

**FORMATION OF ADVERBS OF MANNER IN THE OLD RUSSIAN LANGUAGE
(AS EXEMPLIFIED BY LITERARY TEXTS OF THE 6TH-16TH CENTURIES)**

***FORMAÇÃO DE ADVÉRBIOS DE MODO NA ANTIGA LÍNGUA RUSSA
(EXEMPLIFICADOS POR TEXTOS LITERÁRIOS DOS SÉCULOS VI-XVI)***

***FORMACIÓN DE LOS ADVERBIOS DE MODO EN EL LENGUAJE RUSO ANTIGUO
(COMO SE EJEMPLA EN LOS TEXTOS LITERARIOS DE LOS SIGLOS VI-XVI)***

Sergey SHCHERBINA¹
Ivan MAZANKO²
Elena ALTABAYEVA³
Tamara KOVINA⁴
Elena GANINA⁵

ABSTRACT: The study proves that the prefixal method is the main way of forming adverbs of manner in the Old Russian language. The teaching of language historians about the formation of Old Russian adverbs is based on a stable idea about the ongoing or incomplete adverbialization of prepositional-substantive or prepositional-attributive combinations. This viewpoint on adverbs affected the historical coverage of this part of speech not only in academic research but also in educational literature. Adverbs of manner, which are integral grammatical and lexical components of the Russian language, have not yet been a research subject.

KEYWORDS: Old Russian language. Literary texts in Old Russian. Adverbs of manner. Parts of speech.

RESUMO: O estudo comprova que o método prefixal é a principal forma de formação de advérbios de modo na língua russa antiga. O ensino de historiadores da linguagem sobre a formação de advérbios do russo antigo é baseado em uma ideia estável sobre a adverbialização contínua ou incompleta de combinações preposicional-substantivas ou preposicional-atributivas. Esse ponto de vista sobre os advérbios afetou a cobertura histórica dessa parte do discurso não apenas na pesquisa acadêmica, mas também na literatura educacional. Os

¹ Russian University of Transport (MIIT), Moscow – Russia. Associate Professor of the Department of Russian and Foreign Languages. Doctor of Philology. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7869-8566>. E-mail: qerbina@mail.ru

² Russian State Agrarian University - Moscow Timiryazev Agricultural Academy, Moscow – Russia. Associate Professor of the Russian as a foreign language and general theoretical disciplines. Candidate of Philology. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4559-9910>. E-mail: if42@yandex.ru

³ Moscow State Pedagogical University (MPSU), Moscow – Russia. Professor of the Department of the Russian Language. Doctor of Philology. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6185-5801>. E-mail: evaltabayeva@mail.ru

⁴ Russian University of Transport (MIIT), Moscow – Russia. Associate Professor of the Department of Russian and Foreign Languages. Candidate of Philology. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4405-230X>. E-mail: tpkovina@mail.ru

⁵ Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation, Moscow – Russia. Professor of the Language Training Department. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5726-3835>. E-mail: eganina@fa.ru

advérbios de modo, que são componentes gramaticais e lexicais integrais da língua russa, ainda não foram objeto de pesquisa.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Língua russa antiga. Textos literários em russo antigo. Advérbios de modo. Partes Do Discurso.*

RESUMEN: *El estudio demuestra que el método prefijo es la forma principal de formar adverbios de modo en el idioma ruso antiguo. La enseñanza de los historiadores de la lengua sobre la formación de adverbios en ruso antiguo se basa en una idea estable sobre la adverbialización continua o incompleta de combinaciones preposicionales-sustantivas o preposicionales-atributivas. Este punto de vista sobre los adverbios afectó la cobertura histórica de esta parte del discurso no solo en la investigación académica sino también en la literatura educativa. Los adverbios de modo, que son componentes integrales gramaticales y léxicos del idioma ruso, aún no han sido objeto de investigación.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Lengua rusa antigua. Textos literarios en ruso antiguo. Adverbios de modo. Partes de la oración.*

Introduction

The formation of an adverb as a part of speech is presented in textbooks "limitedly" and separately, according to the "small number of adverbs", mainly in the form of general reasoning that combinations of prepositions with nouns and adjectives should undergo adverbialization in order to perform the function of adverbs (BORKOVSKII; KUZNETSOV, 1965).

However, written sources of the Old Russian language refute these judgments. They are consistent only with the opinion of Academician A.A. Shakhmatov (1941, p. 426) who believed that primary adverbs in Russian represented nouns with a transformed syntactic function: "A noun in the nominative and objective cases becomes an adverb when it receives the meaning of a circumstance in a sentence".

Sharing Shakhmatov's opinion about conditions and reasons for the formation of adverbs in the Old Russian language and supporting other scholars, we call the oldest group of adverbs *primary adverbs*. As the study has shown, the latter acted as a basis for secondary adverbs formed with the help of a prefix. If we compare primary and secondary adverbs, there is clear word-formation continuity between the old and new forms. Compare: *ночу/ночи* ("at night") "И пришедъши **нощи**, они же устрѣмивъшеся, поймавъше оружья, поидоша на нь [Andrey Bogolyubsky] яко звѣрье свѣрьпии/As soon as night fell, they ran and grabbed weapons, went to the prince, like wild animals" (ШАХМАТОВ, 1908a, p. 638) → *въночи/вънощи/вночи/внощи* ("at night")

И пришедъши **внощи**, они же устрѣмивъшеся, поймавъше оружие, поидоша на нь [Andrey Bogolyubsky], яко звѣрье сверѣпии, и идущимъ к ложници его/As soon as night fell, they ran and grabbed weapons, went to the prince's bedroom, like wild animals (SHAKHMATOV, 1908a, p. 586);

верхъ/verkh ("above, at the top")

Того же лѣта Немци убиша шесть человекъ опочанъ бортниковъ, убиша на нашей земли, а инии Немци к Опочку **верхъ** Ускѣ, а посекуше и пожгоша все/ That same summer, the Germans killed six people from beekeepers, slashed them on our land and then moved up the Usk river to Opochka, destroyed and burned everything (NASONOV, 1955b, p. 124)

→ *въверхъ/vverkh* ("above, in the upper reaches")

Того же лѣта Нѣмцы убиша 6-ти человекъ опочанъ бортниковъ, убиша на нашей земли, а инии Нѣмцы к Опочку **въверхъ** Уске, а посѣкуше и пожгоша все/That same summer, the Germans killed six people from beekeepers, slashed them on our land and then moved up the Usk river to Opochka, destroyed and burned everything (NASONOV, 1955a).

The prefixal method was the main way for forming adverbs of place and time (ALTABAEVA; MAZANKO; SHCHERBINA, 2022; SHCHERBINA; MAZANKO; SKVORTSOV, 2020).

Methods

Within the framework of this research, we set the following tasks:

- 1) To update the term *primary adverbs* introduced by Shakhmatov within modern historical Russian studies;
- 2) To study the formation of adverbs of manner in the Old Russian language from the historical viewpoint.

Research methods: to interpret the studied units, we used word-formation and morphemic analysis in synchrony and diachrony, comparative and contextual analysis, which allows distinguishing between adverbs and homonymous forms.

Results and discussion

Like adverbs of place and time, adverbs of manner are formed from primary adverbs with the help of prefixes. For example, secondary adverbs *въкупѣ* *накупѣ*/*вкупире* *накуп*, *купно*/*купно*, *накупъ*/*накуп*, *накупы*/*накуру*, *вкупъ*/*вкуп*, *насъвокупѣ*/*наsvokup*, *насъвокупъ*/*наsvokup*, *наскупъ*/*наskup*, included in a group of cognate words meaning "together", are the product of prefixal word formation: such adverbs as *купѣ*/*купъ* are formed from the primary adverb using the appropriate prefix ("Купа/кура. Noun *Pile, heap*"; "Вкупѣ/вкуп. Adverb *Together*"; "Купно/купно. Adverb *Connected*" (ЛЕПЕКНИН *et al.*, 1792, p. 1066)). Here are the actual data: 1) *Накупъ/накуп* ("together") ← *на* + *купъ* ("И по литургии вся братия и обедаша вси *накупъ* и праздноваша праздньство/According to the liturgy, all the brethren gathered together for dinner and celebrated their feast" (КОТКОВ, 1971, p. 235)); 2) *Наскупъ/наskup* ("together") ← *на* + *скупъ* ("И отпѣвше литургию, обѣдаша братья *наскупъ*, кождо с бояры своими/After singing the liturgy, the brethren ate together with boyars"); 3) *Въкупѣ/вкуп* ("together") ← *въ* + *купѣ* ("И по литургии вся братия идоша съ бояры съ своими кождо, и обѣдаша *вкупѣ* съ любовию/According to the liturgy, all the brethren joined boyars and dined together with love" (КАРСКИЙ, 1926, p. 31)); 4) *Насъвокупѣ/наsvokup* ("together") ← *на* + *съ* + *вкупѣ* ("Отпѣвши литургию, обѣдаша братья *насъвокупе*, кождо со бояры своими/Having celebrated the liturgy, the brethren dined together with boyars" (IROSHNIKOV, KUKUSHKINA, LOURIE, 1989)). All these adverbs convey the same meaning. On May 20, 1072, the sons of Yaroslav the Wise, Metropolitan George, archimandrites and monastics gathered in Kyiv, despite their hostility, to transfer the holy Passion-bearers Boris and Gleb's relics to a new stone church. The event ended with a friendly meal.

The above-mentioned adverbs are frequently used, except for *накупы/накуру* ("from all sides, together, at the same time"):

Ему [Титу] же и юнѣишии отвѣщаша. Да приступимъ къ стѣнамъ *накупы*, и не стѣрпятъ иудѣи нашего пришествия, погрузятъ бо ся нашими стрѣлами/He [Titus] addressed the youth. Let us proceed to the walls. The Jews will not endure our coming and will be covered with a rain of our arrows! (MESHCHERSKII, 1958, p. 390).

In the structure of adverbs, it is necessary to distinguish between diachrony and synchrony. If the principle of "consecutive comparison of motivating and motivated bases" is violated, incorrect word-formation connections are established.

In particular, the "Academic Grammar" (1952) includes such adverbs as "in the Russian way" or "in a feminine way" into the category of adverbs formed from adjectives on the basis of morphemic analysis (VINOGRADOV, 1952, p. 396-408). In fact, they are formed through the derivational method "prefix + primary adverb", including primary adverbs *женьскы/zhensky*, *русьскы/rusky*, *печенѣжскы/pechenzhsky*, *скотьскы/skotsky*, *мирьскы/mirsky* as the generating base and the prefix *по-/ро-* as a word-formation formant: "Аще мужа два биетася *женьскы*, любо одереть или укусить, митрополиту 12 гривень/If two men fight among themselves like women, scratching and biting, then they will have to pay 12 *hryvnias* in favor of the metropolitan" (NASONOV, 1950, p. 483);

А Древяне живяху звѣриньскимъ образом, живуще *скотьски*, убиваху другу друга, ядыху вся нечисто, и брака у нихъ не бываше, но умыкиваху у воды девица/And the Drevlyans lived as animals and beasts: they killed each other, ate everything unclean, and they did not have wives, but they kidnapped girls by the water (KARSKII, 1926, p. 13);

Придоша печенѣзи ... изнемогаху же людье гладомъ и водою ... И единъ отрокъ ... изиде изъ града с уздою и ристаша сквозѣ Печенеги, глаголя: не видѣ ли коня никто же, бѣ бо умѣя *печенѣжски*/When the Pechenegs came ... the people were exhausted with hunger and thirst... And one young man... came out of the city with a bridle and went through the Pechenegs, asking "Did anyone see the horse?" and acting like a Pecheneg (KARSKII, 1926, p. 66).

This derivational type can explain the presence of such variants as *рыцарски/rytsarski* and *по-рыцарски/ro-rytsarski* (chivalrously), *дружески/druzheski* and *по-дружески/ro-druzheski* (friendly), etc. in modern language.

A rather numerous lexical-semantic group with the crucial seme "secretly" did not avoid mistakes in identifying various methods of formation: *таи/тай*, *отаи/отай*, *вѣтаи/втѣи*, *потаи/потай*, *опотаи/опотай*, *въпотаи/впотай*, *вѣтаѣ/вта*, *вѣтаю/втѣю*, *таинѣ/tain*, *вѣтаинѣ/vtain*, *отаинѣ/otain*, *таино/taino*, *отаино/otaino*, *вѣтаино/vtaino*, *вѣтаину/vtainu*, *таевнѣ/taevn*, *таемъ/taem*, *вѣтаяхъ/vtayakh*, *вѣтаѣ/вта*, *вѣтаиныхъ/vtainykh*. Units of this group actively entered into numerous synonymous rows (*безвѣсти/bezvsti*, *безвѣстно/bezvstno*, *изъгономъ/izgonom*, *искрадомъ/iskradom*, *вънезапу/vnezapuri*, *изънезаны/iznezary*, *изъневѣсти/iznevsti*, *изъневѣсть/iznevst*, *въскрытѣ/vskryt*, *въприкрытѣ/vprikryt*, *въскровѣ/vskrov*, *невѣдомо/nevdomo*, *наединѣ/naedin*, etc.) and antonymous relations with the *явѣ/яв* adverb. For example, *отаи/отай* – *явѣ/яв*:

Они тогда не пакостяху вам **явѣ** ("openly"), но **отаи**, съ блюдениемъ ("carefully")/They will not do dirty tricks to you openly, but rather sneakily. Нынѣ же, видяще непокорство ваше и безстудство, губятъ и плѣняють вас **явѣ**/Seeing your disobedience and impudence, they destroy and captivate you in reality (MESHCHERSKII, 1958, p. 275).

The insufficient understanding of the Old Russian word-formation types of adverbs and the derivational history of the **втайне/vtaine** (secretly) adverb resulted in the fact that it was included into two derivatives: 1) derived from nouns; 2) derived from adjectives, with a reservation that it is an "unproductive type" (SHVEDOVA, 1970).

The "secretly" adverb is a classic example of the theory of adverbialization: "Such adverbs ... as **втайне/vtaine**, **въяве/vyave**, **вкуне/vkune** (secretly, openly, together) ... were formed using different nouns with prepositions" (PESHKOVSKII, 2001, p. 99). A.M. Peshkovskii (2001, p. 140, 143) meant these adverbs when he wrote that the process of their formation was clear "without a special research mechanism". Expanding the list of "obvious" adverbs, Professor V.A. Trofimov (1957, p. 233) repeated Peshkovskii's idea about the methods of their formation: "Prepositional adverbial combinations, fused into a stable form, have quite a clear structure". V.V. Vinogradov (1986, p. 285) included the "secretly" word into the combinations of "preposition and prepositional-local case".

Indeed, the "vtaine" adverb (in secret) has never been a prepositional combination **въ тайнѣ/v tain**. It was formed through such a type as "prefix + primary adverb". In the Old Russian language, many adverbs had two suffixes (-ѣ- and -о-) and two forms: **вѣрно/vrno** – **вѣрно/vrno** (rightly), **душевнѣ/dushevno** – **душевно/dushevno** (sincerely), **радостнѣ/radostn** – **радостно/radostno** (cheerfully), **мужественнѣ/muzhestvenn** – **мужественно/muzhestvenno** (manly), **добровольнѣ/dobrovoln** – **добровольно/dobrovolno** (voluntarily), **явнѣ/yavn** – **явно/yavno** (clearly), **келеинѣ/kelein** – **келеино/keleino** (calmly), **хорошѣ/khorosh** – **хорошо/khorosho** (well). Let us compare: 1) **Мужественнѣ/muzhestvenn** ("courageously") "Зустуня ... нападе на турки **мужественѣ**/Zustuneya ... courageously attacked the Turks" (NOROV, 1856, p. 134); 1) **Мужественно/muzhestvenno** ("courageously") "Зустуня ... бующя с турки ... храбро и **мужественно**/Zustuneya ... fighting with the Turks ... bravely and courageously" (PERESVETOV, 1956, p. 129); 2) **Различнѣ/razlichn** ("differently") [Prince Oleg on the captured Greeks]

[...] их же яша, многия томления и муки нанесе, единых бо разсѣкаху, другия же разстрѣляху, иных же **различнѣ** мучаху, иных въ море въметаху/they experienced many sorrows and torments, some of them were slaughtered, the others were shot, tortured in different ways, thrown into the sea (ANKHIMYUK; ZAVADSKAYA, 2003, p. 30);

2) **Различно/razlichno** ("differently") [Prince Igor on the captured Greeks]

[...] **различно** томяху: овѣхъ разытинаху, инья стрѣлами разстрѣляху, инымъ opakъ руцѣ связавше, изыламляху, инымъ гвозды посредѣ главъ въбиваху/the fates of prisoners differed: some were crucified, the others were shot with arrows, got their hands twisted, were tied and nailed right into the head (ANKHIMYUK; ZAVADSKAYA, 2003, p. 31).

Considering the alternation of suffixes, there is a direct word-formation connection between the word forms **вѣтаинѣ/vtain**, **вѣтаино/vtaino** (derived with the use of the **вѣ-** prefix) and the adverb forms **таинѣ/tain**, **таино/taino**, rather than nouns: [Тевтивила]

[...] прияша Рижани с великою честью ... Увѣдавъ же се Миндого, яко хотять ему помогати вся вои Рижкая и, убоявся, посла **таинѣ** ко Андрѣеви, мастеру Рижьску и ... послалъ бо бѣ злата много и сребра ... рекыи: ащъ убъеши ... Тевтивила и еще болша сих приимеши/[Tautvilas] from Riga was welcomed with great honor... Having encountered Mindaugas, he acted as if he wanted to help him... Being afraid, he secretly sent the ambassador to Andrei, the master of Riga, and ... greased him with flows of gold and silver to avoid killing... Tautvilas would have brought much more effort (SHAKHMATOV, 1908b, p. 558);

Молишеса ту бу **вѣтаинѣ**/Shall you pray secretly"; "Анди бекъ **вѣтайне** говорилъ/Andi spoke secretly"; "Вели, государь, меня **вѣтаино** спрощать про ихъ богомерскую ересь/Allow me, sire, to secretly ask them about their unholy heresy (BARKHUDAROV, 1976, p. 164).

Such adverbs as **отаи/otai**, **вѣтаи/vtai** derived from the primary adverb **тай/tai** in the same way. This status was assigned to the word by the Dictionary of the Russian Academy, published under the patronage of Catherine the Great:

Adverb **тай** means secretly, covertly, implicitly, quietly. *Тогда Иродъ тай призва волхвы/Then Herod secretly summoned the magi*. Adverb **отай** means calmly, unremarkably. *Воста Давид и обрѣза воскрылие Саула отай/David stood up and secretly cut off Saul's hem* (ЛЕПЕКХИН *et al.*, 1794, p. 9).

Being archaic, such adverbs as *вътаи/vtai*, *отаи/otai* ("secretly") were replaced by *таино/taino* in later lists: "Того же лѣта Пиминъ митрополитъ *втаи* поиде ко Царюграду /The same year, Pimen, the Metropolitan of Moscow, secretly visited Tsargrad" (SERBINA, 1977, p. 64) → "The same year, Metropolitan Pimin side ... *taino*, unknown in Tsargrad" → "Того же лѣта митрополитъ Пиминъ съиде ... *таино*, безвѣсти в Царьградъ/The same year, Pimin, the Metropolitan of Moscow, secretly and incognito visited Tsargrad" (BOBROV; DMITRIEVA, 2002, p. 158);

И *отаи* съвокупляхуся Антипатръ, и Ферора, и жены ... пиахуть всю ночь, не пустя к собѣ ни раба, ни свободна, ни мужска полу, ни женьска/Under a shroud of mystery, Antipater, Pheroras and their wives copulated all night long..., not letting in either a slave or free men (male and female) (MESHCHERSKII, 1958, p. 230)

→ "Тѣмъ же и Антипатръ, пред очима отьчима сваряшется съ Феророю, и съвокупление же имъ бяше *таино* в нощи/Before the eyes of his stepfather, Antipater quarrels with Pheroras about secret amusements at night" (MESHCHERSKII, 1958, p. 227).

The Dictionary of the Russian Academy qualifies the *таемъ/таем* word as a noun in the form of an adverb meaning "secretly, covertly" (*Дѣлатъ что тайкомъ/Do something in secret. Придоша таемъ подъ станы ихъ/We secretly infiltrate their camps*). However, the dictionary also contains such forms as *отай/otai* and *тайно/taino* (LEPEKHIN *et al.*, 1794, p. 9). The transformation of an adverb into a noun is provoked by a similar form of the instrumental case of masculine and neuter nouns with a solid stem, inflected with the use of -ѣ. However, a contextual analysis of sources indicates that *таемъ/таем* is an adverb that is an ordinary member of the lexico-semantic group. Let us compare: 1) *Таемъ/таем* ("secretly")

И *внезапу* наки *безвѣстно* придоша на них по езеру рать в судѣх от Новагорода, и из суд вышед, придоша *таемъ* под станы их ... сорожи ... възвѣстиша воеводам/All of a sudden, without a trace, we came to them across the lake to arbitrate in courts from Novgorod, and went out of the court, secretly approaching their camps ... guards ... calling out to the governors (ТИХОМИРОВ, 1963, p. 125);

2) *Таино/taino* ("secretly")

И *внезапу* приде на них рать *безвестно* по озеру в судех от Новагорода, и придоша *таино* под станы их ... и сторожи прискочивша и возвестиша воеводам/Suddenly an army came to them across the lake to arbitrate in courts from Novgorod,

secretly approaching their camps... and the watchmen jumped in and announced to the governors (SERBINA, 1977, p. 122);

3) *Таино/taino* ("secretly")

И внезапно приде на них рать *безвестно* по озеру в судех от Новагорода, и приидоша *таино* под станы их ... и сторожи прискочивша и возвестиша воеводам/Suddenly an army came to them across the lake to arbitrate in courts from Novgorod, secretly approaching their camps... and the watchmen jumped in and announced to the governors (SERBINA, 1977, p. 122).

The well-known saying of Blaise Pascal "The flow of time takes it all" is also applicable to adverbs: the lost forms *таемъ/taem*, *отаи/otai*, *вѣтаи/vtai* and *вѣнощи/vnoshchi* are replaced with *тайкомъ/taikom*, *ночью/nochyu*. In the Old Russian language, there was no form *тайкомъ/taikom*. It was formed from the primary adverb *тай/tai* at the turn of the 17th-18th centuries, when the *-комъ-* suffix was activated in the word formation of adverbs and when many adverbs from this group turned out to be archaic in the system of new grammatical forms and a new semantic system. Let us compare:

И яко послаша епископа по сына его и много лѣпших людей, а Святославу рѣша: а ты пожди брата, тоже поидеши/Sending a bishop after his son and other stupid people, Svyatoslav answered: If you have a brother, go after him as well;

он же убоаяся новгородцевъ: 'аще мя прѣльстивше имуть', и бѣжа *отаи вѣнощи* и Якунь с ними бѣжа/being afraid of the citizens of Novgorod, "if it is more preferable", they fled at night and Yakun ran with them (1141) (NASONOV, 1950, p. 211)

→ Внезапная смерть Пушкина расстроила его планы, но он [Краевский] по крайней мере был утешен тем, что протѣрся-таки хоть к гробу Пушкина и вместе с друзьями поэта и жандармами *тайком*, *ночью* выносил гроб из квартиры/Pushkin's sudden death upset his plans, but he [Kraevsky] at least was consoled by the fact that he found his way to Pushkin's coffin and, together with the poet's friends and the gendarmes, secretly carried the coffin out of the apartment at night (1861) (PANAEV, 1988, p. 125).

The use of the *-комъ-* (kom) suffix in forming adverbs of manner casts doubt on scientific beliefs about the possible formation of adverbs like *нагишом/nagishom* (naked), *босиком/bosikom* (barefoot), *пешком/peshkom* (on foot), *ничком/nichkom* (face down), *торчком/torchkom* (upright) from nouns. Indeed, scholars claim that "... such nouns had not preserved not only in the modern, but also in the Old Russian language" (IVANOV, 1983, p.

366). However, "there is no doubt such nouns existed in the past since adverbs are not a living phenomenon but a storage of remnant words" (CHERNYKH, 1962, p. 291). There is a certain paradox: the meaning of real adverbs is interpreted through outdated nouns.

In this case, the line of reasoning is as follows. The morphemic expression of adverbs *nagishom*, *bosikom*, *peshkom*, *nichkom* and *torchkom* is similar to the material expression of nouns in the instrumental case. Therefore, these adverbs are formed from the lost nouns *нагуш/нагish*, *босик/bosik* (SOBINNIKOVA, 1967, p. 167), *пешок/peshok*, *ничёк/nichek*, *торчёк/torchek* (IVANOV, 1983, p. 367). This is a false path since it is based not on the analysis of sources but on the associative perception of factual material. These adverbs were formed from primary adverbs with the help of the *-комъ* suffix: 1) *босъ/bos/босу/боси* "barefoot" + *-комъ/ком/омъ/ом* → *босикомъ/bosikom* ("Се бо лицемърие есть, еже чужья надѣляти сироты, а родъ свой или челядь, нази *боси*, или голодни/It is hypocrisy, if someone helps orphans, but their own family or servants are barefoot or hungry" (BARKHUDAROV, 1975, p. 301); "Афонасьюшко ... до иночества бродилъ *босикомъ* же, в одной рубашке и зиму и лѣто/Before he became a monk, Afonasyushko ... had wandered barefoot, in one shirt both in winter and in summer" (BARKHUDAROV, 1975, p. 301)); 2) *наго/nago* ("naked") + *-омъ/ом* → *нагишомъ/nagishom* ("Сантановъ, которые *наго* ходять ... здѣ въ Каирѣ зѣло много есть/Santanov, who walked naked ... used to say that there are a lot of things in Cairo" (FILIN, 1983, p. 50); "А ихде з дороги, завѣтчи в лѣсъ, связали, черкашенина *нагишомъ*, а жену в рубашке, порознь/They were tied up, a Cherkashenin naked and his wife in a shirt, separated" (FILIN, 1983, p. 47)); 3) *ничъ/nich/ниць/nits* ("face down") + *-комъ/ком* → *ничкомъ/nichkom* ("face to the ground, back of the head up") ("И что взяли, того она не видала, для того что держали еѣ на полу *ничъ*/What they took her, she did not see anything as she was kept on the floor face down" (SHMELEV, 1986); "Онъ поскользнулся и упалъ *ничкомъ*, в передъ, носомъ въ землю/He slipped and fell face down, with his nose on the ground" (DAL, 1979, p. 546)); 4) *пѣшу/pshi/пѣшь/psh* ("on foot") + *-комъ/ком* → *пѣшкомъ/pshkom*

(И завтра Ольга, сѣдящи в теремѣ, посла по гости ... Они же ркоша: не ѣдемъ на конехъ, ни на возѣхъ, ни *пѣшь* идемъ, но понесите ны в лоды/In the morning, Olga, sitting in the tower, sent an ambassador... The answer is as follows: we will not go on a horse, we will not go on a cart, we will go on boat (SHAKHMATOV, 1908b, p. 576);

"Вражда бабе с мешкомъ, что не ходить он *пешкомъ*/Every woman carrying a bag is saddened by the fact that it does not walk on foot" (BOGATOV, 1989, p. 45)); 5)

торчь/torch ("upright") + - *комь/сот* → *торчкомь/torchkom/торчмя/torchтма* ("Ставь туюкъ, бочку *торчь (торчью)*/Put the bale, stick the barrel" (DAL, 1980, p. 42a1); "Ножницы *торчкомь* въ полъ воткнулись/The scissors stuck upright into the floor; "*Торчмя* головой упаль/He fell with his head up" (DAL, 1980, p. 421)).

After developing the ability to designate a sign of action and point to it, adverbs became an independent part of speech. The proof is their active use in all types of literary texts which reflected the level of intellectual claims and religious ideas of the Eastern Slavs, regulated the economic, legal, moral and ethical interaction of the Old Russian community. In particular, judicial laws are filled with different categories of adverbs that could be used regularly or sporadically in everyday speech, for example: "Аще скоть *внощи* проламляетъ плоты ... да устрѣлить стрѣлою.../At night, as soon as this scum broke through the rafts..., they started to shoot arrows..." (NANOSOV, 1950, p. 503);

Аще жена иметь опроче мужа своего ... ходити по игращамъ *въдни* или *вънощи*, а мужъ иметь съчивати, а она не послушаетъ – разлучити ю/If a wife visits games during the day or at night without her husband's accompaniment and without his permission, and does not comply with her husband's prohibitions to do this (SHCHAPOV, 1976, p. 99);

"А в поборъ, и ... подводы митрополичимъ людемъ помагати *постаринѣ*, какъ *перво* сего помагали *исстарины*/In case of a fight... the metropolitan's carts always helped people, like before, in the old days" (SHCHAPOV, 1976, p. 180); "Аще ли двѣ женѣ бѣсита блуда ради, лѣзучи *накупъ (накупѣ)*, творящи иже мужъ едина, а другое женою, да ся биють обѣ по сту/If a man gets two wives for the sake of fornication and using money, the other wife shall beat her husband" (NASONOV, 1950, p. 504).

Conclusion

We analyzed the formation of adverbs of manner and concluded that our results countered the opinion of some scholars who attributed adverbs not to the living phenomena of language but to a group of "remnant words".

Throughout the development of the Russian language, the main way of forming adverbs of manner has been the prefix method, i.e., word-formation scheme "prefix + primary adverb → secondary adverb". Within this scheme, a primary polysemic adverb turned into a new monosemic adverb due to the above-mentioned word-formation formant.

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