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On part-of-speech attribution and grammatical tagging of Old Russian КРИБО

- Russian National Corpus (RNC) – the Old Russian subcorpus
- historical dictionaries (I. Sreznevskiy; XI – XIV cc; XI – XVII cc)
- “Old Russian manuscripts” (“Rukopisnye pamyatniki Drevnej Rusi”, <http://www.lrc-lib.ru/>)
- offline sources

КРИВО (krivo) → adverb?

**(1) ДА АЩЕ КТО Ꙗ рꙋси или Ꙗ грекъ створи криво да
оправлаеть то**

‘If any of the Russians or Greeks broke the rules (“done awry”), let them correct it’ (Rus’–Byzantine Treaty (945), Laurentian Chronicle, p. 12).

(2) ИДЕ ЖЕ КРИВО БРАТНѦ ИСПРАВИВЪШЕ ЧЪТЪТЕ

‘Where [it is written] wrong, brothers, correct and read’.
(Izbornik 1076, pp. 275 rev. – 276, a note by scribe Ioann)

КРИВО (krivo) – ‘incorrectly’ / ‘unfairly’;

‘askew’ – \approx from the XVII c:

(3) *Карабль наш был мало грузен и шел таково криво, что пушки <...> чертили по воде*

‘Our ship was under-loaded and sailed askew, so that the cannons stroked the water’ (Travel of the stolnik P.A. Tolstoy to Europe, 1697–1699).

КРИВО → adverb / short adjective / noun

(1) **КРИВО** → noun?

(1') **ДА АЩЕ КТО ꙗко рꙋси или ꙗко грекъ створи зъло
да оправлаеть то**

‘If any of the Russians or Greeks broke the rules
(“done evil”), let them correct it’.

(4) НЕ МОЗИТЕ СЕГО СТВОРИТИ ЗЛА НИ ОУБИВАИТЕ
ИГОРА

‘Do not dare to do this evil, do not kill Igor’ (The Kiev Chronicle, 1147, p. 129).

(5) НЕ ТАКО БО БЪ КАЗАЛЪ ИМЪ ЦЕСАРЬ
НЕМЕЧЬСКЫИ И ПАПА РИМЬСКЫИ ТАКО ЖЕ СИ ЗЛО
ОУЧИНИША ЦРЬЮГРА^А

‘It is not the way the emperor and the Pope ordered them, that they cause harm to Tsargrad’ (Novgorod First Chronicle, 1204, p. 68 rev.)

зѣло → noun? (dictionary XI – XIV cc: зѣло → adv.):

(6) ДА НЕ ВЪМѢНИТЬ ИМЪ Г҃Ь ГРѢХА ЮЖЕ
 ПОМЫСЛИША ЗЛО О МНѢ

‘Let not God deem it a sin that they thought maliciously of me’ (Tolkovaya Paleya 1406, p. 117).

КРИВО → adj. Sg.n. (RNC) / adj. Sg.n., serves as a none (“Rukopisnye pamyatniki”):

**(7) А НЕ НА МНѢ ТА КРОВЬ БОУДЕТЬ НО НА
 ВИНОВАТОМЪ НО НА ТОМЪ КТО БОУДЕТЬ КРИВО
 ОУЧИНИЛЪ**

‘This blood shall not be on me, but on the guilty, on the one who does wrong / unduly / the wrong deed’ (Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 1289, p. 930).

**(8) ПОУТАТА ПЪСАЛЪ . ДАЧЕ КРИВО ДА ИСПРАВИТЕ
А НЕ КЛЪНИТЕ**

‘Putyata wrote (this). If (it is) wrong, correct (it), but do not curse’. (Menaion XI, p. 135, cited according to Karskiy [1901:301]).

криво → adverb:

(9) ГОУДЬЦЮ ЛАДАЦЮ ГОУСЛИ СВОГА И ФИЛИПЪ СЪДА И РЕЧЕ КРИВО
ЛАДИШИ ИНАКО БЫЛО

‘When the guslar tuned his gusli, Phillip said: “Tuning (it) wrong, it has been (tuned) differently”’. (Ptchela, end of 14th century, p. 49 rev.)

(10) А ЧТО ВЗАТО КРИВО А ТО ПО ИСПРАВЪ ОТЪДАТИ

‘Whatever was taken wrongly, return after closing the case’ (a letter missive, Moscow, 1390).

(11) РЕКЛЪ БО ЕСИ ШЖЕ ГА САДУ ВЪ КНЕВУ ТО ГА ТЕБЕ НАДЪЛЮ <...>
НЫНЪ ЖЕ ТЫ СЪЛЪ ЕСИ ПРАВО ЛИ КРИВО ЛИ НАДЪЛИ ЖЕ МЕНЕ

‘You said: if I reign in Kiev, I will vest you <...> Now it is you who is in Kiev; rightly or wrongly, vest me’. (The Kiev Chronicle, 1147).

(12) ЧЬГЪЛЕ КРИВАЯ ГЛАВО ПИШИ ПРАВО

‘Goldfinch, you fool (lit. ‘wry head’), write correct things / correctly’ (13 sermons by Gregory the Theologian, XI c., a margin note; cited according to Karskiy [1901:303]).

The ambiguity arises in the examples with transitive verbs; such verbs must have an accusative object, and the action they signify should be naturally evaluated on the scale of good to bad or right to wrong.

(13) **ДАЖЬ ВЪ НА ПОА ОБРАЦЕ КРИВО А ВСЕ <...>**

‘Should (anyone) conducting a sermon by them (these books) find a mistake... (fragment ends)’. (Novgorod Menaion 1095-1097, September, p. 176, a margin note by scribe Domka; cited according to Obnorskiy, Barkhudarov (1999:37)).

КРИВО → ‘containing a mistake or certain unfairness’.

Modern Russian:

(14) *Они как-то криво договорились и не смогли встретиться.*

‘They made an awry agreement and failed to meet’.

(15) *Договор был составлен криво, и теперь ему отказываются возмещать убытки.*

‘The contract has been drawn up incorrectly, and now they refuse to compensate his losses’.

Криво, in both Old and Modern Russian, is a floating scope adverb.

Igor Boguslavsky: the scope of a lexeme is the fragment of the syntactic structure, such that the components of this fragment – word meanings, constructions and intonation – fill one semantic slot of the given lexeme.

M. Filipenko: adverbs in Modern Russian may have either “floating” or “fixed” scope, depending on whether the adverb may relate to a single component in a predicate, or to many such components.

ДАЖЬ <...> ОБРАЩЕ КРИВО:

should we translate it into Modern Russian, we would not be able to use modern *криво*, unlike in the expressions **ЛАДИТИ, ВЗАТИ, НАДЪЛИТИ КРИВО.** *Криво найдет* ‘will find wrongly’ is nonsensical.

Adhering to our theory of **КРИВО** as an adverb, we must expand its floating scope in the case of Old Russian. Evidently, in our example it modifies the object (the mistake in the text), while the scope of modern *криво* does not extend past the predicate. In other words, we suppose that **КРИВО ОБРЪСТИ** in Old Russian means ‘to find an object that contains a mistake’, but this is equivalent to treating **КРИВО** as a noun.

Thank you!