

Western Influence on Our Linguistic Study in the Meiji Era

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The study of language in Japan can be traced back to the eighth century, the Nara period (710-794); however, linguistic study in the modern sense was established in the late nineteenth century, the Meiji era (1868-1912), influenced by Western studies. In this paper I will briefly write about the study of language before the Meiji era as background for this topic, then I will focus on two linguists who played significant roles in the pioneering days of linguistic study in the modern sense.

I

During the Nara period the study of the siddham script, a variant of Gupta script which came from Brāhmi lipi in the fourth century, arose with the growth and spread of Buddhism. The priest scholars studied in China, and some became interested in the phonology of siddham, contrasting it to that of the Chinese or Japanese of that time. Enjin's *Zaitō-ki* (858), Annen's *Shittanzō* (880) show this fact. After that the study of orthography phonology and etymology was done until at last a Buddhist saint called Ji'un (or Onkō) compiled *Bongaku-shinryō* (1765), the corpus of Sanskrit literature. However, because the siddham study, along with the esoteric Buddhism, was concerned primarily with the writing of the sutras with their sounds and letters, even the study of etymology was a sort of sound symbolism far away from the proper linguistic sense of the term. Siddham is said to have had a complete system of phonology. So the scholars may well have sharpened their eyes in analyzing their own language through the study of siddham. The systematic table of the fifty sounds was worked out under such circumstances. However, the study of siddham was not so much developed after Ji'un, and has been paid less attention to since the study of Sanskrit was adopted in the Meiji era.

In the seventeenth century, SHIMOKAWA Keichū (1640-1701), KAMO Mabuchi (1697-1769), MOTOORI Norinaga (1730-1801) and others, called the *Kokugaku* scholars, studied the written Japanese of classical literature. Keichū was under the influence of the

study of siddham. Among the works of Keichū, *Wajishōranshō* (1695) was noted for his new findings in the use of *kana*, his inductive method of manipulating linguistic facts, and his objective judgement.

On the other hand in Europe there arose curiosity and interest in Japan after the publication of Marco Polo's account (1477) in which he introduced Japan as Zipangu, a country of gold. Many intended to come to Japan, but only a few from Portugal and Spain finally reached Japan in the sixteenth century, and then the people of Holland, Britain, France, Russia, and America followed, with their religious, political, or commercial objectives. Seven language books, on Latin, on Portuguese, and on Japanese, printed by Portuguese Jesuit missionaries from 1564 to 1641 (before the closing of the country) still remain, including *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com adeclaração em Portugues* (a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary)¹ and João Rodriguez' *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* (a Japanese grammar),² both of which were considered to be indispensable materials for the historical study of the Japanese language and widely used all over the world in later years. J. Rodriguez' *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* is a descriptive grammar, following the system of Latin grammar of 1594 published by Amakusa Collegio. Under the government's suppression, these books were destroyed (just one copy of each is preserved in the Bodleian and British Libraries). If this grammar had been in use in later years in Japan, it would have influenced or stimulated the *Kokugaku* scholars in developing syntax and etymology, and new grammatical ideas might have emerged. It was not until the Dutch grammar prevailed in the early nineteenth century that many of the Japanese scholars learned the systematic method of the study.

One exception was ARAI Hakuseki (1657-1725). He was actually a scholar of history, geology, and ancient practice, and was himself a composer of Chinese poems; among his writings are books related to linguistics, on etymology (*Tōga*, 1717), on letters (*Dōbun-tsūkō*, 1760), on Japanese and Chinese sounds and their inscription (*Tō-on-hu*, 1720) and on loan words (*Sairan-igen*, 1713, *Seiyō-kibun*, 1715). He, being apart from the *Kokugaku* scholars, without any contact with Western studies, studied the above topics by himself by his own method. For instance in *Tōga*, he investigated etymology from the historical standpoint, avoiding the common knowledge of interpretation. It is understood that he had already a rough idea of 'root' and 'suffix' at that time, about a hundred years prior to that brilliant age of linguistic study in Europe. However, nobody continued his elaborate work.

The isolation of Japan lasted about two centuries from 1641, although the Dutch trade was permitted; even so, during this period the officials learned foreign languages both for negotiating for national defense and for adopting western civilization. First, Dutch was the only Western language allowed to be learnt by the government interpreters; a little later French, English, German, Russian, and Manchu were also studied, mainly through Dutch publications or with Dutch traders and a Russian warship captain who came to Japan and was captured. Dictionaries and books on those languages were published, but they were practical rather than academic. Under such circumstances, a prominent interpreter and scholar, NAKANO Ryūho (or SHIZUKI Tadao) (1760-1806) combined his knowledge of Japanese grammar (after MOTOORI's style) with the grammar of Dutch, and presented the ideas of the parts of speech and of gender and person for pronouns for the first time. His book, *Oranda-shihin-kō* (ca. 1804) was a pioneering work, on which many later grammars were based. However, the study of conjugation and morphology of Japanese was untouched by Western influence. Only the classification of parts of speech was copied.

Thus, before the Meiji era, the study of sounds in India, which was modified in China, was first transplanted to Japan as the study of siddham as mentioned above, producing the systematic table of the fifty Japanese sounds. Then the idea of parts of speech was borrowed from the Dutch grammar. These are the major effects of the study abroad. Conjugation, which is the heart of Japanese grammar, is a device of the Japanese scholars, and also the study of particles, *te-ni-o-ha*, was done by the Japanese on their own. The *Kokugaku* scholars worked steadily and independently to develop those studies, deducing the rules from the actual facts. However, it seems that they knew little about how to generalize and organize what they investigated or how to analyze the data objectively.

II

The Meiji era might be divided into three periods as follows:

- I. 1868 (M. 1) — 1886 (M. 19)
- II. 1886 (M. 19) — 1894 (M. 27)
- III. 1894 (M. 27) — 1912 (M. 45)

In 1886 (M. 19) the Philological Department was opened at Tokyo University for the first such department in Japan, and in 1894 (M. 27) courses in philology were first offered

by a Japanese, UEDA Kazutoshi (Mannen).

In the first period of the Meiji era Western studies continued and English began to supplant Dutch as the medium in which the new studies were conducted. The desire to adopt the modern way of living and Western civilization was growing, and it was recorded that about 185 Westerners were employed in 1872 (M.5) by the Japanese government and business enterprises.³ Among them the British were most numerous, 60 percent. Besides these, diplomats and missionaries came for their own purposes, and some made great contributions to language study.

On the other hand, early in the nineteenth century in Europe, epoch-making findings were made in linguistic study, employing the scientific method. In the 1870's Vilhelm Thomsen, Karl Verner, Karl Brugmann and Hermann Osthoff presented one after another the newer findings in the exceptional data which had not been explained by Grimm's Law of 1822; they claimed that there were no exceptions to phonetic laws. Their way of analyzing the data had developed to a high degree of scientific preciseness in the preceding fifty years.

It was under these circumstances that the two Japanese priest scholars, NANJŌ Bun'yū (1849-1927) and KASAWARA Kenju (1852-83), went to Oxford for Sanskrit study in 1876 (M.9). Sanskrit study in Japan to that time, called siddham study, had been primarily concerned with the letters and the sounds of the sutras as mentioned before, and the system of Sanskrit grammar had not yet been acquired. From the ancient times, in India there had been certain grammarians trained in observing and describing the language, for preserving the purity of their language of the highest caste. The Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini of the fourth century B. C., which in Leonard Bloomfield's words is 'one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence,'⁴ is a remarkably thorough and concise description, containing 3996 rules of phonology and grammar in poetic form. However, more scientific study of Sanskrit had been developed in Europe, since William Jones established the relationship between Sanskrit and the other Indo-European languages. Distinguished scholars in Sanskrit appeared in England, Germany, and France; England especially assumed leadership in the earlier cultivation of the study since India was her colony.

Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900) was a naturalized Englishman from Germany. Studying at Leipzig, Berlin, and Paris, he held a professorship for fifty years at Oxford, teaching Sanskrit and German as well as Romance languages, and was the founder of Comparative Linguistics, Comparative Mythology and Comparative Religion

in England. Such an authority on Sanskrit and Comparative Linguistics as Max Müller, having profound insight and extensive learning, was the professor under whom NANJŌ and KASAWARA studied. Max Müller was, moreover, always ready, in spite of his dislike of regular teaching, to offer informal help to students of Sanskrit, so we can well imagine that he gave up much of his valuable time to directing the studies of the two Japanese. He constantly stirred up scholars to search for rare and important Sanskrit manuscripts. In fact, he had just seen Dr. Joseph Edkins' copy of *Chinese Sanskrit Japanese Vocabulary*, and was beginning to search for Sanskrit MSS in Japan when NANJŌ and KASAWARA came to him. With the aid of these Japanese pupils, a Sanskrit text carried from India to China, from China to Japan, written in Nepalese alphabet, with a Chinese translation and a transliteration in Japanese was sent to him. It was a copy, not an original MS; but this incident encouraged him, and finally he found evidence in a chronicle kept at the monastery of Hōryū-ji temple that ancient palm leaves, containing the text of Sanskrit Sūtras, preserved in Hōryū-ji temple since A. D. 609 had already been presented to the emperor. He asked that these palm leaf MSS, dating from the sixth century, the oldest Sanskrit MSS known at that time (1880), be copied or photographed. Thus he collected and collated the texts with NANJŌ and KASAWARA. NANJŌ and KASAWARA copied the manuscripts, even while studying Sanskrit grammar under Max Müller's instruction; however, KASAWARA was forced to go back home in his third year at Oxford, 1882, because of serious illness, leaving half finished his work on the manuscript or *Dharmasamgraha*, while NANJŌ stayed five years in Oxford (seven years in England). NANJŌ translated the texts with Max Müller, and he himself published *The Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka* (Oxford, 1883), the Chinese catalogue of the many hundreds of Buddhist Sanskrit books rendered into Chinese from the first century A.D. onward, which is still said to be one of the basic references for the scholars of Buddhist Sanskrit. KASAWARA compiled a list of Sanskrit Buddhistic technical terms, edited by him in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series. *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* which was thought to be the world's oldest palm leaf MS hitherto found was first introduced to the world by Max Müller and NANJŌ in 1883. NANJŌ returned to Japan via the U. S. in 1884, and became the first instructor of the Sanskrit language upon the opening of a Sanskrit course at Tokyo University in February, 1885. The third Japanese who studied Sanskrit under Max Müller was TAKAKUSU Junjirō (1866-1945), later to become

a professor in Sanskrit language and literature. He taught at Tokyo University from 1901 to 1927, and developed Sanskrit study in Japan to reach a world standard with his student TSUJI Naoshirō (1899—1979), who succeeded him in 1927 as professor of Sanskrit language and literature in Tokyo University. TAKAKUSU studied with Max Müller for five years (1890—94) and two years in Germany and France, respectively. Considering that Sanskrit study was offered only at Tokyo University in those days and how great an influence these two professors of Sanskrit had in their wide scope of activities, writing, teaching and fostering Sanskrit scholars, we cannot forget their teacher Friedrich Max Müller, one of the most talented and versatile scholars of the nineteenth century, who generously and sincerely instructed our precursors of Sanskrit study in the modern sense.

III

Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), was another scholar who had a far-reaching effect on modern linguistic study in Japan. While Max Müller belonged to the first period of the Meiji era, Chamberlain belonged to the second period of the era, the first instructor in general linguistics and the Japanese language when Tokyo University opened the Philological Department in 1886 (M. 19). By that time he had already shown his original ideas and scholastic attainments as a linguist, employing the scientific systematic method, while Japanese scholars had not yet done any study of language from the scientific point of view. When he first came to Tokyo, he studied Japanese classics with a retainer of the Hamamatsu daimyo, studying *Man-yō-shū* (755), *Kokin-shū* (905), *Makura-no-sōshi* (ca. 1000) and so on. In addition, he himself composed Japanese poetry, *waka*, as well as studying it. Based on these studies, he developed his research on archaic Japanese, spoken and written modern Japanese, the Aino (Ainu) language, and the Luchuan (Ryu Kyuan) language. Among his various writings, some of the important ones will be examined here.

On archaic Japanese, he wrote “On the use of ‘pillow-words’ and plays upon words in Japanese poetry” (1877), “On the mediaeval colloquial dialect of the comedies” (1878) (the earliest paper on the language of the Ashikaga era), “A vocabulary of the most ancient words of the Japanese language, assisted by Mr. M. UEDA” (1888), and others. His paper of 1888 was unique in two points: he employed a so-called informant, M. UEDA, in this study, and insisted upon studying archaic languages in order to distinguish

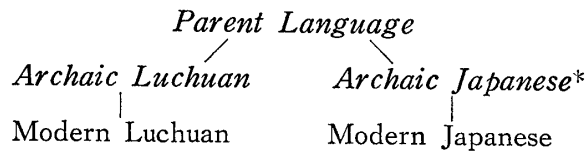
words of foreign origin from native words when comparing languages. In those days some of the Oriental studies circulated by diplomats and missionaries in Yokohama and Shanghai laid it down that Japanese words came from Chinese, so he warned in the introduction of the paper that those studies were superficial, not having been subject to historical examination. He also said that grammar was not the only evidence available to affirm the borrowing hypothesis and that how borrowing was made possible should be explained historically. This method is now an inviolate principle. Small as this paper was, it was epoch-making in the history of our linguistic study. It was not only a warning to the Orientalists but also an awakening to the Japanese linguists, especially to the *Kokugaku* scholars who were self-imprisoned within the narrow world of their interests.

Secondly, in contrast with the above topic, he studied spoken and written modern Japanese. *A Simplified Grammar of the Japanese Language* (1886), *Nippon Shōbunten* (written in Japanese, 1887), and the two papers, "The so-called 'root' in Japanese verbs" (1885) and "Past participle or gerund?" (1886) were all on grammar. *A Simplified Grammar of the Japanese Language* established a strong reputation among the foreigners learning Japanese, actually used for thirty-six years as it was, without any revision. In the first chapter the phonetic system was thoroughly described, referring to the relation between alphabet and pronunciation, and to the rule regarding the *nigori* i.e. 'mudding' and euphony, based on scientific analysis; the rest of the chapters were on grammar, describing written Japanese precisely. In this section we recognize his sharp insight and his ability at systematizing the data. *Nippon Shōbunten* which he wrote at the request of the Ministry of Education, was compiled compactly in as an academically objective a way as that of the grammars of Indo-European languages. Since this was a style of grammar different from that found in the former Japanese grammars such as *Tama-no-o* (1785), *Kotoba-no-Yachimata* (1808) and the grammars copied from the English and the Dutch grammars, this gave a shock to grammarians of Japan and elevated the study of Japanese to a new level. Well versed in archaic Japanese as he was, he showed strong interest in spoken Japanese, too. In the twentieth century study of the spoken language has taken precedence over the written language because it is more widely used and is older than the other, but in those days in Japan it was looked down upon as unworthy of scholarly attention. He wrote "On the mediaeval colloquial dialect of the comedies" (1878), "Notes on the dialect spoken in Ahidzu" (1881),

and *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* (1888). *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* was published simultaneously in Tokyo and London and translated into French in 1901. As there was already *A Short Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language* (1869) by William George Aston, this was not the first book on colloquial Japanese. It consisted of both theoretical and practical parts with thorough explanation, covering more than ten times the information in Aston's book.

The third category which Chamberlain studied was Aino, in which field he was not the pioneer, either. Since UEHARA Kumajirō and ABE Chōzaburō wrote *Moshio-gusa* (1805), the initial study of Ainu, many more studies by Englishmen, Americans and others followed. However, they investigated the language only because it was novel or a dying language, or for mission work. But Chamberlain studied the Aino language for none of these reasons. Assuming that some languages surrounding the Japan islands must have an affinity with Japanese, Chamberlain observed these languages from fairly early times. With this motivation, the Aino language was studied, and a number of papers and translations were done. "The language, mythology, and geographical nomenclature of Japan, viewed in the light of Aino Studies" (1887) was considered his major work in this field. In this study he constructed a minute comparison between the Aino language and archaic Japanese. He said the two had much in common, especially being very alike phonetically, but this did not show the affinity between them. He pointed out fifteen evidences for this. For example, *te-ni-o-ha*, particles in Japanese, are postpositional while most of the particles in the Aino language are pre-positional; second, to put the affix 'a' to the initial position of an adjective makes a transitive or a passive form of a verb in the Aino language, but in Japanese there is no affix of this kind. After mentioning other evidence, he referred to the characteristics of Aino counting system, in which twenty is of fundamental importance, and said that the difference of the numerals in both languages is a proof of the different counting systems of the two peoples. These findings have stood unchallenged. Working with data he had collected personally in the field, he organized the facts and wrote a description of the language. The Aino language, which had interested only a few and was usually left to itself, now was spotlighted, and its relationship to Japanese attracted many people's attention. However, in Chamberlain's paper, the analysis of mythology and geographical nomenclature lacks the elaborate detail which is contained in the part on language.

The fourth field of Chamberlain's study was the Luchuan language, in which he made his greatest achievements. His grandfather on his mother's side, Captain Basil Hall, wrote *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-choo Island* (London, 1818), appending a short vocabulary of the Luchuan language. So it is no wonder that Chamberlain became interested in Loo-choo Island and the Luchuan language in his early days. Visiting Loo-choo Island in 1893 (M.26) to stay about a month, he acquired language material from educated natives of Shuri and also from another educated native who happened to be at Tokyo in 1894-5. In the introductory remarks of his "Essay in aid of a grammar and dictionary of the Luchuan language" (1895) which was acclaimed as an immortal work, he said after mentioning his grandfather's work, " ... the seed thus sown fell on stony ground, and nothing further has been published on the subject in any European language during the seventy-seven years that have since elapsed. No grammar of Luchuan has ever been published in any language; neither have the natives—highly civilized though they be—any notion of the existence of such a science as grammar. The present writer was therefore obliged to pursue a somewhat arduous course of study to reach the results here offered" ⁵ He also said that there was complete agreement between the Luchuan native's speech in Tokyo and that of his countrymen at home whenever a test could be applied, so the information derived from him could be considered of equal value to that gathered on the spot. Thus, he attempted a grammatical analysis of Luchuan from the comparative point of view. Since there were no remains of a language older than either Luchuan or Japanese or a common parent of both languages, he tried to explain the forms of the two languages through each other as far as this could be done. This was the same approach as that used in his Aino study. He finally found an affinity between the two languages even though there are apparent differences, and he presented the following diagram as the scheme of the language family in his study, the hypothetical members being printed in italics:



* Eighth century A. D.

To these would be added the languages, ancient and modern, of the islands between Luchu and Formosa. These little-known islands preserved their independence down to the fourteenth century, and their speech is said to diverge as markedly from Luchuan as Luchuan does from Japanese. Thus, Chamberlain advanced the theory that Luchuan and Japanese are sister languages coming from the same parent language, i. e. Proto-Japanese, and careful comparison of the two grammars showed substantial agreement both in accidence and syntax.

He added a further assertion: the sisterly relationship of Japanese and Luchuan proved that Japanese was the language of the last invaders of Japan, not the language of earlier aboriginal inhabitants of one of the central provinces, adopted by conquerors comparatively few in number. The case of Japanese must rather resemble that of Anglo-Saxon, which thrust back and nearly effaced the language of earlier populations. The solidarity between Japanese and Luchuan would otherwise remain inexplicable. Kyūshū was the portion of Japan nearest to the mainland of Asia, with little Tsushima as a convenient stepping stone. By this easy route the conquering race must have entered the country at a date previous to the third century. From Kyūshū the invaders would have pressed forward east and north, exterminating some tribes of aborigines and incorporating others, by the eighth century. While the main body moved northeast in the general direction of the land, a few stragglers, laggards, or weaklings might have wandered south, —driven perhaps by defeat in internecine strife to take refuge in the little achipelago from the gulf of Kagoshima to Great Luchu. IFA Fuyu, the father of Luchuan study, supports this comment.⁶ However further investigation on this assumption, especially the date of their branching off, must be left to historians.

The similarities between Luchuan and Japanese had probably been noticed by the Luchuans who were obliged to learn Japanese, but Chamberlain's paper of 1895 was the first that proved the relationship of the two languages from the linguistic standpoint, saying that they came from a common proto-language. However, in this paper, referring to the phonological comparison, he made a big mistake. He assumed that Proto-Japanese had three vowels of /a/, /i/, and /u/ which were the traces of archaic

Japanese. Chamberlain based his reasoning on the material of Shuri dialect which had passed through a great change in vowels. He seems to have been unaware of the belief which had begun to prevail in Europe in the 1870's, that there were five vowels in the proto-language. After this study of Chamberlain, the investigation of the Luchuan language developed further, and at last Evgenij Dmitrievich Polivanov corrected Chamberlain's three-vowel theory to one of five vowels for Proto-Japanese in his "Phonological comparison between Japanese and Luchuan" (St. Petersburg, 1914).⁷ He used the materials of Chamberlain's paper of 1895 and of E. R. Edwards' *Étude phonétique de la Langue Japonaise* (Leipzig, 1903). The Luchuan language had originally five cardinal vowels of /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, but had changed to the present three vowels of /a/, /i/, /u/. IFA in his "Vowel system and the law of palatalization in Luchuan" (1930)⁸ supports this, commenting that Chamberlain would have recognized five vowels in Luchuan if he had acquired the material of Miyako, Ya-ye-yama or Amami-Oshima, and had had time to read the classics such as *Omoro-Sōshi* (1532-1623). This issue is very important, as it affects the vowel reconstruction of Proto-Japanese.

Thus the fields Chamberlain studied in linguistics were various; but his basic idea was constantly the study of Japanese not only because he was interested in the subject but also because he wished to trace the descent of Japanese, even though this topic took him into such diverse areas as archaic Japanese, spoken and written modern Japanese, Korean, Aino, and Luchuan. He made hypotheses about the possibilities of a racial migration, and investigated the languages of the races surrounding Japan. In method, he was scientific, penetrating into differences in superficial similarities and similarities in superficial differences. Even if his studies were immature in some way from our present perspective, he gave new vision to each field of his studies; above all, his discovery of the affinity between Japanese and Luchuan is significant.

Modern linguistic study in our country owes much to the linguistic study of Western countries. Even though we prepared the ground for traditional language study, we needed time to understand and adopt the scientific method through which linguistic study in Europe was wonderfully developed in the nineteenth century.

The first two periods of the Meiji era (1868-1894) were really the periods of importation. In this paper we have focused on two linguists who were influential to the Japanese linguists in different ways. Among their disciples the leading scholars of

the next period emerged: NANJŌ Bun'yū was the first instructor of Sanskrit at Tokyo University, and TAKAKUSU Junjirō elevated our Sanskrit study to the world standard with his student TSUJI Naoshirō and held a professorship for twenty-six years at Tokyo University. Two of these studied under Friedrich Max Müller. UEDA Kazutoshi, the student of Basil Hall Chamberlain was the first professor of linguistics and of Japanese at Tokyo University, fostering many scholars, and took a leading part in various linguistic activities at the dawn of a new age.

All of Max Müller's books, including rare books and his own copies, were brought to Tokyo University after his death, and were housed in the Max Müller Library, but most were burnt in 1923 (T. 12) by the Great Earthquake in Kanto. Chamberlain stayed in Tokyo for thirty-eight years, introducing Japanese culture to Western countries while directing the scientific study of Japanese among Japanese scholars.

Notes

1. Jesuit missionaries : *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com adeclarção em Portugues*, Nagasaki, 1603, 32,800 entry words. Spanish version, Manila, 1630 ; French version, Paris, 1862—63. The Manila edition prevailed in Europe, in North, South, and Central America, and in the Philippines; Photographic facsimili ed., Tokyo, 1960.
2. Rodriguez, João ed. : *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*, 3 vols., Nagasaki, 1604~08. The authors analyzed spoken Japanese, applying the Latin Grammar of Amakusa Collegio, 1594, and used the term post-position for *te-ni-o-ha* for the first time.
3. ŌTSUKI, Joden : *Nippon Yōgaku Hennen-shi*, Revised by SATŌ, Eishichi, Kinsei-sha, Tokyo, 1965.
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6. *Ifa Fuyū Zenshū*, Vol. I. p. 47. Heibon-sha, Tokyo, S. 49 (1974).
7. Polivanov, Evgenij Dmitrievich : "Phonological comparison between Japanese and Luchuan," St. Petersburg, 1914. Japanese version by YOSHIMACHI Yoshio in *Hōgen*, Vol. 4, No. 10, S. 9 (1934), also by MURAYAMA Shichirō in *Nihongo Kenkyū*, Kōbun-dō, Tokyo, S. 51 (1976).
8. IFA, Fuyū : "Vowel system and the law of palatalization in Luchuan," *Kokugo to Kokubungaku*, No. 76, July, S. 5 (1930), also in *Ifa Fuyū Zenshū*, Vol. II, p. 39, and in *Okinawa Bunka-ronsō*, Vol. 5, p. 195, Heibon-sha, Tokyo, S. 47 (1972).

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9. *Ifa Fuyū Zenshū*, Heibon-sha, Tokyo, S.49 (1974).
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16. ŌTSUKI, Joden : *Nippon Yōgaku Hennen-shi*, Revised by SATŌ, Eishichi, Kinsei-sha, Tokyo, S.40 (1960).
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21. *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com declaração em Portugues*, feito por alguns Padres, e Irmaões da Companhia de Iesu. em Nangasaqui no Collegio de Iapam, Anno M.D. CIII. Bodleian Library, Oxford. *Nippo Jisho*, Photographic Facsimile ed., Iwanami-shoten, Tokyo, 1960.

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