des Dramatikers, die Novelle des Epikers erzählt die Tatsachen in ihrer pragmatischen Folge. Im Aufbau der Novelle des Dramatikers erkennen wir die Teile des Dramas wieder, die Exposition, die Steigerung bis zu einem Höhepunkt, die Entwicklung zur Katastrophe. Der Epiker erzählt gelassen die Ereignisse, ohne sie in einen so straffen Aufbau einzuordnen. Diesem inneren Bau entsprechen in der Novelle des Dramatikers geschlossene Szenen und Szenenbilder, die sich hier leichter abgrenzen lassen als in der Novelle des Epikers, wo alles in Fluß ist.

Der Bau der Novelle des Epikers ist mit einer sanft ansteigenden Straße zu vergleichen, auf deren Höhe angelangt, sich uns ein überraschender, aber keineswegs unerwarteter Anblick bietet, da wir allmählich emporsteigend das zu erwartende Bild zum guten Teil schon vorweg genossen haben. Der Bau der dramatischen Novelle führt uns ähnlich wie der des Dramas, wie auf einem kunstvoll angelegten Bergpfade empor, wo wir auf künstlich verborgenen Wegen unversehens in die Höhe gelangen, um plötzlich, auf eine Lichtung hervortretend, einen wundervollen Ausblick in die Ferne zu gewinnen, der aber nur die Vorstufe ist, die Vorbereitung zu einer weit herrlicheren Aussicht, die unser auf dem Gipfel harret. Beide Wege führen zum Ziel, führen zur Höhe, der eine gemächlich, der andere mit gewaltsameren Mitteln. Durch die Art dieses Weges unterscheidet sich die Novelle des Dramatikers von der des Epikers, ein Unterschied, der also im Grunde auf dem Wesensunterschied des dramatischen und epischen Dichters beruht. Form und Stoff bilden eine Einheit. Der geborene Dramatiker (Stoffdichter), der einen dramatisch nicht verwertbaren Stoff gestaltet und dafür die Form der Novelle wählt, wird eine Novelle mit wesentlich dramatischem Einschlag schaffen. Der geborene Epiker schafft eine Novelle, der dieser dramatische Einschlag fehlt. Es ist kein Zweifel, daß dieses negative Element zugleich eine positive Bestimmung des Wesens der Novelle bildet. Die Novelle des Epikers, also die epische Novelle wird naturgemäß als die Grundform der Novelle bezeichnet werden müssen. Einen positiven Beweis für diese Feststellung bildet ein epischer Dichter wie Gottfried Keller, einen negativen Beweis aber Gerhart Hauptmann mit seinem *Bahnwärter Thiel*, der in viel höherem Maße der Gattung der Novelle als das gesamte dramatische Lebenswerk Hauptmanns der Gattung des Dramas zugerechnet werden muß.

Weenen.

MAX LEDERER.

NOTES ON ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY (*ie* and *ea*).

(CONTINUATION).

VI. Words that in early modern E. had [e] or [ɛ:] followed by *s* or *st*.

a. Germanic words.

beast, 'best':

Letter in Wallace, *l. c.*, p. 153, *beaste* (twice).

geasse, 'guess':

Sir Thomas More 248 G; 281 C, *geasse*; 1454 D *geast*¹⁾;

¹⁾ Grünzinger, *l. c.*, p. 50, where *reast* is also mentioned as occurring in More's works.

Udall, *Erasm. Par. Matth.* XV, 15 – 20, ed. 1552 *geassed* pp. (N. E. D.)
geast, 'guest':

Utopia 33, *geastwise*; Udall, *Ralph R. D.* p. 11, *gueast* (: feast).
neast:

Respublica V, X, 33; Gascoigne, *Compl. Phil.* 88; Lyly, *Euph.* 113,
124; Id. *Pappe w. Hatchet*, C 11 (N. E. D.); Harvey; *El. Ess.* 275/3.

There are five more instances of *neast(s)* in the N. E. D., one dating
from 1666, and another from 1678, while *neasteth* is instanced once,
neast-egge twice, *neastful* once, and *neastling* twice.

reast(e):

Ascham, *Scholem.* 17; *Respublica* III, IV, 6; III, V, 22; *Letters Mun.*
Room 117/14¹⁾.

wreast:

Surrey, *Poems I, c.*, 310/51 *wreasteled*; Laneham's *Letter* 53, and Lyly,
Euph. 269 *wreast*; Harvey, *El. Ess.* II, 251/3 *wreasteth*.

Laneham has *wreast*, 'wrist', twice on p. 38.

Stanyhurst has *weast*, 'west', *Aen.* 57/7.

b. Romance words.

cheast:

Laneham's *Letter* 59.

creast:

Malory, *Arthur* V, V (N. E. D.); Bossewell, Title page of *Workes of*
Armorie (N. E. D.); Lyly, *Midas* V, II (N. E. D.); Cotgrave (N. E. D.,
creast-risen; *creast-style*); Camden, *Armories* (R) (N. E. D.); Spenser,
F. Q. I, I, VI (: beast : feast : address); I, V, II (: east); III, IV, VII
(: beast); III, VI, XXII (: beasts : feasts : beheasts); VI, VI, XII (: beast :
least : infest); Id. *Ruines of Rome* 326 (: beast); Webster, *Duch. Malfy*
IV, II, 92.

deteast:

Spenser, *F. Q.* I, IV, XXI (: feast : beast).

ieast, jeast(ing):

Coverdale, *Job* XXVII, 23; 3 *John* B/5; Gosson, *Sch. of Ab.* 31;
Grimstone, tr. *D' Acosta's Hist.* I, VII, 22; *Arden of Fev.* IV,
IV, 98; Nash, in *El. Ess.* II, 243/10; Cotgrave, i. v. Bourde (N. E. D.);
Shakesp., *Rom. and Jul.* II, II, 1; *Rich.* 2, III, II, 77; *Twelfth N.* II, V, 24.

preas:

Rede me 22, *prease* (: peace); Ibid. 82 *prease* (: dease, 'table'); Tynd.,
Mark II, 4; V, 27; *Luke* V, 19; VIII, 19; XIX, 3; *John* V, 3, *preace*;
Mark III, 10; *Luke* V, 1; VI, 19; XXII, 47 *preased*; Coverdale, *Mark*
III, B/5, *preased*; Stephen Hawes, *Past. of Pl.* 59/2 (: cease : increase);
213/3 (: cease); 217/1 (: peace : cease), *prease*²⁾; Sir Thomas More XII D
prease (: cease); 23 B (*prease* (: peace)³⁾); Skelton spells *preas* consistently⁴⁾;
Laneham's *Letter* 41, *preas*; 6 *preast*, pret.; Spenser, *F. Q.* I, III, III,

1) Diehl, *l.c.*, p. 147.

2) Fuhr, *l.c.*, p. 30.

3) Grünzinger, *l.c.*, p. 46.

4) Rudolf, *Die engl. Orth. von Caxton bis Shakesp.*, p. 6.

II, VII, XLVI *preace*; I, XII, XIX *prease* (: peace : release : cease); IV, IV, XXXIV *preasse* (: ceasse); II, VII, XLIV, *preaced* (Frequent in Spenser); Sidney, *Ps.* CLIV, 8 *prease*; Harrington in *El. Ess.* II, 218/20 *preased*, pret.; Harvey, in *El. Ess.* II, 276/22 *preasseth*; James I (Arber), p. 33 *preast* pp.; Shakesp. *Henry* 8, IV, I, 77 *prease*.

For further examples see *N. E. D.*

preast, 'ready':

Respublica III, III, 5; Whetstone, *Promos and Cass.* III, II (*N. E. D.*)

treaspas (verb and noun):

Tynd. *Matth.* VI, 12 (twice), 14, 15; *Ibid.* XVIII, 35.

The following late ME. and early modern E. spellings also point to a long vowel in the above words.

Poems fr. Lamb. MS. 853 (E. E. T. S., Or. S. 24), 123 ff. *beest*: *reest*: *breest*: *cheest*; *beest* also in Trevisa, *Barth. De P. R.**393 (*N. E. D.*); Pecock's *Repressor* 467/3; *Past. Lett.* XIX/29; *Rutl. P.* 70/21. — *Eng. Gilds* 277 *geestys*; Tynd. *Mark* XIV, 14 *geest*; Caxton has *geest*, too; see Römstedt, *l. c.*, p. 8. *Reest* in Trevisa, *Highden* I, 353; *Prompt. Parv.* (Mayhew), col. 372; Burgh's *Cato* 342 (: beest 'beast'); in Caxton. see Römst, *l. c.*, p. 8; Tynd. *Matth.* XII, 43; XXVI. 45; *Luke* XI, 24; XIII, 29. — *Weest* in Pecock's *Repr.* 254/6, in Tynd. *Matth.* VIII, 11; XXIV, 27; *Luke* XIII, 29. — *Creest* in Wycl., *Exod.* XXVIII, 23; *Prompt. Parv.* (Mayhew), col. 101 (4 times); *Ibid.* col. 118. The Scotch spelling *creist* is used by Douglas, *Aen.* Prol. 128, 150. — *Prees* is frequent in late ME., and early mod. E.; many instances are found in the *N. E. D.*

It is peculiar that while modern English has *beast*, *feast*, *crease*, *decrease*, *cease*, *decease*, etc., the long vowel has not kept its ground in *chest*, *crest*, *jest*, *press*, etc.

In inquiring into the influence of *s* and *st* on the quantity of preceding vowels one is confronted with some difficult problems. In Germanic words long vowels followed by *st* were generally shortened in ME., hence modern E. *dust*, *rust*, *fist*, *list*, *mist*, *wrest*. In some O. F. dialects, on the other hand, short vowels were lengthened before *s* and *st*, hence *cease*, *decease*, *haste*, *beast*, *feast*, *coast*, *oust*, etc., and in late ME. and early modern E. there seems to have been a tendency to lengthen *ē* in this position in Germanic words. The orthographic evidence adduced above, is confirmed by fairly numerous rimes. It is true, the evidence that rimes seem to afford, has generally to be made use of with great circumspection, because many ME. 'poets' do not appear to have been over particular in the choice of rime words. Still, if a given rime occurs pretty frequently, and is employed by a considerable number of 'poets', it is not altogether unjustifiable to assume that the vowels coupled in such a rime must have been very similar, if they were not quite identical, or at any rate, that they were pronounced nearly or quite alike by some speakers at least.

The following rimes may possibly throw light on the quantity of the vowel in *best*, *nest*, *rest*, *west*.

best rimes with

beast: Chaucer, *C. T. D.* 1033/4; *Pall. on Husb.* III, 470/2.

east: *King Horn* 1347/8; *Curs. M.* 2473/4; *Alysaunder* 315/16, 5612/3, 6374/5; *Three Kings of Col.* 6/8; *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* XXIII, 570/2; *Pall. on Husb.* I, 389/90; *Capgrave, St. Kath.* I, 541/3; *Towneley Pl.* XII, 437/8; *Spenser, Epithal.* 149/51.

feast: *King Horn* 807/8; *Lyb. Desc.* 989/90; *Alys.* 1097/8; 1123/4; *Legends fr. Vernon MS.* II, 625/6; VI, 649/50; *Capgrave, St. Kath.* I, 543/4; *Lydgate, Temple of Gl.* 462/4; *Id., Assembly of Gods*, 2034/5; *Id. Troy Bk.* II, 5383/4; *Generydes* 2536/8; 6917/8; *Towneley Pl.* XXXII, 85/6; *Vindicta Salvatoris* 1379/80; *Rede me*, p. 36; *Lyndesay, Satyre* 745/6; *Udal, Ralph R. D.*, p. 11.

least: Böddeker, *Spir. Songs* III, 23/6; *Leg. fr. Vern. MS.* V, 705/6; *Digby Pl.* II, 342/3; *St. Editha* 1249/51; *Partonope* 5554/5; 8269/70; 11554/5; *Nature* 703/5; *Heywood, Weather* 1201/2; *Udall, Ralph R. D.* p. 75.

(*be*)*hest* (probably with [s:] in ME., and even in early mod. E.; from OE. hǣs): *Arth. and Merl.* 2197/8; 7409/10; *Lydg., Troy Bk.* II, 7565/6; *Generydes*, 4496/9; *St. Editha* 1602/4; *Towneley Pl.* XII, 436/7; *York Pl.* XXV, 201/3; *Partonope* 5022/3; *Lonelich's Merlin* 7513/4.

ME. *mēst*, 'most': *Flor. and Blanch.* 779/80; Böddeker, *Spir. Songs* XIV, 19/21; *St. Editha* 866/8.

nest rimes with

beast: *Owl and N.* 99/100; *Respubl.*, Prol. 29/30.

east: *Watson, Poems*, p. 84.

least: *Capgr. St. Kath* V, 429/32; *Henryson, Fables* 277/8.

rest rimes with

beast: *Mor. Ode* 359/60; *Havel.* 943/4; *Alys.* 5384/5; *Three Kings of Col.* 315/7; *Minor P. fr. Vern. MS.* XXIV, 370/2; *Cov. Myst.* p. 23; *Burgh's Cato* 340/2; *Towneley Pl.* XVIII, 145/7; *Thericytes* 273/3; 282/3; 439/40.

east: *Partonope* 9502/3.

feast: *Rich. Coer de L.* 2027/8; *Arth. and Merl.* 9937/8; *Lydg., Ass. Gods* 2032/5; *Maximian* 199/206; *Generydes* 1287/8; *Watson, Poems*, p. 78.

least: *Vindicta Salv.* 371/2; *Maximian* 199/203; *Minor Poems fr. Vernon MS.* XXXV, 433/4; *Generydes* 2536/9; *Capgrave, St. Kath.* V, 429/31; *Heywood, Weather*, 1199/1202.

west rimes with

beast: *Cov. Myst.*, p. 23; *Partonope* 460/1.

east: *Laz.* 3786/7 A and B; 17021/2 A; *Cantic. de Cr.* 568/9; *Bone Flor.* 1416/7; *Alys.* 5812/3; 6372/3; *Lydg., Reson and Sens.* 675/6; *Pall. on Husb.* I, 387/9; II, 162/4; *Watson, Poems*, p. 74.

least: *Curs. M.* 2119/20, MSS. C, G and F; *Four Elements* 383/5.

It is worth noting that Shakespeare rimes *rest* with *east* and *feast*, *west* with *east*, and *guest* with *feast*; *Vietor, Sh. Phon.* § 26. The rime *guest*: *feest* also occurs in *Thericytes* 274/5.

The old phonetic authorities give very little information about the pronun-

ciation of the words in question, in fact, *nest* is the only one in which [ɛ:] is recorded. Bullokar almost consistently spells *næst*, by which he means [nɛ:st]; 74/13, 74/15, 77/24, 77/30, 86/10, 98/4, 140/24, 140/25, 141/31, 142/1, 151/22. But he has *nest* 41/29, and further *best* 50/15, etc., *rest* 47/32, etc. Butler, too, records the pronunciation [nɛ:st], which he represents by *neast* 78/33 (but *best*, *rest*, *wrest*; see Glossary).

VII. French words that had [ɛ:] and [ei] in early modern English.

conceave:

Tynd. *Matth.* I, 20; *Luke* I, 24, 31, 36; Coverdale, *Luke* I, B/20; *Utopia* 69, 86, 155; Surrey, *Poems*, l. c., p. 314; *Gossip Mun. Room* 105/8¹⁾.

Further: Gosson, *Sch. of Ab.* 68, *conceat*.

deceive:

Rede me 63, 68, 107; Tynd. *Matth.* XXII, 19; XXIV, 4, 5; *Mark* XII, 24, 27; *Mark* XIII, 5, 22; *Luke* XXI, 8; *John* VII, 47; *Utopia* 34, 44, 85, 100, 108, 110, 111, 140; Surrey, *Poems*, l. c., p. 294; Lyly, *Euphues* 423; Shakesp., *Tit. A.* V, II, 36; Dekker, *White Dev.* III, II, 141.

Further: *Rede me* 22, *disceatfulnes*; *Ibid.* 78, 94 *disceavable*; Coverdale, *Mark* VII, C/5 *disceate*; Latimer, *Seven Sermon.* 116, *deceauable*.

perceave:

Rede me 23, 40, 64, 68, 94, 101; Tynd., *Matth.* II, 16; IX, 11; XIII, 14; XV, 12, 17; XVI 9, 11, 23; XVII, 13; XXI, 45; XXII, 18; *Mark* II, 8; VII, 18; XII, 28; *Luke* I, 22; V, 22; VI, 42; VIII, 46; XVIII, 34; XX, 19; *John* IV, 19; XI, 49; XVI, 19; XIX, 28; Coverdale, *Luke* I, B/14; Ascham, *Tox.* 14; Lever, *Sermons* 71; *Utopia* 19, 25, 50, 55, 100; Surrey, *Poems*, l. c., 292, 327/19, 329/9, 319/24, 330/43; Vicary, *Anatomy*, App. XVI, 297; *Misogonus* I, I, 88; I, III, 98; Googe, *Egl.* 65, 110; *Egerton Pap.* 88/23¹⁾; *Gossip Mun. Room* 88/7¹⁾; *Letter Geo. Fleetwood* 5/5¹⁾.

receave:

Rede me 21 (: gleave, 'sword'); *Ibid.* 109; Tynd. *Matth.* VII, 8; X, 14, 40 (4 times), 41 (twice); XI, 14; XXI, 34; XXIII, 14, etc. (Frequent in Tynd.; there are 68 instances in the four Gospels alone); Coverdale, *Mark*; XI C/19; *Utopia* 70, 89, 141, 166; Sir Thomas More 1264 B²⁾; Lever, *Sermons*, 79, 86; Googe, *Egl.* 119; Puttenham, *Eng. Poesie*, 23; Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 23/14, 52/22, 68/20, 81/26, 84/2, 85/16; *Horestes* 500, 777, 787; Wallace, l. c. p. 176; Spenser, *F. Q.* II, X, LXIX (: gave: have); Harrington, *El. Ess.* II, 213/20; *Goss. Mun. Room* 14/5, 85/8¹⁾; *Alleyne Papers* 73/23¹⁾; Hensl., *Diary* 80/1¹⁾.

Further: Coverdale, *Mark* II, B/5 *receate*.

There are many instances of *receave* in the *N. E. D.*

leasure:

Tynd., *Mark* VI, 31; *Utopia* 21, 22; Sir Thomas More 777 H³⁾;

¹⁾ Diehl, *L.c.*, p. 174.

²⁾ Grünzinger, *L.c.*, p. 48.

³⁾ Grünzinger, *L.c.*, p. 47.

Ascham, *Tox.* 110, 150; Id. *Scholem.* 116; Udall, *Ralph R. D.* 85; *Mucedorus* II, III, 5; Gasc. *Steele Gl.* 96; *Edw. Third* III, I, 158; Puttenham, *Eng. Poesie* 71; *Horestes* 281; Lyly, *Euph.* 74, 83, 189, 265, 393; Whetstone, *El. Ess.* I, 58/12; *Harvey, El. Ess.* II, 261/15; Bacon, *Essays* (Arber), 158 (twice); Shakesp., *All's Well* V, III, 33; Dekker, *White Dev.* V, I, 254.

There are 10 instances of *leasure* in the *N. E. D.*, one of them from Milton's *Par. L.* X, 510, while *leasurely* is quoted from a work written in 1673, and first published in 1677.

seaze, sease, cease, ceaze, 'seize':

Caxton, *Jason* 81b; (*N. E. D.*); Id., *Recuyell* II, 693 (*N. E. D.*); *Melusine* LIX, 358 (*N. E. D.*); Skelton, *Magnyf.* 1554 (*N. E. D.*); *Rede me* 104 (:please); *Colet's Will and Grocyn's Will*¹⁾; Lyly, *Euph.* 117; *Oldcastle* IV, III, 16; IV, III, 106; Shakesp., *Rom. and J.* III, III, 35; *Gent of V.* V, IV, 33; Dekker, *Duch. Malfi* II, V, 8.

Further there are between 45 and 50 instances of *seare* and its derivatives *seasin*, *seazure*, etc. in the *N. E. D.*

Middle and Modern English *conceive*, *deceive*, etc. are generally looked upon as having developed from Old-French stem-stressed forms, while *conceave*, *deceave*, etc. are supposed to be the English descendants of O. F. suffix-stressed forms (*concevoins*, etc.), which became stem-stressed in English, in consequence of which *ē* was lengthened to *ē̄*. According to the *N. E. D.* the various forms of *receive* are connected either with O. F. *receivre* or with O. F. *receveir*. This really comes to the same thing, as *receveir* is a new formation, a new infinitive made from suffix-stressed forms of the paradigm.

The existence, however, of doublets like *leisure* — *leasure*; *seize* — *seaze* (*seizure* — *seazure*; *seisin*, *saisin* — *seasin*); *demein(e)*, *demain(e)* — *demean(e)* (noun and verb); *pays*, *peys* — *pē̄s*, *peace*; *raisun*, *reisun* — *rēsun*. *reason*; *plaise(n)* — *plē̄se(n)*, *please*, and several others, makes a different explanation possible. These doublets prove that, in spite of the fact that *ai* was smoothed into [ɛ:] in Anglo-Norman, the older forms, those with *ei*, *ai* (which, moreover, generally still existed in continental French) found their way into ME. by the side of the forms with a smoothed vowel. Thus, in the Cotton text of *Cursor Mundi* we find: 4939 *receiud*; 7746 *receiue* (:gleiue); 10785/6 *perceiue*; 10878 *conceiue*; 15059 *receiues*; 17982 *receiue*; 18714 *receiue*; 19472 *receiuf*; 20822 *conceiued*; 22077 *receiue*; but: 443 *parceued*; 1135 *reseued*; 1893/4 *parceued*; 8625/6 *parceued*; 16470 *resaueid*; 19472 *receuip*; 19544 *receue*; 22078 *conceue* (:receiue); 28794 *receues*.

That *ei* was smoothed before *v* is proved by the existence of the M.E. doublet *glaiue*, *gleiue* — *glē̄ve*.

The modern pronunciation of *conceive*, etc. is not in accordance with the spelling; cf. *convey*, *purvey*, *survey*, *prey*, *reins*, *feign*, *feint*, etc. In 16th century English *ei* generally stands for a diphthong, as in ME.; occasionally it represents [ɛ:] (*feild*, *sheild*, *yeild*, *cheif*, *beive*, etc.), but [i:] is out of the question in 16th century *conceive*, etc.

1) Diehl, *L.c.*, p. 174.

In the 16th, and perhaps even in the first half of the 17th century the two spellings *conceive* and *conceave* represented two pronunciations: [kənseiv] and [kənsə:v]. Bullokar probably pronounced a diphthong in *receive*¹⁾. Butler says: "wee writ' *receiv*, and say raðer *receav*" (3.31), which proves that he knew the pronunciation with [ei]. On p. 68.20 he distinguishes between "to *conceav* *utero*, and to *conceiv* *animo* *concipio*", but on p. 59, where he transcribes the Apostles' Creed, he has, 'our Lord, which was conceived by the holy Gost . . .', so that he does not keep faithfully to this distinction. — Daines, p. 10 condemns the pronunciation *receave* for *receive*, *conceave* for *conceive* as 'altogether against rule or authority.' He seems to be the last phonetic authority who refers to [ei] in *conceive*, etc.

As there is no evidence of any kind of the smoothing of *ei* in *conceit*, *deceit*, *recei(p)t* during the ME. period, the 16th century [ɛ:] in these words must be owing to the analogy of *conceave*, etc., unless *ea* reflects the beginning of the smoothing of the diphthong represented by *ei* (*ai*), i. e. probably [æ:] This, however, is very unlikely in view of the present-day pronunciation, which must have developed from early modern [kənsə:t], etc.

The modern spelling of *leisure seize*, (and derivatives) is contrary to the pronunciation, too; the regular spelling would be *leasure* (cf. *measure*, *pleasure*, *treasure*, also with shortened [ɛ:]), and *seaze*.

VIII. Words that had [ɛ:] and [e] in ME. and early modern E.

eleaven:

Mucedorns III, II, 11 *aleauen*; Harvey, in *El. Ess.* I, 119/26 *eleaven*;

Id., *Ibid.* II, 119/26, 120/10 *aleavn* (phonetic transcription).

freat(e), 'fret':

Act 26 *Hen. VIII*, c. 9, *freate* (*N. E. D.*); *Coverdale, Lev.* XIII, *freate*²⁾; Sir Thomas More 704 G, *freate*³⁾; *Tottel's Misc.* 27 and 204 *freat* (:to beat); 48 *freat*; 100 *freat* (:great); 81 *freate* (:heate); 218 *freat* (:eat); Ascham, *Tox.* 114, 118, 120, 121 (4 times) *freat(e)*; 118, 121 (twice) *freats*; 121 *freated*; 108 *freatynge*; Hakluyt, *Voyages* 130, *freat* (*N. E. D.*); Laneham's *Letter* 17 *freat*; Cooper, *Thesaurus, freatynge* (Note in *Cath. Ang.*, p. 36); Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his H.* III, IV²⁾.

In Levins, *Man. Voc.* *freate* rimes with 26 words in [ɛ:t].

geate 'get':

Sir Thomas More 39E, 90G, 14B, 28D *geat(e)*; 12B, 216D [*for*] *geatte*⁴⁾; *Tottel's Misc.* 181 *forgeat*; Goss. *Mun. Room* 11/4 *forgeatting*⁵⁾; *Respubl.* I. I, 53 *geate* (:greate); but *Ibid.* III, VI, 21; V, IX, 14 *geate* (:sette); *Ibid.* V, X, 84 *geate* (:debte). Cf. *Cely Papers* 61/26, 61/38 *geet*; *Ibid.* 61/37 *forgeet*.

1) Hauck, *Systematische Lautlehre Bullokar's*, p. 102

2) Price, *Hist. Abl.* p. 117.

3) Grünzinger, *Lc.*, p. 46.

4) Grünzinger, *Lc.*, p. 49.

5) Diehl, *Lc.*, p. 147.

Further evidence of (e:) in *get* is given by Price, *Hist. Abl.* p. 118, and p. 120 ff.

[be]heast:

Harl. Misc. III. 93 (*N.E.D.*); Udall, *Erasm.. Par. Luke* XIII, 3 (*N.E.D.*); *Horestes* 987; *Misogonus* II, V, 36 (: beste 'beast'); Stanyhurst, *Aen.* II, 64; II, 145; IV, 106; Id. *Ps.* I, 2, 126 (*N.E.D.*) Lyly, *Euph.* 374; *Chester Pl.* III, 349; Spenser, *F. Q.* I, IV, XVIII (:beasts); III, IV, XXXI (:rest:surceast); III, VI, XXII (:beasts:feasts:creasts); VI, XII, XXIV (:beast:least), etc.; there are about a dozen more similar rimes in Spenser.

least, 'lest':

Rede me 145; Tynd., *Luke* XII, 58; *Mark* XIV, 38; Sir Thomas More 390 C, 618B¹⁾; Lever, *Sermons* 119; Laneham's *Letter* 36, 56; Lyly *Euph.* 51, 55, 99, 117, 118, 119, 131, 144, 208, 215, etc.; about 40 times (the usual spelling in *Euph.*); *Mucedorus* I, I, 19; Gosson, *Sch. of Ab.* 53; Gasc., *Steele Gl.* 25, 95; Puttenham, *Eng. P.* 65; *Edw. Third* I, II, 117; III, I, 95; *Two Noble Kinsm.* III, I, 108; *Misogonus* II, V, 99; III, III, 54; *Arden of Fev.* I, I, 408; Nash, in *El. Ess.* I, 319/34, 322/21, 322/29, 333/10, 333/14, 335/15; Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 31/5, 39/33, 83/17, 85/20, 128/9; Dekker *White Dev.* V, III, 239.

This spelling remained in use till after the beginning of the 19th century; see *N.E.D.*

leat(e), 'let':

Respubl. V, VI, 21; V, X, 119; *Lett. Lit. Men.* 2/17²⁾; Hensl., *Diary* 177/1²⁾.

Price, *l. c.* pp. 167, 168 quotes *leate* from Bale's *K. Johan* 26, *leatt* from Ellis, *lete* from Caxton, *Cely P.*, *Gesta Rom.* (ed. 1510), Ellis (three instances).

seaven:

Sir Thomas More 4943 F³⁾, Ascham, *Scholem.* 59; Laneham's *Letter* 3, 8, 43 (twice), 115; Webbe, *Trauailles* 28, 31, 32; Puttenham, *Eng P.* 85; Lyly, *Euph.* 272, 346; Harvey in *El. Ess.* 119/3, 119/26 (transcribed phonetically by *seavn* 119/26); Id., *l. c.* II, 232/19, 232/23, 266/4; *Mucedorus* III, II, 66; Carew, in *El. Ess.* II, 279/3; Daniel, in *El. Ess.* II, 369/17; Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 23/10, 30/5; Dekker, *Duch. Malfy* I, I, 77; V, II, 272.

seaventh:

Webbe, *Disc. Eng. P.* 54, 61; Laneham's *Letter* 9, 43; Campion, in *El. Ess.* II, 344/10.

seaventy:

Laneham's *Letter* 8; *Two Noble Kinsm.* V, I, 93.

Further there are more than 20 instances of *seaven*, etc. in the *N.E.D.*

shead:

Rede me 148; Sir Thomas More 385 F³⁾; *Locrine* I, II, 9; *Ibid.* III, Prol. 11; *Auth. V.*, *Ezech.* XVI, 38.

1) Grünzinger, *l.c.*, p. 47.

2) Diehl, *l.c.*, p. 147.

3) Grünzinger, *l.c.*, p. 49.

According to Price, *Hist. Abl.*, p. 170 *shead* occurs once in the *Geneva N. T.*, *sheading* once each in Cranmer's, the *Geneva*, and the *Reims N. T.* Further there are 11 instances in the *N. E. D.*

A long vowel is also indicated by *sheed* in Tynd. *Matth.* XXIII, 35 (past part. !); *Luke* XI, 50 (past part. !), *Rom.* V, 5 (past part. !), by *sheede* in *The Boy and the Mantle* (Percy Fol.) 181 (inf.) and *Fitzherb. Husb.* § 110 (inf.)

yeat, 'yet':

Ordinances etc. (end reign Henry VIII) in Boyle, *Hist. of Hedon*, p. LXXXVII; Vicary, *Anatomy*, App. XVI, 291; *Goss. Mun. Room* 10/9, 42/5, 45/10¹); Carew, in *El. Ess.* II, 289/24, 290/28. Cf. also *yeet* in *Goss. Mun. Room* 75/16²).

To these may be added the Romance word *jet*, which also had [ɛ:] and [e] in late middle and early modern English. The *N. E. D.* records the spellings *jeet*, *geet*, *geit* seven times, while ten instances are given of *jeat*, *geat*; *jeatstone* occurs as late as 1748. Four more instances are found in Lyly's *Euphues*: pp. 64, 330 (twice), 331 *ieat(e)*.

Further it is not impossible that *many* and *together* had [ɛ:] and [e] in early mod. Eng; in fact, Gill actually has *e* and *e*· (= [ɛ:]) in *together*. The following *ea* spellings may point to [ɛ:]:

Latimer, *Sermon on the Pl.*, 25 *meany*; Id, *Seven Serm.*, 40 *meany*; 144 *meanye*; Olde, *Antichrist* 6, *meanye* (*N. E. D.*); Becon, *Display Popish Mass*, Wks. III, 47b *meany* (*N. E. D.*); Cf. Lyly, *Lett. to Burleigh*, Wks. I, 28, *meinie*.

Laneham's *Letter* 52, *togeather*; Vicary, *Anatomy* 28/7, 33/26, 61/2, 76/21, 77/29, *togeather*; *Ibid.* App. XVI, 297 *togueather* (but also *together* 28/7, 45/29, 55/28, etc.); *Inv. Ch. Goods* in *Ann. Lichfield* IV, 6 *together* (*N. E. D.*); *Horestes* 1064, *together*; *Arden of Fev.* III, III, 42; III, IV, 127 *togeather*; Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 5/7 *altogeather*; 127/1 *al toogether*.

Leper and its derivatives are spelt 8 times with *ea* among the examples given in the *N. E. D.* (to which may be added *leaprosie*, Dekker, *Duch. Malfy* III, III, 64), so that at one time (16–18 cent.) this word, too, may have been pronounced with [ɛ:] and with [e].

IX. Romance words ending in *-ede*, *-eed*, *-eme*, *-ete* in present-day English.

exceed(e):

Coverdale, *Josh.* I, 10; *1 Chron.* XXII (XXI), 13; *Ps.* CIV (CV), 24; *Matth.* V, B/26; Eden, *Treat. New Ind.* (Arber), XLI, 8, 22, 23, etc.; *Kyng. Dar.* 986; Spenser, *F. Q.* II, X, LXX (: read).

proceed(e):

Tynd., *Matth.* IV, 4; *Mark* VII, 21; John XV, 26; Coverd., *1 Sam.* XIX, 2; *Matth.* VII, C/3; Latimer, *Seven Serm.*, 79; Tottel (Brooke), *Rom. and Jul.* 304; *Letters Qu. El. and James* VI, 74/21; *Egerton Papers* 48³); Gooze, *Egl.* 127; Neuyll in Gooze, *Egl.* 23 (: spreade);

¹) Diehl, *l.c.*, p. 147.

²) Diehl, *l.c.*, p. 148.

³) Diehl, *l.c.*, p. 162.

Document in Wallace *l. c.*, p. 168; Eden, *Treat. New. Ind.* XLI (twice), 57, 64, etc.

succëad:

Surrey, *Poems* in *Anglia* XXIX, p. 323.

blasphem:am:

Kyng Dar. 978, 1044.

embleam:

Francis Thynne's *Embleames* (Title).

esteem:

Skelton, *Vox Populi* 672 (*N. E. D.*); *Utopia* 137; Neuyll in Googe, *Egl.* 21; James I (Arber) 31 (: seames, 'seems'); Slr T. Herbert, *Trav.* 106.

extream:

Act Henry VII, C 24 (*N. E. D.*); *Chron. Calais* 112/101; *Utopia* 35, 37, 146; Surrey, *Poems l. c.*, 334/12 (: dreamie); Webbe, *Travailes*, Title; *Purit. Widow* III, III, 50; *Two Noble Kinsm.* IV, II, 113; Lyly, *Euph.* 230, 328, 357, 465, 461; Harvey in *El. Ess.* II, 249/31, 252/27, 262/13; Nash in *El. Ess.* II, 241/18, 241/31; Chapman, *El. Ess.* II, 302/25, 307/3; Bacon, *Essays* (Arber), ed. 1597, 150; ed. 1607—12, 184, 186, 252, 258, 360, 378; Shakesp. *Wint. T.* IV, IV, 6; *Timon* III, II, 14; *Tit. A.* III, I, 216; Dekker, *Duch. Malfy* III, II, 56; Id. *White Dev.*, V, IV, 43.

The spelling *extream* is employed by Addison and Pope; see the *N. E. D.*, where further instances are given, the latest dating from 1774.

supream:

Lyly, *Euph.* 451; *Lochrine* IV, I, 40; Harvey, *El. Ess.* I, 121/21. See further the *N. E. D.*, which gives a great number of examples, especially from 17th century authors. The spelling *supream(e)* is used by Chapman, Daniel, Donne, and Milton.

theam:

Latimer, *Seven Serm.* 22; Gascoigne, *Steele Gl.* 31; Googe, *Pop. Kingd.* IV, 44b; Harvey, *El. Ess.* I, 111/14; Nash, *El. Ess.* I, 337/22; Shakesp., *Hamlet* V, I, 289; *Tit. A.* V, II, 80.

Further instances are found in the *N. E. D.*

compleat:

Arden of Fev. III, III, 161; Ben Jonson, *Epic.* I, I, 12; Shakesp., *Tr. and Cr.* III, III, 181; IV, I, 27; *The Compleat Gentleman*; *The Compleat Angler*; *The Compleat Englishman* (titles of books by Peacham, Walton, and Defoe resp.).

The spelling *compleat* is used by Milton, Addison, Pope, and Johnson; see the *N. E. D.*, which gives examples dating from the very end of the 18th century (1795).

repleat:

Boorde, *The Boke for to lerne B IIIb* (*N. E. D.*); King James I (Arber), p. 33 (: feat); Shakesp., *All's W.* II, III, 183.

1) Diehl, *l.c.*, p. 162

Further instances, especially from 17th century writers, are given in the *N. E. D.*

secreat (adj. and noun):

Surrey, *Poems, Angl.* XXIX, 292 (4 times), 294, 311 (twice), 317, 325/25; Sir Thomas More 263 E¹); Eden, *Tr. New. Ind.* etc. XLIV (4 times), 43, 51, etc.; Watson *Poems* 85, 100; Lyly, *Euphues* 1, 67, 415, 416 (3 times), 417.

The [ɛ:] in the above words, as pronounced in early modern English (in the 18th century spellings like *compleat*, *exteram*, etc. were, of course, purely traditional) must be owing to the influence, either of contemporary or of earlier continental French.

Shakespeare rimes *extreme* and *theme* with *dream* and *stream*²⁾, but the rimes in which *exceed* and *proceed* occur, point to [i:]³⁾.

Rimes that point to [ɛ:] also occur in the 16th century:

Surrey, *Poems, Angl.* XXIX, 334/32 *extreame* : *dreame* (= *Tottel's Misc.* p. 19); *Tottel's Misc.* p. 270 *excedes* : *leades* 3 p. s.; Watson, *Poems*, p. 153 *blaspheme* : *dreame*; *Nature* II, 25/6 *kynrede* : *succede*; Neuyll in Googe, *Egl.* 23 *proceade* : *sprede*.

Secret generally has the stress on the first syllable in 16th century poetry; still the fact that it is sometimes spelt with *ea* in the second syllable, and also Tyndale's spelling *secreat* in *Mark.* IV, 22 seem to point to a second pronunciation [sikrɛ:t] or [səkrɛ:t].

X. Words that are generally supposed to have had [e] in early modern English.

allea(d)ge in Vicary, *Anatomy*, App. XVI, 295; Lyly, *Euphues*, 64, 320, 366; Harvey in *El. Ess.*, 265/35; Eden, *l. c.* 115.

bead 'bed', in Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 40/15; 81/4. Cf. *beed* in Tynd. *Matth.* IX, 6; *Mark* II, 4, 9, 11, 12; *Luke* XI, 34; XVII, 37; *John* V, 11, 12; *Rev.* II, 22; *beeddes* Id. *Mark.* VI, 55.

beager 'beggar' in Hensl., *Diary* 65/3⁴⁾.

bealie, bealye in Latimer, *Seven Sermon.* 116; *Respublica* IV, IV, 104.

discreation in Lyly, *Euphues* 121.

eanded pret. in Hensl., *Diary* 256/10⁴⁾.

feache in Hensl. *Diary* 105/3⁴⁾.

hearing, hearinges, 'herring(s)', in Lyly, *Euphues* 414.

ealm in Hensl., *Diary* 18/11⁴⁾.

freasche in *Respublica* V, VIII, 13.

healm in Watson, *Poems* 121; *Transl. Bullinger's Decades* 1001 (*N. E. D.*).

healp(e) in *Rede me* 35, 80, 101, 103, 108; Latimer, *Seven Sermon.* 108, 135, 163; Id. *Sermon on the Pl.* 23, 34, 35; Lever, *Sermons* 119, 121, 123.

mealt in Harvey, in *El. Ess.* II, 278/15.

sealf in Hensl. *Diary.* 236/2⁴⁾.

shealf in Laneham's *Letter* 41.

bearwhealpes in Laneham's *Letter* 46.

1) Grünzinger, *l. c.*, p. 47.

2) Viëtor, *Sh. Phon.* pp. 15, 165.

3) Viëtor, *l. c.*, pp. 15, 121, 122.

4) Diehl. *l. c.*, p. 147.

heather, 'hether'. i. e. 'hither' in *Horestes* 27, 127, 305, 608.

incredible in Lyly, *Euphues* 72.

leasson in Latimer, *Seven Sermones*. 22.

leacher, leachery(e) in *Rede me* 50; Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 100/19, 101/18; Dekker, *Duch. Malfy* III, II, 101.

leaft, adj. pret., and past p., in Laneham's *Letter* 4, 8, 21; *Letter* in Wallace, *Evolution* 153 (twice); Powel, *Lloyd's Cambria* 269 (*N. E. D.*).

Cf. *leeft* in Tynd., *Matth.* VIII, 15; XXIV, 2; *Mark* XII, 20; XIII, 2; XXI, 22; *Luke* IV, 39; V, 28; X, 40; XX, 31.

overwhealmethe in Surrey, *Poems, Angl.* XXIX, 325.

leavel in Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 5/6; Sidney, *Apologie* 55.

There are three more instances in the *N. E. D.*

meari, mearey in Watson, *Poems* 127; *Horestes* 334.

meashed in *Tottel's Misc.* 54.

preasent(e) in Latimer, *Seven Sermones*. 52; *Horestes* 500, 1128.

preaty in Sir Thomas More, 502 D, 872 C²); Udal, *Erasm. Apoph.* 224b (*N. E. D.*). Cf. *preety* in Bunyan, *Pilgr. Prog.* II, 66.

realish in Lyly, *Euphues* 329.

wreake, 'reck', in *Lochrine* II, IV, 21.

seante 'sent', in Hensl., *Diary* 177/1¹).

speakelation in *Misogonus* III, III, 16.

streache, stretch(e) in Sir Thomas More 623 D⁸); Gosson, *Sch. of Ab.* 57; *Arden of Fev.* I, 551.

teather in Latimer, *Seven Sermones*. 51; Best, *Farm Bks.* 145 (*N. E. D.*); N. Bacon, *Disc. Govt. Eng.* II, XXX, 137 (*N. E. D.*). Cf. *teyther* in *Nottingham. Rec.* IV, 170 (*N. E. D.*; date 1577).

Theames in Lyly, *Euph.* 434.

veary(e) vearey in *Horestes* 121, 208; Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 24/13.

Several of the above spellings, especially those which only occur sporadically, are no doubt owing to the fact that in early modern English so many words had [e:] and [e], so that they might be written with *ea* or *e*, in other words, *beager*, *bealie*, *discreation*, *eanded*, *hearing*, *feache* etc. are inverted spellings. Many of them are found particularly in certain writers and texts, as Sir Thomas More, Latimer, Henslowe, Lyly, *Horestes*.

In *theather* however, *ea* may point to [e:], cf. *feather*, *heather*, *leather*, etc., and the same holds good with regard to *preaty*. In *leaft* too, we may have [e:]; the lengthening of short vowels before *ft* may have begun as early as the 16th century, at any rate in certain localities. The frequent spelling *leeft* in Tyndale is significant; Tyndale's N.T. was printed in Germany, in all probability by men who did not know English, so that *leeft* may be regarded as Tyndale's own spelling. But what are we to think of Tyndale's *beed*? And what is the meaning of *ea* before *l* (in *ealm*, *healm*, *healp*, etc.)? Can the *a* have been introduced here to represent the low-pitched, *a*-like glide between *e* and *l*?

1) Diehl, *l.c.*, p. 147.

2) Grünzinger, *l.c.*, p. 49.

3) Grünzinger, *l.c.*, p. 50.

XI. Words that had $\bar{e}$ in ME. i. e. Anglo Norman $\bar{e}$, or $\bar{e}$ from OE. $\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}$ o.

agreamentes in *Document* in Wallace, *l. c.* p. 176.

beach in Lyly, *Euphues*. p. 43.

betael, 'beetle' in Latimer, *Seven Sermon*. 90.

to bread: *Misogonus* II, I, 26, to *breade*; *Ibid.* II, II, 109 *breadlings*,

Googe, *Egl.* 126, to *bread*; Watson, *Poems* p. 99, *breades*, 3. p.s.

to creap: Surrey, *Poems*, *Angl.* XXIX 333/40 *creapes*; *Utopia* 161 *creapeth*.
deame 'deem' in *Rede me* 177.

deape in *Utopia* 78; *Misogonus* II, V, 140 (: wepe, inf.).

to fead: Tynd. *Luke* VIII, 32 *feadyng*; Latimer, *Seven Sermon*. 49 *feadeth*;

Surrey, *Poems l. c.* 306/30; 307/70; 312/13 (: seade, 'seed') *feade*;

Googe, *Egl.* 41 to *feade* (: seade, 'seed'); *Ibid.* 109 to *feade*; Hulvet,

Feade fatte . . . Feade full (*N. E. D.*).

to feal(e): *Morte Darth.* 360/29 I *feale*; Surrey, *Poems, l. c.* 291/50 *feale*

(: weale); 313/30 *feale*; *Utopia* 122 *fealing* sub.; *Respublica* III, I, 4

feale; Googe, *Egl.* 47, *feale* (: wheale, 'wheel'); *Ibid.* 54, 57, 62 *feale*;

Misog. III, I, 216 to *feale*. *Feel, fele* rimes with *dele, deale* *Misog.* I, I,

139; I, II, 64.

fealdes in Ascham, *Tox.* 98.

feate, 'feet' in *Rede me* 33; Surrey, *Poems, l. c.*, 313/44.

flea (verb.) in Dekker, *Duch. Malfy* V, II. 80.

greaf: Ascham, *Scholem.* 36 *greafe*; *Gossip fr. Muniment Room* 20/14 *greave*¹⁾.

Greake in Harvey, *El. Ess.* I, 123/6.

greasyn, 'Grecian' in Hensl., *Diary* 48/11¹⁾.

heade 'heed' in Ascham, *Tox.* 101;

to keap(e): *Chelmsford Churchwardens' Accts.* 1562-'3 in Chambers,

Med. Stage II 346, *keaping*; *Letter* in Wallace, *l. c.* 131 *keaps*; *Ordin-*

nances end reign Henry XIII, in Boyle, *Hist. . . of Hedon* pp. LXIX,

LXXIII, LXXVII, LXXIX (3 times), *keape*; *Ibid.* XCV *keapes*; *Ibid.*

LXXVII, *keaper*; *Ibid.* LXX *keapid*; *Ibid.* LXXXVI *keapt*; *Ibid.* LXIX,

LXXX (3 times) *keaping e*; *Misog.* IV, III, 52 *keape*; *Respublica* I, IV,

37; V, IX, 136, *keape*; Blunderton, in Googe *Egl.* 27 *keape, keaping*;

Hensl., *Diary* 80/4, *keaping*¹⁾.

leage, 'liege' in Vicary, *Anatomy*, App. III, 175.

leare(e), 'leer': *Morte Darthur* 371/4 *learys*; Gascoigne, *Compl. Phil.* 106

leare (: cheere).

to lease 'lose': *Ordinances*, etc. in Boyle, *Hist. of Hedon*, LXX, LXXIII,

LXXX, XCIV (twice) *lease*; Ascham, *Tox.* 100, 117, *lease*; Id., *Scholem.*

58 *lease*; *Misog.* III, I, 123 to *lease* (: seas, pl. of 'sea').

leaver, 'liefer', in Sir Thomas More 985 E, 1085 C²⁾.

to meat: Ascham, *Tox.* 53, 89 *meatinge(s)*; *Utopia* 45 *meatyng*.

meate adj. in Vicary, *Anatomy*, App. III, 177.

peace, 'piece', in Sir Thomas More 388 E³⁾.

1) Diehl, *l. c.*, p. 162.

2) Grünzinger, *l. c.*, p. 40.

3) Grünzinger, *l. c.*, p. 39.

people, 'people', in *Alleyn Mem.* 28/22¹⁾.
 preastes, 'priests' in *Rede me* 163 (twice); Coverdale, *Luke XXIII*, B/26.
 reaking, 'reeking' in *Edw. Third* III, V, 90.
 sea 'the see of Rome' in Latimer, *Seven Sermon.* 189.
 seage in Hensl. *Diary*, 97/16¹⁾.
 to sea in Shakesp., *Mids.* III, II, 232; *John* III, I, 144; V, II, 72; *Henry Fourth B* IV, I, 42.
 seack, 'sick', in *Alleyn Mem.* 28/27²⁾.
 to seak(e): Googe, *Egl.* 35 *seake*; 101 *seakest*; *Letters Qu. El. and James VI* 78/20, *beseach* ¹⁾.
 to seam: Vicary, *Anatomy*, App. III, 151 *seame*; Surrey, *Poems, Anglia* 307/65 *seamd*; *Ibid.* 308 *seamed*; *Letters Qu. El. and James VI* 27/3, *seameth* ¹⁾. Googe, *Egl.* 54 *seamd*; *Ibid.* 108 *seamed*; James I (Arber), p. 31 *seames* (: esteames); *Ibid.* 33 *seame* (: dreame).
 sleavfe, 'sleeve' in Hensl. *Diary* 105/25¹⁾.
 speade: Vicary, *Anatomy*, App. III, 177 *speade*; Webbe, *Trauailes* pp. 18, 25 *speadely*; Lyly, *Euphues*, 92 *speadely*; *Ibid.* 446 *speade*.
 spleanes in Carew, *El. Ess.* II, 296/13.
 squease in *Respublica* V, X, 93.
 teamed, 'teemed', in Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 87/26; Shakesp. *Hamlet*, II, II, 531.
 theaff in *Respublica* V, IX, 150.
 weake 'week', *Misog.* III, I, 8 *weake*; Hensl. *Diary*, 55/14, *weacke* ¹⁾.
 weant, 'weened', in Sir Thomas More, 918 F³⁾.
 wheale(e) *Respubl.* I, I, 9 *wheale*; Googe, *Egl.* 47 *wheale* (: feale); *Ibid.* 52 *wheale*; Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 22/18, *wheales*; *Writing Scholar's Comp.* 114/2 *wheal*.
 yeald: Sir Thomas More 215 *H*, *gealdyng*³⁾; Laneham's *Letter* 42 *yeald*; Googe, *Egl.* 98 *yealded*; *Ibid.* 118 *yealding*; *Document* in Wallace, *l. c.*, p. 176 *yeald*, *yealded*; Carew, *El. Ess.* II, 291/14, *yealded*; *Egerton Papers* 98/21, and *Gossip fr. Mun. Room* 43/4, 62/5 *yeald* ¹⁾.

Although at first sight these spellings seem puzzling, it is not impossible to account for them. Just as *ea* for [e] is probably an inverted spelling, *ea* may stand for [i:] through inversion. In many words both *ee* and *ea* were legitimate, either because these words had two forms in ME., one with *ē* and the other with *ĕ* (*deed* — *dead*, *street* — *streat*, *meel* — *meal*, and many others), or because ME. *ē* developed into [i:] and [s:] *cheer* — *chear*, *deer* — *dear*, *heer* — *hear*, etc). People saw words they pronounced with [i:] themselves, spelt with *ea* (because other people pronounced [s:]), and this may have led them to employ *ea* in words that they, and everybody else, pronounced with [i:] (*feel* — *feal*, *keep* — *keap* etc).

There may, however, be another reason for the use of *ea* in the words in question. There are quite a number of Midland and Southern dialects in which words that had *ē* in ME. still have [e:] at the present time; see Wright, *Dial. Gr.* §§ 142, 145, 220. Although there is no evidence as to the

1) Diehl, *l. c.*, p. 162.

2) Diehl, *l. c.*, p. 163.

3) Grünzinger, *l. c.* p. 40.

pronunciation of such words in early modern English, we cannot go far wrong if we assume that the [e:] in them has remained practically unchanged since the ME. period. The *ea* in *feal*, *keap*, etc. may, therefore, sometimes if not always, have been meant to represent [e:].

The above remarks need not be applied to the spelling *nead*, which occasionally occurs in 16th century English. The *ea* may represent the [ɛ:] sound here; this [ɛ:] may have arisen from OE. *ēa* in *nead*, *neade*, *neadian*, while *need* with [i:] is probably the descendant of OE *ned*, *nēod*, *nēde*, *nēdan*, *nēodian*; as is well-known, confusion as regards these forms already arose in OE. The examples of *nead* etc. that have been found so far are:

Tynd., *Matth.* VI, 8; VI, 32; IX, 12; XIV, 16; XXI, 3 *neade* (noun and verb); *Rev.* XVI, 2 *neadeth*; *ordinances* in Boyle, *Hist. of Hedon* LXXIV *neadfull*; Latimer *Seven Serms.* 155 *neade*, sub.; Ascham, *Tox.* 81 *neades*, adv.: *Ibid.* 84 *neaded*; *Utopia* 61, 83, 141 *neade*, (sub.); *Ibid.* 99 *neades* adv.; *Cranmer's Bible*, Ps. X, 1 *neadefull* (*N.E.D.*); *Kyng Daryus* 177 *neades* adv., *Aurelio and Isab.* G VI *neade* (sub) (*N.E.D.*).

The form *feable*, which is occasionally found (in Sir Thomas More, *Grünz. l. c.* p. 39; *Utopia* 57; see further the *N.E.D.*) probably does not represent [fi:bl], but [fɛ:bl], the [ɛ:] being the result of the smoothing of *ei* > *ē* in *feible*, which existed in OF. by the side of *feble*. This *feible*, in its later form, was subsequently introduced into English for the second time as *foible*.

In conclusion I will adduce a few spellings that throw — or at any rate may throw — light upon 16th century pronunciation.

The spelling *eau* (*eaw*), which is not infrequent in early modern English is only found as the representative of one of the two diphthongs denoted by *eu* (ew), namely the one descended from OE. *æw* and *ēaw* (> ME *ēu*). Some writers evidently thought it advisable not always to represent [ɛ:u] and [i:u] by the same symbol. It is worth noting that 16th century [i:u] < ME *ēu* does not appear ever to be spelt *eau*.

The *eau* spelling is found in:

deaw: Tusser, *Husb.* 91 (*N.E.D.*); Lyly, *Euphues* 235, 236; Greene, *Menaphon* (Arber), 27, 74; Nash, *El. Ess.* I, 308/8; Spenser, *F. Q.* V, I, 36; I, V, 2, etc. (occurs frequently).

feaw(est): *Rede me* 40, 87; Tyndale, *Matth.* VII, 14; IX, 37; XV, 34; XX, 16; *Mark* VI, 5; *Luke* XIII, 23; Coverdale, *Rev.* II, C/28; Laneham's *Letter*, 1, 18, 24, 56.

heaw(en): Tyndale, *Luke* XXIII, 53; Laneham's *Letter* 50, 52; Sylvester, *Du Bartas* II, III, I, 313 (*N.E.D.*)

leaud, leawd (-ness; -ly): *Rede me* 55, 68, 115; Tynd. *Rom.* I, 28; 2 *Tim.* III, 8; H. Smth, *Serm.* 568 (*N.E.D.*); Golding, *Heminges Post.*, Ded. 2 (*N.E.D.*); Purchas, *Pilgrimage* 321 (*N.E.D.*); Lyly, *Euphues* 44, 46, 60.

meaw: Capt. Smith, *Virginia* VI, 216.

sheaw(ed): *Rede me*, 88; Laneham's *Letter* 1, 18, 20, 33, 34, 39, 54, 56; Tusser, *Husb.* 92 (*N.E.D.*).

streawd: Laneham's *Letter*, 8.

Occasionally *ea* is found for ME. *ai*, *ei*; this *ea* probably symbolizes the smoothing of *ai*, *ei*, resulting in its coalescence with the 16th century representative of ME. *ā*, which latter sound is also occasionally, though very rarely, indicated by *ea*. The examples I can give, are:

ai > [æ:]: ail: *Misogonus* I, 1, 202 *ealeth*, 3 p. s.

braid: Spenser, *F. Q.* III, II, XV; III, II, L *breaded*.

complain: *Plumpton Corr.* 80/18 *compleane*¹⁾.

disclaim: *Goss. fr. Mun. Room.* 101/10, *discleame*¹⁾.

despair: Tynd. Pref. 10, *despeare*.

fair adj.: Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 24/29, *feare*.

flay: Dekker, *Duch. Malfy* II, I, 36 *flead*.

layer: *Egert. Papers* 348/6 *brickeleaers*¹⁾,

to play: *Chester Procl. for the Plaies*, Chambers *l. c.* II, 340, *plead* pp.

praise: Ascham, *Scholem.* 55 *preasing*.

prey: Surrey, *Poems, Angl.* XXIX, 330/26, *prea*.

railings: Tynd., *1 Tim.* VI, 4 *realings*.

raise: Latimer, *Seven Serm.* 208, *rentreaser*.

remain: *Goss. fr. Mun. Room* 17/8, *remeane*.

to stay: *Horestes* 451 *stease*, 3. p.s.

their: *Horestes* 212, 319, 325, 329 *thear*; same spelling in Stanyhurst, *Aen.* 75/9; Bacon, *Essays* (Arber), 372.

ā > [æ:] grace: *Respublica* II, III, 14 *greace*.

made: Gascoigne, *Steele Gl.* 29, *meade* (:stead).

share: *Alleyn Papers* 19/18; Hensl. *Diary* 102/5 *sheare*²⁾.

Further: Hensl. *Diary*, 101/25, *Arceadian*; 69/13 *Jeames*²⁾.

In this connection the following rimes, found in Markham, *Grenville* (Arber), are interesting:

p. 78. *eares*: *swears*, *displairs*, p. 79, *faith*: *death*; p. 80, *sea*: *lay*: *stray*;

p. 83 she *beares*: *feares*: *repaires*; p. 85, *eares*: *despaires*: *teares*.

Ea for the first element of the diphthong that had developed from ME. *ī*, is rare; I have only found *eyre*, 'ire', in *Horestes* 670, and 904 (:fyare, 'fire').

This trigraph also occurs in *Kyng Daryus* in *feayre*, 'fair', l. 55, *sleaye* 'slay' (:awaye), l. 105, and to *sleay* 'slay', l. 1316. Query: what does this curious spelling mean here? Does it stand for [ɛi]?

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THE ARTICLE BEFORE SUPERLATIVES.

§ 1. Before a Predicative or an Adverbial superlative there is commonly no Article. But all grammarians who have written about the subject: Mätzner, Koch, Schmidt, Wendt, Poutsma, are agreed in admitting that to this rule there are a great many exceptions. Indeed, even in Shakespeare³⁾ we find

¹⁾ Diehl, *l. c.*, p. 174.

²⁾ Diehl, *l. c.*, p. 160.

³⁾ Frantz, *Shakespeare Grammatik*², § 267 Anm.