

MODERN RUSSIAN GRAMMAR: ADVERBIAL TRANSPOSITION OF NOUNS

GRAMÁTICA RUSSA MODERNA: TRANSPOSIÇÃO ADVERBIAL DE SUBSTANTIVOS

GRAMÁTICA DEL RUSO MODERNO: TRANSPOSICIÓN ADVERBIAL DE SUSTANTIVOS

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ABSTRACT: The study aims to determine the degrees of correspondence between the differential features of nouns in the instrumental case without a preposition, which manifest the peripheral stage of the original part of speech on the scale of adverbialization on the one hand, and the differential features of nuclear nouns and the differential features of nuclear substantive adverbs on the other. The authors used the methodology of oppositional analysis and indexation. As a result, the main stages of the functional transposition of non-positional forms of nouns into the semantic-grammatical category of temporal adverbs are revealed; the share of features of nuclear nouns and nuclear subjunctive adverbs in the structure of peripheral nouns such as “zimoi” is established. The results of the study can be used in further development of the problems of interaction between the semantic and grammatical in the structure of language units.

KEYWORDS: Grammar. Adverbialization. Syncretism. Transitivity scale.

RESUMO: O estudo visa determinar os graus de correspondência entre os traços diferenciais dos substantivos no caso instrumental sem preposição, que manifestam o estágio periférico da parte original do discurso na escala de adverbialização, por um lado, e os traços diferenciais do discurso nuclear. substantivos e as características diferenciais de advérbios substantivos nucleares do outro. Os autores utilizaram a metodologia de análise de oposição e indexação. Como resultado, são revelados os principais estágios da transposição funcional de formas não posicionais de substantivos na categoria semântico-gramatical de advérbios temporais; a participação de traços de substantivos nucleares e advérbios subjuntivos nucleares na estrutura de substantivos periféricos como “zimoi” é estabelecida. Os resultados do estudo podem ser utilizados no aprofundamento dos problemas de interação entre a semântica e a gramatical na estrutura das unidades linguísticas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Gramática. Adverbialização. Sincretismo. Escala de transitividade.

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RESUMEN: *El estudio pretende determinar los grados de correspondencia entre los rasgos diferenciales de los sustantivos en caso instrumental sin preposición, que manifiestan la etapa periférica de la parte original de la oración en la escala de adverbialización por un lado, y los rasgos diferenciales de los sustantivos nucleares. sustantivos y las características diferenciales de los adverbios sustantivos nucleares por el otro. Los autores utilizaron la metodología de análisis oposicional e indexación. Como resultado, se revelan las principales etapas de la transposición funcional de las formas no posicionales de los sustantivos a la categoría semántico-gramatical de los adverbios temporales; se establece la participación de las características de los sustantivos nucleares y los adverbios subjuntivos nucleares en la estructura de los sustantivos periféricos como "zimoi". Los resultados del estudio pueden utilizarse en un mayor desarrollo de los problemas de interacción entre lo semántico y lo gramatical en la estructura de las unidades lingüísticas.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Gramática. Adverbialización. Sincretismo. Escala de transitividad.*

Introduction

Contemporary science shows consistent interest in the problems of transitivity and syncretism in the grammatical structure of language. This concerns primarily the study of transition zones in the system of parts of speech and inter-particular divisions of predicatives and introductory-modal units. Comprehensive analysis of the facts of transitivity allows revealing many secrets of the complex and multidimensional interaction of the lexical and grammatical in the structure of words and word forms subjected to different types of categorical transformation. Theoretical understanding of the phenomenon of transposition (in other terminology – translation, derivation, conversion, transformation, etc.), the study of the regularities of interaction between language units in typical contexts of functional and functional-semantic substantiation, adjectivalization, pronominalization, predicativeization, modalization, interjectivalization, etc. were repeatedly discussed in the works of researchers (BABAITSEVA, 2000; ELSEN HILKE, 2011).

It is well known that syncretic structures can be found in different languages, and this is not accidental: syncretes, which combine the properties of several classes of words in different proportions and combinations, allow the speaker to convey the necessary information compactly, but capaciously (VOROTNIKOV, 2003, p. 82). For example, the varying degree of substantiation of German verbs is discussed in the study of V. P. Pavlov, who argues that infinitives can retain some of their verb characteristics when they become close to nouns (PAVLOV, 2013, p. 35-36).

In a number of works, the functional convergence of units of different parts of speech with introductory-modal expressions (modalization) is considered in the aspect of

grammaticalization and desemantization. It is noted that in the function of discursives, words to varying degrees weaken or lose lexical semantics, morphological and syntactic features of the original classes of words, converging with the structural elements of language (KUSTOVA, 2018; OREKHOVA, 2011). A substantial contribution to the development of the problem of discursives has been made by international projects led by Paiar (DISKURSIVNYE SLOVA RUSSKOGO IAZYKA, 2003) and Baranov, Plungian, and Rakhilina (BARANOV; PLUNGIAN; PLUNGIAN, 1993).

The focus of this study is the transpositional process of adverbialization of linguistic units, which leads to the formation of adverbs and transitive (peripheral and hybrid) forms that synthesize in different proportions the features of the original and derivative parts of speech.

Adverbialization of nouns is considered one of the most productive ways of forming adverbs. This process involves nouns in different forms of cases – nominative: (*potolki*) *uzhas* (*vysokie*), etc.; genitive: *doma* (*nikogo net*); dative: *kstati* (*skazat*), etc.; accusative: *kapelku* (*opozdat*), etc.; instrumental: *shepotom* (*govorit*), etc.; prepositional: *vnizu* (*nikogo ne bylo*), etc.

Many linguists dealing with the problem of adverbialization of nouns as circumstances point out that their degree of approximation to adverbs is not the same. The instrumental case of the noun is adverbialized most actively and to varying degrees. V. V. Vinogradov argued that instrumental case nouns in the function of comparison and form of action (*nestis streloi*, etc.) are at the halfway point to adverbs, and in the function of the circumstance of time (*letom*, *vecherom*, *nochiu uekhat kuda-to*) come even closer to the adverbs (VINOGRADOV, 1986, p. 315-316).

The academic Grammar of the Russian Language (GRAMMATIKA RUSSKOGO IAZYKA, 1960, p. 609-629) says that the Russian language has a large number of “transitive, intermediate cases, reflecting fluctuating forms between noun and adverb functions... Such are cases of the use of the instrumental case with the meaning of likeness, comparison, for example *smotret volkom*, *syptsia gradom*, *letet streloi*” (GRAMMATIKA RUSSKOGO IAZYKA, 1960, p. 629)

The fairness of the conclusions of A. A. Potebnia and V. V. B. Vinogradov (VINOGRADOV, 1986) about the transitive nature of adverbialized non-predicative and prepositional-propositional forms of nouns in the function of circumstance is confirmed by the study of many facts of the step transposition of substantive word forms into adverbs.

Similar conclusions are drawn by researchers on the material of other Slavic languages. I.R. Vykhovanets finds that in the Ukrainian language, case and prepositional-propositional forms of nouns reveal in certain contexts three degrees of adverbialization – syntactic, morphological, and semantic (VYKHOVANETS, 1988, p. 197-198, 201-205). The syntactic degree of adverbialization, from his point of view, is characterized by the fact that the case forms of Ukrainian nouns are used in the syntactic position of adverbs without acquiring the morphological features of adverbs. In morphological adverbialization, there is a shift at the paradigmatic level of substantive word forms and the acquisition of formal morphological features of adverbs, which is associated with the process of their grammaticalization. Specifically, substantive structures of the type *uvecheri* ('in the evening'), *zranku* ('in the morning'), *vden* ('in daytime'), *unichi* ('at night') are qualified as morphologized temporal adverbs, because their occurrence is associated with the neutralization and solidification of the former case endings of nouns. The semantic degree of adverbialization is rightly considered the highest: it is reached by those nouns in the Ukrainian language that, undergoing syntactic and morphological changes, also show complete or partial shifts at the level of semantics.

The different degrees of adverbialization of prepositional and non-propositional forms of nouns in other Slavic languages are discussed in the work of A. V. Isachenko (ISACHENKO, 1965, p. 264-266). Distinguishing as the most common type of adverbialization the separation of one of the inflexive case forms from the paradigm of the original noun and the use of this form in the circumstantial function, A.V. Isachenko differentiates between full and incomplete adverbialization in Russian and other Slavic languages. From his point of view, the full degree characterizes those adverbs that have lost their relational forms of nouns and/or do not allow the insertion of dependent definitions. Thus, in Slovak, there are adverbs *večer*, *ráno* that emerged as a result of the complete adverbialization of the nominative or accusative forms of the original nouns: they lost the categories of gender, number, and case as well as the syntagmatic support in the form of attributive propagators in the function of circumstance. According to Isachenko's observations, the degree of adverbialization in different languages may be different: in particular, the adverb *shepotom* in Russian came about as a result of incomplete adverbialization (an adjective can be inserted: *govorit tikhim shepotom*, while in the Slovak language, *šeptom* can be recognized as quite adverbial, since the insertion of an adjective is not possible (**hovorit' tichy'm šeptom*). The author also suggests that there can also be formal-grammatical divergences between adverbs and their motivating nouns, which is typical, for example, of the German adverb *Nachts* ('at night'), which corresponds to the feminine noun

die Nacht ('night') but has the formal indicator (morpheme *-s*) of the masculine and neuter nouns.

A multidimensional characterization of the adverbialization of Polish nouns in the form of the instrumental case is found in a study by T. P. Tikhomirova (TIKHOMIROVA, 1958, p. 317-320). The researcher finds, in particular, that in a number of cases, the degree of adverbialization of instrumental forms increased due to the development and strengthening of distributive and modal semantics in the structure of adverbialized formations, which occurred when they were used in the plural, often in combination with concrete adjectives (*cały* ≈ 'whole'); see, for example, Polish subjunctive adverbs: *czasami* ('for hours') and *czasem* ('accidentally'); compare to Russian: *tselymi, dniami, tselymi chasami, chasom*. A special group in Polish is formed by the so-called semi-adverb forms like *dniem* ('at day'), *wieczorem* ('in the evening'), *latem* ('in the summer'), *nocami* ('at nights'), denoting "the time of day or year"; adverbialization of such forms occurs in both singular and plural forms (TIKHOMIROVA, 1958, p. 320).

As for the convergence of Russian nouns in the function of a circumstance with adverbs [*kroshechku (khleba)* → *kroshechku (zaderzhatsia)*], they are also assessed quite ambiguously. It suffices to refer at least to the two groups of structures based on the instrumental case of nouns without a preposition – with the meaning of comparison (*streloi, pulei, gradom, volkom, rysiui*) and time (*zimoi, vesnoi, letom, oseniu; utrom, dnem, vecherom, nochii*).

According to V. V. Babaitseva, there are three stages of adverbialization of nouns *vesna, leto, utro, vecher, etc.*: a) noun core stage **A** (*Vesna nastupila*); b) noun periphery stage **Ab** (*Rannei vesnoi poiti v les*), and c) the stage of hybrid, substantive-adverbial structures **ab** (*Vesnoi priroda prosypaetsia*). According to V. V. Babaitseva, the zone of hybridity is the limit of the categorical transformation of the instrumental case of nouns like *vesnoi* into adverbial (BABAITSEVA, 2000, p. 41).

A new approach to the synchronous study of the process and result of adverbial transposition of linguistic units, in our opinion, requires the consideration of quantitative parameters, which allow considerably objectifying the results of calculating the degrees of conformity of the word forms that in typical context explicate certain adverbialization stages to the prototypical representatives on the initial and final stages of interpartial transposition. The indexing procedure makes it possible to reduce the element of subjectivity in evaluating the different stages in the progression of a linguistic unit from point **A** (noun) to point **B** (adverb).

The object of the current research is the process and the result of adverbialization of non-positional forms of the instrumental case of nouns; the subject is the degree of correspondence of their differential features to the features of the nuclear representatives of the initial and final links of adverbial transposition.

The purpose of the study is to identify the degree of correspondence between the differential characteristics of nouns expressing in typical contexts the peripheral zone of the original part of speech on the adverbialization scale and the differential characteristics of nuclear nouns and nuclear subjunctive adverbs using the example of the instrumental case of the noun “zimoi” without preposition.

Methods

The methodological basis of the study consists of scientific works on the problem of parts of speech and interpartial divisions of predicatives and introductory-modal units, the theory of transposition, and syncretism (BABAITSEVA, 2000). To objectify the results of the analysis of the degree and limit of functional adverbialization of prepositional nouns, combinatorics, and the proportion of differential features in the structure of peripheral nouns, the study employs the methods of oppositional analysis (with the transitivity scale) and indexing, which made it possible to minimize the subjective factor in calculating the indices of correspondence of non-positional forms of the instrumentive case of peripheral nouns to nuclear nouns and nuclear subjunctive adverbs.

The present study greatly relies on the methods of oppositional analysis and indexing described in studies by V.V. Shigurov, particularly in his monographs on the theory of transpositional grammar and syncretism. This method involves comprehensive synchronous analysis of the functional and functional-semantic types of step substantiation, adjectivation, adverbialization, and conjunctivalization of transgressive and participle forms of verbs in conditions of action negation (SHIGUROV, 1993); the degrees and limits of pronominalization of units of different parts of speech [16]; the stages and indices of different stages of interjection of language units, including in contexts where interjection is combined with other types of transpositional transformations of words and expressions – verbalization, particulation, etc. (SHIGUROV, 2009); stages and indices of different stages of synchronic predicativization of language units, including the intersection of this type of transposition with adjectivization, adverbialization, modalization, etc. (SHIGUROV, 2016); the stages and indices of different stages of modalization of language units, including in contexts where it is combined with other

types of transposition – particularization, interjectionalization, conjunctionalization, prepositionalization (SHIGUROV, 2020; SHIGUROV; SHIGUROVA, 2020). A prospectus of transpositional grammar of the Russian language is created along with a program of comprehensive research on the transposition mechanism that generates functional and functional-semantic homonyms in speech, as well as syncretic structures of peripheral and hybrid types, which combine the features of interacting classes of words in different proportions (SHIGUROV; SHIGUROVA, 2016).

Results and discussion

The application of the method of oppositional analysis and indexing enabled us to calculate the degrees and limits of adverbial transposition of substantive word forms of the type *zimoi, vesnoi, dnem, vecherom, nochiu* in the Russian language. It is established that their progression toward temporal adverbs has a gradual, stepped nature, which can be graphically depicted on the scale of adverbialization in the form of several links: **N(oun) --> N(oun) a(dverb) --> n(oun) A(dverb)**.

Let us illustrate these stages of adverbialization with a few comments on the material of the substantive word form *zimoi*.

The **N(oun)** adverbialization stage demonstrate the contexts in which the nuclear (prototypical) noun *zima (zimoi)* is used:

(1) *Osen smeniaetsia zimoi;*

Considering that the noun *zimoi*, being syncretic, belongs to the category of abstract rather than abstract-concrete words, we consider it in the zone of the core of the original part of speech rather than the periphery.

The stage **N(oun) a(dverb)** on the scale of adverbialization is represented by the typical contexts of use of the peripheral noun in the instrumental case without a preposition (*zimoi*), which is used in the secondary function of the tense circumstance in combination with adjectival and/or substantive propagators:

(2) *Rannei zimoi opasno vykhodit na led; Zimoi proshlogo goda sorevnovanii po lyzham ne bylo.*

The stage **n(oun) A(dverb)** on the transitivity scale is represented by the contexts of the use of the peripheral adverb *zimoi* formed as a result of the functional adverbialization of the instrumental case of the noun:

(3) *Zimoi veselo bylo katatsia s gorki.*

The adverb periphery zone for the word form *zimoi* is the limit of its movement toward the core of the adverbial class, represented, on the one hand, by adverbial word forms that violate the semantic identity of the original lexemes [compare the lexico-grammatical homonyms: the noun *poroi* in the meaning ‘period’ and the adverb *poroi* formed on its basis and having the meaning ‘sometimes’ (VOROTNIKOV, 2003) and, on the other hand – the adverbs *peshkom*, *bosikom*, *nagishom*, *priamikom*, *polnostiu*, etc. (PAVLOV, 2013), which have lost their correlative forms of nouns **peshok*, **nagish*, **bosik*, **priamik*, **polnost* (KHALVASHI, 1987, p. 18-19):

- (a) *Vesna smeniaetsia prekrasnoi letnei poroi* (noun);
- (b) *Poroi ne zamechaesh, kak bystro letit vremia* (adverb).
- (c) *Transporta uzhe ne bylo, poetomu prishlos dobiratsia do stantsii peshkom*.

The indexing technique makes it possible to determine the degree of adverbialization of nouns more precisely (in numerical terms) by calculating the proportion (specific weight) of the differential features of the original and derivative parts of speech in the structure of the word form moving in typical contexts from point **A** (noun) to point **B** (adverb) by the steps **N(oun) -> N(oun) a(dverb) --> n(oun) A(dverb)**, bypassing the hybridity zones [**n(oun) a(dverb)**] and the nuclei of adverbs [**P(reposition)**] on the transitivity scale.

In this case, the focus is on the quantitative ratio of the features of nouns and adverbs in the structure of categorically reincarnated word forms. In this regard, notable are the instrumental non-prepositional forms *zimoi*, *vesnoi*, *letom*, *oseniu*; *utrom*, *dnem*, *vecherom*, *nochiu*, which demonstrate the **N(oun)** (nuclear noun), **N(oun) a(dverb)** (peripheral noun), and **n(oun) A(dverb)** (peripheral subjunctive adverb) stages on the transitivity scale.

Each peripheral noun and peripheral subjunctive adverb like *zimoi*, *nochiu* has a common adverbial index (**x**), which includes two numerical indicators – specific indices (**x₁**, **x₂**), calculated by a common formula:

$$x_1 = a / (a+b) \quad x_2 = a / (a+b)$$

The symbol **x₁** specifies the degree of correspondence (similarity and difference) between the differential features of the peripheral noun and the nuclear noun [stage **N(oun)**], and **x₂** denotes the degree of correspondence between the features of the peripheral noun and the nuclear subjunctive adverb that has lost its semantic connection with the original substantive lexeme or the original lexeme itself [stage **A(dverb)**]. Further on, **a** in the scheme refers to the sum of the differential features common to syncretic structures expressing the zones of peripheral nouns [**N(oun) a(dverb)**] or peripheral functional adverbs [**n(oun) A(dverb)**] and

the nuclear noun [**N(oun)**] (in calculation of x_1), on the one hand, and the nuclear subjunctive adverb (in calculating x_2) on the other, while **b** corresponds to the sum of differential characteristics distinguishing the compared structures from one another.

Given the fact that the forms of the instrumentive case without a preposition in functional adverbialization in the peripheral zones of the original and derived parts of speech show a different proportion of the characteristics of the interacting nouns and adverbs, calculation of the indices of their transposition in each case will involve two procedures. For the purity of the analysis, the indexing should be done on the material of a single word form (*zimoj*) undergoing transposition into a temporal adverb. In doing so, it is first necessary to calculate the sum of the differential features that are identical and different in the peripheral noun *zimoj* and the nuclear noun *zima* (*zimoj*), and then determine the number of common and different characteristics for the peripheral noun *zimoj* and the nuclear subjunctive adverb *poroj*. The specific weight of the differential properties of each of the syncretic formations of the type *letom*, *oseniu*, *vesnoj*, *dnem*, *utrom*, etc. are calculated the same way.

Peripheral substantive word forms of the type *zimoj*, *vesnoj*, *utrom*, *večerom*, used in the role of the circumstance of time with dependent adjectival and substantive propagators, are widely represented in modern Russian. See, for example, statements from the National Corpus of the Russian language:

(4) *Samyj molodoj vo vzvode, Ushatikov prishel na peredovuiu lish **proshloj zimoj**, na territorii Polshi[...]* [Y. Bondarev. The Shore (1975)];

(5) [...] *Ezdili za redkimi sortami plodovykh derevev i kustov, **rannej vesnoj** vysazhivali na podokonnikakh v gorodskikh kvartirakh ogurtsy, pomidory i perets...* [A. Varlamov. Kupavna // “Novyi Mir”, 2000];

(6) *Proshla nedelia. **Subbotnim utrom** ia ne vyderzhal[...]* [S. Dovlatov. Ours (1983)];

(7) ***Osenim dozhdivym večerom**, kogda vse posetiteli ushli iz parka, staryi ostrov pritikh i utonul v vospominaniiah* [L. Gorodneva. O chem pomnit ostrov // “Murzilka”, 2003];

(8) *Uzhe v sedmom klasse on stal bolee zamknutym, a **zimoj proshlogo goda** rezko snizil uspevaemost, propuskal zaniatiia[...]* [M. L. Khal'fina. Rasplata (1978)].

As the study shows, peripheral nouns of the type (*proshloj*) *zimoj* (for example: *V etoi vojskoi chasti on poiavilsia **proshloj zimoj** [N(oun) a(dverb)]* on the one hand and nuclear subjunctive adverbs like *poroj* (***Poroi** otkuda-to donosilis golosa [A(dverb)]*) on the other combine in their structure a different number of differential characteristics of nouns and adverbs. Variation is also detected in the indices of adverbial transposition of the word from *zimoj* in the peripheral zones of nouns and adverbs.

In order to substantiate these statements, it is necessary to calculate the indices of step adverbialization of nouns. As an example, let us take the word form (*rannei*) *zimoj*, which expresses in contexts (KUSTOVA, 2018; VINOGRADOV, 1986) the periphery zone of the original part of speech, and determine the degree of correspondence of its differential properties, first, to the properties of nuclear nouns of the type *zima* (*zimoj*) and, second, the properties of nuclear adverbs formed through functional-semantic adverbialization, i.e., with a violation of the semantic identity of the original substantive lexeme, such as *poroi* (≈ ‘sometimes’).

First, we calculate the adverbialization index x_1 quantitatively characterizing the degree to which the differential characteristics of the adverbializing noun *zimoj* on the stage [N(oun) a(dverb)] (9) correspond to the differential characteristics of the initial nuclear noun *zima* (*zimoj*); compare:

(10) *Nyneshnei zimoj emu udalos ustroit vystavku – i v “Les Echos d’Art” poiavilas statia s reproduksiiami ego rabot, odobritelnaia, khotia i nebolshaia* [V. A. Kaverin. *Pered zerkalom* (1965-1970)];

(11) *Reka pakhla zimoj, spuskaiushcheisia v dolinu Sredizemnomoria* [M. Buvailo. *Vy poedete na bal? // “Volga”, 2013*].

We believe that the adverbialization of the noun *zimoj* has a purely grammatical, functional nature, since it does not involve the violation of the semantic identity of the original lexeme; compare the contexts of the use of grammatical homonyms *zimoj* (noun) (13) and *zimoj* (adverb)(12):

(13) *Osen nezametno smenilas zimoj*;

(14) *Zimoj bylo mnogo snega*.

Due to the fact that there is no nuclear adverb *zimoj* in Russian, we will compare the peripheral noun *zimoj* to the nuclear-type subjunctive adverb *poroi* meaning ‘sometimes’. Compare the typical contexts of the use of the nuclear noun *poroi* (SHIGUROV, 1993) and the nuclear adverb *poroi* (SHIGUROV, 2015), acting in relation to each other as functional-semantic (lexical-grammatical) homonyms:

(15) *My naslazhdalis teploi letnei poroi*;

(16) *Vse dolgo molchali i poroi peregdiadyvalis*.

What is the degree to which the differential attributes of the peripheral noun *zimoj* (*Proshloi zimoj ne bylo silnykh morozov*) match features of the original nuclear noun *zimoj* (*Osen smeniaetsia zimoj*)? Examination of the semantic and grammatical properties of the peripheral and nuclear nouns *zimoj* shows that what they have in common is such an important

differential characteristic as the lexical meaning of the noun ('The coldest season, coming after autumn and succeeding spring'. (BOLSHOI, 2000, p. 364). As previously noted, adverbial transposition of the substantive word form *zimoi* is purely grammatical (functional), as: it is not associated with its departure from the semantic zone of the original lexeme *zima*. Uncoincidentally, the very adverb *zimoi* is given in modern explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language as part of the article for the noun *zima*. In particular, "The Big Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language" (SHIGUROV, 1993, p. 364) presents in the lexicographic description of the lexeme *zima* not only the substantive types of its use but also the adverbial one: "Zimoi; Zimoiu, adverb. In winter time. During the winter. *Zimoi korabli vmerzaiut v led. Zimoi poedu k okhotnikam*".

Aside from the identity of lexical semantics (1 point), the peripheral noun *zimoi* and the nuclear noun *zimoi* are also brought together by essentially grammatical characteristics. These include: (a) Particular semantics of the object (subject matter); 1 point; (b) membership in three lexico-grammatical classes of nouns – nominative, inanimate, and syncretic, abstract-concrete, i.e., abstract in semantics and concrete in grammatical properties; compare (*zimoi / zimami*) and compatibility with quantitative numerals (*dvumia, tremia zimami*); 3 points; (c) the morphological category of gender in the feminine form (1 point); (d) the morphological category of number [with the singular form fixed in the peripheral noun (*rannei*) *zimoi* and opposing singular and plural forms of the nuclear noun *zimoi / zimami*] (1 point); (e) the morphological category of case [with a form of the instrumental case fixed in the peripheral noun and the forms of the six cases opposed in the nuclear noun *zima, zimy, zime, zimui, zimoi, o zime*] (1 point); (f) a complex word paradigm [with the forms of the instrumental case and singular number fixed in the peripheral noun and the contrasting series of forms within the categories of case and number in the nuclear noun] (1 point); (g) word partitioning into morphemes: *zim-oi*; 1 point; (h) the presence of an inflection in the word structure, expressing the morphological categories (forms and meanings) of gender, number, and case, and the related particle semantics of the subject; compare the inflexion *-oi* in the noun representing in the respective context the nucleus zone (*Vse liubovalis prekrasnoi moroznoi zimoi*) and the periphery of the given part of speech (*Nyneshnei zimoi byli zaplanirovany dve poezdki*); in the zone of peripheral adverbs like *zimoi* (*Zimoi morozov ne bylo; Puteshestvie zimoi – eto chudesno!*), the inflection *-oi* is transformed into the suffix; 1 point; (i) syntactic compatibility with dependent words that implement verbal subordinate relations – with adjectival propagators, agreeing in general categories with peripheral and nuclear nouns (1 point) and with governed forms of indirect cases of nouns (1 point); compare: *Liubovalis moroznoi russkoi*

zimoj (nuclear noun); *Zimoj proshlogo goda ezdili v gory*; *Etoi zimoj bylo sravnitelno teplo* (peripheral noun). Overall, the nuclear noun *zimoj* representing the initial stage [stage **N(oun)** on the adverbialization scale] in the progression of the word form toward the nucleus of adverbs [stage **A(dverb)**] and the peripheral noun *zimoj* [stage **N(oun) a(dverb)**] are brought together by 13 differential characteristics (points).

The difference between the peripheral noun *zimoj* and the nuclear *zimoj* lies in such characteristics as: (a) immutability due to the fixed type of use of the instrumental case and singular forms [compare the immutable peripheral noun *zimoj* in fixed instrumental and singular forms (*Proshloi zimoj bylo sravnitelno teplo*) and the nuclear noun *zima (zimoj)* that does change in the categories of case and number (*Zima nastupila neozhidanno bystro*; *Nikto ne ozhidal stol bystrogo prikhoda zimy*; *K zime gotovilis osnovatelno*; *Zimy stali znachitelno miagche*)] (1 point); (b) fewer forms in the complex paradigm of peripheral nouns than in the paradigm of nuclear nouns (due to the fixation of the forms of the instrumental case and singular form); 1 point; (c) the absence of the peripheral noun's primary syntactic functions – the subject and the complement (2 points); (d) mandatory use with adjectival propagators (adjectives, pronouns, ordinal numerals, participle forms of verbs; e.g.: *nyneshnei zimoj*; *toi zimoj*, *nedavno proshedshei zimoj*, etc.) and/or dependent possessive nouns (*zimoj etogo goda*; *pervoi kholodnoi zimoj voiny*, etc.) restraining the further advancement of the noun toward the adverbs (2 points); (e) case adjacency as a way of a word-subordinate relation to the main word of the phrase, e.g.: *Poezdka na Volgu proshloi zimoj byla otlozhená*; compare with strong control as a way of connecting a nuclear noun in the instrumental case to the main word of the phrase: *liubovatsia, voskhishtsia zimoj* (1 point); (f) determinant propositional conjunction; e.g.: *Proshloi zimoj ezdili na Baikal* (1 point); (g) the obligatory syntactic function of the tense circumstance (or temporal determinant); compare: *Puteshestvie proshlogodnei zimoj bylo neotrazimym* and *Proshlogodnei zimoj byli sorevnovaniia po vodnym vidam sporta* (1 point); (h) special lexical compatibility (distribution) – with verbs incapable of controlling the instrumental case form of the name; compare: *uekhat (rabotat, nakhoditsia, etc.) proshloi zimoj* (peripheral noun with the meaning of time of action in the case adjunction type of syntactic connection with the verb *uekhat*) and *liubovatsia rannei zimoj* (a nuclear noun in the instrumental case with the meaning of the object of action, controlled by the verb *liubovatsia*); 1 point. The total number of integral characteristics in the compared units is ten.

The above suggests that in the peripheral zone, the word form *zimoj* is characterized by a number of specific features that distinguish it from its nuclear noun *zima (zimoj)*. Specifically, these features include fixed types of use of the categories of number and case, and therefore a

smaller number of forms in the complex paradigm; a special lexical distribution; obligatory use as a circumstance (or determinant) of the temporal type, and, most importantly, with dependent words – adjectival and substantive propagators that keep the word form within nouns.

The first index of adverbialization of the peripheral noun (syncreta) *zimoi* characterizing the degree of correspondence of its differential characteristics to those of the initial nuclear noun (*zima / zimoi*) is calculated by formula:

$$x_1 [\dots (\textit{rannei}) \textit{zimoi} \dots] = 13 / (13 + 10) = 13 / 23 \approx 0.57 (57\%)$$

The degree of correspondence of the peripheral noun *zimoi* (*Futbolnogo matcha etoi zimoi ne budet*) to nuclear subjunctive adverbs like *poroi* (*Poroi slyshalis chi-to golosa*) can also be established through the indexation procedure. When calculating the second index of adverbialization (x_2) of the peripheral noun (*rannei*) *zimoi*, it is necessary to compare it with the typical nuclear adverb *poroi*, revealing the signs of their similarities and differences.

The discovered common characteristics of the peripheral noun (*rannei*) *zimoi* and the nuclear adverb *poroi* are: (a) immutability; 1 point; (b) word partitioning into morphemes; compare: *zim-oi / por-oi*; 1 point; (c) role of the circumstance of time; 1 point; (d) verbal subordinating connection with the main word of the phrase – adjunction (*peregliadyvatsia poroi*) or case adjacency (*vstrecha proshloi zimoi*); 1 point; (e) determinant-type sentence relation (*Poroi... / Pozdnei zimoi poiavliaiutsia podsnezhniki*). Thus, these two words are united by a total of 5 characteristics.

What distinguishes the peripheral noun *zimoi* (*uletali na iug*) from the nuclear adverb *poroi* (*videlis, no ochen redko*) are such differential features as: (a) the absence of homonymic lexical meaning, usually resulting from the functional-semantic adverbialization of a noun; compare, on the one hand, the identity of the lexical meaning of the original nuclear noun (*voskhishchatsia russkoi*) *zimoi*, the peripheral noun in the form of the instrumental non-prepositional (*rannei*) *zimoi* (*poiti v les*), and the peripheral subjunctive adverb *zimoi* (*katatsia na lyzhakh*) formed as a result of a purely functional adverbialization, and, on the other hand, the violation of the semantic identity of the original substantive lexeme in the functional-semantic adverbialization of the word form *poroi*; compare the lexical and grammatical homonyms *poroi* (*voobshche ne vstrechalis godami*) (a nuclear adverb meaning ‘sometimes’ formed by adverbialization of a noun with a violation of the semantic identity of the original lexeme) and (*naslazhdalis letnei*) *poroi* (peripheral abstract noun in the sense of ‘period’); 1 point; (b) the absence of an adverbial common grammatical meaning of the feature; 1 point; (c) the absence of affiliation to the semantic category of circumstantial temporal adverbs; 1 point;

(d) the absence of a grammatical affix – inflection *-oi*; 1 point; (e) obligatory use with dependent adjectival and/or substantive propagators; compare the compatibility of the peripheral noun *zimoi* with the adjective (left) and the genitive case of the name (right)): *kholodnoi zimoi etogo goda...*; 2 points; (f) inability to act as a grammatical or lexical-grammatical homonym in relation to representatives of the original adverbial link (1 point); compare with grammatical homonyms: *Osen smeniaetsia zimoi* (nuclear abstract-concrete noun) – *Zimoi veselo katatsia s gorki* (peripheral adverb) and lexico-grammatical homonyms: *Deti naslazhdalis teploi letnei poroi* (peripheral abstract noun) – *Kartiny prirody poroi priobretali fantasticheskii vid* (nuclear adverb). The total number of attributes that distinguish the compared objects is seven, which corresponds to 7 points in the indexing procedure.

Note: when determining the degrees of correspondence of a peripheral noun to a nuclear subjunctive adverb, the indicators of nuclear nouns (grammatical categories of gender, number, and case) relevant to the comparison of nouns in the zone of the core and periphery of this part of speech are not taken into account.

Calculation of the second index of adverbialization of the peripheral noun (*rannei zimoi* (*katatsia na lyzhakh*)) shows the extent to which its differential features correspond to those of the nuclear subjunctive adverb *poroi* (*razdavalis strannye zvuki*):

$$x_2 [\dots (rannei) zimoi \dots] = 5 / (5 + 7) = 5 / 12 \approx 0.42 (42\%)$$

Conclusion

Calculation of adverbial indices of the syncretic *zimoi*, which typically expresses the periphery zone of nouns on the scale of transitivity, demonstrates a 57% correspondence of its differential features to the features of the original noun *zimoi* and a 42% correspondence to the features of the nuclear subjunctive adverb *poroi*. The incorporation of any additional attributes into the indexing procedure and/or a more detailed explication of those already taken into account might allow us to slightly refine the final numerical indices, but it is unlikely to change the overall picture of the interaction between nouns and adverbs in the structure of syncretic word forms that undergo adverbialization on the periphery of the original part of speech. The conducted research reveals that in the absence of a (median) zone of hybridity on the scale of functional adverbialization of nouns of the type *zimoi*, *vesnoi*, *vecherom*, usually filled with intermediate structures that are halfway to the adverbs (compare: *nestis streloi*, *pulei*), the peripheral zone of the studied nouns, judging by their indices, is largely close to the zone of hybrid, substantive-adverbial structures of the type on the scale of transitivity. Nevertheless,

the presence of such striking indicators of substantivity in peripheral word forms in the circumstantial function as adjectival and/or substantive propagators, preventing their further adverbialization (if there is no accompanying phraseologicalization), in our opinion, does not allow considering such cases as *rannei zimoi (uekhat...)* as hybrids, i.e. half-nouns – half-adverbs.

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How to reference this article

SHIGUROV, V. V.; SHIGUROVA, T. A. Modern Russian grammar: Adverbial transposition of nouns. **Rev. EntreLinguas**, Araraquara, v. 8, n. esp. 2, e022067, 2022. e-ISSN: 2447-3529. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29051/el.v8iesp.2.17325>

Submitted: 11/05/2022

Required revisions: 27/06/2022

Approved: 10/09/2022

Published: 10/11/2022

Processing and publication by the Editora Ibero-Americana de Educação.
Correction, formatting, standardization and translation.

