

Historical Development of English-Japanese Dictionaries in Japan (3): *Tetsugaku-jū*

(*A Dictionary of Philosophy*, 1881)¹⁾

by Tetsujiro Inoue *et al.*

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1. Introduction

The third installment deals with *Tetsugaku-jū* (*A Dictionary of Philosophy*) (hereafter *TJ*), one of the technical-term dictionaries of the Meiji era. *TJ* was issued three times in about 30 years: *TJ1* in 1881, *TJ2* in 1884 and *TJ3* in 1912, which shows the great demand for the dictionary in the Meiji era. It provides only headwords and their translations. It does not show parts of speech, which often makes it difficult to distinguish, for example, between the translations of nouns, adjectives and verbs. It also fails to provide pronunciation, examples, and etymology (cf. 4.3.4.), which seems to be the case in other technical-term dictionaries. No distinction of senses is drawn, showing that translation into Japanese was of the utmost importance in this period.

During the early years of the Meiji era, the new government expanded the program of sending envoys and students abroad to study the social systems of Western countries. The mission led by Tomomi Iwakura in 1871, for example, made an inspection tour intended to help in building modern Japanese society. "... The forty-five years of the Meizi [*sic*] period were the age when the Japanese studied, borrowed those elements of Western and American civilization and westernized... They desired to

establish a strong nation like the leading West [*sic*] and American nations and they looked to the West for new patterns of society and government. In 1871, a Ministry of education [*sic*] was founded, and Japan embarked on an ambitious program of general education... but within a few years Japan had set up a broad educational system, especially general education had been applied with a [*sic*] brilliant success in Japan... " (Sugimoto 1985: 32)

Here it is also important to note that "The science and culture of the early Meizi [*sic*] period were a strange conglomeration of undigested borrowings from Western civilization mixed with many elements remaining intact from feudal times... Japanese people... learned the [*sic*] Western science or culture through foreign academic books, particularly English books about philosophy, technology, politics, economic [*sic*], mathematics, medical science, botany, physics and others. They translated some of terms [*sic*] and compiled a vocabulary of technical terms in each field, for a terminology is one of the most important tool [*sic*] to obtain a [*sic*] special knowledge. At the first half of the Meizi period, many special dictionaries or glossaries were compiled. We may characterize a new Japan at [*sic*] the Meizi era as a 'developing nation' in studying them... It was the [*sic*] important key to translate an exact terminology to lead a new Japan or [*sic*] a powerful nation on terms of equality with the Western Powers... " (Sugimoto 1985: 32-33).

The above passage helps us understand why translation was undertaken so energetically in those days. It was imperative for the government to obtain information by translating foreign literature in order to modernize Japanese institutions. It is also noted by Kato (1991: 342) that the tremendous amount of translation around the time of the Meiji Restoration covered an extremely wide range of subjects. He adds that it is no exaggeration to say that culture and society in the Meiji era were established or built on translations. There seem to be at least three factors in explaining the success the Japanese had in translating Western literature into their own language (Kato 1991: 349-53). The first is that a large amount of *kango* (words and phrases based on classical Chinese and pseudo-classical Chinese) was available and well known to intellectuals. The second is that

1) The original title is shown in parentheses, and a translated title in square brackets.

the Japanese had had some experience of translating Dutch into Japanese since the Yedo period. The third is that a small number of sophisticated intellectuals had a great ability to read and understand originals in Western languages, partly through the medium of Dutch or Chinese. A large number of foreign or Western books were imported. Naturally enough, the materials translated were relevant to the urgent needs of modernization, hence, for example, the translations of Western law books. It is also important to note, in connection with *TJ*, that some intellectuals of the period became interested in Western thought or philosophy as well as in history and civilization.

Some of the technical-term dictionaries referred to above include a dictionary of anatomical vocabulary (published in the 4th year of Meiji), one on medical vocabulary (6th year), one on chemical and mineralogical vocabulary (7th year), one on botany (7th year), one on medicinal vocabulary (7th year), and one on mathematics (11th year). Since the Yedo period a series of dictionaries had been published in physical or natural science. But English came to have a much stronger influence than Dutch on the above-mentioned dictionaries. With the exception of a dictionary of mercantile vocabulary (13th year), it was not until *TJ* was published that there appeared a technical-term dictionary dealing with social sciences and the humanities, such as philosophy, religion, politics, economics, sociology, ethics, and education. It must be noted that the dictionary was published by the Imperial University of Tokyo (Tokyo Imperial University), the foremost educational institution in the country.

In this article every aspect of *TJ* will be dealt with. As well as the historical background and profiles of the editors, detailed analyses will be made of the headwords and translations. The analysis of headwords will focus more on *TJ3* than on *TJ1* and *TJ2*, while that of translation equivalents will concentrate more on *TJ1* and *TJ2*. There are more studies on *TJ* by scholars of the Japanese language than by scholars of English, and this paper owes much to their work, especially in section 4 and 5.¹⁾

(Section 1. by Dohi)

1) The writers would like to express special gratitude to Prof. Shigeru Takebayashi and Prof. Keisuke Nakao for their encouragement and helpful advice, and to Prof. Paul

2. Background

2.1. Historical Background — Early Meiji Era

While the Iwakura mission was traveling abroad from 1871 to 73, several leaders of the government at home in Japan, including Takamori Saigo, one of the main reformers of the Meiji Restoration, Taisuke Itagaki and Foreign Minister Taneomi Soejima, were discussing the conquest of Korea. They wanted to invade Korea for two major reasons. Since the Korean Government had failed to pay homage to the new Japanese Government, they considered it urgent to demonstrate Japan's power and restore diplomatic relations. Besides this, they also wanted to divert the attention of the former samurai, who were dissatisfied with the government of the Satsuma-Choshu clique, toward foreign countries by means of invading Korea. Saigo obtained approval from Dajokan [the Grand Council of State] for a personal diplomatic mission to Korea. He hoped to provoke war and thus by force of arms to compel the Koreans to establish relations with Japan. When the mission returned in 1873, however, the decision to provoke war was overturned. The main members of the mission, including Tomomi Iwakura, Toshimichi Okubo and Takayoshi Kido, asserted that domestic administration should take precedence so that Japan could be a strong country by building up armaments and improving its financial affairs. Both sides stuck fast to their opinions, so the government split. In the end, Saigo resigned from the government with his followers and retired to his native place in Satsuma (now in Kagoshima Prefecture).

After the resignation of several government leaders, Toshimichi Okubo, strongly influenced by the system of Western society, established the Naimusho [Home Ministry] and began to strengthen the system of internal affairs. With its desire to ensure continuing independence and freedom from Western colonization, the government required a strong industrial and economic base, under the slogan of Fukokukyohei "enrich the country, strengthen the army." The government operated state-owned factories with the help of technological know-how and machines from foreign countries. Several kinds of factories such as spinning mills, glassworks and Davenport for his valuable help with the final draft.

cement plants were established. Among these, special importance was attached to the armaments and shipbuilding industries for military purposes.

Home Minister Okubo also had to deal with those who opposed modernization. Many samurai were unhappy with Chitsurokushobun, the decision of 1876 commuting their hereditary stipends into government bonds, and samurai uprisings occurred in various places. Shimpei Eto, who was once a councilor of the government, rose in rebellion in his native domain of Saga, where the samurai and a prefectural office stood in opposition. He failed to win the approval of Saigo and the rebellion was suppressed, with Eto receiving the death penalty [Saga Rebellion of 1874].

Meanwhile, several peasants' uprisings occurred to express disapproval of the revision of the land tax law in 1876. In order to obtain a stable annual income the government fixed land values. This revision made peasants' work harder, and their smoldering resentment finally burst into flame. As a result of their protests, the tax was reduced a year later.

The last major uprising to protest the reforms of the government occurred in Satsuma under the leadership of Saigo [Satsuma Rebellion of 1877]. About 40,000 former samurai, who had been dissatisfied with Haitorei [the law banning possession of swords] and chitsuroku shobun [a salary reduction], gathered in Kumamoto. A nine-month-long battle came to an end with the victory of the well-organized government conscript army under Okubo's command, and Saigo committed suicide. Okubo, now considered a traitor by his own domain and fellow samurai, was assassinated by disaffected samurai of Satsuma in 1878.

As a result of this incident, the people who had supported liberal democracy learned that it was safer to fight against the government not by force, but by speech. In 1874, three years before the Saigo incident, Taisuke Itagaki of Tosa (now Kochi Pref.), had already proposed the formation of a Diet to be elected by the people [Freedom and People's Rights Movement]. This movement took place throughout Japan, and the campaign succeeded in obtaining more than a hundred thousand signatures, not only from samurai but also from peasants. The atmosphere of enthusiastic excitement was fostered and fermented by central newspapers and debating clubs. Meanwhile in the Council councilors, including Hirobumi

Ito, Shigenobu Okuma, were deliberating how to establish a Constitution which would assure the hegemony of the emperor with the support of the people. There was, however, opposition between Ito and Okuma, and Ito finally persuaded Okuma to resign from his official post [Political Crisis of 1881].

In these turbulent social conditions, the people gradually became aware of the changes that were taking place. New styles of fashion in dresses with umbrellas and in business suits with leather shoes were introduced. The topknot was replaced by Western-style haircuts. Western-style buildings made of brick and with gas-lights appeared in Ginza in Tokyo. People began to enjoy beef, beer and cigarettes. The term applied to the trend was *Bunmeikaika* (Meiji Enlightenment).

A number of technical dictionaries were published as a result of absorbing new knowledge from Western studies. [解体学語箋] *Kaitaigaku-Gosen* (A [sic] *Anatomical Vocabulary*), [医語類聚] *Igoruishu* (A *Medical Vocabulary in English and Japanese*) and [化学対訳辞書] *Kagaku-Taiyaku-jisho* (A *Chemical and Mineralogical Dictionary in English and Japanese*) are examples. These dictionaries, however, had different translation equivalents for the same original word, and unification of translation came to be an urgent problem.

(Section 2.1. by Tsuya)

2.2. The History of Philosophy in Japan — from the Late Days of the Tokugawa Shogunate to the Early Meiji Era

2.2.1. Amane Nishi (1829–97)

It was Amane Nishi who introduced Western philosophy into Japan. He invented the translation equivalent for philosophy, *tetsugaku*, and played an important role in popularizing Western philosophy through his lectures and writings.

He was born in Iwami in the Tsuwano domain (now part of Shimane Pref.) in 1829. At the age of 24 he went up to Yedo (now Tokyo) to study Dutch, and three years later began to study English. From 1857 he taught English at Bansho Shirabesho¹⁾. The manuscript for his first lecture on

1) see Note 2) in Kokawa *et al.* (1996: 78)

philosophy was written in 1862. The lecture was supposed to be given at Bansho Shirabesho just before he was sent to the Netherlands with Mamichi Tsuda¹⁾ and the other members of the mission, but was never presented. The mission studied under Simon Vissering at the University of Leiden for three years, and returned to Japan in 1865.

Having welcomed the Meiji Restoration, the government closed Kaiseijo (a successor to Bansho Shirabesho) run by the Shogunate, and consequently most of the professors and lecturers moved to Shizuoka with the Tokugawas to set up academies there. Nishi was invited to Numazu Hei Gakko [Numazu Military School] as headmaster in 1868, and lectured on logic and philosophy. The government appointed him to the Ministry of Military Affairs in Tokyo in 1870. Later in the same year he established a private school named Ikueisha, where he continued to study and to teach philosophy. He was a founding member of the Meirokusha and was actively involved in the campaign for enlightenment, publishing numerous papers in its magazine *Meiroku zasshi*. In 1874 he published *Chichi keimo*, the first Japanese book on logic, which made him widely known as one of the country's leading thinkers.

As a government official, he wrote Choheirei [Conscription Ordinance of 1873] and edited 『兵語字書』 *Heigo-jisho* [A Dictionary of Military Terms] published by Sanbohonbu (the General Staff Office) in 1881.

Nishi is probably the greatest student and teacher of philosophy in late 19th-century Japan (Aso 1942: 294), and is considered the founding father of modern Japanese philosophy.

2.2.2. The flowering of philosophical studies

In 1870 the word *philosophy* appeared for the first time in the lesson timetable of the Imperial University of Tokyo, without its Japanese translation equivalent. However, as continuous changes in the curriculum and struggles for power did not actually allow the university to concentrate on study, the center of philosophical studies was outside the university (*ibid.*: 207, 224), that is, in private schools for English studies such as Ikueisha.

1) Mamichi Tsuda (1829–1903), a legal scholar and government official, helped with the foundation of modern humanities studies in Japan.

Nishi's steady efforts to introduce Western thought into Japanese society, together with the current of the times, eventually brought about the flowering of philosophical studies. The department of philosophy was established at the University in 1877. The increased interest in philosophy made it necessary to unify the translation equivalents of technical terms, leading to the publication of *TJ1*.

Considering his remarkable contribution to the subject, it would be natural to expect Nishi to have been involved in the *TJ1* project. Since, however, he was working on *Heigo-jisho*, which was eventually published in the same year as *TJ1*, it was not possible for him to be one of the writers. However, *TJ1* apparently benefitted from his comments and quite a few translation equivalents that he invented are found in the work (*ibid.*: 317). Nishi's influence on *TJ1* will be discussed further in 5.1.4.

(Sections 2.2.–2.2.2. by Komuro)

3. The Authors and the Dictionary

3.1. The Authors

Under the title of *Tetsugaku-jū* three dictionaries were published and each was edited by the following people:

TJ1 (1881): Inoue, Wadagaki, Kodera, and Ariga

TJ2 (1884): Inoue and Ariga

TJ3 (1912): Inoue, Matora, and Nakashima

The four who did the first edition were all graduates of the Faculty of Letters, Tokyo Imperial University: the first three belonged to the class of 1880, and Ariga to the class of 1882. With Wadagaki and Kodera studying abroad, Inoue and Ariga carried out the revision for *TJ2*. The three involved in the making of *TJ3* were all professors at Tokyo Imperial University. The first half of this chapter will provide brief author profiles, starting with Tetsujiro Inoue, who masterminded the monumental project and had a stake in every edition.

3.1.1. Tetsujiro Inoue (1855–1944)

Inoue was born in Dazaifu (now in Fukuoka Pref.) in 1855. His father was a medical practitioner. In his childhood he took lessons in classical

Chinese. In the early Meiji era (at age 17, 1871¹⁾), when the necessity to study English was keenly felt, he went to Nagasaki to enter the Kounkan, at which school he worked hard at mathematics, geography, history, etc. with English-speaking teachers. Three years' exposure to English there gave him a good command of the language. At the age of 21 (1875) he went up to Tokyo to attend Kaisei High School. Two years later he entered Tokyo Imperial University and majored doubly in philosophy and politics, though his primary interest was in the former. He graduated in 1880 (at age 26) and spent the following several years writing and translating. It was during this period that he published *Tetsugaku-jii* (*TJ1*, 1881) from Tokyo University Press. Japan was still drawing heavily on Western countries and their publications to assimilate new ideas, and to this end many books were translated from Western languages. As a student Inoue strongly felt that the lack of proper terminology and the discrepancies between translated technical terms with the same reference made it difficult to study and discuss philosophy and other disciplines in Japanese, which led to the publication of his dictionary. He set about translating philosophical terms with a few friends from Tokyo Imperial University (i.e. Wadagaki, Kodera, and Ariga). Among his neologisms are 絶対 *zettai* (Absolute) and 人格 *jinkaku*²⁾ (Personality) (Inoue 1973: 33–34, Fukumoto 1977: 114–15), which are now part of everyday Japanese vocabulary (see 5.1.3). In 1882 (at age 28) he returned to Tokyo Imperial University as associate professor and lectured on the history of Eastern philosophy. In the following year, having been granted a three-year scholarship by the Ministry of Education, he set out for Germany to pursue philosophy. He studied at Berlin, Heidelberg, and Leipzig. He extended his stay by some four years by teaching at the newly founded school of oriental languages affiliated with Berlin University. When he returned to Japan in 1890 (at age 36), he was promoted to professor at Tokyo Imperial University and gave lectures on Western and Eastern philosophy. In 1897 (at age 43) he was appointed head of the Faculty of Letters. He is remembered for hav-

1) In his time a different way of counting one's age was common: a newborn baby was regarded as being already one year old.

2) *Jinkaku* first appears in *TJ3*.

ing introduced German idealism to Japan. Also well versed in Buddhism and Confucianism, he sought to make a systematic study of the history of Eastern thought, finding some parallels with that of the West. He energetically published and taught until retirement at the age of 69 (1923), after which he continued teaching at other schools. Composing poems was one of his hobbies, and his *Shintaishi Sho*¹⁾ is said to have marked the start of modern poetry in this country. As an ardent nationalist, he denounced Christianity as "being inimical to Japan's unique national polity" (Campbell, *et al.* 1993: 609) and came into conflict with Kanzo Uchimura, a Christian leader, and others. He died in 1944 at the age of 90.

3.1.2. Kenzo Wadagaki (1860–1919)

Kenzo Wadagaki was born to a samurai family in Tajima (now part of Hyogo Pref.). As a child he studied classical Chinese and Western learning. In 1873 he entered Kaisei High School to study German. He entered Tokyo Imperial University to major in philosophy and economics and graduated in 1880. In the following year he went to King's College, London and Cambridge University to study economics. He also studied at Berlin. After returning to Japan in 1883, he taught economics at his alma mater. He wrote essays and textbooks on economics and law and also compiled other English-Japanese and Japanese-English dictionaries.

3.1.3. Shinsaku Kodera (1855–1929)

Shinsaku Kodera majored in philosophy and political science at Tokyo Imperial University and graduated in 1880. He then worked at the Ministry of Education. Between 1881 and 1886 he studied in Germany and Britain. On his return he became professor at the Higher Normal School. In 1891 he turned translator with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and worked in Britain, Russia, and China (then under the Ching dynasty). In 1902 he was promoted to secretary of the Ministry and head of its translation department.

1) Toyama, M., R. Yatabe, and T. Inoue, eds. 1882. *Shintaishi Sho* [Collection of New-Style Poetry (Campbell, *et al.* 1993: 1384)]. Tokyo: Maruzen.

3.1.4. Nagao Ariga (1860–1921)

Nagao Ariga was born in Osaka. His father was a poet. He studied philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University and graduated in 1882. After graduation he remained at the university as assistant professor and edited *Nihon Shakai Shi* [Social History of Japan]. In 1884 he became the secretary of the Genroin (Senate). In 1886 he went to Europe and studied the history of European civilization and psychology at Berlin and national law in Austria. When he returned in the following year, he became the secretary of the Sumitsuin (Privy Council) and aide to the prime minister. Later he taught again at Tokyo Imperial University as lecturer and at the Army Academy and Waseda University as professor. In 1913 he became a legal advisor to Yuan Shikai (袁世凱). He wrote many books on law and history.

3.1.5. Yujiro Motora (1858–1912)

Yujiro Motora was born to a samurai family in Settsu (now part of Hyogo Pref.). In 1875 he entered Doshisha Eigakko [English School] (now Doshisha University) in Kyoto and graduated in 1879. In 1883 he went to Boston University to major in philosophy and in 1885 transferred to Johns Hopkins University to study psychology. He returned in 1888 and became a lecturer at Tokyo Imperial University. Two years later he was promoted to professor there. He wrote many books on psychology and ethics.

3.1.6. Rikizo Nakashima (1858–1918)

Rikizo Nakashima was born in Tamba (now part of Kyoto). There he studied classical Chinese. From 1878 to 1879 he did English studies at Doshisha Eigakko. In 1880 he graduated from Western Reserve Academy, Ohio and in 1884 from Western Reserve University (now Case Western Reserve University) in humanities. He then went to Yale University and completed studies in theology in 1887 and also in philosophy in 1889. After graduation he became a lecturer in the history of philosophy at Yale. He returned to Japan in 1890 and taught ethics at Tokyo Imperial University. He was promoted to professor in 1892.

(Sections 3.–3.1.6. by Yamada)

3.2. The Dictionary

3.2.1. The background to the compilation

After Japan opened its doors to foreign countries in the second half of the 19th century, Western culture and science were introduced here at a tremendous pace and in enormous quantity by different people in different fields. One result of this was that different disciplines often used different terms for one and the same notion, while one term might represent different notions in different areas. In fact, one may go so far as to say that there were as many Japanese equivalents for one notion as the people who introduced the notion from Western culture. Thus the need to streamline the new vocabulary was frequently proclaimed around the time of *TJ*'s compilation. (See 5.1.2. for the professed aim of the compilation in the English preface of *TJ*3, which was written in December 1911 by Inoue himself.)

3.2.2. *Tetsugaku-Jii*

The dictionary, *TJ*, is a collection of mostly technical terms used primarily in the humanities, which had rapidly developed at the end of the Yedo period through to the early Meiji era in our country. The title *Tetsugaku-Jii* may be loosely translated as 'Philosophical Vocabulary' or 'Dictionary of Philosophical Terms,' 'philosophical' here denoting 'of learning.' It is not a general dictionary but rather a vocabulary book of academic terms, so there are no entries for the words of daily life or function words, such as 'dog,' 'morning,' 'I,' 'could' and 'about.' Also, the majority of the entries are for nouns, followed in number by adjectives (see Section 4 for the nature of the headwords).

3.2.3. The first edition (1881)

The first edition of *TJ* (『哲學字彙』) was edited by Tetsujiro Inoue, Kenzo Wadagaki, Shinsaku Koderu and Nagao Ariga (see 3.1). The size of the dictionary is 17.25cm × 11.15cm × 0.55cm (6.8in × 4.4in × 0.22in). It consists of the title page in Japanese, the preface in Chinese (1 page) by Inoue, the dictionary text entitled 'A Dictionary of Philosophy' (pp. 1–99) followed by 'Chinese Symphonious Characters' (pp. 101–127, a list of Chinese characters grouped together and arranged by pronunciation) by J.

G. Bridgman, and one page of errata.

The page layout and the structure of entries of the dictionary text of *TJ1* are fairly simple. A page consists of two columns: English headwords (including indented headwords) are presented on the left (see Section 4) and the Japanese equivalents on the right (see Section 5). In accordance with the convention of the day, the Japanese equivalents in *TJ1* are printed 90 degrees sideways to the horizontal page layout, so that they can be read vertically.¹⁾ On occasion, accounts of the sources from which the translations were derived are given (according to Hida (1979), for 63 entries).

3.2.4. The second edition (1884)

The first edition of *TJ* having been sold out in two years, a second edition (『改訂増補哲學字彙』, *lit. Tetsugaku-jū*, Revised and Enlarged) was published three years after the appearance of the original work. Wadagaki and Kōdera were abroad at the time of the revision, which was therefore carried out by Inoue and Ariga alone. There are only four words deleted (*Angelogy*, *Choice*, *Precedent* and *Presentative*), while 771 words were newly added to the original 1,952 entries in the first edition, according to the appended table by Hida (1980). Thus, we may regard it as a rather extensive enlargement. The physical dimensions of *TJ2* are a shade larger than *TJ1*, at 17.65cm × 11.6cm × 1.45cm (6.9in × 4.6in × 0.57in).

The second edition consists of the title page in Japanese, the preface to the second edition in Chinese by Ariga (1 page), the reprinted preface to the first edition (1 page), the dictionary text entitled 'A Dictionary of Philosophy' (pp. 1–136), 'A Sanskrit Chinese Dictionary' as 'Appendix A' (pp. 137–255) excerpted from the work by E. J. Eitel, 'Chinese Symphonious Characters' as 'Appendix B' (pp. 257–283, reprinted from the first edition) and a page of publisher's inscription.

The page layout and the entry format of this edition are the same as in the previous edition, except that the Japanese commas (、) used at the end of Japanese equivalents, apparently as period punctuation, were removed from the second edition entries.

1) Note that the format of *EJ2*, which was published the year after *TJ1*, is that of present-day English-Japanese dictionaries, i.e. using horizontal presentation.

3.2.5. The third edition (1912)

Twenty-eight years after the publication of the second edition of *TJ*, which had been long out of print and had become rather outdated, a third edition, prepared by Tetsujiro Inoue in collaboration with Yujiro Motora and Rikizo Nakashima, was issued. *TJ3* was less compact than the previous two editions, measuring 21.8cm × 14.6cm × 1.05cm (8.6in × 5.7in × 0.41in).

According to Inoue, *TJ3*, which was titled *Ei-Doku-Futsu-Wa Tetsugaku-jū* (『英獨佛和哲學字彙』, *lit. Tetsugaku-jū*, English-, German-, French-Japanese), is "practically a new 'Dictionary of Philosophical Terms' rather than a third edition of the previous one from which it differs to a very great extent" (from the preface to the third edition). In fact, it is an entirely new edition as we shall see in Sections 4 and 5 of this paper. One particularly striking point is that the previous two editions principally dealt with English, while the third edition featured plentiful entries for non-English headwords, the majority of which are German. Also, even under English headwords, information on other languages (German, French, Italian, Spanish, as well as Greek and Latin etymology) are provided in *TJ3*. Such cosmopolitanism obviously reflects the variety of sources from which our country absorbed science and culture at that time, as well as the compilers' keenness to meet the widening demands of technical users.

TJ3 consists of the Japanese title page, the English title page, two pages of English preface by Inoue, the dictionary text entitled 'A Dictionary of English, German, and French Philosophical Terms' (pp. 1–178), the 'Supplement' to the dictionary text (pp. 179–205), an 'Appendix' (pp. 207–209) including a table of constellations and a 'Synopsis of Geological Formations' (a list of geological chronology with an illustration), and one page of publisher's inscription.

In *TJ1* and *TJ2*, non-English headwords in such languages as French, German, Latin, Sanskrit and Japanese are presented in italics: *Raisonnement* (*TJ1*, *TJ2*), *Seele* (*TJ2*), *A priori* (*TJ1*, *TJ2*), *Mahayana* (*TJ1*, *TJ2*), *Sennin* (*TJ2*). In *TJ3*, headwords in other languages than German are all printed in roman boldface, while German ones are in gothic. The Japanese commas (、) at the end of the Japanese equivalents, which were re-

moved in *TJ2*, were for some reason revived in *TJ3*.

3.2.6. *TJ* and its source dictionary

According to the preface of the first edition, *TJ* was based on *The Vocabulary of Philosophy* (hereafter *VP*) by William Fleming (1st ed. 1856, 2nd ed. 1858, 3rd ed. 1876 (revised by Henry Calderwood), 4th ed. 1887). Hida (1980:6) counted the number of headwords in *TJ1* and compared it with the numbers of headwords in the second and the third editions of Fleming's dictionary, either or both of which Inoue no doubt used (the latter being chronologically more likely). The totals are 1,952 (*TJ1*), 832 (*VP2*) and 859 (*VP3*). Thus the number of entries in *The Vocabulary of Philosophy* was more than doubled in *TJ* (*ibid.*), which shows that *TJ* is not a mere translation of Fleming's work.

(Sections 3.2.–3.2.6. by Kokawa)

4. Headwords

As its title *Tetsugaku-jū* suggests, *TJ* is not a general dictionary, but basically a dictionary of technical terms. Almost all of the headwords are nouns, with some adjectives and very few verbs (*Hibernate* appears in *TJ2* and *TJ3*).¹⁾ There is a marked difference between the headwords in *TJ1* and *TJ2* on the one hand and *TJ3* on the other in that while the first two editions are lexical, the third is encyclopedic. The headwords of each edition will be examined in more detail below.

4.1. Headwords in *TJ1*

4.1.1. Choice of headwords

According to the preface, *TJ1* was based on Fleming's *The Vocabulary of Philosophy*, but because many new terms were not included in the latter book, numerous words from other sources were added. Inoue does not specify which edition of Fleming's dictionary he used, but the third edition was the newest edition available at the time of publication of *TJ1*. Many entries in *TJ1* and *VP3* coincide, but not all entries in *VP3* are included in

1) However, because of the nature of the translations, sometimes it is not clear which part of speech the headword belongs to. (See 5.3, 5.4.6.2.)

TJ1, and *TJ1* has many entries not in *VP3*. The headwords in *TJ1* are not necessarily philosophical terms. It seems the authors added certain basic words that they considered necessary for readings in philosophy (Sugimoto 1985: 516). Among such words are *Lie*, *Mankind*, *Nation*, and *Pain*, which do not appear in *VP3*.

Also, terms for disciplines other than philosophy are included. Field labels are given after the Japanese equivalents of these words. The following is the list of labels, reproduced from the preface, with readings, English translations of the fields indicated, and examples added:

label		field indicated		example of headword
(倫) <i>rin</i>	倫理學	<i>rinrigaku</i>	ethics	<i>Synderesis</i>
(心) <i>shin</i>	心理學	<i>shinrigaku</i>	psychology	<i>Concentration</i>
(論) <i>ron</i>	論法	<i>ronpo</i>	logic	<i>Premise</i>
(世) <i>se</i>	世態學	<i>setaigaku</i>	sociology	<i>Bigamy</i>
(生) <i>sei</i>	生物學	<i>seibutsugaku</i>	biology	<i>Tissue</i>
(數) <i>su</i>	數學	<i>sugaku</i>	mathematics	<i>Ratio</i>
(物) <i>butsu</i>	物理學	<i>butsurigaku</i>	physics	<i>Inertia</i>
(財) <i>zai</i>	理財學	<i>rizaigaku</i>	economics	<i>Currency</i>
(宗) <i>shu</i>	宗教	<i>shukyo</i>	religion	<i>Baptism</i>
(法) <i>ho</i>	法理學	<i>horigaku</i>	law	<i>Contract</i>
(政) <i>sei</i>	政理學	<i>seirigaku</i>	politics	<i>Administration</i>

Judging from the labels, among the non-philosophical terms, the three most numerous are terms in logic, economics, and biology. Main entries in these fields constitute 5.2%, 3.5%, and 2.6% of the main entries in *TJ1*, respectively.¹⁾

TJ1 has 1,562 main headwords and 390 indented headwords: 1,952 headwords in all (Hida 1980: table 1). A majority of them are English, but there are also several Latin, German, French, and Sanskrit words. Here is one example of each in the order above: *In esse*, *Begriff*, *Raisonnement*,

1) Some entries are given more than one field label, with different Japanese equivalents to be used in each field. In working out the percentages here, such entries are counted as belonging separately to each of the disciplines labeled for, but this fact is not reflected in the total number of entries. For example, *Analogue*, which is labeled (生) *sei* and (論) *ron*, is counted twice, once as a biological term, and once as a logical term, but constitutes one entry in the total number of entries. The same holds for the statistics in 4.2.1 and 4.3.2.

*Samadhi*¹⁾ (三昧 *zanmai*).

4.1.2. Presentation of headwords

As was usual at the time (See Kokawa *et al.* 1994: 89; Kokawa *et al.* 1996: 88), each headword is capitalized. When the headword consists of more than one word, only the first word is capitalized, though there are some exceptions, which are probably typographical errors. This system of capitalization remains the same throughout the three editions.

There are two types of headwords in *TJ1*: main headwords and indented headwords. Main headwords usually consist of one word. Indented headwords are compounds and phrases which contain the main headword, and these are indented one space. The same typeface is used for both types of headwords.

The general tendency is to list indented headwords in the form of “adjective + noun” under the noun as the main headword. For example, *Inseparable accident* appears indented after *Accident*. There are some exceptions: *Court of cassations* comes under *Cassation*, and *Absolute right* is listed under *Absolute*. The case of *Absolute right* seems to have been a mistake, however, for all the other compounds of “right” are placed under *Right*, and *Absolute right* itself is placed under *Right* in *TJ2* and *TJ3*.

When the indented headword takes a form such as “noun + ‘of’ + noun,” there seems to be no consistent principle for deciding where to enter it. Thus *Principle of contradiction* appears under *Principle* and *Theory of Evolution*²⁾ under *Evolution*. No cross references are given. This contrasts with the general practice today, which is to list phrases under the word which carries the most meaning in the phrase, and provide cross references where necessary.

When there is more than one indented headword under the same main headword, the indented headwords are placed in alphabetical order, without differentiating between compounds and phrases. For instance, the in-

1) “Sanskrit SAMĀDHI (‘total self-collectedness’), in Hindu and Buddhist religion and philosophy, the highest state of mental concentration that a person can achieve while still bound to the body and which unites him with the highest reality” (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s. v. samadhi).

2) Though not the first word of the entry, “evolution” is capitalized here.

dent headwords under *Principle* appear in the following order: *Fundamental principle*, *Principle of contradiction*, *Principle of identity*, *Principle of sufficient reason*, *Universal principle*.

Lastly, italics are used for non-English words, albeit in an inconsistent manner. For example, while *Non-sequitur* is italicized, *Modus* is not. Also, errors in alphabetization and spelling are occasionally found.

4.2. Headwords in *TJ2*

4.2.1. Choice of headwords

The types of words entered are not much different from *TJ1*. Only four entries from *TJ1* are omitted: *Angelogy*, *Choice*, *Precedent*, and *Presentative*. As in *TJ1*, non-philosophical terms are included, and the same field labels used. There is one instance of (理) *ri*, which is not used in *TJ1*, but this seems to be a mistake for (財) *zai*, which stands for 理財學 *risaigaku* (economics). The three most frequent labels are for logic, law, and economics. The percentages of main entries with these labels among all main entries are ‘logic’ 3.6%, ‘law’ 2.7%, ‘economics’ (including (理)) 2.6%. An increase in legal terms is observed compared to *TJ1*.

The headwords are mostly English, but a number of them are in other languages. As in *TJ1*, Latin, German, French, and Sanskrit terms are included. What is new is the introduction of Chinese terms such as *Y-king*¹⁾ (易經 *ekikyo*). Surprisingly, there is one apparently Japanese headword: *Senmin* is listed with the Japanese equivalent 仙人, which is pronounced *senmin* and means “hermit.” Apart from this, there are some words which we could not identify, such as *Kona*.

The number of headwords in *TJ2* is 2,197 for main headwords and 526 for indented headwords, the total being 2,723 (Hida 1980: table 1). This represents an increase of 40% over *TJ1*.

4.2.2. Presentation of headwords

The presentation of headwords in *TJ2* is roughly the same as in *TJ1*.

1) “(Chinese: ‘Classic of Changes’), an ancient Chinese text, one of the Five Classics (*Wu Ching*) of Confucianism” (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. I Ching). *Y-king* is spelled “I Ching” and “Yi Ching” in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Here only the differences will be mentioned.

First, whereas indented headwords in *TJ1* always contained the main headword, in *TJ2* some indented headwords contain not the main headword, but derivatives of that word. For example, *Negotiable paper* and *Quasi-negotiable* appear as indented headwords under the main headword *Negotiation*.

Secondly, a new principle is adopted in the organization of the indented headwords under *Law*. In *TJ1* they were put in alphabetical order, without making a distinction between compounds and phrases. In *TJ2* compounds and phrases are separately alphabetized, compounds appearing first, followed by phrases. However, this method is not followed consistently in the dictionary as a whole.

A third point of difference is that indented headwords are indented two spaces instead of one, making it easier to distinguish them from main headwords.

Lastly, the use of italics is more consistent than in *TJ1*. *Modus*, which was not italicized in *TJ1*, is italicized in *TJ2*. Also, most errors in alphabetization are corrected, though new errors appear, due to the addition of new entries.

(Sections 4.-4.2.2. by Shimazu)

4.3. Headwords in *TJ3*

As pointed out in its preface, *TJ3* is considered "a new 'Dictionary of Philosophical Terms'" rather than simply the third edition of the dictionary published almost three decades before. Innovative points are to be found in various aspects. The most innovative, however, may be the presentation of German and French synonyms next to English entries which also explains the title of *TJ3* (*Tetsugaku-jū*, English-, German-, French-Japanese). The various points which produce the uniqueness of this edition will be discussed in the following subsections.

4.3.1. Composition of headwords

According to Hida (1980), the number of main entries in *TJ3* is 6,548 (not including the supplement), which is almost three times as many as

appear in *TJ2*. The increase in number arises mainly from the inclusion of many German words into the entries. In fact, the number of German main entries in *TJ3* is 2,030, which constitutes about 50% of the main entries newly entered in *TJ3*. In contrast, the numbers of German entries in *TJ1* and *TJ2* are only 8 and 16 respectively. The German entries in *TJ3* are mainly technical terms in philosophy, and it seems reasonable to suppose that their inclusion is a result of the fact that Inoue played an important part in introducing German philosophy, especially the philosophy of Kant and Schopenhauer, to Japanese academia (see Hida 1980:4).

It should be noted, however, that not all the new main entries in *TJ3* consist of non-English words, as the following calculation shows. If we take the first half of *TJ2* and *TJ3*, i.e. from A to L, as sample pages, the numbers of main entries in *TJ2* and *TJ3* are 1,181 and 3,380 respectively. Assuming that all the main entries in *TJ2* are included in *TJ3*, we can calculate the number of newly entered main entries in *TJ3* by subtracting the number of main entries in *TJ2* from that of main entries in *TJ3*. The figure we thus obtain is 2,199¹⁾. If we count the number of words identifiable as English among the main entries new to the sample pages (i.e. from A to L) of *TJ3*, we find 805 newly entered English main entries.²⁾ If we then divide this number by the number of all the new main entries and then multiply the figure by 100, we find that the percentage of English main entries newly entered in *TJ3* is approximately 37%.³⁾ The remainder of the new main entries in *TJ3* are for words from such languages as Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and French. There are also entries whose origins we cannot identify, such as *Dschin* and *Endomusia*.

1) The subtraction is: $3,380 - 1,181 = 2,199$.

2) Identifying the number of English main entries was a rather laborious task, as it was sometimes difficult to decide which language a headword belonged to. Take the entry *Genre* as an example. We now regard this word as part of the English lexicon, but considering the fact that the indented entry is a French compound (*Genre généralissime*), we cannot deny the possibility that the editors of *TJ3* regarded the word *Genre* as French. We did not count such ambiguous entries as English entries.

3) The calculation is: $(805 \div 2,199) \times 100 \approx 37\%$.

4.3.2. Field labels in *TJ3*

The percentage of main entries with field labels to all the main entries is smaller in *TJ3* than in the previous two editions: about 7% in *TJ3* against approximately 21% and 18% in *TJ1* and *TJ2*. The type of field labels, however, varies more in *TJ3*, which has 39 types, compared with only 11 in *TJ1* and *TJ2*.

The way the field labels are given is rather inconsistent, since there are cases in which different labels are attached to entries which seem to belong to the same subject field. For example, there are 30 entries indicated as belonging to the field of economics, but three different field labels are used to show this: (財) *zai*, (理) *ri* and (経) *kei*. What makes the situation even more complicated is that these labels have two variants: (理財) *rizai* and (経済) *keizai*. These two variants can be considered as unabbreviated forms of either *zai* or *ri*.

We may classify the 39 field labels in *TJ3* into 22 categories: 'logic,' 'biology,' 'law,' 'economics,' 'politics,' 'sociology,' 'medicine,' 'rhetoric,' 'religion,' 'psychology,' 'psychiatry,' 'ethics,' 'linguistics,' 'physiology,' 'anatomy,' 'zoology,' 'mathematics,' 'physics,' 'chemistry,' 'anthropology,' 'philosophy' and 'aesthetics.' The labels which were newly introduced in *TJ3* are: 'medicine,' 'rhetoric,' 'psychiatry,' 'linguistics,' 'physiology,' 'anatomy,' 'zoology,' 'chemistry,' 'anthropology,' 'philosophy' and 'aesthetics.'

It is interesting that the entry *Energetik* carries the field label (哲) *tetsu* which indicates that the word is a technical term in philosophy, since it was explained in the preface of *TJ1* that *TJ* did not in principle attach any field labels to philosophical terms.

There is no explanation in the preface of *TJ3* of why so many new field labels were introduced. We can assume, however, that the editors' decision to enter a large number of new terms from various fields or disciplines necessitated the introduction of many new labels which did not appear in the previous two editions.

The three most frequent labels in *TJ3* are 'logic,' 'biology' and 'law.' The percentages of main entries with these labels to all the main entries are 'logic' 1.1%, 'biology' 0.9% and 'law' 0.7%. Thus we see that terms in logic

are entered in large numbers in all three editions.

4.3.3. Presentation of headwords

Main entries in *TJ3* are printed in boldface, while indented entries are in roman. German entries are conspicuous, since they are printed in Gothic.

Greek entries are unique in that they are printed in the Greek alphabet and listed under the English letter that seems to be regarded as corresponding to the Greek letter in question. For example, the Greek entries *Φρονησις* (thoughtfulness) and *Πιστις* (faith) are both listed under the English letter *P*.

Although Sanskrit entries are printed in the English alphabet, a transcription in Sanskrit letters is appended at the end of the definition. The main entry *Nirmanakaya* is a typical example:

Nirmanakaya. 化身、(Sans. निर्माणकाय).

It is noteworthy that *TJ3* lists all entries in a single alphabetical order without classifying them into the same language groups. We may suppose that this strict alphabetization made access to the headwords easier for the dictionary's users, as it enabled the user to look up words without knowing what language they belonged to. However, it may have been rather difficult to look up Greek words, since the editors nowhere explained the correspondence between the English alphabet and the Greek alphabet. How could users discover that the words starting with *Φ* and *Π* were both listed under the English letter *P*?¹⁾

4.3.4. Presentation of synonyms

As mentioned above (4.3.), quite a few main entries and indented entries in *TJ3* have their synonyms in other languages appended in parentheses. Synonyms in Latin and Greek are presented first followed by German and French. The order of Latin and Greek synonyms sometimes changes, as we can see in the following examples:

1) The headwords starting with the letters *Φ* and *Π* may have been listed under the letter *P* because the sound represented by the two Greek letters is similar to that represented by the English letter *P*.

Nomology (Lat. *nomos*, law; Gr. *νόμος*, aw [*sic*] and *λόος* [*sic*], science; Ger. *Gesetzeslehre*, *Nomologie*; Fr. *nomologie*.)

Opinion (Gr. *δόξα*; Lat. *opinio*, from *opinus*, thinking; Ger. *Meinung*, *Meinen*; Fr. *avis*, opinion.)

Synonyms in other European languages are sometimes provided as well. The main entry *Clear* serves as an example; Italian and Spanish synonyms are juxtaposed after French and German:

Clear (Fr. *clair*, Ger. *klar*, It. *chiaro*, Sp. *claro*.)

As already seen in the preceding examples, synonyms in the classical languages sometimes provide etymological information. Here is another example:

Philosophy (Gr. *φιλοσ*, lover, *σοφία*, wisdom; Ger. *Philosophie*; Fr. *philosophie*.)

Some non-English entries have English synonyms appended, as in the following:

Sollen (Eng. *oughtness*; Fr. *devoir*, ce que [*sic*] doit être.)

4.3.5. Relationship between main entries and indented entries

The relationship between main entries and indented entries is unique in that sometimes English main entries are followed by non-English indented entries. If we take the main entry *Metaphysics* as an example, two out of the four indented entries are not English but German. Another main entry, *Affect*, is an extreme case, since all the indented entries are German.

4.3.6. Cross references

A system of cross references is introduced in *TJ3*. For example, if we look up the headword *Feminism*, we find the instruction: *see* *Effeminacy*. The definition of the word is provided under the headword *Effeminacy*. However, the cross references are not always taken up. For instance, under the main entry *Arai* we find the instruction: *see* *Hakuseki*, but the word *Hakuseki* does not exist as a main entry, so users cannot obtain the information that *Hakuseki Arai* is the name of a Japanese scholar of Confucian-

ism in the Yedo period.

4.3.7. *TJ3* as a reference book

TJ3 serves not only as a lexicon of philosophical terms but also as a biographical dictionary and a dictionary of quotations.

Some names of people appear as main entries, mostly the names of philosophers, scholars, scientists and men of religion. Usually the surname is presented as the main entry, followed by the first name, the identity of the person, the years of birth and death and the transcription of the surname in Chinese characters. The following is an example:

Schopenhauer, Arther [*sic*]. German philosopher, b. 1788; d. 1860. 勺邊哈兒、

Chinese and Japanese scholars and theorists appear as well as Europeans. *Confucius*, for example, is given a main entry.

There is some inconsistency of presentation since whether a person's name, surname or full name is entered as a main entry varies from person to person. For instance, in the case of *Banzan* (Banzan Kumazawa, a Japanese economist and philosopher of the Yedo period) we find his first name as a main entry, while *Atsutane Hirata*, a Japanese scholar and Shintoist of the Yedo period, is entered under his full name with the surname first: *Hirata Atsutane*.

Latin quotations also appear as main entries in *TJ3*. They are arranged in alphabetical order among other entries, and the sources are sometimes made clear by appending the person's name at the end of the quotation. The quotations are translated into classical Chinese, in which intellectuals of the Meiji era were well versed. The following serve as examples:

Bene qui latuit, bene vixit, (Ovid). 隱而止住、則所以全生命也、
Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret. 自然者雖以力驅逐之而亦忽歸來、

The first quotation is from Ovid and the second is from Horace, though only the source of the first is indicated.

Sources are also given for some of the main entries that are technical terms coined by European philosophers or scientists. Examples of this are

Parousia (Plato) and *Sensiferous* (Huxley).

It is noteworthy that under the main entry *Category*, we find a 'table of categories' of Aristotle and Kant. We may say that, here, *TJ3* is not so much a mere lexicon of philosophical terms as a reference book with a wider range of information.

4.3.8. *TJ3* as a new dictionary

The primary purpose of publishing *TJ1* and *TJ2* was to settle the Japanese equivalents of technical terms which were introduced mainly from Europe. Although the purpose of compiling *TJ3* was almost the same as that of the previous two editions, we may say that *TJ3* made an attempt to provide its users with more encyclopedic information. This may be considered as another innovative feature that *TJ3* has in comparison with *TJ1* and *TJ2*.

(Sections 4.3.–4.3.8. by Takahashi)

5. Translation

5.1. Introduction

The dictionaries referred to in this section are shown below. Those with asterisks are mentioned or dealt with in the first or second installment of the present series.

- * *Eiwa-Taikyaku-Shuchin-Jisho* (ETSJ, 1862)
- * *English Chinese Dictionary* (ECD1, 1866–69)¹⁾
- * *Fuon-Sozu-Eiwa-Jii* (EJ1, 1873)
- Tetsugaku-Jii* (TJ1, 1881)
- * *Zoho-Teisei-Eiwa-Jii* (EJ2, 1882)
- Tetsugaku-Jii*, Revised and enlarged (TJ2, 1884)
- English Chinese Dictionary*, Revised and enlarged (ECD2, 1884)
- Ei-Doku-Futsu-Wa Tetsugaku-Jii* (TJ3, 1912)

Section 5.1. is a general introduction to translation in *TJ*. Section 5.2. is

1) There are several different versions of the *English Chinese Dictionary*. The one the writer referred to has two volumes, which is different from the ones Shin mentions (1994: 139–41). The main difference seems to lie not in the body but in the addenda, corrections and so on.

concerned with the translations in *TJ1*. Section 5.3. is concerned with presentation compared with that in modern English-Japanese dictionaries. Section 5.4. deals with the influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*, comparing their translations. Section 5.5. takes up the translations in *TJ2*, with reference to those in *EJ1* and *EJ2*, and to those in *ECD1* and *ECD2*. Section 5.6. deals concisely with the translations in *TJ3*.

5.1.1. The method of translation

The translation of technical terms in the early Meiji era, which was of great significance in the development of scholarly studies and has to be distinguished from that of general or common vocabulary, is said to have played a key role in the establishment of modern Japan. It should be kept in mind that there are three kinds of translation. The first is translation, usually in *wago* (words and phrases based on indigenous Japanese), in which the referent is (almost) the same in both Western languages and Japanese. The second is translation necessitated by the introduction of Western culture, which is usually expressed in *kango*. The third is transliteration, which had also been in use since the age of Dutch translation. The second kind had a profound effect on the system of modern Japanese vocabulary (cf. Kokawa *et al.* 1996: 99).

One way of providing equivalents was to adopt translations already used by Japanese translators of Dutch or in use since the Yedo period, though this was not generally done in *TJ*. Another was to borrow Chinese translations. Note that ". . . there was used an English Chinese dictionary compiled by foreigners in China, particularly the Christian missionaries. There were many Japanese equivalents in the glossaries coming from an English Chinese dictionary in the early 19th century . . . the English Chinese dictionary was used as a kind of media in translating English terminology into Japanese." (Sugimoto 1985: 33). Morioka (1991: 246–64) indicates the other ways. One of these was to revive or transfer the meaning of archaic or obsolete words in classical Chinese, the original meaning of which might be little known to many Japanese. Another way was to transform, that is, to reverse the order of or to abbreviate phrases. Yet another was to create or coin a translation. It is to be noted that all the ways mentioned except

the first use *kango*.

There must have been several points to consider when selecting suitable or exact equivalents: whether they conveyed the original or etymological meanings, whether they accorded with normal usage, and whether or not there was a possibility of confusion with other translations.

Various translations often coexisted. The publication of numerous technical-term dictionaries reflected the conscious effort toward unification or standardization under the sponsorship or support of the new government. *TJ* itself seems to have had not a little influence, especially in the field of the humanities.

5.1.2. Three principles of translation in *TJ*

Inoue writes in the preface of *TJ3*, “As the occidental philosophy was for the first time introduced into Japan not long after the Restoration, it has been very difficult for us to find *exact equivalents* [my emphasis] in our own language for the technical terms employed in it. One and the same term had sometimes been translated by various expressions which might be considered quite distinct in their signification by readers unacquainted with the originals. It was, therefore, very necessary to settle finally the Japanese equivalents of the European technical terms. This difficult task I undertook...publishing the result as a “Dictionary of Philosophical Terms” (哲學字彙) in 1881.” (It should be noted that 哲學 *tetsugaku* includes not only human and social sciences but also parts of natural or physical science.)

In former dictionaries, not all the translations given showed ‘exact equivalents.’ Translations were given in the form of one-to-one and/or multiple correspondences, often with explanatory phrases in *katakana*. It must have been difficult if not impossible for translators to put texts into Japanese without exact equivalents. In such circumstances it was quite natural for Inoue *et al.* to try to establish proper counterparts.

In the prefaces of *TJ1* and *TJ2*, three basic processes are explicitly men-

1) From what Morioka (1991: 78–81) notes, it can be said that the content of the preface in *ECD2* is the same as that in *TJ3*.

tioned in finding translations. The first is that certain translations already used by predecessors are adopted when judged to be suitable or exact. The second is that new translations were sought in the works of classical Chinese literature (and in some cases parts of the originals are shown). The third is that subject or field labels are often shown, though not consistently. The third technique is used in some of the definitions in *EJ* (cf. 5.4.5.2, footnote 1). The second technique of finding words in classical, not modern, Chinese seems to be a new way of translation (cf. 3.1.1).

5.1.3. *Kango* and translation

From the end of the Yedo period, English had come to take the place of Dutch. A good deal of Chinese literature including English-Chinese dictionaries was also imported. Thus, an English-Chinese book of 1864, *Elements of International Law* (万国公法), translated by an American missionary, was reprinted in Japan the following year. The new translation of *Botany* (植學 *shokugaku*) created in Japan was replaced by the Chinese translation 植物學 *shokubutsugaku*. These facts help us to realize the powerful influence of Chinese translations at this time. Although English-Chinese books on geography, politics, and economics, as well as medicine, were influential in this way, this is less true of such fields in the humanities as philosophy (Shin 1996: 85). This led some scholars and intellectuals to create new translations, some of which are seen in Amane Nishi’s works or in *TJ*.

TJ employs four methods of translation in *kango* (Morioka 1991:251–64): revival and/or transfer, transformation, borrowing (including transliteration), and coining. The first way, reviving archaic or obsolete words, is seen in *Absolute* (絶對), or *Metaphysics* (形而上學), the latter involving a transfer of meaning. It was not easy to find such expressions, so this method was rather unproductive and was possible only with technical terms. The second way, shortening original phrases and producing new words, is seen in *Category* (範疇). Borrowing, the most obvious way, is seen in *People* (人民) or *Induction* (歸納法). Transliteration is used in words like *Catholicism* (加特力教). Coining is seen in a word like 人格 *jinkaku* (Personality) (given not in *TJ1* or *TJ2* but in *TJ3*); this must have been partly done

in *TJ* by trial and error.

Even if translations do not convey exact original meanings, the gap between them can be filled, if not completely, by having one-to-one translational correspondences and explicit explanatory definitions. This is only possible, however, as long as denotation between the original and the translation is (almost) the same. Here it is important to recognize that such is not the case in most translations dealt with in *TJ*. In other words, the gap lies in denotation as well as connotation. For example, the translation of *Right* 權利 *kenri* can be traced back to the Chinese translation in *Elements of International Law* (Sato 1986:171–72 and Ishida 1976:94–96). The reprinted book was widely read and the translation came to be widely known. 權利 *kenri*, however, meant the right of a nation in international law, not the right of a person or people. In Chinese literature, 權 and 利 mean ‘power’ and ‘profit’ respectively. The translation 權利 *kenri* thus has the unfavorable connotation of ‘selfish seeking for profit.’ This led translators in Japan to produce other translations, such as 權理 *kenri*. *TJ* adopts 權利 *kenri* and the translation came to stay in the 1880s.¹⁾ It must be kept in mind that words composed of *kanji* (Chinese characters) employed in the translation of Western languages are inevitably used with denotations or connotations peculiar to Japanese culture or society. This makes it quite conceivable that an idea or notion in a Western language was not completely understood and that many translations of Chinese origin were thought of as ‘foreign,’ and that it therefore took some time before they came to be accepted or regarded as Japanese.

5.1.4. Amane Nishi's work and his influence on *TJ*

Amane Nishi, one of the greatest thinkers and scholars of the enlightenment in the early Meiji era, is said to have made a remarkable contribution to the making of modern Japanese. Morioka showed his outstanding contribution (1991: 138–59). Assembling more than 1,400 translations in Nishi's published works between 1866 and 1882, in which Nishi puts

1) The first dictionary in which the translation 權利 *kenri* is listed is *An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language*, Second edition (1879), edited by E. Satow and M. Ishibashi.

Japanese translations after English words or gives English words in *katakana* alongside Japanese translations, he compared Nishi's translations with those in nine dictionaries. He divided the dictionaries into two groups, those published before *EJ1* and those after *EJ2*. Compared with those in the former group, the dictionaries in the latter group contain more translations that correspond to Nishi's. *TJ1*, which he does not mention, shows a correspondence with 19 translations out of 24 in his list (*ibid.*: 140): *Definition* (定義), *Extension* (外延) and *Instinct* (本能) are examples.

Morioka also examined *EJ1* and *EJ2*, comparing their translations with Nishi's (*ibid.*: 139–43). A list is shown of 52 words in *EJ2* containing the same translations as those in Nishi's works. Of these, 50 have the same or nearly the same translations in *TJ1*: *Attention* [*sic*] (注意), *Attribute* (屬性) and *Emotion* (情緒), for instance. As Morioka admits, not all of the translations given can be said to be Nishi's coinages, but Nishi clearly had a powerful influence on translations in the early Meiji era. *TJ1*, which seems to have partly adopted Nishi's translations and which was published a year earlier than *EJ2*, had some influence on the latter; the influence will be examined in more detail later (5.4.).

In Sato's study (1992: 306–36) of translations in Nishi's unpublished (and later published) work 『百學連環』 *Hyakugaku-renkan* (Encyclopedia), a detailed analysis was made of 340 translations made up of two *kanji* out of 600 translations. 240 of them can be traced back to Japanese or Chinese literature. 50 were used as translations around the Meiji Restoration. 50 are supposed to be Nishi's own translations, first appearing in this work. Sato came to the conclusion that only two translations were adopted by *TJ1*: *Philosophy* (哲學) and *Proposition* (命題).

Morioka (*ibid.*: 147–48) also shows other translations by Nishi adopted in *TJ1* and still used in present-day Japanese. Three examples are: *Deduction* [*sic*] (演繹法), *Idea* (觀念), *Induction* (歸納法). His study (*ibid.*: 106–18) also shows the result of a survey of Nishi's 1877 translation of J.S. Mill's *Utilitarianism*. The number of translations amounts to more than 900. He shows what he thinks are Nishi's own translations. It is interesting to note that 11 translations out of 15 in his list are all given in *TJ1* and other English-Japanese dictionaries published later than *TJ1*: *Abstract* (抽

象), *Concrete* (具体), *Consciousness* (意識), *Dednction* [sic], *Duty* (義務), *Idea*, *Ideal* (理想), *Induction*, *Observation* (觀察), *Philosophy*, *Quality* (形質) (cf. Nagashima 1970: 124–26, 134–35, 145–46).

The above clearly demonstrates Amane Nishi's outstanding contribution to the translations not only in *TJ1* but also in other dictionaries in the early Meiji era, especially in the field of the humanities. This was possible partly because the translations are mainly limited to technical terms, which tend not to change easily, and partly because more appropriate technical translations did not exist. Modern Japanese vocabulary in the humanities owes much of what it is today to Meiji intellectuals like Amane Nishi.

5.1.5. Some problems in *TJ*

Many difficult translations are given after the headwords in *TJ1*. Here we refer again to Morioka's study (1991: 331–56). He made an analysis of the *kanji* used in *TJ2*, comparing them with other technical dictionaries on mathematics, physics, and mineralogy. A correspondence of one headword to one translation equivalent is usually found, though the average number of translations per headword is larger in *TJ2*. Translations usually consist of two characters, such as 哲學 *tetsugaku* (*Philosophy*). Morioka notes (*ibid.*: 334) that the number of translations done this way in philosophy exceeds those in other fields, as the subject contains much abstract or notional vocabulary. The flexibility of two-*kanji* combinations seems to have made it possible to produce a multiplicity of translations. It is also pointed out (*ibid.*: 345–47) that the field of philosophy (as well as that of mineralogy) uses more special or difficult *kanji* because there is more direct borrowing. It can be said that in the Meiji era more difficult or inappropriate *kanji* were used or introduced than strictly necessary. Borrowing words from Chinese literature or Chinese translations can nonetheless be considered a mixed blessing because, without it, it would have been virtually impossible to put ideas in Western languages into Japanese.

5.2. Translations in *TJ1*

The principles of translation are referred to above (5.1.2.). Here more examples are shown with reference to certain articles. Hida (1979: 227–28)

mentions that 63 translations show the original phrases or sentences from which they are taken: *Absolute* (絕對), *Concrete* (形而下), *Emancipation* (解脫), *Ethics* (倫理學), *Materialism* (唯物論), *Relativity* (相對), *Revolution* (革命) and *Trinity* (三位一體), for example.

In section 4, the labels of headwords are referred to (cf. 4.1.1.). Some examples with the three most frequent labels are given here. Those headwords with the label (論) *ron* (logic) include *Analogism* (推論), *Antecedent* (前項), *Conjunctive* (合接的), *Connotation* (含蓄), and *Copula* (連辭). Those with the label (生) *sei* (biology) include *Adaptation* (順應), *Assimilation* (同化), *Inheritance* (形質遺傳), *Integration* (結合), and *Survival of the fittest* (適種生存). Those with the label (財) *zai* (economics) include *Consumption* (消耗), *Currency* (通貨), *Debt* (負債), *Demand* (需用) and *Exportation* (輸出).

Translations still used today include *Capital* (資本), *Constitution* (憲法), *Contract* (契約), *Distribution* (分配), *Election* (選舉), and *Element* (元素). Translations not in common use today include *Denotation* (旨趣), *Essence* (運質), and *Fluctuation* (昂低).

Sato (1992: 362–96) extensively studied certain areas of translation in *TJ1*. He examined 132 translations labeled (財) *zai* (economics), (法) *ho* (law), (政) *sei* (politics), and (世) *sei* (sociology) and classified them into certain groups. 72 of them, such as *Commodity* (品物), *Interest* (利息) and *Trade* (貿易), can be traced back to classical Chinese or modern Chinese translations of foreign books. 29, including *Federalism* (聯邦主義), *Monogamy* (一夫一妻), and *Property* (所有物), are compounds containing two *kanji* which can be traced back to Chinese or Japanese literature. 31, such as *Monopoly* (專賣) and *Price* (物價), are of unknown origin. Comparing the translations with those in *ECD1* and *EJ1*, he says (*ibid.*: 387) that the number of translations corresponding with those in *EJ1*, such as *Diplomacy* (公使) and *Privilege* (特許), is about twice as large as those in *ECD1*, such as *Barter* (換易) and *Union* (情交).

He also studied the translations in D. Out of 174 translations (cf. *ibid.*: 387), 96, such as *Death* (死亡) and *Defective* (未完), can be traced back to Chinese literature. 37, such as *Deism* (自然神教) and *Discrimination* (辨別力), are two-*kanji* compounds from Chinese or Japanese literature. 41, such as *Derivation* (派生) and *Description* (平叙), are of unknown origin.

Comparing the translations in D with those in *ECD1* and *EJ1*, he says (*ibid.*: 395) that the number of correspondences between *TJ1* and *EJ1* is the larger.

The most important and impressive feature of *TJ1* is the technical or philosophical translations, which are usually still used today, both in the general language and in scholarly studies and discussion. Only some of them are quoted here from Nagashima (1970: 105–06): *Affirmation* (肯定), *Cause* (原因), *Characteristic* (特質), *Condition* (状態), *Contradiction* (矛盾), *Criterion* (標準), *Differentiation* (分化), *Equality* (平等), *Factor* (要素), *Idiosyncrasy* (特質), *Impression* (印象), *Influence* (影響), *Method* (方法), *Negation* (否定), *Object* (客観), *Phenomenon* (現象), *Possibility* (可能性), *Rational* (合理的), *Reason* (理性), *Standard* (標準), *Subject* (主観), *Theory* (理論), *Truth* (眞實) and *Validity* (妥當).

Hida (1980) gives a chronological table of certain dictionaries that contain the headword *Philosophy* and its translation. He comes to the conclusion that *TJ1* is the first dictionary to give the translation equivalent 哲學 *tetsugaku*, which was coined by Amane Nishi (cf. 5.1.4.). (Though it should be noted that another translation equivalent 理學 *rigaku* is also used in the translation of some of the indented headwords under *Philosophy*.)

These facts help us realize that *TJ1* played a significant role in the collection and standardization of technical-term translations in the humanities in the early Meiji era; not a few of the equivalents are still indispensable to writing and discussion.

(Sections 5.–5.2. by Dohi)

5.3. *Kango*-Oriented Equivalents in *TJ1* and *TJ2*

In this section, we will examine the presentation of translational equivalents of *TJ1* and *TJ2*, and compare them with other English-Japanese dictionaries.

First we might as well note that, apart from the increase in volume, no remarkable change can be pointed out in *TJ2* in terms of translational equivalents. Almost all the entries in *TJ1* and *TJ2* are limited to one line, in which the headword is followed by a few Japanese equivalents and in some cases the subject field label. There are also a few cases in which an explana-

tory sentence is added after the equivalent (or the subject field label).

What is prominent here is that every equivalent, label, and explanatory sentence is given in *kanji*; in the dictionary texts of *TJ1* or *TJ2* there is no *katakana*, which is frequently used along with *kanji* to present translational equivalents in *ETSJ* (see Kokawa *et al.* 1994) and *EJ* (see Kokawa *et al.* 1996). There seem to be two reasons for this. One is that *TJ* is of an academic character. In Japanese sentences, academic, and therefore lexicalized terms are written in *kanji*, and not in *kana*, which are typically used for particles. The same English word may be translated differently in style according to the context in which it is used. The following examples show that *ETSJ* provides for its entries many equivalents that are *wago*, or Japanese words having their origins in the time before the introduction of Chinese and partly written in *kana*, whereas *TJ* provides for the same lexemes only *kango*, or lexicalized Chinese words written in *kanji*:

Abbreviation, *s.* 短カメル。略スル。 (*ETSJ*)

Abbreviation 約言、減筆 (*TJ2*)

Ability, *s.* 威勢。巧ナル。届ク手立。 (*ETSJ*)

Ability 力量 (*TJ1*, *TJ2*)

Hayakawa (1994: 18–19) notes that the difference between the two¹⁾ should be taken to be a matter of translationality or insertability (both of which are Zgusta's (1984: 147) terms), that words of Japanese origin (*wago*) are explanatory while Chinese words (*kango*) are translational, i.e. tend to fit into the translational sentences directly, and that for this reason Chinese words and characters were overproduced after the Meiji Restoration in order to adopt Western culture rapidly.

Another reason for not using *kana* is that *TJ* almost exclusively contains nouns and adjectives. Today, Japanese nouns are usually written in *kanji*, and adjectives²⁾ often take the form of “noun + postpositional particle.” In *TJ*, all the translational equivalents are written in *kanji*. Postpositional

1) Hayakawa compares *ETSJ* and *EJ*, but this comparison holds true with *ETSJ* and *TJ*.

2) Strictly speaking, it is the Japanese equivalent of an English adjective that often takes the form of “noun + postpositional particle.”

particles should always be written in *kana*, but *TJ* omits all such particles, hence no *kana* in it. Examples below show the difference between equivalents in *TJ* and those in a modern English-Japanese dictionary, *NGEJ*.

Adequate	適当、十全、(<i>TJ1</i>)
adequate	十分な; 適当な... (<i>NGEJ</i>)
Almighty	全能 (<i>TJ1, TJ2</i>)
almighty	全能の... (<i>NGEJ</i>)
Explicative	解説的 (<i>TJ1, TJ2</i>)
explicative	説明[解説]的な. (<i>NGEJ</i>)
Real	真実 (<i>TJ1, TJ2</i>)
real	真実の... (<i>NGEJ</i>)

As is clear from these examples, *TJ* omits the Japanese particles な *na* and の *no*, which are added after nouns to transform them into adjectives, and which should not be omitted today.

The list of translational equivalents in *TJ1* (Hida 1979) shows that some entries have common equivalents. There are 2,437 different equivalents in all. Among them are 236 equivalents that are used for two headwords (including indented ones, but excluding foreign words other than English), 25 for three headwords, and 8 for four headwords (恭敬 *kyokei* for *Discretion, Respect, Reverence, Worship*, 原由 *gen'yu* for *Causality, Causation, Ground, Origin*, 旨趣 *shishu* for *Denotation, Import, Meaning, Significance*, 実体 *jittai* for *Entity, Reality, Substratum, Thing in itself*, 心理学 *shinrigaku* for *Mental philosophy, Mental science, Phrenies, Psychology*, 性癖 *seiheki* for *Disposition, Humour, Inclination, Propensity*, 不信 *fushin* for *Disbelief, Discredit, Distrust, Doubt*, and 模範 *mohan* for *Archetype, Pattern, Prototype, Type*). Out of the 2,412 equivalents, 269 are used for more than one entry. The result is that some entries have no other equivalent than the common ones. For example, 格言 *kakugen* is the only equivalent for both *Apophthegm* and *Maxim*, and 勢力 *seiryoku* and 元氣 *genki* are the only equivalents for *Energy* and *Force*. Thus, no distinction in meaning could be made between these English lexemes. Cases like these show how difficult it was at the beginning of the Meiji era to distinguish the meaning of related items. This seems problematic by modern standards, but because the main purpose of compiling *TJ* was to settle the Japanese equivalents of

philosophical and other technical terms, as Inoue noted in the preface of *TJ3*, it should not be taken to be a fatal defect of *TJ*. Some of the problems above could have been solved by the use of postpositional particles. For example, both the adjective *Grave* and the noun *Severity* have the common equivalent 嚴肅 *genshuku*, but had the equivalent of *Grave* been provided with a postpositional particle, they would have easily been distinguished.

Sato (1992: 362–96) examines which authority each word in *TJ* is based on and, mainly from the fact that roughly half of the entries are based on classical Chinese books and had already been used in Japan, he reaches the conclusion that the equivalents that had proper authorities were preferentially taken into the dictionary. This is only natural because *TJ* was designed to settle the Japanese equivalents.

Sato (*ibid.*) also discusses the relationship between *TJ* and contemporaneous English-Japanese dictionaries such as *ECD* (1866–69) and *EJ2* (1882). We will consider this in the following sections.

(Section 5.3. by Kanazashi)

5.4. Influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*

5.4.1. Overview

In this section we examine the influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*, focusing on translation equivalents.¹⁾ There are two main reasons for choosing *EJ2* from among the dictionaries of the time. One is that the first edition of *EJ*, published in 1873, is considered to be a “monumental work in the history of English-Japanese lexicography, in its size, page and book format as well as the style and content of its dictionary material,”²⁾ and that its popularity was such that a second edition, *EJ2*, was published in 1882 and a revised second edition in 1887. Another reason is that the second edition came out just one year after the publication of *TJ1*, so we can readily observe any possible direct influence from *TJ1*.³⁾

1) For similar analyses comparing *TJ1* and *EJ2*, see Nagashima (1970) and Morioka (1991).

2) Kokawa *et al.* (1994: 117)

3) For a more detailed discussion of *EJ* itself, see Kokawa *et al.* (1994).

5.4.2. The sample data

In order to examine on the influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*, we selected every fourth page of *TJ1* from page 1 onwards as sample material, and thus obtained about one quarter of the headwords, both main and indented. If the top headword of a sample page was indented, the unindented main headword on the previous page was included in the data; similarly, if the bottom entry extended to the following page, that too was taken into the analysis. In this way, we were able to examine 523 headwords altogether, including 133 indented headwords.¹⁾ As pointed out in 4.1.1, the total number of main headwords in *TJ1* is 1,562, and that of indented ones is 390. Thus our sample data covered about 25% of main headwords and about 34% of indented headwords. In terms of translation equivalents, *TJ1* includes 2,747 translations in all. Of these, 403 are listed under indented headwords. Our data covered 620 translations for main headwords, about 26% of the whole, and 139 for indented headwords, about 34%. The total number of translations we examined was thus 759 out of 2,747, about 28% of the whole.

5.4.3. Results

The result of our analysis is shown in Table 1. It is obvious from Table 1 that *TJ1* had a remarkable influence on *EJ2*. In terms of headwords, 74% (389 out of 523) contain translations which were introduced into *EJ2*. What is conspicuous here is that 92% (122 out of 133) of indented headwords in our sample contain translations adopted in *EJ2*, while the corresponding ratio for the main headwords is 68% (267 out of 390).²⁾ On the other hand, in terms of translations, 67% (512 out of 759) of translation equivalents in *TJ1* were newly introduced in *EJ2*. Here again, the ratio concerning adoption of indented headwords is higher than that of main headwords, thus 91% (127 out of 139) of *TJ1* translations in our sample are newly introduced in *EJ2*, while the figure for unindented main headwords

1) See Table 1 in the next subsection for more details of numerical matters.

2) The reason for this is quite simple: most of these indented headwords were themselves newly introduced in *EJ2*. The number of main headwords newly introduced in *EJ2* is rather lower, occupying only 5% of all the main headwords in our sample.

Table 1

	Main Headword	Indented Headword	Total
Headwords in <i>TJ1</i>	1,562	390	1,952
Headwords examined	390	133	523
Headwords containing translations adopted in <i>EJ2</i>	267	122	389
Translations in <i>TJ1</i>	2,344	403	2,747 ¹⁾
Translations examined	620	139	759
Translations adopted into <i>EJ2</i> from <i>TJ1</i>	385	127	512
Translations already appearing in <i>EJ1</i>	154	4	158

is 62% (385 out of 620).

It must be noted here that as many as 21% (158 out of 759) of *TJ1* translations in our sample had already appeared in *EJ1*, and that these translations remained in *EJ2*. If we take this into consideration, the ratio for the adoption of *TJ1* translations into *EJ2* will increase since these translations originating in *EJ1* are included in the numbers headed "Translations examined" in Table 1. Thus, the more precise ratios, which represent the amount of translations adopted in *EJ2* from *TJ1* and having nothing to do with *EJ1*, are 83% (385 out of 466) for main headwords, 94% (127 out of 135) for indented headwords, and 85% (512 out of 601) for the total headwords.

We are thus led to conclude that *TJ1* had a strong influence on *EJ2* in

1) When the term 全上, which means "the same as the above item," was given for the translation of a headword, it received the same count as the number of translation equivalents in the "above item."

It must also be noted here that the number represents the token of translations rather than the type. That is to say, if one type of translation is given for several headwords, it is counted for the number of headwords it represents. For example, 證據 *shoko* is presented for the headwords *Evidence*, *Proof*, and *Testimony* in *TJ1*, and in this case is counted three times.

terms of translation equivalents. However, a detailed examination of the manner in which *EJ2* adopted translations from *TJ1* reveals that the process of adoption was often rather rough and even careless, a matter that we will look at in detail in the following subsections.

5.4.4. Some evidences for sources

To begin our detailed discussion of the influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*, it will be worth presenting some evidence to illustrate the fact that the compilers of *EJ2* actually used *TJ1* in the course of their revision, for, as we will see in 5.4.5, it is not an easy task to prove whether or not the compilers directly copied items from *TJ1* as long as we consider only the sameness of translations between the two dictionaries. Thus, in this subsection, we will briefly look at cases which lead us to conclude that the compilers of *EJ2* did in fact make use of *TJ1* to enrich its translation vocabulary.

5.4.4.1. Errors

In our sample, we find one case in which *EJ2* lists a misspelled word which is also misspelled in *TJ1*. As a related phrasal expression under *Diffusion*, *Low of diffusion* is listed instead of *Law of diffusion*. The phrase itself, together with its translation 蔓衍法 *man'enho*, is not listed in *EJ1*, and may thus be reasonably considered to have been introduced from another source than *EJ1*. In fact, the same expression, with its first word spelled *Low* and accompanied by exactly the same translation, is already included in *TJ1* as an indented headword under *Diffusion*. This is the most obvious example in our data to illustrate the fact that the adoption of translations was often done in a careless manner.

5.4.4.2. Explanations in the Chinese language

Some translations in *TJ1* are followed by notes written in the Chinese language, known as *kanbun*. According to the preface to *TJ1* these *kanbun* notes were written by Inoue himself; thus, although the translation in question might be cited from the source mentioned in the *kanbun* note, the note itself is original to *TJ1*. If such notes are found in other publications, they must have been copied from *TJ1*. In our sample from *TJ1* 18 transla-

tions contain such notational supplements. Of these, one is not listed in *EJ2* since the headword itself is not contained in the dictionary, 6 are not introduced despite having corresponding headwords listed in the dictionary, while 11 others are listed in *EJ2* under the same headwords as *TJ1* though they do not appear in *EJ1*. Two of these 11 are also accompanied by the same Chinese explanation as in *TJ1*. For example, *TJ1* gives 全成教 *zenseikyo* for the headword *Perfectionism* and adds a supplementary Chinese explanation which goes “按、昔嘗禍患、人所自招、若夫終身翼々、順天理而無所違、則或可以達圓滿至極之域矣、” Although *EJ1* has its own explanatory definition for this headword, which goes “現世ニ正課ヲ得ト言フ説、” *EJ2* abandons the original and completely copies both *TJ1*'s translation and the Chinese explanation.

5.4.5. Difficulties in identification

In the previous subsection we saw some cases which present clear evidence of *EJ2* copying from *TJ1*. However, it is usually not easy to specify whether or not a translation in question is actually taken from *TJ1*, especially when no clues can be observed within the entry. We will look at three types of difficulties we faced in the course of identifying the source of translations among the three dictionaries.

5.4.5.1. Causation

The first type of difficulty is exemplified by the headword *Causation*. The history of its translations in *EJ1*, *TJ1*, and *EJ2* is shown below:

<i>Causation</i>	<i>EJ1</i> :	使ル _レ 、因テ起コル _レ
	<i>TJ1</i> :	全上 [that is to say, 原由、原做力、] ¹⁾
	<i>EJ2</i> :	使ル _レ 。然ラシムル _レ 。有ラシムル _レ 。因テ起ル _レ 。 原由。原做力

If we compare the translations only under the headword *Causation*, we will conclude that *EJ2* takes two *kango* terms, 原由 *gen'yu* and 原做力 *gensaryoku*, from *TJ1*. However, if we look also at derivatives of the headword we find that *EJ1* has already used the *kango* term 原由 for the translation of

1) The item above *Causation* in *TJ1* is *Causality*, for which the dictionary gives 原由 and 原做力 as translation equivalents.

Causality:

Causality EJ1: 由縁、原由、根本

To make matters more complicated, as mentioned in footnote 1, *TJ1* lists the word *Causality* with the translations 原由 and 原做力:

Causality TJ1: 原由、原做力、

Thus, since *EJ1* has already used 原由 under *Causality* and *TJ1* uses the same translation for the same headword, it is plausible to claim that *TJ1* cites the *kango* term from *EJ1*. Nevertheless, it is *TJ1* that uses the term for the translation of the headword *Causation* for the first time. However, for a reason we will discuss further in 5.4.6.1, namely, that translations for the derivatives of headwords in our sample from *EJ2* are not influenced by *TJ1* translations, we omit derivatives of headwords from consideration. Thus we would like to consider 原由 under *Causation* as being newly introduced in *EJ2*.

5.4.5.2. *Reformation*

The case of *Reformation* poses another type of problem:

Reformation EJ1: 改正スル、改化スル、教化スル、改革、回復
 TJ1: 改化(宗)、
 EJ2: 改正。改化。教化。改革。回復。改心

As is clear from the chronological comparison above, *EJ2* contains the translation 改化 *kaika*, which has already been used by *TJ1*. However, it is also reasonable to claim that the copyright of the term belongs to *EJ*, in that the first edition of the dictionary uses the term 改化スル *kaika-suru-koto*, the stem of which —改化— is introduced in *TJ1*. Furthermore, when we look at other translations for *Reformation* in *EJ1* and *EJ2*, we realize that there is a principle connecting terms in *EJ1* and *EJ2*: in each case, the *wago* suffix スル *suru-koto* in the first edition is dropped in the second. As we will see in 5.4.6.3, there are several cases indicating that *EJ2* tends to prefer *kango* terms over *wago* counterparts; *wago*-based translations are, in fact replaced with short *kango* terms in many places. It might then seem more reasonable to attribute the deletion of the suffix スル not to the translation

in *TJ1* but rather to the general tendency underlying *EJ2*. However, if we posit that the tendency itself in *EJ2* toward *kango* terms developed during the course of quoting translations from *TJ1*, we might conclude that the change from 改化スル to 改化 is due to influence from *TJ1*.¹⁾ We, at any rate, would like to consider 改化 as being cited from *TJ1*.

5.4.5.3. *Transposable two-letter kango term*

In the early Meiji era certain *kango* terms composed of two Chinese characters sometimes appeared with the characters transposed. It is claimed that such pairs have basically the same meaning.²⁾ In our sample, we find *Annihilation* translated as 滅絶 *metsu-zetsu* in *EJ1* and *EJ2* on the one hand, and as 絶滅 *zetsu-metsu* in *TJ1* on the other. There are six other such pairs in our data, and the history of their treatment in the three dictionaries differs as in Table 2.

In the case of *Fact* and *Shape*, *EJ2* inverts the original translations and, as a result, presents those already introduced in *TJ1*. On the other hand, as regards *Annihilation*, it is clear that the translation in *EJ2* is not influenced by that in *TJ1*, as the original translation 滅絶 remains. Concerning this headword, *EJ2* copies two other translations from *TJ1*, namely, 成空 *seiku* and 歸無 *kimu*, so it is plausible to claim that the compilers of *EJ2* made use of *TJ1*. They encountered the inverted term, but chose not to adopt it. Nevertheless, it is hard to judge whether or not these cases actually fall into the category which Matsui (1981) claims to be invertible.

1) It should be noted here, however, that the presence of the label (宗) in *TJ1* and its absence in *EJ2* for the term 改化 should not be taken into consideration in this case. Although we do not know the principle that determined which type of label is to be used in each situation, in *EJ2*, when the field of use of the term is specified, it is basically indicated by the parenthetical phrases (...ニ云) ... *ni-iu* or (...ノ語) ... *no-go*, in which the leader "... " stands for the name of a field. Thus, 漸化 *zenka* for *Variation* is labeled as (生物學ニ云) *seibutsugaku-ni-iu*, or 氏族割據 *shizokukakkyo* for *Gentile system* is followed by the label (世態學ノ語) *setaigaku-no-go*. However, of 54 translations in our sample where the field of use is labeled in *TJ1*, 15 examples are labeled by the (...ニ云) type and 17 by the (...ノ語) type in *EJ2*; the remaining 22 examples are left unlabeled even though these translations can reasonably be assumed to have been cited from *TJ1*.

2) See Matsui (1981) for a more detailed discussion of this topic.

Table 2

	<i>EJ1</i>	<i>TJ1</i>	<i>EJ2</i>
<i>Annihilation</i>	滅絶	絶滅	滅絶
<i>Fact</i>	実事	事实	事实
<i>Idiocy</i>	愚癡	痴愚	愚癡 / 痴愚
<i>Insanity</i>	癡狂	狂癡	癡狂 / 狂癡
<i>Law</i>	×	理法	法理
<i>Shape</i>	象形	形象	形象

Insanity and *Idiocy* are more complicated cases. *EJ2* gives 癡狂 *ten-kyo* as one of the Japanese equivalents for *Insanity*, and in this respect is not influenced by *TJ1*, as the latter uses the inverted form 狂癡 *kyo-ten*. However, *EJ2* gives 衝動狂癡 *shodo-kyo-ten* as a translation of *Impulsive insanity*, which is listed as a phrasal expression under *Insanity*. Since the expression and its translation have already appeared in *TJ1* but not in *EJ1*, it is clear that *EJ2* has copied them. The question is why the compilers should have used the order 癡狂 for the translation of the headword while adopting the reversed form for the sub-headword.

Idiocy has a similar history. In *EJ1*, 愚癡 *gu-chi* is given for the translation, and this term remains in *EJ2*. On the other hand, *TJ1* introduces 痴愚 *chi-gu* for the same headword. It should be noted here that the difference between 癡 *chi* and 痴 *chi* lies simply in the fact that the latter is a simplified version of the former. The problem is that *EJ2* has both 愚癡 and 痴愚 as translations for the same headword side by side. Is it because these pairs are considered identical that they are presented within a single entry, or is the case quite opposite? And we must consider another possibility that these cases are nothing more than consequences of the careless compilation.

5.4.6. Patterns of adoption

In this subsection, we will look at the ways in which new translations originating in *TJ1* are adopted by *EJ2*.

5.4.6.1. Derivatives

One characteristic aspect of the manner in which *EJ2* adopts translations already introduced in *TJ1* is that, basically, translations of related derivatives are not influenced by the adoption of new translational terms. As an example, we may list the treatment of the headword *Abstraction* among the three dictionaries:

Abstraction *EJ1*: 拔萃、抽除、沈思、虚心、省畧、奥妙
TJ1: 抽象力、虚凝(心)、
EJ2: 拔萃。抽除。沈思。虚心。省畧。奥妙。抽象力。虚凝(心理學ニ云)

As is obvious, *EJ2* copies the translations 抽象力 *chusho-ryoku* and 虚凝 *kyogi* in *TJ1* and adds them to the array of its own translations. When we focus on the term 抽象力 here, we see that its related translation 抽象 *chusho* is also introduced in *TJ1* under the related headword *Abstract*:

Abstract *TJ1*: 抽象、虚形、形而上、按易繫辭、形而上者謂之道、

We might at least expect that 抽象 would then appear as one of the translations for *Abstract* in *EJ2*. The term, however, does not appear there in any of the related entries:

Abstract (v.) *EJ1*: 拔萃スル、省約スル、減少スル、除去スル、抜出ス
EJ2: 拔萃スル。省約スル。減少スル。除キ去ル。抜出ス
Abstract (adj.) *EJ1*: 異リタル、深意ノ、抜出シタル、難解ノ
EJ2: 異ナレル。深意ノ。抜出シタル。難シ解キ
Abstract (n.) *EJ1*: 拔萃、摘要、畧言、簡約
EJ2: 拔萃。摘要。畧言。簡約

5.4.6.2. Parts of speech

Labels concerning parts of speech are not attached to headwords in *TJ1*. This may be a natural consequence of the fact that the headwords in this dictionary are mainly philosophical technical terms, which are usually nouns. Nevertheless, *TJ1* does contain several non-nominal headwords, and this leads to confusion. That is to say, since translations are all *kango*-

based and most of the time no formal clue is available, it is not an easy task to identify the parts of speech of a headword that may function as more than one part of speech. *EJ2*, on the other hand, is equipped with a systematic labeling of parts of speech, and no such confusion occurs. Furthermore, unlike *TJ1*, *EJ2* differentiates suffixes of translations in accordance with their parts of speech. Those translations which might be copied from *TJ1* also follow this principle. Thus, although, as we will see, most of the imported translations are in fact nouns and are adopted without formal modification, *EJ2* is undoubtedly less *kango*-oriented than *TJ1*.

5.4.6.2.1. Adjectives

In *EJ2*, when *kango* terms are used for the translation of adjective headwords, they are usually suffixed by inflectional particles written in *katakana* characters. The new vocabulary adopted from *TJ1* also observes this principle. In our sample, 18 adjectival headwords contain 26 translations adopted by *EJ2*, all of which, with just one exception, fall into two types in terms of the way they are suffixed. Of these 26, 15 are suffixed by *ノ no*, thus for *Mediate*, 間接ノ *kansetsu-no* is given in *EJ2*, while in *TJ1* the non-suffixed *kango* term 間接 *kansetsu* is used. One of the 15 is originally post-modified by the *kango* adjectival marker 的 *teki* in *TJ1*. That is to say, the translation presented in *TJ1* for the headword *Explicative* is 解説的 *kaisetsu-teki*, which comprises the nominal *kango* 解説 *kaisetsu* and the adjectival marker 的. In the course of adopting this new term, the compilers of *EJ2* replaced this *kango* marker with its *wago* counterpart to finally produce 解説ノ *kaisetsu-no*.¹⁾

The other major suffix used to modify the *kango* translations in *EJ2* is ナル *naru*. For example, 不安定 *fuantei* for *Instable* in *TJ1* becomes 不安定ナル *fuantei-naru* in *EJ2*. However, it is difficult to specify any difference between cases using *ノ* and those using ナル. The difference cannot be

1) Outside our sample, *TJ1* contains 29 other translations which end with this adjective marker 的. Of these, 8 are not adopted in *EJ2* because the headwords themselves are not included: 9 other translations are not adopted even though their corresponding headwords are listed. The remaining 12 translations are all adopted, and in all cases the *kango* adjective marker 的 is replaced by the *wago* counterpart *ノ*.

attributed to the headwords since the two types of suffix can coexist within an entry: under *Bad*, for example, we have both 不全ナル *fuzen-naru* and 凶邪ノ *kyoja-no*, and *Recondite* has 艱深ノ *kanshin-no* and 隱晦ナル *inkai-naru* as translations. The original *kango* terms also fail to provide us with a distinction: 多様 *tayo* becomes 多様ノ *tayo-no* in *EJ2*, but 多様ナル *tayo-naru* seems no less adequate than 多様ノ, at least from the perspective of contemporary Japanese. We have one exceptional headword in our sample, in which no suffix is added to the original *kango* term. The word is *One*. The original translation in *TJ1*, 一個 *ikko*, is adopted without any suffixation in the entry headed by *One*, which is labeled “a,” standing for “adjective.” However, *EJ2* explains that the word is “Used as a substitute for a noun,” so the translation 一個 might be said to represent the case in which the word is used nominally.

5.4.6.2.2. Verbs

There are two verbal headwords in our sample, *Elicit* and *Think*, the translations of which are copied in *EJ2*. In both cases, the original *kango* expression introduced in *TJ1* is suffixed by the verbal marker スル *suru*. Thus, 證明 *shomei* for *Elicit* becomes 證明スル *shomei-suru*, and 思惟 *shii* for *Think* becomes 思惟スル *shii-suru*.

5.4.6.2.3. Nouns

Unlike adjectives and verbs none of the nominal *kango* translations adopted in *EJ2* are modified, with one exception. The exception is the term 同一 *doitsu* headed by *Identity*, which is modified as 同一ナルノ *doitsu-naru-koto* in *EJ2*. The term is first suffixed by the adjectival marker ナル, then the whole compound is post-modified by the nominal marker ノ *koto*. However, again, it is not clear why this translation is the only one to receive such modification. If 同一ナルノ is to be preferred to 同一 as the translation of a noun ending with -ty, 相對 *sotai* for *Relativity*, which is also adopted from *TJ1*, might well have been suffixed as 相對ナルノ *sotai-naru-koto* rather than be simply copied. Furthermore, at least as far as nominal translations (presumably) copied from *TJ1* are concerned, *EJ2* shows a slight tendency to prefer *kango* expressions. Some of these cases have al-

ready been pointed out in 5.4.5.2. The case of 同一 obviously goes against this trend.

5.4.6.3. Replacement

In most cases, new translations adopted from *TJ1* are simply added to the original array of *EJ1* translations:

<i>Amphibology</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 兩意ノ説、不審ノ説
	<i>TJ1</i> : 汎意
	<i>EJ2</i> : 兩意ノ説。不審ノ説。汎意

Or *EJ2* may include some translations which are presumably cited from other sources than *TJ1*:

<i>Axiom</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 確論、不拔ノ論、格言
	<i>TJ1</i> : 單元(數)
	<i>EJ2</i> : 確論。不拔ノ論。不易ノ理。格言。公論。單元(數學ニ云)

In this case, the non-*TJ1* terms 不易ノ理 *fuekinori* and 公論 *koron* together with the *TJ1* term 單元 *tangen* are added to the original translational array of *EJ1*. The majority of the cases in our sample fall into one of these patterns. However, there are other cases in which one or several original translations in *EJ1* are replaced with *TJ1* translations which signify almost the same concept as those which are abandoned. The main principle behind such replacement seems to be a preference for *kango* terms.

Unlike *TJ1*, *EJ1* gives quite a few *wago*-based explanatory definitions: one example has already been given in 5.4.4.2. The important point here is that these explanations are not given in the form of notes to the translations, but as translations themselves. They are also written in simple Japanese. Given this, although it is true that *EJ1* introduced huge number of *kango* terms into its translational vocabulary, it is reasonable to say that the compilers were not at this stage completely inclined to what might be called the *kango* suprematism seen in *TJ1*. This is also supported by the fact that most of the *kango* terms in *EJ1* are accompanied by corresponding *wago* terms. On the other hand, in *EJ2*, this principle is abandoned, and there are only a few cases in which *wago* terms are listed with *kango* coun-

terparts. *EJ2* approaches *TJ1* in terms of its attitude toward translation.

In our sample, we find other cases indicating such a tendency: *wago* explanatory definitions are replaced with *kango* expressions already adopted by *TJ1*. The following historical list of translations for the headword *Interference* proves the point:

<i>Interference</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 居間、挿出ル、他人ノ事ニ渉ル、衝突ル、脚ト脚ト衝突ル
	<i>TJ1</i> : 阻礙、障礙、干涉主義(政)
	<i>EJ2</i> : 阻礙。障礙。干涉主義(政理學ニ云)。居間。挿嘴。衝突。脚ト脚トノ衝突

Here it is clear that three completely new forms — 阻礙 *sogai*, 障礙 *shogai*, and 干涉主義 *kansho-shugi* — are introduced in *EJ2* under the influence of *TJ1*, and one *wago* form, 他人ノ事ニ渉ル, is omitted. When we focus on the meaning of these items rather than their formal aspect, while 阻礙 and 障礙 do not seem to have corresponding translations in *EJ1*, we see that the concept of 他人ノ事ニ渉ル almost, if not completely, corresponds to that of 干涉主義, and it might be plausible to say that the third *wago* equivalent in *EJ1*, 他人ノ事ニ渉ル, is simply replaced by a *kango* equivalent 干涉主義. The translations for *Extradition* have a similar but more straightforward history:

<i>Extradition</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 逃入タル罪人ヲ交付ス (政府ヨリ政府ニ)
	<i>TJ1</i> : 亡命送還、
	<i>EJ2</i> : 亡命送還

In *EJ1*, the headword is presented with a *wago* explanatory definition 逃入タル罪人ヲ交付ス (政府ヨリ政府ニ). On the other hand, *TJ1* gives the *kango* term 亡命送還 *bomei-sokan*, which is simply adopted by *EJ2*. There is one case in our sample, where the original *wago* explanatory expression remains in *EJ2* while the *kango* counterpart to the expression is also imported from *TJ1*:

<i>Optimism</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 萬物人ヲ益スルト言フ説
	<i>TJ1</i> : 樂天教、
	<i>EJ2</i> : 樂天教 (萬物人ヲ益スルト言フ説)

This might be another piece of evidence for the claim that the tendency toward *kango* suprematism seen in *EJ2* is not as thoroughgoing as that in *TJ1*.

Some *wago* terms, which are relatively shorter than *wago* explanatory definitions, are also replaced with *kango* counterparts under the influence of *TJ1*. Several of these terms are concerned with religion:

Table 3

	<i>EJ1</i>	<i>EJ2</i>
<i>Gospel</i>	經典ノ名	福音書
<i>Schism</i>	宗派の區別	門派
<i>Theism</i>	唯一神ノ信仰	信神教
<i>Gnosticism</i>	全上ノ教 ¹⁾	諾斯土教

All these *kango* terms in *EJ2* have already been introduced in *TJ1*. We may add to this table the headword *Persecution*. The original *EJ1* translations for this word are 苦メル^レ *kurushimeru-koto*, 悩ス^レ *nayamasu-koto*, and 残酷ニスル^レ *zankokuni-suru-koto*. All three of these translations are abandoned in *EJ2*, and the *TJ1* term 害迫 *gaihaku* is introduced accompanied by a label, (宗教ノ語) *shukyo-no-go* [religious term].

(Section 5.4. by Osada)

5.5. Translations in *TJ2*

In the above section a comparison was made between *TJ1* and *EJ2*. Here the focus is on *TJ2*. *TJ2* enlarged the number of headwords and partly revised and added translations. This section is divided into two parts, the first being concerned with the new translations added to existing entries, and the second with the translations for new headwords.

1) As pointed out in footnote 1 of Table 1, 全上 means the same as the above item, and in this case it is the headword *Gnostic* that is referred to, for which 往古ノ理學者流ノ一 is given. Thus, the translation for the headword *Gnosticism* might be something like 往古ノ理學者流ノ一ノ教.

5.5.1. Translations added in *TJ2*

A brief survey was made of new translations for existing main headwords from A to G (51 pages out of 136), with the exception of those in Latin or German. As a result, 83 new translations in 70 headwords (out of more than 600) were found to have been added. It can be safely said that in *TJ2* only a few translations are revised and more new ones added. Some examples of the latter, which are still used in present-day Japanese, are given: *Barter* (交換), *Canon* (教會法), *Conservatism* (保守主義), *Consideration* (約因), and *Correlation* (相關). Other examples include *Action* (訴訟), *Analysis* (分析), and *Development* (發達) as well as *Botany* (植物學) mentioned below. Some examples of terms no longer used today are given: *Character* (資性), *Conclusion* (斷案), *Consanguinity* (同統), *Criticism* (鑑識). Some of the translations added are not given even in *TJ3*: *Abnegation* (不承當), *Adequate* (能當) and *Diversity* (參差), for example (cf. 5.6.).

The new translations in A to G were checked against *EJ1* and *EJ2*, *ECD1* and *ECD2*, and *ETSJ*. The following method is used: only translations with the same order of *kanji* in *TJ2* and the relevant dictionary are considered to be the same (cf. 5.4.5.3.). The table below shows the result. One example is given for each dictionary when possible.

<i>ETSJ</i>	0	
<i>EJ1</i>	0	
<i>EJ2</i>	7	(eg) <i>Botany</i> (植物學)
<i>EJ1&2</i>	3	(eg) <i>Affinity</i> (親和力)
<i>ECD1&2</i>	6	(eg) <i>Advancement</i> (進益)
<i>EJ1&2, ECD1&2</i>	2	(eg) <i>Alliance</i> (會盟)
None	65	

It should not be inferred from this table that, for instance, seven new translations in *TJ2* are all directly taken from *EJ2*. The translation of *Botany*, for example, is already found in the second and revised edition of *ETSJ* (1866) (Sugimoto 1985:487), or in Amane Nishi's 『百學連環』

Hyakugaku-renkan (Encyclopedia) (Sato 1992:305), which was based on a series of lectures given around 1870. It could be argued nonetheless that the great influence of *EJ* could not be ignored. The important fact is that the translation appeared in another dictionary or someone's work, and *TJ2* naturally followed the example.

The total of 18 is about a fifth of all the translations added, but it seems clear that the translations in *EJ* and *ECD* are part of what Inoue calls his predecessors' translations. What is more important, *TJ2* seems to have tried to provide more translations by collecting from other sources including English-Chinese dictionaries and partly revising, or by careful coining.

5.5.2. Translations of new headwords in *TJ2*

As in the above section, a brief survey was carried out of the translations for new headwords from A to G in *TJ2*. 242 headwords and 277 translations were found to have been added. In B and C, more than 50 translations are given under 38 new headwords. Translations still used today are: *Barbarian* (野蠻人), *Betrothal* (婚約), *Bill* (議案), *Biography* (傳記), *Chancellor* (大法官), *Commons* (平民), *Court* (裁判所), *Cumulation* (累積). Some examples of translations no longer in use are: *Blame* (規諫、非議), *Burlesque* (譏辭、笑言), *Contrast* (反對), *Culmination* (極期、頂嶺), *Cursory* (急卒、疎漏、忙速). Many of the translations in the latter group are, from the viewpoint of present-day usage, stilted or unsatisfactory, but it is nevertheless true that the *kango* used in the translation equivalents seem to explain the meaning rather accurately. This is at least partly because those involved in the undertaking were able to correctly read and understand the notion or idea in foreign languages.

All the new translations under the main headwords from A to G were examined as to whether they had already appeared in the other dictionaries cited. Below is shown the result. One example is shown when possible, except those given only in *ECD2*. (The number in parentheses is the number of translations found in *ETSJ*.)

<i>EJ1</i>	0	
<i>EJ2</i>	5	(eg) <i>Culmination</i> (極期)
<i>EJ1&2</i>	31 (4)	(eg) <i>Colony</i> (殖民)
<i>ECD1</i>	0	
<i>ECD2</i>	12 (1)	(eg) <i>Aborigines</i> (土蕃), <i>Brevity</i> (簡短), <i>Dejection</i> (失志), <i>Demi-god</i> (半神半人), <i>Emblem</i> (表記), <i>Fault</i> (差過)
<i>ECD1&2</i>	29 (3)	(eg) <i>Adult</i> (成丁)
<i>ECD1&2, EJ1</i>	1	(eg) <i>Abuse</i> (妄用)
<i>ECD1&2, EJ2</i>	5	(eg) <i>Adversity</i> (苦楚)
<i>ECD2, EJ1</i>	0	
<i>ECD2, EJ2</i>	1	(eg) <i>Accuser</i> (原告)
<i>ECD2, EJ1&2</i>	5	(eg) <i>Generous</i> (寬大)
<i>ECD1&2, EJ1&2</i>	15 (3)	(eg) <i>Guilt</i> (罪)
None	173 (8)	

Compared with the result in the above section, the total number (104) of translations in the other dictionaries is about six times larger. The number of translations found in *ECD1&2* and *ECD2* is the largest, which shows that some of the Chinese translations in *ECD* clearly had an influence on those in *TJ2*, as they were considered to be exact or near equivalents as technical terms. It is interesting that there should be some connection between *ECD2* and *TJ2*, both of which were edited or enlarged by Inoue himself. It is quite conceivable that Inoue used the same translations in certain headwords. Even when the number of translations given only in *EJ1* and *EJ2* is excluded, the total number related to *ECD1* and/or *ECD2* amounts to 68, which constitutes about one fourth of the total.

Admitting that not all of the translations come directly from the dictionaries cited, as in the case of *Botany* above, the table seems to show that (1) the *EJs*, which were considered to be of far more general use in their period, had some influence on the selection of translations in *TJ2*; (2) the

ECDs had a stronger influence on *TJ2* (cf. 5.2.); (3) *TJ2*, related to *ECD2* and edited by Inoue himself, tries to give or create far more translations not directly taken or borrowed from *ECD* and/or *EJ*, by studying other sources.

These facts also help us realize that the young editors of the *TJs* could not avoid the traditional way of selecting translations, that is, referring to various dictionaries (or related works), and very carefully selecting among and adapting the translations they found.

5.6. Translations in *TJ3*

TJ3, published 28 years later at the end of the Meiji era, contains a far larger number of new translations than its predecessors. *TJ3* is no longer only a dictionary of technical terms but has become a more encyclopedic reference book (cf. 4.3.7.).

In *TJ3* the modern translations of various words appear. Examples are *Æsthetics* (美學), *Association* (連想), *Being* (存在), *Classification* (分類), *Culture* (文化), *Destiny* (運命), *Experiment* (實驗), *Form* (形式), and *Future* (将来). Examples of adjectives still used today are *Material* (物質的), *Mechanical* (機械的), *Negative* (否定的), and *Systematic* (系統的). In some entries new translations are given as the first ones: *Ability* (才能) and *Eloquence* (雄辯), for example. But it is also true that more difficult translations are often given: *Difficult* and *Difficulty*, for example. The use of difficult *kanji* seems to have been given priority over the provision of more exact translations, a practice that we must regard as reprehensible.

The majority of translations, however, remain as before. This can be shown by a brief survey from A to G. *TJ3* still contains 53 headwords (out of 70) and 63 translations (out of 83) added in *TJ2*. *TJ3* also contains 173 new headwords out of 242 and 227 new translations out of 277 in the new headwords in *TJ2*. But it is also true that in some entries all the translations are replaced with new ones: *Abnormal* (違則的、異常的), *Achievement* (勤成、完功、功績), *Adhesion* (附着、固着、一致), *Apology* (辨護、辨解), for example. The number of headwords in which all the old translations are replaced with new ones is 81 out of more than 800. The number in the case of the new headwords in *TJ2* is 30 out of 81, which is surprisingly large.

Some examples are: *Abortive* (未熟發生), *Adoption* (養入、養取、採用), *Appropriation* (分置、専用). 69 new headwords in *TJ2* out of 242 do not contain the old translations. The facts that some of the 242 headwords are deleted in *TJ3* and that new translations are added to many headwords would seem to indicate the state of flux in the Meiji era.¹⁾

5.7. Overview of *TJ*

TJ was the first technical-term dictionary in the social and human sciences. As has been made clear above, it employed the orthodox method of translation in that many of the translations were directly borrowed or based on predecessors' works, including *ECD*, classical Chinese literature and some enlightened works of the early Meiji era. The authors' profound knowledge of *kango*, in addition to their ability to accurately read and understand philosophical terms in Western literature, made it possible to try to provide fixed translations, though it is true that some of the terms they had to deal with were beyond their understanding. Their work had a notable influence on modern Japanese vocabulary, especially on the vocabulary of the humanities.

English studies in Japan can not be said to have paid sufficient attention to the work, with the exception of the study by D. Nagashima (1970), and it was mainly dealt with in the field of Japanese linguistic studies. From the viewpoint of the establishment of technical-term translations in the humanities in the development of English-Japanese dictionaries, *TJ* is worthy of greater attention, examination, and critical appraisal.²⁾

(Sections 5.5.–5.7. by Dohi)

6. Conclusion

In the early part of the Meiji era, which lasted nearly half a century and

1) In *TJ3* more attention should have been paid to the translations of German headwords, because German philosophy was so eagerly studied in the Meiji era and it was only to be expected that its terminology would be translated in some way (cf. 4.3.1.).

2) The translation equivalents in the Meiji era are of great importance not only because they had a strong influence on the making of modern Japanese vocabulary but also because some of them have been taken into modern Chinese vocabulary (cf. Shin 1994).

was a time when the whole country set itself to catch up with the West, translation was of the utmost importance, and technical-term dictionaries played a significant role in unifying and standardizing equivalents for terms of foreign origin. *TJ*, which was first published in the 14th year of Meiji to try to meet such demands, had a far greater influence than other specialist dictionaries published at the time upon technical terms (especially in the humanities) as well as the more ordinary sector of the Japanese language, which was also recorded in *TJ*. It also exerted an influence upon other subsequent dictionaries, including *EJ2* (see 5.4.), while *TJ* itself drew upon the resources of preceding publications such as *ECD* and *EJ1* and of Chinese classical literature.

TJ was compiled by Tetsujiro Inoue and his friends and colleagues from Tokyo University. They all studied philosophy as introduced into our country by Amane Nishi, but their individual academic interests were so varied as to include political science, economics, law, psychology, history, theology, and other fields. They all had the privilege of studying in Europe and America and later became successful in their careers, which were mostly academic. This wide range of specializations, experience and expertise by the authors doubtless helped to bring about the success, authority and influence that their collaborative effort had.

TJ's translations are very much *kango*-oriented (Section 5), and it employed many special or difficult *kanji*, especially in its third edition, which may provoke criticism of it as a reference work. However, one might defend *TJ* by saying that, as the settlement of translation equivalents was the main purpose of the dictionary, language that had proper authority had to be given precedence.

The third edition of *TJ* has much more information on non-English terms and is far more encyclopedic than the preceding two editions (Section 4). This 1912 edition may be revisited in due course when we review the momentous dictionaries that were to appear later.

TJ was unique in that, although it was a special-field dictionary rather than a general lexicon, it had a great impact upon the late-19th-century development of Japanese language and lexicography. We would like to turn our attention to other major and influential dictionaries of that period

in the following installments of our historical project.

CITED DICTIONARIES AND THEIR ABBREVIATIONS

- ETSJ* *Eiwa-Taiyaku-Shuchin-fisho* (『英和对訳袖珍辞書』), 1st ed., Ed. by T. Hori *et al.* Yedo: Yosho Shirabesho, 1862
- ECD1* *English Chinese Dictionary, with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation* (『英華字典』), 2 Vols. Ed. by W. Lobscheid. Hong Kong: Daily Press, 1866-69.
- ECD2* *An English Chinese Dictionary*, Revised and enlarged (『増訂英華字典』), Ed. by W. Lobscheid, revised and enlarged by T. Inoue. Tokyo: J. Fujimoto, 1883-84. Reprinted ed. Tokyo: Yumani Shobo, 1995.
- EJ1* *Fuon-Sozu-Eiwa-Jii* (『附音挿圖英和字彙』), Ed. by M. Shibata and T. Koyasu. Yokohama: Nisshusha, 1873.
- EJ2* *Zoho-Teisei-Eiwa-Jii* (『増補訂正英和字彙』), Ed. by M. Shibata and T. Koyasu. Yokohama: Nisshusha, 1882.
- NGEJ* *The New Global English-Japanese Dictionary*. Tokyo: Sanseido, 1994.
- TJ1* *Tetsugaku-Jii* (『哲学字彙』), Ed. by T. Inoue *et al.* Tokyo: The Imperial University of Tokyo, 1881. Reprinted ed. Tokyo: Meichofukyukai, 1980.
- TJ2* *Tetsugaku-Jii*, Revised and enlarged (『改訂増補哲学字彙』), Ed. by T. Inoue and N. Ariga. Tokyo: Toyokan, 1884. Reprinted ed. Tokyo: Meichofukyukai, 1980.
- TJ3* *Ei-Doku-Futsu-Wa Tetsugaku-Jii: Dictionary of English, German, and French Philosophical Terms with Japanese Equivalents* (『英独仏和哲学字彙』), Ed. by T. Inoue, Y. Matora and R. Nakashima. Tokyo: The Maruzen Kabushiki-Kaisha, 1912. Reprinted ed. Tokyo: Maruzen Company Ltd., 1921. Reprinted ed. of the 1921 edition. Tokyo: Meichofukyukai, 1980.
- VP2* *The Vocabulary of Philosophy, Mental, Moral, and Metaphysical; with Quotations and References for the Use of Students*, 2nd ed. Ed. by William Fleming. London: Charles Griffin, 1858.
- VP3* *The Vocabulary of Philosophy, Mental, Moral, and Metaphysical; with Quotations and References for the Use of Students*, 3rd ed. Ed. by William Fleming, revised by Henry Calderwood. London: Charles Griffin, 1876.

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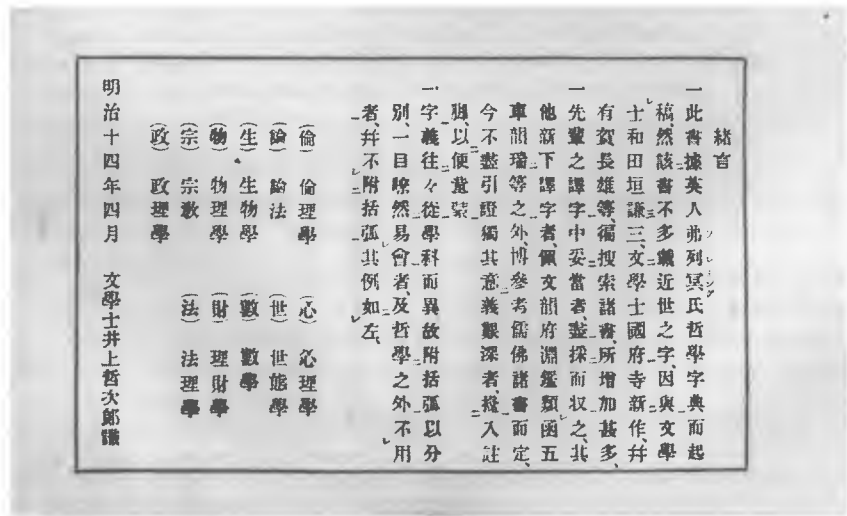
APPENDIX: Photographic reproductions of *TJ1*, *TJ2*, and *TJ3*

Reproduced here are a few pages from *TJ1*, *TJ2*, and *TJ3*, by courtesy of The University of Tokyo General Library (東京大学附属図書館, Hongo, Tokyo) for *TJ1* and *TJ2* and of Waseda University Library (早稲田大学中央図書館, Waseda, Tokyo) for *TJ3*.

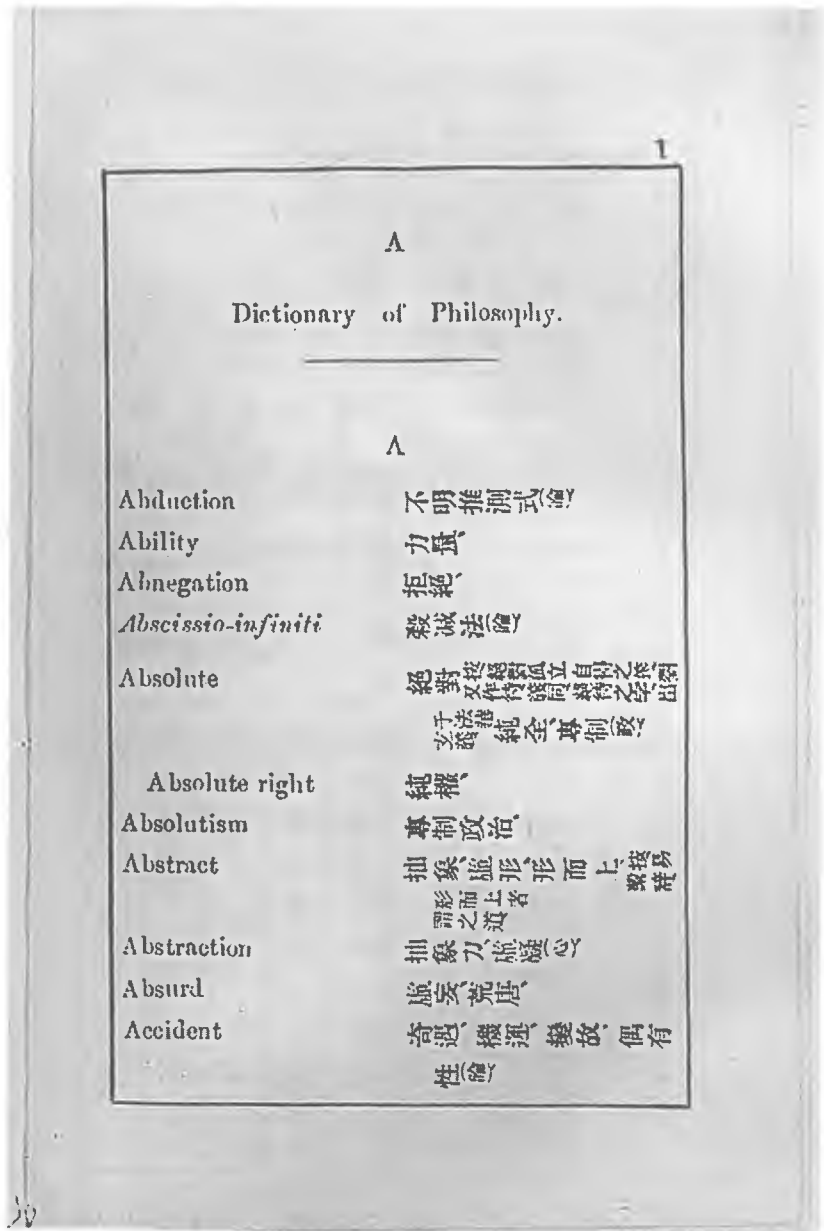
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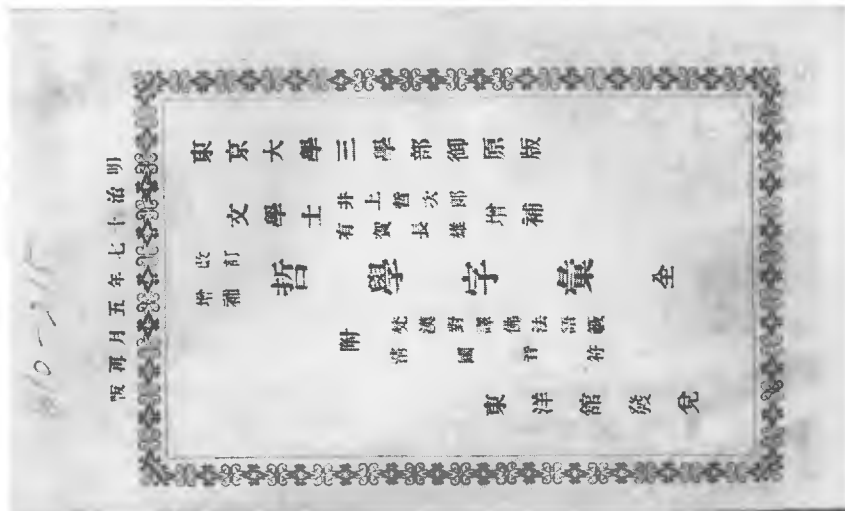
Photograph 1. Japanese title page, T/1



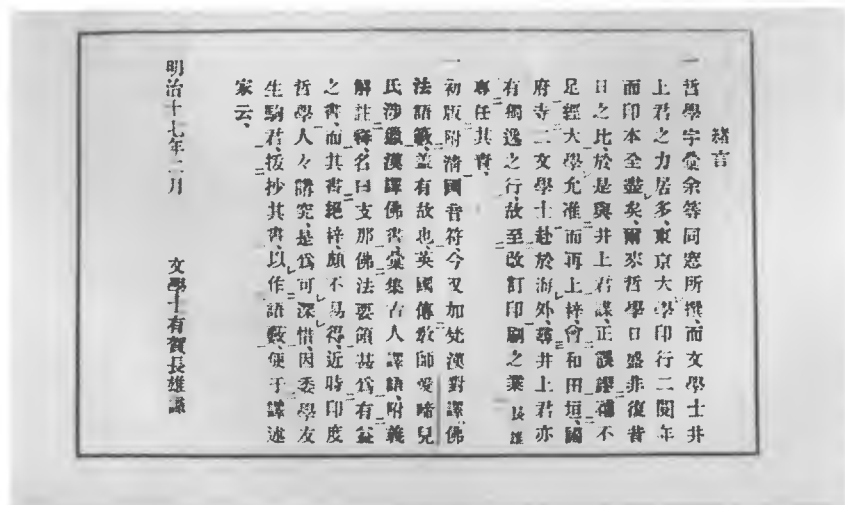
Photograph 2. Preface, T/1



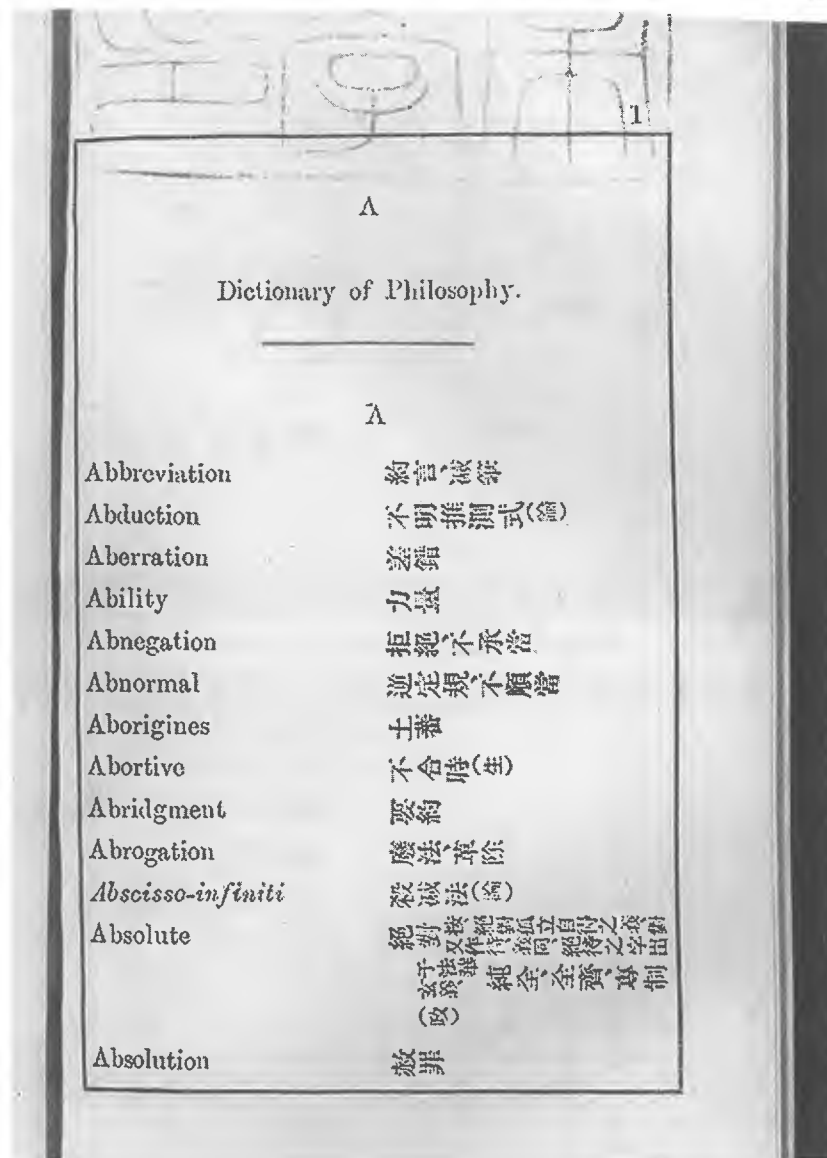
Photograph 3. Dictionary text of T/1, page 1



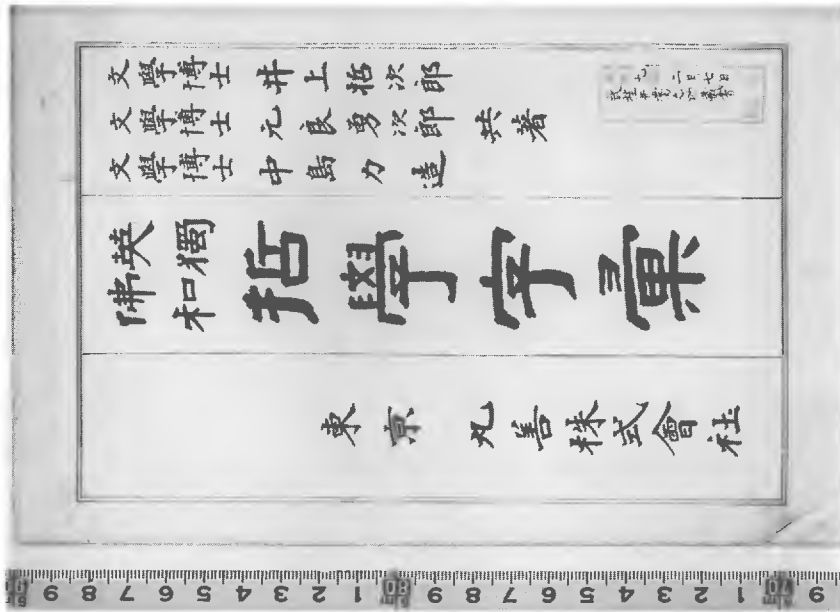
Photograph 4. Japanese title page, T/2



Photograph 5. Preface, T/2



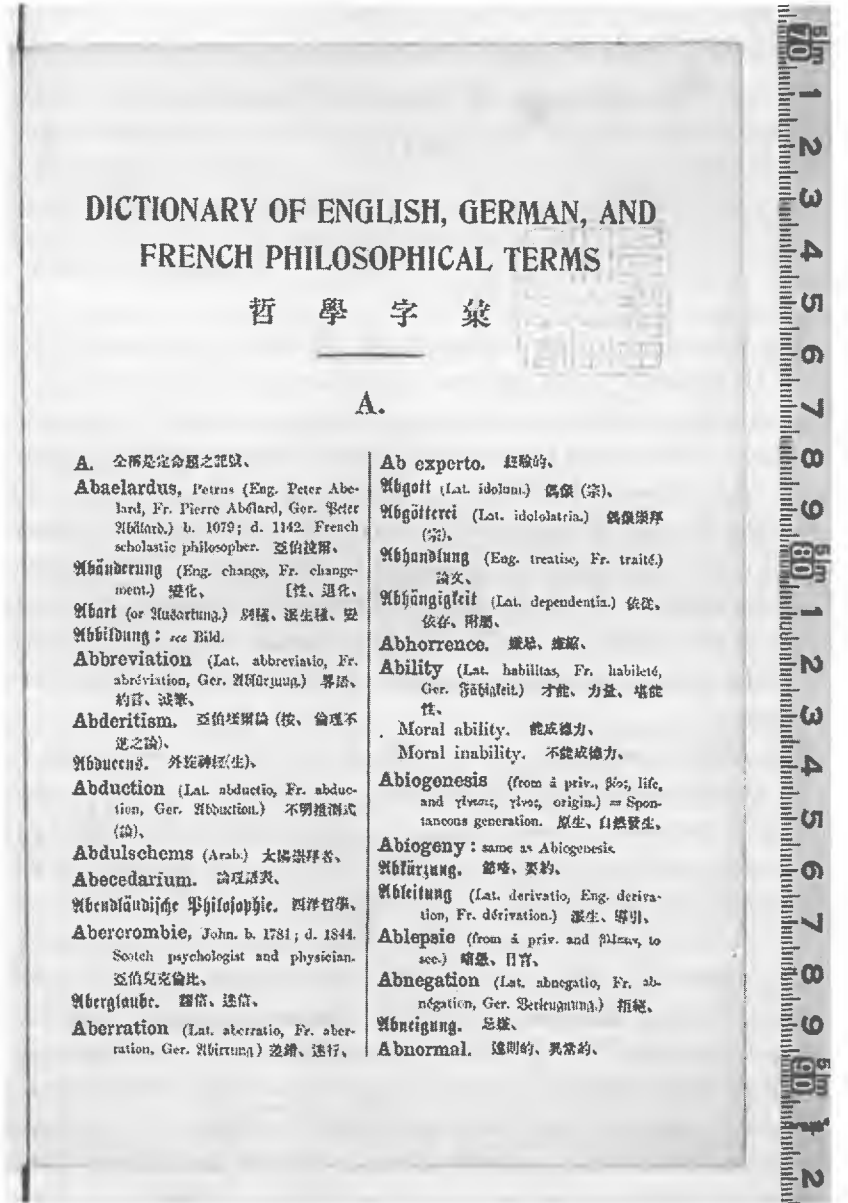
Photograph 6. Dictionary text of T/2, page 1



Photograph 7. Japanese title page, T/3



Photograph 8. English title page, T/3



Photograph 9. Dictionary text of T/3, page 1