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ELATIVE AND EXCESSIVE IN LITHUANIAN: *daũg* 'MUCH' AND *peř daũg* 'TOO MUCH'

Abstract. The Baltic quantifier *daugi is usually derived from a PIE root *$d^h eug^h$- 'to make, to produce', although its formation, as a substantivized adjective or a noun, remains problematic. In this article, I attempt to determine the original function of the quantifier. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to compare the elative sense ('very much') and the excessive sense ('too much'). The excessive is expressed in Lithuanian by the adverb *peř* (e.g. *peř dìdelis* 'too big'). It can be assumed that the form *daugi was first introduced in argumental functions, which the adverb *per(i)- was unable to fulfill, before the latter switched to the excessive sense.
Keywords: Lithuanian; etymology; quantification; elative; excessive.

1. Introduction[1]

The term 'high degree' has often been described in linguistics with a certain imprecision, as if high-degree quantifiers – such as 'very', 'much', 'many', 'a lot' – escaped a clear-cut calculation enabling the element in question to be clearly located on a scale. What is traditionally called 'elative' ('very great') is much more difficult to delineate than the comparative ('greater than'), whose position is defined by its relation with another item, and the superlative ('greatest'), whose position is defined as placed at the top of the scale. The elative does not specify anything; from what degree or from what number of

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units are we allowed to say 'very', 'much', 'many', or 'a lot'? This imprecision is not without consequence when we examine the diachronic origin of elative forms, which may have a variety of sources and derive from both qualitative and quantitative intensifiers. From a cross-linguistic point of view, elatives are characterized by two main features: on the one hand, their very strong tendency toward lexical renewal, and, on the other, their fluidity of meaning in relation to a semantically close category, the 'excessive', expressing a higher-than-expected degree ('too great'). The links between elative and excessive are well known and can be illustrated by numerous examples: it suffices to think, for example, of the winding history of the French adverb *trop* 'much' (Old French) > 'too much' (Old and Modern French) > 'much' (Colloquial Modern French). My first intuition – and this was the starting point of this research – is that there is a link between elative and excessive markers in Lithuanian and that this may contribute to determining the original function of Lithuanian *daũg*.

2. The Elative
2.1. The Elative in Modern Lithuanian

There are in Lithuanian two main elative markers: *daũg* 'much, many' and *labaĩ* 'very'. Their distribution is clear: the former has quantitative, the latter qualitative meaning. This is shown by the following examples (ex. 1–2), where the two adverbs are used with verbal predicates:

(1) Modern Lithuanian.
Daug   dirbu
much   work.PRS.1.SG
'I work a lot'

(2) Modern Lithuanian.
Labai   džiaugiuosi
very   rejoice.PRS.1.SG=REFL
'I am very happy'

The selection of the two adverbs is determined by the semantics of the verb they are paired with, in reference to an action that can be quantified (such as work consisting of a number of tasks to be performed, for example)

and an action or state that can only be qualified (such as a psychological state of joy with varying intensity). This distinction is not universal. In French, for example, the quantifier *beaucoup* can be used for both *Je travaille beaucoup* 'I work a lot' and *Je me réjouis beaucoup* 'I am very happy (I rejoice a lot)'. The boundary between the two types of verbs – implying quantity or quality – would require further study and has, to my knowledge, never been investigated for Lithuanian.

Owing to their specific semantic content, *daũg* and *labaĩ* also display syntactic restrictions. *Labaĩ* often qualifies adjectives, whereas *daũg* usually cannot (ex. 3–4):

(3) Modern Lithuanian.
    labai   brangus
    very   expensive.NOM.SG.M
    'very expensive'

(4) Modern Lithuanian.
    †*daug   brangus*
    much   expensive.NOM.SG.M

This restriction is due to the fact that qualities conveyed by adjectives are more easily combined with intensifiers than with quantifiers. A similar restriction is found in other languages, e.g. in English, where adjectives are intensified by *very* (e.g. *very expensive*), while verbs are intensified only by *much*, *a lot* (e.g. *I work / rejoice a lot, much*).

Interestingly, the intensifier *labaĩ* is replaced in Lithuanian by the quantifier *daũg* when the adjective is in the comparative (ex. 5–6):

(5) Modern Lithuanian.
    labai   brangus
    very   expensive.NOM.SG.M
    'very expensive'

(6) Modern Lithuanian.
    daug   brangesnis
    much   more_expensive.COMP.NOM.SG.M
    'much more expensive'

The use of a quantifier in the sense of an intensifier with comparatives is shared by many neighboring languages, such as Latvian (intensifier *ļoti* / quantifier *daudz*, ex. 7–8):

(7) Modern Latvian.
  ļoti   *dārgs*
  very   expensive.NOM.SG.M
  'very expensive'

(8) Modern Latvian.
  daudz   *dārgāks*
  much   more_expensive.COMP.NOM.SG.M
  'much more expensive'

Polish (intensifier *bardzo* / quantifier *dużo*, ex. 9–10):

(9) Modern Polish.
  bardzo   *drogi*
  very   expensive.NOM.SG.M
  'very expensive'

(10) Modern Polish.
  dużo   *droższy*
  much   more_expensive.COMP.NOM.SG.M
  'much more expensive'

Russian (intensifier очень *očen'* / quantifier гораздо *gorazdo*, ex. 11–12):

(11) Modern Russian.
  очень   дорогой
  očen'   *dorogoï*
  very   expensive.NOM.SG.M
  'very expensive'

(12) Modern Russian.
  гораздо   более   дорогой
  gorazdo   *bolee*   *dorogoï*
  much   more_expensive.COMP.NOM.SG.M
  'much more expensive'

Belarusian (intensifier вельмі *veľmi* / quantifier нашмат *našmat*, ex. 13–14):

(13) Modern Belarusian.
вельмі дарагі
veľmi daragi
very expensive.NOM.SG.M
'very expensive'

(14) Modern Belarusian.
нашмат даражэйшы
našmat daražeĭšy
much more_expensive.COMP.NOM.SG.M
'much more expensive'

German (intensifier *sehr* / quantifier *viel*, ex. 15–16):

(15) Modern German.
sehr teuer
very expensive
'very expensive'

(16) Modern German.
viel teurer
much more_expensive.COMP
'much more expensive'

and Estonian (intensifier *väga* / quantifier *palju*, ex. 17–18):

(17) Modern Estonian.
väga kallis
very expensive NOM.SG
'very expensive'

(18) Modern Estonian.
palju kallim
much more_expensive.COMP.NOM.SG
'much more expensive'

This distribution could be contact-induced in Lithuanian, although we have no clear evidence of how it spread between the various languages of

the Baltic area. On the other hand, the same distinction is found more widely in other languages outside this area, e.g. English (*very expensive / much more expensive*), and it could also have been established in Lithuanian independently.

A significant difference between the quantifier *daũg* and the intensifier *labaĩ* is that the former can be used as an argument of the verb (subject and object), whereas the latter is used exclusively as an adverb of manner. *Daũg* is multivalent, *labaĩ* monovalent. In argumental functions, *daũg* can be followed by a partitive genitive (subject in ex. 19, object in ex. 20):

(19) Modern Lithuanian. Alfonsas K a l n i u s (1943, 17)
    Daug   *knygų*   *yra*   *lentynoje*
    much   book.GEN.PL.F   be.PRS.3   shelf.LOC.SG.F
    'There are many books on the shelf'

(20) Modern Lithuanian. Jonas B a l k e v i č i u s (1963, 213)
    Mes   *sulauksime*   *daug*   *naujienų*
    1.PL.NOM.PL   receive.FUT.1.PL   much   news.GEN.PL.F
    'We will receive a lot of news'

Daũg, being invariable, is normally unsuitable for use outside subject and object functions, that is when case functions cannot be easily inferred from the context. It is then usually replaced by the variable noun *daũgelis* 'much, great number' (SG.M *-*i̯o*-stem, with the 'augmentative' suffix -*elis*), which carries more explicit case marking (ex. 21 = genitive):

(21)   Modern Lithuanian.
    Susitikome   *tik*   *po*   *daugelio*   *metų*
    meet.P=REFL=PST.1.PL   only   after   much.GEN.SG.M   year.GEN.PL.M
    'We met only many years later'

The form *daũgelis* can even be used in argumental functions (ex. 22 as a subject) in competition with *daũg*:

(22) Modern Lithuanian. Jonas B a l k e v i č i u s (1963, 82)
    Daugelis   *abejonių*   *išsisklaidė*
    much.NOM.SG.M   doubt.GEN.PL.F   be_dispelled.P=REFL=PST.3
    'Many doubts were dispelled'

In all these examples, the complement of *daũg*, *daũgelis* is expressed in the partitive genitive. More rarely, it can be left in the invariable neuter form (ending -*a*) if it is a substantivized adjective (ex. 23):

(23) Modern Lithuanian. Jonas B a l k e v i č i u s (1963, 84)
    O   *kiekvieną*   *dieną*   *įvykdavo*   *daug*   *nauja*
    and every.ACC.SG.F day.ACC.SG.F happen.IMPF.3 much new.NOM/ACC.SG.NT
    'And every day much new happened'

The variation between the genitive and the invariable neuter form is reminiscent of the construction of the type *kàs naũjo* (GEN.SG) / *kàs naũja* (NT) 'what (is) new?', *niẽko naũjo* (GEN.SG) / *niẽko naũja* (NT) 'nothing new'. The use of the neuter form has been greatly reduced in the modern language, and the predominant construction for the quantifier *daũg* is now with the genitive.

If we summarize, we have the following system:

	Elative (high degree)	
	Quantifier	Intensifier
+ Verbs	*daug dirbu* (ex. 1)	*labai džiaugiuosi* (ex. 2)
+ Adjectives	*labai brangus* (ex. 3), *daug brangesnis* (ex. 4)	

What is striking about this table is its asymmetry. The distinction between the quantifier *daũg* 'much' and the intensifier *labaĩ* 'very' only works with verbs. It is absent with adjectives, where we only have *labaĩ* for positive adjectives and *daũg* for comparative adjectives.

2.2. The Elative in Old Lithuanian

The Old Lithuanian texts (16th–18th centuries) only marginally modify the description just given, but there are a few discrepancies worth noting. The distinction between the intensifier *labaĩ* 'very' and the quantifier *daũg* 'much' is found in Old Lithuanian under the same conditions as in Modern Lithuanian, as the following examples show (ex. 24–25):

(24) Old Lithuanian. Martynas M a ž v y d a s , *Geſmes Chrikſcʒoniſkas* (1570, 447$_9$)

Labai	*trokſcht*	*gerima*
very	crave.PRS.3	drink.GEN.SG.M

'He is craving a drink'

(25) Old Lithuanian. Johann Jacob Q u a n d t , *Das Neue Testament Unsers Herrn JEsu Christi: Deutsch und Litthauisch* (1727, Acts 20$_{11}$)

Ir	*kalbejo*	*daug*	*ſu*	*jeis*
and	speak.PST.3	much	with	3.PL.INSTR.PL

'And he spoke much with them'

A study of the distribution of the two elative markers with verbs remains to be done for Old Lithuanian. This study will have to take into account the impact of translation situations, which may considerably influence the selection of elative markers.

The distribution that imposes *labaĩ* 'very' before positive adjectives and *daũg* 'much' before comparative adjectives is likewise found since the earliest Lithuanian texts. The intensifier *labaĩ* 'very' before positive adjectives is extremely common (ex. 26):

(26) Old Lithuanian. Martynas M a ž v y d a s , *Geſmes Chrikſcʒoniſkas* (1570, 245$_9$)

kurs	*eſti*	*labai*	*didis*
REL.NOM.SG.M	be.PRS.3	very	big.NOM.SG.M

'who is very big'

The use of *daũg* 'much' before comparative adjectives is rare in Old Lithuanian, and it took me a long time to detect the following three examples (ex. 27–29):

(27) Old Lithuanian. Jonas B r e t k ū n a s , *Biblija* (1590, Prov 31$_{10}$)

Iei	*kuriam*	*wieſchliba*	*Mote*
if	somebody.DAT.SG.M	virtuous.NOM.SG.F	woman.NOM.SG.F

paſkirta	*ira,*
ascribe.PART.PST.PASS.NOM.SG.F	be.PRS.3

ta	*daugia*	*giereſne*	*ira*
3.SG.NOM.SG.F	much	better.COMP.NOM.SG.F	be.PRS.3

nei	*brangios*	*ſchemcʒugos*
than	precious.NOM.PL.F	jewel.NOM.PL.F

'If a virtuous woman is ascribed to someone, she is much better than precious jewels'

(28) Old Lithuanian. Jonas B r e t k ū n a s , *Biblija* (1590, Isa 52_{14})

kadangi	*io*		*weidas*
since	3.SG.GEN.SG.M		face.NOM.SG.M
daugia	*biaureſnis*		*ira*
much	uglier.COMP.NOM.SG.F		be.PRS.3
nei	*kitų*		*ßmonių*
than	other.GEN.PL.M		people.GEN.PL.M

'since his face was much more disfigured than that of other men'

(29) Old Lithuanian. Daniel K l e i n , *Naujos giesmju knygos* (1666, 365_6)

Warg's	*diddis*	*tieſa*	*eſt*	*tenay*
pain.NOM.SG.M	big.NOM.SG.M	truth.NOM.SG.F	be.PRS.3	there
Kur	*máras*	*ſukkaſi /*		
where	death.NOM.SG.M	turn.PRS.3=REFL		
Bet	*daug*	*diddéſnis*	*ten*	*tikkray /*
but	much	bigger.COMP.NOM.SG.M	there	really.ADV
Kur	*kárą*	*tu*	*reggi /*	
where	war.ACC.SG.M	2.SG.NOM.SG	see.PRS.2.SG	

'There is in truth great sorrow where death unfolds, but even greater in truth where you see war'

One could add a few more recent instances from the 18th and 19th centuries (ex. 30–32):

(30) Old Lithuanian. Christian Gottlieb M i e l c k e , *Kūdikių prietelius* (1795, 270_{15})

Daug	*smagiaus*	*ira*
much	pleasant.COMP.ADV	be.PRS.3

'It is much more pleasant'

(31) Lithuanian. Mikelis Š a p a l a s , *Pasiuntinystės nusidavimai* (1881, 8_4)

todēl	*ten*	*ir*	*daug*	*dideſni*
therefore	there	be.PRS.3	much	greater.COMP.NOM.PL.M
Surinkimai		*atrandami*		
gathering.NOM.PL.M		find.PART.PRS.PASS.NOM.PL.M		

'Therefore, much larger gatherings are found there'

(32) Lithuanian. Mikelis Š a p a l a s , *Pasiuntinystės nusidavimai* (1881, 61_8)

kad	*jû*		*Kudikis*
that	3.PL.NOM.PL.M		baby.NOM.SG.M
daug	*gereſni*		*Tewą*
much	better.COMP.ACC.SG.M		father.ACC.SG.M

rades	*yr*
find.PART.PST.NOM.SG.M	be.PRS.3

'...that their baby has found a much better father'

There are in Old Lithuanian a few instances where the adjective in the comparative is preceded by *daugiaũ* (Old Lith. *daugiaũs*), i.e. the comparative of *daũg* 'much' itself (ex. 33–34):

(33) Old Lithuanian. Samuel C h y l i ń s k i, *Novum Testamentum* (1664, Mt 6$_{26}$)

Negu	*toli*	*daugiaus*	*prakiłneſni*
NEG	far	more	more_noble.NOM.PL.M

eſte	*uz*	*jos ?*
be.PRS.2.PL	for	3.PL.ACC.PL.M

'Are you not of much better value than them?'

(34) Lithuanian. Juozapas Arnulfas G i e d r a i t i s, *Naujas Istatimas* (1816, Mt 6$_{26}$)

Ar	*jus*	*ne*	*este*
INTERR	2.PL.NOM.PL	NEG	be.PRS.2.PL

daugiaus	*brangiasni?*
more	more_precious.COMP.NOM.PL.M

'Are you not of much better value?'

Taken at face value, the structure *daugiaũ* + COMP seems to display formal redundancy, the comparative meaning being conveyed by both the adjective and the quantifier that modifies it. It is difficult to determine whether this use is genuine in Lithuanian and, if this is the case, how it came to be replaced by the simple form of the quantifier *daũg* + COMP. It is probably better to argue the other way round that the type *daũg* + COMP is older, even if its occurrences in Old Lithuanian can be counted on the fingers of the hand, and that the redundant type *daugiaũ* + COMP only represents a limited deviation from this type under conditions that still remain to be clarified.

The following two examples from Daniel K l e i n (1666) are difficult to explain (ex. 35–36):

(35) Old Lithuanian. Daniel K l e i n, *Naujos Gieſmiu Knygos* (1666, 16$_{23}$)

Jeib	*tas*	*ſwiets*
if	DEM.NOM.SG.M	world.NOM.SG.M

daugiu	*plattéſnis*	[...]	*butu*
much.INSTR.SG.M	wider.COMP.NOM.SG.M		be.COND.3

'if this world was much bigger'

(36) Old Lithuanian. Daniel K l e i n , *Naujos Gieſmiu Knygos* (1666, 403$_8$)

O	*tu*	*daugiu*	*gerréſnis*
and	2.SG.NOM.SG	much.INSTR.SG.M	better.COMP.NOM.SG.M

'And you are much better'

The form *daugiu* is apparently a marked instrumental singular (ending *-u*), but its function is unclear. It is different from both the simple adverb *daug* and the comparative *daugiau(s)*, which are both regularly used in the same text.

In Old Lithuanian, another construction is also used before comparatives, *juõ* 'all the more' + COMPARATIVE (ex. 37–38):

(37) Old Lithuanian. Martynas M a ž v y d a s , *Geſmes Chrikſczoniſkas* (1570, 126$_{16}$)

Tawa	*Diewiſchſkas*	*wardas*	
2SG.GEN.SG	divine.NOM.SG.M	name.NOM.SG.M	
iů	*didʒaus*	*butu*	*ſchwenſtas*
much	greater.COMP.ADV	be.COND.3	holy.NOM.SG.M

'(that) your divine name would be much more hallowed'

(38) Old Lithuanian. Baltramiejus V i l e n t a s , *Catechismas* (1579, 57$_{24–25}$)

Ghis	*papeik*	*dabar*
3.SG.NOM.SG.M	scorn.PRS.3	now
yů	*dideſnius*	*daiktus*
much	great.COMP.ACC.PL.M	thing.ACC.PL.M
neng	*tie*	*jra.*
than	3.PL.NOM.PL.M	be.PRS.3

'He now scorns much greater things than these are' (transl. F o r d 1969, 381 modified)

This construction is often used with elative meaning 'all the more' > 'much more'. In addition to the two examples given above (ex. 37–38), it can be noted, for example, that *jû mielaus* 'much dearer' is used in the *Lexicon Lithuanicum* (17th century: 98$_8$) to render German *viel lieber*. Formally, *juõ* is an instrumental. It is possible that the construction *daugiu* + COMP, as found in Daniel K l e i n (ex. 35–36), has been reshaped on the model of *juõ*, but the details of this analogy await a full explanation.

It is rare to find the quantifier *daũg* 'much' before positive adjectives. I have found only a few instances in Old Lithuanian texts (ex. 39–40):

(39) Old Lithuanian. Martynas M a ž v y d a s , *Geſmes Chrikſcӡoniſkas* (1570, 438$_2$)[2]

Aſch	*eſmi*	*daug*	*kaltas*
1SG.NOM.SG	be.PRS.1.SG	much	guilty.NOM.SG.M

'I am very guilty'

(40) Old Lithuanian. Jacob B r o d o w s k i , *Lexicon Germanico=Lthvanicum et Lithvanico =Germanicum* (1713–1744, 469$_{17}$)[3]

Sawo	*wlóſnas*	*Kampélis*	*daug*	*wertas*
REFL.GEN.SG	own.NOM.SG.M	corner.NOM.SG.M	much	worth.NOM.SG.M

'(Having) one's own home is worthy of much' (German *Eigen Heerd iſt Goldes werth*)

These examples, which are very few in number, are unlikely to reflect a distribution comparable to that observed with verbs (qualitative *labaĩ* 'very' / quantitative *daũg* 'much'). The quantifier *daũg* is probably not used adverbially, but as the complement of the adjective ('guilty of much', 'worthy of much'), which is suggested by the fact that it can be followed by a noun in the partitive genitive, making explicit the relation implied by the adjective (compare ex. 39 with ex. 41, ex. 40 with ex. 42):

(41) Old Lithuanian. Daniel K l e i n , *Grammatica Litvanica* (1653, 150$_{25}$)[4]

daug	*griekû*	*kaltas*
much	sin.GEN.PL.M	guilty.NOM.SG.M

'guilty of many sins'

(42) Old Lithuanian. Daniel K l e i n , *Grammatica Litvanica* (1653, 150$_{24}$)

daug	*penigû*	*wertas*
much	money.GEN.PL.M	worth.NOM.SG.M

'worth a lot of money'

The case of *daug kałbus* 'talkative' in S i r v y d a s ' dictionary (ex. 43–44) is probably different:

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[2] Cf. also Mikalojus D a u k š a , *Postilla Catholicka* (1599, 101$_5$).

[3] Cf. also Christian Gottlieb M i e l c k e , *Kūdikių prietelius* (1795, 5$_5$).

[4] Cf. also Friedrich Wilhelm H a a c k , *Anhang einer kurzgefassten litauischen Grammatik* (1730, 331$_{17}$): *daug Griekû kaltas* (German *vieler Sůnden ſchuldig*).

(43) Old Lithuanian. The 1st dictionary of Konstantynas S i r v y d a s (ca. 1620, 83$_{26}$)

Mowny / facundus, multiloquus, diſertus.

daug   kałbus.

much   talkative.NOM.SG.M

'talkative'

(44) Old Lithuanian. The 1st dictionary of Konstantynas S i r v y d a s (ca. 1620, 193$_{20}$)

Wielomowny / loquax, verboſus, multiloquus.

daug   kałbus.

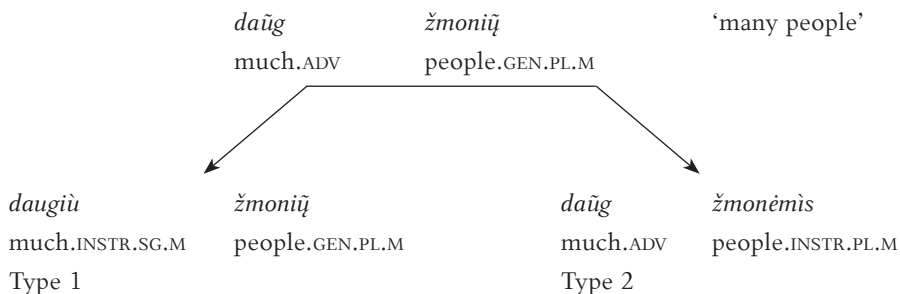much   talkative.NOM.SG.M

'talkative'

Daug kałbus seems to be calqued on the Latin compound *multiloquus*, either directly or through Polish *wielomówny* itself calqued on Latin (*daug* = *multi-*, *wielo-* + *kalbus* = *-loquus*, *-mówny*). Alternatively, one could suggest that the form *kałbus* represents the East Aukštaitian variant of the participle **kalbąs* 'speaking'. Note also the compound *daugbylis* used in the same meaning in D a u k š a's *Postilla* (1599): NOM.SG *dáugbilis* (1599, 78$_{12}$), *daugbilis* (1599, 78$_{10}$), GEN.SG *dáugbilo* (1599, 78$_{12}$), INSTR.SG *dauġ biłų́* (1599, 166$_{29}$), *dauġbilų* (1599, 166$_{34}$), rendering Old Polish *wielomówſtwo* or *wielomodlſtwo*.

There is no reason to think that the use of the quantifier *daũg* 'much' before positive adjectives, in contrast with the more common intensifier *labaĩ* 'very', reflects a semantic distinction comparable to that carried by the two elative markers with verbs. For all the examples given above, there is a specific explanation, which exempts us from assuming adverbial use. As a rule, only the intensifier *labaĩ* 'very' is used before positive adjectives in Lithuanian.

A last detail that deserves attention in Old Lithuanian concerns the insertion of the quantifier *daũg* in the syntactic environment where it is used. *Daũg* is invariable and, as such, proves ill-suited to appear in functions other than that of adverb of manner, subject or object, which are easily identifiable in context. In other functions (e.g. genitive, dative, instrumental or locative), it must be replaced by a case-marked form, capable of making its grammatical function more explicit. We have seen that the form *daũgelis* has precisely this function in Modern Lithuanian. *Daũgelis* is extremely rare in Old Lithuanian; it is, for example, absent from M a ž v y d a s (1547–1570), the *Wolfenbüttel Postilla* (1573), V i l e n t a s (1579), and B r e t k ū n a s (1579–1590). There is

only one single instance in D a u k š a's *Postilla Catholicka* (1599): *daugêlį* (ACC. SG in 1599, 555_{20}). A few examples also occur in Konstantynas S i r v y d a s' *Punktay Sakimu* (1629): *daugieliy* (ACC.SG in 1629: I 110_{18}, 133_{31-32}), *daugielop* (ALL.SG in 1629, I 555_{13}), and a few isolated instances are also found in the *Ziwatas*, a major source of the Low Lithuanian (Samogitian) dialect in the 18th century (1759): *dawgiele* (NOM.PL in 1759, 80_{20}, 90_{22}, 95_2, 111_{16}). Globally speaking, *daũgelis* is not commonly used in Old Lithuanian. The endingless form *daugel* is attested slightly more frequently, particularly in the *Kniga Nobažnystės* (1653): *daugel* (1653: *Suma Evangelios* 41_{15}; *Giesmė ape Muká* 142_{41}), and in Daniel K l e i n's *Naujos Giesmju Knygos* (1656, 203_5), where it functions as a noun (+ GEN.PL: *Daugel wargû* 'much suffering').

There are other possibilities in Old Lithuanian. In a noun phrase such as *daũg žmoniũ* 'many people', neither the quantifier nor the noun carries any precise information on the grammatical function of the noun phrase by means of overt case marking because, on the one hand, the adverb *daũg* is invariable and, on the other, the genitive *žmoniũ* only marks the partitive relation and says nothing about the function of the noun phrase. Two innovations are therefore conceivable, modifying either the first or the second constituent of the noun phrase (here exemplified in the instrumental):

daũg	*žmoniũ*		'many people'
much.ADV	people.GEN.PL.M		

daugiù	*žmoniũ*	*daũg*	*žmonėmìs*
much.INSTR.SG.M	people.GEN.PL.M	much.ADV	people.INSTR.PL.M
Type 1		Type 2	

The first innovation (type 1) is to replace the invariable form *daũg* with a variable form. In Old Lithuanian, there is ample evidence for case forms such as *daugio* (GEN.SG), *daugiu* (INSTR.SG), etc., from a noun **daugis* (M). Such case forms have the advantage of specifying the function of the quantifier more clearly than the invariable form *daũg*. Variable forms of the quantifier can be found throughout Old Lithuanian literature in competition with *daũg* (ex. 45 = genitive, 46 = instrumental):

(45) Old Lithuanian. Konstantinas S i r v y d a s , *Punktay Sakimu* (1629, I 315_1)

del	*daugio*	*prieʒaſtu*
because_of	much.GEN.SG.M	reason.GEN.PL.F

'for many reasons' (Polish *dla wiela prʒycʒyn*)

(46) Old Lithuanian. *Wolfenbüttel Postilla* (1573, $247r_{17}$)

Ir	*daugiu*	*ſtebuklų*
and	much.INSTR.SG.M	miracle.GEN.PL.M

ira	*ſtiprinama*
be.PRS.3	strengthened.PART.PRS.PASS.NOM.SG.F

'And it (God's goodness) is strengthened by many miracles'

This first option is also possible when the quantifier is used alone (ex. 47 = instrumental, ex. 48 = dative):

(47) Old Lithuanian. Jacob B r o d o w s k i , *Lexicon Germanico=Lthvanicum et Lithvanico=Germanicum* (1713–1744, 119_{54})

Su	*maʒu*	*paſſiródik,*
with	little.INSTR.SG.NT	show.P=REFL=IMPER.2.SG

ſu	*daugiu*	*paſſiſlépk*
with	much.INSTR.SG.M	hide.P=REFL=IMPER.2.SG

'Show up with a little, hide with a lot'

(48) Old Lithuanian. Jonas R e h s a , *Der Psalter Davids: deutsch und littawisch* (1625, 71_7)

Aſch	*daugiems*	*eſmi*	*kaip*	*ſtebuklu*
1.SG.NOM.SG	much.DAT.PL.M	be.PRS.1.SG	like	miracle.INSTR.SG.M

'For many people I am like a miracle'

It could be tempting to argue that such instances reflect the preservation of the inflectional character of a noun reconstructed as *daugis (*daũg* being a frozen form of this noun), but, considering that they only occur to solve the problems raised by the invariability of *daũg* (e.g. never in the nominative), it is preferable to think that they are secondary innovations. If I have time and strength, I will come back to this question in a later article.

The second innovation (type 2) is to replace the partitive genitive by a case form adapted to the syntactic context (ex. 49 = dative):

(49) Old Lithuanian. Jonas B r e t k ū n a s , *Postilla* (1591, I $391_{18–19}$)

Ir	*paſſirode*	*daug*	*ſʒmoniems*
and	show.P=REFL=PST.3	much	people.DAT.PL.M

'And he showed himself to many people'

The New Testament by Johann Jacob Quandt (1727) regularly uses this construction (ex. 50 = dative, ex. 51 = instrumental):

(50) Old Lithuanian. Johann Jacob Quandt, *Das Neue Testament Unsers Herrn JEsu Christi: Deutsch und Litthauisch* (1727, Mt 27$_{53}$)

Ir	*daug*	*ʒmonems*	*paſiróde*
and	much	people.DAT.PL.M	show.P=REFL=PST.3

'And he showed himself to many people'

(51) Old Lithuanian. Johann Jacob Quandt, *Das Neue Testament Unsers Herrn JEsu Christi: Deutsch und Litthauisch* (1727, Acts 15$_{32}$)

Graudéno	*brolius*	*daug*	*ʒodʒiais*
exhort.PST.3	brother.ACC.PL.M	much	word.INSTR.PL.M

'They exhorted their brothers with many speeches'

even in the nominative (ex. 52):

(52) Old Lithuanian. Johann Jacob Quandt, *Das Neue Testament Unsers Herrn JEsu Christi: Deutsch und Litthauisch* (1727, Jn 6$_{10}$)

O	*daug*	*ʒolês*	*buwo*	*toj'*	*Wietoj'*
and	much	grass.NOM.PL.F	be.PST.3	DEM.LOC.SG.F	place.LOC.SG.F

'And there was much grass in the place'

The first Lithuanian grammars by Daniel Klein (*Grammatica Litvanica* from 1653 and *Compendium Litvanico-Germanicum* from 1654) offer interesting data in this regard. Klein classifies *daũg* (1653, 72) among the 'indeclinable words' (*indeclinabilia*) and indicates that it can either introduce a variable noun (*daug ʒmones* NOM.PL / *daug ʒmonû* GEN.PL / *daug ʒmonems* DAT.PL) or be itself used as a variable noun (*daug* / *daugio* GEN.SG / *daugi* ACC.SG / *daugime* LOC.SG). This variation corresponds to the distinction between my type 2 and 1 respectively. Klein further writes (1653, 151):

(53) Old Lithuanian. Daniel Klein, *Grammatica Litvanica* (1653, 151)
Nomen indeclinabile **daug** *ſubſtantivè uſurpatum regit Genitivum, ut:* **daug ʒmonû ſusſiejo** *multi homines convenerunt; Adjectivè verò ſumptum cum omnibus caſibus conſtruitur, ut:* **daug ʒmones / daug ʒmonû / daug ʒmonèms / daug ʒmones** *&c.*
'The indeclinabile noun **daug** used as a substantive governs the genitive, as in **daug ʒmonû ſusſiejo** *multi homines convenerunt* 'many people gathered'; used

as an adjective, it is construed with all cases, as in **daug ʒmones / daug ʒmonû / daug ʒmonėms / daug ʒmones** 'many people', etc'

In the *Compendium* (1654, 106), K l e i n writes with even more precision:

(54) Old Lithuanian. Daniel K l e i n , *Compendium Litvanico-Germanicum* (1654, 106)
Das Nomen **daug** *viel / wil ʒwar von etlichen wie ein Adjectivum gebraucht / und mit dem Subʃtantivo faʃt in allen Caʃibus conʃtruiret werden / wie denn im Dativo recht geʃaget wird /* **daug ʒmonėms** */ vielen Leuten; aber mehr und beʃʃer wirds wie ein Subʃtantivum conʃtruiret:* **Daug ʒmonu ateya manesp** */ viel Volck iʃt zu mir kommen /* **daug wiru reggéjau** *ich habe viel Manner geʃehen. In Genitivo ʃagt man auch /* **iſʒ daugio prieʒáśćiu** *aus vielen Urʃachen; und in Dativo* **daugiam ʒmonû** *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 ʒmonėms** / 'to many people'; but more and better it is construed like a substantive: **Daug ʒmonu ateya manesp** / 'many people came to me' / **daug wiru reggéjau** 'I have seen many men'. In the genitive one also says / **iſʒ daugio prieʒáśćiu** 'for many reasons'; and in the dative **daugiam ʒmonû** 'to many people"

It would be interesting to determine the extension of the two marked patterns (type 1 and 2) in Old Lithuanian and furthermore to see whether they are still attested in modern Lithuanian dialects. I do not have time to go into this research in depth here; this would probably show marginal but very real attempts to solve the problems of morphological marking posed by the invariable form *daũg* in Lithuanian.

It is possible that the second option (type 2) results in part from foreign influence. In German, the quantifier *viel* 'much, many' does not govern a partitive genitive, but agrees with the head noun: both members of the noun phrase follow the usual agreement rules required by the syntactic context (e.g. *vielen*$_{\text{DAT.PL}}$ *Menschen*$_{\text{DAT.PL}}$ 'to many people'). Unlike Lithuanian *daũg*, German *viel* is a determiner and not a nominal form. It can be suggested that the structure *daũg žmonéms*$_{\text{DAT.PL}}$ 'to many people' imitates the agreement rule of the German structure. The situation of Polish is interesting. The quantifier *dużo* 'much' behaves like *daũg* in Lithuanian; it governs a genitive partitive (e.g. *dużo ludzi* 'many people' with *ludzi*$_{\text{GEN.PL}}$ = Lithuanian *daũg žmoniũ*$_{\text{GEN.PL}}$). But there is in Polish another quantifier, the determiner *wiele*, which behaves like *viel* in German. The Polish equivalent of the dative *vielen*$_{\text{DAT.PL}}$ *Menschen*$_{\text{DAT.PL}}$

'to many people' cannot use the invariable form *dużo* because the dative function would not be specified; it is necessary, for reasons of morphological legibility, to use the other quantifier *wiele*, with both members marked in the dative: *wielu*_{DAT.PL} *ludziom*_{DAT.PL}. The structure *daũg žmonéms*_{DAT.PL} in Lithuanian is parallel to German *vielen*_{DAT.PL} *Menschen*_{DAT.PL} and to Polish *wielu*_{DAT.PL} *ludziom*_{DAT.PL} with the difference that its first member *daũg* remains invariable.

3.3. Conclusion

To sum up, the Old Lithuanian data do not substantially modify the description given above for Modern Lithuanian. We observe only attempts to solve the morphological underspecification that affects noun phrases of the type *daũg žmoniũ* 'many people'. But, for the most part, the system is identical in Old and Modern Lithuanian. It is this system whose origin now has to be determined.

3.4. The Origin of the Elative

To determine the origin of the elative markers in Lithuanian, it is necessary to point out from the outset a difference between the intensifier *labaĩ* 'very' and the quantifier *daũg* 'much'. *Labaĩ* 'very' is clearly marked in Lithuanian as an adverb of manner (ending *-ai*) based on the adjective *lãbas* 'good'; its original meaning is 'well' – whatever its more distant etymology may be.[5] The use of 'well' as an intensifier meaning 'very' is cross-linguistically trivial.[6] In Lithuanian, *lãbas* is now commonly replaced by *gẽras* 'good', adverb *geraĩ* 'well', but *lãbas* is still in use in frozen phraseologisms and its meaning is clearly understood. *Labaĩ* 'very' is certainly an innovation.[7]

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[5]   Lithuanian *lãbas* 'good', Latvian *labs*, Old Prussian *labs* (*Enchiridion* 1561, III 51₂₀+), is usually connected with Sanskrit *rábhate* 'to seize', *lábhate* 'to receive', Greek λάφυρα *lápʰura* 'spoils taken in war' (PL.NT). Cf. ALEW (1, 548).

[6]   See the examples given by Hofmann (1930, 140).

[7]   Other intensifiers are used in Latvian: *ļoti* (*ļùoti*) 'very' < 'terribly' (borrowed from Slavic, cf. Russian лютый *ljutyï* 'fierce, terrible') and Old Prussian: *sparts* 'very' < 'strongly' (*Enchiridion* 1561, III 107₅: *sta bei wissan sparts labban* 'all this was very good' = German *es war alles sehr Gut*, cf. Old Prussian *spartin* 'strength' ACC.SG.F = German *krafft* III 45₁₀, *spartint* 'to strengthen' = German *stercken* III 117₁₀, *spartisku* 'strength' NOM.SG.F = German *stercke* III 85₆). Note that Old Latvian also had *waren*, *varen* 'very' (from the adjective *warens*, *varens* 'strong', cf. ME (4, 477).

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The situation is different with *daũg*, which has no identifiable ending. This formal difference is connected with a functional difference, which was already mentioned above. The intensifier *labaĩ* 'very' is used exclusively as an adverb of manner, modifying verbs or adjectives, and never appears in argumental functions, whereas the quantifier *daũg* 'much' is multivalent: it can be used both as an adverb of manner, modifying intransitive verbs, and as a main argument of a verb, subject or object. It can consequentially be followed by a partitive genitive (e.g. *daũg žmonių* 'many people', literally: 'much of the people'), constituting with it a noun phrase capable of fulfilling the function of subject or object.

3.5. The Elative and Its Balto-Slavic and Indo-European Cognates

The etymology of *daũg* is usually presented in the literature in a rather imprecise way.[8] The Lithuanian form is derived from **daugi*, whose ending is still sporadically preserved in Old Lithuanian (e.g. *dáugi* in D a u k š a, *Postilla Catholicka* 1599, 382$_{13}$). It has an exact counterpart in Latvian *daũdz* 'much' < **daugi*, but with an unexplained tonal difference.[9] Interestingly, Latvian *daũdz* faces the same difficulties of case marking as Lithuanian *daũg*: it can be used with a partitive genitive (e.g. *daudz cilvēku* 'many people', with *cilvēku*$_{\text{GEN.PL}}$), or alternatively with a case form adapted to the syntactic context (e.g. *daudz cilvēki* 'many people', with *cilvēki*$_{\text{NOM.PL}}$, probably calqued on German *viele Menschen*). The quantifier is usually variable in case: *daũdzi* (NOM.PL), *daũdziem* (DAT.PL), etc. The third documented Baltic language, Old Prussian, has vestiges of **daugi-* in personal names (e.g. *Daugis*, *Daugil*, *Dawkant* < **Daug-kant-*).[10] The usual elative marker in Old Prussian is *tūlan* 'much' (*Enchiridion* 1561, III 55$_{8–9}$), *toūlan* (III 105$_2$), comparative *toūls* 'more' (III 69$_{17}$, III 73$_4$), which corresponds to Lithuanian *tū́las* 'much, many' (now obsolete). The syntax of Old Prussian *tūlan* 'much' cannot be determined with precision, because it always renders German *viel* in a slavish way. It is used as an adverb or object of the verb (ex. 55):

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[8] Cf. F r a e n k e l (LEW 1, 84), S m o c z y ń s k i (SEJL, 94–95), D e r k s e n (EDBIL, 117), ALEW (1, 183–184).

[9] On the metatony between Lithuanian *daũg* (< circumflex) and Latvian *daũdz* (< acute), see D e r k s e n (1996, 326).

[10] T r a u t m a n n (1925, 23).

(55) Old Prussian. *Third Catechism, Enchiridion* (1561, III 55$_{8-9}$), cf. also the comparative *toūls* 'more' (III 69$_{17}$, III 73$_4$)

Beggi	*mes*	*deininiſku*
for	1.PL.NOM.PL	every_day
tūlan	*grīkimai*	
much	sin.PRS.1.PL	

'For we sin a lot every day' (German *Denn wir teglich viel ſůndigen*)

or as a determiner seemingly agreeing with a head noun (ex. 56):

(56) Old Prussian. *Third Catechism, Enchiridion* (1561, III 105$_2$)

As	*quoi*	*tebbe*
1.SG.NOM.SG	want.PRS.1.SG	2.SG.DAT.SG
toūlan	*Gulſennin*	*teickut*
much.ACC.SG.F	suffering.ACC.SG.F	make.INF

'I want to make you much suffering' (German *Jch wil dir viel Schmertzen ſchaffen*)

The form **daugi* can be traced back to Common Baltic since it is documented in all three Baltic languages, but its original function and distribution remain obscure.

Other Baltic forms are mentioned in the literature: Lithuanian *dukslùs, dùkšlas* 'wide', *dùgsinti* 'to increase', Latvian (dial.) *padūgt* 'to be able' (usually negated *nepadūgt*, ME 3, 20) and *duksns* 'corpulent'. If they are really cognate with **daugi*, which is possible, they suppose an ablaut variation [daug] / [dug] / [dūg] under conditions that are still to be determined.

It is generally assumed that the Baltic family of **daugi* 'much' has a cognate in the Slavic adjective **dužъ* 'strong' (from Pre-Slavic **dougjo-*):[11] Russian дюжий *djužii* 'sturdy, hefty, robust, healthy', dial. дужий *dužii* 'strong, healthy'; Czech (rare) *duží* 'firm, strong'; Slovak *dúži* 'strong, big, healthy'; Polish *duży* 'big, (old and dial.) strong'. In Polish, the neuter *dużo* is used as a quantifier 'much' in a way very much similar to Lithuanian *daũg*. The West Slavic forms are sometimes suspected to be borrowed from East Slavic, where the vowel /u/ can reflect an ancient nasal vowel, i.e. a form **dǫg-*, which could belong to the family of Slavic **dęglъ* 'healthy, strong' (Russian dial. дяглый *djaglyï* 'healthy, strong', with further cognates in Latvian *dęñkts* 'strong, healthy, important' < Curonian, and Old Irish *daingen* 'firm, fast, solid'), but I still consider cognacy with Baltic **daugi* more likely.

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[11] Cf. S t a n g (1972, 17), D e r k s e n (EDSIL, 127).

The Indo-European prehistory of Baltic *daugi* is unclear; it is generally derived from a PIE root *d^heug^h- 'to be/make useful, to produce' (LIV, 148–149), reconstructed on the basis of Greek τεύχω *teúk^hō* 'to produce, to make, to cause, to bring to pass', τυγχάνω *tugk^hánō* 'to happen to be at a place, to reach', Gothic *dugan* 'to be useful' (SG 3 preterite-present *daug*), Old High German *tugan* 'to be useful' (German *taugen*). All this is possible, but the formal and semantic aspects of this etymology remain obscure. The Hittite verb *tukk*- 'to be visible, to be important' (SG 3 middle *duggari*) probably does not belong to *d^heug^h-, but to a different root *$t\underset{.}{u}ek$- 'to be visible', as suggested by Kloekhorst (EDHIL, 897). The traditional comparison with Sanskrit *duháti* 'to milk', still defended by Pokorny (IEW, 271) and the ALEW (1, 184), is not completely impossible (from a basic meaning 'to produce'?), but remains uncertain.

Kazlauskas (1970) further compares Lithuanian *daũg* with the verb *džiaũgtis* 'to rejoice, to be happy' (cf. *džiaũgsmas* 'joy', *džiugùs* 'joyful, rejoicing'). The alternation between [daug], [džiaug] and [džiug] would reflect the inherited ablaut between *d^houg^h-, *d^heug^h- and *d^hug^h- respectively; the latter should have yielded [dug] in Baltic, but this would have been reshuffled to [džiug] by analogy with [džiaug] < *d^heug^h-. The reason why this reshuffling did not affect *daũg* is probably its semantic isolation. Formally, this etymology is possible. It is supported by the isolated adverb *džiugais* 'massively' (= *būriais* in the LKŽ 2, 1029, dialect of Miežiškiai), which semantically goes well with *daũg* and formally recalls *džiugùs* 'joyful, rejoicing'. I leave to a more imaginative mind than mine the question of which analogy can have influenced the form *džiugais* to adopt the secondary initial [džiug-] instead of [dug-] and why this analogy did not affect *daũg* under the same conditions.

From a semantic point of view, Kazlauskas (1970, 255) supposes a link between 'strong' and 'joyful'. To support this idea, he mentions the parallel of Sanskrit *mahā́nt*- 'big' and *mahāyati* 'to make strong, to strengthen', also 'to rejoice' (cf. also *máhas*- 'greatness, strength' → *máhasvant*- 'rejoicing', both in the *Rigveda*). The semantic link between 'big, strong' and 'joyful' can be illustrated by the following passage of the *Rigveda* (ex. 57), where the adverb *máhi* intensifies a feeling of joy:

(57) Vedic Sanskrit. *Rigveda* 10, 167$_2$

Suarjítam	*máhi*	*mandānám*
light-bearer.ACC.SG.M	big.NOM/ACC.SG.NT	rejoicing.ACC.SG.M

ándhaso	hávāmahe	pári	śakrám̐
soma-stalk.GEN.SG.NT	call.PRS.1.PL.MID	around	strong.ACC.SG.M

sutā́m̐	úpa
pressed_soma.ACC.SG.M	to, towards

'The conqueror of the sun who finds great exhilaration in the soma-stalk do we call here to the pressings – the all-around able one' (translation: J a m i s o n, B r e r e t o n 2014)

Another parallel mentioned by K a z l a u s k a s (1970, 255) is the Latvian adjective *vesels* 'healthy' compared with Slavic веселъ *veselъ* 'happy, rejoicing'. The direction of the semantic change is not clear, however: the Latvian adjective could be borrowed from Slavic (which would imply Slavic [joy] > Latvian [strength]), or it could be inherited from Indo-European independently of the Slavic form (which would imply PIE [strength] > Slavic [joy]). The Old Prussian adjective *weſſals* 'happy' (*Enchiridion* 1561, III 121$_8$ = German *frȯlich*) and the corresponding adverb *weſſelingi* 'happily' (*Enchiridion*, III 81$_{22}$ = German *frȯlich*) do not allow us to decide: the Prussian form is likely to be borrowed from Slavic.

Kazlauskas' suggestion, which would deserve more careful examination, does not modify the etymology of *daũg*: its original meaning is likely to have been 'strong, big'. Its use as a quantifier parallels the evolution observed in the Polish quantifier *dużo*, for example. Another parallel could be Homeric Greek κάρτα *kárta* 'very, much' from an original meaning 'strong' (cf. κρατύς *kratús* 'strong, powerful').

3.6. Formation of **daugi*
The difficulty is that this etymology says nothing precise about the formation of *daũg*, nor about its original function. *Daũg* (< **daugi*) is invariable and isolated. According to B ū g a (RR 2, 441), it reflects the NOM/ACC.SG.NT of an adjective **daugis* (*i*-stem). This view is traditional and has not really been challenged until today. It does, however, raise a number of difficulties.

There is no productive class of *i*-stem adjectives in Lithuanian, but vestiges like Old Lithuanian *didime* 'big' (LOC.SG.M, e.g. in D a u k š a's *Postilla Catholicka* 1599, 157$_3$) suggest that they once existed before being absorbed into the more common -*ii̯o*-type.[12] An interesting parallel, both formally and semantically, is precisely the adjective *dìdis* 'big', once *i*-stem, now exclusively

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[12] Cf. Z i n k e v i č i u s (1980–1981 2, 18).

-*ii̯o*-stem; its replacement by *dìdelis*, with the 'augmentative' suffix -*elis*, is reminiscent of the case of *daũgelis* 'much, a great number of', used as a by-form of *daũg*. With this parallel in mind, one could reconstruct two *i*-stem adjectives with the corresponding neuter forms:

Adjective	Neuter form	Augmentative
*did-i-s 'great'	**did-i*	**did-el-ii̯o-*
*daug-i-s 'strong'	**daug-i*	**daug-el-ii̯o-*

There is, however, a fundamental difference between **did-el-ii̯o-* and **daug-el-ii̯o-* in spite of their apparent resemblance: the former is an adjective (*dìdelis*), the latter a noun (*daũgelis*), and they can only be compared with each other if we explain how one of the forms modified its categorial status, for example by assuming that *daũgelis* was originally an adjective like *dìdelis* and became a noun, which remains pure speculation at this point.

The reconstruction of a neuter adjective **daugi* 'strong' is fairly well accepted in the literature,[13] but its validity must be measured in the light of a precise etymological analysis, which remains to be done. A neuter adjective such as **daugi* can be assigned three functions: it can (1°) either be used in its adjectival function, i.e. agreeing with a neuter noun; or (2°) be substantivized as a noun (like, e.g., Lithuanian *gẽra* 'the good'); or (3°) be used as an adverb of manner. In Baltic, the first function has been greatly reduced, due to the definitive decline of the neuter gender for nouns. Substantivization of neuter forms has been quite productive for a while in Baltic, as still visible in the history of Lithuanian (cf. V a l e c k i e n ė 1984, 131sq.), but such forms eventually receded and disappeared; they are rare in Modern Lithuanian. Finally, the adverbializing function of neuters, inherited from Indo-European, has been preserved (cf. V a l e c k i e n ė 1984, 187–199), but tends to be superseded by more clearly marked formations (such as the adverbial formation in -*ai*).

From a cross-linguistic point of view, intensifiers like 'very' and quantifiers like 'much, many' can fall into several types, depending on the class of words from which they originally derive:

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[13] Cf., e.g., S t a n g (1972, 17). An exception is ALEW (1, 184), which sees **daugi* as 'the frozen form of the 3rd person of a primary verb' (*eine erstarrte Form der 3.prs. eines primären Verbs*), but without providing any precise scenario to explain its genesis (and particularly the conditions of its reanalysis).

(1°) Type 1. Intensifiers and quantifiers can be based on adjectives meaning 'abundant, numerous, great, big, strong' used as determiners with nouns, e.g. Greek πολλοὶ ἄνδρες *polloì ándres* or Latin *multī hominēs* 'many men' (NOM.PL.M), cf. also Gothic *manags*, Old Church Slavic мъногъ *mъnogъ* 'much', Gothic *mikils* 'much' (< 'great'), Sanskrit *bahú-* 'much' (< 'thick')

(2°) Type 2. Intensifiers and quantifiers can also reflect nouns (or adjectives used as nouns) meaning 'great number, mass, crowd, abundance', e.g. Irish *imde* 'much' (from *imbed* 'mass'), Breton *kalz* 'much' (< 'a heap'); French *beaucoup* 'much' (replacing *mout* < Latin *multum* since the 14th century) is originally *beau coup* 'a fine blow, a beautiful knock'

(3°) Type 3. Intensifiers and quantifiers can be based on adverbs, e.g. Greek μάλα *mála* 'much' (only adverb), English *very* (< 'really', from Old French *verai*, Modern French *vrai* 'true')

It is unlikely that **daugi* originally belonged to type 1, because its syntax (+ GEN) does not point to a determiner-like behavior and it is better to ascribe it to either type 2 or 3. Both options are compatible with an original neuter adjective, either substantivized (type 2) or used adverbially (type 3). The situation is not fundamentally different if **daugi* is not a neuter adjective, but a noun.

3.7. *Daũg* and *mãža*

There are, in my opinion, two ways of deciding on this matter, but as we will see, each of them will lead to a dead end. The first one is based on a consideration of the lexical environment of the form **daugi*. It is interesting to compare the quantifier **daugi* 'much, great in number' with its antonym 'little, few in number': Lithuanian *mãža*, *màž* (shortened from *mãža*) or *mažaĩ*, Latvian *maz*, Old Prussian probably **maza* or **mazai* (cf. the comparative *maſſais* 'less' in the *Enchiridion* 1561: III 115₈ = German *weniger*). Originally, we are dealing with a neuter adjective *mãža* 'little, few' (from *mãžas* 'little, small') and its adverbial counterpart *mažaĩ*. In Old Lithuanian, *mãža* appears frequently since the earliest texts, while *mažaĩ* seems to be rare and recent: Mažvydas only has *maž* (*maſʒ* in 1547, 10₁₆; 1570, 302₁₇, 348₁₄), D a u k š a almost always *mãža* (1595, 1x; 1599, 11x), *màž* (1599, 153x), only once *mažaĩ*

(*mažái* in 1599, 295$_2$) in adverbial function (*teip mažái pigina žmônes* '[who] values so little people' = Polish *ták lekce waźa ludźie*). Other instances of *mažaĩ* are found in Vaišnoras, *Margarita Theologica / Żemczuga Theologischka* (*maßai* in 1600: *Apie popieszischkaie missche* 36$_{15}$, 36$_{17}$), S i r v y d a s, *Punktay Sakimu* (*mažay* in 1644, II 35$_{30}$) and the *Kniga Nobažnystės* (1653, 43$_{33}$, 60$_{21}$), always as an adverb of manner. The adverb *mažaĩ* is mentioned by K l e i n (1653, 136$_{10}$) = Latin *parum, modicum* 'little, moderately'. It can be argued that *mãža* is the only ancient form, while *mažaĩ* has developed secondarily, first exclusively in adverbial contexts, then more generally (even in argumental functions, e.g. 58):

(58) Old Lithuanian. Jonas J a k n a v i č i u s, *Ewangelie Polskie y Litewskie* (1647, 190$_{16}$)
Dabar   mažay   ira   terp   iuſu
now   little.ADV   be.PRS.3   among   2.PL.GEN.PL
(aba   *ſu*   *iumus)*   *ſwieſibe*
(or   with   2.PL.INSTR.PL)   brightness.NOM.SG.F
'There is now little clarity among you (or with you)'

There is a strong functional parallelism between *daugi 'much' and *maźa 'little', as suggested by their co-occurrence (ex. 59–60):

(59) Old Lithuanian. *Wolfenbüttel Postilla* (1573, 83v$_9$; cf. also 88r$_{30}$)
Daug   ſaka   pawadintų   ira,
much   say.PRS.3   call.PART.PST.PASS.GEN.PL.M   be.PRS.3
bet   *maſcha*   *iſchrinktų*
but   little   choose.PART.PST.PASS.GEN.PL.M
'There are, it is said, many called, but few chosen'

(60) Lithuanian. Motiejus V a l a n č i u s, *Patarles Zemajcziu* (1867, 11)
Daug   prota   maź   piningu
much   spirit.GEN.SG.M   little   money.GEN.PL.M
'Much intelligence, little money'

If we take seriously the parallelism of the two quantifiers 'much' and 'little', we may be tempted to think that their development has been carried out along parallel lines. Since the only old form for the quantifier 'little' is the neuter adjective *mãža*, originally used both substantivized in argumental functions (subject or object) and as an adverb of manner, it could be assumed that *daugi was also originally a neuter adjective, used with the

same degree of multivalency. This reasoning has, however, an irreducible flaw in that it assumes that functional parallelism is necessarily coupled with formal parallelism. This is not always the case: a structure is independent of the materiality of its members and can survive their lexical renewal. In the history of the French language, for example, there was formal parallelism in Old French between *molt, mult, mout* 'much' and *pou, pau* 'little', both derived from neuter forms of Latin adjectives (*multum* and *paucum*), but this formal parallelism was broken in the 14th century when *molt, mult, mout* was replaced by *beaucoup*, originally a noun phrase (< 'a fine blow, a beautiful knock'), even though the functional parallelism with *peu* 'little' remained unaffected and still works perfectly today.

3.8. Etymology of **daugi*

The second way to decide on the original function of **daugi* is to reconstruct with precision its etymology. The traditional analysis, which sees **daugi* as the neuter of an adjective **daugis*, can be accepted as valid, but leaves a number of problems unexplained.

An adjective **daugis* would be isolated in Baltic: the *i*-formation generally includes only nouns (like Lithuanian *akìs* 'eye', *avìs* 'sheep' F, *vagìs* 'thief' M).[14] There is one adverb that seems to be based on the neuter form of an *i*-adjective: Lithuanian *lýg* 'as, like', Latvian *līdz* 'likewise' (also preposition 'until' + DAT) from **līgi*;[15] a variant is Lithuanian *lýgiai* 'equally, exactly', Latvian *līdzi* 'equally' (cf. *lihdʃi* in Ulmann 1872, 141) with the productive adverbial ending *-ai* (**līgi–+-ai*). The formation of Baltic **līgi* parallels that of **daugi*, but this is not of great help to us because both of the two forms are obscure. The corresponding adjective is **līgus* preserved in Lithuanian *lygùs* 'equal'. Its relationship with the adverb **līgi* is unexplained. Despite Endzelin (1923, 465), it is unhelpful to reconstruct two parallel formations **līgi* (adverb) / **līgus* (adjective) and **daugi* (adverb) / **daugus* (adjective); the latter is insufficiently supported by Lithuanian *daugùmas* 'large number, great quantity', which belongs to a productive class of abstract nouns.

It has long been assumed that *i*-adjectives are uncommon in the Indo–European languages. The Slavic family, which is known for its proximity

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[14] See Skardžius (1943, 48–54).
[15] Petit (2001, 88).

to Baltic, has only *i*-nouns.[16] Adjectives of this type are found in only a few other IE languages, where their attestation is often scarce and their history often complicated. There are a few of them in Sanskrit, e.g. *hári-* 'yellow' (cf. Avestan *zāiri-*), *śúci-* 'bright, shining', *gŕbhi-* 'holding, containing', *képi-* 'trembling, shaking', but it is often difficult to be sure that the vowel *i* reflects PIE **i* and not the vocalization of a laryngeal, as in *máhi-* 'great' (< PIE **meĝh₂-*, cf. Greek μέγας *mégas*). Latin has developed *i*-adjectives, e.g. *rudis* 'unwrought, unformed, rough, raw', *fortis* 'strong, powerful', *grandis* 'full-grown, large, great', particularly to replace old adjectives in *-u-*, e.g. *dulcis* 'sweet' (vs Greek γλυκύς *glukús*), *suāuis* 'sweet, agreeable' (vs Greek ἡδύς *hēdús*), etc., but the Latin type has all the trappings of a heterogeneous formation made of elements of diverse origin, some of them probably recent. A further vestige of an *i*-adjective is Old Irish *maith* 'good' (< PIE **māti-*). All this gives the impression of a class of adjectives with limited extension and relatively recent diffusion. The question, however, has been profoundly renewed by the decipherment of Hittite, which has brought into full light a rich class of *i*-adjectives,[17] e.g. *ḫarki-* 'white', *kappi-* 'small', *mekki-* 'great', *šalli-* 'big', *dapi-* 'all, every, each', and thus suggested that the type might be older than previously thought. Much discussed is the relationship of these *i*-adjectives to the Caland system, where the form in *-i-* is normally limited to composition; compare, e.g., Hittite *ḫarki-* 'white' and Greek ἀργι-κέραυνος *argi-kéraunos* 'having bright lightning' (< PIE **h₂r̥ĝi-*).

A form sometimes mentioned in support of the etymology of Baltic **daugi* as an adjective is Greek τρόφις *tróphis* 'well-fed, stout, large'. Both by its formation and its meaning, Greek τρόφις *tróphis* (< PIE **dʰrobʰ-i-*) would be parallel to Baltic **daugi-* (< PIE **dʰougʰ-i-*). In both cases, the *i*-adjective would display *o*-grade (**CoC-i-s*); the proximity of their meaning ('well-fed, stout, large' and 'big, strong') would also be striking. Etymologically, τρόφις *tróphis* belongs to the root of the verb τρέφω *tréphō* 'to make fat, to feed, to bring up, to care for' (< PIE **dʰrebʰ-*), whose original meaning was 'to make compact, to make fat' (cf. ταρφύς *tarphús* 'dense' < PIE **dʰr̥bʰ-ú-*, Lithuanian *drė̃bti* 'to spatter with mud, to throw', *drìbti* 'to fall, to drop' < PIE **dʰrebʰ-*, **dʰr̥bʰ-*).

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[16] Cf. M e i l l e t (1905, 260–266); M a t a s o v i ć (2014, 36–40).
[17] Cf. S t u r t e v a n t (1934).

As rightly pointed out by L e F e u v r e (2016), the difficulty is that τϱόφις *tróp^his* is completely isolated in Greek as an adjective. The *CoC-i-type includes only nouns in Greek, e.g. τϱόπις *trópis* 'ship's keel' (Homer+, from τϱέπω *trépō* 'to turn'), στϱόφις *stróp^his* 'slippery fellow, twister' (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 450, from στϱέφω *strép^hō* 'to turn upside down'), τϱόχις *trók^his* 'runner, messenger' (Homer+, from τϱέχω *trék^hō* 'to run'), etc. Τϱόφις *tróp^his* would be the only adjective of this type. According to L e F e u v r e (2016), it is not ancient, but results from the misunderstanding of an ancient formula indirectly transmitted through its only occurrence in Homer. In Homeric Greek, we find the hapax phrase τϱόφι κῦμα *tróp^hi kūma* understood as 'a huge, enormous wave' (ex. 61):

(61) Ancient Greek. H o m e r, *Iliad* Λ (11), 307

πολλὸν	δὲ	τϱόφι	κῦμα	κυλίνδεται
pollòn	*dè*	*tróp^hi*	*kūma*	*kulíndetai*
much.ACC.SG.NT	PCLE	enormous.ACC.SG.NT	wave.ACC.SG.NT	roll.PRS.MID.3.SG

'The enormous wave rolls strongly'

In this formula, the form τϱόφι *tróp^hi* is apparently used as a neuter adjective ('huge, enormous, big, compact') modifying the neuter noun κῦμα *kūma* 'wave', but this is in contradiction with the formation of the word (*CoC-i–), which implies a noun, and not an adjective. L e F e u v r e (2016) suggests that the formula, as it appears in this single Homeric occurrence, results from the modification of an (unattested) formula in the genitive *τϱόφιος κύματος **tróp^hios kúmatos*, in which the genitive *τϱόφιος **tróp^hios* was originally a noun *τϱόφις **tróp^his* (GEN.SG *τϱόφιος **tróp^hios*) itself accompanied by a genitive κύματος *kúmatos* 'of the wave', with the meaning '(of) the compactness, (of) the crystallization of the wave' (Le Feuvre: 'cristallisation du / des flots(s)'). Secondarily, Le Feuvre argues, the genitive *τϱόφιος **tróp^hios* was reanalyzed as an adjective qualifiying the genitive κύματος *kúmatos*, which gave rise to the formula 'the enormous wave'. Finally, the formula was transposed into other cases, e.g. in the nominative, as we have it (τϱόφι κῦμα *tróp^hi kūma* 'enormous wave' in Λ 307). The recursive use of the genitive in the underlying formula (*τϱόφιος κύματος **tróp^hios kúmatos*) constituted, according to Le Feuvre, the tipping point that led to understanding *τϱόφιος **tróp^hios* as an adjective and not as a noun. Later, this new adjective would have undergone some productivity even outside

the matrix formula, e.g. τρόφιες *tróp^{h}ies* 'adult' (NOM.PL.M, about children growing up) in Herodotus (*Histories*, 4, 9), remotivated by the most common meaning of the verb τρέφω *trép^{h}ō* 'to feed, to bring up, to care for (children)'.

There is a great deal of elegance and ingenuity in Le Feuvre's explanation, even if there are a few grey areas.[18] I am not disturbed too much by the fact that an attested formula is explained by the reconstruction of an unattested formula: the traditional formulaic system of Archaic Greek is known to us only in a fragmentary way, and it may very well happen that a formulaic structure is not transmitted directly, but is accessible to us through one of its secondary derivations. Another potential difficulty is that the genitive formula *τρόφιος κύματος *tróp^{h}ios kúmatos* would be unfit to appear in a dactylic hexameter (◡◡ – –◡◡); Le Feuvre (2016, 196) suggests a slightly different formula *κύματος ἐκ τρόφιος *kúmatos ek tróp^{h}ios* 'from a crystallization of the wave' > from an enormous wave', which would work well from a metrical point of view but would still have the disadvantage of being unattested. Finally, the reconstruction of the meaning of the noun *τρόφις *tróp^{h}is* as 'crystallization' would be a little unexpected in view of the fact that *–i-stems are rarely abstract nouns in Greek: there are only μῆνις *mēnis* 'anger, wrath', ὕβρις *húbris* 'wanton violence' and φρόνις *p^{h}rónis* 'prudence, wisdom'. Among the *i*-stems that have *o*-grade (*CoC-i*-type), only φρόνις *p^{h}rónis* 'prudence, wisdom' has abstract meaning, all other nouns are concrete: κλόνις *klónis* 'os sacrum', κόνις *kónis* 'dust', κόρις *kóris* 'bug', ὄρχις *órk^{h}is* 'testicle', ὄφις *óp^{h}is* 'snake', πόρις *póris* 'heifer', maybe also πόλις *pólis* 'city'.[19]

These are just minor details. The positive point is that Le Feuvre's explanation allows us to avoid reconstructing an adjective of a completely isolated type in Greek. For the question I am dealing with in this article, namely the etymology of Baltic *daugi*, it also deprives us of the only parallel that would seem to be available. *Daugi* as a neuter adjective is possible, but cannot be supported by external parallels.

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[18] Another explanation is proposed by van Beek (2022, 270).

[19] Cf. Chantraine (1933, 112). The abstract meaning is better attested for *i*-stems in other Indo-European languages, e.g. Hittite *dannatti-* 'desolation' (from *dannatta-* 'empty'), Old Church Slavic зълъ *zъlь* 'badness' (from зълъ *zъlъ* 'bad'), Old Irish *gair* 'shortness' (from *gar* 'short'), Latin *rauis* 'hoarseness' (form *rauus* 'hoarse'). See Nussbaum (1999, 399).

The alternative hypothesis that Baltic *daugi was originally a noun also runs up against a fundamental difficulty. The parallels we have in the *CoC-i-type are all of animate gender and point to an inflection *–is (NOM.SG), *–im (ACC.SG), etc. There is no neuter formation *CoC-i from which we can derive the ending –i of *daugi, and conversely there is no way to explain the ending –i of *daugi on the basis of an animate form. Neuter i-stems nouns can be found in other Indo-European languages, but they usually have concrete meaning and are often of dubious origin, e.g. in Hittite elzi- 'pair of scales', ḫaḫ(ḫa)ri- 'lung, diaphragm', ḫāli- 'corral, pen for cows or horses', ḫuu̯aši- 'stela', kenupi- 'pottery, earthenware', kullupi- 'sickle', luzzi- 'forced labor, corvée'.[20] In addition, none of them seem to have any preference for o-grade. In fact, there is nothing to substantiate the view that *daugi was originally a neuter noun.

3.9. Conclusion

It will certainly not escape my reader's attention that the two scenarios outlined above – one deriving *daugi from the neuter of an adjective, the other seeing it as a noun – lead to dead ends. If we can be satisfied, formally and functionally, with the idea that *daugi is the neuter of an adjective, its formation and etymology remain unparalleled. Similarly, if we try to analyze *daugi as an old noun, we do not come up with any solid parallels. In both cases, the form *daugi awaits a full explanation. My conclusion at this point is rather pessimistic. When it comes to etymology, it can be frustrating not to find a satisfactory explanation. The only thing we can take for granted is that, from a functional point of view, *daugi originally functions as a noun, but this leaves open the two possibilities that it was originally either an adjective used as a noun (i.e. substantivized) or directly a noun. In both cases, the function of the form would be identical. Even in the absence of an undisputed etymology, one can go further. Etymology is not just about establishing the origin of an isolated word; it is also about determining the structure of lexical systems and their evolution. In this respect, I think it is important to include the origin of the excessive markers in the analysis, because, in my view, they can help us to advance the question of the etymology of *daugi.

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[20] Hoffner, Melchert (2008, 53). Cf. also Neu (1985), Melchert (2021).

4. The Excessive
4.1. The Excessive in Modern Lithuanian
The excessive meaning ('too much') is expressed in Modern Lithuanian either by the preposition *peȓ* 'through' used alone before the adjective (ex. 62) or alternatively, but more rarely, by the same preposition *peȓ* 'through' combined with the quantifier *daũg* (ex. 63):

(62) Modern Lithuanian.
    per   *brangus*
    too   expensive.NOM.SG.M
    'too expensive'

(63) Modern Lithuanian.
    per   *daug*   *brangus*
    too   much   expensive.NOM.SG.M
    'too expensive'

There is no noticeable difference between the two options (62–63); they are used in Modern Lithuanian with the same meaning, but the former (62) is more frequent. With verbs, the excessive is expressed by *peȓ daũg* 'too much' with both quantitative and qualitative meaning (ex. 64–65):

(64) Modern Lithuanian.
    Per   *daug*   *dirbu*
    too   much   work.PRS.1.SG
    'I work too much'

(65) Modern Lithuanian.
    Per   *daug*   *džiaugiuosi*
    too   much   rejoice.PRS.1.SG=REFL
    'I am too happy, I rejoice too much'

If we summarize, we have the following system:

	Excessive (too high degree)
+ Verbs	*per daug dirbu* (ex. 64), *per daug džiaugiuosi* (ex. 65)
+ Adjectives	*per brangus* (ex. 62), *per daug brangus* (ex. 63)

Here too, we are struck by the asymmetry of this picture. With verbal predicates, the excessive meaning can only be expressed by the quantifying

structure *per̃ daũg* 'too much', regardless of the meaning of the verb. There is no distinction comparable to the one we observed for the elative sense, where some verbs take the intensifier *labaĩ* 'very', while others take the quantifier *daũg* 'much' (ex. 1–2): for the excessive meaning, the only possibility is *per̃ daũg*. With adjectives, we have two options, with *per̃* alone or with *per̃ daũg*, and here again we find no equivalence with what we have seen for the elative sense. The question is how this system was formed and what it could still retain from an older system.

4.2. The Excessive in Old Lithuanian

In Old Lithuanian, the same forms are found before adjectives as in Modern Lithuanian. The simple form *per̃* + ADJ is used consistently in Old Lithuanian texts (ex. 66–67):

(66) Old Lithuanian. Jonas B r e t k ū n a s, *Biblia* (1579–1590, Ex 18$_{18}$)
    Tie   *darbai*   *tau*
    DEM.NOM.PL.M   work.NOM.PL.M   2SG.DAT.SG
    per   *sunku*   *yra*
    too   heavy.NOM.SG.NT   be.PRS.3
    'These labors are too difficult for you'

(67) Old Lithuanian. Philipp R u h i g, *Littauiſch=Deutſches und Deutſch=Littauiſches Lexicon* (1747, 374)
    per   *diddis*   *Draſummas*
    too   big.NOM.SG.M   boldness.NOM.SG.M
    'excessive boldness' (German *Verwegenheit*)

It is only very late, since the 19th century, that instances of *per̃ daũg* + ADJ can be found (ex. 68–69):

(68) Lithuanian. Kristijonas Endrikis M e r t i k a i t i s, *Wissokies naujes giesmes, arba Ewangeliszki psalmai* (1825, 8$_{14}$)
    kitts   *per*   *daug*   *didelis*   *Griekininks*
    other.NOM.SG.M   too   much   big.NOM.SG.M   sinner.NOM.SG.M
    'another too great sinner'

(69) Lithuanian. *Eikš prie Jėzaus* (1845, 3$_{11}$)
    Ar   *tawo*   *Griekai*
    INTERR   2.SG.POSS.GEN.SG   sin.NOM.PL.M

per	*daug*		*dideli ?*
too	much		big.NOM.PL.M

'Are your sins too big?'

Even if I cannot exclude that earlier instances of *peř daũg* + ADJ could be detected in Old Lithuanian literature, I have the impression that *peř daũg* + ADJ is more recent than *peř* + ADJ. It could reflect the analogy of *peř daũg* + VERB, but it is difficult at this stage to develop a more precise scenario.

For the excessive meaning with verbal predicates, *peř daũg* is regularly used, either adverbially or in argumental functions (subject or object), cf. ex. (70–71):

(70) Old Lithuanian. *Wolfenbüttel Postilla* (1573, 229r₈)

Nodemais	*daug*	*ir*	*per*	*daug*
greatly	much	and	too	much

iſsiplatinaija	*biauriu*	*greku*
spread.P=REFL=PRS.3	awful.GEN.PL.M	sin.GEN.PL.M

'Really many and too many awful sins are spreading'

(71) Old Lithuanian. Jonas B r e t k ū n a s , *Biblia* (1579–1590, Eccles 6₁₁), cf. also *Biblia* (1579–1590, Jer 5₆)

Neſa	*niekingų*	*daiktų*
for	vain.GEN.PL.M	thing.GEN.PL.M

per	*daugia*	*ira*
too	much	be.PRS.3

'For there are too many vain things'

In Old Lithuanian, there are a few examples of *per* used as a preverb (*pér-*) with excessive meaning (compare ex. 72):

(72) Old Lithuanian. Philipp R u h i g , *Littauiſch=Deutſches und Deutſch=Littauiſches Lexicon* (1747, 422)

Pérdůmi	*Perdaũg*	*důmi*
too=give.PRS.1.SG	too=much.ADV	give.PRS.1SG

'I give too much.' (German *ʒuviel geben*)

The use of *pér-* as an intensifying preverb has left a few traces in Modern Lithuanian, cf. *dovanóti* 'to give' / *pérdovanoti* 'to give too much', *áiškinti* 'to explain' / *péraiškinti* 'to explain too much, to over-interpret'. The type *peř daũg* + VERB is much more common. It is unclear whether *pér-*VERB is

ancient, *peř daũg* + VERB recent, or the opposite. The fact that the alternation between *pér*-VERB and *peř daũg* + VERB is partly parallel to that between *peř* + ADJ and *peř daũg* + ADJ would suggest an analogy in one direction or the other. The Old Lithuanian data show that the type *peř* + ADJ is old, while the type *peř daũg* + ADJ is secondary and developed only late in the history of the Lithuanian language, probably by analogy with *peř daũg* + VERB. The antiquity of the type *pér*-VERB is uncertain. It is limited to a few instances in Old Lithuanian and only sporadically survives in the modern language, but it can reflect an aspectual meaning derived from the basic local meaning ('through' > 'completely' > 'going to an extreme point, beyond measure' > 'too much'). Without prejudice to the comparison with other languages or the prehistory of the different subtypes, the distribution that can be assumed plausible for the moment is *peř* + ADJ / *peř daũg* + VERB.

In Lithuanian, *peř* is used as a preposition meaning 'through, across, over' + ACC (e.g. *peř tìltą* 'across the bridge'). It can also have the temporal meaning 'within, during' (e.g. *peř dvì dienàs* 'within / during two days', *peř kãrą* 'during the war') or an instrumental meaning denoting a means of communication (e.g. *peř rãdiją* 'over the radio'). With acute metatony, there is also a preverb *pér*- denoting crossing, passing through (e.g. *pér-plaukti* 'to swim across'), displacement (e.g. *pér-kabinti* 'to hang somewhere else'), transformation (e.g. *pér-grupuoti* 'to regroup'), separation (e.g. *pér-skirti* 'to separate'), completion (e.g. *pér-skaityti* 'to read completely') and, last but not least, exceeding a certain measure (e.g. *pér-džiovinti* 'to overdry').

4.3. The Excessive in the Other Baltic Languages

We find a similar expression for the excessive meaning ('too much') in Old Prussian *per* + ADJ or ADV (ex. 73):

(73) Old Prussian. *Third Catechism, Enchiridion* (1561, III 69$_{16}$)
 per *tēmprai*   *perdauuns*
 too   expensive.ADV sell.PART.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.M
 'sold too expensive' (German *ʒu thewr verkaufft*)

This instance is isolated, but its reality makes no doubt; it proves the antiquity of the Lithuanian type. Note that the separate spelling *per tēmprai* (two words) has no probative value, since it can be copied on the German original *zu thewr* 'too expensive' (two words).

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The expression of the excessive meaning in Latvian is more complicated. Applied to adjectives, the preposition *par* 'for, about' is used, but, strikingly enough, in the modern language the adjective introduced by *par* does not agree with its head noun, it is put in the accusative, as if it were governed by the preposition (+ ADJ.ACC, ex. 74–75):

(74) Latvian.

Bērns	*ir*	*par*	*jaunu*
child.NOM.SG.M	be.PRS.3	too	young.ACC.SG.M

'The child is too young'

(75) Latvian.

Grāmata	*man*	*par*	*dārgu*
book.NOM.SG.F	1.SG.DAT.SG	too	expensive.ACC.SG.M

'The book is too expensive for me'

Another option quite common in Modern Latvian is to use the adverb *pārāk* 'overly, too, too much' (neuter of the comparative adjective *pārāks* 'superior') + the adjective agreeing with the head noun (e.g. 76–77):

(76) Latvian.

Bērns	*ir*	*pārāk*	*jauns*
child.NOM.SG.M	be.PRS.3	too	young.NOM.SG.M

'The child is too young'

(77) Latvian.

Grāmata	*man*	*pārāk*	*dārga*
book.NOM.SG.F	1.SG.DAT.SG	too	expensive.NOM.SG.F

'The book is too expensive to me'

A prepositional phrase *pār lieku* is also attested in Old Latvian (ex. 78–79):

(78) Old Latvian. Georg M a n z e l, *Phraseologia Lettica* (1638 [G ü n t h e r 1929, 289])

Par	*leeku*	*ſahlitas*
over	superfluous.ACC.SG.M	salty.NOM.PL.F

'They are too salty' (German *ſie ſeynd ʒu ſeer geſalʒen*)

(79) Old Latvian. Gotthard Friedrich S t e n d e r, *Paſakkas un Stahſti* (1789b, 28₂)

Ta	*pahr*	*leeku*	*ſmagga*
1.SG.NOM.SG.F	over	superfluous.ACC.SG.M	heavy.NOM.SG.F

'She was too heavy'

The prepositional phrase *pahr leeku* (= Modern Latvian *pār lieku*) is based on the adjective *lieks* 'odd, superfluous, excessive' introduced by the preposition *pār* 'over' (+ ACC). Its meaning is 'over the superfluous, beyond the superfluous' > 'too, too much'. While Manzel has *par* (ex. 78), which could reflect either *par* (with short vowel) or *pār* (with long vowel), Stender has *pahr leeku* (ex. 79), which undoubtedly points to *pār*. From the prepositional phrase a hypostatic adjective *pārlieks* 'excessive, extraordinary' is derived (cf. ME 3, 164).

An isolated formulation is found in (80):

(80) Old Latvian. *Manuale Lettico-Germanicum* (ca. 1690, 195 [Fennell 2001])
    Winſch   *man*   *pahr kakku*   *darrijis.*
    3.SG.NOM.SG.M   1.SG.DAT.SG   over   neck.ACC.SG.M   do.PART.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.M
    'He has done too much to me' (German *Er hat mir zu viel getan*)

In Old Latvian, there is also the adverb *višķin* 'too much'. It is used by Elvers (1748, 24) to render German *allzu* 'too much', with two examples: *wiſchkin leels, allzu groſz* 'too big' and *wiſchkin leela Steigſchana, allzu groſſe Eilfertigkeit* 'too much diligence'. The same dictionary also renders German *zuviel* 'too much' by Latvian *wiſkin daudſ* alongside *par leeku* (1748, 303). The form is also mentioned by ME (4, 623) with excessive meaning (= German *zu sehr, zu stark, in zu grossem Masse*). In Old Latvian, the same adverb has elative rather than excessive meaning: *wiſkim gäntzlich, allerdings, ganz und gar, durchaus* 'completely' (*Manuale Lettico-Germanicum*, ca. 1690, 706), but the same source (ca. 1690, 3) gives one example where the meaning seems to be excessive ('too, too much'): *wiſkim, wiffai, lohti, parleek aggri* 'too early' (= German *gar zu frühe*). An evolution from elative to excessive is likely. The origin of *višķin*, *višķim* is obscure: it seems to contain a first element *vis-* 'all' and a second element *-ķin* or *-ķim* probably cognate with the indefinite stem *kas* 'someone' (cf. Lithuanian *vìskas* 'everything' from **visa=kas*), but the ending *-in* or *-im* is not clear and only superficially recalls that of the adverbs *caurim* 'throughout', *pārim* 'all over', *tāpatim* 'likewise' and *trejim* 'three times' (all of them rare or obsolete).[21]

Though ancient, the structure *par* + ACC is rather rare in Old Latvian. There are also instances of a slightly different structure *par* + ADJ 'too, too

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[21] Cf. Forssman (2003, 341). Note *pahr pahrim* 'over and over' (= German *über und über*) in Stender's dictionary (1758, 280, cf. 1789a, 185).

much'. U l m a n n's dictionary (1872) repeats one of the examples given a few decades earlier by Stender's grammar (ex. 81):

(81) 19ᵗʰ century Latvian. U l m a n n (1872, 189)

Winſch	*irr*	*par*	*leels*
3.SG.NOM.SG.M	be.PRS.3	too	big.NOM.SG.M

'He is too big' (German *Er iſt ʒu groſʒ*)

The system is manifestly unbalanced and unstable. The first difficulty is to distinguish the prepositions *par* (with short vowel) and *pār* (with long vowel). In Modern Latvian, *par* means 'for, on, about' (+ ACC, e.g. *domāt par to* 'to think about it', *aizlūgt par mieru* 'to pray for peace'), while *pār* means 'over, across' (+ ACC, e.g. *tilts pār upi* 'bridge over the river', *iet pār tiltu* 'to cross a bridge, to go a bridge across'). As soon as we move away from the modern language, the distinction between the two forms becomes blurred. S t e n d e r (1758, 283; cf. also 1789a, 185, 187) ascribes to *par* the meanings 'for, because, to, about' (= German *für, wegen, zu, über*) and to *par* (*pahr*) the meaning 'over' (= German *über*). More recently, U l m a n n (1872, 182) writes that the preposition *pār* (written *pahr*) 'is not distinguished from *par*' (*von* par *nicht unterschieden*) and ascribes the same meaning 'about/over' (= German *über*) to both (cf. 1872, 182, 189). The polysemy of the German preposition *über* has obviously played a role in the proximity of the two Latvian prepositions. But there is more than that. U l m a n n (1872) gives examples that suggest that the two can have excessive meaning: on the one hand, *par leels* 'too big' (= German *ʒu groſʒ*) and, on the other, *pahrgudrs* 'very clever' (= German *überklug*), *pahrdrŏhfchs* 'too bold' (= German *allʒudreiſt*). There is a graphic difference between them: *par* is presented as an autonomous morpheme, *pār-* as a prefix. U l m a n n also mentions (1872, 182) that *pār* (*pahr*) can be used as a preverb with the same meaning: *pahrmirkt* 'to soak too long' (= German *ʒu lange weichen*), *pahrdſiht* 'to make too many efforts' (= German *ʒu ſehr anſtrengen*), *pahrbithtees* 'to be very frightened' (= German *ſehr erſchrecken*). One gets the impression that the semantic distinction between *par* and *pār*, as it is established in the modern language, is recent. It may have replaced an older distinction separating the autonomous form *par* (e.g. *par leels* in U l m a n n) and the prefix *pār-* (e.g. *pahrgudrs* in U l m a n n). The problem is that, even if their distinction is not clear (and perhaps not ancient), one cannot simply make the two interchangeable. In particular, it would be

somewhat flippant to explain the excessive meaning of *par* (with short vowel) by attributing to it the meaning ('over, across') of the other form *pār* (with long vowel). This might be a tempting solution on paper, but it cannot be fully endorsed unless a precise scenario is developed that allows us to understand how the distinction between the two forms was created and why their functional sphere appears in the modern language as it does.

In Modern Latvian, the preposition *par* with excessive meaning governs the accusative, whereas the other option, *pārāk*, based on the neuter of an adjective *pārāks* 'superior' (apparently a comparative derived from *pār* 'over, across', like Latin *superior* from *super*), governs an adjective that agrees with the head noun: *par lielu* (ACC.SG), but *pārāk liels* (NOM.SG), both meaning 'too great, too big'. The contrast between the two options is striking. In the 19th century, instances like *par liels* (NOM.SG) are also found. Ulmann (1872, 189) alludes to the co-existence of both possibilities: he mentions *par leels* 'too big' (NOM.SG) and adds that the construction with the accusative (= Modern Latvian *par lielu* ACC.SG) is also used, but more rarely. It is likely that the type *pārāk liels* (NOM.SG) is recent in view of its attestation date and derives from an innovation 'overly great, overly big' > 'too great, too big'.

The variation between *par lielu* (ACC.SG) and *par liels* (ADJ) shows a certain instability in the system. For the time being, there is no way to determine which one of the two variants is likely to be ancient. It depends on how we analyze the use of *per in the excessive meaning in Baltic. Two scenarios are possible, one operating with Indo-European material, the other one with a contact-induced creation.

4.4. Elative **per(i)*- in the Other Indo-European Languages

The use of *per- with elative or excessive meaning is found in other Indo-European languages. In Slavic, the element *prě-, *pere-, *pre- (from *per-) is abundantly attested with elative and/or excessive meaning:

- Old Church Slavic прѣблагъ *prěblagъ* 'very good' (= Greek πανάγαθος *panágat^hos*); прѣвеликъ *prěvelikъ* 'very great' (= Greek ὑπερβάλλων *huperbállōn*, μέγιστος *mégistos*, ἀνυπέρθετος *anupért^hetos*); прѣдобръ *prědobrъ* 'very good' (= Greek καλλίνικος *kallínikos*); прѣмъногъ *prěmъnogъ* 'very numerous' (= Greek μυρίος *muríos*); прѣподобьнъ *prěpodobьnъ* 'very pious' (= Greek ὅσιος *hósios*, ὁσιώτατος *hosiṓtatos*); прѣсвать

prěsvętъ 'very holy' (= Greek πανάγιος *panágios*, ὑπεράγιος *huperágios*); прѣскврьньнъ *prěskvrьnьnъ* 'very dirty' (= Greek παμμίαρος *pammíaros*); прѣтьмьнъ *prětьmьnъ* 'very dark' (= Greek πανέσπερος *panésperos*); прѣхвальнъ *prěxvalьnъ* 'very famous' (= Greek πανεύφημος *paneúpʰēmos*, πανύμνητος *panúmnētos*, ἔνδοξος *éndoksos*); прѣщедръ *prěščedrъ* 'very compassionate' (= Greek πανοικτίρμων *panoiktírmōn*); прѣчистъ *prěčistъ* 'very pure' (= Greek καθαρός *katʰarós*, ἄχραντος *ákʰrantos*, ἁγνός *hagnós*, σεπτός *septós*); прѣчьстьнъ *prěčьstьnъ* 'very honored' (= Greek πάντιμος *pántimos*); cf. the adverb прѣзорьно *prězorьno* 'very arrogantly' (= Greek ὑπερηφάνως *huperépʰanōs*)

- Bulgarian преблаг *preblag* 'very good'; прекрасен *prekrasen* 'very beautiful, wonderful'; премил *premil* 'very dear'; премъдър *premъdъr* 'very wise, very clever'; пресилен *presilen* 'too strong, forced'; престарел *prestarel* 'too old'

- BCMS (Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian) пребијел *prèbijel* 'very white, too white'; преблаг *prèblāg* 'very good, too good'; прејасан *prèjasan* 'too clear' (historically also прејасност *prèjasnōst* 'His Serene Highness' < 'very clear'); прекрасан *prèkrāsan* 'very beautiful'; прелијеп *prèlijep* 'very beautiful'; премален *prèmalen* 'too small'; премио *prèmio* 'very dear'; препуи *prèpun* 'too full'; прескуп *prèskūp* 'too expensive'; пресвет *prèsvēt* 'very holy'; преучен *prèučen* 'too learned'; cf. the adverb прекасно *prèkasno* 'too late', прерано *prèrano* 'too early'

- Slovenian *prebogàt* 'very rich', *prečíst* 'very pure, too pure'; *predêbel* 'too fat'; *predóber* 'very good, too good'; *prekrásen* 'very beautiful'; *prekrátek* 'too short'; *prelahák* 'too light'; *prelép* 'very beautiful, too beautiful'; *preljúb* 'very dear'; *prenágel* 'too fast'; *presílen* 'too strong'; *previsòk* 'too high'; cf. the adverb *premnógo* 'too much'

- Russian (< Slavonism) превеликий *prevelikiï* 'very great'; предоб-рый *predobryï* 'very good'; предрагой *predragóï* 'very dear'; прекрасный *prekrasnyï* 'very beautiful'

- Polish *przedziwny* 'very strange'; *przemiły* 'very kind'; *prześliczny* 'very cute'

- Czech *předobrý* 'very good'; *překrásný* 'very lovely, exquisite'; *přepečlivý* 'very careful, too careful', cf. the adverb *přemnoho* 'very much, a great deal of'

Both the elative and the excessive meaning are attested side by side, sometimes applied to the same adjective. It is likely that the elative meaning is more ancient, as it predominates in Old Church Slavic, but the excessive meaning must have always existed at least as a context-related potentiality. The same prefix can occasionally display the same meanings with verbs,[22] e.g. Slovenian *solíti* 'to salt' / *presolíti* 'to add too much salt', *plačáti* 'to pay' / *preplačáti* 'to overpay, pay too much'; BCMS (Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian) *spàvati* 'to sleep' / *prespàvati* 'to oversleep, sleep too much', which recalls the Lithuanian type *dovanóti* 'to give' / *pérdovanoti* 'to give too much', *áiškinti* 'to explain' / *péraiškinti* 'to explain too much, to over-interpret'.

The form **per* also occurs in Latin as an elative prefix applied to adjectives:

- Latin *perabsurdus* 'very absurd' (Cicero); *peracūtus* 'very clear, penetrating' (Cicero); *perangustus* 'very narrow' (Cicero); *perbreuis* 'very short, brief, concise' (Cicero); *perbonus* 'very good' (Plautus, Cicero); *percārus* 'very expensive' (Terence), 'very dear, much beloved' (Cicero); *perdoctus* 'very learned, highly skilful' (Plautus, Cicero); *perexiguus* 'very small, petty, insignificant' (Cicero, Caesar); *perfacilis* 'very easy' (Cicero); *pergrandis* 'very large, vast, immense'; *permagnus* 'very great' (Cicero); *permultus* 'very numerous, very much' (Cicero); *perpulcher* 'very beautiful' (Terence); *persimilis* 'very like, precisely similar' (Cicero); *peruetus* 'very ancient' (Cicero)

In all these forms, the prefix *per-* is simply added to the adjective without modifying it (e.g. *absurdus* 'absurd' → *perabsurdus* 'very absurd'). The productivity of the elative prefix *per-* has remained high throughout the history of Latin. Some forms are obviously late creations, e.g. *perhonestus* 'very honest' (Arnobius *Adversus nationes* 2, 49, 2, 4th century), *permagnificus* 'very magnificent' (*Vulgata*, *Esther* 2, 18, 4th century), etc. As far as I can

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[22] Slovenian examples are from H e r r i t y (2000, 211), the BCMS (Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian) example is from A l e x a n d e r (2006, 335).

judge, the oldest form with the prefix *per-* attested in Latin is probably *persibus* 'very cute' (from *sibus* 'id' only in Festus 336, 3) used by Naevius (3rd century BCE) according to Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, 7, 107) and Festus (268, 26). The antiquity of the prefix *per-* is confirmed by Umbrian **perakre** 'in perfect condition' (e.g. *Tabula Iguvina* Ib 40, cf. Latin *peracer* 'very sharp', Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 9, 16, 4). There are a few instances of *per-* with the same meaning applied to verbs, e.g. Latin *perdoceō* 'to teach thoroughly' (Plautus+), *percoquō* 'to cook thoroughly' (Plautus+), *pergraecor* 'to live exactly like Greeks' (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 22, *Truculentus* 87), with an aspectual value that is not too far from the elative meaning ('completely' / 'very much'). A striking feature of the elative prefix *per-* is that it can occasionally be separated from the adjective by tmesis, as in *per…breuis* for *perbreuis* 'too short' (ex. 81):

(81) Latin. C i c e r o , *For Aulus Cluentius* 1, 2

Altera	*pars*	*et*	*ea*
other.NOM.SG.F	part.NOM.SG.F	and	DEM.NOM.SG.F
quae	*propria*	*est*	
REL.NOM.SG.F	proper.NOM.SG.F	be.PRS.3.SG	
iudici	*uestri*		
inquiry.GEN.SG.NT	2.PL.POSS.GEN.SG.NT		
et	*legitimae*	*uenefici*	
and	legitimate.GEN.SG.F	poisoning.GEN.SG.NT	
quaestionis	*per*	*mihi*	*breuis*
question.GEN.SG.F	per-	1.SG.DAT.SG	-short.NOM.SG.F
et	*non*	*magnae*	*in*	*dicendo*
et	NEG	big.GEN.SG.F	in	saying.ABL.SG.NT
contentionis	*fore*	*uidetur.*	
discussion.GEN.SG.F	be.INF	seem.PRS.MID.3.SG	

'A part, and one which is proper to your inquiry and to the very question of the poisoning, appears to me very short and not giving occasion to great dispute in speech'

The two elements of *perbreuis* 'very short' are separated (*per…breuis*) by the insertion of the personal pronoun *mihi* 'to me'. Other instances of such tmesis are found in Latin, predominantly with *mihi* constituting the tmetic field, cf. *per mihi benigne* 'with much goodness to me' (= *perbenigne* 'very kindly', Cicero, *Ad Quintum* 2, 9, 2), *per mihi gratum* 'very grateful to me' (= *pergratum* 'very grateful', Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 1, 20, 7), *per mihi mirum* 'very surprising to me' (= *permirum* 'very surprising', Cicero, *De*

Oratore 1, 214), more rarely with other words, e.g. *per autem inconsequens* (= *perinconsequens* 'very inconsequent', Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 14, 1, 10) or *per hercle rem mirandam* (= *permirandam* 'too surprising', Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 3, 6, 1). It is striking that this type of tmesis survives in Latin prose (especially Cicero), where it cannot be due to poetic license. It suggests that the univerbation of *per-* and the adjective it is paired with was not complete and the element *per-* was still independent to some extent. There is no such instance of tmesis with the preverb *per-*.

A cognate prefix **peri-* is used with elative meaning in Ancient Greek. As a rule, in its most ancient attestations, it is not added to the adjective directly but forms a possessive compound (*bahuvrīhi*) with a noun as its second element, as in περικαλλής *perikallḗs* 'very beautiful' (Homer+) from the abstract noun κάλλος *kállos* 'beauty' and not from the adjective καλός *kalós* 'beautiful'. Its original meaning is thus likely to have been 'having beauty (κάλλος *kállos*) all around (περι- *peri-*)', hence 'being surrounded by beauty' > 'very beautiful'. The possessive structure predominates in Homer and is still widely found later:

- Ancient Greek περιμήκης *perimḗkēs* 'very tall' (Homer+, from μῆκος *mḗkos* 'size'); περιπληθής *periplētʰḗs* 'very full of people' (Homer, *Odyssey* ο 405, from πλῆθος *plḗtʰos* 'people'), περιδεής *perideḗs* 'very timid, very fearful' (Herodotus+, from δέος *déos* 'fear'); περίθυμος *perítʰumos* 'very angry' (Herodotus+, from θυμός *tʰumós* 'anger'); περίλυπος *perílupos* 'very sad, deeply grieved' (Isocrates+, from λύπη *lúpē* 'grief'); secondarily: περιγηθής *perigētʰḗs* 'very joyful' (Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 3, 814 and 4, 888, from the rare noun γῆθος *gḗtʰos* 'joy' or directly from the verb γηθέω *gētʰéō* 'to rejoice')

Later, the prefix was added directly to simple adjectives without modifying them, exactly like Latin *per-*:

- Ancient Greek περιβαρύς *peribarús* 'exceeding grievous' (Aeschyles, *Eumenides* 161, from βαρύς *barús* 'heavy'); περιπόνηρος *peripónēros* 'very rascally' (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 850, from πόνηρος *pónēros* 'bad'); περίθερμος *perítʰermos* 'very hot' (Theophrastus+, from θερμός *tʰermós* 'hot'); περιαληθής *perialētʰḗs* 'very true' (Philodemus, *On Poems* 2, 11, 1st century BCE, from ἀληθής *alētʰḗs* 'true'); περιγλυκύς *periglukús* 'very

sweet' (Aelianus, *De Natura Animalium* 15, 7, 3rd century, from γλυκύς *glukús* 'sweet'); περίδηλος *perídēlos* 'very clear' (Hesychius, from δῆλος *dẽlos* 'clear').

This new formative rule has left a few traces in Homeric Greek already, most clearly in περικλυτός *periklutós* 'very famous, renowned' (Homer+) from κλυτός *klutós* 'famous, renowned'. The adverb περιζαμενῶς *perizamenõs* 'very powerfully, very violently', attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (495), could also belong to this type, if it is based on an adverb *ζαμενῶς *zamenõs* 'powerfully, violently', but this adverb is not attested (and its oxytone stress would be irregular). The form περίκηλος *períkēlos* 'very dry, well-seasoned' (Homer *Odyssey* ε 240, σ 309) is not clear, and the existence of a simple adjective κηλός *kēlós* 'burning' (from the verb καίω *kaíō* 'to burn') remains dubious.[23]

The new rule ADJ → περι- *peri*-ADJ (instead of ADJ → περι- *peri*-NOUN) is only at an inceptive stage of development in Homer and became productive only later. It can be based on the equivalence between compounds like, e.g., -κλεής -*kleḗs* and -κλυτός -*klutós* 'glorious', producing περικλυτός *periklutós* 'very famous' beside περικλεής *perikleḗs* 'id.' (< 'having glory all around'), which eventually could result in the analysis of περικλυτός *periklutós* as περι- *peri*- + κλυτός *klutós* 'famous'.

There are in Late Greek a handful of examples of verbs with a preverb περι- *peri*- whose meaning is very close to the elative meaning, e.g. περικαθαρίζω *perikat^harízō* 'to purge entirely' (*Septuaginta*); περιαγαπάζομαι *periagapázomai* 'to love very much' (Hesychius). Their productivity has always been very low.

A Sanskrit example repeatedly mentioned in the literature is *parí-prī-* 'very dear', but it is isolated (one instance in the *Rigveda*: NOM.PL *parí-priyaḥ* in RV IX, 72, 1). A more common elative prefix in Sanskrit is *ati-* (from 'over, above'): *ati-yājá-* 'excessive sacrifice' is already used once in the *Rigveda* (GEN.SG *atiyājásya* in RV VI 52, 1), but obviously to form a noun. Examples of adjectives with *ati-* are found more recently, e.g. *áti-kṛta-* 'overdone, exaggerated', *áti-guru-* 'very heavy', *áti-dīrgha-* 'very long, too long'. In the *Rigveda*, the meliorative prefix *su-* (from PIE *$h_1$su-*) can also convey elative

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[23] It seems to be parallel to εὔκηλος *eúkēlos*, a rare adjective that occurs only once (hapax) in Ion's *Omphale* (*Trag.* 28 S.-K. = 30 L., 5th century) whose meaning is disputed (maybe 'burning easily'). Cf. A l o n s o D é n i z (2020, 17).

meaning, cf. *sú-juṣṭa-* 'very welcome, very enjoyable', *su-pīvás-* 'very fat', *sú-mahant-* 'very great'.[24]

To sum up, the evidence for the elative use of PIE **per(i)-* includes various language families (Slavic, Latin, Greek, maybe Indo-Iranian), which testifies to its antiquity. The data of the individual Indo-European languages show one of the two meanings – the elative or the excessive – as predominant (or even exclusive), but it may also happen that both co-exist in the same language. There is also a formal difference between the two forms of the prefix, **per-* (clearly in Slavic) and **peri-* (clearly in Greek), both being possible in Latin. The prosodic status of **per(i)-* is a further issue that has to be addressed: it is either a prefix, bound to the adjectival or nominal form it is paired with, or an autonomous morpheme, more or less comparable to an adverb. Graphic rules are, of course, of little help when assessing this matter. An easy answer to this question could be that **per(i)-* was originally autonomous and merged secondarily with the adjective or noun it qualifies: this is suggested, e.g., by Latin, where instances of tmesis point to the original autonomy of what more generally appears as a bound prefix. But the opposite assumption cannot be excluded, if one recalls the parallel of Latin *trans-* 'through' used occasionally as a bound prefix with elative meaning in Latin (e.g. *translūcidus* 'shining through or across' > 'very transparent' next to *lūcidus*), then autonomized in French *très* (e.g. *très clair* 'very clair').

The question at this stage is whether the Baltic data should be compared with those of other Indo-European languages where a prefix **per(i)-* is used with elative meaning. There would be no obstacle to this idea, if we remember that elative markers can easily evolve towards excessive meaning, and vice versa, as suggested, inter alia, by the complex history of *trop* in French (originally elative, then excessive, and now elative in Colloquial French). Taken at face value, the comparison between Lithuanian *peȓ dìdelis* 'too big' and Latin *permagnus* 'very big' could make sense. However, the Latvian structure *par lielu* 'too big', where the preposition governs the accusative, attracts attention and seems impossible to explain as originally based on a prefix followed by an adjective, as is the case in most other Indo-European languages. The possessive structure attested in Greek περικαλλής *perikallḗs* 'very beautiful' (< 'having beauty all around') does not provide an explanatory model applicable to the Latvian structure. Things being what they are, one

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[24] K u l i k o v (2021, 409).

could simply reject the Latvian structure *par lielu* as secondary and choose the adjectival type *par liels* 'too big' as original; this would be practical in a sense because the Latvian type *par liels* would be entirely parallel to what is found in Lithuanian (*peȓ dìdelis*) and would open the way for comparison with the use of **per(i)-* in other Indo-European languages (Latin *permagnus*).

I think that is not the way to go. The Latvian structure *par lielu* cannot be dismissed out of hand. It points us towards an internal explanation, independent of the Indo-European comparison. It is striking that the Latvian preposition *par* means 'for' and corresponds in many of its uses to the German preposition *zu* and the Polish preposition *za*. In both languages, the corresponding preposition (German *zu*, Polish *za*) is used in the excessive meaning: *zu groß* 'too big' and *za duży* 'too big'. It is therefore simpler to admit a contact-induced explanation in Latvian: the type *par lielu / par liels* is based on the imitation of German *zu groß* and/or Polish *za duży*. The Polish type itself is likely to have been influenced by German. The origin of this linguistic expression in German does not concern me directly here. What is important is that it provides us an explanation of the Latvian structure *par lielu / par liels* and thus makes the comparison with the type **per(i)-* in other Indo-European languages superfluous. This also suggests an explanation for the double structure attested in Latvian. In the German construction *zu groß*, the adjective is invariable and cannot be recognized as an inflected form. This is what may have caused the hesitation, in Latvian, between an inflected form of adjective *par liels* and the accusative governed by the preposition in *par lielu*. On the basis of Latvian, the same explanation could then be accepted for the Lithuanian type *peȓ dìdelis*, in which case the comparison with other Indo-European languages would lose all character of necessity. The difference, however, is that the preposition *peȓ* does not mean 'for', but 'through' in Lithuanian; only in limited conditions does it display a meaning 'for, as' which could fit with the contact-induced evolution supposed for Latvian.

My suggestion is that it could well be the case that Lithuanian and Latvian have undergone different paths of development, with Lithuanian retaining the ancient structure (the Latin *permagnus* type) and Latvian being more influenced by German. The formal proximity between the inherited structure and the foreign model could have been instrumental in imposing it in Latvian; this factor was more superficial in Lithuanian. To assess this idea, it is necessary to reconstruct how the elative and excessive functions were expressed in the Baltic languages before this foreign model played a role.

4. The Elative and The Excessive: A Connection

Readers will certainly have been struck by the fact that the above considerations have led to a complete dead end: neither the origin of **daugi*, nor that of **per(i)-* can be determined with certainty. It is somewhat frustrating to devote to a linguistic problem, however promising its scope might appear at first glance, a few dozen pages whose only result turns out to be an entirely negative conclusion. I think that only a comparison between the elative and the excessive may bring some progress into both issues *at once* and allow us to reconstruct a plausible scenario.

The distinction between elative and excessive does not separate two completely different meanings. It is generally only by contextual implication that an adjective will be understood as 'very big' or as 'too big': their distinction reflects a difference in expectation and not a difference in nature. If we assume that **per(i)-* was really inherited in Baltic, before its merging with a foreign model, it has to be assumed that its original meaning was elative, the excessive meaning being only a context-related potentiality. What is striking is that this potentiality has been promoted in Baltic to become an inherent feature: the excessive meaning ('too much') is actualized systematically as part of the fundamental semantics of the prefix in Baltic. At a later stage in the prehistory of Baltic, the elative function was taken over by new forms such as Lithuanian *labaĩ*, Old Latvian *waren*, Latvian *ļoti* (*ļùoti*) 'very' – all of recent creation. The couple **daugi / *per(i)-* was replaced by *daũg / labaĩ* in Lithuanian, *daũdz / ļoti* (*ļùoti*) in Latvian, etc.

How the expression of the elative and excessive meanings can be reconstructed for PIE remains fundamentally uncertain. It can be assumed that repetition of the adjective (**'big big' = 'very big'*), was one of the main strategies to denote elative meaning in PIE times, as still suggested by Classical Sanskrit *pūrva-pūrva-* 'the very first' (from *pūrvá-* 'first'), Latin *feriferus* 'furious' (from *ferus* 'wild'), Classical Armenian մեծամեծ *mecamec* 'very big' (from մեծ *mec* 'big'), Breton *tomtom* 'very hot' (from *tom* 'hot'), etc. Whatever its source, the development of **per(i)-* in the elative meaning is likely to be post-PIE; it is nevertheless ancient. The creation of the specifically quantitative form **daugi* in Baltic is much more recent and took place only in Common Baltic (or maybe in Balto-Slavic, if Polish *dużo* is directly connected with the Baltic form), in competition with other innovations such as **tūlan* 'much, many' (from a PIE root **teu̯H-*, zero grade **tuH-* 'to swell').

Little progress can be made on the etymology of *daugi itself, which is likely to be based on a substantivized adjective, even if its formation remains obscure. But I think that its original function can be reconstructed with more precision. One of the defining properties of Lithuanian daũg is that it can be used for both adverbial and argumental functions: it is multivalent. I suggest that *daugi first appeared to fulfill argumental functions (subject and object), which the inherited form *per(i)- was unable to do. It is a well-known fact that the lexical renewal of the elative meaning often goes through the creation of expressive noun phrases, such as 'a lot, a great deal', or the like, first used in argumental functions (like, say, English *I lost a lot of money*, *I spend a great deal of time on leisure*) and only secondarily adverbialized (like English *I work a lot*, *it will help you a great deal*). Once again, the history of French *beaucoup* is a good parallel, originating from a noun phrase ('a fine blow, a beautiful knock') first used in argumental functions (e.g. with a transitive verb *j'ai lu beaucoup de livres* 'I have read many books') and secondarily adverbialized (e.g. with an intransitive verb *je dors beaucoup* 'I sleep very much').[25] Quantifiers of nominal origin often come from noun phrases used in subject or object functions, and precisely this function could not be fulfilled by *per(i)-, limited to adverbial constructions (+ ADJ, e.g. *very expensive*, + VERB, e.g. *to overtake*, *to overinterpret*). It is thus likely that the original distribution between *per(i)- and *daugi was the following:

*per(i)- adverbial / *daugi argumental

Secondarily, *daugi spread to adverbial functions, probably first with its specifically quantitative value, in particular with verbs (e.g. *to say much → to say a lot*).

5. Conclusion

The aim of this article has been to establish as precisely as possible the origin of the Lithuanian quantifier daũg 'much, many'. All the analyses put forward so far in the literature, which derive daũg from a PIE root *dʰeugʰ- 'to produce', usually based on the reconstruction of an adjective *dʰougʰ-i-, remain possible, even if they still have shadow areas: it is likely that daũg was

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[25] See C a r l i e r (2011), who confirms the fact that French *beaucoup*, being originally a noun phrase ('beautiful knock'), was first used in argumental functions.

originally a substantivized adjective, but the details are still unclear. The only way to go beyond this imprecise assumption is to reconstruct the original function of *daũg*. What I have tried to show in this article is that progress on this question can only be achieved by taking precise account of the system in which the quantifier *daũg* takes place, including not only the expression of the elative meaning, but also that of the excessive meaning. I propose that **daugi* was first introduced in argumental functions, in competition with **per(i)-*, limited to adverbial elativity, before the semantic shift that led to the specialization of **per(i)-* to the excessive meaning ('much' > 'too much'). There is a strong element of speculation in this analysis. Any linguistic reconstruction is like a house of cards, each element of which is supported by another in such a way that, if one element is removed from the structure, the whole building is destroyed.

ELIATYVAS IR EKSCESYVAS LIETUVIŲ KALBOJE: *daũg* IR *peř daũg*

Santrauka

Baltiškasis kvantifikatorius **daugi* tradiciškai kildinamas iš ide. šaknies **dʰeu̯gʰ-* 'daryti, gaminti', nors jo, kaip substantyvizuoto būdvardžio ar daiktavardžio, susidarymas išlieka problemiškas. Straipsnyje bandau nustatyti pirminę kvantifikatoriaus funkciją. Šiam tikslui pasiekti būtina palyginti eliatyvinę ('labai daug') ir perteklinę ('per daug') reikšmes. Perteklinė reikšmė lietuvių kalboje reiškiama prieveiksmiu *peř* (pvz., *peř dìdelis*). Galima daryti prielaidą, kad forma **daugi* pirmiausia buvo įvesta sakinio argumentų funkcijose, kurių negalėjo atlikti prieveiksmis **per(i)-*, iki kol pastarasis perėjo prie perteklinės reikšmės.

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

ABL – ablative
ACC – accusative
ADJ – adjective
ADV – adverb
BCMS – Bosnian-Croatian-
    Montenegrin-Serbian
COMP – comparative
COND – conditional
DAT – dative
DEM – demonstrative
F – feminine
FUT – future
GEN – genitive
IMPER – imperative
IMPF – imperfect
INSTR – instrumental
INTERR – interrogative

LOC – locative
M – masculine
MID – middle
NEG – negation
NOM – nominative
NT – neuter
P – p-word, particle
PART – participle
PASS – passive
PIE – Proto-Indo-European
PL – plural
POSS – possessive
PRS – present
PST – past
REFL – reflexive
REL – relative
SG – singular

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ALEW – Hock et al. 2015
EDBIL – Derksen 2015
EDHIL – Kloekhorst 2008
EDSIL – Derksen 2008
IEW – Pokorny 1959
LEW – Fraenkel 1962–1965
LIV – Rix ²2001
LKŽ – *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*
ME – Mühlenbach, Endzelin 1923–1932
RR – Būga 1958–1961
RV – *Rigveda*
SEJL – Smoczyński 2007

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