Damian Herda https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0925-1805

Jagiellonian University in Kraków

On the adverbialization of Polish indefinite quantifiers of nominal origin: A diachronic study of *trochę* 'a bit', *odrobinę* 'a bit', and *masę* 'a lot'

Abstract

Based on diachronic data extracted chiefly from the available lexicographic sources and historical corpora of Polish, this paper aims at determining whether the initial stage of the adverbialization of indefinite quantifiers of nominal origin typically involves extent modification, degree modification being a posterior development. The results of an investigation into the evolution of the functional status of the commonly used quantifiers *trochę* 'a bit', *odrobinę* 'a bit', as well as *masę* 'a lot' indicate that prior to establishing themselves as degree modifiers, the items function as extent modifiers, i.e. duratives or frequentatives. In their earliest adverbial attestations recorded in the analysed material, the quantifiers at issue modify the duration or frequency of the action denoted by the associated verbal element, or, if the pertinent verb encodes a punctual event, the duration of the resultant state, and only later do they start to combine with scalar predicates, i.e. degree verbs as well as gradable adjectives and adverbs, including adverbials in the form of prepositional phrases. Exceptional in this respect is *masę* 'a lot', as it (still) appears incapable of serving as a degree intensifier.

Keywords

grammaticalization, adverbialization, indefinite (vague) quantifiers of nominal origin, degree adverbs, extent modifiers, Polish

Streszczenie

Na podstawie danych diachronicznych, wyekstrahowanych głównie z dostępnych źródeł leksykograficznych i korpusów historycznych języka polskiego, w niniejszym artykule podjęta zostaje próba ustalenia, czy początkowe stadium adwerbializacji odrzeczownikowych liczebników nieokreślonych obejmuje modyfikację zakresu, modyfikacja stopnia zaś jest zjawiskiem późniejszym. Wyniki analizy ewolucji statusu funkcjonalnego polskich określników ilościowych *trochę*, *odrobinę* oraz *masę* wskazują, że zanim wymienione jednostki zyskały status adwerbialnych modyfikatorów stopnia, funkcjonowały one jako przysłówki duratywne lub frekwentatywne. W swoich najwcześniejszych poświadczeniach

przysłówkowych w badanym materiale omawiane kwantyfikatory informują bowiem o długości lub częstotliwości akcji denotowanej przez towarzyszący im predykat werbalny bądź – jeśli dany czasownik koduje zdarzenie punktowe – o długości stanu będącego rezultatem owego zdarzenia. Dopiero kolejny etap ich uprzysłówkowienia przejawia się współwystępowaniem z predykatami skalarnymi, tj. czasownikami leksykalizującymi skalę stopnia, przymiotnikami i przysłówkami stopniowalnymi, jak również okolicznikami w postaci fraz przyimkowych. Wyjątek stanowi tu liczebnik *masę*, ponieważ nie rozwinął on (jeszcze) regularnych użyć intensyfikujących.

Słowa kluczowe
gramatykalizacja, adwerbializacja (uprzysłówkowienie), odrzeczownikowe liczebniki nieokreślone, przysłówki stopnia, modyfikatory zakresu, język polski

1. Introduction[1]

In grammaticalization theory, it is claimed that for a partitive noun to develop adverbial uses,[2] it must first undergo numeralization, i.e. syntactic reanalysis as an indefinite quantifier, attendant upon the schematization of its original meaning (cf. Traugott 2008: 235):

(1) partitive   >   quantifier   >   adverb
    'a part/portion/unit/   'a non-specific small/   'to a small/large
    (sub)set of'   large quantity of'   degree/extent'

At the same time, it has been observed that the emergence of a purely quantificational sense in a partitive does not presuppose its immediate adverbialization (Doetjes 1997: 101), i.e. distributional extension from nouns to verbs as well as adjectives and other adverbs, including adverbials in the form of prepositional phrases.

Particularly significant here is the fact that while the former stage of the above-sketched process, i.e. the development of partitives into vague quantifiers, has already received a fair share of attention cross-linguistically (cf., among others, Schabowska 1962, 1967, 1970 for Polish; Brems 2003, 2011 for English;

---

[1] The abbreviations used for glosses in this paper are as follows: 3 – third person, FEM – feminine gender, MASC – masculine gender, NEUT – neuter gender, DIM – diminutive form, COMP – comparative form, PST – past tense, PRES – present tense, NOM – nominative case, GEN – genitive case, ACC – accusative case, INSTR – instrumental case, LOC – locative case, SG – singular number, PL – plural number.

[2] It is possible to distinguish two types of partitive nouns: quantity partitives, e.g. *odrobina* 'crumb', as used in *odrobiny chleba* 'crumbs of bread', and quality partitives, e.g. *rodzaj* 'kind', as in *różne rodzaje muzyki* 'various kinds of music', of which only the former will be of interest in the study. The term *partitive* (*partitive noun*) will therefore be employed with reference to quantity partitives in the remainder of this paper. Quantity partitives themselves, however, may be encountered in the literature under a variety of other names, e.g. *measure nouns* (cf., e.g., Brems 2003) and *classifiers* (cf., e.g., Willim 2006).

Brems 2015 for French; Verveckken 2015 for Spanish; Giacalone Ramat 2018 for Italian), the subsequent expansion of numeralized items to adverbial contexts generally remains a largely unexplored territory (but cf. Claridge and Kytö 2014a, b; Norde et al. 2014; De Clerck and Brems 2016). Therefore, based on a diachronic analysis of the functional status of the Polish items *trochę* 'a bit', *odrobinę* 'a bit', and *masę* 'a lot', this paper seeks to shed new light on this hitherto under-researched phenomenon by determining whether the initial phase of the adverbialization of quantifiers of nominal origin (henceforth: nominal quantifiers) typically involves extent modification, degree modification being a subsequent development.[3]

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I outline the phenomenon of numeralization of nouns, with a focus on the relevant Polish facts. In section 3, I address the extension of nominal quantifiers to adverbial uses. In section 4, I offer a diachronic analysis of empirical data from Polish. The main conclusions reached in the investigation as well as some prospects for further research in the field are presented in section 5.

2. Numeralization: from partitives to quantifiers

As demonstrated by, among others, Schabowska (1962, 1967, 1970), Brems (2003, 2011, 2015), Verveckken (2015), and Giacalone Ramat (2018), partitives, i.e. nouns whose primary function consists in individuation, understood as the imposition of conceptual boundaries on the associated nominals' reference by means of either unit-excerption, part/portion-excerption or unit-creation (Willim 2006: 44),[4] and which incorporate a "conception of [their] typical size" (Langacker 1991: 88), exhibit a cross-linguistic propensity to develop into indefinite (vague) quantifiers,[5] expressing numerosities and amounts in an approximative manner (Klemensiewicz 1981: 60; Laskowski 1984: 341–342).[6] According to Doetjes (1997: 141–142), Grochowski (2005: 107), and

---

[3] The difference between degree and extent modification is discussed in section 3.

[4] In fact, it is also possible to discern numeralized nouns which do not originally function as partitives, e.g. *moc* 'a lot; lit.: power', as used in *moc życzeń* 'a lot of wishes' (cf. Schabowska 1962, 1967).

[5] However, the treatment of this sort of quantifiers in Polish is marked by a high degree of terminological inconsistency. For instance, such items are labelled as *liczebniki nieokreślone* 'indefinite quantifiers' in Obrębska-Jabłońska (1948) and Schabowska (1967), as *liczebniki partytywne nieokreślone* 'partitive indefinite quantifiers' in Laskowski (1984), and as *liczebniki niewłaściwe* 'quantifiers improper' in Grochowski (1996).

[6] Notably, whereas the reference of vague quantifiers cannot be rendered more specific by means of modification, numerals may co-occur with approximative modifiers which in fact yield an indefinite reading, as in **mniej więcej** *siedem dni* 'more or less seven days' (cf. Grochowski 1996).

Claridge and Kytö (2014a: 44), it is likewise possible for this type of quantifiers to imply the degree of intensity rather than the quantity of what the concomitant nominal stands for. Depending on whether a given quantifier points to a non-specific high or low quantity/degree, it can be referred to as either multal or paucal (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 365–366).[7]

The transition of nouns into quantifiers is traditionally referred to in the Polish literature as numeralization (Polish *numeralizacja*, cf. Schabowska 1962), which itself can be looked at as a kind of a larger linguistic process, namely grammaticalization (cf. Brems 2003, 2011, 2015; Verveckken 2015; Giacalone Ramat 2018), whereby items and constructions possessing lexical (descriptive) content increase their functional potential and develop more abstract, grammatical meanings (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 1; Claridge and Kytö 2014b: 259).[8] The first stage of numeralization consists in what is typically labelled in the grammaticalization framework as semantic bleaching/reduction/attrition or desemanticization (cf. Lehmann 1985; Heine 2003), defined simply as "loss in meaning content" (Heine 2003: 579). Although all of the aforementioned terms point to a general grammaticalization-induced decrease in the semantic potential of a grammaticalizing item, Hopper and Traugott (2003: 94) argue that at least at the onset of the grammaticalization process, "there is a redistribution or shift, not a loss, of meaning," which is why the initial phase of numeralization should rather be thought of as an instance of semantic generalization, or, more precisely, "the semanticization of quantifier meaning through repeated pragmatic inferencing of size or scalar implications that are part of the lexical semantics of the [partitive]" (Brems 2011: 108). In other words, partitives undergoing numeralization acquire "a different sense in which size becomes the most salient specification" (Langacker 1991: 88).[9] As Brems (2011: 231) further observes, this semantic change also involves subjectification, manifesting itself in "a shift from the [partitive] contributing to propositional content to expressing meaning that indexes speaker-relatedness," since indefinite quantifiers convey the speaker's scalar assessments arrived at on the basis of "a scale with some implicit norm or standard" (Radden and Dirven 2007: 117).

---

[7] It should be borne in mind, though, that the term *paucal* may also refer to a distinct value of the grammatical category of number in some languages, on a par with singular, dual, trial, and plural. As Corbett (2004: 22) points out, "[t]he paucal is used to refer to a small number of distinct real world entities," and hence bears semantic resemblance to the English quantifier *a few* (as well as its Polish counterpart *kilka* 'a few').

[8] In addition, grammaticalization encompasses instances in which a grammatical word/construction takes on novel grammatical functions. For a comprehensive discussion of the phenomenon at issue, see Hopper and Traugott (2003).

[9] In fact, numeralization also incorporates changes whereby the relevant items only acquire different morphosyntactic properties, without any obvious semantic developments, as was the case with the emergence of Polish higher numerals (i.e. ≥5) from nouns (cf. Miechowicz-Mathiasen and Dziubała-Szrejbrowska 2013).

Even though semantic in nature, the above-described phenomenon has a number of distributional reflexes. Firstly, numeralized nouns undergo collocational broadening (Brems 2011: 103–105; Verveckken 2015: 93). Insofar as each partitive displays certain combinatorial constraints regarding the kinds of nouns it individuates, nominal quantifiers may typically co-occur with N2--collocates which violate thier original selectional restrictions. For instance, *odrobina* 'crumb; small quantity' in its partitive uses requires that the referents of the concomitant nominals be concrete and of rather solid consistency, whereas functioning as a quantifier, it freely combines with abstract N2s as well as concrete nouns which, e.g., belong to the semantic class of liquids, as in *odrobina mleka* 'a little milk.' Secondly, nouns affected by numeralization lose compatibility with other quantifiers, including numerals (cf. Keizer 2007: 136), as a result of no longer imposing discreteness on the denotata of the accompanying nominals (cf. *każda odrobina chleba* 'every crumb of bread' vs *każda odrobina czasu* 'every bit of time'). Thirdly, the scrutinized items display highly restricted modification patterns in that they can only be premodified by quantification-reinforcing adjectives (Brems 2011: 201).[10] Also significant here is that paucal nominal quantifiers cannot be pluralized, which again differentiates them from partitives. Those belonging to the multal category, on the other hand, are, in some measure, susceptible to pluralization, yet vary cross-linguistically in this respect. Applied to items of this sort, plural morphology does not, however, perform its essential function, i.e. that of individuation. Instead, in such cases, pluralization yields an intensifying effect by strengthening the inherent scalar implications of a given multal nominal quantifier (Brems 2011: 203).[11] Finally, numeralized partitives start to appear in syntactic frames

---

[10] As for paucal nominal quantifiers, employed both adnominally and adverbially, it is possible to observe certain cross-linguistic discrepancies in this respect. For instance, while English quantifiers of this kind are susceptible to adjectival modification (e.g. *I have only **a little bit of time**, This is **a little bit better***), Polish ones do not seem to permit adjectival modifiers whatsoever: **Mam tylko **małą odrobinę** czasu* 'I have only a little bit of time', **To jest **małą odrobinę lepsze*** 'This is a little bit better'. Instead, such items in Polish may be diminutivized synthetically, as shown in the examples below, and thus diminutive morphology in Polish plays essentially the same function here as does adjectival modification in the case of English, i.e. it signals that the quantity or degree of what the accompanying item stands for is particularly small:

(i) Mam   tylko **odrobinkę**   czasu.
     have.1.SG.PRES only   crumb.DIM.SG.FEM.ACC   time.SG.MASC.GEN
     'I have only a little bit of time.'

(ii) To jest   **odrobinkę**   lepsze.
     it be.PRES   crumb.DIM.SG.FEM.ACC   good.COMP.SG.NEUT
     'This is a little bit better.'

[11] In fact, this amplifying function of plural morphology is not confined to multal nominal quantifiers. In his comprehensive study of the category of number in the world's languages, Corbett (2004: 238) observes that "occasionally there are special morphological forms indicating an excessive number, sometimes called 'plurals of abundance'. Ordinary plurals may also

which are typical of the category of quantifier. In Polish, a numeralized item in the subject position may be in the accusative, not the nominative, as is normally the case with partitives in this syntactic environment (cf. (2a)), with the verb taking the third person singular neuter form (cf. (2b)), an agreement pattern characteristic of Polish higher, i.e. ≥5, numerals (cf., among others, Szober 1928; Obrębska-Jabłońska 1948; Schabowska 1962, 1967, 1970):

(2) a. Na   stole   leżała   kupa   książek.
        on   table   lie.PST.3.SG.FEM   heap.FEM.SG.NOM   book.FEM.PL.GEN
        'A heap of books was lying on the table.'

    b. Kupę   czasu   minęło
        heap.FEM.SG.ACC   time.MASC.PL.GEN   pass.PST.3.SG.NEUT
        od   tamtego   wydarzenia.
        from   that   incident
        'A lot of time has passed since that incident.'

Numeralization may finally lead to the pertinent nouns losing their original meaning as well as nominal properties, which can be best illustrated with the Polish item *trochę* 'a bit', constituting the fossilized singular accusative form of the now non-existent feminine noun *trocha* 'small quantity' (cf. Schabowska 1970), etymologically related to Proto-Slavonic **troska* 'bit; chip; scrap' (Boryś 2005: 642). In contemporary Polish, *trochę* 'a bit' does not only disallow pluralization and adjectival premodification, but also case inflection, which is why it can appear solely in nominative (cf. *trochę czasu upłynęło* 'some time has passed'), accusative (cf. *zjeść trochę zupy* 'to eat a little soup'), and, as far as the so-called genitive of negation is concerned, also genitival contexts, usually together with the particle *ani* 'not (even)' (cf. *nie mieć ani trochę czasu* 'not to have (even) a bit of time').[12] This distinguishes *trochę* 'a bit' from the items *odrobinę* 'a bit' and *masę* 'a lot', whose grammaticalization has not yet reached such an advanced stage, as both still have their nominal counterparts, i.e. *odrobina* 'crumb; small quantity' and *masa* 'mass; large quantity', which can be inflected for case (cf. *o odrobinie szczęścia* 'about a bit of luck; lit.: about crumb. SG.FEM.LOC luck.SG.NEUT.GEN', *z masą czasu* 'with a lot of time; lit.: with mass. SG.FEM.INSTR time.SG.MASC.GEN').

---

be found in this use; when there is no special morphological form we may call it the 'plural of excess', which is a type of intensificative." For instance, in Polish phrases such as *wody oceanu* 'the waters of the ocean' and *piaski pustyni* 'the sands of the desert', the nouns *wody* 'waters' and *piaski* 'sands' denote an abundance of the pertinent substances rather than portions or kinds thereof (cf. Willim 2007: 184).

[12] As Schabowska (1970: 110) points out, the only exception is the locative form *trosze* present in the lexicalized adverbial phrase *po trosze* 'bit by bit; partly' (along with the spelling variant *po trochu*).

3. Adverbialization: from quantifiers to adverbs

As noted by Doetjes (1997: 101, 2008: 132) and Traugott (2008: 235), the next stage in the grammaticalization of nominal quantifiers consists in their progression to adverbial uses, involving verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, as well as adverbials in the form of prepositional phrases, a development which, in conjunction with the anterior broadening of a numeralized noun's collocational range, exemplifies what Himmelmann (2004: 31–34) refers to as host-class and syntactic expansion. However, this aspect of the functional evolution of partitives has been somewhat neglected in the existing Polish literature. For instance, Schabowska (1970: 112), in her analysis of the morphosyntactic history of *trochę* 'a bit', only laconically observes that the form in question may modify verbal predicates in addition to nominal ones, and further provides a few examples of the discussed item co-occurring with adverbial expressions (pp. 112–113) and adjectives (p. 115), yet fails to pursue any closer investigation into this extension of distribution.

What deserves special attention in the context of the distributional expansion of numeralized partitives beyond the nominal domain is the fact that adverbialized quantifiers may function as either degree or extent modifiers (cf., among others, Bolinger 1972; Grzegorczykowa 1975; Löbner 2012). In the former case, they combine with scalar predicates, i.e. items lexicalizing a degree scale, such as gradable adjectives, e.g. *trochę zmęczony* 'a bit tired,' psychological verbs, e.g. *trochę się martwić* 'to be a bit worried,' so-called degree achievements, e.g. *odrobinę poszerzyć* 'to widen a bit,' verbs of comparison, e.g. *odrobinę się różnić* 'to differ a bit,' verbs of marked behaviour, e.g. *trochę się jąkać* 'to stutter a bit,' verbs of substance emission, e.g. *trochę krwawić* 'to bleed a bit,' etc. (Löbner 2012: 234; cf. also Grzegorczykowa 1975: 64–65),[13] whereas in the latter, what they modify is the temporal extent, i.e. duration or frequency, of the events encoded by the associated verbs, e.g. *odrobinę poczekać* 'to wait a bit' and *masę podróżować* 'to travel a lot,'[14] and hence extent modifiers may likewise be labelled as duratives or frequentatives (Grzegorczykowa 1975: 28; Quirk et al. 1985: 602–603). Following Bolinger (1972) and Löbner (2012), I will refer to verbal predicates permitting degree modification as degree verbs, whereas those of the latter kind will be labelled here

---

[13] For a meticulous account of verb gradation, see Fleischhauer (2016).

[14] Extent modifiers bear semantic resemblance to temporal adverbs, such as *always* and *often*. For instance, *dużo* 'a lot' in the Polish sentence *Na wakacjach dużo podróżował* 'He travelled a lot during the holidays' can be felicitously replaced with *często* 'often', the difference between the two items being nonetheless that the latter is an inherent iterator, i.e. it invariably appears in the context of repeated atomic events, while the former may also combine with homogeneous verbal predicates (cf. Doetjes 1997: 137).

as eventive verbs (cf. Doetjes 1997, 2008). Notably, however, there exist verbs allowing both the degree and the extent interpretation, such as *cierpieć* 'to suffer,' which results in occasional semantic ambiguities. By way of illustration, in the sentence *Trochę cierpiała* 'She suffered a bit,' *trochę* 'a bit' may be taken to indicate either a low intensity of the pertinent individual's suffering or a short duration thereof (cf. Grzegorczykowa 1975: 66).

Both degree and extent modifiers can be further divided depending on whether they derive from multal or paucal nominal quantifiers. Degree modifiers related to the former type are typically called boosters (cf. English *a lot* in *a lot better*), while those connected with the latter category are referred to as diminishers, e.g. *trochę szybszy* 'a bit faster,' or, if used in non-assertive contexts, as minimizers, e.g. *nie przejmować się ani trochę* 'not to care a bit' (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 589–601; Paradis 2008: 321; Claridge and Kytö 2014a: 29–30). Similarly, extent modifiers may be classified into upscaling and downscaling ones, i.e. indicating, respectively, a long/high or short/low duration/frequency of the action denoted by the concomitant verbal predicate (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 602–603).

Whether any semantic change is involved in the extension of numeralized partitives to adverbial uses is debatable. Although dictionaries typically provide an adverbialized quantifier with a separate entry, I will follow Grochowski (1996: 33) and Doetjes (1997: 15) in assuming that only numeralization involves a change in meaning, whereas the subsequent adverbialization of nominal quantifiers is a syntactic rather than semantic phenomenon. In other words, it is the type of the modified predicate that determines whether the grammaticalized partitive should be interpreted as indicating a low/high number or amount or a low/high degree. As already mentioned, even with some mass abstract nominal collocates, the quantifier may be taken to express a particular degree of intensity of certain psychological phenomena rather than a quantity thereof (Doetjes 1997: 141–142; Claridge and Kytö 2014a: 44), as suggested by the lack of any palpable semantic disparity between (3a) and (3b):

(3) a. Ma **masę cierpliwości**.
          'He has a lot of patience.'
     b. Jest **bardzo cierpliwy**.
          'He is very patient.'

Likewise, with eventive verbs, the once partitive element, despite no longer being used adnominally, implies a high or low quantity, understood here as duration or frequency, of the pertinent event, which is why extent modifier uses may be looked at as being "of the quantifying type" (Claridge and Kytö 2014a: 40):

(4) a. Odbył **masę podróży**.
'He made a lot of journeys.'
b. **Masę podróżował**.
'He travelled a lot.'

Moreover, the exact reading of the extent modifier hinges upon whether the relevant verbal predicate is homogeneous, i.e. mass, or heterogeneous, allowing semantic pluralization whereby it denotes a series of atomic (bounded) events (or subevents).

Adverbial uses of nominal quantifiers should nevertheless be distinguished from instances in which the quantifier syntactically functions as the subject (5a) or the direct object (5b) in a sentence:

(5) a. **Masę się** tu ostatnio **pozmieniało**.
'A lot has changed here recently.'
b. **Masę** o tym **czytałem**.
'I read a lot about it.'

Examples in which the quantifier performs an analogous function to that of *masę* 'a lot' in (5a,b) will be considered pronominal rather than adverbial here (cf. Radden and Dirven 2007: 116). As Grzegorczykowa (1975: 62) suggests, uses of this type may be analysed as elliptical, with the quantified item being omitted. In (5b), the verb *czytać* 'to read' implies nominal complements such as *książki* 'books' or *teksty* 'texts', whereas in (5a), it is possible to assume the elision of a semantically general element such as *rzeczy* 'things; stuff'. Equally noteworthy in the context of such uses is that the event denoted by the verb is measured by the number or amount of what the implied nominal stands for: *czytać dużo* [*książek*] 'to read a lot [of books]' indicates a plurality not only of the objects themselves, but also of the reading events in which these entities are involved. For this reason, De Clerck and Brems (2016: 170) assume such instances to constitute a factor facilitating the emergence of full-blown adverbial uses, in which the grammaticalized partitive quantifies over (the temporal extent of) the event itself.

4. Analysis of empirical data

Presented below is a diachronic analysis of the functional evolution of the Polish nominal quantifiers *trochę* 'a bit', *odrobinę* 'a bit', and *masę* 'a lot'. In section 4.1, I comment on the sources of empirical data. In section 4.2, I outline the research hypothesis. Section 4.3 offers an account of the obtained results.

4.1. Sources

The investigation reported on in the present paper builds on data extracted from the available historical monolingual dictionaries of Polish as well as from language corpora. In some cases, however, the employment of a dictionary was impossible. For instance, since the volume of the Dictionary of 16th-Century Polish encompassing the letter T has not been complied yet, it has been necessary to browse through the texts forming the Corpus of 16th-Century Polish in order to establish the functional status of *trochę* 'a bit' in the pertinent period. Similarly, as the entry for *odrobina* 'crumb; small quantity' in the Electronic Dictionary of 17th- and 18th-Century Polish is still under construction, I have searched through the Corpus of Polish Texts from the 17th and the 18th Centuries (the so-called Baroque Corpus) as well as the Card Index of the aforementioned lexicographic work. The exhaustive list of the sources of the diachronic evidence is provided at the end of this paper; for space limitations, I will not repeat it here.

4.2. Hypothesis

Analysing the occurrences of the English item *bit* in the Old Bailey Corpus (OBC), Claridge and Kytö (2014a,b) demonstrate that its earliest adverbial attestations typically involve verbal contexts, in which the item functions as an extent modifier. Given that language change typically originates in informal registers (cf. Brems 2011: 207), and the above-mentioned English corpus is special in that despite being historical in nature, it encompasses speech-related texts,[15] the results obtained by Claridge and Kytö (2014a, b) may be considered a valuable insight into the syntatic expansion of numeralized partitives. Accordingly, it is hypothesized here that the initial stage of the adverbialization of the Polish nominal quantifiers *trochę* 'a bit', *odrobinę* 'a bit', and *masę* 'a lot' should likewise manifest itself in extent modifier uses, degree modification being a posterior development.

4.3. Results[16]

4.3.1. *Trochę* 'a bit'

As mentioned before, according to Boryś (2005: 642), *trochę* 'a bit' derives from the no longer existing noun *trocha* 'small quantity', which, in turn, is related to the Proto-Slavonic form **troska*, meaning 'bit; chip; scrap' (cf. also Brückner 1927: 576). The Old Polish Dictionary defines *trocha* 'small quantity' as follows:

---

[15] The OBC encompasses selected proceedings from London's central criminal court, covering the period from 1674 up to 1913.

[16] Crucially, the analysis pursued here focuses solely on the partitive, quantifier, and adverbial functions of the Polish items, and therefore disregards any other conventionalized semantic extensions.

trocha
  (i) mała ilość, inopia, paucitas
       'small amount'
       [SSP, Vol. 9, p. 186]

Additionally, there is a separate entry for the adverbial variant of the item in question:

trochę
  (i) krótko, przez chwilkę, breviter, brevi tempore
       'for a short time, for a while'

(6) By mya chczalą **trocha slvchacz**, chczalbych czya nyeczo pytacz
     'If you would listen to me for a bit, I would like to ask you a few questions'
     [KTSP: Piesni; SSP, Vol. 9, p. 186]

As can be seen, the latter definition, along with the accompanying example, which is cited from the anonymous 15th-century Polish poem *Rozmowa Mistrza Polikarpa ze Śmiercią*, and which in fact constitutes the sole adverbial attestation of *trochę* 'a bit' in the Corpus of Old Polish Texts (cf. the Piesni subcorpus), indicate that only the extent modifier function was available for the analysed item in the Old Polish period.

In the Corpus of 16th-Century Polish, by contrast, apart from extent modifier uses (7a,b), we may find the first degree modifier occurrences of *trochę* 'a bit' involving scalar verbal predicates (8a,b), gradable adjectives and adverbs (9a,b), as well as prepositional phrases, mainly temporal ones (10a,b):

(7) a. Do kuchniey też **trochę poźrzał** [Biernat z Lublina, *Żywot Ezopa Fryga*, 1522]
         'He also popped into the kitchen for a bit'

     b. prośiłá áby kát **trochę poczekał** [Piotr Skarga, *Żywoty świętych*, 1579]
         'she asked the executioner to wait a bit'

(8) a. Iżbych **trochę otrzeźwiáłá** [Biernat z Lublina, *Żywot Ezopa Fryga*, 1522]
         'So that I could reinvigorate myself a bit'

     b. y gdy **fię trochę vípokoił** [Piotr Skarga, *Żywoty świętych*, 1579]
         'and when he calmed down a bit'

(9) a. Kiedym **trochę młodſzy** był [Piotr Zbylitowski, *Przygana wymyślnym strojom białogłowskim*, 1600]
         'When I was a bit younger'

     b. ćiefząc się **trochę fáłſzywie** tymi dufzámi [Grzegorz Paweł, *O Prawdziwej śmierci*, 1568]
         'rejoicing a bit deceitfully at these souls'

(10) a. Vmárłá też **przed tym trochę** y Rebeká mátká Iakobowá [Marcin Bielski, *Kronika*, 1564]
         'Also Rebeka, Jacob's mother, died a bit before that'

b. A **trochę przed śmiercią páná Wapowſkiego** [Łukasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski*, 1566]
  'And a bit before Mr Wapowski's death'
  [KP16]

Notably, when functioning as an extent modifier, the discussed item may measure the duration not only of a particular action (7b), but also of the state resulting from a punctual event denoted by the concomitant verb, as in (7a).

In the Electronic Dictionary of 17th- and 18th-Century Polish, all the three functions of *trochę* 'a bit' are recognized, i.e. the quantifier, degree modifier, and extent modifier ones:

trochę
  (i) do pewnego stopnia, w pewnej mierze
    'to a certain degree, in some measure'
  (ii) w niedużej ilości, niewiele
    'in a small quantity, not much'
  (iii) na krótko, na niedługi czas, przez niedługi czas
    'for a while, for a short time'

(11) **Trochę** był **zacięty** koło ucha tęn kon. [Jan Chryzostom Pasek, *Pamiętniki*, 1656–1688]
  'That horse was a bit wounded near the ear.'

(12) Idz niech się **trochę zatrzymaią** [Jan Chryzostom Pasek, *Pamiętniki*, 1656–1688]
  'Go and make them stop for a while'
  [KorBa; SP17i18: https://sxvii.pl/index.php?strona=haslo&id_hasla=10133&forma=TROCHĘ#10133]

The functional characterization of *trochę* 'a bit' has basically not changed since that time (cf. SL, Vol. 5, pp. 704–705; SWil, p. 1718; SWar, Vol. 7, p. 111), and the item under analysis may still be employed as an indefinite quantifier, extent modifier, and degree modifier, as corroborated by the common parlance examples *trochę informacji* 'some information', *trochę poczekać* 'wait a bit', *trochę bardziej wyrozumiała* 'a bit more understanding', offered in the 2003 Universal Dictionary of Polish (Vol. 4, pp. 119–120). However, what is interesting about 17th-century Polish is that, as already noted by Schabowska (1970: 113), *trochę* 'a bit' is then first attested as a nominal modifier, in which case it points to a relatively low degree of a (usually negative) quality encoded in the semantics of the associated noun (cf. the English *a bit of a*-construction):

(13) To był **trochę salbierz** [Jan Chryzostom Pasek, *Pamiętniki*, 1656–1688]
  'He was a bit of a swindler'
  [KorBa; SP17i18: https://sxvii.pl/index.php?strona=haslo&id_hasla=10133&forma=TROCHĘ#10133]

4.3.2. *Odrobinę* 'a bit'

As shown below, in the Old Polish period, *odrobina* 'crumb; small quantity' could only be used in its basic, partitive sense:

> *odrobina*
>> (i) mały odkruszony kawałek, okruszyna, okruch
>>   'a small piece broken off something, a crumb'
>>   [SSP, Vol. 5, pp. 495–496]

In the 16th century, in turn, *odrobina* 'crumb; small quantity' established itself as an indefinite quantifier, as evidenced by the conventionalization of the additional 'small quantity' meaning:

> *odrobina*
>> (i) mały kawałeczek czegoś
>>   'a small piece of something'
>> (ii) mała ilość czegoś
>>   'a small amount of something'
>>   [SP16, Vol. 20, pp. 438–439]

Notably, an analysis of the occurrences of *odrobina* 'crumb; small quantity' and of its diminutive forms, i.e. *odrobinka* and *odrobineczka*, in the Corpus of Old Polish Texts and the Corpus of 16th-Century Polish corroborates the above-described functional development of the item in question, suggested by its dictionary characterizations.

However, due to the lack of a lexicographic description of *odrobina* 'crumb; small quantity' in the Electronic Dictionary of 17th- and 18th-Century Polish, I have had to rely entirely on the Baroque Corpus as well as the Card Index of the said dictionary documenting the attestations of the analysed item from the relevant period. What this investigation has revealed is, apart from partitive and quantifier attestations, only one example which may be perceived as ambiguous between the quantifier and the adverbial reading:

> (14) [o rybim sercu] Że gdy **go** w ogień **wpuścisz odrobinę**, A nim niewiastę lub męża okadzisz, Tak z niej, jak z niego czary wyprowadzisz [KSJP17i18: Odpór–Odrzucony, p. 3032]
>
> [about a fish's heart] 'If you drop a bit of it into the fire/If you drop it into the fire for a bit, and then fumigate a woman or a man with it, you will liberate her or him from magic spells'

The above-cited fragment comes from Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski's poem *Tobiasz wyzwolony*, first published in 1682. What is particularly problematic about this text is its poetic character, which, in view of the relatively free word order in Polish, may be assumed to have influenced the position of the element *odrobinę* 'a bit' in the example under discussion. In (14), the

pronoun *go* 'it.ACC; it.GEN' anaphorically refers to the noun *serce* 'heart,' yet what remains unclear here is whether it forms a phrase with *odrobinę*, i.e. *go odrobinę* 'a bit of it; lit.: it.GEN bit.ACC', with the latter having been extraposed for stylistic reasons, or *odrobinę* 'a bit' itself functions as an adverb modifying the duration of the resulant state implied by the predicate *wpuścić* 'to drop,'[17] in which case the entire clause *jeśli go w ogień wpuścisz odrobinę* could be rendered as 'if you drop it into the fire for a bit'. The adverbial interpretation is in fact not implausible given that *trochę* 'a bit' had already been attested in an analogous function, i.e. that of an extent modifier measuring the duration of the state following from a punctual event denoted by the associated verb (cf. examples (7a) and (12)).

The first unambiguously adverbial attestations of *odrobinę* 'a bit' can be found in Linde's Dictionary, where they are quoted from the periodical *Teatr Polski*, published in the 1780s:

> *odrobina*
>   (i)   okruszyna, drobny ułomek
>   'a crumb, a tiny fragment'
>   (ii) trochę, troszkę, troszeczkę
>   'a bit, a little bit' [quantifier]
>   (iii) trochę, troszkę, troszeczkę
>   'a bit, a little bit' [adverb]

(15) **Zatrzymaj się odrobinkę**.
     'Stop for a little bit.'

(16) Czybym nie mogła z Wac Panem **odrobineczkę pomówić**.
     'I was wondering if I could talk to you a little bit, sir.'
     [SL, Vol. 3, p. 488]

As corroborated by queries carried out for *odrobinę* 'a bit', *odrobinkę* 'a little bit', and *odrobineczkę* 'a little bit' on the entire dictionary under consideration by means of the search engine available at szukajwslownikach.uw.edu.pl, the above-listed extent modifier uses are the only clearly adverbial attestations of the scrutinized forms thus far. Likewise, the sole example illustrating the adverbial use of *odrobinę* 'a bit' offered in the Vilnius Dictionary (p. 866), namely *Zaczekaj odrobinę* 'Wait a bit', is another extent modifier attestation. The Warsaw Dictionary (Vol. 3, p. 652), in turn, merely repeats the example from the Vilnius Dictionary as well as example (16) from Linde's Dictionary. Nevertheless, in the Warsaw Dictionary in its entirety, it is possible to find two

---

[17] As Brückner (1927: 205) reports, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the from *go* was used as the accusative variant of the neuter pronoun *ono* 'it' instead of today's *je* 'it.ACC', as evidenced by the attestations of accusative *go* 'it.ACC' in the works of Jan Kochanowski and Wacław Potocki. Hence, *go* 'it.ACC; it.GEN' in (14) is ambiguous between the genitive and the accusative reading.

additional adverbial uses of the analysed item, in which it functions as a degree modifier:

(17) Kiej sami bylista **odrobinę zaprószeni** [SWar, Vol. 8, p. 235]
'When you yourselves were a bit intoxicated'

(18) Była tym wypadkiem **odrobinkę**, zdziebko **poirytowaną** [SWar, Vol. 8, p. 427]
'She was a little bit irritated at this incident'

Example (17) comes from Bolesław Prus' novel *Placówka*, first published in 1886, whereas (18) from an unidentified literary work by Marian Gawalewicz (1852–1910). Another degree modifier attestation of *odrobinę* 'a bit' from the 19th century has been detected in the Corpus of 1830–1918 Polish,[18] where it is quoted from Eliza Orzeszkowa's novel *Dwa bieguny*, which came out in 1893:

(19) A ja wczoraj myślałam, że tylko troszkę, **odrobineczkę** jesteś **zmartwionym**!
[KP1830–1918]
'Yesterday I thought that you were just a little bit worried!'

Doroszewski's Dictionary offers a further set of degree modifier attestations of *odrobinę* 'a bit':

odrobina
  (i) drobna cząsteczka, drobny ułamek; okruch, kawałeczek, ździebełko
    'a tiny fragment; a crumb, a piece, a smidgen'
 (ii) bardzo mała ilość czegoś
    'a very small amount of something'
(iii) *odrobinę* troszkę, nieco, cokolwiek
    'a little bit, slightly, somewhat'

(20) Jechałem z przepisową szybkością, no, może **odrobinę szybciej**.
'I was driving at a permissible speed, or well, perhaps a bit faster.'

(21) Żartował, śmiał się, nawet **odrobinę pokpiwał** z jej ogrodniczych zajęć.
'He was joking, laughing, even jibing at her gardening activities a bit.'

(22) Ja do żadnego z nich nie **mam pretensji**. Może – **odrobinę** – do ciebie, żeś tak mało pisał… o mieście…
'I don't feel angry with any of them. Well, perhaps I do with you a bit, because you wrote so little… about the city…'
[SD, https://sjp.pwn.pl/doroszewski/odrobina;5464421.html]

---

[18] Additionally, the corpus reveals one example in which *odrobinę* 'a bit' functions as a temporal argument of the verb *przespać* 'to sleep for some time', namely *przespać odrobinę* 'to sleep for a bit', yet this instance is not analysed as adverbial here.

Example (20) comes from Adam Tarn's 1950 drama *Zwykła sprawa*, example (21) from Ignacy Dąbrowski's novel *Matki* (1923), and (22) from Bolesław Prus' *Lalka* (1980). As the 2003 Universal Dictionary of Polish (Vol. 2, pp. 1172–1173) indicates, both adverbial functions of *odrobinę* 'a bit', i.e. the extent and the degree modifier ones, are still available in present-day Polish, e.g. *zdrzemnąć się odrobinę* 'to doze a bit', *odrobinę zmęczony* 'a bit tired'.

4.3.3. *Masę* 'a lot'

It is only in the 16th century that the noun *masa* 'mass', spelt then as *massa*, is first attested in Polish as a borrowing of Romance origin (cf. Brückner 1927: 324). The Dictionary of 16th-Century Polish defines the form *massa* 'mass' in the following way:

> *massa*
>> (i) mieszanina czegoś; papkowata lub stała substancja z jakiejś mieszaniny
>>   'a mixture of something; a mushy or solid substance made of some mixture'
>>   [SP16, Vol. 13, p. 189]

This state of affairs persists through the 17th and the 18th centuries, since neither the Baroque Corpus nor the Card Index of the Dictionary of the Polish Language Spoken in the 17th and the Former Half of the 18th Century (cf. Marszałkowstwo–Matka 1, pp. 794–845) offers any purely quantificational, leave alone adverbial, attestations of the item at issue. Also in Linde's Dictionary, *masa*/*massa* 'mass' appears in the partitive sense of 'a lump':

> *masa*, *massa*
>> (i) bryła jakiej materyi
>>   'a lump of any substance'
>>   [SL, Vol. 3, p. 52]

In the Vilnius Dictionary, by contrast, *masa* 'mass' is demonstrated to have developed a purely quantificational, multal sense ('a lot of'):

> *masa*
>> (i) ciało jakiekolwiek w całej swej objętości oznaczonej; kawał, wielkość
>>   'any substance in its entirety; a substantial portion, volume'
>> (ii) wielka ilość, wielość, kupa, gromada
>>   'a great amount, multitude, a lot, a crowd'
>>   [SWil, p. 636]

In the Warsaw Dictionary (Vol. 2, p. 892), there are no changes in the functional characterization of *masa* 'mass', i.e. both the partitive and the quantifier senses are listed, aside from a number of other semantic extensions which nonetheless bear no relevance to the purposes of this paper. Similarly, in the Corpus of 1850–1918 Polish, only partitive and quantifier uses of accusative *masę* 'mass.ACC' can be detected, with no adverbial occurrences whatsoever.

Doroszewski's Dictionary (https://sjp.pwn.pl/doroszewski/masa;5449829. html), in turn, offers two examples of what are referred to as adverbial attestations of *masę* 'a lot', yet these instances are not regarded as such here. In one of these examples, namely *jest masę do roboty* 'there is a lot to be done', *masę* 'a lot' functions pronominally rather than adverbially, i.e. as the subject of the sentence, whereas in the other, it functions as a quantifier, which assigns the genitive case to the noun *pieniądze* 'money', and which, for stylistic reasons of emphasis, is placed in the sentence-final position: *Pieniędzy*.GEN.PL.FEM *wydałem*. PST.1.SG.MASC *masę*.ACC.SG.FEM 'I spent a lot of money'.

Finally, the Universal Dictionary of Polish provides one truly adverbial attestation of *masę* 'a lot', with the analysed quantifier functioning as an extent modifier:

> *masa*
> (i) bezkształtna, ciastowata substancja, gęsta lub półpłynna mieszanina czegoś
>   'amorphous, doughy substance, a thick or semi-fluid mixture of something'
> (ii) wielka ilość, wielkie nagromadzenie czegoś, mnóstwo
>   'a large amount, a large conglomeration of something, a lot'
> (iii) *masę* wiele, bardzo dużo
>   'much, a great lot'

(23) Ostatnio **masę podróżował**.
    'He has travelled a lot recently.'
    [USJP, Vol. 2, pp. 574–575]

A few queries with PoS-tagging carried out on the National Corpus of Polish only corroborate the possibility of employing *masę* 'a lot' in the extent modifying function, as in (24–25). However, no degree modifier uses have been detected.

(24) no wiesz, **masę jeżdżą**. [NKJP]
    'you know, they travel a lot'

(25) Wskutek braku tramwajów **masę chodziliśmy**, tak że pod wieczór jestem już bardzo zmęczona. [NKJP]
    'We've walked a lot due to the lack of tramways, so that I feel very tired in the evening.'

As disclosed by the metadata accompanying the above examples in the NKJP, (24) comes from a spoken conversation recorded in 2000, whereas (25) from Maria Dąbrowska's personal journals written between 1914 and 1965, published in 2009. Curiously, an Internet query reveals an even earlier adverbial occurrence of *masę* 'a lot' than is the case with (25), namely one which dates back to the year 1893:

(26) 10 lat służył w wojsku pruskim, **masę podróżował** naokoło ziemi itd. [Hłyń 2008: 249]
    'For ten years, he served in the Prussian army, travelled a lot around the world, etc.'

Example (26) constitutes an excerpt from the private correspondence of Maria Harsdorfowa, née Gniewosz (1869–1910), transcribed by Maria Hłyń.

5. Conclusion

The foregoing analysis of diachronic Polish data points to a tendency for the adverbialization of nominal quantifiers to initially involve verbal contexts, in which the items function as extent modifiers, i.e. signal the duration or frequency of the situation encoded by the associated eventive verbal predicate, or, if the pertinent verb denotes a puctual event, the duration of the resultant state. It is only at subsequent stages of their syntactic expansion outside of the nominal domain that the adverbialized quantifiers under scrutiny combine with scalar predicates, i.e. degree verbs as well as gradable adjectives and adverbs, including adverbial prepositional phrases. Exceptional in this respect is the form *masę* 'a lot', as it (still) appears incapable of serving as a degree intensifier (cf. *trochę/odrobinę młodszy* 'a bit younger' vs ?*masę młodszy 'a lot younger'). The results of the investigation are summarized in the following table:

Table 1. Chronology of development of extent and degree modifier uses

Nominal quantifier	Earliest extent modifier attestation(s)	Earliest degree modifier attestation(s)
Trochę 'a bit'	15th century	16th century
Odrobinę 'a bit'	18th century	19th century
Masę 'a lot'	19th century	?

That quantifiers seem to develop extent modifier uses prior to degree modifier ones should not come as a surprise considering the quantificational character of the former. In other words, quantifiers prototypically measure the inherent magnitude of entities or substances, and extent modifiers fulfil a corresponding function in the verbal domain, i.e. that of indicating the number of certain happenings (frequency) or the temporal extension (duration) of an event or a state. By way of illustration, *masę podróżować* 'to travel a lot' points to multiple occurrences of the event of travelling (or subevents thereof), while *poczekać odrobinę* 'to wait a bit' implies an insignificant amount of waiting. What likewise lends substance to the above-described chronology of the functional evolution of nominal quantifiers is the fact that grammaticalization generally leads to the relevant items becoming increasingly abstract (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 33), and that qualities, lexicalized by adjectives as well as some degree verbs, rank at the top of the hierarchy of abstractness proposed by

Heine et al. (1991: 160) based on evidence from language change, being conceived of as more abstract than temporal relations, conveyed by duratives and frequentatives.

Given the qualitative character of the study reported on here, an obvious next step in the diachronic investigation into the syntactic expansion of numeralized partitives involves a corpus-based quantitative analysis of their collocational patterns. In particular, attention should be paid to the factor(s) lying at the root of the progression of nominal quantifiers which have acquired the extent modifying function to degree modifier uses. According to a hypothesis put forward by Claridge and Kytö (2014b: 250), this combinatorial extension may be licensed by the quantifiers' frequent occurrence in ambiguous contexts, where they modify verbs permitting both the extent and the degree reading, a state of affairs conducive to functional reanalysis.[19] The following example, found on the Internet, illustrates uses of this sort:

(27) ale i tak super wygląda, widać, że **sie mase** nad tym **męczyłeś**
'it looks great though, it's evident that you've toiled a lot over it'
[https://max3d.pl/forum/threads/35141-Animacja-3d-Exclusion/page3]

On the one hand, *masę* 'a lot' in (27) may be taken to imply a long duration of the event of toiling, and would hence exhibit functional equivalence to the adverb *dużo* 'a lot' (cf. *dużo podróżować* 'to travel a lot' vs *dużo kochać* 'to love a lot'). On the other hand, *masę* 'a lot' may well be reinterpreted as pointing to a high degree of the gradable attribute lexicalized in the meaning of the verb *męczyć się* 'to toil', in which case the analysed item would be functionally akin to the canonical Polish intensifier *bardzo* 'very' (cf. *bardzo kochać* 'to love a lot' vs *bardzo podróżować* 'to travel a lot').

References

BOLINGER Dwight (1972). *Degree Words*. The Hague: Mouton.

BREMS Lieselotte (2003). Measure noun constructions: An instance of semantically-
-driven grammaticalization. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8(2), 283–
312.

BREMS Lieselotte (2011). *The Layering of Size Noun and Type Noun Constructions in English*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

[19] Another possibility is that the development of adverbial degree modifier uses correlated with the quantifiers' increased co-occurrence with mass abstract N2-collocates which invoke a scale of degree rather than quantity, such as non-count psych nouns. Also, apart from examining the collocability of the pertinent elements diachronically, it seems worth providing a quantitative account of the decline in the frequency of use of the non-accusative forms of the item *trocha* 'small quantity' over the centuries.

Brems Lieselotte (2015). Some binominal size noun constructions in English and French: A contrastive corpus-based perspective. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 14(1), 90–115.

Claridge Claudia, Kytö Merja (2014a). *I had lost sight of them then for* a bit*, but I went on* pretty *fast*: Two degree modifiers in the Old Bailey Corpus. In *Diachronic Corpus Pragmatics*, Irma Taavitsainen, Andreas Jucker, Jukka Tuominen (eds.), 29–52. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Claridge Claudia, Kytö Merja (2014b).'You are a bit of a sneak': Exploring a degree modifier in the Old Bailey Corpus. In *Late Modern English Syntax*, Marianne Hundt (ed.), 239–268. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corbett Greville G. (2004). *Number*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Clerck Bernard, Brems Lieselotte (2016). Size nouns matter: A closer look at *mass(es) of* and extended uses of SNs. *Language Sciences* 53, 160–176.

Doetjes Jenny (1997). *Quantifiers and Selection: On the Distribution of Quantifying Expressions in French, Dutch and English*. Leiden: University of Leiden.

Doetjes Jenny (2008). Adjectives and degree modification. In *Adverbs: Syntax, Semantics and Discourse*, Louise McNally, Christopher Kennedy (eds.), 123–155. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fleischhauer Jens (2016). *Degree Gradation of Verbs*. Düsseldorf: Düsseldorf University Press.

Giacalone Ramat Anna (2018). Degrees of grammaticalization and measure constructions in Italian. To appear in *Revue Romane. Langue et littérature. International Journal of Romance Languages and Literatures*. DOI 10.1075/rro.16015.gia

Grochowski Maciej (1996) O wykładnikach aproksymacji: liczebniki niewłaściwe a operatory przyliczebnikowe [On the exponents of approximation: Quantifiers improper and adnumeral operators]. In *Studia z leksykologii i gramatyki języków słowiańskich* [Studies in Slavonic Lexicology and Grammar], Henryk Wróbel (ed.), 31–37. Kraków: IJP PAN.

Grochowski Maciej (2005). O cechach gramatycznych i znaczeniu jednostek o postaci *trochę* [On the grammatical and semantic properties of the *trochę*-items]. In *Przysłówki i przyimki. Studia ze składni i semantyki języka polskiego* [Adverbs and Prepositions. Studies in Polish Syntax and Semantics], Maciej Grochowski (ed.), 101–111. Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK.

Grzegorczykowa Renata (1975). *Funkcje semantyczne i składniowe polskich przysłówków* [The Semantic and Syntactic Functions of Polish Adverbs]. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

Heine Bernd (2003). Grammaticalization. In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, Brian D. Joseph, Richard D. Janda (eds.), 575–601. Oxford: Blackwell.

Heine Bernd, Claudi Ulrike, Hünnemeyer Friederike (1991). *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Himmelmann Nikolaus P. (2004). Lexicalization and grammaticization: Opposite or orthogonal? In *What Makes Grammaticalization? A Look from its Fringes and its Components*, Walter Bisang, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann, Björn Wiemer (eds.), 21‒42. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hopper Paul J., Traugott Elizabeth C. (2003). *Grammaticalization*. Second Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Huddleston Rodney D., Pullum Geoffrey K. (2002). *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keizer Evelien (2007). *The English Noun Phrase: The Nature of Linguistic Categorization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Klemensiewicz Zenon (1981). *Podstawowe wiadomości z gramatyki języka polskiego* [Essentials of Polish Grammar]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Langacker Ronald (1991). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Volume 2: Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Laskowski Roman (1984). Liczebnik [Quantifier]. In *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego: Morfologia* [Contemporary Polish Grammar: Morphology], Renata Grzegorczykowa, Roman Laskowski, Henryk Wróbel (eds.), 283–293. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Lehmann Christian (1985). Grammaticalization: Synchronic variation and diachronic change. *Lingua e Stile* 20(3), 303–318.

Löbner Sebastian (2012). Sub-Compositionality. In *The Oxford Handbook of Compositionality*, Wolfram Hinzen, Edouard Machery, Markus Werning (eds.), 220–241. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miechowicz-Mathiasen Katarzyna, Dziubała-Szrejbrowska Dominika (2013). On the trigger for numeralization of Polish higher numerals. In *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Third Indiana Meeting 2012*, Steven Franks, Markus Dickinson, George Fowler, Melissa Witcombe, Ksenia Zanon (eds.), 204–217. Michigan: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Norde Muriel, De Clerck Bernard, Colleman Timothy (2014). The emergence of non-canonical degree modifiers in non-standard varieties of Dutch: A constructionalization perspective. In *Extending the Scope of Construction Grammar*, Ronny Boogaart, Timothy Colleman, Gijsbert Rutten (eds.), 207–250. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Obrębska-Jabłońska Antonina (1948). Liczebniki nieokreślone w systemie języka polskiego [Indefinite quantifiers in Polish grammar]. *Język Polski* 28(4), 111–116.

Paradis Carita (2008). Configurations, construals and change: Expressions of degree. *English Language and Linguistics* 12(2), 317–343.

Quirk Randolph, Greenbaum Sidney, Leech Geoffrey, Svartvik Jan (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London/New York: Longman.

Radden Günter, Dirven René (2007). *Cognitive English Grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Schabowska Maria (1962). O formalnej numeralizacji rzeczowników [On the formal numeralization of nouns]. *Język Polski* 42(2), 116–124.

Schabowska Maria (1967). *Rzeczowniki ilościowe w języku polskim* [Quantifying Nouns in Polish]. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

Schabowska Maria (1970). Liczebnik nieokreślony *trochę* [The indefinite quantifier *trochę*]. *Język Polski* 50(2), 110–118.

Szober Stanisław (1928). Trzy piękne córki było nas u matki: Formy podmiotu i orzeczenia w zdaniach z podmiotem logicznym, określonym przydawką liczebnikową [We, three beautiful daughters, were at our mother's: Forms of the subject and the verb in sentences with a logical subject modified by a numeral attribute]. *Język Polski* 13(4), 97–112.

Traugott Elizabeth C. (2008). Grammaticalization, constructions and the incremen-
    tal development of language: Suggestions from the development of degree modi-
    fiers in English. In *Variation, Selection, Development – Probing the Evolutionary
    Model of Language Change*, Regine Eckardt, Gerhard Jäger, Tonjes Veenstra
    (eds.), 219–250. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Verveckken Katrien D. (2015). *Binominal Quantifiers in Spanish: Conceptually-driv-
    en Analogy in Diachrony and Synchrony*. Berlin/Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
Willim Ewa (2006). *Event, Individuation and Countability: A Study with Special Refer-
    ence to English and Polish*. Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.
Willim Ewa (2007). Liczba jako kategoria gramatyczna i pojęciowa [Number in
    grammar and cognition]. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis
    (SLing)* 124, 175–192.

Sources

Boryś Wiesław (2005). *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* [Etymological Diction-
    ary of Polish]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
Brückner Aleksander (1927). *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* [Etymological
    Dictionary of Polish]. Kraków: Krakowska Spółka Wydawnicza.
ESJP17i18 = *Elektroniczny słownik języka polskiego XVII i XVIII wieku* [Electronic
    Dictionary of 17th- and 18th-Century Polish]. Retrieved from https://sxvii.pl (ac-
    cessed 10.08.2018).
Hłyń Maria (2008). Listy Marii z Gniewoszów Harsdorfowej do Heleny Mycielskiej.
    Cz. 2 [The letters of Maria Horsdorfowa, née Gniewosz, to Helena Mycielska. Part
    2]. *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 28. 243–285. Retrieved from http://www.wbc.
    poznan.pl/Content/378445/469655.pdf (accessed 15.03.2019).
KorBa = Gruszczyński Włodzimierz (2013–2017). *Elektroniczny korpus tekstów
    polskich z XVII i XVIII w.* (*Korpus barokowy*) [Electronic Corpus of Polish Texts
    from the 17th and the 18th Centuries; Baroque Corpus]. Retrieved from http://www.
    korba.edu.pl/query_corpus/ (accessed 15.08.2018).
KP16 = *Korpus polszczyzny XVI wieku* [Corpus of 16th-Century Polish]. Retrieved
    from https://spxvi.edu.pl/korpus/teksty/ (accessed 10.08.2018).
KP1830–1918 = Bilińska Joanna, Derwojedowa Magdalena, Kwiecień Monika,
    Kieraś Witold (2016). Korpus polszczyzny 1830–1918. Retrieved from https://
    szukajwslownikach.uw.edu.pl/f19/ (accessed 15.09.2018).
KSJP17i18 = *Kartoteka Słownika języka polskiego XVII i 1. połowy XVIII wieku:
    Marszałkowstwo–Matka1* [Card Index of the Dictionary of the Polish Language
    Spoken in the 17th and the Former Half of the 18th Century: Marszałkowstwo–
    Matka1]. Retrieved from http://www.rcin.org.pl/publication/20029 (accessed
    10.08.2018).
KSJP17i18 = *Kartoteka Słownika języka polskiego XVII i 1. połowy XVIII wieku: Odpór–
    Odrzucony* [Card Index of the Dictionary of the Polish Language Spoken in the
    17th and the Former Half of the 18th Century: Odpór–Odrzucony]. Retrieved from
    http://www.rcin.org.pl/publication/20029 (accessed 10.08.2018).
KTSP = *Korpus tekstów staropolskich* [Corpus of Old Polish Texts]. IJP PAN: Kraków.
    Retrieved from https://ijp.pan.pl/publikacje-i-materialy/zasoby/korpus-tekstow-
    staropolskich/ (accessed 10.08.2018).

NKJP = Bańko Mirosław, Górski Rafał L., Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk Barbara, Łaziński Marek, Pęzik Piotr, Przepiórkowski Adam (2008–2012). *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* [National Corpus of Polish]. Retrieved from http://nkjp.pl/poliqarp/ (accessed 10.08.2018).

SD = Doroszewski Witold (1958–1969). *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Słownik Doroszewskiego*) [Dictionary of Polish; Doroszewski's Dictionary]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. Retrieved from https://sjp.pwn.pl/doroszewski/ (accessed 10.08.2018).

SL = Linde Samuel (1855). *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Słownik Lindego*): *Tom II: G–L* [Dictionary of Polish; Linde's Dictionary: Vol. 2: G–L]. Lwów: Ossolineum.

SL = Linde Samuel (1857). *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Słownik Lindego*): *Tom III: M–O* [Dictionary of Polish; Linde's Dictionary: Vol. 3: M–O]. Lwów: Ossolineum.

SL = Linde Samuel (1859). *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Słownik Lindego*): *Tom V: R–T* [Dictionary of Polish; Linde's Dictionary: Vol. 5: R–T]. Lwów: Ossolineum.

SP16 = Mayenowa Maria R. (ed.). (1981). *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku: Tom XIII: M–Miegotny* [Dictionary of 16th-Century Polish: Vol. 13: M–Miegotny]. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

SP16 = Mayenowa Maria R. (ed.). (1991). *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku: Tom XX: Ociaple–Odżywotny* [Dictionary of 16th-Century Polish: Vol. 20: Ociaple–Odżywotny]. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

SSP = Urbańczyk Stanisław (ed.). (1965–1969). *Słownik staropolski: Tom V: N–Ó* [Old Polish Dictionary: Vol. 5: N–Ó]. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

SSP = Urbańczyk Stanisław (ed.). (1982–1987). *Słownik staropolski: Tom IX: Ściadły–Używowanie* [Old Polish Dictionary: Vol. 9: Ściadły–Używowanie]. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

SWar = Karłowicz Jan, Kryński Adam, Niedźwiedzki Władysław (eds.). (1902). *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Słownik warszawski*): *Tom II: H–M* [Dictionary of Polish; Warsaw Dictionary: Vol. 2: H–M]. Warszawa: Kasa im. Mianowskiego.

SWar = Karłowicz Jan, Kryński Adam, Niedźwiedzki Władysław (eds.). (1904). *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Słownik warszawski*): *Tom III: N–Ó* [Dictionary of Polish; Warsaw Dictionary: Vol. 3: N–Ó]. Warszawa: Kasa im. Mianowskiego.

SWar = Karłowicz Jan, Kryński Adam, Niedźwiedzki Władysław (eds.). (1919). *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Słownik warszawski*): *Tom VII: T–Y* [Dictionary of Polish; Warsaw Dictionary: Vol. 7: T–Y]. Warszawa: Kasa im. Mianowskiego.

SWar = Karłowicz Jan, Kryński Adam, Niedźwiedzki Władysław (eds.). (1927). *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Słownik warszawski*): *Tom VIII: Z–Ż* [Dictionary of Polish; Warsaw Dictionary: Vol. 8: Z–Ż]. Warszawa: Kasa im. Mianowskiego.

SWil = Zdanowicz Aleksander, Szyszko Michał B., Filipowicz January, Tomaszewicz Walerian, Czepieliński Florian, Korotyński Wincenty, Trentowski Bronisław F. (eds.). (1861). *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Słownik wileński*). [Dictionary of Polish; Vilnius Dictionary]. Wilno: Maurycy Orgelbrand. Retrieved from https://eswil.ijp.pan.pl (accessed 10.08.2018).

USJP = Dubisz Stanisław (ed.) (2003a). *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego: Tom 2: K–Ó* [Universal Dictionary of Polish: Vol. 2: K–Ó]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

USJP = Dubisz Stanisław (ed.) (2003b). *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego: Tom 4: T–Ż* [Universal Dictionary of Polish: Vol. 4: T–Ż]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Instytut Filologii Angielskiej
Uniwersytet Jagielloński
al. Mickiewicza 9A
31–120 Kraków
damian.t.herda(at)gmail.com