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

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CHAPTER VII

Parts of Speech in the Works of Shizuki Tadao

Een oud zendeling, die meer dan 20 jaren in China, Cochin-china en Siam had doorgebragt, zeide mij eens: “volgens mijne ondervinding vindt men in de taal van een volk, de uitdrukking zijner beschaving, zijner deugden en ondeugden”, en in de meeste opzigten is dit zeer juist. Maar het woord beschaving heeft in vele landen nog eene te betrekkelijke waarde; wat de Oosterling beschaafd noemt, noemen wij barbaarsch, en omgekeerd; en als wij zien dat in het jaar 1866, in het midden van Europa nog bloedige oorlogen gevoerd worden, deels om persoonlijke opvattingen ten uitvoer te brengen, deels uit materieel winstbejag, deels om het regt der sterksten te huldigen, dan moeten wij toch toegeven, dat dit al zeer wonderlijke uitingen zijn van eene beschaving, welke zich beroemt aan het hoofd te staan van, en tot voorbeeld te moeten dienen aan alle volkeren der aarde.

An old missionary who spent more than 20 years in China, Cochin-China and Siam told me once: “according to my findings one can see in the language of a people the expression of its civilization, its virtues and vices”, and in most cases this is correct. However, the significance of the word civilization still is, in many lands, too relative; what the Easterners call civilized, we call barbaric and vice versa; seeing that in the year 1866 bloody wars are still being waged in the heart of Europe, partly for personal persuasions, partly for material gains and partly in honor of the right of the strongest, then we must admit that these are quite surprising expressions for a civilization that prides itself for being the head of, and example for all the peoples of the Earth.

Johan Lidius Cathrinus Pompe van Meerdervoort (1829 – 1908) in *Vijf Jaren in Japan (1857–1863)*, p. 278

7. Parts of speech in the works of Shizuki Tadao

7.1 *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*

One way to find out whether the disputed *Sensei bunpō* belongs to Shizuki's bibliography is by analyzing its morphological categories. One remarkable difference between *Sensei bunpō* and the other works of Shizuki, such as *Joshi-kō* (7.2) and *Rangaku seizenfu* (7.3), is the fact that in *Sensei bunpō*, the categories of speech are covered starting from the Dutch word and by only subsequently providing a Sino-Japanese corresponding concept and a Japanese translation of the Dutch name, generally coining a calque. This means, for example, that when nouns are introduced, they are called *zelfstandig naamwoord*, and are thus explained in their use and meaning. Only subsequently, is the term *zelfstandig naamwoord* compared to the Sino-Japanese category of *jitsugo* 実語, and translated quite literally into *jiritsu meigo* (*myōgo*?) 自立名語 'self-standing name-word'. In the two other two works I have mentioned, the Dutch term does not consistently appear first, often only appearing in a secondary position to the Sino-Japanese term, as I will show below.

Judging by the morphological classes presented in this manuscript (2.4.1), it appears probable that the author took the Dutch names and concepts from the legend of abbreviations found in Halma's dictionary (see 4.2). It seems unlikely that this specific division of word-classes comes from a grammar book since there actually is no general "verb" category, and verbs are directly split into "active" and "neuter" instead. As argued, the category of verb is generally acknowledged in Dutch grammas at the time. Dictionaries, instead, tended to directly split verbs into the two categories. In fact, in both Marin and Halma's dictionaries, a label "verb" was not needed since all verbs were always categorized as either active or neuter in the entries. It thus seems likely that the division of categories in *Sensei bunpō* was based on one or more dictionaries as source for grammatical information. I will argue below that Halma was the main source, for *Sensei bunpō*, although some terms do come from Marin. Furthermore, not all terms from Halma's legend have been adopted, and some might come from the main body of the dictionary itself.[1]

[1] One specific example is the term *onduitsch woord* 'non-Germanic (Dutch) word', that is used both by Marin and Halma to refer to words with overt French, Latin or Greek origin. As I have discussed in Chapter IV, in the list of abbreviations found in Marin's dictionaries, the term *onduitsch woord* is not featured, and that remains true across the editions. Marin does use the label *onduitsch woord* within the dictionary itself. As for Halma, in the first edition, there is no such a thing as a legend of abbreviations. The term *onduitsch* is only used in this source in the definitions of the entries. The legend of abbreviations added from the second edition onwards does include the abbreviation *ond. w.*, for *onduitsch woord*. However, since Shizuki claims, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, that he makes use of the first edition, no other edition should be necessarily assumed to have been read by him without substantive evidence. However, as I have already mentioned, in 2.4.1, there are elements in *Sensei bunpō* that do suggest the possibility that a different edition of Halma's dictionary was consulted for the compilation of this very manuscript.

In *Sensei bunpō* there are eight main parts of speech, covered in the following order:

1. Noun: *zelfstandig naamwoord*;
2. Adjective: *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*;
3. Adverb: *bijwoord*;
4. Active verb: *werkend werkwoord* or *zijdig werkwoord*;
5. Neuter verb: *generlijk werkwoord* or *onzijdig werkwoord*;
6. Preposition: *voorzetsel*
7. Conjunction: *koppelwoord* or *voegwoord*;
8. Non-Dutch words: *onduitsch woord*.

If one compares this list with the legend of abbreviations in Halma's dictionary (see 4.2), from the second edition onwards, one can notice an almost perfect match.[2] All the terms are the same, including the term *bijvoegelijk* for adjective, whereas Marin used *toevoegelijk*. Furthermore, right after presenting the categories of speech, *Sensei bunpō* covers the *onvolmaakte tijd* 'imperfect tense' of verbs that is the last entry to the legend of Halma's dictionary. Whenever one finds a term that is not used in Halma, the author claims to have taken it from Marin, such as *onzijdig* for "neuter" and *zijdig* for "active" verbs, although this last one seems to be a misnomer, since Marin uses the term *werkend* for active verbs, just like Halma. It could still be possible that this list of categories of speech just happened to be in the same order as the legend found in Halma's dictionary from the second edition onwards, whereas the terms could still have been taken from the first edition, by running into them across the entries. However, there is further evidence that the author of *Sensei bunpō* did indeed refer to a later edition of Halma. This is supported by comparing the entries to the Dutch words listed in *Sensei bunpō* as examples of *voorzetsel* 'preposition', that are only categorized as such in Halma from the second edition onwards, as can be seen in Table 35:

Preposition	**Marin (3rd ed)**	**Halma (1st ed)**	**Halma (2nd ed)**
Onder	Adv.	Byw.	voorzetsel
Buyten	Byw.	Byw.	voorzetsel
Agter	Prep.	Byw. (spelled *achter*)	voorzetsel (spelled *achter*)
Tusschen	Adv.	Voorz.	Voorzetsel

Table 35 Comparison of the labeling of four prepositions found in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* across different editions of Marin and Halma's dictionaries.

As can be seen form this table, in both Marin's third and Halma's first edition, these words were mostly treated as adverbs, labeled *adv.* in French, or *byw*. in Dutch.

[2] The legend found in Marin's dictionary is rather different in order and content, as can be seen in 4.3.

They become prepositions only from Halma's second edition onwards. All these hints, including those discussed in 2.4.1, lead me to assert that *Sensei bunpō* was compiled mostly based on a later edition of Halma's dictionary. This implies that, if *Sensei bunpō* is to be considered a work of Shizuki, he must have had access to at least two different versions of Halma, probably in two different moments of his life, specifically because in *Rangaku seizenfu* it is claimed that the first edition of Halma was the one the author had used, and the contents of *Seizenfu* partially align with the contents of the first edition of Halma.

As far as the category of nouns is concerned, it is initially claimed that these are words that possess both a "body" and a "filling" (有体有実). This can be interpreted in different manners, however, as discussed in Chapter IV. The character for 'body' 体, or 'substance' in TUCKER (2006), was used by many Japanologists to refer to nouns in opposition to adjectives and verbs that were grouped together in the category of *yō* 用 'use', which TUCKER (2006) translates as 'function'. Furthermore, the character for "full" 実 is a clear reference to the Sino-Japanese "full-empty-auxiliary" system, where "empty" words/characters included adjectives and verbs. Thus, a noun would be the "body" that is moved via the combined use of adjectives and verbs. One is also reminded of the metaphor Ogyū Sorai used to explain the distinction between *fuchi* 布置 and *bunri* 文理, whereby the *fuchi* was the "body", the "substance" (体) of the text, while the *bunri* was that which allowed to move the body, to "use" (用) it, via the blood and "energy" (気) flowing through the veins (see 6.1.2.1). The *tai-yō* dichotomy was also used, by Ogyū, within what he called *jihin* 字品. This dichotomy was a subcategory of "full words", and it specifically referred to characters expressing "bodies/substances" (*tai* 体) or "sub-parts of bodies" (*yō* 用). For example, the character *moku* 木 'tree' was considered a *tai* 体, while *yō* 葉 'leaf' and *kon* 根 'root' are both "uses/functions" (*yō* 用).

Additionally, nouns are explained on the basis of their semantics. It is claimed that nouns are the "names of all things" (萬物ノ名) and of "all actions" (萬事ノ稱). Furthermore, nouns are defined morpho-syntactically. The explanation is based on the specific morphosyntactic use of Chinese characters, but is extended to Dutch, eventually running into a contradiction that is not acknowledged in the manuscript. It is claimed that the Chinese character *kō* 行 'to go' belongs to this category, namely "nouns", in sentences such as *senri no yuki* 千里ノ行, possibly from the Chinese quote attributed to Laozu *qiānlǐ zhī xíng, shǐyú zú xià* 千里之行，始於足下, roughly meaning "Even a thousand miles journey starts from the first step". The same character would cease to belong to nouns if the sentence were *senri o yuki* 千里ヲ行, where the particle *no* of the previous sentence is substituted with the particle *o*. This explanation is based on *kanbun* and it requires knowledge of the theory of *kanbun kundoku* to be understood. The Japanese particle *no* ノ is used to express possession, connecting two nouns; in the sentence *senri no yuki* 千里ノ行, that would literally mean "the going of a thousand miles". Here, both *senri* 千里 "thousand miles" and *yuki* 行 "going" are to be considered nouns. If one where to substitute *no* with *wo* ヲ, a Japanese particle that indicates the direct object, then the

character *kō* 行 needs to be a verb and the sentence would be understood as meaning "to go a thousand miles" as in "to travel for a thousand miles". This explanation is reminiscent of a section in Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō* (see 6.1.2.1), where the author clarifies some of the uses of the Chinese character *shi* 之, which often corresponds to the Japanese particle *no*, and the following is written: "after [below] the character *shi* 之 there must be a dead [死] character" (之ノ字ノ下ハ必ズ死字ニナルナリ). This was claimed in the comment to the sentence *kishitsu no hin* 気質之稟 roughly 'to receive the dispositions', a citation from the *Great Learning*, which is morpho-syntactically comparable to the example found in *Sensei bunpō*. The character *hin* 稟, meaning 'to receive from above', is originally a "lively" character, referring to an action, thus corresponding to the Japanese verb *ukeru*. However, since it is used after the character *shi* 之, which always requires a dead word after it, one needs to understand it as a "dead" character and pronounce it accordingly as *uke* or *uketaru*, in Japanese. This is an issue characteristic of *kanbun kundoku*. In Chinese the character *hin* 稟 is pronounced the same, regardless of its role within the sentence. In Japanese, a language with verbal conjugation, that same character can corresponds to many different forms of the verb *ukeru*, including its nominalized forms, depending on the syntactic role of the character *hin* 稟 within the sentence, hence the necessity of clarifying whether a specific Chinese character needs to be understood as "dead" or "lively".

In *Sensei bunpō* it is further claimed that the same also applies to adjectival characters, as in the sentence *manri no kinan* 萬里ノ危難 'the danger of ten thousand miles', where the character *ki* 危 functions as "dead", with the meaning of 'danger', even thought it would originally be a *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*, thus an adjective. This is claimed in the following excerpt from *Sensei bunpō* (2r):

Zelfstandig naamwoord 有体有実ノ語也凡萬物ノ名及萬事ノ稍皆是ニ属ス仮令ハ千里ノ行萬里ノ危難ト云ヘハ行危難類トス又千里ヲ行ト云ハ行ノ字則 w: w:也 gaan ナリ前ニアル行(カウ)ハ gang 也 危難ハ gevaar 也	*Zelfstandig naamwoord*. They have body and filling. The names of all things and actions belong to this. For example, when one says *senri no yuki* 千里ノ行 and *manri no kinan* 萬里ノ危難, they are the types of *kō* 行 and *kinan* 危難. However, if one says *senri wo yuki* 千里ヲ行, the character *kō* 行 is an active verb [*w:w:*] and corresponds to *gaan*. The previous *kō* 行 is *gang* and *kinan* 危難 is *gevaar*.

Here there is a problematic claim that seems to be based on Japanese morphosyntax, but that is actually extended to include that of Dutch, making the claim incorrect. In fact, the verb *gaan* 'to go' cannot be considered an active verb in Dutch and neither Marin or Halma claim this.[3] However, since one can have a direct object with the

[3] There are instances in which the verb *gaan* could be considered transitive, as in the phrase *Ik ga mijn eigen weg*/*pad*/*gang* 'I go my own way/path', though I have not found, in contemporary dictionaries either, much support to the idea of the possibility of considering *gaan* a verb that can be used as transitive, and its use as such would be, indeed, limited to this

character *kō* 行 in Japanese, *Sensei bunpō* considers it as a *w:w:*, that is both Marin's[4] and Halma's abbreviation for *werkend werkwoord* 'active verb'. Shizuki reports that, while the Chinese character *kō* 行, in *kanbun*, can play the role of either a verb or a noun, according to the context and, in the specific case of his example, according to the particle preceding it, in Dutch the transformation of the verb *gaan* – that semantically corresponds to the Chinese character *kō* 行 – into a noun also requires a modification of the pronunciation and spelling, resulting in the substantive noun *gang* '(the) going'. I will return to the category of verbs, as described in *Sensei bunpō*, further below. The explanation of nouns continues by covering genders (2r-2v).

右 zelfstandig naamwoord ノ内ニ三種アリ一ニ曰 mannelijk〜二ニ曰 vrouwelijk〜 也此差別甚タ辨シ難シ或ハ曰ク其言自ラ殊也ト然汦 oorlogs god mars ハ z.m.ニメ舶上ノ mars ハ z: v 也又曰婦人ニ附タル語及ヒ陰物ノ名ト然汦wijf ト云寸ハ婦人ノ㠯ナレ汦尚 z. v. ニアラスメ z. g. 也其定メ難キヤ此ノゴトシ曽テ蘭人ニ問トモ亦其詳ヲ得ス依テ此ヲ虧テ知者ヲ待ノミ又 geenerleg zelfstandign ハ右ノ二ツノ中也或又曰此等皆初音ノ強弱ニヨルト唯 zelfstandignaamwoord ニ而已此別アリテ他種ノ語ニ是ナキハナンリヤ

右実語譯ニ自立名語ㇾ𠆢其語三種一曰男自立名語二曰女自立名語三曰中間自立名語

Amongst the *zelfstandig naamwoord* we saw on the right, there are three sorts. One is said *mannelijk*, the other *vrouwelijk*. The difference between these two is rather difficult to say. We can say that it depends on the characteristic of each word. However, *oorlogs god mars* is masculine, while a *mars* on top of a vessel, is feminine. Furthermore, the word *wijf*, meaning "wife", although referring to a woman, is not feminine but neuter. I have tried asking a Dutchman the specifics of this complex establishment, but I could not get much of a detailed answer. I will wait for someone with deeper knowledge. The *geenerleij zelfstandign*[*aamwoord*] is in between the former two. I other words, all these distinguish between *zelfstandig naamwoord* according to the intensity of the initial sound. The other types of words do not have this.

These are "full words" and translated "self-standing name-word" (*jiritsu meigo* 自立名語). The first is said *dan-jiritsu meigo*, the second is a *jo-jiritsu meigo* and the third is a *chū-jiritsu meigo*.

This excerpt provides specific labels for the nouns according to their grammatical gender, another element that could be derived from Halma's legend. In Japanese, genders are referred to either with the Yin-Yang dichotomy or with the characters for "man" (*dan* 男) and "woman" (*jo* 女). Neuter is called in Dutch *geenerlij* and is translated as *chūkan* 中間, in Japanese. It is claimed that the neuter gender lies in between the other two. I have not been able to find a similar claim in a Dutch

sample sentence, where the argument *mijn eigen weg* can be considered different form a direct object, anyway. Furthermore, the verb *gaan* cannot be made passive, thus not qualifying as an active verb according to either one of the two parameters.

[4] Marin, in his legend, does provide the abbreviation *w.w.* as a possibility of labeling *werkend werkwoorden* 'active verbs', however, as illustrated in 4.2, he prefers using the abbreviation *v.a.*, from the Latin *verbum activum*.

source. The Dutch term for "neuter" does not refer to a middle position per se, either. The term *geenerlij* derives from the adjective *geen* 'no', in this case meaning 'neither'. The other term used in Dutch for the neuter gender of nouns is *onzijdig*, which *Sensei bunpō* only uses to refer to neuter verbs. It literally means 'non-sided'. I assume that the translation into *chūkan* was an elaboration on the concept of "neither" or "non-sided", thus "in the middle".

Furthermore, this excerpt is also an interesting testimony to the difficulties both the Japanese and the Dutch encountered when dealing with the grammatical gender of nouns. Shizuki recognizes the fact that, even though the names of the genders refer to the human sexes, the same grammatical gender does not always correspond to the same sex. This is the case of the word *wijf* 'woman', 'wife', for example, which is grammatically a noun of the neuter gender, although it refers to a female human. Additionally, Shizuki also provides the example of two homophones and, to some extent, also homographs that distinguish in gender. The word *mars*[5] can be used to refer to the "god of war Mars", in which case it would be of the masculine gender, however, when it refers to the "crow's nest"[6] on top of a vessel (*hakujō* 舶上), it becomes feminine. The author further claims to have asked Dutchmen for clarifications on how gender works, but that he has not received any clear answers, and he is thus waiting for a more enlightened person to solve this unclarity. This line of reasoning really evidences the way the author understood the Dutch language, in relation to its written form. For a person used to Chinese characters as written language, an identical writing must imply an identical unity of meaning. In this, the Dutch word *mars* "alternates" between being masculine and feminine in a similar way in which the Chinese character *kō* 行 alternates between being a noun and a verb, according to the use (morphosyntax) one makes of it within a specific sentence. The Japanese author did not, thus, understand the two meanings of *mars* as incidental homophones that would consequently be written identically according to Dutch spelling rules, but rather as one unity of meaning that is employed in two different contexts with two different meanings in accordance with which its grammatical gender varies. It is also interesting to notice that the rules of gender are referred to as an "establishment", for which the verb *sadamaru* 定 is used, which recalls the terminology Motoori Norinaga adopted to refer to the "established" use of Japanese *kana*. In fact, one might say, that it would not make sense for a Japanese speaker to consider the two homophonic *mars* as one unity of meaning with two established gender patterns, instead of two different units of meaning that are only incidentally pronounced identically, since the Japanese written language had already developed a more or less phonetic writing system, namely the two *kana*. However, as I have discussed in Chapter V, it was not rare to consider each *kana* to represent one unit of meaning, which might manifest different nuances of meaning, according to their "established" use in context. For example, it was the character *shi* し that was considered to have the three meanings of time, that were expressed according to the "established" use of the *kana* itself, instead of understanding *shi* as three

[5] The use of capital letters by the Japanese scholars of Dutch was often inconsistent.
[6] A nautical term referring to the basket mounted on the top of the main mast of a vessel, used as a lookout location.

homophonic realizations of three totally different inflecting patterns of three different affixes, as one tends to do today.

Another important issue tackled in *Sensei bunpō* when covering each specific category of speech is how the categories relate to each other, and how one specific category can become another one. The origin of this reasoning should be found, probably, in the studies of Chinese. In Chinese, a character can play different roles and be used as different parts of speech quite interchangeably without morphologically, nor graphically, modifying it. When providing a Japanese version of a text in *kanbun kundoku*, the part of speech each character belongs to has implications for the morphosyntactic rendition of the Japanese sentence. In order to read a Chinese character in the proper morphological form when "translating" a Chinese sentence into Japanese, its role within the sentence needs to be specified. As illustrated in Chapter V, the conception of certain parts of speech as deriving from other categories was quite common in both Chinese- and Japanese-oriented linguistic works. It is therefore not surprising to find a similar approach in the description of Dutch. The importance of understanding the relations between the different parts of speech was so prevalent that the explanation of adjectives, in *Sensei bunpō*, almost only concentrates on it, as can be read below (2r-2v):

Bijvoegelijk naamwoord 無実形又事業ニアラザルノ語也凡諸形容字ノ類皆是也若ハ物ノ貌若クハ事ノ勢其象テ言ヘキモノ是也 groot 大也 rond 丸シ ziek 疾ムト云ハ是ニ属ス grootte 大 rondte 丸 ziekte 病ト云寸ハ皆 Zelfstandignaamwoord 也又一二三ナントノ數ノ名モ皆ナ是ニ属也仮令ハ火トイフ寸ハ zelfstandignaamwoord ナリ vuur 也燃ルト云ハ werkende werkwoord 也 brand ナリ熱シト云寸ハ bijvoegelijk heet 也右形容語譯傍寄名語矣言不可獨立

The *bijvoegelijk naamwoord* are words with no filling nor shape and do not correspond to actions. These are the types of *keiyōji* 形容字. They express the form of things and the impulse of actions. The word *groot* is 大, *rond* is 丸シ, *ziek* is 疾ム, they all belong to them. The word *grootte* is 大, *rondte* is 丸, *ziekte* is 病, and these are nouns. Also the names of numbers, like "one", "two" and "three" belong to this. For example, when one says *hi* 火, this is a noun, corresponding to *vuur*. When one says *moeru* 燃ル it is an active verb, corresponding to *brand*. When one says *atsushi* 熱シ it is an adjective, corresponding to *heet*. These are *keiyōgo* 形容語 and are to be translated as *bōki myōgo* 傍寄名語 and they cannot be independent.

Adjectives are described as "not full" (無実), in contrast with nouns that were full (有実). Indeed, adjectives were generally considered to be "empty" (虚) words, although that character is not used in this definition. It is also added that adjectives do not correspond to actions, and this is because verbs are also traditionally included in the broad category of "empty". Adjectives are called *keiyōgo* 形容語. This word, very similar to what is still being used in contemporary Japanese today, can be found in other works by Shizuki and most notably in Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō* (as I will discuss in 7.2.3), where it referred to Chinese characters that were originally adjective – meaning, "empty" and "quiet" – but that were combined with suffixes such as *-tari*, *-to shite* or *-ku*, and tended to modify verbs, rather than nouns.

In this sense, Ogyū's *keiyō* was much closer to the concept of adverb, rather than adjective.[7] Afterwards, a series of Dutch adjectives are presented, with their Japanese counterparts. It is worth mentioning that the Dutch adjective *ziek* 'sick', is adapted into Japanese with the verb *yamu* 疾ム, probably out of lack of direct correspondence with a Japanese adjective. These Dutch adjectives are, thus, turned into nouns by the addition of the suffix *-te*, an element that does indeed serve this function although not with all Dutch adjectives. Ultimately, *Sensei bunpō* provides an example of words that are morphologically unrelated in both languages, each belonging to a different category of speech, but related on a semantical level, all referencing concepts related to fire. This last list is, thus, not meant to illustrate how the different categories are related morphologically, but rather semantically, in a similar fashion to what is done in the tables contained in *Joshi-kō* (see 7.2.1). The Dutch term *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*, however, is translated into Japanese as *bōki myōgo* 傍寄名語 literally meaning 'noun-words depending on what is nearby'. This translation is explained as referring to the fact that "they cannot be independent", that means that they must be "adjoined" to nouns. The verb "to adjoin" can be translated into Dutch as *bijvoegen*.

The next part of speech described in *Sensei bunpō* is that of adverbs, called *bijwoord*, in Dutch. Their definition is quite brief, which is understandable considering the inconsistent use of this category across the dictionaries of Marin and Halma (see Chapter IV). The brief explanation claims the following (2v):

Bijwoord 諸ノ問語 waar, wat, wanneer, wie, welk ナント及ヒ此ノ如キノ類皆是也 voorzetsel ト似テ別也　右助語譯傍語	Amongst *bijwoord* there are all interrogative words (問語), like *waar*, *wat*, *wanneer*, *wie*, *welk* etc. They do look like *voorzetsel* [preposition], but they are still different. These are *jogo* 助語 and translate *bōgo* 傍語.

This explanation is not very clear. It claims that all "interrogative words", that are called *mongo* 問語, belong to this category, yet no example of any other type of word belonging to *bijwoord* is mentioned. The only further information provided is that adverbs are similar to *voorzetsels* 'prepositions', which does not help much either. The idea that adverbs and prepositions are similar is probably a consequence of the fact that in both Marin and in the first edition of Halma, many of the words categorized as prepositions were considered "adverbs" from Halma's second edition onwards. The interrogative pronouns *waar* 'where', *wat* 'what', *wie* 'who', *wanneer* 'when' and *welk* 'which one' are also not consistently considered as adverbs in the Dutch dictionaries. In Table 36, one can see how these words were treated in each relevant dictionary.

[7] As I will discuss in 7.2.3, Shizuki will adopt the term *keiyō* to refer to specific uses of adjectives that, similarly to Ogyū, tended to be closer to adverbs, in *Joshi-kō*.

Dutch interrogative pronoun	Marin (3rd edition)	Halma (1st edition)	Halma (2nd edition)
Waar	Adv. bijwoord van plaats aanwyzing	bijw.	is een bijwoord dat nu ondervragend en dan opzigtelijk is
Wat	[Not labeled]	voorz.; pronom rélatif	bijv w. word ook als een zelfstandige naamwoord gebruiken
Wanneer	Adv.	bijw.	bijw.
Wie	[Not labeled]	Voorn.	ondervragend voornaamwoord
Welke	Pronom.	Een voorn.	opzigtelijk voornaamwoord

Table 36 Comparison of the labeling of five interrogatives found, considered adverbs in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, across different editions of Marin and Halma's dictionaries.

In none of these editions does one find a consistent labeling of these interrogative pronouns – called "interrogative words" in *Sensei bunpō* – as adverbs. The only occurrence in which one of them is called a preposition is with the term *wat,* in the first edition of Halma's dictionary, where one finds the abbreviation *voorz*. for *voorzetsel* 'preposition', followed, however, by the French *pronom rélatif*. The author of *Sensei bunpō* may have confused the abbreviation *voorn.*, standing for *voornaamwoord* 'pronoun', for *voorz.*, standing for *voorzetsel*. This could be reinforced by the fact that the table of abbreviations found from Halma's second edition onwards does not present any reference to pronouns. However, in the entries above, the abbreviation *voorn*. is only found in the first edition of Halma, which does not comprise a table of abbreviations to begin with. It is possible that the author of *Sensei bunpō*, founding his knowledge on the table he found in another edition of Halma, went back to this first edition, and mistook the abbreviation *voorn*. for *voorz.* However, no such claim can be substantiated with the present evidence.

The word "adverb" is translated into Japanese as *bōgo* 傍語, literally 'nearby-word'. However, adverbs are the only category that is called *jogo* 助語, in this manuscript. This term is also only found in this instance within *Sensei bunpō*. Since the category of adverbs was already unclear in the Dutch sources, and the Japanese manuscript does not clarify much either, one is left wondering what type of words were to be understood by the label *jogo*, according to this source. The only thing one can deduce is that interrogative pronouns belonged to it.

Afterwards, consistent with Halma's list of abbreviations, *Sensei bunpō* covers the category of verbs. As already mentioned, in dictionaries there was no need to present a general category of "verbs" since each entry always presented the specification of whether each verb was either active or neuter. The same can be seen in *Sensei bunpō* (2v-3r):

Werkende werkwoord ハ brengen 運フ nemen 取ル maake 為ス verbergen 隠	A *werkende werkwoord* is like *brengen – hakobu, nemen – toru, maake*[*n*] *– nasu, verbergen – kakusu* etc. They all are words which "do an

ス等也皆事ヲナスノ語也 Wijna holland ハ我等阿蘭国ニ運フ也余準メ右譯二為事事語一ト即然語 geenerlij werkwoord ハマーリンニテハ onzydig w: ト云自然ノ語也又 werk: w:ハマアリンニテハ zijdig w: 也使然ノ語也己レニ依テ而モ他ニヨラサルヲ自然ト云行ク立ツ成ル等也行ル立ツル成ス等ハ皆使然也又何ノ使然語ニテモ其先ニ zig アレハ自トナル假令ハ ombrengen ハ殺スナリ zig ombrengen ハ自殺ナル故 zigdig 意ニナル也又自然語ノ前ニ laaten アレバ使然トナル laaten gaan ハ行カシムル也右自然語譯由亡[己]語

action". *Wij* [*brengen*] *na Holland – warera oranda no kuni ni hakobu*. All the others as well translate *ijigo* 為事語, these are *zengo* 然語. A *geenerlij werkwoord*, in Marin, is called *onzijdig w:*, and is a *jinen no go* 自然ノ語, furthermore a *werk: w:*, in Marin, is a *zijdig w:*. This is a *shizen no go* 使然ノ語. For this, others are called *jinen* since they do not concern others. These are the likes of *yuku*, *tatsuru* and *naru*. Verbs like *yukuru*, *tatsuru* and *nasu* etc. are *shizen*. For whatever *shizen* verb, if there is *zig* after it, it becomes *ji*(*nen*). For example, *ombrengen* means *korosu*, *zig ombrengen* means *jisatsu suru*. It gets the meaning of *zigdig*. Furthermore, if there is *laaten* before a *jinen*, it becomes *shizen*, like *laaten gaan* becomes *yukashimuru*. The translation of *shizengo* is *yukogo* 由己語.

This is a rather complicated excerpt to interpret since it also contains questionable information and a few misspellings. The text starts by presenting active verbs and by listing a few examples in both Dutch and Japanese. These active verbs are *brengen – hakobu* 'to bring', 'to carry'; *nemen – toru* 'to take'; *maken – nasu* 'to make' and *verbergen – kakusu* 'to hide'. These are further explained as "words that do an action" *waza wo nasu go* 事ヲナス語, a phrasing that SUGIMOTO (1976, 408) claims coming from Ogyū Sorai, without specifying where precisely in Ogyū's works it comes from. In *Kun'yaku jimō* one can read a comparable quote (see 6.1.2), stating that "moving characters and lively characters are actions. Thus, they are characters [expressing] the use of an instrument" (動字活字ハ事ナリ故ニ其道具ヲ使フ字ナリ). As a sample sentence one finds an incomplete Dutch phrase reading *Wij na Holland* 'We to Holland' that one can assume was supposed to include the verb *brengen* 'to bring' from the presence of the verb *hakobu* in the Japanese translation, a term that the author had just used to translate the Dutch verb *brengen*, a few lines before. This type of verb is translated into Japanese as *ijigo* 為事語,[8] that literally translates 'words doing actions'.

Neuter verbs are called *geenerlij werkwoord*, a term also found in Halma. In Marin, as it is indeed pointed out in *Sensei bunpō*, neuter verbs are referred to as *onzijdig*. Here, it is also claimed that Marin refers to active verbs as *zijdig* verbs, but that is not a factual claim. Both Marin and Halma do refer to active verbs as *werkend* and the term *zijdig* is not attested in any of the sources I have been able to refer to. The term is translated into Japanese as *yukogo* 由己語, which SUGIMOTO (1976, 409) considers the correct spelling of what is spelled as 由亡語, in *Sensei bunpō*. Japanese terms corresponding to these two concepts are *shizen* 使然, for 'active verbs', and *jinen* 自然, for 'neuter verbs'. These are terms that one can find in the

[8] The reduplicated presence of the character *ji* 事, in the original text is to be considered a misspelling (SUGIMOTO 1976, 409).

table of the parts of speech contained in *Joshi-kō*, where they are accompanied by the alternative names of *dōta* and *jidō*, that are, on their turn, the same terms used in *Rangaku seizenfu* (see 7.2.1 and 7.3).

At the end of this excerpt, the author illustrates two manners in which one can turn Dutch transitive verbs into intransitives and vice versa. It is claimed that if one uses *zig*, a reflexive pronoun for the third persons, in combination "with any active verb" (何ノ使然語ニテモ), the verb becomes neuter. *Sensei bunpō* only presents the example of the verb *ombrengen* 'to kill', 'to murder', translated into Japanese as *korosu*. Its reflexive version *zig ombrengen* 'to kill oneself' is, instead translated as *jisatsu suru* where the character *satsu* 殺 'to kill' is combined with the character *ji* 自 'self'. This is a very intuitive example, I assume, for a Japanese speaker to understand the meaning and the difference between *ombrengen* and *zig ombrengen*. The point is that the Dutch term *zig* corresponds directly to the Chinese character *ji* 自, that is also the character distinguishing active verbs (使然) from neuter verbs (自然), in their own labels. Traditionally, verbs interacting with *zig* (also spelled *zich*), were called "reflexive", in Dutch grammars. I have searched for the entries of both *zig* and *ombrengen* in Marin and Halma's dictionaries. Marin considers *ombrengen* a neuter verb, although he does provide a transitive example in the sentence *iemand ombrengen* 'to kill somebody'. Halma considers it an active verb, across all editions, however, only the first edition has the example *hy heeft zich zelven omgebragt* 'he has killed himself'. None of the entries to *zig* (spelled *zich* in Halma's first edition) provides any relevant information in this regard.[9]

Conversely, according to *Sensei bunpō*, one can turn a neuter verb into an active one by adding the verb *laaten* 'to let' in front of it, as in the example of *laaten gaan* 'let go', 'make go', which is translated into Japanese as *yukashimu*, thus by the addition of the affix *-shimu*, generally considered to correspond to causative constructions.

The next part of speech are prepositions, which are explained in the following manner (3r):

voortsetgel ハ onder, buijten, agter, tusschen 等也多ハ處ノ上ニテ云テ実語ニ由テ言ヲナスモノ也其下ニ其外カ其後等也又 van ハ之ノ字ノ意ヲナス語也若王之子ト云フ寸ハ zoon van de koning ト云王之前ト云	A preposition is like *onder, buijten, agter, tusschen* etc. They are often said regarding a place, and they make a *koto* 言 depending on a "full word". They mean things like "below", "outside" or "afterwards". Furthermore, the word *van* corresponds to the meaning of the character 之. For

[9] It appears that the idea of considering *zig ombrengen* as a neuter verb has to do with the fact that Japanese morphology calls neuter verbs with the character *ji* 自, which corresponds to the Dutch *zig*. The point is that, with a reflexive verb in either language, *zig* and *ji* 自, correspond to the patient of the action. However, since the term *zig* is considered to be a reflexive pronoun detached from the verb, one can understand the verb to be some sort of active verb with a reflexive pronoun as direct object. In the Japanese example provided by Shizuki, however, the character *ji* 自 becomes part of the verb itself, while still representing the patient of the verb, thus meaning that the verb does not technically have a direct object. However, this is just speculative.

寸ハ voor van de koning ト云フテ而モ voor van de koning ト云ス是レ voor ハ voorzetsel ニメ zoon ハ然ラス凡ソ其語 voorZ:ノ寸ハ van ハナキノ例也 van モ又 voorZ 但シ極テ廣キ語也亦 bijvoeg lijken ヲ次ニ zelfstandig naamworod アル寸ハ de, het ノ類ハナキ例也 groot koning 大王ノ類也

example, when one says *ō no ko* 王之子 it is [in Dutch] *zoon van de koning*. However, if one says *ō no mae* 王之前, it is not *voor van de koning*. This is because this *voor* is also a preposition and is not like *zoon*. This is an example of the absence of *van* when there is a preposition. The word *van* is also a preposition. It is a broad word. Furthermore, when you have a noun after an adjective, you do not use the type of *de, het* [i.e., articles]. The type of *groot koning*, which is *ōō* 大王.

As claimed above, the examples of prepositions found in this excerpt are only categorized as *voorzetsel* from the second edition of Halma's dictionary onwards. There is an interesting explanation worth discussing here. The text claims that the Dutch word *van* corresponds to the Chinese character *shi* 之 which, in turn, corresponds to the Japanese particle *no*. In both Chinese and Japanese this word connects the owner to the owned element, placed in this order. However, the Dutch word *van* works the other way around, much like English "of", meaning that the owned element appears before *van* and the owner after it. With this in mind, the author of *Sensei bunpō* rendered the simple sentence *ō no ko* 'the son of the king' by translating each character/word literally, into *zoon van de koning*. In Japanese, the same construction can be used to express the location of something. The sentence "before the king", in fact, would also be structured as *ō no mae* (with *mae* meaning 'before', 'in front of'), but the direct translation *voor van de koning* does not work in Dutch, and one needs to say *voor de koning* precisely because the word *voor* 'before', in Dutch, is another preposition and you cannot combine the two prepositions *voor* and *van* in this manner. Another interesting remark in the excerpt above concerns the use of prepositions. It is claimed that they are often used with locations, and this makes sense specifically considering the examples of Dutch prepositions provided. However, it is also claimed that, when depending on a "full" word, they are used to make a *koto* 言. What this term specifically refers to is not so intuitive. As I have mentioned in 5.6, the term *koto* 言 has been used with many meanings in the history of linguistic studies in Japan. In *Sangoku shukushō*, it is claimed that the term *koto* 言 refers to the combination of Chinese characters, which possess both (syllabic) sound and a meaning. One could interpret this use of the term *koto* as corresponding to something similar to what is claimed in this manuscript. When describing verbs, it was claimed that they are used to "make actions" (*waza o nasu* 事ヲナス); adjectives were defined as "not being actions" (*waza ni arazaru* 事業ニアラザル), nouns were defined as "the name of all things, the nomenclature of all actions" (*manbutshi no na oyobi manji no shō* 萬物ノ名及萬事ノ稱). Could it be that the term *koto* 言 needs to be understood in relation to these categories? This would mean that the term *koto* 言 is to be understood as a combination of a "preposition" and a "full" word that would not be too far from the use of the term *koto*, as found in *Sangoku shukushō*.

The text continues (3v) by covering articles, which had just been introduced.

woordlid トハ de, het ノ類ヲ云是ハ実語ノ先ニ必アルモノ也但シ人名國名数名及ヒ god ニハ是ナシ右語譯節	A *woordlid* is the type of *de* and *het*. These must be placed before full words. They are not used with names of people, names of countries, names of number and with the word *god*. The translation of this word is *setsu* 節.

Many words have been used in Dutch to refer to "articles", mostly including a variation of the term *lid*, which had been adopted as a direct translation of the Latin term *articulus*, diminutive of *artus* 'limb' (see Chapter II). The Chinese character *setsu* 節, used here to translate this part of speech, might derive from this literal interpretation of the term *woordlid*. In Marin's and Halma's dictionaries, there is no reference to this word in their legends of abbreviations. The term is found, however, within the entries to the two articles, with some variations. In Marin's third edition, *de* is described as a *woord-lidje*, while *het* as a *lidwoordtje* or as a *woordje* 'small word'. In Halma's first edition *de* is referred to as a *woordleedje* and *het* as a *voorzetsel*, a "preposition". From Halma's third edition onwards, *de* was called both a *woordlid* and a *woordleedje*, while *het* a *lidwoordje* and *woordje*, just like in the first edition. The only real occurrence of the term *woordlid*, is in Halma's definition of the article *de*, from the second edition onwards. However, no reference to the absence of articles with specific nouns is found in these entries. A similar claim with regard to the fact that one does not use articles with specific names, with numerals and with the word *god* 'god' is also present in other works of Shizuki, namely *Sanshu shokaku* and *Joshi-kō* (see 2.4.2), and I argued it seemed possible that such information could have been drawn from Séwel's *Spraakkonst*. Since there does not seem to be any other reference to that Dutch source in *Sensei bunpō*, it is unlikely that its author could have directly read Séwel. What is more probable is either that these sentences just happened to be similar to what was claimed by Séwel or that it was mediated by another Japanese source after being taken from Séwel and before reaching *Sensei bunpō*. However, because of the debated origin of this manuscript (2.2), no definitive statement can be asserted with certainty, as of now.

The next category of speech are conjunctions (3v). As discussed in Chapter IV, the terminology found in Marin's and Halma's dictionaries regarding conjunctions was inconsistent. Looking at the relevant examples of *Sensei bunpō* again shows the fact that this work was mostly based on an edition of Halma different from the first one.

Koppelwoord ハ indien, als, schoon, 上句ト下句トノ意ヲツナク也 als ik zie 我ト[10]見ルナラハト云テ次ノ是意ヲ生ス又 terwijl ik daar was 我彼所ニアル間ト云ヘハ意味断ル所アリ故ニ此語ハ傍語ニ属メ此ニ入ラズ gelijk de dief 如盗ト云フ寸モ又傍語ニナ	A *koppelwoord*, like *indien*, *als* and *schoon*, connect the meaning of the upper clause to the lower one. It gives the meaning of *als ik zie – ware to* (sic!) *miru naraba*. When one says *terwijl ik daar was – ware asoko ni aru aida*, since this is where the meaning gets interrupted, this belongs to a preposition, and cannot be inserted here. When one says *gelijk de dief – nusumi gotoshi*, this is also

[10] Likely a misspelling.

ル故意味断ル也右語連續語voegwoord蓋koppelwoord ノ事也	a preposition, and the meaning gets interrupted. A *voegwoord* or *koppelwoord* is said *renzokugo*.

In the table of abbreviations present in Halma's dictionary from its second edition onwards, one does see both the terms *koppelwoord* and *voegwoord*. In 4.1, I claimed that the use of these labels appeared to be distributed unevenly across to the pages of this dictionary, meaning that *koppelwoord* tended to be used mostly in the first half of the work, while *voegwoord*, was more common in the second half of it. I have speculated this to be a consequence of the distribution of the compilation of this dictionary across the different individuals. In Marin's third edition, neither term is present in its table of abbreviation. By looking at the examples of conjunctions present in the excerpt from *Sensei bunpō* above, one can see that, none of them was categorized as a conjunction in Halma's first edition. However, they are all categorized as such, from the second edition onwards. In Halma's first edition, one also finds the entry *t'zamenvoeging*, another term for "conjunction", where it is explained as a *koppelwoord*, that is also a word of grammar (*Een koppelwoord in de spraakkunst*). Marin does not categorize these terms as conjunctions either, except for the word *schoon*, which is called, in Latin, a *conjuctio*.

Conjunction	**Marin (3rd edition)**	**Halma (1st edition)**	**Halma (2nd edition)**
Als	*gelyk, indien, wanneer*	*gelyk, terwyl, wanneer*	*koppelwoord gelyk, terwyl, wanneer*
Gelyk	*Adv. Adj.*	*byw.*	*byv. w. byw. koppelwoord*
Indien	*Adv.*	*een voorzetsel*	*koppelwoord*
Schoon	*Conjuctio*	*byv.* (Only recognized as an adjective)	*koppelworod*
Terwyl	*Adv.*	*byw.*	*byw. voegwoord*

Table 37 Comparison of the labeling of five conjunctions found in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* across different editions of Marin and Halma's dictionaries.

I conclude that this section was also based on a later edition of Halma's dictionary. The fact that these words could also be used in manners different from conjunctions, was also understood by the author of *Sensei bunpō*. In fact, both *gelyk* and *terwyl* are also called both conjunctions and adverbs (*byw.*) from Halma's second edition onwards. In in *Sensei bunpō*, they are called *bōgo*. According to *Sensei bunpō*, adverbs and conjunctions are rather similar, while their use is opposite. Conjunctions are defined as words that "connect" (*tsunagu* ツナク) two clauses; hence, they are called *renzokugo* 連續語, from *renzoku* 連續 meaning 'connection'.

Adverbs, on the other hand, have the role of "interrupting the meaning" or "dividing the meaning" (意味断ル).

The excerpt above has three sample sentences, namely: *terwyl ik daar was* 'while I was there', *als ik zie* 'If/when I see' and *gelijk de dief* 'like the thief'. I have not been able to find the last sentence, or anything comparable, in any of the dictionaries. There are, however, sentences that are phrased similarly to the former two. In the entry to *als*, in all editions of Halma, one can find the sentence *Als ik den hemel aanzie* 'when I look at the sky', that could have been simplified into *als ik zie*, by eliminating the direct object and utilizing the simpler verb *zien* instead of *aanzien*. The sentence *terwyl ik daar was* has been most likely taken from the sentence *Dat gebeurde terwyl ik daar was* 'That happened while I was there', which can be found in the entry to *terwyl*, in all editions of Halma. However, a very similar phrase can also be found in the entry to *terwyl* in Marin's third edition of his dictionary, in the form *Dat gebeurde terwyl ik 'er was*.

The last part of speech is that of loanwords, called *onduitsch woord* by both Marin and Halma. In *Sensei bunpō*, these are defined as "impure words" (*junsui narazu* 純粋ナラス) and "not correct words of Dutch" (*doitsu no shōgo ni arazaru* ドイツノ正語ニアラザル). Another term that is relevant, in this quote, is the term *shōgo* 正語, which can be understood as "correct" or "proper word", implying that loanwords were not "proper Dutch words". However, as seen in 6.1.2, the term *shōgo* 正語 was used by Ogyū Sorai in his *Kun'yaku jimō* to refer to quite a different concept. The term *shōgo* 正語 was, in fact, used by Ogyū to categorize both "full" and "empty" words, in contrast to the "help" words that he called *jogo* 助語. A *shōgo*, according to Ogyū is, thus, any type of word that is not a *jogo*. This does not seem to be the nuance in meaning intended in *Sensei bunpō*, regarding *onduitsch* words. Below the excerpt describing this category (4r).

onduisch woord ハ純粋ナラス凡ノカワリタル語也ドイツノ正語ニアラサル也 qiuspitoor ナトノ類也今日本ニモ此類アリ	An *onduisch* [sic!] *woord* is a word which is not pure. It generally is an alternative word. These are "improper words" in Dutch. These are the types of *qiuspitoor* etc. Nowadays, we have these in Japanese as well.

It would have been interesting to know which words the author of *Sensei bunpō* perceived to be the Japanese equivalence to a Dutch *onduitsch woord*. However, no such example is provided.[11] There is one example of an *onduitsch* word, but it is not clearly spelled and understanding which word it supposedly referred to is not easy. It seems to spell something along the lines of *qiuspitoor*. Since it is known that *onduitsch* words were often Latin- or French-derived, one can assume that the letters

[11] One can get an idea of how European loanwords, specifically from Dutch and Portuguese, were treated in Edo Japan by reading, for example Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Ransetsu benwaku* 蘭説弁惑, that GOODMAN (1952, 71) translated as "A clarification of misunderstandings in theories [about] the Dutch". Reference this source for a complete English translation of the manuscript.

< qiu > were probably < qui > since in both languages the letter < q > is always followed by < u >. Consequently, one would obtain a word that would be just one letter apart from the word *quispidoor*, an alternative spelling of *quispedoor* ‘spittoon’, ‘cuspidor’. The entry to *quispedoor* is found both in Marin and in Halma, yet not in the first edition of the latter. In Marin the “Dutchified” spelling *kwispedoor* is also attested, while the spelling *quispidoor*, with < i >, instead of < e >, as it seems to be spelled in *Sensei bunpō*, is only attested in Halma, from the second edition onwards. Even though none of these sources categorize it as an *onduitsch woord*, it is true that this is a loanword, namely from Portuguese *cuspidor*, from the verb *cuspir* ‘to spit’, ‘to spew’.[12]

In principle, the list of parts of speech discussed in *Sensei bunpō* should now be concluded. However, this section of the work is based on Halma’s legend of abbreviations, which was not meant to represent only morphological categories of speech. In fact, the last line of the legend included the word *onvolmaakte tyd* ‘imperfect tense’. For this reason, *Sensei bunpō* continues (4r) with this topic:

onvolmaalcte tijd ハ voorleden tijd, had, hebben 之 voorleyden tijd 也総テ voorl: ト deelw:トノ別ハ凡ソ ge ノツキタルハ皆 deelwoord ハ gegeven 也其 vool: tijd ハ gaf 也 ik gaf トハヱ𠮟ik gegeven トハイワス	The *onvolmaalcte tijd* is the *voorleden tijd*, *had* is the *voorleyden tijd* of *hebben*. The difference between a *voorl:* and a *deelw:* is that all those which have *ge* attached to them are *deelwoord*, like *gegeven*. Its *vool: tijd* is *gaf*. You can say *ik gaf* but you cannot say *ik gegeven*.

In this entry, Shizuki compares the word *onvolmaakte tijd* ‘imperfect tense’, as found in Halma’s legend, with the word *voorleden tijd* ‘past tense’, as is found in Marin. He also takes this opportunity to specify the difference between a past tense and a *deelwoord* ‘participle’. A participle can be distinguished, according to Shizuki, by the presence, or lack thereof, of the element *ge-*, as in *gegeven* from the verb *geven* ‘to give’. This is a prefix that can indeed be regularly used to conjugate most verbs in their past participle forms. In both Marin and Halma, the prefix *ge-* has its own entry, as can be seen in Table 38.

Subsequently, *Sensei bunpō* mentions compound words, called *zamengesteld woord* in Dutch, which Shizuki translates literally into Japanese as *gōseigo* 合成語. It is not clear which source this term comes from. In Halma’s second edition, under the entry to the word *konst* ‘art’, one does find the word *t’zamengestelde naamen*, referring to compounds with *konst*. However, no such reference can be found in *Sensei bunpō*. The first example found in the Japanese source is the separable compound verb *wederkomen* ‘to come back’. However, the entries to this verb contained in the three dictionaries do not present any relevant information in this regard. I assume that this

[12] VETH (1889, 11-15) claims that this word was generally believed to be a Spanish loanword, dating back to the Eighty Years’ War (1568 – 1648). However, the author claims the Portuguese origin to be more likely, entering Dutch in the Asian contacts between the two languages. The word would, thus, come from the Portuguese verb *cuspir* ‘to spit’, found in words such as *cuspideira* and *cuspidor*. Both can mean “spittoon”.

information probably came from another source. However, in this section all sorts of compound words are covered, not only compound verbs. Specifically, one finds compounds with prefixes, suffixes, and prepositions.

Marin (3rd edition)	Lettergreep tot de samenstelling der voorledene tyds Deel-woorden diende.	Syllable serving the composition of the participles of the past time.
Halma (1st edition)	GE, is een artykel of lid waar van men, in 't Neêrduitsch, de Præterita van de daadelyke werkwoorden maakt, by voorbeeld, *Ik heb gemaakt*, van 't werkwoord *maaken*; *Ik heb geschreeven*, van 't werkwoord *schryven*, en zoo van alle de anderen; ook maakt men hier van het deelwoord (participe) der lydelyke werkwoorden, als, by voorbeeld; *geschreven*, *gemaakt* enz. van de werkwoorden *schryven*, *maaken* enz.	*Ge*, is an article or *lid* from which one makes, in Dutch, the preterit of the active verbs, for example, *Ik heb gemaakt* ['I have made'], from the verb *maaken* ['to make']; *Ik heb geschreven* ['I have written'], from the verb *schryven* ['to write'], and the same for the others; one can also make with it the participles (participle) of passive verbs, like, for example; *geschreven* ['to write'], *gemaakt* ['made'] etc. from the verbs *schryven* ['to write'], *maaken* ['to make'] etc.
Halma (2nd edition)	GE, is een lettergreep dat gebruik is om de deelwoorden van de voorleden tijd, te maaken. Als, *gemaakt*, van 't werkwoord *maaken*; *geschreven*, van 't werkwoord *schrijven*.	*Ge*, is a syllable which is used to make participles of the past tense. Like, *gemaakt* ['made'], from the verb *maaken* ['to make']; *geschreven* ['written'], from the verb *schrijven* ['to write'].

Table 38 Definitions to the syllable *ge-* in Marin and Halma's dictionaries.

The manuscript proceeds (7v-8v) by covering the topic of personal pronouns, dividing them according to the three persons, that are presented in Dutch and translated into Japanese in the following fashion: *eerste persoon* – *ichiban-jin* 一番人 'first person'; *tweede persoon* – *niban-jin* 二番人 'second person'; *derde persoon* – *sanban-jin* 三番人 'third person'. The author of *Sensei bunpō* also provides explanations for the uses of each, specifying which person each pronoun refers to and also providing a Japanese counterpart. The first-person pronouns *ik* and *wij* are translated as *ware* or *wa* 我; the second-person pronouns *gij* and *gijlieden* are translated as *nanji* 汝; the third-person pronouns *hij* and *zij* are translated as *kare* 彼.

Eerstepersoon 一番人ト云シカ如シ我ヲ云ナリ此内三様ノ別アリ ik, mij, mijn,也 ik, ハ我起テ物ヲ先タツノ意アリ ik zal u geven 我汝ニ與エント也 mij ハ我居テ物ヲ待テ又物来テ我ニ容タルノ意アリ凡 mij ハ静ニシテ人ニ役セラレ ik ハ働テ物ニ役ス gij

The *eerste persoon* is like saying the "first person" and it refers to *ware* 我 ['I']. Within this there are three types *ik*, *mij* and *mijn*. The *ik* has the meaning of "advancing things originating from *ware*". For example: *ik zal u geven – ware nanji ni ataen* 'I will give you'. The *mij* expresses the meaning of "in me [*ware*] things are possessed, come or enter within me". If *mij* is made quiet, used by people, *ik*

zult mij geven ハ汝我ニ与フベシトナリ与フルハ彼ナリ挙ゲ受ルハ我ナリ惣テ ik ニハ必ス一ツノ事語アリテ是ニ對ス mij ニハ附カス右ノ zult モ彼ニツクモノナリ又 mijn ハ我其物事ノ主タル也 mijn kind 我カ子 mijn, hand 我手ノ類ナリ又 wij, ons, onze モ我ナリ但シ二人以上ノ語ナル故我等ト云ンカ如シ而テ wij, ik ノ如ク ons ハ mij ノ如ク onze ハ mijn ノ如シ右男女ニ通テ一也

works using the thing. Like *gij zult mij geven – nanji ware ni atau beshi*. What is given is *kare*. The person receiving is *ware*. All these certainly correspond to one word: *ik*. In the contrary, one does not add *mij*. The *zult* above also regards the "he". The *mijn* refers to "me being the owner of that thing". For example *mijn kind* is *wa ga ko*, *mijn hand* is *wa ga te*. Also *wij*, *ons* and *onze* are *ware*. However, they are words concerning two people or more, so it is probably something like saying *warera*. Furthermore, *wij* is similar to *ik*, *ons* to *mij* and *onze* to *mijn*. These regard men and women, indistinctly.

Tweede persoon 二番人ト云カ如シ我ニ對スルモノヲ云所謂汝ナリ又三種アリ gij ハ ik, 如ク u ハ mij ノ如ク uwe 又 uw ハ mijn ノ如シ又二人以上ニ汝等ト云フ gijluden ト云 gij トモ云其外差別ナシ右男女ニ通メ一也

The *tweede persoon* is like saying "second person". It is said in opposition to *ware*, meaning *nanji*. There are three types. The *gij* is similar to *ik*, *u* to *mij*, *uwe* to *mijn*. Furthermore, when talking about two or more people, it is *gijlieden*. One can also say *gij*. There is no further difference. These regard men and women, indistinctly.

Derde persoon 三番人ト云ンカ如シ我ニ非ス汝ニ非サルヲ云所謂彼レナリ hij, hem, zijn 次第前ニ同シ又二人以上ニハ zij, hem, hun ト云　右男語也

The *derde persoon* is like saying "third person". This is neiter *ware* or *nanji*. It is *kare*. The sequence *hij*, *hem* and *zijn* is the same as before. When used for two or more people one says *zij*, *hen*, *hun*. These are words for males.

婦人一人ナレバ zij, haar, haare ト云二人以上モ一也

When talking about a single woman it becomes *zij*, *haar*, *hare*. For two or more it is the same.

After dealing with personal pronouns, *Sensei bunpō* transitions (8v-9r) into interrogative pronouns and the interrogative construction of sentences.

ondervraagende voornaamwoord ハ誰ト問也 wie is het ト云寸ハ是ハ誰ノヤト云フ乁也 wie wien, wiens ト云寸ハ其次第前ノ如シ三様ノ別也又所ヲ問ニハ waar ト云時ヲ問ニハ wanneer ト云物ヲ問ニハ wat ト云數物ノ中ニ於テ別テ問フ寸ハ welke ト云 wat𠮟云又右ノ語其所其時其物ト云フ事ニモナル但シ問否ノ別テシレハ自ラ別ル事語ハ必ス自立名語ニ對スルノ也其事語自立名語ノ前ニアルハ問語也 zal ik Eeten ハ問語也 ik zal eeten ハ否ラス此ノ如キ類

An *ondervraagende voornaamwoord* asks who, like *wie is het* is *dare no ya*. The sequence *wie*, *wien* and *wiens* is the same as the three types before. Furthermore, when asking the place, we say *waar*, when asking the time, we say *wanneer*, when asking a thing, we say *wat*, when we need to distinguish between many things, we say *welke* or *wat*. These can also refer to "that place", "that time", "that thing". Understanding the difference of whether a sentence is a question or not is in the verb itself, which must come in contrast with a noun. In case such verb comes before the noun it is an interrogative. For example, *zal ik eeten* is an interrogative sentence, while *ik zal eeten* is not [an interrogative].

This argumentation appears to be a less-detailed version of what is found in *Zokubun kinnō* (see 2.4.8), where Shizuki illustrates the order of words in each specific type of sentence, including interrogative ones.

In the last few pages of *Sensei bunpō*, one finds some extra information about pronouns, verbs, articles, and negation. Here, one can also see the Dutch terms *voornaamwoord* 'pronoun' and *persoonelijk voornaamword* 'personal pronouns' being used. An interesting issue is raised when the author of the manuscript notices that the Dutch term *voornaam* can also be used to refer to the first name of people. The term *voornaam* is transcribed in *katakana* characters as *hōrunāmu* ホールナーム that can also be found in *Joshi-kō*'s section on grammar as *furigana* to the word *daimeishi* 代名詞, referring to pronouns (see 7.2.2). Approximately one page is devoted to explaining the conjugation of the verbs *weezen* 'to be' and *hebben* 'to have' in their present tenses according to the subject pronouns, and the difference between a preterit, or *voorledentijd* 'past time', called *kako* 過去, in Japanese, and *deelwoord* 'participle', meaning a past perfect. Articles are divided into two types: *de* and *het*, with the rest being their declined forms. Here, it is briefly explained how to use the two, also considering the *meervoud* 'plural' form of the noun they refer to. When explaining the use of articles, there is a small section about the accusative case, *beschuldigend geval* in Dutch, which provides a sample sentence straight from Halma's dictionary that is not present in the first edition (under the entry to *de*). The article *de* is here defined as a *woordlid* (while in the first edition it was called either a *voorzetsel* 'preposition' or *woordleedje*), which becomes *den* in the *geevend* and *beschuldigend* cases, 'dative' and 'accusative', respectively. This can be read in the section from *Sensei bunpō* below (10v).

den ト云フ寸ハ其自立名語静ニ受ルノ意ニナル是時 beschuldigende geval ト云頁時ト云ンカ如シ hij gaaf dat den regter over ノ類ナリレクトル静ニメ受ルモノナリ	The *den* has the meaning that the noun receives quietly. In this case, it is like a *beschuldigende geval* [accusative case], as in the type of *hij gaaf* (sic!) *dat den regter over* ['He passed it over to the judge']. The *regter* is made quiet and is the one receiving.

This explanation is interesting since it claims that the word *regter* 'judge', in the sample sentence is "made quiet". This is expressed through the Chinese character *sei* 静, the same used for the category of "quiet words" in the Sino-Japanese tradition, generally referring to adjective. SUGIMOTO (1976, 417) believes that the phrasing *shizuka ni shite* 静ニメ "is made quiet" corresponds to the concept of direct object. However, SUGIMOTO (1976) did not interpret the Dutch sentence correctly to begin with, since he translates it into Japanese as *kare wa sore ni hantei wo ataeta* 彼はそれに判定を与えた 'He gave it a judgement', where he mistook the word *regter* 'judge' for 'judgment' (this would be *oordeel* or *vonnis*, in Dutch) and assumed *dat* 'that' to be the receiver/indirect object of the action of giving, rather than the direct object itself. Consequently, the phrasing "is made quiet", since it refers to *regter* (transcribed as *rekutoru* レクトル, in Japanese), must refer to the concept of indirect object or, better said, the dative case. In this sense, thus, "being made quiet"

refers to the idea that the role of a noun in the date case is to receive the action being neither the one moving, or the one being moved. Nonetheless, the excerpt above only mentions the accusative case (*beschuldigend geval*), which the form of the article *den* can also serve. In fact, this piece of text is likely based on the entry to the definite article *de* found in Halma's dictionary (on page 115 of the first edition, and on page 128 of the second one). There it was claimed that "this article *de* changes in the dative and accusative case into *den*" (Dit woordleedje *de* verandert in 't geevend en beschuldigend geval in *den*). Subsequently the same sample sentence is presented. Thus, in both Halma's quote and in the Japanese one, the form *den* – albeit used in a dative context – is compared to its accusative counterpart.

As a conclusion, I claim that the manuscript titled *Nakano Ryūho sensei bunpō* is largely based on the legend of abbreviations, found in Halma's dictionary from the second edition onwards. The author probably interpreted the terms therein as referring to concepts comparable to word-classes, or what Ogyū would have called *jihin* 字品. A unique characteristic of this manuscript that is not seen in the other works attributed to Shizuki is the fact that the parts of speech are first introduced with their Dutch name, followed by an explanation and some examples and, only afterwards, with a Japanese literal translation – oftentimes a calque – and the concept from the Sino-Japanese tradition to which the Dutch term could be compared. If it is true that this manuscript corresponds to what is otherwise known as *Oranda shihin-kō* 和蘭詞品考, this would imply that this work is the one Shizuki must have compiled earlier in his life. Were this to be true, then one would need to find an explanation for the fact that *Sensei bunpō* was based on an edition of Halma subsequent to the first one. The first edition of Halma has been used for other works, such as *Seizenfu*, that would need to be a later compilation to *Shihin-kō*, and that Shizuki believes contained mistakes. In my view, the content of *Shihin-kō* is very different from the rest of Shizuki's works, specifically *Joshi-kō* and *Seizenfu*. Why do most of the calques coined by Shizuki in this work never appear again in any other of his sources? Why is the general understanding of the parts of speech so different from what can be found in the other sources? Perhaps, if one were to consider this an early work, it would mean that Shizuki had not yet extensively read the works of Ogyū Sorai and Motoori Norinaga.

One might claim that European lexicographical works were not the best sources if one intended to learn Dutch grammar and its theory. Marin's and Halma's dictionaries were mostly meant for Dutch speakers to acquire French vocabulary and did not aim to inform their readers about the complexities of grammar, syntax, and morphology. Moreover, the tables of abbreviations found at the beginning of both dictionaries were not meant to be comprehensive lists of the categories of speech, and often included concepts uncommon in morphology, while not including some important categories of speech. It is precisely because he used such sources that the author of *Sensei bunpō* ended up only recognizing the categories of "active verbs" and "neuter verbs", and lacking a general category of "verbs", for example.

7.2 *Joshi-kō*

As I have mentioned in 2.4.2, when it comes to the categories of the parts of speech, *Joshi-kō* is quite a peculiar source. Firstly, because not all the copies of this manuscript include a section on grammar. Secondly, because the information contained in the section on grammar often appears to be internally inconsistent, often presenting multiple names for the same category without many elucidations. Because of this, I have speculated that a section on grammar might have been added later to the original source, perhaps by some copyist, and that this new combination (glossary + section on grammar) was afterwards copied over, starting a new lineage in the philological history of *Joshi-kō*. Consequently, the information in *Joshi-kō* regarding the parts of speech to be discussed in the present section is quite extensive. I have thus chosen to split the present section into three sub-sections: the first containing the analysis of the tables and their comments (7.2.1), and the last two (7.2.2 and 7.2.3) containing the rest of the grammatical explanations, divided according to the labels there used for the parts of speech.

7.2.1 The two tables

Shizuki's *Joshi-kō* can be understood as a glossary to be used as a reference guide for the category of *joshi* 助詞 'auxiliary word'. Functionally, it is a Dutch-Japanese dictionary limited to translating words belonging to this category and, as already argued (see section 5.5), it fits neatly within the Neo-Confucian sub-genre of the *jigi* 字義, which I have called "Thoughts on Auxiliary Characters". However, what Shizuki means by the term *joshi* is not per se intuitive. This has led some to assume that this term was used to refer to all those categories of speech of Dutch that he could not distinguish or properly understand (DE GROOT 2005, 147-149). However, as I will argue in this chapter, combined with the evidence collected in Chapter VIII, this description is far from being true and Shizuki's use of the term *joshi* can be better explained by comparing and analyzing the explanations scattered across his works. As illustrated in 2.4.2, *Joshi-kō* is a rather long work, whose main body is devoted to listing all the Dutch words that are considered *joshi*, for which a classical Japanese translation is generally provided, often adding example sentences in Dutch, that get translated into classical Japanese as well. It is well documented that these entries are based on Marin's dictionary (DE GROOT 2005, 151-152; SUGIMOTO 1976, 397-404). As I will show in 7.2.4, the list of Dutch words found here includes the parts of speech generally considered to be conjunctions, adverbs, articles and pronouns in the Greek-Latin tradition. Thus, from a Dutch point of view, grouping them together seems rather arbitrary however, as I will argue further below, there is a clear reason why Shizuki does group them together. In fact, eventually, I will be able to argue that the category of *joshi* can also be considered productive within the context of Dutch grammar. In addition, in some copies of *Joshi-kō* there is also a section with "grammatical explanation". As I have discussed in 2.4.2, there are reasons to believe that these sections were added later.

In the first page of the grammatical explanation (48r), one finds a rather explicative table, that illustrates the relations between the categories of speech, mostly based on the Chinese tradition of “empty-full”, as seen in Table 39.

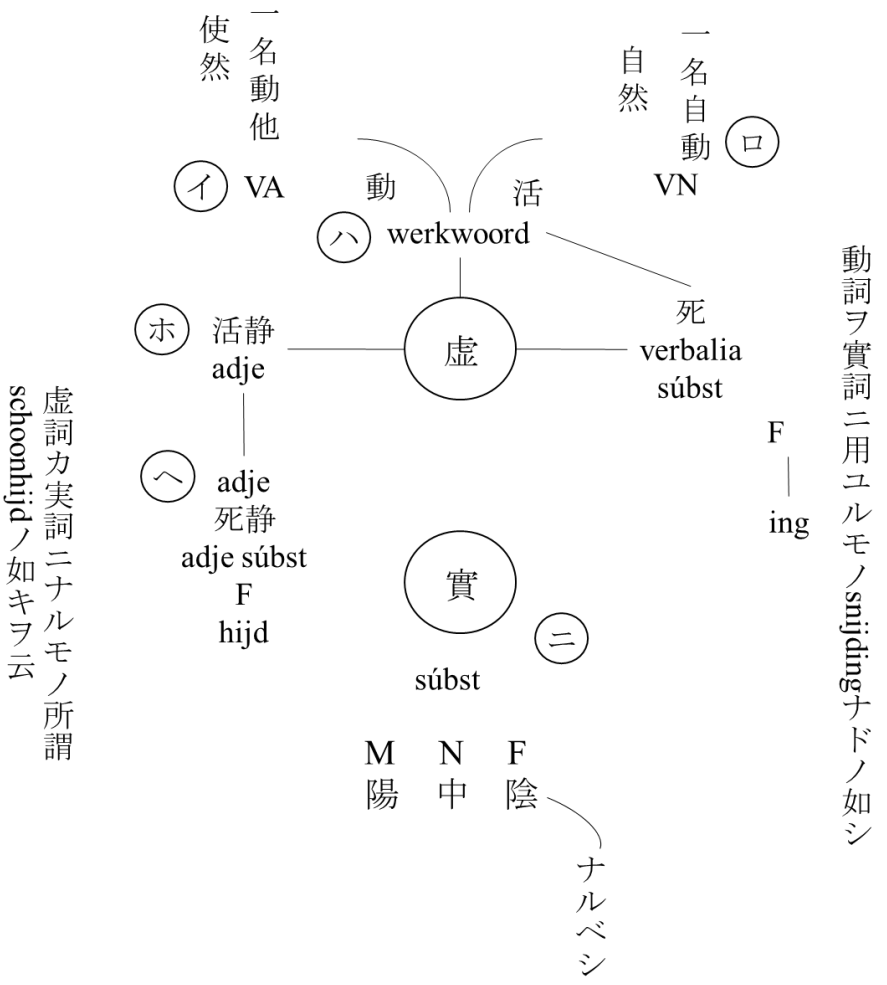

Table 39 Copy of the table of the parts of speech in *Joshi-kō*.

This table illustrates the relations between the parts of speech that do not belong to the *joshi* category. Next to each category, one finds *katakana* characters in the *iroha* order, which are used to refer to text outside the table (see below). This table should probably be read from the center moving toward the outside, starting from either one of the two *foci*: “empty” 虚 or “full” 実. The lower *focus* “full” 実 presents the Latin characters *subst*, abbreviation of the Latin term *substantivum*, standing for

"substantive" nouns. It is added that "full" words can be of three types: *M*, for "masculine", translated into Japanese as *yō* 陽 'Yang'; *F*, for "feminine", translated into Japanese as *in* 陰 'Yin'; and *N*, for "neuter", translated into Japanese as *chū* 中 'middle'. As I have discussed in Chapter IV, the use of the first letter from the Latin words for the genders was probably taken from Marin's dictionary. In fact, in Halma's dictionary genders are always abbreviated from their Dutch term. The *iroha* character *ni* ニ is written on the side of the Chinese character for "full". This refers to the following page, where one finds additional terminology related to nouns: *zelfstandig naamwoord*, that is the Dutch term for "noun"; the Latin-derived abbreviation *subst*; and a couple of additional terms in Chinese characters. Nouns are here called *shijitsusōshō* 死実惣稱, composed of the character *shi* 死 'dead', *jitsu* 実 'full', *sō* 惣 'all', *shō* 稱 (称) 'nomenclature'. The combination of *sōshō* 惣稱 'all nomenclatures' probably refers to the idea that nouns are used to name the objects of the world (semantic definition). This is a similar phrasing to *Sensei bunpō*, where nouns were defined as "the names of all things and the nomenclature of all actions" (萬物ノ名及萬事ノ稱). The character for "dead" was also found in Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō* (see 6.1.2), where it was employed to refer to the "use" (*yō* 用) of verbs or adjectives in a way that did not allow them any further inflection and it was there often equated to nouns ("full words", *jitsu* 実). It is added that the term *shijitsusōshō* 死実惣稱 can be abbreviated into *jisshi* 実詞 "full word". This can be called a morphosyntactic definition. An alternative name for nouns provided here, is *jitaishi* 自体詞, which appears to be a direct translation of the Dutch *zelfstandig naamwoord*, with *zelfstandig* 'independent' or 'substantive' adapted as *jitai* 自体 'autonomous', 'itself'. In *Sensei bunpō* (7.1), there is another literal translation of the Dutch term for noun, namely *jiritsu myōgo* 自立名語, where the idea of 'independent' (*jiritsu* 自立) recalls that of 'autonomous' (*jitai* 自体). Furthermore, the character *tai* 体, often used for nouns, in Japanese traditional studies, was also mentioned in the definition of nouns in that source, in the phrasing "they have shape and filling" (有体有実).

The second *focus* of the table corresponds to the category "empty words" (*kyo* 虚). This category splits into three sub-categories. The first sub-category is that of verbs, called *werkwoord* in Dutch and *katsudō* 活動 'lively moving', in Sino-Japanese. Both these characters serve to distinguish the category of verbs, from the two other types of "empty words". Adjectives are called *seikatsu* 静活 'quiet lively', with the character *sei* 静 'quiet', contrasting with *dō* 動 'moving' used for verbs. The character *katsu* 活 'lively', instead, contrasts with the third and last sub-category of "empty words", namely *shi* 死 'dead'. In fact, one could also interpret the table as implying that there are two main sub-categories of "empty words", namely "lively" (*katsu* 活) and "dead" (*shi* 死) words. In this sense, "quiet" (*sei* 静) and "moving" (*dō* 動) words would be considered as sub-categories of "lively" words. However, as will be shown below, "dead words", although stemming from "empty words" are said to belong to the category of "full words" (実ノ属).

An alternative abbreviated name for verbs is *dōshi* 動詞. This term is the most common name for "verbs" across Shizuki's bibliography and it is still commonly used today. The category of verbs splits into two further sub-categories that are identified as *VA* and *VN*. Shizuki provides the correspondence of *VA* to *werkende werkwoord*, a word Marin and Halma used for "active verbs", in their dictionaries, and *VN* to *onzijdige werkwoord*, which Marin adopts for neuter verbs, while Halma used the term *geenerlei*. Thus, the letters *VA* and *VN* are abbreviations of *verbum activum* and *verbum neutrum*, the Latin terms that Marin used in his dictionary, instead of the Dutch initials, found in Halma. Either type of verb is provided with two Japanese names: neuter verbs are called either *jidō* 自動 or *jinenshi* 自然詞; while active verbs are called *dōta* 動他 or *shizenshi* 使然詞. Unfortunately, a proper definition for any of the subcategories of verbs is not provided here, thus it is not clear just by reading *Joshi-kō* how one should interpret these concepts. However, the terms *jidō* and *dōta* 動他 were used and explained in *Rangaku seizenfu* (see 8.3). The terms *jinenshi* and *shizenshi* are not very common within Shizuki's works, only really being featured in *Sensei bunpō*, where the terms *jidō* and *dōta* do not appear at all. As discussed in 5.4, these terms have been used in Japanese sources to refer to what MATSUO (1943, 462-463) seems to imply to correspond to the idea of transitivity and intransitivity.[13]

Adjectives are called *seikatsu* 静活 'quiet and lively' to distinguish them from "lively moving" words, i.e., verbs. Below this category one finds the letters *adje*, an abbreviation of Latin *adjectivum*. The Dutch name is *toevoegelijk naamwoord*, also found in Marin, instead of the alternative *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*, found in Halma. The Japanese full name of this category is *kyoseikatsushi* 虚静活詞, which provides all the references to the morphosyntactic sub-categories adjectives belong to, namely: *kyo* for "empty"; *sei* for "quiet" and *katsu* for "lively".

Both adjectives and verbs can be "used" (*yō* 用) as "dead" (*shi* 死). This recalls Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, where the "use of characters" (*ji no yō* 字ノ用) was one of the sub-branches of his translation. While the connection between "full" and "dead" words was not as clear in that source, Shizuki makes it evident. The table claims that "lively quiet" (adjectives) and "lively moving" (verbs) words can be turned "dead". Within the Sino-Japanese framework this means turning an "empty" word into a "full" word. Within the Greek-Latin framework, instead – it refers to the nominalization of adjectives and verbs. This is clear from the quotes added to both sides of the table. On the left, one reads: "Turning an "empty" word into a "full" word, that is like saying *schoonhijd*" (虚詞カ実詞ニナルモノ所謂 schoonhijd ノ如キヲ云). On the right, one reads: "Using a verb as a "full" word, that is like

[13] Unfortunately, I have not been able to find much secondary literature concerning the use of these two specific terms – namely, *jinen* 自然 and *shizen* 使然 – nor have I been able to conduct any deeper research in this regard as the secondary literature is extremely lacking, requiring extensive literary research. While it would be certainly interesting to know the history of the use of these terms, supposedly of Buddhist origin, within linguistic investigations, I will have to limit myself to the observation that they were mostly treated as synonyms to the pair *jidō* and *dōta* in Shizuki's works.

snijding" (動詞ヲ実詞ニ用ユルモノ snijding ナドノ如シ). As illustrated in the table, this is done, in Dutch, by means of specific suffixes. In the examples, *schoonhijd* 'beauty' is the noun derived from the composition of the adjective *schoon* 'beautiful', plus the suffix *-hijd* (usually *-heid*). Similarly, the word *snijding* 'cutting' is the nominalized version of the verb *snijden* 'to cut', whose root is *snijd-* plus the suffix *-ing*. Shizuki adds that when using these two suffixes, the resulting noun is feminine (*F*). These are the same examples found in the second rule of the genders of nouns that was added by the editors in the third edition of Marin (see 4.3). There, it was claimed that the suffixes *-heid* (or *-heit*) and *-ing* are used to turn adjectives and verbs, respectively, into nouns of the feminine gender. Shizuki also adopts the term *verbalia*, which Marin – or, rather, his editors – uses to refer to nominalized verbs. The term *verbalia* does not appear in either Séwel or Halma. This is defined by Shizuki as the "dead use" (死用) of verbs, that are also labeled as *subst*, meaning "noun" and "full". Nominalized adjectives are not labeled in any specific way in Marin's dictionary. However, Shizuki also provides a sub-category for them. He calls this *seishi* 静死 "quiet dead", in contrast with *seikatsu* 静活 "quiet lively", the term he uses for non-nominalized adjectives. What is particularly interesting is that Shizuki not only comes up with a new Sino-Japanese category, probably inspired by Ogyū's "dead use", but he also invents a Dutch term for it. Shizuki labels nominalized adjectives as the Latin abbreviations *adje subst* and refers to them in Dutch as *toevoegelijk zelfstandig naamwoord* combining the name of adjectives (*toevoegelijk naamwoord*) with the name of nouns (*zelfstandig naamwoord*). I have not been able to find this term in any Dutch source and it appears to be a personal invention of Shizuki. The closes thing I could find to this term are particular wordings in Séwel[14] where he talks about nominalized adjectives or the combined use of adjectives with nouns. In all the editions of the *Spraakkonst*, Séwel uses *byvoegelyk* instead of *toevoegelyk*, the latter being the preferred term by Marin. The complete name of this category is *kyoseishishi* 虚静死詞, which differs from the full name of adjectives (*kyoseikatsushi* 虚静活詞) only for the character "lively" (*katsu* 活) being substituted with "dead" (*shi* 死). When explaining

[14] Séwel is seen relating adjectives and nouns very often, in his *Spraakkonst*. In particular, he covers the nominalization of adjectives in the following way: "Nittemin gebeurt het wel dat een Byvoegeliyk Naamwoord in een Zelfſtandig veranderd wordt, als *De donker begint te vallen. Het groen is nu op zyn krachtigſt. De wilden hebben hem doorgeſlagen.* Men voegt dikwils twee *Zelfſtandige* Naamwoorden byeen, waarvan het voorſte de plaats van een Byvoegelyk bekleedt […]". ('However, it does happen that an adjective gets turned into a noun, like *The dark begins to fall*. *The green is now at its strongest*. *The wilds have beaten him*. One also often connects two nouns together, of which the first one plays the role of an adjective […]') The closest thing to Shizuki's *toevoegelyk zelfstandige naamwoordern* is found in phrasing such as '*byvoegelyk en zelfſtandige naamwoordern*' as in page 191 of the first edition, where Shizuki could have interpreted the conjunction *en* 'and' to be relating the adjectives *bijvoegelijk* and *zelfstandige* as both qualifying *naamwoord*, rather than referring to two types of nouns, as in *bijvoegelijk* (*naamwoorden*) *en zelfstandige naamwoorden*. This is just speculation, and I cannot state anything definitive. However, what one can say is that this category is mostly an invention of Shizuki, that could perhaps have been reinforced by misinterpreting some of the content of Séwel, or some other source.

adjectives Shizuki adds a few examples of their uses as compared to what one would call adverbs. He writes that the Dutch adjective *goed* 'good' corresponds to three different conjugated forms of the Japanese *yoshi*, *yoki* and *yoku*. These are considered *seikatsu* 静活 'adjectives' and are labeled with the Latin abbreviation *adje*. The Dutch adverb *wel* 'well', is labeled as *adje* in some copies, but it is labeled as *adv*, an abbreviation of *adverbium*, in Waseda's C559. I assume the copies with *adje* to be misspellings on the side of the copyist. In Sino-Japanese, *wel* is categorized as a *joshi* 助詞 and corresponds to the Japanese words *yoshi* and *yoku*. The reason why *goed* (an adjective) can also be translated into Japanese as *yoki* and *wel* (an adverb) cannot, is because *yoki*, a *rentaikei* form, allows the adjective to be used attributively. The form *yoshi* is a *shūshikei*, that would correspond to the predicative use of the adjective, while *yoku*, a *ren'yōkei*, allows for the adjective to be used adverbially. As a further explanation of the distinction between *goed* and *wel*, Shizuki adds that: "This is a type of *joshi*, I will call things like this *dōkyakushi* 動客詞" (助詞中ノ一種如此者今名動客詞). This is a very interesting issue, since Shizuki is identifying a difference in the use of *goed* and *wel*, that correspond to different conjugated forms of Japanese adjectives. An adverb is recognized as a different category, which Shizuki calls *dōkyakushi* 動客詞, which should probably be interpreted as "verb-substitute", not differing too much from the original meaning of "adverb", as I discussed in 3.2.7. The adaptation of the Dutch *bijwoord* "adverb" as *dōkyakushi*, seems to be closer to the interpretation of the term, where *woord* is a direct translation of *verbum*, with the sense of "verb" and not "word", thus interpreting *bijwoord* as "word close/substitute to a verb". Conversely, in *Sensei bunpō* the translation *bōgo* 傍語 was adopted, that implies the interpretation of its meaning as "close-word", with *woord* meaning "word" and not "verb". Marin defined adverbs as an "invariable word, that gets placed by or attached to a verb" (*Onveranderlyk woord, dat by een Werkwoord geplaatst, gevoegd word*). It is worth mentioning and further investigating the fact that even though the information regarding adverbs – their name and their definition – was well in reach, the author of this section of grammar in *Joshi-kō* consciously decided to partially neglect this information and still categorize adverbs within the broader category of *joshi*. This is consistent with what I will argue in 7.2.4.

The "dead use" (死用) is further explained in the following quote (49v):

動詞ヲ死用セルモノ ing.ヲ帯フ verbalia ノ中ニモ komst. gang.ナドノ如キハ ing.ナシ然モ其意一ナリ但 ing.アル者ハ必ス f ナリ静ノ死ニモ hÿd.ナキモアリアルハ必ス f ナリ静死ハ多クハ hÿd.ヲ帯タリ	In using a verb as a 'dead' word, *-ing* is added. Amongst the *verbalia* there are also [words] like *komst* ['coming'] *gang* ['going'], without *-ing*. Nonetheless, they are the same concept. Furthermore, whenever there is *-ing* it must be a F ['feminine']. Even amongst the 'deaths of an adjective' (*sei no shi* 静ノ死) there are those which do not have *-hijd*. When there is, they are F ['feminine']. In many 'deaths of adjectives' *-hijd* is added.

Shizuki is adding that the suffix *-ing* is not the only way to turn a verb into a substantive. He raises the examples of *komst* from *komen* 'to come' and *gang*, from

gaan 'to go' and adds that even among adjectives there are examples of "dead adjectives" that are not turned into substantives by means of the suffix *-hijd* (*-heid*), although he provides no example of this.

In general, one can say that the broad structure of the theory of the categories of speech, as found in the tables of *Joshi-kō* is based on the Sino-Japanese tradition, exemplified by the "empty-full" dichotomy. This theoretical framework is very much in line with Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*. In addition, this was combined with what was found in Marin's dictionary, specifically in the introduction written by the editors. Indeed, the main categorization of the parts of speech is ultimately based on the "full-empty" dichotomy, typical of Chinese studies, a scholarship that further distinguishes between two additional dichotomies, namely "lively-dead" and "moving-quiet". By combining these qualities, one obtains specific sub-categories, that correspond to the traditional Dutch categories. That is to say that, if one takes an "empty-lively-quiet" word, then one would have a Dutch *toevoegelijk naamwoord*, an "adjective". Had one taken an "empty-lively-moving" word, then one would have a "verb", instead. Were one to use that same verb as "dead", instead of using it as "lively", then one would obtain "nominalized verbs", which would become "full" and be called *verbalia*, according to the terminology found in Marin's dictionary. Since Dutch grammar does not really analyze nominalized adjectives as a separate category, the author comes up with a Dutch term for them: *toevoegelijk zelfstandig naamwoord*, which are "empty-quiet" words used as "dead". In this regard, I would like to mention an implication of the Sino-Japanese theoretical framework that is brought over by Shizuki onto the Dutch framework. If a word like *schoonheid* is called a "dead quiet" word and not a "full" word (although it does belong to the latter category), then it means that words are to be considered as having an "original" form that defines the "original" category they belong to. Through suffixation one can modify words to make them change their morphosyntactic qualities. However, they cannot change the class they originally belong to. This is similar to what was argued by Ogyū, for example, when he explained the "dead use" of lively words, where he cited Chinese characters according to their supposed "original" form and showed how they could be used as "lively" and as "dead" (see 6.1.2). In the Dutch word *schoonheid*, composed of the root *schoon* and the affix *-heid*, it is *schoon* that is an originally empty word, which is turned into a "dead" word by means of the affix *-heid*. This idea that words possess an original non-derivative version according to which one categorizes them morphologically is typical of the Sino-Japanese tradition. However, it does not appear to me that the same could be used to describe the Dutch sources Shizuki read. In this sense, Shizuki afforded to the Dutch categories characteristics typical of the Sino-Japanese understanding of Chinese characters, still based on that introduction in Marin's dictionary.

In order to better understand the table above, the author draws it again (49r) by adding examples of words semantically related to flora, in order to illustrate how words change according to each category. Table 40 is a copy of it:

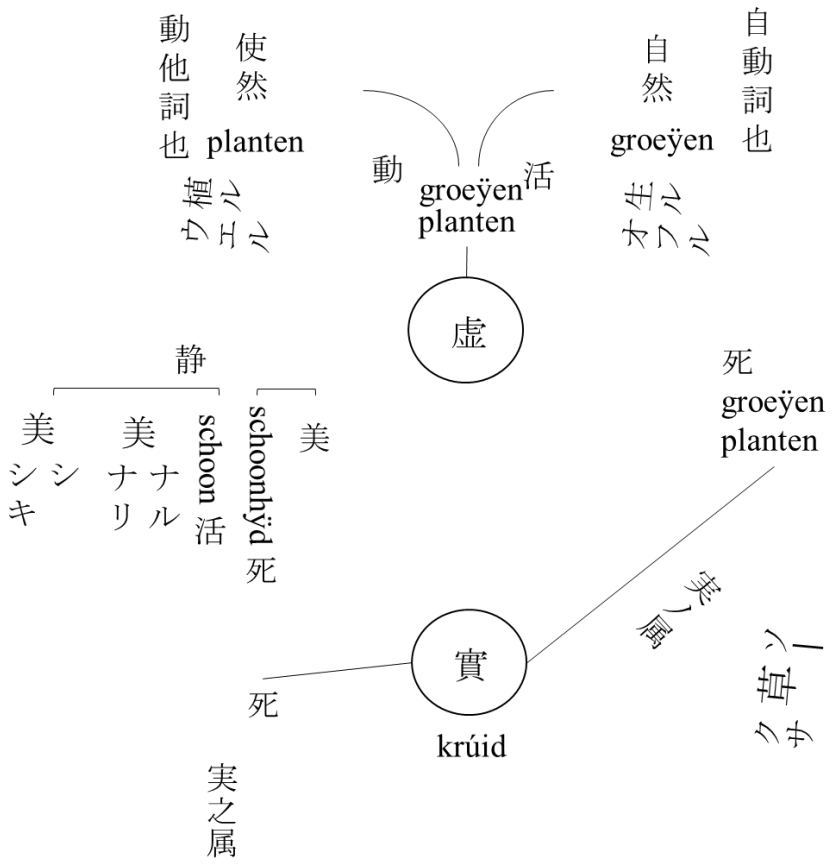

Table 40 Table of the parts of speech in *Joshi-kō* with word examples.

Table 40, just like Table 39, ought to be read from the center toward the outside, starting from the two *foci*, represented by "empty words" (*kyo* 虚) and "full words" (*jitsu* 実). In this example related to flora, the "full word" is *kruid* – a generic term that can be used to refer to any type of vegetation – that is translated into Japanese into the homologous *kusa* 草. The word *kruid* is a noun, just like *kusa*, and it does not derive from the modification of an original word belonging to any other category. They are both "originally" substantive words. For this reason, this term is considered the "full word" in the semantic context of vocabulary related to flora. The "empty" category splits into three. On the top, one finds the category of verbs comprising *groeijen* 'to grow'[15] for neuter verbs (*jidō* 自動 or *shizen* 使然), and *planten* 'to plant' for active verbs (*dōta* 動他 or *jinen* 自然). The active *planten* is

[15] Note that the Dutch verb *groei(j)en* cannot be used as a transitive, unlike the English 'to grow'.

translated into Japanese as *ueru* 植ル, while the neuter *groeijen* as *ouru* 生ル. They both can be used as "dead" (*shi* 死) and thus belong to the "full" category (実ノ属), yet the "dead" form of both is left unchanged from the infinitive; this is understandable for *groeijen* since it cannot combine with the suffix *-ing*, and less so for *planten* that could combine with the suffix *-ing*. A similar thing is claimed regarding adjectives (*seishi* 静詞). To represent adjectives Shizuki gives the example of the word *schoon* 'beautiful'.[16] The "lively" (*katsu* 活) form *schoon* is translated as *utsukushiku naru* 美ナル, *utsukuhsiku nari* 美ナリ, *utsukushi* 美シ and *utsukushiki* 美シキ. The "dead" (*shi* 死) form is, reportedly, *schoonhijd*, translated as *mi* 美 that belongs to the "full" category (実ノ属).

In conclusion, I argue that in *Joshi-kō*, all non-*joshi* words exist in combinations of six morphological categories, representing three dichotomies: "full" (*jitsu* 実) – "empty" (*kyo* 虚); "moving" (*dō* 動) – "quiet" (*sei* 静); "lively" (*katsu* 活) – "dead" (*shi* 死). This implies the existence of an "original" version of each word, or semantic unit, that belongs to one specific combination of these categories, yet most "original" word can be modified, via suffixes, and be turned into a different category. This is exemplified by the category of "full" words that only includes nouns that do not derive from any other category. These words are "originally" nouns, i.e., they are nouns in their "original" form.[17] However, one can turn an adjective or a verb into a "full" word, by using it as "dead", that means by adding a suffix that does not allow any further conjugation to happen, as implied by Ogyū Sorai (see 6.1.2). All nouns are "dead" to begin with, which is why Shizuki calls them *shijitsusōshō* 死実惣稱, using both the characters for "dead" (*shi* 死) and for "full" (*jitsu* 実). Nominalized adjectives and verbs, instead, although "belonging to full words" (実ノ属), still present the character "empty" (*kyo* 虚) in their names.

7.2.2 The first part of the grammatical explanation

The transformation of "empty" words into "full" words also entails information regarding their gender. This might be the reason why the first issue dealt with in the section on grammar that follows the two tables is that of articles and their gender specification. Shizuki writes the following (49v):

de 凡ソ陰詞陽詞中詞ノ衆及ヒ陰詞陽詞ノ独ナルモノ皆コレヲ冠ス het 凡ソ中詞ノ独ナルモノ及ヒ動	*de* generally used to crown all the plural of masculine, feminine and neuter words, as well as all the singular of masculine and feminine words. *het* is generally used to crown all the singular neuter

[16] It is not clear whether Shizuki chose the adjective *schoon* because he believed beauty to be an intrinsic quality of flora or, rather, because that is precisely the example raised by Marin in the introduction to his dictionary (see 4.3). A combination of the two might also be a viable answer.

[17] As I will show below, the term "original" (*ganrai* 元来), in this sense, will be used by Shizuki himself.

詞靜詞ノ死セルモノ皆コレヲ冠ス het ヲ附テ死詞ニナルアリ het leezen het schryven.ノルイ	words, as well as the death of verbs and adjectives. When adding *het*, it becomes a dead word (*shishi* 死詞) of the sort of *het leezen*, *het schrijven*.

Firstly, one should notice the use of the verb *kuwansu* 冠ス 'to crown', to refer to articles, that echoes the modern term for articles *kanshi* 冠詞, lit. 'crown-word'. It is also necessary to point out that, while the term *kanshi* is never used by Shizuki, he does sometimes refer to articles with the term *hassei no shi* 発声ノ詞, literally 'word of voice initiation'. This term is very similar to the terms *hatsugo no kotoba* or *hatsugoji* 發語辭 used by Ogyū in *Kun'yaku jimō*. In Ogyū's use of this word, he seemed to refer to Chinese characters of the *joshi* type, that tended to be used at the beginning of sentences. This makes sense if one considers that the terms *hatsugo* and *hassei* can be understood as meaning "speech-initiating". Chinese characters called *hatsugoji* by Ogyū are, for example: *i* 惟 and *i* 維, when they correspond to the Japanese *kore* 'this'; *ei* 繄, that mostly represents an interjection; *ki* 其, *shi* 此 and *hi* 彼, *fu* 夫, also meaning "this" and "that"; among others. These characters all correspond to Japanese words that are systematically placed at the beginning of a phrase as to introduce it and connect it to the text that came before. As for the characters meaning "this" and "that", Ogyū adds that they are "words that point at things" (物ヲ指ス辭). These words, indeed, often correspond to demonstrative pronouns and adjectives referring to a previously mentioned fact, object, or person and, in this sense thus, they do behave similarly to determinate articles. The term *hassei* 発声 for "articles" is also witnessed in *Sanshu shokaku*, by Shizuki (see 2.4.4). It is not clear what Shizuki meant when claiming that *het* is used with nominalized adjectives – *seishi no shi* 靜詞ノ死 – since all the examples he mentions were made with the suffix *-hijd* (*-heid*), that makes the noun feminine, hence requiring the article *de*, instead. It is also worth briefly illustrating the terminology used by Shizuki to refer to the grammatical genders and numbers of words. As already shown, genders are rendered by means of the Taoist concepts of Yin (*in* 陰, 'feminine') and Yang (*yō* 陽, 'masculine') and the word *chū* 中 'center' for the neuter gender. In this sentence, they are combined with the Chinese character *shi* 詞 for 'word', creating the terms *inshi* 陰詞 for 'feminine word'; *yōshi* 陽詞 for 'masculine word' and *chūshi* 中詞 for 'neuter word'. As discussed in 6.1.2, Ogyū Sorai did adopt the concepts of Yin and Yang in his theory of translation within the work *Kun'yaku jimō*. There, it appeared that this dichotomy was used to refer to the relation between two characters where the Yin character "receives" the Yang character, in a concept comparable to that of "head" within a compound, a phrase or a sentence. There seems to be no direct connection between Shizuki's use of the dichotomy and that of Ogyū, and it seems that the former simply used it to translate quite directly the binary of masculine and feminine gender, if one considers that, in Taoism, the Yin is often connected to the feminine, while the Yang to the masculine element.

The singular number is rendered via the Chinese character *doku* 独 'single', 'lonely', while the plural through the character *shū* 衆, 'numerous'. Regarding this last character, it must be added that Shizuki previously felt the need to specify its meaning, in the introduction to the manuscript, by stating that it coincided with the character *fuku* 複, 'repeat', 'overlap', suggesting that Shizuki expected the reader not to be accustomed to the use of *shū* 衆 for "plural", while the term *fukushi* 複詞 was supposed to be more easily understandable (5v):

衆 詞 ト 言 ハ 複 詞 ノ 𠆢 也 即 チ meervoúdig woord ノ𠆢也	The *shūshi* 衆詞 is a *fukushi* 複詞, which means it is a *meervoudig woord* ['plural word'].

Ogyū Sorai, in his *Kun'yaku jimō*, presented a similar *tan-fuku* 単複 'singular-plural' dichotomy. In that case, nonetheless, since grammatical number does not exist in any meaningful manner in either Chinese or Japanese, it was used to refer to those *kanji* that can be used autonomously (independent *kanji*), and those who always require to be used in combination with other Chinese characters (dependent *kanji*). This might imply that, although Shizuki has adopted this same dichotomy, he has applied it to a completely different concept, in order to explain a new grammatical feature introduced in the linguistic environment of Japan by the Dutch language. This is similar to what he did with the Yin-Yang dichotomy, for example.

Following the two tables above (49v-50v), in *Joshi-kō*, Shizuki presents a brief list of examples of words for each of the categories he identified. The list tends to use words from the same root, whenever possible, to stress the grammatical difference and the variation of words according to the category they belong to. The list is shown in Table 41.

In this table, another slightly different system of the categories of speech is presented, still only considering non-*joshi* words. This new system divides the parts of speech into five, as follows:

1. **Dead verbs**, *dōshi no shi* 動詞ノ死 – ***verbalia***: These are nominalized verbs, including those created by the addition of the suffix *-ing*;
2. **Full words**, *jisshi* 実詞: These are non-derivative nouns, i.e., nouns that are not created by the addition of a suffix to an "empty word" (*kyoshi* 虚詞);
3. **Verbs**, *dōshi* 動詞: These are full-fledged verbs that can be conjugated, thus belonging to the category of "empty" (*kyoshi* 虚詞);
4. **Adjectives**, *seikyoshi* 静虚詞: These are full-fledged adjectives, for which both the *shūshikei*, as well as the *rentaikei* forms are provided;
5. **Adjectives belonging to full words**, *jisshi ni zokusu seikyoshi* 実詞ニ属ス静虚詞: These are those adjectives to which a nominalizing suffix is added, making them belong to the "full word" category, just like all other nouns.

As for this last category, Shizuki finds two types of such words, being able to draw a parallel between Dutch and Japanese. In Dutch, the two suffixes used to turn

adjectives into nouns are *-hijd* (misspelling of *-heid* or *-heit*) that Shizuki has already covered lengthily, and *-te*.

gang	行キ	komst	来キ	右動詞ノ死
planting	植ヒ			verbalia
overgave	渡シ	loop	アユミ 歩	
hemel	天	aard	地	
mensch	人	vúúr	火	右実詞
water	水	zon	日	
gaan	行	komen	来ル	
planten	植ル	overgave	ワタ 渡ス	右動詞
loopen	歩ム			
hoog	高シ	lang	長キシ	
wit	白シキ	heet	熱シキ	右静虚詞
schoon	美シシキ	groot	大キシ	
hooghijd	高キ┐	langhijd	長キ┐	
withijt	白キ┐	schoonhijd	美キ┐	右実詞ニ属ス静虚詞
groothijd	大キ┐			
hoogte	高サ	langte	長サ	
hitte	熱サ	grootte	大サ	右実詞ニ属ス静虚詞
breedte	潤サ	diepte	深サ	

Table 41 Examples of word classes, in *Joshi-kō*, and their morphological connections

The author further provides a Japanese translation for each one, namely *-ki koto* キ┐ for *-hijd*, and *-sa* サ for *-te*. An example is the adjective *hoog*/*takashi* 'high', 'tall'. The Dutch adjective *hoog* can combine with both the suffixes *-hijd* and *-te*, originating the terms *hooghijd* 'highness' and *hoogte* 'height', that Shizuki translates into Japanese as, respectively, *takaki koto* and *takasa*. From a morphological standpoint, the words are pretty similar: both are the composition of the adjective *hoog*/*takashi* with a suffix that makes nouns out of adjectives. However, Shizuki claims they differ semantically, as can be read below (50v):

高キ┐ト言ト高さト言ト小異アリ高キ┐ハ其徳ヲイヒ高さハ其量ヲイフ長熱ノ類モコレニ準ス高しト高きトノ別ヲイハヽ左ノ如ク下ニ e ヲ添ルナリ

In saying *takaki koto* or *takasa* there is a small difference. While *takaki koto* expresses the value (*toku* 徳), *takasa* expresses the measure (*ryō* 量). The same goes for *nagashi* ['long'] or *atsushi* ['warm']. With regard to the difference between *takashi* and *takaki*, one adds a < e > at the end, just like the following examples:

hoog. 高し wit. 白し groot. 大し hooge. 高き witte. 白き groote. 大き	hoog *takashi* wit *shiroshi* groot *ooshi* hooge *takaki* witte *shiroki* groote *ooki*
高台白馬大人ナドノ類サレトモ e ヲ添ルベキ所ニテ e ヲ略セルモ多シ	These are the sorts of *takadai* 高台, *sirouma* 白馬 and *takahito* 大人. Furthermore, there are also many instances in which *-e* ought to be added, yet it gets elided.

Shizuki is here referencing another morphosyntactic characteristic of the use of adjectives in the Dutch language, drawing a parallelism with Japanese. In Dutch, in most cases, when an adjective is used attributively, it needs to be inflected by adding a final *-e* to its root. This tends not to happen in limited instances, namely when the adjective is combined with an indefinite neuter singular noun. In Japanese, instead, in all instances in which an adjective is used attributively, it requires to be conjugated in its *rentaikei* form (ending in *-ki*), functionally making it a relative clause. Shizuki further claims that in many instances *-e* may be dropped. It is unclear whether he is referencing the rule regarding indefinite neuter singular nouns, I just mentioned, or whether he is stating that this rule is not always followed by native speakers themselves. One needs to still point out that no mention of the different conjugation pattern for adjectives with indefinite neuter singular nouns would otherwise be present in *Joshi-kō*. The reason why this grammatical element is presented here might be a consequence of the fact that one might mistake the suffix *-te*, that nominalizes some adjectives, for the *-e* suffix that is used to declinate adjectives in attributive position. This is a consequence of Dutch spelling rules. The confusion could arise most evidently when an adjective like *wit* 'white' requires an additional < t > when adding the suffix *-e*, in order not to make the syllable an open one, preserving the original pronunciation of the vowel. Indeed, when the adjective *wit* combines with the suffix *-e*, an extra < t > needs to be added forming the word *witte* and creating the illusion that a suffix *-te* was actually added. For this reason, the word *witte* (*wit* + *-e*; i.e., attributive form of 'white') ends up looking very similar to *hitte* 'heat' (*heet* 'hot' + *-te*; i.e., nominalization of 'hot'). Subsequently (51r), Shizuki presents a couple of additional suffixes that he utilizes to introduce yet another categorization system of Dutch parts of speech.

ig. matig.ナトノ如シ死詞実詞ヲ静活ノ詞トナス故様子ノ詞ト心得〈ベ〉シ実詞死詞ニカヽル動詞ニカヽル時モアリ	*-ig* as in [*magtig*] etc. makes 'lively adjectives' out of 'dead words' and 'full words', one should undersand them as 'words of condition' (*yōsu no kotoba* 様子ノ詞). They can be relative to verbs as well as nouns.

The Dutch suffix *-ig* is, indeed, used in combination with nouns to form adjectives. Shizuki adds that these resulting adjectives can be used in combination with verbs as well as nouns. There are a few misspellings and inconsistencies across the different copies of *Joshi-kō*. For example, the Dutch word *matig* 'moderate' is spelled as *matig* (in Waseda's B109 and in Kyōto's *Rango kun'yaku*) or *maatig* (in Waseda's

C559). This is a combination of the noun *maat* ‘measure’ and the suffix *-ig*. Subsequently, there are two examples, allegedly, of the use of this suffix *-ig*. The first example is *machtig rijk* ‘mighty empire’ in both Waseda’s B109 and Kyōto’s *Rango kun’yaku* but written as *magtig rijk* in Waseda’s C559. Here the adjective *machtig* ‘mighty’ is the combination of the noun *macht* ‘might’, ‘power’ and the suffix *-ig*. Below this phrase, one can read ‘full word’ *jisshi* 実詞, that refers to the fact that the adjective *machtig* is modifying the noun *rijk* ‘empire’, in this example. There is another example, whose spelling is also inconsistent across the copies and which I believe is correctly written in Waseda’s C559, where one reads *schelmagtig verraden* ‘to roguishly betray’, below which the word *dōshi* 動詞 ‘verb’ is written, signaling that this is an example of an adjective with the suffix *-ig* modifying a verb (*verraden* ‘to betray’), that means it is an adverb.[18] This phrase is used as an example of an instance in which an “adjective” obtained by the addition of the suffix *-ig* modifies a verb. The author describes these as “words of condition” (*yōsu no kotoba* 様子ノ詞). In order to understand what is meant by this expression one also needs to read the subsequent quote, explaining the suffix *-lijk* (51r):

lijk 死詞実詞ニツケテ静活詞ト為スノミニ非ス元来ノ静活詞ニモツケ matiglijk ナドノ如シ気色ノ詞ト心得ベシ　形容詞也　コレモ亦静活ニ属ス動詞ニカヽル死実ニモカヽル時アリ	The element *-lijk* is not only added to a ‘dead word’ or a ‘full word’ to create a ‘lively adjective’. It is also added to an original ‘lively adjective’, and one must understand them as ‘words of quality’ [*keshiki no kotoba* 気色ノ詞], the likes of *-matiglijk*. (This is a *keiyōshi* 形容詞.) This also belongs to a ‘lively adjective’. They can be relative to verbs as well as nouns.

Here, Shizuki mentions several issues that will be better comprehended in the following pages. The Dutch suffix *-lijk* can be used to make both adjectives as well as adverbs. In many of the works of Shizuki, one does not see adverbs being considered as a stand-alone category, generally being treated as a type of *joshi*. Here, Shizuki refers to two different uses of the suffix *-lijk*, that might suggest he recognized two different categories of words ending in *-lijk*, perhaps coinciding with that of adjectives and adverbs. He first presents the example of the word *matiglijk* ‘moderate(ly)’, that originates form the addition of both the suffixes *-ig* and *-lijk* to

[18] In both Waseda’s B109 and Kyōto’s *Rango kun’yaku*, this phrase is spelled as *schermagtig randen*, where the letter < l > is confused with an < r >, probably on the basis of phonological reasons, and the verb *verraden* is completely misspelled as *randen*. The word *randen*, in Dutch would mean ‘edges’, thus a noun, even considering the letter < r > as a misspelling of < l >, thus making the word *landen* ‘lands’, this would still remain a noun, which would not explain the author’s labeling of this as a verb. In Marin’s dictionary, one can find the entry to the word *schelmagtig* ‘roguishly’, with the sample sentence *Hij heeft het land schelmagtig verraden* ‘He has betrayed the land roguishly’, supporting my interpretation. Judging by these misspellings, there appears to be a closer relation between Waseda’s B109 and Kyōto’s *Rango kun’yaku*, which, in turn, might be more distantly related to Waseda’s C559. In the word *schelmachtig*, however, the suffix *-ig* is present within the suffix *-achtig*, a suffix that roughly corresponds to the English “-like” or “-ish”.

the noun *maat*. This is used to exemplify the claim he just put forward, that is contrasted with what claimed regarding the suffix *-ig*. While for *-ig* it was claimed that it was only attached to "dead" and/or "full" words to make them adjectives, for *-lijk* it is also claimed that it can be added to words that are "originally" (元来) adjectives. This means that one can understand *matig* as an example of a word that is "originally" an adjective, to which the suffix *-lijk* is added. However, also *matiglijk* is to be considered an adjective, or rather, a "quiet lively" word. These types of words are called *keshiki no kotoba* 気色ノ詞, roughly meaning "words of quality". In order to further explain the meaning of this expression, it is added that these "words of quality" are the same as *keiyōshi* 形容詞.[19] In addition, Shizuki provides two further examples of words with *-lijk* modifying a noun and a verb. These examples are: *ontmoediglijk bedanken* 'to thank discouragingly' and *keizerlijk majesteit* 'imperial majesty'. As Shizuki points out, both his examples with *-ig* and with *-lijk* do modify nouns (adjectival use) and verbs (adverbial use). In order to further explain this concept, the author adds the following remarks (51v), appealing to the reader's knowledge of Chinese characters.

然モ多クハ動詞ニカヽルナリ忽然卒爾ノ然ノ字爾ノ字ノ如シ善言速行是等ノヨクハヤクノクノ字動詞ニカヽレリ lÿk.ノ意ナリ	Furthermore, it [*-lijk*] often combines with verbs. Similarly to the characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 爾 in *kotsuzen* 忽然 and *sotsuji* 卒爾, *-lijk* also has the meaning of the character *-ku* ク in *yoku* ヨク and *hayaku* ハヤク as in *yoku ihi* 善言, *hayaku yuki* 速行 etc.

This is a reference to the adverbial use of *-lijk*. He draws comparisons between this Dutch suffix and the Chinese characters *zen* 然, in *kotsuzen* 忽然 'unexpected(ly)', and *ji* 爾, in *sotsuji* 卒爾 'unexpected(ly)', 'careless(ly)'. Additionally, the use of the suffix *-lijk*, in Dutch, is also compared to the use of *-ku* (*ren'yōkei* ending) with adjectives, in Japanese, such as *yoku* 善 'well' and *hayaku* 速 'fast' in the sentences *yoku ii* 善言 'speaking well' and *hayaku yuki* 速行 'going fast'. These examples need to be understood as Japanese counterparts to the Dutch example the author has previously provided as *ontmoediglijk bedanken* 'to thank discouragingly'. The ending *-ku* in Japanese adjectives is generally described as being used to render the adverbial form of said adjective.

There is a very similar claim made by Ogyū Sorai in the third volume, on folios 48v-49r, of his *Kun'yaku jimō*, when covering the difference between the two Chinese characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 爾. He writes:

[19] In contemporary Japanese grammar, the term *keiyōshi* is used to refer to adjectives, specifically those that do not belong to the "adjectival noun" (*keiyōdōshi* 形容動詞) category.

然　爾

然。シカレ𠆢ハサレ𠆢。シカフメハサウメ。シカリハサウジヤ（タイテイ）。シカルハ。サウアルナリ。大抵。而ノ字ニ（オモムキ　ニ）趣　ノ似タル字ナリ。但シ。而ノ字ハ。句中ニ在テ。前後ヲ分ツ詞ナリ然ノ字ハ。重（モ）シ。上ノ文ヲ。ヲサヘトヾメテ。下ヘウツル意ナリ。如レ此ノ二字ヲ。合シタルモノナリ。カクノゴトクアツテ。サウメト。カヤウニ。ウツリ行ク文法ナリ。（ゴトク　ミルガ　ソノハイカン）若レ視ニ其肺肝（シカリ）ノ然　（イ　ゴトク　アヒモトムル　シカリ）意如ニ相求ノ然　カヤウニ。用フル寸ハ。（ハナハダ）甚　輕キ辭ナリ形容（ケイヨウ）ノ辭ナリ。處ニヨリテ。違フヘケレ𠆢。ラシイト譯センカ。（キンゼン）欣然　（イウゼン）悠然ノ然（タイガイオナジコト）ト。大槩同　事ナリ。(略)

○爾ハ然ノ字ト。全ク（ドウギ）同義ナリ。但シ。然ハノブル。爾ハツマル味（ヒ）ナリ。

然　爾

然 This character corresponds to *shikaredomo, saredomo, shikau shite, sōshite, shikari, sōja, shikaru, sōaru*.[20] Its meaning resembles the expressiveness of the character 而 very much. The character *ji* 而 is found in between two sentences and is a word used to divide them. The character *zen* 然 is heavy.[21] It pushes and fixes the upper sentence and its meaning is pushed toward the lower one. It corresponds to the combination of the two characters 如此 [‘similarly’]. The grammar means “Being like this, acting that way” (*kaku no gotoku atte sō shite to kayō ni utsuri yuku*). “*sono haikan miru ga gotoku shikari*” “*i aimotomuru gotoku shikari*” When used in this way it is an extremely light word (character). It is a *keiyō* 形容 word. Even if it changes according to the context, it might also be translated as *-rashii*. The character *zen* 然 in words such as *kinzen* 欣然 [‘frolicking’] or *yūzen* 悠然 [‘calmly’] is mostly the same thing. […]
The characters *ji* 爾 and *zen* 然 have the same meaning. However, *zen* 然 means ‘to extend’ [*noburu*], while *ji* 爾 means ‘to fill up’ [*tsumaru*].

Here, the characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 爾, that are almost synonyms, are assigned the meaning of expressing a condition of how things are or ought to be. When *zen* translates the Japanese expressions *shikari* (‘like this’, ‘as such’), it is considered a *keiyō* 形容. The word *shikari* can be understood as expressing the condition or the state of something, what it looks like. The phrase *sono haikan miru ga gotoku shikari*, quoted from the *Great Learning* (大学), roughly translates to “It is like looking into someone’s lungs and livers”. It is this specific use of the character *zen* 然 that is referred to by Ogyū as a *keiyō* 形容. Semantically, the use of the character *zen* 然, referring to the Japanese word *shikari*, is acknowledged as a synonym to its use in compound words, such as *kinzen* 欣然 ‘frolicking’ and *yūzen* 悠然 ‘calmly’, both expressing the condition of an action, in a similar way an adverb would do.
On folio 39v of the third volume of *Kun’yaku jimō*, Ogyū mentions the term *keiyōji* again, adding information to this concept, as can be read below.[22]

[20] All these Japanese phrases express concepts such as “if so”, “like this”, “doing so” etc.
[21] I have discussed the “heavy-light” dichotomy with specific reference to this entry in 6.1.2.
[22] The Chinese sentence *zǐ zhī dàng xī* 子之蕩兮 is found in the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shījīng* 詩經), in *Lessons from the State* (*Guófēng* 國風), in *Odes of Chen* (*Chén* 陳), in the poem titled dedicated to the Wan Qiu (*wǎn qiū* 宛丘) district.

シキャウ　シ　タウタル　ヤウタル ノ ミヅ
詩 経 ニ。 子ノ之 蕩 兮。 又。 楊 之 水
兮[23] トアリ。 此等ハ。 蕩モ。 揚モ。 形容字
ウゴ
ナリ。 形容字。 皆。 死字ナリ。 動 カヌ字ナ
クダ　ウ
リ。 故ニ 之ノ字ヲ 下シ得ル。 ソノウヘ。
シキャウ　コレラ
詩 経[24] ノ此等ノ語ハ。 皆。 句法ヲ以テ置キ
タル 之ノ字ナリ。 故ニ。 常ノ文法トハ。 違フ
イ シ　イヅセイ　イチジョ
意思アリ。 一 正。 一 助 ノ句法ナリ。 子ト
蕩トハ正ナリ。 之ト兮ハ助ナリ。

In the Classic of Poetry, there are the quotes 子之蕩兮 and 楊[25]之水兮. In these, both 蕩 and 楊 are *keiyōji*. Every *keiyōji* is a dead character. These are characters which do not move. Thus, they obtain the character 之, below. Furthermore, in the Classic of Poetry, all these, in the *kuhō*, have placed the character 之. For this, they have a different concept from normal grammar. In the *kuhō* where you have one *shō* and one *jo*, 子 and 蕩 are *shou*, while 之 and 兮 are *jo*.

Here it is claimed that the characters *tō* 蕩 and *yō* 揚 – in the sentences cited by Ogyū from the *Classic of Poetry* – correspond to *tō taru* and *yō taru*, respectively. The character *tō* 蕩 covers a broad semantical field; since it can mean "to melt", "to widen", "to move", among others, when used as a verb. Used as an adjective, it conveys the meaning of "being loose in morals" and it is this the sense in which this character is probably being used here. The sentence would be, thus, literally translated as "Oh, your loosely behaving". The character *yō* 揚, instead, generally refers to the concept of "to raise" or "to rise". The sentence could be translated literally as something like "Oh, the agitated waters". Although these two characters differ semantically, they share a similar morphosyntactic characteristic, when analyzed within *kanbun kundoku*; namely they are both to be read in their *on'yomi* and to be inflected by means of the *-tari* element. Ogyū adds that a *keiyōji* is always a "dead" word and a word that does not move. A "dead" word being the opposite of a "lively" word, a category that generally includes all words that do inflect, like verbs and adjectives; while the opposite of a "moving" word is a "quiet" word, that generally refers to adjectives. What can be deduced from this information is that a *keyōji* is a specific type of adjective (a non-moving word, meaning a "quiet" word) that does not allow further inflection (a "dead" word). This does sound like a manner to refer to nominalized adjectives, however, there is another commonality, shared by these two examples, and that is that they both combine with the element *-tari*. The element *-tari* is known as originating from the contraction of the phrase *to ari*, that includes the verb *ari*, expressing existence, and roughly corresponding to saying "to be so". Indeed, going back to what seen in 6.1.2.1, one can understand that Ogyū claimed that the character *shi* 之 – featured in both the examples from the *Great Learning* – needed to always be followed by a "dead" word and, as an example of such dead words he also provided the term *uketaru* composed by adding

[23] The Chinese sentence *yang zhī shuǐ xī* 揚之水兮 is found in *Lessons from the State* (*Guófēng* 國風), in *Odes of Zheng* (*zhèng* 鄭), in the poem titled *Yang zhī shuǐ* 揚之水.
[24] On the left side, the specification *hon no na* ホンノナ (本の名) 'book title' is added.
[25] This character is probably supposed to be 揚, with 楊 being a misspelling of the copyist.

the element *-tari* to the root of the verb *ukeru* ‘to receive’. It is also known that this *-tari* has originated within *kanbun* to provide a Japanese word, consistent with Japanese morphosyntax, comparable to Chinese characters mostly used adjectivally. FRELLESVIG (2010, 233-235), when covering Early Modern Japanese grammar, refers to this *-tari* element as a copula used with a restricted subset of adjectival nouns and in *kanbun kundoku*, opposed to *nari* that was the “general” copula. With the term “adjectival noun”, FRELLESVIG (2010) refers to what is generally called today *keiyōdōshi* 形容動詞, literally ‘adjectival verbs’, a category he claims to have emerged mostly in this phase of the Japanese language, as a distinct class. FRELLESVIG (2010) nonetheless claims that the term “nominal adjectives” would be best suited to refer to this category since they behave more similarly to adjectives. For example, he notices how *keiyōdōshi* cannot combine with “case particles”, just like all other adjectives, but unlike nouns. In this sense, thus, the explanation of FRELLESVIG (2010) on the *-tari* element seems to agree with Ogyū’s words on the *keyōji* category.

There is another interesting mention of the term *keiyō*, by Ogyū, this time from the first volume, on folios 23r-23v of the other work of the author, titled *Yakubun sentei*. There, the following is claimed:

寂 寞 寥 閧ノ四字大形同意ナリ静字ノ下ニイヘル晩色静白日静トイヘル静字ノ意ニテ物シヅカナルコトヲイヒサビシク物音ノナキコトニ多クハ用ユソノ内寞字寥字ハ多クハ連語ニテ寂寞寂寥ト用ユ単用スルトキモ皆形容字ニテ寞トシテ寞タリ寥トシテ寥タリナトヽ用ユハ下ニ乎字然字如字ナトヲ付ルナリ寂ハ喧字ノ反對ニテ物音ナクヒソトシタルコトヨリ取用ヒテ静ノ極ヲイフナリ故ニ寂然不動ナトヽ云ヘリ静字ヨリ義狭シ寞ハ漠ト同字ナリハテシモナキ意アリ沙漠大漠又沙幕大幕ニモ作ル匈奴國ノ地ハ沙ハラニテ渺渺トシタルヲイフ渺漠モ遠クシテハテシモナキナリ幽漠冥漠ハ幽冥鬼神ノコトナドニ用ユ幽冥ハ目ニ見ヘヌコトニテ目ニモ見ヘズソコトモシレヌ意ナリ雲漠漠雲漠漠皆ドコガキワト知ラレズハテシモナキ義ナリ沖漠ハ沖ハ虚ナリ空虚ニ

The four characters *seki* 寂, *baku* 寞, *ryō* 寥 and *geki* 閧 have roughly the same meaning. They have the meaning as the character *sei* 静, when used in sentences such as *ban shoku sei* 晩色静 and *haku jitsu sei* 白日静. It refers to things getting quiet. It is often used for lonely things with no sound. The characters *baku* 寞 and *ryō* 寥 are often used in compound words (*rengo* 連語), like *sekibaku* 寂寞 *sekiryō* 寂寥. Even used alone, they are all *keiyōji*, used as *baku to shite* (寞トシテ), *baku tari* (寞タリ), *ryō to shite* (寥タリ), *ryō tari* (寥タリ) etc., in this case, below them one adds the characters *ko* 乎, *zen* 然, *jo* 如 etc. The character *seki* 寂 is the opposite of *ken* 喧, and has no sound. Since it is the thing not makind any sound (*hisso to shitaru*), it is used as such. It is used to refer to quietness. Thus, it is used to refer to things which do not move or make a sound. The character *baku* 寞 is synonym to *baku* 漠, having a narrower meaning than *sei* 静. It has an infinite meaning. In the land of the Xiongnu, build in the Gobi Desert, it is said that one can walk infinitely in a valley of sand. A desert is also a far place without an end. Words like *yūmaku* 幽漠, *meimaku* 冥漠 are used, for example for the deep world of the gods (*yūmei kishin* 幽冥鬼神). The word *yūmei* refers to things which the eye cannot see, and even if they can be seen, they cannot be understood. Words such as *unmaku* 雲漠, *bakuun* 漠雲 and *bakubaku* 漠漠 refer to things which have no limit and whose borders are not to be

テソコトモイレヌコトナリ寥ニハ虚濶ノ義アリ閧ハ全ク寂字ノ義ナリソノ内ニ閧ハ専音ナキコトヲイヒ寂ハ義廣シ畢竟ハ四字大概相似タリ大抵コノヤウナル形容字ハ倭語ニ譯シカタシ倭語ニモリントシテシヤントシテナド云フヤウナル形容ノ語亦漢語ニ寄シカタキカコトシ

known. In *chūbaku* 沖漠, the character 沖 is empty. The emptiness is given by nothing being inserted in it. The character *ryō* 寥 has the meaning of "empty space" (虚濶). The meaning of the character *geki* 閧 is exactly the same as *seki* 寂. The character *baku* 閧 states the lonely absence of sound. For a general conclusion, the meanings of these four characters are rather similar. Generally, it is hard to translate such these *keiyōji* 形容字 into Japanese. Even in Japanese [there are] such words called *keiyōgo*, that are hard to be approximated into Chinese, such as *rin to shite* 'severely' or *shan to shite* 'properly'.

This quote reinforces the idea that the term *keiyō* was used by Ogyū to refer to those words/characters to which one adds the element *-tari*. Here, however, Ogyū also claims that the words that in Japanese add the suffix *-to shite* are also *keiyō* and are comparable to those ending in *-tari*. Thus, that the category of *keiyō*, for Ogyū, included those adjectives that, when combined with *-tari* or *-to shite*, modified the verb or functioned as a substitute to the verb, and expressed the way in which the action was being carried out. In this sense, thus, such description is very much in accordance with what Shizuki claimed regarding the Dutch adjectives modified by the suffixes *-lijk* or *-ig*. The words resulting from the addition of this suffix – regardless of whether they "originally" were adjectives or nouns – have the peculiarity of often being able to be used as either adjectives or adverbs, meaning that they can modify nouns or verbs, quite interchangeably. In this they are not too different from the Japanese adjectives with *-tari* and *-to shite*, that even though they originate from verbal elements (*-to ari* and *-to su*), are attached to adjectives and describe the condition in which the modified element exists.

Shizuki used the label *keiyōshi* only in reference to what he called *keshiki no kotoba* and not regarding the *yōsu no kotoba*. As Shizuki added, both could be used to modify verbs as well as nouns. However, there is one difference between the two: a *keshiki no kotoba*, while belonging to the category of "quiet lively", can be generated from either a noun or an adjective, while a *yōsu no kotoba*, still being considered a "quiet lively" word, is not a *keiyōshi* and can only be created by suffixing a noun. This is the reason why the Dutch suffix *-ig* is related to *yōsu no kotoba* and *-lijk* to *keshiki no kotoba*. Ultimately, I would say, even though the difference between and adverbial and an adjectival use has been addressed, here, for some reason the author decided that to be of secondary importance, as compared to the process of derivation of the parts of speech. Indeed, while a distinction is made in the syntactical modification of either verbs (adverbial use) or nouns (adjectival use), the categorization of the word classes is not based on this parameter. Instead, it is based on the part of speech the word in question has supposedly been derived from. This implies that, even though the difference between an adverb and an adjective was, in theory, clear to the author of this excerpt, it was neglected on purpose, favoring a different distinction that, I assume, was believed more useful in the understanding of the theory of morphology and the classes of the parts of speech.

7.2.3 The second part of the grammatical explanation

After the two tables (51v-52r), there is another list of the categories of speech in Dutch, featuring new concepts, terms and ideas. In Table 42, I present a comparison of the categories as described in this section (left) with those presented in the preceding sections (right):

Dutch category	New categories	Previous categories	Translation
zelfstandig naamwoord	死実通稱 ウコカヌ詞	死実惣稱 実詞 自体詞 Subst.	Nouns
Werkwoordelijk zelfstandig naam(woord)	動死詞 ワサノ死詞	Verbalia	Nominalized verbs
toevoegelijk zelfstandig naam(woord)	静ノ死詞 ヤウスノ死詞 ケシキノ死詞	虚静死詞 静詞	Nominalized adjectives
toevoegelijk naamwoord	静活詞 ヤウスノ詞 ケシキノ詞	虚静活詞 静詞 adje	Adjectives
werkwoord	活動詞 ワサノ詞	活動詞 動詞	Verbs
onzijdig werkwoord	自動 ウゴク詞	自然詞 VN	Neutral verbs
werkende werkwoord	動他 ウゴカス詞	使然詞 VA	Active verbs

Table 42 Parts of speech in the section of grammar of *Joshi-kō*.

These labels represent the names of each category of speech (at least, those recognized by Shizuki) according to their morphological characteristics. In the categorization starting on folio 51v, Shizuki adopts a different approach. The parts of speech are categorized according to their ability to "move" or "be moved". Verbs are categorized as "words of action" (*waza no kotoba* ワザノ詞), most likely on a semantic basis. Contrastively, nouns are categorized as "words that do not move" (*ugokanu kotoba* ウゴカヌ詞), perhaps since they do not express an action, semantically, or in reference to the practice of *kundoku* (see 6.1.2). Nouns are further called *shijitsutsūshō* 死実通稱 'dead word for current names'[26] (previously called *shijitsusōshō* 死実惣稱 'dead word to name all things'). This label considers not only the semantic aspect (i.e., nouns are used to name all "things"), but also morphological aspects (they are "dead" and "empty"). In this dichotomy between "words that do not move" and "words of action", active and neuter verbs are put into

[26] There seems to be no apparent connection between this use of the character *tsū* 通 and Ogyū Sorai's dichotomy of *tsū-kyoku* 通局, by means of which he roughly referred to the concepts of hypernymy (通) and hyponymy (局).

a more direct contrast with nouns, since their names also include a conjugated form of the verb *ugoku* 'to move'. While nouns were called *ugokanu kotoba*, where the verb *ugoku* was combined with the affix *-nu*, as to make it negative, neuter verbs present the verb in its intransitive form *ugoku*, and active verbs in its transitive form *ugokasu*. This can be interpreted as meaning that, while nouns are those words that do not move at all, verbs are word that allow movement. Such movement is either toward the outside (*ugokasu* – active verbs), or toward one's own self (*ugoku* – neuter verbs). Adjectives are not provided with a new name, here, maintaining both the quality of "quiet" as well as "lively", along with the distinction between *keshiki* and *yōsu*.

In this section (52r), there is also a direct citation from the gender rules found in Marin's dictionary.

heid 静活詞ニツケテ死詞トナスモノ也 schoonheid, zuiverheid ノ如シ ing 活動詞ニツケテ死詞ト為スモノ也 baring, verlossing ノ如シ	When adding *heid* to a "lively quiet" word it is made "dead", like *schoonheid, zuiverheid*. When adding *ing* to a "lively moving" word it is made "dead", like *baring, verlossing*.

This text stands out for several reasons. Firstly, the affix *-heid* is now written correctly, instead of the spelling *-hijd* that appeared in the other text. Secondly, the words provided as example of the suffixation of *-ing* and *-heid* coincide precisely with the words present in Marin's dictionary, namely *schoonheid* 'beauty', *zuiverheid* 'purity', *baring* 'birthing' ('bearing') and *verlossing* 'release' or 'salvation'. Furthermore, verbs nominalized by means of their infinitive form, like *het drinken* 'drinking', *het eeten* 'eating', *het lezen* 'reading' are called 動即為死, although no further explanation is added. I believe this should be interpreted as *dō sunawachi ishi* "moving, also said dead action" with the character *i* 為 reminding of the labels used in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* for verbs (see 7.1).

Adjectives, called *toevoegelijk naamwoord* in Dutch, like in Marin, are here called *seikatsushi* 静活詞 a term that differs from the name found on folio 48v in that it lacks reference to its belonging to the "empty" category. To this information Shizuki adds the newly postulated characteristic of adjectives, being their use as "words of condition" (*yōsu no kotoba* ヤウスノ詞), or "words of quality" (*keshiki no kotoba* ケシキノ詞) as discussed above, in 7.2.2. Nominalized parts of speech are also given their own special label. A "dead" verb, *werkwoordelijk zelfstandig naam*(*word*) in Dutch, is called a *dōshishi* 動死詞 in Japanese and represents a 'dead word of work/action' *waza no shishi* ワサノ死詞; while nominalized adjectives, *toevoegelijk zelfstandig naam*(*word*) in Dutch, are called *sei no shishi* 静ノ死詞 'dead quiet word' and further categorized into 'dead word of condition' *yōsu no shishi* ヤウスノ死詞 and 'dead word of quality' *keshiki no shishi* ケシキノ死詞.

Other categories Shizuki references in *Joshi-kō* are articles, pronouns, and prepositions. These categories are only mentioned once or twice in the entirety of

the manuscript. As I have already mentioned, Shizuki presents the articles of the Dutch language without assigning them to any specific category. They are to be considered a special type of *joshi* that is used "to crown" (*kawansu* 冠ス) nouns. The use of this *kanji* might have inspired other scholars, such as Mitsukuri Genpo to coin the term *kanshi* 冠詞 for articles,[27] that is also used in contemporary Modern Japanese. Interestingly, articles are here categorized according to gender (*in* 陰 for 'feminine', *yō* 陽 for 'masculine' and *chū* 中 for 'neutral') and number (*doku* 独 for 'singular and *shū* 衆 for 'plural'). Articles are further provided with variations according to their cases, with no real mention of cases however, and categorized, again, according to gender (*yū* 雄 for 'masculine', *shi* 雌 for 'feminine' and *chū* 中 for 'neuter') and number (*doku* 独 for 'singular' and *shū* 衆 for 'plural'). Subsequently, there is another section where articles are called *hassei* 発声, titled 'Things which do not use articles' (発声ヲ用ヒザル者), that is very similar to one of the sections found in *Sanshu shokaku* (発声ヲ用ヒザルㄱ). Both these sections illustrate a few instances in which one does not use articles, like with names of people or of places (人名地名) or with the words *god* 'god', *een* 'one', *twee* 'two', *drie* 'three', meaning numerals. As I have already discussed in 2.4.2, the similarities across the two works are remarkable and suggest that this grammatical section in *Joshi-kō* was either added in a later time, after *Sanshu shukaku* was published, or that they were based on the same source.

While presenting the pronouns *ik* 'I', *mij* 'me', *mijn* 'my' (58v-59r), Shizuki refers to the term *voorzetsel* 'preposition', translated as *manshi* 慢詞. Each pronoun is translated according to its grammatical role, meaning *ik*, a subject pronoun, is translated as *ware*, related to the Chinese character *shu* 主, probably identifying the subject, *mij*, an object pronoun, is translated as either *ware ni* 我ニ (indirect object) or *ware o* 我ヲ(direct object), to which the Chinese character *hin* 賓 is related, and *mijn*, a possessive pronoun, is translated as *wa ga* 我カ, with the use of *ga* as a genitive marker. Subsequently, Shizuki adds the following remarks:

自動ニ値ハ我ニナリ動他ニ値ハ我ヲナリ又 voorzetsel. 慢詞 ニ値テ反リ読ベキノ時 bÿ mÿ, van mÿ ナドイフ是ヲ非賓非主ト云其意別ナリ非賓非主ヲ zesde naamval.トイヘリ	When meeting a *jidō* it becomes *ware ni*, when meeting a *dōta* in becomes *ware wo*. Furthermore, when meeting a *voorzetsel* (*manshi* 慢詞), it should be read in the inverted order, as *bij mij* (*moto-waga* モト ワカ) and *van mij* (*yori-ware* ヨリ ワレ), and this is neither a subject nor an object. This difference in meaning is expressed by the *zesde naamval*, which means neither subject nor object.

This is the only instance in which Shizuki connects the concept of *dōta* 'active verbs' with that of "direct object", that in Japanese is marked by the particle *o*, as in the example *ware o*. He adds that, with *jidō* 'neuter verbs', the (first person singular)

[27] This is claimed in KUIPER (1993, 133). However, I would not disregard the possibility that this term might have been used earlier by other authors.

pronoun becomes *ware ni*, thus combining with the particle *ni* (oblique case). The Dutch term *voorzetsel* 'preposition' is translated as *manshi* by means of the character *man* 慢. Today, the concept of preposition is generally rendered, in Japanese, as *zenchishi* 前置詞, literally 'words placed before', that is found in later works, such as *Oranda jii*, probably after a first step as *zenshi* 前詞. As seen in 6.1.2, Ogyū Sorai considered the character *man* 慢 as being the opposition to *gen* 厳, a dichotomy found within the subject of *jisei* 字勢. There, the Chinese characters that belonged to the *man* category were distinct from the *gen* category in the fact that the former had a looser and more undefined meaning, compared to the latter. Examples of *gen* characters, in Ogyū Sorai, were very fixed concepts such as numbers, the cardinal directions etc., while among the *man* one found less precise indications, such as *sho* 處 'place', or *ji* 時 'time'. SUGIMOTO (2013, 83-84) discusses this, in a small paragraph, where he compares this specific term with those found in other Japanese works on the Dutch language. He claims that this is not a common term used by Shizuki who is mostly seen using the term *shozaishi* 所在詞 (also 処在詞), a word also adopted in the *Doeff Halma* dictionary, while the term *manshi* 慢詞 is considered, by him, surprising in the context of Shizuki. This might imply the intervention of an external hand. SUGIMOTO also argues that the Chinese character *man* 慢, used here, corresponds to the similar-looking character *man* 漫. SUGIMOTO argues that the term *shozaishi*, literally 'words of place location', has been invented by Shizuki influenced by the fact that prepositions are often used in combination with toponyms (*chimei* 地名). This might be true, also in light of what is written in *Sensei bunpō* regarding this part of speech (see 7.2.1). However, toponyms are just a tiny sample of the many uses of prepositions. If one were to concur with SUGIMOTO's interpretation of *shozaishi*, I would say it is more likely that the term was chosen by Shizuki in reference to relative pronouns. In Dutch, many relative pronouns can be formed by combining a preposition with an adverb of location, in the forms *waarom* ('where' + 'on'); *daarmee* ('there' + 'with'); *hiervan* ('here' + 'of') or *erop* (non-specific 'there' + 'up'). This is cognate to English phrasings such as 'therein' but are, arguably, much more common in use. It would thus make sense, for Shizuki, to interpret Dutch prepositions to be inherently connected to a semantical meaning of "spatial location" (*shozai* 所在). This interpretation would also explain the use of the Chinese character *man* 慢 as to render the label of this category. If one looks at Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō*, the description given to this character is rather brief, only claiming: "The character *man* 慢 has the meaning of 'loose', like the characters *hen* 邊 'around', *bō* 傍 'by', *ji* 時 'time', *sai* 際 'moment', *sho* 處 'place'".[28] These Chinese characters can be used, in Japanese, both as adverbs of location (e.g, *bō* 傍 as 'on the side'; *sho* 處 meaning 'where') or as adverbs of time (e.g., *ji* 時 and *sai* 際 meaning 'when'), making their use quite different from, yet related to, the Dutch prepositions. In *Yakubun sentei*, the character *man* 慢 is not featured, yet the version written as *man* 漫 appears

[28] The original quote: "慢ハ意ノブラリトシタル字ナリ邊傍時際處ナドヤウノ字ナリ" has already been analyzed, in context, in 6.1.2.

twice. In both entries (volume 1, folio 30r and volume 6, folio 31v) it is defined as "indiscriminate", "confusing", thus similar yet somewhat distant from what seen in *Kun'yaku jimō*, and with an arguably negative nuance attached to it. Furthermore, in neither entry is this *kanji* ever related to *gen* 厳. These reasons make me deduce that Ogyū did not consider these two similar characters as being synonyms, contrarily to what SUGIMOTO (2013) states.

In the excerpt above, there is another interesting claim, referencing an issue that is not otherwise tackled in *Joshi-kō*, nor in any other of Shizuki's works. Phrasings such as *bij mij* 'by me' and *van mij* 'of me', 'from me', are explained with the term *hi hin hi shu* 非賓非主, meaning 'neither guest neither host'. The two characters *shu* 主 and *hin* 賓 exist in contraposition with each other, where *shu* refers to an 'owner', a 'host' or a 'lord', while *hin* refers to the 'guest' or the 'client', in the dichotomy. In order to understand what these two terms likely refer to, one needs to look at another work of Shizuki, namely *Rangaku seizenfu*, where these characters are annotated above the word *woorden* 'words', in two different types of sentences. In the sentence *woorden die men gesproken heeft* 'words that one has spoken', the word *woorden* is labeled as *hin*, while in the sentence *woorden die gesprooken zijn* 'words that are spoken', *woorden* is labeled as *shu*. In both sentences the word *woorden* is the subject, however, according to the theories on verbs Shizuki wrote in *Seizenfu*, one needs to understand that the difference between the two is the fact that in the first sentence, *woorden* is the patient of the action of speaking, enacted by the impersonal subject *men*, while in the second sentence, since there is no external subject, *woorden* is the only subject/agent. Roughly speaking, thus, the characters *shu* and *hin* broadly correspond to the concepts of subject/agent and patient/object, respectively. In the excerpt above one also read that, in Dutch grammar, the concept of *hi hin hi shu* corresponds to the *zesde naamval*, the 'sixth case', meaning the ablative case. Indeed, words declined in the ablative case cannot play the role of either the subject or the direct object. Unfortunately, within *Seizenfu*, these labels are not used consistently for all the sentences, and a deeper analysis of this concept is not feasible. However, on the last page of the second volume of Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, one can find an isolated sentence that appears to refer to this concept, stating that "nouns [full/dead words] divide in five types: *shu* 主, *hin* 賓, *gu* 具, *ji* 時, *sho* 處" (實字死字ハ主賓具時處ノ五ツナリ). If these are connected to the ideas of grammatical arguments and complements, then one could infer that these five characters convey an idea which could be compared to that of cases. This could mean that the character *shu* corresponds to the idea of "subject/agent", *hin* to "direct object" or "patient", *gu* to "means", "instrument", *ji* to a complement of time, and *sho* to a complement of location. Comparing this to the character *man* 慢 being used to refer to prepositions, discussed above, it becomes clearer why this part of speech was called this way. As Ogyū says, nouns come in five types: "subject", "patients", "instruments", "times" and "locational". Whenever a noun is combined with a preposition, it cannot be a "subject" or a "patient" anymore, as claimed by Shizuki, this means that it can only be one of the other types, like "time", "locational" or "means". These happened to be the characters and concepts referred to by Ogyū when explaining the meaning of the character *man* 慢. Shizuki must thus

have chosen this character since it refers, according to Ogyū's explanation, to Chinese characters that function like Dutch prepositions. However, it must be said that Ogyū's theory and that of Shizuki must have been based on very different levels of analysis. In particular, Ogyū probably referred to the unspecific meaning of the characters, while Shizuki talks about morphosyntax, where the characters refer to the role (and form, in Dutch) of a specific noun that interacts with a preposition, akin to the concept of cases.

Subsequently, Shizuki presents a comprehensive list of personal pronouns, categorized by gender (*dan* 男 for 'masculine' and *jo* 女 for 'feminine') and number (*doku* 独 for 'singular' and *shū* 衆 for 'plural'). This list is preceded by the Dutch label *persoonelijk voornaam* 'personal pronoun', which Shizuki translates as *daimeishi* 代名詞, where the Chinese character *dai* 代 stands for 'substitute', while *mei* 名 for 'name', from the Dutch *naam*. The term that Shizuki prefers to use to refer to them is – albeit only used twice – the *katakana* rendition of *voornaam*, as *hōrunāmu* ホールナーム.[29]

[29] The use of the term *daimeishi* for 'personal pronouns' can be attested here. This term requires further investigation. It is often implied that the coinage of this term is to be attributed to Mitsukuri Genpo (1799 – 1863). This can be seen in JOBY (2021) twice. On page 81, JOBY claims that *daimeishi* 代名詞 and *dōshi* 動詞 where amongst the "Japanese grammatical terms developed by the leading Edo *rangakusha* Mitsukuri Genpo". Unfortunately, this claim is not provided with a direct reference to any source. On 356, instead, this information is mentioned, again, within a list of terms coined by Japanese scholars on the basis of, or under the influence of the Dutch language. JOBY (2021, 356) cites three pieces of secondary literature, in this section. SAITŌ (1985, 77-217) provides a compact list of terms referring to grammar used within many Japanese documents. Within that source, *Joshi-kō* is covered from page 78 to 80, however, I have not been able to find any reference to the term *daimeshi* as featured in this work of Shizuki. Another source JOBY (2021, 356) cites is VOS (2000, 103-104). While VOS (2000) does present a few lists of Japanese terms based on Dutch grammatical concepts, the author never claims Mitsukuri Genpo to have been the first using the term *daimeishi*. VOS (2000) attests that, in *Oranda bunten - zenpen* 和蘭文典前編 (1842), Mitsukuri Genpo does use the term *daimeishi* to refer to pronouns. However, in the same page, he also attests that an earlier work was already featuring a very similar term. Japanese scholar of Dutch Tsurumine Shigenobu 鶴峰戊申 (1788 – 1859) published *Gogaku shinsho* 語学新書, in 1833, nine years before Mitsukuri Genpo's work. There, pronouns were called *kaekotoba*, spelled as 代名言, whose *on'yomi* reading would be *daimeigen*, with *gen* 言 being a viable substitute for the character *shi* 詞. Ultimately, JOBY (2021, 359) adds that MILLER (1967, 315) records that the word *daimeishi* was already in use in the early 1800. I have also checked that source. Apparently, Miller claims: "The […] term *daimeishi* (*dai* "stand for," *mei* "noun," *shi* "word") appears as a translation for Dutch *Voornaamwoord* "pronoun" around 1800 and is established as a grammatical term by 1814". Alas, no direct reference to any primary or secondary source is present in this context. One could hypothesize the possibility that this term was added subsequently in *Joshi-kō* by a copyist, and this would make sense considering the fact that this term is featured in the grammatical section of *Joshi-kō*, that I have already assumed as a probable later addition. However, were this the case, the addition of the word *daimeishi* must have happened quite early in the spreading of the copies of *Joshi-kō* that included the grammatical section since it appears in all the copies featuring such section.

Because of the different terminology employed in these two sections on grammar in *Joshi-kō*, there is reason to believe that they were compiled at different occasions and, possibly, by different hands. Another detail that might support this theory is the fact that, although consistently using the misspelling *-hijd* in the first half of the grammatical section, from the second half onwards the spelling *-heid* is suddenly adopted. This phenomenon can be seen in all the copies of *Joshi-kō* I have been able to check, which could suggest they are all based on one original copy that already combined these supposedly different sections.

This section on grammar also devotes a few words to verbs. However, since this category will be dealt with in Chapter VIII, I will not cover it here.

At the end of the grammatical section, there is a list of labels and abbreviations used in Marin's dictionary, together with the title itself "Clarification of the expressions and abbreviations used in this work" (*Verklaring der zintekens en verkortingen in dit werk gebruikt*).

7.2.4 Category of *joshi*

In the previous sub-paragraphs on *Joshi-kō*, I have mostly analyzed how "full" and "empty" words were treated within the manuscript. However, as I have claimed, *Joshi-kō* is first and foremost a glossary of Dutch "auxiliary words". It is a lexicographical work that fully fits into the "Thoughts on Auxiliary Words" sub-genre of the *jigi* 字義 tradition, in Neo-Confucian studies (see Chapter V). For this reason, the main body of the work is still entirely devoted to the analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the category of *joshi* 助詞. What is it exactly that Shizuki calls a *joshi*? In Appendix 9, I have copied all the entries to Shizuki's *Joshi-kō*, as to provide a clear list of the words the scholar considered to belong to this category. Most entries to each *joshi* present an explanation and/or one or more example sentences. The table in Appendix 9, however, only displays the Dutch words and phrases that were identified by Shizuki as *joshi* and only provides the direct translation, whenever present in the original. It is not a comprehensive illustration of the contents of *Joshi-kō*, since it neglects sentences and grammatical explanations. An in-depth analysis of each entry and its examples is beyond the scope of this research, and I will only analyze some of the contents of this part of the manuscript in the coming pages, and within Chapter VIII. The sections I have selected are those that expand on the topics I am covering in the present research.

The parts of speech featured in the entries to *Joshi-kō* include adverbs, adverbial phrases, conjunctions, interjections, pronouns (*zig zelfs, deselve*), articles (*de*, *het*, *een*) and prepositions (*om*, *van----tot----*). These are precisely the categories left out from Shizuki's tables, as illustrated in 7.2.1. Although, at a first glance, this might appear to be a rather random collection of Dutch words Shizuki did not know how to otherwise categorize,[30] if one looks deeper at the Japanese renditions, one can notice

[30] This has been argued, for example, in DE GROOT (2005, 149), where he writes: "[In *Rangaku Seizenfu*] Shizuki included only nouns, verbs and adjectives in his diagram. Everything else was deemed by him to belong to a third group, called *joshi* 助詞, or auxiliary

a rather coherent pattern, in the adaptation of these Dutch words. In fact, almost all the Japanese renditions are one of the following five categories:

- A verbal/adjectival affix (in contemporary Japanese: *jodōshi* 助動詞), like: *tomo* (*domo*) とも for the Dutch *dog*, *doch* 'though'; *beki* べき for the Dutch *te* 'to'; *mo* モ + *ba* バ or the *ba* of the future (未来ノバ) for the Dutch *indien* and *bij aldien als* 'even though'.
- A particle (in contemporary Japanese: *joshi* 助詞), like: *yori* より for *als* 'as'; *yori* より + *made* まて for Dutch *van* + *tot* 'from + to'; *o* を and *ni* に for *om* and *aan* 'on'.
- A Chinese character traditionally categorized as *joji* 助字, like: *yu* (*nao*) 猶 for *echter*, *nogtans*, *niettemin* 'however'; *ji* (*toki*) 時 for *toen* 'back when'; *sono ue* 其上 for *daar boven* 'up there' (in Japanese often used as "furthermore"); *zen* 然, *daku* 諾, *i* 唯, *a* 啊 for *ja* 'yes'; *i* 為 for *om* 'in order to'.
- A Japanese word corresponding to a Chinese character traditionally recognized as *joji* 助字, like: *shikaredomo* 然れとも for *maar* 'but'; *gotoku* 如く for *als*, *gelijk* 'like'; *sude ni* すでに (既に) for *al* 'already'; *sono* その (其) for *deszelfs*, *derzelvers* 'itself', *tatoeba* たとえば (仮令ば) for *bij voorbeeld* 'for example'.
- Words that are neither "full" or "empty" in Dutch but that can only be rendered via a "full" or "empty" Japanese word. This one is rarer, only

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words. In this respect he was still limited by the same gaps in linguistic knowledge that had prevented his predecessors from evolving towards an awareness of the structures of Dutch". Similar claims can be found in the same work, scattered within the paragraph covering Shizuki. Compare also: "この著書の目的はいくつか選ばれた「助詞」を説明することであった。しかし、この当時、志筑は「助詞」という言葉を名詞、動詞、形容詞以外の他のすべてオランダ語の言葉（副詞、接続詞、など）に用いた。これは、たぶん彼がこの初期の段階ではこれらの三つの品詞以外の言葉の分類をまだ完全には理解していなかったことを示しているであろう。" (DE GROOT 2007: 60) Translation: "The objective of this book [*Joshi-kō*] is to explain a number of selected *joshi*. Nonetheless, at that time, Shizuki was using the word *joshi* to refer to all those Dutch words which were not nouns, verbs or adjectives (excluding adverbs, conjunctions etc.). This may point at the fact that, since he was still a beginner, he had not yet understood completely the categories of words beyond those three". Another point I take issue with, in this quote, regards the alleged goal of Shizuki's *Joshi-kō*, though one could say the same also for *Rangaku Seizenfu*. I believe that these types of publications were not intended to 'explain' Dutch *joshi*, in fact, the whole concept of *joshi* is never defined, as it was implied that the reader already knew what it meant. The main purpose of these two books was to provide translators with an easy reference of which Dutch word corresponded to which Japanese *joshi*, thus being translated accordingly. For this reason, there was no need, in Shizuki's plan, to present categories of speech foreign to Japanese speakers and scholars of the time. To word it differently, the Japanese reader was supposed to already know what a *joshi* was, since works on this category were rather prolific, at the time, in scholarships different from *rangaku*.

> comprising *hitotsu* ひとつ ‘one’ for *alleen, alleenlijk* ‘only’, ‘lonely’ and *aisu* 愛す ‘to love’ for *liever* (*hebben*) ‘rather (have)’.

The list of *joshi* in *Joshi-kō* allows for the identification of a clear pattern in the use of this category. I assume that there must be a reason why Shizuki selected these specific words from Marin’s dictionary. The title of this manuscript, presumably chosen by Shizuki himself,[31] suggests that the work was part of the Sino-Japanese tradition of lexicographical works titled “Thoughts on Auxiliary Words/Characters” – or variations thereof – as I have already mentioned in 5.3. DE GROOT (2005) does not provide a compelling reason to believe that this category was used by Shizuki as a container for all those words he could not otherwise adequately categorize. I believe that the reasoning upon which this list was compiled was to provide a Dutch version of such materials for translators to be able to render specific Dutch words that, when translated into (Sino-)Japanese, generally corresponded to the traditionally recognized category of *joshi*. It was not supposed to make sense from the point of view of Dutch traditional grammar to begin with, because it was not supposed to be a treaty on Greek-Latin traditional grammar or grammatical theory. The work called *Joshi-kō*, just like its Sino-Japanese predecessors, was meant as short glossaries to aid translators with the meaning of specific words that did not correspond to either “empty” or “full” words. However, it can also be deduced that Shizuki combined the theory on Chinese *joji* with that of *te ni wo ha*, coming from the *kokugaku* studies. After all, there was no need to rely on Chinese language anymore, as opposed to Ogyū and Tōgai’s *Thoughts on Auxiliary Words*, and Shizuki could finally break away from redundant notions on language carried over from the tradition of Chinese studies. This combination is much more evident when one considers works such as *Rangaku seizenfu*, for example, and its theories on morphosyntax (see Chapter VIII). Accounting for a certain degree of speculation, still, what can be claimed with certainty is that the category of *joshi*, as used by Shizuki regarding Dutch grammar, was anything but based on his ignorance regarding the traditional categories used by the Dutch. On the contrary, it was a conscious decision to neglect that theory and adopt categories that he believed to be more practical and comprehensible for his readers. This is evident by looking at how adverbs are treated, for example, in the comments to the two tables of *Joshi-kō*: they are not neglected or ignored, yet they are not functionally adopted as a category. This means that Shizuki purposefully decided not to include this distinction since he thought it to be unnecessary. Again, this has to do with the purpose of this work. Unlike, arguably, some other works attributed to him, *Joshi-kō* was not meant as an investigation of Dutch theory of grammar, but was conceived as a guide for translators, much like *Kun’yaku jimō*, which belonged to the same tradition of glossaries on auxiliary words. I will provide further evidence for this in Chapter VIII.

[31] As discussed in Chapter II, there is a very early testimony of a certain work of Shizuki that allegedly went by variations of the name of “Thoughts on auxiliary words/characters”. This suggests that the title this work is known with today must have been very similar to the title the manuscript had since it started circulating, in the last decades of the 18th century.

7.3 *Rangaku seizenfu*

The work titled *Rangaku seizenfu* focuses on the morphosyntax of verbs. For this reason, a more detailed analysis of the theoretical contents will be carried out in Chapter VIII. However, within this work, one can also find sparse references to the parts of speech, as well as two tables illustrating their relations, that are based on those found in *Joshi-kō*, as Shizuki himself reports. On a general note, the parts of speech are very similar to what seen in *Joshi-kō*. Verbs are here called *dōshi* 動詞 and are divided into neuter verbs *jidō* 自動, abbreviated as *N*, and active verbs *dōta* 動他, abbreviated as *A*. Nouns are called *jitsushi* 実詞 and adjectives are called either *seishi* 静詞 or *seikyo* 静虚, that are compositions of the characters for "quiet" and "empty". The phrasing *kyo no sei* 虚ノ静, literally 'quiet of empty' is also attested. The term *joshi* itself is never used within the main body, only featured once within the title of *Joshi-kō*. There is one single occurrence of the use of the term *shūshi* 衆詞, similar to what seen in *Joshi-kō*. In *Seizenfu*, this term is used in reference to the plural number of the Dutch term *woorden* 'words', that causes the verb to be conjugated in the plural form.[32] There is one occurrence of the term *keiyōshi* 形容詞, the term used today to refer to adjectives, that was also featured in *Joshi-kō* and which I have discussed in the previous paragraph 7.2.3. In *Seizenfu*, this term is featured within an explanation of the uses of the verb *zijn* combined with each part of speech, as I will argue in Chapter VIII. After tackling the use of *zijn* in combination with adjectives, Shizuki covers its uses in combination with *keiyōshi*, a term that is glossed with the expression *seikyo no zoku* 静虚ノ属 'belonging to quiet empty [words]'. From the interpretation of the explanation found in *Joshi-kō* – supported by the quotes by Ogyū Sorai – I have interpreted the word *keiyōshi* as referring to those Chinese character that are originally adjectives and are to be used in combination with the affix *-tari* – sometimes *-to shite*, as well –, often read in their *on'yomi* reading, and can modify either nouns or verbs. They correspond to the Chinese characters *zen* 然 and *ji* 爾, specifically when they are used in compound words. In *Seizenfu* on folio 23v, Shizuki writes:

又形容詞（静虚ノ属）ヲ音ニテ言フ寸ハたりト訳ス赫たり瑟たりナト之類ナリ瑟トアリ赫トアリ云ㄱナリ	Furthermore, when pronouncing the sound [*on'yomi*] of *keiyōshi* (that belong to "quiet empty words") it translates *tari*. Like the types of *kaku tari* and *shitsu tari* [*shittari*], that are *shitsu to ari* and *kaku to ari*.

Shizuki is referring to the practice of *kanbun kundoku*, whereby one can either read Chinese characters semantically, thus providing the Japanese translation for the concept expressed by each specific character (i.e., *kun'yomi*), or one can pronounce the character phonetically (*on'yomi*), meaning that the characters are read out according to the Japanized pronunciation of the Chinese sound it corresponded to

[32] Original quote: "Since it refers to *woorden*, a plural word, then one does not use *is*" (woorden ニカヽル故衆詞ヲ用ウ is トハ使ハズ), found on folio 8v in Waseda's copy, and on 6v, in Gifu's copy.

when that character was introduced in Japan. FRELLESVIG (2010, 103-104) points out that the Japanese suffix *-tari* had originated form a contraction of *to ari* (roughly meaning 'is so') and broadly served the purpose of providing "morphologically versatile forms", often to Sino-Japanese words. Shizuki uses the words *kaku tari* 赫たり 'splendid' and *shitsu tari* 瑟たり (probably *shittari*) 'solemn'.[33] As argued in 7.2.3, the suffix *-tari* was not the only one associated with the concept of *keiyō* by Ogyū who, in fact, also attest the suffix *-ku* – typical of the *ren'yōkei* form of Japanese adjectives –, as well as *-to shite*, as viable *keiyō* morphological endings. In *Seizenfu*, however, only *-tari* is attested as an element typical of *keiyō* characters/words. It appears, thus, that the definition of this category should be based on semantic/syntactic reasons rather than purely morphological. While *-tari* might have been the affix that was mostly understood as typical of the category of *keiyō*, this category was defined on the basis of three parameters:

- Syntactic parameter: it modifies either verbs or nouns;
- Morphological parameter: it is created by suffixation of (Chinese characters that are originally) adjectives;
- Semantic parameter: it renders the "condition" of a noun or the "impetus" (*ikioi* 勢い) of an action.

In Greek-Latin traditional grammar, the category of *keiyō* would correspond to either adverbs or adjectives, according to their syntax. Not distinguishing between the adjectival use and the adverbial was probably reinforced by the fact that also in Dutch one can use the same morphologically identical form as either an adjective or an adverb, especially considering the suffix *-lijk*.

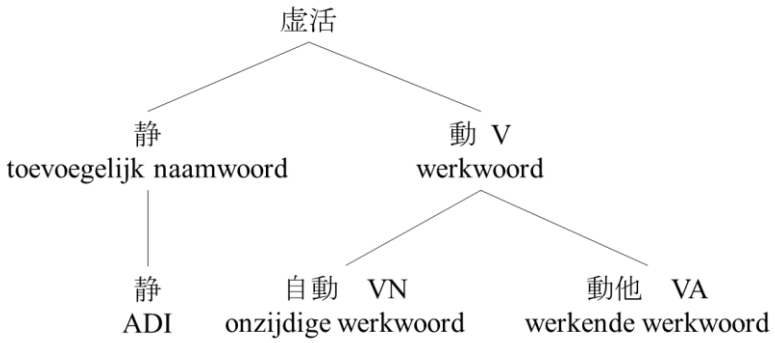

Table 43 Table of empty words in *Rangaku seizenfu*

At the end of *Rangaku Seizenfu* (24v-25r), in the chapter called *shihin-zu* 詞品図, 'Tables of the Parts of Speech', Shizuki draws two additional graphs illustrating the relationship between the parts of speech of Dutch. Table 43 presents 'empty' *kyo* 虚

[33] These two adjectives are also used in the *Great Learning* (*Dàxué* 大学).

and ‘lively’ *katsu* 活 words, while Table 44 those that are ‘full’ *jitsu* 実 (實) and ‘dead’ *shi* 死.

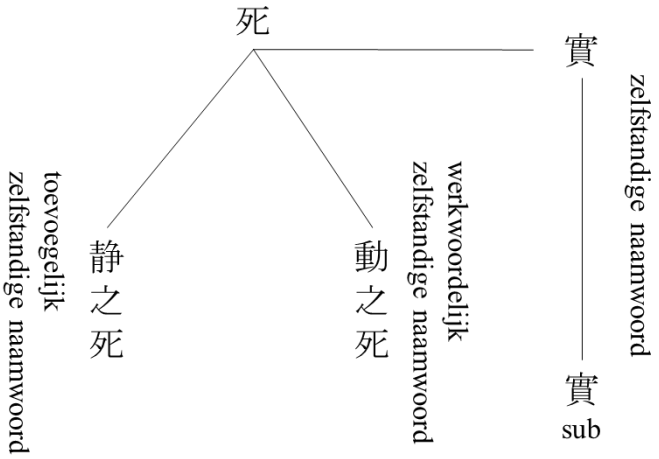

Table 44 Table of full words in Shizuki’s *Rangaku seizenfu*

The contents of these tables are consistent with *Joshi-kō*, explaining that “empty lively” words are of two types: verbs (*werkwoord*, *V*, 動) and adjectives (*toevoegelijk naamwoord*, *ADI*, 靜). Verbs split into two categories: active verbs (*werkend werkwoord*, *VA*, 動他); and neuter verbs (*onzijdig werkwoord*, *VN*, 自動). On the other hand, “full words” (*sub*.) are either nouns (*zelf*., i.e., *zelfstandig naamwoord*) or “dead” words (死). Dead words distinguish from full words in that the former are nouns obtained by derivation, meaning by nominalizing an originally empty word. The “death of an adjective” (*sei no shi* 靜之死) is called *toevoegelijk zelfstandig naamwoord*, while the death of a verb (*dō no shi* 動之死) is called *werkwoordelijk zelfstandig naamwoord*. A “dead verb”, in *Joshi-kō*, was called a *verbalia*, just like they were called in Marin’s dictionary. However, they are here called by another name, which also occurred once in *Joshi-kō* in the section on grammar. These are probably terms coined by Shizuki himself since I have not been able to find any correspondence to any Dutch source. In both these compounds, the terms *toevoegelijk* ‘adjectival’ and *werkwoordelijk* ‘verbal’ are used as adjectives modifying the *zelfstandig naamwoord* ‘substantive noun’ part of the compound. A nominalized or “dead” adjective is thus called an “adjectival substantive noun”, while a nominalized or “dead” verb is called a “verbal substantive noun”. Neither term is ever found again in any other manuscript of Shizuki. Before closing the manuscript, Shizuki adds the following remark, as a comment to the two tables

above: “The details of this are discussed in *Joshi-kō*, thus I will omit them, here” (右詳ナルヿハ助詞考[34]ニイヘルカ故此ニ畧ス).

7.4 *Sanshu shokaku*

As suggested by the title, this work covers mostly the topic of the “three genders” (*sanshu* 三種), that influence the morphosyntax of nouns, adjectives, participles, and articles, and it shows how they are declined according to “all the cases” (*shokaku* 諸格). This work makes use of terms such as *jitsushi* 実詞, *kyoshi* 虚詞, *dōshi* 動詞 and *hassei* 発声, without describing or defining any of them. Because of the contents of this document, the term *hassei* for “article” is certainly central, being used quite often and consistently, as opposed to other works by Shizuki. The word *jogo* 助語 is also mentioned and is used in reference to the third person plural and singular of the reflexive pronoun *zig zelve*; the inflected articles *het*, *ten*, and the preposition *te*; some other adjectives that can also be used adverbially, or adverbs derived from adjectives, like *eenig* ‘only’, *alleen* ‘alone’, *geenzins* ‘at all’. The use of the term *joshi*, here, is consistent with *Joshi-kō*. The word *keiyō* 形容 is not used, neither are the characters *sei* 静, *katsu* 活 or *shi* 死.

It appears, thus, that the category of “empty” is being used here as translation to “adjective” and the category of *dōshi* 動詞 is not to be considered as a sub-category of “empty words”. This can be deduced from many quotes found within this work, most of which appear in notes added outside the margins of the main text, making it possible for them to be later additions of a copyist or an owner of the manuscript. Within the main body of the text, one finds the following quote, reinforcing this interpretation of the category of “empty” used in *Sanshu shokaku*. The first quote claims (1r):

多シ人各地各ニテモ上ニ虚詞詞ヲ添ル寸ハ發声ヲ用ルノ例ナリ	There are also many examples of the use of articles, with names of people or places, when adding an “empty word”.

In this quote, the original text was probably missing a character as it only featured the character *shi* 詞 (*kotoba*), above which the word *kyoshi* 虚詞 “empty word” has been added as a correction. Concurring with the correction, it is claimed that articles can be used in combination with some names of people or places, whenever there is an “empty word” before them. By deduction, only adjectives can play this role. Furthermore, the subsequent sentence cites the example of *het gelukkig Engeland*, reminding of a section from Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* (page 65), seen before, that I quote again below.

[34] In Waseda’s copy the title of this work is spelled 助字考.

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

Another quote using the term "empty word" within the main body of the text, covers an additional issue, regarding pronouns, as can be read below (8v):

又 zulk ander eenig zommig zulk alle elk jemand niemand ナドハ onbepaalde voornaam 卜云モノナリ故ニ他ノ虛詞トハ別アリ	Furthermore, words like *zulk, ander, eenig, zommig, zulk, alle, elk, jemand, niemand* etc. are all *onbepaalde voornaam*. For this reason, they are different from the other "empty words".

The phrasing "different form the other empty words" (他ノ虛詞トハ別アリ) implies that an *onbepaalde voornaamwoord* 'indefinite pronoun' is to be itself considered an "empty word". Why that is, is never really explained. Furthermore, the section in Séwel's *Spraakkonst* that covers this topic never mentions adjectives, or any category connected to the concept of "empty", in fact, in that section it is claimed that these pronouns are declined like nouns, as one can read from the quote below, originally found on page 239.

Nóg zyn 'er onbepaalde Voornaamwoorden, als *Alle, Eenige, Sommige, Etlyke, Zodaanig, De Gene, Zulk, Ander, Zeker, Elk,* een *Ieder* óf *Yder*, een *Iegelyk, Iemand, Niemand*. Deeze worden geboogen als de Naamwoorden	There are also indefinite pronouns, like *Alle, Eenige, Sommige, Etlyke, Zodaanig, De Gene, Zulk, Ander, Zeker, Elk,* and *Ieder* or *Yder*, and *Iegelyk, Iemand, Niemand*. These are declined like nouns

Another occurence of the term *kyoshi* 虛詞 is inside an explicative note, under the title of the paragraph *het o mochiyuru mono* (het ヲ用ル者) 'The use of *het*'. There, it is claimed that "When an empty word is made full, one adds *het*" (虛詞ヲ実詞ニスル寸ニ het ヲ付ルヿナリ). This claim would stand true, to some extent, even if one were to interpret the term "empty word" to also include verbs, however, the examples provided after this claim make it clear that we are only talking about adjectives. In fact, the chapter 'The use of *het*' starts with the statement below (10r).

Het goed 善ナリ善ノ躰ナリ het voorst 前ナリ前ナル所ナリ het rood 赤ナリ赤ノ色ナリコレヲ皆 bij voegelijk ニテ実詞トナスモノニシテ含ム意ハナシ het roode een roode ト云ヘハ赤キ木ナドノ意ヲ含メリ	The word *het goed* is 'the good', 'the good body'. The word *het voorst* is 'the before', 'the place coming before'. The word *het rood* is 'the red', 'the color red'. When these are all *bijvoegelijk*, they do not have the embedded meaning of having been made "full". Words like *het rood*, *een roode* etc. include the meaning of *the red tree* etc.

It is not totally clear what Shizuki means with this entry, but I assume, from the context, that he is referring to the fact that the composition of *het* plus and adjective does not imply that the adjective is being nominalized; it could still mean that the combination is meant to modify a subsequent noun, making the adjective a proper "empty word". He provides the example of *akaki ki* 赤キ木 'red tree'. The Dutch word for "tree", however, is *boom* and is of the masculine gender and it would thus require the definite article *de*, instead of *het*. Still, this would be an example of, as Shizuki writes, *een roode* 'a red' being used adjectivally in combination with a noun, as in *een roode boom* 'a red tree'.

It is also interesting that adjectives are here called by the Dutch name that is used, amongst others, by Séwel,[35] namely *bijvoegelijk* (*naamwoord*) and not by the term *kyoshi* while nouns are, indeed, called "full words". In fact, this section of *Sanshu shokaku* goes on claiming that also verbs – called *werkwoord* – when used as *zelfstandig*, they require the article *het*. If one also includes the quotes found outside the margins of the main text – that could have however been added subsequently by another hand – the idea that the term *kyoshi* 'empty word' is being used to refer to adjectives only, with the exclusion of verbs, gets reinforced. The following quote, found as explanation to the chapter titled *Deelwoord no kaku* (Deelwoord 之格) 'The cases of participles', claims (9r):

動詞ヲ虚詞ニ用ルヲテールウォールトヽ云假令バ werkend man ナドノ如キナリ	When a *dōshi* is used as a *kyoshi* it is called a *dēruwōruto* [*deelwoord*], for example *werkend man* ['working man']

For a "verb" to be used as "empty" it must mean that a "verb" is not "empty", to begin with. This is in clear contrast with what claimed in *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* (and Ogyū Sorai, for example). A participle is, thus, a "verb" acting as an "adjective", as in the example *werkend*(*e*) *man*. However, the information regarding the definitions of these categories is rare and sparse within this manuscript. On top of that, one cannot be sure that the different quotes have been written by the same person, explaining the apparent inconsistency in the information they provide.

Furthermore, this document mostly concentrates on the declination of nouns (and adjectives). The terminology in this regard is much more detailed and accurately described. The name of the genders is consistent with the Yin-Yang approach, just like in *Joshi-kō*, for which Shizuki provides the Dutch term and a one-letter abbreviation of either the Dutch or Latin term, as one sees in the excerpt below (2r):

[35] As already mentioned in 4.2.4, Marin used *toevoegelijk*.

三種ハ mannelijk 今畧シテ M トス vrouwelijk 今畧シテ F トス geenerlijk onzijdig 今畧シテ O トス三種𠆢ニ meervoud アリ今畧シテ MV トス M ハ陽 F ハ陰 O ハ中 MV ハ複ト訳ス

The three genders are: *mannelijk* ['masculine'], which I will abbreviate as *M*; *vrouwelijk* ['feminine'], which I will abbreviate as *F*; *geenerlijk* or *onzijdig* ['neuter'] which I will abbreviate as *O*. In the three genders there is also the *meervoud* ['plural'], that I will abbreviate as *MV*. The *M* is translated as *yō* 陽 ['Yang'], the *F* as *in* 陰 ['Yin'], the *O* as *chū* 中 ['center', 'neuter'], the *MV* as *fuku* 複.

The Dutch words for the neuter gender, namely *geenerlijk* or *onzijdig*, and for the plural number, *meervoud*, get abbreviated with the initials of their Dutch name. The feminine gender, however, gets abbreviated into *F*, that is the initial of the Latin word for it. The masculine gender is abbreviated as *M*, and both the Dutch and the Latin terms do start with that same letter. The singular number, *enkelvoud*, does not get its own abbreviation, but is translated as *tan* 単 within the body of the text. The plural number is translated as *fuku* 複, as opposed to the character *shū* 衆 used in *Joshi-kō*.

The six cases are also listed, named, and translated accurately. They all present their names in both Latin and Dutch. They are listed according to their ordinal number, written in Arabic numerals. Each term is translated with one Chinese character and is also provided with Japanese adaptation, mostly concerning particles (*te ni wo ha*). Within the text, the cases are either mentioned with their Dutch name or with a Japanese ordinal number, in the form *daiikkaku* 第一格 'first case', *daisankaku* 第三格 'third case' etcetera. Below I drew a table containing all the terminology used to refer to cases in *Sanshu shokaku*, as well as the main Japanese translations.

By looking at the column on the right of Table 45, one can see that Shizuki's understanding of cases was very much inspired by *kokugaku*, specifically by Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*. This can be claimed for the fact that one of the Japanese translations of the nominative case is *tada* 徒, a word Motoori used to refer to those instances in which no *te ni wo ha* was to be used (see 6.2.1). Shizuki adds the following remark on the side of that Chinese character: "It means one does not add any *te ni wo ha*" (テニヲハツカヌ云), a similar phrasing was present in *Kotoba no tama no o*, as discussed in Chapter V.[36]

It is worth stressing out the fact that Shizuki adapted the cases of Dutch via Japanese particles or, how they were called in the *kokugaku* scholarship, *te ni wo ha*. This is important because the *te ni wo ha* were, in some sense, a specific sub-set of what was commonly considered "auxiliary words/character" (see Chapter V).

[36] Motoori wrote there: 徒とは は も ぞ の や 何 こそ などいふのなきを今かりにかくいふ也.

1	第一格	Nominativus	Noemer	正	*ari* アリ *ni ari* ニアリ *wa* ハ *mo* モ *ya* ヤ *nari* ナリ *no gotoshi* ノ如シ *tada* 徒
2	(第二格) Not used[37]	Genitivus	Teeler	主	*no* ノ
3	第三格	Dativus	Geever	与	*ni* ニ *to* ト
4	第四格	Accusativus	Aanklaager	所	*wo* ヲ *ari* アリ (with *hebben*)
5	第五格	Vocativus	Roeper	呼	*yo* ヨ
6	第六格	Ablativus	Nemer	取	*yori* ヨリ *wo motte* ヲ以テ

Table 45 Dutch cases in Shizuki's *Sanshu shokaku*

It is also interesting to notice that Shizuki claims the accusative case to correspond to the Japanese verb *ari* whenever the Dutch sentence uses the verb *hebben* 'to have' as a possessive. This is a consequence of the fact that in Japanese possession is expressed by means of verbs of existence, like *ari*, rather than a transitive verb expressing possession, like *hebben*. This is claimed in the following quote (4r):

ik heb eenen zoon ナレバアリト添スベケレ𠮟俗ニ子ヲ持リト云ノ格ナル故此格ナリ	If it is *ik heb eenen zoon* then even if one would need to add *ari*, this is similar to saying *ko wo motari* [lit. 'I hold a son'], in the popular language. Thus, it belongs to this case.

Within *Sanshu shokaku* one also finds a series of terms that are not found in any of the attested sources. Specifically the term *neemer* for the ablative case, whereas Séwel uses *afneemer*. In Marin and Halma's dictionaries, mention of the cases is extremely rare, and I have not been able to find any reference to the ablative case, at all. Another couple of terms that are not found in the known sources are *bepaalde geslagtwoord* 'definite article'[38] and *onbepaalde geslagtwoord* 'indefinite article' used for the articles *de*, *het* and *een* respectively.[39] These terms are particularly

[37] Apparently, the genitive case is never explicitly abbreviated as *dainikaku* 第二格, although it can be implicitly deduced that this would have been the abbreviation in case one needed to use it.

[38] This is spelled as *geslagenwoord*, although it is probably a conflation of *geslagtwoord* with *geslagen word* 'to get hit'.

[39] For the sake of certainty, I have also checked in Ten Kate's *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* and in Van der Palm's *Nederduitsche Spraekkunst voor de jeugd*, since these were uncertain, yet plausible sources of Shizuki, as

interesting since it means that articles are referred to as 'gender-word', an approach Shizuki never adopts anywhere else in his bibliography, just like the concepts of definite and indefinite. Adjectives are often called *bijvoegelijk naamwoorden*, that is a term found in Séwel, while in other works of Shizuki, the term *toevoegelijk*, used in Marin's dictionary, was more common. The terms *onbepaalde wijze* 'indefinite mood' and *voegende wijze* 'subjunctive mood' are also mentioned. The term *voornaamwoord* is used in different instances. This term is first used to refer to the subject pronouns *ik*, *gij*, *zij*, *hij* etc.

In the chapter titled *rokkaku shoyō no kotoba* 六格所用ノ詞 'Words using the six cases', there are a few interesting remarks. The first case is the nominative case, called *nominativus*, in Latin, and *noemer*, in Dutch. There, it is added that "in the original book, the information in this regard is not detailed" (此間源書未詳, with 源 being a misspelling of 原). After this note, one finds the Dutch word *voorzetzel* 'preposition'. After listing the Japanese words and particles corresponding to the Dutch nominative case, the text continues with another claim hinting at the shortcomings of the original source (此間原書闕　ニカヽモノヲ云, this sentence is also badly spelled). The way these pieces of text need to be interpreted is not completely intuitive, however. Since the terminology used here mirrors the one used by Séwel in his *Spraakkonst*, one can assume that this is the "original book" (原書) about which Shizuki was complaining. In this source, the following quote introduces the concept (pages 178-179):

Hoe vreemd nu deeze benaamingen iemand ook moogen voorkomen, nógtans ſchynt de Reden, zo wel als de rechte eygenſchap der bewoordinge, aanleyding daartoe gegeeven te hebben: want wat ongerymdheyd ſteekt 'er tóch in, dat men den rechten naam, waarmede iets genoemd wordt, den *Noemer* heet, als *Vader*, *Moeder*, *Kind*?	Although these names might appear weird to some, they seem to have provided the introduction to the speech and the correct property of the wording: since what type of incongruity can it ever be to refer to the proper names by means of which things are named, as the *noemer*, like *Vader* ['Father'], *Moeder* ['Mother'], *Kind* ['Child']?

On page 180, one finds the following quote:

De *Nominativus*, betékend wordende door *Een*, *De*, *Het*, alsmede door *Ik*, *gy*, *hy*, *zy*, geeft den naam en de beduydenis van het Naamwoord te verſtaan, en wordt voor het *Werkwoord* geſteld, beantwoordende de vraagen *Wie*? óf *Wat*?	The *Nominativus*, means making the name and the understanding of the noun placed before the verb understood through *Een*, *De*, *Het*, but also through *Ik*, *gy*, *hy* and *zy*, answering the questions *Who*? Or *What*?

mentioned in Chapter II. However, in the former, the term for "article" is either the Latin *Articulus* or the Dutch *lid*. Definite and indefinite articles are always called, there, in Latin, *articulus definitivus* and *articulus indefinitivus*. In the latter source, articles are called *Lid- of geslachtwoord*, meaning either *lidwoord* or *geslachtwoord*. However, definite and indefinite articles are called *bepalende* and *onbepalende*, respectively, that is slightly different from the *bepaald*e and *onbepaalde*, that one finds in *Sanshu shokaku*.

As seen from this excerpt, Séwel does not mention prepositions in his explanation of the nominative case. However, the term *voorzetsel* is used in *Sanshu shokaku* without any context, after the name of the nominative case. By looking at the structure of the rest of the chapter, for each of the other cases one finds a small list of prepositions that are generally used with each case. For example, the preposition *van* is connected to the genitive case, and the prepositions *aan*, *in*, *tot* are linked to the dative case. For the accusative case (*accusativus*, *aanklaager*), one finds the following quote: "This has no preposition. There is only a variation of the article" (是ハ voorzetzel ナシ發声等ノ變アルノミ). It can be supposed, thus, that the word *voorzetsel*, written without context in the entry for the nominative case, was meant to also signal the fact that no specific preposition was to be used with the nominative case. This might be the consequence of a mistake made by the copyist.

Within *Sanshu shokaku* the term *onpersoonlijk werkwoord* 'impersonal verb' is used to refer to the verbs *regenen* 'to rain' and *hagelen* 'to hail'. Séwel utilizes this term, in his *Spraakkonst*, however, the example of the verb *hagelen* is not featured. The term *verkleinde naam* 'diminutive noun' is also used, and it might echo the phrase *verkleynde naamwoorden* as found in Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, on page 44. A few of the examples found in that source appear to be similar to what is found in Shizuki. Diminutives are composed in Dutch by means of the suffixes *-je* or *-ke*(*n*), with the latter seemingly being perceived by Séwel as being less common and less correct. Shizuki provides the following examples: *zoontie*, *zoontien*,[40] *meisies* and *jongsken*.[41] Séwel uses all these words except *meisjes* 'girls'. It is not clear whether this remark by Shizuki was actually influenced by Séwel, but I would like to shed some light on the following excerpt from that source, which demonstrates the preference of *-je*, rather than *-ke*(*n*), by the Dutch author:

In *Ringetje* ſchynt de *t* ook niet wel te konnen gemiſt worden; want *Ringsken* is geen goed Nederduytſch, ſchoon men by Vondel *Jongske* in plaats van *Jongetje* vindt.	In *Ringetje* ['small ring'] as well it appears that the *t* cannot be missed; as *Ringsken* is no good Dutch, although one can find *Jongske* instead of *Jongetje*, in Vondel.

This is not only a testimony to the prescriptivism based on literary language use, typical of the Dutch literature of the time, but it can also be an explanation for the fact that Shizuki only provided one example of a diminutive with *-ke*(*n*), giving precedence to those with the affix *-je*.

In conclusion, the work known as *Sanshu shokaku* is almost completely focused on the analysis of the grammatical feature of Dutch known as case. For this reason, the theoretical content of this manuscript is, admittedly, less interesting for the purpose of the present research. However, *Sanshu shokaku* is a manuscript full of external references that can function as clear hints at Shizuki's sources, as I have discussed in 2.4.4. While its contents concerning the morphosyntax of verbs are rather limited, it

[40] Probably a conflation of *zoontje* and *zoonken*, two alternative diminutive forms of *zoon* 'son'.
[41] The letter < j > is clearly written as < i > in all words except in *jongsken*.

does provide interesting information concerning the parts of speech. The most notable issue, in this regard, is the apparent adoption of a slightly different hierarchical structure, as far as the traditional Sino-Japanese categories are concerned. Specifically, the three categories of "full", "empty" and "moving" seem to reflect the same level of analysis, whereas traditionally "moving" words were a sub-set of "empty" words, together with "quiet" words. It follows that the label for "empty" only refers now to adjectives, it does not include verbs anymore, and the label "quiet" is dropped definitively. Admittedly, the information in this regard is not directly specified by Shizuki and it appears that most of this has to be deduced by reading the glosses whose authorship is not clear. However, as I will demonstrate below, this new hierarchical structure is not unique to *Sanshu shokaku*.

7.5 *Shihō shoji taiyaku*

The work titled *Shihō shoji taiyaku* is entirely devoted to the description of verbal moods and tenses. The inspiration drawn from Séwel's *Spraakkonst* is undeniable, being visible from the terminology utilized to refer to each tense and mood, and from the examples (see 2.4.7). Séwel's book is, furthermore, directly cited in Latin characters, with Shizuki suggesting his readers to refer to that source if interested in knowing the complete conjugation of the verbs *leeren* 'to learn' and *geleerd worden* 'to get learned'. At the beginning of the document, Shizuki also warns his reader that he will not provide all the conjugated forms according to each person and number. If one is interested in knowing that, then one can read his other work *Sanshu shokaku*.[42] Shizuki will only present the first-person singular for each verbal tense. In that sentence, pronouns are mentioned but are not given a specific category, they are simply named by listing a few of them. As can be seen from the quote below (2v).

此ノ如キ ik, hij, gij ナトニヨリテ動詞ノ格異ナルヿ並ニ余カ三種諸格ノ後ニ見タルヲ以テニハ ik ノミヲ表シテ他ハ略セリ	Likewise, according to *ik, hij, gij* etc. the form of the verb changes. The rest can be seen in *Sanshu shokaku*, thus I will only specify the form *ik*, here.

The only other category of speech that is named in this manuscript are "full words" (實詞), mentioned once when referencing the use of participles (called *deelworod*) in combination with nouns, meaning in an attributive role. Since the entire work is devoted to illustrating verbal tenses and their use within sentences, I will cover the content of *Shihō shoji taiykau* mostly in Chapter VIII. Unfortunately, because of the structure and goal of this work of Shizuki, there is not much more to say regarding morphological categories and their relations with each other.

[42] Probably referring to the brief table on folios 19v-19r, in Kanda's copy, where one can find a few conjugations concerning the verbs *zijn, zullen, hebben* and *leren*, as well as their past forms, according to the first person singular, the second person singular and plural, and the third person singular masculine.

7.6 *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*

The work titled *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō* is very brief and is mostly composed of a list of the six cases of Dutch, with Japanese translations and some examples. The theory of grammar is not further discussed either, in this work; thus, it is difficult to deduce any broad theory on the morphological categories of speech. However, there is one quote deserving special attention (2v).

末ニ e 之字ヲ附テ云フ詞ト附ルヿ能ワザルアリ一概ニハ心得ベカラズ	It is not possible to write down the words that require a *-e* to be added at their end. It is not necessary to learn them all.
頸ニカクル抔云フ如キ実事ニ於テハ aan ヲ畧スルヿナシ Aande 之代リニ陰詞ニ der ト云フヿ複ニモ云ヘリ又陽中何レモ複ニモ aande ノ代リ den ヲ用ルヿアリ」	Others are similar to those I have written above, however depending on the thing in question, *aan* cannot be omitted. Instead of *aande*, with feminine words, one can say *der*, also in the plural. Furthermore, both with masculine and neuter words and their plural, one can use *den* instead of *aande*.
in ハ静ノ寸ハ反テ此格ナリ於ノ意ナルモ此格 in de vergaderinge zisten ナドノ如シ動ト云ハ in de vergadering gelaaten worden ナドノ類ナリ又 gezet worden モ静ナリ op モ in ノ如シ	When quiet, *in* gets substituted and belongs to this case. It has the meaning of the character 於. However, it can be used in [sentences] like *in de vergaderinge zitten*. When moving, it is the type of *in de vergadering gelaaten worden* etc. Even *gezet worden* is "quiet". This *in* is similar to *op*.

This excerpt is an explanation of the dative case. The author notices that, in some cases, the preposition *aan*, that would combine with the article *de*, can be omitted. In that case, the article *de* needs to be declined either as *den* or *der*, according to gender and number, and the noun itself requires the addition of a final letter *-e*, as in *aan de vrouw* or *der vrouwe*, both meaning 'to the woman'. The same goes for masculine and neuter nouns, where *aan de* needs to be substituted with *den*, instead. In the following passage, the author makes a couple of unclear claims. It is claimed that, when the preposition *in* is "quiet" (*sei* 静) – rendered with the same character generally used to refer to adjectives – it has the same meaning as the character *o* 於.[43] This claim is put in a concessive clause (モ), stating that, even in such cases, the

[43] This character can convey a plethora of meanings. In *kundoku*, it was generally considered an "auxiliary character" corresponding to Japanese particles and similar elements used to refer to a location. It often corresponds to the Japanese phrase *ni oite* that would translate the English prepositions "in", "at" etc. I have checked in Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō*, as to have an Early Modern source on the meaning of this character and there one can find three entries addressing it. Two entries in the third volume, and the last in the fifth volume. In the first entry of the first volume, it is claimed that, just like the characters *en* 爰, *u* 于 and *etsu* 越, the character *o* 於 is read in Japanese as *koko ni* 'here' (+ particle *ni*). The combination of the two characters 於是 (read as *yúshì* in contemporary Mandarin, meaning 'accordingly') must be read as *koko ni oite*, where *koko ni* refers to the character *shi* 是, and *oite* to the character *o* 於.

Dutch preposition *in* still belongs to this type, probably referring to prepositions requiring the dative case, as in the sentence *in de vergadering zitten* 'to sit in the meeting'. In case *in* is "moving" (*dō* 動) – rendered with the same character generally used to refer to verbs –, it is the type of *in de vergadering gelaaten worden* 'to be let in[side] the meeting'. The phrase *gezet worden* 'to get put/set' is also "quiet". Of course, if one considers the two characters *dō* and *sei* to refer to the categories of verbs and adjectives, as was traditionally done, this does not help with the interpretation of this explanation. There is no viable interpretation in which the Dutch preposition *in* can be considered either and adjective or a verb. Thus, I assume these could refer to the other words *in* was interacting with in the sample phrases. However, there is no clear reason why *zitten* and *gezet worden* should be considered adjectives, while *gelaaten worden* a verb. Thus, it is clear that these two Chinese characters do not refer to these two parts of speech, but to some otherwise unspecified concept. As I said in 2.4.5, these sample sentences are likely taken directly from Zeydelaar's *Spraakkonst*. On pages 276 and 277 of that source, the following is claimed:

Het Voorzetsel IN beheerscht den zesden Naamval, wanneer het de rust in eene plaats te kennen geeft. Dus zegt men: *Hij zit* in *de Vergaderinge*. Maar het beheerscht den vierden Naamval, wanneer het de beweeging en komst tot eene plaats uitdrukt; als: *hij is* in *de Vergadering toegelaaten*.	The preposition *in* requires the sixth case, when it informs about the quietness in a place. Thus, one says: *Hij zit* in *de Vergaderinge* ['He sits/is in the meeting']. However, it [*in*] requires the fourth case, whenever it expresses the movement and arrival to a place, like: *hij is* in *de Vergadering toegelaaten* ['He is allowed into the meeting'].

It is now clear that the author of *Kyoshi-kō* used the two Chinese characters to translate the Dutch words *rust* "quietness", "rest" and *beweeging* "movement". These have nothing to do with the categories of speech, rather they refer to two types of complements or arguments. Zeydelaar calls it *rust* "quietness" when the preposition *in* is used to refer to a static location. When the location is the destination of a translocation, this is called *beweeging* "movement". Since in Dutch the case used after the preposition *in* changes according to the semantics of the verb – i.e., whether the verb expresses a static location or a movement – this is what was being addressed here.

This combination is also provided the reading *soko de* 'there' (+ particle *de*), a claim that would concur with the entry on volume five. In the second entry of the first volume, however, the character *o* 於 is also compared to the characters *ko* 乎, *u* 于 again, and *sho* 諸, all of which are claimed to correspond to two *kana* each. For example, the character *ko* 乎 would correspond to the two *kana* (i.e., *te ni wo ha*) *ni* ニ and ヲ. The two particles connected to the character *o* 於, however, are *ni* ニ and *he* ヘ, although the particle *wo* ヲ is also attested, in some instances.

7.7 *Kuhinshi myōmoku*

Kuhinshi myōmoku is a glossary of Latin-Dutch terminology on grammar, rather than a proper essay on grammatical theory. The consequence of this is that there are just a few explanations of the mentioned categories and their use. One can, nonetheless, point out a few interesting elements, regarding the terminology adopted in this manuscript. Firstly, the term *joshi* 助詞 is used to only translate the category of conjunctions, called *conjuctio*, in Latin, and *tZamenvoegsel*, in Dutch. This is in contrast with works such as *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*, where *joshi* is a much broader category (see 7.2 And 7.3), and also not in line with *Sensei bunpō*, where it is used to only refer to adverbs (7.1). The term *joshi* is, nonetheless, also attested as popular nomenclature (俗ニ云) of the category of *hulpwoord* 'help-word' that is used here to refer to auxiliary verbs, as it is also done in Séwel, for example. One difference is that Séwel did not include the verb *zijn* 'to be' amongst auxiliaries, only categorizing it as *zelfstandig* 'independent', or 'substantive'. The Japanese author did, in fact, categorize this verb, and its alternative form *wezen*, as *zelfstandig*, translating this label with the Chinese character *zai* 在 'to be (located at)', but he also included it in the category of *helpwoord*. Moods have been acknowledged in this work, appearing, in Dutch as *vierderlij wijze* 'four-parted moods', while in Japanese as *shihō* 四法 'four rules' or 'four ways', with the word *dōshi* 動詞 'verb' added as to specify what this term refers to. The entry to each mood also presents short explanations concerning their use. For example, the indicative mood, called *chokusetsu* 直説 'direct claim', is defined as "Mood used when talking directly about things".[44] The imperative mood is called *shirei* 使令. Its definition provides not only indications regarding the logical context in which to use it, but also morphological information on the conjugation, specifying that, when inflected in this form, one does not add *-d* or *-t* to the verb.[45] This assertion is not correct in and of itself, since the imperative form with *-t*, although somewhat outdated, has existed, and was still attested in sources, such as Marin's *Spraakwyze*, for example. For the subjunctive or optative mood, translated as *bunchū* 分注, it is claimed that it refers to "words that add *dat* below a verb".[46] This explanation refers to the fact that subjunctive clauses tend to be introduced by conjunctions such as *dat* 'that' as often demonstrated in the conjugation tables the Dutch made. However, the Japanese explanation is not completely correct since the verb conjugated in the subjunctive mood always comes after the conjunction *dat*. The infinitive mood, called *futsū* 普通 'normal', 'common', is claimed to be the verb used after *om te* 'in order to' and, generally, all verbs are to be used in their plural form.[47] This last claim is based on the fact that the infinitive form is morphologically identical to the plural form of the present indicative tense. Tenses are called *vier getyden*, in Dutch, and *yoji* 四時, in Japanese, meaning 'four times'. This term is not found in Séwel, nor is

[44] Original quote: "物ヲ直ニ云寸用ユル法".
[45] Original quote: "語中主ヲ用ヒズ客ハ用ユ又動詞ノ尾ニ-d-t ト云フ〻ナシ".
[46] Original quote: "動詞ノ下ニ dat ノツク語".
[47] Original quote: "om te ノ付ク寸ニ用而メ動詞ヲ皆複ニ使フ".

it consistent with the "times" presented by Séwel.[48] The four "times" acknowledged in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, are the classical three, namely: *tegenwoordige tijd, genzai* 現在 'present'; *voorleede tijd, kako* 過去 'past'; *toekomende tijd, mirai* 未来 'future'; with the addition of *onbepaalde tijd, futsū* 普通, the infinitive tense. However, all other tenses found in Séwel (see 4.5.1) are also listed within this manuscript, with rough translations annotated on their right, hinting at a later addition. Another relevant claim concerns the traditional classes of "empty" and "full". The category of "full" (*jitsu* 実) is used, here, only to refer to nouns, namely *zelfstandig naamwoorden* 'substantive nouns', that are a subcategory of the broader class of *nomina*, *naamwoorden*. Adjectives or, rather "adjunctive nouns" (*bijvoegelijke naamwoorden*), are categorized as "empty" (*kyo* 虚). The supercategory of *nomina* is, instead, categorized as *seishi* 静詞 'quiet words', to which it is added that "Outside of verbs, all words are said *seishi* 'quiet words', including "full" and "empty" 虚."[49] This is strikingly in contrast with what was found in the tables in *Joshi-kō* based on Sino-Japanese traditional categories, where the fundamental distinction of the parts of speech was between "full" and "empty", the former only including (substantive) nouns, and the latter including both "quiet words" (meaning "adjectives" or, rather, "adjectival nouns") and "moving words" (verbs). This demonstrates a stronger reliance of *Kuhinshi myōmoku* on Dutch theory of grammar, as compared to *Joshi-kō*. In fact, from a Japanese point of view, grouping nouns and adjectives together, instead of putting adjectives in the same group as verbs, makes little morphosyntactic sense, while it is more intuitive in the context of Dutch, where adjectives are declined, just like nouns, rather than conjugated similarly to verbs, as it happens in Japanese, instead. The parts of speech are, thus, roughly divided into two major categories: *dō* 動, for verbs, and *sei* 静, for nouns. The latter includes four sub-categories, namely: *jitsu* 実 'full', for substantive nouns; *kyo* 虚 'empty', for adjectives; *honmyō* 本名 'real name' for proper nouns; and *tsūmyō* 通名 'current name' for "common nouns". The category of participles is defined as verbs that are used as "quiet empty" words, meaning adjectives, after conjugating them (動詞ヲ以テ轉シテ静虚ノ如ク使ヘルモノナリ). Regarding participles, the following is also added (7r-7v):

geslagen, geweest ナトノ類ナリ何レモ虚詞ノ格ナル故ニ六格ニヨツテ変化スルヿ虚詞ニ同シ但 ik heb hem geslagen ナド云ヿ虚詞ニ於テ例ナキナリ	These are the type of *geslagen, geweest* etc. All belong to the category of "empty word" and must be declined according to the six cases. Thus, they are the same as "empty words". However, there are no examples of "empty words" in sentences such as *ik heb hem geslagen* ['I have hit him'].

[48] The only reference to "four" with verbal tenses, found in Séwel, is in the claim that Latin had "four conjugations" (*vier conjugatien*), where the word "conjugation" refers to the verbal classes, rather than the inflecting patterns themselves. In fact, the Dutch phrase *vier getijden* appears to be generally used to refer to the four seasons, rather than verbal tenses. On top of this, in most other works of Shizuki, verbs are consistently divided in three "times", as they are better illustrated in *Rangaku seizenfu* (see Chapter VIII).

[49] Original quote: "動詞ノ外ヲ皆虚実𠮟ニ静詞ト云フ".

The reason why participles are to be considered “quiet words”, specifically “empty quiet words” is precisely because they can be declined according to the six cases. However, participles are not always to be considered “quiet”, since sometimes they do not get declined. This happens when participles are used to construct a perfect tense, like in the sample sentence provided above.

There is another interesting remark regarding the difference between “empty” words and adverbs, however, the sentence is unclearly written, with seemingly a few misspellings and corrections, making its interpretation difficult.[50] It is claimed that the difference between the two is that adjectives qualify a “quiet thing”, meaning a noun referring to a thing, while adverbs qualify “moving actions” (虚詞ハ静物ヲ形容シ bijwoord ハ動作ヲ形容ス虚詞). The term used for “qualify” is *keiyō*, that Ogyū Sorai used – along with Shizuki himself in *Joshi-kō* (see 7.2.3) – where the term referred to the use of adjectival characters modifying nouns or verbs, via the addition of suffixes such as *-tari* or *-to shite*.

On a general note, one can thus claim that *Kuhinshi myōmoku* is mostly a translation of some vocabulary on Dutch grammar, as found in Séwel, with little reinterpretative intellectual work. The theory of grammar is not dealt with in depth, except for a few sparse remarks, many of which are not much different from what I have already covered in the paragraphs above. The most remarkable feature is the fact that the traditional Sino-Japanese empty-full and moving-quiet categories have been preserved, yet readapted in their relations, in a way that more closely represents Dutch grammatical theory and morphology. The adoption and re-adaptation of these categories is nothing new in Shizuki’s works. What is new is the fact that the relationships between these categories have been reworked to agree with Dutch traditional grammar, thus placing “empty” and “full” words, meaning adjectives and substantive nouns, respectively, under the same supercategory of “quiet”, reinterpreted as corresponding to the category of *naamwoord*, in contrast with “moving” words, meaning verbs. As I have illustrated in Chapter III, Dutch traditional grammar considered adjectives and substantive nouns as belonging to the same category, since they are both declined according to cases, numbers, and genders. However, Japanese treats adjectives much more similarly to verbs, being both categories conjugated according to similar patterns. This new hierarchical structure recalls *Sanshu shokaku* where the category of “empty” only referred to adjectives, instead of being a supercategory including “moving” words and “quiet” words. In Tables 46, 47, 48 and 49, I have schematized the relations between these categories of speech in *Joshi-kō* (conflated with *Rangaku seizenfu*), in Ogyū Sorai’s *Kun’yaku jimō* and in Willem Séwel’s *Nederduytsche spraakkonst*, which is identical to *Kuhinshi myōmoku*. This evidences the fact that in *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* the relations between the categories of speech resembled more closely the Sino-Japanese tradition, represented here by Ogyū Sorai; while *Kuhinshi myōmoku* got closer to Dutch theory. These tables do not represent the entirety of

[50] SUGIMOTO (1976, 497) could not interpret the writing completely either, and adds the following remark: “It should be clarified the point that the functions of adjectives and adverbs are clearly distinguished.” (形容詞と副詞の機能を確然と区別している点は、確認しておくべきである).

the systems of the parts of speech, as illustrated in each work; they only focus on the relations between the broad categories of "full-empty", "quiet-moving" and, generally, on the Dutch categories of nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

***Kuhinshi myōmoku* 九品詞名目**		
hinshi 品詞 *Negenderlij spraakdeelen*	*hassei no kotoba* 発声ノ詞 *Articulus, Ledeken*	
	daimeishi 代名詞 *Pronomina, Voornaamwoord*	
	seishi 静詞 *Nomina, Naamwoord*	*jitsu* 実 *Substantiva, Zelfstandig*
		kyo 虚 *Adjectiva, Bijvoegelijk*
		honmyō 本名 *Propria, Eigene*
		tsūmyō 通名 *Appellativa, Gemeene*
	dōshi 動詞 *Verbum, Werkwoord*	
	dōseishi 動静詞 *Deelwoord*	
	keidōshi 形動詞 *Adverbum, Bijwoord*	
	joshi 助詞 *Conjuctio, tZamenvoegsel*	
	manshi 慢詞 *Praepositio, Voorzetsel*	
	tansokushi 嘆息詞 *Interjectio, Tusschenwerpsel*	

Table 46 Schematization of the relations between the different parts of speech in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*

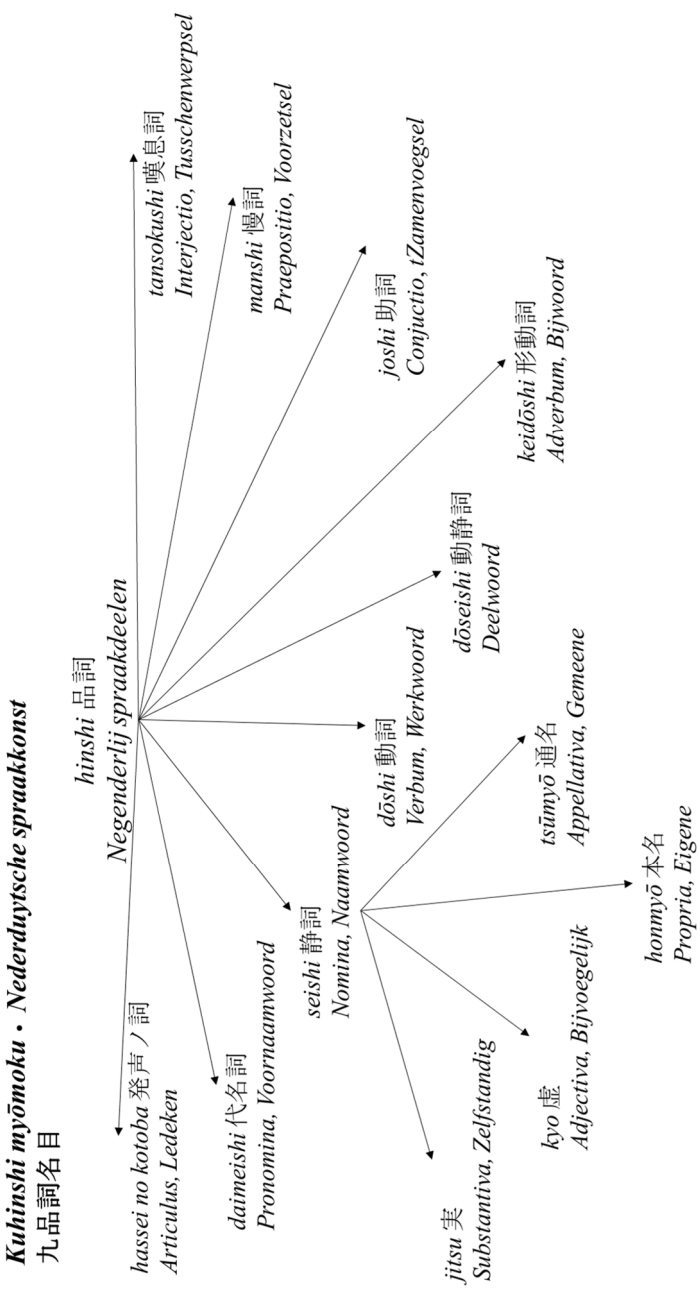

Table 47 Schematization of the parts of speech in *Kuhinshi myōmoku* and *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst*.

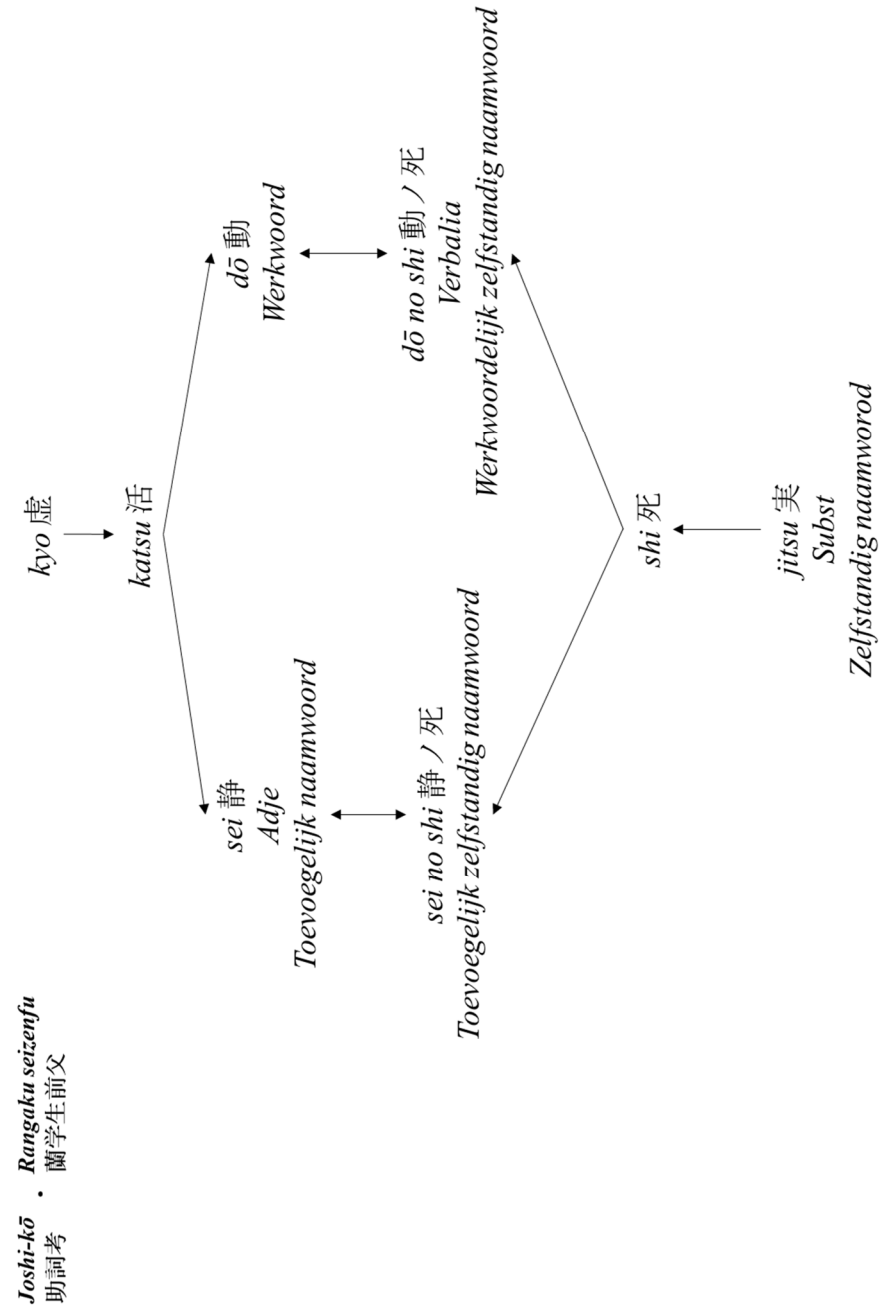

Table 48 Schematization of the parts of speech in *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu*

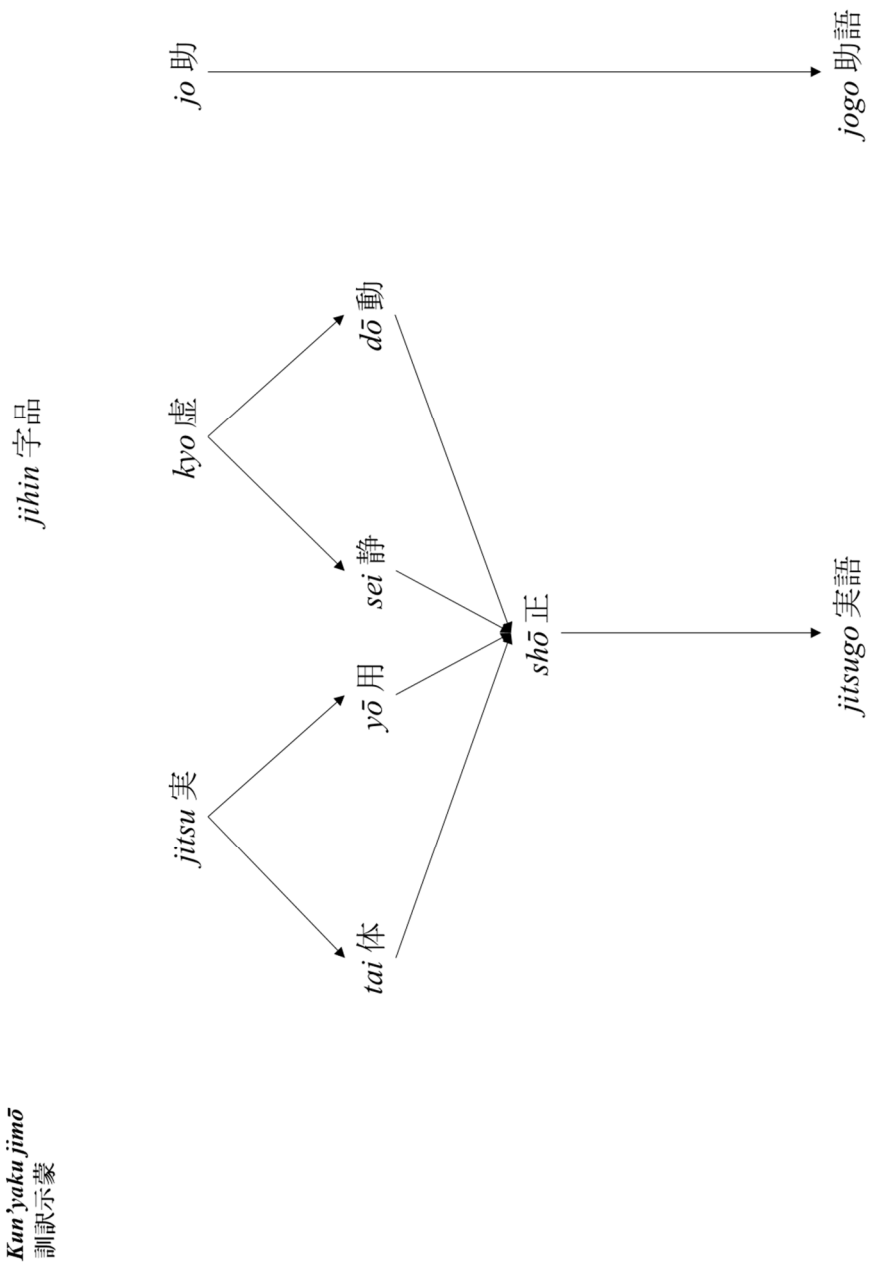

Table 49 Schematization of the parts of speech in *Kun'yaku jimō* by Ogyū Sorai

7.8 *Zokubun kinnō*

The work titled *Zokubun kinnō* mostly focuses on the syntax and word-order of the many types of sentences of Dutch, that also influence the mood of the verbal conjugation. In the copies of this work that are considered to be the closest to the supposed original document (see 2.4.8), one is only presented with a few matrixes, composed of Chinese characters referring to the various parts of speech, in order to illustrate how they have to be combined with each other and ordered within sentences. There are eight bullet points as introduction, specifying a few general rules concerning Dutch syntax. Because of this structure, the morphological theory according to which the different parts of speech ought to be ordered is not explicit. However, one should also not believe that this work was giving a complete overview of the parts of speech of Dutch, since its goal was different. Within *Zokubun kinnō* one finds seven parts of speech, listed below in no particular order. I refer to 2.4.8, to see the differences in terminology across the different copies.

- Nouns, 実詞 "full word";
- Adjectives, 虚詞 "empty word";
- Verbs, 動詞 "moving word";
- Articles, 発声詞 "speech initiator";
- Adverbs, 形動詞 "shape of verbs";
- Preposition, 所在詞 "locational";
- Auxiliary verb, 助詞 "auxiliary".

Interestingly, this list lacks the character *sei* 静 "quiet", used in other works to refer to adjectives, and in *Kuhinshi myōmoku* to refer to the super category of nouns, including both adjectival nouns and substantive nouns. Much similarly to *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, in fact, adjectives are called "empty words", while verb are called "moving words", meaning that they do not belong to the same supercategory, which in the Sino-Japanese tradition would have been, indeed, "empty words". This structure is closely related to *Sanshu shokaku* (see 7.4). The category of participles, generally described as being somewhere in between verbs and adjectives, is not distinguished as a stand-alone category. It can be deduced that participles were to be categorized as either verbs or adjectives, according to their role within the sentence. This could be substantiated by the fact that the term *joshi* 助詞 is here utilized to refer to auxiliary verbs. Consequently, if a sentence possesses an "auxiliary verb" (*jo* 助) and a "verb" (*dō* 動), that last verb is either an infinitive (after *zullen*, *willen*, *mogen* and *worden*) or a participle (after *zijn*, *hebben* and *worden*). Which type of verbs the category of "auxiliary" includes, in *Zokubun kinnō*, is not clearly stated. As claimed in Chapters III and IV, this category tended not to be often used in Dutch sources, although there is no real reason to believe that the author of *Zokubun kinnō* based his interpretation of the category of "auxiliary" directly on any specific Dutch source. Some of the categories of speech that were included within the category of "auxiliary" in *Joshi-kō* are given, in *Zokubun kinnō*, their own independent category, namely: prepositions, that are called *shozaishi* 所在詞, where

shozai means 'location'; and adverbs, that are called *keidōshi* 形動詞, probably referring to the idea of adverbs "qualifying" (*kei* 形) "verbs" (*dō* 動). This could be a re-elaboration of the concept of *keiyō* 形容, itself not adopted in this work, but seen in other works by Shizuki and also seen in Ogyū Sorai (see 7.2.3).

7.9 Conclusions

In the present chapter, I have illustrated the complex and often inconsistent theoretical framework adopted by Shizuki regarding the parts of speech; what one would call today "morphology" or, as the Dutch would have said back then, "etymology". I have approached this analysis by initially trying to neglect any pre-supposition regarding any expectations concerning the structure in the interrelations between the parts of speech. This includes expectations derived both from the Greek-Latin and from the Sino-Japanese traditions. Only after having first understood Shizuki's explanations, have I compared his theories with Japanese and Dutch sources to find overlaps, distinctions, and to eventually factor out such influences to identify Shizuki's personal interpretations.

Morphological issues are represented quite differently across Shizuki's manuscripts. In *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, the division of the parts of speech is closely based on the list of abbreviations of Halma's dictionary, which are compared to traditional Sino-Japanese concepts and translated into Sino-Japanese words. Nonetheless, most of these terms are never featured again, in Shizuki's oeuvre. If I am allowed to simply a little, I would acknowledge the existence of two main types of manuscripts, across Shizuki's bibliography, with a few of the documents falling into a third "hybrid" genre.

The first genre is represented by works such as *Kuhinshi myōmoku* and *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*. These two works can be simplistically described as lists of Dutch words concerning morphology. These words are then translated into Japanese, and only briefly explained in their meaning and use. In both these works, the reliance on the Dutch source is evident and strong.

The second type is represented by works such as *Joshi-kō*, *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Zokubun kinnō*. These are works in which the explanation of the categories of speech is either overlooked (*Seizenfu*), relegated to an ancillary section (*Joshi-kō*), or only treated in so far as it is necessary to understand the theory contained in the main body (*Zokubun kinnō*). In this type of works, the Dutch-borne theory tends to be very present yet overshadowed by the Sino-Japanese one. Characteristic of these works is that they follow to some extent the style and structure of other works in the Sino-Japanese tradition, like *Joshi-kō* being part of the "Thoughts on Auxiliary Characters" genre, and *Seizenfu* mirroring the structure and theory of Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o* (I will claim this in Chapter VIII).

The last type combines the former two and thus I have called it "hybrid". It is best represented by *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, *Shihō shoji taiyaku* and *Sanshu shokaku*. Characteristic of these works is the much more evident reliance on the categories, structures, and theories of the Dutch sources they are based on. However, in contrast with the first type, they present much deeper and more personal

interpretations of those sources, often appealing to the Sino-Japanese tradition, or to the theories previously illustrated by Shizuki himself in other documents. A clear example of this is *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. As I have shown, the whole structure of the work is undisputedly based on the verbal conjugation system as illustrated in Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, however, each tense is always provided with a Japanese translation consistent with the theories contained in *Seizenfu*. Furthermore, in order to provide additional evidence of the use of specific tenses and moods, Shizuki draws examples from sources different from Séwel or any other grammatical or lexicographical book, reaching out to Jacob Cats' poems.

The purpose of the present chapter was, ultimately, to describe and analyze how Shizuki approached the subject of morphology. Nothing of what I have attested in the present chapter should have been taken for granted, otherwise. To begin with, the whole concept of "grammar" was far from being spread in a significant manner in premodern Japan, let alone that of "morphology". Furthermore, it is not a given that a Japanese of that time would simply repurpose the (Neo-)Confucian categories, loaded with very specific translational connotations, and use them to mediate those Greek-Latin traditional concepts. In fact, as I have illustrated in Chapter V, it is in the Edo Period that Japanese scholars really started developing the first methodologies for a systematic analysis of language. In some sense this "coincidence" has likely been fundamental for the development of Shizuki's theories. On the other hand, however, this implies that the discipline was too young, from the Sino-Japanese side, to provide Shizuki with a solid and reliable foundation upon which he could explain many of the characteristics his description of morphology. This is also attested by the fact that the morphological classes vary sensibly across Shizuki's bibliography. This does not only concern the vocabulary used to describe these categories, but also the theory itself. While it appears that the more traditional dichotomy of "full-empty", with "empty" including "quiet" (adjectives) and "moving" (verbs) words was much more common, in works such as *Kuhinshi myōmoku* and *Zokubun kinnō* this gets changed. In those works, "empty" words became a label specific to adjectives and, in the former of the two, the category of "quiet" goes on to correspond to the Dutch *naamwoord* that included "nouns" (*zelfstandig*) and "adjectives" (*bijvoegelijk*).

There is one specific issue that I would like to address here. Namely, the fact that I have been able to demonstrate that Shizuki's use of the label *joshi*, although not always perfectly consistent, was not consequential of an allegedly broken understanding of the corresponding Dutch categories. On the contrary, the concept of *joshi* was a rather neatly defined category, both (Neo-)Confucians and "nativists" had been dealing with for decades before Shizuki's life. From the point of view of Chinese studies in Japan, in fact, the category of "auxiliary" character (*joji* 助字) or word (*jogo* 助語 or *joji* 助辞) was rather well-established and fixed, defined as one belonging to the list provided by Běixī, for example, a theory Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō* expanded upon. For a Japanologist, instead, an auxiliary word was one corresponding to two concepts: the *te ni wo ha* particles, and the adjectival/verbal affixes. This will be further substantiated in Chapter VIII.

In conclusion, it is true that there are many inconsistencies across Shizuki's works regarding the use of the parts of speech and their definitions. However, if one considers the premises hitherto assumed, there sure are very few inconsistencies when it comes to Shizuki's methodology and approach to the study of grammar, something he must have quite certainly pioneered, within his own country. Such methodology allowed him to also deal with the complicated issue of the morphosyntax of verbs, as I will show in the following Chapter VIII.