

The Northern Slavic adverb in a dynamic perspective: An overview of relationships between mechanisms of adverbialization and decategorization of adverbs

The outline

1. Northern Slavic (NS) languages
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1. Northern Slavic languages



2. The distinctive features of the North and South Slavic languages

- (1) a. PSl. * $\tilde{a}RC > S \#R\tilde{a}C$ vs N $\#R\tilde{a}C$, cf. *orsti ‘to grow’ > SCr. *rásti* vs Pl. *rosnąć*, Ukr. *rosty*
 b. PSl. * $\tilde{a}LC > S \#L\tilde{a}C$ vs N $\#L\tilde{a}C$, cf. * $\tilde{o}lk\tilde{u}t\tilde{b}$ ‘elbow’ (with initial short falling accent) > SCr. *lākat* vs Ru. *lokot’*, Cz. *loket*
- (2) PSl. * $C\tilde{o}C > S CeC/C\tilde{a}C$ vs N CeC , cf. * $\tilde{d}\tilde{o}n\tilde{u}$ ‘day’ > Sl. *dān* vs Cz. *den*, Ru. *den’*
- (3) PSl. * $\tilde{e} > S \tilde{e}$ vs N \tilde{e} [ä], cf. SCr. *mēso* ‘meat’ vs Ru. *mjaso*, Plb. *mąse/mąsi*
- (4) Accusative plural of the \tilde{i} - \tilde{o} - and \tilde{i} - \tilde{a} - stems > S \tilde{e} vs N $\tilde{e}\tilde{z}$, cf. OCS *dušę* ‘soul’ vs OCz. *dušě*, ORu. *duše*
- (5) Instrumental singular of the \tilde{o} - stems > S $\tilde{o}m\tilde{b}$ vs N $\tilde{u}m\tilde{b}$, cf. OCS *godomъ* ‘year’ vs ORu. *godъmъ*
- (6) Nominative singular masculine present active participle > S \tilde{y} vs N \tilde{a} , cf. OCS *nesy* ‘to carry’ vs ORu. *nesa*

- (7) Verbal prefix 'out' > S jъz- vs N vy-, cdf. OCS iz-bъrati 'to elect' vs ORu. vy-bъrati
- (8) Simple declension singular neuter -o adjectives > S Adj_{Nom/Acc} = Adv N Adj_{Nom/Acc} > Adv/Sub, cf. Sln. *draho*_{Adj/Adv} 'expensive(ly)' vs Cz. *draho* 'expensively'

NB.

	Simple declension	Pronominal declension
Nom. sg. n.	<i>mnog-o</i> , cf. Ru. <i>mnogo</i> 'many'	+ je 'it' → <i>mnogojе</i> , cf. Ru. <i>mnogoe</i>
Gen. sg. n.	<i>mnog-a</i>	+ jеgo → <i>mnogajеgo</i> , cf. Ru. <i>mnogo</i> [] <i>go</i>
Dat. sg. n.	<i>mnog-u</i>	+ jеmu → <i>mnogujеmu</i> , cf. Ru. <i>mnogo</i> [] <i>mu</i>
Acc. sg. n.	<i>mnog-o</i>	+ jе → <i>mnogojе</i> , cf. Ru. <i>mnogoe</i>
Instr. sg. n.	<i>mnog-ъmъ</i>	+ jimъ → <i>mnogojimъ</i> , cf. Ru. <i>mnog</i> [] <i>im</i>
Loc. sg. n.	<i>mnog-ě</i>	+ jеmъ → <i>mnogějеmъ</i>

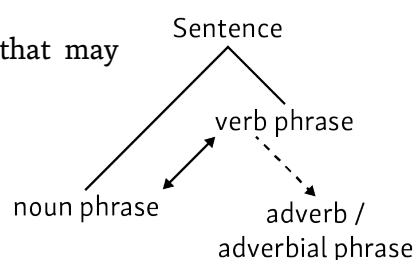
3. The Northern Slavic adverb

- *-o, cf. Cz. *málo* 'little', *těžko* 'with difficulty'; USrb. *ćicho* 'quietly', *droho* 'expensively'; Ukr. *bliz'ko* 'close', *daleko* 'far';
- *-ě, cf. Pl. *źle* 'bad', *dobrze* 'good'; Ru. *iskrenne* 'sincerely', *pevuče* 'melodiously', *vkratce* 'briefly'; USrb. *sylnje* 'strong', *hłupje* 'stupidly';
- *-y, cf. Cz. *brzy* 'early', *hezky* 'nicely', *česky* 'in Czech'; Ukr. *mudri* 'wisely';
- *-a, cf. Pl. *od dawna* 'for a long time', *bez mała* 'no less'; Cz. *zkrátka* 'in short'; Ru. *doma* 'at home', *izdaleka* 'from afar';
- *-u, cf. Pl. *po polsku* 'in Polish'; USrb. *pomału* 'slowly'; Ru. *smolodu* 'in one's youth', *ponemogu* 'little';
- *-ъmъ / *-emъ, cf. Cz. *nápadem* 'by the idea of', *posluchem* 'by listening to'; Ru. *večerom* 'in the evening'

1. An adverb is a unit of the representative level of language that may participate in syntactic relations within a sentence;
2. It applies to a verb; adverbs evoke verbs and require a verbal-in-type "head".

NB.

The distinction made between the "grammatical" and the "concrete" cases is based on the difference between syntactical and semantic functions. Putting aside the voc. and the nom., all case-forms share both kinds of functions, but the syntactical function is primary with "grammatical" and secondary with "concrete" cases, semantic function being, on the contrary, primary with "concrete" and secondary with "grammatical" cases.



Slavic cases

Primary grammatical cases	Primary concrete cases
Nominative	Ablative genitive
Proper genitive	Dative
Accusative	Instrumental
The case of a predicative	Locative

Adverb-like forms, e.g.

- intensifiers, cf. 'very' (Pl. *bardzo*, Cz. *moc*, Ru. *očen'*)
- limitators, cf. 'at least' (Pl. *minimalnie*, Cz. *nejméně*, Ru. *ne mnee*)
- approximators, cf. 'about' (Pl. *około*, Cz. *přibližně*, Ru. *priblizitel'no*)
- sentence adverbs, cf. 'indeed' (Pl. *istotnie*, Cz. *vskutku*, Ru. *dejstvitel'no*)

- discourse markers, cf. 'at all' (Pl. *w ogóle*, Cz. *vůbec*, Ru. *sovsem*)

Transitional categories

- primary comparatives, cf. anyway (Ru. *кро́че*)
- concrete cases, cf. 'quietly' (Pol. *cichcem*)
- prepositional phrases, cf. 'shortly' (Cz. *zkrátka*)

4. The origin of Slavic adverbs

- pronouns, cf. adverbial of place (**sъ-de* 'here', **въхъ-de* 'everywhere'), adverbial of time (**abъje 2< obъ-je* 'at the moment', **nъně* 'now', cf. Gr. *vũv* 'at the moment'), adverbial of cause (**togo dělja* 'by reason of') etc.
- nouns, OCz. instr *miesty* 'here and there', dat. *dolů* '(at) down', Ru. acc. *utro* 'morning', abl. *doma* 'at home' and prepositional phrases, cf. OCz. *v obec* 'generally', Ru. *izdaleka* 'far away', PSl. **въčera*
- adjectives, cf. -o, -ě adjectives; comparatives; derivatives as OPl. *mnog-dy* 'often', Pl. *po prostu* 'simply'
- verbs
 - lexicalized conjugative forms, cf. Pl. *chyba* 'probably'
 - derivatives, cf. PSl. **mi-mo* 'beside it' < PIE. **mei-* 'to go through' like in PSl. **minŋti* 'to go past'
 - declinable forms of verbs (participles), Cz. *zřě-m-ě* 'obviously'
- numerals, cf. Pol. *niejednokrotnie* 'more than once'

5. Processes of adverbialization in Northern Slavic languages

- fossilization, cf. Ru. ABL or LOC SG *doma* 'at home'; Cz. NOM *dnes* 'today' < **dъnъ-sъ* 'day this'; OPl. INS PL *pieszki* 'on foot', LOC **dobře* 'good'
- derivation, cf. Cz. *dó-stojně* 'noble', OPl. *wtor-ki* 'once more', Pl. *wszędzie* 'everywhere'
- univerbation, cf. Ru. *potom* 'then' (lit. 'after that'), Cz. *zkrátka* 'simply' (lit. 'with short', Pl. *dosyć* 'enough' < PSl. **do syti* 'to satiation')
- composition, Pl. *gdzieniegdzie* 'here and there', Cz. *na (tom) místě* 'but', *dvakrát* 'twice' (lit. 'two times')

- phonetic erosion, cf. PSl. *skrozě > Pl. w-skroś 'right across', PSl. Loc. sg. *pročě 'the rest' > ORu. pročь 'for the future'

6. An adverbial status of so-called "concrete" cases

- (1) a. Gr. πολύν σοι βοστύχων πλόκαμον κερῶμαι (E.Tr. 1183)
 many.ACC.SG your.NOM.M.PL lock of hair.GEN.M.PL lock.ACC.M.SG cut off.FUT.IND.MID.1SG
 'many a lock of my hair I will cut off'

b. Ukr. dial. **čeryty** 'to chip off the bark' < *PSl. *čerti 'to cut' < PIE. *(s)ker-

- (2) ORu. U bogatova gostja ... χῆῤῥα kromu
 PREP rich.GEN.M.SG guest.GEN.M.SG bread.GEN.M.SG slice.ACC.F.SG
 vyprošu. (AB. KH. TOLK. 548)
 plead.FUT.1SG

'I will beg a slice of bread from a rich guest'.

- (3) ORu. i o(t)sěkžše glavu otъnъrgoša i
 and cut away.PPF.NOM.PL head.ACC.F.SG throw away.AOR.3.PL it.ACC.N.SG
kromě. (СкБГ XII, 12B)
 far away

'And having cut off the head, they threw it far away'.

- (4) ORu. pьjutъ po tri kromě nedělnika (ПНЧ XIV)
 drink.PRES.3.PL PREP three.NOM.M except Sunday.GEN.SG
 'They [i.e. monks] drink three [cups of wine] each except Sunday'.

PIE. *(s)ker- 'to cut' → PSl. *krom- 'that what is cut off' → CommSl. Loc. sg. krom-ě

{ 'far away'
'besides'

> something off the edge > far [from the edge]

to cut something > something cut off

> beside the edge of something > beside of sth/sb

7. Prepositional phrases as analytical forms of the concrete cases

- (5) OPl. Krystus ... usta swa otworzył, bojim
 Christ mouth.ACC.PL poss.ACC.N.PL open.PST.PERF.3SG because.he.DAT.M.PL
 jich nigdy **darmie** nie otwarz<a>ł. (KWszŚw 378, 32)
 it.GEN.NPL never in vain not open.PST.IMPERF.3SG
 'Christ opened his mouth, because he never opened it to them for nothing'.

- (6) OPl. i zginie na darmo usile wasze, nie
 and vanish.FUT.3SG in vain effort.ACC.N.SG your.ACC.PL not
 wyda ziemia płodu swego (BZ 55ra, 8-9)
 yield.FUT.3SG land.NOM.F.SG crop.GEN.M.SG poss.GEN.M.SG
 'and your efforts will be for nothing, the land will not yield its produce'

(7) a. MPL. **Omackiem** przychodzą na teatr zaciemniony. (SJPLin)
 darkness.INS.M.SG come.PRS.3PL PREP theatre.ACC.M.SG blacked-out.ACC.M.SG
 ‘They come to the blacked-out theater in the dark’.

(7) b. MPL. Czy **po omacku** karty grać możecie? (Górn I 285)
 INT PREP darkness.DAT.M.Sg card.ACC.F.PL play.INF can.PRS.3PL
 ‘Can you play cards in the dark?’

(8) a. Pl. Wynalazł **omackiem** zapadnię. (ŻerWier 51)
 invent.PST.3SG intuitively trapdoor.ACC.F.SG
 ‘He invented the trapdoor intuitively’.

(8) b. Pl. Ich **po omacku** w nocy szukałem. (SW)
 They.GEN.PL blindly/by intuition PREP night.LOC.SG look for.PST.1SG
 ‘I looked for them at night blindly’.

8. Prepositional phrases and preposition-pronominal constructions (PPCs)

- A. reflexes of PSl. interrogatives *č- ‘what’; *čb-to ‘what-ptcl’; *kъ/q-d- ‘who/where-ptcl’; *kolik- how many’, cf. Pl. *dlaczego* ‘why’ (lit. ‘for what’);
- B. reflexes of PSl. demonstratives *t- ‘this’; *ov- ‘that’; *s- ‘this’, cf. Cz. *zato* ‘but’ (lit. ‘behind this’);
- C. reflexes of PSl. generalizing pronouns *vъš-/ *vъs- ‘all’ , cf. Ru. *vovse* ‘completely’ (lit. ‘in all’);
- D. reflexes of PSl. negated interrogatives, cf. Ru. *ni pri čem* ‘without nothing’ (lit. ‘not by what’);
- E. other, reflexes of *sę ‘oneself’, *j- ‘it’, *tak- ‘that’, cf. Pl. *ponieważ* ‘because’ (lit. ‘after it’).

Types of PCC in selected Northern Slavic languages distinguished by the primary function of the pronominal element

A	B	C	D	E
Pl. <i>dlaczego, po co, za co, po czemu, przy czym</i> ; Cz. <i>proč(ež), přičemž</i> ; Ru. <i>počemu, počem, počto, začem</i>	Pl. <i>dlatego, do tego, mało tego, mimo tego, oprócz tego, oto, (po) nadto, przeto, potem, przedtem, zatem, poza tym, odtąd, potąd, stąd, na tedy, zowąd</i> ; Cz. <i>proto, zato, kromě toho, k tomu, potom, zatímco</i> ; Ru. <i>posemu, poetomu, pritom, krome togo</i>	Pl. <i>nade wszystko, przede wszystkim, owszem, zawsze</i> ; Cz. <i>především, ovšem</i> ; Ru. <i>vovse, sovsem, navsegda</i>	Pl. <i>do niczego</i> ; Cz. <i>k ničemu, ničeho</i> ; Ru. <i>ni k čemu, ni pri čem</i> Pl. <i>donikąd, poniekąd</i> ; Cz. <i>poněkud</i>	Pl. <i>zaś, ponieważ, zanim</i> ; Cz. <i>bez tak, přece, poněvadž</i> ; Ru. <i>poneže</i>
Pl., Cz. <i>co do</i>				
Pl. <i>odkąd, skąd, dokąd</i> ; Cz. <i>dokud, pokud</i> ; Ru. <i>otkuda</i>				
Ru. <i>poskol'ku, skol'ko</i>				

(9) MPL. **za** wiernąć teraz **prawdę** to powiadam
 PREP true.ACC.F.SG now.PCL truth.ACC.F.SG this.ACC.N.SG say.PRS.1SG

panie / Iściem ja miała wdzięcznie przyjąć to
 lord.VOC.M.SG truly-1SG I have.PST.3SG gracefully accept.INF this.ACC.N.SG
 karanie. (HistLan D2)
 punishment.ACC.N.SG

‘As the real truth, therefore, I tell you, sir, that I truly accepted this punishment with gratitude’.

NB. *za prawdę* ‘as a truth’ > *zaprawdę* ‘certainly’

- (10) OPl. *pan jego rzekł jemu: „Sługo zły*
 master.nom.m.sg his.acc.sg say.pst.3sg him.dat.m.sg servant.voc.f.sg bad.nom.m.sg
a leniwy!”... A za tym rzekł swym sługam:
 and lazy.NOM.M.SG and PREP this.INS.N.SG say.PST.3SG his.DAT.M.PLservant.DAT.F.PL
„Weźmiecie od niego funt mój...”. (RozmP 490)
 take.IMM.2PL PREP he.GEN.M.SG pound.ACC.M.SG my.GEN.M.SG

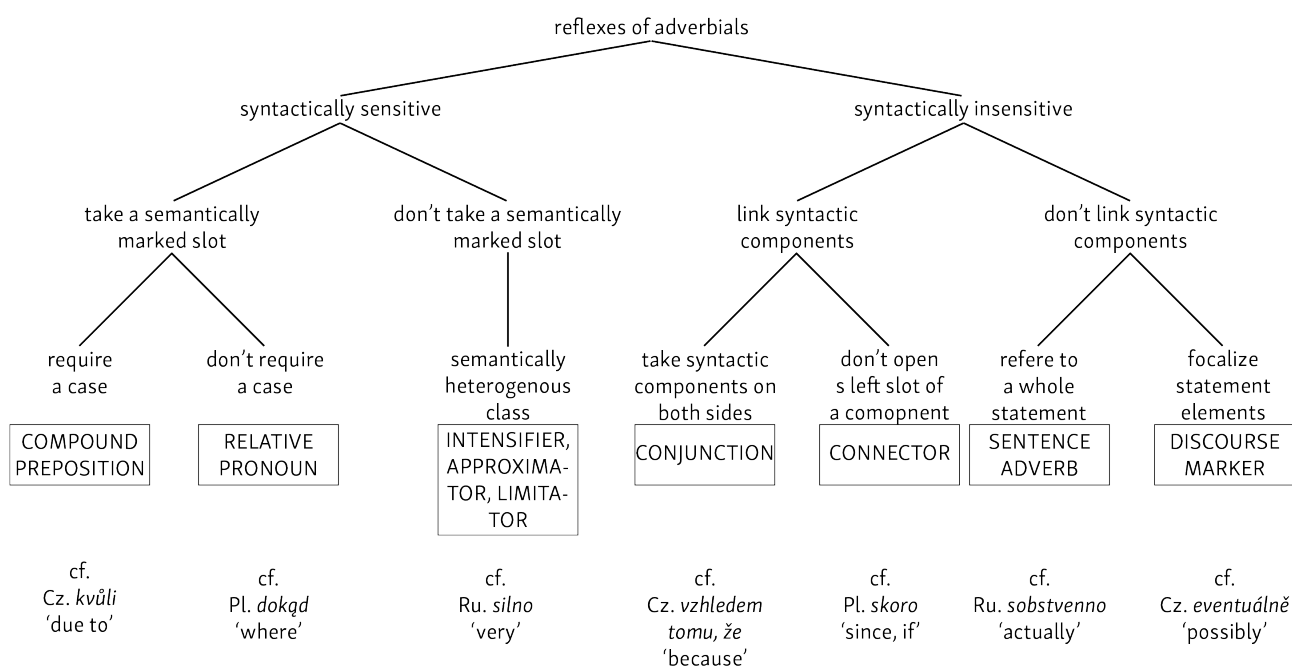
‘His master said to him, “You bad and lazy servant!” ... Then/after that he said to his servants: “Take away my pound from him ...”’

NB. *za tym/za tem* ‘after that’ > *zatem* ‘therefore’

- (11) MPl. *Kobieta ma brodę, dla tego jest*
 woman.no.sg have.prs.3g beard.acc.sg prep this.gen.sg be.prs.3sg
dziwniejsza niż inne. (Glab.Gad)
 stranger than other

‘The woman has a beard and for this reason she is stranger than the other women’.

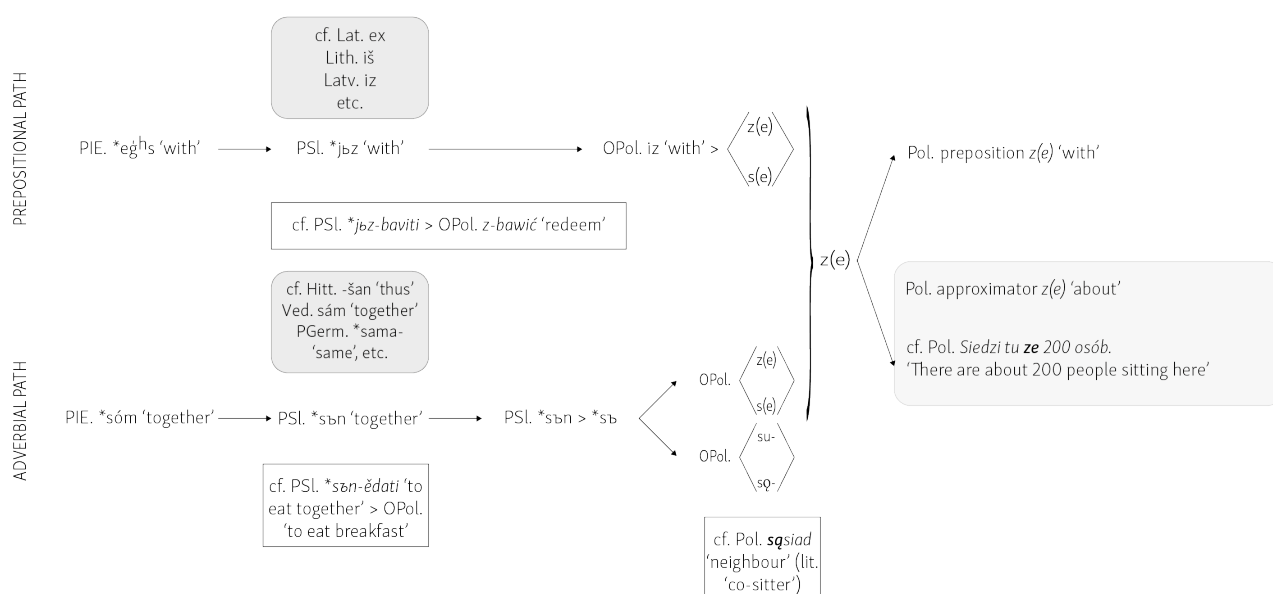
NB. *togo dla* ‘for this’ > *dla tego* ‘for this’ > *dlatego* ‘that is why’ > ‘because’



9. Decategorization of Northern Slavic adverbs

- compound/secondary prepositions, cf. ‘due to’ (Cz. *kvůli*)

- relative pronouns, cf. ‘where’ (Pl. *dokąd*)
- intensifiers, cf. ‘very’ (Pl. *bardzo*)
- limitators, cf. ‘at least’ (Pl. *minimalnie*, Cz. *nejméně*, Ru. *ne mnee*)
- approximators, cf. ‘about’ (Pl. *około*, Cz. *přibližně*, Ru. *priblizitel’no*)
- conjunctions, cf. ‘because’ (ORu. *potomu*)
- connectors / linking particles, cf. ‘since’ (Cz. *skoro*)
- sentence adverbs, cf. ‘indeed’ (Pl. *istotnie*, Cz. *vskutku*, Ru. *dejstvitel’no*)
- discourse markers, cf. ‘at all’ (Pl. *w ogóle*, Cz. *vůbec*, Ru. *sovsem*)



10. The template of categorial and conceptual shifts in an adverbial domain

source category	adverbial medium	target category
verb → nominalization taking an object, cf. Ru. <i>krom-</i> + GEN ‘a cut off piece of’	anaphoric local adverb, cf. Ru. [LOCALIZER] verb + <i>krome</i> ‘far from I’	compound preposition, cf. Ru. <i>krome</i> + GEN ‘apart from’
parametric neuter adjective, cf. Pl. <i>brzo</i> ‘intensively fast’	intensifying adverb, cf. Pl. <i>barzo</i> ‘intensively’	intensifier, cf. Pl. <i>bardzo</i> ‘very’
prepositional local phrase, cf. Cz. <i>za sě</i> ‘behind oneself’	adverbial speech commentary, cf. Cz. <i>zasě</i> ‘backwards [of that what was said]’	connector, cf. Cz. <i>zase</i> ‘again, once more’
epistemic verb, cf. Pl. <i>chyb-</i> ‘shake, totter’ > ‘falter’ (hesitate)	evidential adverb, cf. Pl. <i>chyba</i> ‘by mistake’	discourse marker, cf. Pl. <i>chyba</i> ‘perhaps’

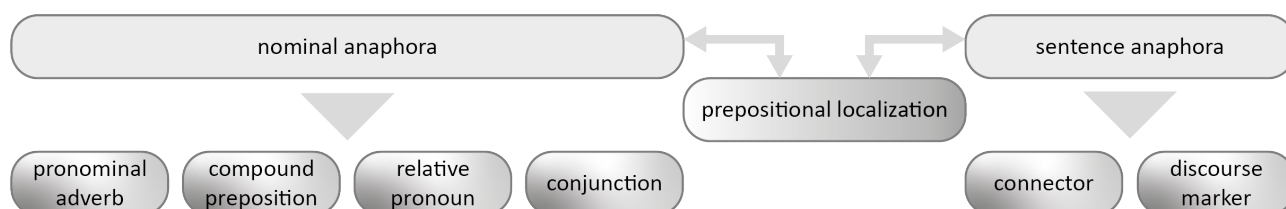
11. Lexicalization vs grammaticalization of PPCs

(12) PRONOMINAL ADVERB: Pl. *Siostry zabrały **stąd** wreszcie swojego ulubieńca.* ‘The sisters have finally taken their favorite **from here**’.

vs

- (13) CONSEQUENTIAL PARTICLE: Pl. — *Wiem, jakie to imię. — Wymów je **zatem**.* ‘— I know what the name is. — Say it **then**’.
- (14) COMPOUND PREPOSITION: Cz. *Hlava sousedova byla zcela jiná **co do** rysův i výrazu.* ‘The neighbour’s head was quite different **with respect to** features and [facial] expression’.
- (15) RELATIVE PRONOUN: Ru. ... *ja mluvím o štěstí dle všech lidí, **koliko** jich je...* ‘I’m talking about happiness for all the people, **however many** there are’.
- (16) CONJUNCTION: Cz. *Bijte si mě, mučte si mě chlebovou polívkou, **přece** jsem nejšťastnější chlapec.* ‘You can beat me, torment me with the bread soup, **so** I am the happiest boy in the world’.
- (17) CONNECTOR: Ru. ***Pri tom** čto pravjaščaja lejboristskaja partija obladaet bol’sinstvom v parlamente, prinjat’ sootvetstvuščij zakon ne sostavilo by truda.* ‘**Even though** the ruling Labor Party has a majority in Parliament, it would not be difficult to pass a law to that effect’.
- (18) DISCOURSE MARKER: Ru. ... *byl človek v kresle **sovsem** ne Vasilij Ivanovič Lisovič, a Vasilisa....* ‘... the person in the chair was not **at all** Vasily Ivanovich Lisovich but Vasilisa...’.

12. Grammatical classes for grammaticalized PPCs



13. Secondary grammaticalization of PPCs

- (19) ORu. *korolъ vъ tu poru sъ pany radilъ, i*
 king.NOM.SG in this.ACC.SG time.ACC.SG with lord.INS.PL debate.PST.3SG and
*emu ne skazali, čto ty idešъ, i **potomu***
 he.DAT.SG not tell.PST.3SG COMP you.NOM.SG come.PRS.2SG and that's why
tobě vstrěči ne bylo. (CPЯ 11-17BB.)
 you.DAT.SG meeting.GEN.SG not be.PST.3SG
 ‘The king at that time was consulting with the lords, and he was not told that you were coming, and that’s why you did not have a meeting’.
- (20) ORu. *S těxъ ugodei obročnyxъ denegъ vzjatъ ně na*
 From this.GEN.PL benefit.GEN.PL tenemental.ACC.PL money.ACC.PL take.INF not on
*komъ, **potomu** Kuluiskovo posadu krestъjane*
 who.GEN because Kuluisk’s.GEN.SG settlement.DAT.SG peasant.NOM.PL
razbrelisъ vrozň ot zboru. (CPЯ 11-17BB.)
 disperse.REFL.PST.3PL in different directions from exaction.ACC.SG
 ‘From these benefits tenemental money cannot be taken from anyone, because the peasants from Kuluisk’s settlement dispersed in different directions because of the exaction [of taxes].’

(19a) he was not told that you were coming' THAT'S WHY you did not have a meeting'

(19b) you did not have a meeting' BECAUSE he was not told that you were coming'

