

# Dialectal and diachronic distribution of case variation in Lithuanian pain-verb constructions

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This article deals with the variation in case marking in PAIN-VERB CONSTRUCTIONS, where in Lithuanian one finds (1) the standard language variant: accusative marked body-part and (2) the dialectal variant: nominative marked body-part. In this article, a clear distinction is made between PAIN-SPECIFIC VERBS, verbs which originally denote pain like e.g. *skaudėti*, *sopėti* and DERIVED PAIN VERBS, verbs borrowed from other semantic classes. This study focuses on the PAIN-SPECIFIC VERBS. A study on the dialectal distribution of this variation and its occurrence in old texts is conducted with the aims: (1) to answer the question which construction is the older, (2) to give a clear picture of the dialectal and geographical distribution of this case variation and finally (3) to demonstrate that dialectal data can be used effectively and reliably to investigate diachronic processes and thus contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship between synchronic variation and diachronic change. The results of the dialectal part of the study reveal that nominative marked body-parts are found in a much wider area than only in Northwestern Lithuania as has sometimes been claimed. They are prevalent in Northwestern Lithuania and also in Eastern Lithuania, but found in all regions and not dialectally restricted. Accusative marking is prevalent in South and West Aukštaitian, which might explain why accusative was selected as the standard form in the Lithuanian Standard Language. The findings in the old texts reveal that nominative is more prevalent in older texts, with only very few examples of accusative marking. This was noticeable in both religious texts from the 16th and 17th c. as well as in old dictionaries dating from before the 20th c. The findings of this study provide evidence that nominative was the original case marking of body-parts with PAIN-SPECIFIC VERBS.

**Keywords:** Lithuanian, dialects, Old Lithuanian, case alternation, nominative, accusative, pain-specific verbs.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The present article is an empirical study that focuses on the case variation between nominative and accusative marking of a body part (hereafter BP) in PAIN-VERB CONSTRUCTIONS<sup>2</sup> in Lithuanian. This case variation has recently gained attention among scholars such as Piccini (2008), Holvoet (2009, 2013) and Seržant (2013), but as opinions on the origin and reasons for this case variation differ, the matter deserves more attention and requires further investigation.

The aim of this study is twofold: The main goal of investigating this case variation is to answer the question which case frame is the older. For this purpose, the morphology and semantics of the verbs of significance have been analyzed, and subsequently and more importantly, an in-depth empirical investigation has been conducted on both the diachronic and dialectal distribution of this case variation. The second goal is to contribute to the debate on the relationship between variation and change by doing a dialectal analysis of linguistic variation, with the purpose of reconstructing the underlying diachronic processes. Compared to diachronic data, dialectal data in Lithuanian is easily accessible due to e.g. many dialectal dictionaries and the fact that *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (LKŽ)<sup>3</sup> clearly marks the geographical position of many of its examples. This study has therefore much more dialectal data than data from Old Lithuanian texts. There are thus clear advantages of studying diachronic processes through dialectal evidence.

In the dialectal study I will apply the norms of the Neolinguistic School (Bartoli 1925, 1945; Bonfante 1947; Trudgill 1975). These areal norms are used to establish the relative chronology of geographically competing linguistic variants, but as Chambers and Trudgill (1998) rightly point out these norms simply represent tendencies and are not laws as claimed by

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<sup>2</sup> I refer to constructions with verb expressing pain as Pain-Verb Constructions.

<sup>3</sup> LKŽ is the most comprehensive dictionary of the Lithuanian language. It comprises 20 volumes, published between 1941 and 2002, containing half a million entries. It is accessible online at [www.lkz.lt](http://www.lkz.lt).

the Neolinguistic School. The formulations here are adapted from Trudgill (1975):

1. if A is found in isolated areas, and B in areas more accessible for communication, then A is older than B;
2. if A is found in peripheral areas and B in central areas, then A is older than B;
3. if A is used over a larger area than B, then A is older than B.

The structure of the study is as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of past studies on this case variation. In section 3, an examination on the morphology, semantics and etymology of the verbs of significance is presented. In section 4, the data collected for this purpose is presented and analyzed, first the dialectal data, followed by data from old texts, beginning with the 16th and 17th century religious texts and subsequently old dictionaries and handbooks. Finally, section 5 summarizes the most important conclusions and formulates suggestions for further research.

### 1.1. Background

In Lithuanian there exists a case variation in pain-verb constructions, where BP in the standard language is marked with accusative (1) but in some dialects with nominative (2):

- (1) *Man skauda galv-q.*  
 me.DAT ache.PRS.3 head-ACC  
 'I have a headache.'

and

- (2) *Man skauda galv-a.*  
 me.DAT ache.PRS.3 head-NOM  
 'I have a headache.'

In Latvian the BP is invariably marked with nominative:

- (3) *Man sāp galv-a.*  
 me.DAT ache.PRS.3 head-NOM  
 'I have a headache.'

Latvian *sāpēt* has a cognate verb in Lithuanian *sopėti*, which, although less common in modern Lithuanian than *skaudėti*, is used in dialects and is frequently found in old texts.

In addition to accusative and nominative marking of the BP in Lithuanian, yet another construction is possible where BP is encoded as a Location as a prepositional phrase (4) or in locative (5):

- (4) *Man skauda po šonkauli-ais.*  
 me.DAT ache.PRS.3 under rib-INS.PL  
 ‘I feel pain under my ribs.’  
 (<http://www.prisimink.lt/lt/diskusijos.zinutes/93158>)
- (5) *Man t-oje aus-yje jau kelinti metai skauda.*  
 me.DAT this-LOC.SG.F ear-LOC.SG already  
 some years ache.PRS.3  
 ‘The inside of this ear has been hurting me for some years.’  
 (NS S.V.)

The Lithuanian pain verbs *skaudėti* and *sopėti* have many synonyms, e.g. *gelti*, *diegti*, *durti*, *verti*, *smelkti*, *dygsėti*, *badyti*, *varstyti*, *raižyti* etc.

The pain verbs can be divided into two fundamentally different groups. The first group consists of verbs with the original meaning of pain and will hereafter be referred to as PAIN-SPECIFIC VERBS. The second group consists of verbs with a secondary meaning of pain and will be referred to as DERIVED PAIN VERBS. The original meaning of verbs in the second group does not belong to the semantic field of pain, as *gelti* ‘sting, bite’, *badyti* ‘butt, poke’, *diegti* ‘stab’, *durti* ‘poke, stab, thrust’. When used in the original meaning they are transitive and have the case frame NOM-ACC, but when used in the derived, metaphorical meaning expressing pain they are intransitive and have the case frame DAT-ACC.

The verbs in the first group denote only pain, at least synchronically,<sup>4</sup> and they are the main focus of this study. Languages usually only have a few pain-specific verbs (Reznikova *et al.* 2008, 7), cf. Engl. *hurt*, *ache*,

<sup>4</sup> Diachronically, this is more complicated, as we see e.g. with the English verb *hurt* that originally meant ‘to injure, wound’, c. 1200 (the body, feelings, reputation, etc.), also ‘to stumble (into), bump into; charge against, rush, crash into; knock (things) together’ from OFr. *hurter* ‘to ram, strike, collide’ perhaps from Frankish *\*hurt* ‘ram’ (cf. MHG *hurten* ‘run at, collide,’ ON *hrutr* ‘ram’). The English usage is as old as the French, and perhaps there was a native OE *\*hyrtan*, but it has not been recorded. The meaning *to be a source of pain* (of a body part) dates only from 1850 while *to hurt (one’s) feelings* is attested by 1779. We have similar origins for Germ. *schmerzen* which originally meant ‘to bite’, E. *smeortan* ‘be painful,’ from WGmc. *\*smert-* (cf. MDu. *smerten*, Du. *smarten*, OHG. *smerzan*,), from PIE *\*(s)merd-*, from root *\*(s)mer-* ‘to rub, pound’ (cf. Gk. *smerdnos* ‘terrible, dreadful,’ Skt. *mardayati* ‘grinds, rubs, crushes,’ L. *mordere* ‘to bite’). See Klein 1966.

Germ. *schmerzen*, *wehtun*, Russian *bolet'*, Latv. *sāpēt*. In Lithuanian we find: *skaudėti*, *sopėti*, *mausti*. In addition to these verbs there are verbs with similar semantics which also show this case variation with *BP* either in nominative or accusative, such as *peršėti* 'smart', 'scorch' (of skin or wounds) and *niežėti* 'itch'. There are also verbs that are very rare, such as *kniėtųti*, *dilgėti* 'itch' and *svembti* 'ache, hurt' that are obsolete or dialectal.

As to the grammatical function of the arguments in question I agree with Holvoet (2013) that the dative argument in the pain-specific construction is not endowed with any unequivocal syntactic subject properties. It occurs sentence-initially, thus being the most topic-worthy argument of the construction. I consider it to be a quasi-subject (Holvoet 2009; 2013) and as the pain-specific verbs are not transitive verbs the *BP* could be considered as an intransitive subject. As is shown in (Wiemer & Bjarnadóttir 2014) the dative argument in the derived pain construction is an external possessor. I furthermore consider the accusative marked *BP* in the derived pain construction to be an intransitive subject: *S* in Dixonian terms (Dixon 1979). In another study (Bjarnadóttir forthcoming, a) I will discuss the derived pain constructions and explain them as anticausative constructions.

## 2. Previous studies

This section provides an overview of past studies that are relevant to this case variation. First I will briefly mention how this case variation was treated in earlier times and thereafter discuss recent analyses and opinions on this issue.

### 2.1. Early treatments

The pain-verb constructions are not specially mentioned in the oldest Lithuanian grammar books.<sup>5</sup> They are only indirectly mentioned in Schleicher (1856); he refers to similar intransitive constructions such as

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<sup>5</sup> They are not mentioned in the first grammars of the Lithuanian language, *Grammatica Litvanica* by Danielius Kleinas (1653), *Compendium Grammaticæ Lithvanicæ* by Sapūnas and Šulcas (1673), *Universitas Linguarum Lituaniae* (1737) nor in Philipp Ruhig's *Betrachtung der littauischen Sprache, in ihrem Ursprunge, Wesen und Eigenschaften* (1745). This is maybe not surprising as the sections on syntax usually were relatively short.

*koję, ránką palúžti* ‘the leg, the hand breaks’ where the *BP* is marked with accusative, and he regards them as ‘Akkusativ der Beziehung’, i.e. Accusative of Relation<sup>6</sup> (Schleicher 1856, 263). The pain-verb construction is first mentioned in Kurschat’s *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* (1876), which also discusses the above-mentioned constructions. He goes against Schleicher’s views in that he does not regard the accusative as an Accusative of Relation:

Die Sätze *koją lúžti* das Bein brechen, Beinbruch erleiden: *Sprandą trúkti* sich das Genick abreißen: *man pilvą, dantį skaust* mir tuht der Bauch, der Zahn weh (eig. mir tuht es den Bauch, den Zahn weh) [...] enthalten accusativische Objecte bei intransitiven Verben. Das Sprachgefühl sträubt sich dagegen, diese Accusative als bloße Accusative der Beziehung anzusehen<sup>7</sup> (Kurschat 1876, 376).

It is in Fraenkel (1928) that these constructions and the possibility of using both nominative and accusative for the *BP* are first discussed in more detail:

Außer *man širdis* u.s.w. *skaust(a)*, *skauda* kann man auch sagen, indem die Bezeichnung des schmerzenden Gliedes oder Körperteils in den Akk. tritt: [...] *jém isz vákara labai dantį skaudėje*<sup>8</sup> (Fraenkel 1928, 116).

Moreover for the verb *niežėti* Fraenkel points out that besides *Pradėjo jei galvą nežēt* ‘Her head began to itch’ with ‘head’ marked with accusative one can find *Jam kailis niežti* ‘his fur itches’ with ‘fur’ marked with nominative (Fraenkel 1928, 116).

The reasons for this variation are, however, not discussed and the question of which is the older one is not addressed in Fraenkel.

<sup>6</sup> Accusative of relation: expresses the relation of the verbal action to a referent in a non-spatial sense; as, Lat. *indutum...pallam* ‘clothed in a dress’; Gk. *melaíneto dē khrōa kalón* ‘and she was reddened on her beautiful skin’; Ved. *nāinaṃ kṛtākṛté tapataḥ* ‘neither things done, nor things undone hurt this one’ (Meier-Brügger 2003).

<sup>7</sup> “The sentences *koją lúžti* ‘The leg breaks, suffers a fracture’; *Sprandą trúkti* ‘sich das Genick abreißen’; *man pilvą, dantį skaust* ‘My stomach, tooth hurts’ (lit. ‘To me the stomach, tooth hurts’) [...] contain accusative objects with intransitive verbs. The sense of language makes me reluctant to see this as a mere Accusative of Relation.”

<sup>8</sup> “Besides *man širdis* u.s.w. *skaust(a)*, *skauda* one can also use accusative for a limb or a body part when expressing a pain.”

## 2.2. Recent analyses

Holvoet (2009, 2013), Seržant (2013) and Piccini (2008) are among the scholars who have recently tackled this problem. One can simply say that two main theories exist:

1. NOM case marking of *BP* in pain-verb constructions is the older.
2. ACC case marking of *BP* in pain-verb constructions is the older.

### 2.2.1. Nominative case marking is older

Both Holvoet and Seržant consider nominative to be the original case marking of the *BP* and accusative to be a Lithuanian innovation (Holvoet 2009, Seržant 2013).<sup>9</sup>

Holvoet bases his claim on Latvian, which has nominative in the construction: *Man sāp galva*, coinciding with the Lithuanian construction *Man skauda galva* with nominative (Holvoet 2009, 61). Seržant bases his claim on Latvian and old Lithuanian:

The nominative case-marking [...] reveals itself to be the historically original case marking with these verbs as the comparison with Old Lithuanian (most prominently texts composed by Daukša) and Latvian shows since neither of them allows accusative here (Seržant 2013).

### 2.2.2. Accusative case marking is older

Piccini (2008, 444) and Ambrazas (2006, 214) both claim that accusative marking is the original case marking in pain-verb constructions and nominative is an innovation.

Piccini considers the accusative marking of *BP* in pain-verb constructions to be relics of inactive syntax (Piccini 2008, 455). She explains the nominative case-marking on the *BP* in the following way:

The incoherence of these constructions in nominative language explains why, in the Lithuanian dialects of the north-western area, these impersonal structures with the experiential predicates have the personal equivalents: the body part affected by the ache is encoded not with the accusa-

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<sup>9</sup> The reasons Holvoet and Seržant give for the accusative innovation in Lithuanian are discussed in Bjarnadóttir (forthcoming, b)

tive marker, but with a nominative, as one might regularly expect in a language characterized by a NOM-ACC syntax (Piccini 2008, 450).

Piccini has one example from Old Lithuanian with accusative (6), which, however, does not encode the *BP* but the experiencer:

- (6) *Skaust mane.*  
 ache.PRS.3 I-ACC  
 ‘I am in pain.’ (BRB Proverbs 23:35)

The two other examples from old Lithuanian, both of which are from Daukša (72) and (73) and both with *BP* marked with nominative, are explained as an exception and a probable calque: “Daukša is an exception: the experiencer<sup>10</sup> introduced by the predicate *sopėti* ‘to ache’, the sole experiential predicate attested by this author, always occurs in the nominative case. A syntactic loan translation cannot be ruled out, as Daukša translated the *Postilė* from Wujek’s work, written in Polish.”

Ambrazas (2006) also claims that accusative is the original case marking and that it is archaic but he does not motivate this: “Tokie senoviški intransityvinių beasmenių veiksmažodžių junginiai su galininku lietuvių kalboje išliko produktyvūs iki šių laikų.”<sup>11</sup> (Ambrazas 2006, 214).

### 2.2.3. Neither nominative nor accusative is older

Another point of view worth mentioning here is the one of Schmalstieg. In his *Lithuanian Historical Syntax* (1987) he briefly mentions the pain-verb construction. He concludes that in the construction with accusative marking of the *BP* “etymologically the meaning was that some outside agency was bringing pain to the head”, whereas in the construction with nominative marking it is the *BP* that is causing the pain to the sufferer (Schmalstieg 1987, 212). This assumption seems to imply that both constructions are equally archaic.

<sup>10</sup> Piccini treats the *BP* as the experiencer and the dative experiencer as an external possessor.

<sup>11</sup> “Such archaic intransitive impersonal verb constructions with accusative have remained productive in Lithuanian until the present.”



### 2.2.4. A new proposal

I consider Holvoet and Seržant are right in claiming that nominative is the original case marking of BPS in pain-verb constructions including pain-specific verbs.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, I regard the arguments for claiming this as insufficient and would like to add a careful and detailed study on the pattern and distribution of this case variation in dialects. This to my knowledge has not been done earlier. I also wish to investigate their appearance in older text more accurately. In another study (Bjarnadóttir forthcoming, b) I will discuss the reasons for the change from nominative to accusative marking of BPS.

## 3. Morphology and semantics of the original pain verbs

This section aims to analyze the morphology, semantics and etymology of the pain-specific verbs. I consider this necessary in order to get a better understanding of this group of verbs, and the findings might even cast light on the pattern of the case-marking variation.

Lithuanian *sopėti* and Latvian *sāpēt* is a common East Baltic verb denoting the feeling of pain. It is not found in Old Prussian (West Baltic) where the verb form *\*gult(wei)*<sup>13</sup> has been reconstructed from the noun *gulsenni(e)n* ‘pain’.<sup>14</sup> The verb *skaudėti*, on the other hand, is only found in Lithuanian.

The verbs *skaudėti*, *sopėti* belong to the *tekėti*, *teka* ‘flow’ type of verbs (see further Jakulis 2004), with the suffix *-ėti* in the infinitive and *-a* in the 3rd present, as opposed to the *i*-stem group of verbs of the *turėti*, *turi* ‘to have, has’ type with the infinitive suffix *-ėti* and *-i* in the 3rd PRS to which *niežtėti* and *peršėti* belong.

There is no consensus on the origin, morphological structure or semantics of this group of verbs. Historically these verbs have been considered to derive either from athematic verbs (Stang 1942), from root verbs (Skardžius 1943; Kaukienė 1994) or from *i*-stem verbs of the *turėti*, *turi*

<sup>12</sup> As regards the derived pain verbs I consider accusative to be the original case marking (see further in Bjarnadóttir forthcoming, b)

<sup>13</sup> This form is not attested in Old Prussian (only reconstructed) and therefore we unfortunately do not have examples with BPS.

<sup>14</sup> This Old Prussian *\*gult(wei)* is cognate with Lith. *gelti*. Baltic *\*gēl-/\*gel-/\*gil-/\*gul-*, with Lith. *gelti*, *gilti*, Latv. *dzelt*, O.Pr. *\*gult(wei)* < IE. *\*g<sup>w</sup>elH-* ‘sting, hurt’ (cf. Kaukienė 2006, 382), see also <http://www.prusistika.flf.vu.lt/zodynas/paieska/> (s.v. *gulsennin*).

type (Schmid 1963). Some scholars consider at least some of them to be of nominal origin (Skardžius 1943, 525; Schmid 1963; Jakaitienė 1968, 64, 73; Seržant and Bjarnadóttir 2014).

The *-ė* in the suffix *-ėti* comes from *\*-ē-* < *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>* which is a stative marker in Indo-European languages, e.g. Latin *manēre* ‘remain’, *tacēre* ‘be silent’ (Jasanoff 2002–2003, 129). This is, at least, true for the *i*-stem *turėti*, *turi* type. The *-ė-* element in the *tekėti*, *teka* type is considered to be of a different origin. The *\*-ē* in *tekėjo* derives from the thematic aorist but by analogy to verbs of the type *turėti* which have added *\*-jā* to the original past tense, they have also replaced an original *\*(tek)ē* with *\*(tek)-ē-jā* > Lith 3rd past *tekėjo*. In other words, the *\*-ē-* in *minė + jo* derives from the IE suffix whereas *\*-ē-* of *tek-ė-jo* derives from a lengthening of the old thematic vowel (see further Jakulis, 2004, 9, 166 and Schmalstieg 2000, 148).

There is as well a lack of agreement on the semantics of this type of verbs. They have been considered either statives (Uljanov 1891 and Fortunatov 1897 in Jakulis 2004), or duratives (Kaukienė 1994, 238; Pakalniškienė 1993 in Jakulis 2004). Only some of them, such as *kabėti* ‘hang’, *jutėti* ‘feel’, are semantically close to the stative *i*-stem verbs, and the LKŽ often provides two parallel forms in 3rd present tense (*kāba /kābi; jūta /jūti*). Many of them are stative verbs but describing a process where the subject is inactive and affected by the event described by the verb. This is just like the pain verbs as well as verbs like *drebėti* ‘shiver’, *trešėti* ‘decay’, *strazdėti* ‘freeze’ and *tekėti* ‘flow’. They have the suffix *-ėti* because of their primarily intransitive or stative meaning, a characteristic of the old IE verbs with the suffix *\*ē-*.

### 3.1. *Skaudėti*

The verb *skaudėti* belongs to a group of verbs that have been attested since the earliest period as athematic and could be of IE origin, but are not attested in other IE languages as root verbs:

Athematica, die seit der älteren Periode überliefert sind und zum Teil ieur. Ursprungs sein könnten, die wohl aber im grossen und ganzen Neuerungen sind, da sie sich als athem. Wurzelverba in anderen ieur. Sprachen nicht wiederfinden: *likti, mėgti, barti, trókšti, -kàkti, bėgti, sėkti, àlkti, snigti, žengti, miegóti, giedóti, saugóti, gelbėti, skaudėti, veizdėti, mėrdėti, čiáudėti, kósėti, riáugėti, kliedėti, klaidėti, siáudėti, nértėti, pamedėti, niežėti, sérgėti, skambėti, peikėti* (Stang 1966, 310).

The athematic 3rd PRS form *skausti* from *skaudėti* is widely represented in Old Lithuanian writings as in (ex. 6) *skaust mane* ‘I am in pain’, (ex. 75) *ŝkauft ingŝtai* ‘the kidneys hurt’ (Daukša’s Postille, 422.33), *ŝirdi ŝkaufti* ‘(somebody’s) heart is aching’ (KN G 269<sub>30</sub>). It is encountered in the manuscript of J. Brodowski’s Dictionary *Galva skaust...* ‘the head aches’ and in Kurschat’s *Littauisch-deutsches Wörterbuch: Man pilvą skaust* ‘My stomach hurts’ (κ<sub>2</sub> 18).

The athematic form can also be found in dialects such as the Zietela dialect, a Lithuanian dialect once spoken in Belarus, as in *vidui skaust* ‘it hurts inside’ and *pirštus labai skausti* ‘the fingers hurt a lot’ (Vidugiris 1973, 202). The athematic 3rd PRS form *skaūsti* is used in Zietela dialect as well as the forms *skaūsta* and *skaūst* (Zinkevičius 1966, 351). The thematic 3rd present *skauda* is given as the standard conjugation (LKŽ) but also listed as 3rd present forms are *skausti*, *skausta*, *skaudžia* and *skaudi*.

The form *skausti* can also be an infinitive with the 3rd present *skaudžia* but then it has a causative meaning ‘to hurt someone’. This verb *skausti* can also have the sense ‘go fast, run’ and related to this sense are the adjectives *skaudūs*, *skaūdras* and *skudrūs* meaning: ‘quick, sudden, harsh, angry’, *skaudūs vėjas* ‘harsh wind’ (so harsh that it hurts), Latv. *skauds vējš*.<sup>15</sup> It is not uncommon in other languages for the meanings *quick*, *sharp*, *harsh* to be related to the meaning ‘hurt’.<sup>16</sup> The meaning of the root *skaud-* is thus very close to the original sense of the English verb *hurt* (see footnote 2 and cf. Karaliūnas 1973, 58) and the original sense of many of the derived pain verbs. In Seržant and Bjarnadóttir (2014) it is suggested that some of the *-ėti* verbs, among them *skaudėti*, are of nominal origin. It can be formed from the adjective *skaudus* with the meaning ‘quick, sudden, harsh and angry’ by adding the stative ending *-ėti*. Thus, *skaudėti* is semantically similar to the derived pain verbs but formed as an intransitive stative verb.

### 3.2. *Sopėti*

While *skaudėti* is the frequently used standard verb in Lithuanian to express pain, *sopėti* is more of a dialectal variant. However, this verb has,

<sup>15</sup> In Latvian the verb *skāust* (*-žu*, *-du*) has the meaning ‘to envy, to grudge’ and *skāudēt* (*-u*, *-ēju*) ‘to envy’ and Latv. *skaust* (3 pres. *skauj*) ‘envy’ and *skaīt*, *skauju* (1st sg. pres.) ‘beat, embrace’

<sup>16</sup> See footnote 4 on the verb *hurt* in English.

as opposed to *skaudėti*, a cognate in Latvian *sāpēt* with the same meaning and is more frequent in older texts.

There is much less morphological variation for the verb *sopėti* than *skaudėti*. The 3rd present form *sopi* is found in the dictionaries of Nesselmann, Kurschat and Ruhig rather than not *sopa*, which might suggest that this verb originally belonged to the *i*-stem verbs of the type *turėti*, *turi*. No instances of athematic forms like *sopti* are attested in old dictionaries and only one example is found in dialects: *Sūneli, ar labai sópti pirščiukas?* (Švenčionys in eastern Lithuania, LKŽ, s.v.). This verb form *sopti* exists as an infinitive form with the inchoative meaning ‘begin to hurt’ thus unlike the causative meaning of *skausti* ‘to hurt someone’.

### 3.3. Summary

The Lithuanian verb *sopėti* has a cognate in Latvian *sāpēt* but is not found in Old Prussian. I therefore consider it to be a common East Baltic verb denoting the feeling of pain. The verb *skaudėti* on the other hand is only found in Lithuanian and must therefore be more recent. The root of this verb is however known in Latvian. I consider *skaudėti* to be a denominal secondary verb. The nominal origin could be from the adjective *skaudus* with the meaning ‘harsh, quick’ and adding the stative ending *-ėti*, thus semantically similar to the derived pain verbs and with a more patient-like role than the verb *sopėti*, but formed as an intransitive stative verb. Similar processes can be seen in other languages, as in the etymology of the English verb *hurt*. It seems thus that the original semantics of some of the pain-specific verbs were actually very close to the semantics of the derived pain verbs. This suggests a general development pattern in this semantic field.

## 4. Nominative vs. Accusative in dialects and old texts

In the following section, data collected for this study will be presented. First dialectal data and subsequently data from old Lithuanian texts will be investigated. The data is gathered from dictionaries and published linguistic works. The main database used for this study is the electronic online version of *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (lkz.lt) (referred to as LKŽe) and the online version of Old Lithuanian writings from the Institute of

the Lithuanian language (lki.lt), dialectal dictionaries as *Zietelos šnektos žodynas* (ZIETŠŽ) (Vidugiris 1998), *Lazūnų tarmės žodynas* (LTŽ) (Petrauskas & Vidugiris 1985), *Dieveniškų šnektos žodynas*, 2nd vol. (N–Z) (DŠŽ) (Mikulėnienė, Morkūnas & Vidugiris 2010), *Kretingos tarmės žodynas* (KTŽ) (Aleksandravičius 2011), *Zanavykų šnektos žodynas* vols. 1–3 (ZANŠŽ) (Sakalauskienė 2002–2006), *Druskininkų tarmės žodynas* (DRTŽ) (Naktinienė, Paulauskienė & Vitkauskas 1988) and *Šiaurės Rytu Dūnininkų Šnektų Žodynas* (Vitkauskas 1976).

A systematic examination of the encoding of *BP* with the pain-specific verbs found in these sources is carried out. The findings do not necessarily tell us anything about what the state of affairs in the dialects is today. What is important though is that this shows that at some point in time people used nominative or accusative marking of *BP* in this particular area.

#### 4.1. Dialects

Dialectal varieties represent a good empirical basis for the analysis of language change. Standard languages do not display the same degree of structural regularity and consistency, due to explicit regulation and codification which can inhibit natural language change (cf. Stein 1997).

There are two main dialects in Lithuanian: Aukštaitian and Žemaitian, and these are further divided into three subdialects each: West, East and South for Aukštaitian and West, North and South for Žemaitian. Žemaitian is spoken in the northwestern part of Lithuania and covers a much smaller territory than Aukštaitian or only about ¼ of Lithuania. Aukštaitian is spoken in the remaining part and the standard language is derived from West Aukštaitian.

Both nominative and accusative encoding of *BP* in pain verb constructions are accepted in Lithuanian, however after Jablonski's emendations of the standard language in the beginning of the 20th century the accusative was normalized (Smetonienė & Dambrauskaitė 2011, 29). Nominative encoding of *BP* remains, however, in some dialects.

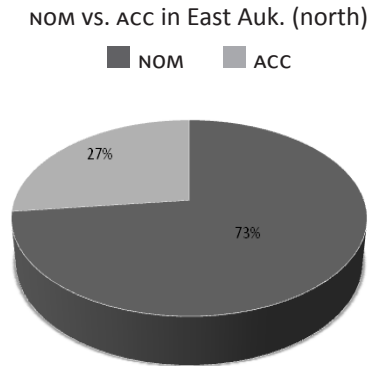
##### 4.1.1. East Aukštaitian

East Aukštaitian covers a large area in East Lithuania from Vilnius and the Dieveniškės 'appendix' in the south, stretching along the Latvian border to

the village of Biržai in the North. I have divided this area into two regions, according to my findings: the northern part, with a main focus on the region around Ignalina and Utena, and the southern part, which is centered around Vilnius and in the Dieveniškės appendix.

In the northern part nominative encoding of BP is clearly prevalent (see figure 1).

Figure 1. Proportion of NOM marked BP vs. ACC marked BP with pain-specific verbs in East Aukštaitian (Northern part).



30 nominative marked BPs and only 11 accusative marked BPs are found. The verb *sopėti* seems to be used very frequently in this region, with 25 examples against five of the more standard *skaudėti*. With both of these verbs nominative is by far more frequent than accusative.

20 instances of nominative marking are found with the verb *sopėti*, as e.g. in (7)–(11) which are all from the Ignalina district in Eastern Lithuania:

- (7) *Sopa gi vis-i gal-ai.*  
hurt.PRS.3 PTCL all-NOM.PL.M end-NOM.PL  
‘It hurts everywhere.’  
(Mielagėnai, Ignalina region, LKže, s.v.)
- (8) *Iš peči-ų rank-os sopa.*  
from shoulder-GEN.PL arm-NOM.PL hurt.PRS.3  
‘The arms hurt down from the shoulders.’  
(Daugėliškis, Ignalina region, LKže, s.v.)

- (9) *Išsopėjo dant-ys, gal daugiau ne-sopės.*  
 stop\_hurting.PST.3 tooth-NOM.PL maybe more NEG-hurt.FUT.3  
 ‘The teeth stopped aching, maybe they will not ache any more.’  
 (Daugėliškis, Ignalina region, LKže, s.v.)
- (10) *Aš i be dant-u, è vèderel-is*  
 I.NOM PTCL without teeth-GEN.PL but stomach-NOM  
*ne-sopa.*  
 NEG-hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘I am without teeth but my stomach does not hurt.’  
 (Daugėliškis, Ignalina region, LKže, s.v.)
- (11) *Kap tau, vaikel-i, galv-a ne-sopa?*  
 how you.DAT child-VOC head-NOM NEG-hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘How is it with you, child, doesn’t your head hurt?’  
 (Rimšė, Ignalina region, LKže, s.v.)

Accusative marking with *sopėti* is found on five occasions, one of which is in (12):

- (12) *Kožn-am šird-į sópa, kai reikia*  
 every-DAT.SG.M heart-ACC ache.PRS.3 when be\_needed.PRS.3  
*viskas palikt.*  
 all.NOM leave.INF  
 ‘Everyone’s heart aches when they have to leave everything behind.’  
 (Kuktiškės, Utena region, LKže, s.v.)

Two of these five accusative-marked BPS include *širdis* ‘heart’ with the metaphorical meaning ‘to feel sorrow’. The verb *skaudėti* occurs only five times, of which four are marked with nominative (13)–(14) and only one with accusative (15):

- (13) *Kas čia man yra, skaudžia pusiau,*  
 what here me.DAT be.PRS.3 hurt.PRS.3 in\_the\_waist\_area  
*skaudžia rank-os.*  
 hurt.PRS.3 hand-NOM.PL  
 ‘What’s the matter with me—I feel pain in the waist area and my hands ache.’  
 (Mielagėnai, Ignalina region, LKže, s.v.)
- (14) *Ajei, kaip man piršt-as skaudžia!*  
 ah how me.DAT finger-NOM hurt.PRS.3

‘Ah, how my finger hurts!’

(Joniškis, Molėtai region, LKže, s.v.)

- (15) *tai man dant-į skaūdzia.*  
 that me.DAT tooth-ACC hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘It’s my tooth that hurts.’

(Daugėliškis, Ignalina region, LKže, s.v.)

The proportion is different for the other pain-specific verbs such as *mausti*, which occurs on three occasions of which one has nominative marking (16) and two accusative marking, e.g. (17):

- (16) *ir atsimaudė man tas dant-is —*  
 and hurt\_a\_lot.PST.3 me.DAT this tooth-NOM  
*maudė bent tris savaites.*  
 hurt.PST.3 at\_least three weeks  
 ‘and this tooth caused me a lot of pain—it has been hurting for at least three weeks.’

(Rokiškis region, LKže, s.v.)

- (17) *Pus-ę naktel-ės dant-į išmaudė.*  
 half-ACC night-GEN tooth-ACC hurt.PST.3  
 ‘My tooth was aching half of the night.’

(Kuktiškės, Utena region, LKže, s.v.)

The proportion for *niež(t)ėti* is equal: of the six examples found, three have the marking accusative e.g. (18) and three nominative, e.g. (19):

- (18) *Pakasyk — man nugar-q niežti.*  
 scratch.IMP.2SG me.DAT back-ACC itch.PRS.3  
 ‘Please scratch me—my back is itching.’

(Subačius, Kupiškis region, LKže, s.v.)

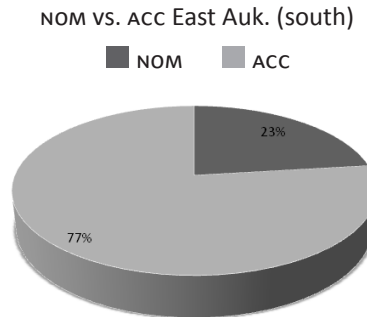
- (19) *Katr-am jau čia piršt-ai niežtėjo...*  
 everyone-DAT already here finger-NOM.PL itch.PST.3  
 ‘Everyone’s fingers were already itching (to do something).’

(Skudutiškis, Molėtai region, LKže, s.v.)

In the southern part of the East Aukštaitian speaking area, i.e. the area around Vilnius and in the Dieveniškės appendix, we get a different picture, with nine nominative-marked BPS and 30 accusative-marked BPS (see figure 2).



Figure 2. Proportion of NOM-marked BP vs. ACC-marked BP with pain-specific verbs in East Aukštaitian (Southern part).



Here we find eight nominative-marked BPs, six of which include the verb *sopėti* (20) and two with the verb *niež(t)ėti* (21).

- (20) *Man net galv-a užsopėjo.*  
 me.DAT even head-NOM start\_hurting.PST.3  
 ‘Even my head started to ache.’

(Kernavė, LKže, s.v.)

- (21) *Rank-os aršai niešč.*  
 hand-NOM.PL terribly itch.PRS.3  
 ‘[My] hands are itching terribly’

(Pupiškės, Dieveniškės region, Džž, s.v.)

We find 30 examples with accusative-marked BPs, of which 19 occur with *sopėti* (22), 10 with *skaudėti* (23) and one with *niež(t)ėti* (24).

- (22) *Vaik-u pilvel-į sópa.*  
 child-DAT stomach-ACC hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘The child has got a tummy ache’

(Daubutiškės, Dieveniškės region, Džž, s.v.)

- (23) *Skáuda kój-as labai*  
 hurt.PRS.3 leg-ACC.PL a lot  
 ‘The legs hurt a lot.’

(Žižmai, Dieveniškės region, Džž, s.v.)

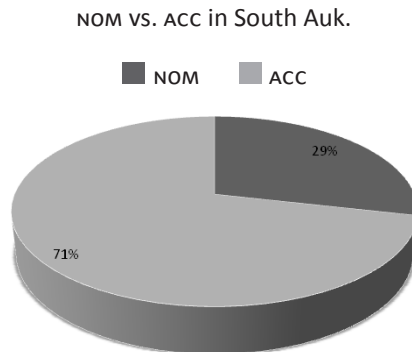
- (24) *Niešč papad-ę.*  
 itch.PRS.3 sole-ACC  
 ‘The sole of the foot itches’

(Maciučiai, Dieveniškės region, Džž, s.v.)

## 4.1.2. South Aukštaitian

In this part of Lithuania the trend is similar to the adjacent southern part of East Aukštaitian, i.e. accusative is prevalent (see figure 3).

Figure 3. Proportion of NOM-marked vs. ACC-marked BPS with pain-specific verbs in South Aukštaitian.



Here 15 accusative-marked BPS are found and six nominative-marked BPS. The proportion of verbs is the following: with the verb *sopėti* six accusative-marked BPS (25) and three nominative (26); only two examples of *skaudėti* are found: one with nominative (27) and one with accusative (28); *mausti* was found twice and on both occasions with accusative (29); three examples of *niežtėti/nižti* are found, two with accusative (30) and one with nominative (31); and finally two examples of *peršėti*, one with accusative (32) and one with nominative (33).

- (25) *Labai vis-ą sopa ir krūtin-ę,*  
 a lot all-ACC.SG hurt.PRS.3 and chest-ACC.SG  
*ir peči-us.*  
 and shoulder-ACC.PL

‘It hurts a lot everywhere, both chest and shoulders.’

(Varėna, LKže, s.v.)

- (26) *Maža kam galv-à sópa.*  
 little whom.DAT head-NOM hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘Are there few people with a headache?’  
 (i.e. ‘never mind about your headache’)

(Varėna, LKže, s.v.)

- (27) *Galėsi baigti, kai sprand-as paskaudės.*  
 can.FUT.2 stop.INF when neck-NOM hurt.FUT.3  
 ‘You can stop when your neck begins to hurt.’  
 (Merkinė, Varėna region, LKže, s.v.)
- (28) *ir ka(p) pilv-u skausci.*  
 and how stomach-ACC hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘...and what a pain in the stomach!’  
 (Druskininkai, DRTž, s.v.)
- (29) *Prieš or-o permair-q man kaul-us*  
 before weather-GEN change-ACC me.DAT bone-ACC.PL  
*maūdzia.*  
 hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘When a change of weather is coming my bones ache.’  
 (Butrimonys, Alytus region, LKže, s.v.)
- (30) *Panižo smakr-q.*  
 start\_to\_itch.PST.3 chin-ACC  
 ‘The chin started to itch.’  
 (Leipalingis, Lazdijai region, LKže, s.v.)
- (31) *bet rank-os tep ir niežėjo.*  
 but hands-NOM.PL literally itch.PST.3  
 ‘...but my hands were literally itching’  
 (Perloja, Varėna region. LKže, s.v.)
- (32) *Ak-i kiek paperštiej ir nieko.*  
 eye-ACC slightly hurt.PST.3 and nothing  
 ‘The eye slightly hurt for some time and then it stopped.’  
 (Druskininkai, DRTž, s.v.)
- (33) *peršči kūn-as*  
 smart.PST.3 body-NOM  
 ‘[My] body is smarting.’  
 (Druskininkai, DRTž, s.v.)

Worth mentioning is that (31) is originally from a collection of Lithuanian proverbs (V. Krėvė-Mickevičius, *Patarlės ir priežodžiai*) which could explain the nominative as archaism.

In this part of Lithuania we even find examples with the experiencer in accusative, which are rare elsewhere, cf. (34):

- (34) *Net mane skāida, kad tu sergi.*  
 even me.ACC hurt.PRS.3 that you be\_ill.PRS.2SG  
 ‘It is even painful to me that you are ill.’

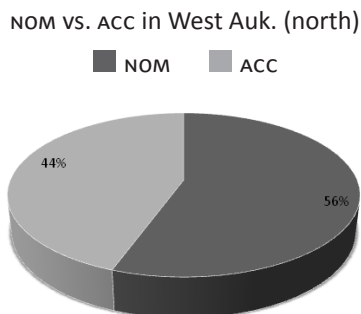
(Krokialaukis, Alytus region, LKže, s.v.)

#### 4.1.3. West Aukštaitian

I divide this region in two parts: the northern part from the Latvian border to Jonava in the south,<sup>17</sup> and the southern part around Kaunas and Mariampolė, the region from which the standard language is derived.

In the northern part I have found 15 nominative and 12 accusative-marked BPs (see figure 4).

Figure 4. Proportion of NOM-marked BP vs. ACC-marked BP with pain-specific verbs in West Aukštaitian (Northern part).



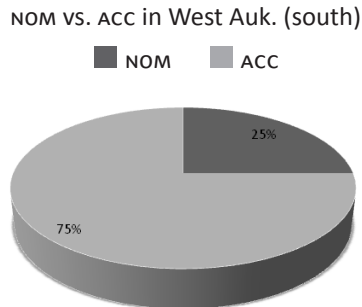
Here we have an almost equal distribution between nominative and accusative, but what complicates this picture a bit is the unequal distribution of the verbs. The verbs *niežėti* and *peršėti* are found five times each, always with a BP marked with nominative (35) and (36), whereas *mausti* is found on three occasions, all having accusative-marked BPs (37). The verbs *sopėti*, found eight times, and *skaudėti*, with seven examples, have almost an equal proportion of nominative and accusative with a slight prevalence of accusative (38–41).

<sup>17</sup> Many of the examples from this dialectal part are from the area around Šiauliai. I have also included in this part a few examples from villages west of Panevėžys such as Ramygalā and Joniškėlis. They are actually in the East Aukštaitian speaking area but show in this regard more similarities to the northern part of West Aukštaitian.

- (35) *Nižta skaudul-ys baisiausiai.*  
 itch.PRS.3 wound-NOM terribly  
 ‘The wound itches terribly.’  
 (Kuršenai, Šiauliai region, LKŽe, s.v.)
- (36) *Peřšta piršt-ai, ne-galiu liauties.*  
 tingle.PRS.3 finger-NOM.PL NEG-CAN-PRS.1SG stop-INF  
 ‘My fingers are tingling, I cannot stop.’  
 (Raudėnai, Šiauliai region, LKŽe, s.v.)
- (37) *Nuo pat ryt-o maũdzia dant-i.*  
 from very morning-GEN hurt.PRS.3 tooth-ACC  
 ‘From the very morning my tooth has been aching.’  
 (Kėdainiai, LKŽe, s.v.)
- (38) *Pilv-as sėpa, o vaik-ai ropa.*  
 stomach-NOM hurt.PRS.3 and child-NOM.PL crawl.PRS.3  
 ‘The stomach aches but the children are still crawling.’  
 (i.e. the father is old but the children are still small’)  
 (Radviliškis, LKŽe, s.v.)
- (39) *Kelias dienas prasopėjo šon-q.*  
 some days hurt.PST.3 side-ACC  
 ‘[My] side has been hurting for some days.’  
 (Ramygala, Panevėžys region, LKŽe, s.v.)
- (40) *Skauda ak-ys, kai į turtingą žmog-ų žiūri.*  
 hurt.PRS.3 eye-NOM.PL when in rich-ACC.SG  
 person-ACC look.PRS.2SG  
 ‘Your eyes hurt when looking at a rich person.’  
 (i.e. one gets jealous)  
 (Upninkai, Jonava region, LKŽe, s.v.)
- (41) *Man visada juosmen-i skaũda,*  
 me.DAT always waist-ACC hurt.PRS.3  
*užmigt ne-galiu.*  
 fall\_asleep-INF NEG-CAN-PRS.1SG  
 ‘My waist always hurts so I cannot fall asleep.’  
 (Dotnuva, Kėdainiai region, LKŽe, s.v.)

The southern part of this West Aukštaitian speaking region, the Kaunas region and Suvalkija, has a trend similar to South Aukštaitian, i.e. accusative marking is more prevalent, with 24 examples compared to nominative marking, with eight examples (see figure 5).

Figure 5. Proportion of NOM-marked BP vs. ACC-marked BP with pain-specific verbs in West Aukštaitian (Southern part), the region of Kaunas and Suvalkija.



It is worth mentioning that this is the dialect from which the standard language is derived, and it also happens to be the most conservative dialect with regard to prosodic features such as lack of stress retraction and the distinction of long vowels from short even in unstressed position (Balode & Holvoet 2001, 54). Sixteen examples of *skaudėti* are found, of which a clear majority, or thirteen, had accusative marking on the BP (42) and only three had nominative (43). All three instances of *mausti* had accusative marking (44), and *niežtėti* had eight accusative (45) and three nominative (46) marked BPs. The verb *sopėti* seems to be rare in this dialect, as it was only found twice and on both occasions with nominative (47).

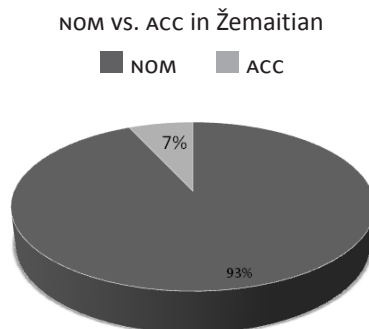
- (42) *Tur'u vatuotis, kat pilv-a.*  
 MUST.PRS.1SG dress\_warmly.INF that stomach-ACC /GEN  
*næ-skaudėtu.*  
 NEG-hurt.COND.3  
 'I have to dress warmly so my stomach won't hurt.'  
 (Kudirkos Naumiestis, ZANŠŽ, s.v.)
- (43) *Koj-os ima iš šlaun-ų skaudėti.*  
 leg-NOM.PL begin.PRS.3 from hip-GEN.PL hurt.INF  
 'The legs start aching from the hips.'  
 (Kudirkos Naumiestis, ZANŠŽ, s.v.)
- (44) *Ma.n labai dant-i. maudžæ.*  
 me.DAT a lot tooth-ACC hurt.PRS.3  
 'My tooth hurts a lot.'  
 (Sintautai, ZANŠŽ, s.v.)

- (45) *Iš nerimašč-u gálv-a. emi nieštét.*  
 from worry-GEN.PL head-ACC begin-PST.3 itch.INF  
 ‘The head started to itch from worries.’  
 (Sintautai, ZANŠŽ, s.v.)
- (46) *Rank-os kask-ám labai nieštéjo.*  
 hand-NOM.PL someone-DAT a lot itch.PST.3  
 ‘Someone’s hands were really itching (to do someth.).’  
 (Griškabūdis, ZANŠŽ, s.v.)
- (47) *Rodos, kad išsimiegosi, tai*  
 seem.PRS.3 that have\_a\_good\_sleep.FUT.2SG then  
*ne-sopēs gálv-a, ale vis tiek sópa.*  
 NEG-hurt.FUT.3 head-NOM but all the same hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘It seems that your head would not ache if you had a good sleep,  
 but it aches all the same.’  
 (Palomenė, Kaišiadorys region, LKŽe, s.v.)

#### 4.1.4. Žemaitian

As mentioned earlier, nominative encoding of BP is most common in the northwestern part of Lithuania, i.e. in North Žemaitian. This seems to be the trend in other parts of Žemaitija as well as in LKŽe as we have 41 nominative and only three accusative-marked BPs (see figure 6). I prefer to treat all the Žemaitian subdialects together as they are very homogenous in this respect.

Figure 6. Proportion of NOM-marked BP vs. ACC-marked BP with pain-specific verbs in Žemaitian.



The absolute majority of the examples from this dialect include a nominative-marked BP as in (48):

- (48) *Môn dēdlē galv-ā skāud.*  
 me.DAT a lot head-NOM hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘My head aches terribly.’

(Kretinga, KTŽ, s.v.)

The very few exceptions with accusative-marked BPs in Žemaitian can be seen in (49–51).

- (49) *Parėjo namo — pilv-q skautā.*  
 return.PST.3 home stomach-ACC hurt.PART.PRS.ACT.N  
 ‘(S)he returned home [saying] her/his stomach was aching.’

(Eržvilkas, LKŽe, s.v.)

The village of Eržvilkas is far south in Žemaitija, almost at the border of the West Aukštaitian speaking area. Examples (50) and (51) with accusative-marked BP were found in an area a bit further north but still in the South Žemaitian speaking area:

- (50) *Galv-q skāūsta = m (= man skauda).*  
 head-ACC hurt.PRS.3=1sg  
 ‘My head aches.’

(Kvėdarna, LKŽe, s.v.)

Example (51) includes the verb *svembti*, a dialectal verb mainly found in Žemaitian.

- (51) *Rank-q pāsverbė, ale greit nustojo.*  
 hand-ACC hurt\_a\_little.PST.3 but quickly stopped  
 ‘The hand ached a little but it quickly stopped.’

(Kvėdarna, LKŽe, s.v.)

#### 4.1.5. Lithuanian dialects outside the borders

It is well known that languages spoken by groups that are isolated from the mainstream language tend to change the least. Dialects spoken outside the country or on the periphery of a language area often retain archaisms longer. (Hock 1991, 440; Tagliamonte *et al.* 2005, 91)

The dialects in Belarus are a good example of this, having preserved



archaic features such as postpositional locatives (Zinkevičius 1966, 202). For this reason I consider the findings in the Lithuanian-speaking dialects in Belarus to be of considerable value.

Lithuanian is, or at least was, as some of these dialects have disappeared, spoken by the autochthonous Lithuanian populations in some border areas of Belarus, Poland and Latvia. Today Lithuanian is still spoken in a few villages or enclaves in Belarus such as Gervėčiai, Apsas and Pelesa (Wiemer 2003, 122), but it was earlier found in a much broader area and in the beginning of the 19th century in several heterogeneous dialectal islands in northern Belarus. The Lithuanian-speaking population in the 1930s was approximately 12,500 (*idem*).

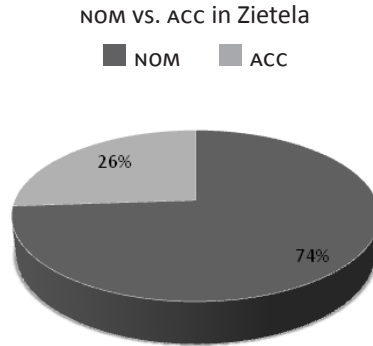
4.1.5.1. Zietela dialect in Belarus | One of the most interesting Lithuanian subdialects spoken outside the present-day boundaries of the Republic of Lithuania is the Zietela dialect in Belarus. Due to both its geographical position, quite far south from the borders of Lithuania making it the most southerly area of Lithuanian, and its linguistic traits which are particularly archaic, the Zietela dialect is considered the most mysterious of all known Lithuanian dialects (Vidugiris 2004, 40). It does not coincide with any one of the present-day Lithuanian dialects or subdialects. It is not a continuation of the adjacent Southern Aukštaitian dialect, but rather of the slightly more distant Southwestern Aukštaitian of Kaunas. Furthermore, it is considered to be a linguistic relic of the language of the Yotvingians,<sup>18</sup> who previously inhabited this territory (see further Vidugiris 2004, 40–47 and 382–383).

In the late 19th century the number of Lithuanians inhabiting the district of Zietela was around a thousand (*idem*). Thereafter the number of Lithuanians steadily diminished. In 1955–56 there were still about 50 elderly persons whose knowledge of Lithuanian was good or satisfactory. The last native speaker of the Zietela dialect died in the 1980s (*idem*).

When the case marking of BPS in pain-verb constructions are examined in *Zietelos šnektos žodynas* (Vidugiris 1973, 1998) it is clear that nominative is prevalent (see figure 7), with 17 examples against six with accusative marking.

<sup>18</sup> Lithuanians and Latvians are Eastern Balts while Prussians, Yotvingians, Galindians and Curonians were Western Balts.

Figure 7. Proportion of NOM-marked BP vs. ACC-marked BP with pain-specific verbs in Zietela dialect.



The verb *skaudėti* occurs with 13 nominative (52) and five accusative (54) marked BPs. The verb *niežtėti* occurs twice and on both occasions with nominative (53), and *peršėti* twice with nominative (55) and once with accusative (56). No example with the verb *sopėti* was found.

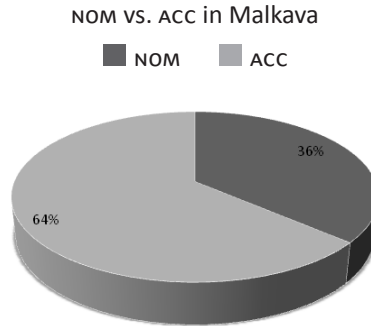
- (52) *Man labai kój-os skauti.*  
 me.DAT much leg-NOM.PL hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘My legs hurt a lot.’  
 (Zietela, ZIETŠŽ, s.v.)
- (53) *Jam ništi peč-ei.*  
 him.DAT itch.PRS.3 shoulder-NOM.PL  
 ‘His shoulders itch.’  
 (Zietela, ZIETŠŽ, s.v.)
- (54) *Vien-a. rank-a. ir kój-a. jieme skaudieti.*  
 one-ACC hand-ACC and leg-ACC begin.PST.3 hurt.INF  
 ‘One hand and one leg started hurting.’  
 (Zietela, ZIETŠŽ, s.v.)
- (55) *Peršta ak-ės.*  
 Smart.PRS.3 eye-NOM.PL  
 ‘The eyes are smarting/burning.’  
 (Zietela, ZIETŠŽ, s.v.)
- (56) *Manip gærkl-ę peršti.*  
 me.ADESS throat-ACC smart.PRS.3  
 ‘My throat is sore.’  
 (Zietela, ZIETŠŽ, s.v.)

4.1.5.2. Malkava | Another interesting Lithuanian dialect in Belarus is the one spoken in the village of Malkava in the Mogilov region in eastern Belarus. This interest is mainly due to its geographical position in eastern Belarus, far from both the Lithuanian border and the other Lithuanian dialectal islands found along the border in north and northwestern Belarus. Furthermore the Lithuanian-speaking inhabitants in the Malkava region have a different history from other Lithuanians in Belarus, as they settled very late in the region, only in the late 19th century, during the Russian Imperial occupation. The settlers were Lithuanian peasants, mainly from the village of Linkmenys in eastern Lithuania, who left for eastern Belarus to establish Lithuanian villages and communities. Unfortunately these communities were totally uprooted in the Soviet period by deportations and Russification.

The examples from the Malkava region in Belarus used here are from Sivickienė (1959), with additional examples from LKŽ. According to Sivickienė, who studied this dialect in the 1950s, both nominative and accusative marking of BP were accepted in pain-verb constructions: “Verta pastebėti, kad su veiksmoždziais *sopa*, *niešti*, *peršti* vartojamas ir galininko, ir vardininko linksnis. Bet su veiksmoždziais *užtirpsta*, *tvinksta*, *kniėti* vartojamas tik vardininkas, o su veiksmoždziais *gelia*, *maudžia* tik galininkas.”<sup>19</sup> (Sivickienė 1959, 233). This distribution could be explained by the fact that *gelti* ‘bite, hurt’ is a derived pain verb and thus gets accusative marking. It is more difficult to explain the accusative marking with the verb *mausti*, which belongs to the pain-specific verbs. Its form, however, is more similar to the transitive-causative verbs in the derived group than the intransitive-stative pain-specific verbs, which might explain the accusative marking. This verb is often found with accusative marking in other dialects as well (see Table 2). One could explain the nominative marking of the verbs *užtirpti* ‘become numb’, *tvinkti* ‘swell’, *kniėti* ‘itch’ by their semantics, which, at least for the first two, result in a more agent-like reading of the BP. We have thus a very different proportion here from the Zietela (see figure 8), with seven accusative-marked against four nominative-marked BPs; lack of data from this dialect must however be taken into consideration.

<sup>19</sup> “It is worth noticing that with the verbs *sopa*, *niešti*, *peršti* it is possible to use both accusative and nominative. With the verbs *užtirpsta*, *tvinksta*, *kniėti* however only nominative is possible and with the verbs *gelia*, *maudžia* only accusative.”

Figure 8. Proportion of NOM-marked BP vs. ACC-marked BP with pain-specific verbs in the Malkava dialect.



With the verb *sopėti* we find four accusative-marked (57) and three-nominative marked BPs (58); with *mausti* one accusative-marked (59) and with *niežėti* two accusative (60) and one nominative (61). Contrary to the Zietela dialect which had no examples of *sopėti*, here we have no examples of *skaudėti*.

- (57) *Vakar galv-u. sa.pėja.*  
 yesterday head-ACC ache.PST.3  
 ‘Yesterday [I] had a headache.’  
 (Malkava, Sivickienė 1959, 232)
- (58) *Galv-à pradė sa.pėt.*  
 head-NOM begin.PST.3 hurt.INF  
 ‘My head began to ache.’  
 (Malkava, Sivickienė 1959, 232)
- (59) *Dunt-i. baudžia (maudžia).*  
 tooth-ACC hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘[My] tooth aches.’  
 (Malkava, Sivickienė 1959, 232)
- (60) *Le.žiu.v-i. jai niešti.*  
 tongue-ACC her.DAT itch.PRS.3  
 ‘Her tongue itches (to say something).’  
 (Malkava, Sivickienė 1959, 232)
- (61) *Nos-is niežti, mirs kas.*  
 nose-NOM itch.PRS.3 die.FUT.3 someone.NOM  
 ‘If the nose itches, someone will die.’  
 (Malkava, Sivickienė 1959, 232)

This difference, i.e. the prevalence of accusative, and not nominative as in Zietela, could be explained by the different historical origin of this dialect, as its speakers settled much later in this region. They came however mainly from villages in East Lithuania, e.g. Linkmenys, which is close to Ignalina where, as we saw in the section on East Aukštaitian, nominative is prevalent.

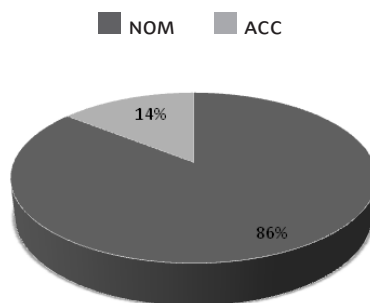
#### 4.1.5.3. Other dialectal islands in Belarus

The other Lithuanian dialects in Belarus are found in dialectal islands along the Lithuanian border in north and northwestern Belarus. They stretch from Breslauja far to the north close to the Latvian border almost 400 km southwest to Gardinas close to the Polish border. The dialects in the northernmost dialectal islands Breslauja, Kamo, Gervėčiai and Lazūnai are derived from East Aukštaitian while the dialects in the southwesternmost dialectal islands such as Varanavas, Rodūnia, Pelesa, Azierkai and Gardinas are derived from South Aukštaitian.

When examining these Lithuanian dialects in Belarus, it is obvious that the trend is the same as in Zietela, with nominative marking prevalent (see figures 9 and 10).

Figure 9. Proportion of NOM-marked BP vs. ACC-marked BP with pain-specific verbs in East Aukštaitian speaking dialects in Belarus.

NOM vs. ACC in East Auk. dialects in Belarus



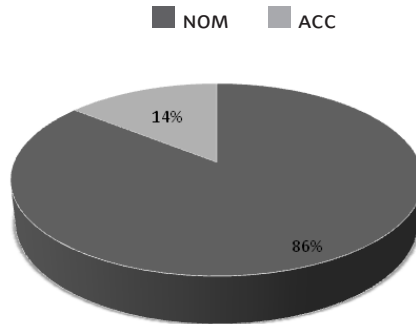
In the East Aukštaitian dialects we find 12 nominative-marked BPs of which 11 include the verb *sopėti* (62–64) and one the verb *niežėti* (65), and two accusative-marked, one with the verb *sopėti* (66) and one with *skaudėti* (67).

- (62) *Sopa rank-os sen-am žmog-ui.*  
 hurt.PRS.3 hand-NOM.PL old-DAT.SG.M man-DAT  
 ‘An old man’s hands hurt.’  
 (Breslauja, LKže, s.v.)
- (63) *Kakl-as labai sópa.*  
 neck-NOM a lot hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘[My] neck hurts a lot.’  
 (Gervėčiai, LKže, s.v.)
- (64) *Jau ir tau širdel-ė a(ž)sopėj.*  
 already even you.DAT heart-NOM start\_hurting.PST.3  
 ‘Now even you start to feel sorrow’  
 (Daunoriai, Lazūnai reg., LTŽ, s.v.)
- (65) *Niešč pakauš-is.*  
 itch.PRS.3 back\_of\_the\_head-NOM  
 ‘The back of the head itches’  
 (Daunoriai, Lazūnai reg., LTŽ, s.v.)
- (66) *Man sópa, dega, kept ima,*  
 me.DAT hurt.PRS.3 burn.PRS.3 bake.INF begin.PRS.3  
*peč-i-us sópa.*  
 shoulders-ACC.PL hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘I am aching, starting to burn, my shoulders hurt.’  
 (Lazūnai, LKže, s.v.)
- (67) *Ne-galiu, man vis-q krūtin-ę skauda.*  
 NEG-CAN.PRS.1SG me.DAT whole chest-ACC hurt-PRS.3  
 ‘I cannot [stand the pain any more], my whole chest hurts.’  
 (Gervėčiai, LKže, s.v.)

It is tempting to explain the distribution of the nominative and accusative between the two verbs (nominative-marked BPS with *sopėti* and an accusative-marked BP with *skaudėti*) by looking at the different etymology and original semantics of these two verbs (see section 3), where the semantics of the root in the verb *skaudėti* was similar to *derived pain verbs* which originally have accusative marked BPS. What could also be of importance is, as we saw in Malkava dialect and in the section on East Aukštaitian, *sopėti* seems to be the main verb to express the feeling of pain in this dialect and the use of *skaudėti* could be more recent. The situation in the southern part is similar, and nominative marking is prevalent and even more pronounced (see figure 10):

Figure 10. Proportion of *NOM*-marked *BP* vs. *ACC*-marked *BP* with pain-specific verbs in South Aukštaitian speaking dialects in Belarus.

NOM vs. ACC in South Auk. dialects in Belarus



Six examples with nominative marking were found, all with the verb *sopėti* (68) and (69) and only one with accusative with the verb *skaudėti* (70).

- (68) **Rank-os**      *susopės.*  
 hand-NOM.PL start\_hurting.FUT.3  
 ‘The hands will start hurting.’  
 (Pelesa, Varanavas region, LKže s.v.)
- (69) **Rank-os**    *ir*    **koj-os**      *sopa,*  
 hand-NOM.PL and foot-NOM.PL hurt.PRS.3  
*vis tiek*      *kap*    *sumušta.*  
 all the same like beat.PART. PRS.ACT.NOM.SG.F  
 ‘[My] hands and feet hurt, all the same [I feel] as if [I had been]  
 beaten up.’  
 (Azierkai, Gardinas region, LKže, s.v.)
- (70) **Didel-į**      **piršt-ą**    *ma(n)*    *skauda.*  
 long-ACC.SG.M finger-ACC me.DAT hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘My middle finger hurts.’  
 (Žirmūnai, Varanavas region, LKže, s.v.)

This proportion is surprising if we consider the findings in South Aukštaitian, where accusative marking is more prevalent. More material from this subdialect would of course be preferable in order to draw any further conclusions, but it is tempting to claim that this must be due to retained archaism.

Only two examples of pain-specific verbs were found in dialects outside

the borders of Lithuania in other countries than Belarus, both in Latvia (71) and (72). Maybe not surprisingly, given that nominative is the only possible case marking for BPS in *pain-verb constructions* in Latvian, they have nominative marking:

- (71) *Sópa galv-a, rank-os sópa nuo darbo.*  
 hurt.PRS.3 head-NOM hand-NOM.PL hurt.PRS.3 from work  
 ‘Head and hands are hurting from working.’  
 (Rēzekne, Latvia, LKže, s.v.)

- (72) *Galv-a smagiai sópa.*  
 head-NOM badly hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘The head is aching badly.’  
 (Krāslava, Latvia, LKže, s.v.)

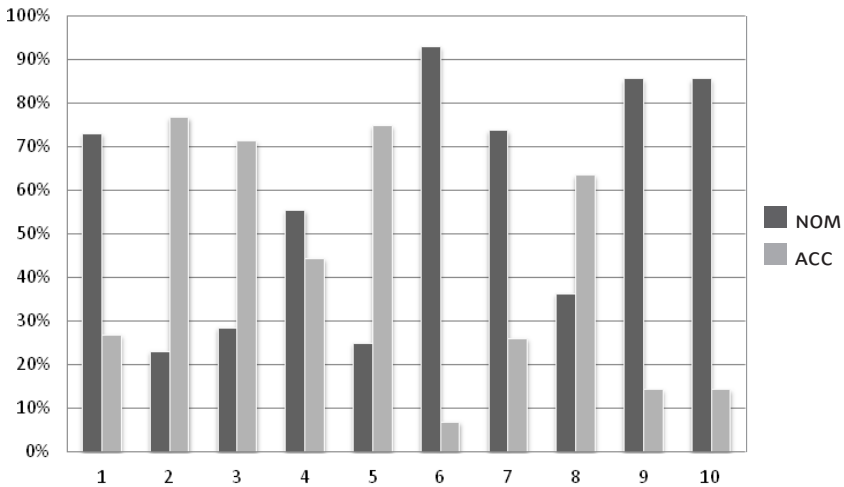
#### 4.1.6. Summary and discussion

This examination reveals that nominative marking of BP with the pain-specific verbs is not restricted to the area in northwestern Lithuania as sometimes has been claimed (cf. Piccini 2008, 450, 456) but is far more extended (see Table 1). Nominative is prevalent in the whole Žemaitian area with only very few exceptions. Nominative is also clearly more frequent in the East Aukštaitian speaking area, with the exception of the area around and south of Vilnius. Accusative is, on the other hand, clearly more prevalent in the southern part of Lithuania i.e. in the South Aukštaitian speaking area, as well as in the southern part of West Aukštaitian. In the northern middle part, i.e. the area around the cities of Šiauliai and Panevėžys, the proportions are almost equal. The Lithuanian dialects spoken in Belarus also show important findings. Nominative is more frequent in the Zietela dialect, which is a subdialect of West Aukštaitian. The findings in the Malkava dialect are a bit confusing. Here there is a slight prevalence of accusative, but the inhabitants nevertheless originate from the East Aukštaitian speaking area. The dialectal islands closer to the borders show a clear prevalence of nominative, both in the dialects originating from East Aukštaitian and, more surprisingly, in South Aukštaitian. Due to lack of evidence from this area close to the Lithuanian borders one should be careful in drawing conclusions from this. One cannot ignore the fact that Belarusian could also have influenced the Lithuanian spoken in this area: BPS are marked with nomina-



tive in Belarusian and this fact could have contributed to the preservation of the nominative marking.

*Table 1. Proportion of NOM-marked BP vs. ACC-marked BP with pain-specific verbs in the respective dialects: 1. East Aukštaitian (north) 2. East Aukštaitian (south) 3. South Aukštaitian 4. West Aukštaitian (north) 5. West Aukštaitian (south) 6. Žemaitian 7. Zietela dialect in Belarus 8. Malkava dialect in Belarus 9. East Aukštaitain in Belarus 10. South Aukštaitian in Belarus.*



If we consider Bartoli's guidelines, nominative is prevalent in isolated areas as well as in peripheral areas, i.e. West and East Lithuania, whereas accusative is prevalent in the central areas as in South and Central Lithuania. Nominative is also found in a larger area than accusative, as it is found everywhere while accusative is not found in North and West Žemaitian.

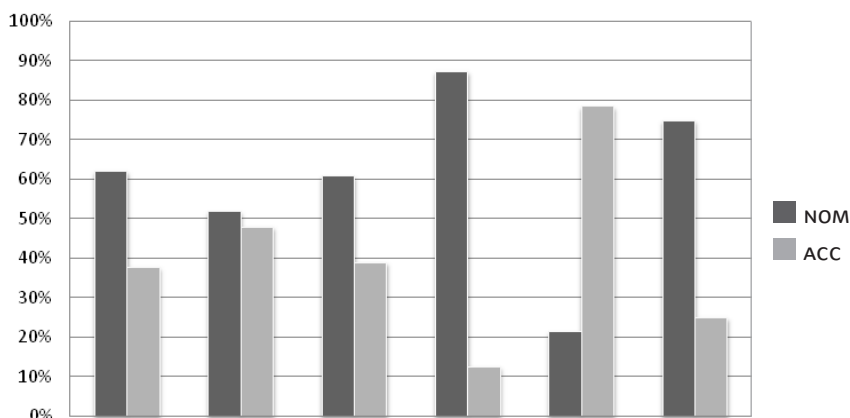
In the light of these results, I assume that the accusative marking of BPs with pain-specific verbs started in Central or South Lithuanian and spread from there to the central northern part and gradually to the eastern part.

This might seem contradictory, as West Aukštaitian (southern part) is the most conservative and archaic Lithuanian dialect (see section 4.1.3.). This area remained archaic mainly due to its geographical position; it was never in direct contact with East Slavs and contact with Polish started late and were not very intense (Zinkevičius 1996, 206). This change, however, was not a borrowing due to language contact (Bjarnadóttir forthcoming, b) so it could just as well have started right in the centre

of ethnographic Lithuania. Besides, West Aukštaitian is archaic mainly as regards prosodic features, and other dialects have been noted to be archaic in other aspects, such as the retention of illative and a number of archaisms in the declension system in South Aukštaitian (Balode & Holvoet 2001, 60–61) or the accentual paradigm, for which the most archaic state of affairs is preserved in Northwest and West Žemaitian, East Aukštaitian and eastern Dzukian dialects (eastern South Aukštaitian) (Derksen 1996, 30).

Besides the dialectal distribution, another interesting finding in this study is the distribution between the verbs (see Table 2).

Table 2 presents the proportion NOM vs. ACC with each verb, regardless of dialects.



There is an interesting difference between *skaudėti* and *sopėti* with almost equal proportions of nominative and accusative for *skaudėti* and significantly more nominative for *sopėti*.<sup>20</sup>

The verb *mausti* is particularly odd with more accusatives; this could be explained by its formal similarities with the derived pain verbs, i.e. not with the stative ending *-ėti*.

Another interesting finding is the frequency of the verbs *skaudėti* and *sopėti* in the dialects. According to my data, *sopėti* is frequently used in

<sup>20</sup> This difference would be more pronounced if we excluded data from Žemaitian, as in that dialect there were only very few examples of the verb *sopėti* while *skaudėti* was very frequently used and a large majority of them with nominative coding on the VP. We would then get a different proportion for *skaudėti* with more accusative coding.

East Aukštaitian and South Aukštaitian, whereas it is infrequent in West Aukštaitian and Žemaitian, where *skaudėti* prevails.

## 4.2. Old Lithuanian texts

In this section, data on case marking of BP in pain-verb constructions from the oldest written texts in the Lithuanian language will be presented. The first part deals with the oldest attested texts in the Lithuanian language, i.e. religious texts dating from the 16th and the 17th century. The second part deals with dictionaries and grammatical handbooks from the 17th to the beginning of the 20th century.

### 4.2.1. Religious texts

The absolute majority of the examples found in the oldest attested texts in Lithuanian have the BP marked with nominative:

- (73) *Sópa galwa [...] ſkaúft ingžtai.*  
 hurt.PRS.3 head.NOM hurt.PRS.3 kidney.NOM.PL  
 ‘The head hurts [...] the kidneys hurt.’  
 (DP 422<sub>33</sub>)
- (74) *Nes žaiždos búwo rąņkoſe ir kóioſe*  
 for wound.NOM.PL be.PST.3 hand.LOC.PL and foot.LOC.PL  
*kuriós ſôpa pážeižtos.*  
 which.NOM.PL.F hurt.PRS.3 injure.PASS.PART.NOM.PL.F  
 ‘For there were wounds on hands and feet [...] which hurt injured.’  
 (DP 176<sub>27</sub>)

Daukša’s *Postilė* from 1599 is, along with the *Bretkūnas Bible*, the most important work of 16th c. Lithuanian writings (Zinkevičius 1988, 179). It is a translation from Polish of *Wujek’s postil*.

The language in *Daukša’s translations* is influenced by the fact that he originated from the Central Aukštaitian area, but lived and worked in *Varniai*, in the South Žemaitian dialectal area. His language is mainly West Aukštaitian, with some Žemaitian traits.

Piccini considers the nominative marking of BPs in *Daukša* an exception; “[a] syntactic loan cannot be ruled out” (Piccini 2008, 444). In the

original text the BPS are encoded in nominative as is the norm in Polish: *boli głowá / bolq nerki...*

A point worth mentioning is that the language of Daukša's translations is considered to be of high quality, with a wealth of archaic grammatical and morphological features and only very few lexical loans (Zinkevičius 1988, 188–190). What could on the other hand support Piccini's claim is the fact that his syntax however was not so free from literal translations and calques (*idem*). It is mainly word order and use of prepositions that reflects Polish (*idem*). There are also several instances of odd case-marking in Daukša, which sometimes has been claimed to be due to calquing: the use of genitive instead of accusative after the verbs *atminti* 'remember' and *užmiršti* 'forget'; the use of dative instead of genitive after the reflexive verbs *stebėtis*, *dabotis* 'be amazed, wonder' and the use of nominative with infinitive (*nominativus cum infinitivo*)<sup>21</sup> (Palionis 1967, 151–155). These could however also have been norms in this period as they are found in many other writings, both in original texts and translations as well as in dialects (cf. on genitive Ambrazas 2006, 219).

In Sławoczyński's hymns the BP is marked with nominative:

- (75) *Iog fopiet širdis tureio=m (= turėjo man).*  
 that hurt.INF heart.NOM have\_to.PST.3=1SG  
 'That my heart must ache.'

(SG 1 88<sub>23</sub>)

- (76) *Del tu zodziu widurey máná ne*  
 because those words intestine.NOM.PL my NEG  
*fopetu.*  
 hurt.COND.3  
 'Because of those words my intestines would not hurt.'

(SG 2 25<sub>10</sub>)

Sławoczyński's hymns are indeed also translations from Polish and Latin and the lines above (75) and (76) are translated from Polish, so a calque cannot be excluded. What contradicts suggestions of calquing is that the hymns are translated into the Žemaitian dialects, where nominative is still today the norm and the language of the hymns is known for its beauty and purity, representing the living language; and it has been noted that the hymns are translated very freely in a creative and innovative manner

<sup>21</sup> As in *szitie sopulei ne sūku kest* (DP 214, 24): These pains.NOM.PL not hard to suffer.INF.

(Zinkevičius 1988, 208). The nominative case-marking of BP is thus probably not a calque in this instance.

Examples (77) and (78) are both from *Knyga nobažnystės (Book of Devotions)* from 1653. Here we find different case-markings on the BP. In (77) we have nominative:

- (77) *fu kuriuo ir Tewá paties / firdis /*  
 with whom and father.GEN self.GEN.SG.M heart.NOM  
*ligieai fopeia ir fūrgá*  
 equally ache.PST.3 and ail.PST.3  
 ‘with whom also the Father’s heart equally ached and ailed.’  
 (KN SE 245<sub>24,25</sub>)

whereas (78) is the only example found in old religious texts with accusative-coded BP:

- (78) *Káypo ne raudot nefang firdi fkaufi.*  
 how NEG cry.INF for heart.ACC ache.PRS.3  
 ‘How not to cry if the heart is aching.’  
 (KN G 269<sub>30</sub>)

Example (78) is from the second part of the book, which is the answer of the Reformed to Sirvydas’ Catholic *Punktai Sakymų* and is a shortened version of the Polish postil by Grzegorz z Żarnowca, translated by Samuelis Minvydas and Jonas Božimovskis. The example (75) is from the first part of the book which includes hymns both translated from Polish as well as original hymns (i.e. not translated). Their publication was prepared by Steponas Jaugelis Telega. The language of the hymns “is incomparably better than in Petkevičius’ catechism or Morkūnas’ book of sermons. It is on the same level as Daukša’s writings, in places even surpassing it. The sentences flow quite smoothly, literal translations are very rare and there are relatively few Polonisms” (Zinkevičius 1996, 248). They are written in the same dialect as Daukša but half a century later. We might therefore see a change going on during this period.

Another example from *Bretkūnas’s Bible* from 1590 has no BP and has the experiencer marked with accusative:

- (79) *Anis muscha manne bet ne skaust mane.*  
 they hit me.ACC but NEG hurt.PRS.3 me.ACC  
 ‘They are beating me but I am not in pain.’  
 (BRB Proverbs 23<sub>35</sub>)

This example was already mentioned in section 2.2.2., when Piccini's theories (see ex. 6) were discussed. Similar examples are found in dialects, e.g. in South Aukštaitian, cf. (34).

#### 4.2.2. Old dictionaries and textbooks

Not all of the dictionaries relevant for this study give examples with a BP. This was particularly obvious with the verb *sopėti*.

4.2.2.1. Dic-  
tionaries from  
the 17th–18th  
centuries

In the oldest dictionaries we find nominative for both *skaudėti* and *sopėti*, (80) and (81):

(80) *At = mi = sopėjo*<sup>22</sup>      *kas*.  
PRV = me = hurt.PRS.3    something.NOM  
'Something/somewhere has stopped hurting me.'  
(SD 208)

This example (80) is from the oldest dictionary in the Lithuanian language, Sirvydas' *Dictionarium trium lingvarum* from 1629. It was issued in five editions and until the late 19th c., they were the only Lithuanian language dictionaries printed within the Lithuanian borders.<sup>23</sup> Much of its lexicon is taken from the spoken language of eastern Lithuania (Pakalka 1997, 23).

Another example with nominative is from Brodowski's dictionary, which was printed in Lithuania Minor in the 18th c.:

(81) *Jei kalbi — prabliūvi, jei nekalbi —*  
if speak.PRS.2SG cry.PRS.2SG if NEG.speak.PRS.2SG  
*dūši-a (šird-is) skaust.*  
soul-NOM (heart-NOM) ache.PRS.3  
'If you speak—you start crying, if you do not speak your soul  
(heart) aches.'  
(B 619)

The dictionaries in Lithuania Minor (East Prussia) were compiled for prac-

<sup>22</sup> A *mi*-clitic for dative.

<sup>23</sup> In Lithuania proper, or Lithuania Major as it is sometimes referred to, contrasting with Lithuania Minor, an area in East Prussia with substantial Lithuanian-speaking population.

tical needs, so that the German Protestant pastors working in the region would be able to communicate with the Lithuanian peasant population.

Interestingly, we find in Ruhig's dictionary from 1747 both options, nominative and accusative:

- (82) *Skaust Galw-à / Galw-q.*  
hurt.PRS.3 head-NOM / head-ACC  
'The head aches.'

(R 131)

In the same dictionary an example with a derived pain verb *diegti* is found that has an accusative-marked BP:

- (83) *Szird-i mân dégia.*  
heart-ACC me.DAT stab.PRS.3  
'I have a stabbing pain in my heart.'

(R 338)

Ruhig was from Lithuania Minor and his dialect was that of West Aukštaitian (Schmalstieg 2012, 332).

4.2.2.2. Dictionaries and handbooks from the 19th century

From the beginning of the 19th century, Lithuania proper was split and divided within the Russian Empire. This affected the lexicography in the country as Russians gradually started a Russification campaign and from 1864–1904 banned Lithuanian writing in education and publishing. Therefore, the majority of the dictionaries from this period were compiled and published in Lithuania Minor, e.g. Mielcke's, Nesselmann's and Kurschat's dictionaries.

Most of the examples from this period have nominative-marked BPs as in Mielcke's dictionary from 1800:

- (84) *Galw-à skaust.*  
head-NOM hurt.PRS.3  
'The head aches.'

(MCG 241)

The examples found in Nesselmann's dictionary from 1851 have a nominative-marked BP:

- (85) *Galwa man skaust’.*  
 head.NOM me.DAT hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘My head hurts.’  
 (N 474)

- (86) *Szirdis, Duszia skaud’.*  
 heart.NOM soul.NOM hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘(I) feel nauseous.’  
 (N 474)

No examples with *sopėti* are given in Nesselmann’s dictionary. There is an example with a derived pain verb *gelti* which not surprisingly has an accusative marked BP:

- (87) *Panag-es gelia.*  
 place\_under\_fingernail-ACC.PL sting.PRS.3  
 ‘It is hurting under the fingernails.’  
 (N 247)

In the *Littauisches-deutsches Wörterbuch* by Friedrich Kurschat 1883 we find BPs marked with both nominative (88) and accusative (89):

- (88) *Man galv-a skausti.*  
 I.DAT head-NOM hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘My head hurts.’  
 (K<sub>1</sub>, LKže, s.v.)

- (89) *Man pilv-q skaust.*  
 I.DAT stomach-ACC hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘My stomach hurts.’  
 (K<sub>1</sub>, LKže, s.v.)

And in the German-Lithuanian section we also find both options:

- (90) *Man dant-į skausta; gel*  
 me.DAT tooth-ACC hurt.PRS.3 sting.PRS.3  
*man dant-is skausta; gel*  
 me.DAT tooth-NOM hurt.PRS.3 sting.PRS.3  
 ‘My tooth hurts / aches.’  
 (K<sub>2</sub> 163)

In (90) we have nominative with the derived pain verb *gelti* as well as in (91). In both of these examples it is used as an intensifier in the same sentence as *skaudėti*:



- (91) *Man dant-ys gelia, skausta.*  
 me.DAT tooth-NOM.PL sting.PRS.3 hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘My teeth ache.’

(K<sub>1</sub>, LKŽe, s.v.)

Finally, a dictionary from Lithuania proper, the *Litovskij slovar’* from 1897 by Antanas Juška, cites nominative-marked BPS:

- (92) *Gysl-os tvaksčio(ja) kad galv-a skausti.*  
 vein-NOM.PL pulsate.PRS.3 that head-NOM hurt.PRS.3  
 ‘The veins pulsate so that the head is aching.’

(J, LKŽe, s.v.)

Even derived pain verbs include nominative-marked BPS in the *Litovskij slovar’* (93)–(96).<sup>24</sup>

- (93) *Dant-ys man gelia.*  
 tooth-NOM.PL me-DAT hurt/sting.PRS.3  
 ‘The teeth are hurting me.’

(J, LKŽe, s.v.)

- (94) *Nugėlė koj-os.*  
 hurt/sting.PST.3 leg-NOM.PL  
 ‘The legs were hurting/freezing.’

(J, LKŽe, s.v.)

- (95) *Pragela rank-a be-linguoj-ant lops-į.*  
 start\_hurting.PRS.3 hand-NOM CNT-rocking-CNV cradle-ACC  
 ‘[Your] hand starts aching while rocking the cradle.’

(J, LKŽe, s.v.)

- (96) *Piršt-ai rank-ų užgelia nuo šalčio.*  
 finger-NOM.PL hand-GEN.PL sting.PRS.3 from cold  
 ‘The fingers on the hands start freezing from cold.’

(J, from LKŽe, s.v.)

The author worked as a priest in many parishes and collected a wealth of Lithuanian data. His work is extremely important, as he collected his words, not from written sources, but from the spoken language, in the form of entire phrases (Zinkevičius 1996, 269). So it must mirror the living Lithuanian folk language at the end of the 19th c.

<sup>24</sup> I concur with Seržant that this can be explained in terms of competing motivations (Seržant 2013, 204).

In August Schleicher's *Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache* from 1857 two examples of *skaudėti* with **BP** marked with accusative are found, (97) and (98).

- (97) *Gálv-q skaúst, álpsta duszi-è,*  
 head-ACC hurt.PRS.3 faint.PRS.3 soul-NOM  
*dur-ìs mataú, o ne-galiù iszeiti.*  
 door-ACC.PL see.PRS.1SG but NEG-CAN.PRS.1SG leave-INF  
 'My head hurts, I feel nauseous, I see the door but I cannot go out.'  
 (Schleicher 1857)

- (98) *Nu svetim-os nelaim-os, galv-q*  
 from foreign-GEN.SG.F misfortune-GEN.SG head-ACC  
*ne-skaust.*  
 NEG-hurt.PRS.3  
 'The head does not hurt from the misfortune of others.'  
 (Schleicher 1857)

Worth mentioning in (98) is that despite the negation we have accusative and not genitive of negation. This could either be an indication of a subject status of **BP**, as all direct objects of negated verbs are marked with genitive, but subjects only in existential clauses. It could also be marked this way simply because of the fact that Schleicher practiced among the Lithuanian-speaking population in East Prussia (Lithuania Minor) and in that area the use of accusative with negated verbs was not uncommon (Bjarnadóttir & De Smit 2013, 41).

#### 4.2.3. Summary

To sum up this section, there is a significant prevalence of nominative-marked **BPs** in old Lithuanian texts. This is apparent both in old religious texts from the 16th and 17th c. as well as in old dictionaries. The oldest example of accusative-marked **BP** is found in *Knyga Nobažnystės* from 1653. The oldest example in dictionaries dates from 1747 and is found in Ruhig's dictionary, where both options, accusative and nominative, were given. The few examples with accusative marking on the **BP** included the verb *skaudėti*, while all the examples with nominative included the verb *sopėti*. In the dictionaries, examples with *sopėti* were only rarely given

with *BP*. Interestingly, all the examples with accusative are in dictionaries from Lithuania Minor, but as there are examples from only two dictionaries one should be careful about drawing any conclusions from that.

## 5. Conclusion and outlook

In this article, I have examined the case variation of nominative vs. accusative in *BPs* in constructions with pain-specific verbs in data from Lithuanian dialects and old texts. My findings show that nominative is found in a wider area than accusative and is more prevalent in remote and peripheral areas, whereas accusative is more prevalent in central areas. Nominative was also more prevalent in older texts, where only very few examples of accusative marking were found. From these findings, I conclude that nominative is the original case marking of *BPs* with pain-specific verbs. Another interesting finding was the difference between the main pain verbs *sopėti* and *skaudėti*. The latter shows more morphological variation, and I suggested that it was denominal and derived from an adjective with original semantics similar to the derived pain verbs. This difference could be reflected in the case marking, as the verb *skaudėti* is more linked to the accusative marking of *BP*, just like the verb *mausti* which is morphologically very similar to the derived pain verbs. The dialectal findings, strengthened with the findings from old texts, provided evidence for the diachronic process of this variation. I assume that accusative marking of *BP* must have originated in the central part of Lithuania and spread first to the southern part then the northern part, finally the eastern part; it has not yet reached the western part.

A subject for further research could be to investigate the reasons for this case variation and the origin of the accusative case marking of *BPs* with the focus on the group of derived pain verbs.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACC — accusative, ACT — active, ADESS — adessive, BP — body part, CNT — continuative, CNV — converb, COND — conditional, DAT — dative, F — feminine, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, IMP — imperative, INF — infinitive, INS — instrumental, LOC — locative, N — neuter, NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, PART — participle, PASS — passive, PL — plural, PRV — preverb, PRS — present, PST — past, PTCL — particle, SG — singular, VOC — vocative

## SOURCES

- B = *Lexicon Germano-Lithvanicvm et Litvanico-Germanicvm*, by Jacob Brodowski (1713–1744)
- BRB = *Bretkūnas' Bible* (1590)
- DP = *Daukša's Postilla* (1599) (cited from *Mikalojaus Daukšos 1599 metų Postilė ir jos šaltiniai*, ed. Jonas Palionis, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2000)
- DŠŽ = *Dieveniškųjų šnektos žodynas*, vol. 2 (N–Z), by Danguolė Mikulėnienė, Kazys Morkūnas & Aloyzas Vidugiris, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2010
- DLKŽ = *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, ed. Stasys Keinys, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2000
- DRTŽ = *Druskininkų tarmės žodynas*, by Gertrūda Naktinienė, Aldona Paulauskienė & Vytautas Vitkauskas, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1988
- J = *Litovskij slovar'* by Antanas Juška (Juszkiewicz) (1897)
- K<sub>1</sub> = *Littauisches-deutsches Wörterbuch* by Friedrich Kurschat (1883) (cited from: [www.lki.lt](http://www.lki.lt))
- K<sub>2</sub> = *Deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch* by Friedrich Kurschat (1870)
- KN = *Kniga Nobaznistes Krikščioniszkos* (1653) (cited from: [www.lki.lt](http://www.lki.lt))
- KTŽ = *Kretingos tarmės žodynas*, by Juozas Aleksandravičius, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2011
- LKŽe = electronic online version of *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, [www.lkz.lt](http://www.lkz.lt)
- LTŽ = *Lazūnų tarmės žodynas*, by Jonas Petrauskas & Aloyzas Vidugiris, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1985
- MCG = *Littauisch-deutsches und deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch*, by Christian Gottlieb Mielcke (1800)

- N = *Wörterbuch der Littauischen Sprache*, by Georg Heinrich Ferdinand Nesselmann, Königsberg: Gebrüder Bornträger, 1851
- NS = *Lietuvių kalbos veiksmažodžių junglumo žodynas*, vols. 1–3, by Nijolė Sližienė, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 1994–2004
- R = *Littauisch- deutsches und deutsch-littauisches Lexicon*, by Philip Ruhig (1747)
- SD = Konstantinas Sirvydas' *Dictionarium trium lingvarum*, 1st ed. (1629)
- SG = *Giesmes tikiemuy katholickam pridiarancias* by Salomon Mozerka Sławoczyński (1646) (cit. from lki.lt)
- ZANSŽ = *Zanavykų šnektos žodynas* vols. 1–3, ed. Vilija Sakalauskienė, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2002–2006
- ZIETŠŽ = *Zietelos šnektos žodynas*, by Aloyzas Vidugiris, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 1998

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