

ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合について

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1. 序論

[r]の前では ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ は PE では [ɛə] と発音され、Shakespeare の時代に両者が融合していたことに関しては各種の証拠がある。しかし、自由位置の ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合に関しては音韻論学者の間で見解が分かれるところである。StE では ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合は Wyld(1936³, pp. 209-212), Prins(1972, pp. 138ff) では 16 世紀に [ɛ:] の段階で、Kökeritz(1953, pp. 194-209) では 16 世紀後半に [e:] の段階で、Dobson(1938², §§ 98ff.) では 18 世紀に [e:] の段階で生じたことになっている。伝統的音韻論では音変化を異音の漸次的変化として捕らえるため、特定の時代に特定の音価で融合すると、融合した音韻は以降同じ変化を辿るはずである¹。しかし、PE では ME/ɛ:/ は break, great, steak, yea を除き ME/a:/ の [ei] ではなく、[i:] 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 [ei] は ME/ɛ:/ の正常な音変化によるものであるが、ME/ɛ:/ を持つその他の語の PE の標準音は正常な音変化ではなく、Wyld では南東部方言が、Kökeritz, Dobson では ME/ɛ:/ に古くから並存していた ME/e:/ 異形が標準音を追い出したものと考えている。一方、Wolfe (1972, pp. 14-15), 荒木 (1984, p. 90), Lass(1999, p. 96) は ME/a:/ は ME/ɛ:/ と融合しなかったと考えている。ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合問題を考察するのに何らかの手掛かりを与えてくれる脚韻は

- a) ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ (make : speak)
- b) ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ (> [e]) (fade : dead)
- c) ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ (> [ei]) (make : break)
- d) ME/a:/ : ME/e:/ (state : meet)
- e) ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ (blame : them)

であり、この種の脚韻がどの時期から、どの程度見出されるかが判れば、ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合問題に決着をつけることが可能となる。古音推定法の中で、特にその組織的開発が一番遅れ

ている脚韻をパソコンで収集し、分析する過程において、Wyld-Kökeritz-Dobson-Prins 説に疑問を抱くようになった。その理由を展開するのが本稿の目的である。

2. 本論

2.2. 証拠の検討

再検討の具体的な作業は、EModE 期の ME/a:/ の音価を推定するのに役立つ臨時綴字、正音学者の証拠を研究書から、脚韻の証拠を直接、原資料から収集し、それらを整理することから始める。

2.2.1. 臨時綴字

Wyld(1936³, pp. 194ff.) は ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ との臨時綴字が既に 15 世紀に見出されているところから、15 世紀には StE においても両者は融合していたと考えているが、ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合を示す臨時綴字は ME/a:/ と ME/ai/ の融合を示す臨時綴字より少ない。

1a) ME/a:/ を e, ea と綴った例

creadll(cradle)(Bokenam, 1443), ceme(came)(Cely Papers, 1473-88), feder(father), teke (take)(Paston Letters, 15c.), yeate(gate)(Shillingford, 1447-50),

1b) ME/ɛ:/ を a と綴った例

maneing(meaning)(Lady Brill Harley, 1639), spake(speak)(ibid. 1641), manes(means)(Tom V. Mem. 1447-50),

しかし、Dobson(1968², § 115 Note 4) によると、a と e は 15~16 世紀の筆跡は非常に似かよっていたので Paston Letters と Cely Papers からの証拠は、編者が a と e を読み違えたもので、実際には存在しないものである。それ以外の証拠も僅かである上に、臨時綴字を臨時綴字でなくしてしまう異形がその語に存在するか、又は臨時綴字の提供者が地方出身者であって、標準英語で ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ が融合した確証にはなり得ないものである。ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合を示す確かな臨時綴字 (banes(bean, 1617), visitteacon(visitation, 1608)) は 17 世紀から見出されるものの決して頻繁に見出されているわけではない。

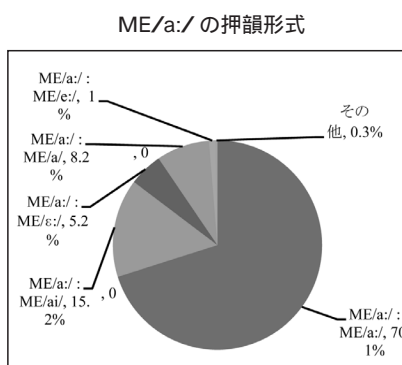
2.2.2. 正音学者の陳述

Dobson(1968², §§ 98-102) によると、16 世紀の正音学者の内、地方出身者の Mulcaster (1582) 以外は、ME/a:/ = [æ:] の証拠を提示している。既に 16 世紀の正音学者の内、Smith (1542), Bullokar(1580) は ME/a:/ = [ɛ:] の証拠を提示しているが、彼等の正常な発音では ME/a:/ は ME/ai/, ME/ɛ:/ と区別されている。標準英語で最初に ME/a:/ と ME/ai/ の同一

視の証拠を提示しているのは Robinson(1617) である。Gil(1619)(Mopsa² の言葉の中で), Coles(1679)(English-Latin Dictionary においてだけ), Cooper(1685)(近似音表の中で) には ME/a:/ = [e:] の証拠が提示されている。北部の人を別にすれば, ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ が 17 世紀で同じ音であった証拠を提示している正音学者は若干の比較的不注意な発音を含む「同音語」の著者だけであり, これらの人達も英語の一般論を行う際には ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ を明確に区別している。Dobson の見解では ME/a:/ は 1650 年以前では [æ:] が, 1650 年以降では [ɛ:] が, 1700 年以降では [e:] が標準音ということになる。

2. 3. 脚韻の収集と分析

次の円グラフは筆者が調査した 16~18 世紀の各詩人に見出される自由位置の ME/a:/ を含む全脚韻の中で, ME/a:/ の rhyme-mate とその相対頻度を示したものである。ME/a:/ は EModE 期以降 ME/a:/ だけでなく, ME/ai/, ME/a/, ME/ɛ:/, ME/e:/, /ɛ/, その他と押韻している。押韻率の点では ME/a:/ : ME/a:/ のそれ (70.1%) が一番く, 以下 ME/a:/ : ME/ai/ (15.2%), ME/a:/ : ME/a/ (8.2%), ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ (5.2%), ME/a:/ : ME/e:/, /ɛ/ (1%), その他 (0.3%) の順になっている。ME/a:/ : ME/ai/ (made : maid) は [ɛ:] に, ME/a:/ : ME/a/ (save : have) は ME/a:/ の ME/a/ 異形が, ME/a/ の ME/a/ 異形に, ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ (fate : seat) は [e(:)] に, ME/a:/ : ME/e:/, /ɛ/ (dame : seem, shade : bed) は [e(:)] に依存するものである。



次の表は筆者が調査した 16~18 世紀の各詩人に見出される自由位置の ME/a:/ と ME/a/, ME/a:/, ME/ai/, ME/ɛ:/, ME/ɛ/, ME/e:/, その他の脚韻の実数を示したものである。

ME/a:/ の rhyme-mate

	ME/a:/ : ME/a/	ME/a:/ : ME/ai/	ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/	ME/a:/ : ME/a/	ME/a:/ : ME/e(:)/	その他	Total	出身地
T. Wyatt (1503-42)	216	0	0	107	0	2	325	Ken.
H. Howard (?1517-47)	62	2	1	6	0	1	72	Suf.
G. Gascoign (c. 1535-77)	319	5	0	27	0	2	353	Ess.
G. Turberville (?1540-1610)	212	0	0	26	0	0	238	Dor.
E. Spenser (1552-99) Sc	80	15	0	11	0	0	106	Lon.
Fairy Queen 1 巻	406	32	1	35	0	0	474	
Fairy Queen 2 巻	413	28	7	36	0	6	490	
Fairy Queen 3 巻	427	29	3	31	0	5	495	
Fairy Queen 4 巻	373	31	6	13	3	0	426	

Fairy Queen 5 巻	259	26	9	40	0	9	343	
Fairy Queen 6 巻	320	21	7	47	0	3	398	
Minor Poems	376	36	9	42	0	1	464	
W. Raleigh (1552-1618)	35	0	1	9	0	0	45	Dev.
P. Sidney (1554-84)	451	2	0	76	0	0	529	Ken.
J. Lyly (?1554-1606)	93	4	0	9	0	0	106	Ken.
W. Warner (1558-1609)	289	67	0	25	0	0	381	Oxf.
G. Chapman (?1559-1634)	395	8	7	68	0	14	492	Hrt.
R. Southwell (1561-95)	76	0	0	13	0	0	89	Nrf.
S. Daniel (?1563-1619)	492	1	5	68	1	3	570	Som.
M. Drayton (1563-1631)	691	53	3	75	4	2	828	War.
C. Marlowe (1564-93)	131	1	2	24	0	1	159	Cant.
W. Shakespeare 韻文のみ	235	5	2	25	1	0	268	War.
W. Shakespeare 全 data	338	9	2	36	1	0	380	
T. Campion (1567-1620)	147	4	0	26	0	0	177	Sc.
J. Davis (1569-1626)	110	0	1	7	0	0	118	Wil.
J. Donne (1572-1631)	163	33	0	51	1	0	248	Lon.
B. Jonson (1572-1637)	329	5	0	39	0	0	373	Lon.
J. Hall (1574-1656)	67	13	2	16	0	0	98	Lei.
J. Marston (1576-1634)	92	4	0	6	0	1	103	Oxf.
E. Stirling (1580-1640)	799	154	431	104	31	8	1527	Sc.
R. Corbet (1582-1635)	65	2	0	10	0	0	77	Sur.
P. Fletcher (1582-1650)	372	14	0	49	0	3	438	Nrf.
J. Beaumont (1583-1627)	182	0	0	17	0	0	199	Lei.
F. Beaumont (1584-1616)	124	45	2	16	1	3	191	Lei.
W. Drummond (1585-1649)	265	27	84	44	11	4	435	Sc.
J. Ford (1586-1639)	76	2	1	15	2	0	96	Dev.
F. Kynaston (1587-1642)	136	1	2	33	1	1	174	Shr.
G. Fletcher (?1588-1623)	95	2	0	20	0	0	117	Suf.
W. Browne (?1591-?1641)	274	0	4	42	4	1	325	Dev.
R. Herrick (1591-1674)	151	41	1	44	0	0	237	Lon.
G. Herbert (1593-1633)	139	0	2	38	0	0	179	Mot.
H. King (1592-1669)	98	23	3	19	0	0	143	Bck.
T. Carew (1594-1639)	135	17	2	16	0	0	170	Ken.
J. Chalkhill (fl. 1600)	84	14	3	27	0	0	128	?
S. Marmion (1603-39)	47	3	1	8	0	0	59	Nhb.
E. Benlowes (1603-76)	214	27	0	50	0	0	291	Ess.
W. Habington (1605-54)	79	29	2	12	0	1	123	Wor.
J. Davenant (1606-68)	208	36	0	52	0	0	296	Cam.
E. Waller (1606-87)	231	24	2	25	0	1	283	Oxf.
W. Bosworth (1607-50?)	150	15	1	19	0	0	185	Hrf.
J. Milton (1608-74)	63	22	0	9	1	0	95	Lon.
J. Suckling (1609-41)	66	7	1	9	0	0	83	Nrf.
N. Whiting (?)	171	25	1	15	0	0	212	?
S. Godolphin (1610-42-3)	41	4	0	3	0	1	49	Cor.
R. Cartwright (1611-45)	92	3	0	10	0	1	106	Glo.
S. Butler (1612-80)	223	68	3	92	0	3	389	Wor.
R. Crashaw (1613-49)	161	29	3	19	0	0	212	Lon.

J. Cleveland (1615-69)	45	18	4	11	1	0	79	Lei.
J. Denham (1615-69)	137	20	0	31	0	2	190	Ire.
R. Lovelace (1613-58)	118	13	0	24	0	1	156	Ken.
A. Cowley (1618-67)	448	106	4	53	0	0	611	Lon.
E. Sherburne (1618-1702)	75	38	1	11	0	0	125	Ess.
W. Chamberlayne (1619-89)	308	7	0	51	0	0	366	Dor.
A. Brome (1620-66)	135	9	6	35	0	3	188	?
A. Marvell (1621-78)	92	37	0	7	0	0	136	Yks.
H. Vaughan (1622-95)	234	2	1	33	0	16	286	Wal.
T. Stanley (1625-78)	31	13	0	11	0	0	55	Hrt.
P. Hannay (died1629?)	141	27	18	33	11	1	231	Sc.
J. Hall (1627-56)	25	5	5	17	0	2	54	Dur.
C. Cotton (1630-87)	228	50	6	67	0	2	353	Stf.
K. Philips (1631-64)	136	31	2	21	1	1	192	Lon.
J. Dryden (1631-1700) 1 巻	421	68	8	63	2	3	565	Nhp.
2 巻	440	98	15	65	2	1	621	
3 巻	519	98	7	68	0	0	692	
4 巻	369	66	2	59	0	1	497	
E. Roscommon (c. 1633-85)	45	14	2	1	0	1	63	Ire.
T. Sprat (1636-1713)	41	5	9	15	2	0	72	Dev.
T. Flatman (1637-88)	120	17	11	20	2	1	171	Lon.
E. Dorset (1638-1706)	15	11	1	1	0	0	28	Dor.
P. Ayres (1638-1712)	76	13	3	10	2	0	104	Not.
T. Shadwel (?1642-92)	84	22	5	15	1	4	131	Nrf.
E. Rochester (1647-80)	123	28	5	28	1	0	185	Oxf.
J. Sheffied (1648-1721)	101	15	3	8	0	0	127	Suf.
T. Otway (1651-85)	81	20	1	15	0	2	119	Sus.
P. Carey (fl. 1651)	43	5	1	3	0	0	52	?
W. Hammond (fl. 1655)	31	5	1	9	1	1	48	Ken.
R. Blackmore (?1655-1729)	185	43	10	35	1	1	275	Wil.
R. Duke (1658-1711)	75	20	4	9	1	0	109	Lon.
E. Halifax (1661-1715)	36	10	1	0	0	0	47	Nhp.
S. Garth (1661-1719)	60	32	5	11	7	0	115	Yok.
G. Stepney (1663-1707)	49	14	7	3	2	0	75	Lon.
W. Walsh (1663-1708)	31	9	3	5	2	1	51	Wor.
W. King (1663-1712)	169	31	5	33	2	0	240	Lon.
M. Prior (1664-1721)	332	133	80	62	22	1	630	Dor.
J. Pomfret (1667-1702)	74	29	17	14	2	0	136	Bed.
G. Granville (1667-1735)	142	31	13	10	9	0	205	Dev.
J. Swift (1667-1745)	528	113	61	15	11	4	732	Dub.
W. Congreve (1670-1729)	107	37	49	29	19	0	241	Yrk.
T. Yalden (1671-1736)	125	41	31	10	6	0	213	Dev.
E. Smith (1672-1710)	5	2	0	0	0	0	7	Wor.
N. Rowe (1673-1718)	65	26	8	17	3	0	119	Bed.
J. Addison (1673-1719)	97	55	2	28	1	1	184	Wit.
I. Watts (1674-1748)	172	49	42	25	19	2	309	Shp.
W. Somerville (1675-1742)	192	78	21	9	4	2	306	Glo.
A. Philips (c. 1675-1749)	59	4	0	5	1	0	69	Lei.

J. Hughes (1677-1720)	148	60	11	11	0	0	230	Mar.
T. Parnell (1678-1718)	202	71	117	2	10	0	402	Dub.
E. Young (1681-1765)	268	76	117	6	22	0	489	Wit.
E. Fenton (1683-1730)	98	39	10	20	4	0	171	Stf.
W. Diaper (1685-1717)	139	60	6	40	0	1	246	Som.
J. Gay (1685-1732)	498	48	12	24	0	0	582	Dev.
T. Tickell (1686-1740)	125	70	5	4	1	0	205	Cum.
A. Pope (1688-1744)	501	131	42	33	2	0	709	Lon.
W. Broome (1689-1745)	71	23	13	4	2	0	113	Chs.
J. Byrom (1692-1763)	375	113	5	2	1	0	496	Manch.
M. Green (1646-1737)	38	15	4	0	0	0	57	?
R. Savage (c. 1697-1743)	110	93	24	3	0	0	230	Sc.
C. Pitt (1699-1748)	78	36	9	17	0	0	140	Dor.
J. Thomson (1700-48)	114	31	5	0	0	0	150	Sc.
J. Dyer (?1700-58)	12	4	1	5	2	2	26	Wal.
G. West (1703-56)	96	57	14	22	1	0	190	?
R. Dodsley (1703-64)	49	12	2	11	6	0	80	Not.
S. Jenyns (1703-87)	106	25	6	9	0	0	146	Lon.
W. Hamilton (1704-54)	119	50	16	5	5	0	195	Sc.
D. Mallet (?1705-65)	68	15	4	0	3	1	91	Sc.
H. Brooke (1706-83)	287	117	76	3	7	1	491	Ire.
W. Harte (?1707-74)	209	69	4	10	0	1	293	Ken.
S. Boyse (1708-49)	174	59	81	17	21	0	352	Dub.
L. Lyttleton (1709-73)	60	21	8	0	1	0	90	Wor.
P. Whitehead (1709-74)	85	32	6	3	1	0	127	Hol.
J. Armstrong (1709-79)	23	3	3	2	1	0	32	Sc.
S. Johnson (1709-84)	61	32	7	2	0	0	102	Stf.
J. Hammond (1710-42)	17	10	0	0	0	0	27	Ken.
E. Moore (1712-57)	61	22	11	4	1	0	99	Brks.
W. Thompson (1712-67)	52	24	7	7	5	1	96	Wm.
W. Shenston (1714-63)	163	105	1	12	1	0	282	Shr.
R. Jago (1715-81)	37	10	0	0	0	0	47	War.
W. Whitehead (1715-85)	209	111	30	23	3	0	376	Lon.
T. Gray (1716-85)	22	11	5	1	0	0	39	Lon.
R. Cambridge (1717-1802)	163	55	19	17	2	0	256	Lon.
J. Cawthorn (1719-62?)	145	57	3	1	0	0	206	Shef.
W. Collins (1721-59)	56	29	0	1	0	0	86	Chish.
M. Akenside (1721-70)	91	64	6	1	2	1	165	Newc.
T. Smollett (1721-71)	25	12	6	3	2	0	48	Sc.
W. Wilkie (1721-72)	185	93	60	16	15	0	369	Sc.
F. Fawkes (1721-77)	79	38	3	2	0	0	122	York.
T. Blacklock (1721-91)	67	66	22	1	17	1	174	Sc.
C. Smart (1722-70)	140	40	11	6	0	1	198	Kent.
J. Warton (1722-1800)	17	11	2	3	1	0	34	Sur.
J. Grainger (1723-66)	12	3	0	0	0	0	15	Sc.
J. G. Cooper (1723-69)	77	21	12	16	2	0	128	Not.
W. Mason (1725-97)	125	50	23	9	0	0	207	Yks.
O. Goldsmith (1728-74)	92	27	8	4	0	0	131	Ire.

T. Warton (1728-90)	122	21	1	6	0	0	150	Yks.
J. Cunningham (1929-73)	87	39	35	0	3	1	165	Dub.
J. Scott (1730-85)	90	49	1	0	0	0	140	Lon.
C. Churchill (1731-64)	455	168	34	1	0	0	658	Lon.
W. Cowper (1731-1800)	259	107	11	39	1	0	417	Hrt.
W. Falconer (1732-69)	87	51	3	3	0	0	144	Edin.
R. Lloyd (1733-64)	352	121	17	2	4	0	496	Lon.
J. Langhorne (1735-79)	176	104	6	2	2	0	290	Wm.
W. J. Mickle (1735-88)	111	71	25	8	17	0	232	Sc.
J. Beattie (1735-1803)	125	91	21	9	10	0	256	Sc.
E. Lovibond (?1735-75)	57	37	0	5	0	0	99	Mid.
S. W. Jones (1746-94)	166	89	6	0	2	0	263	Lon.
J. Logan (1744-88)	25	23	0	1	1	0	50	Sc.
T. Chatterton (1752-70)	195	4	30	0	1	0	230	Brist.
G. Crabbe (1754-1832)	603	77	10	19	1	0	710	Suf.
W. Wordsworth (1770-1850)	111	88	2	6	0	1	208	Cum.
G. G. Byron (1788-1824)	519	194	28	24	11	1	777	Sc.
P. B. Shelley (1772-1822)	140	34	6	5	2	0	187	Sus.
J. Keats (1795-1821)	301	88	10	6	2	0	407	Lon.
	29433	6363	2180	3434	398	144	41952	

2. 3. 1. ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/

case : disease(Howard), flames : beames, nature : creatour, nature : creature(2t³), nature : creature, nature : feature(3t), states : seates(Spenser-Minor), cace : encrease, embrace : encrease, face : encrease, gaue : receaue, grace : encrease, grace : encrease, pace : encrease (Spenser-2), bespake : weake, dames : beames, quake : weake(Spenser-3), late : intreate, nature : creature(2t), nature : defeature, nature : feature(2t) (Spenser-4), gaue : leaue, saue : leaue(Spenser-5), forgauē : reaue, hate : treat, ingrate : treat, late : treat, make : weake, saue : reaue, spake : weake(Spenser-6), nature : creature(Raleigh), nature : creature(5t) (Chapman), grace : peace, late : defeat, nature : defeature, state : defeat(Daniel), creat : conceat, nature : creature(Drayton), nature : creature(2t) (Marlowe), created : defeated, nature : defeature(Shakespeare), nature : creature(Davies), abate : meat, apace : peace, ashām'd : dream'd(2t), bate : eate, bate : meate, cave : leave, craue : deceiue, crāv'd : conceiv'd (2t), crāv'd : deceav'd, crāv'd : deceiv'd, crāv'd : receav'd, crāv'd : receiv'd(3t), crave : conceive (2t), crave : deceive, crave : deceive, crave : leave(4t), crave : receive, crave : receive(2t), date : conceit(2t), date : treat, date : conceit, debate : heat, dilate : conceit, dilate : seat, dilates : conceits, embrace : peace(3t), estate : conceit(2t), estate : meat, face : peace(3t), fame : dreame(5t), fame : streame(3t), fate : conceit(3t), fate : retreat, fate : seat, fate : seate, fate : treat, fates : conceits(2t), fates : seats(2t), flam'd : stream'd, flame : dreame(2t), flames :

dreames, fram'd : dream'd(2t), frame : dreame(2t), frames : beames, frames : streames,
 gate : conceit, gate : deceit(2t), gate : meat, gate : seate, gaue : receiue, gave : conceive(4t),
 gave : deceive, gave : leave(7t), gave : perceive, gave : reave, gave : receive, gave : receive,
 grace : cease, grace : peace(15t), grapes : heapes, graue : receauue, grave : conceive(4t), grave :
 leave(3t), grave : reave(2t), grave : receive, hastes : beats, hate : conceit, hate : deceit, hate :
 eate, hate : retreat, hate : seat, hates : conceits, imbrace : peace(2t), imbrace : peace, ingrate :
 conceit, ingrate : seate, late : beat, late : conceit(2t), late : deceit, late : eat, late : eate, late :
 meat, made : lead(2t), made : leade(19t), made : plead, mate : conceit(2t), nam'd : dream'd
 (3t), names : beames, names : dreames, names : streames, nature : creature, place : cease,
 place : peace(12t), race : cease, race : peace(5t), rate : eate, rav'd : conceiv'd(4t), rav'd :
 deceiv'd, rav'd : perceiv'd, rave : deceave, rave : leave(2t), rave : receive, raves : leaves, sau'd :
 receiue'd, saue : perceiue, sav'd : conceiv'd(3t), sav'd : deceiv'd(3t), sav'd : perceiv'd, sav'd :
 reav'd, sav'd : receiv'd(6t), save : conceive(5t), save : leave(6t), save : perceive, save : reave,
 save : receive(3t), shame : beame, shame : dreame(10t), shapes : heapes(3t), slave : conceive,
 slave : perceive, slave : reave, slave : receive(2t), slaves : conceives, slaves : deceives, slaves :
 leaves, slaves : perceives, space : peace(3t), state : conceit(6t), state : deceit(6t), state : eate
 (3t), state : meat(2t), state : retreat, state : retreat, state : seat(7t), state : seate(3t), state :
 treat, states : conceits(3t), states : deceits, states : seats(4t), take : wreake, tames : dreames,
 taste : beast(2t), taste : feast, tastes : beasts(3t), taste : feast, tastes : beats, tastes : feasts,
 trace : peace(3t), wastes : beasts(Stirling), ale : reveale, ale : weale(F. Beaumont), blame :
 stream(2t), blames : dreames(2t), blames : streams(2t), case : peace, cave : weave, crav'd :
 receiv'd, crave : deceive, crave : receive, embrace : peace(3t), face : peace(3t), face : peace, face :
 peace, fade : lead, fame : beam, fame : team, flames : streams, frame : dream, frame : beam
 (2t), frame : dream, frame : stream, frame : team, grace : peace, grave : conceive, grave :
 weave, lake : weak, made : mead, make : weak, name : dream, name : team, names : teams,
 named : dreamed, names : beams, names : dreams, names : streams, names : beams, names :
 dreams, nature : creature, natures : creatures, place : peace, race : peace(2t), shade : read,
 shades : meads, shapes : heaps, slave : bereave(2t), state : seat, states : conceits, tames :
 beams, taste : feasts, waste : feast, wave : deceive(Drummond), nature : feature(Ford),
 make : speak, take : speak(Kynaston), nature : creature, nature : creature(2t), nature : fea-
 ture(Browne), dames : streams(Herrick), graved : perceived, nature : creature(Herbert),
 fate : retreat, nature : feature, rate : conceit(King), nature : feature(2t)(Carew), brake :
 speak, cates : entreats, nature : creature(Chalkhill), nature : creature(Marmion), crave :

leave(Harington), makes : speak, snakes : speaks(Waller), nature : creature(Bosworth), nature : creature(Suckling), nature : feature(Whiting), bacon : deacon, base : keys, haste : ceast(Butler), flames : beames, nature : creature, natures : creatures(Crashaw), nature : feature, tasted : feasted(Cleveland), flame : stream, make : speak, slave : perceive(Cowley), fate : deceit(Sherburne), natures : features(Brome), gaol : peal(Vaughan), crav'd : perceiv'd, crave : perceive, craved : received, depraved : deceived, estate : entreat, fate : deceit, late : beat, late : conceit, late : seat, nature : creature, nature : feature, save : receive, shape : heap, state : defeat, state : seat, take : weak, taste : least(Hannay), 'scape : leap, cave : receive, fame : dream, grave : leave(Hall), nature : creature(3t), nature : feature, slave : heave, waves : heaves(Cotton), fate : seat, making : speaking, nature : creature, natures : features, natures : creatures, shape : leap(Dryden-1), create : seat, face : grease, lake : speak, late : treat, name : stream, nature : creature(4t), pale : meal, shape : leap, state : seat, state : treat (Dryden-2), name : stream, scape : leap, shades : leads, shakes : speaks, snakes : speaks (Dryden-3), make : speak, name : stream(Dryden-4), came : beam, flame : beam, gave : receive, haste : beast, name : beam, rave : leave, save : receive, taste : feast, waste : feast(Sprat), face : peace, flame : dream, flames : beams, gave : leave, grave : heave, name : dream, waves : deceives(Flatman), state : seat(Dorset), flames : beams, grape : reap(Ayres), face : seas, hate : conceit, sake : bespeak, state : heat, take : speak(Shadwell), late : retreat, nature : creature, take : weak, taste : feast(Wilmot), nature : creature(2t) (Sheffield), hate-her : feature (Carey), made : plead(Hammond), dilate : heat, fame : stream, fate : seat(2t), flame : stream, frame : stream, state : heat, state : seat, waves : leaves(Blackmore), face : disease, state : seat(Duke), taste : feast(Garth), James : reams(Stepney), face : increase, nature : feature(Walsh), came : stream, fame : stream, state : beat(King), asham'd : dream'd, debas'd : feast, debate : heat, debate : seat(2t), fate : repeat(2t), fate : retreat, flames : beams (2t), flames : dreams, flames : streams, forsake : speak, gave : receive(2t), gave-it : receive-it, grave : deceive(2t), grave : leave, grave : receive(2t), hate : seat, makes : speaks, mistake : speak, name : stream, nature : creature(6t), nature : feature(3t), pate : conceit, rate : receipt, same : stream, sav'd : receiv'd, slave : leave, slave : receive, slaves : receives, state : seat, take : sneak, take : speak, taste : feast(2t), wakes : speaks, wave : receive(Prior), fate : retreat, gave : receive, race : cease, race : peace, save : receive(Pomfret), came : dream, makes : speaks, nature : creature, race : peace(Granville), abate : heat, ale : veal, became : stream, case : lease, case : pease, crave : leave, escapes : heapes, estate : cheat, fame : stream, fate : retreat(2t), favour : beaver, flames : streams, gave : leaves, grace : peace, grave : leave, H : teach, mis-

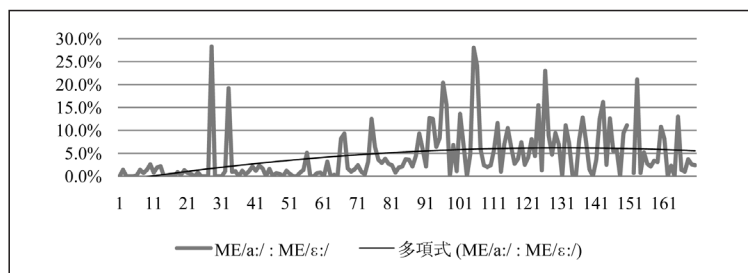
take : speak, name : dream, name : stream, names : dreams, nature : creature(6t), nature : feature, paper : cheaper, paste : yest, plac'd : deceas'd, plac't : least, place : peace, rape : cheap, rape : heap, rates : retreats, rav'd : receiv'd, same : dream, savers : weavers, shame : dream, state : defeat, taste : feast, taste : least(2t), trace : peace, vapour : cheaper(Swift), apace : increase, case : increase, deprav'd : conceiv'd, enslav'd : deceiv'd, estate : neat, face : grease, face : peace, fate : beat, fate : meat, fate : retreat(2t), favour : leave-her, frame : dream, frames : streams, grac'd : feast, grave : leave, haste : feast, make : speak, mates : retreats, nature : creature, plac't : beast, place : increase, sake : speak, sale : meal, same : dream, shades : leads, shades : meads, state : beat, state : meat, state : retreat, state : seat, state : treat(2t), take : speak(2t), taste : feast(2t), ungrateful : deceitful, waves : receives(Congreve), case : disease, face : increase, fate : meat, fate : retreat, flame : beams, flames : beams, flames : streams, gate : entreat, grace : peace(3t), grace : please, grave : leave, haste : east, make : speak, name : stream, plate : neat, race : ease, race : peace, same : stream(Yalden), late : deceit, taste : feast(Addison), awake : speak, blaze : seas, came : stream, embrace : seas, estate : deceit, estate : seat, flame : stream, flames : beams, flames : dreams, forsakes : speaks, frame : dream, grave : heave, haste : releas'd, lakes : speaks, make : weak, name : dream, name : stream, names : dreams, nature : creature, place : release, taste : feast(2t)(Watts), create : seat, debate : deceit, fate : receipt, haste : feast, hate : deceit, ingrate : deciet, late : beat, nature : feature, slave : receive(Somerville), came : stream, create : heat, nature : creature(3t), nature : feature(Hughes), abate : retreat, amaze : seize, apace : cease, awake : speak, awakes : speaks, blade : lead(2t), brace : increase, came : stream(3t), caves : leaves, dales : reveals, dames : streams, embrace : peace, face : peace, dame : dream, fame : stream, fate : beat, fate : heat, fate : repeat, fate : retreat(2t), fate : seat(2t), flame : dream, flame : gleam, flame : steam, flame : stream, flames : beams, gate : retreat, gate : wheat, gates : repeats, gates : seats, gave : leave, gave : receive, gaze : ease, grace : cease, grace : increase, grace : peace(4t), grapes : heaps, graves : heaves, haste : least, late : repeat, makes : speaks, mates : heats, name : stream(3t), plac'd : feast, place : cease, place : increase(2t), place : peace(4t), race : cease(2t), sake : speak, save : receive, shade : lead, shades : shake : speak, shake : weak, shapes : heaps, state : meat, state : retreat(3t), state : seat(4t), state : treat, taste : feast, unbrace : cease, vale : conceal, vale : steal, wake : speak, waste : increast, wav'd : perceiv'd, wave : heave, waves : leaves(3t), waves : perceives, waves : receives(2t)(Parnell), abate : seat, blames : dreams, blaze : ease, blaze : seas(4t), blaze : seize, came : beam, crave : leave, dames : beams, debate : heat, senate : seat, embrace : increase, embrace : peace(3t), estate : deceit,

estate : seat, face : decrease, face : peace(2t), fame : beam(3t), fame : dream, fame : stream (3t), fate : eat(2t), fate : repeat, fate : seat, flame : beam, flames : beams(2t), gave : perceive, gaze : please, gaze : seas, grace : peace(2t), grace : perceive, grave : leave(2t), grave : receive (2t), hate : defeat, lace : peace, lane : clean, made : plead, made : read, make : speak, mistake : speak, name : beam, names : beams, names : streams, place : decrease, place : peace(3t), sames : dreams, shade : read(2t), shades : meads, state : heat, state : retreat(2t), tale : reveal, tale : seal, taste : feast(6t), taste : least, trace : peace, vale : steal, waves : leaves, waves : perceives(Young), fame : stream, fate : retreat, flames : streams, name : stream, pale : zeal, state : retreat(Fenton), Fate : Heat(2t)(Diaper), glades : meads, hast : repeat, hate : retreat (Diaper), flames : reams, hate : meat, nature : creature(4t), natures : creatures, taste : east, wake : speak, waves : leaves(Gay), awake : speak, fate : seat, gate : eat, makes : speaks, natures : feature, race : peace, shade : mead, state : eat, take : speak(2t), take : weak(2t), Taste : Feast(Pope), flames : streams, states : seats(Broome), behaviour : receiver, flames : beams, makes : peaks, names : streams(Byrom), debas'd : least, grate : repeat(Green), dilate : heat, state : retreat(Savage), embrace : peace, grave : leave(2t), shakes : speaks, space : peace(Pitt), shade : mead(J. Thomson), shade : mead(Dyer), name : stream, taste : feast, waves : cleaves(West), grace : peace, plate : eat(Dodsley), natures : creatures(Jenyns), embrace : increase, tale : meal, waste : feast(Hamilton), amaze : please, bathe : breathe, blaze : seas, brake : beak, came : beam(4t), came : stream, chase : peace, crave : receive, ensalving : weaving, estate : seat, fate : treat, flam'd : beam'd, flame : beam(3t), frame : beam (2t), frame : gleam, frame : stream(2t), gave : receive, grave : weave, lave : weave, made : lead, nature : creature(3t), nature : feature(2t), place : cease, place : decrease, race : peace (2t), same : dream, scale : deal, scale : weal, space : increase, state : defeat, state : retreat(2t), state : seat(3t), take : weak, tame : stream, taste : feast(4t), vale : seal, wave : conceive(3t), wave : receive, waves : heaves(2t)(Brooke), came : stream(Harte), abate : seat, awake : speak, came : stream(3t), debate : seat, embrac'd : feast, embrace : peace, face : cease, face : peace(2t), fades : meads, fate : cheat, fate : heat, fate : seat(2t), flame : beam, frame : beam, gave : receive, grace : peace, grave : heave, grave : leave(2t), hate : retreat, lakes : breaks, lakes : speaks, mate : repeat, mistake : weak, pale : conceal, plac't : East, place : peace, rare : increase, race : peace(2t), same : dream, shake : weak, slave : leave, state : retreat, tale : reveal(2t), taste : increas'd, trace : peace, vale : reveal, wave : leave(Boyse), face : please, grace : please, state : retreat(Lyttleton), case : please(P. Whitehead), pale : weal, tame : cream (Armstrong), fates : seats, shades : meads(Johnson), base : release, haste : feast, hate :

retreat, nature : creature(5t), wakes : speaks(Moore), inflames : beams, inflames : streams, name : stream, nature : creature(Thompson), came : stream(Shenstone), elate : cheat, fame : stream, gate : repeat, name : stream(2t), nature : creature, shade : lead, shade : mead(W. Whitehead), wave : cleave(Gray), ale : meal, cates : meats, cave : leave, fam'd : stream'd, fate : repeat, fates : retreats(2t), grave : heave, grave : leave, haste : feast, shakes : speaks, state : repeat, tale : reveal, wake : speak, whale : meal(Cambridge), shade : mead(Akenside), fate : beat, gate : retreat, shade : mead, state : cheat(Smollett), nature : creature(2t)(Cooper), came : ream, came : stream(4t), debate : retreat, debate : seat(2t), embrac'd : ceas'd, fame : stream, fate : treat, fate : retreat(5t), fate : seat(2t), flames : streams, frame : stream, grac'd : deceas'd, grace : peace, name : stream, nature : creature(5t), place : ease, race : cease, rav'd : heav'd, shake : weak, spaces : peaces, state : meal, state : entreat, states : seats, tales : reveals, waves : heaves(3t)(Wilkie), embrace : increase, fate : beat, fate : retreat(3t), fate : seat(2t), fates : treats, flame : stream, grave : heave, hate : beat, hate : treat, late : retreat, names : streams, save : heave(Blacklock), makes : speaks, nature : creature(2t), place : cease, take : speak(Smart), date : seat, elate : seat(2t), estate : neat, fading : leading, Fate : cheat, Fate : seat, flame : beam(2t), flames : streams, gave : receive, mason : reason, mate : repeat, nature : creature, nature : creature, plac'd : feast, place : cease, race : peace(2t), shade : mead, shades : beads, shame : dream, shame : scream, take-it : speak-it(Cunningham), shade : lead, shade : mead(2t), state : heat, state : retreat, taste : feast(Mason), nature : creature(3t), taste : least(Goldsmith), came : stream(T. Warton), fates : retreats(Scott), same : stream, space : increase(Cowper), behaves : receives, fates : seats, haste : East, ingrate : seat, saves : receives, waves : receives(Mickle), fame : gleam, fate : retreat, flame : steam, flames : streams(2t), grace : cease, name : stream, taste : feast, vales : conceals, wav'd : heav'd (Beattie), grave : leave(Jones), blame-on : scream-on, nature : creature(2t)(Chatterton), embrace : peace, nature : feature, take : speak(Byron), came : gleam, erasing : pleasing, frame : gleam, frame : stream, nature : feature(Shelley), nature : feature, placed : feast (Keats).

ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/ は PE では [ei] : [i:] の不完全韻ではあるが、当初想定していた以上に Howard を初めとする EModE 期以降の詩人に、一見両者が融合していたかのように、多く見出されている。ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/ が時代と共にどのように変化してきたかを見るために ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/, ME/ε:/ (> [e]), ME/ε:/ (> [ei]) の押韻率を折れ線グラフにしてみると以下のようなになる。近似曲線は Excel(2010) で求めたものである。

ME/a:/:ME/ε:/ の押韻率の推移



1) 1650 年以前に出生の詩人で、ME/a:/:ME/ε:/ が両者の融合を示すほど多く見出されるのは Stirling, Drummond, Hannay がいるだけである。しかし、彼等は共に Scotland 出身で、彼等の脚韻は Scotland の発音に基づくものである疑いが極めて強く、その意味合いで彼等の ME/a:/:ME/ε:/ は標準英語での ME/a:/ と ME/ε:/ の融合の確証にはならない。この三人を除く他の詩人は明らかに ME/a:/ と ME/ε:/ を押韻させるのを避けている。見出されたとしてもその多くは creature, break, speak 等の ME/a:/ 異形、及び conceive, feature, retreat, key, weak 等の ME/ai/ 異形に依存するものである可能性が極めて高い。ME/a:/:ME/ε:/ が見出され、ME/a:/ = [e(:)] であったと思われる詩人では、同時に方言音に依存する ME/a:/:ME/ε:/ = [e(:)]、及び ME/a:/:ME/ε:/ = [e] が散見されるのも一つの特徴になっている。

2) 1650 ~ 1720 年に出生の詩人で、Blackmore(Wiltshire), Prior(Dorsetshire), Pomfret (Bedfordshire), Granville(Devonshire), Swift(Dublin), Congreve(Yorkshire), Yalden (Devonshire), Watts(Southamptonshire), Somerville(Gloucestershire), Parnell(Dublin), Young(Winchester), Gay(Devonshire), Pope(London), Broome(Cheshire), Savage(Scotland), West(?), Hamilton(Scotland), Brooke(Ireland), Boyse(Dublin), Moore(Berkshire), Whitehead(London), Cambridge(London) には ME/a:/ と ME/ε:/ の脚韻がそれ以前より比較的多く見出される傾向にある。この時期になると、ME/ε:/ の ME/a:/, ME/ai/ 異形に依存する脚韻の他に、異形に基づくことのない fame: stream, state: great 等が見出されるようになっている。詩であるために、川の持っている「大き」「広がり」等を表現するために、いわばその音象徴的效果を狙って、stream を [stri:m] ではなく、[stre:m] と発音させたためである。この時期になると、異形こそないが、音美感 (phone aesthetic)⁴ 故に、[e:] に依存する ME/a:/:ME/ε:/ が増えている。

3) 1720 年以降に出生の詩人で、Wilkie(Scotland), Blacklock(Scotland), Cooper(Nottinghamshire), Mason(Yorkshire), Cunningham(Dublin), Churchill(Westminster), Mickle (Scotland), Beattie(Scotland), Chatterton(Bristol), Byron(London) に疑義のない ME/a:/:ME/ε:/ が両者の融合の確証となる程度に見出され、ME/a:/ と ME/ε:/ は [e:] で融合している。

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の ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合の確証にはならない。その他の詩人では、ME/ɛ:/ と ME/e:/ の脚韻の数が ME/ɛ:/ と ME/a:/(ME/ai/) との脚韻の総数より多い。これは ME/ɛ:/ が [e:] > [i:] へと高母音化したからである。この時期の ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の脚韻は、時代が後になるにつれ、ME/ɛ:/ に break, great を含むものが多くなっている。ME/ɛ:/ を持つ語は、break, great を除き、ME/a:/ を持つ語と押韻しなくなっている。

見出される ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ の全てが両者の融合に役立つわけではない。次の ME/ɛ:/ を持つ語には、少なくとも EModE 期には ME/ai/ 異形が並存していた。

] a) Dobson(1968², § 129) によると、OE -æg-は南部では ME/ei/ > ai に発達したが、北部では ME/ɛ:/ に発達した。key(OE < cæge), lea(OE < læge) ではこの北部形が南部形にとって代わって今日に及んでいるが、少なくとも、EModE 期には key, lea には本来の ME/ai/ 異形が並存していた。

b) Dobson(1968², § 115 Note 3, § 131) によると、Anglo-Norman では二重母音 ei は単母音化した。そのため Anglo-Norman 借用語では、初期の二重母音に由来する ME/ei/ > ai/ と、後の単母音化に由来する ME/ɛ:/ 異形が ME 期中並存していた。conceive, deceive 等では ME/ɛ:/ 異形が標準英語で確立したが、inveigle では今日も尚 ME/ai/ 異形が並存している。conceive, conceit, deceive, deceit, defeature, feature, perceive, receive, receipt, retreat, seize では少なくとも EModE 期には ME/ai/ 異形が並存していた。

c) Dobson(1968², § 115 Note 6) によると、weak にも EModE 期には ME/ai/ 異形が並存していた。従って、ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ の内、] との脚韻は実質 ME/a:/ と ME/ai/ の脚韻であるかも知れない。

次の ME/ɛ:/ を持つ語には、少なくとも EModE 期には ME/a:/ 異形が並存していた。

] a) Dobson(1968², § 127) によると、creature には creature を 3 音節に発音し、第 2 音節に動詞 create のように ME/a:/ を当てる異形が並存していた。

b) Dobson(1968², § 115 Notes 3, 7) によると、break, speak の過去形には正常な ME/a:/ を持つ brake, spake の他に、OE, ME の複数形 break, speak も異形として並存していて、その類推で原形・現在形にも ME/a:/ を持つ異形 brake, spake が並存していた。従って、ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ の内、] との脚韻は実質 ME/a:/ 同士の脚韻であるかも知れない。

] Zachrisson(1913, p. 66), Cercignani(1981, p. 174) によれば、exchange, strange, ranged, wage には、少なくとも EModE 期には ME/ai/ 異形が並存していた。従って、ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ の内、] との脚韻は実質 ME/ai/ : ME/ɛ:/ であるかも知れない。しかし、今回の調査ではこれらの語と ME/ɛ:/ との脚韻は見出されなかった。Dobson(1968², § 115 Notes 3) は、18 世紀前半には ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の脚韻が「本当に多数になる」と述べている。今回の調査

で明らかなように、18世紀の前半のある一時期 ME/a:/ と ME/ε:/ の脚韻がかなり豊富に出現するのは事実である。しかし、18世紀の脚韻については、ME/a:/ と ME/ε:/ の脚韻と並んで当初より、ME/ε:/ と ME/e:/ の脚韻もかなり多く出現している。

2.3.2. ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/ (> [e])

plate : ate(Spenser-1), behaiour : indeuour, fauour : endeuour, fauour : indeuour, gaueher : endeuour, labour : indeuour, made : bestad, saue-her : endeuour(Spenser-5), state : threat(Drayton), gate : sweat(Hall), fade : bread, fade : dead(2t), made : dead(25t), made : head(17t), made : spread(Stirling), fade : dead(2t), fade : head, fade : spread, fates : threats, made : dead(2t), made : head, made : o'respread, raven : heaven(2t), shade : dead, shades : heads(Drummond), capons : weapons(Cleveland), made : bread, savers : endeavours, state : ate(Brome), shade : head, shade : spread, trade : dead(Garth), made : head(King), made : head, shade : head, waste : breast(Prior), waste : breast(Pomfret), favours : endeavours, gazer : pleasure, haste : breast, shade : dead(Granville), grac'd : breast, lady : ready, made : thread, o'ershade : spread(Congreve), rate : ate(Yalden), haste : breast(2t), shade : dead, taste : breast(Rowe), fade : dead, fade : head, made : dead(3t), made : head, shade : dead(3t), shade : head(4t), shade : spread, shades : spreads(Watts), shade : head(2t)(Somerville), shade : head, shade : spread, shades : treads(Parnell), shade : spread, trade : dead(2t)(Young), estate : sweat, trade : head(Fenton), shade : head(Diaper), shade : bread, shade : dead, shade : head(Pope), made : tread, shades : treads(Broome), state : ate(Byrom), shade : head(2t)(Pitt), shade : head(3t), trac'd : breast(West), shade : bread, shade : dead, waste : breast(Hamilton), made : head(2t), made : spread(2t), shade : dead, shade : head(6t), shade : spread(5t), shade : tread, shade : unread(Boyse), shade : head(Lytleton), flavour : endeavour(Armstrong), lady : ready, taste : breast(Moore), shade : head(2t), waste : breast(Thompson), fade : tread, lady : ready, shade : dead, shade : head(2t), shade : spread, trade : head(W. Whitehead), made : head, shade : spread(Gray), shade : spread(Cambridge), shade : head(3t), shade : spread(Akenside), flavour : endeavour(Smollett), favour : endeavour(Cooper), favour : endeavour, shade : dead(3t), shade : head(4t), shade : spread(4t), shade : tread, shades : spreads, trade : bread, trade : read(Wilkie), haste : breast(J. Warton), fade : dead, fate : threat, grac'd : breast, shades : heads, taste : breast(Blacklock), lady : already(Smart), behaviour : endeavour, favour : endeavour(2t), favours : endeavours(2t)(Cunningham), fade : head, fade : spread, lady : ready, shade : head(7t), shade : spread, shades : spreads(3t)(Mason), favour : endeavour, ravens : heavens, shade : head, shade : tread, trade :

head(Cowper), fade : head, shade : dead(Falconer), haste : breast, shade : dead(2t), shade : head(2t), shade : spread(Langhorn), blade : head, fade : head(2t), glade : head, glade : spread, made : dead, shade : adred, shade : dead, shade : dread, shade : head(7t), shade : spread, taste : breast(Mickle), effac'd : breasts, glades : heads, made : spread, shade : head, shades : treads, waste : breast(Beattie), elate : ate, state : ate(Jones), graven : heaven, lady : ready (Byron), shade : o'erspread(Shelley), haste : breast(Keats).

ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ (> [e]) は PE では [ei] : [e] の不完全韻であるが、Spenser を初めとし EModE 期以降見出されている。Dobson(1968², § 30) によると、ME/ɛ:/ の短母音化はかなり一般的で、breath, death; deaf; bread, dread, head, lead, spread, stead, tread; sweat, threat の PE [e] は ME/ɛ:/ = [ɛ:] > [ɛ] > [e] の過程を経て発達したものである。しかし、16~17 世紀にはまだ長母音が並存していたことは正音学者の証拠からも明らかである。従って、ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ (> [e]) は実質 ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ となり、[e(:)] に依存する完全韻となる。eat は OE では eatan(inf.), a:t(p.), eaten(pp.) と変化し、ME の過去形に二つの異形 ete(2-4), ate(3-4) が並存していた。前者から発音を、後者から綴字を採用した結果である。

2. 3. 3. ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ (> [ei])

take : break(Chapman), state : great(Daniel), abate : great(3t), date : great(4t), debate : great, dilate : great, estate : great(2t), fate : great(2t), gate : great, hate : great(7t), ingrate : great(3t), late : great(7t), mate : great, rate : great(3t), state : great(34t)(Stirling), estate : great, fate : great, state : great(7t), state : great(2t)(Drummond), state : great(Habington), makes : steaks(Cleveland), estate : great(Cowley), nature : greater, take : break(Brome), state : great(Hannay), create : great(Hall), fate : great, rate : great(Philips), fate : great, hate : great(Dryden-1), make : break, rake : break(Dryden-2), state : great(2t)(Dryden-3), fate : great, state : great(Roscommon), state : great(Halifax), fate : great, rate : great, shakes : breaks, state : great(Flatman), state : great(Ayres), state : great(Wilmot), nature : greater(Sheffield), fate : great(Otway), state : great(Blackmore), fate : great(2t)(Duke), state : great(Halifax), fate : great(Garth), hate : great, state : great(4t), take : break(Stepney), fate : great(Walsh), state : great(King), abate : great, awakes : breaks, fate : great(14t), hate : great, lake : break, relate : great, state : great(9t), take : break(Prior), abate : great, estate : great, fate : great(2t), late : great, rate : great, state : great(5t)(Pomfret), awakes : breaks, fate : great, mistakes : breaks, state : great, take : break(Granville), estate : great, fate : great(4t), hate : great, late : great, state : Great(7t), undertake : break(Swift), estate : great(2t), fate : great, hate : great, state : great, wakes :

breaks(Congreve), fate : great(4t), hate : great(2t), state : great(4t)(Yalden), fate : great(3t), nature : greater(Rowe), awake : break, estate : great, fate : great, make : break, takes : breaks(Watts), create : great, date : great, debate : great(2t), estate : great, fate : great(2t), state : great(3t)(Somerville), fate : great(2t), state : great(3t)(Hughes), create : great(2t), fate : great(2t), forsakes : breaks, hate : great(2t), sake : break, shakes : breaks, state : great(10t), take : break(Parnell), awakes : breaks, awakes : breaks, create : great, estate : great(4t), fate : great(8t), gate : great(2t), hate : great, late : great(2t), rate : great, shake : break(2t), shakes : breaks, state : great(9t)(Young), state : great(2t)(Fenton), state : great(2t)(Gay), fate : great(2t), state : great(3t)(Tickell), estate : great(2t), fate : great(6t), make : break, makes : breaks, rate : great, state : great(15t)(Pope), create : great(3t), fate : great, hate : great, state : great(4t)(Broome), make : break, uncreate : great(Green), elate : great(2t), fate : great(5t), rate : great, shake : break, state : great(13t)(Savage), create : great, rake : break(Pitt), date : great, estate : great, late : great, state : great(Thomson), be-take : break, gate : great, hate : great, lake : break, state : great(3t)(West), make : break, state : great(4t)(Jenyns), estate : great, Fate : great(5t), state : great(4t)(Hamilton), fate : great, forsake : break, hate : great, state : great(Mallet), fate : great, gate : great, lake : break(2t), late : great, state : great(12t)(Brooke), fate : great, state : great(2t)(Harte), date : great, fate : great(4t), lake : break(2t), state : great(10t), take : break, takes : breaks(Boyse), state : great(4t)(Lyttleton), state : great(5t)(P. Whitehead), fate : great, gate : great, lake : break, plate : great, state : great(Johnson), create : great, fate : great(8t), sake : break, state : great(4t), wake : break(W. Whitehead), fate : great, state : great(Gray), create : great, ake : break, shake : break(Cambridge), estate : great, state : great(2t)(Cawthorn), state : great(Akenside), state : great(Smollett), estate : great, fate : great, state : great(2t)(Wilkie), fate : great(3t), gate : great, state : great(5t)(Cooper), plate : great, state : great(2t)(Fawkes), state : great(J. Warton), fate : great, state : great(Blacklock), fate : great, make : break, nature : greater, state : great(2t)(Smart), fate : great, lake : break, mistake : break, shake : break, state : great(2t)(Cunningham), pate : great, state : great, takes : breaks(Mason), fate : great, hate : great, state : great(2t)(Goldsmith), awake : break, estate : great, Fate : great(3t), hate : great, make : break, mistake : break, state : great(25t), take-it : break-it(Churchill), ache : break, sake : break(2t), take : break(Cowper), awakes : breaks(Falconer), create : great, date : great, elate : great, estate : great, fate : great, hate : great(3t), lake : break, late : great(2t), make : break, nature : greater, plate : great, sake : break, state : great, wake : break(Lloyd), state : break(Mickle), fate :

great, make-it : break-it, makers : breakers, state : great(2t)(Beattie), elate : great, state : great, wake : break(Jones), debate : great, fate : great(5t), plate : great, shakes : breaks, stake : great, state : great(18t)(Chatterton), fate : great(2t), mate : great, state : great(7t)(Crabbe), estate : great, spake : break(Wordsworth), awake : break, fate : great(2t), gate : great(2t), hate : great, late : great, make-it : break-it, make-them : break-them, makes : breaks, sake : break, shake : break, stake : break, state : Great(2t), take : break, take-it : break-it, take-them : break-them, translate : great, wake : break(3t), waking : breaking (Byron), cake : break, fate : great(2t), flakes : breaks, sake : break, state : great, taking : breaking(Keats).

ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/(> [ei]) は PE では [ei] に依存する完全韻であり、韻に関してはなんの問題も生じない。しかし、この脚韻は英語音韻史に大きな波紋を投げかける問題である。break, great, steak, yea の PE [ei] は 音置換説にあっては ME/a:/ と ME/ε:/ の融合を示すものであり、標準英語の正常な発音であるが、音変化説にあっては ME/ε:/> [i:] と ME/a:/> [ei] はお互い交差することのない音過程であるから、音置換説のような ME/a:/ と ME/ε:/ の融合問題は起こらず、例外的発音ということになる。荒木 (1984, p. 86) によれば、標準英語の中に異質な方言音が散発的に定着した例は珍しくないが、歴史的に規則的なものが例外的になった事例は、少なくとも英語音韻史では、他にない。ME/a:/ が ME/ε:/ と融合したとする枠組みでは、史的音韻論の教えるところにより、ME/ε:/ が [i:] に発達したのならば、ME/a:/ も [i:] に発達しなければならないはずであるが、標準英語での ME/a:/ = PE [i:] に対する証拠はない。ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/(> [ei]) は 1650 年以前では稀であり、1700 年以降にならないと例証されず、18 世紀末に再び稀になるという脚韻からの証拠を考え合わせると、後者(音変化説)を採るのが無難である。ME/ε:/(> [ei]) を持つ語は EModE 期以降、ME/e:/, ME/a:/, ME/ε:/, ME/ai/ を持つ語と押韻するが、その押韻状況は以下のようなものである。

1) 1650 年以前の詩人で、a) ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/(> [ei]) が両者の融合の確証となる程度に見出されているのは Stirling と Drummond だけである。これは Scotland 方言 [e:] に依存するものであり、他の詩人では ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/(> [ei]) は見出されていない。b) ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/ai/ は Sidney に 1 例見出されているだけで、他の詩人では見出されていない。c) ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/ε:/ は散見される程度である。この時期にはまだ ME/a:/ と ME/ai/ の脚韻も見出されておらず、ME/a:/ = [æ:], ME/ε:/ = [ε:], ME/ai/ = [ei] であった蓋然性が高くなる。

2) 1650 年 ~ 1700 年に活躍した詩人では、a) ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/a:/ が次第に多くの詩人で見出されるようになるが、北・西・南部出身の詩人を除き、両者の融合の確証となる程度には見出されてない。b) ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/ai/ も Butler, Sherburne, Ayres, Halifax, King に

1 例づつ見出されるだけである。c) ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/e:/ も散見される程度である。ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/a:/, ME/ai/ の総数が ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/e:/ より多い傾向にある。この時期には疑義のない ME/a:/ と ME/ai/ の脚韻が豊富に見出され、ME/a:/ = ME/ai/ = [ε:], ME/ε:/ = [e:] であった蓋然性が高くなる。

3) 1700 年以降活躍した詩人では、a) ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/a:/ がほぼどの詩人にも見出されるようになり、特に Prior, Pomfret, Swift, Yalden, Somerville, Parnel, Young, Pope, Savage, Hamilton, Brooke, Boyse, Whitehead ではその押韻率も高くなる。b) ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/ai/ は散見される程度である。c) ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/e:/ も散見される程度であるが、1750 年以降は更に少なくなる。ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/a:/, ME/ai/ の総数が ME/ε:/(> [ei]) : ME/e:/ より遙かに多くなる。特に 1720 年以降出生の詩人の内、Cooper, Churchihill, Lloyd, Chatterton では break は ME/a:/, ME/ai/ とだけ押韻し、ME/e:/ とは押韻していない。これはこの時期までに ME/ε:/ が [e:] > [i:] と変化したためである。ME/a:/ = ME/ai/ = [ε:], ME/ε:/ = [e:] > [i:] であった蓋然性が高くなる。

2. 3. 4. ME/a:/:ME/e:/

age : besiege, fame : theame, name : theame, rage : besiege, same : theame(Stirling [Scotland]), ale : keale(F. Beaumont [Leicestershire]), shame : theme(Dryden-1 [Northamptonshire]), name : theme(Dryden-2), fame : theme, name : theme(Flatman [London]), age : siege, state : complete(Ayres [Nottinghamshire]), frame : theme(Blackmore [Wiltshire]), sav'd : retriev'd(Stepney [Westminster]), abate : complete, blame : theme, came : theme, de-face : piece, fame : theme, fate : complete(2t), name : theme(3t), same : theme(2t), sav'd : believ'd, state : complete(2t)(Prior [Dorsetshire]), fate : complete, grate : meet, James : themes(2t), name : theme(Granville [Devonshire]), dame : seem, hate : compleat, take-well : equal(Swift [Dublin]), fame : theme(3t), name : theme(Congreve [Yorkshire]), state : meet (Yalden [Devonshire]), flame : theme(Rowe [Bedfordshire]), gave : relieve(Addison [Wiltshire]), gates : sweets, name : theme, name : blaspheme(3t), names : themes(Watts [Southampton]), fate : complete, graze : bees, place : niece(Somerville [Gloucester]), fame : theme (3t), state : replete(Parnell [Dublin]), blame : theme, came : theme(2t), estate : great, fame : theme(5t), fate : complete(3t), flame : theme, gate : complete(2t), inflame : theme, name : theme(3t), shame : theme, state : complete(Young [Winchester]), state : complete(Fenton [Staffordshire]), fame : theme, flames : themes(Broome [Cheshire]), fate : complete(Dyer [Wales]), dame : theme, fame : theme, same : theme(Dodsley [Nottingham]), fate : complete (Hamilton [Scotland]), fame : theme, flames : themes, frame : blaspheme, frame : theme,

maze : theme, state : complete(2t) (Brooke [Ireland]), blame : theme(2t), fame : theme, fate : complete(2t), flame : theme(2t), inflame : theme, name : theme(2t) (Boyse [Dublin]), lane : mien(P. Whitehead [Holborn]), grac'd : priest(Thompson [Westmoreland]), made : indeed (W. Whitehead [London]), names : themes(Wilkie [Scotlad]), grave : eve(J. Warton [Surrey]), came : theme, flame : theme, inflame : theme(2t), name : theme(Blacklock [Scotland]), date : complete, fame : theme, state : complete(Cunningham [Dublin]), case : these (Lloyd [Westminster]), blamd : blasphemd, state : complete(Mickle [Scotland]), inflame : theme(Beattie [Scotland]), grave : eve(Logan [Scotland]), makes : reeks(Chatterton [Bristol]).

ME/a:/ : ME/e:/ はPE では [ei] : [i:] の不完全韻であるが、EModE 期以降 Stirling を初め、特に北・南西・東部・Scotland 出身者に豊富に見出されている。Kökeritz(1953), Dobson (1968²) ともこの脚韻の具体例を挙げていない。Dobson(1968², § 102) によると、ME/a:/ = [e:] は東部方言では 15 世紀に、北部方言では 16 世紀に、標準英語では脚韻によれば 1600 年以降に、綴字によれば 1630 年以降に、正音学者によれば Wharton(1654) 以降のいくつかの同音語表に示されているにすぎず、1700 年までは、ME/a:/ = [e:] は俗語、方言或いは少なくとも、注意深くない話し言葉に限られていた。従って、EModE 期に見出される ME/a:/ : ME/e:/ は ME/a:/ がいち早く [e:] にまで高母音化した方言での ME/a:/ = ME/e:/ = [e(:)] に依存する完全韻である。

2. 3. 5. ME/a:/ : ME/ε/

chambre : remember, daunger : remembre(Wyatt), became : Tame, came : Thame, name : Thame(Spenser-4), state : beget(Daniel), dame : Tame, fame : Tame, name : Tame, taster : jester(Drayton), sale : well(Shakespeare), paper : Petter(Donne), lames : Thames(Jonson), chang'd : reveng'd(2t), change : revenge(7t), change : venge, estrang'd : reveng'd, made : led, rang'd : reveng'd, range : revenge, range : venge, strange : revenge(6t), strange : venge(2t), taste : digest(Stirling), change : revenge, exchange : revenge, faces : tresses, fade : shed, fate : yet, made : red, name : stem, shade : bed, shade : fed, shade : fled, shade : red(Drummond), games : Thames, James : Thames(Ford), flames : Thames(Kynaston), dames : Thames(2t), enflames : Thames, fame : Tame(Browne), name : Thame(Milton), graces : tresses(Cleveland), flames : Thames(Lovelace), ages : pledges, blade : fled, chaste : rest, dames : Thames, haste : best, haste : blest, haste : crest, strange : revenge(2t), taste : best, taste : digest(Hannay), exchange : revenge(Philips), chang'd : reveng'd(Dryden-1), tasting : blessing(Dryden-2), hastes : guests, hastes : nests(Sprat), flames : Thames(Shadwell),

embrace : address(Wilmot), sake : wreck(Hammond), made : bed(Duke), hastes : rests, mace : address, plac'd : address'd, places : distresses, race : address, race : bless, state : met (Garth), wasted : digested(Stepney), face : less, shade : fled(Walsh), came : Thame, chamber : remember(King), debas'd : jest, embrace : distress, fate : forget, flame : condemn, nam'd : condemn'd, names : Thames, place : guess(Prior), face : express, fane : then(Pomfret), blade : fled, change : revenge, frames : condemns, taste : bless'd(Granville), ale-house : fellows, flames : Thames, grace : guess, James : Thamesis, made : bed, names : Thames(2t), Taste : confest(Swift), changes : revenges, estate : get, fame : them, fate : yet, grac'd : rest, haste : best, hates : forgets, made : bed, made : shed, plac'd : express'd(2t), plac'd : rest, reputation : discretion, reputation : profession, waste : oppression(Congreve), case : guess, embrace : caress, grace : confess, race : guess(Yalden), face : express, shade : fled(Rowe), abates : forgets, flames : gems, grace : distress, grace : dress, grace : guess, haste : bleast, hates : wets, made : let, pale : dwell, profane : men, shade : fled, shade : led, vale : cell(Watts), grace : address(Somerville), names : Thames(Philips), fades : sheds, gates : regrets, haste : distress'd, plac'd : rest, shade : bed, state : yet(Parnell), shade : bed(Young), estate : get, fate : yet, wasted : digested(Fenton), fame : stem(Tickell), names : Thames(2t)(Pope), fames : Thames(Byrom), danger : avenger(Dyer), vale : repell(West), came : them, plac'd : jest, taste : jest(Dodsley), faces : dresses, grac'd : crest, graces : possesses, waste : possess (Hamilton), James : Thames, James's : Thames-is, plac'd : jest(Mallet), came : gem, face less, fates : forgets, favour : sever, flames : Thames, shade : fled, taste : best, taste : bless'd (2t), taste : rest(2t)(Boyse), race : confess(Lyttleton), taste : blest(Armstrong), shades : beds(Moore), change : revenge, glade : red, name : gem, waste : drest(Thompson), favour : however(Shenstone), blame : them, flames : Thames(W. Whitehead), made : bed, waste : possess'd(Cambridge), graces : distresses, vales : dwells(Akenside), taste : opprest(2t)(Smollett), dames : Thames, trade : led(Cooper), chang'd : reveng'd, change : revenge(2t), fate : regret(2t), flames : condemns, mistake : neck, shade : bred, shade : fed, shade : fled(2t), shade : led(2t), states : regrets(Wilkie), chances : revenges, defac'd : adrest, embrace : redress, fate : regret(3t), glade : fled, mate : net, shade : fed, state : regret, taste : bles'd, taste : imprest(Blacklock), state : set(Cowper), bane : den, Fame : Tame, name : Tame(Lloyd), gales : dwells, shade : led(Langhorn), ages : pledges, blade : bed, blame : them, change : revenge, defac'd : west, game : phlegm, glade : fled(2t), glade : sped, made : fed, made : led, shame : them, stage : pledge, taste : bless'd, wage : pledge(Mickle), debate : set, exhale : smell, haste : guest, shade : bed, shade : fled, taste : rest, vale : swell, waste : rest(2t)

(Beattie), game : Thame, names : Thames(Jones), taste : rest(Crabbe), age : allege, change : revenge(2t), changed : avenged, exchange : avenge, flames : Thames(2t), page : allege, range : avenge, range : revenge, strange : revenge(Byron), change : revenge(2t)(Shelley), haste : rest, shames : Thames(Keats).

ME/a:/ : ME/ε/ は PE では [ei] : [e] の不完全韻であるが、当初想定していた以上に、EModE 期以降、特に Scotland・東・北・西部出身の詩人に見出されている。とりわけ ME/a:/ : ME/ε/ 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), Thompson(Westmoreland), Beatle(Scotland) では複数個見出されている。Dobson(1968², § 102) 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:] にまで高母音化していたことが示されているので、これらの方言では ME/a:/ = [e:] > [e] : ME/ε/ = [e] の完全韻となる。

] a) Dobson(1968², § 62) によると、ME 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、StE 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, range には EModE 期には本来の ME/a/ も異形として並存していた。

b) Dobson(1968², § 6) によると、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) Kökeritz(1953, p. 165) によると、gate, shade にも ME/a/ 異形が並存していた。従って、ME/ε/ とこれらの語との脚韻は ME/a/ : ME/ε/ であるかも知れない。Wyld(1965, Rep. p. 133), Kökeritz(1953, p. 164) は ME/a/ と ME/ε/ の脚韻を [æ] : [ε] 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、ME/a:/ : ME/ε/ = ME/a/ : ME/ε/ は [æ] : [ε] の類韻ではなく、ME/a:/ の Scotland, 東・北・西部方言形 [e] に依存する完全韻であると考えている。

] chambre : remember, daunger : remembre は Wyatt からのものであり、一見すると ME/a:/ = [ε:] 又は [e:] の証拠に見える。しかし、彼は harbar : baner : suffer : displeasure,

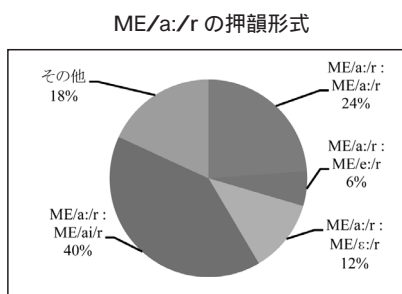
reason : season : condition : fashion のように弱音節部だけで押韻させたり, lif : pensive のように強音節部と弱音節部で押韻させているので, chamber : danger : remember も弱音節部 [ər] に依存するものである可能性が強く, ME/a:/ = [ε:] 又は [e:] の確証にはならない。

] Dobson(1968², § 225 Note 3) によると, Thames には ME/a:/ 異形 (6- Thames) が並存していた。Thames の PE [ε] は OE Temes に, 綴字はラテン語 Tamesis に由来するものである。従って, ME/a:/ と Thames の脚韻は ME/a:/ 同士のものかも知れない。ME/a:/ : ME/ε/ は Scotland・東・北・西部方言での [e], ME/a:/ の ME/a/ 異形に依存する ME/a/ : ME/ε/, Thames の ME/a:/ 異形に依存するかの何れかであり, 何れにしても完全韻である。

2. 3. 4. ME/a:/r

次の円グラフは筆者が調査した 16～18 世紀の各詩人に見出される ME/a:/r を含む全脚韻の中で ME/a:/r の rhyme-mate とその相対頻度を示したものである。

ME/a:/r は EModE 期以降 ME/a:/r だけでなく, ME/ai/r, ME/ε:/r, その他 (ME/a/r, /ε/r) と押韻している。押韻率の点では ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r のそれ (40%) が一番高く, 以下, ME/a:/r : ME/a:/r (24%),

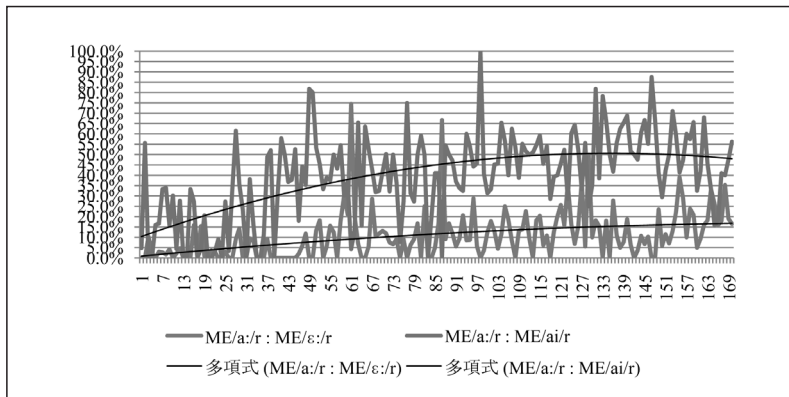


ME/a:/r : ME/ε:/r (12%), ME/a:/r : ME/e:/r (6%), その他 (18%) の順になっている。

ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r (care : air), ME/a:/r : ME/ε:/r (care : wear), ME/a:/r : ME/e:/r (care : dear) は [ε:] に依存する完全韻であり, その他の ME/a:/r : ME/ε:/r (care : were) は were の ME/ε:/r 異形に, ME/a:/r : ME/a/r (care : war) は ME/a:/r の ME/a/ 異形に依存するものである。

自由位置の ME/a:/ : ME/ai/ は EModE 期では特定の詩人に限り見出されていたのと違って, [r] の前の ME/a:/ : ME/ai/ は EModE 期ではどの詩人にも一様に見出されている。一方, 自由位置の ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/ は EModE 期では皆無であり, 1650 年頃から見出されるようになるが, その多くは ME/ε:/ の ME/a:/ 異形, 及び音美感によるものであったのと違って, [r] の前の ME/a:/ : ME/ε:/ は押韻率は低いものの EModE 期から見出されている。ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r, ME/ε:/r が時代と共にどのように変化してきたかを見るために ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r, ME/ε:/r の押韻率を折れ線グラフにして見ると, 以下のようになる。

ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r, ME/ε:/r の押韻率の推移



2. 3. 4. 1. ME/a:/r : ME/ε:/r

beware : there, care : bear, care : wear, cares : wears(Gascoigne), Hare : theare(Turberville), cares : beares, declare : whyleare, rare : forbear(Spenser-Minor), fare : whyleare, rare : whyleare(Spenser-1), aware : beare(Spenser-2), cares : forbear(Spenser-3), care : whileare, misfare : whileare, spare : whileare(Spenser-4), fare : whyleare(Spenser-6), care : bear, care : forswear, compare : beare, compare : weare, spare : beare, spare : weare, ware : bear(Warner), bare : bear(2t), care : bear, care : there(3t), dare : forbear, fares : forbears, spare : where, unaware : there(Daniel), compare : beare(Drayton), ware-a : wear-a(Shakespeare), shares : teares(Donne), bare : there(2t), bare : where, care : there(3t), care : there, declare : there, rare : there(3t), share : there(2t), snare : there, spare : there(2t), square : there (Stirling), compare : there, square : forbear(Corbet), compare : beare, dare : weare(F. Beaumont), care : where, rare : where, spare : there, spare : where(Drummond), care : beare, dare : there, fare : there, rare : there(Browne), care : weare(Davenant), care : tear, declare : there, spare : bear(Waller), care : bear, share : forbear(Bosworth), care : swear, share : bear (Whiting), aware : there, care : there(Godolphin), sharing : bearing, spare : swear(Butler), care : weare, declare : weare, fare : weare, share : there, spare : there(Crashaw), daring : swearing(Cleveland), aware : there, bare : there, care : bear, care : swear, care : there(2t), dare : there(2t), declare : there, declare : where, hare : where, rare : there, share : there(3t), share : where, spare : bear(2t), spare : swear(Cowley), bare : there, care : where, share : where, snares : wears(Sherburne), bare : wear, care : bear(4t), care : ere, care : ne'er, care : there(5t), care : wear(2t), care : were(2t), care : where'er, care : where(9t), dares : bears, declare : bear, declare : e'er, declare : there, fare : bear, share : where, spare : there, square :

where, stares : swears(Chamberlayne), care : bear(2t), declare : swear, mare : bear, share-it : bear-it, shares-it : wears-it(Brome), share : there, spare : there(Marvell), bare : there, rare : there(Hannay), care : bear, declare : there, rare : swear, share : there, square : there(Cotton), dare : bear, dare : wear, share : bear, share : wear(Philips), bare : there, beware : bear, care : bear, care : forbear, care : there(2t), care : wear(2t), share : bear, spare : Bear, Spares : tears(Dryden-1), bare : there, beware : there, care : bear(4t), compare : wear, declare : bear, declare : there, fare : there, mare : swear, share : bear(2t), snare : there, spare : tear, square : there, ware : bear(2t), ware : there(Dryden-2), care : bear(6t), care : forbear(2t), care : swear, share : bear, share : there(Dryden-3), care : bear(3t), care : there(2t), care : wear, share : bear, share : there, share : wear(Dryden-4), dare : there, share : bear, share : there(Sprat), care : bear, share : bear(Halifax), rare : swear, rare : there(Flatman), snare : wear(Ayres), cares : tears, dare : there(Shadwell), care : there, share : bear, share : there, share : wear(Wilmot), bare : where, beware : there, care : bear(2t), care : there, snare : there(Otway), care : bear(2t)(Blackmore), compare : bear, spare : there(Duke), care : there, declare : forbear, fare : there(Garth), care : bear, dare : there(Stepney), cares : bears, share : bear(Walsh), care : where, cares : pears, fare : there(King), care : bear(5t), care : tear, cares : theres(3t), care : tears, compare : bear, declare : bear(3t)(Prior), care : bear, care : tear, declare : bear, declare : there, shares : bears(2t), share : there(Pomfret), beware : swear, care : bear, care : there(Granville), care : there(2t), dare : where, fare : there, share : forbear, sparing : swearing, sparing : wearing, wares : pears(Swift), bare : wear(2t), beware : bear, beware : forbear, care : bear, care : tear(2t), care : where, cares : wears(2t), compare : there, declares : forbears, share : bear, spare : there, spares : bears(Congreve), cares : bears, spare : there(Yalden), beware : forbear(Rowe), bare : there, care : there(2t), declare : there(Addison), care : there(3t), compares : wears, dare : swear, dare : there, fare : there, share : bear(Watts), care : tear, care : there(3t), care : wear, care : where, declares : bears, rare : where, shares : forbears, spare : where, ware : bear(2t)(Somerville), care : wear(Philips), care : bear(2t), dare : there(2t), declare : there, share : wear(Hughes), bare : tear, bare : there, bare : wear, care : there(9t), care : wear, fare : bear, snares : bears(Parnell), care : bear, care : there(2t), cares : wears, dare : swear, declare : swear, rare : forbear, rare : wear, shares : wears, snare : bear, spare : forbear, spare : there(Young), care : bear, care : there(Fenton), beware : bear, care : bear, care : forbear(3t), care : there(4t), care : wear(3t), cares : bears, cares : wears, glare : bear, mare : where, stare : bear, stare : there, ware : bear, ware : fordwear, wares : bears(Gay), care : bear(2t), care : there, share : there(Tickell),

beware : where, care : bear (10t), care : shear, care : swear, care : there(3t), care : wear, cares : bears, mare : where, rare : there, rare : wear, share : bear(2t), spare : bear, spare : there, square : there, stare : swear, stares : swears(Pope), care : bear, cares : bears, spares : forbears(Broome), care : there, glare : there(Green), care : bear(2t), care : there(2t), care : wear, care : where, declare : wear, glares : wears, rare : there, shares : bears(Savage), care : wear, cares : bears(Pitt), care : there, cares : bears, declares : bears, shares : bears(Thomson), care : there(Dyer), care : bear(2t), care : swear, care : wear, cares : bears, declare : wear, declares : bears(West), care : bear, share : there(Dodsley), care : bear(2t), care : forbear, care : there(2t), care : wear, declare : there, share : bear, snares : wears(Jenyns), aware : there, care : there(4t), shares : wears, snares : bears(Hamilton), care : there(3t), stare : forbear, stare : swear(Mallet), beware : there, care : bear(4t), care : there(2t), care : where, dare : swear, glare : tear, share : bear, spares : bears(Brooke), care : bear, care : there, cares : wears, shares : bears(Harte), cares : bears(2t), care : there, care : where(2t), cares : bears, compare : there, share : bear(2t)(Boyse), care : bear(3t), care : there(4t), cares : bears, share : bear, share : there(Lyttleton), share : bear(P. Whitehead), beware : forbear, hare : swear, share : bear, share : there(Armstrong), share : bear, spare : bear(Johnson), care : bear, spare : forbear(Hammond), care : there, care : where(2t), stare : there(Moore), care : bear(Thompson), care : bear(2t), care : forbear, care : tear, care : there(3t), care : wear (3t), cares : wears, declare : there, share : bear, share : wear, stare : bear, stares : swears (Shenstone), beware : forbear, beware : there, care : bear(2t), care : swear, care : there(7t), cares : wears, compare : there, dare : there, fare : bear, share : there(3t), spare : there(2t), stare : bear(W. Whitehead), spare : bear, stare : bear(Cambridge), cares : wears, claret : bear-it(Cawthorn), bare : there, fare : there, share : bear(Collins), care : wear, declare : there (Akenside), care : there, care : where, rare : swear, share : bear(Cooper), care : forbear, share : there, spare : where(Wilkie), care : bear, care : wear, shares : bears(Fawkes), care : there(2t), care : where(Blacklock), care : there, spare : there(2t)(Smart), cares : wears, declare-me : wear-me, fare : wear, rare : there(Cunningham), care : there(Mason), share : bear (T. Warton), bare : there(2t), care : bear(5t), care : swear(2t), care : there(7t), compare : ne'er, dare : bear(2t), dare : there(2t), fare : bear, glare : there, glare : wear, rare : wear, share : bear, share : wear, spare : where, spares : bears, square : there, stare : swear, stare : there(2t), stares : bears(Churchill), bare : wear, care : wear, care : where, declares : wears, share : bear(3t), share : there(2t), share : bear, sapre : bear(Scott), aware : there, bare : there, bare : wear, care : bear, care : forbear, care : tear, care : there(7t), care : where, cares :

bears, compare : there, declares : bears, declare : where, rare : there, share : pear, share : wear, spare : there(3t), stare : there, ware : there(2t)(Cowper), care : bear(Falconer), bare : wear, care : bear(2t), care : forbear(3t), care : there(6t), care : wear(3t), daring : swearing, spare : there, stare : there(2t)(Lloyd), care : bear(3t), care : there(3t), care : wear(2t), cares : forbears, compare : there, share : bear, share : there(2t), ware : there(Langhorne), bare : where, care : bear(Mickle), cares : bears, declare : bear, share : there, snare : there(Beattie), bare : there, care : there, declare : there, share : swear(Lovibond), care : bear, care : wear, glare : bear, sanre : bear(Jones), care : bear, care : where(Logan), care : where, fare : there, glare : there, shares-it : bears-it, shares-it : swears-it(Chatterton), care : bear, care : forbears, care : there(3t), care : where(3t), cares : bears, dare : bear, declare : where, glare : bear, share : bear, share : dear, share : there(2t), spare : bear, ware : there(Crabbe), bare : there, care : there(3t), share : there, spare : bear, spare : there(Wordsworth), aware : bear, aware : there, bare : bear, bare : there(5t), bare : wear, care : bear, care : ne'er, care : wear, care : where, cares : bears, declare : there, share : tear, share : there(3t), share : where, snare : there(2t), spare : bear, spare : forbear, spare : ne'er, spare : there, square : there, stare : there, staring : swearing(Byron), care : thee, dare : bear, dare : there, fare : there, glare : there(2t), share : bear, share : there(4t), stare : bear(Shelley), bare : there, care : there(2t), dare : there, declare : there(3t), fare : there, flaring : bearing, rare : there, rare : where, share : bear, share : there, share-it : bear-it, sanre : there(2t), spare : there(Keats).

ME/a:/r : ME/ɛ:/r は PE では [εə] に依存する完全韻であり, Gascoigne を初めとし EModE 期以降見出されている。ME/a:/r : ME/ɛ:/r はどの時期に融合したかが問題となる。今回の調査が示しているように, 1) 1600 年以前に出生の詩人で, ME/a:/r : ME/ɛ:/r が両者の融合の確証となる程度に見出されるのは Warner, Daniel, Stirling がいるだけであり, 他の詩人にはまだ一般的ではない。2) ME/a:/r : ME/ɛ:/r は 1620 年以前では稀であり, どの詩人にも一様に見出されるようになるのは 1650 年以降のことである。

] Dobson(1968², § 105) によると, swear, tear, there には少なくとも EModE 期には ME/a:/ 異形が並存していたので, ME/a:/r : ME/ɛ:/r の内, これらの語との脚韻は ME/a:/r 同士の可能性を考えに入れなければならない。Wyld(1936³, pp. 194-5) は ME/a:/r と there, were, where との脚韻を引くことによって, 15 世紀並びに 16 世紀の初頭に ME/a:/r は ME/ɛ:/r と同音であり, ME/a:/ は StE でも 15 世紀に前母音化されていたことを証明しようとしている。しかし, これらの脚韻は ME/a:/ 異形 (thare, ware, where) に依存するものであり, 更に ME/a:/r がいち早く [ɛ:] になった東部方言からのものであり, StE での証拠にはならない。

] Dobson(1968², § 105) によると, ME/a:/r と ME/ɛ:/r が同一であるという証拠は,

ME/a:/ が [ɛ:] の音価に達したことの間接証拠となる。一方、ME/a:/r と ME/ɛ:/r が区別されているという証拠は、ME/a:/ が [ɛ:] にまでなっていない、即ち依然として [æ:] である証拠になる。17世紀の前半では、多少のばらつきがあるにせよ、ME/a:/r と ME/ɛ:/r を区別するのが普通であり、ME/a:/ は [æ:] が正常であるということになる。17世紀の後半になるとME/a:/r と ME/ɛ:/r が等しいのが普通であり、ME/a:/ は [ɛ:] が正常であるということになる。ME/a:/r と ME/ɛ:/r の脚韻が見出されるようになる17世紀前半に、独立位置のME/a:/ と ME/ai/ の脚韻が見出されているという脚韻からの二つの事実は取りも直さず、ME/a:/ がこの時期に [ɛ:] にまで高母音化されたことを物語っていると考えてよい。ME/a:/ の音価を俄に決定できない場合、ME/a:/r と ME/ɛ:/r の脚韻のあるなしで、ME/a:/ の音価を決める手掛かりになるという意味合いで ME/a:/r : ME/ɛ:/r は音韻史上重要な脚韻である。

2.3.4.2. ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r

care : dispaire, compare : repaire(Wyatt), care : ayre(2t), care : dispayre, declare : dispaire, vnware : repaire(Howard), care : heyre, compare : fayre(Spenser-Sc), bare : fayre, care : aire, care : ayre, care : fayre, care : hayre, cares : dispaire, compaire : faire, compaire : staire, compare : faire, declare : faire, rare : ayre, rare : faire, rare : fayre(3t), share : ayre, spare : fayre, stare : fayre(Spenser-Minor), care : empare, compaire : faire, compare : faire, declare : faire(2t), declare : staire, fare : chaire, fare : despaire, fare : empare, rare : aire, rare : despaire, rare : faire(2t), rare : repaire, share : despaire, share : faire, spare : aire, square : aire, square : faire, ware : faire(Spenser-1), care : faire, cares : affaires, cares : haires, compaire : faire(3t), compaire : repaire, compare : faire, shaire : faire, shaire : haire, shaires : affaires, shaires : haires(Spenser-2), care : faire, chaire : aire, chaire : faire, compaire : debonaire, compaire : empare, compaire : faire(2t), compaire : repaire, compaire : staire, compare : debonaire, compare : faire, rare : debonaire, rare : faire, rare : fayre, rare : hayre, rare : repayre, spare : faire, square : faire, stare : ayre, statre : faire(Spenser-3), care : aire, care : faire, care : repaire, compares : faires, fare : faire, misfare : repaire, rare : faire, rare : lare, share : faire, share : repaire, spare : lare(Spenser-4), aware : faire, aware : repaire, care : faire(2t), care : repaire, dare : aire, fare : fayre, fare : hayre, misfare : despaire, misfare : empare, misfare : faire, share : aire(2t), share : empare(2t), share : faire, share : repaire, spare : empare, spare : faire(Spenser-5), dare : fayre, share : faire(Spenser-6), beware : repaire, care : despaire(Lyly), baire : faire, baire : haire, care : impaire, care : despaire, care : faire, daer : repaer, dare : repaire, rare : faire, rare : heire, spare : faire, spares : affairs, squaire : waire(Warner), care : despair, cares : despaire, spare : despair(Daniel), are : ayre,

bare : haire(2t), bare : hayre, care : faire, cares : ayres, cares : repaires, compare : faire, compare-her : fayrer, declare : affayre, fare : affaire, fare : ayre, fare : despayre, fare : repaire, rare : faire, rare : hayre, share : ayre, spare : ayre, spare : faire, spare : prayer, ware : hayre (Drayton), wares : fairs(Shakespeare), compare : fayre(Campion), care : faire, compare : faire, dare : aire, fare : chaire, rare : faire, share : faire, snare : aire, spare : aire, wares : faires (Donne), square : ayre(Jonson), bare : chair, stare : chayre(Hall), rarenesse : fairenesse (Marston), bare : ayre(3t), bare : faire, care : aire(2t), care : ayre(4t), care : despaire(4t), care : despayre, care : dispaire(2t), care : faire(3t), care : repaire, cares : affaires(2t), cares : despaires(7t), cares : despaires, cares : faires, cares : heires(2t), cares : heirs, cares : impaires (4t), cares : repaires, cares : theirs(2t), compar'd : impair'd, compare : aire, compare : ayre (4t), compare : faire(2t), compare : heire, compare : repaire(3t), declare : aire, declare : despaire, declare : repaire(3t), ensnar'd : despair'd, ensnare : faire, ensnare : repaire, fare : ayre, rare : aire(2t), rare : ayre(4t), rare : despaire, rare : faire(6t), shar'd : impair'd, share : airs, share : ayre(2t), share : despaire, share : faire(2t), share : repaire(2t), shares : despaires, shares : repaires, snar'd : despair'd, snar'd : impair'd, snare : ayre(3t), snare : despaire (4t), snare : faire(2t), snares : despaires(4t), snares : faires, snares : heirs(2t), snares : impaires, snares : repaires, spare : aire, spare : ayre, spare : heir, spare : impaire, spares : heirs, squares : ayres(2t) (Stirling), cares : affaires, compare : aire, dare : ayre, dare : haire, daries : faeries(Corbet), bare : fair, care : fair, care : impair, compare : fair, fare : stair, rare : pair, rare : stair(P. Fletchc), care : affaire, care : aire, care : despaire, care : faire, dare : prayer, daring : despairing, spare : faire, ware : faire(F. Beaumont), compare : fair(G. Fletcher), bare : haire, bare : hayre, care : despaire, care : faire(2t), cares : despayres, cares : haires, cares : theirs, compare : ayre, compare : haire, fare : heyre, fare : theirs, mare : ayre, rare : ayre(4t), share : heyre, snare : faire, spare : ayre, ware : faire(Browne), beware : despaire, beware : haire, care : ayre, care : despaire, care : haire, care : paire, cares : affairs, cares : hairs, dare : ayre, dare : despaire(2t), declare : aire, declare : ayre, glare : aire, in-spare : hayre, share : aire, snare : haire(4t), snares : affaires, snares : haires, spare : haire, square : faire, wares : faires(Herrick), compare : air, compare : fair, dare : despair, share : repair, spare : air, tares : heirs(King), bare : haire, care : ayre, care : faire, dare : haire, rare : haire, rarest : fairest, repayre : ayre, share : ayre, snare : ayre, spare : ayre, spare : haire (Carew), aware : air, care : air(2t), care : despair(2t), care : hair, cares : affairs, cares : hairs (2t), fared : impair'd, rare : fair, snare : fair, unawares : prayers(Chalkhill), care : hair(2t), declare : repair, ensnare : hair, fare : repair, pare : hair, share : despair(Marmion), care : air,

care : fair(2t), care : heir(3t), care : impair, compare : fair, ensnare : air, ensnare : hair, fare : air(3t), fare : prayer, fare : repaire, rares : airs(2t), rare : fair(3t), scare : pray'r, share : fair, share : impair(2t), snare : air, snare : hair, spare : heir(2t) (Benlowes), beware : hair, care : faire, care : prayer, compare : ayre, compare : faire, dare : ayre, dare : faire(2t), fare : ayre, snare : hair(Habington), bare : aire, bares : haire, care : ayre(3t), compare : despaire, dare : prayer, declare : pray'r, share : despaire(Davenant), bare : pair, care : air, care : despair, care : despaire, care : fair, care : heir, care : pair(2t), care : prayer, care : repaire, cares : hairs, compare : air, dare : despair, declare : fair(2t), rare : fair, share : fair(2t), share : pair, spare : impair(Waller), are : fair, bareher : fairer, care : despair, declare : air, rare : fair, un-awares : stairs(Bosworth), bare : air, care : air, care : chair, care : fair, cares : aires, declare : prayer, spare : air(2t), spare : prai'r(Milton), bare : hair, compare : fair(2t), compare : hair(Suckling), bare : air, bare : heir, care : air(3t), care : chair, pare : air, rare : air(Whiting), care : despair(2t), care : pair, care : prayer, cares : affairs(Godolphin), cares : faisr, squares : affairs(Cartwright), care : air, care : fair, declare : prayer, share : affair(2t), shares : affairs(2t), shares : despaires, shares : heirs, unaware : chair, ware : fair, ware : heir, ware : repair, wares : affaires(Butler), care : aire, care : ayre, care : fair(2t), care : faire, cares : aires(3t), rare : fair, rare : faire(2t), spare : aire(Crashaw), compare : hair, rare : fair, ware : impair, ware : prayer(Cleveland), care : air, care : despair, care : fair, care : heir(2t), care : repair, cares : affairs, cares : pray'rs, dare : despair, dares : affairs, declares : affairs, declares : prayers, share : heir, spare : heir, wares : affairs, wares : prayers(Denham), care : air, compare : heir, fare : ayr, fare : hair, rare : fayre, snare : air(Lovelace), care : affair, care : air, care : despair, care : hair, care : prayer, care : repair, compare : chair, compare : fair(2t), declare : fair, rare : fair, rare : hair, share : air, spare : air(2t), spare : fair, spare : hair, spare : heir, stare : air(Cowley), bare : hair, compare : air, compare : hair, declare : air, declare : fair, share : air(2t) (Sherburne), care : pair, unaware : pair(Chamberlayne), bare : air, bare : heir, cares : air, cares : despair(Brome), care : air, care : despair, care : fair(2t), care : hair, care : heir, care : repair, cares : hairs, compare : air, compare : fair, rare : air, rare : despair, share : air, share : fair, share : heir, shares : paires, spare : air, spare : hair, square : air(Marvell), care : air, care : aire(2t), rare : air, rare : repair(Vaughan), are : fair, dare : air, dare : fair, ensnare : hair, sanre : air, spare : fair, sware : impair(Stanley), bare : fair(2t), care : despair(6t), care : hair, declares : theirs, ensnare : hair, rare : air, are : fair(2t), rare : hair, rarer : fairer, rarest : fairest, spare : hair, unaware : heir(Hannay), bare : hair, cares : hairs, dare : fair(Hall), bare : air, bare : fayre, care : fair, care : repair, compare : fair, dare : hair, de-

clare : air(2t), declare : fair, declares : ayres, fare : ayre, fare : pair, share : air, shares :
 theird, snare : fair(Cotton), care : air(4t), care : despair, care : fair(2t), cares : affairs, pre-
 pare : air(2t), spare : fair(Philips), bare : air, bare : fair, bare : heir, bewares : airs, care : air
 (3t), care : ayre, care : despair(3t), care : despaire, care : fair(4t), care : heir, care : pray'r
 (4t), care : prayer, care : repaire(3t), compare : fair, dare : may'r, share : fair(2t), share :
 heir, snare : fair, spare : prayer, stare : hair, ware : fair(2t)(Dryden-1), bare : air, bare :
 chair, bare : fair, bare : hair(3t), bare : pray'r, care : air(5t), care : despair(2t), care : fair
 (6t), cares : hairs(3t), care : heir(2t), care : impair, care : pray'r(4t), care : repair(5t), care :
 affair(2t), cares : pray'rs(2t), cares : theirs, compare : air, compare : fair(3t), compare : hair,
 declare : air, declare : chair, declare : fair, declare : heir, declare : pray'r, declares : heirs, fare :
 air(3t), fare : fray'r, fare : repair, lare : air, lare : repaire, mare : despair, mare : faire, mare :
 hair, overcare : pray'r, rare : fair, share : air(5t), share : chair, share : fair, share : pray'r
 (2t), share : repair, share : pray'r, spare : air, spare : fair, spare : pray'r, spare : repair, stare :
 hair, ware : fair(Dryden-2), bare : air, bare : hair(4t), beware : pray'r, care : affair, care : air
 (8t), care : despair, care : fair(5t), cares : hairs(3t), care : pray'r(2t), care : repair, cares : re-
 pairs, dare : air, dare : despair, declare : air(2t), declare : hair, fare : repair, hare : air,
 shares : affairs, shares : airs, share : despair(2t), share : fair, share : hair, spare : air, spare :
 pray'r, spare : repair, square : despair, stare : hair, stare : pray'r(Dryden-3), bare : air(2t),
 bare : hair(4t), bare : repair, beware : fair(6t), beware : hair, care : air(3t), care : despair
 (11t), care : fair(11t), care : hair, care : heir, care : pray'r(4t), care : repair(6t), cares : im-
 pairs, compare : fair, declare : chair, declare : despair, declare : prayer, fare : pray'r, glare :
 air, share : fair(2t), share : heir, share : pray'r, snares : fairs(2t), spares : pray'rs, square :
 air, stare : hair, tare : hair(Dryden-4), dare : air(Sprat), care : air, cares : hairs, cares : heirs,
 ensnare : air, rare : air, share : air(Flatman), care : despair, care : repair, dares : prayers
 (Dorset), care : despair(2t), care : fair, cares : hairs, ensnare : hair(Ayres), care : despair,
 care : fair(2t), care : repair, cares : affairs, declare : air(Shadwell), care : despair(3t), care :
 dispair, care : heir, cares : affairs, care : play'r, compare : fair, hares : chairs, square : fair
 (Wilmot), care : air(2t), cares : despairs(3t), care : fair, care : pair, cares : affairs, cares : de-
 spairs, rare : despair, shares : pairs, snare : air(Sheffield), care : air(2t), care : fair(2t), care :
 heir, care : prayer(2t), care : repair(2t), compare : air, compare : fair, rare : fair(Otway), de-
 clares : hairs(Hammond), care : air(5t), care : repair, declare : air(6t), declare : repair(3t),
 share : air(Blackmore), care : despair, care : fair, cares : affairs(2t), ensnare : heir(Duke),
 care : prayer(Smith), care : air(3t), care : despair, care : prayer(3t), cares : repairs(3t),

cares : prayers, compare : fair, declare : air, declare : despair, declare : fair, declares : repairs, fare : repair, share : affair (Garth), bare : despair, care : pray'r, ensnare : hair, share : fair, snare : fair, spare : fair (Stepney), care : despair (3t), care : fair (3t), cares : prayers, declare : fair (Walsh), care : air, care : despair, care : fair (3t), fare : air, fare : chair, hares : hairs, hare : mayor, rare : air, rarest : fairest (2t), share : chair, snare : hair, spares : hairs, spare : mayor, spare : prayer (3t), stares : prayers (King), bare : hair, care : affair, care : despair (4t), care : fair (11t), care : hair (2t), care : heir (4t), care : prayer (5t), care : repair (2t), cares : affairs (2t), cares : heirs, care : prayer (2t), caring : despairing, compare : fair, compare : heir, declare : air, declare : despair, fare : mayer, glares : airs, hare : chair, mares : theirs, share : fair (2t), share : heir, shares : prayers, spares : prayers, sparing : despairing, ware : fair (Prior), care : air, care : debonair, care : fair (3t), care : repair (2t), dare : fair, share : fair, snare : fair (2t) (Pomfret), bare : heir, care : despair (3t), care : fair (5t), care : pair (3t), care : prayer, cares : despairs, compare : fair, declare : despair, declare : fair (2t), ensnare : fair, snare : pair, spare : prayer (Granville), bare : air, bare : hair, beware : air, care : affair, care : air (2t), care : chair (2t), care : despair (2t), care : fair (5t), care : hair, care : heir, cares : pays-her, cares : repairs, care-less : hair-lace, cares : affairs (3t), cares : airs, cares : pray'rs, compare : fair (2t), compares : theirs, dare : air, declare : mayor, declares : prayers, fare : chair, hare : fair, mare : air, rare : air, rare : hair, share : chair, share : hair, share : repair, snares : pray'r's, spare : air (2t), spare : chair, spare : fair, spare : hair, ware : air, ware : fair, ware : may'r, ware : repair (Swift), bare : air (2t), bare : despair, bare : hair, care : affair, care : air (3t), care : despair, care : fair (5t), care : hair, care : repair (2t), cares : airs, declare : repair, ensnare : fair, share : fair, shares : repairs, spares : fairs (Congreve), care : air, care : fair (5t), care : pair (2t), care : prayer, dare : repair, glare : air, scares : airs, share : air, share : despair, spare : fair, stares : fairs (Yalden), care : despair, care : fair (2t), care : pair, care : prayer (2t), care : repair, cares : despairs, cares : theirs, fare : repair, shares : despairs (Rowe), care : air (3t), care : fair, cares : affairs (2t), dare : air, dares : affairs, share : hair, share : prayer (Addison), care : air (2t), care : fair (2t), cares : affairs (2t), care : pair, dare : despair, dare : hair, dares : affairs, glare : air, share : air, share : fair, snare : fair, snare : hair (Watts), bare : air, care : affair, care : air (3t), care : chair (2t), care : despair (3t), care : fair, care : hair (3t), care : heir (2t), care : prayer (2t), cares : prayer's, cares : repairs, compare : air, compare : fair (2t), declare : air, declare : impaire, ensnare : fair, fare : air (2t), hare : air, mare : fair, rare : fair, rare : hair (2t), share : fair, share : heir, share : prayer (2t), share : repair, spare : fair, spare : pair, stare : air, ware : air (Somerville), care : air (3t), care : despair,

care : fair(3t), care : hair, cares : affairs, spare : fair(Philips), bare : hair, beware : fair(2t), beware : prayer, care : air(5t), care : despair, care : faire(8t), care : hair(2t), care : pair, care : prayer, care : repair, cares : airs, declare : air, glare : air, shar'd : repair'd, hare : despair, share : fair, share : pair, snares : repairs, spare : despair, spare : pair, ware : prayer (Hughes), beware : fair(2t), care : air(9t), care : chair, care : fair(4t), care : hair, care : pair, care : repair(2t), cares : airs, cares : prayers, cares : repairs, compare : fair(4t), declare : air, ensnares : theirs, glare : air, insnares : theirs, rare : air, share : pair, square : air(Parnell), aware : fair, bare : air, care : affair, care : despair(5t), care : fair(8t), care : prayer, cares : affairs, cars : theirs, compare : fair, dare : despair(2t), declare : air, rare : air, share : prayer, stare : fair(Young), bare : hair, care : air, care : despair(2t), care : fair(5t), cares : heirs, dare : fair, share : debonair, shares : faires(2t), snare : repair(Fenton), care : air(3t), care : despair(4t), care : fair(5t), care : heir(5t), care : pair, care : repair(3t), compare : air, compare : fair, dare : air(2t), declare : fair, rare : air, share : pair(2t), spare : heir(Diaper), bare : prayer, beware : despair, beware : fair, care : air(9t), care : despair(4t), care : fair(11t), care : hair(3t), care : heir(3t), care : pair, care : prayer(2t), care : repair(3t), cares : affairs(3t), cares : airs, cares : pairs, cares : repairs(2t), compare : despair, declare : repair, fare : air(3t), glare : air, mare : prayer, rare : fair, snare : despair, snares : airs, spare : chair, spare : prayer, unawares : heirs(Gay), bare : air, beware : fair, care : despair, care : fair(4t), care : heir, care : prayer(2t), fare : chair, glare : air, glare : pair, hare : repair, snare : fair, square : air(Tickell), bare : despair, bare : fair, care : air(9t), care : fair(9t), care : hair(3t), care : Heir, care : pray'r(3t), care : prayer, care : repair(4t), cares : airs, cares : hairs, compare : air, compare : fair, compares : hairs, declare : fair, declare : may'r, declare : mayor, declare : pray'r, ensnare : hair, fare : air, glares : airs, hares : repairs, mares : pray'rs, rare : fair, rare : pray'r, share : fair(2t), share : heir, share : play'r, share : pray'r, spare : fair, spare : heir, spare : pray'r, spares : hairs, square : fair, stare : air(2t), stare : chair(2t), stare : hair, stare : pray'r(Pope), care : air, care : despair, care : fair(3t), cares : airs, cares : repairs, declare : air, declare : fair(2t), glare : air, share : air, share : despair, share : prayer, spare : air, spare : fair(Broome), aware : affair, care : affair(3t), care : air(2t), care : chair, care : debonair, care : despair, care : pair, care : pray'r(2t), clare : air, dare : chair, declare : affair, declare : air, share : air(2t), share : fair, share : pray'r, shares : pray'rs, snares : affairs, snares : despairs, square : air(2t), wares : pray'rs(Byrom), bare : hair, care : air, care : pray'r, cares : affairs, cares : heirs, declare : air(Green), bare : air, bare : despair, care : air(2t), care : despair(5t), care : fair, care : heir(3t), care : pair, care : prayer, cares : prayers,

compare : fair, dare : air, declares : prayers, fare : air, fare : fair, glare : air(3t), spare : air, spare : fair, stare : air, stare : despair, stare : fair(Savage), care : air(2t), care : despair(2t), care : fair(2t), care : heir, care : player, care : prayer(2t), hares : affairs, hares : airs, hares : pairs, shares : prayers, stare : fair(Pitt), care : air(2t), care : fair(2t), care : heir, care : prayer(2t), cares : affairs(2t), cares : airs, cares : stairs, compare : fair, glares : fairs, glare : impair, rare : fair, share : air, share : heir, shares : affairs, snares : airs, spare : fair (Thomson), care : air(Dyer), aware : fair, care : air(3t), care : chair, care : despair, care : Fair(6t), care : prayer(2t), care : repair, cares : airs, dare : prayer, declares : prayers, fare : air, fare : fair, rare : fair, shares : repairs(West), care : air, care : chair, share : pair, stares : airs(Dodsley), bare : chair(2t), care : air(5t), care : chair, care : fair(2t), cares : affairs, declare : fair, declare : pair, hare : despair, insnare : fair, spare : chair(Jenyns), care : air(2t), care : despair(2t), care : fair(4t), care : hair(2t), care : heir, care : pray'r(2t), care : prayer, cares : prayers, cares : theirs, share : fair, share : heir, share : pray'r, shares : play'rs, spare : air, spare : pray'r, spare : repair(Hamilton), bare : fair, care : fair(2t), square : hair(Mallet), bare : air, bare : hair, bare : repair, care : air(2t), care : despair(5t), care : fair(10t), care : hair, care : heir, care : pair, care : repair(4t), cares : heirs, cares : prayers, cares : repairs, compares : fairs, dares : fairs(2t), declare : fair, rare : fair, share : air(2t), shares : despair, shares : fairs, snare : fair, snares : pairs, spare : chair, spares : fairs, sparing : repairing (Brooke), bare : despair, bare : pair, care : air(4t), care : despair(2t), care : fair(7t), care : hair, care : heir(3t), care : payer, care : pray'r(8t), dare : fair, declares : prayers(2t), share : fair, snares : pray'rs, spare : air, spare : fair(2t), spare : heir, square : despair(Harte), bares : airs, beware : fair, care : air(5t), care : despair(2t), care : fair(7t), care : heir, care : pair(2t), care : prayer, cares : airs, compare : fair, declare : air(2t), declare : fair, glare : air, share : air (2t), share : fair, snare : air, snare : fair(Boyse), care : air, care : fair(3t), care : repair, cares : affairs, share : fair, spare : fair, spare : hair(Lyttleton), care : despair(2t), care : fair (3t), compare : fair, glare : hair, share : air, share : pray'r, shares : pray'rs(P. Whitehead), care : chair, glare : air(Armstrong), care : despaire, care : heir(3t), care : repair, declare : pray'r, shares : heirs(Johnson), care : air, care : fair(3t), care : prayer(2t), care : repair, ensnare : fair, spare : hair(Hammond), bare : air, care : despair, care : fair(2t), care : pray'r, declare : air(2t), declares : fairs, ensnares : fairs, wares : affairs(Moore), bare : fair, bare : hair, care : air, care : despair, care : fair(4t), care : hair, care : heir, declare : fair, glare : air, glare : fair, glare : hair, share : air, share : fair(2t), share : repair(Thompson), aware : air, beware : hair, beware : repair, care : air(3t), care : despair(2t), care : fair(15t), care : hair,

care : heir, care : prayer(4t), care : repair, cares : airs, compare : fair(6t), declare : chair, declare : fair(2t), declare : hair, declare : prayer, declare : repair, ensnare : fair, glare : air, rare : air, rare : fair, share : air, share : fair(5t), share : prayer, share : repair(2t), snare : air, square : fair, unaware : stairs(Shenstone), care : hair, cares : pairs, cares : theirs, share : air(2t), share : fair, share : pair(Jago), bare : air, beware : air, care : affair, care : air(7t), care : despair, care : fair(5t), care : heir, care : pray'r, care : prayer(4t), care : repair, cares : affairs, cares : theirs, compare : air, dare : air, dare : despair(3t), share : fair, squares : repairs, stare : air(W. Whitehead), care : air, care : despair(2t), cares : airs, declare : air(Gray), bare : air, care : air(2t), care : fair, care : mayor, care : pray'r, care : prayer(2t), care : repair, cares : theirs, declare : air, declare : despair, declare : heir, declare : prayer, declare : repair, glares : hairs, hares : airs, rare : air, rare : fair, share : fair, share : mayor, spare : air, square : fair, stare : chair(2t)(Cambridge), care : air, care : despair, care : hair(2t), care : heir, care : pair, cares : pairs, fare : air, glares : airs, glare : pray'r, share : air, square : air, stare : air(2t), stare : chair, stare : heir, stares : chaires(Cawthorn), bare : air(2t), bare : despair, care : despair, care : fair(2t), care : play'r, care : repaire, compare : air, declare : air, share : hair(Collins), bares : airs, beware : fair(2t), care : air, care : fair(5t), care : hair, cares : affairs, cares : airs(3t), cares : heirs, snare : fair(Akenside), care : despair, care : fair, care : heir, snare : air(Smollett), care : air, care : despair, care : heir, care : repair, declare : prayer, share : air, stare : air(Cooper), bar'd : repair'd, bare : air(3t), care : air(4t), care : despair(3t), care : fair(3t), cares : hairs(3t), cares : repairs, compare : fair, compare : hair, declar'd : repair'd, declare : air(3t), glare : air(2t), rare : fair, share : air, share : despair, share : fair(2t), snare : air, snare : fair, spare : air, spare : hair, spare : pray'r(4t)(Wilkie), bare : air, bare : fair, bare : hair, beware : fair, cares : fairs(2t), cares : prayers(2t), cares : repairs, compare : air, compare : fair, declare : air, declare : hair, glare : air(2t), rare : fair, share : pair(Fawkes), bare : hair, care : fair, care : repair, compare : air, glare : hair, sanre : air, stares : airs(J. Warton), care : air(5t), care : despair(2t), care : fair(4t), care : mair, care : pair(2t), care : repair, cares : affairs, cares : airs, declares : fairs, glare : air, rare : hair, share : air(2t), share : despair(5t), share : fair, share : repair, snare : air(Blacklock), bare : hair, care : air(2t), care : despair, care : fair, care : hair, care : heir, cares : airs(2t), compare : air, compare : fair, declare : air, declare : fair, declare : despair, rare : fair, staring : airing(Smart), bare : air(2t)(Grainger), bare : despair, care : despair, care : fair(4t), care : hair, compare : fair(2t), declare : air(2t), declare : despaire(2t), declare : fair, declares : hairs, fares : airs, rare : fair, share : air, share : despair, snare : fair, spare : repair,

ware : fair(Cunningham), care : air(3t), care : fair, share : prayer(Mason), care : air, care :
 debonair, care : fair, care : heir, mare : air, share : chair, share : pair(T. Warton), bare : air
 (3t), bare : pair, care : air(5t), care : chair, care : despair, care : fair(2t), care : heir, care :
 prayer, cares : theirs, dare : air, dare : prayer, declare : air(2t), declares : hairs, declares :
 theirs, glare : air, glare : despair, glare : player, hare : air, pare : hair, share : despair, share :
 heir(2t), share : pair, sapre : air, stare : air(2t), stare : chair, stare : play'r(Churchill), bare :
 air(2t), care : air(2t), care : fair(7t), care : pray'r, care : repair, cares : airs, declare : air, de-
 clare : fair(2t), glare : air(2t), glare : fair, glare : prayer, rare : fair, share : fair(3t), snare :
 repair, sapre : despair, spare : fair, square : fair(Scott), bare : air, bare : fair, bare : pair, be-
 wares : chairs, care : affair, care : air(3t), care : despair(6t), care : fair(4t), care : pray'r,
 cares : affairs(2t), cares : airs, cares : theirs, caring : airing, compare : air, dare : air, fares :
 airs, rare : air, rare : despair, scar'd : repair'd, share : air(3t), share : despair, share : fair
 (2t), share : hair, share : pray'r(2t), spar'd : impair'd, spares : airs, spare : hair, stare : chair,
 ware : air(Cowper), care : despair, care : repair, glare : despair, snare : repair, spare : fair,
 square : repair(Falconer), bare : air, beware : fair, beware : player, care : air(6t), care : de-
 despair(3t), care : fair(10t), care : heir(2t), care : pair, care : play'r, care : pray'r, care : repair
 (3t), cares : pray'rs, compare : fair, declare : fair, declair : hair, fare : air, glare : air, mare :
 chair, share : fair(2t), share : play'r, shares : theirs(2t), sanre : fair, spare : air, stare : air,
 stare : hair(Lloyd), bare : air(2t), bare : hair(2t), care : air(4t), care : despair(6t), care : fair
 (13t), care : pray'r, care : prayer(3t), care : repair(2t), glare : chair, glare : hair, rare : air,
 rare : fair, share : air(2t), share : fair, share : pray'r, spare : prayer, stare : chair, stare :
 mayor(Langhorne), BEWARE : heir, care : air, care : despair, care : pray'r(2t), dare : air, de-
 clare : air, fare : mair, glare : air(3t), glare : hair, share : air(Mickle), bare : air, care : air,
 care : despair, care : fair(5t), care : pair, care : pray'r, declare : air, declare : despair(2t), de-
 clare : pair, glare : air, glare : hair, hares : affairs, stares : hairs(Beattie), care : air(2t),
 care : despair(3t), care : fair(2t), care : pair, cares : airs(2t), cares : hairs, share : despair
 (2t), share : fair(2t), shares : prayers, spares : fairs(Lovibond), beware : prayer, care : air,
 care : debonair, care : despair, care : fair(3t), care : heir, care : pair, cares : pairs, compare :
 fair, declare : fair, far'd : unimpair'd, glare : air, glare : impair, rare : air, shar'd : unimpair'd,
 snare : fair, square : air, stare : despair(Jones), care : fair, care : hair(Logan), care : air,
 compares : fairs, square : air(Chatterton), bare : air, care : despair(2t), care : Fair(2t), care :
 mayor, care : prayer(2t), cares : affairs(7t), cares : prayers, dare : prayer, declare : hair, de-
 clared : repaired, share : prayer(2t)(Crabbe), bare : air(4t), bare : hair, care : air(2t), care :

hair, care : pair, care : prayer, cares : prayers, dare : fair, glare : hair, rare : pair, spares : theirs, stare : air(Wordsworth), bae : air, bare : despair, bare : hair(2t), care : air, care : despair(4t), care : hair(2t), care : heir(2t), care : prayer(2t), care : repair, compare : fair, dare : despair(3t), fare : air, glare : air, glare : despair, glare : fair, rare : fair, share : air, share : despair(2t), share : prayer(2t), shares : theirs, sapre : heir, sapre : repair, stare : air(Byron), bare : despair, bare : hair(2t), care : air, care : despair(4t), care : fair, care : prayer, dare : despair, flare : air, glare : air(9t), glare : despair, glare : fair, rare : despair, rare : repair, share : lair, stare : air(2t), stare : pair, stare : prayer(Shelley), bare : air, bare : fair, bare : hair(2t), bare : prayer, care : air(3t), care : despair, care : fair, care : hair(3t), cares : airs, cares : prayers, dare : air, dare : fair(2t), dare : hair, dare : prayer, declare : air, declare : chair, declare : fair, fare : air(3t), fare : lair, glare : hair(2t), glare : pair, hare : fair, rare : air(4t), rare : chair, rare : fair(4t), rare : hair, rare : their, share : air(2t), share : fair(2t), nare : fair, spare : despair, spare : prayer, square : chair, square : fair, stare : air(3t), stare : hair(2t), stare : pair, unaware : hair(Keats).

ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r は PE でも [εə] に依存する完全韻であり, EModE 期以降, どの詩人にも一様に見出されている。ME/a:/r は, 独立位置の ME/a:/同様, [a:] r > [æ:] r > [ε:] r となり, この段階で ME/ai/r, ME/ε:/r と融合した。ME/a:/ が [a:] > [æ:] > [ε:] > [e:] > [ei] と変化したのに対し, ME/a:/r は 1600 年頃 [ε:r] となり, その後 ModE breaking を受け, [ε:əɾ] > [εəɾ] > [εə] となった。正音学者の証拠より, ME/a:/ と ME/ai/ の [ε:] での融合の証拠は 1650 年以前の Robinson, Gil, Daines 等により得られる。一方, ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r は, EModE 期以降程度の差はあれ, ほぼどの詩人にも一様に見出されており, [r] の前では自由位置のものより早くに高母音化が行われていたことは明らかである。

2. 3. 4. 3. ME/a:/r : ME/e:/r

wares : teares(Gascoigne), declare : heare, fare : heare(Spenser-Minor), cares : teares, vnwares : teares(Spenser-1), aware : areare, aware : neare(Spenser-2), cares : appeares, cares : feares, cares : teares, dare : speare(Spenser-3), beware : heare, care : heare(Spenser-4), compare : appeare, fare : appeare, fared : appeard, share : appeare, stared : appeard(Spenser-5), skaer'd : faerd(Warner), care : here, cares : appears(Daniel), bare : eare, rare : feare, snare : feare(Marlow), ware-a : dear-a(Shakespeare), cares : teares(Campion), care : feare(Jonson), snar'd : ear'd(Stirling), care : rear, cares : tears, rares : appeares, spare : ear(2t), spare : rear(Drummond), bare : tear, dare : feare(Browne), care : heare(Herbert), care : fear, cares : ears, cares : fears, forbare : hear(Chalkhill), care : feare(Habington), care : ear

(2t), care : fear(2t), care : here(2t), care : near, share : here(Waller), fares : tears(Bosworth), care : fear(Godolphin), cares : appeares, compar'd : beard, dar'd : beard(Butler), spare : heare, shar'd : rear'd(Crashaw), bare : neer, care : feare(Lovelace), care : appeare, care : sphere, fares : appeares, share : ear, spare : fear, share : here, spare : near(Cowley), care : rear(Chamberlayne), care : fear, cares : feares(2t), cares : rears, dare : fear, squares : rears, ware : tear, wares : feares(Brome), care : fear, cares : tears(2t)(Hannay), dare : near(Hall), care : teare, cares : feares, cares : tears, spar'd : rear'd(2t)(Cotton), declare : ear(Katherine), beware : here, care : dear, dare : sphere, declar'd : fear'd, share : fear(Dryden-1), share : ear, share : appear(Dryden-2), bares : appeares, declare : rear, stares : appeares(Dryden-3), care : rear, fare : rear, far'd : appear'd, par'd : beard, share : appear, share : fear, shares : hears(Dryden-4), care : appear, care : fear, care : here, spare : fear, spare : here, spar'd : appear'd, spar'd : fear'd(Sprat), cares : tears(Ayres), care : appear, care : fear, cares : fears, prepare : appear, prepare : near(Flatman), care : fear(Wilmot), care : fear(Otway), beware : ear, dare : fear, spares : tears(Hammond), care : ear, care : sphere, declare : appear, declare : sphere(2t), square : rear(Blackmore), are : beer, are : dear, care : steer(Duke), care : here, dare : fear, share : here(Garth), declar'd : appear'd(Stepney), care : appear, cares : tears(Walsh), bare : appear, care : appear(3t), care : clear, cares : dear, care : ear(5t), care : hear(2t), care : rear, care : tear(2t), cares : tears, declare : appear, declare : spear, hare : ear(Prior), glares : spheres(Pomfret), care : here, dare : hear, declare : appear(Granville), care : sphere, cares : tears, spares : tears, stares : ears(Swift), care : appear, spare : appear, fare : cheer, spare : near, care : sphere(2t)(Congreve), care : ear, care : here, cares : appears, declare : fear, share : appear(Yalden), care : hear, care : near, cares : fears, fare : cheer, share : dear(Rowe), bare : near, care : ear, cares : fears, cares : spheres, cares : tears(3t), dare : rear, glare : fear(Watts), care : appear(2t), care : here, care : rear, care : sphere, cares : appears(2t), fare : appears(2t), spare : arrear(Somerville), dare : persevere(Philips), spare : appear(Hughes), care : fear, cares : rears, square : rear(Parnell), beware : dear, cares : fears, rare : hear(Young), ware : dear(Fenton), beware : rear, care : rear(Diaper), bare : near, bares : tears, care : appear, cares : appeares(4t), care : ear(3t), care : ear(3t), care : fear(3t), care : hear, care : peer, care : sphere, cares : fears, cares : tears(6t), declares : hears, declares : tears, rare : dear, spare : clear, square : appear, star'd : beard(Gay), care : sphere, spare : sphere(Pope), cares : appears(2t), cares : fears, cares : tears(3t), share : here(Broome), spare : tear, cares : tears(Savage), care : here, fare : here, fare : near(Pitt), care : ear(Thompson), care : appear, care : ear, care : rear(2t), compare : ear, fare : tear,

rare : ear (West), ware : appear (Dodsley), care : fear (Hamilton), care : ear, care : persevere, care : rear, rare : clear (Brooke), care : near (Harte), care : dear (2t), care : ear, care : near, cares : ears, cares : fears (2t), snare : speare (Boyse), care : tear (Lyttleton), care : ear (2t), compare : appear, declare : ear, declare : here, glar'd : smear'd (P. Whitehead), care : fear, cares : tears (Johnson), care : dear, glare : near, share : near (Moore), bare : dear, care : tear (W. Thompson), care : pear, star'd : rear'd (Shenstone), care : dear, care : ear, care : here, care : sphere, cares : fears, dare : ear, bare : hear (W. Whitehead), declar'd : beard (Gray), dare : fear, declares : appears, declare : steer (Cambridge), cares : tears (Cawthorn), care : fear (Smollet), care : dear, share : here (Cooper), care : ear, care : sphere, declar'd : fear'd (Wilkie), declare : ear (Fawkes), care : fear, dare : here, glare : ear (Blacklock), bare : appear (J. Warton), care : dear, care : rear, dare : drear, declare : sphere, spares : tears (Mason), care : ear, spares : tears (Cowper), declare : appear, Hare : hear (Lloyd), declare : tear (Langhorne), bare : spear, care : hear, care : tear (Mickle), share : fear (Beattie), beware : here (2t), dare : ear, declare : tear, glares : appears, rare : peer (Chatterton), care : ear, care : there (Crabbe), care : chear, share : chear (Wordsworth), care : dear, cares : fears, cares : tears, dare : tear, fare : ear, fare : ear, glared : appeared, glared : reared, share : tear (Shelley), cares : tears, declare : tear, fared : appeared, scarce : pierce (Keats).

ME/a:/r : ME/e:/r は PE では [ɛə] : [ɪə] の不完全韻であるが, EModE 期に散見され, 1600 年以降頻繁に見出されるようになる。

] Dobson (1968², § 204 Note 1) によると, pear, shear, tear には ME/a:/ 異形が並存していた証拠があるので, これらの語と ME/a:/r は ME/a:/r 同士のものである可能性を考慮に入れなくてはならない。

] ME/e:/r の PE [ɪə] は [ɪ:əɾ] > [ɪəɾ] > [ɪə] の過程を経たものである。Dobson (1968², § 119, § 122, § 126) によると, appear, arrear, beard, blear, cheer, dear, ear, fear, gear, hear, near, peer, pierce, rear, sear, sere, shear, spear, sphere, tear, weary, year は EModE 期には ME/ɛ:/ 異形が並存していた証拠がある。これは OE/æ:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の不安定さに起因する。WS では æ:¹, æ:² > æ: とし、K では æ:¹, æ:² > e: とし、Angl では æ:¹ > e:, æ:² > æ: とし、保たれたが、この æ: もしばしば e: へ発達した: Angl から発達した ME/ɛ:/ も不安定で ME/e:/ へ高母音化する傾向を示した。この不安定さは N., Eastern, 特に Ess., Nrf., Suf. で顕著である。中尾 (1986, p. 210) によると, ME/e:/r から ME/ɛ:/r への低母音化は ___rC の環境で ME/e:/ > ME/i:/ より早く, [r] の前の ME/ɛ:/ の低母音化と同じ頃の 15 世紀初めから起こり始める。この低母音化は最初 [r] が C を伴うことを要求したが, 15 世紀以降になると, C は随意的となった。この過程は 15 世紀末から起こり初め, 16 世紀前半の間に一般化され ea と

なった。従って、ME/e:/r : ME/a:/r は実質 ME/ε:/r : ME/a:/r となり、[ε:] r に基づく完全韻となる。

ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r, ME/a:/r : ME/ε:/r, ME/a:/r : ME/e:/r, ME/ε:/r : ME/ai/r より、[r] の前で、EModE 期には ME/a:/, ME/ai/, ME/ε:/, ME/e:/ は [ε:r] で融合していたと想定してよい。

ME/a:/r, ME/ai/r, ME/ε:/r, ME/e:/r の発達の相関関係

	1550	1600	1700	1800
ME/a:/	= [a:r] > [a:r]	> [ε:r]		
ME/ai/r	= [air] > [æir] > [eir]	> [ε:r] > [ε:æɹ] > [εæɹ]	> [εə]	
ME/ε:/	= [ε:r]	> [ε:r]		
ME/e:/r	= [e:r] > [ε:r]	> [ε:r]		

2. 3. 4. 4. ME/a:/r : ME/ε:/r

carre-not : were-not, spare-not : were-not(Wyatt), care : yeare, declare : were(Spenser Minor), beware : weare, care : weare(2t), misfare : weare, rare : weare(Spenser-4), fared : heard, stared : heard(Spenser-5), care : were(Southwell), care : her, care : were(2t), care : years, compar'd : heard, dare : were(2t), share : were, spare : were(2t), ware : were(Daniel), bare : were, care : were(3t), dare : were, far'd : heard(Drayton), care : were(Stirling), bare : were(Drummond), declare : were, tare : were(Browne), spar'd-me : heard-me(Herbert), fare : were, spar'd : heard(Chalkhill), declar'd : hear'd(2t)(Bosworth), care : were(Godolphin), care : were, compare : were(Butler), scare : verse(Crashaw), care : were, rare : were, share : were(Cowley), bare : were(Sherburne), care : were(6t)(Chamberlayne), care : were(Stanley), ensnare : were(Hannay), dar'd : heard(Hall), care : were(Cotton), care : were(2t)(Dryden-1), declar'd : heard(2t), spare : were, spare : year(Dryden-2), care : err, cares : years(Dryden-3), care : were, declar'd : heard(4t), prepar'd : heard, squar'd : heard(Dryden-4), cares : years(Sprat), care : her, cares : years(2t)(Flatman), care : year(Ayres), prepare : her(Shadwell), care : were(2t), rare : were(Otway), compare : infer, compares : prefers(Blackmore), shares : years(Garth), compare : prefer(Walsh), care : err, care : her, care : were, care : year, cares : errs, cares : years(2t), declar'd : heard, declare : year, mare : year, share : prefer, share : year(Prior), spare : were(Pomfret), beware : her(Granville), cares : years, rarely : early, sparing : herring, square : were(Swift), care : were(2t)(Congreve), cares : prefers, declar'd : heard, far'd : herd(Yalden), care : year, cares : years(Rowe), cares : years(3t),

compar'd : heard, dares : years, fare : were, snare : year, snars : years(Watts), care : were (Somerville), declare : were(Hughes), care : year, cares : years, glare : were, shares : years (Young), care : year(4t), cares : years(2t), declare : year, share : year(Gay), cares : years, compar'd : preferr'd(Tickell), care : were, dare : were(Pope), declare : were(Savage), care : year(Pitt), care : were(2t), snare : where(Thomson), beware : err, care : were, declare : were, shar'd : heard(West), cares : years(Hamilton), cares : years(Boyse), care : were(Johnson), share : were(Shenstone), bared : heard, care : year(W. Whitehead), cares : years(Cambridge), square : were(Cawthorn), cares : years, share : year(Akenside), bare : were, care : were, declare : were(Wilkie), cares : years, dar'd : averr'd(Smart), care : prefer(Beattie), care : were(Crabbe), bare : were, care : were(4t), dared : heard, declare : were, share : were (Byron), cares : hers, cares : years, dare : her(Shelley), bare : were(2t), dares : years (Keats).

ME/a:/r : ME/ɛ:/r は PE では [ɛə] : [ə:] の不完全韻であるが、16 世紀後半から見出されている。Spenser の weare という綴字が示しているように, were には ME/ɛ:/ 異形が並存していた。

] Dobson(1968², § 4, § 8, § 9, § 119) は err, heard, her, verse, where, were, year に ME/ɛ:/r 異形が並存していたことを示している。

] OED にも, aver, infer, prefer に ME/ɛ:/r 異形が並存していたことを示す証拠はない。しかし,] に属する語にも [r] 音の影響で ME/ɛ:/r 異形が並存していた可能性が十分考えられる。従って, ME/a:/r : ME/ɛ:/r は実質 ME/a:/r と ME/ɛ:/r の脚韻であるかも知れない。

3. 結論

ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合問題を考察するのに, 何らかの手掛かりを与えてくれる脚韻の証拠は以下の通りであり,

- 1) ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/(nature : creature, make : break) は, 1650 年以前では稀であり, 1650 年以降に見出されるようになるが, 18 世紀には再び稀になる。その多くは ME/ɛ:/ の ME/a:/, ME/ai/ 異形, 音美感, 方言音 [e:] に依存するものである。made : head, state : great も head, great の本来の ME/ɛ:/ に依存するものである。
- 2) ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/(change : revenge) は, Wyatt を初めとし EModE 期の詩人に見出されが, その殆どが方言音 [e(:)] に依存するものである。
- 3) ME/a:/ : ME/e:/(age : siege) は, Howard を初めとし EModE 期の詩人に見出されるが, その殆どが方言音 [e:] に依存するものである。
- 4) ME/a:/ : ME/e/(change : revenge) は, Wyatt を初めとし EModE 期の詩人に見出さ

れるが、その殆どが方言音 [e(:)] に依存するものである。

5) ME/a:/r : ME/ai/r (care : fair), ME/a:/r : ME/ɛ:/r (care : bear), ME/a:/r : ME/e:/r (care : appear) は、EModE 期以降の詩人にも極く普通に見出されおり、[ɛ:] r での融合を示すものである。

これらの証拠を踏まえると、ME/a:/ と ME/ɛ:/ の融合に関する最も蓋然性の高い推論は次のようなものであろう。

i) 標準英語では、17世紀に自由位置の ME/a:/ は ME/ai/ と融合するが、ME/ɛ:/ とは融合しない。

ii) ME/a:/ = [æ:] > [ɛ:] は16世紀末までにかなり進行していた。しかし、標準英語で [ɛ:] が認められるのは17世紀からであり、ME/a:/ と ME/ai/ が [ɛ:] の段階で融合した時、ME/ɛ:/ は [e:] であった。

iii) 18世紀に入り、ME/a:/, ME/ai/ が共に [e:] になった時、ME/ɛ:/ は [i:] となり、ME/e:/ と融合した。しかし、北・南・西部方言では ME/a:/, ME/ai/, ME/ɛ:/ の三音は [e:] で融合した。1800年以降、ME/a:/ : ME/ɛ:/ が見出されるが、その多くは ME/ɛ:/ に great, break を含むものである。

iv) great, break の PE [ei] は方言音が散発的に標準英語に定着したものである⁵。

v) [r] の前では、自由位置のものより早くに高母音化が行われ、EModE 期に、ME/a:/r は [a:r] > [æ:r] > [ɛ:r] となり、この段階で、ME/ai/r, ME/ɛ:/r, ME/e:/r と融合し、その後 ModE breaking を起こし [ɛ:ər] > [ɛə] となった。

注

1. StE では ME/a:/ = [a:] > [æ:] > [ɛ:] > [e:] > [ei] と変化した。ME/a:/ = [a:] > [æ:] は、ME/a/ > [æ] より早く、高母音化していたことに関しては音論学者の間で異論はない。何時 [ɛ:], [e:] に到達したかについては意見が分かれている。北部方言では ME/a:/ は1400年までに [ɛ:] に、16世紀には [e:] に、東部方言では15世紀に ME/ai/からの [ɛ:] と融合し、15世紀中に [e:] に、Scotlandでは16世紀までに [e(:)] となった。Cheshire 方言でのみ ME/a:/ は ME/ɛ:/ と融合し、今日 [i:] となっている。
2. Shakespeare の Winter's Tale には Mopsa という名の羊飼いの女がでてくる。Gil の Mopsa というのは「Mopsa のように無教養な女達」位の意味であらう。Samuel (1972, p. 133) は Mopsa を一定の氣取った女性の話者の意味にとっている。
3. t は当該脚韻が見出される頻度数を表す。
4. 18世紀に ME/ɛ:/ に [e:], [i:] が並存していたが、great は [i:] を選択した場合には greet と、[e:] を選択した場合には grate と衝突することになる。[e:], [i:] の選択はそれぞれの文脈の中での音象徴的效果により決まることになる。[i:] は小さいこと、繊細さを表すのに適しており、[e:] は大きさ、広がりを表すのに適しているといわれている。same : stream は川がゆっくり、滔滔と流れる様を表現する場合には [e:] が、state : great は国の持つ大きさ、広がりを表す場合には [e:] の方が適した表現になる。great (Aj.) が grate (N., V.) を選ぶ場合には品詞での衝突はなく、音象徴的要因が機能的要因より大き

い。一方、heat が [e:] を選んだ場合には hate と衝突するが、[i:] を選んだ場合には衝突する単語がない。つまり機能的要因が音象徴的要因より大きかったため、[e:] が選ばれたことになる。ME/ɛ:/ に [e:], [i:] が並存する場合に、どちらが選択されるかという問題は相反する象徴的・機能的という要素だけでは充分説明できない複雑な問題である。

5. ME/ɛ:/ の PE [i:] は異形が StE 音にとって代わったものとするれば、EModE 期に ME/ɛ:/ として採用された外来語の PE [i:] の説明に窮することになる。そこで Dobson(1968², § 110) は「外来語から採用された語の発音はその言語に内在しているモデルに従って英語化されることは極めて正常なことである」と説明しているが、いささか牽強附会の印象はぬぐいきれない。一番簡単な説明は great, break の PE [ei] を方言音に依存するものと解釈することである。ME/ɛ:/ と対をなす高母音の ME/ɔ:/ を持つ (a)broad の PE 音 [ɔ:] は正常な ME/ɔ:/ に由来するのではなく、方言音の ME/ɔ:/ に再強勢が付与された結果である。great, break の PE [ei] を broad の [ɔ:] のように方言音が散在的に StE に定着したものと捕らえても何ら不思議ではない。宮廷を中心に行われていた話し言葉が 16 世紀に Spoken Standard English として確立し、更にこの標準語は York, Liverpool, London の教育ある中産階級の人たちの言葉として定着した。これが所謂 Received Standard と呼ばれるものである。StE はその起源が単一の方言に根ざすのではなく、複数の方言の集合体であることを忘れてはならない。

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