THE ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE
PROPER AND COMMON ANIMATE NOUNS IN THE
LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

by

Michael Burtniak

Dissertation presented to the School of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Ottawa
Canada, 1972

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer of this dissertation wishes to express his gratitude to Professor Constantine Bida, Chairman of the Department of Slavic Studies, for his guidance during the preparation of this research.
VITA STUDIORUM

Michael Burtniak was born on March 17th, 1925, in the Western Ukraine. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Toronto in 1951 and 1953, respectively.
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List of Abbreviations

acc. accusative
fem. feminine
gen. genitive
gen.-acc. genitive-accusative
Hyp. Hypatian Chronicle
La. Laurentian Chronicle
masc. masculine
nom. nominative
OCS Old Church Slavonic
plu. plural
sing. singular
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*The system of transliteration adopted in this work for modern Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian alphabets is that of the Library of Congress with slight modifications for technical reasons. The modifications consist in using 'j' in place of 'ѣ' in letters 'iu' and 'ia', and for letter 'ѣ'. Also, the ligatures over letters 'ts', 'ііu' and 'іа' have been omitted. Finally, the hard and soft signs — Ь and Ь — have been used in place of " and " respectively.
INTRODUCTION

The problem to be investigated in this dissertation is the animate-inanimate category as it is reflected in the proper and common animate nouns in the Laurentian (1377) and Hypatian (ca. 1420) Chronicles. The term animate-inanimate category indicates that the nom. and acc. cases of the animate nouns are morphologically distinct. The same cases of the inanimate nouns are identical. The grammatical logic of the animate-inanimate category depends on the morphological differentiation of the subject and object cases in the animate nouns, as opposed to non-differentiation of these cases in the inanimate nouns.

The animate-inanimate category was inherited from the Indo-European system by the Common Slavic and historical Slavic languages. However, as a result of phonetic changes during the late Common Slavic period, the nom. and acc. cases of animate nouns became identical. The first group of animate nouns included the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, and -u-stems and the masc. and fem. sing. -i- stem nouns. The masc. and fem. plu. -a-, -ja-, -i- stems, the fem. plu. -ii-, -er-, -ū- stems, and the fem. plu. nouns with the suffix -yn'i (<yn'a) comprised the second group. The identification of the nom. and acc. cases in the above two groups of animate nouns precluded syntactical clarity with respect to the subject-object relationship. Concurrently, the principle
upon which the animate-inanimate category was based—the morphologically different nom. and acc. cases—was undermined in the animate nouns.

In order to restore morphological distinction between the subject and object cases, the gen. case was adopted for the acc. function in animate nouns. The use of the gen.-acc. case gave rise to the substitution phenomenon. This phenomenon, which appeared after the phonetic changes in the late Common Slavic period, was retained in the historical Slavic languages. The substitution process not only restored the morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. cases of animate nouns for syntactical considerations, it became the medium for the restoration and support of the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns. With the introduction of the substitution process, the animate-inanimate category began to express itself differently. Prior to the phonetic changes, distinct nom. and acc. cases were used, while after the phonetic changes the gen.-acc. case was used for the acc. function. In other words, the principle on which the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression remained basically the same, only the means—the use of the gen.-acc. case—became a new factor during its development after the phonetic changes.

Since the substitution phenomenon as a process evolved gradually, it did not affect all categories of animate nouns at the same time. For this reason, the status
of the animate-inanimate category was directly dependent
of the progress of the substitution process in the different
categories of animate nouns.

The OCS, and the East Slavic monuments, encompassing
the tenth and the early fifteenth centuries, attest to the
presence of the substitution process in different sing. and
plu. animate nouns denoting persons and animals. The substi-
tution process is particularly manifest in the Laurentian
and Hypatian Chronicles. Therefore, the purpose of this
dissertation is to assess the status of the animate-inanimate
category in the animate nouns in the two Chronicles. Specifi-
cally, the objective of this research is:

- to examine the substitution process as it
  progressively affected the following groups
  of animate nouns: masc. sing. proper nouns;
masc. plu. nouns denoting persons and
  various peoples; fem. plu. nouns denoting
  persons; sing. and plu. nouns denoting
  children; and sing. and plu. nouns denoting
  members of the animate kingdom in order to
  ascertain the status of the animate-
inanimate category in these nouns in the
  Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

In the different terms, the aim of this investigation
is to establish the scope of the use of the old acc. case
and the gen.-acc. cases in the animate nouns in order to
determine to what extent the category relied on these
cases in the two Chronicles.

The importance of this investigation lies in the
fact that the animate-inanimate category was not studied
in the two Chronicles which represent the best specimens of
The plan and the order of topics of this dissertation will be comprised of this introduction, one chapter devoted to the origin of the problem, another to the review of previous research of the problem, nine chapters dealing with the present research, and a summary and conclusion.

The introduction will concern itself with a brief statement of the problem, its importance, and the general plan of the dissertation. These items will be followed by a description of the sources and methodology to be used in the dissertation.

Chapter I will deal with the origin of the problem. It will focus both on the nature of the animate-inanimate category in the Indo-European system and on the phonetic changes which occurred during the late Common Slavic period. These changes disrupted the symmetrical distribution of nouns, and undermined the animate-inanimate category in animate nouns of various stems. The final section of the chapter will characterize the substitution phenomenon as an attempt to restore morphological differentiation in the nom. and acc. cases, and to uphold the animate-inanimate category in masc. sing. animate nouns.
A survey of the previous research by scholars who sought to explain the dynamics of the substitution process, and a critique of their findings, will constitute the subject matter of chapter II. The succeeding chapters will deal with the subject proper of the dissertation.

Chapter III will examine the substitution process and assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. sing. proper nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

In chapter IV, the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons will be scrutinized with respect to substitution and its effect on the animate-inanimate category.

Since the substitution process was extended to the plu. nouns, chapters V, VI, and VII will deal with the masc. plu. nouns of various stems denoting persons, and will appraise the animate-inanimate category accordingly.

In chapter VIII, attention will be devoted to the masc. plu. nouns denoting various peoples in order to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in these nouns.

Chapter IX will examine the substitution process and the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons.

In chapter X, the last group of sing. and plu. nouns denoting persons—children—will be analyzed with respect to the substitution process and its effect on the animate-inanimate category.
Chapter XI, the final chapter of the dissertation, will deal with the sing. and plu. nouns denoting members of the animal kingdom.

In the summary and conclusion, the findings of the research will be correlated in an effort to characterize the status and the developmental phase of the animate-inanimate category as it was reflected in various animate nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles. In addition, a plausible explanation of the nature of the animate-inanimate category, and its manner of re-establishment, will be advanced. Finally, pertinent observations derived from this research will be stated in an attempt to clarify the problem under discussion.

The materials to be used in the dissertation will include primary and secondary sources. Since the objective of this research is to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the Laurentian and the Hypatian Chronicles, they will constitute the primary sources.

The Laurentian Chronicle, a Northern East Slavic redaction, and a copy of still older Chronicles, was compiled by monk Lavrentij for Prince Dmitrij Konstantinovich of Suđalb in 1377. This Chronicle includes "Povestь vremennykh let", whose narration terminates in the year 1110. The second constituent part of the Laurentian Chronicle is the "Suzdalь- skaja letopisь", which ends in the year 1305. It is followed by a third part -- its supplement, known as
"Akademicheskij spisok", and describes the events to the year 1419. In this investigation, a photocopy of the 1926 edition prepared by E. F. Karskij will be used.

The Hypatian Chronicle, a Southern East Slavic recension of several older compilations, was prepared in the Pskov region in the 1420's. It contains "Povestъ", with its narration to the year 1110; the Kievan Chronicle which ends in the year 1199; and the Galician-Volynian Chronicle from 1205 to 1289. A 1962 reproduction of the 1908 edition of the Hypatian Chronicle will be used in this research.

The secondary sources will fall into two categories. The first type will consist of specific studies in which the substitution process, the animate-inanimate category and related topics are discussed. Three different kinds of works are included: books, articles, and book reviews. The second group of secondary sources, dealing with general studies, will be comprised of surveys related to the Common Slavic language; descriptive and historical grammars of the OCS and East Slavic languages.

With respect to the first group of specific studies concerning the use of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. case, one must mention A. Meillet's Recherches sur l'emploi du génitif-accusatif en vieux slave, which was published in 1897. In this book, Meillet examined various pronouns, substantivized adjectives and participles, as
well as animate nouns, in order to ascertain the dimensions of the substitutional process in the OCS, the first recorded language of the Slavs.

Following the appearance of Meillet's study, a number of specific articles, devoted to the problem of substitution, appeared during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Such scholars as W. Vondrak, K. Mühlenbach, Erich Berneker, N. P. Nekrasov and A. I. Thomson tried to discover the conditions which gave rise to the substitution phenomenon. Their speculations yielded several divergent hypotheses regarding the origin of the substitution process in the animate nouns.

A more recent investigation of the substitution process was undertaken by Soviet scholars in the fifties of this century. It was provoked by P. S. Kuznetsov's "sociological" interpretation of the substitution process in the East Slavic texts. E. I. Kedajtene, who tried to refute Kuznetsov's hypothesis, published two articles dealing with substitution phenomenon in the East Slavic monuments of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, inclusive. In these articles, she devoted some attention to the problem of substitution, as it is reflected in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

Another group of secondary sources, under the heading of general studies will be comprised of standard textbooks of the OCS language, and a number of historical grammars
dealing with the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian languages. In addition, George's Y. Shevelov's *A Prehistory of Slavic: The Historical Phonology of Common Slavic*, published in 1964, will be used to explain the phonetic changes which brought about identification in the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns.

The methodology to be used in this research involves several procedures.

It should be noted that each chapter contains an introductory section outlining the problem and the procedure to be followed in the discussion. Also, whenever it was appropriate, the analysis of the substitution phenomenon and the assessment of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles was preceded by a consideration of the same category in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments. This procedure was used to illustrate the continuity of the substitution process, and to establish the relevancy of the topic under discussion in the two Chronicles.

Furthermore, the division of chapters, except for chapters I and II, was organized on the basis of topics, represented by various animate nouns denoting persons, and nouns denoting animate beings other than persons. In certain instances, for the sake of greater clarity, the chapters were arranged according to the types of nouns and their specific stems. Chronological principle was also observed in the sequent treatment of the types of nouns,
beginning with the masc. proper nouns and ending with the animate nouns denoting animals, in which the substitution process had made its appearance.

A more detailed discussion concerning the procedures to be followed in each chapter is presented in the following remarks.

In chapter I, where the genesis of the problem will be discussed, the procedure will consist of characterizing the animate-inanimate category in the Indo-European and Common Slavic periods. The next step in the procedure will entail an account of the phonetic changes which undermined the equilibrium of the animate-inanimate category in the late Common Slavic period. In the final section of the chapter, the motivations and the substitution process for the restoration of the animate-inanimate category will be presented.

Since chapter II will concern itself with previous research and its critique, the method will involve a critical reading of the material dealing with the substitution process and the animate-inanimate category. Because the views of the scholars differ with respect to the origin of the substitution process, the procedure here will call for chronological and thematic classification of various hypotheses in order to obtain a better perspective of the problem.

Chapters III to XI will deal with the central theme of the dissertation, which is the status and the development of the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns in the
Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles. The procedure and the technique will differ from preceding two chapters. Specifically, the procedure in these chapters will involve an examination of the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in animate nouns of different stems. These nouns include the following: the masc. sing. proper nouns; the masc. sing. common nouns denoting persons; the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons and various peoples; the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons; the sing. and plu. nouns denoting children; and the sing. plu. nouns referring to animals. The frequency of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in each group of nouns will be statistically analyzed. The statistics will then be evaluated, compared, and correlated to determine the progress of the substitution process, and its effect on the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles.

It is hoped that the application of these procedures and techniques will illustrate the developmental phase and the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles.

In the final section of the dissertation, the summary and conclusion, a brief statement concerning the research will be presented. Pertinent observations regarding the substitution process and its effect on the animate-inanimate category in the Chronicles will be advanced. Recommendations involving further research into the nature of the substitution
phenomenon and the animate-inanimate category in other literary monuments will be suggested.
CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore both the circumstances and conditions which led to the loss of the differentiation between the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns during the late Common Slavic period, and the subsequent rise of the substitution process, which restored the distinction between the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns. To this end, the chapter is divided into three sections.

The first section will deal with the nature of the animate-inanimate category in the Indo-European system. Section two will discuss the origin and the effects of the phonetic changes on the phonomorphology, syntax, and on the animate-inanimate category in the late Common Slavic period. The reasons for the emergence of the substitution process will be considered in the third section.
1. **Animate-Inanimate Category in the Indo-European System**

In the Indo-European system, the animate-inanimate category as a grammatical device entailed a division of nouns into the animate and inanimate subgroups.

The animate group was comprised of both masc. and fem. nouns which denoted persons, and whose nom. and acc. cases in the sing. and plu. numbers were phonetically and morphologically different.\(^1\) Therefore, there was no syntactical ambivalence regarding the subject and object relationship of these nouns.

The inanimate category included sing. and plu. neuter nouns as well as nouns of the dual number of all three genders. Each of these nouns had the same nom. and acc. cases in all three numbers. Since the neuter nouns "... sert pour les choses et ne désigne des personnes qu'autant qu'elles ne sont pas envisagées comme personnes."\(^2\) they were used primarily in the

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objective function rather than as subject and object in the same sentence. Although the nom. and acc. cases of the nouns of the dual number were the same, the respective cases were preceded by the appropriate case of the numeral "two", which prevented syntactical confusion of the two morphologically identical yet functionally different cases.

Thus, the division of nouns into two groups, the animate, where the nom. and acc. cases were different, and the inanimate, where the nom. and acc. cases were the same, provided a framework and a criterion for the most adequate expression of the animate-inanimate category.

In spite of the division of nouns into animate and inanimate, there were instances when the meaning and scope of the inanimate category, as it was understood and applied in the Indo-European system, meant that "... tout ce qui se muet, tout ce qui agit est susceptible d'être considéré comme 'animé'." In other words, the inanimate nouns could be considered as animate, when they were used metaphorically or as personified beings. In addition, the inanimate nouns which signified action or an active force, and those of the nomina agentis.

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could also be regarded as animate nouns. In this context, the acc. case of the inanimate nouns was expressed by the gen. case.

The significance of the animate-inanimate category lies in the fact that the syntactical relationship of the subject and object was easily identified in the masc. and fem. animate nouns denoting persons by the phonetic and morphological dissimilarities in the nom. and acc. sing. and plu. cases. In the inanimate nouns, which signified 'things' in the objective function, and which were rarely used as animate nouns, the formal distinction in the nom. and acc. cases was unimportant. Furthermore, this classification of nouns into animate and inanimate, the former denoting persons and the latter non-persons, implied a principle of opposition between the 'personal' and 'impersonal' which preceded the animate-inanimate relationship. In this context, the word 'personal' signified the noun which can act. The term 'impersonal' meant non-living things which lacked the capacity to act.

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6 Ibid.

7 Meillet, Recherches sur l'emploi du génitif-accusatif en vieux-slave (Paris: Bouillon, 1897), p. 140 (Hereafter referred to as Recherches...).
Therefore, they appeared in the objective case.

In spite of the cogency of the animate-inanimate category as a grammatical device in the domain of syntax in the Indo-European system, the two-fold division of nouns was undermined in the late Common Slavic period by phonetic changes.

2. Phonetic Changes and Their Effects on the Animate-Inanimate Category in the Late Common Slavic Period

Although the Indo-European principle of the animate-inanimate category as a grammatical device was inherited by the Common Slavic language, the phonetic changes which occurred during the late Common Slavic period brought about the identification of the nom. and acc. cases of the animate nouns. These nouns comprised two groups. One group of animate nouns included the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u-stem, and the masc. and fem. sing. -i-stem nouns. Another group consisted of the masc. and fem. plu. -a-, -ja-, -i-stems, and fem. plu. -ii-, -er-, and -ū-stems, and the fem. plu. nouns with the suffix -yn'- (yn'a). 8

The masc. sing. nouns of the -o-, -jo-, -u-stems, and masc. and fem. -i-stems lost the consonants -s and -n,

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8 The phonetic changes which occurred in this group of nouns will be discussed in chapter IX.
which denoted the nom. and acc. cases, respectively. Of the two consonants, -S and -N, the acc. case-ending -N was chronologically lost first. Its disappearance after short vowels was a phonetically motivated phenomenon, ascribed primarily to the weakening of the articulation of un-accented syllables with short vowels in words other than monosyllabic, and to the narrowing of short vowels before nasals in closed and final syllables. As a consequence of the loss of -N by the acc. case of the masc. sing. -o-stem nouns, the thematic vowel -o- narrowed itself to -u. In the OCS language it was represented by a back reduced vowel, -z. The progression of this phonetic change can be illustrated by the following example: *orb-o-N > *orb-u-N > *orb-u
OCS rob-z or rab-z.

After the loss of the acc. case-ending -N in the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns, the vowel -o- standing after jot changed to -u- and then became a reduced front vowel -b, as evidenced by the OCS language. These changes can be observed in the following word: *kon-jo-N > *kon-ju > *kon-jb > OCS kon'-b. As for the masc. sing. -u-stem

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10 Ibid., p. 156.
and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns, the dropping of the acc. sing. case-ending -N evoked no change in the preceding thematic vowels. They remained as the acc. case-endings of the respective nouns, for example:


Thus the consonant -N no longer denoted the acc. case in the -o-, -jo-, -u-, and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns. Instead, the acc. case-ending of the -o- and -u-stem nouns was represented by the vowel -i, while the -jo- and -i-stems had the vowel -b for their acc. ending.

Finally, the loss of -N shortened the morphological structure of the acc. case by one phoneme.

The exact time of the loss of nasal -N in word-final position in the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u- and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns cannot be determined because the evidence of its loss is based on three linguistic changes which occurred during the Common Slavic period.11

First, the consonant -N in final position was probably dropped soon after the syllabic sonants were devocalized because "the loss of -N in the acc. sg. of consonantal stems ... proceeded in the same way as in i-stems" and gave the same ending -b. Since the split

11 Ibid., pp. 224-225.
of syllabic sonants took place during the period of Common Baltic and Slavic developments, that is, around the second century B.C., one can surmise that the nasal consonant -N was lost later, approximately between the fifth century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. 12

Second, the loss of nasal -N could have occurred before the vowels 'o' and 'a' blended into the oA type of vowel, which is of a broader aperture. This would have prevented the narrowing of oA into an 'u' before -N. Therefore, Shevelov presupposes that the loss of nasal -N occurred before the vowels 'o' and 'a' coalesced into oA; that is, before the sixth or fifth century B.C. 13

Finally, since the loss of nasal -N in final position preceded the monophthongization phenomenon of long nasal diphthongs which occurred around the seventh century A.D., it is likely that -N was lost by the seventh century A.D. 14

Although it is impossible to establish exact chronology for the loss of the nasal consonant -N in final position, the above considerations lead one to conclude that it was lost during the late Common Slavic period.

12 Ibid., pp. 100-101, 229, 606-607, 613-614
As a consequence of its loss, it is possible to state that the masc. -o-, -jo- and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns acquired the new acc. sing. case-endings during the late Common Slavic period.

The dental fricative -S, an indicator for the nom. sing. case of the -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns, was also lost in word-final position. Its disappearance, however, in contrast to the consonant -N in a similar position, was not phonetically conditioned. According to Shevelov, the consonant -S enjoyed a certain degree of optional usage, and was not an indispensable phoneme in final position. Words could have occurred with or without -S in final position.15 However, with the development of prothetic consonants before initial vowels, the phoneme -S became superfluous, unmotivated, and could have been omitted. In addition, Shevelov contends that the disappearance of -S was probably connected with the loss of the dentals -T, -D and, to a certain degree, nasal -N. Since dental -S was chronologically the last of the series of consonants to be dropped in word-final position, it is possible to conclude that its loss was motivated by the trend set by the above dental consonants.16

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15 Ibid., p. 228.

16 Ibid., pp. 228-229.
The loss of the dental fricative -S in the nom. sing. cases of the masc. -o-, -jo-, -u-stems and in the masc. and fem. -i-stems had several results. One common effect shared by the nom. cases of the above nouns was the absence of the nom. sing. case-ending -S, whose disappearance shortened the nom. cases by one phoneme. Furthermore, the thematic vowels of the respective stems assumed the role of case-endings.

With respect to the masc. sing. -o-stem nouns, the loss of -S yielded a nom. case with -o ending, which was the same as the nom. sing. case-ending of the neuter inanimate nouns. The identity of the nom. case in two different types of nouns -- animate and inanimate -- was not tolerated and, according to Shevelov, the ending -i of the acc. case of the masc. -o-stems was transferred to the nom. case of the masc. animate -o-stem nouns. However, it is more reasonable to assume, as did Ja. Rudnyc'kyj on two occasions, that the ending -i came from the nom. case of the -u-stems. This ending was already used as the nom. sing. case-ending in the -u-stem nouns, which were merging with the -o-stem nouns in their declensional systems.

17Ibid., p. 229.

The loss of -S in the -jo-stem nouns changed the vowel -o- into -e-, which in turn reduced itself to -b and became a nom. case-ending. The dropping of -S in the nom. case of the -u-stems caused no phonetic changes, and the thematic vowel -u- assumed the role of the nom. sing. case-ending -b. After the loss of the consonant -S in the -i-stem nouns, the thematic vowel -i- remained as the nom. case-ending for the masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns.

The discussion concerning the loss of the fricative -S in word-final position, and its repercussions on the nom. sing. cases of the animate -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns can be summarized as follows:

-o-stem: nom. sing. *vilk-o-S > *vilk-o > vilku > OCS vlk-i;
-jo-stem: nom. sing. *kon-jo-S > *kon-jo > kon-jb > OCS kon'-b;
-u-stem: nom. sing. *sunuS > sunu > OCS syn-b;
-i-stem: nom. sing. masc. *gost-i-S > gost-i > OCS gost-b;

It is evident that the loss of the nom. sing. case-ending -S brought about a similar nom. ending -b in the masc. -o- and -u-stems and -b in the masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns.

In the above stem nouns, one can state that the nom. case-ending -S disappeared around the sixth century A.D. This is evidenced by Gothic loan words which lost final -S on Slavic soil.¹⁹ The loss of -S occurred

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prior to the appearance of the OCS texts.

In assessing the effects of the loss of the consonants -N and -S in the acc. and nom. cases, respectively, of the masc. sing. animate -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns, several observations concerning syntax and the animate-inanimate category are in order.

First, syntactically, the formal identity of the nom. and acc. cases, which were semantically and functionally different cases, made it difficult to discern subject and object relationship whenever both cases occurred in the same sentence. There was a likelihood of syntactical ambiguity due to the morphological similarity of the nom. and acc. cases. This tendency was reinforced by the fact that the Common Slavic language enjoyed a relatively free word order in its syntax.

Second, the identity of the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns made morphological distinction of subject and object cases impossible. The continued existence of the animate-inanimate category relied precariously on the voc. case of the animate nouns, which differed morphologically from that of animate nouns.

Third, since the animate and inanimate nouns had corresponding nom. and acc. cases, the animate nouns lacked the necessary morphological distinction in their nom. and acc. cases as an indispensable criterion for the existence of the animate-inanimate opposition.
Finally, since the problem revolved around the similarities of the nom. and acc. sing. cases of the animate nouns, its solution was to be found in the morphological differentiation between the nom. and acc. cases in order to restore syntactical clarity and the animate-inanimate category. This was achieved by the substitution process whereby the gen. case supplanted the old acc. case and functioned as acc. in the masc. sing. animate nouns.

3. The Rise of the Substitution Process as a Means to Re-establish the Animate-Inanimate Category

The identity of the nom. and acc. cases of the masc. sing. animate -o-, -jo-, -u- and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns introduced a definite possibility of syntactical ambiguity with respect to the subject and object relationship. At the same time, the animate-inanimate category was undermined in the animate nouns. Therefore, the substitution phenomenon, as it appeared in the animate nouns, was motivated by several considerations.

First, in highly inflected languages like Common Slavic, the presence and retention of distinct nom. and acc. cases was of prime importance. This distinction was essential syntactically in order to avoid ambiguity with respect to subject and object relationship.
Second, phonetic and morphological dissimilarities in the nom. and acc. cases were indispensable criteria for the preservation of the animate-inanimate category as a grammatical device in the animate nouns.

Finally, the grammatical case which was best suited for the acc. function of precluding syntactical ambiguity and of upholding the animate-inanimate category was the gen. case. There were several reasons which favoured the selection of the gen. case over other cases in assuming the acc. function. Specifically, a number of functions performed by the gen. and acc. cases were closely related in the Common Slavic syntax. For example, the gen. case was used as the object after transitive verbs denoting perception and similar notions. It is also used as the object after negative transitive verbs. In addition, the gen. case was used to express the partitive idea, as well as object governed by the supine form of the verb.

Thus, on the basis of these functions, the gen. case acquired the gen.-acc. formula and was utilized as the vehicle eliminating syntactical ambivalence between the subject and object cases in the animate nouns. Similarly, the gen.-acc. case became a new and effective medium for the adequate expression and restoration of the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns.

Since the process of substitution involved a grammatical as well as a distinctly morphological case-form, the attendant circumstances of using the gen. acc. case could be interpreted either as a syntactical or a morphological problem. This possibility of a dichotomous explication of the problem was ruled out by Meillet, who clarified this point in the following words:

> il s'agira d'un fait de syntaxe si l'on considère les formes substituées à des accusatifs comme conservant leur qualité de génitifs; si, au contraire, on tient vraça par exemple (dans Euch., 84a) pour un accusatif dont l'aspect seul est accidentellement identique à celui du génitif ordinaire vraça du mot vraçu, le phénomène apparaît par là même comme essentiellement morphologique.

Hence, the problem was essentially morphological rather than syntactical and entailed the use of the gen.-acc. case which was only accidentally identical with the regular gen. case.

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21 Meillet, Recherches..., p. 18.
With respect to the chronology regarding the beginning of the substitution process, it is impossible to establish with absolute certainty because there are no written records dating from the late Common Slavic period. However, according to Meillet, the substitution process appeared independently and simultaneously in all Slavic dialects when the Slavs constituted a more or less compact group in terms of language and geography. In commenting further on this point, Meillet stated that "... le génitif-accusatif s'est développé en slave à une époque de peu antérieure à la composition des plus anciens textes". The texts in question are the OCS monuments of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, which reveal the presence of the substitution phenomenon. Furthermore, Nekrasov maintained that these texts reflect the extent of the substitution process in the animate nouns and hence the status of the animate-inanimate category as expressed through the gen.-acc. formula in the late Common Slavic period.

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22 Ibid., pp. 77-78.

23 Ibid., p. 77.

24 N. P. Nekrasov, "O zaměnitelných pádežkách: roditelném i vinitelném ve sovremennom russkom jazyke", (Hereafter referred to as "O zaměnitelných pádežkách: roditelném i vinitelném...") in the Izvestija Otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, X (1905) Bock II, pp. 38, 57. (Hereafter referred to as IGRJS).
Meillet, who examined the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the animate nouns in the OCS monuments, observed that the substitution process gradually affected various animate nouns. In this respect, the masc. sing. proper nouns, as well as adjectives and participles denoting persons and used as substantives, were chronologically first to acquire the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. The common sing. animate nouns referring to persons, and the sing. and plu. personal pronouns used in the objective function exhibited vacillation between the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases. Other sing. and plu. animate nouns signifying children and animals were only slightly affected by the substitution phenomenon in the OCS monuments.

The early and middle East Slavic texts,

\[25\text{Meillet, } \textit{Recherches...}, \text{ pp. 15-17.}\]
\[26\text{Ibid., pp. 17-18, 59, 84, 97.}\]
\[27\text{Ibid., pp. 35, 61-66.}\]

\[28\text{In this context, the term 'early' East Slavic refers to the literary monuments of the Kievan period which, generally speaking, covers the time from the middle of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century.}\]
\[29\text{The term 'middle', with respect to the East Slavic texts, refers to the Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian literary monuments of the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries.}\]
representing the early stages of the Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian languages, reflect a continuity of the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns of various stems. Furthermore, it is evident that during the middle period the animate plu. nouns, especially those of the masc. gender, also began to utilize the gen.-acc. plu. case in place of the old acc. plu. case. Although the substitution phenomenon was much in evidence in the East Slavic texts, each Eastern Slavic language exhibited a number of variations with respect to the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in different animate nouns of both genders.

The Laurentian and the Hypatian Chronicles, which represent the best specimens of the annalistic literature, also reflect the substitution process, as well as the development of the animate-inanimate category, in various

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30 E. I. Kedajtene, "K voprosu o razvitii form roditel’nogo-vinitel’nogo padezha (na materijale vostochno-slavjanskih jazykov)", in the Issledovaniya po leksikologii i grammatike russkogo jazyka (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1961), pp. 185-193. (Hereafter referred to as "K voprosu o razvitii form...").

31 P. F. Hlebka, M. G. Bulakhau and M. A. Zhydovich, Narasy pa istoryi belaruskaj movy (Minsk: Dzjarzhavnau Vuchebna-Pedahahichne Wydavetsva Ministerstva Asvety BSSR, 1957), pp. 94-95

sing. and plu. masc. and fem. animate nouns. This phenomenon will be analyzed in detail in the chapters which constitute the body of the dissertation.

In summing up the discussion concerning the origin of the problem — the nature of the animate-inanimate category in the Indo-European system and its status in the late Common Slavic and early historical periods — one can make several observations.

First, it is evident that the animate-inanimate category, as it functioned in the Indo-European system, depended on two groups of nouns - animate and inanimate. The former group included masc. and fem. nouns whose nom. and acc. sing. and plu. cases were dissimilar, while the latter group was comprised of sing. and plu. neuter nouns as well as nouns of the dual number. The nom. and acc. cases of these nouns were identical. Morphological identification of the two functionally different cases introduced syntactical ambiguity relative to the subject and object relationship in a language which used oblique cases for syntactical purposes. At the same time, the absence of the previous morphological distinction in the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns of the above stems deprived the animate-inanimate category of the means of expressing itself adequately.

Third, in its attempt to restore itself in the animate nouns, the animate-inanimate category maintained
its former principle of having morphologically different nom. and acc. cases as an indispensable medium for its expression. In order to introduce morphological dissimilarity between the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns, the gen. case as the most appropriate case for the objective function was adopted in place of the acc. case by the animate nouns.

Fourth, the utilization of the gen. case for the old acc. case gave rise to a substitution phenomenon. It was a process and a means which originated in the late Common Slavic period and continued in the historical period in various Slavic languages. As a gradual process, this substitution affected specific groups of animate nouns in chronological order, as evidenced by the material in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic languages. Generally speaking, the masc. sing. proper and common nouns denoting persons, which were most likely to appear in the subject and object function, acquired the gen.-acc. case first. These nouns were followed by the masc. and fem. plu. nouns. The last group of animate nouns to be affected by the substitution process included those referring to animals.

Finally, the restoration of the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns through the gen.-acc. case
-- a process which began in the late Common Slavic period and reflected itself in various Slavic historical languages -- attracted the attention of many scholars for several generations. Their findings and views concerning the origin and impetus of the substitution process will be discussed in chapter II of the dissertation.
CHAPTER II

PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND CRITIQUE

Introduction

As an intriguing phenomenon of Slavic linguistics, the process of substituting the gen. case for the old acc. has been discussed by scholars since the early part of the nineteenth century. Most researchers attempted to find a source, a point of departure, and an impetus for the substitution. Their endeavours to explain and interpret the problem have shed some light on the substitution process as well as on the development of the animate-inanimate category after the phonetic changes.

In order to view the important facets of the problem in a clearer perspective, a brief summary of previous research will be presented and evaluated. Because the scholars differed in their interpretations of the problem, their findings will be discussed under the headings peculiar to the nature of their respective explications.
1. **Syntactical Considerations for the Appearance of the Gen.-Acc. in Place of the Old Acc. Case in the Masc. Sing. Nouns**

In highly inflected languages like Slavic, (except modern Bulgarian and Macedonian, which have lost their declensional systems) syntactical relations of words in sentence are expressed, for the most part, by means of various case-endings. These endings represent a distinct phonetic sound, a morphological form, as well as one or more specific meanings in a given context.

As the nom. and acc. cases of the masc. sing. animate nouns of various stems became identical in the late Common Slavic period, the utilization of the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function evoked several hypotheses concerning the genesis of the substitution.

J. Dobrowsky was probably the first scholar who noted the substitution phenomenon in the Slavic languages as early as the third decade of the nineteenth century. He observed that:

> In singulare quidem usus Genitivi Substantivorum masculinorum, cum eorum Accusativus a Nominativo non sit distinctus, in omnibus dialectis invaluit, ut is omnino pro vicario casu Accuslativi in Syntaxi jure habeatur.¹

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Thus, owing to the morphological similarity of the nom. and acc. cases in the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons, the gen. case was adopted for the acc. function in the Slavic languages. From the viewpoint of syntax, the gen.-acc. case was interpreted by Dobrowsky as a substitute for the old acc. case. Beyond this statement concerning the use of the gen. case, Dobrowsky made no further elaboration on the causes for the substitution phenomenon.

In the attempt to explain the use of the gen.-acc. case, Franz Miklosich rejected the view of M. Delbrück, who stated that this gen. case originated with the partitive gen. case. According to Miklosich, such an explanation was untenable because the partitive gen. seldom appeared in the nouns denoting persons. The partitive gen. case was usually accompanied by prepositions. Miklosich stated that the need to have an acc. case formally distinct from the nom. case brought about the use of the gen. case for the acc. function. At the same time, he noted that

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3 Franz Miklosich, Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen (Heidelberg: Winter, 1926), Vol. IV (Syntax) p. 496.
in certain Romanic languages, prepositions were used to denote the acc. case of proper nouns. Furthermore, he indicated that the use of the gen. case for the acc. function would appear less enigmatic if the following factors were taken into account: the use of the partitive gen. case, which was widespread in the past (he failed to specify in what languages); the means by which the proper foreign nouns were used to denote the direct object with prepositions; and also those nouns which appeared in apposition with the animate nouns.

In the opinion of this writer, Miklosich was rightly skeptical about Delbrück's idea concerning the validity of the partitive gen. and its role in evoking the use of the gen. case for the acc. function with animate nouns. At the same time, Miklosich suggested that the problem should be investigated in conjunction with other factors found in the Romanic and Slavic languages, not so much

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5 Miklosich, loc. cit.
in order to find the solution, but rather to throw light
on the nature of the substitution phenomenon in Slavic
languages. Although the comparative approach had its
merits, in retrospect, it was primarily the phonetic
changes which brought about the identity of the nom.
and acc. in the masc. sing. animate nouns during the
late Common Slavic period. This similarity of cases, in
turn, brought about the utilization of the gen. case which,
in certain respects, was semantically and functionally
related to the acc. case.

In brief, one can conclude that Miklosich failed to
present a satisfactory explanation of the use of the gen.
case in place of the old acc. case in the animate nouns.

A. Leskien also dealt with the problem of substitu-
tion, or the use of the gen. case in place of the old acc.
case in Slavic languages. He observed that the relatively
free word order in Slavic syntax and the morphological
coalescence of the masc. sing. nom. and acc. cases of the
masc. sing. animate nouns necessitated the adoption of the
gen. case for the acc. function. His view concerning this
phenomenon was expressed as follows:

Was für Gründe nun auch zusammengewirkt haben
mögten, um gerade bei den belebten Masculinis
die Vertretung des Accusative durch den Ge-
nitiv zu bewirken, als einen hauptsächlichen
wird man sich vorstellen müssen, dass gerade
bei der im Slavischen ganz freien Wortstellung
im Satze eine neue Scheidung von Subjects- und
Objectscasus (die ja lautlich zusammengefallen
Although Leskien specified the types of nouns that were involved in the substitution process and the syntactical consideration to have dissimilar nom. and acc. cases, he did not elaborate further on the problem of substitution in the Slavic languages.

The early scholars - Dobrowsky, Miklosich and Leskien -- did not analyze the problem of substitution in depth, but they made a significant contribution in this area of Slavic linguistics by formulating general causes responsible in part for the utilization of the gen. case for the acc. in animate masc. sing. nouns. Among other relevant observations, these scholars stated that there was a need to differentiate syntactically the nom. and acc. cases, which were similar in the masc. sing. animate nouns. They suggested the existence of relationship in meaning between the acc. and the gen. cases. Finally, they affirmed the lack of other grammatical means to designate the direct object case of animate nouns except by case-endings.

In conclusion, one can state that the merit of the research of the above scholars lies in drawing attention

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to the substitution phenomenon in the masc. sing. animate nouns in the Slavic languages, and in characterizing the problem in general terms rather than in presenting a satisfactory solution.

2. Pronominal Theory

The pronominal theory, advanced by A. Meillet, K. Mühlenbach, and W. Vondrák, represented a shift from syntactical to morphological considerations relating to the source and point of departure for the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns. Specifically, this theory was based on the assumption that the gen. and acc. sing. cases of the personal, reflexive and interrogative pronouns were originally identical. For each of the above scholar, specific pronouns served in their own manner as the basis and a model for the substitution process for the masc. sing. animate nouns.

Meillet rejected the syntactically motivated explanation of Dobrowsky, Leskien, and Miklosich as inadequate. Instead, he stated that in order to explain the substitution process "il faut pour cela trouver une forme d'un mot applicable à des personnes, qui soit à la fois génitif et accusatif et puisse par là provoquer une confusion des deux cas." 7 Such a confusion of forms,

7Meillet, Recherches..., p. 81.
according to Meillet, occurred in the personal pronouns of both singular and plural numbers, as well as in the reflexive pronoun, which was used only in the singular for all three persons. The accusative case in the above pronouns was represented by two forms; the unstressed MJA, TJA, and SJA and the stressed MENE, TEBE, and SEBE. In his earlier opinion, Meillet regarded the above forms as both acc. and gen. Hence, this identity of forms in two different cases was a source of confusion with respect to usage. 8 Similarly, the plural case-forms of the first and second persons were also represented by two forms - MY and VY, as unstressed, and NAS and VAS, as stressed. Since the latter forms were identical with the regular gen. forms, they caused confusion with respect to usage. Having established the existence of identical case-forms in the gen. and acc. cases in the sing. and plu. personal pronouns, as well as the indiscriminate use of these cases, Meillet concluded that "... on aura ici le meilleur des points de départ pour rendre compte du génitif accusatif dans les démonstratif et dans les noms...." 9

Meillet also indicated that the regular gen. forms JEGO, SEGO, and KOGO of the demonstrative and personal interrogative pronouns were used in the emphatic function.

8 Ibid., pp. 84, 88, 91.
9 Ibid., p. 82.
In the latter function, they appeared as a result of analogy from the personal pronouns. In order to establish a direct link in the process of substitution between the personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns and animate nouns, Meillet maintained that, since the above pronouns referred to nouns denoting persons, it was natural that the substitution should also embrace the nouns denoting persons. This was accomplished, in Meillet's opinion, by morphological analogy.

Finally, Meillet maintained that masc. sing. pronominal adjectives had a still greater influence on the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns. In the gen. sing. case, for example, these adjectives consisted of NOVA-JEGO, where the -JEGO of the demonstrative pronoun was regarded as gen.-acc. case. He also observed that since the form NOVA- was still considered as a distinct word, the use of NOVA-EGO in the acc. capacity made it possible and natural for the NOVA- to be regarded as acc. As the declensional pattern of the adjectives and nouns was similar, this gave rise "d'une manière plus générale l'accusatif en -A, identique au génitif, des thèmes masculins en -o-."
One can state that Meillet's explanation of the substitution phenomenon includes three considerations: First, he posited that the gen. and acc. case-forms of the personal and reflexive pronouns were originally identical. Second, he assumed that the use of the emphatic sing. acc. case-forms of the above pronouns, which were the same as the gen. case-form, gave rise to the gen.-acc. formula. Finally, Meillet contended that the appearance of the identical gen. and acc. case-forms in the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, combined with the declinable parts of the pronominal adjectives, provided the final step for the extension of the substitution process into the masc. sing. animate nouns. The substitution process, both in the case of pronouns and nouns, was affected by the morphological analogy.

Meillet's theory demonstrated one serious weakness: the assumption that the forms MENE, TEBE, SEBE, and NASz, and VASz were both gen. and emphatic acc. cases, while MJA, TJA, SJA and NY, VY were unstressed acc. forms or enclitics. In reality, the short forms of both sing. and plu. numbers were originally acc. and functioned in the

\[13\text{ Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 85, 97.}\]
\[14\text{ Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 84, 96.}\]
emphatic capacity. There was neither confusion with respect to the usage of these forms nor any urgency to replace them by the respective gen. forms. The OCS texts reveal, and Meillet himself asserted, that the short forms of the above pronouns predominated over the gen.-acc. cases in the acc. function.

In view of this shortcoming in Meillet's theory, one cannot accept his premise and conclusion that the personal pronouns provided the source and a point of departure for the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns.

K. Mühlenbach, like Meillet, also maintained that MENE, TEBE, and SEBE were regular gen., as well as emphatic

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15 It should be stated that throughout his study, Recherches ..., Meillet assumed erroneously that MJA, TJA and SJA were enclitics rather than emphatic acc. forms. With the appearance of Zubaty's review of Vergleichende slavische Grammatik, Vol. II. Formenlehre und Syntax (Göttingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1908) by W. Vondrak in the Rocznik slavistyczny, II (1909), 1-12, Meillet accepted the view that the above forms were emphatic acc. For further literature on this question see: M. A. Gadolina, Istorija form lichnykh i vozvratnogo mestoimenij v slavjanskikh jazykakh (Moscow: Izdatel' stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963), pp. 39-40.

16 Meillet, Recherches ..., p. 84, 97; Le slave commun, pp. 395-396.
This similarity of the gen. and acc. case-forms in the personal and reflexive pronouns of the sing. number according to Muhlenbach,... sluzhili zarodishem upotreblenija roditel'nogo vmesto vinitel'nogo v imenakh muzheskago roda, oznachajushchikh odushevlennye sushchestva. In other words, Muhlenbach proposed the view that the gen.-acc. case-form appeared in the masc. sing. animate nouns by analogy from the identical gen. and acc. case-forms as found in the personal pronouns. In the case of forms like JEGO, TOGO, SEGO and KOGO, they likewise appeared by analogy from the MENE, TEBE and SEBE forms of the personal reflexive pronouns. They did not have any intermediary role in bringing about the substitution in the animate sing. masc. nouns.

According to Muhlenbach, the gen.-acc. case appeared first in the masc. sing. animate nouns because the nom. and acc. cases of these nouns were alike and,

17 K. Muhlenbach, "Obъ upotreblenii roditel'nogo padezha vmesto vinitel'nogo v slavjanskikh jazykakh" in the IORJS, IV (1899, Book IV, 1202, 1208, 1213. In a post-scriptum to the above article, Muhlenbach stated that he arrived independently at a similar conclusion regarding the origin of the substitution process as Meillet (pp. 1213-1217).

18 Ibid., p. 1208.

19 Ibid., p. 1209.
also, because MENE, TEBE, and SEBE forms were of the sing. number. He observed, that since personal pronouns are more closely related to nouns denoting persons than to any other nouns, they could have influenced the substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. case. Mühlenbach contended that the use of proper nouns in the appositive function with personal pronouns could have brought about the appearance of the gen.-acc. case in nouns referring to persons. 20

Mühlenbach's explanation of the origin of the substitution process in the animate sing. masc. nouns differs slightly from that of Meillet. Mühlenbach contended, as he himself indicated in a post-scriptum to his article, that the gen.-acc. forms MENE, TEBE, and SEBE were directly responsible for the appearance of the gen. case in place of the old acc. case of animate nouns. 21 Meillet, however, maintained that demonstrative pronouns and pronominal adjectives served as intermediaries in effecting a substitution process in the animate nouns. Unlike Meillet, Mühlenbach did not take into account the role of the plu. pronouns NY, VY and NAS₂, VAS₂ in the substitution process. Finally, both Mühlenbach and Meillet

20 Ibid., pp. 1209-1210.
21 Ibid., p. 1217.
overlooked the fact that MJA, TJA, and SJA were used as acc. cases in emphatic positions. For the above reasons, Mühlenbach's view of the origin of the substitution process cannot be accepted as a satisfactory one.

W. Vondrák also advanced the pronominal theory, but he accepted the personal interrogative pronoun as the key word which constituted the point of departure and provided the motivating force for the substitution process. In the formulation of his hypothesis, Vondrák rejected Meillet's and Mühlenbach's views that MENE, TEBE, and SEBE forms were originally emphatic acc. case-forms. According to Vondrák, these forms were exclusively gen. and, consequently, there was no confusion between the gen. and the acc. MJA, TJA, and SJA forms. Personal pronouns could not have provided the source for the substitution process in the masculine singular animate nouns. In rejecting the role of personal pronouns, Vondrák suggested that the origin of the substitution process should be sought in the personal interrogative pronoun KfTO, whose genitive and accusative forms were always identical: KOGO.22

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Because of this identity in the gen. and acc. cases, and its use in reference to persons, the form KOGO evoked analogical gen.-acc. case-forms in several categories of words. These included the personal and demonstrative pronouns, the pronominal adjectives used substantively, and the masculine singular o-stem nouns denoting persons. In all these words the substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. was accomplished by syntactical analogy. Furthermore, according to Vondrák, the replacement process was greatly enhanced by the fact that the gen. and acc. cases as complements are closely related in meaning.

Although Vondrák's explanation regarding the role of the personal interrogative pronoun KEBOT in the process of substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. case seems plausible, yet, according to A. I. Thomson, the efficacy of KOGO is highly improbable. His remarks on this point are as follows:

neponjatno kak⁴ odno KOGO moglo povlechë za sobojo drugija mëstoimenija, tém bolee, chto vž lichnykh mëstoimenijakh ne bylo nadobnosti vž rod.-vin., tak⁴ kak⁴ ikh⁴ starye vinitel'nye MJA, TJA, SJA i pr. otlîchalisë formal'no otz imenitel'nykh.²⁴


²⁴ Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezh pri nazvanijakh zhivykh sushchestv vž slavjanskikh jazykakh", in the ICRJS, XIII (1908), Book II. 235. (Hereafter referred to as "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezh...,")
This significant observation appears to minimize the role and influence of KOGO in bringing about the substitution in the above mentioned categories of words. In the opinion of this writer, the KOGO form, identical in the gen. and acc. cases, could have facilitated the appearance of the gen.-acc.-case primarily in the demonstrative pronouns and substantivized adjectives which had morphologically the same case-endings, -OOG.

From a brief description of the pronominal theory, which was based on the presumed identity of the gen. and acc. cases of the personal and interrogative pronouns as propounded by Meillet, Mühlchenbach and Vondrák, it is evident that none of these scholars offered a convincing explanation of the substitution process.

3. Nominal Theory

In contrast to the pronominal theory, where the pronouns played the determining role in the explanation of the substitution process, the nominal theory emphasized the importance of nouns which appeared in the gen. case as complements after the negative verbs. Three different views, which revolved around the nature and function of the gen. case, were advanced by the following scholars.

M. Delbrück stated categorically that the old acc. case of the masc. sing. animate nouns was replaced by the partitive gen. case. In his opinion, the nouns in the acc. case indicated a greater degree
of subordination to the action of the verb than the nouns in the gen. case:

Der Genitiv zeigt gegen diesen Akkusativengebrauch einen deutlich empfundenen Gegensatz. So treten denn in ihn solche Wesen welche der vollen Bewältigung sich am unzugänglichsten erweisen, sozusagen die persönlichsten von allen: männliche Personen. Dass ursprünglich nur der Singular von dieser Konstruktion betroffen wird, hat wohl seinen Grund darin, dass in ihr hauptsächlich Eigennamen auftreten. Im Sprachgefühl übrigens erschien offenbar schon früh dieser Genitiv nur als eine andere Form des Akkusativs, wie daraus hervorgeht, dass er auch nach Präpositionen angewendet wurde.25

This explanation for the appearance of the gen. case in place of the old acc. was rejected by Mühlenbach and Meillet.

Mühlenbach disagreed with Delbrück's exposition on the basis that, if the gen. case affected only partly the nouns denoting persons, then the masc. sing. -a- and -ja-stem nouns should have also appeared in the gen. case after transitive verbs. Since there are no examples of such use, Delbrück's hypothesis is invalid.26

Meillet, for his part, indicated that the use of the partitive gen. case in the acc. function was a rare phenomenon in the Indo-European languages.27


26 Mühlenbach, "Obъ upotreblenii roditeltnago padezha...", pp. 1198-1199.

27 Meillet, Recherches..., p. 81.
On the basis of the objections raised by Mühlenbach and Meillet one can state that Delbrück's explanation, involving the use of the partitive gen. case in place of the old acc. in the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons, falls short of its goal.

Another exponent of the nominal theory was Erich Berneker. He stated that the gen.-acc. case of the masc. sing. animate nouns came from the gen. case, which was used as object after negative transitive verbs. He contended that in Slavic it is possible to express the object either by the gen. case after negative verbs or by the acc. case after positive verbs. Since the gen. and the acc. cases were used as complements, they were functionally synonymous. In view of this similarity of function in the two cases, the adoption of the gen. case for the acc. function occurred whenever the subject and object were expressed by the animate nouns. The failure to have distinct nom. and acc. cases in order to indicate the subject and object would have resulted in syntactical ambiguity. Replacing the old acc. case with the gen., which also functioned as a complement after a negative verb, brought about morphological differentiation

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29 Ibid.
in these cases. Thus syntactical ambivalence was
eliminated. The choice of the gen. case, which appeared
originally after negative verbs and its use for the objective
function after a positive verb, was facilitated by syntac­
tical analogy, according to Berneker.

Berneker's attempt to explain the origin of the
substitution process as stemming from the synonymous
function of the gen. case after negative verbs and the
acc. case after positive verbs was rejected by A. I.
Thomson. He pointed out that Berneker's assumption
could not be substantiated by the facts as found in
the language. If the negative-gen. and positive-acc.
cases were formally alike with respect to their function
and meaning, then, the gen.-acc. case should have spread,
at least partially, to fem. sing. nouns and plu. nouns,
as well as to the inanimate nouns. Since there is no
evidence of such a phenomenon, it would appear that the
negative-gen. and positive-acc. cases are functionally
and semantically different. Finally, Thomson delineated
the functional difference between the two cases in the
following words:

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30 Ibid., p. 376.

31 Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezh...," p. 236.
Agreeing with Thomson's observation, one can conclude that Berneker failed to provide a convincing explanation concerning the origin of the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns.

N. P. Nekrasov, another exponent of the nominal theory, asserted that the old acc. case was replaced by the partitive gen. case or by the gen. case denoting quantity under the following circumstances:

... takz kakz sobstvennoe imja litza ne est samo litso, a est obosobljajushchij priznak, opredelenie litza, podrazumevаемого въ речи, kak prjamoe dopolnenie, ili kak predmet djeystviya; to jazyk dlia otlichija zavisimosti vъ rечи sobstvennago imeni na -ь litza muz, pola vъ kachestvе prjamogo dopolnenija otь nezavisimosti ego, vъ kachestvе podlezhashchago, za neimeniem otlichitelnoj formy vinit. padenja ed. ch. otь imenitelnago vъ imenakh na -ь, i vospolzovalsja formoj roditeljnago padenja ed. ch. dlia vyrazhenija prjamogo dopolnenija, kak takoz formu, kotorou obyknovennno vyrazhaetsja obosoblenie, oprodelenie, iskljuchenie predmeta izъ rjada drugikh odnorodnych predmetovь.

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32. Thomson, "Къ voprosu o vozniknovenii rod.-vinn...," p. 299.

He amplified by stating that the gen.-acc. case appeared in the masc. sing. proper nouns as a result of its 'defining' function as in the case of the expressions: "dat' khleba, vody, soli"; "kupit' chaju, sakharu, bumagi", etc. In these expressions, the gen. case "zastavlyayet' podrazumevat' kakuju libo chast', kakoe libo kolichestvo i t. p., kak' nechto opredeljaemoe imenem', postavlennym v roditel'nom padzehe" with the acc. meaning. Similarly, the expression "Ja znaju Petra" meant originally "Ja znaju (lichnost') Petra". With the passage of time, all that was implied - "eto 'nechto', ili vs' to, chto podrazumevalos'" disappeared from the people's consciousness and the gen. case with the objective meaning became the usual and indispensable form for distinguishing the subject and object in the masc. proper nouns. From the proper nouns, the use of the gen. case was extended to common masc. sing. animate nouns denoting persons wherever they were used in the appositive function with the proper nouns. With the omission of the proper nouns, the appositive common nouns appearing in the gen. case were then regarded as functionally acc. cases. Finally, the use of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old

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\(^{34}\) Ibid.

\(^{35}\) Ibid.
acc. spread from the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons
to other masc. sing. animate nouns.

Nekrasov's hypothesis concerning the use of
gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. in the masc.
sing. animate nouns was reviewed by A. I. Thomson. His
criticism was levelled at the assumption that the gen.-acc.
case was of the partitive gen. origin. In his opinion,
the partitive gen. function applied to the inanimate nouns
which denote objects, especially divisible matter, rather
than persons. 36

Since this writer concurs with Thomson's assessment
of the partitive gen. theory regarding the origin of the
gen.-acc. case in the masc. sing. animate nouns, it seems
appropriate to conclude that Nekrasov failed to present a
satisfactory explanation for the appearance of the substi-
tution process.

E. K. Tymchenko contended that the gen.-acc. case
came from the gen. case which was governed by the positive
rather than negative verb. He based his view on the
probability that verbs like 'zhdatъ', 'iskatъ', 'videtъ',
'sprashivatъ', et cetera, governed the gen. case of the masc.

36 Thomson, "Roditelъnyj-vinitelъnyj padezhъ...", pp. 240-243; "Popravki i razjasnenija kъ statbě N.P.
Nekrasova", in the IORJS, XV (1910), Book II, 78-79;
"Kъ voprosu o vozniknovenii rod.-vin. ...", pp. 299-300.
nouns denoting persons during the late Common Slavic period, when the nom. and acc. cases of these nouns were identical. Assuming correctly that there was a need to differentiate the subject and object cases in the animate nouns denoting persons, Tymchenko characterized the specific psychological moment when and how this phenomenon occurred in the following words:

... в известных сочетаниях формы родительного и винительного должны быть представляемые сознанию безразличными, т. е. родительный по форме — функционально тождественный винительному, только в таком случае возможна была замена одной формы посредством другой, если последняя почему-нибудь казалась удобнее говорящему.  

This statement implies that the functions of the gen. and acc. cases in a given circumstance are semantically similar or the difference between them is psychologically imperceptible. For this reason, Tymchenko concludes that the use of the gen. case for the less appropriate old acc. case provided the basis and the impetus for the substitution process in the animate nouns.  

Tymchenko's hypothesis regarding the source of the substitution process seems to be the most probable of the theories thus far discussed. Two positive

37 Tymchenko, op. cit., p. 256.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid., p. 257
factors can be mentioned in support of his theory.

First, the assumption that the gen. case after certain positive verbs constituted the point of departure for the substitution process was correct. In this particular function, the gen. case was closely related semantically to the acc. case. Both cases -- gen. and acc. -- appeared as complements after positive verbs and, therefore, the discrepancy of function between the two cases was minimal. Besides, the use of the gen. or the acc. case after certain verbs facilitated the adoption of the gen. case for the old acc. case without contradicting the nature of the two cases.

Second, the relevancy of Tymchenko's elucidation lies in the fact that the use of the gen. case in place of the old acc. in the animate nouns came directly from the animate nouns themselves. In other words, it was the animate nouns which experienced the need of a distinct acc. case and, at the same time, supplied the gen. case which was functionally synonymous with the acc. case. For this reason, as Tymchenko himself indicated, it was unnecessary to resort to personal pronouns or analogies from other categories of words for the explanation of the substitution process.

The weakness of Tymchenko's theory lies in the fact that he failed to substantiate his contention further

40 Ibid.
by indicating the types of verbs which govern primarily
the gen. case and those which may take equally the gen.
and the acc. cases.  

4. Semasiological Theory

Having examined the hypotheses of A. Meillet, K. Mühlenerbach, Erich Berneker and N. P. Nekrasov, A. I. Thomson concluded that the source and point of
departure for the substitution process must be sought
in the semasiological sphere of the language. His
theory took into account the nature of the Agens (Subject)
and Patiens (Object), their relationship, and the semantic
differences between the active and passive voice construc-
tions.  

In Thomson's opinion, the gen.-acc. case in the
animate nouns appeared whenever the Patiens, expressed

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41 J. Kuryłowicz distinguishes at least four groups of
verbs which govern the gen. case, namely: 1. verbs of per-
ception; 2. verbs meaning "to reign, rule, dispose of";
3. verbs like "to eat, drink, enjoy"; 4. "to give, take" and
other semantically related verbs. See his: The Inflectional
Categories of Indo-European (Heidelberg: Winter, 1964),
p. 184; Khodova, op. cit., pp. 59-70 presents numerous exam-
pies of the verbs which govern the gen. and acc. cases in the
OCS texts: Cf. also A.I. Sobolevskij, Lektsii po istorii
russkago jazyka, (4th ed., 1907; Photomechanic reprint 'S
Ocherk russkogo istoricheskogo sintaksisa (Prostoe predlo-

42 Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezh...," p.245.

43 Ibid., pp. 248-250, 252.
by the old acc. case, strived to become the "psychological subject" and take the place of the Agens. In order to accommodate the Patiens as "psychological subject", passive constructions were used in which the Patiens occurred in the nom. case. Thomson illustrated this phenomenon by converting the sentence "Ivan uznal Petra" to "Petra byl uznat Ivanom". However, since the passive constructions were inadequate because all meaning was concentrated on the effect or result of the action on the Patiens rather than on the Agens, the gen.-acc. was used "kak formy, ottesnja-jushchej psikhologicheskij sub'ekt' v polozhenie Patiens'a".

In Thomson's words, the gen.-acc. case appeared under the following circumstances:

V t'kh sluchajakh, kogda Pat. stremilsja byt podlezhashchim i takim obrazom sd'elal'sja by Ag., i kogda stradatel'noe sprizhzenie ne udovletvorielo govoriashchego, ostavalo's' tol's'ko odno sredstvo - ottesnit' vslyavajushchee psikhicheskoe podlezhashchee v polozhenie dopolnenija, v nadlezhashchee mesto Pat., i dlja etogo trebovalsja osobyj vin. p. 45

The words which represented the "psychological subject" and demanded a special acc. case, were those with definite meanings. These included the masc. proper nouns, demonstrative pronouns referring to persons, substantivized adjectives, personal pronouns, and the masc. sing. common nouns

44 Ibid. p. 249.

denoting persons. 46

In conclusion, Thomson stated that differentiation in the nom. and acc. cases was imperative in the animate nouns denoting persons whenever they appeared as Agens and Patiens in the same sentence. 47

Thomson's hypothesis, involving the retention of the "psychological subject" in the Patiens capacity at the time when the passive constructions were inadequate, is not convincing to this researcher for two reasons. First, it is difficult to comprehend why nouns, appearing as Patiens, would strive to become "psychological subjects" and be placed in the nom. case. This phenomenon Thomson failed to explain. Second, it is equally difficult to accept the supposition that the inadequacy of the passive constructions provided the necessary impetus for the adoption of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. case. Both constructions -- passive and active -- are used on their own merit to convey specific meaning. To assign the motivational role to the passive construction seems unfounded, since the problem involved differentiation in the nom. and acc. cases of the animate nouns. In view of these objections, Thomson's exposition cannot be accepted as convincing.

46 Ibid., pp. 245, 249, 252-255; "Къ вопросу о возникновении род.-вин...," p. 302.

5. **Theory of syntactical-morphological differentiation of case functions**

During the past two decades, two Soviet scholars, L. P. Jakubinskij and P. S. Kuznetsov, discussed the problem regarding the origin of the substitution process in the animate masc. sing. nouns in a cursory way. They acknowledge, in part, the validity of views as expressed by such scholars as A. Meillet, W. Vondrák, M. Delbrück, and A. I. Thomson and, at the same time, proposed their own hypotheses.

Both scholars, Jakubinskij and Kuznetsov, presented similar theories, in which they maintained that the origin of the substitution process stemmed from the differentiation of functions as they are expressed by one given case.

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48 P. S. Kuznetsov, *Istoricheskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka: Morfologija* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1953), pp. 117-118, 120; (Hereafter referred to as *Istoricheskaja grammatika...*); *Ocherki istoricheskoj morfologii russkogo jazyka* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1959), pp. 92, 94-96. (Hereafter referred to as *Ocherki istoricheskoj morfologii...*).


50 Kuznetsov, *Istoricheskaja grammatika...*, p. 118; *Ocherki istoricheskoj morfologii...*, p. 94.

51 Kuznetsov, *Ocherki istoricheskoj morfologii...*, loc. cit.
Jakubinskij characterized his point of view in the following words:

Pervonachal'no rod.-vin. vystupает как с истинная форма выражения объекта в зависимости от контекстных условий. В дальнейшем он морфологизуется, становясь падежным окончанием определенного типа слова вне всякой зависимости от контекста (в концах окончаний, слов-называний обусловленных предметов).52

In presenting his opinion on the subject, Kuznetsov repeated almost verbatim Jakubinskij's view. He stated:

V развитии родительного-винительного падежа проявляется один из новых морфологических процессов, имеющих место в истории языка, именно - явления дифференциации, состоящее в том, что различные синтаксические отношения, различающиеся первоначально с морфологической точки зрения недифференцируются морфологическими клацами, начинают выражаться различными морфологическими средствами, различными формами слова.53

Both authors presented a retrospective abstraction of what had happened on the level of syntax and morphology, but failed to substantiate the syntactical and morphological differentiations by pertinent facts from the language. In addition, the modus operandi of this differentiation is not clarified precisely and, therefore, Jakubinskij's


53 Kuznetsov, Ocherki istoricheskoi morfologii..., p. 93.
and Kuznetsov's hypotheses are unacceptable as plausible explanations for the substitution process.

Although the statements of Jakubinskij and Kuznetsov shed little light on the origin of the substitution process, Kuznetsov asserted that the use of the gen. case for old acc. occurred first "... lish u sobstvennykh imen ljudej i u nazvanij lits (t.e. ljudej), i pritom obshchestvenno polnopravnykh". Kuznetsov meant that the substitution affected first those nouns which denoted persons who enjoyed full social and juridical rights in society. Nouns signifying persons who lacked such privileges retained the old acc. case in the objective function. In other words, Kuznetsov assumed that the grammatical structures of the language can at times reflect social relations in a given society.

The contention of Kuznetsov was criticized by E. I. Kedajtene and T. P. Lomtev. Disagreeing

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54 Kuznetsov, Istoricheskaja grammatika..., p. 118

55 E. I. Kedajtene, "Iz nabljudenij nad kategoriej litsa v pamjatnikakh russkogo jazyka starshej pory", in Voprosy Jazykoznaniija, IV (1955), No. 1, p. 124. (Hereafter referred to as "Iz nabljudenij nad kategoriej litsa...").

vehemently with Kuznetsov's view, Kedajtene stated that there is no connection between the history of the social relationships of the people and the appearance of the gen.-acc. case in the nouns denoting persons with social rights. The tenor of her refutation read as follows:

Iskhodja iz marksistkogo uchenija o jazyke, neloziia svjazivat' pojavlenie formy roditel'noi padezha v znachenii vinitel'noi i sokhranenie formy vinitel'noi padezha ravnoi imenitel'nomu v russkom jazyke s sotsial'noi biografii naroda - nositelia' etogo jazyka. Obshcheprinjataia tochka zreniia o pojavlenii roditel'no-vinitel'noi prezhde vsego u sushchestvitel'nykh, oboznachajushchikh lits sotsial'no polnopravnykh, ne imeet pod soboy osnovanii i javljaetsja po sushchestvu vul'garno-sotsiologicheskoj.57

In support of her argument, Kedajtene examined the substitution phenomenon in the early and middle East Slavic texts58 and concluded that the gen.-acc. case appeared:

... ne toli'ko u sushchestvitel'nykh oboznachajushchikh sotsial'no polnopravnykh lits, no i u suschestvitel'nykh, oboznachajushikh sotsial'no nepolnopravnykh lits.59

57 Kedajtene, "Iz nabljudenij nad kategorij litsa...," p. 128.

58 Ibid., pp. 124-128; "Razvitie form roditel'no-vinitel'noi padezha i upotreblenie starykh form vinitel'noi ot nazvanii lits i odushevlennykh predmetov v drevnerusskom jazyke(Na materiale pamjatnikov XII-XIV vv.); in Vilniaus Valst. V. Kapsuko v. Universiteto IPP Mosklo Darbai, III (1957), pp. 139-170. (Hereafter referred to as "Razvitie form roditel'no-vinitel'noi padezha...,".

59 Kedajtene, "Iz nabljudenij nad kategorij litsa...," p. 128.
After reviewing Kuznetsov's book, Lomtev also rejected the view that the substitution process affected first the nouns denoting persons with social standing. He referred to Kuznetsov's theory as an example of "neobosnovannaja sotsiologizatsija". 60

Kuznetsov's claim that the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns denoting persons was regulated by the social considerations can be dismissed as unfounded for two reasons. First, the author himself failed to establish the criterion and the procedure according to which the nouns denoting persons of various classes were affected by the substitution phenomenon. Second, Kedajtene, who researched the substitution process in the early East Slavic texts, challenged Kuznetsov's assertions on the grounds that it was baseless and erroneous. In view of these objections, one cannot accept Kuznetsov's sociologically oriented view as a convincing explanation of the substitution process.

From the above discussion and evaluation of earlier research of the substitution process, one can draw three conclusions.

First, all scholars agreed that the identification of the nom. and acc. cases of the masc. sing. animate nouns gave rise to the substitution process in order

60 Lomtev, op. cit., p. 144.
to show morphological dissimilarity between the two semantically different cases.

Second, all scholars also maintained that the gen. case was the most appropriate case for the acc. function, because both cases are related in their meanings and usage.

Finally, scholars differed in their findings and interpretations concerning the fundamental question: what specific lexical category -- pronouns or nouns -- provided the source and the necessary impetus for the substitution process. As a result, they advanced several divergent hypotheses, including the syntactical considerations, pronominal and nominal theories, semasiological view, and the supposition of syntactical and morphological differentiation.
CHAPTER III

ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE PROPER MASC. SING. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING PERSONS

Introduction

As a consequence of the loss of the consonants -S and -N in the word-final position in the late Common Slavic period, the nom. and acc. cases of the proper masc. sing. nouns denoting persons became identical. Since these nouns were used primarily as subject and object, it was necessary to have different nom. and acc. case-endings in order to avoid syntactical ambiguity. More important, the distinction between the two functionally different cases was vital for the preservation of the animate-inanimate category in the proper nouns. It was provided by the substitution process, whereby the gen. case was adopted for the acc. function in place of the old acc. case.

In this chapter, a brief survey of the substitution process in the proper nouns in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments will be presented. This will be followed by an examination of the same phenomenon in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles in order to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the proper masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.
1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. Proper Nouns Denoting Persons in the OCS, early and Middle East Slavic Texts

The OCS texts reveal that the animate-inanimate category was represented by the gen.-acc. case in the proper masc. sing. nouns denoting persons. Some random examples of this case in the proper nouns may be cited as follows:

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These examples indicate that the gen.-acc. case, rather than the old acc. case, was regarded as the norm for the acc. function in the proper masc. sing. nouns. This leads one to the conclusion that the substitution process was accomplished in the proper nouns, and that the animate-inanimate category was expressed through the distinct nom. and gen.-acc. cases in the OCS monuments.

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3S. Severjanov (ed.), Codex Suprasliensis (Graz: Seminar für slavische Philologie der Universität Graz, 1956), I, p. 481.
In the early East Slavic texts, the old acc. case was a rare phenomenon in the proper nouns. It occurred in the Ostromir Gospels (1056-1057) in the following sentence: "i pridosha podvigъshasja i obrѣtosha Mariju zhe i OSIFъ i mладьбпьль lezhashchъ въ jasъkhъ." The use of the old acc. case in the proper noun 'Osifъ' was interpreted by Nekrasov as an oversight on the part of the scribe, since the same noun appeared in the gen.-acc. case in the Marianus and Zographensis codices.5

In other monuments of this period, the acc. case of the proper nouns was represented by the gen.-acc. case:

Posadi ubo sego оканьнааго SVJATOPOLЪKA въ knjazhenii Piшskѣ, а JAROSLAVA Novегородѣ, а BORISA Rostовѣ, а GLѢBA Murome6; onъ zhe posla k nimь blagocheстиваго knjazja VASILЪKA, synovtsa svoego, Konstantinovicha...; 7 and, a paganago KOBJAKA izъ luku morja oтъ zheleznykhъ velikikhъ plѣkovъ Polovetskikhъ, jako vikhrь vytorzhe.8

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5 Ibid.


7 "Povestь o bitve na reke Kalke", ibid., p. 145.

8 Iroicheskaja pѣsnь o pokhodѣ na Polovtsovъ ude- lьnago knjazja Novagoroda-Severskago Igorja Svjatoslavicha, (Snimokъ pervago izdaniya 1800 g. gr. A. I. Musina-Pusnkiна podzred. A. F. Malinovskago. Moscow: Izdanie M. i S. Sabashnikovykh?, 1920), pp. 21-22. (Hereafter referred to as Iroicheskaja pѣsnь...).
In the middle East Slavic texts, the sole use of the gen.-acc. case by the proper nouns is further exemplified by the following sentences:

Novgorodštse zhe ostanёke zhivykh, poslasha GJURGJA i vankovitsja posadnika, i STEPANA tvёrdislavitsja, iny mouzha po knёzja, i tёkh prija, a vё novgorod prislav IVORA i chaponosa; Oni zhe, gordii, sovokupishasja i rekosha: "poidemъ i pobёdimъ ALEKSANDRA, i imenъ ego rukama"; Zdё proslavi Bogъ ALEKSANDRA predъ vsemi polky, jakozhe ISUSA Navvina u Erikhona.

The examples of the gen.-acc. case in the proper nouns as they appeared in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments, demonstrate that the substitution process was complete in these nouns. The need for distinct nom. and acc. cases was most apparent in the proper nouns, which usually functioned as subject and object in the same sentence. With the adoption of the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function, syntactical ambiguity was eliminated, and the animate-inanimate category was expressed in the proper nouns through the gen.-acc. case.

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11 Ibid., p. 113.
As indicated in the preceding section of this chapter, the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic texts exhibited numerous examples of the gen.-acc. case in the masc. sing. proper nouns. In the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, these nouns were, with minor exceptions, in the gen.-acc. case. They were represented by the -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns, and occurred in the objective function in the following five contextual positions: 1. as a direct object of a transitive verb; 2. after prepositions governing the acc. case; 3. after prepositions, and followed by proper and common noun in apposition; 4. with a common appositive noun; 5. in apposition with a common noun. These positions will serve as a framework for the ensuing discussion of the substitution process in an attempt to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the proper nouns in the two Chronicles.

The examination of the material in the two Chronicles showed that the use of the gen.-acc. sing. case predominated over the old acc. case in the masc. sing.
proper nouns of various stems\textsuperscript{12}, which appeared in the objective function.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the gen.-acc. case of the proper nouns occurred as a direct object four hundred sixty-nine times. A number of random examples of this case in the proper nouns include the following:

IGORJA ostavi v Kieve (La., p. 29); i pojasha Noouqrodstsi VOLODIMERA k sobe (La., p. 69); i nalezosa i OLbGA vyspodi trupbja (La., p. 75); ot nejazhe rodi \textsuperscript{D}. \textsuperscript{6}ny. IZESLAVA, M\textsuperscript{6}STISLAVA, JAROSLAVA, VSEVOLODA... ot cheknin\textsuperscript{e}. VYSHSLAVA. a ot drug\textsuperscript{e} ST\textsuperscript{O}SLAVA. i M\textsuperscript{6}STISLAVA. a ot Bolga-

ryn\textsuperscript{i} BORISA i GL\textsuperscript{E}BA (La., p. 80); i possa VY-

SH\textsuperscript{E}SLAVA v Nov\textsuperscript{e}gorod\textsuperscript{e} (La., p. 121); i pritisnusha ST\textsuperscript{O}POLKA s druzhinoju (La., p. 142); bo m\textsuperscript{6}stii prija Kain\textsuperscript{t} oubib\textsuperscript{t} AVELJA (La., p. 145); i vyve-
de VARLAMA na igumen\textsuperscript{t}stvo k \textsuperscript{6}tmu Dmtriju (La., p. 159); i ja DV\textsuperscript{D}A. i VOLODARJA Rostisl-

vicha (La., p. 205); DV\textsuperscript{D}zhe poslava privede VASILJA, i LAZARJA (La., p. 268).

The same case appeared in similar nouns eight hundred sixty times in the Hypatian Chronicle. Some examples follow:

posla k nima v gorod\textsuperscript{t} KARLA. FARLOFA. VELMUDA. RULAVA, j ST\textsuperscript{E}MIDA (Hyp., p. 22) i postavi ku-
miry na khol\textsuperscript{t}ma... PERUNA derev\textsuperscript{j}ana... i KHR\textsuperscript{r}-

SA. i DAZH\textsuperscript{BA. i STRIBA i SEMAR\textsuperscript{Gl}A (Hyp., p. 67);

\textsuperscript{12} For the sake of clarity, coherence, and avoidance of redundancy, no attempt was made to cite examples of proper nouns on the basis of various stems. However, a statistical summary concerning the substitution process of the proper nouns in various objective and contextual positions is presented in Table I at the end of this chapter.
The above examples of the gen.-acc. case in the proper nouns from the two Chronicles indicate that this case was considered the norm for these nouns.

The adoption of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. case by the proper nouns denoting persons was motivated by syntactical considerations and the animate-inanimate category. From the viewpoint of syntax, it was necessary to differentiate between the nom. and acc. cases in the proper nouns which denoted persons, which can be used most often in the subject and object function. With respect to the animate-inanimate category, the distinction between the nom. and acc. cases constituted the principle upon which this category depended for its expression. This principle was maintained by utilizing the gen.-acc. case instead of the old acc. case, which was identical with the old nom. case in the animate nouns.
Along with the gen.-acc. case, there was only one example of the old acc. case of the proper noun among similar nouns which appeared in the gen.-acc. case. The noun in question was recorded in the Hypatian Chronicle:


The proper noun 'SURBBARB' does not appear in the Laurentian Chronicle, but in the Khlebnikov and Pogodin Chronicles it occurred in the gen.-acc. case 'Surbarja'. (Hyp., p. 225. Footnote No. 45).

The appearance of this proper noun in the old acc. sing. case, which can be considered as a deviation from the accepted norm, can be explained in either of two ways. First, it is possible that the scribe simply made an error, or copied the word as it appeared in the original text. Second, the retention of the old acc. case in one proper noun, when it was preceded or followed by another, similar, noun in the gen.-acc. case, caused no syntactical ambivalence because the two proper nouns formed a homogeneous objective unit from the viewpoint of syntactical function.13 In view of these explanations, the old acc. case of the proper noun 'SURBBARB' retained its original function.

In view of the preponderance of the use of the gen.-acc. case in the proper nouns, one can conclude that in both Chronicles the animate-inanimate category expressed itself adequately.

When proper nouns were preceded by various prepositions governing the acc. case, the examples of the old acc. case were limited. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the proper 'Adam' and 'Bog' appeared in this case after a preposition in the following three instances:

\[ \text{i Vb novyi ADAM oblechesja ezhe est' Kh} \] (La., p. 68); \[ \text{i v'zlozhi Bb NA ADAM sn} \] (La., p. 88); \[ \text{on zhe rech sego esm ne molv'il} \] no nad'ejusja NA Bb (La., p. 265).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the proper noun 'Adam' also appeared once in the old acc. case after a preposition:

\[ \text{si bo omysja stoju kupel'ju. svlechesja grekhovnyja odezha. vetkhago chl'vka Adama.} \]
\[ \text{i Vb novyi ADAM obleches. ezhe est' Kh} \] (Hyp., p. 56).

The proper noun 'Bog' appeared eight times in the old acc. case after prepositions in the same Chronicle:

\[ \text{i budu im' Vb Bz. i ti budut mn'ne v' ljudi} \] (Hyp., p. 86); \[ \text{on zhe rech' sego esm ne molv'il} \] no nad'ejasja NA Bz (Hyp., p. 239); \[ \text{skou} \] silou svoju Polovtsi i poide na-d'ejasja NA Bz (Hyp., p. 374); Rostislavich' zhe ougadavshe i ouzrev'she NA Bz (Hyp., p. 570); a bykhom' ouzrev'she NA Bz i na stei Bzsi pomoch' pom' stili sebe (Hyp., p. 607); Boris' Zakhar'ich' s Volodimerimi ljudmi kniaz'icha svoego. i vozrev'she NA Bz i ekhasha na ne (Hyp., p. 622); i Sdeslav' Zhiroslavich' s Bz M'stislavlim' polkoma. i v'zrev'she NA Bz.
i počkha protivou Polovtsemь (Hyp., p. 623); a nyně gospodine ne slyshalь esmь, ozhe esi dalь zemlju svoju vsju i gorody. bratou svoemou Městislavou. a nadějusja NA Bь i na tja (Hyp., p. 906).

The use of prepositions before the old acc. case of the proper nouns left no doubt regarding acc. function of the case in question, since the nom. case is never governed by prepositions. For this reason, one can state that the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression on prepositions, and on the old acc. case of the proper nouns, in both Chronicles.

The gen.-acc. case after various prepositions appeared one hundred fifty-two times in the Laurentian Chronicle. Some random examples are:

věruemь V PERUNA i Vь VOLOSA skotьja Ba (La., p. 73); khotjakhu Rogźnedь vesti ZĂ JAROPLKA (La., p. 76); Sotona zhe vлěze V KAINA i poz- strekashe Kaina (La., p. 89); i razgневасьa Гsь NA MOISEJA (La., p. 96); Khotjashchju Volodimeru iti NA JAROSLAVA (La., p. 130); Novgorodtsi zhe idosha Rostovu PO MѢSTISLAVA Volodimericha (La., p. 229); V to zhe vremjфpoide Volodimerko g Kyevu NA IZJASLAVA (La., p. 326); I потом posla v Rjazanь PO ROMANA. i po bratju ego. i v Murom PO ÐVDA (La., p. 430).

Similar combinations, consisting of various prepositions followed by the gen.-acc. case of the proper nouns, occurred three hundred forty-six times in the Hypatian Chronicle. The following examples illustrate this use:

po sem zhe paky вьzroptasha NA MOIŠEJA. i NA ARONA (Hyp., p. 83); Poide Boleslavь sъ Stþpolkomь NA JAROSLAVA s Ljakhy (Hyp., p. 130); Stþpolkь zhe прогнавь ÐVDA. nacha dumatи NA VOLODARJA i NA VASILKA (Hyp., p. 244); i vy мне este rekli не можемь na Volodimire plemja rouky вьznjati NA GUJRJA (Hyp., p. 348); Vjachьslavь sъ IZJASLAVOMь
poidosta NA STOŚLAVA Olgovicha. k Novugorodu. 
i NA VASILKA Djurgevicha (Hyp., p. 459); 
Jaroslav zhe vzrēvē NA PETRA i rosplokasja. 
(Hyp., p. 468); Vjacheslav zhe posla PO STOŚLAVA. po Vsevolodicha (Hyp., p. 470); togda 
zhe Andreevn privedosha ZA STOŚLAVA. ZA VOLODIMIRA νρ Věshchizh (Hyp., p. 509); khodi 
Městislav z Izjaslavich ... NA GJURGJA na 
Jaroslavicha (Hyp., 510); Togozh lēta Andrej 
knjazь Suzhdal′skyi. rozgněvasja na Rostislav- 
ich. PRO GRIGORьJA pro Khotovicha (Hyp., p. 572); 
i aběe oustrēmivsja Stoslav na ratь PRO GLEBA 
šна svoego (Hyp., p. 615); i da dšcherь svoju za 
Lonokrabovicha. ZA LOUDOVika (Hyp., p. 723); 
Kourembsa poide NA DANILA i NA VASILKA (Hyp., 
p. 810); Boleslav zhe sovokupiv ratь svoju ... 
poidosha NA ANDRIKA Krakov (Hyp., p. 934)

The examples of the gen.-acc. case of the masc. proper 
nouns, used alone, or after prepositions, demonstrate 
convincingly that the substitution process in these nouns 
was almost complete in both Chronicles, with few exceptions. 
As the gen.-acc. case duly supplanted the old acc. case, 
morphological distinction in the nom. and acc. cases was 
achieved, and syntactical clarity was secured in the pro­ 
per nouns functioning as subject and object. These two 
factors facilitated/most adequate expression of the animate- 
inanimate category in the proper nouns in both Chronicles.

Further examination of the proper nouns after 
prepositions revealed that these nouns were followed by 
common nouns in the appositive function. In this context, 
the proper nouns appeared in the gen.-acc. case, while the 
common nouns denoting persons occurred in the gen.-acc. 
and the old acc. cases.
In the situation where the proper and the common
nouns in apposition were represented by the gen.-acc.
cases after prepositions, both Chronicles had several
examples. Specifically, the Laurentian Chronicle had
five instances of this use:

i Obri /izhe/ khodisha NA ARBKLJA TŠRJA
(La., p. 11); Poide Jarapolb NA OLGA BRATA
svoego na Derevšku zemu (La., p. 74); Khotjaschet bo NA JAROSLAVA iti NA ŠNA
svoego (La., p. 130); i posla PO ROSTISLAVA
BRATA svoego (La., p. 219) bėsha bo Nov-
gorodtsi v to vremja prihkali PO JAROSLAVA
KNJAZJA (La., p. 448).

Comparable examples appeared thirteen times in the
Hypatian Chronicle:

i posla PO ROSTISLAVA BRATA svoego do Pere-
jaslavija (Hyp., p. 210); Khochem poiti
NA GJURGJA. NA STRYJA svoego i na Stššla
(Hyp. p. 344); V to že vremja Rostislavž
Smolenskij prosi dcheri ou Stššla ou
Olgovich ZA ROMANA ŠNA svoego (Hyp.,
p. 368); i jasja PO ROSTISLAVA PO Smolenš-
skago KNJAZJA (Hyp., p. 484); počkha k Pere-
jaslaviju NA GLEBA NA ZJATJA svoego (Hyp.,
p. 514); privede Stššlavž ZA VSEVOLODA ZA
serednego ŠNA zhenou iz Liakhovž (Hyp.,
p. 612); posla zhe vž Trepolž PO MSČISLAVA.
PO STROICHVA svoego PO MSČISLAVICA (Hyp.,
p. 677); posla zhe PO LVA ŠNA si. i po
ljudi svoja (Hyp., p. 847); nacha odavat.
dsherčer svoju, Olgou. ZA ANDRĚA KNJAZJA.
Vsevolodicha (Hyp., p. 848); onomou zhe
velikou opalu stvorshu NA Vasilka KNJAZJA
i na Lva (Hyp., p. 849); Poslalž bjaschet
Mindovž, vsju svoju silou. za Dneprž.
NA ROMANA NA Brjanskogo KNJAZJA (Hyp.,
p. 860); i nacha odavat milou svoju
docherž imenem Olgou. ZA VOLODIMERA
KNJAZJA ŠNA Vasilkova (Hyp., p. 861-862);
ide Litva na Ljakhy voevatž. NA DČESLAVA
KNJAZJA (Hyp., p. 864).
The presence of the gen.-acc. case after various prepositions in the proper and common appositive nouns denoting persons, bears witness to the fact that the animate-inanimate category was fully utilizing the gen.-acc. case for its expression in the two Chronicles.

The Hypatian Chronicle was the only Chronicle which revealed an example of the old case of the common noun in apposition with the proper noun in the following sentence: "Poide Jaropolkъ NA OLGA BRAT svoego na Derevьskuju zemlju" (Hyp., p. 62). In the Laurentian Chronicle, this same phrase was represented by the gen.-acc. case of both proper and common nouns: "Poidi Jaropolkъ NA OLGA BRATA svoego na Derevьsku zemlju" (La., p. 74). According to Sprinchak, the retention of the old acc. case by the common appositive noun, one member of the prepositional phrase, did not cause any syntactical confusion because:

naritsatelьное sushchestvitelьное - prjamoe dopolnenie - upotrebljaetsja kak odnorodnyj s sobственным именем chlen predlozhenija.14

In the objective function of the proper noun followed by the common appositive noun, both nouns appeared in the gen.-acc. cases in both Chronicles. The Laurentian Chronicle contained forty-five examples of the double gen.-acc. cases of the proper and common nouns:

14 Sprinchak, op. cit., p. 169.
Similar combinations of the proper and common nouns were represented ninety-five times in the Hypatian Chronicle:

Volodimerja, zhe poimt tertsju i Nastasa... i FIVA OUCHNKA ego (Hyp., p. 101); v se zhe let postavi mitropolit ANFILOKHYJA EPPA Volodimerju (Hyp., p. 257); i VOLODARJA jasha Ljahov lbtbyu. Vasilkova BRATA (Hyp., p. 286); vodja s’t soboju BRJACHISLAVA ZJATAJA svoego (Hyp., p. 292); posla Vsevoldob STOPOLKA vu Novgorodju, SHJURINA svoego (Hyp., p. 309); i STOSLAVA poja SNA svoego i BORESLAVA Ljahskago KNJAZJA ZJATJA svoego (Hyp., p. 319); i tako skonchasha i IGORJA KNJAZJA SNA Olgova (Hyp., p. 353); i tu oubisha VOLODIMIRA KNJAZJA Dvdvicha Chernigovskogo dobrego i krotkogo (Hyp., p. 438); iskati IVANA Rostislavicha. STRLBICHICA svoego (Hyp., p. 496); vzovita mi SEMJUNA POPA (Hyp., p. 531); i posla Stooslav ko Vsevолодou. PBFJPURIJA EPPA Chernigovskogo. OPREMA OPREMA IGOUENMA tvoe Btsi (Hyp., p. 606); posla knz Jjurik GLEBA KNJAZJA SHJURINA svoego s zhenou (Hyp., p. 658); poim s soboju KOURILA MITROPOLITA (Hyp., p. 794); Zhiroslavzhe privede VOLODISLAVA zlog MJATEZHNIKA zemi (Hyp., p. 804); otrjadi voevodou. VASILKA KNJAZJA Voslomibskogo. Volodimerovi (Hyp., p. 884).

Since the proper and the common appositive nouns denoting persons were represented by the gen.-acc. sing.
cases in the objective function, one can conclude that the animate-inanimate category expressed itself fully in the proper nouns, as evidenced by the material from both Chronicles:

Finally, in the context where the proper noun functioned as an appositive to the common noun denoting persons, the gen.-acc. case appeared as a norm in both nouns. The Laurentian Chronicle contained one hundred eighty-seven instances of this combination, some of which are:

no obache ljubjashe Ol'ga v svoego STOSSLA (La., p. 64); I poja Avram' SVVTS a svoego LOTA (La., p. 92); i posadi v nego mesto BRATA svoego STOPOLA (La., p. 174); khotja videti IGUMENA NIKONA (La., p. 191); Vsevolod' zhe posadi POSADNIKA RATIBORA Tmutorokani (La., p. 204); i prisla Volodimery OTROKA svoego BJANDJUKA (La., p. 228); i KNJAZZA ikh'oubiasha TUGORKANA i s'na ego (La., p. 232); vygna Olgovich' Vsevolod' svoego STRYJA JAROSLAWA (La., p. 296); Postavisha EPFA MANUILA skoptsa Smolin'sku. potom drugoho SKOPTSA Volodimerju EPFA FEODORA (La., p. 304); no priim' SVETNIKA GJURGJA Jaroslavicha (La., p. 323); slushaja TESTJA svoego STOSLA (La., p. 387); i nacha k nih' slati KNJAZJA DVDA Muromskago (La., p. 431); Posla blagprodnyi knjaz' Vasilko. Kostjamovich OTSA svoego dkhvnago KIRILA na eppbstvo (La., p. 456); izvedosha ARKHIMANDRITA stgo Bojavlenija IGNAT'JA (La., p. 476).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, similar combinations of the common nouns and proper appositive nouns appeared two hundred seventy-five times. The following sentences illustrate this use:
These examples of the gen.-acc. cases in the common and the proper appositive nouns clearly demonstrate that the animate-inanimate category expressed itself through the gen.-acc. case in both Chronicles.

Although the above instances of the gen.-acc. case in the two nouns constitute a numerical majority, there were two deviations from the norm in the Laurentian Chronicle. In one instance, both nouns -- the common and the proper -- were represented by the old acc. case:

```
postavi bo prezhe grado-sb velikii Volodimerb.

i potomь knjazь Andrei, sego zhe Mikhaila 
/и BRAT ego VSEVOLCD/ izbra /и/ staja Btsa (La., p. 378).
```

The second instance had the common noun in the gen.-acc. case, while the proper noun was in the old acc. case:
"Izjaslav zhe poslav brata svoego Protislava .. SNA zhe svoego JAROSLAV posadi Turově" (La., p. 314). In the Hypatian Chronicle, the appositive proper noun 'Jaroslav' occurred in the gen.-acc. case in a similar sentence: "i posadi SNA svoego. RSLAVA v Turově: (Hyp., p. 330).

Similarly, in the Radziwill and the Troitskaja Chronicles, the appositive proper noun 'Jaroslav' appeared in the gen.-acc. case. (La., p. 314, Footnote No. 37).

The two instances of the old acc. case in the proper appositive nouns can be regarded as rare occurrences, and they in no way undermined the animate-inanimate category in the masc. sing. common nouns denoting persons. According to Shakhmatov, the presence of the gen.-acc. case in either the proper or the common nouns provided a favourable circumstance for the retention of the old acc. case, and it did not diminish the efficacy of the animate-inanimate opposition in the proper nouns.15

The examination of the masc. sing. proper nouns with respect to the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the above five contextual positions in the two Chronicles warrants several observations regarding the status of the animate-inanimate category in these nouns.

First, it is evident that the substitution process was virtually complete in both Chronicles in the proper nouns.

15 Shakhmatov, loc. cit.
nouns, with the result that the gen.-acc. case was considered as the norm for the objective case. This fact is adequately substantiated by the preponderant occurrence of the gen.-acc. case in the proper nouns in five different positions as illustrated by the material in both Chronicles. The reason for the utilization of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. case lies in the fact that these nouns appeared most frequently in the role of subject and object in a language whose syntactical relationships were determined primarily by specific morphological case-endings rather than by word order.

Second, the following explanations can be presented for the several deviations from the use of the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function. It is possible to ascribe the retention of the old acc. case in the proper nouns to older texts from which the scribe merely transcribed the given proper noun in its original form, or made an error in spelling the word in question. Furthermore, the use of the old acc. case in the proper nouns after various prepositions left no doubt that the case was acc. rather than nom. case. The retention of the old acc. case by the appositive proper noun which was preceded by the gen.-acc. case of the common noun caused no confusion of function because the two nouns formed a syntactical unit in the objective use.
Finally, since these deviations had no effect on the use of the gen.-acc. case by the proper nouns in five contextual positions, one may conclude that the animate category was well established in these nouns in both the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.
TABLE I

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND THE GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE MASC. SING. PROPER NOUNS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPAITAN CHRONICLES

<table>
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<td>a. Acc=Gen</td>
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<td>b. Old Acc</td>
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<td>2. PREPOSITIONS PLUS PROPER NOUNS</td>
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<td>3. PREPOSITIONS PLUS PROPER NOUNS</td>
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<td>PLUS COMMON IN APPOSITION</td>
<td>b. Acc=Gen plus Old Acc</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>b. Old Acc plus Old Acc</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>c. Acc=Gen plus Old Acc</td>
<td>1</td>
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CHAPTER IV

ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE COMMON MASC. SING. NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS

Introduction

The material examined in the previous chapter indicated that the masc. sing. proper nouns denoting persons appeared overwhelmingly in the gen.-acc. case whenever they occurred in the objective function. In view of this fact, the animate-inanimate category, which relied on the distinct nom. and the gen.-acc. sing. cases, expressed itself most fully in these nouns. The evidence shows that the common masc. sing. nouns referring to persons were also acquiring the gen. case for the acc. function in place of the old acc. case. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is twofold: to present a brief survey of the substitution process in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic tests; and to examine the same process in the above nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles in order to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the common masc. sing. nouns referring to persons. These nouns will be examined in contextual positions similar to those of the proper nouns in chapter III.
Meillet made the following observation regarding the use of the gen.-acc. sing. case of the masc. nouns in the OCS monuments: "la règle de l'emploi du génitif-accusatif n'est pas appliquée avec constance". In other words, both the gen.-acc. and the old acc. cases were used. Furthermore, in Meillet's opinion, the utilization of the gen.-acc. case in the OCS texts indicates that the substitution process was not of recent origin, but was an extension from the late Common Slavic period. To illustrate the presence of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the OCS monuments, one may cite the following examples:

\[
\text{otvështavь zhe isousь reche emou o rode neverьнь i razvrashtenь, do kolь bòdq vь \vьsь i trëplëq vь; privede SYNь tvoi sëmo.}
\]

\[^1\text{Meillet, Recherches...}, \text{p. 31.}\]
\[^2\text{Ibid., pp. 32-74.}\]
\[^3\text{Ibid., p. 69.}\]
\[^4\text{"Codex Zographensis", Luke IX, 41, as cited in Karl H. Menges (ed.), Texts to Accompany An Introduction to Old Church Slavic (New York: Columbia University, 1953), p. 3.}\]
poslede zhe posbla k' liim SYNN svoi glagolja. ousramlejot' s' SYNA moego. delatele zhe egda ouzbrese SYNN reshe v' sebe; 5
V' onov. chlk' edin' pride k' isvi. Kljanaja se emou i gle. ouchitelju privedokh SN' moi k' teb'; 6

At the same time, one encounters the gen.-acc. case:

I mimo id' isous vid' CHLOVEKA slepa ot' pozhdestva; 7
zapr'eti zhe isous doukhovi nechistoumou. doushe nechisty, izidi ot' otroka. i itseli OTROKA i v' dadast' i ot' tsju ego; 8

I mimo id' Isous vid' CHLOVEKA slepa ot' rozhdestva, 9 ouchitelju mol' ti se prizbir' NA SNA moego. 10

Because the old acc. case prevailed in masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in the OCS texts, one may conclude that the substitution process was not completed in these nouns.

6 S' cepkin, op. cit., p. 65.
9 "Codex Marianus", John IX, 1, as cited in Menges, op. cit., p. 11.
10 S' cepkin, op. cit., p. 38.
As a corollary to this phenomenon, one may further state that the animate-inanimate category relied both on the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases for its expression in the masc. sing. nouns referring to persons.

The early and middle East Slavic monuments showed a degree of vacillation between the usage of the old acc. case and of the gen.-acc. case in the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons. Some examples of the old acc. case-forms from various texts of this period include:

1. Взъмши зе бѣзженая Теодора Дѣйишт;¹¹
2. Azhe кто познайет Челjadинъ svoи oukradenъ а роимъ и то onomou vesti и po konamъ;¹²
3. i ide rostovou. съ drouzhinoju svojej. a SъNъ ostavivъ novegorode и pride rostovou.¹³

The gen.-acc. case was also used extensively in various nouns and texts of this period as evidenced by the following citations:

¹¹ Kedajtene, "Razvitie from родительного-vинительного падежа...," p. 159.


¹³ "Russkaja pravda po Novgorodskoj Kormchej 1282 g." in Obnorskij and Barkhudarov, op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁴ "Novgorodskaja letopisъ po Sinodalному spisku XIII-XIV vv.", Ibid., p. 69.
Како исповѣдѣть: "отвѣтъ" Bloudѣнаго SNA подражай;\(^{15}\)

Imashe MYTARJA i bloudѣнаго SNA. bloudѣницу i RAZBOINIKA въ единомъ чжасѣ;\(^{16}\)

Ashche oubo obrjashcheshi MUZHA дѣтва и iskousъna mogoushcha tja vrachevatи besramlenija;\(^{17}\)

Anadanъ, uzrѣvъ BRATA svoego, ego zhe takzhe kormjakъ въ domu svoемъ;\(^{18}\)

Ashche ubijutъ TATJA на своёмъ дворѣ, ljubo u klѣti, ili u khleva: to toi ubitъ.\(^{19}\)

The examples of the gen.-acc. and the old acc. cases, as found in the early and middle East Slavic texts, indicate that both cases were used to express the acc. function. Thus, the retention of the old acc. case and the adoption of the gen.-acc. case lead one to conclude that the animate-inanimate category was gradually asserting itself in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.

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\(^{15}\)Kotkov, op. cit., p. 547.

\(^{16}\)Ibid., p. 552.

\(^{17}\)Ibid., p. 631.

\(^{18}\)"Povestъ об Akire premudrom" в Gudzij, op. cit., p. 109.


The substitution process in the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns referring to persons was reflected extensively in the two Chronicles. However, the use of the gen.-acc. case was not as universally adopted in this group of common nouns as it was in the proper nouns. One still finds examples of the old acc. case in various contextual positions in one or the other of the two Chronicles.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, for example, the gen.-acc. case appeared two hundred thirty-three times. The old acc. case occurred twenty-three times in the masc. sing. common nouns of various stems.\(^\text{20}\) Comparatively speaking, this meant that the gen.-acc. and the old acc. case stood in a ratio of nine to one. Instances of the gen.-acc. case\(^\text{21}\) of various common nouns denoting persons are illustrated by the following sentences from the Laurentian Chronicle:

\[^{20}\text{Since the former classification of the masc. sing. nouns according to stems has lost its efficacy as a result of the simplification process on the basis of the 'hard' and 'soft' case-endings, no reference will be made to either classification during the examination of these nouns with respect to substitution.}\]

\[^{21}\text{A detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the common masc. sing. nouns of various stems denoting persons is included in Table II at the end of the chapter.}\]
Oleg же посмеялся и укорил КУДЕСНИКА (La., p. 39); да пристройте меды многi въ градѣ oubiste MUZHA moego da plachjuja nadъ grobomъ ego (La., p. 57); ashche ne poideete k намъ то налeземъ KNJAZJA sobe (La., p. 69); imъ же ouchenемъ pobézhаемъ. protivnago VRAGA. (La., p. 83); viděvъ же дьjavolъ jako pochti Bz CHLVKA (La., p. 88); Volodimerъ же velikimъ muzhemъ stvori togo. i OTSA ego (La., p. 124); dostoitъ ti kazniti RAZBOINIKА (La., p. 127); i o uzre zhelaemago BRATA svoego (La., p. 136); i rekoshka potaui namъ IGUMENA (La., p. 159); Izjaslavъ. Stoslavъ. i Vsevolodъ. vysadisha STROJA svoego is poruba (La., p. 162); i khotjakhu pogubiti ËPPA (La., p. 181); i prijasha i Muromtsi. i POSADNIKA ja Olgova (La., p. 229); a togo ne zabyvaite ne lénitesja. темъ бо nochnym poklonom i pěněm chlvkъ pobézhaket Džavola (La., p. 245); i OTSA svoego pomjanuvъ (La., p. 296); se prislav Volodimerъ SNA svoego (La., p. 275); ne slushai Jaroslavicha primiri SVBTSА (La., p. 326); aby Izjaslavъ ne pritjacъh g korolevi. bě bo Izjaslavъ slyshavъ KOROLJA (La., p. 337); Berendeeve же jasha KNJAZJA za povodъ (La., p. 360); Posla bgovernyi i kho-ijubivy knjazъ Vsevolodъ Gjurgevich. TIVUNA svoego Gjurju (La., p. 412); knjazъ же velikii posadi SVOJAKA svoego na Novom Torbzhku (La., p. 414); no pache oblichashe GRABITELJA. i MZDOIMTSA (La., p. 439); izvoli ego postaviti SLUZHITELJA svoei ]tsrkvi. i PASTUKHA i OUCHITELJA Rostovу. i Jaroslavlju. i Ouglechji polju (La., p. 456).

togo же лета приведе knzъ Andrei TSRVICHА (La., p. 526).

In addition to the gen.-acc. case, the old acc. case was also present in the common masc. sing. nouns. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were eighteen instances of this case with the modifier 'svoi' in either the old acc. or gen.-acc. case. According to Shakhmatov, the presence of this modifier implied that the case of the
noun represented the acc. function. Sentences containing the modifier 'svoi' and various masc. sing. nouns in the acc. case include the following:

vypusti ty svoi MUZHь a ja svoi da sja boreta (La., p. 122); zautra priekhasha Pechenezi. i svoi MUZHь прivedosha (Ібид.,);
vypustisha Pechenězi MUHZь svoi (La., p. 123);
posla MUZHь svoi i vda imь goru tu (La., p.159); i prijasha KNJAZь svoi Kyjane (La., p. 174); i posla k nemu МьstislaVь SOLь svoi iz Novagoroda ġlja (La., p. 237); da zhe nachneshi kajatisja Bu. i mnь dobro srdste stvorishь. poslaviā SOLь svoi ili pěspa (La., p. 254); chemь jesi slěplиг BRAT svoи (La., p. 263); da zhe by mene Dvдь poslushavaVь.
da bykh poslaVь MUZHь svoi k Volodimeru voro-
titāja (La., p. 265); i molvi jemu tako.
ozhe khoshcheshi poslati MUZHь svoи. i voro-
titāja Volodimerь (La., p. 265); bь bo Stopolkь s Volodimerom rjadь imēle. jako,
Novugorodu byті Stopolchju. i posaditi ŠNь svoi v nemь. a Volodimerу posaditi ŠNь svoj v Volodimeri (La., p. 275); Novgorodtі vygnasha Stoslava. a ko Vsevolodu prislasha èpspa s muzhi svoimi. rekushche daи nam ŠNь svoj. a Stoslava ne khochem. i posla ŠNь svoj. a Stoslava ne khochem. i posla k nim ŠNь svoj (La., p. 308); i rech Romanь k Rjurikovi to ouzh esi krstь tselovalь.
poшли ty MOUZH svoeg ko svatu svoemu. a ja shljу svoeg MOUZH ko otsju i gnou velikou knзju Vsevolodu (La., p. 419); prisла Romanь MOUZH svoeg. k velikomu knзju (La., p. 420).

There also were two examples of the old acc. case of the masc. sing. nouns with the pronoun-adjective 'moi', and three instances with no modifier, as shown in these sentences:

22Shakhmatov, op. cit., p. 51.
Since the old acc. case was morphologically similar to the nom. case in the above five examples, there could have been confusion of subject and object relationship. However, from the viewpoint of syntax and context, the case in question was acc. Therefore, in the Laurentian Chronicle, the animate-inanimate category was expressed adequately in the common masc. sing. nouns signifying persons.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons appeared in a ratio of seven to one in favour of the gen.-acc. case. Numerically, there were three hundred seventy-eight examples of the gen.-acc. case-forms and fifty-four of the old acc. The following citations illustrate the use of the gen.-acc. of various nouns:

i vizlozhat' na kladu MRTVETSA (Hyp., p. 10); Volodimer zhe prished v tovary poslaj po tovarom BIRICA (Hyp., p. 107); i ouzre zhelaemago BRATA svoego (Hyp., p. 123); jako zhe Isaia gity ot Erima krzpost' i krejka ISPOLINA i CHLVA khrabra i sudaju i PRZKA i smirenaya STARTSA i divna SVETNIKA i mudra KHYTRETSAY razumena POSLUSHNIKA i
Along with the gen.-acc. case in various common nouns denoting persons, there were fifty-four instances of the old acc. case. Out of this total, forty-five appeared with the modifier 'svoi', as can be noted from the following random examples:

a Jaropolk posadi POSADNIK svoi v Novgorod' (Hyp., p. 63); i iziidosha ijudje protivu s poklonom' i prijasha KNIAZ svoi Kyan' (Hyp., p. 163); i posla k' n'm SNA svoi (Hyp., p. 307); Gjurgi zhe protivu tomu prisla svoi POSOL (Hyp., p. 430); i TIOUN' svoi posla (Hyp., p. 533); i oujazvisha i svoi DRUG (Hyp., p. 587); prestavja k nemu MOUZH svoi i posla ego Kazimiru v Ljakh (Hyp., p. 666); Prisla Jur' Lvovich POSOL svoi (Hyp., p. 911).

In addition to these examples with the modifier 'svoi', there were three instances in which the old acc.
case was followed by three other modifiers in the gen.-acc. case:

da ljubjai vё ljubitЬ i BRAT SVOEGO (Hyp., p. 195); tobe by brate ljubo li.
a bykhomb my BRAT TVOEGO derzhali (Hyp., p. 346); i tobe bylo vёkhavshi v Kievb.
BRAT MOEGO jati i sna moeg (Hyp., p. 373).

Since the modifiers in their old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases clearly indicated that the nouns were used in the objective function, there was no confusion between the subject and object relationship.

The remaining six instances of the old acc. case could have been interpreted as nom. sing. cases because they were morphologically similar. They appeared in the following sentences:

Kjurjane zhe poslasha. kЬ Gjurgevichju. i pojasha ou nego POSADNIKЬ k sobe. i posadi svoego ou nikhъ posadnika (Hyp., p. 356); RjurikЬ zhe sdouma s mouzhi svoimi. posla POSOLъ ko Jaroslavou. khotja i svesti v ljubovЬ so VsevolodomЬ i s DavydomЬ (Hyp., p. 689); RjurikЬ sdouma s mouzhi svoimi. i posla POSOLъ ko svatou svoemou (Hyp., p. 694); Danilovi zhe moljashchusja Bou. izbavi i bЬ ot rouky silnykh. i obistoupi grad. i posla POSOLъ. i vospis posolъ glЪsmъ velikom (Hyp., p. 760); Toe zhe zimy Ko-
ndratz. prисla POSOLъ. po Vasilka (Hyp., p. 808); VolodimЪrъ zhe otrjadivъ ratЬ. i poёkha do Berestja. poslalъ zhe bjashetъ POSOLъ naperedъ. peredъ ratЬju ko bratou svoemou Kondratou (Hyp., p. 884).

In these examples, the function of the old acc. case can be determined only by the context and by the position of the constituent members in a given sentence. Thus, it was possible to decipher the legitimate function
of the old acc. case.

In conclusion, concerning the substitution process in the common masc. sing. nouns referring to persons in the direct object function, one can state that the gen.-acc. case was regarded as the acc. case in the two Chronicles. This case appeared six hundred eleven times in both Chronicles, which the old acc. case occurred a total of seventy-seven times. Of this number, there were only nine instances without any modifiers. In view of the preponderant number of the gen.-acc. and the old acc. case with qualifiers, one can state that the subject and object relationship was well maintained. In addition, one can conclude that the animate-inanimate category also preserved its polarity in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in both Chronicles.

In the post-prepositional function, the common masc. sing. nouns referring to persons appeared twenty-one times in the gen.-acc. case in the Laurentian Chronicle. Some random samples of this gen.-acc. usage are:

jakozhe Dvdb gltj jadyi khlēb moi. vţzveli-
chili estj na mja lestb. se bo lukvств-
vashe NA KNJAŽJA svoego lestbju (La., p. 76);
i mně pomozi Gi NA suprotivnago VRAGA (La.,
p. 118); knjazь bo Glēbь i druzhina ego
idosha i stasha ou ērrha. a ludьe vši idosha
ZA VOLKHVA. i by mjatezhь velikь (La., p. 181);
posem zhe pride Feodosii s brateju. i prisē-
djakhu ou nego. onomu zhe iznemagajushchju.
vţzrěvь NA IGUMENA rech (La., p. 189); se
zhe pogybe ne ot brata no, ZA BRATA svoego
(La., p. 202); posla PO ŠNA svoego (La.,
In addition to these examples, there were six instances where the prepositions governed the old acc. case. The following phrases illustrate this fact:

i zapoveda Olegь danь, dajati na.у. korabь po .В. grivenь NA CHLVК and вь korabli po m. mouzhь (La., p. 30); a knjagini nasha khoche ZA vashь KNJAЗа і ponesoша ja v lodи (La., p. 56); da v velitsе chti pridu ZA vashь KNJAЗа. eda ne pustjatь mene ljudье Kievьstii (La., p. 57); i molvjashe vsegda. Jaropolku Svenalдь, poidi NA BRATь svoi. i primь volostь ego (La., p. 74); jako пade zhrbii NA SH твоi izvolishь bo i bzi sobе. da storimь potrebu bмь (La., p. 82); egda zhe podЪjakhutьsja nachЪjakhutь roptati NA KNJAЗа (La., p. 126).

Since the prepositions governed the acc. case, there was no ambivalence about the function of the old acc. case. According to Thomson, "Вь sochetanijakhь сь predlogami ne trebovalosь rod.-vin., такь kakь dvumyshlennostь sover-shanno iskljuchaetsja".23 For this reason, one may conclude that the use of prepositions encouraged the retention of the old acc. case and, at the same time, maintained both syntactical comprehensibility and the animate-inanimate category.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, there were forty-three occurrences of the gen.-acc. case and thirteen of the

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23 Thomson, "Roditelьnyj-vinitelьnyj padеzhi...", p. 247.
The old acc. case after various prepositions. The following examples illustrate the use of the gen.-acc. case:

1. i se rekshi moljashes za šnja i za ljudi (Hyp., p. 52); mně pomozi gi na suprotivnago VRAGA (Hyp., p. 103); poidi sjadi v Kyeše na stole otne onь zhe rech ne bydi to mně
2. vźznijatì ruky na BRATA na starēishago (Hyp., p. 118); tego zhe lēta vedosa. Volodimerču.
3. Ofimьju vь Ougry za KOROLJA (Hyp., p. 273); izhe svēshchasta svetъ zolъ sj Kijany NA KNJAZJA swoego (Hyp., p. 324); i tsaelova s nimъ křstъ.
4. povodja i sja na Kievъ NA TESTJA swoego (Hyp., p. 686); vziraja jako NA samogo TVORTSA (Hyp., p. 704); v to vreja poshelъ bjashe. Fridrikhъ tšrъ. NA ĖRTSIKA voinoju (Hyp., p. 776); onomu zhe ležhshchju v bolesti svoij. ouslishavъ
5. bratenъ priezdaž. vostavъ i sēđe. i posla PO BRATA. on zhe pride k nemou i poklonis emou (Hyp., p. 901-902); poslaliъ bo bjashe vo-
6. zvoditъ Tatarъ NA SNOVTSJA svoego (Hyp., p. 930).

The old acc. sing. of various stem nouns appeared eight times after prepositions in the Hypatian Chronicle:

1. a knjagini nasha khochetъ. NA vashъ KNJAZъ. i ponososha ja v lodji (Hyp., p. 45); i řēsha prisheyšha poslanii k nemu. jako pade
2. zhrēbiš. NA ŠNъ tvoi (Hyp., p. 69); i sii
3. knjazъ prolъja krovъ svoju NA BRAT svoeg (Hyp., p. 195); v tomъzhe lētē vedena Pe-
4. redislava dschchi Stōpolcha vo Ougry ZA KOROLEVICHъ (Hyp., p. 256); ibo so dēja-
5. volomъ tēla radi Moisieva protivjasja NA KNJAZъ zhe Perškii svobody radi (Hyp., p. 269); no boudemy vši NA odinъ MUZHъ
6. (Hyp., p. 342); ashche kto polozhitъ dšhju svoju NA DRUG svoi (Hyp., p. 585); mouzhī
7. Galichkyi priimshe svetъ Romanovъ. sovoko-
8. upivshe polky svoja. i outverdivshesja křstomъ. i vostasha NA KNJAZъ svoi (Hyp., p. 660).

As in the Laurentian Chronicle so, too, in the Hypatian, the presence of various prepositions before the old acc. case eliminated the possibility of its confusion with the
nom. case, and thus upheld the differentiation between the subject and object cases.

It should be noted that several combinations of prepositions and the old acc. case of the masc. sing. animate nouns have survived as adverbial expressions in the modern Russian and Ukrainian languages, for example: 'vyjti zamuzh', 'na konь', and 'vyjti zamihz', 'na kинь', respectively. 24

Further examination of the prepositions which governed the old acc. case of the common sing. nouns denoting persons has revealed that these nouns were also followed by proper appositive nouns. In this usage, one can discern three distinct phenomena, consisting of prepositions followed by common and proper nouns. In the first of these, both the common and proper nouns appeared in the gen.-acc. case; in the second, the common noun occurred in the old acc. case; while the proper noun was in the gen.-acc. case; finally; both nouns appeared in the old acc. case.

The following examples, of which there were twenty-eight in the Laurentian Chronicle, illustrate the use of this combination:

Leonid Diogenevich, ziatb Volodimerb, ide
NA TSRbA. ALEKSIJA (La., p. 291); i shelb
esi bylb NA STRbA svoego NA MIKHALKA
(La., p. 382); i prosi ou nego dshcheri
ZA svoego SYNOTSZA ZA ŠTOJSLAVA (La., p. 350);
i posla Novugorodu PO ŠNA svoego KOSTJANTA (La., p. 430); Tatarove poplënisha Volodimerb.
i poidosha NA velikogo KNJAZJA GEORGIJA
(La., p. 464); Posla Jaroslavb knjaz velikii
PO BRATA svoego GEORGIJA (La., p. 467);
Jaroslavb velikyi ne bë vedalb takogo vstanbja
NA ŠNA svoego milogo OLEKSANDRA (La., p. 478);
knjaz velikii Mëstislavb poide s Novgorodtsi
NA ZJATJA svoego KNJAZJA JAROSLAVA (La., p. 492);
Togo zhe lëta khodi knzj Jaroslavb ratbju k
Chernigovu NA KNJAZJA velikogo MIKHAILA (La.,
p. 512); Posla Jaroslavb PO BRATA svoego
JURbJA v Rostovb (La., p. 523); pride ratbju
na Rjazanb NA KNJAZJA VOLODIMERA Pronbskogo
(La., p. 534).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, similar phrases, consisting of
various prepositions, common and proper nouns in the gen.-
acc. case, appeared thirty-nine times. They are exempli-
plied by the following random sentences:

khochemb zhe ZA OTSA vashego, ZA VJACHESLAVA
i ZJATJA. i ZA BRATA tvoego ROSTISLAVA. i za
vsju bratbju. i golovy svoe slozhiti (Hyp.,
p. 427); rozgnevavbsja NA STRbA svoego NA
ROSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 519); i otpousti i v
Rousb... ZA KNJAZJA ROSLAVA (Hyp., p. 658);
i posla PO SVATA PO RJURIKA (Hyp., p. 680);
zanezhe bjashetb pomoglj NA TESTJA svoego
NA RJURIKA (Hyp., p. 700); vda dshchrb svoju
menshouju ZA KOROLEVICH ANDBreira (Hyp.,
p. 740); poimi dshsheb ZA ŠNA svoego LVA
(Hyp., p. 809); povëdë... NA SNÖVTSA svoego
NA KONDRA (Hyp., p. 880; khochju poslati
PO BRATA svoego PO MëSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 901).

Since both the common noun and its appositive proper
noun appeared in the gen.-acc. case after various
prepositions, the animate—inanimate opposition mani-
fested itself explicitly in terms of syntactical clarity
based on the subject and object relationship.

There were three instances of the second combination, where the common noun was in the old acc. case, while the proper noun was in the gen.-acc., all of which appeared in the Hypatian Chronicle:

Izjaslavъ zhe slysha to posla PO BRAT svoego PO ROSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 377); poja Jaroslavъ Galichʹskyi knѣ ZA ȘNѣ svoi ZA VOLODIMIRA (Hyp., p. 527); i poide NA BRAT NA svoego NA KONDARA (Hyp., p. 883).

Although the common nouns retained their old acc. case, syntactical ambiguity was eliminated by the governing preposition and the presence of the adjective 'svoi'.

The last combination, consisting of the preposition 'ZA', followed by common and proper nouns in the old acc. case, was recorded twice in each of the two Chronicles. Interestingly, both Chronicles contained similar expressions in which the proper noun 'Malъ', referring to the Prince of the Drevljane tribe, was used in the old acc. case.

In the Laurentian Chronicle the sentences read as follows:

poimemъ zhenu ego Volъgu ZA KNJAZÎ svoi MALЪ i Stoslava (La., p. 55); da poide ZA KNJAZÎ nashy ZA MALЪ (La., p. 56).

Similar expressions in the Hypatian Chronicle were:

poimemъ zhenu ego Olgu ZA KNJAZÎ svoi MALЬ i Stosława i stvorumъ emu jako zhe khoshchemъ (Hyp., p. 43); da idy ZA nashy KNJAZÎ ZA MALЬ (Hyp., p. 44).

The retention of the old acc. case in both nouns after the preposition 'ZA' defies direct explanation, but its presence,
along with the modifiers, clearly indicated that the old acc. case functioned as the acc. It is unlikely that the use of the old acc. case-form in the proper noun 'Malź' was intended to degrade, or scorn, Prince Malź, whose men killed Olga's husband, Prince Igor. The phrases are actually direct utterances of the men belonging to Malź's retinue, and it is inconceivable that they would refer to their Prince 'Malź' in disparaging terms. If this were the scribe's intention of retaliation for the killing of Igorź, it remains a mystery. Buslaev, however, suggested that this specific phrase should be interpreted as an adverbial expression similar to present fossilized phrases like 'vyjti zamuzh'.

As in the previous function, the prepositions governing the gen.-acc. or the old acc. cases of either the common noun or its appositive proper nouns provided the necessary distinction between the nom. and acc. cases. For this reason, the adequate expression of the animate-inanimate opposition was not hampered.

In the fourth function, where the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons served as appositives to the proper nouns, the Laurentian Chronicle contained forty-five examples of the gen.-acc. cases of both nouns. This is demonstrated in the following randomly chosen sentences:

25 Buslaev, op. cit., p. 216.
The same combination of proper and appositive common nouns appeared ninety-five times in the Hypatian Chronicle. Some examples include the following:

From these examples, it is evident that various common nouns, appearing in the appositive function with the proper nouns, appeared exclusively in the gen.-acc.
This fact demonstrates that the animate-inanimate opposition maintained its status in the appositive common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.

In addition to the above objective functions, the common nouns were also followed by an appositive proper noun. In this context, one can discern four combinations of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in both nouns.

The gen.-acc. case in both the common and proper nouns occurred one hundred-eighty seven times in the Laurentian Chronicle. Examples of this usage are:

i postavilb es EPSPA. i NAMESNIKA v' sebë ANDRONIKA Sloven'skou jazyku (La., p. 28);
shedshe oublite BRATA moego BORISA (La., p. 132; i posade SNA svoego VOLCODIMERA
Novogorodë (La., p. 150); no pslasha Vsevolezhju i MITROPOLITA NIKOLU (La., p. 263);
i posadista POSADNIKA Stëpolcha VASILJA
(La., p. 272); poini BRATA svoego VASILKA
t sobë (La., p. 274); dai ny SHJURINA
svogo MSTISLAVICA (La., p. 308); Prinese
blgovërnaja knjagyni Elena KNJAZJA JAROPOLKA
iz grobnitsi (La., p. 312); Izjaslav pos-
tavi MITROPOLITA KLIMA. kalugera. Rusina
(La., p. 315); Posadi Kyevë STRëJA svoego
GLëBA (La., p. 355); toe zhe zimy posla
Dvëb i-Smolinska SNOVTSVA svoego MSTISLAVA.
SVATA velikogo knjaza VSEVOLODA. v pomoch
zjatju svoemu na Vitepešk (La., p. 413);
posla MOUZHA svoeg MIKHAILA Borisovicha
(La., p. 420); tu i dozhda OTSA svoego OLEK-
SNDRa (La., p. 474). Poslasha ARKHIEPSPA MITR-C-
FANA i POSADNIKA IVANKA (La., p. 503); i poznasta
BRATA svoego VOLCODIKZRA (La., p. 516); toe zhe
oseni oubishã v Ordë KNZJA OLEKSANDRA MIKHAI-
LOVICA. i SNA ego FEODORA (La., p. 530-531).

Similar combinations of the common nouns and the appositive proper nouns were recorded two hundred seventy-five times in the Hypatian Chronicle where,
among others, the following examples were in evidence:

- posadi ȘNA svoego VOLODIMIRA (Hyp., p. 138);
- i narekosa v sobe IGUMENA PROKHORA popina (Hyp., p. 274); Ol'govich Vsevolodja STRJJA svoego JAROSLAVA (Hyp., p. 290); posla...
- Belogorodskogo EPSPA FEODORA i Pecherskago IGUMENA FEDOSA i mouzhi svoi (Hyp., p. 366);
- pozva i BRATA k sobe. VOLODIMIRA i ȘNA svoego MªSTISLAVA i BORISA Gorodenjiskago (Hyp., p. 413);
- Ouvede Izjaslav stryja svoeg i OTSA svoeg VJACHESLAVA ou Kiev, (Hyp., p. 418);
- vidivz he Vjacheslav ȘNOVTSJA svoeg ROSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 423); i poslusha OTROKA KUZMINA nochb (Hyp., p. 501);
- poziva i BRATA svoego JAROSLAVA (Hyp., p. 526); i prisla Volodimirb DîJACHÈKA IMORMYZHA (Hyp., p. 535); i jasha Polovetskogo KNJAZJA KOBANA (Hyp., p. 672);
- i posla s neju ȘNA svoe starëishego MIKHAILA (Hyp., p. 862).

Although the examples from the two chronicles indicate that the common masc. sing. and appositive proper nouns appeared predominantly in the gen.-acc. case, there were several exceptions to this rule. These deviations constitute the second combination of the common and proper nouns, where the former noun retained its old acc. case-form. The Laurentian Chronicle had eight examples of this use:

- vidavz emu ȘNz svoi na rutsë. IGORJA (La., p. 22);
- i posla Volodimerb ȘNz svoi ROMANA, v Volodimerb knjazhitb (La., p. 292); v to zhe let posla Volodimerb ȘNz svoi drugyi ANDRÈJA, knjazhitb Volodimerju (Ibid.,); a Glebu knjazu Kyevskomu, v to vremja bolnu sushchju.
- posla BRAT svoego MIKHALKA s bratom svoimb Vsevolodom po Polovtsikh (La., p. 363); i rekosa vši sobe ljubo Mikhalka knjazja sobe nalezëmë, i BRAT ego VSEVOLODA (La., p. 378);
- juzhe bë pastil sna Rjurikova i BRAT eg VOLODIMIRA (La., p. 420); Vygansha Novgorodtsi knižja Vsevoloda Mstislavicha iz Nova goroda: Poslasha arkhiepcka, i posadnika Ivanka, k velikomu knjazju Jurbju Vsevolodichju.
Since the common nouns SNb and BRAT were followed by the possessive adjectives 'svoi' and 'ego', as well as by the proper appositive nouns in the gen.-acc. case, they were regarded as acc. According to Shakhmatov, such combinations of adjectives and proper nouns were conducive to the retention of the old acc. case; they caused no syntactical confusion.  

In the Hypatian Chronicle, there were also eight examples in which the common nouns, followed by the appositive proper nouns in the gen.-acc. case, were represented by the old acc. case:

Vsevolodь zhe posadi POSADNIK. RATIBORA. Tmoutorokanju (Hyp., p. 196);
i stojashe na Dnepre Vsevolodь. i posla Vsevolodь BRAT svoego. STOSLAVA s polky kь Perejaslavju (Hyp., p. 305); Izjaslavь zhe se slyshavь. posla BRAT svoego ROSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 330); Olgovichju. zhalь bo ny estь BRAT nashego derzhishi. IGORJA a onь ouzhe chernetь i skimnikь (Hyp., p. 346); posla k nimь MOUZHь svoi OLьSTINA olezcha. (Hyp., p. 635); ozhe esmy oustali na ratь. zhalь bo ny estь BRAT svoego IGORJA (Hyp., p. 364); Kazimirь zhe pristavja k nemou MOUZHь svoi MIKLAJA (Hyp., p. 666); i s nimь poslalь POSOLь svoi VJACHESLAVA Lysogo (Hyp., p. 719).

The presence of the modifier 'svoi', which appeared in the old acc. and the gen.-acc. case, as well as with the appositive proper nouns also in the

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26 Shakhmatov, op. cit., p. 51.
gen.-acc. case, indicated that the old acc. case functioned as acc. In this context, the retention of the old acc. case caused no syntactical confusion, and the animate-inanimate category maintained its opposition.

In the third combination of the common masc. sing. and the appositive proper nouns, the former noun appeared in the gen.-acc. case, while the latter was represented by the old acc. case. This single example was found in the Laurentian Chronicle:

Izjaslavь zhe poslavь brata svoego Rostislava, otja ou nego gorody opjat, i posadniky isko- vavь privedе. i Turovьskago еpьspa Jakima. SNA zhe svoego JAROSLAVь posadi Turovь (La., p. 314).

In this particular instance, the acc. case function of the appositive proper noun is easily ascertained from the context. In the Hypatian Chronicle (p. 330), Radziwili and the Academy Chronicles (La., Remarks under "е", p. 378), as well as in the Khlebnikov and Pogodin Chronicles (Hyp., p. 330, Footnote No. 58), the proper noun 'Jaroslavь' appeared in the gen.-acc. case in a similar context. The retention of the old acc. case in the appositive proper noun 'Jaroslavь' in the Laurentian Chronicle may be explained as an oversight on the part of the scribe.

The fourth combination of the common and proper appositive nouns also appeared only in the Laurentian Chronicle. In this context, both nouns—common and proper—were recorded in the old acc. case. The three sentences read as follows:
Although both nouns appeared in the old acc. case, the modifiers 'ego' and 'svoi' indicated that the common noun was in the objective case which, in turn, specified the acc. function of the proper appositive noun, because the two nouns functioned as a single objective unit.

On the basis of the examination of the four discernible combinations of the common masc. sing. and appositive proper nouns in the objective function, it is evident that in the majority of instances one or the other noun appeared in the gen.-acc. case. Such combinations eliminated syntactical confusion regarding the subject and object relationship. In other cases, the presence of the modifier 'svoi', as well as the context, enabled one to recognize the objective function of the old acc. case of the common as well as of the proper appositive nouns. Since the above use of the common and the appositive proper noun was numerically limited and did not constitute a norm, the animate-inanimate category encountered minimum difficulty in expressing itself adequately in the context of double acc. cases of the common masc. sing. and the appositive proper nouns.
As a concluding remark pertaining to the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate opposition in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, the following observations can be made.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the use of the gen.-acc. and the old acc. cases as a direct object stood in a ratio of nine to one, while in the Hypatian it was seven to one. These ratios indicate that the substitution process was proceeding at a slower pace in the Hypatian Chronicle. In the post-prepositional combination, the gen.-acc. and the old acc. cases appeared in a ratio of three to one in both Chronicles. The use of the common and appositive proper nouns after prepositions showed that the gen.-acc. case predominated in the two Chronicles. At the same time, there were three examples in the Laurentian Chronicle, and two in the Hypatian, where both nouns were represented by the old acc. cases after prepositions. Furthermore, only the Hypatian Chronicle had three examples of the old acc. case in the common noun which was modified by the proper appositive in the gen.-acc. case after prepositions. Again, the Hypatian Chronicle showed a somewhat conservative tendency in acquiring the gen.-acc. case after prepositions. In the context where the common noun appeared in the appositive function in the objective capacity, both nouns
were represented by the gen.-acc. case in both Chronicles. The gen.-acc. case was used overwhelmingly in the common masc. sing. and proper appositive nouns which appeared in the objective capacity. Minor exceptions were found in both Chronicles. The Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles had seven and eight instances, respectively, of the common nouns appearing in the old acc. case. Finally, the Laurentian Chronicle exhibited one instance where the appositive proper noun was recorded in the old acc. case, and one example where both the common and appositive proper nouns were represented by the old acc. case.

These considerations lead one to conclude that the animate-inanimate category had almost attained its objective and full status in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in the two Chronicles.
TABLE II

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND THE GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE COMMON MASC. SING. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING PERSONS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

<table>
<thead>
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<th>TYPES OF NOUNS IN OBJECTIVE FUNCTION</th>
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<th>FREQUENCY</th>
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<td>1. COMMON NOUNS AS DIRECT OBJECT</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Acc=Nom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>54</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. PREPOSITIONS PLUS COMMON NOUNS</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Acc=Nom</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. PREPOSITIONS PLUS COMMON NOUNS PLUS PROPER IN APPPOSITION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Gen</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Acc=Nom plus Acc=Gen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Acc=Nom plus Acc=Nom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. PROPER NOUNS PLUS COMMON IN APPPOSITION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Gen</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Nom</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. COMMON NOUNS PLUS PROPER IN APPPOSITION</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Gen</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Acc=Nom plus Acc=Gen</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Nom</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Acc=Nom plus Acc=Nom</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER V

ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE MASC. PLU. -O-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the substitution process in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

In the late Common Slavic, OCS, and early East Slavic periods, the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -o-stem nouns were morphologically different. Beginning with the thirteenth century, however, the nom. and acc. case-endings of the masc. plu. nouns were undergoing simplification on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems. This meant that the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the -o-stems were identical, and this could have caused syntactical confusion with respect to the subject and object relationship. For this reason, the use of the gen. plu. case for the old acc. case was introduced as a means to differentiate the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons.

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1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc.
   Plu. -o-Stem Nouns Denoting Persons in
   the OCS and Early East Slavic Texts

In the OCS monuments, the nom. plu. case of the
-o-stem nouns was represented by the case-ending -I: rab-I.
The acc. plu. case had an ending -Y: rab-Y. Since the nom.
and acc. plu. cases of these nouns were dissimilar, there
was no syntactical confusion concerning the subject and
object relationship. At the same time, the animate-inanimate
category utilized these cases for its expression. Therefore,
the substitution process was unknown in the masc. plu.
-o-stem nouns signifying persons in the OCS monuments.¹

The early East Slavic texts exhibit the OCS endings
in the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -o-stem nouns to a
large extent. At the beginning of the thirteenth century,
however, there appeared a tendency to unify the distribution
of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings according to the
'hard' and 'soft' final consonants of the stem.² This
meant that the nom. plu. ending -I of the -o-stems was
replaced by the ending -Y. The basis for this was

¹Nikiforov, op. cit., p. 56.

²The views of scholars concerning the unification of
the nom. and acc. case-endings in the masc. plu. nouns were
discussed by B.I. Skupskij in Sovpadenie form imenitel'noho
i vinitel'nogo padazhej mnogozhestvennogo chisla u sushchestvennykh muzhskogo roda v drevnerusskom jazyke (Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata
filologicheskikh nauk), (Moscow: Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Institut Jazykoznanija, 1953), pp. 5-9. (Hereafter referred to as Sovpadenie..., (Avtoreferat).
analogy of the nom. plu. case-ending -y of the fem. -a-stem nouns. Moreover, the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y in the -o-stems was supported by the tendency to have 'hard' vowel endings in all oblique cases. In addition, the use of the ending -Y in the nom. plu. cases after the velars K, G, and KH, analogically supported the establishment of the ending -Y in the nom. plu. case of the -o-stem nouns.  

As a result of the simplification tendency of case-endings in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns, and the supporting analogies, the nom. and the acc. cases were identical in these nouns. This process of levelling of the nom. and acc. case-endings of the -o-stem nouns was completed toward the end of the fourteenth century in the East Slavic monuments.  

Although the simplification of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings in the -o-, -jo- and -i-stems on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems introduced the uniformity of the respective case-endings, it had unfavourable repercussions on the subject and object relationship. The nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the above stem nouns became

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3 L. A. Bulakhovskij, Istoricheskij kommentarij k russkomu literaturnomu jazyku (Kiev: Radjans'ka Shkola, 1958), pp. 81, 138-139, 149.

identical, and it proved difficult to determine the subject and object opposition from the viewpoint of syntax. Furthermore, the lack of distinct nom. and acc. cases affected adversely the animate-inanimate category, which relied for its expression on different nom. and acc. cases. Therefore, it is in this context — the identity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases and the need to differentiate the subject and object — that the substitution appeared in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns referring to persons. Skupskij elaborated this point in the following words:

... stanovitsja sovershенно ясным, почему развивалась категория одушевленности с тождеством форм им. и вин. падежей множественного числа, возникших вследствие совпадения этих форм, связанных определённые неудобства, особенно если в роли прямого дополнения употреблялись одушевлённые имена существительные. С развитием же категории одушевлённости неудобство это утратилось.

On the basis of this statement and the above considerations, one can state that the substitution process in the masc. plu. animate nouns was motivated by syntactical reasons in order to restore morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. —

plu. cases. The substitution process was motivated by the animate-inanimate opposition, which depended for its expression on the different nom. and acc. cases. Like the masc. sing. animate nouns, the masc. plu. animate nouns utilized the gen. case rather than the old acc. case in restoring the animate-inanimate category.  

Referring to the substitution process in the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons, Kedajtene asserted that:

V originalьных памятниках древнерусской письменности XII-XIII вв. существительные, обозначавшие лиц, во множественном числе отмечены только в старой форме винительного падежа. Первые случаи использования форм родительного-винительного падежа наблюдаем в памятниках, датированных началом XIV века.

In view of this, one can conclude that, in the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons, the animate-inanimate category expressed itself through the nom. and acc. cases in the early and middle East Slavic texts. The Laurentian and

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6 It should be noted that the gen. plu. case of the -o-stems was originally represented by the ending -ь. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the -o-stem nouns began to acquire the new gen. plu. case-ending -OVь, which came from the similar case of the -u-stems. The earliest recorded example of this case-ending appeared in a copy of the Charter of Ivan Kalita (1327-1328) in this phrase: "пожаловалъ емь СОКОЛНИКОВь печенскихъ". (Sobolevskij, op. cit., p. 200).

7 Kedajtene, "Развитие форм родительного-винительного падежа...," p. 168.
Hypatian Chronicles, compiled toward the end of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, exhibit the initial stage of the substitution process. It will be analyzed in the next section of the chapter.

2. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. Plu. -o-Stem Nouns Denoting Persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

The simplification of the plu. case-endings on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems resulted in the morphological similarity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the masc. -o-stem nouns signifying persons. Since this process was not complete at the time of the compilation of the two Chronicles, the nom. plu. case of these nouns was still represented by the old case-ending -I, and only sporadically by the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y. The acc. plu. had an old case-ending -Y (occasionally the case-ending -I after velars), as well as the case-ending -I, which was similar to the old nom. plu. case-ending -I. In addition, the acc. plu. case was also represented by the old gen. plu. case with the ending -b, and by the new gen. plu. case with the ending -OVb. The use of the gen. plu. cases and the plu. case-ending -I in the acc. function by the -o-stem nouns was motivated by the syntactical consideration and the animate-inanimate

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8 Hereafter, the case-ending -I, appearing after velars, will be placed in brackets after case-ending -Y, thus: -Y (-I).
category to have different nom. and acc. plu. cases in the nouns denoting persons.

In the Laurentian Chronicle there were one hundred twenty-seven examples of the old acc. plu. case-endings -Y (-1) which were identical with the new nom. plu. Examples of this usage were:

se slysha t̩ēb Mikhail i sozva FILOSFYP vsja (La., p. 26); Igor zhe prizva S̤Y grechskija (La., p. 53); i nacha posylati PRRKI glja i̊m̊ (La., p. 98); navede بث potopə ne zemlj i po-topi CHŁWXY vodoju, (La., p. 105); i s̤zyvashe BOLJARY svoja i POSADNIKY starēishiny po svem gradom. i ljudi mnogy (La., p. 125); vstavshe ljudīe izbisha E̤FY. i POPY i BJARY svoja (La., p. 150); a KHOLOFY nasha vydaia i SMERY (La., p. 274); priveđe emu بث iz vseh zemlj vse MASTERY (La., p. 351); a Volodimerti i druzhina povedosha KOLODIKY (La., p. 382); a ty dergishib VOROGY svoe prosty (La., p. 385); B̊ bo kaznitb RABY svoja napastm razlîchnymi (La., p. 405); i posla POSADNIKY po vsem gorodom Kyevskym (La., p. 427); i otolē poslasha POSLY svoja (La., p. 514).

Similar instances in the Hypatian Chronicle were represented one hundred eighty-one times, some of which were:

Romanb zhe s̤braz bojary i S̤ANOJNIKY (Hyp., p. 35); Oni zhe nachasha PRRKY izbivati (Hyp., p. 85; slyshavə zhe Jaroslavə V̤LZKHY (Hyp., p. 135); nacha prizivati B̤ESY_v̤ khraminu svoju (Hyp., p. 168); no B̊ vĕst suv izbaviti CHŁWXY blgochтивыja svoja oto l̩sti (Hyp., p. 229); ne veremja nyne pogubiti SMERbDY ot rolby (Hyp., p. 265); i posla Gjurgi i St̤oslavə POSLY svoja (Hyp., p. 377); i sozva muža ottsa svoego Vja-cheslava i TIVUNY i KLJUCHNIKY (Hyp., p. 473); Ozhе outatvbyja ikh̤ pusti v navoropə. SEDE-L̤NIKY svoe i koshchée (Hyp., p. 540); s̤beri POPY vse oboloshe v rizy (Hyp., p. 593); i sozva na piro t̩... iny E̤FSYP IGCUKENY (Hyp., p. 634); izhe idjakhoutb poimati VNOUKY
Stòslavlè (Hyp., p. 680); sobravshe SMERDY mnogy pòshbtse (Hyp., p. 797); i sozva KALÒUGERY i mniskii chinź (Hyp., p. 806).

In view of the fact that the old nom. plu. case of the -o-stems was represented by the case-ending -I, and only marginally by the new case-ending -Y, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y was still regarded as the norm. For this reason, the syntactical relationship of the subject and object was determined on the basis of the different nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -o-stem nouns in both Chronicles. Simultaneously, the animate-inanimate category also depended on this distinction.

As a result of the simplification process of the nom. and acc. cases on the basis of the 'hard' and 'soft' stems, there were instances of the new nom. plu. case with the ending -Y, which was identical with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y. This new nom. plu. case-ending -Y appeared twice in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following sentences:

ousrètošha bo mja ŠLY ot bratja moeja na Volže. rèsha potisnisa k namź (La., p. 241); oле strashno chjudo i divno bratše. poidosha snve na oťa. a oťi na děti. brat na brata RABY na gśnu. a gśń na raby (La., p. 494).

Similar examples were found nine times in the Hypatian Chronicle:

Se slyshavź Mikhailź těrb. sźźва filosofy vsja, i skaza imź rēchi vsja Slovenśskykh knjazź. i rkošja FILOSOFY. estź muzhź v Seluni. imenemź Levź (Hyp., p. 18); my ot roda Ruskago ŠLY. i gostźe Ivorź solź Igorevź velikago knjazja Ruskago. o obchii
Although the new nom. plu. case-ending resembled morphologically the old acc. plu. case-ending, the true function of the nom. case was ascertained from the context in both Chronicles. Context was also instrumental in upholding the animate-inanimate opposition in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns whose nom. and acc. cases were identical.

As the old nom. plu. case-ending -I was being replaced by the new ending -Y, which was the same as the old acc. plu. case-ending, there was an attempt on the part of the animate-inanimate category to differentiate the nom. and acc. plu. cases. This was achieved by utilizing the nom. plu. ending -CVE of the -u-stems for the nom. plu. case of the -o-stems. This case appeared seventeen times in the Laurentian Chronicle:
The Hypatian Chronicle exhibited eighteen examples of the nom. plu. case with the ending -OVE (-E), as the following sentences demonstrate:

The use of the nom. plu. case-ending -OVE by the masc. -o-stem nouns signifying persons helped to differentiate the nom. and acc. cases which had identical case-ending -Y.

In addition to the old acc. plu. case, which predominated in both Chronicles, there were instances of the gen.-acc. cases. In the Laurentian Chronicle,
the gen.-acc. case with the ending -b appeared five times:

i pomjanu Olegb konb svoi. i bê zhe postavilb kormiti. i ne v sedati na nê, bê bo vopraschal volzhkovb i KUDESNIKb. ot chego mi essmertsb (La., p. 38); oobilistvodëiti. skvernotvorjashche. i gnevelivi i pache estëstva. li nutrëneishimb strane ikhâ CHLVKb jadushche i stranëstvu- jushchikhb oubivakhu (La., p. 15); Jaropolkb zhe khotjashhe iti na Vseloda. poslushavb zlykh SVË TNIKb (La., p. 205); Oleg zhe vësprimti smyslb, bui i slovesa velichava. rech sitse nes mene lépo suditi çëspb, li igumenom. li smerdom. i ne vëskhotë iti k bratoma svoima. poslushavb zlykh SVË TNIKb (La., p. 230); no slushashtb Dobrynub Dolgoco. Matëja Shibuтовичb. i inykh zlykh CHLVK (La., p. 381); i tu abse prokljaty Glëbâ s bratom. izemësha mecha svoja nachasta sëch prezhe knjazi. tazhe boljary. i slugy ikhâ mnogo mnozhstvo. odiaghe knjazii s. a prochikh bojarb. i SLUGb bezschislaizb (La., p. 441).

Similar examples in the Hypatian Chronicle occurred six times:

poideve iskaťb LAPONTNIKb (Hyp., p. 71); vëskhodjatb zhe i podb nbo slushajushche vashikhâ Bb (Hyp., p. 169); Jaropolku khotjashchju na Vsevoloda poslavshju emu zlykh SVË TNIKb (Hyp., p. 197); i ne voskhote iti k bratoma svoima poslushavb zlykhb SVËTNIKb (Hyp., p. 220); i vëprosisha KOLODNIKb glëshche (Hyp., p. 268); postavi na prostrane noze RABb tvoikhâ (Hyp., p. 712).

The use of the old gen. plu. case with the ending -b in the acc. function in the above sentences indicates that the substitution process, which was present in the masc. sing. nouns, had also extended itself into the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons.

The new gen. plu. case with the ending -OVb in the acc. function appeared five times in the Laurentian Chronicle as shown in the following sentences:
In the Hypatian Chronicle, the new gen. case in the acc. function in the masc. plu. nouns occurred only twice:

be bo vzproshal VOLJKHVOV i kudesnik (Hyp., p. 28); rekushche khochet pogubiti smerdy i rolju smerdom, no se divno mja brate. ozhe SHERDOV zhaluete i ikh konii (Hyp., p. 265).

These examples further indicate the presence of the substitution process in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons. The two gen. plu. cases with the endings -b and -OVb were utilized for the purpose of eliminating morphological identity in the nom. and acc. plu. cases in the above nouns. The adoption of the two gen. plu. cases for the acc. function was motivated by the avoidance of syntactical ambivalence with respect to the subject and object relationship, and the animate-inanimate opposition, which relied on the distinct nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns.

In addition to the old acc. case with the ending -Y, and the gen.-acc. represented by the endings -b and -OVb, the old nom. case-form with the ending -I appeared in the
acc. function in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns. Instances of this use were limited. In the Laurentian Chronicle there were five examples of the old nom. case in the acc. function:

jako Valam i Saoulā. i Kaiafa. i Bēsi paky izgnasha. jako Ijuda (La., p. 41); i spekhnusha Olīga s mostu v debrē, padakhu ljudē mnozi. i oudavisha koni CHLVTSI (La., p. 74); egdā zhe ḫari bojarē i povelē PALGHNTTSI tē pustiti (La., p. 481); a shto ljude. staryja i molodyja. TGUMENI i popy. i DīJAKONI. i chernītsi. i chernitsi... to vse issēkosha (La., p. 517).

The Hypatian Chronicle also revealed five examples of the old nom. case in the acc. function:

i naouṭrēja prizva Igorē ŠLI (Hyp., p. 42); i rech Stōsolvē prochē zrja. pokhoronite. OTROCHI zhe Stoslavli (Hyp., p. 58); i padakhu ljude mnozi s mosta i oudavisha i koni i CHLVTSI (Hyp., p. 62); i sozva dkhvnyi tyi pirē. epšpa Andrejana Jurēvskogo... igoumena stgo Mikhaila Vyдобychςkogo. i prochii IGOUMENI. i chernorizbštss. i prozvoutery (Hyp., p. 707); Danilē zhe i Vasilko sobrasha Ljakhy mnogyy. idosta Kyevou so Pakoslavom. vovodoju. i Oleksandrov s nima. srētossa zhe POŚLI ot Volodimera. i Mikhala (Hyp., p. 754).

The examples of the old nom. plu. case with the ending -I in the acc. function can be interpreted as a scribe's mistakes, which were partially motivated by the tendency to have uniform endings in the nom. and acc. cases. It is possible that this nom. plu. case appeared in the acc. function as a result of analogy from the -i-stem nouns which had -I as their acc. plu. ending, and from the -jo-stems where the ending -ē was in a process of being replaced by the ending -I.
In post-prepositional use, the old acc. case with the ending -Y also predominated in both Chronicles. The Laurentian had twelve instances of the old acc. case and two examples of the nom.-acc. case after prepositions. Both of these combinations can be illustrated by the following sentences:

i tako vzja pobedu NA DěSY. jako i mukhy ni vo chtozhe imjashe strashenija ikh i mechtanija ikh (La., p. 196); moli-

shisja za ljudi vernija. i za svoja OUCHNY (La., p. 213); takozhe i Гь нашь pokazal ny estь NA VRAGY pobedu (La., p. 243 and pp. 268, 279, 294, 294, 476);

ne daja sobe ooupokoja. NA POSADNIKI ne zrja ni на мирь (La., p. 251); jako negodno nynë vesнë iti khochem NA SMERDY i pogubiti é (La., p. 277); poidosa sнve на отс. a отси на дети. brat на brata raby на гнù. a гнù NA RABY (La., 494), and, no priidokhomь Bgомь popus-

shcheni NA KHOLOPI nashi. i NA KONJUSI svoi (La., p. 505).

Examples of preposition with the old acc. case of the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons appeared fifteen times in the Hypatian Chronicle. They were:

snide Dkhь Styi NA APSLY (Hyp., p. 91); izhe po oshestvii ego moljasja za ljudi vernija. i za svoja OUCHNII (Hyp., p. 204); vë ne priidokhovë na gorodь вахь. ni на вахь. no NA VRAGI svoja (Hyp., p. 242); a NA VRAGI nashë dostь pobedu veliku (Hyp., p. 254, and pp. 270, 640, 763); i poide so vse voi ego. i sta NA TOVARISHCHI (Hyp., p. 263); vozî by NA INOPLEMNNIKU supostatь bistь (Hyp., p. 262, 268); i poidosa vozlozhivshe nadezhi su на Ba. i на prechistuju materь ego. i NA styja ANGLY ego i poidosa (Hyp., p. 266); oni zhe i nadezhi su на Ratьshinь dvorь grabitь. i NA MECH-

NIKU (Hyp., p. 322); tako toliky
As the old acc. plu. case differed morphologically from the nom. case in the masc. plu. -о-stem nouns denoting persons, the presence of the preposition before the old acc. plu. case merely indicated the specific function of the case. Thus, the animate-inanimate category was adequately expressed in the masc. plu. -о-stem nouns signifying persons which appeared in the objective function after various prepositions.

In summarizing the discussion of the substitution process in the masc. plu. -о-stem nouns denoting persons as it was revealed in the two Chronicles, the following comments can be made.

Relevant to the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases by the masc. plu. -о-stem nouns, it was found that in the Laurentian Chronicle, the former case with the ending -Y appeared twenty-seven times, while the latter occurred ten times. In the Hypatian Chronicle, respective acc. cases were represented eighty-one and eight times. When comparing the frequency of the gen.-acc. case in the two Chronicles, it is evident that this case was represented by two less examples in the Hypatian Chronicle. Hence, the substitution was proceeding at a slower pace in this Chronicle. The paucity of the gen.-acc. cases in the masc. plu. -о-stem nouns referring to persons can be
explained by the following considerations.

First, the nom. and acc. plu. cases still held their own original endings, -I and -Y respectively. The nom. plu. case-ending -I remained steadfast, and was replaced by the new nom. case-ending -Y only twice in the Laurentian and nine times in the Hypatian Chronicle. In these instances, there was a real possibility of syntactical confusion of the subject and object relationship.

Second, as an attempt to avoid the morphological identity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases, the nom. plu. case-ending -OVE was used seventeen times in the Laurentian and eighteen times in the Hypatian Chronicle by the -o-stem nouns.

Finally, the substitution was retarded by the use of the ending -I (even though it was similar to the old nom. plu. case-ending) for the acc. plu. case, in order to achieve different subject and object cases. Such an acc. plu. case with ending -I appeared five times in each Chronicle. In the post-prepositional use, only the old acc. case appeared in both Chronicles -- fourteen times in the Laurentian and fifteen in the Hypatian.

On the basis of these considerations, one may conclude that the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons depended largely on the distinction between the old nom. plu. case and its alternate case-endings, and the old acc. plu. case. The use of the
gen.-acc. plu. case with the endings -ן and -OYן was limited numerically, but they attest to the presence of the substitution process in the masc. plu. -ו-stem nouns denoting persons in both Chronicles.
### TABLE III

**Statistical Summary Concerning the Use of the Old Acc. and the Gen.-Acc. Cases in the Masc. Plu. -o-STEM Nouns Denoting Persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Plu. Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LA.</td>
<td>HYP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o-stem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-y(-i)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Acc=Old Gen</td>
<td>-ъ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Acc=New Gen</td>
<td>-ove</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Acc=Old Nom</td>
<td>-і</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. New Nom</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. New Nom</td>
<td>-ove</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VI

ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE MASC.
PLU. -JO-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS

Introduction

In the Common Slavic, OCS, and early East Slavic periods, the nom. and acc. case-endings of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons were morphologically different, -I and -Ě respectively. As a result of the simplification of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings in these nouns, the acc. case-ending -Ě was replaced by the ending -I. This was accomplished on the basis of analogy of the acc. plu. ending of the -i-stem nouns, and the acc. plu. ending -Y of the -o-stem nouns. The identity of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the -jo-stem nouns hindered syntactical relation of the subject and object, and deprived the animate-inanimate category of the morphological means for adequate expression. Hence, one purpose of this chapter is to examine the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. in the two Chronicles in order to determine the status of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns referring to persons.
1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc.

Plu. -jo-Stem Nouns Denoting Persons in
the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

In the OCS monuments, the nom. and acc. plu.
cases of the -jo-stem nouns denoting persons were
differentiated phonetically and morphologically. The
nom. case was represented by the ending -I, while the
acc. case had the endings -E or -JE after 'jot'. Since
the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings differed, the use of
the gen. plu. case for the acc. function was unknown in
the OCS texts.¹

In the early and middle East Slavic texts, the
masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying persons also had
different nom. and acc. plu. case-endings, -I and -E
respectively. The nom. and acc. cases of the plu. -jo-stem
nouns had additional endings. For example, the nom. plu.
case at times had this variety of endings: -E, -EVE,
-EVĒ and -EVI. The acc. plu. case of these nouns was
represented by the following four case-endings: (a) the
original, or old acc. case-ending -E; (b) its reflex -E;
(c) the case-ending -JA, a reflex of the OCS acc. plu.
ending -E; and (d) by the case-ending -A, a reflex of
the OCS ending -E, which appeared after hushing and
hissing sibilants. In addition, the acc. plu. case of
the -jo-stem nouns was represented by the new acc. plu.

¹Horace G. Lunt, Old Church Slavonic Grammar
case-ending -I, which was identical with the nom. plu.
case-ending.

On comparing the variety of the nom. and acc. plu.
case-endings, it is evident that they differed except when
the nom. and acc. plu. cases were represented by the endings
-Ě and -I. The ending -I, which replaced the old acc.
case-ending -Ě, was regarded as the new acc. plu. ending
of the -jo-stem nouns.

The above enumerated variety of the acc. plu. case-
endings were utilized by the plu. -jo-stem nouns with varying
frequency in both chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle,
there were thirty-one instances of the old acc. plu. case
with the ending -Ě in various -jo-stem nouns. Some random
examples were:

Igorь zhe prishedь nacha sovkupljati VOЕ
mnogi (La., pp. 45, 109, 262, 272, 303, 307,
315, 321, 338, 430, 461; posla Igorь MUZHĚ
svoja, kь Romanu (La., pp. 46, 121, 166, 262,
403, 412); tvoi sli vodili sutь TŠŘĚ nashi
rotě (La., p. 53); ota prizva Pyтshju. Vyshegoro-
dbysь BOLJARČTSЁ (La., p. 132); i bc Jaroslavь
i jubja tšrkvnja oustavy. popy ljubjashe po
veliku. izlikha zhe CHERNORIZČTSЁ (La.,
p. 151, 158); i sobra PISTСЁ mnogy (La.,
p. 152); i vдавь emu ПESHTСЁ i postavi i
na pravemь krilë (La., pp. 239, 324); i
STOROZHЬ sami narjazhivaite (La., p. 246 and

For detailed statistical summary concerning the use
of the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases of the masc. plu.
-jo-stem nouns denoting persons in the Laurentian and Hypa-
tian Chronicles can be examined in Table IV at the end of
the chapter.
The Hypatian Chronicle had sixty instances of the similar acc. plu. case-ending, which appeared in such expressions as:

Stopol'kъ zhe nacha sbirati VOЕ (Hyp., p. 209 and 299, 304, 336, 339, 381, 449, 496, 573, 608, 819, 822, 823, 827); i Olegъ poslasha MUZHÉ svoi kъ Stopol'ku gleBche (Hyp., p. 236 and 238, 247, 322, 565, 572, 605, 606, 934);
i sobra PISTÉ mnogy (Hyp., p. 139);
oTai prizva Putshju. i Vyshegorod'syuja BOJAR'TSE (Hyp., p. 118); i okovav'she nb dvoe okovy. i pristavisha k nemu STOROZHÉ na nochь (Hyp., p. 233 and 254, 511, 557, 577, 614, 848, 877, 935); oudav' emu PÉŠH'TSE. postaviv' i na pravomь krilе (Hyp., p. 229 and 426, 442, 797, 819, 822, 871); Volodimerz' zhe sovokupiv' sny svoi i SYNOV'TSE. i ide kъ Vyru (Hyp., 276 and 481, 858; ou se zhe leto potochi Mëstit-slavъ. Polot'kikh KNaNÉ sъ zhenami i s'detmi. v' Gréky (Hyp., p. 293 and p. 561, 631, 648, pp. 791, 868); Izjaslavъ zhe. s'mn' Jaroslavom i poslasta podvoiskoi i BIRICHE po oulitsam' klikati zovuchi kъ knju na obed' (Hyp., 369); i s'ekhavshasja Volodimir' Izjaslavъ. Dvdvicha i Mëstitlavъ Izjaslavichъ. vsi na mesto i poustisha STRÉLTSÉ svoi kъ gradou (Hyp., p. 331, 436, 811); i poproda vsб Kyevъ. igumeny i popy i CHERN'TSE. i chernitsé. Latinu (Hyp., p. 579 and 611, 921);
Polovtsi zhe vidivshe e. ZAGON'TSE ty Chernykhz Kloboukъ. i jasha nekolko ikhъ (Hyp., p. 622); i sobrav' TŽEMÝLTSE mnogy (Hyp., p. 800); Mëstitlavъ. vborze posla GONTSE (Hyp., p. 930).

These examples indicate that, since the old nom. and old acc. plu. cases of the -jo-stems were retained, the syntactical relationship of the subject and object was easily recognized. In view of this, the animate-inanimate opposition relied on its original principle; the morphological dissimilarity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases in
the -jo-stem nouns.

In a very limited number of examples, the acc. plu. of the masc. -jo stem nouns was represented by the ending -E, as a variety of the ending -ě. This ending occurred once in the Laurentian Chronicle and six times in the Hypatian. The following sentences illustrate the use of this case-ending:

Stopolkъ zhe pocha sbirati VOE khotja na ne, (La., p. 218), and, naoutree zhe. Danilъ. Vasilisko. poremъ VOE svoe i poidosta ko gradou (Hyp., p. 755, and pp. 778, 792, 800, 801 and 802).

Since the acc. plu. case-ending -E differed from the nom. plu. cases, the syntactical relation of the subject and object, as well as the animate-inanimate opposition, were maintained in the masc. plu. -jo-stem stem nouns denoting persons.

The acc. plu. case with the ending -JA, a reflex of the OCS ending -Jě́, occurred in a number of the -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle, this ending appeared six times:

Poide Olegъ poimъ VOJA mnogi Varjagi. Chjudъ Sloveni (La., p. 22); i posłete ny UCHITELJA. izhe ny mogutъ skazati knizhnaja slovesa i razumъ ikh (La., p. 26); i cустavi Olegъ VOJA (La., p. 30); i sovokupi Jaroslavъ VOJA mnogy (La., p. 143); Jaroslavъ sovokupi VOJA mnogy (La., p. 149); a VOJA rospusti po vsei zemli Russtei (La., p. 538).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the case-ending -JA was represented thirty-six times, in these sentences:
Another acc. plu. case-ending -A, a reflex of the OCS ending -$, appeared once in the Laurentian Chronicle: "i sozva knjazb boljary svoja i STARTSA" (La., p. 108). In the Hypatian this case was represented nine times:

poslasha k nemu zlato i pavoloky. i MUZHA mudry (Hyp., p. 58 and pp. 66, 128, 473, 656, 700, 700); i sozva knjazb bojary svoja i STARTSA (Hyp., p. 94); i bysha na Ivle na retse na Polovetskoj. i tou izblisha STOROZHA Polovetskyja (Hyp., p. 677).

From the examples of the acc. plu. cases with the endings -E, -E, -JA and -A of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns referring to persons, and from the fact that the nom. plu. case of these nouns was represented by the ending -I, it is evident that the subject and object relationship,
as well as the animate-inanimate category, were maintained on the basis of morphological distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases.

As a result of the unification process in the nom. and acc. case-endings of the masc. plu. -jo-stems, the old acc. case-ending -ě was replaced by the ending -I, which was similar to the nom. ending. Both Chronicles reflect this phenomenon. In the Laurentian Chronicle there were seventy-nine instances in which the nom. and acc. cases of the masc. plu. animate nouns were morphologically identical, with ending -I. The examples of this use can be observed in the following sentences:

i ouvidě Olegъ. jako Oskoldъ. i Dirз.
knjazhita. i pokhoroni VOI vъ lodьja
(La., p. 23 and p. 24, 45, 57, 58, 62,
64, 67, 72, 76, 141, 150, 151, 154,
163, 166, 183, 201, 219, 236, 269, 247,
271, 282, 298, 300, 304, 333, 484, 484);
Posla MOUZHI svoi Olegъ. postroiti mira
(La., p. 32 and pp. 55, 72, 79, 107, 128,
140, 268, 272, 274, 320, 340, 341, 364, 386,
404, 420, 421, 470); i sovokupljati nacha
mnogу CHERNORIZьTSI (La., p. 160 and 216);
призваць knizhники i STARTSI ljudьskija.
i vъprasha ikh (La., p. 102 and 106); na
Desne izьimakhom KNJAZI. Asaduka. i Saouka.
i družhinu ikhь izbisha (La., p. 248 and
pp. 250, 250, 311, 432, 437, 448, 415);
poproda vesь Kyevь igumenь. i popy. CHE-
RNьTSI. i chernitsi (La., p. 367 and
pp. 418, 462, 517).

Similar examples of the acc. plu. case-ending in -I appeared eighty-eight times in the Hypatian Chronicle. They can be illustrated by the following expressions:
The examples of the new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stems, as cited from the two Chronicles, clearly indicate that this case was morphologically identical with the nom. plu. case. Theoretically, there was a possibility of syntactical confusion between the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -jo-stem nouns denoting persons. This was likely to occur if both cases of the -jo-stem nouns appeared in the same sentence. Such was not the case, in spite of the fact that there were one hundred twenty instances of the nom. plu. case with the ending -I, and seventy-nine examples of the acc. plu. case with the same ending in the Laurentian Chronicle. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same cases with the identical ending -I
were represented one hundred eighty-seven, and eighty-eight times, respectively.

In view of the identical nom. and acc. plu. cases in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons, the subject and object relationship was ascertained from the context.

In addition to context, there was an attempt on the part of the plu. -jo-stem nouns to acquire a different nom. plu. case-ending -EVE. This desinence represented a 'soft' form of the nom. plu. ending -OVE of the -u-stems. It appeared six times in the Laurentian Chronicle and three times in the Hypatian. Samples from the former Chronicle were:

takozhe Russkie knjazi. poslasha STOROZHË svoë. i ousteregosha Russkie STOROZHËVE Oltunopu. i obistupivëshe i. i oubisha Altunopu i sushchaja s nim (La., p. 278); Igorja poblijudut STOROZHËVE. a my poidem k bratu (La., p. 317); i pokrysha Dnëprë ot mnozhstva voï. STOROZHËVE zhe Izjaslavli. oubojavshesja bëžhasha (La., p. 332); Mstislav zhe na tu noshchë rostavljë STOROZHË. a sam ljazhe spati s Ugry. STOROZHËVE zhe pri-begosha k nemu polunoshchi (La., p. 336); poshedshju zhe knjazu v pole. ouzrësha nashi STOROZHËVE polkë v poli (La., p. 389).

In the latter chronicle, similar instances of the nom. case in -EVE endings appeared in the following sentences:

priide zhe vëstë k Olgovi. jako STOROZHËVE ego izoimani (Hyp., p. 228); STOROZHËVE ekhavshë podë Gjurevy polky i gonishas s nimi (Hyp., p. 434); Izjaslavë be pereshelë do nikh reku Seretë i STOROZHËVE zhe Izjaslavli. vidivshë polky Galichëskija. prignavshë pod-vedasha Izjaslavu (Hyp., p. 466).
In addition, the Hypatian Chronicle also had one example of the nom. plu. case-ending -böJA, which came from the nom. case of the fem. collective nouns. This example read: "po temë bo gorodomë, sëdjakh'u KNJAZöJA, podë Olgom sushche" (Hyp., p. 22).

At the same time, there were two instances of the old acc. case with the ending -ë in the nom. function in the Laurentian Chronicle, and nine in the Hypatian. In the Laurentian Chronicle the following sentences exemplify this use:

- okanënnii zhe si OUBIITSë pridosha kë Stopolku. akë khulu imushche bezakonënnitsi (La., p. 134-135); taky CHERNëTSë jako svetila v Rusë sjajutë. ovi bo bjaku postnitsi (La., p. 188).

Similar examples in the Hypatian Chronicle were:

- i rësha emu MUZHë smyslenë. po chto vy rasprjë imatë mezhi soboju (Hyp., pp. 210 and 645); i sobrashës epëpy i popovë. i CHERNëRSITSE. i pesë obychnyja pesëshe (Hyp., p. 212); Volodimerë zhe sovokupivë sny svoi i SYNOVTSE. ide kë Vyru (Hyp., p. 276 and pp. 481, 858); ognëmë ot zhizni seja iskoushenije priëmshe. STARTSE porëvakhoutësja. ounotë zhe (Hyp., p. 643); vyekha zhe Tevtëvilë. izë goroda. Roušë i Polovtsi. Danilovi s nimi i Zhemoitë s nimi i mnogëi PESHTSE (Hyp., p. 818); i ounotë. i masterë vsjatiiies bëzhakhou is Tatarë. sedelnitsi i louchnitsi. i toulnitsi. i KOUZNITSë (Hyp., p. 843).

The use of the case-ending -ë for the nom. plu. function by the -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles was, in all probability, motivated by the syntactical reasons and the need of the animate-inanimate category to have different nom.
and acc. plu. cases in the masc. -jo-stem nouns referring to persons.

Since the new acc. plu. case-ending -I was identical with the nom. plu. case, and inconvenient from the viewpoint of syntax and the animate-inanimate opposition in the -jo-stem nouns, the old acc. plu. was supplanted by the four varieties of the gen. plu. case-endings. These case-endings were: (a) the old gen. case-ending -b; (b) the gen. with ending -II of the -i-stems; (c) the gen. with the ending -EI, also of the -i-stems; and (d) the gen. case with the ending -EVb, a soft variety of -OVb ending from the -u-stem nouns.

In the Laurentian Chronicle the old gen. plu. case with the ending -b was attested four times:

i pride kъ Smolenьsku sъ Krivichi. i prija gradь. i posadi MUZHь svoi. ottuda poide vnizь. i vzя Ljubetsь. i posadi MUZHь svoi (La., p. 23); i nasь poslasha rotё voditь tebe. i MUZHь tvоikhь. obёshchasja Igorь sitse stvorite (La., p. 53); i putilь esmь Polovechskykh KNJAZь lëpshikh izь okovь (La., p. 250).

The identical case-ending -b of the gen. plu. -jo-stem nouns also appeared four times in the acc. function in the Hypatian Chronicle:

i nasь poslasha rotё voditь tebe i MUZHь tvоikhь. i obeёshchasja Igorь sitse stvorit (Hyp., p. 42); i nachа Вь oumnozhatи. CHERNO-RIZETь (Hyp., p. 147); i posla k nимь Ivana Voitishicha. prosja ou nikъ MUZHь lëpshikhь (Hyp., p. 307); i voprosha. TOZE-METSь. kako imenouetьsja mёsto se (Hyp., p. 842).
The utilization of the gen.-acc. case with the ending -b provided the necessary distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -jo-stem nouns. Thus, the animate-inanimate opposition began to express itself through the gen.-acc. case.

The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -II appeared twice in the Laurentian Chronicle:

Bu nakazavshju KNJAZII krosta chstnago ne prestupati. i starishago brata chtiti (La., p. 377); on zhe outalivsja vsekh MUZHII i poslov Vsevolozhikh (La., p. 404); a gorod vzjasha a ljudi posokosha. a KNJAZII ima izdavisha (La., p. 508).

In the Hypatian Chronicle there were only five examples of this use:

a Olfga vodisha i MUZHII ego no rotu (Hyp., p. 23); jasha bojar mnogo... i prochikh MUZHII (Hyp., p. 298); drouzhina zhe Vja-cheslavla i Izjaslavla i Rosislavla i vsikh KNZII oustjagyvakhtot ot togo (Hyp., p. 426); poslusa artsipiskupa i vsikh MUZHII svoikh (Hyp., p. 451); a nam sja o n ne blazniti. zanezhe KNZII svoi ljubil (Hyp., p. 523).

The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -EI occurred five times in the Laurentian Chronicle, as illustrated by the following examples:

i sre te i voevoda Ere mei ot knzja
Konstjanta iz Rosta ar nashikh
KNJAZEI (La., p. 493); Togo zhe
leta pobisha Tat arove. KNZEI Ruskikh
(La., p. 503); i odari KNZEI Rus skykh
(La., p. 504); a inykh zhe emshe MUZHII.
i zheny i deti (La., p. 515); inykh
posla s Novgorodtsi na Nemtsi (La.,
p. 525).
In the Hypatian Chronicle, only one example was recorded:
"он зе пе slouchав брати свого и MOUZHBI своеих"
(Hyp., p. 607). The case-ending -EVb appeared in the
acc. plu. function once in the Laurentian Chronicle and
three times in the Hypatian:

i posobiBgz Jarunu, izymasha STOROZHEVb
Jaroslavlikh (La., p. 493); and, i prishedb
vbsprosi EVERievb idu li na Darbja (Hyp.,
p. 264); korolz zhe s velikoj ljubovbju, p
posla VOEVb v silb tzhktse. (Hyp., p. 724);
no azb khoshchou sja ostatis samz v male
drizhine. i sozhdbati VOEVb moikhb (Hyp.,
p. 823).

The utilization of four different gen. plu. cases with the
endings -b, -II, -EI and -EVb in the acc. plu. function
demonstrates the presence of the substitution process in
the plu. -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles. This process
was motivated primarily by the fact that the old nom.
and acc. plu. cases were identical, namely -I, and by the
animate-inanimate category, which depended for its expre-
sion on the morphological dissimilarity between the nom.
and acc. plu. cases.

In the post-prepositional function, the following
four case-endings of the plu. -jo-stem nouns were used
in the two Chronicles: the acc. case-endings -E and -JA,
the new acc. plu. case-ending -I, and the new gen. plu.
case with the ending -EVb.

The old acc. plu. case with the ending -E occurred
twice in the Laurentian and once in the Hypatian Chronicles:
posla Izjaslav PO VOÈ Suzdalju (La., p. 236); i ouzhasb napade na nь. i NA VOÈ ego (La., p. 239; and, a Stòpolkь svètь stvori s Ljakhу. i poide к Piñьsku. posla PO VOÈ. i priide Dorogobuzhju (Hyp., pp. 243-244).

The presence of the old acc. plu. case-ending -E after prepositions indicated that the animate-inanimate opposition expressed itself through the differentiation of the old nom. and old acc. plu. cases.

Another old acc. plu. case-ending, -JA, appeared once in each Chronicle: "vzemь... zhe zlato i pavoloki. i NA vsja VOJA" (La., p. 46); and, "i strakhь napade NA VOJA Volodarevy" (Hyp., p. 527).

As the new acc. plu. case-ending -I in the direct object function appeared with greater frequency, its use was reflected proportionately after various prepositions. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were seven examples of preposition and noun combinations, and eight in the Hypatian Chronicle. They are illustrated by the following sentences in the Laurentian Chronicle:

oni zhe rёsha razьgnёvasja вь.NA OTSI nashi. i rastochi ny po stranamь gre'khь rad na-shikh (La., p. 249); atь pristavishь k nim svoja (La., p. 249); atь pristavishь k nim svoja posly. atь idutь PO KNJAZI nashi v Rusь (La., pp. 372 and 399); oni zhe slyshavshe podosha k nim. a PO DRUZI poslashasja (La., p. 398); ne be na nemь poroka i bys pobeda NA vsi KNZI Rutstii (La., p. 508).

Similar expressions in the Hypatian Chronicle were:

i poslasta PO okolnyе KNZI. i sovokoupiszasja k nima. Stòsliavicha (Hyp., p. 630); oni zhe rёsha razьgnёvalьsja вь.NA OTSI nash.
i rastochi ny po stranakh. grēkh rad
nashikh (Hyp., p. 73); posla Izjaslavь
PO VOI Rostovu (Hyp., p. 226); i pocha
s nimi doumati. khotja NA Rjazanskii
KNJAŽI. bjakhutь bo imь rēchi pro volo-
sti (Hyp., p. 679); i velja sja postri-
chi v ČERNBTSI (Hyp., p. 680).

Although the acc. and nom. cases in these nouns were
identical, the prepositions which governed the acc.
cases clearly indicated that the case in question was
acc.

There was only one example of the new gen. plu.
case with the ending -EVь in the acc. function after a
preposition. It appeared in the Laurentian Chronicle,
and read: "podchesja po Ivoromь konь pēzhtsi zhe ne
ozhidajuchi Ivora. oudarisha NA Jaroslavlikh
PĒSHTSEVь i kliknusha onь vergьshe kii" (La., pp. 497-498).

In all these examples, the prepositions which
governed the acc. plu. case indicated that the case
in question was acc. Thus, the animate-inanimate ca-
tegory was able to express itself after various pre-
positions in the plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons
in both Chronicles.

The examination of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns
denoting persons, with respect to the use of the old
acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases, warrants several
remarks regarding the substitution process and the
status of the animate-inanimate category in the two
Chronicles.
The results of the findings showed that the acc. plu. with the ending -ē, and its three variant case-endings, -E, -JA, and -A, appeared thirty-eight times in the Laurentian Chronicle and one hundred eleven times in the Hypatian Chronicle.

The acc. plu. case was also represented by the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I. This ending was replacing the old acc. plu. ending -ē and was identical with the nom. plu. case, which also had an -I ending. This new acc. plu. case occurred seventy-nine times in the Laurentian, and eighty-eight times in the Hypatian Chronicle. The comparison of the numerical frequencies of the old acc. and the new acc. cases show that there was a ratio of two to one in the Laurentian Chronicle in favour of the new acc. case. In the Hypatian Chronicle the ratio between the same cases was one to three, respectively, an indication that this Chronicle followed a slower pace in adopting a new acc. plu. case with the ending -I. Although the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I had an advantage over the old acc. plu. case ending in -ē, which it was replacing, there was a greater possibility of confusing it with the nom. plu. case. The possible confusion was avoided by resorting to the context in order to determine whether these nouns were subjects or objects. A more effective way to eliminate the similarity between the nom. and acc. plu. cases was to use the gen. plu. case
for the acc. function. This was effected by the substitution process, whereby the gen. plu. cases with the endings -зв, -звзв, -звзвзв, and -звзвзвзв functioned in the acc. capacity. In the Laurentian Chronicle, these endings were represented a total of twelve times, and in the Hypatian the total was thirteen times. Although there was a limited number of examples of the gen.-acc. plu. cases, it is evident that the substitution process was at its initial stage in the masc. plu. -звзвзвзв stem nouns.

With respect to the post-prepositional use, the Laurentian Chronicle showed that the old acc. plu. case appeared in a ratio of one to two in favour of the new acc. case, while in the Hypatian the ratio stood one to four for the same cases. The gen.-acc. case with the ending -звзвзвзв occurred after a preposition once, and only in the Laurentian Chronicle.

In conclusion, one can state that the animate-inanimate category relied for its expression mainly on the new acc. plu. case, whose function was determined contextually. It also relied to some degree on the old acc. plu. case, and marginally on the gen.-acc. plu. case in the masc. -звзвзвзв stem nouns denoting persons in the two Chronicles.
TABLE IV

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND THE GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE MASC. PLU. -JO-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF PLU. NOUN</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>ENDING</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-jo-stem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-ě</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Old Acc</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Old Acc</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Old Acc</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. New Acc-Old Nom</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Acc=Old Gen</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Acc=New Gen</td>
<td>-ii</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Acc-New Gen</td>
<td>-ei</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Acc-New Gen</td>
<td>-ev</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-ě</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Prep + New Acc</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Prep + New Gen</td>
<td>-ev</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VII

ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE MASC. PLU.
-U- AND -I-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the substitution process in the masc. plu. -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting persons in order to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in these nouns in the two Chronicles.

Numerically, the -u-stem nouns represented a small group of animate nouns whose nom. and acc. plu. cases differed morphologically before they joined the -o-stem nouns. Therefore, the -u-stem nouns were not affected by the substitution process as evidenced by the material examined in the two Chronicles.

The masc. plu. -i-stem nouns, which originally also had different nom. and acc. plu. cases, experienced a simplification of the endings in the above cases. This resulted in the identification of the nom. and acc. plu. cases. At the same time, the material examined in the two Chronicles revealed the initial phase of the substitution process as an effort to support the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns signifying persons.
1. **Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. Plu. -U- and -I-Stem Nouns Denoting Persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles**

Since the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -u-stem nouns denoting persons were represented by the endings -OVE and -Y respectively, the gen.-acc. case with the ending -OVЪ was not used in the -u-stems in the OCS, early and middle East Slavic texts. Furthermore, the -u-stem nouns were not affected by the simplification process of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems. Thus, the acc. plu. case of the -u-stem nouns was represented by the ending -Y in both Chronicles.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the acc. plu. case-ending -Y appeared thirteen times, exclusively in the noun 'synъ':

i privozhaku SNY svoja i disserteri (La., p. 79); i privozhakh SNY svoja i disserteri (La., p. 91); i vseli v nikhь mesto SNY Izьvy (La., p. 96); izhe izbi bratju svoju. SNY Gedeony (La., p. 146); i eshche bo

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2Detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases of the -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting persons can be examined in Table V at the end of the chapter.
zhivushchju emu. narzadi ŠNY svoja rekž imž (La., p. 161); družii zhe qlyutž ŠNY Amonovы. se zhe něs tako. snove bo Moavlì Khvalisi. a šñve Ammonovi Bolgare (La., p. 234); Posla Mstislavž ŠNY svoja. Vsevoloda. i Izjaslava. i Rostislava (La., p. 301); I Kijany. i dšcheri ikh i ŠNY ihž. to vše vedosa inhoplemenitsi v vezhi k sobe (La., p. 419); Tqe zhe zimy velikyi knjaz Vsevolodž posla ŠNY svoja. Kostjantina s bratžeju ego (La., p. 435); ourjadivž ŠNY svoja v sobe město (La., p. 461); tego radi vsemistivyi Bqž. khotjaì pogubitì bezbozhnyja ŠNY Izmailovy. Kumany (La., p. 504); Too zhe zimy vyěkh kňžž. Jurvb iž Volodimerja. ourjadivž ŠNY svoi v sebja město (La., p. 516).

The same noun, 'synž' with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y was represented twelve times in the Hypatian Chronicle, as shown by the following examples:

i privozhakhu ŠNY svoja (Hyp., p. 67); i privozhakhu ŠNY svoja i dšcheri svoja (Hyp., p. 78); i eshe zhivu sushchju emu narzadi ŠNY svoja rekž imž (Hyp., p. 149); i tako narzadi ŠNY svoja (Hyp., p. 150): egda razděljashe vyshnii jazykъ. ikhž zhe rasija ŠNY Adamovy (Hyp., p. 270); Vолодimerž zhe sovokupivž ŠNY svoi i syrovtsě (Hyp., p. 276); Posla Mbstislavž. ŠNY svoja. na Chjudž. Vsevoloda Izjaslava. Rostislava (Hyp., p. 294); i postavi Gjurgi ŠNY svoja po pravu (Hyp., p. 382); i ottuda poide kž Lucheskù i tu pereby tri dni i tu pasashe Boleslavž ŠNY bojarbsky mechemž mnogỳ (Hyp., p. 386); i sžva vše ŠNY svoja. i molozhshhjju bratžju (Hyp., p. 615); Stoslavž zhe posla ŠNY svoja. s polky svo­imi (Hyp., p. 628).

The exclusive use of the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y, which differed from the nom. plu. case-ending -OYE, leads one to conclude that the animate-inanimate category expressed itself in the -u-stem
nouns through the distinct nom. and acc. plu. cases in both Chronicles.

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case of the -u-stems was recorded twice in the Laurentian Chronicle and once in the Hypatian. These expressions were:

\[ \text{i pročii ot brat̆ja ego obratjatsja} \]
\[ \text{NA SORTY IzlVy (La., p. 100); a knjazь} \]
\[ \text{Stoślavь posla PO SNY svoс. i po vse} \]
\[ \text{knjazi (La., p. 399); and, i pročii} \]
\[ \text{ot brat̆ja ego obratjatsja NA SNY} \]
\[ \text{Iz'leyvь (Hyp., p. 87).} \]

The combination of the preposition and the old acc. case demonstrates further that the -u-stem noun 'synь' retained the original acc. plu. case, and thus supported the animate-inanimate category on the basis of different nom. and acc. plu. cases.

Only two masc. plu. -i-stem nouns denoting persons appeared in the acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. The first noun was 'gostь'. Its nom. plu. case-endings were -bE and -IE, while the acc. plu. ending was -I. The second noun, 'ljudinь', followed the -o-stem declension in the sing. number, but in the plu. number it was declined according to the masc. plu. -i-stem noun declension. Therefore, its nom. and acc. plu. case-endings were similar to those of the -i-stem nouns.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the noun 'gostь' appeared once in the old acc. plu. case-ending -I, while
the noun 'ljudinž' was present forty-five times in the same case-ending. The following random examples illustrate the use of this case of the masc. -i-stem nouns:

i edina kharatbja estь ou tšrstva nashego na neizhe čs krstь. i imena nasha napisana. a na drugoi posły vasha i GOSTI vasha (La., p. 52); i povelё Olšga voemь svoimь imati e. jako vzja gradь i pozhьzhe i. starėishiny zhe grada izṭnima. i prochaja LJUDI ovyykhь izbi (La., p. 59); Moisii zhe sẗbravь LJUDI Zhidovьskiija. poide oẗ zemlę Ejupetьski (La., p. 95); bļ̂gsnь Gsь Is KŘs. izhe v̄złjubи novьja LJUDI Rusьskju zemlju (La., p. 119); i sversha jazhe nasadi desnitsа tvoja. novьja LJUDI si (La., p. 124); i s̆zyvasha boljary svoja. i posad-niky starėishiny po vsemь gradomь. i LJUDI mnogy (La., p. 125); se estь novyi Kostjantinь velikogo Rima. izhe krstivьsja sam i LJUDI svoja (La., pp. 130-131); St̂opolкь zhe okan-nyi nacha knjazhiti Kyeye. sozvавь LJUDI nacha dajati ovęmь korzna (La., p. 140); velja imь ouchiti LJUDI (La., p. 153); i nachasha LJUDI ego koriti (La., p. 171); i tako ujavljakhu LJUDI Plotьskyija i ego oblastь (La., p. 215); i nachasha ti ouhii grabiti LJUDI i prodavati (La., p. 217); i LJUDI razdělisha i vedosha b vezhе (La., p. 225); i poja svoja LJUDI Rostovtsi (La., p. 240); a Mstislavь prished stvori mirь s Rjazantsi i poja LJUDI svoja (ibid.,); i sëdshe dumati s druzhinoju. ili LJUDI oprav-livati. ili na lovь Ėkhati (La., p. 247); ozhe ny bjashe LJUDI zajalь i bь ny pomozhe (La., p. 250); Izjaslav zhe ouskori dnемь peredь bratbeju. i zaja LUDI ot goroda (La., p. 298 and pp. 299, 320, 349, 361, 362, 388, 422, 433, 433, 433, 434, 442, 461, 462, 463, 469, 469, 476, 483, 495, 495, 501, 506, 508, 516 and 517.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same nouns - 'gostь' and 'ljudinž' were recorded in the old acc. plu. case-ending -I once and sixty-two times respectively.
in the following sentences:

The examples of the old acc. plu. case-ending -I of the masc. -i-stem nouns denoting persons indicate that this case was still regarded as the acc. case despite the fact that the nom. plu. case was in a process of acquiring a similar ending. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were four examples of the new nom. plu. case with the ending -I, and two in the Hypatian Chronicle. Thus, it
appears that the simplification process of the nom. and plu. case-endings in the -i-stem nouns was limited in the two Chronicles.

In addition to the old acc. plu. case with the ending -I, the objective function of the -i-stem nouns was expressed by the nom. plu. case with the endings -IE and -BE. One example of such use was found in the Laurentian Chronicle:

togda zh gonjashas okannii ot Torzhku, Seregerskym putem nolni do Ignacha kresta, a vse LJUDIE sekushche, aki travu, za sto vrst' do Novagoroda ne doshli (La., p. 522).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, there were three instances of the old nom. plu. case-endings -IE and -E in the acc. function:

i na staviti po gradomь. tskvi i popy. i LJUDIE na kreshchne privoditi. po vsemь grad i selomь (Hyp., p. 103); i mjatezhь bys velikь v gorode vь Polcha mnozi bo khotjakhu Rogivoloda. odva zhe oustanovi LJUDьE Rostislavь i odarivь mnogymi darmi (Hyp., p. 494); samь zhe outeche. a LJUDIE poima (Hyp., p. 830).

The use of the old nom. plu. case in the acc. function was motivated by the tendency to differentiate the nom. and acc. cases at the time when the nom. case was acquiring the case-ending -I, which was the same as the acc. case-ending. Shakhmatov correctly explained this phenomenon in the following words:
Вследствие этого в этих имёнх винительный падеж множественного числа в своёй старой форме, не вытесненной формой родительного множественного, подвергся влиянию формы именительного множественного, вытесняясь ею по той именно причине, что в других имёнх (неодушевлённых и одушевлённых) винительный и именительный множественного совпали в одной форме.3

It should also be stated that the identity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases with the common ending -I was not tolerated for syntactical reasons, and because the animate-inanimate category could not be maintained.

Additionally, the acc. case of the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns referring to persons was expressed by the ending -Ě, which appeared once in the Hypatian Chronicle in the following sentence: "i poproda vsē Kyevъ. igumeny i popy i chernětsē. i chernitsē. Latinu i GOSTĒ i zatvori vsě Kyjany" (Hyp., p. 579).

Although the vast majority of the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns differentiated their nom. and acc. plu. cases by retaining the old case-endings, the gen. plu. case was also utilized for the objective function. In fact, the gen.-acc. plu. case was represented by two different case-endings: the gen. plu. case-ending -ь of the -jo-stem nouns, and the gen. plu. case-ending -II of the -i-stem nouns.

3Shakhmatov, op. cit., p. 230.
The gen.-acc. case with the ending -ь occurred twice in the Laurentian Chronicle:

poproda vesь Kyevь. igumeny. i popy.
chernьtsi. i cherniiti. Latinu. i zat-
vory. i GOSTь i vse Kyjany (La., p. 367);
pi riae v Novьgorod i reche Novogoro
tsemь. ne khoshchu ou vas kuzhiti. idu k Chernьegovou.
i GOSTь ko mnь puskaite (La., pp. 509-510).

The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -II of the -i-stem nouns appeared four times in the Hypatian Chronicle, in these sentences:

i po mestomь. postavljaja popy. i daja
imenija svoego ouroki. i velja imь ou-
chiiti LJUDII i prikhoditi chasto kь
tsьrkvami. popovи bo chasto dostoitь
ouchiti LJUDII. ponezhe tomь estь po-
rucheno Bьmь. i oumnozhitьsa proz-
vutеri. i ludьbe khristиjanstьti i
radgeshesja Jaroslavь. vidja mnogi
tsьkvi i LJUDI kрstnyi zelo (Hyp.,
p. 141); a simь ekha Kourьskou. ousta-
vlivatь LJUDII (Hyp., p. 328); i simь
na oudolь Danilovи zhe i Vasilkovi.
ponouzhajushehima LJUDII svoikhь (Hyp.,
p. 769).

The utilization of the two different gen.-acc. plu. cases by the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns indicates that the substitution process had made its appearance in these nouns. Its purpose was to eliminate the morphological similarity between the nom. and acc. plu. cases, and to provide the necessary means for the expression of the animate-inanimate category.

In both Chronicles, only the old acc. plu. case-ending -I was found after various prepositions.
The following nine expressions illustrate the use of this case in the Laurentian Chronicle:

i se rekshi moljashesja na šna. i ZA LJUDI. po vsja noshchi i dni (La., p. 64); tu zhe krasno nosjashcha s Khšmb tsrštvjeta vsegda. moljashchasja ZA novyja LJUDI khřšťanskýja. i srodniky svoja (La., p. 138); v neizhe sž mčhnky. jako mčhka ZA LJUDI svoja molitsja (La., p. 139); bl uda ikhš. i bdja za za ne moljashja. za poruchenoe emu stado. i ZA LJUDI khřšťanskýja. za zemlju Rusšskuju. izhe i po otshestvii tvoevž ot seja zhizni. molishisja ZA LJUDI vernyja (La., p. 213); molijsa za poruchene stado. ZA LJUDI khřšťanskýja. za knjazja. i za zemlju Rostovšskuju (La., p. 392); i ti budutb mňe v LJUDI (La., p. 99); Vžzřevž na nbo reczh KHše be stvorivyňbo i zemlju. prizri NA novyja LJUDI sija (La. p. 118); togo zhe lěta morž bys NA LJUDI. i na koni (La., p. 530).

The Hypatian Chronicle contained the following eight sentences in which the prepositions governed the old acc. case:

i se rekshi moljashesja za šna i ZA LJUDI. po vsja dni i noshchi (Hyp., p. 52); sž Khšmb tsrštvuete vsegda moljashesja ZA novyja LJUDI. khřšťanskýja (Hyp., p. 126); vž tšrški dkkhmž bžštvně prosvěschaete v neizhe s mčhnky jako mčhka ZA LJUDI svoja molita (ibid.,); i molijsa za poruchenoe emu stado. i ZA LJUDI khřšťanskýja. i za zemlju Rouskuju. izhe po otshestvii ego moljashja ZA LJUDI vernyja. i za svoja ouchnkii (Hyp., p. 204); i jako stii prvovernii tšri prlžjashha krovisvoja. strazhjushchže ZA LJUDI svoja (Hyp., p. 350); i budu imž vž Bž. i ti budut mňne vž LJUDI (Hyp., p. 386); Izjžšlavž zhe reczh imž. jazž vozhu Čugry. i vše zemli no ne NA svoi LJUDI. no kto mi vorogž (Hyp., p. 410).

In view of the fact that the prepositions govern the acc. plu. rather than the nom. plu. case, there was no confusion
concerning the function of the cases which were morphologically identical. Thus, the animate-inanimate category was able to express itself adequately in both Chronicles in the masc. plu. animate nouns appearing after various prepositions.

To summarize the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the masc. plu. -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting persons, the following observations are in order.

First, the masc. plu. -u-stem nouns were exempted from the substitution process because their nom. and acc. plu. cases differed both phonetically and morphologically. There was no need to replace the old acc. case by the gen. case. Therefore, the animate-inanimate category depended on the distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases.

Second, in the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns signifying persons, the animate-inanimate category was upheld by the morphological differentiation between the nom. and acc. plu. cases. Their case-endings were -IE and I, respectively. The acc. plu. case with the ending -I appeared forty-five times in the Laurentian and sixty-three in the Hypatian Chronicle. There was only one example of the acc. case with the ending -IE, identical with the nom. case, in the Laurentian and three instances of the same case in the Hypatian Chronicle. This inverse use of the nom. plu. case for the acc. function was undoubtedly dictated by the necessity to have dissimilar nom. and acc. plu. cases.
The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -II was recorded four times, only in the Hypatian Chronicle. This is a clear indication that the substitution process was totally absent in the Laurentian Chronicle in the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns.

Finally, in post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -I was used nine times in the Laurentian and eight times in the Hypatian Chronicle.

Hence, the masc. plu. -u-stem nouns denoting persons, the animate-inanimate category depended on the distinction between the old nom. and acc. plu. cases. In the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns, the same category was supported by the different nom. and acc. plu. cases and to some degree by the gen.-acc. case.

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4 It should be mentioned that there are a number of expressions, consisting of the prepositions and the old acc. case, and used adverbially as, for example in Modern Russian: 'vyjti v ljudi', 'vybrat v deputaty', and others.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>TYPE OF PLU. NOUN</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>ENDING</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
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<td>-u-stem</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-Y</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Prep + Old Acc</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>-i-stem</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>9</td>
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CHAPTER VIII

ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE MASC. PLU. -O- AND -JO-STEM NOUNS DENOTING VARIOUS PEOPLES

Introduction

This chapter will examine the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns signifying various peoples, with respect to their social classes, national or tribal origins, and places of habitation.

One group of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns had a simple stem in the sing. and plu. numbers, and followed a regular -o-stem declension in both numbers. The second group of the -o-stems included nouns which retained the singulative suffix -IN- in the sing. number, but deleted it in the plu. number. The third group of masc. plu -o-stem nouns had suffixes -ĒN-, -AN- and -JAN- in the plu. number.

With respect to the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the masc. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples, they were originally dissimilar; but due to the simplification of the plu. nom. and acc. cases-endings they were becoming identical. For this reason, the substitution process appeared in this group of nouns.

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1. **Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. Plu. -o- and -jo-Stem Nouns Denoting Various Peoples in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles**

As in the case of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns referring to persons so, too, in the same stem nouns denoting peoples, the substitution process was unknown in the OCS and early East Slavic texts.

The examination of the material in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles indicates that the substitution was present in a number of these nouns. In the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns which had a simple stem in the sing. and plu. numbers, the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings were represented by the vowels -I and -Y, respectively. In the Laurentian Chronicle, these nouns occurred twenty-nine times with the acc. plu. case-ending -Y in the following sentences:

Akolbdo zhe. i Dirz. ostasta v3 gradë semb.
i mogni VARJAGI skupista (La., p. 21); Poide
Olegb poim3 voja mogni VARJAGI (La., p. 22);
Igorb zhe sovkupiv3 voi mogni. VARJAGI Rusb
i Poljany (La., p. 45); Volodimer3 zhe sobra
voi mogni. VARJAGI. i Sloveni (La., p. 76 and
pp. 130, 143, 143, 151, 151; posem zhe Ougri
prognasha VOLzKHI. i nasledisha zemlju tu
(La., p. 25); Ide Oleg3 na Greky... poja zhe
mnozhestvo Varjag. i Sloven3 ... i Vjatich.
i KHORVATY. i Duleby (La., p. 29); odolë

\[1\] Detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases of different masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples can be examined in Table VI at the end of the chapter.
In the Hypatian Chronicle, a similar group of nouns appeared forty-seven times with the old acc. case-ending -Y. Some of the examples were:

Ide Olegb na Sevjary. i pobědi SËEVERY, i vžzlozhi na nikh dan' leg'ku (Hyp., p. 17); a po sem' zhe pridosa Cugre Belyii. i nasledisha zemlju Sloven'skiju. prognavshe VOLOLOKHY (Hyp., p. 9); po sem' zhe Cugre prognasha VOLOKHY. i nasledisha zemlju tu (Hyp., p. 18); I izgnasa VARJAGY za more (Hyp., p. 14); Askoldz zhe i Dirz. ostasta v gorode sem'. i mnogy VARJAGY svokupista (Hyp., p. 15); Poide Olg' poem' voi svoi mnogy. VARJAGY Chud' (Hyp., p. 16 and pp. 34, 64, 115, 127, 130, 131, 136, 136, 138, 138); odole Stoslav' Kozarom. i gorod' ikh' Belu Vezhju vzja. i JASY pobđi i KASOGY (Hyp., p. 53); Ide Volodimerz na Bolgary. zhe Dobrynezu ouem' svoim' v lod'jakh'. a TORKY beregom' privede na Konekh' (Hyp., p. 71); i prisunushajia. k' Baruchju. rekshe vozmez TORKY ikh'. be zhe věst' Jaropolku i povel' gnati ljudi. i TORKY v Baruch' (Hyp., pp. 289 and 472); eliko zhe Ljakhov' po gorod'm' izbisha LJAKHY Boleslav zhe bězha is
Since the nom. plu. case of various nouns denoting peoples was represented by the old nom. plu. case-ending -I (Torts-I, Varjaz-I, Gretz-I) and endings -OVE, -OVI (Ljakh-OVE, Ljakh-OVÉ, Chekh-OVE, Volkh-OVE), as well as by the endings -É and -E (Ches-É, Khutan-É, Gretz-É and Got-É), rather than by the new nom. case-ending -Y, there was no confusion of the subject and object relationship. Thus, the animate-inanimate category was able to maintain its opposition in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns signifying various peoples in both Chronicles.

As a result of the levelling process of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings in the -o-stem nouns, there were five examples of the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y in these nouns in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following sentences:

izveshchaemuju ljubovь neprevratnou. i nepostymu. tako i vy GREKY. da khranit takozh ljubovь. ko kнzмь nashim svetlymь Rouskym (La., p. 34); V sizh vremena priide Semionь plenjaa Frakiju. GREKIZH poslasha po Peche-negi (La., p. 42); a Bolgare so Greky stoupishas. i peresëcheni bysha GREKY (ibid.)
The Hypatian Chronicle had only one example of the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y. It read: "LJAKHY zhe noudjashe ēkhati ko gradou. odinako zhe ikh ne khotjashchim." (Hyp., p. 823). In addition, this Chronicle contained one example of the old nom. plu. case in the acc. function, as seen in the following sentence:

potomь zhe pozva Dydь Chrнii KLOBOUTSI vsi. i tou popishasja ou nego vsi Chernii Klotsi (Hyp., p. 682).

In these instances, the respective functions of the nouns with the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y and the old nom. plu. case-ending -I were determined from the context which, in turn, supported the animate-inanimate opposition in the masc. plu. -о-stem nouns without any suffixes.

Plu. nouns, with the suffix -IN- in the sing. number, which denoted various peoples and members of social classes, had the ending -E in the nom. plu. case, and the ending -Y in the acc. plu. case. In addition, the acc. plu. case was expressed by the ending -E, which was similar to the nom. plu. case-ending, and by the old gen. plu. case with the ending -b. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the acc. plu. case with the ending -Y (-I) appeared twenty-nine times in the following nouns:

i Obri /izhe/ khodisha na Arьklija ... i primuchishcha DULEBY. sushchaja Sloveny (La., p. 12); Ide Olegь na Gredky. Igorja ostavi v Kieve. pojo /zhe/ i Khorvaty. i DСULEBY. i Tivertsi (La., p. 29); tSrь zhe knjiжa ikhь. i BOLJARY vsja. i mirz stvori s Bolgary (La., p. 19); oni zhe pridosha ko tSrju. i sozva
In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y (-I) was represented fifty-two times in the following nouns:

tšržь БОЖАРЫ (La., p. 71); Созва Володимерь БОЖАРЫ своея и старших гражданскіе (La., p. 106); и созвъ княжа БОЖАРЫ своея и старша, (La., p. 108 and pp. 125, 144, 150, 297, 300, 441 495); И Леонъ тшръ нажа КУГРЫ на Волгары (La., p. 29); а Ярослава посла в Угры. вабжа КУГРЫ на Володаре. а сам ике Кыеву (La., p. 270); и сбита КУГРЫ арь в мѣца (La., p. 271 and 323, 335, 336, 365, 470); Семинъ ше овідѣвъ на Кугры въртися. и Кугры противу поздоша. и побѣда БОЖАРЫ (La., p. 29); Иде Володимерь на Волгару... и побѣди БОЖАРЫ (La., p. 84); и посмь хотѣлъ есмь перейти БОЖАРЫ Дунаійскыѣ (La., p. 266); княжа йше Ондѣй воротися с побѣдою. відѣвъ поганья БОЖАРЫ избиты (La., p. 352); такоже и Волгаре послыша вѣсть. глаголъ идѣтъ Рѣвь и нажали сутѣ к собѣ ПЕЧЕНѢГІ (La., p. 45); Ігорь ше совокупивъ во многи... и Теверѣсѣ и ПЕЧЕНѢГІ нажа (La., p. 45); и собра вои. и прогна ПЕЧЕНѢГІ въ поли. и быІь мирѣ (La., p. 67); Праде Олегъ изъ Греѣ... и іще КОЗАРЫ (La., p. 205); и езъ быІь над ними безбоѣзнѣ. побѣда и ТАТАРИ (La., p. 504); Даніловъ зе крѣпко изѣбывашчѣ ТАТАРЫ. вѣдѣвъ то МѢстиславъ Нѣмій (La., p. 507).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y (-I) was represented fifty-two times in the following nouns:

tšržь зе кѣстѣ княжжа икѣ, и БОЖАРЫ всѣа (Hyp., p. 13); се слышаѣ тшръ посла кѣ
Игореви лутѣшѣи БОЖАРЫ (Hyp., p. 34);
Иде Олег(1)ѣ на Греѣ. Ігоръ оставивъ
Кыевѣ. поя множѣство Вархагѣ. и Словенѣ...
и Радимичѣ. и Хорватѣ. и ДУЛѢВЫ. и
Тиверѣтъ (Hyp., p. 21); Романъ
зе сѣбра БОЖАРЫ и сановники (Hyp., p. 35 and
pp. 58, 58, 93, 94, 109, 131, 137, 291, 327,
343, 380, 570, 800, 809, 830, 878, 878, 905,
033); Леонъ тшръ нажа КУГРЫ на Волгары (Hyp.,
p. 20); Стополкѣ зе посаци. сѣна своего Володеримь МѢстиславѣ...вабжа КУГРЫ на Володаръ
(Hyp., p. 245 and pp. 246, 301, 342, 408, 410,
416, 419, 420, 442, 446, 767, 767, 769, 802,
809); Кугри противу поздоша. и побѣда БОЖАРЫ (Hyp., p. 20); и тако побѣди БОЖАРЫ (Hyp., p. 71); и по сѣмь хотѣлѣ есмѣ. перейти БОЖАРЫ. Дунаійскыѣ (Hyp., p. 240); зеѣ не-
погодѣ есть зімѣ. воеати БОЖАРЫ идучѣ не
idjakhu (Hyp., p. 565); Igorь sovokupi voja mnogi. Varjagy ... i PECHENÈGY naja (Hyp., p. 34); i sьbra voja i progna PECHENÈGY (Hyp., p. 55); i zajasha PECHENÈGI i Tøyki (Hyp., p. 255); i-iseche KOZARY izhe bësha svëtnitsi (Hyp., p. 1196); i vrati litse svoe vzjyti. vь Eфсимь pobiditi ZHIDY (Hyp., p. 263); to ti ne Putjatinь dvorь ni sotsьkikhь. no i ZHIDY grabiti. i paki yi poiiduti (Hyp., p. 276); ljudьe zhe vidivyhe TATARY na gorodь. oustrь-mishasja pobëgnut do ditinьtsa (Hyp., p. 853); ja zhe khochju praviti TATARY a ty sëdi (Hyp., p. 929).

Since the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y differed from the nom. plu. case, which had the endings -I, -E, -È, -OVE, -OVE, and -OVI, the possibility of syntactical confusion between the subject and object was limited in the nouns with the suffix -IN denoting various peoples. In fact, there was one instance, where the nom. plu. case was represented by the ending -Y, which was similar to the acc. plu. case-ending. This single example occurred in the Hypatian Chronicle: "Pridosha BOLbGARY very Bokhьmьchь" (La., p. 84).

Examples of the nom. plu. case-ending -E, appearing in the acc. plu. function, were recorded four times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

se slyshavь tšsrь. posla k Igorju luchiь BOLJARE. molja i glja (La., p. 45); Romanь che sozva BOLJARE i sanovniki (La., p. 46); i sozva tšsrь BOLJARE svoja v polatu (La., p. 70); knjazь zhe velikь Kostjantinь v ty dniь odari knjazi i BOLJARE mnogymi dary (La., p. 501).
In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same noun occurred three times in the acc. plu. function with the case-ending -E:

naoutrija zhe Stopolk. sozva BOJARE i Kijane i povoda imь (Hyp., p. 233);
i privede BOJARE vsi k nemou (Hyp., p. 747);
i bivshimьja s nimi. poimasha Ljadьskie BOJARE (Hyp., p. 775).

This Chronicle also had one example of the nom. plu. case-ending -OVь, which was used in the acc. plu. function:

vidja bedou strashьnou i groznou. i priide Perejaslavlju i sretosha TATAROVь ottouda zhe ekha kь Kouremьstь (Hyp., p. 806).

Although the endings -E and -OVь were of the nom. plu. case, the context indicated that the nouns appeared in the objective function. Hence, the animate-inanimate category was maintained in the nouns with the suffix -IN-, denoting members of a social class and various peoples.

In addition to the above acc. plu. case-endings, this group of nouns also utilized the old gen. plu. case with the ending -ь for the acc. function. This case was recorded fourteen times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

slyshavshe se Stopolkь, idushcha Jaroslava. pristroi be-shчисla voi. /Rous. i PECHENEGь. i izyd protivu emou.../ (La., p. 141);
naoutrija zhe Stopolkь sozva BOLJARь i Kyjanь i poveda imь (La., p. 259); Vяcheslavь zhe se slyshavь nadьjasja na starеishьstvo. poslushavь BCLARь svoikh (La., p. 314); Gjurevi zhe poslushavshju BCLJARь, vyvedь iz VYshegoroda шна svoego Andreа (La., p. 326 and pp. 375, 382, 402, 402, 441, 446, 481, 481); ane nepogodь es zime voevati BOLGARь. i poduchе ne idjaku (La., p. 364);
The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -ъ was found nine times in the Hypatian Chronicle in the following sentences:

Vjacheslavъ zhe se słyszął nadеждами на старейшинство, и послушалъ Воjarъ своихъ (Hyp., p. 330); Djurgevi zhe poslusšavšju BOJARъ i vyvedъ iz Vyshegoroda. šna svoego Andréja (Hyp., p. 394); a sama knjazja mlada sushća słushašta BOJARъ. a bojare ouchakhutъ na mnogoe imanie (Hyp., p. 598 and 718, 782); poslaļz esmъ vozvoditi TATARъ. a samъ pri-stravajusja (Hyp., p. 930); poslaļb bo bjasjetb vozvoditi TATARъ. na snovtja svoego, (ibid. ); bratъ moi poslaļb vozvoditi TATARъ (ibid. ).

The use of the gen.-acc. plu. cases in both Chronicles demonstrates that the substitution had appeared in the nouns with the singulative suffix -IN- denoting various peoples. Its manifestation was motivated by the syntactical reasons; to distinguish the nom. and acc. plu. cases, and to uphold the animate-inanimate category in these nouns.

In post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case-ending -ъ (I) of the -IN-suffix nouns appeared forty-seven times after various prepositions in the Laurentian Chronicle:

těmže i iz Rusi mozhetъ itи po Volže V BOLARY i vž Khvalisy (La., p. 7); i rěsha imъ iděte pervoe V BOLARY. i ispytaite pervoe věru ikh (La., p. 107 and 108, 147); poběgni V PEČENĚGI. i privedeshi mi. i ne poslusha ego (La., p. 78); Varjashko zhe viděvъ jako ouběenъ bys JaropolkJ běžha sъ dvora V PEČENĚGI (ibid.,); i poide Jaroslavъ na Stopolka. i běžha StopolkJ V PE- CHENĚGY (La., p. 144); běžhashchju emu vž OUGRY. i nacha pomysljetи. jako izbyju vsju bratъ svoju (La., p. 139); tomъ zh let vedena
Peredbslava dshchi Stóropolcha. V UGRY za korolevich avgusta (La., p. 280 and pp. 336, 352, 469); Velikyi kniaz Jaroslav' poekha V TATARY k Batyevi (La., p. 470); Vasilii Vsevolodich i s svoimi muzhi poekhasha V TATARY k Batyevi (ibid.,); i s synovtsi poekha V TATARY k Batyevi (La., p. 471, et passim); I Leon' tšrb naja Ougry NA BOLGARY (La., p. 29); Ide Stósłav' na Dunai i NA BOLGARY (La., p. 65); Ide Volodimer' NA BOLGARY sž Dobrynoju sž voemť svoimź v lodźjak (La., p. 84, et passim); Semionź zhe ouvičěvź NA OUGRY vzratisja, (La., p. 29); i vorotisja Dvddb. i poidosta NA OUGRY (La., p. 270 and pp. 271, 311); Postavlętn tšrb Romanź vž Grekoh, a Igore voevashe NA PECHENĖGI (La., p. 43 and 127, 279); Volodimerts'i pustisha po strelje NA TATARY, i Tatarove takozhe pustisha po strelje (La., pp. 461 and 516); Greky poslasha PO PECHENĖGI (La., p. 42); outro zhe povelę poslati PO PECHENĖGY (La., p. 128).

Similar combinations of prepositions and the old acc. plu. case-ending in -Y (-I) appeared sixty times in the Hypatian Chronicle in the following phrases:

těmź zhe iz Rusi možhet iti po Volzě. V BOLGARY. i vž Khvalisy (Hyp., p. 6); i rěsha imź. idete pervoę V BOLGARY. ispytaitе věru ikhź (La., p. 93 and pp. 94, 135); i re emu Varjažhcko. ne khodi kniazhe oubiñutź tja. poběghi V PECHE-NEGĖ (Hyp., pp. 66 and 66); bezhashchju emu Vž OUGRY. i nacha pomysłjati jako izbyju vsju bratźju svoju (Hyp., p. 126); v tom zhe lěte/ vedena Peredbslava. dshchi Stóropolcha VO OUGRY. za korolevich (Hyp., p. 256); toto zhe lěta vedosha. Volodimerťnu. Ofimęju Vž OUGRY za korolja (Hyp., p. 273 et passim); izgnavshju Otroka VO OBEZY. za Zhełěznaja vrata (Hyp., p. 716); posla i VO OBEZY reka. Volodimerź qumerź estź (Hyp., p. 716); Mikhailź tšrb izyde s voı beregom. i moremź NA BOLGARY (Hyp., p. 13); Leonź tšrb naja Ougry na BOLGARY (Hyp., p. 20); Ide Stósłavź na Dunai. NA BOLGARY (Hyp., p. 53 and pp. 71, 286, 625); Semenź zhe ouvedavnź. NA OUGRY vzvratisja (Hyp., p. 20 and pp. 245, 737, 786, 804, 888); Ide Stósłavź NA KOZARY. slyshavshe zhe Kozare. izydosha protivu sž kniazemź svoimź (Hyp., p. 53); Volodimeru shedshju k Novugorodu. po verkhźnie voę. NA PECHENĖGY. bě bo ratź
velika (Hyp., p. 112); i khozhashe ŠKVĚZĚ PE-
CHENEGY gîja (Hyp., p. 54); naoutrėja zhe
posla PO PECHENÉGY (Hyp., p. 113); oderzha
zemļju svojo veličestvom, olny PO TATARY,
a sėmo po Ljakhy po Litvou (Hyp., p. 933);
i paki ti podutb. na jatrovb tvoju i NA
BOJARY. i na manastyře (Hyp., p. 276),
The presence of various prepositions governing the old acc.
plu. case, clearly indicated the objective function of the
nouns and thus upheld the animate-inanimate opposition in
these nouns in both Chronicles.

There was only one example of the nom. plu. case
with the ending -E in the acc. function after a preposition
in the Hypatian Chronicle: "Svět zhe stvorish Iguestevichi.
NA BOJARE Galichkyi" (Hyp., p. 723).

The examination of the masc. plu. nouns with suffix
-IN- in the sing. number denoting members of a social class
and various peoples showed that the old acc. plu. case,
both alone and after prepositions, was widely used in both
Chronicles. Since it differed from the nom. plu. case, the
animate-inanimate category relied largely on the morpholo-
gical distinction between the cases. It is evident that the
animate-inanimate opposition depended on the context, and
on the old gen.-acc. plu. case. The use of the gen.-acc.
plu. case shows the presence of the substitution process
in this group of nouns.

Concerning the masc. plu. nouns with the suffix
-EN-, only one noun, 'sloveninb', was recorded in both
Chronicles. The nom. plu. case of this noun was represented
by the case-ending -E, as well as by the case-endings -Ě,
-I and -Y. The acc. plu. case had these endings: -I, -E,
-Ě, and -Y.
In the Laurentian Chronicle, the acc. plu. case-ending -I was recorded four times, while each of the case-endings -E and -Ě occurred once:

Poide Oleg poim ž voja mnogi Varjagi. Chujud SLOVENI. Merju. i vsë Krivichi (La., pp. 22-23);
Igor žhe sovkupiv ž voj mnogi. Varjagi Rus i Poljany. SLOVENI i Krivichi (La., p. 45);
Volodimeržhe sobra voj mnogi. Varjagi. i SLOVENI. Chudži i Krivichi (La., p. 76);
Jaroslavžsžbra voj mnogi. Varjagy i SLOVENI. pride Kyevu (Hyp., p. 151); and
Ide Olegž na Gredky. Igorja ostavi v Kievě. poja žhe množestvo Varjag. i Slovenž. i Chjudži i SLOVENE. i Krivichi. i Merju. i Derevljany (La., p. 29); Jaroslavžžhe sovokupivž Rusž. i Varjagy. i SLOVENĚ. poide protivu Boleslavu. i Stòpolku (La., p. 143).

Since the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings were represented by the vowel -I, there was a possibility of misinterpreting the two functionally different cases. In the cited examples, the acc. plu. case was determined through the context and the fact that the noun 'sloveni' appeared in the objective function, along with the other nouns.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, however, this group of nouns was represented by the acc. plu. case-ending -Y in these five sentences:

Varjagy. i Rusž. Polijany. i SLOVENY. i Krivichi. i Tivertsi (Hyp., p. 34); Volodimeržhe sbžbra voj mnogi Varjagy i SLOVENY. i Chjudž. i Krivichi (Hyp., p. 64); Jaroslavžhe množestvo sovokupi Rusž. Varjagy SLOVENY poide protivu Boleslavu i Stòpolku (Hyp., p. 130); Jaroslavžhe sobražvoj mnogi Varjagy i SLOVENY. i priide Kyevu (Hyp., p. 138).
In view of the fact that the acc. plu. case-ending -Y differed from the nom. plu. case-endings -E, -Ě and -I in the Hypatian Chronicle, there was no confusion between the subject and object relationship. This distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases maintained the animate-inanimate category in this group of nouns.

In the post-prepositional use, the Laurentian Chronicle had two examples of the acc. plu. case-ending -I, while the Hypatian Chronicle contained three instances of the old acc. case-ending -Y. The following sentences illustrate this use in both Chronicles:

Volkhomb bo nashedshemb NA SLOVENI na Dunaiskija. i sêdshemb v nikh. i nasiljašhchemb imž (La., p. 6); i poide po Dnepru gorė. i pride Vb SLOVENI, idezhe nyně Novțgorod ž (La., p. 8); and, i poide po Dnepru gorė. i pride Vb SLOVENY, idezhe ině Novțgorod (Hyp., p. 7); Volokhomb bo nashedshikh NA SLOVENY, na Dunaiskye. i sedshimb v nikh (Hyp., p. 5); si zhe Obri voevasha NA SLOVENY (Hyp., p. 9).

Although the nom. and acc. plu. cases were alike in the nouns with suffix -EN-, the presence of the prepositions clearly indicated the acc. function of the nouns, and enabled the animate-inanimate category to express itself adequately in these nouns in both Chronicles.

The nouns with the suffix -AN- had the acc. plu. case-ending -Y. Eight sentences from the Laurentian Chronicle exemplify this case:
i tako ojazvljakhu ljudi Plotbyskyja i ego oblast', tём в i chivoti glikhu, jako najave byjutb POLOCHANY (La., p. 215); Jaropol'ku zhe skopivshju mnozhьstvo voi. Rostovtsё.

POLOCHANY. Smoljane. Ougry (La., p. 305); i ide shjurinu svoemu v rutsё. i LOGOZHANY privede (La., p. 298); i vidёvshi Izjaslavtsё knjazja svoego. i LOGOZHANY jazhe bes pakosti sutь perejati (La., p. 298); i sovokupja Novgorodtsё. Pleskovichi. LA-DOZHANY. Novotorzhьtsё. i poide skoro (La., p. 430); Izjaslavь bo zhenjashetь GALICHANY. a Galichane Izjaslavly druzhinu.
i ш на ego. Izjaslavu zhe ne vёdushchju. i tvorjashchju pobёdivshju GALICHANY (La., p. 340); kako zastupi grad svoi ot velikih bedё. i GRAZHANY svoja oukrёpljaetь (La., p. 377).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, similar nouns also had the old acc. case-ending -Y, as evidenced by the following five instances:

i tako oujazvljakhu ljudi Plotbyskyja.
i ego oblast', tём в i chivoti glikhu.

jako navб byjutb POLOCHANY (Hyp., p. 206);

I potomь Rogьvoloдь. szvьkupi veц mnogь.

POLCHANY i Rostislavь Mbstislavichь. pusti emu dva ш на в pomocь (Hyp., p. 496);
i ide shjurinu svoemu v rutsё i LOGOZHANY privede. izhe б в vyvelь izь Logozhhьstva i vidёvshe Izjaslavchi knjazja svoego i LO-

GOZHANY (Hyp., p. 292); Izjaslavь zhe-

njashetь GALICHANY. a bratja ego bёzhasha
(Hyp., p. 497).

There was only one example in this group of nouns where the nom plu. case with ending -E functioned in the acc. plu. capacity. It appeared in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following sentence: "Jaropol'ku zhe skopivshju mnozhьstvo voi. Rostovtsё Pochochany. Smoljane. Ougry. GALICHANE. i Berendёevь '1. tysjachь" (La., p. 305).
In the prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y appeared in both Chronicles; once in the Laurentian and twice in the Hypatian:

Jaroslav ide NA MAZOVSHANY. i pobedi e i knjazja ikhoubi Moislav (La., p. 155); i tako Biim soudom letesta. dve gorodnitsi s ljudmi. tako k ratnym i NA prochaja GRAZHANY naide strakh (Hyp., 648); onem zhe strjela justchim. i kamenie meshchjushchim NA GRAZHANY (Hyp., p. 738).

As can be seen from the examples, the nouns with the suffix -AN- appeared predominantly with the ending -Y in the acc. case, both alone and with a preposition. Hence, the animate-inanimate category was preserved on the basis of different nom. and acc. plu. case-endings.

Finally, the acc. plu. case of the nouns with the suffix -JAN- referring to peoples and inhabitants was represented by the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y, case-endings -E and -Ě, as well as the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -Ě.

The old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y occurred twenty-four times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

Pocha Oleg voevati DEREVLJANY i primuchi svoi imasha na nik dan, po chernе kune (La., p. 24); Ide /Oleg/ na Severjane i pobedi SÉVERJANY i vzlozhi na nj dan legsku, (ibid. ); i be obladaja Oleg. POLJANY. I DEREVLJANY. /i/ SÉVERENY (ibid. ); Ide Oleg na Greky... poja /zhe/ mnozhestvo Varjag. i Sloven, i Chjud. i Slovene, i Krivichi. i Merju. i DEREVLJANY. i Radimichi. i POLJANY (La., p. 29); Igor zhe sovkupivs svoi mnogi. Varjagi Rus, i POLJANY. Sloveny i Krivichi (La., p. 45); knjazoubuzhe pochals potjagnete druzhina po knjaze. i pobedisha DEREVLJANY (La., p. 58); ashche obrjashchet...
въ въ ствтвѣ Днѣрѣскому Русѣ. KORSUNJANY ryby lovjashcha. da ne tvorjatъ имъ nikakozhe (La., p. 51); i posla na nja RIMLJANY (La., p. 87); i sъзвз KYJANY i nacha dajati имъ imenbe (La., p. 132); i oushishta KYJANY (La., 173); i priched Mѣstislavѣ isѣche /KYJANY/ изѣBesha vysѣkli Vseslava (La., pp. 173-174 and pp. 258, 316, 316, 316, 319, 342, 368); Бѣ izbavi KHJSTJANY ot poganykhъ (La., p. 163); i vѣzvrati ot nego Bѣ poganyja Bolgary. KHRJSTJANY pokryvъ rukoj svoeju (La., p. 364); no i tu vѣdѣ. izyma Novgorodtsi. i SMOLJANY izhe bjakhu zasli gostѣboju v zemlu ego (La., p. 500).

The same case-ending -Y, appearing in the acc. plu. function in various nouns, was also recorded twenty-four times in the Hypatian Chronicle, as illustrated by the following sentences:

Igorъ sovokupi voja mnogo. Varjagy. i Rusѣ. i POLJANY (Hyp., p. 34); knjazъ ouzhe pochallъ potjagnetъ druzhino po knjazi. i pobѣdisha DEREVJANY (Hyp., p. 46); i posla na nja RIM LJANY (Hyp., p. 74); i sozva KYJANY. i nacha imenbe imъ dajati (Hyp., p. 118); i postavi Varjagy posredѣ na pravѣ strane. KYJANY (Hyp., p. 138); i oushishta KYJANY (Hyp., p. 163 and pp. 325, 347, 400, 416, 419, 446, 506, 512, 579, 634); i Rostislavѣ Mѣstislavichѣ. puсти emu dva ѣna v pomocѣ. Roman i Ririka. i Vnѣzda i SMOLJANY i Novgorodtsi (Hyp., p. 496); i nachasha i srѣtati lutshii muzhi SMOLJANY (Hyp., p. 528); i ako ouchrezhashe vsju bratju. a v Lazorevu subotu. vsi PECHERJANY vzimashе (Hyp., p. 530); i vѣzvrati Bѣ poganyja ot nego. a KHSTJANY pokry rukoj svoeju (Hyp., p. 565); i vozdradovashasja. vidѣvshе KHSTJNY otpolonen y ot poganykh (Hyp., p. 605); egda bo vidjashe. KHSTJANY polonen y ot poganykh (Hyp., p. 611); khrabortъ bo бѣ jako i tourѣ. revnovashe bo dedou svoemou Monomakhou. pogoubivshemou poganyja IZNALTJANY. rekomyja Polovtsi (Hyp., p. 716); togda Volodimerѣ i Monomakhѣ. pilѣ zolotom sholomomu Donѣ. i priemshju zemlu ikhъ vsju. i zagnavshju okanbyjja AGARJANY (Hyp., p. 716).
Since the nom. plu. case-ending -E differed from the acc. plu. case-ending -Y, there was no confusion between the subject and object relationship. By the same token, the animate-inanimate category was able to retain its opposition in this group of nouns.

In addition to the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y, the acc. plu. case was also represented by the ending -E, which coincided with the nom. plu. case-ending. In the Laurentian Chronicle, this case-ending occurred three times in the following expressions:

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a sama otide kromē i povelē druzhine /svoei/
sekh DEREVLJANE. i isèkosa ikh (La., p. 57);
i postavi Varjagy posredē. a na pravēi
storone KYJANE. a na levēmē krilē Novgorodtse
(La., p. 151); Jaropolku zhe skopivshju mnozhē-
stvo voi. Rostovtsē. Polochany. SMOLJANE.
Ougry. Galichane (La., p. 305).
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In the Hypatian Chronicle, the nom.-acc. plu. case-ending in -E was represented four times:

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nauotrija zhe Stopolkb. sozva bojare i
KYJANE i povēda imē (Hyp., p. 233);
i Vsevolodē zhe prizva k sobē KIJANE.
i nacha molviti ažē esmēvelmi bolepi
(Hyp., p. 320); Igorē zhe èkha Kievou.
i sozva KIJANE vsi na goru na Jaroslavdb
dvorē (Hyp., p. 321); Rostislavē zhe nē
vē Kievē ne vkhodja. pojde polky svoimi.
i poima Vsevolodicha Stoslava. i Mstislava
Izjaslavicha. i Torky KIJANE. i pereide
Dnēprē Vyshegorodu (Hyp., p. 472).
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The same noun, denoting the inhabitants of Kiev, appeared three times with the acc. case-ending -E in the Hypatian Chronicle:
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ashche li kto děetъ KIJANE isěkъ kotorēi zhe vysadili Vseslava is poruba (Hyp., p. 194); ide s nimi podъ Cugorskii i svězva KIJANE. vsi ono zhe vsi tšělovasha. k nēmou krsť (Hyp., p. 320); i Stoslavъ poima loutshēi mouzhē KIJANE. i ěkha s nimi bratou svoemou Igorevi (Hyp., p. 322).

The appearance of the case-endings -E, on the one hand, and case-ending -Ě, on the other, in the nom. and acc. plu. cases, could have caused syntactical confusion concerning the subject and object function. In such instances, the specific role of the case in question was ascertained from the context, which also helped to maintain the animate-inanimate category.

The old gen. plu. case with the ending -ž in the acc. plu. function occurred only once in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following sentence:
"a Voblodimera Pëskovskogo Pëskovichi i SMOLNJANž na rubez̆ poslasha provoditi" (La., p. 493).

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y was used exclusively in both Chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were four examples of this combination:

Ide Olegž NA SEVERJANY i pobědi Severjany i vžzlozhi na nž danž (La., p. 24); ide Igorž NA DEREVŁJANY. i pobědiva i. i vozlozhi na nž danž bolshi Olgovy (La., p. 42); i nacha mysliti NA DEREVŁJANY. khotja primysliti bolšžjuju danž (La., p. 54); i šniměšľiměšja oběma polkoma na skurž. sunu koręmž Stoslavž NA DEREVŁJANY. i korębe letě skvože oushi koněvi (La., p. 58); i pechalenž bys Izjazlavž. i zhalovasheszja NA KYJANY. i posla Izjaslavž Volodimera v Gorodetsž (La., p. 318).
The Hypatian Chronicle had eleven examples of prepositions which governed the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y.

They can be examined in these sentences:

\[ tšsrju \ zhe \ otshedžshju. \ NA \ AGARJANY. \]
\[ i \ doshedžshju \ emu \ Chernoe \ rěky, \ vestb \ eparkhъ \ posla \ emu \ (Hyp., p. 15); \ Pocha Olegъ \ voevati \ NA \ DREVLJANY. \ i \ primuchivъ \ ja.\ (Hyp., p. 17); \ Ide \ Igorъ \ NA \ DREVLJANY. \]
\[ i \ pobedivъ \ vzšlozhj na jja \ danь \ bolshju Olьgovъ \ (Hyp., pp. 31-32); \ i \ prispь \ oseņь \ i \ nacha \ mysliti \ NA \ DEREVLJANY. \ khotja \ pri- \ mysliti \ bolshju \ danь \ (Hyp., p. 42); \]
\[ i \ snemžshemajja \ oběma \ polkoma \ nakupe. \ sunu \ korjemyz \ Stošlavъ \ NA \ DREVLJANY. \ i \ korjemy \ letěvъ \ skozi \ oushi \ konevi \ (Hyp., p. 46); \]
\[ i \ posla \ ja \ NA \ SMOLNJANY \ i \ povoevasha \ verkhъ \ Ougry \ (Hyp., p. 342); \ a \ to \ ouzhe \ BžVi \ souditi. \ i \ zhalova \ NA \ KIJANY \ (Hyp., p. 355); \]
\[ ozhe \ dobrе \ naděeshisja \ NA \ KIJANY \ to \ ty \ samъ \ vědaeshi \ ljudi \ svoja \ (Hyp., p. 414); \]
\[ bе \ bo \ krěpokъ \ na \ rati. \ vsegdа \ bo \ tosnjašhetbjsja \ oumreti \ za \ Rouskoujuz \ zemlju. \ i \ ZA \ KHRSTЪJANY. \]
\[ egда \ bo \ vidjashe. \ khštъjany \ poloneny \ ot \ poganykh \ (Hyp., p. 611); \ aschche \ nynе \ oumremъ. \ ZA \ KHSTЪJANY. \ to \ ochistivsja \ grěkhovъ \ svoikh. \ (ibid. ); \ oustavljajju \ lovchee. \ NA \ BERESTЪJANY \ i \ v \ věky \ за \ ikhъ \ koromolou \ (Hyp., p. 932). \]

Since the prepositions governing the acc. cases appeared only with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y, the animate-inanimate category relied on the distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases in the nouns with -JAN- suffix.

The examination of the plu. -JAN-suffix nouns denoting various peoples revealed that the old acc. case with the ending -Y predominated as a direct object as well as after prepositions in both Chronicles. The use of the acc. plu. case with the ending -E, which was identical with the nom. plu. case, was limited numerically in both Chronicles.
while the gen.-acc. plu. case was represented by a single example in the Laurentian Chronicle. On the basis of these considerations, one can state that the animate-inanimate category relied for its expression, in the majority of cases, on the different nom. and acc. plu. cases.

In addition to the nouns with suffixes -IN-, -EN-, -AN- and -JAN- denoting peoples, there was a group of masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns which signified both peoples and various tribes. The nom. plu. case-ending of these nouns was -I, while the acc. plu. case-ending was -Ě. As a result of the simplification of case-endings in the plural declensional system, the acc. plu. ending -Ě was replaced by the ending -I. Thus the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the -jo-stems became identical; namely -I.

Both Chronicles revealed the presence of the old acc. plu. case-ending -Ě, the new acc. plu. case-ending -I, and the old gen.-acc. case with the ending -b.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Ě was represented seventeen times:

Igorь zhe sovkupivь voi mnogi. Varjagi Rusь i Poljany. Slověni i Krivichi. i TÊVERьTSĚ i Pecheněgi naа (La., p. 45); sъrête e na rěťse Pǐshcheme. i pobědi RADIMICHE Volčihi Khvostь (La., pp. 83-84); i voevoda nacha Stопolchь ēzdja възлє bereгъ. oukarjati NOVGORODTSĚ glja (La., p. 142); i poimь NOVGORODTSѯ i iměńьe ikhь (La., p. 146); i pobědi Jaroslavь Brjachislaya. i NOVGORODTSѯ voroti Novugorodu (ibid. ); Toэ zhe zimy bishasja Novgorodtsi s Rostovtsi na Zḥиdni
In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same acc. plu. case-ending -Э appeared forty-five times in the following sentences:

i pobedi Jaroslavъ. Brjachislava. i NOVGORODTSÉ. i voroti i tu k Novugorodu (Hyp., p. 133); poslavъ sobravъ voe svoe. ROSTOVTSÉ Suzhdatalsi Volodimertsbi Perejaslavtsbi BÉLOZÉRTSÉ. MUROMTSÉ. i NOVGORODTSÉ i RJAZANTSÉ. i sochtavъ ê (Hyp., p. 573); i ottolë pousti NOVGORODTSÉ. a samъ ide Rogachevou grada. izoima ROSTOVTSÉ. i Belozertsbi SUZHDALTSÉ i skova (Hyp., p. 227); i ousrëte i ou Bonjakъ POLOVTSÉ. i poide Dvëdъ i Bonjakъ. na Stôshju. k Luchku (Hyp., p. 247-248); i vëgonivshe POLOVTSÉ. do Dunaja (Hyp., p. 257 et passim (eighteen times); i korolь Ougry posla. pomoshchë. Berenbichevъ i tysjashchë. i TOUROVTSÉ i sobra voj many (Hyp., p. 301); no szvavshëa VJATICHE i resha imь (Hyp., p. 338); i ottuda ide ou Vjatiche. i zaja vši VJATICHE za to nezhne ne ide po nemь Stôshlavъ (Hyp., p. 502); poslasha podvoskëi i BIRICHÉ po oulitsamь klikati (Hyp., p. 369);
podzmolivš na tja ljudi BERENDICHĕ. i Kiany (Hyp., p. 372); a ottselõ Djurgi sõ Olgovichi a poëdi v borže poimja BERENDICHĕ samţi zhe Izjaslavъ s bojary svoimi (Hyp., p. 399 and pp. 445, 505, 512, 575); bratja zhe vši pozhalovasha na Mëstislava. ozhe outal'vša ikhŭ pusti v navoropъ. sëdelńiki svoe i KOSHCHEĚ (Hyp., p. 540); vidivъ zhe se kňzъ Danilo jako Bou pospëvajushchou mëstou tomou nacha prizyvati. prihodâe NĚMTŠE i Roušъ (Hyp., p. 843).

In view of the fact that the nom. and the acc. plu. case-endings were represented by the vowels -I and -Ě, respectively, the animate-inanimate opposition depended on the former morphological distinction in these respective cases.

The new acc. plu. case-ending -I, identical with the nom. plu. case, appeared twenty-one times in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following nouns denoting various peoples:

Idee Olegъ na Greky. Igorja ostavi v Kieve. poja zhe mnożestvo Varjagъ i Slovenъ i Chjudъ i Slovene i KRIVICH i Merju i Derevljany i RADIMICH i Poljany i Sëvero i Vjatich i Khorvaty i Douléby i TIVERTSI (La., p. 29); Igorъ zhe sovkypivъ voi mnogi. Varjagi Rusъ i Poljany. Sloveni i KRIVICH i Tëverësă i Pechënëgi naa (La., p. 45); Volodimerъ zhe sobra voi mnogi. Varjadi i Sloveni. Chudъ i KRIVICH i poide na Rogzvolada (La., p. 76); i ide na Oku rëdu i na Volgu. i naleze VJATICHI i rech Vjatichemъ (La., p. 65); VJATICHI pobëdi Stëslavъ i danъ na nikhŭ vëzlozhi (ibid.); V sem zhe lëtë i VJATICHI pobëdi. i vëzlozhi na nĭ danъ (La., p. 81); i postavi Varjagy posredъ. a na leveľ krîle NOVGORODTSI (La., p. 151); Slyshavъ zhe Kostjantinъ vëstъ ot otša svoego. nacha sovokupljati voe mnogy. i sovokupja NOVGORODTSI. PLESKOVICHI. Ladõzhany. NOVO-TORZHѢTSI (La., p. 430); a kňzъ veliki ot-pusti NOVGORODTSI s Kolomny odarivъ bes chisla (La., p. 490); no i tu vëžъ izyma NOVGORODTSI i Smolnjangy (La., p. 500); Oleg zhe po
The Hypatian Chronicle revealed thirty-four examples of the new acc. plu. case-ending -I. Some of the nouns with this ending may be cited in the following sentences:

Poide Ol<sz po<emx voi svoi mnogu. Varjagy Chjudb. Slov<enb. M<erju. Vesb. KRIVICHI. i prija gorodx i posadi v nezh muzh svoi (Hyp., p. 16); Igorx sovokupi voja mnogu. Varjagy. i Rusb. i Poljany. i Slovenb. i KRIVICHI. i TIVERTSI. i Pechenegy naja (Hyp., p. 34 and pp. 64, 292); i ide na Oku r<eku. i na Volgu. i nalet<e VJATICHb. i rech i<mp komu danb daete (Hyp., p. 53); sem< zhe let<e i VJATICHb pobedi. i v<ozlozh< na nja danb (Hyp., p. 69); ide zameb vsi VJATICHb i Dobrjaneskx (Hyp., p. 342); i zrete RADIMICHI. na r<etse Pishchage. pobedi Volchii Khvostb RADIMICHI. t<emb i Rusb korjatsja Radimichem gl<ushche (Hyp., p. 71); Oleg zhe po prijatbi grada. izolma Rostovtsb. i BEOLOCZERTSI i Suzhdalb<te i skova (Hyp., p. 227); M<stislavb zhe pri-ide Muromu. i stvori mir< s Muromi. poja ljudi svoja. Rostovtsb zhe i SUZHDALbTSI. i poide /k Rja/ (Hyp., p. 230); i poslav sobrav< voe svoe. Rostovtsb SUZHDALbTSI VCLOD- MERTSI PEREJASLAVTSI BEOLOCZERTSb. Muromtsb (Hyp., p. 573); a M<stislavb. mouzhi svoi posla zagna POLOVTSI za Don< (Hyp., p. 303); i tou vyrja PCLCVCHI mn<zi (Hyp., p. 356); no ozhe na mja POLOVTSI privelb i vorogy moja Olgovicb (Hyp., p. 378 and pp. 456, 460, 505, 527, 550, 559, 668, 672, 673, 678, 678, 690, 694, 695, 746); i Rosislav< M<stislavichb. pusti emu dva sna v pomocb. Romana i Ririka. i Vnezda i Smoljany i NOVSORCDTSI. i PLESKU- VICHb i sam< bjashe poshelb (Hyp., p. 496):
The examples of the new acc. plu. case with ending -I of the masc. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples, as recorded in the two Chronicles, point to the possibility of confusion between the subject and object cases. Since the old. nom. and the new acc. plu. cases had the identical ending -I, the animate-inanimate category was maintained by referring to the context.

The old gen. plu. case with the ending -b of the -jo-stems appeared in the acc. function in both Chronicles. This fact demonstrates that the substitution of the old gen. plu. for the old acc. plu. case was present in the -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples. Its purpose was to restore morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases in order to maintain the animate-inanimate opposition in the nouns whose nom. and acc. plu. cases were the same.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the gen.-acc. case-ending -b occurred five times in these sentences:

i prishedshe stasha ou Belji Vezhe. i stojasha
mst. zhidajushcha k sobe POLOVETSb. i ot
Izjaslava pokorenba (La., p. 321); i ous-
retosha POLOVETSb idushcha s polonom (La.,
p. 360); i prislasha posly k' knajzem'
Russkym'. se slyshem'. ozhe protivu nam'
idete poslushavshe POLOVETSb. a my vashe
zemli ne zajakhom' (La., p. 505); i pri-
slasha Tatarove vtoroe posly gl'sche. ashche
este poslushali POLOVETSb. a posly nashi este
izbili a idete protivu nam' (ibid. ); kniaze
zhe Vsevolod' poslushav' NOVGORODTSb. v'zlo-
zhiv' oupovani' na Ba i na stju Btsju
(La., p. 383).
Similar examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -b were encountered four times in the Hypatian Chronicle:

Pobedi VJATICH Stoslav, i danь na nikhь vьzlozhь (Hyp., p. 53); i stojasha ou Bely-vezhi mьstь szzhidauchе k sobь POLOVETSь. i ot Izjaslava pokorenija (Hyp., p. 377); reka Khchju k vamь poekhati. oni zhe boja-chesja POLOVETSь. zane togdy tjazhko. bjashe Kijanomь (Hyp., p. 476); szzhidajushche k sobь Rostislavichь. zhdashetь zh bo k sobь POLOVETSь. na mirь (Hyp., p. 613).

As the gen.-acc. plu. case-ending -б differed morphologically from the nom. plu. case-ending -I, the animate-inanimate category was expressed through the nom. and gen.-acc. plu. cases.

In the post-prepositional function, the old acc. plu. case-ending -ь occurred nineteen times after various prepositions in the Laurentian Chronicle:

i posadi zhenu svoju ou Volodarja. a samь ide V POLOVTSЬ (La., p. 270); DVдь pobьzhе V POLOVTSЬ (La., p. 272); ty nad szczisja bëzhati V POLOVTSЬ. a volostь svoju pogubishi (La., p. 306 and pp. 311, 358, 358, 258); vlozhi Бь mysль dobru v Ruskyе knjazi. oumyslisha derznuti NA POLOVTSЬ i poiti v zemliu ikhь (La., p. 276); Idьsha vesne NA POLOVTSЬ Stополкь. i Volodimerь. i DVдь (La., p. 284 and 289) Sède Olgovichь v Kyevе. i nacha zamyshlati NA VOLCDIMERICHE. i NA MSTISLAVICHь. nadёja- sja silь svoei (La., p. 307); i Vsevglovь poslasja PO POLOVTSЬ. i pride ikhь .3. tysja- shchь (La., p. 296); posla knjasь Mstislavь bratju svoju NA KRICHE. chetyrmь puti (La., p. 297); Stбслav zhe vorotisja progna nashе opjatь. a sam bezha V VJATICHь i vorotisja v svoja si (La., p. 314); prischenha zhe emu V VJATICHь. i sta ne doshedь Kozelьsca (La., p. 341); a Izjaslavь bezha v Gomь. i ottolе prognasha i V VJATICHь (La., p. 348); i ide Izjaslavь V VJATICHь (La., p. 350).
The same acc. plu. case-ending -ē, after various prepositions, appeared twenty-six times in the Hypatian Chronicle, as can be seen in these sentences:

idete paky V NĚMTSĖ i sgljadaite tako zhe. i ottudu idete vž Gréky oni zhe pridošha V NĚMTSĖ. i sgljadavše. tšrkvè i služhub ikhè (Hyp., p. 93); i pridokhomè V NĚMTSĖ i vidikhomè, služhub tvorjashcha (Hyp., p. 94); Stòpôlkè zhe. i Volodîmerè poslasta k Olgovi. veljacha emu iti sž soboju NA POLOVTSE (Hyp., p. 219); po semk Khotjtè prositisja ou Stòpôlka i ou Volodîmera NA POLOVTSE. i poidu rèkhè NA POLOVTSE. da ljubo nalèju sobè slavu (Hyp., p. 240 and pp. 252, 258, 260, 265, 465, 629, 633, 637, 653, 674, 773); i posadì zhenu svoju ou Volodarja. a samè ide V POLOVTSE (Hyp., p. 245); v to zhe veremja. posla. Stòšlavè V POLOVTSE k ouemè svoimè (Hyp., p. 239); Dvèvichèma zhe i Stòšlavou Olgovichju poiti im NA VJATICHÈ k Rostovou (Hyp., p. 368); i ide NA VJATICHÈ (Hyp., p. 374 and 455, 459); a ouzhe estè vshelè V nàshe VJATICHÈ (Hyp., p. 374); togda zhe Stòšlavè knjajè. ide vž VJATICHÈ Korachevou oroudèi delja svoikhè (Hyp., p. 637); i posla Rjurikè. PC Loukomorèskî POLOVTSE. po Akousha (Hyp., p. 675); i ne pustì ego k sobè a onž ouvoro-tjasja. ta NA RADIMICHÈ kž Andreèvi Suzhdalju (Hyp., p. 537); Khodisha Litva vsja i Zhemotz vsja. NA NĚMTSÈ k Rizi (Hyp., p. 896).

The prepositions, which governed the old acc. plu case with the ending -I of the masc. -jo-stem nouns signifying various peoples, specified that the case in question was acc. This circumstance provided an adequate basis for the realization of the animate-inanimate category in this group of nouns in the two Chronicles.

In addition to the use of the old acc. plu. case after certain prepositions, the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I, which was like the nom. plu. case ending, also
appeared in both Chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle, this case occurred fifteen times:

Idě Volodímerb NA RADIMICHI (La., p. 83); iděte paki V NĚMTSI sgljadaí takozhe, i ottuđe iděte vž Greki, oni, zhe pridosha V NĚMTSI i sgljadavšhe tšrkvnuju služebu ičh pridosha Tsřju gorodu (La., p. 107); něs dobro zakonč ikh i pridokhom V NĚMTSI (La., p. 108); poslasta kž Olę- govi, veljasta om poiti NA POLOVTSI s so- boju (La., p. 228); prished iz Rostova, paki idokh NA POLOVTSI na Curubu s Stópolkom (La., p. 250); a vž VJATICHICH khodikom po dvě zime (La., p. 248); posla šňa svoego Glěba V POLOVTSI, a sam vorotisja opjată Suzhadalju (La., p. 341); i ide V POLOVTSI Volodímerb (La., p. 353-354); poidosha so množštvom polona V POLOVTSI (La., p. 363); Togo zhe lět. poslasha Olgovich ľ PO POLOVTSI. i nachasha voevati po Sulě (La., p. 305); Velikiy knjaz Jaroslavb. posla šňa svoego Andreja, v Novųgorodź. Velikiy, v pomoch Oleksandrovi, NA NĚMTSI. i pobědisha ja (La., p. 470); ide iz Nova- goroda iz Velikago i s Novgorodtsi NA NĚMTSI (La., p. 486); khodi Aleksandrč Jaroslavichić s Novgorodtsi NA NĚMTSI (La., p. 523); Jaroslavč. Jaroslavichb, posla s Novųgorodtsi NA NĚMTSI (La., p. 525).

The same combination, consisting of prepositions and the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I, occurred twenty-seven times in the Hypatian Chronicle:

i poslasta kž Dvěvi i k Olgovi glźshcha. poidita NA POLOVTSI. a ljubo budemž zhivi ljubo mŕtvi (Hyp., p. 253); i tu otrjadi Izjaslavb sna svoeg Mštisłava NA POLOVTSI s polki swoimi (Hyp., p. 459 and pp. 507, 532, 645, 645, 645, 652, 673, 673, 674, 677); Vsevolodź zhe poslasja PO POLOVTSI (Hyp., p. 290); Izjaslavź zhe zvykuvjsja zž brateju, svoeju ou ljuboy posla PO POLOVTSI (Hyp., p. 515); a nyně poslemb û POLOVTSI po vsja (Hyp., p. 675); i na tounoch Polovtsi ot nikh poidosha V POLOVTSI (Hyp., p. 357); Polovtsi zhe bězhasha V POLOVTSI
Although the new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stem nouns was identical with the nom. plu. case, the acc. function of the case was identified by the preposition which governed the acc. case. Therefore, the animate-inanimate category depended on the preposition, and the new acc. plu. case which it governed, in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying various peoples in both Chronicles.

From the analysis of the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases by the masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples, one can draw several conclusions regarding the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles.

First, it is evident that in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples, which appeared with no suffix in the sing. number, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y was used exclusively in both Chronicles. This meant that the substitution phenomenon was totally absent in this group of nouns. The possible reason for its absence lies in the fact that the old nom. plu. case with the ending -I had not yet been supplanted by the new
nom. plu. case-ending -Y. Numerically, the new nom. plu. case was represented five times in the Laurentian and once in the Hypatian Chronicle. This Chronicle was less susceptible to the acquisition of the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y than was the Laurentian Chronicle.

Since the old acc. plu. case appeared twenty-nine times, and the new nom. plu. case five times, in the Laurentian Chronicle, there was a possibility of misinterpreting the functions of two semantically different cases in one out of six instances. Whenever this occurred, the expression of the animate-inanimate category depended on the context. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the possibility of confusion between the new nom. plu. case and the old acc. plu. case was remote because the former case appeared only once, while the latter occurred forty-seven times.

On the basis of these considerations, one can conclude that the animate-inanimate category relied, for the most part, on the morphological distinction between the old nom. and acc. plu. cases in this group of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples, in the two Chronicles.

Second, in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples, and appearing with the suffix -IN- only in the sing. number, the acc. plu. case was represented by the old ending -Y thirty-one times, and by the ending -E four times in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ending -E could have caused syntactical ambivalence because it was
identical with the nom. plu. case of this group of nouns. In addition, the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -b appeared fourteen times in this Chronicle. When these totals of the old acc. plu. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases are compared, one can conclude that the ratio between the two cases was two to one in favour of the old acc. plu. case.

If the totals of the gen.-acc. plu. case are compared with the totals of the old acc. case and its variants, then the ratio will be six to one, also in favour of the old acc. plu. cases. In other words, the old acc. plu. case was still regarded as the norm for the acc. function.

Furthermore, the utilization of the acc. plu. case with the ending -E, which was similar to the nom. plu. case, could have been evoked by the appearance of the new nom. plu. case with the ending -Y, which appeared only once in the Laurentian Chronicle.

The above discussion indicates that the old acc. plu. case, along with the gen.-acc. plu. case, was still actively used in upholding the animate-inanimate category in this group of nouns in the Laurentian Chronicle.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, there were fifty-two instances of the old acc. plu. with the ending -Y, three with the ending -E, and one with the ending -OVE in the masc. plu. o-stem nouns denoting various peoples. The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -b appeared nine times in these nouns. Comparatively speaking, the ratio between
the old acc. plu. case and the gen.-acc. plu. case was five to one in favour of the old acc. plu. case. This ratio, if compared with the one obtained in the Laurentian Chronicle, leads one to conclude that the Hypatian Chronicle was slower than the Laurentian to adopt the gen.-acc. plu. case for the acc. function.

In view of these comments, the animate-inanimate category depended on the old acc. plu. case and only marginally on the gen.-acc. plu. and other acc. plu. cases in the Hypatian Chronicle.

Concerning the post-prepositional use, one can state that the old acc. plu. case with ending -Y was used exclusively in both Chronicles, except for one example in the Laurentian Chronicle, where the acc. plu. case-ending was represented by the vowel -E.

Third, in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns with the suffix -EN, the acc. plu. case with ending -I, similar to the nom. plu. case, was recorded four times, and once each with the endings -E and -Ě in the Laurentian Chronicle. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same case was represented only five times by the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y. After different prepositions, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -I appeared twice in the Laurentian Chronicle. The same case was recorded three times in the Hypatian Chronicle with the ending -Y. Since the gen.-acc. plu. case was lacking in this group of nouns, it is evident
that the animate-inanimate category depended on the different nom. and acc. plu. cases whenever they differed morphologically or it relied on the context for its expression.

Fourth, the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns with the suffix -AN- appeared eight times with the acc. plu. case-ending -Y and once with the ending -E in the Laurentian Chronicle. The Hypatian Chronicle had only five examples of the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y. In the post-prepositional use, three examples of the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y were recorded: one in the Laurentian Chronicle, and two in the Hypatian. As in the previous group of masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples, the nouns with the suffix -AN- also lacked the gen.-acc. plu. case in the acc. function. Thus, the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression either on the different nom. and acc. plu. cases or on the context.

Finally, the acc. plu. case of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns with suffix -JAN- was represented predominantly by the old acc. case with the ending -Y. It appeared twenty-four times in each Chronicle. In addition, the acc. plu. case occurred with the ending -E three times in the Laurentian and four times in the Hypatian Chronicle. The latter Chronicle also had three instances of the acc. case with the ending -E. The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -b was represented by a single example, which occurred in the Laurentian Chronicle. After various
prepositions, the old acc. plu. case was used exclusively in both Chronicles. The Laurentian Chronicle had four examples, while the Hypatian had eleven instances of the old acc. plu. case after prepositions. The absence of the gen.-acc. plu. case leads one to the conclusion that the animate-inanimate category expressed itself through the distinct nom. and acc. plu. cases in both Chronicles. In view of these observations, one may conclude that in both Chronicles the substitution process was operating more extensively in the Laurentian than in the Hypatian Chronicle. Its slow progress, particularly in the Hypatian Chronicle, was due to the fact that the nom. and acc. plu. cases were represented by a variety of case-endings. Therefore, in both Chronicles, the animate-inanimate opposition relied on the distinction between the nom. and the old acc. plu. cases, on the context, and partially on the gen.-acc. plu. case, in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns referring to various peoples. Concerning the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying various peoples, the findings showed that in the Laurentian Chronicle the old acc. case with the ending -€ appeared seventeen times, the new acc. case with the ending -I twenty-one times, and the gen.-acc. case with the ending -b was present five times. The numerical proportion of the old and the new acc. plu. cases indicates that the old acc. case with the ending -€ was being usurped by the ending -I, which was similar to
that of the old nom. plu. case. The combined frequency of
the old acc. plu. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases, which
differed from the identical nom. plu. and the new acc. plu.
cases, was in a ratio of one to one. This even ratio caused
confusion between the nom. and the acc. plu. cases and
was responsible for the appearance of the gen.-acc. case.
Syntactical considerations, on which the animate-inanimate
opposition depended for its expression, motivated and acti­
vated the substitution process in the masc. plu. -jo-stem
nouns denoting various peoples in the Laurentian Chronicle.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, masc. plu. -jo-stem
nouns denoting various peoples were represented forty-five
times by the old acc. case with the ending -č, thirty-four
times by the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I, and four
times by the gen.-acc. case with the ending -b. If the
numerical frequency of the gen.-acc. plu. case is compared
with the frequency of the new acc. plu. case, which was
identical with the nom. plu. case, one will obtain a ratio
of one to eight in favour of the new acc. plu. case. On
the basis of this proportion, the gen.-acc. plu. case
was used to eliminate the morphological similarity be­
tween the two syntactically different cases.

As in the Laurentian Chronicle so, too, in the
Hypatian, the animate-inanimate category depended on the
old acc. plu. and the gen. -acc. plu. cases, since these
cases differed from the nom. plu. case. Furthermore, the
animate-inanimate category relied also on the new acc. plu. case, which was identical with the nom. plu. case. In the latter instance, syntactical clarity, with respect to the subject and object, and the adequate expression of the animate-inanimate category were obtained from the context.

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -E occurred nineteen times, and the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I fifteen times in the Laurentian Chronicle. Similar case-endings of the acc. plu. case were represented twenty-six and twenty-seven times, respectively, in the Hypatian Chronicle. The prepositions, which governed the old and the new acc. plu. cases, maintained the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples in both Chronicles.

As a concluding remark pertaining to the substitution process in the masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns referring to various peoples in the two Chronicles, one can state that it affected primarily the plu. -o-stems with the suffix -IN- in the sing. number, and the plu. -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles. In other masc. plu. -o-stem nouns with suffixes -EN- -AN- and -JAN- the substitution phenomenon did not manifest itself. The limited number of the gen.-acc. plu. case indicates that the substitution process was in its initial stage in the group of nouns signifying various peoples. In view of this circumstance, the animate-inanimate category
relied on the distinction between the old acc. plu. and the nom. plu. cases, both of which had different case-endings; on the gen.-acc. plu case; and on the contextual arrangement of the constituent members in a given sentence.
<table>
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<th>TYPE OF PLU. NOUNS</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>ENDING</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
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<tr>
<td>-o-stem (with no suffix)</td>
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CHAPTER IX

ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE FEM. PLU.
NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING PERSONS

Introduction

Although the phonetic changes in the late Common Slavic period brought about the identity of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings in the fem. plu. nouns of various stems, they were not affected by the substitution process during the OCS and early East Slavic periods.

In the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, there were sporadic examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case, along with the old acc. plu. case in these nouns. Hence, the purpose of this chapter is examine the substitution process in the fem. plu. nouns of various stems referring to persons. An assessment of the status of the animate-inanimate category will be made on the basis of this examination in the two Chronicles.

As a result of the phonetic changes which took place during the late Common Slavic period, the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. -a-, -ja-, -i-, -yn'i, -ii-, -er-, and -ū-stem nouns were morphologically similar. The nom. plu. case of the -a- and -ja-stems came from the acc. plu. of the same stems, and was represented by the vocalic endings -Y and -§ (-JE after jot) respectively.¹ These endings originated from the thematic vowels -a-, -ja-, and the acc. plu. case-ending -NS through the following stages of development:

```
• devās > *devans > *devons > *devuns > *devūs >
• devū > OCS devy, and; *zemjās > *zemjāns > *zemjans >
  *zemjens > *zemje > *zemije > OCS zemije.
```

The common nom. and acc. plu. case-ending -I of the fem. plu. -i-stem nouns came from the thematic vowel -i- and the acc. plu. ending -NS. After the loss of the final consonant -S, the -IN nasalized into -I, which, after denasalization, became -I.² This process is illustrated by the following word: "gost-i-NS > *gost-i-N > *gost-I." The fem. plu. nouns of the -yni- and -ii-stems both had

¹M. F. Stanivs'kyj, Staroslov'jans'ka mova (Kharkov: Vydavnytstvo L'vivs'koho Univesytetu, 1964, pp. 221-223.

²Ibid., p. 223.
the endings -E and -JE for the nom. and acc. plu. cases, respectively. These nouns were declined like the regular -ja-stem nouns. The fem. plu. nouns of the -er- and -ü-stems had the common vocalic case-ending -I in their nom. and acc. plu. cases. This ending was transferred from the fem. plu. -i-stem nouns, which also had identical nom. and acc. plu. cases. 3

From the analysis of the nom. and acc. plu. cases of fem. plu. nouns of various stems, one can conclude that the two functionally different cases were similar in the late Common Slavic period. The identification of the two cases could have obscured the syntactical clarity of the subject and object relationship and undermined the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons. Since there are no written records from the late Common Slavic period, it is impossible to know whether the substitution phenomenon was present in the fem. plu. nouns prior to the appearance of the OCS texts.

In the OCS texts, the situation was similar. There was no substitution process upholding the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons. Gorshkov emphasizes this point in the following words:

Rasprostraneni kategorii odushevlennosti na sushchestvitel'nye zhenskogo roda vo

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3 Buslaev, op. cit., p. 212, Remark No. 2.
However, it should be noted that the fem. sing. nouns 'mati', 'dəshti' and 'svekry' of the -er- and -u-stems, respectively, reflect occasional usage of the gen. sing. cases in the acc. function as a grammatical expression of the animate-inanimate opposition. The gen.-acc. sing. forms 'matere', 'dəshtere' and 'svekrьте', especially the first two, appeared as a result of the model provided by the masc. sing. gen.-acc. case-forms 'otbtsa' and 'syna', according to Vaillant. This use is illustrated by the following example:

Reche ɐb. ljubei otsa li MTRE pache mene. nestь mi na podobq. i ljubei sna li DəSHTERE pache mene nestь mene dostoinь.

The East Slavic texts of the XII-XIV centuries show that the substitution process was unknown in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons. For this reason, Borkovskij and Kuznetsof asserted that:

formy rod.-vin. p. mn. p. nachinajut upotrebljatbsja i dlja nazvanij lits zhenskogo pola,

---


6Sčepkin, op. cit., p. 18.
The authors substantiate this statement with the following example: "daju s/y/nu svoemu Mikhailu svoikh ljudei kho-lopov i ROB", from the "Spiritual Testament" of V. B. Tuchkova-Morozova, before 1497, which appeared in a copy at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. 8


The examination of the fem. plu. nouns of various stems denoting persons indicates that the substitution process was a rare phenomenon in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, which were compiled at the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, respectively.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, 9 fem. plu. -a-stem nouns were represented by the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y (-1). This acc. plu. case with the ending -Y occurred twenty-two times in the Laurentian Chronicle in the

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7V. I. Borkovskij and P. S. Kuznetsov, Historicheskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963), p. 210,

8 Ibid.

9A detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the various fem. plu. nouns in the two Chronicles can be examined in Table VII at the end of the chapter.
following sentences:

i ty oumykakh ZHENY sobě (La., p. 14);
i bě nesytб bluda privodja k
sobě muzhьski ZHENY. i dvte rastьlja ja
(La., p. 80); bě bo samь ljubja ZHENY.
i blužhenьe mnogе (La., p. 85); si zhe
bratja vzjasha Mенеskъ i isёkosha muzhь.
a ZHENY i дёti vdasha na shchity (La.,
p. 166); i privozhахu k nima SЯSTRЬ svoja.
mтre i ZHENY svoja...i oubivasheta mnogy
ZHENY (La., p. 175); povедаша emu Belo-
zertsi jako dva kudešnika, izbila ouzhe
mnogy ZHENY po Volьzь (ibid.,); poja
zhe paky iny ZHENY mnogy (La., p. 300);
a onamo ZHENY nashе vzьzmуть (La., p. 312);
a ZHENY i дёti. imёnyа, i skotъ. poimasha
(La., p. 361); muzhi isёkosha. a ZHENY i
dёti poima (La., p. 364): ZHENY i дёti i
tovarъ da poganym na shchitъ (La., p. 383);
muzhi povjazasha. a ZHENY i дёti na shchitъ.
i tovarъ vzjasha (La., p. 386); mnozhestvo
polona vzjasha ZHENY i дёti (La., p. 397);
i дёjakony. i ZHENY ikhъ. i dcheri. i шны
ikhъ. to vse vedosha v stany svoе (La., p. 462);
i grad ikh zazhzhe a ZHENY ikh i дёti poima
(La., p. 491); i issёkosha vsja i ZHENY i
dёti (La., p. 513); a inykh zhe emshe muzhei.
i ZHENY i дёti. i chernёtsa i chernitsъ i
erёja (La., p. 515); to vse issёkosha. a
prochie ljudi i ZHENY. i дёti bosy i beskrovnь
(La., p. 517); i poimajutъ MACHEKHI svoja. i
jatrovi i iny obychaja otetsъ svoikhъ (La.,
p. 16); i dari prinesе mnogy. koni velьbudy
i bulovy i ДЁVKY. i odari knёzi Rusьkykh
(La., p. 505).

Since the acc. and the nom. plu. case-endings of the fem.
a-stem nouns were represented by the vowel -Y, the syntac-
tical relationship was determined largely from the context.
It was also possible to recognize the objective function
of the cases of these nouns from the fact that they
formed an objective unit with other nouns which appeared
in the acc. case.
In addition to the acc. plu. case with the ending -Y, the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns also appeared with the acc. plu. case-ending -E, of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns. With this ending, the acc. plu. case appeared once in the Laurentian Chronicle:

Boleslavъ zhe pobézhe is Kyeva, vizma imenbe, i bojary Jaroslavle, i SESTRĚ ego (La., p. 144).

Although the acc. plu. case-ending -E belonged to the plu. -ja-stem nouns, its use provided a distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns. The utilization of the acc. plu. case-ending -E was prompted by the syntax and the animate-inanimate category to eliminate morphological identity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases prior to the introduction of the substitution process. Such a substitution of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -ž for the old acc. plu. case was attested once only in the Laurentian Chronicle:

staŋemъ krěpko, ne oziraı̆mśja nazad,
pobęgshe ne oubiti, a zabudemъ brate
domov̆ ZHENb i děti (La., p. 497).

This single instance of the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case of the fem. -a-stem nouns denoting persons leads one to the conclusion that the substitution process was present in these nouns. The animate-inanimate category was beginning to be expressed through the nom. and gen.-acc. medium in the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns.
In the Hypatian Chronicle, the acc. plu. case with the ending -Y of the fem. -a-stems was recorded twelve times in these sentences:

i tu oumykakhu ZHENY sobě (Hyp., p. 10);
i jadushche mrtvechinu. i vsju neschjotu.
khomjaky i sosuly. i poimajutb MACHEKHY
svoja. i jatrovi. i iny obychaja otsь
svoikhь (Hyp., pp. 11-12); i privodja k
sebe muzhьskyja ZHENY. i dytsь rastljaja.
be bo zhenoljubetsь jako Solomonь (Hyp.,
p. 67); Volodimirь zhe slushe ikhь. be
bo samь lujjasjae ZHENY i bluzhenie mnogo-
geo (Hyp., p. 72); isьsekosa muzhi a
ZHENY i deli vzjasha na shchity i poi-
dosha kь Nemize (Hyp., p. 156); i povе-
dasha emu Белoozertsi. jako dva kudesnika
izbila mnogy ZHENY. po Volьze i po Shьksne,
(Hyp., p. 165); zajmouchь zhe khochemь vezhe
svoе. i ZHENY svoе. i deli svoе. i stada
svoja (Hyp., p. 427); i ljudi isьkosha. a
ZHENY i deli imeniya vzjasha (Hyp., p. 560);
muzhь isьsekosa. a ZHENY i deli poimasha
(Hyp., p. 565); i pomь posla Stьslavь.
ZHENY ikhь (Hyp. p. 602); pochashь otimati
ZHENY i dshcheri na postele k sobě (Hyp.
p. 665); i oskvernjakhou ZHENY zhe i
chernitsi i popadьi (Hyp., p. 722)

The acc. plu. function of these case was determined,
as in the Laurentian Chronicle, both by the context and
by their combination with other nouns in the objective
role. These two factors also supported the animate-
inanimate category in the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns denoting
persons in the Hypatian Chronicle.

Along with the acc. plu. case-ending -Y in the
fem. plu. -a-stem nouns, there was one example of the acc.
plu. case-ending -E. This appeared in the Hypatian
Chronicle: "i nasilьstvujushche SIROTь. i vdovitsь"
(Hyp., p. 158). Although the instances of the acc. plu. case-ending -É of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns were limited, the presence of this ending differentiated the nom. and the acc. plu. cases of the -a-stem nouns. Its appearance, in all probability, was motivated by syntactical considerations and by the need to have different subject and object cases in the animate nouns.

On the basis of the above observations, one can conclude that the status of the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns in the two Chronicles relied primarily on the distinction between the old acc. and the nom. plu. cases, whose specific functions were determined from the context. Furthermore, the animate-inanimate opposition depended on the acc. plu. case-ending -É of the -ja-stems nouns, which was used by the acc. plu. case of the -a-stems. Finally, the animate-inanimate category was supported by the gen.-acc. plu. case, but only in the Laurentian Chronicle. The Hypatian Chronicle failed to exhibit any examples of the gen. plu. case of the -a-stems in the acc. function. This means that the substitution process was absent in the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns in this Chronicle.

The acc. plu. case of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns denoting persons was represented by the old acc. plu. case with the ending -É, the endings -JA and -A (as reflexes of the OCS acc. plu. case-ending -Î), and by the new acc.
The acc. plu. case-ending -I appeared once in each Chronicle in the following nouns:

\[ \text{i bě nesytź, bluda privodja k sobě muzhěski zheny. i DVTSE rastźlja (La., p. 80); and, i poproda vsb Kyevź, igumeny i popy, i CHERNITSE. Latinu i gostě i zatvori vše Kyjany (Hyp., p. 579).} \]

The retention of the acc. plu. case with the ending -E, which was identical with the nom. plu. case-ending, prevented the animate-inanimate opposition from attaining adequate expression in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns. In the above examples, however, syntactical clarity and the animate-inanimate category were maintained because the nouns in question appeared as a member of the compound objective unit.

The acc. plu. case with the endings -JA and -A of the fem. plu. nouns were respectively recorded in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles:

\[ \text{oubivakhu drugź druga. jadjakhu vsja nechisto. i braka ou nikhź ne byvashe. no oumykivakhu ou vody DVTSAJA (La., p. 13); i oubivakhu drugź druga. jadushche vse nechisto. i brachenźja v nikhź ne bysha. no oumykakhu ou vody DVTSA (Hyp., p. 10).} \]

These acc. plu. cases provided the necessary distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. -ja-stems. Therefore, manifestation of the animate-inanimate category was not hindered.

The new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -ja-stem
nouns, which was replacing the old acc. plu. case-ending
-ĕ as a result of the analogy from the nom. plu. case of the
-a-stem nouns, appeared four times in the Laurentian
Chronicle:

pache zhe i chernechëskyi chinь ljubja.
i CHERNITSI ljubja. prikhodjashchaja k
nemu (La., p. 264); poproda vesь Kyevь.
igumeny. i popy. chernitsi. i CHERNITSI
(La., p. 367); to vse stasja nad Kievom.
za grëkhi nasha. chernitsi. i CHERNITSI
staryja issëkosha (La., p. 418); a
chernitsi. i CHERNITSI. staryja. i popy.
i slëpyja. i khromyja. i slukyja. i trud-
dovatyja. i ljudi vse issëkosha (La.,
p. 462).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the new acc. plu. case of
the -ja-stem nouns occurred three times in the following
sentences:

i privodja k sobë muzhëskyja zheny. i
DVITSI rastljaja. bë bo zhenoljubetsь jako
Solomonь (Hyp., p. 67); i nasilbстvujushchе
sirotë. i VDOVITSI (Hyp., p. 158);
i oskvernjakhou zheny i CHERNITSI i
popadь (Hyp., p. 722).

Since the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I differed
morphologically from the nom. plu. case-ending -ĕ, the
animate-inanimate opposition utilized this distinction
for its expression in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns
in both Chronicles.

The fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns exhibited two
examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the endings
-ь and -bi. The former acc. plu. ending appeared in
the Laurentian Chronicle, the latter in the Hypatian:
These two instances of the gen.-acc. plu. cases demonstrate the initial stage of the substitution process in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns.

From the examples of the acc. plu. case of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns, it is evident that in both Chronicles the animate-inanimate category depended contextually on the old acc. plu. case, which was similar to the old nom. plu. case; on the variants of the old acc. plu. case; and on the new acc. plu. case. It should also be pointed out that the same category was supported by the gen.-acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. The ratio between the gen.-acc. plu. case and the other acc. plu. cases was one to seven in the Laurentian Chronicle and one to six in the Hypatian Chronicle.

The nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. -er-stem nouns were morphologically identical, with the ending -I. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were five examples of this case in the following sentences:

eterb zhe zakonb Khaldehydei i Vavilonjamz. MTRI poimati. s' bratnimi chady bloudi dejati i ouvivati (La., p. 15); i privozakhkhu sny svoja i DzSHCHERI. i zhrajaku džsomz (La., p. 79); i privozakhkhu sny svoja i DzSHCHERI. i zakalaku prid nimi (La., p. 91); a chto chernbtsov inèkh i chernits. inèkh. i
The same acc. plu. case-ending -I was represented twice in the Hypatian Chronicle:

"i privozhakhu sny svoja. i DíSCHERI svoja. i zakalakhu predb nimi (Hyp., p. 78); pochasha otimati zheny i DíSCHERI na postelë k sobë (Hyp., p. 665).

The lack of morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -er-stem nouns could have created syntactical ambiguity and undermined the animate-inanimate category in these nouns. However, it was possible to determine their acc. role contextually in both Chronicles, since these nouns appeared with other nouns in the acc. function.

In addition to the regular acc. plu. case-ending -I in the -er-stem nouns, there was one example of the acc. plu. case with the ending -E in the Laurentian Chronicle:" i privozhakhu k nima sestry svoja. MTRE i zheny sovoja." (La., p. 175). The case-ending -E, used in the acc. plu. function by the fem. plu. -er-stem noun, came from the masc. plu. nom. case of the consonantantal stems.

Finally, the acc. plu. case of the fem. plu. -er-stem nouns also appeared in the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -II. It occurred only once in the
Hypatian Chronicle: "mladentsi rydakhu zrjashche MTRII svoikhž" (Hyp., p. 545). This single example of the gen.-acc. indicates that the substitution was present in the fem. plu. -er-stem nouns.

The fem. plu. -u-stem nouns, whose nom. and acc. plu. cases were identical, appeared once in each Chronicle, in the old acc. plu. case with ending -I:

i jadushche mrtvechinu. i vsju nechistotu. khomjaky i sosoly. i poimajutb machekhi svoja. i JATROVI i iny obychaja otetb svoikhž tvorjatb (La., p. 15); and, i jadushche mrtvechinu. i vsju nechistotu. khomjaky i sosoly. i poimajub machekhy svoja. i JATROVI. i iny obychaja OT?sb svoikhž (Hyp., pp. 11-12).

In these examples, it was possible to determine the acc. plu. function of the fem. plu. -u-stem nouns because they formed an objective unit with other nouns, which were in the acc. case. In these instances, the animate-inanimate category relied on the context for its adequate expression.

In the post-prepositional use, only the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y of the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns was found in the Hypatian Chronicle: "ne věste li jako na mouzhi na ratnyě nashli este a ne NA ZHENY" (Hyp., p. 822). This example shows that the preposition 'NA' governed the acc. plu. case.

The examination of the fem. plu. nouns of various stems, respecting the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases in the two Chronicles, makes it evident that
the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression on the old acc. plu. case and its variants. Although the variant acc. plu. cases differed morphologically from the nom. plu. cases, the old acc. plu. cases were identical with the nom. plu. cases. In such instances, the respective functions of the cases with identical endings were determined from the context, and the fact that some of these nouns formed a compound objective unit with other nouns in the acc. case.

It is apparent that in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns, the animate-inanimate category relied on the new acc. plu. case, which was morphologically different from the nom. plu. case. Finally, one must conclude that, as a result of the substitution process in the fem.plu. -a-, -ja-, and -er-stem nouns, the gen.-acc. plu. case was utilized by the animate-inanimate category for its expression. The gen.-acc. plu. case appeared a total of three times in the Laurentian Chronicle and twice in the Hypatian. This indicates that the Hypatian Chronicle remained more conservative in adapting itself to the substitution process. In spite of the limited number of examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the fem. plu. nouns, it is apparent that the substitution process was beginning to operate in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons in both Chronicles.
Although the fem. plu. nouns of various stems denoting persons obtained identical nom. and acc. cases in the late Common Slavic period, the substitution process did not begin to appear in appreciable quantities until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Kuznetsov suggested that the reason for the late emergence of the substitution process in the fem. plu. nouns was due to the fact that it was not supported by the fem. sing. nouns. Since the fem. sing. nouns differentiated their nom. and acc. cases, the fem. plu. nouns lacked the gen.-acc. model. Such a model was used in the masc. sing. animate nouns and was adopted by the masc. plu. animate nouns, but the fem. plu. nouns were deprived of the gen.-acc. pattern in the fem. sing. nouns.

Bezpalько stated that the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case by the fem. plu. nouns appeared as a result of analogy, based on the utilization of the gen.-acc. plu. case by the masc. plu. animate nouns. Both masc. and fem. plu. nouns had identical nom. and acc. plu. cases, but the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case occurred in the fem. plu. nouns after it was established in the masc. plu. animate nouns.

10 Kuznetsov, Ocherki istoricheskoi morfologii..., p. 104.
11 Ibid.
12 Безпалько, Narysy z istorychnoho syntaksysu ukrainьskoi movy, p. 84.
In the opinion of this researcher, the belated adoption of the gen.-acc. case by the fem. plu. nouns can be ascribed to the fact that the fem. plu. nouns were seldom used in the subject and object function in the same sentence. Therefore, there was no urgency on the part of the fem. plu. nouns to replace the old acc. plu. by the gen. plu. case. The eventual adoption of the gen.-acc. plu. case by the fem. plu. animate nouns can be considered as a part of the general aim of the animate-inanimate category to include all animate nouns within its framework.
TABLE VII

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE FEM. PLU. NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF PLU. NOUN</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>ENDINGS</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-Y (-I)</td>
<td>LA. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>HYP. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ja-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-Ě</td>
<td>LA. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Old Acc</td>
<td>-JA, -A</td>
<td>HYP. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. New Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>LA. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>HYP. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Acc=Old Gen</td>
<td>-bI</td>
<td>LA. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-er-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>LA. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Acc=Old Nom</td>
<td>-E</td>
<td>HYP. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Acc=Old Gen</td>
<td>-II</td>
<td>LA. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ū-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>HYP. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a-stem</td>
<td>a. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-Y</td>
<td>LA. 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER X

ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE SING.
AND PLU. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING CHILDREN

Introduction

The nouns which denoted children belonged to the masc. sing. -o- and -jo-stems, fem. plu. -i-stems, and the neut. -o- and -q-stem nouns. There were only a few of these nouns. Since they signified young human beings who seldom appeared as active agents, they were used primarily in the direct object function. Therefore, the substitution process in these nouns was not as urgent and did not reach the same proportions as in the proper or common nouns. In spite of this qualification, the nouns referring to children did appear in the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the substitution process in these nouns in order to assess its effect on the animate-inanimate category in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.
In spite of the fact that nouns denoting children were rarely used as subject and object in the same sentence, a cursory examination of the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments revealed that these nouns were affected by the substitution process.

The masc. sing. nouns referring to children appeared in the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the OCS texts, for example:

\[
\text{obreshtete MLADTBTSb povitb lezheshsbl vdb jaslekh1 and, ostaviv tu,}
\]
\[
\text{OTROKA.}^2
\]

In the plu. number, the old acc. case was a frequent phenomenon:

\[
\text{togda irodv videvz jako poroganz estb}
\]
\[
\text{otb vlkhvz, razgnlavz se zelo. i posb-}
\]
\[
\text{lavz izbi vsb OTROKY sqshcb vz vifble-
}\]

These examples of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases of the sing. number and the old acc. case of the plu. number lead one to state that the substitution process was present

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1 "Codex Zographensis" L., II, 12, as cited in Meillet Recherches..., p. 62.

2 "Codex Suprasliensis" 130, 13, ibid.

3 Šćepkin, op. cit., p. 139.
in this group of nouns, especially in the sing. number. According to Meillet, the retention of the old acc. case by the nouns denoting children lies in the fact that "l'enfant ne passe pas toujours a proprement parler pour une personne". Additional reason for the lack of the gen.-acc. case can be deduced from the fact that certain nouns like 'dète', 'otroché' and 'chëdo' belonged to the neuter gender, whose nom. and acc. cases were identical.

In the early and middle East Slavic texts, the masc. sing. nouns denoting children also appear in the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases. The use of the old acc. sing. case is illustrated by the following examples:

oumorítb soushchii vž chревĕ MLADENETSb;
no ne vžzri na mja qšné aki vólkb na jágnja,
no zri ná mja aki mti NA MLDNTSb.

The utilization of the gen.-acc. case is exemplified in these sentences:

---

4 Meillet, Recherches..., p. 63.

5 Ibid.

6 "Rjazanskaja Kormchaja 1284 g." as cited in Kuznetsov, Ocherki istoricheskoi morfologii..., p. 101.

7 "Slovo Daniila Zatochnika", in Obnorskij and Barkhudarov, op. cit., p. 276.
From the examples of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. sing. cases, it is evident that both forms of the acc. case prevailed in the nouns signifying children in the early and middle East Slavic texts.

In the plu. number, the old acc. case predominated in the nouns denoting children as shown in the following random examples:

postavi im' trapezou vs' chin' manastyr'skii. zhenou zhe svoju i DETI. i otroky naouchi,

Ache zhe i otchim' priimet' DETI s' zadnitseju, to tako zhe est' rjad',

O gore zas' bra'te bjashe. DETI svoje dajahkhout' odbren',

n' oveb'enyja Pr'sy povel' pogrebati mtr' zhe dar'evou i zhenou i DETI s' soboju privede s' chsteju.
On the basis of the cited examples, and according to Borkovskij and Kuznetsov, the monuments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reflect a degree of vacillation between the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the nouns denoting children.\(^\text{13}\)

2. \textit{Animate-Inanimate Category in the Sing. and Plu. Nouns of Various Stems Denoting Children in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles}

As in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic texts so, too, in the the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, the nouns denoting children occurred in the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases. In the sing. number, these nouns were represented by the -o- and -jo-stem nouns.

The Laurentian Chronicle\(^\text{14}\) contained the following three instances of the old acc. case of the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns referring to children:

\begin{quote}
\textit{mti zhe Moisëeva oubojavshis sego. gublënsja vzemshi MLADENETSb. vlozhi i v karabbitsju. i nesëshh postavi v luzë (La., p. 94); paky zhe pri Mavrikii tšëri bys sitse. zhena DËTISHCHb rodi bezë ochëju. i bez ruku (La., p. 165); ashche kto koli prinesjashe DËTISHCHb bolensë. katsëmь ljubo nedugom oderzhim. prinesjakhu v manastyrb (La., p. 189).}
\end{quote}

\(^\text{13}\)Borkovskij and Kuznetsov, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 209.

\(^\text{14}\)For a detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old and the gen.-acc. cases in the sing. and plu. masc. nouns denoting children in both Chronicles see Table VIII at the end of the chapter.
The Hypatian Chronicle also had three examples of the old acc. sing. case of the masc. -jo-stem nouns denoting children. The sentences containing the nouns in the old acc. case in the Hypatian Chronicle resemble those in the Laurentian Chronicle as demonstrated by the following sentences:

mati zhe Moisëova obojavšishja sego pogublenija. vzemši MLADENETSb. vlozhi vž krabbitsju. i nesši postavi v lužé (Hyp., p. 81); ashche bo koli kto pri-nesjashe DËTISHCHb boleňš. katsim ř ljubo nedugom ř. oderžhim ř (Hyp., p. 180); prezhe bo sego zheny bloudjakhu. k nemuzhe khotjashe i bjakhou. aky skotb bludjashche ashche rodjashetb DËTISHCHb. kotoryi. ěi ljub ř byvashe (Hyp., p. 278).

Since the acc. and the nom. sing. case-endings were identical in these nouns, the animate-inanimate category relied on the context for its expression in both Chronicles.

Nouns denoting children appeared also in the appositive function as well as in the function of a direct object. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there was one example in which the masc. sing. -jo-stem noun occurred in apposition with the third person sing. pronoun. All were in the gen.-acc. case, as illustrated by the following phrase; "JEGO zhe DËTISHCHA vyvolokosha rybolove vž ne-vode. jegozhe pozorovakhom ř do vechera" (La., p. 164).
In the Hypatian Chronicle, the gen.-acc. case of the -jo-stem nouns signifying children was recorded once in apposition with the third person sing. pronoun. Both also appeared in the gen.-acc. case. This sentence read:

\[v\, ta\, zhe\, vremena\, bys,\, dětishche\, v\, viverzheno.\]
\[v\, Sëtomle.\, SEGO\, zhe\, DĚTISHCHA.\, vyvolokosha rybolovë\, v\, nevodë.\, ego\, zhe\, pozorovakhomь\, i do\, vechera\, (Hyp., p. 153).\]

By appearing in the gen.-acc. sing. case as appositives with the proper noun and third person sing. pronoun, which were also in the gen.-acc. sing. case, the nouns denoting children supported the animate-inanimate category by morphological distinction in their nom. and gen.-acc. sing. cases.

In characterizing the substitution process in the masc. sing. -o- and -jo-stem nouns denoting children in the two Chronicles, it should be stated that the substitution affected only the appositive nouns, which stood after the gen.-acc. case. The nouns used in the direct object function retained the old acc. sing. case in both Chronicles. Hence, the animate-inanimate category relied for its expression on the context and the fact that nouns signifying children seldom functioned in the role of subject and object in the same sentence.

In the masc. plu. -jo-stems, the old acc. plu. with the ending -A appeared twice in the Laurentian Chronicle

\[Irodь\, zhe\, slyshavь,\, posla\, rekь, izbiite\, MLADENTSA\, sushchaja\, v. lët.\]
As the nom. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stem nouns was different from the acc. plu. case-ending -A, there was no confusion with respect to the subject and object relationship.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the noun 'mladěnčičá' was represented once by the old acc. plu. case-ending -A, and once by the gen. plu. case with the ending -b. The following sentences exemplify this use:

posla rekú izběite MLADENTSÁ sushčaja do dýu lětu. oni zhe shekshe izbisha mladenitsá. (Hyp., 89); onikh plënisha. a inyi izbisha. mnozhaishija zhe izbisha MLADENETSÁ (Hyp., p. 613).

In both examples, the acc. plu. case with the ending -A and the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -b differed from the nom. plu. case, which ended in the vowel -I. The second example, however, exemplifying the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case, indicated the presence of the substitution process in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting children.

In the plu. number, the noun 'děti', which followed the fem. plu. -i-stem declension, appeared overwhelmingly in the old acc. plu. case. This case was the same as the nom. plu. case, whose ending was -I. The Laurentian Chronicle revealed eighteen examples of the old acc. plu. case in these sentences:
maly bo nasь ve vzjasha Pechenёzi. i mtrь tvoju i DЕTI tvoi (La., p. 67); tu abbe povелё tsrь razhajushchajsja DЕTI Zhidovskij vzmetati v rёku (La., p. 94); Topisha DЕTI Zhidovskij. egda zhe bys morь vь Ejuptё, (La., p. 95); poslavь nacha poimati ou narochitoe chadi. DЕTI i dajati nacha na ouchenie knizhnoe (La., p. 118-119); da ashche odolёeshi ty to vozmeshi imeнё moe i zhenu moju. i DЕTI moё i zemlju moju, (La., p. 147); vzja vse imeнё ego. i zhenu jego i DЕTI jego, (Ibid.,); si zhe bratja vzjasha Мёnesкь i isёkosha muzhё. a zheny i DЕTI vdasha na shchity, (La., p. 166); a ko Vsevolodu pustisha DЕTI svoё v tali (La., p. 308); i ljudь po selomь isёkosha. a zheny i DЕTI. imeнёja. i skotь. poimasha (La., p. 361); muzhi isёkosha. a zheny i DЕTI poima, (La., p. 364); muzhi povjazasha. a zheny i DЕTI na shchity (La., p. 386); i po-bёzheni byvshе Polovtsi. i bisha i do vezhь. mnozhestvo polona vzjasha zheny i DЕTI (La., p. 397); Tatarove zhe rossunushasja po zemli. i knjagynju Jaroslavlju jasha i DЕTI izzimasha (La., p. 473); i posla kь gradu polky. i grad ikhь zazhzhe a zheny ikhь i DЕTI poima (La., p. 491); a zabudemь brate domovь zhenъ i DЕTI (La., p. 497); i isёkosha vsja i zheny i DЕTI. a inii v polonь vzjasha (La., p. 513); a inykh zhe emshe muzhei. i zheny i DЕTI, (La., p. 515); a prochie ljudь i zheny. i DЕTI bosy i bespокrovny. izdykhajushchimь imъ ot mraza ... to vse mnozhestvo svedosha. polona vь stany svoja (La., p. 517).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same noun referring to children appeared sixteen times in the old acc. plu. cases in the following expressions:

i tsёlova mtrь svoju. i DЕTI svoja (Hyp., p. 55); topisha DЕTI Zhidovskij (Hyp., p. 82); i poslavь nacha poimati. ou narochitoe chadi DЕTI i dajati na ouchenie knizhnoe (Hyp., p. 103; i vzja vse imeнё ego. i zhenu ego i DЕTI ego (Hyp., p. 134); isёkosha muzhi a zheny i DЕTI vzjasha na shchity i poidosha kь Мёnskь
Although the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the noun 'дети' were identical, the function of the acc. case was apparent because the above noun appeared in the majority of instances as a part of the compound objective phrase. In addition, the context also provided the necessary means for syntactical comprehensibility of the objective function of the old acc. plu. case.

In spite of the predominance of the old acc. plu. case in the nouns denoting children there was one example of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the Laurentian Chronicle: "и толово князь Стослав к Novugarodu. а дети Дмитровых и племеных его всѣх посла къ отсу" (La., p. 490).

This occurrence of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the noun 'дети' indicates that the substitution had extended itself into this group of nouns.
In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case of the noun 'дети' was recorded once with the preposition 'НА' in the Laurentian Chronicle: "пойдемя снёв на отста.а отта NA ДЕТИ. брат на брата рабы на г̣нъ". (La., p. 494). In the Hypatian Chronicle the same noun also appeared once in the old acc. plu. case after the preposition 'ЗА': "моземъ г̣нъ головы своё положити ЗА тя. и ДЕТИ наши". (Hyp., p. 928). The presence of the prepositions, which governed the acc. case, clearly indicated the acc. function of the nouns whose nom. and acc. plu. cases were identical. Hence, the animate-inanimate category encountered little difficulty in expressing itself after prepositions.

On the basis of the examples, and the frequencies of the old acc. sing. and plu. cases in the nouns signifying children, it is evident that these cases were still regarded as the norm for the objective function. At the same time, the three examples of the gen.-acc. sing. case and two of the gen.-acc. plu. case indicate that the substitution process was present in the sing. and plu. numbers in the nouns denoting children in both Chronicles. Because of the numerically small proportion of the gen.-acc. case of the sing. and plu. numbers in comparison with the old acc. sing. and plu. cases, one can state that the animate-inanimate category depended mainly on the old acc. case, whose function was determined contextually, and only marginally on the gen.-acc. case of both numbers.
### TABLE VIII

**Statistical Summary Concerning the Use of the Old Acc. and Gen.-Acc. Cases in the Sing. and Plu. Nouns Denoting Children in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Nouns</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc. sing. -jo-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc. sing. -jo-stem</td>
<td>a. Acc=Gen + Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc. plu. -jo-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. plu. -i-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. plu. -i-stem</td>
<td>a. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-EI</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. plu -i-stem</td>
<td>a. Prep. + Acc=Old Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The discussion of the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles has centered thus far on the masc. sing. and the masc. and fem. plu. nouns denoting persons and various peoples. In addition to these nouns, the two Chronicles contained a group of animate nouns which denoted living beings other than persons. These nouns belonged to the animal kingdom and included most nouns referring to mammals, insects, reptiles, birds, and fish.

Although the nouns of this group seldom appeared in the subject and object function in the same sentence, some of them were affected by the substitution process as evidenced by the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic texts.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the masc. sing. nouns and masc. and fem. plu. nouns of various stems signifying beings of the animal kingdom in order to determine the status of the animate-inanimate category in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.
1. **Animate-Inanimate Category in the Sing. and Plu. Nouns of Various Stems Denoting Beings of the Animal Kingdom in the OCS, Early, and Middle East Slavic Texts**

The OCS monuments exhibit the use of both the old acc. and gen.-acc. sing. cases of the nouns of various stems denoting mammals and reptiles. Some random examples of the two different acc. cases are:

- obr̆shteta ZHREBTSb privezanb;¹
- k jakozhe moisi vbznese ZMII v pbystyni;²
- and, viditb VLbKA grędqshta;³
- popereshi LBA i AMbĘ;⁴
- imb za ouzdq KONE jego.⁵

These samples of the gen.-acc. sing. case in the nouns denoting animals indicate that the substitution process was operating in this group of nouns, which seldom appear in the subject and object role in the same sentence.

According to Kuznetsov, the reason for the presence of the gen.-acc. case in these nouns is due to the fact

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²Ščepkin, *op. cit.*, p. 121.


⁵"Codex Suprasliensis", ibid.
that the gen.-acc. case appeared in the nouns denoting animals in the Bulgarian texts before the Bulgarian language lost its declensional system. These texts could have appeared on the East Slavic soil prior to the loss of the declensional system. 6

In the plu. number, the old acc. case, used alone or with prepositions, was prevalent in the nouns referring to animals in the OCS texts, as shown in the following sentences:

napojęty vęsją ZVERI silźnyją; 7
Reche gb. svoimę ouchenikomę. se dakhę
vamę vlastę następati NA ZMITE i SKORB-
FIĘ. i na vsq silq vrazhijq. 8

In the early and middle East Slavic texts, both the gen.-acc. sing. and old acc. cases of the masc. -o-
and -jo-stem nouns denoting mammals and birds were recorded, 9 as illustrated by the following examples:

Koli pozheńz śinitza ORLA, togda bezumnyi
uma naučitsa; 10

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6 Kuznetsov, Ocherki istorichekoj morfologii..., p. 101.

7 Menges, op. cit., p. 21.

8 Szepkin, op. cit., p. 41.


To dobra PSA knjazi i bojare ljubjatb;¹¹

A izhe kradetb ljubo KONЪ, ljubo voly,
ili klêtb, da ashcbe boudetb edinb kralž,
to grivnou i tridesjatb rězanž platiti emou;¹²

Azhe kto vsjadetb NA chjuzb KCNb, ne
prashavž, to 3 grivny.¹³

The use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. sing. cases in
the nouns denoting mammals and birds indicates the presence
of the substitution process, as well as a degree of compe­
tition between the two cases.

In the plu. number, according to Sprinchak,¹⁴ the
old acc. case was retained longer in the masc. and fem.
of various stems referring to mammals and birds. This is
exemplified by the following sentences:

Ne burja SOKOLY zanese chrezb polja shirokaja;¹⁵
sědlaž, brate, svoi brźzyi KOMONI, a moi ti go­
tovi;¹⁶

¹¹Ibid., p. 110

¹²"Kratkaja russkaja pravda (po Akademicheskomu
spisku poloviny XV v.), in Tikhomirov, op. cit., p. 83.

¹³"Prostrannaja russkaja pravda (po Troitskomu
spisku vtoroj poloviny XIV v.) in Tikhomirov, op. cit.
p. 93.

¹⁴Sprinchak, op. cit., p. 171.

¹⁵Troicheskaja pěsnъ ..., pp. 6-7.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 7.
poznatъ li na dolzё ou koго to kupilъ, to svoё
KUNY vozmetъ, i semu platiti, чёto ou nego budetъ
pogiblo, a knjazju prodazhju; 17

Divъja bo za bujanimъ KONI pastviti (a za
dobrymъ knjazemъ voevati); 18

i KONI i ZHEREBЪTSI i stada svoja. dal esмъ
svoemu snu knjaz vasilъju i svoei knjagine i
svoимъ детemъ; 19

a vsjademъ, bratie, NA svoi brъzyja KOMONI, da
pozrimъ sinego Donu. 20

According to Borkovskij and Kuznetsov, the old acc. plu.
case was regarded as the norm in these nouns because the
gen.-acc. plu. case began to appear only from the seventeenth
century. 21

As a general conclusion regarding the use of the old
acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the nouns denoting mammals
and birds in the early and middle East Slavic texts, one caN
state that both cases were used in the sing. number. Hence.
the animate-inanimate category depended on the distinct

17"Prostrannaja russkaja pravda (po Ademicheskomu
spisku poloviny XV v.)," in Tikhomirov, op. cit., p. 94.

18"Molenie Daniila Zatochnika", in Sipovskij,
op. cit., p. 107.

19"Dukhovnaja gramota moskovskogo knjazja
Dmitrija Ivanовичa do 1378 g.", in Obnorskij and
Barkhudarov, op. cit., p. 97.

20Iroicheskaja pesni..., p. 5.

nom. and acc. cases, as well as on the context, in the
sing. nouns of this group. In the plu. number, the depen­
dence on the context was even stronger, since the old acc.
case was retained in the nouns denoting animals.

2. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc.
Sing. Nouns of Various Stems Denoting
Mammals in the Laurentian and Hypatian
Chronicles

In the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, the
-o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting mammals appeared
in the old acc. and gen.-acc. sing. cases. Thus the
Laurentian Chronicle exhibited three examples of the old
acc. sing. case of the -o-stems:

nětu byka velika i silna. i nalėzosa BYKb
velikb i silenb (La., p. 123); se zhe Isakii
vsprijatb zhitbe krepko. obleche bo sja vo
vlasjanišju. i povelė kupiti sobė KOZELb
i odra měkhomь KOZELb. i bleche na vlasja­
bitsju (La., p. 192).

The Hypatian Chronicle had two instances of the old acc.
sing. case of the -o-stems in a context similar to that of
the Laurentian Chronicle: It read:

sii zhe Isakii všsprija zhitbě krepko.
oblěchesja vǐ vlasjanitsju. i povelě
kupiti sobeb KOZELb. i oderti meshkomь
KOZELb. i vozьvleche i na vlasjanitsju
(Hyp., p. 183).

A detailed statistical summary concerning the use
of the old acc. and gen.-acc. sing. cases in the masc. sing.
nouns of various stems denoting mammals in the two Chroni­
cles can be examined in Table IX at the end of the
chapter.
In these examples, where the nom. and acc. sing. cases of the -o-stem nouns denoting mammals were alike, the acc. function was determined by the context which, in turn, supported the animate-inanimate opposition in these nouns.

The gen.-acc. sing. case of the -o-stem nouns denoting animals was represented four times in the Laurentian Chronicle in these expressions:

\[ \text{i nalězosa byk} \text{ velik} \text{ i silen} \text{ i povelě razdrazhati BYKA. vozlozhisha na ně zhelěza gorjacha. i BYKA pustisha. i pobězhe byk mimo i. i pokhvati BYKA rukoju za bok} \text{ i vynja kozhju s} \text{ mjasy (La., p. 123); vozvedž ochi svoi khotja videti igumena Nikona. i vidē CSLA stojashcha. na igumeni městě (La., p. 191).} \]

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the gen.-acc. sing. case of the -o-stem nouns referring to mammals occurred twice:

\[ \text{vězvede ochi svoi khotja viditi igumena Nikona. vidě CSLA stojashcha na igumeni městě (Hyp., p. 182); jako glasž mnogago naroda. otž nikž estž CSLA otvrashchaja (Hyp., p. 269).} \]

On the basis of the examples of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the -o-stem nouns signifying mammals in the two Chronicles, it is evident that the latter case predominated over the former in the Laurentian Chronicle, while in the Hypatian the ratio was one to one. The animate-inanimate category was expressed in the masc. sing. -o-stem nouns denoting mammals primarily through the gen.-acc. case.

The Laurentian Chronicle revealed nine instances of the old acc. in masc. sing. -jo-stems nouns referring
to mammals:

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. case of the -jo-stem nouns denoting mammals occurred nineteen times in the following sentences:

i prispe oseñb i pomjanu Olegb KONb svoi. i be zhe postavil kormiti. i ne vsedati na yb (La., p. 38); na pjatoe lét pomjanu KONb, ot nego bjakhutb rekli volši oumriti (ibid. ); I povelö osedlati KONb. a to vžhju kosti eg (La., p. 39); i vzdastb Pechenezhbk skii knjazb Pretichju. KONb. sablju. strély (La., p. 67); ljutbj zvërb skochilb ko mne na bedry. i KONb so mnoju poverzhe (La., p. 251); a ny-ne brat'ja poidieta po mne. k Chernigovu. kto im'jet KONb. li ne imeetb (La., p. 316); jedin zhe Polovchinb jatb KONb pod nim za povod (La., p. 333); i shëkhaja prezh vsekh. i izlo-mi korbe svoe. togdy zhe bodosha KONb pod nim (La., p. 334); Danil zhe vidëvb jako krëpshae branb Tat'arskaja naleezhitb. i obrati KONb svoi i bëzha (La., p. 508).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. case of the -jo-stem nouns denoting mammals occurred nineteen times in the following sentences:

i prispe oseñb i pomjanu Olegb KONb svoi. izhe be postavilb kormiti (Hyp., p. 28); pomjanu KONb svoi. ot negozhe bjakhu rekli vol'stvi oumreti Ol'govî (Hyp., p. 29); konb oumerlb. a ja zhivb. i po­velö osedlati KONb. da tby vžhju kosti ego (Hyp., p. 29); i vdstb Pechenezhbkyi knjazb Pretichju KONb sablju. strely (Hyp., p. 55); imeetb KONb. Kto li ne imeetb konja (Hyp., p. 349); edinb Polovchinb ja KONb pod nim (Hyp., p. 431); i izlozhi korbe svoe toga bodosha KONb pod nim z nozdri (Hyp., p. 437); i rekb povoroti KONb Mbstislavb. pod soboju s dru­zhinoju svoeju (Hyp., p. 475); i tu skupisja druzhiny nekoliko. okolo ego. i tu jasha emu KONb (Hyp., p. 475); opz zhe izmokb mechb tja ego. i potja KONb ego pod nim (Hyp., p. 727); Mbstislavb zhe velikouju pokhavalou stvorl Danilovi. i dary emou dastb velikyi i KONb svoi borzyi sivyi (Hyp.,
p. 735); Danilâ vidivâ jako kreptseishi brâñ nalezhitë... obrati KONâ svoj na bëgê (Hyp., p. 744 and pp. 746, 769, 773, 797, 804, 804, 908).

Since the nom. and the old acc. case-endings of the masc. sing. -jo-stem nomns were morphologically similar, the context served as the means of determining the nom. and acc. functions in this group of nouns in both Chronicles.

Occasionally, the -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals also appeared in the gen.-acc. sing. case.

There were only two examples of this case in the Laurentian Chronicle:

i idjakhutb ljudjê po mostu.
oubitì Igorja. on zhe ne mogà ìkhì minutì.
ouvoroti KONJA napravo mimo Glèbovê dvorê
(La., p. 317); da ne budêtì mne Perejaslavìja.
ni tobe Kyjeva. i povoroti KONJA Mstîslavê
s druzhinoju svoejêju (La., p. 343).

The Hypatian Chronicle exhibited six instances of the gen.-acc. sing. case in the -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals:

oni zhe ne mogà ìkhì pomìnoutì. ouvoroti
KONJA na pravo. mimo Glèbovê dvorê
(Hyp., p. 349); Glèba zhe ìkhavì slysha
i khotê na nê samì iti. i Berenìdeëvë
jasha KONJA za povodì rekushchë. knjazhe
ne ëzdè (Hyp., p. 556); Berendëevë zhe
jasha KONJA knjazha za povodì i ne dasha
imì ìkhati rekushche ne ëzditi vy na-
peredë (Hyp., p. 558); i otjasha ot nego
KONJA soumyjëa. potom zhe vozratishtisja
v Galîchë (Hyp., p. 726); navorotivshesja
na nì i prognasha i. i KONJA ot nego otjasha
(Hyp., p. 734); oni zhe sëkoushchë ja i bo-
doushche vognasha a. vo ozero. I. mozhë. odi-
nogo KONJA mnjashche (Hyp., p. 840).
When one compares the frequency of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals in the Laurentian Chronicle, one may conclude that the ratio between the two cases was nine to one in favour of the old acc. case. In the Hypatian Chronicle the ratio between the same cases was three to one. These ratios show that the substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. case in the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns was proceeding more rapidly in the Hypatian than in the Laurentian Chronicle.

The masc. sing. -u-stem nouns denoting mammals occurred only in the Hypatian Chronicle, where the old acc. case was represented once and the gen.-acc. case three times in these sentences:

metutb li vola velika i silna. i nale<zosha VCLb silenb. povelb razdrazhati VOLA. i vozlozhb n<a zhelezo gorjache. i pustisha VOLA. i pobezhe volb mimo n<a. i pokhvatb VOLA. ru­koj<a za bokb. i vynja kozhju s mjasy (Hyp., pp. 107-108).

In view of the fact that the ratio was one to three in favour of the gen.-acc. case in the -u-stem noun, the animate-inanimate opposition relied on the latter case.

With respect to the masc. sing. -i-stem nouns referring to mammals, three examples of the old acc. case were found in the Laurentian Chronicle:

i narekosha imja emu Kievb i bjashe okolo grada sesb i bor< velikb. i bjakhb lovjashchb ZVERb bjakhb muzhi mudri i smysleni (La., p. 9); v nikb zhe sutb. khrabrya zheny loviti ZVERb kr<epko (La., p. 15); A se truzhakhb­sja. lov+y deja... izhe so o<tsom­ lovilb jesmj vsjakb ZVERb. (La., p. 251).
The same noun was represented once in the Hypatian Chronicle in the following sentence:

\[ \text{i narkosha i Kievb. i vjashe około goroda lęśt i bore velikaž. i bjakhu lovjasche ZVĚŘ. bjakhutž bo mudré i smysleni. i naritsakhusja Poljane (Hyp., p. 7).} \]

Since there were no examples of the gen.-acc. case of the masc. sing. -i-stem nouns denoting mammals in either Chronicle, one must conclude that the animate-inanimate category relied on the context in this group of nouns.

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases of the sing. masc. -jo-stem nouns denoting animals were recorded in both Chronicles. The Laurentian Chronicle exhibited seven examples of the old acc. case, which appeared exclusively after the preposition 'NA':

\[ \text{i Jaropolka vzemshe otrotsi NA KONb peredź sja (La., p. 206); i šzhalivęsi. jako bez ņego prenesjač i. vsędž NA KONb vþorzê poèkha (La., p. 210); Vasilko zhe vsędž NA KONb poeķha. i ousrée i dêtšskyj jego (La., p. 258); oni zhe kliknuvshe poidosha oubitź Igorja. i Volodimerz vsędž NA KONb pogna (La., p. 317); Bysha postrigy ou velikago knjazja Vsevoloda... šnu jego Georgevi v gradê Suzhdali. togozh dni i NA KONb jego vsadi (La., p. 409); a samź poidi NA KONb (La., p. 413); to slyshavź velikyi knjaź Vsevoloda ...; na lēto vsěde NA KONb pro svata svojego (ibid.); to zhe slyshá knjaź Jurbi, vsed NA KONb svoi, sź bratom svoim Stoslavomź (La., p. 519).} \]

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the preposition 'NA' also governed the old acc. case of the sing. masc. -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals. Twenty-one instances of this combination were found in these expressions:
Gleb zhe vsędź NA KONb. poide s malom družhiny. be bo posluschlivyt otsju (Hyr., p. 122); i rech Boleslav' ashche vy sego oukor vy ne zhalž. azž edinž pogibnu. i vsędź NA KONb. wźbrede v rěku. a po nemb voy ego (Hyr., p. 130); i běžha Nerjadetsb prokljatyi. do Peremyslja k Rjurikovi. a Jaropolka vzjasha otrots NA KONb. peredży sja (Hyr., p. 198); i sźzhalivsi jako bez nego prinosjatā i. i vsędź NA KONb v ֶbörzě poēkha.(Hyr., p. 202); Vasilko zhe vsędź NA KONb poēkha (Hyr., p. 232); i poslasja Izjaslav' Mźstislavich, polemž k Rostislavou Jaroslavlichju ou Rjazanž. a samž Izjaslav' vsōźe NA KONb (Hyr., p. 332); i poi pre­stawisja dobryi starechž Petrž Ilbich... oužhe bo ot starosti ne mozhashe ni NA KONb vsōźti (Hyr., p. 340); i Volodimirž vsędź NA KONb pogna (Hyr., p. 349); i sě mź zimy i vesny ně lže NA KONb k tobe vsōźti (Hyr., p. 407); Izjaslav' zhe ottolė pereshedž za Teterencž... i vsędź NA KONb pozva i bra­ta k sobě (Hyr., p. 413); Izjaslav' zhe vsędź NA KONb pereide Vźzdźvìzhdenž (Hyr., p. 415 and pp. 439, 501, 519, 526, 651, 674, 694, 701, 742, 756).

Since the governing preposition clearly indicated the objective function of the old acc. case in the cited examples, there was no need to replace this case with the gen. case. Besides, the combination of the preposition 'NA' and the old acc. case sing. case -- "Na konb !" was used and remained as a fossilized and traditional expression with adverbial force in giving the command to mount the horse. 

23 D. N. Shmelev, Arkhaicheskie formy v sovremennom russkom jazyke (Moscow; Uchpedgiz, 1960), pp. 56-58.
Although the old acc. case of the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns predominated after preposition 'NA', there was one instance of the gen.-acc. case with the ending -Е after the same preposition:

storozheve zhe pribegosha k nemu polunoshchi. rekushche idet' Volodimerko. on zhe vsedъ NA KONE i s druzhinoju nachat' buditi Ougry (La., p. 336).

The number of examples containing the preposition 'NA' and the gen.-acc. case sing. case of the -jo-stem nouns was slightly greater in the Hypatian Chronicle.

Five instances of this combination were found:

i posla kъ Izjaslavu i rech emu jazti NA KONE ouzhe vsedaju zhe i sна Mбstislava sъ soboju poimaju (Hyp., p. 446); Izjaslavъ zhe obedavъ tu i tako ispolcha polky svoja i poide ko korolevi... i korolъ vsedъ NA KONE s muzhmi svoimi (Hyp., p. 447); nyně zhe brate i moemu snovi i tvoemu. Mбsti slavu tako sja potbko... aby ne strjapa vselъ NA KONJA (Hyp., p. 447); no estъ mi vestъ. azhъ Vsevolodъ svatъ moi vselъ NA KONJA kako mi sja bylъ obenchalъ (Hyp., p. 697); onъ zhe nyně vorogъ mi sja oUCHINILъ... ty zhe kako mi sja esi obenchalъ. vsesti NA KONJA i pomochi mi (Hyp., p. 701).

These phrases, consisting of the preposition and the gen.-acc. case, provided the animate-inanimate opposition with adequate means for its expression.

The examination of the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u-, and -i-stem nouns denoting animals in the two Chronicles revealed that the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases were used alone and after prepositions. Only the -i-stem nouns
appeared in the old acc. sing. case in this group of nouns.

The ratio between the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases without prepositions stood at five to two in the Laurentian, and seven to three in the Hypatian Chronicle, in favour of the old acc. case. After prepositions, the old acc. case was also favoured in a ratio of seven to one in the Laurentian, and four to one in the Hypatian Chronicle. However, the combined totals of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases, appearing without prepositions in the two Chronicles, show that the old acc. case had a margin of three instances to one over the gen.-acc. case. This low frequency of the gen.-acc. case in the nouns referring to mammals can be partially explained by the fact that these nouns usually appeared as complements rather than as subject and object in the same sentence. For this reason, there was no urgency for these nouns to acquire the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function.  

An additional reason for the limited number of examples of the gen.-acc. case can be attributed to the nature of the substitution process, which proceeded gradually and first encompassed the nouns denoting persons and later extended itself to nouns referring to animals.

\[25\] Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezh...," p. 259.

The Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles revealed that the plu. nouns which denoted mammals, insects, and reptiles belonged to the masc. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stems, and fem. -a- and -ja-stems.

Examples of the old acc. plu. case with the ending-Y of the -o-stem nouns referring to mammals, insects, and reptiles were represented twenty times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

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Polovtsi zakon' derzhat' čes' svoikh. krov' prolivati a khvaljashche o sikh'. i jadushche mertvcecinu. i vsju nechistotu. KHMJAKI i SU- SOLY (La., p. 16); posem zhe v'o i dnya stvori B' KITY i ryby GADY i ptitsa pernataja. v'o i zhe dnya stvori B' zveri i SKOTY i GADY zemnyja (La., p. 88); i pokori B' Adamu zveri i SKOTY. i oblashe vs'em (ibid.); Stopotk' zhe i. Volodimer' idosta na vezhe. i vzjasha vezhe. i polonisha SKOTY i kon' VEL'BLODY i cheljad' (La., p. 228); i vid' tu chivky nechstya. ot plemene Nelfetova ikh'zhe nechstotu vid'v yadakkhy. skvenru vsjaku. KOMARY i mukhy. KOTKY zmi'. i mertvets' ne pogrebakhu. no yadakkhu. i zhen'skryja izvorgy. i SKOTY vsja nechstya (La., pp. 235-236); vzjasha bo togda SKOTY i ovts'e i kon'. i VEL'BLODY. i vezhe s dobyt-kom (La., p. 279); Togda zhe Mstislavu Izjaslavichju. pomoze B' na Polovtsi sam'kh' progna. a vezhe ikh' poima. i kon' i SKOTY ikh' zaja (La., p. 339); i vzjasha sela bez' utecha. s ljudmi. s muhi i s
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In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. plu. case
with the ending -Y of the -o-stem nouns denoting mammals,
insects, and reptiles appeared eighteen times in these
sentences:

Polovtsi zakon\v "d\v zhat\v ots\v svoikh\v... jawushche mrtvechinu. i vsju nechestotu.
KHOMJAKY i SUSOLY. i poimajut\v machekhy svoja, (Hyp., p. 12); stvori B\v KYTY i
GADY. i ryby. i ptitsa pernataja. i zv\v ri i SKOTY i GADY. zemnyja, (Hyp., p. 75); i
pokori B\v Adamu zveri i SKOTY (Ibid.,); Stpolk\v zhe i Volodimer\v idosta na vezhe.
i poloniska SKOTY i koni. i VEL\vBLUDY i BU-VOLY i devki. i odari kn\v ZEi Russkykh (La.,
p. 504); i vzjasha SKOTY ikh a s\v stady outekosha (La., 507).

zhonami, kon\v. i SKOTY. i ovts\v pognashha v
Polovtse (La., p. 358); Toe zhe zimy pri-
dosha Polovtsi na Kyjevskuju storonu i vzja-
sha mnozh\vstvo sel\v za Kyjevom\v. s ljudmi
i SKOTY. i koni (La., p. 363); sei zhe
Kotjan\b b\v test\v Mstislava... i prilde s
poklonom\v s\v kn\v ZEi Polovet\vskimi. v Galich\v... i
dary prinesene mnogy. koni VEL\vBLUDY i BU-
VOLY i devky. i odari kn\v ZEi Russkykh (La.,
p. 504); i vzjasha SKOTY ikh a s\v stady out-
ekosha (La., 507).
Since the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y differed from the old nom. plu. case-ending -I, and the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y had not yet been acquired by the masc. -o-stem nouns, the animate-inanimate category depended on the old acc. plu. case for its expression.

The old acc. plu. case with ending -E of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals appeared eleven times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

Stopolkь zhe i Volodimerь idosta na vezhe.
i vzjasta vezhe. i polonisha skoty i KONЕ
velbludy i cheljadb (La., p. 228); i na-
cha Beldjuzь dajati na sobe zlato. i srebro.
i KONЕ i skotь (La., p. 279); vzjasha bo
togda skoty i ovtsе i KONЕ. i velbludy.
i vezhe s dobytkom. (ibid.); vojeva Bonjakь.
i zaja KONЕ ou Perejaslavlja (La., p. 281);
Toje zhe zimy pridosha Olgovichь s Polovtsi...
i selо pozghosha. i Baruchь pozghosha. a
ljudь ouidosha. i mnogь polonь vzjasha.
skoty. i KONЕ (La., p. 303); v to zhe
vremja poima gorody. Gjurgevь Olgovichь.
i KONЕ. i skotь. i ovtsе. i tovarь (La.,
p. 309); Izjaslavь zhe poslushavь ikhь.
otima ou nego imenьe. i oruzhьe i KONЕ.
i druzhiny jego iskovavь rastochi (La.,
p. 320); Togda zhe Mstislayu Izjaslavichьu.
pomozhe Bь na Polovtsi samkhь progna. a
vezhe ikhь poima. i KONЕ i skoty ikhь zaja
(La., p. 339); i vzjasha selа bezЬ outecha.
s ljudmi. s muzhi i s ljudmi. s muzhi i s
zhenами. KONЕ. i skotь. i ovtsе pogna
v Polovtsе (La., p. 358); knjazь zhe Vsevolodь
vzratisja в Volodimerь. a KONЕ pusti na
Mordvu (La., p. 390); i bishasja s nimi krьpko.
i bys secha zla velmi. druji KONЕ pustisha
k nim siseдshe (La., p. 398)

The same case with the ending -E of the -jo-stem nouns occurred in the same noun nine times in the Hypatian Chronicle in the following sentences:
того же мѣста, возвеста Вонжаць, и зажа КОНѢ
оу Пережаславлѣ (Хир., п. 258); и полонъ
многъ взяль самѣкѣ прогна, везѣ икъ
поима. КОНѢ ихъ и скоты ихъ зажа (Хир.,
p. 460); озъ бькакъ холопи ежу покраеѣ
КОНѢ Мѣстиславлѣ оу статѣ и пятынь своѣ
взсклалѣ (Хир., п. 541); взжаша села
безъ оучѣта. съ людмъ и съ музѣи и съ
женами. и КОНѢ и скоти и овцѣ погнала
вѣ. Половтѣ (Хир., п. 556); прохажа зѣ
воѣ ихъ, онѣкѣ избйша. а КОНѢ и оружѣ
(Хир., п. 636); но оторки дерзашча
КОНѢ (Хир., п. 769); посла бо бѣ злата
многа і серебра. и ссудѣ серебрены и златы и крашнѣ. і КОНѢ многы (Хир., п. 816);
осташа зѣ ехѣ Татаровѣ друцѣи оу Володимѣра.
кормит либйвѣи КОНѢ (Хир., п. 893);
ащѣе ли кто вѣкхашетѣ овы избйшѣ. а
друга поимаша. а нѣя люопяхакхъ. а
КОНѢ отимахкъ (ибид.).

Since the old acc. plu. case-ending -Е of the -jo-stem
nouns differed from the nom. plu. case-ending -I,
there was no confusion with respect to subject and
object relationship. The animate-inanimate opposition
depended on the morphological distinction between the
nom. and acc. plu. cases in the nouns denoting mammals.

The new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stems,
which was identical with the nom. plu. case-ending, was
represented six times by the noun 'horse' in the Laurentian
Chronicle:

se Polovtsci rosulisja po zemli. dai knjazhe
оружмѣ і КОНѢ. і ещѣ бѣмсжъ с ѳѣм (La.,
p. 170); а кромѣ того ихѣ по Рови ездѣ ѣмалѣ
јесмѣ своима рукама тѣ зѣ КОНѢ дикиѣ
(La., п. 251); Половтѣ зѣ оужасошася. отъ страха не вѣмогосна ни
стѣйга поставитѣ. но побѣгосна кхвата-
jushче КОНѢ. а друцѣ пѢе побѣго-
ша (La., п. 282); а Ростовтѣ і бо-
ljarѣ всѣ повз часы ... а села болjarѣ-
скѣя взжаша. і КОНѢ. і скотѣ (La., п. 382);
The acc. plu. function of the case which appeared with the new acc. plu. case-ending -I was determined from the context, and from the fact that the noun in question formed a compound objective unit.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stem nouns occurred eight times in the noun 'horse':

se Polovtsi rosoulisja po zemli. da vdai knjazhe oruzhja i KONI. i eshche bjembsja s nimi (Hyp., p. 160); i polonisha skoty i KONI. i velbludy (Hyp., p. 219); i dalz estь brashno ikhь namь. vzjasha bo toga skoty i ovtsе i KONI. i velbludy i vezhе s dobytkomь (Hyp., p. 255); i vzjasha polona mnogo. i skoty i KONI i ovtsе i kolodnikovь mnogo. (Hyp., p. 268); oustremisja na nе. i poustisha KONI k tovaromь ikhь (Hyp., p. 622); i tou abbe poustisha k nimь KONI, (Hyp., p. 633); i v bozhnitsakhь pochasha KONI stavljati i v yzbakhь (Hyp., p. 665).

In view of the fact that the above acc. plu. case of the -jo-stems was similar to the nom. plu. case, the subject and object case function were ascertained through the context, which was also responsible for the realization of the animate-inanimate category in the noun denoting a 'horse' in both Chronicles.

The masc. plu. -i-stem nouns, whose nom. and acc. plu. cases differed morphologically, had the ending -I in the acc. plu. case. This case was represented twice in the Laurentian Chronicle in the noun 'zverь':

a Volodimertsi i druzhina povedosha kolodniky. i skotь pognasha i KONI (ibid.); i dary prinese mnogy. KONI velбbudy i бuvolь i девкь. i odari knьzei Rusьkykh (La., p. 504).
In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same noun occurred three times in the acc. plu. case; once with the ending -E, and twice with the ending -I:

v nikh zhe sutb i khorobry. zheny loviti ZVERE krepky (Hyp., p. 11); and, stvori Bz kxyt i gady. i ryby. i ptica pernatyja. i ZVERI i skoty i gady. zemnyja (Hyp., p. 75); i pokori Bz Adamu ZVERI i skoty (ibid.).

These examples indicate that the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression in the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns on the dissimilar nom. and acc. cases.

Although the old acc. plu. cases predominated in the masc. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns referring to mammals, insects, and reptiles in both Chronicles, only the -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals exhibited the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case. This case appeared in the noun 'horse' and was represented by the old gen. plu. case-ending -b of the -jo-stems, and the gen. plu. case-endings -II and -EI of the -i-stems.

The Laurentian Chronicle revealed three examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -b in the following sentences:

a se v Chernigově dějaly jesmě. KONb dikikh svoima rukama svjazal jesmě (La., p. 251); Mnoho bo postradasha chvtsi ot nego, vž derzhavě ego. i selž iznebyvši i oruzhaja. i KONb.
The Hypatian Chronicle contained two instances of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -II, and one with the ending -EI, as shown in these expressions:

Polovtsi zhe vzhasoshasja ot strakha, ne vžzmogosha i stjaga postavit'i. no pobего- sha khvatajuchi KONII (Hyp., p. 258); no se divno mja brate. ozhe smerdovъ zha- luete i ihь KONII (Hyp., p. 265); and, Borishъ zhe priékha i приведе saigatъ. korolevi i KONEI vo sëdëkhъ (Hyp., p. 857).

The examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case of the -jo-stem nouns denoting mammals, though limited in both Chronicles, indicate that the substitution process also appeared in the plu. nouns denoting mammals. This fact demonstrates that the process of restoring the animate-inanimate opposition in animate nouns was not confined to the nouns denoting persons, but extended itself to animate nouns other than persons.

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case was recorded in the Laurentian Chronicle once in the -o-stems,

poslakhъ na vy razlichnyja bolēzni i smerti tjazhkyja. i NA SKCTY kaznъ svoju poslakh (La., p. 168); oni zhe ne poslusha no ouda- risha V KONE k protivnymъ (La., p. 231); i poidosha na konikhъ. i v lodьjakhъ. i pridosha nizhe porogъ. i stashe v protolcheh. v Khortichem ostrove. i vsëdosa NA KONE.
In the Hypatian Chronicle, the prepositions also governed the old acc. plu. cases of the nouns denoting mammals. The -o-stem noun occurred once with the acc. plu. ending -E of the -jo-stems: "poslakhъ na vy razlichnyja bolezni. i smrti tjazhъky. i NA SKOTъ ikhъ. kazнъ svoju poslakhъ" (Hyp., p. 157).

In the examples of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting mammals, the old acc. plu. case-ending -E appeared three times after prepositions, while the ending -JA(a variant of the CCS acc. case-ending -E) occurred once. The nouns with these case-endings were recorded only in the Hypatian Chronicle:

The new acc. plu. case with ending -I of the -jo-stem nouns occurred three times in the Laurentian Chronicle:
i Vsevolod knjaz Kyevskyi pride s zhenoju
i so vsemi boljary. i s Kyjany. Perejaslaviju
na svadbu. i ottudu rasshedshesja. i vsedosha
NA KONI na Volodimerka na Galichь (La., p.
311); a sami poidosha po Volzь vnizь. i tu
pometasha vozy NA KONI polezosha. i poidosha
k Perejaslaviju vojujuchi (La., p. 493);
slyshav zhe Dvdb Romanovichь. i gnazь vsed
NA KONI. i sushchii s nimь konnitsi (La.,
p. 506).

The Hypatian Chronicle had two instances of the new acc.
plu. case with the ending -I after the preposition 'NA'
in these sentences:

   to slyshavь Steslavь. vborze vsedь NA KONI.
sь druzhinoju svoeju. i pride kь Kievu
(Hyp., p. 55); Mastislavь zhe sь druzhinoju
vsedь NA KONI. i nacha buditi Ougry (Hyp.,
p. 442).

The presence of the prepositions before the new acc.
plu. ending -I, which was identical with the nom. plu.
case-ending, precluded syntactical confusion between the
subject and object relationship.

As for the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns denoting
mammals, only one example of the old acc. plu. case after
a preposition was found. It appeared in the Laurentian
Chronicle:

   "Lovь dejushche Svenaldichju. imenemь Ljutь,
ishedь bo is Kieva gna PO ZVERI v lьsь. i
ouzrь i Olegь" (La., p. 74).

The utilization of prepositions before the old and
new acc. plu. cases of the masc. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem
nouns denoting mammals eliminated the possibility of
confusion of case functions. The animate-inanimate category was expressed adequately in these nouns through the use of prepositions with the acc. plu. cases, whenever they were identical with the nom. plu. cases. Although the prepositions governing the acc. cases eliminated syntactical confusion, they retarded the substitution process.

In summarizing the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases in the masc. plu. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns indicating mammals, insects, and reptiles, it is apparent that the gen.-acc. plu. case and the old acc. plu. case appeared in a ratio of one to ten in the Laurentian Chronicle and one to eleven in the Hypatian Chronicle. Although use of the old acc. plu. case had a decisive margin over the gen.-acc. plu. case, one fact seems clear— the animate-inanimate category was being restored by the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the above group of nouns.

Another group of plu. nouns, which denoted mammals and insects, belonged to the fem. gender. They were of the -a- and -ja-stems. The nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the -a- and -ja-stems were identical, namely -Y (-I) and -E, respectively.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the acc. plu. case with endings -Y (-I) of the -a-stems occurred three times in these sentences:
The Hypatian Chronicle also had three examples of the old acc. fem. plu. case-endings in the following nouns:

\[
i \text{rech im}^\text{ь Volodimer}^\text{ь pozhd}^\text{ьte, dazhe vy KUNY sberut}^\text{ь za m}^\text{сти}^\text{ь (La., p. 78 79); i vid}^\text{ь tu chivky nech}^\text{ьt}^\text{ьja, ot plemene Nelfetova ikh}^\text{ьzhe nech}^\text{ьstotu videvь jadjakh}^\text{ь shernu vsjaku. komary i MUKHY (La., p. 235); Togo zhe l}^\text{ьt}^\text{ь bьs mor}^\text{ь z Nov}^\text{ьgorod}^\text{ь ot glada. inii ljudi re}^\text{ьzakh}^\text{ь svoego brata i jadjakh}^\text{ь... a dru}^\text{ьzii kon}^\text{ьnu i ps}^\text{ьnu. i KOSHKI. inii mokhь sosnu (La., p. 512);}\]
\[
\text{Since the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings were morphologically identical in the fem. -a-stem nouns denoting mammals and insects, the acc. function of these cases was determined by the context, wherein they appeared as members of compound objective units. The fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns signifying mammals and reptiles appeared with two different acc. plu. case-endings: the ending -JA, a reflex of the OCS case-ending -T; and the ending -E, which was similar to the nom. plu. case-ending. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the former case-ending appeared twice, while the latter case occurred four times:}

\[
\text{Se zhe sby}^\text{ьssja prrchen}^\text{ьje bl}^\text{ьzhnago otsa nashego Feodos}^\text{ьja. dobrago pastukha. izhe pasjashe slovesnyja OVTSJA. nelitsemerno s krotost}^\text{ьju (La., p. 212); po istine dobroi pastukhь, izhe pasetь slovesnyja OVTSJA nelitsemerno. s krotost}^\text{ьju i s rasmotren}^\text{ьem}
\]
La., p. 391); and i vide tu chlvky nečistýja.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns referring to mammals and reptiles was represented once by the case-ending -A and -JA, and six times by case-ending -E:

Since the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns denoting animals were identical, the objective function of the acc. case was determined by the context, and by the fact that they formed an objective unit together with other nouns in the acc. function. Thus, the animate-inanimate opposition was expressed adequately.
in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns denoting mammals in both Chronicles.

On the basis of the cited examples pertaining to the fem. plu. -a- and -ja-stem nouns signifying mammals, insects, and reptiles, it is apparent that these nouns were not affected by the substitution process, which aimed to restore the animate-inanimate opposition in all animate nouns.


Another group of masc. and fem. plu. nouns which denoted beings other than persons were represented in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles by the nouns signifying birds and fish. The nouns referring to birds were of the masc. plu. -jo- and i-stems, while the noun fish was of the fem. plu. -a-stems.

A -jo-stem noun was recorded twice in the gen.-acc. plu. case; once with the ending -I in the Laurentian Chronicle, and once with the ending -II in the Hypatian Chronicle.

27 A detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases in the masc. and fem. plu. nouns of various stems denoting birds and fish in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles may be examined in Table XI at the end of the chapter.
An -i-stem noun, which also appeared once in each Chronicle, had an old acc. plu. case with the ending -I in the Laurentian, and the ending -I in the Hypatian Chronicle. Sentences which illustrate the use of the old acc. plu. case of the -i-stem nouns, and the gen.-acc. case of the -jo-stems denoting birds in the two Chronicles are as follows:

i povelĕ Olŭga jako smerchesja pustiti GOLUBI i VOROBЪI. voemь svoĭmь. golubi zhe i vorobьevo poletēsha vъ gnēdâ svojâ (La., p. 59); and, i povelĕ Olŭga jako smerchesja pustiti GOLUBI. i VORCBII voemь svoĭmь. golubevi zhe i vorobьevo poletēsha vъ gnēdâ svojâ (Hyp., p. 48).

The objective function of the -i-stem noun 'golubi' was evident from the context, because it was a constituent member of the compound complement of the transitive verb.

The fem. plu. nouns denoting birds were of the -ja-stems. They were represented by the case-endings -A and -E in both Chronicles. The Laurentian Chronicle had one example for each acc. plu. case-ending in these sentences:

posem zhe vъ .e. i dnь stvori 5ь kity i ryby. gady i PTITSA pernattyja (La., p. 88); i sbishe Ougry aky v mjachь. jako se sokolь abivajetь GALITŠE. i pobēgosha Ougri (La. p. 271).

The same nouns with similar case-endings also appeared once in the Hypatian Chronicle:
These examples indicate that the acc. function of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns denoting birds was determined from the context.

As a group, the masc. and fem. plu. nouns referring to birds also demonstrated the presence of the substitution process as a means of reinstating the animate-inanimate opposition in animate nouns other than persons.

The last class of animate plu. nouns which belonged to the animal kingdom and which appeared in both Chronicles denoted fish. The fem. noun 'ryba' of the -a-stems was the only noun which occurred with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y in the two Chronicles.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, this noun was represented three times in the following sentences:

ashche obrjashchet vb vustbe Dneprskom Rusc. Korsunjany RYBY lovjashcha. da ne tvorjatb imb zla nikakozhe (La., p. 51); posem zhe vb i dnb stvori Bb kity i RYBY. gady i ptitsa pernayja (La., p. 88); i poidosta po Volze. kde pridut v pogoste, tuzhe naritsakhu. luchbshi zheny gleshcha. jako si zhito derzhitb. a si medb. a si RYBY. a si skoru (La., p. 175).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same nouns appeared five times with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y in these expressions:
The old acc. plu. case, which was similar to the nom. plu. of the -a-stem nouns denoting fish, was recognized as such from the context in both Chronicles, as well as from the fact that it formed a constituent member of the compound objective unit. The apparent lack of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the noun 'ryba' leads one to the conclusion that this group of nouns was not affected by the substitution process.

In summarizing the findings related to the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases of the sing. and plu. numbers in the nouns denoting members of the animal kingdom in the two Chronicles, several remarks can be made.

First, it is evident that the substitution process appeared in the masc. sing. -o- and -jo-stem nouns referring to mammals in both Chronicles. The masc. sing. -u-stem nouns signifying mammals exhibited the use of the gen.-acc. sing. case only in the Hypatian Chronicle. In the masc.
sing. -i-stem nouns, only the old acc. sing. case was found in both Chronicles.

Second, the masc. and fem. plu. nouns denoting mammals, insects, and reptiles appeared overwhelmingly in the old acc. plu. case. Only the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals was partially represented by the gen.-acc. plu. case in both Chronicles.

Third, in the plu. nouns referring to birds and fish only the masc. plu. -jo-stem noun denoting a bird appeared in the gen.-acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. The noun signifying fish was represented by the old acc. plu. case.

Fourth, the question of the extension of the substitution process from the nouns denoting persons to the animate nouns other than those signifying human beings, has been discussed by several scholars.

Thomson contended that persons are used in the role of subject with three quarters of the transitive verbs in the contemporary Russian language. Nouns referring to animals may appear as subjects, along with nouns denoting persons or inanimate objects with one quarter of the transitive verbs. Furthermore, nouns signifying animals may be used in the objective capacity

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28 This statement was made in 1908 at the time of writing of the article "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezh...", p. 257.
with thirty-seven per cent of transitive verbs. These verbs can, at the same time govern the acc. case of the nouns denoting persons and inanimate objects. On the basis of these considerations, Thomson asserted that, although animals are capable of performing action in a way comparable to persons, and of assuming the role of subject and object, they appear primarily in the objective case. This is especially true when a person appears in a role of subject. Hence the degree of probability for the nouns denoting animals to function as both subject and object in the same sentence is limited. Because of the marginal possibility of this happening according to Thomson there was no urgency for the nouns denoting animals to acquire the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function. However, since the gen.-acc. case was used in the acc. function in the nouns referring to animals, though the need for such a case in the nouns signifying animals was not urgent, for this reason, Thomson concluded that the gen.-acc. case appeared sporadically in the nouns denoting animals.

Kuznetsov suggested that the use of the gen.-acc. case in nouns denoting animals was prompted by the presence of the perfective verb because "Sovershennyj zhe vid

peredает большую определённость действия (особенно приставочным)." In supporting this contention, Kuznetsov cites the following phrases: "и BYKA пустиша; и покхвати BYKA рукою за бок" (La., p. 123). However, similar examples show that the role of perfective forms of verbs is not universally applicable, as in the following sentences:

Danil же видевъ како крѣпче брань Татарѣская нalezhitъ. И обрати КОЛь своi и бѣзha (La., 508); и вдastъ Реченѣшкыjи knjazь Pretichu KONь sabliju. strѣly (Hyp., p. 55).

Thus, Kuznetsov's explanation cannot be accepted as satisfactory.

Безпалъко maintained that the gen.-acc. cases in the masc. sing. nouns referring to mammals appeared as a result of the following two factors: first, the need to differentiate the subject and the object whenever there was no intervening element between them; second, by the stylistic need to emphasize the objective function of nouns denoting mammals and birds. As proof of his explanation Bezpalьko cites two phrases from the "Slovo Daniila Azтоchnika", which read: "koli pozhretь SINITSJA ORLA", and "dobra PSA KNJAŽI i BOJARE ljubjatb".31

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30 Kuznetsov, Istoricheskaja grammatika..., p. 121

31 Безпалько, op. cit., p. 423.
Although Bezpalcko substantiated his contention by citing appropriate examples, his explanation failed to account for the appearance of the gen.-acc. case whenever the above conditions were absent.

The views of Thomson, Kuznetsov, and Bezpalcko concerning the extension of the substitution process from the animate nouns denoting persons to those signifying animals provided only a partial explanation. Their viewpoints were substantiated by appropriate yet isolated examples which did not account for the appearance of the gen.-acc. case in the remaining instances.

In the opinion of this researcher, the extension of the substitution process from the nouns denoting persons to those signifying various members of the animal kingdom can be explained by the nature of the animate-inanimate category.

It is evident that for the animate-inanimate category the aim was to restore morphological distinction in the nom. and acc. cases in all animate nouns by utilizing the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function. The realization of this goal through substitution depended on the hierarchical order of animate nouns: on their capacity to act as both subject and object; on the frequency of their occurrence in these functions; and on the urgency to differentiate the nom. and acc. cases.
The proper nouns can be considered the most active, and able to appear most frequently in the roles of subject and object. They had already acquired the gen.-acc. case, as evidenced by the material from the two Chronicles. These nouns were followed by the masc. sing., and masc. and fem. plu. common nouns denoting persons in acquiring the gen.-acc. case.

As for the remaining masc. sing. and masc. and fem. plu. nouns signifying mammals, insects, reptiles, birds, and fish, there was less urgency to differentiate their nom. and acc. cases. They were slower to develop the substitution process than were the nouns referring to persons because of the limited possibility of their acting as subject and object in the same sentence. However, they were neither excluded from the substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. case nor from the ultimate goal of the inclusion of all animate nouns within the framework of the animate-inanimate category.

In brief, one can state that the limited number of examples of the gen.-acc. cases of both sing. and plu. numbers in the nouns denoting members of the animal kingdom is indicative of the fact that the animate-inanimate category was in the process of being gradually re-established in all animate nouns. The material examined in the Lauren­tian and Hypatian Chronicles showed that the animate-inanimate
category was passing through a stage of development and had not attained its goal of fulfillment.
TABLE IX

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF MASC. SING. NOUNS DENOTING MAMMALS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASC. SING. DENOTING ANIMALS</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>ENDING</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jo-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-JA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jo-stem</td>
<td>a. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Prep + Gen=Acc</td>
<td>-JA</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE X

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND
GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE MASC. AND FEM. PLU. NOUNS
DENOTING MAMMALS INSECTS AND REPTILES
IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLU. NOUNS DENOTING ANIMALS</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>ENDING</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc. -o-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-Y</td>
<td>20 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. -jo-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-E</td>
<td>11 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. New Acc=Nom</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>6 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. -i-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Old Acc</td>
<td>-E</td>
<td>0 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. -jo-stem</td>
<td>a. Acc=Old Gen</td>
<td>-Г</td>
<td>3 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-II</td>
<td>0 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-ЕI</td>
<td>0 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. -o-stem</td>
<td>a. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-Y</td>
<td>1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-E</td>
<td>0 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. -jo-stem</td>
<td>a. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-E</td>
<td>0 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-JA</td>
<td>0 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Prep + New Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. -i-stem</td>
<td>a. Prep + Old Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. -a-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-Y(-I)</td>
<td>3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. -ja-stem</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>0 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Old Acc</td>
<td>-JA</td>
<td>2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Old Acc</td>
<td>-E</td>
<td>4 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XI

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND GEN.—ACC. CASES IN THE MASC. AND FEM. PLU. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING BIRDS AND FISH IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLU. NOUNS DENOTING BIRDS</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>ENDING</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>a. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-bl</td>
<td>1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jo-stem</td>
<td>b. Acc=Gen</td>
<td>-II</td>
<td>0 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-stem</td>
<td>b. Old Acc</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>0 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ja-stem</td>
<td>b. Old Acc</td>
<td>&quot;E</td>
<td>1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>a. Old Acc</td>
<td>-Y</td>
<td>3 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLU. NOUNS DENOTING FISH

| fem.                     | a. Old Acc | -Y     | 3 5       |
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of the dissertation was to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the proper and common animate nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

The problem of assessing the status of the animate-inanimate category in the various animate nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicle involved the consideration of three factors.

In any given group of animate nouns, the determination of the exact status of the animate-inanimate category depended upon: 1. the progress of the substitution process in replacing the old acc. case by the gen.-acc. case as the ideal means of restoring syntactical clarity; 2. the dual role of the prepositions governing the acc. case and simultaneously supporting the category by precluding syntactical ambiguity, and thus retarding the acquisition of the gen. acc. case by the governed nouns; 3. the extent to which the relatively free word order of Slavic syntax weakened the ability of the context to act as an adequate supportive measure for the animate-inanimate category.

A statistical analysis of the relative influence of the above factors provided the criteria for assessing the status of the animate-inanimate category throughout the two Chronicles.
It was concluded that the animate-inanimate category in the masc. sing. proper nouns relied for its expression on different nom. and acc.-acc. sing. cases, as evidenced by the material in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

With respect to the common masc. sing. animae nouns denoting persons, it was established on the basis of the findings in the two Chronicles that the process of substitution was virtually complete in these nouns. Statistical evidence shows that in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons, the ratio between the old acc. case and the gen.-acc. cases was one to fourteen in favour of the gen.-acc. case in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ratio for the same cases was one to eleven in the Hypatian Chronicle. Even though it was compiled several decades later than the Laurentian Chronicle, the ratio illustrating the frequencies of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the Hypatian Chronicle makes it evident that this Chronicle was more conservative in adopting innovations, and tended to preserve the traditional case-forms.

There are several factors which expedited the extension of the substitution process from the masc. sing. proper nouns to the common masc. sing. nouns of various stems denoting persons. Of the factors which facilitated the extension of the substitution process from the masc. sing. proper nouns denoting persons to the comparable masc. sing. common nouns, the primary one was of the sui generis type. It originated
in the grammatical principle of the animate-inanimate category itself, which demanded differentiation in the nom. and acc. cases in order to express adequately the subject and object in the nouns denoting persons.

Since both proper and common animate nouns were used with the same frequency in the subject and object functions, the need to distinguish the nom. and acc. cases was equally urgent in both groups of nouns. The substitution process provided the necessary distinction between the nom. and acc. cases, and facilitated the syntactical clarity required to uphold the animate-inanimate category.

As the common masc. sing. nouns belonged to the animate-inanimate category prior to the phonetic changes, it was simply a matter of time until these nouns began to function syntactically in a manner parallel to that of the proper nouns. Thus the substitution process was extended to the common masc. sing. animate nouns.

In other words, the completion of the substitution process in the proper masc. animate nouns established the precedent of using the gen. case ending in the acc. function in animate nouns denoting persons. The analogical influence of this substitution contributed to the extension of the process to the common masc. animate nouns.

The use of the gen. case as an object after verbs of perception, et cetera, could also have facilitated the adoption of the old acc. case, to avoid syntactical ambiguity.

Briefly, the combined influence of the above mentioned
factors can be regarded as being responsible for the extension of the substitution process to the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.

In the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, the findings pertaining to the masc. plu. nouns of the -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns denoting persons indicate that these nouns were affected by the substitution process to a lesser degree that were the masc. sing. animate nouns signifying persons.

In the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns, used alone or after prepositions, the use of the old acc. case predominated over that of the gen.-acc. case in both Chronicles. There were ten instances of the old acc. case to one of the gen.-acc. in the Laurentian Chronicle. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. appeared eleven times, the gen.-acc. once. Statistically, the respective ratios were ten to one and eleven to one.

The Hypatian Chronicle was somewhat slower than the Laurentian to adopt the gen. plu. case for the old acc. case. The reason for the continued occurrence of the old acc. case lies in the morphological difference between the old nom. and the old acc. plu. cases. Their respective case endings were -I- and -Y. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the ending -Y was introduced into the nom. case, making the nom. and acc. plu. case endings identical. It was at this point that the substitution process became an active motivational force for the differentiation of the nom. and acc. plu. cases
of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons.

Since the simplifying of plu. case endings in the masc. plu. -o- stem nouns on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems was a gradual process, the substitution and simplification processes proceeded in accordance with one another. In other words, so long as the nom. and acc. cases were different, the role of the substitution process was minimal. This is shown in the two Chronicles through the use of both the old acc. and the gen. acc. cases in the masc. plu. -o- stem nouns.

Thus, the animate-inanimate category was primarily dependent upon the morphological distinction between the old nom. and acc. plu. cases, and its dependence on the use of the gen.-acc. case was of secondary importance.

In the two Chronicles, the situation of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons differed somewhat from that of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns. The acc. plu. case-ending -Ê of the -jo-stems was rapidly being replaced by the new acc. plu. case ending -I. This -I ending was identical with the ending of the nom. plu. case. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were two examples of the variations of the old acc. case for every one of the new acc. plu. case giving a ratio of two to one, respectively. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the ratio between the same two respective cases was five to four. These ratios indicate the existence of a greater possibility of confusing the nom. and the new acc. plu. cases of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns. For this reason, the need to replace the new acc. plu.
case with the gen. acc. case was urgent.

In spite of the need for morphological distinction between the two cases, the examination of the Chronicles revealed that the use of the new acc. case-ending -I predominated over that of the new gen.-acc. case. The ratio in the Laurentian Chronicle was seven to one; it was eight to one in the Hypatian. Although the ratio between the combined totals of the old acc. and the new gen.-acc. plu cases was only ten to one in the Laurentian Chronicle and fourteen to one in the Hypatian Chronicle, the recorded examples of the gen.-acc. case indicate that substitution process had appeared in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons in the two Chronicles.

In conclusion, one can state that in both Chronicles the maintenance of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns relied on: the distinction between the nom. and the variant acc. plu. cases; on the context; and, to lesser extent, on the use of the gen.-acc. case.

In regard to masc. plu. -u-stem nouns referring to persons, it should be stated that the nom. and acc. cases were differentiated and, therefore, they were not affected by the substitution process. The old acc. plu. case appeared in the objective function as well as after the preposition in both Chronicles. Thus, the animate-inanimate category relied for its expression on the old morphological distinction in the mon. and acc. plu. cases.
In the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns signifying persons, it was found that the distinction between the old nom. and the old acc. plu. cases was maintained. For this reason, there was no urgency to replace the old acc. plu. case. However, both Chronicles exhibited the presence of the gen.-acc. plu. cases in these nouns. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the ratio between the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases was twenty-nine to one in favour of the old acc. plu. cases; in the Hypatian Chronicle, the ratio between the same cases was eighteen to one. These ratios between the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases clearly indicate that in both Chronicles the animate-inanimate category depended largely on the old acc. case and marginally on the gen.-acc. case.

In both Chronicles, the findings of this research indicated that the use of the old acc. plu. case was predominant over that of the gen. acc. plu. case in the masc. plu. -o- and -jo- stem nouns representing various peoples.

Both Chronicles reveal that in the group of -o-stem nouns, which had no suffixes in the sing. number, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y was used exclusively. Hence, the status of the animate-inanimate category in each Chronicle depended on the distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases, whose endings were -I and -Y, respectively. The new nom. acc. plu. case-ending -Y was identical with that of the acc. plu. case-ending. Since this nom. case-ending appeared five times in the Laurentian Chronicle and once in the Hypatian
Chronicle, the expression of the animate-inanimate category relied on the context in these instances.

In the second group of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns which had the suffixes -IN- -EN- -AN- and -JAN- in the sing. number, the nom. and the acc. plu. cases were represented by the endings -E and -Y respectively. The acc. plu. case was also represented by a number of other acc. cases. The Laurentian Chronicle; the combined totals of the old acc. cases and its variants, when compared with the total of the gen.-acc. plu. cases, stood at eight to one in favour of the old acc. plu. case. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the ratio between the same cases was eighteen to one.

There were few examples of the use of the gen.-acc. case in these nouns because their nom. and acc. cases were distinct. Also, a number of different acc. case-endings were utilized to express the acc. function.

In view of these considerations, in both Chronicles the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples was expressed mainly through the distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases.

Although the gen.-acc. plu. case had made its appearance in this group of nouns, it had a negligible effect on the status of the animate-inanimate category in both Chronicles.

The masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples exhibited three different acc. plu. case-endings in each of
the Chronicles: the old acc. plu. case with the ending -E; the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I (identical with the nom. plu. case-ending); and the gen.-acc. plu. case-ending.

As a result of the simplification of the plu. case-endings, the ratio between the old acc. and the new acc. plu. cases was one to one in the Laurentian Chronicle. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the use of the old acc. plu. case was favoured seven to six. In other words, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -E was being replaced by the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I in both Chronicles. Since this ending was identical with the nom. plu. case-ending, the need to distinguish between the two morphologically identical yet syntactically different cases was imperative.

In view of this urgency, the gen.-acc. plu. case appeared in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles. Five examples of this case were found in the Laurentian Chronicle and four instances in the Hypatian Chronicle. Comparatively speaking, the ratio between the new acc. plu. case (identical with the nom. plu. case) and the new gen.-acc. plu. case was seven to one in favour of the new acc. plu. case in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ratio between the same cases was eighteen to one in the Hypatian Chronicle. This Chronicle exhibited greater resistance in admitting innovations in its masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples.

From these observations one can conclude that the
status of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various people in the two Chronicles depended largely on the old acc. plu. case, which differed from the nom. plu. case; on the context where the nom. and acc. plu. cases were identical; and only marginally on the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case.

One can conclude that the factors which motivated the appearance of the substitution process in the group of masc. plu. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns denoting persons and various groups of peoples were similar to those factors responsible for the introduction of the use of this process in the masc. sing. nouns signifying persons.

The masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns which differentiated their nom. and acc. cases in historical times, prior to the simplification of case-endings on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems, did not tolerate the identification of the above cases. Such a situation was neither conducive to the maintenance of syntactical clarity nor to the support of the animate-inanimate category. For these reasons, the gen.-acc. plu. case was being adopted by the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons and various peoples. The utilization of the gen.-acc. case in the masc. plu. nouns was facilitated by analogy from the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.

An additional motive for the extension of the substitution process to the masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns denoting persons and various peoples was the ultimate goal
of restoring the animate-inanimate category through the use of distinct case-endings for the nom. and acc. cases in animate nouns.

Evidence from the Chronicles showed that both the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases were used for the acc. function in the group of fem. plu. -a-, -ja-, -er- and -u-stem nouns denoting persons.

In the -a-stem nouns, which had identical nom. and acc. plu. cases, the gen.-acc. plu. case appeared once in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ratio between the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases was twenty-two to one in the Laurentian Chronicle and twelve to zero in the Hypatian Chronicle. Hence, the expression of the animate-inanimate category relied exclusively on the distinction between the old acc. and the nom. plu. cases, whose respective functions were determined from the context.

In the group of fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns, the use of the new acc. plu. case and the old acc. plu. case (which was identical with the nom. plu. case) stood in a ratio of two to one in the Laurentian Chronicle and three to two in the Hypatian Chronicle. In addition to the new acc. plu. case, the gen.-acc. plu. case appeared in the -ja-stem nouns. The ratio between the new and the old acc. plu. cases was one to seven in the Laurentian Chronicle, and one to six in the Hypatian Chronicle. The above ratios indicate that three elements contributed to the retention of the animate-
inanimate category as a grammatical device in the two Chronicles. These elements were: the morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases; the use of the old acc. case (whose function was ascertained contextually); and, to a lesser degree, on the use of the gen.-acc. case.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the animate-inanimate category depended contextually on the old acc. case in the fem. plu. -er- stem nouns. The animate-inanimate category in these nouns relied on the gen.-acc. case as well as on the old acc. case in the Hypatian Chronicle. The ratio in the latter Chronicle was one to two in favour of the old acc. plu. case.

In both Chronicles, the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. -ū-stem nouns denoting persons depended exclusively on the old acc. plu. case, whose function was determined by the context.

On the basis of the above findings, one can conclude that the fem. plu. animate nouns of various stems were affected by the substitution process to a minor degree in both Chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the ratio between the gen. acc. plu. case and the old acc. plu. case was one to eighteen, while in the Hypatian Chronicle, it was one to seven.

Although the nom. and acc. sing. cases of the masc. sing. animate nouns and the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons became identical in the
late Common Slavic period, the fem. plu. nouns felt the
effects of the substitution process to a lesser degree,
and at a later time than did the masc. sing. animate nouns.
The later appearance of the substitution process in the fem.
plu. nouns can be attributed to the infrequent use of these
nouns in the roles of subject and object in the same sentence.
Since there was no syntactical ambiguity, there was no ur-
gerency to differentiate the nom. and acc. plu. cases in the
fem. plu. nouns. The eventual introduction of the substitu-
tion process to include these nouns can be regarded as a part
of the movement to include all animate nouns with the frame-
work of the animate-inanimate category.

The appearance of both the old acc. and the gen.-acc.
cases in the two Chronicles shows that the substitution
process was present in the masc. sing. -o- and -jo- stem
nouns, in the masc. plu. -jo- stem nouns, and in the fem. plu.
-i- stem nouns referring to children.

In the masc. sing. -o- and -jo-stem nouns, the ratio
between the old acc. case and the gen.-acc. case in the
Laurentian Chronicle was three to two, while in the Hypatian
Chronicle the ratio was three to one. Hence the animate-
inanimate category depended primarily on the context, and only
marginally on the gen.-acc. case.

In the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns, the ratio between
the old acc. plu. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases was two to
zero in the Laurentian Chronicle, and one to one in the
Hypatian Chronicle. Again, the animate-inanimate opposition relied on the context for its expression.

In the fem. plu. -i-stem nouns denoting children, the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases appeared in a ratio of eighteen to one in favour of the old acc. plu. case in the Laurentian Chronicle and sixteen to zero in the Hypatian Chronicle. The old acc. plu. case of the fem. plu. -i-stem nouns also appeared after prepositions.

The paucity of examples of the gen.-acc. case in both Chronicles indicates that the animate-inanimate category relied for the most part on the use of the old acc. cases and on the arrangement of the elements in given sentences.

One of the prime reasons for the retention of the old acc. case in the nouns denoting children is the fact that these nouns seldom appeared in the subject and object capacity in the same sentence. Therefore, there was no urgency to replace the old acc. sing. and plu. cases with the gen. case of the appropriate num. in these nouns.

With respect to the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting mammals, it was found that the old acc. and the gen.-acc. sing. cases appeared in a ratio of seven to one in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ratio between the same acc. sing. cases was three to one in the Hypatian Chronicle. This indicates that the latter Chronicle had a larger proportion the gen.-acc. cases than did the Laurentian Chronicle. These ratios would seem to emphasize
the dependence of the animate-inanimate category on the old acc. sing. case, whose function was determined by the context. The category also relied on the gen.-acc. sing. case in both Chronicles.

As a group, the masc. plu. -o-, -jo- and -i-stem nouns denoting animals exhibited the use of the old and new acc. plu. cases as well as the gen.-acc. plu. case.

The gen.-acc. plu. case, however, was not represented by the -o- and -i-stem nouns. Since these nouns retained the distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases, the animate-inanimate category relied for its adequate expression on their morphological differentiation.

In regard to the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns, the numerical proportion between the old acc. plu. case and the new acc. plu. case, which was similar to the nom. plu. case, stood at eleven to nine in the Laurentian Chronicle and thirteen to ten in the Hypatian Chronicle. Although the use of old acc. plu. case predominated, the presence of the new acc. plu. case evoked the adoption of the gen.-acc. plu. case. This case appeared three times in each Chronicle. Thus the ratio between the combined totals of the old acc. and the new acc. plu. cases, on the one hand, and the gen.-acc. plu. case, on the other, was seven to one in the Laurentian Chronicle and eight to one in the Hypatian Chronicle. This marginal proportion is sufficient to lead one to the conclusion that the substitution process was present in the masc. plu.
-jo-stem nouns denoting animals in both Chronicles.

    In the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns denoting animals, the animate-inanimate category depended contextually on the old acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. As for the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns, the same category relied on the old acc. plu. case, which was identical with the nom. plu. case, and also on two other acc. plu. cases which differed from the nom. plu. case.

    Of the masc. plu. nouns signifying birds, only the -jo-stem nouns were represented exclusively by the gen.-acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. Thus, the animate-inanimate category utilized the gen.-acc. plu. case for its expression. The masc. plu. -i-stems supported the animate-inanimate category by the old acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. In the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns denoting birds, the animate-inanimate opposition was upheld contextually by the old acc. case and its variants in both Chronicles.

    Finally, the masc. plu. -o-stems and fem. plu. -a-stem nouns denoting fish, the animate-inanimate category relied on the context.

    In summary, one can state that the status of the animate-inanimate category, as revealed by the material in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles constantly was changing as the substitution process progressed. The following factors played contributory roles in the development of the animate-inanimate category.
The first factor was that the substitution process was a gradual one. It did not affect all animate nouns at one time, or to the same degree. This created a situation wherein there was competition between the old acc. case and the gen.-acc. case. The most adequate expression of the animate-inanimate category occurred when the use of the innovative gen.-acc. case predominated. This was most evident in the proper masc. sing. nouns denoting persons. Whenever the old acc. case was retained, and the relatively free word order of Slavic syntax provided insufficient means for distinguishing the subject and object, the animate-inanimate category was forced to rely on the context for its expression.

The second factor is that the prepositions governing the acc. case supported the animate-inanimate category. At the same time, their preclusion of syntactical ambiguity acted to retard the appearance of the gen.-acc. case in the animate nouns.

Statistical analysis of the two factors—the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases with and without prepositions—constituted the criteria by which the status of the animate-inanimate category was determined in different animate nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

After careful evaluating of the status of the animate-inanimate category in both the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, this writer has reached several significant conclusions, enumerated below.
First, since the substitution process was not complete; the goal of animate-inanimate category was only partially attained in these Chronicles.

Second, the one principle of morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns remained constant. This distinction remained the medium of expression utilized by the animate-inanimate category from the time of its adoption from the Indo-European system.

Third, when the phonetic changes which occurred in the late Common Slavic period destroyed the morphological differences between the nom. and acc. cases, there emerged the substitution process as the most efficient means of reconstituting the animate-inanimate category. This was being accomplished through the use of the gen.-acc. case.

Fourth, the presence of the substitution process, with varying degrees of frequency in the enumerated groups of animate nouns denoting persons and animals, leads one to the conclusion that the animate-inanimate category followed a systematic and a hierarchical pattern of development after the phonetic changes in regaining animate nouns into its system.

The proper and common masc. sing. nouns which denoted persons and functioned primarily as subject and object were the first to acquire the gen.-acc. case. This group of nouns was followed by the masc. plu. nouns signifying persons and various peoples. They were influenced by the substitution process to a lesser degree than was the previous group of nouns.
The fem. plu. nouns denoting persons and the masc. sing. nouns referring to children were least affected by the substitution process. The animate nouns signifying various members of the animal kingdom underwent substitution even to a lesser degree than the previous group of nouns.

Fifth, the use of prepositions governing the acc. case in some instances, precluded syntactical ambiguity between the non. and acc. case, thus retarding the progress of the substitution process into these nouns.

Sixth, it is possible that the relatively free word order of the Slavic syntax may have hastened the substitution, since the context was not a reliable means of support for the animate-inanimate category.

Seventh, the inclusion of the rationalia and animalia kingdoms into its grammatical system indicated the universal scope of the animate-inanimate category during its period of development after the phonetic changes.

Finally, during the preparation of this dissertation, it became evident that further research is necessary in this area in order to establish a comprehensive picture of the status of the animate-inanimate category in the East Slavic texts and languages. Future investigation of this problem should concern itself with the examination of the various tests which constitute the common literary heritage of the Eastern Slavs. Similar research should be initiated in the literary monuments which belong to separate East Slavic
languages -- Russian, Ukraninian, and Belorussian. In both instances, whenever feasible, careful scrutiny should be directed to the 'written', 'spoken', and 'dialectal' features of the respective languages. Only on the basis of such findings will it be possible to comprehend the nature of the animate-inanimate category in the phase of development subsequent to the phonetic changes.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources


The above Chronicle represents a Northern redaction of the East Slavic annalistic literature and was compiled by monk Lavrentij in 1377.


This Chronicle is a Southern redaction of the East Slavic annalistic literature and was compiled ca. 1428.

B. Secondary Sources

1. Specific Studies
   a. Books


This is a pioneering work dealing with the problem of the animate-inanimate category in the Old Church Slavonic texts.


The author discusses the simplification of nom. and acc. plu. cases on the basis of the 'hard' and 'soft' stems in masc. plu. nouns in the Old Russian language.
Various functions of the genitive case are thoroughly investigated and illustrated by numerous examples from different literary monuments and periods of the given region.

b. Articles


The author maintains that the gen. case which was used as a direct object after the negative verb gave rise to the substitution process in the animate nouns.


By examining the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in the early East Slavic monuments, the author tries to disprove the view of P. S. Kuznetsov who maintained that the gen.-acc. case was used as a direct object in those nouns which denoted persons of socio-political and juridical standing.

"Razvitie form roditel'noogo-vinitel'noogo padezha i upotreblenie starykh form vinitel'noogo ot nazvanij lits i odushevlennykh predmetov v drevnerusskom jazyke (na materiale pamjatnikov XII-XIV vv.)", Vilniaus Valst. V. Kapsuko v. Universiteto IFP Mosklo Darbai, III (1957) 139-170.

This article concerns itself with the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the sing. and plu. nouns denoting persons and animate beings of the animal kingdom in the Old Russian monuments of the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries.

The author investigates the substitution of the old acc. for the gen.-acc. case in the animate in the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian monuments of the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries.


The article examines the fate of vowel 'o' in the final syllable in the Common Slavic language.


The author discusses the origin of the identification of the nom. and acc. cases in the masc. sing. animate nouns in the Common Slavic language.

Muhlenbach, K. "Ob\u02c8 upotrebleni\u02c8 roditel\u02c8nago padezha v\u02c8m\u02c8\u02c8sto vinitel\u02c8nago v\u02c8 slavjanski\u02c8kh\u02c8 jazykakh\u02c8". Izvestija Otdel\u02c8nija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk\u02c8 (Hereafter referred to as IORJS, IV (1899), Book IV, 1192-1217.

The author proposes the view that, since the gen. and acc. case-forms of the interrogative, reflexive and personal pronouns were identical, they influenced the use of the gen. case in place of the old acc. case in the animate masc. sing. nouns.

Nekrasov, N. P. "O zam\u02c8\u02c8\u02c8nitel\u02c8nykh\u02c8 padezhakh\u02c8 roditel\u02c8nom\u02c8 i vinitel\u02c8nom\u02c8 v\u02c8 sovremennom\u02c8 russkom\u02c8 jazyk\u02c8". IORJS, X (1905), Book II, 31-65.

Nekrasov contends that the gen. sing. case used in the acc. function in the acc. function in the animate sing. masc. nouns is a partitive gen. case.

--------, "Po povodu dvukh\u02c8 statej A. I. Thomsona o rodi­
tel\u02c8nom\u02c8 padezhe", IORJS, XIV (1909), Book III, 35-74.

The author tries to justify his view expressed in the above article by pointing out inconsistencies in Thomson's semasiological theory concerning the substitution of the gen. for the old acc. case.

--------, "Ot\u02c8\u02c8v\u02c8t\u02c8 na stat\u02c8bju A. I. Thomsona". IORJS, XVII (1912), Book I, 190-214.
Nekrasov further maintains that Thomson's view regarding the substitution process is not convincing.


The author maintains that the nom. sing. case-ending -ь of the masc. -o-stems came not from the acc. sing. case of the same stems, but from the nom. sing. case of the -u-stem nouns.


This article deals with the problem of the simplification of the nom. and acc. plu. cases on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems in the masc. plu. nouns in the Old Russian language.


The author presents semasiological theory regarding the substitution process of the gen. case for the old acc. case in the masc. sing. proper and common nouns signifying persons.


In this article the author attempts to ascertain the nature and the usage of the gen. and acc. cases after verbs in the Common Slavic language.


The article discusses various means which were in the Indo-European and other languages to distinguish the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns whenever the above cases were identical.
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The author restates and amplifies his semasiological theory concerning the substitution process in the light of N.P. Nekrasov's criticism.

c. Book Reviews


The reviewer maintains that Kuznetsov's 'sociological' theory concerning the substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. case in the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons is unfounded and erroneous.


The author reviews Meillet's study and claims that the substitution process proceeded from the personal interrogative pronoun 'kže - kogo'.


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ABSTRACT OF

The Animate-Inanimate Category in the Proper and Common Animate Nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

by Michael Burtniak

The status of the animate-inanimate category in common and proper animate nouns, as it is set forth in the Laurentian (1377) and Hypatian (ca. 1420) is the problem investigated in this dissertation.

As a grammatical device, the animate-inanimate category meant that the nom. and acc. cases of the animate nouns were morphologically different, while in the inanimate nouns the same cases were identical. The distinction between the nom. and acc. cases precluded syntactical ambiguity in the animate nouns, and provided the basis for the adequate expression of the animate-inanimate category as it existed in the Indo-European and Common Slavic systems prior to the phonetic changes.

1Doctoral dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, 1972, xiii-298 pp.
A series of phonetic changes, which occurred in the late Common Slavic period, brought about the identification of the nom. and acc. cases in the masc. sing. and fem. plu. nouns denoting animate beings. In order to differentiate the subject and object cases in these nouns, a substitution process was introduced, first into the masc. sing. proper and common nouns denoting persons. The fem. plu. nouns denoting persons were affected by the substitution process at a much later time. The aim of the substitution process was to replace the old acc. case with the gen. case in order to re-establish the distinction in the subject and object cases, and to uphold the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns.

Since the substitution process was a gradual one, it affected specific animate nouns at different times. This research proposes to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in its new phase of development as it is reflected in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

The study consists of an introduction, eleven chapters, and a summary and conclusion.

In the introduction, the problem of the dissertation, its purpose and its importance are briefly stated. Next, an outline of the content of the chapters is presented. Finally, both the material and methodology to be used in the dissertation are described.

Chapter I, entitled "The Origin of the Problem", deals with three aspects of the animate-inanimate category. In
section one, the nature of the animate-inanimate category, as understood in the Indo-European system, is described. Section two discusses the phonetic changes which caused the identification of the nom. and acc. cases of various animate nouns in the late Common Slavic period. In the final section, attention is devoted to the emergence of the substitution process as a means of restoring the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns.

Chapter II is devoted to a critique of previous research which attempted to explain the origin of the substitution process. In each of the five sections of the chapter, a specific theory, advanced by one or more scholars is examined with respect to its merits and its contribution to the elucidation of the substitution phenomenon.

Chapters III through XI deal, whenever feasible, with the brief characterization of the substitution process and the animate-inanimate category in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic texts is presented. Then the substantive matter of the dissertation is discussed: the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

Since the substitution process gradually introduced the use of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old case, both cases were used for the acc. function. In an effort to determine which of the two cases was used more frequently, statistical data were assembled for every group of nouns.
As the frequencies of the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases were calculated and interpreted, they provided information concerning both the progress of the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in various animate nouns in the two Chronicles.

Specifically, chapter III discusses the substitution process which, with minor exceptions, was completed in the masc. sing. proper nouns denoting persons. The animate-inanimate category depended for its expression on the distinction between the nom. and gen.-acc. cases.

Chapter IV examines the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in different masc. sing. common nouns denoting persons. The findings reveal that the substitution process was almost complete and, therefore, the animate-inanimate category depended to a slight extent on the context.

Chapters V, VI, and VII deal with the substitution process as it was extended to the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons. From the evidence obtained, it is clear that the substitution process had already made its appearance. But the old acc. plu. case and its variants, rather than the gen.-acc. plu. case still predominated in the acc. function. Hence, the animate-inanimate category relied on the distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases, the context, and, to some degree, on the gen.-acc. plu. case.
In chapter VIII, masc. plu. nouns signifying various peoples are examined with respect to the substitution process. It was found that the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case was limited. In view of this circumstance, the animate-inanimate category was expressed, for the most part, through the distinct nom. plu. case and the variety of acc. plu. cases.

Chapter IX discusses the substitution process as it affected fem. plu. nouns referring to persons. Since the substitution process occurred marginally in these nouns, one can conclude that the animate-inanimate category depended mainly on the context for its expression.

Chapter X is devoted to the examination of the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in sing. and plu. nouns denoting children. The results of the findings show that the substitution process was present in both sing. and plu. nouns, but the old acc. case was still regarded as the norm for the objective function. Hence, the animate-inanimate category relied in the majority of instances on the context.

The summary and conclusion contains a brief resume of the chapter discussions, and remarks concerning the status of the animate-inanimate category as reflected in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.