

後期近代英語の ME/ē/ の 音価について

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1. 序 論

ME/ē/ が [ɛ:] > [e:] を経て今日 [i:] になったことに関しては、音韻論学者の間では異論はない。ただ、1) . ME/ē/ はいつ [e:] の段階に到達したか。2) . ME/ē/ は ME/ā/, ME/āy/ と融合したかどうかについては異論がある。ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の融合は、Wyld, Prins⁽¹⁾ では 16 世紀に、Kökeritz⁽²⁾ では 16 世紀後半に [ɛ:] の段階で、Dobson⁽³⁾ では 18 世紀に [e:] の段階で生じたことになっている。従来の伝統的音韻論では音変化を異音の漸次的変化としてとらえるため、特定の時代に特定の音価の基で融合すると、融合した音韻は、以後、同じ変化をたどる筈である。しかし、PE では ME/ē/ は break, great, steak, yea を除き ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の PE の [ēy] ではなく [īy] となっている。そこで、Wyld, Kökeritz, Dobson, Prins はこれら四語の PE の標準音 [ey] は ME/ē/ の正常な音変化によるものであるが、ME/ē/ を持つその他の語の PE の標準音 [iy] は正常な音変化によるものではなく、Wyld では南東部方言が、Kökeritz, Dobson では ME/ē/ に古くから並存していた ME/ē/ 異形が標準音を追い出したものと考えている。Kökeritz は脚韻、地口を、Dobson は正音学者の陳述を基に音価を推定したため、両者の推定音には大きな開きがあることは周知の事実であるが、ME/ā/, ME/āy/, ME/ē/ の三音がどの時期にどの段階で融合したかは別にして、三音が融合したことに関しては同じ見解をとっている。一方、Wolfe⁽⁵⁾, 荒木⁽⁶⁾ は、ME/ē/ は ME/ā/, ME/āy/ とは融合せず ME/ē/ と融合したと考えている。英

語音韻史研究で組織的開発が一番遅れている脚韻からの資料を組織的に収集し、分析する過程で、保守的な言語では ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の融合は 16 世紀半頃に生じ、一般に ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の融合は 1700 年頃に生じたと考える Dobson 説に疑問を抱くようになった。Kökeritz と同様に脚韻の資料を基に後期近代英語の ME/ɛ/ の音価を推定するのが本稿の目的である。

2. 本 論

筆者は⁽⁷⁾一連の脚韻研究により、i) ME/ā/ と ME/āy/ の融合を示す疑義のない ME/ā/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻がどの詩人にも一様に多く見出されるようになるのは 1650 年以降のことである。ii) 1700 年以前に見出される ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻は極めて少なく、見出されるものも、その多くは異形に基づくものか、北部方言に基づくものである。iii) 1700 年以前に見出される ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻も極めて少なく、見出されるものも、その多くは異形に基づくものか、北・南・西部方言に基づくものである。ということ⁽⁸⁾を指摘してきた。Dobson は ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の融合は 1700 年頃、[e:] の段階で生じたと考えている。もしそうであるならば、全ての証拠に徴して 1650 年頃の標準英語で [e:] になっていたことが殆確実である ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻が 1650 年頃における ME/ā/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻と同じ程度にどの詩人にも一様に多く見出されてよい筈である。1700 年頃における ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻の有無を調べる為に、*The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cooper* (Alexander (ed.), Greenwood, 1969) から脚韻を収集し分析する。次の表は 18 世紀後半までの詩人に見出される自由位置における ME/ɛ/ を含む脚韻の中で、ME/ɛ/ : ME/ɛ/, ME/ɛ/ : ME/ɛ/, ME/ɛ/ : ME/i/, ME/ɛ/ : ME/āy/, ME/ɛ/ : ME/ā/, ME/ɛ/ : ME/ɛ/ の脚韻の占める相対頻度を示したものである。% は脚韻総数に対するものである。詩人はどうしてもうまく押韻できない場合には、自分の生まれ育った地域の方言を利用することも充分考えられるので、詩人の出身

地、及び出身地と思われる所を備考欄に記しておく。

表 1

	ME/ē/						備考
	ME/ē/	ME/e/	ME/i/	ME/āy/	ME/ā/	ME/ē/	出身地
Prior (1664-1721)	198 (26.9%)	152 (20.6%)	62 (8.4%)	77 (10.4%)	98 (13.3%)	150 (20.4%)	Dorsetshire
Granville (1667-1735)	45 (32.6%)	29 (21.0%)	6 (4.3%)	11 (8.0%)	19 (13.8%)	28 (20.3%)	? (Cambridge)
Yalden (1671-1736)	19 (14.7%)	29 (22.5%)	12 (9.3%)	22 (17.1%)	33 (25.6%)	14 (10.9%)	Sussex
Addison (1672-1719)	67 (43.5%)	42 (27.3%)	16 (10.4%)	11 (7.1%)	6 (3.9%)	12 (7.8%)	Wiltshire
Congreve (1672-1729)	64 (26.2%)	53 (21.7%)	5 (2.1%)	51 (20.9%)	58 (23.8%)	13 (5.3%)	Yorkshire
Rowe (1673-1718)	37 (32.2%)	21 (18.3%)	7 (6.1%)	14 (12.2%)	13 (11.3%)	23 (20.0%)	Bedfordshire
Watts (1674-1748)	78 (25.3%)	50 (16.2%)	23 (7.5%)	44 (14.3%)	56 (18.5%)	57 (18.5%)	Southampton
Philips (1675-1749)	40 (72.7%)	12 (21.8%)	0 (1.8%)	2 (3.6%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.8%)	? (Cambridge)
Hughes (1677-1720)	64 (33.9%)	44 (23.3%)	11 (5.8%)	5 (2.6%)	12 (6.3%)	53 (28.1%)	Marlborough
Parnell (1679-1717)	157 (33.8%)	69 (14.9%)	0 (0.0%)	100 (21.6%)	130 (28.0%)	8 (1.7%)	Dublin
Garth (?-1717)	27 (25.5%)	29 (27.3%)	6 (5.7%)	8 (7.6%)	7 (6.7%)	28 (26.7%)	Yorkshire
Blackmore (?-1729)	75 (41.9%)	33 (18.4%)	17 (9.5%)	14 (7.8%)	18 (10.1%)	22 (12.3%)	Wiltshire? (Oxford)
Fenton (1683-1730)	41 (32.3%)	33 (26.0%)	9 (7.1%)	15 (11.8%)	14 (11.0%)	15 (11.8%)	Staffordshire
Tickell (1686-1740)	42 (38.9%)	36 (33.3%)	3 (2.8%)	4 (3.7%)	7 (6.5%)	16 (14.8%)	Cumberland
Gay (1688-1732)	201 (45.9%)	140 (32.0%)	4 (0.9%)	48 (11.0%)	12 (2.7%)	33 (7.5%)	Devonshire
Broome (1689-1745)	45 (36.3%)	38 (30.6%)	9 (7.3%)	7 (5.6%)	16 (12.9%)	9 (7.3%)	Cheshire
Byrom (1691-1763)	235 (55.5%)	61 (14.4%)	2 (0.5%)	98 (23.2%)	5 (1.2%)	22 (5.2%)	Manchester
Somerville (1692-1742)	84 (32.9%)	68 (26.7%)	5 (2.0%)	15 (5.9%)	24 (9.4%)	59 (23.1%)	Warwickshire
Green (1696-1737)	20 (27.4%)	8 (11.0%)	5 (6.8%)	5 (6.8%)	5 (6.8%)	30 (41.1%)	?
Savage (1698-1743)	77 (37.8%)	33 (16.2%)	6 (2.9%)	6 (2.9%)	25 (12.3%)	57 (27.9%)	Holborn?

Pitt (1699-1748)	39 (34.2%)	30 (26.3%)	6 (5.3%)	18 (15.8%)	11 (9.6%)	10 (8.8%)	Bradford
J. Thompson (1700-48)	26 (26.6%)	13 (13.3%)	5 (5.1%)	1 (1.0%)	7 (7.1%)	46 (46.9%)	Scotland
West (1703-56)	69 (32.2%)	56 (26.2%)	10 (4.7%)	21 (9.8%)	20 (9.3%)	38 (17.8%)	? (Oxford)
Dodsley (1703-64)	30 (32.9%)	22 (24.2%)	12 (13.2%)	5 (5.5%)	5 (5.5%)	17 (18.7%)	Nottinghamshire
Jenyns (1703-87)	44 (38.6%)	21 (18.4%)	13 (11.4%)	7 (6.1%)	6 (5.3%)	23 (20.2%)	London
Hamilton (1704-54)	64 (36.6%)	29 (16.6%)	16 (9.1%)	20 (11.4%)	18 (10.3%)	28 (16.0%)	Airshire
Brooke (1706-83)	128 (25.8%)	164 (33.1%)	2 (0.4%)	74 (15.1%)	98 (19.8%)	29 (5.8%)	Ireland
Cotton (1707-46)	72 (40.5%)	58 (32.6%)	3 (1.7%)	2 (1.1%)	10 (5.6%)	33 (18.5%)	?
Harte (?1707-74)	113 (50.9%)	43 (19.4%)	36 (16.2%)	9 (4.1%)	4 (1.8%)	17 (7.7%)	? (Oxford)
Boyse (1708-49)	90 (22.7%)	69 (17.4%)	24 (6.1%)	64 (16.2%)	106 (26.8%)	43 (10.9%)	Doblin
Lyttelton (1709-73)	20 (23.0%)	22 (25.3%)	11 (12.6%)	6 (6.9%)	10 (11.5%)	18 (20.7%)	Worcestershire
Hammond (1710-42)	6 (18.8%)	16 (50.0%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (25.0%)	? (Westminster)
Mallet (?-1765)	49 (53.8%)	14 (15.4%)	5 (5.5%)	2 (2.2%)	4 (4.4%)	17 (18.7%)	?
W. Thompson ?-1765)	34 (30.0%)	38 (33.6%)	10 (8.8%)	7 (6.2%)	8 (7.1%)	16 (14.2%)	? (Oxford)
P. Whitehead (1709-74)	34 (45.9%)	11 (14.8%)	2 (2.7%)	5 (6.8%)	5 (6.8%)	17 (23.0%)	Holborn
Armstrong (1709-79)	6 (23.1%)	4 (15.4%)	2 (7.7%)	4 (15.4%)	3 (11.5%)	7 (26.9%)	Roxburghshire
Moore (1711-57)	32 (33.7%)	18 (18.9%)	4 (4.2%)	8 (8.4%)	13 (13.7%)	20 (21.1%)	Berkshire
Shenstone (1714-63)	101 (68.7%)	27 (18.4%)	3 (2.0%)	9 (6.1%)	1 (0.7%)	6 (4.1%)	Shropshire
Lovibond (?-1775)	42 (39.6%)	22 (20.8%)	12 (11.3%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (0.9%)	29 (27.4%)	Middlesex
Jargo (1715-81)	15 (57.7%)	3 (11.5%)	1 (3.8%)	1 (3.8%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (23.1%)	Warwickshire
W. Whitehead (1715-85)	145 (33.7%)	80 (18.6%)	35 (8.2%)	22 (5.1%)	37 (8.6%)	111 (25.8%)	Cambridge
Cambridge (1717-1802)	66 (34.4%)	44 (22.9%)	9 (4.7%)	17 (8.9%)	20 (10.4%)	36 (18.8%)	London
Cawthorn (1719-261)	56 (35.5%)	33 (20.9%)	7 (4.4%)	3 (1.9%)	4 (2.5%)	55 (34.8%)	Sheffield
Akenside (1721-70)	35 (32.1%)	23 (21.1%)	8 (7.3%)	2 (1.8%)	6 (5.5%)	35 (32.1%)	Newcastle

Smollett (1721-72)	19 (45.2%)	11 (26.2%)	1 (2.4%)	2 (4.8%)	5 (11.9%)	4 (9.5%)	Renton
Wilkie (1721-72)	103 (33.3%)	42 (13.6%)	15 (4.9%)	9 (2.9%)	61 (19.7%)	79 (25.6%)	Scotland
Fawkes (1721-77)	60 (48.4%)	30 (24.2%)	11 (8.9%)	2 (1.6%)	3 (2.4%)	18 (14.5%)	Yorkshire
Blacklock (1721-91)	27 (18.4%)	41 (27.9%)	6 (4.1%)	24 (16.3%)	32 (21.8%)	17 (11.6%)	Scotland
Smart (1722-71)	75 (41.7%)	30 (16.7%)	13 (7.2%)	8 (4.4%)	11 (6.1%)	43 (23.9%)	Kent
J. Warton (1722-1800)	20 (33.3%)	15 (25.0%)	3 (5.0%)	2 (3.3%)	4 (6.7%)	16 (26.7%)	Dunsford
Grainger (1723-67)	3 (30.0%)	3 (30.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (10.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (30.0%)	Scotland
Cooper (1723-69)	52 (37.4%)	35 (25.2%)	19 (13.7%)	7 (5.1%)	13 (9.4%)	13 (9.4%)	Nottinghamshire
Mason (1725-97)	63 (32.7%)	35 (18.2%)	13 (6.7%)	13 (6.7%)	23 (11.9%)	46 (23.8%)	Yorkshire
Goldsmith (1728-74)	27 (32.1%)	26 (31.0%)	4 (4.8%)	6 (7.1%)	6 (7.1%)	15 (17.9%)	Ireland
T. Warton (1728-90)	84 (57.9%)	30 (20.7%)	1 (0.7%)	5 (3.4%)	2 (1.4%)	23 (15.9%)	Yorkshire
Cunningham (1729-73)	47 (30.7%)	32 (20.9%)	2 (1.3%)	16 (10.5%)	38 (24.8%)	18 (11.8%)	Dublin
Falconer (1730-69)	60 (47.6%)	19 (15.1%)	4 (3.2%)	2 (1.6%)	5 (4.0%)	36 (28.6%)	Edinburgh
Scott (1730-83)	64 (43.8%)	26 (17.8%)	2 (1.4%)	4 (2.7%)	1 (0.7%)	49 (33.6%)	London
Churchill (1731-64)	201 (35.3%)	115 (20.2%)	5 (0.9%)	25 (4.4%)	35 (6.2%)	188 (33.0%)	Westminster
Lloyd (1733-64)	134 (38.7%)	69 (19.9%)	0 (2.3%)	11 (3.2%)	20 (5.8%)	112 (32.4%)	Westminster
Mickle (1734-88)	45 (22.1%)	44 (21.6%)	9 (4.4%)	15 (7.3%)	28 (13.7%)	63 (30.9%)	Scotland
Langhorne (1735-79)	64 (28.4%)	117 (52.0%)	1 (0.4%)	8 (3.6%)	6 (2.7%)	29 (12.9%)	Cumbria
Beattie (1735-1803)	88 (38.3%)	39 (17.0%)	21 (9.1%)	9 (3.9%)	27 (11.7%)	46 (20.0%)	Scotland
Jones (1746-94)	103 (47.5%)	42 (19.3%)	1 (0.5%)	8 (3.7%)	4 (1.8%)	59 (27.2%)	? (Oxford)
Logan (1748-88)	26 (47.3%)	8 (14.6%)	5 (9.1%)	1 (1.8%)	2 (3.6%)	13 (23.6%)	Scotland
Chatterton (1752-70)	98 (38.6%)	47 (18.5%)	3 (1.2%)	4 (1.6%)	31 (12.2%)	71 (28.0%)	Bristol
Total 12310(100%)	4395 (35.7%)	2696 (21.9%)	584 (4.7%)	1047 (8.5%)	1312 (10.7%)	2276 (18.5%)	

2.1. ME/ \bar{e} / : ME/ ϵ /

表1に示された ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ ϵ / の脚韻は次のものである。

i) 本来語の ME/ \bar{e} / : ME/ ϵ /

⁽⁹⁾
Dobson によると, 1. a.) ME/ ϵ / は, しばしば, 開音節では ME 期に長母音化して ME/ \bar{e} / となるが, PE ではこの長母音化に由来する ME/ \bar{e} / を持つ語のうち次の語には, 初期近代には, 長母音化を免れた ME/ ϵ / 異形が並存していた (breast, feather, even, heaven)。1. b.) 子音群の前の / \bar{e} / は後期 OE あるいは初期 ME に, しばしば短母音化をおこすが, PE ではこの短母音化を免れて ME/ \bar{e} / を持つ語のうち次の語には, 初期近代には, この短母音化に由来する ME/ ϵ / 異形が並存していた (ch の前で breach, reach, st の前で east, Easter, least, yeast, 他の子音群の前で breadth, health, meant, wealth)。ME/ \bar{e} / は [θ, d, t] の前ではしばしば短母音化して [ε] となし, breath, death, head, spread, threat ではその音が標準音になった (ME / \bar{e} /=[ε:]>[ε]>[e])。

ii) フランス語借用語 : ME/ ϵ /

今日, ME/ \bar{e} / > PE/ $\bar{i}y$ / を持つ次のフランス語借用語にも, 少なくとも初期近代には, ME/ ϵ / 異形が並存していた (beast, cease, eager, easy, feast, leash, reason, treaty)。

従って, これら i), ii) の ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ ϵ / の脚韻は [ε] に依存するものであろう。

2.2. ME/ \bar{e} / : ME/ i /

表2に示された ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ i / の脚韻は clean : within, feat : chit, heave : give, lead : hid, leap : trip, please : is, receive : give, steal : hill, stream : him, teach : rich, weak : sick. 等である。J. Wright によると, ME/ \bar{e} / は, 今日多くの方言で, v, k, ch の前では [i] へ短母音化されている。⁽¹⁰⁾ receive は, ⁽¹¹⁾Kökeritz によると, /i/ を持つ初期の二重語が明らかにされている。又, ⁽¹²⁾Dobson によると, ME/ \bar{e} / は d, t, l, m, n, p, s の前でも [i] へ短母音化されている。従って, これらの ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ i / の脚韻は [i] に依存

するものであろう。

2.3. ME/ē/ : ME/āy/

表1に示された ME/ē/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻は以下のものである。

Prior — cheat : *deceit, conceal'd : *veil'd, dead : □said (6回), dream : proclaim, ease : chaise, Eugene : *vein, Eve : *deceive, flea : aye, Geneve : *perceive, gingerhead : maid, great : bait : wait, great : wait (2回), head : laid, head : maid, head : □said (6回), head : *weigh'd, heat : *weight, lead : □said, leave : *receive (2回), leave you : *deceive you, mean : explain (2回), mean : pain, please : *keys, please : says, pleasure : *leisure, read : obey'd, read : □said (3回), read : spread : □said, repeat : *conceit, ○retreat : wait, sea : day (2回), sea : day : way, sea : highway, sea : sway, sea : way (8回), seas : plaise, seas : plays : ways, seas : ways, seat : wait (2回), spread : obey'd, spread : □said (2回), stead : maid, tea : way, theme : claim : same, theme : declaim, theme : proclaim, theme : proclaim : name.

Granville — cheat : *deceit, cheat : wait, disease : *seize, dread : aid, entreat : *deceit, great : bait, great : *deceit, great : wait, meant : *complaint, scene : plain, scenes : *remains.

Yalden — appeas'd : rais'd, dead : undismay'd : led, dead : paid, ease : *seize, head : array'd, head : laid, head : □ (3回), great : wait, increase : decays : face, Logger-head : □said, means : stains, peace : days, peace : rays, scene : *remain, Sea : way, sea : way (2回), spread : display'd, stream : aim, sweat : wait.

Addison — ease : *seize (2回), head : □said (5回), sea : obey : ray, sea : array, seat : *weight, spread : afraid.

Congreve — appeas'd : rais'd, appeas'd : *seiz'd, breast : waist, conceal'd : prevail'd, dead : laid, dead : stay'd, dead : upbraid, death : *faith, ease : praise, ease : rays, ease : seas : days, Ganymede :

convey'd, head : decay'd, head : laid, head : paid, lead : convey'd,
 leave : *receive (5回), leaves : *receives, o'erspread : array'd, please :
 delays, please : *praise, please : raise : ways, please : rays, please :
 ways, pleas'd : *seiz'd, repeat : wait, [○]retreat : wait, [○]retreats : waits,
 reveal'd : bewail'd, sea : array : way, sea : day, sea : way, scene : again,
 scene : retain, scenes : plains (2回), spread : array'd, spread :
 dismay'd, spread : dismay'd : survey'd, streams : claims, these : days,
 these : *praise : raise, tread : laid.

Rowe — beat : wait : yet, double-meaning : explaining, great : wait,
 head : laid, head : obey'd : □say'd, head : □said, lead : tread : maid,
 read : maid, sea : convey, sea : delay : way, sea : *prey.

Watts — dead : head : array'd, aead : thread : □said, head : dead : laid,
 head : □said, head : spread : display'd, [○]key : clay, scene : reign, scene :
 vain, scenes : *complains, scenes : pains, scenes : plains, scenes :
 reigns, scenes : strains : profanes, Sea : away : *prey, sea : away, sea :
 away : day, sea : bay : way, sea : day (2回), sea : day : play, sea : pay,
 sea : play (2回), sea : *prey : be, sea : stay, sea : way, seas : plays,
 seas : *praise (2回), seas : *surveys, seat : *weight, serene : disdain :
 vain, Sweat : *weight, tread : display'd.

Philips — measure : *leisure, please : *keys.

Hughes — great : wait : fate, sea : day, sea : *survey, leave : *deceive,
 leaves : *receives.

Parnell — appeal : prevail, beam : proclaim, beans : plains, clean :
 again, clean'd : regain'd, complete : waite, dead : □said, [○]deceits :
 gaits, disease : ways, displeas'd : rais'd, ease : days (5回), ease :
 displays, ease : lays, ease : *praise (2回), ease : raise (2回), ease :
 rays, extreme : claim, great : *weight, head : aid, head : obey'd, head :
 □said (7回), increase : plays, increase : *seize, leads : aids, leads :
 maids, leaves : *receives (2回), means : explains, means : pains (2

回), mislead : aid, peace : ways, plea : day, plead : aid, pleasure : *leisure, please : lays (2回), please : *praise (2回), please : raise, pleas'd : *prais'd, °retreat : wait, reveal : hail, scene : again (5回), scene : brain, scene : plain (2回), scene : reign, scene : train, scenes : reigns (2回), °seize : raise, serene : again (2回), sea : away, sea : day (2回), sea : dismay, sea : lay, sea : obey, sea : play, sea : *pray (2回), sea : *survey, sea : sway (2回), sea : way (5回), seas : rays, seal : hail, seat : gait, seat : wait, seat : *weight, serene : refrain, serene : *remain, spread : □said, steal : *fail, stream : proclaim, teaze : plays, thread : maid, weave : *deceive.

Garth — cheat : *deceit, conceal : *unveil, dead : □said, head : □said, leaves : *deceives, please : raise, °retreats : waits, spread : unpaid.

Blackmore — lead : convey'd, lead : spread : convey'd, leave : *conceive, mead : spread : repaid, sea : convey : play, sea : obey, sea : say, sea : *survey (2回), sea : way, seat : *weight.

Fenton — disease : *seize, head : □said (2回), heat : *receipt, leave : *receive, pleas'd : rais'd, pleas'd : *seiz'd, reason : *seisin, schemes : declaims, sea : day, sea : obey : sway, sea : *survey, seas : raise, seas : rays.

Tickell — great : *weight, head : □unsaid, scene : again (2回).

Gay — cheat : *deceit (4回), conceal : *veil, °defeats : baits, displeas'd : *seiz'd, dream : aim, ease : *keys, great : bait, great : *conceit (2回), great : *self-conceit, great : wait, head : maid, head : □said (4回), heat : *conceit, °key : weigh, leaves : *deceives, leaves : *receives (2回), meat : bait, meat : plaint, plead : maid (2回), please : lays, please : *seize, please : stays, pleas'd : *seiz'd, repeat : *deceit, repeat : *self-conceit, repeats : waits, replete : *conceit, retreat : *conceit, reveal : snail, reveal'd : *fail'd, sea : betray, sea : display, sea : *prey, seas : days, °seiz'd : rais'd, spread : □said, tea : pay,

tread : □said, unclean : train.

Boome — conceals : *veils, head : inlaid, head : maid, leaves : *deceives, leaves : *receives (2回), please : *seize.

Byrom — bereav'd : *perceiv'd, bread : □said (2回), cheat : *conceit (2回), cheat : *deceit, complete : *conceit, complete : *deceit, dead : □said (12回), defeat : *conceit, dread : □said (2回), eat : *conceit, eat : *deceit, Great : *deceit, great : *conceit, great : *deceit, head : □said (17回), heat : *conceit, heat : *deceit, ○key : convey, ○key : obey, ○key : prey, incomplete : *conceit, interweave : *conceive, leave : *conceive (2回), leave : *receive, mean : reign, measure : *leisure, plea : disobey, plea : they, pleas'd : *seiz'd, pleasure : *leisure, read : □said (13回), repeat : *conceit, retreat : *conceit, sea : obey, sea : *prey, sea : ray, sea : survey, sea : they, scene : reign (9回), spread : □said (2回), treasure : *leisure, treat : *conceit, treat : *receipt, treats : *conceits.

Somerville — cheat : *deceit, disease : *seize, eas'd : *seiz'd, great : ○retreat : wait, head : aid : persuade, head : laid, head : □said, head : □said : bed, ○key : betray : obey, maidenhead : □said, plead : said, sea : survey, treasure : *leisure.

Green — bereave : *receive, ease : *seize, great : wait, leaves : *deceives, please : *keys.

Savage — ease : *seize, great : wait (2回), leaves : *deceives, spread : stray'd, tread : *pray'd.

Pitt — head : play'd, heav'd : *receiv'd, scene : again, sea : away (2回), sea : bay, sea : lay, sea : obey (4回), sea : play (2回), sea : *survey, sea : sway (2回), sea : way, seas : lays.

J. Thompson — head : array'd.

West — disease : *seize, great : aggrate : state : wait, great : wait, head : aid, head : array'd, head : maid, head : □said, head : □said :

lustihead : misled, heaves : *deceives, leave : *deceive, sea : away :
 gay : stay, sea : convey, sea : lay, seas : dismays, seas : plays : *preys,
 spread : maid, weave : *receive.

Dodsley — bread : laid, eating : waiting, head : □said, pleasure :
 *leisure, sea : convey.

Jenyns — complete : *deceit, disease : *seize (2回), great : wait (2
 回), pleases : *seizes, sweat : *weight.

Hamilton — breast : waist, cheat : *deceit, conceal,d : prevail'd, ease :
 *seize, great : wait (2回), heaves : *deceives, leaves : *deceives,
 scene : again (2回), scene : main : *remain, scene : plain, scene :
 reign, scenes : strains, sea : *survey, seas : *prays, seas : *surveys,
 spread : □said, steal : prevail.

Brooke — beat : freight, beats : waits, conceal : *veil (2回), con-
 ceals : avails, conceals : *veils, congeal : hail, dead : □said, ○defeat :
 height, dream : claim, ease : *preys, heat : retreat : *weight, heave :
 *deceive, heav'd : *conceiv'd, heav'd : *perceiv'd, heav'd : *receiv'd,
 heav's : *conceives (2回), ○key : display, lead : betray'd : unbraid,
 lean : again, lean : gain, leans : *ordain, meaning : *feigning (2回),
 meant : paint, please : days, pleas'd : *seiz'd, pleasure : *leisure,
 Rhene : contain, scene : main, scene : plain (2回), scene : train (2
 回), scene : vain (3回), scenes : plains (2回), sea : away, sea :
 convey, sea : lay, sea : play (2回), sea : *prey, sea : repay, sea : sway,
 sea : way, seas : bays (2回), seas : conveys, seas : *preys, seas :
 *weighs, seat : wait (2回), seat : *weight, ○seiz'd : rais'd (3回),
 serene : reign, stream : claim (2回), streams : claims (2回), ter-
 rene : retain, theme : claim : frame, treasure : *leisure, weal : fail,
 weal : prevail, weave : *perceive, zeal : hail.

Cotton — cheat : *deceit, cheat : *self-deceit.

Harte — blaspheme : declaim, cheat : *deceit (3回), dead : □said,

Eve : *deceive, leave : *conceive, leaves : *receives (2回).

Boyse — bereav'd : *deceiv'd, blasphemes : reclaims, cheat : *deceit, conceal : prevail, conceal : *veil, conceal'd : *veil'd (2回), dead : □said, death : *faith (2回), dread : □said, dream : aim, dreams : aims, ease : days (4回), ease : *praise, ease : raise, head : aid, head : display'd : bled, head : *pray'd, head : □said (2回), head : survey'd, heal : prevail, leaves : *perceives, mead : stray'd, mean : train, mean : vain, means : *ordains, plea : say, please : obeys, please : *praise, read : betray'd, scene : gain, scene : plain (3回), scene : reign, scene : stain, scene : train (3回), scene : vain, scenes : reins, sea : day, sea : lay, sea : obey, sea : ray, sea : *remain, sea : stray, sea : survey, sea : way (2回), seats : waits, serene : plain (2回), serene : reign, serene : stain, steal : *veil, supreme : claim, tread : display'd, zeal : hail.

Lyttelton — cheat : *deceit (2回), head : □said, read : □said, please : *praise, tea : play.

Hammond — leave : *deceive.

Mallet — head : laid, leave : *receive.

W. Thompson — head : array'd : shade, sea : bay : lay : way, seat : *deceit, scene : reign : ween, weave : *receive.

P. Whitehead — bleat : wait, eating : *conceiting, head : dismay'd, please : days, scene : reign.

Armstrong — please : *seize, please : *seize : degrees, please : *seize : sneeze, tread : □said.

Moore — bread : □said, conceal'd : *veil'd, dead : □said, Eve : *perceive, heat : *deceit, meat : self-*conceit, spread : stray'd, stead : □said.

Shenstone — beat : *deceit, bereave : *conceive, great : heat : *Deceit, head : □said, leave : *deceive, reason : *seize on, weather : *neither, weave : *receive.

Jago — heave : *receive.

- W. Whitehead — cheat : *deceit, complete : *deceit, dead : aid, eve : *receive, great : wait, head : afraid, head : display'd, head : □said (5 回), leaves : *deceives, means : disdains, pleasure : *leisure, retreat : *deceit, scene : train, sea : away, sea : convey, sea : way, seas : *praise, spread : *survey'd.
- Cambridge — dead : laid, death : *faith, great : *weight, head : □said (2 回), pleasure : *leisure, read : □said, ○retreat : wait : fate, scene : gain, sea : bay, sea : way (4 回), spread : maid, spread : paid, treasure : *leisure.
- Cawthorn — bread : □said, conceal'd : *unveil'd, Eve : *deceive.
- Akenside — eve : *receive, read : maid.
- Smollett — eager : maigre, cleave : *deceive.
- Wilkie — appeas'd : *seiz'd, beam : claim, extremes : claims, heav'd : *deceiv'd, lean'd : sustain'd (2 回), peal : mail, treasure : *leisure, unseals : prevails.
- Fawkes — pleasure : *leisure, weather : *either.
- Blacklock — great : ○retreat : wait, head : display'd, mead : display'd : led, pleas'd : *seiz'd, ○retreat : wait : fate, scene : aim, scene : again, scene : pain (2 回), scene : reign (2 回), scene : *remain, scene : vain, scenes : reigns, scenes : *remains, sea : *prey, sea : way (2 回), serene : plain, serene : train : fane, scheme : aim (2 回), supreme : reclaim, tread : laid.
- Smart — Eve : *receive, great : height, great : wait, great : *weight (2 回), head : □said, heaves : *receives, sea : away.
- J. Warton — bread : □said, sea : convey.
- Grainger — tread : maid.
- Cooper — dead : □said, ease : *seize, great : *straight, great : wait, pleasure : *leisure (3 回).
- Mason — conceals : *veils, dead : paid, great : *weight, head : aid,

head : laid (2 [回]), lead : maid, leave : *conceive, please : *eize, scene :
mein, scene : plain, spread : maid, steal : *veil.

Goldsmith — eating : waiting, head : □said (2 [回]), please : obeys,
please : ways, stealing : *failing.

T. Warton — dead : play'd : led, dead : □said : bed, heav'd : *receiv'd,
leave : *receive, pleasure : *leisure.

Cunningham — conceal : prevail, creatures : maitres, dead : maid,
dealings : *failings, diseases : raises, ease : days, great : wait, leave us :
*receive us, mean : pain : *vein, meaning : disdaining, meaning :
entertaining, sea : array, sea : day, serene : vain, serene : *vein.

Falconer — heav'd : *receiv'd, sea : *survey.

Scott — beat : *deceit, leaves : *deceives, leaves : *perceives, these :
*seize.

Churchill — bread : □said, cheat : *deceit (3 [回]), dead : □said, great :
*straight, great : *weight (4 [回]), heat : *deceit, hdad : □said (4 [回]),
leave : *receive (5 [回]), leaves : *receives, please : *keys, please :
*seize, read : □said, retreat : *conceit.

Lloyd — cheat : *deceit, great : bait : hate, great : wait, neat : *conceit,
neat : *deceit, head : □said (5 [回]), zeal : *veil.

Mickle — dead : repaid : made : led, deceas'd : *seiz'd, head : betray'd :
mayd : invade, head : spread : display'd : shed, head : laid : shade :
adred, head : repaid : upbraid : shade, head : □said, head : upbraid,
head : upbraid : glade : fled, head : upbraid : fade : shade, mead : maid,
pleas'd : *seiz'd.

Langhorne — bread : □said, dead : □said, ease : days, head : laid, head :
□said (3 [回]), these : *seize.

Beattie — dread : □said, head : maid, lean'd : *complain'd, leave :
*receive, season : *raisin, theme : claim (2 [回]), theme : proclaim,
tread : □said.

Jones — ease : *keys, Eve : *deceive, leaves : *deceives, leaves : *receives, pleas'd : *seiz'd (2回), read : Veid (2回).

Logan — beat : *deceit.

Chatterton — bread : □said, head : □said, leave : *receive, leave it : *receive it.

疑義のない ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻は ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の融合の確証となるが、詩人に見出されるすべての ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻が ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の融合の確証になるわけではない。

i) 次の ME/āy/ ⁽¹³⁾ には少なくとも初期近代には ME/ɛ/ 異形が並存していた。

complain, conceit, conceive, counterfeit, dais, deceit, deceive, fail, faith, feign, (n)either, inveigle, key, leisure, ordain, praise, pray, prey, raisn, remain, Seine, seize, slay, straight, survey, vein, weigh(t).

上記の ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻のうち、*印を付したものは、実際には、ME/ɛ/ 同士の脚韻であるかも知れない。

ii) 次の ME/ɛ/ ⁽¹⁴⁾ には少なくとも初期近代には ME/āy/ 異形が並存していた。

conceit, conceive, deceit, deceive, defeat, key, receipt, retreat, seize.

上記の ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻のうち、○印を付したものは、実際には、ME/āy/ 同士の脚韻であるかも知れない。

iii) creature ⁽¹⁵⁾ を三音節に発音して第二音節に動詞 create のように ME/ā/ 異形が並存していた。

creatures : maitres (Cunnigham) は、実際には、ME/ā/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻であるかも知れない。

iv) ME/āy/ は初期近代にしばしば短母音化をおこし [ɛ] になった。said, says ではこの音が標準音になった。又、ME/ɛ/ も主として [θ, d, t] の前では、短母音化をおこし [ɛ] になった。breath, death, bread, dead, threat, etc, ではその音が標準音になった。上記の ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻のうち、□印を付したものは多分 [ɛ] に依存するものであろう。

従って、i～iv) に挙げた ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻は ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の融合の確証にはなり得ない。これらを差引くと、異形に基づかない ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻は表2のようになる。表2の右端の数字は疑義のない ME/ɛ/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻のうち、OFei を持つフランス語借用語との脚韻の数を表わしている。

表 2

	ME/ɛ/ : ME/āy/				
	i)	ii)	iv)	疑義なし	OFei
Prior	13	1	20	43 (5.8%)	12
Granville	6	0	0	5 (3.6%)	5
Yalden	2	0	4	16 (12.4%)	9
Addison	3	0	4	4 (2.6%)	4
Congreve	11	2	0	38 (15.6%)	17
Rowe	1	0	2	11 (9.5%)	6
Watts	8	1	3	32 (10.4%)	19
Philips	2	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0
Hughes	3	0	0	2 (1.0%)	2
Parnell	15	3	9	71 (15.3%)	28
Garth	3	1	2	2 (1.9%)	2
Blackmore	4	0	0	10 (5.6%)	9
Fenton	6	0	2	7 (5.5%)	3
Tickell	1	0	1	2 (1.9%)	0
Gay	23	3	6	16 (3.7%)	7
Broome	5	0	0	2 (1.6%)	0
Byrom	32	2	48	16 (3.8%)	14
Somerville	4	3	3	5 (2.0%)	3
Green	4	0	0	1 (1.4%)	1
Savage	3	0	0	3 (1.5%)	3
Pitt	2	0	0	16 (14.0%)	6
J. Thompson	0	0	0	1 (1.0%)	1
West	5	0	3	13 (6.0%)	7

Dodsley	1	0	1	3 (3.3%)	2
Jenyns	5	0	0	2 (1.8%)	2
Hamilton	8	0	1	11 (6.3%)	7
Brooke	23	5	1	45 (9.3%)	21
Cotton	2	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0
Harte	7	0	1	1 (0.5%)	0
Boyse	14	0	4	46 (11.6%)	25
Lyttelton	3	0	2	1 (1.1%)	0
Hammond	1	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0
Mallet	1	0	0	1 (1.1%)	0
W. Thompson	2	0	0	5 (4.4%)	2
P. Whitehead	1	0	0	4 (5.5%)	3
Armstrong	3	0	1	0 (0.0%)	0
Moore	4	0	3	1 (1.1%)	1
Shenstone	8	0	1	0 (0.0%)	0
Lovibond	0	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0
Jago	1	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0
W. Whitehead	8	0	5	9 (2.1%)	7
Cambridge	4	1	3	9 (4.7%)	3
Cawthorn	2	0	1	0 (0.0%)	0
Akenside	1	0	0	1 (0.9%)	0
Smollett	1	0	0	1 (2.4%)	0
Wilkie	3	0	0	6 (1.9%)	3
Fawkes	2	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0
Blacklock	4	2	0	18 (12.2%)	12
Smart	4	0	1	3 (1.7%)	1
J. Warton	0	0	1	1 (1.7%)	1
Grainger	0	0	0	1 (10.0%)	0
Cooper	5	0	1	1 (0.7%)	0
Mason	5	0	0	8 (4.2%)	3
Goldsmith	1	0	2	3 (3.6%)	2
T. Warton	3	0	1	1 (0.7%)	0
Cunningham	4	0	0	11 (7.2%)	6
Falconer	2	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0

Scott	4	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0
Churchill	18	0	7	0 (0.0%)	0
Lloyd	4	0	5	2 (0.6%)	1
Mickle	2	0	1	12 (5.9%)	3
Langhorne	1	0	5	2 (0.9%)	0
Beattie	3	0	2	4 (1.8%)	3
Jones	6	0	0	2 (0.9%)	0
Logan	1	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0
Chatterton	2	0	2	0 (0.0%)	0
Total	330	24	159	531 (4.3%)	266

異形に基づくことのない ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ $\bar{a}y$ / の脚韻は相対的に非常に少ない。Kökeritz と Dobson (特に保守的な言語では) は ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ $\bar{a}y$ / の融合は 16 世紀後半に [e:] の段階で生じたと考えている。もし ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ $\bar{a}y$ / が 16 世紀後半に融合したのであれば、それを物語る疑義のない ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ $\bar{a}y$ / の脚韻が 1650 年頃の疑義のない ME/ \bar{a} / と ME/ $\bar{a}y$ / の脚韻と同じようにどの詩人にも一様にかかなりの割合で見出されてもよいはずであるが、そのような事実はない。1700 年頃になっても、疑義のない ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ $\bar{a}y$ / の脚韻は非常に少なく、ME/ \bar{e} / は ME/ $\bar{a}y$ / と頻繁に押韻するというよりは、それ以前より、若干押韻率が高くなっているというのが実情のようである。1700 年以前に出生の詩人で、異形処理を施した後でも、疑義のない ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ $\bar{a}y$ / の脚韻が 5% 以上の押韻率で Prior (Dorsetshire 出身), Yalden (Sussex 出身), Congreve (Yorkshire 出身), Rowe (Bedfordshire 出身), Watts (Southampton 出身), Parnell (Dublin 出身), Blackmore (Wiltshire), Fenton (Staffordshire 出身), Pitt (Bradford 出身) に見出されている。これらの詩人では同時に疑義のない ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ \bar{a} / の脚韻も見出され、しかも、疑義のない ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ $\bar{a}y$ /, ME/ \bar{a} / の脚韻が疑義のない ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ \bar{e} / の脚韻よりも多く見出されているため ME/ \bar{e} /, ME/ $\bar{a}y$ /, ME/ \bar{a} / の三音は [e:] で融合していた可能性が強い。しかし、これらの詩人は北・南・西部出身で標準英語での ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ $\bar{a}y$ / の

融合の確証にはならない。その他の詩人では ME/ē/ と ME/āy/ の押韻率は更に低くなる。⁽¹⁶⁾ Dobson は「フランス語から借用された OFei を持つ語には、全て我々の証拠からは明確に ai しか確立されていない場合でさえも、理論的には、ME/ē/ 異形が可能である」と指摘している。とすると、上述の押韻率 5% 以上の詩人の場合でさえ、OFei を持つフランス語借用語を差し引くと、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻は更に少なくなる。疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻が、かなりの割合で押韻すると言ってよい、10% 以上の押韻率で見出されるのは Yalden, Congreve, Watts, Parnell, Pitt 位である。1700 年以降出生の詩人（脚韻総数の少ない Grainger を除く）で、異形処理を施した後でも、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻が 5% 以上の押韻率で West (?), Hamilton (Airshire 出身), Brooke (Ireland 出身), Boyse (Dublin 出身), P. Whitehead (Holborn 出身), Blacklock (Scotland 出身), Cunningham (Dublin 出身), Mickle (Scotland 出身) に見出されている。これらの詩人では同時に ME/ē/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻も見出され、しかも、Mickle 以外の詩人では疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/āy/、ME/ā/ の脚韻が疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻よりも多く見出されること及び今日でも、これらの方言では一般に ME/ā/ は [e:] で発音されていることを考え合せると、ME/ē/、ME/āy/、ME/ā/ の三音は [e:] で融合していた可能性が強い。しかし、出身地を考えると、これらの詩人の脚韻も標準英語での ME/ē/ と ME/āy/ の融合の確証にはならない。その他の詩人は ME/ē/ を ME/āy/、ME/ā/ と押韻させるよりも遥に ME/ē/ と押韻させている。これは ME/ē/ が [e:] > [i:] へと前母音化したためである。又、筆者の調査 (1986. C) では、ME/āy/ を含む全脚韻の中で疑義のない ME/āy/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻の押韻率は 2.5% であり、ME/ē/ を含む全脚韻の中での疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻の押韻率 4.3% よりも更に低くなっている。

2.4. ME/ē/ : ME/ā/

表 1 に示された ME/ē/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻は以下のものである。

Prior — beams : flames (2 回), □break : lake, ♯break : take, ♯

breakes : awakes, Δ breast : waste, complete : abate, complete : Fate, complete : fate, complete : state (2回), *conceit : pate, \square creature : nature (6回), *deceive : grave (2回), Δ dream'd : asham'd, Δ dreams : flames, feast : debas'd, feast : taste (2回), *feature : Nature (2回), *feature : nature, Δ great : abate, Δ great : Fate (3回), Δ great : Fate : hate, Δ great : Fate : state, Δ great : fate (7回), Δ great : gate, Δ great : relate, Δ great : sedate, Δ great : state (7回), Δ Greve : brave, head : made, head : shade, heat : debate, leave : grave, leave : slave, *receipt : rate, *receive : gave, *receive : grave, *receive : grave : save, *receive : slave, *receive : wave, *receive it : gave it, *receiv'd : sav'd, *receives : slaves, repeat : Fate, *retreat : fate (2回), *retreat : state, seat : debate, seat : debate : hate, seat : Fate, seat : state, sneak : take, \square speak : forsake, \square speak : mistake, \square speak : take, \square speaks : makes, \square speaks : wakes, Δ stream : name, Δ stream : same, Δ streams : flames, streams : \circ Thames (4回), theme : blame, theme : came, theme : Fame, theme : name (2回), theme : name : proclaim, theme : same, theme : same : claim.

Granville — \square break : awake, \square break : mistake, \square break : take, Δ breast : haste, complete : fate, \square creature : Nature, dead : shade, Δ dream : came, endeavours : favours, feast : taste, Δ great : fate, Δ great : state, peace : race, pleading : persuading, pleasure : gazer, \square speaks : makes, theme : name, themes : James (2回).

Yalden — beams : flames (2回), *deceive : brave, disease : case, ease : race, east : haste, *entreat : gate, Δ extreme : shame, Δ great : Fate, Δ great : Fate : *retreat, Δ great : Fate, Δ great : fate : state, Δ great : hate (2回), Δ great : state (2回), Δ great : state : meet, heat : animate, Δ increase : face : decays, leave : grave, meat : Fate, neat : plate, peace : grace (3回), peace : race, please : grace, \square speak : make, Δ stream : name, Δ stream : same, Δ streams : flames.

Addison — *deceit : late, feast : taste, heat : fate, please : case, Δ treat : relate : state.

Congreve — beast : plac'd, beat : fate : state, \square breaks : wakes, Δ breast : grac'd, Δ Congreve : grave, *conceiv'd : deprav'd, \square creature : Nature, dead : spread : invade, *deceitful : ungrateful, *deceiv'd : enslav'd, Δ dream : frame, Δ dream : same, Δ extreme : lame, feast : grac'd, feast : haste, feast : taste (2回), Δ grease : face, Δ great : estate (2回), Δ great : Fate, Δ great : hate, Δ great : state, heat : incorporate, Δ increase : apace, Δ increase : place, leads : shades, leave : grave, leave her : favour, meads : shades, meal : sale, meat : fate, meat : state, neat : estate, peace : face, Δ ready : lady, *receives : waves, *retreat : Fate, *retreat : fate, *retreat : state, *retreats : mates, seat : state, \square speak : make, \square speak : sake : take, \square speak : take, Δ spread : o'ershade, Δ streams : frames, theme : Fame : name, theme : fame (2回), thread : made, Δ treat : state (2回).

Rowe — Δ breast : haste (2回), Δ breast : taste, dead : shade, Δ extreme : fame, Δ great : fate (3回), Δ greater : good-nature, head : invade, plead : persuade, Δ spread : invade, theme : flame : aim.

Watts — beams : flames, blaspheme : name (3回), \square break : weak : make, \square breaks : awakes, \square breaks : awakes, \square breaks : takes, \square creatures : natures, dead : fade, dead : made (3回), dead : shade (3回), *deceit : estate, Δ dream : frame, Δ dream : name, Δ dreams : flames, Δ dreams : names, Δ extremes : games, feast : taste (2回), Δ great : estate, Δ great : Fate, Δ great : fate, head : fade : red, head : made : laid, head : shade (4回), heave : grave, *receive : have, release : place, releas'd : haste, scenes : profanes : strains, seas : blace : embrace, seat : estate, \square speak : awake, \square speak : lake, \square speaks : forsakes : axes, Δ spread : shade : led, Δ spreads : shades, Δ stream : came : flame, Δ stream : name, streams : \circ Thames, Δ supreme : frame : name, theme :

Name, themes : names, themes : ◯Thames, △thread : persuade.

Hughes — □break : partake, □creature : nature (2回), □creature :
*feature : nature, △great : fate, △great : fate : wait, △great : state (3
回), heat : creat, △stream : came.

Parnell — beams : flame, beast : haste, □break : forsake, □break : sake,
□break : shake, □break : take, cease : apace, cease : grace, cease : place,
cease : race (2回), cease : unbrace, conceal : vale, dead : invade, △
dream : fame, △dream : flame, ease : gaze, △extreme : flame, △
extreme : frame, △extreme : same, feast : plac'd, feast : taste, gleam :
flame, △great : create (2回), △great : fate (2回), △great : hate, △
great : hate : state, △great : state (8回), head : shade, heaps : grapes,
heaps : shapes, heat : fate (2回), heat : relate, heats : mates, heave :
wave, heaves : graves, heaves : waves, △increase : brace, △increase :
Grace, △increase : place (2回), △increast : waste, lead : blade (2回),
lead : shade, least : haste, leave : gave, leaves : caves, leaves : waves
(3回), meads : shades, meat : state, Peace : embrace, peace : face,
peace : Grace (2回), peace : grace (2回), peace : place (4回),
*perceives : waves (2回), *receive : gave (2回), *receives : waves
(2回), repeat : fate, repeat : late, repeats : gates, replete : state,
*retreat : abate, *retreat : fate (2回), *retreat : gate, *retreat : state
(3回), reveals : dales, scheme : frame, seat : debate, seat : fate, seat :
state (4回), *seize : amaze, □speak : awake, □speak : make, □speak :
sake, □speak : shake, □speak : wake, □speaks : awakes, △spread :
shade, △supreme : fame, △supreme : frame, steal : vale, steam : flame,
△stream : came (2回), △stream : dame, △stream : Fame, △stream :
flame, △stream : name (3回), theme : fame (3回), △treat : state, △
treads : shades, *weak : shake, wheat : gate.

Garth — feast : taste, △great : fate, head : shade, head : trade, △spread :
shade, streams : ◯Thames (2回).

Blackmore — Δ great : state, heate : dilate, heat : state, leaves : waves, repeat : intricate, scheme : frame (4回), seat : fate (2回), seat : state, Δ stream : flame, Δ stream : frame (2回), Δ supreme : flame, Δ supreme : name, theme : frame.

Fenton — complete : state, Δ great : relate, Δ great : state (2回), head : trade, *retreat : fate, *retreat : state, Δ stream : fame, Δ stream : flame, Δ stream : name, streams : \circ Thames, sweat : estate : get, zeal : gale, zeal : pale.

Tickell — Δ great : Fate, Δ great : fate, Δ great : imitate, Δ great : state (3回), Δ stream : Thame.

Gay — \square creature : nature (4回), \square creatures : natures, Δ great : state (2回), leaves : waves, meat : hate, Δ reams : flames, \square speak : wake, streams : \circ Thames.

Broome — ease : race, Δ great : create (3回), Δ great : Fate, Δ great : hate, Δ great : state (4回), seat : state, Δ streams : flames, theme : fame, themes : flames, Δ tread : made, Δ treads : shades.

Byrom — beams : flames, eating : contemplating, Peak : make, *receiver : behaviour, Δ streams : names.

Somerville — beat : late, complete : Fate, *Deceit : Debate, *deceit : hate : ingrate, feast : haste, *feature : Nature, Δ great : date : state, Δ great : debate, Δ great : debate : state, Δ great : estate, Δ great : Fate, Δ great : fate, Δ great : magistrate : state, Δ great : seat : create, head : persuade : aid, head : shade (2回), *receipt : Fate, *receive : slave.

Green — \square break : make, Δ great : uncreate, least : debas'd, repeat : grate, tete-a-tete : state.

Savage — \square break : shake, heat : dilate, Δ great : elate (2回), Δ great : Fate, Δ great : fate (4回), Δ great : rate, Δ great : sedate, Δ great : state (13回), streams : \circ Thames.

Pitt — \square break : rake, Δ great : create, head : shade (2回), leave :

grave (2回), peace : embrace, peace : space, □speaks : shakes, ○
streams : Thames (2回).

J. Thompson — △breath : death : hath, △great : date : estate : late, △
great : state, mead : shade.

West — □break : betake : lake, △breast : trac'd, cleaves : waves, feast :
taste, △great : accurate : date : state, △great : aggrate : state : wait, △
great : celebrate, △great : gate, △great : hate : state, △great : state (2
回), head : shade (3回), △stream : name.

Dodsley — eat : plate, peace : grace, theme : fame, theme : dame,
theme : same.

Jenyns — □break : make, □creature : nature, △great : state (4回).

Hamilton — △bread : shade, △breast : waste, complete : fate, dead :
shade, feast : waste, △great : estate, △great : Fate, △great : fate (4回),
△great : relate, △great : state (4回), △increase : embrace, meal : tale.

Brooke — beak : brake, beam : came (4回), beam : flame (3回),
beam : frame (2回), beam'd : flam'd, blaspheme : frame, □break :
lake (2回), △breathes : bathes, cease : place, complete : relate,
complete : state (2回), *conceive : wave (4回), □creature : nature
(3回), deal : scale, △decrease : place, defeat : state, △dream : same,
feast : taste (4回), *feature : nature (2回), gleam : frame, △Great :
state, △great : fate (2回), △great : late, △great : state (11回), heaves :
waves (2回), △increase : space, lead : made, lead : persuade, peace :
chace, peace : race (2回), peal : gale, please : amaze, recede : shade,
*receive : crave, *receive : gave, *retreat : state (2回), reveal : gale,
scheme : frame (2回), schemes : frames, seal : vale, seas : blaze, seat :
estate, seat : state (3回), △stream : came, △stream : frame (2回), △
stream : tame, △Supreme : came, △Supreme : frame, △Supreme : same :
claim, △supreme : frame (3回), theme : fame, theme : flame, theme :
frame : claim, these : maze, treat : fate, unseals : gales, *weak : take,

weal : scale, weave : gave, weave : lave, weaving : enslaving.

Cotton — Δ great : estate, Δ great : state (9回).

Harte — Δ great : fate, Δ great : state (2回), Δ stream : came.

Boyse — beam : flame, beam : frame, \square break : lake (3回), \square break : take, \square breaks : takes, cease : displace, cease : face, cheat : fate, complete : fate (2回), conceal : pale, dead : shade, East : plac'd, Δ extreme : theme : blame, feast : embrac'd, Δ great : date, Δ great : Fate, Δ great : fate (3回), Δ great : relate, Δ great : state (10回), head : invade, head : made (2回), head : shade (6回), heat : fate, heave : grave, Δ increase : race, Δ increas'd : taste, leave : grave (2回), leave : slave, leaves : waves, meads : fades, Δ o'erspread : shade, peace : efface, peace : embrace, peace : face (2回), peace : grace, peace : place, peace : race (3回), peace : trace, plead : persuade, *receive : gave, *receiv'd : brav'd, repeat : mate, repeat : state, *retreat : hate, reveal : tale (2回), reveal : vale, scheme : frame, seat : abate, seat : debate, seat : fate (2回), \square speak : awake, \square speak : lake, Δ spread : invade, Δ spread : made (2回), Δ spread : shade (4回), Δ stream : came (3回), Δ supreme : came, Δ supreme : frame, Δ supreme : name (3回), theme : blame, theme : fame, theme : flame (2回), theme : inflame, theme : name (2回), Δ tread : invade, Δ tread : shade, Δ unread : shade, *weak : mistake, *weak : shake.

Lyttelton — Δ great : relate, Δ great : sedate, Δ great : state (4回), head : shade, please : face : grace, *retreat : state.

Mallet — \square break : forsake, Δ great : fate, Δ great : hate, Δ great : state.

W. Thompson — beams : streams : inflames, Δ breast : waste : drest, \square creature : nature, head : shade, head : shade : array'd, Δ stream : name, streams : \circ Thames.

P. Whitehead — Δ great : state (5回).

Armstrong — Δ cream : tame, endeavour : flavour, meal : pale.

Moore — △breast : taste, □creature : good-nature, □creature : Nature, □creature : nature (3回), feast : haste, peace : case, △ready : lady, release : base, *retreat : haste, □speaks : wakes, △treat : sate.

Shenstone — △stream : came.

Lovibond — streams : ○Thames.

W. Whitehead — □break : sake, □break : wake, cheat : elate, □creature : Spectator, □creatures : natures, dead : shade, △great : create, △great : Fate, △great : fate (10回). △great : hate, △great : state (4回), head : shade (2回), head : trade, lead : shade, mead : shade, △ready : lady, repeat : gate, △spread : shade, △stream : fame, △stream : name (2回), tete-a-tete : fate, theme : fame, △tread : fade.

Cambridge — □break : sake, □break : shake, feast : haste, △great : create, heave : grave, leave : cave, leave : grave, leave : have, meal : ale : whale, meats : cates, △O'erspread : shade, repeat : fate, repeat : state, *retreat : fate, *retreat : fate : wait, reveal : tale, □speak : wake, □speaks : shakes, △stream'd : fam'd.

Cawthorn — △great : estate, △great : Newgate, △great : state (2回).

Akenside — △great : state, head : shade (3回), mead : shade, △o'erspread : shade.

Smollett — beat : fate, cheat : state, △great : state, mead : shade, *retreat : gate.

Wilkie — △bread : trade, cease : race, ceas'd : embrac'd, □creature : nature (5回), deceas'd : grac'd, dead : disuade, dead : shade (3回), endeavour : favour, entreat : fate, entreate : state, △great : estate, △great : fate, △great : state (2回), head : shade (4回), heav'd : rav'd, heaves : waves (3回), meal : stale, peace : grace, peace : space, peal : gale, △read : trade, △ream : came, *retreat : debate, *retreat : fate (5回), reveal : tale, seat : debate (2回), seat : fate (2回), seat : state, △spread : shade (3回), △spreads : shades, △stream : came (4回), △

stream : fame, Δ stream : frame, Δ stream : name, Δ streams : flames,
themes : names, Δ tread : shade, *weak : shake.

Fawkes — Δ great : plate, Δ great : state (2回).

Blacklock — beat : fate, beat : hate, Δ breast : grac'd, Δ breast : taste,
dead : fade, Δ great : fate (2回), head : shade, heave : grave : save, Δ
increase : embrace : redress, *retreat : fate (2回), *retreat : fate :
wait, *retreat : late, seat : fate (2回), Δ serene : fane : train, Δ stream :
flame, Δ stream : name, streams : \circ Thames, theme : came, theme :
fame : name, theme : flame (2回), theme : inflame (2回), theme :
name, Δ threat : fate, Δ treat : fate, Δ treat : hate.

Smart — Δ already : lady, \square breaks : \square speaks : makes, cease : place, \square
creature : good-nature, \square creature : ill-nature, \square creature : Nature, Δ
great : fate, Δ great : state (2回), \square speak : take.

J. Warton — Δ breast : haste, eve : grave, Δ great : state, streams : \circ
Thames.

Cooper — \square creature : nature (2回), endeavour : favour, Δ great :
Fate, Δ great : fate, Δ great : fate : state, Δ great : gate, Δ great : state (4
回), Δ great : unfortunate.

Mason — \square breaks : takes, feast : taste, Δ great : pate, Δ great : state,
head : fade, head : shade (7回), heat : state, lead : shade, mead :
shade (2回), Δ ready : lady, *retreat : state, Δ spread : fade, Δ spread :
shade, Δ spreads : shades (3回).

Goldsmith — \square creature : good-nature, \square creature : nature (2回), Δ
great : hate, Δ great : state (2回).

T. Warton — peace : case, Δ stream : came.

Cunningham — beads : shades, beam : flame (2回), \square break : lake, \square
break : shake, \square breaks : mistakes, cease : place, cheat : Fate, com-
plete : date, complete : state, \square creature : nature, Δ dream : shame,
endeavour : behaviour, endeavour : favour (2回), endeavours :

favours (2回), feast : plac'd (2回), △great : Fate, △great : state (2回), leading : fading, mead : shade, neat : estate, Peace : race, peace : race, △reasons : Masons, *receive : gave, repeat : mate, △scream : shame, seat : date, seat : elate (2回), seat : fate, □speak it : take it, △stream : flame, theme : Fame.

Falconer — □breaks : awakes, dead : shade, head : fade, leaves : waves, △spreads : invades.

Scott — *retreat : fate.

Churchill — □break : awake, □break : make, □break : mistake, □break it : take it, △great : Billingsgate, △great : estate, △great : Fate (2回), △great : fate, △great : hate, △great : state (25回).

Lloyd — □break : lake, □break : make, □break : sake, □break : wake, △great : create, △great : date, △great : elate : hate, △great : estate, △great : fate, △great : hate, △great : hate : bait, △great : late (2回), △great : plate, △great : state, △greater : Nature, △greater : Spectator, these : case, tete-a-tete : rate.

Mickle — blasphem'd : blam'd, △breast : hast : rest : ydrest, △breast : taste, complete : state, dead : made : repaid : led, dead : shade, △dread : head : shade, East : haste, △great : state, head : blade : bed, head : fade : invade : array'd, head : fade : shade : upbraid, head : glade : upbraid : fled, head : invade, head : invade : betray'd : may'd, head : shade (3回), head : shade : laid : adred, head : shade : repaid : upbraid, *receives : behaves : saves : waves, seat : fate : ingrate, △spread : shade : brede.

Langhorne — △breast : haste, dead : shade, head : shade (2回), △spread : cascade, △spread : shade.

Beattie — □break it : make it, □breakers : makers, △breast : effac'd, △breast : waste, cease : grace, conceals : vales, △dreads : invades, feast : taste, head : cascade, head : glade, head : shade, gleam : Fame, △great :

Fate, [△]great : state (2回), heav'd : wav'd, [△]o'erspreads : invades, *retreat : fate, reveals : gales, [△]spread : made, steam : flame, [△]stream : flame (2回), [△]stream : name, [△]streams : frames, theme : inflame, [△]treads : shades.

Jones — □break : wake, [△]great : elate : state, leave : grave.

Logan — eve : brave, ese : grave.

Chatterton — □breaks : shakes, □creature : nature (2回), [△]great : debate, [△]great : fate (5回), [△]great : plate, [△]great : state (20回), [△]scream'd on't : blame on't.

ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻は ME/ɛ/ が ME/ā/ と融合したことの一つの証拠となるが、詩人に見出されるすべての ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻が ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ 融合の確証になるわけではない。

i) 次の ME/ɛ/ ⁽¹⁷⁾ には少なくとも初期近代には ME/āy/ 異形が並存していた。

conceit, conceive, deceit, deceive, defeat, defeature, feature, key, perceive, receipt, receive, retreat, seize, steak, weak.

上記の ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻のうち、*印を付したものは、実際には、ME/āy/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻であるかもしれない。

ii) Thames ⁽¹⁸⁾ には少なくとも初期近代には ME/ɛ/ 異形が並存していた。上記の ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻のうち、○印を付したものは、実際には、ME/ɛ/ 同士の脚韻であるかもしれない。

iii) creature ⁽¹⁹⁾ を三音節に発音して、第二音節に動詞 create のように ME/ā/ を当てる異形が並存していた。break, speak の過去形には正常な ME/ā/ を持つ brake, spake 型の他に、OE, ME の複数形 break, speak も異形として並存していた。その類推で現在形にも ME/ā/ を持つ異形 brake, spake が並存していた。上記の ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻のうち、□印を付したものは、実際には、ME/ā/ 同士の脚韻であるかもしれない。

iv) great ⁽²⁰⁾ は ME 比較級 gretter と greatly, greatness, の類推により (この gret(t) という形は 14 世紀から 16 世紀にかけては普通であった。)

[e:]>[i:] へ前母音化されずに [e:] を保持した語である。great : fate, stream : name 等の脚韻は詩であるため、その音徴的效果をねらって great, stream を [i:] ではなくて [e:] と発音させ、運命や川の持っている大きさ、広がり表現するのに適した脚韻である。このように、△印を付した r の後の ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻は、異形こそないが、音美感⁽²¹⁾ (phon-aesthetic) のため、[e:] に依存したものである。

従って、i) ~ iv) に挙げた ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻は ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の融合の確証にはならない。これらを差引くと、異形に基づかない ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻は表3のようになる。

表 3

	ME/ɛ/ : ME/ā/				
	i)	ii)	iii)	iv)	疑義なし
Prior	18	4	14	32	30(4.1%)
Granville	0	0	5	4	10(7.2%)
Yalden	3	0	1	15	14(10.9%)
Addison	1	0	0	2	3(2.0%)
Congreve	8	0	6	20	24(9.8%)
Rowe	0	0	0	9	4(3.4%)
Watts	3	2	8	16	28(9.1%)
Philips	0	0	0	0	0(0.0%)
Hughes	1	0	4	6	1(0.5%)
Parnell	15	0	10	38	63(13.6%)
Garth	0	2	0	2	3(2.8%)
Blackmore	0	0	0	6	12(6.7%)
Fenton	2	1	0	6	5(3.9%)
Tickell	0	0	0	7	0(0.0%)
Gay	0	1	6	3	2(0.5%)
Broome	0	0	0	12	4(3.2%)
Byrom	1	0	0	1	3(0.7%)
Somerville	6	0	0	12	6(2.3%)

Green	0	0	1	1	3(4.1%)
Savage	0	1	1	22	1(0.5%)
Pitt	0	2	2	1	6(5.3%)
J. Thompson	0	0	0	5	2(2.0%)
West	0	0	2	13	5(2.3%)
Dodsley	0	0	0	0	5(5.5%)
Jenyns	0	0	2	4	0(0.0%)
Hamilton	0	0	0	14	4(2.3%)
Brooke	11	0	5	28	54(10.9%)
Cotton	0	0	0	10	0(0.0%)
Harte	0	0	0	4	0(0.0%)
Boyse	5	0	7	38	56(14.1%)
Lyttelton	1	0	0	6	3(3.4%)
Hammond	0	0	0	0	0(0.0%)
Mallet	0	0	1	3	0(0.0%)
W. Thompson	0	1	1	3	3(2.7%)
P. Whitehead	0	0	0	5	0(0.0%)
Armstrong	0	0	0	1	2(7.7%)
Moore	1	0	6	3	3(3.2%)
Shenstone	0	0	0	1	0(0.0%)
Lovibond	0	1	0	0	0(0.0%)
Jago	0	0	0	0	0(0.0%)
W. Whitehead	0	0	4	23	10(2.3%)
Cambridge	2	0	4	3	11(5.7%)
Cawthorn	0	0	0	4	0(0.0%)
Akenside	0	0	0	2	4(3.7%)
Smollett	1	0	0	1	3(7.1%)
Wilkie	7	0	5	20	29(9.4%)
Fawkes	0	0	0	3	0(0.0%)
Blacklock	4	1	0	11	16(10.9%)
Smart	0	0	6	4	1(0.6%)
J. Warton	0	1	0	2	1(1.7%)
Grainger	0	0	0	0	0(0.0%)
Cooper	0	0	2	10	1(0.7%)

Mason	1	0	1	8	13(6.8%)
Goldsmith	0	0	3	3	0(0.0%)
T. Warton	0	0	0	1	1(0.7%)
Cunningham	1	0	5	6	26(17.0%)
Falconer	0	0	1	1	3(2.4%)
Scott	1	0	0	0	0(0.0%)
Churchill	0	0	4	31	0(0.0%)
Lloyd	0	0	4	14	2(0.6%)
Mickle	3	0	0	5	20(9.8%)
Langhorne	0	0	0	3	3(1.3%)
Beattie	1	0	2	13	11(4.8%)
Jones	0	0	1	2	1(0.5%)
Logan	0	0	0	0	2(3.6%)
Chatterton	0	0	3	28	0(0.0%)
Total	97	17	127	551	517(4.2%)

Wyld (1936³, p. 209), Kökeritz (1953, pp173–80), Prins (1972, pp. 138 ff) は、ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の融合は 16 世紀に [e:] の段階で生じたと考えている。ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ が 16 世紀に融合したのであれば、それを物語る疑義のない ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻が 16 世紀にどの詩人にも一様に多く見出されてもよい筈であるがそのような事実はなく 1700 年頃になっても疑義のない ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻は少ない。一方、Dobson (1968, § 115. note 3) は、ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の融合は 1700 年頃 [e:] の段階で生じ、18 世紀初頭には ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻が「本当に多数になる」と考えている。もし ME/ɛ/ が ME/ā/ と 1700 年頃に融合したのであれば、それを物語る疑義のない ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻が 1650 年頃の ME/ā/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻と同じ様にどの詩人にも一様にかかなりの割合で見出されてもよい筈であるが、異形に基づくことのない ME/ɛ/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻は非常に少なく、18 世紀前半になっても ME/ɛ/ は ME/ā/ と頻繁に押韻するというよりは、それ以前より、若干押韻率が高くなっているというのが実状のようである。1700 年以前に

出生の詩人で、異形処理を施した後でも、押韻率 5% 以上の割合で疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻が Granville (?), Yalden (Sussex 出身), Congreve (Yorkshire? 出身), Watts (Southampton 出身), Parnell (Dublin 出身), Blackmore (Wiltshire 出身), Pitt (Bradford 出身) に見出されている。これらの詩人では同時に疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻も見出され、しかも、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻が疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻よりも多く見出されているため ME/ē/, ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の三音は [e:] で融合していた可能性が強い。疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻が 10% 前後の押韻率で見出されるのは Yalden, Congreve, Watts, Parnell 位であり、これらの詩人は北・南・西部出身で標準英語での ME/ē/ と ME/ā/ の融合の確証にはならない。その他の詩人では ME/ē/ と ME/ā/ の押韻率は更に低くなる。脚韻総数の少ない Dodsley (Nottinghamshire 出身), Armstrong (Roxburghshire 出身), Smollett (Renton 出身) を除く 1700 年以降出生の詩人で、異形処理を施した後でも、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻が 5% 以上の押韻率で Book (Ireland 出身), Boyse (Dublin 出身), Cambridge (London 出身), Wilkie (Scotland 出身), Blacklock (Scotland 出身), Mason (Yorkshire 出身), Cunningham (Dublin 出身), Mickle (Scotland 出身) に見出されている。これらの詩人では同時に ME/ē/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻も見出され、しかも、Wilkie, Cambridge, Mickle 以外の詩人では疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻が疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻よりも多く見出されていること及び今日でも、これらの方言では一般に ME/ā/ は [e:] で発音されていることを考え合せると、ME/ē/, ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の三音は [e:] で融合していた可能性が強い。疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/ の脚韻が 10% 前後の押韻率で見出されるのは Brook, Boyse, Blacklock 位であり、出身地を考えると、これらの詩人の脚韻も標準英語での ME/ē/ と ME/ā/ の融合の確証にはならない。その他の詩人では ME/ē/ を ME/ā/, ME/āy/ と押韻させるよりも遙に ME/ē/ と押韻させている。これは ME/ē/ が [e:] > [i:] へと前母音化したためである。又、筆者の調査 (Forthcoming) では、ME/ā/ を含む全

脚韻の中で疑義のない ME/ \bar{a} / と ME/ \bar{e} / の脚韻の押韻率は2.5%であり、ME/ \bar{e} / を含む全脚韻の中での疑義のない ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ \bar{a} / の脚韻の押韻率4.2%よりも更に低くなっている。

2.5. ME/ \bar{e} / : ME/ \bar{e} /

表1に示された ME/ \bar{e} / と ME/ \bar{e} / の脚韻は次のものである。

Prior — appease : degrees : please, beat : meet, beat : sweet, break : cheek, break : speak : week, *breath : teeth, cease : decrees, ceases : pieces (2回), complete : feet, conceit : see't, conceive : believe, conceive : grieve, dead : freed, dead : indeed, deaf : relief, deal in : feeling, death : teeth, deceit : meet, deceive : believe, deceive : believe : grieve, deceive : leave : believe, deceive 'em : believe 'em, deceiv'd : believ'd, deceiv'd : griev'd, deceives : believes, disease : degrees, disease : please : knees, disease : sees, disease : wheeze, *displease : piece, dread : proceed, dread : succeed, ease : agrees, ease : decrees, ease : seas, eat : discreet, eat : feet : meet, entreat : feet, Eve : believe, Eve : grieve (2回), head : creed, head : freed, head : proceed (2回), head : recede : freed, head : speed, heal : feel, heat : feet (2回), heat : weet, increase : piece, increase : sees, key : he (2回), lead : freed, lead : succeed, lean : been, league : intrigue, leap : sleep, *leave : grive, *leaves : grieves, *meal : peel, *mean : machine, *mean : queen, *mean : screen, *mean : seen (2回), mean it : see it, meat : feet, meat : sweet, meat : weet, obscene : spleen, obscene : unseen, peak : seek, perceives : grieves, pleads : needs : weeds, *please : agrees, *please : knees, *read : agreed, *read : bleed, *read : deed (2回), *read : need, *read : proceed, *read : succeed, *reading : breeding, recede : deed, receive : grieve : give, receiv'd : believ'd (2回), receiv'd : griev'd (2回), receiv'd : reliev'd, receiving : believing, repeat : sweet, retreat : feet, reveal : feel (3回), reveal : feels, scene : between, scene : green,

scene : queen, *Sea : agree, *sea : be, *sea : decree, *sea : fancy, *sea : he (2回), *sea : me, *sea : progeny, *sea : thee (3回), seals:wheels, seat : feet, serene : queen, serene : seen (2回), speak : cheek, speak : Greek (7回), speak : seek, Swede : speed, tea : knee, tea : refugee, tea : see, tea : three, teach : Creech, teach : speech, *these : Greece, *these : trees, weav'd : griev'd : griev'd, zeal : feel.

Granville — breast : priest, *breath : teeth, compleat : meet (2回), deceives : believes, ease : foresees, great : feet, great : meet, lead : tread : succeed, *leaving : grieving, mead : breed : succeed, mein : queen, peace : decrees, plead : breed, *please : decrees, recede : agreed, reveal : feel, *read : bleed, receiv'd : aggriev'd, scene : queen, scene : unforeseen, scenes : teens, *sea : me, *sea : thee, *seas : trees, weal : steel.

Yalden — deceive : believe, Diomedé : bleed, great : meet, heat : feet, lead : bleed, plead : deed, *please : degrees, *please : piece, *read : heed, receive : believe (2回), scene : green, *Sea : thee, seize : miseries.

Addison — deceive : grieve, leap : creep, leaves : grieves, reach : speech, scenes : queens, *seas : breeze, *sea : victory, *seas : degrees, *seas : trees, seat : greet, seize : bees, speak : Greek.

Congreve — complete : fleet, deceives : believes, deceived : believed, dream : esteem, *read : exceed, *read : succeed, *reads : deeds, receive : grieve, receives : grieves, repeats : streets, speak : seek, speak : Greek, *these : degrees.

Rowe — beams : seems, break : week, complete : meet, deceive : believe, feat : repeat : greet, great : sweet, greater : sweeter, head : decreed : freed, increase : sees, leads : succeeds, *read : agreed, reveal : feel, scene : between, seat : feet, seat : threat : feet, serene : seen, spread : need, *stream : seem, *streams : seems, treads : weeds.

Watts — beat : meet, complete : sweet (2回), conceal'd : field :

shield, conceals : feels, deaf : grief (2回), dream : esteem, eats : meets : sweets, great : feet, great : meet : sweet, meads : feeds, neat : sweet, *reading : breeding, receive : believe, scene : between (3回), scenes : machines, *sea : be : prey, *sea : he, *sea : me, *sea : thee, *sea : tree, *seas : degrees, seat : feet (5回), seat : feet : meet (3回), seat : meet, seat : retreat : sweet, seat : street (2回), seat : sweet (2回), seats : streets (2回), self-deceiving : thieving, serene : been : seen, spread : bleed, *stream : redeem'd, *stream : seem, sweat : sweet, *these : trees, zeal : feel : will.

Philips — leagues : intrigues.

Hughes — appease : trees, beat : complete : feet, beat : meet, breaks : cheeks, complete : greet, complete : meet, deceive me : relieve me, deceive thee : believe thee : relieve thee, dream : seem (2回), head : speed, leads : feeds, *leave : retrieve, *mean : queen, peace : breeze, pleads : succeeds, *read : decreed, *read : decreed : need, *reads : deeds, repeat : sweet (2回), retreat : sweet, scene : between (2回), scene : green (3回), scene : serene : mien, scene : seen, *Sea : thee, *sea : be : free, *sea : be : thee (2回), *sea : deity, *sea : see, *sea : thee, *seas : degrees, serene : been, serene : green, serene : queen (2回), serene : queen : unseen, serene : seen (2回), *these : trees.

Parnell — complete : feet, Crete : fleet, *read : decreed, *read : speed, *reads : seeds, *these : breeze, *these : degrees, *these : trees.

Garth — blaspheme : esteem, deal : steel, Death : teeth, deceive : believe, Disease : decrees, ease : cruelties, ease : fees, ease : trees, freaks : cheeks, great : meet, mislead : bleed, neat : discreet, *please : decrees (2回), *please : homilies, *please : Ogilbys, *read : succeed, repeat : sweet, retreat : meet, scenes : machines, *sea : effigy, *seas : mysteries, serene : been, serene : mien, serene : seen, serene : unseen, spread : bleed, streaks : cheeks, treads : succeeds.

Blackmore — beam : seem, beam : teem (3回), beams : seems, break : seek, conceive : believe (3回), defeat : meet, heap : keep, *mean : been, receives : believes, scene : been, *sea : be, *sea : degree, *sea : free, *sea : tree, scene : been, scream : teem, steal : wheel, *these : breeze.

Fenton — deceit : fleet, perceiv'd : griev'd, *read : decreed (2回), *read : deed, *read : feed (2回), *read : speed, retreats : sweets, *sea : free, scene : green, serene : mien, speak : Greek (2回), tea : knee.

Tickell — acene : been, conceal'd : field, Death : teeth, deceive : believe, leap : deep, retreat : feet, scene : green (3回), scenes : greens (2回), *sea : decree, *seas : breeze (2回), seat : feet, serene : queen.

Gay — beads : proceeds, break : cheek, Crete : feet, cheap : sleep, *clean : green, *clean : seen (3回), deceive : believe (5回), deceiv'd : believ'd (2回), deceiv'd : reliev'd, deceives : believes, Eve : believe, extremes : seems, *leave : sleeve, *leaves : grieves, reach : beech, *read : breed, *read : seed, *read : succeed, *reads : speeds, recede : bleed, repeat : sweet, scene : Racine, speak : cheek : seek, speak : Greek, tea : thee.

Broome — deceive : believe, heals : feels, *leaves : believes, *please : sees, receives : grieves, scene : mien, scenes : greens, *seas : breeze, serene : unseen.

Byrom — bleat : feet, Eve : retrieve (2回), *please : decrees, preach : speech, *read : agreed (2回), *read : creed, *read : decreed, *read : heed (3回), *read : indeed (3回), *read : need (3回), *read : proceed (2回), *read : succeed (2回).

Somerville — beat : meet, break : week, *cheap : keep, *clean : been, *clean : een, *clean : green, *clean : mien (2回), compleating : sweeting, complete : greet, dead : proceed, ease : degrees, ease : fricassees, eat : sweet, feast : priest (2回), Great : feet, great : feet,

great : meet, head : deed, heads : exceeds, heap : deep, lead : indeed, lead : speed, leap : deep, mead : feed (2回), mead : speed, *mean : machine, meat : sweet, mislead : indeed, obscene : queen, *pease : cheese, *pease : fleece (2回), *please : decrees, *read : succeed, receive : grive, receiv'd : reliev'd, receives : grieves : relieves, repeat : sweet, retreat : feet, *sea : free, *sea : thee, scene : been, scene : green (3回), scene : mien : Halequin, scene : queen, scene : unseen, seize : cheese, serene : queen, speaks : cheeks, *stream : esteem, tea : he, theme : esteem (2回).

Green — beams : seems, bean : green, beat : sheet, *clean : Spleen, deceas'd : priest, dreams : esteems, ease : fleece, leads : steeds, *mean : spleen, meat : greet, neat : feet, peace : niece, *reads : heeds, retreat : feet, reveal : feel, reveal'd : yiel'd, scene : Spleen (3回), scenes : queens, *sea : degree, seats : sweets, serene : Spleen, serene : spleen (2回), speak : cheek, tea : we, teach : beech, terrene : seen, weal : feel.

Savage — Babel-schemes : seems, beak : seek, breaks : cheeks, complete : sweet, conceals : feels, conceiv'd : believ'd, conven'd : screen'd, deceives : relieves, deal : feel, dream : seem (2回), dreams : seems, ease : sees, ease : trees, heal : feel (2回), heal : steel, heals : feels, impeach : speech, intervene : seen, league : intrigue, mead : succeed, *mean : seen, mein : queen, obscene : green, pleads : bleeds, *reads : succeeds, recede : need, receiv'd : believ'd, repeats : fleets, retreat : meet, reveal : feel, reveals : feels (2回), reveals : kneels, scene : green (4回), scene : queen (2回), scene : spleen (2回), scenes : queens, seize : frees, seiz'd : squeez'd, serene : green (2回), serene : queen, serene : seen (3回), speak : meek, speak : seek, *streams : seems, weal : feel, zeal : feel.

Pitt — bleat : street, break : week, Death : teeth, Disease : breeze, leads : steeds, *please : trees, retreats : sweets, *sea : free, serene :

mien, tea : she.

J. Thompson — beads : deeds : reeds : weeds, breaks : speaks : cheeks,
 *clean : been : mien : seen, *clean : green, conceals : wheels, conceal'd :
 reveal'd : field : build, dream : seem, ease : please : degrees : trees,
 ease : please : fees, ease : trees, head : proceed, heap'd : reap'd :
 steep'd : yclep'd, increase : fleece, lea : sea : Castalie : free, meads :
 breeds : exceeds, *please : trees, reap : deep : keep : sleep, reap : keep :
 sleep, repeat : reat : sweet, *sea : fee : me, *sea : free, *sea : thee,
 spreads : feeds, *stream : breme : teem, themes : beseems.

West — beat : feet, Crete : meet, Deceit : feet, deceiv'd : griev'd, ease :
 please : bees, entreat : repeat : meet : sweet, fead : agreed, great : heat :
 retreat : meet, gleam : esteem, lead : read : deed, meads : steeds (2
 回), obscene : between, retreat : feet : sweet, retreat : sweat : feet,
 *sea : decree (2 回), seals : feels, seat : feet, scene : mien : teen :
 unseen, scene : spleen, scene : teen, sernen : queen, *stream : esteem :
 seem, theme : esteem, zeal : wheel.

Dodsley — beat : sweet, *clean : seen, conceals : feels, conceive :
 believe, conceive : disbelieve, deceive : believe, deceives me : grieves
 me, disease : fees, ease : degrees, least : priest, *leave : grieve, *read :
 succeed, repeat : sweet, scene : green, serene : seen (2 回), steal : feel.

Jenyns — *clean : spleen, complete : sweet, conceal : feel, deceive :
 believe, disease : degrees, disease : fees, ease : fees, ease : sees, heal :
 feel, leads : proceeds, *read : creed, *read : succeed, receive : retrieve,
 scene : between (2 回), seas : freeze, serene : mien (2 回), speak :
 cheek, teach : speech, theme : seem, treat : feet, treat : meet.

Hamilton — complete : sweet, dead : decreed (2 回), dead : seed,
 deceive : believe, dread : deed, dread : speed, each : speech, ease :
 agrees, ease : breeze, heat : sweet, Jean : seen, lead : decreed, peace :
 Greece, *please : decrees, *please : degrees, *please : frees, *please :

sees, replete : sweet, scene : seen, scenes : greens, *sea : he, speak :
cheek, streaks : cheeks, *stead : bleed, *stead : indeed, tea : me, tea :
see.

Brooke — beat : meet, *clean : green, conceiv'd : achiev'd, deceit :
sweet, deceiv'd : believ'd, impede : speed (2回), intervene : between,
lead : bleed, *leave : grieve, peals : heels, precedes : succeeds, preced-
ing : breeding, *read : breed, *read : creed, *read : steed, recede :
decreed, receivers : believers, retreats : meets, *sea : thee, seal : feel,
seal'd : yield, *seas : breeze, seat : meet, speaks : seeks (2回),
*streams : seems, supreme : redeem, treat : meet.

Cotton — bespeak : cheek, complete : meet, conceal : steel, deal : feel,
dream : esteem, eat : sweet (2回), leaf : beef, *meal : feel, *meal :
steel, *mean : seen, meat : sweet, plea : knee, plea : me (2回), plead :
indeed, reap : sleep, retreats : sweets, scene : eighteen, scene : queen,
scenes : teens, *sea : me, seat : feet, seize : cheese, serene : mien,
serene : seen, speak : cheek, speaks : cheeks, *streams : deems, treat :
meet, treat : sweet, weak : cheek, zeal : feel.

Harte — conceal : feel, conceals : feels, deceive : believe (2回),
deceiv'd : believ'd (2回), dream'd : deem'd, *leave : reprieve, *plea-
se : sees, receive : believe, receiv'd : reliev'd (2回), receives : grieves,
reap : keep, *seas : degrees, seize : degrees, speak : Greek.

Boyse — break : seek, complete : sweet, conceive : believe, conceive :
grieve, ease : decrees, ease : sees, heal : feel, intervene : green, leads :
succeeds, leagues : intrigues, *mean : seen, peace : Greece, perceiv'd :
beliv'd, *please : degrees, *please : flies, recede : bleed, receiv'd :
achiev'd, receiv'd : reliev'd (2回), retreat : meet, retreat : sweet,
retreats : sweets, reveal : feel, reveal'd : field, reveals : feels (2回),
scene : been, scene : fifteen, scene : green (6回), scene : unseen (2
回), *sea : thee, seat : discreet, seat : sweet, serene : queen, serene :

seen, speak : cheek, teach : speech.

Lyttelton — beat : meet, break : cheek, cheat : meet, deceiv'd : believ'd (2回), heal : feel, lead : feed, *leave : believe, mead : feed, plead : deed, receive : grieve, retreat : sweet, scene : between, scene : green, *sea : Italy, steals : feels, *stream : beseem, undeceiv'd : believ'd.

Hammond — conceal : steel, deceive : believe, deceive : relieve, deceiv'd : griev'd, dream : seem, heal : feel, retreat : sweet, speak : seek.

Mallet — break : cheek, disease : breeze, lead : steed, league : fatigue, *mean : spleen, *please : bees, *please : breeze, *read it : need it, *reading : breeding, *sea : me : see, seal : feel, serene : seen (2回), squeak : week, steal : feel, undeceiv'd : griev'd.

W. Thompson — goodlihead : exceed : mee., mead : seed, *please : repartees, scene : green (2回), scene : green (2回), scene : mien, scene : ween : reign, scenes : greens, serene : mien, serene : queen, speaks : cheeks, steal : steel, *streams : beseems, *streams : seems, *these : cruelties.

P. Whitehead — ease : fees, increase : Greece, leaf : chief, mead : breed, plead : decreed, *please : trees, *read : decreed, *read : feed, receives : thieves, scenes : machine, *sea : free, *sea : see, serne : mien, speak : Greek, speaks : cheeks, steals : heels, *streams : seems.

Armstrong — appeal : feel, *mean : spleen, scene : unseen, seize : please : degrees, seize : please : sneeze.

Moore — beat : feet, beat : street, *clean : seen, complete : meet, deceit : meet, conceive : believe, deceiv'd : believ'd (2回), disease : fees, Evening : believing in, guineas : Jenny's, instead on't : need on't, intreat : meet, lead : feed, obscene : mien, *please : P. s, squeak : week, *stream : seem, tea : P, tea : see.

Shenstone — greater : discreeter, *leave : grieve, *please : agrees, scenes : greens, seat : sweet, *these : degrees.

Lovibond — deceiv'd : achiev'd, deceiv'd : believ'd (2 回), deceiver : believer, dream : esteem (2 回), dream'd : seem'd, ease : trees, heal : feel, heaps : sleeps, *mean : spleen, pleads : bleeds, *please : breeze, reveals : feels, scene : green, scene : queen, scene : seen, *sea : decree, *sea : me, *seas : breeze, seats : feets, seats : meets, seats : sweets, speak : cheek, speak : Greek, speaks : cheeks (2 回), steal : feel, theme : seem.

Jargo — *clean : seen, mead : need, mead : weed, *read : deed, scene : between, scene : green.

W. Whitehead — appeals : feels, beam : deem, bleak : cheek, commonweal : feel, complete : feet, conceal : feel, conceive : believe, conceiv'd : believ'd, dead : need, deals : keels, deceiv'd : believ'd (4 回), disease : breeze (2 回), dread : proceed, ease : degrees (2 回), ease : similies, ease : trees, gleans : magazines, great : sweet, head : speed, key : poetry, key : eternity, lead : reed, leads : steeds, lean : screen, mead : feed, mead : reed, mead : speed, mead : steed, *mean : scene : between, *mean : unseen, *means : greens, obscene : keen, peace : fleece, plead : decreed (2 回), plead : indeed, plead : proceed, *please : degrees, *pleas'd : sneez'd, reach : speech, *read : freed, *read : succeed, *reading : breeding (3 回), retreat : feet (2 回), retreat : sweet, retreats : sweets, scene : been (3 回), scene : between (2 回), scene : green (3 回), scene : machine, scene : queen (4 回), scene : spleen, scene : unseen, scenes : greens, scenes : queens, *sea : decree (3 回), *sea : deity, *sea : thee, *seas : breeze, *seas : decrees, seal : steel, seal : wheel, seals : feels, seat : feet (2 回), seat : meet, serene : mien, serene : magazine, speak : cheek (3 回), speak : Greek, spread : indeed, spreads : bleeds, steal : feel (2 回), streak : cheek, *stream :

deem, *stream : redeem, teach : speech, theme : deem, theme : esteem,
 *these : knees (2 回), tread : deed, weal : feel, weaves : relieves, zeal :
 feel (6 回), zeal : wheel.

Cambridge — appeals : heels, bean : seen, beat : feet, bread : knead :
 reed, break : cheek, cease : Greece, Chelsea : see, deal in : feeling,
 deals : reels, Easts : priest, freak : antique : neck, great : feet, heaps :
 creeps, leaf : chief, *leave : reprieve, *pleas'd : sneez'd, *read : agreed,
 *read : need, *read : proceed, *reading : bleeding, *reading : breeding,
 *reading : heeding, receive : retrieve, repeat : feet, retreat : feet,
 retreat : meet (2 回), retreat : street, Runnymede : speed, *sea :
 decree, seize : decrees, serne : seen, speak : cheek, spreads : weeds,
 streaks : seeks.

Cawthorn — Chinese : Greece, *clean : mien, conceal : feel, Common-
 Pleas : decrees, Common-Pleas : fees, daisy-mead : reed, Dean : mien,
 dean : keen, disease : breeze (2 回), Ease : breeze, ease : degrees, eat :
 Street, flea : see, guinea : Pliny, *leaves : fleeces, mead : seed, Peace :
 Greece, reach : speech, *read : agreed, *read : creed, *reading : breed-
 ing, recedes : bleeds, scene : Aretine, scene : between (3 回), scene :
 green, scene : queen (2 回), scene : screen, scene : seen (2 回),
 scene : spleen (2 回), *sea : see (2 回), serene : mien, speak : antique,
 speak : Greek (3 回), speak : ox-cheek, Swede : exceed, tea : see,
 teach : speech, teach us : breeches, veal : feel, weal : feel, zeal : feel (5
 回), zeal : wheel.

Akenside — conceal'd : field, ease : please : decrees, great : feet,
 heads : succeeds, mislead : proceed, plead : creed, *please : decrees,
 recede : speed (2 回), retreat : feet, retreat : meet (2 回), reveal :
 feel, reveal'd : shield, reveal'd : yield, scene : been, scene : between,
 scene : green (2 回), scene : serene : queen, scenes : greens, scenes :
 queens, *sea : thee (2 回), seat : feet (3 回), speak : cheek, speaks :

seeks, teach : speech, theme : deem, theme : esteem, zeal : kneel.

Smollett — dream : beseem, *sea : decree (3 回).

Wilkie — conceal'd : field (4 回), conceal'd : wield, dead : bleed (2 回), dead : decreed (4 回), dead : proceed (5 回), dead : succeed (2 回), dead : weed, deceiv'd : believ'd, deil : squeel, dread : decreed, dread : proceed, dream : gleam : stream : seem, dream : seem, dream : stream : seem, head : bleed, head : decreed, head : deed, head : feed, head : proceed (2 回), head : succeed, heads : breeds, heads : reeds, heads : steeds, lead : proceed (2 回), lead : read : meed, lead : succeed (2 回), leads : reeds, leads : proceeds (2 回), leads : succeeds (3 回), meads : feeds, meads : reeds, perceive : grieve, plead : bleed, plead : deed, plead : need, pleading : keeding, pleads : proceeds, *please : knees, please : sees, reach : teach : speech, *read : indeed, receive : disbelieve, receiv'd : retriev'd, receives : relives, reveal'd : field, *sea : me, seal : steel, *seas : breeze (6 回), seiz'd : squeez'd, serene : unseen, speak : week, *stead : succeed.

Fawkes — heat : meet, intervene : between, lea : thee, lea : tree, mead : feed, mead : seed, mead : weed, *read : need (2 回), scene : between, scene : green (5 回), *sea : three, *seas : breeze, *stream : seem.

Blacklock — conceal : feel (2 回), dream : esteem, dreams : teems, ease : trees, intervene : spleen, lead : succeed, mead : decreed, plead : speed, repeat : meet, repeat : sweet, scene : mien, scene : spleen, *sea : thee, *seas : breeze (2 回), seize : breeze.

Smart — beams : teems, beat : feet, break : antique, cheats : sweets, Chinese : trees, feast : priest (2 回), deaf : relief, deceit : greet, deceiv'd : believ'd, dream : seem (2 回), dreaming : seeming, ease : bees, ease : trees, eve : relieve, heaps : keeps, key : glee, league : fatigue, leap : deep, *leave : grieve, *mean : queen, *mean : seen, plead : need (2 回), *please : degrees, *reads : succeeds, retreat : feet,

reveal'd : field : yield, scene : between : green, scene : green, scenes : greens, *sea : me, *sea : thee, *seas : breeze, *seas : trees, speak : Greek, teas : bees, theme : teem, treat : feet, weal : feel.

J. Warton — break : shriek, breast : priest (2回), dead : steed, increase : Greece (2回), leap : deep, mead : freed, meads : steeds, meat : feet, repeat : sweet, scene : between, scene : green (3回), steal : feel.

Grainger — retreat : feet, retreat : meet, seat : feet.

Cooper — breast : priest, each : speech, ease : sees, heat : sweet, lea : minstrelsy, lead : deed, meads : deeds, plea : liberty, preach : speech, scene : between, scene : unseen, scene : ween, speak : Greek.

Mason — break : cheek, complete : meet (2回), complete : sweet, deals : feels, dean : eighteen, dean : ween, ease : realities, Eve : sleeve, extreme : deem, great : sweet, head : meed, head : proceed, Hippocrene : teen, intervene : seen, leap : sleep, leap : weep, *mean : between, *means : weens, *retreats : sweets, scene : green (2回), scene : queen, scenes : greens, *sea : me, seats : greets, steals : feels, steals : wheels, streak : weak : cheek, *stream : redeem, tea : see, teach : speech, theme : deem, tread : meed, treat : feet, treat her : meet her, zeal : feel (3回), zeal : steel.

Goldsmith — *clean : seen (2回), deceive : believe, deceive me : relieve me, scene : between (3回), scene : green (3回), scene : green : seen, scenes : greens, tea : me, weak : cheek.

T. Warton — appeals : feels, *clean : green : seen, dean : queen, eve : relieve, eve : reprieve, great : meet, intervene : seen, leads : reeds, lean : green, peace : Greece, preaches : breeches, scene : between, scene : green, scene : mien, scenes : greens, *sea : free : thee, sheaf : belief, *stream'd : deem'd, teach : speech, weak : meek, zeal : feel.

Cunningham — appeals : feels, beats : sweets, deceit : feet, ease : fees,

peace : fleece, *read : decreed, scene : green (6回), seas : fees, seat : feet, seat : greet, serene : queen, *these : breeze, *these : trees.

Falconer — appeal : steel, complete : feet, conceive : believe, congeals : feels, heal : feel, heal : steel, heaves : relieves, heav'd : believ'd, peals : feels, reach : Leech, receiv'd : griev'd, receiv'd : reev'd, retreat : feet, retreat : meet, reveal : feel (2回), reveals : feels, scene : been, scene : between (2回), scenes : greens, *sea : agree, *sea : a-lee (3回), *sea : decree (2回), *sea : lee (4回), *sea : me, *seas : breeze, seat : feet, serene : seen, *stream : deem.

Scott — beat : street, conceiv'd : achiev'd, conceiv'd : reliev'd, convene : green, deceiv'd : believ'd, *displease : trees, disease : sees, heat : street, heave : grieve, lead : heed, leads : meads : reeds, *leave : retrieve, mead : feed (3回), mead : succeed, meads : reeds (3回), meads : succeeds, misleads : deeds, *please : trees (3回), *read : succeed, recede : deed, receive : relieve, receiv'd : reliev'd : retriev'd, retreat : meet, reveals : feels, scene : between (2回), scene : between : green, scene : green (4回), scene : screen, scenes : greens (3回), *sea : thee, serene : green, serene : seen, *stream : redeem, *these : trees.

Churchill — appeal : feel (2回), beam : deem, beams : seems, beat : street, beats : meets, blaspheme : deem, cease : caprice, *cheap : sleep, cheat : meet (3回), cheats : meets, complete : meet, conceal : feel (2回), conceal'd : field, deal : feel, dean : mien, dean : seen, deceive : believe (5回), deceive : sleeve, deceives : believes, deceives : sleeves, deceiv'd : believ'd (3回), defeats : streets, dream : seem (2回), dreams : seems, ease : decrees (5回), ease : degrees, ease : fees (2回), ease : sees, eat : meet (2回), eat : street, feast : priest (4回), Gaymede : breed, heal : feel (4回), heap : sleep, heat : feet, heat : street, increase : fleece, key : fee, key : treasury, lead : bleed, lead :

Tweed, league : intrigue, leagues : intrigues, least : priest (5 回),
 *leave : grieve, *mean : between, *mean : o'erween, *mean : screen,
 *mean : seen (8 回), *mean : spleen (3 回), *meaning : see in,
 *means : teens, Mede : decreed, mislead : decreed (2 回), mislead :
 Need, misleads : bleeds, obscene : Aretine, plea : me (3 回), plead :
 bleed (2 回), plead : indeed, *please : decrees (3 回), *please :
 degrees, *please : fees, *pleas'd : sneez'd, reach : speech (3 回), *read :
 creed (4 回), *read : decreed (5 回), *read : need, *read : succeed (4
 回), *reading : breeding (2 回), release : piece, retreat : feet, scene :
 between, scene : mien, scenes : queens, schme : deem, schemes :
 seems, seal : Bastile, seal : feel, seals : feels, seals : heels (2 回), *seas :
 bees, *seas : fees, *seas : breeze (2 回), seat : meet, seat : street,
 serene : green, serene : mien, serene : seen, serene : spleen, speak :
 cheek (10 回), speak : Greek (2 回), speaks : cheeks (2 回), speaks :
 leeks, speaks : seeks, steal : feel, *stream : seem, *stream : teem, tea :
 be, tea : see, teach : speech, theme : deem, theme : misdeem, *these :
 decrees, treat : sweet, treat : unmeet, weal : feel (2 回), wean : seen,
 zeal : feel (11 回), zeal : steel.

Lloyd — appeal : feel (2 回), beat : feet, *clean : seen, *clean :
 machine, *clean : machine : magazine, *clean : magazine (2 回),
 *clean : seen, Chinese : sees, complete : feet, complete : meet, com-
 plete : sheet, conceal'd : feel'd, conceals : feels, deal : feel, deceit : meet,
 deceiv'd : believ'd (2 回), deceiving : believing, deceives : believes,
 dreams : seems, ease : degrees, ease : sees (2 回), eating : meeting,
 heap : asleep, heap : sleep, heat : feet, heat : meet (3 回), increase :
 piece, key : be, lea : me, lead : indeed, lead : succeed, league : intrigue,
 leap : creep, *leave : sleeve, mead : steed, *mean : magazine (2 回),
 *mean : magazine : queen, *mean : queen, *mean : seen (2 回), neat :
 feet, neat : sweet, peace : Greece, plea : he, *please : cheese, *please :

knees, reach : speech, *read : need, *read : succeed, *reading : breeding (3回), repeat : meet, repeat : sweet, repeats : streets, retreat : sweet, reveal : feel (2回), reveals : feels, scene : atween : ween, scene : between (2回), scene : green, scene : mien, scene : queen (3回), scene : spleen (2回), scene : unseen, scream'd : esteem'd, *sea : decree, *sea : free, *sea : glee, *sea : he, *seas : breeze, seal : feel, seat : feet (5回), seat : sweet, serene : spleen, serene : unseen, speak : cheek (2回), speak : Greek (6回), speaks : seeks, squeak : Greek, steals : feels, steals : heels, teach : speech, zeal : feel (3回), zeal : reel.

Mickle — beam : stream : team : seem, bleat : feet, break : cheek, *clean : been : green, *clean : sheen : ween, conceals : feels, convene : green, deceit : meet : weet, disease : knees, dream : seem, dream : stream : beseem, dream : stream : deem : seem, dreams : deems : esteems, ease : decrees : decrees : knees, heap : creep, increase : degrees, lea : glee, lea : harmony, lea : me, lea : sea : tree, lead : bleeds, leaf : chief, lean : greens, mead : freed, obscene : mien, plead : deed : meed, *read : hede : speed : steed, retreat : meet, scene : atween : men, scene : been : beseen : ween, scene : been : Spleen : teen, scene : between, scene : queen (4回), seat : feet : sweet, serene : queen (2回), speak : greet (2回), *stream : team : seem.

Langhorne — bead : creed, beams : streams : seems, break : cheek, dream : seem, ease : breeze (2回), gleam : seem, key : eternity, lead : reed, lean : mien, mead : bleed, mead : reed (2回), mead : succeed, meads : heeds, meads : reeds, meads : speeds, mein : queen, scene : green (4回), *sea : he, *sea : thee, sernen : green (2回), serene : queen, speaks : seeks.

Beatie — beam : dream : theme : deem, beam : gleam : *stream : teem, breath : teeth, complete : feet, conceal'd : shield, decrease : peace : fleece : Greece, dread : proceed, dream : deem, dream : deem : esteem :

seem, ease : breeze, head : reed, head : speed, meads : reeds, replete : feet, retreat : feet, reveal : feel : steel : wheel, scene : between : mien : queen, scene : green (3 回), serene : keen : screen : spleen, serene : mien (5 回), *stream : seem, teach us : speeches, tread : proceed, weave : relieve.

Jones — appease : agrees, appease : breeze, complete : sweet, conceal'd : field, gleam'd : esteem'd, gleam'd : seem'd, heap'd : steep'd, heat : sweet, lead : decreed, leads : meads : deed, *leave : grieve (2 回), mead : reed (2 回), mead : proceeds : reeds, meads : reeds, meads : steed, *meal : feel, *mean : seen, peace : Greece, perceiv'd : griev'd, reach : teach : speech (2 回), receiv'd : griev'd, releas'd : see'st, retreat : feet, retreat : meet, scene : been, scene : green (3 回), scene : queen (5 回), seat : feet (2 回), seat : feet : greet, seat : meet (2 回), seat : sweet, serene : green, serene : palanqueen, serene : queen (2 回), serene : unseen (2 回), speak : cheek, speak : Greek, speaks : cheeks (3 回), *stream : esteem, teach : speech, zeal : feel.

Logan — beat : feet, break : cheek, deceived : believed, lean : been, mead : feed, meads : weeds, Peace : Greece, reveal : feel (2 回), scene : green, scene : unseen, serene : green, Supreme : redeem.

Chatterton — beating : meeting, complete : feet, complete : meet, conceal : wheel, conceive : believe, dean : seen (4 回), dean : spleen, deceiv'd : believ'd, dream : seem (3 回), ease : agrees, ease : decrees, east : priest, eat : feet, eat : meet, feast : priest (5 回), heap : deep, heat : feet, impeach : speech, interven'd : screen'd, least : priest, *leave : grieve, *leave : reeve, mead : freed, mead : reed, meads : reeds, *meal : steel, *mean : machine, *mean : seen (2 回), plea : be, plead : creed, *please : agrees, *please : patentees, *please : trees, *read : indeed (2 回), *read : Tweed (2 回), receive : believe, receiv'd : believ'd, retreat : fleet, retreat : Stillingfleet, scene : between (2 回),

scene : green (5回), scene : queen, scene : eighteen, scene : seen,
 *sea : thee, *sea : tree (3回), speak : Greek (2回), Squeaking :
 Shrieking, streak : cheek, theme : seem, *these : sees.

ME/ē/ は1500年頃までに [i:] にまで前母音化されていたことに関して⁽²²⁾ 音韻論学者の間で異論はない。従って、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/e/ の脚韻は ME/ē/[i:] の証拠となるが、詩人に見出されるすべての ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻が ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の融合の確証になるわけではない。次の⁽²³⁾ ME/ē/ には ME/ē/ 異形が並存していた。

breath, cheap, clean, cleave, eke, even, leam, leave, meal, mean,
 pease, please, read, sea, sleeve, stead, steam, stream, these, thread, yea.

従って、上記の ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻のうち *印を付したものは、実際には、ME/ē/ 同士の脚韻であるかもしれない。これらを差引くと、異形に基づかない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻は表4のようになる。

表 4

	ME/ē/ : ME/ē/		ME/ē/ : ME/ay/	ME/ē/ : ME/ā/
	異形	疑義なし	疑義なし	疑義なし
Prior	32	118(16.0%)	43	30
Granville	7	21(15.2%)	5	10
Yalden	4	10(7.8%)	16	14
Addison	4	8(5.2%)	4	3
Congreve	4	9(3.7%)	38	24
Rowe	3	20(17.4%)	11	4
Watts	10	47(14.9%)	32	28
Philips	0	1(1.8%)	0	0
Hughes	18	35(18.5%)	2	1
Parnell	6	2(0.4%)	71	63
Garth	8	20(19.0%)	2	3
Blackmore	6	16(8.9%)	10	12
Fenton	7	8(6.3%)	7	5

Tickell	3	13(12.0%)	2	0
Gay	10	23(5.3%)	16	2
Broome	3	6(4.8%)	2	4
Byrom	18	4(1.0%)	16	3
Somervile	16	43(16.9%)	5	6
Green	4	26(35.6%)	1	3
Savage	3	54(26.5%)	3	1
Pitt	2	8(7.0%)	16	6
J. Thompson	11	35(35.7%)	1	2
West	4	34(15.9%)	13	5
Dodsley	3	14(15.4%)	3	5
Jenyns	4	19(16.7%)	2	0
Hamilton	7	21(12.0%)	11	4
Brooke	8	21(4.2%)	45	54
Cotton	5	28(15.7%)	0	0
Harte	3	14(6.3%)	1	0
Boyse	4	39(9.8%)	46	56
Lyttelton	3	15(17.2%)	1	3
Hammond	0	8(25.0%)	0	0
Mallet	6	11(12.1%)	1	0
W. Thompson	4	12(10.6%)	5	3
P. Whitehead	6	11(14.9%)	4	0
Armstrong	1	64(23.1%)	0	2
Moore	3	17(17.9%)	1	3
Shenstone	3	3(2.0%)	0	0
Lovibond	5	24(22.6%)	0	0
Jago	2	4(15.4%)	0	0
W. Whitehead	22	89(20.7%)	9	10
Cambridge	9	27(14.1%)	9	11
Cawthorn	7	48(30.4%)	0	0
Akenside	3	32(29.4%)	1	4
Smollett	3	1(2.4%)	1	3
Wilkie	11	68(22.0%)	6	29
Fawkes	5	13(10.5%)	0	0

Blacklock	3	14(9.5%)	18	16
Smart	9	34(18.9%)	3	1
J. Warton	0	16(26.7%)	1	1
Grainger	0	3(30.0%)	1	0
Cooper	0	13(9.4%)	1	1
Mason	6	40(20.7%)	8	13
Goldsmith	2	13(15.5%)	3	0
T. Warton	5	18(12.4%)	1	1
Cunningham	4	14(9.2%)	11	26
Falconer	13	23(18.3%)	0	3
Scott	9	40(27.4%)	0	0
Churchill	47	141(24.8%)	0	0
Lloyd	27	85(24.6%)	2	2
Mickle	9	54(26.5%)	12	20
Langhorne	2	27(12.0%)	2	3
Beattie	3	43(18.7%)	4	11
Jones	5	54(24.9%)	2	1
Logan	0	13(23.6%)	0	2
Chatterton	18	53(20.9%)	0	0
Total	472	1804(14.7%)	531(4.3%)	517(4.2%)

(24)

Dobson は、すべての ME/ē/ は異音として [e:] を持っていたと言う仮説に基づき、ME/ē/ に対する PE の [īy] は ME/ē/ の正常な音変化でなく、ME/ē/ に古くから並存していた ME/ē/ 異形が標準音を追い出した結果であると考え、ME/ē/ に ME/ē/ 異形が並存していた証拠を挙げているが、すべての ME/ē/ を持つ語に ME/ē/ 異形が並存していたと主張するには余りにもその数は少ない。疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻は既に 16 世紀から見出されるものの、その相対頻度は低く、どの詩人にも一様に多く見出されるようになるのは 1700 年以降のことである。ME/ā/, ME/āy/, ME/ē/ が明確に区別されている時期にも、異形に基づく ME/ā/ と ME/āy/ の脚韻及び ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻が見出されたのと同じ様に、一般に ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ が区別されている時期 (= 1700 年以前) にも ME/ē/ (<ME/ē/ 異

形) と ME/ē/ の脚韻が見出されている。しかし、1700 年以降出生の詩人に見出される ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻のうち、異形に基づくものが 304 個 (18.8%), 疑義のないものが 1312 個 (81.2%) 見出され、この時期になると、明らかに疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻が多くなってくる。1700 年以前出生の詩人には、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻が 524 個 (51.6%), 疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻が 492 個 (48.4%) 見出され、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻の方が疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻より多く見出されている。特に、Yalden (Sussex 出身), Congreve (Yorkshire 出身?), Watts (Southampton), Parnell (Dublin 出身), Blackmore (Wiltshire 出身), Fenton (Staffordshire 出身), Byrom (Manchester 出身), Pitt (Bradford 出身) では顕著である。これらの詩人は通常 ME/ē/ を [e:] と発音していたが、進んだ発音 [i:] をも脚韻として利用したに違いない。しかし、これらの詩人の脚韻は、出身地を考えると、標準英語での ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の融合の確証にはならない。この時期ですら、その他の詩人では疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻が疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻よりも多く見出されている。1700 年以降出生の詩人には、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻が 1312 個 (71.4%), 疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻が 525 個 (28.6%) 見出され、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻が疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻より遥に多く見出されている。ME/ē/ は通常 [i:] であったが、詩人は保守的な発音 [e:] をも脚韻に利用したに違いない。Brooke (Ireland 出身), Boyse (Dublin 出身), Blacklock (Scotland 出身), Cunningham (Dublin 出身) では、疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の脚韻の方が疑義のない ME/ē/ と ME/ē/ の脚韻よりも遥に多く見出されている。今日でも、これらの方言では一般に ME/ā/ は [e:] で発音されていることを考え合わせると、ME/ē/, ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の三音は [e:] で融合していた可能性が強い。しかし、これらの詩人の脚韻も、出身地を考えると、標準英語での ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の融合の確証にはならない。他の詩人では ME/ē/ を ME/ā/, ME/āy/ と押韻させるよりも遥に ME/ē/ と押

韻させている。これは ME/ē/ が [e:] > [i:] へと前母音化したためである。

注

- (1) Wyld, 1937³. *A History of Modern Colloquial English*. pp. 209ff.
- (2) Prins, 1972. *A History of English Phonemes*. pp. 138ff.
- (3) Kökeritz, 1953. *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*. pp. 194ff.
- (4) Dobson, 1968². *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*. §115.
- (5) Wolfe, 1972. *Linguistic Change and the Great Vowel Shift in English*. pp. 156-158.
- (6) 荒木, 1984. 英語史ⅢA. pp. 75-93.
- (7) 平郡, 1985. 「初期近代英語の ME/āy/ の音価について」 pp. 33-53.
1986 a. 「初期近代英語の ME/ā/ の音価について」 pp. 53-77.
1986 b. 「初期近代英語の ME/ē/ の音価について」 pp. 199-227.
1986 c. 「後期近代英語の ME/āy/ の音価について」 pp. 189-240.
1987 a. 「後期近代英語の ME/ā/ の音価について」 pp. 35-83.
- (8) Dobson, *op. cit.* §§ 115, 228, 229.
- (9) *ibid.* §8.
- (10) Wright, 1905. *The English Dialect Grammar*. § 61.
- (11) Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 200.
- (12) Dobson, *op. cit.* §115, note 3.
- (13) *ibid.* §§ 129, 130, 131, 228, note 3.
- (14) *ibid.* §§ 115, note 6, 129, 131.
- (15) *ibid.* § 127.
- (16) *ibid.* § 228, note 3.
- (17) *ibid.* §§ 115, note 6, 129, 131.
- (18) *ibid.* § 115, note 3.
- (19) *ibid.* § 127.
- (20) Jespersen, 1909. *Modern English Grammar*. Part I. § 11. 75.
- (21) Samuels, 1972. *Linguistic evolution with special reference to English*. pp. 150-3.
Cercignani, 1981. *Shakespeare's work and Elizabethan pronunciation*. § 60.
- (22) Ellis, 1886-89. *On Early English Pronunciation*. pp. 77ff.
Sweet, 1888. *A History of English Sound*. § 818.
Viëtor, 1906. *A Shakespeare Phonology*. § 8.
Jespersen, *op. cit.* § 8. 32.

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Davis, 1973. *English Pronunciation from the 15th Century to the 18th Century*. p. 5.

Franz, 1939⁴. *Die Sprache Shakespeare in Vers und Prosa*. § 23.

Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 190.

Danielsson, 1963. *John Hart's Works on English Orthography and Pronunciation. Part II*. § 111.

Dobson. *op. cit.* § 132.

Prins, *op. cit.* § 13. 1

Cercignani, *op. cit.* § 55

(23) Dobson, *op. cit.* §§ 118-20.

(24) *ibid.* p. 612.

3. 結 論

ME/ē/ の発達過程に関して、i) ME/ē/ はいつ [e:] の段階に到達したか。ii) ME/ē/ は ME/ā/, ME/āy/ と融合したかどうかという問題が未解決の問題として残されている。ME/ē/ と ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の融合は、Wyld, Prins では 16 世紀に、Kökeritz では 16 世紀後半に [e:] の段階で、Dobson では 18 世紀に [e:] の段階で生じたことになっている。Wyld, Kökeritz, Dobson, Prins は ME/ē/, ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の三音はどの時期に、どの段階で融合したかは別にして、三音が融合したことに関しては同じ見解をとっている。一方、荒木は ME/ē/ は ME/ā/, ME/āy/ とは融合せず ME/ē/ と融合したと考えている。後期近代英語の ME/ē/ の音価を、Kökeritz と同様に、脚韻を資料として考察してみると、

i) 標準英語では、ME/ē/ は ME/ā/, ME/āy/ と融合しなかった。

ii) 1650 年頃、ME/ā/ と ME/āy/ が [e:] の段階で融合した時、ME/ē/ は [e:] であった。

iii) 1700年頃, ME/ā/ と ME/āy/ が共に [e:] になった時, ME/ē/ は [i:] となり ME/ē/ と融合した。しかし, 北部・南部・西部方言では ME/ē/, ME/ā/, ME/āy/ の三音は [e:] で融合した。

という結果が得られた。

脚韻の資料から判断すると, 従来の見解の中では荒木説の蓋然性が一番高くなることを指摘して本稿を結ぶ。

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