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 VI

Shizuki's Japanese Sources on Language

理気陰陽ノ義ヲ不レ知故ニ凡鄙俗義ノ説也凡鄙俗義ナル故ニ愚昧ノ凡俗迷ヒ安ク入安シ故南蛮學士皆蛮學ヲ世界第一ノ學道ト心得テ他国迄其法ヲ進ムルナルヘシ是故ニ蛮學ハ邪見偏僻ニメ過去未来ノ説ヲ進ル時ハ幻化ノ説多シ實ニ異端妖術也

Since [Westerners] do not comprehend the significance of *li-ch'i* and *yin-yang*, their theory of material phenomena is vulgar and unrefined. But this vulgarity appeals all the more to the ignorant populace, and stupefies them. "Portuguese scholars" are convinced of the superiority of their own learning and so go abroad to preach it. But their study is utterly erroneous and prejudiced. Their preachment on the past and future worlds are full of phantasms.

Mukai Genshō 向井元升 (1609 – 1677), in *Kenkon bensetsu* 乾坤弁説 (1659)[1]

[1] Original quote copied by me from National Diet Library Digital Collections' 特 1-2189, folios 7v-8r. English translation from NAKAYAMA (1969, 91). My brackets. Do notice that the author was referring to *nanbangaku*, the 'studies of the southern barbarians' that probably mostly corresponded to Portuguese studies.

6. Shizuki's Japanese sources on language

6.1 Theory of language by Ogyū Sorai and the Neo-Confucian school

Ogyū Sorai (1666 – 1728) was born in Edo. His father worked as a samurai physician for the soon-to-be third shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (1646 – 1709). Since his youth, he had been influenced by the school of Confucian Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627 – 1705). Ogyū was raised as a scholar of Confucianism (*jugaku* 儒学) though he subsequently got persuaded by the Neo-Confucian movement (*shushigaku* 朱子学). This happened after he learned *kanbun* when he found himself struggling with fundamental doubts: What does it mean to be able to read *kanbun*? Was the Japanese way of reading *kanbun* correct, or had the proper use of the classical Chinese language been corrupted? After extensive research, he came to the conclusion that his doubts were well founded and he did, indeed, find improper uses of *kanbun* among his contemporaries. For this reason, he started to pursue the correct use of *kanbun*, focusing on the concept of *kundoku* (i.e., the Japanese reading of *kanbun*) and on the idea that one should not simply "read *kanbun* in Japanese" (*kun* 訓), but rather "translate" the content into Japanese (*yaku* 訳). He believed that if one does not properly understand the Chinese language in the way the people of the ancient times did, one cannot be able to follow "the way" (*dō* 道). It is on the basis of these motivations that *Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄 (henceforth *Yakubun*) saw the light (TAJIRI 2012, 81-83). The first edition of *Yakubun sentei* has been published in 1714 or 1715, though it only included some preliminary studies of Ogyū, appearing with the complete title of *Yakubun sentei shohen* 訳文筌蹄初偏 ('The First Set of *Yakubun sentei*'). Initially, a "second set" (*kōhen* 後編) was also supposed to be published, however Ogyū apparently changed his mind, and stopped working on this project. The second part of the book did eventually come out posthumously in 1796. Apparently, the work known as *Kun'yaku jimō* 訓訳示蒙 was also published posthumously in 1738 and is to be considered a plagiarized version of *Yakubun sentei* (AIHARA 2019, 12).

A fundamental issue that I would like to raise here is the fact that, as a general rule, not much is written about him – if any at all – in the context of *kokugogakushi*, the "history of Japanese linguistic investigations". This is because research on so-called "Japanese linguistics" mostly considers those works that focused on the analysis of the Japanese language, and not on the history of the investigations on language in Japan. As I have already mentioned, Chinese studies had been flourishing well before Japanese studies emerged and, undoubtedly, Japanese studies borrowed immensely from the research on Chinese. As I will demonstrate in Chapter VII, Ogyū Sorai has been extremely impactful in Shizuki's understanding of language, since he provided not only a methodology for the learning of Chinese, but also a rich contrastive analysis of Japanese, specifically when it comes to morphology. Furthermore, as I will expand on in the following pages, Ogyū allowed for the so-called "vernacular language" (*zokugo* 俗語) – the spoken Japanese of the time – to be used both as an instrument by means of which to teach the classics, as well as a

reference for the description of linguistic features. FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 227), consider Ogyū as a bridge between Sinology and Japanology.

Ogyū's education starts from his autodidactic learning in the rural town of Kazusa 上総, contemporary Chiba 千葉, where Ogyū distinguished himself as an exceptional mind, independent from well-established methodologies of traditional academia. This allowed him to develop his own vision more freely with regard to the manner of studying the Chinese classics and language. Fundamental to his vision was the idea that the Chinese language should be conceived of as a full-fledged foreign language that is needed in order to understand the classics, as opposed to the traditional conception of Chinese as a crystalized linguistic code of literature and philosophy. Consequently, he concluded that Chinese had to be studied as a lively language, including its pronunciation and grammatical features. On this topic, Ogyū also strongly criticized his Confucian colleagues who could only understand Chinese in its written ancient form, in a rather mechanical fashion, disregarding its sounds and morphosyntax, that allowed for a more arbitrary rearrangement of the units of meaning of Chinese text, thus distancing from the supposed original sense. Ogyū's goal was to come to the deepest and most faithful understanding of the way the ancient sages envisioned the world, but he did so by questioning the more recent interpretations that he believed to be based on fallacious and corrupted understandings of language. Language, as opposed to metaphysics, takes the core role in the exegesis of Confucian classics in Ogyū's school. In addition, Ogyū also believed vernacular language (*zokugo* 俗語) to be an extremely powerful tool in order to make the Japanese reader really understand the contents of such classics, in spite of the often-obscure classical use of Japanese. This was, at the time, a new approach that strongly influenced his contemporaries even outside Confucian circles, and that is also visible in Shizuki's study of Dutch. Ogyū's ideas have led him to a rather critical position toward, not only his contemporaries in authoritative Japanese academia, but also earlier works by Chinese authors (PASTREICH 2001, 119- 125).

In the first volume of *Kun-yaku jimō*, folio 6r, one can read the following excerpt on "popular language".

倭語ニサマ〴〵ノ風(フウ)アリ常(ツネ)ノ詞アリ。常ノ詞ニモ都(ミヤコ)ト鄙(ヒナ)ノ違ヒアリ。書札(ショセツ)ノ詞アリ雙紙(ソウシ)ノ詞アリ。其〳〵如ク唐人詞ニモ。サマ〴〵アリ。唐ノ俗語ハ。日本ノ常ノ世話(セフ)ナリ。鄙ノ語ハ。唐ノ方言(ハウゲン)ナリ。書札ノ文ハ唐ノ書札ノ語ナリ。歌ハ唐ノ詩ナリ。雙紙ノ詞ハ。唐ノ書籍ノ文ナリ。其内ニ又。時代ノ古今(ココン)ニ随テ。詞ノ趣(オモムキ)違フ〻ナリ。譯文ヲセ

In Japanese, there are many styles, one is normal speech. Within the normal speech there are variations such as the speech of the capital, and that of the countryside. There is also the language of *shosatsu* and that of *sōshi*. Similarly, also the language of the Tang is varied. The popular language of the Tang corresponds to the common language of Japanese people today. The language of the countryside corresponds to the dialects of the Tang. The language of *shosatsu* corresponds to the language the Tang use in their *shosatsu*. Our songs correspond to the poems of the Tang. The words of our *sōshi* correspond to the

ント思ハヾ。此意ヲ合點スベシ。ソノ内。日本ニテハ。雙紙ノ詞ガ正當(セイタウ)ナル詞ナリ唐ニテモ書籍ノ文ガ正當(セイタウ)ナル詞ナリ。然レ𪜈。日本ノ雙紙ノ詞ハ日本久シク文盲(モンモウ)ニナリタルユヘ。歌學(カガク)セザルモノハ。此雙紙ノ詞ヲ。會得(エトク)セスナリ。又唐ノ俗語ハ當用(タウイヨウ)ニ非ズ。故ニ今。風ノ違ヒ(フウ)タルモノナガラ倭ノ俗語ヲ以テ唐土ノ書籍ヲ譯スルコトナリ。

text of the *shoseki*. Within these, the expressivity of languages also varies with the passing of time. You need to understand this if you want to make a translation. For example, in Japan, the language of *sōshi* is proper. The same goes for the *shoseki* of the Tang. However, the language used in Japanese *sōshi* has become unreadable. Thus, without the study of songs, we would not be able to understand them completely. The popular language of the Tang is also improperly used. Therefore, what I will do is translate the *shoseki* of the Tang into the popular language of Japan, taking the different styles into consideration.

Ogyū points out how languages vary through time, but also according to the literary genre that is being used. He points out some correspondence between the Chinese language used in specific genres and the Japanese language used in literary genres of Japan. He also adds that the spoken "vernacular" language of the Chinese is rather different from the ancient and literary form as it had been preserved by the classics of Chinese literature, in the same way that vernacular Japanese is different from the language used in Japanese classics that can only be understood after pursuing the *kagaku* scholarship. Because of the numerous varieties of both languages, Ogyū decides to provide translations in the Japanese vernacular language to the Chinese texts.

Ogyū was very much determined to study spoken Chinese. In order to learn the current pronunciation of that language, he also lived in a Chinese Zen Buddhist sect in Ōbaku 黄檗, not far from Kyoto, where he was taught the phonology of Chinese. The focus given to spoken language was rather innovative even if one considers the long tradition of Siddhāṃ-derived studies on phonology, that could be considered to be fundamentally serving the oral rendition of literary language. Ogyū, instead, believed the learning of spoken language to be relevant on its own and promoted its active use and teaching in his Translation Society (*yakusha* 訳社) he founded in 1711 with his brother Ogyū Hokkei 荻生北渓 (1670 – 1754). For the learning of spoken language, he found inspiration in the practices developed by the interpreters of Nagasaki, whose teachings he believed being one of the three fundamental pillars of Chinese studies (PASTREICH 2001, 126-133).[1] His embracement of spoken and vernacular language gains particular relevance if one considers the notorious disparagement perpetrated by Sugita Genpaku, for example, who lowered the interpreters' linguistic abilities calling them "men of tongue" (*setsujin* 舌人). The focus of Ogyū on reproducing Chinese pronunciation was certainly not shared by

[1] He referred to this as *kiyō no gaku* 岐陽の学, with *Kiyō* being the former name of Nagasaki. The other two pillars were 'translation studies' *yakubun no gaku* 訳文の学 and 'ancient phraseology' *kobun jigaku* 古文辞学 (PASTREICH 2001, 131).

everybody. One of Ogyū's harsher critics was Arai Hakuseki, who was also engaged in Dutch studies.

He claimed that:[2]

> "Wanting to copy 'Chinese pronunciation', learn to mumble with bad accents a few phrases of the sort of Chinese spoken by the crews of the ships that come to Nagasaki […] What is called 'Chinese pronunciation' is the vernacular spoken by Chinese of this kind of low station. […] [T]hat it is of no use in mastering the language of the ancients is evident from the fact that the prose and poetry of these people studying 'Chinese pronunciation', for all their boasting about it, is unreadable […] To refer to the language spoken by the crew and sailors who come to Nagasaki as 'flowery [Chinese] sounds' is to regard our country as barbaric. […] There could be nothing else so disloyal and lacking in propriety toward our country."

This type of aversion toward spoken language, was anything but uncommon and could be considered as a general bias of Edo scholars who worked closer to the higher bureaus of the government, afar from the "vernacular" language with fewer chances to train their speaking skills talking to native speakers of Chinese, who mostly were merchants located in Nagasaki. While there certainly were differences between the local variety of Japanese used in Edo, and that used in the very far island of Kyūshū, where Nagasaki is located, this is probably a prejudice originating from the *shinōkōshō* 士農工商 arrangement of classes, typical of feudal Japan, where the merchant class (*shō* 商) was at the bottom of the hierarchy. In this regard, the figure of Ogyū Sorai appears to be an exception since, even though he was born in Edo, his self-described exile in the countryside allowed him to appreciate a less elitist lifestyle that, in turn, allowed him to be more accepting of non-literary forms of language, both regarding Chinese and Japanese. This could also be conceived of as the reason why Ogyū opposed, to some extent, the existing academic establishment. Nonetheless, Ogyū's scholarship was still rather elitist in nature, as will be clear by the end of this paragraph.

Among Ogyū's publications, *Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄 is generally recognized as his most impactful work on language. This book, whose title could be translated as "A Tool for Translation" uses the metaphor of a fishing net (*sen* 筌) and a trap for rabbits (*tei* 蹄) as tools that are only useful until the prey is caught. This idea is derived from the Taoist Chinese text *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子,[3] who considered words as tools serving a very specific purpose, that could be neglected once their goal was fulfilled. Just like one does not need the trap after catching the prey, one does not need words anymore, once the message they carried is successfully conveyed (PASTREICH 2001, 131). This work has inspired Maeno Ryōtaku's *Oranda yakusen* 和蘭訳筌 "Fishing Net of Dutch Translation", an influence that is clear already in its title (TAJIRI 2012,

[2] English translation by TUCKER (2006, 46).
[3] The romanization Chuang Tzŭ is also attested, while *Sōshi* or *Sōji* are both viable Japanese renditions.

156). In order to accomplish the conveying of one's thought by means of words, Ogyū regarded it necessary to define accurately such words used in communication. This is the fundamental reason that motivated him to compile *Yakubun* and that is still visible in *Kun'yaku jimō*, that I will also discuss. Both are lexicographical works, where Chinese characters are listed and defined in order to distinguish their meaning from semi-synonyms and antonyms. As I have claimed in Chapter IV, a consequence of the *kundoku* practice was the association of one word with different Chinese characters, in those cases in which Japanese did not distinguish between two or more different nuances in meaning. An example of this phenomenon can be seen in *Yakubun*'s introduction, where the author mentions the difference between the Chinese characters *kan* 閑 and *sei* 静, both glossed as *shizuka* in Japanese, meaning "peaceful", "quiet", that were to be used in different contexts, in Chinese. In order to correct such inaccuracies, Ogyū proposes to provide a guide to Japanese people to understand these different meanings and make use of Chinese characters with greater awareness. The necessity of understanding the difference between the modern "corrupted" usage of words, as opposed to that of the ancient times, is evident in the following quote from his *Sorai sensei gakusoku* 徂徠先生学則 ('Master Sorai's Instructions for Students', 1717), where he claims: [4]

> "Space is like time; time is like space. Thus, if we see the old words in terms of today's words, or today's words in terms of the ancient words, then in both cases they will be gibberish. There is no difference on this point between the ancient Chinese language and the Indian. The times change, bearing the words along; the words change, bearing the Way along. That 'the Way is not clear' is due chiefly to this fact."

6.1.1 Theory of translation in *Yakubun sentei*

Consistently with his self-affirmed contrariety toward the traditional approaches to the analysis of the classics, Ogyū also proposed an original approach to *kundoku* and to the idea of translation. As I have already mentioned in 5.1, whether the Japanese practice of annotating Chinese texts ought to be considered a type of translation or not has always been at the center of debates, and it remains so to this day. Ogyū discusses this in the introduction to his *Yakubun sentei*, in the following manner:[5]

> "(2) Scholars in this region use the local language in their reading of Chinese books. This approach is known as *wakun* (Japanese annotation). The term takes its meaning from the word "annotation" (*kunko* 訓詁), but in effect it is actually a "translation." Yet readers do not know that it is a translation. Men of old said, "If one reads a book through a thousand times, its meaning naturally reveals itself." As a youngster I often wondered how those men of old were able to read when the meaning was unclear. The problem was that I did not understand that one reads Chinese books from the top straight down in the same manner Japanese read Buddhist *dharani*.

[4] Quoted from BUSCHELLE (2020, 168).
[5] English translation by PASTREICH (2001, 146- 149).

Thus even if one does not understand the meaning of a passage, one can nonetheless read it out loud. If one follows the reading habits of this country, one must first invert the word order and turn around the Chinese characters until they conform to our native language. That done, the meaning is understood when one reads it in Japanese. If the meaning is not understood, the passage cannot be read. Verily *wakun* deserves its name. Moreover, *wakun* appeals to scholars because it makes the task so easy.

But this country has its own language and China has its own language. The morphologies of the two languages are essentially different; How can we unite them? When we approach the problem by using the inverted word order of *wakun* annotation to read Chinese, although it may seem that we comprehend, what we get is in fact a distortion of the meaning.

People of our age are unaware of this fact. In their reading and composition they rely entirely on *wakun* annotation. Even if one's understanding is profound and one's erudition extends to all matters, still if one depends on *wakun* annotation, one's understanding of the writings of the ancients will be like scratching at an itch through a boot. Every time one takes up a pen and tries to express one's thoughts in writing, one's words will be as incomprehensible as the mumbling of barbarians or the chirping of birds. The reason is none other than what I said before: *wakun* annotation makes the task easy; in actuality *wakun* annotation is a curse.

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

Let us consider the process by which Chinese word order is first inverted and afterward read in the *wakun* system. The syntax, overall structure, and phraseology are completely changed from what it was. In addition to the *wakun* expansion, *sutegana* must be added after each Chinese character before it can be read. We can tell from this fact that the Japanese language employs more particles than does Chinese. Chinese final particles such as *ye* 也, *yi* 矣, or *yan* 焉 have no *wakun* annotation in our language. Similarly, there are no cases in which particles of our language have corresponding Chinese characters.

We can see, then, that the principles underlying grammar, phraseology, and syntax differ for Japanese and Chinese. In many cases, different Chinese characters are assigned the same Japanese *wakun* readings. There are also examples of Japanese words that are never employed as *wakun* readings for Chinese characters. Therefore we can deduce that Chinese words do not necessarily have equivalents in Japanese. So also it follows that there are words in Japanese that have no equivalent in Chinese. One *wakun* reading can be applied to many different Chinese characters and one Chinese character may have many different *wakun* readings. The Chinese and the Japanese language match up with each other unevenly, and do not fall into a one-to-one correspondence. Chinese compounds such as "righteousness" and "morality" (*daode* 道徳), "vitality" (*shengming* 生命), and "male element" and "female element" (*yinyang* 陰陽) have *wakun* readings. We can thus deduce that,

> when in the land of the sages the names were determined and the teachings established, some things could not be fully expressed in ordinary words.
>
> As for Chinese characters that have different connotations but are assigned similar *wakun* readings, or Chinese characters with uncertain *wakun* readings, they are more accurately translated with modern expressions. We can tell that in the past, when *wakun* readings were assigned to Chinese characters, the words in our language were few. In the writings of later ages, however, the number of words in Japanese doubled and tripled at an increasing rate. Yet the word order, overall structure phraseology remain essentially the same."[6]

The most relevant issue in this extract is Ogyū's idea of translation. Ogyū believes that the practice of *kundoku* annotation – to which he refers with the term *wakun* 和訓 – should not simply be interpreted as "annotation" (*kunko* 訓詁) but, rather, as a full-fledged "translation" (*yaku* 訳). With this, he means that, if one considers the practice of *kundoku* as an annotation, this implies that they would be annotating a Chinese text into Japanese, which will impair the correct understanding of the contents. Ogyū insists that a proper *kundoku* should represent a complete translation into the target language, to clarify the otherwise unintelligible contents of the original Chinese source. He laments that his contemporaries seem to fail to grasp this, only considering *wakun* as a form of aid to the reading of Chinese, while the reality, according to him, is that the text resulting from the addition of *kundoku* annotation should, in fact, eventually lead to a translation into Japanese. A few lines after that, he also claims that since *wakun* is a translation of an original text into another language, the resulting text can only provide a "distortion" (*kenkyō* 牽強) of the original meaning. This reasoning explains why he also believes in the necessity of actually learning Chinese in order to understand the contents of the classics, instead of relying on the "Japanese translation" that, inevitably, leads the reader to misinterpretations. Such misinterpretations are caused, as he acknowledges, by the fact that there is no one-to-one correspondence between Chinese characters and Japanese words, with the same word being used for many characters or the same character being read in a multitude of ways.

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[6] I would like to clarify some of the terminology used here, and its English translation. PASTREICH uses the term "morphology" to render the term *taishitsu* 体質, that literally means 'quality of the body', and employs the phrasing "grammar, phraseology, and syntax" to translate the terms *gomyaku* 語脈 'word-connection', and *bunsei* 文勢, that I will cover below. Although functional in the context of PASTREICH's translation, these terms can lead to the misconception that these Greek-Latin concepts had already been introduced in Japan, or that they had direct corresponding ideas, although that certainly was not the case. PASTREICH, notably, translates the word *josei* 助声 as 'particles'. This term *josei* is used by Ogyū to refer to the category of words to which the Chinese particles *ye* 也, *yi* 矣, or *yan* 焉 belong to, thus analogous to the category of *joshi*/*jogo*. However, as I have discussed in 5.5, this whole category had a very specific historical development, and the use of the word "particle" to translate *josei* might be inconsistent with the language otherwise adopted within the present research.

Another interesting issue brought up by Ogyū in this introduction concerns the special connection between Japanese and Chinese against other languages.

In the third point of the introduction, he writes the following: [7]

> (3) The word "translation" contains within it the deepest truth about the act of reading. As we all know, all Chinese texts consist of words. The words are Chinese. Since the language of foreigners from such countries as Holland are fundamentally different from that to which we are accustomed, naturally the foreigners speak in incomprehensible words as distant from human sentiments as are the squawking of birds and the yelping of beasts. China and this country, however, share the same linguistic sensibility.

Here, Ogyū puts forth a bold claim, namely that the Chinese and Japanese languages are supposedly in a tighter linguistic connection when compared to other languages, like Dutch, that are completely foreign to Japanese linguistic features. While the influence that the Chinese language had had on Japanese is certainly undeniable, it is interesting to notice that all other languages, including the arguably more popular Dutch language, were considered unintelligible from the standpoint of "linguistic sensibility". One wonders whether these claims were asserted based upon complete ignorance of the language of the foreigners or whether, instead, Ogyū's curiosity with regard to languages, had led him to casually consult publications concerning the Dutch language that, thus, led him to deduce that that language was extremely foreign to Japanese sensibility.

6.1.2 Theory of translation in *Kun'yaku jimō*

The title of the work *Kun'yaku jimō* 訓訳示蒙, explains the contents of the book quite clearly, since it can be translated as "Instructing the Ignorant on Translation and Japanese Reading". The two concepts of *kun* 訓 'Japanese reading' and *yaku* 訳 'translation' are the focus of the first two volumes of the five total composing this work. Its contents are divided into two major blocks, where the author first introduces the theoretical framework in which he operates, and subsequently, he provides definitions of specific Chinese characters that are defined as *jogo* 助語. In some copies, the first two volumes (containing the essay on translation) bear the title *Kun'yaku sentei* 訓訳筌蹄, akin to the other famous work by Ogyū, I have just discussed in 6.1.1. The second half of the series spans through volumes 3 to 5. These are structured as a *jigi*, like a dictionary of Chinese characters, where characters that ended up taking similar meanings in Japanese are treated together and distinguished. In this sense, the structure of *Kun'yaku jimō* is very similar to that of *Yakubun sentei*, with the important difference being that, in the latter, one finds definitions to characters corresponding to Japanese words holding semantical meaning, thus mostly being nouns, verbs and adjectives. In *Kun'yaku jimō*, however, the characters that are defined, are considered in their more grammatical meaning. In this aspect,

[7] English translation by PASTREICH (2001, 152).

Kun'yaku jimō was most likely inspired by what I have called the *joji-kō* sub-genre of *jigi*; the "Thoughts of Auxiliary Characters", probably inspired by *Joji-ko* 助辞考 by Itō Tōgai, itself another glossary of Chinese characters in their use as "auxiliary". The first words one finds written in Itō's work can be read below and are rather similar to what I will demonstrate Ogyū claimed, further in this paragraph.[8]

文字有テ二虚實一而實ヲ為シレ主ト虚ヲ為スレ賓ト天地日月山川草木ハ字之實ナル者ノ也覆載點臨流崎生榮ハ字之虚ナル者ノ也所ノ下以テ道ヒキ二賓主之際ヲ一通スル中虚實之用ヲ上者ノハ其レ助辞カ乎決茲ク二在リ

There exist full and empty characters. Full characters are the host [*shu* 主], while empty characters are the guest [*hin* 賓]. Full characters are: *ten* 天, *chi* 地, *hi* 日, *getsu* 月, *san* 山, *sen* 川, *sō* 草, *moku* 木. Empty characters are *fuku* 覆, *sai* 載, *ten* 點, *rin* 臨, *ryū* 流, *ki* 崎, *sei* 生, *ei* 榮. It is auxiliary words [*jogo* 助辞], in their combined use with "full" and "empty" characters that illustrate the contact between the host and the guest. I will discuss these below.

From this brief introduction by Itō Tōgai, one understands that "full" and "empty" characters are defined semantically, meaning whether they refer to concrete things, corresponding to nouns ("full") or whether they refer to more abstract things, like actions ("empty"). However, admittedly, this definition is far from being clear. For example, the character *ten* 点 (點 in *kyūjitai*) means 'point', and can be used thus as a noun, although it does also refer to a number of verbs. Another characteristic that discriminates between "empty" and "full" characters is the fact that the formers are considered "guests" and the latter "hosts". Again, no further explanation is provided for these concepts, although it is made clear that the use of "empty" and "full" characters, guiding the "host/guest" relation is aided by the *joji* "auxiliary words".[9] I will investigate Ogyū's concept of *joji* further below. First, I would like to look at volumes 1 and 2, where the theory of translation is introduced.

The first two volumes of *Kun'yaku jimō* are structured as a series of points, each tackling issues concerning translation from Chinese, addressing the malpractice Ogyū claims he had witnessed other Japanese scholars indulge in. In doing this, Ogyū provides interesting and, often, complex metalinguistic meditations concerning the analysis of a text, its translation, the concept of character, the differences between languages and their scripts and much more. This is a very interesting section for the purpose of the present research, since it allows to visualize rather directly a very clear and structured attempt at categorizing word classes, phrases, sentences and their hierarchical relations. The goal of this work by Ogyū is, as stated in the title, to instruct even the most ignorant scholar of Confucianism in

[8] Original text copied from Waseda's ホ 4 1868, folios 2r-2v. My English translation.

[9] The adoption of the characters *shu* 主 and *hin* 賓 in the context of language can be also seen in Ogyū Sorai and sparsely, in Shizuki Tadao (see 7.2.3). However, in the latter, these two characters are only found inconsistently annotated above specific words, and it is hard to make any broad assumption regarding the meaning of this category. Nonetheless, it appears that this dichotomy held some function in the tradition of Chinese studies in Japan and would be worthy of further investigation regarding its meanings and uses across authors.

how to analyze a Chinese text, how to interpret it and to render it into Japanese. The Japanese rendition is the core of the instruction; Ogyū distinguishes between two concepts, whose difference is sometimes slight, yet very important. In interpreting and translating a Chinese text, there are two practices, namely: the *kun* 訓, that is a Japanese rendition of the text; and the *yaku* 訳 (譯), that is its thorough translation. In the very first bullet point, Ogyū laments that "scholars nowadays do not learn the basics, without which no real study of any scholarship can ever be accomplished" (今時ノ人學問ノ門戸ヲ得ズ門戸ヲ得ズメ學問セバ終ヒニソノ學問ノ成就スルヿ有ベカラズ, 3r). What Ogyū means with "scholarship" is, mostly, Confucianism, of course, since he makes it clear that in Confucianism, the reading of Chinese documents is fundamental, as can be read in the following quote, from folios 4r-4v.

サテ。ソノ儒學ヲシタク思ヒ。經學ヲシタク思フ寸(トキ)ニ。書物(ショモツ)ヲ見ズメハ。ナラヌヿナリ。書物ハ何事ゾト云ヿ寸ニ。唐人(タウジン)ノ書キタルモノナリ。今時(イマドキ)ノ人ハ。書物ヲ。何ヤラ。ムシカシク思案(シアン)メ。唐人ガ作リタルモノト心得(コヽロウ)ルナリ。此レ又。大ヒナル取リソコナヒナリ。書籍(ショセキ)ハ日本ノクサ雙紙(ゾウシ)ナリ。唐人(タウジン)ガ常ニツカフ詞ヲ。紙ニ書キタル物ナリ。然レバ書籍ニ書キタルハ。唐人語(コトバ)ト心得ルガ學問ノ大意ナリ。學問ハ畢竟(ヒッキョウ)ジテ。漢學(カンガク)ナリト心得(コヽロウ)ベシ。佛學(ブツガク)ハ畢竟メ。梵學(ボンガク)ナリト意得(コヽロウ)ベシ某(ソレガシ)。箇様ニ存ズルユヘ。譯文(ヤクブン)ト云ヿヿヲ立テヽ。學者ヲ教フルヿナリ。譯文(ツウジ)トハ唐人詞ノ通事ナリ

When one is thinking about starting Confucian studies, or the studies of sutras, one cannot do it without consulting written documents. When one asks what written documents are, I mean those written by the Tang people. If a person today is wondering what these written documents could ever be, then I would suggest them to remember it as the things written by the Tang people. This is generally misunderstood. A *shoseki* is a Japanese *kusazōshi*. These are words that the Tang people commonly say written on paper. However, the most important concept of this scholarship one should remember is that a *shoseki* is written in the language of the Tang people. Ultimately, one should understand this scholarship as Chinese studies [*kangaku* 漢学]. Buddhism is ultimately to be understood as the study of Sanskrit [*bongaku* 梵學]. Thus, I teach my pupils how to make a translation according to this contingency. A translation is the interpretation of the language of the Tang people.

Thus, according to Ogyū, translation and the study of language are fundamental to the pursuit of Confucianism, or any other scholarship, really. He believes that, since the teachings of Confucianism are written in Chinese, pursuing Confucianism means, in practicality, becoming a sinologist, i.e., studying *kangaku* 漢学 'Chinese studies'. However, in order to spread Confucianism in Japan, the Chinese text needs to be "interpreted" (*tsūji* 通事). This interpretation is what Ogyū calls a *yakubun* 譯文 'textual translation'. In the subsequent point, on folio 4v, Ogyū expands on the

concept of "translation", pointing out the differences between the languages of China and of Japan.[10]

譯文トハ畢竟。唐人ノ語ヲ日本ノ語ニ
ナヲ　コトバ
直スㇾナリソコニ唐人詞ト。日本詞
チガヒ　モロコシ
ノ。大段ノ違アリ。ソレハ唐土ノ
コトバ　カナ
詞ハ字ナリ。日本ノ詞ハ假名ナリ。
テンヂク　ボンジ
日本バカリニアラズ。天竺ノ梵字。
ココク　コブン　ダツシ　ハンジ　アナン　レイ
故國ノ故文。韃子ノ蕃字。安南ノ黎
ジ　ナンバン　バンジン　テウセン　オンブン
字。南蠻ノ蠻字。朝鮮ノ音文。
ミナ　コエ
皆。假名ナリ。假名ハ。音バカリニテ
イ
意ナシ。假名ヲ。イクツモ合セテ。ソ
コデ意ガ出来ルナリ。字ハ音アリ。意
アリ。タトヘバ。日本ニテハ。アキラ
ヨコト　カラ　ミン
カト。四詞ニ言フ處ヲ。唐デハ明ト。
ヒトコト
一詞ニテ。スマスナリ。日本ニテ。キ
ミコト　チン
ヨシト。三言ニイフ處ヲ。唐デハ清
ト。一言ニテ。スマスナリ。サルニヨ
リ。日本ニテハ。イロハノ四十八字
ラチア
ニ。四十音アリテ。ソレニテ埒明クナ
コトバミヂカ
リ。唐土ニテハ。詞短キユヘ。同
ケイ　ヂウ
ジ。チントㇾ云音ノ内ニ。輕重。
セイダク　ヒャウジャウ　キョ　ニフ
清濁。平上。去。入トテ。
サマく　ヨビ　コヽロ
様々。呼ヤウニテ。ソレくニ意ガカ
シゼン　エビス　千ウゴク
ワルナリ。此ㇾ唐人ノ。コシラヘタル
タガヒ　チウコク
ㇾニテハ。ナシ。自然ニ夷ト中國ノ
違ニテ。如ㇰㇾ此違フナリ中國ノ詞ハ
ブン　シツ　ミツ
文ナリ。夷ハ質ナリ。中國ノ詞ハ密
○○○
ナリ。夷ハ疎ナリ。キヨシト。三言ニ
○○
イフ處ハ。疎ナルナリ。チント。一言
○
ニイフ處ハ。密ナリ。唐人ハ。同ジチ

Translation, after all, is the act of adjusting the Chinese language into Japanese. In this, there are huge difference between Chinese and Japanese. Chinese is [written in] characters [字]. Japanese is [written in] *kana* [假名]. They do not only exist in Japanese. Sanskrit in India, the text of barbarians, the Tatar script in the Tatar, the Vietnamese script, the script of Southern Barbarians, the phonetic alphabet of the Koreans, these are all *kana*. A *kana* does not have meaning, it only has a sound. Only by bringing together said *kana* can one obtain meaning. [Chinese] characters have sound and meaning. For example, in the word *akiraka*, in Japanese, we have four letters [詞], while in Chinese [*míng*] 明 is only one. In Japan, *kiyoshi* has three letters [言], while in Chinese [*qīng*] 清 it is just one. Furthermore, in Japanese the *iroha* are 48, creating 40 [syllabic] sounds. This is settled. Since words [詞] in Chinese are shorter, with just the sound *chin* チン one can pronounce it with a light intonation [輕], with a heavy intonation [重], with a clean pronunciation [清], with a dirty pronunciation [濁], with an even tone [平], with a rising tone [上], with a departing tone [去], with a checked tone [入], and they all have different meanings. This is not something put together by the Chinese people. Naturally, these are the differences between the Chinese and foreigners, such like this. The language of the Chinese is text [文]. The language of foreigners is *shitsu* 質. The Chinese language is concentrated [密], the barbarian languages are sparse [疎]. The fact that *kiyoshi* is expressed in three characters makes it sparse; the fact that 清 is one character makes it concentrated. That of the Chinese is a text that can express with the same *chin* sound one can pronounce it with a light intonation [輕], with a heavy intonation [重], with a clean pronunciation [清], with a dirty pronunciation [濁], with an even tone [平], with a rising tone

[10] I have already analyzed part of this excerpt in 5.6.

○
ンノ内ニ。平。上。去。入。輕重。清濁ノ。品々ノ呼(シナく)ワケ(ヨビ)ノアル處ハ。文ナリ。日本ハ。チンアレバ。チント云フ只一ツナル處ハ。質ナリ。

○ ○ ○ ○

[上], with a departing tone [去], with a checked tone [入], this makes Chinese a *bun* [文] language. In Japanese, *chin* is only pronounced as *chin*.

This excerpt demonstrates that in Ogyū's theoretical framework the study of language still implied an intertwining of spoken language and writing conventions. Mostly, however, it raises a few issues concerning the differences between Chinese and Japanese. A first difference is related to the writing systems of the two languages. Chinese is written in "characters" *ji* 字. This character *ji* is defined as characters possessing both a (syllabic) sound *oto* (or, probably, *koe* 音) and a meaning *i* (or, probably, *kokoro* 意). Japanese, instead, is written in *kana* 假名. These are defined as characters possessing only a "sound" and no "meaning". The *kana* writing system is not unique to Japanese, since many other languages are written through phonetic characters, instead of logographic ones. A consequence of these writing systems is the second difference, namely that for one Chinese character Japanese often uses more than one *kana*. The two Chinese characters *mei* 明[11] and *sei* 清[12] express, in just one character, what, in the Japanese language, is expressed by four and three *kana*, respectively. In Japanese, the character *mei* 明 corresponds to the word *akiraka* アキラカ, while *sei* 清 corresponds to *kiyoshi* キヨシ, respectively written with four and three *kana*. This is what makes the difference between a "concentrated" (*mitsu* 密) language, like Chinese, and a "sparse" one (*so* 疎), like Japanese.[13]Another important difference between the two languages, is the fact that Chinese phonology features tones, while Japanese does not, according to Ogyū. A language possessing tones is called *bun* 文 and a language without tones is called *shitsu* 質, that is a peculiar choice of words, since the former generally means

[11] Pronounced *míng* in contemporary standard Mandarin.
[12] Pronounced *qīng* in contemporary standard Mandarin.
[13] It is also worth mentioning that Ogyū uses two different *kanji* to refer to the characters used to write these two different words. With *mei* 明 and *akiraka*, Ogyū uses the character *shi* 詞, while with *sei* 清 and *kiyoshi* he uses the character *gen* 言. It is not explained in any manner why the characters used to write these two words are to be different, but the only thing I can deduce is that it might have something to do with the word class they belong to. Both *akiraka* and *kiyoshi* can be considered adjectives, however, *akiraka* is a so-called "adjectival noun" (*keiyōdōshi* 形容動詞), while *kiyoshi* is a simple adjective (*keiyōshi* 形容詞), in contemporary grammar. This means that in *akiraka*, all characters belong to the "root" of the adjective, that can be "conjugated" by adding the element *nari*. However, in *kiyoshi*, the last character *-shi* is an inflecting element, meaning that it can change into *-ku*, *-ki* etc. according to its morphosyntactic role. I can only assume that the character *shi* 詞 is used to refer to the characters *akiraka* アキラカ, since they are all characters referring to the "root" of the word, while *gen* 言 is used for *kiyoshi* キヨシ because they also include the inflecting character *-shi* シ. This could have been then extended to also work with the Chinese characters *mei* 明 and *sei* 清.

"text", while the latter "quality" or "characteristic". This might be a reference to a line in Confucius' *Dialogues* (*Rongo* 論語), where *shitsu* 質 is used to refer to "simple" and "straight-forward" language, while *bun* 文 is "refined" and "adorned" language; with *bun* 文 referring to external beauty, while *shitsu* 質 to the inner characteristics of something.[14]

Ogyū continues, on folio 5v-6r, by pointing out the difference between the traditional practice of *wakun* 和訓 "Japanese reading/interpretation", i.e., what is nowadays called *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読.

今。學者。譯文ノ學ヲセント思ハヽ、悉ク古ヨリ日本ニ習来(ナラヒキタ)ル。和訓(ワクン)ト云フモノト字ノ反(カヘ)リト云モノトヲ。破除(ハジョ)[15]スベシ。子細(シサイ)ハ。[16]字ニ反リトイフ㆓ハ。和訓ト云㆓モノヲ付(ツケ)ルカヲ起(オコ)リタルナリ。和訓ヲ立(ツメ)ル。眼ヨリ見レバ。唐人ニモ。和訓ガアルト心得ルナリ。勿論外國(グハイコク)ニハ皆。和訓ノヤウナル㆓アリ。唐土ハ。最前(サイゼン)イフゴトク。字ノ音ト云㆓モノガ唐土ノ詞ヲ。直(スグ)ニ書キ下(クダ)シニ。唐人ガ書キタルガ。今。書籍ニアル文ナリ。然レバ和訓ト云㆓㆒日本ノ先輩ノ付ケラレタル㆒ナリ。ソレヲ破除スルト云㆓ハ。如何ナルユヘナレバ。今時ノ和人㆑。和訓ヲ常格(ジャウカク)ニ守リテ。和訓ニテ字義(ジギ)ヲ知ラントスルユヘ。一種ノ皮膜(ヒマク)[17]ヲ隔(ヘダ)ツルナリ。ソノ上(ウヘ)古ノ先輩(センパイ)ノ。和訓ヲ付ケラレタル以前(イゼン)ハ。直(タヾチ)ニ。ソノ時ノ詞ヲ付ケラレタル處(ジダイ)ニ。今。時代。移リカワリテ。日本ノ詞。昔(ムカシ)トハ違ヒタル㆒多シ。今。倭訓ヲ立置(タテヲ)ク寸ハ。倭訓ト云

The scholars who would like to study translation needs to dispose of the tradition of *wakun* and character substitution as they have been learned in Japan since ancient times. Specifically, it has happened that in the act of substituting characters, one has annotated the *wakun*. In the eyes of those who have construed it, the *wakun* has been learned as something the Chinese themselves have. Of course, as far as foreign countries are concerned, every country has something like *wakun*. In China, however, since the very beginning, they directly wrote the Chinese language in the way the characters were pronounced. This is the language we find now in the text of books. However, what we call *wakun* is what the teachers of Japan have annotated. Then why would one ever dispose of this? Because if the Japanese of today stick to this established *wakun*, they would never understand the *jigi* 字義, the "meaning of characters". It is like changing one's skin. The teachers of the past, when annotating the *wakun* they were annotating the language of those times. For this reason, it needs to be changed and adapted to our times, since the Japanese language has changed sensibly since the past. When making a *wakun* today, *wakun* is one thing only:

[14] Original citation: "質勝文則野，文勝質則史。文質彬彬，然後君子。"

[15] The alternative reading of *yaburi nozoku* ヤブリノゾク is also added on the lefthand side of the word.

[16] The alternative reading of *sono wake* ソノワケ is also added on the lefthand side of the word.

[17] The alternative reading of *kawa* カワ is also added on the lefthand side of the word.

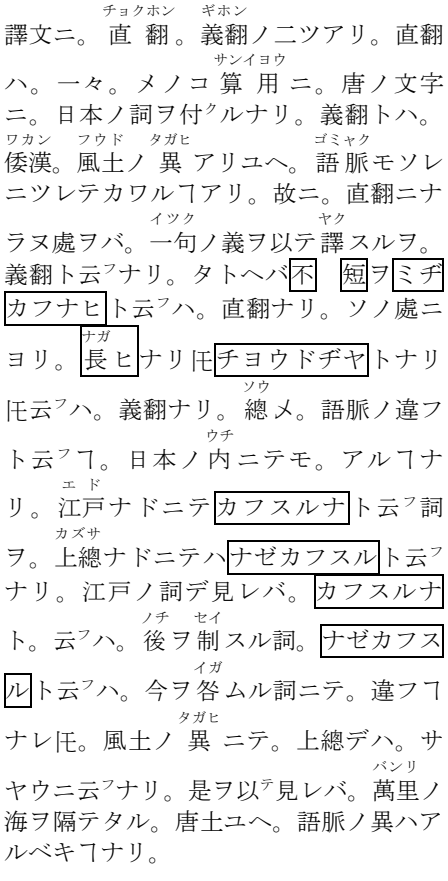
一物(イチブツ)ニナルナリ。ヤハリ和語(ワゴ)ヘ移(ウツ)メ。字義ヲ合點スベキコトユヘ。倭訓ヲ破除スルナリ。又倭訓ハ一ツニメ。字意ハ違ヒタル文字多シ。和訓ハアラキモノナリ。和訓ヲ守ル寸ハ。字義粗(アラ)クナル間(アヒダ)。和訓ヲ破除スルナリ。字義ヲサヘ合點スレバ。元来(グハンライ)。唐ノ語ニ。反ヘルト云フ㇀ハナク。反ヘルト云フ㇀ハ。日本人ノ付ケタル物ユヘ。我意(ワガコヽロ)ニテ如何様(イカヨウ)ニモ反ヘリテ。ヨムホドニ。反ヘルト云フ㇀ヲ破除スルナリ。

after having understood the *jigi* adapting it into Japanese, one must dispose of the *wakun*. Furthermore, there are many characters whose meaning differs even though they are made into one in the *wakun*. The *wakun* is broad [粗い]. When one abides by *wakun* and the *jigi* becomes broad, one should dispose of the *wakun*. Even if one understands the *jigi*, one does not go back to the original in Chinese. The substitution has been annotated by Japanese people and cannot but be read as a substitution of it toward our own sensibility. Thus, it must be disposed of.

In this bullet point, Ogyū discusses the core of his school of translation. He draws a clear line between "translation" *yakubun* 訳文 and "Japanese reading" *wakun* 和訓. He claims that the practice of *wakun*, has been misunderstood, by other scholars, in many aspects. Firstly, he claims that often times, other scholars have assumed that the practice of *wakun* – the interpretation and exegesis of Chinese texts – is a practice the Chinese themselves invented and employed. Ogyū's critique addresses the fact that other Japanese scholars were used to rely on *wakun* so much, while reading Chinese texts, that they could not even understand the fact that the language these texts were written in was Chinese. Ogyū reminds them that Chinese texts were written by putting onto paper the Chinese language directly, that means that a Chinese speaker can read it without needing to annotate anything like the Japanese *wakun*. Of course, this argument would need further specification like, for example, the fact that the language of the classics of literature had certainly changed significantly as compared to the version of spoken Chinese with which Ogyū and other Japanese of the Edo period could have come into contact with, as can be seen in *Yakubun sentei* (see 6.1.1). However, this is a way in which Ogyū can remind the reader of the fact that the code in which these texts were written was actually a real language, spoken by people in China. For this reason, the Japanese rendition of such texts should not only be an interpretation of the text, by means of signs and characters conveying a semantic meaning that allow the Japanese speaker to reconstruct the logical relations between each Chinese character. Ogyū argues that the original text should not only be interpreted and be provided with a "Japanese instruction" (*wakun* 和訓) for the reading of it, but it should also be adapted and completely "translated" (*yaku* 訳) into the Japanese language, accounting for rhetorical features specific to the Japanese language. Furthermore, Ogyū does address the diachronic variation of language, when he claims that the *wakun* methodology, that is being used by his contemporaries, is an old practice, that refers to out-of-date uses of the Japanese language. For these reasons, he states boldly the controversial claim that the practice of *wakun* should be "disposed of" (*hajo* 破除), as it hinders the correct understanding of the *jigi* 字義 a term he uses to refer to the subject investigating the meaning of the characters, as discussed below. In fact, the

thoughtless employment of the practice of *wakun*, according to Ogyū, has led many scholars to conflate the same Japanese words into Chinese characters with different meanings, thus missing important nuances in the original text.

The fact that the practice of *wakun* cannot be enough in the Japanese rendition of a Chinese text, is further reinforced by another point, on folio 8r:



譯文ニ。直翻(チョクホン)。義翻(ギホン)ノ二ツアリ。直翻ハ。一々。メノコ算用(サンイヨウ)ニ。唐ノ文字ニ。日本ノ詞ヲ付ルナリ。義翻トハ。倭漢(ワカン)。風土(フウド)ノ異(タガヒ)アリユヘ。語脈(ゴミャク)モソレニツレテカワルアリ。故ニ。直翻ニナラヌ處ヲバ。一句(イツク)ノ義ヲ以テ譯(ヤク)スルヲ。義翻ト云ナリ。タトヘバ不短ヲミヂカフナヒト云ハ。直翻ナリ。ソノ處ニヨリ。長ヒ(ナガ)ナリ𠮟チヨウドヂヤトナリ𠮟云ハ。義翻ナリ。總(ソウ)メ。語脈ノ違フト云フ。日本ノ内(ウチ)ニテモ。アルナリ。江戸(エド)ナドニテカフスルナト云詞ヲ。上總(カズサ)ナドニテハナゼカフスルト云フナリ。江戸ノ詞デ見レバ。カフスルナト。云ハ。後ヲ制(ノチセイ)スル詞。ナゼカフスルト云ハ。今ヲ咎(イガ)ムル詞ニテ。違フナレ𠮟。風土ノ異(タガヒ)ニテ。上總デハ。サヤウニ云ナリ。是ヲ以テ見レバ。萬里(バンリ)ノ海ヲ隔テタル。唐土ユヘ。語脈ノ異ハアルベキナリ。

In translation there are two things: direct translation (*chokuhon* 直翻) and interpretative translation (*gihon* 義翻). A direct translation means annotating a Japanese word for each one single Chinese character. The interpretative translation is [needed] when there are cultural differences between Japan and China. In this case, also the context of the sentence needs to be changed. Thus, the interpretative translation occurs when one translates the meaning of a phrase, in the context where no direct translation can be made. For example, the direct translation of the Chinese 不短 is *mijikakunai* ["not short"]. If in that case one translated as *nagai* or *chō do ja* ["long"], then this would be an interpretative translation. There are also differences in the contextual use of words within Japanese itself. What in Edo is said *kō suru na*, in Kazusa is pronounced *naze kō suru*. Seen from the point of view of Edo, *kō suru na* specifies the future, while *naze kō suru* blames the present, this is a cultural difference, however, and in Kazusa they do say it like this. Considering this, it is only reasonable that there are differences in the contextual use of words in China, which is ten thousand *ri* beyond the sea, distant [from Japan].

These two techniques of translation remind of an excerpt written by Sugita Genpaku, in his *Kaitai shinsho* where he explained some of the manners he employed in order to translate Dutch anatomical terms the Japanese language did not yet possess. Sugita wrote:[18]

[18] Original text from the National Diet Library Digital Collections (国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション), from document わ 490. 9-15, folio 14r. My English translation.

譯有二三等一。一ニ曰ク翻譯。二ニ曰ク義譯。三ニ曰ク直譯。如下和蘭呼テ曰二価題験(ベンデレン)一者即骨也。則譯メ曰フカ上レ骨ト。翻譯是也。又如丙呼テ曰二加蠟假価(ラカベン)ト一者。謂二骨ニメ而軟ナル者一也。加蠟假(カラカ)者。謂下如二鼠囓ムレ器音ノ一然ヲ上也蓋取ル二義ヲ於脆軟ニ一。価(ベン)者価題験(ベンデレン)之略語也。則譯メ曰乙軟骨甲。義譯是也。又如下呼テ曰二機里爾(キリイル)一者。無ク二語可一レ當。無キハ二義可レ解ス。則譯メ曰中機里爾(キリイル)上直譯是也。余之譯例皆如レ是也。讀者思ヘ諸

There are three translations. The first one is *hon'yaku* 翻訳; the second is *giyaku* 義訳, the third is *chokuyaku* 直訳. What the Dutch call *benderen* are bones and thus this word is translated as *hone* 骨. This is the *hon'yaku*. However, there is a thing called [in Dutch] *kraakbeen* ['cartilage'], which is a type of soft bone. The word *kraak* is the sound made by a mouse when biting onto something. The meaning can be thus interpreted as "soft and fragile" [*nan* 軟]. The word *been* is short for *benderen* [*kotsu* 骨] and, thus we can translate *kraakbeen* as *nankotu* 軟骨 "fragile bone". This is a type of *giyaku*. Furthermore, words such as *klier* 'gland', that do not have an appropriate corresponding word in Japanese, nor can be interpreted, I have called them simply *klier*. This is a *chokuyaku*. The other examples of translations, all are like this. Keep this in mind when reading.

Sugita uses similar words to Ogyū, although the concepts are somewhat different, also accounting for the difference in necessities when translating from Chinese and from Dutch. The simple translation of one foreign word into the corresponding Japanese term is called *chokuhon* 直翻 by Ogyū, and *hon'yaku* 翻訳 by Sugita. The character *choku* 直 'direct', that Ogyū uses for this type of translation, is used by Sugita to refer to the adoption of a Dutch word, when no Japanese correspondence can be found or calque can be made, thus coinciding with the phonetical adaptation of the Dutch word into the Japanese *kana*. He calls this type of translation *chokuyaku* 直訳, that is not addressed by Ogyū as a viable translating method, because of the nature of *kanbun kundoku*. Both scholars recognize an "interpretative translation", called *gihon* 義翻 by Ogyū, and *giyaku* 義訳 by Sugita. However, with these terms they refer to two different approaches. Sugita uses this term to refer to the coining of new Sino-Japanese words on the basis of the literal translation of the morphemes of the original Dutch word, namely a calque. However, this corresponds more closely to what Ogyū called *chokuhon* 'direct translation'. What Ogyū means with "interpretative translation" is, as he says, a translation that requires some degree of cultural mediation. He uses the example of the Chinese phrase *bùduǎn* 不短, literally 'not short'. A "direct translation" of this phrase would be simply by translating it as *mijikakunai* into Japanese, that is the negative form of the adjective *mijikai* 'short'. However, an "interpretative translation" would be, for example, translating it as *nagai* 'long'. According to cultural and even dialectal uses of language, one could prefer an "interpreted translation", more distant from the literal "direct translation" of a foreign phrase, in order to better express a specific concept into Japanese.

Subsequently, on folio 8r, Ogyū presents the entire structure of his approach to translation. He divides the subject into four sub-fields, each concerned with a phase in translation, in a hierarchical order, starting from the analysis of the smallest unit

of speech, that he believes to correspond to characters, up to the analysis of whole sentences.

譯文ニ。字義（ジギ）。文理（ブンリ）。句法（クハウ）。文勢（ブンセイ）ト云フヿアリ。字義ト云フハ一字一字（イチジく）ノ意ナリ。字ヲ積（ツ）ンデ句トナシ。句ヲ積ンデ文ニナシタルモノユヘ。字義ガ。本ナリ。藥（クスリ）一味一味（イチミく）ノ能（ノウ）ヲ知（シ）ラザレバ。藥方（ヤクハウ）。配劑（ハイザイ）ハナラヌ如クナリ。材木（ザイモク）。一本一本（イツポンく）ノ。大小（ダイセウ）。長短（チヤウタン）。使（ツカ）ヒ様（ヤウ）ヲ知ヲザレバ。家ハ立テラレヌ如クナリ。サテ次ニ。文理ヲ知ラズンバアルベカラズ。コレハ。字ノ上下ノ置様（ヲキヤウ）ナリ。同（オナ）ジ文字（モジ）デ字數（ジカズ）モ同事（オナジコト）ニテモ。上下ノ置キヤウニヨリ。意ハカハルナリ。此文理ト。句法トハ違フナリ。文理ハ。二字ト文字ヲカサヌル處ニハ。ハヤ。イルナリ。句法トハ。一句ノ上ニ巧拙（カウセツ）ヲ論（ロン）ズルヿナリ。文勢ハ。全體（ゼンタイ）ノ文勢ナリ。故ニ。文ヲ書（カク）ニ。先ヅ字義。文理テ合點スレバ。唐人詞ニナルナリ。句法文勢ハ。唐人詞ニナリテノ上（ウヘ）ニテ文（ブン）ノ上手（ジヤウヅ）。下手（ヘタ）ヘカヽルヿナリ。故ニ。字義。文理ノ違フト云フヿ。唐人ニハナキナリ。字義文理モ知ラズメ。句法。文勢ヲ論ズルハ。イキスギタルヿナリ。

In translation, we have the following things: *jigi* 字義, *bunri* 文理, *kuhō* 句法 and *bunsei* 文勢. The *jigi* refers to the meaning of each single character (*ji* 字). When characters accumulate, we have a phrase (*ku* 句). When phrases accumulate, we have a text (*bun* 文). For this reason, the *jigi* is the basis. It is like not being able to mix up medicines without knowing the effects of each single ingredient. It is like not being able to erect a house without knowing how to use each piece of lumber, be it big or small, long or short. In fact, when not knowing this, one should not go to the next step: *bunri*. This is the way of placing the characters. With the same characters, in the same number, in the same context, according to their placement, the meaning can change. This is the difference between the *bunri* and *kuhō*. The *bunri* is when two characters overlap and are inserted, while *kuhō* ponders whether one phrase (*ku*) is well formed. The *bunsei* is the entire *bunsei*. Thus, when writing a text (*bun*) one should first understand the *jigi* and *bunri* turning it into the language of the Tang people. The *kuhō* and *bunsei*, after having a text in the language of the Tang people, will make it well or badly written. For this reason, for the Tang people there is no difference between *jigi* and *bunri*. If one does not know the *jigi* and the *bunri*, then it will be too much to go as far as discussing the *kuhō* and the *bunsei*.

This bullet point presents the four main sub-fields of translation, according to Ogyū, namely: *jigi* 字義; *bunri* 文理; *kuhō* 句法; and *bunsei* 文勢. These can be understood both as subjects and as practices. In fact, each one studies and governs the proper Japanese rendition of a Chinese sentence. They are also put in incremental order, meaning that, when translating, one should first start from *jigi*, then continue to *bunri* etc. In order to understand this explanation, one needs to put oneself in the shoes of a Japanese translator of a Chinese text, in the Edo Period. When you are facing a Chinese text, you are presented with a series of logographic characters, representing concepts, and words most of which you probably recognize. These characters are put in the syntactical order of the Chinese language, that does

not make much sense from a Japanese point of view. When your intention is to make sense of that string of concepts, order them in a more Japanese-friendly manner and change them into a morphosyntactic form that makes sense according to Japanese grammar, the first thing you are required to do, is recognize the semantic meaning of each character. This is what is done by means of the *jigi* 字義, literally 'character-meaning'. Since Chinese syntax is, to some extent, rather different from Japanese syntax, you will experience a Chinese text as a somewhat loose string of concepts waiting to be interpreted, connected with each other, and put into a more "logical" order. This is what the *bunri* 文理 does, literally "text/sentence-reason/logic". A practical term that is used to describe the purpose of *bunri*¸ and that will be used often by Ogyū and Shizuki, as well, amongst others, is the word *jōka* 上下. The term literally means "up and down" and is used to refer to the placing of characters within a sentence, traditionally written vertically. This is a very useful concept, if one understands that the first step in the practice of *kundoku* is to add notations, such as the *kaeriten*, informing the reader about the reordering of the characters from the Chinese original. How to properly form a correct *bunri*, is explained in detail in volume two of *Kun'yaku jimō* (see 6.1.2.1). Thus, while the *jigi* considers each single character, and the *bunri* considers how characters interact with each other, the next step, the *kuhō* 句法, literally 'phrase-rule', is aimed at finding a good form to phrases. The last step instead, the *bunsei* 文勢, literally 'text-expressivity', treats the text in its entirety. Within *Kun'yaku jimō*, one can mostly learn the first two, namely *jigi* and *bunri*, as this work aims at introducing the reader to the very basics of translation.

Most of the rest of volume 1 covers the theory of the subject of *jigi*. This is a very useful topic for the purpose of the present research since, by virtue of the fact that it analyses the meaning of characters it also, incidentally, provides categories analogous to word classes. This can be read from folio 8v to 10r:

一　字義ハヒロキ㇁ナリ。一切(イツサイ)ノ。アルト。アラユル字義ヲ。知リ盡(ツク)スト云㇀㇁ハ。ナリガタキ㇁ナリ。故ニ。先ヅ常用(ジャウヨウ)ノ字義ヲ知ルベシ。文理ハ格ヲ知㇀テ修煉(シウレン)シ。工夫(クフウ)スレバ合點㇒ユクモノナリ

The *jigi* is a wide topic. Expressing it in its entirety is quite a difficult task. For this reason, one should first know the *jigi* of common use. If one finds out a way to know and practice each *bunri*, then one can proceed to understand.

一　字義ノ大綱(タイカウ)ヲ云㇀ニ。字品。字勢ト云㇀㇁アリ。字品ハ。字ノ元來ノ種姓(スジャウ)ナリ。字勢ハ字ノナリフゼイナリ字品(ジヒン)トハ。

The fundamentals of *jigi* are *jihin* 字品 and *jisei* 字勢. A *jihin* is the original class of the characters (*ji*). A *jisei* is the way each character is. Amongst the *jihin* we have

キョ ジツ セイ ジョ
虚。實。正。助。ノ四ツナリ。虚字[19]ト
ハ大 小 長 短 清 濁 メイ明 アン暗
キ喜 ド怒 アイ哀 ラク楽 ヒ飛 ソウ走 カ歌 ブ舞ノ類
也此ノ内ニ動ト静トアリ。静ノ虚字ハ。
大 小 長 短 清 濁 明 闇等也。
動ノ虚字ハ喜 怒 哀 楽 飛 走 歌
舞等ナリ。實[20]字トハ天 地 日 月
鳥 獣 草 木 シュ手 ソク足 トウ頭 ビ尾 シ枝
エウ葉 コン根 ケイ莖等ノ字ナリ。此ノ内ニ体ト タイ
イヨウ用トアリ天 地 日 月 鳥 獣 草
木等ハ。體ナリ手 足 頭 尾 枝 葉
根 莖等ハ。用ナリ虚實𠮟ニ正ナリ。正
ノ𠆢ヲ實語𠮟云。助ハ助語ナリ。シ之 コ乎
シャ者 ヤ也 イ矣 エン焉 サイ哉ノ類ナリ。正ハ語
シャウミ ○○○○
ノ正味。助ハ倭歌ノテニヲハ也正ノ助ケニ
ナルモノナリ。字勢ヲ云フ寸ニ。 ツウキョク通局。
タンフク ゲンマン
単複。厳慢ナリ。通局トハ山ト云ヒ川
ト云フ字ハ義ヒロシ。故ニ通ナリ ホウ峰ト云ヒ
ラン巒ト云ヒ キシ岸ノ ヒ瀬ノト云フハ義セバシ。故ニ
局ナリ。又動ノ字ハ通ナリ。飛 走 従
來ハ ドウチウ動中 サイモク細目ナルユヘ。局ナリ。厳
ハ。意ノケハシキ字ナリ。一 二 三
四又ハ東 西 南 北又ハ青 黄 赤
白等ノ字ナリ。慢ハ。意ノブラリトシタ
ル字ナリ。 ヘン邊 ハウ傍 ジ時 サイ際 ショ處ナドヤ
イチジ
ウノ字ナリ。單ハ。一字ニテ義ノ聞コユル
セウエウハウフツ
字ナリ。複ハ逍遥彷彿ノ類一字。用ラレ
ヌ字ナリ。

four: *kyo* 虚, *jitsu* 實, *sei* 正 and *jo* 助. Amongst the *kyoji* 虚字 we have the sort of 大, 小, 長, 短, 清, 濁, 明, 暗, 喜, 怒, 哀, 楽, 飛, 走, 歌, 舞. These divide into *dō* 動 and *sei* 静. A *kyoji* of *sei* is 大, 小, 長, 短, 清, 濁, 明, 闇. A *kyoji* of *dō* is 喜, 怒, 哀, 楽, 飛, 走, 歌, 舞. A *jitsuji* 實字 is 天, 地, 日, 月, 鳥, 獣, 草, 木, 手, 足, 頭, 尾, 枝, 葉, 根, 莖. Amongst them we have *tai* 体 [also 體] and *yō* 用. The characters 天, 地, 日, 月, 鳥, 獣, 草, 木 are all *tai*, while the characters 手, 足, 頭, 尾, 枝, 葉, 根, 莖 are all *yō*. Both *kyo* and *jitsu* are *shō* (正). A *shō* is also said *jitsugo* 實語. A *jo* is a *jogo* 助語, the type of 之, 乎, 者, 也, 矣, 焉, 哉. A *sei* is the real core of the word, a *jo* corresponds to *te* テ, *ni* ニ, *wo* ヲ and *ha* ハ, in the *waka*. It is the 'help' (*jo*) of a *shō*.

When talking about *jisei*, we have *tsū-kyoku* 通局, *tan-fuku* 単複, *gen-man* 厳慢. As for the *tsū-kyoku*, saying *yama* 山 'mountain' and *kawa* 川 'river' the concept is wide, then it is a *tsū*, when saying *mine* 峰 'peak', *mine* 巒 'peak', or *kishi no se* 岸ノ瀬 'the current on the coast', the concept is narrow and thus a *kyoku* 局. Furthermore, *dō* 動 'movement' is a *tsū*. 飛, 走, 従, 來 are all *kyoku* as they are a specific type of movement. A *gen* 厳 has the meaning of 'steep', 'stern'. Thus, 一, 二, 三, 四; 東, 西, 南, 北; and 青, 黄, 赤, 白 are all *gen*. The character *man* 慢 has the meaning of 'to loosen', 'to relax'. Thus, it has the meaning similar to the characters 邊, 傍, 時, 際, 處. A *tan* 単 is a character whose concept you can hear in one single character. A *fuku* 複 is a character which cannot be used alone, such as 逍遥, 彷彿.

[19] The reading *munashiki* ムナシキ is provided on the left side.
[20] The reading *mitsuru* ミツル is provided on the left side.

一　字ノ用八ツアリ。死（シ）。活（クワツ）。精（セイ）。粗（ソ）。眞（シン）。假（カ）。輕（ケイ）。重（ヂウ）。ナリ。死活ト云フハ。タトヘハ清字。字ノマヽナレバキヨシトヨム。死字ニスル寸ハキヨキトヨム。活字ニスル寸ハ。キヨムトヨム歌（カ）ノ字。字ノマヽナレバウタフトヨム。死字ニスル寸ハウタトヨム。活字ニスル寸ハウタハシムトヨム。舞（フ）ノ字字ノマヽナレバマウトヨム。死字ニスレバマヒトヨム（ヨ）。活字ニスル寸ハマハストヨム。餘ハ例（レイ）メ知ルベシ。精粗トハ。クワシク用ルト。アラク用ト違フナリ。喩（タト）ヘハ疾（シツ）ノ字速（ソク）ノ字。意。相似（アヒニ）テ違フヲ。違フマヽニ用ルハ精ナリ疾ノ字速ノ字ヲ。通ハメ用ルハ粗ナリ。眞假トハ。タトヘハ鏡ノ字。眞ノ鏡（シン　カヾミ）ノ事ニ用ルハ。真ナリ月ノ事ヲ一鏡精飛（イッキョウセイヒ）ナドヽ用ルハ。假ナリ。輕重トハ。タトヘハ忠怨違レ道レ不遠（チウジョサルコト　ミチ　ズヽホカラ）ト云フハ怨（ヂヨ）ノ字重ク忠（チウ）ノ字輕シ。餘（ヨ）ハ推（オ）メ知ヘシ

The uses (*yō*) of the characters are 8: *shi-katsu* 死活, *sei-so* 精粗, *shin-ka* 眞假, *kei-jō* 輕重. As for *shi-katsu* 死活, for example, the character 清, in and of itself, is read *kiyoshi* キヨシ, when making a *shi* it is read as *kiyoki*, when *katsu* it is read as *kiyomu*. The character 歌, in and of itself, is read *utau* ウタウ, when making a *shi* it is read as *uta* ウタ, when making a *katsu* it is read as *utawashimu* ウタハシム. The character 舞, in and of itself, is read as *mau* マウ, when making a *shi* it is read as *mahi* マヒ, when making a *katsu* it is read as *mawazu* マハス. The others can be understood by the examples. The *sei-so* 精粗 distinguishes the punctual use from the disperse use. For example, the two characters 疾 and 速 have similar meanings, yet they differ. If used differently it is a *sei* 精, if used interchangeably, it is a *so* 粗. As for the *shin-ka* 真假, if one uses the character *kagami* 鏡 'mirror' for an actual mirror, then it is a *shin* 眞. If one used refers to the Moon as "a flying spirit mirror" (一鏡精飛), then it is a *ka* 假. The *kei-jō* 輕重, for example, when one says "loyalty is not far from the way" (忠怨違道不遠), the character 怨 is heavy (*jō* 重), and the character 忠 is lighter (*kei* 輕). The rest functions the same way.

The scholar claims that the *jigi* is divided into two subjects: *jihin* 字品 and *jisei* 字勢. While the *jisei* mostly concerns the semantic relations between words, *jihin* is what most resembles a division in the categories of the parts of speech. On top of these two topics, Ogyū also identifies the *ji no yō* 字ノ用 'use of characters', although he only mentions it at the end of this section. All the following categories are to be understood as representing dichotomies. The same dichotomous approach is also seen in Ogyū's other work *Yakubun sentei*.

Ogyū claims there to be two opposites by means of which to categorize words according to their type (*hin* 品): the opposition *kyo* 虚 and *jitsu* 実 (實 in *kyūjitai*) and the opposition *sei* 正 and *jo* 助.[21]

[21] In order to better understand these labels used by Ogyū, I have looked up the way some of them are defined in *Yakubun sentei*, expecting to find there a clearer semantical explanation. While it can be said that most of these characters are defined in this work, they are not covered in their use as labels for the parts of speech. However, in note, I have provided a few of these definitions so as to, at least, understand the semantical meaning he assigned to each character. Regarding the dichotomy of "full-empty", in *Yakubun* these are quoted many times. On folios 41r-41v of the first volume, one can read the following regarding the character *kyo* 虚: "It is the opposite of *jitsu* 實 and the opposite of *ei* 盈. If *kū* 空 is *kara mono* ['empty thing'], then *kyo* 虚 is *utsuketari suku* ['to empty something']. The fact of not having anything inside is *kū* 空. Having a lump inside, yet not being full, has the meaning of *kyo* 虚. Being hungry and not having a full stomach is also *kyo* 虚; *jitsu* 實 has the meaning of being completely full. Since *mei* 盈 has the meaning of having the stomach completely full, it [*kyo* 虚] is the contrary of *ei* 盈 and *jitsu* 實. Similarly, we can say that water and fire have *kyo* 虚 bodies, while wood and gold have *jitsu* 實 bodies, because water and fire cannot be held with one's hands, while wood and gold can be very well held. This should clarify the meaning of the character *kyo* 虚, yet the two characters *kū* 空 and *kyo* 虚 are normally used this way." (實ノ反對ナリ又盈ノ反對ナリ空ハカラモノナリ虚ハウツケタリスクナリ中ニスキト物ナキハ空ナリ中ニチクト物アリテ満チザルハ虚ナリ中スキテ一ハイニツマラヌモ虚ナリ實ハシツカリト實〔ミ〕ノツマル意ナリ盈ハ一ハイニ満ルコトナリ故ニ盈實ノ反也又水火體虚木金體實ストイフモ水火ハ手ニトラレヌモノナリ木金ハシカトシタルモノナリ是等ニテ虚字ノ義明ナリサレドモ空虚ノ二字其義通用スルナリ). Ogyū is not referencing the categories of speech at all here, but this helps with the understand how he conceived the meanings of these characters. The character *kyo* 虚 is the opposite of either *jitsu* 實, the one used for the *jitsuji* category, and the character *ei* 盈, both meaning 'full'. It is also compared to the character *kū* 空, which means 'empty'. There is one little nuance in the meaning of these two 'empty' characters, as Ogyū points out. The character *kū* 空 indicates a complete absence of filling inside, a complete emptiness; while our *kyo* 虚 refers to a relative emptiness, an emptiness which is not absolute, yet it does not permit "fullness". Ogyū references our stomach when we are hungry, which is not completely empty, yet it is not full enough for us to feel satiated. Another meaning conveyed by the character *kyo* 虚 is connected to the idea of intangibility. Ogyū claims that things like fire and water cannot be held with our hands, i.e., are not tangible, while things like wood and metals can. Regardless of the scientific accuracy of this claim, we do understand that bodies which are not tangible are to be described as *kyo* 虚, while tangible ones are *jitsu* 實. Although it is doubtful to think that both Ogyū and Shizuki would categorize the characters for "fire" and "water" as *kyoji* or *kyoshi*, since "nouns" typically belong to the "full" category, this allows for a deeper understanding of the way one should interpret the characters *kyo* 虚 and *jitsu* 實. Subsequently, on folios 41v-42r, with regard to the character *jitsu* 實, he writes: "It is the opposite of *kyo* 虚. With *kyo* 虚, the inside has empty space, while with *jitsu* 實 one inserts the 'content' (*mi* 實). In the medicine book titled *Shānghán Lùn* 傷寒論 it is said that illnesses of the bowel-swelling harden the interiors (實満堅). The swelling of the belly is *man* 満, which can either be 'empty' *kyo* 虚 or 'full' *jitsu* 実. This differs according to the introduction of filling which either makes it soft or hard. Thus, one needs to say 實満堅. This

To describe the category of *kyoji*, Ogyū lists the following characters: *dai* 大 'big'; *shō* 小 'small'; *chō* 長 'long'; *tan* 短 'short'; *sei* 清 'clean'; *doku* 濁 'dirty'; *mei* 明 'bright'; *an* 暗 'dark'; *ki* 喜 'happy'; *do* 怒 'angry'; *ai* 哀 'sad'; *gaku* 楽 'merry'; *hi* 飛 'to fly'; *sō* 走 'to run'; *ka* 歌 'to sing'; *bu* 舞 'to dance'. These characters generally indicate what one might call either an adjective or a verb. Additionally, within the category of *kyoji*, there is a further opposition of *dō* 動 'movement' and *sei* 静 'quietness'. The characters from the list above that indicated an adjective are labeled *sei* 静, while those indicating a verb are called *dō* 動. It should be noted, here, that each of these characters can be used, in Japanese, for most other categories, just like *ka* 歌 can be used as a verb *utau* 'to sing', but also as a noun *uta* 'song'. Similarly, the character *chō* 長 can be used as an adjective *nagashi* 'long' but also as a verb *nagarameru* 'to lengthen'. Clearly, thus, belonging to either category is not dependent on the actual and contextual use it is made of the characters (that is what the *ji no yō* analysis covers), but it is, rather, an intrinsic quality of the original meaning (*ganrai no shushō* 元来ノ種姓) of each character. Consequently, it is the character *ka* 歌 that belongs to a *sei no kyoji* 静ノ虚字 'quiet empty word', and not the verb *utau* 'to sing', albeit written by means of the character *ka* 歌.

In *Yakusen*, the character *dō* 動 is explained as meaning 'to move', corresponding to the Japanese verb *ugoku*, that opposes *sei* 静.[22] An interesting difference that is

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differentiates *jitsu* 実 from *man* 満, in that *man* 満 is a character which does not refer to one place, while *jitsu* 実, refers to the complete filling of one place." (虚ノ反對ナリ虚ハ中ノスキタルナリ實ハ中ノシツカリト實〔ミ〕ノイリタルナリ醫書ノ傷寒論ニ腹ノハル症ニ實滿堅トイウコトアリハラノハルハ滿ナリ滿ニ虚滿實滿アルハ中ニシカト實ノ入リタルトヤハラカナルトノ異ナリ實ニシテ堅ナラヌモアリ故ニ實滿堅トイフコトアリ是ニテ實滿ノ異分ルヽナリ滿ハ一ハイナ處ヲ詮ニトル字也實ハシツコリトツマリタルトコロヲ詮ニトル字ナリ). Similarly to what claimed with regard to the difference between *kyo* 虚 and *kū* 空, the difference between *jitsu* 實 and *man* 滿 lies in the fact that *man* 滿 refer to a complete fullness, while *jitsu* 實 to a relative/partial fullness. This is the nuance in meaning which is implied in the use of *kyo* 虚 and *jitsu* 實, in grammatical terms. When referring to *Yakubun sentei*, I have referenced the six volumes of Waseda's 文庫 1 1612.

[22] The opposition between these two concepts is described in *Yakusen* by the following entries, both found in volume 1. First, on folio 21r, regarding the Chinese character *sei* 静, it is claimed: "Is translated into Japanese as *shizuka* ['quiet']. It is the opposite of the character *dō* 動 ['movement'], which means that *sei* 静 refers to what does not move. Yet, understanding it as the Japanese *shizuka* might create misunderstandings. Furthermore, it is the opposite of the character *sō* 躁 ['noisy', 'turbulent']. In that case, it means something which is not 'noisy' (*sawagashikaranu koto*). One can use it to refer to the calmness in the voice, a calm person or a quiet retreat, and they all mean 'something which is not noisy'. Furthermore, one can use it to refer to the quiet given by the white sun or by the color of the night, in which case it means to make the atmosphere quiet. In the popular language one can use it as 'to calm down the sadness'." (ハシツカナリト訓ス動字ノ反對ナリサレハ静カナリトハ動カヌコトナリシヅカトイフ倭語ヲ以テ解セバ誤アルベシ又躁字ノ反對ニモナルナリソノ時ハサハガシカラヌコトナリ聲ノ容静トイヒ為〔ナリ〕ㇾ人〔ヒト〕沈

made explicit in Ogyū's definition is the fact that this should not be understood as expressing movement in the sense of 'changing location', but as antonym of 'quiescence' *sei* 静. Consistently, *sei* 静 is defined as the opposite to *dō* 動. The character *sei* 静 means 'quiet' not in the context of noise, but in the sense of 'not moving'.

The reason why these two categories are named this way, by Ogyū, is never explained directly, however, in the chapter on the *bunrei* – that corresponds to the second volume of *Kun'yaku jimō* – it is made somewhat more explicit that the concept of "moving" refers to verbs because, together with "auxiliaries", they are the only characters that are "moved" when reordering the Chinese sentence as to comply with Japanese morphosyntax (see 6.1.2.1). However, the dichotomy is not an invention of Ogyū, as can be seen in the excerpt from the school of Běixī, in 5.3.

The category of *jitsuji* 實字 includes the following characters: *ten* 天 'sky'; *chi* 地 'earth'; *nichi* 日 'sun'; *gatsu* 月 'moon': *chō* 鳥 'bird'; *jū* 獸 'animal'; *sō* 草 'grass'; *moku* 木 'tree'; *shu* 手 'hand'; *soku* 足 'foot'; *tō* 頭 'head'; *bi* 尾 'tail'; *shi* 枝 'branch'; *yō* 葉 'leaf'; *kon* 根 'root'; *kei* 莖 'stem'. All these represent nouns, and they can also be divided according to a further segmentation into the dichotomy of *tai* 體 (also 体) 'body/substance' and *yō* 用 'use/function'. Although this dichotomy was very much present in the history of the studies on language of Japan, Ogyū uses it in a rather different fashion. In fact, he uses *tai* 体 to refer to those nouns that indicate a "whole body" – e.g, *ten* 天 'sky'; *jū* 獸 'beast'; *moku* 木 'tree' –, while those referring to "body parts" – e.g., *shu* 手 'hand; *bi* 尾 'tail'; *kon* 根 'root' – are all categorized as *yō* 用.[23]

Both *kyoji* and *jitsuji* are called *jitsugo* 實語 'real/full words' and are both found in the *shō* 正 'correct', 'actual' category that, Ogyū claims, is defined as the "real core of words" (*go no shōmi* 語ノ正味). The concept of *shō* is contrasted with *jo* 助 'auxiliary', as these words are those that get attached to *shō* words in order to "help" them (正ノ助ニナルモノナリ). As examples of *jogo*, Shizuki lists the Chinese characters *shi* 之, *ko* 乎, *sha* 者, *ya* 也, *i* 矣, *en* 焉, *sai* 哉.[24] Apparently, one can

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静トイヒ退静トイヘル類皆サハガシカラヌナリ又白日静トイヒ晩色静トイヘハ景気ノモノシヅカナルナリ俗語ニサビシキコトヲ冷静トイフ). Regarding *dō* 動, on folio 24v, it is written: "It is translated into Japanese as *ugoku* ['to move']. It has not the meaning of *ieki* 移易 ['to change location']. It is the opposite of the character *sei* 静. Its meaning is rather wide. The difference between *dō* 動 and *shi* 止 concerns people, things, the sun, the moon and the winds." (ウゴクトイヘル訓更ニ移易スベカラズ静ノ反ナリ義極メテ廣シ動止ハ人物日月風気マテモ通用シテ動ト動キヤムトノ反對也).

[23] TUCKER (2006, 42) claims that these two concepts (though TUCKER was not specifically referring to the philosophy of language) were key terms in the discourse of Song and Post-Song Confucians. He also claims that Ogyū had denied that they were used by Confucians since ancient times, and that they were, rather, a Buddhist influence, as I have anticipated in 5.3.

[24] These Chinese characters correspond to the following Japanese particles: *shi* 之 is *no* の; *ko* 乎 is *kana* かな, *ya* や, *ka* か, *yori* より and *o* お (exclamation); *sha* 者 is *mono* もの; *ya* 也

understand the difference between a *jitsugo* 實語 (all *shō* 正 words) and a *jogo* 助語 as the difference between lexical and grammatical words, respectively. Ogyū adds that *jogo* correspond to what in *waka* 倭歌 – referring to classical written Japanese – is generally expressed as *te* テ, *ni* ニ, *wo* ヲ, *ha* ハ. To further explain the role of *jogo*, in relation to *jitsugo*, Ogyū adds the following remark, in the first volume, on folio 10v:

文理ヲ知ントセバマヅ字品字勢ト字ノ用トヲ能合點メ其上ニ字義ヲ能トクト合點スヘシ就(ナカン)レ中 助語ヲ知ラサレハナラヌ(シマリ)ナリ助語ハ文ノ關鍵ナリ實語ヲ引マハスモノナリ	If one does not know the *bunri*, one must be able to understand the *jihin*, *jisei* and *ji no yō*, only then will one be able to understand the *jigi*. When doing that, if one does not know the *jogo*, it does not work. The *jogo* are the locks of the sentence. They drag the *jitsugo* around.

This quote specifies that a *jogo* is a fundamental part of speech that is essential to the understanding of how to pursue a correct *bunri*. The role of *jogo* is to "lock" a sentence and fasten it while "dragging full words around". For the sake of clarity, Ogyū is using the term *jitsugo* 'full word', that includes both "full" characters (nouns) as well as "empty" characters (verbs and adjectives). A further explanation of these concepts is found again within the first volume, on folio 11v, in the quote below:

總メ一句ノ内ニテモ。一段(イチダン)ノ内ニテモ。一篇(イッペン)ノ内ニテモ。虚實。死活。助字(ジョジ)ノ分ケヲ知ルヘシ。實字。死字ハ物(モノ)ナリ道具(ダウグ)ナリ。ソノ道具ノ内ニテ。主人(シュジン)ヲ立(タツ)ルコアリ又外(ホカ)ニ立ルコモアリ。静ノ虚字ハソノ道具カ。又ハ主人ノナリフゼイ。シナ様子ナリ。動字(ドウジ) 活字(クハツジ) 字ハ事(ワザ)ナリ。故ニ其道具ヲ使(ツカ)フ字ナリ。助字ハ文勢ナリ。故ニ。全體ノ精神(セイシン)ナリ	Generally, you should know the difference between empty-full-dead-lively-auxiliary characters, within a phrase, within a *dan* and within a *hen*. Full characters and dead characters are things, instruments. Amongst those instruments, there are those raising the owner and those raising the others. A quiet empty word indicates the condition of the instrument or of the owner. Moving character and lively characters are actions. Thus, they are the characters that use the instruments. An auxiliary character is the *bunsei*, thus it is the spirit of all.

Here, Ogyū claims that "full characters" and "dead characters" are used to name things and people, "moving characters" and "lively characters" are used to refer to actions and "quiet empty characters" are used to refer to qualities and conditions. These correspond quite directly to nouns, verbs, and adjectives, respectively. The

is *nari* なり; *i* 矣 is *kana* かな; *en* 焉 is *kore* これ; *sai* 哉 is *kana* かな. This is not a complete list.

more unclear remark is added about "auxiliary characters", however. They are explained as corresponding to the *bunsei*, the last level of translation, and they are the "spirit" of it all. Perhaps, this means that "auxiliary characters" are to be considered as one of the last steps in the forming of a well-done translation. For this reason, they are the "spirit" of all (the text). Their addition, in the correct spot, provides cohesiveness and expressivity to the text in its entirety.

As for the category of *jisei* 字勢, it represents the way characters interact semantically with each other. In *jisei* there are three dichotomies: *tsū-kyoku* 通局; *gen-man* 厳慢; and *tan-fuku* 単複. The *tsū-kyoku* 通局 opposition, in more familiar terms, refers to the relationship of "hypernymy" (*tsū* 通) and "hyponymy" (*kyoku* 局). Indeed, among *tsū* characters one can find *san* 山 'mountain' and *sen* 川 'river', while in the *kyoku* category one finds *hō* 峰 'peak'. Ogyū adds the example of the *tsū* hypernym *dō* 動 'movement' and the *kyoku* hyponyms *hi* 飛 'to fly', *sō* 走 'to run' etc. This points out that the *jisei* categorization disregards the previous *jihin* categorization as the two subjects consider characters form two different aspects.

The *gen-man* 厳慢 opposition regards characters indicating very precise and "strict" (*kewasiki* ケワシキ) meanings, and those indicating imprecise, vague and "loose" (*burari* ブラリ) meanings. That is why Ogyū provides, as examples to *gen* 厳, the Chinese characters for the numbers, the cardinal points, and some colors, as they all represent very established and precise definitions. For the *man* 慢 category, instead, Ogyū writes the characters *hen* 邊 (also 辺) 'around'; *bō* 傍 'next to', 'close'; *ji* 時 'time', 'when'; *sai* 際 'moment', 'when'; *sho* 處 'place', 'where'.

The last dichotomy within *jisei* 字勢 is *tan-fuku* 単複, where *tan* 単 'single', identifies the Chinese characters that can be used without being combined with other characters, i.e., independent *kanji*, while *fuku* 複 'plural', identifies the Chinese characters that can only be used in combination with other characters, i.e., dependent *kanji*.

The last branch of *jihin* 字品 is *ji no yō* 字ノ用 'the use of characters' or 'the function of characters'. Among these, there are four dichotomies, two of which will have strong impact on Shizuki's theory of grammar. The first opposition provided by Ogyū is *shi-katsu* 死活, where *shi* 死 means 'death' and *katsu* 活 means 'vitality'. This is a very important distinction that deserves a closer analysis. Ogyū proposes three characters as examples: *sei* 清 'clean', 'pure'; *ka* 歌 'to sing', 'song'; *bu* 舞 'to dance'. He adds that these characters, in and of themselves, ought to be read as *kiyoshi*, *utau* and *mau*, respectively. When used as *shi* 死 'dead', they must be read as *kiyoki*, *uta* and *mai*, respectively. When used as *katsu* 活 they must be read as *kiyomu*, *utawashimu* and *mawazu*. All these renditions apparently have nothing in common, and just seem arbitrarily selected variations, yet one can indeed find patterns, as exemplified in Table 32.

Chinese characer	清	歌	舞
Unmarked reading	***kiyoshi*** キヨシ *shūshikei* form of adjective	***utau*** ウタウ *shūshikei* form of verb	***mau*** マウ *shūshikei* form of verb
Use as 'dead' *shiyō* 死用	***kiyoki*** キヨキ *rentaikei* form of adjective	***uta*** ウタ noun	***mahi*** マヒ *ren'yōkei* form of verb
Use as 'lively' *katsuyō* 活用	***kiyomu*** キヨム verbalized form	***utawashimu*** ウタワシム *mizenkei* form of verb + *shūshikei* of suffix *-shimu*	***mahazu*** マハス *mizenkei* form of verb + *shūshikei* of suffix *-zu*

Table 32 "Dead" and "lively" use of Chinese characters, in Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō*.

What Ogyū calls the reading of the character "in and of itself" – that I have adapted as "unmarked reading", within the table – corresponds to what the scholar identifies as the "original" reading connected to that character. This implies that, in an isolated context, the Japanese readings of these characters correspond to the "in and of itself" reading. In fact, although one might be tempted to read *ka* 歌 as *uta* 'song' (a noun), it is clear that it must be read as *utau* 'to sing', since Ogyū refers to it as a *dō no kyo* 'empty moving' character. Furthermore, these three examples all belong to the *kyo* category, this implies that the *shi-katsu* dichotomy only affects verbs and adjectives. This would agree with Shizuki's elaboration of this concept (see 7.2.1). The "unmarked readings" of these characters all feature the corresponding Japanese *kyo* word, conjugated in its *shūshikei* form, with no additional affix adjoined to it. Instead, the use as "lively" (*katsu*) always sees the intervention of an external element, an affix, that changes the nuance in meaning of the "original" character. The fact that there is no consistency in the three different "lively" forms might suggest the idea that a "lively" use of a character corresponds to any instance in which the unmarked reading combines with one or more affixes. The use as "dead" (*shi*), instead, seems to encompass the forms in which a specific character is used in a nominalized fashion. This is because, in Japanese, adjectives and verbs can be conjugated and combined with affixes, thusly affording "vitality", while nouns cannot, thus not being able to be "vital", meaning they are "dead", "un-inflectable". Indeed, the character *ka* 歌, originally read *utau* 'to sing', in its 'dead' use is read *uta*, 'song'; the character *bu* 舞, originally read *mau* 'to dance', is read *mai* 'dance'; while the character *sei* 清, originally read *kiyoshi* 'clean', is now read as *kiyoki*, its *rentaikei*, a form that can be used to nominalize an adjective. A specific characteristic of these nouns is that they are not to be considered as originally belonging to the noun category. In Japanese, according to Ogyū's explanation, these characters probably do not turn into the *jitsu* category and remain within the *kyo* category, albeit "dead". In addition to this, while covering the theories of Ogyū, one needs to keep in mind that his explanations were not fundamentally linguistic or

grammatical, in nature. Ogyū intended to teach Japanese scholars to "properly translate" a Chinese text into Japanese, by means of *kundoku* annotation. In this sense, thus, there might be another explanation that would only incidentally correspond to what I have just illustrated. The two main operations one would need to enact while applying *kundoku* annotations to a Chinese text where the reordering of the characters, according to Japanese syntax, and the application of *okurigana*, specifying things like the grammatical inflections absent in Chinese, yet necessary in Japanese. In this context, thus, one could understand the vital use of a character, as the instance in which, in order for it to be properly rendered into a Japanese sentence, it required the translator to apply additional *okurigana*, while its dead use would be when no *okurigana* was required to be added. Since only adjectives and verbs can be conjugated (thus can have *okurigana* added to them), the fact that the "dead" use mostly corresponded to nouns would simply be incidental, for Ogyū.

The next opposition within the "use of the characters" (*ji no yō* 字ノ用) is the *sei-so* 精粗, that identifies the use of two semi-synonymic characters as different nuances (*sei* 精) or as the same nuance (*so* 粗), that means treating them as full synonyms.[25]

[25] In *Yakubun*, on folio 33r of volume 2, one can read the following definition, for the character *sei* 精: "Is the character of polished rice. This is seen in compounds such as *seisaku* 精鑿 ['polished rice'], *seirai* 精萊 ['polished goosefoot']. When it is read as *kuwashiku* 'precise', 'accurate', even in compounds such as *seisai* 精細 'detailed'; *seishō* 精詳, it means 'concentrating onto the examination and being very careful of the details'." (シラゲ米ト云フ字ナリ精鑿精萊ナド是ナリ故ニクハシヽトヨム時精細精詳ト連用スレドモ吟味ヲツメテ細カニ念ノ入リタルコトナリ). The character *sei* 精 is, thus, connected to concepts of 'precise', 'detailed', 'polished' and the Japanese words *kuwashii* and *komakai*, both expressing slightly varying nuances of these same concepts. In the *sei-so* dichotomy, then, the use of two semi-synonymic Chinese characters as representing different nuances in meaning is considered 'precise' or 'polished', 'careful of the details'. Interestingly, no mention is made in this entry to the character *so* 粗, which Ogyū uses as opposite to this, referring to the use of semi-synonymic characters as if they were full synonyms. Regarding the character *so* 粗 one read the following, on folio 37r of the same volume: "It is the contrary of *sei* 精. It is the contrary of *mitsu* 密. It is the act of distancing oneself from the *seimitsu* 精密, 'accuracy'. The character *ryaku* 略 is the opposite of *shō* 詳. Also, *ryaku* 略 means to distance oneself [from accuracy] but, in this case, it is not something negative. When *so* 粗 is the opposite of *sei* 精, originally *sei* 精 means 'polished rice', thus it means to concentrate onto the examination. Conversely, *so* 粗 has the meaning of 'poor', 'shabby' and expresses something negative." (精ノ反對ナリ密ノ反對ナリ精密にナクアラキコトナリ略ノ字ハ詳ノ反對ナリ略モアラキコトナレドモアシキコトニナラズ粗ハ精ノ反對ニテ精ハモトシラゲヨネト云字ナルユヘ吟味ノツマリタル意アリ粗ハソノウラナルユヘ粗末ナル意アルユヘアシキ方ナリ). As we see from this entry, the concept of *so* 粗 is more tightly related to its opposite *sei* 精, than what *sei* was with *so*. The character *so* 粗 is defined as lacking details, lacking accuracy, thus it is connected to the character *ryaku* 略, which means 'abbreviation', 'omission'. The fundamental difference between the two is that *so* 粗 actually expresses a negative type of lack of accuracy, while *ryaku* 略 has no sense of moral evaluation attached to it. Consequently, we can assume the difference between the characters meaning 'accurate', *sei* 精 and *shō* 詳, to differ in the fact that *sei* actually expresses a

The next dichotomy is *shin-ka* 眞假 (simplified: 真仮), that identifies the use of a certain Chinese character as literal (*shin* 眞, meaning 'real', 'actual') or non-literal (*ka* 假, meaning 'provisional'). This mostly refers to those compound words in which a character is not used for its literal meaning.

The last dichotomy distinguishes between *kei-jō* 輕重. The character *kei* 輕 (simplified: 軽) means 'light' as in the opposite of 'heavy', that is, in turn, expressed by the character *jō* 重. Some characters are considered "heavier" than others. In order to explain this, Ogyū cites a quote from *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Chūyō* 中庸), one of the fundamental books of Confucianism. The Chinese sentence goes as follows *zhōngshù wéi dào bù yuan* 忠恕違道不遠 and can be translated as 'Honesty is not far from the path', where "honesty" is the rough translation of the word *zhōngshù*, pronounced *chūjo* 忠恕, in Japanese. This word, that should be better translated as "acting in honesty and consideration toward others" is composed of the two characters *chū* 忠, meaning 'loyalty' and *jo* 恕, meaning 'acting considerately/with loyalty'. To explain the opposition between *kei-jō* 'light and heavy', Ogyū claims that the character *chū* is "light", while *jo* is "heavy". The reason why *jo* is to be considered "heavy" and *chū* "light" is not at all intuitive. Perhaps this has something to do with compound words, since *chūjo* is one. Since *chū* 忠 means 'loyalty' and *jo* 恕 means 'acting with loyalty' and the whole compound means 'acting with loyalty', I assume the concept of *kei-jō* to refer to which character transmits the main meaning to the resulting compound word. In modern linguistic terms this would be referred to as the "head" of the compound and, in this sense, it does indeed correspond to the character that possesses the highest "weight" in the compound.

However, this dichotomy is also used in the context of *bunri*, where it refers to the use of characters within a sentence. In fact, on folio 21r, Ogyū refers to this characteristic with regard to the character *ko* 古 'old', 'ancient', within the sentence:

> *daigaku no motte hito wo oshibeshi tokoro no kohō nari*
>
> 大学ノ所ロニ以教ヘシ一レ人ヲ之古法(コハウナリ)也
>
> 'The Great Learning, is an ancient rule by means of which one can teach people'

Ogyū adds that "When one writes like this, the character *ko* 古 becomes light. In order to make it heavy, it has been raised above" (左様ニ書ヶトキハ。古ノ字ガ輕

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positive type of accuracy, while *shō* 詳 – which Ogyū places as contrary to *ryaku* 略 – is a morally neutral type of accuracy. This allows us to also claim that the *sei-so* distinction is fundamentally based on the assumption that using semi-synonymic *kanji* as if they were full-synonyms is considered a poor stylistic choice, one should refrain from indulging in, a rather fundamental belief in Ogyū's theory of translation.

クナルナリ。古ノ字ヲ重クセン為メニ。上ニ掲ゲタルナリ。). After this claim, the sentence is reworked into:

> *inishie no daigaku wo motte hito o oshiuru beshi tokoro no hō nari*
>
> 古ノ之所ノ下以テ二大學ヲ一教ヘシ上レ人ヲ之法ナリ也
>
> 'It is a way of teaching people by means of the ancient Great Learning'

This second sentence is actually the original quote from the *Great Learning*. Here the character *ko* 古 is in first position and is read in Japanese as *inishie* 'antiquity' which modifies the term *daigaku* 大学 'Great Learning' by means of the genitive particle *no*. What Ogyū wants to explain is the fact that, according to how one interprets the character *ko* 古, in that Chinese sentence, within the context of *kundoku*, it could refer to two elements. Since Chinese sentences were conceived of as a string of characters that needed to be reordered to translate them into Japanese, one could place the character *ko* 古 either before (above) the characters *daigaku* 大学 or before (above) the character *hō* 法 'rule', as to form the compound word *kohō* 古法 'ancient rule'.

In the first volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū anticipates the "light-heavy" dichotomy in the context of *bunri*. On folios 10v-11r, he writes the following:

文理ト云フハ。畢竟字ノ上下ノ置キヤウナリ。先ヅ。語ノ斷續(ダンゾク)[26]ヲ知ルベシ。ツヾク字キルヽ字。ト云フ㆓ヲ知リテ。サテ上下ノ置ヤウニ。氣(キ)ヲ付(ツ)ケ。雜合(ザツガウ)メ見ルベシ。其内(ソノウチ)ニ。同等ノ字ト云フ㆓アリ輕重大小ノ同ジ位ナル字ナリ。天 地ノ日 月ノ長 短ノ大 小ノ清 明ノ虛 空ノナドヽ云フヤウナル。同等ノ字上下へ重(カサ)ネタレドモ。並(ナラ)ンデ。ヲル意ニテ上下ノ僉議(シャウカセンギ)ハ。イアラヌ㆓ナリ。此類ヲ除キテ其外ハ。實字ニテモ。死字ニテモ二(フタ)ツカサヌレバ下ノ字ガ重キナリ。下ノ字ガ詮(アキラカ)ニ

Ultimately, the *bunri* comes down to how you arrange characters vertically, above or below. Firstly, you need to know the *danzoku* (*kiretsuzuku*). When you know whether a character is *tsuzuku* or *kiruru*, you notice how they distribute vertically and look at how they mix with each other. Among these there are equal characters. These are characters that have the same position according to their weight and dimension. Equal characters such as "heaven" and "earth", "sun" and "moon", "long" and "short", "big" and "small", "clean" and "bright", "empty" and "empty" etc., even though they pile vertically there is no unanimity regarding their positioning, and how their meanings are ordered. With only this exception, in all full and dead

[26] On the left-hand side of the characters, the alternative reading *kiretsuzuki* キレツヾキ is also annotated.

入用(イリイヨウ)ノ𠆢ニナルナリ。活字。助字ハ皆。上ノ字ガ君(キミ)ニナルナリ。下ノ字ヲ取リテ引廻(ヒキマハ)スナリ。上ノ字デ畢竟(ヒッキャウ)[27]ノ義理(ギリ)ガ埒明(ラチアク)ナリ。タトヘバ。石山(イシヤマ)ト云ヘバ山ガ體ニナリテ石ハ苗字(メウジ)ニナルナリ山石(ヤマイシ)ト云ヘバ石ガ體ニナリテ山ハ苗字ナリ。實字ハ陰ナリ。陰ハ下ヲ尊(タット)ブ理(リ)ナリ。不必好(フヒツカウ)ト云ヘバ不ノ字ニテ義理(ギリ)落着(ラクジャク)ス。必不好(ヒツフカウ)ト云ヘバ必ノ字ニテ義理落着ス。皆上ノ字ガ。下ノ字ヲ引廻スナリ。不(ナヒ)レ必(カナラズデハ)好(ヨヒガ)必(カナラズジャ)レ不(ナヒ𠆢ガ)レ好(ヨウ)如ク(ク)レ是ナリ。

characters, if two pile up, the lower is heavy. Its use and insertion become clearer. With lively words and auxiliaries, the upper character becomes their lord, as it takes the lower character and drags it around. It is in the upper character that the meaning is ultimately made clear. For example, when one says *Ishiyama*, *yama* is the body, while *ishi* is the name. However, when one says *Yamaishi*, *ishi* is the body, while *yama* is the name. Full words are feminine. The feminine is the principle of respecting that which is below. For example, if you say 不必好, the meaning is specified by the character 不. If you say 必不好, the meaning is specified by the character 必. In both, it is the upper character that drags the lower ones around, as in the sentences *kanarazu dewa nai yoi ga* and *you nai koto ga kanarazu ja*.

Here Ogyū restates that the heaviness of a character is to be factored in whenever you need to arrange characters piling up. He presents a few exceptions to what would otherwise be a unanimous agreement on the order in which characters need to be (re)ordered. Regularly, with full characters and dead characters, the lower one is heavy. This would be in agreement with what he claimed above regarding the word *chūjo* 忠恕. He provides two further examples, with the terms *Ishiyama* and *Yamaishi*. Both terms are composed of the two characters *yama* 山 'mountain' and *ishi* 石 'stone'. However, according to which of the two characters appears second (lower character), the compound changes its meaning. In the word *Ishiyama*, *yama* is the lower character and is thus the real "body" of the compound, while *Ishi* is just a name. This would be like saying "Stone Mountain", in English, where Stone is the name of the mountain. Conversely, in *Yamaishi*, the word *ishi* appears below, thus it becomes the "body" of the compound, while *yama* is just a name. this would be like saying "Mountain Stone", where Mountain is the name of the stone. The fact that full and dead characters rely on the lower element to clarify the meaning of the compound makes them "feminine" (陰). Instead, lively characters and auxiliaries work quite differently. For these characters, the upper element becomes their "lord", which takes and spins the lower characters around. This is a figurative reference to how these types of characters behave according to the *kundoku* annotation. Ogyū provides two Chinese phrases, composed of the same three characters which are

[27] On the left-hand side of the character, the alternative reading *tsumari* ツマリ is also present.

placed in a slightly different order, and are glossed in *kundoku*, in a different manner. The characters are *hitsu* 必 'necessarily', 'certainly'; *fu* 不 'not'; and *kō* 好 'good'. In the first sentence, the characters are ordered as *fu hitsu kō* 不必好 and the character *fu* 不 is the one that "clarifies the meaning". The *kundoku* rendition of this sentence reads *kanarazu de wa nai yoi*, where *fu* is moved after *hitsu*, in the meaning of 'it is not necessarily good'. The second sentence, instead, places the characters in the order *hitsu fu kō* 必不好. Here, Ogyū claims that it is the character *hitsu* 必 which "clarifies the meaning". Thus, the upper characters grab their lower ones and spin around them. This expression is a reference to the so-called *re-ten*, a symbol used in *kundoku* to signal that two adjacent characters need to swap place. Specifically, this is glossed underneath the upper character, thus giving the graphic impression that it grabs the lower one and spins around it, ending up after (below) it. In this second phrase, both *hitsu* and *fu* are glossed with a *re-ten*, meaning that all upper characters grab the character below them and spin around it, thus the sentence ends up in Japanese as *yoi nai koto ga kanarazu ja*, meaning 'it is certainly not a good thing'.

On folios 48v-49r, in the third volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū mentions the same dichotomy when covering the characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 而.[28] After having provided the two sentences *sono haikan miru ga gotoku shikari* 若レ視二其肺肝一然 and *i aimotomuru gotoku shikari* 意如二相求一然, Ogyū references the heavy and light uses of the character *zen* 然, here corresponding to *shikari*. He adds that "used in this way, the character *zen* 然 is extremely light" (カヤウニ用フル時ハ甚輕キ辭ナリ). This is contrasted with the use of the same character *zen* 然 that Ogyū compares to the character *ji* 而 (although he claims that this is mostly featured in the middle of sentences) and the combination of the two characters 如レ此 meaning 'similarly' in *kundoku*, an expression often used at the beginning of sentences. Other examples of this "heavy" use attributed to *zen* 然 by Ogyū correspond to expressions such as *saredomo*, *shikaredomo* etc., roughly corresponding to the English "however" or "nonetheless", also generally used at the beginning of sentences. The "heaviness" of this use of the character *zen* 然 is explained by Ogyū with the expression "The character *zen* 然 is heavy. It pushes and fixes the upper sentence, and it moves its meaning to [the sentence] below." (然ノ字ハ重モシ上ノ文ヲヲサヘトヾメテ下ヘウツル意ナリ). This use of the "light-heavy" category refers thus to the syntactic property of specific characters.

Sometimes, a character influences the whole sentence, in which case it is called "heavy", some other times, the scope of the semantical meaning of a specific character is limited to just a few other members of the sentence, in which case the character is considered "light". Because of how Japanese morphosyntax works, a "heavy" character tends to appear at the beginning of a sentence, while a "light" character is generally found in the lower end of it. It can be said that this "light-heavy" dichotomy was used within the context of *kanbun kundoku* to help a translator and a reader of a Chinese text understand the syntactical relations between

[28] I will go back to these sentences in 7.2.2.

each character, so that one could be able to move and translate that specific character according to Japanese morphosyntax and semantics.

In conclusion, there are three different uses of the *kei-jō* dichotomy. In the first example, it referred to compound words. When two full characters combine in one word, the lower character is "heavy". This weight is not a consequence of its position, but a consequence of the fact that it is the lower character that clarifies the meaning of the compound, which really possesses the "body". This distinction is perhaps less intuitive with example of the word *chūjo*, however, it is much clearer via the two examples with "mountain" and "stone". In all these cases, thus, the heavy character is what is nowadays called the "head" of the compound. The second use of the dichotomy refers to the heaviness of a character within a sentence. This is what the example of *ko* 古 intended to express. In this case, for *ko* to be "heavy" it needed to be found in an upper position. This is because it being above allowed its semantical meaning to impact more elements within the sentence. In those two sentences, when the character is placed before the character *hō* 法 and at the end of the sentence, *ko* only modifies *hō*, as in "ancient rule". However, when *ko* is put at the beginning of the sentence, it modifies the entirety of the sentence. Specifically, in the first case, the sentence would be translated into "The *Great Learning*, is an ancient rule by means of which one can teach people". Here, "ancient" (*ko*) only really modifies "rule". In fact, the *Great Learning* is not "ancient", neither is the "means" or the "teaching of people". The second case, instead, translates into "The ancient Great Learning was a rule by means of which it used to be taught to people". The word "ancient" directly modifies *Great Learning* and still semantically influences the other element of the sentence. In fact, if the *Great Learning* is ancient, then the rule also is, which implies it was an ancient means by which ancient people were being taught. The last use of the *kei-jō* dichotomy refers to the use of characters across sentences. A heavy character, in this case, is one that brings two sentences together, by fixing the upper one and dragging its meaning toward the lower one.

What hitherto presented are all the categories and subcategories in which the theory of "translation" (*yakubun* 譯文) can be divided. It is known that Shizuki knew and relied on Ogyū Sorai's theory, as he mentions the Confucianist colleague in his own works (generally as *Busshi* 物氏, from his alternative name *Bussorai* or *Butsusorai* 物徂徠). Thus, as I will demonstrate in Chapters VII and VIII, it can be asserted that Shizuki had embraced, to a large extent, these categories, yet he repurposed them to the necessities of the Dutch language. While explaining how to translate a Chinese text into Japanese, Ogyū was mostly concerned with finding categories that could guide the annotator in the understanding of how to treat each character. This is the *jigi* 字義 part of translation, that could be understood as the "study of the meaning of characters". The *jigi* is divided in three sub-fields: *jihin*, *jisei* and *ji no yō*. The *jihin* 字品 'sorts of the characters', that categorizes them in 'full' *jitsu* 実 and 'empty' *kyo* 虚, and further into 'rightful words' *shō* 正 and 'auxiliaries' *jo* 助. These roughly represent morphological categories, corresponding to the field of "etymology" in 18th-century Dutch grammatical tradition. The *jisei* 字勢 'expressivity of the characters' covers the topic of how characters are semantically

related to each other, as well as the relationships of morphosyntactic interdependence across characters. The last field, the *ji no yō* 字ノ用 engages with the way in which characters are to be "treated", or "used". Since this regards issues such as conjugation and semi-synonymity, it appears to be more focused on the *kundoku* rendition of the text. Ogyū never intended for his theories on translation to be utilized as grammatical framework for either Chinese or Japanese.

Ogyū's categories can be ordered hierarchically in the following manner, as illustrate in Table 33.

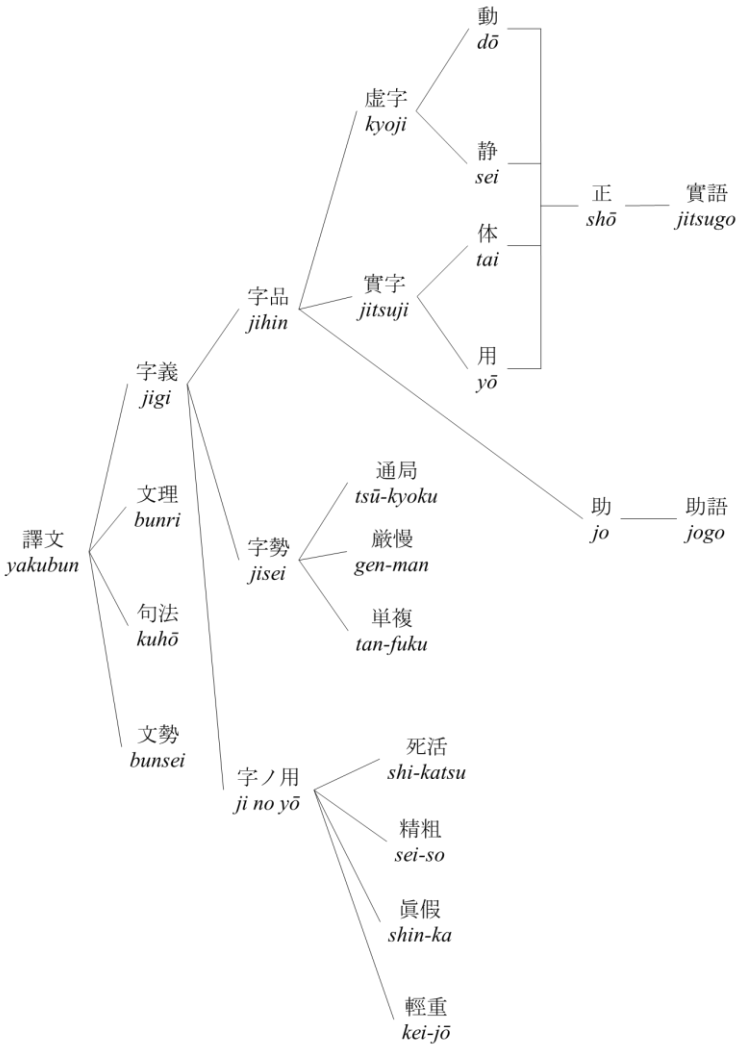

Table 33 Structure of the theory of translation according to Ogyū Sorai.

However, these are all categories that concern the field of *jigi*, the interpretation of characters. The rest of the essay written in the first two volumes of *Kun'yaku jimō* covers the subject of *bunri*, that also contains relevant notions concerning morphosyntax, and specific reworkings of these categories, in the context of the re-ordering of Chinese characters. I will provide a sample of these theories in the following paragraph, as they allow to better understand some of the concepts hitherto mentioned which Shizuki adopted and readapted in his works, to some extent.

6.1.2.1 The subject and concept of *bunri* in Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō*

The entirety of the second volume of *Kun'yaku jimō* comprises the section titled *Bunri-rei* 文理例 'Examples of *bunri*'. As the title suggests, in this volume, Ogyū demonstrates with practical examples how to produce a correct translation of Chinese text, using the proper *bunri*. As discussed in the previous section, the *bunri* concerns the understanding of how the characters of a Chinese text are to be ordered and combined when forming Japanese sentences. The example sentences used by Ogyū to demonstrate his theories, come from the text written by Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130 – 1200) as introduction to his commented version of the *Great Learning* (*Dàxué* 大學), known in Japanese with the title *Daigaku shōku jo* 大学章句序. As Ogyū claimed in the beginning of volume 1, according to how the translator treats the *bunri*, the interpretation of a sentence can change, even when it has a fixed amount of characters. He will demonstrate this by presenting, for each sentence of Zhū Xī's text, one Japanese reading (*kun*) and a plurality of translations (*yaku* 譯), evidencing that the same characters in one Chinese sentence can create a multitude of Japanese sentences with different meanings, according to the way one reorders them. I will not go into too much detail with these sentences since their analysis is beyond the scope of the present research. However, it is worth raising a few examples, so as to understand how the *jigi* and *bunri* are to be applied, in practice, in order to provide a "correct" Japanese translation. Furthermore, many of the important parts of speech, as illustrated by Ogyū in the context of *jigi*, are covered again in this section, providing further context for their interpretation.

In the original text of the introduction to the *Great Learning*, there is a Chinese sentence that, in Modern Mandarin would be read as *gài zì tiān jiàn shēngmín zé jì mòbù yǔ zhī rényi lǐzhì zhī xìng yǐ* 蓋自天降生民則既莫不與之以仁義禮智之性矣. Ogyū covers the first character in another section, and provides to the rest of the sentence the following Japanese reading (*kun*):

sunawachi sude ni kore ni ataru ni jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto nashi
スナハチスデニナシ　ト云フ　アタフル二コレニ　モツテセ　ジンギレイチノセイヲ
則 既 莫レ不二 與 之レ 以 二仁義禮智之 性 一矣

As viable translations, Ogyū provides the following three alternatives:

1. *kō areba nai sore ni jingireichi no sei wo yarazu to iu koto wa tokku ni*
   カフアレバトクニ　ナヒスト云ㄱハ　ヤラ　ソレニヲ
   則　既二　莫　不　一レ與三之以二仁義禮智ノ之性ヲ一矣
2. *sō areba nai sore ni yaranu to iu koto wa tokku ni jingireichi no sei wo*
   サウアレバトクニ　ナヒヌト云ㄱハ　ヤラ　ソレニ ヲ
   則　既二　莫　不　一レ與レ 之 以二仁義禮智ノ之性一矣
3. *sō areba nai yaranu to iu koto wa tokku ni sore ni jingireichi no sei wo*
   サウアレバトクニ　ナヒヌト云ㄱハ　ナラソレニヲ
   則　既二莫　不　一レ與之以二仁義禮智ノ之性一矣

All these sentences roughly mean something along the lines of "If not so, then they would not be provided with the nature of *jingireichi*", where "they" refers to the people of this world, while the "true nature of *jingireichi*" refers to a group of spiritual values the people of this world have been given from the Heavens, according to the Confucian creed. The most notable differences, across these translations are in the way the words are re-ordered, and consequently changed as to comply with Japanese morphosyntactic rules. Between the *kun* and the many *yaku*, there are also notable word changes. The only real difference between translations 2 and 3, for example, is the location of the word *sore ni*, Japanese adaptation of the Chinese character *shi* 之, that in sentence 2 is comprised within the relative clause with *yaranu* 'do not provide' as predicate, while in sentence 3 it gets unbounded from it and placed outside of that clause. It is worth pointing out that these are not complete sentences, as the main clause lacks a predicate. These translations are commented as follows, on folio 25v:

則ノ字ハ。上ノ文ヲウケテ。コレナレバト云フ意也。矣ノ字ハ。結語ノ強キ文字ナリ。コウナレバコウヂヤト。強ク言ヒトメタル辭ナリ。故ニ。此句ハ則ノ字矣ノ字ニテ。シメテ置キタル句法ナリ。ソノ間ニテハ。語ノ斷續ト云フㄱヲ知ルベシ。既(キ)ハトヅクニトノ詞ナリトヅクニト云フ詞ニハ。トヅクニ。ドウシタト云フㄱガ。下ニナクテハ叶ハヌナリ。故ニ。下ヲ看(ミ)タレバ莫ノ字ナリ。俗語カ又ハ。詩ニテハナカレ𠮟ナシヤ𠮟ヨム。文デハ無ノ字ト同ジ。然レバ。トヅクニ。ナイナリ。何ガトヅクニナイ。其下ニ不與之(フヨシ)ト云フ詞アリ。然レバ不ト一レ與レ之ト云フㄱハ。トツクニナイ道理ヂヤト云フㄱナリ。然レ𠮟。何ヲ不一レ與レ之ニト云フㄱハ。トツクニナイト云フㄱガナケレバキコヘヌナリ。下ニ以仁義禮智之性(イジンギレイチシセイ)

The character *soku* 則, receives the sentence above and has the meaning of *kore nareba*. The character *i* 矣, is a reinforcing character of connection. It is a word that reinforces the phrase *kō nare ba kō ja* ('If so, then so'). Thus, this phrase has the *kuhō* of placing and pulling together the character *soku* 則 and *i* 矣. You should know that what lies between them is the interruption-connection of words. The character *ki* 既 is the word *tokku ni*. The word *tokku ni* has the meaning of *tokku ni dō shita*. However, if it is not below, then it is not complete. That is why one sees the character *maku* 莫, below. In popular language, or in poetry, in phrases where one can read *nakare* or *nashi ya*, it is the same as the character *mu* 無. However, it becomes *tokku ni nai*, or *nani ga tokku ni nai*. Underneath, there is the phrase *fu yo shi* 不與之. This phrase basically means *tokku ni nai dōri ja*.

ト云フ七字アリ。然レバ。仁義禮智之性ヲ以テ。ソレニ與(アタ)ヘヌト云フ乛ハ。トヅクニナイト云フテ。下ノ矣ノ字デ。ヒシト。ズント。ナイト結(ケツ)シタルナリ。與(アタ)ヘ手(テ)ハ上(カミ)ニアル天ナリ。與ヘラレ手(テ)ハ之(コレ)ナリ之(コレ)トハ上ニアル生民(セイミン)ヲ指(サ)シタル字(ジ)ナリ。與(アタ)ヘ物(モノ)ハ仁義禮智之性ナリ。

However, when one says *fu yo shi* 不與之, one does not hear it without a *tokku ni nai*. Below, there are the seven characters *i jin gi rei chi shi sei* 以仁義禮智之性. However, when you say that the *jingi reichi no sei* is not provided, you say *tokku ni nai*, and the character *i* 矣, below, connects most certainly the word *nai*. The one giving is the sky above (*ten* 天). What receives it is *shi* 之 *kore* 'this'. This "this" points at the characters *seimin* 生民 'the people of this world', above. The provided thing is the *jingi reichi no sei*.

Here, Ogyū specifies the meanings and relations between the characters. He finds a tight relation between the two characters *soku* 則 and *i* 矣, that hold the sentence together. The character *ki* 既, instead, has a tight relation with *maku* 莫, since together, regardless of their positioning in the Japanese sentence, they mean "already not". At last, he also specifies the subject-object relations of the different nouns, relative to the predicate. He wrote that, while the central verb is *yaru* 'to provide', 'to give', the one providing is the character *ten* 天 'Heavens', the one receiving is the character *shi* 之 – here interpreted as a demonstrative pronoun –, that refers to the noun *seimin* 生民 'people of this world' above, and the thing that is being provided is the "nature of the *jingireichi*".

He subsequently flips the Chinese sentence into *zé jì yǔ zhī mòbù rényi lǐzhì zhī xìng yǐ* 則既與之莫不以仁義禮智之性矣, inverting the position of the two characters *mòbù* 莫不 and the two characters *yǔ zhī* 與之. The Japanese reading he provides is[29]

> *sunawachi sude ni kore ni ataeni jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto nashi*
>
> 則既ニ與ニレ之ニ莫シレ不(ト云フ乛)レ以テセ二仁義禮智之性ヲ一矣

The sentence is, thus, translated into Japanese as

> *sō areba yaru ga sore ni tokku ni jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto nashi*
>
> 則既(レバトツクニ)二與之(ヤルガソレニ)一莫(ナヒト云乛ハ)レ不レ以二仁義禮智之性一矣

The main difference between these versions and the previous ones it that the negation is not relative to the verb *yaru* / *atauru* anymore, but it is added to the verb *su* 'to do' that combines with *motte* 'with'. This makes the new sentence mean "If

[29] The readings of some of characters that are not specified here, are based on the readings previously provided for the *kun* of the sentence before flipping it.

thusly provided, there is no way the nature of *jingireichi* is not given". The difference is thus not in the ultimate meaning of the sentences, but rather on the nuance in morphosyntax with which a similar concept is expressed. In the previous translations to the original form of the sentence, the structure, simplified, was "if you do not do this, you will not get this". In this new version, the structure is "if you do this, you cannot not get this". Ogyū adds the following explanation, on folio 26v:

原文ノ如クナレバ莫不（バクフ）ノ二字ガ既ノ字ノ下。総句（ソウク）ノ上（カミ）ニアリ。故ニ既ノ字ハ莫ノ字ヘカヽリテ。トヅクニナイトト云フ義理ニナリ。莫不ハ下ヘカヽリテ莫レ不ルレ與ヘ　莫レ不ルレ以テセトト。二ツヘカヽルナリ。然レバ莫不ノ二字ヲ合メ。盡（ジン）ノ字ノ意ニモナリ必（ヒツ）ノ字ノ意ニモナリテ下文ノ或不能齊（ワクフノウセイ）ト云フトヨク相應スルナリ此文ンオ如クニ莫不ヲ下ニ置寸ハ與フルト云フ字ヘハカヽラズ以ノ字ヘバカリカヽルナリ。然レバ。生民ノ内ヲ。一人モノコサズ。天ヨリ與ヘヲルヽト云意ハナキナリ。生民ノ内ガ殘（ノコ）ルノ殘ラヌノ。盡ク皆與フルノ盡クハ與ヘヌノト云フ僉議（センギ）ヲバ云ハズ只（タダ）既ノ字ガ與ノ字ノ上ニアルカラ。生民 未（イマダ） レ[30] 生 以前（シャウゼイゼン）カラ。トヅクニ天カラ與ヘラルヽ其ノ與ヘラルハ如可様（イカヤウ）ノ物（モノ）ヲ。與ヘラルヽト云ヘバ。仁義禮智之性（せい）ト云フ物ヲ。以テセヌト云フ〒ハナキナリ。然レバ。仁義禮智之性ヲ以テセヌカ。以テスルカト云フ處ヘ。強クカヽリタル僉議ナリ。去ルニヨリ。此莫不ノ二字ハ必ノ字ノ意ガ。ヲモキナリ。與ヘ物ヘバカリ強クカヽリテ。コレデナイト云フ〒ハナイ必ズコレヂヤト云フ

Similar to the original text, the two characters *baku fu* 莫不, are below the character *ki* 既 and above the entirety of the phrase. The character *ki* 既 interacts with the character *maku* 莫, meaning *tokku ni nai*. The characters 莫不 interacting with what is below, interact in both 莫不與 (*ataezuru koto nashi*) and 莫不以 (*motte sezuru koto nashi*). However, the two characters 莫不 combined can have the meaning of the character *jin* 盡 [尽 'exahustive']. They can also have the meaning of the character *hitsu* 必 ['definitely', 'necessarily']. It corresponds quite accurately to the lower sentence 或不能斉. Similar to this sentence, when putting 莫不 below, it does not interact with the character *atauru* 與フル, but only with the character *i* 以. However, it does not mean that all the people of this world with no exceptions have received it from the Heavens. It is not given a unanimous and definitive claim regarding whether there are people in this world remaining who might have not received it yet. The character *ki* 既, being above the character *yo* 與 means that the people of this world have been receiving it from before their life. If we can say that such a thing has been provided, it means that there is no possibility of the "nature of the *jingireichi*" not being taken. However, it is unanimous that this reinforces the point of whether the *jingireichi no sei* is being included or not. Furthermore, these two characters 莫不 have the meaning of a heavy character *hitsu* 必. Interacting only strongly with the thing being provided, it means *nai to iu koto wa nai*, meaning "it must be so", and there is no unanimity regarding whether

[30] The additional reading *zaru* ザル is added on the left side of the character.

テ。與ヘラレ手ノ生民ノ内。残ルカ残ラヌカノ僉議ハナキナリ。	among the people of this world, any is still to receive it.

Ogyū is demonstrating the fact that, through the practices of *kundoku*, the meaning that the sentence takes can vary sensibly. In the original quote, the two characters *maku* 莫 and *fu* 不 are both interpreted as expressing negation and are found together, one right after the other, in that order. However, according to the interpretation, they can either negate the word *motte su* – a verbal compound that best translates the English 'with' – or the verbs *atau* or *yaru* 'to provide'. This creates a different nuance that could be simplified as "without the nature of *jingireichi*", in these last examples, or "not providing the nature of *jingireichi*", as of the previous examples. In the last examples, the verb "to provide" is positive, and roughly correspond to "if done so/so provided, then there is no way they [the people of this world] do not have the nature of *jingireichi*". In the former examples, it was the verb "to provide" itself that was negative and used to render the meaning of "If you do not do this, then the nature of *jingireichi* is that which you do not provide", where the character *i* 以 – previously *motte* – is analyzed as corresponding to the direct object particle *wo*.

Ogyū subsequently (27r-27v) reorders the sentence again, providing a new Japanese reading:

> *sunawachi sude ni kore ni atae to shite jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto nashi*
>
> 則既ニ莫ニ與ト メレ之ニ不ト云フ一レ以テセニ仁義禮智ノ之性ヲ一矣

This sentence gets translated as:

> *sō areba nai sore ni yaru to iu koto wa tokku ni mono wo jingireichi no sei wo denai*
>
> 則レハ 既 トツクニ ニ莫 ナヒヤルト云フハ 與 一レ 之 不 ソレニデナヒ ニ 以 モノヲ 仁義禮智ノ之性ヲ一矣
>
> *sō areba tokku ni sore ni yaru koto nakereba, jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu*
>
> 則既ニ莫ケレバレ與ルフレ之不レ以セニ仁義禮智ノ之性ヲ一矣

如クレ此ノ置ク寸ハ。此。訓ト譯ノ如クニ心得テ。文理ガヨクスムナリ裏ヘ返シテミル寸ハ。不ネハレ以テヒニ仁義禮智ノ之性ヲ一餘ノ物ヲ以テスルナリ。仁義禮智ヨリ外ノ物ヲ。ヤルト云フ┐ハトヅクニ。ナイト云フ道理ナ	When putting them in this way, learning this *kun* and this *yaku*, the *bunri* is well put. When one tries to invert it, meaning "without the *jin gi rei chi no sei*", then it means with the remaining things. But this means one is specifically not giving other things from the *jin gi rei chi*. When one attempts at interrupting the verse, if one does not say "giving this", the *jin gi rei*

リ。句ヲ斷(タチ)テミル寸ハ。之(○)ニ與(○)フルト云フ〻ナケレバ。仁(○)義(○)禮(○)智(○)ハイラヌ。與(○)フルナレバ。仁(○)義(○)禮(○)智(○)ヂヤト云フ文法ナリ。然レバ。生(○)民(○)ノ内ガ。残ルカ残ラヌカト云フ僉議ハ。勿論ナシ。必(ヒツヂヤウ)定(○)與フル𠮟見ヘヌナリ。與(○)フルトナレバ。餘ノ物ヲバ與(○)ヘヌナリ。春(シュン)城無(ヂヤウナシ)三處(トコロ)不(トメズ)二飛(ト云フ)花(ヒ クハナラ)一ト云フモ。此ノ文理ナリ。

chi is not it. The rule of the phrase specifies that it is the *jin gi rei chi* that is being given. However, it is not being discussed whether there are individuals remaining [i.e., not having received it yet] among the people of this world. Even though they have received, they are not to be seen. If they get to receive it, they are still to receive the other things. Also, the sentence *shunjō tokoro tome hika narazu to iu koto nashi* have the same *bunri*.

Ogyū flips the sentence again so as to provide a new Japanese reading:

sō areba tokku ni sore ni jingireichi no sei wo motte sezu to iu koto naki wo atau
則既二與フ一之二仁義禮智之莫キヲ一レ不ト云フ一レ以テセ一レ性ヲ矣

This is transalted as:

sō areba yaru jingi reichi no sono sei wo motte senu to iu koto nai to iu mono wo sore ni tokku ni
則レバ(トツクニ) 既(ヤルソレニ)三與 之 二仁義禮智ノ之(ソノナヒト云モノヲ) 莫(ヌト云フ)一レ 不 一レ以セ一レ性ヲ矣

As a comment to this, he adds the following remarks (28r):

之ノ字ノ下ハ。必ズ。死字ニナルナリ。故ニ。訓ニ莫(ナキ)ト點(テン)ジ。譯ニナヒモノト点ズ。コレハ文理ノマヽニ。訓ト譯ヲ施(ホドコ)ス。仁(○)義(○)禮(○)智(○)ト性トハ。總メ。名別名異(ナワケナチガヒ)ノ分デ。實ハ一物ナル間(ヂツアヒダ)。カヤウナ文ハ。何クニモアルマジキナリ。今。試ニ字ヲ入カヘテ。文理ヲ論(イツ)ゼン。

Below the character *shi* 之, there must be a dead character. Thus, in the *kun*, it is annotated as *naki*. In the *yaku* it is annotated as *nai mono*. In accordance with the *bunri*, the *yaku* is improved by means of the *kun*. So-called *jigni reichi* and *sei* are generally divided and distinct according to the name, however, in reality, they are one thing. There is nothing else regarding this type of texts. Now, let's try to insert different characters and discuss this *bunri*.

Ogyū refers here to concepts he discussed in the first volume, concerning the parts of speech. According to Ogyū, the Chinese character *shi* 之, can be adapted into Japanese in two manners, namely: as the particle *no*, expressing possession; or as a

demonstrative pronoun (in the oblique case) *kore ni* or *sore ni*. Either way, he adds that below this character one always finds a "dead" character. That is why, he adds, in the Japanese reading, he annotated the reading of the subsequent character *maku* 莫 as *naki*, while he wrote *nai mono*, in the translation. The grammar Ogyū is referencing here is not classical grammar, where the form *nai* (written as *nahi* なひ) did not exist. But it also does not correspond to Contemporary Standard Japanese, however, it can be deduced from the way he utilized the two inflected form of the adjective *nashi*, that the form *naki* is a "dead word", just like what he claimed with regard to the adjective *kiyoki* (see 6.1.2) that can function as a noun, thus, being followed, in Ogyū's sample sentence, by the direct object particle *o*, generally only combining with nouns. The form *nai*, however, is an attributive form, thus requires the reading *nai mono* – where *mono* is used to nominalize it – thus making it "dead".

Ogyū subsequently (28r) provides the following Chinese sentence, where the *on* reading of each character is annotated:

soku ki yo shi ki do ai raku shi baku fu i ki i
ソク キ ヨ シ キ ドアイラク シバク フ イ キ イ
則既與之喜怒哀 楽之莫不以気矣

In contemporary Mandarin, this would be read as *zé jì yǔ zhī xǐ nù āi lè zhī mòbù yǐ qì yǐ*. Syntactically, this sentence is very similar to the last version of the previous one, with the only notable changes being semantic, namely: the substitution of the four characters *jin gi rei chi* 仁義禮智, with the four characters *ki do ai raku* 喜怒哀楽 and the substitution of the character *sei* 性 with *ki* 気, whereby *jin gi rei chi no sei* is thus substituted with *ki do ai raku no ki*.

之ノ字ノ下。死字ニオルナリ。物ニナ
ルナリコヽデハ喜怒哀楽ヲ 細 釋[31]シ
タル辭ニナルナリ喜怒哀楽ト云フモノ
ハ気ヲ以テ動カネバ叶ハズ。故ニ文意
喜怒哀楽ト云フ物ノ。ソノ気ヲ以テ。
動カヌト云フ〻ハナイ物ヲ。之ニ與フル
ト云フ意ナリ。與之ノ二字。總メ。上
ニアルカラ。喜ノ字ヨリ下。皆。與ヘ
物ニナルナリ。

Below the character *shi* 之 there is a dead character. It becomes a thing. This becomes a character that interprets the *ki do ai raku* in detail. In the so-called *ki do ai raku* if the phrase *ki wo motte* ['with the energy'] does not move, [the sentence] does not work. Thus, the sentence would mean that with the energy of the *ki do ai raku*, what does not move gives something that is not to them. As far as the two characters *yo* 與 and *shi* 之 combined are concerned, since they are above, all the things below the character *ki* 喜 are what is being provided.

[31] The alternative reading *komaka ni toku* コマカニトク is also added on the left side of the characters.

This excerpt demonstrates that the quality of "dead" and the capacity of being able to "move" has also strong implications in the context of the *bunri*, and not only in the *jihin*, as it might have appeared by only reading the content of the first volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*. The Chinese character *shi* 之, always requires a dead word underneath it, and this stays true regardless of the two very different Japanese readings that can be provided for this character. Ogyū explains that the *bunri* dictates the reordering of characters according to logic. For example, in the sentence he quoted above, the character *maku* 莫, that corresponds to a negation *nai*, in Japanese, is put right after the character *shi* 之, analyzed as functioning as a genitive to the nominal compound *kidoairaku*. However, if one does not move the character *maku* 莫 from that position, according to Japanese syntax, the character *maku* would negate the *kidoairaku*, and the sentence would end up meaning that the *kidoairaku* does not exist and, logically, one cannot give (*atauru* 與) something that does not exist. For this reason, the character *i* 以 needs to be moved after (underneath) the character *ki* 気, that becomes its direct object, and needs to be placed before the character *maku* 莫, that becomes its negation, in the form *ki wo mottesenu to iu koto nai to iu mono o*.[32]

This phrasing uses the verb *ugoku* to refer to the movement of Chinese characters in order to provide a *kundoku* reading of a Chinese sentence. This can be taken as a hint as to what the term "to move" also means when it is used regarding the categories of "nouns" and "verbs". If the verb *ugoku* 'to move (intransitive)' refers to the act of displacing a Chinese character within the practice of *kundoku*, one might deduce that the label of *dōji* 動字 'moving character' for verbs could refer to the fact that verbal characters ought to be moved, when translating a Chinese sentence in *kundoku*. Indeed, if one looks at the examples of *kundoku* (be they *kun* or *yaku*) within this chapter on *bunri* from *Kun'yaku jimō*, one would notice that all the characters that are "moved" are either verbal characters (*dōji*) or auxiliary characters (*joji*). Even when a character is moved underneath another one that requires a "dead" character (e.g., under *shi* 之), the character that was moved is a dead version of an "empty" character and never an originally "full" character. Within this chapter there are approximately thirty *kun* or *yaku* renditions of Chinese sentences (depending on how one counts them), and within all of them, the only characters that are "moved"[33] are the following: the auxiliary *sho* 所, read as *tokoro no*, as the past affix *-ta* etc.; the verb *kyō* 教, read as *oshiuru*, *oshie* etc.; the auxiliary

[32] For the sake of specificity: *ki o* is the character *ki* 気; *motte se* is the character *i* 以; *nu to iu koto* is the character *fu* 不; and *nai to iu mono wo* is the character *maku* 莫, based on the *kundoku* provided for the previous sentence.

[33] I have considered a character as "moved" whenever that character presents a *kaeriten*, thus either a *re-ten* or a numeral, except for the number one, or a position, except the "up" position. This is because, if a character is either annotated with "one" or "up" this means that they receive the other character(s) below itself, thus, the character in question is not itself being moved, it is the other characters moving below it. I relied on the list of auxiliaries present inside *Kun'yaku jimō* in the confirmation of whether a Chinese character was to be considered as an auxiliary.

i 以, read as *mochihi*, *motte*, and as the particle *wo*; the verb *kei* 繼 (継), read as *ato wo tsugi*; the verb *ritsu* 立, read as *tate*; the auxiliary *maku* 莫, read as *nai*, or *nashi* and variations thereof; the auxiliary *fu* 不, corresponding to forms of the negative affix *-zu*; the auxiliary *ki* 既, read as *to*(*k*)*ku ni*; the auxiliary and verb *yo* 與, read as the verb *ataeru* or the particle *to*; the auxiliary *shi* 之, read as *sore ni* or the particle *no*; the auxiliary *waku* 或, read as *mo ari*; the auxiliary *nō* 能, read as *naru*; the verb and auxiliary *yū* 有, corresponding to the verb *ari*; the auxiliary *zen* 全, corresponding to the phrase *mattaku suru koto*; the verb *chi* 知, corresponding to the verb *shiredomo*; the auxiliary *ji* 自, read as the particle *yori*; the verb *shi* 至, read as the compound *itaru made* (verb+particle); the verb *nyū* 入, read as *iri*; the verb and auxiliary *kyū* 及, read as *oyobeba*; the verb *kyū* 窮, read as *kiwame*; the adjective *shō* 正, read as *tadashiku* (thus in its adverbial use); the verb *shū* 脩, read as *osame*; the verb *chi* 治, read as *osamuru*.

In the reordering of Chinese characters as to form a sentence coherent with Japanese syntax, there needs to be a fixed methodology. For example, if one could reorder any character at one's own will, the reader would find him or herself to always deal with different notations. It makes sense, thus, to expect the *kundoku* system to be based on a few common rules. One rule that governed the practice was, probably, to never put *kaeriten* (except for "one", "up" and similar characters signaling the target location of the movement) underneath a "full dead" word. Since in both languages adjectives are placed before the modified noun, this allows the reader to expect that whenever a character is annotated to be moved below in the sentence, that character is either a verbal character or an auxiliary (*joji*), albeit with exceptions. This might also be the reason why adjectival character are called "quiet". Adjectives are "empty" words; thus, they distinguish from "full" words because they require to be combined with a full word and they need to be conjugated (in Japanese), however, they are not "moving" since they are generally found, within the Chinese sentence, in the same location one would find them in the Japanese sentence. This also explains why Ogyū needed to distinguish between the category of "full" and "dead" even though they are almost always treated together. There are certain characters, like *shi* 之, that, by rule, always require a non-inflecting word after them, a "thing" (*mono* 物), using Ogyū's words. The "dead" use of "empty" characters functions as a non-inflecting form thereof that can be used in such circumstances. Morphologically, Ogyū has already discussed the difference between the "dead" and "lively" use of words, as I have illustrated in 6.1.2.

To make the topic of "dead words" clear, Ogyū adds yet another example from the *Great Learning*, in the phrase *kishitsu no hin* 気質之稟 "to receive the dispositions", in the excerpt below (28v):

之ノ字ノ下ハ。必ズ。死字ニナルナリ。ウケルト云ヘバ活字ナリ。事（ワザ）ナリウケト云ヒウケタルト云ヘバ。一

Below the character *shi* 之 there must be a dead character. If you say *ukeru*, then it is lively. It is an action. If you say *uke* or *uketaru*, it becomes one thing, however, this is a dead character. Even when read in *on'yomi* they all become dead

物ニナルナリ然レバ。死字ナリ。音ニヨミテモ。皆死字ニナルナリ。

characters.

In Chinese, the character *bǐng* 稟, corresponding to the Japanese verb *ukeru* ("being endowed" or "receiving from someone or something above"), is not conjugated in any fashion. Regardless of its syntactical role within the phrase, the verbal character *bǐng* 稟 always retains its morphological characteristics. In Japanese, this is not possible, since verbs and adjectives must be conjugated according to different parameters. This makes the interpretation and translation of a Chinese text particularly difficult since one needs to deduce, from the context, which Japanese conjugated form a specific Chinese character corresponds to, in each of its uses. In this case, Ogyū claims, the context is clear enough to understand that this character *bǐng* 稟 needs to be adapted into Japanese as a "dead form". In fact, he adds, the form *ukeru* would be a "lively word", thus it cannot be the correct reading of the character *bǐng* 稟 since it is featured after the character *shi* 之. Among the viable "dead" versions of the verb *ukeru*, Ogyū provides the form *uke* and *uketaru*.

After this, Ogyū continues by providing a few other examples and sample sentences, to illustrate the meanings and Japanese renditions of other Chinese characters. Afterwards, by the end of this volume 2, on folio 32v, he adds two interesting points that are worth looking at carefully. He writes:

総メ。字ニ。字形(ジケイ) 字音(ジオン)。字義。字品。字勢ト云フ㇀アリ。字形(テンクワクヘンハウ)ハ。字ノ點 畫 偏 傍ナリ。コレハ文章(ブンシャウ)家(カ)ニハ。サマデイラヌ㇀ナリ。然レ𪜈。字義。字音ノ。本ト(ト)ヅク所ナル間(アヒダ)。知ライデモナラヌ㇀ナリ。字音。字義ハ。專一(センイチ)ニシルベキ㇀ナリ。字品。字勢ハ。詩ノ。三輕(ケイ)。三緯(キ)ノ如シ。字品ハ。粗ナレバ三輕ノ如シ。字勢ハ。細ナレバ三緯ノ如シ。コレ皆。一字くノ上(ウヘ)ノ㇀ナリ。俱(トモ)ニ。一ノ巻ニ委シク見ヘタリ。字用(ジイヨウ)ノ八種(ハヅシュ)ハ。一字くノ上(ウヘ)ノ事ナレ𪜈。コレハ。字ヲ積ンデ。一句。一語ニナリタル時。一字くノ上ニアル㇀ナリ。コレモ一ノ巻ニアリ。サテ。右ノ字品。字勢。字義。字用ヲ。能勘辨(ヨクカンベン)メ。一句。一語ヲ。組立(クミタツ)ル寸ニ。上ニ置ク字。下ニ置ク字ノ。分ケヲ知リテ。組立(クミ)ツルガ。布置(フチ)ト云フモノナリ。時

Generally, when it comes to characters, we have things like *jikei*, *join*, *jigi*, *jihin* and *jisei*. The *jikei* is the drawing of radicals. This is not something concerning the writer of a text. However, things do not work if one ignores the *jigi* and *jion* of characters. The *jigi* and *jion* must be known. The *jihin* and *jisei* are like the *sankei* and *san'i* of [Chinese] poetry. The *jihin* is like the *sankei*, the *jisei* is like the *san'i*. This concerns each and every character. This can be seen in the first volume. Even if the nine types of *jiyō* [字用 "uses of characters"] also concern each and every character, this is the overlapping of characters, in one phrase, one sentence. This can also be seen in the first volume. Being able to distinguish properly between these *jihin*, *jisei*, *jigi* and *jiyou*, when making a phrase and a sentence, knowing how to tell whether to put a character above or below, this is called *fuchi*. Sometimes, the upper character glares at lower one, that draws the upper one toward itself, according to the logic of speech. This is

ニ。其上ノ字ハ。下ノ字ヲニラミ。下ノ字ハ。上ノ字ヘヒヾキテ。脉理。相通ズル所ガ。文理ナリ。然レバ。布置ハ。人ノ頭身手足ノ如シ。文理ハ人ノ気血(キケツ)。筋脉(キンミャク)ノ如シ。頭身。手足。骨肉(コツニク)。皮毛(ヒマク)ヲ。ツギタテネバ。人ノ形(カタチ)ハ出来(デキ)ズ。然レ𠮟。気血。筋脉ガ。流通(リウヅウ)サゼレバ。死シタル人ナリ。ソノ如ク。布置ニテ。語句ノ体(ゴク)ガ立(タイ)チテ。文理デ。語句ノ用(イヨウ)ヲタスナリ。コレデ。モハハヤ。語句ト云フモノニ。成リタル。漢字(カンジ)ヲ以テ造(ツク)リタル語句ユヘ。唐人コトバト云フモノヨ。サテ其上ニ。分間(ブンカン)ト云フモノガアリ。コレハ。布置ノシヤウマクバリノヨキ𠆢ナリ。布置文理マデハ。句法(クホウ)ノ巧拙ヘハワタラヌ𠆢ナリ。然レ𠮟。語句ト云フモノデハ。アルナリ。ケリヤ拙キ語句。巧ミナル語句ノ差別(サベツ)ハアルベキヅ其上ニ分間ト云フモノヲ合點シタル寸ニ。巧ミナル語句ト云フモノニナリテ。唐人コトバノ上手(ジャウヅ)ニナルナリ。タトヘバ。頭身。手足。骨肉。皮毛ガ修(オサマリ)テ。気血。筋脉ガ貫通(クハンツウ)スレバ。人ハ人ヂヤケレ𠮟又或(アルヒ)ハ。頭ガ大キ過ギタカ。足ガ短ヒカ。手ガ一方長(イヅバウ)ケレバ。ブナリナル人ナリ。ソノ如ク。分間ガアシケレバ。ブナリナル語句ナリ。分間ノヨキハ。ナリ格恰(カクカウ)ノヨキ人ト云フモノナリ。

called *bunri*. However, the *fuchi* is like the head, body, arms, and legs of humans. The *bunri* is like the energy, the blood, the muscles, and the veins. If the head, body, arms, legs, bones, flesh, skin, and hair are not held together, one cannot have a human body. However, if the spirit and blood do not flow in the muscles and veins then you have a dead man. Similarly, with the *fuchi* one can raise the "body" [*tai* 体] of the *goku* [語句 'sentence and phrases'], in the *bunri*, one adds the "function" [*yō* 用] to the *goku*. In this way, with Chines characters that make the *goku*, on top of that *goku* that is made, one can get closer to the so-called language of the Tang people, where there is the thing called *bunkan*. This is just the correct spreading of the *chifu*. Until the *fuchi* and *bunri*, the good or bad *kuhō* does not pass through. However, there is the thing called *goku*. There is indeed a difference between a well done *goku* and a badly done *goku*. On top of that, when one has understood the *bunkan*, becoming a well done *goku*, one is good at Chinese. For example, when the bones, flesh, skin, and hair suit the head, body, arms and legs, if the energy and blood flow in the muscles and veins, then a person becomes a person, however, otherwise, if the head is too big, or the legs too short and one arm is longer than the other, that is one ugly person! Similarly, if the *bunkan* is bad, the *goku* is ugly. A pretty *bunkan* is a person with nice looks.

This excerpt expands on the theoretical framework, while also addressing some new issues and concepts. This passage is dealing with the concept of character (*ji* 字), a term he uses to refer to Chinese logograms specifically. He claims that in the understanding of characters, there are six subjects to consider, namely: *jikei* 字形; *jion* 字音; *jigi* 字義; *jihin* 字品; *jisei* 字勢 and *jiyō* 字用. The *jikei*, literally "character-form", refers to the graphic rendition of Chinese characters, meaning the order of the strokes and the radicals that compose them. The *jion*, literally "character-sound", refers to the pronunciation of each character. One can assume

this to refer to the *on'yomi* reading of characters that Ogyū annotated – through *furigana* – on top of each Chinese character in the sentence, before providing its *kun* and *yaku* renditions. This should be understood, in the context of translation theory, more as a sort of way to "call" characters, similar to how the letter < b > is called *bee*, in English, when reciting the alphabet, for example. The *jigi*, literally "character-concept" is the meaning of the logograms. The meaning of Chinese characters, corresponds, thus, to a series of Japanese words that are to be used and annotated when providing a Japanese rendition of the Chinese sentence. The *jihin*, literally "character-sort", is what I have discussed in 6.1.2. The *jiyō*, literally "character-use", is how each character is employed within a specific sentence. I have covered these in 6.1.2, as well. Ultimately, the *jisei*, literally "character-expressivity" is a bit more complicated, as it is not directly defined. In order to explain this, the excerpt refers to the *Shījīng* 詩經 an ancient collection of Chinese poems that is structured according to so-called *rikugi* 六義 'six concepts'. These six concepts are further divided into two groups, namely the 'three warps' *sankyō* 三経 and the 'three wefts' *san'i* 三緯. The "three warps" correspond to the three concepts of *fū* 風, *ga* 雅 and *shō* 頌; while the "three wefts" are *fu* 賦, *hi* 比 and *kyō* 興. Without going too much into detail, the three warps roughly correspond to poetical genres, while the three wefts correspond to styles or manners of expression. Ogyū compares the three genres to the *jihin*, and the three styles to the *jisei*. One can understand, thus, that the *jihin* corresponds to the types of characters, like genres of poems, while the *jisei* corresponds to the way in which characters are used in order to express specific meanings and concepts. Unfortunately, Ogyū does not really expand on the concept of *jisei* and does not explain how one is supposed to employ it and study it. On the contrary, he proceeds by presenting yet another series of concepts. He relates the concept of *bunri* 文理 with a new term, namely: *fuchi* 布置. The *fuchi* is defined as being able to discern where to place each character according to the *jihin*, *jisei*, *jigi*, *jiyō* and subsequently being able to construct each and every clause and sentence. The *bunri*, instead, is when one can make each character interact with each other, according to the logic of speech. If one looks at the sample sentences above, thus, the *fuchi*, roughly corresponds to being able to put each character in a logical position, while the *bunri*, corresponds to the practice of annotation, meaning being able to understand the logic behind the *kaeriten* annotation. A more intuitive metaphor used by Ogyū to explain the difference between the *fuchi* and the *bunri*, equates the *fuchi* to a human body and the *bunri* to the blood and energy (*ki* 気) glowing inside muscles and veins. These are references to Chinese traditional medicine, according to which it was believed that veins and muscles were channels through which blood and the "vital energy" flowed. In this metaphor, the *fuchi* corresponds to the different body parts that are essential to make a human. Without them you cannot have a body. However, without the *bunri* – the vital energy – the *fuchi* is nothing more than a dead body. Subsequently, Ogyū expands this metaphor, by stating that the *fuchi* raises the "substance" (*tai* 体), while the *bunri* adds the "functions" (*yō* 用). As I have discussed in Chapter V, the characters *tai* 体 and *yō* 用 have been used by Japanese scholars to refer to "nouns" and "adjectives/verbs" respectively. However, the way Ogyū uses these concepts

only indirectly points at these categories. He claims that the *fuchi* allows the writer and the translator to build up the body of the text, meaning to order the Chinese characters that are necessary to create a sentence. However, since these characters are not put into a linguistically logical order, from the Japanese point of view, then one needs to understand the correct *bunri*, which allows Chinese characters, to move, interact and conjugate according to a sensed Japanese morphosyntax. The rules governing these interactions are comparable to those governing a healthy human body. Going back to the word classes, as illustrated by Ogyū in volume 1, I can now re-interpret them as referring to linguistic concepts by considering them as organs of a body. The subsequent point does precisely that, as can be read below (34r):

布置ノ事。一ノ巻ヨリ記(シル)ス所ノ。語ノ斷續ナリ。字ノ死活ナリ。靜死ノ字ハ。陰(アヒダ)ナル間。下(ウケ)ガ。上ヲ承テハ。重キ㇀下ニアリ。動活ノ字ハ。陽ナル間。上ガ。下ヲ管(クハン)メハ。上ヲ以テ。義理落著スルナリ。然レ𪜈。死字ト死字ト一列(イチレツ)。活字ト活字ト一列ニハ。ナリテヲラヌモノナリ。死活入リマザル間(アヒダ)。或ハ上(アガ)リ。或ハ下(サガ)リテ。錯綜變化(サクソウヘンクハ)スルナリソコデ。語ノ斷續ト云フ物ガ出來(シュツタイ)スルナリ斷續升降(シャウカウ)ノ入リマザル處カラ。因並(インヘイ)ト云フ㇀。出來スルナリ。因トハ。一字ヅヽ相因(アヒヨリ)テ上(アガ)リ。相因リテ下(クダ)ルㇵナリ。並トハ。其内ニ。キレぐ。ハナレぐナル字ヲ。ナラベタルナリ。ソノ因並ヨリ。分合(ブンガウ)ト云フ㇀出(イヅ)ルナリ。圖ヲ以テコレヲ示(シメ)ス。

As far as the *fuchi* is concerned, these are the connections-interruptions (*danzoku* 断続) of language, as written in the first volume. It concerns the "dead" and "lively" [use] of characters. When a "dead quiet" character is feminine [陰], the lower part receives the upper part. This is heavy; thus it goes below. When a "moving lively" character is masculine, the upper part ties up with the lower part, thus the proper duty (*giri* 義理) is defined based on the upper part. However, one cannot have two dead characters or two lively characters in succession. Dead and lively characters must be inserted scattered through the text, sometimes going up, other times going down, thus making changes while inserting them in a scattered fashion. This is how one can obtain the flow of the language. The scattered insertion [of characters] in the upper and lower position within the flow, allows us to obtain what we call *inhei* 因並. The *in* 因 is when each character meets and either goes down or goes up. The *hei* 並 is when, after doing that, the characters that are sparse and separated, are properly ordered. Based on this *inhei*, we obtain the *bungō* 分合.

This excerpt deals with two main topics. Firstly, it states that the *fuchi* is no different from the previously mentioned (see 6.1.2) *danzoku*, that corresponds to the distinction between Shizuki's and Motoori's *tsuzuki kotoba* and *kiruru kotoba* (see 8.2). This *danzoku* is specified by the characters being "dead" or "alive". However, Ogyū also adds two new concepts, central in Taoism: the Yin (*in* 陰) and the Yang (*yō* 陽). He claims that "dead quiet characters", meaning nominalized adjectives, are Yin, while "lively moving characters" are Yang. He claims that dead adjectives are

considered Yin because the lower character receives the upper one, and the heavy part is in the lower character. Verbs are Yang, instead, because the upper character has control on the lower one, so the meaning is established by the upper part. I assume this to be a reference to the fact that adjectives are placed before the modified noun, in Japanese, meaning that the "heavy" part, the "head" of the phrase, will be below, while since verbs are placed at the end of phrases, what "controls" them, meaning the subject, is always above. The term Yin is thus used in order to refer to the instance in the combination of characters, whereby the "head" of the compound is in a lower position, in the vertical writing, while Yang is the opposite, meaning that the character that defines the meaning of the compound is found above.

Ogyū afterwards introduces another concept, called *inhei* 因並 (likely pronounced *inpei*). The *inhei* is composed of two steps: firstly, the *in* 因 is when two characters meet and combine and they move either upwards or downwards, while the *hei* 並 is the arrangement of such characters that were previously split and scattered. From this *inhei* one obtains the *bungō* 分合. This new concept is not further explained in words, however, Ogyū draws a series of schemes illustrating precisely this. The first scheme, that can be seen below, addresses the *bungō* 分合 of the series of characters found in the first sample sentence I have quoted at the beginning of this paragraph, namely: *yǐ rén yì lǐ zhì zhī xìng* 以仁義禮智之性.

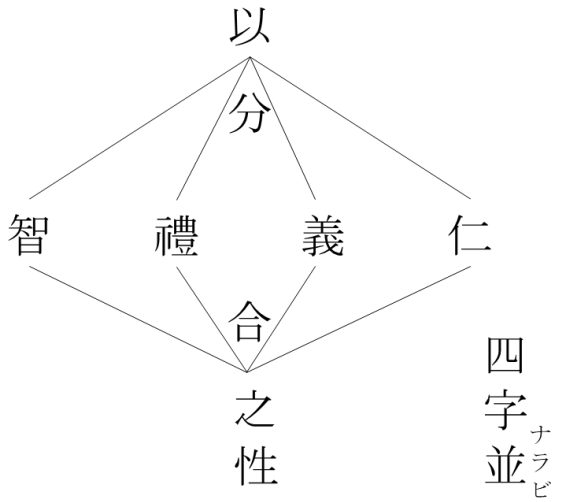

Figure 8 Illustration of the function of *bungō* in a sample sentence, form *Kun'yaku jimō* from Waseda University's 文庫 17 W36.

This phrase, that Ogyū generally adapted into Japanese as *jingireichi no sei wo motte*, references four values of Confucianism, namely: *jin* 仁 'benevolence'; *gi* 義 'human relations'; *rei* 禮 (礼) 'rites'; and *chi* 智 'wisdom'. All these characters are

connected by means of the character *shi* 之 'of', to the character *sei* 性 'nature', and are introduced by the character *i* 以, that functions similarly to a conjunction "with", "by means of". In the interpretation of this sentence, however, the four characters *jin* 仁, *gi* 義, *rei* 禮 and *chi* 智 all interact individually with the characters *shi* 之 and *sei* 性. According to the *bungō* 分合, thus, the characters first split (*bun* 分) after the character *i* 以, meaning that they are to be interpreted as "with/by means of" (*i* 以) the "nature of the *jin*" (*jin no sei* 仁之性), the "nature of the *gi*" (*gi no sei* 義之性), the "nature of the *rei*" (*rei no sei* 禮之性) and the "nature of the *chi*" (*chi no sei* 智之性). However, the characters combine (*gō* 合) into the phrase *jingireichi no sei* 仁義禮智之性, with *i* 以 being read as *motte*, and moved, in the Japanese sentence, after the compound, to which it connects by means of the particle *wo*. As Ogyū adds, this table illustrating the *bungō* – the division and combination of characters – does not only work in the making of a *inhei* 因並 of these four characters, but it can also refer to broader structures, including an entire text.

6.1.3 Conclusions

The first two volumes of Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō* contain a complex essay on translation, with specific focus on the practice of *kundoku*, by means of which one can render a Chinese text into Japanese. The first point raised by Ogyū is, in fact, on the nature of translation itself. Ogyū distances himself from the traditional practice of *kun* 訓 – the Japanese reading of a text – in favor of a new series of techniques that allowed a Japanese scholar to actually "translate" (*yaku* 訳) a Chinese text. It is only in function of translation that Ogyū engaged with linguistic and grammatical issues, in the first place. Ogyū's focus is on evidencing the fact that Chinese and Japanese are two different languages, and the contents of Chinese texts (*kanbun* 漢文) need to be analyzed as a foreign language. In order to become a professional translator, one needs to pursue all the subjects that fall under translations studies.

The first level is *jigi* 字義. The subject of *jigi* studies the interpretations of characters. Many Neo-Confucians books have been published about it, during the Edo period, belonging to the genre TUCKER (1998 & 2006) calls with this very term. It is within this sub-level of translation studies that one finds the categories that are used by Shizuki to refer to Dutch grammatical vocabulary, such as "empty-full" (*kyo-jitsu* 虚実), "quiet-moving" (*sei-dō* 静動) and "dead-lively" (*shi-katsu* 死活).

After mastering the *jigi* of characters, one can engage with the subject of *bunri* 文理. The *bunri* is the principle/logic of a text. It teaches how to logically bring the characters together, according to Japanese morphosyntax. This subject is very complicated as Ogyū demonstrates that to each Chinese sentence corresponds one Japanese reading (*kun*) yet, possibly, many translations (*yaku*) according to how one interprets the *bunri*. It is only by understanding Ogyū's conception of *bunri*, I believe, that one can also understand what those categories he named in the *jigi* really mean. It is in the level of *bunri* that one sees these categories in action and understands why they are distinguished and on what basis.

As I will discuss in Chapters VII and VIII, Shizuki too was interested in translation, and this is probably why he reached out to sources such as Ogyū's book. Nonetheless, (Neo-)Confucian studies on translation were apparently not sufficient for Shizuki as he also relied on Motoori Norinaga's theories, from the *kokugaku* school, that I will present in the following paragraph 6.2.

6.2 Theory of language by Motoori Norinaga

Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730 – 1801) was born in the city of Matsusaka 松阪 in the Ise 伊勢 province and moved to the city of Kyoto at the age of 23, where he was trained as a physician for six years. During that time, he developed an interest in *kagaku*, the study of Japanese poetry, as well as *kangaku* 'Chinese studies', and began his research on Japanese and Chinese literature. Afterwards, he returned to his hometown continuing both his medical job and his research on the ancient language used in the classics of Japanese literature. He thus published several annotated and commented versions of literary works, such as *Kojiki-den* 古事記伝 (between 1790 and 1798) or *Genji monogatari tama no okushi* 源氏物語玉の小櫛 (1796). The analysis of the language used in these texts made him understand the necessity of developing instruments to describe Japanese. Thus, Motoori is also known for his publications on language. His language-related works comprise *Gengo katsuyō-shō* 言語活用抄 (1781), covering the conjugation of inflecting words in Japanese, *Jion kana-zukai* 字音仮字用格 (1776) on the phonetic use of *kana*, and *Kanji san'on-kō* 漢字三音考 (1785), concerning the pronunciation of Chinese characters (FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA 1972, 248). His most relevant publication in the context of the present research is *Te ni wo ha himo kagami* てにをは紐鏡 (1771), presenting a table illustrating the inflecting patterns of Japanese verbs and adjectives and their affixes. The table lists, for each ending or affix, the *shūshikei*, the *rentaikei* and the *izenkei*, which are the general forms resulting from the interaction of the main predicate of the sentence and a particle, in the relation that is nowadays called *kakari-musubi*. The theory upon which this relation is based is explained in *Kotoba no tama no o* 詞の玉緒 (1785), by means of real usage of the language found in citations from the classics. This last book is cited by Shizuki and influenced Shizuki's understanding of grammar.

Motoori Norinaga is mostly known as a scholar of *kokugaku*, a term that he did not favor personally, preferring terminology that did not put his scholarship in contrast with *kangaku*, the 'Chinese studies'. This idea is expressed in his other work *Ui yama bumi* うひ山ぶみ, where he writes the following:[34]

物学ビとは、皇朝の学問をいふ。そもくむかしより、たゞ学問とのみいへば、漢学のことなる故に、その学と	The term *mono manabi* 物学 ('learning things'), refers to the studies on our empire. Since ancient times it has simply been called "study" (*gakumon* 学問), but when "Chinese studies"

[34] Original quote from TANAKA (2020, 6). My English translation.

分(わか)むために、皇国の事の学をば、和学(あるひ) 或 は国学などいふならひなれども、そはいたくわろきいひざま也(なり)。みづからの国のことなれば、皇国の学をこそ、たゞ学問とはいひて、漢学をこそ、分て漢学とふべきことなれ。それももし漢学のこととまじへいひて、まぎるゝところにては、皇朝学などはいひもすべきを、うちまかせてつねに、和学国学などいふは、皇国を外(ヨソ)にしたるいひやう也。もろこし朝鮮於蘭陀(おらんだ)などの異国よりこそ、さやうにもいふべきことなれ、みづから吾国(わが)のことを、然(しか)いふべきよしなし。

(*kangaku* 漢学) started, in order to distinguish between this study and that of our empire, we began using words such as "Japanese studies" (*wagaku* 和学) or "National studies" (*kokugaku* 国学). These are, nonetheless, very bad terms. This is our country. Precisely because it is the study of our empire, then we should simply use the term "study" to refer to it and use *kangaku* to distinguish Chinese studies from it. If one judges it possible that it could be confused with *kangaku*, then one could use terms such as *kōchōgaku* 皇朝学 ('studies on the empire'), yet terms such as *wagaku* and *kokugaku* imply looking at our empire form the outside. They take the point of view of foreign countries such as the Tang people, the Koreans or the Dutch, thus it is not a good manner of referring to things of our own country.

Motoori is trying to define Japanese culture and literature in a way that allows it to be referred to without the employment of exogenous elements and interpretations of what Japan is, or ought to be. Terms such as *wagaku* and *kokugaku* can only exist if one first postulates the existence of something that is not "Japan" or is not "our country". This is why Motoori believes that, when talking about Japanese studies, a Japanese should just use the general term of "study" (*gakumon* 学問), that does not imply a distinction with the foreign. A similar but opposite perception of the term *kokugaku* and *kokugo* is displayed, nowadays, in the thesis according to which these terms, by virtue of containing the character *koku* 国 'country' are better used by natives – i.e., the Japanese – to refer to their own country's language and culture, as opposed to the more "neutral" *nihongo*, that simply means "Japanese language". This position is embraced by MABUCHI & IZUMO (2021, 1) in their history of Japanese linguistics, originally published in 1999. They begin with the premise that "[…] foreigners can call the language of the Japanese as *nihongo*, but they cannot call it *kokugo*".[35] They add that the term *kokugo* is unique to Japanese, Chinese and Korean, while all European languages lack such a term and refer to their own language with words such as English, *français* or *das Deutsche* that allegedly point to them from an external standpoint. This type of reasoning is not particularly dissimilar from Motoori's assertion, although the term *kokugo*, deemed by Motoori himself as pointing exceedingly toward the "outside", is now being promoted as the term that represents a completely endogenous nomenclature, to the point where foreigners are, supposedly, not allowed to make use of it. Furthermore, the endogenous point of view of terms such as "English" is still to be demonstrated, and

[35] Original quote: "外国人は日本人の言葉を「日本語」と呼ぶことはできるが、「国語」と呼ぶことはできない".

the lack of corresponding words to *kokugo* is also questionable, as phrasings such as *vaderlandsche taal* 'fatherland's language', for example, were anything but rare up until the recent past.[36]

Motoori believed that disregarding the Chinese influences on Japan was necessary in order to understand the language and message contained in the Japanese classics. The Chinese "heart", or *karagokoro* 漢意, as he called it, needed to be abandoned when trying to understand the "purer" way of the classics, along with Confucianism. This is because he saw a smaller influence from the foreign philosophies in the language and culture expressed by the Japanese classics, that had become unintelligible as a consequence of the corruption of the Japanese way and the Japanese language (TAJIRI 2012, 137-138). Similarly to Ogyū, he understood that modern awareness could not be used to understand the "heart" of the Japanese who authored the classics, thus calling for a readoption of an older form of language. Unlike Ogyū, though, who believed in the fundamental utility of "popular" spoken language (俗語), in order to make contemporary Japanese people understand the teachings of the past, Motoori was much more holistic in his favoring the classical language, displaying a tendency to write, even his "essays", in a *kango*-free fashion, with strong awareness of the historical use of *kana*.

The influence from Motoori Norinaga on Shizuki is undeniable, and this can be claimed not only from the fact that this is one of the two Japanese sources Shizuki cites directly, but also from the general understanding of how verbs functioned in Dutch, particularly in his twenty-seven sentences in *Seizenfu* (see 8.4.4). The work *Kotoba no tama no o* is the only source of Motoori's that is directly quoted by Shizuki and, as such, I will provide a general presentation of its contents, theory and methodology.

6.2.1 *Kotoba no tama no o* and the (re)discovery of *kakari-musubi*

The work *Kotoba no tama no o* serves the purpose of illustrating through real-language examples the use of *kakari-musubi* as drawn in the table of another work by Motoori, titled *Te ni wo ha himo kagami* てにをは紐鏡. A *kakari-musubi* is a particular grammatical construction of Old and Early Middle Japanese, that was rather outdated in the spoken language of the 18th century, but that was preserved in classical-style written Japanese. In most Old and Early Middle Japanese sentences, the predicate ought to end in a *shūshikei* form, that signals the end of the sentence. When a specific particle appears, called *kakari*, the predicate, the *musubi*, turns into a different form from *shūshikei*, according to the specific particle used. There are five such particles, namely: *zo* ぞ; *koso* こそ; *namu* なむ (also *nan* なん); *ka* か; and *ya* や. They are mostly used to identify the focus of the sentences and/or to turn

[36] Note also that the three examples of "foreign countries" that Motoori mentions include the land of the Dutch. This element mirrors the importance that the Republic had in the context of the cultural discourse in Edo Japan, particularly when it comes to the definition of the Japanese culture in contrast with the foreign. The Dutch are listed along with China (the Tang dynasty) and Korea, two countries that undoubtedly had had a much longer cultural and historical interaction with Japan.

the sentence into a question. When one of these particles is added, the final verb must end in a *rentaikei*, except for *koso*, that requires an *izenkei*. Most *kakari-musubi* appear in the middle of a sentence, except for *ka* that is also found at the end. FRELLESVIG (2010, 249-252) identifies one main use as focus construction, comparable to the *thema-rhema* distinction in traditional Greek grammar, although for poetic uses is not rare to find these *kakari-musubi* contributing to the construction of a sentence holding an exclamative, interrogative or doubting nuance in meaning. The term *kakari-musubi*, that could be literally translated as 'hanging-tying', refers to the two elements that interact in this grammatical construction. The predicate corresponds to the specific *musubi*, that "ties up" the sentence, in agreement with the previous *kakari*. FRELLESVIG also points out that, although traditionally *kakari-musubi* were seen as an automatic agreement rule, more recent studies emphasize the syntactic differences between sentences with and without *kakari-musubi*.

In *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori Norinaga deals with this topic in a slightly different fashion as compared to modern approaches. The first section of this work is a long table that is based on *Te ni wo ha himokagami*. Firstly, he identifies eight types of "particles", that he divides in "three columns" (*misuji* 三條). These three columns are 'right' *migi* 右, 'center' *naka* 中 and 'left' *hidari* 左, according to the order in which they appear in the table. The entirety of the first part of this book presents this division for each verbal ending such *kakari* can combine with. The table is called by Motoori *himo kagami no misuji no ōtsuna* 紐鏡の三條の大綱 "The great net of the three columns of *himo-kagami*".

As for the manner in which linguistic phenomena are illustrated, Motoori Norinaga mostly relies on the language of *waka* in order to draw examples of historically attested grammatical forms. This is not dissimilar to what Ogyū did. Ogyū, as a Confucian interested in the Chinese language, often relied on Chinese-language quotations from Confucian sources, like the *Great Learning*. I would argue that the centrality of the sample sentences in both authors and schools of thought is an element of fundamental agreement in the way languages were studied in Edo Japan. I would argue that drawing sample sentences from authoritative sources in order to provide what was conceived of as the most correct use of the language was an approach to language-learning very well established in Japan, regardless of the school. As discussed in Chapter III, the Dutch often did the same. Of course, depending on the personal persuasion of the scholar, what was regarded as a source worthy of citation varied. What Confucians regarded as authoritative sources were, obviously, Confucian sources that implies an embedded sense of sacrality and religiousness of these written texts. Such sacrality was of fundamental importance, as seen in the introduction to Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō*, on folio 3v, volume 1, where he wrote the following claim explaining the difference between the Confucian school (*jugaku* 儒学) and the Japanese *waka* school:

儒学ハ。勿論(モチロン)侍ノ道ナレ𪜈。中華(チウクハ)ニハ。	Even if Confucianism is also a way of the samurai, in China there are people

聖人(セイジン)ト云フ人ガ出デタリ。日本ハ。聖人ノナキ國ユヘ。ソノ侍道ガ。武ノ一方(ブイツパウ)ヘ偏(ヘン)ナル處ガアルゾ。

called "saints" [*seijin* 聖人]. Japan is a country without "saints". For this reason, the way of the samurai is a part of warfare.

Ogyū is implying that the study of *waka* is ideologically inferior to the study of the Confucian school in that Confucianism is a Chinese philosophy, created by *seijin* 聖人 'saints', a specific type of people that do not appear in Japan. The samurai, who are at the top of Edo Japan's social structure, are not "saints" and their study of the Japanese *waka* is still connected to the philosophy of war, and the cultural establishment of the *bushidō* 武士道, 'the way of the warrior'. In Ogyū's judgement, this makes the study of *waka* an inferior scholarship as compared to the Confucian school, since it lacks a justification in sacrality.

Motoori Norinaga does not agree with this claim, yet he does not disregard the argument of sacrality, at all. In *Kotoba no tama no o*, in fact, he opens the introduction with the following remark:

てにをはは。神代よりおのづから萬のことばにそなはりて。その本末をかなへあはするさだまりなん有て。あがれ世はさらにもいはず。中昔のほどまでも。おのづからよくとゝのひて。たがへるふしはをさゝゝなかりけるを。世くだりては。歌にもさらぬ詞にも。このどゝのへをあやまりて。本末もてひがむるたぐひのみおほかるゆゑに。おのれ今此書をかきあらはせるは。そのさだまりをつぶさにをしへさとさんとてなり。

The *te ni wo wa* have been afforded to us, since the era of the gods, in the form of countless words, and have been established in their [position at the] end or beginning (*moto-sue*).[37] There is nothing more to be said regarding that time. Even until less ancient times, we have orderly used them completely without mistakes. Yet, with the passing of the ages, we have started misunderstanding that order, even in the words of the poems [i.e., *waka*]. Because there are many misconceptions with their type, concerning their positioning at the end or beginning, I will now discuss them in the present book. That established [order] shall be thoroughly and accurately discussed and explained.

Motoori states the sacrality of the Japanese language or, rather, a specific graphical-grammatical feature of the Japanese language, that finds its origin in the era of the

[37] The term *moto-sue* 本末 literally means 'root-tip'. It is used often in *Kotoba no tama no o*, though, I would argue, with two different nuances in meaning, that somehow overlap in poetical studies. As attested in *Kogorei-kai jiten* (on page 446), the character *sue* 末 can be used with the meaning of "(ultimate) effect" (何かが行われた、その結果。あげくの果て). Alternatively, the character *sue* 末 can also be used as a synonym of *shita no ku* 下の句 'lower verse' (as attested in the same source, on page 447), where the term *moto* 本 opposes to it, with the meaning *ue no ku* 上の句 'upper clause' (same source, on page 806). Within *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori uses both nuances, probably reinforced by the fact that, according to Japanese syntax, the lower clause often includes the resolution of the setting described in the upper clause (e.g., protasis and apodosis, in the hypothetical sentence).

gods, referring to the *kami* 神 of the creation myth in Shinto, the native religion of Japan. The implication consequential to believing that the Japanese language was a gift from the gods to the Japanese people is that any variation from its original form is a deviation from what the gods intended. Consequently, Motoori wants to reconstruct and reestablish the purest form of classical Japanese that (n)ever existed. What can be assumed, regarding Motoori's description of the language of the *waka*, is a preference of prescriptivism and formalized use of language, and a disregard of the description of linguistic tendences and natural uses of a variety of Japanese that was, in the 18th century, mostly kept alive through conservative uses of written language, and copies of ancient sources. This is to say that Motoori Norinaga's description of Japanese cannot be interpreted as a description of 18th-century Japanese, written or spoken, nor can it be interpreted as a description of classical Japanese either, as his prescriptivism must have inevitably led to a constructivist approach, superimposing his preferences and expectations upon the linguistic patterns he found, that were less consistent in oral uses. Keeping this in mind, I will now provide a concise overview of Motoori's description of Japanese grammar, that concentrates on the phenomenon of *kakari-musubi* since, as will be discussed in Chapter VIII, his theories and methodologies have strongly influenced Shizuki's.

As I mentioned, Motoori divides his table in three sections or 'branches' (*misuji* 三條): *migi* 右 'right', *naka* 中 'middle' and *hidari* 左 'left'. Each of these "branches" corresponds to a variable number of Japanese particles that, in the context of *kakari-musubi*, influence the conjugation of the predicate it relates to. The particles in the right branch are those that require the predicate to end in a *shūshikei*, that can be considered the "unmarked" ending of Japanese sentences. The particles in the center are those requiring the sentence to end in a *rentaikei*, that is otherwise generally used in relative clauses. The particle *koso* こそ, that is the only particle present in the left branch, requires a *izenkei* form, that would otherwise not be found without another affix attached to it. In the right branch, agreeing with a *shūshikei*, there are the particles *wa* は and *mo* も, and the Chinese character *to* 徒, for which the reading *tada* is provided in *furigana*. While *wa* and *mo* need no introduction, the Chinese character *tada* 徒 is used to refer to the instances where no particle is used at all (徒とは はもぞのや何こそ などいふのなきを今かりにかくいふ也). Clearly, with no specific particle, there is no element influencing the conjugation of the final predicate. In the central branch, agreeing with a *rentaikei*, there are the particles *zo* ぞ, *no* の, *ya* や and the Chinese character *ka* 何. This Chinese character is used to refer to many words that could be called interrogative pronouns, while Motoori still categorizes them as *te ni wo ha*. The complete list of the particles in this category present in *Kotoba no tama no o* is: *tare* たれ 'who', *iku* いく 'how much', *ikani* いかに 'to what extent', *nado* など 'etcetera', *nani* なに 'what', *izure* いづれ 'which', *itsu* いつ 'when', *nazo* なぞ 'why', *taga* たが 'who(se)', *izu* いづ 'where', *ika* いか 'how much'. In the last branch, the left one, agreeing with an *izenkei*, only *koso* こそ is to be found. Table 34 illustrates this more concisely:

Position	Left 左	Center 中	Right 右
Particles	*koso* こそ	*zo* ぞ *no* の *ya* や Interrogative pronouns 何	*wa* は *mo* も None 徒
Conjugation	*izenkei* 已然形	*rentaikei* 連体形	*shūshikei* 終止形

Table 34 Illustration of the three columns in Motoori Norinaga's *Himo kagami* table.

At this point, one might wonder why only three out of the six predicative forms are considered here, by Motoori. The reason, as already said, is that the *kokugakusha*, in this work, is only presenting the *kakari-musubi* phenomenon, and not the entirety of Japanese verbal-adjectival inflecting patterns. The two "particles" interacting in the *kakari-musubi* phenomenon tie the whole sentence up in a clamp of morphosyntactic agreement. What I have called "particles", here, is referenced to as *te ni wo wa* by Motoori. Motoori uses this term to refer to all the elements involved in the phenomenon of *kakari-musubi*. In the introduction to *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori adds the following remarks, regarding these particles (vol. 1, p. 1):

〇近き代に或人。てにをはゝ漢文（からぶみ）の助字の如しをいへり。此言あたれるやうなる故に。さることのみ心得する人おほかゝめり。ますにいとよく似てはあれども。しか思ふは猶てにをはをよくしらぬものになん有ける。そのゆゑはかのからぶみの助字をいふなる物は。その本と末とをあひてらして。かなへあはするさだまりはなきものなるを。てにをはゝ。たしかに此さだまりのあと有て。いさゝかもたがひぬれば。言の葉とゝのはず。歌も何もすべていたづらごとになんなるめるを。いまだしきともがらはさる物にて。近き世には歌よくよむと思ひて。いたくこれに心する人だに。とりはづしては。ほゝゆがめもてそこなふたぐひ。よにおほきぞかし。さるをかの助字といふ物と。もはら同じことゝのみ思ひとりたらんには。此本末をばかなへんものともおもひたどらで。たゞおのか心にまかせつゝ物すべかゝめれば。いよくいみしきひがすのみ引出なんものをや。

In recent times, some have been saying that the *joji* 助字 of Chinese texts are similar to the *te ni wo ha*. Since this claim might be appropriate, there are many people who only learn this. Although they might look very similar, one might never really know the *te ni wo ha*, if one conceives of them simply this way. Furthermore, when one refers to Chinese *joji*, comparing them to the *moto* and *sue*, there is no established matching, while in the *te ni wo ha* there are certainly traces of such "establishment" (*sadamari*) which, when sensibly differing, words do not get orderly in place. In poems, and anything else, it probably becomes completely useless, being this an incomplete relationship [between the two]. In recent times, of the people who believe they are correctly reading poetry, with the exclusion of those who understand this, there are many who are doing damage by stating the untrue. Had them just completely relied on our own "heart" without ending up thinking unreasonable distortions on the *moto-sue*, such as assuming these *joji* to be completely identical [to the *te ni wo ha*], that would have been to us a highly appreciated gift.

Motoori addresses a plethora of interesting issues, in this excerpt. Firstly, similarly to Ogyū, he acknowledges the fact that the Chinese category of *joji* had oftentimes been compared to the Japanese *te ni wo ha* and, just like Ogyū claims, although there are, indeed, similarities, the two do differ sensibly. Motoori seems to suggest that one could simplify the explanation of these two categories of speech by comparing them to each other for practicality in more casual conversations. However, if one intends to properly read "poems" (*uta* 歌) – meaning *waka* 和歌 thus, classical written Japanese – then one would need to properly distinguish between them and learn the specifics of the Japanese *te ni wo ha*. There are a few specific characteristics of the Japanese *te ni wo ha* that make them differ from the Chinese *joji*. From a philosophical – and nationalistic – point of view the *te ni wo ha* are godly gifts, afforded to the Japanese by the *kami* a long time ago. From a linguistic point of view, instead, it could be said that the Japanese *te ni wo ha* differ, from the Chinese *joji*, in two aspects, namely: the "established arrangement" and the *moto-sue* relationship. The "established arrangement", for which one generally finds the terms *sadamari* 定まり 'establishment' and *totonoi* 整い 'to arrange', 'to put in order', refers to the idea that the *te ni wo ha* were given to the Japanese people in a well-established and fixed distribution, within the Japanese language. This distribution is considered, by Motoori, specific to the Japanese language and endangered by the inconsiderate use of it by the more contemporary Japanese people. Since well into the Edo period, linguistic phenomena of Japanese were still mostly conceived of as a series of displacements and substitutions of characters, their "established arrangement" refers to the correct manner of enacting such substitutions. One peculiar example of the arrangement of the *te ni wo ha* is referred to, by Motoori, with the terms *moto* 本 'basis', 'root' and *sue* 末 'tip' or 'end', as I have addressed above.

In order to understand what these two concepts refer to, one should look at one sample sentence used by Motoori, to explain the effects of specific *te ni wo ha* in influencing the form of a clause-ending adjective. The sentence *ariake no tsurenaku mieshi wakare yori akatsuki bakari ukimono wa nashi* 有明のつれなく見えしわかれより暁ばかりうきものはなし ("I could clearly see the moon of Ariake, since parting with that chilled person, there has never been a harsher time than before dawn"), that he took from *Kokin wakashū*, is placed on the right column, meaning it requires a *shūshikei* form, and under the *wa* class. Indeed, Motoori underlines the character *ha* (read *wa*), corresponding to a topical particle. The other character that is underlined is *shi*, the last one, that represents the *shūshikei* ending of the adjective *nashi* 'no', 'non-existent'. Had there been a different particle than *wa*, for example one belonging to the "left" side of the table, like *koso*, then there would have been an *izenkei* form, that would have turned that *shi*, into a *kere*. An example of this, is another *waka*, that Motoori also takes from *Kokin wakashū*, reading *kokoro koso utate nikukere somezaraba utsurou koto mo o shikaramashi ya* こゝろこそうたてにくけれ染ざらばうつろふ事もをしからましや ("If my heart does not get tainted by not caring [about you], would I feel saddened by my heart changing, as well?"). In this sentence, Motoori underlines the "particle" *koso*, that expresses focus on the preceding element, and the characters *kere*, here the *izenkei* ending of

the adjective *nikushi* 憎し 'detestable', 'unlikeable'. These two examples portray how Motoori envisioned the "established arrangement" of the *moto-sue* interaction of the Japanese *te ni wo ha*, according to which it is the presence of *koso* in the second example, and of *wa*, in the first one, that influences directly the "arrangement" of the character *shi*, instead of *kere*, where *shi* and *kere* are two different inflected endings of Japanese adjectives.

The book *Kotoba no tama no o* is composed of seven volumes, each containing subparagraphs covering different aspects of Japanese grammar. The structure of the work is as follows:[38]

- **Volume 1** 一の巻: Introduction (総論); Poetic evidence of the three changes (三転証歌);
- **Volume 2** 二の巻: The *te ni wo ha* which change the above from the end of the sentence (留まりより上へかへるてにをは); Overlapping *te ni wo ha* (重なるてにをはの格); Irregularities (変格); The sort transferring to real songs (本歌にゆづる格); *Te ni wo ha* in out of tune songs (てにをは不調歌 廿一代集の内をむねとあぐ選集の外はことごとくはあぐるにたへざる故に。おほくはもらせり); Songs with single cases of mistaken *te ni wo ha* transcription (一本にてにをはを写し誤れる歌).
- **Volume 3** 三の巻: *ha* は; *ba* ば; *mo* も; *zo* ぞ; *no* の; *ga* が.
- **Volume 4** 四の巻: *ya* や (doubt); *ya* や (exclamation); *ya* (plurality); *ka* か; 何の類 ('pronoun' type)
- **Volume 5** 五の巻: *koso* こそ; *to* と; *do* ど; *wo* を; *ni* に; *te* て; *de* で; *na* な; *mi* み; *yo* よ; *ne* ね; *shi* し; *raku* らく; *maku* まく; *keku* けく; *kashi* かし.
- **Volume 6** 六の巻: *musubikotoba* むすびことば (*shi* し; *zu* ず; *nari* なり; *keri* けり; *nu* ぬ; *tsu* つ; level 19 to 32 of *Himokagami*; *n* ん; *ran* らん; *ken* けん; *nan* なん; *mashi* まし; *rashi* らし; *tsutsu* つゝ; *kana* かな; *gana* がな), see 8.6.1;
- **Volume 7** 七の巻: *inishie buri* 古風 "Ancient style"

As it can be seen, the entirety of the content of this work concentrates on the category of *te ni wo ha* and to the comparative study of how they behaved in the language of the classical masterpieces. In the first volume, there is also an introduction presenting the historical and theoretical framework within which Motoori operates, parts of which I have already presented above, together with the main table that illustrates what one could understand as the "regular" functioning of *te ni wo ha*, in the context of *kakari-musubi*. This section is called *Santen shōka* 三転証歌 'Poetic evidence of the three changes', where the "three changes" refer to

[38] From FURUTA & TSUKISHIMA (1972, 253-254).

the *shūshikei*, *rentaikei* and *izenkei* forms, in this order. These variations are demonstrated by *waka* quotes from the classics, wherein each of the *kakari* particle interacts with one of the affixes in a specific form out of those three. The second volume presents some specific uses of *te ni wo ha* that might fall outside of the cases presented in the first volume. Particularly interesting is the paragraph on the overlap of more *te ni wo ha*, that refers to the combined use of more *te ni wo ha* in a single string of words, a similar phrasing to what Shizuki uses in the context of compound verbs in Dutch, of which more will be discussed in 8.4.1. I would also like to shed some light on the paragraph titled *henkaku* 変格 'Irregularities', since this is also a term adopted by Shizuki, in *Rangaku seizenfu*. The introductory explanation to this section claims that (vol. 2, p. 13):

これは上にぞ の や 何等の辞をおかずして。ぬる つる なる ける せる るゝ ぬ不し過去など結ひて。定れる格にはづれながら。てにをは不レ調とは聞えぬ歌共を。今かりに変格となづけて。こゝに出せり

In these, one does not place *zo*, *no*, *ya*, *nani* etc. They connect [*musubi*] with *nuru*, *tsuru*, *naru*, *keru*, *seru*, *ruru*, *nu* (negation), *shi* (past) etc., while being the exception to the established type, together with poems in which *te ni wo ha* are not heard in dissonance. These we would call *henkaku* ['irregularities'] and are shown here.

These "irregularities" are all instances in which specific predicates are featured in their *rentaikei* form, even though there are no *zo*, *no*, *ya*, *nani* types of *kakari* particle, which is what one would expect otherwise, if they found a predicate (*musubi*) in that form. One could consider these, thus, as irregular exceptions of the use of *kakari-musubi*, that are, nonetheless, part of the "established" (*sadamari*) distribution of Japanese *te ni wo ha*.

In volume 6, Motoori writes a chapter titled *musubi* (*no*) *kotoba* (that he spells as both むすびのことば and むすび辭). This chapter covers a few affixes that Motoori had expressly not written in the forty-three levels (四十三段) of the *himo kagami* table. However, he writes, these are still to be considered *musubi kotoba*.

紐鏡三転四十三段。又そのほかなるも。すべて結び辞を此巻に出せり。其中にことなることなき辞は。はぶきていださず。

The 43 levels of the three changes in *Himo kagami*. Also, all those *musubi kotoba* other than those in that work are here presented. Among them, those which do not present variations have been excluded and will not be covered.

In this chapter, Motoori covers a few additional affixes or alternative forms of specific affixes, that he did not put in his *himo kagami* table. It will be especially clear that this section was closely studied by Shizuki, as I will claim in 8.6.1. To raise one example, I will illustrate how Motoori describes the first *musubi kotoba* in this chapter, relative to the characters *shi* and *ki*. As I have mentioned, most *musubi* words present three inflected forms (三轉), that correspond to the three forms that concern the phenomenon of *kakari-musubi*. This *musubi-kotoba*, however, only has

two, and that is because the two characters *shi* and *ki* actually correspond to two different morphemes of Japanese. Motoori writes the following (vol. 6, p. 1):

おほよそしときと相轉る言に三つのかはり有。一には紐鏡第一段。右の行りし。中の行りき。左ノ行はけれ也これ也。二には第二段。右の行りし。中の行りしき。左ノ行はしけれ也これなり。三には第三段。右の行りき。中の行りし。左ノ行はしか也これ也。第四段第五段は第三段に同じ。さて此三つの中に。上二段第一第二のしは。いはゆる現在のし。下三段第三第四第五のしは。いはゆる過去のしなり。後世の名目。にしにのみ現在過去の稍有て。きには此稍あることをきかず。そもく此五段ともに。しときとは。たゞその言の切るゝと。下へつゞく所とのけぢめにて。上のてにをはにしたがひて。かはるのみにこそあれ。意は全く同じくて。きにもしのごとく。現在過去の意はあれば。上二段のきは。現在のきといふべく。下三段のきは。過去のきといふべきにこそかくて上二段は。は も 徒のかゝりの時しと結び。ぞ の や 何のかゝりのときと結ぶを。下三段は。うちかへしては も 徒のかゝりの時きと結び。ぞ の や 何のかゝの時しと結ぶ。此事初學のともがらはまどひやすし。紐鏡と此一の巻の三轉證歌とをよく考へ合せてわきまふべし。

As a whole, in the conjunct variation of [the characters] *shi* and *ki*, there are three changes. The first is what I drew in the first level of *Himo kagami*: right column *shi* and middle column *ki* (the left column is *kere*). The second is the second level: right column *shi* and middle column *shiki* (the left column is *shikere*). The third is the third level: right column *ki* and middle column *shi* (the left column is *shika*). The fourth and fifth levels are the same as the third one. Furthermore, in the two upper levels (levels one and two), the *shi* is the so-called "*present* shi". The *shi* in the lower three levels (third, fourth and fifth) is the so-called "*shi* of past". (In the name given by the later generations, *shi* has only the name of "present" and "past". You do not hear any name for *ki*. Originally, also the fifth level, this *shi* and *ki* and their *kiruru* versions, they only change in the conjunction with the *tsuzuku* below, according to the *te ni wo ha* above, though the meaning stays the same. Even *ki*, just like *shi*, has the meaning of present and past. In the two upper levels, *ki* is called *ki* of present. In the lower three levels, *ki* is called *ki* of the past.) Thus, the two upper levels, with a *kakari* of the *wa, mo, tada* type, you have *shi* as a *musubi*. With a *kakari* of the *zo, no, ya, nani* type, you have *ki* as a *musubi*. With the lower three levels, it gets inverted. With a *kakari* of the *wa, mo, tada* type, you have *ki* as a *musubi*. With a *kakari* of the *zo, no, ya, nani* type, you have *shi* as a *musubi*. This issue easily confuses our colleagues of the elementary study. I discuss extensively this in *Himo kagami* as in the first volume [of *Kotoba no tama no o*] in the [chapter] Poetic Evidence of the Three Changes.

This excerpt demonstrates the main vocabulary used by Motoori in the description of Japanese grammar. Referencing the table drawn in *Himo kagami*, Motoori calls its columns *kudari* 行り (also called *misuji* 三條) and the lines "levels" *dan* 段. There are forty-three such "levels", all referred to with cardinal numbers (第一段, 第二段 etc). The three columns are mentioned by their position in the table, namely "left" (*hidari* 左), "middle" (*naka* 中) and "right" (*migi* 右). Each column refers to one "mutation", referred to with the character *ten* 轉 (転), likely read *korogari*, literally 'to roll over'. The *te ni wo ha* referred to by the term *kakari* 'to depend on', 'to hang on' correspond to what are nowadays called "particles" (*joshi* 助詞), while

the *te ni wo ha* referred to by the verb *musubu* 'to connect' correspond to the verbal/adjectival affixes (nowadays *jodōshi* 助動詞). The first five levels of the *Himo kagami* table present the morphemes of specific affixes that possess *ki* and *shi* as viable forms, yet in different context. The first level features the adjectival endings of *-ku* adjectives (among which Motoori includes the ending for the affix *-beshi*). These are conjugated as *-kere* (left column, i.e., *izeneki*), *-ki* (middle columns, i.e., *rentaikei*) and *-shi* (right column, i.e., *shūshikei*).[39] The second level features the adjectival endings of *-shiku* type adjectives. These are conjugated as *-shikere* (left), *-shiki* (middle) and *-shi* (right).[40] The third level features the past affix *-ki*. This is conjugated as *-shika* (left), *-shi* (middle) and *-ki* (right).[41] The fourth and fifth levels are a bit different from the others. Firstly, their left column is empty, suggesting such form (*izenkei*) not to exist. Secondly, they present the conjugation of the past affix *-ki* combined with either the affix *-nu* (fourth level) or the affix *-tsu* (fifth level). The fourth level, thus, presents the two forms *-nishi* (middle) and *-niki* (right);[42] while the fifth level features the forms *-teshi* (middle) and *-teki* (right).[43] As one can notice, in most of these conjugated forms the syllables *ki* and *shi* are present, yet not always in the same column. These syllables, although really being different realizations of different morphemes, were probably sometimes confused by the Japanese of the Edo period and, for this reason, Motoori believed it necessary to distinguish among them precisely. In this explanation, he also mentions what he calls "the names of the later generations" (*gose no meimoku* 後世の名目), whereby he probably meant that that terminology is not found within the classics, yet it represents a later coinage by scholars of the classics. He distinguishes between a "past *shi*" (*kako no shi* 過去のし) and a "present *shi*" (*genzai no shi* 現在のし), with the former referring to the *shi* found in the middle column in the third, fourth and fifth level (*rentaikei* of past affix *-ki*), while the latter referring to the *shi* found in the right column in the first and second levels (*shūshikei* of the endings of both types of adjectives and that of the affix *-beshi*). This excerpt will be fundamental to understand Shizuki's explanations in 8.6.1. In Motoori's vocabulary, the term *musubi* and *musubi kotoba*, thus, referred to the *kana* relative to all the adjectival/verbal affixes and endings. In the chapter titled *Musubi kotoba*, Motoori is not introducing a new concept, he is only expanding on some less-clear issues concerning a few affixes/endings he already listed in the *Himo kagami* table or introducing a few elements – still acknowledged under the concept of *musubi kotoba* – that were not properly featured in that table (e.g., the words *ari* and *nari*).

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[39] For example, the *-ku* adjective *yoshi* 'good' is conjugated as *yokere* (left column), *yoki* (middle column) and *yoshi* (right column). The affix *-beshi* is conjugated as *bekere* (left column), *beki* (middle column) and *beshi* (right column).

[40] For example, the *-shiku* adjective *ureshi* 'happy' is conjugated as *ureshikere* (left), *ureshiki* (middle) and *ureshi* (left).

[41] For example, the verb *ii* 'to say' is conjugated as *iishika* (left), *iishi* (middle) and *iiki* (right).

[42] For example, the verb *chiri* 'to spread' (generally referring to the spreading of the petals of cherry blossoms) is conjugated as *chirinishi* (middle) and *chiriniki* (right), with *-ni* being the *ren'yōkei* of the affix *-nu*. I discuss the two affixes *-nu* and *-tsu* in 8.2 and 8.4.8.

[43] For example, the verb *ii* 'to say' is conjugated as *iiteshi* (middle) and *iiteki* (right), with *-te* being the *ren'yōkei* of the affix *-tsu*.

Kotoba no tama no o by Motoori Norinaga represents something that one could compare to a dictionary of grammar, based on citations from the classics. The entirety of this work is focused on the analysis of those parts of speech that Motoori calls *te ni wo ha*, that are considered, to some extent, the Japanese parts of speech corresponding to the traditional Chinese *joji* "auxiliary" class of words. The *te ni wo ha*, according to Motoori, exist, in Japanese, as a divine concession that the people have started misusing, in the course of time, slowly losing the ability to "properly order" them (*totonoi*), according to the correct manner that the *kami* have "established" (*sadamari*), back when Japanese was created. The reasons why so much attention was given to the category of *te ni wo ha* could be explained in many ways. As claimed above, the *kokugaku* school was trying to defend the claim that that of the Japanese could be considered a complete culture that could exist regardless of the historical Chinese influence. The *te ni wo ha*, thus, required to be made special *vis à vis* their Chinese counterpart. Justification for this was found in the allegation of divine intervention in the creation and distribution of such particles. On more practical terms, instead, since these *te ni wo ha* solely held grammatical meaning, understanding them correctly in the context of centuries-old forms of the Japanese language was, often, a difficult task even for educated individuals, in 18th century Japan. An explanation with more modernized tools was, thus, certainly required for those approaching the exegesis of such ancient works. And that was Motoori's overt goal. At the same time, Motoori was also promotor of what he believed to be a better use of language, that ought to be based on such standards set by the classics. The myth of the divine intervention was, certainly, functional to the justification of his stringent prescriptiveness of proper use of Japanese and its morphosyntax. It is, indeed, morphosyntax which is laid in the focus of Motoori's research, trying to find fixed, "established" patterns in the use of such grammatical elements and particles. The "discovery" of *kakari-musubi*, by Motoori, is not simply self-serving. In fact, it could be said that Motoori was part of a movement that really discovered syntax, in the context of the Japanese language. Motoori did not only schematize and collect the rules of conjugations dependent on this specific category of speech, but he also expanded the discourse toward the idea that sentences cannot be understood as a series of independent phrases only connected by logic, but as pieces that coordinate and influence each other, also from a purely grammatical standpoint. If one understands Motoori's explanation of *kakari-musubi* as a much broader phenomenon than what one generally means with this term, one can understand that this "hanging-tying" relationship could be expanded to the entirety of the grammatical relationships between the *te ni wo ha*.

6.3 Conclusions

In the present chapter, I have presented the ideas and philosophies of the Neo-Confucian Ogyū Sorai and the *kokugakusha* Motoori Norinaga, with specific focus on their theories on language and translation. The two have been central individuals in the development of the culture and literature of Edo Japan. The importance that both gave to historical and classical sources is one of the causes that led them to deal with issues related to language. On the one hand, Ogyū needed to learn Chinese in

order to read Confucian texts, while on the other hand, Motoori needed to learn an older version of Japanese that was not quite intelligible anymore. This encounter with linguistic intelligibility sprouted the motivation to pursue investigations on language, in order to be able to read the much-cherished documents.

Motoori's approach was quite distinct from that of Ogyū. With *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori made a series of morphosyntactic phenomena of classical Japanese explicit which had mostly died off in the linguistic sensibility of the Japanese of his time. He also provided a very specific theoretical and methodological framework. Firstly, he believed that the rules of Japanese are preestablished and fixed; any diversion is to be interpreted as a corruption of the original form of the language from its divine conception. Secondly, he demonstrated how those rules can be deduced by reading analytically the classics of poetry and by noticing patterns of language use. Furthermore, Motoori, by discussing Japanese grammar, also provided concepts and terms concerning linguistic features that do not exist in Chinese but do exist in Dutch, like conjugation.

Ogyū's introduction to translation, instead, provided a way to conceptualize written text as the written form of a lively spoken language, aiding the idea that *kundoku* was but a practical expedient developed in the past by the Japanese to interpret the written from of the language of the Chinese. His pseudo-morphologic categories, most of which derived from Chinese philosophical concepts, provided a way to distinguish characters in groups according to which a Japanese translator could conduct a translation. They were not meant to be "grammatical" categories per se, but they eventually indirectly referred to grammatical issues by virtue of the fact that different Chinese characters represent different Japanese words which correspond to different word classes. Furthermore, the rest of Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō* contained what one might call a "glossary" of auxiliary characters. This glossary belongs to the *jigi* genre, and more specifically to the "Thoughts on Auxiliary Characters" sub-genre and probably provided Shizuki with a Sino-Japanese counterpart to European dictionaries. This is probably how Shizuki approached Marin and Halma's works, namely, by interpreting them as Dutch *jigi* books, from which he selected specific words that did not belong to the "empty" and "quiet" dichotomy, in order to compile his own *Joshi-kō*.

In the following chapter, I will analyze how Shizuki treated morphological and morphosyntactic issues, within his manuscript, evidencing how what just argued influenced his description of Dutch and its theory of grammar.