# The Northern Slavic adverb in a dynamic perspective: An overview of relationships between mechanisms of adverbialization and decategorization of adverbs
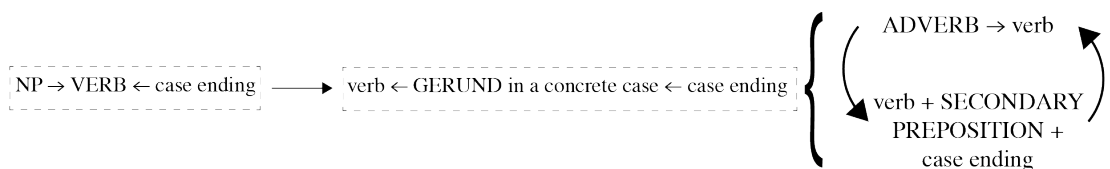
Piotr Sobotka (Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)

Adverbs are a rather mixed lexical class as a possible consequence of the fact that they tend to be derived from other and not homogeneous lexical classes (cf. Givón 1984; Haspelmath 2001). Moreover, many adverbs are not grammatically stable lexemes; they easily transform into non-representational units of the language, taking new contents and/or functions; cf. PSl. *čutь ('barely, a little' > 'as soon as'), ORus. *pročь ('forward' > 'besides'), OPol. *wierę ('believing'/'telling the truth' > assertive "complementizer" of direct speech 'I say, speaking the truth: _', OCz. *pak ('again' > 'so').

The paper proposes an integrated study on the phenomenon of adverbialization and decategorization of adverbs in Northern Slavic languages (East and West Slavic together). It compares and merges the most frequent Slavic adverbialization paths with the adverb decategorization pathways and gives a functional interpretation of selected shifts. Investigating the development pathways in question must apply functional observations and comparative and internal reconstruction methods.

Some adverbs transform into intensifiers; cf. Cz. 'very' (*velmi* + N) < 'great'; secondary prepositions, cf. Rus. 'besides' (V + *krome* + N) < 'on the edge of'; discourse markers, see Pol. 'simply; just' (P *wręcz* Q) < 'hand-to-hand'; and other function words. Furthermore, adverbs themselves are derived from different classes of speech (pronouns, nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals). They emerged from them by fossilization (cf. PSl. *vьčera* 'yesterday' < PIE. ablative *ueku̯sper-ah₂ad* 'evening'); derivation (cf. PSl. *mi-mo* 'next to; besides' < PIE. *mei̯- 'to go through'); univerbation (cf. OPol. *dosyć* 'enough' < PSl. *do syti* 'to satiation'); composition (cf. Cz. *dvakráti* 'twice, two times'); phonetic erosion (cf. Pol. *wskroś* 'right across' < PSl. *skrozě* 'by means'). The products of presented shifts seem to depend on both grammatical and semantic features of the adverb ancestors and the mechanism of their adverbialization. Let us consider the following case of fossilization as in (1) and grammaticalization as in (2) (cf also Kortmann and König 1992):



PIE. *(s)ker- 'to cut' → PSl. *krom-* 'that what is cut off' → CommSl. Loc. sg. *krom-ě* { 'far away' / 'besides' }

cf. ORus.

(1) *i            o(t)sěkъše        glavu           otъvьrgoša        i            kromě.*
   and.CONJ   cut away.PPF.NOM.PL   head.ACC.SG   throw away.AOR.3.PL   he.ACC.SG.M   far_away.ADV
   'And having cut off the head, they threw it far away'. (СкБГ XII, 12в)

(2) *pьjutь          po          tri* [cups of wine] *kromě        nedělьnika.*
   drink.PRES.3.PL   PREP (each)   three.NOM.M   except.PREP   Sunday.GEN.SG
   'They drink three cups of wine each except Sunday'. (ПНЧ XIV)

The items considered here combine in more or less regular and continuous chains of categorical and conceptual shifts. A complete description of these chains is not yet possible, although some patterns of changes can be identified, see samples in Tab. 1.

| SOURCE CATEGORY ⟶ | ADVERBIAL MEDIUM ⟶ | TARGET CATEGORY |
|---|---|---|
| parametric adjectives | intensifying adverbs | intensifiers, cf. OPol. *brzo* 'very' |
| prepositional phrases | local adverbs | connectors, cf. Pol. *zasię* 'while' |
| epistemic verbs | adverbial participles | markers of assertion, cf. OPol. *wierę* 'I say, speaking the truth: *p*' |
| gerunds (→ exception prepositions) | evidential adverbs | discourse markers, cf. OPol. *chyba* 'surely' |

The paper outlines a map of categorial and conceptual shifts based on a detailed analysis of Northern Slavic data, comparing this, *inter alia*, with the claims of Kuteva at al. (2019) and showing the mutual relations between source and target categories. Special attention is paid to a subtype of prepositional phrases formed by combining a preposition and a pronoun (cf. Kisiel and Sobotka 2022), cf. Rus. *sovsem* lit. 'with everything' > 'completely' > 'at all'; Pol. *stąd* lit. 'from this' > 'from here' > 'hence'; Cz. *potom* lit. 'after that' > 'afterwards' > 'then'. The development of these units shows interesting varieties in their grammaticalization paths, cf. Old Russian *potomu* lit. 'after this':

(3) *korolь     vъ tu     poru     sъ   pany     radilъ,        i    emu     ne*
    king.NOM.SG  in this.ACC.SG time.ACC.SG  with lord.INS.PL debate.PST.3SG  and  he.DAT.SG  not

*skazali,   čto   ty     idešь,        i    **potomu**   tobě     vstrěči       ne*
tell.PST.3PL that  you.NOM.SG  come.PRS.2.SG and   that's_why  you.DAT.SG meeting.GEN.SG  not

*bylo.*
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'. (*СРЯ 11-17вв.*)

(4) *S    těxъ    ugodei    obročnyxъ      denegъ     vzjatь  ně   na   komъ,*
    From this.GEN.PL benefit.GEN.PL tenemental.ACC.PL  money.ACC.PL take.INF not  on   who.GEN

***potomu** Kuluiskovo    posadu         krestьjane       razbrelisь*
because Kuluisk's.GEN.SG settlement.DAT.SG   peasant.NOM.PL  disperse.refl.pst.1sg

*vroznь             ot   zboru.*
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].' (*СРЯ 11-17вв.*)

In example (3), the preposition 'after' is a marker of the quasi-conjunctive relation linking two syntactic units ('how we refer'), while the pronoun 'this' plays an anaphoric function ('what we refer to'). In the following example, the connector means 'because' and is formally a descendant of the first type that represents a kind of syntactic anaphora. However, the reference system has changed to the polar opposite in this case. This transformation implies a cataphoric reading of the pronoun *tomu* 'to/for this' in (4) (referring to the fact that the peasants have run away).

**References**

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