French-derived Adverbs in Middle English

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This MA thesis examines the adverbs borrowed from French during the Middle English period (ca. from the 12th century to the end of the 15th century). The research material consists of 150 French-derived adverbs. They were collected from the Middle English Dictionary. The focus of the analysis was on the structure of the words. In addition, the aim was to obtain information when these adverbs were borrowed and how many of them are still in use in English. Mainly qualitative methods were used in this study.

The results indicate that these adverbs are a very diverse group of words, including for example hybrid borrowings and loan blends as well as words which had gone through only minor changes during the borrowing process. Most of the words were borrowed during the 14th and 15th centuries. The majority of the adverbs are not in active use at present, but there are also some high-frequency words in Present-day English.

Keywords: Middle English language, French language, language contacts, loanwords

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List of Abbreviations

AF	Anglo-French
AN	Anglo-Norman
CF	Continental French
EMnE	Early Modern English
F	French
L	Latin
ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MF	Middle French
ML	Medieval Latin
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OF	Old French

1 Introduction

The English language is often considered to be a dominant language for example in science and in popular culture. Nowadays as a lingua franca, English has affected other languages globally, but it has also been influenced by numerous languages. For historical as well as geographical reasons France and the French language have been important factors in the development of the English language and society.

Practically all the languages in the world have some kind of interaction with other languages, and are therefore influenced by one another. Different features are adopted; from single words to grammatical structures. New dialects, and even new languages such as pidgins and creoles, are formed when two or more languages are in contact. These adopted features can be an important source of information. They can reflect the balance of power, the changes in society, colonialism, and immigration. Some of the borrowed items (especially words) are used only a short period of time, and they never become a permanent part of the language, whereas some of them adapt to the language so well that they are difficult to recognise as originally foreign items. According to Philip Durkin (2014, 4), loanwords from different languages are present in daily communication and even in the foundational vocabulary of English.

French is undoubtedly one of the most significant source languages of loanwords in English. The influence of French in England and on the English language increased with the Norman Conquest in the year 1066, even though it had been present already before that. In historical linguistics the Norman Conquest is often considered as a borderline between two periods, Old English and Middle English. It is common to define different periods in a language history according to historical events; however, changes in a language do not happen overnight. The Middle English era, which lasted roughly to the end of the 15th century, was a time of remarkable changes in the English language but also in the English society.

According to Durkin (2014, 38), the loanwords from the Middle English period represent a significant part of the high-frequency vocabulary of Present-day English. Yet it was later that the number of new words from all origins to the English language was the highest; according to Durkin (2014, 34) it was the second half of the 19th

century. The number of lexical items borrowed from French to English during the Middle English period is estimated to be 10,000 (Schendl 2012, 512). In the following centuries after the Norman Conquest the importance of French in the English society eventually declined, but a large number of loanwords from French are still present in the English vocabulary today. Both the Middle English period and the French influence on the English language have been studied by numerous scholars, especially the influence on the lexicon of English (Dalton-Puffer 1996, 5–7).

The purpose of this study is to examine French-derived adverbs in the Middle English language, since this particular word class has not been discussed extensively. The intention is not to focus on the semantic features of the adverbs but other aspects of the words in question. The questions this study aims to answer are:

1) the number of French-derived adverbs in Middle English
2) what kind of adverbs were borrowed
3) the timeline of the loanwords in question, i.e. when did they enter to Middle English
4) how many of them are still in use today (according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*)

The theoretical framework of this study is based on the previous research done by for example Durkin (2009, 2014), Haspelmath (2009), Thomason (2001), Kibbee (1991), and Mustajoki (1960). The French influence on the lexicon of Middle English has been studied earlier by for example Dalton-Puffer (1996), Coleman (1995), and Skaffari (2009). The data for the empirical section is collected from two dictionaries: The *Middle English Dictionary,* which is a historical dictionary of English spoken in ca. 1175–1500, and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which has been described as "the most prestigious dictionary of English" (Barros 2017, 73). Dictionaries as a source in an academic study are not unproblematic, which has to be taken into account also in this study.

This thesis consists of five main sections. After the first introductory section, the second section includes the theoretical background and the historical context of this study. In addition, some previous studies are examined in the second section. In the third section, I describe the materials and methods I have used in this thesis. The results of the

research are presented and discussed in the fourth section. The final, fifth section is the conclusion where the results presented in the fourth section are summarized; in addition the last section includes discussion concerning possible future studies.

2 Theoretical background

In this section I present the theoretical framework of my study. The topics in the subsections include language contact, lexical borrowing, Middle English and the historical context, loanwords, and adverbs in English. In the last subsection I discuss some previous studies which are relevant to this research.

2.1 Language contact and lexical borrowing

Almost all languages are in contact with other languages: the language contact can be a real-life contact between the speakers of these languages or, as in present time with the highly developed technology, influence created by a media without any personal contact between the people involved. Thomason (2001, 20) points out that language contact can also occur through education: an excellent example of this was the influence of Latin as a learned language centuries after it had ceased to exist as a native language. Another example is English, which is learned widely for communication purposes because of its status as lingua franca (Thomason 2001, 21).

Many people can speak or at least have some kind of knowledge of two (or more) languages. These two languages can be divided to the first language (L1) and the second language (L2). This phenomenon, bilingualism (or multilingualism), can create a situation in which language contact occurs within the language usage of a single person. The person in question can use different elements (for example, words or utterances) from the second language when communicating in the first language or vice versa. This is known as *code-switching*. According to Haspelmath (2009, 40), in code-switching the speaker switches from a language to another during the same conversation, possibly within a same sentence or a word. In addition to spoken communication, code-switching can occur also in written text, even though studies concerning code-switching involve more often present-day speech than older texts (Skaffari 2009, 70). Examples of code-switching include the situations when among the Spanish-speaking population in the United States it is common to use both Spanish and English at the same time, or in the speech of the Swedish-speaking Finns some Finnish words can appear. Of course with modern communication devices, this phenomenon can occur for example in discussions in smartphone applications like WhatsApp or Snapchat.

Language contact can be present in various circumstances, but it is definitely a prerequisite for the influence of a language to another. One of the influence mechanisms is *borrowing*. Borrowing can be described as a process after which an element from a language is used – more or less – permanently within another language. Durkin (2009, 132) points out that the term "borrowing" is slightly misleading as afterwards the borrowed item exists in both languages. In addition, especially a borrowed word will probably go through different developments in the two languages or even disappear (ibid.). Haspelmath (2009, 37) presents also terms *transfer* or *transference* as well as *copying*; these are equally controversial as borrowing since the original language does not actually lose anything. Despite the inaccuracy the term borrowing has been part of the linguistic vocabulary since the nineteenth century (Durkin 2014, 3) or according to Haspelmath (2009, 37), even since the 18th century, so it is well justified to use it in this study also.

The borrowed items can give information concerning the language in question, its history, and previous contacts with other languages. Haspelmath (2009, 36) describes the borrowing process either as *adoption*, when the native speakers borrow from other languages to their first language (in the context of this study e.g. the English-speakers borrow from French to English), or *imposition*, when the borrowing occurs from the mother tongue to the second language (the English-speakers borrow from English to their non-native language, in this case French). Some restrict the term "borrowing" to be used only when features from a foreign language are borrowed into the mother tongue of the speaker (Thomason & Kaufman in Haspelmath 2009, 36). Borrowing can take place also between the dialects of a language (Durkin 2009, 164).

The language from which the lexical, structural, or even phonological elements are borrowed can be referred to as a *donor* or a *source language*; the language which adopts the foreign elements is a *borrowing language* or a *receiving language* (Durkin 2014, 8), or even a *new host language* (Hughes 2000, 55). In Haspelmath (2009, 37) the alternative terms include a *model language* (the donor language) and a *replica language* (the borrowing language). For the latter, a *recipient*, a *receptor* or a *target language* are mentioned by Skaffari (2009, 67). In this study I refer to French as the donor or the source language and to English as the target language.

The difference between code-switching and borrowing is sometimes considered to be equivocal. It has been stated that code-switching occurs among the users of a particular language, while borrowing affects the language itself; it is difficult to specify when the word has become a part of the language (after being used by a group of its speakers) (Skaffari 2009, 71). Haspelmath (2009, 40) has said that "…code-switching is not a kind of contact-induced language change, but rather a kind of contact-induced speech-behaviour". According to Barros (2017, 69), a single-word switch and lexical borrowing can be described as related but different contact-induced phenomena.

There are various reasons for borrowing. According to Durkin (2009, 141–142), the most common reasons are need and prestige, which can also be described as necessary and unnecessary borrowing. Haspelmath (2009, 46) separates the categories of *cultural borrowings* and *core borrowings.* In cultural borrowing there is no word for a new concept in the vocabulary of the target language, and it is sometimes easier to borrow an existing word from another language than to create a totally new word. In the case of core borrowing an equivalent word already exists, the borrowed word replaces it or becomes a synonym for it; borrowing due to prestige belongs to this group (Haspelmath 2009, 47–48). Prestige as a reason for borrowing is not an unproblematic issue, because it can simplify to excess the sociolinguistic situations (Durkin 2009, 142).

The concepts of basic and non-basic vocabulary are often involved when the factors affecting to the process of borrowing are discussed. According to Durkin (2009, 156), the usual perception is that the basic vocabulary is more resistant to borrowing, yet the definition of basic vocabulary is not self-evident. It has been said that there are differences in borrowability between the words in different semantic classes, and the words that are frequently used in a language are borrowed less (Trask in Durkin 2009, 156). The term *core vocabulary* used by e.g. Tadmor, Haspelmath and Taylor (2010, 227) seems to describe the group of words more explicitly. The basic or core vocabulary consists of the "fundamental everyday vocabulary" (Swadesh in Tadmor, Haspelmath and Taylor 2010, 228). Words can be classified also to *open-class* words (new vocabulary enters constantly to this group) or *closed-class*, which gets new words less frequently (Biber et al. 1999, 55). *Content words* (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs) are more easily borrowed than *function words* (the words which have grammatical functions in a sentence). Yet there are differences in borrowability among the content

words: verbs are borrowed distinctly less than nouns, and adjectives and adverbs are not borrowed significantly more than verbs (Tadmor, Haspelmath, and Taylor 2010: 231).

Thomason (2001, 66) states that the intensity of the contact of the languages has an enormous effect on the items that are borrowed; in other words, when the contact is more intense the more complicated structures can be borrowed. Thomason (2001, 70–71) has created a four-level borrowing scale ranging from casual contact to extremely intense contact. This scale is summarized below:

The first level
- only casual contact required
- fluent skills in the donor language not needed
- non-basic vocabulary; content words
- no structural borrowing

The second level
- more intense contact
- bilingual people, but they are often a minority
- some function words borrowed, non-basic vocabulary
- minor structural borrowing

The third level
- intense contact, more bilinguals, also factors favouring borrowing
- also non-basic vocabulary, more function and closed-class words
- more structural borrowing

The fourth level
- very intense contact, extensive bilingualism
- social factors extremely favourable towards borrowing
- all kinds of lexicon borrowed, also structural borrowing affecting e.g. the phonological and morphological system of the target language

According to Durkin (2014, 224), Latin and French loanwords are not largely represented in the basic, closed-class vocabulary of modern English, especially when compared to Scandinavian loanwords; this seems to be a result of borrowing which does not require a large-scale *language shift* (the native speakers of a language change permanently from that language to another). Yet the number of the borrowed items from these languages was so substantial that it affected also the structure of the English lexicon (Durkin 2009, 161; 2014, 224). Since this study concerns only adverbs which belong to the open-class vocabulary of English, it can be assumed that in the Thomason scale this study relates mainly to the first level borrowing requiring only casual contact.

Thomason (2001, 72) has also stated that lexical borrowing can sometimes occur even in situations where there is no bilingualism involved.

In addition to the source/target language classification, the languages in contact can be described on the basis of their prestige. Often the two languages are not considered equally prestigious: a *substratum* is a language with lower prestige and a *superstratum* is a language which has more prestige. When the languages are (almost) equal in prestige, and neither of them is socially dominant, they are *adstratums* (Durkin 2009, 162). It should be emphasised that a superstratum is not necessarily a majority language in the community; in the context of this study, French in England after the Norman Conquest is an example of a minority language as a superstratum.

2.2 Middle English and the historical context

The time frame of this study is roughly the years 1000–1500 in the history of the English language. The process and the results of lexical borrowing during that time are closely connected with the social and political history of England. According to Thomason (2001, 18), "the British Isles offer a prime example of language contacts arising through successive immigrations, in this instance mostly military invasions and conquests." As it was mentioned in the previous subsection, French was a migrant superordinate language in England; at the same time English can be classified as an indigenous subordinate.

In the following subsections I evaluate both linguistic and historical aspects of the period between c. 1000–1500. First I define the concept of Middle English and then I present views on the status of French in England during the Middle English era.

2.2.1 Middle English

As the changes in a language usually develop over a long period of time it is not easy to make precise chronology in a language history. In order to define different periods, historical events are often used as landmarks. This is the situation also in the history of the English language. Curzan (2012, 1235–36) points out that language change is continuous and gradual: the language does not stay unchanged during the specific

period and then change rapidly around the date which has been defined to separate the two periods.

The history of the English language is often divided into four periods: *Old English*, *Middle English*, *Early Modern English* and *Late Modern English*. In addition, *Present-day English* is the language used today and in the recent past. There are different views among the scholars concerning the boundaries between these periods (Durkin 2014, 7). For example, the Middle English period can be defined to have existed between two important historical events: the Norman Conquest in 1066 and the introduction of the printing press in England in 1476 (e.g. Smith 2017, 16), but there are also other definitions. Durkin (2014, 7) considers the Middle English period to be c. 1150–1500. The Middle English period can be divided further into *Early Middle English* and *Late Middle English*, for example by using the approximate date of birth of Geoffrey Chaucer in c. 1340. Geoffrey Chaucer was, amongst other things, an author and a poet. His contribution to the English language and literature was considerable, and many words and phrases originally from French are documented for the first time in his texts (Davis 2008, xxvi).

According to Baugh and Cable ([1951] 2002, 158), the Middle English period was linguistically "a period of great changes". These changes include the loss of various Old English features, such as inflectional endings and grammatical gender. The grammatical gender disappeared from the English language during the late Old English and early Middle English period, starting from the north of England. Also the development towards the loss of inflectional endings began in the north in the 10th century, while in the southern parts of the country some of the old forms existed considerably later in the beginning of the 14th century (Mustanoja 1960, 42, 65).

A large number of new, borrowed (especially from French) vocabulary , which replaced a part of the Old English vocabulary, and the rise of the standard English are also among the important changes during the Middle English era (Baugh and Cable [1951] 2002, 168, 192). Schendl (2012, 506) describes the linguistic changes between Old English and Middle English as "dramatic": in addition to the change from inflected, synthetic language to analytic language almost without inflectional morphology, he

mentions the syntactic changes and the large additions from especially French to mainly Germanic lexicon of Old English.

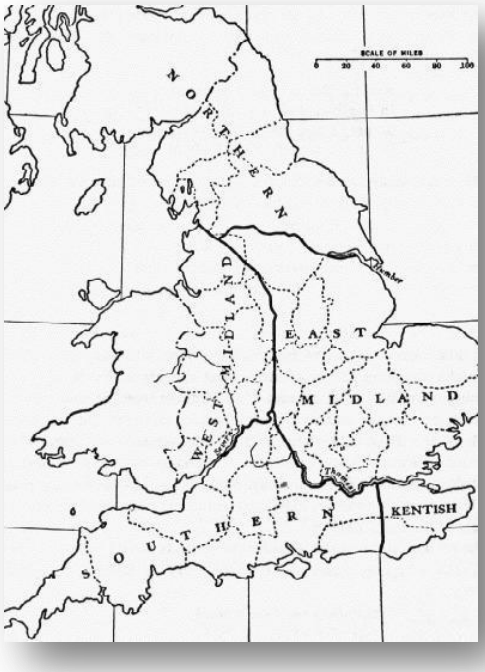

Figure 1 The dialects in the 14th century England
(Harvard University: Harvard's Geoffrey Chaucer Website)

When studying the Middle English language, it should be noted that it was not one homogenous form of language, not geographically nor in chronological sense. There were five dialects: Southern, Kentish, West Midland, East Midland, and Northern, which had their roots in the Anglo-Saxon varieties, however under different names. Towards the end of the Middle English period, a South-Eastern variety of English begun to get a status as"good or proper" English. This development concerned especially the area around London where the authority was centralised at the same time (Hughes 2000, 141). Also Baugh and Cable ([1951] 2002, 194) emphasise the spreading of the London English variety and its meaning in the development of standard English.

According to Hughes (2000, 14, 36), there were three different registers in the language by the end of the Middle English period. The registers had variation in form and usage; they included vocabulary from different origins and also reflected the class distinctions in the society. The basic register included Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, basic words used by the common people. The language was "short, blunt, emotive and direct". The

formal register had words originally from Norman French and the vocabulary was refined and elegant. The third, abstract and bookish register included terminology from Latin and Greek. In addition to intellectual and abstract terms, this terminology included also scientific and more exact vocabulary.

Since the arrival of the printing press has been defined in the end of the Middle English period, the sources (in other words the manuscripts) were written or copied by hand. They were written on parchment or later on paper (Smith 2017, 19). Bergs (2012, 536) emphasises the difference between authors and scribes; the scribes wrote from dictation in real time or from memory, based on keywords or document drafts written by the authors.

2.2.2 French in England

While the period of language contact between French and English has existed over thousand years, the contacts have not remained the same through the millennium. Medieval English society has been in the centre of the discussions; however there was notable contact between these two languages also before and after the Middle English era (Skaffari 2017, 202).

The source language for the French influence in English was (especially in medieval times, which is the focus of this study) very different from the present-day French. According to Einhorn (1974, 1), a variant of French called *Old French* was spoken from the middle of the 9th century to the beginning of the 14th century. It can be divided further to *Early Old French* (until the end of the 11th century) and *Later Old French*. The language from the early 14th century onwards is described as *Middle French*.

In this study I use mainly the generic term "French" for all the variants of French. Yet in order to understand the situation in England during the Middle English era, the dialects of Old French have to be discussed. According to Skaffari (2017, 203), the most relevant varieties were *Anglo-Norman* in England and *Central French* in the region of Paris. The latter contributed to English mainly through written resources. It should be noted that also other names for these occur (ibid.). For example, Durkin uses *Anglo-French* instead of Anglo-Norman (2014, 230). Trotter (2017, 246) considers the use of Anglo-French "…intended to be diachronically and geolinguistically neutral: it means

simply “French as used in England”. The difficulties in defining and separating the two terms ‘Anglo-French’ and ‘Anglo-Norman’ have been discussed also by Wogan-Browne (2009, 1).

The predecessor of Anglo-Norman in the latter half of the 11th century was a variety of French, called *Norman French* or *Old Northern French*. Due to the Viking settlement in Normandy, the language had Scandinavian influences prior to its arrival to England. In England Anglo-Norman was spoken with contact to Middle English, and it was a significant source of loanwords; at the same time English affected the Anglo-Norman which as a result became even more different compared to Central French (Skaffari 2017, 203). Trotter (2003, 427) emphasises the difference between Anglo-Norman and Central French: they were separate geographically, politically, and linguistically.

There are different opinions on how significant the Norman Conquest in 1066 really was for the French language in England, yet the significance of the Conquest for the English society should not be underestimated. In the political sense Anglo-Saxon England vanished along the Norman Conquest, even though the Danes had conquered England earlier in the same century (Treharne 2012, 9). Baugh and Cable ([1951] 2002, 108–109) describe the Norman Conquest to be the most influential event in the history of English language; yet they admit that the relations between England and Normandy were close already before the Conquest. According to Kibbee (1991, 5), the Conquest did not have a great linguistic impact, due to the previous relations between France and England after the marriage of Æthelred to Emma of Normandy in the beginning of the 11th century. Durkin (2014, 223) estimates that even without the Norman Conquest, the borrowing from French to English would have occurred to some extent at least; also other European languages borrowed from French during the medieval and early modern periods.

Douglas A. Kibbee has divided the years between 1004 and 1600 to five different periods, in order to reflect the changing status of French in England. What is noticeable is that Kibbee does not mention the Norman Conquest at all in these periods.

> Period I The marriage of Emma to Æthelred in 1004 – Henry II's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitane in 1152
> Period II Henry II's marriage 1152 – the *Provisions of Oxford* 1258
> Period III The *Provisions of Oxford* 1258 – the parliamentary statute 1362
> Period IV The parliamentary statute 1362 – the arrival of the printing press 1470
> Period V The Age of Printing, Humanism and Reformation 1470–1600.
> (Kibbee 1991, 3)

Even though the French influence in England began already before the arrival of the Normans, there are very few borrowings from French to English which can be dated reliably to before the Norman Conquest (Durkin 2009, 149). The importance of French in England did not increase steadily after the Conquest; it reached its peak in the middle of the 13th century with the arrival of the French law regime, and at the end of the Middle English period French had lost its status in England (Kibbee 1991, 92–93). One turning point in the decline of French was the parliamentary statute in 1362 (Kibbee 1991, 58).

The presence of French in medieval England is attested by numerous written documents; however it is difficult to estimate how many people were actually capable of using the language (Lusignan 2009, 19). Traditionally, the French language in medieval England has been considered to have been a language of the upper classes. In the aftermath of the Norman Conquest, the Anglo-Saxon elite of politics and religion lost their positions to French-speaking Normans, and the English language was omitted from official use (Durkin 2014, 65, 230).

According to Dalton-Puffer (1996, 4), among some of the scholars of the 20th century there was two, rather opposite views about the status of French in Medieval England. For example Johann Vising, M. Dominica Legge, and V.H. Galbraith considered that French replaced English as a language of a majority of the population for a significant period of time, while for example G.E. Woodbine claimed that the use of French was quite limited already from the beginning. One explanation for these opposite conclusions might be the different sources. For example, concentrating on a literary material gives French more importance than it might have had in the society in general (Dalton-Puffer 1996, 4).

The French-speaking minority was high class in English society: the highest rank was monolingual in French and the lower rank began later to use English, probably after being first bilingual. Many English-speakers learned French, but most of them did not, they continued to speak the local varieties of English (Schendl 2012, 507). On the whole, English was the everyday language of the majority of the population during the Middle English period (Durkin 2014, 228). In addition, the French-speaking population's geographical distribution varied in different parts of the country (Kibbee 1991, 10).

At the beginning of the Middle English period, French was dominantly used as a language of literature in England. From the early 14th century English began to replace French in literature as well (Schendl 2012, 507). Latin was the dominant language of religion, education and administration (Skaffari 2009, 28). Durkin (2014, 229) considers the English society to have been *trilingual*, whereas Skaffari (2009, 28) describes England rather as *triglossic*: the three languages (English, Latin, and French) had different, separate roles and purposes in the society, but the entire population was not trilingual.

Apart from the changes in the official use of French and the rising number of people speaking English, there were also other events in the English society which contributed to the decline of French. According to Kibbee (1991, 58–62), the outbreaks of plague (also called the Black Death) during the 14th century caused a severe decrease in the population, especially harsh they were for the upper classes (which spoke French) and the people living in monasteries and convents. The Hundred Years' War's effects and the increase of the trade and wages profited economically the middle and lower class citizens; as a result the English monolinguals had opportunities for better wages and education. As a consequence of the strengthened middle class, nationalism (also linguistic nationalism) rose and diminished the penchant for foreign things. The territories of England in France were lost in the middle of the 15th century, which accelerated the unfavourable progress towards French language (Kibbee 1991, 62).

2.3 Loanwords

When the items are borrowed to another language, they can remain the same as in the donor language or they can change considerably and be fully adapted to the target language. It might be difficult to separate a loanword and a word switch when the borrowed item is only a single word (Haspelmath 2009, 40). However, as it was mentioned, loanwords have often gone through phonological and morphological adaptation; in code-switching there is typically no adaptation. In addition, a loanword is used also by monolinguals while code-switching is a phenomenon among bilinguals. In order to recognize a loanword, one must be able to identify the original word and the language from which the word was borrowed (Haspelmath 2009, 41, 44). The original word in the donor language is called the *etymon* (Durkin 2009, 291).

Thomason (2001, 23) divides the languages in contact to four different groups: *indigenous superordinate*, *migrant superordinate*, *indigenous subordinate* and *migrant subordinate*. French in England during the Middle English period is an example of a migrant superordinate. In addition, sometimes the speakers of the migrant superordinate shift to the subordinate language (whereas the speakers of the indigenous superordinate usually do not), which was the situation in England during the 13th century, when the speakers of Norman French (Thomason uses the term Norman French) shifted to English (Thomason 2001, 23). As discussed in the section 2.1, Durkin (2014, 224) has evaluated that the loanwords from French and Latin could be a result of borrowing without a large-scale language shift. Thomason states that language shift actually occurred at lest to some extent among the native speakers of French in England during the Middle English period. Yet this concerns only the French-speaking population, which leaves out the native speakers of English. They probably borrowed from French to English without shifting from a language to another.

There are different classifications on the borrowed lexical items in the target language. Durkin (2009, 134) divides them according their forms and meanings: *loanwords*, *loan translations*, *semantic loans* and *loan blends*. He states as follows: “Loanwords show borrowing of a word form and its associated word meaning, or a component of its meaning.” The borrowed word often adjusts (at least to some extent) to the phonology of the target language (Durkin 2009, 134). Haspelmath (2009, 38–39) makes a

distinction between *material borrowing* and *structural borrowing*. Loanwords belong to the category of material borrowing (Haspelmath 2009, 39). According to Durkin (2009, 134–135), a loan translation (*a calque*) replicates the structure of the original word or expression by using synonym forms in the borrowing language. It is an example of structural borrowing (Haspelmath 2009, 39). Semantic loans show extension of the meaning of a word as a result of association with a (partly) synonymous word in another language (Durkin 2009, 136). In loan blends for example one or more morphs in the borrowed word are replaced with morph(s) from the target language (Haspelmath 2009, 39). According to Dalton-Puffer (1996, 211), "hybrid formations are complex words which mix elements from the native Germanic part of the vocabulary with elements from the borrowed Romance part of the vocabulary"; the structure is a *base* from one language + a *suffix* from the another. In the context of this study, this formation can exist as French base + English suffix, or English base + French suffix.

Another classification of loanwords and examples of different kinds of loanwords are presented by Hughes (2000, 55), parts of it are mentioned also by Durkin (2009, 138). This classification is originally derived from German language, hence the German terminology. It has three different categories and it is based on how the borrowed word is adjusted to the target language. The first, a *Gastwort* (literally 'guest word') is a borrowed word which has its original features even in the target language. In other words, there are no changes in pronunciation, spelling or meaning of the word in question. These words include for example *passé* from French, *diva* from Italian and *leitmotiv* from German. The second, a *Fremdwort* (literally 'foreign word') has changed partially in the borrowing process, perhaps the pronunciation has been assimilated to the pronunciation of the target language. As an example Hughes mentions French *garage* and *hotel*, the pronunciation has changed and the latter, originally a noun, can be used also as a verb. The third, a *Lehnwort* (literally 'loan word') has been adapted to the vocabulary and it is difficult or even impossible to distinguish it from the native words. Examples of these in English are e.g. *bishop* (Greek: *episcopos*, an overseer) and cheese (Latin *caseus*) (Hughes 2000, 55).

English has affected many languages during its history, but it has also borrowed the majority of its vocabulary. It has been estimated that as many as 75 % of the English vocabulary has been borrowed from other languages (Winford 2003, 29). Durkin (2014,

22) considers the exact percentages of loanwords in English quite difficult to define. The reasons for this include the facts that the quantity of borrowed words in English has varied during its history, and the varieties of contemporary English differ in number of loanwords they have in their vocabulary. Some registers have more loanwords than others; it seems that the formal register includes more borrowed vocabulary than less formal. Also the vocabularies used by specialists of certain areas have usually a high number of loanwords or words with elements from other languages (Durkin 2014, 6). In addition, there are even more loanwords in English if the words based on English words which were originally borrowed from other languages are considered as loanwords (Durkin 2014, 28). This is relevant also to my study, since many of the adverbs are derived from a Middle English word which was originally borrowed from French (see the section 4.1).

2.4 Adverbs in English

Adverb is one of the four classes of *lexical words* (the other three are nouns, verbs and adjectives). They belong to the open-class words (Biber et al. 1999, 55). Lexical words can be called also content words (discussed in section 2.1), in contrast to function words. New function words develop quite slowly, whileas new lexical words may enter the language easily (Biber et al. 1999, 55).

In Present-day English, adverbs are used mainly as *modifiers* and as *adverbials*: they express for example degree, circumstance, attitude and connection (Biber et al. 1999, 64-65). Adverbs in English take regular or irregular forms. The most common suffix for the present English adverbs is *-ly*; many adverbs are derived from an adjective, for example *calm – calmly*, *delightful – delightfully*, *inappropriate – inappropriately* and *outrageous – outrageously*. Yet many adverbs have different endings and as a result, there is diversity in this word class (Biber et al. 1999, 539).

According to their form, adverbs can be divided to four categories. *Simple* adverbs are words without compounds or derivational affixes. *Compound* adverbs are adverbs that combine two or more elements to one word. Adverbs that are *derived* by suffixation include adverbs that are formed from adjectives, in some cases they are derived from

nouns or prepositions (endings like *-ly*, *-wards*, *-wise*). There are also phrases that are used as adverbs, for example *at last* and *of course*. (Biber et al. 1999, 539–40).

According to Mustanoja (1960, 314–15), the Old English adverbs were derived from adjectives with suffix *-e*; since many adjectives ended in *-lic*, the ending *-lice* is considered also to be an adverb suffix in Old English. When the final *-e* ceased to be pronounced in late northern Old English and in Middle English, the use of adjectives as adverbs increased. In order to separate adjectives and adverbs in form the use of *-lice* increased. This suffix was later succeeded by *-li* and *-ly*. Mustanoja (1960, 315) has stated that the adverbs in Middle English were used to "modify verbs, adjectives and adverbs; they may also modify whole sentences" In his book, *A Middle English Syntax I*, he also presents a classification of the Middle English adverbs by the modifying function. From these Mustanoja considered the adverbs of degree and the adverbs of negation to be the most important:

(1) Adverbs of degree and quantity
(2) Adverbs of manner (modal adverbs)
(3) Adverbs of time (temporal adverbs)
(4) Adverbs of place (local adverbs)
(5) Adverbs of negation (negative adverbs)
(Mustanoja 1960, 315)

According to Mustanoja (1960, 316), the adverbs of degree "…modify the degree of a quality or the intensity of an action. They may have an intensifying or weakening effect on the meaning of the governing word." In Old English and also in Middle English, the common negative adverb was *ne*, which was placed before the verb. It occurred either alone or with another negative. The other negative (for example *noht*) came after the verb (Mustanoja 1960, 339). Mustanoja justifies the importance of the two categories by stating "From the point of view of the present discussion the most important groups are the adverbs of degree and those of negation" (Mustanoja 1960, 315); yet also the other categories are important. This classification is quite comprehensive and it is likely valid when the adverbs of modern English are discussed.

2.5 Previous studies

In this section I present some previous studies by Julie Coleman, Xavier Dekeyser, Christine Dalton-Puffer, Terttu Nevalainen, and Philip Durkin. Since my study concerns the Middle English period and the French loanwords, I examine only the relevant parts of these studies.

In her study of the chronology of French and Latin loanwords in English, Julie Coleman (1995, 95) has compared the results of studies made by Jespersen (1905), Baugh (1935), Koszal (1937), Mossé (1943), Chase (1988) and Thornton (1988). The period examined extends from Old English era to the 20th century. Her own previous study (1992) concerned the whole period, but it was restricted to four semantic fields (Coleman 1995, 102). According to Coleman (1995, 96), these studies differed for example in sample sizes. Nevertheless, some overall results were obtained. At the first stage, the 14th and also 16th century appeared to have the most loans. There was also an implication that loans borrowed during the 13th and 14th centuries were more likely to be assimilated to the target language. After the centuries were divided in half, the second half of the 14th century seemed to have the highest number of borrowings; in addition the different studies showed the most divergent results concerning that period of fifty years. When the division is made into quarter centuries, the last quarter of the 14th century was the period of most loanwords (Coleman 1995, 96–98).

Coleman (1995, 101) presented important factors which affect the reliability of the written sources and are relevant also to this study: the sources represent only the written language and the language of the literate. She mentions also the arbitrariness of the survived sources. In addition, some of the time periods, writers, and works get more attention in the studies and in the source materials than others. The last statement has been supported by Xavier Dekeyser ([1986] 2011, 253), who has compared his own study of French and Latin loanwords based on the *Middle English Dictionary* with the mentioned studies by Jespersen and Baugh. According to Dekeyser, the peak in the number of loanwords in the end of the 14th century was not reliable as it is, due to Chaucer's texts and their overrepresentation in the quotations in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Middle English Dictionary*. Therefore Dekeyser decided to use the *relative frequencies* (in this context it means the frequencies of the loanwords in relation

to all the new words during the specific period of time). As a result, Dekeyser obtained results that differed in parts of those of Jespersen and Baugh. He also considers his results to give more accurate overall perception of the situation (Dekeyser [1986] 2011, 253). According to all three of these surveys, the borrowing on a large scale from Old French to English began around the year 1200, over a century after the Norman Conquest. Yet according to Dekeyser the decline in these borrowings started in the end of the 14th century, and it was less sharp than the previous studies have suggested (Dekeyser [1986] 2011, 263–264).

Christine Dalton-Puffer has made a corpus-based study concerning the derivation in Middle English. In her book *The French Influence on Middle English Morphology* (1996, 29), she describes three different ways of word-formation: *compounding*, *conversion* and *derivation proper*. Compounding occurs when free lexical morphemes are combined together, in conversion a lexical item is transferred from e.g. adjective to noun or adjective to adverb (in other words from a syntactic category to another), and derivation combines free and bound lexical morphemes (Dalton-Puffer 1996, 29).

Dalton-Puffer also presents a scale of *morphosemantic transparency*:

1. affixation	*free-dom,* ME *accuse-ment*
2. affixation and modification	*conclude: conclusion*
3. modification of base	*sing: song, strong: strength*
4. conversion	*cut* V *: cut* N
5. subtraction	Russian *logika* ‘logic’ > *logik* ‘logician’

(Dalton-Puffer 1996, 55)

It seems that the first two levels of the scale are relevant to this study, since the levels from third to fifth concern mainly other parts of speech (verbs and nouns). At the first level the *suffix* is added to the word *base* without modifying the base; in the second level the base is modified by omitting *-de* before adding the suffix *-sion*. In the second level example also the word class changes from verb to noun. In the context of this study, for example a change from adjective to adverb by adding the adverb suffix belongs to the first or to the second level, depending on the possible base modification.

In her study in 1997, Terttu Nevalainen examined the adverb formation in Late Middle and Early Modern English (ca. 1350–1700). According to Nevalainen (1997, 147), there has been different views concerning the adverb formation, whether it is inflectional or derivational process. The latter is supported by Nevalainen, since the word (usually adjective) transfers to different lexical category; in the context of her study with suffix *-ly* or *zero formation* (the adverb remains identical to the adjective). The newly formed adverb can acquire new meanings which differ from the meanings of the adjective. In addition, the suffix *-ly* or zero formation do not qualify for the inflectional morphology (Nevalainen 1997, 147–148).

According to Nevalainen (1997, 149) there are three different kinds of adverbialization: *suffixation*, *zero-formation* and *compounding*. This classification is roughly equivalent to the word-formation categories presented by Dalton-Puffer (1996, 29) earlier in this section. In addition, Nevalainen (1997, 149) mentions also other adverb suffixes than *–ly*, for example suffix *–wise*. Deadjectival (i.e. derived from an adjective) adverbs, especially zero-derived ones, can be difficult to distinguish from the adjectives, and they are sometimes used in same functions; also the adverbs ending with *-lich(e)* or *-lych(e)* could be used both as adverbs and adjectives (Nevalainen 1997, 151, 156). Even the two historical dictionaries (used as a source also in this study), *the Middle English Dictionary* and *the Oxford English Dictionary* have dissenting views concerning the word-class of adverbs with no suffixes (Nevalainen 1997, 153).

In her study, Nevalainen used the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* of the University of Helsinki. The purpose was to find out the variation between adverbs with dual forms, that means both suffix *-ly* and zero form (Nevalainen 1997, 159). The results concerning the time period of 1350–1420 (Late Middle English) for the type *-ly* were 224 (79%) and type zero 60 (21%), when the total number of adverbs was 284 (Nevalainen 1997, 161). When the frequencies per 10 000 words were calculated (in order to even out the different amounts of text in different periods), the *-ly* frequency was 12.2 and the type zero frequency was 3.2 during the Late Middle English period (Nevalainen 1997, 163). At the token level, zero-derived adverbs represented about 40% of the material and of those ten most frequent covered about 80%. In the adverbs ending *-ly* there was no such concentration (Nevalainen 1997, 183).

3 The present study

In this section I present the materials and methods used in my study. The study is both qualitative and quantitative; however the emphasis is slightly on the former. In reporting the results of the study I use the terms *word*, *headword*, *loanword* and *adverb* when referring to the primary data.

3.1 Materials

The primary data in this study are the 150 words listed in Appendix 1. The words were collected from the *Middle English Dictionary* (henceforth also *MED*); this process will be described in detail in the subsection 3.2. Another important source was the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which provided additional information concerning the words collected from the *MED*.

The *Middle English Dictionary* is a historical dictionary sustained by the University of Michigan. The covered time period is approximately 1175 to 1500. Consequently, the dictionary does not include the years immediately after the Conquest. The dictionary is a part of the *Middle English Compendium,* which in addition to the *MED* contains two other resources of Middle English: a *Bibliography of Middle English prose and verse*, and a *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse.* The *MED* project begun already in 1925; the first, short version of the *MED* was published in 1952. It was completed in 2001, subsequently only the electronic version has been revised.

The *Middle English Dictionary* is an evidence-based dictionary, i.e. the words and phrases are quoted from primary sources. These sources in the *MED* are numerous *editions* based on *manuscripts*. A manuscript is a hand-written document or an early version of a book. Old manuscripts are written with *scripts* (specific styles of handwriting) which differ significantly from their modern equivalents. As it was mentioned in the section 2.2.1, writing in medieval times was made by scribes. It was not unusual that more than one scribe participated in the writing of a single manuscript, as a result the script and the spelling could vary even in the same manuscript. According to Durkin (2012, 1151), numerous editions in the *Middle English Dictionary* are *critical editions*; the aim in *textual criticism* is to replicate the original text as accurately as possible by for example omitting the errors made (presumably) by the scribes (Smith

2017, 20–21). The date of the manuscript is not the date when the word in question became part of the language. Nevertheless, it is the written evidence that the word was actually used. If there are multiple manuscripts from different texts in which the word occurs, perhaps dated years or even centuries apart, it can be interpreted as an evidence that the word was a part of the Middle English vocabulary at least to some extent.

The *MED* includes quotations from texts written by e.g. Geoffrey Chaucer (presented briefly in the section 2.2.1). For example Coleman (1995), and Dekeyser ([1986] 2011) have evaluated the written sources from the Middle English era (discussed in the section 2.5). In addition, a dictionary as a source of an academic study is not by any means complete, and it is also prone to errors of which the person doing the research is not aware. The limitations of dictionaries as a source of an academic study have been acknowledged also by Janne Skaffari (2009, 113–114): there can be lapses and errors, and the usually long process of collecting the data can cause inconsistency. Coleman (2012, 103, 107) has pointed out that dictionaries can be used as a resource in studies of linguistic change as long as their possible biases and lack of impartiality are kept in mind when interpreting the results and stating arguments.

The other main source in my study was the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth also *OED*). The *Middle English Dictionary* is a historical dictionary concerning a specific, limited period of time while the *Oxford English Dictionary* is more general and extensive monolingual dictionary of the English language including the present-day English. There are hyperlinks between the entries of these dictionaries; these links connect the entries concerning the same word or phrase. They also help to minimise the possibility of errors by the user. Apart from the information concerning the ME adverbs in Present-day English, the *Oxford English Dictionary* was mainly a secondary source. If the information needed was not available in the *Middle English Dictionary*, it could be found in the *OED*. There were disparities between these two dictionaries concerning the data in this study; they will be discussed later in the relevant sections.

3.2 Methods

My first task was to collect the primary data, in other words to find the French-derived adverbs in the *Middle English Dictionary*. I used the Boolean search with Old French

(OF), French (F), Anglo-French (AF), Anglo-Norman (AN), and Central/Continental French (CF) as a language of etymon and 'adverb' as part of speech. It should be noted that the terminology (the names and abbreviations for the languages) is according to the *Middle English Dictionary*. The languages of origin are discussed further in the section 4.1.

The user interface of the *MED* went through remarkable changes in 2018 during my master's thesis project. I revised my list of adverbs after the changes were made in order to update possible changes and omissions. I noticed only minor changes concerning the material in my study; one word had been changed to "ghost word" because of the error made when collecting the data for the entry. In this case the ghost word was a result of "editor's transcription error" (*MED*, s.v. "unsăkrelī", adv.).

According to the *MED* some of the words were used in Middle English also e.g. as an adjective, a phrase, a noun, or interjection. In various cases the additional function with different spellings and quotations was presented in the same entry as the adverb; in these cases I decided to include all the information in my study. There were also separate entries for the same word with different functions (for example *MED* s.v. "veir", n.; s.v. "veir", adv.), with these entries I followed the editorial decision to classify them separately, and excluded them from this research. It was not unusual for the adverbs in question to have numerous different spellings. When collecting the data I included all the spellings: the ones mentioned in the entries of the *MED* and the ones that occurred only in the quotations of the *MED* (discussed in the section 4.2.).

The information I collected from the *MED* and the *OED* included e.g.:

- Headword of the entry and alternate spellings
- Any additional information, for example the possible usage of the same word as another part of speech (adjective, preposition, interjection, etc.)
- The language of origin
- Possible affix(es)
- Etymon: the word or phrase from which the adverb is derived
- Definition(s) of the ME adverb in modern English
- Number of all definitions (often more than one)

- The years of the first and last citation
- Total number of citations
- Additional information from the *Oxford English Dictionary* concerning the adverb

In the table of all the studied adverbs (see Appendix 1) the headwords are presented as they were in the entries of the dictionary. The diacritical marks (e.g. in words *bŏunteŏuslī*, *dēvaunt*, *reprĕsentātĭflīche*) are there to indicate the pronunciation of the word in question. Since the diacritical marks were not relevant in this context (and also for the clarity of the text) I have omitted them when reporting and analysing the results of this study.

4 Results and discussion

In this section I present the results of my study. I begin with some general findings, and then I continue with more in-depth analysis of the results. The tables in this section include only the most necessary information; more detailed list of the adverbs can be seen in Appendix 1. That list includes definitions in Present-day English, the possible additional functions of the headwords (discussed in the section 3.2) and the respective entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

In the entries of the *Middle English Dictionary* the different definition(s) and sense(s) of the headwords are often clarified with examples of how these words were used in an expression or in a phrase. For example the headword *cler*: 'brightly, brilliantly; sparkingly; *cler brenning*; *cler shining*; *cler whit*, pure white; *cler seing*, seeing clearly' (*MED* s.v. "cler", adv.). As a result the number of different definitions and examples is often substantial. Durkin (2012, 1150) points out that while this propensity in the *Middle English Dictionary* has drawn criticism, it also provides detailed cultural and social information on the usage of the Middle English words. Yet at the same time he considers the information about the regional origin of the words to be modest (ibid.). In the context of this study, there were probably regional differences also in the origin and in the use of the words in question, however the differences are not relevant here.

This group of words was limited to a specific part of speech. Adverbs belong to an open-class, non-basic vocabulary; adverbs are among the most easily borrowed words in a language as well as nouns, adjectives and verbs. As a result, the loanwords in this study are most likely at the first or (possibly) at the second level of the Thomason's scale (2009, 70–71; discussed in the section 2.1.). The borrowing of the words at the first level of the scale does not require intense contact or full proficiency in the source language, in this case French. Since it has been stated that the majority of the English population did not learn French (at least not fluently) during the Middle English era (discussed in the section 2.2.1), the borrowing from French was possible in abundance, but only at the first (or the second at the most) level.

In the section 2.3 I presented also other different categories according to which the borrowed words can be classified, for example by Haspelmath (2009), Durkin (2009)

and Hughes (2000). These categories are discussed later when the adverbs in question are examined.

The classification of the Middle English adverbs by Mustanoja (1960, 315) was presented in the section 2.4. From the 150 adverbs in this study I have chosen some examples according to these categories by Mustanoja. The examples can be seen below. The definitions of the adverbs in modern English are in the Appendix 1.

(1) Adverbs of degree and quantity: *aseth*/*asseth, integrallie*, *perexcellentli*, *soulement, verrei*
(2) Adverbs of manner (modal adverbs): *acaunt-wise*, *agogge*, *agre*, *alarge*, *atret/atretli*, *atteinauntli*, *amereli*, *feloniousli, quitemente*
(3) Adverbs of time (temporal adverbs): *avaunt*, *demaintenaunt*, *devaunt*, *incontinent*, *maintenaunt*
(4) Adverbs of place (local adverbs): *abas*, *abbater*, *abord*, *acost*, *ci*, *contraire*, *derere*, *enviroun*
(5) Adverbs of negation (negative adverbs) : *ne*, *nentz*, *rere*

4.1 Languages of origin

The purpose of my study was to research the French-derived adverbs in Middle English; the final number of these adverbs in the *Middle English Dictionary* was 150. As French is a generic term for the source language used in this study, more detailed information about all the source languages is in Table 1.

Table 1 Languages of origin

Language of origin	
Old French (OF)	134
Anglo-French (AF)	19
Middle English (ME)	14
Latin (L)	7
Continental French (CF)	5
French (F)	4
Medieval Latin (ML)	4
Old English (OE)	2
Early Modern English (EMnE)	1
Mercian (a dialect of Old English)	1
Middle Dutch	1

It should be noted that in some cases there were more than one source language, thus the total number in Table 1 exceeds 150. There are various possible reasons for this. Since French is a descendant of Latin, it might have been difficult to define whether the

word in question is originally from French or Latin, or via French from Latin. Some of the words were perhaps borrowed first from for example Latin, and later from French or Anglo-French (either borrowed again or fortified) (Durkin 2009, 164–165). Middle English as a language of etymon is explained by the fact that some of the words were derived from a Middle English word originally borrowed from French. In addition, in the cases of multiple languages of origin the French influence might concern only part of the definitions of the word in question (see for example adverb *along*, *alongest* in the section 4.3).

Old French was the source language (or one of them) in the majority of the *MED* entries. Many of these words have their origin in an Old French phrase, for example *arandoun* originates from *a randon* in Old French. In many cases the original phrase consisted of a preposition (for example *a parti*, *a renge*, *de vein*, *par force*) and a noun, however the spelling in ME (or in the *MED*) does not separate the preposition (*aparti*, *arenge*, *devein*, *parforce*). This is analysed further in the section 4.3.

There are a couple of possible reasons for the dominance of Old French as a source language. The Old French period covered over 500 years, from the middle of the 9th century to the early 14th century (Einhorn 1974, 1). The words in this study with Old French as their language of etymon are dated from years 1175 to 1550 (via Middle English verb also 1600; *MED* s.v. "honoratli*"*, adv.). The number of words with Anglo-French, Continental French and French as a language of origin is quite small, so it is impossible to draw solid conclusions based only on them. However, they seem to be mainly from the 14th and 15th centuries. The first citations and their dates are discussed more throughly in the section 4.9. Another issue is that Anglo-French as well as Continental French (in this context) were in fact dialects of Old French. *The Middle English Dictionary* has been a long project with various editors and possibly divergent policies on editing; these challenges in the long editing process of the *MED* have been pointed out by e.g. Lowe (2012, 1127). Durkin (2014, 255) has evaluated the etymologies in the *Middle English Dictionary* as follows: "It should be noted that the etymologies in the *MED* are very brief and do not reflect extensive research; in particular, relatively little account was taken of the range of meanings found in each language". As a result of these evaluations, it seems that in the context of this study it is

not possible to draw reliable conclusions concerning the exact language of etymon based on the information in the *Middle English Dictionary.*

4.2 Spelling

As mentioned earlier, many of the words in this study had various spellings in the entries and in the quotations. In the following I present some of the words with the largest number of different spellings and discuss the findings. The diacritical marks are omitted from the variants and the headwords.

(1) **acrois** also *a-croiz*, *acreoiz*, *o croice*, *acros*, *acrosse*, *ocros*, *a-creoyz*, *a-cros*, *a-crosse*;
(2) **adieu** also *adeu*, *a dew*, *a dewe*, *a-dew*, *a-dewe*, *a-dieu*, *adieux*, *adyeu*, *adew*, *adiewe*, *a dieu*
(3) **certain** also *certeyn*, *certeynere*, *certayn*, *sertayne*, *certeyne*, *certaygne*, *certein*, *certayne*, *certan*, *sarteyn*
(4) **enviroun** also *in viroun*, *inviroun*, *envyroun*, *environ*, *enuyroun*, *invyroun*, *jn vyrown*, *envroun*, *invirowne*, *enuyrown*
(5) **indistinctli** also *indistincteli*, *indistinctlich*, *indistinctliche*, *indistinctly*, *indistincly*
(6) **par fei** also *parfai*, *parfaie*, *parfeie*, *parfoi*, *perfai*, *perfeie*, *perfoi*, *par fey*, *parfay*, *parfey*, *perfay*, *perfoy*
(7) **substancialli** also *substanciali*, *substaunciali*, *sustanciali*, *substanciallye*, *substancialy*, *substancially*, *substancyaly*, *substancialych*, *substancialich*, *substanciellye*
(8) **verrei** also *vari*, *verray*, *verraye*, *verreyly*, *veri*, *very*, *verry*, *verrey*, *veray*, *werrey*, *verai*, *wery*, *vary*, *vere*, *veary*

The lack of standard English and the fact that the texts were copied by hand can be seen in these spellings. In many cases the reason for spelling variation has perhaps been in pronunciation, or possibly errors in interpreting the earlier text or the dictation. Especially the variant spellings of the word *enviroun* might represent different pronunciations; the initial letter is written either *e-*, *i-* or even *j-*. There is also variation between *i* and *y*, for example in *enviroun* vs. *envyroun*. Many of the adverbs had also a form with a suffix –e (for example *afin*, *afine*; *agret*, *agrete*; *paraventur*, *paraventure*). The additional final *-e* was, and still is, the suffix of feminine forms in French adjectives; since many adverbs were formed from adjectives or adjectives used as adverbs, the French feminine form might be one of the reasons for these variants. In addition, suffix -e was the suffix of adverbs in Old English; it is not impossible that the form ending with -e is a remnant of this. Among the variants of *indistinctli* and

substancialli there are spellings such as *indistinctlich*, *indistinctliche* and *substancialych*, *substancialich*. Nevalainen (1997, 155–156) describes -*lich*, *liche*, and -*lych* as older forms of ME adverb suffixes; in addition, there were some adjectives ending in -*liche* (also -*lyche*) in Middle English.

In the following subsections I examine the adverbs in the categories into which I have divided them. It should be noted that if the entry in the *MED* has two headwords (for example *affectualli*, *affectuelli*) I have included both variants in my analysis. The abbreviation *cp.*, which occurs in the tables, means 'compare'. In this contex it indicates that a direct form from which the loanword is derived was not available. Yet a form akin to it has been included for information, in order to indicate for example the language of origin or a possible common etymon.

4.3 Adverbs beginning with the letter A

The number of adverbs beginning with the letter A was significant, 52 pieces which equals about one-third of the total number of adverbs (150). As a consequence, I decided to separate them to one group. The list of the adverbs is in Table 2. The adverbs which are discussed later in the following sections are marked with an asterisk.

Table 2 Adverbs beginning with the letter A

MED headword	Etymon in French	MED headword	Etymon in French
abandoun	OF phrase *a bandon*	**apart**	OF *à part*
abas	OF phrase *a bas*	**aparti, apartie**	OF *a parti, a partie*; *OED*: F *en partie*
abbater*	F ?*à bas, à terre*	**apas**	OF phrase *à pas*
abelef	OF *a belif, a beslif*	**apertement***	OF; *OED*: *apertement*
abord	OF phrase *a bord*	**aplace**	OF phrase *a place*
abroche	cp. OF *mettre en broche*	**aplat**	OF phrase *a plat*
acaunt-wise*	cp. OF *cant-on*	**apoint**	OF phrase *a point*
acolor*	cp. F *sous couleur*	**apressli***	OF *apresséement*, cp. EMnE
acompas	OF phrase *a compas*	**araundoun**	OF phrase *a randon*
acost	OF phrase *a coste*	**areisoun**	OF *mettre a raison*
acrois	AF *an croiz*	**arenge**	OF *a renge*
a devel-wei*	cp. OF *au diable*	**arive**	prob. OF phrase
adieu	OF phrase *a dieu*	**arrere**	AF *arere, arrere*; CF *arriere, ariere, ariers*

affectualli, -tuelli*	cp. OF *affectuel-ment*	**ascaunce**	cp. OF *quanses (que)*, *quainse/s ;* prob. from *as* / *ase quances*
afin, afine	OF phrase *a fin*	**askoin**	prob. akin to ME adv. *asquint*; cp. OF *coign*
aforce	OF *a force*; cp. ME *of force*	**asquint**	? cp. F *équinter*; *(e)squintar*
aget	prob. AF phrase *a get*	**aseth, asseth**	ME *asseth* (n.) from OF assez
agogge	OF *a gogue, en gogue*	**astrai**	OF pp. *estraié*
agre	OF phrase *a gre*	**ataunt**	OF *autant*
agref	OF phrase *a grief, en grief*	**a-traverse***	OF; *OED*: F *à travers*
agret, agrete	modeled on OF *en gros*	**atret, atretli***	OF *a trait*
alarge	prob. OF phrase	**atretabli***	cp. OF *atrait* (n.)
al-hol*	cp. OF *tout entier*	**atteinauntli***	from OF ppl; cp. ME *atteinen* (v.)
along, alongest	OE *andlang, andlong, onlong*; cp. OF *au long*	**attenteli***	ME *attente* (n.), cp. OF *atentement*
amereli*	cp. OF *amerement*	**avaunt**	OF *avant, avaunt*
apaire*	prob. OF *pair à pair*	**aviroun**	OF *a viroun*; *OED*: AN *aviroun*, var. of OF *enviroun*

AF = Anglo-French AN = Anglo-Norman CF = Continental French EMnE= Early Modern English F = French ME = Middle English OF= Old French n. = noun pp = past participle ppl = participial adjective v. = verb

The majority of the adverbs have a French phrase as their etymon. These phrases usually consist of a preposition and a noun or an adjective. In the *Middle English Dictionary*, these phrases are merged together as a one word. Apart from that there are only minor changes in these adverbs compared to their etymons. Also the adverbs *arrere*, *aseth/asseth*, *astrai*, *ataunt*, and *avaunt* seem to have gone through changes mainly in spelling. It should be noted that both *a* and *à* are used as prepositions in these etymons. In Old French *a* was a preposition (Einhorn 1974, 105); in Modern French there is only the preposition *à* with the grave accent (*l'accent grave*), the accent also separates the preposition from the verb form *a* (a conjugated form of *avoir*). In Old French the same form, the 3rd person singular of present indicative was *at* (Einhorn 1974, 48), so it was distinct from the preposition *a* even without the accent.

In the following, I examine some of the adverbs from this group more throughly. They seem to have gone through changes compared to their etymon, there was very little information concerning them in the *MED*, or they are otherwise different from the rest of the group. The adverbs *abroche* and *areisoun* originate from quite similar phrases,

mettre en broche and *mettre a raison*. They both seem to have "dropped" the verb (*mettre*), but in the former the preposition *en* has changed to *a-*, perhaps intentionally or by accident (maybe misinterpreted or misheard). In the *MED* quotations the adverb *abroche* appears mainly with verbs *setten* or *set*; in the entry of *areisoun* there is only one quotation, in which the usage is with verb *set*. In *OED* the entry linked to *abroche* (*OED* s.v. "abroach", adv.) describes it to have formed after an Anglo-Norman *a broche* or earlier *mettre a broche*. According to Einhorn (1974, 188) the definition of the Old French verb *metre* is 'put, place'; in modern French the verb with equivalent definition is *mettre*. The Middle English verb *setten* or *set* (possibly the same verb with different spelling) has numerous different definitions, some of which are similar with the definitions of *metre* / *mettre*. Yet in the entries of *abroche* and *areisoun* the meaning of the relevant example phrases are *setten abroche* 'to tap or broach (a cask), let (liquor) flow; *fig*. to shed (blood)', *set abroche* 'opened up, begun', and *set areisoun* 'call to account'. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that the verb *mettre* was replaced with the Middle English verb *setten* due to a similar meaning. In that case the usage of *setten* instead of *mettre* would resemble a loan blend.

The headword *arive* (an alternate spelling *orive*) had very little information in the entry in the *MED*, only that it probably originates from an Old French phrase. The definition is 'ashore' (*MED* s.v. "arive", adv.). There is not a link to the *OED*; one with some kind of resemblance is the verb *arrive* (*OED*, s.v. "arrive", v.) which according to the *OED* is a borrowing from French, more precisely from Anglo-Norman and Old French (verbs *aryvier*, *ariver*). The definitions of these old forms include 'to reach shore, to come into port or ashore; to bring (a boat or ship) to shore or into port'. As a result, there are some common factors, but based on this information it is not possible to say reliably if the ME adverb *arive* and the Present-day English verb *arrive* are related in etymology.

There are partly different views on the etymology of the adverb *alarge*. In the *MED* there is only information that the etymon is probably an OF phrase and a comparison to ME word *large* (*MED* s.v. "large", adv.). Both of these entries in the *MED* are linked to the same entry in the *OED* (s.v. "large", adj., adv., and n. (also int.). The entry of *alarge* is also linked to another entry (*OED* s.v. "a-", prefix3). If the etymon is an OF phrase, for example *a large* (similar to many other adverbs in this group) there is no English prefix, and the adverb is not a hybrid borrowing. If the prefix is English *a-*, then *alarge*

is a hybrid. Since there is no etymon in the *MED* entry, it is impossible to know what is the possible OF phrase it is referring to.

The adverb *agret(e)* is possibly a loan translation. According to the *MED* it was modeled on *en gros* (OF), the information in the *OED* describes the structure to be prefix *a-* + *great* (*OED*, s.v. "a great", adv.). By combining these two pieces of information, it is possible that it is originally a calque (a loan translation): the structure is from the source language, but the words are from the borrowing language. A loan translation is a result of *structural borrowing* (discussed in the section 2.3). In structural borrowing the actual words are not borrowed from the donor language, but the structure of the word or utterance: in this case *en* + *gros* are replaced with *a* + *great.*

In the *Middle English Dictionary* the information concerning the adverb *along*, *alongest* is quite scarce. There are numerous quotations from different sources, but the etymology of this adverb seems vague, as it can be seen in Table 2. The *OED* agrees with the *MED* on that the word was inherited from Germanic, in other words from Old English. It seems that the French influence is limited to particular senses of the word:

> (1) *figurative* 'in full; at length'…compare Middle French *au long* at great length, for a long time (13th cent. in Old French).
> (2) 'to or at a distance; afar' …perhaps compare Middle French, French *au loin* from afar, at a distance (late 14th cent. or earlier; also in Middle French as *au loing*, *au long*);…
> (*OED*, s.v. "along", adj.[2], prep., and adv.)

It should be noted that even though the headword in the *OED* is defined as frequent in current use, these two definitions which originate from French are defined as obsolete and/or rare. As a consequence, the information concerning the frequency of the headword is not completely accurate if the focus is on the French-derived adverb.

The adverbs *askoin* and *asquint* have separate entries in both the *MED* and the *OED*. Especially in the *OED* their origin seems to be uncertain, yet it is suggested that they possibly derive from the same (Anglo-Norman or Old French) adverbial phrase, consisting of preposition + article (*en les* / *a les = *aux*) and the plural of *coin*, *cuin*, *coing* (*OED*, s.v. "askoy", adv., and s.v. "asquint", adv. and adj.). In this case, these two adverbs can be an example of two words with the same origin that have developed

differently in the target language. Nevertheless, since there are two possible languages of origin, the differences might have existed already in the source languages.

The original question was why the proportion of adverbs beginning with the letter A was so significant compared with other adverbs in this study. One possible reason is their etymon: the French phrases and especially the prepositions *a* and *à* in the beginning of the phrases.

4.4 Adverbs consisting of more than one word

In this section I examine the adverbs which consist of more than one word. They are listed in Table 3. The possible hybrid borrowings are marked with asterisk, and they will be discussed later.

Table 3 Adverbs consisting of more than one word

MED headword	Etymon in French
acaunt-wise*	cp. OF *cant-on*
a devel-wei	cp. OF *au diable*
al-hol	from adj. phrase; cp. OF *tout entier*
a-traverse*	*OED*: F *à travers*
bon-gre	OF phrases *a bon gré*; *mal gré bon gré*
de-par-dieux	OF phrase 'by God' (*OED: de par dieu*)
en gre	OF, *OED*: F *en gré*
fol-large	OF *fol large*; *OED*: *follarge*
join-pe	OF *pies joins*; *OED*: F *joint + pié, pied*
par amour, par amoure	AF, cp. CF *par amor*, *par amors*; *OED*: OF *par amur, par amour*
par cas	OF phrase; *OED*: AN, MF, F *par cas* (1300 in OF)
par compaignie	OF phrase; *OED*: F, MF *par compagnie*
par fei	AF *par fai, par fei*, CF *par foi*
pelli melli*	OF *pelle melle*
res bi res	?Misunderstanding of OF *rés a rés*, cp. ME prep. phrase *res a res*
tant-ne-quant	OF *ne tant ne quant*

AF = Anglo-French AN = Anglo-Norman CF = Continental French F = French ME = Middle English MF = Middle French OF = Old French adj. = adjective

This group of words is quite small, but I decided to study them as a separate category because they are distinctly different from the other adverbs. Some of them are discussed

as possible hybrid borrowings in the section 4.4. My hypothesis concerning these adverbs was that they are probably derived from French phrases; in addition I wanted to research if they had gone through changes in the borrowing process.

There are mainly minor changes, especially in spelling, but also more noteworthy changes exist. The adverbs *bon-gre*, *de-par-dieux*, *en gre*, *fol-large,* and *par fei* resemble closely their etymons in French. In the adverb *join-pe* (the etymon *pies joins*) the word order has changed. This follows the word orders in modern French and in Present-day English; in English the adjective usually precedes the noun it modifies, while in French the order is the opposite (apart from some exceptions).

When the ME adverb *tant-ne-quant* is compared with its etymon, the first *ne* in the Old French phrase *ne tant ne quant* has disappeared. The repetition of *ne* seems at first like a double negation, but according to Einhorn (1974, 103), *ne* was also a conjunction in Old French, for example in negative phrases as *ne...ne* meaning 'either…or" or 'neither…nor'. The definition of the Middle English adverb is 'in any way' (*MED* s.v. "tant-ne-quant*"*, adv.); the entry in the *OED* says 'in no wise, not at all' (*OED* s.v. "tant ne quant*"*, adv.). As it can be seen the definitions in the *MED* and in the *OED* are almost like opposites; the latter seems to be more similar to the possible definition of the original phrase in Old French.

Some of these adverbs are defined as *adverbial phrases* by the *MED*: *par amour* (also *par amoure*), *par cas*, *par compaignie*, and *res bi res*. The first three are very much alike their etymons, in other words French phrases. According to the *MED*, the etymology of *res bi res* (also *res by res*) is not certain; it is described to be a possible misunderstanding of Old French phrase *res à res*. The *MED* entry also mentions the phrase *res a res* in Middle English, and the word *bi* is a Middle English preposition (*MED*, s.v. "res a res", prep. phrase; *MED* s.v. "bi", prep.). Nevertheless, with this information it is not possible to conclude if the misunderstanding was to replace a French preposition with a Middle English preposition. If it was, the adverb *res bi res* is possibly a result of structural borrowing (discussed in the section 2.3).

The adverb *a devel-wei* has no direct etymon, the *MED* has listed the Old French phrase *au diable* as a comparison, in order to indicate the language of origin. The alternate

spellings in the entry are *a debles*, *a deuil wai*, *a deuylway*, and *a deuel wey* (*MED*, s.v. "a devel-wei", phrase&adv.). The entry in the *OED* describes the word *devil* as inherited from Germanic, however there is a reference to compare it with related forms in other languages, for example in Anglo-Norman and Old French. There is also an example of use "*a devil way* and variants" where *devil* is an amplifier of *away* (*OED*, s.v. "devil", n.). Based on the information from the *MED* and the *OED*, it is probable that *a devel-wei* is a result of compounding (discussed in the section 2.5).

The entry of *al-hol* in the *MED* is linked to the entry of *all-whole* in the *OED*. With the information about the origin (*tout entier*), and the definition 'entirely, completely' from the *MED* it can possibly be a loan translation formed with the structure of the original phrase by using the English words (see also *agret(e)* in section xx). Yet in the *OED* there are also other possibilities for the origin of *all-whole* (*OED* s.v. "all-whole*"*, adj. & adv.).

4.4 Hybrid borrowings

Hybrid borrowings are complex words which combine elements from the source language and the target language, usually an affix from one language is combined with base from the other. Since this study concerns French-derived adverbs, it is very likely that in the hybrid borrowings the base is from French and the suffix (and/or prefix) is from English. The possible hybrid borrowings are listed in Table 4. In this section I examine these adverbs and their derivation more throughly.

Table 4 Possible hybrid borrowings

MED headword	Etymon in French
abbater	F ?*à bas, à terre*
acaunt-wise	cp. OF *cant-on*
acolor	*on* / *of color*, cp. F *sous couleur*
affectualli, -tuelli	cp. OF *affectuel-ment*; *OED*: from AN & MF *affectuel*
amereli	cp.OF *amerement*
apaire	prob. from OF phrase *pair à pair*
apressli	cp. EMnE *pressly,* OF *apresséement; OED:* var. of *expressément*
a-traverse	OF; *OED*: *à travers*
atret, atretli	OF *a trait*

atretabli	cp. OF *atrait* (n.)
atteinauntli	OF ppl; cp. ME atteinen (v.)
attenteli	*attente* (n.), cp. OF *atentement*; *OED*: *attent,* adj.; *attend*, v., orig. OF
bounteousli	cp. OF *bontieus* (adj.); *OED*: *bounteous* (adj.) from OF *bontif*, *bontive*
courtli	from *court* (adj.); cp. OF *cortement*
deslavili	from *de(s)lave* (adj.), mod. of OF *deslavéement; OED*: OF *deslavé*
despisauntliche	cp. OF *despisant*, ppl. of *despire; OED:* pres. participle used as an adj.
disefulli	?*derisefulli*, cp. OF *deriser*
disloialli	OF *desloial*, var. of *deslëal*
disordeneliche	cp. *ordinalli* (adv.) and OF *desordenéement, OED:* OF *desordené*, past participle of *desordener*
feloniousli	cp. OF *felenieus* (adj.)
forceabli	cp. OF *forçable* (adj.)
formalli	*formal*; *formeli(ch)*, from OF *formel* or ME *forme*
honoratli	from verb *honouren* (etymon OF *onerer, honerer, onurer?*)
indistinctli	cp. L *indistinctē*, AF *indistincte*
integrallie	cp. ML *integrālis*, *integrāliter* & OF *intégral*
justifiabli	OF *justifiable* (adj.)
miraculousli	OF *miraculous*
pelli-melli	OF *pelle melle*
perexcellentli	L *per-*, OF *par-* (adv&pref.) & *excellentli* (adv.)
raventli	cp. OF *resvant*, ppl. of *resver, raver*
representatifliche	OF *representatif*
rouningli	*rŏuning*; ppl.of OF *rŏunen* (v.)
rushingli	*rushinge*, ppl. OF *rushen* (v.)
substancialli	OF, from adj. *substancial*; *OED*: from MF & OF adj.
surabundauntli	OF pr. ppl. of *sorabonder, surabonder*; cp. ME *superaboundauntli* (adv.)
uncessauntli	prob. ME *incessauntli* (adv.) with prefix *un-*; *OED*: F *incessant*
verteli	perhaps directly from OF *vert* (adj.), or modeled. on OF *vertement*

AF = Anglo-French AN = Anglo-Norman L = Latin ME = Middle English ML = Medieval Latin
OF = Old French adj. = adjective adv. = adverb n. = noun ppl. = participial adjective pr. ppl. = present participle v. = verb

In this group of adverbs there are 28 words ending *-li*, which was an adverb suffix in Middle English (later *-ly*); three words ending *-liche*, and one word has a suffix *-wise*. There are two word ending in *-e,* and one is ambiguous, whether the ending is *-e* or *-lie*. One word seems to have a prefix *a-* and the other has an ending *-er* (its possible etymon ends in *-e*).

These adverbs are not homogenous in form nor in the etymons of the words. In some cases there is only a related word (marked with *cp*., meaning 'compare') available, not the direct etymon; in some cases the loanword was derived from a Middle English word (adverb, adjective, noun, or verb), which in turn was originally borrowed from French. 14 headwords have as their etymon (or as a related word) an adjective and seven have an adverb as an etymon/a related word. Seven headwords have their origin in a verb, seven in a phrase, and two in a noun. There are some minor changes in the bases of the words.

In some entries there was no language of origin mentioned for the direct etymon, only for the related word, for example in the case of *courtli*: "From *court* adj.; cp. OF *cortement*." (boldface replaced with italics). With the information from other entries in the *MED* and from the *OED*, it was possible to conclude that the adjective in question is a Middle English adjective, and that the origin of the word is French. Strictly speaking, the adverbs with a French word (an adjective, a verb, or a noun) as a base + an English adverb suffix are hybrid borrowings. In my analysis, I have considered the adverb as a probable hybrid borrowing even if there was not a direct etymon available, or if the direct etymon was likely a Middle English word borrowed originally from French. If the base of the word seems to be French, and the suffix is an English adverb suffix, the adverb can be classified as a hybrid borrowing.

The majority of the adverbs in this group seem to be hybrid borrowings: *affectualli*/*affectuelli*, *amereli, atretabli*, *atteinauntli, attenteli, bounteousli*, *courtli*, *deslavili*, *despisauntliche*, *disefulli*, *disloialli*, *disordeneliche*, *feloniousli*, *forceabli*, *formalli, honoratli*, *indistinctli*, *integrallie*, *miraculousli*, *raventli*, *representatifliche*, *rouningli*, *rushingli*, *substancialli*, *surabundauntli*, and *verteli*. These words are derived from adjectives (for example *miraculousli, substancialli*), from verbs (*despisauntliche, rushingli*), and from nouns (*atretabli*). The ending of the word *integrallie* differs from the others; according to Nevalainen (1997, 155), the ending -*lie* is an alternative spelling of suffixes -*li* and -*ly*.

Also the adverb *acaunt-wise* seems to be a hybrid borrowing, with prefix *a-* and suffix -*wise*. *Apaire* and *a-traverse* resemble the adverbs in section 4.3, since they are derived from a French phrase. There is also a suffix -*e* in both of them. As mentioned in the

section 2.4, in Old English adverbs were derived from adjectives with suffix *-e*, but in these cases the (probable) etymon is not an adjective. Yet this suffix can be a remnant of Old English derivation, or it can be a spelling variant.

There are two different spellings in the headword *atret*, *atretli.* The first seems to have no suffix (the etymon is a phrase *a trait*). The second has a French word base with a Middle English adverb suffix, which makes it a hybrid borrowing. There are eight quotations in the entry (*MED*, "atret, atretli", adv.), with the following spellings (the year of the manuscript in parentheses): *a-trayt* (1340), *a trete* (1390), *atrete* (1410), *atreet* (1425, 1440), *attrettly* (1443), *attretli* (1454), and *atretly* (1475). According to these quotations, the forms without the adverb suffixes *-ly* or *-li* were found in earlier manuscripts which would suggest that the second form was formed by derivation later.

According to the *MED*, *apressli* is a word with French base and English suffix *-li*, in other words it could be simply classified as a hybrid borrowing. In the *OED* its etymon is defined as a variant of *expressément*, with a prefix *a-*. In both cases the closest definition would be a hybrid, since it is not certain whether the variation has occurred before borrowing into English or after that. If the prefix *a-* has replaced the prefix *ex-* in English, then *apressli* would be a loan blend. Also *pelli-melli* is possibly a loan blend, since the final *-e* has been replaced with *-i* in both words. The fact that these words have *-ll-* before the final letters makes it more difficult to define whether the suffix is *-li* or just *-i*. In the *OED* there is another headword with the same etymon (*OED*, s.v. "pell-mell", adv., adj. & n.), which has only dropped the final *-e. Uncessauntli* is probably a loan blend, since the prefix *un-* has replaced the original *in-*.

Abbater and *acolor* are not hybrid borrowings. I categorised them as possible hybrids because I hypothesised that the suffix *-er* in the former and the prefix *a-* in the latter mean they might be hybrids. However, in the case of *abbater* I suggest that the spelling is possibly according to the pronunciation of the French etymon, so there is no suffix. In *acolor* the information in the *OED* is separated in two entries (s.v. "a-", prefix[3]; and s.v. "colour / color", n[1].). The first entry defines *a-* in this case to be partly a variant of the prefix *on-*, and partly a variant of the preposition *a*. As a result, I can not define precisely to which category this word belongs to.

The word *perexcellentli* was a different case compared with other possible hybrid adverbs. The entry in the *MED* described the etymology of the word to be Middle English (possibly, since the language was not mentioned) adverb *excellentli* with prefixes *per-* (Latin) and *par-* (Old French). With this information it seems that *perexcellentli* is a hybrid borrowing, but the base of the word is English and the prefix(es) are borrowed from Latin and/or French (*MED*, s.v. "perexcellentli", adv.). In the related entry in the *OED*, the base word was the English adverb *excellently* (*OED*, s.v. "perexcellently", adv.), which in turn is derived from adjective and adverb *excellent* + suffix *-ly* (*OED*, s.v. "excellently", adv.). The mentioned adjective and adverb has been borrowed from the identical adjective or adverb in French (*OED*, s.v. "excellent", adj. and adv.). In conclusion, it is probable that the word *excellent* was originally borrowed from French. Eventually the Middle English adverb (with a French origin) formed a hybrid borrowing with the borrowed prefixes.

4.6 Adverbs with a French adverb suffix

In this section I examine adverbs with French adverb suffix (see Table 5). They seem to have preserved their original form in English. For some reason, in many of the cases there was very little information in the *MED*. The respective entries in the *OED* are listed in Appendix 1.

Table 5 Adverbs with a French adverb suffix

MED headword	Etymon in French
apertement	OF; *OED*: OF *apertement*
briaunt	OF *bruiant*, ppl of *bruir* burn, or *bruire* make noise
continuelment, -ement	OF; *OED*: F *continuelement* 13th c., ME adj. *continual* + *-ly* suffix (OF *continuel*)
dampnable	ML, OF; *OED*: F *damnable*, in 12-13th cent. *dampnable*, Latin *dam(p)nabilis*
demaintenaunt	OF; *OED*: F *maintenant*, also MF, OF + prefix *de-* from Latin
devoutement	OF; *OED*: OF *devotement*, in AN *devoutement*
enterchaungeablement	OF; perhaps ME adj. *enterchaungeable* ?
felonement	OF; *OED*: OF *felonement* (OF *felon* adj.)
humblement	OF; *OED*: *humbly* adv. (adj. *humble* + *-ly* suffix; adj. from OF *umble*, *humble*)?
maintenaunt	OF; *OED*: F (OF 12th c.) *maintenant*, adv., ppl of *maintenir*
personelment	OF, in quotation F *personnelment*
primerement	AF, cp. CF *premierement*
privement	OF *priveement*

proprement	OF; *OED*: AN & OF *proprement*
publiquement	OF, in quotation F *publiquement*
quitemente	OF *quitement*
secretement	OF; *OED*: OF *secretement*
sotilment	OF, in quotation F *soubtiuement*
soulement	OF *solement*, *soulemant*, AF *sulement*
verreiment	OF *veraiement*, *veraiment*, AF *ver(r)eiment*, *verraiment*, *ver(r)eement*, *variement*, & AF *ver(r)ement*, *ver(r)ament* (vars. of *veirement*)

AF = Anglo-French AN = Anglo-Norman CF = Continental French F = French ME = Middle English MF = Middle French ML = Medieval Latin OF = Old French ppl = participial adjective

By searching either the *MED* or the *OED*, the information concerning the etymology was available for these adverbs. Overall they seem very similar to their etymons, which could be presumed based on their forms with French suffixes. There are minor changes in the words compared to their (possible) etymons, mainly in spelling. In the following I examine the adverbs, which required more research in order to find out about their (possible) etymology (compared to other adverbs in this group), or which seem to be otherwise different (for example a hybrid borrowing).

In the word *dampnable* the suffix *-able* looks like an English adjective suffix, originally borrowed from French (*-able*) and Latin (*-ābilis*) (*OED*, s.v. '-able', suffix). In the *OED* the etymon of the word is defined as French *dampnable*, so it is not a hybrid borrowing, which the English suffix might suggest. The adverb *demaintenaunt* seems to be derived from a French adverb with a Latin prefix *de-*. As a result, it does not include English elements, but perhaps it can still be classified as a hybrid borrowing.

There was no information on the etymon of the adverb *humblement* in the *MED* nor a link to the *OED*. Yet in the *OED* there was a separate entry for adverb *humbly*, which has been derived from adjective *humble* (*OED*, s.v. "humbly", adv.). The origin of the adjective is Old French *umble*, *humble* (*OED* s.v. "humble", adj.). Since the information is on separate entries, with no mention of *humblement* in them it is impossible to conclude if these words actually have a same origin. In addition, the entry of *humbly* in the *OED* is linked to adverb *humbli* in the *MED* (s.v. "humbli", adv.), in which there was no information concerning *humblement*, not in the entry nor in the quotations.

The adverbs *personelment* and *publiquement* had only the language of etymon (Old French) in their entries in the *Middle English Dictionary*. In the quotations there was some information (F *personnelment*; F *publiquement*). Based on this information, these words have not gone through changes compared with their (possible) etymons. There were no links to the *OED*, however, there entries for words *personally* and *publicly* in the *OED* (s.v. "personally", adv.; s.v. "publicly", adv.). The former was linked to another entry in the *MED* (s.v. "personali, personalli", adv.;) yet the information in the *OED* defined the adverb *personally* to be derived from adjective *personal* with suffix -*ly*, probably after Middle French and French *personellement* (in OF *personaument*, *personelment*). Also the adverb *publicly* is defined in the *OED* to be derived from adjective (*public*) and -*ly* suffix; in addition, a related word ("compare") Middle French and French *publiquement* (beginning of the 14th cent. in Old French as *publicquement*). The headword *publicly* in the *OED* was not linked to any entries in the *MED*. As a result, there seems to be a possible relation in the origins of the adverbs *personelment* (*MED*) and *personally* (*OED*), as well as *publiquement* (*MED*) and *publicly* (*OED*) but the evidence is not complete by any means.

In the adverb *enterchaungeablement* there seems to be two French suffixes, -*able* and -*ment*. The *MED* entry had very little information and it was not linked to the *OED*. Yet *enterchaungeable* could be found in two quotations in the entry of *interchangeable* (OED, s.v. "interchangeable", adj.; adv. and n.), and the etymology of the word was defined as Old French *entrechangeable*. It is possible that the *MED* word *enterchaungeablement* has its origin in the French *entrechangeable*, but the reason for the suffix -*ment* is more difficult to conclude.

In conclusion, if there is not much information in the sources that are available (in this study the dictionaries), the etymology of a certain word is difficult to examine. The purpose of this study was to conduct a survey with the evidence from the dictionaries, a further study would require more and different sources.

4.7 Short adverbs

In this section I present a group of adverbs that are quite short, which might suggest that they have not received suffixes or other additional elements from English. They also seem different compared to the vocabulary of Present-day English. These adverbs are listed in Table 6.

Table 6 Short adverbs

MED headword	Etymon in French
ci	OF
cler	OF; *OED*: OF *cler* (11th–16th, from 14th c. *clair*)
coi	OF from L quiētum; *OED*: F coi (fem. *coite*), earlier *quei*
male	OF
me	? Cp. Merc. *mæ*, var. of *mā*, perhaps modeled after OF *mais*, *meis*, *mes* from L *magis*
ne	OE, OF, L
nentz	OF *nïent*
plum	OF, from *plumben* v., cp. ME adj. *plom*. Also cp. OF *a plon*
prest	OF; *OED*: AN, OF, MF *prest* adj.
ragi	OF, ME *rage* n. (from OF *rage*, *raige*); also cp. OF *ragif* adj.
rere	OF *rier*, *rere*, also cp. ME adj. *rere*
seine	AF *segné*, var. of OF adj. *sené*
streit, streite	from ME adj. *streit*; cp. AF adv. *estreit*, *estrait*
swef	OF *söef*, *souef*, *süef*, AF *swef*
veir, veire	AF *veir*, *vair*, *veire*, vars. of OF adv. *voir*, *voire*
veires	AF *veirs*, var. of OF adv. *voirs*; cp. ME adv. *veir*, *veire*

AF = Anglo-French AN = Anglo-Norman F = French L = Latin Merc. = Mercian (a dialect of Old English) ME = Middle English MF = Middle French OE = Old English OF = Old French adj. = adjective adv. = adverb n. = noun v. = verb

As in the previous section, I examine more throughly only the adverbs with very little information in the *MED* and in the *OED* and/or those that are different from the other adverbs in this group.

The adverb *ci* did not have information on its etymology (besides the language of etymon) in the *MED* nor in the *OED*. In Einhorns's book *Old French: A Concise Handbook* it was mentioned as an adverb meaning 'here' (Einhorn 1974, 38), and the definition in the *MED* describes it to have been used "In various French calls to hunting dogs: here!". Quite similar definition is for the adverb *swef* in the *MED*: "A hunting call used to calm the hounds, in cries borrowed from the French: softly, gently.". Based on

the definitions, it can be presumed that these adverbs were used quite limitedly and only for the specific purpose.

As a headword, the word *male* had various different entries and definitions (with numerous quotations in them) in the *Middle English Dictionary*: adjective[1], adjective[2], noun[1], noun[2], noun[3], prefix (also *mal*), and as a part of a phrase (for example *male chaunce*). As an adverb, it did not have any quotations (the only one in this research with no quotations at all) and one definition "Only in phr. ~ *infortuned*" (boldface replaced with italics). The language of etymon for the adverb was Old French, in other entries there were also Medieval Latin, Latin, Old English, Old Icelandic, Old Norse, Greek, and Old English dialects Anglian and West Saxon. This word provides an excellent example of the difficulties and different possibilities there are when the etymology and use of words in a historical form of a language are examined.

Another quite similar headword is the word *ne*. It had various other entries than the entry of the adverb. As it was mentioned in the section 2.4, as an adverb of negation *ne* was used in Old English and in Middle English. Yet the *MED* defines as languages of etymon also Old French and Latin. According to the *MED*, the adverb *ne* was used also in numerous contractions, for example *nabiden* (=ne abiden), *nart* (= ne art), *nolde* (= ne wolde), etc.

There were 148 quotations in the adverb entry, which is the highest number of quotations in one entry in this study. Since there is not more information about the influence of Old French and Latin in the entry nor in the *OED*, it is not possible to define if the influence of OF and Latin concerns for example specific forms or definitions.

4.8 Adverbs without a category

In this group are the adverbs which did not fall into any of the other categories. Yet they share features with the previously examined adverbs. These adverbs are listed in Table 7.

Table 7 Adverbs without a category

MED headword	Etymon in French
cert	OF adj. *cert*; *de cert*; cp. ME adv. *certes*
certain	from ME adj. *certain*; cp. OF adv. *certain*
certes	OF, *OED*: OF *certes*
concentrik	ML, OF; *OED*: F *concentrique*, L *concentricus*
contraire	OF, cp. *contrarie* (ME adj.); *OED*: F *contraire*, L *contrārius*
countre	AF; CF *contre*; *OED*: OF *cuntre*, AN *countre*
controngle	cp. F *chacer le contre-ongle*
derere	OF *derrier*, *derriere*
devaunt	OF *devant*
devein	OF *de vein* & *en vein*
ensemble	OF; *OED*: F *ensemble*
ensure	OF *en seur*
entravers	OF *en travers*; *OED*: AN *entravers*, MF *en travers*
enviroun	AF *enviroun*, *viroun*
erraunt	OF *errant*
exclusive	ML & OF; *OED*: ML *exclūsīvus*, cp. F *exclusif*, *exclusive*
incontinent	OF; *OED*: F *incontinent*, late L *in continēnti*
large	OF; *OED*: AN & OF *large*
orguillous	OF *orgoillos*, *orguillos*, *orguilleuse*, *orgellous*, *ergoillose*
paraventur, -e	OF; *OED*: AN, OF *par aventure*
parchaunce	OF phrase *par cheance*, AF *par cheanse* attested 1341-2
parforce	OF phrase *par force*
perpendiculer, -e	OF *perpendiculiere*
perpetuel, -le	OF *perpetüel* & L *perpetuālis*
ruglinge	OF *rug* (var. OF *rigge* n.) + suffix *-ling(e)*; also cp. MDu. *ruggelinge*
sursaute	AF *sursaut* adv.
verrei	from *verrei* (ME adj.); cp. AF adv. *verai*, *verrai*

AF = Anglo-French AN = Anglo-Norman CF = Continental French F = French MDu. = Middle Dutch ME = Middle English ML = Medieval Latin L = Latin OF = Old French adj. = adjective adv. = adverb n. = noun

Some of these adverbs have a French phrase as their etymon, for example *devein*, *entravers*, and *parforce*. Many of them have not gone through major changes compared to their (possible) etymon, for example *cert*, *certain*, *certes*, *derrere*, *ensemble*, *enviroun*, and *large*. The adverbs *ensure* and *sursaute* are possible hybrid borrowings due to their French etymon and the additional final *-e*. The (possible) meaning of the suffix was discussed in the section 2.4.

The adverb *ruglinge* is different from the other adverbs in this group, and it also differs slightly from the rest of adverbs in this study. Its languages of etymon are Middle Dutch and Old French, and its suffix is *-linge*. The base of the word is from a French noun according to the *MED*, while the *OED* describes the origin to be from the noun *ridge* and suffix *-ling* (*OED,* "rugling", adv.). According to the *OED*, both the noun and the suffix are inherited from Germanic (*OED*, s.v. "ridge", n1; s.v. "-ling", suffix2). The information concerning the origin of *ruglinge* seems quite contradictory, even though these entries in the *MED* and in the *OED* are linked with each other.

4.9 Dates of the earliest citations

In this section I examine the citations of the studied adverbs in the quotations in the *Middle English Dictionary*. In the entries in the *MED* there are two different years listed within many of the quotations before the information concerning the source of the quotation (manuscript/edition), for example:

> c1475(a1449) Lydg.OFools (LdMisc 683)3 : *Bachus and Iuno haue set abroche a tonne.* (*MED*, s.v. "abroche", adv.)

The first year is the year (or approximate year) of the manuscript in question and the second is the year of the original text. Durkin (2012, 1151) describes this convention as *double dating*. In this example the date 'a1449' means that the original text was written before the year 1449. In this study I have used the first dates, that is the given year of the actual quoted manuscript. The manuscripts were not necessarily identical with one another and with the original text, the available manuscript is the document where the word in question can be found.

The headword *male* has no quotations in the entry and consequently no date of the first citation (*MED* s.v. *male*, adv.). In the *OED* there are two remotely possible entries (*OED* s.v. *male*, adj. & n1; s.v. *male*, n^2), but there is no link to either of them from the entry in the *MED*. The first headword is described to be a borrowing from French 'male' with its etymology in Anglo-Norman and Middle French; perhaps these headwords in the *MED* and the *OED* share an etymon at least to some extent but since it is not possible to date this adverb based on the *MED*, I decided to leave it out from the

research concerning the citations. In other words the number of adverbs in this section is 149.

The number of all citations ranged 1–148 per headword. 98 headwords had 5 or less citations; however the rest (52 pcs) had 1276 of the total 1477 citations (over 86 %). In the context of this study, more relevant information are the dates of the first citations for the words in question. In Figure 2 below, the total number of first citations is presented per year from which the citation is from.

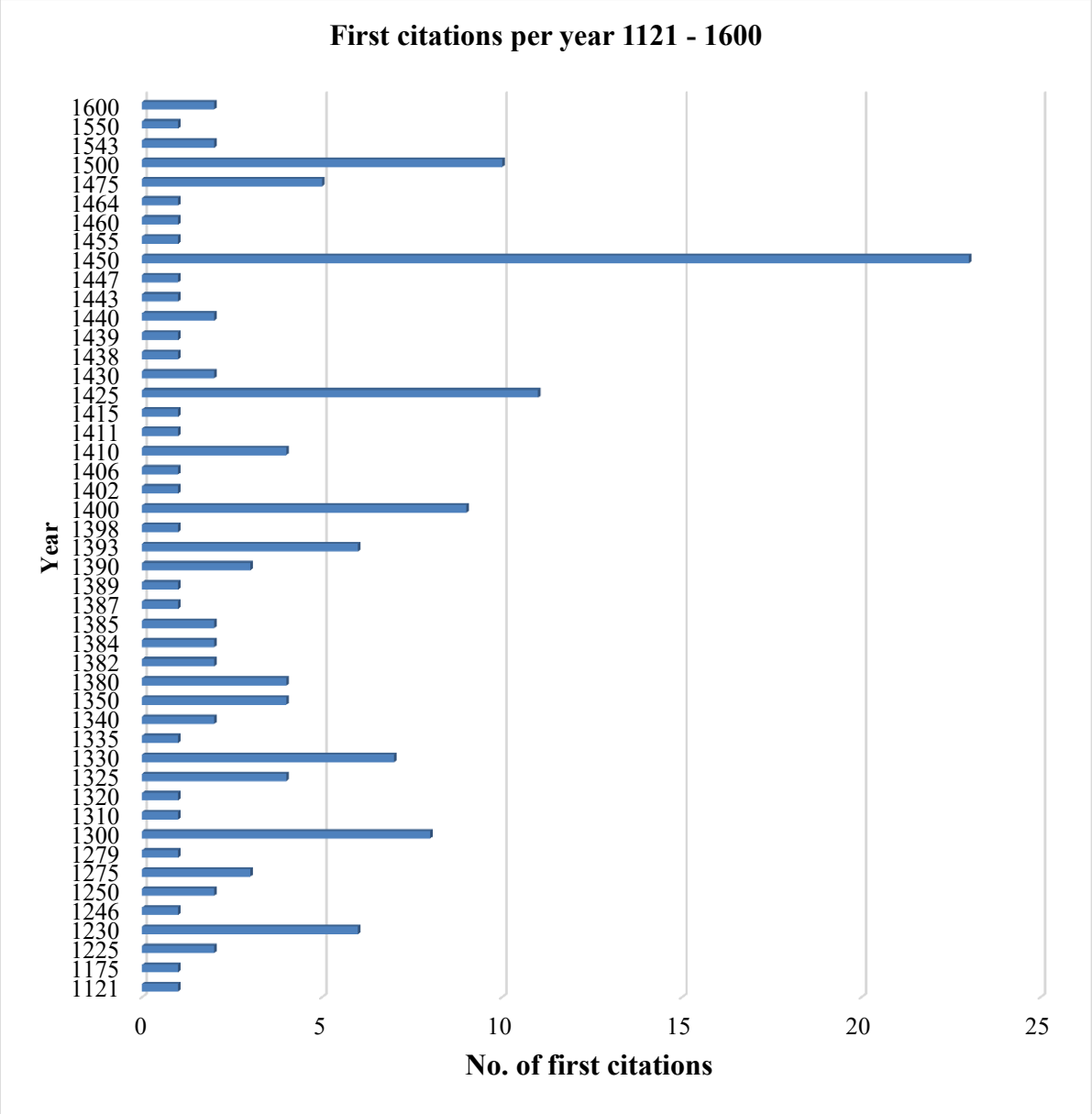

Figure 2 First citations per year

The first citation is on the year 1121 (even though the *MED* is said to cover from the year 1175 onwards) and the last citation on the year 1600. The latter is over hundred years after the estimated ending of the Middle English era (ca. 1475), but in both entries (*MED* s.v. *disloialli*, adv.; *honoratli*, adv.*)* there was an earlier year indicating the date of the original text (1417 and 1472) with the date of the manuscript. This concretises the challenges of dating exactly and reliably when the loanword in question was actually used for the first time. The factors concerning these challenges were mentioned in the section 2.5. The year with most citations was 1450 (23 citations).

It should be noted that Figure 2 presents all the citations per year but, as it can be seen, it includes only the years with citations. The two columns on the left in Table 8 below show the first citations divided per century between the years 1100 and 1600.

Table 8 First citations per century and half-century

Years	**First citations**	**Years**	**First citations**
1100–1199	2	1100–1149	1
(12th century)		1150–1199	1
1200–1299	15	1200–1249	9
(13th century)		1250–1299	6
1300–1399	50	1300–1349	24
(14th century)		1350–1399	26
1400–1499	**67**	**1400–1449**	**36**
(15th century)		1450–1499	31
1500–1600	15	1500–1549	12
(16th century)		1550–1600	3

When the period 1100–1600 is divided into centuries, the most first citations are in the 15th century, and secondly the 14th century. Together these two centuries have 117 citations, which equal over 78 % of total (149). Since this gives only the citations per hundred years, more specific information is available after the citations are divided per half-century. For these numbers see the two columns on the right in Table 8. The information is presented also in Figure 3.

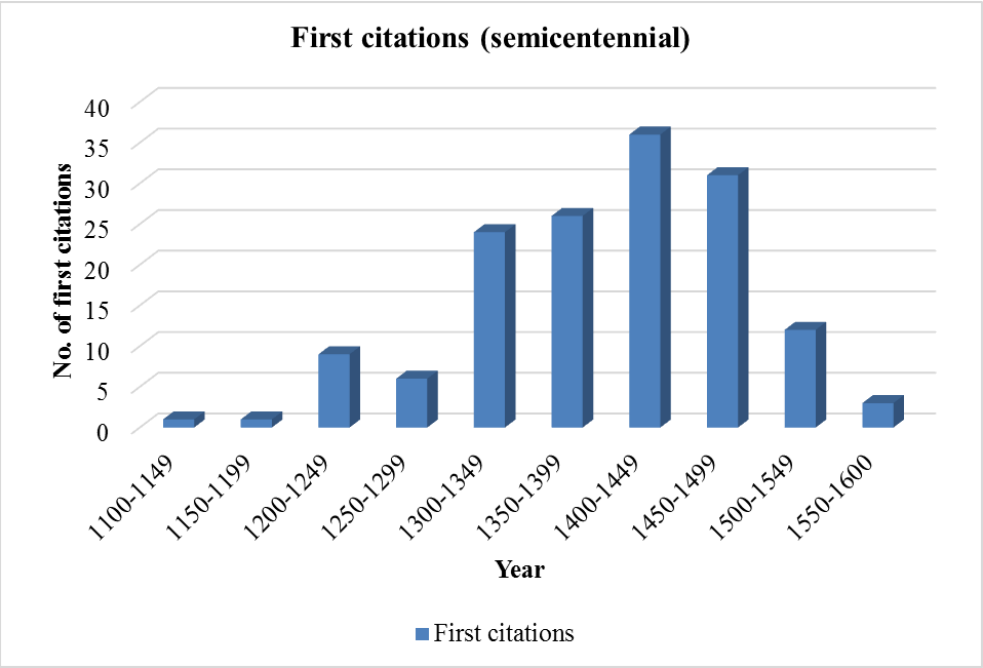

Figure 3 First citations per half-century

The half-century segmentation gives a rather similar results concerning the centuries with most first citations. The number of citations increases in the first half of the 14th century (24 compared to 6 in the later half of the 13th century) and the peak is in the first half of the 15th century. Then the number begins to decrease and the difference between the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century is 19.

In his book *Borrowed words: A History of Loanwords in English* (2014) Philip Durkin presents the results of his study on the number of loanwords from French and Latin per half-century between the years 1150–1499 (which equals roughly the Middle English period). These numbers are reproduced in Figure 3 below (Durkin 2014, 258). The data was collected from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (it should be noted that, as mentioned in the text below the figure, these numbers represent only parts of the *OED*). In this figure Durkin has included new words from French, from Latin and from French and/or Latin. From these three groups the most relevant for this study is the first one. The words from French are mainly from the two categories: either the word does not exist in Latin, or it exists but the form of the word in English indicates that it was borrowed from French and not from Latin (Durkin 2014, 240).

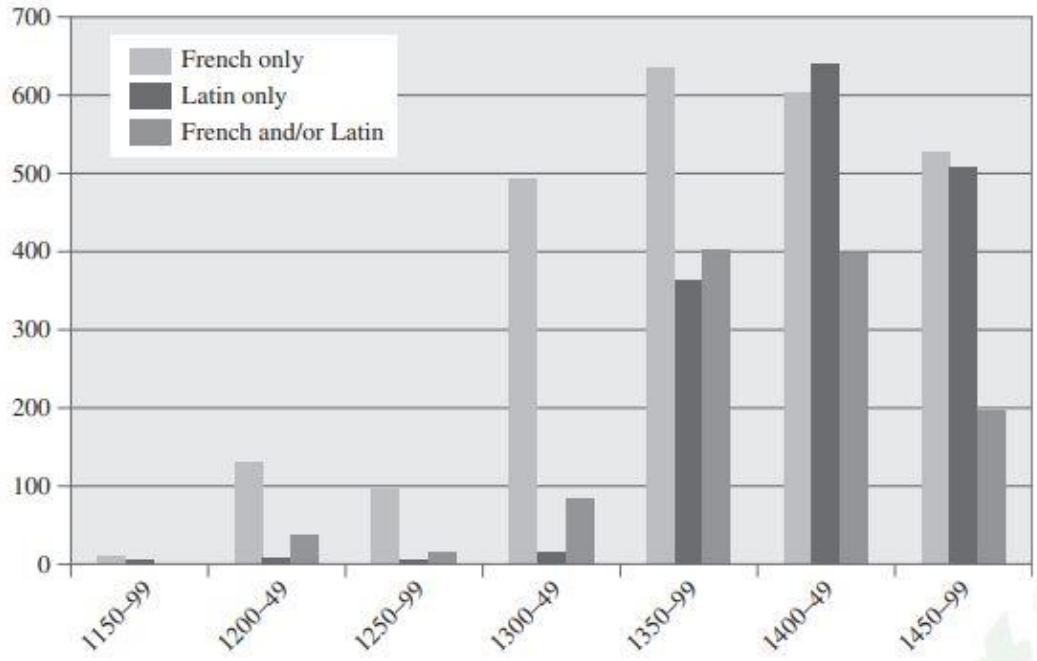

Fig. 12.4 Absolute numbers of new words from each source per half-century (in *OED3*, A–ALZ, M–R).

Figure 4 New words from French and Latin per half-century (Durkin 2014, 258)

The bars on the left (in the groups of three bars) represent the number of new words from French per half-century, The number of words from French is the highest during the years 1300–1499; the peak is in the years 1350–99, although the decline in the years 1400–1449 is not radical. On the contrary, the increase from 1250–99 to 1300–39 is significant.

I compared the information from the Figure 4 by Durkin to Figure 3 in this study. Before presenting the results, a few things should be noted: the covered period is 1100–1600 (Durkin from 1150 to 1500), and the data was collected from the *Middle English Dictionary*. In this study the studied words are limited to a specific word class, and the number of studied words is considerably lower than the number of words in the Durkin's research.

The results of the comparison indicated both similarities and differences. In both figures, the increase in the number of loanwords from French begins in the first half of the 14th century; also the difference in the numbers from 1249–1299 and from 1300–1349 is remarkable in both figures. In addition, during the period of 1200–1249 there

were more words borrowed from French than during the later half of the 13th century. The overall curve has similarities in both figures, but Durkin's curve seems sharper. The most significant difference between the numbers is the time when the number of the loanwords was the highest. The peak in the number of words is earlier according to Durkin's research, i.e. in the last half of the 14th century. According to this study, the peak is about 50 years later, during the period from 1400 to 1449. In Figure 3 the number of loanwords drops significantly after the year 1500, this information is not available in the Durkin's figure. It should be noted that the data in the research of Durkin and in my research are not totally compatible. They differ in numbers, source, and the coverage. In my study the number is limited, as well as the word class of the examined words.

During his lecture in the University of Aberystwyth in the autumn of 2017, Philip Durkin presented a figure illustrating the number of loanwords from French per half-century from the year 1150 to 1950 onwards (see Figure 5). The lecture is available in writing in the Anglo-Norman On-Line Hub. The figure is based on the information from the mentioned book published in 2014 by Durkin, and it illustrates also the number of loanwords from French after the year 1500.

Fig. 1: Loanwords from French in published parts of *OED3*

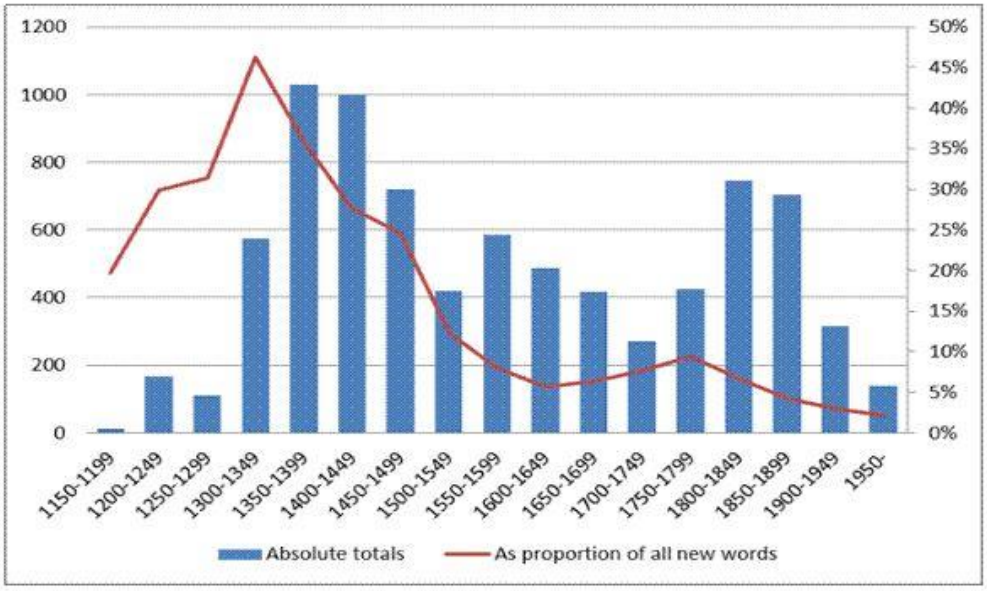

Figure 5 Loanwords from French in published parts of OED3 (Durkin 2017)

In the figure there are available the absolute total number of loanwords from French and a graph to indicate the percentage of these loanwords of all the new words. In addition, with this figure it is possible to compare the number of loanwords immediately after the year 1500; it seems that the drop in the number of borrowed words is quite similar compared with the results in presented in Figure 3.

Based on the graph indicating the percentage of French loanwords of all the new words the peak seems to be earlier than in the previous figures with information concerning the absolute number. The proportion of French loanwords was the highest at the beginning of the 14th century, about 45% of all the loanwords. After that the percentage decreased until the first half of the 17th century.

4.10 Middle English adverbs in the *Oxford English Dictionary*

As it has been mentioned in the previous sections, the *Middle English Dictionary* and the *Oxford English Dictionary* differ in the time periods they cover, and in some cases there are differences in the information their entries provide. Nevertheless, they have also supported one another in this study. With the information from the *OED* it is possible to estimate if the Middle English adverbs are still in use in the English language today. It should be noted that those words which are in use in Present-day English are not necessarily in use as adverbs, but for example as adjectives, prepositions and nouns.

34 of the ME adverbs did not have an entry in the *OED*, or at least there were no link between the entries in the *MED* and in the *OED*. In some of these cases some information could be found by searching the *OED.* The relevant *OED* entries (with or without a hyperlink from the *MED*) are listed in the table in Appendix 1. 82 ME adverbs are mentioned as 'rare' or obsolete. According to the *OED*, only 34 adverbs are in use in Present-Day English, in some form or another. These adverbs are *abord*, *acolor*, *acrois*, *a devel-wei*, *adieu*, *agogge*, *alarge*, *along* / *alongest*, *apart*, *apoint*, *astrai*, *bounteousli*, *certain*, *cler*, *concentrik*, *continuelment* / *continuelement*, *countre*, *courtli*, *disloialli*, *ensemble*, *feloniousli*, *forceabli*, *indistinctli*, *justifiabli*, *large*, *miraculousli*, *paraventur* / *paraventure*, *parchaunce*, *perpendiculer* / *perpendiculere*, *perpetuel* / *perpetuelle*, *representatifliche*, *rushingli*, *substancialli*, and *verrei*. I have included here only the

Middle English words, the Present-day English words in the *Oxford English Dictionary* are in Appendix 1. In addition, there are some adverbs (out of the previously mentioned 35) which do not have a hyperlink from the *MED* or which can not be found as a headword in the *OED,* but yet it seems they might be in use in Present-day English (not necessarily as an adverb or with identical spelling): *ensure*, *enterchaungeablement*, *exclusive*, *humblement*, *integrallie*, *male*, *personelment,* and *publiquement*. In the first section it was mentioned that the loanwords from the Middle English period represent a significant part of the high-frequency vocabulary of Present-day English. At least the words (or in fact their modern forms) *acrois* (across), *along* / *alongest* (along), *apart* (apart), *certain* (certain), *cler* (clear), *continuelment* (continually), *large* (large), *substancialli* (substantially) and *verrei* (very) seem like quite ordinary words in the Present-day English. This hypothesis is supported by the *OED*, since they have high frequency in current use.

5 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine the French-derived adverbs in Middle English by using the data from the *Middle English Dictionary* and also from the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The Middle English language and the French loanwords have been in the focus of numerous scholars during the past decades, but adverbs seem to have been receiving less attention in the previous studies.

The word class of adverbs in Present-day English is not homogenous, quite on the contrary. It includes different words with different forms, even though some typical adverb features (for example the adverb suffix *–ly*) can be found. The diversity of especially originally borrowed adverbs became evident also in this study, perhaps even more than in the modern English. Many of them are still very close in form to their etymon in French, but many of them had gone through at least some changes for example in spelling. One significant group was the hybrid borrowings, in which the borrowed item is derived with a suffix (or a prefix) from another language.

In the *Middle English Dictionary*, the number of French-derived adverbs qualified for this study was eventually 150. Many of the words had also other languages of etymon, for example Old English or Latin. Borrowing from a language to another is not a simple process. The same word might be influenced by more than one language, and it can be borrowed more than once (for example at first from Latin and later from French). The borrowed word also develops in the target language, and it can be an etymon to other words (for example an adverb is derived from a Middle English adjective originally borrowed from French). The fact that one loanword can be a source for more words is one of the reasons why it is difficult to define the actual number of loanwords in English. This phenomenon became evident also in the results of this study.

This study supported many of the issues that came up in the theory and in the previous studies. The determination of the origin of the loanwords is often difficult, especially with French and Latin. The direct etymon is not available in many cases, only a related word to indicate from which language the word has been borrowed and what might be the origin of the word. Since only part of the written documents from the Middle English period has survived, many details and origins are almost impossible to

establish. The numerous spellings and definitions support the absence of a standard language in the Middle English period.

The timing of the adverbs (and loanwords in general), that is when they have entered the target language is not an easy task. Since there are many documents missing, the first occurrence of a certain word can be verified only by those documents that have survived. In addition, the time of the document is not necessarily the time when the word first appeared in a language. With the dates of the first documented citations of the adverbs, I was able to define roughly when the borrowing of the adverbs was the highest during the Middle English period.

The result was that during the 14th and 15th centuries the number was the highest. The peak was during the half-century 1400–1449. The results were mainly consistent with the research of all French loanwords by Durkin. Only the peak according to this study was about 50 years later than in Durkin's results (the peak was in the end of the 14th century). The difference in the results can be explained by the different number of surveyed words, the different sources (the *Middle English Dictionary* versus the *Oxford English Dictionary*), and the overall coverage of the loanwords (this research was limited to only one word class).

The limitations of dictionaries as a source of an academic study have been acknowledged by various scholars, and they were discussed also in the context of this study. These two dictionaries used in this study were complementary to one another in many ways, but there were also differences in the information they provided, even though they function nowadays closely in relation especially due to the hyperlinks between the entries in the *Middle English Dictionary* and the entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

One aim of this study was to find out if the Middle English adverbs are still in use today. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the minority of the adverbs are in active use. Most of the adverbs had an entry in the *OED*, but they were defined as obsolete or rare. There is a significant difference between the Middle English vocabulary and the Present-day English vocabulary, which probably is one explanation why the number of adverbs still in use was so low.

This study answered to the questions stated in the beginning of the research in the first section. The results supported mainly the results of the previous studies. One possible topic for further research could be the difference in timing between the first appearance of adapted adverbs (for example hybrid borrowings, loan blends etc.) and the appearance of the adverbs which have not gone through changes in the borrowing process and in the target language. This study has proved that in the Middle English adverbs there are definitely suitable topics for further research.

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Appendix 1: The list of French-derived adverbs in this study

MED headword	Origin in French	Definition(s)	In *OED*
abandŏun	OF *a bandon*	under control, at one's will; freely, fully	*abandon*, adv.
abās	OF *a bas*; cp. *bas* adj.	down, low	*abase*, adv.
abbater phrase & adv.	F ? *à bas, à terre*	? down on the ground	no entry
abelef	OF *a belif, a beslif*; cp. *embelif* adj.	obliquely, slantwise	*belif / belif*, adv.
abōrd adv. & prep.	OF *a bord*	at or upon the side of a ship; onto or aboard a ship; etc.	*aboard*, adv. & prep.
abrōche	OF cp. *broche* (n.); cp. *mettre en broche*	to tap or broach, open up, begin	*abroach*, adv.
acaunt-wīse	OF cp. *cant-on* (corner, angle)	in a zig-zag course	*a-,* prefix; *cant*, n.; *-wise,* comb. form.
acōlor	*on* / *of color*, cp. F *sous couleur*	on pretext, pretending	*a-*, prefix; *colour*, *color*, n.
acŏmpas	OF *a compas*	in a circle	*acompass*, adv.
acōst	OF *a coste*	along, at the side, nearby, side by side	*acost,* adv.
acrois phrase & adv.	AF, ME; *an croiz*	in a shape of a cross, in a crossed position; from one side to the other	*across*, adv. & prep. & adj.
a dĕvel-wei phrase & adv.	OF cp. *au diable*	to the Devil, to hell; the Devil!	*devil*, n.
adieu	OF *a dieu*	a salutation in leaving; good-bye!	*adieu*, interj.&noun& adv.
affectūallī, affectūellī	OF cp. *affectuel-ment; OED*: from AN & MF *affectuel*	earnestly, zealously; affectionately	*affectually*, adv.
afīn, afīne	OF *a fin* (to the end, etc.)	fully, completely, perfectly, altogether	*afine,*adv.
afŏrce	OF *a force*; cp. ME *of force*	by compulsion, of necessity	*afforce*, adv.
ağet	prob. AF *a get*; cp. ME *get, jet* (fashion)	in style, fashionably	*aget*, adv.
agogge	OF *a gogue, en gogue* (in gaiety, jolly)	in excitement or suspense	*agog*, adv. & adj.
agrę̄	OF *a gre*; cp. ME noun *gre* (OF *gré* pleasure)	in a friendly manner, kindly	*agree*, adv.
agrę̄f	OF *a grief, en grief*	angrily, with resentment	*agrief*, adv.
agrēt, agrēte	OF; modeled on *en gros*	in great quantity, altogether, in all	prep. *a-* + *great*, n.
alarğe	probably OF phrase; cp. ME adj. *large*	at length, fully	*a-*, prefix ; *large*, adj.&adv.&noun
al-hōl adj. & prep.	OF cp. *tout entier*	entirely, completely	*all-whole*, adj.&adv.
alŏng, alŏngest adv. & prep.	OE *andlang*, *andlong*, *onlong*; cp. OF *au long*; cp. ME *endelong*	along the length of, alongside, along, onward, on and on, along etc.	*along*, adj.&prep.&adv.
amērelī	OF cp. *amerement*	with bitterness (i.e. of unrequited love), distressingly	no entry
apaire	prob. from OF phrase *pair à pair* (close) together	closely together; ?in couples	no entry
apart	OF *à part*	at or to a distance; apart, depart; put aside, etc.	*apart*, adv.
apartī, apartie	OF *a parti, a partie* *OED*: *en partie*	apart, separately; particularly, especially; in part, partly, to some extent	*a-party*, adv.
apās	OF *à pas*	step by step, with measured step; slowly, at a walking pace	*apace*, adv.
apertement	OF; *OED: apertement*	clearly, plainly	*apertement*, adv.
aplāce	OF *a place*	take place, happen, arise, appear; be present, exist	*aplace*, adv.
aplat	OF *a plat*	flat (on the ground); with the flat; flatly or outright	*aplat*, adv.
apoint	OF *a point*	to the point, correctly, properly	*a-*, prefix; *point*, n.
apresslī	OF *apresséement*; cp. EMnE *pressly; OED:* var. of *expressément*	insistently, expressly	*apressly*, adv.
araundŏun	OF *a randon*; cp. ME randoun (speed or violence)	in a rush	*a-randoun*, adv.
areisŏun	OF *mettre a raison*; cp. ME aresounen (ask, inquire, to arraign, etc.)	*setten areisoun* call to account	*areason*, n.

arenge	OF *a renge*; cp. ME reng (rank)	in a row; according to a rank	no entry
arīve	prob. OF phrase	ashore	no entry
arrēre	AF *arere, arrere;* CF *arriere, ariere, arier(s)*	in or to the rear; behind; earlier, in the past; fail, fall behind etc.	*arrear*, adv.
ascaunce	prob. from OF phrase *as(e) quances*; cp. OF *quanses (que)* & *quianse(s)*	as if to say or indicate; with affectation, factitiously, insincerely etc.	*askances*, conj.&adv.
askoin adv. & adj.	prob. akin to *a-squint*; cp. OF *coign* (wedge, corner)	on a slant; (look) askanse	*askoy*, adv.
asquint	F ? cp. *équinter* (cut to a point)*; (e)squintar* (cast a glance, look furtively)	to squint; be cross-eyed; to look sidelong or furtively; (to move) at an angle, obliquely	*asquint*, adv. & adj.
asēth, assēth adv. & adj.	ME asseth (n.) from OF assez; ME asseth, a seeth (as a noun: sufficiently)	enough	*asseth* / *assethe*, n.
astrai adj. & adv.	OF pp. *estraié*	away from the right place; out of bounds or control	*astray*, adv.
ataunt	OF *autant*	drink in one draft, drink up; drink to excess	*ataunt*, adv.
a-traverse	OF; *OED*: *à travers*	across; aslant; in disagreement	*a-travers*, adv. & prep.
atrēt, atrētli	OF *a trait*	slowly, leisurely, deliberately	*atreet* / *atrete*, adv.
atrētāblī	cp. OF *atrait* attraction, preparation etc.	?attractively; ?carefully	no entry
atteinauntlī	OF ppl; origin *ateign-,* stem of *ateindre, ataindre*; cp. ME *atteinen*	succesfully, effectively	no entry
attentelī	ME *attente* (n.), cp. OF atentement; *OED*: *attent,* adj.; *attend*, v., orig. OF	with close attention, intently	*attently*, adv.
avaunt	OF *avant, avaunt*	forward (in space), ahead, in front; earlier (in time) before; advanced (in learning)	*avaunt*, adv.&int&prefix
avīrŏun	OF *a viroun*; *OED*: AN *aviroun*, var. of OF *enviroun*	round about	*aviroun*, adv.
bon-grę̄ adv. & prep.	OF phrases a bon gré; mal gré bon gré	to one's liking, agreeable to	*bongre*, prep.&adv.
bŏunteŏuslī	cp. OF bontieus (adj.); *OED*: *bounteous* (adj.) from OF *bontif, bontive*	with kindness, generously	*bounteously*, adv.
briaunt	OF *bruiant*, ppl of *bruir* burn, or *bruire* make noise	in a fiery or noisy manner	no entry
cert	OF adj. *cert*; *de cert*; cp. ME adv. *certes*	only as a rime tag; forsooth, indeed	*cert*, adv.
certain	from ME adj. *certain*; cp. OF adv. *certain*	of fixed amount; definitely, with certainty; certainly, indeed etc.	*certain*, adj.&n.&adv.
certes	OF, *OED*: OF *certes*	certainly, of course, surely, indeed, etc.	*certes*, adv.
ci	OF	in various French calls to hunting dogs: here!	no entry
clę̄r	OF; *OED*: OF *cler* (11th–16th, from 14th c. *clair*)	brightly, brilliantly; loudly, resonantly; plainly etc.	*clear*, adj.&adv.&noun
coi adj. & adv.	OF from L quiētum; *OED*: F coi (fem. *coite*), earlier *quei*	quietly, be peaceable	*coy*, adj.
concentrik	ML, OF; *OED*: F *concentrique*, L *concentricus*	in concentrik or parallel fashion	*concentric*, adj.&n.
continūelment, continūelement	*OED*: F *continuelement* 13th c., ME adj. *continual* + *-ly* suffix (OF *continuel*)	persistently	*continually*, adv.
contraire adj. & adv.	OF, cp. *contrarie* (ME adj.); *OED*: F *contraire*, L *contrārius*	as adv.: in the opposite direction	*contrair*, adj.&n.&adv.&prep.
cŏuntre	AF; CF *contre*; *OED*: OF *cuntre*, AN *countre*	opposite, in the opposite direction	*counter*, adv.
controngle	cp. F *chacer le contre-ongle*	in the direction opposite to that taken by the gam	no entry
cŏurtlī	*court* (adj.); cp. OF cortement	briefly, without delay	*courtly*, adv.
dampnāble adj. & adv.	*OED*: F *damnable*, in 12-13th cent. *dampnable*, Latin *dam(p)nabilis*	reprehensible, blameworthy, damnable, punishable etc.	*damnable*, adj.&adv.
demaintenaunt	*OED*: F *maintenant*, also MF, OF + prefix *de-* from Latin	at once, immediately	*de-*, prefix + *maintenant*, adv.
de-par-dieux	OF phrase "by God" ; *OED* : *de par dieu*	used as an emphatic, certainly, indeed, forsooth	*depardieu,* interj.
derę̄re	OF *derrier*, *derriere*	behind	*derere*, adv.
deslavilī	from *de(s)lave*; on the model of OF *deslavéement; OED*: OF *deslavé*	abundantly; dissolutely	*delavy*, *deslavy*, *dilavy*, *dislavy*; adj.

despīsauntlīche	cp. OF despisant, ppl. of despire; *OED:* pres. participle used as an adj.	contemptuously	*despisant*, adj.
dēvaunt n.& adv.& interj.	OF *devant*	before, away with etc.	*devant*, *devaunt*, adv.
dēvein	OF *de vein* & *en vein*	in devein = in vain	no entry
dēvŏutement	*OED*: OF *devotement*, in AN *devoutement*	devoutly, earnestly	*devoutement*, adv.
disefulli	?*derisefulli*, cp. OF *deriser*;	scornfully, derisively	no entry
disloiallī	OF *desloial*, var. of *deslëal*	disloyally, treasonably	*disloyally*, adv.
disordenȩlīche	cp. ME *ordinalli* (adv.) ,OF *desordenéement; OED:* OF *desordené*, past participle of *desordener*	immoderately; irregularly, contrary to nature	*disordeine*/*disordeny*, adj&noun
en grē phrase & adverb	cp. ME adv. agre (OF a gre); OED: F en gré	with good will, goodnaturedly, graciously	*en-gree*, adv.
ensemble	OF; *OED*: F *ensemble*	together	*ensembl*e, adv&noun
ensūre	OF *en seur*	for certain	no entry
enterchaunğeāble-ment	OF; perhaps ME adj. *enterchaungeable?*	jointly or reciprocally	no entry
entravers	OF *en travers*; *OED*: AN *entravers*, MF *en travers*	athwart (across from side to side, transversely; crosswise etc.)	*entraverse*, adv.
envīrŏun	AF *enviroun*, *viroun*	round about; all around, all over, everywhere, etc.	*environ*, adv.&prep.
erraunt	OF *errant*	quickly, immediately	no entry
exclūsĭve	ML & OF; *OED*: ML *exclūsīvus*, cp. F *exclusif*, *exclusive*	setting aside, excluding	no entry
felonement	OF; *OED*: OF *felonement* (OF *felon* adj.)	with evil intent, treacherously	*felonment*, adv
feloniŏuslī	cp.OF *felenieus* (adj.)	so as to commit felony	*feloniously*, adv
fḝl-larğe adj. & adverb	OF fol large; *OED*: *follarge*	foolishly generous, improvident, prodigal	*fool-large*, adj&noun
fŏrceāblĭ	cp. OF *forçable* (adj.)	by force, against someone's will	*forcibly*, adv.
fŏrmāllī	OF; *formal; formeli(ch)*, from OE *formel* or ME *forme*	in an orderly manner, correctly; in accordance with rules of logic, logically	*formly*, adv.
honorātlī	from verb *honouren*; (etymon OF *onerer, honerer, onurer?*)	with honor or respect, honorably	no entry
humblement	OF; *OED*: *humbly* adv. (adj. *humble* + *-ly* suffix; adj. from OF *umble*, *humble*)?	humbly	no entry
incontinent	OF; *OED*: F *incontinent*, late L *in continēnti*	immediately, fortwith, at once	*incontinent*, adv.
indistinctlī	cp. L *indistinctē*, AF *indistincte*	without judicious discrimination, indiscriminately; equally, alike	*indistinctly*, adv.
integrăllīe	cp. ML *integrālis*, *integrāliter* & OF *intégral*	completely, wholly	no link, with search *integrally*, adv.
join-pḝ	cp. ME *joinen* (v.), OF *pies joins*; *OED*: F *joint* + *pié, pied*	with feet together	*joinpee* / *joynpee*, adv
justifiāblī	OF *justifiable* (adj.)	justly, lawfully	*justifiably*, adv.
lărğe	OF; *OED*: AN & OF *large*	generously, amply, fully; at length, to the full extent, widely, across, at liberty; boldly, etc.	*large*, adj.&adv.&n. (&interj.)
maintenaunt	OF; *OED*: F (OF 12th c.) *maintenant*, adv., ppl of *maintenir*	instantly, soon	*maintenant*, adv.
male	OF	only in phrase: male infortuned	no entry
mḝ adv. & interj.	? Cp. Mercian *mæ*, var. of *mā*, perhaps modeled after OF *mais*, *meis*, *mes* from L *magis*	but; on the contrary; moreover	*me*, adv.
miraculŏuslī	OF *miraculous*	by miracle; marvelously, wonderfully	*miraculously*, adv.
ne	OE, OF, L	various in MED, most importantly negation NOT	no entry
nentz	OF *nïent*	not	no entry
orguillŏus adj. & adv.	OF *orgoillos*, *orguillos*, *orguilleuse*, *orgellous*, *ergoillose*	as an adverb: proudly	*orgulous*, adj.&adv.
par amŏur, par amŏure adverbial phrase	AF, cp. CF par amor, par amors ; *OED*: OF *par amur, par amour*	passionately, with sexual love or desire; in a friendly or courteous manner	*paramour*, adv.
paraventūr, paraventūre	OF; *OED*: AN, OF *par aventure*	perhaps, perchance, possibly, maybe, by chance, as it happens	*peradventure*, adv.

par căs adverbial phrase	OF; *OED*: AN, MF, F *par cas* (1300 in OF)	perhaps, perchance, possibly; by any chance; because; accidentally etc.	*percase*, adv.
parchaunce	OF phrase *par cheance*, AF *par cheanse* attested 1341-2	perhaps, possibly, maybe; perchance; by chance; as it were; as fate would have it	*perchance*, adv.&n.&adj.
par cŏmpaignīe adverbial phrase	OF phrase; *OED*: F, MF *par compagnie*	together; in a group; for the sake of company or fellowship	*par companye*, adv.
par fei adverb & interjection	AF *par fai*, *par fei*, CF *par foi*	indeed, certainly; upon my word, by my faith	*perfay*, int.
parforce	OF *par force*	by physical force, forcibly; of necessity, as a matter of course	*perforce*, adv.&n.&adj.
pelli melli adverbial phrase	OF *pelle melle*	in an impetuous rush,	*pelly melly,* adv.
perexcellentlī	L *per-*, OF *par-* (adv.&pref., with intensive force) & *excellentli* (adv.)	in a very high degree; very greatly	*perexcellently*, adv.
perpendiculer, perpendiculere	OF *perpendiculiere*	as adverb: at right angles to the horizon, vertically	*perpendicular*, adj.&n.
perpetūĕl perpetūĕlle	OF *perpetüel* & L *perpetuālis*	as adverb: perpetually, continuously, constantly, perpetually, continuos(ly)	*perpetual*, adj.&adv.&noun
persŏnelment	OF, in quotation F *personnelment*	in person, personally	no entry
plum adj. & adv.	OF, from *plumben* v., cp. ME adj. *plom*. Also cp. OF *a plon*	perpendicularly; straight down	*plumb*, adv.&adj.
prest	OF; *OED*: AN, OF, MF *prest* adj.	immediately, at once; as soon as; swiftly, rapidly; eagerly, willingly; completely, etc.	*prest* adj.&adv.
prĭmerement	AF, cp. CF *premierement*	first	no entry
privẹment	OF *priveement*	privately, secretly; alone, in solitude	*privement*, adv.
prŏprement	OF; *OED*: AN & OF *proprement*	characteristically, by nature	*proprement*, adv.
publiquement	OF, in quotation F *publiquement*	publicly, openly	no entry
quitemente	OF *quitement*	easily, quickly	*quitemente*, adv.
rāğī	OF, ME *rage* n. (from OF *rage*, *raige*); also cp. OF *ragif* adj.	in phrase: ragi wod = of winter months, wildly raging	no entry
rāventlī	cp. OF *resvant*, ppl. of *resver, raver*	wanderingly, distractedly	no entry
reprĕsentātĭflīche	OF *representatif*	symbolically	*representatively*, adv.
rēre	OF *rier*, *rere*, also cp. ME adj. *rere*	in phrase: not at all, neither in front nor behind; ?neither sooner or later	*rear*, adv.
rēs bī rēs adverbial phrase	?Misunderstanding of OF *rés a rés* (*rés*, adj.), cp. ME prep. phrase *res a res*	?completely	no entry
rŏuninglī	*rŏuning*; ppl. of OF *rŏunen* (v.)	in a whisper, privately	*rounding*, adj.&n.
ruğlinge	OF *rug* (var. OF *rigge* n.) + suffix *-ling(e)*; also cp. Middle Dutch *ruggelinge*	backward	*rugling*, adv.
rushinglī	*rushinge*, ppl. OF *rushen* (v.)	rapidly, swiftly	*rushingly*, adv.
sĕcrĕtement	OF; *OED*: OF *secretement*	secretely	*secretement*, adv.
seinẹ	AF *segné*, var. of OF adj. *sené*	?judiciously, discreetly; ?in order, in an orderly manner	no entry
sotilment	OF, in quotation F *soubtiuement*	intelligently, sagaciously	no entry
soulement	OF *solement*, *soulemant*, AF *sulement*	only, solely	*soulement*, adv.
substanciāllī	*substanciāl* (adj.); *OED*: from MF & OF adj.	in substance, essentially; solidly, tangibly; fundamentally, basically; fully etc.	*substantially*, adv.
streit, streite	from ME adj. *streit*; cp. AF adv. *estreit*, *estrait*	tightly, narrowly; in a crowded fashion/condition; strictly, observantly; securely, etc.	no entry
surabŭndauntlī	OF pr. ppl. *sorabonder*, *surabonder*; cp. ME *superaboundauntli* (adv.)	in great abundance	no entry
sursaute	AF *sursaut* adv.	suddenly, unexpectedly	no entry
swef	OF *söef*, *souef*, *süef*, AF *swef*	a hunting call used to calm the hounds, in cries borrowed from the French: softly, gently	no entry
tant-ne-quant	OF *ne tant ne quant*	in any way	*tant ne quant*, adv.

uncessauntli	prob. ME *incessauntli* adv. + pref. *un-*; *OED*: F *incessant*	without cessation	*uncessantly*, adv.
veir, veire	AF *veir*, *vair*, *veire*, vars. of OF adv. *voir*, *voire*	in truth, indeed, truly	*veire*, adj.&adv.&n.
veires	AF *veirs*, var. of OF adv. *voirs*; cp. ME adv. *veir*, *veire*	in truth, truly	*verament*, adv.
verrei	from *verrei* (ME adj.); cp. AF adv. *verai*, *verrai*	numerous as modifying a verb, verb phrase, clause, adj., adv. etc.	*very*, adj.&adv.&noun
verreiment	OF *veraiement*, *veraiment*, AF *ver(r)eiment*, *verraiment*, *ver(r)eement*, *variement*, & AF *ver(r)ement*, *ver(r)ament* (vars. of *veirement*)	really, truly; in actuality; truthfully; assuredly; clearly,; aptly, properly; in good faith, earnestly, sincerely; etc.	*verament*, adv.
verteli	perhaps dir. from OF *vert* (adj.), or OF *vertement*; cp. ME *vert* (adj.)	quickly, readily	*vertely*, adv.

Appendix 2: Finnish summary

RANSKALAISPERÄISET ADVERBIT KESKIENGLANNISSA

Lähes kaikki maailman kielet ovat jonkinlaisessa kontaktissa muiden kielten kanssa. Näiden kielikontaktien seurauksena kielet omaksuvat erilaisia piirteitä toisiltaan, esim. sanoja ja rakenteita. Yksi tärkeimmistä kielikontakteista englannin kielelle on ollut ranska, sekä historiallisista että maantieteellisistä syistä. Erityisen paljon vaikutteita siirtyi ranskasta englantiin keskienglannin aikakaudella, n. 1100 – 1500. Tämän tutkielman tarkoitus on tutkia ranskalaisperäisiä adverbeja kyseisellä aikakaudella. Ensisijaisena lähteenä oli keskienglannin sanakirja *Middle English Dictionary*, jonka lähdeaineistona ovat vanhoista käsikirjoituksista tehdyt editiot. Tutkimuksessa käytössäni oli myös *Oxford English Dictionary*, jota pidetään yhtenä arvostetuimmista englannin kielen sanakirjoista. Jälkimmäisestä löytyivät mm. tiedot kyseisten adverbien asemasta nykyenglannissa.

Tutkimus pyrki selvittämään, miten paljon ja millaisia ranskalaisperäisiä adverbeja keskienglannissa esiintyi, milloin ne lainautuivat ranskasta englantiin ja onko niitä vielä käytössä nykyenglannissa. Vaikka keskienglantia ja ranskan vaikutusta englantiin on tutkittu paljon, adverbien sanaluokkaa on tutkittu vähemmän. Muun muassa Philip Durkinin, Sarah Thomasonin, Martin Haspelmathin, Douglas Kibbeen sekä Christine Dalton-Pufferin tutkimuksia ja teorioita on käytetty tämän tutkimuksen taustana. Tutkimuksessani on sekä kvalitatiivisia että kvantitatiivisia piirteitä. Kohteena eivät ole tutkittujen sanojen semanttiset piirteet, vaan sanojen rakenne ja alkuperä.

Kielikontakteja tapahtuu hyvin erilaisissa olosuhteissa. Kielten puhujat kommunikoivat keskenään, nykyisin media ja teknologia mahdollistavat kontaktit myös sähköisesti. Eräs kielikontaktien vaikutusmekanismeista on lainaaminen, joka terminä on vakiintunut käyttöön kuvaamaan esimerkiksi sanojen omaksumista kielestä toiseen. Kielen puhujat voivat lainata muista kielistä omaan äidinkieleensä, tai äidinkielestään muihin käyttämiinsä kieliin. Lähdekieli tai lähtökieli on se kieli josta lainataan, lainaavaa kieltä voidaan kutsua kohdekieleksi.

Kaksi- ja monikielisten ihmisten keskuudessa tapahtuu myös koodinvaihtoa, jossa kielen puhuja käyttää samassa keskustelussa tai jopa samassa lauseessa useampaa kuin yhtä kieltä. Lainaamisen ja koodinvaihdon ero saattaa olla epäselvä. On sanottu, että

koodinvaihto tapahtuu tietyn kielen käyttäjien keskuudessa, kun taas lainaaminen vaikuttaa itse kieleen.

Lainaamiselle voi olla erilaisia syitä. Kohdekielessä ei välttämättä ole tarvittavaa sanaa tai halutaan tyylillisistä syistä korvata mahdollisesti jo olemassa oleva sana lainaamalla kielestä, jota pidetään enemmän arvossa kuin kohdekieltä. Näitä kahta, tarvetta ja niin sanottua prestiisiä pidetään tärkeimpinä syinä lainaamiselle. Prestiisiin liittyy myös kontaktissa olevien kielten luokittelu substraattiin ja superstraattiin. Superstraatti on valta-asemassa oleva, arvostetumpi kieli ja substraatti on vähemmän arvostettu, alisteinen kieli. Superstraatti voi olla myös vähemmistökieli, kuten ranskan kieli Englannissa keskienglannin aikakaudella.

Eri sanaluokkiin kuuluvat sanat lainautuvat helpommin kuin toiset. Avoluokkiin kuuluvat substantiivit, adjektiivit, verbit ja adverbit. Avoluokkiin tulee jatkuvasti uusia sanoja ja ne ovat alttiimpia lainautumiselle kuin umpiluokkiin kuuluvat sanat (kuten konjunktiot ja pronominit) joita tulee lisää harvoin. Sanoja voidaan erotella myös sisältösanoihin ja funktiosanoihin: avoluokkiin kuuluvat sanat ovat yleensä sisältösanoja ja umpiluokkiin kuuluvat funktiosanoja, joilla on lauseessa kieliopillinen tehtävä.

Erään teorian mukaan kielikontaktin intensiivisyys vaikuttaa siihen, millaisia sanoja ja rakenteita lainataan. Muita erottavia tekijöitä ovat mm. kaksikielisten puhujien määrä, funktiosanojen ja umpiluokkiin kuuluvien sanojen lainaaminen sekä mahdollinen kielen rakenteiden lainaaminen. Adverbit ovat avoluokkiin kuuluvia sisältösanoja eikä niiden lainautumiseen tarvita sujuvaa lähtökielen taitoa, joten adverbien voidaan olettaa lainautuvan myös satunnaisissa, ei kovin intensiivisissä kielikontakteissa.

Kielen historiassa eri aikakaudet määritellään usein merkittävien historiallisten tapahtumien perusteella, vaikka todellisuudessa kieli muuttuu vähitellen ja asteittain. Englannin kielen historia on jaettu neljään vaiheeseen: muinaisenglantiin, keskienglantiin, varhaisuusenglantiin ja myöhäisuusenglantiin. Lisäksi voidaan puhua nykyenglannista, joka tarkoittaa lähimenneisyydessä ja tällä hetkellä käytössä olevaa englantia. Keskienglannin aikakaudelle on erilaisia määritelmiä, mutta sen alkuna pidetään usein normannien Englannin valloitusta vuodesta 1066 alkaen ja loppuna kirjapainotaidon saapumista Englantiin n. vuonna 1470. Keskienglanti oli siis karkeasti noin 400 vuoden aikakausi, jolloin sekä englannin kieli että englantilainen yhteiskunta kävivät läpi suuria muutoksia. Keskienglannin kieleen liittyviä muutoksia olivat mm.

sanojen suvun ja taivutuspäätteiden katoaminen, uusien lainasanojen runsas määrä sekä kehitys kohti yleiskieltä. Keskienglannin aikaan Englannissa ei ollut standardikieltä, vaan kieli koostui eri murteista. Aikakauden loppupuolella pääkaupunki Lontoon alueella ja ympäristössä puhuttu kieli nousi muita arvostetummaksi ja standardikielen perustaksi. Keskienglannin aikakauden lopussa voitiin erottaa myös kolme englannin kielen rekisteriä, joiden muoto, sanasto, käyttö ja käyttäjien yhteiskuntaluokka erosivat toisistaan. Rekisterillä tarkoitetaan kielen varianttia, jonka käyttö vaihtelee esim. tilanteesta riippuen, tai sitä käytetään enimmäkseen tietyn ryhmän kesken. Keskienglannin ajalta säilyneet dokumentit ovat kirjurien käsin kirjoittamia tai kopioimia, ensin pergamentille ja myöhemmin paperille. Kirjurit kirjoittivat sanelusta, kopioivat tekstejä tai viimeistelivät alkuperäisten kirjoittajien luonnokset. Kirjurien käyttö sekä standardikielen puute aiheuttivat runsasta vaihtelua sanojen kirjoitusasussa.

Keskienglannin aikakaudella puhuttu muinaisranska ja sen murteet olivat erilaisia verrattuna nykyranskaan. Tärkeimmät muinaisranskan murteista olivat Englannissa asuneiden normannien käyttämä kieli sekä Pariisin alueella puhuttu ranska. Ranskalla ja Englannilla oli tiiviit yhteydet jo ennen normannivalloitusta, ja valloituksen merkityksestä englannin kielelle onkin eriäviä mielipiteitä. Englannissa puhuttua ranskaa on pidetty ylempien yhteiskuntaluokkien kielenä ja sen levinneisyys (toisin sanoen miten suuri osa väestöstä todellisuudessa osasi ranskaa) on myös jakanut mielipiteitä. Nykyinen käsitys on, että suuri osa Englannin väestöstä ei oppinut ranskaa vaan käytti englannin paikallisia murteita. Keskienglannin aikakauden alussa kirjallisuuden pääasiallinen kieli oli ranska. Latinaa käytettiin kirkoissa, kouluissa ja hallinnossa. Yhteiskunnassa käytettiin siis kolmea eri kieltä, mutta koko väestö ei ollut kolmikielistä.

Ranskan merkitys Englannissa oli suurimmillaan 1200-luvun puolivälissä, kun siellä otettiin käyttöön ranskalainen oikeusjärjestelmä. Keskienglannin aikakauden loppuun mennessä ranska oli menettänyt asemansa Englannissa. Syitä tähän ovat ranskan kielen käytön väheneminen virallisissa yhteyksissä, englanninkielisten määrän lisääntyminen sekä eräiden merkittävien tapahtumien kuten ruttoepidemioiden ja satavuotisen sodan seuraukset. Myös kansallisuusaatteen nousu sekä Englannin menettämät alueet Ranskassa vaikuttivat ranskan kielen merkityksen vähenemiseen.

Kielestä toiseen lainattujen sanojen fonologia ja morfologia mukautuvat usein kohdekieleen. Lainasanan alkuperän tunnistamiseksi on tiedettävä lähtökieli sekä

mahdollisesti myös alkuperäinen, lainattu lähtökielen sana. Lainasanaa käytetään usein yleisterminä, mutta varsinaisten lainasanojen lisäksi voidaan erotella mm. käännöslainat, semanttiset lainat, hybridilainat sekä niin sanotut lainasekoitukset (engl. loan blends).

Englannin kielessä adverbeja voidaan muodostaa esimerkiksi adjektiiveista johtamalla tai yhdistämällä osia yhdeksi sanaksi. Myös lausekkeita tai yksittäisiä sanoja ilman päätteitä voidaan käyttää adverbeina. Keskienglannin adverbit toimivat määritteinä verbeille, adjektiiveille, adverbeille ja kokonaisille lauseille. Sekä nykyenglannissa että keskienglannissa adverbien ryhmä sisältää hyvin erilaisia sanoja.

Tutkimukseni aineisto koostui ensisijaisesti 150 sanasta, jotka keräsin aiemmin mainitusta keskienglannin sanakirjasta. Kriteereinä olivat lähtökieli (muinaisranska murteineen) sekä kuuluminen adverbien sanaluokkaan. Lisätietoja kyseisistä sanoista hain toisesta lähteenä käyttämästäni sanakirjasta. Käytettäessä sanakirjoja tutkimuksen lähteinä on pidettävä mielessä niiden rajoitteet, kuten erot käytössä olevassa lähdeaineistoissa sekä niiden tulkinnassa ja virheiden mahdollisuus. Keskienglannin tutkimus perustuu kirjallisiin dokumentteihin, joita on säilynyt sattumanvaraisesti. Lisäksi kyseiseltä ajalta säilyneet dokumentit edustavat kirjallista, lukutaitoisten käyttämää kieltä. Jotkut kirjoittajat ja teokset saattavat olla yliedustettuina tutkimuksissa ja lähdeaineistoissa.

Monille tutkituista sanoista oli mainittu useampi kuin yksi lähdekieli. Syitä tähän on esimerkiksi alkuperäisen lähdekielen tarkan määrittelyn vaikeus, sanojen lainautuminen useampaan kertaan (esimerkiksi ensin latinasta ja myöhemmin ranskasta) tai se, että sana on johdettu keskienglannin sanasta, joka taas on alun perin lainattu ranskasta. Muinaisranska oli yleisin lähdekieli, mutta myös sen murteet, keskienglanti ja latina esiintyivät sanojen lähdekielinä.

Adverbeja oli lainattu lähdekielten adjektiiveista, adverbeista, verbien eri taivutusmuodoista ja substantiiveista. Useiden lainattujen sanojen alkuperä lähdekielessä oli lauseke, joka koostui useammasta kuin yhdestä sanasta, esimerkiksi prepositiosta ja substantiivista. Osa sanoista oli muuttunut lainattaessa tai sen jälkeen hyvin vähän, osa enemmän. Aineistosta oli löydettävissä lukuisia mahdollisia hybridilainoja ja muutamia lainasekoituksia. Jotkut adverbeista olivat säilyttäneet ranskan kielen adverbin päätteen. Monilla sanoista oli lukuisia eri kirjoitusasuja ja

merkityksiä, joitakin sanoja on käytetty keskienglannissa adverbin lisäksi esimerkiksi adjektiivina, prepositiona tai interjektiona.

Lähes kaikkien adverbien yhteydessä oli sitaatteja alkuperäisistä lähteistä, joissa sanaa on käytetty. Sitaattien määrä vaihteli paljon eri sanojen välillä. Saatavilla oli myös sitaattien ajankohta eli käsikirjoituksen vuosiluku. Niiden perusteella oli mahdollista arvioida, milloin kyseinen sana on todistettavasti mainittu ensimmäistä kertaa keskienglannissa. Nämä ensimmäiset maininnat olivat vuosien 1121 ja 1600 väliltä. On kuitenkin huomattava, että tämä ajankohta ei välttämättä ole se milloin sana on todellisuudessa lainautunut kieleen.

Näiden mainintojen perusteella lainattujen sanojen määrässä oli hetkellinen nousu 1200-luvun ensimmäisellä puoliskolla, jonka jälkeen määrä taas väheni. 1300-luvun alusta määrä lähti nousuun, yksittäisistä vuosista mainintoja lainasanoille oli eniten vuonna 1450. Jaettuna vuosisadoittain eniten oli 1400-luvulla. Kun tarkastelujaksoksi otettiin 50 vuotta, niin huippu osui vuosille 1400–1449, tosin pienellä erolla seuraavaan eli 1450–1499 verrattuna. Nämä tulokset vastaavat melko hyvin aiempien tutkimusten tuloksia, pienin eroavaisuuksin. Vertaamisessa on otettava huomioon tutkittujen sanojen määrä (muissa tutkimuksissa huomattavasti korkeampi), käytetyt lähteet ja koskeeko tutkimus kaikkia sanaluokkia vai vain yhtä, kuten tässä tutkimuksessa.

Kun tarkastelin tutkittujen sanojen esiintymistä nykyenglannissa, 150 sanasta vain 33 on jonkinlaisessa käytössä, joko adverbina tai johonkin muuhun sanaluokkaan kuuluvana. 82 on merkitty vanhentuneeksi tai harvinaiseksi ja 35 jäi ilman hakusanaa kokonaan. Yleisesti ottaen sanakirjojen tiedot koskien tutkittuja sanoja erosivat ajoittain toisistaan jonkin verran, siitä huolimatta että suurimman osan kohdalla hakusanojen välillä oli hyperlinkit sanakirjojen kesken. Hyperlinkit tietenkin myös helpottivat tietojen yhdistelyä. Joissain tapauksissa tietoa esimerkiksi sanan mahdollisesta alkuperästä löytyi, mutta tietojen perusteella ei voinut tehdä varmoja johtopäätöksiä.

Tutkimuksessa löydettiin vastaukset asetettuihin kysymyksiin. Tutkimuksen tulokset tukivat monin paikoin teoriaosuudessa käsiteltyjä asioita ja aiempia tutkimuksia. Lainasanojen alkuperän selvittämiseen liittyvät ongelmat, kuten lainauksen ajankohdan ja lähdekielen määrittämisen vaikeus kävivät ilmi myös tämän tutkimuksen aikana. Tuleva tutkimuksen aihe voisi olla esimerkiksi hybridilainojen ja lähellä lähtökielen alkuperäistä muotoa olevien sanojen ajoituksen vertailu.