

Studying variation in case marking: The genitive of negation in Aukštaitian dialects of Lithuanian

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This paper examines the phenomenon of the genitive of negation (GenNeg) in the Aukštaitian dialects of Lithuanian. It is shown that there is areal variation in case marking of an object of a negated verb. West Aukštaitian dialects (the Kaunas region) allow innovative accusative marking of an object of a negated verb much more often (although not as often as is claimed in the dialect descriptions) than South and East (the Vilnius region) Aukštaitian dialects where the genitive marking is very consistent. Even though South Aukštaitian has more examples of accusative marking than East Aukštaitian, the percentage is still very small. Different types of negated contexts (local vs distant) are not so relevant for the choice of case marking in South-East Aukštaitian, but play a moderately significant role in West Aukštaitian: the accusative marking is more common in distant negated contexts. In East Aukštaitian, direct objects of infinitives embedded under negated verbs can also be marked by the nominative, i.e. verbal negation does not affect the case marking of the so called nominative objects.

Keywords: genitive of negation, case marking, nominative objects, Lithuanian, dialectology, corpus linguistics

1. Introduction

1.1. Genitive of Negation in Lithuanian

Genitive of Negation (GenNeg) is a morphosyntactic phenomenon involving a change of a structural case marking to the genitive when the verb is negated. GenNeg appears both in subject and object marking, but this paper focuses only on the latter. GenNeg is typical of Baltic and Slavic languages (and is similar to the Partitive of Negation in Finnic; see e.g. Lees 2015), but its actual use varies from language to language; see a recent overview in Arkadiev (to appear). It can be summarized that in the Balto-Slavic area, object GenNeg is obligatory in most instances in Lithuanian and Polish, cf. Menantaud (1993, 1999), Przepiórkowski (2000), Błaszczak (2003), optional in East Slavic and practically absent in Latvian (Berg-Olsen 2000, Menantaud 2007; Leinonen 2016). Disappearance of GenNeg is considered to be an innovation.

Object GenNeg can be subdivided into two types—local and distant. In Standard Lithuanian, local (or, in other words, clause-bound) GenNeg is obligatory and does not depend on any properties of the verb or the object, cf. (1).

- (1) a. *Mat-au paukšt-į.*
 see-PRS.1SG bird-ACC.SG
 ‘I see a bird.’
 b. *Ne-mat-au paukšči-o.*
 NEG-see-PRS.1SG bird-GEN.SG
 ‘I don’t see a bird.’ (Ambrazas 2006, 486)

Distant GenNeg marks an object of a non-negated transitive verb (e.g., infinitive) embedded under a negated matrix clause. Depending on, e.g., the type of the matrix verb, the degree of syntactic embedding and word order, a certain variation in distant GenNeg is observed in Standard Lithuanian, cf. (2) where both genitive and accusative are possible; see more in Arkadiev (2016).

- (2) *Ar tau ne-nusibod-o žiūrė-ti š-į*
 Q 2SG.DAT NEG-bore-PST.3 watch-INF this-ACC.SG.M
film-q / ši-o film-o
 film-ACC.SG this-GEN.SG.M film-GEN.SG
 ‘Haven’t you got bored watching this film?’ (Arkadiev 2016, 47)

There is no detailed research on GenNeg in Lithuanian dialects, which is no surprise considering that morphology and especially syntax traditionally have been a weak point of Lithuanian dialectology. However, short comments in the descriptions of South-East Aukštaitian dialects suggest that at least in these dialects GenNeg behaves somewhat differently from the standard language. For instance, it has been noted that in the East Aukštaitian dialect of Dieveniškės, the direct objects of negated transitive verbs can sometimes be marked by the accusative, cf. Mikulėnienė & Morkūnas (1997, 31). An even more drastic difference from the standard language is reported in the South-Western part of the Aukštaitian dialects (Lith. *vakarų aukštaičiai kauniškiai*). In these dialects, GenNeg is rare, cf. Senkus (2006, 275), Šukys (2000, 8), or “is almost never used”¹ (Bacevičiūtė & Sakalauskienė 2008, 32). Unfortunately, no statistics have ever been provided to support these claims.

This paper seeks to check these observations using the data from the Corpus of South-East Lithuanian dialects developed within the TriMCo proj-

¹ Lith. ‘beveik nevartojamas’.

ect² and collections of dialectal speech narratives from South-Western Lithuania (Bacevičiūtė 2006; Bacevičiūtė & Sakalauskienė 2008).

1.2. Data for the study

The TriMCo Corpus of South-Eastern Lithuanian dialects contains transcribed narratives of over 140 000 tokens (including the interviewers' lines), or 21 hours and 25 min. in running time, recorded in four districts in Lithuania (Švenčionių, Druskininkų sav., Varėnos, Ignalinos) and in Belarus (Ramaškancy, Pel'asa). The corpus is equally divided between two major Aukštaitian groups—East Aukštaitian *vilniškiai* (Lith. *rytų aukštaičiai vilniškiai*) and South Aukštaitian (Lith. *pietų aukštaičiai*). The recordings were transcribed using the ELAN software (<https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>), and then morphologically annotated (on the basis of the 'Salos glossing rules', see Nau & Arkadiev 2016) using the Fieldworks Language Explorer tool (FLEX; <http://fieldworks.sil.org/flex/>).

Two collections of dialectal speech from Griškabūdis and Šakiai in South-Western Lithuania, used for this study, are a part of the series *Tarmių tekstynas* (*Dialectal corpus*) published by the Institute of the Lithuanian language. The books do not have any information on the number of tokens or time of recordings, but, according to my approximate estimation (number of words in a line × number of lines on a page × number of pages in the book), the Šakiai narratives consist of approximately 27 000 tokens and the Griškabūdis texts of 20 000.

2. GenNeg in South-East Aukštaitian

When looking for direct objects of negated verbs, all negated verb forms appearing in the TriMCo corpus of South-East Lithuanian dialects were checked. Then all examples allowing both accusative and genitive interpretation, cf. (3), were excluded. Ambiguous examples are relatively frequent in these dialects, as a result of the following circumstances. First, due to the phonological change *ą > u in East Aukštaitian dialects, nouns belonging to the paradigms 1, 2 and 6, 7 (according to Ambrazas 2006) have the same endings for ACC.SG and GEN.PL

² "Triangulation Approach for Modelling Convergence with a High Zoom-In Factor", w1 1286/16-1, a project led by Björn Wiemer at Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz; see <http://www.trimco.uni-mainz.de/>. The project received financial support by the German Science Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG) from September 2013 till May 2017. We gratefully acknowledge this support.

(and in some instances the accent does not help to distinguish the forms), cf. (3) where the wordform *kO:j^l-u* can be both ACC.SG and GEN.PL.

- (3) [kuRⁱ tI Aš inⁱ-lipⁱ-s-U aftObus-an]
kO:j^l-u *ne-pA-ke^l-u*
 leg-ACC.SG/GEN.PL NEG-PVB-raise-PRS.1SG
 ‘[how will I get into a bus?] I can’t raise my legs’ (Var)³

Second, all examples where the object has a partitive meaning and would be marked by the genitive regardless of the negation on the verb, cf. (4), were also excluded.

- (4) *ne-tUr-i* *laIk-o* *usiĖ:m-i*
 NEG-have-PRS.3 time-GEN.SG busy-NOM.PL
 ‘they don’t have time, they are busy’ (Dru)

Third, some forms of the personal pronouns (1st and 2nd persons) and the reflexive pronoun do not always allow for a clear interpretation, i.e. both accusative and genitive interpretation is possible; cf. the Ramaškancy dialect where *mani*, *tavi* and *savi* are used as both genitive and accusative (Tuomienė 2008, 65); see also Zinkevičius (1966, 298–299) for a wider picture. Table 1 shows all forms of personal pronouns as direct objects of negated verbs attested in the TriMCo corpus.

Table 1. Personal pronouns as objects of negated transitive verbs in the TriMCo corpus

	SG	PL
1	<i>manI:s</i> (6) <i>manI:s</i> (1) <i>manI:</i> (3) <i>manI:</i> (7) <i>mA:ni:</i> (1) <i>mA:ni:</i> (1) <i>manI</i> (1) <i>maN^l</i> (1)	<i>mU:su:</i> (3) <i>mU:z</i> (<i>mU:s</i>) (2) <i>mU:s</i> (3) <i>mu:s</i> (1)
2	<i>tavI:s</i> (7) <i>tavI:</i> (4) <i>tavI</i> (2)	<i>j^lU:su:</i> (1) <i>j^lU:s</i> (1)
RFL	<i>savI:s</i> (1)	

All examples with clear interpretation, i.e. with final *-s* in the singular, cf. (5), or *-u* in the plural, cf. (6), were included in the statistics.

³ All examples from the TriMCo corpus use additional IPA diacritics: : for long vowels, ˘ for half-long vowels, ^l for palatalization. Stressed vowels are marked by capital letters. The abbreviation in the brackets refers to the locality; see Abbreviations.

- (5) *ne-fatagrapUo:-k tU manI:s*
 NEG-take.pictures-IMP.2SG 2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN
 ‘don’t take pictures of me’ (Kuj)
- (6) *ji· ne-in^l-si-lals^l j^lU:su·*
 3.NOM.SG.F NEG-PVB-RFL-let.FUT.3 2PL.GEN
 ‘she won’t let you in’ (Var)

However, all other forms were left out. The ambiguity of these forms can be illustrated, for instance, by *manI:* (i.e. even with the long final vowel). This form appears as an object of a negated transitive verb, cf. (7), and as a direct object of a non-negated transitive verb (i.e. typically the accusative forms), cf. (8), and also follows the preposition *prie* (which requires the genitive), cf. (9).

- (7) *vaik-El-ei j^lU:s manI: namO:*
 kid-DIM-NOM.PL 2PL.NOM 1SG.ACC/GEN at.home
ne-ras-tU:t^l j^lou
 NEG-find-IRR.2PL already
 ‘children, you wouldn’t find me home any more’ (Var)
- (8) *o· kuR tU manI: iž-bU-din^l-s-i*
 and where 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC PVB-wake.up-FUT-2SG
 ‘how will you wake me up’ (Pel)
- (9) *A·na:s p^lre· manI: i nu-skraNd-a*
 3.NOM.SG.M at 1SG.GEN and PVB-run-PRS.3
 ‘he is running to me’ (Bec)

2.1. Local GenNeg in South-East Aukštaitian

The TriMCo corpus of South-East Lithuanian dialects contains over 300 examples of direct objects of negated transitive verbs. The corpus data show consistent genitive marking of such objects; cf. (10). However, some examples of accusative marking (as opposed to the standard language) are also observed, cf. (11–12).

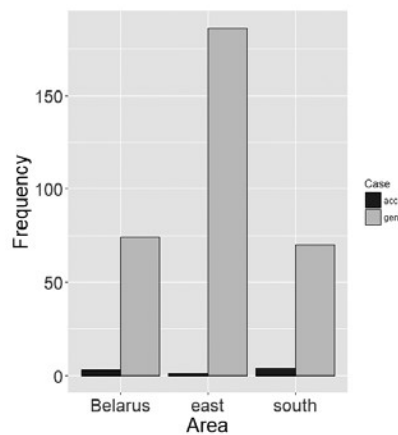
- (10) *vAt burE·tai A·ni:s ne-šviN^lc-e*
 so Buryat-NOM.PL 3.NOM.PL.M NEG-celebrate-PRS.3
kuc’-U· kalĖ:d-u·
 Christmas.Eve-GEN.PL Christmas-GEN.PL
 ‘now the Buryats, they don’t celebrate Christmas eve, Christmas’
 (Erz)
- (11) *abA j-E·i nE pInig-us ne-at^l-vež-a*
 but 3-NOM.PL NEG money-ACC.PL NEG-PVB-bring-PRS.3

- ‘but they don’t bring any money’ (Var)
 (12) *ir^j j-i· ne-nu-šO:v-é*
 and 3-ACC.SG.M NEG-PVB-shoot-PST.3
 ‘and they didn’t shoot him’ (Ram)

Table 2. Case marking of direct objects in local negated contexts in the TriMCo corpus by area⁴, $p^5 = 0.01394$ (Fisher’s exact test), Cramér’s $V^6 = 0.138$

	Belarus		East		South	
GEN	74	96%	186	99.5%	70	95%
ACC	3	4%	1	0.5%	4	5%
Total	77	100%	187	100%	74	100%

Figure 1. Case marking of direct objects in local negated contexts in the TriMCo corpus by area



⁴ Lithuanian dialects outside of Lithuania are often described separately, see Kardelis (2014) for detailed discussion of the terminological and classification problems with these dialects. This is the reason why in this paper South Aukštaitian dialects are divided into South Aukštaitian in Lithuania (South) and South Aukštaitian in Belarus (Belarus).

⁵ P -value is one of the most commonly reported values in statistics; it shows the probability of a result being randomly (i.e. by chance) obtained. In other words, the smaller a p -value is, the more statistical significance it shows. Usually, p -values under 0.05 are considered statistically significant. In this particular table, the p -value shows that the variables Case and Area are not independent, and their dependency is moderately significant.

⁶ Cramér’s V is one of the measures of effect size, i.e. the strength of a phenomenon (in this instance the association between the two variables Case and Area). Usually, values over 0.3 are considered to show a moderate effect (over 0.5 a strong effect), i.e. here Cramér’s V shows a rather small correlation between the variables.

As one can see from Table 2 and Figure 1, the genitive marking is dominant in all areas represented in the corpus, however the odds⁷ of the accusative marking are higher in South Aukštaitian dialects than in East Aukštaitian. The dependency between case marking and areal distribution is only marginally significant. However, Cramér's *V* indicates small effect size, i.e. there is rather little association between the variables Case and Area.

Due to the small number of examples with accusative marking, it is quite difficult to come up with any reliable generalizations about them. However, here are a few observations that could be potentially useful for explaining the accusative marking: i) most of the accusative-marked examples come from the South Aukštaitian dialects (7 out of 8); ii) most of the accusative-marked object precede the negated verb (6 out of 8); iii) plural objects receive the accusative marking slightly more often (5 out of 8); iv) both pronouns and nouns are among the accusative-marked objects, however 3 out of 8 examples have the 3rd person pronouns as direct objects under negation. All the examples were checked for the presence of hesitation phenomena, but only one example has signs of hesitation, cf. (13).

- (13) *mAn ko'k'-Uz dArb-us ned...*
 1SG.DAT which-ACC.PL.M work-ACC.PL [hesitation]
ne-dUod-a
 NEG-give-PRS.3
 'whatever tasks they give me' (Pel)

Only two examples come from the same speaker; the rest of them are from different speakers.

2.2. Distant GenNeg in South-East Aukštaitian

The TriMCo corpus of the South-East Aukštaitian dialects contains examples in which negation can influence case marking of the object outside the negated clause, see (14). However, for this study only embedded transitive infinitives were taken into account.

- (14) *dIe:d-es i ne-žIn-a'm kuR kap I:šⁱ-vež-ie*
 uncle-GEN.SG and NEG-know-PRS.1PL where how PVB-carry-PST.3
 'and we don't know where and how [they] deported [our] uncle'
 (Dauk)

⁷ Odds ratio is another measure of the effect size. Differently from Cramér's *V*, it shows the direction of association.

In the TriMCo corpus, direct objects of infinitives embedded under a negated matrix predicate can be marked by the genitive (15), the accusative (16) or the nominative (17).

- (15) *da· kEl'n-u· ne-su-spÊ:j nu-s-mAu-tʲ*
yet pants-GEN.PL NEG-PVB-manage.PST.3 PVB-RFL-wear-INF
j'ou aIn-am
already go-PRS.1PL
‘he didn’t manage to take off his pants, and we’re already going’ (Vos)
- (16) *irʲ j-I: ne-galÊ:jʲ-o· nu-šA'u-cʲ rU's-ai*
and 3-ACC.SG.M NEG-can-PST.3 PVB-shoot-INF Russian-NOM.PL
‘and the Russians couldn’t shoot him’ (Ram)
- (17) *tAu ne-ralk-s kO:jʲ-a atʲ-pʲjʲAu-tie*
2SG.DAT NEG-need-FUT.3 leg-NOM.SG PVB-cut-INF
‘it will not be necessary to amputate your leg’ (Siul)

Table 3. Case marking of direct objects in distant negated contexts in the TriMCo corpus by area, $p = 0.2616$ (Fisher’s exact test), Cramér’s $V = 0.37$

	Belarus		South		East	
NOM	0	0%	0	0%	3	15%
ACC	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%
GEN	3	75%	6	100%	17	85%
Total	4	100%	6	100%	20	100%

Figure 2. Case marking of direct objects in distant negated contexts in the TriMCo corpus by area

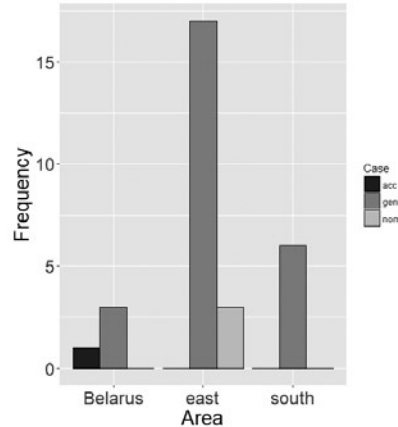


Table 3 and Figure 2 show that there is no statistically significant dependency between the variables Case and Area in distant negated contexts. The genitive marking is dominant in all areas represented in the corpus. The nominative marking is attested only in East Aukštaitian.

2.2.1. The Genitive marking

In the TriMCo corpus, the genitive is the dominant case marking strategy for direct objects of the infinitives embedded under a negated matrix predicate. The genitive marking appears with various matrix predicates: same-subject complement matrix verbs (e.g., *galėti* ‘can’, *norėti* ‘want’, etc.), cf. (18), different subject complement matrix verb (e.g., verbs with a dative object, cf. *duoti* ‘give’, *leisti* ‘let’), cf. (19), or lexicalized non-finite verbal forms (e.g., *galima* ‘possible, allowed’ (< passive participle)), cf. (20).

- (18) *iː sʲuvum-O:s mašɪn-a:s nɛ:k-as*
 and sewing-GEN.SG.F machine-GEN.SG NEG-who-NOM
ne-galʲɛ:-e nu-sʲ-piRk-t
 NEG-can-PST.3 PVB-RFL-buy-INF
 ‘and no one could (afford to) buy a sewing machine’ (Sdau)

- (19) [*aš iš nʲujOrko atvažEːvus*]
iːrʲ jʲU:s mAːnʲ nɛ-lɛːi-s-it močUt-és
 and 2PL.NOM 1SG.DAT NEG-let-FUT-2PL grandmother-GEN.SG

- pa-žurĖ:-c^j gimin^j-U: mA·no· ne-ĽE·i-s-it*
 PVB-see-INF relative-GEN.PL my NEG-let-FUT-2PL
 ‘I have come from New York and you won’t let me see my grand-
 mother, my relatives?’ (Var)
- (20) *ne-gA:lim-a vA·l^jgi-t g^jrikIn^j-u mĽlt-u*
 NEG-possible-NA eat-INF of.buckwheat-GEN.PL flour-GEN.PL
 ‘one shouldn’t eat buckwheat flour’ (Var)

2.2.2. The Accusative marking

Even though some variation (genitive vs accusative) is observed in Standard Lithuanian in marking the direct object of infinitives under a negated matrix predicate (see Arkadiev 2016), the TriMCo corpus data show a very persistent use of the genitive, with only one example in which such a direct object is marked by the accusative, cf. (16). It is worth noting that this example contains the 3rd person pronoun *jis* ‘he’ as an object and comes from South Aukštaitian, cf. observations made about the accusative marked objects of locally negated verbs.

2.2.3. The Nominative marking

Nominative-marked direct objects constitute a widespread phenomenon in South-East Lithuanian dialects and have parallels in other languages of the area (Slavic, Finnic); see Larin (1963), Timberlake (1974), Ambrazas (2001).

In the TriMCo corpus, nominative objects most frequently appear with infinitives embedded under the predicate *reikėti* ‘need’.

- (21) *ralk-s kO:j^j-a at^j-p^jĽAu-tie*
 need-FUT.3 leg-NOM.SG PVB-cut-INF
 ‘it will be necessary to amputate the leg’ (Siul)

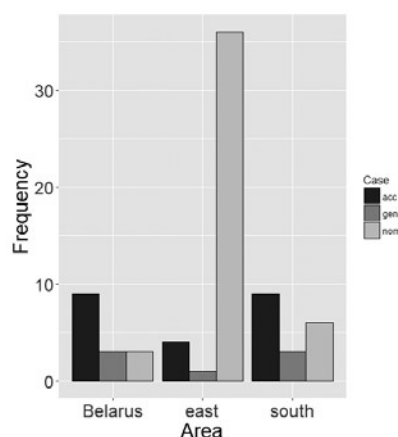
As can be seen from Table 3, the TriMCo corpus contains 3 examples of nominative-marked objects under distant negation (all of them appear with infinitives embedded under *reikėti*). The presence of the nominative-marked objects under negation suggests that negation does not affect the case marking of nominative objects, cf. (21) with (17) where the matrix verb is negated but the nominative is preserved. However, this is not so straightforward, considering that there are five examples where the matrix predicate *reikėti* ‘need’ is negated: two examples with genitive marking of the object, and three examples with nominative marking.

In order to understand whether the direct objects of the infinitives embedded under the verb *reikėti* always receive the nominative marking, all examples of the transitive infinitives embedded under *reikėti* (i.e. not only negated) were extracted from the corpus. The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Case marking of infinitival objects embedded under *reikėti* in the TriMCo corpus by area, $p < 0.0001$ (Fisher's exact test), Cramér's $V = 0.441$

	Belarus		South		East	
NOM	3	20%	6	33%	36	88%
ACC	9	60%	9	50%	4	10%
GEN	3	20%	3	17%	1	2%
Total	15	100%	18	100%	41	100%

Figure 3. Case marking of infinitival objects embedded under *reikėti* in the TriMCo corpus by area



Both Table 4 and Figure 3 show that the nominative marking of the direct objects embedded under the matrix verb *reikėti* appears in all regions represented in the corpus. At the same time, nominative marking is not the only option. In fact, it prevails only in East Aukštaitian dialects, while in South Aukštaitian dialects (both in Lithuania and Belarus) the accusative marking is dominant. The p -value indicates that there is a significant dependency between case marking and the areal distribution.

Both examples with the genitive marking of the direct object embedded under negated *reikėti* come from Pel'asa (Belarus) where nominative objects are

rare. That is, with a high probability these two examples can be interpreted as examples of changing the accusative marking to the genitive one. It seems that negation does not affect case marking on nominative objects.

2.3. Summary

In the South-East Aukštaitian dialects of Lithuanian, the genitive marking is dominant in both locally and distantly negated contexts in all dialectal areas represented in the corpus. At the same time, the corpus does contain examples where direct objects of negated transitive verbs are marked by the accusative. This is different from the standard language, where such instances are practically absent. Only one example of accusative marking appears in the distant contexts in which the standard language is more favorable towards variation. The seemingly smaller variation in distant contexts in the dialects as opposed to the standard language might just be due to the lack of the contexts allowing variation.

The only accusative-marked example comes from South Aukštaitian and is the 3rd person pronoun. However, there is no significant dependency between case marking and areal distribution.

East Aukštaitian dialects also have direct objects marked by the nominative when the infinitive is embedded under the matrix predicate *reikėti*, i.e. the negation on the matrix verb seems not to affect the case marking of nominative objects.

3. GenNeg in West Aukštaitian dialects (the Kaunas region)

It has been noted that GenNeg is well-preserved in most Lithuanian dialects, apart from the south-western part of the Aukštaitian dialects (Lith. *vakarų aukštaičiai kauniškiai*) where it is rare, supposedly due to German influence; cf. Senkus (2006, 275), Šukys (2000, 8). Similar comments can be found in the publications of the dialectal texts from this region, cf. “the so-called Genitive of Negation almost doesn’t exist at all in the dialect”⁸ (Bacevičiūtė 2006, 41) or “Genitive of Negation is almost never used in the dialect”⁹ (Bacevičiūtė, Sakalauskienė 2008, 32).

⁸ Lith. ‘...šnektoje beveik visai nėra vadinamojo neiginio kilmininko’.

⁹ Lith. ‘...šnektoje beveik nevartojamas neiginio kilmininkas’.

In order to check this statement, I used the collection of transcribed narratives from the Šakiai (Bacevičiūtė 2006) and Griškabūdis (Bacevičiūtė & Sakalauskienė 2008) districts in Lithuania. Similar to the South-East Aukštaitian data, all ambiguous examples were excluded, for instance, those where the genitive marking could be related not only to the negation, but to other factors as well, cf. possible partitive meaning in (22), and those with the pronominal object which can have both genitive and accusative interpretation, such as (23).

- (22) *viš̃ tīek dūon-o.s næ-tūr-im*
 anyway bread-GEN.SG NEG-have-PRS.1PL
 ‘we don’t have bread anyway’ (Bacevičiūtė & Sakalauskienė 2008, 82)
- (23) *nīē-k-š̃ ĵče tave næ-klá.us-æ*
 NEG-who-NOM here 2SG.ACC/GEN NEG-ask-PRS.3
 ‘nobody is asking you here’ (Bacevičiūtė & Sakalauskienė 2008, 97)

The published texts contain examples of both genitive, cf. (24), and accusative, cf. (25), marking of the direct object of a negated verb.

- (24) *jāu ĵt-as ĵpōn-as sávoṽ |*
 already DEM-NOM.SG.M gentleman-NOM.SG own
sávoṽ ĵt-o paškelbim-o næ-mā.ī.n-o
 own DEM-GEN.SG.M statement-GEN.SG NEG-change-PRS.3
 ‘that gentleman is not changing his promise anymore’
 (Bacevičiūtė & Sakalauskienė 2008, 74)
- (25) *dabār taij va.i.k-ūs nē-žur-i*
 now so child-ACC.PL NEG-see-PRS.3
 ‘nowadays they don’t look after kids’
 (Bacevičiūtė & Sakalauskienė 2008, 98)

According to my count, even though the accusative marking of the direct object of a negated verb in the published texts is more frequent than in the South-East Aukštaitian dialects, the genitive marking is still dominant; cf. Table 5 and 6.

As the word *niekas* ‘nothing’ is rather frequent in the texts and is prone to genitive marking in negated contexts (this word retains the genitive marking even in Latvian where GenNeg disappeared), it was excluded from the statistics, in order to avoid any kind of bias.

Table 5. GEN vs ACC marked direct objects of negated verbs in (Bacevičiūtė 2006)

	all examples			all without <i>niekas</i>			local without <i>niekas</i>		distant without <i>niekas</i>	
GEN	57	77%		27	61%		27	66%	0	0%
ACC	17	23%		17	39%		14	34%	3	100%
Total	74	100%		44	100%		41	100	3	100%

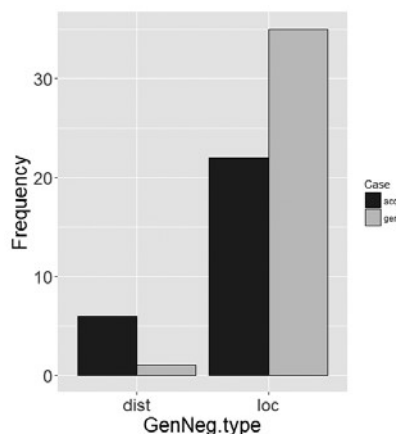
Table 6. GEN vs ACC marked direct objects of negated verbs in (Bacevičiūtė & Sakalauskienė 2008)

	all examples			all without <i>niekas</i>			local without <i>niekas</i>		distant without <i>niekas</i>	
GEN	20	65%		9	45%		8	50%	1	25%
ACC	11	35%		11	55%		8	50%	3	75%
Total	31	100%		20	100%		16	100%	4	100%

The type of GenNeg seems to play a role in case marking. In both collections of texts, accusative marking is dominant in distant GenNeg. However, in terms of statistics the dependency between case marking and type of GenNeg (local vs distant) is only moderately significant, and the value of Cramér's *V* indicates a rather small effect size, see Figure 4.

The dependency between case marking and such parameters as word order (for instance, object preceding the verb would be more often marked by the accusative), the type of the object (noun or pronoun) or the number of the object, distribution among speakers or among localities is not statistically significant.

Figure 4. Case marking in West Aukštaitian dialects by type of GenNeg.
 $p = 0.03718$ (Fisher's exact test), Cramér's $V = 0.296$



4. Summary and discussion

Aukštaitian dialects of Lithuanian have a distribution of GenNeg different from the standard language. First, GenNeg shows various degrees of stability in different parts of the Aukštaitian dialects: genitive marking on an object of a negated verb is very strict in the East (the Vilnius region) and somewhat less in South Aukštaitian dialects where accusative marking also, though rarely, appears. The accusative marking is more frequent in the western part of Aukštaitian dialects (although not to the extent described in the works of the dialectologists). Thus, dialect research, aiming at morphological and syntactic features, can shed light not only on the structure of a particular dialect but also, more importantly, on the wider areal picture. The picture obtained in this study generally disproves the hypothesis made in the introduction according to which GenNeg is less stable in South-Eastern part of Lithuania than in the standard language. This observation also implies that contacts with East Slavic didn't influence these dialects in regard to GenNeg. At the same time, the language contact factor shouldn't be abandoned completely. Presence of accusative-marked direct objects under negation in South Aukštaitian can still be a result of East Slavic influence, as this is exactly the region where Lithuanian speakers are usually at least bilingual (with at least one Slavic language) as opposed to East Aukštaitian. The decay of GenNeg in West Aukštaitian dialects is often explained by German influence (the same explanation is offered for the loss of GenNeg in Latvian). However,

a wider picture covering all Lithuanian dialects will be needed to make further generalizations, both about possible German influence and in general.

Case marking also seems to depend on the type of negated contexts: the genitive marking is stricter in local contexts (direct objects of negated verbs), and more variation (genitive vs accusative) is allowed in distant contexts (direct objects of non-finite verbal forms embedded under negated verbs). This assumption is correct for Standard Lithuanian and West Aukštaitian (*kauniškiai*) dialects. The data from South-Eastern Lithuanian dialects however have very few accusative-marked examples in distant contexts (even less than in local contexts).

Another point worth mentioning is the interaction between nominative objects and verbal negation. Even though in Standard Lithuanian the genitive marking is preferable in the negated constructions typical of the nominative object; see (Seržant 2016, 160), data from East Aukštaitian (*vilniškiai*) dialects suggest to the contrary: the nominative object is not affected by the negation. This is important for the syntactic analysis of the nominative object construction: for instance, it can be a hint towards this case's non-syntactic nature, cf. Franks & Lavine (2006), Lavine (2010).

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ABBREVIATIONS

Dru — the Druskininkai municipality; Erz — the village Erzvėtas in the Ignalina district, Ram — Ramaškancy in Belarus, Sdau — the village Senasis Daugėliškis in the Ignalina district, Siul — the village Šiūlėnai in the Ignalina district, Var — the Varėna district, Vos — the village Vosiūnai in the Ignalina district

1 — 1st person; 2 — 2nd person; 3 — 3rd person; ACC — accusative; DAT — dative; DEM — demonstrative; DIM — diminutive; F — feminine; FUT — future; GEN — genitive; IMP — imperative; INF — infinitive; IRR — irrealis; M — masculine; NA — non-agreeing; NEG — negation; NOM — nominative; PL — plural; PRS — present; PST — past; PVB — preverb; Q — question marker; RFL — reflexive; SG — singular

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