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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 V

History of Japan's Thought on Language

“Dit zijn in het kort de grondregels van de deelen der rede in de Japansche taal, en wat nu de spraak of uitspraak betreft, daar is misschien geene natie ter wereld, die zich minder houdt aan den regel: *spreek zoo als gij schrijft*.”

“These are the basic rules of the parts of speech of the Japanese language. When it comes to spoken language and its pronunciation, there is probably no other nation in the world that keeps less to the rule: *speak as you write*.”

(Germain Felix Meijlan, 1830, *Japan voorgesteld in schetsen*, p. 123)

5. History of Japan's thought on language

5.1 Early investigations of language in Japan

There is no evidence of any form of written language in Japan before the introduction of Chinese artifacts and texts.¹ These texts, written in older stages of Chinese, introduced into Japan the continental language in its literary version, which was subsequently studied by Japanese scholars and preserved in its ancient form across generations, although not without changes and adaptations specific to the necessities of the Japanese. These sources in classical Chinese were generally of two types. They were either texts compiled in China concerning Confucianism, or Chinese translations of books originally written in other languages, mostly imported from India or the so-called 'Western Regions' (Central Asia) that concerned Buddhism. The development of a writing system for the Japanese language was a slow process spanning several centuries involving the adaptation of the Chinese script to the specific morphophonemic necessities of the Japanese language. Before being standardized into present-day *kanji-kana-majiribun* 漢字仮名交じり文 – a 'mixed' (*majiri* 交じり) 'text' (*bun* 文) of 'Chinese characters' (*kanji* 漢字) and the two 'phonetic syllabaries' (*kana* 仮名) – written language in Japan appeared in many different forms, fundamentally based on Chinese characters and texts. Consequently, the linguistic investigations in Japan have long been deeply dependent on Chinese written language, as well as on Sanskrit, which reached Japan mediated by Chinese sources. In sum, one can say that research on language, in Japan, started with the study of Chinese texts, a foreign language, rather than with the investigation of the native language(s) of the archipelago (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 14).

In addition to the focus on foreign languages, the history of the studies of language in Japan generally displays another pattern: most investigations were initiated by the necessity to teach how to translate or read texts written in Chinese. Broadly speaking, no scholarly light was shed upon the Japanese language until the Heian period (794 – 1185), when greater attention was afforded to the appreciation of the *waka* 和歌 poems, a form of poetry that was first written down during the preceding Nara period (710 – 784). The most ancient forms of *waka* poetry are found in works such as *Kojiki* 古事記 ('Records on Past Events', circa 711) or *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 ('Collection of Ten-Thousand Leaves', compiled sometime before 759). These were initially written in Japanese, in a sort of hybrid script that used Chinese characters both logographically and phonologically. In these texts, Chinese characters could thus represent either a concept – that ought to be read out in its Japanese name – or a sound, thus requiring that character to be read out in its Chinese reading that would supposedly approximate a specific Japanese sound. In other words, Chinese characters were used in two ways: first, in order to 'provisionally substitute'

¹ FRELLESVIG (2010, 11-12) claims that the very first contact of the Japanese with written Chinese happened during the Yayoi 弥生 period (c. ?1000 BC – 300 AD) although no real awareness of how written language functioned can be assumed for that time. The earliest texts written in Japanese, by means of Chinese characters, are dated to the V century, although writing did not become widespread until the second half of the VII century.

Japanese phonology² – hence the name *kana* 仮名, literally “provisionary or substitutive names” – and secondly as logograms to refer to a concept, thus pronounced by its Japanese name. Over time, these specific uses of Chinese characters referring to Japanese sounds crystalized and each specialized for one Japanese syllable and, after undergoing processes of simplification, the two phonological *kana* syllabaries came to be. The necessity of understanding and interpreting the above-mentioned literary classics led to the birth of what is called *kagaku* 歌学 “poetic studies”, which flourished during the Heian period. These studies represent the first instances of metalinguistic analyses of the Japanese language carried out by the Japanese, originating from a need of exegetical interpretation of the poetic language.

The development of a written form of language specific to Japanese and independent from Chinese does not imply a decrease in importance of the continental language. Chinese was the language of documents imported from the mainland, and the Japanese continued to use it to write their own texts. Consequently, the Chinese language in Japan started to develop specific features that made it more practical for a Japanese speaker. Thus, Chinese remained the main written language for scholars of Buddhism or Confucianism, well beyond the Edo era. Most Japanese scholars kept using Chinese as their only form of written language for centuries, since understanding and interpreting old Chinese religious and philosophical texts still required dedication and life-long studies. In order to facilitate the consultation of such important sources, it is believed that by the very end of the Nara period, some Confucian scholars started to use the so-called *kunten* 訓点 glossing method (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 28). This annotation method allowed a Japanese speaker to easily read a Chinese sentence as if it were written in Japanese. Although there have been many ways in which such glosses were annotated within the Chinese text, I shall present one example, here corresponding to the most common system found in the manuscripts of the Edo period. Chinese and Japanese texts were mostly written vertically, from right to left. On the righthand side of the Chinese text one would find *furigana* (phonetic readings of the character), *okurigana* (grammatical endings attached to that word, required according to Japanese morphosyntax) and particles, while on the lefthand side, one would find symbols indicating the way each word had to be rearranged according to Japanese syntax, called *kaeri-ten* 返り点 ‘recurring marks’. Generally, these symbols included the Chinese characters for the numbers ‘one’ 一 and ‘two’ 二, for ‘up’ 上 and ‘down’ 下, or the traditional Heavenly Stems, often used to classify things ordinally, 甲 and 乙 and the so-called *re-ten* ㄣ点, for its resemblance to the *katakana* character *re* レ. The ordinal symbols were placed at the bottom left side of two characters, in order to specify that the one presenting the second should move below the one presenting the first character (i.e., the character presenting the number 2, moved below the character marked with 1), while the *re-ten* was used between two adjacent characters to signify that their placement had to be inverted. All these glosses were intended for

² This peculiar use of Chinese characters found in these ancient texts are now called *man'yō-gana* 万葉仮名.

a Japanese person to be able to read Chinese texts as if they were written in Japanese, they were “instructions” for “reading” and interpreting a text in a foreign language. In Chinese, the character 訓, that the Japanese pronounce *kun*, meant ‘instruction’, from which the word *kundoku* 訓読 ‘reading instruction’ was coined, referring to this practice of glossing Chinese texts into a Japanese reading. It is thus from this association of meanings that the character *kun* 訓 started to refer in Japanese to the idea of ‘Japanese reading’, maintaining its original broader sense of “instruction” only in some compound words (e.g., *kunren* 訓練 ‘training’). In the Edo period, this character was very often used in this new sense, evolving into the verb *kun-zu* 訓ス, that meant ‘to read the Japanese way’ (FRELLESVIG 2010, 258-274). This character should not be understood as meaning “translating into Japanese” as that is a different concept altogether, for which the character *yaku* 訳 (spelled 譯 in *kyūjitai*) was used, that led to the coinage of the verb *yaku-su* 訳ス ‘to translate’. The difference is important, as the alternation of these two concepts can be seen quite consistently across all the works of the Edo period I have consulted and is specifically important in Ogyū Sorai’s translational studies (see 6.1.1 and 6.1.2.1). Contrary to *yaku* 訳, that was always used to refer to a full-fledged “translation” of a language into another, mostly in the context of the compilation of a Japanese adaptation of a foreign text, *kun* 訓 only directly refers to the reading of a foreign text in a Japanese way. In the context of a Chinese text, one refers to this practice as *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読 ‘Japanese reading of a Chinese text’. As FRALEIGH (2019) points out, the translation of Dutch texts was often done by initially applying annotations very similar to *kundoku*, as demonstrated by Maeno Ryōtaku in his *Oranda Yakusen* 和蘭譯筌, where he explains his methodology. Similar approaches have also been adopted even as late as the *bakumatsu* period, as demonstrated by VERWAYEN (1998), who studied the translation of Dutch legal texts. Whether *kundoku* could be considered as a type of translation from one language to another or, rather, as something more similar to a collection of tools facilitating the reading of a text in a language different from that in which it was originally written, is still being debated in the academic world. FRALEIGH (2019, 6) points out that, although not being too different from a prototypical translation, the *kundoku* annotation had the peculiarity of always presenting a source text in a written language (classical Chinese, in the context of *kanbun kundoku*), and a higher degree of faithfulness to the original. Another specific characteristic of *kanbun kundoku* is the fact that the original text remained intact in the “translated” version. That is to say, one could simply ignore the *kaeriten* and the other glosses and still be able to read the original classical Chinese text in the same document. Furthermore, a Japanese author would oftentimes write a Chinese text with annotations on it, thus, in practice, bypassing the phase in which the text would only present *kanji* ordered according to Chinese syntax. What I would add to this theory of FRALEIGH is the fact that the faithfulness of the translation to the original text in *kundoku* was so high that the Japanese version could only use all the Chinese characters present in the original, without adding or eliminating any. This is probably one of the main causes that influenced the Japanese language found within *kundoku* that differed noticeably from non-*kundoku* uses of Japanese, which FRALEIGH calls ‘translationese’. Indeed,

there was no *kaeriten* gloss for “do not read this character”³ or “add this character”. All Chinese characters present in the original text had to be somehow utilized and one could only add glosses regarding grammatical elements absent in Chinese (particles and inflections of verbs and adjectives, mostly). When adapting into *kundoku*, for example, one could not add a word to paraphrase a concept that read more straightforwardly in Chinese and, at the same time, every Chinese character needed to find a place in the Japanese sentence. The former is the cause of the fact that, for example, the character *mi* 未 ‘not yet’, that was mostly used in initial position in the Chinese clause, can be seen as being adapted into Japanese as either the clause-opener adverb *mada* ‘not yet’, or as the negative affix *-zu*, and sometimes as both simultaneously. This is not true for Ryōtaku’s glossing of Dutch, for example, where the words that were difficult to translate into Japanese (that he usually called *joshi*, or something similar) were marked with a circle and were thus neglected in the Japanese translation.

The practice of glossing Chinese texts made Japanese speakers realize the linguistic differences between their own language and Chinese. It is no wonder, therefore, that the very first linguistic investigations carried out in Japan were mostly contrastive analyses of these two languages with a strong philosophical component of Buddhism and Confucianism. Furthermore, since the practice of *kundoku* was focused on providing tools for the reading of Chinese texts into Japanese, the oral element was very much embedded in these studies of written languages. Furthermore, since the reading of sutras was a fundamental component of Buddhism, the Japanese have also always been aware of the phonetic studies coming from the Indian peninsula, originating in the so-called Siddhām (*shittan* 悉曇) writing system of Sanskrit, mediated by the Chinese. These studies, that included the categorization of sounds according to the organs of the oral cavity used to produce each, were combined with the Chinese studies on the pronunciation of Chinese characters, resulting in the common use of the ‘table of the fifty sounds’ (*gojū-on-zu* 五十音図).⁴ DOI (1976, 1-3) attests the fact that Sanskrit studies started spreading

³ One might point out the existence of the so-called *okiji* 置き字 (see 5.5), that referred to those Chinese characters that did not have a direct Japanese corresponding word. However, these characters were not completely ignored, in the translation, but tended to be rendered via *okurigana* referring to verbal endings or affixes, thus still being present, somehow, in the Japanese translation.

⁴ The table of the fifty sounds illustrates all the possible combinations of vowel and consonant sounds, in the Japanese language, according to the Japanese syllables. Since the Japanese writing system evolved from the ‘syllabic’ nature of *kanji*, that conception was mirrored in this classification of sounds. FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 83) point out how the Japanese table of the fifty sounds was probably created by combining Sanskrit traditional phonetic investigations, with the Chinese practice of *hansetsu* 反切. The *hansetsu* consisted, in Chinese linguistic tradition, in the classification of the pronunciation of a Chinese character, utilizing two different characters, one specifying the consonant sound and the other the vowel sound produced by the original character. Since, in Japanese, the adaptation of the original Chinese pronunciation of the *kanji* often resulted in a polysyllabic rendition – Japanese mostly lacking closed syllables – the *hansetsu* was used with the first character’s first syllable

already in the Nara and Heian periods, together with the expansion of Buddhism in Japan. According to that source, the “chief initiator” of Sanskrit studies in Japan was Kūkai 空海 (774 – 835), whose successor Annen 安然 subsequently published, in 880, a thorough study of Chinese phonetics based on Sanskrit studies, by the title *Shittan-zō* 悉曇藏 (‘Siddhāṃ Repository’). Siddhāṃ methodology kept being applied to the research on language in Japan all throughout the Edo period, only being temporarily halted in 1853, with the reopening of Japan. The most important Siddhāṃ publication of the Edo period is *Bongaku shinryō* 梵学津梁 (‘A Corpus of Sanskrit Literature: an Introduction’), by Onkō 飲光 (1718 – 1804).

The importance given to pronunciation, as I have discussed in 1.5, mostly in the first period of the study of Dutch, was certainly a consequence of this century-long tradition of phonetic studies. While there would be much to say regarding this topic, unfortunately, this falls beyond the scope of the present research and, as such, it will not be discussed any further.

Simultaneously to these linguistic studies on Chinese-language sources, starting from the very late Nara period, one can see the dawn of the *kagaku* scholarship, the study of the Japanese *waka* poetry written entirely in Japanese. For its historical and cultural relevance, the *Man'yōshū* has been adopted as an important reference for literary language use since the Nara period, when many Japanese scholars started to focus on research on the exegesis of it. As Japan entered the Kamakura period (1185 – 1333), the language then spoken was already very different from the one used to write the classical *waka* poetry. In fact, a scholar of *kagaku* was required to study an additional subject: *kana-zukai* 仮名遣 ‘the use of *kana*’ (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 144-154). According to FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA: “Although *kana-zukai* refers to the use of *kana*, more specifically, that word was used in two manners. First, it referred to the objective situation of the use of the *kana* within a specific Japanese document. [...] Secondly, it referred to the artificial rule specifying the use of a specific *kana* whenever one syllable was expressed by means of two or more types of *kana*”.⁵ One could therefore say, that the term *kana-zukai* referred to both the prescriptive and descriptive look at the use of *kana*. Because of this, most studies on the Japanese language in the centuries before the Edo period concentrated on this aspect.

In the history of glossing in Japan, it is relevant to remember that *kundoku* was not specific to *kanbun* Chinese texts. Since, in older works, *kanji* were also used as phonograms in order to write Japanese, the practice of glossing is also fundamental in the history of the research on Japanese texts. With the importance of *Man'yōshū*

(or, better, *mora*) used for the first syllable of the character whose pronunciation is being covered, while the second character for its second syllable.

⁵ Original quote: “「仮名遣」とは、仮名のつかい方ということであるが、詳しくいうと、この言葉には二つの異なった用法がある。第一は、日本語を仮名で書表わした文献の中で、どのような仮名が用いられているかという、客観的な状態をさすものである。〔略〕第二は、日本語を仮名で書表わすに当って、一つの音節に対して、二つ以上の種類の仮名がある場合、その内どれを使うべきかを定めた、人為的な規定である” (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 154-155).

investigations, the very first *kundoku* glossing system for this classical masterpiece was developed by the ‘Five Men of the Pear Chamber’⁶ (*nashitsubo no gonin* 梨壺五人), a team of scholars who defined what is now called *koten* 古点 ‘old glossing’ of the Heian period. This “old glossing” system had been adopted as the standard reading for the already outdated writing style of the *Man’yōshū*. Over time, however, changes had been made to it to adapt it according to the evolution of the Japanese language itself. These new forms of glossing of the *Man’yōshū* are called *jiten* 次点 ‘subsequent glossing’ and were the standard until the scholar Sengaku 仙覚 (1203 – 1273) began a new school of interpretation of the classics of Japanese, culminating in the publication of his pivotal *Man’yōshū chūshaku* 万葉集註釈 (‘*Man’yōshū* Interpreted and Annotated’) in 1270, which popularized his ‘new glossing’ (*shinten* 新点) method, enabling 13th century Japanese scholars to better understand the language used in the *Man’yōshū*. In Sengaku’s school, one can see the influence of previous research, and a strong dependence on Siddhām phonology that he, allegedly, formally integrated in the studies on Japanese (SHIGEMATSU 1959, 58-60).

By the end of the Kamakura period, Fujiwara no Sadaie 藤原定家 (1162 – 1241, also known as Teika) compiled the manuscript *Te ni ha daigai shō* 手爾葉大概抄. This is the earliest attested source covering the topic of *te ni ha*, that, with time, evolved into the name *te ni wo ha*. As I will discuss in the following sections, these syllables refer to the Japanese particles that are often connected to the Chinese parts of speech called ‘auxiliary word’, found in the spellings *joshi* 助詞, *joji* 助辞, *joji* 助字 and *jogo* 助語. As will be discussed, the so-called *te ni wo ha* included, according to the author, also the adjectival and verbal affixes (i.e., nowadays’ *jodōshi* 助動詞).⁷ Since the Muromachi period, some authors also started to recognize patterns in the combined use of such *te ni wo ha* elements, particularly in the agreement between particles and predicates, which was then re-discovered in the 18th century by Motoori Norinaga, whose interpretation ultimately evolved in what is now called *kakari-musubi*. A representative example is Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320 – 1378), who categorized the *te ni wo ha* in six main categories, including the *uke* 請 ‘receiving’ and the *kake* かけ ‘hanging’, ‘tie up’ categories that represented the use of the *te ni (wo) ha* particles in what he called the ‘upper clause’ *ue no ku* 上

⁶ The group of the Five Men of the Pear Chamber was composed by Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu 大中臣能宣 (921 – 991), Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911 – 983), Kiyohara no Motosuke 清原元輔 (908 – 990), Sakanoue no Mochiki 坂上望城 (dates unknown), Ki no Tokibumi 紀時文 (dates unknown).

⁷ It is precisely for this reason that I adopt the romanization as *te ni wo ha*, instead of the common *te ni o wa*. These characters were not to be considered as representing only the particles but, often, also verbal/adjectival affixes. For example, the character *ha* は, in the name *te ni wo ha*, does not only represent the particle *wa* (as the traditional reading might suggest) but also the two *-ba* affixes, for example. For this reason, I preferred adopting a transliteration treating each syllable as a *kana*, eventually varying in pronunciation according to the use (more faithful to their conception in Edo Japan), rather than normalizing it in the modern Japanese pronunciation.

ノ句 and the ‘lower clause’ *shita no ku* 下ノ句 (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 157-175), these latter terms also adopted by both Motoori Norinaga, and Shizuki Tadao.

The Japanese *kana* evolved as a graphic simplification of Chinese characters used as phonograms. Chinese characters have logographic valence: they are graphic units possessing meaning. Written Chinese only employs this type of characters, so that a Chinese sentence can be understood as a composition of units each possessing their own meaning. Even though written Japanese evolved into adopting phonetic characters used to represent sounds, and not meaning per se, the tight relationship between one character and one meaning was not completely abandoned when analyzing its grammar. This is why in the research about the *te ni wo ha* the many grammatical inflections of Japanese were often not treated as grammatical realizations of different morphosyntactic phenomena but as meanings conveyed by specific *kana*, instead. I will discuss this in section 6.2, where I will cover the research on *kakari-musubi* by Motoori Norinaga, but one can already see this in scholars preceding him. Mokuji Shōnin 木食上人 (1536 – 1608, also known as Ōgo 応其), for example, completed the work that goes by the title of *Mugon-shō* 無言抄 in 1580, but was only published in 1603. In this work the aforementioned approach is already visible. For example, the character *-nu* is considered to express two meanings: *fu no nu* 不のぬ, ‘negative *-nu*’ whenever it corresponded to the *rentaikei* form of the affix *-zu*, used for negations; and *owan nu* をはんぬ ‘finished *-nu*’ whenever it corresponded to the *shūshikei* form of the affix *-nu*, expressing completion. This type of reasoning shows the influence still played by the traditional Chinese-derived conception of characters. In other words, instead of conceiving *-nu* as an inflected form of two different grammatical inflecting patterns, most scholars conceived each character as expressing one or more meanings, which are thus embedded in the character itself. Another relevant example found in *Mugon-shō* is the way the author covers the character *shi* し, which is explained as expressing three meanings, corresponding to three locations of time: *kako no shi* 過去のし ‘past *-shi*’, *genzai no shi* 現在のし ‘present *-shi*’ and *mirai no shi* 未来のし ‘future *-shi*’. The affixes *-shi* here referenced are, in order, the *rentaikei* form of the past suffix *-ki*, the *shūshikei* ending of adjectives, and the *shi* character present in the *shūshikei* form of the suffix *-beshi* (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 173).

In the history of Japanese linguistics, many of the publications⁸ that composed my secondary literature use the phrasing *kokugogaku-shi* 国語学史, or something

⁸ This refers to most of the secondary literature I have referenced for the compilation of this chapter: SHIGEMATSU (1959), FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972) and MABUCHI & IZUMO (2021). Notably, in the last one, the subtitle reads “The history of the linguistic research of Japanese people” however, this book only covers the studies on language concerning Japanese and treating Chinese only as far as *kanji* are concerned. It disregards Dutch studies completely, yet it briefly mentions the *kirishitan gogaku* キリシタン語学, the Christian linguistic studies of the Iberic missionaries. Although this contradicts the subtitle, it reinforces the idea that with *kokugakushi* it is only meant the “linguistic studies of the national language” and not the “national studies on language”. TOKIEDA (2017, 19-29), instead, problematizes in length the use of the term *kokugo*, addressing a few of the issues I have addressed, as well.

similar. The term *kokugogaku*, although often translated as ‘Japanese linguistics’ by the authors themselves, actually means ‘national language studies’. Usually, these publications discuss “Japanese linguistics” not as “linguistics in Japan”, but rather as “linguistics of Japanese”. This means that they do not focus on the history of the linguistic investigations carried out on other languages, such as Chinese and European languages. An early publication on the history of Japanese linguistics is *Kokugogaku shōshi* 国語学小史 (‘A Small History of Japanese Linguistics’) by Hoshina Kōichi 保科孝一 (1872 – 1955). The author identifies five main periods of the history of on Japanese (HOSHINA 1899, 15-16):

1. The period before Keichū;
2. The sudden rise of Japanese linguistics, from Keichū to Motoori Norinaga;
3. The prosperity of Japanese linguistics, from Norinaga’s death to Tachibana Moribe 橘守部;
4. The decline of Japanese linguistics, from Moribe to the year 1886;
5. Since 1886 onward, when Japanese linguistics become an academic discipline.

This structure is also adopted by SHIGEMATSU (1959, 21-24) who reworks it in the following fashion:

1. The period before Keichū: Characterized by non-empiric and non-structuralized approaches handed down in *hidensho* 秘伝書;
2. From Keichū to Norinaga: Initiated by the publication of *Waji shōran-shō* 和字正濫抄 by Keichū. It includes the works of Norinaga and features the rapid advancement of the knowledge on Japanese linguistics, particularly concerning *kanazukai*, *te ni wo ha*, inflection, phonology, etymology, and vocabularies. In this period a more empirical approach is developed and *kokugaku* rises to prominence as an alternative to Confucianism;
3. After Norinaga to the *bakumatsu* period: It is a period of expansion of what was initiated by, mainly, Norinaga, particularly in the context of inflection;
4. Since the Meiji period onward, when the influence of Western studies gets stronger and more influential, also in the context of Japanese studies.

In both cases, the third period is the one in which one would find Shizuki’s works. Therefore, an overview of what has been done up until that point will be provided in the remainder of the present chapter.

5.2 Cultural movements of the Edo period and their research on language

Contrary to what one could assume from the protectionist policies called *sakoku*, the Edo period was characterized by a vital variety of schools of thought. The unity afforded to the country by the centralization of power in the Tokugawa shogunate came with a renewed national identity, that, according to TAJIRI (2012, 28) was mostly based on the idea of the direct descent of the Japanese people from the dynasty of the *shintō* gods: the *kami* 神. The idea that Japan was the ‘land of the gods’, or rather the ‘land of the *kami*’ (*shinkoku* or *kamiguni* 神国), allegedly

reinforced by some historical events, such as the repeated failure of Mongol invasion, has been a convincing reason to many for the ban on Christianity to be enforced. Such renewed awareness of the Japanese identity could be seen as an explanation for the general tendency of most cultural movements to concentrate on the historical and cultural roots of Japan's tradition, which can be seen among scholars of *waka*, as well as Confucians.

The research on *waka*, that had already been pursued for centuries by the time the Edo period began, led to the birth of a new school, that brought along with it a series of new methodologies and theoretical approaches. This scholarship is known as *kokugaku* 国学, 'studies on the [mother] land' – often referred to as "nativist studies" – and its genesis is generally attributed to the poet who went by the name of Keichū 契沖 (1640 – 1701), as well as Kada no Azumamaru 荷田春満 (1669 – 1736), although Motoori Norinaga is often regarded as the most representative individual of this movement. Based on the study of the classics of Japanese literature, the scholars of *kokugaku* were generally more aware about the fact that the transformation of the Japanese language throughout the centuries had made the true comprehension of the contents of such sources very difficult. Scholars of *kokugaku* were conscious about the changes in the way the world was conceived of since the 'ancient' (*inishie* 古) times. A concept of the world that could still be understood by studying these cherished books written in the purer ancient style. The idea that a higher wisdom was contained in these old sources is epitomized by Keichū's quote, found in his *Man'yō daishoki* 万葉代匠記, where he writes: "By looking at this collection [*Man'yōshū*], in order to attain the spirit of the people of the past, one needs to forget about the heart of today"⁹ (TAJIRI 2012, 134).

At the same time, in Confucian circles, the Neo-Confucian school of thought known as *shushigaku* 朱子学 gained importance. Scholars of *shushigaku* were mostly engaged with Chinese sources, since they were interested in the interpretation of Chinese characters, in the context of *kanbun*, and in the ways in which the Confucian sources should be rendered in current Japanese – via *kundoku* – in order for their real, original meaning to be intelligible to a speaker of Early Modern Japanese (TAJIRI 2012, 78). Neo-Confucian philosophy was continued by Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130 – 1200), mainly via his critical edition of the classical Four Books of Confucian literature *Sishū jizhù* 四書集注 ('Commentaries on the Four Books') – known in Japanese as *Shisho shūchū*, henceforth *Commentaries* – and his anthology *Jinsilù* 近思錄 ('Reflections on Things at Hand') – known in Japanese as *Kinshiroku* –, the latter being co-edited by Lǚ Zǔqiān 呂祖謙 (1137 – 1181). The "Four Books" referred to the four ancient Chinese literary works investigating and promoting Confucian values and included: *Dàxué* (JP: *Daigaku*) 大學 "Great Learning"; *Zhōngyōng* (JP: *Chūyō*) 中庸 "Doctrine of the Mean"; *Lúnyǔ* (JP: *Rongo*) 論語 "Analects"; and *Mèngzǐ* (*Mōshi*) 孟子 "Mencius". Zhū Xī's *Commentaries* had already reached Japan in the 13th century when the book mostly

⁹ Original Japanese text, as quoted in TAJIRI (2012, 134): "此の集を見るには、古の人の心に成りて、今の心を忘れて見るべし". My translation.

circulated among Buddhists of the Zen school. Around the year 1223, a book by a disciple of Zhū Xī named Chén Běixī 陳北溪 (1159 – 1223) gets published, with the title *Xìnglǐ zìyì* 性理字義 ('The Meanings of Neo Confucian Terms'), known in Japanese as *Seiri jigi*. This work contained a lexicography of the philosophical ideas of his master Zhū Xī and only spread in Japan in the 1590s, after a 1553 Korean edition was imported in the archipelago. Japanese Neo-Confucian Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583 – 1657) manages to get access to a copy of Běixī's *Jigi*, how it started being informally called, and decided to work on his own version of it, with *kundoku* annotations, for a Japanese-speaking audience. This book was only posthumously published, in 1659, with the title *Seiri jigi genkai* 性理字義諺解, a ('Vernacular Translation of Běixī's *Jigi*'), as argued in TUCKER (1998, 18-20). With the introduction of Běixī's *Jigi* within the domestic discourse of (Neo-)Confucian studies in Japan, in some sense, one can say that a new literary genre started spreading. Neo-Confucians in Early Modern Japan believed that one of the fundamental roles of a scholar is to provide the correct interpretation of words, based on the fact that Confucius reportedly claimed, in the *Analects*, that a good policy on the proper use of language is fundamental for a good state (TUCKER 2006, 4). This led some Neo-Confucians to publish works aiming at rectifying the use of language, to provide a tool for the people of the ruling class. These works were all broadly based on the example provided by Běixī. Two fundamental Japanese scholars who authored impactful works within the genre of *jigi* 字義 – term that TUCKER (1991) uses to broadly refer to this type of publications – were Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627 – 1705) and Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666 – 1728). Jinsai famously authored *Gomō jigi* 語孟字義 ('Philosophical Lexicography of the *Analects* and *Mencius*'), where he articulated the vision on ethical issues and material interests of the so-called *chōnin* 町人 class, composed of merchants, artisans and, generally, townspeople. With this work he advocated returning to the ancient Confucian ideas, while rejecting the highly metaphysical Neo-Confucian notions of the scholars of the Song (*Sòng* 宋, 960 – 1279) Chinese dynasty (TUCKER 1998, 1). Jinsai believed that Confucianism was to be made accessible and applicable to "the people" (*min* 民), although what he specifically meant with "the people" has never been made punctually clear, particularly whether it was also supposed to be including the samurai class (TUCKER 1998, 3; 11). Ogyū, instead, had a less inclusive approach to Confucianism, since he mostly regarded the general public not smart and cultured enough to understand the sophisticated theories of the sages, believing that the masses were better off by following the highly educated elites, who could interpret and understand Confucian texts, and rules abiding by their teachings (TUCKER 2006, 9). Regardless of these differences, Ogyū had originally tried reaching out to Jinsai, by sending him a letter in 1702 (two years before the latter's death), asking whether he could become his disciple. Jinsai never answered to this request, probably for political reasons, which irritated Ogyū who ended up slandering and criticizing Jinsai's works and theories, as can be seen in his *Benmei* 辨名 ('Discerning the Meanings of Philosophical Terms', 1717), as discussed by TUCKER (1998, 8-11). Regardless of their differences, however, both Jinsai and Ogyū believed that, in order to understand the real meaning of the words and concepts used in the ancient

texts of Confucianism, one needed to go back to how those words were defined and conceived of by the people of those times. I will return to Ogyū's theories in 6.1.

It can be said that both Neo-Confucianism and “nativism” – Japan's main cultural and literary movements of the Edo period – were fundamentally oriented toward a linguistic approach in the investigation of their scholarships. This linguistic approach cherished the ancient use of language, both in Japanese *waka*, as well as in Chinese *kanbun*, aiming at a diachronic readoption of the ways of the past, upon which the modern approaches were superimposed. For both types of scholarship, the ultimate goal was to ascertain the real use of language of the past as to pursue the way (*michi/dō* 道), for the (Neo-)Confucians, or to understand the heart of the past (*inishie no kokoro* 古の心).

Consequently, it should be no surprise to realize that the Edo period saw a flourishing of linguistic investigations, from which research into the correct use of language originated. FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 183-184) divide the linguistic investigations on Japanese carried out in the Early Modern period in three phases:

1. The first phase lasts until the Genroku 元禄 period (1688 – 1704) and is characterized by wide-spread publications of the so-called *hidensho* 秘伝書, ‘secret books’ that circulated mostly among the wealthier and more educated elites. The studies were mostly focused on phonetics and were based on the Siddhānt tradition;
2. The second phase spans from the Genroku to the Meiwa 明和 (1764 – 1772) and An'ei 安永 (1772 – 1781) periods. These are the years in which the schools of thought of the Edo period really took shape. It is based on an approach that FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA call “empirical” (*jissshōteki* 実証的) and “objective” (*kyakkanteki* 客観的), based on the quote of Keichū: “Demonstrating by directly quoting from the ancient books, exposes that which is not personal”;¹⁰
3. The third and last phase, that covers the rest of the Edo period, sees the flourishing of the studies concerning the national language, were the main representative figures are Fujitani Nariakira 富士谷成章 (1738 – 1779) and Motoori Norinaga. These two initiate new subjects regarding the studies on Japanese, specifically deepening the knowledge on grammar and inflection, expanding from the traditional studies on phonology and *kana-zukai*. In particular, it is worth mentioning two works by each scholar: *Kazashi-shō* かざし抄 (1767) and *Ayuhishō* あゆひ抄 (1773), by Nariakira (see 5.3.1) and *Te ni wo ha himo kagami* てにをは紐鏡 (1771) and *Kotoba no tama no o* 詞の玉緒 (1785), by Norinaga (see 6.2). These two early scholars have subsequently been impactful in the development of younger authors, such as Suzuki Akira 鈴木朗 (1764 - 1837), in his work *Katsugo*

¹⁰ Original Japanese text, found in the introduction (*jo* 序) to Keichū's *Waji shōranshō* 和字正濫抄 (1693), here quoted from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 183): “古書を引て証することは私なき事を顕はせり”. My translation.

danzokufu 活語断続譜 (1803) (see 5.3.2) and Motoori Haruniwa (see 5.4.1) with his *Kotoba no yachimata* 詞八衢 (1806).

The main focus of the following Chapter VI will be the systemic understanding of both Motoori Norinaga's and Ogyū Sorai's theoretical frameworks with regard to languages. I will concentrate on them because they are certain sources of Shizuki who cites them directly. However, the research carried out by Motoori Norinaga and Ogyū Sorai did not happen in a vacuum. Particularly in the second half of the Edo period, the circulation of books and literary works increased, and most authors had the chance to read each other's works, shaping an intertwining net of influences, even across different schools of thought. While this was happening more and more Japanese literates, physicians and interpreters started to venture into the scholarship of *rangaku*, the Dutch studies. Yet hardly anybody was ever born a *rangakusha* and, even if one were indeed brought up in a Dutch interpreter's household, it was unlikely for them not to receive a traditional education in Japanese classics and not to keep themselves up to date regarding the main publications of the Japanese scholars contemporary to them. As MATSUDA (2008, 140) states, most Edo scholars were coming from a background in Chinese studies, anyway. Consequently, it is mandatory to also understand other authors of both *kokugaku* and Confucianism who worked in the same era as Shizuki, even those who were not directly cited by him.

In the remainder of the present Chapter V, I will provide an overview of other scholars of the Edo period whose works Shizuki might have read, although he did not cite them. Secondary literature is still lacking, with respect to the impact of figures such as Motoori Haruniwa, Norinaga's son. When splitting the Edo period in three phases, as shown above, FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 184) only briefly mention the investigations on Dutch during the last phase. They claim: "Furthermore, in this period [the 'third phase'], as an effect of the research on the Dutch language, we saw the birth of a movement that, having learnt Dutch grammar, intended to also apply the same structure to Japanese. This is, for example, Tsurumine Shigenobu's *Gogaku shinsho* ['New Book of Linguistics']".¹¹ These attempts had little influence among their contemporaries. Nonetheless, understanding to which extent they managed to harmonize the preceding studies on Japanese, with the structure of Western-style grammars, remains a future task. Furthermore, there were also foreigners who were engaged with the research on Japanese. Particularly after the reopening of the ports, we see individuals who could come directly to Japan, yet their results will not be presented until the Meiji period".¹²

¹¹ Scholar Tsurumine Shigenobu 鶴峰戊申 (1788 - 1859) who published *Gogaku shinsho* 語学新書 in 1831.

¹² Original Japanese quote: “また、この期には、オランダ語研究の結果、その文法にならって、国語も組織づけようとする動きが生じた。鶴峰戊申の「語学新書」などがそれである。この試みが当時に与えた影響は少なかったが、それまでの国学者の研究の成果と、洋風文典に従った文法体系とを、どのように調和統一するかということが、以後の課題として残される。また、外国人の中で、国語について研究するも

On the contrary, in Chapters VII and VIII, I will demonstrate the impact of Neo-Confucian and “nativist” studies, in the analysis of Dutch of Shizuki. Furthermore, I will also present evidence demonstrating that Shizuki's approach was already introducing many European tools into the Japanese cultural discourse on language, which made the analysis of language in Japan more similar to the modern approach. For this reason, I will now describe these tools, focusing on the investigations carried out during the Edo period, in Japan, as to identify the main theories on language that used to circulate back then, in order to be able to insert Shizuki – as well as the other scholars of Dutch – within the broader tradition of language studies in Japan.

5.3 Thoughts on language in Edo Japan

As a natural continuation of the studies on language in the preceding periods, the research on language in Edo Japan concentrated mostly on the study of sounds and *kana-zukai*, ultimately originating from the historical studies on the Siddhām script, that allowed for the ‘table of the fifty sounds’ to be created and the composition of the *iroha uta* いろは歌, a poem composed of each and every original syllable with distinctive phonological value, used only once. This poem itself was derived from the phonetic studies of Sanskrit, and was inspired by Buddhist sutras (DOI 1976, 4).

Such investigations on phonology will not be discussed here, as they are not immediately relevant to my research question. Since I want to provide a clearer picture of how the Japanese theorized morphosyntactic and grammatical concepts, I will only concentrate on these topics. For this reason, figures like Keichū, who is seen as the father of *kokugaku*, and others who have contributed significantly to the development of Japanese linguistics, will not be discussed extensively.

Keichū, who devoted most of his work to the understanding of Japanese phonology and *kana-zukai*, in the context of grammatical theory is worth being mentioned mostly for his use of the distinction between the categories of *tai* 体 ‘body’ and of *yō* 用 ‘work’. This second category, that corresponded to the verbs *hataraku* and *ugoku*, both meaning ‘to work’, ‘to move’, loosely referred to those words that could be inflected (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 193). The dichotomy of *tai-yō* 体用, however, is much older than these investigations on language. It is not totally clear when and where it was firstly used, but it is clear that it was a concept that was being employed and investigated upon not only in the context of *kokugaku*, but amongst Confucian Sinologists as well.¹³ TUCKER (2006) translates these two characters into English as “substance” (*tai* 体) and “function” (*yō* 用). It appears that

のもあり、特に開港以後は、直接に来日する者も出てくるが、その主たる成果が発表されるのは、明治直前になってからである。” (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 184), my English translation.

¹³ NAKAMURA (1975, vol. 3, 911) provides the reading *taiyū*, and attests that this dichotomy has gotten very common during the Six Dynasties, a Chinese period spanning from circa 220 to 589 and that the concept was perhaps influenced by the Chinese author Zhuāngzǐ 莊子 (369 – 286Bc, JP: Sōshi). However, this does not refer to the grammatical use of the term.

trying to identify the origin of this dichotomy has been a goal many scholars in the Edo Period have pursued. In the *Běixī zìyì* 北溪字義 – *Hokkei jigi* in Japanese – in the entry to the Chinese character *shin* 心 ‘spirit’, ‘mind’, one can find a section titled “The theory on the substance and function of the mind” (論心有體用) where one reads that *tai-yō* 体用 is a dichotomy typical of the “mind” (*shin* 心):¹⁴

心有體有用具衆理者
其體應萬事者其用寂
然不動者其體感而遂
通者其用體即所謂性
以其靜者言也用即所
謂情以其動者言也

In the mind there is substance (*tai* 体) and function (*yō* 用). The substance is what puts all reason (*ri* 理) in order. What responds to all things is the function. That which is made quiet and does not move is the substance. That which feels all throughout is the function. The substance is, in other terms the “nature” (*sei* 性), that refers to things that are quiet. The function, in other terms, is the “passion” (*jō* 情), that refers to the things that move.

However, Itō Jinsai does not believe that this dichotomy was originally postulated by the ancient sages, rather, that it was a later addition of the Tang dynasty, subsequently reworked in the Song dynasty by Chéng Yí 程頤 (1033 – 1107) but which had ultimately originated in *Chán* (禪) Buddhism, the Chinese precursor of what will be known in Japan as Zen (禪) Buddhism (TUCKER 2006, 442). TUCKER (2006, 325) also evidences that Ogyū Sorai addresses these remarks by Jinsai, in his *Benmei* 弁明 (also 辨明), and agrees with his reconstruction claiming that the ancient sages did not employ this dichotomy and it had to be a more recent postulation. However, Ogyū himself does utilize this distinction in a couple of instances, as I will show in 6.1.2.

It appears to me that this dichotomy, regardless of its origin, must have been rather productive during the Edo period and was being employed and readapted at the author’s will. Many authors, as I claim in the present chapter, have used it to refer to linguistic issues. As made clear from the quote above, the *tai* had to do with a quiet substance, while the *yō* referred to the functions and actions performed on the substance. With these broad definitions, these units of meaning were adapted according to the concerned theory. For example, among Dutch studies, there is an interesting employment of this dichotomy in the manuscript titled *Oranda yakubun ryaku sōkō* 和蘭訳文略艸稿 by Maeno Ryōtaku. There, at the very beginning of the book, Maeno draws a table (see 文庫 8 F23, folio 4v) which he calls *tāfuru han retteru* ターフルハンレツテル¹⁵ that corresponds to the Dutch *tafel van letter*, roughly ‘table of letter(s)’, translated into Japanese as *moji no fu* 文字之譜.

¹⁴ Original text from Digital Collections of Keio University Libraries (慶應義塾大学メディアアセンダー デジタルコレクション), 110X 116 2, volume 1, folios 8v-9r, my English translation.

¹⁵ In the original document, the gemination is not signaled with ツ, as conventional today, but with a special character.

Dutch letters are divided by means of the two parameters of *tai* and *yō*, each including 4 characteristics of Dutch letters. For example, in the *tai* category – referring to the substance of letters – one finds the following Dutch words, accompanied by a literal Japanese translation:

- *drukletter* (*doryuku retteru* ドルユクレッテル) ‘lower case’ in the Gothic font, translated literally into Japanese as *assho* 壓書 (圧書), where *druk* and *atsu* literally mean ‘pressure’;
- *hoofdletter* (*hōfuto retteru* ホウフトレッテル) ‘upper case’ in the Gothic font, translated literally into Japanese *kaisho* 魁書, where *hoofd* and *kai* literally mean ‘head’;
- *merkletter* (*meruku retteru* メルクレッテル) ‘block letter’ in Romanic font, literally translated into Japanese as *insho* 印書, where *merk* and *in* mean ‘mark’, ‘sign’;
- *trekletter* (*terekki retteru* テレッキレッテル) ‘cursive letter’, literally translated into Japanese as *eisho* 曳書, where *trek* and *ei* both mean ‘to pull’.

All the *tai* relative to the letters correspond to scripts often rendered in Japanese with the character *sho* 書. The four “functions” (*yō*) of letters are, instead, the following. For these, Maeno does not coin new terms, rather, he compares them to concepts that already exist in Japanese, as follows:

- *syllaben* (*seiraben* セイラベン) ‘syllables’, corresponding to the Japanese *setsuin* 切匀;
- *woorden* (*wōruden* ウヲールデン) ¹⁶ ‘words’, corresponding to the Japanese *genko* 言語;
- *lezen* (*rēsen* レーセン) ‘reading’, corresponding to the Japanese *shōdoku* 誦読;
- *schrijven* (*shikereihen* シケレイヘン) ‘writing’, corresponding to the Japanese *shaji* 写字.

It is also claimed that these are called *a be se* (‘ABC’) and are 25 in total. The difference between the *taiyō* dichotomy, in Maeno’s use, is between the shape and appearance of the letters (*tai*) and the use made of them (*yō*). Additionally, in the table, Maeno also reports the existence of two other types of letters that possess both a “differing substance” (*betsutai* 別体) and a “differing function” (*betsuyō* 別用). These are *cijferletter* (*seiheru retteru* セイヘルレッテル) ‘numbers’, called *sūji* 数字, in Japanese, and *tekenletter* (*tēken retteru* テーケンレッテル) ‘punctuation marks’, called *fuji* 符字, in Japanese. The formers are ten (十) in number, and the latter “many” (多).

¹⁶ In Waseda’s manuscript, this word presents a few misspellings. In the rest of the manuscript this is written as I have reported. In the table, however, the vowel-lengthening mark ー (*chōonpu* 長音符) is mistaken for the character *to* ト, while the combination of the two characters *u* ウ and *wo* ヲ, used by Motoori to approximate the Dutch syllable /vo/ is misspelled as a repetition of the character *ra* ラ.

Together with the development of the *taiyō* dichotomy, other approaches to the categorization of words are also developed during the Edo period. For example, there was an increased interest in word interpretation and etymology, based on the historical focus on phonology. This can be seen in 1700, when Kaibara Ekken 貝原益軒 (1630 – 1714) published his *Nihon shakumyō* 日本釈名, containing a categorization of words, based on their etymological origin, in an attempt to trace back the phonetic transformations across the centuries. This work was based on the semi-homonymous work by the Chinese Liú Xī (*Ryū Ki* 劉熙, in Japanese), who lived in the 4th century, and published the work known as *Shiming*, or *Shakumyō* 釈名 in Japanese. Kaibara identifies eight categories of words, based on their etymological pronunciation, in the following fashion (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 208-210):

- 自語 (*jigo*): Words pronounced ‘naturally’ (*ji* 自), as handed down since the ancient times, i.e., words that have not undergone any specific phonetic changes;¹⁷
- 転語 (*tengo*): Words that vary in their meaning by changing one of the vowels in one syllable. For example, *kami* 上 ‘up’, that becomes *kimi* 君 ‘you’, ‘prince’, with /a/ changing into /i/;
- 略語 (*ryakugo*): Words that are used in their abbreviated form. For example *hi* 氷 ‘ice’ is considered an abbreviated form of *hiyuru*;
- 借語 (*shakugo*): Homophones, words spelled with the same *kana*;
- 義語 (*gigo*): Characters originating from a concept. For example, the character *sei* 勢 ‘vigor’, read as *ikioi*, represents a *gigo* of the spelling 気生, composed of the elements ‘energy’ and ‘life’;
- 反語 (*hango*): When two *kana* combine into one as in *hira* ‘surface’, that, allegedly, gave *ha* ‘leaf’ by combining the consonant of the first *kana* ‘hi’ and the vowel of the second *kana* ‘ra’;
- 子語 (*shigo*): Words that derive from a ‘mother character’ 母字 (*shi* 子 meaning ‘son’), as *hiru* ‘afternoon’, that allegedly comes from *hi* ‘sun’;
- 音語 (*ongo*): Literally ‘sound words’. These can be of three types, according to the original language the sound supposedly comes from. They can be Japanese native sounds, Chinese-derived sounds, and Sanskrit-derived sounds.

Although these categories represent an early division of words by a Japanese, their usefulness is limited, as they only function in the context of etymological studies. None of these categories holds morphosyntactic relevance, and they are based on the traditional Japanese conception of phonological units, that correspond to *kana*.

Another interesting trend that can be witnessed with many scholars of varying backgrounds, is the focus on the categories of *te ni wo ha* and *joshi/joji/jogo*. These two concepts, that come from the Japanese and Chinese traditions, are at the core of

¹⁷ This ignores the fundamental phonological changes in pronunciation of Japanese consonant and vowels throughout the history of the language, a phenomenon of which Edo Japanese individuals were mostly unaware.

numerous investigations and debates all throughout the Edo period and deserve special attention (see 5.5), also because of the relevance of the category *joshi* in the works of Shizuki (see Chapter VII).

The history of the study of Japanese inflection patterns cannot be understood without the history of Japanese studies on phonology. Traditionally, conjugation was conceived of as substitutions or patterns of alternation of *kana*, each with a meaning attributed to them (see 3.1). In fact, since the syllabic writing of *kana* did not allow a further segmentation of sounds, the studies on the Table of the Fifty Sounds (*gojūon-zu* 五十音図) and the *kana-zukai* were used as basis upon which to construct one's theory of inflection. That is why a first illustration of the patterns of conjugation can be found in a 1646 publication by the title *Inkyō-zu* 韻鏡図, another work based on the table of the fifty sounds, that identified five patterns of verbal inflection, according to the *kana* used as ending. The author identified five patterns:

- 若仮 (*jakka*)¹⁸ 'hypothetical', that corresponds to our *mizenkei* form + *-ba*;
- 未来 (*mirai*) 'future', that corresponds to our *izenkei* form + *-ba*;
- 過去 (*kako*) 'past', that corresponds to our *ren'yōkei* form + *-ki*;
- 現在 (*genzai*) 'present', that corresponds to our *shūshikei*;
- 下知 (*gechi*) 'imperative', that corresponds to our *meireikei*.

Although still fundamentally dependent on the studies on the Table of the Fifty Sounds, one can already see patterns in the combined use of verbal affixes with the change in verbal ending, in a way that appears to describe Japanese conjugation as inflection, rather than as *kana* substitution (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 218).

What is still missing from this picture is a categorization of words according to morphological parameters. As argued by FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 226), there has never been a real development of such a categorization, except for the binary distinction between *tai* 体 and *yō* 用 words, that only considered their quality of "non-inflecting" or "inflecting". A similar distinction can also be found in Ogyū's categories, although he used these two characters with a different meaning (see 6.1.2). It is indeed Ogyū himself, according to FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 216), who brought together the historical traditions of the linguistic studies on Chinese and Japanese. While Ogyū was mostly interested in the interpretation of Chinese characters and of *kanbun*, he did draw comparisons between *kanji* and the corresponding native Japanese word. The popularization of the Chinese grammatical categories, particularly in reference to the category of *joshi/jogo* that can be witnessed in the Edo period, could be traced back to the re-printing of *Jogo-ji* 助語辭, in 1674, a book originally published in China, in 1324 with the title *Yǔzhù* 語助 (*Gojo*, in Japanese) by Lú Yǐwěi 盧以緯. As the book title suggests, the main focus of this work concerned the category of *jogo* which was presented in the traditional distinction "full" (*jitsu* 実), "empty" (*kyo* 虚) and "auxiliary" (*jo* 助). Another early adopter of these three categories was Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670 – 1736), a

¹⁸ Tentative reading.

Confucian who, in 1763 published *Sōkō jiketsu* 操觚字訣 (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 226). In this source, the following is claimed:¹⁹

凡文字、而於乎哉ノ類ヲ、
助字トイフ、文章ノテニハ
ナリ。嗚呼如何稍亦ノ類ヲ
語辭トイフ。文章ノコトハ
字也。命スル見ル行クノ
類、ハタラキニナル字ヲ虚
字ト云。天地日月命令ノ類
ヲ実字ト云、ソノカタチア
ルモノナリ。

Generally, as far as characters are concerned, the types of *ji* 而, *o* 於, *ko* 乎 and *sai* 哉 are called *joji* 助字, and are the *te ni ha* of a text. Characters like *mei* 嗚, *ko* 呼, *nyo* 如, *ka* 何, *shō* 稍 and *eki* 亦 are called “auxiliaries” (*goji* 語辭), these are the words of a text. Words like *mei suru* 命スル, *miru* 見ル and *yuku* 行ク are words that do work (*hataraki*), thus are called “empty” (*kyoji* 虚字). Characters like *ten* 天, *chi* 地, *nichi* 日, *getsu* 月, *mei* 命, *rei* 令 are “full” (*jitsuji* 実字), as they are things that possess a shape (*katachi*).

In this piece of text, one can see the distinction of the parts of speech into four categories, that appear to be applicable to both Chinese and Japanese. In addition, a distinction is made between *joji* 助字 and *goji* 語辭. According to this source, a *joji* is a Chinese character that corresponds to the Japanese *te ni wo ha* particles, while the category of *goji* mostly seems to include characters referring to interjections (*mei* 嗚, *ko* 呼), pronouns (*ka* 何) and conjunctions (*nyo* 如, *eki* 亦). Additionally, the categories of “full” and “empty” are named. An “empty” character is one expressing a “work” (*hataraki*), while a “full” character is one referring to things possessing a “shape” (*katachi*). Neither in the examples, nor in the explanations are adjectives ever distinguished. Many authors, including Ogyū Sorai, identified a subdivision of the “empty” category, called *hankyo* 半虚, ‘semi-empty’ that would correspond to adjectives (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 232). In *Kun'yaku jimō* adjectives are, instead, categorized as “empty-quiet” words, distinguishing from verbs that are “empty-moving” words, thus assigning the quality of “quiet” (*sei* 静) to adjectives, and of “moving” (*dō* 動) to verbs, both under the supercategory of “empty” (see 6.1.2). This same categorization can be seen in Shizuki’s *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* (see 7.2 and 7.3).

In the introduction (*sōron* 総論) to a work by Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園 (1734 – 1807) by the title *Joji shōkai* 助字詳解 (1811, ‘Detailed Understanding of Auxiliary Characters’), one can read another explanation of the distinguishing factors between the three categories of full-empty-auxiliary:²⁰

凡字義、実字ハ知り易ク、虚
字ハ稍難シ。虚字ハ虚ニシ
テ、タゞ其模様ノミアリテ、
人ノ心ニソノサマヲ持チテ後
ニ、知ルベキ故ナリ。助字猶

In general, as far as the interpretation of characters (*jigi* 字義) is concerned, the category of “full words” is easy to know, while that of “empty words” is a bit complicated. An “empty word”, being made “empty”, can only exist in such a condition. They are held as such within the human heart, and as such they ought to be

¹⁹ Original quote cited from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 230), my translation.

²⁰ Original quote cited from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 233), my English translation.

更其虚字ヲ以テ、物若ハ事ノ
サマヲ形容スルニ付ケテ、其
ヲ聞ク人ノ心ニ、ソレヲ持チ
思フ処ニスケテ、其ソレヲ持
チテ思ヒヤフノ、心ノハヅミ
ヲ活シテ、思ハセントテ用ユ
ル文字ナル故ニ、尤モ心ニ入
リ難キモノナリ。

understood. Furthermore, the “auxiliaries” are annotated after taking an “empty word” as to qualify [*keiyō* 形容] the condition of a “thing” or an “action”.²¹ In the heart of the person hearing them, they help where one thinks while holding them, giving vitality to the impulse of the heart that makes it think while holding them. And since these are characters used without thinking, they are very hard to learn.

This explanation is particularly valuable, as it concisely qualifies most of the relevant terminology. In addition, Minagawa also ranks the parts of speech according to a hierarchy of difficulty. While *jitsuji*, the ‘full words’, are described as the easiest to understand, probably because they would be defined as representing the name of all existing things, *kyoji* ‘empty words’ are considered a bit more complicated, as they are used to qualify that which is expressed by the *jitsuji*. They are “empty”, in this sense, and can only be empty, because their meaning can only be fully expressed in combination with a *jitsuji*. The most complex category is that of *joji*, the “auxiliaries”, since they also only function in combination with another category, in this case that of *kyoji*.²² The category of *joji* is used, according to Minagawa’s definition, in order to afford “vitality” (活シテ) to the “impulse” (ハヅミ) of the heart. The use of *joji* in the context of conjugation, therefore, needs to be understood as a tool by which to express one’s own “heart”, one’s own expressible meaning. Minagawa adds that the *joji* are particularly difficult as compared to the other two categories of words, because of the fact that they are used without even thinking. I assume this assertion refers to the fact that, while *jitsuji* and *kyoji* both have a direct referent in the context of semantics, be it a ‘thing’, an ‘action’ or a ‘quality’, the *joji* only hold a grammatical meaning, specifying what we would call time, tense, conjugation and so on.

While many authors were using the full-empty-auxiliary categories, some others were also adopting a different system, closer to the *tai* 体 and *yō* 用 distinction found in Keichū. Ogyū Sorai often utilized the categories of *keijō* 形状, *sakuyō* 作用, *seiji* 声辞 and *butsumei* 物名 that would correspond to, respectively: adjectives; verbs; “auxiliary words”; and nouns. This distinction is found in the *kanbun* introduction to his *Yakubun sentei* yet they are not found in *Kun’yaku jimō*. A very similar distinction is also adopted by Suzuki Akira, in his *Gengyo shishuron* 言語四種論 (1824), where one can find the same names for verbs (*shiwaza* 作用) and adjectives (*arikata* 形状), the character *tai* 体 for nouns, just like in Keichū, and the label *te ni wo ha* for the category of *joshi* (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 227-228).

²¹ The two characters *mono* 物 and *koto/waza* 事, could be interpreted as referring to either the dichotomy between concrete and abstract things, as well as that between objects and actions.

²² Minagawa might be referring to only the *joji* which correspond to the verbal/adjectival affixes we call *jodōshi*, in contemporary Japanese, as the ‘particles’ we would today refer to as *joshi* would indeed also combine with nouns, e.g., *jitsuji*.

5.3.1 Parts of speech according to Fujitani Nariakira

A rather distinct approach was adopted by Fujitani Nariakira 富士谷成章 (1738 - 1779), the elder brother of Kyoto sinologist Minagawa Kien. Fujitani, who espoused *kokugaku*, was especially original in his interpretation of the categories of speech and the rules of Japanese. Since he lived in the central decades of the 18th century, he is particularly relevant to the historical period I am concerned with. His main works on language are *Kazashi-shō* かざし抄 (1767) and *Ayui-shō* あゆひ抄 (1778). These two works cover two of the four main categories of speech he identifies: the category of *kazashi* 挿頭, that is a term used to refer to head ornaments, and *ayui* 脚結, that was a sort of tie one would fasten on their trousers underneath the knee to enhance leg mobility. The term *kazashi* was used by Fujitani to refer to those parts of speech one would today call adverbs, conjunctions, pronouns, interjections, among others, while *ayui* was the term he used for particles (nowadays *joshi*) and verbal affixes (nowadays *jodōshi*), as they are generally added after a word. In addition to these two categories, Fujitani also identified the category of *na* 名 ‘name’ for nouns, and the category of *yosoi* 装 that translates into ‘attire’, ‘ornament’, and was used by Fujitani to refer to verbs and adjectives. Thus, although the nomenclature was rather distinct from the norm of his contemporaries, the four categories were not so different from tradition, where *na* would correspond to full/body words, *yosoi* to empty/function words, while *ayui* and *kazashi* were specific sub-categories of auxiliaries. In *Ayui-shō*, Fujitani explains: “The *na* 名 informs about the truth²³ of things, the *yosoi* 装 specifies the action,²⁴ the *kazashi* and *ayui* help the word”²⁵ (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 235-236). Even though Fujitani made a difference between the two categories of *kazashi* and *ayui*, both of them are defined as ‘helping’ (*tasuku*, verb connected to the character *jo* 助) the other ‘words’ *kotoba*.

As far as the category *yosoi* is concerned, Fujitani analyzes the inflecting patterns of verbs and adjectives in a way that is more similar to the modern approach. In *Ayui-shō*, Fujitani draws a table of all types of *yosoi* according to their patterns of inflection. He divides the category of *yosoi* in many sub-levels, starting from the two main categories of *waza* 事 ‘action’, that refer to verbs, and *sama* 状 ‘condition’, that refers to adjectives. It is worth mentioning that the character for *sama* 状 was also used by Ogyū Sorai and Suzuki Akira, both adopting the term *arikata/keijō* 形状 for adjectives (see 5.2.1). The category of *waza* has two sub-categories: the broadest one is called again *waza*, while the smaller one is called *a(ri)na* 孔 ‘hole’, that corresponds in the example to the verb *ari*, and refers to the category of the *ra-hen* ラ変 class of verbs. Adjectives, instead, appear in three categories: *arisama* 在,

²³ The verb *kotowaru* refers to the Chinese character *ri* 理, meaning ‘to specify the truth of things’, ‘to judge’.

²⁴ In this translation ‘thing’ translates *butsu (mono)* 物 and ‘action’ translates *ji* 事, that was here probably used as corresponding to the word *waza*.

²⁵ Original quote: “名をもて物をことわり、装をもて事をさだめ、挿頭・脚結をもてことばたすく。”, cited from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 236. My translation.

that refers to the category of *keiyōdōshi*; *shizama* 芝状, that refers to adjectives of the *-ku* type; and *shikizama* 鋪状, that corresponds to adjectives of the *-shiku* type.

Each of these categories combines with specific entries in each line that illustrates how each type ought to be inflected. The term *kishikata* 往 corresponds to the *ren'yōkei*, the term *menomae* 目 refers to the *meireikei* and, for some, the *izenkei*, as well, while the term *aramashi* 来 refers to the *mizenkei*. The character *moto* 本 refers to the root of the verb. As is known, not all verbal roots in Japanese end(ed) in a vowel, some ending with a consonant. However, since Japanese is written by means of syllabic characters, this difference was interpreted as the root requiring an extra syllable, that corresponded to the character *sue* 末, in Fujitani's terminology. It needs to be stressed that this extra syllable – that really is an extra consonant – does not include the cases in which a verb has more syllables in the root itself. For example, the verb *omo(h)i* has two syllables in its root (*o* and *mo*) and ends in a consonant (*h*), thus the *sue* 末 character, according to Fujitani, would only be *hu* (ふ) ²⁶ while both *o* and *mo* belong to the root (*moto* 本). Additionally, Fujitani uses other characters to express other inflecting patterns. With the character *nabiki* 靡, Fujitani refers to two different phenomena. With regards to verbs, this character refers to the additional *ra-gyō* ラ行 syllable that needs to be added in the *shūshikei* and *rentaikei* forms of some verbs, realizing as a *ru* syllable, identified by Fujitani with the combination of the characters *nabiki hiki** 靡引,²⁷ and for the *izenkei* form, realizing as the syllable *re*, that Fujitani calls *nabiki fushi* 靡伏. For adjectives, it corresponds to the additional character *ki*, in similar contexts, for which *nabiki hiki** 靡引 is used. Adjectives cannot inflect according to *nabiki fushi* 靡伏. With *fushi menomae* 伏目 and *tachi moto* 立本, Fujitani refers to the syllable *ke*, for the *izenkei*, and *ka*, for most forms of both *-ku* and *-shiku* adjectives.

Since not all verbs inflect by adding the “extra syllable” (*sue* 末) or a *ru* syllable (*nabiki* 靡), verbal and adjectival types, are categorized according to their capability (*yū* 有 ‘presence’) or incapability (*mu* 無 ‘absence’) of possessing either. The verb 居, whose root is *u*, belongs to a group of verbs that possess neither, thus is categorized in the group *mumatsu muhi** 無末無靡. The verbs 来 (root *ku*), 為 (root *su*), 寝 (root *nu*), 得 (root *u*), and 見 (root *mi*) all conjugate without the addition of an extra syllable (e.g., their roots end in vowel) but do present the *ru* syllable in their *rentaikei* form, and thus are categorized as *mumatsu yūhi** 無末有靡. The verbs 打 (root + extra syllable: *u-tsu*), 思 (root + extra syllable *omo-(f)u*) have an extra syllable in their roots, yet do not conjugate with the syllable *ru* in their *rentaikei*, thus are categorized as *yūmatsu muhi** 有末無靡. The verbs 捨 (root + extra syllable: *su-tsu*), 落 (root + extra syllable: *o-tsu*), 恨 (root + extra syllable: *ura-mu*)

²⁶ This, of course, refers to the historical spelling, where the *ha-gyō* used to refer to the consonant /p/.

²⁷ Not all compounds present *furigana*, for those terms I provide a provisional transcription in Latin characters trying to maintain consistency with the other names. In those cases, I will signal it by means of an asterisk.

and 越 (root + extra syllable: *ko-yu*) conjugate by having both an extra syllable as well as the syllable *ru*, thus are categorized as *yūmatsu yūhi** 有末有靡. The same category is also afforded to the *-shiku* adjectives category (鋪). The verbs in the *arina* 孔 category (*ra-hen*), as well as the *arisama* 在 (*jodōshi*) and the *-ku* adjectives (芝), present an extra syllable in their root, as well as a *hiki* 引, thus are categorized as *yūmatsu yūin** 有末有引. A *hiki* is similar to a *nabiki* 靡, but it is not to be considered an additional syllable, rather a modification of the syllable in the root.

On the one hand, Fujitani Nariakira's investigations are very original, apparently treating verbal conjugation as a morphological phenomenon rather than as *kana*-substitution, as it had been done in most of the Edo period. However, in some cases, Fujitani's interpretations were still hindered by the higher degree of reliance on the writing system of Japanese. Furthermore, Fujitani's theories were still developed within the theoretical framework of *kokugaku*. Even though he adopted rather unique terminology, he still operated within the distinction of the classes of the parts of speech typical of the Japanology of the time. Fujitani's works are a testimony of how the *kokugaku* scholarship was developing a theory on the morphosyntax of verbs, in its own independent fashion, beyond what Motoori Norinaga was doing, for example. In fact, there is no reason to believe that Shizuki was in any relevant form influenced by Fujitani's theory. However, Shizuki wrote a lot about the category of verbs, referencing Dutch, Japanese and Chinese grammar, and he reached out to *kokugaku* sources, as well, like Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*. It is however to be expected that, being Shizuki so interested in the category of verbs, he would have also been interested in sources different from Motoori Norinaga. While Fujitani, amongst others, was developing theories of grammar consistent with the tradition of *kokugaku*, Shizuki took some inspiration from that school, yet pursued a quite different field of investigation. Ultimately, contemporary Japanese grammar sure did not adopt Fujitani's theories and terminology, since terms such as *kazashi* and *ayui* are not used today to refer to the parts of speech, whereas terms such as *dōshi* 動詞, *keiyōshi* 形容詞 still are, for example. These derive from Neo-Confucian Chinese studies and were being re-elaborated by Shizuki and other scholars of Dutch so as to also be consistent with the Greek-Latin tradition of grammar, at the time mediated by the Dutch.

5.3.2 Parts of speech according to Suzuki Akira

Suzuki Akira 鈴木朗 (1764 – 1837) was a disciple of Motoori Norinaga who pursued the study of Japanese through the teachings of his master. His most relevant works are: *Katsugo danzokufu* 活語断続譜 (1803) where he covers the topic of *kakari-musubi*, following the work of Norinaga; *Gengyo shishu-ron* 言語四種論 (1824), in which he discusses the categories of the parts of speech; and *Gago onsei-kō* 雅語音声考 (1816), where he covers the topic of the phonology of classical

literary language (*gago* 雅語). In *Gengyo shishu-ron*, on folio 2r, Suzuki presents his division of the parts of speech of Japanese:²⁸

言語ニ四種ノ別アル事

クサ
詞ニ四種ノ別チトハ、一ツハ万
ツノ名目ニテ、体ノ詞。又動カ
ヌ詞ト云、一ツハテニヲハ、一
アリカタ シワザ
ツハ形状ノ詞。一ツハ作用ノ
詞。此ニツヲ合セテ、世ニハ用
ノ詞ト云。又働ク詞トモ、活用
ノ詞トモ、活語トモ云。終リニ
附クモジ、斷レ続キニ因リテカハ
ル故ナリ。カクテ此四種ノ別チ
ノ委シキ子細、又其一クサゴト
ニ、格聊ツ、別ツアル事ハ、
アゲツ
次々ニ 論 ラフヲ見ルベシ

The differentiation of the four types within language

The words [*kotoba* 詞] divide in four types. One is the *karada no kotoba* ['substance-word'], in the naming of all things. They are also called *ugokanu kotoba* ['words that do not move']. Another type is that of the *te ni wo ha*. Another type is that of the *arikata no kotoba* ['words of condition']. The other one is the type of *shiwaza no kotoba* ['words of action']. These [last] two together are called *yō no kotoba* [用ノ詞], also called *hataraku kotoba* ['working words'], or *katsuyō no kotoba* [活用ノ詞] or *katsugo* [活語]. That is because the ending characters which attach [to them] change according to the *kire-tsuzuki*. The differences across these four types are precise and accurate. Furthermore, the difference of each and every one of these types will be discussed further.

This excerpt introduces the work and sets the basics of the topic. Languages (*gengyo* 言語) are composed of four types – or categories – of speech. These four categories are:

- *karada no kotoba* 体ノ詞 'body-words', that are also called *ugokanu kotoba* 動カヌ詞 'words that do not move'. These are explained as being used in the labeling of all the things of the world (万ツノ名目);
- *te ni wo ha*;
- *arikata no kotoba* 形状ノ詞, 'words of condition';
- *shiwaza no kotoba* 作用ノ詞 'words of action'.

The last two of these categories are grouped together into the category of *yō no kotoba* 用ノ詞, also called *hataraku kotoba* 働ク詞 'working words', or *katsuyō no kotoba* 活用ノ詞 or *katsugo* 活語. One could schematize the description of the relations between the parts of speech, according to Suzuki's theories, in the manner illustrate by Table 31.

²⁸ Original text and folio references of *Gengyo shishu-ron* from the copy in possession of Toyama City Public Library (富山私立図書館), ID: 4422 W815 ケ 2147.

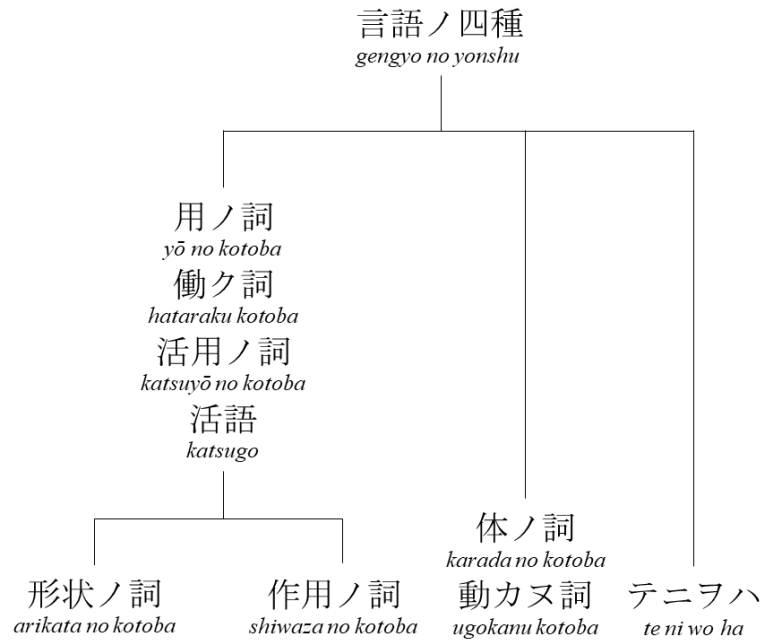


Table 31 Parts of speech in *Katsugo danzokufu* by Suzuki Akira.

This differentiation of the categories of speech, Suzuki claims, also applies to Chinese, although the *te ni wo ha* category is to be understood as being specific to Japanese. The concept of *kiri-tsuzuki* – literally ‘cut and continue’ – that he also mentions, corresponds to the *shūshikei* and *rentaikei* forms of verbs and adjectives, a terminology that is also seen in Shizuki Tadao (see 8.2), as well as many other authors of the time (also in Ogyū Sorai and Motoori Norinaga, as I will mention in Chapter VI). Suzuki expands on this distinction of words in four “types” by emphasizing that each category can be transformed into one of the other categories by means of specific mutations, mostly aided by a *te ni wo ha*. This is what he claims in the section titled “About body-words”, on folio 2v to 3v:

体ノ詞ノ事	About words of substance
体ノ詞ヲニツニ別ケレバ、形アル物 <small>タガ</small> ト形ナキ物トノ違ヒアレハ。惣テ物 <small>アリカタ</small> ニテモ事ニテモ。形状ニテモ。 <small>コトワリ</small> 理ニテモ。何ニテモ。一方ニ定メ	Even if one distinguishes between <i>katachi aru mono</i> [‘things with shape’] and <i>katachi naki mono</i> [‘things without shape’] thus dividing the <i>karada</i> words into two, be them used for ‘concrete things’ [物], ‘abstract thing’ [事, also, possibly, ‘action’], ‘conditions’ [形状], ‘value’ [理], ‘what’ [何], ²⁹ and on the other hand the

²⁹ I suppose he is referring to interrogative pronouns, here, as a whole, as it is done in Motoori Norinaga (see 6.2.1).

テ指シ呼ブ名目ノ詞ハ皆是ナリ

○体ノ詞ノ終リニツクモジ共ノ韻。
第一ノアノ韻ヨリ。第五ノオノ韻マ
デ。有ズト云事ナシ。其中ニハ第三
ノウノ韻ノモジノツク事。ヤ、少キ
ヤウニ覺ユルハ。其故アル事ナルベ
シ

○終リニ附モジノ動キ働ク事ナシ。
アメ
サレド天ヲアマ何。又アマノ何。酒
ヲサカ何。竹ヲタカ何ト云類ヒア
リ。又手ヲタ何ト云ヒ。又火ヲホ
何。又ホノ何。木ヲコ何又コノ何ト
云タグヒアリ

○シワザノ詞ヲ轉メ体ノ詞トスル事
アル。終リノモジ。第二ノイノ韻ト
第四ノエノ韻トニカギレリ。断續譜
我が著セル活語ノキ
レツマキノ語也ノ第四等コレ也。但シ人ノ
名トナル時ハ。第三ノ韻ニテモ。ヤ
ガテ体ノ詞ノ格ナリ。

○テニヲハヲ轉メ名目トスル事。物
イナ ウ
ノアハレヲ知ノアハレ。不モ諾モノ
イナ。ウ。アヤニカシコシノアヤ此タ
グヒ皆心ノ聲ニメ。テニヲハノタグ
ヒナルヲ。カク様ニ云寸ハ。体ノ詞
ニ轉ゼルナリ○体ノ詞ノ活語ニナル
事。是ハ本珍シカラヌ事也。活語ノ
終リニツケル。働クテニヲハヲ取棄ミ
レバ。名目ノ詞ナルガ多ク。サアラ
ヌモ全ク同シスガタナリ。然レハ体
ノ詞ニ働クテニヲハヲ添タルガ。ヤ
ガテ活語也。ト云テアリヌベシ。猶
下ニ論ズルヲミルベシ

○名目ノ辭ノ終リニモ。テニヲハノツ
ハタ ミツ
ケルガアルハ。一ツニツノツ甘チ世
モ、チ
デ百チ千チノチナリ

established names to call and refer to *meimoku no kotoba*, they are all of this type.

There is no denying that the syllable accompanying the character added at the end of the *karada* words can go from the first one 'a' to the fifth 'o'. Amongst them, it should be remembered that the third 'u' is rather rarely added.

The character added at the end does not 'move' nor 'work'. These are the types of *ama*+something or *amano*+something, from *ame* 天 'sky', *saka*+something, from *sake* 酒 'alcohol', *taka* something from *take* 竹 'bamboo'. There are also the types of *ta*+something from *te* 手 'hand', *ho*+something or *hono*+something from *hi* 火 'fire', or *ko*+something, *kono*+something from *ki* 木 'tree'.

There is the possibility of turning a *shiwaza* word into a *karada* word. This is limited to the final character of the second syllable 'i' and the fourth syllable 'e'. In the fourth of *kiretsuzukinofu* (This is my book *katsugo no kiretsuzuki no fu*). Nonetheless, when it comes to the names of people, even in the case they are in the third syllable ['u'], they still are *karada* words.

As for the changing of a *te ni wo ha* into a *meimoku* ['name label'], these are the types of *aware* in *mono no aware* or *chi no aware*; *ina* and *u* in *ina mo u mo* 不モ諾モ; *aya* in *aya ni kashikoshi*. All are made *kokoro no koe* and, when becoming *te ni wo ha*, they turn into *karada* words.

The turning into a *katsugo* of a *karada* word is not surprising. By seeing the taking and throwing away of of *te ni wo ha* which do work [働ク] attached at the end of a *katsugo*, there are many which become a word of *meimoku*. Even if it not so, all of them have the same shape. Furthermore, there is no denying that when adding a working *te ni wo ha* to a *karada* word, it still is a *katsugo*. This is discussed below.

There is the possibility of adding a *te ni wo ha* even at the end of a character of *meimoku*, like *tsu* in *hitotsu* and *futatsu*, or *chi* in *hatachi*, *mitsuji*, *momochi* and *chichi*.

This is the complete content of the explanation of “body-words”, in *Gengyo shishu-ron*. The definition provided in the very first sentence might appear counterintuitive, as it states that a *karada* word can refer to a plethora of things, among which *arikata* words are also listed, even though he previously claimed them to be a different category. Furthermore, the character *ji* 事, that often refers to “abstract things”, as opposed to *butsu* 物, referring to “concrete things”, might be interpreted in its reading *waza*, that would correspond to the concept of “action”, as a result of which it would coincide with the other category Suzuki called *shiwaza*. To understand what this means one probably needs to make a distinction that Suzuki himself did not make. The labels he gave to the parts of speech function both semantically, as well as morphologically. That is, even if a word might semantically express the meaning of a ‘condition’ *arikata*, it could still be a *karada* word, if it morphologically behaves as such. Additionally, Suzuki divides *karada* words into those that refer to things with a shape (*katachi aru mono*), and those without shape (*katachi naki mono*). This division, proposed as an alternative subcategorization, reinforces the idea of considering *ji* 事 as representing “actions” and not “abstract things”. Suzuki does not use these two categories anywhere else in the book.

Another characteristic of “body-words” is that they can end in any vowel, although the *-u* ending is quite uncommon. All the phonological variations illustrated by Suzuki in this context, that are fundamental to comprehend the way he viewed Japanese grammar, refer to the classical Siddhāṃ studies on pronunciation. The changes in final vowels that mostly occur in Japanese when two elements interact, are referred to by means of the Sino-Sanskrit tradition of enumerating syllables according to the order the vowels appear within the Siddhāṃ traditional order. That is, a syllable with the vowel *a* is referred to as “the first syllable” (第一ノ韻), while a syllable presenting the vowel *i*, for example, is referred to as “the second syllable”. This demonstrates how much impact the Table of the Fifty Sounds still had onto the investigations on language well into the Edo period. A connection is also visible with the studies on Japanese by Sengaku, who many centuries before was already discussing these specific phonological changes in word composition.³⁰

This vision of Japanese grammar, fundamentally connected to the phonological alternation of the last syllable of the word, is used to illustrate two phenomena, in the text above. First, Suzuki illustrates some phonological adaptations necessary when combining a noun with another element that ‘does not move nor work’ (動キ働ク事ナシ). This mostly refers to the context in which a noun (*karada*) is combined with a following non-inflecting element. In such cases it is indeed not rare for the first noun to change its final vowel or, generally, to undergo certain phonological adaptations for euphonic reasons. Suzuki provides some examples of this phenomenon, such as the word *ame* ‘sky’ that, in some compounds, gains the “first syllable” vowel *a* as ending, becoming *ama*, as in the name of the Shinto

³⁰ I base this claim on a quote in SHIGEMATSU (1959, 59), where many of the same examples (i.e., *sake* becoming *saka* and *take* becoming *taka*) are allegedly found in Sengaku, as well, who also references directly the Sanskrit language (*bongo* 梵語) thus basing his phonological patterns on Siddhāṃ phonological understanding.

goddess Amaterasu 天照 (my example), or as the word *take* ‘bamboo’, that also gets the “first syllable” vowel *a* as an ending, in some compounds, becoming *taka*. Suzuki also writes examples wherein the syllable is changed to the “fifth” one, corresponding to the vowel *o*, as *hi* ‘fire’ becoming *ho*. As I have shown in 5.1, many of these examples had already been introduced by Sengaku, which suggests either a direct reference to that material – that was already centuries old – or, rather, a crystallization of these words as the easiest and most representative examples of such phenomenon, within Japanese studies in Japan. A second fundamental phenomenon, implied by the vision of words – nouns included – in patterns of phonological variation, is the possibility of making a noun from a *shiwaza* word, a “verb”. This happens only when the vowel of the last syllable of a verb is turned into the second *i* or the fourth *e*, and Suzuki suggests consulting his other work *Katsugo no kire-tsuzuki no fu* (i.e., *Katsugo danzokufu*), where a detailed table illustrating the phenomenon of vowel alternation is presented.

Suzuki also claims that there is the possibility of turning a *te ni wo ha* into a *karada* word. The most representative example he provides is that of the quote *ina mo u mo* 不モ諾モ (also *ina mo o mo* 否モ諾モ), that should translate: ‘both yes and no’.³¹ As I will show in 7.2.4, Shizuki Tadao includes the Dutch *ja* ‘yes’ and *nee(n)* ‘no’ within the category of *joshi* in his *Joshi-kō*. Although Suzuki believed *te ni wo ha* to be specific categories of Japanese, thus denying any correspondence between them and the Chinese category of *joshi*, many authors have actually considered them to be the same (see 5.5, and 6.2 for Motoori Norinaga’s critique of this categorization). As such, one can understand why Suzuki considered *ina* ‘no’ and *u* ‘yes’ to be originally *te ni wo ha*, and that they have been turned into nouns in the sentence ‘both yes and no’. Another example is that of the conjunction (adverb?) *aya (ni)*, that conveys astonishment, or suspiciousness. This same example was also found in Sengaku, reinforcing the idea that Suzuki might have relied on his school of thought (see 5.1). In this sentence, one can also see Suzuki referring to concepts fundamental to Motoori Norinaga’s school of *kokugaku*, specifically in the term *mono no aware* and *chi no aware*, that points out the influence received from the earlier *kokugaku* scholars (see 6.2).

While until now Suzuki illustrated the possibility of turning different word categories into a *karada* word, he also adds that a *karada* word could become a *katsugo* ‘lively word’ – meaning “inflecting word” – by means of the interaction with a *te ni wo ha* that “does work” (*hataraku* 働ク). This implies that a specific quality of (some) *te ni wo ha* is their capability of “working”, a concept that should be understood as the specific quality that allows any category of words to be inflected (*katsu* 活 or *yō* 用). Nonetheless, not all *te ni wo ha* are to be understood in this way, since Suzuki subsequently adds mention to the instances in which a number (*meimoku*) combines with a *te ni wo ha* in what one could call the “neutral counter” –*tsu* (sometimes –*chi*). These examples do not represent *katsugo*, despite the fact that they are examples of *karada* combining with *te ni wo ha*, according to

³¹ He also refers to the term *aware*, fundamental to Norinaga’s philosophy. In this word, the syllable *a* should be interpreted as an interjection (SHIMADA 1979, 8).

Suzuki. This implies that it is the capacity of “doing work” (*hataraku* 働ク) that which makes a *te ni wo ha* capable of inflecting.

Starting on folio 3v until 7v, Suzuki begins a longer description of the categories of *arikata* and *shiwaza*, that are treated together as they both belong to words of *yō* 用 “function”, meaning that they can be inflected. There, the following can be read:

アリカタ シワザ
形状ノ詞作用ノ詞ノ事
用ノ詞。ハタラク詞。活語ナン
ト。古来一ツニ言来レルヲバ。今
アリカタシワザ クサ
形状作用ト。分チテ二種ノ詞ト
セルハ。終リニ附キテハタラクテ
ス
ニヨハノ。本語ニテキレ居ワリタ
ルモジノ。第二ノイノ韻ナルト。
第三ノウノ韻ナルトノ差別也。第
二ノ韻ナルハ。シ リノニツ也。
シハキラクシスカクシナンドノシ
ニテ其意シラル。即俗ニ何々シイ
ト云シイノコハロニテ。其有様ヲ
形容イヘル詞ナリ。ケシ。シツケ
ハル ケシ タシ。ウレタシ。メデタシ メカシ。
フルメカシ。オボメカシ。シ
ヒキ
高シ卑シ美シ悪シ悲シ樂シノタ
グヒノシ皆同意也。リハ有リ也。
アハアリク。アザヤカ。アラハル
アキラカノアニテ。物ニツバク寸
アブ ヲリ
ハ省カレ消ユル也。居ハ。キアリ
也。聞ケリ。見タリハ。聞アリ。
見テアリナリ。往ケリ。還レリ
ハ。ユキアリ。カヘリアリ也。カ
クリモジヲ終リニツクル時ハ。
シワザ アリカタ
本作用ノ詞ナルモ。皆其形状ニ
ナル也。サレバコノシ リノニモ
ジニテアル詞ハ。スベテ皆物事
ノ形状ナリ。第三ノ韻ナルハ。
ク。明ク 揚グ 刺ス
行ク 下サグ 馳ス
ツ。當ツ 撫ナツ 性イヌ
勝ツ 恥ツ 兼カヌ
フ。買フ 並フ 編ム
愈ユ 消ユ 借ル
居ス 去ル
衝居ツキスウ ノ十二也。クハメク
アダメク
コメク
ノ類ヒハナフ

About the words of *arikata* and *shiwaza*

The words of *yō* 用, of *hataraku*, and the *katsugo* have been recognized as one since ancient times. Here I divide them into two, namely *arikata* and *shiwaza*, which are to be discerned according to the ‘working’ *te ni wo ha* which is attached at the end of the original word [‘root’], which is either the second ‘i’, or the third ‘u’. As far as the second [‘i’] is concerned, there are two types: *-shi* and *-ri*. As for *-shi*, this is the type of *kirakirashi*, *sukasukashi* etc., which in the popular language is pronounced *-shii*. The heart of this is *-shii* which qualifies (形容) the ‘way it is’ (有様) of a word. All the *-shi* in the following examples are this type of *-shi*: *-keshi* (*shizukeshi* ‘calm’, *harukeshi* ‘distant’); *-tashi* (*uretashi* ‘detestable’, *medetashi* ‘joyful’); *-mekashi* (*furumekashi* ‘old’, *obomekashi* ‘blurred’) etc. In words such as *takashi* ‘high’, *hikishi* ‘shallow’, *utsukushi* ‘beautiful’, *warushi* ‘evil’, *kanashi* ‘sad’, *tanoshi* ‘enjoyable’, here the character *-shi* always has the same meaning. The types of *-ri*, are *ari* 有リ. The character *a*, as in the words *ariari* ‘certainly’, *azayaka* ‘vividly’, *arawaru* ‘to express’, *akiraka* ‘clearly’, and when follows a thing, gets reduced and deleted. The same goes for *ori* (*wori*), which means *i ari* (*wi ari*). For example: *kikeri* and *mitari*, correspond to *kiki ari* and *mite ari*, *yukeri* and *kaereri* correspond to *yuku ari* and *kaeri ari*. Each of these final *-ri*, although they are originally *shiwaza* words, each become *arikata*. That is to say that each and every word which presents one of these two characters *-shi* or *-ri*, refers to a *arikata* [‘condition’] of the things [物事]. When it comes to the third syllable [‘u’] there are 12 types: *-ku* (*aku* ‘to clear’, *yuku* ‘to go’); *-gu* (*agu* ‘to raise’, *sagu* ‘to lower’); *-su* (*sasu* ‘to pierce’, *hasu* ‘to distance’); *-tsu* (*atsu* ‘to correspond’, *katsu* ‘to win’); *-zu* [*-du*] (*nazu* ‘to pet’, *hazu* ‘to be embarrassed’); *-nu* (*inu* ‘to end up’, *kanu* ‘to serve as both’); *-fu* (*a(fu)* ‘to meet’, *ka(fu)* ‘to buy’); *-bu* (*ukabu* ‘to float’, *narabu* ‘to line up’); *-mu* (*amu* ‘to bind a book’, *kamu* ‘to bite’); *-yu* (*iyu* ‘to heal’, *kiyu* ‘to delete’); *-ru* (*karu* ‘to borrow’, *saru* ‘to arrive’); *-u* (*suu* ‘to sit’/‘to be’; *tsukisuu* ‘to kneel’).

伴ナフ
荷 ナツノ類^スハ為也。令ナリ。ヅ^{シム}
ハ^スブルノ意ナランカ。フ^{クサ} ブ^{カハ} ム^{アリカタ}
ハ相通フ事アリ。此十二モジノテ
ニヲハノ意ニハ。種々別チアル
ベケレドモ。一ニイヘバ皆為ト同
韻ニテ。此韻ニテトマル詞ハ。皆
シワザ
作用也。人ニテモ物ニテモ何ニテ
モ。動キ働^{カハ}ラキ移リ變ルワザヲイ
フニテ。是ヲコソハ用ノ詞トメ
ノ詞ト反對スベキニ。カノ形状
ノ詞ヲモ。一ツニ用ノ詞トイヒ来
ルハ。少シイカバニテ。形状ハ
体ニ近キ所アリ。其證ハ。善シ惡
シ^{アリカタ}ト云ヒ有リ^{アリカタ}マハト云フタ
グヒ。一モジニ續クサマ。体ノ詞ノ
シワザ
格ニ同シ。又作用ノ詞ノ終リヲ。
第二ノ韻ニ轉メ名目トスル事ア
リ。御行。御執。使人。戀情ノ
類也。是^{ミユキ}第二ノ韻ニハ定マリタ
^{ミトラシ} ^{ツカヒ} ^{オモヒ}
ル形ノ意ヲモチテ。形状ノ詞ノ
体ニ近キハ。此故ニテモアラン
坎。サレドモ体ノ詞ニハ働ク事ナ
キニ。此二ツ共ニ終リノテニハ
動キ働ク故ニ一ツニメ是ヲ働ク
詞。又活語。又活用ノ詞ナドイ
ンハ。サル事也

○形状ノ詞ノ終リシトリトハ同韻
ナガラ。一ツニハ云ガタカラン坎
ト問フニ答ヘケラク。アリトナシ
トハ。反對ノ詞也。又善シ 惡シ
ト云モ。善カリ アシカリト云
モ。異ナル意ナシ。又漢籍訓ニ
何々然タリト云事ハ。何々然トア
リニテ。即何々シト云ニ同シ。是
等ニテニモジノ意ハ異也ナガラ。
同ジ趣キナル事ヲ知ベシ

Those with *-ku* are the type of *meku*, (*adameku* ‘to look flirty’, *komeku* ‘to look childish’) those with *-fu* are the types of *na(fu)* (*tomona(fu)* ‘to accompany’, and *nina(fu)* ‘to carry together’), and those with *-su* have the meaning of *su* ‘to do’ or *shimu* ‘to make do’. Those of the *-bu* type have the meaning of *-buru* [an ending expressing apparent similarity]. There is also the chance of substituting *-fu*, *-bu* and *mu*. All these 12 characters, with the meaning of *te ni wo ha*, diverge each in type. Nonetheless, to say it simply, they all have the same syllable as *su* ‘to do’ [為] and all words ending with that syllable have the meaning of *shiwaza*. Be they referred to people, things or anything, these are opposed to *karada* words, being *yō*, which express actions which ‘move’ (*ugoku*), ‘work’ (*hataraku*), ‘transfer’ (*utsuru*), ‘change’ (*kawaru*). Those *arikata* words, which have been called *yō*, as a single category, actually diverge a little bit, in the fact that *arikata* are closer to *karada*. As demonstration, one can take the types of *yoshi*, *ashi no* and *ari no mama*, which connect with the character *no*, thus they are the same of the *karada* type. Furthermore, there is the possibility of changing a *shiwaza*, into a *meimoku* by changing the ending to a second syllable. These are the types of *miyuki* ‘to go (formal)’, *mitorashi* ‘to take (formal)’, *tsukai* ‘to use’, *omoi* ‘to think’. These of the second syllable type, have the meaning of an established form. Maybe, because of this, we can say that *arikata* words are closer to *karada*. Furthermore, since there is no ‘work’ being done in *karada* words, these two together as ending *te ni wo ha* which do ‘move and work’, become one, and make a *hataraku kotoba*, also called *katsu go* and *katsuyō no kotoba*; they are all actions.

○ How to answer to the question that one might be wondering whether the characters *-shi* and *-ri*, being the same syllable at the end of an *arikata* word, can be collected into one? The words *ari* and *nashi* are opposites. Furthermore, one can say both *yoshi* and *ashi*, as well as *yoshikari* and *ashikari*, which do not differ in meaning. On top of that, when reading Chinese text, one says of an action that it is in the condition of ‘something *-tari*’ yet, being this the same as saying ‘something *to ari*’ it still has the same meaning of *-shi*. While in these and such the meanings of these two characters differ, yet they should be known as representing the same expression.

○悲^シ樂^シト云心ノ形状。悲^シズ
樂^シズト云寸ハ。シカ心ノ動ク
^{シワザ}作用ナル。戀^フ憂^フト云心ノ作用
^{ウレ}ヲ。コヒ^シ憂^ハシト云寸ハ。其
^{サマ}心ノ状トナル。是レ二種ノ詞ノ
互ニ相變ズル例ナリ

○体ノ詞ニテニヲハヲソヘテ二種
^{アヲシロクロ}ノ詞トナル事。譬ヘバ青白黒ト
云ハ。サル色共ノ名目ニメ。体ノ
詞ナルヲ。青^シ白^シ黒^シト云ヘバ
^{アリカタ}其形状ニナリ。青^ム。シラ^ム。
^{シワザ}黒^ムト云寸ハ。其動キ變ズル作用
ソレヲ又青メリ。白メリ。黒メリ
^{アリカタ}ト云寸ハ。又其形状トナル也

○テニヲハニテニヲハヲ添ヘテ用
ノ詞トスル事。ヨブノヨ。ヲメク
ノヲ。アハレムノアハレ。イナム
ノイナ。此タグヒ皆詞ニアラス聲
ナレバ。テニヲハノタグヒナルニ
^{シワザ}第三ノ韻ノモジヲソヘテ。作用ノ
^{アリカタ}詞トシタリ。第二ノ韻ニテ形状
ノ詞トスル事ハ。アヤシ。カナ
シ。イマダシ。ゲニクシノ類^ヒ也

○漢語ヲ和語ノ格ニ働カシ用ル
事。中昔ニハ執念ガマシキ事ヲ
シフネシ。シフネクナドイヒ。装束
スルヲサウゾク。サウゾキナド云
タグヒアリ。今ノ俗料理スルヲ
ウル。彩色スルヲサイシク。乞食
スルヲコジクト云類オホシ。是又
^{シワザ}作用ト形状トニヨリテテニヲハ
^{アリカタ}ノ別ルハ趣。カハル事ナシ

○詞ノミニテ附^キタルテニヲハノ

○ The words *kanashi* and *tanoshi* represent the condition of the soul [*kokoro no sama*]. When saying *kanashibu* and *tanoshibu*, this becomes the action of a moving sould [*kokoro no ugoku shiwaza*]. The words *ko(f)u* and *ure(f)u* are action of soul [*kokoro no waza*], but when saying *kohisi* and *urehashi*, they become condition of the soul [*kokoro no sama*]. These are examples of the mutual substitution and inversion of these two types of words.

○ There are two types of words created by adding *te ni wo ha* to a *karada* word. For example, if one says *ao* 'blue', *shiro* 'white' and *kuro* 'black', being these names for the colors, they are *karada* words. When one says *aoshi*, *shiroshi* and *kuroshi*, they become *arikata* words. When saying *aomu* 'to get blue', *shiramu* 'to get white', *kuromu* 'to become black', these are *shiwaza* words, which express movement and change. These, if one says *aomeri*, *shiromeri* and *kuromeri* they become their *arikata* versions.

○ When adding a *te ni wo ha* to a *te ni wo ha*, this becomes a word of *yō*. The *yo* in *yobu*, the *wo* in *womeku*, the *aware* in *awaremu*, the *ina* in *inamu*, they all become 'absent voices in the words' [*kotoba ni aranu koe*]. In the types of *te ni wo ha*, when adding the third syllable ['*u*'], they become *shiwaza* words, when adding the second ['*i*'], they become *arikata* words. This is the type of *ayashi*, *kanashi*, *imadashi*, *genigenishi*.

○ Utilizing Chinese words as Japanese words. Since ancient times there have been many words of the types of: 執念, read as *shūneshi* or *shūneku*, 装束 read as *sōzoku*, *sōzoki*, just like nowadays' popular language's 料理 read as *ryōru*, 彩色, read as *saishiku* and 乞食, read as *kojiki*. These, according to the *te ni wo ha* can differentiate in expressivity, becoming a *shiwaza* or *arikata*.

○ Among words, the only ones which do not combine with a *te ni wo ha* are the *karada* words.

ナキヲ体ノ詞トス。働クテニヲハ
ノ附キテ。第二ノ韻ニテスワルヲ
形状ノ詞トシ。第三ニテスワルヲ
シワザ^{シワザ}カラ^{カラ}
作用ノ詞トス。漢國ニハ此ツキ
タルテニヲハナキ故ニ。此三種^{クサ}
ノ詞ノワカチ。タゞ意ノミニ在
テ。詞ノ上ニテハ別チアラズ。皆
此方ノ体ノ詞ノ様ナル物ユエニ。
オノヅカラ^{コハロ}意モ互ニマギルハ事
多キ也。彼方ノ古書ノ詞ノ解リ^{カナタ}
難キハ。スベテノ詞ニテニヲハノ^{サト}
働キナクシテ。過タ事也ヤ。今
ノ事也ヤ。行末ノアラマシニヤ。
又サアリト云ニヤ。サセヨト命^{オホ}
スルニヤ。何トモ別ガタキ事ノ^{ワキ}
多キニヨレリ。サレハ注釋ニ種^{クサ}
々ノ説出来テ。一ツニ落ガタキ
也。此活語ノテニヲハノ精シキヲ^{ダマ}
見テコソハ。我ガ大御國ノ言靈ノ
貴ク妙ニメ。万國ノ言語ノカケテ
モ及バザル事ハ知ラレケレ。其定^{ソリ}
レル規格ハ。師トヲ見テシルベシ

When adding a ‘working’ *te ni wo ha*, if it has a syllable of the second type [‘i’], it becomes a *arikata* word, if it has a syllable of the third type [‘u’] it becomes a *shiwaza* word. In China there is no such thing as *te ni wo ha*. Thus, the distinction of these three words is only in the meaning, there is no distinction on the level of words *kotoba*. Since everything becomes of the sort of the *karada* word, even the meaning [*kokoro* 意] of our own [language] has become difficult to discern. The hardship of interpreting the words of their [the Chinese’s] ancient books lies in the fact that none of the words have a working of the *te ni wo ha*. Are we talking about something of the past? Is it something of the present? Is it something which has not happened yet? Are we saying something just is so? Are we ordering to do something? These types of difficult interpretations are numerous. As such, there have been created many types of theses, which hardly fall into a single one. Precisely by witnessing the specificity of these *te ni wo ha* of *katsugo* can one appreciate the uniqueness of the spirit of the language of our great country, which does not extend to the languages of all other countries. This establishment is known by learning from a master.

This section of *Gengyo shishu-ron* begins with a bold statement: historically, scholars of the Japanese language have always only considered *tai* 体 and *yō* 用 as two distinct parts speech. Suzuki, instead, prides himself of further dividing the *yō* category into two: *arikata* 形状 and *shiwaza* 作用 words. Although one might be tempted to identify their difference in the distinction between adjectives and verbs, this is not a precise approximation. In fact, both *arikata* and *shiwaza* are further divided according to their endings. There are two types of *arikata* words: those ending in *-shi* and those ending in *-ri*. These two are to be understood as the adjectival unmarked ending *-shi* (*yoshi* 善シ, *yashi* 悪シ), while *-ri* as a verbal affix that is today considered as expressing completeness. The suffix *-shi* is used to ‘qualify’ (*keiyō* 形容)³² the ‘way things are’ (*arisama* 有様), while *-ri* derives from the word *ari*, that is not considered a *shiwaza*, yet is used in combination with *shiwaza* words to turn them into *arikata*. The difference between these two characters *-shi* and *-ri* is, according to Suzuki, so slight that one can consider an adjective such as *yoshi* to correspond to its *-ri* conjugated version *yoshikari*. Within

³² Nowadays, adjectives are generally called *keiyōshi* 形容詞.

the *shiwaza* class, Suzuki also includes those words ending in *-tari*, that are used when “reading Chinese texts” (*kara fumi yomi* 漢籍訓). This is because the element *-tari* originates from the combination of *ari* with the particle *to*.³³ Those words that are conjugated by means of the suffix *-tari* in *kundoku*, are often categorized as adjectives, by Ogyū and Shizuki (see 7.2.3).

Additionally, Suzuki also proposes an interesting view of Japanese morphology concerning Chinese influence. As a premise, he states that Chinese does not possess *te ni wo ha* and, thus, all its words do not “do work”, meaning they do not inflect. Consequently, the Japanese themselves have always found it difficult to elaborate a difference in the morphological structure of Japanese. Here he also appears to make a distinction between the idea of “meaning” 意, read as *kokoro*, and the idea of “word” *kotoba* 詞, in a fashion that reminds of a distinction between a semantic meaning for *kokoro* and a morphosyntactic, as well as semantic, meaning of *kotoba*. As such, since Chinese has no *te ni wo ha*, Suzuki adds, there is no way of categorizing words according to their ability to inflect, meaning there are no *katsugo* 活語. This leads to the consequence of Chinese words (*kango* 漢語) used as Japanese words (*wago* 和語) being dependent in their categorization to the circumstantial *te ni wo ha* which is being used in combination with them.

To go back to the word classes of Suzuki, all other verbs are characterized by the ending of the third syllable *u*. Of such syllables Suzuki finds 12 types, one for each *kana* that can possibly be used as a verbal ending, excluding *-zu* and *-pu*. This is a reference to the *shūshikei* form of verbs that, regardless of the verb in question, always ended in *-u*. Suzuki adds that, in principle, each of these syllables should convey a specific meaning, related to the type of action they supposedly refer to, yet this can be simplified by considering all of them to correspond to the character *i* 為, meaning the Japanese verb *su* ‘to do’. In general, *shiwaza* words refer to the ideas of “movement”, “work”, “transfer” and “change”. These *u* types of *shiwaza* can become nouns (*meimoku*) whenever they are added a “second syllable” *i*. This is a reference to the *ren’yōkei* form of verbs that is often used to nominalize verbs.³⁴ Suzuki also points out that there are ways to turn each of the three types of words into any of the others. The word *kanashi* ‘sad’ is originally an *arikata* and would be categorized as an adjective. This type of word is called *kokoro no sama* 心の形状 ‘condition of the heart’ (note that *sama* is written with the same two *kanji* as *arikata*). If one adds the suffix *-bu* (one of the twelve *shiwaza* endings) then one obtains *kanashibu*, a verb, and is thus labeled a *kokoro no hataraku shiwaza* 心ノ働ク作用 ‘working action of the heart’. Conversely, if one takes a word that is originally a *shiwaza*, like *kou* ‘to love’, this is a *kokoro no shiwaza* 心ノ作用, but if one adds the suffix *-shi*, typical of *arikata* words, one obtains the word *koishi*, that is labeled as a *kokoro no sama* 心ノ状 (this time *sama* is written only with the second

³³ This etymological claim is consistent with modern academic knowledge FRELLESVIG (2010, 268-270), as I will discuss again in 7.2.2.

³⁴ All Japanese verbs end in the vowel *-i*, in their *ren’yōkei*, except for the two classes of *shimo ichidan*, and *shimo nidan*, which end in *-e*. Suzuki apparently neglects these two classes, in this explanation.

kanji it was previously written with). The difference between the *kokoro no hataraku shiwaza* and *kokoro no shiwaza* probably corresponds to the difference of a word that is “originally” a *shiwaza* (the latter) and a *shiwaza* obtained by inflection (the former). These labels are then dropped when covering the specific examples of the words referring to colors. These words are, allegedly, peculiar in behavior as, although they originally are *tai*, ‘substance’ (i.e., ‘nouns’) they can be inflected into all other categories, in different manners. If one takes the example of the word *ao* ‘blue’, this is a word of the *karada* type. If one adds the suffix *-shi*, typical of *arikata* words, it becomes *aoshi*, thus an *arikata*. If one added, to the root *ao*, the suffix *-mu* (one of the twelve *shiwaza* suffixes), it would become *aomu*, a *shiwaza* verb meaning ‘to turn blue’ or ‘to become blue’. If one were to add the suffix *-ri*, typical of *arikata* words, to this inflected word *aomu*, one would obtain *aomeri*, thus turning it into an *arikata*. The idea that words and characters are supposedly found in “original” forms, and that that “original” form can be modified, by means of affixes and suffixes, is an important tenant of the theory found, for example, in Ogyū Sorai (see 6.1.2) and Shizuki Tadao (7.2.1).

From folios 7v to 10v Suzuki covers the last of the four categories of words he identified: the *te ni wo ha*. The definition of this category can be seen below, although I will go back to this in 3.6, when covering the history of the category of *joshi* “auxiliary words”. The text below is found in folios 7v to 9v.

テニヲハノ事

テニヲハハ、モロコシニテハ語聲。
又語辭。又助辭。又嘆辭。又發語
辭。又語ノ餘聲ナド云類ヒニ惣ベテ
當レリ。辭ハ辭氣トモイヒテ。心ノ
聲也。サレドモ 唐 ノ語辭ハイト
く粗キ物ニテ。我御國ノテニヲハノ
精ク詳ニシテ。條埋ノ細ヤカニ分
レ。規格ノヨク定レルニハ似ルベク
モアラス。御國ノ詞ノ万國ニスグレ
タル所ハ。專 コノテニヲハノメデ
タキニ因レリ。委シクハ我師ノ詞ノ
玉ノ緒ヲ見テ知ベシ

○前ノ三種ノ詞ト。此テニヲハトヲ
對ヘミルニ。三種ノ詞ハサス所アリ。
テニヲハハサス所ナリ。三種ハ
詞ニシテ。テニヲハハ聲ナリ。三種
ハ物事ヲサスアラハシテ詞トナリ。
テニヲハハ其詞ニツケル心ノ聲也。

About the *te ni wo ha*

The *te ni wo ha* in our language all correspond to what the Tang people (*morokoshi* 唐) call *gosei* 語聲, *goji* 語辭, *goji* 助辭, *tanji* 嘆辭, *hatsugosei* 發語辭, *go no yosei* 語ノ餘聲 etc. The character 辭 can also mean *jiki* 辭氣 which is the ‘voice of the heart’ (*kokoro no koe* 心ノ聲). Furthermore, the Tang *goji* are extremely broad; contrarily to the specificity and conciseness of our country’s *te ni wo ha*, they cannot be neatly divided, nor do they have any semblance of established rule. What makes our country’s words better than any other country’s is indeed the uniqueness of our *te ni wo ha*. These can be known in detail by looking at my master’s *kotoba no tama no o*.

○ If we now move our attention from these three types of words to the *te ni wo ha*, there are things the three types refer to and things the *te ni wo ha* refer to. The three types are made into “words” (*kotoba* 詞), while the *te ni wo ha* are their voice. The three words refer to and express all things (物事), and are *kotoba*. while the *te ni wo ha* are the voice of the heart attached to such words. Words

詞ハ玉ノ如ク。テニヲハ、緒ノゴト
シ。詞ハ器物ノ如ク。テニヲハ、其
ヲ使ヒ動カス手ノ如シ。サレバ体ノ
詞ニテニヲハヲ添テ活語トナリ。其
死活ノ詞ドモヲハ。又テニヲハシテ
ヌキ
貫連ネ使ヒ動シテ。万ツノ詞トナ
ル。詞ハテニヲハナラデハ働カズ。
テニヲハ、詞ナラデハツク所ナシ

are like a sphere, while *te ni wo ha* are like the thread. Words are like an instrument, the *te ni wo ha* are like the hand using and working it. Furthermore, adding a *te ni wo ha* to a *tai* word, it is a *katsugo*. There is also the *shi-katsu* of words, which are all words, penetrated, moved, used and carried by means of *te ni wo ha*. Without *te ni wo ha* words do not move. Without words, *te ni wo ha* have no place to be attached to.

Suzuki initially acknowledges the historical connection between *te ni wo ha* and the “auxiliary” category of Chinese traditional grammar. The scholar lists a series of terms and labels, from Chinese grammatical tradition to which *te ni wo ha* supposedly correspond. These terms are *gosei* 語聲, *goji* 語辭, *joji* 助辭, *tanji* 嘆辭, *hatsugosei* 發語辭 and *go no yosei* 語ノ餘聲. As I discuss in 5.5, these terms have been used by many Chinese and Japanese authors to refer to different types of words different from “full” and “empty”, or “substance” and “function”. Among these, for example, one can see the word *tanshi*, that most likely referred to characters expressing exclamations and interjections, like 嗚呼, used to render an expression of astonishment or wonder. These Chinese categories are not the same as the category of *te ni wo ha*, that Suzuki believes to be the most specific and representative characteristic of the Japanese language. In Chinese, these categories are not neatly defined and their use, according to Suzuki, is not as strongly established as the Japanese *te ni wo ha*. Suzuki suggests the reader to consult his master’s *Kotoba no tama no o*, clearly Motoori Norinaga’s pivotal work regarding Japanese grammar and the category of *te ni wo ha*. The fact that he cites Norinaga, clarifies that the “established rules” of the use of these *te ni wo ha* – referred to with the verb *sadamaru* 定まる – likely refers to Norinaga’s theory on the divine origin of these *te ni wo ha*, thusly “established” in their use and nature by the *kami* of the Shintō religion (see 6.2).

Suzuki adds that the character *ji* 辭 – *kyūjitai* version of 辭 – used in the names of most of the labels of these “auxiliaries” (even in the word *joji* 助辭 itself), corresponds to *jiki* 辭氣 ‘energy of words’, that can be interpreted as meaning “the use of words”, “the expressivity of words”. It is, indeed, the way *te ni wo ha* are used, in combination with the other three categories – specifically referred to as ‘three types’ 三種, with the exclusion of the *te ni wo ha* – that makes them the most peculiar category of speech.

I would also like to focus on the peculiar terminology Suzuki utilized to describe the characteristics of each part of speech. The three categories of *karada*, *shiwaza* and *arikata* refer to all the things that exist, be they objects, actions, or qualities. The *te ni wo ha* do not display the capacity to refer to any of these semantic elements. What *te ni wo ha* do refer to is that which Suzuki calls the ‘voice’ *koe* 聲. Such *koe* might be understood as the semantic meaning of the *te ni wo ha* and seems to be directly connected to the idea of *katsugo* ‘lively word’, ‘lively speech’, that has been used to

refer to certain inflecting qualities of words. Suzuki claims that, in and of themselves, *te ni wo ha* are the 'voice' *koe* that is directly put into contrast with the "semantic meaning" of the other three classes of words. It is added, thus, that whenever *te ni wo ha* are attached to one of the other three categories, they are the 'voice of the heart': *kokoro no koe*. This same term was previously already used by Suzuki as an explanation of the term *jiki* 辞気 that, in theory, corresponds to the "use of words" or "expressivity of words". Additionally, the term *kokoro* has been used in other combinations to refer to other categories and concepts, all throughout the manuscript. The first mention of the term *kokoro no koe* is found, within *Gengyo shishu-ron*, in the context of explaining the transformation of a *te ni wo ha* into a *meimoku* word, which would thus correspond to a *karada*. In that case, the term *kokoro no koe* was used to refer to *te ni wo ha*. When explaining the other phenomena of word transformation causing a change of category, Suzuki used the following terms, for the following concepts:

- *kokoro no sama* for *arikata* words ending in *-shi* (i.e., adjectives), as well as *-shi* words derived from an original *shiwaza* word;
- *kokoro no ugoku shiwaza* for words resulting from the addition of one of the twelve *-u* suffixes to an original *arikata*;
- *kokoro no waza* for *shiwaza* words that do not derive from any other "originally" different category. There is, thus, a correspondence between the word *sama* and the category of *arikata*, where *sama* and *arikata* are very similar words, in meaning, to begin with, and another similarity between *waza* and *ugoku shiwaza*.

In order to understand these concepts, ZHAO (1999) claims one should look at them in the following terms. The concept of *koe* is also dealt with in Suzuki's other pivotal work *Gago onjō-kō*, wherein he uses the term *onsei* 音聲 (also *onjō*). According to ZHAO, Suzuki interprets the language as fundamentally originating from sounds, which he calls either *koe* 'voice' or *onsei/onjō* 'vocal sounds'. Not all human sounds have to refer to anything specific, there are sounds which, to use Suzuki's terms, are not connected to any specific 'nomenclature' *meimoku* 名目. In the moment in which a "sound" is assigned a "nomenclature" it becomes endowed with a "meaning", that Suzuki calls *kokoro* 心 (also 意), meaning 'spirit', 'heart', 'soul'. The "nomenclature" (*meimoku*) refers to all the words that have semantic meaning; thus things, actions and qualities are all included within the category of *tai* 体 'substance'. When these are connected to a *te ni wo ha*, they are made to 'move' (*ugoku*) or 'work' (*hataraku*), thus becoming the *yō* 用 'function' category that, as already mentioned, splits into two subcategories. The role of *te ni wo ha*, in this context, is to 'move' the *tai* category into *yō*, thus, they are the "movement" of the "spirit" of the intentions and ideas of humans, their "spirit". This reminds of what can be seen in the definition of this phenomenon in Běixī's *jigi*, in 5.3.

In some sense, one could say that Suzuki Akira's theory of language is representative of the development of the history of Japanese grammatical theory. Just like the research on language was started in Japan by Sanskrit investigations on phonology, mediated through Chinese books on Buddhism, Suzuki believes that at

the very basis of language there are the sounds, or “voices” as he calls them. His studies on phonology are influenced by the Siddhāṃ tradition, as he makes use of the Table of the Fifty Sounds to describe the phonological variations consequential to the interaction of the “substance-words” with the *te ni wo ha* category. Yet, he still displays difficulties in covering phonology independently from the graphical rendition of language. His division into three categories is not very different from the Chinese full-empty-auxiliary distinction. On the other hand, the *te ni wo ha* category is considered a unique feature of the Japanese language, put into contrast with Chinese “auxiliaries”. This is a clear agreement with Suzuki’s master Motoori Norinaga, whom he cites directly (see 6.2).

5.4 Categories of *jidōshi* and *tadōshi* in the history of Japanese thoughts on language

One of the most distinctive traits developed by Japanese grammarians in the Edo period is the distinction between *ji-ta* 自他 – or *konata-kanata* in its Japanese reading – in the categorization of verbs in morphosyntactic terms. Although today one often uses these two concepts to translate the European categories of “transitive” (*ta* or *kanata* 他) and “intransitive” (*ji* or *konata* 自), such an approximation is to some extent misguided and can lead to misinterpretations concerning the real meaning of these terms, specifically in their use during the Edo period. The most comprehensive work in this regard, has probably been done by SHIMADA (1979), where the entire history of the development of these two categories is presented in over 700 pages. Interestingly, however, SHIMADA, does not discuss Shizuki Tadao, who used this dichotomy quite often in his works. In fact, as I have argued, the scholars of Dutch are often overlooked in the history of Japanese linguistics, probably because of the label of *rangakusha*. Instead, the Japanese scholars of Dutch need to be understood as actively interacting with the rest of the cultural movements of Japan. In addition, Shizuki has likely been the first author to use the *jita* distinction in a manner that resembles contemporary usage the most, and certainly the first who used it in reference to the Greek-Latin categories of “active” and “neuter”.

The oldest instance of the use of the *jita* distinction can be traced back to a “mysterious” manuscript by the title *Ippo* 一步 ‘One Step’, dated 1676. The mysteriousness of this work comes from the fact that it is not known who authored it, and secondary literature regarding it is scarce. It is only mentioned by some sources with little philological information. All of these sources point to FUKUI (1965), who authored the ten volumes of the series *Kokugogaku taikai* 國語學大系 ‘Outline of Japanese linguistics’ (*kyūjitai* in the original). The sixth volume of this series presents the entire text of the manuscript, reconstructed in type – not scans of the original manuscript, thus – yet little information can be found regarding this document, in general, probably also because of its non-distinctive name. This work is particularly relevant because it presents many of the features and grammatical theories of Japanese that will be subsequently investigated and expanded upon during the Edo period by the other scholars I have mentioned. SHIGEMATSU (1959,

77) draws interesting parallels between *Ippo* and its predecessors, although he appears to underestimate this work's importance in the development of Japanese linguistics. In SHIGEMATSU, *Ippo* is considered to be directly influenced by Sadaie's *Te ni wa taigai-shō*, the anonymous *Anegakōjishiki* 姉小路式 (compiled in the Muromachi period), and the study on Japanese *renga* 連歌 poetry. SHIGEMATSU points out four main characteristics of *Ippo*, that he believes are the most relevant features that can be observed by reading it:

- The *te ni wo ha* are divided according to three dimensions of time *kako* 'past', *mirai* 'future' and *genzai* 'present'. This type of connection between the *te ni wo ha* and the reference of time was probably inspired by *Satomura Jōha* 里村紹巴 (1525 – 1602), a scholar of *renga*, who employed the same distinction in his *Renga shihō-shō* 連歌至宝抄, although it is a category that can be seen in many older works, as I have already argued;
- The use of the character *shi* し as a *te ni wo ha* expressing the three times. Whenever *-shi* refers to the ending of adjectives, it is considered "present", when it corresponds to the *rentaikei* of the verbal affix *-ki*, it represents a "past", while when part of the affix *-beshi* it points at the "future" time. This seems to be an expansion on the theory of grammar contained in earlier works, like the abovementioned *Anegakōjishiki* and *Mugonshō*;
- The distinction between the two types of *-nu* ぬ, namely, for the negative affix *-zu*, and for the past when it represents the affix expressing completion of an action. This was also already introduced in *Mugonshō*;
- The envision of words being distinguished by the dichotomy of *jita* 自他.

SHIGEMATSU does not connect this last point to any earlier work, that leads me to deduce that this is the earliest known document where he could record the use of the concepts of *jita* to distinguish grammatical phenomena. This is also reinforced by the fact that *Ippo* is indeed the first and earliest document discussed by SHIGEMATSU, in his history of the category of *jita*. As a comment to this characteristic, SHIGEMATSU claims that "regardless of the sharpness of the point of view, the sight was extremely narrow".³⁵

SHIMADA (1979) – who does not mention the *rangaku* scholarship, or the name of Shizuki Tadao – has tried to draw the lines of the process of creation and establishment of this concept in the Japanese tradition of linguistics. He connects the concepts of *jita* to Buddhist philosophy, particularly, to the Heian book *Henjōhokki shōryōshū* 遍照發揮性靈集 (also shortly *Shōryōshū*), wherein these two characters corresponded to the ideas of "self" (*ji* 自) and "other" (*ta* 他), that thus entered the studies on Japanese literature via the research on *renga* poetry, that envisioned it in the distinction between the "I" (*ware*) and the "others" (*yoso*), thus also "this

³⁵ Original quote: “着眼点の鋭かったにかかわらず偏見のはなはだしいものがある。”, SHIGEMATSU (1959, 77-78).

person” (*konata*) and “that person” (*anata*), “subject” (主) and “object” (客), “back” (裏) and “front” (表) (SHIMADA 1979, 2).

SHIMADA (1979, 4) seems to agree with SHIGEMATSU (1959) in that both recognize *Ippo* as the earliest relevant work on Japanese linguistic investigations that referred to the concepts of *jita* within the context of grammar. The distinction between *ji* 自 and *ta* 他 is as grammatically relevant as the distinction of the different *te ni wo ha* expressing the temporal meaning of ‘present’ (*genzai* 現在), ‘past’ (*kako* 過去) and ‘future’ (*mirai* 未来) or the ‘imperative’ (*gechi* 下知). WATANABE (1995, 219) recognizes a rather loose degree of interchangeability of words between these two categories and defines the use of *ji* 自 inside *Ippo* as referring to *konata*, that corresponds to the individual expressing the utterance of the sentence, while *ta* 他 as corresponding to anything outside of the individual expressing the utterance. SHIMADA (1979, 15; 462-463) reports the conclusions of the studies on the use of the *jita* dichotomy until the Edo period, carried out by MATSUO (1943, 3), who identified five main uses of it:

1. The *ji* 自 as pointing at the existence of effect of an action, regardless of transitivity, and the *ta* 他 as pointing at the intermittence of an action, in the transitive sense;
2. The *ji* 自 as first-person pronoun, the *ta* 他 as second- or third-person pronoun;
3. The *ji* 自 as corresponding to the speaker/writer, the *ta* 他 as corresponding to listener/reader;
4. The *ji* 自 as corresponding to what is (or concerns with) the topic of discussion (e.g. *konata*), the *ta* 他 as corresponding to what accompanies the topic (*kanata*);
5. The *ji* 自 as intransitive (also *shinen* 自然), and the *ta* 他 as transitive (also *shizen* 使然).³⁶

The way this *jita* dichotomy was used within *Ippo* hardly shows any consistency, yet it has little to do with verbal transitivity or valence. The differentiation between the two concepts of *jita* seems to actualize both in a semantic context, as well as in a morphosyntactic context as the author of this manuscript describes words as being specifically either *konata no kotoba* 自の詞 and *kanata no kotoba* 他の詞, as well as certain inflecting elements, regardless of the supposed category they belong to. Indeed, *jita* in *Ippo* is not a phenomenon that only concerns verbs, but it also involves adjectives and nouns. Semantically, it seems that specific words, because of their meaning, should be considered either *ji*, mostly when they express emotions of the subject, and *ta* when they refer to phenomena external to the subject. In particular, this *jita* distinction, when it comes to verbs, seems to be connected to the affix *-ri* that, depending on the context, can be of either type. Specifically, it seems

³⁶ The words ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’ are, here, my direct translation of contemporary Japanese *tadōshi* 他動詞 and *jidōshi* 自動詞, respectively.

that the author intended to point out the instances in which this suffix can be used to specify distance of the speaker from the action (or condition) which is expressed by the predicate to which the affix is attached. It would thus refer to actions happening outside of the subject's agency, consequently used as a tool to express formal respect towards the agent of said action (SHIMADA 1979, 4-10).

Fujitani Nariakira also adopts a similar distinction, although he uses the terms *ura* 裏 'back', for *ji* 自 and *omote* 表 'front', for *ta* 他, in both his works *Ayui-shō* and *Kazashi-shō*. The distinction is made in the former, where the *ura* type is defined as *mizukara no ue nari* 自らの上なり 'on the self', and *omote* as *hito mono waza no ue nari* 人物事の上なり 'on people, things, actions'. Similarly to what is claimed regarding *jita* in *Ippo*, the *ura-omote* dichotomy is not embedded in each specific word. In fact, *Ayui-shō* attests many instances in which it is the morphosyntactic use of each word that causes them to switch between the two categories. The idea behind this "back-front" dichotomy is made clear by the example of the explanation Fujitani provides for the *-ru/-raru* affixes, that are today often described as expressing a plethora of meanings including possibility, passivity, spontaneity and formality. Fujitani divides the uses of these affixes into two, the first of which he describes as: "although one plans an action, it does not mean that they are going to enact it" (*waza to omoi kamaete nasu ni wa arazu* わざと思ひかまへてなすにはあらず), to which he adds that "be it coming from the *omote* or from the heart, it is enacted in the self" (*omote ni yori mata kokoro ni yori onozukara nari yuku wo iu kotoba nari* 表により又心によりおのづから成りゆくを言ふ詞也). SHIMADA considers the *omote ni yori* to correspond to what are called passives, as it is to be interpreted as an action coming from the "other", and *kokoro ni yori* to correspond to the idea of "spontaneity", as it would come from one's own "heart". While his reasoning does seem compelling, I would argue that the most relevant notion one can grasp from this explanation is that what are today called "passivity" and "spontaneity" were, according to Fujitani, the same semantic and morphosyntactic verbal forms, yet only differing in the fact that the former has the *omote* "other" as agent, and the latter has oneself as agent. The second meaning would correspond closely to the formal use of the affixes, that Fujitani explains as *kashizuku tataru* かしづく 立ゝる 'to serve and raise', that would correspond to *omote* 表, as it entails an action outside the will of the speaker (SHIMADA 1979, 17-30). As for the fourth meaning of these affixes, namely potentiality, I wonder what difference is required to distinguish a "potential" from a "spontaneous" action, of the type that originates from one's heart (*kokoro ni yori*). Clearly, if one says: "I can swim", in contrast with "whenever I am in the sea, I spontaneously swim" the semantical difference is extremely slight. In both cases, in some sense, the action of swimming is enacted by the agent via an impulse internal to the agent itself. The action originating from the "other" (*omote ni yori*), which SHIMADA recognized to be a "passive", would require no additional semantical explanation: a passive action is an action the subject has no control over, hence, from his point of view it happens "spontaneously", meaning "independently from themselves". The difference between the *kokoro ni yori* and the *omote ni yori* uses of the affixes *-ru/-raru* is, thus, not semantic. This means that semantically there is no difference in the uses of *-ru/-raru* for the

potential/spontaneous use against the passive use, respectively. What does change is the presence of an external agent, in the passive (*omote ni yori*) that causes the involuntary action of the verb to happen to the subject. In this sense, a passive is an *omote* verb, that means it is a *ta* 他. Indeed, “active verbs” (*dōta* 動他) are traditionally those that can be made passive.

Although I will present the theory of language by Motoori Norinaga more fully in 6.2, it is worth anticipating that he too writes regarding this topic. The topic of *jita* is not particularly central in Motoori’s oeuvre, however there are a few mentions in *Kotoba no tama no o* and *Te ni wo ha himokagami* (as I will discuss in 8.3), as well as in his other work *Tama arare* 玉あられ, published in 1792. From what can be understood by reading *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori believed the *jita* dichotomy to be strictly binary: a verb was either (used) as *ji* or *ta*. Even though neither quality is intrinsically connected to one specific morphological form, Motoori still identifies morphological patterns that evidence the alternation between the *jita* uses of each verb in the addition of an extra syllable *-ru* in the *rentaikei* form of some verbs yet conflating it with the affix *-ru*. He does claim that for those verbs adding an extra *-ru*, that extra syllable signals the shift between *jita*, however, whether the form with the extra *-ru* is to be considered a *ji* or a *ta* can be based solely on its semantics. In *Te ni wo ha himo kagami*, Motoori writes similar claims, although he adds the examples of the two phrases *onozukara tsuzuku* 自読³⁷ ‘to continue itself’ (a *ji*) and *mono wo tsuzukeru* 読^{ケル}物^ヲ ‘to continue something’ (a *ta*), evidencing that *jita* distinction specifies the difference between an intransitive verb and a transitive one, respectively.

In *Tama arare*, the term *jita* 自他 is used in the explanation of the difference between the sentences *toku himo* とく紐 and *tokuru himo* とくる紐, two relative clauses constructed around the verb *toku* 解く ‘to loosen’, ‘to untie’ and the noun *himo* ‘rope’, ‘wire’. The difference between *ji* and *ta*, also according to Norinaga, lies again in the presence of the affix *-ru*,³⁷ in that *toku himo* is explained as “it is a man untying the rope” (*himo wo hito no toku koto* 紐を人のとくこと), while *tokuru himo* is explained as “the rope unties itself” (*himo no onozukara tokuru koto* 紐のおのづからとくる事) (SHIMADA 1979, 36-37). Clearly, since the rope is an inanimate object, the former sentence cannot be interpreted as a pure reflexive action, rather as a spontaneous event occurring to the rope, perceived to be a receiver with no agency. Norinaga expands on this topic with other examples concerning the *jita* alternation, with other affixes and verbal forms. The verb *miyuru* ‘to be visible’, and its inflected form *miete*, coming from the verb *mi(ru)* ‘to see’ are

³⁷ Understanding the difference between *toku himo* and *tokuru himo* as realizing by means of the syllable *-ru*, although functional in the representation of Edo grammarians’ perception of the grammar of verbs, could be considered quite inappropriate by a contemporary eye. The phenomenon Norinaga is indirectly addressing concerns the different inflection patterns of the verb *toku*, of the *yodan* class, which also developed a parallel form in the *shimo nidan* class, causing the different *rentaikei* (the form needed to construct a relative clause), in *toku* and *tokuru*. The *yodan* version of *toku* is nowadays considered a *tadōshi* a Japanese ‘transitive’, while *shimo nidan* version of *toku* would be a *jidōshi* ‘intransitive’.

categorized as *onozukara ni shikaru sama* おのづからに然るさま ‘the condition of happening within itself’, while the forms *misuru* and *misete*, that inflect by means of the *-su/sasu* affix, are categorized as *shikarashimuru* 然らしむる. The form *miyuru* is to be interpreted as corresponding to a *ji*, while the latter *misuru* and *misete* to a *ta*; a categorization in alignment with Norinaga’s son Haruniwa’s theories (see 5.4.1). Similar claims are found in Norinaga’s *Tama arare*, in the context of the verbs *tanomu* and *tanomuru*, also related to the distinction between *konata* (1st person) and *kanata* (2nd and 3rd person), where the second expresses an action affecting oneself, yet originating from a *kanata* agent (SHIMADA 1979, 38-43). Norinaga himself does not go into too much depth with his rationalization of the difference in the *jita* dichotomy. The influence of Norinaga’s incomplete definition of *jita* is, nonetheless, rather evident, both in the terminology he used, and in the fact that for a verb to be *ji* or *ta* one needs to understand both its semantic characteristics, as well as its morphological ones. That is to say, according to Norinaga, one should not conceive verbs as definitely splitting into these two categories and, subsequently, being able to make one out of the other through specific tools, as in Shizuki and the European tradition of grammar. In fact, in Norinaga’s theory, verbs do not have a *jita* quality embedded within them, rather their *jita* quality is dependent on the semantic meaning that each verb takes in each of its conjugations in each of the possible clauses. This is a fundamental theoretical difference that is also held by Haruniwa, but that is in contrast with part of the European tradition (mostly visible from the lexicographical works I have analyzed, in contrast with Séwel, for example, see Chapter IV) and the more modern tradition of Japanese grammatical theory that mostly adopts the idea of splitting verbs into the categories of *ji* and *ta* (or “neuter” and “active”, or even “intransitive” and “transitive”), to which one can add an inflecting affix that turns verbs into passives, potentials, and so on. This would make Shizuki the first Japanese to utilize the categories of *jita* based on European grammatical theory – as adaptation of the neuter/active dichotomy – and apply them onto Japanese grammar, a missing link in the evolution of the concept of *jita* that SHIMADA himself did not seem to be aware of. The same non-fixed attribution of the *jita* categories is also pointed out, by SHIMADA (1979, 46-49) in Ozawa Roan 小沢盧庵 (1723 – 1801), in his 1796 book *Furiwakegami* 振分髪.

5.4.1 Theory of the grammar of verbs according to Motoori Haruniwa

Motoori Haruniwa 本居春庭 (1763 – 1828), born in Ise 伊勢, was the son of Norinaga and he followed the steps of his father in the study of Japanese grammar through the analysis of the *waka*. He was particularly interested in the inflection of verbs and adjectives, and in the phenomenon of what is now called *kakari-musubi*, following the fundamentals laid by his father (see 6.2). He has authored two works investigating the Japanese language entitled *Kotoba no yachimata* 詞八衢 (completed in 1806) and *Kotoba no kayoiji* 詞通路 (completed in 1828). The former contains little about the *jita* category, while the latter can be considered as an ultimate and comprehensive final step in the Japanese evolution of the theory of *jita*. This can be claimed on the one hand because it adds numerous details regarding this

concept, on the other hand because the approach of the *kokugaku* school, arguably, will afterward lose prominence regarding the covering of the *jita* category. The work *Kotoba no kayoiiji* begins with the chapter *kotoba no jita no koto* 詞の自他の事 ‘about the *jita*³⁸ of words’. This shows the fundamental importance given to this category within this work. The explanation concerning the different types of *jita*, of which Haruniwa³⁹ recognizes seven (although two are morphologically identical), spans many pages and includes a long table illustrating how different classes of verbs render the seven different types of *jita* according to their morphological forms. The first words devoted to this category are the following:⁴⁰

歌よむにもふみかくにも事をする
すにもよろつの事をわかち其さま
をくはしくしらするなれはもはち
此自他の言葉の活をむねとこゝろ
うへきわさなりそはおのつからの
さたまり有てこなたのことをいふ
にはこなたにつかふへきことはを
もちひかなたの事をかたるにはか
なたに用ふへき詞をつかはされは
其事くはしくわかれす自他混雑し
て詞とゝのはす其さま聞えかたけ
れはなほさりに思ひすくさすよく
わきまへおくへき事なりそもく此
はたらきは上にもいへる如く千よ
ろつのことをくはしくいひわかつ
わさなれは其はたらきさまもくさ
くおほかるを世の人自他の詞は
たゝ煙などのたつといふはおのつ
からたつことをいひたつるといふ
は人のたつる事をいひまた花のち
るといふはおのつからちることち
らすといふはかせなとのちらすこ
となどゝのみなほさりに思ひてく
はしく考へしるへき事ともおもひ
たらす又この事をとかくあけつら
へる書もなければおのつから心を
つくるともからもなくおのれ哥よ
くよみものよくこゝろえたりとお
もふ人もおのつから取はつては
あやまる事なきにしもあらずまし
てうひまなひのともからはいとた

When reading poetry, writing a book, when noting down something, there are infinite things that are distinguished. Getting to know in detail these is the skill of learning deeply the ‘vitality’ [*katsu* 活] of words of *jita* 自他. Particularly, when we have a specification [*sadamari*] of the condition of the ‘self’ [*onozukara*], then we are talking about the *konata*, thus we will use words of *konata*. When we are telling a story regarding a *kanata*, then we will use words of *kanata*. If this is not well understood, one mixes up the *jita* and cannot arrange words. This way, even though that can be hard to comprehend, one should be able to discern it properly, without neglecting it. This could be similar to talking about working. Since this becomes a skill to discern in detail amongst the infinite things one could say, the ways of working are so numerous and diverse, in the words of humans, when one says things like the raising of smoke [*kemuri nado no tatsu* 煙などのたつ], then it raises by itself [*onozukara tatsu* おのつからたつ]. If one says *tatsuru*, then it is a person raising it. Furthermore, if one says ‘the spreading of flowers’ [*hana no chiru*], then it is *onozukara*. If one says *chirasu* then it is the wind spreading them. This is not thought of as a thing that ought to be known and pondered about in depth, in order to consciously correct it. There are not many books in which this thing is discussed extensively, and there are also none from our own heart’s perspective, even those individuals who think they would like to learn and read poetry by themselves, when approaching them and starting to study them for the first time, they generally develop many

³⁸ Probably supposed to be read *konata-kanata*, in the native reading.

³⁹ I will refer to Motoori Haruniwa by his first name, rather than his last name, as to distinguish him from his father.

⁴⁰ Original text from SHIMADA (1979, 55), my English translation.

とくしく常にあやまることおほけ
れば其定りををしへさとさむとて
くはしくかきしるなり

misunderstandings and make many mistakes, yet
by receiving the teachings of that *sadamari* one
can know how to write that in detail.

This introduction demonstrates the general approach to the study of Japanese grammar adopted by Haruniwa. Just like his father, Haruniwa believed words to be arranged in an “established” manner (*sadamari*). Unlike Motoori Norinaga, who mostly talked about an “establishment” in the use of the *te ni wo ha*, Haruniwa here refers to the “established” distinction between the two ideas of *jita*, that he calls *konata* and *kanata*. An important characteristic of Haruniwa’s version of *jita* is that they are directly connected to the “vitality” (*katsu* 活) of words, i.e., the inflection. This is not new, as it was already seen in the early manuscript *Ippo*, yet, as SHIMADA (1979, 60) correctly points out, this should be considered as a different type of description of the *jita* dichotomy. Indeed, before *Ippo*, the general idea – representing direct Buddhist influence – was to consider *jita* simply as a distinction between the “self” and the “other”. From *Ippo* onward, this started to evolve into the idea that there was a difference between the “subject” and the “agent” of a verb (also adjectives and nouns in *Ippo*). Personally, I do not believe this categorization of Haruniwa to be different enough to be considered as a “new” theory on *jita*, but rather as an expansion of the same traditional theory of which the first recorded stage is found in *Ippo*. In both works, the elements defining the different types of *jita* are mostly the same: namely the role of the subject and the agent, and the terminology used to explain these phenomena. As I will discuss in Chapter VIII, the first Japanese scholar to really provide a different categorization of *jita* – strongly influenced by Dutch sources – was, indeed, Shizuki Tadao, who believed it to be a characteristic embedded in each verb, that he cited in its uninflected form, akin to the use of the infinitives as citation forms, as was traditionally done in European lexicographic works. Furthermore, the basis upon which each verb is either *ji(dō)* and (*dō*)*ta*, according to Shizuki and the Dutch tradition, is mostly connected to the idea of “neutrality” and “activeness”, respectively. Shizuki’s theory is remarkably different from the *Ippo* native tradition of *jita* and much more similar to modern theory, deserving to be considered as a “new” school of thought, branching off from the studies of the other “nativists”. I would not claim the same with regard to Haruniwa’s conception, instead. NAKAMURA (1996) portrays a useful picture of Haruniwa’s seven classes of *jita*, considering qualities such as the ‘spontaneity’ (*jihatsu* 自発), and the relationship between the agent and the patient.

Haruniwa’s theories sure deserve a deeper analysis than what I can provide here. Nonetheless, there are a few additional issues I would like to mention. Firstly, in Haruniwa’s categorization of the seven types of *jita* of verbs, the same verbal conjugation does not always correspond to the same category. This implies that the definition of the *jita* category is mostly based on the semantics of the verb (i.e., whether the verb refers semantically to an action of the “self” or of the “other”) or on the syntactic level (i.e., how many and what types of arguments does the verb combine with). In this sense, thus, the specific morphological form of the verb is not

the only parameter in the categorization of *jita*, only considered in so far as it influences the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the verb itself.

Haruniwa's approach is wholly consistent with the *kokugaku* theorization of the *jita* category, although it develops further nuancing within that same traditional categorization. Haruniwa was almost contemporary to Shizuki, although his works came out after the latter's death. While I would assume a direct influence from Haruniwa to Shizuki rather improbable, as far as the theory of *jita* is concerned, this still demonstrates that the *kokugaku* school was still employing the traditional vision of the *jita* category all while Shizuki was developing a more European-influenced theory, that is closer to the modern use of this dichotomy in Japan.

5.5 Sino-Japanese uses of the category of “auxiliary words”

The category of *joshi* 助詞 is central in Shizuki's description of Dutch grammar. This can be easily deduced from the title of one of Shizuki's works: *Joshi-kō*. Understanding what Shizuki meant when he referred to the category of *joshi* in the context of Dutch is not possible by only looking at the entries of *Joshi-kō* from the perspective of Greek-Latin traditional grammar, since virtually all categories of speech are somehow represented in that manuscript (see 7.2.4). The term *joshi* – literally ‘auxiliary words’ – is nowadays used to refer to only those parts of speech that are called “particles” in English. These particles can be described as postpositions specifying grammatical qualities, many of which are comparable to the idea of cases. A similar term often found in contemporary Japanese grammars is *jodōshi* 助動詞, literally ‘auxiliary verb’, used to refer to the various affixes used in the inflection of Japanese verbs and adjectives. The idea that these specific word classes were distinguished in some fashion from the rest of the words can already be found in the early stages of written Japanese, when both *joshi* and *jodōshi* were written, by means of Chinese characters, in a smaller type, when compared to the words of the other categories (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 28). Early on, these specific words have been called *te ni wo ha*, a name that simply represents a list of the most common particles of Japanese.⁴¹ The work *Te ni ha taigai-shō* 手爾葉大概抄,⁴² defines the category of *te ni (wo) ha* as being similar to the idea of *okiji* 置字. These *okiji* were characters that, although present in *kanbun*, are not read, in *kundoku*. These were mostly characters necessary in the Chinese version of the text that had no direct counterpart in the Japanese reading, often expressing specific types of emphasis or interjection. Sadaie further distinguishes the *te ni ha* from the rest of the words, that he calls *kotoba* 詞 comparing the latter to a temple (*jisha* 寺社) and the former to the ornaments typically put on religious imagery inside a temple (*shōgen*, *shōgon* or *sōgon* 莊嚴). Until the first attempts at establishing a writing

⁴¹ A more precise phrasing would probably be “a list of the most common *kana* used to write Japanese particles”.

⁴² This work is generally attributed to Fujiwara no Sadaie, who lived at the beginning of the Kamakura period, however, it is believed that the work itself was compiled between the end of the Kamakura period and the beginning of the subsequent Muromachi period, according to the *Dejitaru daijisen*.

system for the Japanese language, the mainstream approach appears to have divided the categories of speech into two, based on the fact that *te ni wo ha*, in contrast to the rest of words, had the main use of “adorning” all the other words in the composition of a sentence (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 162). In contemporary terms, this could be understood as a manner to describe the fact that the *kotoba* category was composed of independent words – words possessing their own meaning – while the *te ni wo ha* were used only in combination with the other categories and functioned only when adjoined to a *kotoba*.

The research on *waka* poetry has had clear influence on the way in which Japanese scholars interpreted the categories of speech. Terms of poetics, like *makura kotoba* 枕詞 (a concept similar to an epithet, literally ‘pillow word’) or *hatsugo* 発語 (literally ‘initiating word’, for those words used at the beginning of a clause) were also often employed (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 133). However, they cannot be considered as grammatical or morphological labels, as they were categorized based on their function within the exegesis of poems and not as grammatical entities. Still, as I have mentioned in 2.4.4, terms related to *hatsugo*, were apparently also used by Shizuki in *Sanshu shokaku* to refer to the Dutch part of speech of “articles”, probably by virtue of the fact that one uses articles before nouns, and often at the beginning of a clause, as a consequence, in the SVO or SOV structures.

A first clear example of the understanding of the multifaceted nature of the category of *te ni wo ha* can be seen in Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320 – 1378), who studied the use of Japanese in the context not only of *waka* but also *renga*, in his *Renri hishō* 連理秘抄. Here, the author identifies six types of *te ni wo ha*, testifying his awareness of the concept of *kakari-musubi*, with the categories of *uke* ‘receive’ and *kake* ‘tie up’ defined on the basis of their interaction in an “upper clause/verse” (*ue no ku* 上の句) and a “lower clause/verse” (*shita no ku* 下の句) (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 169).

At the beginning of the Edo period, there was not only an increasing interest in the study of the Japanese language, but also a specific focus on the category of *te ni wo ha*. As already mentioned, in the anonymous *Ippo*, one can already find a specific sub-division of the *te ni wo ha* category, wherein it is claimed that they ought to be divided according to three dimensions of time, specifically when it came to verbal and adjectival affixes. Keichū, the forefather of *kokugaku*, provided an expansion on the former binary division of the parts of speech, believing that words needed to be divided in three main types: *tai* 体 for un-inflected words, *yō* 用 for inflected words and *te ni wo ha*, this last one mostly, but not only, used as a tool to inflect *tai* words into *yō* words. A similar categorization is also found in Suzuki Akira, who was born in the second half of the 18th century (see 5.3.2). Inspired by Keichū, Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697 – 1769) opened the path to a more evidence-based approach to the *kokugaku* study of Japanese poetry. This can also be seen in the work by Sasabe no Nobotsura 雀部信頼 (dates unknown), published in 1760 by the title *Te ni o ha gikan-shō* 氏爾乎波義慣抄, that broadly covers the topic of *kakari-musubi* by studying the classic book *Kokinshū*. Nine years later, another scholar

called Minamoto Kagemo 源影面,⁴³ deals with a similar topic, studying the same literary work, in the book *Kokinshū waka joji bunrui* 古今集和歌助辞分類 in which, as the title suggests, the *te ni wo ha* were considered as *joji* 助辞. In this regard he claims the following:⁴⁴

助辞とは天爾遠波といふことの借字
也。てにをは唯此四つの義にはあら
ず。語の意を成しむること葉の千
種万種を総て称せし名目也。

The word *joji* 助辞 is provisionary for the *te ni o ha*. With *te ni wo ha* I do not simply mean these four characters. All the millions of words that make the meaning of sentences are all called *meimoku* 名目.

Here, Minamoto divides words into two categories, namely *te ni wo ha* and all the rest, which he calls *meimoku*, similarly to Suzuki Akira. Amongst the *joji* category he includes pronouns, adjectives, verbs, conjunctions, particles, verbal affixes, and adverbs. Thus, the definition of these categories seems to be more oriented toward a distinction of nouns (*meimoku*) against everything else, meaning inflected words, and words used to inflect other words. This is a similar distinction also found in *Te ni ha abiki no zuna* てには綱引綱 (1770) by Tsuganoi Michitoshi 榎井道敏 (1722 – 1791), who only distinguishes between *te ni wo ha* and *kotoba* 詞 (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 213-215).

The introduction of the category of *joji* in the discourse on Japanese grammar appears to have occurred after the importation, in 1674, of *Yūzhū* 語助 authored by the Chinese *Lú Yǐwěi* 盧以緯, a 1592 research on Chinese characters that the author categorized as *gojo*.⁴⁵ One of the earliest and most impactful scholars who initiated this new approach to the categories of speech, combining Chinese theory to the Japanese tradition on poetical studies, is probably Ogyū Sorai who, among other things, compared the Japanese *te ni wo ha* to the category of *joshi* (*joji*), in his *Yakubun sentei*. This approach has subsequently been adopted by other authors such as Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670 – 1736), the aforementioned Minagawa Kien, and Daizai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680 – 1747). Itō, in his *Sōkō jiketsu* 操觚字訣 (1736),

⁴³ Also known as Murakami Kagemo 村上影面, amongst other names. I have not been able to find a reliable source recording his dates of birth and death.

⁴⁴ Original quote from FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 215). My translation.

⁴⁵ I provide the complete list of the *gojo* present in the index in the 1717 version annotated and commented by Mōri Teisai 毛利貞斎 (dates unknown, he lived around the first half of the Edo period), by the title *Jūtei kankai jōgoji* 重訂冠解助語辞 (Waseda Call No. ホ 04 00181): 也, 矣, 焉, 乎, 歟, 邪, 其, 於, 者, 之, 諸, 而, 則, 哉, 故, 是故, 故曰, 亦, 且, 以, 乃, 于, 所, 所以, 或, 然, 然後, 雖然, 然則, 然而, 不然, 粵, 蓋, 大抵, 夫, 今夫, 且夫, 原夫, 逮夫, 及夫, 及乎, 至於, 施及, 及, 一夫, 一於, 若夫, 及若, 至若, 甚矣, 甚哉, 於是, 是用, 既而, 己而, 方其, 嘗謂, 夫嘗, 無他, 要之, 要知, 今, 今也, 今焉, 今則, 今而, 今及, 自今, 方今, 初, 始, 先是, 嗚呼, 吁, 噫, 噫嘻, 或曰, 借曰, 諺曰, 何則, 何者, 何也, 是何也, 是何, 何哉, 何以, 何如, 如之何, 云, 惡, 猶, 庸, 顧, 殆, 毋, 惟, 唯, 維, 抑, 豈, 及安, 焉也, 曾, 凡, 儻, 故, 必, 已, 只, 止, 忌, 居, 諸, 且, 思, 斯.

distinguishes between the *joji* 助字 and the *goji* 語辭, where the former mostly included particles, while the latter term was used to refer to interjections, conjunctions, adverbs, etc. (嗚呼, 如何, 稍, 亦, 凡, 當, 抑, 又). Although only using the category of *joji* 助辭, as corresponding to the Japanese *te ni wo ha*, Daizai, in his *Watoku yōrei* 倭語要領 (1728), recognizes a difference in that some Chinese characters (e.g., 矣, 焉) had no direct corresponding word in Japanese. The idea of dividing the *joshi* in specific sub-categories can also be seen in *Kōeki jogoji* 広益助語辭 (1692) by Miyoshi Nisan (?)⁴⁶ 三好似山, who identified 15 types of *joshi* (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 226-231).

An original categorization can be found in Fujitani Nariakira, who divided the parts of speech in four categories: *na* 名; *kazashi* 挿頭; *yosoi* 装; *ayui* 脚結 (see 5.3.1). What was traditionally included in the *joshi* or *te ni wo ha* label, is now being divided into two, according to their position within the Japanese sentence. Indeed, the *kazashi* category mostly refers to the *joshi* being used at the beginning of the sentence (*kazashi* is a term used to refer to ornaments one would wear on their head) or at the end of it (*ayui* is written with the Chinese character for “feet” or “legs” and that for “to bind” and referred to ties used to fasten the legs of one’s trousers). The combined use of *kazashi* and *ayui* serves the purpose of “helping” (*tasuku*) the other two categories, that refer to “things”, e.g. nouns (物) and “actions”, e.g. verbs (事). This distinction is relevant, as it demonstrates a certain consciousness regarding the fact that particles and verbal affixes (*ayui*) behaved in a different manner than their sentence-initial counterparts (*kazashi*), that broadly referred to what one would today call adverbs, conjunctions, pronouns etc. (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 236-239).

Most of these approaches can be identified as inspiration for the scholars of Dutch in their analysis of language. Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723 –1803) is a representative figure, in this context. Maeno has famously worked with physician Sugita Genpaku on the first translation of a Dutch edition of a book on anatomy. Maeno’s knowledge of Dutch was so renowned it earned him the epithet *Oranda no bakemono* 和蘭の化物 ‘Dutch phantom’, reworked into *Ranka* 蘭化 ‘Hollandized’ (OGAWA 2016, 234-256).⁴⁷ Maeno published many works concerning the Dutch language, three of which can be found in the collection of Waseda University in one manuscript (文庫 08_c0018). This book contains, in order: *Jigaku shōsei* 字學小成, *Oranda yakusen* 和蘭譯筌 and *Rango zuihitsu* 蘭語隨筆. Notably, Sugita, in his *Rangaku Kotohajime* 蘭学事始 (also *Rangaku jishi*) discussed his difficulty with

⁴⁶ I have not been able to find a reliable source regarding the biographical information of this scholar. In fact, I could also not confirm the correctness of my transcription of his name in Latin characters.

⁴⁷ This is a play on words based on the fact that a *bakemono* 化物 is a class of monsters (*yōkai* 妖怪) in Japanese folklore mostly famous for their shapeshifting abilities. Their name contains the verb *bakeru* ‘to shapeshift’, that is generally written with the Chinese character *ka* 化, hence the name *Ranka* 蘭化 ‘Hollandized’. OGAWA (2016, 247) attributes the coinage of the name *oranda no bakemono* to the feudal lord Okudaira Masataka 奥平昌高 (1781 - 1855).

coming to grasp with the Dutch language and, specifically, words of the *jogo* 助語 category, of which he lists the examples of *de* (article); *het* (article); *als* (conjunction) and *welke* (relative pronoun). The knowledge of Dutch possessed by Sugita was indeed most likely enhanced by the assistance of Maeno, who had been studying Dutch. In his works, Maeno uses *joji* 助字 (once) and *jogo* 助語, though his favorite spelling was *joji* 助辞. The term *joji/jogo* is, in these three works, used for the following Dutch words and morphemes:

- Suffix *-s* in the adjective for nationalities;
- Suffix *-tig* for numerals;
- Suffix *-s* for the genitive case;
- Conjunction *en* in numerals;
- Preposition *te* expressing finality;
- Combination of the third person singular of the verb *zijn* ‘to be’, *is* plus the third person singular neutral pronoun *het* (*isuetto* イスエット, treated as one word);
- Definite article in the genitive case, both feminine *des*, and masculine *der*;
- First person singular of the verb *zijn* ‘to be’, *ben*;
- Genitive ‘s (originally an abbreviation of the article *des*);
- Relative pronoun *die*;
- Definite neutral article in the accusative case *ten*;
- Combination of preposition *in* and the definite article of common gender *de* (*inde* インデ);
- Preposition *in*;
- Reflexive pronoun *zich*;
- Third person singular of the verb *zijn*, *is*;
- Indefinite article *een*;
- Combination of the verb *zullen* in its third person singular conjugation *zal* and the impersonal pronoun *men*, in *sarumen* サルメン.

It needs to be added that, since Maeno was illustrating a sort of *kundoku* he came up with in order to translate Dutch, his employment of this concept is tightly connected to his necessities. In fact, it appears that Maeno mostly called *joshi* those Dutch words or morphemes that had no direct translation into Japanese, that he annotated with a circle in the chapter where he demonstrates how to use his translation method of Dutch (蘭化帝譯文式), in *Oranda yakusen*. Here, one can also notice the use of the poetic-derived term *hatsugo* 発語 for articles, that I have mentioned above. Although, as I will discuss, Shizuki appears to use the category of *joshi* in a more structured manner, there are many commonalities between the categories of the two scholars. This can be claimed not only on the basis of the corresponding European

categories of speech, grouped under the label *joji*, but also by the fact that in the definition of *joshi* by both authors one finds suffixes, prefixes and more words combined into one entry. The most relevant difference between the two approaches is that Maeno does not, in fact, translate into Japanese the words he categorizes as *joji/jogo* since they are often not needed in the Japanese corresponding sentence. For example, in the gloss to *inde* インデ (Dutch *in de*, 'in the'), he writes that "this is a *joji* used to connect the lower word to the upper one" (インデ助辞ナリ下ノ言ヲ上ニ接スルナリ), a rather free explanation of the Dutch phrase, that gets lost in the translation to Japanese. Shizuki, instead, in his *Joshi-kō*, wanted to explain these "auxiliary words" of Dutch in detail and he provided a translation for each, thus always combining the Dutch *joshi* with a corresponding Japanese adaptation (see 7.2.4).

5.6 A word for "word"

When a Japanese referred to the names of languages, of categories of speech and even of specific words and letters, he could use a plethora of Chinese characters. Although sometimes this choice might appear arbitrary, the selection of a specific character in each specific context often mirrors the association of a well-defined semantic value. A Japanese author had at his disposal about five main Chinese characters that he could use to refer to the abovementioned concepts, namely: *ji* 字, *shi* 詞, *gen* 言, *go* 語, *ji* 辞. The readings I have provided coincide with the most common Sino-Japanese pronunciation of each character (*on'yomi*), however, some of them were often meant to be read in Japanese (*kun'yomi*), as: *kotoba* 詞, *koto* 言 and *kotoba* 辞. The term *kotoba*, nowadays often written as 言葉 (analyzed as a contraction of *koto no ha*, literally 'leaves of speech'), has a complicated history and was used, as seen in the rest of this Chapter IV, above, to also refer to specific categories of speech by some authors of the Edo period. The word *kotoba* is nowadays generally understood as corresponding to the English concepts of "word" and "language". As shown in Chapter II, Shizuki mostly used the Chinese character *shi/kotoba* 詞 as a suffix in the names of the categories of speech of Dutch, with the remarkable exception of his *Sensei bunpō*, where he uses the character *go* 語 for that same purpose. The names of the categories of speech, in *Sensei bunpō*, are direct translations – *cliques* – of the Dutch word, thus meaning that the suffix *go* 語 was used by Shizuki to translate the Dutch term *woord* 'word'. In the history of the studies on language in Japan, these characters have been used varyingly to refer to different categories of speech. These uses have somewhat specialized each of the characters above in specific semantical contexts. Describing the history of the employment of each of these characters might indeed mean analyzing the entirety of the history of Chinese and Japanese literature, that I will refrain from doing, in the context of the present research for obvious reasons. However, it is indeed necessary to understand, at least broadly, the patterns of distribution of these characters that could be witnessed in the literary context in which Shizuki operated. For this reason, I will try to describe some of the patterns that can be deduced from the works mentioned in this Chapter IV in the use of these characters. In order to do so, I will

reference a few chapters written by MAËS (1975a; 1975b; 1975c) who, however, tends to be rather reluctant in providing the sources to his claims, making it hard to double check his statements.

A first issue that needs to be tackled is the fact that the two characters *shi* 詞 and *ji* 辭 (also written as 辭) are, in Chinese, simple graphical variants of the same character, pronounced *ci* (MAËS 1975b, 68). In contemporary Japanese, the two characters have developed different meanings and pronunciations. In *on'yomi*, 詞 is generally pronounced *shi*, while 辭 is pronounced *ji*. In their *kun'yomi*, both characters can be read as *kotoba*. In contemporary Japanese, the two characters are distinct, with some words requiring either one or the other. For example, the character *shi* 詞 is nowadays used in the names of all the parts of speech (e.g., *meishi* 名詞 ‘noun’; *dōshi* 動詞 ‘verb’ etc.). In these cases, *shi* 詞 cannot be substituted with *ji* 辭. In fact, the term *meiji* 名辭 is generally used in contexts in which one would translate it into English as “term”. Conversely, one cannot substitute *ji* 辭 with *shi* 詞 in words such as *jisho* 辭書 ‘dictionary’.

As discussed in this Chapter IV, the character 詞 (read *kotoba*) was often used in the context of *kokugaku*, yet with different nuances in meaning (as also attested by João Rodriguez, see 5.7.1). Since the very early *Ippo*, words such as *konata no kotoba* and *kanata no kotoba* are found, where *kotoba* is written with the character *shi* 詞. In *Te ni ha abiki no zuna* (1770) by Tsuganoi Michitoshi, I have already mentioned that the term *kotoba* 詞 was used to distinguish those words that did not belong to the *te ni wo ha* category. This contrastive use of the character *shi* 詞 is distinguished from what was originally done since the Heian era, when terms such as *kotoba* 詞, *koto* 言 etc., were used to refer to all those words not belonging to the category of *na* 名 ‘names’ (MAËS 1975b, 68). A similar distinction was made by Suzuki Akira, who used the character *shi* 詞 to refer to the different parts of speech, as he distinguished between the *karada no kotoba* 体ノ詞, and the *shiwaza no kotoba* 作用ノ詞. Suzuki added that the category of *te ni wo ha* corresponded to several terms from the Chinese tradition, among which one could find *joji* 助辭 and *goji* 語辭, both using the character *ji* 辭. This character, Suzuki adds, expresses the *jiki* 辭氣 ‘the energy of words’, it is the *kokoro no koe* 心ノ声 ‘the voice of the spirit’. In Itō Tōgai, the term *goji* 語辭 was defined as “the characters of the words of a text” (文章ノコトハ字), where the phrasing *kotoba (no) ji* ‘(Chinese) character of words’, could be homologous to the original use of *kotoba*, namely as opposing to *na* 名, as evidenced by MAËS (1975b, 68).

The character *shi* 詞 is used commonly across *kokugaku* literature, to refer to words, as can be seen also in Motoori Haruniwa, and in Motoori Norinaga, although the latter appears – from a superficial analysis – to be using the two characters *shi* 詞 and *ji* 辭 quite interchangeably.

Chinese studies tended to employ the character *ji* 字, meaning ‘character’, ‘letter’ to refer to characters holding an intrinsic semantic meaning. The use of this *ji* 字

character was also extended to the names of the categories of speech; it was characters holding the quality of “empty” or “full”, not “words”. In fact, even in Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, the categories of speech are called *jitsuji* 実字 and *kyoji* 虚字, etc., and the subject investigating them is called *jihin* 字品 ‘category of the characters’. However, Ogyū also recognizes the two categories of *jitsugo* 実語 (also *shōgo* 正語) and *jogo* 助語, that appear to be supercategories of all the types of characters. The character *go* 語, already seen in Suzuki's *goji* 語辞, is also often used with the meaning of ‘language’, ‘speech’, ‘sentence’ and even ‘word’. In fact, Ogyū also often uses it as suffix in the name of languages or specific varieties of speech, as in *wago* 倭語 ‘Japanese’, *zokugo* 俗語 ‘popular language’ etc. This same character *go* 語 is used by Shizuki, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, to cumulatively refer to the 27 sample sentences, each one dividing into two “clauses”, Shizuki refers to by means of the character *ku* 句, often used in poetry to refer to “verses”. In modern standard Japanese, the term *gengo* 言語, combining two of the abovementioned characters, generally means “language”, as in *gengogaku* 言語学 ‘linguistics’. However, as I have mentioned in 5.3, Maeno Ryōtaku used this term to translate the Dutch *woord(en)* ‘word(s)’.

Uniform and coherent definitions of each of these characters and their uses cannot to be provided. As I have demonstrated, they were often used differently by each author, and some also tended to swap them without specifying the reasons. A very clear distribution can be identified in the use of the character *ji* 字 which never refers to any concept different from that of “character”. This stands true for the characters of any language, thus for Chinese characters, Japanese *kana* and the Latin alphabet. In fact, even in the documents on Dutch, the letters of the Latin alphabet are always referred to by means of the character *ji* 字 which, in turn, never refers to Dutch words or categories of speech.

As I will discuss in 6.1.2, Ogyū also deals with this issue, specifically in the first volume of his *Kun'yaku jimō*, where he defines translation (*yakubun* 譯文) as the “adjustment” (*naosu* 直ス) of the Chinese language into Japanese, where the character *go* 語 is used as meaning “language”. However, he adds, there are huge differences between Chinese words and those of Japanese, where the character *shi* 詞 is used as meaning “words”. The first difference is that Chinese is written in “character” (*ji* 字), while Japanese is written in *kana* 假名 (仮名). The *kana* are not unique to Japanese, according to Ogyū, since they are also found in other languages, such as Korean, Sanskrit etc. The definition of a *kana*, for the scholar, is a character that does not have a meaning but only expresses a sound, and the meaning is created by bringing together many *kana*. Instead, a character (*ji* 字) has both a meaning and a sound.

I have not been able to find any direct definition of the differences between these characters in the works authored by Shizuki, however, in *Sangoku shukushō*, in a

text written in *kanbun* by Ōtsuki Seijun allegedly based on Shizuki's own words, one can read the following:⁴⁸

平出
和蘭之詩、其猶國之歌、
唐之詩乎、而體製各異何
也、蓋土隔東西、則語殊文
異、吐又有辭音之別也、惟
平出
國則辭吐、字有聲無義、
義生於輯字、故整其句、而
曰字、若曰五字七惟唐則
音吐、其文有音有義、不貳
字[算]言、故字整其句而曰
言、若曰五言七言惟和蘭
則辭吐、其文無音無義、
和蘭字總二十有五、皆無音義、但
五韻字為音、阿謨伊嘸幽、是也、
而今日無音、義者就
其多者、概言之矣 是以合字
成音、合音鑄辭也、

Dutch poetry, Tang poetry and our country's poetry all differ in style. Being lands far apart, things like their languages vary, as well as their texts. Furthermore, the pronunciation has a difference in the sound of words. In our country's language, we "pronounce characters" [辭吐] which have a sound but not a meaning. The meaning is given by the accumulation of characters [字]. Thus, creating a verse. Those are said characters [字] (Be they 5 or 7). The Tang people "pronounce syllables" [音吐], their texts have both sound and meaning. There is no double character. The characters which are ordered in their own sentence are called "words" [言] (Be they 5 or 7). The Dutch "pronounce characters" [辭吐] and their texts have no sound or meaning (In Dutch there are in total 25 characters. They all have no sound or meaning. However, there are 5 syllabic characters which have the sounds *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *yu*. What I have just said having no sound nor meaning, are the majority). Thus, a combination of characters makes a "syllable", and a combination of "syllables" forges a word. Furthermore, the ordering of "syllables" makes a verse.

In this excerpt, a difference is made between the pronunciation of Chinese, Japanese and Dutch, according to their writing systems. The Chinese language, it is claimed, "pronounces syllables" (*onto* 音吐), that means that their text possesses both "sounds" and "meanings" (有音有義). The character *on* 音 can be interpreted as meaning both "syllable" as well as "sound", since Chinese characters generally express each a syllabic sound, giving the illusion that a syllable is the smallest unit of sound. The combination of Chinese characters composes "speech" (*koto* 言). This is contrasted with the Japanese language that "pronounces words/characters" (*jito* 辭吐), meaning that their characters do have "sounds" but do not have "meaning" (有聲無義). In order to create meaning, in Japanese, one needs to combine more characters together. This is a reference to the Japanese *kana*, that do not hold a specific semantic meaning each, yet they do express a sound. The Dutch language, is also considered as "pronouncing words/characters" (*jito* 辭吐), just like Japanese. However, their characters (the Latin alphabet) do not possess either sound or meaning (無音無義). For a Japanese speaker with little exposure to any foreign spoken language, it makes sense to claim that the characters of the Latin alphabet, that mostly represent consonant sounds rarely pronounced in isolation, were but pieces required to be combined as to create a "sound", meaning a "syllable". If your native language is written in phonetic syllabaries, you would probably end up

⁴⁸ Original text from folio 23r of Waseda's 文庫 8 B9, my English translation.

thinking that the smallest unit of sound corresponds to a syllable. Indeed, Ōtsuki Seijun adds that the only characters of Dutch script that had their own “sounds” are *a, e, i, o, yu*, representing the Dutch pronunciation of vowel characters.⁴⁹ In Dutch, it is a combination of “characters” (*ji* 字) composing a “syllable” (*on* 音 or “sound”), and a combination of “syllables” composing “words” (*ji* 辭).

This excerpt is very informative, since it explains the meanings and uses of almost all of these similar characters, their definitions, and how they are to be interpreted in the context of three languages, including Dutch. The character *ji* 字 is used to refer to any one symbol of written language, including Chinese characters, Japanese *kana* and Latin letters. However, each of these characters are slightly different in the way they function in the composition of words and sentences. In Japanese, each character (*ji* 字) only possesses a syllabic sound (*on* 音) – or voice (*sei* 聲) – yet it does not have a specific meaning (*gi* 義) attached to it. The meaning is obtained by combining a few of these characters into a unit possessing a meaning, that is called a *ji* or *kotoba* 辭. Since this text is written in Chinese, it is reasonable to believe that the character *ji* 辭 is to be interpreted as a variant of *shi* 詞. In Chinese, instead, each character (*ji* 字) corresponds to both a syllabic sound (*on* 音) and a meaning (*gi* 義). Their combination creates a *koto* 言. In Dutch, which is nonetheless more similar to Japanese, characters (*ji* 字) do not have either a syllabic sound (*on* 音) or a meaning (*gi* 義) assigned to them. Each single character needs to first combine with others in order to first obtain a syllabic sound (*on* 音) and, only subsequently, can these combinations of sounds further combine with each other into a “word” (*ji* 辭) possessing meaning (*gi* 義).

If one were to solely rely on this excerpt, the following definitions would result:

- *go* 語 is used to refer to the concept of “language”;
- *ji* 字 is the smallest graphic unit. Corresponds to a “character”, regardless of its possession, or lack thereof, of “syllabic sound” and “meaning”;
- *gen* 言 is what results from the arranged combination of several characters that possess both “syllabic sound” and “meaning”, i.e. Chinese characters;
- *ji* 辭 (probably corresponding to *shi* 詞) is a unit possessing “meaning”, resulting from the combination of “syllabic sounds” that did not originally possess a “meaning” on their own;

Of course, this explanation by Ōtsuki Seijun should not be taken as a rule. Variations in employment of these specific characters is certainly to be expected across authors and even across the oeuvres of the same scholar. In fact, even in the works attributed to Shizuki, one can see that the character *go* 語 was used, in *Sensei*

⁴⁹ Particularly notable, here, is the adoption of the alphabetic order of the vowels, instead of the Japanese *a, i, u, e, o*, typical of the “Table of the fifty sounds” (五十音図). The letter < u > is transcribed as *yu* in order to represent the Dutch close front rounded vowel [y]. For a broad description of the way the Japanese approximated Dutch phonology through *katakana*, refer to NESPOLI (2019).

bunpō, as a suffix for the names of the parts of speech, when he would otherwise use the character *shi* 詞 quite consistently, in the rest of his works, where *go* 語 referred to sentences. For this reason, the present paragraph cannot but be a very limited address to a topic that would deserve focused attention from a thorough research of the uses of these characters across Chinese and Japanese literary works.

5.7 Japanese parts of speech in early European works

Portuguese missionaries reached Japan many decades before the Dutch first arrived, specifically somewhere between the years 1542 and 1543. Back then, studying the Japanese language was not legally impeded to a European individual. It is in the year 1604 that the first edition of a Japanese grammar by João Rodriguez⁵⁰ (1562 – 1633) was first published in Nagasaki, in the Jesuit college. The book goes by the name of *Arte da lingua de Iapam composta pello Padre Ioão Rodriguez Portugues da Cōpanhia de IESV diuidida em tres LIVROS* ('Art of the Japanese language composed by Father João Rodriguez from the company of Jesus divided in three books'). This represents the earliest European source trying to describe the grammar of Japanese that has preserved until today. Two earlier publications by Duarte da Silva (1536 – 1564) appear to also have existed, comprising a grammar *Arte da Lingua Japoneza* and a dictionary *Vocabulario da Lingua Japoneza*, however, both have been lost. Another work by João Fernandes (1526 – 1567) must have existed, whose manuscript has been used by missionaries in Japan to learn the Japanese language until the first printing machine was imported, in 1590. After 1614, when Christians started being persecuted by the Japanese government, the Portuguese studies of Japanology were carried out in Macao and Manila. Specifically, in Macao, in 1620, a more compacted version of Rodriguez's grammar has been published, by the name *Arte breve da lingua iapoa tirade da Arte Grande da mesma lingua, pera os que começam a aprender os primeiros principios della* ('Brief Art of the Japanese Language taken from the Great Art of the same language, for those who start learning the first principles of it') (ZWARTJES 2011, 93-95).

Although these are exogenous sources, they are particularly interesting. In fact, beyond applying the traditional Greek-Latin categories of speech, it seems that Rodriguez ended up also adopting some of the terminology and concepts the Japanese themselves were using in the 17th century. This implies that he might have read some Japanese works on the Japanese language. For this reason, Rodriguez's grammars are valuable sources that can provide an additional, external record of the theory of grammar that was circulating in Japan, at the time. Unfortunately, I am not sure it is possible to know which Japanese sources Rodriguez had read. However, traces of the categories covered in the present Chapter V, can be identified. The content of the two versions also varies a little, so I will discuss them separately, when necessary.

The first European grammar of Japanese after the banning of the Portuguese was published in 1857, in Leiden, authored by Janus Henricus Donker Curtius (1813 – 1879), a Dutch commissary who also happened to be the last *opperhoofd* in

⁵⁰ Also spelled as Rodrigues.

Nagasaki between the years 1852 and 1855. The book came out in Dutch with the title *Proeve eener Japansche spraakkunst* and was revised and edited by Johann Joseph Hoffmann (1805 – 1878), professor of Chinese and Japanese studies. Precisely ten years later, in 1867, Hoffmann publishes his own Japanese grammar, by the title *Japansche spraakleer*.

In this section, I will briefly introduce these four European sources, specifically as far as the description of the Japanese parts of speech is concerned. This is useful for the present research, since these sources portray Japanese morphology in an interesting way, reworking the Greek-Latin categories to better fit the Japanese language, on the one hand. On the other hand, they do contain reference to Japanese theories presumably based on Japanese sources on language.

5.7.1 Japanese parts of speech according to João Rodriguez

The first morpho-semantic assertion that is made, in both editions, is the fact that words in the Japanese language can either be *yomi* [*yomi* 読み]⁵¹ or *coye* [*koe* 声]. This is claimed in the piece of text below, in the first edition.⁵²

Toda a coufa na lingoa Japoa de ordinario tem dous nomes fignificados por efte dous vocabulos, *Va*, *Can*, ou *Can*, *Va*, que quer dizer China, & Japão: hum fe chama *Coye*, que significa a lingoa China, outro *Yomi*, que significa a lingoa natural de Japão; & por eſta cauſa a lingoa Japoa ou he naturalmête puro *Yomi*, ſem miſtura de *Coye*: ou de *Yomi*, com pouca miſtura de *Coye*, q̃ he a cômua, & vñada de todos, ou cômumête vñam os Iapões ã ſuas eſcrituras, & de que vñã a gente graue, & letrados; ou he foamente pura *Coye*, eſcuriſſima, da qual vñam os Bonzos nos liuros de ſuas feitas.

All the things in the Japanese language generally have two names, referred to by means of theſe two words: *Va* [*wa* 和], *Can* [*kan* 漢] or *Can*, *Va* that means China and Japan: the one is called *Coye* [*koe* 声], meaning the language of China, while the other is *yomi* [*yomi* 読み], and means the natural language of Japan; and because of this the Japanese language is either naturally pure *Yomi*, with no mixing with *Coye*: or *Yomi* with a bit of mixture with *Coye*, which is the moſt common one, uſed by everybody, and which is uſed by cultured and literate people; or is only purely *Coye*, very obſcure, uſed only by prieſts in the books of their ſects.

This first categorization is not properly related to morphology. Here, Rodriguez displays influence from the written language of Japan and the Japanese theories that were based on it. The distinction between *koe* and *yomi* corresponds to what is

⁵¹ Rodriguez utilizes two different romanization methods in either version of his grammar. Both are certainly based on Portuguese phonetics and spelling rules. In some, features specific to an older pronunciation of Japanese can still be evidenced. For this reason, I will always add, between brackets, the Hepburn romanization corresponding to contemporary Japanese, along with the Japanese script, even when the two might happen to be identical.

⁵² The following text is found on page 7 of *Arte*, in the introductory section titled “Some warnings for a better understanding of what is treated in this *Arte*” (*Algũas advertencias pera mayor intelligencia do que neſta Arte ſe trata*). The text was originally written in italics, but I have choſen to ſwap the italic alternation, in the preſent excerpt, for better clarity.

nowadays called *on'yomi* (*ondoku*) and *kun'yomi* (*kundoku*), respectively. In the second edition, the term *koe* gets translated into Portuguese as *voz* ‘voice’ and *yomi* as *interpretaçam* ‘interpretation’. These refer to the reading of Chinese characters according to either their Japanized Chinese reading or to the “native” Japanese word they refer to. Rodriguez attests that the more common version of Japanese is the one mixing a small percentage of *koe* (*on'yomi*, thus *kango*), within a *yomi* (*kun'yomi*, thus *wago*) sentence. However, he also claims that a version of Japanese free from Chinese words exists. The last sort, namely, the version of Japanese only pronounced in *on'yomi*, is a form of reading of Chinese texts used almost exclusively within the context of Buddhist prayers, where each character of the Chinese text was read out in its Japanized Chinese reading, rendering the text practically unintelligible when only heard.⁵³

Although Rodriguez tends to divide the parts of speech of Japanese according to the Greek-Latin tradition, he is also aware of the way the Japanese used to divide them. However, it seems that he tended to employ both simultaneously, to some extent. In the first edition, the section where the parts of speech are presented contains a printing error, with some words missing, as can be seen from the quote below.⁵⁴

Os Iapões diuidem as partes da oração em tres, de bayxo das quais comprehendem as demais, comuem a faber, Verbo; *Tenifa*, 1. *Teniuofa*, 1. *Sutegana*, 1. *Voquiji*, de bayxo da qual comprehendem, os artigos dos nomes, & todo o genero de particulas assi dos tempos & modos dos verbos, como todas as de mais.

Porem falando propriamente, & em rigor as partes da oração Iapoa são as oito acostumbradas da lingua latina: mas pera mais clareza da Syntayxis, os diuidiremos em dez que são as seguintes.

The Japanese divide the parts of speech in three, under which the most common are included, namely, the verbs; *Tenifa* [*te ni ha* テニハ], 1. *Teniuofa* [*te ni wo ha* テニヲハ], 1. *Sutegana* [*sutegana* 捨て仮名], 1. *Voquiji* [*okiji* 置き字], under which are included the articles of nouns and all the genders of particles, as well as tenses and moods of verbs, and all the rest.

However, properly speaking, the parst of speech of Japanese are strictly eight, similarly to Latin; but for a better clarity of syntax, we will divide them in ten, which are the following. *Noun*, *Pronoun*, *Verb*, *participle*, *Postposition*, *Adverb*,

⁵³ Regarding this type of pronunciation, one can read the following in *Uittreksel uit het dagboek* (‘Extracts from the journal’, 1860) by Willem Johan Cornelis Huyssen van Kattendijke (1816 – 1866) a Dutchman who was stationed in Japan between 1857-1859: “The priests would, for a fee, pray at the houses of the citizens in a language that is allegedly the original language of the Buddha. This is for the Japanese as unintelligible as the Latin of spoken by pastors for the average European. Their mumbling resembles the buzzing of blow flies and serves to impress; you can hear it from great distance” (Original text on page 42: *De priesters doen, tegen betaling, gebeden aan huis bij de burgers, in eene taal welke men beweert de oorspronkelijke Boeddhataal te zijn. Deze is voor den Japanner even onverstaanbaar als het Latijn der pastoors voor den gemeenen man in Europa. Hun prevelen gelijkt veel op het gonzen der bromvliegen en dient om indruk te maken; men kan het op grooten afstand hooren*).

⁵⁴ In that period, missionaries generally relied on a Latin grammar published by Manoel Álvares (1526 - 1583) with the title *De institutione gramatica*, firstly released in 1572. ZWARTJES (2011, 103) qualifies the influence of Álvares on the grammar of Rodriguez as “obvious”.

<i>Nome, Pronome, Verbo, participio, Posposição, Aduerbio, Interjeição, Conjugação, Artigo, Particula.</i>	<i>Interjection, Conjunction, Article, Particle.</i>
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Unfortunately, written like this, this piece of text does not make much sense, as the category of noun is probably missing in the first list, whereas the *teniwofa* [*te ni wo ha*], *sutegana* [*sutegana*] and *voquiji* [*okiji*] are alternative names for the category of *tenifa*, known as *te ni wo ha*. Rodriguez claims that the tripartite division of the parts of speech is how the Japanese themselves divide them, however, that properly, the Japanese language possesses eight parts of speech, just like Latin. Nonetheless, for the sake of clarity, he will make a further distinction, recognizing up to ten parts of speech.

A similar claim can be found in *Arte breve*, where he claims the following (p 53r-v).

Os Iapoens comprehendem todas as partes da oraçam da sua lingoa de baixo de tres palauras: a primeira he, *Na*, que significa nome; de baixo do qual comprehendem todos os nomes subltantiuos, as conjunçoens, interjeiçoens, preposiçoens, ou posposiçoens, & quaes quer outros vocabulos, que tem propria letra que nam são verbos. A segunda he, *Cotoba*, que significa, verbo (não fallando lato modo, em quanto quer dizer palaura, mas propriamente) de baixo da qual se comprende toda a forte de verbos assi subltantiuos, como todos os de mais, & os verbos adiectiuos. A terceira. He, *Te, Ni, Fa*, ou, *Te, Ni, Vo, Fa*, ou *Sutegana*, ou, *Vokiji*, de baixo da qual comprehendemos artigos dos casos dos nomes, como são, *Va, Ni, Vo, Vobi*, & todo o genero de particulas, assi dos tempos, como todas as de mais de qualquer forte, que sejam, que nam tem letra propria, mas são da lingoa Iapoa natural. Vt, *Mo, Nimo, De, Nite*, &c.

Mas fallando propriamente, as partes da oraçam da lingoa Iapoa são dez, às quaes, ainda que comodamente se podem reduzir às oito ordinarias da lingoa Latina, pera mais clareza, as diuidimos em dez, que são as seguintes, Nome, pronome, verbo, participio, posposiçam, aduerbio, interjeiçam, artigo, particula.

The Japanese include all the parts of speech of their language under three words: the first one is *Na* [*na* 名], which means nouns; under which all substantive noun are included, conjunctions, interjection, prepositions – or postposition – and some other terms having their own letter, not being verbs. The second one is *Cotoba* [*kotoba* 詞, or 辭], which means verb (not said in the broad sense since it would mean “word”, but [more] properly),⁵⁵ under which are included all the types of verbs, also substantives, and all the others, and adjectival verbs. The third one is *Te ni ha*, or *te ni vo fa*, or *Sutegana*, or *Vokiji*, under which we include the articles for the cases of nouns, like *Va, Ni, Vo, Vobi* and all the types of particles, as of time, and all the others of any sort be them lacking their own letter but do belong to the natural Japanese language. Cfr, *Mo, Nimo, De, Nite*, etc. But talking more correctly, the parts of speech of the Japanese language are ten, which can be reduced, for the sake of simplicity, to the ordinary eight of the Latin language, but we divide them into ten for more clarity, namely: Noun, pronoun, verb, participles, postposition, adverb, interjection, article and particle.

⁵⁵ It would be interesting to understand what this claim in parenthesis means, since both the Portuguese *verbo* as well as the Japanese *kotoba* can be used to mean both “verb” as well as “word”.

As Rodriguez reports in the excerpt above, the Japanese distinguish between three parts of speech, namely: *na* [na 名] ‘nouns’; *cotoba* [kotoba 詞 or, perhaps, 辞] including both verbs and adjectives; and the auxiliary particles. However, Rodriguez, much like he did in his first edition, also adds that he will not use these categories. In fact, in both versions of the *Arte*, Rodriguez employs a whole new method of distinguishing between the categories of speech. This new method, although certainly based on the Greek-Latin tradition, still includes some characteristics specific to the Sino-Japanese studies on grammar. In fact, the two new categories added in the system of ten parts of speech correspond to two specific uses of Japanese particles, so-called *te ni wo ha*. Interestingly, the category of “postpositions” (*posposições*), fifth part of speech, does not specifically include what are nowadays call “particles”. In *Arte breve* (p. 58r), he writes:

Nam tem preposiçãoens, mas em seu lugar usam de posposições. por que se pospoem aos nomes, & em seu significado respondem às nossas preposições, das quais algumas são propriamente nomes substantivos, que admitem todos os artigos, como os de mais nomes. Vt, *Vye*, *Xita*, &c. Outras são participios de verbos, que regem os casos de seus verbos. Vt, *Taixite*, *Tçuite*, &c. Outras são puramente particulas. Vt, *Yori*, *Cara*, &c. E destas háas querem o artigo, *No*, outras, *Ni*, outras nenhum.

There are no prepositions but, in their place, postpositions are used, since they are postponed to nouns and, in their meaning, they correspond to our prepositions, of which some are properly substantive nouns which admit all the articles, just like most nouns. Cfr. *Vye* [ue 上 ‘up’, ‘on’], *Xita* [shita 下 ‘under’], etc. Other are participles of verbs which hold the cases of their verbs. Cfr. *Taixite* [taishite 対して ‘against’], *Tçuite* [tsuite ついて ‘regarding’], etc. Other are purely particles. Cfr. *Yori* [yori より ‘from’], *Cara* [kara から ‘from’], etc. And out of these some require the article *No* [no の], other *Ni* [ni に] and others no article at all.

The category of postpositions is, in fact, a rather broad category including words that simultaneously belong to other categories. However, there is a specific reason why the category of “particles” (*partículas*), the ninth part of speech, is distinguished from that of postpositions, and that can be read in the quote below, also from *Arte breve* (59r-v), that is rather similar to what claimed in the first edition of *Arte* (77r).

Tem esta lingua muita variedade de particulas, háas articulares, outras de honra fomento, outras que servem na composição dos verbos, & nomes, háas por causa de honra, outras para abater, outras para dar mais força, & energia aos verbos, outras que alteram a significação do verbo, outras que constituem tempos, & modos juntos aos

This language has a wide variety of particles, some are articular, others only of honor, others are used in the composition of verbs and nouns, some for the sake of honor, other to lessen,⁵⁶ to provide more force and energy to the verbs, others change the meaning of the verb, others make up the tenses and moods, when connected to verbs, others are negative,

⁵⁶ I assume this to refer to what is nowadays called *kenjōgo* 謙譲語, a humble system used to lower oneself when talking to a superior person.

verbos, outras negatiuas, outras, que separamas, ou sam aduerbios, ou conjuacoens, ou nomes, que tem forca de verbo, como se pode ver na rudimenta da arte grande, & na sintaxi, quando se falla de seu vario vfo. Comprehendem os Iapoens a particular de baixo destas palauras, *Te, Ni, Fa*, ou, *Te, Ni, Vo, Fa*. Em vfar bem, ou mal dellas confiste o certo, direito, & elegante fallar, & no contrario o barbaro, & improprio.

others which, when separated, are adverbs, conjunctions or nouns, which have the same force of the verb, just like how one can see in the rudiments of the great art [The first edition of *Arte*], and in the syntaxis, when covering their varied uses. The Japanese understand particles as belonging to the *Te ni ha*, or *Te ni wo ha*. By using them correctly, one distinguishes between a clear, direct, and elegant speech and, on the contrary, an improper and barbarian speech.

All these “particles” still distinguish from the category of articles by virtue of the fact that the “particles” belonging to the article category provide the information concerning the case of the noun, which also means that articles are particles that can only combine with this category of speech. Articles (*artigos*), the tenth part of speech, are defined as follows, in *Arte breve* (59v).

O artigo comprende certas particulas, q̃ respondem aos casos latinos juntas aos nomes, mostrando em que caso esteja o [unreadable], como se disse nos Nominatiuos, & se dira de seu vfo na sintaxi.

No que toca ao genero, & modo como distinguem o feminino, & masculino, & comum de dous, se veja na rudimenta da arte grande, onde se falla diffusamente delle.

The article includes certain particles which correspond to Latin cases, when combined with nouns, showing in which case the noun is and [unreadable], as I said when covering the Nominative, or will be said on its use, in the syntax.

As far as gender and how one distinguishes between feminine and masculine and the two common? look at the rudiments of the great art [First edition of *Arte*], where they are discussed profusely.

According to Rodriguez's hybrid morphological system, the Japanese category of *te ni wo ha* splits into three categories, namely: postpositions; particles and articles. Postpositions are those Japanese words that correspond to the prepositions of European languages. However, since in many cases an Indo-European preposition is translated as a paraphrase including a noun, in Japanese, the Japanese category of postposition includes words from different categories.⁵⁷ Japanese has no “articles” in the sense that it does not have words that serve the same purpose of the English “the” or the Portuguese *o* and *a*. However, as I mentioned in Chapter III and IV, it was very common to consider articles as those words carrying the specification of grammatical information such as gender, number, and case. The Japanese language possesses no grammatical gender or number (mostly) but, according to Rodriguez, it does possess cases. A Japanese article, according to Rodrigues, is thus a *te ni wo ha* that carries the meaning of cases. These include, thus, all those particles that are

⁵⁷ An example of this, would be the English phrase “on the desk”, which in Japanese would be translated as *tsukue no ue ni* 机の上に, literally “In the top of the desk”, where the preposition “on” corresponds to the Japanese postposition *ue*, more properly a noun.

today generally called *joshi* 助詞, in modern Japanese grammar, such as *wa* は, *ga* が, *no* の, *ni* に, etc. The category of particles is the more loosely defined, in Rodriguez's book, however, it can be deduced they referred to all those words the Japanese considered to be *te ni wo ha* but did not correspond to a European preposition nor did they inform about the case. This would include the affixes used to conjugate Japanese verbs and adjectives, for example. In the excerpts from both grammars of Rodriguez, there is one interesting element that evidences a strong reliance on Japanese sources by the author. Particles, articles, and postpositions are often distinguished according to whether "they possess their own letter/character" (*tem propria letra*). In order to understand what this claim means, one needs to be aware of how Japanese dictionaries of Chinese characters worked, and more broadly *kundoku*, in general. When applying *kundoku* signs onto a Chinese text, some specific Chinese characters with grammatical meaning, were utilized to function as Japanese particles. In order to better understand this, one should look at the explanation of a couple of particles, as defined in Rodriguez's *Arte* (149r-149v).

DAS PARTICVLAS ARTICVLARES, Va, No, Ga, Ye, Vo, Ni, &c.

Destas em quanto artigos que mostram o caso em que esta o nome a que se juntão, se tratou atrás, quando falamos do artigo: aqui tratarei dellas em quanto particulas, & de seu vario uso, & significações. E por q̃ pera se saber da raiz o sentido, & uso das particulas, importa saber se tem letra propria, ou não, no lugar de cada hũa se dira.

DA PARTICVULA, VA, BA.

Esta particula tem letra particular nos caracteres de Iapão cō que se escreue, a qual no *Coye* tem duas vozes: a primeira he, *Xa*. 1. Homem, ou peboa, Vt, *Gacuxa*, *Buguenxa*, *Finja*. A segunda he, *Va*, naqual vox não tem outra significação, mais que ser pura particula que se ajunta a todas as partes da oração, ainda aos de mais artigos com varios, e elegantes sentidos, como [aca ba passo] se pode notar.

Na voz de *Yomi*, tem duas vozes: a primeira, *Mono*, 1. *Fito*, que he o *Yomi* do *Coye*, *Xa*: a segunda, *Teireba*. i. *Sō sureba*, que he significação particular que tambem tem esta letra.

On articular particles, *Va*, *No*, *Ga*, *Ye*, *Vo*, *Ni*, etc.

[*wa*, *no*, *ga*, *e*, *o*, *ni*]

It has already been treated of them as articles showing the case of the noun they get combined with, back when we talked about articles: here I will talk about them as particles and of their use and meanings. An since, in order to understand their root and meaning, it is important to know whether they have their own letter or they do not, this will be stated for each.

On the particle, *Va*, *Ba* [*wa*, *ba*]

This particle has its own letter in the characters of Japan in which it is written, whose *Coye* [*koe*] has two voices: the first one is *Xa* [*sha* 者]. 1. "Human", or "person", Cfr. *Gacuxa* [*gakusha* 学者 'scholar'], *Buguenxa* [*bugensha* 分限者 'rich person'], *Finja* [*hinja* 貧者 'poor person']. The second is *Va* [*wa*] whose voice does not hold any other meaning, but it is a pure particle which gets combined with all the parts of speech even to many articles with varied and elegant meanings, such as it can be noticed [below?].

In its *Yomi* [*yomi*], it has two voices: the first one is *Mono* [*mono*], 1. *Fito* [*hito*], which is the *Yomi* of the *Coye* [*koe*] *Xa* [*sha*]: the second is *Teireba*. i. *Sō sureba* [*sū sureba*], that is the specific meaning that is also held by this letter.

This explanation shows evident influence from Japanese theory of grammar and the *kundoku* writing/translating system commonly used in Japan at the time. Indeed, the influence of the written language, typical of Japanese sources, as I have illustrated in the previous paragraphs of this Chapter IV, has been embraced fully by Rodriguez, in the explanation of these particles. Rodriguez connects the Chinese character *sha* 者 with three different elements: the Japanese words corresponding to it; its Japanized Sinitic reading; and the Japanese-specific particle it used to represent in *kundoku*. This can only be explained assuming Rodriguez had based his theories of Japanese grammar on the written language and, likely, on some Japanese source(s), probably a dictionary of Chinese characters. The character *sha* 者 has one main *on*-reading, and that is *sha* (*xa*, in Rodriguez), and it is used in compound words, mostly as a suffix, to mean “person”, as in the example provided by Rodriguez himself, *gakusha* 学者 (*gacuxa*, in Rodriguez), meaning “scholar”, literally “study-person”. The pronunciation *sha* is a Japanese corruption of the Chinese pronunciation of that character. The concept of “person” is expressed in Japanese with the terms *hito* or *mono*, both attested by Rodriguez as the *yomi* – i.e., *kun'yomi* – of that character. However, in the *kundoku* annotation, this same character was sometimes used as a correspondence to the Japanese particle *wa* (*va*, in Rodriguez). As I claimed, the Japanese *kana* were seen as units of meaning. This means that the character *wa* は (ハ, in *katakana*) refers to all the units of meaning and thus readings it could be used as. For this reason, it was the character *wa* itself that referred to all the different meanings connected to particles and affixes that were written by means of it, like the hypothetical/temporal *ba*, also written with the *kana* for は or ハ. This is what Rodriguez means when he claims that some particles possess their own character, or letter: it means that a specific particle was used as Japanese adaptation of a specific Chinese character – or, perhaps, vice versa – just like the particle *wa* was connected to the Chinese character *sha* 者. This manner of handling Japanese words is the consequence of the practice of *kundoku* and can be seen, for example, in a more recent source, by Ogyū Sorai, by the title *Kun'yaku jimō*, where one reads the following, as explanation of the Chinese character *sha* 者, considered a *joshi*, by the author.⁵⁸

○者ハモノト訓ズ。何ニテモ指ス辭ナリ。但シ。物ノ字トハ違フナリ。物ノ字ハ體ノアルモノヲ謂フ。者ノ字ハ。コトバナリ。時ヲ指シテ云フ。者ノ字モアリ。處ヲ指シテ云フ者ノ字モアリ。事ヲ指シテ云フ者ノ字モアリ。人ヲ指シテ云フ。物ヲ指シテ云フアリ。

The character *sha* 者 is read in Japanese as *mono*. It is a word (*kotoba* 辭) that points at something. It is different from the character *butsu* 物. The character *butsu* 物 is used to refer to things having a shape. The character *sha* 者 is a *kotoba*. There is also a *sha* 者 which refers to time. There is also a *sha* 者 which refers to places. There is also a *sha* 者 which refers to actions. It can refer to people (*hito*) or to things.

⁵⁸ Original quote from Waseda's 文庫 17 w36 (vol. 2), on folio 58r. All citations from Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō* are taken from these two volumes in Waseda's collection. My English translation.

(畧)

世人。多クハ。 ムカシハ 昔者 イニシヘハ 古者
ト ハ ノ假名ニ用フルヲハ。悞リナ
リ。

(畧)

チンシャ 智者 ジンシャ 仁者 ナドノ者ノ字ハ。人
ヲ指ス。

[...]

People nowadays often use it as referring to the *kana wa* ハ, as in *mukashi wa* 昔者 [“once”, “in the past”] or *inishie wa* 古者 [“in ancient times”]. This is a mistake.

[...]

In *chisha* 智者 [“wise man”], *jinsha* 仁者 [“moral man”],⁵⁹ the character *sha* 者 refers to people (人).

By comparing the quote from Rodriguez with that from Ogyū, I do not mean to imply any direct connection. However, this comparison is a testimony to the history of Japanese linguistics. Shizuki, who got to read Ogyū’s works, has made use of a theoretical framework that had been used to describe Japanese grammar for a long time, so much so that even Portuguese missionaries such as Rodriguez, adopted some of those theories. Furthermore, it is interesting to notice that Rodriguez embraced the more Japanese-native tradition, of *na* ‘noun’, *kotoba* ‘words [that can be inflected]’ and *te ni wo ha*, instead of what is assumed to have derived from Chinese studies, with a similar triad of *jitsu* ‘full’, *kyo* ‘empty’ and *jo* ‘auxiliary’. This could be a testimony to the fact that Rodriguez had consciously selected texts that were not written in *kanbun*, when gathering sources on Japanese grammar. However, as can be seen from the example of the definition of the *ha* (*va*, *ba*, in Rodriguez) particles, the influence the practice of *kundoku* had on Japanese and the theories on the Japanese language was visible in both books by Rodriguez.

In 1632, Spanish-born Christian missionary Diego Collado (1587 – 1638 or 1641) published another grammar of Japanese, this time in Latin, printed by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, in Rome, by the title *Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae*. This work is much shorter, in comparison to the work of Rodriguez, only counting 74 numbered pages. Although admittedly inspired by the earlier work of Rodriguez, the parts of speech in Collado’s grammar are quite different. In fact, the Spanish missionary only recognizes seven parts of speech, namely: nouns (including adjectives); pronouns; verbs; adverbs; prepositions; conjunctions and disjunctions; and interjections. However, in the very beginning of the introduction to the book he claims the following, explaining that the Japanese language technically does not have any prepositions, but rather “particles” (*particulae*) that are called “postponed” (*postpositae*) to nouns. Nonetheless, in the section covering this part of speech (p. 6), Collado calls them “prepositions”.

In lingua Iaponica non sunt declinationes per
cafus ficut in Latina., fed sunt particulæ, quæ
postpositæ nominibus, cafuum; differentias
conftituunt in omnibus nominibus, tam

In the Japanese language there are no
declinations according to case like in Latin,
but there are particles, which, when postponed
to nouns, they constitute the difference in all

⁵⁹ These are terms specific to Buddhism, referring to people with good knowledge of the values of Buddhism.

appellatiuis, quàm proprijs.

nouns, be them common or proper.

This is the only attempt at providing a division of the parts of speech in Japanese, by Collado and no reference to the traditional categories the Japanese used can be found.

5.7.2 Japanese parts of speech according to Donker Curtius and Johann J. Hoffman

On pages 42 to 44, of *Japansche spraakleer*, Hoffmann introduces the parts of speech of the Japanese language, in a rather similar fashion to Rodriguez, whom Hoffmann cites as a source. This can be read from the quote below.⁶⁰ Hoffmann does present the parts of speech of Japanese firstly in the way the Japanese themselves conceived them yet presenting some differences with the terminology employed by Rodriguez. The reliance on the Greek-Latin traditional categories in Hoffman grammars is so evident that on page 30 of the 1857 the second chapter, devoted to the category of “articles” only contains the words: “The Japanese language has no articles” (*De Japansche taal heeft gene Lidwoorden*).

De Japanezen hebben oudtijds de woorden hunner taal in drie klassen verdeeld:

1. **Naamwoord**, ^ナ名 **Na**, d.i. naam (*nomen*) genoemd. Tot deze kategorie behooren, behalve het zelfstandig naamwoord, de voornaamwoorden, de bijvoegelijke naamwoorden, de telwoorden en de betrekkingenwoorden, welke laatste als postpositie geplaatst, de dienst doen zowel van onze zoo genoemde praeposities, als gedeeltelijk ook van onze conjuncties.
2. **Werkwoord**, ^{コトバ}詞 **Kotoba** d.i. woord (*verbum*) bij uitnemendheid genoemd en als het levendige element in den zin beschouwd.
3. **Partikels** of vormwoorden, doorgaans achtervoegsels (*suffixa*), die de dienst van verbuigingsuitgangen (*casus*) doen, zoo als de partikels *te*, *ni*, *wo*, *va*, [*te ni wo ha*] en

The Japanese have divided the words of their language in three classes, since ancient times:

1. **Noun**, *na* 名, called “name” (*nomen*). Beyond substantive nouns, to this class belong also pronouns, adjectival nouns, numerals and connecting words, the latter are placed as postposition and serve as, what we call prepositions and, in part, also as our conjunctions.
2. **Verb**, *kotoba* 詞, called “word” (*verbum*) par excellence, considered the lively element of the sentence.
3. **Partikels** or “formword”, generally postpositions (*suffixa*), which serve as endings for the

⁶⁰ In copying from Hoffmann's *Spraakleer* a few changes have been made. The author maintained the writing style of Japanese manuscripts, that were written vertically. For a better graphical rendition, I have made the Japanese quotes horizontal, in line with the Dutch text. This also applies to the phonetic notation applied by Hoffmann in *katakana* on the right side of each Chinese character, faithful to the way the Japanese did. Furthermore, Hoffmann adopted his own romanization method, loosely based on Dutch phonology and spelling rules. In each case in which this does not align with the Hepburn rendition, I will provide the Hepburn version in brackets.

daarom onder den naam *Teniwova* [*te ni wo ha*] or *Teniva* [*te ni ha*] begrepen worden.

Aanmerking 1. Men late zich door de voor den naam *Teniva* [*te ni ha*] gebezigde schrikfwijze

出 尔 葉 of 出 葉, waardoor aan het woord de beteekenis van “uitkomende bladerend” toegekend wordt, niet tot de gedachte verleiden, als waren deze partikels werkelijk uitspruitsels van woorden of wat men soms noemt organieke verbuigingsuitgangen, en geene toevoegsels. De aangehaalde schrijfwijze is niets anders, als een van de veelvuldig voorkomende figuurraadsels (*rebus*), waarbij men, om achter de waarheid te komen, van de beteekenis der gebezigde karakters moet afzien.

Aanm. 2. In eene Europeesche grammatica [Rodrigues] worden deze partikels ook “*Sutegana*” en “*Wokiy*” [*okiji*] genoemd; namen, die een nadere toelichting vereischen.

ステガナ

Sute-gána (捨假名), d.i. verlaten of te vondeling gelegde letters (een te vondeling gelegd kind wordt *sute-go* [*sutego* 捨て子] genoemd) heeten de met Japansch *Kána*-schrift tusschen of ter zijde van Chinesche karakters uitgedrukte uitgangen van Japansche woorden, welke woorden zelve door de Chinesche karakters slechts ideografisch aangeduid zijn. De merken ノ *no* en ク *ku* in 孔子ノ曰ク *Kou-si NO tamavaKU* [*kōshi no tamahaku*] (Spreuk van Confucius) of フ *vu* [*fu*] in 思フ *omoVU* [*omo(fu)*] zijn dus te vondeling gelegde letters, die bij het vertalen opgenomen worden.

オキジ

Oki-zi (置字) [*okiji*] – de schrijfwijze *Wokiy* blijkt eene drukfout te zijn – heeten die karakters van een Chineschen zin, welke bij het vertalen in het Japansch niet afzonderlijk vertaald, maar voorbijgegaan worden, zoo als 於 in 遊ニ於山中ニ = *San-tsiu-ni asobu* [*sanchū ni asobu*] (= in het gebergte wandelen).

De *Oki-zi* zijn dus karakters, aan welke bij het vertalen in het Japansch de rol van statisten of stomme medespelers toegewezen wordt.

Door latere Japansche grammatici is aan het

タイノコトバ

naamwoord ook de naam van 體詞 *Tai no kotoba* of ligchamelijk woord, en aan het

ヨウノコトバ

werkwoord die van 用詞 *You no kotoba* [*yō no*

cases (*casus*), just like the particles *te*, *ni*, *wo*, *ha* which are thus understood under the name of *te ni wo ha* or *te ni ha*.

Remark 1. Do not get misled by the fact that for the *te ni ha* used before a noun one uses the writing

出 尔 葉 or 出 葉, which would provide this word the meaning of “sprouting leaves”, as if they were actual sprouts of words, or what some call “organic conjugating endings”, and no adjuncts. The writing above is no more than one of the many image puzzles (*rebus*), which one should neglect when trying to grasp the actual meaning of these characters.

Remark 2. In one European grammar [in note: Rodrigues], these particles are also called *sutegana* and *okiji*; names which require a deeper elucidation.

ステガナ

Sutegana (捨假名), left or abandoned letters (an abandoned child is called *sutego*). This is the name of the endings of Japanese words which are expressed with Japanese *kana* in between Chinese characters; words which are otherwise only expressed ideographically by Chinese characters. The marks ノ *no* and ク *ku* in 孔子ノ曰ク *tamahaku* 孔子ノ曰ク (Thus spoke Confucius), or フ *fu* in 思フ [*to think*] are, thus, the abandoned letters, which are readopted when translating.

オキジ

Okiji (置字) – The writing *Wokiy* seems to be a typo – is the name of the characters of a Chinese sentence, which are not translated individually into Japanese, but are omitted, just like 於 in *sanchū ni asobu* 遊ニ於山中ニ (= to walk in the mountains).

The *okiji* are thus characters which are assigned the role of statist or mute participants.

Later Japanese grammarians have

kotoba] of dienstdoende woord gegeven, terwijl voor de partikels de naam *Teniwova* behouden is. Mag de Japansche grammaticus zich tot de onderscheiding van drie klassen van woorden bepalen, wij dienen, om de logische en grammatische waarde der woorden als zindeelen behoorlijk te kunne vaststellen, onze grammatische kategoriën, onze onderscheiding van de deelen der rede, op het Japansch toe te passen. Wij onderscheiden diensvolgens 1. Naamwoorden, daaronder begrepen 2. Voornaamwoorden, 3. Bijvoegelijke naamwoorden, 4. Telwoorden, 5. Bijwoorden, 6. Werkwoorden, 7. Achtervoegsels (*postposities*), eenvoudige, beantwoordende aan onze verbuiginsuitgangen, en zulke die aan onze betrekkingwoorden en voegwoorden beantwoorde, 8. Interjecties.

given nouns also the name of *tai no kotoba* タイノコトバ, or “bodily word”, and verbs the name of *yō no kotoba* ヨウノコトバ 用 詞, or “servicing word”, while keeping the name *te ni wo ha* for particles. Although the Japanese grammarian might still abide by the three-class distinction of the parts of speech, we will use our grammatical categories and adapt them to Japanese, in order to properly determine the logical and grammatical value of words as elements of the phrase. We distinguish thusly simply amongst 1. Nouns, including 2. Pronouns, 3. Adjectival nouns, 4. Numerals, 5. Adverbs, 6. Verbs, 7. Postpositions, corresponding to our declination endings, and corresponding to our connecting words and conjunctions, 8. Interjections.

Hoffmann, who read and quoted Rodriguez, presents the same Japanese classes of the parts of speech, expands on them, and updates them with what he calls “more recent” nomenclatures. The three-classes already presented by Rodriguez, are *na* ‘name’, *kotoba* ‘word’ and *te ni wo ha*. Hoffmann adds that “more recent” authors have started using the categories of *tai no kotoba*, for nouns, and *yō no kotoba*, for verbs. This is consistent with what discussed above, in the present Chapter V. The terms *okiji* and *sutegana*, that Rodriguez simply presented as an alternative name for the *te ni wo ha* category, are properly distinguished and defined by Hoffmann. Additionally, Hoffmann adds an interesting remark hinting at a deeper knowledge of the Japanese sub-categories of the parts of speech, from Hoffmann’s side. He adds that the *kotoba* category is “considered as the lively element of the sentence” (*als het levendige element in den zin beschouwd*). This claim is not further discussed by Hoffmann but it can be deduced that this was supposed to refer to the category of *katsu* 活 ‘lively’, that I will discuss below, and is seen being used by authors such as Ogyū Sorai and Motoori Norinaga, to refer to those parts of speech that can be inflected, although with different nuances (see 6.1 and 6.2). Just like Rodriguez, however, Hoffmann preferred using the Greek-Latin traditional categories, although with some differences from other Dutch authors as discussed in Chapters III and IV. Hoffmann claims that the adoption of the Greek-Latin categories, that he calls “our grammatical categories” (*onze grammatische kategoriën*), is necessary “in order to properly determine the logical and grammatical value of words as elements of the phrase” (*om de logische en grammatische waarde der woorden als zindeelen behoorlijk te kunne vaststellen*). This is an interesting remark that manifests the attitude of the grammarian toward the Japanese grammatical classes. Even though he

ended up not using them either, Rodriguez did not claim these classes to be somehow “inferior” as implied by Hoffmann’s quote, instead. In fact, Rodriguez adopted the Greek-Latin classes for the sake of clarity, assuming his own readers to be more acquainted with them and, thus, find them more practical for the learning of Japanese grammar. It must be added, nonetheless, that Rodriguez himself also claims that dividing the Japanese parts of speech in ten categories is “speaking more correctly/properly” (*fallando propriamente*).

5.8 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have briefly illustrated the history of the linguistic thought in Japan, in order to identify patterns in the development of the uses of specific terminology or in the methodologies adopted to treat of questions concerning language. This type of background is fundamental so as to contextualize firstly the content of the works of Ogyū and Motoori (Chapter VI) and subsequently, the theories of Shizuki (Chapters VII and VIII).

To understand the study of language in Japan, one needs to be aware of the existence of two broadly defined schools that operated in the archipelago since before the arrival of the Dutch. On the one hand, the importation of Chinese texts and philosophical/religious beliefs brought together with them the Chinese language, its characters and all the studies on language that were written in Chinese, like the Sanskrit studies on phonology, of the Siddhānt tradition. With Chinese texts being written in Chinese, the Japanese had to develop a way in which to read out and adapt that language to their own linguistic necessities, leading to metalinguistic investigations on the use of *kanji* and on the development of the practice of *kundoku*. On the other hand, the development of a Japanese written language and its own literary genres, fixed in time a specific linguistic variety of Japanese that, through the centuries, started losing intelligibility for Japanese speakers of more modern varieties. This led to the development of linguistic investigations concentrated on the “national” language. The two traditions do not imply a strict division into “Chinese studies” and “Japanese studies”. The studies on the language used in Chinese texts has always been accompanied by reflections on Japanese, so much so that most of these investigations included analyses on how to provide a functional *kundoku* or, at least, had *kundoku* readings annotated onto them. Conversely, the studies on Japanese literary classics could not neglect the study of the Chinese language since Chinese characters permeated the genre since its conception, just think about the deep knowledge of *kanji* that is required to interpret a Japanese text written in *man’yō-gana*. This is ultimately what is meant by the term *kana-zukai* and its research. Without a doubt, “Chinese studies” and “Japanese studies” have lived together for the longest time, in Japan, influencing each other, and using each other as a basis for their own investigations. In the Edo period, these two traditions started to identify more uniquely to either Neo-Confucian studies (*shushigaku*) or “nativist studies” (*kokugaku*). While the two scholarships were often in harsh contrast with each other, again, they still existed in a cultural continuum and were constantly in contact with each other and continued influencing each other, undoubtedly.

The two schools still differed in the literature they referenced for their philosophical exegesis. The importation of Chén Běixī's *Seiri jigi*, by the end of the 16th century, really initiated the metalinguistic investigations of the Neo-Confucian school. *Seiri jigi* was a philosophical work that provided the Neo-Confucian school with tools to dissect linguist issues. This gave birth to a whole new genre, that TUCKER (1998 & 2006) calls *jigi* 字義, based on the title of this book. It probably is a consequence of the promotion of the metalinguistic thought by the *jigi* genre that the Japanese Neo-Confucians reached out to Lú Yīwěi's *Jogoji*, a lexicographical work only covering the nature of the “auxiliary” characters of Chinese. The scholars of “national studies”, instead, analyzed the classics of Japanese literature, that was written in older forms of Japanese, based on – simplifying massively – the phonetic rendition of Chinese characters. These phonetic renditions were also useful in the annotation of grammatical features of Japanese that did not exist in Chinese. These grammatical features were often called *te ni (wo) ha*, and included particles and verbal/adjectival affixes, all elements of a sentence that had no direct correspondence in Chinese, except the uncommon presence of so-called *okiji*, a type of “auxiliary” character. It is by virtue of this conception of Chinese auxiliary characters that the Japanese *te ni wo ha*, started being understood as Japanese “auxiliaries”.

These auxiliaries, be they Chinese or Japanese, were peculiar words, mostly conveying a grammatical meaning rather than semantic, that could not be put in the same group as the other words. In Chinese tradition, words were generally conceived of as dividing between “full” and “empty”, their original definitions are somewhat lost in time, yet by the Edo period in Japan there is no doubt that these were unanimously understood as referring to “nouns” that are noninflecting and to “adjectives” and “verbs” that are inflecting. Also in the Edo period, the more Japanese-oriented scholars adopted another distinction loosely based on the dichotomy of “substance” and “function”, allegedly of Buddhist origin, that they also made to correspond to inflecting and noninflecting words. This was apparently a slightly different approach to what testified in the first European sources, by Rodriguez, who wrote about a categorical distinction between “names” (*na*) and “words” (*kotoba*), also referring to the inflecting/noninflecting distinction.

All these elements point at drawing a picture of the research on language in Japan that is both characterized by two distinct scholarships and, at the same time, by the synthesis of both approaches into arguably similar conclusions. It appears that the investigation of language, in Japan, really flourished during the Edo period. This could be based on a biased point, caused by the limits of the available primary sources, but it might also evidence a general phenomenon. Japan was being faced with new foreign languages, initially Portuguese and then – arguably more importantly – by Dutch, but also with new difficulties with interpreting the languages that had always been there. The Neo-Confucian school believed that the traditional interpretation of the classics of Confucianism was hindering the understanding of its content because of the shortcomings in the understanding of Chinese by the orthodox school. Similarly, those dealing with the classics of Japanese literature were often puzzled with trying to understand an ancient version of the Japanese (written) language that was not commonly understood anymore.

Perhaps, it is this very facing of obscure linguistic codes that inspired so many Japanese to pursue metalinguistic analyses, during the Edo period.

In the following Chapter VI, I will present the philosophies of the main figures of the two schools: Ogyū Sorai for Confucian studies and Motoori Norinaga for “native” studies, both directly cited by Shizuki. As I will demonstrate, the two strongly relied on the approaches I have hitherto discussed. At the same time, however, they provided so many new ideas and interpretations that led them to be such important figures in the history of philosophy and the linguistic thought, in Japan, as of today.