ni ari* ニアリ. When reading the character *zai* 在 as *mashimasu*,⁷³ it is the same as using it with the meaning of *our* 居ル. Below [after] the character *yū* 有 there is a [physical] thing, below [after] the character *zai* 在 there is a location, as in the sentences *shi ni hito ari* and *hito shi ni ari*⁷⁴ case, depending on the context, one can use *sumuri* or *zai* 在, interchangeably with the character *o* 於. Furthermore, when one inverts the position of *yū* 有 by placing a *kana* below [after] the character *yū* 有, that ought to be read [in *on'yomi*] as in *yū suru*, and has the meaning of *motsu* モツ and *motteoru*

⁷³ This is a *sonkeigo* version of the verbs *aru* 在る and *oru* 居る.

⁷⁴ In Waseda's 文庫 17 W36 2, this is spelled as *aru* 在^ル, though I believe this to be a misspelling. In Waseda's ホ 4 2434 5, it is spelled as *ari* 在^リ, as I would have expected.

ナリ。富^{フイウ}有^有ノ有^有モコレナリ。奄^{エン}有^有モ同シ。 | モツテオル。 This is the case of *yū* 有 in *fuyū* 富有. It is the same in *en'yū* 奄有.

In this explanation, Ogyū confirms that both characters correspond to the Japanese verb *ari*. He points out that, when reading in *wakun* 倭訓 (Japanese reading of Chinese text, i.e., *kundoku*), most people mix up the meaning conveyed by these two characters. Similar to what he does in his other work *Yakubun sentei*, Ogyū explains the meaning of character by contrasting them with their opposites. The opposite of *yū* 有 is *mu* 無 ‘no’. The character *zai* 在, instead, is opposed to two characters: *botsu* 没 and *kyo* 去, both connected to the idea of “not existing anymore”. Another important difference outlined by Ogyū between these two characters, is the fact that after the character *yū* 有 one requires to place a “thing” (物), while *zai* 在 requires a “location” (居處). This is a consequence of the fact that, being *yū* 有 a verb expressing possession, it requires an object in the role of a direct object, while *zai* 在, since it expresses existence, can only feature a location as its argument, and a “thing” as a direct object. Additionally, *zai* 在 can also be used in its reading as *mashimasu*, thus equated to the verb *oru* 居る ‘to be (somewhere)’, ‘to dwell’, another verb expressing the idea of “being” and “existing”. While I would assume this explanation not to be particularly helpful for a user of Japanese who happens to be confused regarding the use of these two characters, Ogyū adds a more concrete example of (Chinese) language use. He writes the following phrases in Chinese: *shì yǒu rén* 市有人 and *rén zài shì* 人在市 to which *kaeri ten* are annotated composing the following Japanese sentences: *shi ni hito ari* 市二人有リ and *hito shi ni ari* 人市ニ在リ, respectively. Although the two sentences might appear rather similar, they do, in fact, differ sensibly. Both these sentences can be approximated to “There are people in the market/town”, but their grammar is rather different. Also, in the Chinese versions the elements change grammatical role, while in Japanese this does not really happen. In Chinese, the sentence *shì yǒu rén* 市有人, has *shì* (‘market’, ‘town’) as subject, while *rén* (‘people’) is the direct object of the verb *yǒu* (i.e., the character *yū* 有). The Chinese sentence *rén zài shì* 人在市, instead, has *rén* (‘people’) as subject, *zài* as verb, and *shì* as location. In both Japanese versions, the word *hito* ‘people’ is always subject and *shi* ‘town’, ‘market’ is always the indirect object, signaled with the particle *ni*, relative to the same *ari* verb. The Chinese language differentiates between the two meanings by means of two different verbs, written with two difference characters, and by swapping the subject-object relation. Japanese, instead, does not do that, since both meanings are expressed in a very similar morphosyntactic manner, with both sentences presenting the verb *ari*, that is only distinguished in the written form. The only real difference, across the two Japanese adaptations, is what might be described as a “marked” relocation of the phrase *shi ni*. In both Japanese versions the same verb *ari* interacts with the subject *hito* and the indirect object *shi ni*. However, in the possessive sentence, the “owner” (*shi ni*) appears as the first element of the sentence, while in the existential sentence, the first element of the sentence is the subject (*hito*). I am not sure whether Ogyū believed this word order to be a fixed rule, as it could have also been influenced by

the syntax of the Chinese original sentences. In addition, Ogyū also claims that in compound words the character *yū* 有 ought to be read in its *on'yomi* as *yū suru* (*suru* being the general Japanese verb for 'to do') as in the words *fuyū* 富有 ('wealth', 'owned goods') and *en'yū* 奄有 ('possession'). In these instances, the character has the meaning of the verb *motsu* モツ 'to hold' and its derived form *motteoru* モツテオル.

In *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki provides an explanation of the verb *hebben* used with each of the parts of speech he recognizes. When used in combination with full words, meaning substantives, it corresponds to the use of *hebben* as expressing possession. In this instance, Shizuki claims, it has the meaning of "holding/possessing things" (物ヲ持有) – again with the verb *motsu* – and corresponds to the concept expressed by the character *yū* 有 and that it must be translated as *ari* (see 8.4.3).

Also, in *Seizenfu*, Shizuki writes the sentence *Ik heb een pen* 'I have a pen' (incorrectly spelled as *Ik heb pen* in Waseda's copy). This sentence is used as an example of an instance in which the verb *hebben* has the meaning of the Chinese character *yū* 有, as can be seen from the Chinese translation provided there, reading *wǒ yǒu yī bǐ* 我有一筆. This sentence is translated into Japanese as *ware ni ippitsu ari*, where the character *yū* 有 corresponds to the verb *ari*, the owner is marked with the particle *ni* (*ware ni*) and the owned thing is the subject (*ippitsu*), just like Ogyū's sentence above.

Among the numerous example sentences and phrases found in *Seizenfu*, with the exclusion of the past tense *hadden* and past perfect tenses *gehad hadden*, that I will cover in the following section 8.5.3.2, there are only two sentences featuring the verb *hebben* in its present simple tense and, in both, the verb is used in its possessive meaning. Sentence T54S12 quotes *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht* 'Even though a whore has a pretty face, it is a lantern without light'. This sentence is translated into Japanese as *gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran* 妓女に美色ありともこれ無光の燈ならん and the verb *hebben* corresponds to the Japanese *ari* (spelled in *kana* and not in Chinese characters), as expected, that gets conjugated into *aritomo*, as to include the concessional meaning of the Dutch conjunction *al*. It is to this sentence that Shizuki adds the often-cited remark claiming that the meaning of the verb *zullen* is embedded within the word *al*. For this reason, the predicate in the lower clause – the main clause – is conjugated by adding the affix *-n*, typical of the verb *zullen*. For this reason, Shizuki labels this sentence a *mirai* 未来 'future'. Sentence T54S13, instead, is a slight variation of the matrix represented by T54S12, where the only real difference is the substitution of the conjunction *al* with *hoewel*, in the sentence *Hoewel zij een mooi gezicht heeft, is het een lantaarn zonder licht*, translated into Japanese as *kanojo ni bishoku aredomo kore mukō no tō nari* 彼女に美色あれともこれ無光の燈なり. In this sentence, as well, *hebben* is used in its possessive meaning and is rendered into Japanese as the verb *ari*. However, since the conjunction *al* is not present anymore, being substituted by the conjunction *hoewel* that does not have the meaning of *zullen* embedded within it, the predicate in the main clause drops the affix *-n*, ultimately

being conjugated without adding any affix. Another difference in the translation of this sentence, is the fact that the verb *ari* is inflected in its *izenkei* form, which suggests the fact that the affix used to translate *hoewel* is *-domo*, whereas in T54S12 one must have had *-tomo*, since *ari* was in its *shūshikei*. Since the *kana* characters *to* and *do* were often homographs, in the Edo period, the form of the predicate they are conjoined with is the only hint one can use to know which of the two affixes was being used here. T54S13 is commented by adding that, when you have *howevel* in the upper clause, you can often find conjunctions like *dog* ‘still’ or *echter* ‘though’, in the lower clause.⁷⁵

In conclusion, the Dutch verb *hebben*, whenever it is used as a verb expressing possession, always corresponds to the Japanese verb *ari*, yet only in those instances when *ari* corresponds to the Chinese character *yū* 有. This concept was often rendered, in popular Japanese, by means of the verb *motsu* 持つ ‘to hold’. In the following paragraph, I will investigate what is claimed regarding the use of *hebben* as an auxiliary, in the construction of compound tenses.

8.5.3.2 Uses of *hebben* as an auxiliary

In Dutch, the verb *hebben* is also used as an auxiliary to construct present perfect tenses. In contemporary prescriptive Dutch grammar, the verb *hebben* can only be used with specific verbs, whereas other verbs require the auxiliary verb *zijn*. This is the case, for example, of the verb *vallen* ‘to fall’, used by Shizuki as an example of a neuter verb. The form *gevallen hebben*, in contemporary prescriptive Dutch is, thus, not a grammatically correct form, while the form *gezeft hebben* – with the active verb *zeggen* – is. This tended to also be the rule in 17th and 18th century Dutch. However, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki uses both *zijn* and *hebben* in the composition of the perfect tenses of any verb. Or, better said, he never claims that specific verbs cannot combine with *hebben* in the present perfect and he provides examples of both *zijn* and *hebben* used in combination with *vallen*. Furthermore, according to Shizuki, the present perfect with *hebben* always corresponds to the two affixes *-nu* and *-tsu*. These affixes specialize in combining with neuter verbs and active verbs respectively, according to Shizuki, somewhat based on Motoori Norinaga. This is claimed, as I have already discussed in 8.5.2.2, when Shizuki demonstrated the non-*tatōe* used of *zouden*, in the quote below (3v):

太槩自動ハぬ、ぬる、ぬれ、ヲ 帶ヒ動他ハつ、つる、つれ、ヲ 帶ブ	Generally, to neutral verbs (<i>jidō</i>) one adds <i>-nu</i> , <i>-nuru</i> and <i>-nure</i> , while with active verbs (<i>dōta</i>) one adds <i>-tsu</i> , <i>-tsuru</i> or <i>-tsure</i> .

In the *sanze* table, Shizuki identified two characters corresponding to *hebben*, namely *yū* 有 and *ki* 既. As claimed in 8.5.2.1, the Chinese character *yū* 有

⁷⁵ Original quote: “上ニ *hoewel* トイヘバ下ヲ *dog*, *echter* ナトニテ受ルガ通例ナレトサ
ルモノナクシテ言ル例モ多シ”.

corresponds to the non-auxiliary use of *hebben*. It can be assumed that the Chinese character *ki* 既, thus, corresponds to the use of *hebben* in combination with another verb, i.e., when it is used as an auxiliary. On folios 9r-9v of volume 4 of Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō* this Chinese character is defined, together with the character *i* 已, as follows:

〔既 已〕

○ 二字共ニ過去ノ辭ナリ。トクニ
モハヤ 相濟シダト云フ意ナリ。既
ハツクル。已ハヲハルトヨム
ガ。本義ナリ。タトヘバ。春過ル
ト云ッ上デイヘバ。今最中過ルナレ
バ。マダノコル意アリ。過キシマフ
タナレバ盡ル意ユヘ 春既過ト
書クナリ。今最中過ルハ。マダ過
ギオハラスナリ。スキト。過キヲ
ハツタト云フ意ニ 春已過ト。書ク
ナリ。故ニ。既。已 同意ナリ。共
ニモハヤトナリト。トクニトナリ
ト。譯ス。猶ノ字。尚ノ字ト對ス。
又。未ノ字ト對ス。 既去尚
ノコル 残 既 去 未 來。

〔既 已〕

○ Both these characters are words of 'past' [*kako*], having the meaning of *toku ni*, *mohaya* and *aisunda*. The real meaning of these is to read the character *ki* 既 as *tsukuru* and *i* 已 as *woharu* [owaru]. For example, when one says *haru sugiru* ['Spring passes/is passing'] that means that they are within the process of passing and there is still some left. If it has already finished passing, it has the meaning of *sugaru* 盡ル [尽ル 'to pass beyond'] and one writes *haru sude ni sugu* 春既過. Now being in the process of passing, but not yet passed completely. For the meanings of *suki* ['passing'] and *suki-owatta* ['finished passing'] one writes *haru sude ni sugu* 春已過. Furthermore, *ki* 既 and *i* 已 can be synonyms when they translate *mo haya* and *toku ni*. They oppose the characters *yū* 猶 and *shō* 尚. Also, they oppose the character *mi* 未. As in the sentences: *inda mada nokoru* and *tokuni inda mada konu*.

Both these characters are categorized as *kako* 'past', similarly to what is drawn by Shizuki in his Table of the Three Times. However, Ogyū expands on the type of past expressed by the character *ki* 既, that allegedly differs from that expressed by the character *i* 已. Ogyū uses the example of the passing of spring, with the verb *sugu* ('to past', 'to elapse') written with the same Chinese character as the syllable *ka* in the word for "past", *kako* 過去. Ogyū introduces two slightly different contexts, both expressed with the sentence *haru sugiru* 春過ル 'the spring passes'. The first type of past finds the speaker within the process of passing of the spring, meaning that there is still some of the spring remaining (*mada nokoru* マダノコル). This nuance is expressed by means of the character *i* 已. The second example represents the same sentence said when the spring has already completely passed. In this case one uses the character *ki* 既. It can be claimed that the difference between these two characters, thus, is very similar to the concepts of verbal aspect, where *ki* 既 represents an action started in the past, that is complete in the present, while *i* 已 represents an action started in the past and still incomplete in the present. Both sentences are rendered in Japanese as *haru sude ni sugu*, where the characters *ki* 既 and *i* 已 both correspond to the adverb *sude ni* 'already', suggesting the semantic

meaning to be really a feature of the Chinese language. Ogyū never presents an adaptation of these two concepts with specific verbal affixes, in *Kun'yaku jimō*. The characters are, instead, compared to two Japanese verbs: *ki* 既 is said to correspond to the verb *tsukuru* (尽) ‘to complete’ ‘to fully do’; while *i* 已 is translated as *owaru* ‘to end’.

Within the twenty-seven sample sentences, in *Seizenfu* there is not a single one featuring *hebben* as auxiliary. In the other sections, instead, Shizuki provides multiple examples, illustrating the differences in the use of *hebben* with active or neuter verbs. The verbs of his choice are *vallen* for neuter verbs, and *spreken* for active verbs. Both Marin and Halma agreed with this categorization. As can be seen in their dictionaries: *vallen* is considered neuter (HALMA 1710, p. 841) (MARIN 1752, p. 439), and *spreken* is considered active (HALMA 1710, p. 750) (MARIN 1752, p. 353).

In the *kiruru go* section, the Dutch phrase T53E10 *gevallen hebben* ‘to have fallen’ is translated into Japanese as *ochinu*, thus with the affix *-nu*. Here Shizuki adds that this type of phrasings can also be expressed by means of the verb *zijn*. The verb of T53E10 is then used in a sentence, in the *tsuzuku kotoba* section: T53E37 *Steen die gevallen heeft* ‘Stone that has fallen’. This is translated into Japanese as *ochinuru ishi*, where the suffix *-nu* is featured in its *rentaikei* form *-nuru*, since it appears in a relative clause. The same structure was already displayed in phrase T53E23 with the active verb *spreken*, with the sentence *Woorden die men gesproken heeft* ‘Words that one has spoken’. The classical Japanese translation is *iitsuru go*, grammatically identical to the previous sentence, accounting for the substitution of *-nu* with *-tsu*, consistent with the substitution of the neuter verb *vallen* with the active verb *spreken*. However, the Dutch morphosyntax is sensibly different. In phrase T53E37, the subject *steen* ‘stone’ is both the subject and the agent of the action, while in phrase T53E23 *woorden* ‘words’ is the subject but not the agent, role played, in this case, by the impersonal pronoun *men* ‘one’. Shizuki deals with this idea in the following quote (4r):

spreken 動他詞ナル故ニ had, hebbe ニ値 へバ必ス men ヲ加サレバ言フヲ能ハズ had, hebbe モ動他ナレバナリ	<i>Spreken</i> is a <i>tadō</i> . For this reason, when it meets <i>had</i> or <i>hebbe</i> [n], it cannot be said without adding <i>men</i> . Also, <i>had</i> and <i>hebbe</i> [n] are <i>dōta</i> .

The manner in which Shizuki rationalizes this difference is rather peculiar. His goal is to translate the Japanese *iitsuru go* that would directly translate the English “Words that have been spoken” but the phrasing **woorden die gesproken hebben* would make the subject “words” the agent of the action, and that is certainly not the intended meaning. The present perfect of *vallen*, namely *gevallen hebben* (T53E10), corresponds to the Japanese *ochinu* (*otsu* + *-nu*) while the present perfect of *spreken*, namely *gesproken hebben* (T53E2), corresponds to the Japanese *iitsu* (*iu* + *-tsu*). In the *tsuzuku kotoba* section, instead, Shizuki portrays the way the Japanese *rentaikei* form should be rendered into Dutch. It is in this context that one finds the first inconsistency between the Japanese sentences and their Dutch renditions. A

rentaikei is used, in Japanese, whenever the predicate needs to modify the subsequent noun, as in a relative clause. In Japanese, thus, the forms *iitsuru go* (*iu* + *rentaikei* of *-tsu* + *go* 'words'; T53E23) is grammatically homologous to *ochinuru ishi* (*otsu* + *rentaikei* of *-nu* + *ishi* 'stone'; T53E37). These are both relative clauses. However, in the latter the word *ishi* also functions as the subject and agent of the phrase, while in the former, *go* cannot be the agent, since "words" cannot speak but, rather, are spoken, instead. To consider *iitsuru go* a passive mood, nonetheless, is not representative of either Japanese grammar, or Shizuki's theory. Firstly, Shizuki never recognizes the existence of a passive tense, in and of itself (see 8.4.1, above). Secondly, whenever a sentence can only be interpreted as a passive, Shizuki always adopts other specific verbal affixes to render it into Japanese (see both 8.4.1, and 8.4.9). Consequently, according to Shizuki, the sentence *iitsuru go* is not to be considered a passive, but a sentence whose grammar is completely homologous to the neuter-verb version *ochinuru go*. The problem in correspondence is only found in the Dutch version, for which there is no linguistic tool to render *iitsuru go*, unless one adds the word *men*, an indefinite subject pronoun, that radically transforms the morphosyntactic relations between the elements of the sentence. By means of this addition the element "words" becomes the patient of the verb and *men* functions as the explicit subject. The addition of *men* to the same sentence with *vallen* is not necessary, as this verb is neuter. This is discussed in the following quote (7r):

vallen 自動ナル故 men ヲ加ヘスシテ
 hebben Zullen ヲ言フ又 vallen 自動ナ
 ル故 worden ヲ加フルヲナシ總テ
 Worden ヲ加レバ動他ヲ自動トナス
 意アリ

The verb *vallen* is neutral (*jidō*), thus one can say *hebben* or *zullen* without adding *men*. Furthermore, since *vallen* is neuter, it is not combined with *worden*. Whenever *worden* is added, it has the meaning of turning an active verb into a neuter verb.

The reason why *vallen* cannot combine with *men* is a consequence of it being a neuter verb. In reality, *vallen* actually can combine with *men*, just not in the context provided by Shizuki. This quote is found in the *tsuzuku kotoba* section, where the verb *vallen* is always used in relative clauses where the subject was *steen* 'stone'. In Dutch, one could actually say *Men valt* 'One falls', thus combining *vallen* with *men*, yet this would make *men* the subject of the verb *vallen* and this is not what Shizuki is talking about. This claim concerning the impossibility of combining *vallen* with *men*, should be read in the context of only comparing it to the Dutch translation of *iitsuru go*. Since the sentence *iitsuru go* cannot be adapted into Dutch without changing the grammatical structure by adding an impersonal pronoun *men*, one could expect the same thing to be possible with *ochinuru ishi* that, in Japanese, has an identical morphosyntax, except for the different affix. In Dutch, though, one cannot add *men* to the sentence *steen die gevallen heeft* (T53E37), the same way one would do with *Woorden die men gesproken heeft* (T53E23). That is to say, the sentence **Steen die men gevallen heeft* is not grammatically correct. In the quote above, Shizuki also mentions the fact that, since *vallen* is a neuter verb, it cannot combine with *worden*, the Dutch auxiliary for the passive mood. This is the first clear mention of Shizuki concerning the impossibility of neuter verbs to be turned

passive, as it was claimed in the Dutch sources (see Chapters III and IV). The Dutch auxiliaries *hebben* and *zullen* can be used, with neuter verbs, without the need of the impersonal pronoun *men*. This means that one can say, in Dutch, *steen die gevallen heeft*, as well as *steen die vallen zal*, since *vallen* is neuter, while one cannot say **woorden die gesproken hebben* and **woorden die gesproken zullen*, as a rendition of the Japanese *iitsuru go* and *iwan go*, respectively. To do that, these Japanese sentences need to be rendered into Dutch as *Woorden die men gesproken heeft* (T53E23) and *Woorden die men spreken zal* (T53E28), respectively. This happens because *spreken* is an active verb. The same correspondence in use between *hebben* and *zullen* is identified by Shizuki in the way auxiliaries combine with adjectives, being that *zijn* is the only out of the three that can combine with an adjective. This is claimed by Shizuki in the quote “The word *wit* [‘white’] is a quiet word that translates *shiro* 白. Empty quiet words thus cannot combine with *hebben* or *zullen*” (*wit* 静虚詞ナリ 白ト訳ス 静虚ハ hebben, zullen. ニカヽルヲナシ).

There are other examples of *hebben* being used as an auxiliary. For example, phrase T53E70 is *zouden gezegt hebben* ‘Should/would have said’, that combines *zouden* with *hebben* and a past participle of an active verb. This phrase presents four Japanese adaptations. In the classical language, this would be rendered as *iiken* {*ih.* + *.i.* + *.ken* = *ren’yōkei* of *i(h)u* + *shūshikei* of *-kemu*}, *iwan to shiki* {*ih.* + *.a.* + *.n* = *mizenkei* of *i(h)u* + suffix *-mu/n*} + {*shi.* + *.ki* = *ren’yōkei* of *su(ru)* ‘to do’ + past suffix *-ki*}, while in popular language one uses the version *ittarā* 言タラー and *iu to shita* 言ウトシタ. In these examples, the Dutch conjugation is adapted into Japanese by means of the affix *-kemu* (see 8.6.1).⁷⁶

⁷⁶ For the sake of completeness, I have to add that there are other interesting examples of the use of *hebben* in *Joshi-kō*. The entry to the phrasing *liever hebben* ‘rather have’ provides the Japanese translation *wakite aisu* 別て愛す. This phrase is composed by the verb *wakiru* ‘to differentiate’ and *aisu* ‘to love’. The Dutch phrasing *liever hebben* is, thus, adapted very differently into Japanese, where the verb *hebben* has no direct counterpart. To explain this *joshi*, Shizuki adds the following sentence: *Wie hebt gij liever?* “Who would you rather have?”, translated into Japanese as *nanji dare wo ka wakite aisuru* 汝誰をか別て愛する. Shizuki also deals with another important grammatical nuance, while covering the Dutch preposition *te* in combination with *hebben* and the prefix *ge-* (that Shizuki treats as a *joshi*), meaning *hebben* plus a participle. He claims the following: “One can find or not find *te* between the word *hebben* and a word to which *ge* is added. This is like saying *geslaapt te hebben* and *geslaapt hebben*. In the rule of the language, one adds *te*. This is the same type as *de* and *het*, yet it is not the same *te* to make a dead word” (*ge* ノ附タル詞ト hebben トノ間ニアレハ *te* ハアルモ無カ如シ *geslaapt te hebben*, *geslaapt hebben* ト同意也 文法ニテ *te* ヲ加フル也 *de*, *het* ノ類ナレト死詞ニナス為ノ *te* ニモアラス). In the subsequent entry Shizuki writes: “When combining *om te*, there are two meanings. When it receives a verb above, it translates *beki ga tame*. The translation of *te* as *beki ga* is in the likes of *hij doet het om eerlijk te leven*, *om te zien*. The verb *doen* receives a verb. When it receives a ‘lively verb’ before it translates *ni. bekwaam om te lezen*, *yomi ni yoroshi* 読に宜し *bekwaam* receives an adjective (*seishi* 静詞) *om met hem te spreken*. This is a different *om te*. Personally, I believe it must be translated as *kano hito to tanzu beki ga tame*” (*te. om te. ト連ル時二義アリ 上動詞*

Going back to the *sanze* 'Table of the Three Times', the verb *hebben* is found at the crossing between the *gense* column, and the *kako* line, making it a *gense no kako*. This, certainly, only refers to the use of *hebben* in present perfect tenses. The meaning of the Japanese suffixes *-nu* and *-tsu*, is compared to the Chinese character *ki* 既 which, as defined by Ogyū, is used to refer to processes that are completed in the present time. Since Shizuki identifies a different nuance in the conveyed meaning regarding the use of *hebben* and *zijn* in 18th century Dutch, this type of phrasing only corresponds to a present perfect tense constructed by means of the auxiliary *hebben*. The verb *zijn*, instead, is found in the *genzai* 'present' line, as its use in combination with participles is identified as rendering a sensibly different meaning, as I will discuss in 8.4.9.

HEBBEN

Type

gense no kako 現世の過去, Past of the Present

Meaning

Japanese

- 1 With neuter verbs: *-nu* ん
- 2 With active verbs: *-tu* つ
- 3 With nouns: *ari* あり

Chinese character

yū 有 (with nouns)

ki 既 (with verbs)

ヲ受ル時ハべきが為ト訳 *te* ヲべきがト訳ス *hy* doet het om eerlyk te leeven, om te zien. ナド也 *doen* 動詞ヲ受ク 上ノ動活詞ヲ受ル時ハにト訳ス *bekwaam* om te leezen 読に宜し *bekwaam*. 静詞ヲ受タリ *om met hem te spreken*. *om te* ヲ別テリ 發按ニ彼人と談ずべきか為ト訳スベシ). He further also adds: "You translate *te* as *beki*. As in *te doen hebben*, *te eten hebben*; *nasu beki nari*, *kuu beki ari*. These combine with a verb without *ge*." (べきト訓ス *te doen hebben*. *te eeten hebben*. 為べきなり 食ふべきあり 是等ハ *ge* ノツカス動詞ニ連レリ). This text contains many implicit interpretations regarding Dutch grammar. The syllable *ge-* is used as a prefix in the composition of Dutch past participles. To consider it as a small word-unit was far from uncommon, even within Dutch sources. In Halma's dictionary, the prefix *ge-* gets its own entry and is treated as a *lid* 'small word', 'part of word' or *artykel* 'article' (see 4.1.4). In Shizuki's examples above some instances in which the verb *hebben*, present in the original Dutch phrase, does not get adapted in any way into Japanese. In all the above sentences, which present small nuances in meaning of the combination *om te* 'in order to', 'to', with a compound verb constructed with *hebben*, the Japanese translation only retains the main verb and *beki ga tame*, which is a translation of *om te*, as Shizuki claims, and not *hebben*.

8.5.4 The verb *hadden*

The Dutch verb *hadden* is the past simple, or preterit, of the verb *hebben*. For this reason, it can be used in both contexts in which its present-tense counterpart is used, namely: to express possession; and as an auxiliary for the construction of a past perfect tense. The uses of *hadden*, as identified by Shizuki, are exemplified by the following quote found in the grammatical section of *Joshi-kō* (55v):

hadden. 言 ^{イヒ} キ ^ミ 見キナトノキノ字ノ意ナリ	<i>hadden</i> Has the meaning of the character <i>ki</i> in <i>ihiki</i> , <i>miki</i> etc. When it interacts with a full word, it has the meaning of <i>ariki</i> 有.
○実詞ニカハル時ハ ^{アリキ} 有ノ意ナリ	Meaning of <i>sōyū</i> 曾有. Meaning of <i>yū</i> 曾.
曾有ノ意 曾ノ意	
キ アリキ	<i>ki ariki</i>
シ アリシ	<i>shi arishi</i>
シカ アリシカ	<i>shika arishika</i>

Shizuki recognizes two main uses of *hadden*, one of which is identified with the phrasing “When it interacts with a full word” (実詞ニカハル時), in which case it has the meaning of the Chinese character *yū* 有, conveying the meaning of possession (see 8.5.3.1). However, the word *ariki* is added as *furigana* to this Chinese character, thus implying that the semantic meaning of *yū* 有 (*ari*) has to be modified by the addition of the affix *-ki*. When *hadden*, thus, has the meaning of *ariki*, Shizuki claims that it corresponds to the combination of the two Chinese characters *sō* 曾 and *yū* 有. When *hadden* is used as an auxiliary, instead, it only has the meaning of *sō* 曾 in which case, in the Japanese rendition, it only corresponds to the affix *-ki*. Consequently, the Chinese character *sō* 曾 has a tight semantical relation with the Japanese affix *-ki*. In the Table of the Three Times, Shizuki provides the same Chinese characters, in correspondence to the auxiliary *hadden*. The connection between *hadden* and the affix *-ki* is also visible in the following quote from *Rangaku seizenfu* (24r):

hadden 動詞ニアヘハき、し、ト訳ス 實詞ニアヘハありきト訳ス hebben ニ準スベシ	When <i>hadden</i> meets a verb, it translates <i>ki</i> き and <i>shi</i> し. When it meets a noun, it translates <i>ariki</i> . It works like <i>hebben</i> .

Ogyū Sorai, in *Kun'yaku jimō*, defines the character *sō* 曾 in three different entries. On folio 64r of volume 3, he writes:

曾ハ古語ナリ。乃ノ字ノ意ニテ。上ニ反スル所ニ。用フル字ナリ。故ニ。カヘヅテト。ヨムデモ通ズ。	The character <i>sō</i> 曾 is old language. When it has the meaning of the character <i>dai</i> 乃, it is a character used to contradict what comes before. Thus, it can also be generally read as <i>kaette</i> .

In volume 4, on folios 22r-22v:

〔曾 嘗〕

○ カツテ ト云フヲ。世俗ノ語ノカツ
 テニ意得テ。フツク ト云フコヂヤト思
 フハ。俗意甚シキナリ。曾ノ字ハム
 カシト訓ズル字ナリ。ソレニヨリ。イ
 ツノコロヤラ_ト。ツキニ_ト譯ス。ムカ
 シト云フトテ。昔ノ字トハ。少コシノ
 意味ガチガフナリ。コノマヘト云フホド
 ノナリ。昔ノ字ハ時代ニテ云フ詞ナ
 リ。曾ノ字ハ。事ノ上ニテ云フ詞ナ
 リ。ソレカラ轉メ_ル イツノコロヤラ_ト
 ミルナリ。

ソウヲ	マダ ツキニゴザラ
想フレ 曾	未ニ 曾 有
コノマヘ	ヌ

マダ ツキニミヘ	コノマヘ
未ニ 曾 見	曾 有リシ
ヌ	イツノコロヤラ

 此事。

〔曾 嘗〕

○ It is read *katsute*, and has the meaning of *katsute* [*katte*, perhaps] in the popular language. If we think of it as meaning *futsufutsu*, it conveys quite properly the popular meaning. The character *sō* 曾 is read in Japanese as *mukashi*. Thus, it can also be translated as *itsu no koro yara* or *tsui ni*. When it is read *mukashi*, it corresponds to the character *seki* 昔, although there is still a slight difference. It means *kono mae* ['recently']. The character *seki* 昔 is a word concerning eras, while *sō* 曾 is used to talk about actions. Thus, it can also be modified into the meaning of *itsu no koro yara*. Ex. *kono mae omou* 想曾 ['Recently think']; *mada tsui ni gozaranu* 未曾有 ['Still is not']; *mada tsui ni mienu* 未曾見 ['Still not see']; *kono maeitsu no koro yara kono koto arishi* 曾有此事 ['Since when has this thing existed'].

In volume 4, on folio 28v:

○ 曾_ハ元来スナハチナリ。カウヂヤニ
 スナハチト。ウツル。スナハチユエ。
 カヘヅテノ意ニナルナリ。

The character *sō* 曾 originally meant *sunawachi*. From *kō ja sunawachi* it moved on to meaning *kaette*.

These entries define the character *sō* 曾 in ways quite different from the meaning of *hadden*, as acknowledged by Shizuki. Ogyū never connects the character *sō* 曾 to the Japanese affix *-ki* or any affix whatsoever. The character always corresponds to adverbs, such as *sunawachi* 'that is to say', *katsute* 'once' or 'formerly', *tsui ni* 'eventually' or *mukashi* 'in the past'. Of these, the entry that is closest to the meaning of the affix *-ki* is probably the second of the three quoted above. There, it is claimed that the character *sō* 曾 corresponds to the meaning of the character *shō* 嘗, since both can be read as *katsute*, which is an adverb that broadly renders the meaning of the English "before". In this sense, thus, the character refers to the concept of "past" and can also be read as *mukashi*, a word that can also be written with the Chinese character *seki* 昔. The word *mukashi*, however, conveys two different nuances in meaning, according to the Chinese character it corresponds to. Whenever *mukashi* is written with the character *seki* 昔 it means "once upon a time" or "in the olden days", as it refers to "eras" (時代). However, when *mukashi* is

written with the character *sō* 曾, it is used more generally to “refer to actions” (事ノ上ニテ), probably meaning that it is to be used with the sense of “previously” or “before”, in combination with a verb. This is an interesting claim, since it would suggest this nuance in meaning to be the one more closely related to Shizuki’s definition of the Dutch *hadden*. However, in none of the sentences provided by Ogyū at the end of that entry does the character *sō* 曾 correspond to the verbal affix *-ki*, being generally rendered into Japanese as *tsui ni* ‘at last’, *kono mae* ‘previously’ or other adverbial phrases, instead. There is one example in which the verb *gozari*, formal version of *ari*, is actually conjugated by means of the addition of *-ki*, in the last sample. However, that *-ki* is not attributed directly to the character *sō* 曾 and is simply provided as *okurigana* of the character *yū* 有.

In Motoori Norinaga’s *Kotoba no tama no o*, there does not seem to be much of an explanation of the semantic meaning of the affix *-ki*. There, however, an interesting section, found on page 1 of volume 6, where the author distinguishes between what he calls “*ki* of the past” and “*ki* of the present” that correspond to the *shūshikei* of the affix *-ki* and the *rentaikei* of *-ku* adjectives, respectively.

The use of the affix *-ki* to render *hadden* is very consistent within Shizuki’s *Seizenfu*. Contrarily to its present-tense counterpart *hebben*, that is provided with two translations according to whether the verb is active or neuter, *-ki* is used with either type of verb. This is why Shizuki can translate the Dutch phrase *Gesproken hebben* (T53E3) as *iiki* 言き, and *Gevallen hebben* (T53E11) as *ochiki* 隕き. Phrase T53E22 *Woorden die men gesproken had* “Words that one had spoken” demonstrates the Japanese and Chinese rendition of the use of *hadden* (here *had*), in a relative clause (*tsuzuku kotoba*). T53E22 is translated into Classical Japanese as *iishi go* いひし語, where *-shi* is the *rentaikei* of the affix *-ki*, and into Chinese as *céng yán zhī yǔ* 曾言之語, where *céng* is the standard Mandarin pronunciation of the character *sō* 曾. The sentence is also translated into popular Japanese as *itta go* 言タ語, an identical translation to what Shizuki provided for the popular Japanese version of the same sentence using *hebben* (T53E23).

In T53E63, Shizuki claims that the combination *gehad hebben*, thus the present perfect tense of the verb *hebben* used as a possessive (corresponding to the English “to have had”) is almost synonymous to the verb *hadden* alone. There is one single difference between the two, and that is the fact that the latter refers to a time that is slightly closer to the present. This is a very puzzling claim, since it does not precisely agree with the rest of the content of *Seizenfu*, however, this is also claimed with regard to the phrase *geweest zijn*, the present perfect tense of the verb *zijn* used as expressing existence, and its preterit *waren* (T53E62).

Among the twenty-seven sentences in the chapter titled *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*, there are five sentences featuring the verb *hadden*, namely the sentences from T54S14 to T54S18. The verb *hadden*, in all these sentences, is always present in its possessive meaning but, since they also feature past-perfect tenses, one can also witness its use as an auxiliary. All these sentences are variation of the “pretty face” sample sentence, cited from the poet Jacob Cats, and are lengthily commented upon. Sentences T54S14 to T54S16 all present the conjunction *hoewel*, in combination

with different verbal tenses in both the main clause and the subordinate clause. Sentence T54S14 combines the past simple *had*, in the subordinate clause, and the past simple *was* – of the verb *zijn* – in the main clause, and reads *Hoewel zij een mooi gezicht had, was het een lantaarn zonder licht* ‘Even though she had a pretty face, it was a lantern without light’. In the Japanese rendition, *hoewel* is rendered as *-domo*, *had* as *ari* plus the affix *-ki*, and *was* as *nari* plus the affix *-ki*, becoming *kanojo ni bishoku arishikadomo kore mukō no tō nariki* 彼女に美色ありしかどもこれ無光の燈なりき. T54S15 is almost identical, only substituting the preterit *was*, in the main clause, with the present simple *is*, that corresponds to *nari*, in the Japanese translation. Since this mostly concerns a difference in the verbs *zijn* and *waren*, I will go back to this in the coming paragraphs. Sentence T54S14 is labeled as *kako* 過去 ‘past’, however, sentence T54S15 is explained as being a sentence starting from the past and reaching/entailing the present (*kako yori gense ni kakete* 過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ). Sentence T54S16 also presents the conjunction *hoewel*, and the verb in the main clause is the preterit *was*, however, the verb in the main clause is conjugated into a perfect tense. The interpretation of the subordinate clause of this sentence is particularly complicated as there are a few issues with its verb. In Waseda’s copy the verb in the subordinate clause is *gehad hadden* ‘had had’, thus a past perfect, while in Gifu’s copy it is a present perfect *gehad hebben* ‘have had’. Another inconsistency is the fact that in both copies, regardless of the tense, the verbs are conjugated in their plural forms. Consequently, the subject *zij*, which was always a ‘she’, in the previous sentences, must be interpreted as corresponding to a ‘they’. There is no Japanese translation for this sentence in either copy, although the phrase ‘the same translation as before’ (前ト同訳ナリ) is added. If one assumes this ‘same translation’ to mean that the Japanese sentence is identical, to the sentence before (that I deduce is T54S14 and not T54S15 on the basis of the verb in the main clause and the common label *kako*), then the subject would be singular, and thus it must be assumed that Shizuki mistook the plural conjugations of the perfect tenses as also applying to singular subjects. Otherwise, if the ‘same translation’ only referred to the relevant grammatical features (the conjunction and the two predicates) one could deduce that Shizuki intentionally changed the subject from a ‘she’ to a ‘they’, thus correctly conjugating the Dutch verb into the plural form. However, since the conjugation of this verb differs between the copies, one could also simply assume both versions to be misspellings of an originally singular verb. Regardless, T54S14 to T54S16 explain that, as far as the verb *hadden* is concerned, the combination of this past tense with the conjunction *hoewel*, within the upper clause, always renders the Japanese *arishikadomo* ありしかども, that is to be understood according to the following formula:

{**ar.** + **.i.** + **.shika** + **.domo** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *ari* ‘to be’ + *izenkei* of the affix *-ki* + affix *-do(mo)*}

These three sentences are lengthily commented upon, however, since those remarks mostly entail the interaction of the upper clause with *hadden* and the lower clause,

featuring different versions of the verb *zijn*, I will discuss them in the following paragraphs 8.5.5 and 8.5.6.

Sentences T54S17 and T54S18 are also very similar, although now featuring two different conjunctions. Sentence T54S17 features the conjunction *toen* ‘back when’, ‘back then’, and both predicates are past simple tenses, with *had*, in the upper clause, and *was*, in the lower clause. The sentence reads *Toen zijn een mooi gezicht had, was het een lichtende lantaarn*, where the main clause also features a slightly different phrasing from the original, translating “Back when she had a pretty face, it was a bright lantern”. In Japanese, the sentence becomes *kanojo ni bishoku arishi toki wa kore yūkō no tō nariki* 彼女に美色ありし時はこれ有光の燈なりき. The only real difference between this sentence T54S17 and T54S15 is the fact that the conjunction *toen* cannot correspond to the Japanese affix *-do(mo)* anymore, as *hoewel* did there, so it is rendered into Japanese as *toki wa* 時は ‘when’. However, since *toki* is a noun, literally meaning ‘time’, the predicate modifying it requires to be inflected into the *rentaikei* form, thus the combination of *ari* plus *-ki*, also present in T54S15, becomes *arishi*, giving the form *arishi toki wa*, that renders the combination of *toen* plus *had*. This sentence is also labeled as *kako* ‘past’, and it is added that one can see the details of this in the explanation to the sentence *kano hito ie ni arishi toki* seen before. This is referring to T54S3, *Toen hij te huis was, durfde ‘er niemand spreken*, translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni arishi toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki* 彼人家にありし時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき.⁷⁷ I will go back to this in paragraph 8.5.6, below.

Lastly, sentence T54S18 combines *al* with the preterit *had*, in the subordinate clause, and *zouden* with *zijn*, in the main clause. Shizuki labels this a *tatoe* and adds that, since there is the conjunction *al*, the verb *had* needs to be translated as *aranmo*, thus via the affix *-n*, since the meaning of *zullen* is embedded within the conjunction *al* itself. In Waseda’s copy there is a further remark warning the reader not to confuse this *had* – that is a *tatoe* – with the *had* used in the preceding sentences, where it was a *fusokuji* 不足時. This term is never used in Gifu’s copy, and it seems likely to be a later addition of the copyist. The term *fusokuji* appears to be a literal translation of the Dutch *onvoltooide tijd* or *onvolmaakte tijd*, both terms commonly used to refer to the “imperfect tense”. Even though this is probably a later addition, this claim is very sound as it informs the reader not to confuse the indicative *had*, used to refer to a past time, with the subjunctive *had*, used to construct a hypothetical tense, specifically to hypotheticals of impossibility, a concept Shizuki called *tatoe*.

To conclude the analysis of Shizuki’s description of the uses of *hadden* it can be said that *hadden* always corresponds to the affix *-ki*. This includes the verb *ariki*, that is the translation of *hadden* when used as expressing possession. Unless *hadden* is used in a *tatoe* sentence, the way the predicate of the Japanese sentence must be translated can vary sensibly according to the conjunction present in the Dutch phrase. In sentences T54S14 to T54S16, the verb *hadden* is used in combination

⁷⁷ This Dutch sentence is misspelled in Gifu’s copy, where the lower clause is identical to the upper one.

with the conjunction *hoewel*. In *Joshi-kō*, *hoewel* is considered a *joshi* and has its own entry that can be read below (19r-19v):

alhoewel, alschoon, hoewel, schoon, ofschool, niet tegen staande.	<i>alhoewel, alschoon, hoewel, schoon, ofschool, niet tegen staande.</i>
どもト訓ス但シ過去ニ用ユルカ故也	Translate with <i>domo</i> as it is used with a <i>kako</i> 'past'.
hoewel het niet altoos vast ging.	<i>hoewel het niet altoos vast ging</i>
それが常に一定に行さりしかども	"Although it has not always gone strictly (so)"
hoewel het niet altoos vast gaat.	<i>sore ga tsune ni ittei ni yukazarishikadomo</i>
それが常に一定に行ねども	<i>hoewel het niet altoos vast gaat</i>
但シ hoewel.ノ類ヲ未来に用ヒ alヲ過去ニ用ル様ノハ未タ見當ラズ	"Although it does not always go strictly (so)"
	<i>sore ga tsune ni ittei ni yukanedomo</i>
	Nonetheless, no use of <i>hoewel</i> in the future or <i>al</i> in the past is to be witnessed.

In this excerpt Shizuki directly claims that *hoewel*, and similar phrasings, are to be translated into Japanese as *-domo*.⁷⁸ The Japanese translation of the two Dutch phrases mirrors the morphosyntactic structure of the upper clauses with *hoewel*, found in *Seizenfu*'s twenty-seven sample sentences. The conjunction *hoewel* is translated as *-domo* in both, however the verb is not *hebben/hadden* in these phrases, but rather *gaan* 'to go' (and its past simple *ging*) that corresponds to the Japanese verb *yuku*. Another difference is that in these two phrases the verb is negative, featuring the word *niet* 'not' in Dutch, meaning that the Japanese version also needs to include a negative affix in the conjugation of the predicate. In the phrase with a present tense, this is done by adding the affix *-zu*, while in the past tense, the affix *-zari* is added. The predicate in the present sentence can be understood according to the following formula:

{**yuk.** + **.a.** + **.ne** + **.domo** = *mizenkei* of the verb *yuku* 'to go' + *izenkei* of the affix *-zu* + affix *-do(mo)*}

The verb in the past tense, instead, is to be understood according to the following formula, where the negation is rendered via the affix *-zari*, instead of *-zu*, and the affix *-ki* is added to render the past tense:

{**yuk.** + **.a.** + **.zari** + **.shika** + **.domo** = *mizenkei* of the verb *yuku* 'to go' + *ren'yōkei* of the affix *-zari* + *izenkei* of the affix *-ki* + affix *-do(mo)*}

⁷⁸ There is some inconsistency in the use of the *nigori* marking across the editions, however, it is clear from the two sample sentences, that Shizuki only meant *-domo* and not *-tomo*, as the latter would require a *shūshikei* form to be attached to.

Thus, the same grammatical value expressed by the verb *hadden* – meaning the affix *-ki* – also occurs when a verb is conjugated in its past simple tense. This is never directly stated in *Rangaku seizenfu*, since most occurrences of the affix *-ki* there corresponded to the verb *hadden*, in either of its uses. Whenever it does not correspond to *hadden*, within *Seizenfu*, it mostly refers to *waren*, the past form of *zijn* (see 8.5.6). There are, however, even in *Seizenfu*, a few examples of verbs different from the six auxiliaries, that are conjugated into their past simple forms and are translated by adding the affix *-ki*. This is the case, for example of *durfde* (e.g., T54S3), past simple of the verb *durven* ‘to dare’, and of *wierden*, past simple of the verb *worden*, used as an auxiliary for the passive voice. It is also claimed that the verb *wierden* has the meaning of the combination of the characters *hi* 被, previously connected to *worden*, and *sō* 曾. In *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*, however, the preterit or past simple tense is never directly covered.

The affix *-tomo*, that often happened to be homograph with *-do(mo)*, is found, in *Joshi-kō* as a translation of the Dutch conjunction *al*, as can be read in the following quote (19r).

al.	<i>al</i>
ともト訓ス	Translate as <i>tomo</i> as it is used with the <i>mirai</i> ‘future’.
但シ未来ニ用ルカ故也	<i>al</i> was <i>hij mijn broeder</i> [‘Even if he were my brother’]
<i>al</i> was <i>hy myn broeder</i> .	<i>kano hito tatoï ware no kyōdai tari tomo</i>
彼人たとひ我兄弟たりとも	In the lower clause, the meaning of <i>zullen</i> is embedded within <i>al</i> .
下句アレハ <i>al</i> ニ <i>Züllen</i> ノ意ヲ含ム	<i>Al</i> is <i>hij ouder dan ik</i> [‘Even though he is older than me’]
<i>al</i> is <i>hy ouder dan ik</i> .	As Fèi says, ⁸⁰ this line lacks a translation, though it probably corresponds to <i>kano hito tatoï ware yori rō tari tomo</i> .
費曰此条ノ訳ヲ缺ク恐クハ彼人たとひ我より老たり ⁷⁹ ともト云ヒテ当ランカ	

This explains that the use of *al* in this context does not correspond to a *tatoe*, but a simple *mirai* ‘future’. This can be claimed by the fact that the verb is simply conjugated by a composition of *-tari* (see 8.5.5) and *-tomo*. Shizuki also adds a similar claim in *Seizenfu*, namely that the meaning of *zullen* is embedded within the

⁷⁹ In Kyōto University’s *Rango kun’yaku* this appears to be spelled as *tara* たら, that would correspond to its *mizenkei*. However, there is no affix *-tomo* or *-domo* that connects to a *mizenkei*. This is a misspelling.

⁸⁰ The phrase “person’s name” + character *etsu* 曰 is often used in *kanbun* with the meaning of “that person said”. The character *hi* 費 is likely the abbreviation of some scholar’s name. The scholar does not have to be Chinese, though, since this form is often used in *kanbun*, I have opted to treat it as a Chinese name. Perhaps, someone more knowledgeable than me in this regard, will be able to correct me and identify the appropriate interpretation of this phrase.

conjunction *al*. The difference between the two is covered by Motoori Norinaga in his *Kotoba no tama no o*, in volume 5, on page 29, where he also provides examples of the uses of *-do(mo)* in combination with the affix *-ki*, thus in the form *-shikadomo*.

ど

○ どは下へもを添てどもともいふ。
かをかもともいひ。ぞをぞ 雖の字の意也。此
もともいふ類を同じもなり 雖の字の意の言に清と濁とのかけ
すむ にごる 有。既に然る事をいふにはど ど
もと濁り。いまだ然らざる事をあら
すみ ましにいふにはと ともと清てい
すみにご ふ。此清濁によりて上の受る言
の格も異也。「花はさく ともとい
ふと。「花はさけ どもといふとこれ
也。外もこれになずらへてさとりべ
し 二つともにことなるとゝもなき
すみ は今出ず。清かたのとは上のとの部
に出せり。さて濁るかたにしかども
しかどといふと有

ど

○ One can also say *domo*, by adding *-mo* underneath *-do* (This is the same type of *mo* one can say together with *ka*, in *kamo*, and with *zo*, in *zomo*). This has the meaning of the character *sui* 雖. In the meaning of this character *sui* 雖 there is the combined use of *sumu* (清) or *nigori* (濁). Whenever it is something which has already happened, one uses the *nigori* version *do* and *domo*, while when talking about something before it has actually happened, one says the *sumi* version. The difference between *sumi* and *nigori* also influences the form of the word coming before. This is the difference between *hana wa saku tomo* and *hana wa sakedomo*. Know that, all the other also work the same. The *sumi* version of *to*, we have already seen in the section on *to*, above. Furthermore, in the *nigori* type, there is also the possibility of saying *shikadomo* and *shikado*.

In this section, Motoori illustrates the patterns of use of the combination of the affix *-ki* with *-do(mo)*. According to Shizuki, this combination is a typical Japanese rendition of a Dutch subordinate phrase featuring the conjunction *hoewel* with a verb in either a present perfect or a past perfect tense. Motoori explicitly recognizes two different, yet graphically very similar, grammatical tools that differ in the presence (*nigori* 濁) or absence (*sumi* 清) of sonorization in the *to* syllable. Both *-tomo* and *-domo* are, thus, a composition of *to* (with or without sonorization) plus *mo* and both correspond to the meaning of the Chinese character *sui* 雖.⁸¹ Motoori adds a chronological aspect to the difference between the two affixes, whereby the suffix *-do(mo)* is used to refer to “something that has already happened” (既に然る事), pointing at a past action, thus often interacting with the affix *-ki*. On the contrary, the suffix *-to(mo)* expresses “something that has not yet happened” (いまだ然らざる事

⁸¹ The character *sui* 雖 is defined in Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, in volume 4, where it is claimed that it is to be translated into Japanese as *-redomo* or *-domo*. In the first translation, the addition of the syllable *re* probably signals the fact that *-domo* gets attached to a *izenkei* form, whereby many verbs end in the syllable *re*. However, within Ogyū's entry, one also finds examples in which the character *sui* 雖 corresponds to *-tomo*, and gets attached to a *shūshikei*, thus removing any doubt regarding the possible accidental absence of the *nigiri* mark.

), pointing at an expectation of the future. This agrees with what claimed by Shizuki, who always acknowledged a sense of pastness connected to the combination *hoewel* plus past simple or past perfect, that corresponds to the affix *-do(mo)*, often combined with the affix *-ki*. At the same time, the affix *-to(mo)*, corresponds to the Dutch combination of the conjunction *al* and a verb in the simple present tense, this is the case, for example of the subordinate clause of sentence T54S12, featuring *al* and *heeft*. However, since the meaning of the verb *zullen* is embedded within *al*, then the sentence is a future. The verb of that phrase is rendered as *aritomo* – the verb *ari* plus *-to(mo)* – perhaps implying that the sense of futurity is also embedded within the Japanese counterpart of the conjunction *al*. However, by looking at Shizuki's twenty-seven sample sentences, one can also see that *-do(mo)* does not have to be used in combination with the past affix *-ki*. Sentence T54S13, in fact, combines *hoewel* with a simple present *heeft*, rendered into Japanese as *aredomo*, thus by simply attaching *-do(mo)* to the *izenkei* form of the verb *ari* and the sentence is “present”. This implies that *-do(mo)* in and of itself is not able to render a past and, when not used in combination with *-ki*, remains a word of present. Perhaps one should think of the “pastness” of *-do(mo)* to be semantic rather than related to the tense of the verb. In sentence T54S13, for example, the clause “Even though a whore has a pretty face” is in the present tense and hypothesizes of the subject having a pretty face in the present time yet, logically, one's appearance is formed in the past and cannot be reasonably changed in the present.

HADDEN

Type

Kako no kako 過去の過去, Past of the past

Meaning

Japanese

- 1 With verbs:
 - *ki* き (literary)
 - *ta* タ (popular)
- 2 With nouns: *ariki* ありき

Chinese character

- 1 With verbs:
 - sō* 曾
- 2 With nouns:
 - sō yū* 曾有

8.5.5 The verb *zijn*

The verb *zijn* 'to be' has many uses. In the Dutch sources of the time, it was very often called an 'independent verb' *zelfstandig werkwoord*, a concept that was hardly ever explained in the sources I have consulted. Just like *hebben*, one can recognize two broad uses of the verb *zijn*. It can be used as a verb expressing existence, or as an auxiliary. As far as the latter use is concerned, when *zijn* is used in combination with a past participle it can be thought of as corresponding to a present perfect tense. As I have mentioned, in modern prescriptive Dutch grammar, perfect tenses mostly require either the verb *hebben* or *zijn*, although there are some variations. This was not always true in the Dutch used in the 17th and 18th centuries. Shizuki provided the perfect tenses of *vallen* 'to fall' and *zeggen* 'to say' in combination with both *hebben* and *zijn*, even though *vallen* can, nowadays, only combine with *zijn*. With specific types of verbs, particularly those one would call transitive, to a large extent overlapping with the label of "active", the use of the verb *zijn*, in combination with their past participle tense, can be interpreted as expressing a nuance in meaning comparable to the passive voice. For example, if one says *Woorden zijn gesproken* 'Words are spoken', it is clear that the subject *woorden* 'words' is not the agent, but the patient of the action of "saying". Conversely, if one uses *zijn* in combination with the past participle tense of a neuter verb, like Shizuki's *vallen*, as in *De steen is gevallen* 'the stone [is] fallen', the subject *steen* 'stone' is also the agent of the action of "falling". However, Shizuki translates these two uses of the verb *zijn* in the same manner, in Japanese, which is different from the translation he provides for past participle with *hebben*, and that also differs from the way he translates the auxiliary use of *worden* in the construction of a passive voice. This requires further analysis, that I will provide in the present paragraph.

If it is not used as an auxiliary, *zijn* can also display different behaviors and express different concepts, i.e., it also functions as a copular verb. A copula connects the subject to another noun or to an adjective. Additionally, one could also detect another non-auxiliary use of *zijn* that might be considered as different from any of these above, and that is when *zijn* is combined with a location, as in "The fire is in the fireplace". There are certainly additional uses of *zijn*, such as when it can be substituted completely with the verb "to exist", as in phrases like *God is* 'God is', that means *God bestaat* 'God exists'. However, this use of the verb *zijn* occurs, arguably, very rarely. For the sake of the present research, I will only consider those uses of *zijn* that are directly addressed by Shizuki, which I have schematize below:

1. Non-auxiliary uses:
 - a) Copula + noun (*Dit is vuur* 'This is fire');
 - b) Copula + adjective (*Het vuur is heet* 'The fire is hot');
 - c) Locational (*Ik ben daar* 'I am there'; *Hij is thuis* 'He is at home');
2. Auxiliary uses:
 - a) Present perfect (*De steen is gevallen* 'The stone has/is fallen');
 - b) Present perfect with a sense of passivity (*Woorden zijn gesproken* 'Words are spoken');

As I have discussed in 8.4.2, Shizuki recognizes in all these different uses of the verb *zijn*, a correspondence between the Chinese character *zai* 在 and the Japanese verb *ari*. The character *ya* 也 is also acknowledged as a correspondence to *zijn*, only when used as a copula with nouns, although, in ancient texts, that was also often written as *zai* 在, as well, since they corresponded to the Japanese word *nari*. This is because both Shizuki and Motoori recognized *nari* as derivative of the combination of the particle *ni* and the verb *ari*. Even though the verb *zijn* can always be translated as either *ari* or an affix wherein the meaning of *ari* is embedded, *zijn* does not cover all the uses of *ari* since some of the uses of *zijn*, specifically those corresponding to the meaning of the Chinese character *yū* 有, correspond to the Dutch verb *hebben*.

In *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki claims that even though *zijn* is a “moving word” – a verb –, its use is more similar to that of a “quiet word” – an adjective – (*Zijn ノ使ヒ様ハ動詞ノ格ナレト其実ハ静詞ニ近シ*). This is quite an interesting claim that can hardly be explained only from the point of view of Dutch. In Japanese, in fact, verbs and some adjectives behave quite similarly, both being able to be conjugated and be combined with affixes. However, I do not believe this to be the only reason why Shizuki wrote this phrase. As I illustrated in 8.4.2, Shizuki understood *zijn* to often correspond to adjectival affixes and morphemes, like the *-ku* ending of the adverbial use of *-ku* and *-shiku* type of verbs (that is their *ren'yōkei*), corresponding to *-ku ari*; or the *-tari* ending of adjectives of the *keiyō* 形容 type, originally corresponding to *to ari*. In fact, the verb *zijn* is not always translated into Japanese as the verb *ari*, even when it is not used as an auxiliary. However, in all its Japanese renditions the meaning of the verb *ari* is always found at least embedded in the corresponding elements. Furthermore, the verb *zijn*, along with its past tense *waren*, is the only verb out of the six from the Table of the Three Times that can be used in direct combination with adjectives, as claimed in the quote “The word *wit* [‘white’] is a quiet word that translates *shiro* 白. Empty quiet words thus cannot combine with *hebben* or *zullen*”. This is exemplified by T53E21, with the phrase *Papier is wit* ‘Paper is white’, that is put into contrast with, for example, T53E20 *Steen is gevallen* ‘Stone is fallen’ and T53E25 *Woorden die gesproken zijn* ‘Words that are spoken’, where the verbs *vallen* and *spreken* are combined with the verb *zijn*, even though they can be also combined with *hebben* (T53E23 and T53E37) or with *zullen* (T53E28 and T53E41). The phrase *Papier is wit* is, thus, translated into Japanese as *kami wa shiroshi* 紙は白し, where the verb *zijn* does not have a direct counterpart, and the adjective *shiroshi*, in its *shūshikei* form, does not require any copula-like word for the phrase to be complete. This is restated in T53E16, where the phrase *Wit zijn* ‘To be white’ is simply translated into Japanese as *shiroshi* 白し thus, again, only with a *shūshikei* of the adjective. When the phrase ‘to be white’ is made a relative clause, like in (T53E45) *Wolk die wit is* ‘Cloud that is white’, the adjective *shiroshi* is simply turned into its *rentaikei* form *shiroki*, as in *shiroki kumo* 白き雲. This last phrase, however, is compared to *shiroku aru kumo* 白くある雲, meaning that the adnominal form of the adjective corresponds, semantically, to the combination of the existential verb *ari* with the adverbialized form of the adjective. Semantically, Shizuki adds, also the attributive form *Witte wolk*, is related to the

translation provided for T53E45, as explained in the example of T53E58 *Witte wolk* 'White cloud', that is however, translated as a compound word *shiragumo* 白雲.

Table 56 summarizes the uses of *zijn* with adjectives and the corresponding Japanese renditions, as seen in *Rangaku seizenfu*.

	<i>Wit zijn</i> (infinitive) 'To be white'	白く <i>siroku</i> 白くあり <i>sirokuari</i>	
Predicative form	<i>De wolk is wit</i> 'The cloud is white'	雲は白し <i>kumo ha sirosi</i>	
	<i>Wolk die wit is</i> (relative) 'Cloud that is white'	白くある雲 <i>siroku aru kumo</i>	白き雲 <i>siroki kumo</i>
Attributive form	<i>Witte wolk</i> 'White cloud'	白雲 <i>siragumo</i>	

Table 56 The use of adjectives in different types of phrases in *Rangaku seizenfu*

As I have discussed in 8.4.2, Shizuki also identified a difference in the Japanese adaptation between the locative use of *zijn* (1c) and the use as copula to a noun (1a). He claims that (1c) is adapted into Japanese with *ni ari*, while (1a) as *nari*. However, even though he also claimed that *nari* was originally a combination of *ni ari*, in his persuasion the two are still to be considered as different. He demonstrates this by using three phrases: *Het is vuur* 'It is fire' (1a), that he translates as *kore wa hi nari* これは火也; *Zij zijn daar* 'They are there' (1c), that he translates as *karera kashiko ni ari* 彼等彼所にあり; and *Daar zijn zij* 'There they are' (1c), that he translates as *kashiko ni karera ari* 彼所に彼等あり. These three sentences are used to demonstrate that the *nari* used in (1a) is not the same as the *ni ari* used in (1c) because, in the latter, the particle *ni* can get detached from the verb *ari* and remain attached to the word expressing the location (*kashiko* 'there'), in case the location itself is used in a marked position, thus at the beginning of the sentence, for example. In that context, I have also argued that the auxiliary use of *zijn* always corresponds to two Japanese affixes, namely *-tari* and *-ri*. However, Shizuki does not believe these two affixes to be any different from each other and their use is dependent on morphological issues of the form of the root of the verb itself, rather than on semantic or syntactic reasons. This is claimed in the chapter *Rokushi hiyaku* 'Secret Translation of the Six Words', where he claims that *ieri* (verb *ii* 'to speak' + affix *-ri*), translation of *gesproken zijn* 'to be spoken' (T53E4), is a corrupted modification of the phrase *iite ari*, where *te ari* is also the origin of the affix *-tari* used, for example, with the verb *otsu* 'to fall' that becomes *ochitari*, translation of *gevallen zijn* 'to [be] fallen' (T53E12). By virtue of this etymological claim Shizuki adds, citing Motoori Norinaga, that both *-ri* and *-tari* correspond to the meaning of the character *zai* 在.

Shizuki does not explicitly refer to any passive sense embedded in the use of the verb *zijn* in combination with the past participle of active verbs, as in (2b). However, there are a few issues that might suggest he realized the existence of a different nuance in meaning of the use of *zijn* with different types of verbs. Sentences T53E25 and T53E39 are almost identical, from a morphosyntactic point of view, both in the Dutch and in the Japanese versions. T53E25 reads *Woorden die gesproken zijn* ‘Words that are spoken’, while T53E39 reads *Steen die gevallen is* ‘Stone that has fallen’. In both sentences the verb is conjugated by means of the verb *zijn* and the past participle of the main verb, even though *spreken* is considered active, and *vallen* is considered neuter. In both cases, the Japanese rendition of *zijn* occurs via the affix *-ri* or *tari*, T53E25 becoming *ieru go* いへる語, and T53E39 becoming *ochitaru ishi* 隕たる石. Shizuki also adds that the conjugation *ochinu* 隕ぬ (T53E10), corresponding to the phrase *gevallen hebben* can also be expressed by means of the verb *zijn*. This implies that the auxiliary *zijn*, when used in combination with a neuter verb, can correspond to the affix *-nu*. With active verbs, like T53E25, however, the use of *zijn* is different since it can be interpreted as being a passive tense. For T53E25, Shizuki also provides a popular Japanese rendition, *itte aru go* 言テアル語, where the presence of the verb *ari* is made explicit, and a Chinese translation as *yán zài zhī yǔ* 言在之語, where *ari* corresponds to the character *zài* 在. However, sentence T53E55, albeit very similar in meaning, still presents a different wording and translation. The Dutch sentence reads *Woorden die men spreekt* ‘Words that one speaks’ and is translated into classical Japanese identically to T53E25 as *ieru go* いへる語. However, the Chinese translation is slightly different, reading *suǒ yán zhī yǔ* 所言之語, where the character *zài* 在 is not present anymore, and is substituted with *suǒ* 所 (JP: *sho* 所), that I have discussed in 8.4.1, as belonging to the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy. There, I have claimed that this concept was used in Buddhism as to make the distinction between the “agent” (*nō* 能) and the “patient” (*jo/sho* 所). The difference between sentences T53E25 and T53E55 is not visible in Japanese, but it is marked, in Dutch, by means of the presence of specific words. It is the very presence of the agent *men* ‘one’ that which changes – according to Shizuki – the relation between the subject and the verb. In Dutch, the subject of the verb “to speak”, in T53E25 is *woorden* ‘words’, the patient; while in T53E55 the subject is *men* ‘one’, that is the agent. In Japanese, as Shizuki has also explained in the section Differences Between the Two Languages, the phrase *ieru go* does not have a direct correspondence in Dutch, since, as DE GROOT (2008) has also argued, in Dutch, one cannot make the passive form of a verb whose subject is the indirect object.⁸² Thus, according to Shizuki the Japanese phrase *ieru go* can be translated both as a (pseudo-)passive past participle in a relative clause modifying the patient of an “active verb” and as a relative clause of a simple present sentence that modifies the patient and requires an impersonal subject functioning as the agent. This difference, not visible in Japanese, is however visible, in Chinese, by means of the two characters *zài* 在 and *suǒ* 所, where it is the latter

⁸² Although, as I have argued in 8.4.1, this issue is a bit more complex and Shizuki never really treated this conjugation as a passive form.

that signals the fact that the agent of the predicate is different from the subject of the sentence (which is also made relative, in Chinese, by means of the character *zhī* 之). It is, nonetheless, the phrase (T53E55) *Woorden die men spreekt* ‘Words that one speaks’ that is translated by means of the character *suǒ* 所, probably because of the explicit presence of the agent *men* ‘one’, whereas, in T53E25, *Woorden die gesproken zijn* ‘Words that are spoken’ might give the impression that the subject is also the agent, not of the action of “speaking”, but of the action of “being in the condition of spoken”, thus signaled with the character *zài* 在.⁸³

The character *sho* 所 corresponds to the Japanese word *tokoro* ‘place’. FRELLESVIG (2010, 358) attests the use of the phrasing *tokoro no* 所の as a complementizer placed between an adnominal clause and the head noun. This is a syntactical feature that has reportedly originated in *kanbun-kundoku* and that has subsequently been revived in Japanese upon influence from translations from Dutch.

Most of the twenty-seven sample sentences in the chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai* feature the verb *zijn* or its past tense *waren*, in one of the two clauses composing each sentence. In sentences from T54S1 to T54S11, *zijn* is used in the upper-subordinate clause as a verb expressing location (1c). Since T54S5 and T54S6 feature a present perfect and a past perfect tense respectively, *zijn* is also used there as an auxiliary (2a) for the perfect tenses of the locational use of *zijn* itself (1c). From sentence T54S11 to T54S18, the verb *zijn* is used in the lower clause as a copula to a noun (1a). Sentences T54S19 to T54S21, along with sentence T54S25 and T54S26 do not feature the verb *zijn* in any fashion. While the rest of the sentences, namely from T54S22 to T54S24 and T54S26 and T54S27 all present the verb *zijn* as an auxiliary to a different main verb (2a). Below, I will first analyze the sentences featuring the verb *zijn* as a copula to a noun. Afterwards, I will illustrate the phrases containing a purely locational use of such verb, then those using *zijn* as locational and auxiliary simultaneously, and only at the end I will cover the last

⁸³ It is also worth mentioning that the character *sho* 所 corresponds to the Japanese word *tokoro* ‘place’. FRELLESVIG (2010, 358) attests the use of the phrasing *tokoro no* 所の as a complementizer placed between an adnominal clause and the head noun. This is a syntactical feature that has reportedly originated in *kanbun-kundoku* and that has subsequently been revived in Japanese upon influence from translations from Dutch. FRELLESVIG (2010, 358) exemplifies this use of the phrase *tokoro no* by means of a quote from *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語 (10th century), reading *tatekometaru tokoro no to* 閉て込めたる所の戸 ‘The door that has been closed’, where the verb *tatekometaru* ‘to be closed’, conjugated by means of the affix *-tari*, modifies adnominally the noun *tokoro*, that refers to the noun *to* ‘door’, that functions as the subject of the verb *tatekometaru*. This is, of course, not an example of the use of *tokoro no* being influenced by Dutch, since the original text largely predates the Dutch presence in Japan. The relation between the phrase *tokoro no* and Dutch translations is substantiated, by FRELLESVIG, on the basis of what written in KINSUI (1997) who evidences how the form *ni yotte* (*ni yorite*) specifying the agent of a passive action started being adopted in Japanese translations of Dutch sources in the 50s of the 19th century. If one could demonstrate that what written by Shizuki in *Seizenfu* regarding the Chinese character *sho* 所 is also coherent with his Japanese translations of Dutch book, then one could predate the adoption of these Japanese words as a rendition of Dutch passives as far back as a few decades before.

type, namely those presenting only the auxiliary use of *zijn*. These will be covered at the end of this section, since the conjugation they present is particularly puzzling and requires special attention.

Sentence T57S1 reads *Wanneer hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken* ‘When he is at home, nobody dares to speak’. The verb *zijn* is featured in the upper-subordinate clause and expresses a location, namely the subject *hij* ‘he’ is “located” at home. The Japanese translation reads *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にある時は彼所に在て敢えて言ふひとなし. There is no word-for-word correspondence between the two sentences, as the Japanese version expresses the negation and the sense of “daring” via different periphrases, so it is worth analyzing the structure of the two, in the following scheme.

The main predicated of the lower clause is the adjective *nashi* ‘non-existent’. In the Dutch sentence, however, the main verb of the predicate of the main clause is the verb *durven* ‘to dare’, that gets conjugated according to person, number, tense, etc. In the specific case of T54S1, thus, the verb *durven* is conjugated as *durft*, that is the third person singular – as to agree with the subject *niemand* ‘nobody’ – present indicative, while the Japanese sentence simply puts the adjective *naki* in its *shūshikei* form *nashi*, without the addition of any affix, mirroring the simple present tense in the Dutch version.

In the subordinate clause, however, the Dutch sentence features the conjunction *wanneer*. As I have argued in 8.5.2.1, this conjunction gets rendered into Japanese by using the adnominal form of the main predicate (in this case the verb *ari*, corresponding to the Dutch *zijn*), to the noun *toki* ‘time’ and marking this noun as the topic of the phrase by using the particle *wa*. Within Motoori Norinaga’s theoretical framework, this corresponds to the use of the character *-shi* (*-ki*; *-kere*) in combination with the particle *wa* (right column). This type of structure is actually the very first example one can find in his *Kotoba no tama no o*, and a very intuitive sample, I believe is the first poetical citation found there, in the *waka*: *ariake no tsurenaku mieshi wakare yori akatsuki bakari uki mono wa nashi* 有明のつれなく見えしわかれより暁ばかりうきものはなし (‘Since when I departed from the Moon I was looking at it apathetic, there is nothing more painful than the dawn’), where Motoori underlines the two characters *wa* and *shi*, as I have also done in the quote, as to evidence that the form *nashi*, thus the *shūshikei* of the adjective *naki*, is triggered by the presence of the particle *wa*.⁸⁴ Shizuki labels sentence T54S1 as a present (*gense* 現世), that can be expected not only from the present tense used in the Dutch version, but also from the fact that the character *-shi* is a conjugated form of the character *-ki* (adjectival ending) that has been traditionally identified as the “*ki* of the present” (see Chapter V).

⁸⁴ Had there been a particle *no*, for example, belonging to the “central column”, the adjective would have been featured in the *rentaikei* form *naki*, as in the example provided in that page by Motoori himself *iu hito no naki* “the absence of a person speaking”.

Wanneer	hij	te	huis	is	durft	'er	niemand	spreken
Conjunction WHEN	Subject pronoun Third person singular masculine HE	Prepo- sition AT	Noun HOME	Verb (locational <i>zijn</i>) Third person singular IS	Verb Third person singular DARES	Adverb THERE	Noun (Subject) NOBODY	Verb Infinitive TO SPEAK
kano hito	ie	ni	wa	kashiko	aete	iu	hito	nashi
Subject pronoun Third person HE (Lit. THAT PERSON)	Noun HOME	Parti- cle expre- ssing loca- tion AT	Particle marking the topic	Noun THERE (Lit. THAT PLACE)	Verb Connec- tive form of the verb <i>au</i> TO DARE	Verb Adnominal (<i>rentaikei</i>) form of the verb <i>iu</i> TO SAY	Noun (Subject) PERSON	Adjective <i>shūshikei</i> form of the <i>-ku</i> adjective <i>nashi</i> NON- EXISTENT

Sentences T54S2 and T54S3 use the past tense *waren*, thus I will cover them in the following paragraph 8.5.6. With sentence T54S4, however, Shizuki goes back to using the present tense *zijn*, substituting the conjunction *wanner* from T54S1 with the conjunction *als*, in the sentence *Als hij te huis is durft 'er niemand spreken* “If/when he is home nobody dares to speak”. This sentence gets translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni areba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にあれば彼所に在て敢えていふひとなし. The only difference between this sentence and T54S1 is the fact that the conjunction *als* is rendered via the use of the affix *-ba*, specifically the one attaching to a *izenkei*. Even though the Dutch version presents no past tense, nor is any past-related affix featured in the Japanese version, Shizuki labels this phrase a past (*kako* 過去). In Waseda’s copy it is actually written that it this is a “past within the present” (但シ現在中ノ過去ナリ). In order to justify this, he also adds a long comment, that can be read below:⁸⁵

和語ノあれば言へはノ類ノはノ字ニ
二義アリ譬へバ

「あと見れば心なくさの濱千鳥今は
声こそ聞まほしけれト云あと見れば
ノはハあと見[る]⁸⁶時はト⁸⁷云フ意ニ
テ漢ノ則ノ字蘭ノ *wanneer* ニ通フ又

「ちれはこそいとゞ桜はめてたけれ
浮世に何か久しかるへきトイフちれ
はノはちるゆへ[に]⁸⁸ト云意ニテか
らト同意ニテ漢ノ故ノ字蘭ノ *omdat*
ニ通フ今ノ人ハ多クハ此⁸⁹別テ則ノ字
ノ方ナルハあればちればナドイヒ故
ノ字ノ方ナルヲヤハリゆへにト云今
此ニハ則ノ字ノ方ナルヲあればちれ
はナド訳シ故ノ字ノ方ナルヲからト
訳セシからハゆへヨリ輕キ詞ナリ
omdat ハ *vermits* ヨリ輕キカ如ク又 *als*
ハ *wanneer* ヨリ輕キカ如シ *als* ハ時ニ
ヨリテハ *indien* ニ通フアリソレハ
下ノ句ノ現世詞ナキカ又ハ下ノ句ナ
キトキノナリ

The type of the character *ba*, in the Japanese *areba*, *ieba* etc., has two meaning. For example, in *ato mireba kokoro nagusa no hamachidori ima wa koe koso kikamahoshikere*, when you say *ato mireba*, this *ba* has the meaning of *ato miru toki wa*, that corresponds to the Chinese character *soku* 則 and to the Dutch *wanneer*. Furthermore, when you say *chireba koso itodo sakura wa medetakere ukiyo ni nani ka hisashikarubeki*, the *ba* in *chireba* has the meaning of *chiru yue ni*, that has the same meaning of *kara* and corresponds to the Chinese character *ko* 故, and the Dutch *omdat*. People nowadays often say *areba*, *chireba* etc. of the character *soku* 則, instead of *yue ni* of the character *ko* 故. However, I translate the character *soku* 則 as *areba*, *chireba* etc., and the character *ko* 古 as *kara*. The word *kara* is lighter than *yue*, as *omdat* is lighter than *vermits*, and the word *als* is lighter than *wanneer*. Sometimes, the word *als* can correspond to *indien*. This is when, in the lower clause, there is no word of present or whenever there is no lower clause at all. As I said before, the *ba* in *areba* and *ieba*, hardly corresponds to *omdat*, however, the

⁸⁵ There are a few spelling differences between Waseda’s (12v-13r) and Gifu’s (14v-15r) copy. The present excerpt is based on the former. However, I have signaled misspellings by means of brackets and footnotes. My English translation.

⁸⁶ In Waseda’s copy, this character is written as *ru* ル, a *katakana*.

⁸⁷ Waseda’s copy presents two characters *to* ト, instead of one. This is likely a misspelling.

⁸⁸ The character *ni* に is absent in Waseda’s copy.

あれは言へはノばハ右ニ言[フ]⁸⁹如ク
 omdat ニ當難ケレト其外ありしかば
 あらめばナドノばハ皆ヨク omdat ニ
 当ルナリ

ba in *arishikaba*, *arameba* etc., often corresponds to *omdat* quite appropriately.

Shizuki is addressing two different nuances in meaning for which both Dutch and Chinese have specialized words, that he believes are both rendered in Japanese via the affix *-ba*. Shizuki is only taking into consideration the affix *-ba* that combines with an *izenkei*, thus this specific difference in meaning he is referring to has nothing to do with the meaning of the affix *-ba*, when used with a *mizenkei*. In order to explain this difference, he cites two Japanese poetic verses. The first verse, that reads *ato mireba kokoro nagusa no hamachidori ima wa koe koso kikamahoshikere* あと見れば心なくさの濱千鳥今は声こそ聞まほしけれ ('When I see the footprints of the beach plover that comforts my heart, but it is its voice that I would like to hear now'), comes from the *Gosen Wakashū* 後撰和歌集 and features the verb *mireba* (*miru* 'to see' + *-ba*). The second verse that reads *chireba koso itodo sakura wa medetakere ukiyo ni nani ka hisashikarubeki* ちれはこそいとゞ桜はめてたけれ浮世に何か久しかるへき ('It is when they spread, that cherry blossoms become so fascinating, there has got to be something eternal in this floating world'), comes from the *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, and features the verb *chireba*, from *chiru* 'to spread'. Shizuki claims that the affix *-ba*, in these two examples, is used in two different manners. In the first quote, *-ba* is allegedly used in a temporal sense, where *mireba* corresponds to the phrase *miru toki wa*, a construction Shizuki used to adapt the Dutch conjunction *wanneer* in sentence T54S1. This meaning of *-ba* is, indeed, compared to the Dutch word *wanneer* and to the Chinese character *soku* 則. The *-ba* used in the second sentence, instead, corresponds to the phrase *chiru yue ni* or *chiru kara* that translates the Dutch *omdat* and the Chinese character *ko* 故. Shizuki adds that people nowadays often confuse these two uses, but that he is going to abide by this rule, within his work. Furthermore, Shizuki claims that the expression *kara* is considered a "lighter" version of *yue ni*, in the same way the Dutch *omdat* is "lighter" than its semi-synonym *vermits*, and as *als* is "lighter" than *wanneer*. The word *als* can also be substituted with *indien* only when there is no word of the present in the lower-main clause or whenever there is no lower clause, at all. The difference between the first type of *-ba* and the phrase with *toki wa* can also be witnessed in *Joshi-kō* where one can find the same sentence as T54S2 whose lower clause is translated slightly differently, yet with the *mizenkei* *-ba* in the upper one, as *kano hito ie ni areba hito aete mono iwazu* 彼人家にあれば人取テものいわず ('When that person is home, people dare not to speak'). Below, Shizuki adds that had there been *wanneer* in this sentence, instead of *als* – making it identical to T54S1 – then the sentence would have been translated as *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa*

⁸⁹ In Waseda's copy this is written as 言ル, however, the *rentaikei* of *i(h)u* 'to say' does not end in *-ru*, and this is probably a misspelling. In Gifu's copy, this is written as 云フ, thus with the correct *rentaikei* ending *-u*.

hito aete mono iwazu 彼人家にある時はひと取てもものいわず,⁹⁰ thus by means of the *toki wa* form.

Motoori Norinaga does not seem to devote many words to these types of constructions. The first *waka* cited by Shizuki can also be found in *Kotoba no tama no o*, in volume 1, on page 12, as to demonstrate the use of *koso* with the *izenkei* form of the *-shi* adjectival ending, as required according to the *kakari-musubi* rules. The character *ba* is briefly analyzed in volume 3, instead, on page 5, where it is called *nigoru ba*, ‘voiced *ba*’ as to distinguish it from the silent *wa* (both written with the same character *ha* は). However, there Motoori only deals with the different meanings of the two distinct types of *ba*, namely *mizenkei -ba* and *izenkei -ba*. He claims that *izenkei -ba* is synonymous to the affix *-do(mo)* and refers to things that have already happened (既に然る事). The *mizenkei -ba*, instead, corresponds to *-tomo* and refers to things that are still to happen (未^レ然事). Among the examples provided by Motoori, one can see the phrase *hana chireba* 花ちれば and *hana chiraba* 花ちらば, featuring the verb *chiru*, like in Shizuki’s example, conjugated first in its *izenkei* and subsequently in its *mizenkei*. Thus, Motoori does not make a further distinction of the two alleged meanings of *izenkei -ba*, contrarily to Shizuki. This might be a consequence of the fact that Motoori was mostly concerned with Japanese grammar and, from that point of view, the different nuance in meaning is neglectable, because of the identical morphosyntactic form, and can only be witnessed when translating from and to a language that makes such difference, just like Dutch or Chinese.

In the Chinese translation of these two uses of *izenkei -ba*, Shizuki identifies a parallelism with the two characters *soku* 則 and *ko* 故. Ogyū Sorai defines the Chinese character *soku* 則, on folio 60v of volume 3, in the following manner:

則ノ字ノ類ハ皆。句中ニアル字ナリ。句尾ニアルト云フコハナシ。句頭ニラク時ハ上文ヘカヘルナリ。篇頭ニアルト云フコハナシ。但シ。詩ニハ。篇頭ニラクコモアリ。則ノ字ハ。レバ。ラバ。ルナラバ。ルナレバ。ト。引ハナシテ云フ辭ナリ。

All the characters of the type of *soku* 則 are characters used in the middle of a phrase and they are never used at the end of a phrase. When it is placed at the beginning of a phrase, it refers to the preceding sentence. It cannot be used at the beginning of a paragraph. However, in [Chinese] poems, one can also find it at the beginning of a paragraph. The character *soku* 則 translates *reba*, *raba*, *runaraba* and *runareba*. It can also translate *wa*, when it is a word that refers to “Even if that is so, this is like this”.

Even in Ogyū’s definition of the character *soku* 則, there is no difference between the two uses of *izenkei -ba*, as he also only superficially describes a difference

⁹⁰ In *Joshi-kō*’s renditions of these sentences, the lower clause is phrased a bit differently, where the adjective *naki*, representing the main predicate, in *Seizenfu*’s versions, has been removed and in its place the negative affix *-zu* is added to the new main predicate, which is the verb *iu*, thus turned into *iwazu*.

between the two *mizenkei* and *izenkei* -ba. It appears that either Shizuki took this intuition from a different source or, perhaps, he understood it on his own by a contrastive analysis of the corresponding Dutch words.

In the fifth volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū defines the character *ko* 故 in two instances. First, he defines it as semi-synonymous to the character *i* 為 when read *tame* ‘in order to’, although the two differ in use, since *ko* 故 must always be put below in the sentence.⁹¹ The second definition, on folio 53r, claims the following:

カルガユヘ。ユヘ。ノ此ノ兩訓ノ
外ニ。コトサラ。モト。マコト
ニ。此三訓アリ。コトサラハワザ
ナリ。律法⁹²ニ過故ト云フ
アリ。過ハトリハヅシナリ。故
ハ心カラ罪ヲ犯スナリ。モトハ
本ノ意ニ非ズ。舊故⁹³ノ義ナリ。
マコトハ固ノ字ノ義ナリ。ジタイ
ト譯ス。

Beyond the two readings *karu ga yue* and *yue*, there are also the three readings *koto sara*, *moto* and *makoto ni*. The reading *koto sara* means *waza waza*. In The Book of Law, there is the so-called *kako* 過故, where the character *ka* 過 means *tori hazushi*, and *ko* 故 means *kokokoro kara tsumi wo okasu* [‘to commit a crime from within one’s own heart’]. The reading *moto* does not have the meaning of the character *hon* 本, it has the interpretation of *kyūko* 舊故 [旧故 ‘antiquity’]. The reading *makoto* has the meaning of the character *ko* 固, it is translated as *jitai*.⁹³

Ogyū also reports a connection between the Chinese character *ko* 故 and the Japanese words *yue* and *kara*. However, no mention to the distinction between the two meanings of *mizenkei* -ba, as reported by Shizuki is to be found, reinforcing the idea that this was a deduction of Shizuki himself.

Additionally, Shizuki demonstrates the difference between the two conjunctions used in T54S1 (*wanneer*) and T54S2 (*als*) with two new conjunctions he just mentioned within the explanation under sentence T54S2, namely *omdat* and *vermits*, in sentences T54S7 and T54S8, respectively. Sentence T54S7 reads *Omdat hij te huis is durft ‘er niemand spreken*, rendered into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni aru kara kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にあるから彼所に在て敢えていふ人なし, where the only difference is the use of the word *kara*, attached to the predicate of the upper clause. Shizuki claims this sentence to be a present (*gense* 現世) and adds that it is an “elision of the past” (過去略). What this phrase actually means is not clear, and it is also added to sentence T54S8 *Vermits hij te huis is, durft ‘er niemand spreken*, translated as *kano hito ie ni aru ga yue ni kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi*

⁹¹ Original quote (without punctuation): “故ハ為ノ字ト意相似テ使うヒヤウ違フナリ故ノ字ハ必下ニヨクナリ可ヘラズヨミ下シナリ”.

⁹² This term is also provided with an alternative Japanese reading as *okite no fumi* ヲキテノフミ. The word *okite* means ‘rule’, from the verb *okitsu* 掟つ ‘to establish’, ‘to command’, while *fumi* 書 (or 文) meaning ‘book’. Literally, thus, “the book of law”.

⁹³ I assume *jitai* 自体 as in ‘original form’, akin to *makoto* ‘actual(ly)’.

彼人家にあるか故に彼所に在て敢えて言ふひとなし, where *vermits* corresponds to (ga) *yue ni*, as already seen in the quote above, thus to the Chinese character *ko* 故. Why these three sentences are considered related to the past time is never really explained by Shizuki. Personally, I assume he must have perceived a sense of pastness in the fact that, even though the verbal tenses are overtly present, the claim must have been based on observing reality in the past. In fact, if one says “Whenever he is at home nobody dares to speak” what is being implicitly conveyed is that the speaker has seen the scene that the speaker is describing a few times in the past and is basing his or her claim on that past experience. The phrase “Whenever he is at home” really implies “All the time he has been at home” or “All the times I saw him being at home”, thus really referring to a past occurrence. Even though this is never explicitly stated by Shizuki, this could also be interpreted from the phrasing found in sentence T54S4, where the tense was described as “past within the present”.

Sentences T54S9 and T54S10 utilize the same matrix as the sentences above, this time featuring the *mizenkei* -*ba* adaptation of the Dutch conjunctions *als* and *indien*, respectively. Sentence T54S9 is *Als hij te huis is zal 'er niemand durven spreken*, while sentence T54S10 is *Indien hij te huis is zal 'er niemand durven spreken*. Both sentences mean ‘When/If he is at home nobody will dare to speak’ and both are rendered into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni araba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito araji* 彼人家にあらば彼所に在て敢えて言ふ人あらじ. Both are considered “future” *mirai* 未来. Indeed, the main clause, in Dutch, presents the auxiliary *zullen*, always connected to the idea of future, in Shizuki. Since the phrase is negative, nonetheless, in these two sentences *zullen* does not correspond to the affix -*n*, as it generally does, but to the future negative affix -*ji* in *araji* ‘will not be’, from the verb *ari*. Shizuki adds the following remark (14v):

カヤウニ下句ニ未来詞ヲ置バ *als*
ト *indien* ト相通スナリ過去詞ヲ置
テ假令ニ用ルモ亦然リ又 *als* ‘*t*
mogelijk is ナトモ未来ナリ是等ハ
下句ナケレドモ未来詞ヲ云ベキ意
ヲ含メリ

When in the lower clause you have a word of future, like this, then you will use *als* or *indien*. By placing words of the past, these are also used in *tatoe*. Furthermore, even in expressions such as *als* ‘*t mogelijk is*, where you do not have a lower clause, the meaning of the words of future is embedded.

Shizuki acknowledges the fact that the conjunctions *als* and *indien* are very common in the construction of a *tatoe* sentence, however, the sentence can only be considered a *tatoe* in case the lower-main clause features a morphological past tense. If that is not the case, an upper-subordinate clause with *als* and *indien*, while only presenting verbs in the present tense, is still to be considered as a future, in case the lower-main clause does feature a future tense or in case there is no main clause at all. Shizuki provides the example of the expression *Als het mogelijk is* ‘If it is possible’, where *als* combines with the present simple of *zijn*, and the sentence remains incomplete, meaning that there is no resolution, in a main clause, of the hypothetical set by the subordinate clause. In such instance, the phrase would still be considered a future,

since the elided lower clause is still expected to feature a future tense, in principle. Shizuki turns then the sentence into a *tatoe*, with T54S11, where he still uses the past tense of *zijn*, in the upper clause, as I will argue in the following paragraph 8.5.6.

There are two additional sentences, in *Seizenfu*'s chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai*, where the verb *zijn* is being used in its locational sense (1c), namely T54S5 and T54S6. However, in those sentences, the verb *zijn* is conjugated in its present perfect and past perfect tenses, respectively, meaning that the verb *zijn* is also used as an auxiliary, in the forms *geweest is* and *geweest was*, where *geweest* is the past participle of *zijn*. Sentence T54S5 reads *Omdat hij zo lang in Holland geweest is, zo spreekt hij het Hollandsch zeer wel* 'Because he has been so long in Holland, he speaks Dutch so wel'. The Japanese translation is rendered as *kano hito kaku hisashiku oranda no kuni ni arishikaba oranda no go wo iu to hanahada yoshi* 彼人かく久しく和蘭國にありしかは和蘭語をいふと甚よし. Shizuki labels this sentence as starting from the past and reaching the present (過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ) and he adds that the form *geweest is* corresponds in meaning to *was*, the past simple form of *zijn*. For this reason, I will go back to this sentence in the following paragraph 8.5.6. However, it is interesting to notice that Shizuki has always translated Dutch present perfect tenses with *zijn* as the auxiliary into the Japanese affixes *-ri* and *-tari* (see T53E4 *gesproken zijn* 'to be spoken' as *ieru* and T53E12 *gevallen zijn* 'to be fallen' as *ochitaru*). Nonetheless, the present perfect tense of the verb *zijn* itself is considered a synonym to *was*, its past simple form and is translated into Japanese as the affix *-ki* (see *arishikaba* in T54S5). According to Shizuki, the affix *-ki* is always connected to either the past simple tense, or the past perfect tense (both with *hadden* and *waren*). However, the verb *zijn* is the only verb for which the affix *-ki* corresponds to a present perfect, this is a consequence of the fact that Shizuki considered *geweest zijn* a (semi-)synonym to *waren* for some unspecified reason.

Sentences from T54S12 to T54S15 feature the verb *zijn* in its present simple tense, in the lower-main clause, used as a copula to a noun (1a), in the matrix based on the citation from Jacob Cats' emblem. Sentence T54S12 sets the matrix with the Dutch sentence *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht is het een lantaarn zonder licht* 'Event though a whore has a pretty face it is a lantern with no light'. The sentence is translated into Japanese as *gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran*. As already discussed, the sentence is considered a future (*mirai* 未来), this is because the upper-subordinate clause presents the conjunction *al*, in the Dutch version, a word within which the meaning of *zullen* is embedded. However, it is worth mentioning that, even though *al* is featured in the upper clause, and it gets translated as the affix *-tomo* attached to the verb in the upper clause itself, the sense of futurity gets moved to the predicate of the lower clause. It is for this reason that, in this specific instance, the verb *is*, a present tense, can be adapted into Japanese as *naran*, combination of *nari* plus the affix *-n*, corresponding to the verb *zullen*. This can only happen when the subordinate clause features the conjunction *al*.

In fact, in sentence T54S13, the conjunction *al* gets substituted with *hoewel*, while still maintaining the Dutch verbs in the same forms they were in T54S12, and the

affix *-n* is not present anymore. Sentence T54S13 reads *Hoewel zij een mooi gezicht heeft, is het een lantaarn zonder licht* ('Even though she has a pretty face it is a lantern with no light'), translated into Japanese as *kanojo ni bishoku aredomo kore mukō no tō nari* 彼女に美色あれともこれ無光の燈なり. The sentence is labeled present (*gense* 現世) since there is no *al* rendering the sense of future. However, the lack of affix *-n* is not the only difference, since the affix *-tomo* is also substituted with *-do(mo)*. This is consistent with the entry to *hoewel* in *Joshi-kō*, as seen above. In this sentence, thus, the verb *zijn*, is translated straightforwardly into *nari*, without the addition of any other affix.

Sentence T54S15 reads *Hoewel zij een mooi gezicht had is het een lantaarn zonder licht* ('Even though she had a pretty face, it is a lantern with no light'), where the verb *hebben* is turned into a past tense, in the upper clause. The Japanese translation reads *kanojo ni bishoku arishikadomo kore mukō no tō nari* 彼女に美色ありしかどもこれ無光の燈なり. This translation is rather straightforward, as it simply translates *hoewel* as the affix *-do(mo)*, combined with the affix *-ki*, since the verb in the upper clause is a past tense, while in the lower clause the verb *zijn* is in its present simple form and gets simply translated into *nari*, without any additional affix. The time expressed by this sentence is described as "starting from the past, reaching the present" (過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ).

In conclusion, in the Table of the Three Times, *zijn* is placed at the crossing between the present dimension and the present time (*gense no gense* 現世ノ現世). Whenever it is used as an auxiliary to another verb, except *zijn* itself, this verb corresponds to the Japanese affixes *-ri* and *-tari*, euphonic synonyms both corresponding ultimately to the verb *ari*, according to Shizuki. Apparently, however, there is no Dutch verb that corresponds to forms such as *arinu* or *aritsu*, thus the existential verb *ari* combined with the affixes *-nu* and *-tsu* that Shizuki considered to correspond to the meaning expressed by the present perfect tense with *hebben*. Similarly, there is no way of combining the sense expressed by the present perfect tense with *zijn* to the verb *zijn* itself, as the form *geweest zijn* does not correspond to *aritari* (verb *ari* combined with *-tari*), since it is considered a synonym to the Dutch *waren*, which is always rendered as *ariki* (verb *ari* plus *-ki*), as I will show in the following paragraph 8.5.6. Furthermore, oftentimes the present tense of the verb *zijn* is used as a makeshift for the verb *zullen*. This occurs, for example, with the conjunction *al* or with the conjunctions *als* and *indien* when no specific past-tense verb is present in the (possibly) absent lower clause. Had there been a past tense there, *zijn* would have participated in the making of a *tatoe* hypothetical of impossibility. With *al*, the verb *zijn*, in the lower clause, ought to be translated as if it were combining with an auxiliary *zullen*, thus adding the affix *-n*. When *zijn* is featured in a non-*tatoe* upper clause with *als* or *indien*, it does not require the affix *-n* as, I assume, it would be eventually added to the lower clause. There are a few further examples and sample sentences that deserve to be analyzed as to understand Shizuki's theories completely, as far as the verb *zijn* is concerned. However, since most of them feature the verb *waren* or variations of the form *geweest zijn*, that Shizuki considered as synonym to *waren*, I will cover these in the following paragraph 8.5.6. Below, I schematize the information discussed above, on the verb *zijn*.

ZIJN

Type

gense no gense 現世の現世, Present of the present

Meaning

Japanese

1	With nouns	Copula: <i>-nari</i> なり or <i>-ni ari</i> にあり Locational: <i>-ari</i> あり
2	With adjectives	General rule: <i>-shi</i> し (<i>shūshikei</i> of adjectival endings) When in predicative function with infinitives or in relative clauses it allows the use of <i>-ku ari</i> くあり, as alternative of the ending <i>-ki</i> (<i>rentaikei</i> of the adjectival ending <i>-shi</i>)
3	With verbs	Affixes <i>-ri</i> り or <i>-tari</i> たり With neuter verbs can also alternatively be <i>-nu</i> ん in the present perfect tense of <i>zijn</i> : past affix <i>-ki</i> き

Chinese

1	General rule	<i>zai</i> 在
2	With nouns	<i>ya</i> 也

8.5.6 The verb *waren*

In the Table of the Three Times, the Dutch verb *waren* is found in the crossing between the past dimension and the present time (*kako no gense* 過去ノ現世). It is related to the combination of the Chinese characters *sō* 曾 and *zai* 在, with the former corresponding to the meaning expressed by the auxiliary use of the verb *hadden* (8.5.4), and the latter to the verb *zijn* (8.5.5). As already mentioned, the present perfect of the verb *zijn*, namely *geweest zijn* is considered, by Shizuki as a synonym to the verb *waren*. In Japanese, a few examples suggest that the verb *waren* used as auxiliary for the past perfect tense corresponds to the combination of an affix related to the verb *ari*, namely *-ri*, *-tari* or an adjectival ending plus the affix *-ki*. These correspondences are all consistent with what illustrated in the previous sections of the present Chapter VIII. For example, T53E5 reads *gesproken waren* ('were spoken') translated as *ieriki* いへりき, with a combination of *-ri* and *-ki*; T53E13 reads *gevallen waren* ('were fallen') is translated as *ochitariki* 隕たりき, with a combination of *-tari* and *-ki*, while T53E17 reads *wit waren* ('were white') and is translated as *shirokariki* 白かりき, where *-kari* is an alternative *ren'yōkei* form of *ku*-type adjectives. These phrases all present the use of the verbs in *kiruru* contexts, however, in *tsuzuku* contexts, the same forms are maintained. T53E28 reads *Steen die gevallen was* ('Stone that was fallen') translated into Japanese as

ochitariki ishi 隕たりき石; T53E44 *Wolk die wit was* ('Cloud that was white') reads *shirokariki kumo* 白かりき雲. Phrase T53E24, that reads *Woorden die gesproken waren* ('Words that were spoken') also features a popular Japanese translation and a Chinese one. The classical Japanese translation is *ieriki go* いへりき語, thus with the combination of the affixes *-ri* and *-ki*. The popular Japanese version, instead, is translated as *itte arishi go* 言テアリシ語, where the form *-te ari* is combined with the affix *-ki*. The Chinese version combines both characters found in the Table of the Three Times and reads *céng yán zài zhī yǔ* 曾言在之言.

T53E52 provides another example of the verb *waren* used as an auxiliary of a different verb, namely the verb *worden*, the latter used with its meaning of 'to become', rather than as an auxiliary for the passive voice, in the phrase *Wolk die geworden was* ('Cloud that [was] become white'), translated into Japanese as *shiroku nareriki kumo* 白くなれりき雲, where the verb *nari* ('to become') is combined with the affixes *-ri* and *-ki*.

In the chapter on the combined use of the "six words", Shizuki also covers the tense *geweest zijn* (T53E61), translating it as *ariki* and *nariki*, thus only by adding the affix *-ki*, and he claims this to be synonymous to the verb *waren*. The same tense further combined with the verb *zouden* is, instead, rendered into Japanese as *ariken* and *aran to shiki*. The difference between these two is analogous to what I have discussed in 8.5.2.2. In the Chapter *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*, there are many sentences featuring the verb *zijn* in either its preterit (*waren*) or perfect tenses (*geweest zijn/waren*). Sentence T54S2 is *Wanneer hij te huis was durfde 'er niemand spreken* ('When he was at home, nobody dared to speak'). This is labeled a past, and features a combination of the conjunction *wanneer*, with a past simple tense in both the main clause and the subordinate clause. The Japanese translation is *kanohito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki* 彼人家にある時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき, where *wanneer* is rendered with the form *toki wa*, that gets combined with the verb *ari* in its *rentaikei* form, without any additional affix signaling a past tense, while the predicate of the main sentence, namely the adjective *nashi*, is combined with the past affix *-ki*. In Waseda's copy, the subordinate clause of the Dutch version does not feature any verb, at all, only reading *Wanneer hij te huis, durfde 'er niemand spreken*, that is translated identically into Japanese. This is probably a typo. In both copies, however, sentence T54S2 is commented by the following remarks:⁹⁴

此ハ過去ナリ事迹ニ用ルトキハ前
ナル現世語ト同訳ナリ結ヒ詞ヲイ
フヘキ時ハ言ふ人なかりけりト訳
スベシ上ノ句ニ was トアレト
wanneer ハ其過去ノ中ニテ在家ノ時
ヲサスナル故 was ヲ訳スルヲ事迹

This is past. When using it in *jiseki*, it gets the same translation as the sentence before, which had a present tense. When you ought to use a *musubi kotoba*, it can also be translated as *iu hito nakarikeri*. Even if you have *was* in the upper clause, *wanneer* points at when the person is at home, within the past itself, thus the translation of

⁹⁴ There are neglectable differences in spelling across the two editions. The following text is a close representation of the version found in Waseda's copy on folios 11v-12r.

ノ語ニ準シテ is ノ如クス因テ全語
ヲツカネテ末ニなかりキトキノ字
ヲ出セリ *durfde* *durft* ノ過去ニテ敢
てしキトイフニ當レリ此キノ字ト
was ノキノ字トヲ束ネテ末ニ唯一ツ
出セリ是ニテ全語ヲ過去トナス

was works similarly to a *jiseki*, in that it is like *is*. For this reason, gathering all the words together, you get the character *ki*, in *nakariki*. The word *durfde* is the past of *durft* and it corresponds to saying *aete shiki*. This character *ki* combines with the *ki* of *was* and becomes one, for this all the words are past.

Shizuki addresses the reason why the affix *-ki* is only found in the lower clause, in the Japanese translation, even though the Dutch sentence featured two past predicates. The reason is simple: in (classical) Japanese you do not need to specify the fact that the event described occurs in the past in each of the clauses, and only one *ki* is necessary, at the end of the whole sentence to make that clear. In fact, Shizuki adds, originally the affix *ki* does not belong to the adjective *nashi*, as the predicates in the past form, in the Dutch sentence, are *was* and *durfde*, that would thus translate *ariki* (in the upper clause) and *aete shiki* (in the lower clause). However, neither is ultimately rendered via the affix *ki*, in the sentence provided by Shizuki, since that affix is only added to the main predicate of the lower clause, that happens to be the adjective *nashi*, thus giving the form *nakariki*. Shizuki also mentions two concepts, namely *jiseki* and *musubi kotoba*, but I will go back to these, in 8.6.

Nonetheless, it appears that the use of just one *-ki* in this type of sentences is allowed by the presence of the conjunction *wanneer* ‘when’, in the Dutch sentence. As read in T57S3, in fact, the same sentence with the conjunction *toen* ‘back when’, instead features a double use of *-ki*, with the sentence being adapted into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni arishi toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki* 彼人家にありし時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき, also labeled a “past”. This different meaning of *toen*, providing a difference in the Japanese adaptation, is mentioned by Shizuki, who comments sentence T54S3 in the following manner (12r-12v):

Toen ハ今ニ對シテ其時ヲサス
詞ナル故家にありし時ト訳ス此
句ハ事迹ノ語ニテモありし時ト
訳スベシ前ノ語ハ其頃ノ中ニテ
家ニアルト家ニナキトヲ別テリ
此ハ其頃ト今トヲ別テリ

The word *toen* points at a time in contrast with now. This is why I have translated with *arishi toki*. Even when the sentence is a *jiseki*, it ought to be translated as *arishi toki*. The previous sentence [T54S2] makes the difference between when he was and was not at home within that same [past] time. This sentence, instead, makes the difference between that time and now.

The difference between these two sentences, thus, can be identified in the different nuances in the meanings of the two conjunctions. While with *wanneer* the distinction was whether the subject was or was not at home, within the same past time, with *toen* the distinction is between a past time when the subject was at home, and a present time. For this reason, the specification of the past tense must actualize via the use of the affix *-ki*, even in the upper clause.

This is a remarkable explanation since, until now, only the form *-tomo*, *-do(mo)*, *-ba* or *toki wa* have been described as being directly influenced by the conjunction present in the Dutch sentence. This is the only instance, except for the case of *al* and the Japanese affix *-n*, that the Dutch conjunction directly influences the translation of a Japanese affix specifying time.

Sentence T54S11 is an example of how this specific matrix can be made into a *tatoe*, while using the verb *waren*. This sentence reads *Indien hij te huis was, zou 'er niemand durven spreken*, where *indien* combines with *waren* (*was*) in the subordinate clause, and with *zouden* (*zou*) in the main clause. Here, the combination *indien* plus *was* is translated into *ariseba*, while *zouden* is the reason why the adjective in the lower clause – the adjective *nashi* – is translated as *nakaramashi*. I have already covered this in 8.5.2.1.

Sentences T54S5 and T54S6 also feature a locational *zijn*. However, in these sentences this verb is present in its present perfect (T54S5) and past perfect (T54S6) tenses. Since Shizuki claimed that the form *geweest zijn* – the present perfect of the verb *zijn* – is synonymous to *waren*, I suggest these should be interpreted as sentences representing alternative forms of the verb *waren*. T54S5 reads *Omdat hij zo lang in Holland geweest is, zo spreekt hij het Hollandsch zeer wel* (‘Because he has been so long in Holland, he speaks Dutch very wel’). The sentence is translated into Japanese as *kano hito kaku hisashiku oranda no kuni ni arishikaba oranda no go wo iu koto hanahada yoshi* 彼人かくひさしく和蘭國にありしかば和蘭語をいふこと甚よし. In the lower clause of this sentence, and this also applies to T54S6, there is different predicate from the Dutch *spreekt*, in a similar fashion it happened with the “When he is at home” sentences. The Japanese rendition of the main clause of this sentence features a nominalization of the verb ‘to speak’ *iu koto*, that is the subject of the main clause, with the adjective *yoshi* ‘good’ functioning as the predicate. The Japanese version, thus, literally translates into “speaking Dutch is very good”. The predicate in the upper clause, instead, is the verb *ari* combined with the past affix *-ki* and the affix *izenkei -ba*, the latter rendering the Dutch conjunction *omdat*. The predicate in the lower clause, instead, does not present any specific affix, only featuring the adjective in its *shūshikei* form, mirroring the present simple tense of the Dutch verb *spreekt*. The reference in time of this sentence is explained as “starting from the past, reaching/entailing the present” (過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ). Although Shizuki does not specify this concept any further, it can be assumed that this refers to the fact that the action/event described by the first clause refers to a past time (hence *geweest is*, in Dutch, and *arishikaba*, in Japanese), and its consequences can be seen in the present, as evidenced in the lower clause (hence *is* in Dutch, and *yoshi* in Japanese).

Sentence T54S6 is very similar yet it substitutes the present-tense verbs into their past forms. The sentence reads *Omdat hij zo lang in Vrancrijk geweest was, zo sprak hij het Vransch zeer wel* (‘Because he had been so long in France, he spoke French very well’). Except for the lexical changes, the sentence is translated identically to T54S5 as *kano hito kaku hisashiku furansu no kuni ni arishikaba furansu no go wo iu koto hanahada yoshi* 彼人かく久しく拂郎期国をありしかハ拂郎斯語を言ふ

こと甚よし. Shizuki labels this a past, yet he adds a few remarks, that can be read below (13v-14r):

此ハ過去ナリ上ノ句ハ過去中ノ
過去ナリ但シ事迹ノ書ニアル語
ナリ語ハ異ナレト前ナルト同意
訳ナリ唯現世過去ノ異ナルノミ
ナリ結ヒ詞ヲ置クベキトキハ言
ふこと甚よかりけりトモ訳スベ
シ

geweest was ハ過去ノ過去ナリ此
語ハ過去中ニテ更ニ過去ヨリ現
世ニカケテイヘリ其現世ハ今ヨ
リ言ヘハ過去ナリ

This is a past. The upper clause is a past within the past. However, it is a sentence present in books of *jiseki*. Even when though the sentences differ, it has the same translation and meaning as the sentence before [T54S5]. The only difference is between the present and the past. When you ought to add a *musubi kotoba*, it can also be translated as *iu koto hanahada yokarikeri*.

Geweest was is a past of the past. This phrase is said when talking about [something happening] from the past into the present, within the past. That present is a past relatively to the now.

In sentence T54S5, the act of speaking is contemporary to the present of the narration, while the act of being in the Netherlands is previous to both the now and the act of speaking. In sentence T54S6, however, the act of speaking is previous to the present of the narration, and the act of being in France is also further back in the past from the act of speaking. This difference is conveyed, in English and in Dutch, by combination of the different verbal conjugations. In Shizuki's Japanese rendition, however, this difference disappears, and both sentences are translated, from a morphosyntactic point of view, in the same manner, only adding the *-ki* affix to the upper clause (in T54S6), possibly to express the perviousness of that action/event as opposed to the lower clause. Nonetheless, Shizuki is aware of this distinction, as he points out that although the predicates of both sentence T54S5 and T54S6 occur in the past and entail the present, sentence T54S6 takes place, in its entirety, within the past. Shizuki repeats this by stating that "That present is still a past in comparison to now" (其現世ハ今ヨリ言ヘハ過去ナリ). In order to understand these sentences, one needs, thus, to visualize three references of time: the two moments in which the actions/events of the two clauses happen and the moment in which the sentence is being spoken/written. The latter sets the "current now" and is always intrinsically present. The moment of the main clause sets the "now" within the story, that can occur in a different moment, as compared to the "current now". The subordinate clause, instead, often refers to a different time to both moments. In sentence T54S5 and T54S6 the only difference is in the location of the moment when the main clause occurred. In sentence T54S5 such moment is contemporary to the "current now"; while in T54S6 such moment was in the past, with respect to the "current now". From Shizuki's words it can be assumed that this distinction cannot be made in Japanese, yet is rendered in Dutch by the use of a combination of a present perfect with a present simple (T54S5) and a past perfect with a past simple (T54S6).

Sentences T54S14, T54S16 and T54S17 all feature the verb *waren* used as a copula to a noun and are all variations of the citation from Cats. However, the only real differences between these sentences concern the upper clause, where no verb *waren*

is featured, as it only appears in the lower clause. For this reason, the verb *waren* is always translated as *nariki*, thus with the addition of the affix *-ki* to the word *nari*.

Sentences T54S22, T54S23, T54S24 and T54S27 are a bit exceptional. In the lower clause one either finds the present simple or the past simple tense of the verb *vinden* ‘to find’, corresponding to the verb *mi* literally ‘to see’, in Japanese. The upper clauses, however, present a verbal conjugation that is not grammatically acceptable, in Dutch. The main verb should be *wonen* (‘to live’, ‘to inhabit’), however, this verb is conjugated in its past participle form *gewoond* (spelled *gewoont*) and is combined with the present perfect or past perfect (T54S23) of the verb *zijn*, as if it were to work as its auxiliary. In contemporary standard Dutch, the perfect tenses of the verb *wonen* can only be rendered via the auxiliary *hebben*. In addition, the verb *zouden* is also added to these constructs. However, even if one considers the auxiliary *zijn* a viable alternative for the construction of perfect tenses, the resulting forms *zou gewoond geweest zijn* and *zou gewoond geweest waren* are still not grammatical, corresponding roughly to saying *should have had lived and *should had had lived, in English. This leads to the consequence that it is not clear what Shizuki meant to write here. Perhaps, one should interpret this use of *gewoond* not as a past participle, but as an adjective, with the meaning of *woonachtig* (‘resident’, ‘domiciled’). In this case, thus, these sentences would present two perfect tenses of the verb *zijn* used as copula to an adjective and not as locational. In the Japanese versions, the main predicate is the verb *sumu* ‘to inhabit’. In addition, there are a few inconsistencies between the translations of these sentences across the copies of *Seizenfu*, increasing the level of incomprehensibility. Sentence T54S22 is *Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn zo vinden wij zulke overblijfsel* (‘Because he should have (had) lived here, we find such remainings’). The sentence is thus translated into Japanese as *kano hito koko ni sumikemeba warera kakaru ato wo mitari* 彼人爰に住けめば我等かゝる迹を見たり.⁹⁵ In T54S22, thus, the combination of the conjunction *omdat* plus the incorrect form *zou gewoont geweest zijn* is rendered via the form *sumikemeba*, where *omdat* corresponds to the *izenkei -ba*, which is adjoined to a combination of the verb *sumu* and the affix *-kemu*, in the formula:

{**sum.** + **.i.** + **.keme** + **.ba** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *sumu* + *izenkei* of the affix *-kemu* + *izenkei -ba*}

As a comment, Shizuki only adds that the upper clause is a past (コレハ上ノ句過去ナリ), that I assume implies the lower clause not to be past. The Dutch version of the lower clause includes the verb *vinden*, a present simple tense, while the Japanese version includes the affix *-tari*, that Shizuki only used in present perfect tenses of

⁹⁵ The verb *sumikereba* is spelled clearly as 住けめば in Gifu’s copy. In Waseda’s copy however, the character *hiragana* for *ke*, appears to be written more similarly to a *katakana* for *ru* ル, that just happens to look similar to some cursive versions of *ke* け. In TERADA & SUGIMOTO (1997) this is copied over as the *katakana* for *ru* ル, in the main text (page 78), afterwards regularized as the *hiragana* for *ru* る, in the notes (page 95). However, there is no reason to believe the spelling with *ru* to be the intended version, suggesting this to probably be a misspelling of a cursive *ke* け.

any verb except *zijn*, whenever the verb *zijn* is used as an auxiliary (e.g., *gesproken zijn* and *gevallen zijn*). Being the verb *zijn*, within the Table of the Three Times, in the crossing between the *gense no gense* 'the present of the present', I must assume this to mean that the lower clause is to be considered a present. Probably of the "from the past to the present" type. Sentence T54S23 adopts verbs in the past tense and reads *Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest waren zo vonden zij zulke overblijfsel* ('Because he should had [had] lived here, they found such remainings').⁹⁶ This sentence is translated into Japanese as *kano hito koko ni sumikemeba karera kakaru ato wo mitari* 彼人爰に住けめば彼等かゝる迹を見たり. Except for the lexical changes (*wij* 'we' to *zij* 'they', as subject of the lower clause), this sentence and T54S22 are translated identically. The remark that Shizuki adds below is pretty similar to what he had written as a comment to T54S6, claiming "This is also a past, where the lower clause is a past within the past. Since this is a word of *jiseki*, then it is translated by means of words of the present and is translated identically to the sentence before" (此ハ過去ニシテ上ノ句ハ過去中ノ過去ナリ事迹ノ語ナル故現世詞ヲ以テ訳ス因ニテ前ナルト同訳ナリ).

Sentence T54S24 reads *Omdat hij daar zou gewoont geweest zijn zo vonden wij zulke overblijfsel*, where the verb *zijn* is featured in its present form, in the upper clause, while the verb *vinden* is in its past form, in the lower clause. The Japanese translation reads *kano hito kashiko ni sumitaruru bekereba warera kakaru ato wo mitariki* 彼人彼所に住たるるべければ我等かゝる迹を見たりき, in Waseda's copy, while in Gifu's copy the first predicate seems to be missing one of the two *ru* syllables, which would be the appropriate form of the affix *-tari*, when combined with *-beshi*. The verb in the upper clause, albeit identical in the Dutch version to T54S23, is translated in a totally different fashion in Japanese, where it is combined with the affixes *-tari*, *-beshi* and *izenkei -ba*, in the formula:

{*sum.* + *.i.* + *.taru* + *.bekere* + *.ba* = *izenkei* of the verb *sumu* + *rentaiki* of the affix *-tari* + *izenkei* of the affix *-beshi* + *izenkei -ba*}

If consequential *-ba* corresponds to the Dutch conjunction *omdat*, and the affix *-beshi* to the verb *zouden*, then the affix *-tari* would probably correspond to the (incorrect) present perfect tense *geweest zijn*. The predicate in the lower clause, namely *vonden*, in Dutch, a past simple, is translated into Japanese by means of a combination of *-tari* and *-ki*, just like it was done in T54S23. This sentence is labeled "past" (*kako* 過去), in Gifu's copy and it is labeled with a new term, in Waseda's copy, namely *kagū* 過遇. This term is not specifically explained, and it might have been a misspelling of some sort.⁹⁷ Above this term, however, the copyist

⁹⁶ Note that this sentence is not grammatically correct even if one considered *gewoond* an adjective, as one cannot possibly have the verb *waren* in that context.

⁹⁷ In particular, the character *gū* 遇 appears to have been written on top of another character, perhaps another occurrence of *ka* 過. It could have been that, initially, in this instance the character *ka* was repeated as to abbreviate the phrase *kako no kako* 過去ノ過去 'past of the past', as it is often done in Gifu's copy.

adds a useful gloss in *katakana*, spelling out the word *mērudan* メールダン. This is probably an abbreviation of the Dutch phrase *meer dan volmaakt/voltooid*, often used to translate the concept of “pluperfect”. In both copies the following phrase is added as a remark: “While the upper clause has the meaning of a word of *jiseki*, it is translated in the present, and thus, the character *-ki*, at the end, collects all the past tenses into one. We have already seen this type before” (上ノ句ハ事迹語ノ意ニテ現世ニ訳シ末ノキノ字ヲ以テニ束ネテ過去トナス是格前ニモ見エタリ). Again, thus, just like in sentence T54S2, the verb in the upper clause is not translated by means of the affix *-ki* because, in a *jiseki* sentence, the reference of past only appears in the lower clause, via the affix *-ki*, that combines all the past tenses of the previously featured verbs and/or adjectives, into one (see 8.6.2). Therefore, in the verb *sumitarubekereba* one does not find the affix *-ki*, but instead one finds the affix *-tari* (that corresponds to the meaning of the verb *zijn*, a “present of the present”, in a present perfect tense).

The last sentence T54S27 (that corresponds to the twenty-sixth sentence in Waseda’s copy) presents the same verbal tenses as T54S22, with only two distinctions: the conjunction *omdat* is substituted with *hoewel*, and the lower clause is negative. T54S27 is *Hoewel hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn zo vinden wij dog geen overblijfsel* (‘Even though he should have [had] lived here, still we do not find any remaining’). In the Japanese translation, the predicate of the upper clause is spelled quite differently across the two copies. In Waseda’s copy, it appears that the verb is written as *sumimeredo* すみめれど. However, this spelling is not grammatically correct, since the affix *-meri* attaches to the *shūshikei* form of verbs, that would be *sumu*, for the verb in question, and not *sumi*. The syllable *mi* written in Waseda’s copy appears to be a cursive version of it based on the Chinese character 三, leading TERADA & SUGIMOTO (1997, 78) to write it as the *katakana* character *mi* ミ. It does not appear reasonable to believe that character to be a misspelling of *mu* ム. In Gifu’s copy, the verb is quite different, presenting the form *sumikemedo* 住けめど, that would make this sentence consistent with the verbal forms found in T54S22 and T54S23, within this same copy of *Seizenfu*. In Gifu’s copy, thus, this sentence is translated into Japanese as *kano hito koko ni sumi sumikemedo warera nao sono ato wo mizu* 彼人爰に住けめど我等猶其迹を見ず. The upper clause presenting the affix *-kemu*, just like the previous sentences, although the Dutch conjunction *hoewel* is rendered via the affix *-do(mo)*, instead of *-ba* that was used there to render the Dutch conjunction *omdat*. The verb in the lower clause, instead, is simply conjugated via the addition of the affix *-zu*, for the negative, into *mizu*. As a comment, Shziuki adds the following remark:⁹⁸

此ハ上ノ句過去ナリ是語諸格前ニ見タル故是ニ畧ス俗語ニテ云ハバいはめば いはめど ハ言ウカラ言ウケレド トいふべけれ

The upper clause is a past. This type of sentence can be seen above, and thus I will refrain from discussing this any further. In the popular language, instead of *iwameba* and *iwamedo*, we would say *iu*

⁹⁸ The original text is based on Waseda’s copy (19v-20r). In brackets, I have added the text only present in Gifu’s copy (22v-23r).

ば いふへけれど [言テアッタカラ]言ウデアローカラ。言デアローケレド。又ハ言ソーナモノジヤカラ。言ソーナモノシヤケレドいひけめば⁹⁹ いひけめどハ言ウタローカラ言タローケレドナリいはめばトいひけめばトノ別ハいはめば疑ノ意ナシいふへければハ疑テ推[シ]ハカル意ナリ

kara or *iu keredo*. While instead of *iu bekereba* and *iubekeredo*, we would say [*itte atta kara*] *iu de arō kara* or *iu de arō keredo*. Furthermore, *iu sō na ja kara* and *iu sō na mono ja keredo*. Instead of *iikemeba* and *iikemedo*, we would say *iu darō kara* and *iu darō keredo*. The difference between *iwameba* and *iikemeba* is that *iwameba* does not have the meaning of doubt [疑], while *iubekereba* has the meaning of doubting and hypothesizing [疑テ推シハカル].

Here Shizuki provides further adaptations for this incorrect Dutch conjugation. Depending on the conjunction that opens the sentence, the verb in the main clause takes a different affix in the Japanese rendition. However, the predicate itself *zou gewoond geweest zijn*, in non-*jiseki* contexts, always corresponds to an affix *-kemu*. This affix *-kemu*, is covered, by Shizuki, in another chapter of *Seizenfu*, covering what he calls *musubi kotoba*, and since its meaning and use are connected also to the concept of *jiseki*, which I will analyze in 8.6. Below, I have summarized the methods of translation of the Dutch verb *waren*, including its synonyms (according to Shizuki) *geweest zijn* and *geweest waren*, as illustrated in the present paragraph.

WAREN

Type

過去の現世, Present of the past

Meaning

Japanese

1 With nouns:

-nariki なりき

2 With locations:

-ni ariki にありき

3 With adjectives:

-ki き

Chinese character

sō zai 曾在

⁹⁹ In Waseda's copy, this is spelled as *iikereba* いひければ, as also attested by TERADA & SUGIMOTO (1997, 79). However, I believe this to be a misspelling of *iimereba* いひめれば, as it appears written in Gifu's copy, since it appears that the affix *-meri* is what is being discussed here, instead of *-keri*.

8.6 Additional issues

There are still a few issues concerning the morphosyntax of verbs, as it is described by Shizuki in *Rangaku seizenfu*. In particular, two terms Shizuki has used often to describe specific phenomena I have not covered yet, namely what he called: *musubi kotoba* and *jiseki*. These two concepts are often used together, implying some sort of overlap in their meaning. However, as I will demonstrate, this overlap is mostly coincidental, and corresponds to the use of specific *musubi kotoba* in past sentences. The concept of *jiseki* is further cited often in another work by Shizuki, namely *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, that is why I will refer to that work often in 8.6.2.

8.6.1 The concept of *musubi kotoba* in *Rangaku seizenfu*

In *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki mentions a few times the term *musubi kotoba*, generally written as 結ヒ詞, literally meaning “connecting word”. This concept is analyzed in its own chapter, with the title *Kusagusa no musubi kotoba* 種々ノ結ヒ詞 (‘Various types of *musubi kotoba*’), that comes right after the twenty-seven sample sentences. Outside of this chapter, the term is mentioned four additional times, all within the chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai* (‘The use of many types of words’). These four occurrences refer to the sample sentences T54S2, T54S6, T54S14 and T54S16. In all these sentences, the term *musubi kotoba* refers to an alternative translation of the predicate of the main clause that would include the affix *-keri*. Even though the predicates are all different words across these phrases, there is one similarity among them, and that is that they are all labeled as “past”. As I will discuss in the following section, all these sentences seem to also be connected to the concept of *jiseki*, as well. In those four instances, it is generally written that the alternative translation including *-keri* is viable “when you ought/can use/put/say¹⁰⁰ a *musubi kotoba*”. These “connecting words” are, thus, something you can (or should, depending on the interpretation of the affix *-beshi*) “add” to your phrase. From this phrasing, thus, it appears that *musubi kotoba* are both words you do not need and that are not a direct translation of any specific Dutch word, since their addition is independent from the Dutch original sentence.

The term *musubi kotoba* is most evidently an influence Shizuki received from Motoori Norinaga, whom he also cites in this section of *Seizenfu*. In *Kotoba no tama no o*, Norinaga used the term *musubi* 結び (from the verb *musubu* ‘to connect’) to refer to the affixes and verbal/adjectival endings of the Japanese language that were influenced by the *kakari* represented by the three columns (*misuji* 三條). According to the *te ni wo ha* in each column, the affix in the main predicate had to be turned into one specific form (see 6.2.1). In the sixth volume of Motoori Norinaga’s work, there is a chapter titled *Musubi kotoba* – which I have already covered – where the author mentions a few additional issues concerning some adjectival/verbal affixes/endings that were not directly discussed within the *Himo kagami* table. In Motoori’s vocabulary, thus, a *musubi kotoba* was simply a *te ni wo ha* different from a *kakari* (a particle) corresponding to those that are nowadays called *jodōshi* 助動詞

¹⁰⁰ The verbs *iu* ‘to say’, *tsukau* ‘to use’ and *oku* ‘to put’ are used across these four sentences.

, conflated with the endings of verbs and adjectives. Shizuki seems to interpret this term in a rather different fashion, probably believing that the term *musubi kotoba* only referred to those elements Motoori described within that chapter. In Motoori's *Musubi kotoba* chapter, he covers the following elements, in the following order:

- The syllables *-ki* and *-shi*, relative to the past affix *-ki* and to the adjectival endings;
- The negative affix *-zu*;
- The word *nari*;
- The affix *-keri*;
- The affix *-nu*;
- The affix *-tsu*;
- All verbal endings (with specific focus on the *jita* use of each);
- The affix *-n* (*-mu*);
- The affix *-ran*;
- The affix *-ken* (*-kemu*);
- The affix *-nan* (*-namu*);
- The affix *-mashi*;
- The affix *-rashi*;
- The affix *-tsutsu*;
- The affix *-kana*;
- The affixes *-gana* and *-gamo*.

Shizuki, in his *Kusagusa no musubi kotoba* chapter, covers the following elements, in this order:

- The affix *-keri*;
- The affix *-meri*;
- The affix *-ran*;
- The affix *-rashi*;
- The affix *-tsutsu*;
- The affix *-kana*;
- The affix *-gani*.

If one eliminates from Motoori's list all the elements Shizuki has already covered in the preceding chapters of *Rangaku seizenfu*, the remaining list will be almost identical – down to the order – to that of Motoori, with the only difference being the addition of the affix *-meri*, in Shizuki, and *-gani* being covered instead of *-gana*.

The contents of Shizuki's chapter *Kusagusa musubi kotoba* feature a few lines explaining the specific meanings and uses of each of these so-called *musubi kotoba*,

together with some ten sample phrases and sentences rendered both in Dutch and in Japanese. The first lines of this chapter can be read below (21r):

けりめりハ意ノ決スル詞ナ
リ其内けりハ過去めりハ現
世ナリ蘭ニハ様々ノ點ヲ以
テ句ヲ絶ツ故ニけりめりニ
当ルベキ詞ナシ唯末ニ畢點
畢點ノ名ハ大概〈右
客〉蘭学階梯ニ仍ルアル所ニ
自ラ是等ノ意ヲ含メル所多
シ文勢ニヨリテ知ルベシ詳
ニ説クヲ〈右〉能假ニ一ニ
例ヲ示サン

The words *keri* and *meri* specify the meaning. Of these, *keri* is a past, and *meri* is a present. In Dutch, since there are many points by means of which you interrupt the sentence, there is no word exactly corresponding to *keri* and *meri*. There are many instances in which [in Dutch] you have just a point at the end [of the sentence] and yet it corresponds to these and other meanings, for us, and they are to be learned according to the expressivity of the text 文勢 (The names of all the points can be seen in *Rangaku kaitei*).¹⁰¹ The details are argued in the twelve examples I will raise now, for the moment being.

The work titled *Rangaku kaitei* is authored by Ōtsuki Gentaku and covers mainly Dutch spelling and pronunciation. In the second volume, there is one brief chapter titled *tenrei* 点例 ‘Examples of the points’, that illustrates the different punctuation marks commonly used in Dutch (see Waseda’s 文庫 8 C1, vol. 2, folios 21v-22r). This reference to this other work is not present in Waseda’s version of *Seizenfu*, that only features a full-stop drawn instead of this quote.

Shizuki claims that the concept of *musubi kotoba* has no Dutch counterpart, only corresponding to punctuation. This is an additional information that supports the idea that Shizuki’s definition of *musubi kotoba* did not include the affixes he has used to translate Dutch auxiliaries. Furthermore, Shizuki adds that *-keri* is past, while *-meri* is present, that explains why the affix *-keri* was the only example of a *musubi kotoba* found outside of this chapter: all the sentences he was referring to were past, thus requiring a past affix. However, as I have mentioned, *-keri* and *-meri* were not the only affixes called *musubi kotoba*, by Shizuki.

The first two sample sentences are *Het rivierwater vloeit zo verwardelijk* (‘The water of the river flows so confusingly’), translated into Japanese as *kawamizu midarete nagaru meri* 河水乱れて流るめり. Here, the affix *-keri* does not correspond to any specific term in the Dutch phrase. Similarly, in the subsequent example *De lente is al gekomen* (‘The spring has already arrived’), the verb is a present perfect, probably, thus, conceived of as a past tense, that is rendered into Japanese as *haru wa kinikeri* 春は来にけり. The verb *ku* ‘to come’ is combined with the affix *-nu*, providing the sense of past, and with *-keri*, as can be seen in the following formula:

{**k.** + **i.** + **.ni** + **.keri** = *ren’yōkei* of the verb *ku* ‘to come’ + *ren’yōkei* of *-nu* + *-keri*}

¹⁰¹ Two of the characters written in small type are not clearly readable, mine is just an educated guess.

The combination of past *-nu* with *-keri* could suggest the fact that the quality of being “past” of *-keri*, as opposed to “present” *-meri*, is not a description of the meaning conveyed by *-keri* itself, but rather an explanation of its contextual use. To put it simple, *-keri* is used in past sentences but it does not render the sentence past on its own, you still need another past affix, such as *-nu* as to make the sentence past. After these two sentences Shizuki adds the following remark: “There are plenty of words outside these *-keri* and *-meri*, the use of which is established” (右ノけりめりノ外ナル詞ハ定格アルモノ多シ).

The following sentence quotes *Hoe zo haastelijk vallen de bloemen af!* (‘How hastily do the flowers drop!’), translated into Japanese as *shizugokoro naku hana no chiruran* しつ¹⁰²心なく花のちるらん, where the verb *chiru* ‘to spread’, is combined with the affix *-ran*. In order to explain this *musubi kotoba*, Shizuki adds the following remark (21v):

疑ノ詞ト末ナル歎息ノ點トニヨ
リテらんの意ヲ知ル但シ現世ノ
詞ナリらんハつらんぬらん何レ
モ同意ナリ譬ヘハ哥ヲいふらん
ト云テハ一字足ラヌ時ハいひつ
らんト云フ得本居氏曰此らん
ハ然ルヲ疑フニアラズ然ル所以
ヲ疑フナリトイヘリ

The meaning of *ran* is expressed by the word of doubt and by the exclamation mark at the end [of the phrase]. This is a word of the present. As far as *ran* is concerned, *tsuran*, *nuran* or whatever other form of the affix, they all have the same meaning. For example, in the phrase *uta wo iuran*, when one character is not enough, and one says *iitsuran*, as Motoori says, this *ran*, is not doubting the happening itself, rather it doubts the reason of the happening, instead

On page 16 of volume 6 of *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori Norinaga, while covering the “connecting word” *ran*, writes the following quote:

件の歌どもらんとは結びたれ共。皆
其事を疑ふにはあらず。然るゆゑを
疑へるてにをは也。さる故に皆かな
といふに通へり。始に引る古今一の
「心ざし深く染てし云々の歌にてい
はゞ。消あへぬ雪の花と見ゆる其事
は疑ひにあらねば。「花と見ゆるか
なといふ意なるを。さやうに花と見
ゆるゆゑを疑ひて。何とて花とは見
ゆらんといふ意にて。らんとは結べ
り。然れば「花と見ゆるかな何とて
花と見ゆらんといふ意也。次に同二
「ひさかたのひかりのどけき云々の
歌は「しづ心なく花のちるかな。何

Even though the poems in question are connected by means of *ran*, they do not doubt the matter, they are *te ni wo ha* that doubt the reason for the happening. Furthermore, they can all be substituted by *kana*. As initially quoted in the *Kokin-shū*: *kokorozashi fukaku someteshi* and *kie aenu yuki no hana to miyuru*, when these do not correspond to the act of doubting, they get the meaning of *hana to miyuru kana*, doubting the reason why one sees the flowers. With the meaning of “Why does one see the flowers?”, it is connected by *ran*. It has furthermore, the meaning of *hana to miyuru kana nani tote hana to miyuran*. Subsequently, in the same work, there is the poem *hisakata no hikari nodokeki*, where *shizugokoro naku hana no chiru kana*.

¹⁰² In Waseda's copy the syllable *zu* is spelled as ず.

とてしづ心なく花のちるらんといふ
意なり。次々の歌もみな此格に同
じ。いづれも△のしるしを附たる所
に。何とてといふ言を加へて心得べ
し。

This has the meaning of “Why do flowers spread without a clam heart?”. Also the subsequent songs all have this meaning. One should remember that when I have put the symbol △, the word *nani tote* [‘why’] can be added. This *ran* can be substituted with *rana*.

In this quote of Motoori – that is probably what Shizuki was citing in the excerpt above – the scholar expands on the uses of the affix *-ran*, that is traditionally conceived of as expressing doubt and uncertainty. However, as Motoori suggests, *-ran* does not doubt the matter in question (事を疑ふにはあらず), rather the reason why such thing has happened (然るゆゑを疑へる). In this sense, thus, the affix *-ran* corresponds to the affix *-kana*, in a relationship that is best explained by Motoori by means of the same sample sentence Shizuki used. Motoori claims that the phrase *shizuka-gokoro naku hana no chiru kana* corresponds to the meaning of the utterance *nani toshite shizuka-gokoro naku hana no chiru ran* (‘Why is it that the flowers fall so hastily?’). The same sentence with *kana* is also covered by Shizuki a few phrases below: *Ô wat is het haastige afvallen der bloemen!* (‘Oh, what is the hasty falling of the flowers’), translated into Japanese as *shizugokoro naku hana no chiru kana* しづ心なく花のちるかな. Here Shizuki also presents another sample for the use of *-kana*, in the phrase *Ô wat is dat gelukkig!* (‘Oh, that is so fortunate!’), translated into Japanese as *saiwai naru kana* 幸なる哉. Shizuki also adds that this *kana* is a word of the present (現世) and that “This explains the words of exclamation, the word of doubt and the point of exclamation at the end [of the sentence]” (此ハ歎息ノ詞ト疑ノ詞ト末ノ歎息ノ點トニヨリテ知ル). This sentence could be interpreted as implying that the Japanese affix *-kana* corresponds to three elements in the Dutch sentence: the interjection *ô* ‘oh’ (歎息ノ詞 ‘word of exclamation’); the interrogative pronoun *wat* ‘what’ (疑ノ詞 ‘word of doubt’); and the exclamation point (歎息ノ點). In Gifu’s copy one also finds the phrase *Ô tijd!* (‘Oh, time!’), translated into Japanese as *toki naru kana* 時なる哉, where *kana* would only correspond to the interjection *ô* and the exclamative point.

Another sentence present in this chapter of *Seizenfu* is *Misschien is de zomer al gekomen* (‘Maybe the summer has already come’), translated into Japanese as *natsu kitaru rashi* 夏来るらし, where the affix *rashi* is considered a word of present. Shizuki adds the following explanation (22r):

持統天皇ノ哥モ万葉ニアル本哥ハ
夏来るらしト有俗ニハ夏ガ来タソ
ーナト云フ

らしト常ノらんトラ分別スヘキ蘭
詞イマダ思ヒ得ス

In the original version of the Poem of the Empress Jitō found in the *Man’yōshū*, there is *natsu kitaru rashi*, which is popularly said as *natsu ga kitasōna*.

I still have not been able to think of a Dutch word specifying the difference between *rashi* and the common *ran*.

This is an interesting point raised by Shizuki, who claims that there is a difference between *-rashi* and *-ran*, that gets lost in Dutch. However, this is not completely true, since Shizuki did adopt specific forms to translate the two Japanese affixes into Dutch. Shizuki translates the sentence *Misschien was hij hier gekomen* ('Maybe he had come here') as *kano hito koko ni kinikerashi* 彼人爰に來にけらし, where the verb *ku* 'to come' is combined with the past affix *-nu* and the affix *-kerashi*, in the following formula:

$$\{\mathbf{k.} + \mathbf{.i.} + \mathbf{.ni} + \mathbf{.kerashi} = \text{ren 'yōkei of the verb } ku \text{ 'to come' + ren 'yōkei of the affix } -nu + \text{affix } -kerashi\}$$

Shizuki adds that the affix *kerashi* is a word of the past and corresponds to the popular version *kitasōna*, that is identical to the popular language adaptation of the affix *rashi*. Furthermore, to some extent, the affix *kerashi* functions like the affix *keri*, in the sense that both are words of the past that still need to be combined with the past affix *-nu*. This last sentence has probably been created by Shizuki himself in comparison with the previous sentence with *misschien*, in order to exemplify the difference between the two affixes *-keri* and *-kerashi*. Even though both occur in the past, that is signaled by the presence of the affix *-nu*, the Dutch version actually presents two different verbal conjugations, namely the present perfect (*is gekomen*) in the first sentence, and the past perfect (*was gekomen*), in the latter. It is this difference that corresponds to the specialized use of *-keri* and *-kerashi*, respectively, according to Shizuki.

As far as the affix *-tsutsu* is concerned, Shizuki only provides two predicates as an example, instead of a full sentence, in *al eetende* ('already eating') and *al slapende* ('already sleeping'), translated into Japanese as *netsutsu* 寝つゝ and *kuitsutsu* 食つゝ. It is furthermore added that this is a word of the present, that is rendered in popular Japanese by means of the word *nagara* ナガラ.

The last phrase contained in this chapter is *Op dat hij weder komt* ('So that he comes back'), translated into Japanese as *kaeri kuru gani* かへり来るがに. The affix *gani* is covered, by Motoori Norinaga, in the last section of the last volume of his *Kotoba no tama no o*, within the chapter titled *Inishieburī no kotoba-zukai* 古風の辭づかひ 'The Use of Words in the Ancient Style'. There, on pages 63-64, one only finds a few sentences that do not include the one used by Shizuki, and some considerations regarding the spelling, specifically that the syllable *ga* needs to be voiced (濁) since it is always found, in the Classics, written with one specific Chinese character that is pronounced as *ga* 我. Shizuki adds that this affix *gani* is a word of the future and that the sample phrase would be rendered in popular Japanese as *kaeri kuru yō ni*, thus with *yō ni* corresponding to a less literary version of *gani*. In Table 57, below, I have collected and simplified the contents of this chapter of *Seizenfu*. By looking at that table, one can more easily understand what Shizuki meant to convey in this chapter.

<i>Het rivierwater vloeit zo verwardelijk</i>	<i>kawamizu midarete nagaru meri</i> 河水乱れて流るめり	JP: <i>-meri</i> めり NL: full stop	Present
<i>De lente is al gekomen</i>	<i>haru wa kinikeri</i> 春は来にけり	JP: <i>-keri</i> けり NL: full stop	Past
<i>Hoe zo haastelijk vallen de bloemen af!</i>	<i>shizu-gokoro naku hana no chiruran</i> しつ心なく花のちるらん	JP: <i>-ran</i> らん NL: <i>hoe</i> + exclamation mark (?)	Present
<i>Misschien is de zomer al gekomen</i>	<i>natsu kitaru rashi</i> 夏来るらし	JP: <i>-rashi</i> らし NL: <i>misschien</i> -- Popular JP: <i>natsu ga kitasōna</i> 夏が来タソーナ	Present
<i>Misschien is hij hier al gekomen</i>	<i>kano hito koko ni kinikerashi</i> 彼人爰に来にけらし	JP: <i>-kerashi</i> けらし NL: <i>misschien</i> -- Popular JP: <i>kitasōna</i> 来タ ソーナ	Past
<i>Al eetende, al slapende</i>	<i>kuitsutsu</i> 食つゝ <i>netsutsu</i> 寝つゝ	JP: <i>-tsutsu</i> つゝ NL: <i>al</i> + gerund -- Popular JP: <i>-nagara</i> ナガ ラ	Present
<i>Ô wat is dat gelukkig!</i>	<i>saiwai naru kana</i> 幸なる哉	JP: <i>-kana</i> かな (哉) NL: <i>Ô</i> + <i>wat</i> + exclamation point	Present
<i>Ô wat is het haastig afvallen der bloemen!</i>	<i>shizugokoro naku hana no chiru kana</i> しつ心なく花のちるかな	JP: <i>-kana</i> かな (哉) NL: <i>Ô</i> + <i>wat</i> + exclamation point	Present
<i>Ô tijd!</i>	<i>toki naru kana</i> 時なる哉	JP: <i>-kana</i> かな (哉) NL: <i>Ô</i> + exclamation point	Present
<i>Op dat hij wederkomt</i>	<i>kaeri kuru gani</i> かへり来るがに	JP: <i>-gani</i> がに NL: <i>op dat</i> -- Popular JP: <i>kaeri kuru yōni</i> カヘリ来ルヤウニ	Future

Table 57 List of sentences featuring *musubi kotoba* from *Rangaku seizenfu*.

Firstly, the affixes *-meri* and *-keri* have no Dutch counterpart. As Shizuki said, they simply end the sentence and can only correspond to a full stop, in the Dutch translation. There is still a difference between the two, namely that *-meri* is present, while *-keri* is past. This does not mean that *-keri* turns the phrase past, rather that it is used when another affix of the past is used (e.g., *-nu*). Even though Shizuki says that he has not found any Dutch word that could correspond to the affix *-rashi*, he adopts the word *misschien* ‘maybe’ as a rendition. This holds true even when *-rashi* is used in the form *-kerashi* that, by virtue of being a contraction of *-keri* and *-rashi*,

functions similarly to the former: it must be used in sentences of the past. The affix *-kana*, instead, corresponds to the combination of three elements of the Dutch sentence, as I have already mentioned, the interjection *ô* 'oh'; the interrogative pronoun *wat* 'what'; and the exclamation point. The affix *-ran* appears to correspond to the combined use of the interrogative pronoun *hoe* 'how' with the exclamation point, however, since there is only one such example, nothing can be stated with certainty. The affix *-tsutsu* corresponds to the present participle forms of verbs, combined with the adverb *al* 'already' and, finally, the affix *-gani* corresponds to the phrasing *op dat* 'so that', used in Dutch to create a final clause, that is also one of the uses of the popular alternative *yō ni*, attested by Shizuki.

It is also worth mentioning the fact that many of these phrases and sentences share striking similarities with phrases used in Japanese classical literary works. This is stated about the phrase *natsu kitaru rashi* 夏来るらし, that Shizuki claims is present in the "Song of the Empress Jitō", in the *Man'yōshū* (持統天皇ノ歌モ万葉ニアル本歌). It would have been quite hard to identify the source of such a brief phrase, but since Shizuki refers to that work one can assume that the other sentences, even the very brief ones, might come from classics of Japanese literature. On first superficial research, it appears that most of these phrases are indeed used in similar wordings in a few of the classics of Japanese literature. For example, in *Kokin waka-shū*, in the section on the autumn, one can read the phrase *momiji midarete nagaru meri* もみぢ乱れて流るめり, identical to the sentence that Shizuki translated as *Het rivierwater vloeit zo verwardelijk*, with the only difference that the subject of the sentence is *kawamizu/rivierwater* 'river-water' in Shizuki's version and *momiji*, in the original *waka*. The Japanese term *momiji* does not have a direct translation in English, or in Dutch, and refers to the colors of the leaves in autumn. In the original *waka*, the *momiji* leaves streamed in the Tatsuta River (竜田川), making it plausible for Shizuki to have decided to simplify the translation with the word *rivierwater* as to make the didactic purpose of this chapter smoother. The phrase *haru wa kinikeri* 春は来にけり is also used in *Kokin waka-shū*, in the section on the summer, that is the same source for the sentence *shizu-gokoro naku hana no chiruran* しつ心なく花のちるらん, as well. The latter source is certain, since Shizuki cites Motoori who quotes directly from that source. It is indeed Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no* o the source for the modified version of this sentence, where *-ran* is substituted with *-kana*. The phrase *shizugokoro naku hana no chiru kana* しつ心なく花のちるかな, in fact, does not seem to be used in any classical literary work. As for the sentence *kano hito koko ni kinikerashi* 彼人爰に来にけらし, I am inclined to believe it was a creation of Shizuki, on the basis of the previous *natsu kitaru rashi* 夏来るらし, as to describe the difference between *-rashi* and *-kerashi*. This is also reinforced by the fact that it uses words such as *kano hito* and *koko ni*, both of which were common in the previous chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai*. The phrase *saiwai naru kana* 幸なる哉, instead, appears to be a common expression of felicitation and contentment. This sentence's syntax might have been the basis for the phrase *toki naru kana* 時なる哉, present in Gifu's copy. The last phrase *kaeri kuru gani* かへり来るがに can also be found in *Kokin waka-shū*, giving the impression the most of these sample sentences

have been drawn from that source. This has a few implications. Firstly, the Dutch sentences came after. This means that the Dutch sentences present in this chapter are translations of the Japanese sentences and not the other way around, as it happened with the sentences in the chapter *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*.¹⁰³ This makes sense, if one considers that the purpose of the present chapter was to illustrate how to render into Dutch the phenomenon of *musubi kotoba*, that Shizuki believed not to have any Dutch counterpart, as a general rule. Furthermore, this means that these Dutch sentences might be the very first testimony in history of pieces of the *Kokin waka-shū* being translated into a foreign language, certainly into a European one. What makes these few excerpts even more valuable is the fact that the translation into the foreign language was not done by a native speaker of the target language, but a native speaker of the source language.¹⁰⁴

8.6.2 The concept of *jiseki*

The concept of *jiseki* – that Shizuki spells as 事跡, 変迹, or other combinations of the two characters – is mentioned often in *Rangaku seizenfu*, although it plays a much more central role in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. The term *jiseki* is composed of the two characters *ji*, meaning ‘thing’, ‘matter’ or even ‘action’, and *seki*, meaning ‘traces’, ‘marks’ or ‘remains’. The *Digital daijisen* encyclopedia, defines it as “The traces of things that have happened” (物事が行われたあと). This term is only found in three of the manuscripts attributed to Shizuki, namely *Rangaku seizenfu*, *Joshi-kō* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, with a notably higher occurrence in the latter. The concept of *jiseki* has already been mentioned, in secondary literature, by DE GROOT (2005, 154) who writes the following:

“The third of the introductory remarks is a reference to *jiseki* 事跡, a term Shizuki coined to indicate the ‘historical present’ form that verbs may take in Japanese stories set in the past, in contrast to Dutch, where, as in English, verb tenses are applied consistently.”

DE GROOT suggests comparing this concept to what is commonly known as “historical present”, a morphologically present tense used in historical texts to refer to events occurring in the past. DE GROOT claims that this term *jiseki* is coined by Shizuki as to indicate those instances in which the Japanese phrase, although describing a past event, does not require a morphological specification of a past tense, in the predicate. He adds that this phenomenon is to be put into contrast with Dutch and English whose verbal tenses do not feature this *jiseki* phenomenon and are “applied consistently”. Unfortunately, DE GROOT does not expand on this topic, in this source, referencing his 1998 Master’s dissertation¹⁰⁵ that I have not been able to access. I assume that with Dutch and English verbal tenses being “applied

¹⁰³ This point has also been raised by ŌSHIMA (2019, 50).

¹⁰⁴ Though, of course, Shizuki was not a native speaker of classical Japanese.

¹⁰⁵ Bibliographical reference: De Groot, H. W. K., *Approaches to the Study of Dutch in Eighteenth Century Japan: Shizuki Tadao And Others*, Masters Dissertation, University of Canterbury, 1998. De Groot specifically cites pages 94 to 98, with regard to the concept of *jiseki*.

consistently” he was referring to the use of “past tenses” when referring to past events. Fortunately, Shizuki provides many elucidations regarding the meaning of this concept across his manuscripts. In *Seizenfu*, Shizuki devotes a whole chapter, by the title *Jiseki no kotoba* 事跡ノ詞 “Words of *jiseki*”, to the explanation of this concept. This chapter is mostly composed of a table relating different Dutch verbal tenses to their *jiseki* counterparts. However, before drawing such table Shizuki adds the following remark: “In general, when writing about *jiseki*, as seen on the left, one takes the lower word and substitutes it with the upper one” (凡ソ事跡ヲ記ルニハ左ニ出セル下ノ語ヲ以テ上ノ語ニ代フ).¹⁰⁶

Zullen	Zouden
Zijn	Waaren
Hebben	Hadden
Waaren	Geweest waaren
Hadden	Geweest hadden
Spreeken	Spraaken
Vallen	Vielen
Zeggen	Zeijden
Worden	Wierden
Konnen	Konden
Moeten	Moesten

Table 58 Table of *jiseki* from *Rangaku seizenfu* (22v-23r).

After this table Shizuki adds that “In general, each verb distinguishes in present and past, however, I do not have time to list each and all of them” (凡ソ動詞各現在過去ノ別アリ枚挙スルニ遑アラズ). Judging by Table 58, it appears that the concept of *jiseki* relates present simple tenses with their past simple forms, and past simple forms with their past perfect tenses. In Gifu’s copy, one can also see that the copyist has written the character *mika nari* 未過也, with *mika* perhaps being an abbreviation of *mirai no kako* 未来ノ過去. In Waseda’s copy, within the chapter titled *Kiruru go*, the term *jiseki* is used to refer to the verb *gevallen hadden*, a past perfect tense, translated into Japanese as *ochiki* 隕き, thus by means of the affix *-ki*. The use of *hadden* as an auxiliary was called by Shizuki a *kako no kako* ‘past of the past’.

The concept of *jiseki* is further mentioned in seven additional instances, within *Seizenfu*, all inside the chapter *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*. T54S2 reads *Wanneer hij te huis was, durfde ‘er niemand spreken*, translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki*. Both verbs appear in the Dutch phrase in the past simple tense (*was* ‘was’ and *durfde* ‘dared’). In Japanese, however, while the predicate in the lower clause is combined with the affix *-ki*, the predicate in the upper clause is not combined with any affix at all. The whole sentence is considered a “past” and the following text is also added (11v-12r):

¹⁰⁶ In vertical right-to-left writing, “left” refers to the following text, while “up” and “down” refer to the “left” and “right” columns of Table 58.

此ハ過去ナリ事迹ニ用ルトキハ前
ナル現世語ト同訳ナリ結ヒ詞ヲイ
フヘキ時ハ言ふ人ナカリケリト訳
スベシ上ノ句ニ was トアレト
wanneer ハ其過去ノ中ニテ在家ノ時
ヲサスナル故 was ヲ訳スルト事迹
ノ語ニ準シテ is ノ如クス因テ全語
ヲツカネテ末ニナカリキトキノ字
ヲ出セリ dúrfde dúrft ノ過去ニテ敢
てしきトイフニ當レリ此キノ字ト
was ノキノ字トヲ束ネテ末ニ唯一ツ
出セリ是ニテ全語ヲ過去トナス

This is past. When using it in *jiseki*, it gets the same translation as the sentence before, which had a present tense. When you ought to use a *musubi kotoba*, it can also be translated as *iu hito nakarikeri*. Even if you have *was* in the upper clause, *wanneer* points at when the person is at home, within the past itself, thus the translation of *was* works similarly to a *jiseki*, in that it is like *is*. For this reason, gathering all the words together, you get the character *ki*, in *nakariki*. The word *durfde* is the past of *durft* and it corresponds to saying *aete shiki*. This character *ki* gathers up with the *ki* of *was* and becomes one, for this all the words are past.

I have already talked about this excerpt in 8.5.6. Here, I will concentrate on what is claimed regarding the concept of *jiseki*. Shizuki claims that “When using [the affix -*ki*] in *jiseki*, it gets the same translation as the sentence before, that had a present tense”. This implies that the Dutch sentence can be used in *jiseki* instances in which the Japanese translation would be identical to the previous sentence (referring to T54S1), that only featured present tenses in Dutch (*is* ‘is’ and *durft* ‘dares’), and where the Japanese translation required the use of no specific affix (with the predicates being translated, respectively, as *aru* and *nashi*).

The Dutch sentence of T54S3 is almost identical to that of T54S2, with the only difference being the conjunction *toen* that is used instead of *wanneer*. However, the Japanese version now features the affix *-ki* being added to both predicates (respectively *arishi* and *nakariki*). As a comment to this sentence Shizuki adds that even when used in *jiseki*, the predicate of the upper clause ought to be translated as *arishi*, thus with the addition of the affix *-ki*.

Sentence T54S6 reads *Omdat hij zo lang in Frankrijk geweest was, zo sprak hij het Fransch zeer wel*, and features a past simple in the main clause (*sprak* ‘spoke’) and a past perfect tense in its subordinate clause (*geweest was* ‘has been’, literally ‘was been’). In Japanese, the sentence is rendered with the addition of the affix *-ki* in the upper clause (*arishikaba*) and with the addition of no affix in the lower one (*yoshi*). The whole sentence is considered past, although the upper clause is defined as past within the past (過去中ノ過去). Shizuki adds the following remarks, as I have already portrayed in 8.5.6 (13v-14r):

此ハ過去ナリ上ノ句ハ過去中ノ
過去ナリ但シ事迹ノ書ニアル語
ナリ語ハ異ナレト前ナルト同意
訳ナリ唯現世過去ノ異ナルノミ
ナリ結ヒ詞ヲ置クベキトキハ言
ふこと甚よかりケリトモ訳スベ
シ

This is a past. The upper clause is a past within the past. However, it is a sentence present in books of *jiseki*. Even when the sentences differ, it has the same translation and meaning as the sentence before [T54S5]. The only difference is between the present and the past. When you ought to add a *musubi kotoba*, it can also be translated as *iu koto hanahada yokarikeri*.

geweest was ハ過去ノ過去ナリ此
語ハ過去中ニテ更ニ過去ヨリ現
世ニカケテイヘリ其現世ハ今ヨ
リ言ヘハ過去ナリ

Geweest was is a past of the past. This phrase is said when talking about [something happening] from the past into the present, within the past. That present is a past relatively to the now.

The concept of *jiseki* is also referenced in the comment to sentence T54S14 *Hoewel zij een mooi gezicht had, was het een lantaarn zonder licht*. This sentence features two past simple tenses (*had* ‘had’ and *was* ‘was’) and is rendered into Japanese with the use of the affix *-ki* in both phrases (respectively, *arishikadomo* and *nariki*). This sentence is also considered past, and the following remarks are added (16r-16v):

壁ヘハ是老女は昔はよき女であつ
たト云ヲ毀テよき女てはあつたれ
ど游女であつたト云フ意也此語ヲ
事迹ニ用ル寸ハ前ナル現世語ト同
訳ナリ結ヒ詞ヲ使フベキ寸ハ燈な
りけりナト訳スベシ

For example, let’s say that old woman used to be a pretty girl, this would mean that even though she was a pretty girl, she was a prostitute. When you use these words in the *jiseki*, then they have the same translation as the words of present [as seen] before. When you ought to use a *musubi kotoba* then you ought to translate it as *tō narikeri*.

Again, Shizuki informs the reader that this past sentence, with two past simple tenses, when used in the context of *jiseki*, must be translated into Japanese by means of words of the present, in this case, *aredomo* and *nari*, instead of *arishikadomo* and *nariki*, as in T54S13.

A very similar claim is made with regard to T54S16, a re-rendition of T54S13 with the use of an incorrectly conjugated past perfect (or a present perfect, in Waseda’s copy) in the upper clause, in combination with a past simple, in the lower clause. The translation is said to be the same as T54S15, thus using *-ki* in the upper clause (*arishikadomo*) and not using it in the lower one (*nari*).

Another similar remark can be read concerning T54S23, with the sentence *Omdat hij hier zou gewoond geweest waren, zo vonden wij zulke overblijfsel*, featuring a past simple in the lower clause and a puzzlingly conjugated form of the verb in the upper clause. Shizuki writes that “Making this a past, the upper clause is a past within the past. Since it is a word of *jiseki* it ought to be translated with the words of the present as the sentence above” (此ハ過去ニシテ上ノ句ハ過去中ノ過去ナリ事迹ノ語ナル故現世詞ヲ以テ記ス因ニテ前ナルト同訳ナリ). Neither of the affixes used in the Japanese version refers, in fact, to a past time.

The last reference to the concept of *jiseki* found in *Seizenfu* regards sentence T54S24, that is identical to T54S23 except for the use of *zijn* instead of *waren*, still combined in a questionable conjugated form. Shizuki calls this sentence a past and comments it by saying that “The upper clause when used with the meaning of *jiseki*, must be translated as a present. You gather the affixes *-ki* into one at the end [of the sentence] and this makes a past” (上ノ句ハ事跡語ノ意ニテ現世ニ訳シ末ノきノ

字ヲ以テニ束ネテ過去トナス). The Japanese translation features the character *-ki* only in the predicate of the lower clause.

By looking at these examples, accounting for the sometimes unclear and questionable verbal conjugation forms, one can notice the adoption by Shizuki of two different wordings. With T54S2, T54S3, T54S14, T54S23 Shizuki uses phrases like “When used in the *jiseki*” (事迹ニ用ルトキハ); while with T54S6, T54S16, T54S24 Shizuki uses phrases like “This is a sentence found in texts of *jiseki*” (事迹ノ書ニアル語ナリ). This may imply that the latter group can **only** be used in the context of a *jiseki*, while the former can **also** be used in non-*jiseki* past tenses. Although one might be led to believe that a characteristic of a *jiseki* is that the Dutch past tense is translated into a present, in the Japanese, version, this is far from being a rule. For example, even if this is true for T54S2, the same cannot be said for T54S3, that only differs from the former for the presence of the conjunction *toen*, instead of *wanneer*. It is precisely because of the different conjunction that T54S3 requires a past both in the upper clause as well as in the lower clause, even when used as *jiseki*. This is explained by Shizuki by stating that, although *wanneer* poses a question of whether “he” is at home or not, *toen* makes a difference between the “now” and the “past”, thus requiring the use of *-ki* in both clauses, regardless of whether the sentence is being used in a *jiseki*. Table 59, helps visualizing this.

	<i>Wanneer</i> (T54S2) <i>Hoewel</i> (T54S14)		<i>Toen</i> (T54S3)	
	Upper clause	Lower clause	Upper clause	Lower clause
No <i>jiseki</i>	Ø	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>
<i>jiseki</i>	Ø	Ø	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>

Table 59 Tentative identification of patterns in the combined use of Dutch combination and the Japanese affix *-ki*.

Table 59 only considers the instances in which the Dutch sentence presents a past simple in both clauses, as illustrated in T54S2, T54S3 and T54S14. In fact, when the upper clause presents a perfect tense,¹⁰⁷ as in T54S16, the sentence belongs to the “words of *jiseki*” type, and the presence of *hoewel* as a conjunction does not change the fact that the affix *-ki* is present in the upper clause and absent in the lower. Sentence T54S6, presenting the conjunction *omdat*, in combination with a past perfect tense in the upper clause and a present perfect in the lower clause, also belongs to the “words of *jiseki*” type, presenting *-ki* only in the upper clause. Unfortunately, sentences T54S23 and T54S24 are too different and present unclear verbal conjugations, thus they are less directly useful for this analysis. T54S24, presenting the compound *zou gewoond geweest waren* is of the “when used in *jiseki*” type, and presents no *-ki* in either clause. T54S25, where the verbal compound in the upper clause is *zou gewoond geweest zijn*, instead, is considered of the “word of *jiseki*” type, and it is claimed that the *-ki* at the end of the whole sentence includes the sense of past that is also conveyed by the upper clause.

¹⁰⁷ A present perfect tense in Waseda and a past perfect tense in Gifu.

The idea that the *jiseki* is an alternative present-tense Japanese translation of a Dutch past sentence, that can be deduced from the analysis above, however, would be in contrast with the table drawn by Shizuki himself in the chapter *Jiseki no kotoba*. There, in fact, Shizuki illustrated how to substitute specific verbal tenses in order to make the phrase a *jiseki*. In most cases this entailed turning a simple past into a simple present, except for the past perfect tenses which were substituted with their past simple tenses, in the construction of the *jiseki*. However, one could interpret that table as only illustrating the words that are always *jiseki*, specifically those of the type exemplified by T54S6, T54S16 and T54S24. Another hypothesis for the interpretation of that table is that Shizuki did not mean to say you had to substitute one verbal conjugation into another, yet that you should translate the sentence into Japanese as if you had the other verbal form in the original Dutch sentence. A last interpretation could be that he meant you should substitute the “upper” column with the “lower” one – and not vice versa – in order to get a sentence of *jiseki* of the second type, namely those using words that are always *jiseki*.

What is clear is that the concept of *jiseki* had to do, in Shizuki's persuasion, with morphologically past-tense verbs. This is restated in *Joshi-kō*, within the grammatical section, where one can read the following (54v):

事跡ヲ記スルニ総過去詞ヲ用ユ現在ニ現在詞ヲ用ユルト同意ナリ過去ノ現在ナレハナリ但過去ノ中ニ又過去現在トノ別アリ左ノ語ニテ悟ルヘシ

When reporting the *jiseki*, one uses all words of the past, it has the same meaning as using words of the present in the present. It is the past of the present. In fact, there is a difference between the present and the past, within the past, as is discussed with the sentences on the left.

The sentences in question are *Omdat hij een vechtjaap geweest was* ‘Because he had been a good warrior’ and *Omdat hij een vechtjaap was* ‘Because he was a good warrior’.¹⁰⁸ They are labeled, respectively, past, and present and are translated slightly differently. The “past” sentence featuring a past perfect tense is translated as *kano hito kyōsha nari shikaba* 彼人俠者ナリシカハ, thus with the addition of the affix *-shikaba*, a combination of *-ki* with *izenkei -ba*. The “present” sentence featuring a past simple tense is translated as *kano hito kyōsha narikereba* 彼人俠者ナリケレバ, where *-kereba* is a composition of *izenkei -ba* with the affix *-keri*, that Shizuki called a “past” *musubi kotoba*, in *Seizenfu* (see 8.6.1). Underneath these two sentences, Shizuki writes that *geweest zijn* and *waren* are synonyms, as well as *geweest hebben* and *hadden*; however, the two present perfect tenses are labeled

¹⁰⁸ The term *vechtjaap* deserves further inspection. The *Historische woordenboek Nederlands en Fries* defines this term as ‘uncommon’ (*ongewoon*) and as “someone inclined to fighting” (*iemand die geneigd is tot vechten*). The only reference provided here is from a book titled *Het koddig en vermakelyk Leven van Louwtje van Zevenhuizen* by Gerrit van Spaan (1654 – 1711). There we can read the sentence [...] *een regte vechtjaap in zyn tyd geweest was* “[...] had been a rightful warrior, back in his days”, with the same past perfect tense. In Japanese this term is translated as *kyōsha* 俠者. The *Digital Daijisen* encyclopedia defines this term as synonym to *kyōkaku* 俠客, that refers to a noble-spirited warrior.

kako, while the two past perfects are labeled *kagen* 過現. The term *kagen* is a probable abbreviation of the phrase *kako no genzai* ‘present of the past’. It is, in fact, the past perfect tense of these verbs – namely, *geweest waren* and *gehad hadden* – that is considered a “past of the past”. Shizuki solidifies this by adding two further examples: *Omdat hij maar¹⁰⁹ een penning gehad hadden* (‘Because he had had just a penny’), with a past perfect tense; and *Omdat hij maar een penning gehad hebben* (‘Because he has had just a penny’), with a present perfect tense.¹¹⁰ The Japanese renditions mirror the information provided above, with the first being adapted as *kano hito tada issen arishikaba* 彼人唯一銭アリシカハ, while the second as *kano hito tada issen arikereba* 彼人唯一銭アリケレハ. Consistently, since the present perfect and the past simple are considered synonyms, they are both adapted as *-ki*, in these sentences, while the past perfect is adapted as *-keri*, in both sentences. Unfortunately, though, the clauses found in *Joshi-kō* referred to as *jiseki* are all subordinate clauses with no main clause, allowing for little contextualization, as compared to what found in *Seizenfu*, and hitherto discussed. The concept of *jiseki* is present all throughout Shizuki’s *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, where it is often directly related to specific Dutch tenses, based upon Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*. In the very first folio of this work, one can read that the concept of *jiseki* is related to two tenses: the *onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd* ‘imperfect past tense’, namely the present simple, called *genzai no kako*; and the *meer dan volmaakte voorleeden tijd* ‘pluperfect tense’, namely the past perfect, called *kako no kako*.

After providing a list of the Dutch tenses, Shizuki adds the following remark (2v):

此ノ如キ ik, hij, gij ナトニヨリテ動詞ノ
格異ナルヲ並ニ余カ三種諸格ノ後ニ見タ
ルヲ以テニハ ik ノミヲ表シテ他ハ略セリ
又跡ナトニ ik ト云ハ我者ヲ語ルナリ

Like this, according to *ik, hij, gij* etc. the form of the verb changes. The rest can be seen in *Sanshu shokaku*, thus I will only specify the form *ik*, here. In the *jiseki* etc. the *ik* talks about the first person.

Shizuki continues by providing an example of a “present of the past” tense with the phrase *Ik zal gegaan hebben*, literally ‘I will have gone’, although the verb *gaan* ‘to go’ requires the verb *zijn* as auxiliary for the perfect tense. This phrase is considered a *jiseki* and is apparently translated into Japanese sentences featuring the verb *manabu* ‘to learn’. Perhaps the phrase was initially supposed to be *ik zal geleerd hebben* ‘I will have learned’. The translations *ware manabu* 我覺フ and *ware manabiki* 我覺ビキ are added, where the latter adds the affix *-ki* to the main verb. This is commented as follows (2v):

¹⁰⁹ In Waseda’s copy, this is spelled as *waar*, although a note above the word states “This is probably *maar*” (恐ラクハ maar ナラン).

¹¹⁰ The main verbs in both these sentences – namely, *hadden* and *hebben* – are conjugated incorrectly in the plural number, while the subject is clearly *hij* ‘he’, a third person singular pronoun, thus requiring the forms *had* and *heeft*.

夏跡ニアル寸ハ過去ニ於テノ現在
ノ意ヲ以テ我覺フト訳スレバ時ニ
ヨリテハ現在ニカケテ云フアリ其
時ハ覺ひきト訳ス

When in the *jiseki*, even though it is translated as *ware manabu* since it takes the meaning of a present within the past, at times, it can be said to entail the present, and thus be translated as *manabiki*.

This quote explains that the *jiseki*, although being generally translated as a present tense, in the Japanese version, can also be translated into a past tense – i.e., by the addition of the affix *-ki* – when it “entails the present” (現在ニカケテ). I interpret this phrasing as meaning that when the phrase in the past also concerns the present, then it can be translated with *-ki*. This interpretation is reinforced by the following quote (2v):

夏迹ヲ説ニモアラス又ハ文中ニ過去
詞ト現在詞トヲ雜ヘタル寸ノフ也過
去ヨリ現在ニカケテ云故ナリ但シ覺
ひつト云トキハ意ノ訳シタル過去ナ
リ voegende ノ時ハ多ク夏迹ノ格ニ
云リ

There is no explanation of the *jiseki*. However, it is something that within books, exchanges the words of past and the words of present. This is because it starts from the past and it reaches/entails the present. In fact, when one says *manabitsu*, it is a past that translates the meaning. One uses the *jiseki* often in *voegende* [subjunctive mood]

After illustrating four tenses of the indicative (*aantonende*) mood, Shizuki adds the following remark (3r):

此文法 aantonende ナトハ夏跡ニ於
テ不見アタラズイカ様夏跡ニハナ
キ理ナラン又まじト譯スル法ノフ
ハ詳ニ予カ生前父ニ見タリ

This rule is called *aantonende* [indicative mood] and it is not seen in the *jiseki*. It certainly is not something we find in the *jiseki*.¹¹¹ Furthermore, you can see in my *Seizenfu* the details of when it needs to be translated as *mashi*.

Further in the manuscript, when presenting the subjunctive mood, Shizuki writes the phrase *dat ik leerde* ‘that I learned’, labeled as a “present of the past” (過去ノ現在), and translated into Japanese as *ware ga manabu* 我か學ふ and *ware ga manabiki* 我か學ひき (*manabi* + *-ki*). On the side, the Dutch phrase *schoon ik leerde* ‘though I learned’ is also added, translated as *ware manabedomo* 我學へとも (*manabi* + *-domo*) and *ware manabishikadomo* 我學ひしかとも (*manabi* + *-ki* + *-domo*). Both Dutch phrases are labeled *jiseki* and in both the only difference between the two alternative Japanese rendition is the presence or lack thereof of the affix *-ki*. The following tense added by Shizuki is labeled a *tatoe* and reads *als ik leerde* ‘if I learned’, translated into Japanese as *ware manabamaseba* 我學はませは (*manabu* + *-maseba*). He adds (5r):

¹¹¹ Shizuki uses the character *ri* 理 ‘reason’, ‘principle’, probably referencing the concept we saw in Ogyū being called *bunri* 文理.

其ハ哥ナトニ言ませばナトアルカ
如シ若かく有ならはナト假令ノ意
ナリ現在ノトニテモ変跡ノ上ニテ
モ假令ナリ予ガ生前父ニ詳ニ言ル
ガ如シ

This is said in poems, as in *iwamaseba* etc. It has the meaning of a *tatoe*, as in “what if it were so”. Even when it concerns the present, even when it is a *jiseki*, this is always a *tatoe*. This can be seen, in details, in my *Seizenfu*.

I assume that Shizuki is referring to the comment he added to sentence T54S19, where he explained these verbal conjugations. This form is more often used in poetry (meaning in the classics of Japanese literature), and it always conveys the meaning of *tatoe*, regardless of whether it refers to a present time or to a *jiseki*. In fact, in the Dutch conjugation, the verb is morphologically a past tense *leerde* ‘learned’. However, since it presents the conjunction *als*, this means that the phrase is hypothetical and, consequently, the past tense does not refer to a past time. Nonetheless, Shizuki claims that regardless of whether this past tense really refers to a present tense or a *jiseki*, it will always convey the meaning of hypothetical. This example clarifies that the use of conjugations such as *als ik leerde*, in contexts in which they do not refer to a present time, corresponds to a *jiseki*.

The subsequent Dutch verb is a “future of the past” (過去ノ未来), *Toen ik leeren zoude* ‘Back when I should/would have learned’, rendered into Japanese as *ware manabu bekarishi toki* 學ふへかりし時. The form *zoude* is a subjunctive mood, while the Japanese conjugation is as follows:

{**manab.** + **.u.** + **.bekari** + **.shi** = *shūshikei* of the verb *manabu* ‘to learn’ + *ren’yōkei* of the affix *-beshi* + *rentaikei* of the affix *-ki*}

Shizuki adds the following comment (5r):

変跡ニ dat hij leeren zoude トアルハ現
在ノ dat hij leeren zal ト同訳ナリ zouden
ハ未来 zullen ノ onvolmaakte voorleeden
tijd ナルカ故ナリ因テ右ヲ我學は[ん]¹¹²
とせし時ト訳シテモ同意ナリ

When *dat hij leeren zoude* is in the *jiseki*, it is translated the same as *dat hij leeren zal*. This is because *zouden* is the *onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd* of the future *zullen*. Thus, even when the sentence above is translated as *ware manaban to seshi toki*, it has the same meaning.

Again, Shizuki claims that in a *jiseki* the form *dat hij leeren zoude* is to be translated the same as *dat hij leeren zal*. This is because *zouden* is considered the “imperfect past tense” (*onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd*, i.e., past simple tense) of *zullen* and, in a *jiseki*, the Dutch past tense tends to correspond to a Japanese present. The form *dat hij leeren zoude* also corresponds to the Japanese phrase *ware manaban to seshi toki*. This is similar to phrases T53E69 (*zouden geweest zijn; aran to shiki*), T53E70 (*zouden gezegt hebben; iwan to shiki*), T53E71 (*ik zoude ‘er gegaan hebben; ware*

¹¹² The character *n ん* is not present in the original text.

kashiko ni yukan to shiki). However, in the example of *Shihō* the verb *su* 'to do' appears to be conjugated into the *mizenkei* form *se*, that cannot combine with the past affix *-ki*.

The label *jiseki* is also used to refer to the two phrases *dat ik geleerd had of hadde*, a "past of the past", and *indien ik geleerd had of hadde*, a *tatoe*. The first sentence is rendered into Japanese as *ware manabitsuru* 我學ひつる and *ware manabishi* 我學ひし, while the latter only as *ware manabitsu* 我まなひつ.¹¹³

Shizuki also labels as *jiseki* the following phrases:

- *Ik was geleerd geworden* 'I had become a scholar' a *kako no genzai no kako* 過去ノ現在ノ過去 'past of the present of the past', translated as *ware oshierarenu* 我教へられぬ;
- *Ik ben een geleerd man* 'I am a scholar' a *genzai*, translated as *ware wa gakusha nariki* 我は學者なりき;
- *Ik had een boek* 'I had a book', translated as *ware katsute hitotsugaki wo moteri* 我曾て一書をもてり
- *Ik werd een geleerd man* 'I became a scholar' is *jiseki*, translated as *ware gakusha to naru* 我れ學者となる and *ware gakusha to nariki* 我學者となりき, however, the sentence *Ik ben een geleerd man geweest* 'I have been a scholar', a *kako*, is also translated as *ware gakusha nariki* 我學者なりき. In this regard, Shizuki adds that "Furthermore, when saying *ik ben een geleerd man geworden*, you translate it as *ware gakusha ni narikeri*, while *ik was een geleerd man geworden*, when it is a phrase of *jiseki*, has the same translation";¹¹⁴
- *Het woord was gesproken* 'The word was spoken' is a *jiseki*, a *kako no genzai* and is translated as *kotoba ieriki* 言はいへりき, the same as *Het woord is gesproken geweest* 'The word has been spoken', which is a *kako* and not a *jiseki*;
- *Het woord was gesproken geweest* 'The word had been spoken' is a *jiseki*, a *kako no kako* and is translated as *kotoba ieriki* 言はいへりき.

At the end of the manuscript Shizuki adds the following (16v-17r):

過去ナルニ geleerd hebben ハ學ひつト
訳シ.....geweest zijn ヲハなりぬトモナ
りつト訳セズメ学へりきナド云なり
きト訳スルハハなりト云詞ハ他ノ動

When in the past you translated *geleerd hebben* as *manabitsu*. You cannot translate "... *geweest zijn*" as *narinu* or *naritsu*, as one says *manaberiki* etc., you translate it as *nariki*. This is because the word *nari* is not like other verbs. In Japanese

¹¹³ The two characters *-seba* せは also seem to be present, although the condition of the state of preservation of the manuscript do not allow to read what is written there.

¹¹⁴ Original quote: "又 *ik ben [een] geleerd man geworden* ト云時我學者になりけりト訳ス *ik was een geleerd man geworden* ハ変跡ノ語ニテ亦同シ訳ナリ".

詞ト異ナルカ故ナリ但和書ニ希ニハ
なりつナドモ言ヘト是モ亦なりキノ
別アレト変跡ニハ學ひつトなりキト
ノミ有リ

books, even if one does rarely use *naritsu* etc.,
and even if this does have a difference with
nariki, in the *jiseki* there are only *manabitsu* and
nariki.

In conclusion, I am not really able to draw a distinct definition of what Shizuki meant with the concept of *jiseki*. It most certainly had to do with a grammatical phenomenon that caused the tense used in the Dutch version not to correspond to the same tenses the Japanese predicate referred to. In general, this meant that a morphologically past tense of Dutch corresponded to a Japanese present tense. This happens because in Dutch one often uses morphologically past tenses, not rarely in the so-called subjunctive mood, to express a hypothesis that does not have to have happened in a past time. The morphological past tense is only used to express hypothesis, in such instances, yet it still refers to a present time. Since Japanese does not express hypothetical by means of a past tense, this means that often a Dutch past tense can be translated as present into Japanese. However, as I have illustrated in Table 59, a Japanese translation of a *jiseki* does not rule out the possibility of using of a past affix. In fact, some Dutch conjugations may trigger the use of the past affix *-ki* in the translation of either only the lower clause, or both clauses.

8.7 Conclusions

In the present Chapter, I have analyzed what Shizuki wrote on the topic of the morphosyntax of verbs. As with the parts of speech and the morphology, Japan did not have a tradition of studies that neatly corresponded to what the Dutch called “etymology” and “syntax”. With the example of verbs, in fact, the traditional approach of considering conjugation as a pattern of *kana* substitution rather than morphological inflection was the standard well into the Edo Period, as I have demonstrated in Chapter V. The Sino-Japanese research on language had developed in its own way, with its own specific necessities. These necessities entailed the goal of providing an exegetical interpretation of ancient texts written in either some version of Chinese or classical Japanese. Both the Neo-Confucian school and *kokugaku* were striving to find methodologies to translate the ancient classics of their respective traditions into a more modern version of Japanese. Dutch studies were no different. Shizuki and the rest of the so-called *rangakusha* had as ultimate goal the translation and interpretation of Dutch written texts.

It is because of these common necessities that Shizuki reached out to those traditions in order to obtain a methodological and theoretical framework by means of which he could analyze the language of the Red-Haired barbarians. From Chinese studies, particularly from the works of Ogyū, Shizuki mostly received a way of understanding the concept of “translation” and a theory of how to categorize the different types of words composing a language. Their theories, however, did not cover exhaustively a topic fundamental to the grammar of both Japanese and Dutch, and less so for Chinese: verbal morphosyntax. Since Chinese was written with logograms each representing one unit of meaning connected to one non-inflecting

word, Chinese studies could not provide the much-necessitated theory of verbal morphosyntax Shizuki was looking for. Luckily, however, the Edo period was also characterized by a flourishing of studies on the classics of Japanese literature, and a re-discovery of syntactic features typical of Japanese, in the relationship between particles and predicates. What Shizuki was missing from Chinese studies, he managed to find in the research of the “nativists”, in their representation of the grammar of classical Japanese.

It is by the combination of these two schools that Shizuki attained the knowledge and the instruments he needed to describe a foreign language like Dutch. On the one hand, Shizuki's *Joshi-kō* was a Dutch version of the Neo-Confucian genre of *jigi*; which is made obvious by the title of the work itself, in no way hiding its relationship with many other Neo-Confucian publications bearing similar names. On the other hand, Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu* is a sort of re-elaboration of Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, combined with some elements from Ogyū Sorai's school. The relationship between *Seizenfu* and Motoori's work is not as self-evident. A few superficial similarities can be seen in the fact that some of the titles of the chapters contained in the two works are very similar. However, the most fundamental resemblance is to be identified in the supporting theoretical framework. Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu* can be mostly interpreted as an attempt at describing Dutch morphosyntax by means of the theory of the Japanese *kakari-musubi*, as described by Motoori Norinaga. Just like Motoori pioneered the interpretation of the two types of *te ni wo ha* as interacting within a sentence, often across two clauses, Shizuki convincingly identified similar patterns in the combined use of Dutch conjunctions and the different verbal tenses. Shizuki's theories in this sense, although sometimes perhaps imprecise, are not incorrect at all. When speaking Dutch, if one uses the conjunction *toen*, it is only logical to conjugate the verb in a past tense. This is because *toen* refers to a past time. In Shizuki's persuasion, instead, this phenomenon is not simply “logical” but also “grammatical”. He believes, probably inspired by Motoori, that these specific “non-semantic words” were ordered by an “established” (*sadamaru*) underlying rule that bounded their systematic combined use. The relation between *toen* and a past tense, in a Dutch sentence, is the same connecting the particle *koso* to an *izenkei* predicate, in the *kakari-musubi* theorization of Motoori of a Japanese sentence. This is an astonishingly unique conception of the grammar of an Indo-European language that is probably only testified by this particular work of this particular scholar, as even in other works of Shizuki, this approach is not mentioned much into depth. Those that followed Shizuki, instead, seem to have adopted a more Dutch-based approach to grammar.

In *Seizenfu*, Shizuki described verbal tenses without relying much on Dutch traditional grammar. Reference to Latin or Dutch terminology is very rare and it seldomly corresponds to what could be found in European sources. The core of verbal conjugation is based, according to Shizuki, on the combination of three dimensions of time: past, present and future. No Dutch source of the time considered only these three times. Instead, Japanese affixes had been connected to these three dimensions since the oldest documented works on language. By reading Dutch sources, Shizuki expands on this theory, crossing the three times with two

“dimensions”, originating six “tenses” each corresponding to one auxiliary of Dutch and a couple of Japanese affixes. This allowed Shizuki to faithfully describe the complex conjugation patterns of Dutch by means of traditional Japanese theory, in a manner that allowed him to contrastively describe both languages.

In the description of the verbal system of Dutch, the most complicated issue Shizuki faces was, probably, the use of morphological past tenses in sentences not occurring in the past. It is for this reason that the past “dimension” also included the *tatoe*. In Dutch, just like in English, a morphological past tense does not always refer to a past time. Sometimes – when combined with specific *joshi* – a past tense is used to render a hypothetical sense. The Japanese language was not conceived like that; the past affix *-ki* always referred to a past time.

What are the relations between the Dutch sources and Shizuki’s understanding of Dutch morphosyntax? This is a difficult question to answer, firstly because there is no reason to believe that Shizuki had read any other Dutch source on language except Marin and Halma’s dictionaries when compiling *Seizenfu*. This is because I have not been able to identify any other reference, be it direct, or indirect, to any other source of that type. I am still reluctant to claim that Shizuki had indeed not read any other such source; I do not believe that to be the case at all. However, if one reads any other of his works dealing with grammatical issues, the reference to other Dutch sources there is more than evident. An example is *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, also treating the conjugation of verbs, that is entirely and overtly based on Séwel’s grammar. Nevertheless, even if Shizuki had had access to other Dutch sources, I wonder whether he could have consciously neglected them in the writing of *Rangaku seizenfu* since none of them would have helped in his description of the “Dutch *kakari-musubi*”. Shizuki did not need that. The reason why he did not need them is because he did not conceive of grammar handbooks as a way of learning a language. There existed nothing like that in Japan back then, and the only two schools of thought that investigated languages did so by deducing patterns of character distribution by reading famous citations. It is only logical for Shizuki to do the same and pursue the study of Dutch according to the same methodology. This can be proven by virtue of the fact that Shizuki adopted three citations from the Dutch poet Jacob Cats as examples of grammatical use, specifically, in the combined use of certain conjunctions with certain verbal tenses.

This has two major consequences. It allows to evidence how grammatical theory is fundamentally based on subjective parameters; it is a method of describing patterns of real-language usage by means of cultural-specific ideas based on self-reaffirming biases. This reinforces the idea that what the Japanese did with the interpretation of Dutch grammar is an example of a totally reasonable approach to the description of any language. The other major consequence is the fact that the method of learning of a language from prescriptive grammars was a concept imported in Japan by later phases of Dutch studies and had no real counterpart in the country before that time. For this reason, *Rangaku seizenfu*, along with many of the other works of Shizuki, is a testimony to the description of an Indo-European language by means of a methodology predating the grammaticalization of the language-learning material produced in Japan.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusions

“[...] welke berisping ook niet zal koomen dan van de zulke welke volstrekt geene of maar weinig kennis van de Hollandshce taal hebben, en een woordenboek verkeerdelijk uitleggen met een Spraakkonst. Want als men denkt dat men uit een Woordenboek de Hollandsche taal kan leeren dan is men in een verkeerd begrip.”

“[...] such reprimand will not come but from those with little to no knowledge of the Dutch language, and who wrongly explain a dictionary with a Grammar. Because, if you think you can learn Dutch from a dictionary, you are misunderstanding.”

Hendrik Doeff, *Doeff Halma* (1816)

9. Conclusions

9.1 Research on language in Edo Japan

Before the invention of the internet, the only way one could learn a foreign language without moving to a foreign country was to consult a book. If that language was not closely related to a language one already spoke, the choice of what type of book one would first consult was almost certainly limited to two: a handbook of grammar or a dictionary. These are safe assumptions for most people living in the 20th century. Even though they would still mostly also stand true for 17th and 18th century Europe, no such claim can be put forth with certainty when it comes to Edo Japan.

Before the Edo period, there were three main approaches to studying language: 1. the analysis of the use of Chinese characters and *kana* in the classics of poetry (*kana-zukai*); 2. translation studies, mostly concerned with the development of the *kundoku* annotation; 3. the phonetic research, that originated in Sanskrit literature, and developed into the table of the fifty sounds (*gojūon-zu*). No concept of “grammar” existed, at least not in the European sense. As Ogyū Sorai argued, it is realistic to believe that even in the practice of translation – mostly from Chinese – text was interpreted as a string of concepts composing a code one needed to crack in order to turn it into “language”. This type of reasoning is only allowed by the logographic nature of Chinese characters. It is in the Edo period that one can see the development of new practices, schools of thought and learning materials that tried to overcome these traditional hurdles. The Neo-Confucian school of translation, best represented by Itō Tōgai, Itō Jinsai and Ogyū Sorai, started spreading new approaches based on the traditional Chinese concepts of “empty” and “full” words. These scholars are also responsible for the spreading of a new lexicographical genre: the *jigi*. These were philosophical dictionaries compiled in order to guide an exegesis of the classics of Chinese literature that could be more faithful to Neo-Confucian sensibilities. It is at the crossing point between this new lexicographic genre and the necessities of translators of Chinese texts that another sub-genre gained popularity among Japanese Sinologists: the genre of the books titled “Thoughts on Auxiliary Characters” (*joji-kō*), or variations thereof. The translation and adoption of the Chinese traditional categories of “full-empty-auxiliary” allowed for the explicit manifestation of interlinguistic differences within the words of different languages; differences that could now go beyond the superficial semantic and phonological level. Chinese and Japanese words behaved differently also from the point of view of grammar, so the Japanese finally possessed shared terms and concepts to refer to, when addressing these differences.

At the same time, so-called “nativists” (*kokugakusha*) were dealing with similar issues when trying to describe the language used in the classics of Japanese literature. The conventions of the use of language and spelling visible in these ancient and cherished sources was not easily intelligible anymore even for cultured individuals, calling for new investigations and methodologies. While it certainly is no incident that the *kokugakusha* themselves ended up adopting a very similar tripartite distinction of the parts of speech of Japanese, they also strongly believed in one fundamental issue: regardless of what many claimed, there was no connection between Chinese auxiliary characters and the Japanese *te ni wo ha*. In fact, they

believed, it is exactly by understanding the proper use of these small words and morphemes that one can display a distinguished control of the Japanese language. Nonetheless, the use of these particles had changed significantly since the times when the ancient classics were compiled. That is why Motoori Norinaga decided to study this topic precisely, culminating in the publication of the *Himo kagami* table and of the essay *Kotoba no tama no o*. In these works, Motoori illustrates his methodology of language analysis: one should take a poetic verse from a renowned classic work of literature and investigate its use of language. In so doing, Motoori understood that what was generally called *te ni wo ha* actually included two different parts of speech: an upper element called *kakari* and a lower element called *musubi* whose forms were influenced by the presence of specific *kakari* within the sentence. It is via this methodology that Motoori (re)discovered the phenomenon that is still to this day known as *kakari-musubi*, whereby a particle (nowadays *joshi*) influences the ending of the main predicate.

9.2 Dutch research on language

In Europe, things were slightly different. The study of languages had been connected to the concept of grammar since the first elucubrations of the philosophers of Ancient Greece had spread in the Roman empire. However, the tradition of grammatical studies of vernacular languages was no ancient phenomenon, with the first grammar of Dutch (the *Twe-spraek*) only being published at the end of the 16th century, a few decades after the first recorded importation of a *jigi* into Japan. In some sense, thus, the application of the Greek-Latin tradition onto early modern Dutch grammar was no well-established feat, either. Oftentimes it is taken for granted that the way one formalizes the theory of the rules according to which a specific language functions is a well-established monolith. This is often done precisely with the impression that Latin grammarians have already defined these ideas so long ago. However, theory of grammar has always been a highly debated topic, with many different competing views, at least until the creation of standard languages and the centralization of the power defining “proper” grammar typical of nation-building.

The consistency of the theory of grammar in the Dutch sources of the 17th and 18th centuries is precisely what I intended to evaluate in Chapter IV. The three main Dutch authors that influenced Shizuki’s study of language were part of the same cultural milieu, so much so that they knew each other directly and collaborated in the compilation of works on language. Nonetheless, in light of my analysis in that chapter, it is now clear that their description of Dutch grammar was far from being standardized. On the one hand, Halma and Marin’s dictionaries often contained differing terminology and different labels to describe the same phenomena. On the other hand, Séwel’s grammar does not contain sufficient information for it to be the only base upon which Shizuki developed his theories. However, Halma and Marin’s dictionaries certainly provide their reader with detailed semantic reference and also rudiments of the morphological categories and how they are broadly conceptualized in the Greek-Latin tradition, still accounting for the numerous inconsistencies. Séwel, instead, provides a more complex and complete theoretical framework, and a

useful display of verbal conjugation, yet he often misses the opportunity to address the very specific issues Shizuki was interested in. There is one additional issue, and that is that in order to read and really understand Séwel – as Shizuki undoubtedly did at some point – you already need to possess a very good command of Dutch. Consequently, in some way, Shizuki must have had already learned Dutch by other means and must have had already developed his own representation of the grammatical rules of Dutch. This leads to one of the main questions of the present research: how did Shizuki learn Dutch grammar and conceptualize its theory?

9.3 The Japanese get exposed to European theory of grammar

The agents of the VOC, whose level of literacy in the “correct” grammar of Dutch certainly varied, had no vested interest in carrying grammar handbooks with them, for the Japanese to read. At least until it became a profitable business, there is no reason to believe that any agent of the VOC was purposefully carrying with him any such document. It is probably because of this reason that many of the earliest books that have been recorded to have circulated among the *rangakusha* were mostly bilingual materials, like Dutch-French dictionaries and Marin’s *Spraakwyze*. These were books that a Dutch merchant would more likely be interested in possessing. At the same time, monolingual lexicographic works of Dutch were probably restricted to elementary abecedaries and similar books for children. After the first period of communication in Portuguese and, probably, a mixture of broken Japanese and Dutch, the Japanese started realizing that among those “lowly” merchants there were individuals who excelled in culture and technical knowledge. The Japanese government began officializing the learning of the language of their trading partners, which incentivized the importation of varied books on Dutch spelling and grammar and made the agents of the VOC actively teach their language to a few Japanese interpreters.

Nonetheless, in light of what I argued about the Japanese research on language, the scholars of Dutch mostly had no direct counterpart, from their own literary tradition, which they could compare to European dictionaries and grammatical handbooks. This is why, I assume, Shizuki approached Marin and Halma’s Dutch-French dictionaries as if they were some sort of foreign *jigi*. This explains why Shizuki selected, from Marin’s dictionary, all the Dutch words that corresponded to what he called Japanese “auxiliaries” (*joshi*) creating his own “Thoughts on Auxiliary Words” (*Joshi-kō*), to which he also added a table illustrating a reworking of the theory found in Ogyū’s *Kun’yaku jimō* – itself a type of *joji-kō* – so as to make it correspond to the morphological parts of speech of Dutch. This also explains why, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki does not cite a single grammatical source. Whether Shizuki had or had not access to Dutch handbooks on grammar is not relevant at this point because, I would argue, even if he did, he would not have actively looked for them in the process of learning the language. Unlike his colleagues, in fact, Shizuki was probably not content with applying the traditional *kundoku* methodology to the translation of Dutch texts, and really wanted to reach the “real, original form” (本来の面目) of Dutch. Inspired by Ogyū’s approach to Chinese studies, Shizuki also believed that Dutch needed to be understood as a living language, possessing

fundamentally unique rules that one needed to understand in order to then be able to translate Dutch texts. Translation could not just be the mechanical substitution and reordering of units of meaning from one language to the other, anymore. This is the reason why he wrote *Rangaku seizenfu* and why he called it this way. This work is a way to reach the real knowledge of how Dutch functions by witnessing the concrete traces annotated by the “father before you were born”.

9.4 How the Japanese learn Dutch

As a consequence of what hitherto argued, Shizuki’s works on language were not only the first Japanese sources on Dutch grammar, but they also represent the first Japanese sources trying to make sense of the traditional Greek-Latin theory of grammar. The manuscripts attributed to Shizuki I have been investigating in the present research had, thus, two main purposes. On the one hand, they intended to illustrate the deep “original” theory at the basis of the rules of the Dutch language. On the other hand, they were illustrations of how the Dutch approached the study of languages. Terms like “noun” and “adverb” were as unintelligible to a Japanese scholar of Dutch as much as I assume terms like “empty” (*kyo*) and “function” (*yō*) were to the average reader of the present thesis, before I illustrated them. To believe that any Japanese scholar of the time would purposefully reach out to grammar handbooks to learn Dutch is – to a large extent – preposterous. Even if he did that, as I have already said, in order to read them he must have already learned the language itself. Thus, if handbooks on Dutch grammar were not commonly used by the *rangakusha* until the 19th century, a question begs to be answered: how did the Japanese learn Dutch? If Shizuki’s endeavors actually were the first attempts at making sense of that theory, what was the process of learning Dutch grammar like, before Shizuki and his students started spreading grammatical theory? Certainly, those who were lucky enough to have direct contact with the native speakers, managed to learn it somewhat organically by interacting with them. However, I believe a huge amount of work was carried out by the Japanese beyond the encounters on Dejima, particularly by those who translated Dutch books and whose job was not only connected to the bureaucratic commercial practices.

The answer is hidden in Shizuki’s works. In *Rangaku seizenfu* and in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, I have managed to identify three quotes in total that point to the fact that Shizuki must have read some material by the Dutch poet Jacob Cats. By virtue of the overtly didactic purpose of the genre of emblem poetry, these poems were probably very useful for the learning of the language. Dutch emblems always came with pictures illustrating the context – which amplifies the ability of understanding the contents –, they conveyed moral instructions, so the reader could expect its content to contain positive teachings, and, above all, they rhymed, aiding memorization and the learning of phonology. As I have discussed in NESPOLI (2022), the metric of Dutch emblems entailed a combination of rhyme schemes, number of syllables and quality of syllables, affording to Dutch poems a very characteristic rhythm. The knowledge of these patterns – that existed at the time in Japan, as testified by *Sankoku shukushō* – I suppose allowed for the memorization of sounds, words, and meanings. It helped the Japanese speaker overcome the moraic metric of their

language, and embrace the syllabic rhythm of Dutch sentences, based on the alternation of tonic and atonic syllables. At least, this can be claimed in the case of Shizuki Tadao.

9.5 Evaluating Shizuki's manuscripts

What I have just illustrated, however, is a reconstruction of how Shizuki might have feasibly learned Dutch grammar. Nonetheless, I have claimed that Shizuki's most inventive feat was that he learned the theory of grammar. In order to understand how he did that, one must look at the entirety of the present research. One must be aware of the broadest number of approaches to the study of language Shizuki had possibly access to in order to understand how unique his approach was. It needs to be clear that the contents of those Dutch books on grammar were often quite inconsistent, both between different sources and within the same source. Even though the Dutch sources all broadly shared the theoretical background of the Greek-Latin tradition, their employment thereof differed significantly. This fact rules out the implication that Shizuki was studying "a" theory of grammar, while he was actually referring to different representations of it. Furthermore, as I have already mentioned, in order to learn the theory of Dutch grammar, one needed to already know the Dutch language, rather well. This implies that some sort of abstraction concerning the rules of Dutch had already developed in Shizuki's mind, by the time he got to read Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, for example. This implies that Shizuki had already dissected Dutch grammar by means of his own cultural and academic tools, his own Broader Context.

With grammatical studies not really being a well-defined scholarly topic at the time, Shizuki could only draw from the other non-grammatical approaches to language that existed around him. This is why he relied so much on Neo-Confucian translation studies and *kokugaku* poetical studies. It is not just because Shizuki wanted to translate Dutch into Japanese that he studied Ogyū Sorai, but it is also because, with the goal of explaining translation, Chinese studies eventually covered topics similar to the Greek-Latin morphological classes of the parts of speech. In fact, the subject of *jihin* in Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō*, although seemingly reminiscent of what the Dutch called "etymology", really was a way for a translator to rationalize Chinese characters and associate them with the implicit morphosyntactic characteristics of the corresponding Japanese word. All this served the practice of translation, it was not grammatical theory in its conception. This is why a Chinese character was called "moving", because in the Japanese translation it required to be relocated according to Japanese syntax. It was not really the Chinese character itself being "moving", rather the character was described as such to visualize how it had to be handled when adapting it into Japanese. Regardless of their history, these labels used by Ogyū and his contemporaries only functioned in the context of translation.

It is only with the research carried out by Shizuki that these translational concepts got "grammaticalized". It is because Shizuki needed any type of Sino-Japanese theory in order to analyze this new subject of "grammatical theory" that he eventually utilized these concepts and terms in the context of grammar. It is because

Japanese syntax prefers verbs at the end of a sentence, that Chinese “moving” characters could be made to correspond to what the Dutch called “verbs”, so much so that *werkwoord* is, semantically, reminiscent of the Japanese adaptation as *dōshi*. The practice of *kanbun kundoku* is not really used anymore, thus interpreting “verbs” as those words or characters that ought to be “moved” in the Japanese translation does not make much sense anymore. However, thanks to the grammaticalization of these concepts derived from *kangaku*, the term “moving word” is still being used today as a term to refer to verbs, although certainly with a different meaning.

Chinese studies, however, were far from being sufficient in the process of describing the grammatical theory of Dutch. One reason is because Chinese is a non-inflecting language. Japanese, instead, makes profuse use of inflection, mostly when it comes to verbs and adjectives. However, in *kundoku*, these grammatical inflections were mostly simply added as *furigana* to the Chinese characters, when needed. This likely led to a rather limited theorization of those elements, in the context of Chinese studies. Nonetheless, during the Edo period, a new current of the study of the classics of Japanese literature started flourishing which, fortuitously, was mostly concerned precisely with this topic. It is likely because of the relevance of inflection in Japanese grammar that made the obsolete use of particles and affixes of the Classics somewhat unintelligible to the early modern eye. It is because of the necessity of understanding this obsolete use of inflections that the “nativists” started compiling works on their interpretation, developing theories concerning their nature, their use and the rules governing them. How to do that is something that scholars such as Motoori Norinaga had to come to grasp with. He decided that a deductive method was the best approach; after all, he wanted to rehabilitate the ancient use of grammar, thus it goes without saying that one needs to describe what this ancient use looked like by consulting ancient sources. These classics of Japanese literature were mostly written in the so-called *waka* genre, “Japanese poems”.

Shizuki was finally endowed with a method of analyzing grammatical patterns typical of inflecting languages, like Japanese and Dutch. This method, developed by the *kokugaku* school, entailed two practices. The first practice was to deduce grammatical patterns from reliable literary works, specifically poems. Shizuki had access to them, since it is now known he read Jacob Cats and reached a relatively good knowledge of the theory of Dutch poetry. The second practice was to recognize patterns of combined use of certain particles, that Motoori called *kakari*, with certain inflecting predicative elements, called *musubi* by Motoori. On the surface, one might think of the grammatical feature of *kakari-musubi* as a typical (classical) Japanese feature. However, if one abandons the Greek-Latin derived theory of grammar, embracing the conflation of verbal inflection and some parts of speech, like conjunction, into the broad category of “auxiliary” words (*joshi* or *te ni wo ha*), then things do change. One is now able to also describe the patterns of combined use of specific conjunctions with specific forms of Dutch predicates in a relationship that differs relatively little from what theorized by Motoori. This is the goal of *Rangaku seizenfu* and of the twenty-seven sentences found in its chapter titled *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*. That chapter should be understood as a Dutch version of Motoori’s *Kotoba no tama no o*.

In my persuasion, Shizuki never abandoned this theory. So much so that he keeps referring to the theory of *Rangaku seizenfu*, whose compilation date remains unknown, even in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. This is remarkable because it is known that the latter has been compiled in 1805, one year before Shizuki's death and, in principle, displays a theory of Dutch verbs that is much more reliant on Séwel's *Spraakkonst*. However, this is also true only to some extent, since the influence from the Table of the Three Times and other concepts, such as *jiseki*, that Shizuki theorized in *Seizenfu*, are still very much present in the interpretation of the content of the Dutch source. It has been reported that Shizuki's works on language were quite difficult to interpret even for his contemporaries. Additionally, even his disciples apparently reworked his theories to adapt them more closely to what they read in Dutch sources. I wonder whether this was not also caused by the fact that most *rangakusha* came from the background of a (Neo-)Confucian education. It could be assumed that the content of *Rangaku seizenfu* was particularly difficult to interpret if one did not master the theories on classical Japanese by Motoori Norinaga, that were arguably rather difficult themselves to begin with. Indeed, this is one of the questions I would like to see answered in future research: in what way have Shizuki's theories been reinterpreted by his successors, and to what extent has Dutch theory been adopted at the expense of Neo-Confucian and, mostly, *kokugaku* theory, in the description of the grammar of Japanese after Shizuki?

9.6 Final conclusions and prospects for future research

The present research has provided additional knowledge regarding the study of Dutch in Japan, during the Edo period. Specifically, I have managed to expand the understanding of the following main topics, in order of appearance:

- Identification of additional sources used by Shizuki;
- Additional philological analysis of the manuscripts;
- Understanding of the context of compilation of Shizuki's Dutch sources;
- Analysis of the morphological and morphosyntactic contents of Halma's dictionary;
- Analysis of the morphological and morphosyntactic contents of Marin's dictionary;
- Analysis of the morphological and morphosyntactic contents of Séwel's grammar;
- Reconstruction of the history of several topics and terminology, within the Japanese thought on language;
- Analysis of the morphological and morphosyntactic contents of Ogyū Sorai's work;
- Analysis of the morphological and morphosyntactic contents of Motoori Norinaga's work;

- Understanding of Shizuki's adoption of Ogyū's categories in the description of the parts of speech;
- Understanding of the interaction between these categories with the contents of Shizuki's Dutch sources;
- Understanding of Shizuki's adoption of Motoori's theory and methodology of language-analysis;
- Understanding of Shizuki's definition of the category of *joshi*;
- Understanding of the methodology of poetical exegesis by means of which Shizuki deduced grammatical patterns, inspired by Motoori and the *kokugaku* school;
- Discovery of previously unattested Dutch poetical sources (Jacob Cats), Shizuki used to deduce grammatical rules;
- Understanding of Shizuki's theories of combined use of Dutch conjunctions and verbal conjugations, in what could be called a "Dutch *kakari-musubi*".

In addition, there are many questions that still require to be answered, in the context of the introduction of grammatical theory in Japan, and on the bibliography (and biography) of Shizuki himself. ŌSHIMA (2019) laments that a proper and exhaustive philological research on the manuscripts of Shizuki is still lacking. It is not at all clear which of the works attributed to Shizuki have actually been compiled by the scholar himself, and how many and which of them really are original reinterpretations of some of his students. Furthermore, as I have demonstrated with the identification of the citations from Jacob Cats, for example, there must have been a more thorough penetration of Dutch literature, art, and physical books than what until now understood. Who knows how many, and which Dutch books have spread in Edo Japan, whose traces can only be pointed out by carrying out attentive research of the contents of certain manuscripts one would not have expected to contain such citations.

This leads me to also point out that there is no doubt whatsoever that the research that was being carried out by the Japanese during the Edo period – called *rangaku* – was concerned with issues profoundly intimate to Dutch culture, language, and literature. They were also received as such by the Japanese themselves. There is no doubt that what the Japanese were studying was a combination of the knowledge and technical practices developed throughout Europe. However, the Japanese were studying that specific combination, by means of that specific language, enjoying that specific literary and artistic production that only the Dutch could have ever brought to the archipelago. There is no doubt that in order to study the Japanese *rangaku*, one needs to also pursue Dutch studies.

The opposite is also true. The sole knowledge of Dutch studies and, perhaps, some basics in diachronic variations of Japanese, is far from being enough to pursue the study of *rangaku*. I hope I have demonstrated the incorrectness of the idea that the Japanese were quite passively receptors of Dutch knowledge. Shizuki's perception of his own knowledge of the theory of Dutch grammar was so refined that he even

corrected Dutch sources when he disagreed with them. He even went so far as to rework their entire theoretical framework so that it could fit his own theories, based on the combination of *kangaku* and *kokugaku*. He did that while still providing a rather faithful description of Dutch grammar. How can one understand anything of what is claimed by Shizuki without knowing what he had read from Ogyū and Motoori? Yet there seems to still be a lack of knowledge when it comes to the history of the approaches to the study of language in Japan. This is why I decided to carry out research on these sources in a much deeper way than I had originally expected. This allowed me to shed some light on these theories, and I hope it will incentivize further research in this direction. There are many issues concerning the use of specific concepts and terminology that are still to be answered. Because I believe that the grammaticalization of these concepts is a phenomenon of the second half of the Edo period, one does not need to pursue this research from a purely linguistic approach, rather, perhaps, with a more philosophical and philological set of tools. For example, it would be interesting to see research on the origin and history of the two concepts of *shizen* 使然 and *jinen* 自然 and how they got grammaticalized, adopted by Shizuki as Japanese correspondence of “active” and “neuter” verbs respectively, and ultimately substituted by the *jita* dichotomy of *kokugaku*.

To conclude, the research on *rangaku* is far from complete. There are still so many obscure aspects of this approximately 250-year long scholarship that, if made clear, could lead to so many discoveries in the most varied fields of knowledge. In doing so, it is strictly necessary to possess academic skills in both Japanese and Dutch studies, beyond being able to read both languages.

Bibliography

The following bibliography will be divided in three sections. First, I will list all sources that originally featured all the bibliographical information agreeing with today's standards. This will include secondary literature in any language, and the early modern European texts I have used as primary sources. Sources in Japanese will always also include a Japanese language version of the bibliographical reference. The name of Japanese authors will be accompanied by their *kanji* (and *hiragana*) spellings, even when in non-Japanese sources. Conversely, non-Japanese names will also be featured in *katakana*, whenever they authored sources in Japanese, which featured said *katakana* rendition. Subsequently, I will list Japanese early modern manuscripts. These will be listed in alphabetical order, according to their titles. I will also add the author and, whenever known, the date of publication. The list does not include all the Japanese manuscript I have mentioned throughout the present book, but only those I have directly used as primary sources. This will not include, for example, early modern Japanese works which, even though I cited their contents directly, I have quoted from a piece of secondary literature. For this reason, each manuscript will also present specific reference to the copy (or copies) I have consulted, pointing at a specific document preserved in a specific library. Reference to the manuscripts of Shizuki I have consulted is thoroughly discussed in Chapter II. That is why they are not present here. Lastly, I will also present a brief list of additional tools I have used in the compilation of the present work, mostly dictionaries and scientific online sources.

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Appendix 1 - Comparison between Marin's *Spraakwyze*'s chapter on syntax and Waseda's *Seizenfu*'s version of it

In Waseda's copy of *Rangaku seizenfu* 文庫 08 B0057, one blank folio after the explicit ending of the manuscript – identified by the writing 蘭学生前父大尾 – one can find a long section entirely written in Dutch, spanning 13 folios. This section is titled *Van de Woordenschikking* 'About Syntax' and has been entirely copied from the 1790 edition of *Spraakwyze*. One can be certain of the specific edition since, as I will claim below, this edition presented some unique misspelling that never appear in other editions, that have been copied over in the Japanese manuscript. Below, I compare the original text from *Spraakwyze*, with the section found in that specific copy of *Seizenfu*. As will be evident, the Japanese manuscript only contains parts from the original text, mostly, yet not exclusively, lacking the text in French found in the original Dutch source. In the citations below, on the lefthand side of the page, I have copied the text from *Spraakwyze*, where I have added underlining to mark those sentences left out from the Japanese manuscript. On the righthand side of the page, I have put the text copied from the Japanese manuscript. Here, I have added the underlining found in red ink, in the original source. All the words that are underlined in red ink in *Seizenfu* were originally found in cursive, in *Spraakwyze* and mostly included Latin terms, with the partial exception of the word *declinatie* 'declination' a "naturalized" version of the Latin original word *declinatio*. Further below, I will briefly analyze a few interesting issues concerning this comparison, and provide evidence for its correspondence with, specifically, the 1790 edition of *Spraakwyze*. Because this section is not present in other copies of *Seizenfu* and since it is featured after the ending line of the work, it is highly probable that this was added later by a copyist or the owner of the document. Furthermore, I have not been able to evidence any influence from the theories of grammar contained in *Spraakwyze* and those illustrated by Shizuki in any of his manuscripts, regardless of how often *Spraakwyze* was cited by other Japanese scholars contemporary to Shizuki.

Spraakwyze

Seizenfu

VAN DE WOORDENSCHIKKING OFTE
SYNTAXIS. DE LA SYNTAXE.

Van de Woorden schikking

Voor alle dingen gaat het vast, dat het
Substantivum en het *Adjectivum*, malkander,
in Geslachte, Getal en *Casus* gelyk moeten
zyn.

voor alle dingen gaat 't vast, dat het
substantivúm en 't adjectivum malkander, in
geslachte, getal en casus gelyk moeten Zijn.

Maſc. Un grand Homme. Een groot Man.
Fém. Une grande Femme. Eene groote
Vrouw.

een groot man.
eene groote Vrouw
Meerv.

Plur. Meerv.
Maſc. De grands Hommes. Groote Mannen.
Fém. De grandes Femmes. Groote Vrouwen.
De Naam en 't Werkwoord moeten in 't zelfde

groote mannen.
groote vrouwen

Enkely.

getal staan.

Sing.

Enkelv.

L'Enfant dort.

Het Kind Slaapt.

Plur.

Meerv.

Les Enfants dorment. De Kinderen Slaapen.

In de *Conjugatie* word de benoemde zaak als de derde Perfoon aangemerkt.

Sing.

Enkelv.

Le Livre tomba.

Het Boek viel.

Plur.

Meerv.

Les Livres tombèrent. De Boeken vielen.

De Naamen van Koningryken en

Landſchappen hebben een *Articulus definitus* voor zich, ten zy de *Præpositiones*, en en de daar voor komen.

L'Europe. Europa.

La France. Vrankryk.

La Hollande. Holland.

Maar men zegt:

J'irai en France. Ik zal na Vrankryk gaan.

Il demeure en Zelande. Hy woont in Zeeland.

Il revient de Pologne. Hy komt uit Poolen.

Il part pour Bruxelles. Hy vertrekt na Bruffel.

Men ſtelt altyd *des* voor het *Substantivum* in 't meervoudig, en de voor het *Adjectivum* in diergelyk geval.

Il y a des hommes favans.

Il y a de favans hommes. Daar zyn geleerde Mannen.

Het is byna het zelfde, of het *Adjectivum* voor of na 't *Substantivum* ſtaat, behalven in de *Adjectiva coloris*, die tegen de Duitſche ſtelling altyd na 't *Substantivum* koomen.

Du Pain blanc. Witte Brood.

Du Vin rouge. Roode Wyn.

De la Soie verte. Groene Zyde.

De Naamen van Steeden, Vloeden, Ryken &c. na hunne *Appellativa* ſtaande, worden in *Génitivo* geſtelt.

La Ville de Paris. De Stad Parys.

La Rivière du Rhin. Den Ryn-ſtroom.

Le Royaume d'Angleterre. Het Ryk van Engeland.

De Naamen die Zaaken beteken, welke in

het kind ſlaap.

Meerv.

de kinderen ſlaapen.

in de *conjugatie* word de benoemde zaak als de derde perſoon aangemerkt.

enkelv.

het boek viel.

meerv.

de boeken vielen.

De naamen van koninglijken en landschappen hebben een *articulus definitus* voor zich zij de *præpositiones*, en de daar voor koomen.

eúropa.

vrankrijk.

holland.

maar men zegt:

ik zal na Vranklyk gaan.

hij woont in Zeeland.

oo

hij komt uit paalen.

hij vertrekt na brússel.

men ſtelt altyd *des* voor het *substantivum* in

't meervoúdge, en de voor het *adjectivum* in diergelij geval.

daar zyn geleerde mannen.

het is bijna het zelfde, of het *adjectivum* voor of na 't *substantivum* ſtaat, behalven in de *adjectiva coloris*, die tegen de duiſche telling altyd na 't *substantivum* koomen.

witte brood.

roode wijn.

groen Zijde.

De naamen van ſteeden, vloeden, rijken enz.

na hunne *appellativa* ſtaande, worden in *genitivo* geſtelt.

de ſtad parys.

de rijn ſtroom.

het rijk van engeland.

de naamen die zaaken beteken, welke in gedeeltens gebruik worden, moeten in

genitivo ſtaan

geef mij wijn.

gedeeltens gebruikt worden, moeten in *Gènitivo* staan.

Donnez moi du Vin. Geef my Wyn.

Tirez de la Bière. Tapt Bier.

J'ai de l'Argent. Ik heb Geld.

Men gebruikt in 't Fransch de tweede persoon van 't eenvoud, alleen als men gemeenzaamlyk of met veel verachting spreekt; zo dat in alle andere voorvallen, en 't *Pronomen* en 't *Verbum* in 't meervoud moeten staan.

Avez vous reçu vos livres. Hebt gy u boeken ontvangen?

Suivez le conseil de vos Amis. Volg den raad uwer Vrienden.

De Dativi, à moi, à nous, à vous, à elle, à eux, à lui, à elles, &c. worde alleen gebruikt na 't *Verbum*, of als het zelve wat verre staat.

A qui faut-il donner ce livre? à moi.

Wien moet men dat Boek geeven? my.

A qui est cela? à lui, à elle, à eux.

Wien hoord dat toe? hem, haar, hen-lieden.

Maar als het Verbum daar dichte by is, zet men daar voor in Dativo, me, vous, nous, lui, leur.

Il me donne tant par Mois.

Hy geeft my zoo veel 's Maands.

Il vous en dira la raison.

Hy zal 'er u de reden van zeggen.

Doch als 't Verbum in Imperativo staat, dan komen de voorfchreeve Pronomina achter.

Donnez-moi cela. Geef my dat.

Ecrivez lui une lettre. Schryft hem een brief.

De Verba die een Accusativus regeeren; volgen dezelfde regel.

Indicativus.

Votre frère me connois bien. Uw broeder kend my wel.

Il vous cherche par tout. Hy zoekt u over al.

Imperativus.

Laissez moi en repos. Laat my met vreden.

Cherchez-le par tout. Zoekt hem over al.

De Pronomina Possessiva, mon, ton, son, hoewel van het genus masculinum, worden voor de Nomina feminina, wanneer die met een vocaal beginnen, om de vloijendheid gebruikt.

Mon Ame. Myn Ziel.

Ton ou votre Ignorance. Uwe

tapt bier.
ik heb geld.

men gebruik in 't fransch de tweede persoon van 't eenvoud, alleen als men gemeenzaamlyk of met veel verachting spreekt; zo dat in alle andere voorvallen, en 't *pronomen* en 't *verbúm* in 't meervoud moeten staan.

hebt gij ú boeken ontvangen?
volg den raad úwer vrienden.

wien moet men dat boek geeven?
mij
wien hoord dat toe?
hem, haar, hemlieden.

hij geeft mij zoo veel 's maands.

hij zal 'er u de reden van Zeggen.

geeft mij dat
schrijft hem een brief.

indicativús
úw broeder kend mij wel.
Hijzoekt u over al.
imperativús
laat mij met vreden.
Zoekt hem over al.

Onwetendheid.

Son Amitié. Zyn Vriendschap.

Son Alteffe. Haar of zyn Hoogheid.

De Naamen die Mannen pasfen of verbeelden, termineeren, altemets in *fæminino*, als 't *genus* vereischt.

Sa Majesté. Zyn Majesteit.

Sa Sainteté. Zyn Heiligheid

Il est bien fait de sa personne. Hy is welgemaakt van lyf.

Het is beter zich te bedienen van het

Pronomen relativum, qui, dan van lequel,

laquelle, lesquels en lesquelles.

Sing.

Enkelv.

M. L'homme qui vient ici. De Man die hier komt.

F. La femme qui gronde toujours. De vrouw die altyd kyft.

Plur.

Meerv.

M. Les hommes qui viennent ici. De Mannen die hier koomen.

F. Les femmes qui grondent toujours. De Vrouwen die altyd kyven.

Doch voor een *Substantivum*, als *men* ondervragenderwyze sprekkt, moet *men* noodzaakelyk *quel* of *quelle* gebruiken.

Quel âge avez-vous? Wat jaaren hebt gy?

De quel País êtes vous? Uit wat land zyt gy?

A quel homme avez vous parlé? Wat voor een Man hebt gy gesproken?

Qui, in de ondervraagender wyze, als 'er Perfoonen gemeld worden, staat in de naamval welke het Werkwoord regeert.

Ac. Qui cherchez vous? Wie zoekt zy?

Gen. De qui parlez vous? Van wie sprekkt gy?

Dat A qui écrivez-vous? Aan wie schryft gy?

Maar *men* heeft *que* in *Accusativo*, wanneer *men* van dingen sprekkt.

Que voyez-vous? Wat ziet gy?

Que dit il? Wat zegt hy?

In *genitivo* vind *men*, *de quoi* en in *dativo*, *à quoi*.

Mijn ziel.

úwe onwetendheid.

Zijn vriendschap.

haar of zyn hoogheid.

Zijn majesteit.

Zijn heiligheid.

hij is welgemaakt van lijf.

enkelv.

de men die hier komt.

de vrouw die altyd kijft.

meerv.

de mannen die hier koomen.

de vrouwen die altyd kijven.

wat jaaren hebt gij?

uit wat land zijt gij?

wat voor een man hebt gij gesproken?

in de ondervragender wyze, als 'er personen gemeld worden, staat in de naamval welk¹ het wekwoord regeert.

Wie zoekt zij?

van wie sprekkt gij?

aan wie schrijft gij?

wat ziet gij?

wat zegt hij?

waar sprekkt gij van?

waar denkt gij om?

¹ Shizuki clearly spells *welk*, instead of *welke*. This appears to be a misspel on the *rangakusha*'s side as no edition of *Spraakwyze* presents this spelling in this context.

De quoi parlez vous? Waar ſpreekt gy van?

A quoi ſongez vous? Waar denkt gy om?

In de Franſche Conjugation vind men in den Indicativus twee præterita, die men in 't Latyn nog in 't Nederduſch niet recht kan uitdrukken, en derhalve is 't hoog nodig 't onderſcheid daar van aan te toonen.

Het eerſte præteritum, of de voorleden tyd, wyſt een daad aan, die niet t'eenemaal geëindigt of voorby is.

Nous parlion de vous quand vous êtes entré.

Wy ſpraken van u, toen gy ingetreden zyt.

Quand j'étois jeune, j'aimois plus le jeu, que l'étude.

Toen ik jong was, hield ik meer van 't ſpeelen als van 't ſtudeeren.

wij ſpre^aken² van ú, toen gij ingetreden zijt.

toe ik jong was, hierd³ ik meer.
van 't ſpeelen als van 't ſtúdeeren.

Aantonende Wijze

G.w. T.n Zn v.w. b.w. tn zn b.w. v.w.

Originally, in *Spraakwyze*, this was a longer chapter explaining - mostly in Dutch - the syntax of French, particularly with regard to the declination of nouns and adjectives and sometimes how they combine with verbs. Instead, what was copied over to the Japanese manuscript is sparse information about the French language, all while meticulously removing any French word. There are only a couple of occurrences of French words sneaking into *Seizenfu*. One is the French preposition *de* 'of', in the sentence 'The names of kingdoms and lands have a definite article before them, unless the prepositions *en* and *de* precede them':

De Naamen van Koningryken en Landſchappen hebben een *Articulus definitus* voor zich, ten zy de *Præpoſitiones*, *en* en *de* daar voor komen.

De naamen van koninglijken en landschappen hebben een articulus definitifus voor zich zij de præpoſitiones, en de daar voor koomen.

² The word *spreeken* was originally written in black ink. It has subsequently crossed out in red ink, and the letter < a > added above the two letters < ee >. The form *spreeken* is a present tense, while *spraken* is its preterit.

³ Shizuki makes some misspellings, consistent with what is expected by a Japanese speaker. Mixing up the letter R and L (as in *hierd* instead of *hield*), for example, does not need any further explanation. Sugimoto claims that the confusion between the letters M and N, not only from a graphic point of view, but also from a phonological one, might be evidenced by the merging of syllables belonging to both *ma-gyō* マ行 and *na-gyō* ナ行 into the moraic *n*. Today's clearer distinction, according to Sugimoto, ought to be found in the *rangaku* scholarship (See SUGIMOTO 2016: 42). Further evidence requires to be provided in support of his thesis.

The other is in the sentences below, where the partitives *de* and *des* are also copied over by Shizuki in the sentence ‘One always places *des* before the noun in the plural form, and similarly *de* before the adjective’.

Men stelt altyd <i>des</i> voor het <i>Substantivum</i> in ‘t meervoudig, en <i>de</i> voor het <i>Adjectivum</i> in diergelyk geval.	men stelt altijd <i>des</i> voor het substantivúm in ‘t meervóudige, en <i>de</i> voor het adjectivúm in diergelyk geval.

In the first sentence above, the copyist had probably not understood that both *en* and *de* were referencing French words, prepositions to be precise, and, probably, mistook *de* for a Dutch definite article. Similarly, in the second sentence, *des* was probably mistook for a Dutch genitive singular declination of the article *de*, for masculine and neutral nouns. These are, incidentally, the only occurrences of a French word appearing in the whole manuscript. On the contrary, reference to the French language is maintained in the Japanese manuscript, but not much consistency can be found in the information that was ultimately preserved. Most of the grammatical notions retained by the Japanese copyist do, in fact, only function in the context of the French language and there is no reason to assume that this was understood completely. For example, when Marin references the mandatory use of a definite article before the names of the countries, that applies only to the French language. In fact, with the elimination of French sentences, no article ends up being features in the examples. The same goes for what is said regarding the use of *de* and *des* before (plural) adjectives and nouns respectively.

I can assert with a high degree of certainty that the edition of *Spraakwyze* this text was copied from must be the one dating 1790, published by Hendrik Botter in Amsterdam.⁴ This can be substantiated by noticing a few peculiar spellings, in the Japanese work, that are only featured in that 1790 edition of *Spraakwyze* that, I will demonstrate, apparently presented quite a few more misspellings, as comper to the other editions. In fact, the first couple of sentences used by Marin to explain the use of gender in French were *Un grand Homme* and *Une grande Femme*, French for ‘A great man’ and ‘A great woman’. In the Japanese manuscript there are only the Dutch versions: *een groot man* and *eene groote Vroúw*. This spelling shows not only a difference in declination of the adjective (masculine *groot*, feminine *groote*, ‘great’) but also in the indefinite article (masculine *een*, feminine *eene*, ‘a’). This is a notable element since the complex declination of articles, according to gender and number, still common in Middle Dutch, had already simplified by the seventeenth century (JANSSENS 2005, 122). The same cannot be claimed with regard to the content of prescriptive grammars, nonetheless, that tended to be rather conservative toward this and other grammatical features that were being abandoned in the spoken language. Nevertheless, by reading the many editions of *Spraakwyze* one can notice

⁴ This would contradict what claimed by ŌSHIMA (2018, 21) who, relying on MATSUDA (1998, 501-503), claimed the 1762 edition to be the one “used by Shizuki”. It appears that this claim was based on the fact that MATSUDA (1998) had found that edition in the Rakusaidō 楽歳堂 collection in Hirado.

that the form *eene* instead of *een*, for this sample sentence, started being adopted probably with the 1762 edition (possibly 1757, but I did not have the chance to check this specific edition). One can, thus, assume that the edition used by the Japanese copyist was published after such revision in spelling was adopted. While presenting the different sentences with each variation in number, the original text provides the related label, and this is retained in the Japanese version. Each sentence, except for the first one, is preceded, in *Seizenfu*, by either *Enkelv.*, abbreviation of *enkelvoud* ‘singular’, or *Meerv.*, abbreviation of *meervoud* ‘plural’. This term is rarely used across the editions of *Spraakwyze* that tends, in turn, to only use the French/Latin abbreviations *Sing.* and *Plur.* Starting with the 1783 edition, though, one can witness the adoption of these labels in both languages. As of today, it is known of only three editions of *Spraakwyze* published since: the 1783 edition (not present in LOONEN 1997), the 1790 edition and the 1800 edition, all of which carry the name of the editor Hendrik Botter, in Amsterdam, St. Lucia-Steeg. (LOONEN 1997 also lists an edition that he dates to circa 1785, although this seems to feature a rather different content, specifically as far as syntax is concerned). These three editions all feature the *eene* form, as well. For the reasons hitherto presented, one can assume that the copyist of Waseda’s *Seizenfu*, most likely, made use of one of these. The 1790 edition, nevertheless, stands out for some peculiar spelling choices that distinguish it from the other two. In particular, for some reason, the 1790 edition readopts the *oo* spelling for some words; this can hardly be described as a common choice across the history of the editions of this book. The words in question are *koomen* ‘to come’ and *Poolen* ‘Poland’. The spelling *komen* and *Polen* is, undoubtedly, the most common in the many editions of *Spraakwyze* and is only not attested in the 1790 edition. Waseda’s *Seizenfu* features the *oo* spelling,⁵ reinforcing the claim that his source edition of *Spraakwyze* could hardly be different from the 1790 one. Nevertheless, I must concede, these clues do not disprove with definitive certainty the possibility of these being simple coincidences. The *oo* spelling for open syllables was anything but uncommon in other contemporary publications and, using Dutch words for “singular” and “plural”, instead of their French/Latin counterparts might have been the copyists’ own idea, relying on knowledge he drew from other sources. Furthermore, deeming the content of Dutch books as incorrect, is not without precedents, as I have mentioned Shizuki did regarding the labels of neuter and active in the first edition of Halma’s dictionary. Further evidence can be found, nonetheless, within Waseda’s *Seizenfu*, in the section on interrogative pronouns. There, it is written the following:

⁵ Specifically, the copyist had initially misspelled *Poolen* as *Paalen*, subsequently correcting it, by writing *oo* above the word. Mind that this was done in black ink, suggesting that the correction was probably not done by the same hand that corrected, for example the word *spreken* into *spraken* and that underlined the Latin terminology.

in de ondervraagenden wyze, als 'er personen gemeld worden, staat in de naamval⁶
welk het werkwoord regeert. Wie zoekt Zij? van wie spreekt gij? aan wie schrijft
gij?

These sample sentences correspond to their French counterparts, contained in *Spraakwyze* on page 120, as follows:

Qui, in de ondervraagender wyze, als 'er Personen gemeld worden, staat
in de naamval welke het Werkwoord regeert. "Ac. *Qui cherchez vous?*
Gen. *De qui parlez vous?* Dat *A qui écrivez-vous?*

No skill in French or Dutch is required to notice one small inconsistency in the Dutch translations, as they are provided in *Seizenfu*. The French subject pronoun *vous*, technically a second person plural, here representing the formal pronoun to refer to a second person singular, is always properly translated in Dutch as *gij*, except for the first sentence *Qui cherchez vous?*, in which the subject is *zij*. This is evidently a mistake that is only found in the 1790 edition of *Spraakwyze*. It is correctly *gij* in the preceding 1783 edition and gets corrected back to *gij* in the subsequent 1800 edition. Another peculiar spelling unique to this edition can be found on page 119 where the word *vrede*, 'peace' is spelled as *vreden* in the sentence "*Laisfes moi en repos. Laat my met vreden.*", 'leave me in peace', as in 'leave me alone'. This is most likely another typo unique to the 1790 edition as in both other relevant editions it is spelled *vrede*, as well as in another occurrence within the 1790 text, on page 234 where the same sentence is featured again. All the evidence here presented point unambiguously at the 1790 edition as the source version of *Spraakwyze* the copyist of Waseda's edition of *Seizenfu* had access to. This, however, tells little about the dating of this specific copy of *Seizenfu* or of the compilation of the original *Seizenfu*. It is not known who added this section on syntax, it is not known in what year this 1790 edition entered Japan and, ultimately, it is not known what type of relation this manuscript shares with the original copy of *Seizenfu*.

⁶ Originally misspelled as *maamval*, subsequently corrected by the addition, in black ink, of a letter < n >, above the misspelled < m >.

Appendix 2 - Comprehensive table of all terms of grammar
(*bunpō yōgo* 文法用語) used in Shizuki's manuscripts

	<i>Nakano Ryūho sensei bunpō</i>	<i>Joshi-kō (Main body)</i>	<i>Joshi-kō (Table)</i>	<i>Joshi-kō (Grammatical explanation)</i>	<i>Ran gaku Seiz enfu</i>	<i>Sanshu shokaku</i>	<i>Ryūho sensei kyoshikō</i>	<i>Kuhinshi myōmoku</i>	<i>Shihō shoji taiyaku</i>	<i>Zokubun kinnō</i>
Noun	自立名語 実語 Zelfstandig naamwoord	実詞	実詞 死実物 称自体 詞 Zelfstandig naamwoord	ウゴカ ヌ詞 死実通称 実詞 死実 zelfstandig naamwoord	實詞	実詞		静詞 Nomina Naamwoorden - 実 Substantiva Zelfstandige	實詞	実詞
Proper noun								本名 Propria Eygene		
Appellative								通名 Appellativa Gemeen e		
Diminutive								微物之称 Diminutiva Verklyn naamw:		
Three genders	三種					三種		種類 Geslacht		
Masculine noun	男自立名語 z.m.	陽詞	陽	雄男		陽 Mannelyk M	陽	陽 Masculinum Mannelyk		
Feminine noun	女自立名語 z.v.		陰	雌女		陰 Vrouwelyk F	陰	陰 Foemini nun Vrouwelyk		
Neuter noun	中間自立名語 geenerlij zelfstandig gn. z.g.		中	中		中 Geenerlyk Onzydig O	中	中 Neutrum Onzydig Generly		

Sin- gular		独詞	独	独		単		單 Enkelvo udig		単称
Plural		復詞 衆詞 meervo udig woord	衆	衆	衆詞	複 Meerv oud Mv	複 Meerv oud	複 Meervou dig		複称
Dead word		死詞 死用 (use as dead)	死 死詞 死実 死用 (use as dead)							
Adjecti ve	傍寄名 語 形容字 Bijvoeg elij naamwo ord	静虚詞 静詞 ADJ	静活 静詞 虚静 活詞 虚詞 静虚 詞 toevo egelij k naam woord Adj	ヤウス ノ詞 ケシキ ノ詞 静活詞 虚静 teovoeg elij k naamwo ord	静虚 静詞	虚詞	虚詞 Bijvoe gelijk naam woord	虚 Adjectiv a Byvoege lyk		虚詞
Lively quiet word		静活詞								
Dead quiet word (nomin alized adjecti ve)			死静 静詞 虚静 死詞 静ノ 死 静死 Adje subst toevo egelij k zelfsta ndig naam woord	ヤウス ノ死詞 ケシキ ノ死詞 静ノ死 詞 toevoeg elij k zelfstand ig naam.						
<i>yōshi no kotoba</i> (see 6.2.3)			様子 ノ詞							

<i>kes</i> <i>hi</i> <i>no</i> <i>kotoba</i> (see 6.2.3)			気色 ノ詞							
Compa rison								比較 Compar atio Vergely king		
Positive								称 Positivu s Stellige		
Compa rative								勝 Compar ativus Vergely kenden		
Superla tive								最 Superlati vus Overtref fend		
Verb	事語	動詞	動詞 活動 詞 werk woord	ワサノ 詞 活動詞 動詞 werkwo ord	動詞	動詞 Werk woord		動詞 Verbum Werkw:	動詞	動詞
Active verb	為事語 使然ノ 語 Werken d werkwo ord zijdig w.	動他詞 W.W. V.A.	動他 使然 VA werke nd werk woord	ウゴカ ス詞 動他 werkend werkwo ord	動他	動他 詞 Werke nd werkwo oord		動他 Activa Bedryve nde Dadelyk e Werken de		
Neuter verb	由亡語 自然ノ 語 Geenerli j werkwo ord onzijdig w.	自動詞 V.N.	自動 自然 onzijd ig werk woord	ウゴク 詞 自動 onzijdig werkwo ord	自動	自動 詞		自動 Neutra Generly ke Onzydig e		
Passive verbs								被動 Passiva Lydende		
Impers onal verb						Onperz oonlyk werkwo oord				

Indepe ndet verb								在 Zelfstan dig werkw;		
Auxilia ry verb										助詞
Lively moving word		動活詞								
Nomin alized verb			動詞 ノ死 用 verbal ia	ワサノ 死詞 動死詞 werkwo ordelijk zelfstand ig naam.						
Perfect tense								過去 Volmaa kten		
Imperf ect tense	過去ノ 語 Onvolm aakte tijd							未現在 Onvolm aakt		
Pluperf ect								増加 過去 Meer dan volmaak te		
Second imperfe ct past time								第二現在ノ過去 Tweede onvolma akte voorlede n tyd		
Past tense	過去ノ 語 Voorled en tijd	過去		過去詞	過去			過去 Voorlee den tyd	過去 volmaa kte voorlee den tijd	過去
Present tense		現在詞		現在詞	現在			現在 Tegenw oordige tyde	現在 Tegen woordi g tijd	現在
Future tense		未来			未来			未来 将来 Toekom ende tyd	未来 toekom ende tijd	未来
Impera tive		下知ノ 詞		下知ノ 詞	下知 使令					

Present of the past				過去ノ現在	過去ノ現在				過去ノ現在	
Past of the past				過去ノ過去	過去中ノ過去				過去ノ過去 meer dan volmaakte voorleeden tijd	
Past within the present					現世ノ過去 現在中ノ過去				現在ノ過去 onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd	
Present within the present					現世ノ現世					
Future within the present					現世ノ未来					
Future within the past									過去ノ未来 Tweede volmaakte voorleeden tijd, of onbepaalde tijd der aanvoegende wijze	
Past within the future									未来ノ過去 tweedetoekomende tijd	

Second future or indefinite tense of the subjunctive mood								不限時 Tweede toekomende tijd of onbepaalde tijd der aanvoegende wijze	
Third future or indefinite tense of the subjunctive mood								不限時 Derde toekomende tijd of onbepaalde tijd, der aanvoegende wijze	
Past of the present of the past								過去ノ 現在ノ 過去	
Past of the infinitive								不限ノ 過去	
Real past					真ノ 過去				
Real future					真ノ 未来				
Present diction					現世				
<i>tatoe</i>		假令		假令	假令			假令	假令
<i>jiseki</i>				事跡	事迹 事跡	事跡		事跡	
Four mood							四法 Vierde y wyzen	法	
Indicative mood							直説 Indicativus modus Antone nd wyze	直説法 Aantoonende wijze	直説法 Aantoonende wijze

Imperative mood							使令 Modus imperativus Gebiedende wyze	使令法 Gebiedende wijze	使令法 gebiedende wijze
Subjunctive or optative mood							分註 Subjunctivus vel optativus Aanvoegende of wensche nde wyze	死語法 Aanvoegende wijze of wensche nde wijze	分註法 Aanvoegende wijze
Infinitive mood							普通 Modus infinitivus Onbepaalde wyze	不限法 Onbepaalde wijze	普通法 Onbepaalde wijze
Interrogative mood									問叩法 Vraagende wijze
Tenses							四時 Viergetyden	時	
Indefinite time							普通 Onbepaalde tyd		
Participle	Deelwoord						動靜詞 Deelwoorden Participium	不斷法 Deelwoord	
Adverb	傍語 助語 Bijwoord		助詞 (Adverbs belonging to the broad category of "auxiliary") 動客詞				形動詞 Adverbi um Bywoorden		形動詞

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Pronoun	ホール ナーム Persoon elijk voornaa mwoord			代名詞 persoone lijk naamwo ord ホール ナーム		代名 詞		代名詞 Pronomi na voornaa mwoord		
First person	一番人 Eerste persoon									
Second person	二番人 Tweede persoon									
Thrid person	三番人 Derde persoon									
Demonstrative								真ノ名 詞 Aanwyz ende Demonst rativa		
Relative								代再言 Betreкке lyke Relative		
Interrogative pronoun	問語							問名 Vragend e Interrog ativa		
Possessiva								有物 Bezitten de Possessi va		
Indefinite								普通代 名詞 Onbepaa lde Voornaa mwoord		
Preposition	節 Voorzet sel			慢詞 voorzets el				慢詞 Prapositi o Voorzets elen		所在 詞
Conjunction	連續語 Koppel woord Voegwo ord							助詞 Coniunc tio t Zamen voegsel		

Conjunctive conjunction								連續詞 toe zaame hegten		
Separating								不一ノ 詞 Schiften de		
Concessive								雖詞 Toe staande		
Adversative								Weerstre evende		
Causative								原始詞 Oorzake lyke		
Of reason								結意詞 Redenka velende		
Conditional								設令詞 Voorwa ardelyke		
Selective								選取ノ 詞 Verkiese nde		
Unitive								接意詞 Vernogt ende		
Exclusive								唯除詞 Uyt zondere nde		
Fulfilling								補意ノ 詞 Vervulle nde		
Interjection								嘆息詞 Interjecti o Tussen werpsele n		
Of sadness								悲哀ニ ハ Van bedroefd hyd		

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Of happiness							歡喜 Van blydschap		
Of bewilderment							驚歎 Van verwonderinge		
Of threat							東威 Van bedryginge		
Of wish							祝賀 Van wenschinge		
Of supplication							顛墜 Van smeekinge		
Of approval							讚美 Van goedkeuringe		
Of disdain							辱之 Van versmadinge		
Of teasing							侮慢 Van bespottinge		
Of laughter							發笑 van gelag		
Of calling							招呼 Van beroep		
Of cry							哭泣 Van gehuyl		
To make silent							令默 Omte doen zwygen		
Article		発声		発声		発声	發声詞 Articulus Ledeken		発声

Six cases						六格 Zes naamv allen	六格 Zes naamv allen	六格 Cusus Naamval len Zes naamval len		
Nominative						第一 Nomi nativu s Noem er 正	主事 Nomi nativu s Noem er Werke r	正 Nominat ivus Noem		
Genitive						第二 Geniti vus Teeler 主	有物 Geniti vus Teeler Eigen aar	主 Genitivu s Teel.		
Dative						第三 Dativu s Geeve r 与	所与 Dativu s Gever Ontfa nger	與 Dativus Gev.		
Accusative						第四 Accus ativus Aankl aager 所	所被 Accus ativus Aankl ager Leyde r	所 Accusati vus Aank.		
Vocative						第五 Vocati vus Roepe r 呼	所呼 Vocati vus Roepe r toehoo rden	呼 Vocativ us Oes.		
Ablative						第六 Ablati vus Neem er 取	所取 Ablati vus Nemer Derve r	取 Ablativu s Neem.		
Non-Dutch word	Onduitsch woord									
Compound word	合成語	Zamen gesteld e woord								

Auxiliary word		助辞 助詞 助語		助語	助字 ¹	助語		常用動詞 助詞 Hulpwoorden		
“Hypothetical of reality” (8.4.6)				推シ量 ル	推ハ カル				推量	
<i>keiyōshi</i> <i>i</i> (see 6.2.6)	形容す			形容詞	形容詞			形容語		
<i>Musubi-kotoba</i> (see 8.4.1)					結ヒ 詞					
Grammar								文学 Grammatica Letter (文字) en spraakkonst (語術)		
Spelling								諸字反切科 Orthographia Letter (文字) beschrijving (識)) of spelkoningt		
Vowel								音母 Klinkers		
Consonant								韻母 Medeklinkers		
Syllable								一音 Syllaben , lettergreep		
Etymology								詞品科 Etymologia Oorspronkelijk		

¹ Only in the title *Jōji-kō* 助字考, referring to Shizuki's *Jōshi-kō*.

Nine parts of speech							九品 Negende rly spraakde elen		
Declina tion of nouns							変化 Declinat io Buyging der naamwo orden		
Declina tion of adjecti ves							虚字変 化 Declinat io Buyging der byvoege lyk naamwo orden		
Connec ting word					續ク 詞			續ク詞	
Subject								主	
Object								客	
Separa ble verb								Scheid elijk woord	

Appendix 3 - Letter of William Séwel to François Halma

Document: Universiteit Leiden, Special Collections Reading Room, Letters PAP 15, *Brief van Willem Séwel (1654-1720) aan François Halma (1653-1722)*.

Original Dutch tekst:

Aan François Halma,
Boekverkooper en Drukker der Academie Ter Utrecht,

Gunstige Vrind François Halma,

Alzo ik UE in lang mondeling niet heb gesproken, als hebbende t' elkens van Uw aanweezen in deeze stad niet geweeten, dan naa Uw vertrek, zo zal UE by deezen eens vraagen, of in het voorige gedeelte van 't Woordenboek, waaraan ik arbeyde, onder de letter IJ die woorden gebragt zyn, welke men meerderdeels, en ook van ouds onder de letter Y plagt te brengen; op dat ik mag weeten hoe my in 't vervolg daarin te gedraagen, wanneer ik zo verre zal gekomen zyn: Ik heb La Grue daarna gevraagd, doch hy zeyde zulks niet te weeten, maar oordeelde 't echt noodig dat men 't by UE eens onderstond, om gene dubbeld werk te doen: ik hoop als Gy eens weder in de stad komt, dat my gelegenheyd zal gegeeven worden om daar over mondeling eens met UE te spreken.

Maar hoe gaat het doch met de Bibliotheca Novorum Librorum, wordt daar niet mede voortgevaaren? 't Zou jammer zyn, dat zo een goed werk geen aanmoediging had, om vervolgd te worden.

By deze gelegenheyd moet UE ook eens vraagen of UE bekend is zeker boek in folio verleden jaar te Frankfort uytgegeeven, genaamd Wahre Abbildung der Ersten Christen nach ihren Lebendigen Glaube und heiligen Leben; geschreven door eenen Godfried Arnold: 't Is my voorgekomen als in uytmuntend Boek, 't welk ik niet twyfel of zoud in onze taal, als 't in een goed styl vertaald was, wel afgaan. De schryver het Boek van W. Cave Van de Godsdienst der eerste Christenen gezien hebbende, was daardoor tot dit zyn wydloopig werk opgewekt; ziende dat Cave het zonderling zyn werk gemaakt Had om alles wat maar ten voorstand van de ceremonien der Engelsche kerk kond dienen te boek te slaan, zonder aan te merken, dat die zaaken dikwils veel eer als een afval, dan als voorbeelden eener waare Christelykheyd mosten aangemerkt worden; dies heeft deeze schryver dat werk onvergelyklyk verbeterd.

Ik heb het boek zelf niet, maar heb het nu en dan by eenen myner vrinden gezien, die 'er niet alleenlyk met ongewoone lof van spreekt, maar my ook op verscheydene voorvallen gewezen heeft, dat het inderdaad een loffelyk werk is. Ik zou weynig twyfelen, of een Boekverkooper, die zulk een werk in 't Neerduyts Te drukken wilde onderneemen, zoud wel intekenaars vinden, om zyn voorneemen aan te moedigen, en 't waar te wenschen dat het uyt zulk een nette drukkerij als de uwe mogt te voorschyn komen, opdat also iemand die zo veel nyverheyd in 't byeen verzamelen der Roomsche Antiquiteyten betoont, mogt doen blyken dat hy geen minder zucht voor de Christelyke Oudheden had.

Hiermede afbrekende blyf ik naa Groetenisse

Uw dienstwillige vrind

Willem Sewel

Amsterdam 21 octob. 1697

English translation:

To François Halma,
Bookseller and printer at the Academia in Utrecht,

Graceful friend François Halma,

Since I have not spoken to you in a long time, as I have not known of you having been present in this city, until after you left, with the present I shall ask you, whether, in the preceding parts of the dictionary, which I am working on, under the letters IJ those words are put which one generally, also in the past, uses to put under the letter Y; so that I could know how to behave as a consequence, when I will have come thus far. I have asked La Grue, yet he said not to know about it, but he judged it to be necessary to consult you on this, as not to do any double work: I hope that if you ever come back in this city, that I will be given the possibility to have a spoken conversation with you.

How is it going anyway with the Bibliotheca Novorum Librorum, is it not being continued? It would be a pity if such a good work did not receive any encouragement of continuation.

With the present I would also like to ask you whether you know of a certain book published in folio last year in Frankfurt, by the name *Wahre Abbildung der Ersten Christen nach ihren Lebendingen Glaube und Heiligen Leben*, written by a certain Godfried Arnold: it appears to be an excellent book, which I do not hesitate whether it should be translated – certainly in a good style – in our own language. Since the writer succeeded in such a lengthy work after having consulted the book of W. Cave *Van de Godsdienst der eerste Christenen*, and also since Cave had compiled his curious work to record everything except what could serve to the leading of the ceremonies of the English church, without noticing that those things, rather than branching off of it, often were to be acknowledged as examples of a real Christianity; this has been incomparably ameliorated by this author.

I still do not possess the book myself, but I have managed to check it occasionally from a friend of mine, who not only speaks of it with uncommon praise, but who has also pointed me to many instances proving this to really be a work worthy of praise. I would hardly doubt whether a bookseller who wanted to undertake the publishing of such a book in Dutch would find subscribers that would encourage the undertaking and wish that it could come out from such a nice typography as yours, so that it could evidence that someone who so displays such an industrious collection of Catholic antiquities, does not pursue it any less when it comes to Christian antiquities, either.

I humbly await your greetings

Your devoted friend

Willem Sewel

Amsterdam, 21 October 1697

Appendix 4 - “Preface to the reader” from the first edition of Willem Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*

Voorreede aan den leezer

Nademaal men pas een jaar geleeden de *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* van den Taalkundigen A. Moonen, vermaard’ Predikant te Deventer, welke zo rykelyk met fraaije bedenkingen over de eygenschap onzer taale gestóffeerd is, en nóg onlangs eene Schets der Nederduytsche Spraakkonst, in ’t Latyn door eenen ongenoemd Schryver opgesteld, in het licht zag komen, zal menig een moogelyk zich verwonderen, wat my tóch mag bewoogen hebben, om ook eene *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* aan den dag te brengen. Dóch hoewel deeze Spraakkonst nu ten dienste der Nederlanderen eerft verschynt, nógtans heeft zy zich, hoewel wat bekrompener, al voor meer dan zeltien jaaren aan de Engelschen vertoond, by den eerften druk van myn Engelsch en Nederduytsch Woordenboek, en gaf zulk een genoeg aan ’t Gemeen, dat zy federt in kleyn formaat gedrukt zynde, zo wel ontfangen geweest is, dat ze nu al ten vierden maale in ’t Engelsch, t’elkens met eenig vermeerderinge, zich aan de waereld vertoond heeft. Dit gaf aanleyding aan lommigen om te wenschen dat zy die ook in onze taale konde leezen; ’t welk my tót een spoor heeft gestrekt om dat opstel op nieuws te verschryven, het met veele bedenkingen, welke ik sederd langen tyd op lóffe papieren tót myn eygen gebruyk aangetekend, en etlyke daarvan ook, toen ik de *Tweemaandelyke Uyttrekselen* óf *Boekzaal* schreef, by gelegenheyd onder die Uyttrekselen vermengd, en alzo opentlyk uytgegeeven had, te vergrooten, en in een Nederduytsch gewaad mynen landsgenooten aan te bieden.

Preface to the reader

After seeing coming to light just one year ago the *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* by the linguist A. Moonen, renowned preacher in Deventer, which is so richly upholstered, with beautiful considerations about the characteristics of our language, and recently also the compilation of a Draft of Dutch Grammar, in Latin, by an unnamed author, many will probably wonder what could have pushed me to also bring out a *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst*. Yet, although this Grammar is now coming out to serve the Dutch, it has already been showing itself for more than sixteen years to the English, with the first edition of my Engels en Nederduytsch Woordenboek, and gave such a satisfaction to the community, that since it was published in a small format, it was so well received that it has shown itself to the world for the fourth time, albeit with some extensions. That stimulated some to wish that they could also read it in our language; which has drawn a track for me to publish such work again, yet with many new thoughts, which I had noted down in loose papers in the years for my own use, and several of them, from the time I used to write for the *Tweemaandelyke Uyttrekselen* or *Boekzaal*,¹ which happened to get collected as Uyttrekselen [“excerpts”], and I had publicly published, in order to increase, and to offer them to my countrymen, in a Dutch garment.

Ik geef dit werk dan uyt voor eygen reedfel: want dat is inderdaad; alhoewel ik bekén, byna veertig jaaren geleeden de *Tweespraak*

I publish this work, thus, from my own reasonings: and that is indeed true; although I acknowledge that I have read

¹ These are the names of a magazine by Pieter Deinoet (1659 - 1734), also known as *Boekzaal van Europe* “Bookroom of Europe” (1692 - 1702) and, subsequently, *Boekzaal der Geleerde wereld* “Bookroom of the Educated World” (1715 - 1863).

van de Nederduytsche Letterkunst, voor meer dan honderd en twintig jaaren by de Kamer in Liefde bloeiende te Amsterdam, myne geboortestad, uytgegeeven, en te Leyde in den jaare MDLXXXIV. Gedrukt, met naauwkeurige opmerkinge geleezen te hebben: Voorts heb ik de *Aanleyding tot de Nederduytsche taal*, in 't jaar 1703. Zonder naam uytgekomen, dóch federt by den tweeden druk, welken ik nóg niet gezien heb, bekend door den Kerkeleeraar *J. Nyloe* gefchreeven te zyn, doorbladerd, alsmede de *Spraakkunft* van *A. Moonen*, en de reedsgemelde Latynsche schets: daarenboven heb ik eenige jaaren geleeden de gefchreevene *Aanmerkingen* wegens de *Geflachten* der Nederduytsche Naamwoorden van wylen der arbeydzaam en taallievenden *G. Brandt den Ouden* etlyke maanden onder my beruftende gehad, en federd ook de *Aanmerkingen over de Geflachten* van den zeer geleerden *D van Hoogstraaten* gezien. Deeze Schryvers zyn 't alleen welke ik ooit wegens onze Taale geleezen heb, uytgenoemen de Werken van den zeer vermaarden en nooit volprezen opbouwer onzer spraake *P. C. Hooft*, en die van den zoetvloeienden Dichter *Vondel*, nevens de Dichtkunflike Werkjes van het Konfgenootfchap *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, het welk zo my bericht is, ook aan eene Nederduytsche Spraakkunft gearbeyd heeft; maar ik heb die nooit gezien, ja eenigfins voordachtelyk het gezigt daarvan gemyd, opdat het niet mogt fchynen als óf ik iets van hen ontleend hadde.

almost forty years ago the *Tweespraak van de Nederduytsche Letterkunst*, published for more than one hundred and twenty years by the *Kamer in Liefde bloeiende* in Amsterdam, my town of birth, and printed with accurate commentary in Leiden, in the year MDLXXXIV [1584]: Furthermore, I have flipped through the *Aanleyding tot de Nederduytsche taal*, published in 1703 without a name, although since its second edition, which I have not yet read, known to be written by the Doctor of the Church *J. Nyloe*, as well as the Grammar of *A. Moonen*, and the above mentioned Latin drafts: furthermore, some years ago, I have had for a few months at hand the written *Aanmerkingen* wegens de *Geflachten* der Nederduytsche Naamwoorden of the late laborious, language-loving *G. Brandt den Ouden*, and I have also seen the *Aanmerkingen over de Geflachten* of the very learned *D Van Hoogstraaten*. These Writers are the only whom I have read regarding our Language, exception be made for the Works of the very famous and never praised enough constructor of our language *P. C. Hooft*, and those of the sweet fluency of the Poet *Vondel*, besides the Poetical Works of the Society of arts *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, which as far as I know, has also worked on a Nederduytsche Spraakkunst; but that I have never seen, and, yes, I have thoughtfully avoided looking at it anyway, since it must not appear as if I borrowed things from them.

Noopende de valte régelen, van de *Geflachten* der Naamwoorden aan de uytgangen te kenne, zo wel als veele andere *aanmerkingen* in dit werkje, zy zyn t'eenemaal van myne eygene uytvindinge, waartoe ik aangelyd wierd door 't opstellen van myn *Engelfch en Nederduytsch Woordenboek*, 't welk nu onlangs ten tweeden maale door my in 't licht gegeeven is, wel de helft vermeerderd, en met aanwyzinge der *Geflachten* van alle de Nederduytsche Naamwoorden verrykt; een werk dat te voore nóg nooit aan de waereld vertoond was. Weshalve ik ook alle rechtſchapene liefhebbers onzer taale, die ontrent de *geflichten* fomtyds nóg twyfelen, ſchoon zy

Regarding the settled rules, of the *Genders* of Nouns to be recognized by their endings, just like many other remarks in this work, they are completely of my own finding, to which I have been led by the compilation of my *Engelsch en Nederduytsch Woordenboek*, which has been published for the second time in the meantime, although enhanced of a whole half, and enriched by the indication of the *Genders* of all Dutch Nouns; a work that had never shown itself to the world, before. Therefore, I would also dare to suggest to all the righteous lovers of our language to make use of that book, might they sometimes be

niet gezind mogten zyn Engelfch te leeren, echter durft aanraaden zich van dat boek te bedienen. Dóch ik vind in de *Boekzaal* van *November* en *December* 1707. Gezegd, “dat *Fr. Halma* het aanwyzen van de Geflachten der Nederduytsche Naamwoorden voor my ondernomen heeft, en ik dus den weg hiertoe voor my geopend gevonden hebbe, zo dat deswege ook de bevoorrechting van zyn Nederduytsche en Fransch Woordenboek daarop voornaamelyk gevelt is.” Wat men daarmede zeggen wil verftaa ik niet volkomen, en andere lieden nóg minder: want in den eerften druk van myn Woordenboek, uytgegeeven in den jaare 1691, heb ik, ten gevalle der Engelfchen, de Geflachten al eenigfins aangeweezen, dat is, voor alle de Naamwoorden van het Manlyk en Vrouwelyk geflacht zette ik het Ledeken *De*, en voor die van het Onzydig geflacht ftelde ik *Het*. ’t Is waar, ik maakte dus doende geen kennelyk onderfcheyt tuffchen het Manlyk en ’t Vrouwelyk geflacht, niet omdat my zulks van de meeste Naamwoorden onbekend was: maar omdat ’er in zeer veele waaren, welke ik zo wel Vrouwelyk als Manlyk achtende te zyn, alstoen nóg niet beflyuten kon te doen ’t gene ik felder gedaan heb. Ik ontken niet dat *Fr. Halma* deeze duydelijke aanwyzing eerft ondernam, daartoe aangeleyd door de gefchreevene Aanmerkingen van *G. Brandt*, welke hy my ook, als een goed behulp, ter hand ftelde, toen hy een gedeelte van den arbeyd zyns Woordenboeks aan my overdroeg, en my verzócht de merkletteren der Geflachten achter alle de Naamwoorden te voegen. Dit deed ik, niet zo als hy, óf iemand anders, my voorfpeelde, maar zo als ik ’t zelf geraaden vond, zonder ooit gezien te hebben hoe hy zich daarin droeg; waaruyt dan blykt, dat wat ik dies aangaande in myn Groot Woordenboek heb gedaan, zulks het werk van myne eygene vindinge is, en niet iets dat ik hem (wiens zucht tót de netheyd onzer taale ik geenfins benyd, maar pryswaardig acht) ontleend heb. Ik acht ook dat dit genoeg blykt uyt de Voorrede van ’t gemelde Woordenboek; want ik geef den Leezer daarin te verftaan, dat ik twyfel óf zyn werk in het ftuk der Geflachten ganfchelyk met het myne overeenftemmen zal, howel ik my verbeelde dat het verfchil niet heel groot zal weezen. Indien ’t nu door eenig

in doubt regarding the genders, even if they are not inclined to learn English. However, I find it said, in the *Boekzaal* of *November* and *December* 1707, “that *Fr. Halma* broke down the indication of the Genders of Dutch Nouns for me, and that I thus found an open path in front of me, and that because of that his Nederduytsche en Fransch Woordenboek precede me.” What they mean by that I do not understand completely, and others do it even less: because in the first edition of my Dictionary, published in the year 1691, I had already indicated the Genders, for the English people, in fact, for all the Nouns of the Masculine and Feminine gender I had put the Article *De*, and for those of the Neuter gender *Het*. It is true, I did not make any distinction between the Masculine and Feminine gender, not because it was supposedly unknown for most Nouns: but because there were so many which I could describe as both Masculine and Feminine, and thus I could not decide back then, though I have done it since. I do not deny that *Fr. Halma* had already taken this clear distinction beforehand, led there by the written Aanmerkingen of *G. Brandt*, which he has handed over to me as well, as a good aid, back when he passed me a part of his work on his Dictionary, and sought me to add the letter symbolizing the Genders after all the Nouns. I did it, not as if he, or anybody else, suggested it to me but as if I had found them myself, without ever seeing how he behaved in that context; from which it appears that what I have done in my Great Dictionary, which is the working of my own discoveries, and not something which I have borrowed from him (whose striving toward the cleanliness of our language I by no means envy, yet deem praiseworthy). I also deem that this was already clear enough from the Foreword of such Dictionary; since, there, I make the reader aware that I am doubtful whether his work, in the part regarding Genders, will be matching, although I pictured that the difference will not be too big. Since it has now happened by chance that my enlarged Dictionary, which by the end of 1706 was already completely written, has come out

toeval gebeurd waare dat myn vermeerderd Woordenboek, 't welk in het laafte van 't jaar 1706. al afgelchreeven was, zich naa dat van Halma aan de waereld verfoon had, dan zoud men moogelyk daaruyt hebben willen befluyten, dat ik de aanwyzing der Geflachten ven hem ontleend hadde; dóch dit kan niemand nu met den allerminften fchyn van waarheyd zeggen: want het is myn eygen werk; alhoewel ik niet behoef te ontveynzen dat ik nu en dan eens in de *Aanmerkingen over de Geflachten* van *D. van Hoogftraaten* gekeeken hebbe; maar had ik geen grond daarvan by my zelven gehad, ik zoud onmagtig geweest zyn, alleen op 't voorbeeld van die wynige Naamwoorden, in zyn boekje vervat, de aanwyzing der Geflachten van alle de Naamwoorden uyt te voeren, gelyk ik zonder iemands hulpe gedaan heb. Dóch dit in 't voorbygaan. Om nu weder te keeren tót de Régelen wegens de Geflachten; men vindt 'er eenige in de reeds gemelde *Tweefpraak* der Amfterdamfche *Kamer in Liefde bloeiende*, hoewel vry gebreklyk; maar de voorgenoemde *G. Brandt* heeft in zyne gefchreevene *Aanmerkingen* ontrent de Geflachten, zulk een groot licht gegeven, dat men den overleeden zynen lóf niet behoort te onthouden: want hoewel ik zyn gevoelen niet ftiptelyk vólge, maar fomtyds daarvan afwyke; echter ontzie ik my niet te bekenen, dat ik eenige zaaken uyt zyne onvoltooide fchriften ontleend hebbe, achtende dat het my meer tót fchande dan eere zoude ftrekken, zulks te verduyfteren, fchoon hy dood is, en zyn zoonen niet meer in 't leeven zyn.

after that of Halma, then one could have concluded that I had borrowed the indications of the Genders from him; but nobody can claim this with the slightest glimpse of truth: because this is my own work; although I do not need to conceal the fact that I have at times looked at the *Aanmerkingen over de Geflachten* by *D. van Hoogftraaten*; had I had no ground before me, than I would have been powerless to extract the indication of the Genders of all Nouns, only from the few examples of Nouns, contained in his booklet, just like I did without anybody's help. But enough with this. Going back to the Rules of the Genders; one finds some in the abovementioned *Tweefpraak* from the *Kamer in Liefde bloeiende* in Amsterdam, although rather flawed; but the abovementioned *G. Brandt* has afforded, in his written *Aanmerkingen* ontrent de Geflachten, such a great light to them, which one would rather not remember of the passing of his glory: because although I have not followed faithfully his feelings, sometimes distancing myself from them; I will not exempt myself from acknowledging, that I have borrowed some things from his incomplete writings, convinced that it would have afforded me more shame than honor eclipsing him, even if he is dead and all of his sons are also not in life anymore.

De Schryver der meergemelde Latynfche Schetfe acht dat de Dordrechtfe overzetting van onzen Nederduytfchen Bybel als een voorbeeld der rechte Nederduytfche taale behoort aangemerkt te worden. Men moet bekenen dat zy die aan deeze Overzettinge gearbeyd hebben, mannen geweest zyn, der Nederduytfche taalekundig; maar jammer is het dat die vertaaling niet door ééne penne overgefchreeven is, opdat 'er meer eenpaarigheyd in den ftyl mogte geweest zyn: En zulks waare nóg doenlyk, zonder eenige de minfte verandering in de overzettinge te maaken, en buyten kóften van 't Gemeen,

The Writer of the already mentioned Latin Drafts claims that the translation of Dordrecht of our Dutch Bible must be considered as an example of correct Dutch. One must acknowledge that those who have worked on this Translation have been Dutch linguists; but it is regrettable that that translation has not been transcribed by a single pen, so that there should have been more unanimity in the style: which was still doable, without making any small changes in the translation and out of the costs of the Community, especially since our High Government would have only loved to

byaldien 't onze Hooge Overigheyd maar beliefde eenen perfoon van beqwuaamheyd daartoe te volmagtigen, die zulks uytvoerde onder 't opzigt van eenige verftandige Predikanten der openbaare Kerke: want zeker 't zou den luyfter van dat overkóftelyk boek, den Bybel, des te meer doen afteeken, indien de ftyl en fpelling daarvan ganfch eenpaarig, en overal zichzelven gelyk waare.

authorize a person of competence, who could have carried it out under the supervision of a judicious Preacher of the public Church: since it would certainly have made the luster of that overpriced book, the Bible, be avoided, all while the style and spelling of it were uniform all throughout, and everywhere the same.

Om tót een belluyt te komen, 't is enkele lief hebbery geweest die my tót het opstellen deezer Nederduytsche Spraakkonft aangedreeven heeft. Wat de kenners onzer Moedertaale daarvan oordeelen zullen, zal de tyd ontdekken: ondertuffchen ben ik niet zonder hoope, dat deeze myn arbeyd van eenig nut voor 't Gemeen zyn zal; immers dit is 't gene dat ik 'er meê beoog; onaangezien ik menigmaal denk aan de bekende fpreuk, op 't zinnebeeld eener brandende kaerfe gepaft, *Aliis inferviendo confumor*. Want het is zeker, dat het maaken van myn Groot Woordenboek myne krachten gefleeten heeft; en nógtans heb ik dien moeilyken arbeyd met luft ten eynde gebragt, gelyk ook dit werkje, waaraan ik etlyke jaaren by tuffchenpoozen, onder 't opstellen van andere Letterwerken, heb gearbeyd, om zo veel in myn vermoogen was, geen onnutte burger myner moederlyke ftad te zyn; maar de kennis, welke Gód my verleend heeft, ten dienfte myner medeburgen en landsgenooten, en ook tót nut van uytheemfchen, aan te leggen zonder my daarom te laaten voorftaan dat hier niets berifpelyks in te vinden zou zyn: want *nihil eft ab omni parte beatum*, waar vindt men iets dat in allen deele volmaakt is? Vaarwel, leergierige Leezer, en gebruyk myn werk t'uwen voordeele.

Coming to a conclusion, it is out of passion that I have been driven to compile this Nederduytsche Spraakkonst. Only time will tell, what the knowers of our mother tongue will judge of it: in the meanwhile I am not without hope, that this work of mine will be of some use for the Community; this is the only thing that I aim for, after all; regardless, I often think of a known saying, adapted onto an emblem of a burning candle, *Aliis inserviando consumor* ["One gets consumed by serving others"]. Since it is certain that the making of my Great Dictionary has worn out my forces; notwithstanding I have brought such hard work to its end, with relish, just like I did this, on which I have worked for many years, yet with some intervals for the compilation of other literary pieces, in order not to be a useless citizen of my mother city, in so far as it was possible to me; but the knowledge, which God lend me, installing me at the service of my fellow citizens and countrymen, and also for the use of foreigners, without letting me purport that here nothing reprehensible would be found: because *nihil est ab omni parte beatum* ["Nothing is blessed in all its parts"] where can one find something which is perfect in all its parts? Farewell, studious Reader, and use this work at your benefit.

Appendix 5 - “Preface to the reader” from the second edition of Willem Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*

Voorreede aan den leezer

By den eerften druk deezer Nederduytsche Spraakkonst gaf ik in de Voorreede een bericht van de reden die my tót het uytgeeven daarvan bewoogen had; naamelyk dat ik veele jaaren te voore een ontwerp daarvan ten dienste der Engelschen had opgesteld, en by myn Engelsch en Nederduytsch Woordenboek gevoegd: dat die Spraakkonst federd in kleyn fôrmaat op zich zelven gedrukt zynde, zo wel was ontfangen geweest, dat zy zich toen al ten vierden maale in ’t Engelsch, t’elkens met eenige vermeerderinge, aan de waereld vertoond had: en dat andere zich begeerig toonende om die ook in onze taale te konnne leezen, zulks my tót een spoor gestrekt hadde om dat opstel op nieuws te verschryven, het met veele bedenkingen, welke ik federd langen tyd op lóffe papieren tót myn eygen gebruyk anngetekend, en etlyke daarvan ook, toen ik de *Tweemaandelyke Uytrefelen*, óf *Boekzaal*, schreef, by gelegenheyd onder die Uyttrefelen vermengd, en alzo opentlyk uytgegeeven had, te vergrooten, en in een Nederduytsch gewaad mynen Landsgenooten aan te bieden. Ik zeyde toen ook, dat ik dat werk uytgaf voor eygen reedfel, alhoewel ik niet ontkende ontrent veertig jaaren te voore de *Tweespraak van de Nederduytsche Letterkonst*, voor meer dan honderd en twintig jaaren by de *Kamer in Liefde bloeijende*, t’Amsterdam; myne geboorte stad, uytgegeeven, en te Leyde in den jaare MDLXXXIV. gedrukt, met naauwkeurige opmerkinge gelezen te hebben. Voorts noemde ik in myn bericht alle de Schryvers, die van onze taale geschreeven hebbende, ooit van my waaren gezien óf gelezen; zeggende ook verstaan te hebben, det het Konstgenootschap *Nil volentibus Arduum* aan eene Nederduytsche Spraakkonst gearbeyd had; dóch dat ik die nooit gezien, ja het gezigt daar van voordachtelyk vermyd hadde, gelyk ik ook federd die niet gezien heb; opdat het niet mogte schynen als of ik iets daaruyt onteelnd hadde; ’t welk ik altoos liever uyt gedrukte, dan uyt ongedrukte schriften heb willen doen.

Foreword to the reader

In the first edition of this Nederduytsche Spraakkonst I gave in its Foreword, a message about the reasons which motivated me to publish it; namely that I had compiled many years before a part of it serving the English, and added in my Engelsch en Nederduytsch Woordenboek: that that Grammar being it published in small format, was received so well, that it had already been re-published for the fourth time in English, yet with some additions: and that others have shown themselves so eager to read it in our language, which had incentivized me to make it again available, with many ponderations, which I have since a long time noted down in loose papers, for my own use, and several of them, from the time I used to write for the *Tweemaandelyke Uyttrekselen* or *Boekzaal*, which happened to mix with those excerpts, and I had publicly published, in order to increase, and to offer them to my countrymen, in a Dutch garment. I said back then also that I published that work from my own reasonings, although I did not deny having read almost forty years before the *Tweespraak van de Nederduytsche Letterkunst*, published for more than one hundred and twenty years by the *Kamer in Liefde bloeijende* in Amsterdam, my town of birth, and printed with accurate commentary in Leiden, in the year MDLXXXIV [1584]: Furthermore, I named in my message all the Writers, who have written about our language, whom I had seen or read; saying I also had understanding that the Society of Arts *Nihil volentibus Arduum* had worked on a Nederduytsche Spraakkonst; and that I still had not seen it, and yes, I had thoughtfully avoided seeing it anyway, since it must not have appeared as if I had borrowed things from them; since I always rather have to do with published writings, instead of unpublished ones.

Maar dewyl 'er zaaken in de Nederduytsche Spraakkonst van *Christiaan van Heule* gevonden worden, welke eenige overeenkomst met myne stellingen hebben, is men gereed geweest my van valsheyd verdachte te houden, en bedektelyk te kennen te geeven dat ik hem geleezen, en iets uyt zyne Taalbeschryvinge ontleend mofte hebben. Dóch gelyk ik toen oprechtelyk zeyde, geene andere Schryvers wegens de Nederduytsche taalkunde ooit geleezen te hebben, dan die welke ik opnoemde, zo zeg ik nu nóg, dat dit waarlyk zo was, ja dat ik nooit geweeten had dat 'er zulk een Schryver als Chr. Van Heule in de waereld was geweest, voor dat myne Spraakkonst niet alleen volschreeven maar ook ontrent geheel afgedrukt was: dóch op die tyd wierdt zyne Taalbeschryving my door iemand myner bekenden getoond; maar ik weygerde dezelve aan te neemen, om niet genoodzaakt te zyn in myne Voorreede, die toen, zo ik meen, by den Drukker al gezét was, eenige verandering te maaken: want uyt dat werkje iets, dat my mogte behaagd hebben, te neemen, en in myn werk te voegen, was toen al te laat. Dóch weetende nu dat 'er zulk een boekje was, maakte ik het te krygen naa dat myne Spraakkonst in het licht quam, en bezag het toen voor de eerste reys, gelyk ik voor ruym vier jaaren aan de waereld te kennne gaf in myne *Aanmerkingen* op het boekje genaamd *De spelling van A. Moonen verdedigd*. En dewyl ik by den gemelden *Van Heule* iets vond dat ik goed keurde, en van my niet aangewezen was, ontzie ik my nu niet te bekenne, dat ik in deezen tweeden druk myner Spraakkonst eenige zaaken uyt hem ontleend hebbe, gelyk ik in myn werk zulks op zyne plaats ook heb te verstaan gegeeven.

Dóch noopende de vafte regelen om de gellachten der Naamwoorden aan derzelver uytgangen te kennen, gelyk ik toen zeyde dat zy, zo wel als veele andere aanmerkingen, t'eenemaal van myne eygene uytvindinge waaren, zo zeg ik zulks nóg, en dat onbescroomd; omdat het een zuivere waarheyd is, dat ik door 't maaken van myn

But because there have been found things within *Nederduitsche Spraakkonst* by *Christiaan van Heule*, which have some uniformity with my assertions, they have been ready to keep me from false thoughts, and covertly to give knowledge that I have read him and must have borrowed something from his description of the language. However, as I said rightfully before not having ever read any other Writers on Dutch linguistics, except those I named, so I repeat it now, that this was truly so, that I never knew of the existence in this world of such a Writer like Chr. van Heule, before that my Grammar was not only completely written, but was also toward its complete printing: however, in that moment I had been shown his description of the language by one of my acquaintances; but I refused to accept it, not to be forced to make any changes in my Foreword which, back then, had already been submitted to the Editor: since taking something which might have pleased me from that work was back then already too late. Although knowing now that there was such a book, which I intended to acquire after my Grammar saw the light, and looked at it then for the first time, just like I made it known to the world, for about four years, in my *Aanmerkingen* in the book named *De spelling van A. Moonen verdedigd*. And because I have found something in the above-mentioned *Van Heule* which I approved of, and which I did not indicated myself, I do not spare from acknowledging it here, that I have indeed borrowed somethings from him, in this second edition, just like I have made to be understood in its place, within my work.

Nonetheless, regarding the settled rules of recognizing the genders of nouns from their endings, as I said back then, those were my own discoveries, just like many others, thus I repeat it once again, fearlessly; because this is the pure truth, that I was led there by the making of my *Englesch en Nederduitsch Woordenboek*.

Engelfch en Nederduytfch Woordenboek daartoe aangeleyd was. En dat Chr. Van Heule ontrent de Geflachten der Nederduytfche Naamwoorden zo lang voor my eenigfins diergelyke bedenkingen gehad heeft als ik, dient te meer tót bekrachtinge van myne, welke ik niet aan hem, nóchte eenig menfche verfhuldigd ben; maar die enkelyk myn eygen uytvindfel zyn; alhoewel ik geenfins ontveynzen wil dat de gefchreevene Aanmerkingen van G. Brandt, welke ik eenige maanden onder my beruftende gehad heb, my eenig licht ontrent de Geflachten gegeven hebben; waarom ik ook den overleeden zynen lóf geenfins pooge te onthouden, maar gaern bekenne dat ‘er uyt zyne onvoltooide Schriften eenige zaaken wegens de Geflachten door my ontleend zyn, achtende dat het my geenfins tót eere zoude konnen ftrekken zulks te verduyfteren, fchoon hy dood is, en zyne zoonen niet meer in ’t leeven zyn, om my van ontrouw dies aangaande te konnne befchuldigen. Want hoe kan het met een rechtſchapen eerlyk gemoed beftaan, eens anders arbeyd, daar hy nooit de vrucht van gezien heeft; als zyne eygene vindinge uyt te geeven, wanneer men by zich zelven bewuft is, dat men zich van de befchreevene papieren eens overleeden bediend heeft? En dit is ook de reden waarom ik de Spraakkonft, welke men zegt door eenige Leden van het Konftgenotſchap *Nil volentibus arduum* op gefield te zyn, nooi heb willen zien.

Ik gaf in myn voorbericht van den eerften druk ook te verftaan, dat het enkele liefhebbery geweest was die my tót het opftellen deezer Nederduytfche Spraakkonft aangedreeven had, en dat ik ook niet zonder hoope was, dat deeze myn arbeyd van eenig nut voor ’t Gemeen weezen zoude; en die hoope heb ik nóg, alhoewel ‘er geweest zyn die hunne pennne tegen my gefcherpt hebben. Ik heb, ’t is waar, in zekeren brief, die te vinden is in *J. V. Gaverens Boekzaal* van *July* en *Augustus*, des jaar 1708, eenige bedenkingen opgefild tegen ’t hoofdzaakelykte dat men my tegenwierp, waarvan één ding was, dat men, opdat het fchynen mogte dat ik onbequaam was om recht van de Nederduytfche taal te konnen oordeelen, my onder de vreemde tongen rekende, en van

And that Chr. Van Heule regarding the Genders of Dutch Nouns so long before me had already had the same ideas as mine, only reinforces my position, which I do not owe to him, or any other person; but they are simply my own discoveries; although I do not want in any way to conceal the fact that the written Aanmerkingen of G. Brandt, which I have had at my disposal for some months, are the only thing which have shed some light regarding the Genders, to me; why I did not try to remember the passing of his glory, but gladly acknowledge that from his incomplete Writings some things regarding the Genders have been lent to me, deeming that I would not take the credit by concealing it, even if he is dead and his sons are no more living, in order not to be accused of unfairness in this regard. Because how can one, with a righteous honest mind, publish as one’s own discoveries, someone else’s work, of which they never saw the fruits; when one is aware that people do know that he has made use of the aforementioned papers of a dead person? And this is also the reason why I never wanted to see the Grammar that has been compiled by some members of the Society of Arts *Nil volentibus arduum*.

I also made it clear, in my foreword to the first edition, that it had been a certain passion of mine, driving toward the compilation of this Nederduytsche Spraakkonst, and that I was also not hopeless thinking that this work of mine would have been of some use to the Community; and I am still hopeful, although there have been some who sharpened their pens against me. In a certain letter which can be found in the *J. V. Gaverens Boekzaal* of July and August of the year 1708, it is true, I have compiled some thoughts regarding the main issues people brought up against me, of which there is one thing, that people have claimed that I belonged to the English people, and foreign speakers, from which

Engelfch Landvólk ftelde te zyn. Waarop ik zeediglyk aangetoond hebbende, dat zulks niet alzo, maar ik een rechtſchapen Hóllander, zo wel van geboorte als van afkómfte, was, en voorts veele andere tegenwerpingen beantwoordende, heeft zulks zo weynig moogen helpen, dat men daarop niet gefchroomd heeft opentlyk te zeggen, gelyk te zien is in 't Naafchrift van zekeren gedrukten biref, “dat myn gefchryf anders niet was, dan dat ik onſchuldig wilde heeten aan Engelfche geboorte, en dat het niets meer weezendlyks beheldde: Voorts, dat ik niets oplófte, maar overal bot, en overheen praatte.” Dit heeft men van my gezegd, en moogelyk zullen fommige, die den gemelden mynen brief niet gelezen hebben, zulks op goed vertrouwen hebben, zulks op goed vertrouwen voor waarheyd hebben aangenomen; maar andere weet ik dat heel anders van dien brief geoordeeld hebben. Ook geeft men bedektelyk te kennen, als óf ik lang in Engeland geweest waare, en veel tyds met reyzen doorgebracht hadde; om alzo den menſchen in te boezemen, dat ik niet beqwaamheyd genoeg hebben om wegens de Hóllandſche taale goede onderrechtingen te geeven. Dóch dit heeft niets om 't lyf; want geduurende den ganſchen tyd myns leevens ben ik in 't geheel niet boven een jaar buyten Hólland geweest. Maar men toont zich zo gezét tegen my, dat men my beſchimpt zelfs ter zaake der Religie waarvan ik belydenis doe. Dan óf dit eenen Chriſten voegt, is wel naadenkens waerdig. Ook komt de Religie in dit geval geenſins te paſſe, te meer dewyl 't bekend is da Vondel de zyne verruylde tegen eene andere, welke ik naauwlyks denken kan dat myn beſtryder beter acht dan die waarvan hy te voore was; en des niettegenſtaande telt men hem onder de voornaamſte opbouwers onzer taale. Maar waar vindt men niet iets op te zeggen! Omdat ik uyt zeedigheyd in myne Taalbefchryvinge gezegd had, *Het komt my waarſchynlykft te voore: Het is by my niet buyten bedenkek, enz*, zo zoekt men my af te maalen als één die zelf wanklet en in twyfel ſtaat: daar ik met duſdaanige ſpreekwyzen nógtans niets anders beooge, dan dat ik myn gevoelen, ſchoon ik het voor beſt houde, en daarom ook redenen daarvan gegeeven heb, niemand evenwel met een meefterlyk gezag wil opdringen, maar ieder in zyne vryheyd laate,

could appear that I was inadequate to make correct judgements on the Dutch language. To which I have modestly demonstrated that no such thing was true, but that I was indeed a rightful Hollander, of birth and descent, and furthermore I have answered to many other objections, how little that might have helped, since they had to say quite unhesitant “that my writings were nothing but that, and that I wanted to be called innocent for being born English, and that there was nothing essential included: furthermore, that I could not solve anything, that I blabbered about anything and talked over people.” This is what they said about me, and probably some of those who did not read the content of my letter, will have trusted this, assuming this was the truth out of good faith; but others, I know, have judged very differently from that letter. It has also been insinuated as if I had been for a long time in England and had spent a lot of time travelling; so as to instill in the people the doubt that I did not have enough competence to provide good teachings regarding the language of Holland. This has nothing to do with it; since during my life I have never been longer than one year outside of Holland. But they show themselves so stout against me, taunting me because of the Religion I profess. Thus, whether this befits a Christian is worthy of pondering. But Religion has nothing to do with this, so much so that it is known that Vondel has changed his for another, which I can hardly think that my enemy consider better that the one he believed in previously; and nonetheless they include him in the main constructors of our language. They have nothing to say about it, though! Since out of modesty I have said, in my description of the language, *It probably occurs to me: It is not beyond my thinking that, etc.* they try to grind me as one who falters and is undecided: but with such manners of speech I meant nothing else than not to impose my feelings upon others with masterly authority, even if I still thought that that was better, which I have substantiated with reasons. I wanted to

zonder my zelven een oppermagtig gezag in de Spraakkunde aan te maatigen.

Veel meer zoud ik t'myner verdediginge kunnen zeggen, indien my een pennekryg lufte; maar daarvan heb ik eenen afkeer: want *de lana caprina & de umbra asini* [over beuzelingen] te twiften, gelyk het eenen Chiften niet voegt, zo ontftaat daaruyt doorgaans eene verbittering, die in ftede van af te neemen, van tyd tót tyd aangroeit, ja zelfs zo verre gaat, dat men, als of het waare *pro aris & focis*, [voor de Gódsdienft en de huyshoudinge]. met eenen overgrooten yver ftrydt; en om zynend vafte te houden, en de zaak niet gewonnen te geeven, allerleye omwegen en uytvlugten bedenkt, en elkander op 't vinnigft, zelfs met fcheldwoorden te keer gaat, gelyk men eenige jaaren geleeden een exempel daaraf zag tuffchen perfoonen, welke men niet ontkennen kon geleerde mannen te zyn, en die elkander nógtans opentlyk in hunne fchriften voor weetniet en botterikken uytmaakten. Dóch hadden zy ontzag gehad voor de woorden van onzen Zaligmaaker: *Ik zeg u, dat van elk ydel woord het welk de menfchen zullen gefproken hebben, zy van 't zelve rekenfchap zullen geeven in den dage des oordeels*, hoe konden zy zo gefproken, ja zulk een taal als zy voerden in druk uytgegeeven hebben? Want het ydel fpreeken met den mond kan, gelyk men weet, uyt menfchelyke zwakhed door overyling gefchieden, en houdt niet lang ftand; maar ydele woorden te fchreyven is iets dat van langer duur is; en zulk een fchrift dan opnelyk uyt te geeven, kan men geen voorwendfel van overylinge verfchoond worden. Hierom heb ik getracht op myne hoede te zyn, opdat door my geen krakkeel aangequeekt wierde. En zeker had deeze bedenking my niet wederhouden, ik zoude getoond hebben dat myne penne niet ftomp, en ik geenfins verlegen was om my zelven te verdedigen, inzonderheyd wanneer ik klaare konde aantoonen dat men 't meer tegen den perfoon, dan tegen de zaak hadde: want dewyl men 't in my als een mißlag aanmerkt, dat ik ftelle dat men niet zeggen mag *Ik donder, ik regen*, enz maar wel *Het dondert, het regent*, omdat ik die woorden voor onperfoonlyk houde; waarom dan ook de *Grammatica* van *Voffius*, welke men hier te lande in de

leave everyone free without imposing my own superior authority in Grammar.

I could have said much more in my defense, had I fancied pen-wars; but they repulse me: because arguing *de lana caprina & de umbra asini* [about trifles], does not befit a Christian, as bitterness arises from them which, instead of decreasing, grows with time, and goes so far that one ends up fighting with such an extreme fervor as if it were *pro aris & focis* [for the Religion and the household]; immovable, not giving up the argument, thinking about all the detours and subterfuges, and going at each other with the sharpest insults, just like an example we could see some years ago between people whose culture could not be denied, but who went at each other openly in their writings for who knows what type of idiocy. Still, they had reverence for the words of our Saviour: *I tell you, that for any word spoken in vain, they will be accounted for accordingly on judgment day*, how could they speak like this, and print out such a language they used? Because speaking in vain from one's mouth can happen out of haste and humanly weakness, but it does not go far; yet writing vain words is something which will remain in time; and openly publishing such a writing, cannot be excused by any pretext of haste. For this I have tried to be wary not to nourish any quarrel. Surely this thought has not held me, I should have shown that my pen does not thump, and that I was in no way bashful to defend me, in particular when I could clearly demonstrate that it had to do more with the person that with the subject itself: because since one recognizes it as a mistake of mine, since I said one could not say *Ik donder, ik regen*, etc. but one can say *Het dondert, het regent*, because I considered those words as impersonal; why not also going against the *Grammatica* of Vossius, then, which is used in this land by Latin Schools? Since there it is claimed expressly about these words, namely *tonat, pluit* Ec. That these are *actionem*

Latynfche Schoolen gebruykt, niet te keer gegaan? dewyl daar in van die woorden, te weeten *tonat, pluit Ec.* Uytdukkelyk gezegd wordt, dat zy zyn *actionem significantia, quæ ut fiat, velne fiat, neutquam sit humanæ potestatis*, dat is, dat ze een bedryf betekenē, 't welk dat het gefchiede, of niet gefchiede, geenfins van 't menfchelyk vermoogen afhangt. Van dit verftand ben ik ook, en heb my geenfins overwonden om voorfchriften te geeven van de gódyke taale, en hoe Gód zoude moogen fpreeken; maar alleen van de menfchelyke, zonder daar ter plaatfe ook van de figuurlyke te melden, dewyl zulks daar niet te paffe quam. Ik weerhoud myne penne van meer over dit onderwerp te fchryven, omdat ik geen vuur van hevigheyd zoek te ftooken, anders ftondt my hier een ruym veld open om my nóg wat langer over deeze ftóffe op te houden: maar wat goeds zoud ik 'er tóch mede uytrechten? Wat wordt 'er door zulk een bedryf anders uytgewerkt, als dat men elkanderen poogt pal te zetten, en te fteeken, en alzo, door eene foort van terginge, eene verbittering in zynen tegenftreever te verwekken? 't welk verre afwykt van *den boozen niet te wederftaan*, gelyk onze operfte Wetgeever ons beveelt.

Noopende nu deezen tweeden druk van deeze Spraakkonft: en dewyl ik in den eerften druk de Liefhebbers onzer taale tót myn groot Engelfch en Nederduytfch Woordenboek wees, om daaruyt de geflachten der Naamwoorden, waar aan zy twyfelden, te leeren kennen, en my hierop te gemoet gevoerd is, dat het ieder één niet gelegen quam dat boek genoegen te koopen; zo heb ik nu, om zodaanigen genoegen te geeven, in dit werk gevoegd en groote Lyft van alle de Naamwoorden, die ten aanzien der geflachten onder geene valte regelen gebragt konnen worden: zulks dat men hier nu alles wat daartoe vereyft is, in éenen bondel by een vindt. Voorts heb ik dit werk verrykt niet alleen met groote byvoegfelen, waar van fommige de vrucht myner jeugdige jaaren zyn, maar ook met eene menigte van bedenkingen dienende tót bekrachtiging myner ftellingen. Onder deeze vermeerderingen zal men ook een grooter getal van woorden vinden, welker oorfpiong ik naagespeurd heb, en die anderen tót een fpoor moogen dienen om de oorfpionklykheyd onzer

significatia, quæ ut fiat, velne fiat, neutquam sit humanæ potestatis, that is to say that they mean an action which can happen or not happen, regardless of human faculties. I share this understanding, and I have not overwhelmed me with providing instructions on the language of the divine, and how God could possibly speak; but only reporting the figurative speech, in which that is not included. I abstain my pen from writing any further about this subject, because I do not intend to light any fire of violence, otherwise there would still be a vast field in front of me for speaking regarding this matter: but what good would ever come out of that? What comes of such a behavior otherwise, if one tries to put a stop to each other, and stab, and through such a provocation, instigate bitterness in their adversary? This does not go too far from *do not withstand the angry*, just like our upmost Lawmaker commands.

Regarding this second edition of this Grammar: and since in my first edition I indicate my readers to consult my Engelfch en Nederduytsch Woordenboek, in order to learn the genders of the Nouns, whenever they would be in doubt, and since it has come to my knowledge that not everybody would find it convenient to buy that book; I have thusly provided their inclusion in this work in a List of al the Nouns, where the genders are indicated without any fixed rule: such that one can find anything necessary in one single issue. Furthermore, I have not only enriched this work with additions, some of which were the fruits of the studies of my youth, but also by many reasonings meant to reinforce my proposition. One will find, amongst these additions a bigger amount of words, whose etymology I have investigated, and others which should incentivize to further discover the etymology of our language. I have been

taale verder op te delven. My is gezegd dat zeker Liefhebber in ons land met diergelyk een werk bezig is, en van voorneemen zoude zyn iets van die foort, naar de wyze va *Vossii Etymologicon*, aan den dag te brengen. Buyten twyfel zullen 'er in zodaanig een werk aardige bedenkingen voorkomen; dóch ontrent zulke naafpeuringen kan men niet altyd met zekerheyd spreken; maar daar moeten al veele giffingen onder loopen, die evenwel niet al te lós behooren te wezen, nóchte al te verre gezócht, gelyk 'er verfcheydene zulke in *Hadriani Junii Batavia* gevonden worden: want het woord *Schepen* eerst te betrekken op het baftaard-Latyn *Scabinus*, en dit dan af te leyden van *Scah hin*, omdat de Schepenen magt hebben iemans leeven aan te taften, 't welk zo veel zoude zyn als *hin scaffen*, fchynt inderdaad als by't haair getrokken; en korte houwertjes, by Sidonius genoemd *Anconas*, t'huys te brengen tót het woord *Hangers*, is niet minder gedwongen. Nóg wat meer fchyns heeft het, *Caninefates* af te leyden van *Konyne vatters*, óf *Konyne vreeters* gelyk by dien zelfden Schryver, zo my voorftaat, gedaan wordt. Dat men nu van veele woorden den oorfprong kan naafpeuren, heb ik door myne byvoegfelen getoond. En doordien dit alles op lóffe papieren zwurf, en naa mynen dood door niemand anders in zyne rechte órde zoude kunnen geplaatft geweest zyn, heb ik zulks by myn leeven zelf willen doen; omdat gelyk deeze arbeyd wel eer voor my zelven niet onnut geweest is, die aldus gemeen gemaakt zynde, ook aan anderen, zo ik acht, nuttelyk zal kunnen wezen. Hierom is het ook dat ik dit werk, fchoon ik 'er veele jaaren by tuffchenpoozen aan heb gearbeyd, met luft ten eynde gebragt hebbe, en het nu ten dienfte myner Landsgenooten, en ook tót nut van uytheemfchen, ten befte geeve. Vaarwel, leergierige Leezer, en gebruyk het t'uwen voordeel.

told that a certain Estimator of our land is busy with a similar work, and whose intention would be something of this kind, in the manner of *Vossii Etymologicon*. Without any doubt, one will have to find deft reasonings; however, regarding such investigations one cannot always speak with certainty; and one must deal with guessing, which ought not be too arbitrary, nor reaching out too far, just like the many one can find in *Hadriani Junii Batavia*: because the word *schepen* ["alderman"] can be traced back to vulgar Latin *Scabinus*, and this would be derivative of *Scah hin*, since aldermen could affect one's life, which could be the same as *hin scaffen*, this does appear to be a bit of a stretch; a short hack, which Sidonius calls *Anconas*, which should be traced back to the word *Hangers*, is not less forced. What is more farfetched is to make *Caninefates* come form *Konyne vatters* or *Konyne vreeters*, just like the same Writer does. That one can investigate the etymology of many words is demonstrated in my additions. And since all this used to roam in loose papers, and since someone might have decided to orderly collect them after my death, I wanted to do it during my life; because just like this work has not been useless to me, at all, and this could thus be made common to others, as well, I assume this could have been useful. For this, I have brought this book to a conclusion, with pleasure, although having to take some pauses during the years, offering it to serve my fellow countrymen and also foreigners. Farewell, studious Reader, use it at your advantage.

Appendix 6 - Introduction to Marin's dictionary

De drukkers tot den leezer.

Vermits de fchikking van dit Woordenboek het Gemeen wonderlyk heeft behaagt, heeft men in zyne gedaante geene verandering gemaakt dan die hoognodig was; en wy zullen deeze fchikking ook door geene andere redenen verdedigen, als door de goedkeuring beide van Meesters en Leerlingen der beide Taalen. Deeze zocht de Schryver te voldoen en ten nutte te zyn: dit oogmerk heeft hy bereikt, en dat is genoeg.

Maar in andere opzichten zyn de veranderingen, de verbeteringen, de vermeerderingen, in deezen nieuwen Druk gefchiet, zoo menigvuldig en zoo aanmerkelyk, dat hy bynaa voor een geheel nieuw Werk kan doorgaan.

I. Men heeft zeer veel overtollige, onnodige, en zeer laage Amfterdamsche woorden, die Marin in zyn Woordenboek voor woorden van de algemeene Nederduitfche taal gevent had, uit deezen Druk weggenomen.

II. Men heeft de Geflachten by de Naamwoorden gezet, die in den voorgaanden Druk doorgaans vergeeten, en niet zelden verkeerdelyk gefelt waaren. Echter heeft men zich daar zoo ftipt niet aan willen binden dat men ze by alle famengefelde Naamwoorden gezet heeft: Oordeelende dat het genoeg was voor de Liefhebbers der Taale, dat zy die by de enkele Naamwoorden koften vinden, indien zy 'er begeerig naa waaren. En de aanwyzing der Geflachten, die men by deeze niet vergeeten heeft, zal men, daar het nodig is, met fpraakunftige Aanmerkingen verrykt vinden. In de aanwyzing der Geflachten van de enkele Naamwoorden, heeft men

[From] the publishers to the reader.

Since the order of this Dictionary has delighted the public, its form has not been changed in any way, except for what was highly needed; and we will also not uphold this edition upon any other reason than the approval of both the Teachers and Students of both Languages. That is what the writer has sought to satisfy and to serve: such goal he has reached, and that is enough.

But in other cases, the changes, improvements and enlargements, in this new Edition, are so numerous and notable that this can also pass for a completely new work.

I. The very many superfluous, useless and very lowly words of Amsterdam, which Marin had sold for common Dutch words, in his Dictionary, have been removed from this Edition.

II. Next to the nouns, the genders have been placed, which in the previous Edition had been forgotten, and which were, not seldom, wrongly placed. We have not been too punctilious as to also add that to all compound nouns: believing that it would have been enough for all the Lovers of the Languages, to be able to find that in [the entry to] the autonomous nouns, were it in their desires. The indication of the genders, which were not forgotten here, will be found, when needed, enriched with grammatical remarks. In the indication of the genders for each noun, the knowledge of the following three Rules was considered. 1. *All the Nouns which suit Men are masculine, and those which suit Women are feminine.* 2. *All*

echter de kennis van de drie volgende Regels onderstelt. 1. *Alle Naamwoorden die Mannen passen zyn mannelyk, en die Vrouwen passen vrouwelyk.* 2. *Alle verbalia in ing zyn Vrouwelyk; gelyk Baring, Verloffing, Twyffeling, &c.* 3. *Alle Naamwoorden in heid of heit zyn Vrouwelyk; gelyk Schoonheid, Zuiverheid, &c.* Het is zeker dat iemand die van den eersten deezer Regelen onbewuft is zich Geflachten der Naamwoorden nooit bekreunen zal, en derhalven heeft men gemeent dat het nodeloos was de Geflachten altoos te stellen by Naamwoorden die alleen Mannen, en by die welke alleen Vrouwen passen. Doch men heeft de Geflachten van eenige weinige Naamwoorden, die eene uitzondering van deezen Regel strekken, zorgvuldig aangetekent. De twee andere Regels zyn zonder uitzondering; en daarom heeft men zoo veel te onnodiger geoordeelt by alle *verbalia in ing*, en by alle Naamwoorden in *heid*, altoos eene f. die in dit Woordenboek het teken des Vrouwelyken Geflacht is, te stellen.

III. Eene andere aanmerkelyke verbetering, in deezen Druk gefchiet, is dat men de rechte Fransche Naamen van veele zaaken, die Marin niet geweeten heeft, en die hy derhalven door omschryving moft verklaaren, of geheel onvertaalt laate, hier ter neder gefelt heeft. Ontelbaare Naamen van Dieren, als Viervoetige, Vogels, Vifchen, gekurve Diertjes, die in den voorgaanden Druk qualyk uitgelegt waaren kan zyn dat men in dit Woordenboek den rechten naam der zaaken, die men 'er in zoekt, zal vinden, en geen' verkeerder, gelyk in andere Woordenboeken niet zelden zal gebeuren.

IV. Men heeft het Fransch van dit Woordenboek van veele flechte en onzuivere woorden en spreekwyzen gezuivert, en in derzelver plaatse echte en by de beste Schryvers goedgekeurde

verbalia in -ing are Feminine; like Baring, Verlossing, Twyffeling etc. 3. *All Nouns in -heid or -heit are Feminine; like Schoonheid, Zuiverheid, etc.* It is sure that someone who is unaware of the first of these Rules, will never assimilate the Genders of the Nouns, and thus, it was intended that it was needless to always express the genders of Nouns which only suit either Men or Women. Nonetheless, the Genders of some few Nouns which do not abide by these Rules have been meticulously reported. The other two Rules are without exceptions; and for this reason we have placed, next to all the *verbalia in -ing*, and all the Nouns in *-heid*, an f. which, in this Dictionary, is the symbol of the Feminine Gender.

III. Another remarkable improvement in this Edition is that it provides the correct names of many things, which Marin did not know and, for that, had to explain through descriptions or, otherwise, left completely without translation. Innumerable Names of Animals, like Quadrupeds, Birds, Fish, Insects, were sadly excluded from the previous Edition. These could probably be found in this Dictionary, each with its correct name, and one can look them up without any mistake. This is hardly true for other Dictionaries.

IV. The French in this Dictionary has been purified from many bad and impure words and expressions, and they have been substituted with words and expressions approved by the best Writers: for this purpose, the French Academy has been often

woorden en ſpreekwyzen gefelt: ten welken einde men de Franſche Akademie dikwyls geraadpleegt heeft. Men heeft de Nederduitſche ſpreekwyzen altoos vertaalt door de Franſche die ‘er ‘t naaft mede over een quamen. Dit heeft men ten opzichte van de Spreekwoorden en Spreuken ook zoo net waargenomen als de verſcheidenheit der Taalen toegelaaten heeft.

V. Wat de Byvoegingen van deezen tegenwoordigen Druk betreft, die zyn aanmerkelyk. De woorden en ſpreekwyzen, waar mede men dien vermeerderd heeft, zullen veelen duizenden uitmaaken: En men zal geen Woordenboek vinden in onze Taal door eenige andere Taal, welke ook, uitgelegt, waar in zoo veele woorden zyn als in dit. De woordenrykheit van dit Woordenboek vergeleeken by die van andere Werken van den zelve aart, waar in onze Taal voor ſtaat, zal zoo wel als op hun getal, ‘t welk men onvergelykelyk grooter hadt kunnen maaken, indien men ontelbaare ſamengeſtelde woorden niet met voordracht achter gelaaten hadt, om dit Werk niet buiten ‘t begrip van eenen bandt te doen zwellen, ‘t welk het Boek duurder en te gelyk onnutter gemaakt zou hebben. Zulks zou in der daadt niet min tot ongemak als tot nadeel van den Leezer hebben geftrekt.

De aart en eigenſchap onzer Taale, zoo bequaam tot ontelbaare ſamenſtellingen van woorden, zou ons gelegenheit genoeg gegeven hebben om dit en het nut der Leerlingen van beide Taalen niet tot ons eenigſte doel voorgefelt hadden.

Om het zelve oogwit te bereiken, heeft men de veelvuldigheit der Voorbeelden gemydt. Men heeft de woorden zoo kort en zoo duidelyk verklaart als ‘t mogelyk geweeft is; overtuigt geweeft zynde, dat alles wat te veel is niet deugt [In note: *Omne nimium vertitur in vitium*] Yder die

consulted. The Dutch expressions have always been translated with the French ones which would be closer to them. This was adopted as to also allow to witness the difference between the Languages, also with regard to their Expressions and Sayings.

V. With regard to the Annexes of this present Edition, they are considerable. The words and expressions by means of which it has been enlarged, could probably be counted in the thousands: And one will find no Dictionary in our Language to any other Language, which also explains so many words as this. The richness of vocabulary of this Dictionary, in comparison to that of other Works of the same nature, as far as it concerns our Language, lies also in its number, which could have been made incomparably bigger, since countless compound words have not been included, in order not to unnecessarily make the word swell, which would have made the Book more expensive and, simultaneously useless. That has been chosen, indeed, not upon inconvenience, but as a disadvantage for the Reader.

The nature and quality of our Language, so full of countless compounds of words, should have given us enough opportunity to propose this with the only goal of being useful to the Students of both Languages.

For the same purpose, the ampleness of the Examples has been avoided. The words have been explained in the shortest and clearest way possible: persuaded that everything which is too much is of no value [In note: *Omne nimium vertitur in vitium*].¹ Everybody who uses and knows a Dictionary, knows that a useless accumulation of examples

¹ The Latin saying translates “Every excess develops into a vice”.

Woordenboek gebruikt en kent, weet dat eene nodelooze ophooping van voorbeelden eer tot verwarring als tot opheldering sterkt.

Om de Leezers van den aart der Woorden te onderrechten, heeft men nevens dezelve met ronde woorden gezet van wat soort zy zyn, of zich van de volgende verkortingen bedient.

leads to confusion, instead of clarification.

In order to educate the Readers in the nature of Words, they have been paired with abbreviations which specify what type they belong to.

[Table of abbreviations]

Tot dus verre hebben wy dientig geacht het Voorbericht van den Tweeden Druk hier voor te plaatsen. Deze Derde Druk achten wy voor de Taalminnenden van geen minder belang dan eenige der voorgaanden, naardien alles niet alleen naauwkeurig is nagezien; maar hier in merkelyke veranderingen en byvoegelen naar den aart der Fransche Taale zyn geschied. Wy tragten 'er geen verderen ophef van te maaken dan den Taaloeffnenden te verzekeren, dat wy hierin het nut van het Gemeen hebben gepoogt te betragten, en twyffelen geenszins of aan dit oogmerk zal in allen deele voldaan zyn.

Up until now we have usefully considered to place here the Foreword of the Second Edition. We do not consider this Third Edition to be of any lower importance for the Lovers of the Language, as compared to any of the previous ones, consequently, everything has been not only meticulously reviewed; but is here published with considerable changes and adjuncts to the nature of the French Language. We intend not to carry along with any more interruptions except reassuring the Practitioner of the Language that we have here tried to amount for the use of the Public, and that they should in no way doubt that this goal has been fully accomplished.

Appendix 7 - Comparison of the contents across the editions of Willem Séwel's *Spraakkonst*

Chapters	1708	1712	1733	1756	Translation
<i>Privilegie</i>	X	X	X	✓	Privilege
<i>Opdragt</i>	✓ <i>Den Grootachtbaaren Heere Mr. Gerrit Hooft</i>	✓ <i>Den Grootachtbaaren Heere Mr. Gerrit Hooft</i>	✓ <i>Den Edelmogenden Heere Mr. Daniel Hooft</i>	X	Mandate
<i>Voorrede aan den lezer</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	Preface to the reader
<i>Van de Spellinge</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About the spelling
<i>Van de Lettergreepen</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About syllables
<i>Van de Oorsprongkunde</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About etymology
<i>Van de Ledekens</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About articles
<i>Van de Naamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About nouns
<i>Van de Zelfstandige Naamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About substantive nouns
<i>Van het Geslacht Der Naamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About the gender of nouns
<i>Lyste van de Geslachten veeler Naamwoorden</i>	X	✓	✓	✓	List of the genders of many nouns
<i>Van het Getal Der Naamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About the number of nouns
<i>Van de Buyginge Der Naamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About the declination of nouns
<i>Van de Byvoegelyke Naamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About adjectival nouns
<i>Van het Geslacht der Byvoegelyke Naamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About the gender of adjectival nouns
<i>Van de Buyging der Byvoegelyke Naamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About the declination of adjectival nouns

<i>Van de Vergelykinge der Byvoegelyke Naamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About the comparative of adjectival nouns
<i>Van de Voornaamwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About pronouns
<i>Van de Werkwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About verbs
<i>Van de Deelwoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About participles
<i>Van de Bywoorden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About adverbs
<i>Van de Tzamenvoegselen</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About conjunctions
<i>Van de Voorzetselen</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About prepositions
<i>Van de Tusschenwerpselen</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About interjections
<i>Van de Woordschikkinge</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About the syntax
<i>Foemineae Fortitudis Specimen Insigne</i>	X	✓	✓	✓	Foemineae Fortitudis Specimen Insigne
<i>Van de Zinscheydingen</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About punctuation
<i>Van de Letter-, en Spraak-konstige Figuren</i>	X	✓	✓	✓	About the figures of speech and lettering
<i>Verhandeling van de Redenkonstige Figuren</i>	X	✓	✓	✓	Handeling of metaphors
<i>Van de Maatklank</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	About prosody
<i>Van de Verandering en Verschikkinge Der Reede</i>	X	✓	✓	✓	About the changes and conjugations of speech
<i>Drukfouten</i>	✓	✓	X	X	Printing errors

Appendix 8 - Motoori Haruniwa's *jita* (*konata-kanata*) 自他 table

おのつから 然る みつから然 する		物を然する		他に然する		他に然さする		おのつから然 らるゝ		他に然せらるゝ	
		下 ア	うる			下 サ	えさする	下 ラ	えらるゝ	下 ラ	えらるゝ
四 力	おど ろく	四 サ	おとろ かす					下 ラ	おとろか るゝ	下 ラ	おとろかさ るゝ
四 力	かわ く	四 サ	かわか す								
四 力	しり ぞく	下 力	しりそ くる			下 サ	しりそかす る	下 ラ	しりそか るゝ	下 ラ	しりそけら るゝ
		四 力	ふせぐ			下 サ	ふせかする	下 ラ	ふせかる ゝ	下 ラ	ふせかるゝ
		四 力	まねく			下 サ	まねかする			下 ラ	まねかるゝ
		一 力	きる	下 サ	きす る	下 サ	きせさする	下 ラ	きるゝ		
中 力	おく る	四 サ	おこす			下 サ	おこさする			下 ラ	おこさるゝ
中 力	すぐ る	四 サ	すくす			下 サ	すくさする	下 ラ	すきるゝ		
下 力	くた くる	四 力	くたく			下 サ	くたかする			下 ラ	くたかるゝ
		下 力	さまた ぐる			下 サ	さまたけさ する			下 ラ	さまたけら るゝ
下 力	にぐ る	四 サ	にかす			下 サ	にかさする	下 ラ	にけらる ゝ	下 ラ	にかさるゝ
		四 サ	ころす			下 サ	ころさする			下 ラ	ころさるゝ
				四 サ	つか はす					下 ラ	つかはさる ゝ
四 サ	ふす	下 サ	ふする			下 サ	ふせさする			下 ラ	ふせらるゝ
				下 サ	まか する					下 ラ	まかせらる ゝ
下 サ	やす る					下 サ	やせさする				
		変 サ	する			下 サ	せさする	下 ラ	せらるゝ	下 ラ	せらるゝ
		四 タ	うつ			下 サ	うたする			下 ラ	うたるゝ
四 タ	たつ	下 タ	たつる			下 サ	たてさする	下 ラ	たてらる ゝ		
		四 タ	まつ			下 サ	またする	下 ラ	またるゝ	下 ラ	またるゝ

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中 タ	おつ る	四 サ	おとす							下 ラ	おとさるゝ
		中 タ	とづる			下 サ	とちさする			下 ラ	とちらるゝ
下 タ	いづ る	四 サ	いたす			下 サ	いたさする	下 ラ	いてらるゝ	下 ラ	いたさるゝ
		下 タ	なづる			下 サ	たてさする			下 ラ	なてらるゝ
一 ナ	にる	下 サ	にする								
		下 ナ	たづね る			下 サ	たつねさす る	下 ラ	たつねら るゝ	下 ラ	たつねらるゝ
下 ナ	ぬる					下 サ	ねさする	下 ラ	ねらるゝ		
変 ナ	しぬ る					下 サ	しなする				
		四 ハ	いとふ					下 ラ	いとはるゝ	下 ラ	いとはるゝ
		四 ハ	おもふ			下 サ	おもはする	下 ラ	おもはるゝ	下 ラ	おもはるゝ
四 ハ	たが ふ	下 ハ	たかふ る			下 サ	たかへさす る	下 ラ	たかへら るゝ	下 ラ	たかへらるゝ
		四 ハ	つかふ	下 ハ	つか ふる			下 ラ	つかわるゝ	下 ラ	つかわるゝ
四 ハ	まど ふ	四 サ	まとは す					下 ラ	まとはるゝ	下 ラ	まとはさるゝ
中 ハ	おふ る	四 サ	おほす								
中 ハ	ほろ ぶる	四 サ	ほろほ す			下 サ	ほろほさす る			下 ラ	ほろほさるゝ
		下 ハ	こぞふ る			下 サ	かそえさす る	下 ラ	かそへら るゝ	下 ラ	かそへらるゝ
		下 ハ	わきま ふる			下 サ	わきまへさ する	下 ラ	わきまへら るゝ		
		四 マ	いむ			下 サ	いまする	下 ラ	いまるゝ	下 ラ	いまるゝ
四 マ	くる しむ	下 マ	くるし むる			下 サ	くるしめさ する	下 ラ	くるしま るゝ	下 ラ	くるしめら るゝ
四 マ	すゝ む	下 マ	すゝむ る			下 サ	すゝめさす る	下 ラ	すゝまるゝ	下 ラ	すゝめらるゝ
		中 マ	うらむ る			下 サ	うらみさす る	下 ラ	うらみら るゝ	下 ラ	うらみらるゝ
下 マ	さむ る	四 サ	さます			下 サ	さめさする			下 ラ	さまさるゝ
		下 マ	とがむ る			下 サ	とかめさす る			下 ラ	とかめらるゝ
		一 ヤ	いる			下 サ	いさする			下 ラ	いらるゝ
一 ヤ	おひ ゆる	四 サ	おひや かす							下 ラ	おひやかさ るゝ

下 ヤ	きこ ゆる	四 カ	きく	下 サ	きか する	下 サ	きこえさ する	下 ラ	きかるゝ	下 ラ	きかるゝ
下 ヤ	見ゆ る	一 マ	見る	下 サ	見す る			下 ラ	みらるゝ	下 ラ	見らるゝ
		四 ラ	おづか る	下 カ	あつ くる					下 ラ	おつけらるゝ
		四 ラ	かる	四 サ	かす						
		四 ラ	さづか る	下 カ	さつ くる					下 ラ	さつけらるゝ
		四 ラ	さとり	四 サ	さと す	下 サ	さとさ する			下 ラ	さとさるゝ
		四 ラ	たまは る	四 ハ	たま ふ						
中 ラ	おる ゝ	四 サ	おろす			下 サ	おろさ する			下 ラ	おろさるゝ
中 ラ	ふる ゝ	四 サ	ふるす							下 ラ	ふるさるゝ
中 ラ	ゆる ゝ	四 サ	ゆるす							下 ラ	ゆるさるゝ
下 ラ	きる ゝ	四 ラ	きる			下 サ	きらす る	下 ラ	きらるゝ	下 ラ	きらるゝ
		下 ラ	わする ゝ			下 サ	わすれ さす る	下 ラ	わすら るゝ	下 ラ	わすらるゝ
下 ラ	をる ゝ	四 ラ	をる			下 サ	をらす る	下 ラ	をらるゝ	下 ラ	をらるゝ
		下 ワ	うゝる			下 サ	うゑさ する				

Appendix 9 - List of Dutch *joshi* listed in Shizuki's *Joshi-kō*

The numbers of each entry have been added by me, loosely based on the content of Waseda's copies. Each copy of *Joshi-kō* presents its own listing and numbering methods, not without mistakes. For example, Waseda's C599 provides sub-division for the same word when used with different meanings or nuances in meaning, while other copies do not. For this reason, I have decided to provide my own numbering, instead.

1	alleen	唯 唯一人
2	alleen, alleenlijk	ひとつ
3	alleen	唯 のみ のみにて ひとりにて
4	alleenig, alleen	独 唯一人
5	in zo verre, in zoo verre dat	此位ニ 位ニ
6	eerlang	
7	naar dien, dewijl, dewijle, nademaal, vermist, mitsdien	によりて 故
8	om dat, doordien, om rede van	カ故ニ によりて
9	op dat, ten einde dat	んか為
10	wegens	以○故 ¹
11	daar om, om die reden	是故ニ それか為ニ
12	derhalven, bijgevolg, overzulks	カ故ニ
13	ingevolge, uijthoofd	上ニ同シ
14	gevolgelijk	かかる故に
15	waar door	これによりて
16	want	如何となれば 其故ハ
17	maar	然れとも しかも とも
18	maar	たと のみ

¹ Shizuki adopts the use of circles ○ in Japanese and a straight line (here represented by ----) in Dutch to render the gaps wherein to place text in the use of a *joshi*.

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19	maar mits	たに さへ 苟
20	mits	勿論 固 モトヨリ
21	dog, doch	とも 然れとも
22	echter, nogtans, niet temin	猶 さる物から それとも
23	het zij	あれはあれ
24	het zij----- of	共○共 せよ○せよ
25	hoe----- hoe ook zij	如何はかり
26	evenwel	猶 やはり さるおされとも 共ニ
27	zoo dat	かく
28	zoo-----dat	はかり して
29	dus, aus, op deze wijze	しかしか
30	als, gelijk	如く
31	als	より
32	als	即 者 ソレハ
33	maar	然れとも
34	Zoo-----als	如く
35	zo als	にあたりて
36	terwijl, ondertusschen	に方りて
37	als dan	其時
38	toen	時
39	als	もし○バ バ
40	Zo ----- als	も○も共ニ
41	zo wel--- als	上ニ同シ
42	zo wel als	如く 前ノ zo als ニ同シ
43	zo	此の如く
44	zo	即千
45	zo	是ニ於テ
46	al	とも 未来ニ用ルカ故

47	alhoewel, alschoon, hoewel, schoon, ofschoon, niet tegen staande	とも 過去ニ用ユルカ故
48	al	すてに
49	al	あらゆる ことごとく
50	al-----de	ながら つつ
51	al aan, alvoort	居リ
52	indien, bij aldien als	ハ モ----○バ 未来ノバ
53	ten waare	なかりせバ さりせバ
54	ten zij	自非 もし○あらずバ もし○なくバ
55	ten minsten	たにも
56	of ten minsten	然らずとも何々せん
57	zoo min	niet
58	quanquis, gelijk als, als of, gelijk of	ものの如く 俗ニ云ばしか如く
59	zelfs	さへ まへ
60	zig zelfs	みつから
61	zelf, van zelve	みつから
62	zelf, zelve	躬 親 たたちに したしく しきしきに 即 すなはち
63	des zelfs, der zelve	その
64	deselve, 't zelve	それ おなし それじや
65	en	さて しかうして
66	en	と○と および
67	en	して
68	de	こそ
69	veel liever	
70	veer eer	不若 シカジ

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71	liever---als	
72	liever als	寧 ムシロ
73	veeleer	liever als ト同意
74	liever hebben	つきて 愛す
75	of liever	
76	bij voorbeeld	たとへば
77	daaren boven	其上
78	miscchien, mogelijk	疑ふらくは 恐らくは あらん
79	van---tot---	〇〇に
80	van---tot---	より〇まで
81	namelijk	いはば
82	ja	然 諾 唯 啊 neen ノ反対
83	ja	唯〇而已哉 あに〇といふのみならん や
84	ten deele	一分ハ 或ハ 且ハ かたく
85	met een woord	畢竟して言バ 一言断
86	zogenoemde	所謂
87	eigentlich zogenoemd	旧額の
88	om zo te spreken	いはば
89	een en andere	其一と其一 彼此 此彼 其一ト其他 其一と其余 一と他 一と余
90	niet alleen---maar ook	不唯---而又 俗ニこれがかうある斗り でなし これもかう のみかまた
91	hoe----hoe----	バ〇程 愈〇愈

92	om	過ぎ去る 既ニ往ぬ
93	om, rondom	旋り 旋りて 周り 周りて 周りに経り
94	om	為
95	om aan	を に
96	om	周りて 旋りて
97	om en om	転 ウタタ
98	door	よりて
99	of	や か
100	Naauwlijk----of	纔ニ〇かと思へ即ち
101	of, als of	如 如し
102	of	も
103	toch	固り モトヨリ 必 俗ニハ決して
104	toch	願くは 請 俗ニハ何卒
105	of	必
106	dan, dan of	又ハ〇カ
107	dan	然れは 然らは
108	dan, als	よりも
109	dan	其時ハ
110	dan----dan----	或時ハ 一たびは 一つは
111	ook	も 亦
112	ook, om die reden	それゆへ も
113	nog----nog----	あらずあらず
114	nog	いまた なを 猶
115	nog niet	いまたあらず 未

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116	te meer	それといふも一つは
117	naauwlijks	かづかに やうやう
118	anders, anderszins, andersins	然らすは 否則
119	behalven	唯除
120	uitgezonderd	上ニ同シ
121	bijzonderlijk	別して
122	integendeel	却て
123	eindelijk	終に
124	min	虧
125	op verre na	余程 決して
126	mogelijk	或ハ 疑
127	mogelijk, wel zijn	可在
128	met	以
129	met	与 ト と共に
130	met	なる
131	voor zo verre	ニ於ては 所ニ於ては
132	niet minder	又ハ○カ
133	kan 't zijn	大概
134	waare het, als 't waar	たとへば のこして
135	eer lang wel haast	程なく
136	op verre na---- niet	決して○す ざる事遠し zeer ノウラ
137	veer min	況ンヤ
138	gaarne	喜デ
139	niet	不
140	niet zijn	あらず にあらず
141	geen	無
142	geen	不
143	te	
144	te	
145	te	べき
146	te	に
147	te	より
148	te	太 ハナハタ
149	te	を
150	de	

151	de	
152	de	
153	de	
154	den	
155	het	
156	het	
157	wel	よく 随分

Samenvatting

De studie van het Nederlands in Japan (*rangaku*) heeft een lange geschiedenis. Tussen alle verschillende taalkundige benaderingen van het Nederlands in Japan vormen de manuscripten van Shizuki Tadao (1760 – 1806) een uniek voorbeeld. Vaak wordt beweerd dat de kennis van het Nederlands in Japan vrij beperkt was. Deze bewering is in tegenspraak met de kwaliteit van de vertalingen van de zogenaamde *rangakusha*. Soms wordt zelf gezegd dat de kennis van de grammaticale regels van het Nederlands duister was totdat de Japanners de handboeken van Willem Séwel en andere Nederlandse grammatici begonnen te lezen. Met mijn onderzoek wil ik deze beweringen onder de loep nemen. Ik analyseer de manuscripten over taal van Shizuki Tadao met als doel te begrijpen hoe hij twee aspecten van het Nederlands had geleerd en weergegeven, namelijk: de Nederlandse grammatica en de theorie daarvan. In het bijzonder concentreer ik me op de morfologische klassen van de woordsoorten en de morfosyntaxis van het werkwoord.

Hoofdstuk I introduceert de methodologische en theoretische kaders. Bij de evaluatie van de Japanse neerlandistiek is een problematische aanname vaak dat de theorieën en beschrijvingen vergelijkbaar moeten zijn met of zelfs getoetst worden aan de theorieën en beschrijvingen in contemporaine Nederlandstalige boeken. In deze studie wordt daarentegen geprobeerd de theorieën en beschrijvingen van Shizuki te begrijpen vanuit de kennistradities waarbinnen Shizuki werkte.

Hoofdstuk I geeft ook de historische context, inclusief een inleidende beschrijving van de eerdere Japanse studies over het Nederlands. Hieruit blijkt hoe grensverleggend het onderzoek van Shizuki was, in vergelijking met zijn voorgangers en tijdgenoten. In Hoofdstuk I blijkt verder dat er nog weinig onderzoek is gedaan naar de specifieke kwesties die in deze dissertatie centraal staan. Het onderzoek naar de Nederlandse taalkundige werken van het einde van de zeventiende en het begin van de achttiende eeuw is een relatief jong gebied. Bovendien hebben vooral de hoofdbronnen van Shizuki – namelijk François Halma, Pieter Marin en Willem Séwel – nog weinig aandacht gekregen. Tegelijk is er ook nog weinig onderzoek naar de Japanse bronnen van Shizuki, te weten Motoori Norinaga en Ogyū Sorai. Daarom worden deze auteurs en hun werk uitvoerig ingeleid en geëvalueerd.

Hoofdstuk II presenteert de manuscripten van Shizuki over de Nederlandse grammatica. Er worden momenteel acht taalkundige handschriften aan Shizuki toegeschreven, waarvan de inhoud vrij gevarieerd is. Bovendien zijn er van veel van deze handschriften verschillende kopieën, waarvan de inhoud ook week uiteenloopt. Helaas ontbreekt filologisch onderzoek naar deze handschriften en er is ook weinig bekend over de compilatiedatum van ieder boekje. Hoofdstuk II bevat daarom een eerste aanzet tot dit type onderzoek van deze manuscripten. Dit dient twee doelen: aan de ene kant kan ik zo sporen van eventuele andere bronnen vinden, en aan de andere kant kan ik een zo compleet mogelijk overzicht geven van de taalkundige terminologie die in Shizuki's manuscripten gebruikt wordt. Door deze preliminaire analyses wordt het duidelijk dat de structuur van de manuscripten gevarieerd is, maar dat er wel patronen kunnen worden geïdentificeerd. Bijvoorbeeld: enkele

manuscripten leunen in hogere mate op Nederlandse bronnen dan andere manuscripten. Dit geldt voor *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō* en *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, die lijsten bevatten van Nederlandse grammaticale termen die naar het Japans zijn vertaald met relatief weinig toevoegingen van de kant van de auteur. Andere werken, zoals *Nakano Ryūho sensei bunpō*, *Sanshu shokaku*, en *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, vertonen weliswaar een nauwe band met één of meer Nederlandse bronnen waarvan de structuur ook vrij nauwkeurig wordt gevolgd, maar bevatten daarnaast veel opmerkingen die Shizuki's eigen theorieën laten zien. In een derde type manuscript, met name in *Rangaku seizenfu*, *Joshi-kō* en *Zokubun kinnō* zijn de Nederlandse bronnen vaak wel als basis genomen, maar tegelijk is de structuur van de werken en de taalkundige theorie erin toch grotendeels anders of afwijkend. Mede daarom concentreer ik me op *Rangaku seizenfu* en *Joshi-kō*, die bovendien de meeste informatie geven over de woordsoorten en de morfosyntaxis van het werkwoord. De andere manuscripten worden ook geanalyseerd in de mate waarin ze relevant zijn voor die twee taalkundige onderwerpen.

In Hoofdstuk III bespreek ik de historische en culturele context waarin de Nederlandse bronnen van Shizuki opgesteld werden. Bovendien definieer ik wat er met de term “Grieks-Latijns traditionele theorie” bedoeld wordt binnen dit onderzoek. Shizuki had geen direct contact met de oorspronkelijke Griekse en Latijnse bronnen, maar alleen indirect via de Nederlandse grammaticale traditie, die opkomt aan het einde van de zestiende eeuw met de publicatie van de welbekende *Twe spraack* en de verdere ontwikkeling van de zogenaamde *trivium*-grammatica – een beschrijvingsmodel dat sterk verbonden was met de klassieke grammaticale opvattingen. In de zeventiende eeuw verandert de situatie. Men probeert nieuwe methodes te vinden voor het beschrijven van talen en er wordt langzaam afstand genomen van de *trivium*-methode. Het is niet met zekerheid te zeggen welke teksten Shizuki wel en niet kende. Daarom bevat Hoofdstuk III een globaal overzicht van de Nederlandse grammatica en lexicografie uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw. Daarnaast introduceert Hoofdstuk III de hoofdpersonages van de Nederlandse grammatica en lexicografie, vanuit het perspectief van Shizuki, namelijk de bovengenoemde François Halma, Pieter Marin en Willem Séwel. Halma en Marin zijn de auteurs van de twee Nederlands-Frans woordenboeken die belangrijk zijn geweest voor de geschiedenis van neerlandistiek in Japan. Séwel is de auteur van een *Spraakkonst* die ook een doorslaggevende rol heeft gespeeld in de verspreiding van de Grieks-Latijns traditionele theorie van grammatica in Japan. Deze mensen leefden in dezelfde periode, namelijk in de late zeventiende en de vroege achttiende eeuw, en ze werkten ook samen aan taalkundige projecten. Hoofdstuk III geeft enkele biografische gegevens en bespreekt ook de perikelen rond de compilatie van de eerste editie van de woordenboeken van Halma en Marin, waarbij ook Séwel betrokken was.

In Hoofdstuk IV begint de analyse van de inhoud van de bovengenoemde Nederlandse bronnen. In de eerste plaats gaat het daarbij om de terminologie die gebruikt wordt voor de woordsoorten. Bij Séwel, die immers een volledige grammatica schreef, gaat het ook om beschrijvingen van de morfosyntaxis van het werkwoord. De bronnen zijn heel verschillend. Halma en Marin hadden een tweetalig woordenboek Nederlands-Frans opgesteld, vooral met het oog op

vertalingen. Daarom had voor hen een complete en samenhangende grammaticale theorie geen prioriteit. Grammatica was slechts een hulpmiddel, bijvoorbeeld om woorden te kunnen categoriseren naar woordsoorten en aanwijzingen te kunnen geven over bepaalde gebruikscontexten. In de eerste edities van deze woordenboeken is grammatica dan ook grotendeels impliciet en beperkt. Bovendien zijn er veel inconsistenties qua grammaticale termen, waarschijnlijk mede dankzij de ingewikkelde en conflictueuze wijze waarop de eerste editie van het woordenboek van Halma werd samengesteld. Hoofdstuk IV toont aan dat Shizuki in zijn werken het inconsistente gebruik soms overneemt (in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*), maar soms ook als fout beschouwt (in *Rangaku seizenfu*). Wat Séwel betreft: hij wilde in zijn *Spraakkonst* de regels van het Nederlands in detail beschrijven. Séwel geeft een lange en gedetailleerde beschrijving van het werkwoord. Toch is zijn beschrijving niet voldoende om de theorieën van Shizuki te begrijpen. Dat neemt niet weg dat Séwel's *Spraakkonst* veel invloed heeft uitgeoefend op Shizuki's begrip van de Nederlandse grammatica. Dit wordt nog duidelijker in *Shihō shoji taiyaku* en *Sanshu shokaku*. Hoofdstuk IV laat dus zien tot welke theorieën en termen van de Nederlandse taalbeschouwing Shizuki toegang had. Hoewel deze bronnen zeker een belangrijk voorbeeld van de Nederlandse grammatica en lexicografie waren, zijn ze niet toereikend om de theorieën van Shizuki te kunnen begrijpen. Terwijl de termen en het algemene kader wel over werden genomen, hebben Shizuki's theorieën ook veel andere elementen die dus op een andere manier verklaard moeten worden.

Hoofdstuk V analyseert de taalkundige context van het vroegmoderne Japan met als hoofddoel taalkundige invloeden op Shizuki te ontdekken. De taalkundige traditie in Japan was destijds bijzonder: er was een grote rol voor het Chinees, meestal via verouderde vormen van het literaire Chinees die eeuwenlang in Japan werden gebruikt en, geadapteerd. De Chinese literatuur bracht ook een aantal taalkundige opvattingen en methodes met zich mee. Een van de oudste taalkundige benaderingen in Japan wordt gevormd door de zogenaamde Siddhām-fonetische studies. Het betreft een verfijnde analyse van taalklanken, oorspronkelijk uit het Sanskriet, die via het Chinees de Japanse archipel had bereikt. Omdat er geen geschreven Japans was voor de introductie van Chinese teksten, was de taalkunde tot aan de Edo-periode (1603 – 1868) nauw verbonden met Chinese teksten en Chinese karakters. Om die teksten te kunnen lezen hadden de Japanners een annotatiemethode ontwikkeld, die Chinese teksten “op z'n Japans” hielpen lezen. De ontwikkeling van deze methode leidde tot de oprichting van een verfijnde school van vertaalstudies, die gebaseerd was op het Chinees, maar die ook aanleiding gaf tot de studie van morfosyntactische verschillen tussen de twee talen. Tegelijkertijd begonnen de Japanners begonnen het Chinese schrift te gebruiken om de Japanse taal op schrift te zetten. De beroemde eerste pogingen leidden tot het ontwikkelen van de zogenaamde *man'yō-gana*; het fonetisch gebruik van Chinese karakters om Japanse klanken te schrijven. Uit deze allereerste pogingen ontwikkelde zich de klassieke literatuur van het Japans, waarvan de taal langzaamaan door de eeuwen heen minder begrijpelijk werd.

In de Edo-periode ontstaan er in Japan twee nieuwe filosofische en literaire scholen: Neo-Confucianisme (*shushigaku*) en “Nativisme” (*kokugaku*). Deze twee scholen hadden heel verschillende doelen en interesses. Het Neo-Confucianisme wilde een

nieuwe interpretatie van de Confucianistische teksten geven en taal speelde daarin een zeer belangrijke rol. Het probleem met het traditionele Confucianisme was dat de Chinese karakters een semantische verandering hadden ondergegaan, waardoor de oorspronkelijke betekenis van de woorden van Confucius vaak verkeerd werden begrepen. Om dat te vermijden begon men een aantal werken op te stellen om de juiste betekenis van de karakters weer te geven. Deze werken, die TUCKER (1998, 2006) *jigi* noemt, waren oorspronkelijk een soort filosofische woordenboeken, die bepaalde termen verduidelijkten om de klassieke literaire werken van Confucianisme beter te kunnen interpreteren. Het genre van de *jigi* heeft een ondersoort: de *joji-kō* “Gedachten over hulpkarakters”. In het proces van vertaling van het Chinees naar het Japans speelden bepaalde karakters een specifieke rol die vaak bijzondere problemen veroorzaakte in de Japanse vertaling. Omdat het begrip “hulpkarakter” of “hulpwoord” ook door Shizuki vaak wordt gebruikt, analyseert Hoofdstuk V de geschiedenis van dit begrip in vroegmodern Japan. De “Nativisten” behandelden een vergelijkbare kwestie. Over de eeuwen heen was volgens hen het Japans bedorven, mede onder invloed van het Chinees. Om de klassieke teksten van de Japanse literatuur te kunnen lezen was er dus onderzoek nodig naar het oude taalgebruik, vooral naar het oorspronkelijke zuivere Japans. Hierdoor ontstond de Japanse traditie van de *waka*-poëtische studies en ook ontstonden er nieuwe methoden van taalbeschrijving. Eén van de kwesties die de aandacht kreeg, waren de zogenaamde *te ni wo ha*. Deze woordjes duiden typische morfosyntactische eigenschappen van het Japans aan en werden daarom vaak genegeerd door Japanse Sinologen. De vaag gedefinieerde categorie van *te ni wo ha* bevatte meestal twee soorten woordjes: partikels (nu: *joshi*) en predicatieve achtervoegsels (nu: *jodōshi*). Het is op basis van de combinatie van deze twee woordjes met de andere woorden van de zin dat veel van de theorieën over het Japans werden bedacht. De analyse van het Japans onafhankelijk van het Chinees veronderstelde de mogelijkheid om specifiek gedrag van de Japanse woorden te kunnen afzonderen. Deze aanpak typeert de methode die Shizuki vaak gebruikt, bijvoorbeeld in de studie van begrippen zoals de *ji-ta*-dichotomie, de voorganger van de hedendaagse opvatting van transitiviteit. Het belang van de *kokugaku* blijkt ook uit door de eerste Europese bronnen die de Japanse grammatica op basis van de Grieks-Latijns traditie poogden te beschrijven, zoals de teksten van de Portugese zendeling João Rodriguez, de Nederlander Donker Curtius en de Duitser Johann J. Hoffmann.

De bronnen van Shizuki worden geanalyseerd tegen de achtergrond van de taalstudies in vroegmodern Japan. In een aantal gevallen schrijft Shizuki dat hij Motoori Norinaga en Ogyū Sorai had gelezen. Zo citeert hij het werk *Kotoba no tama no o* van Motoori en *Kun'yaku jimō* van Ogyū. Ogyū Sorai was beïnvloed door het Neo-Confucianisme en hij bestudeerde het Chinees. Hij was ervan overtuigd dat de beoefening van *kundoku* door zijn tijdgenoten vol fouten zat en dat men het Chinees niet meer als een levende taal beschouwde maar meer als een geschreven code waarin semantische eenheden gewoon in de juiste volgorde moesten worden gezet. Daardoor was *kundoku* geen vertaling (*yaku*) meer, maar slechts een Japanse leeswijze (*kun*). Om dat te veranderen schreef Ogyū een opstel over vertaling, dat bekend staat onder de titel *Yakubun sentei*. Een vergelijkbare theorie is te vinden in *Kun'yaku jimō*. In *Yakubun sentei* geeft Ogyū definities van verschillende Chinese

karakters die zijn tijdgenoten vaak als perfecte synoniemen beschouwden. Dit valt onder het genre van *jigi*. *Kun'yaku jimō* heeft twee hoofdsecties. De eerste sectie legt de theorie van vertaling uit, inclusief een ingewikkeld systeem van categorieën van karakters op basis van verschillende parameters, meestal in verband met het vertalingsproces. De tweede sectie is een lexicografisch werk dat onder het *jigi*-genre kan worden gerekend, in het bijzonder een *joji-kō*.

Motoori was een “Nativist”, hoewel hij zelf het woord *kokugaku* problematisch vond. Met het boek *Kotoba no tama no o* wilde hij laten zien hoe de *te ni wo ha* in de klassieke taal werden gebruikt door het citeren van poëtische verzen. Daarin herontdekte Motoori het fenomeen dat tegenwoordig onder de naam *kakari-musubi* bekend is, namelijk het patroon waardoor de aanwezigheid van bepaalde partikels bepaalde vaste vormen van het hoofdpredicaat in dezelfde zin veroorzaakt. Maar wat Motoori in dit handschrift weergaf, was meer dan alleen een beschrijving van een morfosyntactisch fenomeen van het klassieke Japans. Het was een nieuwe manier om een taal te bestuderen. Het was een grensverleggende methode die morfosyntactische fenomenen onderzocht door middel van poëtische citaten. Men kon dus door echt taalgebruik van “achtbare” literaire bronnen taalregels afleiden.

Hoofdstuk VII maakt een eerste vergelijking van de verzamelde gegevens met de inhoud van de manuscripten van Shizuki, in het bijzonder wat betreft de categorieën van de woordsoorten. De verschillen tussen de manuscripten die in Hoofdstuk II zijn besproken, worden hier nog duidelijker. Veel manuscripten bevatten simpelweg een vertaling van grammaticale woorden die men in enkele Nederlandse boeken kon vinden, zoals het woordenboek van Halma (*Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*) en de *Spraakkunst* van Séwel (*Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*, *Kuhinshi myōmoku* onder andere). Er is één handschrift dat een categorisering geeft die minder te maken heeft met de Nederlandse bronnen, namelijk *Joshi-kō*. Dit manuscript kan in secties worden ingedeeld. Eén deel bevat de lijst van “hulpwoorden” (*joshi*), die gebaseerd is op het woordenboek van Marin. In eerste instantie lijkt deze sectie een willekeurige lijst van woorden te bevatten die lastig te vertalen waren volgens de auteur. Het blijkt echter dat deze woorden om een specifieke reden door Shizuki werden geselecteerd. De reden is dat volgens Shizuki deze woorden vergelijkbaar zijn met de Chinees-Japanse categorie van “hulpwoorden” en ook fungeren binnen het kader van de door Motoori gepostuleerde theorie van de *kakari-musubi*. Dat laatste wordt nader uitgewerkt in Hoofdstuk VIII. Een andere belangrijke sectie van *Joshi-kō* zijn de twee getekende tabellen. Deze tabellen worden geanalyseerd in Hoofdstuk VII. Op grond van deze analyse kan ik met zekerheid beweren dat deze tabellen, die de relaties tussen de woordsoorten verbeelden, gebaseerd zijn op twee bronnen: *Kun'yaku jimō* van Ogyū en het woordenboek van Marin. Vanaf de tweede editie van het woordenboek van Marin voegde de drukkers een inleidend voorwoord toe dat enkele grammaticale kwesties behandelde. Een van de kwestie was het grammaticale geslacht en welk genus afgeleide woorden krijgen. De theorie, de termen en ook de voorbeelden zelf zijn ook door Shizuki gebruikt in de twee tabellen en samengebracht met de inhoud van de eerste sectie van *Kun'yaku jimō*. De termen en de hiërarchische structuur van de soorten van Chinese karakters in de vertaaltheorie van Ogyū worden samengebracht met de grammaticale theorie van het voorwoord uit Marins woordenboek. Kortom, de Chinees-Japanse termen worden

vergeleken met en vertaald naar de termen uit de Grieks-Latijnse theorie die de drukkers van Marin hadden gebruikt. Op deze manier wordt het begrip “bewegende karakter” uit *kundoku* een vertaling van het Nederlandse “werkwoord”, en hetzelfde geldt ook voor allerlei andere begrippen. Toch, waren de Neo-Confucianistische studies over het Chinees niet de enige bronnen over de woordsoorten die Shizuki gebruikte. Men kan bijvoorbeeld ook directe invloed herkennen in het gebruik van de *ji-ta*-dichotomie, zoals besproken in *Rangaku seizenfu*, die hoogstwaarschijnlijk uit *kokugaku*-studies voortkwam.

Hoofdstuk VIII gaat over de morfosyntaxis van het werkwoord. Hoewel dit onderwerp vaak besproken wordt door Shizuki in verschillende handschriften, is de bespreking in *Rangaku seizenfu* en *Shihō shoji taiyaku* meer gedetailleerd. Hoofdstuk VIII analyseert vooral de bijzondere inhoud van *Rangaku seizenfu*. Dit manuscript begint met een belangrijk verschil tussen het Japans en het Nederlands. Beide talen maken volgens Shizuki een verschil conform de *ji-ta*-dichotomie, die vergeleken wordt met de Grieks-Latijnse categorieën van actief/bedrijvend en neutraal/onzijdig werkwoord. Niettemin vertoont het gebruik van de dichotomie ook enkele verschillen, vooral in de context van relatieve zinnen, namelijk in het gebruik van *tsuzuku kotoba* volgens de traditionele Japanse terminologie. Daarom laat Shizuki zien hoe de twee werkwoorden *vallen (ochi)* en *spreken (ii)* – respectievelijk onzijdig (*ji*) en bedrijvend (*ta*) – in allerlei contexten gebruikt kunnen worden en hoe elke gebruikswijze naar het Japans moet worden vertaald. Een ander kernbegrip in dit manuscript is wat Shizuki *sanze* ‘drie tijden’ noemt. Deze drie tijden, namelijk “tegenwoordig”, “verleden” en “toekomstige”, worden gekruist met twee dimensies (“tegenwoordig” en “verleden”) en iedere combinatie wordt betrokken op één Nederlands hulpwerkwoord uit het rijtje “zullen”, “zouden”, “hebben”, “hadden”, “zijn” en “waren”. Deze “zes woorden” (*rokushi*) worden dan in zevenentwintig zinnen gebruikt in combinatie met bepaalde voegwoorden, uit de *joshi* die men in *Joshi-kō* kon vinden, om bepaalde morfosyntactische fenomenen uit te kunnen leggen. Eén van deze zinnen blijkt een citaat van de Nederlandse dichter Jacob Cats te zijn. Twee andere citaten van dezelfde auteur zijn te vinden in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. Deze drie citaten tonen verschillende aspecten van hetzelfde fenomeen: de combinatie van bepaalde voegwoorden met bepaalde werkwoordstijden geeft vaste betekenissen. Het meest representatieve voorbeeld hiervan is de combinatie van een verleden tijd en/of het hulpwerkwoord “zouden” met het voegwoord “al” die schept wat Shizuki *tatoe* benoemd. Een *tatoe* is een hypothetische stelling die nooit concreet kan worden, waarvoor het Nederlands een morfologische verleden tijd gebruikt in combinatie met een Nederlandse *joshi*. Dit herinnert aan de theorieën van Motoori over *kakari-musubi* in het oude Japans. De rest van Hoofdstuk VIII bespreekt enkele andere kwesties uit de Nederlandse grammatica en de theorie die Shizuki daarover vormt.

Shizuki had unieke grammaticale theorieën bedacht, zoals blijkt uit zijn manuscripten. Om die theorieën te kunnen illustreren waren de Nederlandse bronnen zeker een hulpmiddel, maar niet toereikend. Bovendien, om die Nederlandse bronnen te kunnen lezen moest Shizuki uiteraard al Nederlands beheersen en dus had hij als taalleerder ook al zijn eigen idee van de Nederlandse grammatica ontwikkeld. Om dat te doen had Shizuki waarschijnlijk eerst de andere populaire

vakgebieden van zijn tijd bestudeerd zoals de bovengenoemde poëtische en vertaling studies. Die vakgebieden boden Shizuki de theoretische en methodologische kaders aan om taalkunde en vertaling aan te kunnen pakken op basis waarvan hij het Nederlands analyseerde. Vooral Motoori bood hem de methode om het taalgebruik van gedichten te onderzoeken en grammaticale patronen daarvan af te leiden. Ogyū gaf hem onder meer een vernieuwde manier om een vertaling te behandelen en de verschillende soorten van woorden te beschouwen. Met zijn manuscripten heeft Shizuki voor het eerst een aantal begrippen gegrammaticaliseerd die oorspronkelijk in Japan gebruikt werden in andere vakgebieden zoals vertaalkunde en dichtkunde. Dat heeft Shizuki gedaan door het samenbrengen van twee Japanse scholen met de recent geïmporteerde Nederlandse theorie.

Curriculum Vitae

Lorenzo Nespoli was born on February 24, 1993, in the city of Ancona, Italy. In 2012, he enrolled at the Alma Mater Studiorum, University of Bologna, obtaining, in 2015, his Bachelor's degree in Foreign Languages and Literatures, pursuing English, Japanese and Dutch studies. Later that year, he moved to Venice enrolling at Ca' Foscari University, where he started a Master's degree program in Languages, Economics and Institutions of Asia and North Africa, specializing in Japanese studies. During this period, between 2017 and 2018, he also lived in Kyoto, studying Japanese at the Kyoto Japanese Language School (KJLS). In 2019, Lorenzo was awarded a three-year scholarship co-funded by the Department of Asian and North African Studies of Ca' Foscari for to the research topic *Afro-Eurasian connectivity (e.g. Belt and Road; Silk Road; Cities as Independent Socio-cultural Systems) in a contemporary or diachronic perspective*. In March 2021, a co-tutelle agreement with the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics was signed, and Lorenzo enrolled in the Graduate School of Humanities of the University of Leiden. In 2023, in support of his research, Lorenzo was also awarded a scholarship from the Dutch Language Union (Nederlandse Taalunie). During his PhD, Lorenzo also worked as a tutor and senior teaching assistant, giving lessons on Japanese and Dutch at the universities of Bologna and Venice within courses by Prof. Dr. Giuseppe Pappalardo, Prof. Dr. Marco Prandoni and Prof. Dr. Francesco Vitucci. This dissertation is the product of research carried out within the abovementioned PhD program and has been compiled under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Paolo Calvetti, Prof. Dr. Giuseppe Pappalardo and Prof. Dr. Gijsbert Rutten.