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REVIEW ARTICLE

JOURNEY TOWARD THE WEST: AN ASIAN PROSODIC EMBASSY IN THE YEAR 1972

E BRUCE BROOKS
SMITH COLLEGE

[This article, the first draft of which was discussed at length with the late John Lyman Bishop, is dedicated to him in grateful memory of seven years' colleagueship and friendship.]

VERSIFICATION: MAJOR LANGUAGE TYPES edited by W. K. Wimsatt. New York: New York University Press, 1972. Pp. xxvii+252. $12.00.

ON the adequacy of this work as a comprehensive survey of its subject, it is sufficient to observe (as John Lotz partly does, in his preliminary essay, "Elements of Versification," p. 17) that the editor's conception of "major language type" does not include the Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian literary traditions, or any representative of the Scandinavian, African, Malayo-Polynesian, or American Indian language groups. Prosodists in search of a balanced sample of data as a source of possible parallels or as a basis for generalization will therefore need to look beyond the covers of the present volume, sixty percent of which cultivates the familiar ground within the ancient comparative-literature borders (English and Romance, with some Germanic, Slavic, and the Classics). For relative exotica, we have Charles Dunn's treatment of Celtic, Perry Yoder's essay on Biblical Hebrew, and John Lotz's contribution on three Uralic languages. The main symptom of the recent widening of the comparative horizon, however, is the inclusion and conspicuous placement of essays on Classical Chinese and on Japanese. Apart from any service these may see as reference manuals for specialists in the respective literatures, they have the important diplomatic function

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of representing their fields to an audience of comparatively-inclined scholars of Western literature. Despite considerable suavity on the merely poetic side, the general impression likely to be received is, prosodically speaking, that of two distinctly backward nations. This disappointing result can be attributed to several causes, chief of which is a certain undeniable backwardness in this branch of study. Factors tending to darken the picture even further are space limitations, reductive scholarly conventions, and a discernible lack of specifically prosodic passion on the part of the two ambassadors. In the interest of seeing what more might be done to hold up the Asian end of such conversations in the future, thus contributing to the eventual normalization of scholarly relations with the Europeanists, it may not be out of place to examine these aspects of the papers in some detail.

I. CLASSICAL CHINESE

Faced with a pages-per-century allotment of 0.6, one-tenth of that given to English (a relative of Frisian, reportedly spoken in Great Britain and its former colonies and as a trade jargon in various maritime countries), Hans H. Frankel has perforce limited himself, though not as much as a Europeanist might conclude from his title; besides the period of the Chinese Classics, he has included the mediaeval and early modern periods of the dominant literary tradition. Within this truncated time span he has not attempted a consecutive exposition, preferring to present the main points through a series of sample poems with commentary. Literary persons will appreciate the taste shown in the selection, and applaud the conspicuously scrupulous decision to give each poem in full (only the last, a specimen of the rhapsodic *fù*, is cut to a third of its original length). Professor Frankel has further felt, doubtless with the support of the cognoscenti, that the native genius is not fairly represented by anything of less than middle length. Finally, each poem is given not once but three times—in transcription, interlinear semantic glosses, and translation. All this is exemplary in intention (future compilers of *The Chinese Poem Itself* please note), but somewhat self-defeating in practice, since the five examples, thus fully presented, take up eight pages of the essay, leaving only eight more pages for the essay itself. Commentary on the scale which would fully utilize the lavishly presented data is excluded. Nor are the examples by themselves sufficient as a

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suggestive sequence, since anything like an evolutionary picture would seem to require twice as many documented stages. Bartlett Giametti's essay on Italian, for all its spacious 2.0 pages per century, still prefers to get by with brief illustrative excerpts, and similar frugality, however painful, was called for in the Chinese case.

The poem transcriptions are in Wade-Giles romanization with added tonemarks. Wade-Giles is a notoriously treacherous system for outsiders to pronounce, and Professor Frankel, knowing this, has suggested that the reader turn to Shau Wing Chan's *Concise English-Chinese Dictionary* (2nd edition, 1955) for help. The advice is likely to be only slightly less frustrating than the romanization, however, since at some points Chan's explanations tend to justify the orthography rather than describe the sound. Thus, to a reader attempting to work out the first line of the poem on page 29, the glosses on final spellings *-iao* (as "e" and "ow" in "the owl"), *-ua* (as "oo" and "a" in "too ardent"), and *-ien* (as "e" and "en" in "the end") imply disyllables, yielding a line which seems in some sense to contain ten syllables rather than the seven with which Professor Frankel operates (quite correctly, as it happens) in his discussion. A considerate author will not play this kind of game with an intelligent readership, and it may be set up as a general principle that a spelling-system which cannot be explained in a five-line footnote is inappropriate for wide-audience situations like the present one.[1]

The added tonemarks, on the pronunciation of which Professor Frankel gives instruction in his introductory remarks (p. 22), though not the first representation of tones in scholarly work, are nonetheless a welcome reinforcement of a minority tradition, and in this respect an advance over earlier works like James J. Y. Liu's *The Art of Chinese*

[1] The needs of the specialist reader, defined as one who needs to be reminded rather than informed of the pronunciation of a word, are much more easily met. For general audiences, however, as well as for informational purposes within the profession, it would be convenient to be able to cite phonetic forms according to some simple convention that would be uniform for Chinese and Japanese in their major dialects and historical stages. My own citations (as against quotations) in this paper constitute one suggestion in the direction of such a system.

Major conventions are: consonants as in American English with a superposed slash / for voiced stops; semiconsonants *-y-* *-w-* always written. Vowels *a e i o u* as in Italian; *ə* "up," *æ* "at," *r* 之, *z* 子, *yw* 于; second mora of long vowels written =. Tones: *ā* level, *á* rising, *à* falling; doubled for low register. Pitch: ⌈high⌉, ⌊low⌋.

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Poetry (1962), where tones are discussed but not routinely displayed. The New York University Press printers, who made a difficult business of the musical notes on page 2, have not risen to this occasion either (the enforced double-spacing in poem texts on pages 26, 27, and 29, for example, suggests stanzaic divisions which Professor Frankel certainly did not intend), thus demonstrating once again that Wade-Giles is inhospitable to tonemarks unless all its original vowel diacritics are removed. Loss of diacritics would complicate any statement of pronunciation rules, and destroy the distinctiveness of vowel *-ü*, for which a new spelling convention would be required, but it would yield an easily printable (if not compactly describable) convention for representing the sound of a text as pronounced in current Pekingese. It turns out, however, by some lamentable oversight on the part of all concerned, that none of the sample poems comes within eight hundred years of having been written originally in current Pekingese, which is thus a singularly unfortunate medium in which to present them for prosodic analysis. Here again Professor Frankel has recognized the existence of a problem, and has moved in the direction of a solution by adding parenthesized *-p*, *-t*, or *-k* to syllables that have lost these sounds in modern northern dialects. The restoration, like any unfamiliar tool, is not without its hazards in practice: *fù(k)* 復 (p. 26, line 6), being the adverb "again" rather than the verb "return," is better off without its *-k*, which moreover is needed by *yù* 欲 (line 3). The main result of the phonetic sharpening is that the old entering tone can be recognized, and the principles of tonal scansion illustrated, from the transcription. There are some useful secondary benefits; thus, without the (*k*), an internal-rhyme effect might have been suspected in such a line as *i(k) lù hsī lién* . . . (p. 29, line 6); with it, the error is prevented. To note this, however, is to call attention to numerous points where the prosodically experienced reader is still left with false impressions of the sound-relationships of the original. Many of these relationships could have been better represented, particularly in their consonantal aspects, by further restoration of easily available, non-controversial phonetic detail. To take a few examples from page 29, such a reader is likely to seize upon *t'- . . . t'-* (line 1; revise, in my spelling, to *d- . . . t-*) and miss *tz'- ch'-* (line 3; should be *z- dz-* paralleling the unvoiced homorganic pair *j- sh-* in line 4), or strain out *-n -n -n -n* (line 5; properly *-m -n -n -m*)

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and swallow *y-/w-* (second syllables in lines 1 and 2; read *ngy-/ngw-*), or see something significant in the choice of rhymewords with almost exclusively palatal initials: *ch- ch'- ch'- p'- sh-* (actually *g- ǰ- ʤ- ʧ- sh-*, a quite well-distributed set). On the tonal side also, the transcription might significantly unify things for the reader by adopting a single tonemark for all words in the newly visible entering tone (an arbitrary one if necessary; I shall suggest a non-arbitrary value below), as well as in the old level tone, whose clear (*yáng* 陽) and dark (*yīn* 陰) allotones, phonemically independent in some modern dialects, were mentioned with more quaintness than accuracy as "male" and "female" on page 22. Migrations of words with old voiced-stop initials from the "rising" to the "going" tone should also be reversed, *shìh* (p. 24, line 8) becoming, in my spelling, *shř*, and *chèn* (p. 29, line 5) becoming *jăm*, though Professor Frankel's *shăng* (line 4), being the locative postposition "on top of" rather than the verb "rise," should be *shàng*, at whatever cost to the promising internal rhyme with the preceding *chăng* (my *jăng*). In all these cases the anachronistic Pekingese tones have negative utility for the present readership, and mark a step backward from the discussion in Liu's *Art of Chinese Poetry* (p. 21), which is based on the standard eighth-century system. No doubt the typical foreign-trained specialist (even more than his native counterpart, who is helped by a wider dialect consciousness) tends to view premodern texts through a Pekingese veil, dimly, but there is no need to impose the same disability on the innocent scholarly bystander. Something should also be done about the seemingly significant ABAAB pattern of *-ing* and *-eng* rhymewords on page 29, which appears to challenge the statement (p. 30) that the first and all even lines rhyme together in this type of poem. The historically plausible substitution of *-yang* for *-ing* (assuming respelling of *-eng* as *-ang*) will show the nature of the affinity. This, and analogous adjustments elsewhere, would be a defensible stopgap for the conscientious literary specialist who has neither the good fortune to believe in currently available reconstructions nor the leisure to excogitate better ones. The result is admittedly undercontrastive for the eighth century, but this was already true of virtually all the Pekingese finals, a situation that called for a caveat in the vicinity of page 23.

A more fundamental problem in transcription, and one which invalidates both Professor Frankel's original gesture and many of these

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supplementary suggestions, arises from the self-evident fact that the five poems, scattered as they are across nearly two millennia, are in not one but five different varieties of non-Pekingese, each requiring separate compensatory handling. Even the restoration of *-p -t -k* fails in a sense at both ends of the series, the irregular word 不 being cited both from a time (p. 24, line 20) before it had developed its final *-t*[2] and from a time (p. 32, line 6) after final *-t* and *-k* had begun to weaken to glottal stop.[3] It may be noticed in passing that the loss of *-t* and *-k* (and presumably in time also *-p*) does not destroy the distinctiveness of the entering-tone syllables when it occurs between 1000 and 1200 (contrary to Professor Frankel's statement on p. 23), since the glottal stop continues to distinguish them from the corresponding open syllables until it vanishes in turn, several centuries later. No one, of course, expects Professor Frankel to restore five different lost languages in the course of preparing a sixteen-page article, but the implications for Sinologists as a group seem clear enough. Wyndham Lewis does not cite Villon, nor Helen Waddell Abelard, even for their respective general audiences, in the French of Baudelaire; and Thomas Cole's citation on page 79 of the present volume is in the Latin of Horace (uncertain though the fine points of pronunciation may still remain) rather than in the Italian of d'Annunzio. One imagines that the Sinologists will not cut much of a figure in such sophisticated company until they bestir themselves sufficiently to make equally precise treatment available not as an exceptional stunt but as a matter of normal routine. Of Professor Frankel individually, one might suggest only that he could have taken on a larger share of the necessary bestirring by adding to his weaponry more of the safe phonetic facts already available to him, since it is only by using what we have, and showing how far it falls short of what we need, that we are likely to increase the supply of the sort of information which will eventually make it a safe world for the chroniclers of poetry.

Turning from the transcriptions to other aspects of the presentation

[2] Apparently through analogic leveling with other negatives; see Tien-yi Li, ed., *Selected Works of George A. Kennedy* (New Haven, 1964), pp. 125–129.

[3] See Chyín Gwàn's own poems to the melody-pattern *Pǐn lìng* 品令, which show rhyming, albeit probably dialectal, between original *-t* and *-k* syllables. With Northern Sùng writers generally, this pattern shows an affinity for substandard diction and rhyming; the obscure name *Pǐn lìng* may itself be dialectal.

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of data, we come to the glosses and translations, which may usefully be considered together. The glosses serve the main purpose of permitting the reader to observe the grammar of lines, and thus the parallel structure of many couplets. As such they are a useful aid, and might well have been employed in some of the other articles (there is a hint of analogous procedure in the piece on Biblical Hebrew, where again parallelism is of great moment). Within the extreme space-limitations imposed by typography, the elements have on the whole been identified sufficiently for the purpose in hand. Among the exceptions are the phrase 鼓瑟 (p. 24, line 20), which should probably be rendered in the obvious way as "strum your zithern" (VO); Professor Frankel's surprising coordinate-verb (VV) gloss "drum pluck" may have been prompted by the idea of a parallel with the coordinate-noun or head-head (HH) pair "wine food" in the preceding line. Another arguable gloss is "decay" for *ywěn* 宛 (line 7). This rests ultimately on the Máu commentary 死貌, upheld by Karlgren (Gloss ※290) on the basis of the variant 苑, which in a *Hwái-nándž* passage means "wither" (cognate with "bend," the central semantic notion in *ywěn*). Karlgren thus translates "you wither and die," whence, with a sidelong glance at Waley,[4] Professor Frankel's final version "when you wither and die." The trouble with this is syntactic; it makes coordinate verbs (VV) of "wither" and "die," an analysis not suggested by the original line 115A7: 宛其死矣. The thirty-two lines in the *Classic of Poetry* on the pattern □其□矣 do not all suggest the same grammatical structure, but in none of the others does Karlgren translate in a way that implies a coordinate-verb (VV) relationship between the words in first and third syllabic position. His versions[5] fall into four syntactic types, which can be illustrated by 35D1 "coming to where it (the water) is deep" (VO), 170D1 "the things are plentiful" (SV), 214B2 "ample are the yellow ones" (VS), and 264G2 "it is really (ample =) widespread" (adverb plus verb, BV). The precedent for VV is thus not overwhelming, and I agree with Dobson[6] that BV feels right in the present case, though to his equivalent

[4] Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (2nd ed.; reprinted New York, 1960) ※191, "When you are dead." This "when" is not a rendering of *ywěn*, but of Waley's proposed emendation 云; see his *Textual Notes* (London, 1937), p. 21.

[5] Cited from Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm, 1950).

[6] W. A. C. H. Dobson, *The Language of the Book of Songs* (Toronto, 1968), p. 167.

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"clearly" I prefer Jàng Sywǽn's suggestion "abruptly" (坐見貌, ap. 129A8).[7] Though not found as a meaning of *ywǽn* outside of 115A7 and 129A8 themselves, "abruptly" is, *pace* Karlgren, a philologically responsible gloss, relating via "sudden change of direction" to the central concept "bend." Idiomatic treatment may require different equivalents in the two cases, perhaps "all of a sudden he is in the middle of the stream" (129A8) and "before you know it you will die" (115A7). For interlinear purposes the latter nuance may be compactly suggested by "soon."

A lapse of great theoretical importance occurs with the first syllables of the text on page 29, *t'iáo* ("lofty") *yáo* ("high"), for which phonetic amelioration has been proposed above. The glosses suggest a synonym array, reversed in the translation as "high and lofty." In fact neither syllable exists as an independent word, and no responsible dictionary[8] defines them as such; they occur only as phonetic fractions of an interconnected set of affective expressions ranging from the simple reduplicative form 岩岩 to the less simple (dissimilative?) present item 岩嶢. These expressions are a well-recognized if not yet well-understood type in Chinese; disyllabic names of plants and animals are a seemingly related type. George Kennedy has called attention to the general situation in a series of papers,[9] observing that words of this sort significantly limit the sense in which early Chinese can be described as monosyllabic. The truth seems to be that Chinese is no more monosyllabic than the English represented by such words as "above" (morphemically reducible to meaningful monosyllabic components; compare Chinese 以上) or "zigzag" (where some reduplicative principle is clearly at work). If English possessed a monosyllabic writing convention, the resultant linguistic psychology might

[7] The old colloquial expression 坐見 is called "curious" by Karlgren (Gloss ※290), who paraphrases it as "passive, inert"; it was correctly understood by Legge (*Chinese Classics*, III, 177) as "anything happening without warning or excitement." The several *Wán sywǽn* glosses of the first element *dzwõ* as 無故 attest a similar sense of "unconditioned, unexpected, sudden"; *dzwõ* in such uses does not mean simply "to sit."

[8] See for instance *Tsź hăi* (Chinese) or Morohashi's *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (Japanese); Western-language bilingual dictionaries such as those of Giles, Mathews, and Couvreur are not unwilling to define these elements in isolation.

[9] The most important of these are "The Monosyllabic Myth" (1951), "The Fate of Chinese Pictographs" (1954), "The Butterfly Case" (1955), and "A Note on Ode 220" (1959), all reprinted in *Selected Works*.

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well lead to dictionary entries like *zig* "a bend to the left" and *zag* "a bend to the right." As things are, the *OED* treatment of "zigzag" as the outcome of a symbolic process rather than a compound of pre-existing entities is a useful precedent for *ḍyāu-yāu*, which should be joined or hyphenated in transcription. If one desires a meaning-gloss of equally obscure origin, in which, however, reduplication appears to play a part, "gigantic" lies in more or less the right semantic direction.

Other cases where the glosses betray a too rigidly applied monosyllabic perception are:

矣 (p. 24, line 7, "have"). An enclitic sentence-particle implying changed aspect; for verbal auxiliary "have" see rather below.

鴻雁 (p. 26, line 1, "wild-swans wild-geese"). The elements are independently attested but here refer to a single species; the translation has simply "the wild geese."

萬餘 (p. 26, line 3, "myriad more"). The second element means "more than" and is enclitic on the first; the meaning is "more than a myriad," reduced in the translation to a simple "myriad."

征夫 (p. 26, line 11, "campaigning man"). Of the wholly analogous compound 水夫, Sapir notes[10] that "we may as well frankly write *shui-fu* as a single word, the meaning of the compound as a whole being as divergent from the precise etymological values of its component elements as that of our English word *typewriter* from the merely combined values of *type* and *writer*." The present case is adequately covered by "campaigner," though (with an etymological gesture toward 征**鳥** "migratory bird," and the development of the bird image in the first six lines of the poem) "sojourner" also has its attractions.

不 (p. 29, line 2, "not"). An infix in the resultative verb **削**成, in which context it expresses the negative potential "cannot"; the translation has correctly "could not." The same usage appears at page 33, line 13.

楊柳 (p. 32, line 1, "salix willows"). Individually attested, but here simply "willows," as in the translation.

悠悠 (p. 32, line 9, "long long"). Another process-morpheme, requiring hyphenated transcription and integral translation.

Unexceptionable though most of the interlinear tags are, Professor Frankel has perpetuated a serious misconception by referring to them as "literal translations" (p. 23), a usage that takes its place in an ancient tradition of Sinological confession literature. As a sample of

[10] Edward Sapir, *Language* (New York, 1921), undated Harvest Books reprint, pp. 64–65.

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the error underlying this conception of translation, we may consider page 23, line 1:

mountain has prickly-elms

This rather stark sequence of English words, if offered as a translation, implies and confuses two incompatible objectives. The first and more ambitious of these is to suggest the mental process of the reader in gradually arriving at the meaning of the text. This process, to greatly simplify a complex matter, seems to be essentially one of bringing the specific context to bear on the range of possibilities latent in each word-element. Thus the English word *quick* can be glossed by "rapid" if the context mentions speed or slowness, by "intelligent" in reference to mental ability, by "alive" if coordinated with *dead*, by "liquid" if compounded with *-silver*, by "pregnant" if followed by *with child*, and by capitalization if the syntax suggests a surname. Before one has inspected the context, and eliminated inapplicable possibilities, all that can be done for the word at large is to list the range of possible meanings or functions together with the contextual criteria for distinguishing among them in an actual sentence. Such a listing can easily be very extensive, and a rigorous one is probably beyond the capabilities of current linguistic science, but the following sample entries for the elements of the above sentence 山有樞 will suggest the possibilities that lie in this direction:

山 1a "mountain, [burial] mound, fastness," S [if followed by appropriate intransitive verb V_3]

1b ditto, preverbal[11] adverb B [if followed by appropriate transitive verb V_2 or verb of motion]

1c ditto, topic[12] T [if followed by expressed or contextually continued subject S]

[11] The adjective "preverbal" here is not redundant; I also recognize a set of postverbal adverbs (or specifiers, F) which characteristically express such modifications as duration, intensity, degree, place to or from which, agent of passive voice, and basis of comparison. I hope to publish in due course a study of the relation between B (preverbal) and F (postverbal) adverbs in *Mencius*.

[12] By the term "topic" I understand a noun-phrase near the beginning of a sentence which establishes the universe of discourse for the following verb and its grammatical subject (expressed or implied). The topic function frequently accommodates a displaced grammatical object, as in "what one does not like, let him not do it to others" (*Analects* 15:23).

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1d "mountain," head of noun-phrase H [if followed by locative L, as 中 "in" or 陰 "on the dark (= north) side of"]
1e "mountainous > jagged, wild," qualifier Q [if followed by H]
1f surname [if followed by title or plausible personal-name]

有 2a "has," transitive verb V_2 [if preceded by person-noun as S and followed by object O]
2b "there-are," V_2 [if preceded by place-noun as B and followed by O]
2c "govern," V_2 [if followed by administrative unit as O]
2d "has," finite auxiliary Y [if followed by V other than 無]
2e "and," juncture J [if preceded and followed by numerals]
2f name-element [if associated with terms of appropriate cultural value]

樞 3a "pivot, axis," N [semantic tests]
3b "prickly-elm," N [ditto]
3c star name, N [ditto]
3d "important," qualifier Q [if followed by head H]
3e surname [if followed by plausible title or personal name]
3f name-element [if associated with terms of appropriate cultural value]

Note that options 2e (*yòu*) and 3b (*ōu*) involve distinctive pronunciations, a reminder that the text cannot, strictly speaking, be transcribed phonetically until it has been understood. (The phonetic values are given in the linguistically normal spoken form of the utterance, and much of the complexity of the sorting-process in reading written texts comes from the necessity of reconstituting these signals, and the information they convey, from the less syntactically and prosodically differentiated script.)

Any experienced reader can extend the above-listed options, and refine the stated differentiating criteria, but even thus highly compressed they are still bulky enough to refute the idea of a gloss which is both semantically neutral and sufficiently compact to be printed together with the original text itself, in advance of final determination of the correct meaning of the construct. This, for all practical purposes, disposes of the first objective.

The reading process itself, which in real life may occupy microseconds or lead to philological deliberations that may extend over centuries, can be experienced in miniature by performing the indicated cross-checking operations. Thus, to be retained as a real option, 1a requires that the next element shall be susceptible of interpretation as an intransitive verb V_3, but V_3 is not among the options listed for the second element. In the same way, 1d is eliminated since 有 cannot be a locative L. Eventually, making use of rules not fully stated in the

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definitions, all integral possibilities for the line may be eliminated except 1b-2b-3b "[on-the]-mountain there-are prickly-elms" and 1f-2f-3f [surname-name], of which the former is confirmed both by comparison with the parallel line 2 and by consideration of the nature-image rhetorical praxis in the text as a whole. The reaching of a conclusion about the meaning of the line brings us to the second possible objective for the string of English tags, which is the more modest one of simply recording the meaning discovered. When the objective is defined in this way, however, it will readily be seen that nothing is to be gained by attempting to reflect the multiplicity of options present at the outset of the reading process. On the contrary, precision is the only appropriate virtue once the process is concluded, and indeed the only criterion that preserves "literal translation" as a worthwhile scholarly objective. "Mountain has prickly-elms," then, fails through being too precise for a neutral gloss, and not precise enough to convey the actual meaning: "mountain" could be anything from 1a through 1e, and "has" could be 2a or 2d (though not, unfortunately, the correct 2b). There are various ways that the missing meanings (mostly syntactic, in the case of "mountain") could be represented, including the use of helping words ("on-the-mountain there-are prickly-elms") or grammatical symbols (mountain$_B$ there-are$_V$ prickly-elms$_O$"). Notice that the quite literal former version is, save for hyphens, identical with Professor Frankel's final (miscalled "freer") translation. It would seem, on general principles, that one correct translation obviates the need for a second, and it is impossible not to be aware in the present cramped context that elimination of the second versions of the five poems would save three full pages of badly needed space.

Some lines will present greater difficulties if the elements of the text are to be identified in their original order. In the version "mountain$_B$ there-are$_V$ prickly-elms$_O$" it is not necessary to mark "prickly-elms" as an object (or even "there-are" as a verb) since the English-syntax reflexes of the reader already supply that expectation. In less fortunate cases, where the reader's assumptions run counter to the text's syntactic relations, some method for identifying or rearranging the original elements becomes necessary. In preference to the function-subscripts used above, which require the reader to be instructed in what eventually becomes a rather elaborate code, the

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practical translator may prefer Paul Carus's resequencing subscript numbers (reminiscent of Japanese *kaeriten*),[13] used in conjunction with helping-words which contain any meaning conveyed in the original by relational rather than strictly morphemic means. Thus we might have "the-passes$_2$ north-of$_1$" (p. 26, line 1, HL) and "one's-old home$_2$ how can$_1$ be-forgotten" (p. 27, line 20, where the interrogative requires inversion in English). The coordinate-noun construction (HH) might be signaled by a slash as "bells/drums" or by a helping-word as "bells and-drums" (p. 24, line 13), and coordinate adverbs by judicious use of comparable English discontinuous morphemes, as in "both . . . and . . ." (pp. 24–25, lines 21/22). That Professor Frankel is aware of both the meaning-nuances involved and the reorderings necessary to express them in English is shown by the fact that in all the examples above (except the second, where an unjustified active-voice verb has crept in) the suggested readings, minus hyphens and with transpositions carried out, appear verbatim in his final translation. The reason for not projecting these perceptions back to the previous stage was, perhaps, the all-too-human one of not wanting to spoil the poetic effect of the final version by revealing its felicities too early. Some such motive may be behind the red-herring gloss "has" for "there-are" mentioned above (compare the more straightforward treatment at page 26, line 7, gloss "there-is," translation "there is"), or the gratuitous detour from 戎馬 by way of "martial horse" back to the correct "war horse" (p. 27, line 13; when "martial" is the exact English analogue for the meaning of the original it ought to, and on p. 29, line 3, commendably does, appear in both versions). Whether in this mild form or the more offensive one sometimes encountered, in which the hapless Chinese language is made to seem utterly incompetent to convey the simplest connected meaning without the constant intervention of the godlike and omniscient translator, these zigzags do less than justice to the texts. Future embassies to relatively civilized areas would undoubtedly do better to dispense with them.

So much for the mechanisms of the presentation of data. The strictly prosodic information in the article includes some items of

[13] See for instance his *T'ai-Shang Kan-Ying P'ien* (La Salle, Illinois, 1906; reprinted 1950), pp. 8–10 (note the collaboration of "Mr. Teitaro Suzuki" on the grammatical side), with examples on pp. 13, 39, 43, etc.

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interest, but also a few inaccuracies and considerable hesitation between elucidating the features of the specific example and summarizing those common to the type. The commentary as a whole frequently stops short of the point at which the seemingly arbitrary details would become meaningful in terms of the nature of the language, the overall development of the literary tradition, or the specific expressive purpose of the poet. My comments, following, are in the order of the original statements or lack of statements, and are limited to points not already made in the preceding remarks.

Enjambement (p. 23) is not infrequent between the members of a non-parallel couplet, and becomes a definitely characteristic option for the final couplet of the strict eight-line poem, where it serves to emphasize the contrast with the parallel and thus endstopped lines in the middle of the poem.[14] No definition of "syllable" is given, and no mention is made of stress differences between syllables. These omissions in turn preclude notice of the prosodically interesting fact that *fú(t)* 弗, page 24, though acoustically monosyllabic, is a compound form, being a contraction of the negative prefix 不 (which had no final *-t* in the ancient period in question) and a syntactically transposed, weakly stressed object-pronoun 之 (whose original dental initial is reflected in the *-t* of the contraction). By no means all (p. 25) of the pieces in the *Classic of Poetry* are divided into stanzas. On the other hand, many of the ones that are have a more than "nearly" (p. 25) identical metrical structure. The apparent stanzaic form of the sample poem (pp. 23–25) can be represented by the formula 33444444 33444444 33454444, in which each digit shows the number of syllables in the corresponding line of the poem, underlining indicates rhyme, and the superscript marks a repeated refrain line. Kennedy's 1939 paper "Metrical 'Irregularity' in the *Shih ching*" (*Selected Works*, pp. 10–26) argued, to begin with, that such features as the pairs of three-syllable lines here should be seen not as departures from the four-syllable texture of the rest of each stanza (or of the collection at large) but rather as regular in terms of the overall form: a feature is regular if it is present at corresponding positions in all comparable stanzas in the same poem. In this view, the only metrical irregularity

[14] The difference in density and rhetorical function has also been noticed at p. 52 of Tsu-lin Mei and Yu-kung Kao, "Tu Fu's 'Autumn Meditations': An Exercise in Linguistic Criticism," *HJAS* 28(1968).44–80.

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in the above formula is the five-syllable line in the third stanza, which corresponds to four-syllable lines in the two preceding (and otherwise metrically identical) stanzas. At pages 16–26 of the same paper, Kennedy convincingly demonstrates that the three-syllable idiom 如之何 has a weakly stressed middle syllable, and frequently counts as two rather than three metrical pulses, thus serving to regularize a number of seemingly irregular five-syllable lines. This precedent might well lead one to examine the line in question, 115c4: 何不日鼓瑟, for possibilities of metrical compression into four syllables. In another paper,[15] Kennedy notes that, nine times in *Mencius*, "何 and a following 不 fuse into a single syllable and are represented by a single graph 盍." The original labial initial of the negative appears reduced to final *-p* in the contracted form, much as with the *-t* of 弗, above. It is reasonable to conjecture that the weakening process that led to a monosyllabic contraction by the time of *Mencius* may well have been underway a few centuries earlier (though not yet sufficiently advanced to be reflected in the orthography of the *Classic of Poetry*), and that line 115c4, and with it the entire poem, are therefore to be regarded as metrically regular.

On the rhymes of the *Classic*, we are told (p. 26) only that they are "varied and fairly intricate at times." A little detail would be welcome, such as the elaborate XABACCDXD XBABCCEXE rhyme scheme[16] of Poem ※184 (nonrhymes symbolized by X). On the definition of rhyme itself, Kennedy's 1954 paper "Tone in Archaic Chinese" (*Selected Works*, pp. 135–150) speculated that, with correction of some cases of irregular tonal development, it would be found that rhyme in the *Classic* embodies tonal as well as segmental identity. No adjustments other than the combining of tones *ā* and *á*, recommended above, are needed to reveal that such is true of Professor Frankel's example. Kennedy's program has never been carried out on the whole *Classic*, but the clearly visible tendency toward tonal rhymes constitutes an important link with later practice.

[15] "Word-Classes in Classical Chinese" (1954). In the following quotation (from *Selected Works*, p. 428) characters have been substituted for the historical romanization and "xx" of the published text.

[16] The last X in the first stanza (石), not marked as a rhyme by Karlgren in *The Book of Odes*, is given as a D rhyme by both Dwàn Yù-tsâi (cited in Legge's notes) and Jyāng Yŏu-gàu 江有誥, *Shī-jyīng yùn-dòu* 詩經韻讀 (1814; reprinted 1957) 2.12v–13r. I follow Karlgren on the basis of the parallel with the second stanza.

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The rhythmic realization of the standard four-syllable line is not discussed, and the reader will probably assume an even ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ with accents on first and third beats, as in the standard Western 4/4 musical measure. Kennedy's statistics (*Selected Works*, pp. 23–25) seem to bear out the idea of alternating stress, the rhyming syllable and the syllable before it in the same line, however, carrying the relative stress. A possible counter-suggestion comes from earlier written and contemporary oral performance traditions,[17] which suggest rather ♪ ♪ ♩ ♩, a succession of two quick and two slow beats. Such an arrangement might have a counterpart in the four-beat measure of later Chinese court music as reflected in the Japanese *gagaku* tradition, where the beats, though evenly spaced, are conventionally counted as two "down" beats followed by two "up" beats.[18] Both these structures show two of one type of beat followed by two of another, rather than successive alternation. If we define α in general terms as the type of beat (short in the one case and "down" in the other) characteristic of the beginning of a measure, and θ as a characteristic end-beat (long and/or "up"), both the traditions mentioned above can be subsumed in the one-measure formula $\alpha\ \alpha\ \theta\ \theta$. With this model, the statement for rhyme-position in the *Classic* is simplified: rhyming words occur in θ position.

The option of penultimate-syllable rhyming (the line being filled out with an unstressed particle) was not generally cultivated in post-classical times, and represents an important historical discontinuity. This discontinuity has in effect hampered research on classical rhyming, since scholars attuned to post-classical end-rhymes have frequently ignored penultimate-syllable rhyming in older texts. Poem № 19 in the *Classic*, for example, is easily seen to consist of three stanzas to the pattern $3\acute{5}\acute{4}44\acute{4}$ (where the marked lines are identical not to each other but to the corresponding lines in the following

[17] The former from Achilles Fang's "Introduction" to Ezra Pound, *The Confucian Odes* (1954; reprinted New York, 1959), p. xi, citing a constructed version of 1839; the latter from a class recitation by Professor Vincent Y. C. Shih (University of Washington) in 1959. The written tradition for the music of the *Classic* is not ancient (see the remarks of Laurence Picken in *The New Oxford History of Music*, I, [London, 1957], pp. 104–105), and it is probable that both traditions alike represent a relatively recent scholarly performance practice, whose claim to antiquity is strictly conjectural.

[18] Observed in the *gagaku* ensemble directed by Professor Robert Garfias (University of Washington) in 1962–1963.

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stanzas). In addition to the underlined end-rhymes, whose sound changes in each stanza, there is a constant counter-rhyme between the third syllables of lines 1, 3, and 6 (the 5th line is a typical penultimate non-rhyming refrain line, just as in Poem ※115). The difficulty in seeing this lies in the fact that the rhyming words in this latter set, though always in the first θ position, appear as final in line 1 般其 but as prefinal in lines 3 何斯違斯 and 6 歸哉歸哉. Jyāng Yŏu-gàu (1.5v), operating with a bias in favor of the last θ position, tentatively proposes a possible rhyme between the final words of lines 1 and 3, and asserts another rhyme between the final words of lines 5 振振君子 and 6 (based on a special reading in the latter case). Karlgren in his 1960 paper "Tones in Archaic Chinese" (*BMFEA* 32.113–142) rejects the former but upholds the latter, though his own reconstructions for the words in the missed rhyme-set, namely (in my spelling), 矗 *-war* 違 *-war* 歸 *-war*, are nothing if not countersuggestive, and Lù Jŕ-wéi 陸志韋 in his 1966 work *Shr̄ yùn pŭ* 詩韻譜 has finally recognized the rhyme (which he reconstructs as *-wad*). Kennedy's tonally-motivated 1954 emendation 方 = 舫 in Poem ※9, pointedly ignored by Karlgren in 1960, disposes of Karlgren's first example of supposed mixing of "level" and "rising" tone words in classical rhyming; rejection of the prosodically implausible rhyme 子 / 哉 in Poem ※19 eliminates the second; the tradition of a "level" tone reading for the seemingly irregular constellation-name 昴 (stemming from the phonetic commentary of Syŵ Mwŏ, A.D. 344–397, quoted in the *Jyí yùn* dictionary of 1037 and followed by Jyāng Yŏu-gàu in 1814 and by Kawai Kinukichi 河合絹吉 in his 1938 work *Shikyo= kuho= shinsetsu* 詩經句法新說) regularizes the third. Further progress along these lines does not seem to be excluded. Accurate reconstruction of early pronunciations must rest in large part on evidence from early rhyming, and proper identification of rhymes in turn requires detailed knowledge of ancient prosody. The above cases, which tend to show that received ideas of ancient prosody are defective at many points, thus have implications beyond the narrow subject of versification.

Whether the $\alpha\ \alpha\ \theta\ \theta$ formula can usefully supplement or (less likely) replace Kennedy's alternating-stress model I am unable to suggest at present. The common ground between the two is the rhythmic importance of the two-syllable span, defining point of

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change in one, and unit of repetition in the other. That a basic two-syllable ground-pulse is an important and conspicuous feature of the early language can be demonstrated in almost any prose text.[19] It seems to be a productive hypothesis that the stylistic formality of an early text is roughly proportional to its closeness of fit with this disyllabic ground-pulse; the native term *sž/lyòu-wán* "four/six rhythmic texture" for the dominant style of mediaeval fancy prose suggests conscious use of this organizing principle.[20] At the far end of the spectrum, the same rhythmic pulse is even more clearly evident in full-fledged poetry, and it is convenient for some purposes to regard mediaeval (that is, post-Hàn) meters as built up out of such disyllabic units. The unit itself I shall refer to as a metron (plural, metra), in the generalized sense of a metrical building-block which may contain more than one syllable.

Four-syllable lines occur in mediaeval as well as in classical poetry, but the same performance-tradition that leads to an $\alpha\,\alpha\,\theta\,\theta$ hypothesis for the older species suggests ♫ ♫ (schematically $\alpha\,\theta\,\alpha\,\theta$) for the newer one. That is, the mediaeval metron appears to have an $\alpha\,\theta$ structure. A metron may appear in this form (perfect) or with its θ replaced by a one-syllable rest: α 𝄽 (imperfect). In mediaeval meters generally, a line may be seen as a series of metra of which all are perfect except the last, which may be perfect or imperfect, yielding respectively perfect meters (those with an even number of syllables in the line) and imperfect ones (with an odd number of syllables). With these distinctions in mind we may turn to Professor Frankel's treatment of the mediaeval stage.

[19] See for instance the speech of Lyóu Jyî (later Hàn Gāu-dzŭ) declining the directorship (令) of the city of Pèi, in *Shř jyì* (*Bwó-nà* edition) 8.7r9–7v3. The tendency toward phrases of four or six syllables (that is, multiples of two) is very pronounced, especially if weak syllables like the negative 不 and the pronoun 吾 are disregarded; it would seem plausible to attribute special rhetorical function to the few phrases (like 恐能薄 and 此大事) which depart from the disyllabic rhythmic norm. The regularity is not due simply to the (undoubtedly stylized) oral form of the speech, since the following narrative passage (especially if one disregards the distributive prefix 諸) displays the same tendencies.

[20] Yoshikawa Kōjirō, in a 1939 article on Six Dynasties prose style translated by Glen W. Baxter in *HJAS* 18(1955) and cited here from the reprint in John L. Bishop, ed., *Studies in Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965), pp. 166–183, calls attention to a *Shř-shwō syīn-yŭ* passage containing a speech entirely in six-syllable lines (p. 181) as clearly intended to be rhetorically impressive; see also p. 180.

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Professor Frankel's second example (p. 26) is labeled "Old-Style Verse." The alert European reader, mindful of such parallels as the also pejorative term *ars antiqua*, may suspect that this is a retrospective rather than a contemporary label, but will be unable to guess that it covers two separate traditions, the poem proper (*shī*) and the lyric (*ywè-fǔ*). The statement that the title of the example "indicates a traditional song pattern" suggests, at least to insiders, that the piece belongs (as do all the poetic works of its author) to the latter category. The example itself, according to chapter 37 of the Sùng-dynasty work *Ywè-fǔ shī jyí*, was in the repertoire of the court-musicians in the Wèi dynasty (founded, to intrude a non-prosodic detail, by the author of the text) and also in the succeeding Jyìn dynasty. The comment that "in Old-Style Verse, the lines are generally of equal length throughout a given poem" applies only to the poem proper, mixed meters being more common than unmixed ones in the early lyric.[21] The further statement, in the next line, that "the favorite line lengths are five and seven syllables," will adequately characterize the late Six Dynasties period, but as of the date of the example four-syllable meter is an important option in both lyric and poem, and seven-syllable meter plays a quite restricted role in both. Thus, the eighteen surviving lyrics of Tsáu Tsāu (155–220) fall into two groups, according as the dominant meter is four or five syllables; more than half the total are metrically mixed. The four-syllable pieces borrow conspicuously (as do those of the near contemporary Syī Kāng, 223–262) from the *Classic of Poetry*, but as indicated above this does not necessarily prove rhythmic identity between the classic and mediaeval four-syllable line; the *Classic* was enormously influential in later times, but the tradition of poetic practice is not an unbroken one. The only occurrence of the seven-syllable line in Tsáu Tsāu's corpus is in the mixed-meter piece *Mwò-shàng sāng* 陌上桑, which consists of six 3̲3̲7 units. Note that 3 + 3 (schematically ♫ ♪ ˥ ♫ ♪ ˥) is isometric with 7 (♫ ♫ ♫ ♪ ˥), there being four metra to the line in either case; the same line exists as it were in divided and undivided species. Seven-syllable meter first appears in highly developed form in verse epigrams on Hàn-dynasty mirrors; its earlier history is unclear.[22]

[21] An example of the same writer's mixed-meter lyric may be found in Étienne Balazs, "Two Songs by Ts'ao Ts'ao," reprinted in the collection *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy* (New Haven, 1964); see pp. 179–186.

[22] Bernhard Karlgren, "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions," *BMFEA* 6(1934).9–79.

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Regular seven-syllable meter gradually appears in the poem also, but does not overtake the five-syllable line in popularity until the late eighth century. The five-syllable line itself has fairly well-attested antecedents in preserved folksongs.

Of mediaeval rhyme, we are told that "it may be constant (as in this example) or change in the course of the poem." Such a change is always coordinated with a shift on the content level (and sometimes with a definite stanzaic structure) and amounts to something like an audible paragraphing.[23] Rhyme position can be specified (in such a way as to incorporate the statement for the classic tradition, given above) as limited to a θ position after the last α position in the line. Both alternate-line rhyme (as in the example) and successive-line rhyme (as in the *Mwò-shàng sāng* piece cited above) occur in early mediaeval poetry. The statement on internal line structure (p. 28) is that "there is a caesura, made possible by the syntax and required by the verse, in nearly every five-syllable line between the second and the third syllables. (In a seven-syllable line, the caesura is between the fourth and fifth syllables.)" This inelegant formulation misses the essence of the matter: the imperfect line has a caesura (an internal boundary, not a one-mora pause) before the antepenultimate text syllable. All rhythmical divisions in the metrical line tend to be reflected in the words of the text, so that looser morphemic juncture

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Although post-Hàn poetic quotations implicitly equate the classical and mediaeval four-syllable line, it is interesting to speculate that the four-beat classical line may have some sort of organic relationship with the four-metron (seven-syllable) mediaeval line. If so, then each of the four positions in the standard classical line might well possess disyllabic potential, and of the 何不 sequence discussed above it would not be necessary to assume contraction to a monosyllable (as demonstrably occurs in *Mencius*) but only weakness of stress on one of the elements, in this case the second. Both the basic four-syllable and expanded five-syllable classic lines would then correspond to the later seven-syllable (four-metron) line, and the three-pulse classic line, which occurs frequently in the examples cited above, would similarly correspond to the later five-syllable (three-metron) line. Regardless of connections or analogies that may obtain on this highly analytical level, the five- and seven-syllable lines seemed, at the period of their emergence into poetic practice, to be novelties rather than continuations, whose potential became clear only after long experiment.

[23] James Robert Hightower, in "Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose" (*Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata* [Copenhagen, 1959], p. 66, reprinted in Bishop, ed., *Studies in Chinese Literature*, p. 114), has pointed out that rhyme change serves a quite similar function in parallel prose and the *fù*.

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tends to coincide with the boundary between any two perfect metra, and particularly with the caesura.

On the distribution of level and deflected (or oblique) tonal categories in this broad class of poetry, we are told (p. 28) that "the number of syllables in the two tonal categories tends to be nearly equal (in the present poem forty-nine percent of the syllables are in the level tone)." No source is given for this interesting statement, though use of the footnote convention would have provided a means of doing so, and extensive use of footnotes would have had the trebly beneficial effect of getting more into the available space, increasing the relative amount of the sort of detail that prosodists like, and (for this reader, considering the straggly quality of the New York University Press main text) much enhancing the attractiveness of the printed page. My own spot-check with the extant lyrics of Tsáu Tsāu confirms the tonal balance statement for poetry. With the same author's prose, the percentage of level-tone syllables seems to depend significantly on the type of document: two letters to the throne (*shāng-shū*) give thirty-three percent level tone, while two petitions (*byāu*) cluster around forty-two percent. In Tsáu Tsāu's works at large, it might be more appropriate to conclude that the one poetic and two prose types pay different kinds of attention to tonal balance. The task of finding a genuinely tone-neutral language sample for this period is not a simple one, though the median value of forty percent can be accepted as a plausible interim hypothesis. The conclusion that formal documents of the *byāu* type were written in a simple unconstrained prose is, however, to be resisted. It is possible that vocabulary constraints operating on the prose pieces are fewer (or largely self-canceling) for the *byāu* as compared to the *shāng-shū*, and that the rhythmic exclusion of the common but weakly stressed sentence particles 也, 矣, and 耳, all in the "rising" tone (and thus in the oblique tone-group), affects the figures for poetry.

Of at least equal interest with these overall tonal statistics is the tonal behavior of words in what later prosodic practice will identify as sensitive positions in the line. Thus, it is striking that Professor Frankel's example shows a three-to-two preference, in both parallel and non-parallel couplets, for identity rather than contrast of tonal category between corresponding θ positions within the couplet. The same tendency, slightly less pronounced, holds for all the completely

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or predominantly five-syllable lyrics in the author's corpus, and represents what is undoubtedly a more "natural" aesthetic instinct than the interlocking tonal convention seen in later strict prosody.[24]

The prosodically strict (or in Professor Frankel's translation "regulated") poem, *lyŭ-shī*, is represented by the third example (p. 29). The description of the strict eight-line form on page 30 mentions the parallelism of the middle two couplets (unmentioned is the possibility that the first couplet may also be parallel[25]), but without adding

[24] Yoshikawa ("Some Remarks on Meter in Chinese Poetry," *Yoshikawa Ko=jiro= zenshyu=*, I, 663–657; reverse pagination pp. 40–46) has pointed out the contrast between the "natural" reinforcement of verbal parallelism by tonal parallelism, on the one hand, and the strict-poem conventions on the other. The term "meter" in Yoshikawa's title is used to cover what I call "tonal scansion" in the present paper. I am indebted to J. R. Hightower for this reference.

[25] First-couplet parallelism is pointed out by David Hawkes for Dù Fŭ's famous poem "Spring View" in *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* (Oxford, 1967), p. 46. The parallelism forces the reader to recognize a quite striking verbal use of the word 春 "spring[time]" which would otherwise be difficult to convey. Hawkes's notes and translation do not bring out this detail, which is suggested in the versions of Bynner and Kiang (*The Jade Mountain* [New York, 1929], p. 171: "spring comes green again") and Arthur Cooper (*Li Po and Tu Fu* [Harmondsworth, 1973], p. 171: "Cities have Spring"). The later poet Dù Mù (803–852), an admirer and distant relative of Dù Fŭ, possibly assisted by the fame of the earlier example, has accomplished the same verbalization by the different means of preceding "spring" by the word 自, which is most readily perceived as a B-adverb (though A. C. Graham in *Poems of the Late T'ang* [Harmondsworth, 1965], p. 136, apparently takes it as a causative verb) and by an *internal* grammatical parallelism (SV/SV) in the line 流水無情草自春 from his poem "The Garden of Golden Valley." Herbert A. Giles (*Gems of Chinese Literature* [reprinted New York, 1965], p. 371: "The river runs unheeded by, weeds grow unheeded on") brings out the parallelism, but not the specific verbal quality of "spring":

All its glory is gone the way
of any fragrant thing,
The flowing river does not care,
the grasses have their spring;
At sunset, in the eastern breeze,
I hate the crying birds—
The falling petals are still like her,
from the tower plummeting

Such verbalizations of the ordinarily reliable noun "spring" may seem to support the still-prevalent view that Chinese lacks grammar, or at any rate word-classes. It would be more appropriate to conclude that the sense of strain (aesthetic focus) and the necessity of class-changing mechanisms such as parallelism in these two examples are substantial evidence of the reality of noun and verb classes under normal conditions.

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that one of the middle couplets is often significantly more parallel than the other, in that it uses more narrowly defined noun or verb subclasses, or takes note of syntactic function as well as mere word-class. The difference in degree of parallelism is often coordinated with a rhetorical shift (inner feeling versus outward scenery, general versus specific, or the like) which may mark a watershed-like division of the poem, coming as it does at the halfway point of the form. Such differences are not particularly evident in the example on page 29, but may be seen in the court poetry of Sùng Jī-wàn (d. ca. 710; one of the two chief architects of the perfected eight-line form), such as the seven-syllable piece "Command Poem on the Occasion of the Imperial Visit to the Southern Manor of Princess Tài-píng at the Beginning of Spring."[26]

In discussing tonal prescriptions in this type of poetry, Professor Frankel makes less clear than do Graham and Downer in their original article[27] that the thing being described and reduced to a neat system is the set of tonally ideal patterns recommended by certain rulebooks, not the practice of poets. Graham and Downer's two "independent systems" (p. 30), one for the θ syllables, determined from the head of the line, and another for some of the α syllables, determined from the end, are an interesting and suggestive reduction of the prescriptions, in that they show more than one tendency at work in the poem. In particular, the backward operation of the α-syllable system contrasts importantly with the θ system, where counting from the front is valid; it may be meaningful to define the caesura, in a general way, as the limit within which end-determined effects operate within the line. Observation of actual poems, unfortunately, will tend to show that the number of tendencies at work in the form is also greater than two. The prescriptions for the α system, for example, specify (in my terms) that the penultimate α syllable in each line should be opposite in tonal category to the ultimate α syllable. One frequently, however, and in the works of the best poets, encounters lines in which these two positions are identical in tonal category (– / – or / – /). Nor is it always true that the α syllables in the pre-caesura half of the line gravitate exclusively toward the tonal category of the following θ syllable (/ / – –, etc.); the opposite procedure (/ – – /,

[26] *Chywéen Táng shī* (Peking, 1960 edition), 1, 645.

[27] "Tone Patterns in Chinese Poetry," *BSOAS* 26(1963).145–148.

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etc.) also occurs, with every appearance of conscious intent. Both types of pattern, which by Professor Frankel's guidelines would have to be called aberrant, are seen frequently in Dù Fŭ's strict poem "Ascending the Tower":[28]

– / – –	– / –
/ – – /	/ – –
/ – – /	– – /
/ / – –	/ / –
/ / – –	– / /
– – / /	/ – –
/ – / /	– – /
/ / – –	– / –

It is interesting to note that the only couplet with perfect interlocking of tonal categories is the third, whereas it is rather the second couplet which has the more intricate verbal parallelism.[29] This preference for having no part of the poem be a "high spot" in more than one sense (prosodic, rhetorical, emotional) is not so marked in earlier works; Professor Frankel's example and the Sùng Jĭ-wàn poem cited above both have inner couplets with perfect tonal interlock. The differences perhaps imply a change in attitude toward the materials, during a fifty-year span, but the later poem is not "irregular" in the generally received sense: whereas such gauche sequences as line-end / / / (see Wáng Wéi's poem in response to a Jyă Jĭ piece on a morning court session[30]) are consistently stigmatized by the commentators as faults when they occur in an otherwise strict texture, the / – – / sequence at the beginning of a line and the – / – sequence at the end are clearly within the limits of good practice. They are, just as clearly, outside the boundaries of the Graham and Downer synthesis, as regards strictures on α syllables. That leaves as a guide the θ system,

[28] Text in Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No. 14: *A Concordance to the Poems of Tu Fu* (reprinted Taipei, 1966), II, 353–354 (for 朝 in line 7 read廟).

[29] The more fine-grained parallelism in the second couplet is reflected to a degree in the translation in Bynner and Kiang, *The Jade Mountain*, p. 155.

[30] *Chywán Táng shĭ* (hereafter, *CTS*), II, 1296. Jyă Jĭ's original is at IV, 2596.

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which, however, represents no great advance over the perception enshrined in the old rule-of-thumb formulation "2/4/6 are conspicuous [points in the metrical texture]" 二四六分明. More precisely, strict prosody can be defined in this period (for a poem of any length, the fixed eight-line *form* being typical and prestigious but not essential to strict prosodic *texture*) as that in which successive θ positions (1) alternate tonal category within the line and between corresponding positions within the couplet, and (2) repeat tonal category between couplets.[31]

It is, even in this humbler guise, a pretty enough pattern, but, as

[31] The two parts of this definition are independent, and there is a middle or semi-strict texture, particularly common in the four-line form, which follows part (1) but reverses part (2), resulting in what in Western typography might be called "vertical" as well as "horizontal" alternation of tonal category on θ syllables throughout the poem. A very famous example is the Wáng Wéi parting poem, in quatrain form, which became popular as the "Yáng-gwān Song." This piece is alluded to in the verse by Lǐ Chyīng-jàu translated below.

Even the more fundamental part (1) of the definition admits of a certain leeway in practice, exemplified most typically by the following not uncommon couplet pattern (where the sign ⁄ means "either – or /"):

– – / – /
⁄ / / – –

where we would expect rather – – – / / for the upper line (and indeed get it in more conventional cases). Taking the lower line as given (principle of composing toward a known point, in fixed forms), we note that the last syllable of the upper line must be / to coordinate with the mandatory nonrhyme, and the poet is, as established above, entitled to choose an / word for the antepenultimate position as well. To protect this choice, the poet evidently feels free to disregard the θ rules for the penultimate position (which would require a post-caesura sequence / / /, noted above as substandard), though undoubtedly with considerable resulting tension (such lines are markedly more common as the seventh line in an eight-line poem, perhaps because this tension is sometimes appropriate to the emerging climax, which peaks rhetorically at the end of the seventh line). The hierarchy of horrendousness for options at the end of the first line of a couplet thus seems to be: (1) – / / smooth and unexceptionable; (2) / – / perfectly all right, where rhetorically appropriate, regardless of θ consequences; and (3) / / / gauche and blameworthy. For examples of option (2), in contexts that would seem to favor option (1), see Lǐ Bwó's "Crossing at Jyīng-mán to Accompany a Departing Friend" (*CTS* III, 1786), Dù Fǔ's "Four Rhymes on Once Again Sending Off His Excellency Yén at Fàng-jyì Station" (IV, 2457), and, for the less common seven-syllable-meter counterpart, the Wáng Jāu-jywn piece from Dù Fǔ's set of "Evocations of Historic Sites" (IV, 2511), all of which will also be found in the strict-poem sections of the ubiquitous 1763 anthology *Táng-shř sān-bǎi-shǒu*.

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Professor Frankel himself remarked in his review[32] of Liu's earlier efforts to explicate these same mysteries, one can imagine others seemingly as pretty, and it is less than self-evident why a poet, let alone a nation of poets, should go to that particular kind of trouble as part of the job of poetry. Professor Frankel has a paragraph of his own (p. 31) on the theme of "balance and variety" which, though well-conceived in itself, would similarly apply to a number of other imaginable arrangements. Why, for instance, are the θ positions so much more significant for the definition of the texture than the α ones? To state the problem in this way is to suggest a possible answer. The performance tradition mentioned above suggested that the α beat might be characterized by shortness and "down" (stressed) quality. The pattern of syntactic stress in the language is such that, other things being equal, the first members of SV, BV, QH, and HL constructions will be relatively stressed.[33] Given the tendency of disyllabic phrases to coincide with disyllabic metron boundaries, it follows that the α metrical positions will be associated, far more often than not, with a stressed text-syllable. It will therefore tend to acquire, whether or not it originally possessed, loudness as well as shortness, and can be defensibly characterized as a stress-accent.[34] The θ posi-

[32] *HJAS* 24(1962–1963).262–263.

[33] Statements about syntactic stress are based on my observations of contemporary native reading-praxis for traditional texts, and in particular upon study of a corpus of tape-recorded *Shr̄ jyì* excerpts read by Professor Yè Jyā-yíng 葉嘉瑩 (now of the University of British Columbia), whose cooperation is gratefully acknowledged. These recordings are available for use and/or copying at the Harvard University Audio-Visual Services archive. On the whole, analysis confirms in a general way a situation that could have been predicted from communication theory: the element in a binary combination which carries the greater information load (that is, has the greater number of possible substitutions) tends to have the stronger syntactic stress.

Of constructions commonly encountered in disyllabic phrases, only VO (verb-object) and VF (verb-specifier, or verb followed by adverb) are syntactically stressed on the second element, and this relative stress is shifted back to the first element in the not infrequent cases where the O or F is a pronominal element (as in VO 問之 "asked about it" and VF 問焉 "asked him"). The coordinate-noun (or head-head, HH) construction has equal syntactic stress on both elements. Weak intrinsic stress on pronouns also shifts the stress in some SV (subject-verb) and QH (qualifier-head) constructions to the second element.

[34] This is not to suppose constant or even preferential coincidence of stressed text-syllables and α metrical positions. The metrical substrate acts as an expectation-pattern,

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tion, contrariwise, can be called an agogic accent, and will influence the texture by reason of its greater duration and its cadential rhythmic position (somewhat like the harmonic note into which a melodic appoggiatura resolves, or the phrase-head revealing the universe of discourse which has been limited by the preceding qualifier); it will quite naturally dominate the rhythmic tessitura.

If we knew the melodic values of eighth-century tones, we would be in a better position to assess the effectiveness of the θ rules in constituting a poetically convincing melodic texture. Professor Frankel states rather discouragingly (p. 22) that "we do not know how the tones sounded in times past," and as a final epistemological judgment, on the last day of the world, that may be allowed to stand. Meanwhile, a few of us have our suspicions. The most complete description of mediaeval tone contours known to me is that preserved in the Japanese Shingon-Buddhist psalmody tradition, which may conceivably date from the visit of the founder of the sect to China in 804–806.[35] According to this tradition, the contours of tones in the late mediaeval standard dialect are:

"level"	low level	(*-ā̀ng*)
"rising"	high short level	(*-à́ng*)
"going"	high rising[36]	(*-á́ng*)
"entering"	high short falling	(*-à̀k*)

with which the actual rhythms and stresses of a particular poetic text may, depending upon the poet's precise expressive intent, be in a state of greater or less tension. This differs only in degree of precision from the case of stylized prose; see above, note 19.

[35] See the article on *bombai* in the encyclopedia *Hōbōgirin* (Tokyo, 1929–1930). This article has been translated into English by Lillian Nakai as an undated mimeographed pamphlet entitled "Bombai," published by the Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii (Honolulu). I am grateful to the translator for the gift of her personal copy of this now rare item. The *Hōbōgirin* material, though treated circumspectly by Mei Tsu-lin in "Tones and Prosody in Middle Chinese . . . ," (*HJAS* 30[1970].93–110), is not incompatible with the other early descriptions which he cites.

[36] It might seem that this value supplies the answer "no" to Professor Frankel's query "falling?" (p. 22) for the phonetic meaning of the vague term "going tone," but an affirmative answer is not out of the question for earlier periods. In my opinion, all that may be safely inferred from the names of the tones (which seem to be primarily illustrative and only secondarily descriptive), as of the still uncertain date and dialect of their coinage, is that 平 was probably level, 上 rising, 去 non-level (a rising tone in a different register from the preceding, Professor Frankel's falling contour, or perhaps a

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If we substitute these values into the poem on page 29 and read the result out loud, it is impossible not to notice that the words divide themselves into two well-contrasted groups, a low register (the "level" tone and category) and a high register (the other three tones, together constituting the "oblique" category). Here, quite plausibly, is the basis for both the division into categories and the strong preference for level tones in rhyming.[37] The *θ*-position rules, in turn, emerge as a device for ensuring alternation between registers, thus preventing the emergence of an exclusively high or low tessitura over any area as large as half a seven-syllable line.

Having gotten this far, we may feel emboldened to try for a little more. The prosodic prescriptions of the late fifth-century theorists and propagandists (of whom Shǎn Ywē, 441–513, was the most prominent) have traditionally been regarded as contained in the list of "Eight [Prosodic] Faults," definitions of which appear to be most clearly preserved in the fifth chapter of the *Wân-jyìng bì-fŭ lwùn* 文鏡秘府論 (Japanese, *Bunkyō hifu ron*), a text whose compilation has also been assigned to the China visit of the founder of the Shingon-Buddhist sect (evidently a person of the most superior tastes). The prosodic ideal reflected in these prescriptions is based not on the opposition of level and oblique tone-categories, but on the four-way opposition between the four natural tones. Its main thrust is the avoidance of unwanted phonetic resonance between successive prominent points in the metrical texture. These key points were the end of the line, the end of the half-line (that is, the caesura, which may thus be regarded as having been discovered by the date of the original prescriptions, approximately 480), and to a certain extent the beginning of the line; in short, the points bordering on major breaks in the rhythmic flow. The purpose of the avoidance is evidently to generate a neutral texture against which such intentional phonetic resonances

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compound contour), and 入 endstopped (and presumably short, a quality associated with final *-p -t -k*). If the tradition of reading the tone-name as °上 ("rising") rather than 上° ("high") is to be relied on, and "tonal license" in the illustratively constrained nomenclature may be excluded, then the *Hōbōgirin* eighth-century dialect value of this tone must—and values of the other tones therefore may—differ from those of the original dialect.

[37] The low register provides an automatic vocal fall at the end of each couplet, corresponding to the natural intonation curve at the end of an utterance.

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as rhyme and alliteration[38] can emerge with the desired prominence. More generally put, the natural-language elements (tones, sounds, the two-beat pulse) are kept from conflicting with each other as they do in the random associations of ordinary speech, and are instead allowed to realize their constitutive potential. The result is not an artificial construct opposed to natural language, but rather, in a sense, the natural language speaking with its full voice. It is not astounding that in China, as in other places, poetry has been regarded as the most forceful and typical expression of the culture.

In this general sense, the fifth and eighth centuries may be said to be working toward the same goal. In particulars, however, the earlier system is very different. Shǎn Ywē's poem "Bidding Farewell to Literatus Syè on the Night of His Departure"[39] (datable to spring 490) nicely illustrates the discrepancies, being entirely in accord with the strictures of the fifth century (four-tone schema below, left) but hopelessly flawed if perceived in terms of those of the eighth (level/oblique scansion below, right):

去平	上平去	/– /–/	R
平平	平上去	–– –/ /	R
入入	去平平	/ / /––	
平平	平上去	–– –/ /	R
入去	上平上	/ / /–/	
平平	平上去	–– –/ /	R
上上	去去平	/ / / /–	
平平	平上去	–– –/ /	R

To appreciate this by fifth-century standards, observe, following the order of the tonal prescriptions in the first four of the "Eight Faults," that: (1) the two pre-caesura metra are not identical within the couplet, though, as in the first couplet, the respective second syllables may be the same; (2) the tone of the rhyme word is not

[38] The last four of the "Eight Faults" are concerned with resonances between segmental sounds, as the first four are with tonal resonances. The term "resonance" can be defined for purposes of the present discussion as "identity of (some aspect of) sound, reinforced by occurrence at or within a sensitive time-interval."

[39] Dīng Fù-bǎu, *Chywǽn Hàn Sān-gwó Jyìn Nán-bĕi-cháu shĭ* (reprinted Peking, 1959), II, 1013.

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anticipated by the tone of the last word in the non-rhyming line preceding it in the couplet; (3) the tone of a line-end syllable, whether rhyming or not, is not anticipated by the tone of the pre-caesura syllable within the same line; and (4) the tone of a non-rhyming final syllable is not anticipated by the tone of the next previous non-rhyming final syllable. To eighth-century eyes, on the contrary, as represented on the right, the identity of tone-category between the second and fourth syllables of lines 1 (both level) and 7 (both oblique), or between the second syllables of lines 1 and 2 (both level), or the fourth syllables of lines 7 and 8 (both oblique), or the final syllables of lines 5 (non-rhyming) and 6 (rhyming, but also oblique) are fatal according to the most general definition of strict prosodic texture.

As to why the fifth century missed anything so obvious as the high/low register distinction in the language, a reasonable answer might be that it did not exist at that time. If we imagine the eighth-century low level tone moved back into the same (high) register as the other tones, it will still contrast sufficiently with them, its greater length keeping it distinct from the "rising" (high short level) tone in particular. It is efficient to assume some such contour-inventory for the fifth-century language,[40] and tempting to speculate that subsequent lowering of the pitch of the "level" tone, either through evolutionary language change or through a dialect shift consequent upon the northward political movements of the seventh century, produced a phonetic situation that allowed, and indeed strongly suggested, a reassessment of the optimum prosodic interrelation of the basic language elements.[41] The history of prosody, seen from this broader vantage-point, is not

[40] Other differences may also have obtained. It is not inevitable that the pre-eighth-century system existed within a single register; the minimum condition for the emergence of the level/oblique distinction in poetic practice might well be not the appearance of one low-register tone, but rather the fact that the one low-register tone was the "level" tone rather than one of the other three. See below, note 41.

[41] It was undoubtedly an important enabling circumstance that the acoustically suggested opposition between the level tone and the other three tones correlated with a viable forty/sixty percent division on the vocabulary side. In modern Pekingese the ㄦ tone occupies a similarly prominent position as the only low-register tone, but its relative rarity leads to something like a twenty/eighty percent vocabulary division, and would seem to inhibit its emergence as one-half of a psychologically feasible or poetically practicable dichotomy.

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something apart from the general evolution of material and human culture, and the road from Shǎn Ywē in the fifth century to Sùng Jǐ-wàn in the eighth, hard though it may seem at first, proves upon closer inspection to be paved with simple and intelligible changes in the language and adjustments in the uses made of it. It is more or less with the reaching of this insight that prosody emerges as a subject of serious interest to the intelligent person, and not merely as the arbitrary plaything of one or two preposterous and dispensable fanatics.

The example of verse (*tsź*, Professor Frankel's "lyric song") on pages 32–33 consists of two stanzas to the syllabic pattern 7339733. The polymetric form is reminiscent of the earlier lyric, or would be if Professor Frankel had found room for separate treatment of the lyric in his previous discussion. The occurrence of three-syllable lines in pairs, and in association with seven-syllable lines, raises once again the question, briefly suggested above in connection with the third-century lyric *Mwò-shàng sāng*, as to whether the 3–3 structure should be considered as two short lines or as one divided long line. In such late poems in the lyric tradition as Lǐ Bwó's "Bring in the Wine"[42] or Bwó Jyw̄-yǐ's "The Sea Spreads Far and Wide"[43] there are further examples of 3–3 taking the place of a single 7, as confirmed by the rhyme scheme in these pieces, and their tendency to divide into four-line building blocks. This quatrain substructure appears in early lyrics like Tsáu Tsāu's piece "Short-Song Ballad"[44] and gives rise to folksong-related independent quatrains like the well-known fourth-century "Dž-yè Songs."[45] The late lyrics cited above also contain independent three-syllable lines, functioning as incipits or as interpolated interruptions. Precedents for the former type, in a five-syllable metrical context, can be found in Shǎn Ywē's set entitled "Four Poems of Remembrance"[46] (355555) and the earlier folk pieces grouped under the rubric *Hwà-shān chyí* 華山畿[47] (355 and various other metrical patterns). There is thus ample evidence for both types

[42] *CTS*, III, 1682.
[43] *CTS*, VII, 4691.
[44] Dīng, I, 117–118.
[45] Dīng, I, 522–531.
[46] Dīng, II, 1024–1025.
[47] Dīng, I, 736–738.

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of three-syllable line in the tradition. In the pattern of Professor Frankel's example, it is possible to regard both 3–3 sequences as originating metrically from a divided 7, and the 9 similarly as an extended 7, and thus refer the stanza form as a whole to the theoretical urform 77777—in effect, an extended quatrain.[48]

As with the lyric, there are in the verse tradition distinguishable bodies of work characterized by predominantly imperfect (as in the present example) or perfect metrical texture. In the latter, the four-syllable line again emerges as an important option, as does the hitherto-rare six-syllable line, many of whose earlier uses can be associated with singing.[49] The connection with music, and specifically with popular tradition, are further points of similarity to the lyric. These similarities have led historians to conclude that an identical or analogous folk stratum has provided the impetus for the rise of both the lyric and the verse, in their respective periods, and some have gone on to the general assertion that all major innovations in high literature represent cyclical infusions of energy from below.[50] The pattern of similarities between the lyric and the verse, as the classic and perhaps most convincing instance of this theory, thus has important ramifications in the critical history of Chinese literature.

The statement that the typical verse-form "tends to be divided into two or more stanzas" (p. 34) obscures the evolution from the single-stanza form of the ninth century, like Bwó Jyw̄-yì's "Remembering the South"[51] (35775), to the later doubled (rarely, tripled) forms. Thus the two-stanza form displayed in Professor Frankel's example

[48] On the relation of early verse stanza forms to isometric quatrains, see Glen William Baxter, "Metrical Origins of the Tz'u," *HJAS* 16(1953).108–145, reprinted in Bishop, *Studies in Chinese Literature*, pp. 186–224.

[49] The most famous music-associated six-syllable quatrains are mentioned in Baxter, "Metrical Origins," reprint pp. 199–200. There is also a non-musical tradition of six-syllable quatrains, represented by Wáng Wéi's set of six poems descriptive of rustic pleasures (*CTS*, II, 1305–1306, the sixth of the seven there given being thematically intrusive, otherwise attributed, and presumably spurious), and by a steady stream of pictorial poems, including some occasional verses inscribed on actual paintings, in later periods.

[50] For a rather extreme recent formulation of this thesis, see Lai Ming, *A History of Chinese Literature* (London, 1964), pp. 7–10, and the "Preface" by Lin Yutang, pp. vii–viii.

[51] *CTS*, XII, 10056.

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has as its precursor the single-stanza form 7339733, probably first used by Wéi Jwāng (late ninth century), a neat example of evolution by exact doubling. Professor Frankel points out (p. 34) that the early poets treated the forms with more freedom than their successors, but does not hint that this freedom went beyond tone and rhyme to the syllable count itself. Thus, other examples of the same single-stanza form by the later tenth-century writers Nyóu Jyàu[52] and Jāng Bǐ[53] show the variant syllabic structure 7539733, in which a metron (in musical terms, conceivably a measure) has been added to the head of the second line, the meter as a whole remaining imperfect. Note that, whatever may have been the origin of the 3 + 3 segment (lines 2 and 3), its first member is here behaving as an independently variable entity. One imaginable aesthetic motive for the change is to prevent metrical anticipation of the poignant concluding 3 + 3 sequence. The descending meter of the initial 7 + 5 + 3 in the variant form is quite poignant in itself, though expressively different from the original 3 + 3. The later loss of this sort of metrical flexibility may be associated with a shift in definition of the form, from the melody to the syllable-pattern itself, among poets less musically inclined than the pioneers of the first few generations (vocal music having, among other things, a rather precarious prestige among the educated elite). Those poets who continued the tradition of a fundamentally musical entity were the ones, on the whole, who in response to changed language sounds (tone-contour changes, incipiently important allotone separations, and drastic changes in both initial and final consonants) and to the needs of musical text-setting began to distinguish between individual tones, rather than merely tone-categories, in composing verse.[54] The mere-literary group, by and large, were content to operate with the by-then canonical division into level and

[52] *CTS*, XII, 10080.

[53] *CTS*, XII, 10148. Both Nyóu and Jāng have left examples of the unaltered form as well, which will be found at the places cited.

[54] The dichotomy between "musical" and "literary" writers is a useful commonplace of literary history, which however should not be pushed too far in actual cases. On limitation to particular tones (rather than level or oblique tone-categories) in certain positions in verse-forms, see Syà Cháng-táu 夏承燾, 唐宋詞字聲之演變 (1940), reprinted in his *Táng-Sùng tsí lwùn-tsúng* 唐宋詞論叢 (Shanghai, 1956), pp. 53–89, and Wáng Chyín-syī 王琴希, 宋詞上去聲字與劇曲關係及四聲體攷證, in *Wán shř* 文史 (2nd series, Peking, 1963), pp. 139–169.

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oblique tone-categories, and approached the new forms, albeit sometimes with great gusto, as so many metrically interesting varieties of polymetrical lyric. The gradual neglect of the melodic aspect by many writers does not in itself imply actual loss of the melodies (as implied by Professor Frankel on p. 34); the tune for the Nyóu Jyàu variant of "River City," for instance, has been purportedly preserved (in an unbarred version),[55] and an oral tradition of verse performance, whose history and credentials have not been thoroughly investigated as of this writing, exists and may be observed at the present time.

The nine-syllable line in the pattern is a mildly interesting problem in itself. In Chinese metrics generally, the nine-syllable line is longer than can readily be grasped as a single entity, and much ink has been spilled in handbooks such as *Tsź lyù* (1687) over the question of whether a given nine-syllable line divides into 4 + 5 or into 6 + 3. The fact is that either phrasing may occur *rhetorically* without in any way affecting the caesura-related *metrical* division into 6 + 3. This can be nicely illustrated from the example (pp. 32–33) where the poet, scrupulously seconded by Professor Frankel's translation, has treated this line as 4 + 5 in the first stanza, and as 6 + 3 in the second.

Another type of line-division problem, far more significant for the history of prosody, is neither illustrated by the example nor mentioned in the commentary. Abstractly speaking, there exists the possibility, increasingly exploited by verse writers for its expressive potential, of locating an imperfect metron in a nonfinal position in the line. Thus the standard mediaeval seven-syllable line, divided by its automatic caesura into 4 + 3 (♫ ♫ | ♫ ♪ ˥), now acquires the major alternative 3 + 4, which can be thought of as a transference of the imperfect metron from fourth to second position in the line (♫ ♪ ˥ ♫ ♫). The division between the two halves of the line is not the simple caesura boundary, as in the mediaeval line, but a full one-beat pause which creates a quite different, interruptive effect. These possibilities for the placement of the pause come to be characteristic of the verse tradition generally. Thus, the first line of the second stanza in the old two-stanza form *Yè jyīn-mán* 謁金門 (3675 6675) is a normal six-syllable structure (2 + 2 + 2; no caesura) in most poets' praxis, as for instance Wéi Jwāng's line: 新睡覺來無力 "I sleep anew, and

[55] *Jyǒu-gūng dà-chéng [nán/běi tsź gūng-pǔ]* 九宮大成南北詞宮譜 (1746; reprinted 1923) 9.13v.

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wake again, my strength still spent."[56] But in another early example by Swūn Gwāng-syèn the corresponding line, though still containing six text-syllables, has the very different metrical structure 3 + 3, emphasized by internal parallelism in the text: 輕別離, 甘拋擲 "I do not mind farewell; I'm gladly cast away."[57] In addition to lines with an imperfect second metron, rarer and more idiosyncratic types of line involve an imperfect first metron (metrical structure 1 + . . .). The poetess Lĭ Chyīng-jàu (1084 – ca. 1150) shows great skill in handling both types, as in her verses to *Fàng-hwáng tái-shàng yì chwēi-syāu* 鳳凰臺上憶吹簫, a pattern apparently of her own devising:[58]

incense fades from golden lion,
covers lie in crimson waves;
I half comb back the hair that's gotten all awry.
nor care
if jewel-box with dust be thick,
or on the screen the sun be high.
I've always dreaded farewell sorrow, parting pain;
there are so many things
I fain would tell, but let them lie.
of late I've grown so thin:
it doesn't come from too much wine,
it's not for autumn that I sigh.

why?— why?—
this time he has really gone;
a thousand myriad rounds of Yáng-gwān Song
never could have kept him by.
I know
in Wŭ-líng he is far away,
around the tower the mist-plumes fly.
there is just the little stream before the tower,
that must be noticing
how all day long I fix my eye.
I fix my eye; meanwhile
henceforth another spell of grief
my lonely hours will occupy.

[56] *CTS*, XII, 10076.

[57] *CTS*, XII, 10143. The translations of this and the preceding example observe the metrical equation of one English stress-group to the Chinese metrical syllable, in order to preserve metrical features of the original for discussion.

[58] *Chywán Sùng tsź* (Peking, 1965), II, 928.

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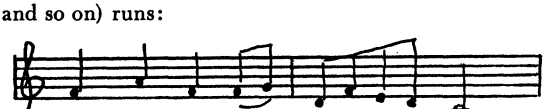
This poem achieves a remarkable angularity through the use of 1 + and 3 + interruptive line-fragments (set to the left of the regular lines in the above translation), whose interpolated pauses are somewhat reminiscent of a catch in the voice, and contrast strongly with the stability and onward-flowing quality of the predominant four-syllable rhythmic texture. If the fragments are represented by raised numerals, the form of the poem can be given as $44\underline{6}^{1}44\underline{6}^{3}4344$ $\underline{2}454^{1}44\underline{6}^{3}4344$. Another angular trait is the non-symmetrical rhyming treatment of the successive 446 groups in the first stanza; one might have expected $44\underline{6}^{1}44\underline{6}$. If fragments are counted as lines, rhyme occurs in every third line regardless of length.[59] Also striking is the complete absence of a line with a normal caesura. The 1 + 4 sequence ($^{1}4$) is metrically distinct from the conventional five-syllable line,[60] and the one nominally five-syllable line rhetorically overrides its intrinsic caesura (千萬遍陽關, in effect 3 + 2). All these features give a highly individual, almost abrasive quality to the verse, and effectively support the often striking diction of the text itself. The extended non-symmetrical incipit in the second stanza, by this time a well-established development of the tendency that may be seen in the old *Yè jyīn-mán* form, cited above, is also effectively and individually used. These and other similar prosodic options greatly extend the expressive possibilities of the verse medium beyond the already subtle rhythmic effects inherent in the use of polymeter, and were undoubtedly part of the attractive-

[59] The first line of the second stanza is covered by this statement if the stanzaic break is regarded as equivalent to two lines, or, alternatively, if the break is reckoned as one line and the following two-syllable line is analyzed as $^{1}\underline{1}$ rather than as $\underline{2}$. The latter assumption better reflects the diction of the text, which consists of a single word repeated.

[60] It is only fair to add that the musical setting of this poem (*JGDC* 5.71rv) treats the one-syllable element as a weak beat rather than as a strong beat followed by a metrically perceptible pause. Thus, the $^{1}4$ sequence in the second stanza (transcribed with the note 上 as F, and so on) runs:



...[留]. 念 武 陵 人 遠。

This discrepancy between the implications of my metrical analysis or a reading performance, on the one hand, and the details of preserved musical settings, on the other, will have to be resolved by future prosodic researches.

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ness of the new verse-forms during their first wave of literary popularity.[61]

Such devices were further exploited and developed in the next stage of prosodic history, that associated with the thirteenth-century song (*chyŭ*) tradition in its operatic and non-operatic forms. The interpolated pause and the prefixed perfect metron are used in a systematic way to extend lengths of lines in fixed forms, the basic 5 yielding respectively an evenly divided 6 ♫ [♪˥] ♫ ♪ ˥ and a standard 7 [♫] ♫ | ♫ ♪ ˥; there are also experiments with more than one pause in a line, notably the doubly interrupted 9 ♫ ♪ ˥ ♫ ♪ ˥ ♫ ♪ ˥. In addition to the metrical interpolations (1 +) which had become characteristic of the verse, there occur extrametrical interpolations at the beginning or within the interstices of the metrical line, the so-called "padding" (*chàn-dż* 襯字), reflecting, among other tendencies, the increasingly polysyllabic cut of the language. The old "rising" and "going" tones, sporadically distinguished in the verse, continue to be prosodically (apparently because melodically) non-equivalent in certain positions in fixed forms, and the newly independent *yáng* ("clear," high level) and *yīn* ("dark," low level) reflexes of the old "level" tone are also increasingly differentiated by careful writers. The faded glottal-stop final, preserved in speech but lost in the prolongations of singing, can no longer keep the old "entering" tone syllables from rhyming with their open-syllable counterparts, completing the evolution *-àk* > *-à** > *-à*.[62] Rather strangely, Professor Frankel's essay does not go on to treat this quite logical culmination, turning aside instead to deal with the older *fù*, an assimilated southern literary species. The loss is a double one, since, apart from the

[61] The appeal of the prosodic possibilities of the verse medium itself are probably a more convincing reason for its rapid rise in popularity than the exhaustion of the possibilities of the poem proper, sometimes offered as an explanation (this cavalier view of the matter is retailed in Lai Ming, pp. 205–207), particularly as the poem, far from languishing in neglect, enjoyed one of its most vigorously developmental periods concurrently with the vogue of the new verse-forms, and has continued as a successful rival of the verse tradition down to the present day.

[62] My reconstructions of Ywén tones, which differ from those of Wáng Lì and other modern authorities, are based on the tonal aspects of the verse-writing prescriptions in the contemporary handbook *Jūng-ywéen yīn-yùn* (1324) and on reconstructed versions of the song-melodies in question. Space does not permit full presentation of this evidence.

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missed opportunity to complete the narrative account of the poem/lyric > verse > [song] tradition, the discussion of the *fù* is crucially hampered by lack of space to present its classical beginnings (in the *Chŭ tsź* anthology, mentioned in passing on p. 35), its analogues in formal and fancy prose, or the major stylistic stages in its own quite sufficiently complex evolution. To take on this unfinishable job in preference to completing the story implicit in the other four examples was, to say the least of it, a strategically questionable decision.

A few statements in the concluding remarks (p. 36) require comment, beginning with the repeatedly alleged "shortness" of four-, five-, and seven-syllable lines. It was noticed above that the nine-syllable line tends, more for syntactic and rhetorical reasons than for metrical ones, to fall of its own weight into two portions, and the same could be said of the also very rare eight-syllable line.[63] Empirically, then, the seven-syllable line is the metrically and psychologically "long" line in Chinese. The three-syllable couplet, on the other hand, and thinkably the four-syllable couplet also, has been seen to be metrically equivalent in some contexts to the seven-syllable line, and the single three-syllable line has sometimes occurred with clearly introductory or interruptive function in a mixed stanzaic form. This suggests that the three-syllable line tends to function as a half-line, and it may fairly be called metrically short. The five-syllable line, the mainstay of early mediaeval poetry, makes a plausible medium-length line between the two. As to how this internal situation should be assessed from the external or generalist viewpoint evidently adopted by Professor Frankel, some circumspection is necessary. It will readily be granted that the seven-syllable Chinese line has three fewer syllables than the standard English iambic pentameter line, but it does not automatically follow that it is "shorter" in any cosmically meaningful sense. Of somewhat more fundamental importance are semantic and durational length. In an interesting if isolated experiment, George Kennedy found in 1954 that the normal reading times for a sample of modern Chinese expository prose and a stylistically analogous English translation were virtually identical, the Chinese-to-English syl-

[63] Legge, *Chinese Classics*, IV, "Prolegomena" p. 121, referring to traditional prosody at large: "A single line of Chinese cannot sustain the weight of more characters than eight. The limit should perhaps be placed at seven."

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labic ratio being on the order of 10:11.[64] My own casual observations of the less polysyllabic literary Chinese language tend to support the idea of an isochronous relationship on the semantic rather than the syllabic level. Various translators from the literary language have found[65] or demonstrated implicitly in their work[66] that the same message in English requires something like twice the number of syllables. It would seem, then, that the Chinese seven-syllable line (飲冰食蘗志無功)[67] corresponds in a non-trivial way to the English heptameter line ("Love has gone and left me and the days are all alike").[68] Of English heptameter, we are told by Paul Fussell, Jr., on page 196 of the present work that "it seems characteristic of the ear trained to English usage that, presented with a series of six- or seven-foot lines, it tends to break them down into smaller units (two threes, or the fours and threes of ballad stanza)."[69] If imputations of short-

[64] *Selected Works*, pp. 269–272. Kennedy himself preferred to see in his data evidence for a linguistically universal four-syllables-per-second rate of utterance.

[65] See in particular Arthur Waley's comments on metrical equivalents in the introduction to the 1962 edition of *170 Chinese Poems*, reprinted in Ivan Morris, ed., *Madly Singing in the Mountains* (New York, 1970), pp. 131–137.

[66] With metrical adjustments as proposed by myself, above, there are ninety countable syllables in *Shr̄ jyīng* # 115. Professor Frankel's literal ("free") translation of it, ignoring parenthesized matter, contains 183 syllables, yielding a Chinese-to-English syllabic ratio of 1:2.033, which is quite close to the practice of such scholarly predecessors as Legge (1:2.044), Waley (1:1.899), and Karlgren (1:2.089) for the same poem. Waley, though tersest of the four in this instance, usually employs a somewhat higher ratio: the examples chosen to illustrate his treatment of the five- and seven-syllable meters in a BBC interview with Roy Fuller (reprinted in *Madly Singing in the Mountains*, pp. 146–148) yield respectively 1:2.335 and 1:2.171.

[67] Yẃ Sywǽn-jyī, "Love Letter to Lǐ Dž̄-ān," *CTS*, XI, 9048.

[68] Edna St. Vincent Millay, "Ashes of Life," from *Renascence*, variously reprinted.

[69] The reference to "ballad stanza" is illuminating. Metrically careful translations of Chinese seven-syllable meter made on the quite natural 1:2 syllabic ratio, with properly placed caesura, can rather strongly suggest ballad meter, whose fixed associations in English have undoubtedly acted as a deterrent to the would-be metrically careful translator. In the pair of Waley translations cited at the end of note 66, for example, the original caesura is allowed to emerge far more clearly in the five-syllable piece than in its seven-syllable companion. Despite the closeness of the Chinese seven-syllable line (in general metrical terms) to the English heptameter, I have intentionally avoided referring to the Chinese syllable as a "foot," though Waley himself uses the term in his 1918 "Notes on Chinese Prosody" (reprinted in *Madly Singing in the Mountains*, p. 292). The still-emergent prosody of polysyllabic modern Chinese may yet provide a more

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windedness are to be handed out at all (and the need does not seem great), it could reasonably be argued, on this evidence, that English, not Chinese, is the stronger candidate.

That tones in the past "implied quantitative distinctions" is not a new notion,[70] but the available facts do not seem to bear it out. If the values proposed above for eighth-century tones are correct, the two acoustically long tones were the "level" and the "going" tones, the other two being distinctly short. There is, however, no evidence that the "level/going" versus "rising/entering" opposition is of any prosodic consequence during the period for which these tone-values can be considered valid. There may thus be quantity in the language (though any strict 1:2-mora relationship between short and long tonal contours remains to be demonstrated) but, within the limits of present knowledge, no quantitative distinctions in prosodic practice.

In a commendably sympathetic attempt to make the conventions of prosody seem linguistically natural, Professor Frankel argues that "parallelistic structures are a natural development in a monosyllabic, isolating language." This is doubtless correct. They are also natural in Biblical Hebrew (pp. 53–58), which no one has accused of monosyllabicity or isolationism, and occur freely in Eskimo, a language polysynthetic enough for any reasonable purpose.[71] Parallelistic structures, it would seem, are natural in languages, period. As to their being a "development," Robert O. Evans has lyrically but not implausibly claimed[72] that "doubtless, p[arallelism] was the basic element of primitive poetry before such refinements as meter and rhyme were invented." The particular sort of fine-grained, semi-antithetical, non-duplicative parallelism that characterizes portions of the eighth-century Chinese strict poem would perhaps not occur in exactly the

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exact counterpart of "foot," in the sense of a group of syllables organized around a single principal stress.

[70] Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, pp. 21–22.

[71] There is an example of Eskimo parallelistic song in C. M. Bowra, *Primitive Song* (New York: Mentor Books, 1963), pp. 83–84. For Chinese and Eskimo as opposite poles of the linguistic universe, see Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1935), p. 207. I have taken exception, above, to the strict monosyllabic hypothesis on which this polarity is largely based, but Chinese and Eskimo are nevertheless sufficiently different for purposes of the present argument.

[72] "Parallelism," in Alex Preminger, ed., *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton, 1965).

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same state of equilibrium in a radically different language, but the narrow evolutionary form of this observation both says too little and proves too much.

Finally, it seems somewhat fickle to describe the emerging poem as "euphonious" (p. 28) and "characterized by balance and variety" (p. 31), only to fault it in the end as constituting a "monotony of short lines and lines of equal length" that needs to be relieved, in turn, by "variety of tones" (p. 36), implying that the centuries of hopeful aesthetic labor that culminated in the strict eight-line form were futile after all. That successive contemporary attitudes toward essentially the same structure may change this drastically is undoubtedly possible, but the direct reliance on general principles in both cases seems unconvincing, and indeed largely self-canceling.[73] Here and generally, it might prove fruitful to direct some attention to the specifically human component in the evolution of human culture, particularly to the central question of the dynamics of the perception of obsolescence and of receptivity to innovation.

The eight entries of the concluding bibliography make a painful impression. The considerate gesture which they doubtless represent is out of place in the present world situation, and will only be regarded by the superpowers as a sign of weakness. Generosity functions best in a context of equality; equality presupposes mutual respect, and history has repeatedly demonstrated that the surest way to win respect is through a conspicuous show of force. The importance attached by the Europeanists themselves to ritual hostilities of the bibliographic kind may be inferred from the lists constituting the second of the three essays devoted to English (pp. 204–216). Under these circumstances, a carefully selected thirty-page listing of works dealing with rhyme and prosody in the Classics, annotated in Chinese, would make a more appropriate opening salvo. Then, serious attention having been gained, the really big guns, in the form of a hundred-page bibliography on the mainline mediaeval tradition, can be brought to

[73] My own youthful piece "A Geometry of the *Shr Pin*" in Tse-tsung Chow, ed., *Wen-lin* (Madison, 1968), pp. 121–150, is in part an attempt to recover contemporary attitudes at one important juncture in prosodic history. Such attitudes are rarely unmixed with extraprosodic elements. The high goods Balance and Euphony may indeed govern in the universe of prosody, but the mysterious and particular ways in which they do so still retain a certain interest of their own.

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bear. In due course, an era of good fellowship and English annotation may well ensue, without any concomitant threat to the dignity of the Sinological calling. For the present, however, the effective ambassador will be the one who goes suitably armed on what may ultimately become a mission of peace.

II. JAPANESE

Superficially, at least, Robert H. Brower starts from a much more favorable position than his Chinese counterpart—a shorter history, a smaller country, an almost-equal space allotment in which to deal with them, and a romanization-weapon that eschews the inscrutable[74] in favor of conventions which are on the whole intelligible without elaborate explanation to readers with English alphabetic reflexes.[75] The poem-examples are again five in number, but sufficiently brief (the longer flights of Hitomaro and the later *renga* writers being mentioned but not quoted) that they and their translations nestle comfortably side by side, amounting in aggregate to scarcely a page. This splendid start, however, seems to have lulled Professor Brower into feeling that *all* his problems were already solved for him, as witness the rather complacent opening statement: "Traditional Japanese prosody is surely one of the simplest metrical systems to be found in any of the world's major bodies of poetry." The resulting essay, though in the nature of things more quantitatively adequate to its task than the preceding one, offers, in a way, less hope for the solution of the one or two remaining problems.

The transcriptions, though not the poems, are in the modern Azuma dialect. Professor Brower defends this discrepancy by stating that "for the last twelve or thirteen hundred years, at least, there has been no significant change in the basic pattern of open syllables and of the regular alternation of vowels and consonants" (p. 39). This carefully worded formulation does not meet the case, since it is self-evident that mere preservation of a CV trait of syllabic structure does not preclude prosodically consequential changes in the sound-values

[74] Let the reader consider the possibilities of, say, *K'ochik'i*.

[75] In contrast to the (fortunately hypothetical) form cited in the previous note, see the reference to the *Kojiki* (p. 39). The simplifications recommended in my note 1, above, may be seen as an attempt to extend the benefits of this salutary ordinarism beyond the borders of Japanology.

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of individual consonants and vowels. Nor is such preservation strictly true for the period covered, and we shall see below that the evolution of syllables with zero initial consonant (V), or long vowel (CVV), or final nasal (CVC), has quite an important bearing on metrical scansion. Long consonants and vowels in the modern Azuma dialect indeed figure prominently in the preliminary phonetic description, but, following the chronological order of the essay itself, it would be more to the point to define the syllable initially in terms of the language of the first three examples: pre-Muromachi "Western" (that is, Central) Japanese. In this language, ignoring sequences characteristic only of loanwords from Chinese, a syllable consists of a vowel preceded by a consonant or, at the beginning of a word only, by zero. There are thus in this relatively early period no long vowels or vowel sequences within native Japanese words, despite the presence of transcribed forms like *omou* (p. 44) and *yūgure* (p. 45) in the examples. Traditional spellings for these forms are respectively おもふ and ゆふぐれ, and as Hashimoto Shinkichi has shown[76] that the は series of consonants retained their bilabial-fricative character up to about the sixteenth century, we may improve things for this period at least by transcribing these words rather as *omofu* and *yufugure*. Other later-lost consonants, most notably *w-*, may be also recovered from the traditional spelling.

The presence of these easily recoverable consonants in the transcription will in turn greatly clarify such important phenomena as metrical elision. The last line of the example on page 44 (transcribed as *fune o shi zo omou*) is evidently one syllable (that is, one vowel) too long as it stands, and needs to be scansionally resolved into seven syllables by regarding a vowel-to-vowel contact point as yielding an elision into a single syllable. In place of the three candidate contact points in Professor Brower's Azuma version, however, a more historically conservative reading (*fune wo shi zo⁀omofu*) shows only one such possibility in the original line. The fact that elision never occurs in word-internal position in Heian and Kamakura poetry is strong evidence that internal consonants like *-f-*, though quite possibly distinct from their initial allophones, retained a definite consonantal quality throughout this period. The assumption that two elided

[76] Hashimoto Shinkichi 橋本進吉, *Kokugo on'in shi* 國語音韻史 (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 107–116.

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vowels become a single vowel (p. 44) is supported by some attested contracted forms[77] but is not strictly speaking required by the situation, since for scansional purposes syllabic consciousness may easily have focused on the number of initial consonants (including a glottal-stop allophone of zero) rather than on the number of vowel pulses, and though we may usefully speak of *metrical* elision, further investigation will be required to establish the specifics of such *phonetic* elision as may be involved.

Professor Brower has excluded the Nara period from his discussion, perhaps thinking to be absolved thereby from responsibility for the eight vowel contrasts which he concedes (p. 39) to be present in that language. The recent Philippi translation of the *Kojiki*[78] has demonstrated the greater boldness that might have been possible here also, despite the admitted lack of final answers on many points of phonetic detail. In any case, the Nara period is not to be banished so easily from even a brief account. For example, Professor Brower has rejected in passing the "pious" attribution of the poem on page 44 to Hitomaro, on grounds that it is "very unlike his usual style." The judg-

[77] Examples of evidently contracted forms are the pair *wagife* and *wagafe* (*Man'yo= shyu=* ※841 and ※816, both written phonetically), which are to be referred to the phrase *waga ife* "my home." It might seem that these forms demonstrate that metrical elision produces a form with some phonetic latitude (possibly due to dialectal factors) but always with seven syllables, due to the dropping of one or the other vowel, and not a blended form in which the two original vowels appear in quick succession. Further examination, however, discloses that the putative original *waga ife* never occurs in the Kan'ei text of the *MYS*. When the meaning "my home" occurs in a metrical context calling for four rather than three syllables, the form used is *waga yado*. Clearly, the process *waga ife* > *wagife/wagafe* is one which has been completed before the stage of the language represented by the *MYS*, which therefore tells us, in this instance, nothing about the phonetic results of momentary telescoping of metrically long into metrically short forms for scansional considerations operating only in the immediate context. The great majority of the *MYS* lines in which metrical elision is to be suspected contain, as written, an extra syllable, even where, as with *tokifa aredo* (*MYS* 3891 and 4301), the phonetic value of the elided form is scarcely in doubt, and there would have been no scribal difficulty in omitting the second *a-*. Not all traditions as to the elided pronunciation of hypermetrical (*jiamari*) lines are to be relied on, as witness the one represented in Clay MacCauley, "Hyakunin-Isshu . . . ," *TASJ* 27.4(1899).i-xxxi, 1–152, where with poem ※57 the reader is advised to "read *meguri aite* as *meg'ri aite*" (p. 75). Similar non-use of available vowel elision occurs at pp. 8, 33, 37, 40, and 52, casting doubt on such less implausible suggestions as "Read *shi owaba* as *sh'owaba*" (p. 36).

[78] Donald L. Philippi, *Kojiki* (Princeton and Tokyo, 1969).

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ment is one that I will admit to sharing, in a subjective way, but that does not make the stylistic criterion any less circular, or the assumption that a poet must always write in a "characteristic" vein any more inevitable. A usable sense of stylistics will include a knowledge of the poet's way with his materials, and of evolutionary changes in the materials themselves. How, then, does the Hitomaro of the textually safe portion of his corpus handle elements like meter, line-grouping, and elision, and is the poem in question definitely outside the attestable range?[79] Do the seemingly intentional vowel assonances in the poem, considered (at least in its aspect as an antidote to that monotony which seems to lie in wait for the Japanese as for the Chinese poet) at some length by Professor Brower, hold up in an eight-vowel transcription?[80] In addition to such also quantifiable but non-prosodic points as vocabulary[81] and rhetorical devices,[82] these are matters on which the readers with whom Professor Brower has chosen to raise the question of authenticity seem entitled to expect some light.

In more general ways also, the Nara period is full of interest for the history of prosody. As suggested above (and by Professor Brower's statistics on p. 43), justification of a metrically overlong line by scanning two adjacent vowels as one syllable is as common in Nara as in later poetry. Not all vowel combinations, however, appear to participate in the metrical-resolution process with equal ease. While one set of combinations will "justify" on virtually any internal syllabic position in the five- or seven-syllable line, another set shows marked positional preferences.[83] Assuming the latter set to be in some sense phonetically difficult, and thus to require extra acoustic help, it is not unreasonable to regard the positions which favor them as having

[79] One of Hitomaro's metrical diagnostics is an occasional use of a four-syllable line where a five-syllable line is expected (as in *MYS* #251 and the longer pieces #257 and #261), though he is also capable of a shapely 57577 *tanka* complete with metrical elision (as in *MYS* #254, from the same compositional set as #251).

[80] If not, a post-Nara date is strongly indicated.

[81] The word *honobono* does not occur at all in the *MYS*.

[82] The introductory adverb of manner seems rare in the safe Hitomaro corpus.

[83] These tentative observations and the provisional conclusions which follow are based on my own research, currently in progress, and are therefore subject to future revision and restatement.

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some phonetic feature in common.[84] If these positions are designated by β and the positions which demonstrably lack the feature in question are designated by α, and if the resulting partial pattern is extended to the whole of the five- and seven-syllable lines, we reach the formulas $\alpha\ \alpha\ \beta\ \beta\ \alpha$ and $\alpha\ \beta\ \beta\ \alpha\ \alpha\ \beta\ \beta$, respectively. These formulas may than be simply juxtaposed to produce a twelve-syllable framework in which successive pairs of α and β positions alternate from beginning to end. If such a twelve-syllable unit is an acceptable inference from the data, it would help to explain a fact that Professor Brower is content merely to report (p. 45)—the "solemn" (balanced) character of the 5 + 7 sequence, whose ends coincide with the boundaries of the twelve-syllable unit, as against the "onward-pressing" (unbalanced) character of the 7 + 5 sequence, which straddles two such units. The existence of such a unit would also offer grounds for dissenting from Professor Brower's preferences as to explanations of the origins of the five- and seven-syllable lines (p. 42). To this reviewer, with no particular national axe to grind, the idea of an uneven division of an underlying twelve-syllable unit into five- and seven-syllable hemistichs seems a natural and sufficient notion, more "plausible" than the idea of a direct Chinese borrowing, the more so since Chinese metrics provided no clear prototype for regular alternation in the same poem between a shorter and a longer line. It could further be argued, as with Chinese and English above, that a syllable-for-syllable equation ignores differences in the ground-rhythms of the two languages. It is easy to see how the coincidence of five and seven being significant numbers in Chinese metrics might have been seized upon, during one of the recurrent periods of Japanese enthusiasm for analogical mapping of the one culture on the other, as an interesting and even significant identity, but it is difficult to take it seriously as history. Indeed, given the obscurity surrounding the beginnings of the Chinese seven-syllable line in particular, it is somewhat surprising that recent Japanese psycho-economic assertiveness has not given rise to the opposite, and hardly less implausible, origin theory. For serious purposes, the question of the origins of Japanese metrics would undoubtedly be clarified by not being restricted to the high literary tradition. In addition to remnants of early folksongs (some

[84] It would be premature to suggest whether acoustic stress, lack of stress, or some other phonetic or musical factor is likely to be involved.

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preserved in court-music settings), it would be good to incorporate such phenomena as the Okinawan 8886 form (almost the same syllabic length as the *tanka*, but with a very different, foursquare metrical character) into any emerging general picture.[85] The 5757... metrical trait may well prove to be more intelligible as a residue than as a system.

On the tones of the language, Professor Brower writes, "as far as can be determined, Japanese lexical accent has also shown no alteration of its basic character since early times" (p. 39). That earlier Japanese also possessed a register-tone (pitch) system is correct, but the specifics of the system have changed as significantly, for practical purposes, as have those of the initial-consonant system. Professor Brower's attempt to dismiss tone as a feature of no importance ("a language of little accent," "irrelevant to prosody," both p. 39) comes perilously close to the Caucasian Ear syndrome on the one hand, and to the Sour Grapes position on the other. Tones will undoubtedly have to be included in the adequate scholarly transcription which still lies in the Japanological future, and, for early periods, a simple backward projection of modern tone values will not suffice.

Tones cannot handily be transcribed until the vowels are free of other diacritics such as the Hepburn length macron.[86] As represented according to the generalized transcription conventions suggested above, the inventory of tonal possibilities for two-syllable free words in the modern Azuma dialect would appear as follows:

A. *a⌊ki* "autumn"
B. *ya⌈ma* "mountain"
hi⌈to "person"
C. *kaze⌋* "wind"

Information on tones in the old standard language may be gleaned

[85] I am grateful to Mr. Kosuke Oshiro, of Honolulu, Hawaii, for providing me with information on Okinawan poetic forms.

[86] For transcriptional conventions, see above, note 1. The source of information on modern Azuma tones is *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* (Tokyo, 1954), but I follow K. Jimbo (*BSOS* 3[1925].659–667) in ignoring the sandhi-conditioned and non-phonemic middle tonal level. Chinese-type tone marks (as ā high, ā̀ low) have been intentionally avoided, as tending to suggest a contour rather than a register system.

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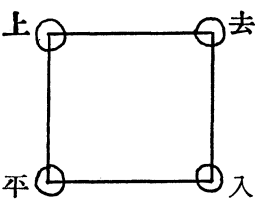
from the *Ruijyu= myo=gishyo=* 類聚名義抄 (ca. 1081),[87] in which a dot at one or another corner of a *kana* syllable represents the tone. This corner-marking is evidently in the tradition of the Chinese tone-marking convention (widely used in Japanese Buddhist psalmody; the *Ruijyu= myo=gishyo=* compiler was himself a monk), for which the equivalences are:



It turns out that only two corners, the upper and lower left, are used in the *Ruijyu= myo=gishyo=*. Now, whatever may be the degree of reliability with which the Shingon-Buddhist tonal tradition, adduced above, has preserved Chinese tones themselves, it seems likely to be relevant to a study of Japanese *ideas* of Chinese tones.[88] We may therefore reasonably take the "level" tone (lower left) as a low tone, and the "rising" tone (upper left) as a high tone. Interpreting the forms attested in the *Ruijyu= myo=gishyo=* in this way, and matching them with the modern Azuma ones given above, we obtain the following correspondences:[89]

[87] I have used the edition in the series *Nippon koten zenshyu=* (Tokyo, 1938), which contains a word-index.

[88] According to *Hōbōgirin* (Nakai, pp. 23–26) the Tendai tradition has been more influential than that of the Shingon sect in the development of Buddhist psalmody in Japan. With respect to melodic interpretations of Chinese word-tone, however, the two traditions do not appear to diverge significantly. Thus the at-large description of tonal treatment in O=yama Ko=jyun 大山公淳, *Shyo=myo=* 聲明 *no rekishi oyobi onritsu* (Tokyo, 1930), based in significant part on a text of the *Lotus Sūtra* handed down in the Tendai sect, is compatible with the Shingon rules adduced above, with a low level value for the "level" tone and a high level value for the "rising" tone. These values should then be applicable to the interpretation of the *Ruijyu= myo=gishyo=* regardless of the sectarian affiliation of its anonymous author.

[89] These results, which sufficiently demonstrate the systemic non-identity of tonal category in the Azuma and Heian dialects, are based on my own cursory study of the *Ruijyu= myo=gishyo=*. More comprehensive results are reported in Roy Andrew Miller, *The Japanese Language* (Chicago, 1967), pp. 86–87.

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Azuma		*Ruijyu= myo=gishyo=*	
A. *ak]i*	~	*a[ki*	"autumn"
B. *ya[ma*	~	*yama]*	"mountain"
C. *hi[to*	~	*fi]to*	"person"
D. *kaze]*	~	*kaze]*	"wind"

The statement connecting these forms is simple enough: (1) old Central low tone corresponds to modern Azuma high tone, and old high to modern low; (2) where this pattern would yield a high-high sequence in the modern Azuma form, a change (presumably within that language) gives instead a low-high sequence. It is this second clause that militates against systematic backward projections of contemporary tone-categories into the late Heian language, since it is impossible to determine from inspection of *ya[ma* and *hi[to* alone that they do not correspond to a single tone-sequence in the older phase.

Professor Brower has implied that none of this has been demonstrated to be of prosodic interest. On the other hand, it has not been demonstrated *not* to be of prosodic interest. An evening or two with the *Kokka taikan* (1951) will reveal, among other things, that *a[ki* "autumn," when occurring at the beginning of a line in the *Kokinshyu=* anthology (905), shows a strong preference for the five-syllable lines in the 57577 form, as does *yama]* "mountain," while *fi]to* "person" and *kaze]* "wind" show an equally clear preference for the beginnings of the seven-syllable lines. If one feels disposed to generalize from so small a sample, the hypothesis might be advanced that words beginning with a low tone tend to be associated with the beginnings of five-syllable lines, while those beginning with a high tone gravitate rather to the seven-syllable lines. The inference might be that the first syllabic position in the five-syllable line is itself characterized by, or at least has an intrinsic affinity for, low pitch, and that the first position in the seven-syllable line is associated in the same way with high pitch. Here, perhaps, is one sort of situation which awareness of tone can help to define, and perhaps eventually to explain.[90] Note that the pattern conjectured above for the twelve-syllable classic double-line posits an α type syllable at the beginning of both the five-

[90] A systematic study of the traditional chanting of *tanka* might be of considerable interest at this point. My own very limited observations do not yield any clearly relevant results.

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and seven-syllable lines, and is thus not compatible with the present situation. It would then be necessary, if both hypotheses are to be maintained, to assume in addition a considerable metrical reorganization between the classic Nara period and the early-mediaeval Heian. Given the gravity of such possibly pitch-related changes as the reduction from eight to five vowel contrasts during this period, such an assumption is not in itself at all unreasonable.

I do not wish to imply that there are not other and quite likely more powerful forces at work in the placement of words in particular lines of a poem. Imitation, lengths of rhetorically convenient locutions, and overriding expressive intent, for instance, undoubtedly play their part. Such factors may help to account for the opposite or tonally undistinctive behavior of other words than those cited above.[91] The question, however, is: when all other factors have been allowed for, does there remain a situation for which tone-correlations provide the most economical explanation? Inclusion of historically relevant tone in poem transcriptions, and therefore in the consciousness and the calculations of the investigator, would seem to be a necessary first step in the direction of arriving at an answer. Meanwhile, the systematic suppression of tonal data as a canon of scholarly practice is not a procedure that will recommend itself to the reflective investigator. As to the sort of places in which evidence of tonal significance might be looked for, the reflective investigator would undoubtedly be helped by being able to turn to a handbook of world prosody in which the conventions applicable to other register-languages like Norwegian, Ewe, and Navaho were described in some detail. The field seems wide open at present for the compilation of such a handbook.

By the date of the *haiku* examples (p. 49), the *f*- initial among others had demonstrably begun to weaken in initial position, and a fortiori in non-initial position as well. A considerable redistribution of phonetic weight took place, with, imaginably, a concomitant change in the psychological perception of the syllable, according to which the counting of initial consonants, which largely sufficed in classical prosody, would have become an increasingly less adequate alternative to the counting of vowels. As a consequence of the loss of internal consonants, long vowels came to exist in native words, with resultant

[91] A contrastive set might include *wa*[*re* "I," *hana*] "flower," *se*]*mi* "cicada," and *kimi*] "lord."

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weakening of the traditional resistance to the use of Chinese loanwords (with their frequent long vowels) in Japanese poetry. Thus, for example, old *yufugure* "evening" gave way phonetically to *yu*[=*gure* and so provided, by the seventeenth century, a phonetic precedent for the Chinese loanword *boshyu*= "late autumn" (p. 49). Similarly, the weakening of vowel *-u* in the future/desiderative verb-ending *-mu* and the negative suffix *-nu*, at some intervening date which is presently difficult to fix,[92] eventually produced an indigenous syllabic nasal. Thus the change from older written *todomemu* "would that they might stay" (*Kokinshyu*= ※872) to later *todomen* helped to pave the way for the freer poetic use of such *-n*-containing Chinese loanwords as the Nipponized verb *tanzuru* "grieve for" (p. 49). The changed phonetic situation, then, coincided with and probably in part stimulated a number of innovations in poetic diction.[93]

Along with the shifting of the syllabic perception itself, these changes may well have operated to weaken the sense of inevitability attaching to the traditional regular meters, so that along with increased receptivity to Chinese loanwords we observe, in the early *haiku* writers, a pronounced tendency toward metrical waywardness. This most commonly takes the form of hypermetrical lines, which, in the early poetry of Bashyo=, help to create a mood of playful insouciance, as in his *kimi hi wo take / yoki mono misen / yuki-maroge*[94] "if you kindle the fire / I will show you something nice / —a great big snowball." The same conjunction of low (non-courtly) subject matter and sprawling (non-courtly) diction may be seen in *natsugoromo / imada shirami wo / tori-tsukusazu*[95] "in my summer clothes / there

[92] Miller, *The Japanese Language*, pp. 207–219.

[93] There were significant non-prosodic factors also, including shifts in the social position of poets and associated changes in the attitudes they held toward Chinese learning on the one hand and the rhetorical taboos of the Heian courtier-poets on the other. As with the prosodically consequential language changes in seventh-century China, it is possible that historical events, by altering the geographical and psychological affiliations of the speakers of the elite dialect, helped to produce these results.

[94] R. H. Blyth, *Haiku* (Tokyo, 1949–1952), IV, 243, and Asatarō Miyamori, *An Anthology of Haiku Ancient and Modern* (Tokyo, 1932), p. 217. The variant form of the first line *kimi hi take* (Blyth, I, 242 and 407) is to be rejected as belonging to the very large class of emendations, intentional or otherwise, which have the effect of regularizing some unusual features of the text.

[95] Blyth, III, 198.

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are still a few lice left / that I have not yet caught." Implicit in both these examples is the fact of poverty (the first was addressed to his disciple Sora, who came regularly to assist him with his housekeeping), and Bashyo= characteristically uses long lines to heighten the portrayal of outward austerity or personal hardship, as exemplified, respectively, in the famous *kare-eda ni / karasu no tomari-keri / aki no kure*[96] "on a withered bough / a single crow has settled to rest / —an autumn evening" and the poignant *saru wo kiku hito / sutego ni aki no / kaze ika ni*[97] "he who heard the monkey's cries / how then, this abandoned child / in the autumn wind." With this touching example (775) in mind, we may consider Professor Brower's first Bashyo= example, about whose 884 form he is content to remark that it is "very unusual." This is correct, but insufficient. Prosody is not a sort of shawl tucked around the shoulders of a poetic idea, it is the very shape and breath of the idea. If an idea emerges into the standard 575 form, it will tend toward the climactic, epigrammatic, out-and-back internal movement implicit in that form, as in *furuike ya / kawazu tobi-komu / mizu no oto*[98] "an ages-old pond / a frog plunges into it / —the sound of water." If, contrariwise, it insists on coming out as 557, it does so because the final broadening-out is not merely appropriate to, but of the very substance of, the idea itself, as in *umi kurete / kamo no koe / honoka ni shiroshi*[99] "the ocean darkens / the

[96] Blyth, I, 89 and 401; Miyamori, p. 128. Blyth, I, 374, notes that in its original version the poem had the even longer middle line *karasu no tomari-taru ya*.

[97] Blyth, I, 49 and 401, which identifies the person alluded to in the first line as the Chinese poet Dù Fŭ; also I, 375, which points out the division of the phrase *aki no kaze* (a division unfortunately not reflected in my translation, following) between the middle and final lines of the form. For the circumstances of the poem see Bashō, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches*, translated by Nobuyuki Yuasa (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 52. Many of the other pieces in the early diary *Nozarashi Kiko=* contain long lines, but the hypermetrical tendency is not confined exclusively to Bashyo=*'s* early years, as witness his death-poem (Miyamori, p. 218): *tabi ni yande / yume wa kare-no wo / kake-meguru* "ill amid the journey / my dreams, over withered fields / yet go wandering."

[98] Blyth, I, 277 and 409; Miyamori, p. 130.

[99] Blyth, I, 32 and 400; Miyamori, p. 180. The latter observes, "Some commentators aver that the rhythm of this verse, which consists of 5, 5, 7 syllables instead of the regular 5, 7, 5 is more appropriate for describing the lonely atmosphere of the cold dark sea of December; but unfortunately I cannot appreciate their reasoning. For my part, I prefer the smoother rhythm of the regular arrangement." This is beside the point. The point is not what you like, but what the poem is up to.

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cries of the ducks / echo indistinctly white." What, then, will an 884 poem be saying to us? Partly, and obviously, it will point more insistently to the elemental lowliness which we have seen is suggested by the single lengthened lines in the examples cited above. The verbal fabric of the poem—the beard, the wind in the beard, the sighing at the quintessentially melancholy and austere season of late autumn, the evidently poor man represented as the child of parents who would pity his circumstances if they knew of them—supports this expectation. In addition to being vividly expressive in themselves, these features individually and collectively constitute a complex allusion to the classic poem on poverty by Okura (*MYS* ※892–893). The final question of which Bashyo='s poem consists—*ta ga ko zo* "whose child is he?"—assumes its full ironic effect only with Okura's poem functioning in the background as part of its expressive mechanism. And having noticed the close verbal affinity between the two poems, we will not be surprised to discover that the affinity is prosodic as well, particularly in the eight- and four-syllable lines in the second part of Okura's poem, where the "Destitute Man" is depicted in answer to the "Poor Man's" earlier question "By what devices do such as you / Make shift to endure your lives?"[100]

Professor Brower's bibliography contains three items, low for the volume (the essay on Spanish, which apparently lacks a bibliography, actually devotes its last two pages to the subject), at the top of an otherwise wholly blank page. If there was really no more than this to be said or cited, it is a pity that some of the surplus space could not have been transferred to the account of the hard-pressed mainland representative.

* * *

Rumor was, some years ago, that the work under review was to appear not as a single volume but as a series of pamphlets. It is unfortunate that this original intention, if such it was, has not been carried out. Among other advantages, pamphlet form would have relaxed the

[100] Quoted from the translation in Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford, 1961), p. 122. The authors have accomplished a prodigious feat of prosodic self-denial in devoting almost four pages of their book to Okura's poem without once mentioning the effective way in which the craggy metrics of the text (where not smoothed out by the choice of normalizing variants) interact with the starkness of the images on the content level.

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present stringent limitations on length and number of individual contributions. Impoverished students and teachers, undoubtedly the majority of both groups, would have been able to acquire the work gradually, or, at worst, selectively. It is not possible to conclude without noticing that pamphlet format would also have allowed for easy updating or replacement of individual essays, as the progress of the respective fields of study might require. Though that convenient option is not available in the present case, it is nevertheless greatly to be hoped that such progress, and such consequent obsolescence, will occur, and that the next opportunity to try conclusions with the representatives of the advanced nations will find the state of the Asian prosodic art at a higher level of cultivation than it appears to have reached at present.

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