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- 1 John Benjamins Publishing Company has continued the collaboration with Professor Susanne Mühleisen, University of Bayreuth, issuing her fourth book, *Heterogeneity in Word-Formation Patterns*, which according to the cover notes is an “in-depth investigation” of a highly heterogeneous word-formation pattern, i.e., the –ee noun-forming suffixation.
- 2 Within its 245 pages, the book hides all the traditional components, i.e., the front matters, the book text proper and the back matters. The book opens with the author’s acknowledgements followed by a former list of tables and figures, and a latter of the abbreviations used herein. The evenly balanced chapters as well as the concluding section represent the essence of the study, which is completed by an elaborate and up-to-date seven-page bibliography, two impressive appendices and by the two useful indices, the name index and the subject index.
- 3 Mühleisen’s study covers six chapters. Chapter 1 is devoted to the rationale of the book and to its general summary. Chapter 2 reviews semantic and syntactic descriptions of the –ee nouns questioning the validity of statements in the specialist literature. Chapter 3 makes a diachronic analysis of the –ee suffixed nouns to be found in medieval use of the language of law up to the twentieth-century nonce words. Chapter 4 tackles morphology and the lexicon with word-formation placed in between. It also considers the concepts of and the literature on productivity and creativity placed against the

word-formation background. Seen within a larger perspective, chapters 5 and 6 focus on corpora-constructing methods and procedures and on the results of the corpora research and analysis in terms of this word-formation pattern as well as in terms of its manifestations within regional varieties of English. The book ends with a concluding section expressing the author's reflections on the general and particular implications of such an approach to any word-formation pattern whatsoever and with the display of the language material which makes the object of the current study. The working material is separated into two corpora, the former presented in the twelve-page appendix 1, Documentation of established -ee words with their citation sources and the latter tabulated in the twenty-five-page appendix 2, Quantitative analysis of 1,000 potential -ee words (Web-search, February-June 2005).

- 4 The reading of this volume has enabled me to concisely describe it, before producing my brief 'critical' commentary.

- 5 **Chapter 1. Introduction: Polysemy, heterogeneity and ambiguity in word-formation patterns**, introduces the three main perspectives underlying this research project, in addition to its prolegomena: (a) considerations on theoretical and methodological approaches, (b) a book overview and (c) discussion of the book aim and scope wider implications.

Since Mühleisen states that the chapter "aims at providing a first overview of the heterogeneity" of the -ee suffixation (p. 2), she brings into discussion Katamba's definition of this word-formation pattern and she further questions it "on account of" several examples (p. 2-5), which actually demonstrate its reduced degree of applicability. The rule-contradicting examples provided herein indicate a certain degree of diversity which is hardly possible to synthesize within the restrictive format of a rule, be it a word-formation rule.

The concepts of polysemy, heterogeneity and ambiguity helpful in the analysis and interpretation of the -ee suffixation are also explored in the literature on morphology and lexical semantics. The second division delineates chapters 2 to 6, discretely considering the major structural elements of each chapter. This chapter eventually enumerates the eight features which ensure "the innovative potential in the study of this particular word-formation" (p. 17), which is specified both at a synchronic and a diachronic level, also considering its productivity, polysemy, heterogeneity and ambiguity.

- 6 **Chapter 2. Phonological, syntactic and semantic constraints on the formation of -ee words** is denser than the first and it reviews, scrutinizes and critically interprets the findings in terms of the phonological, syntactic and semantic refrains of those contributions tackling the -ee suffixation.

In the discussion of the -ee derivation morphological constraints, Mühleisen considers the verbs ending in -ate and those ending in a single vowel or a diphthong, and presents the -ate truncation rule in several authors' view (Bauer 1983, Anderson 1992, Raffelsiefen 1999, Baeskow 2002). When applying it to 88 examples of her 1,000-element corpus, the results show 60 formations which appear in their untruncated version (i.e., the deletion of the -ate verb ending in the case of the -ee derived nouns, for example, from the verb to ampu.ta.te the noun amputee was recorded, p. 22), thus invalidating the degree of generality in the application of the -ate truncation rule. The author emphasizes the fact that the selected examples do not invalidate the -ate truncation rule, they only minimize its role in the case of the rather recently created -ee nouns.

The verbs ending in a simple vowel were hardly productive since there is no “see or eyeeee”, no “freee” or “lieee” even if there is a “sayee” (p. 25). With verbs ending on a diphthong, the pronunciation is facilitated through the uttering of the ‘w’ or ‘y’ which act as ‘pseudo-consonantal markers’.

Within the syntactic limitations of –ee formations, the author discusses the noun-noun and verb-noun derivations as well as their ambiguous reading. The more recent –ee noun-noun derivations include four types of formations (for example, the –ee noun formation which is correlated to an existing –er/-or/-ist noun without a verbal base, i.e., philanthropee). The author reviews Bauer’s classification (1983) of the –ee verb-derived formations based on their properties and she also indicates the ambiguous behaviour of –ee formations which may sometimes unveil two readings (e.g. trustee is both “one who is trusted”, i.e., a direct object or “one to whom something is entrusted”, being actually an indirect object pattern, p. 37). Having structured the syntactic contributions in –ee formations, the author brings arguments to prove that fissures are observable in the scrutinized views.

To present the semantic refrains, the author starts from Barker (1998), who attributes the formations in question three semantic features: sentience, lack of volitional control and episodic linking. They are methodically described and although accepted to be “the most elaborate explanation of the semantic properties of –ee word-formation” (p. 52), they are shown to still bear a flaw. This is solved by Portero Muñoz (2003) who develops a model of thematic roles to continue Barker’s argumentation of the –ee nouns. Mühleisen acknowledges Muñoz’s contribution to Barker’s argumentation, but she also criticizes Muñoz’s basis which is hardly original and “rather slim” since it does not rely on a personally-created corpus but on “scattered examples of already documented words” (p. 54).

Few references are made both to the theory of Lexical Conceptual Structures (Jackendoff 1983, Jackendoff 1990) which interrelates the base semantics with the suffix semantics and to the “theory of co-indexation” which may be of use in a rationale of polysemous affixation. Mühleisen exposes her view which places –ee formation against a cognitive background wherein words may be described in terms of semantic prototypes and networks.

- 7 **Chapter 3. The career of –ee words: A diachronic analysis from medieval legal use to nineteenth-century ironic nonce words** is related to the preceding one whose synchronic perspective was ultimately proven “limited and thus unsatisfactory” (p. 61), in terms of its applicability to syntactic and semantic patterns of –ee word-formations.

Mühleisen takes the diachronic perspective to be a necessity in the exploration of –ee word-formations sharing Lass’s view that “the only explanation for a linguistic is an older form” (p. 61). In her diachronic approach, Mühleisen establishes the temporal boundaries of –ee suffixation manifestations, which actually cover centuries. She argues for the separation of –ee formations into those which were active before and those which were active after the twentieth century. The author starts from etymological information, gives reasons for the corpus-selected items and points to the French roots of the –ee suffixation in English.

The minute diachronic analysis outlines a six-stage periodization in the history of English –ee formations and looks at the language phenomena noticeable within each of these stages as they were reflected by these formations. The following five stages are the object of this chapter: (1) “the Anglicized law French beginnings” (2) the indirect

object formations characteristic for the sixteenth century (3) diversity which obviously started expanding during the seventeenth century (4) regression and evolution against the eighteenth century background (5) richness of -ee formations in the nineteenth century Unlike the -er formation which is of Germanic extraction and detectable in numerous Old English examples with male person reference, at least when it behaves as an agent noun, the -ee suffixation is “French-derived and first appeared in nativized French loanwords toward the end of the Middle English period, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century” (p. 62).

The first stage spans two centuries and produces a modest list comprising 16 -ee words. The major linguistic phenomena peculiar to this beginning stage are the use of unassimilated Old French words and the -ee suffixation of the English verb stems. The second evolving stage or the sixteenth century registers a growth in the word list with a sum total of 21 -ee words extracted from the OED. In terms of linguistic phenomenology, the most important transformation is the shift to indirect passive noun formations; the division also considers exceptions to this generalizing perspective. The list of the seventeenth century -ee formations indicates 47 such items. Through the linguistic perspective, this century unfolds few instances of generalization of meaning and even fewer cases of loss of the passive character. The element of novelty the author points to is the semantic extension of the -ee suffix to non-person referents.

Mühleisen’s eighteenth century data together with other documentary sources she quotes (Nevalainen 1999) envisage this century as less productive (with its only 40 -ee words) in comparison with the preceding one. Linguistically, few phenomena are obvious: while direct object formations rise to 12, pointing to a slight increase comparable with 9 such items in the seventeenth century, the nouns with agent meaning reduces to 1 (from 6 in the aforementioned stage) and the number of non-person references stays constant, considering the author’s mention about the controversial character of *settee* which is actually bracketed in the corpus (p. 78). Nevertheless, it reflects the continuation of the -ee suffixation practice in the enrichment of the English vocabulary.

The nineteenth century word list the author provides (p. 83-84) by selecting the OED entries amounts to 152 -ee examples, which underlies the resourcefulness of the -ee suffixation. In addition, the corpus indicates an incursion into varieties of English, such as Australian English and Scots English. Particularities of this stage -ee formations include their “playful, humorous or ironic character” (p. 81); their (questionable) nonce-formation status and their migration towards civil sectors of society. The final division of the chapter, *Changes across centuries: Simultaneity and ambiguity* systematizes the findings of “[T]he excursion into the history of the development of -ee words in English” (p. 89). It also serves as a modulator towards the next chapter announcing its structure and its perspectives, i.e., morphological productivity and creativity.

- 8 **Chapter 4. Morphology and the lexicon: On creativity and productivity of -ee words** continues with a separate approach to the sixth stage in the periodization of -ee formations, the twentieth century -ee words. Three main reasons underlie this separation: (1) an emphasis on productivity highlighting the differences in diachronic or synchronic interpretations, (2) the twentieth-century productivity allows for reference to the web-corpus analysis and (3) twentieth-century -ee formations exhibit a high number involving an abundance never noticeable before this century.

The author identifies the relationship between morphology and the lexicon as well as two concepts necessary in the analysis of the twentieth and twenty-first century word formation patterns, i.e., productivity and creativity. This makes chapter 4 a necessary continuation of these five stages in the history of the -ee formations. Nonetheless, as language changes so do the interpretive methodology, means and procedures. The chapter theoretical background minutely describes the concept of productivity through an overview of relevant contributions (Bauer 1983, Bauer 2001, Arnoff & Anshen 1998, Lieber 1992, Kastovsky 1986a, Plag 1999).

The presentation focuses on types of productivity and includes gradual, qualitative, quantitative, diachronic and synchronic productivity as well as on their possible interconnections in relation to -ee formations. For her personal interpretation of the twentieth century -ee formations in table 12 (p. 110), Mühleisen creates a multiple-source corpus from OED, Barker (1998), Bauer (1994) and others. Based on the previously established interpretive pattern, the author synthesizes her findings by advancing conclusive remarks. The linguistic phenomena peculiar to the twentieth-century -ee formations amount to four, but they may as well be completed by a generalized observation regarding the diversification of the semantic field. We share Mühleisen's opinion that "a rather new development" within this time interval is the hybridization of -ee formations with nouns to result in compounds (such as blind datee, p. 123).

Creativity, the second component discussed in this chapter, generally considers new words, distinguishes between nonce formations and neologisms and traces the evolution of a coinage from a nonce to a neologism. Within the same scope of creativity, this chapter brings into discussion the rather difficult to draw distinction between actual and possible words. All the instruments in the specialist literature critically overviewed and assumed, the author proceeds to a new phase in the uncovering of her project, the analysis of 1,000 corpus of potential new -ee words. The syntagm "potential new words" addresses the making of a corpus which, in turn, raises questions. They may be questions of data source and of word institutionalization in whatever dictionary of neologisms. Actually, the author pleads in favour of diverse data resources, preferably larger corpora (such as BNC or the British National Corpus or LOB, i.e., the London-Oslo-Bergen corpus) and "the large body of text collections" which is "the World Wide Web". They may as well be questions regarding the selection of the search criteria. Mühleisen's exploration of specialist literature answers these questions. Thus, the author not only brings forward definitions of useful notions such as 'corpus' and 'types of texts' but she also unfolds the steps taken in the process of searching the Web for -ee words and brings arguments in favour of a recourse to Web data for linguistic purposes (p. 127).

To create an -ee formations corpus, Mühleisen devised a four-step procedure focused on: - the creation of a text set of search words (based on well-established principles) - using data from the Web (referring to the selection of search engines and to the creation of a personal corpus either through downloads or through empiric methods, such as the manual selection of the material to be downloaded) - qualitative criteria to be applied in the test (clear statements applicable in the case of each and every corpus item, such as misspellings, the belonging to a meaningful context, etc.). - the creation of quantitative categories (such as 'rare', 'established', 'frequent', 'hapax legomena', etc.) The corpus and the working principles established, the study progresses into the interpretation of syntactic and semantic patterns of neologisms. Investigating 748 -ee

words, under the subheading of Collocation (p. 136-139), Mühleisen distinguishes four such types of 'lexical solidarities' (Coseriu 1967).

- 9 **Chapter 5. A Corpus-based analysis of 1,000 potential new -ee words** reveals the author's originality in the interpretation of -ee formations. Starting from the diachronic and synchronic ambiguity of this word formation, the author divides -ee words into 'typical' and (rather) marginal ones.

Under the subheading of Prototypical characteristics, the corpus analysis furthers on the -ee words marked as 'frequent' which are interpreted in terms of the features envisaged in chapter 2 (p. 142). This polarly-devised segment of the research now switches from the frequently occurring -ee words to those recorded to have had just one single occurrence i.e., the hapax legomena. The corpus analysis dealing with those two categories of words displays approximately the same elements albeit arranged in a different sequence. Thus, in the case of either group, there are an inventory of the -ee words in focus, a list of interpretive criteria (and their application to several examples) and the conclusive presentation of the findings. Due to the special nature of the hapax legomena (which may eventually evolve into neologisms), several criteria were added to provide for the thoroughness of their interpretation (i.e., the hypertext or the text type on the Web, the context or domain, the entry date – whenever mentioned as well as the criterion of "specifics" (p. 152). The presentation of the findings reaches several conclusions whose element of particular novelty lies in the recordings of the noun-derived hapax legomena (p. 162). The chapter gets closer to its end with remarks both about the nature of the -ee suffixation and about the data collecting methods which are useful in the description of the respective pattern.

Through its seemingly open end, Chapter 5 suggests future research prospects (with a new follow-up study of the hapax -ee words list and their possibility of having evolved into neologisms or having preserved their condition of hapax legomena) or in other comparative studies referring to other affixations.

- 10 **Chapter 6, -ee words in varieties of English**, opens a new view towards the (already) linguistically scrutinized words, i.e., their geographical distribution. After references to the history of a few English speaking (larger or smaller communities), two observations regarding -ee words in geographical varieties of English are brought to the foreground. Two categories of such words are distinguishable when geographical varieties are taken into account, namely the locally-created -ee suffixations resulting from specific localized linguistic needs and the British-created -ee suffixations assigning new meanings in specific varieties. Examples to support either category are excerpted from Australian and American English.

This last chapter three divisions shift their perspective from the diachronic to the synchronic plan, the -ee suffixations being placed against different English-speaking geographical background (such as Australia, India, New Zealand and the U.S.). Nevertheless, a bit of diachrony is of great help in the interpretation of the -ee suffixation "American-ness". The 17 items marked as U.S.-specific in the OED wherefrom they were selected and whose birth date was either the eighteenth, the nineteenth or the twentieth century do contradict Matthews' statement (1945) regarding the prevalence of the -ee suffixation in American English.

The shift back to synchrony opens wider perspectives on the presentation and interpretation of the domain-specific Web search results first obtained in 2002, and then, as a follow-up task in 2006 (see tables 20 and 21 at page 172 and table 22 at page 173). Starting from the scholarly claim that -ee noun-forming suffixation is more active

in American than in British English, this chapter division demonstrates with palpable results that not only –ee Americanisms do exist (and they are exclusively used in that particular variety of English) but also that some –ee formations do have a higher frequency of occurrence in British English. Enlarging the synchronic approach to the –ee suffixation in English varieties, the next division of the chapter investigates, comments and draws conclusions on the Australian English usage of this word-forming pattern.

The research temporal coordinates remain the same as those of the American English explorations, namely the year 2002, the interval of the initial research and 2006, the year of the follow-up research. The data presentation follows the same pattern: a critical overview of the specialist literature and conclusive remarks stemming in the author's personal research. The particularity of Australian English –ee formations lies in the Australians' preference for hypocoristics. This preference shows, nevertheless, consequences for these formations within Aussie English: (a) they may be used with ambiguous meanings and (b) they may produce hypocoristics, thus losing their suffixation identity, as is the case with *refo* < *refugee*.

To complete the synchronic approach to –ee suffixations in English varieties, the following division shows the results of the search on Australian, New Zealand and Indian websites (performed during the same two different intervals, in 2002 and in 2006, respectively). The commentary based on the findings displayed in table 26 (p. 180) point to the heterogeneity of the –ee formations which reveal (electronic) domain-specific meanings, domain-specific frequency of occurrence, specialist-field specific frequency of occurrence and eventually geographical-context specific meanings. The concluding section of the final chapter parallels global with local usage of English and discusses those processes which develop simultaneously between the English language that is used locally and that which is used globally.

- 11 Mühleisen closes the study with a brief description of her endeavour presenting both several general and several particular implications involved by an in-depth study of a particular word-formation pattern. The final book summary overtly invites to a continuation of the research practice on other word-formation patterns, by applying the same research method(s) and procedures on reliable corpora (i.e., which meet the required conditions of sampling, representativeness, definite size, machine readability and standard reference).
- 12 I am aware that once one has read such an impressive book, to approach it critically would hardly be a successful attempt.
- 13 *Heterogeneity in Word-Formation Patterns* is a thoroughly in-depth researched and well-argued study in the particular word-formation pattern of the –ee suffixation. Mühleisen critically tests the specialist literature related to her topic and she painstakingly writes a history of –ee words which were recorded active in the 14th century English and continue to emerge right under our own eyes.
- 14 The book is clearly written and an easy access to information and sample data is facilitated through tables and figures. Although typesetting errors have been spotted, they are so very few and insignificant that they can hardly affect the quality of this scholarly book.
- 15 This project did involve, for it has really materialized, a minute planning of the research proper, with clearly established initial and follow-up tasks and topics, with a systemic architecture of the web-based corpus, with helpful and practical interpretive

criteria, with definitely and convincingly stated principles underlying the tailoring of such a comprehensive corpus. The lexical units or formations were extracted mainly from the Web and secondarily from traditional sources (dictionaries presented in a separate list, p. 201) as well as diverse electronic domains and they were analyzed on the basis of a thoroughly and critically investigated literature of speciality.

- 16 The sequence of chapters reflects the cohesiveness and the coherence of the research project presentation. After introducing generalizations on polysemy, heterogeneity and ambiguity of word-formation patterns, the author demonstrates these generalizations to be applicable to –ee word formation. Then the focal point moves to –ee words with strong arguments in favour of the author’s choices of register-specific terms which gradually enrich from medieval legal use to twenty-first century neologisms and to a parallel approach to global versus local modifications in the –ee suffixations which are noticeable in several varieties of English.
- 17 The book impresses both qualitatively through what has been highlighted in the foregoing and quantitatively through its remarkable balance. With an imaginary axis of symmetry between chapter 3 and chapter 4, this equilibrium is more than obvious: chapter 1/18 pages, chapter 2/40 pages, chapter 3/30 pages, chapter 4/30 pages, chapter 5/40 pages, chapter 6/23 pages.
- 18 It is also worthwhile emphasizing the author’s objectivity in relation to her own arguments. Thus, for only one example, although she enumerates a great deal of advantages in favour of Web-created corpora, she also considers some underlying shortcomings regarding the nature of websites or of the test types therein.
- 19 Even if the list of abbreviations and the footnotes as well as the parenthetical explanations do not include the mark Ad (passim used at pages from 142 to 147, 152 and 156 to 159) and although the list of OED –ee formations has no element of identification and it is not included in the list of tables and figures, this will not affect at all the scholarly character of the book.
- 20 I do take Susanne Mühleisen’s volume for a genuine work of art. I dearly prize this book for each and every letter within and especially for two major features: (a) it represents an impressive sample of methodical, well-organized, thorough and well-documented research and (b) it is an exemplary illustration of not only an in-depth multipurpose analysis of a word-formation pattern but also an emblematic scholarly performance which could serve those working in linguistics (be it general, theoretical, applied, corpus, historical or comparative), lexicology, word-formation and lexical semantics and those interested in improving their writing techniques.

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