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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

Morphosyntax of Verbs in Shizuki Tadao's Works

されどもあるは好奇之媒となり、またはあしき事などいひ出す。さらば禁ずべしとすれど、禁ずれば猶やみべからず。況やまた益もあり。さらばその書籍など、心なきものゝ手には多く渡り持らぬやうにはすべきなり。

Sometimes, however, [Dutch books] invite idle curiosity or say evil things. If that is the case, we should prohibit them, but [people] would not stop [taking an interest in them], because we have prohibited [these books]. And then, of course, they are also profitable. That being the case, we must see to it that those books do not in large quantities pass into the hands of thoughtless people.

Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1758 – 1829) in *Uge no hitogoto* 宇下人言[1]

[1] Original text copied from MATSUDAIRA (1942, 177), English translation adapted from BOOT (2013, 198).

8. Morphosyntax of verbs in Shizuki Tadao's works

8.1 Approaches to morphosyntax

In the seven Japanese manuscripts on Dutch discussed here, morphology and the parts of speech certainly are the main topics. For example, *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* can be described as an annotated translation of the list of abbreviations in Halma's dictionary. Shizuki's work known as *Kuhinshi myōmoku* was strongly based on Séwel's chapter on *oorsprongkunde* 'etymology', i.e., former name of morphology. In the works *Sanshu shokaku* and *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*, Shizuki analyzed the issue of grammatical cases and the use of articles and their declinations. In these works, verbs are often only briefly mentioned. When they are mentioned, they are only discussed as a morphological category. No further analysis is presented concerning their conjugation and syntactic behavior. Consequently, in the present Chapter VIII, I will not concentrate on these works. In three other works attributed to Shizuki, however, verbs are discussed in a very detailed manner. In *Joshi-kō*, verbs are covered in the grammatical section(s), where a few conjugation patterns are presented, along with their Japanese adaptations. Examples of the adaptation of Dutch verbs into Japanese are found in the main body of *Joshi-kō*, namely its glossary of "auxiliary" words. The work titled *Shihō shoji taiyaku* may superficially seem to be nothing more than a translation of a few verbal conjugations taken from Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, but it actually contains important comments that allow a deeper understanding of specific issues. The most important manuscript with respect to verbs is *Rangaku seizenfu*. This work deserves central focus in the present research for several reasons. Firstly, *Seizenfu* is not a direct translation or adaptation of a Dutch source. Although Shizuki cites Marin and Halma's dictionaries in *Seizenfu*, this work does not appear to be strictly following a specific Dutch source in its structure or its contents. Instead, I will demonstrate that Motoori's *Kotoba no tama no o* had a major influence on the text. Moreover, there are not many citations from Dutch sources, except a handful of sentences, one of which comes from a poem by Cats (see 2.4.3), so not from a dictionary, a handbook of grammar, or another metalinguistic text. I will argue that *Seizenfu* is unique in that it presents a coherent and comprehensive grammatical theory of Dutch only loosely based on Dutch sources.

In *Seizenfu*, Shizuki introduces many original grammatical concepts, some of which he kept using in other works. A central concept is *sanze* 三世 'three times' or 'three dimensions', a term that Shizuki uses to refer to what can be called "tenses", "moods" and "aspect". This term, although fundamental in the context of *Seizenfu*, is not mentioned in any other manuscript by Shizuki, except in the mysterious *Sanze-kō* 三世考 whose title is only mentioned once in the introduction to *Joshi-kō*, where it apparently refers to an as yet unidentified manuscript by Shizuki (see 2.2). Another important concept is *tatoe* 仮令, present all throughout *Seizenfu*, but also often used in *Joshi-kō* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. This concept is used in very specific instances, with reference to particular uses of hypothetical constructions, and appears to have a tight relationship with Dutch poetical forms such as the emblems by the Dutch poet Jacob Cats. I will investigate Shizuki's use of *tatoe* in 8.5.2.1. I have already discussed its relationship with Cats' emblems in NESPOLI (2022). In

short, the present Chapter VIII will be mostly based on *Rangaku seizenfu*. Where appropriate, I will also refer to *Joshi-kō* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*.

8.2 The two chapters on "Examples of Japanese"

Both *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* start with a brief chapter titled "Examples of Japanese language" (*wagorei* 和語例) and simply "Examples" (*rei* 例), respectively. The latter can be read below in its entirety:[1]

例

一 右ノ記録中ニ過去ノ詞ヲ以テ訓スルモノ多シ

いひき　いひし

いひしかば

抔ノ類也是等ハ當時ノ話ニテノ譯也昔ノ物語ノ文ヲ訳スル時ヤハリ

いへり　いへる

いひけれとも

抔ト訳スヘシ其余ノ詞モコレニ準ス又昔物語ノ中ニテモいひきナトヽ訳スベキ所モアリ是等ハ予カ三世考ノ中ニ辨セリ

Examples

As recorded above, there are many ways to adapt words of the past into Japanese, like: *iiki*; *iishi*; and *iishikaba*. These are the translations when talking about the current time. However, in case we are writing a story occurring in the past, one ought to translate them [words of the past] as *ieri*, *ieru*, *iikeredomo* etc. All the other words also go like this. Moreover, even within a story occurring in the past, there are things that ought to be translated as *iiki* etc. I discuss these in my *Sanze-kō* 三世考.

This excerpt is supposed to be an explanation or, rather, a clarification on the practice of translation. Particularly, Shizuki mentions the term *kako no kotoba* 過去ノ詞 'words of the past'. What he specifically means with this term, will be at the core of most of the rest of this Chapter VIII, however, one can already understand that these "words of the past" can be used both when telling a story about the current time (*tōji no hanashi nite*) and with stories occurring in the past (*mukashi no monogatari* 昔ノ物語). When Dutch words of the past are to be translated into Japanese, they can be adapted in a few manners, according to whether they are used in stories of the past, or of the current time. Shizuki uses the verb *-iu* 'to say' in order to demonstrate some of these inflecting patterns. For the Japanese adaptation of Dutch words of the past used within a story of the present, Shizuki provides the following inflected forms:

- *iiki* {**i(h).** + **.i.** + **.ki** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *-i*(*h*)*u* 'to say' + *shūshikei* of *-ki*}
- *iishi* {**i(h).** + **.i.** + **.shi** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *-i*(*h*)*u* 'to say' + *rentaikei* of *-ki*}

[1] The following text is based on Kyōto University's *Rango kun'yaku*, though little differences in spelling can be seen across the copies.

- *iishikaba* {**i(h).** + **.i.** + **.shika** + **.ba** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb -*i*(*h*)*u* 'to say' + *izeneki* of -*ki* + consequential -*ba*}

All these conjugated forms of the verb "to say" that Shizuki uses to exemplify the translation of Dutch "words of the past" within a "story in the current time" present the affix -*ki*. The difference between *iiki* and *iishi* is mostly contextual, in the sense that *iiki* is used mostly at the end of phrases, while *iishi* is used in so-called adnominal position, often corresponding to a relative clause. The form *iishikaba*, however, also feature the suffix -*ba*, the type attaching to a *izenkei* form. Shizuki adds that these are also sometimes used with stories occurring in the past, although the general conjugations for that instance are exemplified by the following forms of the verb "to say":

- *ieri* {**i(h).** + **.e.** + **.ri** = *meireikei* of the verb -*i*(*h*)*u* 'to say' + *rentaikei* (or *ren'yōkei*) of -*ri*}
- *ieru* {**i(h).** + **.e.** + **.ru** = *meireikei* of the verb -*i*(*h*)*u* 'to say' + *shūshikei* of -*ri*}
- *iikeredomo* {**i(h).** + **.i.** + **.kere** + **.domo** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb -*i*(*h*)*u* 'to say' + *izenkei* of -*keri* + -*do*(*mo*)}

In these examples, the version with the hypothetical/concessive -*do*(*mo*) stands out also because it is the only one that is not conjugated by means of the affix -*ri*, but rather, with the affix -*keri*. In this section, Shizuki adds that these concepts are further explained in his work title *Sanze-kō*. Unfortunately, as discussed in 2.2, there exists no manuscript bearing this title as of today, thus, one can only speculate regarding its content. Regardless of whether one is to believe that this mysterious *Sanze-kō* corresponds to *Seizenfu*, it is true that the only known work of Shizuki where the term *sanze* 'three times/dimensions' is mentioned and thoroughly used is indeed *Seizenfu*. It is in this work where one finds the following quotation spanning across two very brief sections titled "Example of Japanese language" (*wagorei* 和語例) and "Differences between the two languages" (*ryōgo no i* 両語ノ異). First, however, Shizuki draws the following Table 50, with my romanization (2r):

nuru ぬる	*nu* ぬ
tsuru つる	*tsu* つ
otsuru おつる	*otsu* おつ
shiroki しろき	*shiroshi* しろし
shi し	*ki* き

Table 50 Copy of the table found in *Rangaku seizenfu* containing examples of the difference in conjugation between *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba*

In the righthand side of this table, there are three affixes, an adjective, and one verb all in their *shūshikei* forms, while on the left Shizuki put the same affixes, the same adjective, and the same verb, in their *rentaikei* forms. The affixes are *-nu*, *-tsu*, and *-ki*; the adjective is *shiroshi* 'white' and the verb is *otsu* 'to fall'. The following comment is added: "On the right, there are *kiruru* words. On the left, there are *tsuzuku* words. We will see the difference between *-nu* and *-tsu* later" (右ナルハ切ルヽ詞ナリ左ナルハ續ク詞ナリぬトつトノ別ハ後ニ見タリ). From this quote one can understand that what is nowadays called *shūshikei* was called by Shizuki *kiruru kotoba*, meaning 'cutting words', while today's *rentaikei* was called by him *tsuzuku kotoba*, meaning 'continuing words'. The so-called *shūshikei* (*kiruru kotoba*) was the form into which the predicate used to generally be conjugated at the end of a sentence, hence the name 'cutting word', since they split one sentence from the other. The *rentaikei* (*tsuzuku kotoba*), however, was often used in adnominal position, in the construction of a relative clause. These two forms are the only forms that can be used without the addition of an affix[2] and are actually quite common. This may be the reason why they are the only ones being mentioned here. However, as shown in Chapter V, at the time when Shizuki lived there was no theory treating the different forms of verbs as it is done today. The only proper distinction was, in fact, the difference between *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba*. For example, these terms were also used in the first volume, on folio 10v, of Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, where the Confucian author introduces the concept of the *bunri* 文理 of translation:

文理ト云フハ。畢竟字ノ上下ノ置キヤウナリ。先ヅ。語ノ斷續(ダンゾク)ヲ[3]知ルベシ。ツヾク字キルヽ字。ト云フヿヲ知リテ。サテ上下ノ置ヤウニ。氣(キ)ヲ付(ツ)ケ。雜合(ザツガウ)メ見ルベシ。	The *bunri*, ultimately, is the way you place characters above and below. Firstly, you need to know the *danzoku* 斷續. One should see that, after having understood *kiruru* characters and *tsuzuku* characters, one can mix them paying attention to their placement above or below.

Ogyū treated *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* characters within the context of what he called *danzoku* 斷續 (断続)[4] that was defined as the practice of recognizing whether characters were "lively" (*katsu* 活) or "dead" (*shi* 死) and distribute them accordingly. One can correctly place characters "up or down" if one is able to understand whether they are *kiruru* or *tsuzuku*. Unfortunately, Ogyū does not expand

[2] Exception be made for the *meireikei* form for the imperative that arguably occurs less often, and the *izenkei* with specific *kakari-musubi*.

[3] On the left side of the word, the alternative reading *kiretsuzuki* キレツヾキ is also present.

[4] May the non-Japanese speaking reader be aware of the fact that *zoku* 続 is the Chinese character generally used to write the Japanese verb *tsuzuku* 'to continue', while *dan* 断 is used, in this context, as corresponding to the Japanese verb *tatsu* 'to interrupt'. It is not the same character generally used to write the verb *kiru* 'to cut' (*setsu* 切), yet the term *danzoku* itself also points at meaning 'cut/interrupt and connect'.

much on this topic. However, it can be understood that characters being either *kiruru* or *tsuzuku* is a consequence of their quality of being "dead-lively" and of their location within the sentence (syntax).

The concepts of *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* concerns the Japanese rendition of Chinese sentences; it is a characteristic of Japanese grammar. For this reason, this terminology was also employed in the context of Japanese studies. For example, Motoori Norinaga wrote the following in *Kotoba no tama no o* (vol. 1, p. 5-6):

すべての詞づかひ。切るゝところをつゞく所とのけぢめあることを。まづわきまへおくべし。是を上の件にいへる ぬ つ る と ぬる つる るゝ との例にていはゞ「花さきぬ「鴬なきつもみぢ葉ながるなどゝいふたぐひの ぬ つ る は切るゝ辭也。これを「櫻花散ぬる風の云々。「鴬の鳴つる枝を云々。「もみぢのながるゝ川に云々などゝいふ時は。「散ぬる風「なきつる枝「ながるゝ川とやうに下へつゞけば。ぬる つる るゝ などはつゞく辭也。

ちりぬ風「なきつ枝「ながる川などゝはつゞきがたし。「又花ちりぬる「鴬なきつるもみぢはながるゝなどとひては。語切れずと心得へし。かくのごとくたゞに ぬる つる るゝ といひても切るゝことく思ふは。後世人のひがとなり。そのよしは下にくはしくいふべし。

かくて此切るゝ辭は。ことくく紐鏡の右行の段々にあり。つゞく辭は中行の段々にある也。件の ぬ つ る と ぬる つる るゝ との例に准へて。いづれをも考へさとるべし。さて又。切るゝ所もきくなす つゞく所も同じき詞もあり。聞成まついふしる 待言知などの く す つ ふ る のたぐひ。又 ん らん なん などの類也。これらは詞のつらねざまにしたがひて。切れもつゞきもする也。ひも鏡の第冊三段 く 右行 い 左行 より。終りの てん 右行 てめ 左行 まで。合せて

In the use of all words, first you ought to place and distinguish the difference between what is *kiruru* and what is *tsuzuku*. As said before, these are, for example *-nu, -tsu, -ru* and *-nuru, -tsuru, -ruru*. When you say *hana sakinu* ['The flowers have blossomed'], *uguhisu nakitsu* ['The warbler has sung'], *momiji ha nagaru* ['The colors of the autumn have spread'], the *-nu, -tsu* and *-ru* used in these sentences are *kiruru kotoba* "cutting words". However, if you say things like *sakurabana chirinuru kaze* ['The wind that has scattered the cherry blossoms'], *uguhisu no nakitsuru eda* ['The branch of the crying warbler'], *momiji no nagaruru kawa* ['The river spreading the colors of the autumn'], in these, if *-nuru, -tsuru* and *-ruru* etc. connect with what is below, as in *chirinuru kaze, nakitsuru eda* and *nagaruru kawa* then they are *tsuzuku kotoba*. (It is hard to connect with *chirinu kaze, nakitsu eda* and *nagaru kawa*. Moreover, you should know that you cannot cut the phrase by saying *hana chirinuru, iguhisu nakitsuru* and *momiji ha nagaru* etc. For this reason, if, when saying *-nuru, -tsuru* and *-ruru*, you can think of them as *kiruru*, this is a difference of later people. I will talk about this further below).

Thus, these *kiruru kotoba* are generally put in the right column in the *himokagami*, while *tsuzuku kotoba* are put in the middle column. You must learn *-nu, -tsu, -ru* and *-nuru, -tsuru* and *-ruru*, from to their examples. Furthermore, there are also instancese in which the same word is used for *kiruru* and *tsuzuku*. This is the type of *-ku, -su, -tsu, -(f)u* and *-ru*, in words such as *kiku* ['to hear'], *nasu* ['to make'], *matsu* ['to wait'], *i(h)u* ['to say'], *shiru* ['to know'], etc. and also the type of *-n, -ran* and *-nan*. These are words which can be "cut" or "continued" in their mutual connection. These are the words collected in the eleven levels, in the third level of *himokagami*, from the *-ku* (right column) and *-i* (left column) to the *-ten* (right column) and *-teme* (left column). All of these eleven levels can

十一段の辭これ也。此十一段は皆。切るゝもつゝくも同じき故に。右 行(みぎのくだり) と中行と一つになれり。考へ見べし。

be *kiruru* or *tsuzuku* indistinctly, thus, the right column and the central column have been made one signle column. Remember this.

Motoori introduces the concept of *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba*, also by means of the two affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*. However, Motoori also added the syllable *ru* that should not be interpreted as being a "verbal/adjectival affix" (*jodōshi* 助動詞). As I have said in Chapter V, it was very common in the context of Japanese studies and especially in *kokugaku* still well into the Edo period, to consider grammatical patterns as being connected to what could be called the semantic meaning of single *kana*. This is also a consequence of the fact that Japanese studies were written in *kana*, thus not allowing a further division of syllables or, better, *morae*. For this reason, Motoori treats this syllable *ru* at the same analytical level he treats the syllables for the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu* event though this *-ru* corresponds to the ending of some verbs and affixes mostly in their *rentaikei* forms, and not to a verbal affix itself. In fact, as it can be seen from the examples he provides, the syllable *ru* he refers to can be found, for example, in the verb *nagaru* 'to flow', 'to spread', that is a *shimo nidan*, thus presents the ending *nagar.u* in its *shūshikei* and *nagar.uru* in its *rentaikei*.[5] Regardless, what Motoori is trying to exemplify is the fact that, oftentimes, the difference between a *tsuzuku kotoba* (*rentaikei*) and a *kiruru kotoba* (*shūshikei*) is the presence or lack thereof, respectively, of the additional character *ru*. However, in reality, the instances in which this extra *ru* is featured are very limited if compared to the totality of the *rentaikei* forms all Japanese verbs, adjectives and affixes. As far as verbs are concerned, although it is true that most verbal classes do include this extra *ru* in their *rentaikei* forms, *ra-hen* ラ変 and *yodan* 四段 verbs do not. This is also acknowledged by Motoori, in this excerpt, by listing a few Japanese verbs, whose roots all end with different consonants, meaning with different *kana*, according to Motoori's approach. The verbs he lists are *kiku* 'to hear', *nasu* 'to make', *matsu* 'to wait', *i*(*h*)*u* 'to say', *shiru* 'to know', all being *yodan* verbs, thus maintaining the same form in their *shūshikei* and *rentaikei* inflection.

The examples of *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba* that Shizuki employs in his table in *Rangaku seizenfu* are varied. They include the two affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*; and a verb of the *kami ni dan* class, *otsu* 'to fall', for those adding an extra *ru* to their *tsuzuku* forms. For those not adding the extra *ru*, an adjective of the *-ku* inflecting pattern is found, *shiroshi* 'white'; and the past affix *-ki*. This table, thus, also explains the two forms provided for the verbs *iiki* and *iishi*, as well as *ieri* and *ieru*, as found in the section titled *Examples* (*rei* 例), from *Joshi-kō*. In this section, however, one does not find a reference to the character *shi* し. As discussed in Chapter V, the character

[5] In the way Japanese verbs are understood today, one would not consider *ru* as being the ending of the verb since its root – meaning its invariable part – includes the *r*, in *nagar*. The ending *-u*, instead, represents the *shūshikei* inflected form of the verb, with *-uru* being its *rentaikei*, instead.

shi was traditionally considered to possess three different meanings, relating each to one of the three times, namely: present (*genzai* 現在); past (*kako* 過去); or future (*mirai* 未来). However, in each of these instances, the character *shi* corresponded to completely different morphemes. In the case of the present time, the character *shi* corresponded to the *shūshikei* ending of verbs. In the past time, *shi* corresponded to the *rentaikei* (and, perhaps, also the *shūshikei*) form of the past affix *-ki*. In the future, it corresponded to the *shi* syllable of the *shūshikei* form of the affix *-beshi*. This is mentioned, although very indirectly, in the introductory section of *Seizenfu*, but goes totally neglected in *Joshi-kō*'s *Examples* section. Nonetheless, in Waseda's B109 copy of the latter (5r), one can find that someone has added, outside of the margins of the page, the quote below, precisely referencing this issue. This annotation references four *waka*, coming from well-known classics of Japanese literature. In the English translation, on the right, I have added the source, in brackets.

凡動詞ニき、しヲ履スレハ過去也虚詞ニ履タルハ現世ナリ

In general, if one adds *-ki* き or *-si* し to a verb (*dōsi* 動詞) it is past (*kako* 過去). When added to an adjective (*kyosi* 虚詞) it is present (*gense* 現世).

△手枕のすき間の風も寒かりき身はならわしの物にぞありける

- *tamakura no suki ma no kaze mo samukariki mi wa narawashi no mono ni zo arikeru* [*Shūi Waka-shū* 拾遺和歌集]

  "Even the wind in the empty pillow was cold, in the things my body did not get used to".

△みどりなるひとつ草とぞ春は見し秋はいろ々の花にぞありける

- *midori naru hitotsu kusa to zo haru wa mishi aki wa iroiro no hana ni zo arikeru* [*Kokin waka-shū* 古今和歌集]

  "I saw all the grass in one color green, and I saw spring, the flowers variedly colored in autumn."

△我宿は雪ふり敷て道もなしふみ分てとふ人しなければ

- *wa ga yado wa yuki furi shikite michi mo nashi fumi-wakete tō hito shinakereba* [*Man'yōshū* 万葉集]

  "While I am home, snow keeps falling until the street disappear, there are no footsteps either, because nobody came to visit me."

△のこりなくちるぞめて度桜花

- *nokorinaku chiruzomedetaki sakurabana* [*Kokin waka-shū* 古今和歌集]

  "So good that the cherry blossoms spread covering all"

In these *waka*, there are a few examples of the use of the syllable *shi*, in the different ways evidenced in the introductory remark. For example, in the verb *narawashi*, a

combination of the verb *narau* ‘to get used to’, and the past affix *-ki*; or in the adjective *nashi* ‘non-existent’, where the ending *-shi* simply informs of the adjective being *shūshikei*, thus being a present. By reading the excerpts above, it can be claimed that the traditional approach considering each *kana* to convey a set of semantic meanings – typical of *kokugaku* and *kagaku* 歌学 (the study of *waka*) – was fundamentally adopted in the understanding of the conjugation of Japanese verbs, adjectives and affixes in Shizuki’s *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*. The last excerpt above, although probably added by the copyist, is not in any way inconsistent with what Shizuki does within his works, as I will demonstrate. Nonetheless, the concepts of *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* were not only employed by scholars of Japanese but were also adopted by Confucian sinologists such as Ogyū Sorai, who adapted this theory to Chinese characters. In fact, while Shizuki (詞) and Motoori (辭) talked about *kotoba*, Ogyū talked about *ji* 字 “characters” being either *kiruru* or *tsuzuku*. This is the main difference between the two approaches, whereby “characters” *ji* 字 refers to Chinese logograms, while *kotoba* refers to Japanese words being spelled in *kana*, or a mixture of Chinese characters and *kana*, at least. Ogyū, instructing on translation from Chinese to Japanese, referred to the quality of “characters” that needed to be treated according to Japanese morphosyntactic rules.

There is one further issue that requires to be clarified regarding these excerpts and that is the question of why the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu* were taken as examples, beyond the fact that their *rentaikei* required the addition of the extra character *ru*. This has to do with the fact that verbs, according to Shizuki, could be split into two categories, as I will discuss in the following paragraph.

In conclusion, these two brief chapters from the two manuscripts introduce to their reader the concept of *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* uses of words. This distinction is particularly important for *Seizenfu* as most of its first half concentrates on demonstrating the different uses of these forms and the different morphosyntactic issues raised in their renditions into Dutch, as I will discuss below. Another important point that is already raised here is the fact that classical Japanese grammar is evidently central in Shizuki’s theory. Furthermore, the methodological approach is also displayed. Shizuki will refer to the use of classical Japanese, as witnessed in the classics of literature in a fashion that shows its overt inspiration from Motoori’s school.

8.3 Active and neuter verbs

In *Rangaku seizenfu*, after the section on the examples of Japanese language, there is a brief section titled “Differences between the two languages” (*ryōgo no i* 両語ノ異). This section, found on folios 2r-2v, addresses one main issue concerning the difference in the conjugating patterns between Dutch and Japanese. This section also expands on the topic of *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* words.

和語ニハ言ヘル人・言へる語・ト両様ニイヘ𠮟蘭語ニハ	Although in the Japanese language one can say *ieru hito* 言ヘル人, as well as *ieru go* 言へる語, in the Dutch

言へる語ト言つる人いひし人ナト訳スベキハアレ𪜈いへる人ト訳スベキ者ナシ此類猶多シ動他ノ詞　言ハ動他ノ詞ナリ　ニ而己此異アリ然レバいへる人いひつる人左ノミ差別ナシト見タリ

但シ隕ぬる石隕たる石ナドハ差別アリ自動詞　隕ハ自動ナリ　ナレバ也

language, while there are [sentences] translatable as *ieru go* 言へる語, *iitsuru hito* 言つる人, *iishi hito* いひし人 and so forth, there is no such thing translatable as *ieru hito* いへる人. Such difference only exists amongst the many *dōta no shi* 動他ノ詞 (*iu* 言 is a *dōta no shi*). Furthermore, only on the left, one can see the absence of difference between *ieru hito* いへる人 and *iitsuru hito* いひつる人. Nevertheless, difference is made between *ochinuru ishi* 隕ぬる石, *ochitaru ishi* 隕たる石 etc., these are *jidōshi* 自動詞 (*otsu* 隕 is a *jidō*).

In this section, Shizuki deals with a fundamental difference between Japanese and Dutch grammar concerning some verbal constructs that, in Dutch, allegedly behave fundamentally differently according to the category the verb belongs to. In this quote, Shizuki claims that in Japanese one can use expressions such as *ieru go* 言へる語 and *ieru hito* 言へる人. These are both relative clauses, hence the verb is in its *rentaikei* form, and presents the affix *-ru*.[6] These are the same forms mentioned in *Joshi-kō*'s section titled "Examples", where they were considered "words of past" used when telling a story in the past. The two phrases *ieru go* and *ieru hito* differ only in the noun that is being modified, namely *go* 語 'word', and *hito* 人 'person'. Shizuki adds that, in Dutch, even if one does find phrasings such as *ieru go*, *iitsuru hito* (with the affix *-tsu*) and *iishi hito* (with the affix *-ki*) one does not find a direct correspondence to the sentence *ieru hito*. Before interpreting the meaning of this claim, one needs to first understand a few additional issues concerning verbs that are only briefly mentioned in the excerpt above. Shizuki distinguishes between two types of verbs: *jidōshi* (neuter) and *dōtashi* (active) and claims that there is a relevant difference in the use of *tsuzuku kotoba* across the two languages, according to the verb being either *ji* or *ta*. In order to exemplify this, Shizuki adopts the two verbs *iu* 'to say', 'to speak', a *dōtashi*, and *otsu* 'to fall', a *jidōshi*. The subsequent chapters 4 and 5 of *Seizenfu* are titled *kiruru go* and *tsuzuku go*, respectively, and cover this topic exactly. In those chapters, there are a few examples of these two verbs along with the adjective *shiroshi* being used in brief phrases in their *kiruru* and *tsuzuku* forms. At the beginning of the chapter on *tsuzuku* words, it is claimed that *dōta* corresponds to *A*, while *jidō* to *N*, a clear reference to the Dutch categories of active and neuter verbs, as often abbreviated in Marin's dictionary, that can also be seen in the tables of *Joshi-kō*. I will look at the entirety of these two sections further below. In those sections of *Seizenfu* one can find the exact Dutch adaptation of the Japanese phrases cited in the "Differences" section, namely: *ieru hito*; *ieru go*; *iitsuru hito*; *iishi hito*; *ochinuru ishi*; *ochitaru ishi*.

Unfortunately, in the following sections of *Seizenfu*, Shizuki does not translate all the sentences above into Dutch, however, there are enough examples to be able to

[6] FRELLESVIG (2010, 68; 239) understands this as a being composed by the morphological stative auxiliary *-er-*, whose earliest attested form is *-yer-*, that ceased to be used sometime during the Late Middle period of Japanese, being then completely replaced by *-tari*.

understand the general pattern and deduce the Dutch adaptation of the Japanese sentences that are not directly provided. The sentence *ieru hito*, according to Shizuki, does not exist in Dutch, yet the same sentence with *go* instead of *hito* does exist and is adapted into Dutch in three different manners.[7] The Japanese phrase *ieru go* is used to render the Dutch sentences *Woorden die men spreekt* 'Words that one speaks', *Gesproken woorden* 'Spoken words' and *Woorden die gesproken zijn* 'Words that are spoken'. Within the *tsuzuku* chapter, all Dutch phrases are translated into classical Japanese. However, some phrases can also feature a Chinese translation, a popular Japanese translation (*zokugo* 俗語), and additional remarks. For the last one of the sentences above, a Chinese and a popular Japanese translation is provided. The Chinese translation is *yán zài zhī yǔ* 言在之語, where the verb *yán* 'to speak' is modified by being followed by the character *zài* and these two characters are thus turned into a relative sentence by means of the character *zhī*, modifying the noun *yǔ*. In popular Japanese, this sentence is translated as *ittearu go* 言テアル語. Shizuki claimed that, in Dutch, there is no possible adaptation of the Japanese phrase *ieru hito*, even though there exists one for the phrase *ieru go*. Indeed, if one substituted the word *woord*, with the word *men*, corresponding to the Japanese *hito*, one would obtain sentences such as **Men die men spreekt*, **Gesproken men* or **Men die gesproken is*, all grammatically incorrect. In fact, although in English one could say that "someone is said (to be something/to have done something)" this type of construct is not possible in Dutch, but it is in Japanese. This is what DE GROOT (2007, 59) says commenting on this section of *Seizenfu*: "To put it simply, what Shizuki wanted to say here is that, even though, in Dutch, one can say *iwareta kotoba* ['Words that are said'], the expression *iwareta hito* ['Person who is said'] is not a grammatically correct expression. That is because, the word *kotoba* ['words'] is a direct object, while *hito* ['person'] is an indirect object. In Dutch, one does not use the passive tense with indirect objects".[8]

[7] For the specific case of the Japanese phrase *ieru*, I would discourage referencing Waseda's B57 copy as it is unfortunately lacking in this regard. Firstly, the Dutch sentence *Woorden die gesproken zijn* does not present any translation. Secondly, the translations and comments of the two sentences *Woorden die men spreekt* and *gesproken woord* are inverted. I suggest these to be the faulty versions since their content would not be much consistent with the content of the rest of the paragraph. For example, *gevallen steen* would be rendered morphologically identically to *woorden die men spreekt*, instead of the more logical *gesproken woord*, how it is done instead, in Gifu's copy. The fact that *gesproken woord* and *gevallen steen* are to be adapted with the same morphological form in Japanese is also stated in Gifu's copy in the following phrase found as an additional remark between the two adaptations: "It has the same meaning of the sentence before [*Woorden die men spreekt*], however, in the sentence before we have *go*, while here we have *ishi*. The following is also the same" (前ニアルト同意也但シ前ナルハ語[ノ]ㇳナリ此ハ石ナリ以下モ同シ). In Waseda's B57, the sentence is cut before referencing the word *ishi* 'stone' and makes little sense, since there is no difference made between the first sentence with *go* and the following ones with *ishi*. This is because, by inverting the translations and explanations, this text appears between two sentences featuring *go*, instead of between two sentences, one with *go* and the other with *ishi*.

[8] Original quote: "簡単に言うと、ここで志筑が言おうとしていたのは、「言われた言葉」とはオランダ語でいうことができるが、「言われた人」というのは文法の構造上、正しい表現とはならない。というのは、この語の「言葉」は直接目的語だが、

Even though what DE GROOT has claimed here is completely correct, he seems to partially misinterpret Shizuki's text. The modern passive conjugation, in Japanese, that inflects in the form of –(*r*)*areru* is not a precise rendition of the concept Shizuki most likely intended to render with the *-ru* and *-tari* affixes. Furthermore, Shizuki actually does refer directly to the passive form in *Seizenfu* and he does that by means of the Dutch verb *worden*, used as an auxiliary for the passive voice, indeed, and he translates it there with the affix *-(ra)ru*, in the sentence *iwaruru go* 'Words that are/get said'. The forms *ieru go* and *ieru hito* can indeed represent passives, although a different type of passive, that Shizuki himself acknowledges as different. I will return to this in 8.4.1. As DE GROOT notices, the modern Japanese "passive" form with -(*r*)*areru* can also be adnominalized to the indirect object, whereby *iwareta hito* can also be used as to mean "the person to whom something was told", although the verb "was told" refers to the person and not the thing being said. Shizuki, in fact, notices that this incongruency can occur only with some *dōta* active verbs. With neuter verbs, such as the Japanese *otsu*, that translates the Dutch *vallen* 'to fall', one can always add the affixes *-ri* or *-tari*, in the relative clause. Shizuki provides the examples of the sentence *ochitaru ishi* that has a totally viable Dutch correspondence, as I will discuss in the coming sections. Nonetheless, one characteristic of neuter verbs is that they cannot become passive like active verbs do. Thus, if DE GROOT's analysis about verbal passivity is correct, then this should be a notable mistake by Shizuki, who must have misunderstood such a simple concept. But if one removes the modern superimposing label of "passive", and follows Shizuki's reasoning, one will be able to see that that is not what Shizuki is claiming.

Shizuki considers the suffixes *-ri* and *-tari* to correspond to the Dutch auxiliary *zijn* 'to be' (more on this in 8.5.5), thus, the sentence *ochitaru ishi* should not be translated as a passive **Steen die gevallen wordt*, that is grammatically incorrect, but as *Steen die gevallen is* 'Stone that has fallen'. Shizuki does provide this Dutch adaptation inside his chapter on *tsuzuku kotoba*, although he also adapts that Japanese sentence into *gevallen steen* 'fallen stone'. From this analysis one understands thus that the Japanese affixes *-ri* and *-tari* correspond to a handful of Dutch phrases, according not only to the activeness/neutrality of the verb, but also to the nature of the modified noun. They correspond to:

- The auxiliary *zijn* combined with a past participle for neuter verbs (*Steen die gevallen is*);
- The auxiliary *zijn* combined with a past participle for active verbs, except when it modifies an indirect object, case in which no Dutch counterpart exists (*Woorden die gesproken zijn*);
- The adjectival use of the past participle of an active verb modifying the direct object (*Gesproken woorden*);
- The adjectival use of a past participle of a neuter verb modifying the subject (*Gevallen steen*);

この語句にある「人」は間接目的語だからである。オランダ語では間接目的語は受身形では使えないのである。" (DE GROOT 2007, 59).

- The present tense of an active verb, where the direct object is being modified (*Woorden die men spreekt*).

The two affixes used by both Shizuki and Motoori to exemplify the differences between *kiruru kotoba* and *tsuzuku kotoba*, namely *-tsu* and *-nu*, are described as being generally only used with active and neuter verbs, respectively. This means that active and neuter verbs do not only differ in the way the Japanese sentence with *-ri* or *-tari* can be rendered into Dutch.

For Shizuki, *-tsu* and *-nu* represent the different conjugation patterns followed by, respectively, active and neuter verbs, combined with the auxiliary verb *hebben* 'to have' (more on this in 8.5.3). Shizuki phrases this by stating that "Generally, with neuter verbs one adds *-nu*, *-nuru* and *-nure*, while with active verbs one adds *-tsu*, *-tsuru* and *-tsure*" (大概自動ハぬ、ぬる、ぬれ、ヲ帯ヒ動他ハつ、つる、つれ、ヲ帯ブ). Shizuki, as seen above, claimed that these two couples of suffixes (*-ri*/*-tari* and *-nu*/*-tsu*) could combine with both neuter and active verbs, with no exception. He, indeed, claims that the verbs "to say" and "to fall" can both combine with *-ri* / *-tari* as well as *-tsu* / *-nu*. That means that one can have verbal forms such as *gesproken zijn* (as in *ieru go*) and *gesproken hebben* (as in *iitsuru go*), but also *gevallen zijn* (as in *ochitari ishi*) and *gevallen hebben* (as in *ochinu ishi*). In contemporary prescriptive Dutch grammar, the last form *gevallen hebben* is not considered correct. That is because, the auxiliaries used to construct perfect tenses have specialized for each verb, to a large extent. Nonetheless, in 17th century Dutch, also in the sources used by Shizuki, there are some examples of the use of both *hebben* and *zijn* with the same verb. Shizuki, by consistently translating them differently, implies that the use of either was not simply a free variation of the form of each tense but, rather, a different expression conveying a different meaning. The semantic difference between these two couples of affixes will be dealt with in the next paragraphs, where direct examples will be drawn from Shizuki's works as to paint a better-defined picture of what he meant. As for now, one should keep in mind that I am not persuaded to call "passives" those verbs combined with the suffixes *-ru* and *-tari*, because this leads to problematic misinterpretations, just like the one presented here. Furthermore, one also needs to understand that the meaning conveyed by these affixes is much more similar to that expressed by *-tsu* and *-nu*, rather than what is expressed by the "proper" passive suffix *-(ra)ru*, or its modern version *-(r)areru*.

In the listing of the forms of the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*, it can be noticed that the forms *-tsure* and *-nure*, both *izenkei* are also mentioned. This is in opposition to what was done in the table of the "Examples" section of *Seizenfu*. Citing these forms might be an influence from Motoori's *himokagami* table, where these three forms of affixes are taken into consideration when covering the theory on *kakari-musubi*. There, the *shūshikei* form corresponded to the right column, the *rentaikei* to the middle column, and the *izenekei* to the left one. Motoori Norinaga, contrarily to his son Haruniwa, did not concentrate particularly on the *jita* 自他 dichotomy or, how he would have probably pronounced it, *konata-kanata*. However, on folios 11 to 13 of the sixth volume of *Kotoba no tama no o*, while explaining the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*, he does mention the issue, in the following quote:

さて又自他のかはりにて。此十四段の格と下の六段の格と。二様にわたる詞もある也。其例をいはゞ。解はみづからとくるをいふ時は。「とく共「とくる共いひて。此十四段の格なるを。他をとくをいふ時は。たゞ「とくとのみいひて。「とくるとはいはず。下の六段の格也。砕は。みづからくだくるには。「くだく共「くだくる共いひて。此十四段の格。他をくだくには。「くだくといひて。「くだくるとはいはず。下の六段の格なり。折をる、闕かく、切きる、破やぶる、なども同じ。此類皆なずらへ知べし。又立は。みづからたつをいふ時は。只「たつとのみいひて。「たつるとはいはず。下の六段の格也。他をたつるに。はたつ共「たつる共いひて。此十四段の格也。頼は。みづからたのむには只。たのむといひて。「たのむるとはいはず。下の六段の格也。他を「たのむるには「たのむ共「たのむる共いひて。此十四段の格也續つゞく入いる、沈しづむ添そふなども同じ。此類なほおほしなずらへ知べし。後世の人は。件の自他のけぢめをわきまへずして。或は戀の歌などに。みづから頼むと。人を頼むるとを。一つに心得。あるひは露などをよむとて。「おきそふといひては。一もじたらぬ時は。「おきそふるとよむたぐひ。皆ひがことなり。「たのむるといふは。萬葉に令憑の令の字を添て書て。人をして頼ましむる意なれば。みづから頼むとは異也。又露のみづからおきそふを。「おきそふるとはいひがたし。さる故に古人は。一もじたらぬ時は。「おきそはるとよめり。「そはるは「そふと同じ意也。「そふるは他を添る事にいふ辭也。これらに

However, with the changes of *jita*, there are words that cross the two types of these 14 levels and the lower 6 levels. For example, the verb *toku* ['to untie'] when *mizukara* [i.e., *ji* 自], can be both *toku* as well as *tokuru*. This is the type of the 14 levels. When one says they untie something else [*hoka* 他], then it can only be said *toku* and it belongs to the sixth level. The verb *kudaru* 'to smash', when it is *mizukara*, it can be both *kudaku* as well as *kudakuru* and it belongs to this type of the 14 levels. When one says they smash something else, one says *kudaku* and cannot say *kudakuru*. This is the type of level six below. The verbs *oru*/*oruru* ['to bend'], *kaku*/*kakuru* ['to be lacking'], *kiru*/*kiruru* ['to cut'] and *yaburu*/*yabururu* ['to break'], work the same. You ought to learn and memorize them. Furthermore, the verb *tatsu* ['to rise' or 'to raise'] when it is *mizukara*, you can only say *tatsu*, and you cannot say *tatsuru*. This is the type of level six, below. When you say you raise something else, then can be either *tatsu* or *tatsuru*. This is the type of the 14 levels. With the verb *tanomu* ['to request'], when it is *mizukara*, you can only say *tanomu*, and cannot say *tanomuru*. This isg the type of level six, below. When you beg something or somebody else, then you can say both *tanomu* as well as *tanomuru*. This is the type of the 14 levels. The verbs *tsuzuku*/*tsuzukuru* ['to continue'], *iru*/*iruru* ['to insert'], *shizumu*/*shizumuru* ['to sink'], *sou*/*souru* ['to add'] all work the same. There are a lot of verbs like these, thus you ought to learn and memorize them. People in more recent times do not comprehend the distinction of *jita* and for this, in things such as poems of love, requesting to somebody else or to oneself become the same. Or, when they read dew, they say *okisou*, and when one character is not enough, they read *okisouru*. These are all incorrect. In the *Man'yōshū*, adding the character *rei* 令 in 令憑,[9] if it has the meaning of making someone request a person (*hito wo tanomashimuru*), it is different from requesting oneself (*mizukara tanoshimu*). Also, when the dew adds itself, it is *okisou* and it is hard to say *okisouru*. Thus, the people of the past, when one character was not enough, read *okisowaru*, where *sowaru* has the same meaning of *sou*. One says *souru*, when it is a word meaning "the thing

[9] In the *Man'yōshū*, the characters 令憑 have been used to write the verb *tanomu*.

て自他の意をわきまふべし。すべて此十四段の辭は。右のことくくさく心得あると也。みだりにすべからず	adding something else" (*hoka wo souru koto*). This is the difference between *jita* you ought to learn. All the words of this level 14 are like the different types we saw above, and you ought to learn each type. They do not have to be made sparse.

Motoori only considers a bidimensional dichotomy, when it comes to *jita* 自他, just like Shizuki, but unlike his son Haruniwa. In Motoori, the distinction is made quite clearly between verbs that act on the "self" (*mizukara* みづから, 自) and those acting on "another" (*hoka* 他). In this binary, the only real morphosyntactic difference that is being identified concerns the use of verbs in relative clauses. However, Motoori distinguishes verbs into two groups: what he calls "14 levels" (十四段) and the "6 levels" (六段). These two groups, although apparently identical morphologically, display different behaviors when inflected in their *tsuzuku*/*rentaikei* forms. These different forms are not only dependent on whether verbs are conjugated adnominally (*tsuzuku*) or are used as final predicates of the sentence (*kiruru*), but they also depend on the semantic nuance in meaning they convey. This semantic meaning, namely the *jita* 自他 dichotomy, of course, also influences their syntactical relations with the other parts of speech, changing the agent and the patient of the action conveyed by the verb itself, generally closer to a reflexive, in the case of *ji* 自. In order to understand what Motoori meant by the phrasings "14 levels" and "6 levels", one needs to refer to the *himo kagami* table Motoori had drawn in his work *Te ni wo ha himokagami*. There, one can see that the different *te ni wo ha*, although listed in succession within the table, are grouped together according to specific characteristics that Motoori deemed relevant in their morphosyntactic behavior. In that table, there are, indeed, fourteen *kana* that correspond to verbal endings. These fourteen verbal endings are, in order: *-nu*; *-tsu*; no verbal ending;[10] *-su*; *-ru*; *-ku*; *-su*; *-tsu*; *-nu*; *-fu*; *-mu*; *-yu*; *-ru* and *-u*. These endings have the characteristic of necessitating an extra *ru* syllable, when conjugated in their *rentaikei* "adnominal" forms, while their *izeneki* adds an extra *re*, instead. The six levels following these fourteen are six additional verbal endings, in principle identical in their *shūshikei* (*kiruru*) forms, namely: *-ku*; *-su*; *-tsu*; *-fu*; *-mu*; *-ru*. However, these have the characteristic of conjugating identically in their *rentaikei* (*tsuzuku*) forms and substituting the < u > part in their roots, with an < e > (e.g. *-ku* becomes *-ke*; *-mu* becomes *-me* and so on). Motoori does not directly mention the *jita* 自他 dichotomy, within *Te ni wo ha himo kagami*, however, he is seen referring to a very similar concepts in the quote below, found on the margin of the fourteen levels, addressing the last nine levels thereof.

此九段のうち詞の首に。をしるすはつかひやうによりて転	The words in these nine levels are words changing according to the inflecting type since they are used by

[10] This refers to verbs with monosyllabic *shūshikei* forms, like *su* 為 'to do'; *nu* 寝 'to sleep'; *u* 得 'to get', etc.

ずる格のかはる詞也たとへは解は自解ㇽこゝろの時は「とく「とくる「とくれと留り解ク レ物ヲこゝろの時は「とく「とけと留る續は自續クこゝろの時は「つゞく「つゞけ續ケル レ物ヲこゝろの時は「つゞく「つゞくる「つゞくれと留る立は自立ときは「たつ「たて立ル レ物ヲときは「たつ「たつる「たつれと留る添は自添ときは「そふ「そへ添ル レ物ヲときは「そふ「そふる「そふれと留る頼は我カ頼ム レ人ヲこゝろの時は「たのむ「たのめと留り人令ム ル ニ我ヲメ頼マ ー こゝろの時は「たのむ「たのむる「たのむれと留る也すへてこれらのわきまへ有べし猶くはしくは別にしるす

adding *wo* before them. For example, the verb *toku* 解 ['to untie'], when it means "to untie oneself" (自解ㇽ), it can become *toku*, *tokuru*, *tokure*. However, when it means "to untie something" (解ク レ物ヲ), it can become *toku* and *toke*. The verb *tsuzuku* ['to continue'], when it means "to continue oneself" (自續ク), it can become *tsuzuku* or *tsuzuke*, when it means "to continue something" (續ケル レ物ヲ), it can become *tsuzuku*, *tsuzukuru*, *tsuzukure*. The verb *tatsu* ['to raise'], when it means "to rise" (自立), it can be *tatsu* or *tate*, while when it means "to raise something" (立ル レ物ヲ), it can become *tatsu*, *tatsuru* or *tatsure*. The verb *sou* 添 ['to add'], when it means "to add oneself" (自添), it can become *sou* or *soeru*, while when it means "to add something" (添ル レ物ヲ), it can become *sou*, *souru* or *soure*. The verb *tanomu* ['to request'], when it means "I request a person" (我カ頼ム レ人ヲ), it can become *tanomu* or *tanome*. When it means "a person orders me to" (人令ム ル ニ我ヲメ頼マ ー), then it can become *tanomu*, *tanomuru* or *tanomure*. These are all to be understood this way. I will not go write about it in any more detailed fashion.

The examples of the differences in the *jita* 自他 dichotomy used in *Te ni wo ha himo kagami* are very similar to those found in the excerpt from *Kotoba no tama no o*, above. Without going too much into depth with the interpretation of this text, it can be claimed that Motoori envisioned the *jita* dichotomy to correspond to specific uses of Japanese verbs. This implies that "active" and "neuter" were not categories into which verbs could be divided, but rather specific uses of each verb. Verbs could be contextually used as either category, but "activeness" and "neutrality" – if one may borrow the terminology from the Dutch tradition – were not intrinsic qualities of each verb. The verb *toku* 解く 'to untie' could be used as both *ji* and *ta*, without any visible morphological change, in its *shūshikei* form. However, in the *rentaikei* and in the *izenkei* form, one must pay attention to whether the verb is used as *ji* or as *ta*, since the conjugation pattern of those forms is different, requiring an additional *-ru* for the *rentaikei*, or *-re* for the *izenkei*, in case the verb is used as a *ji*. In *Kotoba no tama no o*, this is phrased rather directly in the use of the character *ji* 自, standing for *mizukara* 'oneself', and the character *ta* 他, standing for *hoka o* 'other (+ direct object marker)'. In *Te ni wo ha himo kagami*, instead, while the *ji* is still rendered with the character *ji* 自, the *ta* is rendered with the phrasing *mono wo* 物ヲ 'thing (+ direct object marker)'. Thus, the syntactic difference between the *jita* category, according to Motoori, was whether the verb was enacted on the "self" (*ji* 自) or on "something else" (*ta* 他). Its morphological consequence is that the verb in question needs to be conjugated abiding by two different patterns, according to its "activeness" or "neutrality". What is important to notice, however, is that the two viable conjugation patterns for the *ji* and *ta*, are not fixed. Any verb of these

fourteen levels is composed by a root and an ending *-u*, in its *shūshikei* form. When turning these into their *rentaikei* form they can follow either two or three patterns, if one also considers what was claimed in the excerpt from *Kotoba no tama no o*, above, namely: *-e*; *-uru*; or *-u*. The latter ending agrees with what claimed in *Kotoba no tama no o*, and correspond to the "lower six levels", while the former two are viable alternatives for any verb. The difference between the two *rentikei* endings *-e* and *-uru* is that one is used when the verb is *ji* and the other when the verb is *ta*. However, verbs do not use the alternation of these two suffixes consistently, meaning that some verbs use the *-e* ending for their *ji* version, and *-uru* for their *ta* version (e.g., *tatsu* = *tate* (*ji* 自); *tatsuru* (*ta* 他)), while others do the opposite (e.g., *toku* = *tokuru* (*ji* 自); *toke* (*ta* 他)).

Going back to *Seizenfu*, it appears that the way Shizuki used the *jita* 自他 dichotomy was very different from the way Motoori used it, although with a few similarities. Firstly, Motoori never mentions the fact that the verbal affixes *-nu* and *-tsu* are used for "active" and "neuter" verbs respectively, as Shizuki does, instead. Secondly, Shizuki treats the two categories of *jita* as intrinsic qualities of each verb. Each verb is either "active" or "neuter" and this influences the way they combine with specific affixes. For Motoori, the *jita* dichotomy resided in the use of verbs. The conjugation pattern that verbs follow in their *rentaikei* and *izenkei* forms changes according to two main groups of verbs. Each verb could be used "actively" or "neutrally", nonetheless. It seems that Shizuki's understanding of *jita* verbs was more closely related to Dutch theory, specifically, to the practice of annotating whether a verb is neuter or active in the entries to European dictionaries. It is sometimes unclear whether the claims written in Shizuki's manuscripts are to be interpreted to refer to one language specifically, or to both, thus it is not to be excluded that when he wrote things such as "to say is an active verb" (言ハ動他ノ詞ナリ) and "to fall is a neuter verb" (隕ハ自動ナリ), he meant to use the characters *gen* 言 and *in* 隕 as semantically representing the concepts of "to say" and "to fall", thus only intending to refer to the Dutch way of expressing these concepts, namely the verbs *spreken* and *vallen*, instead of interpreting the two characters to also include the Japanese verbs *iu* and *otsu*. However, I would still lean more toward believing that Shizuki's claims, unless stating the contrary, generally applied to both languages, in some sort of universalist approach to linguistics. In this sense, thus, the Japanese traditional understanding of the categories of *jita* 自他, as seen from Motoori Norinaga's quotes, made little sense in the context of Dutch grammar, while, on the other hand, the Dutch traditional understanding of "active" and "neuter" verbs was, at least superficially, much more flexible (e.g., it was not linked to specific morphological forms unique to one language) and could be applied to the Japanese language as well. This is even truer if one considers that in both interpretations the relation between the verb and its agent/patient are the core factors distinguishing between the two types.

The relation between the verb and other elements of the sentence gets more complicated when Shizuki provides Dutch translations to the *tsuzuku* phrases I have mentioned above. The first two sentences of the section titled *Tsuzuku kotoba*, in *Seizenfu* are, in Dutch, *Woorden die men gesprooken had* "Words that one had

spoken" and *Woorden die men gesprooken heeft* "Words that one has spoken". In both these sentences the impersonal subject pronoun *men* 'one' functions as the agent and subject of the predicate of the relative clause, while the term *woorden* 'words' is the modified noun. The verb *spreken* 'to speak' is conjugated in its past perfect and present perfect tenses, respectively. However, in neither of the two Japanese versions does one find a word comparable to the Dutch *men*. The first sentence is translated into Japanese as *iishi go* いひし語, thus by means of the affix *-ki*, and the second sentence as *iitsuru go* いひつる語, thus by means of the affix *-tsu*. The reason why this impersonal subject is added is not to be overlooked. This element allows to deduce the method Shizuki was working with since, even though the Dutch sentences are written above the Japanese renditions, it is more probable that Shizuki started from the Japanese sentence and, subsequently, provided a Dutch rendition. However, as he explained in the "Examples" introductory section of *Seizenfu*, not all Japanese *tsuzuku* phrases have a direct Dutch correspondence. In this case, in fact, in order to render the phrases *iishi go* and *iitsuru go*, Shizuki believed it necessary to add such impersonal pronoun. Why that is, is explained in the quote "*Spreeken* is an active verb, thus when it meets *had* or *hebben*, you must add *men*. *Had* and *hebben* are active verbs, as well" (spreeken 動他詞ナル故ニ had, hebben ニ値ヘバ必ス men ヲ加サレバ言フ〻能ハズ had, hebben モ動他ナレバナリ). As already discussed, the fact that *hebben* was to be considered an active verb is an information he deduced from Marin's dictionary, that, in this case, he believed to be more reliable than Halma's first edition. Shizuki considered the impersonal pronoun *men* to be necessary because of the presence of the active (auxiliary) verb *hebben*. However, with a neuter auxiliary verb combining with the past participle of *spreken*, like the verb *zijn* 'to be' and its past tense *waren*, the impersonal pronoun *men* is not needed anymore and one can have the Dutch sentences *Woorden die gesprooken waaren* "Words that were spoken" and *Woorden die gesprooken zijn* "Words that are spoken". These are rendered into classical Japanese as *ierishi go* いへりし語 and *ieru go* いへる語 (in Gifu's copy), respectively. Both these sentences are also provided with a popular Japanese adaptation, respectively *itte arishi go* 言テアリシ and *itte aru go* 言テアル語. In both these couples of sentences, the difference in the Japanese adaptation between the Dutch sentence with the auxiliary *zijn* and the one with its past tense *waren* lies in the addition, in the latter, of the affix *-ki*. The classical Japanese affix *-ru* is equated to the form *-te aru*, of popular Japanese, most similar to Modern Japanese. The reason why the impersonal subject *men* is not present in the Dutch renditions of these sentences is explained in the subsequent quote: "*Zijn* is a neuter verb, thus you do not need to add *men*. Since it refers to *woorden*, you need to use its plural, and not *is*" (Zÿn ハ自動詞ナル故ニ men ヲ加ヘズ woorden ニカヽル故衆詞ヲ用ウ is トハ使ハズ). The presence, or lack thereof, of the impersonal subject *men*, in the Dutch rendition of these Japanese *tsuzuku* phrases is, thus, dependent upon two parameters: the main verb and the auxiliary used for its perfect tenses must both be active. These cases, thus, require Dutch syntax to always specify the subject of the main verb; additionally, the "subject" of the active auxiliary *hebben* must be specified, as well. Japanese syntax, instead, is much less reliant on the explicit

presence of the subject and thus the sentence *ieru go* – where *go* "word(s)" is not the agent of the act of saying – can still be grammatically correct. When, however, a neuter main verb (in its past participle) meets a neuter auxiliary verb, like *zijn*, *woorden* 'words' can function as grammatical subject of both the main verb and the auxiliary. This also works with other neuter auxiliaries, just like *worden*, literally 'to become', this auxiliary is often used in the construction of the passive voice. The sentence *Woorden die gesprooken worden* "Words that get spoken",[11] also does not need an impersonal-subject *men* since the auxiliary *worden* is considered neuter, and it behaves like the auxiliary *zijn* (worden 自動ナル故ニ Zÿn ニ準ズ). This relation between the activeness or neutrality of the auxiliary, in the specific case they combine with an active main verb, remains consistent across all auxiliary verbs. The Dutch sentences *Woorden die men spreeken zou* "Words that one should/would speak" and *Woorden die men spreeken zal* "Words that one will speak" are translated into Japanese as *iubeki go* いふべき語 and *iiten go*[12] いひてん語. These sentences feature the auxiliary verb *zullen* 'will', or 'shall', although, in the former in its past tense *zou*(*den*). Shizuki also adds that "*zou* and *zal* are also active verbs, and thus adding *men* conforms with *had*" (Zou, Zal,皆動他ニ属スル故 men ヲ加フルヿ had ニ準ナズ). Similarly, the verb *moeten* 'must', also requires the impersonal subject *men*, and it can be thus assumed that this is also to be considered, according to Shizuki, an active verb, since he provides the sentence *Woorden die men spreeken moet*, adapted into Classical Japanese as *masa ni iubeki go* 正にいふべき語, and in popular Japanese as *iwade kanawanu go* イワデカナワヌ語.

If one understands the addition of the impersonal subject *men* as being dependent on the presence of an active auxiliary combined with an active main verb, then it can be deduced that this *men* is the explicit realization of the subject of the auxiliary verb. In this sense, thus, one can claim that what Shizuki probably meant to express with this section is a fundamental difference between how Dutch and Japanese conjugate verbs in the *tsuzuku*/relative form. Shizuki understood auxiliary verbs as being somewhat independent from the main verb they combine with, and each is assigned the quality of either being "active" or "neuter". In the conjugation of compound tenses, the interaction between the auxiliary and the main verb, according to the activeness or neutrality of both, can create a difference between the subject of the two verbs. This difference occurs when an active verb is combined with an active auxiliary, that must be signaled, in Dutch, by adding the word *men*. Since Japanese is a language that does not require the specification of a subject (pro-drop), there is no need to rephrase the sentence in any different manner, as it must be done in Dutch, instead. This issue does not occur when the main verb is neuter, in combination with any auxiliary verb. In fact, the sample sentences with the neuter verb *vallen*/*otsu* are all conjugated without the addition of the impersonal pronoun *men*, for example the Japanese sentence *ochinuru ishi* 隕ぬる石 is adapted as *Steen*

[11] Since the difference between the (pseudo-)passive forms with the auxiliary *zijn* and the passives with *worden* is a central topic of my analysis of *Rangaku seizenfu*, I have chosen to consistently adapt into English those with *zijn* with the auxiliary 'to be', and those with *worden* with the auxiliary 'to get'.

[12] The affix *-ten* is a composition of *-tsu* and *-n* (*-mu*).

die gevallen heeft "Stone that has fallen", and *ochitaru ishi* 隕たる石 is adapted as *Steen die gevallen is* "Stone that is fallen".

8.4 Morphosyntax of verbs in *Rangaku seizenfu*

In the previous sections, I have tackled a few preliminary issues concerning the morphosyntactic differences between Japanese and Dutch verbs. These issues were mentioned by Shizuki in the two "Examples" chapters found in the introduction to both *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu*. However, the theory of grammar in *Seizenfu* is much more extensively covered. This is what I will analyze in the present section. Instead of treating the contents following Shizuki's division in chapters, I selected specific issues that occur throughout the document. This will allow me to cover each verb, or each phenomenon in its own dedicated section. Where appropriate I will also refer to the content of *Joshi-kō*'s and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*.

8.4.1 Combining two auxiliaries: potentiality and passivity

In the previous section of the present chapter, I have introduced a few issues concerning the combination of Dutch auxiliaries – mostly *zijn* and *hebben* – with the past participle of a main verb. What happens, instead, when two auxiliaries are combined with each other in a Dutch phrase? This is covered in a few remarks added as comment to the sentence *Woorden die gesproken konnen worden* "Words that can get spoken", adapted into Japanese as *iitsubeki go* いひつべき語 (*iubeki go* 言べき語, in Waseda's copy). Here, the main verb *spreken* is combined with both the auxiliaries *worden* and *konnen* (*kunnen*) 'can'. This phrase is further commented as follows:[13]

Konnen ヲ漢字ニテ訳スレバ二義アリ動他ノ語ニテ云フニ een man die spreeken kan ト云寸ハ能ノ字ニ当ル動カス者ニカヽルカ故ナリ動カサ	If we translate *konnen* into Chinese characters, it has two meanings. With active verbs, as in *Een man die spreeken kan*,[14] it has the meaning of the character *nō* 能, since it regards "things that move", *ugokasu* 動カス.[15] When it concerns things that are moved, "*ugokasaruru* 動カサルヽ",[16] it combines with *worden*¸ and corresponds to the

[13] The following excerpt is different across the copies of *Seizenfu*. The present version is mostly based on Gifu's copy, where it is found on folio 7v, with additional features from Waseda's copy, where it is found on folios 5v-6r. However, in both copies one can find additional text not found in the other version. In the original quote, I have evidenced the text only present in Gifu's copy with brackets and the text only present in Waseda's copy with braces. My English translation includes the entirety of the two texts combined and presents, in parenthesis, the translation of the text originally written in smaller font.

[14] Translation: "A man that can speak".

[15] This is the transitive verb 'to move'.

[16] Formula of *ugokasaruru* {**ugokas.** + **.a.** + **.ruru** = *mizeneki* of the verb *ugokasu* 'to move' + *rentaikei* of -(*ra*)*ru*}. In Waseda's copy, this verb is written twice as *ugokasaru* 動カサル, which would be the *shūshikei* form of it. However, since it modifies the noun *mono* in both

ル[ヽ]者ニカヽル寸ハ[worden 卜合シテ]可字ニ当ル佛家ニ能所ノ二義アルカ如シ 能所ト動カスモノハ動サル[ヽ]モノトヲ云フ

Marin 三枚ニ Konnen ハ AN 両用トアリ能ノ字ニ當ル寸ハ A ナリ可ノ字ニ當ルトキハ N ナルベシ 但シ可ノ字ハ動詞ニアラザレ𠮟外ニ相當ル者ナク又 Konnen ハ格別ノ動詞ニテ自ラ可[字]ノ意ニ合フモノナリ

Konnen.実ハ和語ノ流れもあえぬ我はせきあえずナドノあえニ当レ𠮟耳遠キ故ニ假ニ{よく卜訳シ 実ハよくすナレ𠮟和語ノ使ニヨリテよく卜訳スベシ 又ハ}つべし ぬべし卜訳セリあえて卜讀ム敢ノ字ニ当レリ

character *ka* 可. This is similar to the two meanings of the Buddhist concept of *nōjo* 能所. (With *nōjo* we refer to "things that move", *ugokasu* mono, and "things that are moved", *ugokasaruru mono*).

In the third edition of Marin, it is written that *konnen* can be used both as active and neuter. When it corresponds to the character *nō* 能 it is active, when it corresponds to the character *ka* 可 it is neuter. (However, even when the character *ka* 可 is n ot a verb, there is nothing else that corresponds to it. The word *konnen*, with any distinct type of verb always has the meaning of *ka* 可).

Actually, in Japanese, *konnen* would correspond to *ae*, as in *nagaremo aenu* 流れもあえぬ or *ware wa seki aezu* 我はせきあえず. However, since this is not very commonly understood, we can translate it as *yoku*. (Actually, it would translate *yokusu*, however, according to the use, in Japanese, it can also translate *yoku*). Furthermore, it is also translated as *-tsubeshi* and *-nubeshi*. When it is read as *aete*, it corresponds to the character *kan* 敢.

A first issue that needs to be addressed concerns Shizuki's claim regarding the contents of the third edition of Marin's dictionary. In the entry to *konnen*, Marin only labels it as neuter (*v.n.*), however, he also provides a different entry, where *konnen* is given as an alternative to the verb *kennen* 'to know', as in the sample sentence *Verscheidene Taalen konnen* 'to know/be able to speak many languages'. This latter entry is not labeled as either active or neuter, however, since it is used in a transitive context, it may be possible that Shizuki deduced that *konnen* could be used as an active verb. In Shizuki's persuasion, the Dutch verb *konnen* corresponds to two Chinese characters, namely *ka* 可 and *nō* 能. However, the translation as *nō* 能 corresponds to *konnen* only when used as an auxiliary to an active verb, as in the example *een man die spreken kan*. In this instance, the activeness of *spreken* is rendered through the phrasing *ugokasu mono* "thing that moves". Instead, *konnen* corresponds to the character *ka* 可, when it combines with a neuter verb, one meaning *ugokasaruru mono*, "thing that gets moved". It is in this case that the character *ka* 可 corresponds to the combination of *konnen* with *worden*. The difference between "things that move" and "things that are moved" is exemplified by the Buddhist concept *nōjo* 能所, that allegedly refers to this specific difference, where *nō* 能 intuitively corresponds to "things that move", thus the active voice of transitive verbs, and *jo* 所 to the passive voice, thus "things that get moved". The

occurrences, it must be a *rentaikei*. Since *dakuon* 濁音 symbols were often missing, in manuscripts of the time, it could be possible to interpret this as *ugokazaru*, thus a combination of the intransitive version of the verb, *ugoku*, with the suffix *-zari*. However, this would make the phrase mean "thing that does not move (itself)" and this does not seem to be consistent with the rest of the excerpt. For this reason, I believe that the spelling in Gifu's copy is to be preferred when interpreting this text.

character *ka* 可 would, thus, refer to the possibility of something being passively moved, thus a combination of *konnen* and *worden*. In order to confirm or refute this, one needs to look at a few of the Chinese translations provided by Shizuki to the previously mentioned Dutch and Japanese phrases. The Dutch phrase *Woorden die gesprooken worden* "Words that get spoken", in Gifu's copy is adapted into Classical Japanese as *iu go* いふ語, that is a simple *rentaikei* form of the verb 'to say' without any affix added to it. In Waseda's copy, instead it is adapted as *iwaruru go* 言るヽ語, this probably being the correct transcription. Shizuki provides two viable Chinese translations for it, namely: *suǒ yán zhī yǔ* 所言之語 and *bèi yán zhī yǔ* 被言之語, where the verb *yán* 言 'to speak' is modified by the characters *suǒ* 所 and *bèi* 被, respectively. The Chinese character *suǒ* 所 corresponds to the *jo* element in the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy Shizuki referred to in the excerpt above. The nuance in meaning of the sentence *Woorden die gesprooken worden* when it is translated into Chinese by means of this character corresponds to the concept of "thing that gets moved" (*ugosaruru mono*). In both Gifu (7r-7v) and Waseda's copies there is a short comment to this translation, that is longer in Waseda's copy, claiming the following (5r-5v):

言フモノハ人ナリ被ル者ハ語ナリ然レ𪜈語ハ人ノ所對ニ非ハガ故ニ被字ノ意軽クシテ所言之語ト相似タリ但シ所言之語ハ別ニ下ニ見ユ	The one "saying" is a person, those "receiving" (被ル) are words. However, since words are not in the *jo* of the person, the meaning of the character *hi* 被 is lighter, and it becomes rather similar to the phrase *suǒ yán zhī yǔ* 所言之語. This sentence, nonetheless, is different, as can be seen below.

The *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy was often also mentioned as *nōtai jotai* 能對所對. Shizuki claims that, in the phrase above, when *go*/*woorden* is not in the *jo* position (i.e., "things that get moved") of a specific person, the meaning of the character *hi* 被 turns "lighter" and the two phrases can end up having a very similar meaning. I assume this to refer to the cases in which a specific person speaking the words is not mentioned, and the focus is only laid on the words being spoken. Going back to the sentence *Woorden die gesproken konnen worden*, Shizuki provides the following Chinese translation: *kě yán zhī yǔ* 可言之語, where the verb *yán* 言 'to speak' is modified by the character *kě* 可. This translation is commented as follows:[17]

俗ニ言ツル語ト云是モイハレヌベキ語可被言之語ト訳セサレバ語ガ言フヤウニ聞フ[18]ベ	In the popular language this is said *iitsuru go* or *iwarenu beki go*. When it does not translate [*kě bèi yán zhī yǔ*] 可被言之語, it is like saying "you should hear words as

[17] The comment present here in Gifu's copy is much shorter.

[18] Although this *katakana* is written as *fu* フ, since it makes no sense to write it after the character 聞, I assume this to be a misspelling of the *katakana* ツ, composing the verb

キニ似タレ𠦂和漢共ニソレニ拘ラザルニ似タリ	they have been said". However, this does not concern either Japanese or Chinese.

Here, it is claimed that the composition of the two auxiliaries *konnen* and *worden* would be like combining the two Chinese character *ka* 可 and *hi* 被. However, this distinction is not relevant in Japanese or in Chinese, though it is in Dutch. The character *hi* 被 is similar to *sho* (*jo*) 所, yet the former is to be used mostly when the agent of the passive action expressed by the main verb is not specified. When it is specified, the character *sho* 所 is to be preferred. This is because this character is used in the Buddhist dichotomy of *nōjo* 能所, where the character *sho*/*jo* 所 corresponds to "the thing that gets moved", as contrasted to the *nō* 能, that refers to "the thing that moves". This character *nō* 能, however, while being the opposite of *sho*/*jo* 所, and thus of *worden*, is connected to the verb *konnen*, expressing possibility, only, when it is used actively. This is the example of the sentence *Een man die spreken kan* "A man that can speak", where *kan* (third person singular of *konnen*) is said to correspond to *nō* 能. However, when used as a neuter verb, the verb *konnen* corresponds to the character *ka* 可. When combining with the auxiliary *worden* – a neuter verb – the auxiliary *konnen* translates *ka* 可, even though, in theory, the combination of *ka* 可 and *hi* 被, would be more literal, this difference is neglectable in both Chinese and Japanese. In this context, thus, the two Dutch auxiliaries *worden* and *konnen* meet in an oppositional relation, when *konnen* is used as neuter, and *worden* is used with a clear agent, recreating the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy of Buddhist thought.

In conclusion to the quote above, Shizuki adds that the Dutch verb *konnen* is actually mostly translated into Japanese as the word *aete* あえて. The word *aete* is an adverb that originated from a verb *au* that meant something like "to manage to", "to succeed in doing". This verb was often written with the Chinese characters *kan* 敢, as acknowledged by Shizuki himself. In the excerpt above, there are two phrases that could have been extracted from longer quotes in the *Kokin wakashū*. The two phrases are *nagare mo aenu* 流れもあえぬ, possibly coming from the quote *yamagawa ni kaze no kaketaru shigarami wa nagare mo aenu momiji narikeri* 山川に風のかけたるしがらみは 流れもあへぬ紅葉なりけり, that can be translated as something like "In the windy mountainous rivers there was a fence through which not even the colors of the autumn could flow". The quote *ware wa seki aezu* 我はせきあえず, might come from the verse *oroka naru namida zo sode ni tamawanasu ware wa seki aezu tagizusenareba* おろかなるなみだぞ袖に玉はなすわれはせきあへずたぎつせなれば, that can be translated as "My sloppy tears, had they become like pearls rushing like a torrent on my sleeves I am not able to stop". In both these examples, the word in question appears as a negative form *aenu* (*rentaikei*) or *aezu* (*shūshikei*), with the meaning of "not being able to".

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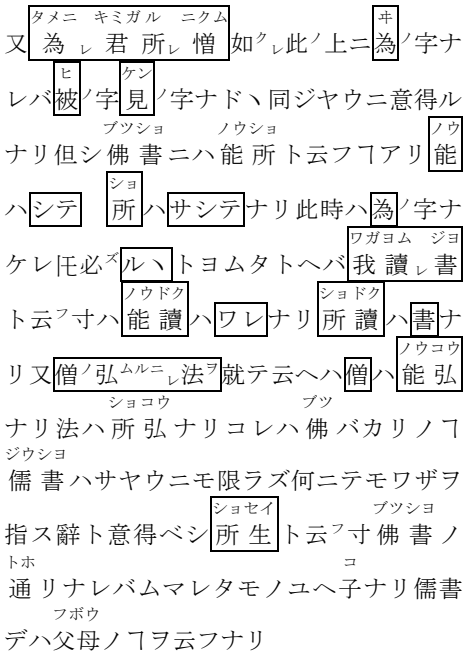
kikitsubeki, consistent with the form *iitsubeki* found in Waseda's translation of the verb in the sentence in question.

Shizuki, thus, compares each auxiliary of Dutch with specific Chinese characters. In particular, it is interesting to notice that the meaning of the two auxiliaries *konnen* and *worden*, that express possibility and passivity, respectively, meet in the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy. Shizuki cites this dichotomy as belonging to Buddhists (*bukka* 佛家), whereby the *nō* 能 element corresponds to the mover (*ugokasu mono*), while the *jo* 所 corresponds to the element being moved (*ugokasaruru mono*). On folios 42v-43r of the third volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū Sorai – himself a Confucianist – covers the many meanings of the character *sho*/*jo* 所. One of the meanings he recognizes is when this character becomes similar to the characters *hi* 被 and *ken* 見, both Chinese characters often understood as expressing passivity. Ogyū writes the following remarks:



Furthermore, in phrases such as *kimi ga tame ni nikumuru*, if there is the character *wi* 為 [*tame ni*] above, then it obtains a meaning similar to the characters *hi* 被 and *ken* 見. However, in Buddhist texts there is the so-called *nōjo* 能所, where the *nō* corresponds to *-shite*, and the *sho* corresponds to *-sashite*. In this occurrence, even when there is no character 為, it must be read as *ruru*. For example, when one says *wa ga jo* [*wo*] *yomu*, the *nōdoku* 能讀 is *ware* ['I'], while the *shodoku* 所讀 is *sho* 書. If you say *sō no hō wo hiromuru ni*, *sō* is the *nōkō* 能弘, while *hō* is the *shokō* 所弘. This is a thing specific to Buddhism, which does not include Confucian texts. In any case, it must be remembered as a word pointing to an action. When one says *shosei* 所生, in Buddhism, it concerns the one having been born is, namely the child, while in Confucianism, it refers to the parents.

This information on the *nōjo* dichotomy seems to be consistent with what is claimed by Shizuki. Firstly, the concepts of *nō* and *jo* are equated to the words *shite* and *sashite*, that probably refer to the verb *su* 'to do', where the latter is made causative.[19] Subsequently, it is claimed that, when used in this sense, the character *sho* 所 must be read *ruru*, corresponding to the passive affix -(*ra*)*ru*. These are the instances of sentences like *wa ga sho* [*wo*] *yomu* "I read the book", where the verb

[19] This is not contemporary standard grammar, nor classical grammar. However, the fact that *shite* and *sashite* are supposed to refer to the verb *su* 'to do' is suggested by the fact that they are treated relatively to the Chinese character *i* 為, that often corresponded to that verb.

yomu/*doku* 讀 is in a *nōjo* relation with either element. The subject *wa*(*re*) 'I', is in a *nō* relation with the verb (*nōdoku* 能讀), while the object *sho* "book", is in a *jo* relation with the verb (*shodoku* 所讀). This means that, the *nōjo* dichotomy does not only exist in the context of a verb being specifically conjugated in a passive form or with a specific affix signaling possibility. The *nōjo* relation can ensue even in a simple active sentence, between the subject and the direct object of the action in question. However, Ogyū also adds another example, where the verb is conjugated by means of the affix -(*ra*)*ru*, in the phrase *sō no hō wo hirogamuru ni* "to spread the teachings of Buddhist monks". In this phrase, the word "Buddhist monks" (*sō* 僧) is in a *nō* relation with the verb (*nōkō* 能弘), while the "teachings" (*hō* 法) is in a *jo* relation with the verb (*jokō* 所弘). In practice, this representation of the *nōjo* dichotomy represents the agent-patient relationship. In these two sample phrases, the patient is always the receiver of the action (*sho* 書 and *hō* 法), even though in the first sentence it corresponds to a direct object, while in the second sentence it corresponds to the subject. In case, thus, in which the grammatical subject is actually the patient of the action of the verb, this needs to be signaled by conjugating the verb via the affix -(*ra*)*ru*, that corresponds to the Japanese reading of the Chinese character *sho* 所, in *kundoku*. Nonetheless, Ogyū adds that this interpretation is actually specific to Buddhism, while in Confucianism, the interpretation is practically the opposite. That is why, in the sample phrase *shosei* 所生, Sino-Japanese reading of the Chinese phrase *suǒshēng*, where the character *sho* 所 modifies the verbal character *sei* 生 'to give birth', 'to bear', Buddhists interpret this as referring to the child – thus, with the meaning of "the one being given birth" – while Confucians interpret this to refer to the parents – thus, those giving birth – inverting the agent/patient relation.[20] This difference is specifically exemplified by the use of the affix -(*sa*)*su*, that was initially provided by Ogyū as Japanese meaning of the Chinese character *sho* 所. This affix is used to provide a causative meaning to the verb, thus implying that someone has made someone or something else do an action. With the -(*ra*)*ru* affix, instead, the verb gets turned into a passive voice, implying that someone or something are the receivers of the action. These two concepts, although they appear opposite, are both rendered by the character *sho* 所, in the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy. The two affixes, still, share a commonality since, in both cases, they refer to a member of the sentence that is not the agent of the main verb, that is referred to by the character *nō* 能, instead.

On folios 24r-24v of the fourth volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū mentions the character *sho* 所 again, this time contrasting it specifically with the characters *hi* 被, *ken* 見 and *sō* 遭.

[20] It is also worth noting that the word *suǒshēng* 所生 is used in Contemporary Chinese with the meaning of "parents", while in contemporary Japanese, *shosei* can refer to both the parents and the child.

【見　被　所　遭】

○四字トモニ。カハリナシ。但シ。所ノ字ハ。少コシカワリアリ。所ノ字條下ニ見ヘタリ。但シ。訓ノ通リナリトテ。世俗ノ云フ辭ノ。カヤウセラレマシテ。ドウラレマシテト云フ。ラレノ意ニテハナシ。人ニカウセラレタト云フ寸ノ。ラレノ意ナリ。

[*ken* 見, *hi* 被, *sho* 所, *sō* 遭]

There is no difference between these four characters, however, there is a slight difference in the character *sha* 所. The character *sho* 所 can be seen below. However, when providing a Japanese reading (*kun* 訓), in the popular language it does not correspond to the *-rare* in *kayō seraremashite* or *dō seraremashite*. It is the *rare* as in when one says *hito ni kō serareta*.

In this quote, Ogyū is probably trying to clarify that the meaning of the character *sho* 所, that can be translated as *-rare*, is not to be confused with the use of *-rare* in honorific speech, where the phrases *kayō seraremashite* and *dō seraremashite* are to be interpreted as honorific conjugations of the verb *su*(*ru*) 'to do', meaning, respectively "doing so" and "doing in what way". Instead, in the phrase *hito ni kō serareta*, *su*(*ru*) is conjugated in the non-honorific past tense and would mean "make a person do so" or "to be done so by a person", in this second case a passive. Motoori Norinaga also writes the following remarks about the affix -(*ra*)*ru*, in the seventh volume (p. 53) of *Kotoba no tama no o*:

おほよそ後世に。らる　られ　などいふ言萬葉に假字（カナ）に書る所は。いづれも皆右のごとく。らゆ　らえ　などヽのみ書て　らる　られ　などヽ書るはいとくまれ也古事記日本紀などの歌もみな同じ然れば所泣所知所忘所偲などヽ真字（マナ）に書る所もみな假字書の例のまヽに「なかゆ「なかえ。「しらゆ「しらえ。「わすらゆ「わすらえ。「しぬばゆ「しぬばえなどと訓べし。今の本にこれらのゆえを。る　れと訓るは古言にあらずみな正すべし

Generally, people of later eras say things like *raru* or *rare*. In the *Man'yōshū*, these were written in *kana*, and they were all only written as *rayu* and *rae*, etc. The spelling *raru* and *rare* is very rare. In the poems of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, they are all the same. However, even when writing in *kanji* things like 所泣, 所知, 所忘, 所偲 etc., they all become the same as in the example in the *kana* text, meaning *nakayu* and *nakae* (所泣); *shirayu* and *shirae* (所知); *wasurayu* and *wasurae* (所忘); *shinubayu* and *shinubae* (所偲) etc. In books today, these *yu* and *e* are all rendered in Japanese as *ru* and *re*, but since these did not exist in ancient speech, they must be corrected accordingly.

Motoori Norinaga recognized a correspondence between the *-rare* affix recorded by Ogyū Sorai, in the excerpt above with the character *sho* 所. However, while Ogyū believed that the popular language was a useful tool to make contemporary readers understand the classics, Motoori was on a mission to purify the language of his contemporaries from any modification the language underwent since the standards set by the classic of Japanese literature. For this reason, Motoori deemed these *rare* and *raru* forms incorrect, and a corruption of the original *-rayu* and *-rae* form.

Regarding the Chinese character *nō* 能, however, as can be read in the quote above, Shizuki also added that it could also be read as *yoku* or *yokusu*. In the fifth volume of his *Kun'yaku jimō*, on folios 44r-44v, Ogyū claims the same. This *yoku* – or *yokku*, as claimed by Ogyū – is not to be confused with the adverbial form of the adjective *yoki*, meaning 'good', instead it corresponds to a verb, that can be also found in the form *yokusu*, as reported by Shizuki, meaning "to be skilled". Here, Ogyū does not connect the character *nō* 能 to any specific affix, as he instead does with the character *ka* 可, as can be read in the following entry.

可ト容ハベイト譯ス。ラルヽト譯シ。クルシカラズト譯ス。ラルヽト云フ譯ハ所被見等ノ字ト同シヤウナレ𪜈。所被見ハ。
クハコ
過去ナリ。ソノウヘ。人ニカウセラレタ。セラルヽト云フ。ラルヽナリ可容二字ノ
ミライ
譯ハ。未来ナリ。カウセラルヽ乁カ。セラレヌ乁カト。料簡メ。イカニモカウセラルヽ乁ヂヤト。心ニテ。許可許容スル意ナリ。クルシカラズト云フ譯モ許可許容ノ意ヨリ。出タリ。十分ニ。ヨキ乁ハ。ヲシデモナキナリ。八九分ハヨクテ。三分ハイコル処アル寸。大事モナイ。クルシフナイト許容スル意ナリ。

The characters *ka* 可 and *yō* 容 are translated as *bei* [*beshi*], as *raruru* and as *kurushikarazu* ["It does not hurt"]. In these cases, they are the same as the characters *sho* 所, *hi* 被 and *ken* 見. However, these are past. Furthermore, when you say to a person *kō serareta*, it is *seraruru*, it has the meaning of *raruru*. The two characters *ka* 可 and *yō* 容 are future. They have the meaning of pondering whether one will make somebody do something or not, in either case, this is the meaning of *kyoka* 許可 or *kyoyō* 許容, learned as *kō seraruru koto ja* ["(someone) is mate to do the thing"]. Even the translation *kurushikarazu* has the meaning of *kyoka* and *kyoyō*.

This excerpt raises a few additional issues, particularly as it concerns the difference between the character *sho* 所 and the character *ka* 可. In *Seizenfu*, Shizuki claimed that the character *sho* 所 corresponds to the Dutch auxiliary *worden*. He added that this same auxiliary could also be rendered with the, allegedly, "lighter" character *hi* 被. In both cases, the Japanese translation would be rendered through the affix -(*ra*)*ru*. However, Shizuki also used the character *sho* 所 to translate the auxiliary *zijn*, in past participles, as in the sentence *Woorden die gesproken zijn* 'Words that are spoken', case in which the affixes *-ri* or *-tari* are to be used in the Japanese rendition. The character *ka* 可, instead, was claimed to be the rendition of the Dutch auxiliary *konnen*, however when the Dutch sentence combines both the auxiliaries *konnen* and *worden*, the character *ka* 可 actually plays the role of a combination of both *ka* 可 itself with the character *hi* 被. Ogyū's description is rather different, however. The Confucian scholar claims that the character *ka* 可 is translated into Japanese as the affix *-beshi*, claim that can also be seen in Shizuki's Japanese translation of the sentence *Woorden die gesprooken konnen worden* 'Words that can get spoken', as *iitsubeki go*. However, Ogyū contrasts the character *ka* 可 against the two characters *sho* 所 and *hi* 被, on the basis of the fact that he considers the last two as referring to the past (*kako* 過去), while the former to the future (*mirai* 未来).

In both cases, however, the Chinese characters correspond to the affix -(*ra*)*ru*. This affix has been commonly described, in more recent times, as conveying a plethora of meanings, including formality (as also seen in the entry to *sho* 所, above), potentiality and passivity.[21] If, thus, it is true that there is a tight relation between potential -(*ra*)*ru* and the Chinese character *ka* 可, and between passive -(*ra*)*ru* and the Chinese characters *sho* 所 and *hi* 被, as suggested by Shizuki, then one would need to interpret Ogyū's words as implying that passive -(*ra*)*ru* corresponds to a past time, while potential -(*ra*)*ru* corresponds to a future time. However, I believe that in order to interpret this, one needs to indulge in Ogyū's description, temporarily abandoning the modern concepts of "potentiality" and "passivity". While analyzing the Japanese language, Ogyū was faced with one single affix -(*ra*)*ru*, thus it can be assumed that this element was interpreted by a Japanese speaker without any substantial knowledge in foreign languages and grammatical theory as one single unit of meaning, instead of one morpheme covering a broad semantic field. In this sense, thus, the differentiation between the various meanings of the morpheme is only explicitly made in the Chinese adaptation (and, thus, Dutch for Shizuki). This is, for example, similar to the idea that the Japanese word *atsui*, meaning "hot" or "warm", used to describe the temperature of anything indiscriminately, in Japanese, needs to be written with either the Chinese character *netsu* 熱 or *sho* 暑, according to whether it refers to the temperature of things or of the climate, respectively. The different nuance in meaning, can only be seen in the written convention and derives from a morphosemantic difference that originally only existed in Chinese. Similarly, the different semantic values of -(*ra*)*ru* only actualize when the affix is contrasted with languages, such as Chinese and Dutch, that differentiate between "passivity" and "potentiality" by means of very different morphosyntactic tools. Just like *atsui* means "warm thing" or "warm climate" indistinctly, in Japanese, the affix -(*ra*)*ru* expresses "potentiality" and "passivity", indiscriminately. This is the reason why Shizuki can claim that the auxiliaries of a sentence such as *Woorden die gesprooken konnen worden* "Words that can get spoken", although literally corresponding to the combination of *ka* 可 (potentiality) and *hi* 被 (passivity), they can ultimately be rendered simply with the character *ka* 可, that he still decides to read as *-beshi*, instead of -(*ra*)*ru*. In fact, it is interesting to notice that Shizuki does not seem to agree with the idea that *konnen* and, thus, the Chinese character *ka* 可 simply correspond to a future, in fact, his translations of the auxiliary *konnen* often combine the affix *-beshi*, with either *-tsu* or *-nu* (expressing completion), according to the activeness or neutrality of the verb. The auxiliary *worden*, instead, corresponds to the affix -(*ra*)*ru* consistently. This can be seen, for example, further in *Seizenfu*, where Shizuki provides a few relative clauses (*tsuzuku*) using the verb *slaan*/*utsu* 'to hit'. The sentences with *worden* and *konnen* present very similar Japanese adaptations to the sentences with *spreken*/*i*(*h*)*u*. The passive sentence *Een man die geslagen word* 'A man that gets hit' is adapted into Japanese as *ochiruru hito* 打ちるゝひと, thus with the affix -(*ra*)*ru*, and in Chinese with the

[21] See, for example, WIXTED (2006, 150), SHIRANE (2005, 140), KOMAI & ROHLICH (1991, 114-117).

character *bèi* 被. The potential sentence *Een man die slaan kan* 'A man that can hit' gets translated as *utsubeki hito* 打べきひと, thus with the affix *-beshi*, and in Chinese with the character *néng* 能 (i.e., *nō* 能 in Japanese). The combination of the two, in the sentence *Een man die geslagen kan worden* 'A man that can get hit', is translated as *uchirenubeki hito* 打れぬべきひと, thus with a combination of -(*ra*)*ru*, *-nu* and *-beki*, while in Chinese as a combination of *kě* 可 and *bèi* 被, in this order. A comment is added to this translation, claiming that in the popular language, the conjugation *utsubeki* (or *yoku utsu*, in Waseda's copy) is said *utsu eru* (or *utsu yuru* 打得る), while *uchirenubeki* is commonly said *utsururu*. The affix *-beshi*, thus, according to Shizuki, is less commonly used, in these sentences in the popular language, which might explain why Ogyū, who believed in the didactic qualities of popular language, mostly only used the -(*ra*)*ru* affix, to explain these Chinese characters.

In conclusion, it appears that the rendition of the Dutch auxiliaries *konnen* and *worden*, expressing "potentiality" and "passivity", respectively, would have been particularly complicated had the Japanese not had previous contact with the Chinese language. In classical language (*-beshi*) and in popular language (-(*ra*)*ru*), both auxiliaries correspond to a single Japanese affix. However, since it was already known that Chinese employed two different characters, with two different nuances in meaning to render those affixes, the extension of this mechanic to Dutch grammar allowed for a smooth interpretation of the Dutch auxiliaries. As I will show in the following sections, this is a common practice adopted by Shizuki within his *Seizenfu*. However, it also true that Chinese translations of Dutch sentences are much more common in this section of *Seizenfu*, and specifically when it concerns the Dutch auxiliaries *worden* and *konnen*, as compared to the rest of the manuscript.[22] This might reinforce the idea that a difference between *worden* and *konnen* could not be easily understood by only looking at the morphosyntax of Japanese verbs and required an additional contrastive comparison with Chinese characters. The difference in time that Ogyū alleges to exist between the two, is not mentioned at all by Shizuki, who, nonetheless, relied heavily on his theory of the "three times" (*sanze* 三世), within *Seizenfu*, as I will show in the following section.

8.4.2 The table of the three times

The third chapter of *Rangaku seizenfu* is titled *Rango sanze meimoku* 蘭語三世名目 'Index of the three times of Dutch'. The contents of this section are extremely brief, only presenting three "times" (*tijd*/*se*) each corresponding to one tense. These three "times" are as follows: *voorleden tijd* 'past tense', translated into Japanese as *kako* 過去; *tegenwoordig tijd* 'present tense', translated into Japanese as *genzai* 現在 or

[22] As can be seen from table 53, in 8.4.3, the Chinese translation is only added once for the other auxiliaries, probably with the purpose of exemplifying their rendition into Japanese. The rest of the Chinese translations are provided, however, only to variation and/or combinations of the auxiliaries *worden* and *konnen*.

gense 現世;[23] and *toekomende tijd* 'future tense', translated into Japanese as *mirai* 未来. In addition, expanding on the concept of "past tense", Shizuki writes "Otherwise used for *tatoe* phrases" (或假令ノ語ニ用ユ), while for the future tense he adds "Otherwise used for *shirei* phrases" (或使令ノ語ニ用ユ). I will cover these additions below, in this chapter. This tripartite division of Dutch times is central to the entirety of *Seizenfu* and, as I have argued, can still be seen in other works by Shizuki, like *Joshi-kō* and in other works that were, arguably, more directly influenced by Dutch sources, like *Shihō shoji taiykaku*. The concept *sanze* itself appears to be derivative of Buddhist philosophy, where it referred to, indeed, the three dimensions of time as recognized by Shizuki.[24] However, as I have discussed in Chapter IV, Dutch verbs were never really divided into only three tenses in any of the Dutch sources I could confirm Shizuki referenced, and I believe that this can be generalized to all Dutch sources. As I have mentioned in 4.3, Marin did mention this tripartite distinction of time, in the entry to *tydt* (his spelling of *tijd*), although this did not refer to verbal tenses and, furthermore, the word for "past" was *verleedene* and not *voorleden*, as it is found in Shizuki, instead. However, in the Japanese tradition of the research on the so-called *kana-zukai*, these three dimensions were very common, specifically, as I have claimed, in the context of the *kana* character *shi* し, that is endowed with one meaning per time: in the present time it is the *shūshikei* of adjectives; in the past time corresponds to the *rentaikei* form of the affix *-ki*; and in the future time it corresponds to the *shūshikei* form of the suffix *-beshi*. Nonetheless, also within *Seizenfu*, even though Shizuki calls these "the three times" (*sanze* 三世), the system of Dutch verbal tenses he recognizes is much more complex.

In the chapter titled *Sanze-zu* 三世圖 'Table of the Three Times' (9r), Shizuki draws a table illustrating the tree tenses in relation to two new variables: *gense* 現世 and *kako oyobi tatoe* 過去及假令, which I have copied in Table 51.

[23] In Waseda's copy, this is often spelled as *genzai* 現在, also meaning 'present'. The use of *gense* and *genzai*, within that copy is rather inconsistent, and displays no real pattern that would suggest a specific difference in meaning.

[24] In NAKAMURA (1975) the term *sanze* is defined as follows: "It refers to the three 'past' (*kako* 過去), 'present' (*genzai* 現在) and 'future' (*mirai* 未来). It is the chronological division of the world according to Buddhism. The three dimensions. The three times. It is the 'past' (Satita, meaning that which has passed), the 'present' (Spratyutpanna, meaning that which has been initiated) and the 'future' (Sanāgata, meaning that which is yet to come). For the sake of brevity also called *kagenmi* 過現未 or *ikontō* 已今当. In Buddhism, time is not seen as something concrete or actual. It is seen as processes of mutation and change, though provisionally, we do not further distinguish these 3 times".

	現世			過去及ヒ假令		
未来	Zúllen Zul Zúlt	將		未来	Zouden Zoú Zoude	應
現世	Zÿn ben is, Zijt	在		現世	Waaren was waart	曽在
過去	hebben, heb, heeft, hebt	既 又 有		過去	hadden had hadt	曽 又 曽有

Table 51 Table of the Three Times from *Rangaku seizenfu*.

This table crosses the three times seen above, represented in the three horizontal lines, with the two variables, represented in the vertical columns. The two columns share the same names with two of the lines, only missing the *mirai* label. Furthermore, the *kako* column also contains the label *tatoe* 假令. Even though Shizuki does not employ any specific label to distinguish between the three lines and the two columns, for reasons of practicality, I will adopt the names "times" for the three lines, and "dimensions" for the two columns. Within *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki references this table by naming certain verbal tenses used in his sample sentences, by citing each box in forms such as *gense no mirai* 現世ノ未来 'future of the present', *kako no kako* 過去ノ過去 'past of the past' etc., where the first element corresponds to the "dimension" – i.e., the column of the table – while the second element corresponds to the "time" – i.e., the line of the table. Thus, the phrasing *gense no mirai*, for example, could be interpreted as "the future time of the present dimension". In each box, in this table, one does not only find reference to the time it crosses with, but two additional features, namely: the conjugated forms of one Dutch auxiliary, and either one or more Chinese characters. Each box contains one specific Dutch auxiliary, that is only present in that one box. Furthermore, Shizuki treats the past forms of these auxiliaries as independent verbs, sometimes citing them by their plural forms (akin to the infinitive form of their present counterparts) or their root. Even though this is not commonly done in contemporary Dutch grammatical tradition, for the sake of better representing Shizuki's theories, I will comply with his methodology, utilizing the plural forms of these auxiliaries as citational form. The six resulting auxiliary verbs present in the Table of the Three Times are: *zullen* (*gense no mirai* 現世ノ未来 'future of the present'); *zouden* (*kako oyobi tatoe no mirai* 過去及仮令ノ未来 'future of the past or of *tatoe*'[25]); *zijn* (*gense no gense* 現世ノ現世, 'present of the present'); *waren* (*kako no gense* 過去ノ現世 'present of the past'); *hebben* (*gense no kako* 現世ノ過去 'past of the

[25] Since all "past" dimensions can include *tatoe*, I will only cite it when specifically necessary. Whenever the "past" dimension will be cited henceforth, the reader must be aware that the formula *oyobi taote* 'or also *tatoe*' has been simplified from the label.

present'); and *hadden* (*kako no kako* 過去ノ過去 'past of the past'). The Chinese characters provided in each box correspond to the Chinese word that is supposed to translate each auxiliary. The verb *zullen* is translated as the character *shō* 将, *zouden* as the character *ō* 応; *zijn* as the character *zai* 在, *waren* as the combination of the two characters *sōzai* 曽在; *hebben* as the characters *ki* 既 or *yū* 有; *hadden* as either the character *sō* 曽 or the combination of characters *sōyū* 曽有. Although these verbs can all be used as auxiliaries in Dutch, there is one fundamental difference among them; the verb *zullen*, and its past form *zouden*, are the only ones that can only be used as auxiliaries. Both the verbs *zijn* and *hebben* – along with their past forms *waren* and *hadden* – also have the semantical meanings of "existing" and "possessing", respectively, just like their English counterparts "to be" and "to have". This is the reason why the auxiliaries *hebben* and *hadden* have been translated with two Chinese alternatives, where *yū* 有 renders their meaning as "to possess", while *ki* 既 and *sō* 曽 refer to their uses as auxiliaries. Even though the same applies to the verb *zijn*, however, this verb only gets one translation for each dimension, both including the character *zai* 在 and the reason for this will be explained further below.

In order to demonstrate the difference between present and past tenses, in *Sanshu shokaku*, Shizuki quotes an introductory piece from a Dutch book he translated, namely Johan Keill's *Inleidinge tot de waare natuur-en sterrekunde*. The quote is found in the *Voor-rede van den schryver* 'Foreword from the writer',[26] and features different tenses of Dutch verbs. Shizuki comments this excerpt in a chapter he called *gense kako no koto* ('About the present and the past'), in folios 17r to 18r:

○現世過去ノ㇀ ケイル之ナチユールキ ユンデノ序ニ見タリ

Het Hooft van dit zoort van wysgeeren is
名 人 科
das carts die schoon hÿ een Voornaam met
量 側 括惣
Kúndige geweet is egter om het gros van luÿe envadzige wÿs geeren, te behagen, geen gebrúikt van meet kúnde in de wÿs begeerte gemaakt heeft, en schoon hÿ
受合フ㇀ニナル 現在ノ過去ナリ
v o o r g a t dat hÿ alles op een werktúig kundige wyze Zoúde verklaren door de stoffe en beweeginge, egter heeft hÿ een natúúr kúnde úit gedagt,

About the Present and Past (As seen in the introduction to Keill's *Natuurkunde*)

"The head of this type of philosophers is Descartes, who, even though he has been a distinguished philosopher, he actually did not use algebra within his philosophy, to the delight of the bulk of the lazy and slothful philosophers; and although he, ahead of time, inventend a type of physics, by means of which he could explain everything on a mechanical manner, through matter and movement, his physics were as detached as possible from any truthful law of mechanincs". In the words *wysgeeren is*, at the beginning, the word *is* is present (*gensei*) since it theorizes about a

[26] Original text (1741): "Het Hooft van dit ſoort van Wysgeeren is *Deſcartes*, die, ſchoon hy een voornaam Meetkundige geweeſt is, egter om het gros van luye en vadzige Wysgeeren te behagen, geen gebruyk van de Meetkunſt in de Wysbegeerte gemaakt heeft; en ſchoon hy voorgaf, dat hy alles op een Werktuyg-kundige wyze zoude verklaren door de ſtoffe en de beweginge, egter heeft hy een Natuurkunde uitgedagt, die zo verre als het mogelyk is, van de ware Werktuyg-kundige wetten afwykt".

die zo 此処ニ o ノアル 心ニテ見ルベシ verre als h e t ナルタケ magelÿk is vande waare wektúig kúndige willen af wÿkt 初ノ Wysgeeren is, 之 is ハ古今ノ人ヲ合論スル故ニ現世ナリ次ノ geweest is gemaakt is, 其人ノ昔ヲ今ニ引ツケテ云故過去ナリ voorgat, ハ以前ノ叓ヲ云フノミニテ今ニ引ツケヌ[27]故過去ノ現世ナリ zoude verklaren, モ同シ其次ノ heeft hÿ ハ又今ニ引ツケルナリ故ニ過去ナリ末ノ mogelÿk is トaf wÿkt トハ彼人ノ建立セル教ノ今ニアル物ノ〒ナル故現在ナリ

person of the past from our present. The following *geweest is*, *gemaakt is*, are past (*kako*) since they draw things toward the present, regarding the past of that person. The word *voorgat* [*voorgaf*], is a present of the past (*kako no gense*) since it only refers to the things of the past, and does not draw it toward the present. The words *zoude verklaren* are the same. The *heeft hij* which follows, is also a past (*kako*), since it draws things toward the present. The words *mogelyk is* and *af wykt*, at the end, are present, since they refer to a thing existing now regarding the teachings of that person.

Shizuki introduces five different verbal tenses, which he categories in the labels of *kako* 過去 'past' and *gense* 現世 'present', and variations thereof, with the following explanations:

1. "In the words *wysgeeren is*, at the beginning, the word *is* is present (*gense*) since it theorizes about a person of the past from our present". The words *wysgeeren is* 'philosopher is' are not directly connected from a grammatical point of view, whereas, in fact, in the original sentence the verb *is* referred to the subject *het hooft* 'the head', in the phrasing *Het Hooft van dit soort van Wysgeeren is Defcartes* 'The head of this sort of philosophers is Descartes'. Regardless, the verb *is* is recognized as a present (*gense* 現世), since it "theorizes" (合論スル) about a person of the past of today (古今ノ人), meaning a person who existed in a past time from the reference time of today;
2. "The following *geweest is*, *gemaakt is*, are past (*kako* 過去) since they draw things toward the present, regarding the past of that person." The verbs *geweest is* 'has been' and *gemaakt is* 'has made' – this second one appearing in the form *gemaakt heeft*, in the excerpt – are present perfect tenses. Although these tenses have the present tense *is*, they are categorized as 'past' since they concern an event that occurred in the past and has gotten drawn toward the present. This wording expresses the idea that the event referred to by these verbs, while having occurred in the past, are drawn, in their duration, until the present time of the enunciator;
3. "The word *voorgat* [*voorgaf*], is a present of the past (*kako no gense*) since it only refers to the things of the past and does not draw it toward the present. The words *zoude verklaren* are the same." The verb *voorgaf*, past simple of the verb *voorgeven* 'to pretend', is considered a "present of the past" (*kako no gense* 過去ノ現世). This is because the event described by

[27] Although the copyist clearly wrote the Chinese character *mata* 又 'furthermore', it only makes sense on the basis of logical and morphosyntactic reasons, for this to be the character *nu* ヌ, for the *rentaikei* form of the negating affix *-zu*.

the verb occurs in a past and does not get extended beyond that dimension of time. Consequently, the event occurs within a "present dimension" in a past time, from the point of view of the reference dimension, that is the present of the enunciator. The words *zoude verklaren* 'should clarify' or 'would clarify' area also categorized as *kako no gense*, although this is a subjunctive mood;

4. "The *heeft hij* which follows, is also a past (*kako*), since it draws things toward the present". The words *heeft hij* 'he has', are actually part of a present perfect tense, together with the main verb in its past participle form *uitgedagt*, from the verb *uitdenken* 'to invent'. Except for the fact that the auxiliary verb is "to have", here, instead of "to be", this verb is morphologically comparable to those under 2, that are also categorized as *kako*. Like those, *heeft uitgedagt* is considered "past" because its action, while occurring in the past, is drawn toward the present, thus pointing at the idea of an event which occurred in the past of the present of reference where the enunciator is located;
5. "The words *mogelyk is* and *af wykt*, at the end, are present, since they refer to a thing existing now regarding the teachings of that person". The words *mogelijk is* are a composition of the third person singular of the present simple tense of the verb *zijn* 'to be' with a predicative adjective *mogelijk* 'possible', while *afwijkt* is also a third person singular of the present simple tense of the verb *afwijken* 'to distance' or 'to deviate'. These, since they refer to the theories put forth by "that person" (Descartes), which still exist in the "now" wherein the enunciator is speaking/writing, and thusly necessitate a present simple tense, which Shizuki labels as "present" *gensei*.

These brief explanations do appear to be broadly consistent with what claimed in *Rangaku seizenfu*. It is worth mentioning that the words utilized to refer to the past, in this excerpt, varied across the definition. In point 1, since the verbs refer to the people of the past until "now", one finds the word *kokon* 古今, which indeed refers to the entirety of the past up until the present. When explaining point 2, one can find the phrasing *sono hito no mukashi* 其人ノ昔 'that person's olden times', which refers to a past relative to the present of Descartes. Point 3, instead, features the term *izen no koto* 以前ノ事 'previous things', which is used to explain the use of a past simple.

These auxiliaries are central to the theories explained within *Seizenfu*. All the twenty-seven sample sentences found in the chapter titled *Kusagusa no kotobazukai* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ 'Uses of All the Types of Words' feature a combination of these auxiliaries to demonstrate how their employment in certain contexts can modify the meaning of a sentence in specific manners. I will mostly analyze this chapter in the following paragraphs. These fundamental auxiliaries, of which Shizuki identifies six, are also each provided with a few Japanese adaptations in the second to last chapter titled *Rokushi hiyaku* 六詞秘訳 'Secret Translation of the Six Words', where the "six words" (*rokushi* 六詞) correspond to the present and past forms of the three Dutch auxiliaries. Each of these six words is further explained by

comparing them with classical Japanese grammar. These are the translations for each of the six words, as found in this chapter:

- ***Zouden***: *-nan* なん; *-ten* てん; *-beshi* へし; *-mashi* まし;
- ***Waaren*****:** *-tariki* たりき; *-ni ariki* にありき; *-nariki* なりき;
- ***Hadden*****:** *-ki* き; *-ariki* ありき;
- ***Zullen*****:** *-n* ん; "imperative" (*gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞);
- ***Zijn*****:** *-tari* たり; *-ni ari* にあり; *-nari* なり; *-shi* し;
- ***Hebben*****:** *-tsu* つ; *-nu* ぬ; *-ari* あり.

This can be considered as a concise table the translator could use for rapid reference in order to adapt these auxiliaries into Japanese. Each of these auxiliaries is further explained with a few additional words, although the comment to the verb *zijn* is evidently longer. The rest of the *Rokushi hiyaku* chapter contains the following text:[28]

Zullen ハ将ノ字ノ如シ又其人ニ對シ言フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナリ

Zullen is similar to the character *shō* 将. Furthermore, when said toward a person it becomes an imperative (*gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞).

Zÿn ハ在ノ字如シ　動詞ニ遇ハたりト訳ス言へりト訳スルイへリモ言てありナリ万葉ニ言　有ト書クヿアリ然レ𠆢Zÿn ノ意ハ在ノ字ニ當レリ[言ひて爰ニ][29]在意ナリにありト言ズシテありト云故万葉ニハ有ノ字ヲ書タルベケレ𠆢其実ハありト云モ亦在ノ意ナリ其外降れりハ降りてありナリ隕たるハ隕てある也言へる降れる隕たる上たるナトノ言ヒ様ハ詳ニ本居翁ノ言葉ノ玉の諸ニモ見エテ難キヿニハアラネ𠆢一向ニ國學ニ無案内ナラン人ハ唯ニ言たる降たるナト皆たるヲ附テ心得ベシ訳ニ用ンモヨシたりハ即「てあり」ナリ虚ノ

Zijn is similar to the character *zai* 在. When it meets a verb, it is translated as *-tari*, even when translating it as *ieri* 言へり, it means *ihite ari* 言てあり. In the *Man'yōshū* we find the writing *ieri* 言有. However, the meaning of *zijn* corresponds to the character *zai* 在. In *iite* 言ひて, it has the meaning of *zai* 在. Since one does not say *ni ari*, but *ari*, although in the *Man'yōshū* this is written with the character 有, in reality, it corresponds to *ari*, which is simply the meaning of the character *zai* 在. Other verbs, like *fureri* 降れり, becomes *furite ari* 降りてあり. The verb *ochitaru* 隕たる becomes *ochite aru* 隕てある. Saying *ieru* 言へる, *fureru* 降れる, *ochitaru* 隕たる and *noboritaru* (or, perhaps, *agaritaru*) 上たる, *can* also be seen in details in Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*. Even if this is nothing particularly difficult, for a person who has not received any guidance in *kokugaku* 國學, words like *iitaru* 言たる, *furitaru* 降たる etc. should be understood as all adding *taru* たる, and can be used in the translation, as well. Anyway, *tari* たり is *te ari* てあり. When it meets a quiet empty word, it translates *nari* なり, like the type of *akiraka nari* 明かなり ['bright'], *oroka nari* 愚かなり

[28] This excerpt is mostly based on Waseda's copy (12r-12v). However, when I believe Gifu's copy (25v-26r) to present a clearer phrasing or spelling, I will signal this by placing the version of that text from that source in brackets, specifying in note the difference with Waseda's copy.

[29] In Waseda's copy, this was written as 言テ此ニ.

静ニアヘハなりト訳ス明カなり愚なりナトノ類之但シ白し清しナドハ即チ白くあり清くありトイフニ同シキ故しノ字即くありノ意ニテ Zijn ニ當ル因テ是等ニアヘバ Zijn ヲしト訳ス

又形容詞 静虚ノ属 ヲ音ニテ言フ寸ハたりト訳ス赫たり 瑟たりナト之類ナリ瑟トアリ赫トアリ云フナリ

實詞ニアフ寸モなりト訳ス此時ハ也ノ字ニ通ス

het is vúúr [Zijn][30] それは火也

虚ニ遇寸ハにありト訳ス正ク在ノ字ニ当レリ

但シなりモ「にあり」ノ約[31]ニシテ元来ハ一ナリ古書ニハ在ノ字ヲなりトモ讀メリ

Zij Zijn daar. 彼等かしこにあり

daar Zijn Zij. 彼所に彼等あり

此時ハありト訳スベケレ𠮟彼所にあり彼ト云意也

Zijn ハ元来 Wezen ト云詞ナル故ニ在ノ義ナリ

hebben 動詞ニ遇ハつ、つる、ぬ、ぬる、ト訳スレ𠮟実詞ニ遇ハありト訳ス物ヲ持[ツ][32]ノ意アル字ナル故有ノ字ノ義也

静虚ニハ値フ𠆢ナシ

['sloppy'],[34] etc. However, this is the same as turning *shiroshi* 白し, *kiyoshi* 清し etc., into *shoruku nari* 白くなり, *kiyoku nari* 清くなり etc. In other words, the character *shi* し meaning *ku ari* くあり, correpsonds with the verb *zijn*. For this reason, when it meets these [quiet empty words], *zijn* ought to be translated as *shi* し.

Furthermore, with *keiyōshi* 形容詞 (that belong to quiet empty words), when saying their sounds [*on'yomi*], it translates *tari* たり, as in *kaku tari* 赫たり ['read', 'bright'] and *shitsu tari* 瑟たり ['solemn'], etc. This has the meaning of *kaku to ari* 赫トアリ and *shitsu to ari* 瑟トアリ.

Also when meeting a full word, it is translated as *nari* なり, whereby it corresponds to the character 也.

Het is vuur [*zijn*] – *sore wa hi nari* それは火也

When meeting an empty word, it is translated with *ni ari* にあり, and correctly corresponds to the character *zai* 在.

However, *nari* なり also is an approximation of *ni ari* にあり, and were originally the same thing. In ancient texts the character *zai* 在 is read as *nari*.

Zij zijn daar – *karera kashiko ni ari*[35] 彼等かしこにあり

Daar zijn zij – *kashiko ni karera ari* 彼所に彼等あり

This time it should be translated as *ari*, however it has the meaning of *kashiko ni ari kare*.

Zijn was originally said *wezen*, thus it has the meaning of *zai* 在.

When *hebben* meets a verb, it should be translated as *-tsu*, *-tsuru*, *-nu*, *-nuru*. However, when it meets a full word, it is translated as *ari*, a character with the meaning of "holding/possessing something", thus, it has the meaning of the character *yū* 有.

[30] The word *zijn* is not present in Gifu's copy and would be grammatically incorrect, in this context. The copyist of Waseda's copy probably overindulged in the interpretation of Shizuki's explanation and added *zijn* at the end of the sentence as to mirror the term *nari* in the Japanese sentences, a correspondence that had just been explained in the line before. It might also be that the copyist did not realize that *is*, in that sentence, was a conjugated form of *zijn*.

[31] In Gifu's copy it reads *ryaku* 略 'shortened'.

[32] In Waseda's copy this is substituted with the Chinese character *yū* 有.

ik heb een pen[33] 我に一筆あり 我有一筆　有ノ字	Ik heb een pen – *ware ni ippitsu ari* 我に一筆あり
hadden 動詞ニアヘハき、し、ト訳ス實詞ニアヘハありきト訳ス hebben ニ準スベシ	The character *yū* 有 as in the sentence [*wǒ yǒu yī bǐ*] 我有一筆.
waaren 是モ Zijn ニ準スベシ	*Hadden*, when it meets a verb is translated as *-ki* and *-shi*. When it meets a full word, it is to be translated as *ariki* ありき. It works like *hebben*.
Zouden 諸格前ニ詳ナリ	*Waaren* this works like *zijn*.
	All the types of *zouden* have been covered in detail before.

In this excerpt, Shizuki cites Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o* and the renowned *kokugaku* 国学 school, when covering the verbal affix *-tari*. He claims that the fact that this *-tari* affix came from the simplification of the combination between *-te* and *-ari*, is not as hard to understand even for those who are uninitiated in the knowledge of *kokugaku*; that might imply he considered himself knowledgeable in that scholarship himself. Even though he redirects, thus, his readers to that source of Motoori Norinaga, I have not been able to find the specific quote Shizuki is supposedly referencing, here. The suffix *-tari*, and its conjugated forms *-taru* and *-tare*, do appear as tenth entry (on pages 20-21) of the first volume of *Kotoba no tama no o*, however, there one only sees how this suffix behaves morphologically according to the *kakari-musubi* theory of Norinaga, by providing eleven sentences sampled form different classics of Japanese literature. No additional remark is added regarding this affix all throughout the seven volumes of this work.[36] There is, however, a relatively more detailed comment concerning the word *nari*, where it is claimed that this also originated from the simplification of the verb *ari*, with the particle *ni*, in this case. This can be seen in the sixth volume of Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, in the following quote, on pages 3-4:

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[34] In Gifu's copy this is changed with the adjective *ki naru* 黄なる 'yellow'.

[35] In Gifu's copy this is spelled as 彼等彼所にあり.

[33] Misspelled as *ik heb pen*, in Waseda's copy.

[36] I have also attempted to find different copies that might have included different information, in this regard. On first superficial research, I have managed to find one copy that reported, in the entry to *-tari* in the first chapter the sentence (Waseda's 文庫 30 E0237, Vol. 1, 24r): "*tari* is *te ari, to aru*, and *te iru*" (たりハテアリ也又トアリ也テヰル也). This copy also included an annotation in red ink, in the top margin of that same page, reading: "The approximation of *te* and *a* gives *ta*, which is a *yodan* of the *ra* line. It is a *te ni wo ha* of the same type as *taraki*." (てあの約たよりら行時段にはたらき一種のてにをはとなれり). This specific copy presents a preface (序) signed by Inagaki Ōhira 稲懸大平, another name of Motoori Ōhira 本居大平 (1756 – 1833), adoptive son of Motoori Norinaga. Although this might suggest that Shizuki could have read Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o* through a copy curated by Inagaki, the evidence to support this is extremely limited and further research requires to be done in this sense, specifically firstly identifying other possible copies containing these remarks regarding the affix *-tari*, Shizuki could have read before writing *Rangaku seizenfu*.

新二貫之集　わが宿のものなりながらさくら花ちるをばえこそとゞめざりけれ

此なりはきヽなれぬこヽちすめれ共。にありをつゞめてなりとはいふなれば。我宿の物にては有ながらといふこと也。同じ貫之集に「くるヽ夜はおほかりながらたなばたは年に一よやよるをしるらん。此「おほかりながらも。おほくありながらをつヽめたるにて。同じこと也。是にはかぎらず。すべてなりといふ辭は。皆にありのつゞまりたるなり。さる故に萬葉には在とも有ともかけり

Shin'ni Tsurayuki-shū: *waga yado no mono nari nagara sakurabana chiru wo bae koso todomezarikere*

Even though this *nari* feels uncommon to the ear, it approximates *ni ari*, and it becomes *nari*, meaning "while our house exists". Similarly, in the *Tsurayuki-shū*, we read *kururu yoru wa ōkari nagara tanabata wa toshi ni hito yoya youru wo shiruran*. Also this *ōkari nagara* is the approximation of and is the same as *ōku ari nagara*. It is not limited to these. All the words with *nari* are approximations of *ni ari*. In the *Man'yōshū*, this can be seen written as *nari* 在 and *nari* 有, as well.

Motoori employs two citations from the classic of Japanese literature, titled *Kokinwaka-shū*, specifically from the section title *Tsurayuki* 貫之, in order to evidence the use of the element *nari*, that Motoori recognizes as the approximation of the combination of the verb *ari* and the particle *ni*. The first *waka* translates "While our house exists, the cherry blossoms cannot be stopped from spreading", where *nari nagara* is the simplification of *ni ari nagara*, literally 'while it is (there)'. Here, Motoori also evidences that this *nari* was written, in the *Man'yōshū* with both characters *zai* 在 and *yū* 有, as also claimed in the excerpt from Shizuki's *Seizenfu*, above. It appears that, even if this excerpt of Motoori does not directly cover the affix *-tari*, Shizuki might have based those remarks from this quote of Motoori.

As further claimed by Shizuki, the Dutch verb *zijn* always corresponds to the Chinese characters *zai* 在 (see also 8.5.5 and 8.5.6). Even though this stays true in most, if not all, instances in which *zijn* is used, Shizuki specifies a few different nuances in meaning with which one can translate this Dutch verb. On a general note, one can say that the Dutch verb *zijn* always corresponds to the Japanese verb *ari*. Both verbs are used in varied contexts that mostly overlap with each other. When *zijn* combines with a verb, meaning when it is used as an auxiliary, it corresponds to the affix *-tari*, that corresponds to *-ri*. There is no real difference between these two affixes, they are simply used with verbs with different roots, for euphonic reasons. Shizuki, treats them as the same affix, ultimately originating from the combination of *te* and *ari*. Shizuki acknowledges the fact that, in the *Man'yōshū* the word *ieri* (*iu* 'to say' + *-ri*) is spelled, in *kanji* as 言有, thus adapting *-ri*, meaning *-ari*, with the character *yū* 有, however the Dutch verb *zijn* correctly corresponds to the Chinese character *zai* 在. When *zijn* meets "quiet empty words" (adjectives), things get a bit more complicated, since Shizuki recognizes three correspondences. For *-nari* adjectives, *zijn* corresponds to the element *nari*, for *-shi* adjectives, *zijn* corresponds to the character *shi*, while for *keiyōshi* adjectives, when they are read in their *on'yomi*, *zijn* corresponds to *-tari*. Shizuki adds that the character *shi* for adjectives (that was traditionally considered "the present *shi*", in the Japanese tradition), is also to be considered a translation of *zijn*, since it actually corresponds to the phrasing -

ku ari, as in *shiroku ari* ‘to be white’, where the adjective “white” is conjugated adverbially, as to modify the verb *ari*. Similarly, also with *keiyōshi*, the affix *-tari* originates from the combination of the particle *to* and the verb *ari*.

In conclusion, Shizuki found a way in which the Dutch verb *zijn* can always correspond to the Japanese verb *ari* and, thus, to the Chinese character *zai* 在. When combining with nouns, however, the verb *zijn* corresponds to the Chinese character *ya* 也, also corresponding to *nari* in *kundoku*. This is the case, for example of the sentence *het is vuur* ‘it is fire’ that Shizuki translates as *sore wa hi nari* それは火也. However, when the noun in question refers to a location, one needs to be more specific. In fact, even though in some cases it might appear that *zijn* would correspond to *ni ari*, thus, eventually, *nari*, this is not the case, and *zijn* only corresponds to *ari*. This is because the particle *ni* can be used to refer to a location, in combination with the verb *ari*. However, this particle *ni* is not part of the “copula” but remains connected more tightly to the noun expressing the location. For this purpose, Shizuki provides two almost identical Dutch phrases, both adapted into Japanese. The first sentence is *Zij zijn daar* ‘They are there’, that gets adapted into Japanese as *Karera kashiko ni ari* 彼等かしこにあり. In this sentence, *kashiko* ‘there’ functions as a noun, to which the particle *ni* is added, in order to specify its role as an argument expressing location. As Shizuki demonstrates, however, the fact that *ni* and *ari* appear one after the other, in this sentence, is purely contextual. In fact, if one where to scramble the position of the words of this sentence, as in *Daar zijn zij* ‘There they are’, this would dislocate, in the Japanese version, the argument referring to the location (*kashiko ni*) away from the verb *ari*, that must always be at the end of the phrase, according to Japanese syntax. The resulting sentence in Japanese would be *kashiko ni karera ari*, where *ni* is bound to follow the word *kashiko*, thus not appearing right before *ari*. This is provided by Shizuki as conclusive evidence that, in case *zijn* refers to a location, it is only translated as *ari*, in Japanese, and cannot be translated as *nari*, since the two words *ni ari*, when referring to a location, are not necessarily found one after the other, thus impeding the formation of the compound word *nari*.

As for the Dutch verb *hebben*, in this excerpt it is simply claimed that, when it is combined with a verb it corresponds to the affixes *-nu* and *-tsu*, previously understood to be used with neuter and active verbs, respectively (more in 8.5.3). While it is correctly claimed that *hebben* does not combine with adjectives, Shizuki adds that, when combining with nouns, it can also correspond to the Japanese verb *ari*, when *ari* has the meaning of “possessing/holding something”, corresponding to the Chinese character *yū* 有. This is, indeed, the consequence of the fact that possession in Japanese is often expressed by marking the owner with the particle *ni*, the owned object as the subject, and by means of the verb *ari*, expressing existence. This is exemplified by the sample sentence *Ik heb een pen* ‘I have a pen’, that Shizuki translates into Japanese as *ware ni ippitsu ari* 我に一筆あり, where *ware ni* means ‘to me’ and *ippitsu* ‘one pen/brush’ functions as subject of the verb *ari* ‘to be’. In order to summarize the information concerning the Japanese verb *ari*, the Dutch verb *zijn* and the Chinese characters *zai* 在, *yū* 有 and *ya* 也, it can be claimed that Shizuki identified seven different uses of the Japanese verb *ari*, of which all but

one corresponded to the Dutch verb *zijn*. Table 52 illustrates this information. One additional remark needs to be specified concerning this table. In the second column, containing the corresponding Japanese word, in all boxes the word is rendered in its citation form for reasons of brevity. This means that the verb *zijn* does not only translate the affix *-tari*, for example, when it is used as an auxiliary, but it can also translate, for example, its *rentaikei* form *-taru* etc. However, when it comes to adjectives, the *shūshikei* is, indeed, the only form of that word/affix that corresponds to the Dutch verb *zijn*. This is because when an adjective is used in its *rentaikei*, in Japanese, it corresponds to an adnominal use that, in Dutch, does not feature the verb *zijn*, at all. This is the same in English when one says phrases like: "The cloud is white" (*shūshikei*, predicative use) and "A white cloud" (*rentaikei*, attributive/adnominal use). These are examples used by Shizuki himself, as can be seen in 8.5.6. Whenever and adjective is combined with other affixes, instead, this might influence the conjugation of the verb *zijn*, either turning it into a past *waren* or combining it with other auxiliaries, thus implying that it is not *zijn* corresponding to those Japanese adjectival endings.

Combining word	**Japanese translation**	**Corresponding Chinese character**	**Dutch word**
Verb (*dōshi* 動詞)	*-tari* たり and *-ri* り (from *-te ari* てあり)	*zai* 在 (*yū* 有 in *Man'yō-shū*)	*Zijn* (Auxiliary)
Adjective (*-shi*) 虚ノ静 (し)	*-shi* し (comparable to *-ku ari* くあり)	*zai* 在	*Zijn* (Copula for predicative adjectives)
Adjective (*-nari*) 虚ノ静 (なり)	*nari* なり (from *ni ari* にあり)	*zai* 在	
Keiyōshi Adjectives 形容詞 (When read in *on'yomi*)	*-tari* たり (from *-to ari* トアリ)	*zai* 在	
Noun 実詞 (Except with locations)	*nari* なり (from *ni* ari にあり)	*ya* 也 (In ancient texts also *zai* 在)	*Zijn* (Copula for nouns)
Noun 実詞 (Only with locations)	*ari* あり	*zai* 在	*Zijn* (Copula for nouns)
Noun 実詞 (Possessive)	*ari* あり	*yū* 有	*Hebben* (Not when used as auxiliary)

Table 52 Recap of the different uses of the Japanese verb *ari* and its Dutch and Chinese renditions.

One additional remark needs to be specified concerning this table. In the second column, containing the corresponding Japanese word, in all boxes the word is rendered in its citation form for reasons of brevity. This means that the verb *zijn* does not only translate the affix *-tari*, for example, when it is used as an auxiliary, but it can also translate, for example, its *rentaikei* form *-taru* etc. However, when it comes to adjectives, the *shūshikei* is, indeed, the only form of that word/affix that corresponds to the Dutch verb *zijn*. This is because when an adjective is used in its *rentaikei*, in Japanese, it corresponds to an adnominal use that, in Dutch, does not feature the verb *zijn*, at all. This is the same in English when one says phrases like: "The cloud is white" (*shūshikei*, predicative use) and "A white cloud" (*rentaikei*, attributive/adnominal use). These are examples used by Shizuki himself, as can be seen in 8.5.5. Whenever and adjective is combined with other affixes, instead, this might influence the conjugation of the verb *zijn*, either turning it into a past *waren* or combining it with other auxiliaries, thus implying that it is not *zijn* corresponding to those Japanese adjectival endings.

In the excerpt above, the remaining four auxiliaries are only rapidly mentioned. The auxiliary *zullen* is only compared to the Chinese character *shō* 将, and it is also claimed that it can be used as an imperative (*gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞). The verbs *hadden* and *waren* are only claimed to behave as their present-tense counterparts. The verb *hadden* is also provided with a Japanese translation, corresponding to the affix *-ki*, when it combines with a verb, and as *ariki*, *ari* plus the affix *-ki*, when it combines with a noun. Comparing this to what claimed in the entry to *hebben*, it can be understood that, when *hadden* is used as a verb expressing possession, it simply corresponds to a "past" version of *hebben*, i.e., *hebben* is *ari*; *hadden* is *ariki*. However, when it is used as an auxiliary, *hadden* substitutes the affixes *-nu* and *-tsu* of *hebben*, with the affix *-ki*. I will go back to this in 8.5.3 and 8.5.4. As for the last auxiliary, the verb *zouden*, since it is thoroughly analyzed in its own chapter, the excerpt simply redirects the reader to that section, that I will cover in 8.5.2.

8.4.3 Translations of Dutch auxiliaries in a few sentences

The two chapters of *Rangaku seizenfu* titled *tsuzuku kotoba* and *kiruru kotoba* provide a rather comprehensive list of the main Japanese renditions of the "six verbs" (*rokushi* 六詞) of Dutch according to the context of use, also demonstrating the differences between neuter verbs, active verbs and adjectives. In Table 53, I have summarized the contents of these two chapters including the Dutch sentence, the Japanese translation and, whenever available, the Chinese translation and the translation into popular Japanese, corresponding to all the sentences until number 60.[37]

[37] In have based the content of this Table 53, on both Waseda and Gifu's copy of *Rangaku seizenfu*. Whenever the content of the two manuscripts was inconsistent, I have maintained the information I have deemed more coherent with the rest of the work. I have furthermore added numbers to the entries for easier reference, below. The transcriptions in the "Chinese" translation column are provided in *pinyin* based on Modern Standard Mandarin. However, of course, this is not representative of how these characters were supposed to be pronounced by

	Dutch	Japanese	Popular Japanese	Chinese
1	*Spreeken*	*iu* 言ふ		
2	*Gesprooken hebben*	*iitsu* 言つ		
3	*Gesprooken hadden*	*iiki* 言き		
4	*Gesprooken zijn*	*ieru* いへる		
5	*Gesprooken waaren*	*ieriki* いへりき		
6	*Zullen spreeken*	*iwan* いはん		
7	*Zouden spreeken*	*iubeshi* いふべし *iiten* いひてん		
8	*Sprooken (?)*	*iiki* いひき		
9	*Vallen*	*otsu* 隕つ		
10	*Gevallen hebben*	*ochinu* 隕ぬ		
11	*Gevallen hadden*	*ochiki* 隕き		
12	*Gevallen zijn*	*ochitari* 隕たり		
13	*Gevallen waaren*	*ochitariki* 隕たりき		
14	*Zullen vallen*	*ochin* 隕ん		
15	*Zouden vallen*	*otsubeshi* 隕べし *ochinan* 隕なん		
16	*Wit zijn*	*shorishi* 白し		
17	*Wit waaren*	*shirokariki* 白かりき		
18	*Ik zal spreeken*	*ware iwan* 我いはん		
19	*Ik heb gesprooken*	*ware iitsu* 我いひつ		

Shizuki himself, nor any other of his contemporaries. It simply provides a provisional phonetic guide.

20	*Steen is gevallen*	*ishi wa ochitari* 石は隕たり		
21	*Papier is wit*	*kami wa shiroshi* 紙は白し		
22	*Woorden die men gesprooken had*	*iishi go* いひし語	*itta go* 言タ語	*céng yán zhī yǔ* 曽言之語
23	*Woorden die men gesprooken heeft*	*iitsuru go* いひつる語	*itta go* 言タ語	*jì yán zhī yǔ* 既言之語
24	*Worden die gesprooken waren*	*ieriki go* いへりき語	*itte arishi go* 言テアリシ語	*céng yán zài zhī yǔ* 曽言在之語
25	*Woorden die gesprooken zijn*	*ieru go* いへる語	*itte aru go* 言テアル語	*yán zài zhī yǔ* 言在之語
26	*Woorden die men spreeken zou*	*iubeki go* いふべき語	*itte arō go* 言テアラフ語	*yìng yán zhī yǔ* 應言之語
27	*Woorden die men spreken moet*	*masa ni iubeki go* 正にいふへき語	*iwade kanawanu go* イワデカナハヌ語	*dāng yán zhī yǔ* 当言之語
28	*Woorden die men spreeken zal*	*iwan go* いはん語	*iu go* 言フ語	*jiāng yán zhī yǔ* 将言之語
29	*Woorden die gesprooken worden*	*iwaruru go* 言るヽ語		*bèi yán zhī yǔ* 被言之語 *suǒ yán zhī yǔ* 所言之語
30	*Woorden die gesprooken kunnen worden*	*iitsubeki go* いひつべき語	*iitsuru go* いひつる語	*kě yán zhī yǔ* 可言之語
31	*Een man die spreekt*	*Iu hito* いふひと		
32	*Een man die slaat*	*utsu hito* 打つひと		
33	*Een man die geslagen word*	*utaruru hito* 打るヽひと		*bèi dǎ rén* 被打人
34	*Een man die slaan kan*	*utsubeki hito* 打つへきと		*néng dǎ rén* 能打人
35	*Een man die geslagen kan worden*	*utarenubeki hito* 打れぬへきひと	*utsururu hito* うつるヽ人	*kě bèi dǎ rén* 可被打人
36	*Steen die gevallen had*	*ochiki ishi* 隕き石		
37	*Steen die gevallen heeft*	*ochinuru ishi* 隕ぬる石		
38	*Steen die gevallen was*	*ochitariki ishi* 隕たりき石		
39	*Steen die gevallen is*	*ochitaru ishi* 隕たる石		

40	*Steen die vallen zou*	*otsubeki ishi* 隕べき石 *ochinan ishi* 隕なん石		
41	*Steen die vallen zal*	*ochin ishi* 隕ん石		
42	*Steen die valt*	*ochiru ishi* 隕る石		
43	*Steen die vallen kan*	*ochinubeki ishi* 隕ぬべき石		
44	*Wolk die wit was*	*shirokariki kumo* 白かりき雲		
45	*Wolk die wit is*	*shiroki kumo* 白き雲 *shiroku aru kumo* 白くある雲		
46	*Wolk die wit word*	*shiroku naru kumo* 白くなる雲 *shirogumo* 白雲		
47	*Wolk die wit worden kan*	*shiroku narinubeki kumo* 白くなりぬへき雲		
48	*Woorden die gesprooken wierden*	*iki go* いひき語		*céng bèi yán zhī yǔ* 曾被言語
49	*Wolken die wit wierd*	*shiroku nariki kumo* 白くなりき雲		
50	*Steen die viel*	*ochiki ishi* 隕き石		
51	*Wolk die wit geworden is*	*shiroku nareru kumo* 白くなれる雲		
52	*Wolk die wit geworden was*	*shiroku nareriki kumo* 白くなれりき雲		
53	*Wolk die wit worden zal*	*shiroku naran kumo* 白くならん雲		
54	*Wolk die wit worden zou*	*shiroku narubeki kumo* 白くなるへき雲		
55	*Woorden die men spreekt*	*ieru go* 言へる語		*suǒ yán zhī yǔ* 所言之語
56	*Gesprooken woord*	*iu go* 言ふ語		
57	*Gevallen steen*	*ochitaru ishi* 墜たる石		
58	*Witte wolk*	*shiragumo* 白雲		
59	*Spreekwoord*	*kotowaza* 諺 *iigo* いひ語		

60	*Vallende steen*	*ochiru ishi* 隕る石		
61	*Geweest zijn*	*ariki* ありき *nariki* なりき		
62	*Geweest waaren*	Ditto 同意		
63	*Gehad hebben*	*ki* き		
64	*Gehad hadden*	Ditto 同意		
65	*Zullen zijn*	*aran* あらん		
66	*Zullen zeggen*	*iwan* いはん		
67	*Zouden zijn*	*narinan* なりなん *narubeshi* なるべし		
68	*Zouden zeggen*	*ihiten* いひてん *iu beshi* いふべし		
69	*Zouden geweest zijn*	*ariken* ありけん *aran toshiki* あらんとしき		
70	*Zouden gezegt hebben*	*iiken* いひけん *iwan to shiki* いはんとしき		
71	*Ik zoude ‘er gegaan hebben*	*ware kashiko ni yukan to shiki* 我彼所に行んとしき		
72	*Hij zoude ‘er gegaan hebben*	*kanohito kashiko ni yukiken* 彼人彼所に行けん		
73	*Hij wilde ‘er gaan*	*kanohito kashiko ni yukan to hoshiki* 彼人彼所に行んと欲しき		
74	*Hij moest ‘er gaan*	*kanohito masa ni kashiko ni yuku bekariki* 彼人正に彼所に行へかりき		

Table 53 List of Dutch sample phrases with Japanese and Chinese translation from *Rangaku seizenfu*.

Overall, the translations adopted in these two chapters of *Seizenfu* are consistent with the "Secret Translations of the Six Words" (see 8.4.3). I will not provide an analysis of each of these translations in the present paragraph, since I will refer to this table often in the following sections when dealing with the specific tense, corresponding to the six boxes drawn by Shizuki in the Table of the Three Times (8.4.2). In Gifu's copy, for most of these entries, one can also find the label specifying the tense and dimension, according to said table. This is not present in Waseda's copy, and this might mean that these labels were not assigned to each phrase by Shizuki himself, but by a later copyist. For this reason, I have decided to only mention these, if necessary, when analyzing the tenses in the sections below. The last three phrases are particularly interesting as they differ from the rest of the entries. These should correspond, I assume, to the instances in which the three couples of verbs/adjectives and nouns combine in compound words, at least in the Japanese counterpart. The phrase *witte wolk* 'white cloud' is translated into Japanese as *shiragumo* 白雲, with the simple juxtaposition of the two nouns *shiro* 'white' and *kumo* 'cloud'. The verb *spreken* and *woord* are combined in *spreekwoord* 'proverb', translated into Japanese as *kotowaza* 諺 'proverb', or as *ii go* いひ語.[38] The last phrase, a combination of *vallen* 'to fall' and *steen* 'stone', is *vallende steen* 'falling stone' where the verb is used in its present participle form.[39] This is translated into Japanese as *ochiru ishi* 隕る石, where the verb is simply put in its *rentaikei* form.

The seventh chapter of *Seizenfu* is titled *Rokushi wo kasanuru hiyaku* 六詞ヲ重ヌル秘訳 'Secret Translations of the Overlapping Six Words'. Here Shizuki provides translations to the combinations of two of these six auxiliaries together. Most of these can be considered as the combination between an auxiliary and a main verb, meaning the combination of an auxiliary with either *hebben* or *zijn* used as expressing "possession" and "existence". This phrasing reminds of the section of *Kotoba no tama no o* covering these two particles, in the chapter titled *Kasanaru te ni wo ha no kaku* 重なるてにをはの格 'Types of Overlapping *Te ni wo ha*'. These can be found in Table 53, from number 61 until the end. In this section, together with phrases featuring "overlapping" auxiliaries, a few phrases with the verb *zeggen* 'to say' are added, I assume, in order to demonstrate the correspondence between the uses of specific auxiliaries with a main verb that is not part of the "Six Words". Subsequently, Shizuki add four sample sentences demonstrating how these auxiliaries combine, also present in Table 53.

[38] Perhaps a misspelling or an alternative spelling of *iigoto* いひ事 'spoken words', where the Chinese character *go* 語 represents a misspelling of *gen* 言, that can be pronounced as *koto*/*goto*, with the meaning of "word", maybe interpreted as a better rendition of *ji* 事 'thing'.
[39] This sentence is misspelled, Waseda's copy, as *vallen dit steen*. However, this phrase is not grammatically correct in Dutch. The verb is either in the infinitive or in the plural form and seems thus not to be conjugated according to the noun *steen*, a singular noun. Furthermore, the demonstrative pronoun *dit* 'this' is only used with singular neuter nouns, and *steen*, although being singular in number, is of the masculine gender, thus requiring the demonstrative pronoun *deze*. Here, it is translated as 隕石, a word that is nowadays read in *on'yomi* as *inseki*, meaning "meteorite".

When citing Table 53 in the following paragraphs, I will abbreviate it as T53, followed by the letter E for "entry" and the number of the specific entry in question. For example, if I will have to refer to the phrase *zouden zijn*, I will write this as T53E67.

8.4.4 The twenty-seven sample sentences in *Rangaku seizenfu*

Chapter nine is arguably the most interesting section in *Seizenfu*, as it presents twenty-seven Dutch sentences translated into classical Japanese and often extensively commented upon. This chapter is titled *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ, and features just a few different sample sentences, that are then modified, specifically in their verbal tenses and their conjunctions, in order to demonstrate how changing those elements, in the Dutch sentence, influences the Japanese translation. Another characteristic of these sentences is that they are all composed of two phrases, thus containing two main verbs that, interacting with a specific conjunction, trigger the use of different affixes, in the Japanese rendition.

There are a total of six original sentences, or matrixes, that get modified into twenty-seven sample sentences. The unmodified sentences are:

1. *Wanneer hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreeken* "When he is home, nobody dares to speak". This sentence can be found in Marin's dictionary (2.4.3);
2. *Omdat hij zo lang in Holland geweest is, zo spreekt hij het hollandsch zeer wel* "Since he has been so long in Holland, he speaks Dutch very well". This appears twice. The second version, beyond changing the verbal tenses, also changed Holland with France (*francrijk*) and Dutch with French (*fransch*);
3. *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht* "Even if a whore has a pretty face, it is a lantern without light". This appears to be a citation from Dutch poet Jacob Cats, as claimed in 2.4.3. Interestingly, in the subsequent modifications of this phrase the word *hoer* 'whore' is substituted with *zij* 'she'.
4. *Al zoude ik te huis blijven, zal hij dog hier niet komen* "Even though I stayed home, he still would not have come". This only appears once;
5. *Omdat hij te huis blijven zal, wil men 'er niet gaan* "Because he will stay home, people do not want to go there";
6. *Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn, zo vinden wij zulke overblijfsel* "Since he should have lived here, we (can) find such remainings". This sentence, and any of the variations of it featured in *Seizenfu*, is not grammatically correct.

In Table 54, I have copied all the twenty-seven sentences contained in the chapter titled *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*, of *Rangaku seizenfu*. I have based the entries mostly on Gifu's copy, that I deem generally better written, and with fewer mistakes. For example, even though Waseda's copy claims to be listing twenty-seven sentences, it actually only features twenty-six, missing the sentence that in Gifu's copy appears as twenty-sixth. In the following paragraphs, I will often refer

to this table, citing it as T54, and adding the specific sentence as S, followed by its ordinal number. For example, when citing the sentence *Als hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreeken*, I will write T54S4.

	Dutch sentence	Japanese sentence	Time label
1	*Wanneer hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreeken*	*kano hito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にある時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなし	Present (*genzai* 現世)
2	*Wanneer hij te huis was, durfde 'er niemand spreeken* (Gifu) *Wanneer hij te huis durft niemand spreeken* (Waseda)	*kano hito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki* 彼人家にある時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき	Past (*kako* 過去)
3	*Toen hij te huis was, durfde 'er niet toen hij te* (Gifu) *Toen hij te huis was, durfde 'er niemand spreken* (Waseda)	*kano hito ie ni arishi toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki* 彼人家にありし時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき	Past (*kako* 過去)
4	*Als hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreeken*	*kano hito ie ni areba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にあれは彼所に在て敢ていふひとなし	Past (*kako* 過去)
5	*Omdat hij zo lang in Holland geweest is, zo spreekt hij het hollandsch zeer wel*	*kano hito kaku hisashiku oranda no kuni ni arishikaba oranda no go wo iu koto hanahada yoshi* 彼人かく久しく和蘭國にありしかは和蘭語をいふこと甚よし	Past to present (*kako yori gense ni kakete* 過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ)
6	*Omdat hij zo lang in francrijk geweest was, zo sprak hij het fransch zeer wel*	*kano hito kaku hisashiku furansu no kuni ni arishikaba furansu no go wo iu koto hanahada yoshi* 彼人かく久しく拂郎期国にありしかは拂郎斯語を言ふこと甚よし	Past (*kako* 過去)
7	*Omdat hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreeken.*	*kano hito ie ni aru kara kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にあるから彼所に在て敢ていふ人なし	Present - Elision of past (*gense* 現世 *Kako ryaku nari* 過去略也)
8	*Vermist hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreeken.*	*kano hito ie ni aru ga yue ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にあるか故に彼所に在て敢ていふ人なし	Present - Elision of past (*gense* 現世 *kako ryaku nari* 過去略也)

9	*Als hij te huis is, zal ‘er niemand durven spreeken.*	*kano hito ie ni araba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito araji* 彼人家にあらは彼所に在て敢えて言ふ人あらじ	Future (*mirai* 未来)
10	*Indien hij te huis is, zal ‘er niemand durven spreeken*	Ditto	Future (*mirai* 未来)
11	*Indien hij te huis was, zou ‘er iemand durven spreken*	*kano hito ie ni ariseba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakaramashi* 彼人家にありせは彼所に在て敢ていふひとなからまし	*tatoe* 仮令
12	*Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht*	*gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran* 妓女に美色ありともこれ無光の燈ならん	Future (*mirai* 未来)
13	*Hoe wel zij een mooi gezicht heeft, is het een lantaarn zonder licht*	*kanojo ni bishoku aredomo kore mukō no tō nari* 彼女に美色あれともこれ無光の燈なり	Present (*genzai* 現世)
14	*Hoe wel zij een mooi gezicht had, was het een lantaarn zonder licht*	*kanojo ni bishoku arushikadomo kore mukō no tō nariki* 彼女に美色ありしかどもこれ無光の燈なりき	Past (*kako* 過去)
15	*Hoe wel zij een mooi gezicht had, is het een lantaarn zonder licht*	*kanojo ni bishoku arishikadomo kore mukō no tō nari* 彼女に美色ありしかどもこれ無光の燈なり	Past to present (*kako yori gense ni kakete* 過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ)
16	*Hoe wel zij een mooi gezicht gehad hebben* [waseda: *hadden*], *was het een lantaarn zonder licht*	Ditto	Past (*kako* 過去)
17	*Toen zij een mooi gezigt had, was het een lichtende lantaarn*	*kanojo ni bishoku arishi toki wa kore yūkō no tō nariki* 彼女に美色ありし時はこれ有光の燈なりき	Past (*kako* 過去)
18	*Al had zij een mooi gezigt, het zou een lantaarn zonder licht zijn*	*kanojo ni bishoku aran mo kore mukō no tō naramashi* 彼女に美色あらんもこれ無光の燈ならまし	*tatoe* 仮令
19	*Al zoude ik te huis blijven, zal hij dog hier niet komen*	*ware ie ni naramashikado kanohito koko ni koji* 我家にならましかど彼人爰に来じ	*tatoe* 仮令
20	*Omdat hij te huis blijven zal, wil men ‘er niet gaan*	*kano hito ie ni araseba hito yuku koto wo horisezu* 彼人家にあらせば人行ことを欲せず	Future (*mirai* 未来)

21	*Omdat hij te huis blijven zou, wil men 'er niet gaan*	*kano hito ie ni aru bekerebah ito yuku koto wo horisezu* 彼人家にあるへければ人行ことを欲せす	Future (*mirai* 未来)
22	*Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn, zo vinden wij zulke overblijfsel*	*kano hito koko ni sumureba warera kakaru*(*ru*) *ato wo mitari* 彼人爰に住れめば我等かヽる(る)迹を見たり	Past (*kako* 過去
23	*Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest waaren, zo vonden zij zulke overblijfsel*	*kano hito koko ni sumuremeba karera kakaru*(*ru*) *ato wo mitari* 彼人爰に住れめば彼等かヽる(る)迹を見たり	Past (*kako* 過去)
24	*Omdat hij daar zou gewoont geweest zijn, zo vonden wij zulke overblijfsel*	*kano hito kashiko ni sumitaru*(*ru*)*bekereba warera ka*(*ka*)*ru ato wo mitariki* 彼人彼所に住たる(る)べければ我等か(ヽ)る迹を見たりき	Past (*kako* 過去) Waseda: (*kagū* 過遇 *mērudan* メールダン)
25	*Hoewel hij te huis blijven zal, wil men 'er niet gaan*	*kano hito ie ni aramedo hito yuku koto wo horizesu* 彼人家にあらめど人行ことを欲せず	Future (*mirai* 未来)
26	*Hoewel hij te huis blijven zou, wil men 'er niet gaan*	*kano hito ie ni arubekeredo hito yuku koto wo horisezu* 彼人家にあるべけれど人行ことを欲せず	Future (*mirai* 未来)
27	*Hoewel hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn, zo vinden wij dog geen overblijfsel*	*kano hito koko ni sumuremedo* (Waseda: *sumimeredo*) *warera nao sono ato wo mizu* 彼人爰に住れめど(Waseda すみめれど)我等猶其迹を見す	Past (*kako* 過去)

Table 54 The twenty-seven sentences from *Rangaku seizenfu*'s *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai* chapter.

On the column on the right-hand side of the table, I have added a label of time, as annotated in the original manuscript. However, these are simplifications of what is written in the actual manuscript, since each sentence is always accompanied by a few words of explanation, often concerning the specific use of the verbal tenses. In the following sections, I will focus on the understanding of Shizuki's theories as exemplified in his Table of the Three Times. Specifically, I am interested in how the author described these six auxiliaries, their relationships with the three times and two dimensions and, ultimately, what their respective Chinese and Japanese translations tell about Shiuzki's interpretation of Dutch and Japanese grammar. In order to do this, I will devote each subsection of the following 8.5 to one auxiliary. The analysis will be based on *Rangaku seizenfu*, although I will also refer to *Joshi-kō* a few times.

8.5 The six auxiliary verbs in *Rangaku seizenfu*

Most of *Rangaku seizenfu* concentrates on the description of what Shizuki calls the "six words" (*rokushi* 六詞). These are six auxiliary verbs of Dutch, namely: *zullen* 'shall' ('will'); *zouden* 'should' ('would'); *hebben* 'to have'; *hadden* 'had'; *zijn* 'to be'; and *waren* 'was/were'. These verbs are discussed throughout the manuscript and are provided with translations in classical Japanese, popular Japanese and Chinese characters. Furthermore, their use is demonstrated via the example phrases and sentences I have listed in tables 54 and 55. In the following sections, I will collect and analyze all the information on these six auxiliaries contained in *Rangaku seizenfu* and compare it with what is claimed in other manuscripts by Shizuki and what was found in his sources. In doing so, I will often refer to the theories I have illustrated in the previous chapters of the present work.

8.5.1 The verb *zullen*

In the *sanze* table, the verb *zullen*, found in the crossing between the *gense* column and the *mirai* line, is coupled with the character *shō* 將 (将).[40] The meaning of this verb is exemplified by the following phrase (T53E28): *Woorden die men spreeken zal*. This sentence is provided as an example to illustrate the use of the auxiliary *zullen* (here conjugated as *zal*, in its third person singular form) with a sentence that roughly translates to "Words that one shall speak". It also features a literary Japanese translation (*iwan go* 言ん語), the popular Japanese translation (*iu go* 言ウ語) and the Chinese one (*jiāng yán zhī yǔ* 将言之語).

Another use of the character *shō* 将 is seen further below, where it is claimed that "*Zullen* is similar to the character *shō* 将. It is also a word of order [i.e., imperative], when said to a person" (Zulleen ハ将ノ字ノ如シ又其人ニ對シ言フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナリ). This is a very similar claim to what can be read in *Joshi-kō*, where it is written that "Furthermore, when said toward a person, it is a word of order" (又其人ニ向ヒ云フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナル也). The sinologist Ogyū Sorai covers this in his *Kun'yaku jimō*, on folios 15v-16r of volume 4, where the character *shō* 將 is given the Japanese reading of *masa ni* 'actually'. The first part of the description to this character provided by Ogyū goes as follows:

マサニ　マサニ　ユク/ \　ユクサキ　ミス/ \
〔 將　且　行　往　看 〕

○將ノ字ハ　マサニ　セント　將　ニ　一　ト　。如レ此ノ。二度スル　ヨムナリ。マサニ　ト　云フ訓ハ無用ナリ。

マサニ　マサニ　ユク/ \　ユクサキ　ミス/ \
〔 將　且　行　往　看 〕

○ If we read the sentence *masa ni sen to* suru, the character *shō* 將 is read twice. The *kundoku* reading *masa ni*, is not used. In fact, if it is read only as *suru* it is similar to, yet different from, the character *i* 為. Thus, to differentiate it from the character *i* 為 one

[40] In classical Chinese the character *jiāng* 將 was used to indicate "[...] futurity. There is usually an implication of intention involved." (PULLEYBLANK 1995, p. 120).

然レ𪜈。只スルトバカリヨメバ。為ノ字トマガフニヨリ。為ノ字ト分タン為ニ。マサニト云フ訓ヲ添フルナリ。カウくセフト。スルト云フナレバ。ヲヅヽケ ヤガテト云フ意アリ。

adds *masa ni* in *kundoku*. When saying 'I will do it like this' [*kō kō shō to suru*] it has the meaning of *wotsutsuke* [*ottsuke* 追っ付; 'soon', 'immediately'] and *yagate* ['soon', 'eventually'].

Ogyū asserts that the character *shō* 將, when used in *kanbun*, is to be duplicated, in the Japanese reading, corresponding to the adverb *masa ni* 'certainly' and the verb *suru* 'to do', at the same time, particularly in its combination with *sen to* 'decide to do'. The first *kanbun* sentence presented by Ogyū, thus, should be interpreted as such: *masa ni ... sen to suru*, where the character *shō* 將 corresponds to both *masa ni* and (*sen to*) *suru*, thus requiring to be duplicated in the readings *masa ni*, that stays at the beginning of the phrase, and *suru*, to which the *kaeriten* 二 (2) is attached, that gets moved after the phrase *sen to*, below which one finds the *kaeriten* 一 (1). Thus, the new sentence would be, in *kanji*, 將一將, where the line 一 represents a blank space to fill in according to the necessities. If one adds the Japanese *kana* according to the *kanbun kundoku* reading notations, the sentence ought to be read as *masa ni* ... *sen to suru* 將ニ一セントスル. The author adds that, although the combination of *masa ni* and *suru* is to be implied from the use of the character *shō* 將, when reading the *kanbun* text in Japanese, one does read *masa ni*. Consequently, this character might end up being similar to the character *i* 為, generally used for the verb *suru* 'to do'. To distinguish them, then, one adds *masa ni* to stress out the fact that within the verb *suru* relative to the character *shō* 將 one must imply the meaning of *ottsuke* ('soon', 'immediately') and *yagate* ('soon', 'eventually'). Because of this, the character *shō* 將 does not simply mean *suru* 'to do' but implies the decision of acting in a certain manner (*kō kō shō to suru*) specifically used in the context of an action (*waza no ue de* 事ノ上デ). Further in the entry, Ogyū also claims that in the annotation to Chinese classic songs (*Shikyō* 詩經, 'Book of Songs') as annotated by Zhī Xī, he has noticed a tendency to adapt this character as *tai* 殆 or *ki* 幾. These two characters, though, seem to refer to something that is soon going to happen in a certain way (*yagate kō ari sō na mono ja*), thus implying some degree of lack of agency, while with *shō* 將 one "decides" (*sen to suru*) to enact a specific action in the close future. Such decision is triggered by an impulse (*ikioi* 勢) and not by one's will. The Chinese character that Ogyū identifies as representing a decision triggered by one's will, in fact, is the character *yoku* 欲 ('desired', 'wanted'), that expresses the meaning of 'I think I will do it like that' (*kō kō shō to omou*). This decision comes from one's heart (*kokoro no ue de* 心ノ上デ), meaning that it is triggered by one's will, regardless of external "impulses" (勢). This difference is also evidenced by the use of the verb *omou* 'to think' for *yoku* 欲, and the construction *sen to suru* or *shō to suru* 'to decide/to choose to do something' for *shō* 將. It is worth underlying the overlapping of the concept of "futurity" and "will", in Ogyū's description, where *shō* 將 and *yoku* 欲 are somewhat put in contrast as they both are conceived of as expressing similar

nuances of the same concept. In English, it would be rather intuitive to rationalize someone "wanting" to do something as corresponding to the idea that someone "will" do something as the auxiliary "will" has nowadays crystalized as referring to both the idea of futurity, as well as willingness. In Dutch this was not done, and the verb *willen* is only used as corresponding to the English "to want", while the future tense is created with *zullen*, cognate to the English "shall". Shizuki, in fact, only uses *yoku* 欲 to translate the Dutch *willen* and *shō* 將 for *zullen*, with little need to explain their difference. It must be stressed, thus, that the character *shō* 將, in and of itself, does not convey any direct sense of futurity. The phrasing *sen to suru* expresses determination regarding someone's decision to do something. The fact that one chooses to do something now, indirectly implies that such action is going to happen in a future time. I believe it is fair to say that Shizuki has not completely adopted this reasoning of Ogyū when explaining the Dutch verb *zullen* as he always translates it through the affix *-n* (still present in Ogyū's *se**n** to suru*). Furthermore, I would add, in Ogyū's rendition, the sense of futurity is specified mostly through adverbs expressing the idea of "soon" (*masa ni*; *ottsuke*; *yagate*), rather than a verbal conjugation, like Shizuki does in his Dutch grammar instead. If the grammatical sense of futurity is not to be implied in *sen to suru* or *shō to suru* (thus, also, *-n*), as the reference of time is only provided by the use of an adverb, then one must also postulate the idea that, according to Shizuki's sources *-n* only expressed high probability regarding one's conjecture, thus not corresponding directly to the Dutch grammatical tense of *toekomst* 'future' as Shizuki interprets it.[41]

In the table of the chapter *Rokushi hiyaku* 'Secret Translation of the Six Words', the verb *zullen* is translated as *-ran* and as a "word of order" (らん又ハ下知ノ詞), a very similar claim to what was found in the third chapter, where the *toekomende tijd* 'future time' was explained as *mirai* 'future' or *shirei no go ni mochiyu* 使令ノ語ニ用ユ ('used as a word of order'). [42] It can be deduced that the Dutch future tense is, according to Shizuki, always connected to the verb *zullen* that can be translated into the Japanese affix *-ran* (that he treats as a direct correspondence to *-n*, as I will demonstrate below). The verb *zullen* and the concept of "future" must be then treated as one thing, where *zullen* is the grammatical representation of such tense.

[41] Personally – Ogyū adds – he believes that this character can also be translated as *zu*. This hypothesis is not investigated thoroughly by the author, who only provides two *kanbun* examples with two verbs *inu* 去 and *kuru* 來, that combine with *shō* 將 into *inauzu* and *koyauzu*. In these tenses the character *zu* is actually part of the suffix *-uzu*, abbreviation of *-muzu*, that is used to express conjecture regarding the future. Shizuki does, in a couple of instances I will discuss below, provide this suffix *-zu* (probably, to some extent, overlapping with *-ji*) in negative sentences implying some sense of future, however, the two characters do not belong to the same morpheme. Ogyū also adds another alternative notation for *shō* 將, that gets translated as *sei* 請. This character expresses "desire", "hope" and both are said to correspond to *sue* 末, a character that refers to the ending part of something. This is another explanation that seems rather vague, yet it is picked up by Shizuki, as I will discuss below.

[42] In *Oranda Jii* and *Doeff Halma* one can see the terms *shihai* 支配 and *gechi*, but never *shirei* in the entries for *gebied*(*en*) '(to) order'. The use of this word in the context of grammars is not featured in either dictionary.

Since the verb *zullen* can also convey the idea of "imperative" ("word of order"), one can also say that the "future tense" can be used to refer to an imperative. In practical terms, though, this is hardly functional. The issue with this interpretation is that, as already mentioned, both the future tense and the imperative mood do not require the use of the auxiliary *zullen*. Shizuki's interpretation does not seem, in any way, to be suggested by the Dutch language material. I have found no Dutch source attesting the construction of the future tense by means of the present tense and of the imperative by means of *zullen*. The fundamental reason for *zullen* and the *toekomende tijd* to be considered as expressing both posteriority and imperativeness is contextual and Shizuki suggests it in his abovementioned quote "*Zullen* is similar to the character *shō* 将. It is also a word of order, when said to a person." (Zulleen ハ将ノ字ノ如シ又其人ニ對シ言フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナリ), in which the phrasing *sono hito ni taishi iu toki* 'when said to a(nother) person' is essential to understand his interpretation. Indeed, if one were to say the sentence *Ik zal het doen*, 'I will do it', the auxiliary here would mostly convey a promise of an action that the I-subject makes toward the listener.[43] If the subject were a second person "you", for example, meaning one is saying it toward "another person", one common interpretation would be its use as an imperative, as in the sentence *Gij zult het doen*, 'You will do it', implying "You must do it" or "I expect you to do it".[44]

In the *kiruru kotoba* section, *zullen* is used in the following phrases:

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[43] To be fair, one could also imagine this sentence being used, in some rather isolated instances, as an imperative one imposes on themselves in some sort of internal monologue. I would consider this use very uncommon.

[44] I have also checked Marin and Halma's dictionaries, to see whether there is any reference to this idea of Shizuki. Marin's entry to the verb *zullen* (pg. 596 of volume 2) claims "Helpword to indicate the future tense." (Hulpwoord om den toekomende tyd aan te toonen.). Marin also provides an entry to the *gebiedende wyze* the 'imperative mood' (pg. 272 of volume 1) claiming: "The imperative mood of verbs. *Modus Imperativus* in Latin. *Word of grammar*" (Gebiedende Werkwyze. *Modus Imperativus* in 't Latyn. *Woord der Spraak-konſt.*). Halma, instead, recognizes the verb *laten* 'to let' as a verb that serves in the construction of an imperative mood. The entry to *laat* (pg. 347) in Halma's dictionary reads: "imperative mood of *laaten*, serving as helpword in the imperative mood of other verbs, just like what will be clear enough from the following examples" (gebiedende wijze van Laaten, dient tot hulpwoord in de gebiedende wijze van de andere werkwoorden, gelijk het uit de volgende voorbeelden genoeg blijken zal), while the entry to *zullen* (pp. 1016-1017) simply reads: "*Helpword* serving the future time" (*Helpwoord* tot den toekomenden tijd dienende). Halma's dictionary does not feature an entry for the imperative, nor is it ever referenced in the definition for *werkwoord*. Nonetheless, verbs generally have an entry for their *gebiedende wijze*, just like the verb *laaten*, with its root *laat* defined as "imperative mood of *laaten*, serves as auxiliary (*hulpwoord*) in the imperative mood of other verbs", as shown above. In Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, instead, the imperative mood is expressed by conjugating the verb, in the following fashion: the second-person singular *gy* takes the root of the verb; the third-persons singular *hy* and *zy* take the ending *-e*; the first- and third-persons plural *wy* and *zy* take the ending *-en*; and the second-person plural *gylieden* takes the ending *-t*. In none of the Dutch books I have consulted is the verb *zullen* ever defined as an auxiliary for the imperative. Whichever could have been Shizuki's inspiration to consider the auxiliary *zullen* as connected to the imperative mood, was certainly not either of these dictionaries.

- *zullen spreeken* ‘will speak’ (T53E6), for the active verb *spreken*/*i*(*h*)*u*, that is translated into Japanese as *iwan* 言ん {**i(h).** + **.a** + **.n**; *mizenkei* of *i*(*h*)*u* + *-mu*/*n*};
- *zullen vallen* ‘will fall’ (T53E14), for the neuter verb *vallen*/*otsu*, that is translated into Japanese as *ochin* 隕ん {**ot.** + **.i** + **.n**; *mizenkei* of *otsu* + *-mu*/*n*};
- *ik zal spreken* ‘I will speak’ (T53E18), translated as *ware iwan* 我レ言ん

In the *tsuzuku kotoba* section, *zullen* is used in the sample phrases:

- *woorden die men spreeken zal* ‘Words that one will speak’ (T53E28), that is translated into literary Japanese as *iwan go* 言ん語, into popular Japanese as *iu go* 言ウ語, and into Chinese as *jiāng yán zhī yǔ* 将言之語;
- *steen die vallen zal* ‘Stone that will fall’ (T53E41), translated into Japanese as *ochin go* 隕ん語;
- *wolk die wit worden zal* ‘Cloud that will become white’ (T53E53), that is translated into Japanese as *shiroku naran kumo* 白くならん雲.

In the section titled *roku-ji wo kasanuru hiyaku* 六詞ヲ重ヌル秘訳 ‘Secret Translations of the Combination of the Six Words’ the verb *zullen* is used in the following phrases:

- *zullen zijn* ‘will be’ (T53E65), translated into Japanese as *aran* あらん {**ar.** + **.a** + **.n**; *mizenkei* of *aru* + *-mu*/*n*};
- *zullen zeggen* ‘will say’ (T53E66), translated into Japanese as *iwan* いはん {**i(h).** + **.a** + **.n**; *mizenkei* of *i(h)u* + *-mu*/*n*}.

In all the examples above, *zullen* is always translated as *-n*. In the section titled *kusagusa no kotoba zukahi* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ, the verb *zullen* is used in the sentence T54S9: *Als hij te huijs is, zal ‘er niemand durven spreeken* “If/when he is home nobody dares to speak.”, that is translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni araba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito araji* (彼人家にあらは彼所に在て敢えて言ふ人あらじ).

Protasis: {**ar.** + **.a** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *ari* + hypothetical *-ba*}

Apodosis: {**ar.** + **.a** + **.ji** = *mizenkei* of *ari* + *-ji*}

This sentence is labeled as *mirai*. After this example, Shizuki adds that when *zullen* and *niet* meet (combining into “will not”), they translate *-ji* じ.[45] The suffix *-ji* can be considered a negative version of *-n*. In this example, the word *niet* ‘not’ is not featured, although, one can say, it is implied in the word *niemand* ‘nobody’. In T54S10, Shizuki provides another sentence that he claims to be translated just like this one, although the Dutch *als* is substituted with *indien*, that can be considered a synonym. Since these sentences both mean the same, they are both *mirai*. Just by

[45] Original quote: “Zullen niet ト合ヘバじト訳ス”.

reading these, it is not quite clear what the label *mirai* 'future' is referring to. Although one might assume it to be referring to the whole sentence – both protasis and apodosis – it is still not clear. Even though, in *Seizenfu*, Shizuki refers to whole sentence as one of the labels of "time" (or "dimension"), in *Joshi-kō* he does so only to protases, as seen in the following phrases:

Als hij te huis is.
彼人家にあらは　　未来
Indien hij te huis is.
彼人家にあらは　　未来

These subordinate phrases are precisely the same protasis as the examples found in *Seizenfu*, yet here Shizuki claims that these phrases are *mirai*. Thus, it can be asserted that also in the examples above, the ones from *Seizenfu*, the label *mirai* refers to the protasis, or at least both the protasis and the apodosis. However, this would be the only instance in which Shizuki labels a sentence as *mirai*, although it does not present the verb *zullen* in Dutch, nor the adaptation into the affix *-n* in Japanese. Another interpretation might consider the label *mirai* to imply that these subordinates, require a main sentence with a word of *mirai*, meaning *zullen*. Indeed, *Seizenfu*'s T54S12 is an interesting example of a sentence that Shizuki labels as *mirai* and translates by means of the Japanese suffix *-n*, yet it does not present the verb *zullen*, in the original Dutch version, in any of its conjugated forms. The sentence *Al heeft een hoer een mooij gezigt, het is een lantaarn zonder licht* "Even though a whore has a pretty face, it is a lantern with no light", is translated into Japanese as *gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran* 妓女に美色ありともこれ無光の燈ならん. The subordinate clause – a concessive – is translated into Japanese via the suffix *-domo*, while the main sentence only presents the affix *-n*, that Shizuki always uses as a translation to the Dutch *zullen*. In this regard he adds that "Even though *heeft* and *is* are used as words of *gense*, the meaning of *zullen* is embedded in *al*. Consequently, it gets translated as *tō aran* 燈あらん".[46] Thus, Shizuki implies that although *zullen* is the Dutch verb that expresses the future *mirai*, one can also make a *mirai* sentence (or phrase), by means of specific words – i.e., conjunction – within which the idea of *zullen* is embedded. This does imply that Shizuki is recognizing that using *zullen* is not the only way to make a sentence *mirai*, on the contrary, it tells us that whenever a sentence is *mirai* there must be a *zullen*, be it specified or implied in other words, e.g., embedded within a conjugation. Thus, according to Shizuki, the statement that *zullen* is the one and only way to make a sentence *mirai*, in Dutch, still stands true. Consequently, one can also say that the Japanese suffix *-n*, always corresponds to the Dutch *zullen* and to a *mirai* sentence. This principle is abided by in T54S20 that reads: *Omdat hij te huis blijven zal, wil men 'er niet gaan* "Since he will stay at home, one does not want to go there", and is translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni arameba hito yuku koto o*

[46] The term *tō* 燈 translates *lantaarn* 'lantern', while *aran* is the verb *ari* plus the affix *-n*. Original quote: "右ノ如ク heeft, is ト現世語ヲ使ヘ𠮟al トイフ中ニ Zúllen ノ意ヲ含メル故ニ燈あらんト訳スルㇵヲ得".

horisezu 彼人家にあらめば人行ことを欲せず. In this sentence, the verb of the upper clause is translated as *arameba* {**ar.** + **.a** + **.me** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *ari*; *izenkei* of suffix *-mu*/*n* + consequential *-ba*}. This sentence T54S20 is very similar to sentence T54S25, that is, however, constructed by means of a concessive *hoewel* 'although', instead of a consequential *omdat* 'because'. Sentence T54S25 reads *hoe wel hij te huis blijven zal, wil men 'er niet gaan* "Although he will stay home, one does not want to go there". The Dutch verb is conjugated identically in both T54S20 and T54S25, however, since the conjunction is different, the Japanese predicate requires to be conjugate differently, as well. In fact, sentence T54S25 is translated as *kano hito ie ni aramedo hito yuku koto o horisezu* 彼人家にあらめど人行ことを欲せず, where the predicate of the subordinate clause becomes *aramedo* {**ar.** + **.a** + **.me** + **.do** = *mizenkei* of *ari*; *izenkei* of suffix *-mu*/*n* + *-do*(*mo*)}, that differs from the predicate of the subordinate clause of T25S20 only in the use of *-do* instead of *-ba*, both evidently translating the Dutch conjugation.

One additional element that is worth pointing out is the way Shizuki translated the main clause in these last sentences. The phrase in question is, in Dutch, *Wil men 'er niet gaan* "One does not want to go there", that is constructed by means of the auxiliary/modal verb *wil* 'to want'. In Japanese this is rendered by means of the verb *horisu* 欲す 'to want', 'to wish', conjugated into its negative form via the suffix *-zu* and agreeing with the nominalized verb *yuki* 'to go' as direct object:

hito	*yuku*	*koto*	*o*	*horise-*	*-zu*
人	行	こと	を	欲せ	す
'person'	'go'	'thing' verbal nominalization	Direct object marker	*mizenkei* of the verb *horisu*	*shūshikei* of negative suffix *-zu*

The fact that the Dutch verb *willen* 'to want' is not taken into consideration by Shizuki in *Seizenfu* can be attributed to its Japanese correspondence. As seen above, though, in Ogyū's impression, the characters *yoku* 欲 and *shō* 將 are very similar, only distinguishing on the basis that the former refers to someone's "heart", "will" (*kokoro no ue de* 心ノ上デ), while the latter expresses a decision (*sen to suru*) based on an external impulse (勢). Although Shizuki never directly references this specific interpretation of Ogyū, I do not believe the choice of this example presenting both *zullen* as well as *willen* to be a simple coincidence. Nonetheless, although the difference between *yoku* 欲 and *shō* 將 could be vague in Chinese, in Japanese the two characters are used in rather distinct contexts. The three auxiliaries that Shizuki considers in his Table of the Three Times not only correspond each to one of said three times, but they also correspond to verbal affixes, in Japanese, and not verbs. This stands also true for the other Dutch auxiliaries that Shizuki only rapidly mentions in his work (e.g., *moeten* 'must'; *mogen* 'may'; *kunnen* 'can'). The character *yoku* 欲, in this sentence, corresponds to the verb *horisu* 'to want', 'to

desire' that gets conjugated with the negative affix *-zu* (different from the *-zu* affix Ogyū claimed *shō* 將 to be translated as).

Sentence T54S19 combines a (subordinate) clause with *zouden* and a (main) clause with *zullen*. The sentence reads *Al zoude ik te huis blijven, zal hij dog hier niet komen* "Even if I would stay at home, he will still not come", and gets translated into Japanese as *ware ie ni naramashikado kano hito koko ni koji* 我家にならましかど彼人爰に来じ. Shizuki claims that only the first clause (i.e., the subordinate) is to be labeled a *tatoe*. I will analyze the concept of *tatoe* in the next paragraphs, yet one can deduce that, if only the first clause is to be understood as a *tatoe*, it is safe to say that the second (main) clause is a *mirai*. The deduction is substantiated by the fact that the Dutch original presents *zullen*, that gets adapted into Japanese as *-ji*, the future negative suffix, in Shizuki's view, as covered above. I will analyze this sentence in the next paragraph when I will be covering the auxiliary *zouden*. As of now, this sentence provides knowledge regarding the way one should understand Shizuki's labeling of each example as *mirai*, *kako*, *tatoe*, etc. First, one can understand that the label of *tatoe*, is mutually exclusionary with the other labels, although one could have believed it to be either an additional quality of a *kako* (for *hadden*) or of a *mirai* (for *zouden*) or, perhaps, a combination of these two. Secondly, it can also be understood that, when not otherwise specified, the labels Shizuki provides pertain to the whole sentence and not just one clause. This has relevant syntactic implications. Shizuki claimed that the sense of future is afforded to a phrase by the presence of the auxiliary *zullen*, or a conjunction/adverb functioning as its proxy (e.g., *al* 'although'). This sense of futurity is rendered in Japanese by means of the suffix *-mu*/*n*, or *-ji* in case it is a negative sentence. Because of this, to label an entire sentence as *mirai*, even when only one clause (the lower and main clause) presents this feature, implies that, according to Shizuki, the main clause is to be understood as the head of the sentence, influencing the semantics of the entire sentence. That is to say, since the lower clause conveys the sense of future, in such cases, the whole sentence requires to be considered a future, even when the subordinate clause does not present such specification in its predicate. In *Joshi-kō* (56v), the verb *zullen* is briefly explained in a similar way it is in *Seizenfu*. It is claimed that it corresponds to the Chinese character *shō* 将, expressing the idea of future, to the Japanese affix *-n* ン. Shizuki also adds that this is the word to express the expectation of an established "future" (here *shōrai* 将来, instead of *mirai* 未来, the latter being the terms Shizuki mostly uses in grammatical contexts). The author adds that, when said toward an individual it becomes a 'word of order' *gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞.

Zullen. 将ト訓ス　　ン	*Zullen.* It translates characters *shō* 将 *n* ン
将ノ意	Meaning of *shō* 将.
決定メ将来ヲ期スルノ詞又其人ニ向ヒ云フ時ハ下知ノ詞ニナル也	Word expressing the expectation of an established future. Also, when said towards an individual, it becomes a word of order.

In the scheme below, I collect all the information discussed in the present paragraph about the Dutch verb *zullen*. A similar schematization will be provided for each of the six Dutch verbs Shizuki presents, as I will analyze them in the following paragraphs. Do note that the affix *-beshi*, traditionally cited as an example of the use of the *kana* for *shi* し as expressing future (*mirai no shi* 未来のし), as I have discussed in Chapter IV, is not recognized as a correspondence to the Dutch "future" verb *zullen*, by Shizuki.

ZULLEN

Type

gense no mirai 現世ノ未来

future time, present dimension

Meaning

Japanese

1 *-ramu/ran* らむ/らん; *-mu/n* む/ん (positive)

2 *-ji* じ (negative; *zullen niet*)

3 *gechi no kotoba* 下知ノ詞, *shirei* 使令, imperative.

Chinese character

shō 将 (將)

8.5.2 The verb *zouden*

The Dutch verb *zouden* is dealt with in a much more detailed fashion as compared to its present-tense counterpart *zullen*. This is because Shizuki identifies many functions served by this auxiliary, each to be adapted in varied manners in Japanese. Additionally, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki devotes an entire chapter to this auxiliary, titled *Zouden no koto* Zouden 之事 'About *Zouden'*. Both in *Joshi-kō*, and in *Seizenfu*, this verb is compared to the Chinese character *ō* 應 (応). Shizuki often explains the meaning of this auxiliary with the term *oshihakaru* 推シ量ル ('to conjecture', 'to guess') or, alternatively, as being tightly related to the idea of *tatoe* 仮令 'analogy'. The definition of *ō* 応 as representing an *oshihakaru* type of conjecture is also found in Ogyū's definition of it, in volume 5 of his *Kun'yaku jimō*, as well as in Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, as I will demonstrate further below. According to these two meanings of *zouden*, the Japanese rendition can vary sensibly. Since Shizuki describes the differences between these two uses of *zouden* in a very detailed fashion, I will cover them separately in the two following sub-sections 8.5.2.1 And 8.5.2.2. Additionally, in *Joshi-kō*, one might identify a third rendition or "use" of the verb *zouden*, in two incomplete clauses, under entry to *als*, where *zouden* is rendered by means of the affix *-n* (in *naran*), that Shizuki otherwise always uses for the auxiliary *zullen* (as I have just illustrated in 8.5.1). These sentences represent two clauses, both missing a part that can be completed according

to contingent necessities. The grammar used in the first sentence is not particularly correct. Comparing it with its Japanese translation, one can understand that the first sentence is to be read *Wij zouden een kunstenaar gelijk worden die …* that translates "We should/ought to become like an artist who …". This gets translated into *warera naninani suru geisha dōyō mono to naran* 我等何々する芸者同様ものとならん.[47]

warera	*naninani*	*suru*	*geisha*	*dōyō*	*mono*	*to*	*naran*
'we'	'something something'	'do' (adnominal)	'artist'	'similar'	'thing' (nominalizing element)	(particle signaling the target)	Verb *nari* 'to become' + affix *-n*

The second sentence, whose grammar is arguably more correct, reads *Wij zouden gelijk een kunstenaar … worden* "We should/ought to, like an artist, become …" is translated into Japanese as *warera geisha no gotoku naninani to naran* 我等芸者の如く何々とならん.

warera	*geisha*	*no*	*gotoku*	*naninani*	*to*	*naran*
'we'	'artist'	possessive particle	'like'	'something something'	(particle signaling the target)	Verb *nari* 'to become' + affix *-n*

In both sentences, the verb *zouden* gets adapted into Japanese simply by means of the affix *-n*, that is noticeably in contrast with the rest of Shizuki's literature, as I will discuss below. Unfortunately, context is lacking regarding these sentences, hindering any further interpretation. However, there is an additional element that requires to be taken into consideration here: in neither sentence is the verb *zouden* used to make a hypothetical; rather it expresses a moral duty/compulsoriness ('We ought to become like an artist') or to express expectation from the future ('I assume we should become like an artist'). Since neither sentence expresses a hypothesis, as in 'If A, then B', these are not to be considered expressing either *oshihakaru* or *tatoe* even though they feature the verb *zouden*. For this reason, Shizuki might have translated the verb into Japanese by the simple addition of the suffix *-n*, that he has previously described as the suffix for the future time of the present dimension and connected to the Dutch *zullen*. In this particular case, thus, Shizuki identified one use of *zouden* that corresponds to the meanings expressed by *zullen*. Nevertheless, this is a rather atypical adaptation of such auxiliary.

[47] In the phrase *naninani suru*, *naninani* is an abbreviation corresponding to saying "something something", while *suru* is the verb 'to do'.

8.5.2.1 The concept of *tatoe* and its connection to the verb *zouden*

The concept of *tatoe* is fundamental for the interpretation of Shizuki's works. As I have argued elsewhere (NESPOLI 2022), the term *tatoe* has been used by many Japanese scholars of Dutch to describe the type of language used in the literary genre of emblem poems. These poems were described by Japanese scholars as a poetic genre often using "analogies" (*tatoe*) to teach morals. From the point of view of grammar, the use of analogies implies the adoption of hypothetical structures that often correspond to what Shizuki calls *tatoe*. The term *taote* itself has a double meaning; it can either mean "analogy" – when used as a noun – or, when used as a conjunction, it means "even if". This is the reason why, as I will demonstrate below, Shizuki utilizes three citations from the Dutch poet Jacob Cats, who is famous for his emblem poems, in order to describe precisely this topic. The citations, as I have mentioned in Chapter II, are found in two different documents of Shizuki, namely *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. That is why, in order to analyze this concept, I will also mention a few remarks form the latter document, within the present section.

In Shizuki's opinion, conjunctions are a fundamental part in the construction of hypothetical sentences. As I will demonstrate, Shizuki acknowledges that not all hypotheticals are created by means of the verb *zouden*, and that *zouden* is not only used in the construction of *tatoe* sentences. I believe that starting from the three citations from Cats is the best way to understand this concept. In *Rangaku seizenfu* Shizuki cites the following verse of Cats (T54S12): *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht het is een lantaarn zonder licht* 'Even if a whore has a pretty face, it is a lantern without light'. This sentence is not considered a *tatoe*, by Shizuki, but rather a *mirai* 'future', even though there is no future tense. However, he adds, the verb *zullen* is always embedded within the conjunction *al*, thus triggering a future tense in the Japanese rendition. Shizuki translates this sentence as *gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran* 妓女に美色ありともこれ無光の燈ならん, where the Dutch conjunction *al* triggers the affix *-tomo* in the upper clause (*aritomo*), and the affix *-n* in the lower clause (*naran*).

The two citations from Cats that can be found in *Shihō shoji taiyaku* also present a similar structure. The two sentences are added as explanation to the conjugation *al leerde ik* 'even if I learned', which is translated into Japanese into two ways: *manabishikadomo* and *manabutomo*, where the former adds the *-ki* affix for the past.[48] The reason why this conjugation can present two Japanese translations is explained by means of the two verses by Cats. The first verse is *Al vloog ik in het woud leefde ik evenwel in veelderhanden zorgen* 'Even if I flew in the woods, I [would have still] lived in many worries'. This sentence presents a simple past tense in both clauses (*vloog* 'flew' in the upper clause, and *leefde* 'lived' in the lower clause). This is a past, and whenever both clauses are a past – meaning that both clauses present a morphological past tense – then one uses forms such as *manabishikadomo*. Unfortunately, Shizuki does not provide Japanese translations to

[48] The difference between the two affixes *-domo* and *-tomo* was probably neglected by Shizuki in this context, and both are used to render the concessive sense of the Dutch conjunction *al*.

these two verses and sticks to the example of the verb *manabu* 'to learn', instead. However, he adds, whenever the morphological past tense in the upper clause combines with a morphological present tense in the lower clause, than one translates the upper clause as in the type of *manabutomo*, thus without the affix *-ki*. This is the case, of the third citation from Cats, the verse *Al viel wereld gansche en gaar de vrome schrikt voor geen gevaar* 'Even if the whole world fell, the pious startles before no danger'. Here, the upper clause features a past tense (*viel* 'fell'), while the lower clause a present tense (*schrikt* 'startles'). However, Shizuki adds, if one had *schrikte*, the past simple tense of *schrikt*, then this sentence would have been a past as well. These types, namely those with *al* combining with two past tenses, are all *tatoe*. I schematize Shizuki's analysis on these three verses below:

- *Al vloog ik in het woud, leefde ik evenwel in veelderhanden zorgen*

  Conjunction *al* + past tense in upper clause + past tense in lower clause = past and *tatoe*
- *Al viel wereld gantsche en gaar, de vrome schrikt voor geen gevaar*

  Conjunction *al* + past tense in upper clause + present tense in lower clause = present

  Had there been *schrikte* (past tense in lower clause) = past and *tatoe*
- *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht*

  Conjunction *al* + present tense in upper clause + present tense in lower clause = future tense

  gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran

From these sentences it can be understood that one of the requirements of a *tatoe* sentence is for both clauses to present a past tense. Such past tense gets rendered, in the upper clause of the Japanese translation with the combination *-shikadomo*, meaning the combination of the past affix *-ki* with *-do*(*mo*). What conjugation the predicate in the lower clause would present, is not made explicit here. Additionally, one also understands that the *tatoe* needs a specific conjunction, that in these quotes from Cats was the conjunction *al*. However, as I will demonstrate, *al* is not the only conjunction that may trigger a *tatoe*. In fact, within *Joshi-kō*, Shizuki provides a thorough explanation of hypothetical *joshi* in the context of a sentence not presenting the auxiliary *zouden*. This verb is nonetheless mentioned, since the sentence represents, according to Shizuki, a *tatoe*. The explanation in question is found under the entry introducing the Dutch conjunctions *indien*, *bij aldien* and *als*, all meaning, roughly, 'since', 'as', 'because', but also 'if'. Shizuki provides four protases – without a realization (apodosis) – of the "If he were home" type, similar to those seen in *Rangaku seizenfu*. These four phrases present a combination of the two conjunctions *als* and *indien*, with two tenses of the verb *zijn*: present and past simple. The verb *zijn* is used here to express location. While *als* and *indien* are treated as perfect synonyms, not influencing the translation in any manner

whatsoever, their combination, with either tense, changes the meaning of the sentences, and their Japanese renditions quite sensibly. The present-tense sentences *Als*/*Indien hij te huis is* are translated as *kanohito ie ni araba* 彼人家にあらは, both labeled *mirai* 未来 'future', while the past-tense sentences *Als*/*Indien hij te huis was* are rendered as *kanohito moshi ie ni araba* 彼人もし家にあらは and are both labeled either as *kako* 過去 'past', or *tatoe* 仮令 'analogy'. In the Japanese translation, the verb *ari* 'to be', is always translated as *araba*, thus by the simple addition of the affix *-ba*, the one connecting to a *mizenkei* form. However, in the past-tense version, the word *moshi* ('if', 'supposing') is added. Interestingly, thus, in the Japanese versions one does not see any reference of time, except the embedded sense of futurity that Shizuki previously recognized in *-ba*. Should one interpret this adaptation of Shizuki as implying that it is the word *moshi* carrying the sense of "past" provided, in the original Dutch sentence, by the past tense? This question is answered in the comment provided by Shizuki to these four phrases, that can be read below (20v):

右ノもしハもしもかうともならばトイフ意ナリもし死たるものが再ひ来るならばナドノ意也假令ノ詞也たとひ〇ばト訓ゼンモ可ナラン過去ノ時ハ彼人もし家にあらましかばナト訳スヘシ又ありせばなりせばト訓スル所多シ雅語ノ訳ニハコレヲ用フベシ野辺に小松のなかりせばノ類也カ様ノ所ニ indien ヲツカヘリ又動詞ニ合フ時ハませばト訓メヨキモアリコレモ雅語也飛鳥川しがらみ渡しせかませはなかるゝ水はのとけからまし zouden ト云フ詞ガカ様ノ所ニテハのどけかるましノましニ当ルナリ又かうありたらばト好ム意ノ時 indien. ヲましかばト訓スベシ

In the previous sentences, the word *moshi* has the meaning of *moshi mo kō to mo naraba*.[49] It has the meaning of sentences such as: *moshi shinataru mono ga tabi-kuru naraba*.[50] This is a word of *tatoe*. It can also translate '*tatoe … ba*'. In the past time, it ought to be translated as '*kano hito moshi ie ni aramashikaba*'[51] etc. Furthermore, there are also many instances in which it translates *ariseba* and *nariseba*.[52] These should be used when translating the literary language [*gago* 雅語]. It is the type of *nobe ni komatsu no nakariseba*. In this context, *indien* can be used. Furthermore, when meeting a verb, it can be translated as *maseba*, and this is also literary language. In such sentences as *asukagawa shigarami watashi-sekamaseba nagaruru mizu wa nodo kegaramashi*,[53] one can also use *zouden* as *mashi*, in the word *nodokekarumashi*. Furthermore, when it corresponds to the meaning of *kō aritaraba*, *indien* ought to be translated as *mashikaba*.

This piece of text is found under the same entry for *indien*, *bij aldien* and *als*, all considered *joshi*. The excerpt provides a detailed view of the uses of *zouden* in the

[49] Literally: 'Even if it were that way…'.
[50] Literally: 'Perhaps, if the dead could come back [to life] ...'.
[51] Literally: 'Perhaps, if he were home …'.
[52] The word *ariseba* is {**ar.** + **.i** + .**se** + **.ba** = *ren'yōkei* of *ari*; *mizenkei* of the suffix *-ki*; consequential *-ba*}; the word *nariseba* is {**nar.** + **.i** + .**se** + **.ba** = *ren'yōkei* of n*ari*; *mizenkei* of the suffix *-ki*; consequential *-ba*};
[53] This is a quote from the classical literary piece *Man'yōshū*.

sentences where the word *moshi* was used as a word of *tatoe*, having the meaning of "If only it were this way" (*moshi mo kō to mo naraba* もしもかうともならば). Shizuki adds the example of a sentence expressing a hope that will be disappointed, stating "If only the dead would come back [to life]" (*moshi shinataru mono ga tabi-kuru naraba* もし死たるものが再ひ来るならば). This can be interpreted as Shizuki suggesting that, in this type of sentences, the idea of *tatoe* is rendered via a combination of *moshi* and *-ba*, in Japanese, and *zouden* combined with *indien* or *als*, in Dutch. This represents a hypothetical with *zouden*, that is used for actions/events that would take place in the present or future but that cannot possibly come true. I will call this a "hypothetical of future impossibility".

Another interpretation of the use of *zouden*, identified by Shizuki, is its use in the past time (過去の時). Although one uses the verb *zouden*, a past tense, the sentences above did not point to a past time but, rather, a hypothetical future time that is known will never be. When used in reference to actions of the past, instead, the Japanese predicate cannot be simply *-ba* anymore and must become *-mashikaba*. In the example Shizuki provides a reworking of the "If he were home" sentences, where he uses this suffix in combination with, again, *moshi*. The suffix *-mashikaba* is a combination of the two suffixes *-mashi* and *-ba*. Shizuki also adds that there are many instances in which this type of *zouden* would correspond to a *-seba*, combination of past *-ki* and hypothetical *-ba*, as in the verbs *ariseba* and *nariseba* (both roughly meaning 'if it were'). Shizuki also claims that this variant is to be preferred when translating the literary language (*gago* 雅語). In this regard, he quotes the protasis of a *waka* from the classic work *Shūi Wakashū* where the adjective *nashi* ('absent', 'there is not') is conjugated into *nakariseba* by the addition of the element *-seba*. The verse from *Shūi Wakashū* cited to demonstrate this particular meaning is: *ne no hi suru nobe ni komatsu no nakariseba chiyo no tameshi ni nani o hikamashi* 子の日する野辺に小松のなかりせば千世のためしに何をひかまし, of which Shizuki only copies the first part (the protasis). This sentence should translate "Had there not been pine saplings in the fields in the day of the rat, [I wonder] what we would have picked to ensure longevity".[54] This is in complete accordance with sentence T54S11, in *Seizenfu*, where Shizuki proposes the full version of the abovementioned "If he were home" sentence, writing *Indien hij te huis was, zou 'er niemand durven spreken* 'If he were home, nobody would dare to speak'. This is translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni araseba asoko ni arite aete iu hito nakaramashi* 彼人家ニあらせは彼所に在て敢えて言ふ人なからまし and is labeled as *tatoe*. Here, the verb in the protasis features the combination *-seba*, and the adjective in the apodosis – that supposedly adapts the Dutch *zouden* – presents the conjugation *-mashi*. This is the same structure witnessed in the poetic citation from the classics of Japanese literature.

A striking difference between this hypothetical and the previous type, is that the action/event takes place in an imaginary past that has not happened. In the hypothetical of future impossibility, the action/event, while not happening, is

[54] The *waka* references the tradition of going out in the field on the first day of the rat in the new year to pick pine saplings as to ensure longevity.

supposed to be taking place in an imaginary future. To distinguish between the two, I will call this new type a "hypothetical of past impossibility". Shizuki claims that the Dutch *zouden* should here correspond to either *-seba* or *-mashikaba* (and its more literary version *-maseba*), all including the hypothetical *-ba* in combination with another suffix expressing the idea of past, be it *-ki* (in *-seba*) or *-mashi* (in *-mashikaba* and *-maseba*). In these types of hypotheticals, Shizuki suggests the use of *indien*, in the Dutch version.

In this short piece of text, Shizuki shows yet another adaptation of the Dutch verb *zouden*, that he demonstrates by means of a citation from the classical literary piece *Man'yōshū*. The *waka* mentions the Asuka River, that Shizuki writes as 飛鳥, but that can also be found written as 明日香. The *waka* reads as follows: *asukagawa shigarami watashi sekamaseba nagaruru mizu wa nodo kegaramashi* 飛鳥川しがらみ渡しせかませはなかるゝ水はのとけからまし 'Had I crossed a weir in the Asuka River obstructing it, would the streaming water turn quiet?'. This should also be interpreted as a hypothetical of past impossibility. It needs to be stressed out that the impossibility of this type of hypotheticals is not a universal, that is to say, the action/event is not possible anymore not because it refers to something judged impossible as a whole, but rather because, for the apodosis to become true, the protasis has to have already happened, but it has not. Shizuki utilizes this sentence to make clear that the interaction between *zouden* and the conjunction *indien* corresponds, in the Japanese sentence, to the use of the suffix *-mashi* in the apodosis and of *-mashikaba* in the protasis.

Motoori Norinaga covers this use of the affix *-ba* on pages 9 to 13 of volume 3. On page 9, he writes that *-seba* is often used with *-mashi* at the end of the sentence, meaning in the predicate of the main clause, with *-seba* being featured in the subordinate clause.[55] However, Motoori also acknowledges the possibility of the two affixes being presented in inverted order, namely with *-mashi* in the first clause, and *-seba* in the second one.[56] Another exceptional case identified by Motoori is when, although being *-seba* present in the upper subordinate clause, the affix *-mashi* is not present at all, and in its place one can find several affixes. It is not clear whether Motoori believed that the three affixes he provides as examples of this case were to be considered as comprehensive of all instances, however, this does show some similarity with what claimed by Shizuki (as will be seen below), since the affixes in question are: *-nan*; *-n* and *-beshi*. Motoori also reports instances in which the affix *-mashi* ought to be repeated in both the main clause and the subordinate clause, the former case requiring it to be combined with the affix *-ba*, resulting in the form *-mashikaba*. The citation from *Man'yōshū* on the Asukagawa river can also be found in this section of *Kotoba no tama no o*, along with a few additional citations demonstrating the use of *-maseba* with *-mashi* in the main clause. Motoori claims

[55] Original quote: "When it comes to *-seba*, there are many examples of it being used with *-mashi* at the bottom" (せばといへばおほくは下にましといふ例也).

[56] Original quote: "Furthermore, when stopping [i.e., 'ending'] with *-seba*, one can also say *-mashi* above, in substitution" (又せばと留りたるは上へかへりてましといへり).

this *-maseba* to correspond to a contraction of *-mashiseba*.[57] Motoori also analyzes this affix *-mashi* on page 29, of the sixth volume, where he writes the following:

おほよそましは。んを延たる如く聞えて。大かたんといふと同じ意なり。然れども。んといふべき所を。皆ましといひては。かなはぬとおほし。そのけぢは。古への歌又文をつらく味ひ見てわきまふべし。然るを後世の歌には。らん なんなどゝいふべき所をも。みだりにましといへるひがとおほし又しもじを濁りて。まじと唱るもひがと也。必清べき辭也。これを濁るから。初學の輩は。不の意のまじと一つに心得て。まぎらはすことおほきぞかし。かの不の意のまじは別に下に出せり。

Generally, *-mashi* can also be heard expressing something similar to *-n*, and has often the same meaning as *-n*. However, if you always say *-mashi*, when you have to use *-n*, it does not always sound right. The difference must be understood by witnessing the taste of ancient songs and texts. There are also many errors in the confused use of *-mashi*, when one would have to say *-ran*¸ *-nan*, etc., or reading it with *-ji* with *nigori*, as in *-maji*. This ought to be clean in pronunciation [i.e., without *nigori*]. When this has the *nigori*, as it is learned in the elementary course, it must be learned as being one with the meaning of *fu* 不 [negation]. There are many differences that are difficult to spot. This *-maji* with the meaning of *fu* 不 will be dealt with later.

What is interesting in this quote from Motoori Norinaga is the fact that he compares the two affixes *-mashi* and *-n*, that are precisely the Japanese affixes Shizuki used to render the Dutch auxiliaries *zouden* and *zullen* respectively. With *zullen* being the morphological present tense of *zouden*, this relationship is somewhat mirrored in Motoori's description of the two Japanese affixes. As argued above, in *Joshi-kō* one can even find an instance in which the Japanese affix *-n* corresponds to a Dutch *zouden*, reinforcing the relation between the two affixes. However, it appears neither author acknowledged any time-related quality to either affix, as instead, is done regarding their Dutch counterparts. This is to say that, while *zullen* is certainly a word of the future and *zouden* is its corresponding word of the past (or *tatoe*), no such relation is specifically recognized in their Japanese counterparts. In fact, when it comes to hypotheticals, a relevant difference between Japanese and Dutch morphosyntax is the fact that the latter, just like English, often requires a morphological past tense that, nonetheless, does not have to refer to a past time. The morphological past tense is only used in order to convey a hypothetical meaning, regardless of the location in time of the action/event described by the predicate. This type of mechanism is totally absent in Japanese, and this is noticed by Shizuki.

Furthermore, if one understands Shizuki's concept of *joshi*, that he extends to include Dutch auxiliaries and Dutch conjunctions, among other parts of speech, one can add another fundamental interpretation of his theories. As already claimed before, and as can be seen from Table 54, in the twenty-seven sentences, the modifications to the original six matrixes were applied not only to the predicates but also to the conjunctions. This could imply that Shizuki believed that, in a Dutch

[57] Original quote: "This [*-maseba*] is the contraction of *-mashiseba*" (これはましせばの約まりたる也).

sentence, the *joshi* (including both the auxiliaries and the conjunctions) interacted as to create the meaning that was rendered into Japanese by means of verbal/adjectival affixes.

The interaction between conjunctions and auxiliaries, specifically in the context of the creation of a *tatoe* sentence, is made explicit in the continuation of the entry above, of *Joshi-kō*, where one finds the phrase *Indien de machten van Europa vereenigt waaren* 'If the powers of Europe were united', translated into Japanese as *Yōroppa no shosei o awasetaramashikaba* 欧羅巴の諸勢を合せたらましかば . This is a subordinate clause, presenting, in Dutch, a past tense *wa*(*a*)*ren* combined with the conjunction *indien*.

The Japanese sentence features the predicate *awasetaramashikaba*, from the *shimo ni dan* verb *awasu* 'to collect (transitive)' that can be analyzed according to the following formula:

{**awas**. + **.e.** + **.tara** + **.mashika** + **.ba** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *awasu* + *mizenkei* of the affix *-tari* + *mizenkei* of the affix *-mashi* + hypothetical *-ba*}

The Japanese rendition of this sentence seems to agree with the explanation added before it (the quote above), and it would correspond to the type exemplified by the two *waka* citations. To explain this phrase, Shizuki adds the following text (21r):

是等ノ雅語皆的当ノ訓ナリ假令ニ indien-------ノ下句ニ echter ニテ受テ上句ともトナルヿ書ニ見なり schoon トイヘバともニナルヲ以テナラン此書考フベシ

In all of these, this is the appropriate translation in the literary language. It can be seen that, in a *tatoe* with *indien*, when you have *echter* in the lower sentence, one writes *domo* in the upper sentence. If one says *schoon*, it will also mean *domo*.

Following this example and its explanation, Shizuki proceeds by providing yet another example with further explanation regarding the use of *zouden*. The sentence in question is a rather fixed expression corresponding to the English "please", namely *als 't ú belieft* (literally "If it pleases you"), translated into Japanese as *sore ga nanji no kokoro ni kanawaba* それか汝の心にかなわば.[58] Here the verb *kanau* 'to suit' is only combined with the hypothetical *-ba*. This sentence is commented as follows (21v-22r):

か様ノ所ニテヤハリ indien ト全ク同シ indien ハ詞長キ故平生ノ詞ニハ手短ク als ト云ナリ但シ多ハ家にあらはノ時ハ下ノ句ヲ Zal ニテウケもし家にあらはノ時ハ下ノ句ヲ Zoude ニテ

In these instances [*als*] is completely the same as *indien*. Because of the length of the word *indien*, in every day's speech, one says the shorter *als*. Also, often, in sentences such as *ie ni araba* ['If (he) is home'], the second sentence has *zal*, in sentences such as *moshi ie ni araba*, the second

[58] Literally "If it suits your heart".

受ク又家にあればノ時ハ下ノ句	sentence has *zoude.* Furthermore, in sentences as *ie ni areba*:
als hy te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreeeken. 彼人家にあれば人敢てものいわず	*Als hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken* *kano hito ie ni areba hito aete mono iwazu*
か様ニ durft ナドノ現在詞ニテ受ルナリ是其常格也物語ノ文ニハ凡ソ過去詞ヲ用ル也もし家にありたらはノ時ハ下ノ句必ス Zouden.カ moesten.ノカニテ受ク家ニアレバノ時ハ als hy te huis was, durfde ナドヽ言フ也か様ノ所ハ多クハ als トイハズメ wanneer ト言フ也彼人家にある時はひと敢てものいわずト訳スベシ	In these instances, one finds words of *genzai* ['present'] such as *durft* etc. This is the established form. In texts of storytelling [*monogatari*] one generally uses words of *kako* ['past']. In sentences such as *moshi ie ni aritaraba*, one can only find either *zouden* or *moesten*. In *ie ni areba*, one would say *als hij te huis was, durfde* etc. In these instances, *als* is often not said, but *wanneer* is said, instead. It ought to be translated as *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa hito aete mono iwazu.*

In this excerpt, Shizuki illustrates how the combination of the conjunction *als* with specific Dutch tenses influences the Japanese rendition. First, he claims that the word *als*, in sentences such as *als 't u belieft*, can be substituted with *indien*. Taking this claim at face value, this allows to always consider the sentences in this excerpt as featuring *als* and *indien* indistinctly. Shizuki takes the "If he were home" matrix and substitutes the verbal tenses in both clauses as to illustrate the differences in meaning. Firstly, he poses the distinction between the two Japanese subordinate clauses *ie ni araba* and *moshi ie ni araba*, both featuring a hypothetical *-ba* and only distinguishing because of the presence of the word *moshi*, in the latter. Shizuki claims that, in the former case (1) – no *moshi* plus hypothetical *-ba* – the lower clause would feature, in Dutch, the verb *zullen*, whereas, in the latter case (2) – with *moshi* and hypothetical *-ba* – the lower clause in Dutch would feature the verb *zoude*.[59] The same sentence, however, when it does not present either element in the lower clause, is to be translated into Japanese by means of consequential *-ba*, as in the sentence (3) *Als hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken*, rendered into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni areba hito aete mono iwazu*. This is the Japanese adaptation of a Dutch sentence featuring a word of present like *durft* 'dares'. However, in case it had a word of the past (e.g., *durfde* 'dared'), it would have become (4) *moshi ie ni aritaraba*, where the verb *ari*, is combined with both the hypothetical *-ba* and the affix *-tari*. In this case, however, the lower clause, in Dutch, would present either *zouden* or *moesten*. It is, instead, with the clause *ie ni areba* (consequential *-ba*) that one can have the Dutch sentence (5) *Als hij te huis was, durfde* etc., meaning words of the past in both clauses, though without having to use *zouden* or *moesten*, in the lower clause. In such case, it is also common to see the use of *wanneer*, instead of

[59] I have checked a few copies of *Joshi-kō*, and it appears that in all of them the verb is spelled as *zoude*, the subjunctive form, rather than *zouden*, the infinitive or plural indicative form.

als, corresponding to the Japanese sentence (6) *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa hito aete mono iwazu*, where the predicate of the upper clause is not combined with any affix, but is only put in its adnominal form creating a relative clause on the word *toki* 'time', 'when'. Interestingly, in this sentence, neither predicate presents an affix referencing to a past tense. Below, I list these six Dutch sentences, according to the information contained in this excerpt. Not all the sentences are explicitly written out by Shizuki. In such cases, I will still construct a sentence based on the information shared in this excerpt, yet I will signal this by adding an asterisk before those sentences I have composed myself, allowing for different interpretations of Shizuki's words. In parenthesis, I have added the Japanese upper clause, demonstrating the differences, as done by Shizuki. Furthermore, in the Dutch sentences, I will signal the conjunction by enclosing it in a square and underlying the verbs either with a double line in case it is a "word of past" or with one thick line, in case it is a "word of present" (in the latter I am including, for the sake of this list, also the auxiliary *zullen*, a "word of future"). The comma splits the subordinate clause form the main clause, in this order.

1. *[Als] hij te huis is, zal niemand durven spreken (*ie ni araba*) [T54S9 and T54S10]
2. *[Als] hij te huis is, zou niemand durven spreken (*moshi ie ni araba*)
3. [Als] hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken (*ie ni areba*) [T54S4]
4. *[Als] hij te huis was, zou(de)/moest 'er niemand durven spreken (*ie ni aritaraba*) [T54S11]
5. [Als] hij te huis was, durfde 'er niemand spreken (*ie ni areba*)
6. *[Wanneer] hij te huis was, durfde 'er niemand spreken (*ie ni aru toki wa*) [T54S1 or T54S2]

Most of these sentences can be found, with a few differences, among the twenty-seven sentences in *Rangaku seizenfu*'s *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai* chapter. Sentence 1 is identical to T54S9 (*als*) and T54S10 (*indien*). Sentence 3 is identical to T54S4. Sentence 4 is similar to T54S11. In *Seizenfu*, however, the Dutch sentence presents the conjunction *indien*, and the predicate of the Japanese translation features the affix *-ki*, instead of *-tari* (in *ariseba*). Sentence 6 is identical, in its Dutch version, to T54S2, however, the Japanese translation is closer to T54S1, as it does not present any affix relative to the past. Sentences 2 and 5 are not represented among the twenty-seven sentences of *Seizenfu*. None of these sentences is labeled a *tatoe*, except T54S11 that, however, does not correspond in its Japanese translation with sentence 4.

To further understand the use of *zouden* and its use in *tatoe* sentences, Shizuki writes the chapter titled *zouden no koto* (*Zouden* 之事) 'About Zouden'. In this section, Shizuki only covers the use of *zouden* in hypotheticals. He identifies two types of hypotheticals: one being a *tatoe*, and the other being a "speculative"

oshihakaru 推シ量ル, a term also found in *Joshi-kō*. In order to explain these, he utilizes the same Asuka River *waka* from *Man'yōshū* he also uses in *Joshi-kō*, as well as two additional *waka*, one from *Ise Monogatari* and the other from *Kokin Wakashū*. The chapter "About *Zouden*" is rather short, spanning through folio 20r to 20v, and is here cited entirely.

Zouden 之事	About *Zouden*
惣テ假令ノ時ハ Zouden ヲましト訳ス	In all the instances in which it is a *tatoe* it translates *-mashi*.
但シましト云語ハ耳遠シ故ニ假ニべしニ代フ	Since *-mashi* is a rather obsolete word, we can provisionally substitute it with *-beshi*.
飛鳥川しからみ渡しせかませハ流るゝ水はのどけからまし	*Asukagawa shigarami watashisekamaseba nagaruru mizu wa nodokeramashi*
世の中にたゑて桜のなかりせば春の心はのとけからまし	*yo no naka ni taete sakura no nakariseba haru no kokoro wa nodokekaramashi*
逢見すは恋しきこともなからまし音にそ人をきくへかりける	*aimizu wa koishiki koto mo nakaramashi oto ni zo hito wo kikubekarikeru*
下ノ句ノへかりけるノべしモましノ意ニ類セリ音にそ人をきかましト云ト同意ナリ然レハましトべしトハ近キ詞ナリト知ラル假令ト推ハカルトノ弁ハ右ノ哥ノ意ヲ以テ左ニ示スニテ知ラスベシ飛鳥川ニシガラミヲ渡シテセイテ見タラバサゾ流ル水ガノドカデヨカローニセカズニアルカラ一向ニノドカナ┐ハナイ	The *-beshi* in *bekarikeru* in the lower clause belongs to the category of meaning of *-mashi*. It has the same meaning of *oto ni zo hito wo kikamashi*. That is to say, *-beshi* and *-mashi* are to be understood as close words. The difference between the *tatoe* hypothetical and the *oshihakaru* speculation can be understood from the songs above, which are explained below. Had I seen crossing the weir of river Asuka, interrupting the flow of the water, would the stream calm down? Since it has not been interrupted, then there is no calmness.
右假令ナリ即本哥ノ意	This is a *tatoe* and the original meaning of the song.
飛鳥川ニシガラミ渡シテセクハヅカセカヌ笑カ未ダ知レネドモセクナラバ水ガノドカニ流ルルデラウ	It is not known whether the weir in Asuka River has been crossed and interrupted or not, in case it has been interrupted, would the stream quiet down?
右推ハカル意	This is the meaning of 'speculation' [*oshihakaru* 推ハカル]

This section is highly important in the understanding of *zouden* as well as the concept of *tatoe*. Shizuki initially purports two claims: first, whenever *zouden* corresponds to a *tatoe*, it ought to be translated as *-mashi*;[60] secondly, that the word *-mashi* is, in Shizuki's contemporary Japanese, quite obsolete, thus he suggests substituting it with *-beshi*.

These three quotes all appear in Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, as well. The first quote appears in volume 3, on page 13, where it is cited to demonstrate the use of *-maseba* (*-mashi* + *-ba*) in the upper clause, with *-mashi*, in the lower clause. The second quote appears twice: one time, it appears in volume 3, in the same section of the first quote, on page 9, where Motoori demonstrates the use of *-seba*, in the upper clause, with a *-mashi*, in the lower clause. Another occurrence of this quote is in volume 1, on page 55, under the entry to the affix *-mashi*, where it is cited to demonstrate the use of the *te ni wo ha* for *wa* in combination with the affix *-mashi*, within the same clause, in this case being the lower clause. On the same page 55, of the same volume 1, one also finds the third quote, cited in order to demonstrate the use of the affix *-mashi* in combination with the *te ni wo ha* for *mo*, within the same clause, in this instance being the upper clause.

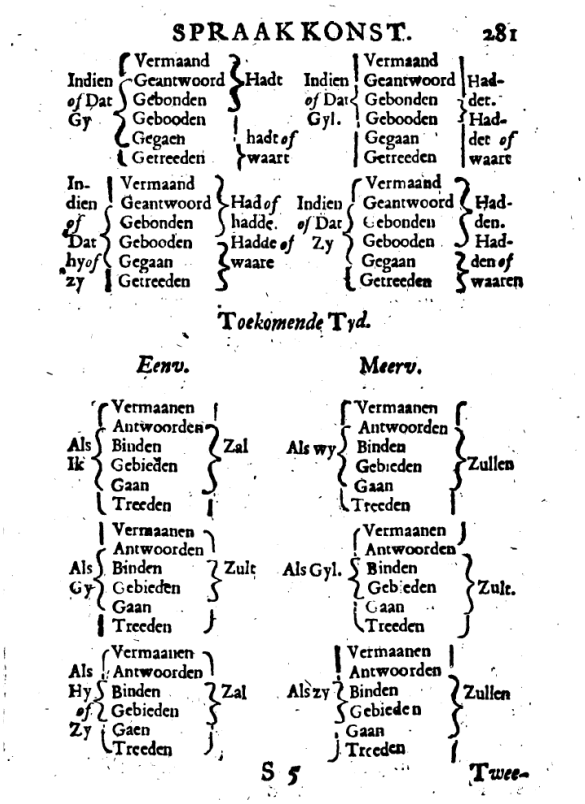
This is the theoretical framework one needs to keep in mind when analyzing Shizuki's theory. Motoori argued that, among Japanese *te ni wo ha*, specific particles, that he called *kakari*, interacted with specific forms of the predicate, that he called *musubi*, according to "established" rules. These rules were the reason why, within the same clause, the particles *mo* and *wa* both required the affix *-mashi* to be in this form (see 6.2.1 for an introduction to Motoori Norinaga's methodology in *Kotoba no tama no o*). Similarly, these established rules, also regulate the relationship between the forms *-maseba* and *-seba*, in the predicate of the upper clause, and the affix *-mashi*, in the predicate of the lower clause. One can see these elements specified in the romanization of these three sentences, below. The underlining refers to the relations described in volume 1, while the squares represent the relations described in volume 3 of Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*. These are adaptations of signs present in the original document. I have also added a clearer division between the two clauses.

1. *Asukagawa shigarami watashiseka<u>maseba</u> || nagaruru mizu wa nodokera<u>mashi</u>*
2. *yo no naka ni taete sakura no nakari<u>seba</u> || haru no kokoro wa nodokekara<u>mashi</u>*
3. *aimizu wa koishiki koto mo nakara<u>mashi</u> || oto ni zo hito wo kikubekarikeru*

This means that, for example, in sentence 3, it is the very presence of the particle *mo* that triggers the form *-mashi*, in the adjective *nakaramashi*. Analogously, in sentence 2, the form *seba*, in *nakariseba*, is related in an established manner with the *mashi* of *nodokekaramashi*.

[60] This informs also about the fact that sentence 4, above, was probably the non-*tatoe* use of the same sentence T54S11 in *Seizenfu*.

If one now looks at European-made conjugation tables of the time one could notice that the subjunctive mood was often illustrated by adding specific conjunctions before it. As I have discussed, in 4.5.1, for example, the verbal tables for the subjunctive mood in Séwel often included one or more of the following conjunctions: *als* 'when', 'if', 'as'; *dat* 'that'; *indien* 'in case', 'if'; *toen* 'back when', 'back then' ('when' in past sentences); *hoewel* 'although'; *schoon* 'even if'. Figure 9 is from page 281 of the second edition of Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, and illustrates a partial conjugation table of a few verbs, in the pluperfect and future tenses. As can be seen from that image, the conjugations were always introduced by one or two of the conjunctions I have listed above. By looking at this table, it appears logical to assume that the specific morphological form taken by verbs in the so-called subjunctive mood is dependent on the conjunction featured in the same clause. In some sense, thus, in Dutch, the relation between the conjunction and the morphosyntax of verbs is as "established" as the relations between *kakari* (particles) and *musubi* (forms of the predicate), in Japanese, as illustrated by Motoori Norinaga in *Kotoba no tama no o*.


SPRAAK KONST. 281

Indien / of Dat / Gy — Vermaand, Geantwoord, Gebonden, Gebooden, Gegaen, Getreeden — Hadt / hadt of waart

Indien / of Dat / Gyl. — Vermaand, Geantwoord, Gebonden, Gebooden, Gegaan, Getreeden — Had-det. / Had-det of waart

In-dien / of / Dat / hy of zy — Vermaand, Geantwoord, Gebonden, Gebooden, Gegaan, Getreeden — Had of hadde. / Hadde of waare

Indien / of Dat / Zy — Vermaand, Geantwoord, Gebonden, Gebooden, Gegaan, Getreeden — Had-den. / Had-den of waaren

Toekomende Tyd.

Eenv.

Als / Ik — Vermaanen, Antwoorden, Binden, Gebieden, Gaan, Treeden — Zal

Als / Gy — Vermaanen, Antwoorden, Binden, Gebieden, Gaan, Treeden — Zult

Als / Hy / of / Zy — Vermaanen, Antwoorden, Binden, Gebieden, Gaen, Treeden — Zal

Meerv.

Als wy — Vermaanen, Antwoorden, Binden, Gebieden, Gaan, Treeden — Zullen

Als Gyl. — Vermaanen, Antwoorden, Binden, Gebieden, Gaan, Treeden — Zult.

Als zy — Vermaanen, Antwoorden, Binden, Gebieden, Gaan, Treeden — Zullen

S 5 Twee-

Figure 9 Example of the conjugation table for the subjunctive mood in Séwel's *Spraakkonst*

I will not argue that this specific table from Séwel, or any other similar-looking illustration of Dutch conjugations from another source has directly inspired this interpretation of Shizuki. Firstly, there is no reason to believe that Shizuki had read any Dutch source on grammar, except the two dictionaries of Halma and Marin that do not present any such table, when compiling *Joshi-kō* and *Seizenfu*. Secondly, it is certainly true that Shizuki could have deduced these "established" rules in the use of conjunctions and verbal tenses of Dutch by analyzing the language that was used in Dutch sources. Specifically, if one considers that the poetical genre of Dutch emblems, in particular those of Jacob Cats, were often described by the term *tatoe* 'analogy', by Japanese scholars of the time (NESPOLI 2022), perhaps these structures are very common in that literary style, and that Shizuki was able to autonomously identify those patterns.[61] However, the table in Figure 9 illustrates a graphic rendition of the conjugation of Dutch verbs that closely resembles the extended *karari-musubi* phenomenon, how Shizuki might have understood it.

The second *waka* is taken from *Ise Monogatari* and translates roughly to "If there were no cherry blossoms in the world, how could a man's soul find quietness?". This is a type of hypothetical where the condition in the protasis is not considered as ever being able to be true. Shizuki does not expand much on this example. On the contrary, he does much more so with the first *waka*, already seen in *Joshi-kō*. The *waka* from *Man'yōshū*, translates roughly: "Had I crossed a weir in the Asuka River obstructing it, would the streaming water turn quiet?". Shizuki asserts that this sentence could be interpreted in two ways. One interpretation, that Shizuki understands as the original intended meaning of the *waka*, is that it would presuppose the speaker having seen that the stream had not been obstructed, thus there could be no resulting quietness. The speaker would, thus, be wondering whether, had there been an obstacle in the river, he would be now seeing a calmer stream. This is a *tatoe*. The hypothesis in the apodosis cannot realize because for it to become true the condition in the protasis should have had already occurred, but it has not. The second interpretation of this *waka*, that is not the supposed intended original meaning, considers the speaker to be ignorant regarding whether the stream had been obstructed. In this case he wonders whether obstructing it would make the streaming water become quiet. That is to say, this hypothesis does not belong to the *tatoe* type, since it is not impossible for the condition in the protasis to become true, it would only require the lyrical subject to go and obstruct the stream themselves, for example. This is the reason why Shizuki labels this hypothetical not as a *tatoe*, but as a *oshihakaru*, rather. Although this hypothetical is pondering regarding a future action/event, one should not confuse this with what I have previously called hypothetical of future impossibility. In that case, in *Joshi-kō*, Shizuki has defined the sentence "If only the dead could come back [to life] …" *moshi shinataru mono ga tabi-kuru* as a *tatoe*. The reason for this is that for a sentence, or a clause, to be considered a *tatoe* is that the hypothesis has the characteristic of not being able to become true.

[61] I would be interested in seeing a quantitative study of Dutch emblems, specifically those by Cats, as to identify how common the use of specific tenses in combination with the conjunctions mentioned above.

To further clarify the relationship between Shizuki's theories and Motoori's methodology, one could look at sentence T54S17 that reads: *Toen zij een mooi gezigt had, was het een ligtende lantaarn* 'When she had a pretty face, it was a shiny lantern'. Shizuki labels this a *kako* 'past' and it presents no verb *zouden*. Shizuki translates it into Japanese as *kanojo ni bishoku arishi toki wa kore yūkō no tō nariki* (彼女に美色ありし時はこれ有光の燈なりき). The syntactic structure of this sentence corresponds to the *waka* found in volume 1, on page 12, of Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, used by the author to illustrate the use of the affix *-ki*, remaining in the form *-ki*, when featuring the *te ni wo ha* for *wa*. For example, in Motoori, one can read the waka *kaze ni shimo nani kamakasen sakurabana nioi akanu ni chiru wa ukariki* 風にしもなにかまかせんさくら花にほひあかぬにちるはうかりき ("In the wind, where to rest? Even the scent of cherry blossoms does not satiate me, as their falling makes me anxious", from *Gosen waka-shū*). In the Dutch sentence, *toen* is analogous to the Japanese particle *wa*, in that it requires the verb to be in a past form *had*, just like *wa* requires the affix *-ki* to remain in the form *-ki*. Of course, however, *wa* and *toen* are otherwise completely different words, with completely different meanings, the latter corresponding to the word *toki*, in the Japanese sentence. Sentence T54S18, instead, reads *Al had zij een mooi gezigt, het zou een lantaarn zonder ligt zijn* 'Although she had a pretty face, it would be a lantern with no light'. This sentence is translated into Japanese as *kanojo ni bishoku aran mo kore mukō no tō naramashi* 彼女に美色あらんもこれ無光の燈ならまし. This sentence is closer to the third quote from the excerpt above, namely the sentence *aimizu wa koishiki koto mo nakaramashi oto ni zo hito o kikubekarikeru* ("When you cannot meet or even frolic with the person you love, you can only resort to hearing about them", from *Kokin waka-shū*), where the particle *mo* interacts with the affix *-mashi*. The main clause, presenting the verb *zou zijn* in the original, is translated into Japanese by means of the verbal suffix *-mashi*. Shizuki labels this a *tatoe*.[62]

In T54S19 Shizuki makes use of the subjunctive form of the verb *zouden*, i.e., *zoude*, in the sentence *Al zoude ik te huis blijven, zal hij dog hier niet komen* 'Should/would I stay home, still, he will not come here', translated into Japanese as *ware ie ni naramashikado kano hito koko ni koji* 我れ家にならましかど彼人爰に來じ. Shizuki adds that in this sentence, only the first clause should be considered a *tatoe*. One should assume, since the main clause presents the verb *zullen* in Dutch and the suffix *-ji* (negative version of future *-n*), that the second clause is to be thought of as being a *gense no mirai*. The verb in the upper clause is translated, into Japanese, as *naramashikado*, with a combination of the suffixes *-mashi* and *-domo*, corresponding to the English 'although'. Perhaps, thus, the apodosis in this example

[62] In Waseda's copy one can also read an interesting additional remark, warning the reader not to confuse this tense with the previously mentioned *fusokuji* 不足時, that appears to be a literal translation (calque) of the Dutch term *onvoltooid* or *onvolmaakt* both being used in early modern Dutch sources to refer to the imperfect tense. Since this is the only occurrence of this term, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, or any other work of Shizuki, it appears safe to say that this was a later addition, based on some other work, or maybe a later copy of Shizuki's works, where the concept of *onvoltooid* was ultimately interpreted and added (see 8.5.4).

cannot be considered a *tatoe*, since the action of the apodosis will occur in the future (relative to the speaker) regardless of the unrealistic hypothetical posed by the protasis.[63] The verb in the upper clause is conjugated according to the following formula:

{**nar.** + **.a.** + **.mashika** + **.do(mo)** = *mizenkei* of the verb *nari* 'to be(come)' + *izenkei* of *-mashi* + *-do(mo)*}

Shizuki further adds the following quote to explain the different form (subjunctive) the verb *zouden* has taken here (17v):

凡ソ動詞 ik, gij, hij ニヨリテ別アル 𠦒諸書中ナルヲ見ルニ Zoúden ノミシカト定ル格ナキニ似タリ因テ此ノ Zoude モ Zou ト異ナリト心得ベカラズ	Generally, verbs have different forms according to *ik* ['I'], *gij* ['you'], *hij* ['he']. Nonetheless, as can be seen in all books, it seems that only *zouden* has a fixed form. For this, this *zoude* should not be understood as differing from *zou*.

What Shizuki actually means by this is not particularly clear considering the time it is written in. It is true that in contemporary Dutch and, one can assume, in non-prescriptive uses of 17th century Dutch, the conjugation of the verb *zouden* does not feature different forms according to the person,[64] but this is done to all preterits, for all verbs. This might reinforce the idea that Shizuki considered *zouden* a verb on its own, not derivative of *zullen*. Regarding the difference between *zullen* and *zouden* Shizuki adds the following (17v-18r):

前ナル語ノ訳ヲあらんもト云𠆢古哥ナドニハ見アタラズ古哥ニハカヤウノ寸モヤハリありかもト云ル𠆢多シ然レ𠦒ソレニ習ヒテハ假令ト未来トノ訳法分明ナラズ故ニ今ハ假ニあらんもト訳ス	The *aranmo* we find the previous sentences cannot be found in ancient songs and such. In ancient songs, even in this context, one finds often *arikamo*. Furthermore, without distinguishing the manner of translation between *tatoe* and *mirai* ['future'], as for now one can provisionally translate [both] as *aranmo*.
ならせは　いはませば　ならましかはナドノせば皆同意ナリありせはいはませど　あらましかはナドノせば　ませとましかとモ然リ	The *-seba* element in *naraseba*, *iwamaseba*, *naramashikaba* always has the same meaning. The *-seba* in *ariseba*, *iwamasedo*, *aramashikaba* is similar to *masedo* and *mashikado*.
是等ノ語耳遠クシテ如何ント思ハヽ	All these phrases are rather obsolete, thinking

[63] Contrast this with the citation from Cats seen above, *Al vloog ik in het woud, leefde ik evenwel in veelerdhanden zorgen*, where the apodosis is a past tense, referencing an occurrence in the past the speaker knows has not happened.

[64] Not according to the different persons, but it should indeed be conjugated according to the number of the subject pronoun. Shizuki is, here, only considering singular subject pronouns, thus one might need to ignore plurals, as well.

假ニありせはノ類ナルヲべくバニ代へいはませはノ類ナルヲべけれどニ代フベシ然レ𠮟實ハ甚異ナリへくばべけれは卜訳スル語ハ下ニ見タリ	about it, one could substitute the type or *ariseba* with *bekuba* and the type of *iwamaseba* with *bekeredo*. In reality, there is a small difference. Phrases translated as *bekuba* and *bekereba* can be seen below.

This excerpt assumes the reader to have difficulties distinguishing a *tatoe* from a *mirai* 'future', confusion that could have been created by the example above T54S19. Shizuki is saying that, in the past one would translate the predicate of the upper clause of sentence T54S18 *Al had zij een mooij gezigt* 'Although she had a pretty face' not as *aranmo*, where the suffix for the future *-n* combines with the concessive *mo*, but with the structure *arikamo*, where the *mizenkei* combines with the element *kamo*, that can express doubt and possibility. This difference, that is allegedly obsolete in Shizuki's Japanese, would have, apparently, made clear the difference between a *tatoe* and a simple *mirai* (do not forget that Shizuki considered *al* to imply *zullen*). Consequently, this reinforces that adding *zouden* is not the only way one could make a *tatoe*, but also via *zullen* (direct correspondence to the Japanese suffix *-n*). Since older Japanese could make a difference between these two types of *zullen*, i.e. *mirai* 'future' *zullen* (*-n*) and *tatoe* 'hypothetical' *zullen* (*-kamo*), one should not assume that the protasis of hypotheticals of impossibility to be a *mirai* clause only because it gets translated as *-n*.

Shizuki also adds further suggestions of adaptation of *tatoe* suffixes with less ancient versions, conflating the suffixes *-ki* and *-mashi*, as he already did, in their combinations with the suffix *-ba*. The examples he brings up are the following:

- *naraseba* {**nar.** + **.a** + **.se** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *nari*; *-se*;[65] hypothetical *-ba*};
- *iwamaseba* {**i(h).** + **.a** + **.mase** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *i*(*h*)*u*; *mizenkei* of *-mashi*; hypothetical *-ba*};
- *naramashikaba* {**nar.** + **.a** + **.mashika** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *nari*; *izenkei* of *-mashi*; consequential *-ba*};
- *ariseba* {**ar.** + **.i** + **.se** + **.ba** = *ren'yōkei* of *ari*; *mizenkei* of *-ki*; consequential *-ba*};
- *iwamasedo* {**i(h).** + **.a** + **.mase** + **.do** = *mizenkei* of *i*(*h*)*u*; *izenkei* of *-mashi*; *-do(mo)*};
- *aramashikaba* {**ar.** + **.a** + **.mashika** + **.ba** = *mizenkei* of *ari*; *izenkei* of *-mashi*; consequential *-ba*}

[65] As far as I know, this syllable *-se* does not have a specific name, in the tradition of Japanese linguistic studies. Even SHIRANE (2005, 111) simply lists the combination *-seba*, attached to a *mizenkei* as a form often used in the subordinate clause, in combination with a *-mashi* in the upper clause.

In agreement with what he had already said, he suggests these *-seba* and *-mashikaba*/*-maseba* to be substituted by the more modern *-beshi*, in its combinations with *-ba* which gives the two alternative – yet homologous – forms *-bekuba* and *-bekereba*, but also *-bekeredo* for the suffix *-do*(*mo*).

In the list below, I illustrate all the main information that could be deduced from this paragraph concerning the concept of *tatoe*, and how to form it:

- Generally, a *tatoe* features "words of past" in both clauses, in the Dutch version;
- The Japanese version does not have to present words of past, if the past conjugation of the Dutch verbs are only morphological forms used to render a hypothetical and do not refer to an actual past time;
- The Dutch conjunctions *als*, *indien* or *bij aldien* can be used to form a *tatoe* without words of past, even in the Dutch subordinate clause. In this case, they correspond to the combination, in the Japanese subordinate, to *moshi* plus hypothetical *-ba*. In this sentence, the word *moshi* would take the meaning of *moshi kō tomo naraba*. The main clause would probably feature the verb *zullen*, in Dutch, and the affix *-n*, in Japanese. In this case, the affix *-n* really corresponds to a classical Japanese *-kamo*;
- The Dutch conjunctions *als*, *indien* or *bij aldien*, can be used to form a *tatoe* with words of the past, case in which the main clause would probably feature the verb *zouden* or *moesten*. In these sentences, *zouden* translates *-mashi*, affording to the Japanese upper clause the affix *-mashikaba*.
- The affix *-mashi* is quite obsolete and corresponds to *-beshi*. When used in *tatoe* sentences in combination with hypothetical *-ba*, it can correspond to *-seba* or *maseba*;
- The Dutch conjugation *indien* can correspond to *-mashikaba*, in case it has the meaning of *kō aritaraba*;
- If a *tatoe* has *indien* in the subordinate clause, the upper clause could feature words such as *echter*, and *schoon*, that translate *-tomo* (and/or, perhaps, -(*do*)*mo*) in the Japanese upper clause;
- Conjunctions such as *wanneer* and *toen* do not trigger a *tatoe*;
- The hypothesis expressed by a *tatoe* can never become true, regardless of when it was supposed to happen;
- The verb *zouden*, when used in a *tatoe* clause, corresponds to the Japanese affix *-mashi*;

In the following paragraph, I will analyze the instances in which the verb *zouden* is used in contexts that are not considered *tatoe*.

8.5.2.2 Use of *zouden* in non-*tatoe* sentences

Not all uses of *zouden* are to be considered *tatoe* or hypotheticals. This is very clear in Shizuki's works, as the word *tatoe* is always systematically used only in the context of what I have called "hypotheticals of impossibility". As mentioned, *zouden* still conveys a plethora of meanings beyond its use in hypotheticals and these are mostly covered within *Seizenfu*. Phrase T53E7 features the verbal conjugation *zouden spreeken* 'should/would speak', that is translated in Japanese both as *iubeshi* 言へし and as *iiten* 言てん, where *-beshi* and *-ten* (*-tsu* plus *-n*) are two different Japanese adaptations for the Dutch verb *zouden*. As I have discussed in the previous paragraph, for Shizuki *-beshi* corresponds to a modern version of *-mashi*. The ending *-mu*/*n*, is used, instead, to adapt T58E6 *zullen spreken*, a similar tense where the verb *zouden* has been substituted with *zullen*. The Japanese rendition provided for this phrase is only one: *iwan* 言ん, thus only adding the affix *-n*. Shizuki mostly considers this *-n* as representing the future tense. At the end of the chapter on the "Secret Translations of the Overlapping of the Six Words", Shizuki writes (8v):

Zouden ニ A ノ印ヲ附タレ𠮟此等ハ格別ノ語ナレバ動他トノミハ云ヒカタキニ似タリ marin ニモ何𠮟見ヘズサレ𠮟其使ヒヤウニテ考ルニ動他ノ例ナルユヘ右ノ如シ Zúllen モ同ジ	Although for *zouden* the symbol *A* is attached, and even though this changes for each word, it seems hard to define it solely as a *dōta*. You also do not see this in Marin. However, after thinking about its uses there are indeed examples of *dōta*, it is as shown on the right. The same for *zullen*.

To consider *zouden* an active verb is absolutely an independent interpretation of Shizuki. Nowhere in Marin's publications, or in Halma's dictionaries is this ever asserted. The verb *zullen*, as well as its past form *zouden*, are either categorized as a *hulpwoord* 'auxiliary', or as a word with no real meaning on its own that is used to form the future tense (see 4.2.4 and 4.3.1). When Shizuki references what is written "on the right" he probably refers to the examples contrasting the meanings of *zullen* and *zouden* in the previous pages. In particular, one can look at T53E53 and T53E54, respectively reading: *Wolk die wit worden zal* 'Cloud that will become white' and *Wolk die wit worden zou* 'Cloud that should/would become white'. These are translated into Japanese as *shiroku naran kumo* 白くならん雲 and *shiroku naru beki kumo* 白くなるべき雲, respectively, thus assigning the affix *-n* to *zullen* and *-beshi* to *zouden*. This is also retained in the translation of the phrase *zullen vallen* ('will fall', T53E14) and *zouden vallen* ('would/should fall', T53E15), where the version with *zullen* is translated into Japanese as *ochin* 隕ん; while the sentence with *zouden* is provided with two alternatives: *otsu beshi* 隕へし and *ochinan* 隕ちなん, the latter a composition of the two affixes *-nu* and *-n*. Shizuki comments these phrases with the following remark (3v):

言ひてん隕なんノてんなん和語ノ素姓ニ定マリアリ太	[The suffixes] *-ten* てん and *-nan* なん, as in *i(h)iten* 言ひてん and *ochinan* 隕なん, are established as originally

槩自動ハぬ、ぬる、ぬれ、ヲ帯ヒ動他ハつ、つる、つれ、ヲ帯ブ	Japanese. Generally, one links *-nu* ぬ, *-nuru* ぬる, *-nure* ぬれ to *jidō* verbs, and *-tu* つ, *-turu* つる and *-ture* つれ to *tadō* verbs.

These three forms provided by Shizuki are, respectively, the *shūshikei* (*-nu* and *-tu*), *rentaikei* (*-nuru* and *-tsuru*) and the *izenkei* (*-nure* and *-tsure*). The fact that these specific forms are provided, in this order, is a clear influence from Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, which also deals with this topic. Firstly, in volume 6, page 27, Motoori deals with the character *na* な, specifically identifying two similar uses of it, when followed by the character *n* ん. This is what he writes:

すべて願ふ意のなんの上のかヽりは。は も 徒のみ也。ぞ の や 何などの辭をおく例なし。 續後拾遣十七「とにかくにうき身はなれぬうきよとはいとひて後ぞおもひしらなん。此歌上ぞといひて。「しらなんと。願ひの格のなんにてとじめたるはひがこと也。たとひ上にぞはなくても。本より「しらなんといふべき歌にはあらず。もしいまだ世をいとはぬさきに。末をおしはかりたる意ならば。「しりなんといふべし。もしはらはりを寫し誤れるにや。然れ共一首の趣。すでに世をいとひはなれて後に。思ひしれる意のごとく聞ゆれば。かならず「しりぬると結ぶべき歌なるをや	These are all used with the *nan* that has the meaning of "hope", "wish" [*negau* 願ふ], and only with *wa*, *mo* and *tada*. There are not many examples of these with *zo*, *no* and *ya*. In the 17th section of *Shokugoshūi Wakashū* we read *tonikaku ni ukimi hanarenu ukiyo to wa itoite ato zo omoishiranan*.[66] In this song, there is *zo* and *shiranan*, but this is not the *nan* of the "wishing" type. For example, even if there had been no *zo* above, it would not be a song saying *shiranan*. For example, had it referred to before leaving this world, it would have had the meaning of pondering about the effect [*sue wo oshihakaru*], and one would thus need to say *shirinan*. However, if one misspells *ra* for *ri* their intentions might get mixed up. Ultimately, even when you hear it used with the meaning of knowing after the body has abandoned this world, still, it is a song connecting with *shirinuru*.

In this excerpt, Motoori makes the distinction between two superficially identical verbal affixes, both realized as *-nan*. In one case, this *-nan* is the abbreviation of *-namu*, and it attaches to a *mizenkei* form (represented by the character *-ra*, in this excerpt). Motoori calls this a *-nan* with the meaning of "wishing", "hoping", using the verb *negau* 'to wish'. This, however, is not to be confused with another type of *-nan*, that attaches to the *ren'yōkei* form (here represented with *ri*), that can be understood as being the composition of the *mizeneki* form of the affix *-nu*, namely *-na*, and the affix *-n*. This second type of *-nan* is defined by Motoori as possessing the meaning of "pondering about the end" *sue wo oshihakaru* 末をおしはかる that is an identical phrasing to what Shizuki claims in *Seizenfu*, as I will discuss below.

[66] Rough translation: "Anyway, I wish you will only realize afterwards that you have abandoned the earthly world toward the floating world, without relinquishing you aching body."

The excerpt by Shizuki also claims that the affixes *-ten* and *-nan* are to be used with active and neuter verbs, respectively. This is consistent with what Shizuki claimed in the opening chapter to *Seizenfu*, since *-ten* and *-nan* derive form the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu*. While this is rather clear in Shizuki, it is less so in Motoori who, however, identifies a similar relationship between these affixes and verbal activeness, as he writes in volume 7, on page 47, in the excerpt I copied below. However, the way in which Motoori defined verbal activeness or neutrality was rather different from how Shizuki defined it (see 8.3).

此な古事記日本記の歌にもあり。いづれも皆んと同意也。てなはてん。なゝはなん也。ことさまにいへる説共あれども。皆かなはず。たゞなをんにかへて心得る外なし。但しんは。みずからの事にも。又他のうへにもわたりていふを。此なはたゞみづからしかせんとする事にのみいひて。他のうへをおしはかりうたがふやうの事にいへる例はなし。これんとのたがひめ也。十七の巻に「道のなか國つ御神は旅ゆきもしゝらぬ君をめぐみたまはな。これは他のうへにいひて。「たまはなんとこひねがふ意に聞えたり。例なきこと也。もしは奈〻字は。尼か年かなどの誤にて。「たまはねにはあらさるにや。

This *na* can also be seen in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*. It always has the same meaning as *n*. Also, *tena* is *ten* and *nana* is *nan*. Even if there are instances in which they are said so, they do not always correspond. Furthermore, there is no exception to the changing of *na* with *n*. In fact, *n* can be substituted even with "things of the self" [*mizukara no koto*],[67] and things about others [*hoka no ue*]. This *na* is only said regarding things one intends to do on their own. There are no examples in which this is used to talk about things that ponder [*oshihakaru*] on things other [form oneself]. This is the difference with *n*. In volume 17, we read, *michi no naka kunitsu mikani wa tabiyuki moshi shiranu kimi wo megumi tamawana*.[68] This is talking about another. There is not example in which one hears *tamawanan* used with the sense of "wishing" [*koinegau*]. Perhaps, the character *na* 奈 was misunderstood for *ni*/*ne* 尼 or *ne* 年, and the *waka* was *tamawane ni wa arazaru ni ya*.

Here Motoori explains that, in the construction of *-ten* and *-nan*, the *-n* should in theory be *-na*. I do not believe this to correspond to the truth, since *-n* derives from the affix *-mu* that possesses no *-na* form. Regardless, he distinguishes between the *-na* from which *-n* derives, and the *-na* that cannot be substituted with *-n*, the former namely being the *mizenkei* form of *-nu*. Motoori asserts that, even though *-n* can be said regarding the actions enacted by oneself (*mizukara*) and those enacted by another (*hoka*), the latter *-na* can only refer to actions one intends to enact oneself (*mizukara*). The affix *-ten*, here, is only mentioned because it also features this type of *-n*. It is thus not directly claimed that *-ten* is to be used only with active verbs (verbs enacted by another), although it is claimed that *-nan* can only be used with

[67] Or, perhaps, even "action of the self" (*mizukara no waza*), depending on how one interprets the Chinese character *ji* 事.

[68] This poem is found in the seventeenth volume of *Man'yōshū* (3930), it can be translated as: "May the gods that support the land be charitable toward you who have yet to know the way".

neuter verbs (verbs enacted on the self). Furthermore, it is restated that this type of *-nan* is different from the one expressing a "wish" or a "hope" (*koinegau*).

By comparing the Japanese renditions of T53E15 and T53E7, presenting the *zouden* conjugation of, respectively, a neuter and an active verb, one can deduce two different renditions of the Dutch auxiliary verb, according to the type of verb it combines with. As already claimed, the Japanese affixes *-tsu* and *-nu* are considered synonyms, where, however, the former only combines with active verbs, and the latter with neuter ones. That is why, the non-*tatoe* translations of *zouden*, in these two phrases, changes according to whether it is combined with the active verb *iu* 'to say', giving *iiten* (*-tsu* + *-n*) or with the neuter verb *otsu* 'to fall', giving *ochinan* (*-nu* + *-n*). As I have discussed in 8.5.1, the affix *-n* always corresponds to the Dutch auxiliary *zullen*, even when this is not explicitly present, rendering the meaning of future of the present dimension (*gense no mirai* 現世ノ未来); as I will discuss in 8.5.4, instead, the affixes *-tsu* and *-nu* are connected to the Dutch auxiliary *hebben* that, when used as auxiliary, provides a past meaning (*gense no kako* 現世ノ過去). Literally, thus, the translation of it as *-nan* or *-ten* would infer the fact that *zouden* has the combined meaning of past completeness (*hebben*) of the action, as well as an uncertain future (*zullen*).

Sentence T53E26 is *Woorden die men spreeken zou* 'Words that one should/would speak'. This sentence is translated into classical Japanese as *iubeki go* いふべき語, thus by the addition of the affix *-beshi*. In popular Japanese, this same sentence is translated as *iu de arō go* 言デアロウ語, where one has to assume the affix *-de arō* to correspond to what in classical Japanese is expressed by means of the affix *-beshi*. The sentence is, furthermore, translated into Chinese as *yìng yán zhī yǔ* 應言之語. This is claimed in the excerpt below, on folio 4v.

言てん語トモ訳スベシいひてんありなんナド末ヲ推シハカル意ト本居氏イヘリ又應ノ字モ推ハカル意ト物氏言ヘリ

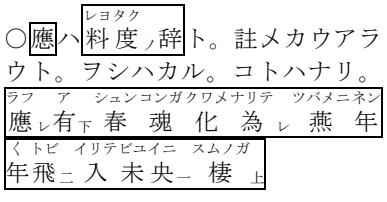
俗言デアロウ語𠮟言ソーナ語𠮟イフ

It can be also translated as *i(h)iten go*. As for words like *ihiten, arinan* etc. Motoori said it of having the meaning of speculating about the end [*sue* 末], and Sorai said that also the character 応 expresses speculation (*oshihakaru*).

In the popular language (*zokugo*) it corresponds to *ihi dearō go* as well as *ihi sōna go*.

The Dutch sentence *Woorden die men spreken zou*, 'Words that one would/should speak' is translated into literary Japanese as *iubeki go*, thus with the suffix *-beshi*, into popular Japanese as *iidearō*, and in Chinese as *yīng yán zhī yǔ* 應言之語, thus by using the Chinese character *ō* 應. Within this explanation, Shizuki adds that he could have translated this sentence, in Japanese, also by using the phrasing *iiten go*, thus by combining the affix for a complete action in active verbs *-tsu* with the *-n*. In this regard, he explains, he read in Motoori Norinaga that those words having the ending *-ten* or *-nan* convey the meaning of "speculation on the effect" (*sue wo oshihakaru* 末ヲ推ハカル). This might come from the quote of *Kotoba no tama no o*, seen above. Shizuki claims that the same sense of speculation (*oshihakaru*) is

conveyed, according to Confucian Ogyū, by the Chinese character *ō* 應 (simplified: 応). Shizuki probably refers to the following quote, form volume 5, on folio 43v, of Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō*:



○ The character *ō* 應 is annotated as a word of 'measuring and pondering' (*ryōtaku* 料度), this is a word that ponders (*oshihakaru*) that something is probably like that (*kō arō*): *shunkon ga kashite tsubame ni narite nen'nen irite biyui ni tobi sumu no ga arō*.

This short definition directly refers to the meaning of this character coinciding with *oshihakaru* 'to ponder'. To illustrate its context of use, Ogyū cites *Gōng rén xié* 宮人斜 – also known as *Nèi rén xié* 内人斜 – a Chinese poem, attributed to Yōyūshi (Yōng Yùzhī) 雍裕之 poet of the Tang dynasty who lived around the year 813. The poem translates roughly as: "If the women serving in the Wèiyāng palace changed their nature, becoming swallows, would they still be flying every year inside the building, making their nests?". Here Ogyū uses the Chinese character *ō* 応 to render the popular Japanese suffix *-rō*. Shizuki also provides this popular language alternative translation for T53E26, in the phrase *iidearō go* 言デアラウ語, though he also adds the possibility of translating this into *iisōna go* 言ヒソーナ語, with the form *-sōna*.

These are the instances in which the Dutch verb *zouden* corresponds to the meaning of *oshihakaru*, that is "pondering", specifically about occurrences that might turn out to be true, as opposed to *tatoe*, whereby the hypothesis can never come true. There is, however, another use of *zouden* that does not correspond to either hypothetical; namely the use of *zouden* that ought to be translated as *-beshi*, into Japanese, while still not being a *tatoe*. This double translation of *zouden* is attested in most of the phrases where this verb is used, in *Seizenfu*, as in: T53E40 *steen die vallen zou* (*otsubeki ishi* 隕へき石 and *ochinan ishi* 隕なん石); T53E67 *zouden zijn* (*arinan* ありなん and *arubeshi* あるへし); *zouden zeggen* (*iiten* いひてん and *iubeshi* いふべし). In T53E54 *Wolk die wit worden zou* (*shiroku naru beki kumo* 白くなるべき雲), the translation with *-beshi* is the only attested.

The affix *-beshi* is also used in a few sentences within the twenty-seven sentences of the chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai*, like sentences T54S21 and T54S26 (the latter absent in Waseda's copy). T54S21 reads *Omdat hij te huis blijven zou, wil men 'er niet gaan* 'Since he should/would stay home, nobody wants to go there'. This sentence is labeled as future (*mirai* 未来) and is translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni arubekereba hito yuku koto wo horisezu* 彼人家にあるべければ人行ことを欲せす, where the verb *aru*, in the upper clause, is combined with the suffix *-bekereba*, a composition of the affixes *-beshi* and consequential *-ba*. These are the result of the interaction, in the Dutch sentence, of the conjunction *omdat* 'because', 'since' and the verb *zouden*. Sentence T54S26, is very similar, only substituting the

conjunction *omdat* with *hoewel* ('even though', 'although'), and reads *Hoewel hij te huis blijven zou wil men 'er niet gaan*, also labeled as *mirai* 未来 and adapted into Japanese analogously, only by substituting the consequential *-ba* with *-do*, mirroring the substitution in conjunction in the Dutch counterpart. The Japanese rendition of T54S26, thus, reads *kano hito ie ni arubekeredo hito yuku koto o horisezu* 彼人家にあるべければ人行ことを欲せす. The fact that both sentences are labeled as *mirai* implies that these are not to be considered *tatoe*, however, this can also be deduced by the fact that both are not introduced by conjunctions such as *indien* or *al*, but by *hoewel* and *omdat*, that have not been recognized by Shizuki as triggering a hypothetical of that type (see 8.5.2.1).

There is, however, another Dutch verb that ought to be translated as *-beshi*, in Japanese, according to Shizuki. This is seen in sentence T53E27 reading *Woorden die men spreken moet* 'Words that one must speak", where the verb *moeten* corresponds to the English "must". The sentence is provided with a Chinese translation, a classical Japanese and a popular Japanese one. The classical Japanese translation reads *masa ni iubeki go* 正にいふへき語, where the only difference with T53E26 – the one with *zouden* – is the addition of the word *masa ni* 正に, thus Shizuki adds the remark "not to be confused with [the sentence] on the right" (右ト混スベカラズ). This same sentence is, thus, translated into Chinese as *dāng yán zhī yǔ* 當言之語, where the verb *moeten* is rendered via the character *dāng* 當 (当), pronounced *tō*, in Japanese. Shizuki provides two popular Japanese renditions, according to the alleged "heaviness or lightness" of the use of the verb *moeten* in the original sentence that must be translated into Japanese. When *moeten* is used as "heavy" then *moeten spreken* ought to be rendered, in popular Japanese, as *iwade kanawanu* イワデカナワヌ. However, when *moeten* is used as "light" the phrase is rendered as *iu hazu go* イウハズ語, thus with the word *hazu*, that Shizuki also writes with the Chinese character *katsu* 筈.[69] The classical Japanese version features a combination of an adverb *masa ni* ('certainly', 'absolutely') and the verbal affix *-beshi*. It is believed that this construction has originated from *kanbun kundoku*, where the adverb *masa ni* could be the reading, not only of the character *shō* 正, but also of the character *tō* 当.[70] Ogyū Sorai, however, in his *Kun'yaku jimō*, treats the character *tō* 當 (当) within the same entry as the character *ō* 応. This implies that their two meanings were often mixed up, by the Japanese, according to Ogyū. He makes the character *tō* 當 correspond to the word *hazu*. The following is found in volume 5 on folio 43v:

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[69] Original quote: "俗イワデカナワヌ語𠮟言筈ノ語𠮟訓ス moet ニ軽重ノ二用アリ重キ方ナル時イワデカナワヌト訓スナリ"

[70] This is claimed in *Digital daijisen*. Original entry: "((漢文訓読から起こった用法)) ア（「当に」とも書く。「まさに・・・べし」などの形で）当然あることをしなければならないさま。ぜひとも。〈略〉イ（「将に」とも書く）（「まさに・・・せんとする」などの形で）ある事が実現しそうだという気持ちを表す語。今にも。".

○ 當 カフアルハヅヂヤト云フ意ナリ。當ハヅ レ サアル 然 正當 的當ト連用スルユヘ道理ヲ以テ。カフスルハヅト。キハムル詞ナリ。但シ右ハ。正義ナリ。ソレヨリ轉用メ。カフアルハヅジヤカラカフセイト云フ。義理ニテ。ヤハリ。タヾ。カウセイト云フ詞ニ。用フルコトモアリ。汝 當ニ努 力ム レ 明日 彼 當レ去 アスハアレガフ イカ

The character *tō* 当 has the meaning of *kō aru hazu ja*. Holding the meaning of its combined uses, as in *sa aru hazu*, *seitō* and *tekitō*, it is a word that expresses the phrasing *kō suru hazu*. These refer to just values (*seigi* 正義). When inflected, it has the meaning of "since it has to be so, then certainly so". In the duties (*giri* 義理) it is also used to simply mean *kō zehi* ['certainly so'],[71] as in *nanji doryoku zehi* and *asu wa are ga ikō*

Here, *tō* 当 is combined with three readings. Initially, Ogyū claims that, with the meaning of "justness" (*seigi* 正義), the character *tō* 当 corresponds to the reading *hazu*, as in the phrases *sa aru hazu* and *kō aru hazu ja*, both roughly meaning "it must be so". This is the same meaning the character has when used in compound words, such as *seitō* 正当 'just' and *tekitō* 的当 'appropriate'. However, when it holds the meaning of "duty" (*giri* 義理), then its meaning turns into *kō zehi* 'certainly so', as in the sentences *nanji doryoku zehi* 'you certainly ought to cooperate' and in *asu are ga ikō* 'he should be going tomorrow'. In these last two sentences, the meaning of *tō* 当 corresponds to both *zehi* and the verbal conjugation *-ō*, a form Shizuki believed corresponded to the popular Japanese rendition of the character *ō* 応 (as in *de arō*). The reading *masa ni* is not acknowledged by Ogyū, although he does acknowledge it with the characters *shō* 正 and *teki* 適, as can be read further in the same volume 5. This last character *teki* 適 is also relevant if one considers that it is one of the characters used to write the Japanese verb *kanau*, meaning 'to suit', 'to conform'. This verb is used by Shizuki in the construction of the "heavy" use of the character *tō* 当, in popular Japanese, in the form *iwade kanawanu*, a verbal compound that can be analyzed as follows:

{**i(w).** + **.a.** + **de.** + **kana(w).** + **.a.** + **.nu** = *mizenkei* of *i*(*h*)*u* 'to say' + *ren'yōkei* of negative affix *-zu* + *mizenkei* of *kanau* 'to suit', 'to conform' + *rentaikei* of negative affix *-zu*}

This is thus a construct with a double negation, that can be literally translated as something like "not saying does not suit", thus paraphrasing the idea that one ought to speak. What Shizuki called the "light" use of *moeten* corresponded to the Japanese word *hazu* 'expectedly', that he writes with the character *katsu* 筈.

[71] The phrase *kō zehi* 'certainly so' is featured twice within this entry, and the two instances are spelled differently. In Waseda's 文庫 17 W36 2 it is spelled with the characters *ka fu se i* カフセイ, in the first instance, and as *ka u se i* カウセイ, in the second instance. In Waseda's ホ 4 2434 5, it is first spelled as *ka fu se hi* カフセヒ and, afterwards, as *ka fu se i* カフセイ.

In Table 54, there are also a few additional sentences featuring the verb *zouden*, however, since the verb is actually used to modify a construction with the verb *zijn*, I will go back to them in the following paragraphs, when covering the latter. There are, nonetheless, some other relevant remarks to be found in the chapter *Rokushi o kasanaru hiyaku*. For example, sentence (T53E71) *Ik zoude 'er gegaan hebben* 'I should/would have gone there', translated into Japanese as *ware kashiko ni yukan to shiki* 我彼所に行んとしき. The form *-n to shiki* expresses willingness, or the determination of enacting the action expressed by the predicate. It is formed by the affix *-n* and by the verb *-su*(*ru*) to do, combined with the past affix *-ki*, into the form *shiki*. In this context, thus, *zouden* corresponds to this construct. However, this specific form can only be used, according to Shizuki, when talking about one's own self. When talking about somebody else (他人ノ上ニテ言フ時), another form ought to be used. To exemplify this, Shizuki uses the same sentence as T53E71, changing the subject from *ik* 'I' to *hij* 'he', reading *Hij zoude 'er gegaan hebben* (T53E72) that is translated into Japanese as *kano hito kashiko ni yukiken* 彼人彼所に行けん. Here, the verb *zouden* corresponds to the affix *-ken* (abbreviated form of *-kemu*). Shizuki further adds that, if one intends to use a form similar to *-n to shiki* while talking about another person one can use the form *-n to hoshiki*, where the verb *su*(*ru*) is substituted with the verb *horisu* 'to want', 'to like' that corresponds in meaning to the Dutch verb *willen* 'to want', as can be seen from T53E73, *Hij wilde 'er gaan* 'He wanted to go there', rendered into Japanese as *kano hito kashiko ni yukan to horishiki* 彼人彼所に行んと欲しき. This is again contrasted with T53E74, where the sentence *Hij moest 'er gaan* 'He had to go there', is rendered into Japanese with the combination of *masa ni* and *beshi* combined with the affix *-ki* because of the presence of *moest*, a past tense. Thus, the Japanese sentence reads *kano hito masa ni kashiko ni yukubekariki* 彼人必に彼所に行べかりき. Shizuki adds here the following remarks (10v):

此二語前ナルハ好ム意アリ後ナルハ彼ナルハ行サル了能ハサルノ意アリ他人ノ上ニテハ右等ノ語ヲ用ウコノんとしきノ意ヲ事迹ノ書中ニイヘルハ別ニ te vooren, ooijt, reeds.(前カタニ イツテモ 既)ナト云詞ヲ加ヘテ過去中[72]ノ過去ナル了ヲ明カス「けん」ト「つらん」ト混ズル了ナカレ「つらん」ノ了ハ彼ノらんノ條ニ見ヘタリ

The two sentences before this [T53E72 and T53E73] have the meaning of "to like" (*konomu* 好ム). The subsequent [T53E74] has the meaning of "not going is not possible". When said toward another person one needs to use the words I have shown above. When saying the meaning of *n to shiki* in books of *jiseki* 事迹, one adds *te vooren*, *ooit* and *reeds*, and it clarifies that it concerns the past within the past. Do not confuse *ken* with *tsuran*. This *tsuran* can be seen in the same line as *ran*.

[72] In Waseda's copy, above this term one can find the *katakana* for *mēru dan* メールダン, that I assume to be the abbreviation of the Dutch name for the pluperfect tense *meer dan volmaakte* or *voltooid*.

Shizuki starts this section by providing another additional viable translation for the verb *zouden* into Japanese. According to Shizuki, the verb *zouden* can also be used to express someone's willingness to do something, as in sentence T53E71 *Ik zoude 'er gegaan hebben* that can be assumed to be interpreted by Shizuki as meaning "I should have gone there" as in "I would have wanted to go there". With this meaning, thus, *zouden* corresponds to the Japanese construction *-n to shiki*. However, while in Dutch one can use the same construct to talk about the intentions, or willingness of somebody else, as in T53E72 *Hij zoude 'er gegaan hebben*, in Japanese this is not possible. The reason is not directly specified by Shizuki, however, since he used the phrasing *tanin no ue ni* 'on another person' – very similar to Motoori Norinaga's phrasings – one can assume that the difference lies in this concept. The form *-n to shiki* would be thus only viable when talking about "the self" (*onozukara – ji* 自). When talking about "someone else" (*kanata – ta* 他) the affix must change into *-ken*/*kemu*. This is because, if one used a similar construction with "the other", then the form *-n to horishiki* would not correspond to the Dutch verb *zouden* anymore, but to the preterit of verb *willen*, namely *wilde*.

Shizuki adds not to confuse this *-ken* with *-tsuran*, a composition of the affix *-tsu*, rendering the completion of an action, and *-ran*, an affix that Motoori Norinaga, on page 14 of volume 6 of his *Kotoba no tama no o*, defines as a "particle of doubt" (*utagai no te ni wo ha* 疑ひのてにをは). I will go back to these affixes when covering the chapter that Shizuki titled *Musubi kotoba*, in 8.6.1.

Regarding the excerpt above, one should notice that this is one of the few instances in which Shizuki apparently employs the traditional *kokugaku* concept of *jita* 自他, instead of the more European-influenced active-neuter dichotomy. In fact, in this excerpt the phrasing "when used on another person" implies that activeness/neutrality is not an intrinsic quality of each verb, as Dutch grammarians and, mostly, lexicographic works tended to theorize, but it depended on the contextual use of the verb within a specific sentence.

Ultimately, Shizuki also mentions the concept of *jiseki*, which I will discuss in 8.6.2. As for now, I can close this analysis of the verb *zouden* with the following scheme, resuming all the different nuances and Japanese translations identified by Shizuki.

ZOUDEN

Type

kako no mirai 過去ノ未来: future time, past dimension

Meaning

Japanese

1 Hypothetical of impossibility (*tatoe* 假令):

Classical language:
-mashi まし;
-seba せば;
-mashikaba ましかば;
-maseba ませば

Early Modern language:
-beshi べし
(*-bekuba* べくば, *-bekeredo* べけれど)

2 Hypothetical of possibility (*oshihakaru* 推シ量カル)

Active *dōta* 動他 verbs:
-ten てん.
Neutral *jidō* 自動 verbs:
-nan なん.
Capability:
-beshi べし.
(Not in the construction *masa ni* + *-beshi*, as it corresponds to *moeten* and the Chinese character tō 当)
In past perfect:
-ken けん;
-n to shiki んとしき (speaking of oneself);
-n to horishiki んと欲しき (speaking of another person);

Chinese character

shō 将 (將)

8.5.3 The verb *hebben*

The Dutch verb *hebben* 'to have', corresponds, in Shizuki's Table of the Three Times, to the "past time" of the "present dimension" (*gense no kako* 現世ノ過去). Just like its English counterpart, the verb *hebben* can be used in two main ways: as a verb expressing possession and as an auxiliary for a few present perfect tenses. The Japanese language did not have a direct translation to the possessive sense of the verb *hebben*: the verb *motsu* 持つ corresponds more closely to the concept of

"holding", rather than "possessing", and can only be used to render a very limited number of uses of possessive *hebben*; the construction *ni ari*, expresses possession by means of a verb signifying existence, namely *ari*, the same used to translate the verb *zijn*. However, the Chinese language helps Shizuki make the distinction quite clear thanks to the fact that, in Chinese, there is a distinction between "existence", expressed by means of the character *zài* 在 and "possession", rendered with the character *yǒu* 有. In the Japanese written language, traditionally, these characters have been used to write the verb *ari*, according to the different nuance in meaning. Shizuki acknowledges this by assigning the character *zai* 在 to the Dutch verb *zijn* and the character *yū* 有 to the verb *hebben*.

8.5.3.1 Non-auxiliary uses of *hebben*

The fact that the meanings of the two characters *zai* 在 and *yū* 有 were somewhat difficult to distinguish for a Japanese speaker, is evidenced by the entry found in Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, in volume 5 on folios 61v-62r, where the two are drawn into contrast:

〔在　有〕

○　此二字。世俗ニ同ジク用フルハ。文旨沙汰ノ限リナリ。サレ𪜈。ヨホドノ者ガ。意得ソコナフ。實ニ倭訓ノ人ヲ謬(アヤマ)ルㇵ甚イカナ。有ト無ト對ス。

○　在ハ没。又去ト對ス。有ハ只(タヾ)アリ　在ハニアリト心得ルナリ。在ハマシマストヨミテ。居ル意ニ使フモ。同ジㇵナリ。有ノ字ノ下ハ物ナリ。在ノ字ノ下ハ居處(キヨショ)ナリ。市ニ有リレ人　人在リレ市ニコレニテ。ヨクスムゾ。又。在ノ字。処ニヨリテ。輕ク用ヒテ。於ノ字ト通フㇵアリ。又。有ノ字。下ノ字ニヲクカナヲ付ケテ反ル寸ハ。音(オン)ニテ有(ユウ)スルトヨム。モツ　モツテオルト云フ意

〔在　有〕

○ Albeit limited by the rules imposed by the meaning of the text, most people fail to understand the meaning of these two characters, which are generally used interchangeably. In reality, people reading in *kun'yomi* mostly misread them. The character *yū* 有 opposes *mu* 無.

○ The character *zai* 在 opposes *botsu* 没 or *kyo* 去. The character *yū* 有 should be learnt as simply meaning *ari* アリ, while *zai* 在 as meaning *ni ari* ニアリ. When reading the character *zai* 在 as *mashimasu*,[73] it is the same as using it with the meaning of *our* 居ル. Below [after] the character *yū* 有 there is a [physical] thing, below [after] the character *zai* 在 there is a location, as in the sentences *shi ni hito ari* and *hito shi ni ari*[74] case, depending on the context, one can use *sumuri* or *zai* 在, interchangeably with the character *o* 於. Furthermore, when one inverts the position of *yū* 有 by placing a *kana* below [after] the character *yū* 有, that ought to be read [in *on'yomi*] as in *yū suru*, and has the meaning of *motsu* モツ and *motteoru*

[73] This is a *sonkeigo* version of the verbs *aru* 在る and *oru* 居る.

[74] In Waseda's 文庫 17 W36 2, this is spelled as *aru* 在ル, though I believe this to be a misspelling. In Waseda's ホ 4 2434 5, it is spelled as *ari* 在リ, as I would have expected.

ナリ。フイウ 冨有ノ有モコレナリ。エン 奄有モ同シ。

モツテオル. This is the case of *yū* 有 in *fuyū* 冨有. It is the same in *en'yū* 奄有.

In this explanation, Ogyū confirms that both characters correspond to the Japanese verb *ari*. He points out that, when reading in *wakun* 倭訓 (Japanese reading of Chinese text, i.e., *kundoku*), most people mix up the meaning conveyed by these two characters. Similar to what he does in his other work *Yakubun sentei*, Ogyū explains the meaning of character by contrasting them with their opposites. The opposite of *yū* 有 is *mu* 無 'no'. The character *zai* 在, instead, is opposed to two characters: *botsu* 没 and *kyo* 去, both connected to the idea of "not existing anymore'". Another important difference outlined by Ogyū between these two characters, is the fact that after the character *yū* 有 one requires to place a "thing" (物), while *zai* 在 requires a "location" (居處). This is a consequence of the fact that, being *yū* 有 a verb expressing possession, it requires an object in the role of a direct object, while *zai* 在, since it expresses existence, can only feature a location as its argument, and a "thing" as a direct object. Additionally, *zai* 在 can also be used in its reading as *mashimasu*, thus equated to the verb *oru* 居る 'to be (somewhere)', 'to dwell', another verb expressing the idea of "being" and "existing". While I would assume this explanation not to be particularly helpful for a user of Japanese who happens to be confused regarding the use of these two characters, Ogyū adds a more concrete example of (Chinese) language use. He writes the following phrases in Chinese: *shì yǒu rén* 市有人 and *rén zài shì* 人在市 to which *kaeri ten* are annotated composing the following Japanese sentences: *shi ni hito ari* 市ニ人有リ and *hito shi ni ari* 人市ニ在リ, respectively. Although the two sentences might appear rather similar, they do, in fact, differ sensibly. Both these sentences can be approximated to "There are people in the market/town", but their grammar is rather different. Also, in the Chinese versions the elements change grammatical role, while in Japanese this does not really happen. In Chinese, the sentence *shì yǒu rén* 市有人, has *shì* ('market', 'town') as subject, while *rén* ('people') is the direct object of the verb *yǒu* (i.e., the character *yū* 有). The Chinese sentence *rén zài shì* 人在市, instead, has *rén* ('people') as subject, *zài* as verb, and *shì* as location. In both Japanese versions, the word *hito* 'people' is always subject and *shi* 'town', 'market' is always the indirect object, signaled with the particle *ni*, relative to the same *ari* verb. The Chinese language differentiates between the two meanings by means of two different verbs, written with two difference characters, and by swapping the subject-object relation. Japanese, instead, does not do that, since both meanings are expressed in a very similar morphosyntactic manner, with both sentences presenting the verb *ari*, that is only distinguished in the written form. The only real difference, across the two Japanese adaptations, is what might be described as a "marked" relocation of the phrase *shi ni*. In both Japanese versions the same verb *ari* interacts with the subject *hito* and the indirect object *shi ni*. However, in the possessive sentence, the "owner" (*shi ni*) appears as the first element of the sentence, while in the existential sentence, the first element of the sentence is the subject (*hito*). I am not sure whether Ogyū believed this word order to be a fixed rule, as it could have also been influenced by

the syntax of the Chinese original sentences. In addition, Ogyū also claims that in compound words the character *yū* 有 ought to be read in its *on'yomi* as *yū suru* (*suru* being the general Japanese verb for 'to do') as in the words *fuyū* 冨有 ('wealth', 'owned goods') and *en'yū* 奄有 ('possession'). In these instances, the character has the meaning of the verb *motsu* モツ 'to hold' and its derived form *motteoru* モツテオル.

In *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki provides an explanation of the verb *hebben* used with each of the parts of speech he recognizes. When used in combination with full words, meaning substantives, it corresponds to the use of *hebben* as expressing possession. In this instance, Shizuki claims, it has the meaning of "holding/possessing things" (物ヲ持有) – again with the verb *motsu* – and corresponds to the concept expressed by the character *yū* 有 and that it must be translated as *ari* (see 8.4.3).

Also, in *Seizenfu*, Shizuki writes the sentence *Ik heb een pen* 'I have a pen' (incorrectly spelled as *Ik heb pen* in Waseda's copy). This sentence is used as an example of an instance in which the verb *hebben* has the meaning of the Chinese character *yū* 有, as can be seen from the Chinese translation provided there, reading *wǒ yǒu yī bǐ* 我有一筆. This sentence is translated into Japanese as *ware ni ippitsu ari*, where the character *yū* 有 corresponds to the verb *ari*, the owner is marked with the particle *ni* (*ware ni*) and the owned thing is the subject (*ippitsu*), just like Ogyū's sentence above.

Among the numerous example sentences and phrases found in *Seizenfu*, with the exclusion of the past tense *hadden* and past perfect tenses *gehad hadden*, that I will cover in the following section 8.5.3.2, there are only two sentences featuring the verb *hebben* in its present simple tense and, in both, the verb is used in its possessive meaning. Sentence T54S12 quotes *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht* 'Even though a whore has a pretty face, it is a lantern without light'. This sentence is translated into Japanese as *gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran* 妓女に美色ありともこれ無光の燈ならん and the verb *hebben* corresponds to the Japanese *ari* (spelled in *kana* and not in Chinese characters), as expected, that gets conjugated into *aritomo*, as to include the concessional meaning of the Dutch conjunction *al*. It is to this sentence that Shizuki adds the often-cited remark claiming that the meaning of the verb *zullen* is embedded within the word *al*. For this reason, the predicate in the lower clause – the main clause – is conjugated by adding the affix *-n*, typical of the verb *zullen*. For this reason, Shizuki labels this sentence a *mirai* 未来 'future'. Sentence T54S13, instead, is a slight variation of the matrix represented by T54S12, where the only real difference is the substitution of the conjunction *al* with *hoewel*, in the sentence *Hoewel zij een mooi gezigt heeft, is het een lantaarn zonder licht*, translated into Japanese as *kanojo ni bishoku aredomo kore mukō no tō nari* 彼女に美色あれともこれ無光の燈なり. In this sentence, as well, *hebben* is used in its possessive meaning and is rendered into Japanese as the verb *ari*. However, since the conjunction *al* is not present anymore, being substituted by the conjunction *hoewel* that does not have the meaning of *zullen* embedded within it, the predicate in the main clause drops the affix *-n*, ultimately

being conjugated without adding any affix. Another difference in the translation of this sentence, is the fact that the verb *ari* is inflected in its *izenkei* form, which suggests the fact that the affix used to translate *hoewel* is *-domo*, whereas in T54S12 one must have had *-tomo*, since *ari* was in its *shūshikei*. Since the *kana* characters *to* and *do* were often homographs, in the Edo period, the form of the predicate they are conjoined with is the only hint one can use to know which of the two affixes was being used here. T54S13 is commented by adding that, when you have *howevel* in the upper clause, you can often find conjunctions like *dog* 'still' or *echter* 'though', in the lower clause.[75]

In conclusion, the Dutch verb *hebben*, whenever it is used as a verb expressing possession, always corresponds to the Japanese verb *ari*, yet only in those instances when *ari* corresponds to the Chinese character *yū* 有. This concept was often rendered, in popular Japanese, by means of the verb *motsu* 持ツ 'to hold'. In the following paragraph, I will investigate what is claimed regarding the use of *hebben* as an auxiliary, in the construction of compound tenses.

8.5.3.2 Uses of *hebben* as an auxiliary

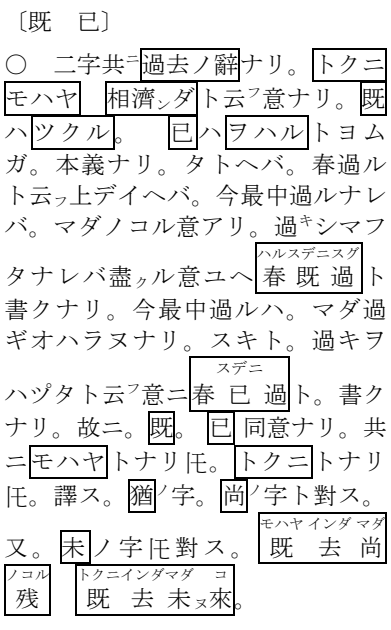
In Dutch, the verb *hebben* is also used as an auxiliary to construct present perfect tenses. In contemporary prescriptive Dutch grammar, the verb *hebben* can only be used with specific verbs, whereas other verbs require the auxiliary verb *zijn*. This is the case, for example, of the verb *vallen* 'to fall', used by Shizuki as an example of a neuter verb. The form *gevallen hebben*, in contemporary prescriptive Dutch is, thus, not a grammatically correct form, while the form *gezegt hebben* – with the active verb *zeggen* – is. This tended to also be the rule in 17th and 18th century Dutch. However, in *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki uses both *zijn* and *hebben* in the composition of the perfect tenses of any verb. Or, better said, he never claims that specific verbs cannot combine with *hebben* in the present perfect and he provides examples of both *zijn* and *hebben* used in combination with *vallen*. Furthermore, according to Shizuki, the present perfect with *hebben* always corresponds to the two affixes *-nu* and *-tsu*. These affixes specialize in combining with neuter verbs and active verbs respectively, according to Shizuki, somewhat based on Motoori Norinaga. This is claimed, as I have already discussed in 8.5.2.2, when Shizuki demonstrated the non-*tatoe* used of *zouden*, in the quote below (3v):

太槩自動ハぬ、ぬる、ぬれ、ヲ帯ヒ動他ハつ、つる、つれ、ヲ帯ブ	Generally, to neutral verbs (*jidō*) one adds *-nu, -nuru* and *-nure*, while with active verbs (*dōta*) one adds *-tsu, -tsuru* or *-tsure*.

In the *sanze* table, Shizuki identified two characters corresponding to *hebben*, namely *yū* 有 and *ki* 既. As claimed in 8.5.2.1, the Chinese character *yū* 有

[75] Original quote: "上ニ hoewel トイヘバ下ヲ dog, echter ナトニテ受ルガ通例ナレ𪜈サルモノナクシテ言ル例モ多シ".

corresponds to the non-auxiliary use of *hebben.* It can be assumed that the Chinese character *ki* 既, thus, corresponds to the use of *hebben* in combination with another verb, i.e., when it is used as an auxiliary. On folios 9r-9v of volume 4 of Ogyū's *Kun'yaku jimō* this Chinese character is defined, together with the character *i* 已, as follows:



〔既　已〕

○　二字共ニ過去ノ辭ナリ。トクニモハヤ　相濟ンダト云フ意ナリ。既ハツクル。　已ハヲハルトヨムガ。本義ナリ。タトヘバ。春過ルト云ヮ上デイヘバ。今最中過ルナレバ。マダノコル意アリ。過キシマフタナレバ盡ヶル意ユヘ春既過（ハルスデニスグ）ト書クナリ。今最中過ルハ。マダ過ギオハラヌナリ。スキト。過キヲハヅタト云フ意ニ春已過（スデニ）ト。書クナリ。故ニ。既。已同意ナリ。共ニモハヤトナリ汦。トクニトナリ汦。譯ス。猶ノ字。尚ノ字ト對ス。又。未ノ字汦對ス。既去尚（モハヤインダマダ）残（ノコル）　既去未ヲ來（トクニインダマダコ）。

〔既　已〕

○　Both these characters are words of 'past' [*kako*], having the meaning of *toku ni*, *mohaya* and *aisunda.* The real meaning of these is to read the character *ki* 既 as *tsukuru* and*i* 已 as *woharu* [*owaru*]. For example, when one says *haru sugiru* ['Spring passes/is passing'] that means that they are within the process of passing and there is still some left. If it has already finished passing, it has the meaning of *sugaru* 盡ル [尽ル 'to pass beyond'] and one writes *haru sude ni sugu* 春既過. Now being in the process of passing, but not yet passed completely. For the meanings of *suki* ['passing'] and *suki-owatta* ['finished passing'] one writes *haru sude ni sugu* 春已過. Furthermore, *ki* 既 and *i* 已 can be synonyms when they translate *mo haya* and *toku ni.* They oppose the characters *yū* 猶 and *shō* 尚. Also, they oppose the character *mi* 未. As in the sentences: *inda mada nokoru* and *tokuni inda mada konu*.

Both these characters are categorized as *kako* 'past', similarly to what is drawn by Shizuki in his Table of the Three Times. However, Ogyū expands on the type of past expressed by the character *ki* 既, that allegedly differs from that expressed by the character *i* 已. Ogyū uses the example of the passing of spring, with the verb *sugu* ('to past', 'to elapse') written with the same Chinese character as the syllable *ka* in the word for "past", *kako* 過去. Ogyū introduces two slightly different contexts, both expressed with the sentence *haru sugiru* 春過ル 'the spring passes'. The first type of past finds the speaker within the process of passing of the spring, meaning that there is still some of the spring remaining (*mada nokoru* マダノコル). This nuance is expressed by means of the character *i* 已. The second example represents the same sentence said when the spring has already completely passed. In this case one uses the character *ki* 既. It can be claimed that the difference between these two characters, thus, is very similar to the concepts of verbal aspect, where *ki* 既 represents an action started in the past, that is complete in the present, while *i* 已 represents an action started in the past and still incomplete in the present. Both sentences are rendered in Japanese as *haru sude ni sugu*, where the charters *ki* 既 and *i* 已 both correspond to the adverb *sude ni* 'already', suggesting the semantic

meaning to be really a feature of the Chinese language. Ogyū never presents an adaptation of these two concepts with specific verbal affixes, in *Kun'yaku jimō*. The characters are, instead, compared to two Japanese verbs: *ki* 既 is said to correspond to the verb *tsukuru* (尽) 'to complete' 'to fully do'; while *i* 已 is translated as *owaru* 'to end'.

Within the twenty-seven sample sentences, in *Seizenfu* there is not a single one featuring *hebben* as auxiliary. In the other sections, instead, Shizuki provides multiple examples, illustrating the differences in the use of *hebben* with active or neuter verbs. The verbs of his choice are *vallen* for neuter verbs, and *spreken* for active verbs. Both Marin and Halma agreed with this categorization. As can be seen in their dictionaries: *vallen* is considered neuter (HALMA 1710, p. 841) (MARIN 1752, p. 439), and *spreeken* is considered active (HALMA 1710, p. 750) (MARIN 1752, p. 353).

In the *kiruru go* section, the Dutch phrase T53E10 *gevallen hebben* 'to have fallen' is translated into Japanese as *ochinu*, thus with the affix *-nu*. Here Shizuki adds that this type of phrasings can also be expressed by means of the verb *zijn*. The verb of T53E10 is then used in a sentence, in the *tsuzuku kotoba* section: T53E37 *Steen die gevallen heeft* 'Stone that has fallen'. This is translated into Japanese as *ochinuru ishi*, where the suffix *-nu* is featured in its *rentaikei* form *-nuru*, since it appears in a relative clause. The same structure was already displayed in phrase T53E23 with the active verb *spreeken*, with the sentence *Woorden die men gesproken heeft* 'Words that one has spoken'. The classical Japanese translation is *iitsuru go*, grammatically identical to the previous sentence, accounting for the substitution of *-nu* with *-tsu*, consistent with the substitution of the neuter verb *vallen* with the active verb *spreken*. However, the Dutch morphosyntax is sensibly different. In phrase T53E37, the subject *steen* 'stone' is both the subject and the agent of the action, while in phrase T53E23 *woorden* 'words' is the subject but not the agent, role played, in this case, by the impersonal pronoun *men* 'one'. Shizuki deals with this idea in the following quote (4r):

spreeken 動他詞ナル故ニ had, hebbe ニ値ヘバ必ス men ヲ加サレバ言フㇵ能ハズ had, hebbe モ動他ナレバナリ	*Spreeken* is a *tadō*. For this reason, when it meets *had* or *hebbe*[n], it cannot be said without adding *men*. Also, *had* and *hebbe*[n] are *dōta*.

The manner in which Shizuki rationalizes this difference is rather peculiar. His goal is to translate the Japanese *iitsuru go* that would directly translate the English "Words that have been spoken" but the phrasing **woorden die gesproken hebben* would make the subject "words" the agent of the action, and that is certainly not the intended meaning. The present perfect of *vallen*, namely *gevallen hebben* (T53E10), corresponds to the Japanese *ochinu* (*otsu* + *-nu*) while the present perfect of *spreken*, namely *gesproken hebben* (T53E2), corresponds to the Japanese *iitsu* (*iu* + *-tsu*). In the *tsuzuku kotoba* section, instead, Shizuki portrays the way the Japanese *rentaikei* form should be rendered into Dutch. It is in this context that one finds the first inconsistency between the Japanese sentences and their Dutch renditions. A

rentaikei is used, in Japanese, whenever the predicate needs to modify the subsequent noun, as in a relative clause. In Japanese, thus, the forms *iitsuru go* (*iu* + *rentaikei* of *-tsu* + *go* 'words'; T53E23) is grammatically homologous to *ochinuru ishi* (*otsu* + *rentaikei* of *-nu* + *ishi* 'stone'; T53E37). These are both relative clauses. However, in the latter the word *ishi* also functions as the subject and agent of the phrase, while in the former, *go* cannot be the agent, since "words" cannot speak but, rather, are spoken, instead. To consider *iitsuru go* a passive mood, nonetheless, is not representative of either Japanese grammar, or Shizuki's theory. Firstly, Shizuki never recognizes the existence of a passive tense, in and of itself (see 8.4.1, above). Secondly, whenever a sentence can only be interpreted as a passive, Shizuki always adopts other specific verbal affixes to render it into Japanese (see both 8.4.1, and 8.4.9). Consequently, according to Shizuki, the sentence *iitsuru go* is not to be considered a passive, but a sentence whose grammar is completely homologous to the neuter-verb version *ochinuru go*. The problem in correspondence is only found in the Dutch version, for which there is no linguistic tool to render *iitsuru go*, unless one adds the word *men*, an indefinite subject pronoun, that radically transforms the morphosyntactic relations between the elements of the sentence. By means of this addition the element "words" becomes the patient of the verb and *men* functions as the explicit subject. The addition of *men* to the same sentence with *vallen* is not necessary, as this verb is neuter. This is discussed in the following quote (7r):

vallen 自動ナル故 men ヲ加ヘスシテ hebben Zullen ヲ言フ又 vallen 自動ナル故 worden ヲ加フルヿナシ總テ Worden ヲ加レバ動他ヲ自動トナス意アリ	The verb *vallen* is neutral (*jidō*), thus one can say *hebben* or *zullen* without adding *men*. Furthermore, since *vallen* is neuter, it is not combined with *worden*. Whenever *worden* is added, it has the meaning of turning an active verb into a neuter verb.

The reason why *vallen* cannot combine with *men* is a consequence of it being a neuter verb. In reality, *vallen* actually can combine with *men*, just not in the context provided by Shizuki. This quote is found in the *tsuzuku kotoba* section, where the verb *vallen* is always used in relative clauses where the subject was *steen* 'stone'. In Dutch, one could actually say *Men valt* 'One falls', thus combining *vallen* with *men*, yet this would make *men* the subject of the verb *vallen* and this is not what Shizuki is talking about. This claim concerning the impossibility of combining *vallen* with *men*, should be read in the context of only comparing it to the Dutch translation of *iitsuru go*. Since the sentence *iitsuru go* cannot be adapted into Dutch without changing the grammatical structure by adding an impersonal pronoun *men*, one could expect the same thing to be possible with *ochinuru ishi* that, in Japanese, has an identical morphosyntax, except for the different affix. In Dutch, though, one cannot add *men* to the sentence *steen die gevallen heeft* (T53E37), the same way one would do with *Woorden die men gesproken heeft* (T53E23). That is to say, the sentence **Steen die men gevallen heeft* is not grammatically correct. In the quote above, Shizuki also mentions the fact that, since *vallen* is a neuter verb, it cannot combine with *worden*, the Dutch auxiliary for the passive mood. This is the first clear mention of Shizuki concerning the impossibility of neuter verbs to be turned

passive, as it was claimed in the Dutch sources (see Chapters III and IV). The Dutch auxiliaries *hebben* and *zullen* can be used, with neuter verbs, without the need of the impersonal pronoun *men*. This means that one can say, in Dutch, *steen die gevallen heeft*, as well as *steen die vallen zal*, since *vallen* is neuter, while one cannot say **woorden die gespoken hebben* and **woorden die gesproken zullen*, as a rendition of the Japanese *iitsuru go* and *iwan go*, respectively. To do that, these Japanese sentences need to be rendered into Dutch as *Woorden die men gesproken heeft* (T53E23) and *Woorden die men spreken zal* (T53E28), respectively. This happens because *spreken* is an active verb. The same correspondence in use between *hebben* and *zullen* is identified by Shizuki in the way auxiliaries combine with adjectives, being that *zijn* is the only out of the three that can combine with an adjective. This is claimed by Shizuki in the quote "The word *wit* ['white'] is a quiet word that translates *shiro* 白. Empty quiet words thus cannot combine with *hebben* or *zullen*" (wit 静虚詞ナリ白ト訳ス静虚ハ hebben, zullen. ニカヽルヿナシ).

There are other examples of *hebben* being used as an auxiliary. For example, phrase T53E70 is *zouden gezegt hebben* 'Should/would have said', that combines *zouden* with *hebben* and a past participle of an active verb. This phrase presents four Japanese adaptations. In the classical language, this would be rendered as *iiken* {**ih.** + **.i.** + **.ken** = *ren'yōkei* of *i*(*h*)*u* + *shūshikei* of *-kemu*}, *iwan to shiki* {**ih. + .a. + .n** = *mizenkei* of *i*(*h*)*u* + suffix *-mu*/*n*} + {**shi. + .ki** = *ren'yōkei* of *su*(*ru*) 'to do' + past suffix *-ki*}, while in popular language one uses the version *ittarā* 言タラー and *iu to shita* 言ウトシタ. In these examples, the Dutch conjugation is adapted into Japanese by means of the affix *-kemu* (see 8.6.1).[76]

[76] For the sake of completeness, I have to add that there are other interesting examples of the use of *hebben* in *Joshi-kō*. The entry to the phrasing *liever hebben* 'rather have' provides the Japanese translation *wakite aisu* 別て愛す. This phrase is composed by the verb *wakiru* 'to differentiate' and *aisu* 'to love'. The Dutch phrasing *liever hebben* is, thus, adapted very differently into Japanese, where the verb *hebben* has no direct counterpart. To explain this *joshi*, Shizuki adds the following sentence: *Wie hebt gij liever?* "Who would you rather have?", translated into Japanese as *nanji dare wo ka wakite aisuru* 汝誰をか別て愛する. Shizuki also deals with another important grammatical nuance, while covering the Dutch preposition *te* in combination with *hebben* and the prefix *ge-* (that Shizuki treats as a *joshi*), meaning *hebben* plus a participle. He claims the following: "One can find or not find *te* between the word *hebben* and a word to which *ge* is added. This is like saying *geslaapt te hebben* and *geslaapt hebben*. In the rule of the language, one adds *te*. This is the same type as *de* and *het*, yet it is not the same *te* to make a dead word" (ge ノ附タル詞ト hebben トノ間ニアレハ te ハアルモ無カ如シ geslaapt te hebben, geslaapt hebben ト同意也文法ニテ te ヲ加フル也 de, het ノ類ナレ𠦂死詞ニナス為ノ te ニモアラス). In the subsequent entry Shizuki writes: "When combining *om te*, there are two meanings. When it receives a verb above, it translates *beki ga tame*. The translation of *te* as *beki ga* is in the likes of *hij doet het om eerlijk te leven*, *om te zien*. The verb *doen* receives a verb. When it receives a 'lively verb' before it translates *ni*. *bekwaam om te lezen*, *yomi ni yoroshi* 読に宜し *bekwaam* receives an adjective (*seishi* 静詞) *om met hem te spreeken* This is a different om *te*. Personally, I believe it must be translated as *kano hito to tanzu beki ga tame*" (te. om te. ト連ル時二義アリ上動詞

Going back to the *sanze* 'Table of the Three Times', the verb *hebben* is found at the crossing between the *gense* column, and the *kako* line, making it a *gense no kako*. This, certainly, only refers to the use of *hebben* in present perfect tenses. The meaning of the Japanese suffixes *-nu* and *-tsu*, is compared to the Chinese character *ki* 既 which, as defined by Ogyū, is used to refer to processes that are completed in the present time. Since Shizuki identifies a different nuance in the conveyed meaning regarding the use of *hebben* and *zijn* in 18th century Dutch, this type of phrasing only corresponds to a present perfect tense constructed by means of the auxiliary *hebben*. The verb *zijn*, instead, is found in the *genzai* 'present' line, as its use in combination with participles is identified as rendering a sensibly different meaning, as I will discuss in 8.4.9.

HEBBEN

Type

gense no kako 現世の過去, Past of the Present

Meaning

Japanese

1 With neuter verbs: *-nu* ぬ

2 With active verbs: *-tu* つ

3 With nouns: *ari* あり

Chinese character

yū 有 (with nouns)

ki 既 (with verbs)

ヲ受ル時ハべきが為ト訳 te ヲべきがト訳ス hy doet het om eerlyk te leeven, om te zien. ナド也 doen 動詞ヲ受ク 上ノ動活詞ヲ受ル時ハにト訳ス bekwaam om te leezen 読に宜し bekwaam.静詞ヲ受タリ om met hem te spreeken. om te ヲ別テリ　発按ニ彼人と談ずべきか為ト訳スベシ). He further also adds: "You translate *te* as *beki*. As in *te doen hebben*, *te eten hebben*; *nasu beki nari, kuu beki ari*. These combine with a verb without *ge*." (べきト訓ス te doen hebben. te eeten hebben. 為べきなり 食ふべきあり 是等ハ ge ノツカス動詞ニ連レリ). This text contains many implicit interpretations regarding Dutch grammar. The syllable *ge-* is used as a prefix in the composition of Dutch past participles. To consider it as a small word-unit was far from uncommon, even within Dutch sources. In Halma's dictionary, the prefix *ge-* gets its own entry and is treated as a *lid* 'small word', 'part of word' or *artykel* 'article' (see 4.1.4). In Shizuki's examples above some instances in which the verb *hebben*, present in the original Dutch phrase, does not get adapted in any way into Japanese. In all the above sentences, which present small nuances in meaning of the combination *om te* 'in order to', 'to', with a compound verb constructed with *hebben*, the Japanese translation only retains the main verb and *beki ga tame*, which is a translation of *om te*, as Shizuki claims, and not *hebben*.

8.5.4 The verb *hadden*

The Dutch verb *hadden* is the past simple, or preterit, of the verb *hebben*. For this reason, it can be used in both contexts in which its present-tense counterpart is used, namely: to express possession; and as an auxiliary for the construction of a past perfect tense. The uses of *hadden*, as identified by Shizuki, are exemplified by the following quote found in the grammatical section of *Joshi-kō* (55v):

hadden. 言(イヒ)キ見(ミ)キナトノキノ字ノ意ナリ ○実詞ニカヽル時ハ 有(アリキ) ノ意ナリ 曽有ノ意　曽ノ意 キ　アリキ シ　アリシ シカ　アリシカ	*hadden* Has the meaning of the character *ki* in *ihiki*, *miki* etc. When it interacts with a full word, it has the meaning of *ariki* 有. Meaning of *sōyū* 曽有. Meaning of *yū* 曽. *ki ariki* *shi arishi* *shika arishika*

Shizuki recognizes two main uses of *hadden*, one of which is identified with the phrasing "When it interacts with a full word" (実詞ニカヽル時), in which case it has the meaning of the Chinese character *yū* 有, conveying the meaning of possession (see 8.5.3.1). However, the word *ariki* is added as *furigana* to this Chinese character, thus implying that the semantic meaning of *yū* 有 (*ari*) has to be modified by the addition of the affix *-ki*. When *hadden*, thus, has the meaning of *ariki*, Shizuki claims that it corresponds to the combination of the two Chinese characters *sō* 曽 and *yū* 有. When *hadden* is used as an auxiliary, instead, it only has the meaning of *sō* 曽 in which case, in the Japanese rendition, it only corresponds to the affix *-ki*. Consequently, the Chinese character *sō* 曽 has a tight semantical relation with the Japanese affix *-ki*. In the Table of the Three Times, Shizuki provides the same Chinese characters, in correspondence to the auxiliary *hadden*. The connection between *hadden* and the affix *-ki* is also visible in the following quote from *Rangaku seizenfu* (24r):

hadden 動詞ニアヘハき、し、ト訳ス實詞ニアヘハありきト訳スhebben ニ準スベシ	When *hadden* meets a verb, it translates *ki* き and *shi* し. When it meets a noun, it translates *ariki*. It works like *hebben*.

Ogyū Sorai, in *Kun'yaku jimō*, defines the character *sō* 曽 in three different entries. On folio 64r of volume 3, he writes:

曽ハ古語ナリ。乃ノ字ノ意ニテ。上ニ反スル所ニ。用フル字ナリ。故ニ。カヘヅテト。ヨムデモ通ズ。	The character *sō* 曽 is old language. When it has the meaning of the character *dai* 乃, it is a character used to contradict what comes before. Thus, it can also be generally read as *kaette*.

In volume 4, on folios 22r-22v:

〔曾　嘗〕

○ カツテト云フヲ。世俗ノ語ノカツテニ意得テ。フツくト云フ了ヂヤト思フハ。俗意甚シキ了ナリ。曾ノ字ハムカシト訓ズル字ナリ。ソレニヨリ。イツノコロヤラ𠮟。ツキニ𠮟譯ス。ムカシト云フトテ。昔ノ字トハ。少コシノ意味ガチガフナリ。コノマヘト云フホドノ了ナリ。昔ノ字ハ時代ニテ云フ詞ナリ。曾ノ字ハ。事ノ上ニテ云フ詞ナリ。ソレカラ轉メ〃イツノコロヤラ𠮟ミルナリ。

ソウヲ 想フレ　曾 コノマヘ	マダ　ツキニゴザラ 未ニ　曾　有 ヌ

マダ　ツキニミヘ 未ニ　曾　見 ヌ	コノマヘ 曾　有リシニ イツノコロヤラ

此事ヲ。

〔曾　嘗〕

○ It is read *katsute*, and has the meaning of *katsute* [*katte*, perhaps] in the popular language. If we think of it as meaning *futsufutsu*, it conveys quite properly the popular meaning. The character *sō* 曾 is read in Japanese as *mukashi*. Thus, it can also be translated as *itsu no koro yara* or *tsui ni*. When it is read *mukashi*, it corresponds to the character *seki* 昔, although there is stilla slight difference. It means *kono mae* ['recently']. The character *seki* 昔 is a word concerning eras, while *sō* 曾 is used to talk about actions. Thus, it can also be modified into the meaning of *itsu no koro yara*. Ex. *kono mae omou* 想曾 ['Recently think']; *mada tsui ni gozaranu* 未曾有 ['Still is not']; *mada tsui ni mienu* 未曾見 ['Still not see']; *kono mae itsu no koro yara kono koto arishi* 曾有此事 ['Since when has this thing existed'].

In volume 4, on folio 28v:

○ 曾ハ元来スナハチナリ。カウヂヤニスナハチト。ウツル。スナハチユエ。カヘツテノ意ニナルナリ。

The character *sō* 曾 originally meant *sunawachi*. From *kō ja sunawachi* it moved on to meaning *kaette*.

These entries define the character *sō* 曾 in ways quite different from the meaning of *hadden*, as acknowledged by Shizuki. Ogyū never connects the character *sō* 曾 to the Japanese affix *-ki* or any affix whatsoever. The character always corresponds to adverbs, such as *sunawachi* 'that is to say', *katsute* 'once' or 'formerly', *tsui ni* 'eventually' or *mukashi* 'in the past'. Of these, the entry that is closest to the meaning of the affix *-ki* is probably the second of the three quoted above. There, it is claimed that the character *sō* 曾 corresponds to the meaning of the character *shō* 嘗, since both can be read as *katsute*, which is an adverb that broadly renders the meaning of the English "before". In this sense, thus, the character refers to the concept of "past" and can also be read as *mukashi*, a word that can also be written with the Chinese character *seki* 昔. The word *mukashi*, however, conveys two different nuances in meaning, according to the Chinese character it corresponds to. Whenever *mukashi* is written with the character *seki* 昔 it means "once upon a time" or "in the olden days", as it refers to "eras" (時代). However, when *mukashi* is

written with the character *sō* 曽, it is used more generally to "refer to actions" (事ノ上ニテ), probably meaning that it is to be used with the sense of "previously" or "before", in combination with a verb. This is an interesting claim, since it would suggest this nuance in meaning to be the one more closely related to Shzikui's definition of the Dutch *hadden*. However, in none of the sentences provided by Ogyū at the end of that entry does the character *sō* 曽 correspond to the verbal affix *-ki*, being generally rendered into Japanese as *tsui ni* 'at last', *kono mae* 'previously' or other adverbial phrases, instead. There is one example in which the verb *gozari*, formal version of *ari*, is actually conjugated by means of the addition of *-ki*, in the last sample. However, that *-ki* is not attributed directly to the character *sō* 曽 and is simply provided as *okurigana* of the character *yū* 有.

In Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, there does not seem to be much of an explanation of the semantic meaning of the affix *-ki*. There, however, an interesting section, found on page 1 of volume 6, where the author distinguishes between what he calls "*ki* of the past" and "*ki* of the present" that correspond to the *shūshikei* of the affix *-ki* and the *rentaikei* of *-ku* adjectives, respectively.

The use of the affix *-ki* to render *hadden* is very consistent within Shizuki's *Seizenfu*. Contrarily to its present-tense counterpart *hebben*, that is provided with two translations according to whether the verb is active or neuter, *-ki* is used with either type of verb. This is why Shizuki can translate the Dutch phrase *Gesproken hebben* (T53E3) as *iiki* 言き, and *Gevallen hebben* (T53E11) as *ochiki* 隕き. Phrase T53E22 *Woorden die men gesproken had* "Words that one had spoken" demonstrates the Japanese and Chinese rendition of the use of *hadden* (here *had*), in a relative clause (*tsuzuku kotoba*). T53E22 is translated into Classical Japanese as *iishi go* いひし語, where *-shi* is the *rentaikei* of the affix *-ki*, and into Chinese as *céng yán zhī yǔ* 曽言之語, where *céng* is the standard Mandaring pronunciation of the character *sō* 曽. The sentence is also translated into popular Japanese as *itta go* 言タ語, an identical translation to what Shizuki provided for the popular Japanese version of the same sentence using *hebben* (T53E23).

In T53E63, Shizuki claims that the combination *gehad hebben*, thus the present perfect tense of the verb *hebben* used as a possessive (corresponding to the English "to have had") is almost synonymous to the verb *hadden* alone. There is one single difference between the two, and that is the fact that the latter refers to a time that is slightly closer to the present. This is a very puzzling claim, since it does not precisely agree with the rest of the content of *Seizenfu*, however, this is also claimed with regard to the phrase *geweest zijn*, the present perfect tense of the verb *zijn* used as expressing existence, and its preterit *waren* (T53E62).

Among the twenty-seven sentences in the chapter titled *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*, there are five sentences featuring the verb *hadden*, namely the sentences from T54S14 to T54S18. The verb *hadden*, in all these sentences, is always present in its possessive meaning but, since they also feature past-perfect tenses, one can also witness its use as an auxiliary. All these sentences are variation of the "pretty face" sample sentence, cited from the poet Jacob Cats, and are lengthily commented upon. Sentences T54S14 to T54S16 all present the conjunction *hoewel*, in combination

with different verbal tenses in both the main clause and the subordinate clause. Sentence T54S14 combines the past simple *had*, in the subordinate clause, and the past simple *was* – of the verb *zijn* – in the main clause, and reads *Hoewel zij een mooi gezicht had, was het een lantaarn zonder licht* 'Even though she had a pretty face, it was a lantern without light'. In the Japanese rendition, *hoewel* is rendered as *-domo*, *had* as *ari* plus the affix *-ki*, and *was* as *nari* plus the affix *-ki*, becoming *kanojo ni bishoku arishikadomo kore mukō no tō nariki* 彼女に美色ありしかどもこれ無光の燈なりき. T54S15 is almost identical, only substituting the preterit *was*, in the main clause, with the present simple *is*, that corresponds to *nari*, in the Japanese translation. Since this mostly concerns a difference in the verbs *zijn* and *waren*, I will go back to this in the coming paragraphs. Sentence T54S14 is labeled as *kako* 過去 'past', however, sentence T54S15 is explained as being a sentence starting from the past and reaching/entailing the present (*kako yori gense ni kakete* 過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ). Sentence T54S16 also presents the conjunction *hoewel*, and the verb in the main clause is the preterit *was*, however, the verb in the main clause is conjugated into a perfect tense. The interpretation of the subordinate clause of this sentence is particularly complicated as there are a few issues with its verb. In Waseda's copy the verb in the subordinate clause is *gehad hadden* "had had", thus a past perfect, while in Gifu's copy it is a present perfect *gehad hebben* "have had". Another inconsistency is the fact that in both copies, regardless of the tense, the verbs are conjugated in their plural forms. Consequently, the subject *zij*, which was always a "she", in the previous sentences, must be interpreted as corresponding to a "they". There is no Japanese translation for this sentence in either copy, although the phrase "the same translation as before" (前ト同訳ナリ) is added. If one assumes this "same translation" to mean that the Japanese sentence is identical, to the sentence before (that I deduce is T54S14 and not T54S15 on the basis of the verb in the main clause and the common label *kako*), then the subject would be singular, and thus it must be assumed that Shizuki mistook the plural conjugations of the perfect tenses as also applying to singular subjects. Otherwise, if the "same translation" only referred to the relevant grammatical features (the conjunction and the two predicates) one could deduce that Shizuki intentionally changed the subject from a "she" to a "they", thus correctly conjugating the Dutch verb into the plural form. However, since the conjugation of this verb differs between the copies, one could also simply assume both versions to be misspellings of an originally singular verb. Regardless, T54S14 to T54S16 explain that, as far as the verb *hadden* is concerned, the combination of this past tense with the conjunction *hoewel*, within the upper clause, always renders the Japanese *arishikadomo* ありしかども, that is to be understood according to the following formula:

{**ar.** + **.i.** + **.shika** + **.domo** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *ari* 'to be' + *izenkei* of the affix *-ki* + affix *-do*(*mo*)}

These three sentences are lengthily commented upon, however, since those remarks mostly entail the interaction of the upper clause with *hadden* and the lower clause,

featuring different versions of the verb *zijn*, I will discuss them in the following paragraphs 8.5.5 and 8.5.6.

Sentences T54S17 and T54S18 are also very similar, although now featuring two different conjunctions. Sentence T54S17 features the conjunction *toen* 'back when', 'back then', and both predicates are past simple tenses, with *had*, in the upper clause, and *was*, in the lower clause. The sentence reads *Toen zijn een mooi gezicht had, was het een lichtende lantaarn*, where the main clause also features a slightly different phrasing from the original, translating "Back when she had a pretty face, it was a bright lantern". In Japanese, the sentence becomes *kanojo ni bishoku arishi toki wa kore yūkō no tō nariki* 彼女に美色ありし時はこれ有光の燈なりき. The only real difference between this sentence T54S17 and T54S15 is the fact that the conjunction *toen* cannot correspond to the Japanese affix *-do*(*mo*) anymore, as *hoewel* did there, so it is rendered into Japanese as *toki wa* 時は 'when'. However, since *toki* is a noun, literally meaning 'time', the predicate modifying it requires to be inflected into the *rentaikei* form, thus the combination of *ari* plus *-ki*, also present in T54S15, becomes *arishi*, giving the form *arishi toki wa*, that renders the combination of *toen* plus *had*. This sentence is also labeled as *kako* 'past', and it is added that one can see the details of this in the explanation to the sentence *kano hito ie ni arishi toki* seen before. This is referring to T54S3, *Toen hij te huis was, durfde 'er niemand spreeken*, translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni arishi toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki* 彼人家にありし時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき.[77] I will go back to this in paragraph 8.5.6, below.

Lastly, sentence T54S18 combines *al* with the preterit *had*, in the subordinate clause, and *zouden* with *zijn*, in the main clause. Shizuki labels this a *tatoe* and adds that, since there is the conjunction *al*, the verb *had* needs to be translated as *aranmo*, thus via the affix *-n*, since the meaning of *zullen* is embedded within the conjunction *al* itself. In Waseda's copy there is a further remark warning the reader not to confuse this *had* – that is a *tatoe* – with the *had* used in the preceding sentences, where it was a *fusokuji* 不足時. This term is never used in Gifu's copy, and it seems likely to be a later addition of the copyist. The term *fusokuji* appears to be a literal translation of the Dutch *onvoltooide tijd* or *onvolmaakte tijd*, both terms commonly used to refer to the "imperfect tense". Even though this is probably a later addition, this claim is very sound as it informs the reader not to confuse the indicative *had*, used to refer to a past time, with the subjunctive *had*, used to construct a hypothetical tense, specifically to hypotheticals of impossibility, a concept Shizuki called *tatoe*.

To conclude the analysis of Shizuki's description of the uses of *hadden* it can be said that *hadden* always corresponds to the affix *-ki*. This includes the verb *ariki*, that is the translation of *hadden* when used as expressing possession. Unless *hadden* is used in a *tatoe* sentence, the way the predicate of the Japanese sentence must be translated can vary sensibly according to the conjunction present in the Dutch phrase. In sentences T54S14 to T54S16, the verb *hadden* is used in combination

[77] This Dutch sentence is misspelled in Gifu's copy, where the lower clause is identical to the upper one.

with the conjunction *hoewel*. In *Joshi-kō*, *hoewel* is considered a *joshi* and has its own entry that can be read below (19r-19v):

alhoewel, alschoon, hoewel, schoon, ofschoon, niet tegen staande.	*alhoewel, alschoon, hoewel, schoon, ofschoon, niet tegen staande*.
どもト訓ス但シ過去ニ用ユルカ故也	Translate with *domo* as it is used with a *kako* 'past'.
hoewel het niet altoos vast ging.	*hoewel het niet altoos vast ging*
それが常に一定に行さりしかども	"Although it has not always gone strictly (so)"
hoewel het niet altoos vast gaat.	*sore ga tsune ni ittei ni yukazarishikadomo*
それが常に一定に行ねども	*hoewel het niet altoos vast gaat*
但シ hoewel.ノ類ヲ未来に用ヒ alヲ過去ニ用ル様ノ┐ハ未タ見當ラズ	"Although it does not always go strictly (so)"
	sore ga tsune ni ittei ni yukanedomo
	Nonetheless, no use of *hoewel* in the future or *al* in the past is to be witnessed.

In this excerpt Shizuki directly claims that *hoewel*, and similar phrasings, are to be translated into Japanese as *-domo*.[78] The Japanese translation of the two Dutch phrases mirrors the morphosyntactic structure of the upper clauses with *hoewel*, found in *Seizenfu*'s twenty-seven sample sentences. The conjunction *hoewel* is translated as *-domo* in both, however the verb is not *hebben*/*hadden* in these phrases, but rather *gaan* 'to go' (and its past simple *ging*) that corresponds to the Japanese verb *yuku*. Another difference is that in these two phrases the verb is negative, featuring the word *niet* 'not' in Dutch, meaning that the Japanese version also needs to include a negative affix in the conjugation of the predicate. In the phrase with a present tense, this is done by adding the affix *-zu*, while in the past tense, the affix *-zari* is added. The predicate in the present sentence can be understood according to the following formula:

{**yuk.** + **.a.** + **.ne** + **.domo** = *mizenkei* of the verb *yuku* 'to go' + *izenkei* of the affix *-zu* + affix *-do*(*mo*)}

The verb in the past tense, instead, is to be understood according to the following formula, where the negation is rendered via the affix *-zari*, instead of *-zu*, and the affix *-ki* is added to render the past tense:

{**yuk.** + **.a.** + **.zari** + **.shika** + **.domo** = *mizenkei* of the verb *yuku* 'to go' + *ren'yōkei* of the affix *-zari* + *izenkei* of the affix *-ki* + affix *-do*(*mo*)}

[78] There is some inconsistency in the use of the *nigori* marking across the editions, however, it is clear from the two sample sentences, that Shizuki only meant *-domo* and not *-tomo*, as the latter would require a *shūshikei* form to be attached to.

Thus, the same grammatical value expressed by the verb *hadden* – meaning the affix *-ki* – also occurs when a verb is conjugated in its past simple tense. This is never directly stated in *Rangaku seizenfu*, since most occurrences of the affix *-ki* there corresponded to the verb *hadden*, in either of its uses. Whenever it does not correspond to *hadden*, within *Seizenfu*, it mostly refers to *waren*, the past form of *zijn* (see 8.5.6). There are, however, even in *Seizenfu*, a few examples of verbs different form the six auxiliaries, that are conjugated into their past simple forms and are translated by adding the affix *-ki*. This is the case, for example of *durfde* (e.g., T54S3), past simple of the verb *durven* 'to dare', and of *wierden*, past simple of the verb *worden*, used as an auxiliary for the passive voice. It is also claimed that the verb *wierden* has the meaning of the combination of the characters *hi* 被, previously connected to *worden*, and *sō* 曽. In *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*, however, the preterit or past simple tense is never directly covered.

The affix *-tomo*, that often happened to be homograph with *-do*(*mo*), is found, in *Joshi-kō* as a translation of the Dutch conjunction *al*, as can be read in the following quote (19r).

al.	*al*
ともト訓ス	Translate as *tomo* as it is used with the *mirai* 'future'.
但シ未来ニ用ルカ故也	*al was hij mijn broeder* ['Even if he were my brother']
al was hy myn broeder.	*kano hito tatoi ware no kyōdai tari tomo*
彼人たとひ我兄弟たりとも	In the lower clause, the meaning of *zullen* is embedded within *al*.
下句アレハ al ニ Zúllen ノ意ヲ含ム	*Al is hij ouder dan ik* ['Even though he is older than me']
al is hy oúder dan ik.	As Fèi says,[80] this line lacks a translation, though it probably corresponds to *kano hito tatoi ware yori rō tari tomo*.
費曰此条ノ訳ヲ缺ク恐クハ彼人たとひ我より老たり[79]ともト云ヒテ当ランカ	

This explains that the use of *al* in this context does not correspond to a *tatoe*, but a simple *mirai* 'future'. This can be claimed by the fact that the verb is simply conjugated by a composition of *-tari* (see 8.5.5) and *-tomo*. Shizuki also adds a similar claim in *Seizenfu*, namely that the meaning of *zullen* is embedded within the

[79] In Kyōto University's *Rango kun'yaku* this appears to be spelled as *tara* たら, that would correspond to its *mizenkei*. However, there is no affix *-tomo* or *-domo* that connects to a *mizenkei*. This is a misspelling.

[80] The phrase "person's name" + character *etsu* 曰 is often used in *kanbun* with the meaning of "that person said". The character *hi* 費 is likely the abbreviation of some scholar's name. The scholar does not have to be Chinese, though, since this form is often used in *kanbun*, I have opted to treat it as a Chinese name. Perhaps, someone more knowledgeable than me in this regard, will be able to correct me and identify the appropriate interpretation of this phrase.

conjunction *al*. The difference between the two is covered by Motoori Norinaga in his *Kotoba no tama no o*, in volume 5, on page 29, where he also provides examples of the uses of *-do*(*mo*) in combination with the affix *-ki*, thus in the form *-shikadomo*.

ど

○どは下へもを添てどもともいふ。かをかもともいひ。ぞをぞもともいふ類を同じもなり 雖の字の意也。此雖の字の意の言に清と濁（すむ にごる）とのかけり有。既に然る事をいふにはど どもと濁り。いまだ然らざる事をあらましにいふにはと ともと清（すみ）ていふ。此清濁（すみにご）りによりて上の受る言の格も異也。「花はさく ともといふと。「花はさけ どもといふとこれ也。外もこれになずらへてさとるべし 二つともにことなるとゝもなきは今出ず。清（すみ）かたのとは上のとの部に出せり。さて濁るかたにしかどもしかどといふと有

ど

○ One can also say *domo*, by adding *-mo* underneath *-do* (This is the same type of *mo* one can say together with *ka*, in *kamo*, and with *zo*, in *zomo*). This has the meaning of the character *sui* 雖. In the meaning of this character *sui* 雖 there is the combined use of *sumu* (清) or *nigori* (濁). Whenever it is something which has already happened, one uses the *nigori* version *do* and *domo*, while when talking about something before it has actually happened, one says the *sumi* version. The difference between *sumi* and *nigori* also influences the form of the word coming before. This is the difference between *hana wa saku tomo* and *hana wa sakedomo*. Know that, all the other also work the same. The *sumi* version of *to*, we have already seen in the section on *to*, above. Furthermore, in the *nigori* type, there is also the possibility of saying *shikadomo* and *shikado*.

In this section, Motoori illustrates the patterns of use of the combination of the affix *-ki* with *-do*(*mo*). According to Shizuki, this combination is a typical Japanese rendition of a Dutch subordinate phrase featuring the conjunction *hoewel* with a verb in either a present perfect or a past perfect tense. Motoori explicitly recognizes two different, yet graphically very similar, grammatical tools that differ in the presence (*nigori* 濁) or absence (*sumi* 清) of sonorization in the *to* syllable. Both *-tomo* and *-domo* are, thus, a composition of *to* (with or without sonorization) plus *mo* and both correspond to the meaning of the Chinese character *sui* 雖.[81] Motoori adds a chronological aspect to the difference between the two affixes, whereby the suffix *-do*(*mo*) is used to refer to "something that has already happened" (既に然る事), pointing at a past action, thus often interacting with the affix *-ki*. On the contrary, the suffix *-to*(*mo*) expresses "something that has not yet happened" (いまだ然らざる事

[81] The character *sui* 雖 is defined in Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, in volume 4, where it is claimed that it is to be translated into Japanese as *-redomo* or *-domo*. In the first translation, the addition of the syllable *re* probably signals the fact that *-domo* gets attached to a *izenkei* form, whereby many verbs end in the syllable *re*. However, within Ogyū's entry, one also finds examples in which the character *sui* 雖 corresponds to *-tomo*, and gets attached to a *shūshikei*, thus removing any doubt regarding the possible accidental absence of the *nigiri* mark.

), pointing at an expectation of the future. This agrees with what claimed by Shizuki, who always acknowledged a sense of pastness connected to the combination *hoewel* plus past simple or past perfect, that corresponds to the affix -*do*(*mo*), often combined with the affix -*ki*. At the same time, the affix -*to*(*mo*), corresponds to the Dutch combination of the conjunction *al* and a verb in the simple present tense, this is the case, for example of the subordinate clause of sentence T54S12, featuring *al* and *heeft*. However, since the meaning of the verb *zullen* is embedded within *al*, then the sentence is a future. The verb of that phrase is rendered as *aritomo* – the verb *ari* plus -*to*(*mo*) – perhaps implying that the sense of futurity is also embedded within the Japanese counterpart of the conjunction *al*. However, by looking at Shizuki's twenty-seven sample sentences, one can also see that -*do*(*mo*) does not have to be used in combination with the past affix -*ki*. Sentence T54S13, in fact, combines *hoewel* with a simple present *heeft*, rendered into Japanese as *aredomo*, thus by simply attaching -*do*(*mo*) to the *izenkei* form of the verb *ari* and the sentence is "present". This implies that -*do*(*mo*) in and of itself is not able to render a past and, when not used in combination with -*ki*, remains a word of present. Perhaps one should think of the "pastness" of -*do*(*mo*) to be semantic rather than related to the tense of the verb. In sentence T54S13, for example, the clause "Even though a whore has a pretty face" is in the present tense and hypothesizes of the subject having a pretty face in the present time yet, logically, one's appearance is formed in the past and cannot be reasonably changed in the present.

HADDEN

Type

Kako no kako 過去の過去, Past of the past

Meaning

Japanese

1 With verbs:

- *ki* き(literary)

-*ta* タ (popular)

2 With nouns: *ariki* ありき

Chinese character

1 With verbs:

sō 曽

2 With nouns:

sō yū 曽有

8.5.5 The verb *zijn*

The verb *zijn* 'to be' has many uses. In the Dutch sources of the time, it was very often called an 'independent verb' *zelfstandig werkwoord*, a concept that was hardly ever explained in the sources I have consulted. Just like *hebben*, one can recognize two broad uses of the verb *zijn*. It can be used as a verb expressing existence, or as an auxiliary. As far as the latter use is concerned, when *zijn* is used in combination with a past participle it can be thought of as corresponding to a present perfect tense. As I have mentioned, in modern prescriptive Dutch grammar, perfect tenses mostly require either the verb *hebben* or *zijn*, although there are some variations. This was not always true in the Dutch used in the 17th and 18th centuries. Shizuki provided the perfect tenses of *vallen* 'to fall' and *zeggen* 'to say' in combination with both *hebben* and *zijn*, even though *vallen* can, nowadays, only combine with *zijn*. With specific types of verbs, particularly those one would call transitive, to a large extent overlapping with the label of "active", the use of the verb *zijn*, in combination with their past participle tense, can be interpreted as expressing a nuance in meaning comparable to the passive voice. For example, if one says *Woorden zijn gesproken* 'Words are spoken', it is clear that the subject *woorden* 'words' is not the agent, but the patient of the action of "saying". Conversely, if one uses *zijn* in combination with the past participle tense of a neuter verb, like Shizuki's *vallen*, as in *De steen is gevallen* 'the stone [is] fallen', the subject *steen* 'stone' is also the agent of the action of "falling". However, Shizuki translates these two uses of the verb *zijn* in the same manner, in Japanese, which is different from the translation he provides for past participle with *hebben*, and that also differs from the way he translates the auxiliary use of *worden* in the construction of a passive voice. This requires further analysis, that I will provide in the present paragraph.

If it is not used as an auxiliary, *zijn* can also display different behaviors and express different concepts, i.e., it also functions as a copular verb. A copula connects the subject to another noun or to an adjective, Additionally, one could also detect another non-auxiliary use of *zijn* that might be considered as different from any of these above, and that is when *zijn* is combined with a location, as in "The fire is in the fireplace". There are certainly additional uses of *zijn*, such as when it can be substituted completely with the verb "to exist", as in phrases like *God is* 'God is', that means *God bestaat* 'God exists'. However, this use of the verb *zijn* occurs, arguably, very rarely. For the sake of the present research, I will only consider those uses of *zijn* that are directly addressed by Shizuki, which I have schematize below:

1. Non-auxiliary uses:
    a) Copula + noun (*Dit is vuur* 'This is fire');
    b) Copula + adjective (*Het vuur is heet* 'The fire is hot');
    c) Locational (*Ik ben daar* 'I am there'; *Hij is thuis* 'He is at home');
2. Auxiliary uses:
    a) Present perfect (*De steen is gevallen* 'The stone has/is fallen');
    b) Present perfect with a sense of passivity (*Woorden zijn gesproken* 'Words are spoken');

As I have discussed in 8.4.2, Shizuki recognizes in all these different uses of the verb *zijn*, a correspondence between the Chinese character *zai* 在 and the Japanese verb *ari*. The character *ya* 也 is also acknowledged as a correspondence to *zijn*, only when used as a copula with nouns, although, in ancient texts, that was also often written as *zai* 在, as well, since they corresponded to the Japanese word *nari*. This is because both Shizuki and Motoori recognized *nari* as derivative of the combination of the particle *ni* and the verb *ari*. Even though the verb *zijn* can always be translated as either *ari* or an affix wherein the meaning of *ari* is embedded, *zijn* does not cover all the uses of *ari* since some of the uses of *zijn*, specifically those corresponding to the meaning of the Chinese character *yū* 有, correspond to the Dutch verb *hebben*.

In *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki claims that even though *zijn* is a "moving word" – a verb –, its use is more similar to that of a "quiet word" – an adjective – (Zijn ノ使ヒ様ハ動詞ノ格ナレ𪜈其実ハ静詞ニ近シ). This is quite an interesting claim that can hardly be explained only from the point of view of Dutch. In Japanese, in fact, verbs and some adjectives behave quite similarly, both being able to be conjugated and be combined with affixes. However, I do not believe this to be the only reason why Shizuki wrote this phrase. As I illustrated in 8.4.2, Shizuki understood *zijn* to often correspond to adjectival affixes and morphemes, like the *-ku* ending of the adverbial use of *-ku* and *-shiku* type of verbs (that is their *ren'yōkei*), corresponding to *-ku ari*; or the *-tari* ending of adjectives of the *keiyō* 形容 type, originally corresponding to *to ari*. In fact, the verb *zijn* is not always translated into Japanese as the verb *ari*, even when it is not used as an auxiliary. However, in all its Japanese renditions the meaning of the verb *ari* is always found at least embedded in the corresponding elements. Furthermore, the verb *zijn*, along with its past tense *waren*, is the only verb out of the six from the Table of the Three Times that can be used in direct combination with adjectives, as claimed in the quote "The word *wit* ['white'] is a quiet word that translates *shiro* 白. Empty quiet words thus cannot combine with *hebben* or *zullen*". This is exemplified by T53E21, with the phrase *Papier is wit* 'Paper is white', that is put into contrast with, for example, T53E20 *Steen is gevallen* 'Stone is fallen' and T53E25 *Woorden die gesproken zijn* 'Words that are spoken', where the verbs *vallen* and *spreken* are combined with the verb *zijn*, even though they can be also combined with *hebben* (T53E23 and T53E37) or with *zullen* (T53E28 and T53E41). The phrase *Papier is wit* is, thus, translated into Japanese as *kami wa shiroshi* 紙は白し, where the verb *zijn* does not have a direct counterpart, and the adjective *shiroshi*, in its *shūshikei* form, does not require any copula-like word for the phrase to be complete. This is restated in T53E16, where the phrase *Wit zijn* 'To be white' is simply translated into Japanese as *shiroshi* 白し thus, again, only with a *shūshikei* of the adjective. When the phrase 'to be white' is made a relative clause, like in (T53E45) *Wolk die wit is* 'Cloud that is white', the adjective *shiroshi* is simply turned into its *rentaikei* form *shiroki*, as in *shiroki kumo* 白き雲. This last phrase, however, is compared to *shiroku aru kumo* 白くある雲, meaning that the adnominal form of the adjective corresponds, semantically, to the combination of the existential verb *ari* with the adverbialized form of the adjective. Semantically, Shizuki adds, also the attributive form *Witte wolk*, is related to the

translation provided for T53E45, as explained in the example of T53E58 *Witte wolk* 'White cloud', that is however, translated as a compound word *shiragumo* 白雲.

Table 56 summarizes the uses of *zijn* with adjectives and the corresponding Japanese renditions, as seen in *Rangaku seizenfu*.

Predicative form	*Wit zijn* (infinitive) 'To be white'	白く *siroku* 白くあり *sirokuari*	
	De wolk is wit 'The cloud is white'	雲は白し *kumo ha sirosi*	
	Wolk die wit is (relative) 'Cloud that is white'	白くある雲 *siroku aru kumo*	白き雲 *siroki kumo*
Attributive form	*Witte wolk* 'White cloud'	白雲 *siragumo*	

Table 56 The use of adjectives in different types of phrases in *Rangaku seizenfu*

As I have discussed in 8.4.2, Shizuki also identified a difference in the Japanese adaptation between the locative use of *zijn* (1c) and the use as copula to a noun (1a). He claims that (1c) is adapted into Japanese with *ni ari*, while (1a) as *nari*. However, even though he also claimed that *nari* was originally a combination of *ni ari*, in his persuasion the two are still to be considered as different. He demonstrates this by using three phrases: *Het is vuur* 'It is fire' (1a), that he translates as *kore wa hi nari* これは火也; *Zij zijn daar* "They are there" (1c), that he translates as *karera kashiko ni ari* 彼等彼所にあり; and *Daar zijn zij* "There they are" (1c), that he translates as *kashiko ni karera ari* 彼所に彼等あり. These three sentences are used to demonstrate that the *nari* used in (1a) is not the same as the *ni ari* used in (1c) because, in the latter, the particle *ni* can get detached from the verb *ari* and remain attached to the word expressing the location (*kashiko* 'there'), in case the location itself is used in a marked position, thus at the beginning of the sentence, for example. In that context, I have also argued that the auxiliary use of *zijn* always corresponds to two Japanese affixes, namely *-tari* and *-ri*. However, Shizuki does not believe these two affixes to be any different from each other and their use is dependent on morphological issues of the form of the root of the verb itself, rather than on semantic or syntactic reasons. This is claimed in the chapter *Rokushi hiyaku* 'Secret Translation of the Six Words', where he claims that *ieri* (verb *ii* 'to speak' + affix *-ri*), translation of *gesproken zijn* 'to be spoken' (T53E4), is a corrupted modification of the phrase *iite ari*, where *te ari* is also the origin of the affix *-tari* used, for example, with the verb *otsu* 'to fall' that becomes *ochitari*, translation of *gevallen zijn* 'to [be] fallen' (T53E12). By virtue of this etymological claim Shizuki adds, citing Motoori Norinaga, that both *-ri* and *-tari* correspond to the meaning of the character *zai* 在.

Shizuki does not explicitly refer to any passive sense embedded in the use of the verb *zijn* in combination with the past participle of active verbs, as in (2b). However, there are a few issues that might suggest he realized the existence of a different nuance in meaning of the use of *zijn* with different types of verbs. Sentences T53E25 and T53E39 are almost identical, from a morphosyntactic point of view, both in the Dutch and in the Japanese versions. T53E25 reads *Woorden die gesproken zijn* 'Words that are spoken', while T53E39 reads *Steen die gevallen is* 'Stone that has fallen'. In both sentences the verb is conjugated by means of the verb *zijn* and the past participle of the main verb, even though *spreken* is considered active, and *vallen* is considered neuter. In both cases, the Japanese rendition of *zijn* occurs via the affix *-ri* or *tari*, T53E25 becoming ieru *go* いへる語, and T53E39 becoming *ochitaru ishi* 隕たる石. Shizuki also adds that the conjugation *ochinu* 隕ぬ (T53E10), corresponding to the phrase *gevallen hebben* can also be expressed by means of the verb *zijn*. This implies that the auxiliary *zijn*, when used in combination with a neuter verb, can correspond to the affix *-nu*. With active verbs, like T53E25, however, the use of *zijn* is different since it can be interpreted as being a passive tense. For T53E25, Shizuki also provides a popular Japanese rendition, *itte aru go* 言テアル語, where the presence of the verb *ari* is made explicit, and a Chinese translation as *yán zài zhī yǔ* 言在之語, where *ari* corresponds to the character *zài* 在. However, sentence T53E55, albeit very similar in meaning, still presents a different wording and translation. The Dutch sentence reads *Woorden die men spreekt* 'Words that one speaks' and is translated into classical Japanese identically to T53E25 as *ieru go* いへる語. However, the Chinese translation is slightly different, reading *suǒ yán zhī yǔ* 所言之語, where the character *zài* 在 is not present anymore, and is substituted with *suǒ* 所 (JP: *sho* 所), that I have discussed in 8.4.1, as belonging to the *nōjo* 能所 dichotomy. There, I have claimed that this concept was used in Buddhism as to make the distinction between the "agent" (*nō* 能) and the "patient" (*jo*/*sho* 所). The difference between sentences T53E25 and T53E55 is not visible in Japanese, but it is marked, in Dutch, by means of the presence of specific words. It is the very presence of the agent *men* 'one' that which changes – according to Shizuki – the relation between the subject and the verb. In Dutch, the subject of the verb "to speak", in T53E25 is *woorden* 'words', the patient; while in T53E55 the subject is *men* 'one', that is the agent. In Japanese, as Shizuki has also explained in the section Differences Between the Two Languages, the phrase *ieru go* does not have a direct correspondence in Dutch, since, as DE GROOT (2008) has also argued, in Dutch, one cannot make the passive form of a verb whose subject is the indirect object.[82] Thus, according to Shizuki the Japanese phrase *ieru go* can be translated both as a (pseudo-)passive past participle in a relative clause modifying the patient of an "active verb" and as a relative clause of a simple present sentence that modifies the patient and requires an impersonal subject functioning as the agent. This difference, not visible in Japanese, is however visible, in Chinese, by means of the two characters *zài* 在 and *suǒ* 所, where it is the latter

[82] Although, as I have argued in 8.4.1, this issue is a bit more complex and Shizuki never really treated this conjugation as a passive form.

that signals the fact that the agent of the predicate is different from the subject of the sentence (which is also made relative, in Chinese, by means of the character *zhī* 之). It is, nonetheless, the phrase (T53E55) *Woorden die men spreekt* 'Words that one speaks' that is translated by means of the character *suǒ* 所, probably because of the explicit presence of the agent *men* 'one', whereas, in T53E25, *Woorden die gesproken zijn* 'Words that are spoken' might give the impression that the subject is also the agent, not of the action of "speaking", but of the action of "being in the condition of spoken", thus signaled with the character *zài* 在.[83]

The character *sho* 所 corresponds to the Japanese word *tokoro* 'place'. FRELLESVIG (2010, 358) attests the use of the phrasing *tokoro no* 所の as a complementizer placed between an adnominal clause and the head noun. This is a syntactical feature that has reportedly originated in *kanbun-kundoku* and that has subsequently been revived in Japanese upon influence from translations from Dutch.

Most of the twenty-seven sample sentences in the chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai* feature the verb *zijn* or its past tense *waren*, in one of the two clauses composing each sentence. In sentences from T54S1 to T54S11, *zijn* is used in the upper-subordinate clause as a verb expressing location (1c). Since T54S5 and T54S6 feature a present perfect and a past perfect tense respectively, *zijn* is also used there as an auxiliary (2a) for the perfect tenses of the locational use of *zijn* itself (1c). From sentence T54S11 to T54S18, the verb *zijn* is used in the lower clause as a copula to a noun (1a). Sentences T54S19 to T54S21, along with sentence T54S25 and T54S26 do not feature the verb *zijn* in any fashion. While the rest of the sentences, namely from T54S22 to T54S24 and T54S26 and T54S27 all present the verb *zijn* as an auxiliary to a different main verb (2a). Below, I will first analyze the sentences featuring the verb *zijn* as a copula to a noun. Afterwards, I will illustrate the phrases containing a purely locational use of such verb, then those using *zijn* as locational and auxiliary simultaneously, and only at the end I will cover the last

[83] It is also worth mentioning that the character *sho* 所 corresponds to the Japanese word *tokoro* 'place'. FRELLESVIG (2010, 358) attests the use of the phrasing *tokoro no* 所の as a complementizer placed between an adnominal clause and the head noun. This is a syntactical feature that has reportedly originated in *kanbun-kundoku* and that has subsequently been revived in Japanese upon influence from translations from Dutch. FRELLESVIG (2010, 358) exemplifies this use of the phrase *tokoro no* by means of a quote from *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語 (10th century), reading *tatekometaru tokoro no to* 閉て込めたる所の戸 'The door that has been closed', where the verb *tatekometaru* 'to be closed', conjugated by means of the affix *-tari*, modifies adnominally the noun *tokoro*, that refers to the noun *to* 'door', that functions as the subject of the verb *tatekometaru*. This is, of course, not an example of the use of *tokoro no* being influenced by Dutch, since the original text largely predates the Dutch presence in Japan. The relation between the phrase *tokoro no* and Dutch translations is substantiated, by FRELLESVIG, on the basis of what written in KINSUI (1997) who evidences how the form *ni yotte* (*ni yorite*) specifying the agent of a passive action started being adopted in Japanese translations of Dutch sources in the 50s of the 19th century. If one could demonstrate that what written by Shizuki in *Seizenfu* regarding the Chinese character *sho* 所 is also coherent with his Japanese translations of Dutch book, then one could predate the adoption of these Japanese words as a rendition of Dutch passives as far back as a few decades before.

type, namely those presenting only the auxiliary use of *zijn*. These will be covered at the end of this section, since the conjugation they present is particularly puzzling and requires special attention.

Sentence T57S1 reads *Wanneer hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken* 'When he is at home, nobody dares to speak'. The verb *zijn* is featured in the upper-subordinate clause and expresses a location, namely the subject *hij* 'he' is "located" at home. The Japanese translation reads *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にある時は彼所に在て敢えて言ふひとなし. There is no word-for-word correspondence between the two sentences, as the Japanese version expresses the negation and the sense of "daring" via different periphrases, so it is worth analyzing the structure of the two, in the following scheme.

The main predicated of the lower clause is the adjective *nashi* 'non-existent'. In the Dutch sentence, however, the main verb of the predicate of the main clause is the verb *durven* 'to dare', that gets conjugated according to person, number, tense, etc. In the specific case of T54S1, thus, the verb *durven* is conjugated as *durft*, that is the third person singular – as to agree with the subject *niemand* 'nobody' – present indicative, while the Japanese sentence simply puts the adjective *naki* in its *shūshikei* form *nashi*, without the addition of any affix, mirroring the simple present tense in the Dutch version.

In the subordinate clause, however, the Dutch sentence features the conjunction *wanneer*. As I have argued in 8.5.2.1, this conjunction gets rendered into Japanese by using the adnominal form of the main predicate (in this case the verb *ari*, corresponding to the Dutch *zijn*), to the noun *toki* 'time' and marking this noun as the topic of the phrase by using the particle *wa*. Within Motoori Norinaga's theoretical framework, this corresponds to the use of the character *-shi* (*-ki*; *-kere*) in combination with the particle *wa* (right column). This type of structure is actually the very first example one can find in his *Kotoba no tama no o*, and a very intuitive sample, I believe is the first poetical citation found there, in the *waka*: *ariake no tsurenaku mieshi wakare yori akatsuki bakari uki mono wa nashi* 有明のつれなく見えしわかれより暁ばかりうきものはなし ('Since when I departed from the Moon I was looking at it apathetic, there is nothing more painful than the dawn'), where Motoori underlines the two characters *wa* and *shi*, as I have also done in the quote, as to evidence that the form *nashi*, thus the *shūshikei* of the adjective *naki*, is triggered by the presence of the particle *wa*.[84] Shizuki labels sentence T54S1 as a present (*gense* 現世), that can be expected not only from the present tense used in the Dutch version, but also from the fact that the character *-shi* is a conjugated form of the character *-ki* (adjectival ending) that has been traditionally identified as the "*ki* of the present" (see Chapter V).

[84] Had there been a particle *no*, for example, belonging to the "central column", the adjective would have been featured in the *rentaikei* form *naki*, as in the example provided in that page by Motoori himself *iu hito no naki* "the absence of a person speaking".

Wanneer	***hij***	***te***	***huis***	***is***	***durft***	***‘ er***	***niemand***	***spreken***
Conjunction WHEN	Subject pronoun Third person singular masculine HE	Prepo- sition AT	Noun HOME	Verb (locational *zijn*) Third person singular IS	Verb Third person singular DARES	Adverb THERE	Noun (Subject) NOBODY	Verb Infinitive TO SPEAK

kano hito	***ie***	***ni***	***aru***	***toki***	***wa***	***kashiko***	***ni***	***aete***	***iu***	***hito***	***nashi***
Subject pronoun Third person HE (Lit. THAT PERSON)	Noun HOME	Parti- cle expre- ssing loca- tion AT	Verb Adnomi- nal (*rentaikei*) form of *ari* TO BE	Noun TIME	Particle marking the topic	Noun THERE (Lit. THAT PLACE)	Particle expres- sing location AT	Verb Connec- tive form of the verb *au* TO DARE	Verb Adnominal (*rentaikei*) form of the verb *iu* TO SAY	Noun (Subject) PERSON	Adjective *shūshikei* form of the *-ku* adjective *nashi* NON- EXISTENT

Sentences T54S2 and T54S3 use the past tense *waren*, thus I will cover them in the following paragraph 8.5.6. With sentence T54S4, however, Shizuki goes back to using the present tense *zijn*, substituting the conjunction *wanner* from T54S1 with the conjunction *als*, in the sentence *Als hij te huis is durft 'er niemand spreken* "If/when he is home nobody dares to speak". This sentence gets translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni areba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にあれは彼所に在て敢えていふひとなし. The only difference between this sentence and T54S1 is the fact that the conjunction *als* is rendered via the use of the affix *-ba*, specifically the one attaching to a *izenkei*. Even though the Dutch version presents no past tense, nor is any past-related affix featured in the Japanese version, Shizuki labels this phrase a past (*kako* 過去). In Waseda's copy it is actually written that it this is a "past within the present" (但シ現在中ノ過去ナリ). In order to justify this, he also adds a long comment, that can be read below:[85]

和語ノあれは言へはノ類ノはノ字ニ二義アリ譬へバ

「あと見れば心なくさの濵千鳥今は声こそ聞まほしけれト云あと見れはノはハあと見[る][86]時はト[87]云フ意ニテ漢ノ則ノ字蘭ノ wanneer ニ通フ又

「ちれはこそいとゝ桜はめてたけれ浮世に何か久しかるへきトイフちれはノはハちるゆへ[に][88]ト云意ニテからト同意ニテ漢ノ故ノ字蘭ノ omdat ニ通フ今ノ人ハ多クハ此ヲ別テ則ノ字ノ方ナルハあればちればナドイヒ故ノ字ノ方ナルヲヤハリゆへにト云今此ニハ則ノ字ノ方ナルヲあれはちれはナド訳シ故ノ字ノ方ナルヲからト訳セシからハゆへヨリ輕キ詞ナリ omdat ハ vermits ヨリ輕キカ如ク又 als ハ wanneer ヨリ輕キカ如シ als ハ時ニヨリテハ indien ニ通フ乁アリソレハ下ノ句ノ現世詞ナキカ又ハ下ノ句ナキトキノ乁ナリ

The type of the character *ba*, in the Japanese *areba*, *ieba* etc., has two meaning. For example, in *ato mireba kokoro nagusa no hamachidori ima wa koe koso kikamahoshikere*, when you say *ato mireba*, this *ba* has the meaning of *ato miru toki wa*, that corresponds to the Chinese character *soku* 則 and to the Dutch *wanneer*. Furthermore, when you say *chireba koso itodo sakura wa medetakere ukiyo ni nani ka hisashikarubeki*, the *ba* in *chireba* has the meaning of *chiru yue ni*, that has the same meaning of *kara* and corresponds to the Chinese character *ko* 故, and the Dutch *omdat*. People nowadays often say *areba*, *chireba* etc. of the character *soku* 則, instead of *yue ni* of the character *ko* 故. However, I translate the character *soku* 則 as *areba*, *chireba* etc., and the character *ko* 古 as *kara*. The word *kara* is lighter than *yue*, as *omdat* is lighter than *vermits*, and the word *als* is lighter than *wanneer*. Sometimes, the word *als* can correspond to *indien*. This is when, in the lower clause, there is no word of present or whenever there is no lower clause at all. As I said before, the *ba* in *areba* and *ieba*, hardly corresponds to *omdat*, however, the

[85] There are a few spelling differences between Wadeda's (12v-13r) and Gifu's (14v-15r) copy. The present excerpt is based on the former. However, I have signaled misspellings by means of brackets and footnotes. My English translation.

[86] In Waseda's copy, this character is written as *ru* ル, a *katakana*.

[87] Waseda's copy presents two characters *to* ト, instead of one. This is likely a misspelling.

[88] The character *ni* に is absent in Waseda's copy.

あれは言へはノばハ右ニ言[フ][89]如ク omdat ニ當難ケレト其外ありしかばあらめばナドノばハ皆ヨク omdat ニ当ルナリ	*ba* in *arishikaba*, *arameba* etc., often corresponds to *omdat* quite appropriately.

Shizuki is addressing two different nuances in meaning for which both Dutch and Chinese have specialized words, that he believes are both rendered in Japanese via the affix *-ba*. Shizuki is only taking into consideration the affix *-ba* that combines with an *izenkei*, thus this specific difference in meaning he is referring to has nothing to do with the meaning of the affix *-ba*, when used with a *mizenkei*. In order to explain this difference, he cites two Japanese poetic verses. The first verse, that reads *ato mireba kokoro nagusa no hamachidori ima wa koe koso kikamahoshikere* あと見れば心なくさの濵千鳥今は声こそ聞まほしけれ ('When I see the footprints of the beach plover that comforts my heart, but it is its voice that I would like to hear now'), comes from the *Gosen Wakashū* 後撰和歌集 and features the verb *mireba* (*miru* 'to see' + *-ba*). The second verse that reads ***chireba koso itodo sakura wa medetakere ukiyo ni nani ka hisashikarubeki*** ちれはこそいとゝ桜はめてたけれ浮世に何か久しかるへき ('It is when they spread, that cherry blossoms become so fascinating, there has got to be something eternal in this floating world'), comes from the *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, and features the verb *chireba*, from *chiru* 'to spread'. Shizuki claims that the affix *-ba*, in these two examples, is used in two different manners. In the first quote, *-ba* is allegedly used in a temporal sense, where *mireba* corresponds to the phrase *miru toki wa*, a construction Shizuki used to adaptat the Dutch conjunction *wanneer* in sentence T54S1. This meaning of *-ba* is, indeed, compared to the Dutch word *wanneer* and to the Chinese character *soku* 則. The *-ba* used in the second sentence, instead, corresponds to the phrase *chiru yue ni* or *chiru kara* that translates the Dutch *omdat* and the Chinese character *ko* 故. Shizuki adds that people nowadays often confuse these two uses, but that he is going to abide by this rule, within his work. Furthermore, Shizuki claims that the expression *kara* is considered a "lighter" version of *yue ni*, in the same way the Dutch *omdat* is "lighter" than its semi-synonym *vermits*, and as *als* is "lighter" than *wanneer*. The word *als* can also be substituted with *indien* only when there is no word of the present in the lower-main clause or whenever there is no lower clause, at all. The difference between the first type of *-ba* and the phrase with *toki wa* can also be witnessed in *Joshi-kō* where one can find the same sentence as T54S2 whose lower clause is translated slightly differently, yet with the *mizenkei -ba* in the upper one, as *kano hito ie ni areba hito aete mono iwazu* 彼人家にあれは人取テものいわず ('When that person is home, people dare not to speak'). Below, Shizuki adds that had there been *wanneer* in this sentence, instead of *als* – making it identical to T54S1 – then the sentence would have been translated as *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa*

[89] In Wased'as copy this is written as 言ル, however, the *rentaikei* of *i*(*h*)*u* 'to say' does not end in *-ru*, and this is probably a misspelling. In Gifu's copy, this is written as 云フ, thus with the correct *rentaikei* ending *-u*.

hito aete mono iwazu 彼人家にある時はひと取てものいわず,[90] thus by means of the *toki wa* form.

Motoori Norinaga does not seem to devote many words to these types of constructions. The first *waka* cited by Shizuki can also be found in *Kotoba no tama no o*, in volume 1, on page 12, as to demonstrate the use of *koso* with the *izenkei* form of the *-shi* adjectival ending, as required according to the *kakari-musubi* rules. The character *ba* is briefly analyzed in volume 3, instead, on page 5, where it is called *nigoru ba*, 'voiced *ba*' as to distinguish it from the silent *wa* (both written with the same character *ha* は). However, there Motoori only deals with the different meanings of the two distinct types of *ba*, namely *mizenkei -ba* and *izenkei -ba*. He claims that *izenkei -ba* is synonymous to the affix *-do*(*mo*) and refers to things that have already happened (既に然る事). The *mizenkei -ba*, instead, corresponds to *-tomo* and refers to things that are still to happen (未ㇾ然事). Among the examples provided by Motoori, one can see the phrase *hana chireba* 花ちれば and *hana chiraba* 花ちらば, featuring the verb *chiru*, like in Shizuki's example, conjugated first in its *izenkei* and subsequently in its *mizeneki*. Thus, Motoori does not make a further distinction of the two alleged meanings of *izenekei -ba*, contrarily to Shizuki. This might be a consequence of the fact that Motoori was mostly concerned with Japanese grammar and, from that point of view, the different nuance in meaning is neglectable, because of the identical morphosyntactic form, and can only be witnessed when translating from and to a language that makes such difference, just like Dutch or Chinese.

In the Chinese translation of these two uses of *izenkei -ba*, Shizuki identifies a parallelism with the two characters *soku* 則 and *ko* 故. Ogyū Sorai defines the Chinese character *soku* 則, on folio 60v of volume 3, in the following manner:

則ノ字ノ類ハ皆。句中ニアル字ナリ。句尾ニアルト云フ㆓ハナシ。句頭ニヲク時ハ上文ヘカヽルナリ。篇頭ニアルト云フ㆓ハナシ。但シ。詩ニハ。篇頭ニヲクモアリ。則ノ字ハ。レバ㆒。ラバ㆒。ルナラバ㆒。ルナレバ㆒。譯ス。又。ハ㆒譯スル㆓アリ。ソレハサウナレ㆒コレハコウト。引ハナシテ云フ辭ナリ。

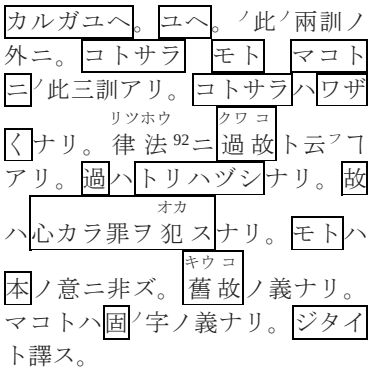
All the characters of the type of *soku* 則 are characters used in the middle of a phrase and they are never used at the end of a phrase. When it is placed at the beginning of a phrase, it refers to the preceding sentence. It cannot be used at the beginning of a paragraph. However, in [Chinese] poems, one can also find it at the beginning of a paragraph. The character *soku* 則 translates *reba*, *raba*, *runaraba* and *runareba*. It can also translate *wa*, when it is a word that refers to "Even if that is so, this is like this".

Even in Ogyū's definition of the character *soku* 則, there is no difference between the two uses of *izenkei -ba*, as he also only superficially describes a difference

[90] In *Joshi-kō*'s renditions of these sentences, the lower clause is phrased a bit differently, where the adjective *naki*, representing the main predicate, in *Seizenfu*'s versions, has been removed and in its place the negative affix *-zu* is added to the new main predicate, which is the verb *iu*, thus turned into *iwazu*.

between the two *mizenkei* and *izenkei -ba*. It appears that either Shizuki took this intuition from a different source or, perhaps, he understood it on his own by a contrastive analysis of the corresponding Dutch words.

In the fifth volume of *Kun'yaku jimō*, Ogyū defines the character *ko* 故 in two instances. First, he defines it as semi-synonymous to the character *i* 為 when read *tame* 'in order to', although the two differ in use, since *ko* 故 must always be put below in the sentence.[91] The second definition, on folio 53r, claims the following:



カルガユヘ。ユヘ。ノ此ノ兩訓ノ外ニ。コトサラ モト マコトニノ此三訓アリ。コトサラハワザくナリ。律法(リツホウ)[92]ニ過故(クワコ)ト云フコトアリ。過ハトリハヅシナリ。故ハ心カラ罪ヲ犯(オカ)スナリ。モトハ本ノ意ニ非ズ。舊故(キウコ)ノ義ナリ。マコトハ固ノ字ノ義ナリ。ジタイト譯ス。

Beyond the two readings *karu ga yue* and *yue*, there are also the three readings *koto sara*, *moto* and *makoto ni*. The reading *koto sara* means *waza waza*. In The Book of Law, there is the so-called *kako* 過故, where the character *ka* 過 means *tori hazushi*, and *ko* 故 means *kokokoro kara tsumi wo okasu* ['to commit a crime from within one's own heart']. The reading *moto* does not have the meaning of the character *hon* 本, it has the interperetation of *kyūko* 舊故 [旧故 'antiquity']. The reading *makoto* has the meaning of the character *ko* 固, it is translated as *jitai*.[93]

Ogyū also reports a connection between the Chinese character *ko* 故 and the Japanese words *yue* and *kara*. However, no mention to the distinction between the two meanings of *mizenkei -ba*, as reported by Shizuki is to be found, reinforcing the idea that this was a deduction of Shizuki himself.

Additionally, Shizuki demonstrates the difference between the two conjunctions used in T54S1 (*wanneer*) and T54S2 (*als*) with two new conjunctions he just mentioned within the explanation under sentence T54S2, namely *omdat* and *vermits*, in sentences T54S7 and T54S8, respectively. Sentence T54S7 reads *Omdat hij te huis is durft 'er niemand spreken*, rendered into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni aru kara kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi* 彼人家にあるから彼所に在て敢えていふ人なし, where the only difference is the use of the word *kara*, attached to the predicate of the upper clause. Shizuki claims this sentence to be a present (*gense* 現世) and adds that it is an "elision of the past" (過去略). What this phrase actually means is not clear, and it is also added to sentence T54S8 *Vermits hij te huis is, durft 'er niemand spreken*, translated as *kano hito ie ni aru ga yue ni kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nashi*

[91] Original quote (without punctuation): "故ハ為ノ字ト意相似テ使うヒヤウ違フナリ故ノ字ハ必下ニヲクナリ可ヘラズヨミ下シナリ".

[92] This term is also provided with an alternative Japanese reading as *okite no fumi* ヲキテノフミ. The word *okite* means 'rule', from the verb *okitsu* 掟つ 'to establish', 'to command', while *fumi* 書 (or 文) meaning 'book'. Literally, thus, "the book of law".

[93] I assume *jitai* 自体 as in 'original form', akin to *makoto* 'actual(ly)'.

彼人家にあるか故に彼所に在て敢えて言ふひとなし, where *vermits* corresponds to (*ga*) *yue ni*, as already seen in the quote above, thus to the Chinese character *ko* 故. Why these three sentences are considered related to the past time is never really explained by Shizuki. Personally, I assume he must have perceived a sense of pastness in the fact that, even though the verbal tenses are overtly present, the claim must have been based on observing reality in the past. In fact, if one says "Whenever he is at home nobody dares to speak" what is being implicitly conveyed is that the speaker has seen the scene that the speaker is describing a few times in the past and is basing his or her claim on that past experience. The phrase "Whenever he is at home" really implies "All the time he has been at home" or "All the times I saw him being at home", thus really referring to a past occurrence. Even though this is never explicitly stated by Shizuki, this could also be interpreted from the phrasing found in sentence T54S4, where the tense was described as "past within the present".

Sentences T54S9 and T54S10 utilize the same matrix as the sentences above, this time featuring the *mizenkei -ba* adaptation of the Dutch conjunctions *als* and *indien*, respectively. Sentence T54S9 is *Als hij te huis is zal 'er niemand durven spreken*, while sentence T54S10 is *Indien hij te huis is zal 'er niemand durven spreken*. Both sentences mean 'When/If he is at home nobody will dare to speak' and both are rendered into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni araba kashiko ni arite aete iu hito araji* 彼人家にあらば彼所に在て敢えて言ふ人あらじ. Both are considered "future" *mirai* 未来. Indeed, the main clause, in Dutch, presents the auxiliary *zullen*, always connected to the idea of future, in Shizuki. Since the phrase is negative, nonetheless, in these two sentences *zullen* does not correspond to the affix *-n*, as it generally does, but to the future negative affix *-ji* in *araji* 'will not be', from the verb *ari*. Shizuki adds the following remark (14v):

カヤウニ下句ニ未来詞ヲ置バ als ト indien ト相通スナリ過去詞ヲ置テ假令ニ用ルモ亦然リ又 als 't mogelijk is ナトモ未来ナリ是等ハ下句ナケレドモ未来詞ヲ云ベキ意ヲ含メリ	When in the lower clause you have a word of future, like this, then you will use *als* or *indien*. By placing words of the past, these are also used in *tatoe*. Furthermore, even in expressions such as *als 't mogelijk is*, where you do not have a lower clause, the meaning of the words of future is embedded.

Shizuki acknowledges the fact that the conjunctions *als* and *indien* are very common in the construction of a *tatoe* sentence, however, the sentence can only be considered a *tatoe* in case the lower-main clause features a morphological past tense. If that is not the case, an upper-subordinate clause with *als* and *indien*, while only presenting verbs in the present tense, is still to be considered as a future, in case the lower-main clause does feature a future tense or in case the is no main clause at all. Shizuki provides the example of the expression *Als het mogelijk is* 'If it is possible', where *als* combines with the present simple of *zijn*, and the sentence remains incomplete, meaning that there is no resolution, in a main clause, of the hypothetical set by the subordinate clause. In such instance, the phrase would still be considered a future,

since the elided lower clause is still expected to feature a future tense, in principle. Shizuki turns then the sentence into a *tatoe*, with T54S11, where he still uses the past tense of *zijn*, in the upper clause, as I will argue in the following paragraph 8.5.6.

There are two additional sentences, in *Seizenfu*'s chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai*, where the verb *zijn* is being used in its locational sense (1c), namely T54S5 and T54S6. However, in those sentences, the verb *zijn* is conjugated in its present perfect and past perfect tenses, respectively, meaning that the verb *zijn* is also used as an auxiliary, in the forms *geweest is* and *geweest was*, where *geweest* is the past participle of *zijn*. Sentence T54S5 reads *Omdat hij zo lang in Holland geweest is, zo spreekt hij het Hollandsch zeer wel* 'Because he has been so long in Holland, he speaks Dutch so wel'. The Japanese translation is rendered as *kano hito kaku hisashiku oranda no kuni ni arishikaba oranda no go wo iu to hanahada yoshi* 彼人かく久しく和蘭國にありしかは和蘭語をいふと甚よし. Shizuki labels this sentence as starting form the past and reaching the present (過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ) and he adds that the form *geweest is* corresponds in meaning to *was*, the past simple form of *zijn*. For this reason, I will go back to this sentence in the following paragraph 8.5.6. However, it is interesting to notice that Shizuki has always translated Dutch present perfect tenses with *zijn* as the auxiliary into the Japanese affixes *-ri* and *-tari* (see T53E4 *gesproken zijn* 'to be spoken' as *ieru* and T53E12 *gevallen zijn* 'to be fallen' as *ochitaru*). Nonetheless, the present perfect tense of the verb *zijn* itself is considered a synonym to *was*, its past simple form and is translated into Japanese as the affix *-ki* (see *arishikaba* in T54S5). According to Shizuki, the affix *-ki* is always connected to either the past simple tense, or the past perfect tense (both with *hadden* and *waren*). However, the verb *zijn* is the only verb for which the affix *-ki* corresponds to a present perfect, this is a consequence of the fact that Shizuki considered *geweest zijn* a (semi-)synonym to *waren* for some unspecified reason.

Sentences from T54S12 to T54S15 feature the verb *zijn* in its present simple tense, in the lower-main clause, used as a copula to a noun (1a), in the matrix based on the citation from Jacob Cats' emblem. Sentence T54S12 sets the matrix with the Dutch sentence *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht is het een lantaarn zonder licht* 'Event though a whore has a pretty face it is a lantern with no light'. The sentence is translated into Japanese as *gijo ni bishoku aritomo kore mukō no tō naran*. As already discussed, the sentence is considered a future (*mirai* 未来), this is because the upper-subordinate clause presents the conjunction *al*, in the Dutch version, a word within which the meaning of *zullen* is embedded. However, it is worth mentioning that, even though *al* is featured in the upper clause, and it gets translated as the affix *-tomo* attached to the verb in the upper clause itself, the sense of futurity gets moved to the predicate of the lower clause. It is for this reason that, in this specific instance, the verb *is*, a present tense, can be adapted into Japanese as *naran*, combination of *nari* plus the affix *-n*, corresponding to the verb *zullen*. This can only happen when the subordinate clause features the conjunction *al*.

In fact, in sentence T54S13, the conjunction *al* gets substituted with *hoewel*, while still maintaining the Dutch verbs in the same forms they were in T54S12, and the

affix *-n* is not present anymore. Sentence T54S13 reads *Hoewel zij een mooi gezicht heeft, is het een lantaarn zonder licht* ('Even though she has a pretty face it is a lantern with no light'), translated into Japanese as *kanojo ni bishoku aredomo kore mukō no tō nari* 彼女に美色あれともこれ無光の燈なり. The sentence is labeled present (*gense* 現世) since there is no *al* rendering the sense of future. However, the lack of affix *-n* is not the only difference, since the affix *-tomo* is also substituted with *-do*(*mo*). This is consistent with the entry to *hoewel* in *Joshi-kō*, as seen above. In this sentence, thus, the verb *zijn*, is translated straightforwardly into *nari*, without the addition of any other affix.

Sentence T54S15 reads *Hoewel zij een mooi gezicht had is het een lantaarn zonder licht* ('Even though she had a pretty face, it is a lantern with no light'), where the verb *hebben* is turned into a past tense, in the upper clause. The Japanese translation reads *kanojo ni bishoku arishikadomo kore mukō no tō nari* 彼女に美色ありしかどもこれ無光の燈なり. This translation is rather straightforward, as it simply translates *hoewel* as the affix *-do*(*mo*), combined with the affix *-ki*, since the verb in the upper clause is a past tense, while in the lower clause the verb *zijn* is in its present simple form and gets simply translated into *nari*, without any additional affix. The time expressed by this sentence is described as "starting from the past, reaching the present" (過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ).

In conclusion, in the Table of the Three Times, *zijn* is placed at the crossing between the present dimension and the present time (*gense no gense* 現世ノ現世). Whenever it is used as an auxiliary to another verb, except *zijn* itself, this verb corresponds to the Japanese affixes *-ri* and *-tari*, euphonic synonyms both corresponding ultimately to the verb *ari*, according to Shizuki. Apparently, however, there is no Dutch verb that corresponds to forms such as *arinu* or *aritsu*, thus the existential verb *ari* combined with the affixes *-nu* and *-tsu* that Shiuzki considered to correspond to the meaning expressed by the present perfect tense with *hebben*. Similarly, there is no way of combining the sense expressed by the present perfect tense with *zijn* to the verb *zijn* itself, as the form *geweest zijn* does not correspond to *aritari* (verb *ari* combined with *-tari*), since it is considered a synonym to the Dutch *waren*, which is always rendered as *ariki* (verb *ari* plus *-ki*), as I will show in the following paragraph 8.5.6. Furthermore, oftentimes the present tense of the verb *zijn* is used as a makeshift for the verb *zullen*. This occurs, for example, with the conjunction *al* or with the conjunctions *als* and *indien* when no specific past-tense verb is present in the (possibly) absent lower clause. Had there been a past tense there, *zijn* would have participated in the making of a *tatoe* hypothetical of impossibility. With *al*, the verb *zijn*, in the lower clause, ought to be translated as if it were combining with an auxiliary *zullen*, thus adding the affix *-n*. When *zijn* is featured in a non-*tatoe* upper clause with *als* or *indien*, it does not require the affix *-n* as, I assume, it would be eventually added to the lower clause. There are a few further examples and sample sentences that deserve to be analyzed as to understand Shizuki's theories completely, as far as the verb *zijn* is concerned. However, since most of them feature the verb *waren* or variations of the form *geweest zijn*, that Shizuki considered as synonym to *waren*, I will cover these in the following paragraph 8.5.6. Below, I schematize the information discussed above, on the verb *zijn*.

ZIJN

Type

gense no gense 現世の現世, Present of the present

Meaning

		Japanese
1	With nouns	Copula: *-nari* なり or *-ni ari* にあり
		Locational: *-ari* あり
2	With adjectives	General rule: *-shi* し (*shūshikei* of adjectival endings)
		When in predicative function with infinitives or in relative clauses it allows the use of *-ku ari* くあり, as alternative of the ending *-ki* (*rentaikei* of the *adjectival* ending *-shi*)
3	With verbs	Affixes *-ri* り or *-tari* たり
		With neuter verbs can also alternatively be *-nu* ぬ
		in the present perfect tense of *zijn*: past affix *-ki* き
		Chinese
1	General rule	*zai* 在
2	With nouns	*ya* 也

8.5.6 The verb *waren*

In the Table of the Three Times, the Dutch verb *waren* is found in the crossing between the past dimension and the present time (*kako no gense* 過去ノ現世). It is related to the combination of the Chinese characters *sō* 曽 and *zai* 在, with the former corresponding to the meaning expressed by the auxiliary use of the verb *hadden* (8.5.4), and the latter to the verb *zijn* (8.5.5). As already mentioned, the present perfect of the verb *zijn*, namely *geweest zijn* is considered, by Shizuki as a synonym to the verb *waren*. In Japanese, a few examples suggest that the verb *waren* used as auxiliary for the past perfect tense corresponds to the combination of an affix related to the verb *ari*, namely *-ri*, *-tari* or an adjectival ending plus the affix *-ki*. These correspondences are all consistent with what illustrated in the previous sections of the present Chapter VIII. For example, T53E5 reads *gesproken waren* ('were spoken') translated as *ieriki* いへりき, with a combination of *-ri* and *-ki*; T53E13 reads *gevallen waren* ('were fallen') is translated as *ochitariki* 隕たりき, with a combination of *-tari* and *-ki*, while T53E17 reads *wit waren* ('were white') and is translated as *shirokariki* 白かりき, where *-kari* is an alternative *ren'yōkei* form of *ku*-type adjectives. These phrases all present the use of the verbs in *kiruru* contexts, however, in *tsuzuku* contexts, the same forms are maintained. T53E28 reads *Steen die gevallen was* ('Stone that was fallen') translated into Japanese as

ochitariki ishi 隕たりき石; T53E44 *Wolk die wit was* (‘Cloud that was white’) reads *shirokariki kumo* 白かりき雲. Phrase T53E24, that reads *Woorden die gesproken waren* (‘Words that were spoken’) also features a popular Japanese translation and a Chinese one. The classical Japanese translation is *ieriki go* いへりき語, thus with the combination of the affixes *-ri* and *-ki*. The popular Japanese version, instead, is translated as *itte arishi go* 言テアリシ語, where the from *-te ari* is combined with the affix *-ki*. The Chinese version combines both characters found in the Table of the Three Times and reads *céng yán zài zhī yǔ* 曽言在之言.

T53E52 provides another example of the verb *waren* used as an auxiliary of a different verb, namely the verb *worden*, the latter used with its meaning of ‘to become’, rather than as an auxiliary for the passive voice, in the phrase *Wolk die wit geworden was* (‘Cloud that [was] become white’), translated into Japanese as *shiroku nareriki kumo* 白くなれりき雲, where the verb *nari* (‘to become’) is combined with the affixes *-ri* and *-ki*.

In the chapter on the combined use of the “six words”, Shizuki also covers the tense *geweest zijn* (T53E61), translating it as *ariki* and *nariki*, thus only by adding the affix *-ki*, and he claims this to be synonymous to the verb *waren*. The same tense further combined with the verb *zouden* is, instead, rendered into Japanese as *ariken* and *aran to shiki*. The difference between these two is analogous to what I have discussed in 8.5.2.2. In the Chapter *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*, there are many sentences featuring the verb *zijn* in either its preterit (*waren*) or perfect tenses (*geweest zijn*/*waren*). Sentence T54S2 is *Wanneer hij te huis was durfde ‘er niemand spreken* (‘When he was at home, nobody dared to speak’). This is labeled a past, and features a combination of the conjunction *wanneer*, with a past simple tense in both the main clause and the subordinate clause. The Japanese translation is *kanohito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki* 彼人家にある時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき, where *wanneer* is rendered with the form *toki wa*, that gets combined with the verb *ari* in its *rentaikei* form, without any additional affix signaling a past tense, while the predicate of the main sentence, namely the adjective *nashi*, is combined with the past affix *-ki*. In Waseda’s copy, the subordinate clause of the Dutch version does not feature any verb, at all, only reading *Wanneer hij te huis, durfde ‘er niemand spreken*, that is translated identically into Japanese. This is probably a typo. In both copies, however, sentence T54S2 is commented by the following remarks:[94]

此ハ過去ナリ事迹ニ用ルトキハ前ナル現世語ト同訳ナリ結ヒ詞ヲイフヘキ時ハ言ふ人なかりけり𠆢訳スベシ上ノ句ニ was トアレ𠆢wanneer ハ其過去ノ中ニテ在家ノ時ヲサスナル故 was ヲ訳スルヿ事迹

This is past. When using it in *jiseki*, it gets the same translation as the sentence before, which had a present tense. When you ought to use a *musubi kotoba*, it can also be translated as *iu hito nakarikeri*. Even if you have *was* in the upper clause, *wanneer* points at when the person is at home, within the past itself, thus the translation of

[94] There are neglectable differences in spelling across the two editions. The following text is a close representation of the version found in Waseda’s copy on folios 11v-12r.

ノ語ニ準シテ is ノ如クス因テ全語ヲツカネテ末ニなかりきトきノ字ヲ出セリ dúrfde dúrft ノ過去ニテ敢てしきトイフニ當レリ此きノ字トwas ノきノ字トヲ束ネテ末ニ唯一ツ出セリ是ニテ全語ヲ過去トナス	*was* works similarly to a *jiseki*, in that it is like *is*. For this reason, gathering all the words together, you get the character *ki*, in *nakariki*. The word *durfde* is the past of *durft* and it corresponds to saying *aete shiki*. This character *ki* combines with the *ki* of *was* and becomes one, for this all the words are past.

Shizuki addresses the reason why the affix *-ki* is only found in the lower clause, in the Japanese translation, even though the Dutch sentence featured two past predicates. The reason is simple: in (classical) Japanese you do not need to specify the fact that the event described occurs in the past in each of the clauses, and only one *ki* is necessary, at the end of the whole sentence to make that clear. In fact, Shiuzki adds, originally the affix *ki* does not belong to the adjective *nashi*, as the predicates in the past form, in the Dutch sentence, are *was* and *durfde*, that would thus translate *ariki* (in the upper clause) and *aete shiki* (in the lower clause). However, neither is ultimately rendered via the affix *ki*, in the sentence provided by Shizuki, since that affix is only added to the main predicate of the lower clause, that happens to be the adjective *nashi*, thus giving the form *nakariki*. Shiuzki also mentions two concepts, namely *jiseki* and *musubi kotoba*, but I will go back to these, in 8.6.

Nonetheless, it appears that the use of just one *-ki* in this type of sentences is allowed by the presence of the conjunction *wanneer* 'when', in the Dutch sentence. As read in T57S3, in fact, the same sentence with the conjunction *toen* 'back when', instead features a double use of *-ki*, with the sentence being adapted into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni arishi toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki* 彼人家にありし時は彼所に在て敢ていふひとなかりき, also labeled a "past". This different meaning of *toen*, providing a difference in the Japanese adaptation, is mentioned by Shizuki, who comments sentence T54S3 in the following manner (12r-12v):

Toen ハ今ニ對シテ其時ヲサス詞ナル故家にありし時ト訳ス此句ハ事迹ノ語ニテモありし時ト訳スベシ前ノ語ハ其頃ノ中ニテ家ニアルト家ニナキトヲ別テリ此ハ其頃ト今トヲ別テリ	The word *toen* points at a time in contrast with now. This is why I have translated with *arishi toki*. Even when the sentence is a *jiseki*, it ought to be translated as *arishi toki*. The previous sentence [T54S2] makes the difference between when he was and was not at home within that same [past] time. This sentence, instead, makes the difference between that time and now.

The difference between these two sentences, thus, can be identified in the different nuances in the meanings of the two conjunctions. While with *wanneer* the distinction was whether the subject was or was not at home, within the same past time, with *toen* the distinction is between a past time when the subject was at home, and a present time. For this reason, the specification of the past tense must actualize via the use of the affix *-ki*, even in the upper clause.

This is a remarkable explanation since, until now, only the form *-tomo*, *-do*(*mo*), *-ba* or *toki wa* have been described as being directly influenced by the conjunction present in the Dutch sentence. This is the only instance, except for the case of *al* and the Japanese affix *-n*, that the Dutch conjunction directly influences the translation of a Japanese affix specifying time.

Sentence T54S11 is an example of how this specific matrix can be made into a *tatoe*, while using the verb *waren*. This sentence reads *Indien hij te huis was, zou 'er niemand durven spreken*, where *indien* combines with *waren* (*was*) in the subordinate clause, and with *zouden* (*zou*) in the main clause. Here, the combination *indien* plus *was* is translated into *ariseba*, while *zouden* is the reason why the adjective in the lower clause – the adjective *nashi* – is translated as *nakaramashi*. I have already covered this in 8.5.2.1.

Sentences T54S5 and T54S6 also feature a locational *zijn*. However, in these sentences this verb is present in its present perfect (T54S5) and past perfect (T54S6) tenses. Since Shizuki claimed that the form *geweest zijn* – the present perfect of the verb *zijn* – is synonymous to *waren*, I suggest these should be interpreted as sentences representing alternative forms of the verb *waren*. T54S5 reads *Omdat hij zo lang in Holland geweest is, zo spreekt hij het Hollandsch zeer wel* ('Because he has been so long in Holland, he speaks Dutch very wel'). The sentence is translated into Japanese as *kano hito kaku hisashiku oranda no kuni ni arishikaba oranda no go wo iu koto hanahada yoshi* 彼人かくひさしく和蘭國にありしかば和蘭語をいふこと甚よし. In the lower clause of this sentence, and this also applies to T54S6, there is different predicate from the Dutch *spreekt*, in a similar fashion it happened with the "When he is at home" sentences. The Japanese rendition of the main clause of this sentence features a nominalization of the verb 'to speak' *iu koto*, that is the subject of the main clause, with the adjective *yoshi* 'good' functioning as the predicate. The Japanese version, thus, literally translates into "speaking Dutch is very good". The predicate in the upper clause, instead, is the verb *ari* combined with the past affix *-ki* and the affix *izenkei -ba*, the latter rendering the Dutch conjunction *omdat*. The predicate in the lower clause, instead, does not present any specific affix, only featuring the adjective in its *shūshikei* form, mirroring the present simple tense of the Dutch verb *spreekt*. The reference in time of this sentence is explained as "starting from the past, reaching/entailing the present" (過去ヨリ現世ニカケテ). Although Shizuki does not specify this concept any further, it can be assumed that this refers to the fact that the action/event described by the first clause refers to a past time (hence *geweest is*, in Dutch, and *arishikaba*, in Japanese), and its consequences can be seen in the present, as evidenced in the lower clause (hence *is* in Dutch, and *yoshi* in Japanese).

Sentence T54S6 is very similar yet it substitutes the present-tense verbs into their past forms. The sentence reads *Omdat hij zo lang in Vrancrijk geweest was, zo sprak hij het Vransch zeer wel* ('Because he had been so long in France, he spoke French very well'). Except for the lexical changes, the sentence is translated identically to T54S5 as *kano hito kaku hisashiku furansu no kuni ni arishikaba furansu no go wo iu koto hanahada yoshi* 彼人かく久しく拂郎期国をありしかハ拂郎斯語を言ふ

こと甚よし. Shizuki labels this a past, yet he adds a few remarks, that can be read below (13v-14r):

此ハ過去ナリ上ノ句ハ過去中ノ過去ナリ但シ事迹ノ書ニアル語ナリ語ハ異ナレ𪜈前ナルト同意訳ナリ唯現世過去ノ異ナルノミナリ結ヒ詞ヲ置クベキトキハ言ふこと甚よかりけりトモ訳スベシ	This is a past. The upper clause is a past within the past. However, it is a sentence present in books of *jiseki*. Even when though the sentences differ, it has the same translation and meaning as the sentence before [T54S5]. The only difference is between the present and the past. When you ought to add a *musubi kotoba*, it can also be translated as *iu koto hanahada yokarikeri*.
geweest was ハ過去ノ過去ナリ此語ハ過去中ニテ更ニ過去ヨリ現世ニカケテイヘリ其現世ハ今ヨリ言ヘハ過去ナリ	*Geweest was* is a past of the past. This phrase is said when talking about [something happening] from the past into the present, within the past. That present is a past relatively to the now.

In sentence T54S5, the act of speaking is contemporary to the present of the narration, while the act of being in the Netherlands is previous to both the now and the act of speaking. In sentence T54S6, however, the act of speaking is previous to the present of the narration, and the act of being in France is also further back in the past from the act of speaking. This difference is conveyed, in English and in Dutch, by combination of the different verbal conjugations. In Shizuki's Japanese rendition, however, this difference disappears, and both sentences are translated, form a morphosyntactic point of view, in the same manner, only adding the *-ki* affix to the upper clause (in T54S6), possibly to express the perviousness of that action/event as opposed to the lower clause. Nonetheless, Shizuki is aware of this distinction, as he points out that although the predicates of both sentence T54S5 and T54S6 occur in the past and entail the present, sentence T54S6 takes place, in its entirety, within the past. Shizuki repeats this by stating that "That present is still a past in comparison to now" (其現世ハ今ヨリ言ヘハ過去ナリ). In order to understand these sentences, one needs, thus, to visualize three references of time: the two moments in which the actions/events of the two clauses happen and the moment in which the sentence is being spoken/written. The latter sets the "current now" and is always intrinsically present. The moment of the main clause sets the "now" within the story, that can occur in a different moment, as compared to the "current now". The subordinate clause, instead, often refers to a different time to both moments. In sentence T54S5 and T54S6 the only difference is in the location of the moment when the main clause occurred. In sentence T54S5 such moment is contemporary to the "current now"; while in T54S6 such moment was in the past, with respect to the "current now". From Shizuki's words it can be assumes that this distinction cannot be made in Japanese, yet is rendered in Dutch by the use of a combination of a present perfect with a present simple (T54S5) and a past perfect with a past simple (T54S6).

Sentences T54S14, T54S16 and T54S17 all feature the verb *waren* used as a copula to a noun and are all variations of the citation from Cats. However, the only real differences between these sentences concern the upper clause, where no verb *waren*

is featured, as it only appears in the lower clause. For this reason, the verb *waren* is always translated as *nariki*, thus with the addition of the affix *-ki* to the word *nari*.

Sentences T54S22, T54S23, T54S24 and T54S27 are a bit exceptional. In the lower clause one either finds the present simple or the past simple tense of the verb *vinden* 'to find', corresponding to the verb *mi* literally 'to see', in Japanese. The upper clauses, however, present a verbal conjugation that is not grammatically acceptable, in Dutch. The main verb should be *wonen* ('to live', 'to inhabit'), however, this verb is conjugated in its past participle form *gewoond* (spelled *gewoont*) and is combined with the present perfect or past perfect (T54S23) of the verb *zijn*, as if it were to work as its auxiliary. In contemporary standard Dutch, the perfect tenses of the verb *wonen* can only be rendered via the auxiliary *hebben*. In addition, the verb *zouden* is also added to these constructs. However, even if one considers the auxiliary *zijn* a viable alternative for the construction of perfect tenses, the resulting forms *zou gewoond geweest zijn* and *zou gewoond geweest waren* are still not grammatical, corresponding roughly to saying *should have had lived and *should had had lived, in English. This leads to the consequence that it is not clear what Shizuki meant to write here. Perhaps, one should interpret this use of *gewoond* not as a past participle, but as an adjective, with the meaning of *woonachtig* ('resident', 'domiciled'). In this case, thus, these sentences would present two perfect tenses of the verb *zijn* used as copula to an adjective and not as locational. In the Japanese versions, the main predicate is the verb *sumu* 'to inhabit'. In addition, there are a few inconsistences between the translations of these sentences across the copies of *Seizenfu*, increasing the level of incomprehensibility. Sentence T54S22 is *Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn zo vinden wij zulke overblijfsel* ('Because he should have (had) lived here, we find such remainings'). The sentence is thus translated into Japanese as *kano hito koko ni sumikemeba warera kakaru ato wo mitari* 彼人爰に住けめば我等かヽる迹を見たり.[95] In T54S22, thus, the combination of the conjunction *omdat* plus the incorrect form *zou gewoont geweest zijn* is rendered via the form *sumikemeba*, where *omdat* corresponds to the *izenkei -ba*, which is adjoined to a combination of the verb *sumu* and the affix *-kemu*, in the formula:

{**sum.** + **.i.** + **.keme** + **.ba** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *sumu* + *izenkei* of the affix *-kemu* + *izenkei -ba*}

As a comment, Shizuki only adds that the upper clause is a past (コレハ上ノ句過去ナリ), that I assume implies the lower clause not to be past. The Dutch version of the lower clause includes the verb *vinden*, a present simple tense, while the Japanese version includes the affix *-tari*, that Shizuki only used in present perfect tenses of

[95] The verb *sumikereba* is spelled clearly as 住けめば in Gifu's copy. In Waseda's copy however, the character *hiragana* for *ke*, appears to be written more similarly to a *katakana* for *ru* ル, that just happens to look similar to some cursive versions of *ke* け. In TERADA & SUGIMOTO (1997) this is copied over as the *katakana* for *ru* ル, in the main text (page 78), afterwards reguralized as the *hiragana* for *ru* る, in the notes (page 95). However, there is no reason to believe the spelling with *ru* to be the intended version, suggesting this to probably be a misspelling of a cursive *ke* け.

any verb except *zijn*, whenever the verb *zijn* is used as an auxiliary (e.g., *gesproken zijn* and *gevallen zijn*). Being the verb *zijn*, within the Table of the Three Times, in the crossing between the *gense no gense* 'the present of the present', I must assume this to mean that the lower clause is to be considered a present. Probably of the "from the past to the present" type. Sentence T54S23 adopts verbs in the past tense and reads *Omdat hij hier zou gewoont geweest waren zo vonden zij zulke overblijfsel* ('Because he should had [had] lived here, they found such remainings').[96] This sentence is translated into Japanese as *kano hito koko ni sumikemeba karera kakaru ato wo mitari* 彼人爰に住けめば彼等かヽる迹を見たり. Except for the lexical changes (*wij* 'we' to *zij* 'they', as subject of the lower clause), this sentence and T54S22 are translated identically. The remark that Shizuki adds below is pretty similar to what he had written as a comment to T54S6, claiming "This is also a past, where the lower clause is a past within the past. Since this is a word of *jiseki*, then it is translated by means of words of the present and is translated identically to the sentence before" (此ハ過去ニシテ上ノ句ハ過去中ノ過去ナリ事迹ノ語ナル故現世詞ヲ以テ訳ス因ニテ前ナルト同訳ナリ).

Sentence T54S24 reads *Omdat hij daar zou gewoont geweest zijn zo vonden wij zulke overblijfsel*, where the verb *zijn* is featured in its present form, in the upper clause, while the verb *vinden* is in its past form, in the lower clause. The Japanese translation reads *kano hito kashiko ni sumitaruru bekereba warera kakaru ato wo mitariki* 彼人彼所に住たるるべければ我等かヽる迹を見たりき, in Waseda's copy, while in Gifu's copy the first predicate seems to be missing one of the two *ru* syllables, which would be the appropriate form of the affix *-tari*, when combined with *-beshi*. The verb in the upper clause, albeit identical in the Dutch version to T54S23, is translated in a totally different fashion in Japanese, where it is combined with the affixes *-tari*, *-beshi* and *izenkei -ba*, in the formula:

{**sum.** + **.i.** + **.taru** + **.bekere** + **.ba** = *izenkei* of the verb *sumu* + *rentaikei* of the affix *-tari* + *izenkei* of the affix *-beshi* + *izenkei -ba*}

If consequential *-ba* corresponds to the Dutch conjunction *omdat*, and the affix *-beshi* to the verb *zouden*, then the affix *-tari* would probably correspond to the (incorrect) present perfect tense *geweest zijn*. The predicate in the lower clause, namely *vonden*, in Dutch, a past simple, is translated into Japanese by means of a combination of *-tari* and *-ki*, just like it was done in T54S23. This sentence is labeled "past" (*kako* 過去), in Gifu's copy and it is labeled with a new term, in Waseda's copy, namely *kagū* 過遇. This term is not specifically explained, and it might have been a misspelling of some sort.[97] Above this term, however, the copyist

[96] Note that this sentence is not grammatically correct even if one considered *gewoond* an adjective, as one cannot possibly have the verb *waren* in that context.

[97] In particular, the character *gū* 遇 appears to have been written on top of another character, perhaps another occurrence of *ka* 過. It could have been that, initially, in this instance the character *ka* was repeated as to abbreviate the phrase *kako no kako* 過去ノ過去 'past of the past', as it is often done in Gifu's copy.

adds a useful gloss in *katakana*, spelling out the word *mērudan* メールダン. This is probably an abbreviation of the Dutch phrase *meer dan volmaakt*/*voltooid*, often used to translate the concept of "pluperfect". In both copies the following phrase is added as a remark: "While the upper clause has the meaning of a word of *jiseki*, it is translated in the present, and thus, the character *-ki*, at the end, collects all the past tenses into one. We have already seen this type before" (上ノ句ハ事迹語ノ意ニテ現世ニ訳シ末ノきノ字ヲ以テ一ニ束ネテ過去トナス是格前ニモ見エタリ). Again, thus, just like in sentence T54S2, the verb in the upper clause is not translated by means of the affix *-ki* because, in a *jiseki* sentence, the reference of past only appears in the lower clause, via the affix *-ki*, that combines all the past tenses of the previously featured verbs and/or adjectives, into one (see 8.6.2). Therefore, in the verb *sumitarubekereba* one does not find the affix *-ki*, but instead one finds the affix *-tari* (that corresponds to the meaning of the verb *zijn*, a "present of the present", in a present perfect tense).

The last sentence T54S27 (that corresponds to the twenty-sixth sentence in Waseda's copy) presents the same verbal tenses as T54S22, with only two distinctions: the conjunction *omdat* is substituted with *hoewel*, and the lower clause is negative. T54S27 is *Hoewel hij hier zou gewoont geweest zijn zo vinden wij dog geen overblijfsel* ('Even though he should have [had] lived here, still we do not find any remaining'). In the Japanese translation, the predicate of the upper clause is spelled quite differently across the two copies. In Waseda's copy, it appears that the verb is written as *sumimeredo* すみめれど. However, this spelling is not grammatically correct, since the affix *-meri* attaches to the *shūshikei* form of verbs, that would be *sumu*, for the verb in question, and not *sumi*. The syllable *mi* written in Waseda's copy appears to be a cursive version of it based on the Chinese character 三, leading TERADA & SUGIMOTO (1997, 78) to write it as the *katakana* character *mi* ミ. It does not appear reasonable to believe that character to be a misspelling of *mu* む. In Gifu's copy, the verb is quite different, presenting the form *sumikemedo* 住けめど, that would make this sentence consistent with the verbal forms found in T54S22 and T54S23, within this same copy of *Seizenfu*. In Gifu's copy, thus, this sentence is translated into Japanese as *kano hito koko ni sumi sumikemedo warera nao sono ato wo mizu* 彼人爰に住けめど我等猶其迹を見す. The upper clause presenting the affix *-kemu*, just like the previous sentences, although the Dutch conjunction *hoewel* is rendered via the affix *-do*(*mo*), instead of *-ba* that was used there to render the Dutch conjunction *omdat*. The verb in the lower clause, instead, is simply conjugated via the addition of the affix *-zu*, for the negative, into *mizu*. As a comment, Shziuki adds the following remark:[98]

此ハ上ノ句過去ナリ是語諸格前ニ見タル故是ニ畧ス俗語ニテ云ハバいはめば　いはめど　ハ　言ウカラ　言ウケレド　ト　いふべけれ	The upper clause is a past. This type of sentence can be seen above, and thus I will refrain from discussing this any further. In the popular language, instead of *iwameba* and *iwamedo*, we would say *iu*

[98] The original text is based on Waseda's copy (19v-20r). In brackets, I have added the text only present in Gifu's copy (22v-23r).

ば　いふへけれど　[言テアッタカラ]言ウデアローカラ。言デアローケレド。又ハ言ソーナモノジヤカラ。言ソーナモノシヤケレドいひけめば[99]　いひけめどハ言ウタローカラ言タローケレドナリいはめばトいひけめばトノ別ハいはめは疑ノ意ナシいふへければハ疑テ推[シ]ハカル意ナリ

kara or *iu keredo*. While instead of *iu bekereba* and *iubekeredo*, we would say [*itte atta kara*] *iu de arō kara* or *iu de arō keredo*. Fruthermore, *iu sō na ja kara* and *iu sō na mono ja keredo*. Instead of *iikemeba* and *iikemedo*, we would say *iu darō kara* and *iu darō keredo*. The difference between *iwameba* and *iikemeba* is that *iwameba* does not have the meaning of doubt [疑], while *iubekereba* has the meaning of doubting and hypothesizing [疑テ推シハカル].

Here Shizuki provides further adaptations for this incorrect Dutch conjugation. Depending on the conjunction that opens the sentence, the verb in the main clause takes a different affix in the Japanese rendition. However, the predicate itself *zou gewoond geweest zijn*, in non-*jiseki* contexts, always corresponds to an affix *-kemu*. This affix *-kemu*, is covered, by Shizuki, in another chapter of *Seizenfu*, covering what he calles *musubi kotoba*, and since its meaning and use are connected also to the concept of *jiseki*, which I will analyze in 8.6. Below, I have summarized the methods of translation of the Dutch verb *waren*, including its synonyms (according to Shizuki) *geweest zijn* and *geweest waren*, as illustrated in the present paragraph.

WAREN

Type

過去の現世, Present of the past

Meaning

Japanese

1 With nouns:

-nariki なりき

2 With locations:

-ni ariki にありき

3 With adjectives:

-ki き

Chinese character

sō zai 曽在

[99] In Waseda's copy, this is spelled as *iikereba* いひければ, as also attested by TERADA & SUGIMOTO (1997, 79). However, I believe this to be a misspelling of *iimereba* いひめれば, as it appears written in Gifu's copy, since it appears that the affix *-meri* is what is being discussed here, instead of *-keri*.

8.6 Additional issues

There are still a few issues concerning the morphosyntax of verbs, as it is described by Shizuki in *Rangaku seizenfu*. In particular, two terms Shizuki has used often to describe specific phenomena I have not covered yet, namely what he called: *musubi kotoba* and *jiseki*. These two concepts are often used together, implying some sort of overlap in their meaning. However, as I will demonstrate, this overlap is mostly coincidental, and corresponds to the use of specific *musubi kotoba* in past sentences. The concept of *jiseki* is further cited often in another work by Shizuki, namely *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, that is why I will refer to that work often in 8.6.2.

8.6.1 The concept of *musubi kotoba* in *Rangaku seizenfu*

In *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki mentions a few times the term *musubi kotoba*, generally written as 結ヒ詞, literally meaning "connecting word". This concept is analyzed in its own chapter, with the title *Kusagusa no musubi kotoba* 種々ノ結ヒ詞 ('Various types of *musubi kotoba*'), that comes right after the twenty-seven sample sentences. Outside of this chapter, the term is mentioned four additional times, all within the chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai* ('The use of many types of words'). These four occurrences refer to the sample sentences T54S2, T54S6, T54S14 and T54S16. In all these sentences, the term *musubi kotoba* refers to an alternative translation of the predicate of the main clause that would include the affix *-keri*. Even though the predicates are all different words across these phrases, there is one similarity among them, and that is that they are all labeled as "past". As I will discuss in the following section, all these sentences seem to also be connected to the concept of *jiseki*, as well. In those four instances, it is generally written that the alternative translation including *-keri* is viable "when you ought/can use/put/say[100] a *musubi kotoba*". These "connecting words" are, thus, something you can (or should, depending on the interpretation of the affix *-beshi*) "add" to your phrase. From this phrasing, thus, it appears that *musubi kotoba* are both words you do not need and that are not a direct translation of any specific Dutch word, since their addition is independent from the Dutch original sentence.

The term *musubi kotoba* is most evidently an influence Shizuki received from Motoori Norinaga, whom he also cites in this section of *Seizenfu*. In *Kotoba no tama no o*, Norinaga used the term *musubi* 結び (from the verb *musubu* 'to connect') to refer to the affixes and verbal/adjectival endings of the Japanese language that were influenced by the *kakari* represented by the three columns (*misuji* 三條). According to the *te ni wo ha* in each column, the affix in the main predicate had to be turned into one specific form (see 6.2.1). In the sixth volume of Motoori Norinaga's work, there is a chapter titled *Musubi kotoba* – which I have already covered – where the author mentions a few additional issues concerning some adjectival/verbal affixes/endings that were not directly discussed within the *Himo kagami* table. In Motoori's vocabulary, thus, a *musubi kotoba* was simply a *te ni wo ha* different from a *kakari* (a particle) corresponding to those that are nowadays called *jodōshi* 助動詞

[100] The verbs *iu* 'to say', *tsukau* 'to use' and *oku* 'to put' are used across these four sentences.

, conflated with the endings of verbs and adjectives. Shizuki seems to interpret this term in a rather different fashion, probably believing that the term *musubi kotoba* only referred to those elements Motoori described within that chapter. In Motoori's *Musubi kotoba* chapter, he covers the following elements, in the following order:

- The syllables *-ki* and *-shi*, relative to the past affix *-ki* and to the adjectival endings;
- The negative affix *-zu*;
- The word *nari*;
- The affix *-keri*;
- The affix *-nu*;
- The affix *-tsu*;
- All verbal endings (with specific focus on the *jita* use of each);
- The affix *-n* (*-mu*);
- The affix *-ran*;
- The affix *-ken* (*-kemu*);
- The affix *-nan* (*-namu*);
- The affix *-mashi*;
- The affix *-rashi*;
- The affix *-tsutsu*;
- The affix *-kana*;
- The affixes *-gana* and *-gamo*.

Shizuki, in his *Kusagusa no musubi kotoba* chapter, covers the following elements, in this order:

- The affix *-keri*;
- The affix *-meri*;
- The affix *-ran*;
- The affix *-rashi*;
- The affix *-tsutsu*;
- The affix *-kana*;
- The affix *-gani*.

If one eliminates from Motoori's list all the elements Shizuki has already covered in the preceding chapters of *Rangaku seizenfu*, the remaining list will be almost identical – down to the order – to that of Motoori, with the only difference being the addition of the affix *-meri*, in Shizuki, and *-gani* being covered instead of *-gana*.

The contents of Shizuki's chapter *Kusagusa musubi kotoba* feature a few lines explaining the specific meanings and uses of each of these so-called *musubi kotoba*,

together with some ten sample phrases and sentences rendered both in Dutch and in Japanese. The first lines of this chapter can be read below (21r):

けりめりハ意ノ決スル詞ナリ其内けりハ過去めりハ現世ナリ蘭ニハ様々ノ點ヲ以テ句ヲ絶ツ故ニけりめりニ当ルベキ詞ナシ唯末ニ畢點畢點ノ名ハ大概〈右畧〉蘭学階梯ニ仍ルアル所ニ自ラ是等ノ意ヲ含メル所多シ文勢ニヨリテ知ルベシ詳ニ説ク〻〈右〉能假ニ一二例ヲ示サン

The words *keri* and *meri* specify the meaning. Of these, *keri* is a past, and *meri* is a present. In Dutch, since there are many points by means of which you interrupt the sentence, there is no word exactly corresponding to *keri* and *meri*. There are many instances in which [in Dutch] you have just a point at the end [of the sentence] and yet it corresponds to these and other meanings, for us, and they are to be learned according to the expressivity of the text 文勢 (The names of all the points can be seen in *Rangaku kaitei*).[101] The details are argued in the twelve examples I will raise now, for the moment being.

The work titled *Rangaku kaitei* is authored by Ōtsuki Gentaku and covers mainly Dutch spelling and pronunciation. In the second volume, there is one brief chapter titled *tenrei* 点例 'Examples of the points', that illustrates the different punctuation marks commonly used in Dutch (see Waseda's 文庫 8 C1, vol. 2, folios 21v-22r). This reference to this other work is not present in Waseda's version of *Seizenfu*, that only features a full-stop drawn instead of this quote.

Shizuki claims that the concept of *musubi kotoba* has no Dutch counterpart, only corresponding to punctuation. This is an additional information that supports the idea that Shizuki's definition of *musubi kotoba* did not include the affixes he has used to translate Dutch auxiliaries. Furthermore, Shizuki adds that *-keri* is past, while *-meri* is present, that explains why the affix *-keri* was the only example of a *musubi kotoba* found outside of this chapter: all the sentences he was referring to were past, thus requiring a past affix. However, as I have mentioned, *-keri* and *-meri* were not the only affixes called *musubi kotoba*, by Shizuki.

The first two sample sentences are *Het rivierwater vloeit zo verwardelijk* ('The water of the river flows so confusingly'), translated into Japanese as *kawamizu midarete nagaru meri* 河水乱れて流るめり. Here, the affix *-keri* does not correspond to any specific term in the Dutch phrase. Similarly, in the subsequent example *De lente is al gekomen* ('The spring has already arrived'), the verb is a present perfect, probably, thus, conceived of as a past tense, that is rendered into Japanese as *haru wa kinikeri* 春は来にけり. The verb *ku* 'to come' is combined with the affix *-nu*, providing the sense of past, and with *-keri*, as can be seen in the following formula:

{**k.** + **.i.** + **.ni** + **.keri** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *ku* 'to come' + *ren'yōkei* of *-nu* + *-keri*}

[101] Two of the characters written in small type are not clearly readable, mine is just an educated guess.

The combination of past *-nu* with *-keri* could suggest the fact that the quality of being "past" of *-keri*, as opposed to "present" *-meri*, is not a description of the meaning conveyed by *-keri* itself, but rather an explanation of its contextual use. To put it simple, *-keri* is used in past sentences but it does not render the sentence past on its own, you still need another past affix, such as *-nu* as to make the sentence past. After these two sentences Shizuki adds the following remark: "There are plenty of words outside these *-keri* and *-meri*, the use of which is established" (右ノけりめりノ外ナル詞ハ定格アルモノ多シ).

The following sentence quotes *Hoe zo haastelijk vallen de bloemen af!* ('How hastily do the flowers drop!'), translated into Japanese as s*hizugokoro naku hana no chiruran* しつ[102]心なく花のちるらん, where the verb *chiru* 'to spread', is combined with the affix *-ran*. In order to explain this *musubi kotoba*, Shizuki adds the following remark (21v):

疑ノ詞ト末ナル歎息ノ點トニヨリテらんの意ヲ知ル但シ現世ノ詞ナリらんハつらんぬらん何レモ同意ナリ譬へハ哥ヲいふらんト云テハ一字足ラヌ時ハいひつらんト云ㄱヲ得本居氏曰此らんハ然ルヲ疑フニアラズ然ル所以ヲ疑フナリトイヘリ

The meaning of *ran* is expressed by the word of doubt and by the exclamation mark at the end [of the phrase]. This is a word of the present. As far as *ran* is concerned, *tsuran*, *nuran* or whatever other form of the affix, they all have the same meaning. For example, in the phrase *uta wo iuran*, when one character is not enough, and one says *iitsuran*, as Motoori says, this *ran*, is not doubting the happening itself, rather it doubts the reason of the happening, instead

On page 16 of volume 6 of *Kotoba no tama no o*, Motoori Norinaga, while covering the "connecting word" *ran*, writes the following quote:

件の歌どもらんとは結びたれ共。皆其事を疑ふにはあらず。然るゆゑを疑へるてにをは也。さる故に皆かなといふに通へり。始に引る古今一の「心ざし深く染てし云々の歌にていはゞ。消あへぬ雪の花と見ゆる其事は疑ひにあらねば。「花と見ゆるかなといふ意なるを。さやうに花と見ゆるゆゑを疑ひて。何とて花とは見ゆらんといふ意にて。らんとは結べり。然れば「花と見ゆるかな何とて花と見ゆらんといふ意也。次に同二「ひさかたのひかりのどけき云々の歌は「しづ心なく花のちるかな。何

Even though the poems in question are connected by means of *ran*, they do not doubt the matter, they are *te ni wo ha* that doubt the reason for the happening. Furthermore, they can all be substituted by *kana*. As initially quoted in the *Kokin-shū*: *kokorozashi fukaku someteshi* and *kie aenu yuki no hana to miyuru*, when these do not correspond to the act of doubting, they get the meaning of *hana to miyuru kana*, doubting the reason why one sees the flowers. With the meaning of "Why does one see the flowers?", it is connected by *ran*. It has furthermore, the meaning of *hana to miyuru kana nani tote hana to miyuran*. Subsequently, in the same work, there is the poem *hisakata no hikari nodokeki*, where *shizugokoro naku hana no chiru kana*.

[102] In Waseda's copy the syllable *zu* is spelled as ず.

とてしづ心なく花のちるらんといふ意なり。次々の歌もみな此格に同じ。いづれも△のしるしを附たる所に。何とてといふ言を加へて心得べし.	This has the meaning of "Why do flowers spread without a clam heart?". Also the subsequent songs all have this meaning. One should remember that when I have put the symbol △, the word *nani tote* ['why'] can be added. This *ran* can be substituted with *rana*.

In this quote of Motoori – that is probably what Shizuki was citing in the excerpt above – the scholar expands on the uses of the affix *-ran*, that is traditionally conceived of as expressing doubt and uncertainty. However, as Motoori suggests, *-ran* does not doubt the matter in question (事を疑ふにはあらず), rather the reason why such thing has happened (然るゆゑを疑へる). In this sense, thus, the affix *-ran* corresponds to the affix *-kana*, in a relationship that is best explained by Motoori by means of the same sample sentence Shizuki used. Motoori claims that the phrase *shizuka-gokoro naku hana no chiru kana* corresponds to the meaning of the utterance *nani toshite shizuka-gokoro naku hana no chiru ran* ('Why is it that the flowers fall so hastily?'). The same sentence with *kana* is also covered by Shizuki a few phrases below: *Ô wat is het haastige afvallen der bloemen!* ('Oh, what is the hasty falling of the flowers'), translated into Japanese as *shizugokoro naku hana no chiru kana* しつ心なく花のちるかな. Here Shizuki also presents another sample for the use of *-kana*, in the phrase *Ô wat is dat gelukkig!* ('Oh, that is so fortunate!'), translated into Japanese as *saiwai naru kana* 幸なる哉. Shizuki also adds that this *kana* is a word of the present (現世) and that "This explains the words of exclamation, the word of doubt and the point of exclamation at the end [of the sentence]" (此ハ歎息ノ詞ト疑ノ詞ト末ノ歎息ノ點トニヨリテ知ル). This sentence could be interpreted as implying that the Japanese affix *-kana* corresponds to three elements in the Dutch sentence: the interjection *ô* 'oh' (歎息ノ詞 'word of exclamation'); the interrogative pronoun *wat* 'what' (疑ノ詞 'word of doubt'); and the exclamation point (歎息ノ點). In Gifu's copy one also finds the phrase *Ô tijd!* ('Oh, time!'), translated into Japanese as *toki naru kana* 時なる哉, where *kana* would only correspond to the interjection *ô* and the exclamative point.

Another sentence present in this chapter of *Seizenfu* is *Misschien is de zomer al gekomen* ('Maybe the summer has already come'), translated into Japanese as *natsu kitaru rashi* 夏来るらし, where the affix *rashi* is considered a word of present. Shizuki adds the following explanation (22r):

持統天皇ノ哥モ万葉ニアル本哥ハ夏来るらしト有俗ニハ夏ガ来タソーナト云フ	In the original version of the Poem of the Empress Jitō found in the *Man'yōshū*, there is *natsu kitaru rashi*, which is popularly said as *natsu ga kitasōna*.
らしト常ノらんトヲ分別スヘキ蘭詞イマダ思ヒ得ス	I still have not been able to think of a Dutch word specifying the difference between *rashi* and the common *ran*.

This is an interesting point raised by Shizuki, who claims that there is a difference between *-rashi* and *-ran*, that gets lost in Dutch. However, this is not completely true, since Shizuki did adopt specific forms to translate the two Japanese affixes into Dutch. Shizuki translates the sentence *Misschien was hij hier gekomen* ('Maybe he had come here') as *kano hito koko ni kinikerashi* 彼人爰に来にけらし, were the verb *ku* 'to come' is combined with the past affix *-nu* and the affix *-kerashi*, in the following formula:

{**k.** + **.i.** + **.ni** + **.kerashi** = *ren'yōkei* of the verb *ku* 'to come' + *ren'yōkei* of the affix *-nu* + affix *-kerashi*}

Shizuki adds that the affix *kerashi* is a word of the past and corresponds to the popular version *kitasōna*, that is identical to the popular language adaptation of the affix *rashi*. Furthermore, to some extent, the affix *kerashi* functions like the affix *keri*, in the sense that both are words of the past that still need to be combined with the past affix *-nu*. This last sentence has probably been created by Shizuki himself in comparison with the previous sentence with *misschien*, in order to exemplify the difference between the two affixes *-keri* and *-kerashi*. Even though both occur in the past, that is signaled by the presence of the affix *-nu*, the Dutch version actually presents two different verbal conjugations, namely the present perfect (*is gekomen*) in the first sentence, and the past perfect (*was gekomen*), in the latter. It is this difference that corresponds to the specialized use of *-keri* and *-kerashi*, respectively, according to Shizuki.

As far as the affix *-tsutsu* is concerned, Shizuki only provides two predicates as an example, instead of a full sentence, in *al eetende* ('already eating') and *al slapende* ('already sleeping'), translated into Japanese as *netsutsu* 寝つヽ and *kuitsutsu* 食つヽ. It is furthermore added that this is a word of the present, that is rendered in popular Japanese by means of the word *nagara* ナガラ.

The last phrase contained in this chapter is *Op dat hij weder komt* ('So that he comes back'), translated into Japanese as *kaeri kuru gani* かへり来るがに. The affix *gani* is covered, by Motoori Norinaga, in the last section of the last volume of his *Kotoba no tama no o*, within the chapter titled *Inishieburi no kotoba-zukai* 古風の辭づかひ 'The Use of Words in the Ancient Style'. There, on pages 63-64, one only finds a few sentences that do not include the one used by Shizuki, and some considerations regarding the spelling, specifically that the syllable *ga* needs to be voiced (濁) since it is always found, in the Classics, written with one specific Chinese character that is pronounced as *ga* 我. Shizuki adds that this affix *gani* is a word of the future and that the sample phrase would be rendered in popular Japanese as *kaeri kuru yō ni*, thus with *yō ni* corresponding to a less literary version of *gani*. In Table 57, below, I have collected and simplified the contents of this chapter of *Seizenfu*. By looking at that table, one can more easily understand what Shizuki meant to convey in this chapter.

Het rivierwater vloeit zo verwardelijk	*kawamizu midarete nagaru meri* 河水乱れて流るめり	JP: *-meri* めり NL: full stop	Present
De lente is al gekomen	*haru wa kinikeri* 春は来にけり	JP: *-keri* けり NL: full stop	Past
Hoe zo haastelijk vallen de bloemen af!	*shizu-gokoro naku hana no chiruran* しつ心なく花のちるらん	JP: *-ran* らん NL: *hoe* + exclamation mark (?)	Present
Misschien is de zomer al gekomen	*natsu kitaru rashi* 夏来るらし	JP: *-rashi* らし NL: *misschien* -- Popular JP: *natsu ga kitasōna* 夏ガ来タソーナ	Present
Misschien is hij hier al gekomen	*kano hito koko ni kinikerashi* 彼人爰に来にけらし	JP: *-kerashi* けらし NL: *misschien* -- Popular JP: *kitasōna* 来タソーナ	Past
Al eetende, al slapende	*kuitsutsu* 食つヽ *netsutsu* 寝つヽ	JP: *-tsutsu* つヽ NL: *al* + gerund -- Popular JP: *-nagara* ナガラ	Present
Ô wat is dat gelukkig!	*saiwai naru kana* 幸なる哉	JP: *-kana* かな (哉) NL: *Ô* + *wat* + exclamation point	Present
Ô wat is het haastig afvallen der bloemen!	*shizugokoro naku hana no chiru kana* しつ心なく花のちるかな	JP: *-kana* かな (哉) NL: *Ô* + *wat* + exclamation point	Present
Ô tijd!	*toki naru kana* 時なる哉	JP: *-kana* かな (哉) NL: *Ô* + exclamation point	Present
Op dat hij wederkomt	*kaeri kuru gani* かへり来るがに	JP: *-gani* がに NL: *op dat* -- Popular JP: *kaeri kuru yōni* カヘリ来ルヤウニ	Future

Table 57 List of sentences featuring *musubi kotoba* from *Rangaku seizenfu*.

Firstly, the affixes *-meri* and *-keri* have no Dutch counterpart. As Shizuki said, they simply end the sentence and can only correspond to a full stop, in the Dutch translation. There is still a difference between the two, namely that *-meri* is present, while *-keri* is past. This does not mean that *-keri* turns the phrase past, rather that it is used when another affix of the past is used (e.g., *-nu*). Even though Shizuki says that he has not found any Dutch word that could correspond to the affix *-rashi*, he adopts the word *misschien* 'maybe' as a rendition. This holds true even when *-rashi* is used in the form *-kerashi* that, by virtue of being a contraction of *-keri* and *-rashi*,

functions similarly to the former: it must be used in sentences of the past. The affix *-kana*, instead, corresponds to the combination of three elements of the Dutch sentence, as I have already mentioned, the interjection *ô* 'oh'; the interrogative pronoun *wat* 'what'; and the exclamation point. The affix *-ran* appears to correspond to the combined use of the interrogative pronoun *hoe* 'how' with the exclamation point, however, since there is only one such example, nothing can be stated with certainty. The affix *-tsutsu* corresponds to the present participle forms of verbs, combined with the adverb *al* 'already' and, finally, the affix *-gani* corresponds to the phrasing *op dat* 'so that', used in Dutch to create a final clause, that is also one of the uses of the popular alternative *yō ni*, attested by Shizuki.

It is also worth mentioning the fact that many of these phrases and sentences share striking similarities with phrases used in Japanese classical literary works. This is stated about the phrase *natsu kitaru rashi* 夏来るらし, that Shizuki claims is present in the "Song of the Empress Jitō", in the *Man'yōshū* (持統天皇ノ哥モ万葉ニアル本哥). It would have been quite hard to identify the source of such a brief phrase, but since Shizuki refers to that work one can assume that the other sentences, even the very brief ones, might come from classics of Japanese literature. On first superficial research, it appears that most of these phrases are indeed used in similar wordings in a few of the classics of Japanese literature. For example, in *Kokin waka-shū*, in the section on the autumn, one can read the phrase *momiji midarete nagaru meri* もみぢ乱れて流るめり, identical to the sentence that Shizuki translated as *Het rivierwater vloeit zo verwardelijk*, with the only difference that the subject of the sentence is *kawamizu*/*rivierwater* 'river-water' in Shizuki's version and *momiji*, in the original *waka*. The Japanese term *momiji* does not have a direct translation in English, or in Dutch, and refers to the colors of the leaves in autumn. In the original *waka*, the *momiji* leaves streamed in the Tatsuta River (竜田川), making it plausible for Shizuki to have decided to simplify the translation with the word *rivierwater* as to make the didactic purpose of this chapter smoother. The phrase *haru wa kinikeri* 春は来にけり is also used in *Kokin waka-shū*, in the section on the summer, that is the same source for the sentence *shizu-gokoro naku hana no chiruran* しつ心なく花のちるらん, as well. The latter source is certain, since Shizuki cites Motoori who quotes directly from that source. It is indeed Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o* the source for the modified version of this sentence, where *-ran* is substituted with *-kana*. The phrase *shizugokoro naku hana no chiru kana* しつ心なく花のちるかな, in fact, does not seem to be used in any classical literary work. As for the sentence *kano hito koko ni kinikerashi* 彼人爰に来にけらし, I am inclined to believe it was a creation of Shizuki, on the basis of the previous *natsu kitaru rashi* 夏来るらし, as to describe the difference between *-rashi* and *-kerashi*. This is also reinforced by the fact that it uses words such as *kano hito* and *koko ni*, both of which were common in the previous chapter *Kusagusa kotoba-zukai*. The phrase *saiwai naru kana* 幸なる哉, instead, appears to be a common expression of felicitation and contentment. This sentence's syntax might have been the basis for the phrase *toki naru kana* 時なる哉, present in Gifu's copy. The last phrase *kaeri kuru gani* かへり来るがに can also be found in *Kokin waka-shū*, giving the impression the most of these sample sentences

have been drawn from that source. This has a few implications. Firstly, the Dutch sentences came after. This means that the Dutch sentences present in this chapter are translations of the Japanese sentences and not the other way around, as it happened with the sentences in the chapter *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*.[103] This makes sense, if one considers that the purpose of the present chapter was to illustrate how to render into Dutch the phenomenon of *musubi kotoba*, that Shizuki believed not to have any Dutch counterpart, as a general rule. Furthermore, this means that these Dutch sentences might be the very first testimony in history of pieces of the *Kokin waka-shū* being translated into a foreign language, certainly into a European one. What makes these few excerpts even more valuable is the fact that the translation into the foreign language was not done by a native speaker of the target language, but a native speaker of the source language.[104]

8.6.2 The concept of *jiseki*

The concept of *jiseki* – that Shizuki spells as 事跡, 叓迹, or other combinations of the two characters – is mentioned often in *Rangaku seizenfu*, although it plays a much more central role in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. The term *jiseki* is composed of the two characters *ji*, meaning 'thing', 'matter' or even 'action', and *seki*, meaning 'traces', 'marks' or 'remains'. The *Digital daijisen* encyclopedia, defines it as "The traces of things that have happened" (物事が行われたあと). This term is only found in three of the manuscripts attributed to Shizuki, namely *Rangaku seizenfu*, *Joshi-kō* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, with a notably higher occurrence in the latter. The concept of *jiseki* has already been mentioned, in secondary literature, by DE GROOT (2005, 154) who writes the following:

> "The third of the introductory remarks is a reference to *jiseki* 事跡, a term Shizuki coined to indicate the 'historical present' form that verbs may take in Japanese stories set in the past, in contrast to Dutch, where, as in English, verb tenses are applied consistently."

DE GROOT suggests comparing this concept to what is commonly known as "historical present", a morphologically present tense used in historical texts to refer to events occurring in the past. DE GROOT claims that this term *jiseki* is coined by Shizuki as to indicate those instances in which the Japanese phrase, although describing a past event, does not require a morphological specification of a past tense, in the predicate. He adds that this phenomenon is to be put into contrast with Dutch and English whose verbal tenses do not feature this *jiseki* phenomenon and are "applied consistently". Unfortunately, DE GROOT does not expand on this topic, in this source, referencing his 1998 Master's dissertation[105] that I have not been able to access. I assume that with Dutch and English verbal tenses being "applied

[103] This point has also been raised by ŌSHIMA (2019, 50).
[104] Though, of course, Shizuki was not a native speaker of classical Japanese.
[105] Bibliographical reference: De Groot, H. W. K., *Approaches to the Study of Dutch in Eighteenth Century Japan: Shizuki Tadao And Others*, Masters Dissertation, University of Canterbury, 1998. De Groot specifically cites pages 94 to 98, with regard to the concept of *jiseki*.

consistently" he was referring to the use of "past tenses" when referring to past events. Fortunately, Shizuki provides many elucidations regarding the meaning of this concept across his manuscripts. In *Seizenfu*, Shizuki devotes a whole chapter, by the title *Jiseki no kotoba* 事跡ノ詞 "Words of *jiseki*", to the explanation of this concept. This chapter is mostly composed of a table relating different Dutch verbal tenses to their *jiseki* counterparts. However, before drawing such table Shizuki adds the following remark: "In general, when writing about *jiseki*, as seen on the left, one takes the lower word and substitutes it with the upper one" (凡ソ事迹ヲ記ルニハ左ニ出セル下ノ語ヲ以テ上ノ語ニ代フ).[106]

Zullen	*Zouden*
Zijn	*Waaren*
Hebben	*Hadden*
Waaren	*Geweest waaren*
Hadden	*Geweest hadden*
Spreeken	*Spraaken*
Vallen	*Vielen*
Zeggen	*Zeijden*
Worden	*Wierden*
Konnen	*Konden*
Moeten	*Moesten*

Table 58 Table of *jiseki* from *Rangaku seizenfu* (22v-23r).

After this table Shizuki adds that "In general, each verb distinguishes in present and past, however, I do not have time to list each and all of them" (凡ソ動詞各現在過去ノ別アリ枚挙スルニ遑アラズ). Judging by Table 58, it appears that the concept of *jiseki* relates present simple tenses with their past simple forms, and past simple forms with their past perfect tenses. In Gifu's copy, one can also see that the copyist has written the character *mika nari* 未過也, with *mika* perhaps being an abbreviation of *mirai no kako* 未来ノ過去. In Waseda's copy, within the chapter titled *Kiruru go*, the term *jiseki* is used to refer to the verb *gevallen hadden*, a past perfect tense, translated into Japanese as *ochiki* 隕き, thus by means of the affix *-ki*. The use of *hadden* as an auxiliary was called by Shizuki a *kako no kako* 'past of the past'.

The concept of *jiseki* is further mentioned in seven additional instances, within *Seizenfu*, all inside the chapter *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai*. T54S2 reads *Wanneer hij te huis was, durfde 'er niemand spreken*, translated into Japanese as *kano hito ie ni aru toki wa kashiko ni arite aete iu hito nakariki*. Both verbs appear in the Dutch phrase in the past simple tense (*was* 'was' and *durfde* 'dared'). In Japanese, however, while the predicate in the lower clause is combined with the affix *-ki*, the predicate in the upper clause is not combined with any affix at all. The whole sentence is considered a "past" and the following text is also added (11v-12r):

[106] In vertical right-to-left writing, "left" refers to the following text, while "up" and "down" refer to the "left" and "right" columns of Table 58.

此ハ過去ナリ事迹ニ用ルトキハ前ナル現世語ト同訳ナリ結ヒ詞ヲイフヘキ時ハ言ふ人なかりけり𠮟訳スベシ上ノ句ニ was トアレ𠮟wanneer ハ其過去ノ中ニテ在家ノ時ヲサスナル故 was ヲ訳スル𠆢事迹ノ語ニ準シテ is ノ如クス因テ全語ヲツカネテ末ニなかりきトきノ字ヲ出セリ dúrfde dúrft ノ過去ニテ敢てしきトイフニ當レリ此きノ字トwas ノきノ字トヲ束ネテ末ニ唯一ツ出セリ是ニテ全語ヲ過去トナス	This is past. When using it in *jiseki*, it gets the same translation as the sentence before, which had a present tense. When you ought to use a *musubi kotoba*, it can also be translated as *iu hito nakarikeri*. Even if you have *was* in the upper clause, *wanneer* points at when the person is at home, within the past itself, thus the translation of *was* works similarly to a *jiseki*, in that it is like *is*. For this reason, gathering all the words together, you get the character *ki*, in *nakariki*. The word *durfde* is the past of *durft* and it corresponds to saying *aete shiki*. This character *ki* gathers up with the *ki* of *was* and becomes one, for this all the words are past.

I have already talked about this excerpt in 8.5.6. Here, I will concentrate on what is claimed regarding the concept of *jiseki*. Shizuki claims that "When using [the affix *-ki*] in *jiseki*, it gets the same translation as the sentence before, that had a present tense". This implies that the Dutch sentence can be used in *jiseki* instances in which the Japanese translation would be identical to the previous sentence (referring to T54S1), that only featured present tenses in Dutch (*is* 'is' and *durft* 'dares'), and where the Japanese translation required the use of no specific affix (with the predicates being translated, respectively, as *aru* and *nashi*).

The Dutch sentence of T54S3 is almost identical to that of T54S2, with the only difference being the conjunction *toen* that is used instead of *wanneer*. However, the Japanese version now features the affix *-ki* being added to both predicates (respectively *arishi* and *nakariki*). As a comment to this sentence Shizuki adds that even when used in *jiseki*, the predicate of the upper clause ought to be translated as *arishi*, thus with the addition of the affix *-ki*.

Sentence T54S6 reads *Omdat hij zo lang in Frankrijk geweest was, zo sprak hij het Fransch zeer wel*, and features a past simple in the main clause (*sprak* 'spoke') and a past perfect tense in its subordinate clause (*geweest was* 'has been', literally 'was been'). In Japanese, the sentence is rendered with the addition of the affix *-ki* in the upper clause (*arishikaba*) and with the addition of no affix in the lower one (*yoshi*). The whole sentence is considered past, although the upper clause is defined as past within the past (過去中ノ過去). Shizuki adds the following remarks, as I have already portrayed in 8.5.6 (13v-14r):

此ハ過去ナリ上ノ句ハ過去中ノ過去ナリ但シ事迹ノ書ニアル語ナリ語ハ異ナレ𠮟前ナルト同意訳ナリ唯現世過去ノ異ナルノミナリ結ヒ詞ヲ置クベキトキハ言ふこと甚よかりけりトモ訳スベシ	This is a past. The upper clause is a past within the past. However, it is a sentence present in books of *jiseki*. Even when the sentences differ, it has the same translation and meaning as the sentence before [T54S5]. The only difference is between the present and the past. When you ought to add a *musubi kotoba*, it can also be translated as *iu koto hanahada yokarikeri*.

geweest was ハ過去ノ過去ナリ此語ハ過去中ニテ更ニ過去ヨリ現世ニカケテイヘリ其現世ハ今ヨリ言ヘハ過去ナリ

Geweest was is a past of the past. This phrase is said when talking about [something happening] from the past into the present, within the past. That present is a past relatively to the now.

The concept of *jiseki* is also referenced in the comment to sentence T54S14 *Hoewel zij een mooi gezicht had, was het een lantaarn zonder licht*. This sentence features two past simple tenses (*had* 'had' and *was* 'was') and is rendered into Japanese with the use of the affix *-ki* in both phrases (respectively, *arishikadomo* and *nariki*). This sentence is also considered past, and the following remarks are added (16r-16v):

壁へハ是老女は昔はよき女てあつたト云ヲ毀テよき女てはあつたれど游女であつたト云フ意也此語ヲ事迹ニ用ル寸ハ前ナル現世語ト同訳ナリ結ヒ詞ヲ使フベキ寸ハ燈なりけりナト訳スベシ

For example, let's say that old woman used to be a pretty girl, this would mean that even though she was a pretty girl, she was a prostitute. When you use these words in the *jiseki*, then they have the same translation as the words of present [as seen] before. When you ought to use a *musubi kotoba* then you ought to translate it as *tō narikeri*.

Again, Shizuki informs the reader that this past sentence, with two past simple tenses, when used in the context of *jiseki*, must be translated into Japanese by means of words of the present, in this case, *aredomo* and *nari*, instead of *arishikadomo* and *nariki*, as in T54S13.

A very similar claim is made with regard to T54S16, a re-rendition of T54S13 with the use of an incorrectly conjugated past perfect (or a present perfect, in Waseda's copy) in the upper clause, in combination with a past simple, in the lower clause. The translation is said to be the same as T54S15, thus using *-ki* in the upper clause (*arishikadomo*) and not using it in the lower one (*nari*).

Another similar remark can be read concerning T54S23, with the sentence *Omdat hij hier zou gewoond geweest waren, zo vonden wij zulke overblijfsel*, featuring a past simple in the lower clause and a puzzlingly conjugated form of the verb in the upper clause. Shizuki writes that "Making this a past, the upper clause is a past within the past. Since it is a word of *jiseki* it ought to be translated with the words of the present as the sentence above" (此ハ過去ニシテ上ノ句ハ過去中ノ過去ナリ事迹ノ語ナル故現世詞ヲ以テ記ス因ニテ前ナルト同訳ナリ). Neither of the affixes used in the Japanese version refers, in fact, to a past time.

The last reference to the concept of *jiseki* found in *Seizenfu* regards sentence T54S24, that is identical to T54S23 except for the use of *zijn* instead of *waren*, still combined in a questionable conjugated form. Shizuki calls this sentence a past and comments it by saying that "The upper clause when used with the meaning of *jiseki*, must be translated as a present. You gather the affixes *-ki* into one at the end [of the sentence] and this makes a past" (上ノ句ハ事跡語ノ意ニテ現世ニ訳シ末ノきノ

字ヲ以テ一ニ束ネテ過去トナス). The Japanese translation features the character *-ki* only in the predicate of the lower clause.

By looking at these examples, accounting for the sometimes unclear and questionable verbal conjugation forms, one can notice the adoption by Shizuki of two different wordings. With T54S2, T54S3, T54S14, T54S23 Shizuki uses phrases like "When used in the *jiseki*" (事迹ニ用ルトキハ); while with T54S6, T54S16, T54S24 Shizuki uses phrases like "This is a sentence found in texts of *jiseki*" (事迹ノ書ニアル語ナリ). This may imply that the latter group can **only** be used in the context of a *jiseki*, while the former can **also** be used in non-*jiseki* past tenses. Although one might be led to believe that a characteristic of a *jiseki* is that the Dutch past tense is translated into a present, in the Japanese, version, this is far from being a rule. For example, even if this is true for T54S2, the same cannot be said for T54S3, that only differs from the former for the presence of the conjunction *toen*, instead of *wanneer*. It is precisely because of the different conjunction that T54S3 requires a past both in the upper clause as well as in the lower clause, even when used as *jiseki*. This is explained by Shizuki by stating that, although *wanneer* poses a question of whether "he" is at home or not, *toen* makes a difference between the "now" and the "past", thus requiring the use of *-ki* in both clauses, regardless of whether the sentence is being used in a *jiseki*. Table 59, helps visualizing this.

	Wanneer (T54S2) ***Hoewel*** (T54S14)		***Toen*** (T54S3)	
	Upper clause	Lower clause	Upper clause	Lower clause
No *jiseki*	Ø	*-ki*	*-ki*	*-ki*
jiseki	Ø	Ø	*-ki*	*-ki*

Table 59 Tentative identification of patterns in the combined use of Dutch combination and the Japanese affix *-ki*.

Table 59 only considers the instances in which the Dutch sentence presents a past simple in both clauses, as illustrated in T54S2, T54S3 and T54S14. In fact, when the upper clause presents a perfect tense,[107] as in T54S16, the sentence belongs to the "words of *jiseki*" type, and the presence of *hoewel* as a conjunction does not change the fact that the affix *-ki* is present in the upper clause and absent in the lower. Sentence T54S6, presenting the conjunction *omdat*, in combination with a past perfect tense in the upper clause and a present perfect in the lower clause, also belongs to the "words of *jiseki*" type, presenting *-ki* only in the upper clause. Unfortunately, sentences T54S23 and T54S24 are too different and present unclear verbal conjugations, thus they are less directly useful for this analysis. T54S24, presenting the compound *zou gewoond geweest waren* is of the "when used in *jiseki*" type, and presents no *-ki* in either clause. T54S25, where the verbal compound in the upper clause is *zou gewoond geweest zijn*, instead, is considered of the "word of *jiseki*" type, and it is claimed that the *-ki* at the end of the whole sentence includes the sense of past that is also conveyed by the upper clause.

[107] A present perfect tense in Waseda and a past perfect tense in Gifu.

The idea that the *jiseki* is an alternative present-tense Japanese translation of a Dutch past sentence, that can be deduced from the analysis above, however, would be in contrast with the table drawn by Shizuki himself in the chapter *Jiseki no kotoba*. There, in fact, Shizuki illustrated how to substitute specific verbal tenses in order to make the phrase a *jiseki*. In most cases this entailed turning a simple past into a simple present, except for the past perfect tenses which were substituted with their past simple tenses, in the construction of the *jiseki*. However, one could interpret that table as only illustrating the words that are always *jiseki*, specifically those of the type exemplified by T54S6, T54S16 and T54S24. Another hypothesis for the interpretation of that table is that Shizuki did not mean to say you had to substitute one verbal conjugation into another, yet that you should translate the sentence into Japanese as if you had the other verbal form in the original Dutch sentence. A last interpretation could be that he meant you should substitute the "upper" column with the "lower" one – and not vice versa – in order to get a sentence of *jiseki* of the second type, namely those using words that are always *jiseki*.

What is clear is that the concept of *jiseki* had to do, in Shizuki's persuasion, with morphologically past-tense verbs. This is restated in *Joshi-kō*, within the grammatical section, where one can read the following (54v):

事跡ヲ記スルニ総過去詞ヲ用ユ現在ニ現在詞ヲ用ユルト同意ナリ過去ノ現在ナレハナリ但過去ノ中ニ又過去現在トノ別アリ左ノ語ニテ悟ルヘシ	When reporting the *jiseki*, one uses all words of the past, it has the same meaning as using words of the present in the present. It is the past of the present. In fact, there is a difference between the present and the past, within the past, as is discussed with the sentences on the left.

The sentences in question are *Omdat hij een vechtjaap geweest was* 'Because he had been a good warrior' and *Omdat hij een vechtjaap was* 'Because he was a good warrior'.[108] They are labeled, respectively, past, and present and are translated slightly differently. The "past" sentence featuring a past perfect tense is translated as *kano hito kyōsha nari shikaba* 彼人俠者ナリシカハ, thus with the addition of the affix *-shikaba*, a combination of *-ki* with *izenkei -ba*. The "present" sentence featuring a past simple tense is translated as *kano hito kyōsha narikereba* 彼人俠者ナリケレバ, where *-kereba* is a composition of *izenkei -ba* with the affix *-keri*, that Shizuki called a "past" *musubi kotoba*, in *Seizenfu* (see 8.6.1). Underneath these two sentences, Shizuki writes that *geweest zijn* and *waren* are synonyms, as well as *geweest hebben* and *hadden*; however, the two present perfect tenses are labeled

[108] The term *vechtjaap* deserves further inspection. The *Historische woordenboek Nederlands en Fries* defines this term as 'uncommon' (*ongewoon*) and as "someone inclined to fighting" (*iemand die geneigd is tot vechten*). The only reference provided here is from a book titled *Het koddig en vermakelyk Leven van Louwtje van Zevenhuizen* by Gerrit van Spaan (1654 – 1711). There we can read the sentence […] *een regte vegtjaap in zyn tyd geweest was* "[…] had been a rightful warrior, back in his days", with the same past perfect tense. In Japanese this term is translated as *kyōsha* 俠者. The *Digital Daijisen* encyclopedia defines this term as synonym to *kyōkaku* 俠客, that refers to a noble-spirited warrior.

kako, while the two past perfects are labeled *kagen* 過現. The term *kagen* is a probable abbreviation of the phrase *kako no genzai* 'present of the past'. It is, in fact, the past perfect tense of these verbs – namely, *geweest waren* and *gehad hadden* – that is considered a "past of the past". Shizuki solidifies this by adding two further examples: *Omdat hij maar*[109] *een penning gehad hadden* ('Because he had had just a penny'), with a past perfect tense; and *Omdat hij maar een penning gehad hebben* ('Because he has had just a penny'), with a present perfect tense.[110] The Japanese renditions mirror the information provided above, with the first being adapted as *kano hito tada issen arishikaba* 彼人唯一銭アリシカハ, while the second as *kano hito tada issen arikereba* 彼人唯一銭アリケレハ. Consistently, since the present perfect and the past simple are considered synonyms, they are both adapted as *-ki*, in these sentences, while the past perfect is adapted as *-keri*, in both sentences. Unfortunately, though, the clauses found in *Joshi-kō* referred to as *jiseki* are all subordinate clauses with no main clause, allowing for little contextualization, as compared to what found in *Seizenfu*, and hitherto discussed. The concept of *jiseki* is present all throughout Shizuki's *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, where it is often directly related to specific Dutch tenses, based upon Séwel's *Spraakkonst*. In the very first folio of this work, one can read that the concept of *jiseki* is related to two tenses: the *onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd* 'imperfect past tense', namely the present simple, called *genzai no kako*; and the *meer dan volmaakte voorleeden tijd* 'pluperfect tense', namely the past perfect, called *kako no kako*.

After providing a list of the Dutch tenses, Shizuki adds the following remark (2v):

此ノ如キ ik, hij, gij ナトニヨリテ動詞ノ格異ナル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 支跡ナトニ ik ト云ハ我者ヲ語ルナリ	Like this, according to *ik*, *hij*, *gij* etc. the form of the verb changes. The rest can be seen in *Sanshu shokaku*, thus I will only specify the form *ik*, here. In the *jiseki* etc. the *ik* talks about the first person.

Shizuki continues by providing an example of a "present of the past" tense with the phrase *Ik zal gegaan hebben*, literally 'I will have gone', although the verb *gaan* 'to go' requires the verb *zijn* as auxiliary for the perfect tense. This phrase is considered a *jiseki* and is apparently translated into Japanese sentences featuring the verb *manabu* 'to learn'. Perhaps the phrase was initially supposed to be *ik zal geleerd hebben* 'I will have learned'. The translations *ware manabu* 我覺フ and *ware manabiki* 我覺ビキ are added, where the latter adds the affix *-ki* to the main verb. This is commented as follows (2v):

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[109] In Waseda's copy, this is spelled as *waar*, although a note above the word states "This is probably *maar*" (恐ラクハ maar ナラン).

[110] The main verbs in both these sentences – namely, *hadden* and *hebben* – are conjugated incorrectly in the plural number, while the subject is clearly *hij* 'he', a third person singular pronoun, thus requiring the forms *had* and *heeft*.

支跡ニアル寸ハ過去ニ於テノ現在ノ意ヲ以テ我覺フト訳スレ𠮟時ニヨリテハ現在ニカケテ云ㄱアリ其時ハ覺ひきト訳ス	When in the *jiseki*, even though it is translated as *ware manabu* since it takes the meaning of a present within the past, at times, it can be said to entail the present, and thus be translated as *manabiki*.

This quote explains that the *jiseki*, although being generally translated as a present tense, in the Japanese version, can also be translated into a past tense – i.e., by the addition of the affix *-ki* – when it "entails the present" (現在ニカケテ). I interpret this phrasing as meaning that when the phrase in the past also concerns the present, then it can be translated with *-ki*. This interpretation is reinforced by the following quote (2v):

支迹ヲ説ニモアラス又ハ文中ニ過去詞ト現在詞トヲ雑ヘタル寸ノㄱ也過去ヨリ現在ニカケテ云故ナリ但シ覺ひつト云トキハ意ノ訳シタル過去ナリ voegende ノ時ハ多ク支迹ノ格ニ云リ	There is no explanation of the *jiseki*. However, it is something that within books, exchanges the words of past and the words of present. This is because it starts form the past and it reaches/entails the present. In fact, when one says *manabitsu*, it is a past that translates the meaning. One uses the *jiseki* often in *voegende* [subjunctive mood]

After illustrating four tenses of the indicative (*aantonende*) mood, Shizuki adds the following remark (3r):

此文法 aantoonende ナトハ支跡ニ於テ不見アタラズイカ様支跡ニハナキ理ナラン又ましト譯スル法ノㄱハ詳ニ予カ生前父ニ見タリ	This rule is called *aantoonende* [indicative mood] and it is not seen in the *jiseki*. It certainly is not something we find in the *jiseki*.[111] Furthermore, you can see in my *Seizenfu* the details of when it needs to be translated as *mashi*.

Further in the manuscript, when presenting the subjunctive mood, Shizuki writes the phrase *dat ik leerde* 'that I learned', labeled as a "present of the past" (過去ノ現在), and translated into Japanese as *ware ga manabu* 我か學ふ and *ware ga manabiki* 我か學ひき (*manabi* + *-ki*). On the side, the Dutch phrase *schoon ik leerde* 'though I learned' is also added, translated as *ware manabedomo* 我學へとも (*manabi* + *-domo*) and *ware manabishikadomo* 我學ひしかとも (*manabi* + *-ki* + *-domo*). Both Dutch phrases are labeled *jiseki* and in both the only difference between the two alternative Japanese rendition is the presence or lack thereof of the affix *-ki*. The following tense added by Shizuki is labeled a *tatoe* and reads *als ik leerde* 'if I learned', translated into Japanese as *ware manabamaseba* 我學はませは (*manabu* + *-maseba*). He adds (5r):

[111] Shizuki uses the character *ri* 理 'reason', 'principle', probably referencing the concept we saw in Ogyū being called *bunri* 文理.

其ハ哥ナトニ言ませばナトアルカ如シ若かく有ならはナト假令ノ意ナリ現在ノ⺁ニテモ叉跡ノ上ニテモ假令ナリ予ガ生前父ニ詳ニ言ルガ如シ	This is said in poems, as in *iwamaseba* etc. It has the meaning of a *tatoe*, as in "what if it were so". Even when it concerns the present, even when it is a *jiseki*, this is always a *tatoe*. This can be seen, in details, in my *Seizenfu*.

I assume that Shizuki is referring to the comment he added to sentence T54S19, where he explained these verbal conjugations. This form is more often used in poetry (meaning in the classics of Japanese literature), and it always conveys the meaning of *tatoe*, regardless of whether it refers to a present time or to a *jiseki*. In fact, in the Dutch conjugation, the verb is morphologically a past tense *leerde* 'learned'. However, since it presents the conjunction *als*, this means that the phrase is hypothetical and, consequently, the past tense does not refer to a past time. Nonetheless, Shizuki claims that regardless of whether this past tense really refers to a present tense or a *jiseki*, it will always convey the meaning of hypothetical. This example clarifies that the use of conjugations such as *als ik leerde*, in contexts in which they do not refer to a present time, corresponds to a *jiseki*.

The subsequent Dutch verb is a "future of the past" (過去ノ未来), *Toen ik leeren zoude* 'Back when I should/would have learned', rendered into Japanese as *ware manabu bekarishi toki* 學ふへかりし時. The form *zoude* is a subjunctive mood, while the Japanese conjugation is as follows:

{**manab.** + **.u.** + **.bekari** + **.shi** = *shūshikei* of the verb *manabu* 'to learn' + *ren'yōkei* of the affix *-beshi* + *rentaikei* of the affix *-ki*}

Shizuki adds the following comment (5r):

叉跡ニ dat hij leeren zoude トアルハ現在ノ dat hij leeren zal ト同訳ナリ zouden ハ未来 zullen ノ onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd ナルカ故ナリ因テ右ヲ我學は[ん][112] とせし時ト訳シテモ同意ナリ	When *dat hij leren zoude* is in the *jiseki*, it is translated the same as *dat hij leeren zal*. This is because *zouden* is the *onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd* of the future *zullen*. Thus, even when the sentence above is translated as *ware manaban to seshi toki*, it has the same meaning.

Again, Shizuki claims that in a *jiseki* the form *dat hij leren zoude* is to be translated the same as *dat hij leeren zal*. This is because *zouden* is considered the "imperfect past tense" (*onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd*, i.e., past simple tense) of *zullen* and, in a *jiseki*, the Dutch past tense tends to corresponds to a Japanese present. The form *dat hij leren zoude* also corresponds to the Japanese phrase *ware manaban to seshi toki*. This is similar to phrases T53E69 (*zouden geweest zijn*; *aran to shiki*), T53E70 (*zouden gezegt hebben*; *iwan to shiki*), T53E71 (*ik zoude 'er gegaan hebben*; *ware*

[112] The character *n* ん is not present in the original text.

kashiko ni yukan to shiki). However, in the example of *Shihō* the verb *su* 'to do' appears to be conjugated into the *mizenkei* form *se*, that cannot combine with the past affix *-ki*.

The label *jiseki* is also used to refer to the two phrases *dat ik geleerd had of hadde*, a "past of the past", and *indien ik geleerd had of hadde*, a *tatoe*. The first sentence is rendered into Japanese as *ware manabitsuru* 我學ひつる and *ware manabishi* 我學ひし, while the latter only as *ware manabitsu* 我まなひつ.[113]

Shizuki also labels as *jiseki* the following phrases:

- *Ik was geleerd geworden* 'I had become a scholar' a *kako no genzai no kako* 過去ノ現在ノ過去 'past of the present of the past', translated as *ware oshierarenu* 我教へられぬ;
- *Ik ben een geleerd man* 'I am a scholar' a *genzai*, translated as *ware wa gakusha nariki* 我は學者なりき;
- *Ik had een boek* 'I had a book', translated as *ware katsute hitotsugaki wo moteri* 我曽て一書をもてり
- *Ik werd een geleerd man* 'I became a scholar' is *jiseki*, translated as *ware gakusha to naru* 我れ学者となる and *ware gakusha to nariki* 我学者となりき, however, the sentence *Ik ben een geleerd man geweest* 'I have been a scholar', a *kako*, is also translated as *ware gakusha nariki* 我学者なりき. In this regard, Shizuki adds that "Furthermore, when saying *ik ben een geleerd man geworden*, you translate it as *ware gakusha ni narikeri*, while *ik was een geleerd man geworden*, when it is a phrase of *jiseki*, has the same translation";[114]
- *Het woord was gesprooken* 'The word was spoken' is a *jiseki*, a *kako no genzai* and is translated as *kotoba ieriki* 言はいへりき, the same as *Het woord is gesproken geweest* 'The word has been spoken', which is a *kako* and not a *jiseki*;
- *Het woord was gesprooken geweest* 'The word had been spoken' is a *jiseki*, a *kako no kako* and is translated as *kotoba ieriki* 言はいへりき.

At the end of the manuscript Shizuki adds the following (16v-17r):

過去ナルニ geleerd hebben ハ學ひつト訳シ…..geweest zijn ヲハなりぬトモなりつ仁訳セズメ学へりきナド云なりきト訳スル刁ハなりト云詞ハ他ノ動

When in the past you translated *geleerd hebben* as *manabitsu*. You cannot translate "…. *geweest zijn*" as *narinu* or *naritsu*, as one says *manaberiki* etc., you translate it as *nariki*. This is because the word *nari* is not like other verbs. In Japanese

[113] The two characters *-seba* せは also seem to be present, although the condition of the state of preservation of the manuscript do not allow to read what is written there.

[114] Original quote: "又 ik ben [een] geleerd man geworden ト云時我學者になりけりト訳ス ik was een geleerd man geworden ハ支跡ノ語ニテ亦同シ訳ナリ".

詞ト異ナルカ故ナリ但和書ニ希ニハなりつナドモ言ヘ𠮟是モ亦なりきノ別アレ𠮟支跡ニハ學ひつトなりきトノミ有リ

books, even if one does rarely use *naritsu* etc., and even if this does have a difference with *nariki*, in the *jiseki* there are only *manabitsu* and *nariki*.

In conclusion, I am not really able to draw a distinct definition of what Shizuki meant with the concept of *jiseki*. It most certainly had to do with a grammatical phenomenon that caused the tense used in the Dutch version not to correspond to the same tenses the Japanese predicate referred to. In general, this meant that a morphologically past tense of Dutch corresponded to a Japanese present tense. This happens because in Dutch one often uses morphologically past tenses, not rarely in the so-called subjunctive mood, to express a hypothesis that does not have to have happened in a past time. The morphological past tense is only used to express hypothesis, in such instances, yet it still refers to a present time. Since Japanese does not express hypothetical by means of a past tense, this means that often a Dutch past tense can be translated as present into Japanese. However, as I have illustrated in Table 59, a Japanese translation of a *jiseki* does not rule out the possibility of using of a past affix. In fact, some Dutch conjugations may trigger the use of the past affix *-ki* in the translation of either only the lower clause, or both clauses.

8.7 Conclusions

In the present Chapter, I have analyzed what Shizuki wrote on the topic of the morphosyntax of verbs. As with the parts of speech and the morphology, Japan did not have a tradition of studies that neatly corresponded to what the Dutch called “etymology” and “syntax”. With the example of verbs, in fact, the traditional approach of considering conjugation as a pattern of *kana* substitution rather than morphological inflection was the standard well into the Edo Period, as I have demonstrated in Chapter V. The Sino-Japanese research on language had developed in its own way, with its own specific necessities. These necessities entailed the goal of providing an exegetical interpretation of ancient texts written in either some version of Chinese or classical Japanese. Both the Neo-Confucian school and *kokugaku* were striving to find methodologies to translate the ancient classics of their respective traditions into a more modern version of Japanese. Dutch studies were no different. Shizuki and the rest of the so-called *rangakusha* had as ultimate goal the translation and interpretation of Dutch written texts.

It is because of these common necessities that Shizuki reached out to those traditions in order to obtain a methodological and theoretical framework by means of which he could analyze the language of the Red-Haired barbarians. From Chinese studies, particularly from the works of Ogyū, Shizuki mostly received a way of understanding the concept of “translation” and a theory of how to categorize the different types of words composing a language. Their theories, however, did not cover exhaustively a topic fundamental to the grammar of both Japanese and Dutch, and less so for Chinese: verbal morphosyntax. Since Chinese was written with logograms each representing one unit of meaning connected to one non-inflecting

word, Chinese studies could not provide the much-necessitated theory of verbal morphosyntax Shizuki was looking for. Luckily, however, the Edo period was also characterized by a flourishing of studies on the classics of Japanese literature, and a re-discovery of syntactic features typical of Japanese, in the relationship between particles and predicates. What Shizuki was missing from Chinese studies, he managed to find in the research of the "nativists", in their representation of the grammar of classical Japanese.

It is by the combination of these two schools that Shizuki attained the knowledge and the instruments he needed to describe a foreign language like Dutch. On the one hand, Shizuki's *Joshi-kō* was a Dutch version of the Neo-Confucian genre of *jigi*; which is made obvious by the title of the work itself, in no way hiding its relationship with many other Neo-Confucian publications bearing similar names. On the other hand, Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu* is a sort of re-elaboration of Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, combined with some elements from Ogyū Sorai's school. The relationship between *Seizenfu* and Motoori's work is not as self-evident. A few superficial similarities can be seen in the fact that some of the titles of the chapters contained in the two works are very similar. However, the most fundamental resemblance is to be identified in the supporting theoretical framework. Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu* can be mostly interpreted as an attempt at describing Dutch morphosyntax by means of the theory of the Japanese *kakari-musubi*, as described by Motoori Norinaga. Just like Motoori pioneered the interpretation of the two types of *te ni wo ha* as interacting within a sentence, often across two clauses, Shizuki convincingly identified similar patterns in the combined use of Dutch conjunctions and the different verbal tenses. Shizuki's theories in this sense, although sometimes perhaps imprecise, are not incorrect at all. When speaking Dutch, if one uses the conjunction *toen*, it is only logical to conjugate the verb in a past tense. This is because *toen* refers to a past time. In Shizuki's persuasion, instead, this phenomenon is not simply "logical" but also "grammatical". He believes, probably inspired by Motoori, that these specific "non-semantic words" were ordered by an "established" (*sadamaru*) underlying rule that bounded their systematic combined use. The relation between *toen* and a past tense, in a Dutch sentence, is the same connecting the particle *koso* to an *izenkei* predicate, in the *kakari-musubi* theorization of Motoori of a Japanese sentence. This is an astonishingly unique conception of the grammar of an Indo-European language that is probably only testified by this particular work of this particular scholar, as even in other works of Shizuki, this approach is not mentioned much into depth. Those that followed Shizuki, instead, seem to have adopted a more Dutch-based approach to grammar.

In *Seizenfu*, Shizuki described verbal tenses without relying much on Dutch traditional grammar. Reference to Latin or Dutch terminology is very rare and it seldomly corresponds to what could be found in European sources. The core of verbal conjugation is based, according to Shizuki, on the combination of three dimensions of time: past, present and future. No Dutch source of the time considered only these three times. Instead, Japanese affixes had been connected to these three dimensions since the oldest documented works on language. By reading Dutch sources, Shizuki expands on this theory, crossing the three times with two

"dimensions", originating six "tenses" each corresponding to one auxiliary of Dutch and a couple of Japanese affixes. This allowed Shizuki to faithfully describe the complex conjugation patterns of Dutch by means of traditional Japanese theory, in a manner that allowed him to contrastively describe both languages.

In the description of the verbal system of Dutch, the most complicated issue Shizuki faces was, probably, the use of morphological past tenses in sentences not occurring in the past. It is for this reason that the past "dimension" also included the *tatoe*. In Dutch, just like in English, a morphological past tense does not always refer to a past time. Sometimes – when combined with specific *joshi* – a past tense is used to render a hypothetical sense. The Japanese language was not conceived like that; the past affix *-ki* always referred to a past time.

What are the relations between the Dutch sources and Shizuki's understanding of Dutch morphosyntax? This is a difficult question to answer, firstly because there is no reason to believe that Shizuki had read any other Dutch source on language except Marin and Halma's dictionaries when compiling *Seizenfu*. This is because I have not been able to identify any other reference, be it direct, or indirect, to any other source of that type. I am still reluctant to claim that Shizuki had indeed not read any other such source; I do not believe that to be the case at all. However, if one reads any other of his works dealing with grammatical issues, the reference to other Dutch sources there is more than evident. An example is *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, also treating the conjugation of verbs, that is entirely and overtly based on Séwel's grammar. Nevertheless, even if Shizuki had had access to other Dutch sources, I wonder whether he could have consciously neglected them in the writing of *Rangaku seizenfu* since none of them would have helped in his description of the "Dutch *kakari-musubi*". Shizuki did not need that. The reason why he did not need them is because he did not conceive of grammar handbooks as a way of learning a language. There existed nothing like that in Japan back then, and the only two schools of thought that investigated languages did so by deducing patterns of character distribution by reading famous citations. It is only logical for Shizuki to do the same and pursue the study of Dutch according to the same methodology. This can be proven by virtue of the fact that Shizuki adopted three citations from the Dutch poet Jacob Cats as examples of grammatical use, specifically, in the combined use of certain conjunctions with certain verbal tenses.

This has two major consequences. It allows to evidence how grammatical theory is fundamentally based on subjective parameters; it is a method of describing patterns of real-language usage by means of cultural-specific ideas based on self-reaffirming biases. This reinforces the idea that what the Japanese did with the interpretation of Dutch grammar is an example of a totally reasonable approach to the description of any language. The other major consequence is the fact that the method of learning of a language from prescriptive grammars was a concept imported in Japan by later phases of Dutch studies and had no real counterpart in the country before that time. For this reason, *Rangaku seizenfu*, along with many of the other works of Shizuki, is a testimony to the description of an Indo-European language by means of a methodology predating the grammaticalization of the language-learning material produced in Japan.