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言語の科学

第2号

東京言語研究所

(注：「手紙に書いてあって」というのは、「手紙に書いたとおりを」ということらしい)。わかりましたか。お願いします。井上早苗先生が、8月14日、水曜日に、柏の私のうちに来ました。新しいお店や、うちのまわりのアパートや、いろいろなどところを見せてあげました。さようなら(名前)。返事の手紙をすぐに早く書いてください。お願いします(注：これは二伸のところ)。あなたの返事を待っています。返事を書くのがおそくなれば、電話をかけてもよいです。返事を早く書きますか。電話をかけますか。かけてもよいです。電話番号は私のうちの隣のペン屋さんのお店の電話番号千葉県流山の何々局の何番です。』

割によくまとまっている。こういう手紙が私のところによくくるし、私も点字で返事を書いて出す。ときにはこのように7枚ぐらい書いた手紙がくる。これは文部省で、アメリカのやはり盲ろう者が来て、この生徒が会った。その時の話を7枚の手紙にして報らせてくれたものである。そのうちに「スミスダスさんは手に毛がたくさん生えていてびっくりした」と書いてある。(笑) そういうことで人をちゃんと区別している。この生徒など、ほんとに人にちよつとさわっただけで特徴をつかんでもしろう。頭がはげているとか、(笑) 背が小さいとか、肥っているとか、やせているとか、非常に早い。

もう時間になったので、この辺で一応打ち切って、質問を受けたい。(拍手)

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What is Meter in Poetry ?¹⁾

Morris Halle

I should begin my lecture by observing that I am not a poet and that my only relation to poetry is passive: I like to read verse. Moreover, as a professional student of language, I have reflected upon it, for the language of poetry is obviously different from the one that we encounter in our daily lives. This is nowhere more self-evident than in verse that has a meter, and metrical poetry has, therefore, attracted the special attention of linguists for many, many years. As everyone knows, not every sequence of words will appropriately fit into a poem written in some meter. Thus, for instance, the line

the curfew tolls the knell of parting day

is clearly an iambic pentameter line. But just as clearly

Ode to the West Wind by Percy Bysshe Shelley

is not an iambic pentameter line. The reason for this is obvious: the former line has certain properties which the latter lacks and our task here will be to make explicit what these properties are. I shall try to show that these properties are a bit more complex and interesting than one might be led to expect if one believes the account of metrical verse that can be found in our school books.

1) This is an edited transcript of a lecture given in Tokyo on July 17, 1969. The lecture makes use of the following papers that at this writing are still in press and may remain in this status for some time to come:

M. Halle, "On Meter and Prosody", in M. Bierwisch and K. E. Heidolph, *Progress in Linguistics* (Mouton and Co., The Hague, Holland, in press.)

M. Halle and S. J. Keyser, "The Iambic Pentameter" (to be published by the Modern Language Association, New York, in a volume to be edited by W. K. Wimsatt.)

M. Halle and S. J. Keyser, *English Stress* (Harper and Row, New York, 1971), chapter 3. All rights reserved.

When a gardener plants flowers in a flower bed he often arranges these in simple linear patterns like those in (1)

(1)	a)	xxxxxx	b)	xxxxx
		xxxxxxx		xxxxxxxx
		xxxxxxx		xxxxx
		xxxxxxx		xxxxxxxx
				xxxxxxx

We may describe what he is doing as consisting of two quite independent components: one, he selects a particular abstract pattern for his flower bed, and two, he decides upon the means by which this abstract pattern is to be realized concretely; whether it is to be done by yellow flowers, red flowers, by tulips, by chrysanthemums, or what have you.

When we look at formal gardens of great complexity we often find that the simple patterns in (1) are realized in a very complicated manner. It is no longer the case that there is a simple one: one relationship between the X's in the pattern and flowers in the bed, but rather only certain flowers in the bed are used to actualize the pattern, whereas other flowers in the bed serve only as background. It is to be noted that quite often this more complex realization of the pattern has the effect of making the pattern much more difficult to perceive.

Clearly patterns like those in (1) are not only realized by arrangements of flowers in flower beds. Almost any type of physical phenomenon may be used to actualize the simple abstract patterns in (1). The X could be windows in the façade of a house, school benches arranged in a classroom, steps in a dance, beats on a drum, or finally, and this brings us to the topic of our discussion, the X could be actualized by particular phonological properties of language; e.g. by syllables, by morae, or by certain types of vowels. I shall try to show that the distinctive feature of all metrical verse is that in metrical verse simple abstract patterns such as those in (1) are realized by means of phonological elements. Differences in meters are due, on the one hand, to differences in abstract patterns, and, on the other hand, to differences in the choice of the phonological elements by means of which the abstract patterns are realized.

Perhaps the simplest example of how such patterns are realized by means of phonological elements is provided by the *haiku* and *tanka* poems of Japanese:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|----|---|
| (2) | a) | Kaki kueba
Kane ga naru nari
Hooruujii | b) | Haru tateba
Kiyuru koori no
Nokori naku
Kimi ga kokoro mo
Ware ni tokenamu
(<i>Kokinshū</i>) |
|-----|----|--|----|---|

The poem (2b) realizes the pattern (1b) in its entirety, whereas (2a) realizes the pattern (1b) minus the last two lines, and the rule of realization is,

- (3) each X corresponds to a mora in the line of verse, and vice versa.²⁾

A slightly different rule of realization is that favored by French poets. As shown in (4) the patterns such as (1a) are apparently realized by French poets by establishing a one: one correspondence between the X's of the pattern and successive vowels of the line of verse.

2) After my lecture on July 17, 1969 in Tokyo, I made the acquaintance of Mr. T. E. Huber, who is a student of Japanese metrics. Mr. Huber informs me that he has been investigating the meter of the poems in the *Kokinshū*, which was compiled in 905 A.D. The lines in this collection, like those in (1b) consist of 5 or 7 units, and a correspondence rule like (3) appears to hold. Mr. Huber, however, notes that there are cases where two morae count as a single unit. In 5-unit lines, a word-initial vowel is not counted except in verse-initial position. In 7-unit lines, word-initial vowels are not counted verse medially under more complicated morphological and syntactic conditions. Since all words end with a vowel, a word-initial vowel is preceded always by another vowel, unless, of course, the word-initial vowel also begins the verse. Hence we must modify (3) and allow two vowels separated by a word boundary to correspond to a single X. It is surely significant that a very similar generalization applies also in French classical verse (cf. (6) below) as well as in many other meters. (I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. Huber for generously acquainting me with the results of his interesting researches in advance of publication. See now T. E. Huber, "The Meter of the Poems of the *Kokinshū*", *Kyōshūgaku*, Nihon Daigaku, Nos. 11-12 (July 1970) pp. 678-667.)

- (4) O bruit doux de la pluie
Par terre et sur les toits!
Pour un cœur qui s'ennuie
O le chant de la pluie!
(Verlaine)

When we examine (5) below which is the first stanza of the poem from which (4) was taken we observe immediately that we were wrong in postulating a strict one: one correspondence between X's and the vowels in the line:

- (5) Il pleure dans mon cœur
Comme il pleut sur la ville.
Quelle est cette langueur
Qui pénètre mon cœur?

If we count vowels that are actually pronounced we notice that there are 6 vowels only in the second line and 5 vowels in all other lines. We notice however that lines 1 and 4 would be regular if we counted the reduced vowel, the e-muet, in spite of the fact that it is no longer pronounced in most standard forms of speech. In other words, if we read the poem with the special archaic style of pronunciation in which the reduced vowels — the e-muets — are not mute but are pronounced as schwa, lines 1 and 4 would become regular. Unfortunately, however, if that were done, line 2 would become irregular since the line was regular without counting e-muet. It is clear from these quite rudimentary considerations, which do not exhaust the subject by far, that the correspondence rule must read as in (6):

- (6) each X corresponds either to a full vowel or to a reduced vowel followed by a consonant within the same line.

Observe that not every reduced vowel that is phonetically actualized in the archaic dialect is counted. In particular, speakers who pronounce the e-muet in *pleure* of line 1 in (5) also pronounce the e-muet in *vile* of

line 2, yet only the former counts in the scansion. The correspondence rule, therefore, does not treat all phonetically actualized e-muets on a par: it picks and chooses among them. It is, thus, a highly artificial constraint imposed upon the language used, which often bears only an indirect relationship to the raw facts of pronunciation. Indeed a great part of the metrical artistry of a good poet lies in exploiting this indirect relationship between the abstract metrical pattern and the facts of pronunciation. We shall illustrate this at some length below. At this point we want only to make explicit the fact that the correspondence rules frequently relate X's of the abstract pattern to phonological entities in a very indirect and complex manner.³⁾

Consider now the English nursery rhyme (7):

- (7) A swarm of bees in May
Is worth a load of hay.
A swarm of bees in June
Is worth a silver spoon.
A swarm of bees in July
Isn't worth a fly.

3) A good illustration of the fact that the counting of an e-muet in a line of French verse is a purely conventional matter and has only indirect bearing on the pronunciation is provided by the line that constitutes the end of the third scene and the beginning of the fourth scene of Act I in Molière's *Tartuffe*:

Et s'il fallait . . .
Dorine
Il entre.
Oregon
Abi mon frère, bonjour.

The e-muet in *entre* is not counted because the following word begins with a vowel. Since, however, this is the last word of the third scene, the actress taking the part of Dorine is in no position to decide whether or not to pronounce the e-muet, since by the convention of the stage she cannot know what word will begin the next scene. This problem does not arise, of course, as soon as it is seen that the relationship between meter and sound is purely conventional. Examples of the above type are quite numerous and can be found without difficulty in most of the plays of the French classical repertory.

We observe immediately that each line has three stressed vowels and we, therefore, suggest that the underlying pattern of each line consists of

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and that the correspondence rule for this type of poetry establishes a one:one correspondence between the X's and stressed vowels. The nursery rhyme (8) shows, however, that this correspondence rule is too restrictive:

- (8) Ride a cock horse to Banbury Cross
To see a fine lady upon a white horse.
Rings on her fingers, and bells on her toes
She shall have music wherever she goes.

The first two lines are unmetrical given the simple correspondence rule just cited. We note, however, that lines 1 and 2 would be metrical if we treated stressed syllables that are next to one another on a par with the single stressed syllables. We propose, therefore, the correspondence rule (9):

- (9) each X corresponds to a single stressed vowel, or to a sequence of two stressed vowels with any number of intervening consonants.

Up to this point we have considered abstract patterns that were all made up of entities of a single type. There are abstract metrical patterns with entities of two types, of which two are illustrated in (10):

- (10) (a) WS WS WS WS WS
(b) SW SW SW SW

I don't know at present whether there are abstract metrical patterns that are composed of entities of more than two types. If such patterns do not exist one would like to inquire as to the reason why. Unfortunately at present the question can be posed but it cannot be answered. When the

answer is found it will no doubt tell us something about the capacities of human beings to perceive abstract metrical patterns embedded in concrete utterances of a natural language.

In the remaining part of this talk, I shall examine in some detail how one of the two-element meters is realized in English poetry. The pattern that I shall examine is basically that of (10a) and I hardly need to remark here that it represents the so-called *iambic pentameter*, the favorite meter of English poets from Chaucer to Yeats.

Consider the lines in (11):

- (11) a) the cúrfew tólls the knell óf pártíng dáy (Gray)
 b) änd léaves the wórlđ tó dárkness änd tó mé (Gray)
 c) Óh, wínd Wést Wínd, thóu, bréath óf Aútúm'n's béíng (Shelley)
 d) Thóu fróm whóse únseen préséñce the léaves déad (Shelley)
 e) Àppéar ín pèrsón hère ín Còurt. Síéñce (Shakespeare)
 f) thát Ì máy ríse änd stánd, ó'èrthrów mé änd bénd (Donne)
 g) Twénty boókés cláđ ín bláķ or réđ (Chaucer)
 h) wýllugh, élm, pláne, ássh, bóx, chástéym, lýnde, laúrér (Chaucer)
 i) the cóurse óf true lóve névér díđ rún smóoth (Shakespeare)
 j) Yét déárly Ì lóve yóu änd wóuld bé lóved fain (Donne)
 k) Fríends, Rómáns, Còuntrymén: téñd mé yóur éars (Shakespeare)

The lines cited in (11) were selected to exhibit some of the variety and complexity which is encountered in the iambic pentameter as written by various English poets. In our schoolbooks we are told that the iambic pentameter pattern is an alternation of weak and strong position — which we may here give:

- (12) WS WS WS WS WS (W)

Where the final W in parentheses represents the extra unstressed syllable that is found in verses with so-called feminine endings. The weak positions are realized by unstressed syllables and the strong positions by stressed syllables. The line from Gray (11a) is a perfect example of an iambic line as just outlined. Unfortunately, the other lines deviate in one or another way from this norm, a fact which the schoolbooks usually treat under the heading of allowable deviations. Let us examine the verses in (11) in order to see what deviations appear to be allowed:

Line (11b) from Gray's *Elegy* shows that not all S must be realized by stressed vowels. There may be *unstressed* or *pyrrhic feet*.

Line (11c) from Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* shows that not every weak position must be realized by an unstressed syllable. The verse may contain *heavy feet* or *spondees*.

Line (11d) also from Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* illustrates the fact that the absence of stress in a strong position and the presence of stress in a weak position may occur in adjacent positions, thus resulting in what is called an *inverted foot* (here in verse initial position).

An *inverted foot verse-medially* appears in (11e) which is taken from *Winter's Tale*.

Line (11f) from Donne's *Holy Sonnet 14* shows that verses may on occasion contain an *extra slack syllable*. Such extra syllables appear especially when two vowels follow one upon another without intervening consonant.

Line (11g) from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* illustrates a perfectly regular trochaic line — which when appearing in an iambic poem is said to be not trochaic, but rather an iambic line with its first weak position unactualized — i.e. *acephalic* or *headless*.

With such a long list of allowable deviations from the norm one almost has the feeling that anything goes. But, of course, anything does not go — experienced readers of pentameter verse will have little trouble in deciding that

- (12) Óde tó the Wést Wínd by Pèrcy Bysshe Shelley

is not a metrical line in iambic pentameter in spite of the fact that it contains the requisite number of syllables and deviates only by having a number of inverted feet which as we have seen in (11d) and (11e) are, at least, under some condition perfectly admissible.

The examples that we have considered so far will show how to draw the line between metrical and nonmetrical verses. The schoolbook account is inadequate as shown by the fact that it fails to draw this line properly in the case of (12). It also fails to explain to us why the list of allowable deviations includes the items cited but not such things as

- (13) a) Insertion of a parenthetical expression in a line
b) Anapests followed by an iamb verse initially

A good account of the iambic pentameter would exclude such absurd proposals on systematic grounds. There is yet one other thing one might expect from a good account of the iambic meter: it should provide some sort of explanation for our very strong feeling that though all lines in (11) are metrical, some, such as (11a), (11b), are much simpler actualizations of the pattern than are such lines as (11c), (11e), (11f), (11h), etc.

I propose to characterize the iambic pentameter by means of the abstract pattern

(W) S W S W S W S W S W S (W)

and the realization rule

- (14) 1. Each S and W corresponds to a) a simple vowel, or
b) a sonorant sequence including at most two vowels.

Definition: a *stress maximum* is a stressed vowel preceded and followed in the same verse by an unstressed vowel.

2. a) Every and only S correspond to a stressed vowel.
b) Only S correspond to a stressed vowel.

- c) Only S correspond to a stress maximum.

In the formulation (14) there are several alternatives for how a position may be realized. It should be observed that these alternatives are organically related, the latter alternatives being generalizations of the former. A sonorant sequence including at most two vowels subsumes as a special case a single vowel. And the three alternatives of (14-2) are similarly related; the earlier alternatives being special cases of the later alternatives.

Consider now what the significance of such organization of the alternatives is. On the one hand it rules out all sorts of absurd alternatives like those cited above (13), because these cannot be formulated as generalizations of the more restrictive alternatives. Secondly, the ordering of alternatives in increasing order of generalization provides us with a means for capturing the notion of metrical complexity. If the means whereby a given abstract pattern may be realized are narrowly restricted, the pattern will be very readily perceived. The less restricted and the more varied the means whereby a given pattern may be realized, the greater the difficulty an observer will experience in perceiving the pattern. We propose to equate this difficulty of perceiving the abstract pattern with the complexity of the line. Hence in scanning a line we shall need to keep track of which alternatives are involved.

In scanning we always begin by testing the first alternative. If this alternative fails we underline the vowel in question and test the next alternative. If every alternative in the rule fails, the line is declared unmetrical. If this does not happen, the line is metrical and the number of underlines that have accumulated reflects the degree of complexity of the line in question.

We now demonstrate the scanning process on some representative lines in (11).

- (15) a) thé cúrféw tólls thé knéll óf párring dáy
W S W S W S W S W S
Complexity: zero (no underlines)

- b) ãnd léaves thè world tō dárknèss ãnd tō mé
 W S W S W S W S W S
 Complexity: one
- c) Ôh, wíld Wést Wínd, thóu bréath öf Áutúrn's béing
 W S W S W S W S W S
 Complexity: six
- j) Yét déarly Í lóve yòu ãnd wòuld belóvèd fain
 W S W S W S W S W S W S
 Complexity: three
- h) Wýllóugh, élm, pláne, ássh, bóx, chá stéy'n, lynde,
 W S W S W S W S W S
 laurér
 W S
 Complexity: ten
- i) Óde tō thè Wést Wínd by Pérey Býsshe Shélley
 W S W S W S W S W S W S
 Nonmetrical

The measure of complexity that I have proposed appears to me to reflect more or less correctly the intuition that readers of pentameter verse have about the complexity of these lines. (15a) is certainly much less complex than (15h). And as already noted, greater complexity increases the difficulty that a reader has in perceiving the pattern that is inherent in the line, in uncovering as it were, the deep structure hiding under the surface. This fact might also explain why lines such as (15h) are relatively rare, for such lines can be seen as metrical only by the most sophisticated readers. Nonetheless lines of this sort are found in some of the best poets; e.g., in Milton,

rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,
 or in Wordsworth,
 Ships, towers, domes, theatres and temples lie.

This is rather similar to a situation encountered in syntax. While we know that there is no upper bound on the number of nouns that can be enjoined in a noun phrase of the type,

men, women, boys, girls, horses, cows, pigs . . . etc.,
 it would surprise no one to discover that in the collected works of Henry James or Joseph Conrad, the longest conjoined noun phrase of this type had no more than 16 or 69 nouns. Such sentences are just too complex and the same may be true of verses such as (16) which has a complexity of 16:

- (16) bíllòws, bíllòws, sérène mírròrs öf márine bórròughs, rémóte
 W S W S W S W S W S
wíllòws
 S (W)

The triply underlined words require the invocation of the second alternative of (14-1) as well as of the third alternative of (14-2).

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詩の韻律とは何か

Morris Halle

庭師が花壇に花を植える時、彼の行動は二つの要素に分析されうる。第一はある単純なパターンの選択 [例えば本文例 1 (a), (b)], 第二はそのパターンを実現する手段の決定 (例えば黄色い花, 赤い花, チューリップ, 菊等) である。韻律詩の作詩法についても同様のことが言える。即ち韻律詩はある特定の抽象的パターンを音韻的諸要素 (例えば音節, モーラ, 母音等) によって実現するのである。韻律形式の差異は第一に抽象的パターンの差異に、第二にそのパターンを実現する音韻的諸要素の差異に依拠する。

パターンの個々の成員 [1 (a), (b) の X] とそれを実現する要素は単純な一

対一の対応をなすとは限らない。韻律詩法上の技巧は主としてこの両者の間に複雑な間接的対応関係を成立させるところにあると言えよう。

抽象的パターンには単一の要素だけから成るもの [例えば本文 1(a), (b)] と、二種の要素から成るもの [本文例 10(a), (b)] とがある。現在まで筆者の知る限りでは要素の数は二つまでで、それ以上の要素から成るパターンはないようである。もしそのようなパターンが存在しなればその理由が追求されるべきであろう。答が得られた暁には、自然言語の具体的発話の内蔵する抽象的韻律パターンを知覚する能力の限界といった問題について何らかの示唆を得ることができるとは違いない。

次に、以上述べた観点から英詩のいわゆる弱強五歩格韻律をやや詳しく解釈したい。この形式はチャーサーからイエーツに至るまで非常に好んで用いられて来たものである。従来この形式は弱位置と強位置の交替とみられて来た。即ち、

WS WS WS WS WS (W) [本文例 12]

() に入った W はいわゆる女性休止において現われる。弱位置は無強勢母音で、強位置は強勢母音で実現される。例 11(a)~(k) において 11(a) は典型的な弱強五歩格であるが、その他は全て従来「許容される逸脱」とされて来たものに属する。即ち (b) はある S が無強勢母音によって実現される例、(c) はある W が強勢母音によって実現される例、(d) はある S が無強勢母音によって実現され、しかもそれに続く W が強勢母音によって実現される例、(e) は (d) の現象が詩行の途中で生じた例、(f) は臨時強弱音を含む例、(g) は典型的強弱詩脚が弱強詩脚詩の中に現われた例である。こんなに多くの逸脱が許されるのでは何をしても良いのではないかという気がするが、実際は勿論そうではなく、経験を積んだ律読者なら例えば、

Ode to the West Wind by Percy Bysshe Shelley [例 12] が韻律詩行ではないことを見抜くのである。では韻律的と非韻律的の境界はどこにあるのだろうか。また上記の諸々の事例が許容されるのに、例えば詩行の途中に挿入句的表現を入れることとか弱強詩脚詩に弱弱強詩脚を挿入することが許

されないのは何故なのだろうか。さらにまた、例 (11) が全て韻律的であるとしても、(a) や (b) のほうが (f) や (h) に比べてパターン実現の様式が単純であるという素朴な印象は何に基づくのだろうか。従来の詩学はこれらの疑問に十分な解釈を与えることができない。そこで筆者は次の解釈を提案する。

弱強五歩格のパターンは、

(W) S W S W S W S W S W S (W)

であり、その実現規則は [本文 (14) 参照]、

1. 個々の S 及び W は

a) 単一母音 または

b) 最大二個の母音を含む sonorant 連続に対応する。

定義：前後を無強勢母音ではさまれた一個の強勢母音を stress maximum とする。

2. a) 全ての S, そしてただ S のみが一個の強勢母音に対応する。

b) S のみが一個の強勢母音に対応する。

c) S のみが一個の stress maximum に対応する。

この規則中ではいくつかの可能性は、後者は前者をより一般化したものであるという関係を保って配列されている。単一母音というのは最大二個の母音を含む sonorant 連続の一特殊ケースと考えられる。2 の三つの可能性についても同様である。このように配列することによって第一に、挿入句とか弱弱強詩脚とかのようなとんでもない可能性を排除する。これらは特殊な可能性をより一般化したものとみることができないからである。第二に可能性が一般化の程度に従って配列されれば、それに基づいて韻律上の複雑さの概念をとらえることができる。ある抽象パターンが非常に限定された手順で実現される場合はそのパターンは容易に知覚される。逆に手順がより限定されず多様であればあるほどパターンは知覚は困難になる。パターン知覚の困難さと詩行の複雑さは平行すると言えよう。とすると詩行の律読に際してはどの可能性が選択されているかを追跡する必要がある。

律読する時はまず第一の可能性を試みる。これが当てはまらない場合は問

題の母音に下線を施しておいて、第二の可能性に進む。規則に含まれる全ての可能性が該当しなければその行は非韻律的となる。それ以外の場合はその行は韻律的であり、引き重ねた下線の数が問題の行の複雑さの程度を反映する[この方法で前出の例(11)を律読したものが本文133頁の例(15)である]。

この分析で見ると上記の尺度は読み手の直観とほぼ一致するようである。例えば11(a)は(b)より複雑さの度合いが低い。既に述べたように複雑度が増大すればするほど、読み手にとっては、詩行のもつパターンを知覚し表層の下にある深層構造を露わにすることが困難になるのである。11(h)のようなものはミルトンやワーズワースの詩に確かに使われてはいるが一般的に言えばごく稀れである。それというのもこの種の詩行はあまりに複雑で、非常に技巧にだけた読み手にしか韻律詩として知覚され得ないからである。

同様のことはシンタクスにおいても見られる。例えば *men, women, boys, girls, horses, cows, pigs... etc.* というような名詞句は理論的には無限に多くの名詞を含み得るが、ヘンリー・ジェイムズやジョセフ・コンラッドの著者集を見てもこの種の形式の含む名詞はたかだか前者が16個、後者が69個である。これは別に驚くに当たらないのであり、即ちそのような文章はあまりに複雑すぎるのである。

〔この講演は1969年7月17日朝日講堂において行なわれた。講演者は、
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