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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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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ㇾ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 ニ 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), were 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 – Dictionaire 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, *hebben* is an *A* ["Active"], and *hadden* is the same. In Halma's first edition it is considered a *jidō*, 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

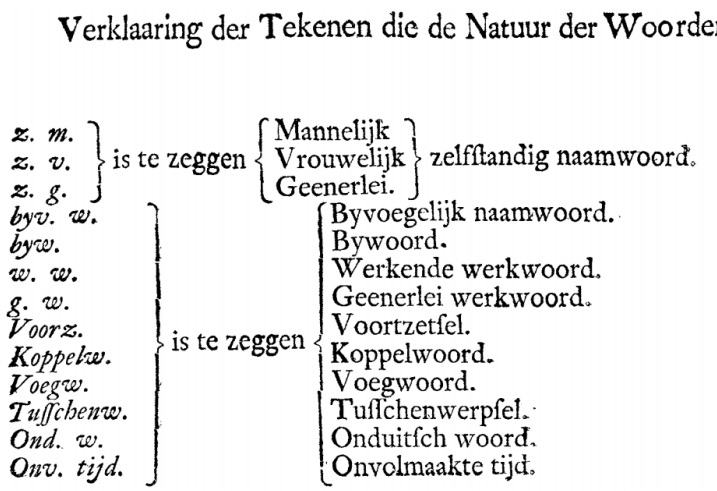
[4] The dictionary presented three variations of the same title. In the illustration, present in the first two editions, the title was *Nieuw Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek*, in the title page it read *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen*, while in the initial page of the dictionary 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* ドゥーフ・ハルマ, or *Zūfu haruma* ズーフ・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 Tekenen die de Natuur der Woorden aanduiden.

z. m., *z. v.*, *z. g.* } is te zeggen { Mannelijk, Vrouwelijk, Geenerlei } zelfſtandig naamwoord.

byv. w.	is te zeggen	Byvoegelijk naamwoord.
byw.		Bywoord.
w. w.		Werkende werkwoord.
g. w.		Geenerlei werkwoord.
Voorz.		Voortzetſel.
Koppelw.		Koppelwoord.
Voegw.		Voegwoord.
Tuſſchenw.		Tuſſchenwerpſel.
Ond. w.		Onduitſch woord.
Onv. tijd.		Onvolmaakte tijd.

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**
z. m.	*Mannelijk zelfstandig naamwoord*	Masculine noun
z. v.	*Vrouwelijk zelfstandig naamwoord*	Feminine noun
z. g.	*Geenerlei zelfstandig naamwoord*	Neuter noun
byv. w.	*Byvoegelijk naamwoord*	Adjective
byw.	*Bywoord*	Adverb
w. w.	*Werkende*[9] *werkwoord*	Active verb
g. w.	*Geenerlei werkwoord*	Neuter verb
Voorz.	*Voorzetsel*	Preposition
Koppelw.	*Koppelwoord*	Conjunction
Tusschenw.	*Tusschenwerpsel*	Interjection
Ond. w.	*Onduitsch woord*	Non-Dutch word
Onv. tijd.	*Onvolmaakte tijd*	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 rudimental 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 Tekenen 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 tendences 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 verſcheide geſlacht der woorden. *Le diferend genre des noms,* ou *des mots.*	The different gender of words. *Le diferend* [sic!] *genre des noms,* ou *des mots.*
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. *C'eſt un nom du genre*

geſlacht. *C'eſt un nom du genre maſculin, du feminin, du neutre.*	*maſculin, du feminin, du neutre.*

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.) *Paſſif, paſſive*. (*Terme de grammaire*.)	Lydelyk, byv. (A word of grammar.) *Paſſif, paſſive*. (*Terme de grammaire*.)
Een lydelyk werkwoordt. *Verbe paſſif*.	A passive verb. *Verbe paſſif*.

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, *Ik heb gemaakt*, van ‘t werkwoord *maaken*; *Ik heb geſchreven*, van ‘t werkwoord *ſchryven*, en zoo van alle de anderen; ook maakt men hier van het deelwoord (participe) der lydelyke werkwoorden, als, by voorbeeld; *geſchreven*, *gemaakt*, enz. van de werkwoorden *ſchryven*, *maaken*, enz.	GE, is an *artykel* by means of which one can make, in Dutch, the preterit of active verbs, like for example, *Ik heb gemaakt* [‘I have made’], from the verb *maaken* [‘to make’]; *Ik heb geschreven* [‘I have written’], from the verb *schrijven* [‘to write’], and similarly for all the others; one can also make the participle of passive verbs, such as, for example; *geschreven* [‘written’], *gemaakt* [‘made’], etc. from the verbs *schrijven* [‘to write’], *maaken* [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 *Afbeedelen*. Zie vorder alle de *Deelwoorden*, op de onbepaalde *Werkwoord*, alwaar wy ze, om ons werk met geen onnutte herhalingen te vergrooten, meeſt alle met een voorbeeld hebben uytgedrukt.	AFGEBEEDELT. See *Afbeedelen*. For all the other *Participles* refer to the infinitive [form of the] *Verb* 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 eerſte en derde perſoon".

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 toekomende 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]

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[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 ホ 10 379 5, folio 137v) where one can read

4.2.5 Prepositions and Articles

The word *voorzetzel* (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 voordbeelden 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 rélatif* '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 exlusive*.

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the following "*werkwijze. z.n. word der spraakkúnst, 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**
Middelertyt	414	Adverb	Meanwhile
Nademaal	443	Adverb and Conjunction	Because
Noopende	459	Preposition	Regarding
Of	462	Conjunction	Or
Trouwens (*Trouwant*)	812	Adverb	By the way, Besides
Verder (*Verder* as adverb)	855	Adverb	Further
Voorzoveel	939	Conjunction	Since, Because
Want	958	Conjunction	Because
Weshalve	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**
Aangaande	5	Preposition	Regarding
Aangezien	6	Conjunction	Because
Ten einde (*Einde*)	151	Conjunction	In order to
En	153	Conjunction	And
Gemerkt (*Gemerk*)	183	Conjunction and preposition	Since, Because
Maar	395	Conjunction	But
Mits	422	Conjunction	Provided that
Mitsdien (*Mits*)	422	Preposition	Meanwhile
Mitsgaders (*Mits*)	422	Adverb	Furthermore
Namelijk[22]	445	Adverb	Namely
Overmids	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	*voornaamw.*	819	**You** Second person singular and plural object pronoun	The plural *Ulieden* is also attested with no particular additional information
Gy	[*De tweede perſoon in 't enkel getal.*]	205	**You** Second person singular and plural subject pronoun	'The second person in the singular number'
Hy	*de voornaam van 't mannelyk geſlacht*	244	**He** Third person singular masculine subject pronoun	'pronoun for the masculine gender'
Zy	(vrouwelyk enkelvoudige en meervoudige voornaam, van de derde perſoon.) Zy, zylieden. (Meerdvoudige mannelyke voornaam van de derde perſoonen.)	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 *vrouwelyk* '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 *zy* and *zylieden* as plural masculine pronoun for the third person.
Wy	een voornaamw. veelv.	994	**We** First person plural subject pronoun	'a pronoun plur.' - *veelv.* Stand for *veelvoud* '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 *meervoud.*
Gylieden	[*De tweede perſoon in 't meervoud.*]	205	**You** Second person plural subject pronoun	'The second person in the plural'

My	(Een perſoonlyke voornaam.)	436	**Me** First person singular object pronoun	‘A personal pronoun’
Hem	(een uitroeping om iemant 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 *of* 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 *ons* and *onze* are only interpreted as possessives, although *onze* can be considered as an inflected form of *ons*, when used as possessive pronoun. The use of *ons* as object is not attested by Halma.
Hen	Henlieden: ‘t meervoud van hem.	238	**Them** Third person plural object pronoun	‘Henlieden: the plural of *hem*.’
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 meerdvoud 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 *zijn*, 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 *ons* (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 perſoonelyk byvoegzel.)	255	**Their** Third person plural possessive pronoun	'A personal annex' - The only instance in which the word *voornaam* is substituted by the puzzling *byvoegzel*, 'annex'.

Zich	*Een voornaamw.*	1008	**Himself** **Herself** **Themselves** Third person singular and plural reflexive pronoun	
Dit	[Een voornaam van ‘t geenerlei geſlacht]	123	**This** Singular neuter demonstrative	‘A pronoun for the neutral gender’ - The French entry presents the lable *pronoms demonſtratis* ‘demonstrative pronoun’.
Die	[Een voornaam, zoo van ‘t mannelyk als ‘t vrouwelyk geſlacht; in ‘t enkel, en meervoudig getal; hy heeft in ‘t barend, geevend en beſchuldigend 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 *dien* in the accusative and dative case.’
Dewelke	*een voornaam* [*beter zegtmen* Die.]	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	*Een voornaamw.*	1006	**Self**	
Welk	*Een voorn*. Wat.	976	**Which** Interrogative, indefinite, relative pronoun.	Although *welk* is translated as *wat*, this word is considered an adverb by Halma.
Wie	voorm. Welke perſoon.	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 bunpō* (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 bunpō*, 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 Franch 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.	*Verbum Activum.*	Werkend Werkwoord.
V. N.	*Verbum Neutrum.*	Onzydig Werkw.
Pret.	*Preteritum.*	Voorleden tyd.
Part.	*Participium.*	Deelwoord.
M.	*Maſculinum.*	Mannelyk.
F.	*Fœmininum.*	Vrouwelyk.
N.	*Neutrum.*	Onzydig.
Adv.	*Adverbium.*	Bywoord.
Subſt.	*Subſtantivum.*	Zelfſtandig.
Adj.	*Adjectivum.*	Toevoegelyk.
Ir.	*Ironicè.*	Gekſcheerend.
Boert: ſpr.		Boertige Spreekwyze.
Fig.		Figuurlyk.
Gekſch.		Gekſcheering.
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 leezer*) 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 *verbalia* niet uit te leggen als door omſchryving.	OPGEEVING can only be expressed in French through paraphrasing just like hundreds of such *verbalia*.

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.	*Verbum Activum.*	Werkend Werkwoord.	Active verb
V. N.	*Verbum Neutrum.*	Onzydig Werkw.	Neuter verb
Pret.	*Preteritum.*	Voorleden tyd.	Past tense
Part.	*Participium.*	Deelwoord.	Participle
M.	*Maſculinum.*	Mannelyk.	Masculine
F.	*Fœmininum.*	Vrouwelyk.	Feminine
N	*Neutrum.*	Onzydig.	Neuter
Adv.	*Adverbium.*	Bywoord.	Adverb
Subſt.	*Subſtantivum.*	Zelfſtandig.	Noun
Adj.	*Adjectivum.*	Toevoegelyk.	Adjective
Ir.	*Ironicè.*	Gekſcheerend.	Ironic
Boert: ſpr.		Boertige Spreekwyze.	Comical/Coarse
Fig.		Figuurlyk.	Figurative
Gekſch.		Gekſcheering.	Ironic
Gem. Spr.		Gemeenzame 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 *preteritum* (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 Preteritum* '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 ſomtyds 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 ſynde, komt het Deelwoord agter aan. Hy, zy wierd geagt, gehaat, geſlagen, geſtraft. *Il fut eſtimé, hai, battu, puni, elle fut eſtimée, haie, battuë, 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, battuë, 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. *Partié 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. *Partié 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 zekerſt 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 *Werden* of *Worden* in 't Duitſch, en *Etre* in 't Franſch.	The active Verbs are made PASSIVE with *Werden* or *Worden* in Dutch, and *Etre* 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 where 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:

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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, aanwyſt. *Indicatif, qui indique, marque.* De Aantoonende Werkwyze in de *Conjugatie* der Werkwoorden. *Le Mode Indicatif 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. Eerſte werkwyze van de werkwoorden. *Indicatif; Mode, moeuf Indicatif: le premier moeuf des verbes.*	TOONENDE WYZE. First mood of the verbs. *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*.	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 ſtaat daar in de wenſchende 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 Franſch 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 eerſt 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 zelfſtandig Werkwoord ZYN komt in de ſamengeſtelde tyden van alle andere Werkwoorden".
[34] Original quote: "ZYN, dit woord by 't Supinum der andere Werkwoorden ſtaande, 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 *behulpsaam 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 *behulpsaam 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 behulpſaam 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 *faloir* 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 eerſt Zelfſtandig 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 dout 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 auſſi*: ou bien: *vous devez y aller auſſi*: 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 ſous*. 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 aîde*. Men MOET willen wat God wil. *Il faut attandre, 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'); *behulpsaam* '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	*Zelfstandig Werkwoord*	*Zelfstandig Werkwoord*
	Independent Verb	Independent Verb
Hebben	*g. w.* *(Geenerlei Werkwoord)*	*Behulpsaam Werkwoord*
	Neuter Verb	Auxiliary Verb
Zullen	*Helpwoordt*	*Hulpwoord*
	Help-word	Help-word
Kunnen	*g. w.* *(Geenerlei Werkwoord)*	*v. n.* *(Verbum Neutrum)*
	Neuter Verb	Neuter Verb
Mogen	*g. w.* *(Geenerlei Werkwoord)*	*v. a.* *(Verbum Activum)*
	Neuter Verb	Active Verb
Moeten	*g. w.* *(Geenerlei Werkwoord)*	*Zelfstandig (Naamwoord)*
	Neuter Verb	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 *geslagt*/*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-konſt*. 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 Spraakkonſt. *Cas Nominatif*. m. *terme de Grammaire*. 't Noemend en Beſchuldigend

NOEMEND GEVAL. n. Word of Grammar. *Cas Nominatif*. m. *terme de Grammaire*. The Nominative and Accusative Case have the

[42] Original quote: "Naam in de Spraakkundige ſtyl".
[43] Original quote: "Men moet de Toevoegelyke en Zelfſtandig Naamwoorden doen overeen komen in Getal, Geſlagt en Geval".
[44] Original quote: "De Naamen veranderen naar de geſlagten, getallen en gevallen".

Geval hebben ‘t zelfde woordlidt in ‘t Franſch. *Le Nominatif & l’Accusatif ont le même article en François*.	same article in French. *Le Nominatif & l’Accusatif ont le même article en François*.

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. *Pluriel, Nombre pluriel*. m. Mannen, ſchepen, zorgen, zyn naamen in ‘t meervoud, zyn meervoudige naamen, *Hommes, vaiſſeaux, ſoins, ſont noms pluriels, ſont des noms au nombre pluriel*. Alle MEERVOUDIGE naamen hebben DE in ‘t Duits, en LES in ‘t Franſch, in *Nominativo*. De mannen, de vrouwen, de kinderen. *Les hommes, les femmes, les enfants*.	MEERVOUD. n. Plural number. *Pluriel, Nombre pluriel*. m. Mannen, ſchepen, zorgen, are nouns in the plural, are plural nouns, *Hommes, vaiſſeaux, ſoins, ſont noms pluriels, ſont des noms au nombre pluriel*. Al PLURAL names have DE in Dutch, and LES in French, in *Nominativo*. De mannen, de vrouwen, de kinderen. *Les hommes, les femmes, les enfants*.

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. *Decliner*. Een Naamwoord buigen door alle dezselfs trappen (*caſus*) doen gaan.	BUIGEN, DECLINEEREN in Non-Dutch, Grammatical word. *Decliner*. To bend a noun according to each case (*caſus*).
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
Ja, Jaa	*Bevestigend bywoordje*	Affirmation	445, vol. 1
Meer	*Meenigte, vergelyking*	Multitude, comparison	58, vol. 2
Na dat	*tyd-bepaaling*	Time-specification	93, vol. 2
Nog, Noch	*Tydaanwyzend*	Time-indicating	111, vol. 2
Tog, Toch	*Bevestiging, ontkenning*	Affirmation, negation	402, vol. 2
Veel	*Hoedanigheid*	Quality	443, vol. 2
Waar	*Plaats-aanwyzing*	Place-pointing	523, vol. 2
Waarom	*Ondervraaging*	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; *trowuens* 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 Letterkonſt voor een Naamwoord komende om deſſelfs geslagt, getal en geval aan te wyzen. *Article*. m. *Sorte de particule qui précéde 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 Franſe en Nederduitſe Taalen. *Un, LE, La, L', ſont des article d'un grand uſage & d'une grande difficulté pour ceux qui apprenment les Langues Françoiſe & Hollandoiſe*.	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 précéde 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', ſont des article d'un grand uſage & d'une grande difficulté pour ceux qui apprenment les Langues Françoiſe & Hollandoiſe*.

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* wyſt 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 *Nominativus* of Noemer der Mannelyke en Vrouwelyke Naamen in 't eenvoud, en de *Nominativus* der drie Geſlachten in 't meervoud. - NB. Dit lidt-woordje heeft DEN in de zydelingſe naamen ofte *Caſus Obliquis* voor mannelyke naamen, gelyk op zyn plaats zal blyken.	Small article used in the declination of the Nouns, indicating the *Nominativus* or Noemer [Nominative] of the Masculine and Feminine Nouns in the singular, and the *Nominativus* [Nominative] of the three Genders in the plural. - NB. This small article has DEN in the *Casus Oliquis* ['Oblique Case'] and finds its place before masculine nouns.	192, vol. 1
Het	Lidtwoordje voor onzydige zelfſtandige Naamen, Werkwoorden, toevoegelyke Naamen en Voorzetsels in den Zelfſtandige zin ter neder geſteld, komende.	Small article for the neutral Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives and Prepositions in the Independent clause.	395, vol. 1
Der	Woord-lidje dat de *Genitivus* der Vrouwelyke Naamen in 't eenvoud, als mede 't meervoud, aller ſoorten van naamen, aantoond.	Small article that indicates the *Genitivus* ['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 geſlacht der naamen in *Caſus Obliquis*, ofte zydelingſe Naamvallen aanwyſt.	Small article that indicates the *Casus Obliquis*, or *zydelingse Naamvallen* ['Obliquos Case'] of the nouns of Masculine gender.	195, vol 1
Des	Woord-lidje den *Genitivus* voor Mannelyke en onzydige naamen in 't eenvoud aanwyzende, doende zoo veel als VAN DEN en VAN HET.	Small article of the *Genitivus* ['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]	Beſluitend woord-litje.	Concluding particle [FR: *particule de concluſion*]	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 *aangekoppled* '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, beſtaande altyd de plaats van de derde perſoon 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 onbuigſaame 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 ſamengeſtelde Werkwoorden en Namen gevonden, als AANBINDEN. - Werd nog als een plaatſelyk voorzetſel gebruikt.	This small preposition is found in many compound Verbs and Nouns, like *aanbinden* [‘to bind’]. - It is also used as a preposition of space.	2, vol. 1
Af	Dit voorzetſel-woordje werd in verſcheiden *Infinitiva* en *Participia* gevonden, en ſluit een beroovenden zin in zig: Als AFBYTEN. *Mordre & emporter la pièce.*	This small preposition-word is found in many *Infinitiva* [‘infinitives’] and *Participia* [‘participles’], and concludes a privative sentence: Like *afbyten* [‘to bite off’]. *Mordre & emporter la pièce.*	25, vol. 1
Agter Achter	prep.	[From French *prèposition*]	42, vol. 1
By	Voorzetſel woordje van een zeer uitgeſterkt gebruik, beteekende voor eerſt DICHT aan.	Small preposition-word of a very extensive use, mainly meaning *dicht* [‘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	Voorzetzel 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 *naar* [‘towards’].	85, vol. 2
Naar	Een beweeging verbeeldende, werd in de plaats van NA, wel meeſt omtrent naamen met een Vocaal beginnent, als een Voorzetſel-woordje gebruikt.	Representing a movement, it is used as a small word of preposition in substitution to *na* [towards’], often with nouns which begin in a Vowel.	87, vol. 2
Op	Plaatſelyk 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. Lettergreept tot de ſamenſtelling der voorleden tyds Deel-woorden diende, pg. 271, vol. 1).

Over	Voorzetſelwoordje van veelderley beteekeniſſen, 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	Voorzetſel van veel betekeniſſen.	Preposition of many meanings.	388, vol. 2
Tegen	Voorzetſel van tegenheid, afkeer, ſtrydigheid &c.	Preposition of opposition, aversion, discordance etc.	389, vol. 2
Ten	Voorzetſel van tyd, van voorneemen, uitweking &c.	Preposition of time, intention, consequence etc.	392, vol. 2
Ter	Voorzetſeltje van aanwyzing, redeneering &c.	Small preposition of indication, reasoning etc.	393, vol. 2
Toe	Voorzetſeltje van bepaaling, betrekking &c.	Small preposition of determination, relation etc.	396, vol. 2
Tot dat	Adv. Voorzetſel de Byvoegende wyze vereiſſende.	Adv. Preposition which requires the Subjunctive mood.	405, vol. 2
Tot	Voorzetſeltje van plaats aanwyzing &c.	Small preposition indicating place etc.	405, vol. 2
Wan	Onſcheidelyk voorzetſel	Inseparable preposition	529, vol. 2
Weder	Onſcheidbaar voorzetſel	Inseparable preposition	535, vol. 2
Weer Weder	Onafſcheidelyk voorzetſel	Inseparable preposition	538, vol. 2
Zonder	Uitſluitend 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, ſont des pronomes poſſeſſifs*. Aantoonende voornaam. *Pronom démonstratif*. Opzigtelyke voornaam. Perſoonelyk voornaam. *Pronom rélatif. 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, ſont des pronomes poſſeſſifs*. Demonstrative pronoun. *Pronom démonstratif*. Relative pronoun. Personal pronoun. *Pronom rélatif. 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 Perſoons voornaam, voor 't eenvoudig getal in 't Conjugeeren 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 perſoons voornaam.	418, v. 2	**You** Second person singular object pronoun	"Second person pronoun." - The plural *Ulieden* is also attested with no particular additional information
Gy	Tweede perſoons voornaam […]	356, v. 1	**You** Second person singular subject pronoun	"Second person pronoun […]"
Hy	Derde perſoonlyke 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 perſoon. - Zy, 't meervoud van de manlyke perſoonlyke 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	Perſoonelyke voornaam voor 't meervoudig getal van de eerſte perſoon.	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	Eerſte perſoons voornaam, in 't geevend, en beſchuldigend geval gebruikelyk.	84, v. 2	**Me** First person singular object pronoun	"First person pronoun, used in the dative, and accusative case."
Hem	Mannelyke voornaam, de derde Perſoon aanwyzende zynde *lui* in *Dativo*, en *le* & *l'* in *Accuſativo ſingulari*, in 't Franſch.	388, v. 1	**Him** Third person singular masculine object pronoun	"Masculine pronoun, indicating the third Person, being *lui* in *Dative*, and *le* & *l'* in *Accusativo singulari* ['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 Franſchen en andere Vreemdelingen geweldig belemmerd, om dat het een vrouwelyke perſoonlyke, en met eenen een bezittende voornaam is, en om dat deze laatſte in het Franſch het geſlacht van dat bezete zaak volgen, en niet dat van den bezitter, en te gelyk van bezete zaak als in het Nêeduitſch. - Als perſoonelyke voornaam aangemerkt, is de *caſus obliquus* 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 *caſus obliqui*.	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 *casus obliquus* ['oblique case'] of *zy*, in the singular, and in the plural." - "As a possessive pronoun, it is singular and plural, and has some differences in the *casus obliqui* ['oblique case']."
Ons	Zelfſtandige voornaam of eerſte perſoon van 't meervoud. - Bezitttend [sic!] voornaam, die voor de *Neutra*, of naamen van 't onzydig Geſlacht in het enkelvoudig geſtelt 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 *Neutra*, or nouns of the neutral gender in the singular."
Hen	't meerv: van den manlyken voornaam HEM in *Accuſativo*, en volgens weinige in alle *caſus obliqui*.	389, v. 1	**Them** Third person plural object pronoun	"The plural of the masculine pronoun HEM in the *Accusativo* ['accusative'] and, according to some, in all the *casus oliqui* ['oblique cases']."

Myn ***Myne***	Bezittende voornaam des eerſten perſoons.	85, v. 2	**My** First person singular possessive pronoun	"Possessive pronoun of the first person."
Uw ***Uwe***	Bezittende voornaam voor de tweede perſoon, in de twee getallen.	435, v. 2	**You** Second person singular possessive pronoun	"Possessive pronoun for the second person, in the two numbers."
Zyn ***Zyne***	Bezittende voornaam voor de derde perſoon der beide Geſlagten 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 *zijne*, 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 *het* as subject version of it.
De Zyne	Bezittende en opzigtelyke voornaam van den derden perſoon voor beide getallen.	604, v. 2	**His** **Theirs**	"Possessive and relative (?) Pronoun of the third person for both numbers." - The term *opzigtelyk* does not seem very common across grammars of Dutch. I assume it to refer to relative pronouns, although further research is needed.
Onze	Werd voor mannelyke en vrouwelyke naamen in 't eenvoud; als ook voor die der drie Geſlachten 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."
Hun	Manlyke bezittende en Perſoonlyke voornaam, voor 't meervoud.	425, v. 1	**Their** Third person plural possessive pronoun	"Masculine possessive and Personal pronoun, for the plural."
Hunne	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 *hun*, and serves also for plural nouns."
Hunner	Is de Genitivus van 't woord HUN, in den bezittenden zin.	425, v. 1	**Their** Third person plural possessive pronoun	"Is the *Genitivus* ['genitive'] of the word *hun*, in the possessive sense."

Zig	Enkele en meervoudige voornaam van den derden perſoon in de wederkerige Werkwoorden. - Derde perſoonelyke enkelvoudige voornaam van alderlei geſlagten.	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 *Neutrale* 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 ſoorten 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 *Neutrale* Naamwoorden komende. - DAT en DIT zyn eenzinnige woordjes. DAT, is ook een *pron: relativum* 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	*Pronom.*	581, v. 2	**Self** Demonstrative pronoun	"Pronoun."
Dezelve	*Pronom demonſt:* - *Pronom relaitf*	198, v. 1	**The self** Demonstrative pronoun	"Demonstrative pronoun." - "Relative pronouns."
Welk	DEWELWE, WELKE Opzigtelyke voornaam. - WELK, WELKE *pronom.*	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 *verhindering* '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 *behulpsaam 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* サーメンスプラーカ, 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, alle 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 zoorten 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'.

SAMENSPRAAKEN. 143

BEKNOPTE en LEERZAAME

SAMENSPRAAKEN

over allerhande Stoffen.

DIALOGUE PREMIER.	EERSTE SAMENSPRAAK.
Je vous souhaite le bon jour, Monsieur.	*Ik wensch u goeden dag, Myn Heer.*
Je suis votre Serviteur.	*Ik ben uw Dienaar.*
Comment vous portez vous?	*Hoe vaart gy al?*
Je me porte bien, Dieu merci.	*Ik vaar wel, God dank.*
J'en suis bien aise.	*'t Is my zeer lief.*
Où allez vous?	*Waar gaat gy na toe?*
Je m'en vais chez Monsieur P.	*Ik gaa na myn Heer P.*
Où demeure-t-il?	*Waar woont hy?*
Dans la Ruë neuve.	*In de nieuwe straat.*
Que fait-il?	*Wat doet hy?*
C'est un Marchand.	*'t Is een Koopman.*
J'ai l'honneur de le connoitre.	*Ik heb de eer van hem te kennen.*
C'est un fort honnête homme.	*'t Is een zeer eerlyk Man.*
Faites lui mes Baisemains, s'il vous plait.	*Doet hem myn Gebiedenis, als 't u belieft.*
Je n'y manquerai pas.	*Ik zal 't niet vergeeten.*
Vous m'obligerez beaucoup	*Gy zult my veel verplichten.*
Quelles Nouvelles?	*Wat nieuws?*
Je n'ai rien apris.	*Ik heb niets gehoort.*

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 toekomende 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 wenschende 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 *weezen* 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 *behulpsaam werkwoord*, 'auxiliary verb'.

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[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 aanwyſt, 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 ſtaat, 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., *bloeijende*). 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 < ſ > 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	On ETYMOLOGY
Door de *Oorſprongkunde* onderſcheydt men de woorden in zekere Spraakdeelen, die by de Nederduytſchen negen in getal zyn, en genoemd worden een *Lédeken* (Articulus), *Naamwoord* (Nomen), *Voornaamwoord* (Pronomen), *Werkwoord* (Verbum), *Deelwoord* (Participium), *Bywoord* (Adverbium), *t' Zamenvoegſel* (Conjuctio), *Voorzetſel* (Praepoſitio), en *Tuſchenwerpſel* (Interjectio).	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' Zamenvoegsel* (Conjuctio) ['Conjunction'], *Voorzetsel* (Praepoſitio) ['Preposition'], en *Tuschenwerpsel* (Interjectio) ['Interjection']. The first five of these are variable, while the last four are mostly invariable.
Hier van zyn de vyf eerſte veranderlyk, ende vier laatſte meerderdeels onveranderlyk.	

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.	On the ARTICLES
De *Lédekens* dienen om een onderſcheyd te maaken in de Geſlachten, en de Naamvallen, en zyn, *De, Het, Een.*	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 *Zelfſtandige*, en *Byvoegelyke*.

Een zelfſtandig Naamwoord beſtaat op zichzelven, en betékent 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 betekent, als, *Sterk*, *zwak*, *ſchoon*, *vuyl*, *droog*, *nat*, kan alleen niet gebruykt worde, als hebbende geen volkomene betekenis, 't en zy men 'er een Zelfſtandig Naamwoord byvoege: want wie kan verſtaan wat men meent, als 'er gezegd wordt, *De verwoede bruyſcht*, 't en zy men 'er *Zee* óf *ſtroom*, óf iets diergelyks, byvoege?

Niettemin gebeurt het wel dat een Byvoegelyk Naamwoord in een Zelfſtandig veranderd wordt, als *De donker begint te vallen: Het groen is nu op zyn krachtichſt*: *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'], *vuyl* ['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 *Zelfſtandige* 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.*	On the GENDER of *Nouns*
Het Geſlacht der Naamwoorden is eenigſins aan de Lédekens te kenne, gelyk *pag.* 63 en 64. reeds is aangeweezen; dóch dewyl die aanwyzing gebreklyk is, niet ſlechts ten aanzien van vreemdelingen, inzonderheyd Engelſchen 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 geſlacht zyn, maar ook ten aanzien van inboorelingen, door dien de gemeene ſpraak het ondrſcheyd tuſſchen *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 Geſlachten te doen.	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.	On PRONOUNS
Een *Voornaamwoord* wordt doorgaans voor een Naamwoord, dat is, in plaats daar van, gebruykt, het zy tót aanwyzinge van een perſoon óf zaak, óf om betrékking op iets te maaken, óf om iets te vraagen, óf om de bezitting te betékenen	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.	On PARTICIPLES
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 eerſte *Bedryvende*, als *Slaande*, en de laatſte *Lydende*, als *Geſlagen*; deeze woorden worden ook in de *Geſlachten* onderſcheyden, en aldus geboogen.	*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.	On ADVERBS
Een *Bywoord* is een onveranderlyk Spraakdeel, dat by een Naamwoord óf Werkwoord gevoegd wordt, om de hoedaanigheyd óf omſtandigheyd van een bedryf te kennen te geeven.	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.	On CONJUNCTIONS
Een *tZamenvoegſel* is een onbuygelyke Spraakdeel, waarmede men woorden en reeden t'zamenvoegt een aanéén ſchakelt, zynde van verſcheydenerleye ſoort, te weeten	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.	On PREPOSITIONS
Een *Voorzetſel* is een onbuygelyke Spraakdeel, dat voor andere woorden gezét wordt, om de plaats, oorzaak, óf tyd te betékenen	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.	On INTERJECTIONS
Een *Tuſſchenwepſel* is een onbuygelyk woord dat uyt zich zelven eenen zin uytmaakt en zo genoemd wordt, omdat men het tuſſchen de reede inwerpt, tót uytdrukkinge eener hartstógt	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, betékende *te zyn, doen* óf *lyden*, als *Ik Ben, Ik Bemin, Ik word gehaat*. Hierom verdeelt men de Werkwoorden in *Bedryvende*, *Lydende*, en *Geenerleye*.	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*.
De *Bedryvende* betékenen het doen van iets, als *Onderwyzen, Hooren, Leezen, Slaan, Verachten*.	*Active* [*Bedryvende*] means the doing of something, like *to Teach, to Hear, to Read, to Hit, to Despise*.
De *Lydende* betékenen eene aandoening óf lyding van iets, als *Onderweezen worden, Gehoord worden, Geleezen worden, Geſlagen worden, Veracht worden*.	*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*.
De *Geenerleye* óf *Onzydige Werkwoorden* betékenen eygentlyk nóch doen nóch lyden, als *Blinken, Glinſteren, 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 konnen worden; want men mag niet zeggen. *Ik word geklommen, Ik word geloopen*, en *Ik word gezeten*.	*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*.
Ook zyn 'er *Bedryvende* en te gelyk *Onzydige* Werkwoorden, als *Beginnen, Branden, Droogen, Veranderen, Bederven*	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 verſcheydene 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 betékeniſſén, alhier omſtandig te beſchryven, acht ik noodeloos; dewyl men uyt de Voorbeelden, welke hier ſtaan te vòlgen, zulks beſt zal konnen 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 *Zullen*.	Verbs are changed or conjugated by means of different moods and times. Such 'conjugation' [*verschikking*] is called *conjugatio* 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 Z*ullen*.

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 *wenschende 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 verleden 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 zoud 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 *Spraakkonst*	**Marin’s *Spraakwyze***
AANTOONENDE WYZE	TONENDER WYS
Teegenwoordig tyd *Ik ben*	De Tegenwoordige Tyd *Ik ben*
Onvólmaakte tyd *Ik was*	De eerſte voorlede tyd *Ik was*
N/a	De tweede voorlede tyd *Ik was*
Volmaakte verleeden tyd *Ik ben geweest*	De Volmaakte Tyd *Ik heb geweest*
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd *Ik was geweest*	Meer als volmaakte Tyd *Ik had geweest*
Toekomende tyd *Ik zal zyn/weezen*	De toekomende Tyd *Ik zal zyn*
GEBIEDENDE WYZE	GEBIEDENDER WYS
Wees	*Zyt*
AANVOEGENDE óf WENSCHENDE WYZE	BYVOEGENDER WYS
Tegenwoordige tyd *Dat ik ben/zy*	De Tegenwoordige Tyd *Op dat ik zy*
Onvolmaakte verleeden tyd *Dat ik was*	De Wenſchende tyd *Ik wenschte dat ik was*
Volmaakte veerleden tyd *Dat ik geweest ben/zy*	N/a
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd *Dat ik geweest waare*	N/a
Toekomende tyd *Dat/indien/als ik zyn/weezen zal*	N/a
Tweede toekomende tyd *Als ik zal geweest zyn*	N/a
Onbepaalde tyd *Ik zou/zoude zyn*	De Onvolmaakte tyd *Ik zou zyn*
ONBEPAALDE WYZE	N/a
Tegenwoordige tyd *hebben*	
Verleeden tyd *gehad hebben*	
Toekomende tyd *te zullen hebben*	
Deelwoorden	De Deelwoorden
Tegenwoordige tyd *zynde/weezende*	N/a *Zynde*
Verleeden tyd *geweest*	N/a *Geweest*
Toekomende tyd *zullen zyn/geweest*	N/a

Table 28 Conjugation comparision 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	*als* *dat*
Onvolmaakte verleeden tyd	*dat* *als* *schoon*
Volmaakte verleeden tyd	*dat* *hoewel*
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	*dat* *als* *toen* *indien*
Tweede meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	*als*
Toekomende tyd	*als* *dat* *indien*
Tweede toekomende tyd	*als* *indien*
Derde toekomende tyd	*als* *schoon*
Vierde toekomende tyd	*indien*
Tweede onvolmaakte tyd of onbepaalde tyd	*schoon* *als* *toen*

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 acroos 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 *zyn* óf *weezen*, voornamentlyk gebruikt tót behulp der Lydende Werkwoorden, […]	The independent verb *zyn* or *weezen*, mostly used in aid to Passive Verbs, […]
Het Hulpwoord *Worden* of *Werden*, 't welke gebruykt wordt om de lyding van iets te betékenen, […]	The Auxiliary *Worden* or *Werden*, 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 *Ik Ben* gebruykt, zulks de betékenis iets verandert; want *Ik Ben Geleerd*, is niet alleen te zeggen, dat men onderrechting bekomen heeft, maar ook dat men een Geleerde is, immers heeft zulks plaats als men zegt, *Hy is Geleerd*. Echter zyn 'er eenige *Onzydige Werkwoorden* die het woord *Ik Ben* tót zich neemen, als *Ik ben gebleeven*, *Ik was vertrokken*, *Ik ben geklommen*, *Ik was gekomen*, *Ik was gedaald*.	It must be noticed, here, that if one uses the word *Ik Ben* 'I am', it will change the meaning a bit; since *Ik Ben Geleerd* '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 *Hy is Geleerd* 'He is a scholar'. Furthermore, there are some neutral verbs which take the word *Ik Ben*, just like *Ik ben gebleeven* 'I have remained', *Ik was vertrokken* 'I had left', *Ik ben geklommen* 'I have climbed', *Ik was geklommen* 'I had climbed', *Ik was gedaald* '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).

Geleerd worden	
AANTOONENDE WYZE	
Tegenwoordige tyd	*ik word geleerd*
Onvolmaakte tyd	*ik wierd geleerd*
Volmaakte verleeden tyd	*ik ben geleerd geweest*
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	*ik was geleerd geweest*
Toekomende tyd	*ik zal geleerd worden*
Tweede toekomende tyd	*ik zou geleerd worden*
GEBIEDENDE WYZE	
	word geleerd
AANVOEGENDE of WENSCHENDE WYZE	
Tegenwoordige tyd	*als/dat ik geleerd word/worde*
Onvolmaakte verleeden tyd	*dat ik geleerd wierd/wierde*
Volmaakte verleeden tyd	*dat ik geleerd geweest ben/zy*
Anders.	*was ik geleerd geweest*
Meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	*dat/indien ik geleerd geweest waare*
Tweede meer dan volmaakte verleeden tyd	*als ik geleerd geweest zoude zyn*
Toekomende tyd	*als ik geleerd zal worden*
Tweede toekomende tyd	*indien ik geleerd zoude worden*
Derde toekomede tyd	*als ik geleerd zal geworden zyn*
Vierde toekomende tyd	*indien ik geleerd zou geworden zyn*
ONBEPAALDE WYZE	
Tegenwoordige tyd	*geleerd worden*
Verleeden tyd	*geleerd geworden*
Toekomende tyd	*geleerd te zullen worden*
Deelwoorden	
Tegenwoordige tyd	*geleerd/geleerd wordende*
Verleeden tyd	*geleerd geworden zynde*
Toekomende tyd	*zullende geleerd worden*

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 óf hy dat gedaan hebbe*. Maar my dunkt het veel beter dat men zegge, *Zie óf hy dat gedaan heeft:* want de *Subjunctivus* wordt duydelyk uytgedrukt door de verplaatſing 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 óf*

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 vreede geſteld zy, óf worde*. Uyt het gezeyde zal men wel konnen 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 Historiſchyver 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 verplaatſen, 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 da thy vertrokken is. But in order to mean an optative, one must say *Dat hy zyne wil hebbe; Dat hy te vreede 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', *geleezen 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 konnen worden; want men mag niet zeggen, *Ik word geklommen*, *Ik word geloopen*, 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 geloopen* '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 beings 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 vereyſt 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 ſtoel zat de Koning. Daar gaat een groot man. Ginder ſtaat een ós*. Een overgangklyk Werkwoord is een woord dat van den éénen perſoon (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 *Overganglyke 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 *spreeken* 'to speak' is not

woord *Spreeken* geen Overgangklyk Werkwoord is, nógtans zegt men, *Ik heb hem geſprooken. Ik ſpraak uwen vader giſteren*; gelyk men ook zegt, *Zy wiſt haaren man aardig te bepraaten*	transitive verb, one still says *Ik heb hem gesprooken* 'I have spoken (to) him', *Ik sprak uwen vader gisteren* I spoke (with) your father yesterday'; and one similarly also says, *Zy wist haaren man aardig te bepraaten* '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 *Werkwoorden*, waer toe wy nu overgaen, zyn zulke Veranderlyke woorden, die eenigh werk van *Doen*, *Lyden* of *Weezen* beteekenen met de omstandigheden van den *Tegenwoordigen*, den *Voorgaenden* en den *Toekoomenden Tyt*;	*Verbs*, that we will cover now, are those variable words that refer to actions of *Doing*, *Suffering* or *Being*, with the circumstances [*accidens*] of *Present*, *Past* and *Future tense*.

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 aenkoomende, 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 Werkwoort gemaekt. De Volmaekte Tyden in alle Wyzen der Onzydige Werkwoorden, worden ten aenzien van zommige door* Hebben*, en ten aenzien van andere door Zyn gemaekt; 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	On gender
Dear zijn drie geslachten der Werkwoorden / als *Het werkende, Het lijdende,* ende *Het derde geslacht*, yders aert wort van de Werkwoorden uytgedrukt.	There are three genders of Verbs, namely: *The active*, *The passive* and *The third gender*, the nature of each gets expressed by the Verbs.
Van de Werkende woorden	On Active verbs
Alle werkende Werkwoorden / die beteykenen eene werkinge / tot eenigen Persoon ofte tot eenich ding / als *Ik beminne mijnen Vader*, *Ik drinck Bier*, *Ik ploug het Lant*.	All active Verbs refer to an action toward people or things, like *Ik beminne mijnen Vader*, *Ik drinck Bier*, *Ik ploug het Lant*.[89]
Van de lijdende Werkwoorden.	On passive Verbs
De lijdende Werkwoorden / worden altijt met het Zelfstandig werkwoort uytgesprooken / als *Ik worde geslaegen, Ik worde geleert*.	Passive Verbs are always pronounced with the independent verb, like *Ik worde geslaegen*, *Ik worde geleert*.[90]
Van de Werkwoorden des derden geslachts	On the Verbs of the third gender
De Werkwoorden des derde geslachts / die en beduyden geene Werkinge nochte lijdinge als / *Ik schijn, Ik blinck, Ik bloeye.*	The Verbs of the third gender signify no Action or suffering, like *Ik schijn, Ik blinck, Ik bloeye*.
Hier by behoort ook het Zelfstandig werkwoort / met de werkwoorden *Bestaen*, *Ontsaen*, *Staen*.	Independent verbs like *Bestaen*, *Ontstaen* and *Staen* 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 werkwoort*). 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 *spreeken* '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.