

Russian genitive of negation

(all data from David Pesetsky, 1982, *Paths and Categories*, PhD thesis, MIT, pp. 40-50)

Genitive of negation appears optionally on ...

Direct objects:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|-----|----------|----------------|
| (1) a. | Ja | ne | Ø | pis'ma. |
| | I | NEG | received | letters.ACC.PL |
| b. | Ja | ne | Ø | pisem. |
| | I | NEG | received | letters.GEN.PL |

Subjects of passives:

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|-----|-------|----------------------|-----|-------------|------------------|
| (2) a. | Ni | odna | gazeta | ne | byla | Øena. |
| | not | one | newspaper.FEM.NOM.SG | NEG | was.FEM.SG | received.FEM.SG |
| b. | Ni | odnoj | gazety | ne | bylo | Øeno. |
| | not | one | newspaper.FEM.GEN.SG | NEG | was.NEUT.SG | received.NEUT.SG |

Unaccusative subjects:

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------------|----------|--------------------|------------------|---------------|
| (3) a. | Zdes' | xoro | ie | ljudi | ne | su Øestvujut. |
| | here | good | | people.NOM | NEG | exist.3PL |
| b. | Zdes' | xoro | ix | ljudej | ne | su Øestvuet. |
| | here | good | | people.GEN | NEG | exist.3SG |
| (4) a. | Griby | | zdes' | ne | rastut. | |
| | mushrooms.NOM | | here | NEG | grow.3PL | |
| b. | Gribov | | zdes' | ne | rastet. | |
| | mushrooms.GEN | | here | NEG | grow.3SG | |
| (5) a. | Otvet | iz | polka | ne | prisel. | |
| | answer.NOM | from | regiment | NEG | arrived.MASC.3SG | |
| b. | Otveta | iz | polka | ne | pri lo. | |
| | answer.GEN | from | regiment | NEG | arrived.NEUT.3SG | |
| (6) a. | Nikakie | dokladØiki | ne | pojavilis'. | | |
| | no | speakers.GEN | NEG | showed.up.NEUT.3SG | | |
| b. | Nikakix | dokladØikov | ne | pojavilos'. | | |
| | no | speakers.GEN | NEG | showed.up.NEUT.3SG | | |

But not on ...

Unergative subjects:

- (7) a. V pivbarax kul'turnye ljudi ne p'jut.
 in beerhalls cultured people.NOM NEG drink.3PL
 b. *V pivbarax kul'turnyx ljudej ne p'et.
 in beerhalls cultured people.GEN NEG drink.3SG
- (8) a. Ni odin rebenok ne prygnul
 not one child.M.SG.NOM NEG jumped.MASC.SG
 b. *Ni odnogo rebenka ne prygnulo
 not one child.M.SG.GEN NEG jumped.NEUT.SG
- (9) a. Na zavode nikakie en ʃiny ne rabotajut.
 at factory no women.FEM.NOM.PL NEG work.PL
 b. *Na zavode nikakix en ʃin ne rabotaet.
 at factory no women.FEM.NOM.PL NEG work.PL

Transitive subjects (regardless of their agentivity):

- (10) a. Studenty ne smotrijat televizor.
 students.NOM NEG watch.PL TV
 b. *Studentov ne smotrit televizor.
 students.GEN NEG watch.SG TV
- (11) a. Ni odna devu ka ne ʃ na e pis'mo.
 not one girl.NOM NEG received.FEM our letter
 b. *Ni odnoj devu ki ne ʃ na e pis'mo.
 not one girl.GEN NEG received.NEUT our letter
- (12) a. Takie ma iny ne proizvodjat vpeʃlatlenie.
 such cars.NOM NEG produce.PL impression
 b. *Takix ma in ne proizvodit vpeʃlatlenie.
 such cars.GEN NEG produce.SG impression

As Perlmutter discussed, the unacc/unerg status depends on context of use, and is not necessarily fixed once and for all in the lexicon:

plavat ‘float/swim’

- (13) a. V bassejne nikakoj rebenok ne plavaet.
 in pool no child.M.SG.NOM NEG floats/swims
 b. V bassejne nikakogo rebenka ne plavaet.
 in pool no child.M.SG.GEN NEG floats/*swims

cf.

- (14) V supe ne plavalо nikakogo mjasa.
 in soup NEG floated.NEUT.SG no meat.MASC.SG.GEN