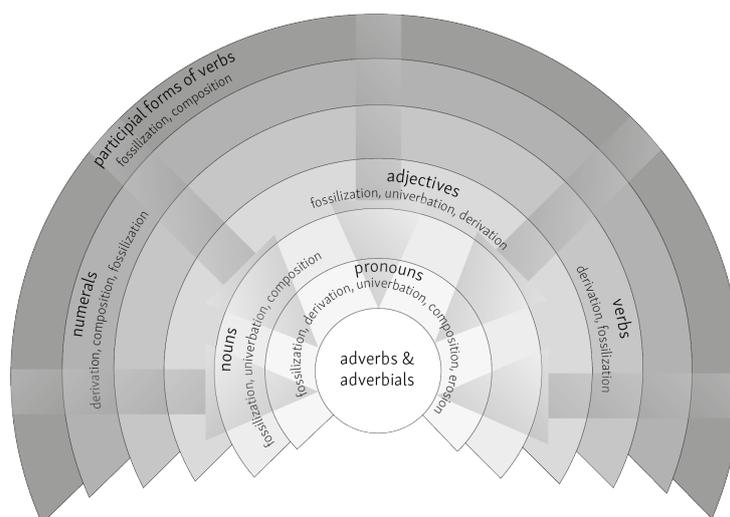


Towards a Comprehensive Description of the Fossilization Process as a Mechanism of the Slavic Adverbialization, With Special Focus on Deadjective Adverbs

Indo-European adverbs are a relatively young class of parts of speech. However, according to Kuryłowicz (1964: 171) “The fact that in the I.E. languages many an indeclinable may function both as preverb and as preposition has been a sufficient reason for attributing to them an adverbial origin. Such an assumption fully accounts for their subsequent functional bifurcation”. This widely accepted assumption may suggest that at least some adverbs are older than some adpositions. As Talmy Givón (1984: 80–81) pointed out, adverbs are a rather mixed lexical class as a possible consequence of the fact that adverbs tend to be derived from other and not heterogeneous lexical classes. Indo-European adverbs are derivatives of pronominal, nominal, adjectival and verbal stems.

The origin and paths of the development of Slavic adverbs are a hugely complex issue and still suffer from significant uncertainty. Although we know the derivational bases of adverbs, we still cannot explain the functional mechanisms of transformations the bases into adverbs. Slavic adverbs descend from pronouns, nouns, adjectives, verbs, numerals and other adverbs (cf. Jahn 1966). The oldest pattern of adverbialization seems to be depronominial derivation. At the same time, the youngest is deadverbial and deverbal derivation with two main patterns: the transposition of participles and specific verbal mutations, especially suffixation of them (cf. PSl. **mimo* < PIE. **mei-* ‘to go through’ like in PSl. **minqti* ‘to go past’) and fossilization as well.

The adverbialization in the Slavic languages occurs by means of five ways: fossilization, composition, univerbation, derivation, phonetic erosion. The purpose of the paper is to develop an integrated description of the oldest Slavic adverbialization by means of fossilization with reference to Balto-Slavic and Indo-European data (due in particular to the oldest Slavic adverbs derived from the simple declension of adjectives).



Fossilization we understand as the loss of its original function by a primary grammatical marker of the adverb base, e.g. the case ending of a noun, a pronoun or a numeral, the case and gender ending of an adjective or a participle. The nominal forms in the adverbial function relate to the so-called concrete cases which semantically function as adverbials of time, place

and manner (nb. so-called grammatical cases are semantically empty and they undergoes adverbialization in their secondary use). According to Kuryłowicz (1964: 179), the concrete cases are divided into the instrumental, ablative and locative. Moreover, Kuryłowicz (1949: 38) claims that the dative is also the concrete case, however, its position within the Slavic case system stays uncertain. Most of the fossilized Slavic forms indeed relate to the concrete cases, cf. PSI. **vьčera* is a reflex of the former PIE. ablative **uek_usper-ah₂ad*, next the Proto-Slavic adverbial form **gotově* ‘definitely’ comes from the locative neuter = masculine adjective **gotovъ* ‘prepared’, then Macedonian *кромку* ‘meekly’ is a former instrumental form of adjective *кромок* ‘mild, meek’, etc.

However, many adverbs originate from the fossilized forms of the grammatical cases, as desubstantive adverbs (cf. Rus. *утро* ‘morning’, Cz. *v obec* > *vůbec* ‘at all’ which are former accusative forms, Rus. former genitive constructions *издалека* ‘far away’, *дома* ‘at home’ etc.) and deadjective adverbs (cf. forms of nominative–accusative cases: Serb./Cro., Slov. *dobro* ‘well’, Ukr., Rus. *далеко* ‘far’). This type of adverbialization proves that transformation concrete cases into adverbs cannot be an only explanation of the emergence of this category within nominal parts of speech. Fossilization is also a mechanism for the deverbal adverbs (cf. Pol. *ani chybi* ‘no doubt’, fossilized participles as Cz. *zřěmo* ‘of course’, *nepřerušeně* ‘ongoing’, Pol. *ospale* ‘sluggish; slow’, *skrycie* ‘secretly’) as well as adverbs derived from comparatives (cf. OCS. *jedinače*, OCz. *jinačějie* ‘different’) or superlatives (cf. Pol. *bynajmniej*).

An important point of reference of the adverbialization processes has to do with adjectives because some adverbs originated from adjectives which represent simple inflection. The original Proto-Slavic adjectives were inflected like nouns. The Balto-Slavic period saw the development of a new type of the inflection of the adjective, known as pronominal or compound inflection, which consisted in the affixation of a simple postpositional anaphoric pronoun, which agrees with the adjective in number, gender, case, cf. Ɑ ⱨѡМЦИ ВЪЗЪВЪРОША НА ДѢТИНЕЦѢ. БАШЕ БО МѢСТО ВЕЛМИ СИЛНО ТВЕРДО. НА КАКАМЕНИ ВЪСОЦѢ. НЕ ИМѢА ПРИСТОУПА НИѠКОУДОУ же. (Novg.). In the example *silno* is either still an adjective or already an adverb or an adverb–like form. Here it performs a function similar to the ones performed by intensifiers, which could eventually be verified by the prosodic line of the sentence. It is possible that the expression *silno* opens a semantically marked slot for the adjective *tverdo*, subordinated to the noun *město*, indeed performing the function of an intensifier of this adverb or adjective. It seems that the processes of the Slavic adverbialization were accompanied by the emergence of a pronominal inflection of the adjective, which served *inter alia* the morphologization of the adjective as an attribute in the nominal group, and the said processes were facilitated by the predicative nature of the simple adjective (they constituted an additional predication superimposed on the sentence such as some adjuncts), which, similarly as attributes, modified both the agens and the action itself, cf. OPol. *Jawny jeś mi uczynił drogi żywota*. (Fl) that can be understood as ‘The paths of life you have made for me are **accessible to all**’ OR ‘You have **publicly** made the paths of life for me’.

References

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