

であったと記憶しています。八丁堀の例会では、辞書の部会、学校文法の部会、新言語学の部会が3週おきに開かれ、竹林滋会長、小島義郎副会長、松田徳一郎先生をはじめとして20名以上の会員が参加していました。例会はその後家の光会館、私学会館、国立教育会館、研究社のお茶の水ビルを経て現在の富士見ビルで開催されていますが、この間30年余り東先生はほとんど欠席することなく、また長期にわたり「辞書学の会」の司会、「学校文法の会」の司会をされ会員の指導をされてきました。

東先生のご研究の中核は英語の意味と形式の関係にあると思います。N. Chomskyを中心とした変形生成文法の研究が盛んであった当時、先生は理論言語学とは距離を置きR. QuirkやD. Bolingerなど言語事実に基づいた研究方法により関心を持っておられたように思います。岩崎研究会発行の*Lexicon*の「*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*の分析」、「*COD*第6版の分析」、「*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*の分析」、「*Collins English Dictionary*の分析」、「*Chambers Universal Learner's Dictionary*の分析」、「学習用アメリカ英語辞書の比較と分析——*LDAE*と*OSDAE*——」、「*POD*第7版の分析」、「*Webster's New World Dictionary, Third College Edition*の分析」、「*The Random House Dictionary, Second Edition*の分析」などの鋭い辞書分析やその他の論文に先生の深い英語研究の成果がよく表れています。

先生のもう一つの大きな業績は辞書の執筆・編集にあります。先生が執筆者、編集委員、編者として手がけた学習英和辞典としては、研究社の『ユニオン英和辞典』、『ライトハウス英和辞典』、『新英和中辞典』、『ルミナス英和辞典』などがあり、学習辞典の他にも『新英和大辞典』、『リーダーズ英和辞典』、『研究社-ロングマン イディオム英和辞典』、『研究社-ロングマン 句動詞英和辞典』、『リーダーズ・プラス』などがあります。

先生は大きな病気もなくお元気なご様子ですから、今後も岩崎研究会の例会や辞書の編集などを通じて私たち会員のご指導をお願いできるものと確信しています。ここに感謝の念を表し、古稀のお祝いとさせて頂きたいと思います。

## 520 *-ee* words in English

SATOKO ISOZAKI

The basis of lexicography is lexicology—T. SASAKI<sup>1)</sup>

### 1. Introduction

This article will show the data of 520 *-ee* words which I collected from *The Oxford English Dictionary*, the British National Corpus, and various references for my master thesis (Isozaki 2005).<sup>2)</sup> Although the study on the suffix *-ee* has a long history (Bengtsson 1927, Bauer 1994, Barker 1998), only Bengtsson (1927) discloses all *-ee* data from *A New English Dictionary*. A lot of new *-ee* words have appeared since Bengtsson's study and the suffix *-ee* has gradually extended both its usage and domains. In this article, I will offer all 520 *-ee* data with sources, syntactic analyses, first attested years, and the origins of stem verbs to clarify the recent development of this suffix.

### 2. Outline of a study on the suffix *-ee*

#### 2.1. Previous Studies

Studies on the suffix *-ee* have developed slowly but steadily. In addition to many traditional grammar books (Adams 2001; Jespersen 1942; Nesfield 1898; Koziol 1937; Kruisinga 1932; Marchand 1969; Quirk et al. 1972, 1985, etc.), several studies that focus on the suffix *-ee* have been made. Bengtsson's pioneering study (1927) is worthy of special mention. She examined passive nouns from Old English to Modern English based on data that were collected from *NED*. She analyzed and described carefully about 200 *-ee* nouns according to whether they were legal terms or not and whether they were direct passive nouns or indirect passive nouns. Her

study was mentioned by Koziol (1937), Jespersen (1942), Marchand (1969), and Barker (1998). The next important study was made by Bauer (1983, 1987, 1993, 1994). He also collected *-ee* nouns from *OED*, books, and articles. He researched ongoing changes of the suffix *-ee*, and found an increase in the subject type, a decrease in the prepositional type, and the appearance of inanimate *-ee* nouns. Another noteworthy present-day study on the suffix *-ee* has been made by Barker (1998). He says that “the analyses based on the syntactic argument structure of the stem verb are unsatisfactory.” He proposed the semantic constraint (the lack of volitional control) on the productive use of the suffix *-ee*. Although the study on the suffix *-ee* has developed and ongoing changes have been observed, there are questions that are still controversial. For example, why have the subject *-ee* nouns increased in number in recent years? Why do the anomalous *-ee* nouns exist? These questions still remain unanswered and no comprehensive explanation has been made. I will reconsider the ongoing changes of the suffix *-ee* from various points of view.

## 2.2. Definition of the suffix *-ee*

The suffix *-ee* is variously defined by various scholars. In accordance with previous studies including a grammar book (Quirk et al. 1972: 998), a dictionary (*COD*<sup>10</sup>), a book on morphology (Bauer 1983: 245), and an article on the suffix *-ee* (Barker 1998: 695), the definition of the suffix *-ee* can be given from the following bases: (a) function: forming noun, (b) referent: person (or animate), (c) meaning: passive, (d) stem: verb, (e) etymology: past participle of French *-é(e)*, (f) pronunciation: /i:/ and stressed on the suffix, (g) register: legal, and (h) semantic constraint: lack of volitional control.

## 2.3. History of the suffix *-ee*

I will now show the history of the suffix *-ee*. According to Nesfield (1898: 221), this suffix is a development of French participial ending *-é(e)* from Latin *-ātus* (*-āta*). Also the suffix *-ee* was first found in legal terms from French. Marchand (1969: 267) illustrated Anglo-French word pairs such as *donee*/*donor*, *feoffee*/*feoffer*, *lessee*/*lessor* which did not occur before

the 15th century in English contexts. On the analogy of these agent *-or* nouns, “a great many law terms in *-ee* have been coined on English soil, not only from verbs of French (Latin) origin, but also from a few verbs of native origin” (Jespersen 1942: 221).

## 2.4. Syntactic analysis of the suffix *-ee*

The *-ee* words are passive nouns so that syntactically they are divided into categories based on the syntactic properties of the stem verb. For example, *employee* is interpreted as ‘someone whom somebody employed’ or ‘someone who is employed,’ where someone is the direct object of the stem verb *employ*. While *payee* is paraphrased as ‘someone to whom somebody pays something’, where someone is the indirect object of *pay* or the object of preposition *to*. Although *-ee* nouns are basically passive nouns, there are active *-ee* nouns that refer to the subject of the stem verb. For instance *standee* is paraphrased as ‘someone who stands,’ where someone is the subject of *stand*. In this type, the suffix *-ee* seems to be synonymous with the suffix *-er* (e.g. *driver* ‘a person who drives something’). Also there are *-ee* nouns that cannot be classified into either passive or active *-ee* nouns. The following example, *amputee*, does not refer to any argument of the verb but to the possessor of the verbal direct object. Moreover, some *-ee* nouns do not have verb stems: *patentee* (noun stem) and *redundantee* (adjective stem). These are summarized as follows.

- 1) Direct object type (transitive verb + *-ee*)  
*examinee* ‘Someone who is examined’ ← S examines O.
- 2) Indirect object type (ditransitive verb + *-ee*)  
*payee* ‘Someone to whom somebody pays something’  
← S grants O<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub>.
- 3) Object of preposition type (intransitive verb + *-ee*)  
*laughee* ‘Someone who is laughed at’ ← S laughs at O.
- 4) Subject type
  - a) Subject of intransitive verb type  
*standee* ‘Someone who stands’ ← S stands.
  - b) Subject of transitive verb type  
*attendee* ‘Someone who attends the concert’ ← S attends O.
- 5) Anomalous type

- a) Nonargument -*ee* nouns (Anom.1 type)  
*amputee* 'Someone whose limb was amputated'  
 ← S amputates (**his/her**) O.
- b) Nonverbal stem (Anom.2 type)  
*patentee*: noun stem.  
*redundantee*: adjective stem.  
*biographee*: the correlative of *biographer*.
- 6) Ambiguous type (more than two syntactic categories)  
*chartee*: 'Someone who charts a boat' (S type)  
 'Someone to whom a boat is chartered' (IO type)

## 2.5. Ongoing Changes of the suffix -*ee*

I will make a syntactic analysis of English suffix -*ee* based on 520 -*ee* words and examine the ongoing changes of the suffix -*ee* (see Table 1, 2).

Table 1 336 -*ee* words in *OED*

	DO	IO	PO	S	Anom.	Total
1300s	4	0	0	0	0	4
1400s	7	6	0	0	1	14
1500s	8	13	2	1	0	24
1600s	18	13	3	6	8	48
1700s	17	17	5	1	3	43
1800s	100	32	16	3	9	160
1900s	41	5	1	9	9	65
total	195	86	27	20	30	358*

\*Including 25 ambiguous -*ee* words and not including 3 -*ee* words without attested years.

Table 2 184 new -*ee* words in books and references in the 20th century

	DO	IO	PO	S	Anom.	Total
1900–2005	117	23	4	32	18	194**

\*\*Including 10 ambiguous -*ee* words.

First, 80% -*ee* words belong to passive -*ee* nouns, that is, DO, IO, and PO types. Among passive -*ee* nouns, DO type accounts for more than 50% and has increased in number in recent years. On the other hand, different

results are obtained for IO and PO types. The number of these types has not increased. As to PO type, the number is falling.

Second, subject type has become larger in number. Although the -*ee* in this type seems to be synonymous with the suffix -*er*, there is an outstanding difference in the ratio of productivity between the suffix -*er* and the suffix -*ee*. If the lack of volitional control may be one of the strong elements in the productivity of active -*ee* nouns, does the increase in number of the active -*ee* nouns mean the weakening of the constraint in the productivity of -*ee* nouns? Further research will be required.

Third, among anomalous -*ee* nouns, the number of both nonverbal stem -*ee* nouns (*patentee* type) and nonargument -*ee* nouns (*amputee* type) has subtly but robustly increased in recent years. However, the ratio of token in anomalous -*ee* nouns is very small (0.6%) and we can say that they are rarely used in practice (see Table 3).

Table 3 Type and Token of the top 50 -*ee* words in the BNC

Syntactic Pattern	Type	%	Token	%
Passive(DO,IO,O)	35	76%	14672	81%
Active(S)	8	17%	3310	18%
Anomalous	3	7%	115	0.60%
Total	46	100%	18097	100%

In terms of etymology, ongoing changes have also been observed. When the suffix -*ee* appeared in English, the origin of the stems is only French or Latin. Then, the suffix -*ee* began to be attached to stems whose origin was English, Old Norse, Greek, or even personal names in the 17th century (see Table 4).

Table 4 Origins of -*ee* stems based on *OED* data

	1300s	1400s	1500s	1600s	1700s	1800s	1900s
French	2	10	19	23	19	70	26
Latin	0	1	1	14	8	27	19
Native	0	0	0	1	3	23	5
Others	0	0	0	4	5	25	4
*Borrowed directly from Fr.	2	0	1	3	5	5	3

When it comes to domains, *-ee* words were used only in legal contexts in the beginning. Then, *-ee* words have gradually appeared in other domains: wars, linguistics, slang, etc. (cf. Bengtsson 1927, Mencken 1957, Marckwardt 1958, Marchand 1969, Bauer 1994, Barker 1998). The expansion of domains may also promote the formation of new *-ee* words.

Therefore, we can conclude that the suffix *-ee* has gradually extended both its usage and domain since the period of Middle English. For further research, we need more attested *-ee* words in context. A continuous examination would reveal the changes of the suffix *-ee* more clearly.

### 3. 520 *-ee* words

#### 3.1. Sources

In order to collect *-ee* words I used the following references: *OED*<sup>2</sup> on CD-ROM Version 2.0., *COD*<sup>10</sup> (2002), *Webster's Collegiate*<sup>11</sup> (2003), Barnhart (1990), Lenert (1971), Matsuda (1994, 1999), and books on morphology or articles on the suffix *-ee* such as Adams (2001), Algeo (1991), Barker (1998), Bauer (1983, 1987, 1993, 1994), Bengtsson (1927), Bolinger (1941), Foster (1969), Jespersen (1942), Horn (1980), Koziol (1937), Kruisinga (1932), Nesfield (1898), Pyles (1952), Marchand (1969), Marckwardt (1958), Mencken (1957), Quirk et al. (1972, 1985), etc. Furthermore, I found more *-ee* words through *OED Online*, the BNC, and Internet dictionary search sites. As a result, I found 336 *-ee* words in *OED* and 184 new *-ee* words from other references, articles, the Internet, and the BNC (see Table 1, 2).

In the following table of 520 *-ee* words, the asterisk in the source column (*OED2\**) means 'the *-ee* word is in the run-on entry of *OED*<sup>2</sup>'.

#### 3.2. First attested years

The first attested year is based on the first example in *OED*. In case of other references than *OED*, the published year of reference was given with an asterisk (e.g. \*2004).

#### 3.3. Syntactic analyses

The syntactic argument structure of the stem verb enables *-ee* nouns to

be classified into (1) direct object type (DO), (2) indirect object type (IO), (3) object of preposition type (PO), (4) subject type (S), and (5) Anomalous (see 2.4). I should mention that some *-ee* words are classified into two or more syntactic categories because the classification of *-ee* words is eventually depended on its real use in context. For example *enlistee* can be classified into both the subject type (Barker 1998, Adams 2001) and the direct object type (Marchand 1969).

#### 3.4. Origins of stem verbs

I give origins of stem verbs only for *-ee* words which are recorded in *OED*. Asterisked French (French\*) means that 'the *-ee* word was borrowed directly from French'.

Table 5 520 *-ee* words in English

	<i>-ee</i> words	source	year	syntax	origin (stem)
1	abandonee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1848	IO	French
2	abductee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1975	DO	Latin
3	abortee	OED Online	1942	S-vi	Latin
4	abscondee	OneLook	*2004	S	
5	absentee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1537	S-vi	French
6	abusee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1836	DO	French
7	acceptee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
8	acolee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1450	DO	French
9	acquiree	Webster <sup>11</sup>	1969	DO	
10	actee	Bengtsson	1908	PO	
11	adaptee	Bauer 1994	1971	S-vi, DO	
12	addressee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1810	DO, IO	French
13	admittee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
14	adoptee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1892	DO	French
15	advancee	Bauer 1994	1984	DO	
16	advertisee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1861	PO, IO	French
17	advisee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1824	DO	French
18	advowee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1691	Anom.	French
19	affrontee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1833	DO	French
20	aggressee	Bauer 1994	1981	DO	
21	alienee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1531	IO	French
22	allocatee	Bauer 1983	*1983	IO	French
23	allottee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1846	IO	French

24	amputee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1910	Anom.1	Latin
25	amusee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1838	DO	French
26	appellee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1531	PO	French
27	appointee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1727	DO, IO	French
28	appraisee	OED Online	1963	DO	French
29	acquiree	OED Online	1969	DO	French
30	arrangee	OneLook	*2004	S	
31	arrestee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1847	DO	French
32	arrivee	Barker	*1998	S-vi	
33	ascendee	Barker	*1998	S-vi	
34	assessee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1726	Anom.1	French
35	assignee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1419	DO, IO (1467)	French
36	asylee	Matsuda	*1999	Anom.	
37	attaché	OED <sup>2</sup>	1835	PO	French*
38	attende	OED <sup>2</sup>	1961	S-vt	French
39	auctooritee	BNC	1993	Anom.	
40	auditee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
41	auditionee	Bauer 1993	1987	S-vi, DO	
42	avowee	OneLook	*2004	Anom.	
43	awardee	OneLook	*2004	IO	
44	babysittee	Pyles	*1952	DO	
45	bailee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1528	IO	French
46	banteree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1823	DO	unknown
47	baptizee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1871	DO	French
48	bargainee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1598	PO	French
49	bargee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1666	Anom.2	French
50	beattee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1860	DO	Old English
51	beateree	Marchand	1941	S-vi	
52	befriendee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1978	DO	Old English
53	benefactee	Bauer 1994	1982	Anom.2	
54	billetee	BNC	1990	DO	
55	billetee, billettee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1939	DO	French
56	biographee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1841	Anom.2	
57	blackmailee	Bauer 1993	1935	PO	
58	blind datee	Bauer 1993	1989	S-vi, DO	
59	bombtee	Bolinger	1941	DO	
60	boree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1841	DO	unknown
61	borrowee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1885	IO	Old English
62	bowee	Bauer	1993	1987	DO
63	boycottee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1880	DO	personal name
64	bribee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1858	DO	French

65	bummaree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1707	Anom.	unknown
66	bumpee	Bauer 1994	1987	DO	
67	callee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1872	DO, PO	Old English
68	catchee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1839	DO	French
69	causee	Bauer	1994	1977	DO
70	challengee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1616	DO	French
71	chaperonee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1884	DO	French
72	chargé	OED <sup>2</sup>	1767	DO	French
73	chargee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1884	Anom.1	French
74	charteree	Bauer 1994	1975	DO, IO	
75	chasee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1886	DO	French
76	chattee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1886	PO	onomatopoeic
77	cheatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1614	DO	French
78	cheeke	OED <sup>2</sup>	1840*	DO	Old English
79	circumcisee	BNC	1990	DO	
80	citee	OED <sup>2</sup>	—	DO	French
81	civilizee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1861	DO	French
82	cliticee	Bauer 1994	1987	Anom.2	
83	coachee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1866	DO	French
84	coactee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1939	PO	French
85	co-assignee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1884	DO, IO	French
86	co-feoffee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1458	DO, IO	French
87	cognizee, -isee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1531	IO	French
88	cohabitee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1955	S-vi	French
89	colegatee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1875	IO	Latin
90	co-lessee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1885	IO	French
91	collapsee	Adams	*2001	S-vi	
92	collatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1703	DO	Latin
93	commissionee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1715	DO	French
94	committee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1495	IO	Latin
95	communicatee	Bauer 1987	1983	IO	
96	communicee	Bauer 1993	1990	IO	
97	co-mortgagee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1884	IO	French
98	complaine	OED <sup>2</sup>	1779	PO	French
99	complimentee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1876	DO	French
100	compromittee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1602	IO	Latin
101	conferee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1779	PO, IO	Latin
102	confessee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1601	DO, PO	French
103	confidee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1812	IO, PO	Latin
104	confinee	Matsuda	*1999	DO	
105	confirmee	OED <sup>2</sup>	c1600	IO, DO	French

106	congratulee	Marchand	*1969	DO	
107	conjuree	Bauer 1993	1983	DO	
108	co-nominee	OED <sup>2*</sup>	1835	DO	Latin
109	conscriptee	Bolinger	1940	DO	
110	consecratee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1883	IO	Latin
111	conservatee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
112	consigné	OED <sup>2</sup>	—	DO	French*
113	consignee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1789	IO	French or Latin
114	constipatee	Bauer 1993	1984	S-vi, DO	
115	consultee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1855	DO	Latin
116	contactee	OED Online	1960	DO	Latin
117	contestee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1870	DO	French
118	contractee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1875	IO	Latin
119	controllee	Bauer 1994	1982	DO	
120	conusee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1602	IO	
121	convenee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1846	DO	French
122	co-optee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1956	DO	Latin
123	copatentee	OED <sup>2*</sup>	1602	Anom.2, IO	French
124	co-permittee	OneLook	*2004	IO	
125	co-trustee	OED <sup>2*</sup>	1818	DO, IO	Old Norse
126	counsellee, -elce	OED <sup>2</sup>	1934	DO	French
127	covenantee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1649	IO	French
128	crack-upee	Bolinger	1940	Anom.	
129	crammee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1883	DO	Old English
130	credite(-ee)	Bengtsson	1541	DO, IO	
131	cudgellee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1806	DO	Old English
132	curee	Bauer 1994	1972	DO	
133	cursee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1829	DO	Old English
134	custodee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1812	Anom.	Latin
135	cuttee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1798	DO	prob. Old English
136	debauchee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1661	DO	French*
137	debtee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1531	IO	French
138	decantee	BNC	1991	DO	
139	declassée	Matsuda	*1999	DO	
140	dedicatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1760	IO	Latin
141	defendee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1864	DO	French
142	deferee	Barker	*1998	S-vi	
143	deferree	Barker	*1998	S-vt	
144	delegatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1875	IO	Latin
145	deletee	Bauer 1994	1979	DO	
146	deliveree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1887	IO	French

147	demandee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1603	IO	French
148	departee	Webster <sup>11</sup>	1943	S-vi	
149	deportee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1895	DO	French
150	depositee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1676	IO	French
151	deracinée	Matsuda	*1999	DO	
152	describee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1830	IO	Latin
153	designee	Webster <sup>11</sup>	1925	DO	
154	destinee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1881	IO	French
155	detainee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1928	DO	French
156	determinee	Bauer 1994	1980	DO	
157	détraqué	OED <sup>2</sup>	1902	DO	French*
158	devisee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1542	IO	French
159	devotee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1645	S-vt	Latin
160	dilutee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1918	S-vt	Latin
161	dinee	Barker	*1998	S-vi	
162	directee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1928	DO	Latin
163	dischargée	OED <sup>2</sup>	1894	DO	French
164	disclosee	BNC	1992	DO	
165	discontentee	OED <sup>2</sup>	a1734	DO	French
166	discontinuee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1574	IO	French
167	dislocatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1827	DO	Latin
168	disponee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1746	IO	Latin
169	disposee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1826	IO	French
170	disseisee, -zee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1540	DO	French
171	distrainee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1875	DO	French
172	distributee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1870	IO	Latin
173	divorcee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1813	DO	French
174	dolee	OED Online	1986	Anom.2	Old English
175	donatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1716	IO	Latin
176	donee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1523	IO	French
177	dowee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1865	DO	French
178	draftee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1866	DO	prob. Old English
179	draggee	Barker	*1998	DO	
180	drainee	Bauer 1994	1974	DO	
181	drawee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1766	IO	Old English
182	drivee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1882	DO	Old English
183	dumpee	Bengtsson	1921	IO	
184	eattee	Bengtsson	1917	DO	
185	edittee	Barker	*1998	DO	
186	educatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1815	DO	Latin
187	ejectee	BNC	1985-93	DO	

188	electee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1593	DO	Latin
189	eliminatee	Bauer 1994	1985	DO	
190	embarkee	Adams	*2001	S-vi	
191	émigré	OED <sup>2</sup>	1792	S	French*
192	employee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1850	DO	French
193	endorsee, indorsee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1754	IO	French
194	enfeoffee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1424	DO	French
195	engagee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1808	DO	French
196	enhancee	Internet	2001	DO	
197	enlistee	OneLook	*2004	S, DO	
198	ennuyé quasi- <i>n.</i>	OED <sup>2</sup>	1826	DO	French*
199	enrollee	OED Online	1934	DO	Latin
200	enshrinee	Webster <sup>11</sup>	1968	DO	
201	erasee	Barker	*1998	DO	
202	escapee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1875	S-vi	French
203	espousee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1480	DO	French
204	essoinee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1607	DO	French
205	evacuee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1934	DO	French*
206	evictee	OED <sup>2*</sup>	1879	DO	Latin
207	exalté	OED <sup>2</sup>	1922	DO	French*
208	examinee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1788	DO	French
209	exchangee	OneLook	*2004	IO	
210	executionee	Bauer 1993	1987	DO	
211	exemptee	Matsuda	*1999	DO	
212	exhaustee	Matsuda	*1999	S-vt	
213	exoneree	OneLook	*2004	DO	
214	expellee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1888	DO	Latin
215	experimentee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1890	IO	French
216	expiree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1802	Anom.	French
217	explainee	Barker	*1998	IO	
218	exploitee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1941	DO	French
219	exposee	Bauer 1994	1984	DO	
220	exposittee	Adams	*2001	DO	
221	extractee	Barker	*1998	DO	
222	faxee	Matsuda	*1999	IO	
223	feoffee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1542	DO, IO	French
224	festschriftee	Barker	*1998	Anom.2	
225	feudee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1875	Anom.	French
226	fiancee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1835	DO	French*
227	free	Barker	*1998	DO	
228	flashee	Internet	2002	DO	

229	flingee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1879	IO	Old Norse
230	flirtee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1862	PO	onomatopoeic
231	floggee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1836	DO	onomatopoeic
232	flunkee	Matsuda	*1999	S-vi, DO	
233	followee	Bauer 1993	1986	DO	
234	forcee	Barker	*1998	DO	
235	forgettee	Barker	*1998	S-vt	
236	fossé	OED <sup>2*</sup>	1708	DO	French*
237	foulé	OED <sup>2</sup>	1894	DO	French*
238	franchisee	Webster <sup>11</sup>	1954	DO	French
239	fricassee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1568	DO	French*
240	fuckee	Bauer 1993	1986	DO	
241	furloughee	McAtee	1943	DO	
242	fusee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1650	Anom.	French*
243	gaggee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1819	DO	unknown
244	galce	OED <sup>2</sup>	1884	IO	Old English
245	gamishee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1627	DO	French
246	gazee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1853	PO	unknown
247	geggee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1855	DO	
248	giftee	Pyles	*1952	IO	
249	gossipee	BNC	1989	DO	
250	gougee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1814	DO	French
251	governee	Bauer 1994	1984	DO	
252	grantee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1491	IO	French
253	guarantee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1679	Anom.	French
254	guidee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1922	DO	French
255	habitue	Nesfield	*1898	DO	
256	handshakee	Barker	*1998	Anom.2	
257	hangee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1831	DO	Old English
258	haulee	Bauer 1994	1985	DO	
259	helpee	BNC	1992	DO	
260	hiree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1811	DO	Old English
261	hittee	Bauer 1993	1989	DO	
262	hoaxee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1840	DO	
263	holdupee	Marchand	*1969	DO	
264	honoree	Bauer 1994	1980	DO	
265	huggee	Bauer 1983	*1983	DO	
266	illuminé	OED <sup>2</sup>	1794	DO	French*
267	importee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1858	DO	Latin
268	impressee	Bengtsson	1914	DO	
269	indemnitee	OED <sup>2</sup>	—	IO	French

270	indictee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1581	DO	French
271	indorsee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1754	IO	French
272	inductee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1941	DO	Latin
273	infectee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
274	infiltrtee	Bauer 1983	*1983	DO, S-vi	
275	inoculee	BNC	1993	DO	
276	inquisitee	Bauer 1994	1984	IO	
277	insertee	Matsuda	*1999	IO	
278	instructee	BNC	1985-93	DO	
279	insuree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1853	DO	French
280	interesseee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1610	DO	Latin
281	internee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1918	DO	French
282	interrogee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
283	interviewee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1884	DO	French
284	introducee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1831	DO	Latin
285	invadee	Barker	*1998	DO	
286	investee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1610	DO	Latin
287	invitee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1837	DO	French
288	invokee	BNC	1993	DO	
289	jestee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1759	PO	French
290	jokee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1869	PO, IO	Latin
291	kickee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1832	DO	unknown
292	kidnapee	Bauer 1994	1977	DO	
293	kissee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1827	DO	Old English
294	knockee	Bauer 1994	1980	S-vt	
295	laryngectomee	OED Online	1956	Anom.1	Greek
296	laughee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1829	PO	Old English
297	leakee	Bauer 1994	1976	DO	
298	lecturee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1900	DO	Latin
299	legatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1679	IO	Latin
300	lessee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1495	IO	French
301	letteree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1672	Anom.2	French
302	levee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1718	DO	French*
303	libellee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1856	DO	French
304	liberee	Bauer 1983	*1983	DO	
305	licensee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1868	DO	French
306	lienee	OneLook	*2004	Anom.2	
307	likee	Bauer 1994	1984	DO	
308	listee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
309	loanee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1832	IO	Old Norse
310	locatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1816	DO	Latin

311	lovee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1754	DO	Old English
312	luggee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1830	DO	Scandinavian
313	magnetizee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
314	malefactee	Bauer 1994	1982	Anom.2	
315	managee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1847	DO	Italian
316	mancipee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1880	IO	Latin
317	mandatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1774	Anom.2	Latin
318	maniplatee	OED Online	1958	DO	French
319	manipulee	OED Online	1979	DO	French
320	massacree	BNC	1993	DO	
321	masterctome	OED Online	1975	Anom.2	Greek
322	meetee	Bauer 1994	1970	S-vt.,	DO
323	mentee	OED Online	1965	Anom.2	French
324	mergee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1964	DO, S-vt, vi	Latin
325	mesmersee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1882	Anom.	
326	mesmerizee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1829	DO	personal name
327	missionee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1951	DO	Latin
328	moneylende	Jespersen <i>MEG</i>	*1942	IO	
329	motheree	OED Online	1948	Anom.2	Old English
330	mortgagee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1584	IO	French
331	muggee	OED Online	1972	DO	unknown
332	murderee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1920	DO	Old English
333	narratee	OED Online	1971	IO	Latin
334	nickname	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1888	DO	Old English
335	noddee	OED <sup>2</sup>	a1680	PO	obscure
336	nominee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1664	DO	Latin
337	nonemployee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
338	objectee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1861	PO	Latin
339	oblige	OED <sup>2</sup>	1574	IO	French
340	offende	Barker	*1998	S-vt	
341	offeree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1952	IO	Old English
342	operatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1831	PO	Latin
343	optionee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
344	ordinee	OED <sup>2</sup>	c1330	DO	French
345	paranee	Matsuda	*1999	Anom.2	
346	pardonee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1895	DO	French
347	parkee	Bauer 1983	*1983	S-vi	
348	parolee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1916	DO	French
349	passee	Koziol	*1937	S-vi	
350	patentee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1442	Anom.2	French
351	patronee	OED <sup>2</sup>	c1807	Anom.2	French



352	pattee	Bengtsson	1914	DO	
353	pawnee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1683	IO	French
354	payee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1758	IO	French
355	permittee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1846	IO	Latin
356	persecutee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1882	DO	French
357	petitionee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1764	IO	French
358	philanthropee	Jespersen <i>MEG</i>	*1942	N	Greek
359	photographee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1859	DO	Greek
360	pickpocketee	Jespersen <i>MEG</i>	*1942	DO	
361	piedpipee	Barker	*1998	Anom.2	
362	pillagee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1856	DO	French
363	pilotee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1883	DO	French
364	placee	OED Online	1963	IO	French
365	plannee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1943	IO	French
366	pleasee	Bauer 1993	1977	DO	
367	pledgee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1766	IO	French
368	plottee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1832	PO	Old English
369	pluckee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1831	DO	Old English
370	politicee	Barker	*1998	Anom.	
371	pollee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1940	DO	Dutch
372	possessee	Bauer 1994	1982	DO	
373	prayer	OED <sup>2</sup>	1554*	DO	French
374	preachee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1806	PO, IO	French
375	preceptee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1974	Anom.2	Latin
376	preferee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1676	DO	French
377	presentee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1498	DO, IO	French
378	promisee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1733	IO	Latin
379	promotee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1958	DO	Latin
380	protectee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1602	DO	Latin
381	protégé	OED <sup>2</sup>	1778	DO	French*
382	providee	BNC	1988	DO	
383	provokee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1827	DO	French
384	publishee	Koziol	*1937	S-vi	
385	pumpee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1834	PO, DO	Dutch
386	punchee	Barker	*1998	DO	
387	puntee	Bauer	1994	1977	DO
388	purgée	OED <sup>2</sup>	1938	DO	French
389	puttee	BNC	1992	IO	
390	questionee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1838	DO	French
391	quizzee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1940	DO	obscure
392	quotee	OED <sup>2*</sup>	1813	DO	Latin

393	raidee	Jespersen <i>MEG</i>	*1942	DO	
394	rappee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1819	S-vi	echoic
395	razee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1794	DO	French
396	readee	Barker	*1998	IO	
397	recognizee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1592	DO	French
398	reconcilee	OED <sup>2*</sup>	1894	DO	French
399	recoveree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1531	IO, S-vi (1957)	French
400	redundantee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1963	Anom.2	Latin
401	referee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1621	IO	French
402	refugee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1685	S-vi	French
403	registree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1923	DO	French
404	rehabilitée	OED <sup>2</sup>	1972	DO	Latin
405	rejectee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1941	DO	Latin
406	relaxee	Barker	*1998	S-vi	
407	releasee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1744	IO	French
408	relocatee	Webster <sup>11</sup>	1941	DO	
409	remittee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1766	IO	Latin
410	remuneratee	OED <sup>2*</sup>	1816	DO	Latin
411	renforcee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1688	DO	French
412	renomee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1386	DO	French*
413	renownee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1375	DO	French
414	reorderee	Bauer 1994	1979	DO	
415	reportee	BNC	1992	DO	
416	representee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1624	DO, S-vt	French
417	rescuee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1950	DO	French
418	rescussee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1823	DO	French
419	reservee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1860	IO	French
420	resignee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1611	PO > S-vi	French
421	restoree	OneLook	1967	DO	
422	restrictee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1959	DO	Latin
423	retardee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1971	DO	French
424	retiree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1945	S-vi, DO	French
425	retrainee	OneLook	*2004	DO	
426	returnee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1944	S-vi	French
427	revengee	Jespersen <i>MEG</i>	*1942	DO	
428	revisee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1884	DO	French
429	roastee	Barker	*1998	DO	
430	rosee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1381	DO	French*
431	roué	OED <sup>2</sup>	1800	DO	French*
432	rubbee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1757	DO	Low German
432	rushee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1916	DO	French

434	sayee	OED <sup>2</sup>	a1902	IO	Old English
435	screwee	Matsuda	*1999	IO	
436	scripee	Marchand	1909	IO	
437	secondeee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1980	DO	French
438	seducee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1602	DO	Latin
439	selectee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1940	DO	Latin
440	sendee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1806	IO	Old English
441	sequestree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1611	S-vt	Latin
442	sharkee	Bengtsson	1927	DO	
443	shavcee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1826	DO	Old English
444	shootee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1837	DO, PO	Old English
445	signallee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1898	PO	French
446	signee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1953	S-vt	French
447	sitree	Bauer 1994	1978	S-vi	
448	sitree	Barker	*1998	S-vi	
449	slanderee	Marchand	*1969	DO	
450	slaughteree	Bauer 1993	1986	DO	
451	slitree	Bauer 1994	1986	DO	
452	snatchee	Barker	*1998	IO	
453	snubbee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1787	DO	Old Norse
454	socializee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1952	DO	French
455	sockee	Bolinger	1940	DO	
456	solicitee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1887	DO	French
457	sornee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1797	PO	Irish
458	squeezee	Marchand	*1969	DO	
459	standee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1831	S-vi	Old English
460	staree	OED <sup>2</sup>	1800	PO	Old English
461	subcommittee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1610	IO	Latin
462	sub-lessee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1882	IO	French
463	sublicensee		—	DO	French
464	submittie	OED <sup>2</sup>	1611	S-vi	Latin
465	subornee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1894	DO	Latin
466	subrogee	OneLook	*2004	PO	Latin
467	succouree	Bengtsson	1909	DO	
468	suicidee	Adams	*2001	Anom.2	
469	supervisee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1880	DO	Latin
470	supportee	BNC	1985-93	DO	
471	surrenderee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1662	IO	French
472	suspendee	OED <sup>2</sup>	a1856	DO	French
473	sweatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1889	DO	Old English
474	taggee	Matsuda	*1999	DO	

475	taillee	Bauer	1994	1988	DO
476	takee	Bauer	1994	1988	DO
477	talkee	Barker	*1998	DO	
478	tastee	Bauer 1994	1987	DO	
479	teasee	Barker	*1998	DO	
480	telegraphee	OED <sup>2</sup> *	1895	IO	French
481	tellee	BNC	1990	IO	
482	tenderee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1883	IO	French
483	testee <sup>1</sup>	OED <sup>2</sup>	1654	Anom.	Latin
484	testee <sup>2</sup>	OED <sup>2</sup>	1932	DO	French
485	throwee	Jespersen <i>MEG</i>	*1942	IO	
486	tippee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1897	DO	Old Norse
487	toastee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1840	DO	French
488	torturee	Bauer 1994	1986	DO	
489	trainee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1841	DO	French
490	tranché	OED <sup>2</sup>	1697	DO	French*
491	transferee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1736	IO, DO	French
492	transplantee	OED <sup>2</sup>	a1687	DO	Latin
493	transportee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1883	DO	French
494	treatee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1841	DO	French
495	trottee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1818	DO	French
496	trustee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1647	DO, IO	Old Norse
497	tryoutee	Marchand	*1969	S-vi	
498	tutee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1927	DO	French
499	twistee	Barker	*1998	DO	
500	ultimatee	Adams	*2001	Anom.	
501	undelessee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1730	IO	French
502	usee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1891*	Anom.	French
503	vaccinee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1889	DO	Latin
504	vendee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1547	IO	French
505	venerealee	Barker	*1998	Anom.	
506	vestee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1879	DO	French
507	vigilantee	BNC	1980	Anom.2	
508	visitee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1710	DO	French
509	vivisectee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1886	DO	Latin
510	vouchee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1485	DO	French
511	waitee	Bauer 1994	1980	S-vi	
512	wardee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1938	Anom.	Old English
513	warrantee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1668	IO	French
514	whippee	Bengtsson	1901	DO	
515	wishee	Jespersen <i>Growth</i>	*1942	IO	

516	withstandee	Barker	*1998	S-vt	
517	wittee	OED <sup>2</sup>	1654	Anom.	French+Old English
518	writee	OED <sup>2</sup>	c1611	IO	Old English
519	yellee	Barker	*1998	PO	
520	zumboorukchee	OED <sup>2*</sup>	1825	Anom.	Hindustani

## NOTES

1) Sasaki (1984)

2) I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my adviser Associate Professor Kazuyuki Urata and Honorary Professor Sakutaro Takahashi in Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. For much good advice and kind interest in my work I also tender my thanks to Honorary Professor Yoshiro Kojima in Waseda University.

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