'Chain-stitch' possessive construction in Middle Russian: varieties and descendants

The chain-stitch construction is a non-projective construction in which the nominal group of Possessor is split by the name of Possessee and has a mixed adjective + Genitive noun structure (see Skorvid 2018). While in canonical possessive constructions, the name of Possessor is either an agreeing possessive adjective to the left of the name of Possessee (1) or a dependent Genitive noun or noun phrase to the right of it (2), in the chain-stitch construction, the first part of the multi-word named entity is an adjective expressed before the name of Possessee and not agreeing with the rest of the multi-word named entity marked by Genitive (3) or vice versa (4).

(1) Roman-ov-a zeml(j)-a

Roman.ADJ-POSS-NOM.SG.F land.NOUN-NOM.SG 'Roman's land'

- (2) zeml(j)-a Roman-a Turgenev-a land.NOUN-NOM.SG Roman.NOUN-GEN.SG 'Roman Turgenev's land'
- (3) Roman-ov-a zeml(j)-a Turgenev-a
 Roman.ADJ-POSS-NOM.SG land.NOUN-NOM.SG Turgenev.NOUN-GEN.SG
 'Roman Turgenev's land'
- (4) po mater-i svo-ej dush-e after mother.NOUN-GEN.SG self.DET-GEN.SG soul.NOUN-LOC.SG Ovdot'(j)-in-e Ovdot'ja.ADJ-POSS-LOC.SG

'after the soul (ascent) of her mother Ovdot'ja' [Letter of purchase of the Metropolitan butler FF Surmin (1512-1513)]

The study is based on the Middle Russian corpus, a part of the Russian National Corpus (Sichinava 2014, Lyashevskaya 2018) in which the dependency relations were annotated according to the Universal Dependencies schema (Nivre et al. 2016). A new language-specific relation (amod:ext) was introduced to represent the extraction of adjectival modifiers (Lyashevskaya, Zhuravleva 2019). We examine a radial category of the construction varieties taking into account the following features:

- 1. the semantic structure of the named entity:
- 2. the type of adjective: possessive or quasi-possessive with the suffix -sk-;
- 3. the order of the adjectival and Genitive parts;
- 4. split vs. contact position of the adjectival and Genitive parts;
- 5. number of entities in the adjectival part;
- 6. presence of the compound *knjazh*, *knjazhe* 'prince's' (Potebnja 1968, Skorvid 2018, Galinskaya 2019);
 - 7. the structure of the multi-word Genitive part.

We conclude that the split of the name entities in the adjective-Genitive possessive construction was considerably frequent in Middle Russian and typical of business correspondence and, to the less extent, everyday vernacular writing. The strategy of the adjectival modifier fronting prevails in the corpus data and can be considered a way to pack the beginning of the sentence more efficiently from the point of view of information flow.

Although the construction is extinct in present-day language, a few modern Russian constructions can be analyzed as related to the chain-stitch construction since they use similar strategies such as no agreement between the adjectival and Genitive/Nominative parts of the named entity or 'no more than one adjective extracted'.

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mixed adjective-genitive design of possessive structures view with the Romanov land of Turgenev 'with the land of Roman Turgenev'

occurs very widely and is typical for business and everyday correspondence. Along with the proper possessive adjective forms

forms in -sk are used - (- ck-): cf. what did you order me about

Grigorev's wife of Volkov, please tell the GDSR, and really what

drvni given ... [Grant of the XVII - early XVIII century, T. Markov to uncle P.T. Saltykov (1640-1700)].

The considered mixed adjective-genitive possessive

the design has several options for implementation. Next example

demonstrates the construct with reverse order of the possessive genitive and

adjective, where the first comes before, and the second after the top of the whole

designs: according to his father Ivanova ... according to his mother's soul

Ovdotin 'to the liking of his father Ivan ... to the liking of his mother Ovdotya'

[Dukhovnaya Vasily Ivanov p. Vnukov-Pushkin (1556-1557)]. Moreover,

both elements can be in contact, in the following example - after

tops of the whole structure: according to the brothers according to prince Silina according to prince Mikita

and by Prince Ivan, and by Prince Sila Grigorievich 'by the brothers of Prince Sila' [This book. Ulyana Grigorievna, widows of Prince Grigorievich's forces

Gundorov (1572-1573)].

Carrying out the logic of analysis (b) in relation to the last examples, we get the interpretation (c):

(in) mother \leftarrow nmod- soul,

mother -amod: ext \rightarrow Ovdotin.

Now, in addition to syntactic non-projectivity, there is also agreement of the adjective not with its direct owner, but with master of master (cf. amod: ext relation). The mode of such agreement turns on when the elements are distant, cf. brethren ... Siline. It is noteworthy that if a person's name consists of more than two elements, then usually only the first of them, cf. Fedorov land of Gleb's son Shchibrin 'land of Fedor Glebov son of Shchibrin '[Traveling letter of Metropolitan Boyar S. V. Fomin (1496)]. Realizations with two or more possessive adjectives in Old Russian corps are almost never found, cf. countable examples: in to widow Annina petition [The case of widows petitions p. b. F. Serkova Anna and S. b. P. Pasynkov Antonida (1616.12.17)]; with Konstyankinov the Yushkov estate 'with the Konstyankin Yushkov estate' [Extract from boundary books by Bogdan Andreevich Izmailov (1598-1599)]; brother's yard him, Prince Dmitriev Shemyakin [Nikon Chronicle (1425-1506)] (1526-1530)].

The only exception is the fixed form option.

prince / prince / prince / prince, cf. soul according to Prince Ivanov [Deposit book Kirillov Belozersky Monastery (1560-1570)], which is also celebrated

for the Old Russian period [Potebnya 1968, Skorvid 2018, Galinskaya 2019].

The title forms an inseparable group with the name of the person and in monosyllabic realization is possibly clitika. Remaining elements

nominations, if any, are added to the genitive, both inseparably and

discontinuous: Prince Mikhailov Vishnevetskogo plow [Excerpt from

chronicles about the times of Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich the Terrible (1563-1567)]; on the

Prince Dmitrievo named after Ivanovich Punkov [Spiritual memory

Alexandra, daughter of Vasily Andreyevich Mikulinsky (1546)].

The design with the princess is productive in the Old Russian corps, and, given its properties, perhaps a separate method should be provided for it analysis (d) with the type of relation compound:

(d) Mikhailov \leftarrow amod - plow,

Mikhailov −nmod → Vishnevetsky,

prince ← compound– Mikhailov.

Returning to the modern language, we note that the strategy, with which for non-one-word possessive nominations is chosen the genius chain survived and strengthened its position. In prosaic in the literary language, the variant of the postposition of the genitive chain prevailed (wife of Vasily Petrovich). There are examples in poetic language genitive chain in preposition, characteristic of the language of the early and of the old Russian periods, but their