

Russian sentences of the type *Mne negde spat'* 'I have no place to sleep': Once more

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Abstract: The paper describes Russian sentences of the form (i) *Mne est' gde spat'* 'I have a place to sleep' and (ii) *Mne Ø_{PRES}^{BYT1.1} negde spat'* 'I have no place to sleep'. It is shown that there is no syntactic parallelism between such sentences: in (i), the wordform *est'* is the present-tense form of the existential verb BYT'III.2 ≈ 'there be', and the wordform *gde* is the pseudo-relative pronominal adverb GDE2a, which depends on the verb in the infinitive (on *spat'*); in (ii), the wordform Ø_{PRES}^{BYT1.1} is the zero present-tense form of the copula BYT'I.1 'be', and *negde* ≈ 'there being no place' is a predicative pronominal adverb, which obligatorily depends on BYT'I.1 in the role of a support verb. The lexical entry for NEGDE is supplied. A phrase of the form *gde mne spat'* lit. 'where to me to sleep' is a particular syntactic formation: a modal-infinitive phrase. Such a phrase and the verb BYT'III.2 constitute a syntactically discontinuous collocation of a special type. The problem of actant transfer in collocations with a support verb (from the base to the collocate) is considered; the schematic overviews of the vocables BYT' and GDE are proposed.

Keywords: Russian, semantics, syntax, lexicography, dative-infinitive construction, modal-infinitive phrase, discontinuous collocation, actant transfer, verb BYT', negative predicative adverb NEGDE, pronominal adverb GDE

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Еще раз о русских фразах типа *Мне негде спать*

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Аннотация: В статье описываются фразы формы (i) *Мне есть где спать* и (ii) *Мне Ø_{PRES}^{BYT1.1} негде спать*. Показано, что подобные фразы синтаксически не параллельны: в (i) словоформа *есть* — это форма настоящего времени экзистенциального глагола БЫТЬIII.2 ≈ 'иметься', а *где* — псевдо-относительное местоименное наречие ГДЕ2a, зависящее от глагола в инфинитиве (*спать*); в (ii) нулевая словоформа Ø_{PRES}^{BYT1.1} является формой настоящего времени связки БЫТЬI.1, *негде* же — предикативное местоименное наречие, зависящее от БЫТЬI.1 в роли опорного глагола. Предлагается словарная статья для НЕГДЕ. Выражение *где мне спать* представляет собой особое синтаксическое образование: модально-инфинитивное словосочетание; такое словосочетание, взятое с глаголом БЫТЬIII.2, составляет синтаксически разрывную коллокацию особого типа. Рассматривается перенос, или миграция, актантов в коллокациях с опорным глаголом — от базы к коллокату; даются схематические очерки вокабул БЫТЬ и ГДЕ.

Ключевые слова: русский язык, семантика, синтаксис, лексикография, дативно-инфинитивная конструкция, модально-инфинитивное словосочетание, разрывная коллокация, перенос актантов, глагол БЫТЬ, отрицательное предикативное наречие НЕГДЕ, местоименное наречие ГДЕ

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To my dear friend Lënja Iomdin (01.09.1947–18.09.2024)

1. Introduction

The Russian constructions of the type *Mne negde spat'* 'I have no place to sleep' or *Mne ne s kem pogovorit'* 'I have no one to talk to' have attracted the attention of many linguists. Such constructions are known not only in Russian—they constitute a particular case of a more general phenomenon, found in many languages and meticulously described in [Grosu 2004] under the name of modal existential WH-construction;¹ Grosu's work was developed in [Šimik 2011].

The main problem related to sentences of *Mne negde spat'* type is as follows:

What is the syntactic structure of a sentence such as *Mne negde spat'* and what is the relationship between this sentence and its positive counterpart *Mne est' gde spat'* 'I have a place to sleep'?

The goal of the present paper is to supply the answers to these questions.

The relevant literature is too voluminous to allow for even a cursory review. However, there are a few articles where previous research is duly summarized and all relevant facts are described and analyzed in detail: [Rappaport 1986], [Apresjan, Iomdin 1989/2010], [Fortuin 2014] and [Zimmerling 2024]. More specifically, the paper [Zimmerling 2024] adds linguistic data on both constructions under consideration (the positive *Mne est' gde spat'* and the negative *Mne negde spat'*), establishes their place in a larger class of dative-infinitive constructions, presents their diachronic development as well as their functioning in other Slavic languages, and offers an exhaustive overview of countless publications. This allows me to simply present my own proposals (and refer the reader to Zimmerling's paper).

The present study is based on the article [Apresjan, Iomdin 1989/2010]. I am essentially using the data and descriptions put forth there, but I have come to a different solution—that is, to a different syntactic representation of the sentences in question. This is so because, at the time when Apresjan and Iomdin published their results, the toolkit of a linguist did not contain as yet several notions and formalisms that have proved crucial for this task. Starting my research, I intended to discuss it with Apresjan and Iomdin and obtain their blessing—but Fate decided otherwise...

* * *

Semantically, the sentence *Mne negde spat'* 'I have no place to sleep' is the negation of the sentence *Mne est' gde spat'* 'I have a place to sleep'; the first is, so to speak, semantically derived from the second by the addition of negation. Therefore, I begin by considering the positive version *Mne est' gde spat'* (Section 2); then the negative version *Mne negde spat'* can be tackled (Section 3).

A warning: given the complexity of the problem, what follows is but a first rough sketch; thus, the proposed lexicographic definitions are approximate, and some points are left unexplained.

¹ The expanded letter spacing indicates a lesser-known technical term on its first mention.

2. The positive version of the construction: *Mne est' gde spat'*

2.1. Introductory remarks

The discussion starts with sentences (1a–b):²

- (1) a. $\{Tam\} est' gde mne \leftarrow spat'$ lit. ‘{There} is where to me to sleep’. = ‘There is a place for me to sleep’.
 b. $\{Tam\} mne \leftarrow est' gde spat'$ lit. ‘{There} to me is where to sleep’. = ‘There is a place for me to sleep’.

Sentences (1a–b) show two possible syntactic implementations of the construction: with *mne* ‘to me’ syntactically depending either on *spat'* or on *est'* (the suppletive present-tense form of the corresponding lexeme of the verb BYT'; see the list of all lexemes of this verb in Appendix 2). These sentences are propositionally synonymous and differ only in their communicative structure: in (1a), *tam* is the Sem(antic)-Theme and the rest is the Sem-Rheme; in (1b), *tam* is also the Sem-Theme, but the rest, being the Sem-Rheme, shows a secondary Thematization: *mne* is the secondary Sem-Theme and *est' gde spat'* is the secondary Sem-Rheme. In what follows the communicative structure is ignored in order to keep the exposition as simple as possible.

Note that in sentences (1a–b) the different communicative structures impose different syntactic structures (rather than simple linear permutations of clause elements) by means of a c-t-a-n-t transfer, see Appendix 1. This phenomenon is typical of collocations with support verbs; it is also seen in the negative version of the construction, that is, in sentences (10a–b).

2.2. The semantic structure of sentences (1a–b)

The meaning of both sentences (1a–b) is uncontroversial; their shared semantic structure [SemS] appears in (2).³

- (2) ‘exist’

 ‘place’ ‘localized’ ‘sleep’

A literal reading: ‘{there} exists a place where it is possible that I sleep’

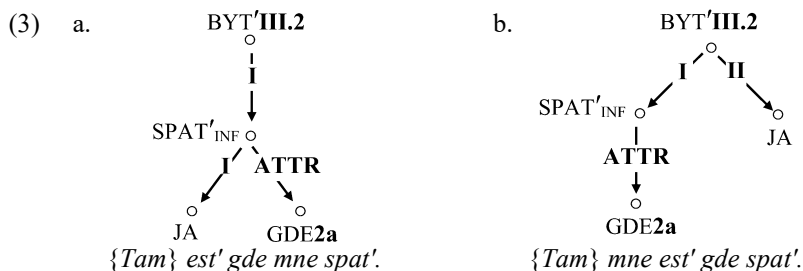
The SemS in (2) does not specify the meanings of verbal mood and tense. This is so because our construction can be used in all three tenses of the indicative ($\{Tam\} est' \langle bylo, budet \rangle gde mne spat'$), as well as in the conditional-subjunctive and the BUD'-irrealis ($\{Tam\} bylo by \langle Bud' \{tam\} \rangle gde mne spat'$); the relevant specifications are freely added by the Speaker to this SemS. Accordingly, the corresponding grammemes are not shown in the syntactic structures of (1a–b) either. This holds as well for the negative version of the construction, see Section 3.

² In examples, the curly brackets enclose an expression that is added to make the example more natural; this expression is not reflected in the formal representations of the example. The arrow \leftarrow represents a syntactic dependency.

³ The underscoring of a semanteme in a Sem-structure ‘S’ indicates that it is the communicatively dominant node of ‘S’: this is a node to which the whole ‘S’ can be reduced such that the meaning represented is impoverished, but not distorted. To facilitate the reader’s task, Russian semantemes are represented by their English counterparts. (This is a minor theoretical infraction that can be tolerated in this context.)

2.3. The deep-syntactic structures of sentences (1a–b)

The deep-syntactic structures [DSyntSs] of sentences (1a–b) also seem uncontroversial:



The DSyntS (3a) consists of the verb BYT'III.2, on which depends a DSynt-subtree of the form $L_{1(N)} \leftarrow I - L_{2(V)INF} - ATTR \rightarrow GDE2a$ ($L_{1(N)}$ appears on the surface as an indirect object in the dative). This subtree is headed by an infinitive that governs a pseudo-relative pronoun (here, GDE2a) and expresses the modal meaning 'possible': *gde mne_{L1} spat'_{L2}* lit. 'where to me **is possible** to sleep'); the semanteme 'possible' is carried by the infinitive grammeme, and therefore, the subtree under consideration can be called a modal-infinitive phrase. The verb BYT'III.2 forms with the pseudo-relative pronoun a collocation of a particular type—a discontinuous collocation (on BYT'III.2, see Appendix 2, and on GDE2a, Appendix 3).

The DSyntS (3b) contains a modal-infinitive phrase of the same type as in (3a), but with one of its components—DSynt-actant I of the infinitive—syntactically transferred to BYT'III.2 (on transfer of actants, see Appendix 1).

The following five linguistic items mentioned in the previous paragraphs require additional explanations: modal-infinitive phrase, pseudo-relative pronouns, collocations with pseudo-relative pronouns, the expression of the semanteme 'possible', and the verbs BYT'III.2 vs. BYT'IV.1.

Modal-infinitive phrase. A modal-infinitive phrase has three important syntactic properties:

- It is syntactically equivalent to a noun phrase, but has a severely restricted use, appearing only in two syntactic functions:

—Either it is used in our construction as DSynt-actant I (implemented as the surface-syntactic subject) of the verb BYT'III.2 or of its lexical-functional correspondents NAJTIS' 'turn up', NE OKAZAT'SJA 'not turn out' and NE STAT' 'not become' (e.g., *Mne najdëtsja gde spat'* lit. 'To me it will turn up where to sleep' or *Mne ne okazalos' gde spat'* lit. 'To me it not turned out where to sleep').

—Or it can be DSynt-actant I of the verb BYT'IV.1 and DSynt-actant II of the verb NAJTI 'find' [Apresjan, Iomdin 1989/2010: 92].⁵

Therefore, the use of a modal-infinitive phrase must be specified in the lexical entry of the adverbial pronoun GDE2a (and in the lexical entries of all other pseudo-relative pronouns that

⁴ OKAZAT'SJA can be used in this collocation with negation only, except in a sentence with suspended assertivity: for instance, *A esli tam okažetsja gde mne poplavat'*... 'And if it turns out that there is a place for me to swim...' (indicated to me by E. Savvina). STAT' can as well appear only with negation.

⁵ In casual speech, a modal-infinitive phrase can also modify a noun: *Oni otremonirovali komnatu, gde mne spat'* lit. 'They renovated the room where to me to sleep' = '...where I was supposed to sleep in the future' or *Ja znaju čeloveka, s kotorym tebe rabotat'* lit. 'I know the person with whom to you to work' = '...with whom you are supposed to work in the future'. In this use, however, a modal-infinitive phrase has special syntactic and stylistic properties and carries a different modal meaning: 'be supposed to ... in the future' instead of 'be possible'. This use is ignored in the present paper.

can introduce this phrase). A modal-infinitive phrase with GDE2a expresses the meaning ‘place where it is possible that X(Y)’.⁶

• A modal-infinitive phrase is similar in its syntactic behavior to a pseudo-relative clause [Mel’čuk 2021: Ch. 6, 6.3.2.2]—a subordinated clause that, in spite of having the structure of a relative clause (= being introduced by a WH-word, i.e., in this case, a pseudo-relative pronoun), functions not as a modifier of a noun (as a genuine relative clause does), but is syntactically equivalent to a noun phrase and appears as a syntactic actant or a circumstantial (e.g., *My budem pit’, čto vy prinesli* ‘We will drink what you brought’ or *My budem spat’, gde vy rabotaete* ‘We will sleep where you work’). The systematic comparison of modal-infinitive phrases and pseudo-relative clauses is a fascinating topic, which, however, cannot be touched upon here.

• When functioning as a SSynt-subject, a modal-infinitive phrase imposes the agreement on the Main Verb: 3rd person singular of neuter gender.

Pseudo-relative pronouns. A modal-infinitive phrase is formed only by one of the eight pseudo-relative pronouns:⁷

KTO2a	lit. ‘who’	= ‘ <u>person</u> ←X(Y)’ [‘person who undergoes X(Y)’]
ČTO2a	lit. ‘what’	= ‘ <u>entity</u> ←X(Y)’
GDE2a	lit. ‘where’	= ‘ <u>place</u> ←localized X(Y)’
KUDA2a	lit. ‘to where’	= ‘ <u>place</u> ←X(Y)’ ‘X’ includes a semanteme of lativity [≈ ‘go to’]
OTKUDA2a	lit. ‘from where’	= ‘ <u>place</u> ←X(Y)’ ‘X’ includes a semanteme of ablativity [≈ ‘come from’]
KOGDA2a	lit. ‘when’	= ‘ <u>time</u> ←localized X(Y)’
ZAČEM2a	lit. ‘for what’	= ‘ <u>reason</u> for which X(Y)’
ČEJ2a	lit. ‘whose’	= ‘ <u>person</u> whose ... X(Y)’ [‘person whose ... undergoes X(Y)’]

A pseudo-relative pronoun is used only in one of two syntactic roles: it introduces either a pseudo-relative clause or a modal-infinitive phrase. The concrete shape of the corresponding modal-infinitive phrase must be indicated in the lexical entry of each pseudo-relative pronoun. Since the pseudo-relative pronoun GDE2a is so important for the present discussion, Appendix 3 contains a schematic overview of the *v o c a b l e* GDE.

Collocations with pseudo-relative pronouns. In the positive version of our construction, the modal-infinitive phrase $GDE2a \leftarrow ATTR-L(X)_{(V)INF} \rightarrow L(Y)_{(N)}$ carries the meaning ‘place where it is possible that X(Y)’. This meaning is expressed as a function of a pseudo-relative pronoun—here, of GDE2a ‘place where...’. It follows that an expression of the form $Mne_{L(Y)} est' gde spat'_{L(X)}$ is a *collocation* of GDE2a: GDE2a is the base, and the verb $BYT'III.2$, with its actants V_{X-INF} and N_{Y-DAT} , is the collocate. (Reminder: the latter expression shows actant transfer, mentioned above: *mne* passes from its governor *SPAT'* to $BYT'III.2$.) The verb $BYT'III.2$ is *collocation-bound*—it can appear only in a collocation with a pseudo-relative pronoun as the base. (Two examples of collocation-bound lexemes in English: the noun *HEADWAY* is used only as the base with the collocate verbs *MAKE* and *GAIN*; the verb *WEND* is used only as a collocate with the base noun *WAY*.) For more on the collocations formed by a pseudo-relative pronoun and the verb $BYT'III.2$, see the remarks below, after Lex-Sem-rule 4 (Section 2.4).

⁶ ‘X(Y)’ stands for ‘Y is an argument of the predicate X’ = ‘Y←sem-X’ ≈ ‘Y does or undergoes X’.

⁷ The set of Russian pseudo-relative pronouns, which are different from relative pronouns, was established and characterized in [Apresjan, Iomdin 1989/2010: 97–101]. Three more pronouns—*KAKOJ* ‘what kind of’, *KAK* ‘how’ and *POČEMU* ‘why’—could also be admitted to this set [Rappaport 1986: 10], if only conditionally, namely, in highly colloquial speech: *“Mne est', v kakoj komnate spat' (kak èto sdelat', počemu ostavat'sja)* lit. ‘To me is in what room to sleep (how this to do, why to stay)’.

Expression of the semanteme 'possible'. The semanteme 'possible' expressed by a modal-infinitive phrase is carried by the infinitive—rather than by the verb BYT'III.2; it is one of the senses of the Russian grammeme INF. This statement is based on two considerations, one general and the other one, specific.

- The Russian infinitive can express various modal meanings—such as 'be necessary', 'should', 'have to', 'be supposed', 'be inevitable', etc. This happens in several constructions without a finite verb that are syntactically equivalent to full-fledged clauses (e.g., *Mne eščë rabotat'* lit. 'To me still to work' = 'I still **have to** work', *Čto mne delat'?* lit. 'What to me to do?' = 'What **should** I do?', etc.; see, for instance, [Padučeva 2017a]). However, no lexeme of the verb BYT' can express—by itself—modal meanings.

- In the modal-infinitive phrase used as a noun modifier—see Note 5—the infinitive grammeme expresses a modal meaning, albeit a different one: 'be supposed to ... in the future', as in *Vot komnata, gde tebe spat'* lit. 'Here is room where to you to sleep' = '...where you are supposed to sleep in the future'. This sentence lacks a finite verb, and the semanteme 'be supposed to ... in the future' has to be ascribed to the infinitive grammeme, because there is nothing else for it to be ascribed to.

The verbs BYT'III.2 vs. BYT'IV.1. BYT'III.2 is a separate lexeme of the verbal vocable BYT'. Three properties set it aside from other lexemes of BYT':

- It takes as DSynt-actant I exclusively a modal-infinitive phrase; in this role a finite-verb clause is not acceptable: **Mne est' BYT'III.2 gde ja mogu (gde mne možno) spat'* lit. 'To me is where I can (for me it is possible to) sleep' (in a correct expression, DSynt-actant I must be realized as the phrase *u menja*, see below).

- Its DSynt-actant II is realized on the SSynt-level as the dative indirect object.

- Its present-tense form is exclusively *est'*, which does not allow for negation: **Mne net [= ne est'] gde spat'* (again, the correct expression is with *u menja* instead of *mne*).

The importance of this verb for the present discussion requires a list of all BYT' lexemes, where one can clearly see the place of BYT'III.2 among other BYT'; such a list is offered in Appendix 2.

As indicated above, a modal-infinitive phrase can also be DSynt-actant I (and the SSynt-subject) of the verb BYT'IV.1:

- (4) *U Ivana est' BYT'IV.1 gde spat' (Petru)* lit. 'At Ivan is where to sleep (to Peter)'. = 'Ivan has at his usual disposal a place where it is possible (for Peter) to sleep'.

In contrast to BYT'III.2, the verb BYT'IV.1 has the following properties:

- It takes as DSynt-actant I also a pseudo-relative clause with a finite verb:

- (5) *U menja est' gde vsem možno budet spat'* lit. 'At me is where for all possible will be to sleep'.

- It does not accept a dative indirect object (only the oblique object U_{GEN} is possible):

- (6) a. *U kafedry est' BYT'IV.1 gde studentam ← stavit' opyty*
lit. 'At department is where to students to run experiments'.
b. **U kafedry studentam ← est' gde stavit' opyty*
lit. 'At department to students is where to run experiments'.

- Its present-tense form is exclusively *est'*, and this *est'* can be negated (as NET):

- (7) *U kafedry net gde studentam stavit' opyty*
lit. 'At department isn't where to students to run experiments'.

The sentences *Ivanu est' BYT'III.2 gde spat'* and *U Ivana est' BYT'IV.1 gde spat'* (as well as their negations) contrast semantically (as shown in [Apresjan, Iomdin 1989/2010: 86–88]): the first one means that a place where Ivan can sleep exists, and the second means that a place where it is possible to sleep exists being at Ivan's usual disposal [= BYT'IV.1]. BYT'III.2 cannot have the

U N_{GEN} ‘at N’ phrase as an actant, and BYT^{IV.1} does not take the N_{DAT} actant. In sentence (8a) the phrase *u Ivana* ‘at Ivan’ is not an actant but a circumstantial meaning ‘at Ivan’s place’. If IVAN is replaced, for instance, with KAFEDRA ‘department’, such a construction becomes impossible—since the phrase U N_{GEN} can mean ‘N’s place’ only if N_{GEN} denotes a human being [Mel’čuk 2024]:

- (8) a. *U Ivana Petru est’^{BYT^{III.2}} gde spat’* ‘At Ivan’s there is a place for Peter to sleep’.
 b. **U kafedry Petru est’^{BYT^{III.2}} gde spat’* ‘At the department’s there is a place for Peter to sleep’.

2.4. The transition SemS ⇔ DSyntSs for sentences (1a–b)

The transition SemS (2) ⇔ DSyntSs (3a–b) is performed by three types of semantic rules—lexical (which create the nodes of the corresponding DSynt-tree), grammemic (which introduce semantically full grammemic subscripts to the lexemes associated with the nodes) and structural (which create the branches of the tree); only Lex- and Gram-Sem-rules interest us here.

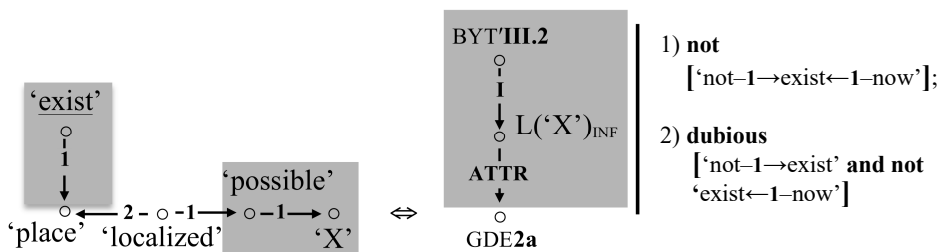
Lexical semantic rules

Lex-Sem-rules 1 and 2

The semantemes ‘sleep’ and ‘I’ are unproblematically rendered by SPAT’ and JA.

Lex-Sem-rule 3

The configuration of semantemes ‘place←2-localized’ (that is, ‘place where is localized...’) is expressed by the pseudo-relative pronoun GDE2a:



The shaded area in a rule is the context: the fragments of both corresponding structures that are not affected by the rule, but must be present for the rule to apply.

Condition 1 blocks the application of the rule if the semanteme ‘exist’ depends simultaneously on ‘not’ and ‘now’ (i.e., the verb BYT^{III.2} must not appear in the present tense with negation): the configuration of semantemes ‘not exist now’ calls for Lex-Sem-rule 6 (it produces the lexeme NEGDE); sentences of the type **Mne net gde spat’* are ungrammatical.

Condition 2 (reluctantly...) allows for sentences of the type *‘Mne ne bylo (ne budet) gde spat’*.

Two notes are in order.

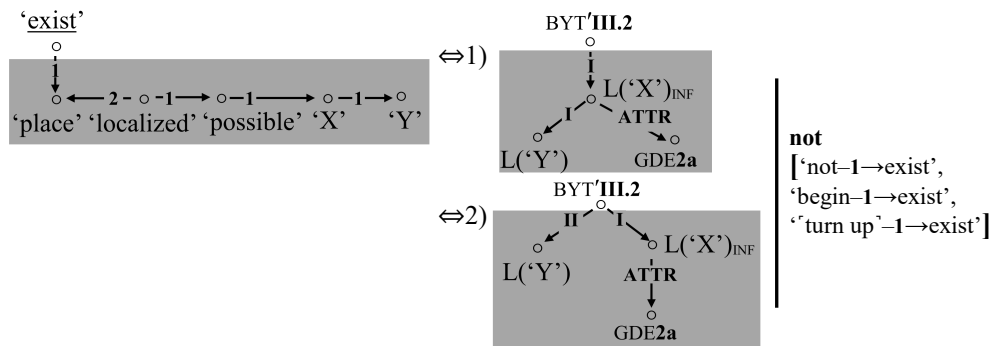
1. The grammaticality of such sentences is questionable: Russian speakers disagree on it. (Some speakers accept even *Mne net gde spat’*, while others reject *U kafedry net, gde studentam stavit’ opyty.*) This is, however, irrelevant to my topic: the paper’s goal is not establishing facts of Russian, but devising a formalism capable of encompassing all observed facts. The corresponding factual information can easily be included in the lexical entry of GDE2a, as well as in those of the verb BYT^{III.2} and of its lexical functions BYVAT’ ‘be from time to time’, NAJTIS’ ‘turn up’, NE OKAZAT’SJA ‘not turn out’, and NE STAT’ ‘not become’.

2. Sentences of the type *ʔMne ne bylo <ne budet> gde spat'* are fully synonymous with sentences of the type *Mne bylo <budet> gde spat'*, the latter being strongly preferred. This might be related to the known tendency of natural languages to give pride of place to ready-made expressions, in this case—to the lexeme NEGDE.

Lex-Sem-rule 3 is in fact the lexicographic definition of the lexeme GDE2a; see Appendix 3.

Lex-Sem-rule 4

The semanteme 'exist' is expressed by the verb BYT'III.2; for more on this verb, see Appendix 2.



The top corners ' ' enclose idioms.

Lex-Sem-rule 4 applies only if the semanteme 'exist' does not depend on 'not', 'begin' or 'turn up': the configuration 'not exist' is dealt with by Lex-Sem-rule 6, as mentioned above; the configurations 'begin exist' and 'turn up' exist' are expressed by the verbs STAT' 'become' and NAJTIS' 'turn up', selected by other Lex-Sem-rules, not given here (these verbs are lexical functions of BYT'III.2 and appear in its lexical entry). Like Lex-Sem-rule 3, this rule is also a lexicographic definition: that of the verb BYT'III.2; its two subrules take care of the two DSynt-subtrees this verb controls.

As mentioned above (Section 2.3), the expression of the form $[N_{DAT}] \text{ est' }_{BYT'III.2} \text{ gde } [V_{INF}]$ —a modal-infinitive phrase—is a collocation of GDE2a. This is quite an unusual collocation, featuring at least the following four particularities.

First, it is *discontinuous*: the collocate BYT'III.2 has no direct link with its base GDE2a; the two are syntactically connected only via the governor of the base (= via the verb in the infinitive).⁸

Second, BYT'III.2, which is *de facto* a support verb (a Func), cannot be *de jure*, i.e. formally, described as such: there is as yet no elaborated formalism available for discontinuous collocations with support verbs. For this reason, both possible DSynt-structures—see (3)—have to be described by a Lex-Sem-rule: general rules of actant transfer will not work for such collocations.

Third, the collocate BYT'III.2 is *collocation-bound*: it is used only together with GDE2a (or any other pseudo-relative pronoun). As a result, this collocation is much "tighter" than average collocations are: it strongly resembles an idiom. However, it is not an idiom: it is semantically compositional.

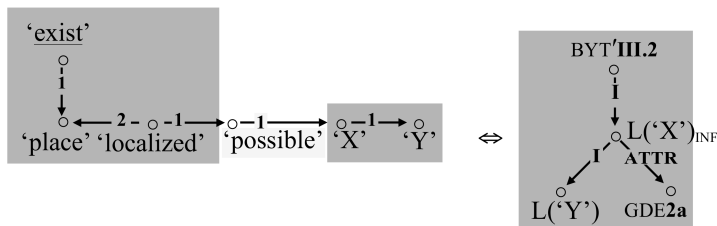
Fourth, the collocation BYT'III.2 ... GDE2a demonstrates a syntactic phenomenon observed in a vast class of collocations with support verbs: the migration, or the transfer, of DSynt-actants from the base to the collocate support verb [Mel'čuk, Milićević (to appear)]. Thus, we have $\{Tam\} \text{ est' gde mne} \leftarrow \text{I-spat'}$ and $\{Tam\} \text{ mne} \leftarrow \text{II-est' gde spat'}$.

⁸ Other examples of discontinuous collocations in Russian include binary subordinating conjunctions such as ESLI..., TO... or EDVA..., KAK... and repeated coordinating conjunctions such as ILI..., ILI... or TO..., TO..., TO... [Mel'čuk 2019a; 2021: 285–287].

The eight collocations formed by BYT'III.2 and a pseudo-relative pronoun seem to constitute a particular subclass of collocations, which is still awaiting its formal characterization.

Gram-Sem-rule 5

The semanteme 'possible' is expressed by the grammeme INF(itive), which, in this case, is a semantic grammeme that appears in the DSynt-structure.

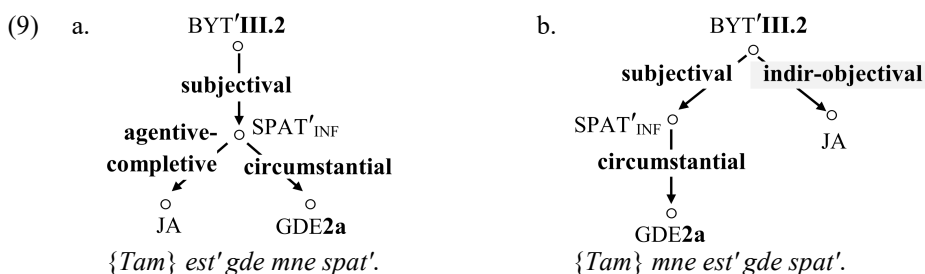


This rule is the semantic definition of one of the senses of the Russian INF grammeme.

The Sem-rules 3, 4 and 5 are inextricably interwoven: they have strongly overlapping contexts. This suggests the idea of uniting them into one rule that would produce the whole collocation BYT'III.2 ... GDE2a as a single block—in the same way as Lex-Sem-rule 6 does. For the time being, I have no arguments in favor or against this solution.

2.5. The surface-syntactic structures of sentences (1a–b)

Sentences (1a) and (1b) have the surface-syntactic structures [SSyntSs] (9a) and (9b), respectively:



For the **agentive-completive** surface-syntactic relation [SSyntRel] in (9a), see [Mel'čuk 2021: 62]; this SSyntRel roughly corresponds to the **dative-subjectival** SSyntRel in [Apresjan, Iomdin 1989/2010: 80, (25bΔ)].

3. The negative version of the construction: *Mne negde spat'*

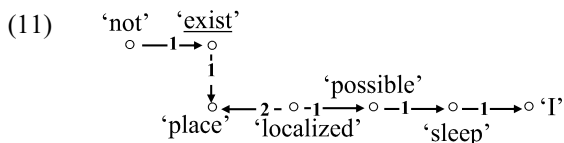
The illustrative sentences are (10a–b):

- (10) a. {*Tam*} *spat'* → *mne* Ø^{BYT'I.1}_{PRES} *negde* lit. ' {There} to sleep to me is nowhere'. = 'There is no place for me to sleep'.
 b. {*Tam*} *mne* ← Ø^{BYT'I.1}_{PRES} *negde spat'* lit. ' {There} to me is nowhere to sleep'. = 'There is no place for me to sleep'.

Ø^{BYT'I.1}_{PRES} represents the zero present-tense wordform of the copula verb BYT'I.1.

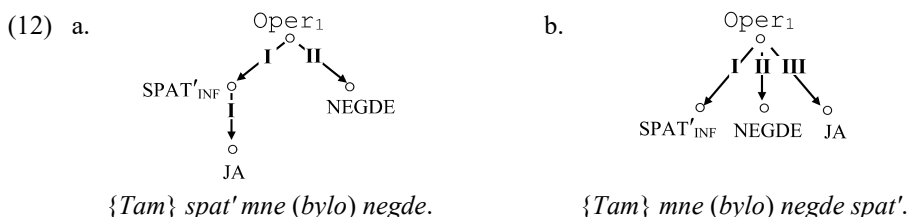
3.1. The semantic structure of sentences (10a–b)

Sentences (10a–b) are propositionally synonymous and have the same Sem-structure:



A literal reading: ‘{there} not exists a place where it is possible that I sleep’

3.2. The deep-syntactic structures of sentences (10a–b)



The difference with the positive version of the construction in question is obvious, and it is due to the properties of the lexeme NEGDE. Like GDE2a, it also is the base of a collocation: [L(‘X’)_{DAT}] BYT’I.I NEGDE [L(‘Y’)_{INF}]; however, the syntactic characteristics of NEGDE are quite different from those of GDE2a, and the collocations that these two pronominal adverbs control also differ significantly.

GDE2a, as stated above, is a pseudo-relative adverbial pronoun that can introduce a pseudo-relative clause or a modal-infinitive phrase. But NEGDE is a negative predicative adverbial pronoun—one of the seven Russian negative predicative pronouns, which function only in modal-infinitive phrases ([Padučeva 2017b]; two of these—NEKOGO and NEČEGO¹—are nouns, all the others being adverbs):

‘[L(‘Y’)_{DAT}] (BYT’I.I) NEKOGO [L(‘X’)_{INF}]’ = ‘there is no person for Y to X’

‘[L(‘Y’)_{DAT}] (BYT’I.I) NEČEGO¹ [L(‘X’)_{INF}]’ = ‘there is no inanimate entity for Y to X’

‘[L(‘Y’)_{DAT}] (BYT’I.I) NEGDE [L(‘X’)_{INF}]’ = ‘there is no place for Y to X’

‘[L(‘Y’)_{DAT}] (BYT’I.I) NEKUDA¹ [L(‘X’)_{INF}]’ = ‘there is no place for Y to X’

‘X’ contains a semantic of directionality: lativity ≈ ‘go to’

‘[L(‘Y’)_{DAT}] (BYT’I.I) NEOTKUDA [L(‘X’)_{INF}]’ = ‘there is no place for Y to X’

‘X’ contains a semantic of directionality: ablativity ≈ ‘come from’

‘[L(‘Y’)_{DAT}] (BYT’I.I) NEKOGDA¹ [L(‘X’)_{INF}]’ = ‘there is no time for Y to X’

‘[L(‘Y’)_{DAT}] (BYT’I.I) NEZAČEM [L(‘X’)_{INF}]’ = ‘there is no reason for Y to X’⁹

⁹ Along with the negative predicative NEČEGO¹, Russian has the homonymous predicative NEČEGO² ≈ ‘no need; should not’ (*Nečego bylo plakat’* ‘There was no need to cry’). The negative predicative NEKOGDA¹ coexists with another negative predicative NEKOGDA¹II, meaning ‘deficit of time’ (as in *Mne bylo sil’no nekogda* lit. ‘To me was strongly no time’ = ‘I was in a hurry’), and a homonymous adverb NEKOGDA² ‘once upon a time; in former times’. These cases are described in detail in [Apresjan, Iomdin 1989/2010]. Along with the negative predicative NEKUDA¹, there exists the homonymous adverb NEKUDA² (as in *dal’še nekuda* ‘as far as possible’, noted in [Fortuin 2014: 38]).

The above definitions of the negative predicatives are simplified. In point of fact, they must be like this:

‘[Y_{DAT}] (BYT’I.1) NEKOGO [X_{INF}]’ = ‘There does not exist a person α available to Y such that it is possible that $Y \leftarrow 1 - X - i \rightarrow \alpha$ ’

3.3. The transition SemS \Leftrightarrow DSyntSs for sentences (10a–b)

The transition SemS (11) \Leftrightarrow DSyntS (12) is performed by two types of semantic rules—lexical (that create the nodes of the DSynt-tree) and structural (creating the branches of the tree); only Lex-Sem-rules interest us here.

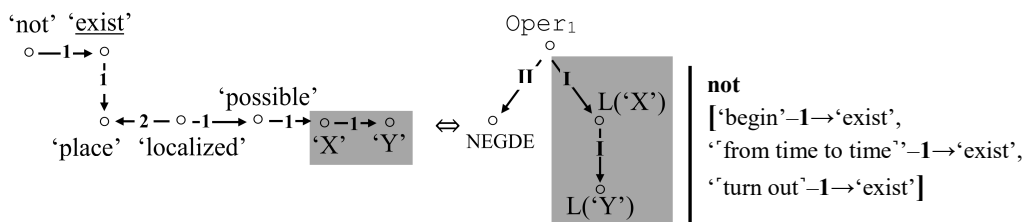
Lexical semantic rules

Lex-Sem-rules 1 and 2

The semantemes ‘sleep’ and ‘I’ are, as stated above, unproblematically rendered by SPAT’ and JA.

Lex-Sem-rule 6

The configuration of semantemes ‘not-1 \rightarrow exist-1 \rightarrow place \leftarrow 2-localized-1 \rightarrow possible’ [‘there is no place where it is possible...’] is expressed by the collocation Oper₁-II \rightarrow NEGDE:



Unlike Lex-Sem-rule 4, which specifies two possible DSynt-structures for the positive version of our construction, Lex-Sem-rule 6 produces only one: the other one is obtained by general rules of actant transfer, valid for all standard collocations with support verbs.

The semanteme configurations excluded by Conditions give rise to the lexical functions of NEGDE that are different from Oper₁; see the lexical entry of NEGDE immediately below.

Lex-Sem-rule 6 is also a lexicographic definition: that of the lexeme NEGDE taken together with the V_(support) Oper₁ (= BYT’I.1); in other words, what is defined is in fact the collocation BYT’I.1 NEGDE.

Since the predicative NEGDE is central to our topic, it is reasonable to present its lexical entry.

Lexical entry for NEGDE

[L(‘Y’)_{DAT}] BYT’I.1 NEGDE [L(‘X’)_{INF}] ‘Y has no available place such that it is possible that X(Y) in it’; adverb, negative, predicative, pronominal; collocation-bound: it is used only as the base of several collocations with a V_(support).

Note. NEGDE is a predicative adverb. It appears—as all predicative adverbs—only with a support verb—more specifically, with the copula BYT’I.1 (and a handful of its partners) and must be defined in combination with it.

Definition

'X-it'Y-u Ø^{BYT'I.1}_{PRES} negde' [lit. 'to do X to Y is no place where possible to'] =
 'ne suščestvuet mesto, gde vozmožno, čtoby X(Y) v ètom meste' =
 'there exists no place such that it is possible that X(Y) in this place'.

Government pattern

'X' ⇔ I	'Y' ⇔ I(L('X'))
1. V _{INF}	1. N _{DAT}

- 1) C_I : **obligatory** L('X')←I—NEGDE ⇒ L('X')←I—L_{(V(support))}
 2) C_{II} : **obligatory** L('Y')←II—NEGDE ⇒ L('Y')←I—L('X') or L('Y')←III—L_{(V(support))}

Lexical functions

Oper₁ : *byt'*I.1 [N_{Y-DAT} ~]
 IncepOper₁ : *coll. sdelat'sja, stat'* 'become' [N_{Y-DAT} ~]
 'from time to time' Oper₁ : *byvat'* 'be from time to time' [N_{Y-DAT} ~]
 'turn out' that Oper₁ : *okazat'sja* 'turn out' [N_{Y-DAT} ~]

Examples

Spat' mne budet negde lit. 'To sleep to me will be no place where is possible to'. =
 'There will be no place for me to sleep'.

Mne stalo (okazalos') negde spat' lit. 'To me began to be (turned out to be) no place where is possible to sleep'. = 'It turned out that there was no place for me to sleep'.

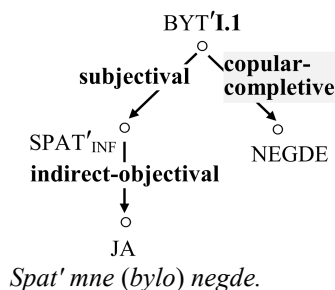
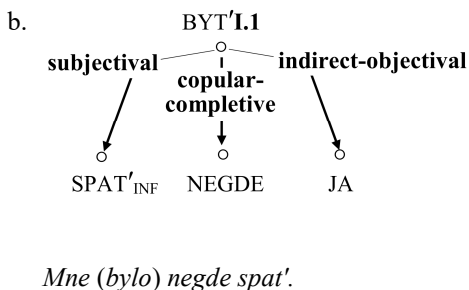
Comment

The predicative nature of NEGDE, as well of the other six negative pronouns of the same type, is confirmed by their natural conjoinability with the indisputable predicatives of state:

- (13) a. *Vystupat' mne bylo neprijatno i ne pered kem*
 lit. 'To perform to me was unpleasant and not before whom' = '... there were no people for whom to perform'.
 b. *Exat' tuda mne bylo nezačem, da i stydno*
 lit. 'To go there to me was for nothing and also shameful'.
 c. *Delat' èto mne bylo len' i k tomu že skučno*
 lit. 'To do this to me was laziness and in addition boring'.

3.4. The surface-syntactic structures of sentences (10a–b)

To close this section (and the paper), here are the SSynt-structures of sentences (10a–b):

- (14) a. 
Spat' mne (bylo) negde.
- b. 
Mne (bylo) negde spat'.

4. Conclusions

The results of this study can be summarized as follows.

1. The Sem-, the DSynt- and the SSynt-structures for the sentences (i) *Mne est' gde spat'* and (ii) *Mne Ø^{BYT'I.1}_{PRES} negde spat'* are proposed: (2), (3), (9) and (11), (12), (14).

2. It is shown that there is no parallelism between sentences (i) and (ii). Semantically, a sentence (ii) is a straightforward negation of the corresponding sentence (i). But syntactically, sentences (i) and sentences (ii) have different structures:

- *Est'* in (i) is the present tense wordform of the existential verb BYT'III.2; Ø^{BYT'I.1}_{PRES} in (ii) is the zero present-tense wordform of the copula BYT'I.1; this was established in [Apresjan, Iomdin 1989/2010: 75].

- *Gde* in (i) is the pseudo-relative pronominal adverb GDE2a, which depends on the verb in the infinitive (*spat'*); this *gde* is used only with a modal-infinitive phrase or a pseudo-relative clause. *Negde* in (ii) is an adverbial pronominal predicative, which obligatorily depends on the copula BYT'I.1 in the role of a support verb; it is used only in a collocation with the copula, the latter receiving in this collocation an additional actant: N_{DAT}.

- Sentence (ii) does not contain a syntactic negation of the Main Verb, and therefore it does not allow for a universally quantifying negative pronoun, which is obligatory with a syntactic negation [Rappaport 1986: 14]:

(15) a. **Nikomū bylo negde spat'* lit. 'To nobody was no place to sleep'.
[*Vsem bylo negde spat'* lit. 'To all was no place to sleep'.]

vs.

b. *Nikomū ne bylo gde spat'* lit. 'To nobody was not where to sleep'.

3. The expression of the form *gde mne spat'* in combination with the verb BYT'III.2 represents a particular syntactic formation: modal-infinitive phrase.

4. The verb BYT'III.2 is described; in order to ensure a reasonable background for it, an overview of the lexemes of the verb BYT' is supplied (Appendix 2).

5. The verb BYT'III.2 is used only with a modal-infinitive phrase, constituting with the latter a "compulsory" collocation. This is a special type of collocation:

- It is syntactically discontinuous, that is, there is no direct dependency link between the base GDE2a and the collocate verb BYT'III.2.

- Because of its lexical restrictedness, this collocation reminds one of an idiom; it is specified in the lexicon as a whole: see Lex-Sem-rule 6. However, it is semantically compositional—and thus, not an idiom.

6. Both (i) and (ii) sentences feature the transfer of syntactic actants: *mne* migrates from *spat'*, the syntactic governor of the collocation base GDE2a, to the corresponding collocate verb *byt'*. A new type of rule is proposed for the description of this phenomenon: rules of actant transfer in V_(support) collocations; these rules are attached to the government pattern of the collocation base and specify DSynt-actants of the base (or of the governor of the base) that can or must be transferred to the support verb.

7. The pseudo-relative indefinite pronominal adverb GDE2a is described, and a schematic description of the vocable GDE is proposed (Appendix 3).

8. NEGDE is treated as a negative adverbial predicative, to some extent similar to (*Mne*) STYDNO or (*Mne*) LEN'; its lexical entry is given.

All these constitute the outcome of having continued and expanded the research of my two close friends: Jura Apresjan and Lēnja Iomdin.

Appendix 1: Actant transfer in collocations with support verbs

Actant transfer (= actant migration, or else actant raising) is a well-known syntactic phenomenon; here an important particular case of this phenomenon is considered: actant transfer in collocations with support verb.

In a collocation of the form $V_{(\text{support})} \rightarrow L$, some DSynt-actants of L —and, as a consequence, L 's corresponding SSynt-actants—can or must pass to $V_{(\text{support})}$, becoming actants of the latter.

The notion of actant transfer in collocations with support verbs was introduced into discussion in [Abeillé 1988] with such examples as (16):

- (16) a. *King John launched_{IncepOper₁} an attack_L—II→on the city.*
 vs. an attack_L that King John launched—II→on the city
 b. *King John watched an attack_L—II→on the city.*
 *vs. *an attack_L that King John watched—II→on the city*

A corresponding Russian example is (17):

- (17) a. *Ivan otpuskal_{Oper₁} oskorbitel'nye šutki_L—II→po povodu gostja*
 'Ivan made offensive jokes about the guest'.
 vs. Ivan otpuskal_{Oper₁}—II→po povodu gostja oskorbitel'nye šutki_L
 lit. 'Ivan made about the guest offensive jokes'.
 b. *Ivan ignoriroval oskorbitel'nye šutki_L—II→po povodu gostja*
 'Ivan ignored offensive jokes about the guest'.
 *vs. *Ivan ignoriroval—II→po povodu gostja oskorbitel'nye šutki_L*
 lit. 'Ivan ignored about the guest offensive jokes'.

In (16) and (17), the actant movement is sensitive to the lexical identity of the verb: if it is not a support verb, as [to] WATCH in (16b) and IGNORIROVAT' in (17b), such a movement becomes impossible. This means that what is at play is not simply a linear permutation, but the change of syntactic dependencies. (Actant transfer in $V_{(\text{support})}$ collocations is studied in detail in [Alonso Ramos 2004; 2007]; with respect to Russian, similar observations are presented in [Iomdin, Iomdin 2014].)

To formally account for DSyntA-actant transfer in collocations with a support verb, [Mel'čuk, Milićević (to appear)] proposes two ways of indicating the possibility of such a transfer in the lexical entry of collocation base L :

- by actant transfer rules, which control optional or obligatory transfer of actants from L to a $V_{(\text{support})}$ of L ;
- by specific government patterns for L 's support verbs—such that these verbs become able to accept and properly realize on the surface the transferred actants.

Appendix 2: The verb BYT' 'be'

The most precise and detailed description of the verb BYT' is owed to Jurij Apresjan: [Apresjan 1992; 2013/2014]. Working from a slightly different perspective, I have proposed a few amendments to Apresjan's list of BYT' lexemes: [Mel'čuk 2012: 96–102, 2019b: 11–16; 2023b]. The schematic presentation of the vocable BYT' below summarizes my current knowledge and takes into account the latest findings. Given its tangential character with respect to this paper's main topic, the presentation is quite approximate; in particular, the government patterns are spelled out only fragmentarily. A quick caveat: several BYT' lexemes (BYT'I.1,

BYT'III.2, BYT'III.3, BYT'IV.1, BYT'IV.2) can function as lexical-functional support verbs *Oper* and *Func*; in such contexts they are collocates and receive their government pattern—fully or partially—from their bases. (See interesting examples of this phenomenon described in [Iomdin, Iomdin 2014].)

Boxing in lexicographic definitions below indicates a semantic bridge—a semantic component shared by the lexemes of the same polysemous vocable.

I. The copula [\approx 'javljat'sja' \approx 'be']

1) [X_{NOM}] BYT'I.1 [$Y_{(\text{N})\text{NOM/INSTR}}$]

'____',

PRES: $\emptyset_{\text{PRES}}^{\text{BYT'I.1}}$ (**est'*: this form is impossible)

Ėta kniga_X (ne) interesnaja_Y 'This book is/is not interesting'. | *Kurit'_X vredno_Y* lit. 'To smoke is harmful'. | *Spat'_X mne bylo negde_Y* lit. 'To sleep to me was nowhere'.

2) [X] BYT'I.2 [$Y_{(\text{N})\text{NOM/INSTR}}$]

' X [$i_{\text{SBYT'I.1}}$] identical to Y '¹⁰

PRES: $\emptyset_{\text{PRES}}^{\text{BYT'I.1}}$; *est'*: only under emphasis (e.g., *Ėto i est' Ivan* 'This is exactly Ivan'); the negation of this *est'* is impossible (**net*)

Čelovek_X u okna — Ivan_Y 'The man at the window is Ivan'. | *Našej edinstvennoj nadeždoj_Y byl Ivan_X* 'Ivan was our only hope'. ~ *Ivan_X ne byl našej edinstvennoj nadeždoj_Y* 'Ivan wasn't our only hope'.

3) [$X_{\text{NOM}}/X_{(\text{V})\text{INF}}$] BYT'I.3a [Y_{NOM}]

' X [$i_{\text{SBYT'I.1}}$] numerically equal to Y '

PRES: $\emptyset_{\text{PRES}}^{\text{BYT'I.1}}$ ~ *budet* (**est'*)

Dva_X plus dva — (<= budet) četyre_Y 'Two plus two is/will be four'. | *Skol'ko_Y budet k pjati pribavit'_X dva?* lit. 'How much is/will be to five to add two?'

4) [X_{NOM}] BYT'I.3b [Y_{NOM}]

' X [$i_{\text{SBYT'I.1}}$] semantically equal to Y in language Z '

PRES: $\emptyset_{\text{PRES}}^{\text{BYT'I.1}}$ ~ *budet* (**est'*)

"Window"_X po-russki — (<= budet) "okno"_Y lit. '"Window" in Russian is/will be "okno"'. | *Kak_Y "window"_X (budet) po-russki?* lit. 'How "window" is/will be in Russian?'

5) [X_{NOM}] BYT'I.4 [$Y_{(\text{N})\text{NOM/INSTR}}$]

' X [$i_{\text{SBYT'I.1}}$] an element of class Y '

PRES: $\emptyset_{\text{PRES}}^{\text{BYT'I.1}}$; *est'*: only in a formal definition

Ivan_X — filosof_Y 'Ivan is a philosopher'. | *Kniga_X sprava byla učebnikom_Y ispanskogo* 'The book on the right was a manual of Spanish'. | *Boks_X est' discussija_Y s veskimi argumentami* 'Box is a discussion with weighty arguments'.

6) [X_{NOM}] BYT'I.5 [$Y_{(\text{N})\text{DAT}}$]

' Y 's age [$i_{\text{SBYT'I.1}}$] X '

PRES: $\emptyset_{\text{PRES}}^{\text{BYT'I.1}}$; its negation produces *net*; *est'* is possible under emphasis [insistence]: *Ivanu (uže) Ėst' 40 let* 'Ivan (already) is 40 years old'

Ivanu_Y (bylo) sorok let_X lit. 'To Ivan is (was) forty years'.

Ivanu_Y net soroka let_X 'Ivan isn't forty yet'.

7) [X_{NOM}] BYT'I.6 [$Y_{(\text{N})\text{DAT}}$ $Z_{(\text{N})\text{NOM/INSTR}}$]

' X [$i_{\text{SBYT'I.1}}$] a relative or a friend Y of Z '

PRES: $\emptyset_{\text{PRES}}^{\text{BYT'I.1}}$ (**est'*)

Ivan_X (byl) Petru_Z vnučatjy plemjannik_Y lit. 'Ivan is/was to Peter great-nephew'.

¹⁰ On sentences of identity in Russian, see [Padučeva 1987].

8) [X_{NOM}] BYT'1.7 [Y_{(N)DAT} *za* Z_{(N)ACC}]

'X [is_{BYT'1.1}] a punishment or a reward to Y for Z(Y)'

PRES: Ø_{PRES}^{BYT'1.1} (**est*)

A čto_X Ivanu_Y za èto_Z bylo by (budet)? lit. 'And what to Ivan for this would be (will be)?' | *Za čto_Z Ivanu_Y èta muka_X?* lit. 'For what is to Ivan this suffering?' | *Ivanu_Y ničego za èto_X ne bylo* lit. 'To Ivan nothing for this not was'.

II. Localization ['naxodit'sja' = 'find oneself', 'be located']

9) [X_{NOM}] BYT'II.1 [L_{OCin} Y]

'X [is_{BYT'II.1}] localized in Y'

PRES: Ø_{PRES}^{BYT'II.1} (**est*)

Deti_X na ozere_Y 'The kids are at the lake'. | *Reka_X Singu — v Brazii_Y* 'The Xingu River is in Brazil'.

10) [X_{NOM}] BYT'II.2 [k Y_{DAT}]

'X travels with the purpose to [be_{BYT'II.1}] with person Y'

PRES: Ø_{PRES}^{BYT'II.1} (**est*)

No past tense; in the future tense the verb BYT'II.2 is obsolete.

Ja_X k Ivanu_Y lit. 'I am to Ivan'. = 'I've come to see Ivan'. | *Prostite, vy_X k komu_Y?* lit. 'Excuse, you are to whom?' | *Ja_X budu k vam_Y zavtra* lit. 'I will be to you tomorrow'.

III. Existence [≈ 'imet'sja' ≈ 'there be']

11) [X_{NOM}] BYT'III.1 [L_{OCin} Y]

'X [exists, being_{BYT'III.1}] in Y'

PRES: *est*'; its negation is *net*

V džungljax_Y est' opasnye xiščniki_X lit. 'In jungle are dangerous predators'. | *Est' eščë odna vozmožnost'_X* lit. 'Is more one possibility'.

12) [Y_{DAT}] BYT'III.2 [L_(pseudo-rel) ← ATTR-X_{(V)INF} I → Y)]

'{There} [exists] α such that is possible

Y ← I-X → α'

α stands for the communicatively dominant node in the definition of the pronoun

L_(pseudo-rel), see Section 2.3

PRES: *est*'; its negation is impossible (**net*); but if BYT'III.2 is not in the present tense, its negation is (more or less) grammatical¹¹

V gorode Ivanu_Y est' (bylo, budet) gde žit'_X lit. 'In city to Ivan is (was, will be) where to live'. | *V gorode Ivanu_Y ne bylo (ne budet) gde žit'_X* lit. 'In city to Ivan was not (will not be) where to live'.

13) [X_{NOM}] BYT'III.3 [L_{OCin} Y]

'Fact X [exists, being_{BYT'III.1}] in Y'

PRES: Ø_{PRES}^{BYT'III.1} (**est*); its negation produces *net*

V Pariže_Y sem'_X večera lit. 'In Paris is seven of evening'. | *Na Kubani_Y togda byla zasuxa_X* lit. 'On Kuban [river] then was drought'. | *Eščë net pjati_X* lit. 'Still isn't five [o'clock]'.

14) [X_{NOM}] BYT'III.4 [u Y_{(N)GEN}]

'X [exists, involving] Y as an actant' ['X → Y']

PRES: Ø_{PRES}^{BYT'III.1} (**est*); its negation produces *net*

U Ivana_Y zavtra examen_X lit. 'At Ivan tomorrow is exam'. | *U Ivana_Y molodaja mat'_X* lit. 'At Ivan is

¹¹ On sentences of the type *Mne *net (ne bylo, ne budet) gde spat'*, see the remarks to Lex-Sem-rule 3 (Section 2.4).

or, if X is modified by an adjective, it is just *ne* depending on the adjective (with a modification of the syntactic structure)

15) [X_{NOM}] BYT'III.5 [*u* Y_{(N)GEN}]

‘Some Xs that are_{BYT.I} Z are_{BYT.III.5} at Y’

PRES: *est'*; its negation produces *net*

16) [X_{NOM}] BYT'III.6 [*u* Y_{(N)GEN}]

‘Situation related to X exists involving Y’

PRES: Ø_{PRES}^{BYT.I.1} (**est'*); its negation is *net*

young mother’. | *U Ivana_Y sedye volosy_X* lit. ‘At Ivan is gray hair [the full hair]’.

U Ivana_Y est' sedye_Z volosy_X lit. ‘At Ivan is gray hair [some gray hairs]’.

U Ivana_Y zavtra examen_X syna lit. ‘At Ivan tomorrow is {his} son’s exam’.

IV. Availability [‘X est’ u Y-a’ = ‘Y has X’]

17) [X_{NOM}] BYT'IV.1 [*u* Y_{(N)GEN}]

‘X is_{BYT.I} at Y’s usual disposal’

PRES: *est'*; its negation is *net*

U Ivana_Y est' kvartira_X lit. ‘At Ivan is apartment’ = ‘Ivan has an apartment’. | *U Ivana_Y na ètu temu est' ideja_X* lit. ‘At Ivan on this topic is idea’. | *U Ivana_Y est' krasivyy galstuk_X* lit. ‘At Ivan is beautiful tie’ = ‘Ivan has a beautiful tie’ [he owns it].

18) [X_{NOM}] BYT'IV.2 [*u* Y_{(N)GEN}]

‘X is_{BYT.I} at Y’s actual disposal’

PRES: Ø_{PRES}^{BYT.I.1} (**est'*); its negation is impossible (**net*)

Smotri, u Ivana_Y nož_X! lit. ‘Watch out, at Ivan is knife!’ | *A u menja ideja* lit. ‘Well, at me is idea’. | *U Ivana_Y krasivyy galstuk_X* lit. ‘At Ivan is beautiful tie’ [he is wearing it].

V. Future auxiliary [‘X budet Y-it’ = ‘X will do.Y’]

19) [X_{NOM}] BYT'V.I [Y_{(V)INF, IMPERF}]

‘X will.be_{BYT.I} doing.Y’

PRES: only forms with the radical BUD-

Ivan_X budet rabotat'_Y ‘Ivan will work’.

20) [X_{NOM}] BYT'V.II [Y_{(N)ACC}]

‘X will be_{BYT.I} consuming Y’

PRES: only forms with the radical BUD-

A èto_Y Ivan_X budet? lit. ‘And what Ivan will [eat, drink or smoke]?’ | *Vodku_Y ja_X ne budu* lit. ‘Vodka I not will [drink]’.

Appendix 3: “Table of contents” of the vocable GDE

GDE ≈ ‘where’, adverb, pronominal.¹²

- 1) GDEI ‘v meste’ = ‘in place’, indefinite; collocation-bound lexeme, which underlies Russian phraseologized indefinite phrasal pronouns [Mel’čuk 2023a], as in (18):

¹² I leave aside the homonym GDE² [Y_{(N)DAT} X_{(V)INF}], which means ‘quite impossible’ and is used in an exclamatory or interrogative sentence: *Gde nam_Y ponjat'_X èto!* lit. ‘Where to us to understand this!’ = ‘It is quite impossible that we understand this’.

- (18) a. *Tam gde ugodno možno rabotat'*
 there in place any is possible to work
 'It is possible to work anywhere there'.
 b. *Tam gde -nibud' rabota najdëtsja*
 there in place some job will turn out
 'A job will turn out somewhere there'.
- 2) GDE2a 'mesto, gde [X(Y)]' = 'place where [X(Y)]', pseudo-relative.
- (19) a. *Vot gde my_Y okazalis'_X*
 I indicate here place where we found ourselves
 'Here is where we found ourselves'.
 b. *Nam_Y est' gde rabotat'_X*
 to us is place where to work
 'We have a place to work'.
- 3) GDE2b 'v meste, identičnost' kotorogo...' = 'in place the identity of which ...', indefinite; collocation-bound lexeme, which underlies Russian free indefinite phrasal pronouns, as in (20):
- (20) *Ja byl ty ne ugadaeš' gde*
 I was you not will guess in place the identity of which...
 lit. 'I was you won't guess where'.
- 4) GDE2c 'v neopredelënnom meste' = 'in a non-specified place', indefinite, **colloquial**. Completely synonymous with *gde-nibud'* 'somewhere'.
- (21) *Esli gde ošibëš'sja...*
 if in a place you make a mistake
 'If you make a mistake somewhere...'
- 5) GDE3 'identičnost' mesta, v ktorom ...' = 'identity of the place in which ...', interrogative.
- (22) a. *Gde byl Ivan?*
 identity of place where was Ivan
 'Where was Ivan?'
 b. *Ja znaju, gde byl Ivan*
 I know identity of place where was Ivan
 'I know where Ivan was'.
- 6) GDE4: relative pronoun, ≈ 'where'; an empty substitute pronoun used to introduce a relative clause modifying a designation of place; equivalent to *in which*; see [Iordanskaja, Mel'čuk 2020].
- (23) *otel', gde est' svobodnye nomera*
 hotel where there are available rooms
 'a hotel where there are available rooms'

Comments

1. The order, that is, the numbering, of the lexemes inside a vocable—here, in the vocable GDE—follows their growing semantic complexity (but the semantically empty substitute pronoun GDE4 is placed the last):

'in place' < 'in place where' < 'in place the identity of which ...'
 < 'in a non-specified place' < 'identity of place'.

2. GDE2a: as all pseudo-relative pronouns, it underlies the formation of modal-infinitive phrases and pseudo-relative clauses (on the latter, see [Mel'čuk 2021: 249–252]); cf.:

- (24) a. *Tam bylo gde_{GDE2a} Maše žit'* lit. 'There was where to Masha to live'.
 b. *Maša xotela žit', gde_{GDE2a} žit' (bylo) / žizn' (byla) deševle*
 lit. 'Masha wanted to live where to live / life was cheaper'.

3. GDE2b: a genuine indefinite pronominal lexeme. Its meaning involves the identity of a place, rather than the place itself: one can naturally say *Ja znaju, gde Ivan živět, no ja ne znaju etogo mesta* 'I know where Ivan lives, but I don't know the place [i.e., I have never been there]'. (We see here, of course, two different lexemes of ZNAT'.)

4. GDE2c: another indefinite pronominal lexeme, whose meaning—'a non-specified place'—is different from the meaning of GDE2b—'place whose identity...'. Such indefinite pronominal lexemes are currently labeled "bare interrogatives" (see, for instance, [Haspelmath 1997: 170]).

5. GDE3: an interrogative pronominal lexeme. The meaning of GDE3—'Communicate_{IMPER} the identity of the place' consists of two components: 'identity of the place', expressed by GDE; 'communicate_{IMPER} to me', expressed by the interrogative prosody (Bryzgunova's "Intonational Contour 2"). The first component constitutes the signified of the indefinite pronoun lexeme, i.e. of GDE2b.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

DSynt-	: deep-syntactic
L	: lexeme
L('X')	: lexeme that expresses the meaning 'X'
-S	: structure
Sem-	: semantic
SSynt-	: surface-syntactic
‘σ’	: underscoring of a semanteme in a SemS indicates its communicatively dominant status
shading	: shading of an element in a rule indicates that this element belongs to the context of the rule
Ø ^{BYT'I.1} _{PRES}	: zero present tense wordform of the verb BYT'I.1
[]	: square brackets enclose the actants of the head-word (among other things)
{ }	: curly brackets enclose the words added to the example for naturalness
‘ ’	: top corners enclose an idiom

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