

ME/ε/ の発達過程について

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I. 序 論

Kökeritz と Dobson は初期近代英語期の標準英語の発音に関してしばしば見解を異にしている。Kökeritz は資料と矛盾することなく考えられものの中で最も進んだものを推定するのに対し、Dobson は最も遅れたものを推定し、両者の推定結果はいわば両極で対峙している。Kökeritz は ME/a/ は既に 15 世紀に標準英語においても前母音化して [æ] になっていたと主張する。それに対して、Dobson は 1600 年までは注意深い話し手の間では ME/a/ は [a] が正常な音であったと主張する。今回問題にしている ME/ε/ の発音に関しても、Shakespeare の頃には [ε] > [e] になっていたと主張する Kökeritz に対し、Dobson は 1685 年頃までは [ε] が正常音であったと主張して譲らない。現代英語では man = [æ] と men = [e] は完全韻をなさない。しかし、初期近代英語期には ME/a/ と ME/ε/ の脚韻が散見される。Kökeritz はこの ME/a/ と ME/ε/ の脚韻を [æ] : [ε] の類韻と見なし、ME/a/ が [æ] に前母音化した証拠として利用している。脚韻とはたとえその韻が完全韻であっても、両者の強勢ある音節の母音以下の発音が同じであるということ以外には直接には何も示さない。とすれば、ME/a/ : ME/ε/ は [æ] : [ε] 又は [e] の不完全韻ではなく、ME/a/ の方言音 [ε] 又は [e] に依存する完全韻であるという可能性が浮上してくる。E Mod E 期には ME/ε/ は ME/ε/ だけでなく、次の各音韻

と押韻しており、どの音価に依存しているかに関しては、必ずしも音韻論学者の間で、意見の一致を見ていない。

- 1) ME/ε/ : ME/a/ (neck : back, convert : art)
- 2) ME/ε/ : ME/i/ (theft : shift, herd : bird)
- 3) ME/ε/ : ME/i:/ (frend : mind, together : neither)
- 4) ME/ε/ : ME/u/ (cherish : flourish, exprest : dust)
- 5) ME/ε/ : ME/ɔ/ (men : on, earth : forth)
- 6) ME/ε/ : ME/e:/ (end : fiend, held : field)
- 7) ME/ε/ : ME/a:/ (revenge : range, yet : fate)
- 8) ME/ε/ : ME/ai/ (men : vain, then : slain)

古音推定法の中で一番遅れている脚韻の資料を組織的に収集し、資料の再検討を行っている過程において、一見不完全韻と思われる脚韻が見出されても、その脚韻は類韻ではなく、完全韻ではないかという疑問を抱くようになった。英詩で脚韻が使用され、ほぼ大母音推移が完了する 1800 年までの詩人に見出される ME/ε/ の脚韻を発掘し、それらがどの発音に依存しているかを考察するのが本稿の目的である。

II. 本 論

E Mod E の ME/ε/ の音価を推定する臨時綴字、正音学者、脚韻の証拠をそれぞれ Wyld, Dobson, Kökeritz から拾い集め、それらを整理すると以下のようなになる。

I] ⁽¹⁾Wyld は 15~6 世紀の文書に 1a) ME/ε/ を a と綴った臨時綴字、及び 1b) ME/a/ を e と綴った臨時綴字がしばしば見出されることを根拠にして、15 世紀に南部諸州で、16 世紀の末までには St E においても ME/a/ は [æ] に前母音化されていたと考えている。

1a) ME/ε/ を a と綴った例

15 世紀…message (message), massyngers (messengers), Wanyyday (Wednesday), zasterday (yesterday) --- Gregory (1467 年以前), massaynger (messenger) --- Marg. Paston.

16 世紀…mansion (mention) --- Sir T. Elyot (1531), prast (pressed) --- Machyn (1550-3).

1b) ME/a/ を e と綴った例

15 世紀…eddres (adders), sadness (sadness), wex (wax), wesshe (wash) --- Palladius (1421), heve (have) --- W. Paston (1425-30), thenking (thanking) --- Duke of Buckingham, Paston Letters (1442-50), seck (sack) --- Marg. Pastons (1440-70), hendes (hands) --- Shillingford (1447-50), bechler (bachelor), cheryte (charity), fetham (fathom), jesper (jasper) --- Gregory (1470 年以前)

16・7 世紀…bend (band) --- Bp. Knight (1512), exemynde (examined), Jenewery (January), renk (rank) --- Lord Berners (1520), Cremer (Cranmer) --- Machyn (1550-3), hed (had) --- Alleyne Papers (1580-1661), settisfie (satisfy) --- Mrs. Basire (1654), Frencis (Francis) --- ibid. (1655), sednes (sadness) --- ibid. (1656).

しかし、⁽²⁾Dobson によると、1a) の臨時綴字の場合、それらが見出されるのは ME/ε/ が今日 [æ] となっている地方 (東部と南部) の出身者 (Margaret Pastn [Norfolk], Gregory [Suffolk], Machyn [a Yorkshireman], Elyot [South-west]) の文書に限られており、これらは方言形を表すものと見なすべきで St E での前母音化の証拠にはならない。1b) の臨時綴字の内、Paston Letters からのものは殆ど MSS の誤読である。そして、残りのものは、臨時綴字の筆者が ME/a/ が [e] になった地方 (東中部と Kent) の出身者であるか、その臨時綴字には ME/ε/ 異形が並存しているか、又は、語中で弱強勢を持つもののいずれかに属するものである。これらは ME/a/=[æ] ではなく、方言形・異形 [ε] 又は [e]、あるいは弱形 [ə] を表すものであり St E での前母音化の証拠にはならない。

⁽³⁾Kökeritz によると、Shakespeare にも次の ME/ε/ を a と綴った臨時綴字が見出されている。1) ambassie (embassy), arrant (erand), malacholy (melancholy), wrastler (wresyler), 2a) alligant (ellegant), fallies (fellies), rallish (relish), 2b) vara (very), 3) sack (sec). 彼は 1) を ME/a/ 異形によるもの、2a) を後続する l の影響によるもの、2b) を

北部方言によるもの、3) を ME/ε/ を ME/a/ と発音する傾向により、可能となった過剰訂正発音 (hypercorrect pronunciation) であるという OED の説明を採用している。

⁽⁴⁾ Wyld は 15 世紀以降の東中部・ロンドン出身者の私的文書に ME/ε/ を i と綴った臨時綴字が豊富に見出されることから、ME/ε/ > ME/i/ が東中部方言で生じ、徐々に南下し、Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex 方言に広まったと考えている。

2a) ME/ε/ を i と綴った例

___ [n] + 子音 … Inghland (England) --- Gregory (1467 年以前), Bynche (Bench) --- Gregory (1467 年以前), Fortescue (1471-6), Wm. Paston (1425-30), Duke of York (1474), Thomas Pery (1539), Hohn Mason (1535), Bynche (Bench) --- Gregory (1467 年以前), Macyn (1550-3), wrynchyng (wrenching) --- Ascham (1545), gintlemaen (gentleman) --- Laneham (1575), repint (repent) --- Vermey Mem. (1645), atinding (attending) --- ibid. (1665), rintes (rents) --- ibid. (1642).

___ [s] … sincible (sensible) --- Wentworth Papers (1711), opprision (oppression) --- Latimar (1549), opprissing (oppressing) --- Q. Elizabeth, requist (request) --- Verney Mem. (1645), bist (best),

___ [l] の前 … rebellion (rebellion) --- Forescue (1471-6), till (tell), will (well) --- Verney Mem. (1645), will (well) --- Mrs. Basire.

2b) ME/i/ を e と綴った例

Beshop (Bishop), hese (his), trenity (trinity), well (will) --- Paston (1440-70), flekeryngs (flickering), merour (mirror), smet (smit) --- Bokenam (1443), beche (bitch), cheldren (children), deshes (dishes), sheppe (ship), wendow (window) --- Cely Papers (1473-88), lemyted (litted), pejon (pigeon), pelory (Pillory), schelyngys (shillings) --- Gregory (1467 年以前), bisines (business), knetted (knitted), shellyngs (shillings) --- Caxton (1477), sence (since) --- Sir Thomas Elyott (1531), begenning (biginning), Beshop (Bishop), fessherman (fisher-

man), fenysched (finished), premrose (primrose), shepe (ship), --- Sir Thomas Seymore (1554), mestris (mistress), sence (since), thether (thither) --- Bp. Latimer (1549), splettyd (splitted) --- Ascham (1545), bellowes (billows), rechis (riches), hether (hither), weshing (wishing) --- Q. Elizabeth, cheldren (children), consperasy (conspiracy), denner (dinner), delevered (delivered), essue (issue), hes (his), leveray (livery), menyter (minister), pelers (Pillars) (Richard), red (rid), selver (silver), sennet (signet), velyns (villains) --- Machyn (1550-3), bet (bit), cheldre (children), melch (milch), mesry (misery), pettyful (pittifull), pell (pill), resestance (resistance), sence (since), stell (still), strep (strip), thenk (think), untel (until) --- Verney Memoirs (1639-96), cheldren (children), contenew (continue), presonor (prisoner), sence (since) --- Dr. Basir (1634-75), beger (bigger), consperacy (conspiracy), contenew (continue), delever (deliver), hender (hinder), senc (since), setting (sitting), spetting (spitting), tel (till), well (will) --- Wentworth Papers (1705-35).

⁽⁵⁾ Wyld は [ε] > [i] を ___ [n] + 子音, ___ [s], ___ [l] の前で起った条件変化として記述しているが, ⁽⁶⁾ Dobson によると, ME 期中に広範囲にわたって観察された [ε] > [i] の傾向はこれらの環境で顕著であったが, 他の音声環境 ([r] + 子音の前 --- wretch, [g] + 歯音の前 --- get, [n] の前 --- ken, その他 --- dreg, theft) にも広く認められている。⁽⁷⁾ Kökeritz によると, Shakespeare にも次の ME/ε/ を i と綴った臨時綴字が見出されている。bitter (better), blisse (bless), cliff (clef), disperate (desperate), divell (devell), intrails (entraile), intire (entire), libbards (leopard's), pibble (pebble), sildome (seldome), sixeton (sexton), together (together), whither (whether). 彼はこれらは ME/ε/ = [i] を前提としており, この発音は今日では卑俗語・方言の特色であるが, かつては上流階級の人々の間で極普通であったと考えている。

3) Wyld は ME/ε/ を u と綴った臨時綴字を挙げていないが, ⁽⁸⁾ Kökeritz は Shakespeare から以下の臨時綴字を挙げています。

a) ME/ε/ を u と綴ったもの

Lubbas head (<leopard heads), hem (hum), rust (rest), runagate (renegade), surge (serge)

b) ME/u/ を e と綴ったもの

serge (surge)

最初のもは Mrs Quickly の発音であり, Shakespeare がわざと滑稽さを醸し出すために Lubber-head に似せて造った語である。hem は hum と同じ意味を持つ擬声語である。rust は方言での [e] > [u] を示すものであり, OED は rest に ME/u/ 異形 (5 ruste) が並存していることを示している。runagate は run (3-7 ren) + agate と分析した通俗語源によるものであり, これらは何れも St E での ME/ε/ の音価を推定する資料にはなり得ないのもである。⁽⁹⁾ Bullakar には just : rest が見られ, just が ME/ε/ を持っていたことを示しており, これは Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex を含む多くの方言で観察されて vulgarism である。

Ⅱ] ⁽¹⁰⁾ME/ε/ は緩んだ [ε] であり, Cooper (1685) は ME/a:/ を短くした音と等しいと記述し, 更にドイツ語の短い e と等価であるが, フランス語では稀であるとしている。

Ⅲ] ⁽¹¹⁾Kökeritz は ME/ε/ はエリザベス朝時代には今日の [e] になっていたとしているが, 根拠は何も挙げていない。Shakespeare には次の脚韻が見出されている。

ME/ε/ : ME/a/

wreck : scratch, letter : matter. 前者は wretch の ME/a/ 異形に依存するもの, 後者は [ε] : [æ] の類韻であると考えている。

ME/ε/ : ME/i/

theft : shift, together whither. 前者は ME/ε/ > [i], 後者は whither の ME/ε/ 異形に依存するものと考えている。

ME/ε/ : ME/i:/

together : either, together : neither. either, neither の ME/ε/ 形に依存するものと考えている。

ME/ε/ : ME/ε:/

nest : breast, left : beast. ME/ε:/ の ME/ε/ 異形に依存するもの
と考えている。

ME/ε/ : ME/e:/

held : field, devil : evil. ME/ε/ の ME/e:/ 異形に依存するものと考
えている。

筆者が新たに発掘した例

ME/ε/ : ME/a:/

get : late

ME/ε/ : ME/ai/

men : again

ME/ε/ : ME/u/

exprest : dust

ME/ε/ : ME/ɔ/

men : on

ME/ε/ : ME/au/

tell : all, elm : balm

ME/ε/r : ME/i:/r

were : quire

ME/ε/r : ME/ɔ/r

earth : forth

ME/ε/ : ME/i/r

blest : first

ME/ε/ は E Mod E 以降 ME/ε/ だけでなく以下の音韻と押韻している。
次の表は自由位置の ME/ε/ を含む全脚韻の中で、ME/ε/ と ME/ε/,
ME/a/, ME/i/, ME/ɔ/, ME/u/, ME/i:/, ME/ε:/, ME/a:/, ME/ai/
の脚韻が占める相対頻度を示したものである。

	10a:10a	10a:3a, b	10a:5a	10a:6a, b, d	10a:8a, b, d	10a:9a	10a:13a, c	その他	total							
T. Wyatt (1503-42)	228	66.3%	7	2.0%	2	0.6%	87	25.2%	15	4.4%	4	1.2%	0	0.0%	1	343
H. Howard (?1517-47)	57	62.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	34	36.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	92
G. Gascoign (c.1535-77)	321	82.9%	3	0.8%	0	0.0%	59	15.3%	0	0.0%	4	1.0%	0	0.0%	0	387
G. Turberville (?1540-1610)	159	76.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	46	22.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.0%	0	207
E. Spenser (1552-99) Sc	47	70.1%	2	3.0%	0	0.0%	16	23.9%	0	0.0%	2	3.0%	0	0.0%	0	67
Fairy Queen 1巻	291	74.0%	6	1.5%	0	0.0%	75	19.1%	4	1.0%	13	3.3%	2	0.5%	2	393
Fairy Queen 2巻	297	79.4%	11	2.9%	0	0.0%	40	10.7%	10	2.6%	9	2.9%	3	0.8%	2	374
Fairy Queen 3巻	298	73.6%	6	1.7%	0	0.0%	68	16.9%	13	3.2%	8	2.0%	2	0.5%	6	402
Fairy Queen 4巻	346	76.5%	16	3.5%	0	0.0%	54	11.9%	11	2.5%	14	3.1%	0	0.0%	8	452
Fairy Queen 5巻	258	76.6%	7	2.1%	0	0.0%	48	14.3%	4	1.2%	12	3.6%	0	0.0%	8	337
Fairy Queen 6巻	306	76.9%	13	3.3%	0	0.0%	56	14.1%	5	1.3%	10	2.5%	3	0.8%	3	398
Minor Poems	347	75.9%	7	1.5%	0	0.0%	77	16.9%	0	0.0%	16	3.5%	0	0.0%	10	457
W. Raleigh (1552-1618)	56	90.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	8.1%	1	1.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	62
P. Sidney (1554-84)	372	80.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	71	15.5%	1	0.2%	6	1.3%	2	0.4%	6	460
J. Lyly (?1554-1606)	82	75.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	18	16.7%	1	0.9%	6	5.6%	1	0.9%	0	108
W. Warner (1558-1609)	432	84.7%	7	1.4%	0	0.0%	46	9.0%	0	0.0%	22	4.3%	0	0.0%	3	510
R. Southwell (1561-95)	64	68.8%	4	4.3%	0	0.0%	21	22.6%	0	0.0%	4	4.3%	0	0.0%	0	93
S. Daniel (?1563-1619)	518	83.4%	9	1.4%	1	0.2%	64	10.2%	11	1.8%	18	2.9%	0	0.0%	0	621
M. Drayton (1563-1631)	610	75.6%	12	1.5%	4	0.5%	144	17.8%	3	0.3%	16	2.0%	13	1.6%	5	807
C. Marlowe (1564-93)	158	79.0%	5	2.5%	0	0.0%	29	14.5%	8	4.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	200
W. Shakespeare 韻文のみ	199	66.3%	16	5.3%	1	0.3%	73	24.4%	2	0.7%	6	2.0%	1	0.3%	2	300
W. Shakespeare 全 data	321	70.2%	18	3.9%	1	0.2%	99	21.6%	2	0.4%	10	2.2%	3	0.7%	3	457
T. Campion (1567-1620)	135	73.3%	2	1.1%	0	0.0%	38	20.7%	0	0.0%	6	3.3%	3	1.6%	0	184

	10a: 10a	10a: 3a, b	10a: 5a	10a: 6a, b, d	10a: 8a, b, d	10a: 9a	10a: 13a, c	その他	total					
J. Davis (1569-1626)	56	74.7%	0	0.0%	11	14.6%	0	0.0%	3	5.3%	1	1.3%	3	75
J. Donne (1572-1631)	242	72.7%	4	1.2%	57	17.1%	2	0.6%	21	6.3%	5	1.5%	1	333
B. Jonson (1572-1637)	279	74.8%	3	0.8%	70	28.7%	0	0.0%	13	3.5%	6	1.6%	1	373
J. Marston (1576-1634)	42	70.0%	3	5.0%	12	20.0%	0	0.0%	2	3.3%	0	0.0%	1	60
E. Stirling (1580-1640)	726	87.4%	17	2.0%	58	7.0%	2	0.2%	3	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	831
R. Corbet (1582-1635)	75	82.4%	0	0.0%	8	8.8%	0	0.0%	8	8.8%	0	0.0%	0	91
P. Fletcher (1582-1650)	422	75.8%	6	1.3%	101	18.1%	1	0.2%	17	3.1%	0	0.0%	9	557
J. Beaumont (1583-1627)	156	86.7%	0	0.0%	24	13.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	180
F. Beaumont (1584-1616)	104	73.2%	2	1.4%	26	18.3%	0	0.0%	4	2.8%	6	4.2%	0	142
W. Drummond (1585-1649)	152	65.5%	5	2.2%	50	20.5%	4	1.7%	8	2.6%	1	0.4%	3	232
J. Ford (1586-1639)	53	54.6%	0	0.0%	2	2.1%	18	18.6%	2	2.0%	21	21.6%	0	97
F. Kynaston (1587-1642)	193	73.4%	4	1.5%	62	23.5%	0	0.0%	3	1.1%	0	0.0%	0	263
G. Fletcher (?1588-1623)	98	71.1%	0	0.0%	33	27.3%	0	0.0%	2	1.7%	0	0.0%	2	123
W. Browne (?1591-?1641)	342	78.4%	6	1.3%	53	12.3%	1	0.2%	16	3.7%	10	2.3%	4	436
R. Herrick (1591-1674)	386	70.4%	7	1.5%	91	19.1%	0	0.0%	17	3.6%	22	4.6%	2	477
G. Herbert (1593-1633)	141	64.7%	1	0.5%	58	26.6%	3	1.4%	10	4.6%	3	1.4%	2	218
H. King (1592-1669)	112	76.7%	0	0.0%	27	18.5%	0	0.0%	3	2.1%	4	2.7%	0	146
T. Carew (1594-1639)	84	66.1%	3	2.4%	32	25.2%	0	0.0%	4	3.1%	4	3.1%	0	127
J. Chalkhill (fl.1600)	98	64.5%	2	1.3%	25	16.5%	1	0.7%	7	4.6%	19	12.5%	0	152
S. Marmion (1603-39)	52	65.8%	0	0.0%	20	25.3%	0	0.0%	2	2.5%	4	5.1%	1	79
E. Benlowes (1603-76)	197	72.7%	8	3.0%	52	19.2%	0	0.0%	7	2.6%	4	1.5%	0	271
W. Habington (1605-54)	67	68.4%	0	0.0%	24	24.4%	2	2.0%	4	4.1%	1	1.0%	0	98
J. Davenant (1606-68)	143	64.7%	4	1.9%	71	32.1%	0	0.0%	2	0.9%	1	0.5%	0	221

	10a:10a	10a:3a, b	10a:5a	10a:6a, b, d	10a:8a, b, d	10a:9a	10a:13a, c	その他	total							
E. Waller (1606-87)	123	66.5%	3	1.6%	0	0.0%	54	29.2%	1	0.5%	3	1.6%	1	0.5%	0	185
W. Bosworth (1607-50?)	91	73.4%	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	27	21.8%	1	0.8%	4	3.2%	0	0.0%	0	124
J. Milton (1608-74)	83	71.6%	1	0.9%	1	0.9%	29	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.7%	0	116
J. Suckling (1609-41)	40	59.7%	2	3.0%	0	0.0%	15	22.4%	1	1.5%	7	10.4%	1	1.5%	1	67
N. Whiting (?)	115	83.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	20	14.5%	0	0.0%	3	2.2%	0	0.0%	0	138
S. Godolphin (1610-42-3)	26	59.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	13	29.5%	1	2.3%	1	2.3%	3	6.8%	0	44
R. Cartwright (1611-45)	127	77.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	19	11.5%	1	0.6%	1	0.6%	17	10.3%	0	165
S. Butler (1612-80)	199	53.4%	20	5.4%	0	0.0%	111	29.8%	8	2.1%	11	2.9%	17	4.6%	7	373
R. Crashaw (1613-49)	157	60.6%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%	92	35.5%	0	0.0%	5	1.9%	4	1.6%	0	259
J. Cleveland (1615-69)	62	73.8%	1	1.2%	1	1.2%	12	14.3%	0	0.0%	5	6.0%	2	2.4%	1	84
J. Denham (1615-69)	134	74.4%	6	3.3%	0	0.0%	24	18.9%	1	0.6%	3	1.7%	2	1.1%	0	180
R. Lovelace (1613-58)	78	54.5%	3	2.1%	1	0.7%	36	25.2%	3	2.1%	15	10.5%	7	4.9%	0	143
A. Cowley (1618-67)	256	61.0%	3	0.7%	0	0.0%	124	29.5%	2	0.5%	28	6.7%	7	1.7%	0	420
E. Sherburne (1618-1702)	74	63.2%	2	1.7%	0	0.0%	34	29.0%	1	0.9%	5	4.3%	1	0.9%	0	117
W. Chamberlayne (1619-89)	413	80.8%	4	0.8%	0	0.0%	69	13.5%	3	0.6%	17	3.3%	5	1.0%	0	511
A. Brome (1620-66)	142	67.3%	3	1.4%	0	0.0%	27	12.8%	3	1.4%	21	10.0%	9	4.3%	6	211
A. Marvell (1621-78)	96	80.7%	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	21	17.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.3%	0	119
H. Vaughan (1622-95)	259	64.0%	4	0.9%	0	0.0%	102	25.6%	0	0.0%	19	4.7%	17	4.2%	4	405
T. Stanley (1625-78)	26	56.5%	2	4.3%	0	0.0%	18	39.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	46
P. Hannay (died 1629?)	164	68.6%	2	0.8%	11	4.6%	24	10.0%	17	8.1%	8	3.3%	9	3.7%	4	239
J. Hall (1627-56)	29	58.0%	2	4.0%	0	0.0%	10	20.0%	1	2.0%	3	6.0%	5	10.0%	0	50
C. Cotton (1630-87)	140	58.3%	8	3.3%	0	0.0%	67	27.9%	4	1.7%	8	3.3%	13	5.4%	0	240
K. Philips (1631-64)	137	77.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.6%	34	19.2%	0	0.0%	4	2.3%	1	0.6%	0	177

	10a:10a	10a:3a, b	10a:5a	10a:6a, b, d	10a:8a, b, d	10a:9a	10a:13a, c	その他	total							
J. Dryden (1631-1700) 1巻	308	64.3%	7	1.5%	1	0.2%	122	25.5%	4	0.8%	23	4.8%	14	2.9%	0	479
2巻	327	62.6%	10	1.9%	1	0.2%	152	29.2%	2	0.4%	11	2.1%	17	3.3%	2	522
3巻	319	60.6%	28	5.3%	0	0.0%	148	28.2%	0	0.0%	17	3.2%	14	2.6%	0	526
4巻	320	57.0%	34	6.1%	0	0.0%	165	29.4%	0	0.0%	33	5.9%	9	1.6%	0	561
E. Roscommon (c.1633-85)	27	67.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	27.5%	0	0.0%	2	5.0%	0	40.0%	0	40
T. Sprat (1636-1713)	19	36.5%	3	5.8%	2	3.8%	17	32.8%	4	7.7%	5	9.6%	1	1.9%	1	52
T. Flatman (1637-88)	50	45.5%	2	1.8%	0	0.0%	38	34.5%	2	1.8%	4	3.6%	9	8.2%	6	110
E. Dorset (1638-1706)	10	71.4%	1	7.1%	0	0.0%	2	14.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	7.1%	0	14
P. Ayres (1638-1712)	47	53.4%	2	2.3%	0	0.0%	30	34.0%	0	0.0%	2	2.3%	7	8.0%	0	88
T. Shadwell (?1642-92)	82	69.4%	3	2.5%	1	0.8%	22	18.6%	0	0.0%	4	3.4%	6	5.0%	0	118
E. Rochester (1647-80)	100	74.1%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%	22	16.3%	1	0.0%	6	4.4%	3	2.2%	2	135
J. Sheffield (1648-1721)	68	75.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	13.3%	0	0.0%	4	4.4%	1	6.7%	0	90
T. Otway (1651-85)	47	59.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	37.9%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%	1	1.3%	0	79
P. Carey (fl.1651)	55	83.3%	3	4.5%	0	0.0%	4	6.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	6.1%	0	66
W. Hammond (fl.1655)	15	68.2%	1	4.5%	1	4.5%	4	18.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	22
R. Blackmore (?1655-1729)	21	78.0%	1	0.6%	0	0.0%	29	18.7%	0	0.0%	2	1.3%	2	1.3%	0	155
R. Duke (1658-1711)	40	41.7%	8	8.3%	1	1.0%	37	38.5%	0	0.0%	5	5.2%	1	1.0%	4	96
E. Halifax (1661-1715)	13	65.0%	1	5.0%	0	0.0%	3	15.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	2	10.0%	0	20
S. Garth (1661-1719)	57	57.0%	5	5.0%	7	7.0%	27	27.0%	1	1.0%	0	0.0%	3	3.0%	0	100
G. Stepney (1663-1707)	38	62.3%	1	1.6%	1	1.6%	18	29.5%	0	0.0%	3	4.9%	0	0.0%	0	61
W. Walsh (1663-1708)	29	53.7%	2	3.7%	2	3.7%	16	29.7%	1	1.9%	2	3.7%	2	3.8%	0	54
W. King (1663-1712)	151	65.7%	7	3.0%	2	0.9%	55	33.9%	2	0.8%	5	2.2%	7	3.0%	1	230
M. Prior (1664-1721)	290	52.5%	40	7.2%	7	1.3%	157	28.4%	9	1.6%	26	4.7%	23	4.2%	0	552

	10a: 10a	10a: 3a, b	10a: 5a	10a: 6a, b, d	10a: 8a, b, d	10a: 9a	10a: 13a, c	その他	total							
J. Pomfret (1667-1702)	71	58.7%	0	0.0%	2	1.7%	39	32.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	6.7%	1	121
G. Granville (1667-1735)	65	55.1%	7	5.9%	4	3.4%	28	23.7%	6	5.1%	4	3.4%	4	3.4%	0	118
J. Swift (1667-1745)	515	78.0%	3	0.5%	8	1.2%	102	15.5%	5	0.8%	8	1.2%	16	2.5%	3	660
W. Congreve (1670-1729)	137	62.8%	4	1.8%	15	6.9%	52	23.9%	3	1.4%	0	0.0%	7	3.2%	0	218
T. Yalden (1671-1736)	58	53.7%	2	1.9%	4	3.7%	29	26.8%	1	0.9%	4	3.7%	8	7.4%	2	108
E. Smith (1672-1710)	17	81.0%	1	4.8%	0	0.0%	2	9.5%	1	4.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	21
N. Rowe (1673-1718)	34	42.5%	10	12.5%	2	2.5%	21	26.3%	0	0.0%	7	8.8%	4	5.0%	2	80
J. Addison (1673-1719)	60	54.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	45	40.5%	2	1.8%	3	2.7%	1	0.9%	0	111
I. Watts (1674-1748)	79	45.7%	9	5.2%	13	7.5%	53	30.6%	3	1.8%	3	2.3%	12	7.0%	1	173
W. Somerville (1675- 1742)	158	65.3%	2	0.8%	1	0.4%	68	28.1%	1	0.4%	5	2.1%	7	2.9%	0	242
A. Philips (c.1675-1749)	64	81.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%	11	14.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	3.8%	0	79
J. Hughes (1677-1720)	80	58.0%	9	6.5%	0	0.0%	47	34.1%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%	1	0.7%	0	138
T. Parnell (1678-1718)	145	60.9%	2	0.8%	6	2.5%	68	28.5%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	16	6.7%	0	238
E. Young (1681-1765)	217	73.8%	4	1.4%	1	0.3%	62	21.1%	0	0.0%	1	0.3%	9	3.1%	0	294
E. Fenton (1683-1730)	41	18.8%	1	1.2%	3	3.6%	35	41.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	4.8%	0	84
W. Diaper (1685-1717)	118	59.0%	10	5.0%	0	0.0%	71	35.5%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%	0	0.0%	0	200
J. Gay (1685-1732)	328	66.7%	1	0.2%	0	0.0%	139	38.2%	0	0.0%	11	2.4%	13	2.6%	0	492
T. Tickell (1686-1740)	68	61.3%	2	1.8%	1	0.9%	36	32.4%	0	0.0%	3	2.7%	1	0.9%	0	111
A. Pope (1688-1744)	379	70.3%	12	2.2%	2	0.4%	114	21.1%	0	0.0%	21	3.9%	10	1.9%	1	539
W. Broome (1689-1745)	31	43.7%	1	1.4%	0	0.0%	37	52.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	2.8%	0	71
J. Byrom (1692-1763)	448	77.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	69	11.9%	0	0.0%	7	1.2%	54	9.3%	0	579
M. Green (1646-1737)	46	86.8%	1	1.9%	0	0.0%	6	11.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	53
R. Savage (c.1697-1743)	102	74.5%	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	33	24.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%	0	137

	10a : 10a	10a : 3a, b	10a : 5a	10a : 6a, b, d	10a : 8a, b, d	10a : 9a	10a : 13a, c	その他	total							
C. Pitt (1699-1748)	45	52.3%	3	3.5%	0	0.0%	31	36.1%	0	0.0%	5	5.8%	2	2.3%	0	86
J. Thompson (1700-48)	51	77.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	14	21.2%	1	1.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	66
J. Dyer (?1700-58)	5	41.7%	0	0.0%	1	8.3%	6	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	12
G. West (1703-56)	57	54.8%	6	5.8%	1	1.0%	39	37.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	0	104
R. Dodsley (1703-64)	63	69.2%	3	3.3%	3	3.3%	17	18.7%	1	1.1%	3	3.3%	1	1.1%	0	91
S. Jenyns (1703-87)	89	75.4%	3	2.5%	0	0.0%	22	18.5%	0	0.0%	2	1.7%	2	1.7%	0	118
W. Hamilton (1704-54)	90	66.2%	4	2.9%	4	2.9%	31	22.7%	2	1.5%	3	2.2%	2	1.5%	0	136
D. Mallet (?1705-65)	51	65.4%	0	0.0%	3	3.8%	16	20.5%	0	0.0%	5	6.4%	3	3.8%	0	78
H. Brooke (1706-83)	299	64.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	162	34.7%	0	0.0%	2	0.4%	4	0.8%	0	467
W. Harte (?1707-74)	153	75.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	47	23.2%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%	2	1.0%	0	203
S. Boyse (1708-49)	134	61.5%	5	2.3%	11	5.0%	63	28.9%	0	0.0%	2	0.9%	3	1.4%	0	218
L. Lyttleton (1709-73)	35	59.3%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%	22	37.3%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%	0	0.0%	0	59
P. Whitehead (1709-74)	35	67.3%	1	1.9%	0	0.0%	12	23.0%	0	0.0%	3	5.8%	1	1.9%	0	52
J. Armstrong (1709-79)	13	41.9%	0	0.0%	1	3.2%	4	12.9%	5	16.1%	3	9.7%	2	6.5%	3	31
S. Johnson (1709-84)	56	76.7%	1	1.4%	0	0.0%	14	19.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	2.7%	0	73
J. Hammond (1710-42)	13	44.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	16	55.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	29
E. Moore (1712-57)	79	75.2%	0	0.0%	1	1.0%	16	15.2%	0	0.0%	3	2.9%	6	5.3%	0	105
W. Thompson (1712-67)	44	43.6%	5	5.5%	4	4.0%	39	38.7%	0	0.0%	2	2.0%	7	6.9%	0	101
W. Shenston (1714-63)	103	70.5%	2	1.4%	1	0.7%	30	20.6%	0	0.0%	2	1.4%	6	4.1%	2	146
R. Jago (1715-81)	16	76.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	14.3%	0	0.0%	1	4.8%	1	4.8%	0	21
W. Whitehead (1715-85)	135	58.4%	13	5.6%	2	0.9%	67	29.0%	0	0.0%	3	1.3%	10	4.3%	1	231
T. Gray (1716-85)	11	36.7%	3	10.0%	0	0.0%	12	40.0%	0	0.0%	1	3.3%	3	10.0%	0	30
R. Cambridge (1710-1802)	100	62.1%	11	6.8%	2	1.2%	42	26.1%	1	0.6%	3	1.9%	2	1.2%	0	161

	10a: 10a	10a: 3a, b	10a: 5a	10a: 6a, b, d	10a: 8a, b, d	10a: 9a	10a: 13a, c	その他	total							
J. Cawthorn (1719-62?)	62	62.0%	2	2.0%	0	0.0%	32	32.0%	0	0.0%	3	3.0%	0	0.0%	0	99
W. Collins (1721-59)	53	79.1%	1	1.5%	0	0.0%	13	19.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	67
M. Akenside (1721-70)	53	62.4%	1	1.2%	2	2.1%	23	27.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	7.1%	0	85
T. Smollett (1721-71)	18	54.5%	0	0.0%	2	6.1%	11	33.3%	2	6.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	33
W. Wilkie (1721-72)	215	77.3%	2	0.7%	14	5.0%	42	15.1%	1	0.4%	1	2.4%	2	0.7%	1	278
F. Fawkes (1721-77)	76	67.9%	2	1.8%	0	0.0%	32	28.6%	0	0.0%	1	0.9%	1	0.9%	0	112
T. Blacklock (1721-91)	82	57.3%	0	0.0%	12	8.4%	41	28.7%	0	0.0%	2	1.4%	5	3.3%	1	143
C. Smart (1722-70)	103	75.2%	2	1.5%	0	0.0%	27	19.7%	0	0.0%	2	1.5%	3	2.2%	0	137
J. Warton (a722-1800)	14	42.4%	1	3.0%	0	0.0%	16	48.5%	1	3.0%	0	0.0%	1	3.0%	0	33
J. Grainger (1723-66)	3	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	6
J. G. Cooper (1723-69)	57	54.8%	7	6.7%	2	1.9%	34	32.7%	0	0.0%	2	1.9%	2	2.0%	0	104
W. Mason (1725-97)	61	61.0%	4	4.0%	0	0.0%	33	33.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.0%	1	1.0%	0	100
T. Warton (1728-90)	67	65.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	31	30.4%	0	0.0%	2	2.0%	2	2.0%	0	102
J. Cunningham (1929-73)	74	65.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	32	28.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.8%	0	113
J. Scott (1730-85)	60	69.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	26	30.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	86
C. Churchill (1731-64)	365	74.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	115	23.4%	1	0.2%	9	1.8%	2	0.4%	0	492
W. Cowper (1731-1800)	260	74.1%	12	3.4%	1	0.3%	69	19.7%	0	0.0%	3	0.9%	5	1.5%	1	351
W. Falconer (1732-69)	91	83.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	18	16.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	109
R. Lloyd (1733-64)	223	67.4%	2	0.6%	3	0.9%	62	18.7%	0	0.0%	24	7.3%	16	4.8%	1	331
J. Langhorne (1735-79)	80	40.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%	116	58.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	1.5%	0	200
W. J. Mickle (1735-88)	130	59.4%	5	2.3%	15	6.8%	49	22.4%	1	0.5%	4	1.8%	15	6.8%	0	219
J. Beattie (1803)	75	56.4%	3	2.3%	9	6.8%	41	30.8%	3	2.3%	0	0.0%	2	1.5%	0	133
E. Lovibond (?1735-75)	28	53.8%	3	5.8%	0	0.0%	21	40.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	52

	10a:10a	10a:3a, b	10a:5a	10a:6a, b, d	10a:8a, b, d	10a:9a	10a:13a, c	その他	total						
E. Lovibond (?1735-75)	28	53.8%	3	5.8%	0	0.0%	21	40.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0	52
S. W. Jones (1746-94)	109	72.7%	1	0.7%	2	1.3%	37	24.7%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%	0	0	150
J. Logan (1744-88)	28	71.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	23.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	0	39
T. Chatterton (1752-70)	134	69.8%	3	1.6%	0	0.0%	50	26.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	0	192
G. Crabbe (1754-1832)	701	77.0%	3	0.3%	1	0.1%	200	22.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	0	910
W. Wordsworth (1770-1850)	122	61.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	69	35.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	0	197
G. G. Byron (1788-1824)	442	65.4%	4	0.6%	11	1.6%	144	21.3%	3	0.4%	31	4.6%	40	1	676
P. B. Shelley (1772-1822)	141	62.9%	7	3.1%	2	0.9%	65	29.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	8	0	224
J. Keats (1795-1821)	360	76.6%	9	1.9%	2	0.4%	88	18.7%	0	0.0%	2	0.4%	9	0	470

10a : 2a

frinde : ° minde (Howard), together : *either (Spenser5), together : *ether (Spenser6), attend : ° find, attend : inclynd, attend : ° mind, end : ° finde, end : ° mind, friends : ° kynds (Spenser-Minor), whether : *neither, behild : ° wild, hild : ° wild (Warner), together : *either (5t) (Drayton), together : *neither (2t), whether : *neither (Shakespeare), together : *either (2t) (Davies), friends : ° finds (Jonson), together : *either (Donne), together : *either (Marston), dress : wise, end : ° mind, friend : ° mind, never : *either, never : *neither, together : *either (2t), together : *neither (P. Fletcher), End : ° find, End : ° mind (Drummond), together : *either (Ford), together : *either, together : *eyther (3t) (Browne), together : *either (3t), together : *neither (Herrick), together : *either, together : *neither (Herbert), friend : ° mind (Marnion), friend : ° mind (Benlowes), together : *either (Suckling), together : *either (5t), whether : *either, whether : *neither (Butler), together : *either (Cleveland), together : *either, together : *neither (4t) (Brome), together : *either, whet : delight (Hannay), together : *neither (Dryden2), together : *neither (Sprat), friend : ° blind, friend : ° kind, less : rise, supress : rise, together : *neither (Flatman), Friend : ° find, together : *either (Wilmot), spend : ° blind (Hammond), attend : ° find, friend : inclin'd, friend : ° kind (2t) (Duke), meddle : *neither (King), friend : ° mind (Pomfret), Brethren : *neither-in, together : *neither (Swift), bed : pride, friend : ° mind (Yalden), friend : ° find, unbend : ° mind (Rowe), bend : ° mind (Watts), friend : ° find, friend : ° kind (Armstrong), together : *either (2t) (Shenstone), together : *neither (W. Whitehead), friend : resign'd (Wilkie), friend : ° find (Blacklock), together : *neither (Cowper), together : *neither (Lloyd).

10a : 2a は PE では [e] : [ai] となり不完全韻であるが、E Mod E 以降 Howard (Suffolk), Spenser, Warner (Oxfordshire), Shakespeare,

Davies (Wiltshire), Jonson (London), Donne (London), Marston (Oxfordshire), P. Fletcher (Norfolk), Drummond (Scotland), Ford (Devonshire), Browne (Devonshire), Herrick (Devonshire), Herbert (Montgomery), Marmion (Northamptonshire), Benlowes (Essex), Suckling (Norfolk), Butler (Worcestershire), Cleveland (Leicestershire), Brome (?), Hannay (Scotland), Dryden (Northamptonshire), Sprat (Devonshire), Flatman (London), Hammond (Kent) に見出されているものの、1650年以降次第に少なくなる (Duke (London), Pomfret (Bedfordshire), Swift (Dublin), Yalden (Devonshire), Rowe (Bedfordshire), Watts (Southampton), Armstrong (Scotland), Shensstone (Shropshire), W. Whitehead (London), Wilkie (Scotland), Blacklock (Scotland), Cowper (Hertfordshire), Lloyd (Westminster))。17世紀の半ば以降になると、ME/i:/=[Δ i], ME/ε/=[e] が確立し、詩人は両者を押韻させるのを躊躇したためであろう。10a:2aはこの時期までに伝統的脚韻になっていたといえてよい。

I] ⁽¹²⁾ 1500年までに-ngの前のME/ε/はME/i/に高母音化された。string (<OE streng), think (<ME thenke) 等のPEの形はこのように発達したものである。ME/ε/のME/i/への高母音化は-ngの前のME/ε/ほど画一的ではなかったけれど、他の音声環境のME/ε/にもしばしば生じ、MEではME/ε/を含む多くの語にはME/i/異形が并存していた。ME/ε/のME/i/への高母音化は16世紀には終焉するが、少なくとも、E Mod Eにはbench, cherry, dreg, eld, end, ever, get, held, helve, ken, melon, pebble, reck, rest, revenge, stench, theft, together, well, wrest, wretch, yes, yetにおいてもME/i/異形が并存していた。正音学者の証拠はないが、OEDはbed, dress, friend, meddleにME/i/異形(4 bidd, 5 drisse, 5-7 frind, 6 middlke)が并存していたことを示している。attend, bend, less, spend, suppress, whetにもME/i/異形が并存していたことが充分考えられる。一方a) ⁽¹³⁾ behind, bind, blind, child, climb, find, kind, mind, windのME/i:/は本来ME/i/を持っていたものが子音群の前で長母音化してME/i:/となったものであるが、少なくと

も E Mod E 期には長母音化を免れた ME/i/ 異形が並存していた (°印を付す)。b) OED は *incline* に ME/i/ 異形の存在しを記録していないが, *delight, pride, rise, wise* に ME/i/ 異形 (3-6 *delit, north. 3-6 prid, 3-4 ris, 3-4 wis*) が並存していたこと示している。従って 10a : 2a は ME/ε/ > [i] 異形 : ME/i: / > [i] 異形の完全韻である。c) ⁽¹⁴⁾ *five, life, mile, rife, thrice* には方言で ME/i:/ が短母音化を起こした ME/i/ 異形が並存していた。今回の調査ではこれらの語と ME/ε/ との脚韻は見出されなかった。この ME/i:/ の短母音化は St E の正常な音変化でなく, PE ではその痕跡を全く止めていない。

II] ⁽¹⁵⁾ *either, neither* は本来 ME/ε:/ を持っていた語であるが, 少なくとも E Mod E には, この両語には, ME/ε:/ が短母音化した ME/ε/ 異形に依存していた (*印を付す)。従って, *together : (n)either* は ME/ε/ 異形に依存するものである。10a : 2a は 10a の ME/i/ 異形と 2a の ME/i/ 異形, 又は 2a の ME/ε/ 異形に依存するもので, いずれにしても完全韻である。

10a : 3a

fed : spede, flede : breede, forgett : fete, well : fele, well : hele, wretche : beseche, wretche : seeche (Wyatt), deuell : euill, beheld : field, behelde : fielde (Gascoigne), mene : bene, vpheld : weld (Spenser-Sc), beheld : weld, bred : sead, end : feend, end : misdeem'd, end : seem'd, feld : weld (Spenser1), dweld : weld, eld : weld (2t), held : weld (3t), kept : steept, lept : steept, queld : weld, rebeld : weld, swept : steept (Spenser2), attend : feend, defend : feend, end : esteemd, end : feend, end : weend, spend : feend (Spenser3), amend : weend, beheld : field, beheld : weld (3t), beheld : yeeld, deuell : euill, end : feend, end : weend, feld : weld (2t), frend : feend, freend : weend, held : weld (2t), hild : wield (Spenser4), beheld : weld, defend : feend, held : weld (2t), kend : feend, queld : weld, send : feend (Spenser5), bends : feends, descends : feends, end : feend, frend : feend, met : wet, offend : weend, rend : feend,

send : weend, sends : feends, set : wet (Spenser6), beheld : field, behelde : welde, held : weld (2t), regret : sweet, smeld : yeld (Spenser-Minor), deuil : euil, diuell : euill, frends : feends, euer : feuer, lesse : geese, git : howbeit, behild : wilde (Warner), devils : evils, ever : fever, friends : fiends, held : yield (Southwell), men : been (4t), when : been, upheld : field, then : seen, held : yield, upheld : yield (Daniel), beheld : field (2t), devil : evil, devill : evill (4t), exprest : complete, held : field, held : weld, set : wet (Drayton), devill : evill, revell : evill, revill : evill, held : shield, held : yeeld (Marlowe), devill : evil (9t), held : field, end : fiend (2t), ever : fever, friend : fiend (2t), friends : fiends, jet : wet, set : wet (Shakespeare), friend : fiend, Friends : Feinds (Campion), get : sweet, them : theame, held : yeeld (Jonson), devil : evil, devill : evill, devills : evils, get : sweet (Donne), best : priest, depth : sheepe, Devil : evil, Devils : evils (2t), devills : evils, divels : evils (2t), rest : priest (4t), seaven : eaven, seven : even (3t), supprest : priest (Stirling), deuill : euill (2t), deuils : euils (Marston), Devil : evil, ever : fever, held : yield, never : fever, swelled : yield, swelling : feeling (P. Fletcher), Hell : feele (F. Beaumont), adrest : Priest, bed : feend, Devil : evil, never : Fever, seven : even (2t) (Drummond), ever : fever, get : wet, set : wet (2t) (Kynaston), beheld : field, divell : evil, met : wet, together : fever, yet : feet (Browne), beget : repleat, Devil : evill, ever : Fever, sever : Fever, them : esteem, yet : compleate, yet : repleat (Herrick), devil : evil (Herbert), leuell : euill, best : Priest, rest : Priest (Carew), beheld : field, compell'd : field (Chalkhill), descend : fiend, devils : evils, end : fiend, friend : fiend, quell'd : field, quell'd : yield, revels : evils, send : fiend (Benlowes), condemn : esteem, men : unseen, them : seem (Davenant), get : complete, men : been, set : complete (Waller), Devil : evil (Bosworth), held : Shield (Milton), ever : fever, check : seek (Suckling), addresses : pieces, beheld : field, Devil : evil (4t), dwell-in : feeling, express : these, fled : steed, friend : fiend, held : field, held : shield,

held : yield (2t), men : unseen, possess : piece, possession : seisin, smell : feel, when : seen (Butler), vnheld : reel'd (Crashaw), end : Fiend (Cleveland), best : Priest, suggest : Priest, them : esteem (2t), them : seem, then : been (Denham), descends : Friend, Gem : esteem, net : feet (Lovelace), devil : evil (2t), never : Fever (Cowley), attend : fiends, tresses : fleeces (Sherburne), end : fiend (2t), send : fiend, yet : feet (Chamberlayne), ever : fever, gelding : yielding, ken : seen (Brome), ever : fever, never : fever, opprest : priest (Vaughan), forget : replete, them : seem (Stanley), Devil : evil, red : feed (Hannay), decks : cheeks, Devill : Evill, red : speed, yet : compleat, yet : feet (2t), yet : sweet (2t) (Cotton), beget : sweet, held : yield (Hall), men : been (2t), Devil : evil (2t), ever : Believer, ghes'd : Priest, Men : seen (Dryden1), bend : Fiend, condemn : Theme, Devil : Evil (2t), expell'd : Field, Men : seen, mend : Fiend, met : compleat, rest : Priest, swell'd : Field, (Dryden2), Bed : decreed, Bed : Deed, beheld : Field (2t), beheld : Shield, Den : seen, descends : Fiends (2t), fed : Need, fed : Steed, held : Field, held : Shield (3t), led : Steed, Men : Queen (2t), Men : seen (4t), Men : Spleen, quell'd : Field, repell'd : Field, rest : Priest, Vests : Priests, sheds : feeds, tends : Fiends (Dryden3), address'd : Priest, attest : Priest, Bed : Seed, beheld : Field (3t), beheld : Shield, best : Priest, compell'd : Field (3t), compell'd : kneel'd, end : Fiend, express'd : Priest, fled : Steed (2t), Friend : Fiend, Jet : Feet, held : Field (2t), held : Shield (2t), less : piece, Men : seen, Men : Spleen, Men : unseen, redress : Greece, set : Feet, them : deem, them : esteem, then : seen, unwet : meet, well : Steel (Dryden4), fell : feel, Hell : feel, them : theme (Sprat), set : complete (Halifax), phlegm : theme (Dorset), Devil : evil, bed : speed (Flatman), tell : feel, bed : freed (Ayres), confest : Priest, met : Fleet, yet : Fleet (Shadwell), ever : fever (2t) (Carey), attend : fiend (Hammond), them : seem (Blackmore), bred : succeed, confess : Greece (2t), fortell : feel, less : Greece, well : feel (2t), tell : wheel (Duke), held : yield (Smith), attend : fiend, beheld :

field, pen : spleen, tell : steel, withheld : field (Garth), set : complete (Stepney), them : esteem, Hell : feel (Walsh), bends : fiends, Devil : evil, men : spleen, quell'd : field, quell'd : yield, stem : seem, them : seem (King), bed : speed, beget : meet, beheld : shield, best : priest, confest : priest (2t), Devil : evil, dispell'd : field, dwell : feel (2t), dwell : wheel, ever : fever, express : Greece, fled : speed, forget : feet, held : field, held : shield, jett : sweet, lede : nede, less : degrees, men : queen (2t), men : seen, mend : fiend, pen : seen, repel : steel, repel : wheel, repell'd : shield, rest : priest, set : complete, set : feet, step : weep, tell : feel (2t), tell : wheel, ten : been, well : feel, withheld : field, wretch : speech (Prior), bed : succeed, devil : evil, distress : these, dwell : feel, guess'd : priest, Hell : feel, men : queen (Granville), DEVIL : Evil, led : feed, stretch : Breech (Swift), attend : freed, end : freed, held : field, pen : seen (Congreve), repel : feel, well : wheel (Yalden), beheld : field (5t), better : sweeter, held : field, beheld : yield (Rowe), dwell : feel, fel : reel, Hell : feel, set : feet, rest : priest, tell : feel (2t), Thames : themes, then : seen (Watts), atend : agreed, jest : priest (Somerville), beheld : field (4t), ever : fever (2t), foretels : feets, held : field, held : shield (Hughes), well : feel, yet : complete (Parnell), bed : seeds, condemn'd : blasphem'd, men : seen, swell : keel (Young), beheld : field (Fenton), attend : Fiend, begets : Sweets, end : Fiend, forgets : weets, Men : seen, Men : unseen, perplex : Cheeks, Sex : Cheeks, Shell : feel, them : seem (Diaper), Devil : evil (Gay), express : fees, withheld : field (Tickell), beheld : shield, devil : evil (5t), dwell : feel, dwell : steel, friend : fiend, hem : esteem, men : unseen, undrest : priest (Pope), transcend : fiend (Broome), met : wet (Green), devil : evil (Savage), beheld : field, beheld : shield, Devil : evil (Pitt), ends : fiends, fell : steel, friends : fiends, steps : creeps, swell : heel, wends : fiends (West), best : priest, jest : priest (Dodsley), devil : evil, held : field, friend : fiend (Jenyns), beheld : field, end : fiend, men : seen, repell'd : field (Hamilton), gem :

esteem, held : field (2t), held : yield, well : feel (Boyse), fell : heel (P. Whitehead), fed : seed, fell : steel (Johnson), lend : fiend, men : seen, swell : feel, ten : mien (Thompson), Devil : evil (2t) (Shenstone), beheld : field (2t), beheld : yield, devil : evil, expel'd : field, led : speed, led : steel, men : queen, men : ween, repel : steel, yet : complete (2t), well : feel (W. Whitehead), stretch : beech (2t), set : meet (Gray), beheld : Field (Collins), bed : preceed, beheld : field (2t), best : priest, compell'd : yield (2t), devil : evil, dress'd : priest, shed : decreed, stemm'd : seem'd, upheld : wield (Cambridge), attend : fiend, ever : fever (Cawthorn), rest : priest (Akenside), behest : priest, devil : evil (3t), Devils : evils, tell : feel, wretch : speech (Cooper), beheld : field, steps : sleeps (Wilkie), dompell'd : field, withheld : field (Fawkes), beheld : shield (J. Warton), end : fiend, them : esteem (Smart) descend : fiend, end : fiend, held : field, rend : fiend (Mason), fled : speed, forget : complete, held : yeild, jest : priest, neck : cheek, neck : sleek, tell : feel, Thames : seems, well : peet, withheld : shield, wreck : seek, yet : meet (Cowper), bed : weed, stretch : beech (Lloyd), beheld : field, expell'd : field, held : field, men : atween, repell'd : shield (Mickle), beheld : yield, bend : fiend, quell'd : field (Beattie), farewell : feel, beheld : field, men : green (Lovibond), check : sleek (Jones), Attend : fiend, Devil : evil, friend : fiend (Chatterton), men : seen (Crabbe), Devil : evil (2t), forget : wet, revel : evil (Byron), bend : fiend, Devil : Evil, devils : evils, hell : feel, neck : cheek (Shelley), bed : feed, bed : weed, beds : breeds, Devil : evil, drest : priest, fled : weed, held : field, rest : priest, set : sleet (Keats).

10a : 3a は PE では [e] : [i:] の不完全韻であるが、E Mod E 期以降豊富に見出されている。17 世紀後半以降のものは伝統的脚韻である可能性が高いが、16 世紀に見出されるものは、この種の脚韻が見出されるのはこの時期からであり、伝統的脚韻として処理できない。

I] ⁽¹⁶⁾a) bless, brethren, end, eld, devil, evil, friend, held, seldom の PE [e] は ME/e:/ を持っていたものが、短母音化したものであるが、少

なくとも E Mod E 期には ME/e:/ を持つ形も異形として存在していた。friend は本来 ME/e:/ を持っていた語であり, PE [e] は friendly, friendship の影響によるものである。Shakespeare には 1) friend : fiend が見出されること, 2) friend は専ら ME/ε/ を持つ語 (amend, comprehend, contend, descend, end, extend, intend, lend, offend, spend, tend) と押韻していること, 3) frind (TNK 5.4.124) と綴られているために E Mod E 期には friend に三つの発音 [i:], [e], [i] が並存していたと想定してよいだろう。held も E Mod E 期には ME/ε/ (held : excelled : dwell-ed ; held : killed), ME/e:/ (held : field), ME/i/ (held : killed ; filled) 等と韻を踏んでおり, [ε] (又は [e]), [i:], [i] の三音が並存していたことになる。OE deofol > ME devel はその後の音変化では PE deevil となるはずである。しかし, 屈折形の場合 (即ち, OE の deoflas (pl.) 等々) には -fl- の前で短母音化が生じ, ME devels が得られ, この形から現在標準英語の形が派生した。更に, ME de:vels から 16 世紀に ME/e:/ の短母音化が生じ, 16 世紀には 6 diuill, 5-7 divel の形が生じた。結局, devil にも E Mod E 期には ME/e:/, ME/ε/, ME/i/ 異形が並存していたことになる。⁽¹⁷⁾ b) Levins は fret, red, shed, shred, wet に [i:] を持っている。従って, これらの語と 3a の脚韻は 3a 同士のものかも知れない。

II] ⁽¹⁸⁾ field, yielded には ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。OED によると, 次の各語 (agree, atween, beech, been, breed, cheek, complete, deed, decreet, feel, feet, fiend, free, geese, heel, meet, mien, need, piece, priest, queen, seed, seek, seem, seen, sheep, shield, sleet, speed, spleen, steed, steel, steep, succeed, sweet, weed, weep, wheel, wield) には ME/e/ 異形 (1-6 agre, 5 atwen, 3 bech, 3-7 ben, 4 bred, 3-7 check, 4-5 completye, 2-5 ded, 4-5 decret, 3-5 fel, 3-5 fet, 2-7 fend, 2-6 fre, 3 ges, 6 helle, 5 mett, 6 men, 1-5 ned, 5 pes, 4-6 preste, 2-4 quen, 2-5 sed, 3-5 sek, 3-5 sem, 3-5 sen, 3-5 shep, 3-6 sheld, 4 slet, 4-5 sped, 3-4 splen, 5 north. sted, 3-4 stel, steppe, 4 Sc. succed, 2-6 swet, 3-4 wed, 3-4 wep, 3-6 whel, 3-4 weld) が並存していた。従って, これらの語と 10a の脚韻は 10a 同士のものかも知れない。10a : 3a は押韻している語のどちらか一方に相手方の音韻を持

つ異形が並存しており、何れにしても完全韻である。

10a : 3b

cherry : weary, merry : weary (Spenser6), merry : weary (Spenser-Minor), merry : wearie (Drayton), merry : weary (F. Beaumont), merrie : wearie (Browne), inherit : rear-it (Benlowes), brest : pierc't (Davenant), herring : appearing (Butler), merry : weary (Vaughan).

10a : 3b は PE では [e] : [iə] の不完全韻であり、E Mod E 期以降散見される程度である。⁽¹⁹⁾ appear, pierce, weary の ME/ε/ 異形に依存する脚韻である。rear に ME/ε/ 異形 (4-6 reren) が並存していた文法家の直接的証拠はないが、OED は rear に ME/ε/ 異形 (4-6 reren) 並存していたことを示している。

10a : 5a

remembre : chambre, remembre : daunger (Wyatt), Thame : became, Thame : came, Thame : name (Spenser4), beget : state (Daniel), jester : taster, tame : dame, Tame : fame, Tame : name (Drayton), Thames : Iames (Jonson), Pepper : paper (Donne), digest : taste, led : made, revenge : change (7t), revenge : range, revenge : strange (6t), reveng'd : chang'd (2t), reveng'd : estrang'd, reveng'd : rang'd, venge : change, venge : range, venge : strange (2t (Stirling)), Bed : Shade, fed : Shade, fled : Shade, Red : Shade, revenge : change, revenge : exchange, red : made, Shed : fade, stem : name, Tresses : faces, yet : Fate (Drummond), Thames : games, Thames : James (Ford), Thames : flames (Kynaston), Thames : dames (2t), Thames : enflames, Thame : fame (Browne), Thame : Name (Milton), tresses : graces (Cleveland), Thames : Flames (Lovelace), best : haste, best : taste, blest : haste, crest : haste, digest : taste, fled : blade, pledges : ages, rest : chaste, revenge : strange (2t), Thames : dames (Hannay), revenge : exchange (Philips), Reveng'd : chang'd (Dryden1), Blessing : tasting (Dryden2),

guest : haste, nest : haste (Sprat), Thames : flames (Shadwell), Ad-
 dress : embrace (Wilmot), wreck : sake (Hammond), bed : made
 (Duke), address : mace, address : race, address'd : plac'd, bless : race,
 met : state, rest : haste (Garth), digested : wasted (Stepney), less :
 face, fled : shade (Walsh), remember : chamber, Thame : came (King),
 condemn : flame, comdemn'd : nam'd, distress : embrace, forget : Fate,
 guess : place, jest : debas'd, Thames : names (Prior), express : face,
 then : fane (Pomfret), bless'd : taste, condemn : frame, fled : blade, re-
 venge : change (Granville), bed : made, confest : Taste, Fellows : Ale-
 house, guess : Grace, Thames : Flames, Thames : names (2t), Thame-
 sis : James (Swift), bed : made, best : haste, discretion : reputation,
 express'd : plac'd (2t), forgets : hates, get : estate, oppress'd : waste,
 profesion : reputation, rest : grac'd, rest : plac'd, revenge : change,
 shed : made, them : fame, yet : fate (Congreve), caress : embrace, con-
 fess : grace, guess : case, guess : race (Yalden), express : face, fled :
 shade (Rowe), blest : haste, cell : vale, distress : grace, dress : grace,
 dwell : pale, guess : grace, fled : shade, forget : abate, gems : flames,
 led : shade, let : made, men : profane, wet : hate (Watts), address :
 grace (Somerville), Thames : names (Philips), bed : shade, distress'd :
 haste, regret : gate, rest : plac'd, shed : fade, yet : state (Parnell), bed :
 shade (Young), digested : wasted, get : estate, yet : fate (Fenton),
 stem : fame (Tickell), Thame : name (2t) (Pope), Thame : fame
 (Byrom), avenger : danger (Dyer), repell : vale (West), jest : plac'd,
 jest : taste, them : came (Dodsley), dress : face, crest : grac'd, possess :
 grace, possess : waste (Hamilton), jest : plac'd, Thames : james,
 Thames-is : James's (Mallet), best : taste, bless'd : taste (2t), gem :
 came, fled : shade, less : face, regret : fate, rest : taste, sever : favour,
 Thame : flame (Boyse), confess : race (Lyttleton), blest : taste (Arm-
 strong), beds : shades (Moore), drest : waste, gem : name, red : glade,
 revenge : change (Thompson), however : favour (Shenstone), Thames :

flames, them : blame (W. Whitehead), bed : made, possess'd : waste (Cambridge), distress : grace, dwell : vale (Akenside), opprest : taste (Smollett), led : trade, Thames : dames (Cooper), bred : shade, condemns : flames, fed : shade, fled : shade (2t), led : shade (2t), neck : mistake, regret : state, revenge : change (2t), regret : fate (2t), reveng'd : chang'd (Wilkie), address : defac'd, bless'd : taste, fed : shade, fled : glade, imprest : taste, net : mate, redress : embrace, regret : fate (3t), regret : state, revenge : change (Blacklock), set : state (Cowper), den : bane, Tame : Fame, Tame : name (Lloyd), dwells : gales, led : shade (Langhorne), bed : blade, bless'd : taste, fed : made, fled : glade (2t), led : made, phlegm : game, pledge : age, pledge : stage, pledge : wage, revenge : change, sped : glade, them : blame, them : Shame, west : defac'd (Mickle), Thame : game, Thame : name (Jones), rest : taste (Chatterton), allege : age, allege : page, avenge : exchange, avenge : range, avenged : changed, revenge : range, revenge : change (2t), revenge : strange, Thames : flames (2t) (Byron), revenge : change (2t) (Shelley), rest : haste, Thames : shames (Keats).

10a : 5a は PE では [e] : [ei] の不完全韻であるが、当初考えていた以上に、Scotland・東部・北部・西部出身の詩人に E Mod E 期以降見出されている。とりわけ 10a : 5a は Stirling (Scotland), Drummond (Scotland), Hannay (Scotland), Congreve (Yorkshire), Watts (Southampton), Boyse (Dublin), Wilkie (Scotland), Blacklock (Scotland), Mickle (Scotland), Byron (London) では 10 個以上、Drayton (Warwickshire), Browne (Devonshire), Garth (Yorkshire), Swift (Dublin), Prior (Dorsetshire), Granville (Devonshire), Yalden (Devonshire), Parnell (Dublin), Hamilton (Scotland), Thomason (Westmoreland), Beattie (Scotland) では数例見出されている。

I] ME/a:/ を持つ語はいろんな起源に遡る ME/a/ 異形が並存していた。

a) ⁽²⁰⁾ M 期のフランス語借用語では鼻音の前の ME/a には ME/au/ 異

形が並存し、St E ではこの ME/au/ 異形が定着したが、ある音声環境ではこの ME/au/ は LME までに ME/a:/ に発達した。chamber, angel 等の PE [ei] はこの ME/a:/ から発達したものである。しかし、ancient, chamber, angel, range には E Mod E 期には本来の ME/a/ も異形として並存していた。

b) ⁽²¹⁾ LME/a/ はしばしば開音節では長母音化して ME/a:/ となったが、今日この長母音化に由来する ME/a:/ を持つ語の内、able, ace, aged, ague, cage, chaste, dame, fable, gage, grace, haste, James, labour, lace, mace, matron, misplace, nature, page, raging, sacred, savour, taste, waist, waste には長母音化を免れた ME/a/ 異形が並存していた。

c) ⁽²²⁾ gate, grape, shade にも ME/a/ 異形が並存していた。従って、10a とこれらの語との脚韻は 10a : 8a であるかも知れない。Wyld, Kökeritz は ME/ε/ と ME/a/ の脚韻を [ε] : [æ] の類韻と見なし、ME/a/ の [æ] への前母音化の証拠と見なしている。筆者は脚韻とは強勢ある音節以下の発音が同じであるということ、及びこれらの脚韻が見出される地域性を考慮し、10a : 5a = 10a : 8a は [ε] : [æ] の類韻ではなく、ME/a:/ の Scotland, 東部・北部・西部方言形 [e] に依存する完全韻と考えている。

Ⅱ] Thames : names は ⁽²³⁾ Thames の ME/a:/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。Thames の PE [e] は ME/ε/ < OE Temes に、綴字はラテン語の Tamesis に由来するものである。Hart は Thams と転写している。

Ⅲ] ⁽²⁴⁾ Dobson によると、ME/a:/ は東部方言では 15 世紀に、北部方言では 16 世紀に [e:] になっていたことになっている。従って、これらの方言では ME/ε/ : ME/a:/ は [e] : [e:] > [e] に依存する完全韻である。10a : 5a は 5a の方言音 [e] 又は Thames の ME/a:/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。

10a : 6a 用例多数にて数人の詩人の例を挙げるに留める。

confesse : cesse, confesse : encrese, consent : ment, distres : cese, distres : pese (2t), entent : ment, fett : repete, freate : heate, fret : trete,

gesse : relesse, nekke : speke, oprest : encrest, possess : lest, presse :
 pease, recke : speke (2t), redresse : peace, redresse : relesse, redresse :
 sesse, reke : weake, reke : wreke, Repent : ment, presse : cese, rest :
 encrest, Tems : drems, Tems : stremes, west : est, wretche : Leche,
 wretche : reache (Wyatt), adrest : beast (2t), adrest : feast,
 beheasts : beasts, beheast : releast, bred : lead, creast : beast, creast :
 Est, creast : feast, detest : beast, preace : cease, preace : peace, preace :
 release, rest : beast, supprest : beast (Spenser1), beggerly : eagerly,
 beggerly : meagerly, chestes : beastes, dressed : ceased, guest : least, op-
 pressed : ceased, oppressed : deceased, opprest : encrest, possess :
 beaste (2t), prease : peace, prease : release, redressed : deceased, prease :
 cease, rests : beastes, wed : plead (Sidney), best : feast, blessing : in-
 creasing, bless : peace, blest : beast, confess : decease, excess : lease,
 frets : entreats, get : heat, gets : eats, guest : feast (4t), jest : beast,
 knell : deal, possess'd : least, possessing : releasing, rest : east, steps :
 leaps, unswept : heap'd, unswept : leap, west : east (Shakespeare), best :
 least, digest : East (2t), get : heat, get : heate, get : meat (2t), held :
 repeald, let : beat, rest : beast, set : eate, Thames : streames, West : East
 (2t), yet : beate, yet : heate (Donne), beget : heat, befet : heate, best :
 least, blest : east, drest : east (2t), get : meat, Guests : Feasts (2t),
 guest : feast (2t), jem : beams, let : Wheat, net : deceits, rest : East (2t),
 rest : feast, shredding : kneading, them : cream (3t), them : dream,
 them : gleame, them : steam, them : steame, them : Teame (2t), Them :
 Stream (4t), West : East (2t) (Herrick), best : east, drest : feast, fled :
 plead, guest : feast (3t), jest : least, lesse : increase, nest : feast, rest :
 least (3t), set : wheat, stretch : teach, Thames : streams, wedding :
 reading, west : east (Hervert), confesse : encrease, confesse : Pease,
 fret : seat, guest : feast (5t), guests : feast, neast : East (2t), Nest :
 East (7t), Nest : EASTE, rest : East, rest : feast, stemme : streame,
 them : Beam, them : streame, when : leane (Crashaw), best : East,

blest : Beast, get : meat, guest : feast, jest : feast, men : leane, Neast : east (2t), step : heap, well : heal, West : beat, West : East (2t) (Lovelace), Crests : Beasts, drest : feast, guest : feast, guests : Feasts, neast : feast, prest : feast, quest : beast, rest : least, rest-me : feast-me, step : leap, stretch : reach, them : stream, Thames : streams (2t), West : East (5t), West : feast (Vaugham), best : least, bless : please, Dress : please, exprest : least, forget : Seat, Ghests : Feasts, Guest : Feast, guest : least, guests : feasts, Hell : meal, Jest : least, led : read, opprest : least, Rebel : appeal, profest : Beast, rebel : appeal, redress : encrease, rest : Beast, request : least, rest : Feast, set : retreat, supprest : Beast, supprest : increase, swell : meal, well : Zeal (Dryden1), beheld : conceal'd, blest : feast, distress : peace, distress'd : increas'd, farewell : meal, forget : cheat, guest : feast, get : meat, guests : beasts, guests : feasts, Pen : mean, rest : feasn, rest : least, set : beat, swells : conceals, Thames : beams, Thames : streams (3t) (Pope), expressed : ceased, expressed : east, expressed : released, rest : feast (Wordsworth).

10a : 6a は PE では [e] : [i:] の不完全韻であるが、E Mod E 期以降頻繁に見出されている。E Mod E と PE の主要な違いの一つに今日 [i:] と発音されている ME/ε:/ を持つ語には ME/ε/ 異形が並存していたことが挙げられる。⁽²⁵⁾ Dobson によれば、

I] a) 子音群の前の /ε:/ は LOE ないしは EME にしばしば短母音化し、今日この短母音化を免れて ME/ε:/ を持つ語の内 beacon, breach, each, east, Easter, greater, heathen, least, reach, read, yeast には少なくとも E Mod E 期にはこの短母音化に由来する ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。

b) ME/ε:/ > PE [i:] を持つフランス語借用 (beast, cease, eager, easy, feast, leash, reason, treaty) にも少なくとも E Mod E 期には ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。従って、これらの語と ME/ε/ の脚韻は実質 ME/ε/ 同士のものであるかも知れない。

II] a) LME/ε/ はしばしば開音節では長母音化して、ME/ε:/ となっ

た。しかし、今日この長母音化を免れて ME/ε/ を持つ語の内、次の諸語 (even, freckle, nest, nether, seven, stretch) には少なくとも E Mod E 期にはこの長母音化に由来する ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。

b) 子音群の前の /ε:/ は LOE, ないし EME 期にしばしば単母音化した。しかし、今日この単母音化に由来する ME/ε/ を持つ語の内、次の諸語 (ever, health, lest, never, together, weapon) には少なくとも E Mod E 期にはこの単母音化に由来しない ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。

c) 今日 ME/ε/>PE [e] を持つフランス語借用語 (jest, leper, lessee, lessor, mess, phlegm, present, press, schedule) にも、少なくとも E Mod E には、ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。従って、10a:6a の内、a), b), c) の諸語 :6a は実質 ME/ε:/ 同士の脚韻であるかも知れない。10a:6a は 6a の ME/ε/ 異形か、10a の ME/ε:/ 異形かに依存するものであり、何れにしても完全韻である。

10a:6c 用例多数にて数人の詩人の例を挙げるに留める。

abed:hed, bent:ment, best:brest (2t), entent:ment, entent:mente, exprest:brest (2t), ever:endever, fed:ded, fed:stede, fled:ded, fled:ded, fled:dred, fled:hed, flede:drede, fret:threte, helpthe:welth, imprest:brest, intent:ment, led:dede, lent:ment, lett:thrett, lever:endever, mispent:ment, myselfe:helthe, myselfe:welthe, possest:brest, profest:brest, repent:ment, repent:mente, request:brest (2t), rest:brest (2t), self:helthe, sente:mente, sett:thrett, sevin:hevin (2t), sevyn:hevin, sped:ded, spent:ment (2t), vnrest:brest (4t), nreste:brest (Wyatt), address:brest (2t), bed:hed, bed:spred (3t), behest:brest (2t), best:brest, blest:brest, bred:dead, bred:dread, bred:hed, bred:spred, chest:brest (2t), crest:brest (2t), drest:brest, fed:red, fed:sted, guest:brest (3t), led:dead, led:ded (2t), led:dread, led:dred, led:hed (2t), led:red, led:spred, nest:brest (2t), opprest:brest, red:ded (2t), red:red (2t), rest:brest (5t), red:spred (3t), red:sted, shed:ded, shed:red, shed:spred, sped:

spred, supprest : brest, vnfed : ded, vnfed : red, vnrest : brest, west :
 brest (Spenser1), bed : hed (2t), bed : spread, bed : spred, bedd : hedd,
 behest : breast, behest : brest, best : breast (2t), best : brest (2t), bred :
 dead, confest : brest, disrest : brest, drest : brest, exprest : breast, fede :
 head, fled : dread, fled : spred, fled : tredd, guest : brest (2t), jest :
 breast, jest : brest, led : bread, led : head, led : hed, led : spred (2t),
 ledd : hedd, neast : brest, nest : breast, nest : brest (2t), nests : breasts,
 opprest : brest (2t), prest : brest, red : hed, red : spred, redd : hedd,
 rest : breast, rest : brest (6t), spent : ment, Tent : ment, wed : dead
 (Sidney), bed : dead, bed : dread, bed : head (9t), beds : heads, behests :
 breasts, best : breast (2t), bred : dead (4t), chest : breast (2t), crest :
 breast, distress'd : brest (2t), express'd : breast, fed : dead (2t), fled :
 dead (6t), fled : head (4t), get : threat, guest : breast, guests : breasts,
 jest : breast (2t), misled : head, nest : breast, nest : breasts, red : dead,
 red : head (3t), red : spread, red : tread, rest : breast (10t), rests :
 breasts, shed : dead, shed : dead, shed : head (2t), sped : head, together :
 feather, together : weather (3t), unrest : breast, unbred : dead, unwed :
 head, wed : dead, whether : feather (Shakespeare), arrest : brest, bed :
 dead, bed : head (4t), bed : spred, bed : tread, best : breast, best : brest,
 blest : brest, bred : bread, chest : brest, deprest : brest, digest : brest,
 fed : bread (2t), fed : dead (2t), fed : head (2t), fed : read, fed : tread,
 fled : dead, fled : head, led : head, neasts : breasts, nests : breasts, red :
 dead, red : head, red : spred, rest : breast, rest : brest, sent : ment,
 spent : ment (2t), went : ment (Donne), Bed : tread, bed : dead (2t),
 bed : dread, bed : head (3t), bed : read (2t), bed : spread, bedd : head,
 confest : brest, fed : bread (3t), fed : dead, fed : read, fled : dead (3t),
 fledd : head, fled : read, get : sweat, led : read, let : sweat (2t), nest :
 breast, nest : brest, possest : breast, possest : brest (2t), present :
 meant, prest : breast, Red : Spread, red : bespred, rest : breast (3t),
 rest : brest (5t), seven : heaven, shed : dead (7t), shed : head (4t), shed :

read, Shed : bread, together : weather, wet : sweat (Herrick), bed : dead, bed : head, best : breast (3t), bred : head, drest : breast (5t), ever : endeavour, fled : bread, let : sweat, request : breast (2t), rest : breast (11t), rest : brest, set : sweat, sev'n : heav'n, seven : heaven (2t), sped : dead (2t), sped : head, together : weather (2t), wed : head, wed : tread (Herbert), bed : dead, bed : dread, bed : head (17t), bed : spread, Beds : Heads, bedd : dead, best : brest (2t), bled : dead, blest : brest, Crest : brest, exprest : brest, fed : bread (2t), fled : dead, guest : brest, expreest : brest, fret : sweat, led : dead, neast : breast, neasts : breasts, Nest : brest (6t), nest : breast (5t), opprest : brest, prest : brest, red : dead, red : spread, red : spred, relent : meant, rest : breast (2t), rest : brest (4t), rests : breasts, seaven : Heav'n, shed : dead, together : weather, unrest : brest, west : east, wett : sweat (Crashaw), bed : head, best : Brest, blest : breast, bred : Dead, bred : head, drest : breast, exprest : breast, fed : head, led : Dead, possest : breast (2t), rest : breast (2t), sped : Dead, together : weather, wedded : beheaded, West : breast (2t), wet : sweat (Lovelace), arrest : breast, bed : dead (10t), bed : head (9t), bed : thread, bed : tread, beds : heads (5t), beds : spreads, bred : dead, bred : spread, distreast : brest, drest : brest, fed : bread, fed : dead (3t), fed : head (2t), fed : spread, fled : dead (2t), fled : head (2t), Guests : brests, led : dead, led : head, nest : brest, nest : swet, opprest : breast, prest : brest, Red : dead (2t), requests : breasts, rest : breast (6t), set : sweat, shed : dead (5t), shed : head (6t), sheds : heads (5t), shreds : heads, sheds : spreads, then : heav'n, together : weather, wed : dead, wed : head (Vaughan), Bed : bespred, Bed : spread, Bed : spred, bed : Head (5t), bent : meant, best : breast (3t), best : brest, blest : breast, bred : Head (2t), bred : read (2t), bred : spread, bred : tread, confest : breast (3t), consent : meant, drest : breast, drest : brest, exprest : breast (3t), exprest : brest (3t), fed : bread, fed : Head (2t), fed : read, fled : bread, fled : dead (2t), fled : Head (2t), Guests :

Breasts, guest : breast, led : bespred, led : dead, led : dread (3t), led : Head (3t), misled : Head, oppress'd : breast, opprest : breast (5t), possest : breast (2t), prest : breast (3t), red : Head, rest : breast (10t), rest : brest, rests : Breasts, sent : meant, shed : Head (4t), sped : bread, sped : dead, together : weather (2t), unrest : breast, Wed : head, wed : dead, Wed : stead, went : meant (Dryden1), address : breast, bed : head (7t), bed : read, bed : spread (3t), bed : thread, bed : thread, beds : heads (2t), beds : spreads, bled : dead, blest : breast (2t), bred : head, bred : read (2t), chest : breast, confest : breast, crest : brest, drest : breast (2t), ever : endeavour, express'd : breast, exprest : breast (2t), fed : bread (4t), fed : dead, fed : head, fed : spread, fled : dead, fled : head (2t), fled : thread, fled : tread, guest : breast (2t), Helm : realm, imprest : breast (2t), intent : meant, jest : breast, led : dead, led : head (2t), led : spread, led : thread, opprest : breast (2t), opprest : breast, possess'd : breast (2t), possest : breast (2t), prest : breast (3t), Red : dead, rest : Beast, red : spread, rest : breast (9t), seven : heav'n, sev'n : heav'n, shed : dead, shed : head (5t), shed : spread (2t), sheds : heads, sped : dead, supprest : breast, together : Weather, wed : dread, yet : sweat (Pope), addressed : breast, address'd : breast, bed : bread, bed : dead (3t), bed : dedde, bed : dread, bed : head (6t), bed : lead, bed : read, bed : spread (2t), bed : thread, bed : tread, blest : breast (2t), blest : dead, bred : read, drest : breast, elm : realm, fed : bread, fed : spread, felt : dealt, fled : head, imprest : breast, led : head (4t), led : tread, nest : breast, press'd : breast, red : spread, redden : deaden, rest : breast (10t), seven : heaven (2t), shed : bread, shed : dead (3t), shed : dread, shed : head (5t), sped : head, wept : leapt, west : breast (Wordsworth).

10a : 6c は PE では [e] の完全韻であり, E Mod E 期以降どの詩人にも一様に豊富に見出されている。⁽²⁶⁾ Dobson によると,

I] a) LME/ε/ はしばしば開音節では, 長母音化して ME/ε:/ となったが, 今日この長母音化を免れて, ME/ε/ を持つ語の内, freckle, nest,

nether, seven, stretch には少なくとも E Mod E 期には長母音化に由来する ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。

b) 子音群の前の /ε:/ は LME に短母音化したが、今日この短母音化に由来する ME/ε:/ を持つ語の内, ever, health, lest, never, together, weapon には少なくとも E Mod E 期には ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。従って, 10a : 6c の内, これらの語との脚韻は 6a に依存するものかも知れない。

II] 単音節語の ME/ε:/ は ___ [θ], [f], [d], [t] で ME/ε:/ に短母音化した。少なくとも, E Mod E 期には bread, breath, dead, deaf, death, head, spread, thread, tread 等には ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。従って, 10a : 6c の内, これらの語と 10a との脚韻は実質的には ME/ε:/ に依存する完全韻であるかも知れない。10a : 6c は押韻語の何れか一方に相手方の音韻を持つ異形が並存していて, 何れにしても完全韻である。

10a : 6d

fett : gret, fret : grete, get : gret, lett : gret, neck : breke, reke : breke (2t), wricke : breke (Wyatt), gett : great, set : great (2t), sett : great (Sidney), beget : great (2t) (Daniel), better : greater, get : great (Shakespeare), forget : great, met : great, neck : breake (Jonson), get : great, jeat : great (Donne), forget : great (F. Beaumont), beget : great (2t) (Ford), better : greater (Herbert), set : great, yet : great (Benlowes), set : great (Harington), set : great (Waller), set : great (2t), wet : great (Milton), beck : break, neck : break (2t), fet : great, fetter : greater, forget : great, yet : great (Butler), forget : great, set : great, wet : great (Denham), checks : breaks, gett : great (Cotton), debt : great, set : great (Philips), forget : Great (2t), set : Great (3t), yet : Great (Dryden1), beget : great (2t) (Dryden2), set : great, yet : great (Dryden4), whet : great, yet : great (2t) (Sprat), set : great (King), inspect-us : breakfast, neck : break, set : great (Prior), yet : great (Pomfret), forget : Great

(Watts), neck : break (Pope), check : break (Savage), peck : break (Pitt), set : great (West), yet : great (Dodsley), debt : great (Jenyns), get : great (Boyse), set : great (W. Whitehead), better : greater (Smart).

10a : 6d は PE では [e] : [ei] の不完全韻であるが、E Mod E 期には見出されている。しかし、L Mod E 期には少なくなる。10a : 6d は⁽²⁷⁾ greater の ME ME/ε/ 異形に依存するものである。⁽²⁸⁾ Jespersen によると、great は本来 ME/ε:/ を持つ語であるから、その後の音変化では PE [i:] となるべき語である。great は ME 比較級 gretter 及び greatly, greatness の類推により、break は breakfast の単音 [e] の「保存的類推」により ME/ε:/ = [e:] > [i:] に高母音化されずに、[e:] > [ei] を保持した語である。

10a : 8a

best : *kest, rest : *kest, † then : ban (2t), † then : began, † then : can (2t), † then : man (3t), † whan : began, † whan : can, † whan : man, † whan : than (Wyatt), † lad : had, † lad : sad, rest : *kest, west : *kest (Spenser1), † bestad : bad, † bestad : had, † bestad : mad, † lad : had, flesh : *plesh, fresh : *plesh, † lad : mad, † lad : sad (Spenser2), † bestad : bad, † bestad : had, † bestad : mad, fetch : *ketch, flesh : *thresh, fresh : *thresh, † lad : clad, † lad : had, † lad : sad, sex : *flex, sex : *wex (Spenser3), annexe : *wexe, annex : *wext, † lad : glad, † lad : had (2t), † lad : sad, next : † wext, sexe : † wexe (Spenser4), † than : gan, *lad : had (Spenser5), *lad : bad, *lad : had, chest : *kest, drest : *kest, *lad : sad (Spenser6), affection : *action (Raleigh), † when : can (Sidney), † then : man (Lyly), † checks : cracks, † fetch : match, † led : had, † led : sad, † then : began, † wreck : back (2t), † wreck : lack (3t) (Daniel), † together : gather (Drayton), neck : † back, † wretch : scratch (Shakespeare), † then : man, † when : man (Donne), bred : clad, fed : clad (Stirling), † together : gather (P. Fletcher), † fellows : Gallow,

Temple : Ample, † wretch : hatch (Drummond), † errant : apparant (Ford), whether : † gather (Browne), perfection : action (2t), perfections : actions (Herbert), *ketch : snatch (Chalkhill), affect : detract, respect : detract (Harington), impression : passion (Godolphin), digression : passion (Cartwright), † fetch-them : *catch-them, men : *than, † wretched : hatched (Butler), messe : Lass, † when : Man (Lovelace), *then : began, *then : man (Cowley), pen : *than (Sherburne), men : *than, when : *than (2t) (Chamberlayne), † fetch-for't : *catch-for't, stretch-for't : *catch-for't (Brome), bed : clad (2t), bed : had, deck : black, † led : clad, gesture : Master, wed : had (2t), wed : sad (Hannay), affected : comtracted, † many : can-ye, men : *than (Cotton), † then : man (Hall), dress : Ass, † wreck : back, † wreck : black (Dryden1), neck'd : *back'd (Dryden2), defend : band, defend : hand, defend : land, defend : stand (Sprat), comprehend : hand, yet : that (Flatman), † Wretch : *catch (Wilmot), † wreck : back (Garth), better : matter (King), † fellows : gallows, merit : claret, † together : gallows (Prior), bend : hand, intend : hand (Granville), Brethren : *gathering (Swift), bed : bad, left : haft, † then : Japan (Congreve), bless : bass, begs : rags (Watts), met : chat (Somerville), bed : glad (Tompson), † fellows : gallows, amends : stands (Hamilton), ascent : plann'd (Armstrong), *then : man (Cambridge), † led : clad (Wilkie), † led : clad (Mickle), bed : glad, oppression : passion (Beattie), † led : had, belfry : palfrey (Byron).

10a : 8b

express : kest, wrest : kest (Spenser2), opprest : ouerkest, rest : ouerkest (Spenser3), creast : cast, creast : fast, creast : last (Spenser4), wrast : cast, wrast : fast (Spenser5), left : haft (Waller), bereft : craft (Denham), dress : glass (Lovelace), behest : past, blest : past, guessed : last, repossess : past, request : last (Hannay), Sense : Chance (Dryden 1), Blessing : lasting (Dryden2), blest : last (Walsh), best : fast

(Prior), dress : glass, guess : pass (Swift), best : fast (Yalden), press : glass, rest : past (Addison), drest : past (Watts), guess : pass, rest : re-past, unless : pass (Armstrong), vest : blast (2t) (Smollett), opprest : last (Beattie).

10a : 8d

together : rather (Drayton), together : rather (Suckling), offence : chance, sense : trance (Hannay), vent : chant (Smith), French : stanch (Prior), offence : dance, sense : dance (2t), sense : France (Granville), men-Sir : answer, together : rather (Swift), together : rather (Churchill), together : rather (Byron).

10a : 8e

perill : quarrel (Drayton), erant : warrant (Ford), errant : warrant (3t), peril : quarrel, wretches : watches (Butler), vessel : wassail (Brome), content : want (Hannay), ended : commanded (Cotton), errand : warrant (King), errand : warrant, errant : warrant, errands : warrants, fetches : watches (prior), repent : want (Dodsley), yellow : swallow (Armstrong), attend : wand (J. Warton).

10a : 8h

tell : Walles (Drummond).

10a : 8a は PE では [e] : [æ] の不完全韻であるが、, 当初考えていた以上に, Scotaland, 東部・北部・西部出身の詩人に E Mod E 期以降見出されている。しかも, 10a : 8a, 8b, 8d, 8e, 8h が見出される詩人では同時に 10a : 5a も見出されているという事実が浮上してきた。1650 年以前の詩人で ME/ε/ と ME/a/ の脚韻が Wyatt (Kent), Spenser, Daniel (Somerset), Drummond (Scotland), Herbert (Montgomery), Butler (Worcestershire), Chamberlayne (Dorsetshire), Hannay (Scotland), Cotton (Staffordshire), Dryden (Northamptonshire), Sprat (Devonshire) で数例見出されている。10a : 8a が見出されるのは主として Scotaland, 東部・北部・西部出身者であり, 他の詩人では 10a : 8a の押韻率は極めて低く, 適切な押韻語が見当たらない場合に異形による発音を

利用したという程度のものである。異形に依存しない ME/ε/ と ME/a/ の脚韻が初めて Herbert に見出されている。彼は Cambridge を卒業するが、Salisbury 近くの Benerton 村の牧師として余生を送った人物である。その意味で彼の 10a : 8a は西部の発音に基づくものである疑いが濃く確証にはならない。1650 年以降の詩人でも、ME/ε/ と ME/a/ の脚韻が Prior (Dorsetshire), Granville (Devonshire), Congreve (Yorkshire), Watts (Soutampton), Hamilton (Scotland), Cambridge (London), Beattie (Scotland), Byron (London) で複数個見出されているものの、ME/ε/ と ME/a/ の脚韻の相対的頻度は 1650 年以前と同じで、相変わらず低いままである。

I] a) ⁽²⁹⁾ Dobson によると、ME/ε/ を持つ語はいろんな起源に遡る ME/a/ 異形が並存していた。少なくとも、E Mod E 期に any (<OE ænig) には OE/æ:/ が LOE に OE/æ/ への短母音化に由来する ME/a/ 異形が並存していた。many にも any の類推で ME/a/ 異形が並存していた。

b) ⁽³⁰⁾ Kökeritz によると、少なくとも、E Mod E 期には embassy, enmesh, errand, melloncholy, wedged, wreck, wrestler, wrestling, wretch にも ME/a/ 異形が並存していた。

c) OED は fellow, fetch, led, when に ME/a/ 異形が並存していたことを示している。

d) ⁽³¹⁾ check, together に ME/a/ 異形が並存していたことを示している。従って、これらの語と ME/a/ との脚韻は ME/a/ に依存するものかも知れない (†を付す)。

II] a) ⁽³²⁾ Dobson によると、ME/a/ を持つ語はいろんな起源に遡る ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。adder, back, catch, fathom, mass, sadness, than, Thanet, wash は OE/æ/, /ea/ に由来する ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。

b) ⁽³³⁾ bachelor, charity, January, jasper, gallon, rank, satisfy, salaly, tragedy には OF/e/ に由来する ME/ε/ 異形は並存していた。

c) ⁽³⁴⁾ 地域方言で accessory, examine, Francis, pack, ravish, sack

に ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。

d) OED によると, flax, plash, thrash, than にも ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。歴史的に見て thresh の方が古い形だが, 15 世紀の方言形 thrash が 16 世紀に文語に入り, 17 世紀に「打ち叩く」の意味で確立した。後者の方が今は一般的な形で, 前者 thrash は「脱穀する」の意味で用いられることが多い [OED]。従って, これらの語と ME/ε/ との脚韻は ME/ε/ に依存するものかも知れない。(*を付す) およそどの国の首都でもその住民の相当数は地方出身者に占められており, 首都ではいろんな方言が飛び交っていたはずである。E Mod E 期のロンドンでも例外でなく今以上に各地の方言が入り乱れていたことだろう。ME/ε/ と ME/a/ の脚韻が 1 個や 2 個の場合には, ME/a/ がいち早く高母音化した北部・南東部・西部方言の発音に依存させたものと見るのが妥当であろう。

⁽³⁵⁾ Kökeritz は ME/ε/ はエリザベス朝英語では今日と同じ [e] になっていたと考えているが, 根拠は何も上げていない。Scotland, 東部・北部・西部出身者を除き, ME/ε/ と ME/a/ の脚韻が両者の融合の確証となる程度に見出されてはいない。1650 年以降出生の詩人では 10a : 8a は更に少なくなってくる。ME/ε/ が [e] になれば, [e] と [æ] は余りにも母音が違いすぎるので, ME/ε/ は ME/a/ (= [æ]) とは押韻しなくなる。筆者はこの事実を 1650 年以降 ME/ε/ = [ε] > [e] に高母音化された証拠と考えている。Wyld, Kökeritz は ME/ε/ と ME/a/ の脚韻を [ε] : [æ] の類韻と見なし, ME/a/ の [æ] への前母音化の証拠と見なしている。筆者は強勢ある音節以下の発音が同じであるという脚韻の性質及びこれらの脚韻が見出されるのは北部・西部・スコットランド・Kent 出身者であり, これらの方言では ME/a/ は [ε] 又は [e] と発音されていることを考慮し, 10a : 8a は [ε] : [æ] の類韻ではなく ME/a/ の方言形・異形 [ε] 又は [e] に依存する完全韻と考えている。10a : 8a が見出される詩人では同時に 10a : 5a が見出されており ME/ε/ が [e] になっていた確率が高く, 10a : 8a は [e] に依存する完全韻である蓋然性が高くなる。

10a : 9a

let : profet, yet : sitt, yet : witt, yett : fytt (Wyatt), yet : fit, yet : knit, yet : write, yet : writte (Gascoigne), besprint : dint, next : mixt (Spenser-Sc), adrest : wrest, annex : betwext, consent : ment, hent : stent, next : betwext, torment : stent, yit : flit, yit : wit, yit : writ (Spenser2), adrest : kist, arrest : wrest, best : wrest, dwell : bill, nest : kist, tell : fill, well : hill, yit : wit (Spenser3), beheld : kild, beheld : fild, beheld : thrild, blist : kist, blist : wist, deuell : dreuill, hell : fulfill, hell : ill, hell : will, hild : fild, hild : fulfill, hild : skild, hild : vpfild, merit : spirit (Spenser4), beheast : resist, distrest : list, left : gieft, lidge : Bridge, lidge : ridge, posest : list, reft : gieft, represt : resist, rest : list, resemblance : hindrance, semblance : hindrance, theft : gieft (Spenser 5), bereft : gift, bereft : lift, ghest : lest, left : gift, left : lift, men : gren, together : thether, vphild : kild, vnblest : lest, when : gren (Spenser6), bred : hid, euer : riuer, infect : afflict, inherit : spirit, inherite : spirite, merit : spirit, merite : spirite (3t), neuer : riuer, possesse : this, seuer : riuer, wretches : riches, yet : it (2t), yet : sit (Spenser-Minor), together : hether, yet : bit, yet : hit, yet : spit, yet : wit (2t) (Sidney), west : fist, altogether : hither, together : hither, euer : liuer, merrit : spirit, wether : whither (Lyly), begit : fit, beheld : fulfillde, behild : fild, behild : kild, forgit : fit, forgit : it (2t), forgit : wit, get : vnfit, git : it (3t), git : sit, git : vnfit, git : wit (2t) hence : since, hild : kild, teither : hether, together : hether, with-hild : ild, yis : is (Warner), knell : will, press : bliss, them : him, yet : wit (Southwell), begets : fits, bred : did, commence : prince, ever : giver, ever : liver (2t), fed : rid, impress : is, impress : this, merit : spirit, offence : since, them : him, then : win, together : whither, yet : fit (2t), yet : it, yet : wit (Daniel), altogether : hither, ever : quiver, river : ever, inherit : spirit (3t), merit : spirit (3t), seven : given, together : hither, together : thether, together : thither, together : whither, yet : fit, yet : wit (Drayton), ever : giver. git : it,

ever : river (2t), inherit : spirit, together : thether, together : wither,
 yet : fit (Marlowe), impression : commission, merit : spirit, theft :
 shift, together : hither (2t), together : whither, whether : thither, yet :
 sit, yet : wit (2t) (Shakespeare), enter : Winter, errour : mirror, ever :
 giver (Davies), euer : hether, expresses : kisses, forget : fit, get : it, to-
 gether : hether, yet : wit (Campion), access : is, inherit : spirit (2t),
 merit : spirit (3t), together : wither, Yet : admit, yet : Spit, yet : wit
 (3t), yet : witt (Jonson), beget : knit, forget : it, merit : spirit (2t), to-
 gether : hether, Yet : spit, yet : admit (4t), yet : fit (3t), yet : it (5t),
 yet : sit, yet : spirit, yet : writ (Donne), yet : sit, inherites : spirites,
 merits : spirits (Stirling), merrits : spirits, meritt : spiritt (Marston),
 inherit : Spirit, Merit : Spirit (3t), thence : since, yet : it, yet : wit, yet :
 writt (Corbet) ever : giver (2t), ever : liver, getteth : fitteth, getteth :
 siteth, held : fill'd, inherit : spirit, inherits : spirits, left : gift, merit :
 spirit (3t), reference : difference, together : thither, yet : flit, yet :
 unfit, yet : wit (P. Fletcher), better : bitter, together : Hether, toge-
 ther : hither, yet : wit (F. Beaumont), Belly : Lilly, bless'd : miss'd,
 hence : Prince, hence : prince, seven : given (2t), thence : Prince
 (Drummond), discretion : condition, error : mirror (2t), impression :
 condition, inherit : spirit (2t), knell : distil, knell : ill, merit : spirit
 (4t), merits : spirits (2t), them : him (2t), terror : mirror (3t), to-
 gether : hither (2t) (Ford), ever : liver, seven : giv'n, together : hither
 (Kynaston), disinherit : spirit, merit : spirit (G. Fletcher), hence :
 quince, inherit : spirit (4t), merit : spirit (4t), them : him (2t), to-
 gether : hither, together : thither (2t), yet : it, yet : sit (Browne), get :
 bit, inherit : spirit (2t), together : hither (4t), together : thither, to-
 gether : wither (3t), Yes : is, Yes : kisse, Yes : this, yet : admit, yet : it
 (2t), yet : sit (Herrick), ever : deliver, friend : wind, get : it, together :
 thither (4t), together : wither, Yes : blisse, yet : commit (Herbert), in-
 herit : spirit, merit : spirit (2t) (King), merit : spirit, together : wither,

yet : admit, yet : it (Carew), get : it, held : distill'd, held : fill'd, merit :
 spirit, togehter : thither (2t), yet : fit (Chalkhill), together : thither
 (2t) (Marmion), friend : sinn'd, friend : spinn'd, inherit : Spirit (3t),
 merit : Spirit (Benlowes), yet : wit (3t), together : wither (Harington),
 thence : prince, yet : fit (Davenant), forget : sit, gets : quits, merit :
 spirit (Waller), express : bliss, inherit : spirit, together : thither, to-
 gether : whither (Bosworth), engender : tinder, ever : river, them : him,
 together : thither (2t), yet : wit (2t) (Suckling), left : gift, merit :
 spirit (Whiting), access : is (Godolphin), yet : wit (Cartwright),
 Devil : civil (4t), inherit : spirit, inherits : spirits, merit : spirit, sense :
 wince, seven : driven, yet : it, yet : wit (Butler), ever : deliver, ever :
 Giver, expenses : Princes, seaven : given, together : whither (Crashaw),
 inherits : spirits, merit : spirit, together : hither, vespers : whispers,
 yet : wit (Cleveland), Devil : Civil, forget : remit, together : hither
 (Denham), Cellar : willer, distresse : is, drest : wrist, farewell : ill, in-
 herit : spirit, merit : spirit (2t), presse : kisse, tell : fill, Spet : it, tell :
 ill, well : still, wench : stinch, Yes : Bliss, Yet : Wit (Lovelace), beget :
 fit, beget : it (3t), beget : wit, forget : wit, get : it (3t), get : quit, get :
 sit, merit : spirit, yet : fit, yet : it (4t), yet : sit, yet : wit (Cowley), for-
 get : sit, nerve : quiver, set : wit, whence : since, yet : hit (Sherburne),
 inherits : spirits, merit : spirit (3t), yet : fit (8t), yet : sit (5t)
 (Chamberlayne), get : spit, get : wit (2t), get : writ, inherit : spirit,
 merit : spiirt (5t), merits : spirits, rest : consists, tell-you : Lilly, them :
 him, together : hither (3t), together : whither (2t), yet : it, yet : wit
 (Brome), accesse : this, dress : this, dwell : until, ever : liver, inherit :
 spirit (2t), pen : him, sence : sins, swell'd : fill'd, then : sin, thence :
 since, together : thither, well : hill, well : untill, yet : fit (3t), yet : sit,
 yet : writ (Vaughan), altogether : whither, blest : consist, inherit :
 spirit, merit : spirit, merits : spirits, never : give-her, terror : mirror,
 well : still (Hannay), forget : sit, yet : fit, inherit : Spirit, merit : Spirit,

meritt : Spiritt, together : whither, yet : wit, yet : sitt (Cotton), then : sit, yet : fit, yet : it, yet : wit (Philips), debt : it, get : it, yet : it (Hall), beget : fit, Devil : civil (3t), beget : it, beget : wit, defence : Prince (3t), get : wit, Men : Sin, next : betwixt, Pence : Prince, sence : Prince, sense : Prince (4t), Sence : since, thence : Prince, together : hether, together : thither, yet : wit (Dryden1), Eleven : giv'n, Flesh : Dish, defence : Prince, forget : Pit, hence : Prince, offence : Prince, Sev'n : giv'n, thence : Prince, yet : writ (Dryden2), beheld : fill'd, behell'd : fill'd, defence : Prince (7t), forget : submit, Guest : dismiss'd, held : fill'd (2t), hence : Prince (2t), left : Gift, Yell : fills (Dryden3), beheld : fill'd, Contst : resist, Defence : Prince (5t), dress'd : Fist, Expence : Prince, forget : Writ, held : fill'd (2t), kept : dipt, kept : mix'd, Men : begin, Men : Spin, next : betwixt, next : fix'd, Offence : Prince (5t), Pen : begin, recompence : Prince, Scent : Mint, sent : dint, Shells : fills, thence : Prince (2t), Text : betwixt, yet : unfit, yet : Wit (Dryden4), defence : prince, yet : writ (Roscommon), dwell : bill, set : wit, them : limb, well : hill, well : still (Sprat), sense : prince (Halifax), defence : Prince, hence : Prince, men : in, possess : bliss (Flatman), relent : flint, yet : writ (Ayres), defence : Prince, get : wit, Stem : him, yet : fit (Shadwell), beget : wit, defence : Prince, fret : wit, merit : spirit, sense : Prince, yet : wit (Wilmot), beget : wit, (2t), sense : prince, yet : quit (Sheffield), held : skill'd (Otway), met : fit, opprest : resist (Blackmore), forget : sit, met : wit, rest : miss'd, set-in : Britain, sex : mix (Duke), freckles : pickles, inherit : spirit, met : wit (Stepney), begets : wits, defence : prince (Walsh), Devil : civil, driven : seven, get : submit, let : wit, together : thither (King), bed : hid, beget : wit, begetting : fitting, debt : acquit, claret : bear-it, devil : civil, ever : deliver, excess : bliss, forget : acquit, forget : wit, fret : fit, held : fill'd (2t), gets : sits, gets : wits, inherit : spirit, member : timber, merit : spirit, merits : spir-its, never : liver, regret : fit, remember : timber, sex : fix, swear-it :

claret, together : hither, together : whither (Prior), beheld : kill'd, fell : still, possess : this, well : skill'd (Granville), Devil : civil, errors : mirrors, merit : spirit (5t), Terrors : mirrors (Swift), Devil : civil, felt : guilt (2t), defence : prince (Yalden), better : fit-her, devil : civil, forget : submit, forgets : sits, left : gift, possess : bliss (Rowe), cell : fill, fell : guilt, sex : mix (Addison), dwell : still, dwells : hills, felt : guilt (Watts), blesses : wishes, evil : civil, merit : spirit, settle : tittle, ten : in (Somerville), vest : kiss'd (Hughes), tell : still (Parnell), merit : spirit (Young), Smells : Hills (Diaper), fellow : pillow (2t), ever : river, merit : spirit (8t) (Gay), forgets : fits, press : kiss, text : fix'd (Tickell), beget : Wit, devil : civil (6t), forget : Wit, merit : spirit (4t), hence : PRINCE, tell : will, Terrors : Mirrors, yet : fit, yet : Wit (5t) (Pope), demerit : spirit, welkin : milking, Yes : is (2t), yes : amiss, yes : this (Green), devil : civil, felt : guilt (2t), get : wit, set : wit (Pitt), let-me : sit-me, merit : spirit, steps : skips (Dodsley), devil : civil, together : whither (Jenyns), bless : amiss, next : betwixt, merit : spirit (Hamilton), affection : contradiction, merit : spirit, seven : given, text : mixt, yet : wit (Mallet), glen : in, Yes : this (Brooke), Devil : civil (Harte), melt : guilt (Boyse), possess : this (Lyttleton), inherit : spirit, merit : spirit (2t) (P. Whitehead), merit : spirit, next : mixt, tell-ye : kill-ye (Armstrong), held : fill'd, inherit : spirit, merit : spirit (Moore), yet : wit (2t) (Thompson), merit : spirit (2t) (Shenstone), merit : spirit (Jago), devil : civil, merit : spirit (2t) (W. Whitehead), inherit : Spirit (Gray), merit : spirit (2t), then : grin (Cambridge), inherit : spirit, merit : spirit (2t) (Cawthorn), excess : bliss, merit : spirit (Cooper), merit : spirit (Wilkie), inherit : spirit (Fawkes), inherits : spirits, merit : spirit (Blacklock), gem : him, merit : spirit (Smart), merit : spirit (Mason), erit : spirit (3t), terrour : mirror, yes : bliss (Cunningham), Devil : civil, forget : wit, forgets : wits, get : wit, merit : Spirit, yet : admit, yet : wit (3t) (Churchill), Yes : bliss, Yes : kiss, yet : quit

(Cowper), beget : wit, devil : civil (2t), dwelt : built, forget : wit (3t), forgets : wits, get : fit, get : wit, inherit : spirit (2t), merit : spirit (9t), terrours : mirrors, yet : wit (3t) (Lloyd), bereft : Thrift, besett : fitt, besett : remitt, red : forbid (Mickle), merit : spirit (Jones), Devil : uncivil (2t), devil : civil (2t), errors : mirrors, ever : forgive-her, ever : giver, ever : quiver, ever : river (4t), ever : shiver, inherit : spirit (2t), left : gift, level : civil, merit : spirit (2t), merits : spirits, never : liver, never : river (2t), pretty : pity, seven : driven, swept : dipp'd, together : hither, together : thither, together : whither, wept : dipp'd, whether : thither (Byron), never : river (Shelley), merit : spirit, together : Mither (Keats).

ME/ε/ と ME/i/ の脚韻は PE では [e] : [i] の不完全韻であるが, E Mod E 期だけでなく L Mod E 期の詩人においてもごく普通に見出されている。ME/ε/ を [i] と発音することは PE では俗語・方言の特色であるが, E Mod E 期には上流階級においてごく普通のことであったことは臨時綴字, 文法家, 脚韻からの証拠がある。

I] a) ⁽³⁶⁾ Dobson によると, OE/y/ は ME では北部, 東中部の大半, 南西部の一部の方言では /i/ になったが, 南東部方言では /ε/ になったが, 少なくとも, E Mod E 期には bridge, hill, knit, list, mill, ridge, thin には ME/ε/ 異形も並存していた。

b) ⁽³⁷⁾ ME/ε/ は, ___ [ŋg, n+子音] では, 1500 年以前に ME/i/ に前母音化されたが, 少なくとも, E Mod E 期には think (<thenk), hinge (<henge), singe には ME/ε/ 異形も並存していた。1500 年以降に ME/i/ に前母音化された limpet, nib, trivet にも ME/ε/ 異形も並存していた。

c) ⁽³⁸⁾ lemon (<OF limon), sheriff (<OE shirif) は本来の /i/ > 低母音化 > /e/ となったものである。少なくとも, E Mod E 期には cricket, film, fringe, hither, inch, lizard, minnow, rivet, shiver, since, spirit, spit, syrup, tilth, till, whither, will, wrist にもこの低母音化に由来する ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。E Mod E 以降 spirit は merit,

inherit 等と押韻するだけでなく spirits : knights のように ME/i:/ とともに押韻している。前者は spirit の ME/ε/ 異形に依存するものである。Wright (Index) によると, spirit は Cumberland, Lancashire, Lincoln, Worcester, Gloucester, Oxford で尚も [e] と発音されていることが記録されている。後者は ME/i:/ 異形 (<E Mod E sprite<ME sprit<OF esprit) に依存するものである。更に, OED は spirit に ME/e:/ 異形 (5-6 sprete, 6 spreet) 異形が並存していたことを記録しているので, E Mod E 期には, spirit には [i], [e], [i:], [øi] の四つの発音が並存していたことになる。詩人はこれらの異形を駆使し, 英語を他のヨーロッパ言語にはみられない陰影に富む, 詩的表現豊かな言語にさせていった。

d) ⁽³⁹⁾ gift, prince, rich, wit にも ME/ε/異が並存していた。

e) OED によると, build, driven, given, fill, fist, grin, guilt, hid, hill, him, is, kill, kiss, lift, lily, milk, mint, mirror, pickle, profit, river, sin, sit, still, stint, this, timber, tinder, wit に ME/ε/ 異形 (5 beld, 4-6 dreven, 4-6 geven, 2 fellen, 2-6 fest, 6 gren, 4 grlte, 2-4 hed, 4-5 hel, 4-5 hem, 3-5 es, 3-5 kesse, 5-6 kelle, 4 left, 4-6 lely, 4-5 melk, 6 ment, 4-5 meror, 5 pekille, 4-7 profet, 5-6 rever, 5 senn, 3-5 set, 4 stell, 4- stent, 3-4 thes, 5-6 tembre, 6 tender, 5 wet) が並存していたことを示している。従って, これらの語と 10a の脚韻は ME/ε/同士のものであるかも知れない。

II] a) ⁽⁴⁰⁾ Dobson によると OE/y/ は ME では北部, 東中部の大半, 南西部の一部の方言では /i/ になったが, 南東部方言では /ε/ になったが, 少なくとも, E Mod E 期には bury, fledge, merry には標準英語においても ME/i/ 異形も並存していた。

b) ⁽⁴¹⁾ (Kökeritz, pp. 186-90) string (<OE streng), think (<OE thenche) の今日の形は 1500 年までに, ___ [ŋg] の ME/ε/ が ME/i/ に前母音化したものである。ME/ε/ の ME/i/ への前母音化は, ___ [ŋg] の前の ME/ε/ ほど画一的ではなかったが, 他の音声環境の ME/ε/ のにも, しばしば起こり, ME では, ME/ε/ を含む多くの語には ME/i/ 異

形が並存していた。/ε/ を /i/ に上げる傾向は 16 世紀で終焉を告げるが、少なくとも、E Mod E 期には bench, bend, better, bless, cherry, clef, contented, desperate, devil, dreg, end, engineer, entertainment, entrails, ever, frenzy, gemel, get, health, held, impression, ken, leopard, melonm, pebble, reck, redress, rest, revenge, seldom, sexton, stealth, stench, sterile, tedder, theft, then, thread, together, wealth, well, whether, wrest, wretch, yeld, yes, yet にも ME/i/ 異形が並存していた。PE devil (<ME devel<OE deofl) はその後の音変化では deevil となるはずである。しかし、OE の deoflas (複数形) には -fle- の前で母音の短母音化が生じ、ME devels の形が出来、この形から PE の devil が生じた。更に 16 世紀には -ee- の短母音化が生じ、diuill (6), divel (6-7) が派生した。少なくとも、E Mod E 期には、devil には三つの異形 (ME/e:/, ME/ε/, ME/i/) が並存したことになる。OED によると、besprent, betwixt, friend, glen, held, hence, level, knell, next, pretty, set, seven, swept, ten に ME/i/ 異形 (6 besprent, 4-5 betwex, 5-7 friend, glin, 6 hild, 3 hinnes, 4 livel, 4-5 knylle, 4 nixte, 6 prittie, 6-7 sit, 1-2 sifun, 5 swyped, 1 tyn) が並存していたことを示している。従って、これらの語と 9a の脚韻は ME/i/ 同士のものであるかも知れない。上記 I], II] 以外の 9a : 10a (afflict : infect, acquit : debt, condition : discretion, contradiction : affection, dint : sent, dipp'd : pt, dish : Flesh, fit : met, fit : fret, fix : sex, fix'd : text, flint : relent, hindrance : resemblance, hindrance : semblance, ill : hell, in : men, mix : sex, pillow : fellow, resist : behest, resist : repress, resist : opprest, rid : fed, whispers : vespers) は両者が同音になっていたことを示すものである。これらの脚韻が ME/ε/ > ME/i/ の高母音化に依存するものか、ME/i/ > ME/ε/ の低母音化に依存するものであるか俄には決めがたい。ME/i/ > ME/ε/ は 15~18 世紀までの長い期間にかけ特に北部・南西部方言の特色でもあったが、時々 Mids でも見られ、Sc ではかなり広い範囲にわたり生起した。一部は Eastern 方言を通して、最初卑俗なレベルで、後、標準英語にも浸透してきた (limon > lemon, shiref > sheriff)。9a : 10a は押韻している語のどちらか

一方に相手方の音韻を持つ異形が並存しており、何れにしても完全韻である。

10a : 10b

opprest : disperst (Warner), express : verse (Campion), men :
discerne (Marston), Friend : earn'd (Corbet), address : Verse
(Shadwell), express : verse (Yalden).

10b : 5a

universe : grace (Yalden).

10b : 6a

earst : feaste (Warner), Earth : beneath (2t), Earth : bequeath (2t)
(Drummond).

10b : 6c

earth : breath, earth : death (Daniel), Earth : breath (8t), earth :
death (Marston), Earth : Breath (2t), Earth : breath, Earth : Death
(4t), earth : death (Drummond), earth : breath (Harington), earth :
breath (Hammond), Earth : breath (2t) (Watts), earth : breath
(Broome).

10b : 13a

averr'd : afraid (Kynaston).

⁽⁴²⁾ Dobsonによると、[s, θ]の前のrの消失は俗語ではよく観察された現象で、14世紀以降の文書に見出されている。⁽⁴³⁾ Wyldによると、burstの代わりにbust, curseの代わりにbust, cussを用いることは卑俗な言葉、おどけた口語表現に今でも残っているものもある。これらの発音は古くからあり、従来教養のある人々によって用いられていたものであり、BokenamはLives of the Saints (1443)でadust (in the dust)をwurst (worst)と押韻させている。MachynにはWosseter, Dassetが、Verney Memoirs (1642)にはfust (first)の形が見出されている。Cooper (1685)はworsted (ウーステッドの織物)の代わりにwusted (現代でもこの語は[wustəd]と発音される)を与えている。

10a : 11a

terrible : horrible (Spenser1), bereft : oft, left : oft, theft : oft (Spenser4), leuell : grouell (Spenser5), terrour : horroure (Stirling), men : on (Vaughan).

10a : 11a は PE では [e] : [ɔ] の不完全韻であるが、E Mod E 期以降散見されている。

I] ⁽⁴⁴⁾ Dobson によると、yon (<geon), yonder, yolk (<geolca) には stress-shift による ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。yolk は Gil, Daines, Newton, Cooper により ME/ε/ が示されているが、Coote, Hunt では yelk は田舎の卑俗な人々の言葉と非難されている。これらの語と ME/ε/ の脚韻は ME/ε/ に依存するものであるが、今回の我々の調査には見出されなかった。

II] OED を調べても、11a を持つ語に ME/ε/ 異形、10a を持つ語に ME/ɔ/ 異形が並存していたことを示す証拠はなく、10a : 11a を音韻論的にうまく説明することは難しいが、これらは Spenser, Stirling, Vaughan に固有のものであり、10a : 11a は ME/ε/ : ME/ɔ/ > 平唇化 > ME/a/ の脚韻であろう。Wyld, Kökeritz は ME/a/ : ME/ε/ を [æ] : [ɛ] の類韻と見なしている。脚韻とは押韻語の発音が同じであるという脚韻の性質、及びこれらの脚韻が見出されるのは北部・西部・Scotland, Kent 出身者であり、これらの地域では ME/a/ は [ɛ] 又は [e] と発音されていること考慮し、筆者は 8a : 10a は [æ] : [ɛ] の類韻ではなく ME/a/ の [ɛ] 又は [e] の完全韻であると考えている。8a : 10a が見出される詩人では同時に 10a : 5a が見出され、ME/a/、ME/ε/ は [e] になっていたので、10a : 11a = 10a : 8a = [e] に依存する完全韻である蓋然性が高くなる。

10a : 1f

cherish : flourish, perish : flourish (Spenser-Minor), cherish : flourish (3t), perish : flourish, cherish : nourish (2t) (Sidney), cherish : flourish, cherish : nourish (G. Fletcher),

10a : 12a

euer : discover, euer : louer, men : ouerren, pen : ouerren (Spenser⁵),
any : honey, exprest : dust, flesh : Crush (Vaughan), self : gulf
(Byron),

10a : 4e

togidder : other (Wyatt), together : mother, together : other (Spenser⁴),
altogether : another (Brome), together : another (Dryden²).

10a : 1f, 10a : 12a, 10a : 4e は PE では [e] : [ʌ] の不完全韻であるが、Wyatt (Kent), Spenser, Vaughan (Wales), Brome (?), Dryden (Northamptonshire), Byron (London) に散見されている。これらの脚韻に関し、二通りの解釈が可能である。1) ME/ε/ は E Mod E 期より、[ε] であった。ME/u/ が [u] である間は ME/ε/ と ME/u/ は韻を踏むことはない。しかし、ME/u/ > [ʌ] に変わると、ME/ε/ : ME/u/ は類韻 ([ε] : [ʌ]) を踏む可能性がでてくる。従って、10a : 1f を女性韻と見なした場合は、この脚韻は ME/ε/ = [ε], ME/u/ = [ʌ] の証拠となる。一方、2) Wyatt には harber : banner : suffer : displeasure, reason : season : condition のような脚韻が見出されている。弱音節部だけで押韻させているのが彼の詩作法の特徴の一つになっており、10a : 1f は [-ish] による脚韻である可能性が大であり、ME/u/ = [ʌ] の確証にはならない。ME/u/ が [ʌ] になったことを示す直接的な正音学者の証拠は 17 世紀半ばになって初めて Daines (1640), Hodges (1643) に示されていること、及び ME/u/ が [ʌ] になったことを示す間接的証拠である ME/u/r と ME/ε/r, ME/i/r 及び ME/ui/ と ME/i:/ の同音化の証拠も 17 世紀後半になって初めて現れている。17 世紀後半になって初めて標準的な発音となるものが、16 世紀半ばに進んだ発音として存在していたと考えるのは余りにも不自然である。これらの事実を考慮すれば、後者の蓋然性が強くなる。men : ouerren, pen : ouerren (Spenser⁵) は run の ME/ε/ 異形に依存するものである。⁽⁴⁵⁾ Dobson によると、Bullokar は just に ME/ε/ が存在しており、ME/u/ = [e] は Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex を含む多くの方言で観察された vulgarism であることを示している。⁽⁴⁶⁾ Wright によると、

OE/u/ は Scotland, Somerset, Devonshire で [i] 又は [e] となっており, dust は Scotland で [e], mother, other は Scotland で [i] と発音されていることが報告されている。又, OED は cover, honey, lover, run にはよく知られた ME/ε/ 異形 (4-6 kever, kyver, 3-7 ren) が, honey には ME/i/ 異形 (7 Scotland, north 7 hinny) が並存していたことを示している。cover に ME/ε/ 異形が並存していたことは, kercief にその名残を留めているところからも容易に推察される。crush, gulf に ME/i/ 又は ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた証拠はない。しかし, ME/u/> [i] 又は [e] はイギリス全土で起こったのではなく Scotland 及び南西部方言で生じたことを示しているので, これらを含む脚韻は方言音 [i], 又は [e] に依存するものと考えてよいだろう。

10a : 13a

queint : constraint, queint : faint, queint : Saint (Spenser2), left : weft, reft : weft (Spenser3), left : weft, reft : weft, theft : weft (Spenser 6), lent : plaint, spend : conteind (Sidney), plenty : dainty (2t), plenties : dainties (Drayton), Thames : aymes (Jonson), presented : painted (Drummond), plentie : daintie, plenty : daintie (Browne), red : laid (Brome), farewell : hail, lent : restraint, Thames : claims, them : claim, then : brain, then : complain, torment : faint, vents : plaints (Hannay), men : remain (Hall), scent : paint, them : declaim, venture : fainter (Dryden1), fed : laid, fled : laid, Men : Grain, sells : Vails (Dryden2), Bed : aid, Bed : laid, Bed : Aid (2t), Men : Train, then : Reign (Dryden3), fell : bewail (Dryden4), Men : Plain (Shadwell), fed : convey'd (Blackmore), shed : maid (Duke), fled : bray'd (Garth), then : pain (Walsh), bed : laid, Hell : avail, shed : play'd (King), bed : laid, bed : maid (2t), men : gain, men : maintain, men : train, set : weight, shed : laid, tell : veil, them : proclaim (Prior), pen : strain, then : slain (Pomfret), confess : praise, less : praise, prest : waist, vent : restraint (Granville), Hell : Jayl, oppress'd : weight, rest : weight (Swift), bed :

array'd, bed : laid, fled : laid, frien : complain'd (2t), men : complain, tell-us : fail-us (Congreve), bed : maid, bed : survey'd, fled : aid, led : undismay'd, redress : betrays (Yalden), fled : survey'd, led : betray'd, led : maid, yet : wait (Rowe), fed : paid, Hell : veil, mem : plain, men : train, men : vain (2t) (Watts), descend : train'd, fled : afraid, fled : play'd, led : aid, men : plain (2t), men : reign, men : slain, men : strain, men : train, shed : paid (Parnell), bred : aid, Thames : claims (Fenton), hell : prevail (Pope), bred : maid, fled : afraid (Broome), men : train (Savage), bed : laid (West), men : plain, men : vain (Hamilton), bed : laid (Brooke), bled : display'd, led : survey'd, men : train (Boyse), smell : prevail, smell : prevail (Armstrong) fled : stray'd (2t) (Johnson), fed : convey'd, fed : maid, led : array'd, led : maid, led : survey'd, red : inlay'd, red : stray'd (Thompson), bed : unpaid (Shenstone), men : attain, men : reign, men : vain, pen : feign, pen : reign, Thames : claims, when : pain (W. Whitehead), bent : constraint, men : pain, men : train (Gray), bed : unpaid, (Cambridge), men : complain, men : train, misled : aid, Thames : claims (Akenside), fled : aid (Cooper), men : ordain, them : disclaim (Wilkie), fed : paid, friend : complain'd, friend : sustain'd, led : display'd, shed : survey'd (Blacklock), Hell : prevail, pen : deign (Smart), friend : deign (Mason), well : prevail, yet : weight (Cowper), then : gain (Lloyd), men : vain (Langhorne), adrest : waist, bequest : waist, den : gain, den : pain, fled : upbraid, led : repaid, phlegm : claim, shed : displaid, then : complain, then : plain, then : vain (Mickle), den : plain, led : stray'd (Beattie), Hell : prevail (Logan), men : gain, men : pain, men : slain, men : train (Wordsworth), any : rainy, bless : traits, den : pain, many : rainy, men : pain (2t), men : vain, repentance : acquaintamce, sentence : acquaintance, Thames : aims, Thames : claims, vent : saint, when : brain (Byron), bed : laid, fled : played, men : plain (2t), men : vain, went : saint, when : plain (Shelley),

10a : 13a は PE では [e] : [ei] の不完全韻である。Kökeritz (1953) にも 10a : 13a は見出されていないが、10a : 13a は、当初考えていた以上に、東部・北部・西部出身の詩人に E Mod E 期以降見出されている。

I] ⁽⁴⁷⁾ 少なくとも E Mod E 期には *attainder*, *acquaintance*, *chain*, *claim*, *complaint*, *constrain*, *faith*, *disclaim*, *frail*, *maintenance*, *mayor*, *ordain*, *quaint*, *phraise*, *raise*, *remain*, *they* には ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた。OED は *daint*, *plaint*, *strain*, *veil* に ME/ε/ 異形 (5 *dente*, 5-6 *plaent*, 3-4 *stren*, 6 *vell*) が並存していたことを示している。又、OED によると、*weft* は *waift* の異形であることが示されている。従って、10a とこれらの語との脚韻は ME/ε/ 同士のものであるかも知れない。

II] *Thames* には ME/a:/ 異形が並存していた。従って、*Thame* と ME/ai/ との脚韻は 5a : 13a であるかも知れない。

III] *Them* には ME/ai/ 異形 (4-6 *them* (<*onpeim*>)) が並存していた。従って、*Them* と ME/ai/ との脚韻は 13a 同士のものかも知れない。

上述の I], II], III] 以外の異形に依存しない ME/ε/ と ME/ai/ が Sidney (Kent), Drayton (Warwickshire), Drummond (Scotland), Brome (?), Hannay (Scotland), Hall (Durham), Dryden (Northamptonshire), Shadwell (Norfolk), Blackmore (Wiltshire), Duke (London), Garth (Yorkshire), Walsh (Worcestershire), King (London), Prior (Dorsetshire), Pomfret (Bedfordshire), Granville (Devonshire), Swift (Dublin), Congreve (Yorkshire), Yalden (Devonshire), Rowe (Bedfordshire), Watts (Southamptonshire), Parnell (Dublin), Fenton (Straffordshire), Broome (Cheshire), Savage (Scotland), West (?), Hamilton (Scotland), Brooke (Ireland), Boyse (Dublin), Armstrong (Scotland), Johnson (Straffordshire), Thompson (Wetmoreland), Shenstone (Shropshirer), W. Whitehead (London), Gray (London), Cambridge (London), Akenside (Newcastle), Cooper (Nottinghamshire), Wilkie (Scotland), Blacklock (Scotland), Smart (Yorkshire), Cowper (Hertfordshire), Lloyd (Westminster), Langhorne (Westmoreland), Mickle (Scotland), Beattie (Scotland), Logan (Scotland),

Wordsworth (Cumberland), Byron (London), Shelley (Keats) に見出されている。これらの脚韻が見出されるのは北部・西部・Scotland・Kent 出身者であり、これらの方言では ME/ai/ は [e] と発音されていることを考慮すれば、10a:13a は、10a:5a と同様に、[e] に依存する完全韻である可能性が高くなる。

10a:13c

Amen:agen, Pen:agen (Turberville), men:agein, pen:agein (Spenser1), then:agen (Lyly), men:again, men:agen (2t), pen:again, then:again, then:agen (3t), when:agen (2t) (Drayton), pen:again, then:again (2t) (Shakespeare), men:again (Davies), den:agen, then:again, then:agen (Campion), men:again, men:agen (4t) (Jonson), bed:said, men:agen, penne:again, red:said, then:again (Donne), men:agen (4t), then:agen (4t) (Browne), den:again, then:again, when:again (2t) (Marmion), bed:seyd, Hen:agen, men:agen, then:agen (12t), when:again, when:agen (6t) (Herrick), men:agen, then:agen (Herbert), men:again, pen:again (2t), then:again (King), pen:agen, red:sed, then:again, then:agen (Carew), bed:said, men:again (7t), then:again (9t), when:again (2t) (Chalkhill), men:again (2t), then:again (2t) (Benlowes), men:agen (Harington), then:agen (Davenant), men:again (Waller), bed:said, led:sed (Milton), then:again (Suckling), then:again (2t), led:said (Godolphin), men:agen (7t), then:agen (7t), when:agen (3t) (Cartwright), bed:said (2t), men:again (9t), then:again (3t), then:agen, wed:said, when:agen (Butler), Men:agen, then:again, then:agen (Crashaw), men:again, then:again (Cleveland), men:again, then:again (Denham), Men:again, Men:again, Men:agen, Penne:again, then:agen (2t), when:agen (Lovelace), bed:said (2t), red:said, shed:said, then:again (2t), when:again (Cowley), hen:agen (Sherburne), then:agen (2t), when:again (3t)

(Chamberlayne), men : again (5t), men : agen, pen : again, then : again (Brome), Pen : again (Marvell), bed : said, bed : sed (2t), men : agen (3t), pen : agen (2t), red : sed, then : again, then : agen (5t), when : agen (2t) (Vaughan), pen : agen (Hannay), men : again, men : agen (3t), Pen : agen, then : again, then : agen (4t), when : again, when : agen (2t) (Cotton), Men : again (Philips), men : again, then : again (3t) (Hall), Men : again, Men : agen (5t), Pen : again, Pen : agen (2t), then : agen (2t) (Dryden1), Amen : agen, Bed : said, Bed : sed (3t), bred : said, Den : agen, fed : said, Men : again, Pen : agen, ten : agen, then : again, then : agen (Dryden2), Bed : said (2t), Den : agen, fed : said (2t), led : said, Men : agen (2t) (Dryden3), bed : said, fed : said, fled : se'd, Men : agen (2t), pen : again, sped : se'd, then : agen (Dryden 4), men : again (3t), pen : again (2t), red : said (Sheffield), pen : again (Otway), men : again, then : again (2t), when : again (Carey), wren : again (Sprat), men : again, pen : again (Halifax), then : again (Dorset), bed : said, fled : said, men : again, isled : said, pen : again (3t), then : again (Flatman), men : again (2t), pen : again, then : again (4t) (Ayres), Men : again, Pen : again (4t) (Shadwell), Bed : said, Men : again, Pen : again (Wilmot), bred : said (Blackmore), bed : said, pen : again (Garth), bed : said (Walsh), men : again (2t), Pen : again, then : again (King), bed : said (2t), bred : said, fled : said (2t), led : said, less : says, men : again (4t), ten : again, then : again (Prior), led : said, men : again (3t), then : again (2t) (Pomfret), Bed : said, bred : said, Men : again (2t), Pen : again (2t), shed : said, Ten : again (3t), Ten : agen, then : again (2t) (Swift), bed : said, fled : said, then : said (Yalden), bed : said (Addison), men : again (3t), pen : again, then : again (2t) (Watts), bed : said (4t), bred : said, ten : again, then : again (Somerville), bed : said, fled : said, men : again (Philips), red : said (Hughes), Amen : again, led : said, men : again (2t), then : again (Parnell), men : again (4t), pen : again (3t), then : again (2t)

(Young), bed : said, then : again (Fenton), bed : said, bred : said (3t), fed : said, fled : said, led : said, (2t), men : again, misled : said, sped : said, then : again, wed : said (Gay), men : again (Tickell), bed : said (2t), Men : again (4t), pen : again, red : aid, thenn : again (Pope), bed : said, pen : again (Pitt), amen : again (4t), bred : said, cled : said, den : again, ken : again, led : said, men : again (30t), pen : again (4t), red : said, sped : said, ten : again (2t), then : again (6t), when : again (Bryom), men : agen (Dodsley), men : agen, pen : again (Jenyns), bed : said, men : again, pen : again (Mallet), shed : said, then : again (Brooke), then : agen, when : agen (Harte), pen : again (P. Whitehead), Amen : again, fled : said, incens'd-her : against-her, led : said, misled : unsaid, then : again, (Moore), men : again, then : again (3t), wed : said (Shenstone), men : again (Jago), bed : said, men : again, men : agen (W. Whitehead), men : again (Cambridge), men : again, misled : said (Akenside), when : again (Cooper), bed : said (Fawkes), ten : again (J. Warton), led : sed (Smart), then : again, wedded : said-it (Cunningham), Amen : again, led : said (Churchill), bred : said, then : again (2t) (Cowper), bed : said (4t), bred : said (2t), credit : said-it, men : again (2t), men : agen (2t), pen : again, pen : agen, ten : agen, when : again (Lloyd), fled : said (2t) (Langhorne), bed : sed, bled : sed, fed : said, fled : sed (Mickle), shed : said (Logan), bed : said, fled : said, pen : again (3t) (Chatterton), bed : said (2t), fled : said (2t), misled : said (Crabbe), bed : said, bred : said (Wordsworth), bed : said, den : again, led : said, men : again (10t), pen : again (3t), sped : said, ten : again, then : again (8t), when : again (Byron), men : again (Shelley), fled : said, led : said, men : again, then : again (5t), when : again (Keats).

10a : 13c は E Mod E 期以降豊富に見出されている。⁽⁴⁸⁾ Kökeritz によると, again には ME/ε/ を持つ二重語 (<age:n) が並存していた。10a : 13c は ⁽⁴⁹⁾ again, said の ME/ε(:)/ 異形に依存するものである。again は

E Mod E 期には二つの異形 (ME/ε/ と ME/ai/) が並存していた。前者は RS, Lye に, 後者は Hart, Bullokar, Robinson に記録されている。said も E Mod E 期には二つの異形 (ME/ε/ と ME/ai/) が並存していた。前者は Smith, Gil, Daines, Cooper に, 後者は Smith, Hart, Robinson, Gil, Hodges 等に記録されている。

10a : 14a

held : feld, queld : feld (Spenser6), content : vaunt (Hannay), tell : all (Flatman), well : mall (Swift), well : Mall (Pope).

10a : 14b

elm : balm (Hannay),

10a : 14a は PE では [e] : [ɔ:] の不完全韻であるが, E Mod E 期以降散見されている。

I] held, queld : feld は fell の弱変化の ME/ε/ 異形 (4 felde) に依存するものである。

II] content : vaunt, tell : all, well : mall, well : Mall は ME/au/ > ME/a:/ > ME/a/ の方言での [e] に依存する完全韻であろう。OED は mall に ME/ε/ 異形 (7 mell) が並存していたことを示している。elm : balm は Hannay に固有のものであり, balm の ME/au/ > ME/a:/ > ME/a/ の方言での [e] に依存する完全韻であろう。

10b : 1d

learne : mourne (Spenser6), converse : discourse, verses : courses (Butler),

PE では [ə:] : [ɔ:] となり, 不完全韻である。⁽⁵⁰⁾ Dobson によると, course, discourse, mourn には ME/u/ 異形が並存していた証拠があるので, 10b : 1d は 10b : 12c となり, ME/ε/r = [ɛr] > [ər] > [ə:] : ME/u/r = [ur] > [ʌr] > [ɛr] > [ər] > [ə:] に依存する完全韻となる。

10b : 2b

heard ; enquirde (Gascoigne), herd : inquerd, were : enquere (Spenser1), were : inquere (Spenser3), were : enquire, yeres : fyres (Spenser 5), were : quire (Drayton), yeare : brire (Stirling), year : shire (Butler), years : desires (Flatman), were : enquere (Browne), were : shire (Brome), year : require (Addison).

10b : 2b は PE では [ə:] : [ai] の不完全韻であるが、E Mod E 期以降散見されている。ME/e:/ は [r, s, v, k] の前では、しばしば、ME/i:/ に高母音化した。briar, choire, contrive, dice, fleece, friar, quire, umpire ではこの ME/i:/ 異形が発達したものである。しかし、ME/e:/ は LME には、[r] の前では ME/ε:/ に低母音化する傾向を示し、⁽⁵¹⁾ Donson によると、inquire, choire には ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。OED は desire, shire に ME/ε:/ 異形 (5 desere, 5 schere) が並存していたことを示している。10b : 2b は ⁽⁵²⁾ 10b を持つ語の ME/ε:/ と 2b を持つ語の ME/ε:/ に依存する完全韻である。

10b : 3b

were : apper, yeres : appreres (Haward), rehearse : fearse, rehearse : pearce, reherse : perse, were : appeare, were : feare, were : here, yeares : apeares, yeares : appeares (3t), yeares : feares, yeares : feeres, yeares : spheres, yeares : teares, yeeres : eare, yeeres : feeres, yeeres : peeres (Dascoigne), were : cheere, were : Peare, yeares : Feeres, yeeres : appeers (Turbervile), were : deare, were : dere, were : fere, yeare : feare, yeare : teares, yeares : peres, yeares : teares, yeeres : peeres (Spenser-Sc), heard : affeard, heard : affeard, heard : beard, heard : reard, were : appeare (8t), were : appere (2t), were : cheare, were : deere, were : fear, were : feare (4t), were : fere, were : heare, were : here, were : neare (3t), were : nere (3t), were : rere, yeare : appeare, yeare : appeare, yeare : cleare, yeare : spere, yeares : appeares (3t), yeares : heares, yeares : peares, yeares : Peers, yeares : teares (Spenser-Minor), disperse : perse,

heard : affeard, heard : beard, heard : seard, reherce : ferce, reherce :
 perce, reherse : perse, reuerse : perse, were : appeare (2t), were : deare,
 were : dere, were : feare, were : fere, were : beare, were : here, were :
 reare, were : sear, were : sphere, yeares : appeares, yeares : feares,
 yeares : teares (2t) (Spenser1), heard : affeard (2t), heard : reard (2t),
 weare : deare, weare : neare, were : appeare, were : bere, were : drear,
 were : dreare, were : drere, were : feare (2t), were : neare, were : nere,
 were : reare (2t), yeare : neare, yeares : eares, yeares : feares, yeares :
 Peares (3t), yeares : sheares, yeares : teares (2t) (Spenser2), heard :
 afeard, heard : affeard (3t), heard : reard, heard : steard (2t), heard :
 beard (5t), reherse : perse, reuerse : perse, verse : perse, weare : reare,
 weare : sheare, weare : speare, were : appeare (3t), were : appere, were :
 cleare, were : deare (3t), were : feare (3t), were : here (2t), were : neare
 (2t), were : nere (4t), yeares : feares, yeares : peares (Spenser3), earst :
 perst, heard : afeard, heard : affeard, heard : appeard, reherst : perst,
 reuerst : perst, weare : appeare (3t), weare : cleare, weare : deare (3t),
 weare : eare, weare : beare (2t), weare : neare, were : appeare (7t),
 were : appere, were : chere, were : clere (2t), were : deare (3t), were :
 feare (3t), were : heare, were : here, were : neare (3t), wee : reare (2t),
 were : speare (3t), were : spere, were : vprere, were : nere (2t), yeare :
 appeare, yeare : feare, yeare : leare, yeares : appeares, yeares : heares,
 yeares : peares, yeares : teares (2t) (Spenser4), heard : appeard, heard :
 beard, heard : feard, heard : reard, weare : appeare, weare : cheare,
 weare : deare, weare : reare, were : neare, were : appeare (3t), were :
 cheare, were : chere, were : dere, were : feare (2t), were : heare, were :
 here (2t), were : nere (2t), yeare : neare, yeares : appeares (2t), yeares :
 feares (3t), yeares : Peares, yeares : spheares, yeares : teares, yeres :
 Spheres (Spenser5), earst : pearst (2t), heard : afeard (2t), heard :
 appear'd, heard : appeared, heard : beard, heard : vpreard, were :
 appeare (2t), were : appere (2t), were : arreare, were : clere (2t), were :

deare, were : dere, were : feare (2t), were : fere, were : geare, were :
 heare, were : here, were : nere (2t), were : speare (2t), were : spere,
 were : vpreare, were : vprere, yeares : appeares, yeares : feres, yeares :
 peares (2t), yeares : peres, yeares : teares (2t) (Spenser6), herse :
 perse, year : appear, yeares : appeares (Raleigh), heard : teard, heard-
 me : rear'd-me, hearde : rearde, rehearsed : peirced, were : feare, were :
 reare (2t), were : speare, yeares : appeares, yeares : heares (Sidney),
 heard : afeard, yeare : Deare (2t), yeare : teare (Lyly), yeare : heare,
 yeere : neere, earst : pear'st, yeeres : peeres, earst : vnpearst (Warner),
 hearse : fierce, were : fear, were : here, years : tears (2t) (Southwell),
 disperse : fierce, ears : appears, heard : appear'd, heard : clear'd, hers :
 tears, perverse : fierce, were : appear (6t), were : cheer (3t), were : clear
 (4t), were : dear (3t), were : ear, were : fear (8t), were : hear, were :
 here (5t), were : near (3t), were : rear, year : cheer, year : here, years :
 appears (7t), years : disappears, years : fears (2t), years : hears,
 years : peers, yeras : tears (2t) (Daniel), heard : bear'd, heard : bear'd,
 heard : rear'd, rehearse : pierce, reserved : pirced, reverse : pierce,
 there : eare, verse : pierce, were : appeare (7t), were : bear, were : bear,
 were : cleare, were : cleere (4t), were : deare (4t), were : deere, were :
 eare (3t), were : feare (5t), were : hear, were : heare (9t), were : here
 (2t), were : here (4t), were : neare, were : neere (4t), were : peere,
 were : reare, were : rere, were : sphere, yeare : deare, yeare : feare,
 yeere : cleere, yeere : feare, yeere : heere, yeere : sheere, yeares :
 spheares, yeeres : appeares, yeeres : peeres, yeeres : atees (Drayton),
 heard : beard, verse : pierce, were : feare, yeare : deare, yeraes : cheares
 (Marlowe), heard : beard, herd : beard, hers : tears, rehearse : pierce,
 were : appear, were : here, were : near, year : appear, year : cheer, year :
 deer, year : fear, year : here, year : peer, years : tears (Shakespeare),
 were : appear (2t), were : clear (2t), were : ear, were : fear, were : near,
 year : hear (Davies), erre : heere, erred : feared, erred : reared, prefer :

appeare, verse : pearse, verse : pierce, were : feare, were : heare, were :
 here (2t), were : neere, yeare : appeare, yeares : appeares, yeares :
 eares, yeares : Spheres (Campion), heard : afeard, heard : affeard (2t),
 heard : Beard, heard : fesr'd (2t), rehearse : peirce, Verse : pierce (2t),
 verse : peirce (2t), were : appeare, were : cheere, were : cleere, were :
 eare (2t), were : feare (4t), were : here (2t), were : jeer, were : Spheare,
 yeare : appeare, yeare : cleare, yeare : feare, yeare : heare, yeare : here,
 yeare : neere, yeare : reare, yeare : seare, yeares : appeares, years : ap-
 pears, yeares : compeeres, yeares : feares, yeares : Engineeres, yeares :
 Peeres, years : eares, yeere : Deere, yeeres : feares, yeares : peers,
 yeeres : Peeres (2t) (Jonson), early : dearly, verse : fierce, were :
 appeare (2t), were : cleare (2t), were : eare, were : teare (4t), were :
 heare (2t), were : here (3t), were : nere, were : sphere, Yeare : teare,
 yeare : appeare, yeare : clear, yeare : cleare, yeare : geare, yeare : heare
 (2t), yeare : here (3t), yeares : appeares, yeares : feares (Donne),
 yeare : cleare, yeare : deare (2t), yeare : appeare (2t), yeare : heare,
 yeares : appeares (2t), yeares : cleares, yeares : cleeres, yeares : endeerers
 (Stirling), heard : beard, yeare : appeere, yeere : cheere, yere : cleere
 (Marston), Heard : beard, were : feare, were : nere, yeare : appeare,
 yeare : here (2t), yeares : appeares (Corbet), err : ear, hearse : pierce,
 her : here, were : eare, were : here (2t), verse : pierce, were : feare,
 were : fear, yeare : here, years : appears, yeares : eares, yeares : peers
 (2t) (P. Fletcher), preferr'd : beard, yeere : appeare, yeere : feare,
 yeares : teares, yeeres : appeares (2t), yeeres : feares (2t), yeeres :
 spheres (2t), yeeres : teares (J. Beaumont), were : cleere, were : eare,
 yeare : cheare, yeares : appeares (2t), yeares : feares, yeeres : feares (F.
 Beaumont), were : clear, Year : appear (3t), Year : clear (2t), Year :
 hear, Year : here, year : appear (2t), year : Sphere, Years : Spheres
 (4t), Years : Tears (3t), Years : tears, years : appears, years : Ears,
 years : fears (2t), years : Spheres (3t), years : tears (3t) (Drummond),

year : appear, year : cheer, years : fears, years : spheres (Ford), heard :
 afear'd, heard : appear'd, were : appear (8t), were : clear, were : ear,
 were : hear (2t), were : near (2t), years : pears (Kynaston), err'd :
 feard, heard : afear'd, unhear'd : feard, were : cheer, were : ear, were :
 fear (4t), were : rear, were : spear, were : tear (2t), year : cheer, year :
 near (G. Fletcher), heard : afeard, verse : pierce, were : deere, were :
 feare (2t), were : here, were : neere, were : spere, were : spheare, yeare :
 appeare, yeare : cheare, yeare : deare, yeare : sheere, yeares : appeares
 (3t), years : appeares, yeares : teares (3t), yeares : tears, yeere :
 careere, yeeres : appeares (Browne), Erse : fierce, heard : fear'd, Verse :
 Tearce, were : cleare, were : feare, were : here (5t), year : here, Yeare :
 feare, yeare : appeare (5t), yeare : deare, yeare : here (10t), yeare :
 spheare, yeares : appeares (2t), yeares : sheares, yeares : teares (4t),
 yeares : Tears, years : ears, years : sphears, yeere : appeare (2t), yeer :
 here (2t), yeere : deere, yeere : here (12t), yeeres : appears, yeeres :
 Tears (Herrick), verse : pierce, were : fear, were : sphere, yeare : biere,
 yeare : deee, yeare : heare, yeare : here (2t), years : tears (Herbert),
 herd : fear'd, were : appear, were : ear, were : fear, were : Sphere, year :
 near, year : Sphere, year : tear, years : fears, years : tears (6t) (King),
 heard : appeared, herd : fear'd, Hearse : pierce, were : feare, were : teare
 (2t), yeare : deare, yeare : feare, yeares : Peeres (Carew), heard :
 afear'd, heard : cheer'd, heard : clear'd, heard : steer'd, heard-him :
 cheer'd-him, her : ear, were : appear, were : ear, were : fear (2t), were :
 tear, year : ear, year : here, years : fears, years : tears (Chalkhill),
 heard : beard, were : dear (2t), were : fear (Marmion), disperse : pierce,
 universe, were : appear, were : clear, were : ear (2t), were : Fear, were :
 hear, were : here (3t), were : rear, were : sphere (2t), year : appear,
 year : dear, year : here (2t), year : rear, year : steer, years : ears,
 years : fears (3t), years : tears (2t) (Benlowes), herse : eare, were :
 appeare (3t), were : feare, were : heare, yeare : appeare (2t), yeare :

feare, yeare : here, yeares : teares (3t), yeere : here, yeere : teare
 (Harington), heard : appear'd (3t), heard : ear'd, heard : endeer'd,
 heard : fear'd, hear'd : rear'd, prefer : ear, prefer : fear (2t), verse :
 pierce, were : appear (3t), were : appeare (2t), were : dear (2t), were :
 eare, were : fear, were : feare (3t), were : heare (2t), were : here (4t),
 were : neer (3t), were : neere, were : sphere, year : appear, year : fear,
 year : here (Davenant), verse : fierce, verse : pierce, were : dear (2t),
 year : fear, year : here, year : sphere (Waller), heard : appear'd, were :
 hear, year : appear, year : sphere, years : fears, years : tears (Bos-
 worth), her : ear, heard : appear'd, were : hear, Verse : pierce (2t),
 verse : fierce, were : hear, were : Sphere, year : appear (2t), year : clear,
 year : near, year : sear, year : steer, Years : Spheres (Milton), heard :
 reard, were : dear, were : fear, were : near, year : dear, years : tears (3t)
 (Whiting), hers : tears (Godolphin), heard : fear'd, were : appear, (2t),
 were : beer, were : eare, were : fear, were : here (3t), were : sphere,
 year : appear (3t), year : fear, year : hear, year : here (3t), years : en-
 dears, years : fears (Cartwright), averr' : beard (2t), heard : beard
 (3t), heard-of : afeard-of, year : clear, person : fierce-on, were : here,
 year : tear, years : appears (Butler), her : near, hers : feares, hers :
 Teares, were : Eare, were : Teare (2t), Yeare : Appeare, Yeares : Teares
 (3t), yeares : disappeares, yeare : heere, yeares : feares (3t), yeares :
 Spheares (Crashaw), verse : pierce, were : ear, were : hear, were : here,
 year : hear, years : fears (Cleveland), heard : appear'd, herd : fear'd,
 heard : rear'd, prefer : dear, were : appear, were : fear (3t), were : hear,
 were : here, year : appear (2t), year : dear, years : appears (2t), years :
 fears, years : tears (Denham), Her : Fear (3t), her : hear, her : heare,
 heard : steer'd, were : fear, years : peers (Lovelace), heard : appear'd
 (3t), heard : fear'd (6t), universe : pierce, were : appear (3t), were :
 dear, were : fear, were : hear (2t), were : here (2t), year : appear (3t),
 year : fear (2t), year : hear (3t), year : cheer, year : here, year : sphere,

yeare : appeare, years : appears (3t), years : arrears, years : fears (3t),
 years : tears (2t) (Cowley), her : appear, were : appear, were : ear,
 were : here, year : appear, years : appeares (Sherburne), heard : ap-
 peared, heard : feared (3t), herd : feared, year : appear (2t), year : fear,
 year : Here, years : appears, years : pees (2t), years : tears (Chamber-
 layne), were : appear (2t), were : fear, were : hear, year : appear, year :
 beer, year : here (2t), years : appears, years : tears (Brome), err : ap-
 pear, Heard : appear'd, heard : fear'd, were : deare, were : Fear, Year :
 Fear, year : chear, Years : appears, Years : disappears, years : Fears,
 yeer : here (Marvell), were : fear, were : tear (2t), year : apear (3t),
 year : clear, year : fear (2t), year : here (10t), year : peer, year : Sphere
 (2t), year : steer, yeares : eares (2t), yeares : feares (2t), yeares :
 Teares (2t), years : spheres, years : Teares, years : tears (6t)
 (Vaughan), were : appear, were : clear, years : tears (Stanley), hearse :
 pierce, rehears'd : pierc'd, year : appear, year : fear (2t), year : near,
 years : tears (4t) (Hannay), 'twere : appear, were : appear, were : clear,
 were : Fear, Year : appear (2t), year : clear, year : Fear, year : here
 (2t), years : appears, yeares : appeares (Cotton), heard : appear'd,
 were : hear, years : arrears, years : tears (5t) (Philips), year : here,
 years : here's (Hall), deferr'd : appeared, heard : besmear'd, heard :
 rear'd, herd : fear'd, Verse : fierce, were : appear, Year : near, Years :
 appears (5t), year : disappear (2t), year : appear (7t), year : chear,
 year : fear, year : hear, year : here (2t), year : Pear, year : rear, year :
 Spear, years : fears, years : gears, years : Steers (Dryden1), heard :
 appear'd (2t), heard : Beard (2t), hear'd : fear'd, Herd : Beards, Herd :
 rear'd (2t), Herds : fear'd, herd : Beard (2t), herd : fear'd, prefer : hear,
 Verse : fierce, were : appear (2t), Year : dear, Year : here (2t), Year :
 rear (2t), Year : Steer (3t), year : appear (11t), year : chear (2t), year :
 cheer (2t), year : clear (2t), year : disappear, year : fear (4t), year :
 near, year : Sphere (6t), Years : appears (4t), Years : Biers, years :

tears (4t) (Dryden2), heard : appear'd, heard : fear'd (2t), heard : steer'd, preferr'd : rear'd, Year : appear, Year : dear, Year : Steer, Years : rears, Years : Spheres, Years : Tears (2t), years : appears (5t), years : Fears (2t), Years : Ears, (Dryden3), defer : clear, heard : appear'd, heard : chear'd, heard : rear'd, her : dear, her : near, Herd : appear'd, Herd : rear'd, preders : hears, prefer'd : appear'd, were : appear (4t), were : Career, were : persevere, were : Spear, Year : appear (6t), Year : Chear (3t), Year : Cheer, Year : dear (2t), Year : fear, Year : here, Year : near, Year : rear, Year : Sphere (4t), Years : appears (2t), Years : Fears, Years : Peers, years : Tears (4t) (Dryden4), were : fear, years : appears (2t) (Roscommon), were : appear (2t), were : fear, were : near, were : sphere, year : appear, year : here (Sprat), hearse : tears, were : appear, were : Fear, year : clear, year : dear, years : fears, years : tears (2t) (Flatman), verse : fierce, Year : hear, year : appear (2t), year : ear, year : here, years : appears, years : tears (Ayres), disperse : fierce, Verse : appear, Verse : fierce, Verse : here, were : appear, were : besmear (Shadwell), year : appear (2t), Years : Dears, years : fears, Universe : pierce (Wilmot), years : appears (2t), her : fear, her's : fears (Sheffield), heard : beard, years : appears, years : fears (3t) (Otway), were : hear, year : tear (Carey), were : appear, were : fear, year : steer, years : tears (2t) (Hammond), err : steer, refer : ear, were : clear, year : appear, year : disappear, year : sphere (Blackmore), verse : ears, years : appears, years : fears (3t) (Duke), years : fears (Smith), heard : appear'd, heard : disappear'd, heard : fear'd, universe : pierce, were : fear, year : appear, year : dear, year : here, years : appears (2t), years : fears, years : tears (Garth), were : appear, years : disappear, years : ears (Stepney), herd : beard, hers : tears, were : appear, year : cheer (Walsh), heard : afeard, heard : fear'd, were : fear, year : appear (2t), year : dear, year : fear, years : appears (3t), years : fears (3t) (King), aver : clear, averr'd : beard, err : deer

(2t), err : fear, err : steer (2t), heard : fear'd, her : near, her : steer, herd : appear'd, herd : fear'd, hers : fears, prefer : fear, verse : pierce, were : fear, year : appear (3t), year : clear, year : dear (2t), year : fear (2t), year : here (2t), year : near, year : peer, year : sphere, years : appears, years : fears (7t), years : shears, years : tears (2t) (Prior), year : appear, years : disappears, years : fears (2t), years : steers, years : tears (Pomfret), heard : appear'd (2t), herse : pierce, Year : Cheer (4t), Year : clear (5t), Year : fear (2t), year : appear (5t), year : dear (3t), year : ear, year : here (7t), year : sphere, yearly : dearly, Years : appears (10t), Years : Fears (4t), Years : Tears (2t), years : ears (2t), years : sheares (Swift), err : sphere, heard : appear'd, interr'd : rear'd, were : dear, year : appear, year : sphere, years : appears (3t) (Congreve), heard : appear'd, hers : tears, prefer : rear, year : near, years : appears (2t), years : fears, years : tears (3t) (Yalden), heard : appear'd, heard : cheer'd, heard : rear'd, prefers : tears, were : appear, were : fear, year : appear (3t), year : cheer, year : dear, year : here, year : rear, years : appears (Rowe), her : fear, prefer : here, verse : fierce (2t), verse : pierce, year : appear, years : appears (3t), years : fears (3t) (Addison), year : sphere, years : appears (2t), years : fears (3t), years : hears, years : spheres (5t), years : tears (3t) (Watts), heard : appear'd (2t), heard : leer'd, year : appear (2t), year : deer, years : appears (Somerville), year : appear (4t), year : near, year : peer, year : sphere, years : appears (5t), years : fears (2t), years : tears (Philips), year : appear (7t), year : dear (2t), year : tear, years : appears, years : Fears, years : rears (2t), years : spears, years : tears, (Hughes), year : appear (7t), year : clear, year : here (2t), years : appears (7t), years : clears, years : ears (2t), years : fears (2t), years : tears (Parnell), heard : beard, year : appear, year : clear, year : fear, year : here, year : near, year : spear, years : appears (2t), years : clears, years : peers, years : sphere, years : tears (Young), averr'd : beard,

heard : appear'd (2t), heard : rear'd, verse : pierce, Year : sphere, year : appear (2t), year : steer, year : tear, years : spheres, years : steers (Fenton), heard : appear'd (3t), heard : Beard, heard : disappear'd, prefer : appear, prefer : steer, prefers : tears, preferr'd : disappear'd, prefers : appears, were : appear, were : tear, year : appear (2t), Year : here, Years : fears (4t) (Diaper), peferr'd : rear'd, year : appear (3t), year : beer, year : clear (3t), year : ear, year : rear (2t.), year : rear (2t), years : appears (3t), years : ears, years : fears, years : tears (Gay), verse : pierce, year : appear (2t), year : fear, year : rear, years : appears, years : peers, years : spheres (Tickell), aver : hear, heard : appear'd (2t), refer : here, verse (3t), Year : clear (6t), year : Appear (8t), year : Bier, year : dear, year : ear, year : fear (2t), year : hear, year : here (4t), year : spear, year : sphere, year : steer, years : appears (9t), years : ears (2t), years : fears, years : hears, years : rears, years : spheres, years : tears (Pope), year : appear, year : fear, year : sphere, years : appears (3t), years : tears (2t) (Broome), year : appear (2t), year : clear, year : disappear, year : jere, years : appears, years : ears (2t), years : tears (Byrom), year : here (Green), year : appear (3t), year : clear (2t), year : ear, year : here, years : appears (2t), years : rears, years : steers (Savage), errs : tears, her : arrear, her's : fears, year : appear, year : here, years : disappears, years : rears (Pitt), year : appear, year : cheer, year : gear, year : hear, year : here, years : cheers, years : rears, years : tears (Thompson), err : spear (Dyer), defer : spear, prefer : hear, were : ear, were : rear, year : appear, year : fear (2t) (West), err : fear, year : disappear, years : appears, years : fears (2t) (Dodsley), heard : appear'd, year : appear, year : ear, year : fear, years : appears, years : fears (2t) (Jenyns), year : appear (4t), years : appears (8t), year : ear, year : here (2t), year : tear, years : disappears, years : fears (Hamilton), year : appear (3t), years : appears, years : fears (Mallet), year : cheer (2t), year : here (2t), year : steer, year :

year, years : appears, years : ears, years : endears, years : hears, years : tears (Brooke), year : cheer, year : dear, year : geer, year : steer, years : appears (14t), years : fears, years : tears (Harte), heard : appear'd (3t), herd : rear'd, verse : piece, year : appear (2t), year : dear (2t), year : here, year : steer, years : appears (3t) (Boyse), year : here, years : tears (Lyttleton), heard : fear'd, year : appear, years : appears (2t), years : rears (P. Whitehead), heard : appear'd, year : dear, year : fear, year : Pear (Johnson), year : tear (2t), years : appears (Hammond), heard : appear'd, year : appear (2t), year : tear (Thompson), prefer : hear, year : bier (3t), year : clear, year : drear, year : hear, year : here (2t), year : steer, year : tear, years : appears, years : fears (Shenstone), year : steer, years : tears (Jago), year : clear (Gray), hear'd : appear'd, heard : endear'd, rehearse : pierce, verse : pierce, Year : appear (3t), Year : dear, Year : near (Collins), herd : appear'd, herd : beard, heard : beard, preferr'd : beard, verse : pierce, year : appear (2t), year : dear (3t), year : ear, year : engineer, year : fear (2t), year : hear (2t), year : here (2t), year : near, year : rear, year : spear, year : sphere (2t), year : steer, year : tear, years : appears (3t), years : ears, years : fears, years : tears (2t) (W. Whitehead), heard : appear'd, defer : tear, year : appear (2t) (Cambridge), heard : appear'd, year : ear, year : hear, year : spear, years : peers (Cawthorn), disscern'd : earn'd, heard : appear'd, prefer : tear, verse : fierce, years : appears (2t) (Akenside), heard : appear'd, years : tears (2t) (Cooper), heard : appear'd (18t), heard : fear'd, heard : rear'd, year : appear, year : clear, year : dear, years : appears (Wilkie), year : appear (2t), year : beer, year : cheer (3t), year : dear, year : here, year : near (2t), year : sphere (3t), years : appears (3t), years : endears, years : fears (Fawkes), heard : appear'd, verse : pierce, years : perseveres (J. Warton), heard : appear'd, heard : cheer'd, heard : disappear'd, year : appear, year : career, year : sphere (3t), years : appears (2t), years :

endears, years : hears, years : tears (Blacklock), heard : appear'd, verse
 : pierce, year : appear, year : drear, year : hear, years : appears, years :
 ears, years : fears (Smart), year : appear, year : sphere (2t), year :
 steer, years : tears (Mason), year : appear (3t), year : geer, years : ap-
 pears (2t) (Ciunningham), heard : appear'd (4t), year : here, heard :
 rear'd (2t), heard : steer'd, years : fears (2t) (Scott), heard : appear'd,
 year : appear (6t), year : cheer, year : ear, year : ear (2t), year : here
 (2t), year : rear (2t), year : steer, years : appears (8t), years : fears,
 years : peers (2t), years : rears, years : sneers, years : spheres (2t),
 years : tears (Churchill), heard : appear'd (4t), heard : fear'd, her :
 tear, were : here, year : beer, year : clear, year : disappear, year : hear,
 year : here (4t), year : near, year : sphere, years : appears (8t), years :
 ears, years : fears (3t), years : peer's, years : tears (2t) (Cowper),
 heard : appear'd, year : sphere, years : appears (Falconer), herd : beard,
 year : appear, year : clear (3t), year : dear, year : ear, year : hear, year :
 rear, years : appears (3t), years : fears (3t), years : sheers, years :
 spheres (Lloyd), year : appear, year : bier, year : clear, year : deer,
 year : drear, year : fear, year : here, year : tear (2t), years : appears,
 years : fears (3t), years : rears, years : steers, years : tears (5t)
 (Langhorne), messenger : cheer, messenger : here, year : geer, year :
 near, year : rear (2t), year : spear, years : appears (Mickle), heard :
 appear'd, heard : rear'd, herd : fear'd, rehearse : fierce, rehearse : pierce,
 verse : fierce, verse : pierce, year : appear, year : ear, years : fears,
 years : tears (2t) (Beattie), year : appear, years : ears, year : fear
 (Lovibond), year : cheer (3t), year : rear, year : sphere, year : tear,
 years : appears, years : peers, years : tears (Jones), year : clear, year :
 hear, year : near, year : rear, year : sphere, years : appears (3t), years :
 peers, years : spears (Logan), year : appear (2t), year : clear, year :
 dear, year : sphere (Chatterton), heard : appear'd (5t), heard : fear'd
 (2t), year : appear (15t), year : austere, year : cheer (2t), year : clear

(4t), year : dear, year : ear, year : fear (2t), year : here (4t), year : near (3t), year : overseer, years : appears (7t), years : ears, years : fears (10t), years : tears (3t) (Crabbe), heard : beard (2t), year : appear, year : chear, year : dear (2t), year : fear, year : hear (2t), year : here (2t), year : rear, year : tear (2t), years : ears, years : fears, years : peers, years : tears (2t) (Wordsworth), amerce : fierce, err : appear, heard : appear'd (2t), heard : disappear'd, heard : fear'd, her : appear, were : appear, verse : fierce, were : dear, were : near, year : appear, year : beer, year : compeer, year : deer (2t), year : drear, year : Fear, year : hear, year : here (3t), year : rear, year : tear, years : appears (6t), years : compeers, years : endears, years : fears (6t), years : rears (2t), years : spheres, years : tears (15t) (Byron), were : here, year : dear, year : tear, years : tears (3t) (Shelley), heard : endear'd, year : clear (2t), year : near, year : spear, year : steer, year : tear (2t), years : appears, years : compeers, years : endears, years : fears, years : Peers, years : shears (2t), years : tears (2t) (Keats).

ME/ε/r と ME/e:/r の脚韻は [iə] の完全韻であり、E Mod E 期だけでなく L Mod E 期の詩人においてもごく普通に見出されている。

I] Spenser は were を weare と綴っているところ判るように、ME/ε/r を持つ語は少なくとも、E Mod E 期には ME/ε:/r 異形が並存していた。⁽⁵³⁾ Dobson によると、a) OE eo は長母音化して ME/e:/ となり、LME でこの ME/e:/ は [r] + 子音の前では ME/ε:/ となった。少なくとも、E Mod E 期には、earl, earnest, earth, fern, herd, learn に ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。

b) 子音群の前の /ε/ は LOE 又は LME に ME/ε/ に短母音化した。しかし、今日、この短母音化に由来する ME/ε/ を持つ語の内、少なくとも、E Mod E 期には、⁽⁵⁴⁾ earn, fern, herd, heard, reverse, verse に短母音化しない ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。

c) ⁽⁵⁵⁾ her, were も、少なくとも E Mod E 期には、ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。

d) ⁽⁵⁶⁾ME/ε/>PE [ə:] を持つフランス語借用語 (hearse, rehearse, term.) にも少なくとも E Mod E 期には, ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。

II] OED は amerce, disperse, erst に ME/ε:/r 異形 (6 amearse, 6 disperse, 3-7 earst) が並存していたことを示している。

III] OED にも aver, defer, discern, inter, prefer, refer, reserve, universe に ME/ε:/r 異形が並存していたことを示す証拠はない。しかし, III] に属する語にも, [r] 音の影響で, ME/ε:/r 異形が並存していた可能性が十分ある。従って, これらの語と 3b の脚韻は 6b : 3b であろう。

10b : 5b

were : declare, yeares : cares (Spenser-Minor), weare : beware, weare : care (2t), weare : misfare, weare : rare (Spenser4), heard : fared, heard : stared (Spenser5), were : care (Southwell), heard : compar'd, her : care, were : care (2t), were : dare (2t), were : share, were : spare (2t), were : ware, years : cares (Daniel), heard : far'd, were : bare, were : care (3t), were : dare (Drayton), were : care (Stirling), were : bare (Drummond), were : declare, were : tare (Browne), heard-me : spar'd-me (Herbert), heard : spar'd, were : fare (Chalkhill), hear'd : declar'd (2t) (Bosworth), were : care (Godolphin), were : care, were : compare (Butler), verse : scarce (Crashaw), were : care, were : rare, were : share (Cowley), were : bare (Sherburne), were : care (6t) (Chamberlayne), were : care (Stanley), were : ensnare (Hannay), were : care (Cotton), heard : dar'd (Hall), were : Care (2t) (Dryden1), heard : declar'd (2t), were : spare, Year : spare (Dryden2), err : Care, Years : Cares (Dryden3), heard : declar'd (4t), heard : prepar'd, heard : squar'd, were : Care (Dryden4), years : cares (Roscommon), years : cares (Sprat), her : care, years : cares (2t) (Flatman), year : care (Ayres), her : prepare (Shadwell), were : care (2t), were : rare (Otway), infer : compare, prefers : compares (Blackmore), years : shares (Garth), prefer : compare (Walsh), err :

care, errs : cares, her : care, heard : devlar'd, prefer : share, were : care, year : care, year : declare, year : mare, year : share, years : cares (2t) (Prior), were : spare (Pomfret), her : beware (Granville), early : rarely, Herring : sparing, were : Square, Years : Cares (Swift), were : care (2t) (Congreve), heard : declar'd, herd : far'd, prefer : care (Yalden), year : care, years : cares (Rowe), heard : compar'd, were : fare, year : snare, years : cares (3t), years : dares, years : snares (Watts), were : care (Somerville), were : declare (Hughes), were : glare, year : care, years : cares, years : shares (Young), year : care (4t), year : declare, year : share, years : cares (2t) (Gay), preferr'd : compar'd, years : cares (Tickell), were : care, were : dare (Pope), were : declare (Savage), year : care (Pitt), were : care (2t), where : snare (Thompson), err : beware, heard : shar'd, were : care, were : declare (West), years : cares (Hamilton), years : cares (Boyse), were : care (Johnson), were : share (Shenstone), heard : bared, year : care (W. Whitehead), were : Square (Cawthorn), year : share, years : cares (Akenside), were : bare, were : care, were : declare (Wilkie), averr'd : dar'd, years : cares (Smart), prefer : care (Beattie), year : glare (Chatterton), were : care (Crabbe), heard : dared, were : bare, were : care (4t), were : declare, were : share (Byron), her : care, her : dare, years : cares (Shelley), were : bare (2t), years : dares (Keats),

10b : 5b は PE では [æ:] : [εə] の不完全韻であるが、既に 16 世紀後半の Spenser に見出されているものの、17 世紀になっても、決して頻繁に見出されているわけではない。とりわけ、北部・西部・スコットランド・Kent 出身者には見出されている。

a) 少なくとも、⁽⁵⁷⁾ Dobson によると、E Mod E 期には err, heard, her, verse, where, were, year に ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。b) OED にも aver, infter, prefer に ME/ε:/r 異形が並存していたことを示す証拠はない。しかし、

b) に属する語にも、[r] 音の影響で、ME/ε:/r 異形が並存していた可

能性が十分ある。従って、10b : 5b は 6b と 5b の融合を示す脚韻となる。6b : 5b は、自由位置の ME/a:/ と ME/ε:/ が融合していない時でも、[r] の前では、ME/a:/r と ME/ε:/r が融合していたことを示す脚韻である。

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Dobson によると、ME/a:/r と ME/ε:/r が同一であるという証拠は ME/a:/ が [ε:] の音価に達した間接証拠となる。一方 ME/a:/r と ME/ε:/r が区別されているという証拠は ME/a:/ が [ε:] にまでなっていない、即ち依然として [æ:] であるという証拠であった。10b : 5b は ME/a:/ が 17 世紀前半の一時期 [ε:] に高母音化し始めていたことを間接的に示しているという点で貴重な脚韻である (拙稿 5b 参照)。

10b : 6b

were : bear, were : beare, were : there, yeares : peares (Gascoigne), were : beare (2t) (Turberville), heard : sward, were : beare (3t), were : there (2t), were : where (2t), yeares : beares (Spenser-Minor), were : vpbeare (Spenser1), weare : forbear (2t), weare : vpbeare, were : beare, were : forbear, were : teare, were : there (2t), were : vpbeare, yeare : forbear (Spenser2), weare : beare, weare : there, were : there (2t), were : weare, were : where (2t), were : whilere, were : whylere (2t) (Spenser3), weare : beare (2t), were : beare (8t), were : bere, were : there (6t), were : where, yeares : beares, yeares : weares (Spenser4), were : beare, were : teare, were : there (3t), were : weare (2t), yeares : beares (Spenser5), were : beare (2t), were : there (4t), were : whileare, were : whylere (Spenser6), weare : beare, were : beare, were : forbear (Raleigh), were : beare (5t), were : forbear, were : there (Sidney), yeare : there (Lyly), desert : heart (Lyly), Earth : bearth (Warner), were : bear (southwell), were : bear (5t), were : there (8t), were : wear, were : where (2t), years : bears (2t), years : wears (3t) (Daniel), earth : bearth, were : beare (11t), were : sweare, were : teare, were : there (9t), were : where, yeare : there, yeare : weare, yeare : where, yeere : there (2t) (Drayton), were : forbear, yeare : teare, yeare :

there (Marlowe), were : bear, were : swear (2t), were-it : bear-it, year : bear, year : wear (3t), year : where, years : forbears (Shakespeare), were : bear (5t), were : there, were : where (2t), year : there, year : wear, years : bears (Davies), were : there (Campion), transfarre-mee : beare-mee, were : beare (2t), were : there, yeere : beare, yeare : forbear, yeare : there, yeere : weare (Jonson), were : forbear (2t), were : foresweare, were : forswear, were : teare (2t), were : there (11t), were : upbeare, were : weare, were : where (2t), yeare : sweare, yeare : there (2t), yeare : weare (2t), yeares : outweares, (Donne), were : there (2t) (Stirling), yeares : sweares (Marston), were : forbear, were : there, yeare : there (2t) (Corbet), were : there (P. Fletcher), were : beare (2t), yeeres : beares (2t), yeeres : weares (2t) (J. Beaumont), were : bear (2t), were : there (3t) (Kynaston), were : bear, were : swear, were : there (3t), were : where (3t) (G. Fletcher), ere : there, her : beare, her : weare, ne're : there, were : there (4t), were : where, yeare : beare (Browne), were : sweare, were : there (3t), Yeare : there (2t), yeare : beare, yeares : Peares (Herrick), hers : wears, were : bear, were : there (Herbert), were : swear, were : tear, were : there, year : there (King), her : there, hers : forbear, were : there, yeare : teare, yeares : sweares (Carew), were : swear, were : wear, years : bears (Marmion), were : there (3t), year : where, years : wears (Benlowes), preferre : beare, were : beare (2t), were : there, yeare : ne're, yeare : there, yeere : beare (Harington), interr : bear, were : bear (3t), were : beare (2t), were : there (2t) (Davenant), were : swear, were : there, year : bear, year : there, year : wear, years : bears (2t) (Waller), year : there (Bosworth), year : bear, year : there (Whiting), 'twere : there, were : bear, were : there (2t), year : there, year : where, years : bears (Cartwright), aver : swear, her : forbear, year : there (Buler), were : swear, were : there (Cleveland), year : bear, year : forbear, years : bears (2t) (Denham), her : there (Lovelace), were : bear, were : there

(5t), year : bear (3t), year : there (5t), year : wear, years : bears (Cowley), her : tear, were : e'er (Sherburne), were : bear (7t), were : ne'er, were : there (5t), were : where (Chamberlayne), were : there (2t), Year : bear, Year : swear, year : there (Marvell), erre : swear, were : swear, year : there (Vaughan), were : bear, year : bear (Stanley), years : bears, years : forbears, years : swears (Hannay), erre : swear, her : bear, her : forbear, her : there, her : wear, her : where, year : weare (Cotton), year : shear (Philips), were : there (Hall), were : ere, were : there, Year : bear, years : bears (2t), years : wears (Dryden 1), her : there, prefer : bear, prefer : there, were : bear, were : there, Year : bear (8t), Year : forbear, Year : Swear, Year : wear, year : chear, year : there, year : where, years : forbears (Dryden2), transfer : wear, Year : bear, Years : wears, years : bears (2t) (Dryden3), prefer : bear, were : bear, were : forbear (2t), were : there, Year : bear, Year : forbear, Year : wear (2t), Years : bears (4t) (Dryden4), were : bear (2t) were : there, were : where (Sprat), were : disappear, were : there, years : bears, years : wears (Flatman), infer : Swear, were : ne'er, were : there' (2t) (Shadwell), were : there, yeares : wears (Otway), were : there (Blackmore), year : bear (3t) (Duke), year : wear (Smith), year : bear, years : bears (Stepney), year : there (2t) (King), err : there (Prior), err : bear (Pomfret), years : bears (Granville), her : where, Herring : swearing, year : bear, Years : bears (Swift), year : bear (Yalden), were : bear, year : bear (Rowe), were : there, year : bear, year : tear (Addison), year : Bear, years : bears (2t), years : wears (Watts), year : wear (Somerville), year : wear (Philips), her : there, year : wear (Hughes), her : bear, year : wear, years : wears (Young), transfer : there, year : wear (2t) (Fenton), her's : bears, Year : bear, Year : wear, Years : bears (Diaper), year : bear (5t), year : wear, years : wears (2t) (Gay), year : bear (Pope), year : bear (2t) (Broome), were : there (Thompson), were : there, were-you : bear-you

(Dyer), her : there, prefer : there, were : bear (West), learn : barn (Jenyns), year : wear (Hamilton), year : bear, year : forswear, year : wear (Harte), years : wears (Boyse), year : bear, years : bears (Moore), avers : wears, year : bear (2t), years : wears (W. Whitehead), year : bear (Collins), years : bears (Cambridge), years : wears (Aken-side), years : bears, years : wears (Cooper), years : wears (Mason), avert : art (Scott), were : bear (Cowper), year : wear (2t) (Langhorne), year : bear (2t), year : wear (Beattie), years : wears (Logan), were : there, year : tear, years : wears (Crabbe), year : wear (Wordsworth), her : ne'er, were : bear (2t), were : ne'er, were : swear, were : tear, were : there (3t), 'twere : whate'er (Byron), were : bear, were : there, year : there (Shelley), year : where (2t) (Keats).

10b : 6b は PE では [ə:] : [εə] の不完全韻である。既に 16 世紀後半から見出され、とりわけ、北部・西部・スコットランド・Kent 出身者に見出されている。⁽⁵⁹⁾ Dobson によると、

a) earth, err, her, herd, heard, learn, were, year は少なくとも E Mod E 期には ME/ε:/ 異形が並存していた。

b) OED にも aver, desert, infer, inter, prefer に ME/ε:/r 異形が並存していたことを示す証拠はない。しかし、これらの語にも、[r] 音の影響で、ME/ε:/r 異形が並存していた可能性が十分ある。従って、これらの語と 6b の脚韻は 6b 同士の脚韻であろう。

10b : 8a

averring : barren (Cambridge),

10b : 8c

conuert : heart, desart : part (2t), desart : smart (2t), desert : art, desert : hart, deserue : sterue, sarue : carue, serue : carue (2t), subuert : harte (Gascoigne), conuart : Art, conuart : depart, conuert : Art, conuert : hart, conuart : smart, desart : hart, desart : part (2t), reuart : hart, serue : sterue, serues : sterues, subvart : Art, subvart : depart (Turberville), heard : regard (Spenser1), desart : art (2t), desart : part,

desarts : harts, desarts : parts, desarts : smarts, serue : sterue (Spenser2), bard : gard, conuart : apart, conuart : depart, desart : smart, conuart : part, desart : dart, hard : gard, peruart : dart, peruert : hart, peruart : smart, prefard : hard, prefard : regard, transfard : bard (Spenser3), desart : hart, desart : part, deserue : kerue, deserue : sterue, hard : regard, heard : hard, reuert : art, reuert : depart, reuert : hart, serue : kerue, serue : sterue (2t) (Spenser4), conuert : dart, conuert : hart, conuert : smart (Spenser5), desart : hart, desart : smart, desarts : arts, desarts : parts, desarts : smarts, prefard : mard, prefard : regard (Spenser6), preserved : sterued, serued : sterued, were : farre (Raleigh), desart : heart, desart : part, desarte : harte, heard : barr'd, her : farr, learning : harming, preserved : sterved, serve : carve, serve : starve, serve : sterve, served : sterved, swerve : carve, swerve : starve (Sidney), conuart : hart, conuart : heart, conuart : mart, conuart : part, desart : depart, desart : starue, saru'd : caru'd (Warner), convert : art, convert : heart (2t), converts : hearts, converts : parts, desert : art (2t), desert : arts, desert : heart, desert : part, deserts : hearts (6t), deserts : parts (8t), divert : heart, heard : debarr'd, heard : bard, pervert : art, pervert : part, were : are (2t) (Daniel), convart : hart, convert : hart, desert : depart, desert : heart (4t), desert : part, deserts : hearts, deserts : parts, deserve : starve, heard : bard, heard : regard, heard : skard, observed : starved, preserv'd : carv'd, reserv'd : carv'd, serve : starve (2t), serv'd : carv'd, surved : sterved, subvert : heart, were : marrer (Drayton), preserving : carving, heard-me : scard-me (Marlowe), convert : art (2t), convert : heart, convertest : departest, desert : part, deserts : parts, eards : regard (Shakespeare), conuert : depart, deserts : hearts, obserued : hard (Campion), desert : Arte, desert : starts, deserts : parts, deserve : carve, deserue : starue, preserve : sterve (Jonson), serve : sterve (Donne), convert : art (2t), convert : heart, convert : start, converts : hearts,

desart : heart (2t), desarts : hearts, desarts : parts, desert : heart, desert : part, deserts : parts, preferre : farre, serve : sterve, swerve : sterve (2t) (Stirling), desert : heart (P. Fletcher), reserues : starues (J. Beaumont), early : barley, desert : art, deserve : starve, were : far, wert : heart (F. Beaumont), Desert : art, deserve : starve, Earth : Hearth, preserv'd : starv'd, reserve : starve, serve : starve, swerve : starve, were : are (Drummond), desert : art, desert : heart, desert : part (2t) (Ford), desart : start, deserving : sterving, heard : bard, hearde : yearde, herd : yerd, learne : yarn, serve : starve (Browne), desert : part (3t), serv'd : sterv'd : sterv'd, swerved : starved (Herrick), convert : heart, desert : art, desert : heart (2t), desert : part (3t), deserts : hearts, heard : regard, verge : large, serve : carve (Herbert), deserts : parts (King), preserv'd : sterv'd, search : march, verse : rehearse (Carew), desert : heart, earn : yarn (Chalkhill), her : far (Marmion), desert : art, desert : heart (2t), desert : part, diverts : hearts (2t), preserves : sterves, were : are (Davenant), deserve : starve, prefers : stars (Waller), desert : heart (2t), deserts : hearts, deserts : parts (Bosworth), Earth : Hearth, earth : dearth (Milton), heard : barr'd (Cartwright), assert : heart, desert : part (2t), deserts : arts, deserts : parts, deserving : starving, divert : art, divert : part, divert : start, diverted : started, expert : art, expert : part, heard : regard, serve : carve, rehearse : farce, search : march, serv'd : starv'd, terms : arms, terms : charms, terms : farms, were : far, heard : Bard (2t), discerning : warning, Learning : warning (Denham), prefers : Stars, swerve : sterve, were : are (2t) (Lovelace), desert : part, deserve : starve, serve : starve, were : are (2t) (Cowley), convert : art, converts : darts, heard : regard, were : far (Sherburne), desert : heart, desert : part, deserts : hearts, served : starved (Chamberlayne), serve : starve (Brome), were : far (Marvell), wert : art, heard : Bard, prefer : marr'd, serv'd : carv'd (Vaughan), earth : garth, desert : heart (3t), heard : barr'd, pervert :

art, were : far, were : star (Hannay), desert : heart, heard : unbar'd, heard : Yard (2t), were : are (3t), wert : start (Cotton), converts : parts, desert : heart, desert : part, deserve : starve, disperse : stars (Hall), Desert : Art (2t), heard : Bard, rehearse : Farce, Verse : Farce (Dryden1), certain : parting, Desert : part (2t), deserve : starve, deserve : sterve, heard : Bard, heard : barr'd, heard : regard, Mercyes : Farces, serv'd : carv'd, serv'd : starv'd, wert : heart, wert : part (Dryden2), desert : heart (2t), subvert : heart (Dryden3), Desert : Art, Desert : Part (3t), heard : regard, heard : Yard (3t), erve : starve (Dryden4), were : are (Sprat), were : are, interr'd : hard (Flatman), disperse : Arse (Shadwell), Concert : art, desert : part (2t), deserts : Parts, deserves : starves, preserve : starve (Wilmot), desert : art, desert : heart, desert : part, deserve : starve, serve : starvr, serv'd : starv'd (Sheffield), desert : heart, verse : Farce (2t) (Otway), heard-on : pardon (Carey), desert : heart (Hammond), confer : are (2t), conferr'd : regard, converts : parts, desert : art, infer : are (2t), infer : bar, preferr'd : regard, referr'd : regard, subvert : art (4t), were : are (Blackmore), desert : heart, divert : heart, serve : starve (Duke), desert : art, deserts : parts, heard : bard, prefer : are (Garth), desert : part (walsh), desert : heart, dessert : part, observes : starves, serve : starve, serv'd : starv'd (King), aver : far, deserve : starve, deserv'd : starv'd, discern : barn, observ'd : starv'd, preferr'd : starv'd, serv'd : varv'd (Prior), deserve : starve, serve : starve, were : are (Pomfret), clerk : remark, desert : heart, desert : part (Granville), Clergy : chargeye, deserve : starve, deserv'd-it : starv'd-it, earl : carle, heard : bard, Germany : harmony, Herse : Stars, search : arch, searches : Arches, serv'd : starv'd, Verse : Stars (2t), verse : farce (Swift), serve : starve (Congreve), deserve : starve, deserves : starves (Yalden), desert : heart, preferr'd : regard (Rowe), deserve : starve, heard : bard (Watts), desert : art, desert : heart (Somerville), serv'd : carv'd (Philips), desert :

heart (Hughes), heard : regard (2t) (Parnell), clerk : mark, deserts : parts, reserve : starve, serve : starve (Young), heard : Bard, heard : Regard (Diaper), ermine : charming, deserve : starve, heard : debarr'd, heard : yard (Gay), desert : heart (5t), observe : starve, pert : heart, recerve : starve (Pope), clerks : remarks, verse : hearse (Byrom), heard : bard, terms : arms (Pitt), desert : art, pervert : art, pervert : heart (Dodsley), desert : heart, diverting : parting (Hamilton), averit : parrot (Mallet), heard : regard (2t (Boyse), heard : bard (P. Whitehead), Earth : birth (P. Whitehead), prefer : far, heard : part (Armstrong), serv'd : carv'd, deserving : starving (Moore), desert : heart (Thompson), her : star, heard : yard. verse : farces (W. Whitehead), serve : starve (Cambridge), heard : bard (2t) (Akenside), serve : starve (Smollett), rehearse : hearse, verse : hearse (Cooper), serve : starve (2t) (Wilkie), assert : heart, prefer'd : regard (Blacklock), desert : art, desert : heart (4t) (Smart), desert : heart (Mason), desert : heart (Cunningham), clerk : dark (Churchill), heard : regard (Falconer), terms : alarms, terms : arms, terms : charms (Mickle), earth : hearth, pervert : art, pervert : heart, pervert : part, preferr'd : regard, reserve : starve (Beattie), earth : hearth, learn : heart (Wordsworth), clerk : ark, clergy : charge-ye, dearth : apart, dearth : heart (Byron), unheard : sward (Keats),

10b : 8g

descerne : warne (Gascoigne), deserued : rewarded, refarde : afterwarde (Howard), heard : reward (Spenser-Minor), transfard : ward (Spenser3), heard : reward (Spenser5), refarre : warre (Warner), were : warre (2t) (Drayton), heard : reward, heard : ward (Shakespeare), heard : reward (Corbet), certaine : wardeine (Browne), preferrd : reward (Herbert), prefer'd : reward (Godolphin), her : war (Sherburne), deserts : thwarts (Hall), discerning : warning, heard : reward (2t), unheard : reward (Dryden2), heard : Reward, err : War

(Dryden3), heard : Reward, preferr'd : Reward (Dryden4), preferr'd : Reward (Wilmot), prefer : war (2t) (Duke), aver : war, err : war, her : war, heard : reward, years : wars (Prior), her : war (Granville), preferr'd : ward (Rowe), heard : Reward (Diaper), desert : reward (Byrom), learn : warm, learn : warn (2t) (Wilkie).

10b : 8c (her : far, serve : starve) は E Mod E 期以降, 特に北部出身の詩人に豊富に見出されている。⁽⁶⁰⁾ Dobson によると, [r] の前の ME/ε/ の低母音化による ME/a/ は北部方言では 14 世紀の初めに, 南部方言では 15 世紀に起こり始めたが, 標準英語では一般的でない。一方, 標準英語では [er] > [ar] に変化せず, 中舌化して [ə:] なり, 少なくとも, E Mod E 期には [a:], [ə:] が並存していた。clerk は 15~18 世紀では clark と綴るのが普通であり, 発音も [a:] であった。その後, 綴字は er に戻ったが, 発音は [a:] のまま残った。

⁽⁶¹⁾ Dobson によると, a) certain, clerk, conserve, convert, defer, desert, earl, earn, fervent, heard, her, herd, infer, jerl, kernel, learn, merchant, mercy, pert, perfect, person, prefer, searcg, serge, servant, serve, swerve, were, yerck, yearn は E Mod E 期には ME/a/ 異形が並存していた。heard に hard という発音が存在していたことは綴り字, 文法学者の言により確かめられる。この発音は Scotland の教養ある人々の間では現在でも見られる。ME の形は herde で, harde, hard という綴り字は 15~18 世紀にかけ個人的な記録はもとより, あらゆる階級の人々によって用いられている。たとえば, Margaret Paston, Cely 家の人々, Lord Berners, Sir Thomas Elyot, Cranmer, Machyn, Latimer, Gabriel Harvey, Lord Burghley, Verney 家の人々, Lady Wentworth 等, 数えるときりが無い。この発音が当時上流階級の教養ある人々の口語的発音であったことは殆ど疑いの余地がない。

b) OED は disperse, ermine, pervert, verge に ME/a/ (5-7 armine, 5 dysparse, 6 parvart, 7 varge) 異形が並存していたこと示している。

c) assert, aver, concert, deserve, divert, herse, inter, observe, preserbe, revert, subvert, term, transfer に ME/a/ 異形が並存していた

証拠はないが, [r] の影響で, これらの語にも ME/a/ 異形が並存していた公算は大である。

10b : 8g (err : war) は PE では [ɔ:] : [ɔ:] の不完全韻であるが, E Mod E 期以降見出されている。⁽⁶²⁾ Dobson によると, [w] ____ [r] で ME/a/ が [ɔ:] になったのは正音学者の証拠は Daines (1640) に初めて見出されている。それ以前は [a:] が普通であった。従って, 10b : 8a, 8c, 8g は [a:] に依存する完全韻である。

10b : 9b

earth : myrth (2t) (Gascoigne), erst : firste, terme : sterne (Spenser-Sc), derth : berth, derth : merth, earth : berth (2t), earth : merth (Spenser1), erst : first (Spenser2), earth : merth, Earth : berth, earth : berth, terme : confirme, terme : firme (Spenser3), earth : berth (Spenser4), earth : berth (2t), earth : merth (Spenser-Minor), ster : her, sturre : hir (Sidney), earth : birth, Pearles : girles (Lyly), earth : birth (2t), her : ster, erre : sterre (Warner), dearth : birth, Earth : birth (5t), her : stir, pearl : girl, revers : first, revers'd : thirst (Daniel), erst : first, heard : bird (2t), dearth : birth (2t), earth : birth (17t), earth : mirth (2t), hears : birds, her : stirre, herds : birds, pearle : gerle (3t), pearle : girle (3t), pearles : gerles, perch : berch, preferre : Sir, preferre : stirre (Drayton), earth : birth (2t) (Marlowe), earth : birth (2t), her : stir, herds : birds (Shakespeare), earth : birth (4t) (Davies), earth : birth (2t), earth : mirth (4t) (Campion), earth : birth (8t), earth : mirth, her : Sir, her : stirere (Jonson), earth : birth (4t), earth : mirth (2t), prefer : Sir (Donne), Earth : Mirth, earth : birth (Marston), earth : birth (5t), erst : first (Corbet), earth : birth (3t), pearl : girl (P. Fletcher), Earth : mirth, earth : birth (5t), pearle : girle, pearle : whirle, refers : stirrs (J. Beaumont), deferr'd : bird, earth : birth (8t), hers : stird, prefer : stir (F. Beaumont), Earth : Birth (3t), Earth : birth, Earth : Mirth, earth : birth, Her : stir, Herds : Birds,

Pearls : Girls (Drummond), discern : confirm, earth : birth (4t), earth :
 mirth (5t), term'd-it : confirm'd-it (Ford), earth : birth, earth : mirth
 (Kynaston), earth : birth, Earth : mirth (G. Fletcher), Earth : birth
 (22t), Earth : mirth (4t), her : stirre (2t), hers : stirs, perle : gerle,
 pearles : girles (2t) (Browne), earth : Birth (4t), Earles : Girls, earth :
 mirth (4t), her : sir, her : stir (2t), her : stirre, Hir : sir, interre : sir,
 earl : Girle (2t), Pearle : Girle, Pearles : Girles, Pearls : Girles
 (Herrick), deferre : stirre, earth : birth (6t), earth : mirth (5t) (Her-
 bert), deearth : birth, earth : birth (5t) (King), Earth : birth (7t),
 Earth : myrth, her : stir (Carew), err : sir, heard : bird, her : sir (4t),
 pearl : girl, (Chalkhill), earth : birth, erst : first, her : stir (Marmion),
 deearth : mirth, earth : birth (3t), earth : mirth (3t) (Benlowes),
 Earth : birth (7t), earth : mirth (4t), pearle : girle (Harington),
 Earth : birth (3t), err : sir (2t), pearle : girle (Davenant), earth : birth
 (6t) (Waller), earth : birth (2t), earth : mirth (Bosworth), Earth :
 birth (3t), term : affirm (Milton), earl : girl (3t), earth : birth, earth :
 mirth, err : stir, pearls : girls (Whiting), earth : birth (Godophin),
 earth : birth, verse : fierce (Cartwright), clerks : kirks, Earth : birth
 (3t), revert : first, term : confirm, terms : affirms, vert : first (Butler),
 converts : shirts, earl : girl (Cleveland), Earth : mirth, earth : birth
 (20t), her : stir (Cowley), earth : birth (3t) (Sherburne), earth : birth
 (15t), earth : mirth, her : stir (Chamberlayne), earth : birth (2t),
 earth : mirth, term : firm (Brome), Earth : birth (Marvell), Earth :
 birth (18t), Earth : mirth (11t), heard : stirr'd (Vaughan), earth :
 birth (2t) (Stanley), earth : birth (3t), herds : birds, pearl : girl
 (Hannay), Earth : birth (2t), Earth : Mirth, her : stir (Cotton),
 Earth : birth (3t), Earth : mirth (Philips), earth : birth (2t) (Hall),
 Earth : Birth (10t) (Dryden1), Earth : Birth (17t), heard : stir'd
 (Dryden2), Earth : Birth (11t) (Dryden3), earth : birth (Roscommon),
 Eath : Birth (6t), Terms : Confirms (Dryden4), Earth : birth (Sprat),

earth : birth (4t) (Flatman), earth : birth (4t), her : stir (Ayres),
 Earth : Birth (5t) (Shadwell), Earth : Birth (3t) (Wilmot), Earth :
 birth (2t) (Otway), earth : birth (4t) (Hammond), Earth : birth (12t)
 (Blackmore), Earth : birth (Duke), Earth : birth (Smith), earth : birth
 (Walsh), preferr'd : bird, preferr'd : stirr'd (King), Earth : birth (19t),
 earth : mirth, earths : births (Prior), earth : birth (5t) (Pomfret),
 earth : birth (3t) (Granville), Term : affirm (2t), Earl : Girl (3t),
 Earth : Birth (11t), Earth : Girl, Pearl : Girl (Swift), Earth : birth (5t)
 (Congreve), Earth : birth (3t) (Yalden), earth : birth (2t) (Rowe),
 earth : birth (7t), heard : bird, preferr'd : bird (Addison), Earth : birth
 (4t) (Watts), Earth : birth (2t) (Somerville), earth : birth (2t) (Phil-
 ipsis), Earth : birth (6t) (Hughes), Earth : birth (6t), Earth : mirth,
 pearl : girl (Parnell), Earth : birth (15t), dearth : mirth (Young),
 yearth : mirth (Fenton), Earth : Birth (7t), heard : Bird, Herds : Birds
 (Diaper), Earth : birth (3t) (Gay), Earth : birth (2t), Earth : mirth
 (Tickell), Earth : mirth, earth : birth (9t), her : Sir (Pope), earth :
 birth (9t) (Broome), Earth : birth (29t), Earth : mirth, prefer : myrrh,
 rehearst : first, : term : affirm (3t), term : confirm (3t), term : firm,
 terms : affirms (6t), terms : confirms (Byrom), earth : birth (3t) (Sav-
 age), Earth : birth (6t) (Pitt), Earth : birth (Thompson), earth : birth
 (Dodsley), earth : birth (3t) (Jenyns), earth : birth (5t) (Hamilton),
 Earth : mirth (Mallet), earth : birth (17t), earth : mirth, fencer : sir,
 prefer'd-to : virtue (Brooke), Earth : birth (4t) (Harte), Earth : birth
 (11t) (Boyse), earth : birth (Lyttleton), earth : birth (3t), earth :
 mirth (Johnson), Earth : mirth (Moore), earth : birth (Thompson),
 earth : birth, heard : bird (Shenstone), earth : birth (Jago), Earth :
 mirth, earth : birth (11t), heard : bird (W. Whitehead), earth : Birth
 (2t) (Gray), Earth : Birth (2t), Earth : Mirth (Collins), divert-you :
 virtue, Earth : birth (3t), heard : bird, prefer'd : third, verge : dirge
 (Cambridge), Earth : birth (Akenside), earth : birth, Earth : mirth

(Smollett), Earth : Mirth, herds : birds, heard : bird (2t) (Cooper), earth : birth (5t) (Wilkie), earth : birth (3t) (Fawkes), heard : bird, preferr'd : bird (J. Warton), Earth : birth (2t) (Smart), earth : birth (2t) (Mason), Earth : birth (Cunningham), dispers'd : first, err : stir (2t), heard : bird, her : stir, Earth : mirth (5t), earth : birth (21t), heard : stirr'd, heard : third, her's : stirs, prefer : stir, prefers : stirs, rehears'd : first, terms : confirms (Churchill), dispers'd : first, earth : birth (16t), earth : mirth (2t), heard : bird (5t), her : Sir, herd : birds, preferr'd : bird, rehears'd : first, terms : confirms, unheard : bird (Cowper), earth : birth (Falconer), heard : bird (2t), earth : birth (7t), verse : fierce, vers'd : First (Lloyd), Earth : birth (3t) (Langhorne), Earth : birth (2t), Earth : mirth (Mickle), Earth : birth (4t), earth : mirth (Beattie), Earth : birth (4t), earth : Mirth, heard : bird, Earth : birth (2t), pearl : girl, pearls : girls, terms : confirms (Jones), Earth : birth (3t) (Logan), heard : bird (2t), Earth : birth (2t) (Chatterton), preferr'd : bird, her : stir (Crabbe), earth : birth (2t), heard : stirred, herds : birds, unheard : bird (Wordsworth), heard : bird (3t), earth : birth (22t), earth : Mirth (7t), her : stir, herd : gird, heard : stirr'd (3t), meter : stir, were : stir (Byron), earth : birth (10t), heard : bird (4t), dearth : birth, earth : birth (5t), earth : girth, earth : mirth (7t), heard : upstirr'd, her : stir, Pearl : whirl, pearl : girl (2t), pearls : whirls, verge : dirge (Keats).

10b : 9b は E Mod E 期からほぼどの詩人にも見出されており, ME/ε/r, ME/i/r は [ə:] で融合していたのは先ず間違いない。ME/ε/r の [ə:] の証拠は a) ME/ε/r : ME/i/r, b) ME/ε/r : ME/u/r より得られる。前者は E Mod E 期から見出されている。後者は Spenser から見出されているものの, 一般的になるのは 17 世紀半ば以降であり, 1) の半数しか見出されていない。ME/ε/r は先ず 14 世紀以降 ME/a/r と, 16 世紀に ME/i/r と, 17 世紀の後半の四半世紀に ME/u/r と押韻している。16 世紀では ME/ε/r : ME/a/r が ME/ε/r : ME/i/r より多く, 16 世紀の後半の

四半世紀になって初めて、ME/ε/r:ME/i/rがME/ε/r:ME/a/rより多く見出されている。この時期に迄にME/ε/rが[ər]になったのは間違いない。ME/ε/rとME/i/rの融合に関して、脚韻と正音学者の証拠は大きく食い違う。⁽⁶³⁾Dobsonによると、ME/ε/rが1400年頃に[a:]に低母音化しない言語では、ME/ε/rは17世紀初頭に中舌化し始め[ə:]となった。ME/i/rは1600年頃、低母音化>中舌化し[ə:]となる。Daines(1640)が初めてME/ε/r, ME/i/r, ME/u/r=[ə:]の証拠を提示しているが、Wallis(1653)はME/ε/r=ME/i/rを示しているものの、ME/ε/r, ME/u/r=[ə:]の証拠を提示していない。⁽⁶⁴⁾Dobsonによると、a) birch, birth, chirp, circle, confirm, firm, first, girl, irk, kirk, mirth, shirt, sir, stir, whirlには少なくともE Mod E期にはME/ε/異形が並存していた。b) dirge, kirk, thirst, virtueにはME/ε/異形が並存していた文法家の証拠はないが、OEDはこれらの語にME/ε/異形(6 Sc. gergie, 6 kerke, 4 ferst, 3-8 vertue)が並存していたことを示している。9aを持つ語には全て10aを持つ臨時綴字が存在しており、両者はE Mod E期には[ə:]で融合していたことになる。図示すると、

	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750
ME/ε/r=[εr]	> [ər]		[ər]	[ər]	[ə]
ME/i/r=[ir]	> [εr]	> [ər]	[ər]	[ər]	[ə]

10b:11c

earth:forth, herds:swerds (Spenser-Minor), werne:morne (2t) (Spenser4), preferrd:Lord (Herbert), earth:forth (Waller), earth:forth (3t), certain:Fortune, (4t), uncertain:fortune (Butler), Earth:forth (3t) (Crashaw), desert:for't (Prior), learn:scorn (Somerville), earth:forth (Pope), her:or (Moore), Earth:forth (Akenside), Earth:forth (Beattie), earth:forth (2t) (Wordsworth), berth:forth, earth:forth (3t) (Byron).

10b:11cはPEでは[ə:]:[ɔ:]となり不完全韻であるが、E Mod E期から散見されている。10b:11cは26例しか見出されていないが、その内

19 例が earth : forth である。

I] ⁽⁶⁵⁾ Kökeritz (p. 259), Dobson (1968², § 92) によると, forth には ME/u/ 異形が並存していたので, earth=[εr]>[ər]>[ə:]: forth=[ur]>[ʌr]>[ər]>[ə:] の完全韻となる。⁽⁶⁶⁾ conform, form, perform には ME/u/ 異形が並存していた証拠があるので, OED による証拠はないが, 方言で lord, morn, scorn にも ME/u/ 異形 (ME/ɔ/>ME/ɔ:/>ME/o:/>[u]) が並存していた可能性が十分に考えられる。

II] ⁽⁶⁷⁾ Dobson によると, sword に ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた証拠があるので, herds : swerds は ME/ε/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。10b : 11c は押韻語の一方に相手方の音韻を持つ異形が並存しており何れにしても完全韻である。

10b : 12c

earth : worth, hears : words (Spenser-Minor), learne : turne (Spenser6), hir : furr, hyr : fure, hyr : furre (Sidney), Earth : worth (Daniel), quern : churn (Shakespeare), Earls : Charls (Drummond), earth : worth (Carew), earn'd : turn'd, Earth : worth, Earth-is : worthies, perches : churches, reverse : worse, search : church, service : purveys, verse : purse, verse : worse (Butler), Earth : worth (2t) (Crashaw), Pearls : Curls (Vaughan), pearls : curls (Hannay), discern : adjourn, learn : adjourn (Dryden2), Earl : Churl (Dryden4), her : fur (King), certain : Curtain (Swift), earn : return (Somerville), clerke : werke (Fenton), earth : Worth, learn'd : turn'd (Pope), Earth : worth (2t) (Savage), learn : turn (Dodsley), earth : worth, reverss'd : curs'd (Jenyns), Earth : worth (Boyse), earth : worth (P. Whitehead), discern : turn (Moore), discern : return, verse : purses (Shenstone), verse : purse (Jago), learn : turn (Collins), search : church, convert-'em : hurt-'em, divert-us : shurt-us, learning : turning (3t), verses : worse-is (Cambridge), earn : spurn (Akenside), heard : word (Cooper), learn'd : turn'd (Smart), rehearse : worse (Cunningham), per-

vert : hurt, discern : return, sternre : turn, verge : scourge, discern : turn (2t), learn'd : turn'd, unheard : word, term : worm, dearth : worth, Earth : worth (7t), heard : word (22t) (Churchill), search : church, curse : perverse : curse, nerve : curve, herb, : disturb, verse : nurse, occur'd : heard : occur'd, rehear : sepurse, earnre : turn, learnre : turn, discern'd : return'd, discern : turn, learn : turn, discern'd-it : turn'd-it, earth : worth (2t), verse : worth (Cowper), perverse : curse (Falconer), certain : curtain, Earth : worth (3t), err'd : word, heard : word (4t), her : spur, herd : word, hers : burrs, learn : return, learning : turning, prefer : spur, rehearse : worse, verse : curse (4t), verse : purse, verse : worse (4t) (Lloyd), Earth : worth (Lovibond), conferr'd : Word, heard : Word (2t), return : learn, pearl : curl, pearls : curls (2t), verse : curse (Jones), discern : turn, discern'd : return'd, discern'd : turn'd, discerne : turns, learn : return, swears : curves (Crabbe), heard : furr'd, earned : returned, heard : word, perverse : nurse (Wordsworth), amerce : curse, certain : curtain, dearth : worth, desert-in : curtain, earn'd : return'd, earth : worth (7t), heard : spurr'd, heard : word (6t), her : demur, person : worse-on, rehearse : curse, rehearses : curses, reverse : curse, search : church, stern : burn, stern : return, stern : urn, verse : curse (3t), verse : nurse, verse : worse (5t), verse-on : worse-on (Byron), dispersed : burst, heard : word (Shelley), dearth : worth, discern'd : turn'd (2t), early : burly, Earth : worth, germ : worm, heard : word (3t), hearse : nurse, pearl : curl (2t), pearls : curls, pert : wort, stern : burn, swerve : curve, verse : curse, verse : nurse, yearn'd : return'd (Keats).

10b : 12c は PE では [ə:] となり、完全韻である。ME/ε/r と ME/u/r は Spenser を初めとする E Mod E 期の詩人に見出されているものの、10b : 9b の約半数しか見出されていない。両者の融合時期が、10b : 9b, 9b : 12c 同様、音韻史上問題となっている。ME/ε/r と ME/u/r の融合に関して、脚韻と臨時綴字・正音学者の証拠は大きく食い違う。

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Kökeritz (p. 252) によると, ME/ε/r=[ə:] の最初の正音学者の証拠は Daines (1640) に見出されている。ME/ε/r=ME/u/r=[ə:] の臨時綴字の証拠は 1540 年の Machyn の日記 (surmon (sermon), Burgany (Bergavenny), pursent (present)) に見られるように, 文法家の証拠より早い時期に見出されること, 及び Shakespeare にも surge (serge), serge (surge), pursent (present) の臨時綴字が見出されているところから, E Mod E 期には ME/ε/r=ME/u/r=[ə:] になっていたと考えている。⁽⁶⁸⁾ Dobson によると, ME/ε/r と ME/u/r の同一視を示す綴字の証拠は以下のものがあるだけである。

a) ME/ε/r を ME/u/r と綴ったもの

churl (cherl), hurth (hearth), surmon (sermon)

b) ME/u/r を ME/ε/r と綴ったもの

serloin (sirloin < OF *surloin)

しかも, cherl, hearth には ME/u/ 異形が并存し, sir も 15 世紀では sir, ser, sur と変動しており, ME/ε/r と ME/u/r の同一視を示す綴字の証拠は方言では 16 世紀初頭に, ロンドン英語では 1525 年に見出されているものの, 証拠は不十分である。⁽⁷⁰⁾ Dobson によると, LME/ε/>/a/ を免れた [r] の前の ME/ε/ は 17 世紀初頭に [ə:] に中舌化した。Daines (1640) が始めて ME/ε/r, ME/i/r, ME/u/r=[ə:] の証拠を提示しているが, Wallis (1653) は ME/ε/r=ME/i/r を示しているものの, ME/ε/r=ME/u/r の証拠 (つまり ME/ε/r=[ə:] であるが ME/u/r=[ʌ:] であったことになる) を提示していない。Cooper (1685) は ME/ε/r, ME/i/r, ME/u/r=[ə:] の証拠を提示している。⁽⁷¹⁾ Dobson によると, ME/ε/r と ME/u/r の同一視を示す脚韻の証拠は clerk : work (Harington), nourish : cherish : flourish (Sidney) があるだけで, 前者は work の ME/ε/ 異形に依存し, 後者が ME/ε/r の [ər] の唯一の証拠となっている。⁽⁷²⁾ work に ME/ε/ 異形が并存していた証拠があるが, 我々の調査ではこれらの語と ME/ε/ の脚韻は見出されなかった。word に ME/ε/ 異形が并存していた証拠はないが, Bullokar は sword に ME/ε/ 異形 (OE < weor, wor) が并存していたことを示しているので, word にも

ME/ε/ 異形が並存していた可能性は十分に考えられる。OEDによると、church (chirche, cherche, church) には ME/ε/ 異形が並存していたので、12c:10b の内、church との脚韻は ME/ε/ に依存するものであるかも知れない。脚韻の証拠からは、ME/ε/r と ME/u/r の融合を示す 10b:12c は 16 世紀には稀で、17 世紀になっても、散見される程度である。1600 年以降、ME/ε/r と ME/i/r が豊富に見出され、ME/ε/r は [ər] になっていたことは先ず間違いない。ME/u/r が [ur] である間は、ME/u/r と ME/ε/r は韻を踏むことはない。しかし、ME/u/r が [ur] > [ʌr] に変われば、[ə] と [ʌ] は非常に近いので、ME/u/r と ME/ε/r は類韻を踏む可能性が出てくる。従って、1650 年頃見出される ME/u/r:ME/ε/r は ME/u/r が [ur] > [ʌr] に変化した証拠となる。1700 年頃になると、ME/u/r:ME/ε/r が脚韻総数の少ない詩人にも次第に見出されるようになる。これは多分この時期に ME/u/r が [ʌr] > [ər] に変化したので、ME/u/r:ME/ε/r は [ər] に依存する完全韻になったからであろう。ME/u/r が 17 世紀半ばに [ʌr] になった時、ME/ε/r:ME/u/r は [ər]:[ʌr] の類韻、ME/u/r が 17 世紀の後半の四半世紀以降 [ər] になった時、ME/ε/r:ME/u/r は [ər] に依存する完全韻となる。図示すると、

	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750	
ME/ε/r =	[ɛr]	> [ər]	[ər]	[ər]	[ə:]	
ME/u/r =	[ur]		> [ʌr]	> [ər]	> [ə:]	となる。

10b:13b

were: faire (Howard), yeares: heares (2t) (Gascoigne), yeeres: heares (Spenser-Sc), yeares: heares (2t) (Spenser2), were: despaire, were: haire (Spenser4), yeares: heares, yeres: theirs (Spenser5), weare: ayre (2t), weare: dispaire, were: Despaire (Raleigh), wair: repary'r, were: heir (Warner), years: affairs (Daniel), there: heire, were: haire, were: heire, were: paire, yeares: hayres, yeeres: hayres, yeeres: theirs (Drayton), year: hair (Davies), were: haire (Donne),

heard : air'd, were : haire, yeare : dispaire (Corbet), were : despaire (G. Fletcher), were : despaire, were : faire, were : haire (Browne), were : haire (Herrick), were : fair (Herbert), her : air, were : air (Chalkhill), were : fair, years : hairs (Benlowes), were : ayre, were : faire, were : heire (Harington), hers : theirs (Bosworth), were : hair, years : hairs (Cartwright), year : air (Butler), were : fair (Crashaw), were : pair (Denham), her : Aire, were : Heir, were : pray'r, yeere : haire (Lovelace), were : air (2t), were : fair (3t), were : hair (2t), were : pair (2t), years : heirs (Cowley), converse : theirs, her : fair, perverse : theirs, were : air (Brome), hers : theirs (Marvell), were : fair (Hannay), were : Air, yeares : Haires (Coptton), err : chair, years : hairs (Hall), err : Chair, year : Heir, years : theirs (Dryden1), Heir : prefer, Heirs : prefers, fair : were (2t) (Dryden2), were : Air (2t), Year : Air, Years : Hairs (Dryden3), were : Air, were : Hair (2t) (Dryden4), were : air, years : hairs (Sprat), her : fair, were : Despair, were : repair (2t), hairs : years (3t) (Flatman), were : fair (Otway), were : hair (Hammond), were : air (Garth), years : hairs, years : prayers (King), aver : chair, avers : theirs, her : Air, her : fair, year : fair (Prior), were : fair (Pomfret), her : fair (2t) (Granville), Year : Repair (Swift), heard : repair'd, prefer : hair, years : hairs (Congreve), prefer : fair, air : year (Yalden), were : repair, year : fair, year : pair (Rowe), years : hairs (Watts), year : despair, years : prayers (Somervile), year : air (Hughes), her : despair, were : prayer (Parnell), heard : repair'd, year : air (3t), year : fair (2t), year : prayer, year : repair, years : hairs (3t), years : prayers (2t), years : repairs (Gay), her : fair (Tickell), year : heir (Pope), prefer : pray'r, were : despair (Green), were : air (brooke), her : fair, prefer : fair (Boyse), years : prayers (Johnson), her : pray'r (Thompson), were : fair (Shenstone), year : air, year : fair, year : heir (W. Whitehead), year : air (Gray), year : air (Cambridge), year : air (2t) (Akenside), years : hairs

(Beattie), were : pair (Crabbe), were : air, were : despair, year : stairs (Wordsworth), were : air, were : despair, were : pair (2t) (Byron), were : despair (Shelley), years : stairs (Keats).

10b : 13b は PE では [æ:] : [ɛə] の不完全韻であるが、E Mod E 期から見出されている。

I] ⁽⁷³⁾ Dobson によると、hair, their には少なくとも、E Mod E 期には ME/ɛ:/ 異形が並存していた。一方、⁽⁷⁴⁾ heard, her, were, year には ME/ɛ:/ 異形が並存していた。従って、10b と hair, thier は ME/ɛ:/ 同士の脚韻であるかも知れない。

II] aver, converse, err, prefer に ME/ɛ:/ 異形が並存していた直接的証拠はないが、[r] のため、これらの語にも ME/ɛ:/ 異形が並存していた可能性は十分考えられる。従って、II] の 10b : 13b は 6b : 13b となる。10b : 13b は 10b, hair の ME/ɛ:/ 異形か、10b の ME/ɛ:/ 異形と 13b の完全韻となる。

その他

10a : 7a

beheld : teld (told), compeld : teld (Spenser6).

Spenser に固有のものであり、told の弱変化異形 (4-6 teld) に依存するものである。

10a : 9b

blest : first (Drummond),

Drummond に固有のものであり、first の音位転換した ME/ɛ/ 異形 (4 frest) に依存するものである。

10a : 12c

torment : brent (Spenser1), extent : brent, sent : brent (Spenser-Minor), hent : brent, torment : brent (Spenser2), bren : den, bren : men, brent : augment, brent : relent, brent : rent, brent : repent

(Spenser³), brenne : men, brenne : penne, brent : rent (Senser⁴),

10a : 12c は burn, burnt のよく知られた音位転換形による ME/ε/ 異形 (4-6 brenne, 4-7 brent) に依存するものである。

10b : 9a

discerne : gerne, sterne : gerne (Spenser⁵).

grin の音位転換形の ME/ε/ 異形 (MEgrin > gren > *gern) に依存するものである。

注

- (1) H. C. Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, 1936³, P. 198.
- (2) E. J. Dobson, *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*. 1968², § 59 Note 2.
- (3) H. Kökeritz, *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*, 1953, p. 186.
- (4) H. C. Wyld, *op. cit.* p. 222.
- (5) *ibid.*
- (6) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 71 Note 1.
- (7) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 186.
- (8) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 190.
- (9) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* Vol 1, p. 109.
- (10) *ibid.* § 72.
- (11) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* pp. 162-73.
- (12) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 77.
- (13) *ibid.* § 12.
- (14) *ibid.* § 32.
- (15) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* pp. 177-78.
- (16) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* §§ 9, 11.
- (17) *ibid.* § 30 Note 1.
- (18) *ibid.* § 9.
- (19) *ibid.* §§ 8, 9.
- (20) *ibid.* § 62.
- (21) *ibid.* § 6.
- (22) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 165.
- (23) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 72.
- (24) *ibid.* § 102.

- (25) *ibid.* § 8.
- (26) *ibid.* §§ 8, 30.
- (27) *ibid.* § 8.
- (28) O. Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, Part1, § 10.71.
- (29) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 70.
- (30) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 185.
- (31) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 59 Note 3.
- (32) *ibid.* § 70.
- (33) *ibid.* § 59 Note 2.
- (34) *ibid.*
- (35) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 185.
- (36) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 75.
- (37) *ibid.* § 77.
- (38) *ibid.* § 80.
- (39) H. C. Wyld *A Study of Rhymes from Surrey to Pope*, 1923, p. 82
- (40) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 75.
- (41) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* pp. 186-90.
- (42) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* Vol 1, p. 112.
- (43) H. C. Wyld, *op. cit.* pp. 113-14.
- (44) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 73.
- (45) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* Vol 1, p. 109.
- (46) J. Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, § 96.
- (47) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 176; R. E. Zachrisson, *Pronunciation of English Vowels 1400-1700* pp.97-68.
- (48) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 177.
- (49) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 26.
- (50) *ibid.* §§ 19, 97.
- (51) *ibid.* § 128.
- (52) *ibid.* §§ 4, 65, 122 Note 6.
- (53) *ibid.* § 8.
- (54) *ibid.*
- (55) *ibid.* § 4.
- (56) *ibid.* § 8.
- (57) *ibid.* §§ 4, 8, 9, 119.
- (58) *ibid.* § 100.
- (59) *ibid.* §§ 4, 8, 9, 119, 122.

- (60) *ibid.* §§ 65, 69.
- (61) *ibid.* §§ 4, 65, 66, 68.
- (62) *ibid.* §§ 65, 69.
- (63) *ibid.* § 212.
- (64) *ibid.* §§ 212, Note 3, 213 Note 2.
- (65) *ibid.* § 92.
- (66) *ibid.* § 19.
- (67) *ibid.* §§ 8, 78.
- (68) H. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 252.
- (69) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 212 Note 2.
- (70) *ibid.* § 212.
- (71) E. J. Dobson, *op. cit.* § 212 Note 2.
- (72) *ibid.* §§ 8, 212 Note 3.
- (73) *ibid.* §§ 4, 130.
- (74) *ibid.* §§ 4, 8, 119.

Ⅲ. 結 論

我々は脚韻を可能な限り類韻ではなく完全韻であるという立場で処理している。一見不完全であると思われるものも、詳細に検討すれば、その脚韻を完全韻にする異形 (ME/ε/ の ME/a/, ME/i/, ME/ɔ/, ME/u/, ME/ε:/, ME/e:/ 異形) の存在が明らかになってきた。ME/ε/ を取り巻く脚韻の実状はⅡ) で検討してきた通りである。それらの証拠を踏まえると、ME/ε/ を含む脚韻は次の音韻に依存していると考えるのが最も蓋然性が高いと思われる。

- 1) 10a : 1f (cherish : flourish) は ME/ε/r と ME/u/r の融合を示す完全韻である。この脚韻は、Spenserに見出されるものの、稀である。
- 2) 10a : 2a (end : find, together : either) は 10a の ME/i/ 異形と 2a の ME/i 異形に、又は either の ME/ε/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期から散見されるが、17 世紀後半以降少なくなる。
- 3) 10a : 3a (end : fiend, held : field) は 10a の ME/e:/ 異形か、3a の

ME/ε/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降豊富に見出されている。

- 4) 10a : 3b (cherry : weary, merry : weary) は ME/ε/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期に散見される程度である。
- 5) 10a : 5a (best : taste, Thames : dames) は 5a の南部・北部方言での [e] か, Thames の ME/a:/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降, 主として南部・北部・西部出身の詩人に見出されている。
- 6) 10a : 6a (guest : feast, stretch : each) は 10a の ME/ε:/ 異形か, 6a の ME/ε/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降豊富に見出されている。
- 7) 10a : 6c (best : breast, fed : dead) は 6c の ME/ε/ に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降豊富に見出されている。
- 8) 10a : 6d (neck : break, set : great) は 6d の ME/ε/ に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期には散見されるが, L Mod E 期には少なくなる。
- 9) 10a : 8a (wrech : scrach, men : than) は 10a を持つ語の ME/a/ 異形か, 8a を持つ語の ME/ε/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降, 南部・北部出身の詩人に見出されている。
- 10) 10a : 8d (together : rather) は 10a の ME/a/ 異形に, 10a : 8b (dress : glass), 10a : 8e (content : want, erant : warrant), 10a : 8h (tell : Walles) は 8b, 8e, 8h の方言音 [e] に依存する完全韻である。これらの脚韻は E Mod E 期以降散見される程度である。
- 11) 10a : 9a (get : it, men : thin) は 10a の ME/i/ 異形か, 9a の ME/ε/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降豊富に見出されている。
- 12) 10a : 10b (opprest : disperse), 10b : 5a (universe : grace), 10b : 6a (Earth : beneath), 10b : 6c (Earth : breath), 10b : 13a (averr'd : afraid) は 10b の ME/ε/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。これらの脚韻は散見される程度である。

- 13) 10a : 11a (terrible : horrible, men : on) は ME/ɔ/>平唇化>ME/a/=ME/ε/= [ε] 又は [e] に依存する完全韻である。これらの脚韻は稀である。
- 14) 10a : 12a (exprest : dust, self : gulf), 10a : 4e (together : other) は ME/u/ の方言音 [i] 又は [e] に依存する完全韻である。これらの脚韻は稀である。
- 15) 10a : 13a (them : claim, then : again) は 13a の ME/ε/ 異形か、方言音 [e] に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降、主として南部・北部・西部出身の詩人に見出されている。
- 16) 10a : 13c (then : again, red : said) は 13c の ME/ε(:)/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降豊富に見出されている。
- 17) 10a : 14a (tell : all), 10a : 14b (elm : balm) は 14a の方言音 [e] に依存する完全韻である。これらの脚韻は稀である。
- 18) 10b : 1d (learne : mourne) は mourn の ME/u/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は稀である。
- 19) 10b : 2b (herd : inquerd, yeare : brire) は 10b を持つ語の ME/ε:/ 異形と 2b を持つ語の ME/ε:/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は散見される程度である。
- 20) 10b : 3b (were : appear, year : here) は 10b の ME/ε:/ 異形に依存する 6b : 3b の完全韻となる。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降豊富に見出されている。
- 21) 10b : 5b (were : declare, were : spare) は 10b の ME/ε:/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は 16 世紀後半から、とりわけ Scotland, 北部, 西部, Kent 出身の詩人に見出されている。
- 22) 10b : 6b (were : bear, year : where) は 10b の ME/ε:/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期以降豊富に見出されている。
- 23) 10b : 8c (her : far, serve : starve), 10b : 8g (err : War, heard : reward) は 10b の ME/a/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は

E Mod E 期以降, 特に北部出身の詩人に豊富に見出されている。

24) 10b : 9b (earth : mirth, eart : bird) は両者の融合を示す脚韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期から豊富に見出されている。

25) 10b : 11c (earth : forth, herd : swerds) は forth の ME/u/ 異形か, sword の ME/ε/ 異形に依存する完全韻である。この脚韻は散見される程度である。

26) 10b : 12c (earth : worth, term : worm) は両者の融合を示す脚韻である。この脚韻は E Mod E 期から見出されているものの一般的になるのは 17 世紀以降である。

27) 10b : 13b (were : fair, year : hair) は hair の ME/ε:/ 異形か, 10b の ME/ε:/ 異形に依存する 6b : 13b の完全韻となる。この脚韻は E Mod E 期から見出されている。

これらの証拠を踏まえると, ME/ε/ の発達過程の最も蓋然性の高い推論は次のようなものであろう。

i) ME/ε/ は ME/a/, ME/u/, ME/ɔ/, ME/i/ とは融合しなかった。E Mod E 期の一時期, ME/ε/ と ME/a/, ME/u/, ME/ɔ/, ME/i/ との脚韻が散見されるが, その多くは異形に依存するものである。

ii) 1650 年頃 ME/ε/ = [ε] > [e] になった。ME/a/ は 1650 年頃に [æ] になったが, 1650 年頃迄見出されていた ME/a/ : ME/ε/ は 1650 年頃から少なくなっている。これは ME/a/ = [æ] と ME/ε/ = [e] とでは母音が余りにも違いすぎ, 押韻しなくなったからである。

iii) [r] の前では, 1) ME/ε/r : ME/a/r, ME/i/r は E Mod E 期から見出されるものの, a) 1600 年までは ME/ε/r : ME/a/r が ME/ε/r : ME/i/r より多い。b) 1600 年以降, ME/ε/r : ME/i/r が ME/ε/r : ME/a/r より多く見出され, ME/ε/r は 1600 年頃に [ər] となった。16 世紀に見出される ME/ε/r : ME/i/r の多くは ME/i/r の ME/ε/r 異形に依存するものである。2) ME/ε/r : ME/u/r は 16 世紀では極めて稀であり, 17 世紀になって散見され, ME/u/r が 17 世紀半ばに [ʌr] になった時, ME/ε/r : ME/u/r は [ər] : [ʌr] の類韻, ME/u/r が 17 世紀の後半の四半世紀以降 [ər] になった時, ME/ε/r

: ME/u/r は [ər] に依存する完全韻となる。

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(受理日 平成19年10月10日)