I 発表の目的：中英語，特に後期中英語における－ity と－ness の生産性の要因は何かを明らかにする。
II 生産性（productivity）の定義：本発表では，接辞の生産性とは，音韻的，形態的，統語的，意味的に規定された基体（base）に対して，接辞が実際どの程度自由に付加されるか，という意味で用いる。

語彙化（lexicalization）の定義：複数の形態素からなる語が，それらの形態素から予測さ れる発音，形ないし意味とは多少なりとも異なった特徴をもつことを意味する。例えば， gospel「福音」という語は古英語の god spel「吉報」であるが，この語は発音•形•意味の すべてにおいて語彙化されていると言える（Adams 2001：10；島村 2004：55－73）。

## III 先行研究

## 3.1 現代英語：

（1）Aronoff（1976）：接辞の生産性は基体の統語範疇が最も重要と主張。
（2）島村（1990）：－ity と－ness；－er ，－ist ，と－ant など競合する接尾辞の生産性を詳細に考察。
（3）Baayen \＆Lieber（1996）：どのような意味特性もつ接辞が生産性が高いかを考察。
（4）Aronoff \＆Fuhrhop（2002）と Hay \＆Plag（2004）：suffix stacking の問題を扱う。例えば， Germanic suffix を持つ英語の語は1つしかsuffixをもてない，など。
（5）Plag（2003）：阻止（blocking）の観点から－ity と－ness の相違を考察。いわゆるタイプ阻止とトークン阻止に言及。
（6Plag（2004）：接辞付加の統語特性（基体の品詞）や生産性はアウトプットの意味特性に関係があると主張。
（7）Lieber（2004）：－ity や－ness を含む様々な接尾辞の結合を意味の観点から考察。
（8Rainer（2005）：タイプ阻止とトークン阻止について，英語とドイツ語を比較しながら考察。

## 3.2 史的研究：

（1）Riddle（1985）：Marchand（1969）や Aronoff（1976）が主張する基体の統語範疇重視に対し て，－ity 語と－ness 語の意味的相違が重要と主張。
（2Romaine（1985）：－ity と－ness の生産性は音韻的，統語的，意味的および言語外の要因の観点から論ずべきと主張。
（3）Dalton－Puffer（1996）：Helsinki Corpus を言語材料として，中英語の接尾辞付加にフラン ス語がどのような影響を与えているかを，形態と意味の観点から考察。
（4）Trips（2004）：現代英語にみられる－hood，－dom，－ship の通時的発達を Lieber（2004） の枠組みで考察。
（5）Mühleisen（2010）：－ee 接辞付加を中英語から現代英語へと通時的に分析•記述し，生産性

については diachronic productivity と synchronic productivity を区別すべきと主張。 ⑥Nagano（2010）：複合名詞［Noun＋Verb－ing］における－ingの統語機能を史的観点から考察。 IV 中英語における－ity と－ness の頻度

## 4.1 中英語期の頻度

Table 1 Frequency of－ity

| －ity | ME 1 | ME 2 | ME 3 | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type－frequency | 7 | 20 | 71 | 98 |
| Token－frequency | 12 | 57 | 365 | 434 |

Table 2 Frequency of－ness

| - ness | ME 1 | ME 2 | ME 3 | Total |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Type－frequency | 124 | 60 | 108 | 292 |
| Token－frequency | 468 | 289 | 575 | 1332 |

ME 1 （1150－1250）ME 2 （1250－1350）ME 3 （1350－1420）：Dalton－Puffer（1996）
4.2 中英語の方言別の頻度（方言区分は MED による）［特に，後期中英語の場合］

Table 3 East Midland（Chaucer）

|  | －ity | －ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Type－frequency | $92(34 \%)$ | $178(66 \%)$ | $270(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $894(38 \%)$ | $1470(62 \%)$ | $2364(100 \%)$ |

Table 4 East Midland（Gower）

|  | －ity | －ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Type－frequency | $10(23 \%)$ | $34(78 \%)$ | $44(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $107(37 \%)$ | $179(63 \%)$ | $286(1005)$ |

Table 5 East Midland（WBible：Genesis \＆Exodus）

|  | －ity | －ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Type－frequency | $8(14 \%)$ | $50(86 \%)$ | $58(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $32(9 \%)$ | $311(91 \%)$ | $343(100 \%)$ |

Table 6 East Midland（Mandeville＇s Travels）

|  | - ity | －ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Type－frequency | $23(39 \%)$ | $36(61 \%)$ | $59(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $78(49 \%)$ | $81(51 \%)$ | $159(100 \%)$ |

Table 7 East Midland（The Cloud of Unknowing）

|  | －ity | －ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Type－frequency | $19(21 \%)$ | $73(79 \%)$ | $92(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $79(20 \%)$ | $313(80 \%)$ | $392(100 \%)$ |

Table 8 East Midland（Paston Letters）
－ity－ness Total

| Type-frequency | $21(47 \%)$ | $24(53 \%)$ | $45(100 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Token-frequency | $48(42 \%)$ | $66(58 \%)$ | $114(100 \%)$ |

Table 9 East Midland (Malory Wks)

|  | -ity | ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $18(33 \%)$ | $37(67 \%)$ | $55(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $52(28 \%)$ | $136(72 \%)$ | $188(100 \%)$ |

Table 10 West Midland (Gawain-Poet's Works)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $6(33 \%)$ | $12(67 \%)$ | $18(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $11(37 \%)$ | $19(63 \%)$ | $30(100 \%)$ |

Table 11 West Midland (Lydgate Troy Book)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $35(41 \%)$ | $51(59 \%)$ | $86(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $116(34 \%)$ | $230(66 \%)$ | $346(100 \%)$ |


| Table 12 |  |  | Southwestern (Trev. Higden) |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  | -ity | -ness | Total |  |  |
| Type-frequency | $19(37 \%)$ | $33(63 \%)$ | $52(100 \%)$ |  |  |
| Token-frequency | $25(32 \%)$ | $52(68 \%)$ | $77(100 \%)$ |  |  |

Table 13 Southwestern (Langland PPL.B)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $8(20 \%)$ | $32(80 \%)$ | $40(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $54(33 \%)$ | $110(67 \%)$ | $164(100 \%)$ |

Table 14 Northern (Morte Arth)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Type-frequency | $3(25 \%)$ | $9(75 \%)$ | $12(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $11(38 \%)$ | $18(62 \%)$ | $29(100 \%)$ |

Table 15 Northern (Richard Rolle)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequeny | $9(26 \%)$ | $25(74 \%)$ | $34(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $37(32 \%)$ | $78(68 \%)$ | $115(100 \%)$ |


| Table 16 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| East Midland (Chaucer, Gower, Mandeville, WBible, |  |  |  |
| Malory, Paston, Cloud) |  |  |  |
| -ity | -ness | Total |  |
| Type-frequency | $166(29 \%)$ | $418(71 \%)$ | $586(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $1228(36 \%)$ | $2152(64 \%)$ | $3380(100 \%)$ |

Table 17 West Midland (Gawain, Lydgate)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $41(39 \%)$ | $63(61 \%)$ | $104(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $127(34 \%)$ | $249(66 \%)$ | $376(100 \%)$ |

Table 18 Southwestern (Trev.Higd, Langland)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $27(29 \%)$ | $65(71 \%)$ | $92(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $79(33 \%)$ | $162(67 \%)$ | $241(100 \%)$ |


| Table 19 |  |  | Northern (Morte Arth, Richard Roll |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -ity | -ness | Total |  |
| Type-frequency | $12(26 \%)$ | $34(74 \%)$ | $46(100 \%)$ |  |
| Token-frequency | $48(33 \%)$ | $96(67 \%)$ | $144(100 \%)$ |  |

Table 20 Kentish (Ayenbite of Inwyt)
-ity -ness Total

| Type-frequency | $14(26 \%)$ | $40(74 \%)$ | $54(100 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Token-frequency | $50(23 \%)$ | $172(77 \%)$ | $222(100 \%)$ |

Table 21 Alliterative Verse (Gawain, Morte Arth, Langland)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $17(24 \%)$ | $53(76 \%)$ | $70(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $76(34 \%)$ | $147(66 \%)$ | $223(100 \%)$ |

Table 22 Rhyming Verse (Chaucer[Verse], Gower, Lydgate)

|  | ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $79(34 \%)$ | $155(66 \%)$ | $234(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $803(38 \%)$ | $1335(62 \%)$ | $2138(100 \%)$ |

Table 23 Verse (Alliterative, Rhyming)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $96(32 \%)$ | $208(68 \%)$ | $304(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $879(37 \%)$ | $1482(63 \%)$ | $2361(100 \%)$ |

Table 24 Prose (Chaucer[Prose], Genesis, Mandeville, Paston, Malory, Trev.Higd, Richard Rolle, Cloud)

|  | -ity | -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $166(31 \%)$ | $361(69 \%)$ | $509(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $628(29 \%)$ | $1503(71 \%)$ | $1911(100 \%)$ |


|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $10(83 \%)$ | $2(17 \%)$ | $12(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $17(89 \%)$ | $2(11 \%)$ | $19(100 \%)$ |


|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $6(100 \%)$ | $6(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $11(100 \%)$ | $11(100 \%)$ |
|  | Table 26 | Gower CA |  |
|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| Type-frequency | $30(88 \%)$ | $4(12 \%)$ | $34(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $168(94 \%)$ | $11(6 \%)$ | $179(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $14(100 \%)$ | $14(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $107(100 \%)$ | $107(100 \%)$ |
|  | Table 27 | Mandeville's Travels |  |
|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| Type-frequency | $33(92 \%)$ | $3(8 \%)$ | $36(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $71(88 \%)$ | $10(12 \%)$ | $81(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $23(100 \%)$ | $23(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $78(100 \%)$ | $78(100 \%)$ |

## Table 28 Morte Arthur

|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $7(80 \%)$ | $2(20 \%)$ | $9(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $16(89 \%)$ | $2(11 \%)$ | $18(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $4(100 \%)$ | $4(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $13(100 \%)$ | $13(100 \%)$ |
|  | Table 29 | Paston Letters |  |
|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| Type-frequency | $19(79 \%)$ | $5(21 \%)$ | $24(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $57(86 \%)$ | $9(14 \%)$ | $66(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $21(100 \%)$ | $21(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $47(100 \%)$ | $47(100 \%)$ |

Table 30 Langland PPI.B

|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $30(94 \%)$ | $2(6 \%)$ | $32(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $100(91 \%)$ | $9(9 \%)$ | $110(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |


| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $8(100 \%)$ | $8(100 \%)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Token-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $54(100 \%)$ | $54(100 \%)$ |
|  | Table 31 | Malory Wks |  |
|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| Type-frequency | $27(75 \%)$ | $10(25 \%)$ | $37(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $115(85 \%)$ | $21(15 \%)$ | $136(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $18(100 \%)$ | $18(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $52(100 \%)$ | $52(100 \%)$ |


|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $26(79 \%)$ | $7(21 \%)$ | $33(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $42(81 \%)$ | $10(19 \%)$ | $52(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $19(100 \%)$ | $19(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $25(100 \%)$ | $25(100 \%)$ |

## Table 33 Richard Rolle

|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $22(88 \%)$ | $3(12 \%)$ | $25(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $75(96 \%)$ | $3(4 \%)$ | $78(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $9(100 \%)$ | $9(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frrequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $36(100 \%)$ | $36(100 \%)$ |


|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $52(83 \%)$ | $11(17 \%)$ | $63(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $199(80 \%)$ | $50(20 \%)$ | $249(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $35(100 \%)$ | $35(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $116(100 \%)$ | $116(100 \%)$ |


|  | OE + -ness | OF + -ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type-frequency | $42(40 \%)$ | $8(16 \%)$ | $50(100 \%)$ |
| Token-frequency | $287(92 \%)$ | $24(8 \%)$ | $311(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + -ity | OF + -ity | Total |
| Type-frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $8(100 \%)$ | $8(100 \%)$ |


| Token－frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $32(100 \%)$ | $32(100 \%)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Table |  |  |  |
|  | OE + －ness | OF＋－ness | Total |
| Type－frequency | $69(95 \%)$ | $4(5 \%)$ | $73(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $308(99 \%)$ | $5(1 \%)$ | $313(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE＋－ity | OF＋－ity | Total |
| Type－frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $20(100 \%)$ | $20(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $79(100 \%)$ | $79(100 \%)$ |

Table 37 Dan Michel＇s Ayenbite of Inwyt

|  | OE + －ness | OF + －ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type－frequency | $40(100 \%)$ | $0(0 \%)$ | $40(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $172(100 \%)$ | $0(0 \%)$ | $172(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE＋－ity | OF＋－ity | Total |
| Type－frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $14(100 \%)$ | $14(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $0(0 \%)$ | $50(100 \%)$ | $50(100 \%)$ |


|  | OE + －ness | OF + －ness | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type－frequency | $146(82 \%)$ | $32(18 \%)$ | $178(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $1341(91 \%)$ | $129(9 \%)$ | $1470(100 \%)$ |
|  | OE + －ity | OF + －ity | Total |
| Type－frequency | $1(1 \%)$ | $91(99 \%)$ | $92(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $1(0.1 \%)$ | $893(99.9 \%)$ | $894(100 \%)$ |

$\mathrm{OE}=[$－latinate $], ~ \mathrm{OF}=[+$ latinate $]$ とは基体（base）の語源的要素を示す。

## Some examples：

OE＋－ness：depnesse（＝depth）［Morte Arth 764］，darknesse（＝darkness）［Genesis 18．12］
OF＋－ness：fiercenes（＝fortitude）［GGK 646］，skarsnesse（＝stinginess）［Gower CA 5．7655］
OE＋－ity：scantitee［ON＋－ity］（＝scantity）［Chaucer ParsT 431］
OF＋－ity：annuite（＝annuity）［Paston Letters $120 / 37$ ］，ambyguite（＝doubt）［Lydgate 2．5486］ Chaucer ParsT 431：I sey nat that honestitee＿in clothynge of man or womman is uncovenable，but certes the superfluitee or disordinat scantitee of clothynge is reprevable． ［ $=\mathrm{I}$ don＇t say that modesty in the clothing of a man or a woman is unsuitable，but certainly excessive or immoderately scantiness of clothing is blameworthy］（Cf．oddity［odd adj．［ON］ + －ity）

## V 阻止現象（Blocking）

## 5．1 Gruber（1976：347－48）の Blocking

| pity | *pitifulness |
| :--- | :--- |
| beauty | *beautifulness |
| length | *longness |
| height | *highness |
| truth | *trueness |
| wrong / error | *wrongness |
| sincerity | *sincereness |
| ability | *ableness |
| tranquility | *tranquilness |

(1)abilite (=capacity) Chaucer Ast Pro 2 ——abelnesse (=capacity) Cloud 46 / 12
(2)heighte (=height) WBible EV Ex 25.25 ——heighnesse (=height) WBible EV Amod 2.9
(3)jolite (=revelry, happiness) Chaucer SqT 278 _ jolinesse (=revelry) Chaucer WBT 926 __ joie (=happiness) Chaucer KnT 1028
(4)lengthe (=length) Chaucer GP 83 —— longenesse (=length) Gower CA 7.3923
(5)noblete (=nobility) Trev.Barth $318 / 16-$ noblesse (=nobility) Chaucer ClT 468 noblenesse (=nobility) Chaucer Mel 2956 _— noblehede (=nobility) WBible EV Job prol. 87 - noblei(=nobility) Chaucer ClT 828
(6)tranquille (=tanquillity) Lydgate 1.453 —— tanquillite (=tranquillity) Chaucer Bo2 pr4. 136
(7)wrong (=unrighteousness) Chaucer Bo1 pr4.67 —— wrongfulhede (=injustice) Walton Bo 698/7 - wrongfulnes (=unrighteousness) Cursor 7546

### 5.2 Type Blocking \& Token Blocking

Type-blocking concerns the interaction of more or less regular rival morphological processes (for example decency vs. decentness) whereas token-blocking involves the blocking of potential regular forms by already existing synonymous words, an example of which is the blocking of * arrivement by arrival or *stealer by thief. (Plag 2003: 64-65)

|  | Chaucer | Gower | Lydgate | Langland | Gawain | Malory | Caxton |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| feblenesse | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| feblesse | 10 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| gentilnesse | 2 | 0 | 31 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| gentilesse | 80 | 18 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| humblenesse | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| humblesse | 20 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| largenesse | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| largesse | 17 | 28 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |


| noblenesse | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| noblesse | 34 | 10 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 6 |
| richnesse | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| richesse | 156 | 41 | 51 | 26 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| simplenesse | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| simplesse | 3 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

（1）feeble adj．［OF］c1175
feeblesse n．［OF feblesce］a1250 Ancrene 103／23（＝feebleness，weakness）
feblenesse n．［From feeble adj．］？a1300 Arth．\＆Merl． 9837 （＝weakness）［MED］
（2）gentil adj．［OF］？a1200
gentilesse n．［OF gentilesse］ 1340 Ayenb $87 / 21$（＝nobility of birth or rank） gentilnesse n ．［From gentil adj．］a1325 Cursor 28562 （＝nobility of birth or rank）
（3）humble adj．［OF］c1250
humblesse n．［OF humblesse］c1385 Chaucer KnT 2790 （＝virtue of humility）
humblenesse n．［From humble adj．］c1395 WBible LV Prol．Heb． 4.480 （＝virtue of humility，humbleness）
（4）large adj．［OF］c1175
largesse n ．［OF largece］a1250 Ancrene 74 ／ 8 （＝generosity）
largenesse n．［From large adj．］c1390 Chaucer ParsT 1051 （＝generosity）
（5）noble adj．［OF］？1200
noblesse n．［OF noblesse］a1250 Ancrene 87 ／ 19 （＝high rank or birth）
noblenesse n．［From noble adj．］c1390 Chaucer Mel 2956 （＝high rank or birth）
（6）rich adj．［OE］
richesse n．［OF richeise］a1250 Ancrene $74 / 25$（＝wealth，riches）
richenesse n．［From rich adj．］a1338 Mannyng Chron．Pt．2．p． 155 （＝wealth）
（7）simple adj．［OF］c1220
simplesse n．［OF simplesse］ 1340 Ayenb $140 / 35$（＝innocence）
simplenesse n．［From simple adj．］a1382 WBible EV Gen 20.5 （＝innocence）
VI－ness，－hede，－schipe の競合
bisinesse vs bisihede vs bisischipe
Chaucer GP 520：To drawen folk to hevene ．．this was his bisynesse．［＝To draw up folk to heaven，．．this was his effort］［bisynesse $=$ effort，endeavor］

Gower CA 4．1119：What hast thou don of besischipe／To love？［＝What hast thou done some effort for love？］［besischipe＝effort，endeavor］

|  | bisinesse | bisihede | bisischipe |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Chaucer | 58 | 0 | 0 |
| Gower | 29 | 0 | 1 |
| Landgland | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lydgate | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| Malory | 0 | 0 | 0 |

kindenesse vs kindehede vs kindeschipe
Malory Wks 1083 ／15：Sir Bors ．．for kyndenes and pite，he myght nat speke but wepte tendirly a grete whyle．［＝Sir Bors，for friendliness and pity，might not speak but wept tenderly for a great while］［kybdenes＝friendliness］
Gower CA 2．326：he ．．seide hem，for the kindeschipe／That thei have don him felaschipe／ He wole hem do som grace ayein，［＝he said to them，for the friendliness that they have done fellowship for him，that he would do some favor for them］［kindeschipe $=$ friendliness，kindness］

|  | kindenesse | kindehede | kindeschipe |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Chaucer | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Gower | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Langland | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Lydgate | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| Malory | 17 | 0 | 0 |

VII－ity 派生語と－ness 派生語の意味的相違
Aronoff（1976：38）によれば，－ness 語も－ity 語も，（1）＂the fact Y is Xous＂，（2）＂the extent to which Y is Xous＂，（3）＂the quality or state of being Xous＂のいずれかの意味をもつ が，－ity 語は特殊な意味を表すことがあるとしている。

## 7.1 －ity 派生語

（1）＂the fact that Y is Xous＂
WBible EV Number 4．20：Other thurZ no curiouste seen that ben in the seynturarye ．． ellis thei shulden die．［LV：Othere men se not bi ony curiouste tho thingis that ben in the seyntuarie，．．ellis thei schulen die．：L curiositate videant］［curiouste＝inquisitiveness］
（2）＂the extent to which Y is Xous＂
Chaucer Venus 81：Syth rym in Englissh hath such skarsete，／To folowe word by word the curiosite／Of Graunson．（＝Since the verse in English has such scarcity to follow word by word the skill of Grandson）
（3）＂the quality or state of being Xous＂
Cloud 118 ／5：Pei mowe in no－wise put awey pe wonderful ．．pouZtes，fantasies \＆ymages ．． preentid in peire mynde by be liZt \＆pe corioustee of ymaginacyon．（＝They may never
put away the wonderful thoughts，fantasies，and images printed in their mind by the light \＆the subtlety of imagination）

## 7.2 －ness 派生語

（1）＂the fact that Y is Xous＂
MKempe 139 ／32：\＆sumtyme sche xulde wepyn ful softly \＆stilly in receyuyng of e preciows Sacrament wyth－owtyn any boystowsnes［＝and sometimes she would weep very softly and silently in receiving the precious sacrament without any violence］
（2）＂the extent to which Y is Xous＂
Cloud 8 ／19：A good teching how a man schal flee pees disseits，\＆wirche more wip a listines of spirite pen wip any boistousnes of body．［＝A good teaching how a man should flee from these deceits and work more with eager longing of spirit than with any fierce strength of body］
（3）＂the quality or state of being Xous＂
Trev．Barth 325 ／16：pe ．．mete for his picnes and boistousnes may not passe be naroughe weyes［＝the food for its thickness and coarseness may not pass through narrow ways］
Cf．：Romaine（1985：455）
（1）His kindness amazed me．（＝the fact that he was／the extent to which he was kind）
（2）Kindness is a virtue．（＝quality or state of being kind）
7.3 意味と生産性（全て Chaucer からの例）
jolinesse［From joli adj．］ 2 examples
（1）cheerfulness，enjoyment
SqT 289：I sey namoore，but in this jolynesse／I lete hem til men to the soper dresse．（＝I＇ll say no more，but in this cheerfulness I leave them till men prepare for the supper）
（2）cheerful behavior
WBT 926：Somme seyde wommen loven best richesse，／Somme seyde honour，somme seyde jolynesse，（＝Someone said that women love riches best，someone said that women love honour，someone said that women love cheerful behavior）
jolitee［OF jolietei］ 19 examples
（1）jollity
SqT 344：But thus I lete in lust and jolitee／This Camyuskan his lordes festeiynge（＝But now I leave in pleasure and jollity）
（2）cheerfulness
PardT 780：This tresor hath Fortune unto us yiven／In myrthe and joliftee oure lyf to lyven， （＝It＇s Fortune that has given us this treasure that we may live our lives in mirth and

## cheerulness）

（3）cheerful behavior

CYT 600：He kan of murthe and eek of jolitee（＝He knows of merriment and also of cheerful behavior）

## （4）passion

ThopT 843：For paramour and jolitee／Of oon that shoon ful brighte．（＝For the love and passion of one who shoen so bright）

## （5）sport

KnT 1807：But this is yet the best game of alle，／That she for whom they han this jolitee／ Kan hem therfore as muche thank as me，（＝But this is yet the biggest joke of all，that she， for whom they have this sport，can give them thanks as much as I）
（6）an agreeable time
MancT 197：This Phebus，which that thoghte upon no gile，／Deceyved was，for al his jolitee． （＝This Phoebus，who never thought of guile，was deceived for all his agreeable time）
（7）attractve appearance
GP 680：But hood，for jolitee，wered he noon，（＝But he wore the hood for making an attractive appearance）

## 7.4 頻度と語彙化

bisinesse（Chaucer で 58 examples）
（1）the state or fact of being engaged in an activity
MilT 3654：Thus lyth Alison and Nicholas／In bisynesse of mythe and in solas．（＝So Alison and Nicholas lay in activity of mirth and pleasure）
（2）endeavor，effort
Mel 1631：And yet seye I ferthermoore，that ye sholde alwey doon youre bisynesse to gete yow richesses，（＝And yet I say you should always make an effort to acquire riches9
（3）encourage
WBT 1196：Poverte is hateful good and，as I gesse，／A ful greet bryngere out of bisynesse；（＝Poverty is a hateful good and，as I guesse，a great remover of encourage）
（4）attention
KnT 1007：The pilours diden bisynesse and cure（＝The scavengers took attention and care） （5）employment，occupation

Mel 1590：but he that is ydel and casteth hym to no bisynesse ne occupacioun shal falle into poverte and dye for hunger．＇（＝but he who is idle and devotes himself to no empolyment or occulpation shall fall into poverty and die of hunger）
（6）task
$\operatorname{Tr}$ 1．1042：Yef me this labour and this bisynesse，（＝Give me this hard work and this task） dignytee（Chaucer で 69 examples）
（1）nobleness or the quality or state of being noble

ParsT 1040：Certes，it is privyleged of thre thynges in his dignytee，for which it is moore digne than any oother preyere，（＝Certainly，it is invested with three things in his nobleness that make it worthier than any other prayer）
（2）dominion
MkT 3360：But sodeynly he loste his dignytee，（＝But suddenly he lost his dominion）
（3）respect
Bo3 pr4．42：it is wel seyn cleerly that thei ne han no propre beaute of dignyte．（＝it is clearly seen that they have no proper beauty of respect）
（4）gravity
Bo4 pr1．3：Philosophie hadde songen softly and delitably the forseide thinges，kepynge the dignyte of hir cheere（＝Philosophy had sung softly and delightfully the aforesaid things， keeping the gravity of its face）
（5）spiritual worth
Bo3 pr4．38：＂Certes dignytees，＂quod sche，＂aperteignen properly to vertu，（＝she said ＂Cetainly spiritual worth properly belongs to vertue）
（6influence
Ast Prol．104：In which fifthe partie shalt thou fynden ．．．tables of dignitees of planetes， （＝In the fifth part you shall find tables of positions in which a planet exercises its greatest influence）
（7）high rank
Bo3 pr4．16：al were this Nonyus set in chayere of dygnite．（＝this Nonyus was set in throne of high rank）
（8）high social position
ClT 470：＂I seye，Grisilde，this present dignitee，／In which that I have put yow，as I trowe， （＝＂I say，Criselda，this new high social position in which I＇ve put you，as I trust）

## 7.5 色彩語

blacnesse［From blac（adj．）［OE］］
WBible EV Nahum 2．11：pe face of alle as blacnesse of a pot（LV：the face of alle ben as blacnesse of a pot．； V ：nigredo； AV ：the faces of them all gather balckness．）
greinesse［ From grei（adj．）［OE］］
Trev．Barh 837 ／21：it is seyd pat crisoberillus is a maner kynde of berille，and pale greynes perof schynen toward colour of gold．（＝it is said that a crisoberyl is a kind of beryl，and its pale grayness shines like the color of gold）［Latin：pallia viriditas］
grenesse［From grene（adj．）［OE］］
Trev．Barth 871 ／20：In none herbes nouper in precious stones is more grenenes pan in pe stoon smaragdus；（＝In neither herbs nor in precious stones is more greenness than in
the stone smaragd (=emerald))
palenesse [From pale (adj.) [OF]]
Trev.Barth 136 / 19: Also coolde is pe modir of whiZtnesse and of palenes, as hete is pe modir of blaknes and rednes. (=Also cold is the mother of whiteness and of paleness, as heat is the mother of blackness and redness.)
rednesse [From red (adj.) [OE ]]
Chaucer CYT 1100: Fumes dyuerse / Of metals .. / Consumed and wasted han my reednesse. (=various kinds of fumes from metals have consumed and wasted my [face's] redness)
wannesse [From wan (adj.)[OE wann](=grayish, whitish gray)]
Trev.Barth 1292 / 14: wan colour toknep good, but grene oper blak tornep into wanne .. and panne out of wannesse into rede [Latin: liuiditat] (=whitish gray colour tokens good, but green or black turns into whitish gray ... and then out of a whitis gray color into red)
whitnesse [From OE hwitness \& ME whit (adj.)(=white)]
Chaucer SNT 89: It is to seye in Englissh "hevenes lilie," / For pure chaastnesse of virginitee; / Or, for she whitesse hadde of honestee, (=It is called in English "heaven's lily", for pure chastity of virginity; or for she had whiteness of honesty)
yelownesse [ From yelow (adj.)[OE geolu]]
Chaucer Purse 11: Or see your colour lyk the sonne bryght / That of yelownesse hadde never pere. (=Or see your color like the bright sun that never had an equal to yellowness)

VIII Romaine (1985: 456)

| Abstract |  | Concrete |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| state / qualities |  | things | offices / titles / | collectivities |
|  |  |  | persons |  |
| humanness | nobleness |  |  |  |
|  | oddness | oddity | nobility | humanity |
| Germanness | royalness |  |  | Germanity |
|  | curiousness | curiosity | royalty |  |
|  | antiqueness |  | admiralty | Christianity |
|  | highness |  | highness |  |
| business | holiness |  | holiness | business |

(1) Chaucer ParsT 446: And eek in to greet preciousnesse of vessel and curiositee of mynstralcie, by which a man is stired the moore to delices of luxurie. (=And also into a
great preciousness of the plates and skillful performances of minstrelsy，by which a man is provoked more to fleshly pleasures）
（2）Langland PPl．B 12．125：Take we her wordes at worthe for here witnesse be trewe，（＝Let us take their words at their true value because their witnessed things are true）
（3）Chaucer CYT 1212：ye shule ．．／How that oure bisynesse shal thryue and preeue．（＝You will see ．．how our task will prosper and succeed）
（4）Malory Wks 245 ／8：he was crowned Emperour by the Poopys hondis，with all the royalte in the worlde to welde for ever．（＝he was enthroned Emperor by the Pope，with the royal power in the world to possess forever）
（5）St．Kath 3．1062：Zet wil we not that thei occupied shul bee／With swiche－maner offyce as to humanyte longeth．（＝But we do not wish that they shall be occupied with such authority as the human race desires）［Quoted from MED］
（6）Lydgate TB 2．3534：Noon holynes to heryn of myraclis／Hath mevid hir，（＝No religious rites to hear of miracles have prompted hir）
（7）Chaucer Anel 99：But nevertheles ful mykel besynesse／Had he er that he myghte his lady wynne，（＝But nevertheless he had so much trouble before he might get the lady）
© Ayenb 175 ／10：pet tellep hire guodnesses and wryep hare kueadnesses．（＝that tells their good deeds and conceals their evil deeds）
（9WBible EV Job 2．9：his wiif forsope seide to hym，Zif forsope pou abijdist stille in pi symplete［LV：sympleness；V：simplicitate］？blesse to god \＆die］［AV：Then said his wife unto him，Dost thou still retain thine integrity？curse God，and die．］［symplete＝sympleness $=$ intergrity，blamelessness］

IX まとめ
（1）Dialectal factor $\quad$ Northern（Table 19）\＆Kentish（Table 20）
（2）Pragmatic factor
abortive（adj．）［＝born prematurely or dead］初例 a1382 WBible EV Job 3.16
abortiveness（n．）初例 1657 ［OED］（Cf．Riddle 1985：442－43）
Cf：yongnes（From yong（＝young）adj．）［＝the time when one is young，youth］ c1350 MPPsalter 143.10 （MED）
yonghede（From yong adj．）［＝the time of being young］ c1300（MED）
youthnesse（From youth n．）［OE geoguphadnes］［＝the time of youth］
youthhede［OE geoguphad］［＝the time of youth］a1150
（3）Genre factor WBible（Table 5）
Alliterative Verse（Table 21）

| Boece | －ity | －ness | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Type－frequency | $27(33 \%)$ | $51(65 \%)$ | $78(100 \%)$ |
| Token－frequency | $226(39 \%)$ | $348(61 \%)$ | $574(100 \%)$ |

（4）Stylistic factor Rhyming（Masui 1964：12－16）：
To drawen folk to hevene by fairnesse，
By good ensample，this was his bisynesse．（Chaucer GP 419－20）

## Repetition：

＂Allas！How the thought of this man，dreynt in overthrowynge depnesse，dulleth and forleteth his propre clernesse，myntynge to gon into foreyne dirknesses as ofte as his anoyos bysynes waxeth withoute mesure，but is dryven with werldly wyndes．（Chaucer Bo1 m2．1－7）
（5）Semantic factor Color Nouns
Token Blocking
Cf．：Marchand（1969：313）
chaste（1225）—— chastity（1225）
noble（1225）$\quad$ nobility（1398）
superfluous（ME）— superfluity（ME）：＊superluiosity

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