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Russian Free Phrasal Indefinite Pronouns

Abstract

The paper describes Russian phrasal indefinite pronouns: both 1) phraseologized (= collocational), such as *koe-kto* ≈ 'someone', *Bog znaet kto* 'God knows who', *kto ugodno* 'whoever' or *kto by to ni bylo* 'no matter who', and 2) free, such as {*Ja vstretil*} *nikto iz tvoix druzej ne dogadaetsja kogo* '{I met} none of your friends will guess whom' (a.k.a. *syntactic amalgams*). Three lexical entries are presented: for the indefinite pronominal lexeme кто1 ≈ '-body; -one', for the premodifying indefiniteness type marker idiom ⌜Bog znaet⌝ 'God knows', and for the postmodifying indefiniteness type marker particle -то⁴ ≈ 'some'. Formal representations of collocational and free phrasal indefinite pronouns at three levels of linguistic representation (semantic, deep-syntactic and surface-syntactic) are given, as well as rules for constructing both types of pronouns.

Keywords

Russian language, lexicology, indefinite pronouns, collocational and free phrasal pronouns, syntactic amalgams

*To the dear memory of Gaston G*ROSS

1 Statement of the Paper's Goals

The intended object of the present paper is the family of Russian expressions of the following form (boldfaced):

(1)   *Ja segodnja vstretil **daže Petina mama ne dogadaetsja kogo***
       'I met today even Pete's mom won't guess whom'.

The boldfaced phrase is a phrasal indefinite pronoun, similar to such phrasal indefinite pronouns as KOE-KTO lit. 'some who' ≈ 'somebody' or KTO UGODNO lit. 'who you want' ≈ 'anybody'.

> ☞ Vital notions, on the first mention, are printed in Helvetica; they are discussed in the body
> of the paper or briefly explained in the Appendix, p. 23.

Calling such an expression as *daže Petina mama ne dogadaetsja kogo* a pronoun is, of course, an *abus de langage*, or a "poetic licence": the expression in question is a pronominal phrase rather than simply a pronoun. However, this loose use of the term can be accepted as a convenient abbreviation, since in the given context it cannot entail any confusion.

Now, there is a striking difference between phrasal indefinite pronouns of the above two types:

—The indefinite pronouns of the *koe-kto* and *kto ugodno* type are phraseologized, that is, non-free, phrases, and their number is finite (as will be shown, about 360: see Table 1, p. 5); they must be listed and described in the lexicon.
—The indefinite pronouns of the *daže Petina mama ne dogadaetsja kogo* type are free phrases, and their number is infinite; they cannot be presented in the lexicon and must be specified by rules.

Therefore, the final goal of this paper is twofold: to propose

1) the formal representations of Russian free phrasal indefinite pronouns on the semantic [Sem-], deep-syntactic [DSynt-] and surface-syntactic [SSynt-] levels

and

2) the formal rules relating these representations, that is, the rules that describe the production of these pronouns by the Speaker.

NB English freely produced phrasal indefinite pronouns of this type were brought to linguists' attention by George Lakoff (1974, pp. 321–324) under the name of *syntactic amalgams*.

But there is a complication: the syntactic head of a free-phrase pronoun in question is a pronominal lexeme, such as кто 'who', čto 'what', gde 'where', etc. Traditionally, these lexemes are called "interrogative pronouns," yet in the role that interests us here, they are by no means interrogative: their meaning and their syntactic behavior are drastically different from those of interrogative pronouns. Informally, they are also known as WH-words (in Russian, as K-words)—a convenient name, which, however, does not reflect their notional status. Strictly speaking, what are they indeed? Unfortunately, the available literature does not give a satisfactory formal enough answer. Hence, the paper's preliminary goal is:

> To propose a formalized description, even if a cursory and sketchy one, of the closed system of Russian indefinite pronouns—both the indefinite pronominal lexemes and the indefinite pronominal phrasemes.

The indefinite pronominal phrasemes are discussed in Section **2**, and Section **3** is dedicated to the freely built phrasal indefinite pronouns.

Two remarks before I proceed.

- The literature on indefinite pronouns is too rich for a reasonable overview, but fortunately there is the fundamental monograph (Haspelmath, 1997), which offers a detailed and multifaceted characterization of indefinite pronouns in the world's languages; what follows is based to a great degree on this work. As far as Russian is concerned, one finds in the studies (Padučeva, 1985, pp. 209–220, 2015–2017, and 2018) a rigorous description of the main Russian indefinite pronouns, and I largely use Padučeva's results. A precise and compact description of Russian phrasal indefinite pronouns is offered in (Iomdin, 2010). Finally, recently the set of Russian indefinite pronominal lexemes has been semantically and combinatorially treated as a particular lexicographic type in (Apresjan, V. & Iomdin, B., 2022), so that the present paper is a contribution to the research endeavor launched by this article.
- What follows is but a pilot study—a very first step towards the declared goals. Therefore, everything is fairly approximative, especially the semantic characterization of pronominal expressions.

2 Russian Phraseologized (= Collocational) Indefinite Pronouns

Russian phraseologized indefinite pronouns will be dealt with in two stages: their structure and linguistic nature (**2.1**) and their lexicographic treatment (**2.2**).

2.1 The Structure and the Linguistic Nature of Russian Collocational Indefinite Pronouns

The Russian language has a (more or less) closed set of indefinite pronominal expressions having the following composition:

PREMODIFYING LEXICAL UNIT←**pronominal-auxiliary**–INDEFINITE PRONOMINAL LEXEME

or

INDEFINITE PRONOMINAL LEXEME–**pronominal-auxiliary**→POSTMODIFYING LEXICAL UNIT

Thus, Russian phraseologized indefinite pronouns are two-component phrases, which are collocations (Mel'čuk, 2023b, pp. 112–136). The base of such a collocation is an indefinite pronominal lexeme, and the collocate is a lexical unit [LU] that is a marker of the indefiniteness type [IT-marker];[1] see Table 1, next page.

Let it be emphasized:

> A Russian phraseologized indefinite pronoun such as KOE-KTO ≈ 'some-body', KTO-TO ≈ 'some-body' or KTO-NIBUD′ ≈ 'some-body' is not a wordform (as is often tacitly admitted), but a phrase; more specifically, it is a collocation, whose base is the nominal pronoun KTO 'who' and whose collocates are the particles KOE- ≈ 'some-', -TO[4] ≈ 'some-' and -NIBUD′ ≈ 'some-'.

To see this, consider the linear separation of the complex pronoun's components by a preposition (*koe s kem* lit. 'some with body'), the "intraword inflection" (*k+ogo-to* lit. 'who+m+body', *s k+em-nibud′* lit. 'with who+m+body') and the parallelism with such obvious cases of phrasal pronouns as *Bog znaet kto* 'God knows who' or *kto by … ni* (*prixodil*) lit. 'who … wouldn't (come)' ≈ 'whoever (comes)'.

Table 1

☞ Idioms are shown by top corners, as in ⌜HIT THE HAY⌝ 'go to bed'.

Premodifying LU	Indefinite pronominal lexeme	Postmodifying LU
1. ABY ≈ 'any-'	1. ČEJ 'whose'	1. ⌜BY … NI⌝ ≈ 'no matter'
2. ⌜BOG VEST'⌝ lit. 'God knows', ≈ 'some-'	2. ČTO 'what'	2. ⌜BY TO NI BYLO⌝ ≈ '-ever'
3. ⌜BOG (EGO) ZNAET⌝ lit. 'God (it) knows', ≈ 'some-'	3. GDE 'where'	3. -LIBO ≈ 'some-'
4. ČËRT-TE lit. 'devil to you', ≈ 'any-'	4. KAK 'how'	4. ⌜NI POPADJA⌝ ≈ 'no matter'
5. ⌜ČËRT (EGO) ZNAET⌝ lit. 'devil (it) knows', ≈ 'some-'	5. KAKOJ 'what a …'	5. ⌜NI POPALO⌝ ≈ 'no matter'
6. ⌜FIG (EGO) ZNAET⌝ lit. 'fig sign (it) knows', ≈ 'some-'	6. KOGDA 'when'	6. -NIBUD' ≈ 'some-'
7. KOE- ≈ 'some-'	7. KTO 'who'	7. NADO ≈ 'ne should'
8. ⌜KTO (EGO) ZNAET⌝ lit. 'who (it) knows', ≈ 'some-'	8. KUDA 'where to'	8. POPALO ≈ 'no matter'
9. MALO 'few'	9. OTKUDA 'where from'	9. PRIDËTSJA ≈ 'no matter'
10. ⌜MALO LI⌝ ≈ 'any-'	10. POČEMU 'why'	10. -TO[4] ≈ 'some-'
11. NEVEST'/NIVEST' lit. 'not known', ≈ 'any-'	11. SKOL'KO 'how many/ much'	11. UGODNO ≈ 'any-'
12. NEZNAMO 'not known', ≈ 'any-'	12. ZAČEM 'what for'	12. XOČEŠ' lit. 'you want', ≈ 'any-'
13. ⌜PËS (EGO) ZNAET⌝ lit. 'dog (it) knows', ≈ 'some-'		
14. REDKO lit. 'rarely', = 'few'		
15. ⌜ŠUT (EGO) ZNAET⌝ lit. 'buffoon (it) knows', ≈ 'some-'		
16. XOT' lit. 'at least', ≈ 'any-'		
17. ⌜XREN (EGO) ZNAET⌝ lit. 'horseradish (it) knows', ≈ 'some-'		
18. ⌜X.. (EGO) ZNAET⌝ lit. 'penis (it) knows', ≈ 'some-'		

According to Table 1, Russian has ≈ 360 indefinite pronominal collocations, or phrasal indefinite pronouns.

> **NB** The number of Russian phrasal indefinite pronouns is not exactly 12 × (18 + 12) = 360, specified by the table, for two reasons. On the one hand, some combinations of premodifiers/postmodifiers with sкоl'ко 'how much/many', počemu 'why' and začem 'what for' are impossible: *aby skol'ko/počemu/začem* or *počemu/začem ugodno/xočeš'*, etc.; some other combinations are frozen as idioms, see Comment 2 below. On the other hand, Table 1 does not include several restrictedly used LUs, for instance:
>
> —the indefinite pronominal lexemes naskol'ko 'by how many/much', which can be premodified only by ⌐Bog ⟨čërt, fig, кто, pës, šut, xren, x..⟩ (ego) znaet⌐, and počëm 'what is the price of', which accepts far from all pre- and postmodifiers;
>
> —the IT-markers, such as: ⌐lešij (ego) znaet⌐ 'the wood goblin (it) knows', which is rather infrequent; ⌐Bog poslal/pošlët⌐ 'God sent/will send', which combines mainly with čto 'what'; ⌐glaza gljadjat⌐ lit. 'eyes look', which combines only with kuda 'to where'; and ni + $V_{PERF.FUT.2.SG}$ (*kogo ni vybereš'* 'whoever you will elect'), ni + $V_{IMPER.2.SG}$ (*kogo ni vyberi* 'whoever elect$_{IMPER}$') or ni + V_{INF} (*kogo ni vybrat'* 'whoever to elect'), which introduce additional semantic and grammatical complications.

Comments

1) The four major semantic/functional types of indefinite pronouns have been established in (Haspelmath, 1997, pp. 130–141):

- the 'dunno' type (Eng. *somebody*, Rus. *kto-to*);
- the 'want/pleases' type (Eng. *anybody*, Rus. *kto ugodno*);
- the 'it may be' type (Eng. *whoever*, Rus. *kto by to ni bylo*);
- the 'no matter' type (Eng. *no matter who*, Rus. *kto popalo*).

2) The English glosses supplied in Table 1 are more than approximate: the meanings of the corresponding Russian pronouns are complex and very different from those of the English indefinite pronouns. As said above, the accurate semantic description of Russian indefinite pronouns is not attempted in this paper: strictly speaking, such a description concerns the IT-markers rather than the pronominal lexemes themselves, cf. (Levontina & Šmelëv, 2005 and 2018); see also (Padučeva, 1985, pp. 209–220, 2015–2017 and 2018).

3) Some Russian indefinite pronominal collocations are homonymous with idioms; for instance:

—The collocation čto-to 'something' is homonymous with two (invariable) idioms:

⌐čto-to⌐**1** 'approximately' (*čto-to okolo desjati tonn* lit. 'approximately about 10 tons');
⌐čto-to⌐**2** 'for unknown reasons' (*Čto-to ty zagrustil* lit. 'For.unknown.reasons you became.sad.').

☞ The period is used in the glosses to unite several English words that correspond to one Russian word.

—The collocation GDE-NIBUD′ 'somewhere' co-exists with the idiom ⌜GDE-NI-BUD′⌝ 'approximately' (*gde-nibud′ okolo poludnja* lit. 'approximately about noon').

—The collocation XOT′ KUDA 'anywhere' co-exists with the idiom ⌜XOT′ KUDA⌝ 'excellent' (*Kvartira byla xot′ kuda* 'The appartment was excellent.').

—The expression ⌜KOGDA-TO⌝ functions only as an idiom meaning 'at a remote moment in the past or the future'.

—The expression ⌜čËRT-TE SKOL′KO⌝ also functions only as an idiom meaning 'far too many/ much'.

This complication is especially important when considering meanings of indefinite pronominal collocations.

4) The postmodifying IT-marker ⌜(BY) … NI⌝ represents the constructions shown in (2):

(2)   a. ***Kto by*** *k Ivanu* **ni** *prixodil, vse uxodjat dovol′nye*
            'No matter who is coming to see Ivan, everyone leaves satisfied'.

        b. ***Kogo*** *tol′ko Ivan* **ni** *prinimaet, vse uxodjat dovol′nye*
            'No matter whom only Ivan is.receiving, everyone leaves satisfied'.

Note a possible contamination of the IT-marker ⌜BY … NI⌝ with the IT-marker ⌜BY TO NI BYLO⌝, if the indefinite pronoun is KTO 'who':

(3)   a. ⌜BY … NI⌝: *Kto by to ni byl, my ego najdëm* 'No matter who this is, we'll find him'.
            Here, the verb *byl* can be replaced with any verb, provided it fits semantically (*okazalsja* 'turned out; found oneself', *učinil* 'committed', etc.), and TO, which is a demonstrative pronoun, with ÈTO 'this'.

        b. ⌜BY TO NI BYLO⌝: *Pust′ prixodit kto by to ni bylo* 'Let no matter who come'.
            Here nothing can be replaced.

Note also that the combination of an indefinite pronominal lexeme with the postmodifier ⌜TOL′KO … NE⌝ is not an indefinite, but an exclamatory pronoun:[2]

(4)   *Kto tol′ko k Ivanu ne prixodit!* lit. 'Who only to Ivan doesn't come!' =
        'How many different people come to see Ivan!'

The meaning of an exclamatory pronoun includes the component 'many different …'; such a pronoun can be only used in exclamatory utterances and, signaling an emotional state of the Speaker, it is a non-descriptive lexeme—unlike all indefinite pronouns, which are descriptive lexical expressions.

5) The premodifying IT-markers of the form ⌜Bog (ego) znaet⌝ are described in (Mel'čuk, 2012 and 2021, pp. 309–332). A meticulous semantic and combinatorial description of several postmodifying IT-markers and of the premodifying marker aby is found in (Levontina & Šmelëv, 2005 and 2018), already mentioned above.

Russian indefinite pronominal collocations will be characterized in three steps: the base of the collocation, its collocate, and the deep-/surface-syntactic relation [D/S-SyntRel] between them.

The Base of a Russian Indefinite Pronominal Collocation

The base of a Russian indefinite pronominal collocation has been called above *indefinite pronominal lexeme*. It is a polysem of an interrogative pronoun. In this way, twelve Russian indefinite pronominal collocations are directly related to Russian interrogative pronominal lexemes (in fact, to all Russian interrogative pronominal lexemes, except kotoryj 'which').

> NB As indicated in (Haspelmath, 1997, pp. 26–27), such state of affairs—that is, indefinite pronouns being formally based on interrogative pronouns—is typical of the majority of the world's languages (63 out of 100 languages in Haspelmath's sample).

A Russian indefinite pronominal lexeme has a meaning corresponding to the one—central—component of an interrogative pronoun's meaning: namely, the meaning of one of the so-called basic ontological categories, a notion that goes back to Aristotle.[3]

čej 'whose'	: [related to a]	'person'	kto 'who'	:	'person'
čto 'what'	: [non-human]	'entity'	kuda 'where to'	: [moving to a]	'place'
gde 'where'	: [in a]	'place'	otkuda 'where from'	: [moving from a]	'place'
kak 'how'	: [in a]	'manner'	počemu 'why'	: [for a]	'cause'
kakoj 'what a …'	: [having a]	'property'	skol'ko 'how many/much'	:	'quantity'
kogda 'when'	: [at the]	'time [of] …'	začem 'what for'	: [with the]	'goal [of] …'

For instance, kto-to means 'a person whose identity is unknown to the Enunciator' (≈ 'somebody'), and koe-gde, 'in several places whose identity is known to the Enunciator, but unknown to the Addressee' (≈ 'in some places').

A Russian indefinite pronominal lexeme has a theoretically interesting property: it cannot be used without its obligatory collocate, that is, without an IT-marker. In other words, an indefinite pronominal lexeme appears in a sen-

tence only as the base of one out of ≈ 30 collocations. These lexemes constitute a subclass of degenerate lexemes (Meľčuk, 2023b, p. 45), that is, of lexemes functioning exclusively within phrasemes; this particular subclass is naturally called collocate-bound lexemes. All 12 Russian indefinite pronominal lexemes are collocate-bound.

The Collocate of a Russian Indefinite Pronominal Collocation

Premodifying and postmodifying LUs appearing as collocates in Russian indefinite pronominal collocations are special particles—lexemes and idioms; as said above, they are markers of indefiniteness type, that is, they express particular "indefiniteness" meanings. The exact meaning and the combinatorial properties of an IT-marker must be described in detail in its own lexical entry. In the entry of its base—that is, in the entry of an indefinite pronominal lexeme—the corresponding IT-markers are only approximately specified by non-standard lexical functions [LFs]. These specifications are supposed to be sufficient (in the process of sentence production) just for the first rough choice by the Speaker; the finergrained selection is performed based on the IT-marker's own lexical entry.

The SSyntRel Between the Components of a Russian Indefinite Pronominal Collocation

In the deep-syntactic structure, an IT-marker, being a modifier of the indefinite pronominal lexeme, is subordinated to it by the **ATTR**(**ibutive**) deep-syntactic relation, as all modifiers are. In the surface-syntactic structure, a special **pronominal-auxiliary** surface-syntactic relation [SSyntRel] is proposed to express this syntactic link (Meľčuk, 2012, p. 12).[4] The **pronominal-auxiliary** SSyntRel covers ≈ 360 indefinite pronominal collocations plus an open set of freely constructed phrasal indefinite pronouns. It determines the linear position of the IT-marker with respect to the pronominal lexeme:

—If anteposed, this marker is placed closer to the pronominal lexeme than restrictive particles, but further than monosyllabic prepositions: *tol'ko ne **aby** ⟨**Bog znaet**⟩ s kem* 'only not with anybody ⟨with God knows whom⟩' vs. ****aby** ⟨**Bog znaet**⟩ tol'ko ne s kem*.[5]

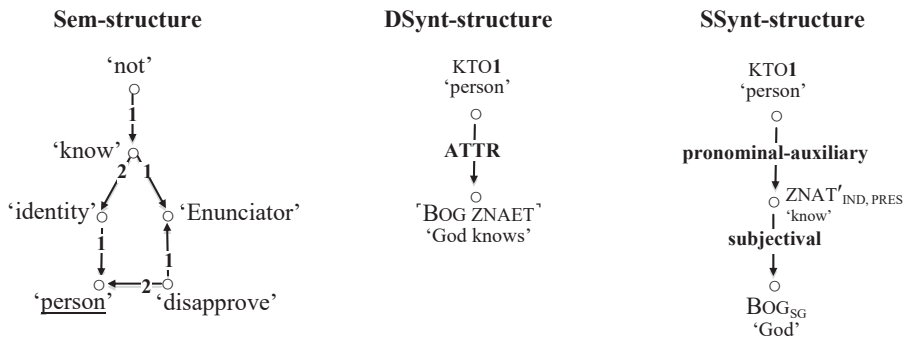—If postposed, the collocational IT-marker follows the pronoun immediately.

The ante-/post-position of the indefiniteness type marker is ensured by the indication in its syntactics (i.e., in its lexical entry): «anteposed» or «postposed».

Now the ground is ready to show the formal representation of Russian indefinite pronominal collocations. As an illustrative specimen the collocation *Bog znaet kto* 'God knows who' is taken, its base being the indefinite pronominal

lexeme KTO1, and as the collocate, the idiom ⌜Bog znaet⌝. This collocation is quite typical of indefinite pronominal collocations—"seen one, seen them all."

(5)   The structures of the Russian collocational indefinite pronoun ⌜*Bog znaet*⌝ *kto* at three levels of linguistic representation.

☞   The underscoring of a <u>semanteme</u> in a Sem-structure indicates its communicatively dominant role.

Sem-structure   **DSynt-structure**   **SSynt-structure**

'not'   KTO1   KTO1
 ○   'person'   'person'
 1   ○   ○
 ↓ | |
'know' ○   ATTR   **pronominal-auxiliary**
      2   1 | ↓
'identity' ○   ○ 'Enunciator'   ○   ○ ZNAT′ IND, PRES
     1   1   ⌜Bog znaet⌝   'know'
     ↓   ↑   'God knows'   **subjectival**
     ○ ←2─ ○   ↓
'person' 'disapprove'   Bog SG
                                                        'God'

2.2 Lexical Entries for Three Components of Russian Collocational Indefinite Pronouns

To throw more light on Russian collocational indefinite pronouns, three lexical entries are cited in full: for an indefinite pronominal lexeme (KTO1), for a pre-modifying indefiniteness type marker (the idiom ⌜Bog znaet⌝), and for a post-modifying IT-marker (the particle -TO[4]).

KTO1, indefinite; masc, sg; collocate-bound lexeme.[6]

Signified
'čelovek' = 'person'

Syntactics
    Obligatory Dependents
        KTO1–**pronominal-auxiliary**→LF(KTO1) [KTO1 is used only with one of its IT-markers]

Lexical Functions

```
specified, unknown to the Enunciator
```
: [~]-to[4]; **coll.** ⌐Bog vest′⌐[7] [~]

```
specified, unknown to, and
   disapproved of by, the Enunciator
```
: **coll.** ⌐Bog, čërt ⟨fig, kto, pës, šut, **rude** xren, **vulg.** x..⟩ (ego) znaet⌐ [~]; **coll.** čërt-te, **coll.** nevest′/nivest′, **substand.** neznamo [~]

```
specified, (several,) known to the Enun-
   ciator, unknown to the Addressee
```
: koe-[~]

```
specified, known to, and approved by,
   the Enunciator
```
: [~] nado

```
non-specified
```
: [~]-nibud′

```
non-specified, arbitrary
```
: [~] ⌐by to ni bylo⌐; [~]-libo; [~] ugodno; **coll.** [~] xočeš′; **coll.** xot′[8] [~]

```
non-specified, arbitrary,
   disapproved of by the Enunciator
```
: aby [~], [~] pridëtsja

```
non-specified, arbitrary, strongly
   disapproved of by the Enunciator
```
: [~] ⌐ni popadja⌐, ⌐ni popalo⌐, popalo

```
non-specified, many,
   utterly variegated
```
: [~] ⌐(by) … ni⌐ $L_{(V)}$ | $L_{(V)}$→кто1

```
non-specified, many,
   disapproved of by the Enunciator
```
: ⌐malo li⌐ [~]

```
non-specified, few
```
: malo, redko [~]

Examples

(i) *Ivan **xot′ kogo** vyvedet iz sebja* 'Ivan can drive anybody mad'.

(ii) a. *S **kem** Ivan tol′ko **ni** vstrečaetsja, on nravitsja vsem*
   lit. 'With whomever Ivan only meets, he pleases everybody'.
   b. *S **kem by** Ivan **ni** vstrečalsja, on nravitsja vsem*
   lit. 'With whomever Ivan would.meet, he pleases everybody'.

(iii) *Ivan mog rasskazyvat′ istorii o **kom ugodno*** 'Ivan could tell stories about anybody'.

Comments

The formulations of the above non-standard LFs are based on the data from Padučeva's work; here are the abbreviations adopted.

```
Specified  [X]:
```
concretely referential X, that is, X referring to a particular entity present in the real world.

```
Non-specified [X]:
```
non-referential X.

NB A non-referential LU X cannot be used in an "strongly affirmative" context (i.e., in an affirmation about a specified—referential—situation): *Kto-nibud' prišël včera* 'Somebody came yesterday'. vs. *Kto-nibud', vozmožno, prišël včera* 'Somebody probably came yesterday'. | *Kto-nibud' pridët zavtra* 'Somebody will.come tomorrow'. | *Kto-nibud' prišël včera?* 'Did somebody come yesterday?'. The problem of the correlation between referentiality of an expression and its use in an affirmative context must be resolved at the semantic level: what is at stake here is the combinability of meanings rather than that of words.

`[X]` `unknown` `to` `the` `Enunciator`: X such that the Enunciator does not know X's identity.

`Arbitrary` `[X]`: X that is a freely choosable element of a particular set.

To put the proposed description of the indefinite pronominal lexeme ᴋᴛᴏ1 in an appropriate context, it is worth sketching the structure of the polysemous vocable ᴋᴛᴏ 'who', of which ᴋᴛᴏ1 is a lexeme.

KTO 'who', noun, pronominal.

Signifier

{ᴋᴛᴏ} = /któ/ *kto*, /kavó/ *kogo*, /kamú/ *komu*, /kʹěm/ *kem*, /kóm/ *kom*

ᴋᴛᴏ1 'čelovek' = 'person', indefinite; collocate-bound lexeme.

(6)   a. *Tuda   kto   ugodno možet prijti*
         to.there person   any   can   come
         'Any person can go there'.

      b. *Tuda   kto   -nibud' možet prijti*
         to.there person   some   can   come
         'Some person [= 'somebody'] can go there'.

ᴋᴛᴏ2a 'čelovek←P' = 'person←P', pseudo-relative.

☞   The expression 'person←P' = 'person.who P' stands for 'the person who does/undergoes P'; P represents the syntactic head of a pseudo-relative clause. In other words, the lexeme ᴋᴛᴏ2a can be used only in a pseudo-relative clause.

(7)   a. *Kto   prišël, možet sadit'sja*
         person.who   came   can   sit.down
         'The person who came can sit down'.

      b. *Ja bespokojus' o   kom   ty   rasskazyval včera*
          I am.worried   about   person.who   you   spoke.about yesterday
          'I am worried about the person you spoke about yesterday'.

(8) *Vot   komu   ja dal knigu*
I.indicate.here to.person.who I gave book
'This is the person to whom I gave the book'.

кто2b 'čelovek, č′ja identičnost′ …' = 'person whose identity …', indefinite; collocate-bound lexeme.

(9) *Ja vstretil ty   ne ugadaeš′ kogo*
I met   you not will.guess person.whose.identity
'I met you won't guess whom'. = 'I met the person whose identity you won't guess'.

(10) *Tak vot   komu   ja dal knigu!*
so I.indicate.here to.person.whose.identity I gave book
'Now I know the identity of the person to whom I gave the book!'

кто2c 'neopredelënnyj čelovek' = 'a non-specified person', indefinite, **colloquial**. Completely synonymous with *kto-nibud′*.

(11) *Esli kogo   uvidiš′, pozdorovajsja* 'If you meet somebody, greet him'.
if   a.person you.see greet

кто3 'identičnost′ čeloveka, kotoryj …' = 'identity of person who …', interrogative.

(12) *Kto   prišël?* 'Who came?'
identity.of.person.who? came

(13) *Ja znaju,   kto   prišël* 'I know who came'.
I know   identity.of.person.who   came

кто4: relative pronoun (that is, an empty substitute pronoun used to introduce a relative clause modifying a designation of human being; equivalent to which/that/who). See (Iordanskaja & Melʹčuk, 2020).

(14) *Nado imet′ delo s ljud′mi, kto ponimaet v torgovle*
'One must deal with people who understand commerce'.

Comments

1) The order—or, more precisely, the numbering—of the lexemes inside the vocable кто follows their growing semantic complexity (however, the semantically empty pronoun кто4 is placed the last): 'person' < 'person.who' < 'person whose identity…' < 'a non-specified person' < 'identity of person who …'.

2) All the lexemes of this vocable have the same signifier, so that it is indicated just once, for the whole vocable.

3) кто2a: a pseudo-relative pronoun. A pronoun of this class is underlying the formation of a pseudo-relative clause (Mel'čuk, 2021, pp. 249–252):

(15) a. *Maša poljubila, **kogo** ty privël*
           'Masha fell.in.love with.whom you had.brought {to her}'.
      b. *Maše nravitsja, **čto** ty prinës*
           'Masha likes what you have.brought {to her}'.
      c. *Maša xočet žit', **gde** žizn' deševle*
           'Masha wants to.live where life is cheaper'.
      d. *Kobylina, **čej** ëžik, … govorit:* … [M. Zoščenko]
           'Kobylina, whose scrub brush it is, … says: …'
      e. ***Kotorye** bez deneg – ne ezdjut s damami* [M. Zoščenko]
           'Which are without money don't go out with no ladies'.

4) кто2b: a genuine indefinite pronominal lexeme. Its meaning involves the identity of a person rather than the person himself: one can naturally say *Ja znaju, kto prišël, no ja eë ne znaju* 'I know who came, but I don't know her [i.e., we never met]'.

Vot kto …! 'Now I know who …!' is a non-standard collocation of кто2b (and of all indefinite pronominal lexemes), where вот 'I.indicate.here' expresses the meaning 'now I know'.

5) кто2c: another indefinite pronominal lexeme, whose meaning—'a non-specified person'—is different from the meaning of кто2b—'person whose identity …'. Such indefinite pronominal lexemes are currently called "bare interrogatives" (for instance, Haspelmath, 1997, p. 170), but this name is misleading.

6) кто3: an interrogative pronominal lexeme. The meaning of кто3—'CommunicateIMPER the identity of the person!' consists of two components:

- 'identity of the person who …', expressed by a form of кто;
- 'communicateIMPER!', expressed by the interrogative prosody (Bryzgunovas's "Intonational Contour 2").

The vocable кто specifies the general schema for the vocables of all Russian indefinite pronominal lexemes.

⌜Bog (ego) znaet⌝, lit. 'God (it) knows', idiom, particle; **colloquial**.

Signified

'⌜Bog (ego) znaet⌝ X̲' = 'concretely-referential X̲ whose identity the Enunciator does not know and which he disapproves of'.

Signifier

/bóxznait/, /bóxjivòznàit/

Syntactics

Anteposed to X; X = L₍pronominal, indefinite₎ [X is one of 12 Russian indefinite pronominal lexemes].

Examples

(i) *Deti tam zanimajutsja **Bog znaet čem*** 'The kids are out there doing God knows what'.

(ii) *On priexal **Bog znaet otkuda*** 'He came God knows from where'.

(iii) *Èti foto sobiralis' dlja **Bog ego znaet kakix** reklamnyx celej*
   'These photos have been collected for God it knows what advertising purposes'.

Comment

This idiom (as all other idioms of this type with ZNAET) may include the expletive pronoun ON 'he/she/it' in the accusative, syntactically depending on ZNAT′ 'know'.[9] Two cases, semantically equivalent, are possible:

—either the pronoun ON is used in a non-referential way, that is, in the singular of the neuter gender, as *ego* 'it' (16a);

—or it is coreferential with the SSynt-subject of the clause that contains the idiom, and then ON agrees with this subject in number and gender (16b):

(16) a. *Maša zanimaetsja Bog **ego** znaet čem*
       lit. 'Masha is doing God it knows what'.
   b. *Maša zanimaetsja Bog **eë** znaet čem*
       lit. 'Masha is doing God her knows what'.

The addition of the expletive ON enhances the colloquial character of the idiom.

-TO⁴, particle.

Signified

'X̲-to' = 'concretely-referential X̲ whose identity the Enunciator does not know'.

Signifier

/tŏ/ [unstressed]

Syntactics

Immediately postposed to X; X = L$_{(pronominal, indefinite)}$ [X is one of the 12 Russian indefinite pronominal lexemes, see Table 1].

Examples

(i) *Kakim-**to** xazaram kakoj-**to** Oleg za čto-**to** otmstil počemu-**to*** [A. Galič]
     lit. 'Some Oleg took some revenge for something on God knows what Kha-
     zars for some reason'.[10]

Comment

Russian has two lexemes то, homographous with -то⁴: то¹ 'now …, now …', a repeated coordinating conjunction, and то² ≈ 'then', a collocate of several sub-ordinating conjunctions; both can be stressed:

то¹, as in *Ivan to plakal, to smejalsja, to smolkal* 'Ivan now was crying, now was laughing, now was silent'.

то², as in *Esli Ivan doma, to my ostanemsja* 'If Ivan is home, then we'll stay'.
     Two fully homonymous unstressed particles are -то³ ≈ 'as for …' and -то⁵
     'The Enunciator does not want to be more precise':

-то³, as in *Ivan-to sumeet* 'As for Ivan, he'll manage'.

-то⁵, as in *Ivan pobyval tam-to i tam-to* 'Ivan was to several places, it does not matter exactly where'.

Thus, the preliminary goals (p. 3) are reached; now I can switch to the final goal: the description of freely constructed Russian phrasal indefinite pronouns.

3 Russian Freely Constructed Phrasal Indefinite Pronouns

Russian freely constructed phrasal indefinite pronouns (a.k.a. *syntactic amalgams*) form an open set of two-component lexical expressions—free phrases—of the following form:

PREMODIFYING QUASI-CLAUSE←**pronominal-auxiliary**–INDEFINITE PRONOMINAL LEXEME

The 12 Russian indefinite pronominal lexemes have been characterized in Section **2**.

A quasi-clause premodifying an indefinite pronominal lexeme constitutes a marker of indefiniteness type (= an IT-marker). Informally, it is a freely constructed clause which has a Main Verb, but where the verb's subject or direct object (depending on the verb) has been "amputated"; this amputated element corresponds to the meaning 'identity of [the entity designated by the indefinite pronominal lexeme]'. Thus, the resulting quasi-clause boldfaced in (17a) does not have its subject, and the quasi-clauses in (17b) lack their direct object:

(17)   a.   *Ko mne podošël* **_tebe   uže   Ø_**^{BYT'} **_jasno_** *kto*
           to me   came   to.you already be   clear who
           'It is already clear to you who came over to me'.
   b-i. *Ko mne podošël* **_ja ne rešus'   skazat' daže mame_**   *kto*
           to me   came   I not will.dare tell   even to.Mom who
  b-ii. *Ko mne podošël* **_ja ne rešus'   skazat'_** *kto* **_daže mame_**
           to me   came   I not will.dare tell   who even to.Mom
           'I won't dare to tell who came over to me even to Mom'.

The phrase *tebe uže jasno kto* means 'a person whose identity is already clear to you', where 'X's identity' = 'information that allows for (at least, partial) X's identification'. Similarly, the phrase *ja ne rešus' skazat' daže mame kto* means 'a person such that I won't dare to tell his identity even to Mom'. The wordform *kto* in the sentences of (17) belongs to the lexeme КТО**2b**, which has the meaning 'person whose identity …'; the Main Verb of the sentence semantically bears on 'person', while the Main Verb of the quasi-clause that constitutes the IT-marker depending on the indefinite pronominal lexeme bears on 'identity'. The КТО**2b** 'person whose identity …' lexeme is thus indeed an "amalgam." (Lakoff's term is very convenient.)

By their grammatical nature, the underscored phrases in (17) are phrasal indefinite pronouns, similar to such phrasal indefinite pronouns as КОЕ-КТО ≈ 'somebody', АBY КТО ≈ 'no matter who' or ⌜МALO LI⌝ КТО ≈ 'many arbitrary people'.

But while the latter pronouns are collocations of the lexeme кто1 and must be listed in its lexical entry, the expressions of the type *ja ne rešus' skazat' daže mame kto* are free phrases. Nevertheless, their freedom is constrained.

On the one hand, any of the lexical components of such a phrase can be replaced: for instance, one can say *Ix lager' okazalsja* **tol'ko professor Tugokaki – ty ego znaeš' – sumel soobrazit' gde** lit. 'Their camp turned out to be only Professor Tugokaki—you know him—could figure out where'; etc. Therefore, such expressions cannot be listed in a lexicon and have to be described by rules, more specifically, by semantic and deep-syntactic rules. However, the syntactic head of a free phrasal indefinite pronoun is necessarily one of the twelve indefinite pronominal lexemes. This is a lexical constraint.

On the other hand, the premodifying quasi-clause semantically bears on the semanteme 'identity [of …]' and expresses the meaning 'X knows/doesn't know …'. Therefore, its Main Verb has the meaning whose communicatively dominant sermanteme is, at some depth of semantic decomposition, the semanteme '<u>know</u>'. This is a semantic constraint.

To illustrate the formal representations of Russian indefinite pronominal free phrases at the semantic, deep-syntactic and surface-syntactic levels, the sentence *Ivan dal knigu ja ne rešus' skazat' tebe komu* 'Ivan gave the book I won't dare to tell you to whom' is chosen.

(18) Structures of the phrase *ja ne rešus' skazat' tebe komu* on three levels of linguistic representation
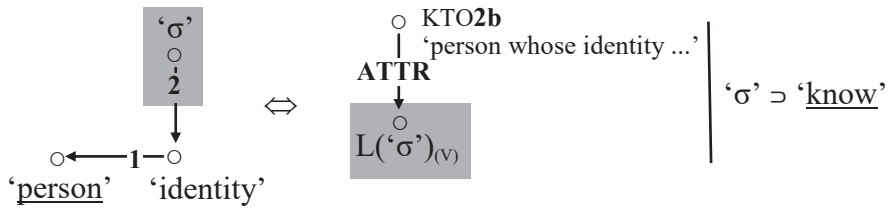
The structures given are partial: only the fragments relevant to my purposes here are shown, and the grammemes are not spelled out.
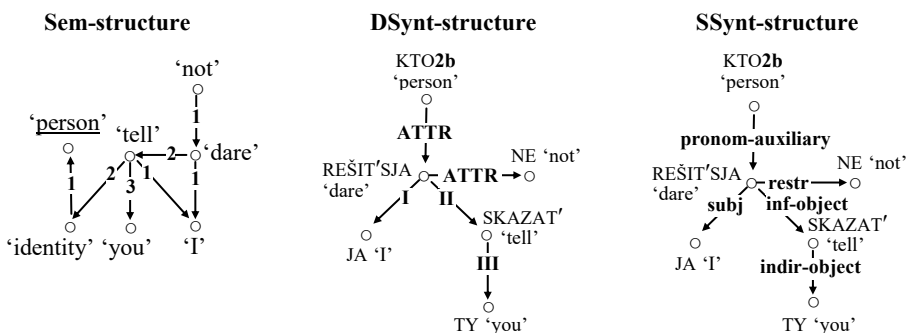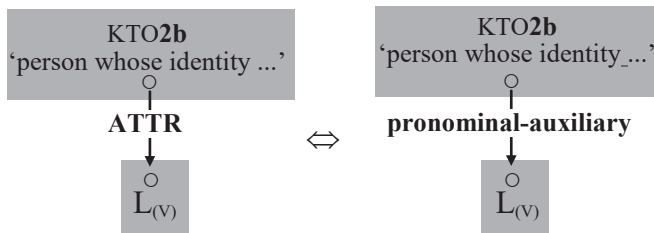

Based on the structures in (18), it is easy to formulate the corresponding rules.

☞ The shading indicates the context of the rule: the fragments of the manipulated structures which are not affected by the rule itself, but whose presence is necessary for the rule to apply correctly.
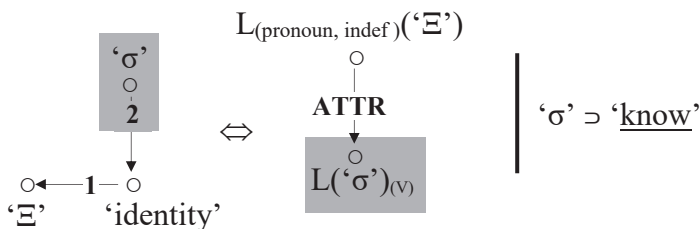
(19) a. Semantic rule for the lexeme кто2ь

'σ'
○
2
⇔
○ КТО2ь
'person whose identity ...'
ATTR
○
L('σ')(V)
| 'σ' ⊃ 'know'

○◄—1—○
'person' 'identity'

b. Deep-syntactic rule for the lexeme кто2ь

КТО2ь
'person whose identity ...'
○
ATTR
○
L(V)
⇔
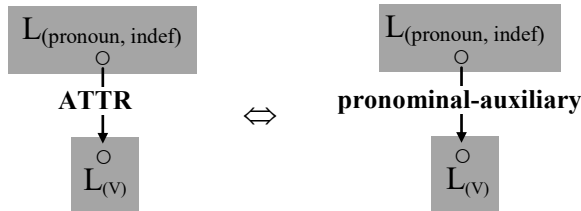КТО2ь
'person whose identity ...'
○
pronominal-auxiliary
○
L(V)

Similar Sem- and DSynt-rules must be written for the other 11 Russian indefinite pronominal lexemes (что2ь 'non-human entity whose identity …', gde2ь 'in a place whose identity …', etc.). A pair of such rules—a Sem-rule and a DSynt-rule—has to be placed into the lexical entry of each corresponding indefinite pronominal lexeme.

Alternatively, one could write just one general schema for all 12 Sem-rules and one general schema for all 12 DSynt-rules specifying Russian free phrasal indefinite pronouns. These schemata are part of the grammar of Russian; namely, they must be included in "Syntax," Section "Indefinite Pronouns."

(20) General schemata of semantic and deep-syntactic rules for Russian free phrasal indefinite pronouns

'σ'
○
2
⇔
L(pronoun, indef)('Ξ')
○
ATTR
○
L('σ')(V)
| 'σ' ⊃ 'know'

○◄—1—○
'Ξ' 'identity'

$$L_{\text{(pronoun, indef)}} \quad\xleftrightarrow{}\quad L_{\text{(pronoun, indef)}}$$

ATTR ⟺ **pronominal-auxiliary**

$$L_{(V)} \qquad\qquad L_{(V)}$$

4 Not to Be Confounded

In order to round off my presentation, I will cursorily characterize in parallel the following four syntactic phenomena, which are different in nature, but superficially fairly similar: they all involve the notorious WH-words. The first two of these are indefinite pronominal phrases (the object of the present paper), and the other two are pseudo-relative clauses. They can be and sometimes are confounded, so that it seems useful to insist once more on their distinctions.

Indefinite pronominal phrases
- Collocational indefinite pronouns, such as

{*Ivan priexal*} *Bog znaet otkuda* 'Ivan came God knows from.where'.
- Free phrasal indefinite pronouns, such as

{*Ivan priexal*} *ty, konečno, dogadyvaeš'ja otkuda* 'Ivan came you can.guess, of course, from.where'.

Pseudo-relative clauses
- Full pseudo-relative clauses, such as

{*Ivan priexal,*}*otkuda nikto ne priezžal ran'še* 'Ivan came from.where nobody had. come before'.
- Elliptic pseudo-relative clauses (results of the "Sluicing" transformation), such as

{*Ivan priexal, no ja ne znaju,*} *otkuda* 'Ivan came, but I don't know from.where'.

Collocational indefinite pronouns in Russian constitute, as said above, a closed set: ≈ 360. They are listed in the lexicon, where they are specified by non-standard lexical functions in the lexical entries of their bases (indefinite pronominal lexemes, see Table 1, page 5). The formal description of Russian collocational indefinite pronouns is illustrated in Subsection **2.1**, p. 10, (5).
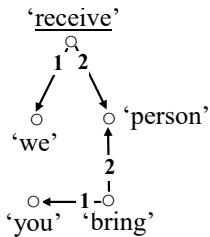
Free phrasal indefinite pronouns constitute an open set and are described by the general schemata of the Sem- and DSynt-rules, presented at the end of the previous section. The formal description of Russian free phrasal indefinite pronouns is illustrated in Section **3**, pp. 19–20, (20).

> NB The difference between collocational and free phrasal indefinite pronouns is not always obvious. Thus, for instance, why *neznamo*←**pron-auxil**–*kto* is a collocational pronoun, but *neizvestno*←**pron-auxil**–*kto* is a free phrasal pronoun? Because NEZNAMO is a single lexeme, while *neizvestno* is an element of a quasi-clause with the zero form of BYT′ 'be', cf. *Èto sdelal vsem nam Ø*^BYT′ *⟨bylo⟩ soveršenno neizvestno kto* lit. 'This did to.all us is ⟨was⟩ absolutely unknown who'.
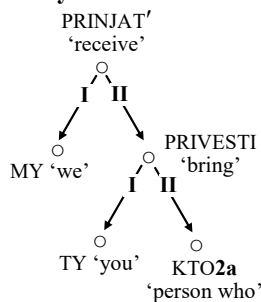
Pseudo-relative clauses are, strictly speaking, essentially unrelated to phrasal indefinite pronouns, but formally they are easily confounded with the latter, although A. Grosu (2006) clearly showed that they are absolutely different. Here are the structures of a Russian sentence with a pseudo-relative clause of the relevant type (the grammemes are not represented):

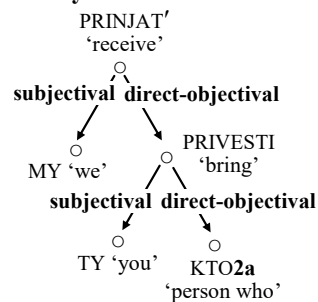(21) *My primem, kogo ty privedëš′* lit. 'We will.receive who you will.bring'.

Sem-structure

'receive'
1 2
'we' 'person'
2
'you' ←1– 'bring'

DSynt-structure

PRINJAT′ 'receive'
I II
MY 'we'   PRIVESTI 'bring'
I II
TY 'you'   KTO**2a** 'person who'

SSynt-structure

PRINJAT′ 'receive'
subjectival direct-objectival
MY 'we'   PRIVESTI 'bring'
**subjectival direct-objectival**
TY 'you'   KTO**2a** 'person who'

Recall that the pseudo-relative pronoun in the construction under consideration has to satisfy the requirements of the so-called matching parameter: roughly speaking, it must satisfy the government patterns of the two Main Verbs—that of the superordinate clause and that of the pseudo-relative one (Mel'čuk, 2021, p. 235, footnote 7).[11]

- Finally, **elliptic pseudo-relative clauses** represent a version of pseudo-relatives. In (22), the SemS, the DSyntS and the SSyntS of a sentence with an elliptical pseudo-relative clause are given (as above, the grammemes are not shown).

(22) *My primem, kogo nam veljat* 'We will.receive whom they tell us {to receive}'.

☞ Ø«people» stands for the Russian zero lexeme with the meaning 'indefinite people' (similar to Fr. ON or Ger. MAN).

The double strikethrough indicates the lexeme that is to be elided, that is, to remain unexpressed in the morphological string of the sentence.

Sem-structure **DSynt-structure** **SSynt-structure**
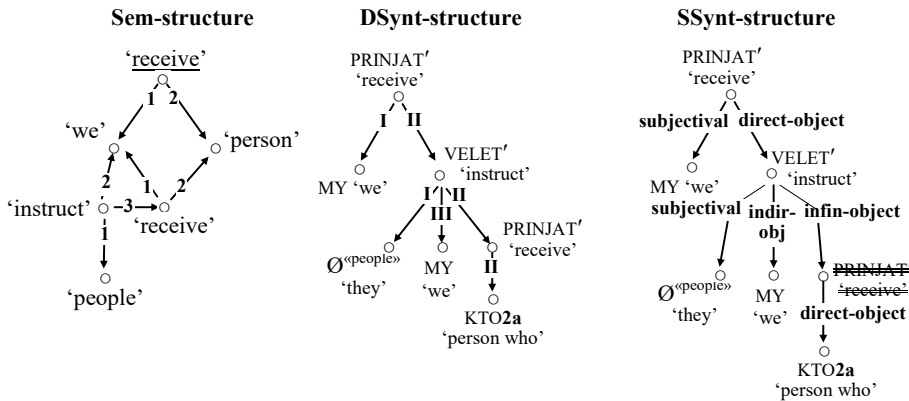
5 Conclusions

The results of the present study may be summed up in the following points, relative to lexicology and syntax.

Lexicology

- The characterization of a class of collocate-bound lexemes (which form a subclass of degenerate lexemes) that includes two groups of Russian indefinite pronominal lexemes. Of course, context-dependent LUs have been well known in linguistics; however, an accurate description of a linguistically important homogeneous set of lexemes that are used only as the bases of collocations was absent.
- A general schema for a lexicographic description of Russian pronominal vocables including indefinite, interrogative and pseudo-relative pronominal lexemes.

Syntax

- The introduction of the class of pseudo-relative pronominal lexemes.
- The introduction of the **auxiliary-pronominal** SSyntRel.
- The rules that specify the open set of Russian free phrasal indefinite pronouns.

Although the present study deals exclusively with Russian, the observations proposed seem to have a more general validity for the linguistic typology.[12]

Acknowledgments

Appendix: Some Vital Notions

collocation, base of collocation, collocate

A collocation is a compositional semantic-lexemic phraseme L_1–**syn**t→L_2 such that one of its components, say, L_1, is selected by the Speaker freely—for its meaning and syntactic properties, while the other, that is, L_2, is selected to express a particular meaning as a function of L_1. L_1 is the base of the collocation, and L_2 is its collocate. For example: do_{L_2} *a favor*$_{L_1}$ vs. $give_{L_2}$ *a kiss*$_{L_1}$ vs. $take_{L_2}$ *action*$_{L_1}$.

communicatively dominant semanteme

A communicatively dominant semanteme '$\underline{\sigma_1}$' in a configuration of semantemes '$\underline{\sigma_1}$—σ_2' is the semanteme to which the configuration '$\underline{\sigma_1}$—σ_2' can be reduced such that the meaning conveyed is simply impoverished, but not distorted; the communicative dominance of '$\underline{\sigma_1}$' is shown by underscoring. For example: in 'A bird is.singing' the semanteme 'sing' is communicatively dominant, since the utterance is about singing; in 'a singing bird', the semanteme 'bird' is communicatively dominant, since this utterance is about a bird.

descriptive *vs*. non-descriptive lexical expressions

A descriptive lexical expression serves to **communicate** a meaning that denotes something in the real world and is spelled out in such a form that admits interrogation and negation; a non-descriptive lexical expression serves to **signal** a meaning that denotes an internal state of the Speaker in such

a form that does not admit interrogation and negation. For example: *I like it very much* vs. *Wow!* See (Iordanskaja & Meľčuk, 1995) and (Meľčuk, 2001, pp. 351–356).

Enunciator, the

The Enunciator is the person to whom the whole given utterance **U** is attributed. The primary Enunciator is the Speaker, who produces **U**; the secondary Enunciator is the person to whom the Speaker attributes an utterance **U′** quoted inside **U** (i.e., **U′** is Indirect Speech). Thus, the primary Enunciator of the sentence *Ivan said that Masha was tired* is the Speaker, who wrote it, that is, me, Igor Meľčuk; the secondary Enunciator, to whom I attribute the utterance *Masha was tired*, is Ivan. (On the contrast "the Speaker *vs.* the Enunciator," see, in particular, Iordanskaja & Meľčuk, 1995).

idiom

An idiom is a non-compositional semantic-lexemic phraseme; for example: ⌜ALL THUMBS⌝ 'very awkward' or ⌜HIT THE ROAD⌝ '[to] leave'.

lexeme

A lexeme is the set of all wordforms and analytical-form phrases that have a common signifier and semantically differ only by inflectional significations; for example:

I ={*I, me*}; SEE = {*see, sees, saw, seeing, have seen, am seen, will see, …*}.

In prose, a lexeme is one word taken in one well-defined sense.

lexical unit

A lexical unit [LU] is a lexeme or an idiom; every LU has its own lexical entry, and every lexical entry corresponds to an LU.

phraseme

A phraseme is a phrase that cannot be produced freely, that is, in such a way that each of its lexical components is selected by the Speaker independently of its other components. Phrasemes come in four families: idioms. collocations, nominemes, and clichés.

polysem

An LU L_1 is a polysem of LU L_2 if and only if L_1 and L_2 both belong to the same vocable L. For example: BREAD𝟙 'baked leavened food' and BREAD𝟙𝟙 'livelihood—as if it were bread𝟙' are polysems of the vocable BREAD.

pronoun/pronominal lexeme

A pronoun is a lexeme that has 1) a very poor meaning or no meaning at all, 2) a particular syntactic behavior (e.g., cannot receive dependents) and 3) quite a special morphology (e.g., in English only personal pronouns have cases, and only demonstrative-pronominal adjectives have the plural (*this* ~ *these*, *that* ~ *those*). Pronouns can belong to all parts of speech: they can be nouns (I, SOMEBODY), adjectives (SOME, NONE), adverbs (HERE, THEN) and verbs (DO).

pseudo-relative clause

A pseudo-relative clause is a subordinate clause that formally has the structure of a relative—it is introduced by a WH-word, but is semantically equivalent to a nominal or prepositional phrase: it does not modify a noun, but is used as an actant. For example: *I am interested in **what John said*** or *He sent me **where John was staying***. (Pseudo-relatives are also known as *free*, or *headless*, *relatives*.) See Mel'čuk (2021, pp. 249–252).

vocable

A vocable is the set of all LUs whose signifiers are identical and whose signifieds share important enough components (these components are called semantic bridges).

Abbreviations and Notations

coll.	: colloquial	SemS	: semantic structure
DSyntS	: deep-syntactic structure	SSyntRel	: surface-syntactic relation
IT-marker	: indefiniteness type marker	SSyntS	: surface-syntactic structure
L	: a particular lexical unit	$\ulcorner L_1 L_2 \dots L_n \urcorner$	: idiom $L_1 L_2 \dots L_n$
LF	: lexical function	'$\underline{\sigma}$'	: the communicatively dominant
LU	: lexical unit		semanteme in a SemS

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Notes

[1]   (p. 4) In Haspelmath (1997, pp. 21–22) it is called simply *indefiniteness marker*, which seems infelicitous, given that the pronominal lexeme itself is indefinite.

[2]   (p. 7) On exclamatory pronouns in Russian, see Krejdlin (1994) and Mel'čuk (2023a and 2023b, pp. 103–108).

[3]   (p. 8) This state of affairs is found in many languages of the world, see Haspelmath (1997, pp. 29–31). On Aristotle's categories, see https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/categories/. Durie (1985, p. 151*ff*) explicitly identifies the interrogative pronouns, or WH-words (of Acehnese), which he aptly calls *epistemological classifiers*, with basic ontological categories and demonstrates their prominent role in the language.

[4]   (p. 9) In Mel'čuk (2021, p. 91) this SSyntRel is called **WH-pronominal**, but a less Anglo-centric name seems preferable.

[5]   (p. 9) A plurisyllabic preposition precedes the premodifying IT-marker: **blagodarja** *ne aby komu* 'thank.to not anybody' or **iz-pod** *koe-čego* 'from-under something'.

⁶ (p. 10) The characteristics "noun, pronominal" (= nominal pronoun) are indicated for the whole vocable кто, to which the lexeme кто1 belongs, see p. 12. The characteristics "masculine, singular" of кто1 are not absolute. In some special contexts, кто1 can appear:

- In the feminine, as, for instance, in *Esli **prixodila**_{FEM} kto-nibud' iz ètix ženščin*_{(fem)}… 'If someone of these women came…'.
- In the plural, as, for instance, in *Sjuda **xodjat**_{3.PL} Bog znaet kto ⟨kto ni popadja⟩* 'God knows who ⟨Just anyone⟩ are coming here'.

Since these properties are marginal and not relevant to our discussion, they are not described here.

⁷ (p. 11) In (Mel'čuk, 2012) the expressions of the form *Bog ⟨čërt, …⟩ znaet kto ⟨čto, gde, kuda, kak, …⟩* are described as idioms, which I consider incorrect now. At that time, my toolkit did not contain the notion of collocate-bound lexeme. Today I know that a phrase of the form *Bog znaet kto* is a collocation of the collocate-bound lexeme кто1 'person' as the base with the idiom ⌜Bog (ego) znaet⌝ [X] ≈ '[X] whose identity the Enunciator does not know …' as its collocate.

⁸ (p. 11) On the particle хот', see Apresjan, V. (2015, p. 240).

⁹ (p. 15) The expletive on is subordinated to the znat' verb by the **quasi-direct-objectival** SSynt-relation (Mel'čuk, 2021, pp. 54–55).

¹⁰ (p. 16) This is a parody of a line from Pushkin's famous poem *The Song of Wise Oleg*, which every Russian knows by heart from elementary school.

¹¹ (p. 21) The Russian language features an interesting violation of the matching parameter requirements. Namely, a pseudo-relative clause in the role of SSynt-subject can itself have the pseudo-relative pronoun in any morphological form:

(i) *Segodnja prixodil **komu** ty podaril knigu ⟨**s kem** ty besedoval⟩*
     today   came   to.whom you had.given book with whom you had.been.talking

¹² (p. 23) Thus, see, for instance, Matsuyama (2015) about the English phrasal indefinite pronouns. The author proposes that the indefinite pronominal lexeme (such as who, what, etc.) is the syntactic head of the whole expression, while the rest—the quasi-clause, in my terms—is a kind of parenthetical. However, a closer comparison of his results with my description is complicated by the fact that he uses the phrase-structure representation of the syntactic structure.