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First grammatical encoding of Japanese Politeness (17th century) A primeira codificação gramatical da Cortesia do japonês (século XVII)

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Abstract: We analyze the description of the polite language in the early 17th century Japanese grammars, mainly the 'large' grammar (1604–1608) by the missionaries João Rodrigues 'Tçuzu' [the interpreter], S.J. (1562–1633), and the Japanese grammar (1632) by Diego Collado, O.P. (late 16th century–1638). Over 350 years of the Pragmatics established as a linguistic domain, one of the first Japanese dictionaries (1603–1604) introduced the designation of honorific particles and honored verbs. Rodrigues developed this terminology considerably, having analyzed accurately social and linguistic relationships and ways of Japanese reverence and politeness. He proposed an innovative linguistic terminology, inexistent in former European grammars and dictionaries, of which a part was followed by Collado: honorific and humble or humiliating particles, honored and humble verbs, honorable or honorific and low pronouns. Rodrigues also paid special attention to the women's specific forms of address, describing their own 'particles'. To sum up, the earlier 17th century Japanese grammars described pioneeringly what nowadays has been called as the Politeness Principle of Japanese or the honorific language of Japanese, termed as *Keigo* (respect language) or, academically, *Taigū Hyōgen* (treatment expressions).

Keywords: History of linguistics. Missionary linguistics. Politeness principle. Japanese. *Keigo*. *Taigū Hyōgen*.

Resumo: Neste artigo, analisamos a descrição da linguagem cortês nas gramáticas japonesas do início do século XVII, principalmente a gramática 'grande' (1604-1608), do jesuíta João Rodrigues 'Tçuzu' [o intérprete] (1562–1633), e a gramática japonesa (1632) do dominicano Diego Collado (final do século XVI–1638). Mais de 350 anos depois de a Pragmática ser instituída como disciplina linguística, um dos primeiros dicionários japoneses (1603–1604) introduziu a designação de partículas honoríficas e de verbos honrados. Rodrigues desenvolveu consideravelmente essa terminologia, analisando com acuidade as relações sociais e linguísticas, as formas de tratamento e a cortesia japonesa. Rodrigues propôs uma terminologia linguística inovadora, inexistente nas gramáticas e nos dicionários europeus da época, que foi utilizada, em parte, por Collado: partículas honoríficas e humilhativas, verbos honrados e humilhativos, pronomes honoríficos e de gente baixa. Rodrigues prestou também especial atenção às formas específicas de tratamento do gênero feminino, descrevendo as 'partículas' usadas pelas mulheres japonesas. Em síntese, as primeiras gramáticas do japonês do século XVII descreveram pioneiramente o que hoje se chama Princípio da Cortesia do japonês ou a linguagem honorífica do japonês, denominada *keigo* (linguagem respeitosa) ou, academicamente, *taigū hyōgen* (formas de tratamento).

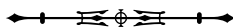
Palavras-chave: Historiografia linguística. Linguística missionária. Princípio da Cortesia. Japonês. *Keigo*. *Taigū hyōgen*.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the foundational studies on Politeness Theory by Robin Tolmach Lakoff (b. 1942), Geoffrey Neil Leech (1936–2014), Penelope Brown (b. 1944), and Stephen Curtis Levinson (b. 1947)¹, nowadays linguists analyze the relationship between language and the social behavior of speakers and hearers, not only in oral speeches but also in written (formal and informal) texts. The use of certain honorifics and address terms exemplifies, for instance, the social position of the interlocutors, the degree of formality of speech, their intimacy, age, gender, etc., and can be studied, for instance, through the fields of pragmatics, sociology, and sociolinguistics. That is the reason why Leech (2014, p. 13-18), for example, proposed the division of two facets of pragmatics into *pragmalinguistics* and *sociopragmatics*. Like Brown and Levinson (1978, p. 281; 1987, p. 276), we use the term “honorifics” in a comprehensive sense, meaning the “[...] direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in the communicative event”, or, as it was defined by Ide (1982, p. 382), “Honorifics are morphologically well-defined language forms that are used to make speech polite”.

The analyses of honorifics are particularly relevant in Asian languages², mainly in recent years studies. Locher (2013, p. 4458-4459), for instance, says:

Especially researchers on Asian languages and cultures argued early on that the notion of face captured predominantly Western values (involvement and distance) and was not applicable to their cultures to the same extent. This criticism has resulted in a very active research tradition on politeness in Asian languages, and especially on politeness forms of respect and deference in the form of honorifics.

Concerning explicitly Japanese politeness³, Ide (1982, p. 357), for instance, says that:

The most interesting but recalcitrant issue in Japanese sociolinguistics is perhaps honorifics. In Japanese, honorifics are a morphologically well-defined system which is used to express politeness. There are various devices to express politeness in language, but honorifics are the core of Japanese polite expressions.

And Leech (2014, p. 108, author's italics) states that:

Honorifics are found widely among human languages, but languages such as Japanese [...] have particularly rich and complex honorific systems. Honorifics in modern societies concern relations between *S* [speaker] and *O* [others], and how these are grammatically encoded taking account of the relative deference or familiarity appropriate to these relations.

On the other hand, it is essential for communicative success in Japanese to focus on the correct use of the forms of address and honorifics. Mogi (2002, p. 14) states that:

Japanese people seem to avoid employing pronouns as address forms, employing other nouns instead. Family terms, place names, occupations, company names, shop names are popularly used as forms of address in everyday life. An important factor in choosing an appropriate form of address is the relationship between interlocutors. Thus, address forms can represent a referent's position in their society. The grammatical category of person is not exactly the same as its practical use.

¹ See mainly Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and Leech (1983, 2014).

² For the comparison between the use of honorifics in western and eastern cultures, see, for example, Ide (2005).

³ See Ide (1982), Ide and Ueno (2011), Haugh and Obana (2011), and Liu and Allen (2014).

So, it is essential to have first the cultural and sociologic background knowledge in order to use the appropriate *keigo*, “[...] the honorific language of the Japanese language” (Suzuki, 1973, p. 164 apud Mogi, 2002, p. 20) or “[...] less commonly *taigū hyōgen* [...] (lit. ‘treatment expressions’) [...]” (Haugh; Obana, 2011, p. 149). Mogi (2002, p. 14) also says that “Even Japanese people often find it difficult to find appropriate forms to address strangers”. Clarke (2009), for instance, believes that the new generation of Japanese, in spite of considering *keigo* as a feudal anachronism, still continues using it, adding however new values and functions. For him, the *keigo* system works today at two levels, the politeness and respect:

Every Japanese sentence carries information about both categories. Politeness is directed towards the addressee, while respect is shown to the subject (subject honorifics), or direct or indirect object (object honorifics), of the verb. As the subject of object honorific sentences is invariably the first person, ‘I’, or someone closely associated with the speaker, traditionally the object honorifics were referred to as ‘humble’ or ‘deferential language’. The older terms are still in general use, but specialists prefer ‘object honorifics’ as these forms show respect to a socially designated superior and carry no connotations of self denigration on the part of the speaker (Clarke, 2009, p. 60-61).

Nevertheless, as it was recognized by Liu and Allen (2014, p. 662) for example, “[...] none of the existing theories alone can explicate Japanese linguistic politeness, as linguistic politeness is a very complicated issue influenced by multiple factors [...]”. In effect, in this research our main objective is only to analyze the first linguistic codifications of the polite language in the early 17th century Japanese grammars by European missionaries, mainly the “large” grammar (1604–1608) by João Rodrigues ‘Tçuzu’ [the interpreter], S.J. (1562–1633), and the Japanese grammar (1632) by Diego Collado, O.P. (late 16th century–1638).

HISTORICAL REMARKS

The first Jesuits arrived in Japan from Portugal in 1549, led by Francisco de Xavier (‘Xavier’ in Portuguese), S.J. (1506–1552). The first printing press with movable types was installed in the Jesuit college at Kazusa in 1590, before being moved to Amakusa at the end of 1591 and to Todos os Santos [All Saints]⁴ College, near Nagasaki, in the autumn of 1597, after Amakusa College had been suppressed (Laures, 1940, p. 326). In November 1614, the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) started persecuting the Christians in Japan; therefore, the missionaries from the Portuguese Patronage were expelled and the Japanese Province of the Society of Jesus had to leave in exile to the Chinese Vice-Province, settled in Madre de Deus [Mother of God] College, in Macau (Tronu, 2015). This conflict between the Japanese and the Portuguese ended only almost 250 years later, with the signature of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce between Portugal and Japan, signed on August 3, 1860, at Yeddo (former name of Tokyo), by the emissaries of King Pedro V (1837–1861) and the Emperor Kōmei (1831–1867) (Tratado..., 1863).

There were, at least, three Japanese elementary grammars written in the second half of the 16th century that were circulated as manuscripts amongst the Jesuits, but, unfortunately, no known copies have survived (Boxer, 1950, p. 348; Cooper, 1974, p. 225; Verdelho, 1998, p. 953; Frellesvig, 2010, p. 302): the “Arte da Lingoa Japonesa” [Art (of Grammar) of Japanese Language] (ca. 1552) by the Portuguese brother Duarte Silva, S.J. (fl. 1552–1564), the “Grammatica da Lingoa Japonesa” [Grammar of Japanese Language] (ca. 1564) by the Spanish priest Juan Hernández, S.J. (d. 1567) and the “Arte da Lingoa de Iapão” [Art (of Grammar) of the Japanese Language] (1581) by the Italian priest

⁴ We did all translations into English, except Collado’s grammar, which we have used the edition of Richard L. Spear (Collado, 1975).

Antonio Prenestino, S.J. (1542–1589). There is also a reference to a first Japanese vocabulary, which was written by Silva, Hernández and Gaspar Vilela, S.J. (d. 1571), and Luís Fróis, S.J. (1532–1597) had also started writing a Japanese dictionary in 1563 (Verdelho, 1998, p. 953).

The first metalinguistic text published in Japan was an abridged version of the Manuel Álvares', S.J. (1526–1583), grammar book named “De institutione grammatica libri tres”, printed in the Jesuit college of Amakusa (Álvares, 1594). This grammar is the Japanese translation of Álvares' *ars minor* (Álvares, 1573), published a year later than the *editio princeps* of his *ars maior* (Álvares, 1572). “The Amakusa edition (1594) merits special attention not only for being the first grammatical treatise to mention Japanese verbal paradigms in print, but for being the first adaptation of the Jesuit grammar outside of Europe, having been created in a well defined missionary context” (Assunção; Toyoshima, 2012, p. 26). The main objective of this publication was clearly to teach Latin to the Japanese students, but it has several metalinguistic innovations (Assunção; Toyoshima, 2012, p. 36-38). However, none of these innovations was related to the description of Japanese honorifics and forms of address.

In 1595, the Jesuits settled at Amakusa College published the “Dictionarium latino-lusitanicum ac japonicum” [Latin-Portuguese-Japanese Dictionary] (Jesuits, 1595). It was

[...] clearly based on the dictionary compiled by Ambrogio Calepino [ca. 1440–1510], but it omits the entries for proper nouns and unusual words and includes all meanings of words along with elegant examples of usage, so that it may serve as a guide for young Japanese people studying the Latin language and for Europeans who wished to study Japanese further (Kishimoto, 2010, p. 1020).

It is smaller than the European editions, the number of entries is considerably reduced, and its main objective was to teach Latin to Japanese students and Japanese to European missionaries (Kishimoto, 2005, p. 215, 2014, p. 252).

There is another printed Japanese dictionary called “Racuyoxu” (*Rakuyōshū*) [Collection of fallen leaves] (Jesuits, 1598) edited in kanji (Chinese) characters and hiragana syllabary. According to Zwartjes (2011, p. 109), it can be considered as a dictionary of characters and not properly as a dictionary of words: “It is a tool for learning the equivalences between Chinese characters and spoken words rather than for learning the meaning of words”. The *Rakuyōshū* is divided in three books: 1) a list of Sino-Japanese characters and their compounds in terms of their pronunciation, the *Rakuyōshū* proper (62 folios); 2) a list of their syllabic transcription, the *Irohajishū* (27 folios); and 3) a list of kanji ‘radicals’, the *Shōgyokuhen* (Zwartjes, 2011, p. 109; Bailey, 1960-1961, p. 291; Chan, 2002, p. 257-258)⁵.

A few years later, in 1603, the Jesuits started publishing a collective dictionary of Japanese with translation into Portuguese, the “Vocabulário da lingua de Iapam com a declaração em Portugues, feito por alguns padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesu” [Vocabulary of the language of Japan, with definitions in Portuguese, produced by some fathers and brothers of the Society of Jesus] (Jesuits, 1603–1604). It was finished a year later, in 1604, with the publication of a supplement. It is an anonymous dictionary, but the priest João Rodrigues ‘Tçuzu’ S.J., has been considered one of its contributors⁶, despite the fact that Doi (1900–1995) (1932, p. 67-112) had shown that it is improbable that Rodrigues could be so. Nevertheless, recently Kishimoto (2014, p. 253) states that “[...] we do not have clear evidence that he

⁵ Unfortunately, we did not find any expression related to the Japanese honorifics or address forms neither in the *Dictionarium* nor in the *Rakuyōshū*. See also Bailey (1962).

⁶ See, v.g., Verdelho (1998, p. 953).

was one of the authors of either *Dictionarium* or *Vocabulario*; we cannot completely deny the possibility that he could be one of the authors of the *Dictionarium* [...]”.

JOÃO RODRIGUES ‘TÇUZU’, S.J., AND DIEGO COLLADO, O.P.

Father João Rodrigues, S.J. was born in the north of Portugal (parish of Sernancelhe, diocese of Lamego, and district of Viseu), and he dedicated almost all his life to evangelization in Japan. According to Boxer (1950, p. 339), “He entered the service of the celebrated Daimyo or feudal lord of Bungo, Otomo Yoshishige (Sorin) [1530–1587], who had been strongly attracted to Christianity ever since his first meeting with Saint Francisco Xavier [...]”. During his 37-year stay in Japan, he won the friendship of the rulers Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) (Cooper, 1974, p. 9; Zwartjes, 2011, p. 95), and he was the interpreter of the Italian Jesuit Visitor, Alessandro Valignano, S.J. (1539–1606), during his first stay in Japan (1579–1582) and when he visited the kwambaku Hideyoshi in 1591 (Barron; Maruyama, 1999, p. 2). Rodrigues earned the nickname ‘Tçuzu’ (Tçûzzu or Tsuji), which means “the translator” or “the interpreter” (Zwartjes, 2011, p. 94) because of his skills in speaking Japanese and “[...] to distinguish him from his contemporary namesake, Padre João Rodriguez Giram⁷, who had come to Japan in 1586, and who likewise attained a good knowledge of the language [...]” (Boxer, 1950, p. 340-341). After 1614, like the other Jesuits from the Japan Province, Rodrigues started living in Madre de Deus [Mother of God] College in Macau, which was the center of his missionary activity during the last 19 years of his life (Zwartjes, 2011, p. 95).

Rodrigues published two Japanese grammars, the “Arte da lingua de Iapam” [Art (of Grammar) of the Japanese Language] (Nagasaki 1604–1608) (henceforth “large grammar”) and an abridged version, the “Arte Breve da Lingoa Iapoa tirada da arte grande da mesma lingua, pera os que começam a aprender os primeiros principios della” [Short Art (of Grammar) of the Japanese Language taken from the large grammar of the same language, for those who start learning the first principles from her] published in Macau in 1620 (henceforth ‘short grammar’). The large grammar “[...] was too long, containing too much material which was not relevant for the practical teaching of the Japanese language” (Zwartjes, 2011, p. 97). The shorter version had already been finished and printed in Macau, and his “[...] main purpose was to publish a more accessible textbook for beginners [...]” (Zwartjes, 2011, p. 97). However, Barron and Maruyama (1999, p. 6) believe that “[...] this is not just a compendium of the *Arte (Grande)* of 1604–08, but a thoroughly refined or elaborated version”.

It is agreed upon by scholars that the Father João Rodrigues, S.J., deserves, as Zwartjes (2011, p. 141) says, to “[...] be classified among the five best Jesuit grammarians from the colonial period”, among Joseph de Anchieta (1534–1597), Ludovico Bertonio (1557–1625), Diego González Holguín (1552–1618), and Horacio Carochi (1579–1662). Charles Ralph Boxer (1904–2000) termed Rodrigues as “the Father of Japanese Language Studies” (Boxer, 1950, p. 363). Spear (1975, p. 2) believed that his large grammar “[...] is by any standards the greatest grammatical study of Japanese made during the Christian Century”. Bésineau (1998, p. 190, our translation) mentions that “[...] l’oeuvre de Rodrigues force l’admiration et, pour tout dire, la reconnaissance. Tout ce qui a été fait après lui n’aurait pu être sans lui [Rodrigues’s work forces admiration and, to tell the truth, gratitude. All that was done after him could not have been without him]”.

⁷ For the biography of the priest João Rodrigues Girão, S.J. (1558–1629), see, e.g., Schurhammer (1932, p. 25, 1963, p. 607), and Schütte (1975, p. 1285).

Father Diego Collado, O.P., is the author of the third Japanese grammar — immediately after both Rodrigues' grammars —, the “*Ars grammaticæ Iaponicæ linguæ*” [Art of grammar of the Japanese Language] and the “*Dictionarium sive Thesauri Linguæ Iaponicæ Compendium*” [Dictionary or Compendium of Japanese Language Thesaurus] (Rome 1632) by Propaganda Fide. Diego Collado was born at Miajadas, in the province of Cáceres, Extremadura, Spain, in the late 16th century⁸. He entered the Dominican Order approximately in 1600, went to Philippines and to Japan in 1611 and 1619, respectively, where he stayed until 1622. In this year he went to Rome and increased the controversy with the Jesuits⁹. He returned to Philippines and he died in 1638, victim of a shipwreck (Takizawa, 1993, p. 4).

Collado's grammar is an *ars minor* of Japanese language written in Latin and has just 74 pages¹⁰. According to the conclusions of Takizawa (1993, p. 261-262), the main sources of Collado were firstly João Rodrigues (in a few aspects but not in all areas) and indirectly Manuel Álvares, S.J. (1526–1583), mainly his Amacusa edition (Álvares, 1594; Assunção; Toyoshima, 2012). Takizawa (1993, p. 261) shows also that the influence of Nebrija is not so clear, despite Collado's preliminary words.

HONORIFICS AND FORMS OF ADDRESS IN 17TH CENTURY JAPANESE GRAMMARS

Ide (1982, p. 358) says that currently

Japanese polite expressions involve two kinds of honorifics, one expressed by means of changing the shape of nominal elements, and the other by predicative elements. The former type is analogous to the polite expressions which occur in the category of address forms. The latter, on the other hand, is a rather more complex system in which not only the sociological nature of the nominal referent, but also the grammatical relation of such an element needs to be taken into consideration. In addition, the status of the addressee plays an important role in this latter system.

Already in 1603-1604 the “*Vocabulário da Lingoa de Iapam*” had described expressions that revealed interest with Japanese politeness¹¹. We found four times the expression “*particula de honra*” [honorific particle] and two times, “*verbo honrado*” [honored verb]:

Fucu. Vestido: posto que se não usa assi se não com algũa particula de honra, ou composição. [*Fucu*: Dress: given that it does not use like this if not with some particle of honor, or composition] (Jesuits, 1603-1604, p. 105v, our translation).

Go, id est, *guio*, id est, *Von*. He particula de honra. [*Go*, i.e., *guio*, i.e., *Von*: is an honorific particle] (Jesuits, 1603-1604, p. 119v, our translation).

Mi, id est, *Vô*. Particula de honra. [*Mi*, i.e., *Vô*: honorific particle] (Jesuits, 1603-1604, p. 157v, our translation).

Vô. Particula de honra. [*Vô*: honorific particle] (Jesuits, 1603-1604, p. 274v, our translation).

Mesare, *uru*, *eta*. He verbo honrado. [*Mesare*, *uru*, *eta*: is honored verb] (Jesuits, 1603-1604, p. 157r, our translation).

Vômoi, *ô*. He verbo honrado, & ainda fica mais honrado com, *rare*. [*Vômoi*, *ô*: is an honored verb, and it still gets more honored with *rare*] (Jesuits, 1603-1604, p. 275r, our translation).

⁸ Bae (2004, p. 164) has absolutely no reason to give 1522 as his year of birth.

⁹ Concerning the rivalry between the Jesuits and Dominicans, see Tronu (2015).

¹⁰ For other details, see Osterkamp (2012), Takizawa (1993) and Tronu (2012).

¹¹ It is impossible to know if these designations were authored by João Rodrigues or other Jesuit contributors, as if any lost earlier Japanese manuscript grammars or dictionaries had similar classifications, such as the works by Duarte Silva, Juan Hernández, Antonio Prenestino, Gaspar Vilela and Luís Fróis.

Rodrigues, mainly in the large grammar, developed considerably this terminology and paid special attention to the social relationships amongst Japanese people in oral and written speech, deserving a special reference. He speaks explicitly of the Japanese “cortesia” [politeness] and of the ways of speaking with “honra” [honor]:

[...] no que esta lingua se assinala, & he diuersa de quantas temos noticia, he na maneira de respeitos, & cortesias que inclue nos modos de falar quasi uniuersalmente: por que tem verbos acômodados pera falar de pessoas, & com pessoas baixas, & altas, & tẽ varias particulas que se ajuntão aos verbos, & nomes, respeitando sempre à pessoa cõ quẽ, de quẽ, & de q̃ cousas fala, pera usar das taes particulas, & verbos conforme a qualidade de cada hũ; de modo que se não pode aprender sem juntamente se aprender a falar com honra, & cortesia. [in what this language is noted, and it is different from those we know, it is in the way of reverence and politeness, which includes the ways of speaking almost universally; because it has verbs accommodated to speak of people, and with low and high persons, and it has various particles that join to verbs and nouns, always respecting the person with whom, of whom, and of which things speaks, to use such particles, and verbs according to the quality of each one; therefore one can not learn without learning to speak together with honor and politeness] (Rodrigues, 1604-1608, p. [ix], our translation).

Diego Collado had also concerns with Japanese politeness and the correct use of honorifics. He — or his Latin translator — uses the noun “urbanitas” [politeness], and the adjective “urbanus” [polite]. He states, for example, about the imperative of the first conjugation “[...] est honoratior modus loquendi & vrbanius ad imperandum in omni coniugatione, quam per imperatiuum absolutum” (Collado, 1632, p. 21). [“This is a more elegant and polite way of speaking than giving a command with the regular imperative” (Collado, 1975, p. 125)].

Although Rodrigues had following the Latin grammar of other Portuguese Jesuit, Manuel Álvares, S.J. (1526–1583), mainly his *ars minor* (Álvares, 1573), through the Amakusa edition (Álvares, 1594), “[...] the subject matter of Part III of the *Arte* is entirely original and can perhaps best be described as rhetoric” (Cooper, 1974, p. 227). Here Rodrigues is completely original, based on the language of Miyako (the former name of Kyoto), the Japanese literature and the earlier Jesuit dictionaries. He describes, for example, how to speak correctly, the most common phonetic errors made by foreigners, literary styles, rules of politeness and how to write formal letters to the king, nobles, lesser noble people, superiors, inferiors, religious (priests and nuns), etc. “The *Arte* has inevitably come in for a certain amount of criticism on account of its unwieldy length, lack of method, and irrelevant material” (Cooper, 1974, p. 233), but it is an important historical document with relevant linguistic subjects for the study of the beginning 17th century Japanese language and culture. According to Takizawa (1993, p. 1), Rodrigues’ grammar is “[...] the first extant Japanese grammar, to which Collado also owes a lot”.

HONORIFIC AND HUMBLE PARTICLES

Rodrigues breaks down the traditional classification of Latin grammar, distinguishing, for example, honorific and humble or humiliate particles. He does not distinguish these particles amongst the (current designations of) prefixes and suffixes. For Rodrigues, they were postponed to the radicals or roots of the nouns or verbs. For instance, the four most frequent Japanese prefixes for Rodrigues were “*nite-*”, “*ni-*”, “*de-*” and “*goza-*”:

[...] em quanto particula se pospoem às rayzes de todas as particulas que se ajuntão a os verbos, assi honorativas, como humiliativas, como tambem às que signifcção fazer, sem alterar nada sua significação. Vt, *Naravaresoro*, *Yumi mōxisoro*, *Ague mairaxesoro*, *Cacaxeraresoro* [...].

As particulas com que propriamente se compoem quanto verbo são quatro conuem a saber. *Nite*, *Ni*, *De*, *Goza*, Vt *Nitesoro*, *Nisoro*, *Desoro*, *Gozasoro* [...]. As for particles, they postpone the radicals of all particles, which they connect to verbs. This is so for honorifics as well as humiliatives, which signify *to do* without changing its meaning, as in *naravaresoro*, *yumi mōxisoro*, *ague mairaxesoro*, *cacaxeraresoro* [...].

Among particles, which properly compose the verbs, there are four, which we ought to know: *Nite*, *Ni*, *De*, and *Goza*, as in *Nitesoro*, *Nisoro*, *Desoro*, *Gozasoro*] (Rodrigues, 1604-1608, p. 52v, our translation).

On the other hand, Collado says also that there were four honorific prefixes, but, unlike Rodrigues, for Collado, they were “*vo-*”, “*von-*”, “*go-*” and “*mi-*”:

Particulæ honoris sunt quatuor, *vo*, *von*, *go*, *mi*, duæ primæ iunguntur vocabulis, *iomi*, vltimæ vero iunguntur vocabulis, *coie*, siue chinensibus. vltima est honoratior & illa vtimur ad loquendum de rebus diuinis: v.g. *midexi tachi*, discipuli Christi Domini, *goichi nin vocoite cudasarei*, mittatis obsecro vnum ex dominis (Collado, 1632, p. 73).

[The honorific particles are four: *vo*, *von*, *go*, and *mi*. The first two are joined to *iomi* vocables. The last two are joined to *coie*, or Chinese vocables. The last is the most honorific and is used when speaking of things divine; e.g., *midexi tachi* ‘disciples of Christ the Lord,’ *goichinin vocoite cudasarei* ‘please send one from among the Lords’] (Collado, 1975, p. 182).

Rodrigues analyzes likewise the most common address forms used amongst the Japanese people, in different writing styles, such as in *naiden* (religious) and *gueden* (secular) texts. For example, Rodrigues says that the suffix “*-sama*” was the most common ‘particle’ for the names:

Sama, id est, *Yõna*, id est, *semelhante*, assim como, modo, et cetera. Esta particula antigamente nam tinha grao de honra, mas agora he a mais comum, e vsada de quantas ha, e soamente se pospoem a pessoas, e nam a outras cousas, ut *Vyesama*, id est, *Vyeno Yõna*, id est, *O Senhor da Tença*. *Yacatasama*, *Tono sama*, *Padre Sama*, et cetera.

Podemos dizer que no vso em que agora anda tem sentido, de *Senhor*, *Senhoria*, *Alteza*, *Merce*, *Reuerencia*, et cetera, conforme a pessoa a que se pospoem. [*Sama*, i.e., *Yõna*, i.e., *identical*, as well as *manner*, etc. This particle formerly did not have a grade of honor. Now it is the most common and the most commonly used, and it is only used for persons and not things, as in *Vyesama*, *Vyeno Yõna*, *The Lord of the bership*, *Yacatasama*, *Tono sama*, *Padre Sama*, etc. We can say that, in the use that now is common, it means *Lord*, *Lordship*, *Your Highness*, *Mercy*, *Reverence*, etc., according to the person to whose name it is joined] (Rodrigues, 1604-1608, p. 159v, our translation).

Collado also mentions that the suffix “*-sama*” should be used compulsory when one speaks with high-ranking people, although he mentions that “*-sama*” serves a pronoun (see the following chapter):

Si autem loquamur cum personis in dignitatibus constitutis, nomen dignitatis, si illi super addatur particula, sama, supplet vicem pronominis: v.g. *Padre samã gozare*, veniat vestra paternitas (Collado, 1632, p. 14).

[When speaking to persons of high rank, if we place the name of their office before *sama*, it serves as a pronoun; e.g., *Padresama gozare* ‘will the Father come’] (Collado, 1975, p. 119).

Mogi (2002, p. 17) says that nowadays the suffix “*-sama*” is “[...] the most formal one amongst four and is mainly employed in public relation”. The other three common suffix address forms are *-joshi*, *-shi* and *-san* (the most common):

When it is used in social relation, the term addresses for both gender and a speaker is higher in hierarchy than a referent. *-joshi* is a term for only females who have high social status and is a well-known person. Yet, nowadays, *-joshi* is less often used than *-shi* even though the referent is a female. When *-san* is used in public, social and personal relationships and the term indicates certain degree of respect. This is the most common term in everyday life (Mogi, 2002, p. 17).

Coelho and Hida (2010 [1997], p. 175, 1023, 1024) present “*-samã*” as synonym of “*-dõno*” and “*-san*”, meaning “Sir”, “Excellency” or “Madam”. However, “*-dõno*” and “*-san*” are less formal.

In early 17th century Japan, according to Rodrigues, the most common address forms or particles of honorific degree were the suffixes “-dono,” “-tono,” and “-cō,” and “-quiō” (used only between the nobles who lived in the king’s palace at Kyoto):

Dono, Tono.

He hũa voz que parece significar como entre nos, *senhor*, ou *fidalgo*, e se pospoem aos nomes proprios de pessoas, quando se nomeam, assi nas cartas, como no falar ordinario mormente em presença, ou diante de seus criados, e pessoas de obrigaçam. [*Dono, Tono*. It is a word that signifies a *lord* or *gentleman*, and they postpone it to the first names of the persons when they nominate as in the letters in ordinary speech, especially in the presence of or in front of their servants and duty persons] (Rodrigues, 1604–1608, p. 160r, our translation).

Cō, Quiō id est Quimi.

Estas duas vozes significam propriamente *Senhor, Dominus*.

Cō, se pospoem aos nomes de pessoas nobres commummente nas cartas [...]

Quiō, serue soamente entre Cugues. [*Cō, Quiō*, i.e., *Quimi*. These two expressions signify Sir, Dominus.

Cō postpones to noble people’s names, especially in the letters [...]

Quiō serves only amongst the Cugues¹²] (Rodrigues, 1604–1608, p. 160r, our translation).

Nevertheless, the most important address form, used only to address the king, was the prefix “*yei*”:

Yei, id est, *Chocu*.

Estas particulas seruem soamente pera el rey, e significam *o mesmo rey*. id est. *Vō*, e se antepoem aos nomes do *Coye*. Vt, *Yeiran*, id est, *Vio el Rey*, *Yeican*, id est, *Guiocan*, *Lolucu El Rey*, *Yeirio*, id est, *Yeixin*, id est, *Micocoro*, *o coraçam del Rey* [...]. [*Yei*, i.e., *Chocu*. These particles serve only for the king and mean the king himself, i.e., *Vō*, and they are placed before the names of the *Coye*, as in *Yeiran* and *Vio*, the King, *Yeican*, *Guiocan*, and *Lolucu*, the King, *Yeirio*, *Yeixin*, and *Micocoro*, the king’s heart] (Rodrigues, 1604–1608, p. 160v, our translation).

Of particular interest is Rodrigues’s specific analysis of the address forms used by women. The last research carried out by Ide (2005, p. 61) notes, for instance, that women still continue using polite expressions and women with a higher status use them more than the female of a lower status: “[...] female executives use more elaborate honorific forms than do women of lower status in the same corporation. [...] The findings show that women of higher status signify their dignity or elegance by using more elaborate, higher honorific forms than those used by lower status women”. Clarke (2009, p. 61) adds, otherwise, that the young generation uses fewer forms of address than in the old days, and they are speaking increasingly similar to men, and they overuse the prefix -o¹³:

[...] this remains true in spite of the protestations of older Japanese that young women these days speak more like men and young males are speaking more like women. The differences between men’s and women’s language are less apparent in the polite conversational style, though, even here, women tend to use more honorific expressions than men and many overuse the elegant noun prefix o-.

However, at the beginning of the 17th century, João Rodrigues had described already, for instance, that the suffix or the (postponed) particle “-*vye*” was used only with women’s names and meant the ‘highest superior’:

¹² The Cugues were the noble families who lived and served in the palace of the king at Miyako, the “capital” (Kyoto) see, e.g., Jesuits (1603–1604, p. 63v, 70r), who spoke the purest and the most elegant language (Rodrigues, 1993 [1620], p. 59v, 474).

¹³ Coelho and Hida (2010 [1997], p. 894) say that the prefix -o indicates admiration, respect, veneration, and delicacy, and is also used as prefix of some female proper names.

Vye.

Esta particula significa *superior supremo*, et cetera. Como quando dizemos *Vye*, id est, *Vye sama*. [...]

He usada por particula de honra falando de mulheres, e se pospoem aos nomes das pessoas que honra. Vt, *Fauavye*, *A Senhora mãy*. *Voye*, *a senhora da casa*, ou *mulher do Tono*. [*Vye*: This particle means supreme superior, etc., as when we say *Vye*, *Vye sama* [...]]

It is used as an honorific particle for speaking of women, and they postpone it to people names, which they honor, as in *Fauavye*, *Mother Lady*, *Voye*, *the Lady of the House*, and *Tono's wife*] (Rodrigues, 1604-1608, p. 159v, our translation).

Likewise, the suffix “-goien” was used only between women, showing reverence to their noble family. “-Goien” can be considered as equivalent of the masculine “-sama”:

Goien, Go.

A primeira particula destas duas serue soamente pera mulheres, e as honra a modo de, *Sama*. por respeito das pessoas nobres a quem pertencem as taes mulheres. Vt *Fauagoien*, *Foioquegoienm* *Toquinagoien*.

Go, serue pera homens, e mulheres. [*Goien, Go*. The first particle of these two is used only for women and to honor them, in the manner of *Sama* and out of respect for noble people who own such women, as in *Fauagoien*, *Foioquegoienm* *Toquinagoien*] (Rodrigues, 1604-1608, p. 160v, our translation).

Unfortunately, Rodrigues describes female particles used only by the lower to the higher status women and not by the opposite, as Ide does, and he has not the perspicacity of how spoke the 17th-century young generation, as Clark describes for the contemporary time. In effect, they are discussing different phenomena of women's language, but it is remarkable that a Jesuit missionary at the beginning of the 17th century has a real concern with the women's language and how to use the correct address form or particle, in his designation, when speaking with women.

HONORIFIC PRONOUNS

According to Mogi, Japanese linguists at the beginning of the Meiji era (1868–1912)¹⁴ adopted European grammatical categories and various nouns were categorized as personal pronouns, and nowadays they are essential linguistic elements to indicate the politeness of speech:

[...] the pronoun system in the Japanese language is not well developed and the system is used in a limited way. Consequently, the system also functions in different ways if it is compared to English. One of possible explanation for this is that at the beginning of the *Meiji* era, Japanese scholars tried to analyze the grammar of the Japanese language according to European grammatical categories. [...] Therefore, some nouns were categorized into personal pronouns in the Japanese language but they in fact, show small correlation to their European language counterparts. As a result, there are many PERSONAL PRONOUNS in the Japanese language (Mogi, 2002, p. 15).

Japanese people do not like to be the center of the attentions, and they prefer introducing themselves not by the personal pronoun, but by their name, professional title or job, for instance. The Japanese language has, in fact, personal pronouns, but many common nouns were also classified as pronouns, following the grammatical categories of the Western languages. Those ‘personal pronouns’ are, indeed, synonyms and they are used according to the level of politeness, the gender of the speaker and/or the hearer, their age, the formality of the speech, etc. However, this classification as personal pronoun did not start “at the beginning of the Meiji era”, as Mogi stated. In effect, it began, at

¹⁴ For a comparative analysis between the Japanese eras and the Western Christian dates since the Taika (645-650) and Heisei (1989–), see Coelho and Hida (2010 [1997], p. 1459).

least, 260 years earlier than the Meiji era, by João Rodrigues, who followed, undoubtedly, the traditional classification of the parts of speech. In effect, Rodrigues describes a complex system of personal pronouns according to the social importance of the speaker. The first person singular (“I” or “me”) is necessarily “translated”, at least, by 18 different Japanese synonyms. It can be “*chinga*” or “*maru*” (only for the king), “*vare*,” “*valera*,” “*vatacuxi*,” and “*soregaxi*” (for men, with humility), “*miga*” and “*midomo*” (for men with some superiority), “*midomoga*” and “*midomoraga*” (for men with low social importance), “*conofõ*,” “*conata*,” and “*cochi*” (the most frequent “pronoun,” for many contexts), “*vraga*,” and “*vraraga*” (for low people), and “*vagami*,” “*midzucara*,” and “*varaua*” (for women):

Chinga, id est, *Maru* } *Eu el Rey*, soamente pera o Rey.

Vare. Valera, id est *Vareraga. Vatacuxi. Soregaxi*. } *Eu*, estas vozes são corteses e falamos por ellas com respeyto, e humildade, commumente seruem pera homens, as duas primeyras pera pratica, e escritura: as duas segundas pera pratica soamente. *Vatacuxi*, algũas vezes tem sentido de *proprio*, ou como *de si*, ou *particular*. Vt, *Vatacuxino coto*. He *cousa propria*, ou *sua particular*, ou *delle*, et cetera.

Mi. id est *Miga. Midomo. Midomoga. Midomoraga*. } *Eu*, pera homens com algũa superioridade, mayormente os dous primeyros: por que dos outros usam tambem gente bayxa entre si.

Conofõ. Conata. Cochi. } *Eu*, corrente e indifferente pera altos, e bayxos, e cortès, principalmente os dous primeyros.

Xessu. Xexxa. Xeppu. Guxer. Gurõ. Gusõ. } *Eu*, pera escritura, raro pera pratica. *Gurõ*, pera velhos, e rapados. *Gusõ*, pera Religiosos, e rapados.

Vraga. Vraraga. } *Eu*, de que usa gente bayxa, et cetera.

Vagami. Midzucara. Varaua } *Eu* pera molheres. [*Chinga*, i.e. *Maru*] } “I, the King”, only for the King.

Vare, Valera, i.e. *Vareraga, Vatacuxi, Soregaxi* } “I”. These words are courteous and we talk using them to show respect and modesty; they usually are used by men. The first two relate to (religious) practice and to writing, and the second two relate only to (religious) practice.

Vatacuxi sometimes means “self,” “own”, or in “particular,” as in *Vatacuxino coto*, “it is my thing, or mine own, or from me,” etc. *Mi*, i.e., *Miga, Midomo; Midomoga, Midomoraga* } “I,” for men with some superiority, mainly the first two ranks, because the low ranking people also use the other terms among themselves.

Conofõ; Conata; Cochi } “I,” common, indifferent to high and low people, and courteous, mainly the first two.

Xessu. Xexxa. Xeppu. Guxer. Gurõ. Gusõ } “I,” for writing, rare for (religious) practice; *Gurõ* for old and shaved (men). *Gusõ*, for religious and shaved (men).

Vraga, Vraraga } “I,” used for low ranking people, etc.

Vagami, Midzucara, Varava } “I,” for women] (Rodrigues, 1604–1608, p. 67v–68r; our translation).

Collado's description is also very interesting. Despite classifying them as particles, he distinguishes them according to the speaker and his/her perception of the hearer's social status and includes also the women. Collado mentions four ‘particles’ from superiors to inferiors (“*vatacuxi*”, “*soregaxi*”, “*vare*” and “*mi*”), four from inferiors to superiors (“*varera*”, “*midomo*”, “*midomora*” and “*vare*”), three used specifically by women (“*mizzucara*”, “*varava*” and “*vagami*”), three by priests (“*vara*”, “*vorara*” and “*guso*” between themselves), and two by the king (“*chin*” or “*maru*”):

Octo sunt particulæ significantes idem quod *Ego, mei, mihi*, &c. *vatacuxi, sòrègaxi, vare, mi, várerá, midòmo, midòmora, vare*. Quatuor primæ denotant aliquam superioritatem in eo qui illis utitur, reliquæ uero sunt humiliores. Mulieres utuntur tribus aliis particulis aliquando quæ sunt, *mízzu cára, vārauá vāgami*, & his non utuntur uiri: rustici solent uti duabus uidelicet, *vára vòrará*, religiosus uero quando de se loquitur solet dicere, *gusô*, ac si diceret: ego uilis religiosus; senex uero de se loquens: dicit, *gurô*, ego uilis & despectibilis senex. Rex uero, dicit, *chin*, uel, *máru*, quod significat: ego Rex (Collado, 1632, p. 13).

[There are eight particles that signify ‘I, mine, to me, etc.’ They are *vatacuxi, soregaxi, vare, mi, varera, midomo, midomora, vare*. The first four indicate a degree of superiority on the part of those who use them. The others are humbler. Women use three other particles *mizzucara, varava*, and *vagami*, which are not used by men. The people in the countryside use two others, *vara* [vora] and *vorara*, while priests when speaking of themselves use *guso*, that is to say ‘I, a worthless man of the cloth’ and old men when speaking of themselves use *guro*, ‘I, a worthless and despicable old man’. The king (*rex*) says *chin* or *maru* which means ‘I, the King’] (Collado, 1975, p. 118–119).

For the second and third person, there is the same obligation to use different (primitive or derivative) pronouns, showing the hierarchical relationships between the hearer and the speaker. It is curious that Rodrigues distinguishes the pronouns that serve only for honorable people, equals and low people, and when the speaker wants to despise his interlocutor:

Pera segundas, e terceyras pessoas honradas, e igoaes, e algũas bayxas seruem tambem as particulas de honra, *Von, vo, go, mi, guio*. Vt, *Goxisocu, Vosso filho; Mioxí, mice, Seus pes, suas mãos; Von cuni, Vosso, ou seu reyno, et cetera*. [...] O Pronome assi deriuatiuo como primitiuo, ou he de si honrado, ou bayxo: honrado he aquelle que soo pertence a pessoas altas, e meãs bayxo aquelle, que sò pertence a infimos, ou de que vsamos por causa de desprezar a outro. [For second and third person used for honorable people, equals, and some low ranking people, the honorific particles *von, vio, go, mi*, and *guio* are likewise used, as in *Goxisocu*, “your son”; *Mioxí, mice*, “your feet,” “your hands”; *Von cuni*, “your kingdom,” etc. [...] The derivative or the primitive pronoun is itself honorable or low; it is honorable when it is used for high and middle ranked people, and it is low [is] when it refers to the lowest ranking people, for whom we use it because we despise them] (Rodrigues, 1604–1608, p. 67v, our translation).

Interestingly, Rodrigues did not speak of ‘higher’ personal pronouns of the second or the third person. Maybe he realized that, like today,

[...] the fundamental rule in Japanese is that a speaker cannot use a PERSONAL PRONOUN to refer to a person who is older or superior than the speaker. On the other hand, when the referent is younger or inferior than the speaker, a PERSONAL PRONOUN can be used (Mogi, 2002, p. 16).

The solution presented by Collado is *mutatis mutandis* the same, but he includes the suffix “-sama” as an equivalent to the pronoun, as referred earlier:

Multæ sunt particulæ, quæ constituunt pronomen secundæ personæ secundum differentiam personarum, quæ vel nullum vel aliqualem, aut mediocrem, magnum, aut maximum merentur honorem & reuerentiam: ad loquendum enim cum inferiori, sunt tres particulæ quæ faciunt pronomen tu: scilicet, *våre, vonðre, sòchi*, si autem illis superaddatur, *me*, vel, *mëgå*, & dicatur, *våremè*, vel, *våremëgå*, personam cum qua, loquimur amplius deiicimus. Si autem loquamur cum æqualibus vel aliquantulum inferioribus, vtemur vna ex tribus particulis videlicet, *sònata, sòno fò, våre sama*. Si vero sit persona superior vel omnino æqualis cum qua vrbane debemus loqui vtemur vna ex septem particulis scilicet, *cònata, qixò, qifó, gòfen, qīden, cònatá sama, sònata sáma*. Si autem loquamur cum personis in dignitatibus constitutis, nomen dignitatis, si illi super addatur particula, *sama*, supplet vicem pronominis: v.g. *Padre samã gozare*, veniat vestra paternitas (Collado, 1632, p. 14).

[There are many particles that form the second person pronoun. They are differentiated to indicate those persons deserving no honor and respect, deserving some, moderate, great, or maximal honor and respect. In speaking to inferiors there are three particles used for ‘you’; *vare, vonore*, and *sochi*. If *me* or *mega* is added as in *vareme* or *varemega*, it means we very much despise the person being spoken to. If we speak to people who are on our own level, or just a little inferior, we use one of the three particles *sonata, sonofo*, or *varesama*. If we speak to a superior person, or someone on an equal level but with whom we must speak elegantly, we use one of the seven particles *conata, qixo, qifo, gofen, qiden, conatasama*, and *sonatasama*. When speaking to persons of high rank, if we place the name of their office before *sama*, it serves as a pronoun; e.g., *Padresama gozare* ‘will the Father come] (Collado, 1975, p. 119).

HONORIFIC AND HUMBLE VERBS

Rodrigues also presents some honorific and humble verbs, according to their specific meaning without the addition of any suffix or particle:

De alguns verbos honrados de sua natureza sem particula, e de outros humildes.

Tem esta lingua alguns verbos que de sua natureza encluem em si certo grao de honra sem particula honoratiua, os quais seruem soamente pera segundas, e terceiras pessoas honradas.

Outros verbos ha que tem certo grao de cortesia, e humildade dos quais usam inferiores respeito de superiores, estes honram a pessoa com quem, ou dis-se de quem se fala por elles, e humilham a pessoa sobre quem cayem os tais verbos, ou que delles usa. [Of some honorific verbs, their nature without particle and other humble verbs. This language has some verbs that, by their nature, include in themselves a certain degree of honor without an honorific particle. They serve only for the second and third person forms for honorable persons. There are other verbs that have a certain degree of politeness and humility with which inferiors demonstrate respect to their superiors. These (verbs) honor the person with whom one talks, and humbles the person who uses them] (Rodrigues, 1604-1608, p. 164v, our translation).

Collado says explicitly that the speaker had to choose carefully the correct verb according to the honor and importance of the hearer:

[...] unde ad hoc debemus aduertere quando loquimur, ut notemus de quo loquimur, & coram quibus, ut cui honorem, honorem debitum in modo loquendi tribuamus (Collado, 1632, p. 20).
[Therefore when speaking one must be careful about what one says, or in front of whom one speaks, so as to give each person the honor he deserves] (Collado, 1975, p. 125).

As it was demonstrated by Takizawa (1993, p. 175), "Japanese has verbs of respect and humbleness. Both Rodriguez and Collado devote a section to these, but we find only lists and simple explanations of those verbs in those sections". Collado also shows that various auxiliary verbs are fundamentals to show the politeness and the humbleness of the speaker¹⁵:

Radices omnium verborum cuiuscumque sint coniugationis, possunt adhuc extrahi & deduci ad alias coniugationes si illis superaddantur particulæ honoris, secundum literas, in quibus prædictæ particulæ honoris finiuntur, particulæ vero sunt *maraxi, uru, ari, u, saxerare uru, xerare uru, nasare uru, saxemaxi u, tamai ó, rare, re* (Collado, 1632, p. 39).
[The root of any verb of whatever conjugation can be taken from its conjugation and changed to another conjugation by adding one of the particles of honor (*honor*). The resulting form will belong to the conjugation determined by the final letter of the particle. These particles are: *maraxi, uru, ari, u, saxerare, uru, xerare, uru, nasare, uru, saxemaxi, u, tamai, ó, rare* and *re*] (Collado, 1975, p. 145).

Takizawa (1993, p. 175) concludes that "[...] it is obvious that Collado regards an auxiliary verb with its own conjugations as a particle. (This is also true of Rodriguez). The form used before these 'particles' is the root in Collado's analysis".

CONCLUSION

The first metalinguistic text published in Japan was the abridged version of the Latin grammar book (Amakusa 1594) of Manuel Álvares S.J. Despite presenting several linguistic innovations compared with the *editio princeps* of its *ars minor* (Lisbon 1573), none is related to the description of Japanese honorifics and forms of address. In the following years, the Jesuits published three collective dictionaries: a Latin-Portuguese-Japanese dictionary (Jesuits, 1595), a Chinese-Japanese dictionary (Jesuits, 1598) and a Portuguese-Japanese dictionary (Jesuits, 1603-1604). In both first, we did not find any particular expression related to the honorifics or forms of address. The last one has, for the first time, expressions such as 'particula de honra' [honorific particle] and 'verbo honrado' [honored verb], although, there are only a few. However,

¹⁵ For the analysis of the auxiliary verbs which express respect, humbleness, and politeness in Collado's grammar, see Takizawa (1993, p. 175-177, 247-248).

the truly pioneering works are three published Japanese grammars, the large grammar (Nagasaki 1604-1608) and its abridged version (Macau 1620) by João Rodrigues Tçuzu, S.J., and by Diego Collado, O.P. (Rome 1632).

The João Rodrigues's large grammar is a great source for the study of almost all aspects of Japanese language and culture during the end of the 16th century and the early 17th century, being considered the greatest grammatical study of Japanese made during the Christian Century. During the 17th century there was only one other Japanese grammar, the "Ars Grammaticæ Iaponicæ Linguæ" (Rome 1632), written by Diego Collado, O.P., and printed by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, which follows closely Rodrigues' grammars.

Summing up, Rodrigues was one of the most original grammarians and deserves to be classified as the Father of the Japanese linguistics studies, as Boxer (1950) did, and one of the five best Jesuit grammarians from whole colonial period, as Zwartjes (2011) stated. He presented many linguistic innovations and created a new metalanguage derived from his knowledge of Japanese society, mainly from Kyoto, and classical Japanese literature, paying special attention to how social relationships between the interlocutors worked in oral and written speech. He described many honorific and humble particles, pronouns, verbs and other forms of address, ways of reverence or courtesy, and politeness titles, not only in oral language but also in different writing styles, among men and also between women, such as, for instance, the 'particle' (suffix) "-goien", which was the equivalent of the men's 'particle' (suffix) "-sama". In spite of having some considerable differences, Collado showed also concerns with the pragmatic working of Japanese 'urbanitas' [politeness] and many honorific particles.

Besides other important linguistic contributions, Rodrigues and Collado described what nowadays has been called as pragmatics or, in Geoffrey Leech designation, pragmalinguistics of Japanese. Rodrigues was indeed the first to analyze deeply how the Politeness Principle of Japanese worked and what is designated currently by *Keigo*, the honorific language of Japanese, or, in academic terms, *Taigū Hyōgen*, the treatment expressions.

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