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HOW TO INFLECT UNINFLECTED WORDS IN LITHUANIAN

Abstract. In Lithuanian, there are a number of quantificational adverbs that can perform the same functions as noun forms, even though they are invariable and are not marked by case endings, e.g. *daũg* ‘much’, *māža* / *mažaĩ* ‘little, few’, *ganà* ‘enough’, *kíek* ‘how much’, *tíek* ‘so much’. The purpose of this article is to determine what strategies the Lithuanian language uses to compensate for the lack of case marking in these forms and to prevent this from leading to ambiguity about their syntactic function. The data from the Old Lithuanian texts are particularly interesting because they show a variety of possibilities: (1) the use of derived variants with case marking (*daũgelis* ‘much’, *daugybė*, *daugūmas* ‘great number’), (2) the use of inflected forms (**daugis*, **kiekas*, **tiekas*), (3) the transfer of the inflectional markers to the noun accompanying these adverbs (e.g. *daũg žmonėms* dative plural). These different possibilities obey both the organic logic of the language itself and sometimes linguistic interference in the case of translated texts.

Keywords: adverb; case; quantifier; Old Lithuanian.

1. Introduction

The Lithuanian language is known for having preserved a rich and diverse case system, in which every noun form has clearly identifiable endings and can thus be easily inserted into different syntactic contexts. There are, however, unmarked forms in Lithuanian whose syntactic legibility can prove problematic. A word like *diēvas* ‘God’ always has clear case endings (ACC.SG *diēvą*, GEN.SG *diēvo*, etc.), with the result that its syntactic function is never ambiguous; but, on the other hand, there are words like *daũg* ‘much’, *māža* / *mažaĩ* ‘little, few’, *ganà* ‘enough’, *kíek* ‘how much’, *tíek* ‘so much’, *dėšimt* ‘ten’, *dvìdėšimt* ‘twenty’, *trisdešimt* ‘thirty’, etc., which have no case endings, even though they can be used in various syntactic functions whose recognition should depend precisely on case endings. The question I would like to address in this article is that of the syntactic legibility of these uninflected forms. To this end, I will focus on Old Lithuanian texts, which provide interesting

data. The article will be structured as follows: I will first review the situation of Modern Lithuanian (section 2), before examining data from a selection of Old Lithuanian texts (section 3) and then I will try to outline a general explanatory principle (section 4) capable of accounting for the various possibilities as they show up in the history of the Lithuanian language.

2. Modern Lithuanian

Despite the existence of a clearly active case system, there are in Lithuanian a small number of forms that lack case endings. Semantically, all these forms share a quantificational meaning: they refer to the quantity possessed by the noun (number of entities) or the verb (number of events) they are paired with. In this sense, they differ from degree adverbs (relative adverbs), which only denote the high degree of a quality without necessarily implying quantification; this explains, for example, the contrast in Lithuanian between *labai* ‘very’ (adverb of intensity) and *daug* ‘much’ (adverb of quantity). The elative meaning may sometimes be conveyed by quantifiers, as in (1) with reference to the degree of happiness, a concept that is difficult to quantify in terms of segmentable units:

(1) Lithuanian. DLKŽ (42000, 109)

<i>Linkiu</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>laimės</i>
wish.PRS.1.SG	much	happiness.GEN.SG.FEM
‘I wish much happiness’		

The core meaning of these forms, however, remains quantification, defined as the possibility of counting a certain number of entities or events to which reference is made (like the number of people affected by the verb in ex. 2):

(2) Lithuanian. LKG (1971, II 439)

<i>Tiek</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>mirė:</i>	
so_much	much	die.PST.3	
<i>ir Kuprienė,</i>	<i>ir senasis</i>		<i>Vanagas,</i>
and Kuprienė.NOM.SG.FEM	and old.NOM.SG.MASC.DET		Vanagas.NOM.SG.MASC
<i>ir Pleikikė</i>	<i>vaikelis</i>		
and Pleikikė.GEN.SG.FEM	child.NOM.SG.MASC.DIM		
‘So many people died: Kuprienė, old Vanagas, and Pleikikė’s child.’			

Morphologically, these uninflected forms are underspecified in the sense that they do not form an association between case markers and syntactic

functions. Most of them can be followed by a partitive genitive, e.g., *daug žmonių* ‘many people’ (‘a lot of people’), *mažai žmonių* ‘few people’, *ganà žmonių* ‘enough people’, *kiek žmonių* ‘how many people?’, *tiek žmonių* ‘so many people’, *dėšimt žmonių* ‘ten people’.¹ In these noun phrases, the syntactic function is not carried by any explicit morphological marker, because, on the one hand, the adverb is invariable, and, on the other, the partitive genitive is governed by the adverb and does not specify the function of the noun phrase.

What these forms have in common is that, despite their lack of morphological marking, they can perform the same functions as nouns, sometimes in competition with purely adverbial uses. Some of these forms can be classified as ‘multivalent adverbs’, if we define multivalency as the fact that these forms can be used both adnominally (e.g., as arguments of the verb, subject or object) and adverbially (i.e., modifying the verbal predicate).² *Daug* ‘much’ can be subject (ex. 3), object (ex. 4) or adverb (ex. 5):³

(3) Modern Lithuanian. Kalnias (1943, 17)

<i>Daug</i>	<i>knygų</i>	<i>yra</i>	<i>lentynoje</i>
much	book.GEN.PL.FEM	be.PRS.3	shelf.LOC.SG.FEM
‘There are many books on the shelf’			

(4) Modern Lithuanian. Balkevičius (1963, 213)

<i>Mes</i>	<i>sulauksime</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>naujienų</i>
1.PL.NOM.PL	P=receive.FUT.1.PL	much	news.GEN.PL.FEM
‘We will receive a lot of news’			

(5) Modern Lithuanian.

<i>Daug</i>	<i>dirbu</i>
much	work.PRS.1.SG
‘I work a lot’	

In this respect, numerals like *dėšimt* ‘ten’ differ from the other uninflected noun forms in that they cannot be used adverbially. They are limited to nominal functions (subject in ex. 6, object in ex. 7):

¹ Further examples in Ambrazas (1997, 568) and Forssman (2003, 69).

² The syntactic flexibility of these adverbs has been stressed often in the literature. See Doetjes (1997, especially p. 90 sq.); Abeillé, Godard (2003).

³ Cf. Petit (2024, 186, 190).

(6) Modern Lithuanian. DLKŽ (⁴2000, 117)

Praėjo *dešimt* *metų*
P=pass.PST.3 ten year.GEN.PL.MASC
‘Ten years passed’

(7) Modern Lithuanian. Žindžiūtė Michelinī (2007, 85)

Mano *sūnus* *turi* *dešimt* *metų*
1.SG.POSS.GEN.SG son.NOM.SG.MASC have.PRS.3 ten year.GEN.PL.MASC
‘My son is ten years old’ (literally: ‘has ten years’)

Historically, the status of these forms can vary. Some of them are based on adverbs (*daũg* ‘much’, *kiek* ‘how much’, *tiek* ‘so much’ and, more clearly, *mažai* ‘little, few’ with the adverbial ending *-ai*); others go back to noun forms and have maintained nominal behavior (*dėšimt* ‘ten’, case form of *dešimtīs* ‘a group of ten’ SG.FEM). *Ganà* ‘enough’ is at the intersection of the two types: it is likely to stem from a noun (< PIE **g^{hu}on-eh₂* ‘abundance’),⁴ but it appears fully integrated into the class of multivalent adverbs. All these forms are frozen and invariable; they do not bear case markers.

The absence of case endings in these forms may appear problematic, as it seems to jeopardize their syntactic legibility. It is worth examining in detail how the recognition of their syntactic functions is ensured, without any ambiguity resulting from the lack of case ending. Our starting point can be a straightforward distribution principle, as it seems to show up in Modern Lithuanian: uninflected forms can be used without case marking when their syntactic function is easily recognizable, that is, predominantly when they assume core argumental functions (cf. *daũg* subject in ex. 3, object in ex. 4) – obviously because word order and verb valency assign them a clear syntactic function. Their use in other syntactic functions seems to be more restricted, even if not completely impossible. They can also be found after prepositions, where the risk of ambiguity is limited by the presence of the preposition itself, which assigns a clear syntactic function to the noun it governs. In ex. (8), *daũg* ‘much’ is introduced by the preposition *iš* ‘from’ (+ GEN):

⁴ On the origin of Lithuanian *ganà* see LEW (I 132–133); Petit (2012); Derksen (2015, 163); ALEW (I 291–292).

(8) Modern Lithuanian. LKŽ (1969, II 310)

<i>Iš</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>yra</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>pasirinkimo</i>
from	much	be.PRS.3	also	choice.GEN.SG.MASC
'From a lot there is choice'				

Uninflected forms are sometimes replaced by inflected variants, for example *daug* 'much' by the noun *daūgelis* 'great number' (SG.MASC *-iŭo-stem, with the suffix *-elis*). In ex. (9), it is used in the genitive introduced by the preposition *põ* 'after' (+ GEN):

(9) Modern Lithuanian.

<i>Susitikome</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>daugelio</i>	<i>metų</i>
P=REFL=meet.PST.1.PL	only	after	much.GEN.SG.MASC	year.GEN.PL.MASC
'We met only many years later'				

Daūgelis can also be used in argumental functions (e.g., as a subject in ex. 10) in competition with *daug*:

(10) Modern Lithuanian. Balkevičius (1963, 82)

<i>Daugelis</i>	<i>abejonių</i>	<i>išsisklaidė</i>
much.NOM.SG.MASC	doubt.GEN.PL.FEM	P=REFL=dispel.PST.3
'Many doubts were dispelled'		

As a rule, the distribution between *daug* 'much' and *daūgelis* 'much, great number' depends on the case function they assume: the invariable form *daug* is preferred for core argumental functions (subject, object), whereas the variable form *daūgelis* is preferred for other functions (e.g., genitive, dative, instrumental, locative). After prepositions, both forms are possible. A quick look at the short story *Dėdės ir dėdienės* by Juozas Tumas Vaižgantas (1869–1933), taken here as a representative example, confirms this distribution: *daug* is used exclusively in argumental functions (39x = nominative or accusative), while *daūgelis* appears only once in the genitive (*daugelio*).

This distribution reveals, within the Lithuanian case system, a boundary between what can be called 'direct' and 'oblique' cases:⁵ the uninflected

⁵ See, e.g., Blake (²2001, 33) for the boundary between direct and oblique cases.

forms can be used as direct cases, but not as oblique cases. The boundary between the two types of case functions is not intangible: the invariable form *daũg* can be found in functions other than subject or object, especially after prepositions (cf. ex. 8), and, conversely, the variable form *daũgelis* can appear in argumental functions (cf. ex. 10). A comprehensive study of the distribution between the two forms in Modern Lithuanian would be required, particularly because it would reveal constraints that can lead to the ungrammaticality of certain options or, conversely, it would highlight the existence of internal variations within the same system.

The case of *daũg* and *daũgelis* is special because there is a doublet (*daũg* / *daũgelis*) usually regulated by the nature of the syntactic functions. For other uninflected forms, things are more complicated. The invariable forms *māža* / *mažai* ‘little, few’, *ganà* ‘enough’, *kíek* ‘how much’ and *tíek* ‘so much’ do not have any inflected variants. As a result, one could expect them to be used in all syntactic functions (argumental or non-argumental); cf. *tíek* ‘so much’ in ex. (11) after a preposition:

(11) Modern Lithuanian. LKŽ (1995, XVI 166)

<i>Po</i>	<i>tiek</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>tiek</i>	<i>metų</i>
after	so_much	and	so_much	year.GEN.PL.MASC
<i>jis</i>		<i>pasikvietė</i>		
3.SG.NOM.SG.MASC		P=REFL=invite.PST.3		
<i>savo</i>	<i>‘pirmgimę’</i>	<i>dukterį</i>	<i>pasimatyti</i>	
REFL.GEN.SG	firstborn.ACC.SG.FEM	daughter.ACC.SG.FEM	P=REFL=see.INF	
‘After so many years he invited his ‘firstborn’ daughter to meet him’				

The case of the numerals *dėšimt* ‘ten’, *dvidešimt* ‘twenty’, *trisdešimt* ‘thirty’, etc., is specific. There is an inflected variant *dešimtis* ‘a group of ten’ (FEM *i*-stem of which *dėšimt* ‘ten’ seems to be a frozen form), and it can be used to specify a case function that might otherwise be ambiguous (instrumental in ex. 12, dative in ex. 13):

(12) Modern Lithuanian. LKŽ (1969, II 436)

<i>Dešimčia</i>	<i>metų</i>	<i>aš</i>
ten.INSTR.SG.FEM	year.GEN.PL.MASC	1.SG.NOM.SG
<i>už</i>	<i>tave</i>	<i>vyresnė</i>
than	2.SG.ACC.SG	older.NOM.SG.FEM
‘I am ten years older than you’		

(13) Modern Lithuanian. LKŽ (1969, II 436)

<i>Dešimčiai</i>	<i>žmonių</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>gali</i>
ten.DAT.SG.FEM	people.GEN.PL.MASC	INTERR.NOM.SG.MASC	can.PRS.3

privirti!
P=cook.INF
'Who can cook for ten people?'

However, the use of *dešimtīs* is not consistent. The invariable form *dėšimt* is just as likely to be found regardless of the expected case function. In ex. (14), *dėšimt* 'ten' is introduced by the preposition *sù* 'with' (+ INSTR):

(14) Modern Lithuanian. Ambrazas (1997, 175)

<i>Su</i>	<i>dešimt</i>	<i>litų</i>	<i>neišsiversi</i>
with	ten	litas.GEN.PL.MASC	NEG=P=REFL=get_away.FUT.2.SG

'You cannot make do with ten litas'

Conversely, the inflected form *dešimtīs* can be used in argumental functions (ex. 15):

(15) Modern Lithuanian. LKŽ (1969, II 436)

<i>Mūsų</i>	<i>buvo</i>	<i>dešimtīs</i>	<i>vaikų</i>
1.PL.GEN.PL	be.PST.3	ten.NOM.SG.FEM	child.GEN.PL.MASC

'There were ten of us children'

To summarize, the brief overview just presented suggests that the uninflected forms are regularly used in core argumental functions (nominative subject and accusative object), while the inflected forms, when they exist, supplement them for the other syntactic functions, where the risk of ambiguity appears greater. Uninflected forms can sometimes appear outside of argumental functions, particularly after prepositions; the risk of ambiguity is not very high in this case, because the presence of the preposition clearly supports the recognition of the case it governs. For case functions other than nominative and accusative, and outside of prepositional contexts, i.e., where there may potentially be a risk of ambiguity about the syntactic function, inflected forms are preferred when they are available. These principles of distribution appear to be globally valid, but there are exceptions, and it is not possible to determine how these 'invisible variations' (to use Barra Jover's terminology)⁶ came about within the same system. This distribution

⁶ Cf. Barra Jover (2009, 109), who gives the following definition: 'an invisible

seems to be ‘therapeutic’ in essence; inflected forms are used whenever uninflected forms prove to be problematic for the recognition of the case function.

A more comprehensive study would be necessary, and I am limiting myself here to touching on the issue in a very superficial manner. Furthermore, it would be important to assess whether there are semantic differences between the inflected and uninflected variants, and on this point only Lithuanian native speakers are able to have a more accurate perception of these differences than I do.

3. Old Lithuanian

The Old Lithuanian data are complex and must be subject to careful examination, taking into account (1°) their dialectal diversity (in particular the distinction between High and Low Lithuanian dialects), (2°) their chronological depth (from the 16th to the 18th century), and (3°) the influence of linguistic contact (in particular the interferences caused by translation processes), which may introduce variations into their language.

In what follows, I will first examine the uses of the uninflected forms in order to determine whether they are subject to limitations in the syntactic functions they can assume. Second, I will look at the inflected variants with the goal of determining their distribution. For reasons of space, I will introduce to main limitations in this article. It is impossible for me to cover the entire Old Lithuanian corpus, so I will limit myself to a few representative texts: Martynas Mažvydas (1510–1563), Jonas Bretkūnas (1536–1602), Mikalojus Daukša (ca 1527–1613) and Konstantinas Sirvydas (1579–1631). These texts are selected for their size and dialectal diversity. This will not stop me, if necessary, from also taking a look at other Old Lithuanian texts. I will also limit myself to the multivalent adverbs *daūg* ‘much’, *māža* / *mažai* ‘little, few’, *ganà* ‘enough’, *kíek* ‘how much’ and *tíek* ‘so much’,

variation exists when the same speaker can produce, for function A, variant a_1 as well as variant a_2 (one could even say a_n) without being aware of the variation (in other words, without exercising any type of control over their performance), without the situation having anything to do with it and, above all, without the addressee noticing it’ [*une variation invisible existe lorsque le même locuteur peut produire, pour la fonction A, la variante a_1 ainsi que la variante a_2 (on pourrait même dire a_n) sans être conscient de la variation (autrement dit sans exercer aucun type de contrôle sur sa performance), sans que la situation y soit pour quelque chose et, surtout sans que l’allocutaire arrive à s’en apercevoir*].

leaving aside the numerals *dėšimt* ‘ten’, *dvìdėšimt* ‘twenty’, *trìsdėšimt* ‘thirty’, etc., which raise specific problems and must be dealt with separately. These limitations obviously preclude any sweeping generalization, but I believe that they do not compromise the validity of the facts.

3.1. Uninflected forms

The different uses of the uninflected forms can be classified as follows:

- core argumental functions: subject (a); object (b)
- after prepositions (c)
- other nominal functions (d)
- adverb (e)

This classification is based on the working assumption that core argumental functions (a–b) are more easily accessible to the uninflected forms discussed in this article than other syntactic functions (d), while prepositional contexts (c) are expected to occupy an intermediate position; due to its intrinsic invariability, the adverbial function (e) poses no problem for uninflected forms. It remains to confirm what is for the time being only a general guideline.

In Old Lithuanian texts, we encounter a number of uninflected forms. Their distribution within the selection of texts chosen for the inquiry is as follows. In the tables, the figures are given in absolute numbers; the precise data are provided in the appendices at the end of the article:⁷

<i>daũg</i> ‘much’	subject (a)	object (b)	after preposition (c)	other nominal functions (d)	adverb (e)
Mažvydas (M)	Ma. [13x]	Mb [7x]	—	Md [3x]	Me [11x]
Bretkūnas (B)	Ba [122x]	Bb [141x]	Bc [3x]	Bd [3x]	Be [146x]

⁷ Abbreviations: (a) – subject, (b) – object, (c) – after preposition, (d) – other nominal functions, (e) – adverb; (M) – Mažvydas, (B) – Bretkūnas, (D) – Daukša, (S) – Sirvydas. Combining the two informations, (Ma) means that the multivalent form is used in subject function (a) in Mažvydas (M), (Mb) that it is used in object function (b) in Mažvydas (M), etc. The data have been collected from the website <https://seniejirastai.lki.lt/>, controlled on secondary sources (e.g. Urbas 1996; Kudzinowski 1977) and finally checked on the primary sources when they were available to me.

<i>daũg</i> ‘much’	subject (a)	object (b)	after preposition (c)	other nominal functions (d)	adverb (e)
Daukša (D)	Da [10x]	Db [9x]	Dc [1x]	—	De [24x]
Sirvydas (S)	Sa [55x]	Sb [107x]	Sc [2x]	Sd [1x]	Se [38x]

<i>màž, mąža, mažai</i> ‘little, few’	subject (a)	object (b)	after preposition (c)	other nominal functions (d)	adverb (e)
Mažvydas (M)	Ma [2x]	—	Mc [1x]	Md [1x]	Me [1x]
Bretkūnas (B)	Ba [22x]	Bb [9x]	Bc [3x]	—	Be [12x]
Daukša (D)	Da [22x]	Db [18x]	—	—	De [176x]
Sirvydas (S)	Sa [13x]	Sb [7x]	—	—	Se [11x]

<i>gàn, ganà</i> ‘enough’	subject (a)	object (b)	after preposition (c)	other nominal functions (d)	adverb (e)
Mažvydas (M)	Ma [4x]	Mb [4x]	—	—	—
Bretkūnas (B)	Ba [8x]	Bb [6x]	—	—	Be [7x]
Daukša (D)	Da [9x]	Db [4x]	—	—	De [9x]
Sirvydas (S)	Sa [6x]	—	—	—	Se [5x]

<i>kiek</i> ‘how much’	subject (a)	object (b)	after preposition (c)	other nominal functions (d)	adverb (e)
Mažvydas	Ma [1x]	Mb [1x]	—	—	Me [2x] 27 ₆ , 143 ₅
Bretkūnas	Ba [4x]	Bb [10x]	—	—	Be [6x]
Daukša	Da [19x]	Db [16x]	Dc [3x]	—	De [22x]
Sirvydas	Sa [1x]	Sb [1x]	—	—	Se [7x]

<i>tiek</i> ‘so much’	subject (a)	object (b)	after preposition (c)	other nominal functions (d)	adverb (e)
Mažvydas	—	—	—	—	—
Bretkūnas	Ba [8x]	Bb [13x]	—	—	Be [5x]
Daukša	Da [1x]	Db [10x]	—	—	De [24x]
Sirvydas	—	Sb [3x]	—	—	Se [2x]

It goes without saying that these absolute numbers are of limited value because they are based on highly heterogeneous texts in terms of size,

register and cultural context. In addition, most of the texts selected for the inquiry are translated from other languages (which is almost unavoidable in Old Lithuanian), with the result that their language can have been subject to contact-driven phenomena of all kinds. But, even with these limitations, it is clear that core argumental (a-b) and adverbial (e) functions predominate in my corpus for uninflected forms. After prepositions (c) or in other nominal functions (d), these forms are extremely rare, or sometimes even completely absent. It is to these functions that I will pay most attention, because they are clearly on the margins of the language.

To begin with, uninflected forms can sometimes be used after prepositions. The number of occurrences is limited, but indisputable. The prepositions with which these forms are used govern the accusative, like *ĩ* ‘into’, Old Lithuanian *ingi* with the emphatic particle *-gi* (+ ACC):

- (16) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Katekizmas* (DK 46₁₃ [1595])

<i>Jngi</i>	<i>kiek</i>	<i>dalų</i>	<i>įkirias</i>
into	how_much	part.GEN.PL.FEM	divide.PRS.3=REFL
<i>taffai</i>		<i>Pótėrius?</i>	
DEM.NOM.SG.MASC		Lord's prayer.NOM.SG.MASC	

‘In how many parts is this prayer (i.e., Lord's Prayer) divided?’

pàs ‘at, by’ (+ ACC):

- (17) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezekiel* (BB Ezek 17₈ [1579–1590])

<i>Patfai</i>	<i>buwa</i>	<i>ant</i>	<i>gėros</i>	<i>βemes,</i>
self.NOM.SG.MASC	be.PST.3	on	good.GEN.SG.FEM	earth.GEN.SG.FEM
<i>pas</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>wandinio</i>	<i>paczėpitas</i>	
at	much	water.GEN.SG.MASC	P=plant.PART.PST.PASS.NOM.SG.MASC	

‘It was planted in good soil, by abundant waters’ (Luther 1545: *Vnd war doch auff eim guten boden / an viel wasser gepflanzt*)

peĩ ‘through’ (+ ACC):

- (18) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 382₁₂ [1599])

<i>Nes’</i>	<i>per</i>	<i>tularôpy</i>	<i>dągi</i>	<i>negandų</i>
for	through	numerous.GEN.PL.MASC	much	trouble.GEN.PL.MASC
<i>reikia</i>	<i>mūmus</i>	<i>ieit</i>	<i>ing</i>	<i>karalifte</i>
must.PRS.3	1.PL.DAT.PL	enter.INF	into	kingdom.ACC.SG.FEM

dągáus

heaven.GEN.SG.MASC

‘For it is through many varied troubles that we have to enter the Kingdom of Heaven’ (Polish: *Bo przez wiele rozmaitych kłopotów potrzeba nam wchodzić do Królestwa niebieskiego*)

- (19) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 445₄₆ [1599])

per kiek’ šimty metų
through a_few hundred.GEN.PL.MASC year.GEN.PL.MASC
‘for a few hundred years’ (Polish: *przez kilką set lat*)

- (20) Old Lithuanian. Konstantinas Sirvydas, *Punktay Sakimu* (PS I 151¹ 15 [1629])

wĩjus gieras darbus ir nuopelnus
all.ACC.PL.MASC good.ACC.PL.MASC deed.ACC.PL.MASC and merit.ACC.PL.MASC
per daug metu
through much year.GEN.PL.MASC
ju did{ž}iu prakaytu / igitus
with great.INSTR.SG.MASC sweat.INSTR.SG.MASC P=gain.PART.PST.PASS.ACC.PL.MASC
‘all the good deeds and merits gained through many years with great sweat’
(Polish: *wszystkie dobre uczynki y zaślugi z wielkim potem nabyte*)

ùž ‘for’ (+ ACC):

- (21) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Giesmes Duchauonos* (B Gd 109₁₇ [1589])

pardūtas vß maþa
P=sell.PART.PST.PASS.NOM.SG.MASC for little
‘sold for little’ (German: *verkauft umb schnödes Gelt*)

- (22) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 104₂₉ [1599])

Iudôfzius vž tris
Judas.NOM.SG.MASC for three.ACC.PL.MASC
dėšimtis fidábrinių
ten.ACC.PL.MASC silver_coin.GEN.PL.MASC
o iųs už kiek’
and 2.PL.NOM.PL for how_much
‘Judas (has sold) for thirty silver coins, and you for how many?’ (Polish: *JudaŹ z trzynaŹcieci srebrynych: A wy z co*)

the genitive, like *põ* ‘after’ (+ GEN):

- (23) Old Lithuanian. Martynas Mažvydas, *Gesmes Chrikščioniškas* (GC 302₁₆ [1570])

po *maß* *dienu*
after few day.GEN.PL.FEM
‘after a few days’ (Latin: *non post multos enim dies*)

- (24) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Daniel* (BB Dan 11₂₀ [1579–1590])

po *maß* *dienų*
after few day.GEN.PL.FEM
‘after a few days’ (Luther 1545: *nach wenig tagen*)

iš ‘from, out of’ (+ GEN):

- (25) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezekiel* (BB Ezek 38₈ [1579–1590])

Ir *išč* *daug* *Szmonių* *fusieija*
and from much people.GEN.PL.MASC P=REFL=go.PST.3
‘And it was gathered out of many people’ (Luther 1545: *vnd aus vielen Völkern zusammen komen ist*)

už ‘after’ (+ GEN):

- (26) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezra* (BB Ezra 5₁₁ [1579–1590])

Ir *kurem* *Namus,*
and build.PRS.1.PL house.ACC.PL.MASC
kurie *pirma* *užu* *daug* / *mætų*
REL.NOM.PL.MASC first after much year.GEN.PL.MASC
pakurti *buwa*
P=build.PART.PST.PASS.NOM.PL.MASC be.PST.3
‘And we have built the house that was built here many years ago’ (Luther 1545: *vnd bawen das Haus / das vor hin vor vielen jaren gebawet war*)

or the instrumental, cf. *sù* ‘with’ (+ INSTR):

- (27) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, 2Chronicles* (BB 2Chr 24₂₄ [1579–1590])

<i>Neſa</i>	<i>Syrū</i>		<i>Macis</i>
for	Syrian.GEN.PL.MASC		strength.NOM.SG.FEM
<i>ateija</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>maβa</i>	<i>Wirū</i>
P=come.PST.3	with	few	man.GEN.PL.MASC

‘For a force of Syrians came with few men’ (Luther 1545: *Denn der Syrer macht kam mit wenig Mennern*)

It may happen that the uninflected form is accompanied by inflected forms, which together with the preposition itself strengthen the legibility of the case function. One example with the preposition *dēl* ‘because of, regarding’ (+ GEN) is (28):

(28) Old Lithuanian. Konstantinas Sirvydas, *Punktay Sakimu* (PS I 222¹ 2 [1629])

<i>Del</i>	<i>nudaliimo</i>	<i>titulu</i>	<i>wirefnibiu</i>
regarding	distribution.GEN.SG.MASC	title.GEN.PL.MASC	authority.GEN.PL.FEM
<i>ir</i>	<i>kito</i>	<i>d{a}ug</i>	<i>giaro</i>
and	other.GEN.SG.MASC	much	good.GEN.SG.MASC

‘regarding the distribution of the titles of authorities and many other good things’ (Polish: *Dla udzielenia tytułow przełożęństw {y} innego wiele dobrego*)

The noun phrase introduced by the multivalent adverb *daūg* ‘much’ (*kito daug gero* ‘a lot of other good things’) is coordinated with the preceding noun phrase (*nudaliimo titulu wiresnibiu* ‘distribution of the titles of the authorities’) whose head noun is clearly marked as a genitive.

The examples with [PREP + uninflected form] are thus indisputable in Old Lithuanian. Their syntactic legibility is not problematic, since the preposition is sufficient to ensure the recognition of the case form. This holds true even if the preposition can govern several cases, like *ūž* (in 21–22 and 26) or *põ* (in 23–24).

The situation is different when uninflected forms are used in other nominal functions, i.e., neither in a core argumental function (nominative or accusative), nor after a preposition. Instances of this type are extremely rare in Old Lithuanian and limited to very few contexts. In my corpus I have found only a few examples of this type, and some of them belong to repetitive patterns. To begin with, one should mention the case of the prepositional locution *po akim* + GEN ‘in the sight of, in the presence of, before’ (literally:

‘under the eyes of’); it is followed by the genitive. There are examples where this locution introduces a noun phrase whose syntactic head is an uninflected adverb, as in (29–30):

- (29) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezekiel* (BB Ezek 16₄₁ [1579–1590])

<i>po</i>	<i>akim</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>Moterų</i>
under	eye.INSTR.PL.FEM	much	woman.GEN.PL.FEM

‘in the sight of many women’ (Luther 1545: *fur den augen vieler Weiber*)

- (30) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezekiel* (BB Ezek 38₂₃ [1579–1590])

<i>po</i>	<i>akim</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>Pagonų</i>
under	eye.INSTR.PL.FEM	much	pagan.GEN.PL.MASC

‘in the sight of many Pagans’ (Luther 1545: *fur vielen Heiden*)

Even if the form *daug* ‘much’ has the function of a genitive noun phrase depending on a noun (*põ akiñ* < ‘under the eyes of’), it can be assumed that *po akim* is treated as a complex preposition governing the genitive, which brings it back to the prepositional type described above.⁸

Another case is when the multivalent adverb serves as the non-canonical object of a verb that does not govern the accusative, like *bijótis* ‘to fear’ (+ GEN):

- (31) Old Lithuanian. Martynas Mažvydas, *Gesmes Chrikščioniškas* (GC 508₇ [1570])

<i>Neffibiôfiu</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>tūkštancziu</i>
NEG=REFL=fear.FUT.1.SG	much	thousand.GEN.PL.MASC
<i>karaujencziu</i>	<i>βmoniu</i>	
fighting.GEN.PL.MASC	man.GEN.PL.MASC	
<i>kurie</i>	<i>pagulditi</i>	<i>ira aplinkui mane</i>
REL.NOM.PL.MASC	P=lie.PART.PST.PASS.NOM.PL.MASC	be.PRS.3 around 1.SG.ACC.SG

‘I will not fear many thousands of combatants surrounding me’ (Latin: *Non timebo milia populi circundantis me*, German: *Jch furchte mich nicht fur viell hundert tausenten, die sich umbher wider mich legen* = Ps 27, 3)

⁸ On the phraseologism *põ akiñ* see Eckert (2004, 51–57).

or the impersonal verb *reikia* ‘it is necessary to have’ (+ GEN):

- (32) Old Lithuanian. Konstantinas Sirvydas, *Punktay Sakimu* (PS II 20¹ 14 [1644])

<i>Reykia</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>pinigu</i>	
must.PRS.3	much	money.GEN.PL.MASC	
<i>vnt</i>	<i>kárones</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>žmonemis</i>
on	war.GEN.SG.FEM	with	people.INSTR.PL.MASC

‘It takes a lot of money to wage war with people’ (Polish: *Potrzebá wiele pieniędzy ná wojnie z ludźmi*)

In such contexts the recognition of the case function assumed by the multivalent form is not problematic: in (31), it is used to express the non-canonical object of a verb that regularly governs the genitive, i.e., it corresponds to a core argumental function; in (32), there can be no ambiguity as to the function of *daug* in combination with the impersonal verb *reikia*. Instances where an uninflected multivalent form is used alone in a non-argumental function are exceptional. In my corpus I have found only two examples (ex. 33–34):

- (33) Old Lithuanian. Martynas Mažvydas, *Gesmes Chriekfczonifkas* (GC 466₁₅ [1570])

<i>Vf3</i>	<i>tiefos</i>	<i>patwinimi</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>wandeniu</i>
For	truth.GEN.SG.FEM	deluge.LOC.SG.MASC	much	water.GEN.PL.MASC
<i>ijop</i>		<i>nepriefiartiniffe</i>		
3.SG.ALL.SG.MASC		NEG=P=REFL=come_close.FUT.3=REFL		

‘Surely, when the deluge of great waters will overflow, they will not reach him’ (Latin: *Verumtamen in diluvio aquarium multarum ad eum non approximabunt*, German: *Darumb wenn grosse Wasserflut komen, werden sich nicht an die selbigen gelangen* = Ps 32₆)

- (34) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezekiel* (BB Ezek 32₉ [1579–1590])

<i>Priegtam</i>	<i>efch</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>Sžmoniu</i>	<i>ščirdi</i>
first	1.SG.NOM.SG	much	people.GEN.PL.MASC	heart.ACC.SG.FEM

ifchgandinfiu
P=scare.FUT.1.SG
‘First I will scare the heart of many people’ (Luther 1545: *Da zu wil ich vieler Völcker hertz erschreckt machen*)

The multivalent form *daūg* ‘much’ is used as an adnominal genitive depending on *patwinimi* ‘in the deluge (of many waters)’ resp. *schirdi* ‘the heart (of many people)’. This is a rare instance where an uninflected form implies a case function that is neither directly determined by the verbal predicate (core argumental function), nor supported by a preposition. The construction is obviously calqued on Latin (*in diluvio multarum aquarum*) and German (*vieler Völcker hertz*), but with the crucial difference that Latin *multarum* and German *vieler* are case-marked determiners (GEN.PL), not uninflected noun forms like *daūg*.

To conclude, this brief overview seems to confirm the general trends that had been glimpsed from the outset: uninflected forms are used primarily either in argumental functions (subject or object) or as adverbs, i.e., in functions where their syntactic insertion into the context does not raise any risk of ambiguity. More rarely, they appear after a preposition, i.e., in contexts where the absence of case marking is compensated for by the presence of the preposition, which is sufficient to indicate the syntactic function. The use of uninflected forms in other grammatical functions, e.g. as independent genitive, dative or instrumental forms, is rarely attested. In an inflectional language like Lithuanian, this restriction is surprising and highly problematic, and the question arises as to what possibilities the language provides for overcoming it.

3.2. Inflected variants

In Old Lithuanian texts, we observe several strategies to circumvent the difficulties posed by the absence of case marking in the forms studied so far. A preliminary question is, of course, whether these strategies actually existed in the language or are merely the result of more or less artificial translation processes. It is sometimes difficult to assess the reality of each of the usages we are about to describe.

The multivalent forms I am dealing with here do not all exhibit a uniform amount of inflected variants. The adverb *daūg* ‘much’ has several inflected variants in my corpus, while there are none for the adverb *ganà* ‘enough’; the adverbs *māža* / *mažai* ‘little, few’, *kiek* ‘how much’ and *tiek* ‘so much’ show sporadic variance. One of the tasks ahead of me is therefore to measure the ability of these forms to develop inflected variants and thus to fit into different syntactic contexts, which is the general issue addressed in this article.

3.2.1. *Variants of daũg ‘much’*

To begin with, we observe that the case-marked form *daũgelis* ‘much, great number’, which in modern Lithuanian is often used in competition with the adverb *daũg* ‘much’, was not in common use in Old Lithuanian. It is absent from several of the authors in my corpus (Mažvydas, Bretkūnas), and it is also missing from the majority of the other Old Lithuanian texts, e.g. the *Wolfenbüttel Postilla* (1573), Vilentas (1579), Vaišnoras (1600), Zengštokas (1612), Rėza (1625), Slavočinskis (1646), Jaknavičius (1647), Klein (1653, 1654), etc. Where it does appear, *daũgelis* seems to function as a case-marked substitute for *daũg*, but not exclusively. It is found only once in Daukša’s *Postilla* (1599), used adverbially as a minimizer with a negation particle:

- (35) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 555₂₀ [1599])

Palûkek’ ne daugêlj, atėis Wiefzpatis
P=wait.IMPER.2.SG NEG much.ACC.SG.MASC P=come.FUT.3 Lord.NOM.SG.MASC
‘Wait a little, the Lord will come’ (Polish: *Poczekaj máluc’ko / przýdźić Pan*)

It is also found three times in Sirvydas’ *Punktay Sakimu* (1629–1644), twice in the locative (ex. 36 and 37), once in the allative (ex. 38):

- (36) Old Lithuanian. Konstantinas Sirvydas, *Punktay Sakimu* (PS I 110^l₁₈ [1629])

Swietas tafay
world.NOM.SG.MASC DEM.NOM.SG.MASC
fu wifays futwerimays /
with all.INSTR.PL.MASC creature.INSTR.PL.MASC
kurie daugieliy dayktu
REL.NOM.PL.MASC much.LOC.SG.MASC thing.GEN.PL.MASC
žmogu praeyt
man.ACC.SG.MASC P=surpass.PRS.3
‘the world with all creatures that surpass man in many things’ (Polish: *Swiat ten że wŹytkiem Źtworzeniem / ktore w wielu rzeczach człowieka przechodzi*)

- (37) Old Lithuanian. Konstantinas Sirvydas, *Punktay Sakimu* (PS II 133^l₃₁₋₃₂ [1644])

norint tadu daugielyj apležuwi buwo Wiefzpati
although then much.LOC.SG.MASC P=slander.PST.3 be.PST.3 Lord.ACC.SG.MASC
‘although then they slandered the Lord in many ways’ (Polish: *Acz tedy w wielu pomawiali Pána*)

(38) Old Lithuanian. Konstantinas Sirvydas, *Punktay Sakimu* (PS I 55^l₁₃ [1629])

<i>jog</i>	<i>izdabinti</i>		<i>rubay</i>
that	P=adorn.PART.PST.PASS.NOM.PL.MASC		clothes.NOM.PL.MASC
<i>ira</i>	<i>piežąftim</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>pafiundu</i>
be.PRS.3	raison.INSTR.SG.FEM	and	incitement.INSTR.SG.MASC
<i>daugeliop</i>	<i>nufideimu</i>		
much.ALL.SG.MASC	sins.GEN.PL.MASC		

‘that adorned clothes are a reason and an incitement to many sins’ (Polish: *J3* *Źsumne Źłaty Źq przyczynq y pobudkq do wielu grzechow*)

In (36–38), *daūgelis* is used in grammatical functions where the risk of grammatical ambiguity is the highest: it is neither argumental, nor governed by a preposition. The unique example in Daukša’s *Postilla* (ex. 35), however, is adverbial and could easily be replaced by *daūg*. The minimizing meaning in connection with the negation is striking and could reflect the original value of the suffix *-elis*.

There is a truncated form *daugel*, which is documented since the 17th century. It appears twice in the *Knyga Nobažnystės* (1653), once adverbially with a negation particle (KN G 142₄₁) and once adnominally as the subject of a positive clause (KN SE 41₁₅); it is also attested once in the *Naujos giesmių knygos* by Klein (1666, 203₅), used as the object of a verb. *Daugel* is presented as synonym of *daug* and translated as *multum* in the *Compendium grammaticae Lithvanicae* by Sappuhn & Schulz (1673, 672). Globally speaking, the use of *daūgel* and *daūgelis* is very limited in Old Lithuanian, and it is not until the 18th and particularly the 19th century that it acquires a higher frequency. A comparison highlights this evolution: we find 8 instances of *daugel* and 4 instances of *daugelis* in the *Ziwatas* (1759), whereas there are 95 instances of *daugel* and 49 instances of *daugelis* in the newspaper *Aušra* (1883–1886).

The use of *daūgelis* is still sporadic in Old Lithuanian. The fact that it already appears in Daukša’s *Postilla* (1599), albeit marginally, suggests that it existed at that time, but had limited use. It is likely that it was initially an expressive form belonging to popular usage, probably originally limited to negative expressions where it had a minimizing value (as in 35); its more general development is a recent phenomenon in the history of the language.

Among other strategies used to replace *daūg* in syntactic contexts where case marking is necessary, we can also mention the use of the abstract noun *daugybė* ‘great number, multitude’ (FEM); it is formed like, e.g., *gausybė* ‘great

number, plenty of'. It is relatively frequent in Old Lithuanian in various syntactic functions, argumental (subject in 39, object in 40):

- (39) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Jeremiah* (BB Jer 6₂₂ [1579–1590])

<i>Ir daugibe</i>		<i>Szmonių</i>	
ir	multitude.NOM.SG.FEM	people.GEN.PL.MASC	
<i>pafsikels</i>	<i>arti</i>	<i>mušų</i>	<i>Szemes</i>
P=REFL=rise.FUT.3	near	1.PL.GEN.PL	earth.GEN.SG.FEM

'And a great number of people will rise near our country' (Luther 1545: *und ein gros volck wird sich erregen hart an vnserm Lande*)

- (40) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 153₄ [1599])

<i>Neš' pawižėięs</i>		<i>po žemę</i>	/
for	P=look.PART.PST.ACT.NOM.PL.MASC	under	earth.ACC.SG.FEM
<i>rêgeio daugibę</i>			
see.PST.3	multitude.ACC.SG.FEM		
<i>žmonių</i>	<i>pašmerktų</i>		
people.GEN.PL.MASC	P=damned.PART.PST.PASS.GEN.PL.MASC		

'For, having looked under the earth, he saw the multitude of the damned' (Polish: *Bo poyżrzałszy pod ziemię / widział wielkość ludzi potępionych*)

after preposition (in 41):

- (41) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 39₂₉ [1599])

<i>del daugibes</i>	<i>žmonių</i>	<i>kėleivių</i>
because	multitude.GEN.SG.FEM	people.GEN.PL.MASC
		traveler.GEN.PL.MASC

'due to the large number of travelers' (Polish: *prze wielkość ludzi podróżnych*)

or in other case functions (e.g. locative in 42):

- (42) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Isaiah* (BB Isa 57₁₀ [1579–1590])

<i>Tu didę</i>	<i>procę</i>	<i>tureiei</i>
2.SG.NOM.SG	big.ACC.SG.FEM	effort.ACC.SG.FEM
		have.PST.2.SG
<i>daugibeie</i>	<i>tawa</i>	<i>kėliu</i>
multitude.LOC.SG.FEM	2.SG.POSS.GEN.SG	way.GEN.PL.MASC

'You grew weary in your many journeys' (Luther 1545: *Du erbeitest dich in der menge deiner wege*)

The use of *daugybė* is not limited to being a substitute for the uninflected form *daũg*, but nevertheless it can appear without problem in contexts where the form *daũg* would be ambiguous, e.g. as a locative (in 42), which makes it a more flexible form for adnominal functions than *daũg*. In my corpus, the use of *daugybė* is as follows:⁹

<i>daugybė</i> 'multitude'	subject (a)	object (b)	after preposi- tion (c)	other nominal functions (d)	adverb (e)
Mažvydas (M)	—	—	Mc [3x]	Md [1x]	—
Bretkūnas (B)	Ba [22x]	Bb [8x]	Bc [4x]	Bd [8x]	—
Daukša (D)	Da [1x]	Db [1x]	Dc [1x]	—	—
Sirvydas (S)	Sa [8x]	Sb [4x]	Sc [2x]	—	—

The meaning of *daugybė* is not exactly the same as *daũg*, however; in Daukša's works, it usually corresponds to the Polish abstract noun *wielkość* 'multitude' rather than to the quantifiers *dużo* or *wiele* 'much, many'. As a noun, it can have definite reading ('the multitude of'), which is usually not the case with the multivalent adverb *daũg* ('much, many' = 'a great number of'): *daugybė* is probably indefinite in (39) and (40), but it is definite in (41) and (42).

Another abstract noun that could occur in the same functions is *daugūmas* 'great number'. It is quite rare in Old Lithuanian (only 12x in Daukša's *Postilla*) and not limited to use as a substitute of *daũg*. It is used in core argumental functions, e.g. as the subject of the sentence (ex. 43):

- (43) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 38₈ [1599], cf. also DP 75₄)

Tūiau *tâpės* *êft* *fu*
immediately come.PART.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.MASC be.PRS.3 with
Angelu
angel.INSTR.SG.MASC
daugūmas *karių* *dqgáus /*
great_number.NOM.SG.MASC warrior.GEN.PL.MASC heaven.GEN.SG.MASC
gárbinczių *Diewą*
praise.PART.PRS.ACT.GEN.PL.MASC God.ACC.SG.MASC
'And immediately came with the angel a great number of celestial knights
praising God' (Polish: *Y nátychmiaft oſtálá ſie z Anyołem wielkość Rycerſtwá
niebieſkiego chwalacych Bogá* = Lk 2₁₃)

⁹ The data are given in the appendices at the end of the article.

after a preposition (ex. 44):

- (44) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 106₁₀ [1599])
ant' daugumo piktai dârqcziių
 on great_number.GEN.SG.MASC bad.ADV do.PART.PRS.ACT.GEN.PL.MASC
 ‘on a great number of sinners’ (Polish: *ná wielkość grzeŝniacych*)

It is very rarely used in other syntactic functions; I have only found one instance of *dáugumú žmonių* ‘with a great number of people’ in Daukša’s *Postilla* (DP 89₄₅ [1599]).

A form **daugìmas* ‘great number’ has been reconstructed on the basis of the locative singular *daugime* (ex. 45):¹⁰

- (45) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 49₁₀ [1599])
Tóii bū vžėiufi
 DEM.NOM.SG.FEM be.PST.3 P=go_out.PART.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.FEM
daugimé dienų
 much.LOC.SG.MASC day.GEN.PL.FEM
 ‘She had been out for many days’ (Polish: *tá była záfzlá w wielu dniow*)

The reconstruction of **daugìmas*, posited by Ambrazas (2000, 24) and the ALEW (I 183), seems to be supported by the parallel of *didìmas* ‘greatness, dignity’ (DP 505₄₂ [1599], cf. ALEW I 204). It is, however, uncertain: the form *daugimé* in (45) could be seen as the locative singular of the noun **daũgis* (see below), cf. *didimé* (DP 46₄₉₊ [1599]) from *dìdis* ‘great’ for the ending.

I now come to the most striking point: the existence of inflected forms of the adverb *daũg* in Old Lithuanian, deriving from what appears to be a noun **daũgis* ‘great number, multitude’ (GEN.SG **daũgio*, etc). Inflected forms of this type are attested quite frequently in my corpus. The instrumental *daugiu* is, for example, attested 10x in Daukša’s *Postilla* (1599), cf. ex. (46):¹¹

¹⁰ Cf. also *Wolfenbüttel Postilla* (WP 83_{v20} [1573]), Vilentas (VE 2Cor 11₂₇ [1579b]), Zengštokas (ZEE 40₂₁ [1612]).

¹¹ Daukša 10x (DP 122₄₇, 150₃₉, 362₁₇, 481₈, 519₄₂, 521₆, 587₁₃, 609₁₅, 609₂₂, 617₃₆ [1599]). Cf. also Mažvydas 1x (*Katekizmas* K 16₁₈ [1547]). The instrumental *daugiu* is also attested 16x in the *Wolfenbüttel Postilla* (WP 1573).

- (46) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 122₄₇ [1599])
nórinī wel daugiū nūdemīy numirtū
 although again much.INSTR.SG.MASC sin.GEN.PL.FEM P=die.COND.3
 ‘even if he died of a great number of sins’ (Polish: *choćby też wiela grzechow*
umárl)

Example from the 18th century (ex. 47):

- (47) Old Lithuanian. Jacob Brodowski, *Lexicon Germanico=Lithvanicum*
et Lithvanico=Germanicum (1713–1744, 119₅₄)
Su mažu paffiródik,
 with little.INSTR.SG.NT P=REFL=show.IMPER.2.SG
fu daugiū paffiflėpk
 with much.INSTR.SG.M P=REFL=hide.IMPER.2.SG
 ‘Show up with a little, hide with a lot’

The genitive *daugio* is attested 8x in Daukša’s *Postilla* (1599), cf. ex. (48):¹²

- (48) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 505₃₉ [1599])
kaip išg daugio akmenų /
 like from much.GEN.SG.MASC stone.GEN.PL.MASC
ir išg rekščių žiames
 and from basket.COND.3 earth.GEN.SG.FEM
padarofi kalnas aukštās
 P=make.PRS.3=REFL mountain.NOM.SG.MASC high.NOM.SG.MASC
 ‘as from many stones and from baskets of soil a high mountain is formed’
 (Polish: *iáko z wiela kámienia y z wiela kofzow žiemie vcžyni fie gorá*)

or the dative plural *daugiemus* (ex. 49):¹³

¹² Daukša 7x (DP 125₁₄, 385₅₁, 390₂₃, 457₄₇, 505₃₉, 518₄₈, 610₄₆ [1599]). Cf. also Bretkūnas 6x (BB 1Chr 20₂, BB 2Chr 2₈, 25₁₃, 33₂₃, BB Job 31₂₅, BB Prov 7₂₁ [1579–1590]), Sirvydas 21x (PS I 87₁₉, I 107₁₉, I 163_{8∞}, I 163_{10∞}, I 189₃₁, I 266₁₄, I 285₁₄, I 305₁₈, I 306₁₂, I 315₁, I 344₁₈ [1629], II 12₂₄, II 39_{26–27}, II 41₂₂, II 61₁₉, II 78_{10∞}, II 88_{19–20}, II 98₃, II 131₂₄, II 242₁₂, II 259₈ [1644]).

¹³ Cf. also Rėza (RP 71₇ [1625]): *Afch daugiemis efmi kaip ftebuklu* ‘for many people I am like a miracle’.

- (49) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Daniel* (BB Dan 9₂₇ [1579–1590])

O *ghis* *daugiemus*
 and 3.SG.NOM.SG.MASC much.DAT.PL.MASC
Sudereghimq *paſtiprins* *wienq* *nedelę*
 alliance.ACC.SG.MASC P=strengthen.FUT.3 one.ACC.SG.FEM week.ACC.SG.FEM
 ‘And he shall make a strong alliance with many for one week’ (Luther 1545: *Er wird aber vielen den bund stärken eine woche lang*)

The genitive plural *daugių* is attested 8x in the *Wolfenbüttel Postilla* (1573), cf. ex. (50):

- (50) Old Lithuanian. *Wolfenbüttel Postilla* (WP 159_{r23} [1573])

Bet ir kittų *daug fu* *ſawimi* *priekiele,*
 but also other.GEN.PL.MASC much with REFL.INSTR.SG P=raise.PST.3
kurie *nog* *daugių* *ing* *Jerufalem*
 REL.NOM.PL.MASC from much.GEN.PL.MASC in Jerusalem
ira *regeti*
 be.PRS.3 see.PART.PST.PASS.NOM.PL.MASC
 ‘But he raised up with him many other people who had been seen in Jerusalem by many’

The Old Lithuanian data allow us to establish the following paradigm:

Singular	Form	Source
Nominative	?	
Accusative	?	
Genitive	daugio	Mažvydas (1547), <i>Wolfenbüttel Postilla</i> (1573), Daukša (1599)
Dative	?	
Instrumental	daugiu	Mažvydas (1547), <i>Wolfenbüttel Postilla</i> (1573), Daukša (1599)
Locative	daugime	<i>Wolfenbüttel Postilla</i> (1573), Vilentas (1579), Daukša (1599), Zengštokas (1612)
Plural		
Nominative	?	
Accusative	?	
Genitive	daugių	<i>Wolfenbüttel Postilla</i> (1573)
Dative	daugiu(s)	Bretkūnas (1579–1590), Rėza (1625)
Instrumental	?	
Locative	?	

This table is for illustrative purposes only. It may not be complete, and examination of other ancient Lithuanian texts may add further forms. What it does highlight, however, is that there was clearly an inflected variant of *daũg* in Old Lithuanian.

The form *daugia* has not been included in the table, because its status remains problematic. It is relatively frequent in Old Lithuanian, but with such diverse syntactic functions that it proves impossible to determine its case. It can correspond to the subject of a verb (ex. 51):¹⁴

- (51) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Proverbs* (BB Prov 11₁₄ [1579–1590])

<i>Bet kur</i>	<i>ira</i>	<i>daugia</i>	<i>dūdancziu,</i>	<i>prota,</i>
but	where	be.PRS.3	much give.PART.PRS.ACT.GEN.PL.MASC	advice.ACC.SG.MASC
<i>gierai</i>	<i>fekafi</i>			
well.ADV	succeed.PRS.3=REFL			

‘But where there are many counselors, there is success’ (Luther 1545: *wo aber viel Ratgeber sind da gehet es wol zu*)

the object of a verb (ex. 52):¹⁵

- (52) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Proverbs* (BB Prov 14₂₈ [1579–1590])

<i>jei</i>	<i>karalius</i>	<i>daugia</i>	<i>tures</i>	<i>f3moniu</i>
if	king.NOM.SG.MASC	much	have.FUT.3	people.GEN.PL.MASC

‘if a king has many people’ (Luther 1545: *wo ein König viel volcks hat*)

¹⁴ Bretkūnas 69x (BB 1Chr 5₉, 5₂₃, 12₃₀, BB 2Chr 14₁₃, 15₃, 20₂₅, 29₃₅, 30₁₇, 30₁₈, 30₂₄, 32₄, BB Ezra 3₁₂, BB Est 2₈, 4₃, 8₁₇, BB Job 1₃, 5₂₅, 7₃, 11₁₉, 22₂₁, 35₆, BB Prov 9₁₁, 11₁₄, 12₁₄, 13₂₃, 14₄, 15₂₂, 16₈, 19₆, 19₂₁, 20₆, 24₆, 28₁₆, 28₂₈, 29₁₆, 29₂₆, 31₂₉, BB Eccles 1₁₈, 5₂, 5₂, 5₆, 5₁₀, 6₁₁, 8₆, 12₁₂, BB Song 8₇, BB Isa 2₃, 8₁₅, 16₁₄, 31₁, 33₂₃, 42₂₀, 52₁₄, 55₇, 59₁₂, 60₂₂, 66₁₆, BB Jer 3₁₆, 5₆, 20₁₀, 22₈, 27₇, 31₁₇, 50₄₁, 52₂₀, BB Lam 1₂₂, BB Ezek 32₁₀, 3₁₂, BB Dan 12₁₀ [1579–1590]).

¹⁵ Bretkūnas 78x (BB 1Chr 4₂₇, 5₂₂, 7₄, 8₄₀, 18₈, 22₃, 22₄, 22₅, 22₈, 22₁₅, 28₅, BB 2Chr 4₁₈, 9₉, 11₂₃, 14₁₀, 17₁₃, 18₂, 20₂₅, 21₃, 21₁₅, 24₁₁, 26₁₀, 26₁₀, 27₃, 31₅, 31₅, 32₄, 32₅, 32₂₃, 33₆, BB Ezra 10₁₃, BB Job 3₁₇, 4₃, 9₁₇, 10₁₇, 27₁₄, 29₁₈, 34₂₄, BB Prov 1₁₃, 6₃₅, 7₂₆, 10₂₁, 12₂₁, 13₇, 14₂₀, 14₂₈, 19₄, 25₁₄, 29₂₂, BB Eccles 1₁₆, 1₁₈, 5₁₁, 5₁₉, 10₁₄, 12₉, BB Isa 2₆, 9₂, 16₉, 22₉, 52₁₅, 53₁₂, BB Jer 2₂₂, 3₁, 3₁₉, 12₂, 12₁₀, 16₁₆, 40₁₂, 50₂₉, BB Ezek 11₆, 19₁₁, 21₂₀, 26₃, 31₅, BB Dan 6₂₆, 8₂₅, BB Lam 2₅ [1579–1590]).

a genitive (ex. 53):

- (53) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezekiel* (BB Ezek 39₂₇ [1579–1590])

po *akim* *daugia* *Pagonų*
under eye.INSTR.PL.FEM much pagan.GEN.PL.MASC
'in the sight of many Pagans' (Luther 1545: *fur den augen vielen Heiden*)

a dative (ex. 54):

- (54) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Proverbs* (BB Prov 29₂ [1579–1590])

Daugia *efant* *Teišiū,* *džaugefi* *įžmones*
much be.GER just.GEN.PL.MASC.DET rejoice.PRS.3=REFL people.NOM.PL.MASC
'When there are many righteous, the people rejoice' (Luther 1545: *wenn der Gerechten viel ist, frewet sich das Volck*)

the object of a preposition governing the accusative (ex. 55):¹⁶

- (55) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Jeremiah* (BB Jer 28₈ [1579–1590])

Thie *pranefchawa* *prifch* *daugia* *Sžemių*
DEM.NOM.PL.MASC prophesize.PST.3 against much earth.GEN.PL.FEM
ir *didžų* *karalifų*
and great.GEN.PL.FEM kingdom.GEN.PL.FEM
'They have prophesied against many countries and great kingdoms' (Luther 1545: *die haben wider viel Lender vnd gross Königreich geweissaget*)

or of a preposition governing the genitive (ex. 56):¹⁷

- (56) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezekiel* (BB Ezek 38₈ [1579–1590])

ifch *daugia* *Sžmonių*
from much people.GEN.PL.MASC
'out of many peoples' (Luther 1545: *aus vielen Völckern*)

¹⁶ Cf. also BB Ezra 5₁₁ [1579–1590].

¹⁷ Cf. also BB Song 5₁₀, BB Jer 42₂ [1579–1590].

More rarely, it can be used adverbially (ex. 57):¹⁸

- (57) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Isaiah* (BB Isa 1₁₅ [1579–1590])

<i>kaczei</i>	<i>ius</i>	<i>daugia</i>	<i>meldzeties</i>
although	2.PL.NOM.PL	much	pray.PRS.2.PL=REFL

‘although you pray a lot’ (Luther 1545: *ob jr schon viel betet*)

The syntactic flexibility of the form *daugia* discourages its interpretation as a case-marked form. Rather, it seems to correspond to the multivalent form *daũg* with the same variety of uses. Their synonymy is evident in instances where the two forms are used side by side in Bretkūnas, e.g. (58):

- (58) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ecclesiastes* (BB Eccles 5₆ [1579–1590])

<i>Kur</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>ira</i>	<i>Sapnių,</i>		
where	much	be.PRS.3	dream.GEN.PL.MASC		
<i>thę</i>	<i>ira</i>	<i>niekifta</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>daugia</i>	<i>įsodžių</i>
there	be.PRS.3	vanity.NOM.SG.FEM	and	much	word.GEN.PL.MASC

‘Where there are many dreams, there are vanity and many words’ (Luther 1545: *Wo viel Trewme sind, da ist eitelkeit vnd viel wort*)

Similarly, we observe that the form *daugia* can be opposed to *maža*, under exactly the same conditions as *daũg* (ex. 59):¹⁹

- (59) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Isaiah* (BB Isa 16₁₄ [1579–1590])

<i>kaip</i>	<i>nūdem</i>	<i>maž</i>	<i>įschliks,</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>daugia</i>
how	all	little	P=remain.FUT.3	and	NEG	much

‘that little will remain and not much’ (Luther 1545: *Das gar ein wenig vberbleibe vnd nicht viel*)

It is possible that *daugia* owes its final *-a* to the influence of its antonym *maža*, but it is difficult to prove with certainty that this was indeed the case. The only thing that is certain is that *daugia* is not a case form of a masculine form **daugis*, since it triggers neuter gender agreement (ex. 60–61):

¹⁸ Cf. also BB Prov 9₁₃, 10₁₉, 31₁₀, BB Isa 1₁₅, 52₁₄, 56₁₂ [1579–1590].

¹⁹ Cf. also BB Eccles 5₁₁, BB Jer 42₂ [1579–1590].

- (60) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Isaiah* (BB Isa 33₂₃ [1579–1590])

Tũ metu bus
 DEM.INSTR.SG.MASC time.INSTR.SG.MASC be.FUT.3
daugia brangaus plešchimmo ifchdalita
 much expensive.GEN.SG.MASC spoil.GEN.SG.MASC P=divide.PART.PST.PASS.NOM.SG.NT
 ‘Then abundant spoils will be divided’ (Luther 1545: *Denn wird viel köstlichs Raubs ausgeteilet werden*)

- (61) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Isaiah* (BB Isa 42₂₀ [1579–1590])

Daugia iemus fakoma ira
 much 3.PL.DAT.PL say.PART.PRS.PASS.NOM.SG.NT be.PRS.3
 ‘Many things are told to them’ (Luther 1545: *man predigt wol viel*)

A last option that appears in the Old Lithuanian texts is to use the adverb *daũg* not with the partitive genitive (like *daũg žmonių* ‘many people’) but with a case form marked according to the syntactic function of the noun phrase, e.g., *daũg žmonėms* ‘to many people’ (DAT.PL). This option is attested several times in Bretkūnas, particularly in case functions in which the lack of case marking would have created ambiguity (ex. 62–63):

- (62) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, 2Chronicles* (BB 2Chr 16₈ [1579–1590])

Er ne buwa Murinų ir Libijų
 INTERR NEG be.PST.3 Moor.GEN.PL.MASC and Libyan.GEN.PL.MASC
didis pulkas
 big.NOM.SG.MASC troop.NOM.SG.MASC
fu labai daug wėžimmais ir Raitais?
 with very much chariot.INSTR.PL.MASC and horseman.INSTR.PL.MASC
 ‘Did not the Moors and the Libyans have a vast army with many chariots and horsemen?’ (Luther 1545: *Waren nicht die Moren vnd Libier eine grosse menge mit seer viel Wagen vnd Reutern?*)

- (63) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezekiel* (BB Ez 27₃ [1579–1590])

kuris [...] fu daug Salomis Szmonių
 REL.NOM.SG.MASC with much island.INSTR.PL.FEM people.GEN.PL.MASC
kupcziaua
 trade.PRS.3
 ‘[Tyre] which trades with many islands of peoples’ (Luther 1545: *die [...] mit vielen Inseln der völker handelt*)

(64) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Esther* (BB Est 1₄ [1579–1590])

<i>per</i>	<i>daugia</i>	<i>dienas</i>
through	much	day.ACC.PL.FEM
'for many days' (Luther 1545: <i>viel tage lang</i>)		

To sum up, there are in Old Lithuanian several alternative strategies in competition with *daũg*, but the extent of their application varies considerably:

- (1°) the form *daũgelis* is rare until the 19th century
- (2°) the abstract noun *daugybė* is frequently encountered in Old Lithuanian (whereas *daugūmas* is rare), but their uses do not always agree with those of the adverb *daũg*
- (3°) there are inflected forms of a noun **daugis* (e.g. *daugio* GEN.SG, *daugiu* INSTR.SG)
- (4°) the partitive genitive governed by *daũg* can be replaced by a case-marked form (type *daũg žmonėms* DAT.PL)

Before attempting to understand the distribution and origin of these different strategies, it is worth examining whether similar equivalents can be found for other multivalent adverbs.

3.2.2. *Variants of other uninflected forms*

As for other non-inflected forms, the data from Old Lithuanian texts are much more limited. There are no inflected variants of *ganà* 'enough, sufficiently' and the variants for *māža* / *mažai* 'little, few', *kiek* 'how much' and *tiek* 'so much' are much less frequent than those for *daũg*.

For the adverb *māža* / *mažai* 'little, few', the Old Lithuanian texts provide only a handful of examples of inflected forms, like the genitive *māžo*, the instrumental *mažū*, etc. In my corpus, most of these forms are found in Bretkūnas' *Bible* (BB 1579–1590), but a few forms are also attested in Daukša's *Postilla* (DP 1599) and Sirvydas' *Punktay Sakimu* (PS 1629–1644). There is evidence for the genitive *māžo* used after preposition (ex. 65):²⁰

(65) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Lamentations* (BB Lam 2₁₁ [1579–1590])

²⁰ *Be mažo* also in BB Job 1₅, 22₆, BB Prov 5₁₄, BB Jer 20₉, BB Ezek 12₁₃ [1579–1590]. Cf. also with other prepositions: BB Job 32₂₂, BB Isa 10₂₅ [1579–1590], DP 389₃₇ [1599].

Efch *be* *mažo* *Akių* *įawa*
 1.SG.NOM.SG without little.GEN.SG.NT eye.GEN.PL.FEM REFL.POSS.GEN
neįschwerkiaū
 NEG=P=cry_out.PST.1.SG
 ‘I have almost cried my eyes out’ (Luther 1545: *Jch hab schier meine Augen*
ausgeweinet)

or as the subject or object of negative verbs (ex. 66):²¹

- (66) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 462₃₂ [1599])
O *ne* *māžo* *ne* *abeiokime*
 and NEG little.GEN.SG NEG doubt.IMPER.1.PL
 ‘And let us not doubt at all’ (Polish: *á namniej nie wątpmy*)

and for the instrumental *mažū* used after a preposition (ex. 67):²²

- (67) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 239₃₄ [1599])
mažū *pirm’* *mirimo* *įawo*
 little.INSTR.SG before death.GEN.SG.MASC REFL.POSS.GEN
 ‘shortly before his death’ (Polish: *málo przed meka fwoia*)

Inflected forms are also found for *kiek* ‘how much’ (also indefinite ‘a certain amount of’) and *tiék* ‘so much’. There is evidence for a masculine form *kiekas*, attested through various case forms, like the genitive singular *kieko* (ex. 68):²³

- (68) Old Lithuanian. Konstantinas Sirvydas, *Punktay Sakimu* (PS II 78¹
 14 [1644])
Jeme *tad* *Jezus* *duonas,*
 take.PST.3 then Jesus.NOM.SG.MASC bread.ACC.PL.FEM
ir *dekas* *padaris,*
 and thank.ACC.PL.FEM P=make.PART.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.MASC
daliio *įedintiams,*
 share.PST.3 sit.PART.PRS.DAT.PL.MASC

²¹ Cf. also BB Isa 1₉ [1579–1590], DP 22₂₃, 59₂₇, 516₄₁ [1599], PS I 36¹₂₅ [1629].

²² Cf. also BB Job 4₂, 32₁₃, BB Prov 22₁₃, 25₁₇ [1579–1590], DP 468₂₄ [1599].

²³ Cf. also DP 123₃₃, 208₄, 254₁₃, 389₁₇, 457₄₄, 491₃₈ [1599], PS I 161¹₁₂, I 299¹₂₈ [1629], II 246¹₁₉ [1644].

teypagi ir išg žuvalu kiekio noreio
 likewise also from fish.GEN.PL.FEM as_much_as.GEN.SG.MASC want.PST.3
 'Jesus then took the loaves, and, having given thanks, distributed them to those
 who were seated, and also as many fishes as they wanted'

the dative singular *kiekam* (ex. 69):²⁴

(69) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 303₄₉ [1599])

po kiekam' metų
 after some.DAT.SG.MASC year.GEN.PL.MASC
 'after a few years' (Polish: *po kilku lat*)

the instrumental singular *kiekuo* or *kieku* (ex. 70):

(70) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 519₄₂ [1599])

su kiekū prietelų
 with some.INSTR.SG.MASC friend.GEN.PL.MASC
 'with a certain number of friends' (Polish: *z kilkiem przyjaciół*)

the locative singular *kiekame* (ex. 71):²⁵

(71) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 424₆ [1599])

kiekamé dienų
 some.LOC.SG.MASC day.GEN.PL.FEM
 'in a few days' (Polish: *w kilkunaście dni*)

and even the nominative singular *kiekas* (ex. 72):²⁶

(72) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Jeremiah* (BB Jer 2₁₇ [1579–1590])

iog PONa tawa Dievą apleidi,
 that Lord.ACC.SG.MASC 2.SG.POSS.GEN God.ACC.SG.MASC P=forsake.PRS.2.SG

²⁴ Cf. also DP 592₂₄ [1599].

²⁵ Cf. also DP 508₈ [1599].

²⁶ The function of *kiekas* is sometimes difficult to establish. There are a few instances where it seems to correspond to an accusative, after preposition (cf. DP 445₄₆ [1599]) or even as a direct object of a verb (cf. PS I 298¹₂₃, I 313¹₂ [1629], I 210¹₂₄ [1644]). This supports the idea that its second member could be the neuter indefinite *kas*.

<i>kiekas</i>	<i>kartų</i>	<i>ghis</i>	<i>tawe</i>
as_much.NOM.SG.MASC	time.GEN.PL.MASC	3.SG.NOM.SG.MASC	2.SG.ACC.SG
<i>tikru</i>	<i>nor</i>	<i>wefi</i>	<i>Keliu</i>
right.INSTR.SG.MASC	want.PRS.3	lead.INF	way.INSTR.SG.MASC

‘that you forsake the Lord your God each time he wants to lead you in the right way’ (Luther 1545: *das du den HERRN deinen Gott verlessest / so oft er dich den rechten Weg leiten wil*)

and the accusative singular *kieką* (ex. 73):²⁷

- (73) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Ezekiel* (BB Ezek 43₁₂ [1579–1590])

<i>Kieka</i>	<i>ufzueme</i>
as_much.ACC.SG.MASC	P=occupy.PST.3
<i>tatai</i>	<i>buk</i> <i>wifsufchenwcziaufe</i>
DEM.NOM.SG.NT	be.IMPER.3 all.GEN.PL.MASC=most_holy.NOM.SG.NT

‘Whatever it has surrounded shall be the most holy’ (Luther 1545: *so weit es umfangen hat, sol es das Allerheiligst sein*)

Similarly, we have evidence for a masculine form *tiekas* with a genitive singular *tieko* (ex. 74):

- (74) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 290₁₂ [1599])

<i>tikédamies</i>	<i>tieko</i>
hope.PART.CONTEMP.NOM.PL.MASC=REFL	as_much.GEN.SG.MASC
<i>defzimteriopo</i>	
tenfold.GEN.SG.MASC	

‘in the hope of ten times as much’ (Polish: *w nadziei tyle dziesięćiorą*)

and a dative singular *tiekam* (ex. 75):

- (75) Old Lithuanian. Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla* (DP 527₂₃ [1599])

<i>nei</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>tūkstanti</i>	<i>metų</i>
nor	after	thousand.ACC.SG.MASC	year.GEN.PL.MASC
<i>nei</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>tūkstanti</i>	<i>tūkštancijų</i>
nor	after	thousand.ACC.SG.MASC	thousand.GEN.PL.MASC

²⁷ Cf. also DP 488₄₁ [1599].

<i>ne</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>tiekam'</i>	<i>tūkstantčių</i>	<i>mėtų</i>
nor	after	as_much.DAT.SG.MASC	thousand.GEN.PL.MASC	year.GEN.PL.MASC

'not after a thousand years, nor after a thousand thousand years, nor after so many thousands of years' (Polish: *áni po tyśiac lat*, *áni po tyśiac tyśiecy*, *áni po tyle tyśiecy lat*)

To sum up, there is evidence in Old Lithuanian for various inflected forms competing with *māža* / *mažai* 'little, few', *kiek* 'how much' and *tiek* 'so much'. Their scope, however, is fairly limited, and it is not possible to reconstruct a complete paradigm for any of them. What is striking when we examine their occurrences is that these forms are not limited to syntactic contexts where uninflected forms might raise a risk of ambiguity. There are examples with prepositions (e.g. 65, 70, 75), i.e., in a context where uninflected forms would also be possible, and there are even inflected forms that would correspond to nominatives or accusatives (e.g. 72, 73). What seems to be clear is that the inflected variants were not developed to compensate for the difficulties posed by the uninflected forms. Only a comprehensive analysis of the data will help us determine the position of each of the forms in Old Lithuanian.

4. Explanations

The overview provided above certainly represents an incomplete snapshot of the Old Lithuanian data; it is likely that a more in-depth study would bring to light further examples. Nevertheless, it illustrates the diversity of forms used in Old Lithuanian to insert multivalent adverbs into different syntactic contexts. The principles governing the distribution of these forms remain to be established, and three types of explanations immediately come to mind. First, it is possible that certain forms are specific to certain authors and therefore represent what we usually qualify as 'idiolectal' forms, whatever the reason: dialectal usages, textual registers, or individual stylistic choices. Second, the influence of other languages may have played a role, particularly in texts translated from Polish, German, or Latin. And, finally, we may also consider a distribution organized around purely linguistic parameters, among which syntactic legibility is the first to take into account. The purpose of this section is to examine the relevance of each of these explanatory principles.

To begin with, we can observe the special position occupied by Jonas Bretkūnas. When it comes to *daūg*, Bretkūnas seems to offer examples of the two main types: (1°) inflected forms of a noun **daugis* (+ GEN) on the

one hand and (2°) forms in which the partitive genitive is replaced by a case-marked form like *daug* (+ DAT, INSTR, etc.) on the other. Their distribution, however, is lopsided and may largely be the result of an optical illusion, since the first type is exceedingly rare (and ambiguous), whereas the second is ubiquitous. In Bretkūnas' *Bible*, the first type is practically limited to the genitive *daugio*, which, however, can be used in non-genitive functions and combined with the second type (ex. 76):

- (76) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Proverbs* (BB Prov 7₂₁ [1579–1590])

<i>Ghi</i>	<i>aną</i>	<i>daugio</i>	<i>f3od3eis</i>
3.SG.NOM.SG.FEM	DEM.ACC.SG.MASC	much.GEN.SG.MASC	word.INSTR.PL.MASC
<i>perkalbeia</i>			

P=dissuade.PST.3

‘She led him astray with many words’ (Luther 1545: *Sie umberredet jn mit vielen worten*)

It therefore seems that Bretkūnas actually only knew the second type (*daug žmonėms*) and treated the various inflected variants, *daug*, *daugia* and *daugio*, as adverbial synonyms, independent of the syntactic contexts in which they appear. In my corpus, type 2 (*daug žmonėms*) is specific to Bretkūnas. Later, the same usage is found among other authors; there are numerous examples of it for example in Johann Jakob Quandt's translation of the *Bible* in the 18th century (1727 *New Testament*, 1735 the entire Bible).²⁸ The type **daugis* is found more widely among the authors in my corpus, rarely in Mažvydas, more frequently in Daukša and Sirvydas, exceptionally in Bretkūnas. These authors represent different dialectal usages, even if their register is the same (religious literature). What we observe is that the inflected form **daugis* appears especially when it is used absolutely, i.e., when it does not govern a following noun (as in ex. 47, 50), but not exclusively: inflected forms of **daugis* can be followed by a partitive genitive (as in ex. 46, 48). It therefore seems that we have an idiolectal distribution: the dative can be *daug žmonėms* in Bretkūnas, *daugiam žmonių* in other authors. The isolated instance of *daugiemus* in Bretkūnas (ex. 49) is different, since the multivalent adverb is here in the plural: it is not directly an inflected form of the noun **daugis* ‘great number’, but a conversion of *daug* to a determiner-like status, variable in case and number.

²⁸ A few examples are given in Petit (2024, 200).

This dialectal variation is mentioned twice by Daniel Klein (*Grammatica Lithvanica* 1653, *Compendium Litvanico-Germanicum* 1654), but with a certain lack of precision.²⁹ He writes (1653, 151):

- (77) Old Lithuanian. Daniel Klein, *Grammatica Lithvanica* (1653, 151)
Nomen indeclinabile daug substantivè ufurpatum regit Genitivum, ut: daug žmonû fusliejo multi homines convenerunt; Adjectivè verò sumptum cum omnibus casibus construatur, ut: daug žmones / daug žmonû / daug žmonėms / daug žmones &c.
 ‘The indeclinable noun **daug** used as a substantive governs the genitive, as in **daug žmonû fusliejo** *multi homines convenerunt* ‘many people gathered’; used as an adjective, it is construed with all cases, as in **daug žmones** / **daug žmonû** / **daug žmonėms** / **daug žmones** ‘many people’, etc.’

In the *Compendium* (1654, 106), he further writes:

- (78) Old Lithuanian. Daniel Klein, *Compendium Litvanico-Germanicum* (1654, 106)
Das Nomen daug viel / wil zwar von etlichen wie ein Adjectivum gebraucht / und mit dem Substantivo fast in allen Casibus construirt werden / wie denn im Dativo recht gefaget wird / daug žmonėms / vielen Leuten; aber mehr und besser wirds wie ein Substantivum construirt: Daug žmonu ateya manesp / viel Volck ist zu mir kommen / daug wiru reggėjau ich habe viel Manner gesehen. In Genitivo sagt man auch / iš daugio priezasciu aus vielen Urfachen; und in Dativo daugiam žmonû vielen Leuten.
 ‘The noun **daug** ‘much’ / is used by some as an adjective / and construed with the substantive almost in all cases / as it is common to say in the dative / **daug žmonėms** / ‘to many people’; but more and better it is construed like a substantive: **Daug žmonu ateya manesp** / ‘many people came to me’ / **daug wiru reggėjau** ‘I have seen many men’. In the genitive one also says / **iš daugio priezasciu** ‘for many reasons’; and in the dative **daugiam žmonû** ‘to many people’”

Klein’s presentation is extremely valuable, as it shows the existence of the two types (*daug žmonėms* and *daugiam žmonių*) alongside the predominant underspecified type (*daug žmonių*). However, it gives no indication of the dialectal distribution of the two variants. Based on Klein’s very vague

²⁹ I have already signaled this mention by Daniel Klein in a previous article (Petit 2024, 200–201).

wording, it seems that *daug žmonėms* is limited to colloquial usage. It was probably widespread in his region of origin, East Prussia. The alternative structure *daugiam žmonių* appears to be more distant to him and could be proper to other parts of Lithuania. In any case, the usage recognized as ‘better’ is the non-inflected form of the adverb followed by the genitive *daug žmonių*. Significantly enough, in his *Naujos giesmių knygos* (1666), the same Klein uses exclusively the structure *daug žmonių* and does not provide any example of the structure *daug žmonėms*, which in the *Compendium* (1654, 106) he had presented as common; it must have been too colloquial in his eyes to find its place in a formal written text.

The type *daug žmonėms* has no counterpart with the other multivalent adverbs: I have found no trace of **maža žmonėms*, **gana žmonėms*, **kiek* or *тік žmonėms*. The limitation of this usage to the adverb *daug* requires an explanation.

The structure *daug žmonėms* is likely to reflect, in Old Lithuanian, a usage specific to East Prussia, while the structure *daugiam žmonių* was proper to the rest of Lithuania, even if it is sparsely attested. One attractive explanation of *daug žmonėms* is an influence from German. In German, the quantifier *viel* ‘much’ is a determiner governed by a noun marked for case and number depending on the syntactic context in which it occurs, for example German *mit vielen Worten* ‘with many words’ (DAT.PL + DAT.PL). It is clear that the German model may have led to the form *daug* being reanalyzed as a determiner rather than as the head noun of a noun phrase. In the translation contexts we are dealing with, this German influence is evident. Let us look at ex. (79) repeating (64):

- (79) Old Lithuanian. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblija, Esther* (BB Est 1₄ [1579–1590])
- | | | |
|---|---------------|----------------|
| <i>per</i> | <i>daugia</i> | <i>dienas</i> |
| through | much | day.ACC.PL.FEM |
| ‘for many days’ (Luther 1545: <i>viel tage lang</i>) | | |

The structure *daugia dienas* [ADV + ACC.PL.FEM] mirrors the German version of the text *viel tage* [ADV + ACC.PL.MASC]. The same German influence may have been exerted on Lithuanian even when the German original had an inflected form of *viel*, as in (63), where the German text *mit vielen Inseln* ‘with many islands’ [DAT.PL + DAT.PL] is rendered as *fu daug Salomis* [ADV +

INSTR.PL]; this type of example is interesting in that it shows the resistance of East Prussian Lithuanian to using inflected forms of *daug*, even where they might be sparked by the German text. It is therefore likely that the type *daug žmonėms* in Bretkūnas' *Bible* results from German influence. That this is not merely a textual interference, but a genuine dialectal feature, is suggested by Daniel Klein's observations, but it was probably of a colloquial nature, which explains its absence from the religious texts published by the same Daniel Klein.

The question that now arises is whether the inflected forms of the noun **daugis* (e.g. *daugiu* INSTR.SG) in Old Lithuanian can also be explained by external influences. Polish has a form *dużo* 'much', which behaves exactly like *daũg* (multivalent adverb), e.g., *dużo słów* 'many words' [ADV + GEN.PL] = Lithuanian *daũg žodžių* [ADV + GEN.PL], but it also has a determiner *wiele*, which agrees in case, number, and gender with the noun it governs, e.g. *wieloma słowami* 'with many words' [INSTR.PL + INSTR.PL] = German *mit vielen Worten* [DAT.PL + DAT.PL]. If Polish exerted an influence on Old Lithuanian, it could only have been through the form *wiele*, and the result should have been the same as in East Prussian Lithuanian where the influence came from German *viel*. No external influence can explain the inflected forms **daugis*, INSTR.SG *daugiu*, etc. It is therefore preferable to assume that they owe their existence to internal forces within the Lithuanian language.

Here, two scenarios come to mind. The first is to assume that **daugis* reflects an archaic form, of which the adverb *daug* is a frozen form, in the same way that, for example, *daugel* is historically a frozen form of *daugelis*. The second scenario is to assume that **daugis* is a secondary creation, deriving from the need to provide a case-marked variant to the adverb *daug* in contexts where the lack of case marking would have created an ambiguity. I will not revisit the origin of the adverb *daũg* here, as I have already discussed it in a previous article (Petit 2024). The point that draws attention is the fact that these inflected forms (**daugis*, INSTR.SG *daugiu*, etc) are only attested in Old Lithuanian in contexts where the uninflected adverb *daug* would have posed a problem. There is no nominative **daugis* and no accusative **daugj*. This defectiveness can be explained either by the fact that the inflected forms developed secondarily for the sole purpose of providing an inflected variant of *daug* where the adverb posed a problem, or by the fact that the nominative and accusative forms fell out of use because they could easily be replaced by the adverb *daug*, since there was no risk of ambiguity. There are arguments

for both options. But it seems preferable to me to assume that the restricted distribution of the inflected forms of **daugis* attests to its secondary nature, because, were it an archaic form, we would expect to find at least some vestiges of the nominative and accusative, which is never the case.

It is striking that *daũg* stands out from the other multivalent adverbs. First, as I have already pointed out, there is no construction like **maža žmonėms*, **gana žmonėms*, **kiek* or **tiek žmonėms*, even in East Prussia. Second, we observe that there are in Old Lithuanian inflected forms of *maža*, *kiek*, and *tiek*, e.g., a genitive *mažo* (ex. 65, 66), a dative *kiekam* (ex. 69), or a genitive *tieko* (ex. 74). This inflected paradigm, however, is different from that of **daugis*. It not only appears as directly thematic (*-a* in *maža* or *-as* in *kiekas*, not *-is* as in **daugis*), which can of course be explained by the structure of the underlying forms, but also, more importantly, it can display nominative and accusative forms (*kiekas* in ex. 72, *kiekq* in ex. 73). This suggests that these inflected forms do not owe their existence to the need to supplement unmarked forms that might cause problems in certain syntactic contexts. These are genuine nominal forms, not ancillary forms created to solve problems of syntactic ambiguity. Historically, *māža* is the neuter form of the adjective *māžas* ‘small, little’ used as a noun, and we know that neuter forms of this type (cf. Valeckienė 1984) have fluctuated between an invariable form (ending in *-a*, like *gėra* ‘the good’) and inflected forms (GEN.SG *-o*, as in *gėro*, for example). Structures like *be mažo* ‘without little, almost’ reflect the inflected variant of the neuter *māža*. As to *kiekas* ‘which number of’ and **tiekas* ‘such number of’, the source must be different, since the nominative displays a sigmatic ending. It is likely that *kiekas* and **tiekas* are based on a compound whose second member is the neuter indefinite *-kas* (< **-k^uo-*); a parallel could be *viskas* ‘everything’. This would explain the sigmatic ending in contrast with the neuter ending *-a* in *māža*, but the origin of the preceding stem remains unclear.³⁰ Uncertainty remains as to the origin of each of these forms, and, due to lack of space, I will not dwell on these issues in this article. This should be the subject of further research, for which an examination of uninflected and inflected forms in Old Lithuanian, only briefly outlined here, will need to be conducted.

³⁰ Cf. Otrębski (1956, 160–161).

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this article was to investigate the syntax of the multivalent adverbs *daũg* ‘much’, *māža* / *mažai* ‘little, few’, *ganà* ‘enough’, *kíek* ‘how much’, *tíek* ‘so much’, whose main characteristic in Lithuanian is that they lack case endings, even though they can appear in different syntactic functions. In a strongly inflectional language such as Lithuanian, the presence of uninflected forms can raise a problem of syntactic legibility. In this article, I have reviewed some of the possibilities attested in Old Lithuanian for resolving this difficulty, such as (1°) the use of derived forms like *daũgelis*, *daugybė* or *daugūmas*, (2°) the creation of inflected forms like **daugis*, *kiekas* or **tiekas*, and (3°) the transfer of inflectional markers to the noun, as in the type *daũg žmonėms*.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this study. On the one hand, some of the possibilities attested in Old Lithuanian have dialectal restrictions: the type *daug žmonėms* seems to be proper to East Prussia, where it can owe its origin to a calque from German (*viel*). Other forms may have been created specifically to solve the problem posed by the lack of case endings; the type *daugiu* (INSTR.SG), which seems to be based on a noun **daugis* whose nominative case is not attested, is likely to be a secondary development whose function was precisely to mark for case the multivalent adverb in contexts where there could be an ambiguity as to its syntactic function. The case of *kiekas* and **tiekas* is different because these forms appear to have been used more widely in Old Lithuanian even where there was no need to specify the case function, for example in the nominative or accusative.

Ultimately, I cannot help but be struck by the diversity of the class of multivalent adverbs, which includes forms of diverse origin and behavior. The importance of linguistic contact has been emphasized, but this factor is not the only one that has played a role in the diversity of the attested options. Multivalent adverbs certainly deserve more in-depth study, both in terms of their morphology and their syntax, and this article is only a first step toward future research.

KAIP KAITYTI NEKAITOMUS ŽODŽIUS LIETUVIŲ KALBOJE

Santrauka

Lietuvių kalboje yra nemažai kiekybinių prieveiksnių, kurie gali atlikti tas pačias funkcijas kaip ir daiktavardinės formos, nors jie yra nekaitomi, todėl neturi linksnių galūnių, pvz., *daug*, *māža* / *mažaĩ*, *ganà*, *kíek*, *tie̯k*. Šio straipsnio tikslas – nustatyti, kokiais strategijomis lietuvių kalba taiko, kad kompensuotų šių formų linksnių žymėjimo trūkumą ir užkirstų kelią jų sintaksinės funkcijos dviprasmiškumui. Senosios lietuvių kalbos tekstų duomenys yra ypač įdomūs, nes jie rodo įvairias galimybes: (1) išvestinių variantų su linksnių žymėjimais vartojimas (*daūgelis*, *daugybė*, *daugūmas*), (2) linksniuojamų formų (**daugis*, **kiekas*, **tiekas*) vartojimas, (3) linksniavimo žymių perkėlimas į šiuos prieveiksnius lydinčius daiktavardžius (pvz., *daūg žmonėms* daugiskaitos naudininkas). Šios skirtingos galimybės atitinka tiek organišką pačios kalbos logiką, tiek kartais – lingvistinę interferenciją verstų tekstų atveju.

LINGUISTIC ABBREVIATIONS

ACC – accusative

ACT – active

ADV – adverb

ALL – allative

COND – conditional

CONTEMP – contemporary

DAT – dative

DEM – demonstrative

DET – determined

DIM – diminutive

FEM – feminine

FUT – future

GEN – genitive

GER – gerundive

IMPER – imperative

INF – infinitive

INSTR – instrumental

INTERR – interrogative

LOC – locative

MASC – masculine

NEG – negation particle

NOM – nominative

NT – neuter

P – *p*-word (preverb)

PART – participle

PASS – passive

PIE – Proto-Indo-European

PL – plural

POSS – possessive

PRS – present

PST – past

REFL – reflexive

REL – relative

SG – singular

BOOK ABBREVIATIONS

- ALEW – Hock, Wolfgang et alii, Hamburg, 2015.
- B Gd – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1589, *Giesmes Duchauonos*, Königsberg.
- BB 1Chr – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, 1Chronicles*, Königsberg.
- BB 2Chr – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, 2Chronicles*, Königsberg.
- BB Dan – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Daniel*, Königsberg.
- BB Eccles – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Ecclesiastes*, Königsberg.
- BB Est – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Esther*, Königsberg.
- BB Ezek – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Ezekiel*, Königsberg.
- BB Ezra – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Ezra*, Königsberg.
- BB Isa – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Isaiah*, Königsberg.
- BB Jer – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Jeremiah*, Königsberg.
- BB Job – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Job*, Königsberg.
- BB Lam – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Lamentations*, Königsberg.
- BB Prov – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Proverbs*, Königsberg.
- BB Song – Bretkūnas, Jonas 1579–1590, *Biblia, Song of songs*, Königsberg.
- DK – Daukša, Mikalojus 1595, *Kathechismas*, Vilnius.
- DLKŽ – Keinys, Stasys (red.), *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, Vilnius, ⁴2000.
- DP – Daukša, Mikalojus 1599, *Postilla Catholicka*, Vilnius.
- GC – Mažvydas, Martynas 1570, *Gesmes Chrikfczonifkas*, Königsberg.
- K – Mažvydas, Martynas 1547, *Catechismusa Prafty Szadei*, Königsberg.
- KN – *Kniga Nobazniftes*, Kėdainiai, 1653.
- LEW – Fraenkel, Ernst, Heidelberg, 1962–1965.
- Lk – *Bible, Luke*.
- LKG – Ulvydas, Kazys (red.), *Lietuvių kalbos gramatika*, Vilnius, 1965–1976.
- LKŽ – *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, Vilnius, 1941–2000.
- PS – Sirvydas, Konstantinas 1629–1644, *Punktay Sakimu*, Vilnius.
- Ps – *Bible, Book of Psalms*.
- RP – Rėza, Jonas 1625, *Der Psalter Davids: deutsch und littawisch*, Königsberg.
- SD – Sirvydas, Konstantinas ca ¹1620, ³1643, *Dictionarium trium linguarum*, Vilnius.
- VE – Vilentas, Baltramiejus 1579a, *Enchiridionas*, Königsberg.
- VEE – Vilentas, Baltramiejus 1579b, *Evangelios bei Epistolos*, Königsberg.
- WP – *Wolfenbüttel Postilla*, Manuscript, 1573.
- ZEE – Zengštokas, Lozorius 1612, *Evangelios bei Epistolos*, Königsberg.

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APPENDICES

Daũg ‘much’:

- **Mažvydas:**

Ma (subject) [13x] 95₄, 183₁₃, 290₃, 342₁₂, 342₁₃, 427₁₀, 467₁₃, 477₁₉, 507₁₃, 507₁₄, 507₁₅, 509₁₇, 528₁₂

Mb (object) [7x] 117₇, 125₉, 157₁₃, 184₂, 279₁₄, 436₅, 481₂

Mc (after preposition) no instance

Md (other nominal functions) [3x] 457₁₃, 466₁₆, 508₇

Me (adverb) [11x] 33₂₂, 137₁₉, 189₇, 255₁₃, 267₁₅, 438₂, 448₁₁, 499₁, 518₁₇, 525₁₇, 526₆

- **Bretkũnas:**

Ba (subject) [122x] B Gd 30₂₂, 37₁₅, 37₁₆, 69₁₂, 78₂, 92₅, 103₉, 119₁₀, 125₁₉, 14₁₃, BB 1Chr 5₂₃, 12₃₀, 18₈, 23₁₇, 23₁₇, 24₄, BB 2Chr 9₆, 15₃, 18₂, 20₂₅, 29₃₅, 30₁₇, 30₁₈, 30₂₄, 32₄, BB Ezra 3₁₂, 3₁₂, 10₁₃, BB Est 2₈, 4₃, 8₁₇, BB Job 1₃, 4₁₉, 5₉, 5₂₅, 7₃, 11₆, 4₁₉, 22₂₁, 33₁₂, 35₆, 35₉, BB Prov 4₁₀, 9₁₁, 11₁₄, 12₇, 12₁₄, 13₂₃, 14₄, 15₂₂, 16₈, 19₆, 19₂₁, 20₆, 24₆, 28₁₆, 28₂₈, 29₂, 29₁₆, 29₁₆, 29₂₆, 31₂₉, 28₂, BB Eccles 1₁₈, 1₁₈, 5₂, 5₂, 5₂, 5₆, 5₆, 5₁₀, 5₁₀, 5₁₁, 6₁₁, 8₆, 12₁₂, BB Song 8₇, BB Isa 2₃, 8₁₅, 16₁₄, 25₂, 31₁, 33₂₃, 42₂₀, 52₁₄, 54₁, 55₇, 59₁₂, 60₂₂, 65₂₀, 66₁₆, BB Jer 3₁₆, 5₆, 15₈, 20₁₀, 22₈, 27₇, 31₁₇, 36₃₂, 46₁₆, 46₂₃, BB Lam 1₂₂, BB Ezek 17₅, 17₉, 17₁₇, 32₁₀, 33₂₄, 34₂₂, 37₂, 41₇, 41₂₆, 47₇, 47₁₀, BB Dan 11₁₄, 11₂₆, 11₃₄, 11₄₀, 11₄₁, 12₂, 12₄, 12₁₀

Bb (object) [141x] B Gd 5₃, 5₃, 92₁₁, 93₁₄, 98₄, 101₂₂, 111₁₈, 111₂₃, 114₂₅, 136₄, BB 1Chr 4₂₇, 5₂₂, 7₄, 8₄₀, 14₃, 20₂, 22₃, 22₄, 22₅, 22₈, 22₁₄, 22₁₅, 23₁₁, 28₅, BB 2Chr 2₈, 4₁₈, 9₉, 9₁₂, 9₂₉, 11₂₃, 13₂₂, 14₁₂, 17₁₃, 20₂₅, 20₃₄, 21₃, 21₁₅, 24₁₁, 25₉, 25₂₆, 26₁₀, 26₂₂, 27₇, 28₂₆, 31₅, 31₅, 32₄, 32₅, 32₂₃, 32₃₂, 33₆, 33₈, 33₁₈, 33₂₃, 35₂₆, 36₈, BB Ezra 7₂₀,

10₁₃, BB Est 9₁₂, BB Isa 2₆, 5₄, 9₂, 9₂, 15₉, 16₉, 16₁₆, 22₉, 52₁₅, 53₁₁, 56₈, BB Job 3₁₇, 4₃, 9₁₇, 10₁₇, 27₁₄, 29₁₈, 32₁₅, 34₁₉, 34₂₄, 35₁₁, BB Prov 1₁₃, 6₃₅, 9₁₁, 10₂₁, 11₂₄, 12₂₁, 13₇, 14₂₀, 14₂₈, 19₄, 25₁₄, 29₂₂, BB Eccles 1₃, 1₁₆, 1₁₈, 6₁₁, 7₂₉, 9₁₈, 10₄, BB Jer 2₂₂, 2₃₄, 3₁, 3₁₉, 12₂, 40₁₂, 46₁₁, 50₂₉, 50₄₁, 52₂₀, BB Lam 2₅, BB Ezek 5₇, 8₆, 8₁₃, 13₂₁, 13₂₃, 16₅₆, 17₇, 17₁₅, 19₁₁, 22₂₅, 26₃, 27₃₂, 31₅, 31₇, 34₁₀, 36₁₀, 36₁₁, 36₁₄, 36₁₅, 38₇, 47₉, BB Dan 2₄₈, 4₉, 4₁₈, 6₂₆, 7₅, 8₂₅, 10₈, 10₁₆, 11₃₃, 11₄₄, 12₃

Bc (after preposition) [3x] BB Ezra 5₁₁, BB Ezek 17₈, 38₈

Bd (other nominal functions) [3x] BB Ezek 16₄₁, 32₉, 38₂₃

Be (adverb) [146x] B Gd 8₁₇, 75₁₉, 123₂₀, 130₂₂, B Ka 25₁, BB 1Chr 17₉, 17₉, 17₁₈, BB 2Chr 9₄, 11₂₁, 14₁₀, 22₉, 27₃, 28₂₂, 32₁₆, BB Est 1₄, 1₁₉, 2₁₇, BB Job 11₁₉, 15₁₆, 20₉, 23₁₂, 32₂, 32₁₆, 34₃₂, 34₃₇, 40₅, 40₅, 42₁₂, BB Prov 7₂₈, 7₂₆, 9₁₃, 10₁₉, 11₃₁, 15₁₁, 17₁₀, 18₂₄, 23₃₅, 23₃₅, 26₁₂, 29₂₀, 31₇, 31₁₀, BB Eccles 1₃, 3₉, 4₂, 5₁₉, 6₃, 6₈, 7₁₉, 8₁₇, 9₅, 9₁₇, 10₅, 10₁₄, 12₁₂, BB Song 1₄, BB Isa 1₅, 1₁₃, 1₁₅, 5₃₀, 13₂₀, 26₂₁, 29₂₂, 29₂₂, 30₂₀, 38₁₁, 45₅, 45₁₈, 45₂₂, 46₉, 51₂₂, 52₁₄, 54₉, 56₁₂, 56₁₂, 60₁₈, 60₁₉, 62₄, 65₁₉, BB Jer 2₂₂, 3₃, 3₁₆, 3₁₆, 3₁₇, 3₂₀, 8₁₉, 12₁₀, 14₁₉, 19₆, 20₉, 22₁₂, 23₄, 26₉, 30₈, 31₁₂, 31₂₉, 34₁₀, 34₂₂, 36₂₉, 42₁₈, 44₂₂, 48₂, 48₃₀, 48₃₅, 48₄₂, 51₄₄, 52₆, BB Lam 4₁₆, 4₂₂, BB Ezek 5₆, 11₆, 12₂₃, 14₁₁, 14₁₁, 16₂₉, 16₆₃, 18₃, 18₂₃, 20₄₀, 21₂₀, 23₁₁, 23₁₉, 23₂₇, 23₂₇, 24₂₇, 26₁₄, 29₁₅, 29₁₆, 30₁₃, 33₂₂, 34₁₀, 34₂₈, 34₂₉, 34₂₉, 36₁₂, 36₁₅, 36₁₅, 36₃₀, 37₂₂, 39₂₉, 43₇, 45₈, 47₅, BB Dan 11₁₈

- **Daukša:**

Da (subject) [10x] DK 60₁₄, 116₁₆, 169₁₃, 186₆, DP 179₄, 179₁₅, 179₁₈, 458₅₀, 462₁₂, 539₃

Db (object) [8x] DK 28₁₅, 79₁₂, 80₁₀, 127₁₂, DP 183₁₈, 184₄, 390₂₇, 476₂₇, 479₁₉

Dc (after preposition) [1x] DP 382₁₃

Dd (other nominal functions) no instance

De (adverb) [24x] DK 19₁₅, 27₂₀, 36₁₈, 55₁₂, 68₂₀, 97₁₄, 101₄, 117₁₂, 118₂, 124₁₂, 137₉, 144₁₆, DP 9₃₁, 52₅, 77₁₄, 101₅, 155₂₈, 210₁₇, 247₁₀, 316₂₀, 360₃₅, 379₅, 456₄, 493₃

- **Sirvydas:**

Sa (subject) [55x] PS I 28¹ 11, I 37¹ 1-2, I 109¹ 20, I 147¹ 21, I 149¹ 6, I 165¹ 8, I 180¹ 25, I 193¹ 5, I 200¹ 17, I 202¹ 24, I 209¹ 15, I 209¹ 15-16, I 225¹ 26, I 228¹ 25, I 231¹ 25, I 246¹ 21, I 250¹ 10, I 254¹ 14, I 270¹ 5, I 279¹ 30, I 285¹ 12, I 285¹ 29, I 293¹ 8, I 314¹ 20, I 316¹ 7, I 316¹ 9, I 316¹ 14, I 318¹ 8, I 325¹ 21, I 326¹ 1, I 344¹ 18, I 357¹ 12, I 366¹ 8, I 369¹ 5, I 380¹ 24, II 15¹ 19, II 16¹ 6, II 29¹ 5, II 48¹ 3, II 54¹ 29, II 65¹ 16, II 78¹ 8, II 89¹ 29, II 92¹ 28, II 103¹ 10, II 105¹ 3, II 112¹ 16, II 133¹ 21, II 141¹ 28, II 155¹ 25, II 196¹ 22, II 221¹ 13-14, II 233¹ 21, II 234¹ 19

Sb (object) [107x] SD¹ 39_v I 10, 69_v II 28, 74_v II 9, 82_v I 23, 112_r I 2, 115_r I 11,

136r II 5, 144r I 7, 193r I 14, 213v II 25, PS I 3¹ 24, I 11¹ 14, I 30¹ 5, I 34¹ 10, I 57¹ 26-27, I 38¹ 1, I 39¹ 3, I 57¹ 24, I 80¹ 27, I 82¹ 12, I 94¹ 21, I 96¹ 9, I 106¹ 29, I 146¹ 13, I 153¹ 4, I 153¹ 7, I 182¹ 3, I 198¹ 6, I 200¹ 13, I 204¹ 18, I 216¹ 17, I 217¹ 23, I 218¹ 22, I 218¹ 31, I 221¹ 9, I 221¹ 32, I 224¹ 18, I 225¹ 13, I 225¹ 17, I 226¹ 3, I 230¹ 7, I 238¹ 18, I 242¹ 25, I 252¹ 21, I 254¹ 8, I 264¹ 30-31, I 269¹ 4, I 286¹ 23, I 291¹ 6, I 291¹ 19, I 293¹ 6, I 293¹ 15, I 299¹ 2, I 303¹ 27, I 307¹ 4, I 313¹ 24, I 314¹ 9, I 317¹ 8, I 333¹ 19, I 347¹ 5, I 352¹ 27, I 357¹ 7, I 367¹ 30, I 368¹ 23, I 372¹ 2, I 372¹ 12, I 378¹ 12, II 5¹ 16, II 17¹ 1, II 19¹ 22, II 25¹ 24, II 28¹ 1, II 30¹ 20, II 34¹ 4, II 38¹ 8, II 46¹ 26, II 50¹ 15, II 51¹ 11, II 63¹ 23, II 64¹ 12, II 65¹ 10-11, II 65¹ 12, II 71¹ 30, II 74¹ 29, II 76¹ 10, II 76¹ 13, II 82¹ 2, II 84¹ 31, II 85¹ 19, II 86¹ 27, II 98¹ 2, II 105¹ 18, II 138¹ 14, II 154¹ 23, II 164¹ 27, II 166¹ 23, II 184¹ 18, II 209¹ 6, II 212¹ 4, II 213¹ 8, II 216¹ 20, II 224¹ 25, II 228¹ 27, II 229¹ 27, II 252¹ 32, II 258¹ 31

Sc (after preposition) [2x] PS I 151¹ 15, I 222¹ 2

Sd (other nominal functions) [1x] PS II 20¹ 14

Se (adverb) [38x] SD¹ 61v II 26, PS I 15¹ 6, I 23¹ 15, I 32¹ 8, I 94¹ 12, I 113¹ 20-21, I 116¹ 1, I 202¹ 20, I 207¹ 27, I 235¹ 8, I 238¹ 18, I 244¹ 24, I 249¹ 20, I 251¹ 22, I 266¹ 29, I 279¹ 1, I 286¹ 5, I 289¹ 30, I 298¹ 29, I 332¹ 15, I 342¹ 11, II 33¹ 22, II 38¹ 14, II 48¹ 26-27, II 49¹ 23, II 65¹ 28, II 66¹ 6, II 67¹ 16-17, II 81¹ 23, II 85¹ 25-26, II 134¹ 8, II 135¹ 32, II 203¹ 10, II 204¹ 10, II 211¹ 18-19, II 212¹ 21, II 220¹ 6, II 228¹ 21, II 256¹ 3

***Màž, mǎža, mažai* ‘little, few’:**

- **Mažvydas:**

Ma (subject) [2x] 10₁₆, 348₁₄

Mb (object) no instance

Mc (after preposition) [1x] 302₁₆

Md (other nominal functions) [1x] 302₁₇

Me (adverb) [1x] 99₇

- **Bretkūnas:**

Ba (subject) [22x] B Gd 28₂₀, BB Ezra 9₈, 9₈, BB Job 25₆, BB Prov 14₂₈, 17₇, 24₃₃, 24₃₃, BB Eccles 5₁, 9₁₄, 12₃, BB Isa 7₁₃, 16₁₄, 24₆, 28₁₀, 28₁₀, 28₁₃, 28₁₃, BB Jer 29₆, 42₂, BB Ezek 8₁₇, 15₅

Bb (object) [9x] BB Ezra 9₈, BB Job 11₁₆, BB Prov 13₇, BB Eccles 5₁₁, 8₁₇, BB Isa 10₇, BB Jer 29₆, 42₂, BB Ezek 5₃

Bc (after preposition) [3x] B Gd 109₁₇, BB 2Chr 24₂₄, BB Dan 11₂₀

Bd (other nominal functions) no instance

Be (adverb) [12x] BB 1Chr 17₁₇, BB 2Chr 12₇, BB Est 3₆, BB Job 10₂₀, 36₂, BB Prov 6₁₀, 6₁₀, 6₁₀, 19₁₀, BB Song 3₄, BB Isa 54₈, BB Jer 14₃

- **Daukša:**

Da (subject) [22x] DK 75₃₁, 85₈, DP 10₄₆, 59₁₀, 78₂₉, 93₁₅, 102₃₇, 105₁, 149₄₁, 190₁₆, 287₂₆, 299₁₄, 351₃, 387₉, 399₃₃, 429₄₉, 472₅₂, 500₁₉, 526₂₂, 580₂₆, 580₄₈, 609₂₄

Db (object) [18x] DP 138₄, 151₃₃, 291₁₃, 297₁₅, 299₂₉, 302₃₆, 391₁₁, 485₁₀, 490₇, 493₂₆, 500₁₈, 521₉, 526₄₈, 573₅₀, 575₄₈, 582₅₄, 601₅₄, 622₄₈

Dc (after preposition) no instance

Dd (other nominal functions) no instance

De (adverb) [176x] DP 4₂₇, 22₃₄, 26₃₆, 28₂₃, 34₃₅, 39₃₂, 39₃₂, 39₃₃, 41₂₅, 43₂₈, 43₂₉, 45₃₀, 50₆, 51₁₉, 52₂₈, 58₂₄, 61₁₃, 63₁, 64₃₃, 64₄₅, 66₉, 66₂₇, 69₄₂, 71₄₆, 76₂₇, 77₁, 79₄₄, 81₁₄, 89₂₀, 96₄₈, 96₅₃, 100₄₈, 100₅₁, 102₃₈, 107₄₃, 109₁₅, 110₅, 125₁₈, 130₂₇, 137₄₇, 138₁₈, 138₃₅, 139₁₈, 147₅₁, 153₃₂, 155₃₄, 165₂₂, 167₂₀, 173₄, 176₄, 176₁₂, 177₃, 186₁₅, 187₁₅, 193₇, 198₇, 203₄₉, 206₂₈, 207₂₄, 210₄₃, 210₄₄, 210₄₆, 211₁, 211₂, 211₄, 211₄, 211₃₂, 211₃₅, 211₄₃, 211₄₄, 212₃₀, 214₃₄, 214₃₅, 214₃₅, 222₅₂, 234₁₀, 247₂₁, 247₄₃, 249₂₇, 260₅₄, 267₄₄, 271₂₉, 272₃₈, 273₁₂, 281₇, 287₄₁, 289₁₅, 289₁₆, 289₂₈, 290₃₆, 293₃₃, 295₂, 295₁₂, 302₃₄, 303₄₀, 315₃₁, 318₆, 319₃₅, 320₃₁, 320₃₆, 330₄₄, 331₃₀, 336₄₇, 339₂₀, 340₂₅, 352₃₃, 354₂₀, 361₃₄, 362₃₂, 364₂₁, 374₃₁, 375₉, 379₂₂, 380₁₉, 384₅₁, 388₅, 389₄₂, 400₂₆, 400₃₄, 406₁₂, 407₂₁, 414₂₉, 414₃₇, 414₃₈, 414₄₆, 417₂₁, 419₃₉, 428₂₃, 430₆, 444₃₈, 444₅₁, 445₃₈, 446₂, 448₃₀, 448₄₁, 475₄, 476₂₈, 476₂₈, 477₁, 481₂₀, 481₃₄, 481₃₅, 481₃₆, 481₃₇, 494₄₀, 508₃, 508₁₀, 508₅₃, 512₂₉, 514₄₃, 515₅, 518₂, 519₄₅, 520₂₄, 523₁₃, 537₂₈, 541₂₁, 547₁₆, 549₆, 549₂₂, 549₃₉, 551₄₂, 557₂₆, 561₃₆, 561₄₂, 565₈, 565₄₇, 569₉, 579₅₀, 601₃₅, 608₁, 613₄₀, 622₁, 623₅₀, 623₅₀, 624₃₀

- **Sirvydas:**

Sa (subject) [13x] PS I 81¹ 19-20, I 110¹ 20, I 139¹ 26, I 211¹ 13, I 283¹ 18, I 298¹ 19, I 318⁹ 8, I 344¹ 20, I 346¹ 16, II 76¹ 19, II 209¹ 21, II 232¹ 23, II 246¹ 7-8

Sb (object) [7x] PS I 32¹ 14, I 146¹ 7, I 155¹ 13, I 222¹ 30, II 86¹ 28, II 88¹ 22, II 179¹ 21

Sc (after preposition) no instance

Sd (other nominal functions) no instance

Se (adverb) [11x] PS I 63¹ 9, I 109¹ 8, I 127¹ 22, I 211¹ 30, I 213¹ 21, I 289¹ 26, I 322¹ 22, I 328¹ 14, II 35¹ 30, II 105¹ 20, II 137¹ 1

Gàn, ganà ‘enough’:

- **Mažvydas:**

Ma (subject) [4x] 53₁₁, 370₁₆, 416₁₆, 498₁₈

Mb (object) [4x] 107₁₂, 276₂, 412₁₁, 566₁₂

Mc (after preposition) no instance

Md (other nominal functions) no instance

Me (adverb) no instance

- **Bretkūnas:**

Ba (subject) [8x] BB 1Chr 21₁₅, BB 2Chr 28₁₃, 30₃, BB Est 1₁₈, BB Prov 15₆, 30₁₅, , BB Isa 42₂₀, BB Ezek 34₁₈

Bb (object) [6x] B Gd 45₅, 70₉, 115₂₁, 121₈, BB Job 20₂₂, BB Prov 13₄

Bc (after preposition) no instance

Bd (other nominal functions) no instance

Be (adverb) [7x] BB Job 3₂₂, 20₂₂, 24₂, BB Isa 16₆, 30₃₃, BB Jer 49₉, BB Ezek 45₉

- **Daukša:**

Da (subject) [9x] DP 85₅₂, 106₃, 315₄₄, 429₁₈, 505₁₅, 505₂₄, 513₁₂, 519₂, 574₅₀

Db (object) [4x] DP 99₃₅, 516₄₀, 563₁₀, 574₄₉

Dc (after preposition) no instance

Dd (other nominal functions) no instance

De (adverb) [9x] DP 55₅₀, 153₁₉, 170₄₀, 340₄₉, 394₂₀, 417₄₇, 462₄₂, 499₈, 521₃

- **Sirvydas:**

Sa (subject) [6x] PS I 233¹ 7-8, I 327¹ 27, II 41¹ 5, II 94¹ 27, II 105¹ 9, II 221¹ 17

Sb (object) no instance

Sc (after preposition) no instance

Sd (other nominal functions) no instance

Se (adverb) [5x] SD¹ 24r II 26, PS I 148¹ 21, I 159¹ 9, II 116¹ 22, II 212¹ 27

Kiek 'how much':

- **Mažvydas:**

Ma (subject) [1x] 139₉

Mb (object) [1x] 541₂

Mc (after preposition) no instance

Md (other nominal functions) no instance

Me (adverb) [2x] 27₆, 143₅

- **Bretkūnas:**

Ba (subject) [4x] BB 1Chr 21₂, BB Job 13₂₃, 38₂₁, BB Jer 11₁₃

Bb (object) [10x] B Gd 4₈, BB Est 1₈, BB Job 11₇, BB Jer 2₂₈, 11₁₃, BB Lam 1₇, BB Ezek 43₁₂, 46₅, 46₇, 46₁₁

Bc (after preposition) no instance

Bd (other nominal functions) no instance

Be (adverb) [6x] B Gd 81₁₉, 112₁₃, BB 2Chr 2₁₅, BB Eccles 6₈, BB Ezek 4₄, 4₉

- **Daukša:**

Da (subject) [19x] DK 21₁₇, 91₂, DP 8₃₀, 8₃₃, 11₇, 13₂₀, 47₅, 91₆, 114₃₉, 137₂, 239₁₀, 243₅, 249₂₁, 362₉, 508₃₃, 527₂₄, 542₄₈, 566₁₃, 617₃₁

Db (object) [16x] DP 57₂₀, 202₂₅, 218₂₁, 285₄₂, 299₁₈, 329₁₂, 390₁₅, 390₅₁, 392₃₂, 397₄₆, 434₄₄, 457₃₇, 466₁₂, 514₅, 539₃₆, 542₄₂

Dc (after preposition) [3x] DK 46₁₃, DP 104₂₉, 445₄₆

Dd (other nominal functions) no instance

De [22x] DK 85₁₅, 144₁₁, DP 10₁₀, 27₄, 42₆, 64₂₇, 94₃, 140₃₄, 141₃₆, 146₃₀, 148₂, 161₄₁, 273₄, 297₃₀, 298₃₀, 305₁₈, 362₃₃, 389₁₇, 389₁₇, 491₃₉, 522₃₀, 538₄₀

- **Sirvydas:**

Sa (subject) [1x] PS I 134¹ 12

Sb (object) [1x] PS I 226¹ 23

Sc (after preposition) no instance

Sd (other nominal functions) no instance

Se (adverb) [7x] PS I 77¹ 6, I 165¹ 11, I 250¹ 1, II 84¹ 25, II 94¹ 23, II 204¹ 4, II 204¹ 9

Tiek ‘so much’:

- **Mažvydas:**

Sa (subject) no instance

Sb (object) no instance

Sc (after preposition) no instance

Sd (other nominal functions) no instance

Se (adverb) no instance

- **Breškūnas:**

Ba (subject) [8x] BB 2Chr 1₉, BB Eccles 11₈, BB Prov 26₈, BB Isa 29₅, BB Jer 2₂₈, 11₁₃, BB Ezek 37₁₁, BB Dan 11₁₂

Bb (object) [13x] BB 1Chr 21₃, 22₈, BB 2Chr 1₁₅, 5₆, 9₂₇, 9₂₇, 27₅, BB Job 11₇, 42₁₀, BB Eccles 1₈, BB Jer 11₁₃, BB Ezek 4₉, 31₉

Bc (after preposition) no instance

Bd (other nominal functions) no instance

Be (adverb) [5x] BB Isa 7₂₂, BB Jer 48₃₀, 48₄₇, 51₆₄, 51₆₄

- **Daukša:**

Da (subject) [1x] DP 390₁₅

Db (object) [10x] DK 152₁₃, DP 12₂₄, 13₂₁, 114₃₉, 273₄, 389₁₆, 390₅₁, 392₃₂, 580₃₅, 617₃₂

Dc (after preposition) no instance

Dd (other nominal functions) no instance

De (adverb) [24x] DK 31₈, 84₂₀, 135₃, 162₁₂, 166₁₂, 166₁₆, 167₆, 176₇, DP 11₄, 77₂₂, 77₂₇, 80₁₆, 140₃₃, 161₄₄, 286₂₁, 290₁₅, 362₃₃, 387₂₇, 458₁, 488₃₈, 604₁₇, 611₈, 616₁₇, 624₂₂

- **Sirvydas:**

Sa (subject) no instance

Sb (object) [3x] PS II 94¹ 23, II 204¹ 3, II 204¹ 7

Sc (after preposition) no instance

Sd (other nominal functions) no instance

Se (adverb) [2x] PS I 156¹ 4, I 250¹ 3

Daugybė 'multitude':

- **Mažvydas:**

Ma (subject) no instance

Mb (object) no instance

Mc (after preposition) [3x] 501₈, 512₄, 537₁₇

Md (other nominal functions) [1x] 511₁₁

Me (adverb) no instance

- **Bretkūnas:**

Ba (subject) [22x] BB 2Chr 14₁₀, 15₉, 20₂, 29₂₁, BB Job 32₇, 38₃₄, BB Isa 1₁₁, 29₅, 29₇, 29₈, 31₄, 32₁₄, 47₁₂, 60₅, 60₆, BB Jer 3₁₈, 3₁₉, 6₂₂, 49₃₂, 51₄₂, BB Ezek 32₃₂, 39₁₁

Bb (object) [8x] BB 1Chr 43₈, BB 2Chr 26₁₁, BB Est 5₁₁, BB Job 30₁₈, BB Isa 37₂₄, 53₁₂, BB Ezek 30₁₀, 30₁₅

Bc (after preposition) [4x] BB Est 10₃, BB Isa 47₉, 47₁₃, BB Jer 13₂₂

Bd (other nominal functions) [8x] BB Job 31₃₄, BB Isa 1₂₄, 13₄, 16₁₄, 17₁₂, 29₅, 31₄, 57₁₀

Be (adverb) no instance

- **Daukša:**

Da (subject) [1x] DP 74₁₆

Db (object) [1x] DP 153₄

Dc (after preposition) [1x] DP 39₂₉

Dd (other nominal functions) no instance

De (adverb) no instance

- **Sirvydas:**

Sa (subject) [8x] SD 36r I₁₆, 82v I₁₈, PS I 53¹₂₄, I 92¹₂₈, I 290¹₃, II 78₂[∞], II 101¹₁, II 212¹₂₀

Sb (object) [4x] PS I 238¹₁₆, II 100¹₂₅, II 105¹₄₋₅, II 211¹₈

Sc (after preposition) [2x] PS II 210¹₂₀₋₂₁, II 210¹₂₇₋₂₈

Sd (other nominal functions) no instance

Se (adverb) no instance

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