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CHINESE LANGUAGE

Introduction, Grammar, Reader, and Vocabulary

by

John A. Vanderhoff

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CHUVASH MANUAL

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CHUVASH MANUAL
INTRODUCTION, GRAMMAR, READER,
AND VOCABULARY

by

John R. Krueger

(Indiana University)

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PREFACE

The first part of the present work has as its purpose to give a brief survey of the history, customs and more important facets of the Chuvash economic and political system. There are many problems in securing data on conditions of life and operation of many sectors of the economy in the Chuvash ASSR, since no non-Soviet nationals have, to my knowledge, visited there for many years. Further, the many books devoted to the USSR, Soviet and otherwise, do not generally give any special discussion of Chuvashia, but merely treat it as part of the over-all economic picture. Thus, I conclude that life in the Chuvash ASSR cannot differ substantially from life in other parts of the USSR, or RSFSR, and consequently, that which holds true for the region as a whole regarding many features must likewise hold true for the smaller Chuvash Republic as well.

According to 1960 information from Intourist, and from the consulates of the USSR in New York and Washington, Chuvashia is not a closed area. However, Gorky and the Mordvin ASSR to the west, and Kazan and the region as far as Sverdlovsk to the east, are closed areas, and since Chuvashia and its capital Cheboksary are not on any Intourist travel route, it is only theoretically possible to visit it. The writer's formal application of Spring, 1960, to visit Chuvashia, at the time of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow (August, 1960), was not approved. A second application has been refused submission by an official American representative of Intourist on the grounds that Cheboksary is not on the Intourist list of cities which may be visited.

The Introduction presumes no previous knowledge about Chuvashia, or indeed about the Soviet Union. For the benefit of those readers who may find it helpful, some sections have been prefaced with general explanations, as the fact that the USSR has a state-planned economy, or the outline of the Soviet educational system. I must make it clear that I have drawn freely for information on many existing standard reference works dealing with the USSR, including the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia and even the Encyclopaedia Britannica, both of which contained useful information not elsewhere found. Owing to the nature of this material, I have followed the practice of the Human Relations Area Files handbooks, and do not

indicate the sources of well-known statistics and geographical facts, except in some cases where the fact seems to require it. I should be glad to reconstruct from my own notes, files and drafts the source of particular statements for investigators.

In general, I have used Soviet sources cautiously, preparing, in fact, the first draft of the Introduction from Western sources before incorporating into it the material from the BSE (Great Soviet Encyclopaedia) and other Russian books. For instance, one encounters the statement in the BSE that Chuvash industry is well developed. In a certain sense, this is true, but since agriculture is the chief occupation of the country, and 80 pct of the population is rural, it is obvious that such a statement must be qualified to mean that Chuvash industry has greatly grown from its prerevolutionary state (as a matter of fact, in 1959 it was 84 times its size in 1913), and that Chuvashia cannot be considered an industrial center of the sort that its neighbor, Gorky, is. Soviet sources are fond of giving statistics in percentages, and stating proudly that the output of this or that increased 50 pct over some base year, without, however, giving the base year figures. In this work, only numerical figures are given, unless percentages are meaningful.

Pravda for 1960 has been scanned for items pertaining to Chuvashia and some useful facts about individual government figures have been found. From such references, plus the BSE and other Soviet books, a personality file of Chuvash figures, including deputies of the Supreme Soviet and Heroes of Socialist Labor, as well of government officials when their names are given, has been begun. Not all of these names have been included, but it is planned to continue this file, which can be made available for researchers.

I do not think that there is any particular reason for the relative inaccessibility of Chuvashia to foreigners: the quality of its agricultural output hardly qualifies it to be a breadbasket region like the extensive farming areas of the Ukraine, and it seems unlikely that it is important for strategic reasons, as being the site of missile bases or massed military camps. These possibilities cannot be excluded, none the less. My feeling is that Chuvashia is, after all, one of the rather unimportant and small areas of the USSR populated largely by its own people who, under Soviet law, have a guarantee to the continuation of their life, language, customs and cultural heritage. In spite of Chuvashia's relative unimportance, it is a part of the whole, a "cog in the machine," even if a small one, and may someday be the scene of important developments as yet unforeseen. Thus, we cannot neglect being informed about this people and region, and it is for this reason that the Introduction has been prepared.

The second part, Grammar, is intended as a practical introduction to the written Chuvash language for persons not necessarily specialists, who wish to acquire a reading knowledge of contemporary printed materials. The accompanying Reader contains texts of this sort, as well as of folktales and poems, since both sorts of text represent the same language in form and structure.

Attempts to locate speakers of Chuvash in the United States or in Western Europe have not as yet been successful. Thus, the present edition, in its grammatical portions, represents a general synthesis and reworking of existing notions about Chuvash from works in other languages (including native Chuvash grammars), tempered by the statement of such structural features of Chuvash as the writer has up to now discovered. Thus, for instance, it has been possible to describe the sounds of Chuvash only by deduction from the sometimes vague and imprecise descriptions given by other writers. The chief corpus for the phonology has been the semiphonetic material recorded by Paasonen in 1900, to which information from other sources has been added. Thus a strictly controlled corpus would not be possible here.

In spite of this general drawback (which I would hope to correct in a revision whenever a native speaker can be consulted), it is felt that the present work can definitely be used to acquire a general, if not an oral practical, knowledge of Chuvash. The student who may later have the opportunity to visit Chuvashia or otherwise to come in contact with Chuvash speakers ought soon to be able to overcome his limitations in this regard. The work is written with a view to the needs of those persons who may not have had the advantage of prior instruction in any other Turkic language, or in Russian or even a Western European language. Thus, it requires no special attainments on the part of the reader except willingness and capacity to learn. To this end, the student is warned in the work of various beginner's pitfalls, even though these remarks may not be necessary for every reader. It has not been possible completely to avoid familiar grammatical terminology, and to presume some acquaintance with this on the part of the reader, but the accompanying explanations and illustrations (frequently drawn from the Reader) may be of assistance.

To the linguistic specialist I would only say that my description is rather much an "Item and Process" one, although I have avoided depending exclusively on the methods of any one school of linguistics. I point out also that in the later units, I have not in every case stated the suffixes in terms of morphemes and morphophonemes, but instead have given tables of forms from which the student will readily deduce the formation of new items. To state the morphemes often

involves one in much use of zero allomorphs, and portmanteau morphemes, and these explanations are, I feel, of no practical value to the sort of student for whom this book is chiefly designed.

Since this work has been prepared entirely by me, I take full responsibility for the views presented. On several issues, I have taken a stand, even though I am not convinced that it is wholly correct. Hence, my view that palatalization is non-phonemic, or my treatment of voiced stops and fricatives as conditioned allophones to their unvoiced equivalents. Much of this can be readily resolved after actual work with Chuvash speakers. Finally, I must point out that the practical analysis of some endings, especially verbal ones, does not agree with the historical origin of these forms, which, for the present purpose, is not of much import.

The Reader is divided into two major portions reflecting the two basic types of material available today. The first section contains graded contemporary materials of political or mundane content, taken from modern Chuvash books, and of widely varying character. These twenty short selections (including two modern short poems) are all in the Cyrillic script. This section is not as long as might be desirable, because it is impossible to secure adequate materials from Chuvashia; for instance, no newspapers may generally be exported from an area of lower rank than a Union Republic. These selections are replete with modern Russian words, and in general have a fixed political orientation. The second section of the Reader is the folkloristic, which is not restricted to any time, and deals with the aspects of Chuvash daily existence and imagination found in folktales. This section contains two fairly long folktales, plus two texts with a religious base, thus reflecting the orientation of materials published in the preceding century, as well as about one hundred verses from the Chuvash romance poem, Narspi. The inclusion of a religious parable, with its simple style and familiar contents, is with no intent to proselyte, but may perhaps be justified on grounds of dearth of materials. It must be remembered that that selection is not a native text, but a translated one.

It must be made clear that, in spite of the two different types of reading material presented, there is no difference in language involved, but only one of content. Thus, learning to read folktales will prepare one to deal with the language as such, although it will be necessary to learn more modern words later.

The student may first attempt to prepare several paragraphs or passages with reference only to the accompanying Vocabulary and to the Grammar as needed. In so doing, he should try to analyze and understand every form and its usage. Depending on

his success at this endeavor, he may then or later refer to the translation of all selections to confirm his analysis, or to provide the answer to his problem. This process may be then repeated. Another way might be to read all the translations rapidly at a sitting to gain the general outline of the stories. Then, having some orientation in the subject (the captions provided may make this course unnecessary), the student may try to work them out. Finally, some time after the student has completed given selections, he should return to them and re-read them rapidly to develop his reading ability.

Accompanying the Reader and translations of the individual selections is a Vocabulary containing all words occurring in the Reader, as well as all, or nearly all, words occurring in the Grammar (some words, added in the final revision, were not included). Thus, it may function as a sort of Chuvash-English dictionary, to which the student may add additional words as he learns them. The Vocabulary, like the folkloristic reading selections, is given in Latin transcription, and in the Latin order of the alphabet. This is done, in the first place, because of the difficulty of preparing the Vocabulary on two typewriters, and secondly, because the Latin transcription is only a mechanical substitution of letters from one alphabet into the other. A little practice will enable the student quickly to find all words.

This study was prepared under the general supervision of Professor John Lotz of Columbia University's Uralic and Altaic language research center, operating under grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, contracting with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, as a part of the National Defense Education Act of 1956. As the work has been performed entirely by myself, I am solely responsible for its contents.

I acknowledge with thanks the assistance of my friend, William H. Dougherty (Santa Fe, N. M.), formerly vice-consul of the USA in Moscow, for scanning Pravda, September, 1960 and on, for items pertaining to Chuvashia, Yakutia and Mongolia. Pravda, January-September, 1960, has been scanned by myself.

I must also thank Citizen -----, of Leningrad, U. S. S. R., who specially secured for me some Chuvash books which were helpful in the preparation of this work. Finally, I dedicate this work to the memory of Professor Kaare Grónbech (1901-1957), with whom I first studied Chuvash at the Central Asian Institute (Copenhagen) in 1953.

Portland, Oregon
January 15, 1961

John R. Krueger

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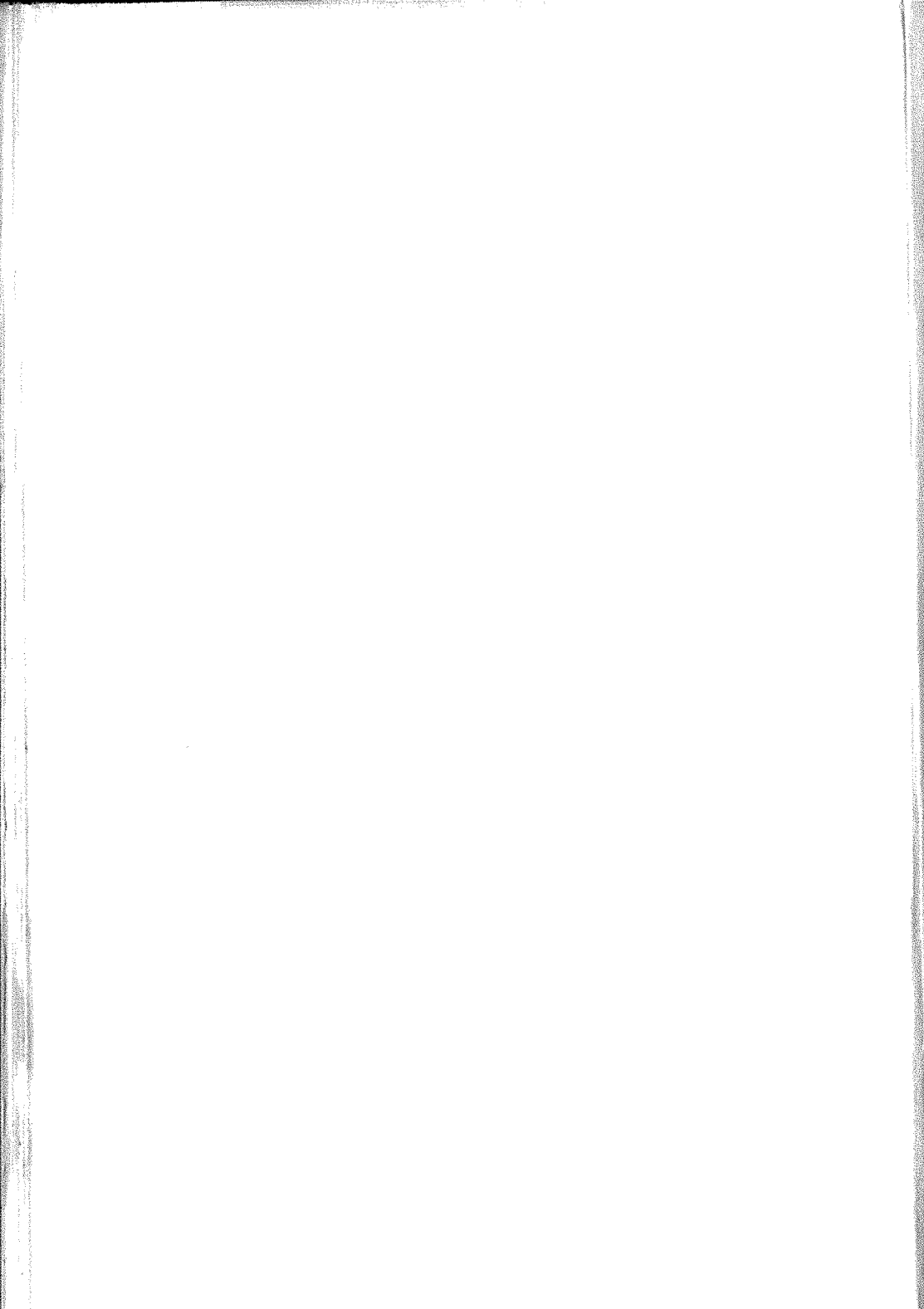
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PART I



CHUVASHIA

§ 1. The USSR and the RSFSR

Although Europe is merely the western portion of the vast Asian (or Eurasian) continent, it has traditionally been regarded as a separate continent, largely because of the differing ethnic composition of the inhabitants, some natural boundaries such as the Ural mountain range, and for historical, cultural and other reasons. Russia, in the original sense of the word, is European Russia, or only that portion of Eurasia lying east of Europe proper, but west of the Urals. What is generally known as Russia in the correct sense of the word is the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, or RSFSR, composing essentially the Great Russian core of the old Tsarist empire together with Siberia. The RSFSR, in turn, without the addition of fifteen other Union Republics of equal political rank (but of differing sizes and importance), located geographically on the periphery of the USSR, makes up the largest Republic of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and accounts for 75 pct of the area of the USSR. The Soviet Union, as it is usually called, is also frequently referred to in the press and by people at large as "Russia." Moscow, in addition to being the capital of the USSR, is also the capital of the RSFSR, and the seat of nearly all government ministries or departments, some of which exist in duplicate, one for the RSFSR and another for the USSR as a whole.

The Soviet Union, unlike the United States and most European countries, is a multi-national state, and not a single-nation state, because it contains a vast number of ethnic groups and nationalities. According to one source of 1941, there were 169 different races, nationalities and tribes, speaking about 125 languages and dialects. These figures, naturally, differ in different sources, because not all researchers agree on what may constitute a distinct national group, or even a language.

The USSR occupies one-sixth of the earth's surface, and has about 10 pct of the world's population. The population of the USSR was given in 1939 (which, up to now, has been the most recent year for which fairly authoritative figures were available) as 170 million; an official estimate of 1948 placed the population at 193

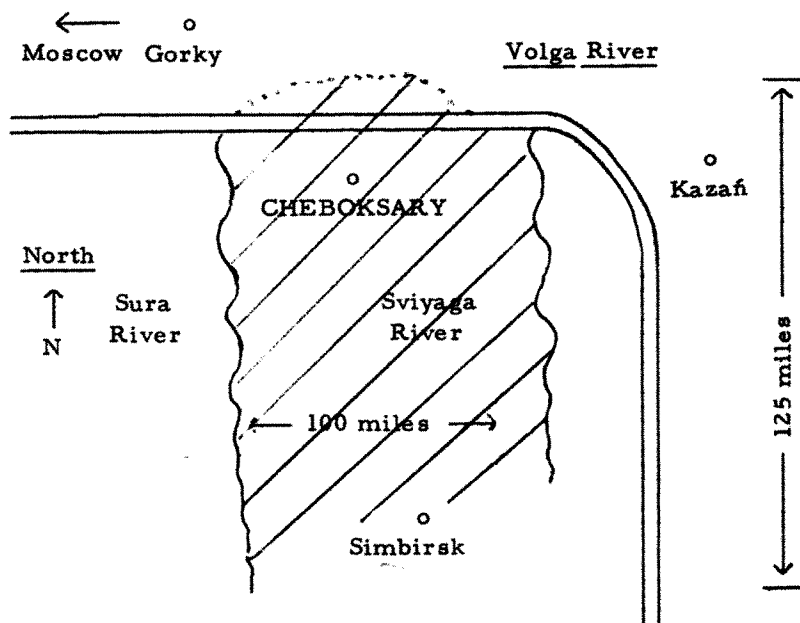
million, and a Soviet figure of 1956 gave the size of the population at just over 200 million. The figures of the 1959 census which have just been released show the population to be 208,826,650 persons. Russians constitute only about one-half (58 pct) of the population of the USSR (although they make up 3/4 of the membership of the Communist Party, and thus have an influence disproportionate to their numbers). The population of the RSFSR in 1939 was given as over 72 million rural and over 36 million urban, totalling over 109 million. In 1953, a deduction made from the number of deputies to the Supreme Soviet (the upper chamber of the highest legislative body) gave the population as 117 million. The 1959 census repeats this figure as 117,534,000 persons. Slavic groups (Russians, or, as they are often called, "Great Russians," plus Ukrainians, White Russians, or Belorussians, and a few others) make up 78 pct of the population of the USSR, and Russians alone 83 pct of the population of the RSFSR. The Chuvash, who will shortly form the particular object of discussion, comprise just under 1 pct of the population of the USSR, and 1.2 pct (in 1959) of the population of the RSFSR. The population of the USSR, it must be noted, is concentrated in a few places, because vast areas are not suitable for settlement. Thus, 48 pct of the population is in 6 pct of the area, and conversely, 2/3 of the USSR area has only 6 pct of the population.

The RSFSR is divided into many smaller administrative and political units of varying types, size and importance, which also change slightly from time to time. According to one recent count, there are 12 autonomous republics, 6 autonomous regions, 47 districts (oblast'), 6 territories (krai), and some other smaller units and self-governing towns. The autonomous republics (ASSR's) have, as their name implies, considerable freedom in some areas of government, but are responsible to the government of the RSFSR largely in areas involving state planning and government services. The Union Republics even have the right to secede (though it is very doubtful whether any would ever attempt to do so), to conduct independent diplomatic negotiations with other countries, and to have their own formations in the Red Army.

§ 2. Location of Chuvashia

The Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (or Chuvash ASSR), also called Chuvashia, is one of the subdivisions of the RSFSR, and was formed first as an autonomous area by decree

of June 24, 1920, and later declared an ASSR on April 21, 1925. Most of its present territory was part of the old Simbirsk province (guberniya) of the Tsarist regime, although the northern portion belonged to the old Kazan province. It is located in a sort of rectangle about 100 miles wide and 125 miles high, inside the crook of the Volga river, which, after leaving the Moscow region flows east and then bends south near Kazan to Ul'yanovsk and Kuibeshev. The Volga thus forms the northern boundary (a small section of the Republic lies on the other side of the river), a tributary of the Volga, the Sura River, flows north into it and forms the left or western boundary, and another tributary, the Sviyaga, likewise flows north, parallel to the Volga now flowing south, and forms part of the eastern boundary.



Thus, Chuvashia lies directly south of the Mari or Cheremis ASSR, east of the Mordvin ASSR (both of these are Finnic peoples, and have had considerable influence on the Chuvash as well as being influenced by them), and west of the Tatar ASSR, whose inhabitants are, like the Chuvash, a Turkic people, akin to the other Turks of the Central Asian plateau, and to the Turks of present-day

Turkey. The capital of Chuvashia is called in Russian Cheboksary (note that it declines like a plural, viz., в Чебоксарах), and in Chuvash Shupashkar (the name appears to be of Komi or Mari origin to judge from the suffix -kar 'city', as in Syktyvkar or Kudymkar in the Komi ASSR), and has a population of about 40,000, thus placing it in about the 200th rank of Russian cities. It lies about 375 miles (600 km.) due east of Moscow, on the outer edge of the railways encircling the national capital, but not itself on the main east-west line, the Trans-Siberian railroad, which runs instead to Kazan', an important city to the east in the Tatar ASSR. To the west lies the populous industrial center of Gorky (formerly Nizhnii-Novgorod), and to the south, Ul'yansovsk (once Simbirsk).

The national capital, Moscow, lies about equidistant between the western frontiers of the USSR and the Ural mountains, and Cheboksary lies about equidistant between Moscow and the Urals. Chuvashia is at a latitude of 54°-56° North, corresponding to Canada two or three hundred miles north of the American border, and on a par with Copenhagen and Edinburgh. It lies between 46°-48° of east longitude. The approximate coordinates of Cheboksary are 56° 9' north latitude by 47° 15' east longitude.

§ 3. History of the Middle Volga Region and Chuvashia

Although paleolithic man lived in Russia, it was not until the glaciers receded and the Neolithic Age began that the areas of central and northern Russia were opened to human settlement. Remains of a number of ancient prehistoric cultures have been discovered by Russian archeologists. Closer to our time, the vast interior zone of the Eurasian continent has through the centuries of the preceding and present millenia been subjected to the successive control of various nomadic military empires, such as the Huns, Avars, Khazars, Pechenegs, Cumans and Mongols, most of whom were Turkic peoples, or allied to the Turks linguistically or ethnically. The name of a people called Hsiung-nu appears in Chinese records as far back as 200 B. C., denoting a people to the west and northwest of China, and usually assumed to refer to the Huns. The name which is presumed to be that of the Turks, Chinese t'u-chüeh, does not appear until the 6th century A. D. These identifications are, of course, not certain, but it is definitely known that the general Central Asian plateau region was the scene of many tribal movements and migrations, with various Turkic empires rising and falling as

new groups came to the fore. Exactly which of these many groups became known to the Chinese must remain a matter for conjecture.

The Bolgar Turks (this spelling will be used to help differentiate from the Bulgarians of Bulgaria) were one of many such nomadic waves which swept westward over the steppes from the fourth to eleventh centuries. In the early seventh century, Bolgar tribes founded Great Bolgary (or Bolgar the Great), a kingdom which soon fell apart after the death of its leader, Kurt. Under pressure from the Khazars, another Turkic tribe to the south, the Bolgars broke up into various sections, one going north and settling on the middle Volga (whose name, some conjecture, stems from Bolgar), and several going west. One of the latter stopped in the lower Danube region in 678 A.D. (near present-day Rumania and Bulgaria), where they became known as the Danube Bolgars. This group was gradually absorbed by the indigenous Slavic population, and left only their name in Bulgaria as evidence of their existence. The other group on the Middle Volga became known as the Volga Bolgars, and are generally accepted to be the ancestors of the present-day Chuvash, although their kingdom, it must be noted, was largely on the left bank of the Volga, whereas the Chuvash ASSR today is on the right bank, the Volga Heights, an area held by the Finnic Mordvins in the 8th to 10th centuries. The two principal cities of the Volga Bolgars were Bolgar and Suvar (Suvar, with the characteristic change of original *r > z, became Suvaz, whence some would derive the present-day name čăvaš 'Chuvash', if this is not a Turkic or Mari loan). Bolgar was a large and important city, and even today, its ruins may be seen some 30 km. south of the confluence of the Kama and Volga.

It cannot be absolutely proven that the Chuvash are indeed the direct descendants of the early Bolgars, but it does seem very likely. Naturally, they have been subjected to much infusion and influence, not only from Russian and Turkic peoples, but also from neighboring Finnic tribes, with whom they were persistently and mistakenly identified for centuries, perhaps aided by the fact that the Chuvash language is a highly divergent form of Turkic, and was not easily recognized as such, all other Turkic languages except it and Yakut being quite close to one another. It might be a more cautious view, as some have suggested, to consider the Chuvash to descend instead from the autochthonous population of the region on which the Bolgars imposed their rule. There are others who claim that this reluctance to identify the present-day Chuvash

with the ancient Bolgars has been fostered by Soviet scholars under instructions to cast doubt upon the relationship, with a view to decreasing the fervent Chuvash nationalism which once drew on its proud history for sustenance.

Racially, the Chuvash seem to be a mixed Finnic and Turkic type, with rounded heads and generally flat features, and light eyes.

In the Kievan period of Russian history, that is, Russia from the 9th century Varangians down to the Mongolian invasion of the 13th century (more precisely, 878-1237), the Russians occupied the European part of Russia only, and not all of that. The Middle Volga region, as we have seen, was held by the Volga Bolgars, with whom the Russians had close commercial ties, and with whom they also occasionally fought, as in 965 when they plundered Bolgar, and again in 985 when a rather indecisive war was waged. The lower Volga region was still held by the Khazars, a powerful Turkic kingdom believed by most to have been linguistically allied to the Bolgars, but leaving no modern descendants. The Khazars had been converted to Judaism in 965, but the Volga Bolgars had accepted Islam in 922, thus becoming the northernmost outpost of that religion at that time. The Russians destroyed the Khazar kingdom at the end of the 10th century, giving themselves thereby an outlet to the Caspian sea.

The Volga Bolgars, like their neighbors the Cumans, were intermediaries between Russia and the Orient, and a commercial treaty between the Russians and the Volga Bolgars was signed in 1006. Beyond this Islamic zone east and southeast of Russia were other Turkic and Mongolian peoples engaged in their own struggles. Although there were economic ties between the Russians and the Volga Bolgars, religion was a great barrier to intellectual and social intercourse in this period, although much influence can be seen in the Oriental patterns of the decorative arts.

At the beginning of the 13th century, Russian-controlled territory extended east roughly in a line north and south, about half-way the distance between Moscow and Cheboksary, some 200 miles. The Russian princes would have subjected the Bolgars to their suzerainty with a view to having control over the entire course of the Volga (rivers throughout Russian history having been important avenues of communication, transportation and conquest), but this was not to be. In the 13th century, there occurred an event of truly earth-shaking magnitude, the Mongolian invasion. The Mongolian empire under Chinggis Khan (less correctly, Genghis

Khan) had rapidly expanded during his reign (1206-1227) from a loose confederation of Mongol and Turkic tribes to a powerful empire, which ranged from China as far as Kiev and the Dnepr River, controlling the entire steppe area. After Chinggis Khan died, his four sons divided up the empire, the region in which Chuvashia is located going to Juchi the eldest. He controlled the lands from Persia to the valleys of the Don and Volga rivers, and his kingdom became known as the Golden Horde (horde is from a Turkic word meaning the palatial tent of a ruler). Juchi's second son, Batu-Khan, succeeded his father and increased the territory of the Golden Horde during the early 13th century. It was at this time that both Bolgars and Russians fell victim to the Mongolian onslaught of Batu-Khan, which levelled Bolgar in 1236-1237. The entire region controlled by him rapidly became Turkicized and the Islamic religion introduced.

The Russian princes were completely subjected to the Golden Horde Khans, for they not only had to pay tribute to them, but their ascension to power had to be confirmed by the Khans, and a special trip for this purpose made. The Mongols did not however interfere in internal Russian affairs, as long as tribute was paid promptly. In the middle and end of the 14th century, the fortunes of the Golden Horde wavered owing to various quarrels about succession, and through increasing pressure brought by the Russian princes of the west. The Golden Horde began gradually to break up into smaller appanages, and a khanate formed in Kazań in the middle of the 15th century controlled the area of present-day Chuvashia. In 1480 the Russian princes flatly refused to pay any more tribute, and beginning an assault against this region in 1546, Ivan IV (the Terrible), led a successful attack in 1552 against Kazań, thus bringing this territory under Russian control for the first time.

The stretches of the Middle Volga were the scene of two or three centuries of intermittent struggle between the Russian conqueror-colonists and the Finnic and Turkic peoples, which did not really conclude until the last of the peasant uprisings had been quelled. The history of the 16th century is one of slow Russian advance eastward, gradually absorbing and Russifying the former Golden Horde areas. By 1650, Chuvashia seems to have been well-incorporated into the central Moscow state, or Muscovy. In the 17th century, there was much peasant unrest in many areas, especially along the Volga. A peasant revolt of 1667, led by the Cossack or frontiersman Stenka Razin (he famed in song), lasted for about three years, during which time he gained much control

over the middle and lower Volga region. The peasants continued to be mistreated and exploited under the serf system, and their discontent led to further revolts, such as the famous Pugachov rebellion of 1773, the central theme of Pushkin's story, "The Captain's Daughter."

As we have seen, this region of the middle Volga was among the first to witness an early Russification, and the introduction of Russian feudal institutions, against which the peasants later rose in repeated revolt. The economy of 17th century Russia was based on cultivation of the land by serf labor, the land being divided among the princes, the Church, the State, the Tsar and a few free peasants. Serfdom seems, however, to have applied only in part to the middle Volga region, for in 1781-1783, the northern Chuvash territory (of the Kazań guberniya or province) had less than 20 pct serf population; the southern territory (under the Simbirsk province) had more, between 20 and 40 pct. By 1860, this was up to 15 pct in the first case, and between 36 to 55 pct in the second. At the time of emancipation of the serfs in 1861 (curiously paralleling the freeing of the slaves in America), the nobility and gentry held the land, and serfs belonged to it as workers. Now the land has been nationalized and the farmers or peasants still do not own it, but cultivate for the state on collectively-operated farms (*kolkhozy*).

From the 17th century on, the history of the Chuvash region, divided between the Simbirsk and Kazań provinces, was completely merged with that of the Russian state, of which it formed an integral part, just as, let us say, Nebraska was a part of the United States after it was definitely settled and achieved statehood. Thus a history of the later times becomes largely a retelling of general Russian history until the formation of the Chuvash national state in 1920.

Conditions grew worse for the serfs, until they were eventually freed, but this only meant that the more capable peasants rose to the top by hard work (and good land), and that many poor people still remained. Russian industry, manufacturing and exploitation of natural resources developed during these centuries too, laying the foundations for a modern state. However, it was not until the Great October Revolution of 1917 that the new government began the programs which united the people under a new leadership, and raised Russia to its present position of world importance.

§ 4. Geography and Climate

The geography of the USSR may be divided into five lateral bands of climate, passing across the country from west to east, and of unequal width and importance. The first is the tundra, a narrow strip along the Arctic Ocean. The second is the forest zone, running from westernmost European Russia to the Pacific, and consisting of plains, and coniferous and deciduous forests. Chuvashia is located on the southern boundary of this zone. The third, fourth and fifth zones are the treeless steppe region, the desert and subtropical regions, and do not concern us here.

Chuvashia is thus located in what is usually called the Forest Steppe Zone, an area originally covered by deciduous forests, but now largely cleared for the present-day farmland. Large forest areas remain, especially in the southern and southwestern part of Chuvashia, but in the north and northeast, the forest area exists only in patches.

The Chuvash region being on the Volga is naturally drained by it and by its local tributaries, the Sura and the Sviyaga. There are quite a few other rivers or streams, whose valleys are at the lowest elevation of the area, having cut their way down from the higher elevation of the hills. These valleys average 150 to 200 feet above sea level. The Volga River traverses the Republic for about 80 miles in the north, a small portion lying on the other bank across from Cheboksary. The streams include the Sura, Sviyaga, the Big Tsivil, the Bezdna ('bottomless'), Kirya, Karla, Bula, Kubnya and others. The Sura is navigable throughout the 150 miles of its course in Chuvashia.

The middle reaches of the Volga from Gorky to Kuibeshev flow through a comparatively densely populated wooded steppe region, where expanses of forest land have been felled and the black earth is intensely cultivated. The stretches of farmland are broken by groves of trees and narrow strips of forest; here and there villages can be seen with their belfries rising. The Volga at this point varies from one to two miles in width, and lumber cutting has since 1931 not been allowed within one kilometer of the Volga on either side. The right bank of the Volga (facing downstream) is called the cliff bank; the left being the meadow bank, and rises high and steep up to 600 feet from an average elevation of 300-400 feet. The channel

for boats lies mostly near the right bank, which is subject to frequent landslides. No bridges cross the Volga in the territory of the Chuvash Republic. According to some recent maps in Pravda, various hydroelectric power installations are in process of construction in this area, and thus some new developments may be expected.

The altitude of the region in general averages from 300 to 500 feet, with heights up to 800 or even 1000 feet. The western (right, actually, southern at this point) bank of the Volga, the so-called Volga Heights, is considerably higher than the eastern bank (at this point, the northern), and secures a better rainfall for that area, making more agriculture possible. The Ural mountains are some distance from Chuvashia, but they do not, in any event, make a sharp climatic break between eastern Russia and western Siberia.

The climate of Chuvashia is of the cold temperate type, thus being not too favorable to agriculture, which fact, combined with the generally poor soil of the region, further restricts this main occupation of the province. The climate is formed by action of the Arctic and Western Atlantic air masses. The average temperature of winter is about 10° F., and of summer, about 65° F. The mean annual precipitation is 16-20 inches, of which 40 pct falls in the summer. In the period of October to April, or from 140 to 180 days each year, there is a snow cover, totalling 16 to 24 inches. In June and July there are frequent thunderstorms. The prevailing winds are southwesterly, and bring sand from the steppe in the hot summer, thus covering the crops with dust.

Chuvashia lies on about the 55th parallel of North Latitude, the same parallel as the lower part of Canada, passing about through the middle of the western provinces (British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba). Chuvashia is in the third hour zone from Greenwich, thus there is one hour's difference in time from Moscow, which is two hours from Greenwich Mean Time (GMT). Thus noon in Cheboksary is 9 a.m. in London, 4 a.m. in New York, and 1 a.m. in Portland, Oregon.

The best small map which is readily available is that in Volume 47 of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, facing page 448. The names of all cities, towns and villages in Chuvashia which are on this map have been pulled, and made into a gazetteer which will be found on pages 45-49 of the present work. Another simpler map giving only the chief cities and rivers accompanies this book (p. 44).

§ 5. Population and Settlement

The Chuvash ASSR covers an area of 6,909 square miles (18,300 sq. km.), and has always been densely settled. In 1913, there were 46.3 persons per square verst, in 1926, 48.9 per square km., and in 1939 between 52 and 78 per square mile. According to the most recent figures (of the BSE), most of Chuvashia ranges from 60 to 90 persons per sq. km., and the southwest forest portion, from 25 to 50 persons per square km.

The population is remarkable among regions of the USSR for having such a high percentage of persons of the dominant ethnic strain, there being about 80 pct speakers of Chuvash by national origin in 1926. The population is further a largely rural one, around 80 pct being located on farms and in rural communities. The urban population is thus largely a Russian one, 85 pct of the city-dwellers being Russian. Although Chuvashia has more native speakers of Chuvash than any other region, there are sizeable numbers of Chuvash in neighboring republics, especially in the Tatar ASSR to the east. Considerable numbers of Chuvash live in the Bashkir ASSR, in Ul'yanovsk (Simbirsk), Kuibeshev, and Saratov, and some in Siberia and other places. The writer has been unable to learn of any Chuvash colonies in Western Europe or in America, although there may be some individual Chuvash speakers in large Western cities.

Chuvashia is approximately the size of one of the smaller New England states, as, for example, Connecticut (5,000 square miles, ranking 48th in size out of 50), or a small eastern portion of a state such as Pennsylvania or Nebraska. It is considerably smaller than Belgium or Holland. In population its size compares with Nebraska and Colorado (1,325,000 in 1950), or with Oregon (1,521,000 in 1950).

Since there are considerable numbers of Chuvash speakers outside of the Chuvash ASSR proper, it is possible to give figures both for the population of Chuvashia as well as for the total number of persons professing Chuvash as their native tongue. To consider first the number of persons in Chuvashia, it is known that the old Simbirsk province in 1897 had a population of 1,527,848, and that the same census revealed a total of 843,755 speakers of Chuvash there and in other regions of old Russia. The Chuvash ASSR is, however, considerably smaller than Simbirsk province was. The

population of the Chuvash ASSR has been variously given as follows.

1926 census	894,479
1939 census	1,077,614
1941 estimate	1,132,360
1956 estimate (<u>BSE</u>)	1,095,000

In 1939, the population was divided 131,533 urban as against 946,081 rural. According to figures of the 1959 census, 90 pct of those claiming to be Chuvash consider the Chuvash language to be their native tongue.

The apparent loss in population between 1941 and 1956 may perhaps be explained by inaccurate estimation, as the Chuvash region was never invaded by the Germans, and apparently did not suffer serious war deprivations or from scorched earth policies. (The Germans, on the other hand, were making serious preparations to bring the Chuvash under their control when they had ultimately advanced to their territory, by preparing grammars, Chuvash phrasebooks, and by giving classes in the language.) There has also been in the USSR a considerable exodus of persons to larger centers of population, and this may explain the apparent loss of numbers.

The growth of the number of Chuvash speakers, in all regions wherever they may be, may be shown as follows.

1892	752,300	(For six provinces only)
1897	843,755	
1920	1,062,005	
1926	1,117,419	
1939	1,367,930	
1941	1,437,424	Estimated.
1959	1,470,000	From 1959 census.

Thus we may reckon the number of speakers of Chuvash at nearly a million and a half, or perhaps as a million and a quarter, because, according to the last census, only 90.8 pct of them considered Chuvash to be their native language. This would mean that the Chuvash ASSR would contain just under one million Chuvash who still used Chuvash as their native tongue.

Chuvashia is represented according to its population in the upper chamber of the Supreme Soviet, and according to its regional status in the lower chamber (the Soviet of Nationalities), which has 657 electoral seats. The sixteen Union Republics are entitled to 25 seats each, the ASSRs like Chuvashia to 11 seats each, and so

on down to the smallest areas with one deputy each. According to one source, 11 deputies of 16 were Chuvash by origin, but it was not clear of which house these representatives were deputies.

§ 6. Cities and Towns of Chuvashia

CHEBOKSARY, the capital on the Volga, founded 1555, is the administrative center of Chuvashia, and has a population of about 40,000. It has a radio station, daily papers, a theater and a museum. There are also sawmills, printing works, and small industries devoted to dried fruits, starch and syrup, alcohol, flour and leather goods. There is an oil-pressing factory, some steam flour mills, and small-scale hemp, fulling and metal industries. There is a cotton fabric plant, and a textile combine. There is also minor production of electric appliances; tractor spare parts, liquor, vodka and beer, pastry and macaroni, and stockings.

KANASH (formerly Shikhra), south of Cheboksary, is a timber and grain center, and because it is the junction of several railway lines (including the Trans-Siberian which passes through it from Gorky on its way to Kazan), is the site of an important railroad car repair works, begun in 1936, which repairs one-seventh of the railway cars in the USSR. As 1,130 workers were reported as being Stakhanovites (those superior in production to assigned quotas), there must be several thousand in all employed at this repair works. The population of Kanash is around 35,000. There is also some grain-milling, a foundry and welding works, meat processing, bread and poultry plants, and a motor repair works.

ALATYR, in the southwest of the Chuvash ASSR, has metal-working and sawmilling industries, and manufactures clothes and knitted goods. It has an important locomotive repair works, founded before the Revolution (as one worker was reported with 30 years of service, this must be correct). Its population is about 40,000, and according to one source, even larger than Cheboksary. There are also starch and syrup works, dried fruit processing, a footwear factory, and a tobacco (makhorka type) plant. Alatyry also manufactures skis and accordions.

SHUMERLYA is an important site for the making of furniture, and as 500 men are reported as having overfulfilled the five-year plan, there must be up to several thousand people employed in this furniture works. The population is about 10,000. There is also a brick works and a tannin-extract factory.

Other cities contain such things as a shipbuilding yard, and a chemical plant making phosphate meal from the phosphor deposits of Chuvashia, as well as other chemicals from the oil shale deposits extensive there. The locations of these are not known. In Kozlovka, there is a house-building combine which makes prefabricated houses for transshipment to treeless areas of the USSR, as the Donbas, the Urals, Bashkiria, etc. In Vunary there are important chemical works. In the towns of Shorkistry, Ivanovo and Cheboksary there are brick plants. Tsivilsk has a cotton fabric plant, as does Sundryr'.

Chuvashia is further subdivided into smaller districts called regions (raion), of which there are 26, corresponding to counties in the United States. Their names will be found in the Gazetteer.

§ 7. Natural Resources; Fauna

As briefly noted before, Chuvashia is predominantly an agricultural and forested region, and is not rich in natural resources such as coal, oil or metals, at least, not in sufficient amounts to be mentioned in economic geographies of the USSR. In spite of the forests covering one-third of the Republic, there does not appear to be any large-scale paper industry (there is some), and most of the wood goes into local building (Russia is poor in building stone anyway). There do appear to be deposits of phosphates, cement, raw materials and oil shale. The oil shale, a low calorie type of local fuel, with a low heat value and a high ash content, exists in fairly large reserves along the right bank of the Volga (mostly near Ul'yanovsk, now no longer a part of the Chuvash ASSR), and extraction from this shale is underway. Deposits of peat have been found, and the reserves are calculated at 46,814,000 cubic meters.

The local lumber is processed in sawmills along the rivers, and some is sent to paper mills in Gorky. There are also paper, cellulose and woodworking plants at Shumerlya in Chuvashia. The oak, pine and other trees grown in the southwest are used largely for the furniture industry, and for railroad ties. The timber growth of Chuvashia is given as oak, 23 pct, birch 21 pct, linden 14 pct, plus other trees such as alder.

Industry of the heavier sorts does not exist on any scale, although there is considerable light manufacturing. Gorky to the west, however, manufactures motor vehicles, tractors, diesels,

airplane engines, barges and steamers. The gross output for all industry in Chuvashia was divided as follows for 1956:

1. metalworking	15	pct
2. chemical	11	pct
3. woodworking	16	pct
4. textile	12	pct
5. food industry	22	pct
6. construction & other	24	pct
	100	pct

The timber resources of Chuvashia, much like those of this country in earlier days, were seriously endangered at one time because of poor cutting, and lack of any planned program of tree replacement. A recent report by an American West Coast lumber expert who visited timbering areas in the USSR stated that logging methods there were similar to those employed in this country 75 years ago, that is, with widespread indiscriminate cutting in the areas close to industrial development, leaving further areas in the hinterlands untouched. If this is true of Russian logging as a whole, one may also expect it to be true of the Chuvash timbering industry. No doubt progress is being made to overcome these poor practices, but no information about any replacement program has been noted. Pictures in Chuvash books show lumbermen using portable power saws, apparently chain-driven from a small internal combustion engine. Other pictures show the widespread use of cranes and trucks in the processing of timber.

The soil resources available to Chuvash agriculturalists cannot be compared to those of the great central Chernozem region (the rich black soil of the Ukraine), but are podsolized or degraded soils of an ash-gray color, and leached black soils.

No report has been found to indicate that there is any sizeable production of power in Chuvashia, as hydroelectric or other. There are, of course, local electric plants, as in Cheboksary, for domestic needs. Hydroelectric power is not feasible for year-round operation because of the rivers being frozen four to six months of the year, during which time solid fuel must be used. Moreover, the Volga is exceptionally wide at this point, which would make damming difficult, from Gorky on to Ul'yanovsk. According to a 1953 report (Sredneye Povolzh'e, p. 245), a powerful hydroelectric station was to be built at Cheboksary, but no further information has been found. There is, for instance, a small hydroelectric

station on the Bula river operated by and for the Voroshilov Kolkhoz of Yantikovo village, Yal'čik district. In four years of the five-year plan, 66 such kolkhoz electric plants were built, and 22 fuel-operated plants. 163 of 755 kolkhozes are electrified (or about 22 pct), and 14 or 32 machine-tractor stations are electrified, or about half.

Pravda of November 2, 1960 (p. 3), in an article dealing with electrification, shows that some electric power plants have been constructed in the Chuvash area, but as the map is small and the scale is large, it is not known exactly where these are or how large they may be.

Fauna

The natural fauna found in the Chuvash woods include fox, lynx, badger, wolf, brown bear, elk, squirrel, and several kinds of grouse. On the steppe region, there are gophers, marmots, polecats, hamsters, quail and lark. Along the rivers live otters, water rats, muskrats, mink, ducks and beaver. In the rivers may be found carp, chub, pike and perch.

§ 8. Occupations of the Chuvash

The customs of the Bolgars on the Volga were very similar to those of the Khazars. They traded, fished and cultivated the land. In summer they took to their horses and lived in the steppes, and in winter they lived in their towns. The steppe dwellers were herdsmen and horse- and cattle-breeders, and occasionally the two groups came into conflict. In the 1400's the Chuvash were engaged in animal trapping in the forests, and in agriculture, the latter of which was their chief occupation. The non-Russian peoples here formed compact islands, and were both numerous and contiguous to each other. It was in the towns that the majority of Russian settlers were and continue to be. In addition to agriculture, there were in the towns and cities small numbers of carpenters, bridge-builders, saddlers, boot and shoemakers, makers of household utensils, potters, tailors, bakers and various village smiths and artisans. Wooden articles, as furniture, barrels, wagons and shovels were widely made.

In their cultivation of the land, the peasants employed simple techniques like those of other countries, as using an animal-drawn wooden plow to turn over the soil, and some other crude agricultural implements, as hoes and sickles. Such a type of agriculture could

support only a few persons, leaving little for marketing or barter for other needs. What was not used for one's own consumption went to the Church, the State and for other taxes in kind.

Until very recent times, Russia and the USSR were a land of peasants, or farmers, in which the land, not the town, predominated. In the 19th century, some important urban centers devoted to industry and with an urban population did arise, but not until after the Great October Revolution did people move in large numbers to the cities. Whereas 4/5 of the population lived in the country in 1926, now over 1/3 of the population is in cities of over 100,000 persons. In 1863 there were 13 cities over 50,000, in 1897, there were 44, and in 1939, there were 175 cities of more than 50,000. According to the 1959 census, 48 pct of the population is urban.

Before the Revolution, there was hardly any use of agricultural machinery, plowing being done with small wooden plows, and most harvesting done with scythe and sickle. Now farming equipment is concentrated in the Machine Tractor Stations (MTS's), which may serve twenty or thirty collective farms (kolkhozy) in that area. There are 32 MTS's in Chuvashia. These MTS's are operated by the state, and work under contract to the kolkhozes to do a certain amount of work within a certain period. The advent of large-scale mechanization did away with the three-field system and the old strip-farming technique of the peasant. The land under cultivation has been increased, as has the harvest yield per acre, and the animal husbandry has been improved.

§ 9. Agriculture

In old Russia, peasants lived together in small villages forming communities of farmers. They employed largely the three-field system in which the land was divided into winter wheat and winter rye, another in spring crops, and the third being left fallow. Crops were then rotated from field to field. The land was usually divided into many small strips, each peasant having a number placed at random over the fields, which made them lose much time as they went with their tools from strip to strip. The strips could not be consolidated because the quality of various fields varied, and this might result in an inequitable distribution.

As early as the 15th and 16th centuries, the members of the peasant community were bound by an obligation to pay taxes to the state. The major landowners were the Tsar, the landholding

nobility and the monasteries. The serf system, which was little short of slavery, had arisen as a requirement for a social organization that would provide military manpower, and enable the state to receive taxes whereby it could carry on armed conflict. Many restrictions against the enserfed peasants continued to be passed, until finally their burden became truly intolerable. It was not easy, however, to cast off the entire system, although many leaders recognized it as inhumane, because of the serious social problems that doing so would entail. Serfdom was finally abolished in 1861, and land allotted to the peasants under a sort of 49-year mortgage which repaid the feudal owners in part for their loss.

The abolition of distinctions attendant upon emancipation enabled those peasants who were smarter or had better land than their neighbors to rise gradually above them, by controlling more property, and even employing other peasants to work for them. Thus, by 1900, there were about one million rich peasants whose holdings were nearly six times as large, on the average, as that of a small peasant (126 acres vs. 19 acres). These peasants later became known as kulaks.

Under such a system of privately operating individual agriculture, it was difficult for the state to make 25 million individual peasants grow crops as needed for the nation's economy, instead of as they singly wanted to grow them, considering their potential profit. It was thus some years after the Revolution that the Soviet government introduced a program of collectivization, whereby farmers were united into larger groups to farm state land, and thus to produce what the planned economy of the state dictated. One can imagine how bitterly this program was resisted, but in the end, force prevailed, although the Soviet régime (as in the case of its battle against religion) had to compromise, and allow peasants small individual plots to till for themselves several days a week, working the state lands the remaining days. These plots vary from 1/2 to 2 and 1/2 acres (1 hectare maximum), and may even include a few head of livestock. As part of collectivization, it was necessary to eliminate the kulaks (who had the most to lose and naturally fought the hardest), even to the extent of mass killings and deportations to other parts of the USSR. Although suffering setbacks, the Soviet program eventually triumphed, and by 1936, over 90 pct of the peasantry was collectivized.

According to 1938 figures, Chuvashia is located in that region of the USSR in which land is most heavily cultivated, from 60 to 80 pct being in crops. In the eastern portion of Chuvashia, over

80 pct is in grain, with somewhat less, 70 to 80 pct, in the western portion, of the total area sown. Relatively little wheat, in comparison with the great wheat areas, is grown, this ranging from none to 30 pct in different areas. Rye is more widely grown, over 30 pct being devoted to this crop. Oats ranges from 10 to over 20 pct in places. Less than 10 pct is in barley, and potatoes range from 3 to 10 pct of the crop. Pasture and meadow land constitute from 10 to 20 pct of the total agricultural land in Chuvashia, and 5 to 10 pct is devoted to fodder crops (food for animal consumption).

According to 1956 figures from the BSE, of the total field area, 48 pct is plowed, 32 pct forested, 4 pct is in hay land, and 6 pct in pasture. Grain accounts for 62 pct of the plowed area, with 12 pct in potatoes and vegetables, 23 pct in fodder, and 3 for technical purposes (buildings and the like). The grain figure is broken down further into 47 pct winter rye, 22 pct oats, 15 pct spring wheat, and 8 pct legumes. Kolkhozes, or collective farms, have four subsidiary operations: cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry.

In 1956, a program to grow corn in Chuvashia began, and appears to have been rather successful (see detailed article in Pravda, February 5, 1960, page 3 bottom).

As can be seen from the foregoing, the main crops are rye, oats and potatoes, with some growing of flax in the northwestern portion. There is also production of pigs, cattle and poultry with its attendant eggs, but this seems to be largely for kolkhoz and individual consumption. The State Incubator and Poultry Station sends 120,000 chicks annually to kolkhozes.

Small amounts of buckwheat, spelt, hemp and tobacco, peas and lentils are also grown, as well as berries, honey, and apples in small quantities. Chuvashia is among the leading producers of hops in the Soviet Union, supplying 25 to 40 pct of the crop grown in the RSFSR. Some success in growing the dandelion-like plant kok-sagyz, a source of natural rubber, has been had, but the chief production of this seems to be further south than Chuvashia. A small silk industry also functions in the south of Chuvashia.

According to one source (the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 5, pp. 689-690), Chuvash horses, sheep, cattle and pigs are underfed and undersized, but cattle, meat, wood and hides are exported anyway.

The chief imports are salt, kerosene and ironwares. There are many bazaar centers, and several large annual fairs, the biggest being that of Cheboksary.

The number of cattle announced in early 1960 as the target goal for 1960 was 12,000 head, to be a 22 pct increase over previous holdings.

§ 10. Living Standards and Medical Services

The general living standard in Chuvashia is quite low, and comparison with life in the United States is hardly possible. Incomes are low, people are poorly dressed in rough materials with little style, and streets are mostly dirt, with a few paved roads in the towns. The inhabitants are simple farmers without much contact of any sort with the outside world, except that provided by Soviet sources. Production of consumer goods has always been low, and what is produced seems to be, from most reports brought back from other places in the Soviet Union, dismally low in quality. Housing conditions are not good, and this is in general one of the worst features of Soviet life. In the cities, people live in overcrowded flats, with very poor sanitary facilities, and production of new housing units proceeds slowly. On the farms, conditions may be better or may be worse. In previous centuries, the Chuvash traditional dwelling was a wooden hut-like affair, and garments were largely homespun cloth. Now wooden houses seem to have replaced most huts, and factory-made clothes the homespun.

The diet of the average peasant is formed largely from potatoes and rye bread, with cabbage soup to which beet root or some meat may be added. In general, bread and cereal products provide the bulk of calories available to Soviet people. Meat, especially milk and dairy products, fruit and vegetables are available only in small amounts. As time goes on, however, more and more canned meat, foods and fruits are becoming available.

The practice of medicine in the USSR is completely socialized, and is financed by the state budget. Nearly all physicians in the Soviet Union are women, thus freeing men for other duties. The standard of medical care for the general public does not seem to be high. It is difficult to make comparisons between Soviet and Western medical personnel and facilities because physicians do not seem to be as highly trained as Western (especially American) doctors, and because there are many low-grade medical personnel, as the fel'dsher, a sort of medical technician and orderly, who may man a small health station by himself. Figures on building facilities include not only hospitals, but all sorts of dispensaries and first-aid

stations. Thus, it is not easy to interpret this material without many qualifications.

In 1913, 326,000 rubles were spent on health services. In 1952, this amount had risen to about 300,000 rubles daily. In pre-revolutionary Chuvashia, there were 19 hospitals with 486 beds, and in the rural districts, 12 hospitals with 251 beds, 98 doctors and 98 fel'dshers and nurses. Malaria and small pox were widespread. In 1956, there were 111 hospital institutions with 4,500 beds, including 79 rural hospitals and dispensaries with 2,055 beds.

In prerevolutionary Chuvashia, the eye disease trachoma was very widespread. This is a contagious form of conjunctivitis with painful inflammatory granulations on the eyes. This epidemic occurred in the latter part of the 19th century, and afflicted 50 pct of the population, and up to 80 or 90 pct in some districts. It has since been brought under control, but the presence in Cheboksary of a research institute for trachoma with 100 beds must indicate that this disease still occurs in sufficient quantities to warrant special facilities for its treatment. Some 4 dispensaries for treatment of trachoma are also found in Chuvashia, as well as 870 trachoma first-aid stations (punkty) staffed by nurses, which would also lend support to the idea of its current prevalence.

There are also dispensaries for other ailments, as 5 for tuberculosis, 7 for skin and venereal, 1 psychoneurological, and 625 midwifery stations. The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia (BSE, Vol. 47, p. 452) also lists many other kinds of small places of such treatment.

There were 750 doctors in Chuvashia in 1956, aided by 4,400 medical workers of medium (srednye) training, and two medical schools. The amount budgeted for medical and health work in 1956 was 106,917,000 rubles. The number of doctors in the USSR per 10,000 population, according to the 1959 census, was 17.3, as opposed to 12 in the United States.

In September, 1960, Associated Press carried a report from TASS, the Soviet News Agency, about the replacement of a human eye lens with a glass substitute, in a 12-year old girl. This was performed in the Helmholtz Eye Diseases Research Institute of Cheboksary in Chuvashia.

§ 11. The Economic System

The Soviet Union is a socialist state, made possible (theoretically) by workers and peasants seizing power to form a government.

The transition to communism remains yet to be achieved, and will be realized when people sufficiently observe the new social order and become so productive as to work according to their abilities in order to receive according to their needs.

The Soviet economy is a planned economy. State planning means that the state draws up integrated output plans for the national economy, and directs and controls all production, including agriculture, transport, foreign trade, banks and currency. It decides all questions of investment and credit, of construction and reconstruction, and fixes wholesale and retail prices. The national economic planning board (GOSPLAN), also breaks down the Union-wide plan into smaller plans for Union Republics, ASSR's and other units.

A serious deficiency of the economy, from the viewpoint of the average citizen, is the emphasis given to production of industrial goods and the needs of heavy industry, machinery and armaments, thus neglecting capital goods and consumer goods considerably.

The banking system and taxation measures of Chuvashia are handled as part of the over-all Soviet economy. Banks, unlike those in the West, do not provide money to finance private undertakings for profit, requiring the employment of others, as no private enterprise may be undertaken for profit. Banks, in addition to being depositories for private savings, are the basic source of short-term credit for all institutions in the USSR.

The largest source of revenue in the Soviet Union derives from the turnover tax, which basically taxes goods in the process of their manufacture when they are "turned over" to another enterprise for distribution or further processing.

The regular currency and coinage of the USSR circulates in Chuvashia.

§ 12. Transportation and Communication

Waterways have traditionally, throughout Russian history, been important channels of communication, conquest and commerce, and even though they are frozen over four to five months of the year, are very important for internal commerce. They are not important as exits to the outer world, because most of them empty into the Arctic ocean, or into the Black or Caspian seas. The Volga River, which runs past the Chuvash ASSR, carried half the river fleet of the USSR before the Second World War. However, it does not seem to be an important factor in the Chuvash economy, because once

started, cargoes do not usually stop until reaching their destination. The use of water transport is largely for bulky freight, as coal, lumber and cement, of which some, as lumber, does originate from Chuvashia. According to the BSE, only 15 pct of freight from Chuvashia goes by waterway.

Roads in the USSR are mostly unsurfaced, and consequently impassable at bad seasons. There are few private passenger cars, and little use of motor vehicles for such private passenger transport (the basis of such a large industry in the United States). Trucking, however, is very important for delivering goods to and from factories, and from farms to railroad stations. In 1956, auto transport accounted for 52 pct of Chuvash freight movement. Roads for auto transport totalled 11,000 km. in 1956, and according to several sources, are described as good to excellent in Chuvashia.

The chief roadways for freight have the routing: Gorky to Yadrin to Cheboksary to Tsivilsk to Kazan, and the routing Tsivilsk to Kanash to Ul'yanovsk. There is a system of autobus transport, and the chief buslines run as follows:

1. Cheboksary—Kananash
2. Cheboksary—Yadrin
3. Kananash—Batyrevo
4. Yadrin—Shumerlya
5. Shumerlya—Poretskoye
6. Poretskoye—Alatyr.

Chuvashia is something of a rail center and junction, for three lines intersect at Kananash, no doubt occasioning the construction of the railway car repair works there. The chief west-east line bisects the Chuvash ASSR, entering west of Shumerlya, going to Kananash, and out of Chuvashia in the northeast on its way to Kazan. This line may be considered part of the Trans-Siberian railway connecting Moscow with the East, except that the Trans-Siberian Railway proper does not begin until Omsk, there being several alternate routes from Moscow to Omsk, of which the one passing through Chuvashia is only the middle route. According to a 1940 source, this portion was single-track from Gorky to Kazan, but it would seem likely that it is now double-tracked, as is the Trans-Siberian even in the more remote eastern regions. A second railway line enters Chuvashia from the south at Alatyr, and goes to Kananash, where it joins the railway to Kazan and other points east. Lastly, there is a northern spur line connecting Kananash with Cheboksary, thus giving Cheboksary its rail outlet to the rest of the USSR.

The BSE does not give any figure for the percentage of freight moved by the Chuvash railways, but if trucking accounts for 52 pct, and waterways for 15 pct, the balance of 33 pct must fall to the railroads. Passenger traffic is low, and this is because little travel for purely pleasure or personal reasons is undertaken in the Soviet Union in general. Travel is further restricted by the need for various permits to leave one's district.

The use of airways for freight and passengers has greatly increased in the USSR, but there does not seem to be any air service to Chuvashia. Kazan is an intermediary point serviced by Aeroflot airlines, but in the maps examined by the present writer, no airfields are shown in Chuvashia. However, from a statement made concerning the number of medical stations, one may deduce the presence of at least one airfield, as one medical station for aviation is listed. This field would probably be located at Kanash or at Cheboksary. The Soviet press does not customarily report accidents on land, sea or air, unless foreigners are aboard whose death must be made a subject of notice to their governments. Such a crash occurred near Kanash in late 1958, when a TU-104 crashed killing 65 persons, including a delegation of important Chinese Communist officials.

The functions of postal, telegraph and telephone services, as well as radio and television broadcasting are owned and operated by the government as part of the national economy and administered by the Ministry of Communication. Newspapers are distributed largely by mail, as presumably are also other periodicals, whether Chuvash or national. Telephone communication connects Moscow with all provincial centers, including Cheboksary. All cities of significant size have local 'phone systems, but in general, telephones exist for official and business purposes, and their use for private calling and personal affairs is minor.

Radio broadcasting diffuses government propaganda, educational material, and entertainment for all citizens. Chuvash broadcasting began in 1932 and is in Chuvash and Russian. Usually, the radios are not individual sets such as Americans or Western Europeans are accustomed to, but are merely loudspeakers which cannot be adjusted to various frequencies, but are tuned to one station at a central receiver. They play in factories, homes, schools and on public squares. There is no information as to whether any television broadcasting is available to Chuvash citizens, although Moscow, Leningrad and Sverdlovsk have their own programming, and a cable connects Moscow and Kiev. Commercial television is, in any event, nonexistent.

§ 13. Governmental Structure and Leading Personalities

Chuvashia is a socialist state of workers and peasants. The functioning constitution was adopted July 18, 1937, by the Extraordinary Eleventh session of Soviets of the republic, and ratified June 2, 1940 by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR. The political basis of the government is the soviets (or councils) of worker deputies who seized power from landholders and capitalists, forming a dictatorship of the proletariat and freeing the Chuvash people from the oppressive yoke of Tsarism and Russian imperialistic exploitation. All power belongs to the workers in the form of soviets.

The organs of state power are the supreme soviet of the republic (the only legislative body), and the presidium of the supreme soviet of the republic (not to be confused with the Supreme Soviet of the USSR). The deputies are elected by the citizenry to a four year term at the rate of one deputy to each 12,000 inhabitants. The presidium is elected by the supreme soviet, and consists of the chairman of the presidium, two deputy chairmen, a secretary and twelve members. The Soviet of ministers is the executive organ of state power, and executes the programs of the government.

National courts administer justice, as does the supreme court of Chuvashia, as well as specialized courts of the USSR. Proceedings, are conducted in the Chuvash language, except for regions populated chiefly by Russians or by Tatars, whose languages are used. All persons are entitled to the use of interpreters and to address the court in their native tongue.

The local governmental structure of an ASSR is composed of ministries similar in function and purpose to their counterparts in the RSFSR and the USSR. In Chuvashia, these include such ministries as the ministry of agriculture, of education, of culture, and so on. There is, however, no ministry of the army, as the army and its administration is not a duty of the Chuvash ASSR or of any ASSR. The armed forces of the USSR do include, of course, those persons conscripted from Chuvashia, the strength of this contingent being a function of the population size.

Some of the leading political and other figures of Chuvashia whose names have been gleaned from the Soviet press and other sources are the following persons.

Leonid Aleksandrovich BORODIN is the Secretary of the Chuvash Regional Committee (obkom) of the Communist Party. Petr Vladimirovich VLADIMIROV is the Minister of Agriculture of the

Chuvash ASSR. Anatolii Sergeyevich ERLAKOV was the Chairman of the Soviet of Ministers of Chuvashia in 1959, and G. I. KONDRAT'YEV is the chairman of the Soviet of Ministers of Chuvashia in 1960. Semën Matveyevich ISLYUKOV is the first secretary of the Chuvash regional committee of the Communist Party. Anisim Mitrofanovich SHORNIKOV is in charge of the agricultural section of the Chuvash regional committee of the Communist Party.

An important figure in Chuvash agriculture is Sergei Ksenontovich KOROTKOV, a poor peasant elected chairman of the Kol'tsovka kolkhoz in 1929. He later became deputy of the supreme Soviet, and at least twice has been named Hero of Socialist Labor: In 1960, he was several times reported as being chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz in the Vurnary region, and has written a number of articles on Chuvash agriculture in the Soviet press. The Soviet press reported Korotkov's death on July 3rd, 1961. No replacement has yet been announced.

§ 14. Chuvash Nationalism

Owing to the fact that the Chuvash language, although belonging to the Turkic family, is a very differing form of Turkish not comprehensible to neighboring Turkic peoples, such as Tatars and Bashkirs, the Chuvash have stood somewhat outside the pale of Turkic peoples, among whom from time to time various pan-Turkic and nationalist movements have arisen. The Chuvash never participated in any of these movements, because they were glorying in their own past as the descendants of the once mighty Bolgar empire, especially in the years following the Great October Revolution.

After the Revolution, the Soviet régime allowed many peoples of the USSR to change their previous designations to ones more indicative of their own past and ones in harmony with their own language. Thus, the Samoyeds, whose name in Russian means "self-eaters" or cannibals, assumed their proper tribal name of Nenets, the Koryaks became the Nymylans, and so on. In line with these changes, the Chuvash wanted to adopt the designation Bolgars for themselves, and to call their country Bolgaria. However, this was going too far. The Soviet authorities felt that this might encourage nationalism of a sort that was not within the spirit of the dictum "national in form, and socialist in content." The Soviets then fostered a view of history which stated that the ancient Bolgar empire was a multi-national state including various peoples,

of which the ancestors of the Chuvash were only one, and that therefore to allow the Chuvash to call themselves Bolgars would not be quite correct, as the Kazan Tatars might also rightly call themselves Bolgars. Besides, the name was regrettably similar to that of the Bulgarians in Bulgaria (in Russian, Bolgariya, Bolgary).

Writers of plays and novels in Chuvash continued to glorify the memory of the Bolgar empire, until finally the Communist Party had to put a stop to expressing such romantic nationalism. The nationalism was not confined to the past, however, for the Chuvash raised another problem. The town of Simbirsk, now Ul'yanovsk, had been in former times an important national center of Chuvashia, for it was there that the first Chuvash books appeared and the first Chuvash secondary school was located. Now, the Chuvash comrades wanted to have Simbirsk made a part of the Chuvash ASSR. This might have been a reasonable request, were it not for the fact that Simbirsk was also noted for being the birthplace of Vladimir Il'yich Lenin, who was the son of Il'ya Nikolayevich Ul'yanov (whence Ul'yanovsk derives its name), a government inspector for the Chuvash school system. As a result, this demand for the secession of Simbirsk, since renamed in honor of its most famous citizen, was not open for discussion.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party denounced the Chuvash as nationalists, and decided that one reason for this nationalism was the presence of a predominantly agricultural population. With a view to providing residents who would not bother their heads about the by-gone glories of the Bolgar empire, an additional district with a strong working-class population was incorporated into Chuvashia in 1926, and this factor swung the balance of power to the proletarian element in the Communist Party of Chuvashia.

It seems likely, however, that in spite of these measures, that the Chuvash, like the Greeks, Mongols, Spanish, Dutch, and Swedes, and many other once great nations, must remain keenly aware of their past. Whether this can be a factor to take into account in predicting any future actions of the Chuvash against Soviet overlordship, would be very difficult to say.

§ 15. Education

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the Chuvash lands came under the control of Muscovy as a result of the victories of Ivan the Terrible, but the general development of the region was hindered by the Tsarist policies of repressing the "foreigners." There were few if

any schools in which the native language was used until the late 1800's. Among the Chuvash receiving instruction at that time were Yakovlev, K. V. Ivanov, and others to be mentioned later.

The first Russian university was opened in Moscow in 1755, but even by 1796, attendance at all schools was still small, 18,000 pupils going to 316 elementary and secondary schools out of a population of 36 million. During the 1800's, instruction grew, and by 1849, there were six universities, including the University of Kazan which attracted persons from the Chuvash regions. However, as in the 113 years of Kazan University from its founding until the Revolution, only six Tatars were graduated, it does not appear likely that more than a few Chuvash could have attended. The presence in Kazan of the Kazan Theological Seminary, which offered study and performed research in Oriental languages (with perhaps a view towards later proselyting and conversion), was also important as an educational institution of this area.

The Church in general had a vast network of parochial schools under its administration, and in 1894 these numbered 32,000, but they did not teach much more than reading and writing. Secondary education was reserved for children of better class families by the imposition of attendance fees and investigation of the student's background, in case the son of a baker or farmer wanted to rise above his origin. In the early 20th century, four million children, mostly boys, were attending 78,000 primary schools, but only 320 secondary schools existed with 135,000 male pupils. Under the administration of Stolypin greater progress was made towards the goal of giving every child of school age an elementary education. Still, as far as Chuvashia was concerned, this was scarcely to be realized, because on the eve of the Revolution, literacy in Chuvashia was about 18 pct, and among women, only 3 pct.

The Chuvash school system, being part and parcel of the Soviet school system, is identical to the general pattern of Russian schools. The three year old child is eligible for kindergarten, and compulsory schooling begins at 8, continuing for seven years. These seven years are divided into two sections of four and three, the first being the primary grades (villages outside the RSFSR have this as their minimum), and the second being the so-called "Incomplete Middle School," which takes the student to about age 14-15. This degree of education is compulsory for all villages and cities of the RSFSR and for all cities outside the RSFSR.

The child who has completed the "Incomplete Middle School" may complete Middle School in three more years, thus having graduated from "Complete Middle School," or the ten-year school, as

it is sometimes called. At this point he is eligible for university work or professional training in a technicum. Although co-education was the rule in Soviet schools in 1943, this practice seems to be no longer followed, as a result of a change of policy after a study of the question. Women's rights to a complete education are not thereby impugned.

The curriculum of the ten-year school is fairly well standardized throughout the RSFSR and the USSR. Beginning in the primary grades with arithmetic and the native language, plus Russian if it is a non-Russian republic as in the case of Chuvashia, there is also nature study, geography, music, art, physical education and social science. Foreign languages usually begin about the age of 12 in the fifth year. Additional subjects such as history, literature, algebra, physics and chemistry, biology and so on, are added in the remaining years. Few electives exist.

In 1930, elementary education was made obligatory in Chuvashia. In 1934-1935 there were 297 seven-year schools teaching 43,800 pupils. In 1949-1950, completion of the seven-year school (i.e., the Incomplete Middle School) was made obligatory. In 1950-1951, there were 550 elementary schools, 428 seven-year schools, and 92 schools "of general education" (Russian: obshchego obrazovaniya), teaching a total of 202,462 persons. There also exist schools for special purposes, as 5 schools for deaf and blind children.

It is possible to form some idea of the size of the school population from the production figures for textbook printings. In 1960, primers for the first class averaged a printing of 28,000 copies, the second class 26,000 copies, the third class 25,000 copies, and the fourth class, 23-24,000 copies. Books for the fifth class were printed in 19,000 copies, and the same for the sixth class. Seventh class books ran to about 13,000 copies, and after this, books do not denote for what class they are intended. If these figures represent an annual printing, rather than a printing to be used over several years, or replacement copies, this would indicate a school population of about 150,000 in the Incomplete Middle, or seven-year school, where the greatest concentration of students must be. The decreasing figures may reflect attrition of the school population in the lower grades.

There are four "institutions of higher learning" (Russian: VUZ) in Chuvashia: one pedagogical, one agricultural, and two teachers's. How the teacher's institutes differ from the pedagogical is not clear. There are also two medical institutions, and an institute for fine arts and music. There are in addition about 14 technicums where specialized vocational and technical training is

given. However, no mention has been found of any actual university. There is, attached to the Soviet of Ministers of the Chuvash ASSR, a research institute called the "Chuvash Scientific Research Institute for Language, Literature, History and Economics", which publishes books on these subjects, some of which are in the possession of the present writer. The presence of the Eye Diseases Research Institute in Cheboksary has also been noted previously (p. 23).

According to data of 1956, there were 1,113 libraries of all types in Chuvashia, but Soviet sources customarily include in such figures all collections of books kept in clubs, elementary schools, and other gathering places, even if they may be only a few shelves in amount.

§ 16. Culture (Press, Arts, Music, Sports, Theater)

Press

Publication of books began in Russia in the 1700's, and although small at first, grew to several hundred titles by 1796. By 1900, eighteen thousand titles had been issued. As printing became more widespread, other regional centers began to publish books, as Kazan, where important works on Oriental languages appeared in the 1840's. Publishing began in Chuvashia still later, and at first, only books of a religious or missionary character were published. Before the Revolution, 564 Chuvash titles were issued in a total of 35,302 copies, but since the Revolution about 6,500 titles have been printed, including books and brochures, for a total printing of 42 million copies. In 1913, for instance, the total copies of books printed was 2,000. In 1937, the total number of books manufactured was 1,113,000 copies in all. During the postwar years of 1946-1956, a total of 1,552 titles were published in Chuvashia, of which 1,045 were translated works (and of these, 984 were Russian). The total printing of these titles ran into 11,234,000 copies. For the year 1956 alone, 167 titles were issued (about 10 pct of the foregoing), in a printing of 894,000 copies, of which 105 titles were translations. The prospectus of the State Publishing House of Chuvashia for 1960 contains a list of over 300 titles which it is proposed to publish in 1960. These include works on history, politics, belles-lettres, works by Soviet and Chuvash writers, children's literature, school textbooks, agricultural, productional and semitechnical literature, dictionaries, periodicals, and works on music and language.

There is also a periodical press, issuing 42 newspapers and 5 magazines, mostly in Chuvash, but with several in Russian and Tatar. The circulation of a single number of 37 newspapers in 1956 was given as 87,000 copies. Most Soviet newspapers are quite small by American standards, because they consist entirely of text (to which illustrations are of course added as occasion demands), and contain none of the advertising found in American newspapers, which may amount to as much as 70 pct of the paper. Presumably Chuvash newspapers are exactly like the ones of the Union Republics and of Moscow in this regard, although it has not been possible to examine any copies of Chuvash newspapers or magazines first-hand. This is due to a general rule that the export of periodicals from areas below Union Republic rank is not allowed. Soviet newspapers are generally 4 to 6 pages in size, sometimes running to 8, with text printed solid in six columns, and often with large sections devoted to the complete text of important speeches or party conferences.

There are a number of provincial newspapers appearing in the various cities of Chuvashia, and there may also be some devoted to special topics, as agriculture, lumbering, railroading, and so forth. The magazines presumably carry stories and features by Chuvash as well as Soviet writers, but it has not been possible to examine any of these either.

The names of the Chuvash newspapers have been listed in the Letopis' periodicheskikh izdanií SSSR, 1950-1954, Moscow, 1955, p. 499. They are:

Avangard (Batyrevo)
 Bol'shevik (Yadrin)
 Za Bol'shevistskie kolkhozy (Yantikovo)
 Za vysokii urozhai (Shikazany)
 Za kommunizm (Kanash)
 Za pobedu kommunisma (Ibresy)
 Znamya kolkhoza (Yal'chiki)
 Znamya kommunisma (Batyrevo)
 Znamya kommunisma (Kalinino)
 Znamya kommunisma (Cheboksary)
 Znamya Oktyabrya (Komsomolskoye)
 Znamya truda (Bol'shoi Sundyr')
 Kollektivnyi trud (Bol'shoye Nogatkino)
 Kolkhoznaya gazeta (Alikovo)
 Kolkhoznaya zhizn' (Ibresy)

Kolkhoznaya klich (Morgaushi)
 Kolkhozni trud (Bizhbulyak)
 Kommunar (Drozhzhanoye, Pervomaiskoye)
 Kommunist (Yadrin)
 Krasnoye Zhamya (Kazan, Urmaly)
 Krasnyi Oktyabr' (Oktyabrskoye)
 Leninskoye Zhamya (Isakly, Mariinskii)
 Molodoi Bol'shevik (= Molodoi Kommunist) (Cheboksary)
 Po Leninskomu puti (Kugesy, Tolbazy, Chelno-Vershiny)
 Po puti sotsialisma (Vurnary)
 Po Stalinskomu Puti (Kalinino, Pokhvistnevo)
 Put' kommunisma (Krasno-Armeiskoye)
 Put' pobedy (Krasnyie Chetai)
 So Znamenem Lenina (Kozlovsk)
 So Znamenem Stalina (Shemursha)
 Sovetskoye Zhamya (Sovetskoye)
 Sotsialisticheskii Trud (Shumerlya)
 Stalinets (Tsivil'sk)
 Stalinskoye Znamya (Yantikovo)
 Udarnik (Mariinskii Posad) (= Leninskoye Znamya)
 Chuvashskaya Kommuna (Cheboksary)

Chuvash Arts and Crafts

One of the chief Chuvash arts has been, since ancient times, the ornamental carving of wood for use as house decoration, or for domestic utensils. This art was highly developed, and the façades of many houses in the late 19th century were decorated at the eaves and gables with semi-relief wood carving. Embroidery on clothes and other objects was also quite widely pursued. Dark red predominated, with interspersed green, blue and yellow.

Under Soviet influence there has been growth of painting, sculpture and the graphic arts. A graphic arts shop was first established in 1934 in Alaty, and later moved to Cheboksary in 1940 where it became a technicum devoted to fine arts. The State Art Gallery was opened in Cheboksary in 1939. As is well-known, Soviet art, of whatever form, must serve the State, and thus, many of its productions would not be considered art or art-forms in the West.

Among well-known Chuvash artists are M. S. Spiridonov (born 1890), and N. K. Sverchkov (born 1891). The artist Ovchinnikov painted a famous work titled "The Great Leaders of the Revolution, Lenin and Stalin, Receiving a Delegation of Chuvash Workers in

the Kremlin." One of Spiridonov's paintings is "The Joiner's Workshop of the Shumerlya Furniture Combine" (1935). In the post-war period, the painters V. M. Makarov and E. A. Nozdrin became known, as well as the sculptor I. F. Kudryavtsev, and the sculptor Chapayev.

Some effort has been made to preserve typical Chuvash architecture of the 17th and 18th centuries, as the Vvedenskii Cathedral of 1651. Some other important historical buildings in Cheboksary are the Magistrates House of 1742, the Church of Michael the Archangel, 1708, and the Uspenskii Church of 1763.

Music

Chuvash national music is unison, although two-part work is sometimes found. The pentatonic scale is employed, embellished by many free improvisations. There are songs of a lyric, ritualistic and humorous nature, and songs sung for working.

According to one musicologist, the Chuvash national songs seem to form a transitional bridge between the Finno-Ugric songs and the songs of the Turkic peoples. To the Western ear, accustomed to hearing a given tune repeated faithfully on each performance, Chuvash music has a definite Oriental quality about it. This is aided by the fact that a song is rarely sung exactly the same way twice. The basic pattern remains the same, to be sure, but many small variations and additions occur with each repetition. Words do not necessarily fit exactly to notes, as we are accustomed to in our music, but several syllables may be sung, if necessary, on one note, or conversely, a word or syllable may be held while several notes are sung, in order to fit the number of words to the melodic line. It is thus perfectly possible, and permissible, to sing different songs to one melody, or to use different melodies for the same text. In general, there seems to have been much influence both from Finno-Ugric music as well as from Turkic music, the latter chiefly Tatar folk-music.

An extensive collection of Chuvash folksongs has been published from transcriptions made of songs sung by World War I prisoners held by the Germans. These twenty prisoners furnished about 215 songs, which deal largely with the countryside and nature in general, travel, parents and homelife, dancing, drinking, lovemaking and so on.

Owing to the considerable divergence between Chuvash and Western music, it is not possible briefly to describe Chuvash music in terms of Western scale, tones, time-signatures and keys.

To judge from what has happened in many other cultures subjected to the impact of Westernization and Sovietization (as in Mongolia, for instance), one may imagine that Chuvash folkmusic of the sort described above is dying out at a slower or faster rate, as less persons in each generation learn the old songs. The prisoners referred to above were in many instances between 20 and 30 years of age in 1917, and thus it could be that many of them, as representative of their generation, might be alive today, and may well have passed on their musical knowledge to current generations.

The chief Chuvash national instruments are the shăkhldzhe, a sort of flute or whistle made from hollow stems; the shăpăr, a kind of bagpipes; the sărnai, the same; the güsle or psaltery (a multi-stringed instrument like a zither); the kupăs or violin; and the tumbra, a three or four stringed zither. In the 19th century, the harmonica, accordion and balalaika were introduced.

No recordings of Chuvash music have been found listed for sale in this country from the various catalogues of Soviet music available on phonograph recordings, although the songs of many other nationalities are available.

In recent decades, Western music as sponsored by the Soviet régime has been introduced, with composition of songs about the Motherland, about kolkhoz life, and about the Soviet Army. Important composers of recent years have been the Russian V. M. Krivonosov (1904-1941) who wrote many works employing Chuvash national themes, as the musical comedy Xavaslay ('Joy'); G. V. Vorob'yev, who wrote symphonies, piano sonatas, violin sonatas; the Stalin prizewinner F. M. Lukin, who wrote many popular songs; and G. Ya. Khirbyu.

A musical instiute has been functioning in Cheboksary since 1929, and there is also a symphonic orchestra there. In Chuvashia as a whole there were in 1956 about 900 choral and musical groups.

Sports

There is a stadium in Cheboksary, as well as a racetrack. No information about sports has been found, other than that Soviet citizens in general are fond of sports, and eager participants and spectators in games. Names of prominent Chuvash teams have not been noted in the sports sections of national papers like Pravda (for 1960), from which the writer concludes that Chuvashia has not produced any championship teams of late.

Theater

The first Chuvash theater was founded in Kazan in 1918, and moved to Cheboksary in 1920. It was made up mostly of volunteer participants, and later supplemented by persons from the drama department of the Cheboksary musical institute. In 1947, actors from the State Institute of Theatrical Arts in Moscow were sent to Chuvashia.

Among the first plays in Chuvash were F. P. Pavlov's satirical comedy "In Court," and his play, "In the Village." P. N. Osipov's plays about the harsh past of the Chuvash people and the poor status of women were also produced. Famous plays from the Russian repertory were also given, such as Gogol's "The Inspector-General," and plays by Ostrovskii, and Gor'kii, as well as Molière and Shakespeare plays. Other plays by Chuvash and Soviet authors have also been staged.

In 1957, four theaters were functioning in Chuvashia. Some of the leading actors are B. A. Alekseyev, O. I. Yrsem, A. K. Urgalkin, and others.

In 1956, there were 351 motion picture installations in Chuvashia, of which 156 were in fixed locations. There is also a film studio. In 1952, a Soviet film was produced called "Soviet Chuvashia," which was a sort of documentary and travelogue of Chuvashia. Although it was not possible to view this film, a booklet which was issued to accompany it has been the source of much useful data incorporated into the present work.

§ 17. Customs and Ethnography

Formerly, the basic rural dwelling of the Chuvash was a sort of wooden hut made from rough hewn logs, but the growth of Russian cultural influence has transformed this to traditional type wooden houses. The old huts had no fireplace, but a stove in the right corner from the door. On the left were plank-beds, with benches along the walls. The small windows were made of specially treated animal bladders or intestines.

In the past, the basic Chuvash costume was made of homespun cloth. At present, urban dress of factory cloth prevails. Men have almost completely abandoned the old national dress, but women in large measure still retain white blouses (rubakhi in

Russian), or ones of other colors, with frills in the lower portion. The blouses were richly adorned with embroidery. Outer garments were usually cloth caftans, a long-sleeved gown-like dress fastened with a belt, topped by a sheepskin fur coat of the same style. On their feet the Chuvash wrapped cloth, and wore bast shoes made from fibrous plants and bark. Married women wore on their heads a sort of embroidered turban, from which long strands of coins, beads and even pearls fell in front and in back. Girls wore a cone-shaped hat likewise adorned with coins and beads. Both these headgears have largely given way to the shawl and kerchief.

The Chuvash family was patriarchal, and nuclear rather than extended, although it may have been extended several centuries ago. Marriages were largely arranged by the parents for their children, except that both parties involved could express their dissatisfaction with the arrangements and seek another. When a boy is about 19, older members of his family begin to consider who his bride should be. If the youth does not care for the bride proposed, another one will be suggested. A go-between from relatives or neighbors brings the information back as to whether the proposal is accepted or rejected, and whether bad omens were seen on the way thither. A bride price was usually paid, together with other gifts from and to each family. Today, however, as a result of infusion of Russian and Western notions about love, courtship and marriage, it may be presumed that the above practices are sharply curtailed, although no detailed sociological information is known.

A careful description of Chuvash marriage customs may be found in the book by H. Paasonen, "Customs and Folkpoetry of the Chuvash" (in German, see Bibliography at end of this book). The ceremonies were marked with much drinking, dancing and festivities, with many formulaic expressions and wedding songs (the texts of these are given, with German translation, in the work by Paasonen). After the wedding, in some cases even later, by many years, a special ceremony takes place in which the young married woman formally leaves her parents' home. Various formulae are recited, and objects given and received in token of this.

When someone was about to die, family and relatives assembled. After death has occurred, a chicken is strangled so that the god of death will take this spirit, and God will receive the spirit of the deceased. The corpse is washed by persons of the same sex, dressed in clean linen, with shirt, pants, cap, socks and shoes. Pearls or imitation pearls are placed in the corpse's mouth, and silk stuffed in the ears and eyes. These provide the deceased with

an excuse to God as to why he did not hear and see, and thus follow, the truths of religion during his life. Then other processions and mournings follow, such as the memorial service seven days after death. A more detailed account of the old practices may be found in the work by Paasonen just cited.

In addition to customs of marriage and death, there are other special observances, as a festival at Whitsuntide (Pentecost), at which a goose, lamb and ox are sacrificed. Many ceremonial prayers are recited, and the entire celebration lasts from one to three weeks. Some other ceremonies are a rain-sacrifice ceremony, and a fire-worshipping ceremony called "Going Through the Earth," in which a tunnel is dug, with two bonfires at either end, animals are slaughtered, and persons receive ceremonial lashings from switches.

All of the above-mentioned ceremonies and practices, described in Paasonen's book, were being practiced in the late 1800's and early 1900's, especially by those Chuvash who were not yet Christians, or at best very nominal in their beliefs. One may be quite certain that considerably less of such folkcustoms survives today, but it is not known to what extent these beliefs and worships may have survived nearly fifty years of Soviet administration.

§ 18. Religion

The conversion of Prince Vladimir in 989 to Christianity marked the official institution of that religion as the official faith of the whole Russian people, although the masses were slower about accepting it. First it was confined to the nobility and upper classes, and not until several centuries had passed did it filter down to be generally accepted by the peasants and workers, who for some time continued their pagan practices. Contrary to what one might expect, the Mongols did not extirpate Christianity during the period of their reign, but tolerated all religions. The Russian Orthodox Church became allied to the state of Muscovy, especially under Peter the Great, and eventually this led to its complete subservience to Tsarism, although religion remained a living force with the people.

The trade contacts of the Bulgars resulted in their conversion to Islam in 922, and Bulgary on the Volga became a Moslem state. This was further strengthened by the Islamic faith of the Golden Horde. The steppe tribes of the region had worshipped the sky (tengri), and the forest peoples were shamanists.

After the disintegration of the Golden Horde, the princes extended their frontiers to include the Chuvash lands, and as more settlers came, the first intensive Christianization began in 1743. The need to have the Gospel presented to the Chuvash in their own tongue led to the first early studies of the Chuvash language, one of the first grammars in Russian appearing in 1769. The synoptic gospels were published at Kazan in 1820, in a Cyrillic script, and before that, in 1804, some tracts and catechisms had appeared.

In 1897, the population of Russia was 130 million, consisting of a hard core of some 88 million Great Russian Orthodox believers, surrounded by a large minority of non-Russian non-believers, namely, 42 million. Impressed by these figures, the government began a new policy of Russification, which reached out to the non-Russian peoples of Central Asia, who had long been under Russian domination, but not subjected to active programs of integration.

With the coming to power of the Soviets, the state was officially declared Godless, and opposed to all religion. Religious instruction stopped, and the clergy was largely disbanded, until wartime circumstances dictated the reversal of this policy. In rural areas religion has maintained a strong hold, but the emergence of a younger generation brought up atheistically has meant a considerable decline in the existence of religious faith. Whether there are any churches in operation now in Chuvashia, as is the case with some show-window cities like Moscow, Kiev and others, is not known. In the 18th century, there were 18 monasteries in Chuvashia, and old guidebooks to Cheboksary list twelve churches, eleven chapels, and a monastery.

The Chuvash are nominally a Christian people, that is, as opposed to being an Islamic people like their brothers speaking other Turkic languages. According to ethnographic research conducted at the turn of this century, there were still many persons who did not profess Christianity, and the Germans, who were making plans during World War II to take over all of Russia if possible (and in this connection, published some grammatical and other works concerning the Chuvash language), discovered among Chuvash war prisoners some whose forefathers had never been Christians.

§ 19. Literature

The Volga Bulgars did have a writing system based on Arabic (Islam has always made the use of Arabic obligatory), but unfortunately, about the only material that has come down to us is some

inscriptions on tombs. Although the language is clearly different from other similar inscriptions in Chagatai Turkish (the literary language of the Chagatai empire centering chiefly in present-day Uzbekistan), not much linguistic information is furnished, as the inscriptions usually state only that "A, son of B, departed this life on (date)". Tatar historians record that books were written in this ancient Chuvash language, but nothing has come down to us.

Thus, for a period of many centuries, Chuvash folk poetry and composition remained an oral one, with epics and tales being memorized, sung by bards, and handed on from generation to generation. This situation is similar to what happened with many Finno-Ugric peoples and other Turkic peoples of Central Asia. It was not until Russian and foreign ethnographers took an interest in recording Chuvash folk literature in the 50's of the 19th century that any of this material was preserved.

In 1767, when Catherine the Great visited Kazan, a panegyric of Chuvash verses was read to her, and this must be considered the first evidence of Chuvash poetry to be written down. Concomitant with the introduction of Christianity and proselyting on a large scale, a Chuvash alphabet based on the Cyrillic was devised, and the gospels printed, along with a number of tracts and other works of a religious and missionary character. This sort of material continued to be the only thing produced in Chuvash for some decades. The Church Slavic alphabet was also used. Some recording of Chuvash folklore was done by Russian ethnographers in the mid-19th century, as that of A. A. Fuchs (1840), V. Sboyev (1851), the Chuvash S. Mikhailov (1853), and later, N. I. Ashmarin (1900). The work of the Finn Heikki Paasonen (1900) has previously been cited.

In 1872 the Chuvash educator I. Ya. Yakovlev created an improved Chuvash alphabet, based on the Cyrillic with the addition of several letters. This helped in creating a Chuvash intelligentsiya who could become interested in their own cultural heritage and the preservation of their folklore. Some literary works appeared based on folkloristic material, as M. Fedorov's ballad Arşuri ("The Wood-Goblin") of 1879-1880. Other works of this period were I. Yakovlev's tales for children, I. Ivanov's everyday tales, and I. Yurkin's story "The Man is Full, but the Eyes are Hungry." They depicted life in the Chuvash village, and the replacement of the patriarchal-feudalistic bases of society.

The greatest literary figure that Chuvashia has produced was the young poet Konstantin V. Ivanov, who was a brilliant representative of the Chuvash peasant's national ideology. He gave an

impassioned protest against the lack of rights of Chuvash women, and exposed the autocratic power of the father and husband. Although only 25 when he died (1890-1915), he produced a large number of poems, and left behind sketches for dramas and other works. During the years 1918-1957, sixteen works about Ivanov were published in Chuvashia in a circulation of 118,000 copies. His famous masterpiece is the epic romance Narspi, a long poem of some 2,000 verses divided into 14 cantos. The stanzas are four verses in length, riming abab, and each verse containing seven syllables.

A contemporary of Ivanov was N. V. Shubussini (1893-1943), who first concentrated on depicting the Chuvash countryside, and revelling in Chuvash antiquity. Later he dwelt on social inequality in the Chuvash village (in his work yantrak yatravě), and wrote some verses dedicated to the revolutionary movement among Chuvash peasants during the Pugachov rebellion.

In 1906-1907 a socialist revolutionary newspaper xıpar ("The Message") began to appear. In it were works by the poet N. I. Polurussov (Shelebi), a self-taught man, and T. S. Seměnov (Taer Timki), a working-class typesetter.

The postrevolutionary period of Chuvash literature is divided by Soviet literary historians into the following four periods.

- a) birth and establishment of Chuvash Soviet literature, 1917-1929.
- b) growth and development of Soviet Chuvash literature in the years of socialist construction 1930-1940.
- c) the war years, 1941-1945.
- d) postwar years, 1946-1960.

In the first period, among the more important works were M. F. Akimov's "The Premature Death," F. P. Pavlov's Yalta ("In the Village"), and Sutra ("In Court"); Akimov's drama of everydaylife Il'k ("Il'ya"), and other works. Other important names are those of the Communist poet Mišši Šeşpel (1899-1922), S. El'ger, who wrote "Under the Yoke," the tales and plays of M. Trubinaya, and the verses and poems of P. Khuzangai.

In 1923, the Union of Chuvash Authors and Journalists was organized, and began publishing the magazine Suntal ("The Anvil"), from about 1924 to 1940. It printed significant prose works of many young writers, as Isayev, Chaldun (Danilov), and Piner. Some writers from prerevolutionary times too were still functioning, and Shubusinni wrote Yerkěn, Polurussov wrote Pülere ilni

šinčen ("On the Taking of Bolgary"), dealing with events of the ancient Bolgar period. P. Osipov wrote Aydar, a drama called "The Song of Trachoma," and S. V. El'ger turned out his major Xen-yur ayēnče ("In Trouble and Distress") in 1931. It dealt with the oppressed Chuvash peasantry under Tsarism during the Pugachov uprising. He also wrote some verses, called Samana ("Time").

Writers of the most recent decades are Ukhsay (born 1911), Aisman (born 1905), I. Tukdash, a writer of stories, V. Krasnov, L. Agakov, K. Pairash, and many others.

§ 20. Conclusions and Prospects

It is undeniable that the Soviet Union has made great progress in many areas of its economy, as in building schools and hospitals where none existed before, but a heavy cost has been paid for this advance. One of the greatest is a loss of personal freedom under a Communistic system. It is true that employment is guaranteed, but both the office worker and the farmer, to say nothing of the soldier, are under discipline to the State, directing productive activity for its betterment. In spite of serious restrictions on them,² the people are enthusiastic and idealistic about achieving goals and objectives, helped along by systems of incentive and reward, as well as punishment.

The Soviet standard of living continues to be low, but there have arisen new classes within the Soviet Socialist order, large groups of persons favored with privileges.³ Although even such writers, artists, collective farm leaders, government managers and officials live poorly in many cases in comparison with an American worker or businessman of modest circumstances, they are the new nobility of Soviet society. Russians have merely substituted one master for another.

The ultimate goal of Soviet socialist development is the achievement of Communism. The sacrifices which the people are now undergoing are necessary in order to build a new society featuring distribution according to need, instead of according to individual contribution. Whether people and human nature can sufficiently be reformulated to work for work's sake, rather than for the material rewards, luxuries and necessities thereby obtained, is very questionable indeed.⁴ When one considers the fact that human nature is, in all of recorded history, unchanging, and that human wants cannot be satisfied, it seems unlikely that such a Utopian paradise can be realized.⁵

GAZETTEER OF CHUVASHIA

This gazetteer of Chuvash place-names is based on the map in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia (BSE, Vol. 47, facing p. 448, dated November, 1956), and contains the names of cities, towns and villages, regional centers and rivers appearing on that map. The various grids formed by the intersection of lines of north latitude and east longitude are given names in the Gazetteer. The key to these grid names follows, with indication of their location.

Key to Grid Names

1. Cheb. West = Cheboksary West: 56° N. by 46° E. Ten entries.
2. Cheb. = Cheboksary: 56° N. by 47° E. Fourteen entries.
3. Shum. North = Shumerlya North: 55° 40'-60' N. by 46° E. Twenty-six entries.
4. Shum. = Shumerlya: 55° 20'-40' N. by 46° E. Sixteen entries.
5. Shum. South = Shumerlya South: 55° 0'-20' N. by 46° E. Sixteen entries.
6. Tsiv. = Tsivil'sk: 55° 40'-60' N. by 47° E. Twenty-seven entries.
7. Kan. = Kanash: 55° 20'-40' N. by 47° E. Twenty-seven entries.
8. Kan. South = Kanash South: 55° 0'-20' N. by 47° E. Twenty-four entries.
9. Tsiv. East = Tsivil'sk East: 55° N. by 48° East. Nine entries.
10. Alat. = Alatyr': 54° N. by 46° E. Ten entries.
11. Alat. East = Alatyr' East: 54° N. by 47° E. Ten entries.

CAPITALS denote a city, and lower case a town or village.
Regional Centers are so indicated.

The 26 Regional Centers of Chuvashia, Keyed to Grids of the BSE Map

Alatyr', Alat.	Ishlei-Pokrovskoye, Cheb.
Alikovo, Shum. North	Kanash, Kan.
Batyrevo, Kan. South	Komsomol'skoye, Kan. South
Bol'shoi Sundyr', Cheb. West	Kozlovka, Tsiv. East
Churachiki, Tsiv.	Krasnoarmeiskoye, Tsiv.
Ibresi, Kan. South	Krasnye Chetai, Shum. North

Kugesi, Cheb.
 Mariinskii Posad, Cheb.
 Morgaushi, Shum. North
 Oktyabrskoye, Tsiv.
 Pervomaiskoye, Kan. South
 Poretskoye, Shum. South
 Shermusha, Alat. East

Shumerliya, Shum.
 Tsivil'sk, Tsiv.
 Urmariy, Tsiv.
 Vurnary, Shum.
 Yadrin, Shum. North
 Yal'chiki, Tsiv. East
 Yantikovo, Kan.

Rivers and Streams of Chuvashia, Keyed to Grids of the BSE Map

Alatyr', Alat.
 Algashka, Shum.
 Anish, Tsiv.
 Bezdna, Alat., Alat. East
 Bol'shoi Tsivil', Shum., Tsiv.
 Bula, Kan. South
 Karla, Alat. East
 Kirya, Shum. South
 Kisha, Shum. South
 Kubnya, Kan. South
 Lyulya, Alat.
 Malii Anish, Tsiv., Kan.
 Malaya Bula, Kan. South
 Malii Tsivil', Shum., Tsiv.

Menya, Shum. South
 Mochkaushka, Shum. North
 Srednii Anish, Tsiv.
 Sorma, Shum. North
 Sura, Cheb West, Shum. North,
 Shum.
 Tsivil', Cheb., Tsiv.
 Unga, Cheb., Tsiv.
 Urga, Shum. North
 Uryum, Kan.
 Uta, Kan.
 Vyla, Shum. North
 Yunga, Cheb. West

Gazetteer of Cities, Towns and Villages in the Chuvash ASSR

NB. Abbreviations such as "Bol." ('large') and "Mal." ('small') have been expanded according to the ending of the accompanying name, although it is not possible in every instance to be certain of the grammatical gender of some names.

Abamza, vill., Alat. East
 Abashevo, vill., Tsiv.
 Abyzovo, vill., Shum.
 Achakasy, vill., Kan.
 Aibechi, vill., Kan. South
 ALATYR', city, Alat., Regional Center
 Albakhtino, vill., Tsiv.
 Algazino, vill., Shum.
 Alikovo, vill., Regional Center,
 Shum. North
 Altyshevo, vill., Alat.

Anatkas-Marzi, vill., Tsiv.
 Anatkasy, vill., Shum. North
 Asakasy, vill., Shum. North
 Asanovo, vill., Kan. South
 Astakasy, vill., Cheb.
 Atnary, vill., Shum.
 Atrat', vill., Shum. South
 Baideryakovo, vill., Alat. East
 Baigulovo, vill., Tsiv.
 Bakhmutovo, vill., Shum. South
 Batyrevo, vill., Regional Center

- Belovolozhskoye, vill., Tsiv.
East
- Bichurga-Baishevo, vill., Alat.
East
- Bichurino, vill., Tsiv.
- Bogatyrevo, vill., Tsiv.
- Bol'shiye Abakasy, vill., Kan.
- Bol'shiye Algashi, vill., Shum.
- Bol'shoye Chemenevo, vill., Kan.
South
- Bol'shiye Chuvaki, Cheb. West
- Bol'shiye Karachury, vill., Cheb.
- Bol'shoi Sundyr', vill., Regional Center, Cheb. West
- Bol'shiye Tayaby, vill., Kan.
South
- Bol'shaya Vyla, vill., Shum.
North
- Bol'shiye Yanyshi, vill., Shum.
North
- Bol'shiye Yaushi, vill., Kan.
- Bol'shiye Yal'chiki, vill., Tsiv.
East
- Buinsk, town, Kan. South
- Burmankasy, vill., Shum. North
- Chapeyevskii, town, Cheb. (Apparently a suburb of Cheboksary proper)
- Chebakovo, 2-oe (vtoroye), vill., Shum. North
- CHEBOKSARY, city, Cheb.
- Chemursha, vill., Cheb.
- Cherbai, vill., Shum. North
- Chiganari, vill., Shum. North
- Chkalovskoye 2-oe (vtoroye), vill., Kan. South
- Chubayevo, vill., Kan.
- Churachiki, vill., Tsiv., Regional Center
- Churadchiki, vill., Kan. South
- Churak-Kasy, vill., Cheb. West
- Chuvarlei, vill., Alat.
- Chuvashskaya Sorma, vill., Shum. North
- Dolgi Ostrov, vill., Kan. South
- Ekonom, vill., Shum. South
- Gart, vill., Shum. South
- Ibresi, town, Kan. South
- Regional Center
- Ikkovo, vill., Tsiv.
- Il'inka, vill., Cheb. West
- Imbyurti, vill., Tsiv.
- Ishaki, vill., Tsiv.
- Ishlei-Pokrovskoye, Regional Center, vill., Cheb.
- Ishmurzino-Surinsk, vill., Kan.
South
- Ivan'kovo-Lenino, vill., Alat.
- Ivanovo, vill., Tsiv.
- Izhekei, vill., Shum. North
- Kadi-Kasy, vill., Cheb. West
- Kalinino, vill., Shum.
- Kalmykovo, vill., Cheb. West
- KANASH, city, Kan., Regional Center
- Karabai-Shermusha, vill., Alat.
East
- Kashmashi, vill., Shum. North
- Khodary, vill., Shum.
- Khormaly, vill., Kan. South
- Kil'dishevo, vill., Shum. North
- Kirya, town, Sham. South
- Kladbishchi, vill., Alat.
- Kol'tsovka, vill., Kan.
- Komsomol'skoye, vill., Regional Center, Kan. South
- Kovali, vill., Tsiv. East
- Kozhevennoye, vill., Shum.
South
- Kozlovka, town, Regional Center, Tsiv. East

- Krasnoarmeiskoye, vill.,
Regional Center, Tsiv.
 Krasnoglukhovsk, vill., Shum.
 South
 Krasnyi Oktyabr', vill., Shum.
 Krasnye Chetai, vill., Regional
Center, Shum. North
 Kshaushi, vill., Tsiv.
 Kudashi, vill., Cheb. West
 Kudeikha, vill., Shum. South
 Kugesi, vill., Regional Center,
 Cheb.
 Kumarkino, vill., Shum. North
 Kuvakino, vill., Alat.
 Kyul'khiri, vill., Shum.
 Maloye Karachkino, vill., Cheb.
 West
 Malye Karmaly, vill., Kan.
 South
 Malye Kibechi, vill., Kan.
 Mariinskii Posad, town,
Regional Center, Cheb.
 Mirenki, vill., Alat.
 Mishukovo, vill., Shum. South
 Morgaushi, vill., Regional
Center, Shum. North
 Mozharki, vill., Kan.
 Napol'noye, vill., Shum. South
 Nikolayevskoye, vill., Shum.
 North
 Nikol'skoye, vill., Shum. South
 Nizh. Kumashka, vill., Shum.
 Novye Aibesi, vill., Alat. East
 Novoye Chelny-Syurbeyevo,
 vill., Kan. South
 Novyi Chukal', vill., Alat. East
 Novobaibatyrevo, vill., Kan.
 South
 Novouryumovo, vill., Kan.
 Nyurshi, vill., Tsiv.
 Oktyabr'skoye, vill., Regional
Center, Tsiv.
- Oraushi, vill., Kan.
 Orinino, vill., Cheb. West
 Pervomaiskoye, vill., Regional
Center, Kan. South
 Pokrovskoye, vill., Tsiv.
 Polyanki, vill., Shum. North
 Poretskoye, vill., Regional
Center, Shum. South
 Povarkasy, vill., Tsiv.
 Proletarskii, vill., Cheb.
 (North Bank of Volga)
 Russkaya Sorma, vill., Shum.
 North
 Russkiye Algashi, vill., Shum.
 South
 Sarui, vill., Tsiv.
 Sendimirkino, vill., Shum.
 Shat'maposi, vill., Shum. North
 Shemursha, vill., Regional
Center, Alat. East
 Sheptaki, vill., Shum. North
 Shikhazany, vill., Kan.
 Shirtany, vill., Kan. South
 Shivali, vill., Tsiv. East
 Sholya, vill., Shum. North
 Shorkistry, vill., Kan.
 Shtanashi, vill., Shum. North
 Shumerlya, town, Regional
Center, Shum.
 Shumerlya, vill., Shum.
 Siyava, vill., Shum. South
 Sosnovka, town, Cheb. (North
 Bank of Volga)
 Sovetskoye, vill., Shum. North
 Sredniye Tatmyshi, vill., Kan.
 Starye Aibesi, vill., Alat. East
 Starye Toisi, vill., Kan. South
 Stemasy, vill., Alat.
 Suguty, vill., Alat. East
 Surskii Maidan, vill., Shum.
 South
 Sutyazhnoye, vill., Shum. South

- Tansarino, vill., Tsiv.
 Tarkhany, vill., Kan. South
 Tarkhany, vill., Shum.
 Tinsarino, vill., Cheb.
 Toburdanovo, vill., Kan.
 Togayevo, vill., Tsiv.
 Toishevo, vill., Shum. North
 Toisi-Parazusi, vill., Kan.
 Toldy-Burtasy, vill., Shum.
 Trekhbaltayevo, vill., Alat.
 East
 Tsivil'sk, town, Regional
Center, Tsiv.
 Turi-Kasy, vill., Cheb.
 Turmyshi, vill., Kan.
 Tuvsi, vill., Tsiv.
 Tyumerevo, vill., Kan.
 Tyurlema, vill., Tsiv. East
 Ubeyevo, vill., Tsiv.
 Urmaly, town, Regional
Center, Tsiv.
 Urmayevo, vill., Kan. South
 Vudoyali, vill., Kan.
 Vurmankas Ukhmany, vill.,
 Kan.
 Vurnary, town, Regional
Center, Shum.
 Vutabasi, vill., Kan.
 Yadrin, town, Regional Center
 Shum. North
 Yal'chiki, vill., Regional
Center, Tsiv. East
 Yamanaki, vill., Tsiv.
 Yamashevo, vill., Kan.
 Yamskoi Posad, vill., Alat.
 Yandashevo, vill., Cheb.
 Yangil'dino, vill., Cheb.
 Yangil'dino, vill., Tsiv.
 East
 Yangil'dino, vill., Kan.
 South
 Yanglichy, vill., Kan.
 Yangorchino, vill., Kan.
 Yantikhovo-Norvashi, vill.,
 Kan.
 Yantikovo, vill., Kan. South
 Yantikovo, vill., Regional
Center, Kan.
 Yavlei, vill., Alat.
 Yelashi, vill., Tsiv.
 Yelmochi, vill., Kan.
 Yemetkino, vill., Tsiv. East
 Yerdovo, vill., Tsiv.
 Yershiposi, vill., Kan.
 Yumanai, vill., Shum.
 Zasurskoye, vill., Cheb. West

189 Towns, villages and cities listed.

PART II

INTRODUCTION

0. 1 Classification and Characteristics of the Chuvash Language

The Chuvash language is a member of the Turkic group of languages (once called Turco-Tatar), which extends from the Mediterranean and Black Sea to Eastern Siberia where it joins with Mongolian and Tungus (Manchurian) to form the Altaic family of languages. Some persons unite this family with the Finno-Ugric family (consisting of Finnish, Hungarian and some minor languages spoken in the Soviet Union), but the scientific basis of this broad relationship has not as yet been fully established. Such a super-stock is called the Ural-Altaic family.

Turkic languages are characterized as a whole by vowel harmony, general lack of consonant groups, the specific lack of initial l and r in native words, the use of possessive suffixes, lack of gender and a general agglutination of suffixes in word formation. Other features are the lack of articles, the use of postpositions (which, unlike prepositions, come after, not before, the governed word), an interrogative particle, and a use of 'converbs' to join clauses, in lieu of finite verb forms bounded by time. Since the verb has final position in the sentence, and relative constructions are little used, the various modifying elements must precede what they qualify; consequently sentences are constructed (as to order of elements) in almost the exact reverse manner of that employed in English or Western European languages.

The total number of speakers of Turkic languages may be reckoned at well over forty millions, divided roughly into 26,000,000 in the Soviet Union, and twenty or more million Turks in Turkey proper.

Although the Turkic languages do display remarkable similarity among themselves, and are moreover very conservative (so that the difference in structure between the language of the Orkhon inscriptions of the 8th century and modern Turkic languages is not great), a generally accepted scheme for arranging and classifying the various groups has not as yet been agreed upon. Of the various systems proposed, the following may be cited as an instance which will be adequate for the present purposes.

The parent Altaic linguistic unity (after the presumed divergence of Korean and possibly of Japanese) contained the elements of later Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungusic languages. This community yielded the pre-Turkic language, usually called Common Turkic. In this stage, there was a sound *ř (sometimes called r^2 to distinguish it from ordinary r). In Chuvash and the ancient Volga Bolgar language (perhaps also in the Khazar language, of which little survives), *ř > r and merged with the first r . In all other Turkic languages, however, it is represented by z . Since there are a score or more of modern Turkic languages and dialects, all with z in words where Chuvash has an r going back to *ř, many Turcologists, impressed by the fact that there is only one r -language, have spoken of Chuvash as characterized by rhotacism, the turning of a sound into r . When one looks at older historical data and at the correspondences of words in other Altaic languages, finding there r and not z , it seems evident that in spite of present-day numbers, the general Turkic z is secondary, and that Chuvash r represents an Altaic survivance. The division, therefore, into z -languages and r -language(s) is inadequate completely to classify Turkic languages.

Another sound present in the Common Turkic stage was * d . In medial and final position, - d - became - r - in Chuvash, and - d - in other Turkic languages. From that - d - arose the present-day correspondences of d , t , y , and z . These last furnish a second criterion for classifying Turkic languages. Of the four possibilities, the most wide-spread is y .

Since the classification of Chuvash has been the subject of some dispute, it may prove useful to note the division of z -languages. It is based on linguistic criteria and the form of certain key words used to classify. One may give six chief sub-groups, not counting Chuvash, the r -language.

0.11 Yakut, a language spoken by about a quarter of a million Turks in a large area in Eastern Siberia, and which developed in its own way due to isolation from the main mass of Turkic tribes. The original - d - sound is represented by t in Yakut.

0.12 The Northeast group (also called the Northern), which has several subdivisions of its own, includes the Tuva or Uryankhai language of Tannu Tuva, the Karagas (or Tofalary), the Khakas (including the Beltirs, Koybals, and some other minor groups), and the Shor. The various Oirot tribes of the Altai also come under this heading. Here, d has become d , t , and y .

0. 13 The Northwest group (also called the Western) is sometimes given the general name of Kipchak, from an important tribe of Golden Horde times. The languages of this group are spoken over a very great area, and include the Kirgiz (once Karakirgiz), of whom there are nearly a million; the important Kazakh language of Kazakhstan, spoken by about three and one half million at the present time; the Karakalpak, which is essentially a Kazakh dialect; some Turkic languages spoken in the Caucasus, namely, Karachai, Balkar, Nogai, Karaim, and Crimean Turk; the Tatar language (also called Volga Tatar or Kazan Tatar from their region and capital), who number nearly five million speakers; and the Bashkirs, numbering nearly a million speakers. Thus it can be seen that numerically and politically, speakers of North-West Turkic languages are extremely important. In this group, d has become y.

0. 14 The Southeastern group (also called Eastern) comprises the East Turkic languages (Turki), of which Taranchi or New Uighur of Chinese Turkestan is the most important. There are reportedly over three million Uighur speakers in the Chinese province of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan). The Uzbeks of Uzbekistan number over six million according to the 1959 census in the USSR alone, thus making them one of the most important Turkic groups in the Soviet Union. The former literary language of this group is called Chagatai, and was written in the Arabic script. This term is still met with today as a designation for these Turks. Here too, d > y.

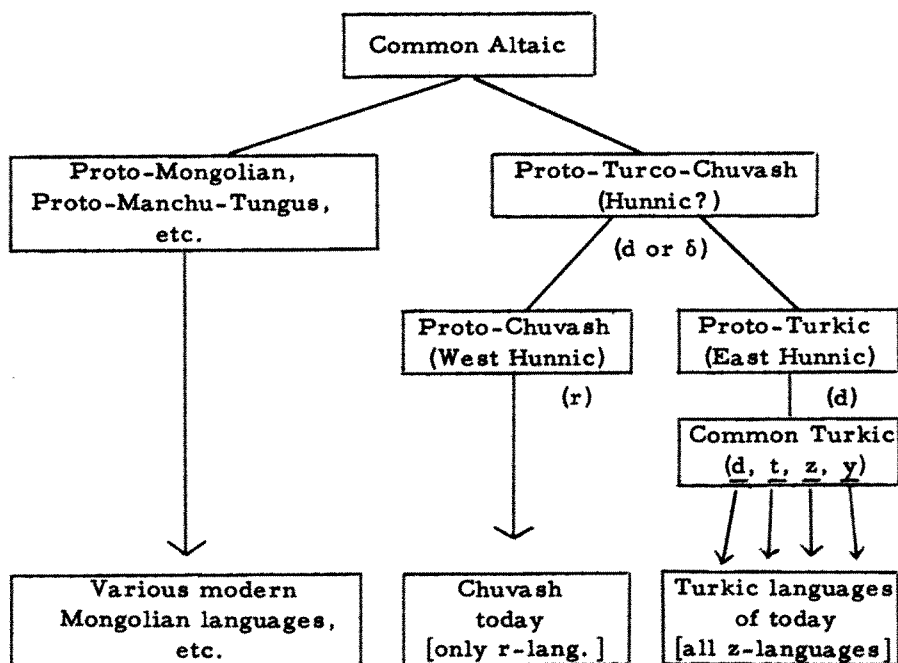
0. 15 The Southwestern group (also called Southern) was once known as the Oghuz Turks, from an ancient tribe of this name. The Turkmen language, of which there are over a million speakers in the USSR, belongs to this group, as does the important Azeri or Azerbaijanian language, spoken by about two and one half million speakers in the Soviet Union, plus over a million in northern Iran. Finally, in this group too comes the language of the Turks of Turkey itself, also called Osmanli (once Ottoman) or Anatolian Turkish. The present-day Turkish Republic contains at least 20,000,000 Turks, plus several million of other nationalities. As before, d > y.

0. 16 The last group, distinguished by some, is the Central (or Turkmen-Kipchak) consisting of the Chulym of the Tomsk region.

There are several other classification schemes, although they follow in principle the general outline of the one above in placing together those languages which logically belong together. All scholars, however, agree on the distinctness of Chuvash, and at one time, some even advocated raising it to be a fourth independent

group of the Altaic family, thus cognate to the other three members: Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus. Still others thought it formed a sort of transitional bridge between Mongolian and Turkic. In fact, for many years the Chuvash were not thought to be Turkic at all, but to be Turkicized Finnic people. This view no doubt arose because the neighboring East Finnic Mordvin and Cheremiss (Mari) languages and Chuvash have mutually influenced each other, which, coupled with the already unusual position of Chuvash in the Turkic family as the sole remnant of Volga Bolgar days, meant that their Turkic origin was obscured. In spite of the fact that some early linguistic investigators (Klaproth and W. Schott) showed in the early 1800's that Chuvash was Turkic, one of the great early Turcologists, W. W. Radloff, paid this interesting language no heed, regarding it as a Turkicized Finno-Ugrian language.

The following diagram of family relationship and development will show the stages in the development of Chuvash. It is simplified so as to focus attention on Chuvash.



(Note that the presence of modern borrowings from neighboring d-languages, especially Kazan Tatar, also made it difficult to determine the status of Chuvash.)

For those with an Indo-Europeanist background, the following illustration may be used. An analogous situation would obtain if the now non-existent East Germanic language (represented solely by Gothic) did have a modern descendant, which had not undergone the later sound-shifts that now characterize the West Germanic languages, and which, moreover, had undergone strong influence from, say, Slavic languages.

0.2 Chuvash Linguistic Scholarship

The first Chuvash grammar, which was in Russian, was printed as early as 1769, and has recently been the subject of some articles by Chuvash and Russian linguistic writers. In the West, Klaproth wrote a comparison of Chuvash with Turkic languages in 1828, and in 1842, Wilhelm Schott presented his doctoral dissertation in Berlin, titled De lingua Tschuwaschorum. In the following decades, Russian, Hungarian, Finnish and German linguists collected texts and wrote some grammars of Chuvash, so that this language gradually became better known, especially in Russia where its people lived. Mistaken ideas about the ethnic affiliations and linguistic status of the Chuvash were finally dispelled (though not all have accepted the change) by Ramstedt's article, Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen ("On the Classification of Chuvash"), which appeared in 1922. In the next years, the Altaicist, Professor N. Poppe, wrote some important articles detailing the sound developments and correspondences of Chuvash with Turkic and with the Altaic pre-language. The German scholar, Johannes Benzing, is also the author of a number of articles dealing with Chuvash grammar and literature, including a comprehensive sketch of Chuvash in the recently published Turkic handbook, Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.

On Chuvash soil, the Chuvash I. Ya. Yákovlev is remembered for proposing that the lower dialect of Chuvash be the leading one, and the basis of the literary language. In the 1870's he reformed the Chuvash alphabet along phonemic and morphophonemic lines, and added some diacritical marks to the Russian alphabet used to write Chuvash. As an educator and teacher, he also helped to build up a body of prerevolutionary Chuvash intelligentsiya, including the

noted Chuvash poet Konstantin V. Ivanov. He was a teacher in the Chuvash Teacher's School of Simbirsk, now renamed Ul'yanovsk after the father of Vladimir I. Lenin, Il'ya Nikolayevich Ul'yanov, a school inspector of the Tsarist government in the Simbirsk province.

The Russian Nikolai Ivanovich Ashmarin, who became a Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, was an outstanding scholar of the Chuvash language. He devoted his entire career to publishing works on Chuvash phonology, morphology and syntax, and is remembered especially for his huge 17-volume dictionary of Chuvash usage, Thesaurus linguae Tschuvaschorum, which was not completed until 1950, nearly twenty years after Ashmarin's death (1870-1933).

The Chuvash language was also grist for the mill of that once lauded, now fallen Soviet linguist, N. Ya. Marr. For a time, the unique position of Chuvash fanned the flames of controversy over the so-called "Japhetic" theory of language origin which Marr advanced. According to this erratic genius, Chuvash was a prime example of a language at the Japhetic stage of development, and formed a bridge to the Finno-Ugric languages to the north, and to the Turkic and Mongolian languages to the east. Since the appearance of Stalin's well-known article on linguistics, no one has taken Marr's theories seriously, and since the death of Stalin, no one has taken his linguistic theories seriously.

0.3 Sketch of Chief Sound Correspondences

(NB. The beginning student of Chuvash, especially the one with a purely practical orientation, need not learn the material of this and the following section now, but may consider it at first only general information. Later, he may wish to return to these two sections.)

As distinguishing features of Chuvash phonology and morphology, the following points may be mentioned, in which Chuvash is compared to the Turkish of present-day Turkey. The student may refer to the section on the Chuvash alphabet to determine the value of the letters. It should be mentioned too that not every instance of, say, l and r falls under the heading given here, for often other equivalences exist, or circumstances must be taken into account which we cannot go into at this point.

0.31 Chuvash l corresponds to the sh sound of other Turkic languages (written ş in modern Turkish).

<u>Chuvash</u>	<u>Turkish</u>	
χəl	kış	winter
čul	taş	stone
şul	yaş	year
alāk	eşik	door (Tk. =threshold)
kēməl	kümüş	silver
utmāl	altmış	sixty
pillək	beş	five

0.32 Chuvash r corresponds to the z sound of modern Turkish. Chuvash r may also go back to Old Turkish δ, which becomes y in modern Turkish, and d, t or z in some other Turkic languages.

për	buz	ice
χër	kız	girl, daughter
χuran	kazan	kettle
tăχăr	dokuz	nine
văkăr	öküz	ox
tăvar	tuz	salt
χur	kaz	goose
šăltăr	yıldız	star
šir-	yaz-	to write
-sar	-sız	without (suffix)
pirën	bizim	our
χur-	OT *koδ- > koy-	to place

(Remember, when looking at the above examples, that only one correspondence is being illustrated. Do not be concerned about the vowels, for instance.)

0.33 Chuvash ś corresponds to Turkish y.

şul	yaş	year
šăltăr	yıldız	star
šăně	yeni	new
šër	yüz	hundred
šim-eś	yem-ek	food
šir-	yaz-	to write
şuk	yok	there is no

0.34 The plural morpheme of Chuvash, /-sem/, morpho-phonemically {-seN}, which observes vowel harmony only in dialects but not in the written language (viz., -sam, -sem), corresponds in meaning and usage to the Turkic suffix -lar/-ler.

yıväs-sem	ağaç-lar	trees
utsem	at-lar	horses
ğēr-sem	kız-lar	girls
ěś-sem	iş-ler	affairs, matters
čeček-sem	çeçek-ler	flowers

Contrary to the practice in other Turkic languages, the plural morpheme in Chuvash follows possessive morphemes (the meaning of these terms will be explained later in the grammatical portions). Thus,

Chuvash: xēr 'girl' + -er 'your' + sem 'plural' =	ğērersēm 'your girls'
Turkish: kız 'girl' + -lar 'plural' + iniz 'your' =	kızlarınız 'your girls'

0.35 Finally, for reasons which will not be gone into here, and because in Chuvash medial voiceless consonants employ a voiced allophone, Chuvash uses unvoiced consonants where other Turkic languages write voiced consonants, in many instances.

pětēm	bütün	all
etem	adam	man
kil-	gel-	to come
puś	baş	head
tiněś	deniz	sea
timer	demir	iron
tu (tāv-)	dağ	mountain
pur	var	there is, there exists
pul-	*bol- > ol-	to be, to become

0.4 Outline of Turkish Historical Phonology

The following outline is based on Benzing, 'Das Tschuwaschische' (see Bibliography), but is considerably simplified, and only a few examples chosen. The purpose of this section is only to give the

reader some general idea of the development of vowels and consonants from the Common Turkic (Co. Tu.) stage (denoted, as is customary, by an asterisk*).

The outline is divided into Vocalism and Consonantism. With regard to vocalism, it should be noted that the length of Co. Tu. vowels is not uniformly treated in Chuvash.

Vocalism

0.411 Co. Tu. *a rarely corresponds to Chuv. a, except in non-first syllables, where it is usually represented by a. In the first syllable, there are three possibilities, 1, u or ě and ä.

*bar- > Chuv. pır- 'to go;' ağaç = Chuv. yivaś 'tree'

*qap- > Chuv. xup- 'to close;' bağ = Chuv. puś 'head'

*baɣr > Chuv. pėver 'liver' (Turkish bağır)

0.412 Co. Tu. *ä corresponds to Chuvash a in all positions.

evlen- = Chuv. avlan- 'to marry' (lit. to make a house for oneself)

0.413 Co. Tu. *i, *ī and *e, in the first syllable, are represented as: i or 1, ě or ä and a. Thus Chuv. yıta (<īt) 'dog,' xır (<*qır) 'steppe, field,' and siččě (<*yetti) 'seven,' as examples of the first. For the second, Chuv. pěr (cf. Turkish bir) 'one, a,' or šăt- (<*sīt-) 'to sprout.' Lastly, Chuv. par- (<*ber-, Turkish ver-) 'to give.' In syllables other than the first, there are various treatments, both a/e and ä/ě.

0.414 Co. Tu. *o and *u in the first syllable may be represented by Chuvash u, ä or 1. Thus *bol- (Turkish ol- with regular loss of initial b-) > pul- 'to be, to become;' *topraq > Chuv. täpra 'earth, soil,' or Turkic tur- > Chuv. tăr- 'to stand, to be;' and *oɣul Turkic oğul) = Chuv. ıvāl 'son.' In non-first syllables, both a/e and ä/ě.

0.415 Co. Tu. *ö and *ū correspond to Chuvash ü (after k, u is written instead of ü), ě and i. Thus, Turkish bütün = Chuv. pětēm 'all;' *öl- 'to die' is Chuvash vil-, and *kūn (Turkish gün) is Chuvash kun 'day.'

0.416 Those familiar with another Turkic language will note that in many Chuvash words there is a prefixed initial y or v. This consonant appears to arise, in the case of v, from an old initial rounded vowel, and in the case of y, from an old a or ä.

*el	yal	people, village
*at	yat	name
*it-	yăt-	to carry, bear
*ikiz	yĕkĕr	twins
*orun	virăn	place, spot
*orus	virăs	Russian
uč-	vĕś-	to fly
*ayač	yivăs	tree

Consonantism

0.4201 The Common Turkic consonant y appears in Chuvash initially as ś (thus, *yılan = Chuv. śĕlen 'snake,' or Turkish yŭz = Chuv. śĕr '100'), and medially as y, thus *ay = Chuv. ayăχ 'month, moon.'

0.4202 The Co. Tu. r and l are retained as such, thus *ăr > Chuv. ar 'man,' or *ălig > Chuv. ală 'hand.' However, there was also another kind of r and l, which some think to be a palatalized *r' and *l'. It is the descendants of these two sounds which are represented in other Turkic languages by z and sh. Thus *bizin (Turkish bizim) > Chuvash pirĕn 'our, of us,' or Turkish kız, Chuvash ħĕr 'girl.' Likewise, the other l (*l') of Co. Tu. becomes sh in other Turkic languages, while remaining l in Chuvash, viz., *tăś = Chuv. ħul 'stone,' or *ăśik = Chuv. alăk 'door.'

0.4203 Co. Tu. s is represented in Chuvash by s and ś, thus, *kăs- 'to cut' is Chuvash kas-, and *sora- (to ask) in Chuvash śira- 'to seek.'

0.4204 Co. Tu. ś becomes Chuvash ś, thus baś 'head,' Chuvash puś.

0.4205 Co. Tu. *q and *k are treated as follows. In general, *q becomes Chuvash ħ, and k remains k, but sometimes both become y initially. After consonants and finally, it is a general characteristic of Chuvash consonantism for q and k to disappear.

*kőkŭz	Chuv. kăkăr	breast
*qalin	Chuv. ħulăn	thick
*ăśik	Chuv. alăk	door
*qāl-	Chuv. yul-	to remain
*qutqar-	Chuv. ħătar-	to save
*qabaq	Chuv. ħăva	willowtree
*qirq	Chuv. ħĕrĕħ	forty

0.4206 Co. Tu. *γ and *g have a similar treatment, in that these disappear finally in words or syllables, as well as intervocalically.

*čārig	Chuv. śar(ǎ)	army
*ōgren-	Chuv. verēn-	to leran
*tay-da	Chuv. tu-ra	on the mountain (dative)
*kel-mā-gān	Chuv. kilmen	not come, one who has not come

0.4207 Co. Tu. t remains usually as t, although it sometimes becomes č.

tut-	Chuv. tit-	to hold, grasp, seize
tāš	Chuv. čul	stone

0.4208 Co. Tu. δ (= d) corresponds to Chuvash r (which also may have other origins). This δ (d) later became d, t, z, and y in other Turkic languages (y in modern Turkish). A key word used to classify Turkic languages is the word for foot, *aḍaq, which has reflexes of ayak, adak, and so on. In Chuvash, the regular correspondence for this word (with loss of final q) is ura. After l n r this sound is represented by t, which in turn often becomes č.

0.4209 Co. Tu. č is usually represented in Chuvash as ś, thus *čana > Chuvash śuna 'sled,' or the common Turkic verb ič- 'to drink,' is Chuvash śś- 'to drink.'

0.4210 Co. Tu. p, b and m are usually retained in Chuvash as such, although *b- becomes p- in Chuvash initially. Thus:

*bar-	Chuv. pır-	to go
*qapar-	Chuv. ǵāpar-	to ascend
*orman	Chuv. vārman	woods, forest

0.4211 Co. Tu. n and ŋ become Chuvash n and m, thus:

*būtūn	Chuv. pētēm	all
*siŋāk	Chuv. śāna	a fly

PHONOLOGY

1.0 Chuvash Dialects

When English is written, the reader cannot distinguish the prose of an Englishman from that of an Australian or an American, unless unusual words or expressions are used. When we hear a speaker of English, we immediately perceive the difference between someone from Boston, New York or Atlanta, as well as the differing pronunciations of English speakers from abroad. The same thing applies to Chuvash. The formal written language, or simply "Literary Chuvash," exists only in one form, unless the writer purposely chooses a dialect word. The spoken language, however, exists in a number of slightly differing forms, as spoken by people in various districts and villages.

Chuvash distinguishes two basic territorial dialects, the upper or viryal (from vir 'upper' + yal 'village, people'), spoken in the northern or flatter regions nearer the Finnic peoples, and the lower or anatri (from anat 'lower part' + -ri 'the one in'), spoken in the southern forested areas. There are definite differences between them, but the official language of books, newspapers, magazines, the radio, schools and theater, was largely formed on the basis of the lower (anatri) dialect of Chuvash. When there are two words in the Chuvash vocabulary for an item, the one from the lower dialect was usually taken for the literary norm, such as the words anne 'mother,' šerśi 'sparrow,' asatte 'grandfather,' seyet 'watch, hour,' inše 'far,' kăškăr- 'to cry out,' χăsan 'when,' šăkăr 'bread,' timěrsě 'smith,' and so on. Words from the upper dialect are aš 'meat,' pičče 'elder brother' and others. Sometimes, there are two words, one from each major dialect, as uy and χir 'field,' ulăχ- and χăpar- 'to rise, ascend,' or vărs- and sapăs- 'to fight, struggle.'

The difference between the various spoken dialects of modern Chuvash is very slight, so that for native speakers, there is no difficulty in mutual comprehension. The upper dialect regions correspond mostly to the districts of the old Kazan Province, and the lower dialect regions to those of the old Simbirsk Province. The exact boundary of the dialects (dialect isogloss) can be indicated

on a map by following the data given in Ashmarin's Thesaurus, Vol. I, pp. 217-226, under the entry anatri čävaš.

1.1 Orthography and Alphabets of Chuvash

The Volga Bulgars, being under the influence of Islam, naturally used the Arabic script for whatever writing in their own language they may have done. There is some evidence that books may have been produced in this script, but our chief source of information is some inscriptions on Volga Bulgarian tombstones from the 13th and 14th centuries, and a list of Bolgar princes from the 8th century in a Slavic source. It may be presumed that these ancestors of the present-day Chuvash, like other Turkic peoples, had a rich heritage of lays, ballads, epics and sagas which were transmitted orally, but it does not appear that any of them were ever written down.

Thus, quite a few centuries went past in which the Chuvash language was not written down at all. In the 18th century, as Russian expansion, colonization and missionary activity moved eastward, a need arose to reach the Chuvash people in their own language. The natural choice for a script was of course the Russian or Cyrillic alphabet, just as the languages of native America have been written with alphabets deriving from English. The first transcriptions of Chuvash were rather unscientific, and made use of many more letters than were necessary. In 1871 Ivan Yakovlevich Yákovlev, a Chuvash teacher in Simbirsk, devised an improved form of the Chuvash alphabet, based on the Russian with addition of five new letters to denote Chuvash sounds not found in Russian. Unlike English, where one letter may denote several sounds (phonemes), or even worse, where a combination of letters is used to denote a unit sound (as th, ch, sh), this Chuvash alphabet used only one letter for one sound, regardless of what combinatory variants that sound might undergo. This was a very good alphabet, and was used with hardly any change until 1938, when five letters were eliminated and the sounds indicated by them written in the Russian manner as part of a general program to bring Russian and non-Russian languages closer together in their writing systems.

At present, Chuvash is written with all 33 letters of the modern Russian alphabet, to which 4 letters with diacritical marks above and below are added, making a total of 37 letters. Quite a few of these letters, however, occur only in Russian words which have made their way into Chuvash recently. Western Turcologists usually

prefer to write Chuvash in a Latin alphabet with diacritics, as this makes the connections between Turkic languages clearer.

1.11 The Chuvash Alphabet

The following alphabetical table gives the letters in the Chuvash alphabet of Yákovlev, that of the present-day, and the transcription into English letters as given in this book.

Old Alphabet	Present Alphabet	English Transcription	Comment or Explanation
а	а	a	
ӑ	ӑ	ǣ	
(б)	б	b	In Russ. & for. words only
в	в	v	
(г)	г	g	In Russ. & for. words only
(д)	д	d	In Russ. & for. words only
е	е	ye	Old = e everywhere; new = ye- initially and e elsewhere
ё	ё	ě	
-	ё	yo or ě	Only in Russian loanwords
(ж)	ж	ž	In Russ. & for. words only
(з)	з	z	In Russ. & for. words only
и, i	и	i	
й	й	i or y	Occurs only after vowels. Transcribed as y except after i.
к	к	k	
л	л	l	
ль	(ль)	l or ly	Not a separate letter today
м	м	m	
н	н	n	
нь	нь	n or ny, n'	Not a separate letter today
(о)	о	o	In Russ. & for. words only
п	п	p	
р	р	r	
рь	рь	r or ry, r'	Not a separate letter today
с	с	s	
ç	ç	ś	
т	т	t	
ть	ть	t (t')	Not a separate letter today
у	у	u	

Old Alphabet	Present Alphabet	English Transcription	Comment or Explanation
ѳ	ф	ū	
(ф)	ф	f	In Russ. & for. words only
х	х	χ or x	
(ц)	ц	ts	In Russ. & for. words only
ѣ	ч	č	
ш	ш	š	
(щ)	щ	šč	Only in Russian loanwords
(ъ)	ъ	" or omitted	Only in Russian loanwords
ы	ы	i	
(ь)	ь	' or omitted	Both foreign and native words
-	э	e	Occurs initially and in loanwords
(ѣу)	ю	yu	
(ѣа)	я	ya	

Although the old Yákovlev alphabet is no longer used, there are still many books in Chuvash in this alphabet which the student may have need to consult, as the works of Ashmarin on Chuvash. Those consonants given in parentheses in the preceding table did occur in Chuvash transcriptions of Russian and foreign names, but were not used in any native Chuvash words. Today, however, those consonants are counted as part of the regular Chuvash alphabet. The order of that alphabet, too, was rather different from the present one, which follows the Russian order closely. The old alphabet has all the vowels first, with the reduced ä and ě last, followed by the semivowels y and v. The consonants range in order after that. In transcription this alphabet ran as follows: a, e, i, i, u(o), ū, ä, ě, y, v, k, l, l', m, n, n', p, r, r', s, ś, t, t', č, (f), χ and š. This is the order used in Ashmarin's 17-volume Chuvash dictionary. Note particularly that Russian e has the value of e, not of ye as it does in the present alphabet. Further, the sounds represented by the present-day Russian letters ю and я were given in the old alphabet as ѣу and ѣа.

About 1938 a revision of the Yákovlev alphabet was introduced in Chuvashia, which meant the dropping of the four letters ѣ, ѣ, ѣ and ѣ, the use of Russian ю and я, as well as э/е, the introduction of the voiced consonants (b, d, g, ž, z and so on) as part of the alphabet, and the adoption of the Russian order of letters as given in a second column.

In Western works on Turcology, the student may encounter yet another transcription of Chuvash words. The chief differences are that $j = i$, $a = \text{ä}$, $\text{ä} = \text{ä}$, and $t\check{s} = \text{č}$. Other changes are easily understood.

In the present work, we are going to use an English transcription of the Chuvash alphabet, for several reasons. In the first place, the English letters represent a mechanical substitution of certain English letters for the corresponding Chuvash or Russian letters, that is, a is a, t is t, and so on. The student faced with learning the vocabulary and grammar of a new language should not have the hurdle of new letters to contend with. When he has learned what some words mean, then it will be meaningful to see them in their native dress. Further, the relationships between Turkic languages and Chuvash are more apparent when a Latin alphabet is employed. Lastly, from a practical point of view, it is very difficult to prepare the text of such a work as the present one employing two or three typewriters at once, one for each of several scripts involved.

The reading selections accompanying this work are, however, given in the regular Cyrillic alphabet for all contemporary selections, and the Latin alphabet is only used for folkloristic selections. The student should begin to familiarize himself with the Russian-type alphabet as soon as a few lessons have been covered, by beginning one of the first reading selections in the modern script.

The English order of letters is used in the Glossary of the Reader, and is as follows: a, ä, b, č, d, e, ě, f, g, i, ı, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, ś, š, t, u, ũ, v, x, y, z, and ž. Note that the Russian order differs by placing at the end some letters we are accustomed to find at the beginning, and vice versa.

1.2 The Sound System of Literary Chuvash

1.20 Foreword to the Specialist or Teacher

The Yakovlevian or prerevolutionary Chuvash phonemic system contained only voiceless consonants, liquids, nasals and semi-vowels. The voiceless consonants (stops, fricatives and affricates) had voiced allophones in intervocalic position and after (but not before) liquids, nasals and semi-vowels (l m n r v y). All consonants could occur geminated, except the voiced allophones in the positions mentioned. Thus, as voicing was always accompanied by absence of length in these positions, it was never necessary to write any

voiced consonants, as the voiced allophones were used only under storable conditions. Free variation of voiced and unvoiced consonants also occurred initially and finally as a junctural or sandhi feature of word liaison.

After the Revolution, however, Russian words with voiced consonants began to be introduced in large numbers, this being aided by the presence of voiced allophones already in the language (the voiced consonants in older Russian loanwords were converted to their unvoiced equivalents for the most part). At the same time, the feature of length after /l m n r v y/ began to be neutralized. Whereas formerly Ashmarin (III, 52-53) could oppose /iltäm/ [ıldım] to /ilttän/ [ılttın] 'gold, gold coin,' /kurka/ [kurga] (VII, 8) 'scoop, ladle' to /kärkka/ [kırkka] (VII, 179) 'turkey' and types like /yultaš/ [yuldaš] 'comrade' to types like /ulttä/ [ulttī], 'six,' at present, if we are to believe the statement of Yegorov (Chuvash-Russian Dictionary, p. 302) "this in our time is no longer a sign of length, but a mere orthographical device to denote voiceless consonants in a voiced position." Hence, a new opposition of voiced to unvoiced after /l m n r v y/ has arisen. In other words, formerly /karta/ was [karda] 'herd' and /karttä/ was [karttä] 'map;' now, they would be [karda] versus [kartä], thus opposing /d/ to /t/, formerly, /d/ being opposed only to /tt/. (It should also be mentioned that there are some cases of free variation, at least, insofar as the official orthography is concerned, between voiced and voiceless in the positions under discussion, e.g., /kakära/ and /kakkära/, /yärka-/ and /yärkka-/ , and /kärtäš/ vs. /kärttäš/.)

Consequently, the provisional phonemic analysis of Chuvash texts presented here (in lieu of an analysis of a spoken corpus) considers, for pedagogical reasons, native voiced consonants to exist only as allophones to their voiceless counterparts under storable conditions. This means that the transcription between slant lines is not strictly phonemic, but rather morphophonemic or morphemic, based on the current orthography. From this orthography, a provisional phonemic writing may be constructed if desired, but for purposes of instruction, it is thought better to employ here only one system, making the transcription between slant lines essentially coincide with the spelling to be met by the student in contemporary printed texts.

From a practical point of view, Chuvash writing is well suited to the language (although it does unnecessarily note the phonetic feature of palatalization). This is all the more remarkable considering that it was formulated in 1871, at a time when the word phoneme had not as yet been used (1879).

The sounds of Chuvash are not difficult, and can be readily mastered by an English-speaking person, particularly if there is a native speaker of Chuvash to be of assistance in correcting one's pronunciation. If there is no one who can do this, then the student must endeavor to approximate the pronunciation from the written description of sounds until such time as actual speakers of Chuvash can be utilized.

The phonemes of a language are the essential sounds by which words are differentiated from one another. These functional sound units which are significant in Chuvash can be divided into two major categories, the vowels and the consonants.

1.21 Vocalism

There are eight vowel phonemes in native Chuvash words, plus a ninth /o/ employed only in Russian loanwords and dialect words. The following symbols will be employed for them.

	high unrounded	low unrounded	high rounded	reduced low rounded
front	i	e	ü	ǣ
back	ɪ	a	u	ǡ

Note carefully the use of diacritical marks over some of these vowels. These do not indicate any modification of the basic sound, as some might think, but are instead the symbols for completely independent sounds. That is, ǣ with a short mark or breve above it is not simply another way of writing a, it is a distinct vowel sound in its own right, although of course bearing a close connection to the other vowel phonemes.

More important perhaps than the exact articulatory quality of these vowels is the fact that they are phonemically opposed to each other. That is, what distinguishes /u/ from /a/ is not its phonetic rendering as much as its relative height in the presence or absence of labialization or rounding. In other words, phonetic [a] can vary

in the direction of [æ], or /u/ can vary towards /o/ as long as the opposition to another partner is not obscured.

1.2101 The back, low, unrounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /a/, and may be compared with the [a] of German or Russian (but not the flat a of English can or at). It is pronounced further back and with lower timbre than the Russian [a]. It occurs initially, medially and finally, varying from close to open, and may be stressed or unstressed. Examples are: /ama/ 'mother,' /urpa/ 'barley,' and /urapa/ 'carriage.' It is opposed to other vowels in such words as: /pat/ direction, /pit/ cheek, /pět/ end! finish!

1.2102 The back, low, rounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /ǎ/, and does not have equivalents in English or Western European languages. It is always reduced, and can occur stressed only in the first syllable of a polysyllabic word. It varies in its phonetic realization from a reduced /ɪ/ or [ə] (the schwa-like sound of a in English sofa) to a labialized version of the a in English all (with rounded lips). It is like Russian /o/ or /a/ after the accent (as in dirėktor or trėktor). It is fleetingly pronounced, and sometimes so reduced as to sound almost coalesced with the following consonant as in /kǎvak/ 'blue,' almost > [kvak], somewhat as when an English speaker slows down a consonant cluster to yield 'pul-leeze!' Hence doublets sometimes occur, as /arǎslan/ and /arslan/ 'lion.' This vowel is an unstable one and drops easily at the end of words, or in compounds, e. g., tǎvat(ǎ) ura 'four feet.' By itself, it is rather like a short ǒ, and when with other vowels, like a schwa, ə. Hence

/śǎltǎr/ 'star' = [śóldər], but /śǎmarta/ 'egg' = [śəmərdá]
/vǎkǎr/ 'bull' = [vógər], but /χǎvar/ 'stay!' = [χəvár].

It occurs initially, medially and finally, as in /unǎn/ his, /ǎšta/ where, /pulǎ/ fish, /ǎn/ reason, mind, and is opposed to other vowels in such words as: /pulǎ/ fish, vs. /pula/ thanks to; /pǎr/ ice, vs. /pěr/ one, a; /ut/ horse, vs. /utǎ/ hay.

1.2103 The front, low, unrounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /e/, and varies between a closed [e] and an open [e], that is approximately from the sound of e in English best to the open e of French or German, e. g., Schnee, or the sound in English day without the final diphthongization. It occurs initially, medially and finally, as /erne/ week, /etem/ man, and may be stressed or unstressed. It is opposed to other vowels in such pairs as /yen/ side, against /yun/ blood.

1.2104 The front, low rounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /ě/, and, like its counterpart /ǎ/, does not have an equivalent in English. It is essentially the same as /ǎ/, except that it is pronounced in the front of the mouth, like an unlabialized schwa (ə). It too occurs only reduced, and may be stressed only in the first syllable. It varies from a reduced [i] or [e] to its rounded equivalent [ø], with protruded or widespread lips. It may also virtually disappear between consonants, as in slowed-up English words like buh-read, or gah-rage. It is fleetingly pronounced, and like /ǎ/, is unstable in compounds and at the end of words.

It occurs initially, medially and finally, as in /ěntě/ now, already, or /pěr/ one, a, /epě/ I, /ěne/ cow, and others. It is opposed to other vowels in words like /pěr/ one, a, /pur/, there is, /par/ give!, /pir/ go!, /pǎr/ ice, /pir/ hemp, linen, /pūr/ pus, and /per/ throw!

To judge from the remarks of Ashmarin (Materialy, p. 13), some dialects of Chuvash distinguish [ě] and [ǎ] as phonemes, not allophones. In the literary language treated here, however, no distinction is made between such homonyms as /śěr/ hundred and /śěr/ earth, or between /kěr/ enter! and /kěr/ autumn. This feature should be made the subject of later investigation.

1.2105 The front, high, unrounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /i/, and is to be compared with the [i] of French, German or Russian (but never with the i as in English night). It may occur stressed or unstressed, and in initial, medial or final position, as /ikkě/ two, /irxi/ morning, /pit/ cheek, face, /pin/ thousand. In English terms, it may be said to vary from the i of is to the i of he, without however the final glide of the latter. It is opposed to other vowels in pairs like /im/ medicine, vs. /ěm/ such!, vs. /um/ front, fore, and /pir/ hemp linen, vs. /pir/ go!

1.2106 The back, high, unrounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /ɨ/, a dotless or undotted i, and may be compared with the sound denoted by the same letter in Turkish, or with the Russian y (very), although it is articulated further back than Russian /y/. The lips are not rounded. Approximately the same sound may be found in English in such plurals as glasses, roses or churches, or in the word 'just' when given the pronunciation that it has in some sections of the United States as 'jɨst'. Unlike all other vowels, which may occur initially, medially and finally, /ɨ/ may occur only in initial or medial position, but finally, there is no phonemic opposition of /i/ to /ɨ/. It may be stressed or unstressed. Examples are /ivǎl/ son, /iran/ tomorrow, /iltǎn/ gold, /pisǎk/ large. It

is opposed to other vowels in such pairs as /iran/ tomorrow versus /aran/ somehow.

1.2107 The back, high rounded vowel denoted by the symbol /u/, and is comparable to the [u] of French (spelled *ou*), German or Russian, or that sound in English without the final w-like glide. It may occur initially, medially or finally, and in stressed or unstressed position. In some dialects, /u/ tends towards a lowered [o], especially when followed by /ǎ/. Examples of its use are /ivǎlu/ your son, /ulma/ apple, and /yuman/ oak. Its opposition to other vowels may be shown by the pair /pur/ all against /par/ give!

In some transcriptions of Chuvash, especially of folkloristic content, the student may find /u/ written as o, although o does not normally occur except in obvious loanwords like /oktyabr/ October, or /sovet/, soviet, or /kolxoz/ kholkhoz, collective farm.

1.2108 The front, high rounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /ü/, and may be compared with the German *ü*, French *u*, and approximately with such sounds as in English *Buick*, but pronounced with greater tension and more liprounding. Some English speakers approximate this sound in "music" or "Tuesday" ('Tyews-day'). The usual instruction for producing this sound is to round the lips for 'ee' while articulating 'oo', and this will yield an approximation of it for our present purposes. This phoneme may occur initially, medially and finally, in stressed and unstressed position, as in /üpke/ lungs, /pěldü/ fact, thing known, /śurt/ house. In such pairs as the following its opposition to other vowels is shown: /pürt/ room vs. /purte/ all, every; /χura/ black, vs. /χüre/ tail, and /yun/ blood vs. /yün/ cheap.

1.2109 The phoneme /o/ may be given the value of a short open o as in German or Russian o under stress. This phoneme occurs only in Russian loanwords, or as dialect forms to Chuvash words in their standard spelling. As mentioned previously, /u/ is in some dialects lowered to [o] by a following /ǎ/. Words containing /o/ are /sovet/ council, soviet, /revolyutsi/ revolution, /produkti/ production, and many others.

1.2110 Note the orthographic convention (also observed in our transcription in this book) to write the combination /yo/ in Russian loanwords as *ë*, thus, /samolët/ for /samolyot/, or /lětčik/ for /lyotčik/, meaning, respectively, 'airplane,' and 'pilot.' (But note /yod/ 'iodine'.)

1.2111 There are no long vowels or vowel sequences in Chuvash, and no diphthongs, although there are syllabic nuclei of which

/y/ is the first or second member. This /y/ may occur preceding all eight (or nine) vowels, and after vowels as follows: /ay, ey, oy, uy, iy, äy/. No examples have yet been found for /ëy/ and /üy/. Hence, /y/ is treated as a consonantal phoneme in Chuvash.

1.2112 It will be noted by some that the *ö* and *o* of other Turkic languages is not to be found in (native) Chuvash words, their positions instead being occupied by *ë* and *ä*. This does not mean that Chuvash /*ë*/ corresponds to general Turkic *ö*, but simply that instead of a mid-low rounded *ö*, there is a somewhat labialized *e* (hence the symbol *ë* or *ə* in some transcriptions), and instead of an *o*, a schwa-like reduced sound symbolized by *ä* (or *ə*). Thus the close vowels of parent Turkish have in general become wider vowels.

1.2113 Vowel Harmony

The principles of labial attraction (by which a rounded vowel may be followed in a given word only by other rounded vowels) and vowel harmony (likewise, by which only vowels from the top line or the bottom line of the table on p. 70 may occur with each other) is in general rather weakly carried through in Chuvash, in contrast to its rather strict operation in some other Turkic languages. Particularly often is a mixture of front and back vowels to be found in the final syllables of words, when the possessive suffix of the 3rd p. sg. /-*ë*/ is adjoined, when the plural morpheme /-*sem*/ is used (the variants /*sam*/ and /*sem*/ occur only in spoken dialects, but not in the formal written language), or in the use of /*i*/ for /*ı*/ finally. Thus we may find such pairs as

/sar <i>ä</i> l-/	to enlarge	/širkala-/	to write a lot
/sir <i>ä</i> l-/	to shun	/šürkele-/	to walk a bit

In fact, a great many suffixed morphemes exist in two forms, one to be used with words containing front vowels, and the other for use with back vowel words. This feature will be pointed out again when such morphemes of dual shape occur in the Grammar lessons.

1.22 Consonantism

1.220 General Remarks

The consonant phonemes of Chuvash may be subsumed under two categories, the native versus the borrowed. From the viewpoint of the learner, nothing is affected by such a division, but a better analysis is obtained this way.

The native consonant phonemes of Chuvash are unvoiced stops and spirants, the liquids and nasals, plus the semi-vowels /y/ and /v/. The unvoiced consonants are fortes initially and finally, and lenes medially unless doubled, when they remain fortes. To the untrained ear, the medial lenes consonants sound like their voiced equivalents, and no great harm will be done if voiced sounds are given. According to Yegorov (Dictionary, pp. 301-302), if the degree of voicing found in Russian consonants is taken as 100, then Chuvash consonants are voiced only between 70 and 80 on such a scale.

In medial position, then, consonants are voiced intervocalically, and after but not before the liquids, nasals and semi-vowels, viz., /l m n r y v/. Consonants remain unvoiced before any other consonant, and before l m n r y and v, and if they are doubled (geminated). Many instances of the medial unvoiced pronunciation are found in some hypocoristic forms of kinship terms, as /appa/, /akka/, and in such final combinations as -rkka, which give these words a definite Finnic overtone.

Clusters of consonants remain unvoiced, as /kalarčšpe/ 'when he said,' or /tuɣsa/ 'having arisen' and the presence of a third consonant in a medial cluster also inhibits the normal voicing, viz., /saltra, virtma, saltsa/. Likewise, a voiceless consonant in final position, even if after /l m n y r v/ remains voiceless, e.g., /salt, šart, pŭrt/ (cf. Ashmarin, Materialy, p. 46). In medial clusters, one of the three will be /l m r/. There are no initial consonant clusters in native words, but words taken from Russian display all of those found in that language, particularly /pr-/ being very common. The elision of /ǎ/ and /ě/ gives the acoustic impression of a cluster, as /kěřěšně/ 'he hired himself out' > [kěřěšně].

Sporadic, perhaps regular, voicing occurs across word and morpheme boundaries under conditions not as yet susceptible of definition without analysis of a spoken corpus. This occurs in some set phrases, as /šén šul/ New Year's > [šénšul], or /yala kilet/ 'he comes to the village' > [yala gilet']. A fuller investigation of this phenomenon must be made later.

1.221 Native Consonant Phonemes

1.22101 The unvoiced postdental (or perhaps alveopalatal?) affricate is denoted by the symbol /č/, and represents the general sound of ch as in cheese, cheer, church, etc., except that it is always palatalized in Chuvash. It occurs initially and medially,

but finally, it is almost always followed by a vowel, e. g., /pičče/ elder brother. In a few forms, it is in absolute word-final position, as /šič/ 'seven,' the short form of /šiččě/. It is frequently geminated, and in such a case, remains unvoiced medially and after /l m n r y v/, but retains its palatalization. After an unvoiced consonant, /č/ is unvoiced. (/layăχče, vilesčě, kalamasčě/).

/čeček/	[tšedžék]	flower
/ača/	[adžá]	child
/purččě/	[púrčě]	there was, he was
/iranččen/	[irančén]	until tomorrow
/kaččám/	[káčám]	my child
/sukčě/	[súkčě]	there was not
/čávaš/	[číváš]	Chuvash

/č/ may also occur opposed to other consonant phonemes, as in /aka/ field, vs. /ača/ child, or in /kilčě/ 'he came' vs. /kilččě/ 'you would come' (Dmitriyev & Gorskii, Russian-Chuvash Dictionary, p. 875). The latter example, if it is pronounced [kildžě] vs. [kilčě] as we have seen earlier (pp. 68-69) would furnish a perfect minimal pair to construct a voiced /j/ phoneme opposing the unvoiced /č/. The word for "much, for a great deal" has been found in texts in free variation, viz. [nummayččen] (206,17; 208,5)*, vs. [nummay-džen] [250,13; 256,3]. *

It would also be theoretically possible to analyze /č/ not as a unit phoneme, but as a succession of /t/ and /š/. The only word thus far found with this internal combination is /patša/, clearly a borrowing from Persian padišah 'king, emperor,' and the gerundial ending /-atšan/, which occurs only in dialects (cf. Andreyev et al., Grammar, p. 268). There seems to be no merit in such an analysis, and /č/ is here retained to conform the transcription to the contemporary spelling.

Some writers have transcribed č as [tʰ], which would indicate a palatalized domal t. Such an analysis would lead one to oppose /tʰ/ (plus retroflexion) to /t/, and to isolate palatalization as a phonemic feature. More information about the articulatory nature of č is needed to resolve the analysis.

1. 22102 The unvoiced velar stop is denoted by the symbol /k/, and has basically the k-sound of European languages. Before front

*Such numbers henceforth given are citations to Paasonen's Texts. If in parentheses (), refer to the re-transcription on that page in this book; if in brackets [], refer to Paasonen's original book.

vowels, viz., /e, i, ū, ě/ it is somewhat palatalized. It is not aspirated, and may occur initially, medially or finally. Initially and finally, it is fortis, and medially, lenis, giving the acoustic impression of [g] as in get. In intervocalic position, or immediately after /l m n r y v/, it becomes voiced. When doubled between vowels, it retains its unvoiced articulation.

/alǎk/	door
/aka/	arable field
/kapla/	such, such a

It is opposed to other Chuvash phonemes in such pairs as /aka/ [aga] 'field' versus /akka/ [akka] 'elder sister,' versus /ača/ [adža] 'child' or in the series /kapla, apla, sapla/ 'such' (each denotes a degree of distance).

According to the semiphonetic data of Paasonen's Texts, in the verb infix morpheme /-kala/, of iterative and intensive meaning, the /k/ appears to retain its unvoiced nature even after /l m n r/ (cf. p. 206, line 25), viz.:

/kulkalasa/ [kulkalaza]; /šěχĕrkalasa/ [šěχĕrkalaza]; etc.

If these data are correct, it makes the patterning somewhat asymmetrical.

As stated above, the /k/ phoneme has palatalized (soft) and non-palatalized (hard) allophones, conditioned by front and back vowels respectively. However, old loanwords from Russian are pronounced with a soft [k'] finally, e. g., [starik'] old man, [prašnik'] holiday, or [premĕk'] gingerbread, whereas modern loanwords are pronounced with a hard /k/ as in Russian, viz., /teχnik/, technique, /čertĕžnik/ draftsman, /kolχoznik/ collective farm worker. This phonetic difference shows up in the declension of these words, the former taking front endings, the latter back endings.

nom.	/starik/	/teχnik/
gen.	/starikĕn/	/teχnikǎn/
dat.	/starike/	/teχnika/
instr.	/starikpe/	/teχnikpa/

1.22103 The lateral resonant is denoted by the symbol /l/, and may be compared with the l-sounds of Western languages. It is palatalized before /č/, and may occur initially, medially and finally.

Palatalization occurs particularly in the vicinity of front vowels, but is also found with back. Since /l/ and /l'/ are two phonemes in Russian the Chuvash orthography has been influenced to write a soft l /l'/ where it is heard, although this distinction is not a phonemic one (no minimal pairs having been found as yet). In the present transcription, no soft sign (') is written. As noted in the foregoing, the presence of /l/ makes a following unvoiced consonant voiced (or semi-voiced, the acoustic impressions vary), but /l/ after an unvoiced consonant has no effect on that consonant. From the phonetic data available, apparently /l/ does not make /χ/ > /γ/ [e.g., 207, 6, 209, 1-2: yulχav], but this may be due to a deficiency of typography in the sources, or at least inconsistency (cf. Sergeyev, *Grammatika*, p. 9, listing /sulχǎn/ as pronounced [sulǎn], presumably [g] standing for spirantic [γ]).

/l/ frequently occurs geminated, especially as a result of the common formative morpheme /.la/ or /.lǎχ/. Note such oppositions as /killǎn/ 'of mortar' vs. /kilǎn/ 'of a house,' /pilǎk/ belt vs. /pillǎk/ five, or /alǎ/ hand vs. /allǎ/ fifty. The /l/ may also be opposed to other consonants, as /sul/ road vs. /sur/ half. Examples of initial and final position are /layǎχ/ good, well and /mal/ front.

No minimal pair (or subminimal pair) exists between /yul/ remain! and /iyul'/, because the soft sign in the latter comes from a Russian loan, 'July.'

1.22104 The bilabial nasal resonant is denoted by the symbol /m/ and corresponds to the m sound of other languages. It occurs, initially, medially and finally, as in /mǎn/ what? and /mamǎk/ cotton. In opposition to other consonants may be mentioned /um/ front vs. /ut/ horse.

1.22105 The nasal dental (or alveolar?) resonant is denoted by the symbol /n/, and is like the n sound of other languages, produced probably somewhat more forward than is the corresponding sound in English. It occurs initially, medially and finally, and before /č/ is palatalized to [ń]. Before /k/ and /χ/, /n/ employs its allophone /ŋ/, namely, the sound of sing as opposed to sin (compare an English pair such as can go vs. Congo.).

/načar/	bad
/manǎn/	my, mine
/ančax/ [andžǎχ]	but, only, however
/an kar/ [aŋ gar]	don't spread out!
/an xup/ [aŋ xup] (γup?)	don't shut!

In the hypocaristic form /anne/ 'mother,' a loanword from other Turkic languages, the /n/ is always palatalized, viz. [ańńe]. As remarked previously, when voiceless consonants follow /n/, they become voiced unless geminate.

Note the combination /n/ + /l/ > [ll], e. g., /mėnle/ 'what sort' being pronounced [mėlle].

1.22106 The unvoiced bilabial plosive is denoted by the symbol /p/, and corresponds to the /p/ of other languages, except that it is not aspirated, that is, followed by the slight breathiness that non-distinctively marks English utterances (compare pan with span). It occurs initially, medially and finally, and between vowels it becomes voiced or semi-voiced as it does when following /l m n r y v/ (but not preceding these). When written doubled between vowels, it is unvoiced, but this is restricted to only a few forms.

/tăpra/	earth, soil
/arpa/ [arba]	barley
/appa/	elder sister
/epě, epir/	I, we
/păs/	steam
/čap/	fame

A [p] may also arise as an assimilation of /tp/ > [pp] (see /t/).

1.22107 The alveolar trilled consonant is denoted by the symbol /r/, and may occur medially and finally. Initially it is restricted to loanwords: at least, all instances of Chuvash words beginning with r- are clearly loans, except for a small number of cases in which the etymology is not clear, and which are in all probability not ultimately native words. This feature is shared by other Altaic languages. In the phonetic material examined, no palatalized /r/ [ɾ] occurs, but such an allophone is a feature of some Chuvash dialects. /r/ may occur geminate, witness /surăn/ 'of a swamp' vs. /surrăn/ 'of whiteness,' or /pattărăn/ hero's, of a hero, vs. /pattărrăn/ heroically. Other instances of the use of /r/ are /vără/ seed, /pěr/ one, a, and /rayon/ region (< Russian). In opposition, it may be seen in such pairs as /sar/ army vs. /săk/ this, or /ėnen/ believe! vs. /ėner/ yesterday.

1.22108 The alveolar (presumably, that is) voiceless sibilant is denoted by the symbol /s/, and represents the s sound of English and other Western European languages. It may occur initially, medially and finally, and like other unvoiced consonants, becomes voiced or semi-voiced in intervocalic position, as well as after but

not before the phonemes /l m n r y v/. It may occur with front or back vowels. In the presence of /ś/ and /š/, an /s/ readily assimilates, so that /ś + s/ > [śś] and /š + s/ > [šš], and vice versa (progressive and regressive assimilation). Instances are:

/namăssăr/	dishonorable
/sămsa/ [sămza]	nose
/păs/	steam

In opposition, it occurs as follows: /suḡa/ plow vs. /śuḡa/ collar, and /sěr/ grease! vs. /śěr/ hundred.

1.22109 The palatal voiceless sibilant is denoted by the symbol /ś/. Take care not to confuse this symbol with the following phoneme /š/. The /ś/ has been selected for typographical ease and visual clarity, instead of the ʃ symbol found in the traditional Chuvash orthography (Cyrillic Ч), and also because in modern Turkish ʃ denotes the sh sound.

It must be stressed that this is an s of a different quality than the preceding s, and to acquire its pronunciation, a native speaker should be used. The presence of two s's is not unknown in other languages, as Basque and Nez Percé. Russian and Western descriptions of this /ś/ all call it a palatalized s' similar to Russian palatalized s'. This is not quite correct. It is a palatal s, that is, an s pronounced in the palatal region, not an s to which a feature of palatalization has been added. This is confirmed by only one source (Yegorov, Dictionary, p. 303: "The sound ś is not a soft variant to the sound s, but represents an independent sound (phoneme)"). Since palatalization has not been phonemic in the case of /l m n t r/, it would be inconsistent to expect it to play a role here. Thus, there can be no attempt to analyze /ś/ as /s + y/, even though this combination does not otherwise occur in Chuvash (except across morpheme boundaries), but it must be treated as a unit phoneme. It should be noted that /ś/ is always transcribed into Russian with the Cyrillic Ч, and vice versa. It is clear that the situation is strongly influenced by Russian phonemics and orthography.

The presence of a palatalized ś in neighboring Finnic languages such as Mari (Cheremis) is clearly a contributing factor in the existence of the Chuvash phoneme. More information on its articulatory nature is needed.

/ś/ may occur with front or back vowels. Instances of its uses are: /śérśi/ sparrow, and /śúrśăr/ north. Minimal pairs are

/kun/ day vs. /kuš/ eye, or /siměs/ green vs. /šiměš/ food. In conjunction with /s/, that /s/ is assimilated to /š/.

1.22110 The broad post-dental (perhaps alveopalatal?) sibilant is denoted by the symbol /š/. Take care not to confuse its diacritic with that of /ś/. This is the sound of sugar, she, sure, and is also found in French, German, Russian, etc. It occurs initially, medially and finally, and between vowels, and after but not before /l m n r y v/ is semi-voiced to [ž]. When doubled it has a voiceless pronunciation, but this is restricted to a very few words, such as /aššě/ 'father' (< *aśāše). In conjunction with /s/, that /s/ is assimilated to /š/. Instances of its use are the following.

/aš/	meet vs. /ar/ male
/šiv/	water
/šupaškar/	Cheboksary, capital of Chuvashia
/čāvaš/	Chuvash
/patša/	king, czar, ruler (< Persian <u>padishah</u>)
/laša/	horse (cf. Russian <u>lošad'</u>)

1.22111 The voiceless dental plosive is denoted by the symbol /t/ and is probably articulated further front than the corresponding sound of English. It occurs initially, medially and finally, and like other unvoiced consonant phonemes, when it is intervocalic or following /l m n r y v/, it has voiced allophones. Examples of its occurrence are the following:

/pit/	cheek
/tus/	friend
/sětel/	table (Russian <u>stol</u>)
/ut/	horse
/pattār/	hero

Its oppositions to other consonants may be shown as /par/ give! vs. /pat/ direction, towards, or /ut/ horse vs. /um/ front. An example of gemination is /tětēm/ [tēdēm] smoke, vs. /tētēm/ [tētēm] dark. Others are /śuttān/ 'of light,' vs. /śutān/ 'of a hill,' or /pāttān/ 'of porridge' vs. /pātān/ 'of a pood' (old unit of weight).

According to one source (Sergeyev, *Grammatika*, p. 4) words like /literatura/ are pronounced [litteratura] (Why not [litterattura]?), that is, foreign words with unvoiced t are subject to gemination of the unvoiced.

The conjunction of /t/ + /p/, particularly in the 1st p. pl. of verbs, assimilates to [-pp-], e. g., /kayatpār/ > [kayappār] 'we go.' Whether this occurs in all positions is not known, e. g., does /vut/ 'fire' + /-pa/ 'with' > [vuppa]? or [vutpa]?

There is also a palatalized allophone [t'], but the phonological conditions under which it occurs are not as yet clearly defined. In the modern spelling, it most frequently occurs in the 3rd p. sg. of verbs with back-stem vowels. In some words, the palatalization is a reflex of metathesis, e. g., [at'a] or [atya], for /ayta/ or /atya/. In the transcription between slant lines, the soft sign ['i] is omitted, but it is retained in the Reader as a part of the current orthography.

1.22112 The labiodental (or bilabial?) voiced (!) fricative is denoted by the symbol /v/. Up until recent times, there was apparently no unvoiced counterpart to this (viz. [f]), even in Russian loans like /lavka/ 'shop.' Now, however, a new phoneme /f/ has developed (formerly it was represented in a few loans by the combination /xěv/ as in /xěvetěr/ Theodore < Russian Fyodor or Fědor). To judge from the distribution and function of /v/ as a semi-vowel and counterpart to /y/, it would be bilabial instead of labiodental in articulation. It occurs initially, medially and finally, and after it, unvoiced consonants employ voiced allophones just as after /l m n r/.

/av/	house		/avǎ/	there
/śav/	that	vs. /śap/	hit!	
/vak/	this		/čavsa/ [čavza]	elbow

1.22113 The velar voiceless fricative is denoted by the symbol /x/ (or /x/), and has the values of the ich-laut and ach-laut in German, or of X in Russian (e. g., xotet'). It is similar to the sound sometimes produced in English hue or Hugh, but greatly constricted initially. Some speakers use this sound when saying the name of the composer Bach. It is similar to the j in the Spanish names Méjico, San José, Trujillo, etc.). The semiphonetic data of Paasonen's text furnish no basis for concluding that this phoneme like other unvoiced consonants has a voiced allophone intervocalically, but the patterning of this language would appear to require

such a sound as the [ɣ] of modern Greek, or the intervocalic -g- of North German sagen (viz., [zaɣən]). One modern source does give an example (Sergeyev, Grammatika, p. 9) of /sulɣǎn/ being pronounced [sulǧǎn], which I interpret to refer to a spirantic [ɣ] and not the occlusive [g] for which there is a symbol in Russian.

/ɣalǎɣ/ people

/ɣapɣa/ gate

Examples of opposition are /puɣ/ gather! vs. /pus/ press!, and /čux/ time vs. /čul/ stone.

1.22114 The medial palatal resonant, or semi-vowel y, is denoted by the symbol /y/, and may occur initially, finally or medially. It is mostly the second component of a syllabic nucleus with an accompanying vowel. After /y/, voiceless phonemes employ voiced allophones under the conditions frequently mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

/ay/ interjection, Ah!, vs. /aš/ meat

/yal/ village /kayma/ going, the act of going

Its function throughout the language is consonantal, and not vocalic.

1.222 Borrowed Consonant Phonemes

In addition to the previously listed native consonant phonemes, Chuvash also employs some other phonemes, many of which are the voiced equivalents to the foregoing. It is difficult to know whether these new phonemes have made much headway in the speech of the average Chuvash farmer or worker, but since nearly every one has been exposed to the Russian language, it would appear that anyone who has been to school must use words of Russian origin with these sounds. Although of restricted occurrence, they are fullfledged Chuvash phonemes. Old loans from Russian generally employed unvoiced phonemes.

Modern Russian loans are spelled with the customary Russian letters, some of which would correspond to two letters in the transcription, as ц /ts/, ш /šč/, or the hard sign ь (represented by /''). We have also previously mentioned the convention to write /yo/ as in Russian, viz. ё.

1.2221 The voiced bilabial plosive is symbolized by /b/, and occurs in such words as /barža/ barge, and /brigada/, brigade, team of workers.

1.2222 The voiced dental plosive is symbolized by /d/, and occurs in such words as /delegat/ delegate.

1.2223 The voiceless labiodental fricative is symbolized by /f/, and occurs in such words as /fabrika/ factory, and also where /f/ occurs in Russian words with orthographic v, viz., /petrov/ [petrov], /avtomobil/ [aftomobil], and /avtor/ [after] author. See also § 1.22112.

1.2224 The voiced velar (palatal?) stop is symbolized by /g/, and occurs in such words as /gosudarstvo/ state, and /granitsa/ border.

1.2225 The voiced sibilant is symbolized by /z/, and occurs in words like /zastav/ guard post and /zadača/ task, duty, assignment.

1.2226 The voiced wide-spread palatal sibilant is symbolized by /ž/ and occurs in words like /žurnal/ magazine.

As previously mentioned, the phoneme /r/ in initial position is indicative of a borrowed word.

1.223 Table of Consonant Clusters

The possible consonant combinations in native Chuvash words are given in the table on p. 85. This table is relatively complete, but probably additional research will produce a few more combinations. The combinations found in loanwords have not been entered here. The symbols employed are two: x to indicate the presence of a cluster, whether across morpheme boundaries or not, and + to indicate a cluster thus far found only with morpheme boundary intervening. Further study must be made. The table is based on a list in Ashmarin (Materialy, p. 46 ff.) to which items from Paasonen's texts have been added.

1.3 Accent (Stress)

The accent, or stress, in Chuvash words is not the strong emphasis found in English words, but simply a slightly increased intensity of sound, perhaps accompanied with a slight shift of pitch. The stress on all syllables is approximately the same, except that the one bearing the accent is slightly greater (but not immensely greater). The best advice is to follow the practice of a native speaker.

Accent in Chuvash is a suprasegmental feature, that is, one not a syntagmatic segment of the morpheme, but occurring as a

TABLE OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS

First	Second	č	k	l	m	n	p	r	s	ś	š	t	v	χ	y
č	x	x				x	x	x	x						
k		x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x		+	
l	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x
m		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	+			x
n	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
p	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
r	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	+	x	x	x		x	x
s	x	x	x	x	x	x		x				x			
ś		x	x	x	x	+		x	x					+	
š		x	x	x	x	x	+	x		x	x	x			
t		x	+	+	+	x	x		x			x			
v		x	x	x	x	+	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
χ	x		x	x	x	+	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
y	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x

feature of the entire morpheme (or syllable). Unlike Russian, English and some other languages, there is no phonemic opposition of accent in Chuvash, as in such English pairs as

fréquent	vs.	to fréquent
cótract	vs.	to contráct
cómbat	vs.	to combát
súbject	vs.	to subjéct
pérfect	vs.	to perfect
bláckbird	vs.	black bird

Thus the accent in Chuvash is phonologically irrelevant, since its placement or misplacement does not create a different word. Although the accent does not occur on any fixed syllable as in some languages, it is as far towards the end of the word as the following rules allow. These formulations apply to the literary language, or Formal Written Chuvash; in the dialects, there may be different practices.

1. 31 The accent is on the last syllable unless this contains the reduced vowel phonemes /ě/ or /ǎ/.

/lašá/	horse
/ěné/	cow
/kámaká/	stove
/sarlaká/	widely

1. 32 If the last syllable does contain /ě/ or /ǎ/, then the accent is on the syllable immediately preceding. Should the last two syllables both contain /ě/ or /ǎ/, then the accent will immediately precede those two syllables.

/álǎk/	door
/yěnéřčěk/	saddle
/ěslérěměř/	we worked
/kálǎttǎmǎř/	we would say

1. 33 If all syllables contain a reduced /ě/ or /ǎ/, then the stress will be on the first syllable. Or, if X successive syllables contain /ǎ/ or /ě/, then the accent will be on the first syllable preceding the succession of ǎ/ě syllables.

/ěšlěpěr/	we shall work
/tătămăr/	we got up
/śávărănătămărččě/	we would return (Ashmarin, <u>Mate-</u> <u>rial</u> , p. 19)

1.34 Other Observations on Accent

In a few set phrases, usually of a noun plus a functional word such as a postposition or particle, there may be only one accent, or else a weakened secondary accent.

/sětél śinči/	located on the table
/átăl tărăχ/	on the Volga
/káy χa/	Go on!

Intensifying particles employed with adjectives take the primary stress, and the key word which is strengthened may have a secondary stress.

/śáp-śură/	snow-white, very
	white
/píte paχă/	most excellent

Whether a Chuvash functional morpheme (suffix) may be accented or not depends on the quality of its vowel: a suffix containing the reduced /ă/ or /ě/ may not take the accent, although suffixes containing any other vowel may be accented.

/laśśăsăr/	horseless, with-
	out a horse
/ěnésěr/	cowless, without
	a cow
/laśśapá/	having a horse,
	with a horse
/ěnepé/	with a cow

Old Russian loanwords are subject to the rules of Chuvash accent, viz.:

/kěneké/	book (< книга)
/kěreplé/	rake (< грабли)
/čeyník/	teapot (< чайник)

Recent loanwords, however, preserve the Russian accent, viz. :

/sekretár'/	secretary (< секретарь)
/predsedátel'/	chairman (< председатель)

When inflecting a borrowed word, the accent shifts to the suffix morpheme if the accent was originally on the last syllable of the stem; in all other instances, the accent, more often than not, is retained on the stem of the word.

/téχnikumra/	in the technical school
/predsedátel'pe/	with the chairman
/kolχozrá/	in the collective farm (kolkhoz)

1.4 Pitch, Juncture, Intonation

In Chuvash, as in other languages, there are features of juncture, pitch and intonation, by which utterances are distinguished or characterized, hence, these features are phonemic. For instance, one can say "He's going today" in several ways: to express surprise that he instead of someone else is going; to state that he is going instead of staying; or to say that it is today he is leaving, and not tomorrow. Such sentences are familiar to everyone. The same may occur in Chuvash.

In the absence of phonetic material incorporating data on pitch levels, terminal contours, and indication of junctural phenomena, it is not as yet possible to state the details of these features in Chuvash, other than that they must exist. If the student has the opportunity of working with Chuvash speakers, the best general rule will be to imitate closely the pronunciation and all features of expression of those persons.

GRAMMAR

2.0 Theoretical Basis of the Analysis

Under Phonology we have dealt with the meaningless functional sound units which are significant for the Chuvash language, called phonemes. These phonemes have certain individual phonetic realizations, or allophones, features predictable as occurring under given conditions. The study of such relation of sounds (phonemes) to one another, and their functional interrelationships is called phonemics.

In dealing with words (or lexical units, or lexemes, that is, a form which goes to make up the lexicon or vocabulary of the language), we may also treat the component parts of words. The building blocks of "words" which cannot be further reduced into meaningful forms are morphs. A morph is a minimal sequence of phonemes which has meaning (phonemes do not have meaning in isolation). A group of morphs which are semantically (and usually phonemically) similar can be classed as a morpheme, if the morphs are in complementary distribution (that is, if one never occurs where the other one does). The morph, then, is a concrete instance of one of "those things," whereas the morpheme is the abstraction of morphs as a class. If one variant of the class never occurs where another variant does, and vice versa, and if all variants obviously belong under the same general heading as regards their meaning and phonetic shape, then they go to make up members of the same class. For instance, three and thrice belong together, but three and trinity do not, although they all share a similar general meaning. Or, to put it differently, year and yearly go together, but yearly and annual do not, for our purposes.

Allomorph is a term parallel to allophone, and is given to morphs or classes of morphs which belong to the same morpheme (or abstraction) and also have the same phonemic or morphophonemic form (which annual and yearly do not). For instance, s and es in English are allomorphs of the plural morpheme {s}: they both have identical meaning, and are in noncontrastive or complementary distribution: in short, s occurs after vowels, and es after consonants (speaking in terms of sounds, and not of spelling).

It is sometimes (frequently, in the case of Chuvash) convenient to set up morphophonemes to cover the alternations in phonemes which a morpheme may undergo. These are written with capital letters to distinguish them from phonemes. In Chuvash, which employs vowel harmony, many morphemes or units of meaning have two (or more) forms, one used with back vowel words, the other with front vowel words, as the forms /-ra/ and /-re/, meaning 'in.' These may be both subsumed under the morphophoneme capital A, meaning, /a/ with back vowels, and /e/ with front vowels, hence, 'in' = {-rA}.

All lexical units or words are sequences of morphemes which function as a unit, but all morphemes are not necessarily words, although they have meaning. Thus /baker/ is composed of /bake/ and /-er/: the first is a word, and the second, although not a word, has a clear and definite meaning, roughly, that of "the man who performs the occupation of the preceding element." (In the preceding example, we have not used English phonemic writing.) Many, many other words may be analyzed in a similar way, yielding the component morphemes. These formative elements have been called by such names as stem, base, root, and suffix, inflection, ending. The first type are free morphemes, the second bound morphemes, because they occur only in composition with other morphemes. Chuvash employs the same principle of formation in creating words. Thus, we shall frequently speak of Chuvash morphemes, the constituent bases of words.

If we wish to determine what different kinds of words there are, we must set up lexical classes (or "parts of speech") according to their function, rather than by any arbitrary scheme perhaps not based on the true nature of Chuvash (or whatever language is being investigated). In Chuvash, there are two major form-classes of words, the nominal, or noun-like, and the verbal, or verb-like, plus a few minor classes such as particles, etc. The nominal, as the name implies, includes the nouns, or names of objects, persons, places and of material and abstract things in general, as well as pronominal subclasses (anaphoric referent forms), numerals, attributives (adjectives), postpositions. The verbal class contains verb morphemes, existing in various tenses and moods, together with morphemes of participial and 'converbial' usage.

The student of Chuvash (or of any foreign language) must remember that Chuvash words are not always, indeed seldom, the exact equivalents of their definitions in English words. In the case of simple material objects, the correspondence is by necessity probably exact, but what the Chuvash calls pürt can be translated

house, as can Chuvash kil, yet they are rather different, and it would be necessary to give quite a few sentences over to explaining the range of meaning of just these two words. Likewise, the Chuvash would try to equate house to some word he already knows, with a similar confusion. Terms of relationship are also difficult to pin down, and the overtones of abstract words, with figurative and transferred meanings, are often very many. Still, through experience and careful study, the student will acquire some idea of the range of meaning Chuvash words have, and where they do and do not abut on the English meaning.

The nature of the Chuvash substantive or noun is rather different from that of Western European languages. Although the class of Chuvash nominals may be divided by function into subclasses of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, numerals, etc., there is little or no difference between them on formal grounds. That is, one cannot tell the difference between a nominal used as a noun and a nominal used as an adjective. For instance, words denoting attributive qualities (colors, size, shape, form, condition, state, and so on) may occur in Chuvash either as nouns or as adjectives, e. g. , :

čăn	true, truth, that which is true, truly
čăn sãmaχ	a true word
čăn sutlarě	he calculated truly, correctly
těttěm	dark, somber, darkness, darkly
těttěm kaś	a dark evening
ančax	but, however, only
ančax kiltěm	I just arrived
epě ančax	I alone

UNIT ONE

The Chuvash noun; gender; plural.

The Chuvash Noun

As we have seen in the preceding, a Chuvash noun or nominal may be used in different functions, that is, at the same time belong

to several subclasses, as adjective, adverb, and so on. Let us begin by learning some Chuvash nominals, which, like all illustrative vocabulary items, the student should memorize and review as necessary.

tiněš	sea	ikkě	two
atte	father	anne	mother
pičče	brother	akka	sister
ivăl	son	χěr	girl, daughter
văkăr	bull	arăm	woman, lady
taka	ram	ěne	cow
čăvaš	Chuvash	laša	horse
epir	we	etem	man, mankind
pürt	house	kartă	map

As one can see, these few words include many kinds of objects, persons, animals, things. In fact, just because nominals denote persons or places does not place them in any special subclass, for instance:

Atăl	Volga	Mars	Mars
čăvaš	Chuvash	uyăχ	moon, Moon
Kavkaz	Caucasus	oktyabr'	October
Šupaškar	Cheboksary	χusan	Kazań
Petěr	Peter	Ivan	Ivan, John

Later, we shall find it convenient to put into subclasses such collections of forms as pronominals (epě, I; esě, you, etc.), kam who, měn what; numerals, adjectives, and others. Although all these are essentially nominals, they have small differences which set them apart from nouns of the sort above.

Gender

Unlike some European languages, Chuvash does not assign a real or arbitrary gender to its nominals (including pronouns, adjectives, etc.). All such words exist in one unvarying form, a fact which makes the learning of Chuvash easier for the student. The only gender possessed by the word is that inherent in its meaning, if it denotes a specific kind of male or female being. No

particular changes or endings are required because of the gender of any word in the sentence. Thus the question of gender is nonexistent.

If it is necessary to denote a male being as opposed to a female being, morphemes like aša 'male' or ama 'female' are added, for animals, and for humans, words like ar 'man' or xər 'girl.'

ar	man, male	arām	woman
aša sısna	boar	ama sısna	sow
aša xur	gander	ama xur	goose
vākər	bull	ėne	cow
ıvāl ača		son, 'boy-child'	
xərača		daughter, 'girl-child'	
arśın (< ar + śın)		man, male person	
patša		king, czar	
xərarām patša		queen, princess	
		('lady-king')	

Terms of relationship have inherent gender, as do some animal names.

atte	father	anne	mother
pičče	brother	akka	sister

Plural

In contrast to some other languages in which there are a number of ways to form the plural, and which cannot be predicted but must be learned, Chuvash has only one way to form the plural, which is good for all nominals at all times and places. What is more, the plural is little used in those places where the student might expect. Chuvash once had many plural forms, and a discussion of them may be found elsewhere (O. Pritsak, "Tschuwassische Pluralsuffixe," Studia Altaica, Wiesbaden, 1957, pp. 137-155).

The singular number in Chuvash means not only one item from that class, it also means the entire class of that item. The plural is used only for denoting a collection of individual items from the class. Chuvash never expresses the plural in general statements (as "Children are a joy; flowers are beautiful; apples are good to eat," etc.). The sense for the plural is highly developed in English

and European languages, so that we feel that to say "ten man, three mouse, two door" is quite impossible, and only in a few expressions of measure do we find "a two-man raft, a ten-foot pole, a five mile trip." In Chuvash, however, the plural is never, or at least rarely, used after a numeral, or quantity word, hence:

śirēm sētel	twenty table	twenty tables
numay śin	many man	many a man, many people
pilēk pūrt	five house	five houses

The presence of the number or quantity word is sufficient to indicate plurality to a Chuvash speaker.

The plural in Chuvash is mostly used to indicate the presence of a number of items in the class of things denoted by the word involved, but not the entire class itself. The plural morpheme in Chuvash is /-sem/, and it is added directly to the preceding morpheme.

ulma	apple
ulmisem	'their different apples' (actually a possessive here, but the principle is unchanged), that is, those apples which each person has in his or her hand just now, but not apples in general
vutā	firewood, kindling
vuttisem	the pieces of firewood, taken as individual objects, not as a whole (also possessive)
śem'ye	family
śem'yisem	the members of one's family
pūrt	house, hut
pūrtsem	houses, a number of individual houses somewhere, but not houses as a class
śuxāšsem	thoughts (on different subjects)
Ivanovsem	the Ivanoffs, members of the Ivanoff family
kaxalsem	the 'lazybones' and his family (folktales) (208,5)

As in English and some other languages, some Chuvash words do not have logical plurals (the so-called 'mass nouns,' like water, milk, love), or are but rarely used in plural form.

telei	happiness
šiv	water
šivsem	waters (of the earth), rivers and lakes

In Russian, a few words of foreign origin ending in a vowel do not take any declensional endings. When these words occur as loanwords into Chuvash, however, they become subject to Chuvash plurals and endings.

pal'to	overcoat	pal'tosem	overcoats
kenguru	kangaroo	kengurusem	kangaroos

Two features, which both anticipate later discussion, will be briefly mentioned here. As mentioned, nearly all inflectional morphemes in Chuvash have two forms, one used with front vowels /e, ě, i, ū/ and one used with back vowels /a, ă, ı, u/. This pervades the entire Chuvash language, and is also characteristic of other Altaic languages as well. The Chuvash plural morpheme /-sem/ does not observe this difference in the formal written language. The spoken dialects (especially of the northern region) do employ [sam] with back vowel words, and [sem] with front vowel words.

The plural morpheme in Chuvash is placed after any other preceding suffixes, as possessive morphemes (to be learned later), whereas in all other Turkic languages, the plural morpheme follows the root morpheme, and then any possessive or other morphemes are added.

UNIT TWO

Vowel Harmony; case morphemes and allomorphs; the non-relational zero morpheme (absolute case); the possessive relational morpheme (genitive case).

Vowel Harmony

We have previously touched on the principle of vowel harmony (synharmonism) by which all the vowels in a Chuvash word must

belong either to the back series /a ă ı u/ or to the front series /e ě i ü/. Hence,

<u>Front</u>		<u>Back</u>	
čüreče	window	ıvăl	son
ěšleken	worker	kuśśul	tear(drop)

In Chuvash, however, this principle is not carried through quite as strictly as some other Turkic languages require it. Thus, many words may be found which violate this rule in part, especially loan-words from Russian or from other Turkic languages, or from the spoken dialects of Chuvash. Although nearly all suffix morphemes have two forms, one for use with front vocalic words, and one for use with back vowel words, a few have only one form.

anne	mother
kilna	in your house
trestran	from the trust
s"yezdra	at the conference
vulani	the reading, act of reading

Case Morphemes and Allomorphs

In English, the relationships existing between words are in part made clear by the use of prepositions, covering temporal, spatial, and many other kinds of relations, as in these examples:

the top of the house
Give it to the boy.
around the block
in the street

In some other languages, of which Chuvash is one, these relationships are not indicated by any separate words, but by adding certain bound morphemes (or suffixes, endings, declensions as they are also called) which mean "in, of, by, at, from" and so on. This was once the only way of expressing such relations in English, and is retained in the possessive case of animates (thus, "the man's hat" but rarely "the house's roof"), and in a few fixed phrases, as "the water's edge, the law's delay."

In Chuvash, there are six such primary relational states, or cases, in which Chuvash words may be found, according to which

relational morphemes (case endings) are added. Depending on how these states are defined, more or fewer could be set up (some Chuvash grammarians consider eight to exist, but their two additional cases or states are no different from any suffix which might be added to alter the basic word), but in the present work, we shall treat six states or cases, viz., the non-relational (absolute or nominative), the possessive relational (genitive), the objective relational (dative and accusative), the locative relational, the ablative relational, and the instrumental relational morphemes.

Although each of the relational morphemes has a number of different forms (allomorphs), the use of each variant is restricted to definite conditions. Thus, when the declensional system is taken as a whole, it can be seen that there is only one declensional type, and that all words belong to this type, and are essentially declined according to the same pattern. In spite of this prevailing sameness, the various subtypes of Chuvash nominals, taken as separate groups, are probably of equal difficulty with the differing declensional types of other languages.

Usually, only one relational morpheme is added to a stem, but sometimes there is usage of compound relational morphemes, deriving from two or more case endings. Relational morphemes may also be added to some verbal forms which functional as nominals. These topics will be discussed later.

The Non-Relational Zero Morpheme (Absolute Case)

The grammars of many languages are given to speaking of a nominative case, or dictionary form, which has no ending, as contrasted with the oblique cases, which do have endings. Chuvash has a similar form, called the absolute case (or indefinite case, or basic case), distinguished by the ending of zero, that is, no ending. Since all other case relations are indicated by the presence of a morpheme, it is useful for the analysis to speak here too of the presence of a morpheme, in zero shape to denote this function, rather than the absence of something.

The absolute case is used in instances where most other languages require a nominative, that is, as the subject of sentences, or as the predicative in sentences with a copulative verb. There are also some other very important uses of this case. One of these is the use of the absolute case when words stand in the izafet relation to each other (although in Chuvash this is performed without any other suffixes, unlike Persian koh-i-noor, etc.), that is, the first modifies the second and shows a relationship to it, although

this is done by juxtaposition without endings. For example, iron pail, glass window, silk coat (instead of pail of iron, coat of silk, etc.). In Chuvash, both words occur in the absolute case, viz., yivăš vitre iron pail, šăm săyman silk garment, čul šurt stone house. Examples of the absolute case in its subject function are:

traktor ěšet	the tractor is working, works
pulă šivra išet	the fish swims in the water (or: fish swim in water)
samolět vėšet	the airplane flies, air- planes fly

Chuvash grammarians also speak of the absolute case being used in functions of the possessive relational (genitive) and objective relational (accusative). In the present investigation, we shall prefer to subsume the usages as instances of a genitive with zero allomorph, and of an accusative with zero allomorph (see later discussion). From the student's point of view, it does not matter how it is analyzed: what matters is that he learn and understand to use it. Also expressed with the absolute case are cognate accusatives (to walk a walk, etc.), expressions of definite time, distance, and some adverbial phrases of direction, quantity and manner.

The Possessive Relational Morpheme (Genitive Case)

The use of this morpheme indicates that the word to which it is affixed stands in a possessive or genitive relationship to the second word. The thing or person which is owned or related to always occurs first, never second. In fact, it is a general rule of Chuvash that the modified always occurs after the modifier. This morpheme may be denoted in morphophonemic writing as $\{ (n) \check{A}n \}$, and its chief allomorphs given as follows with the conditions for their occurrence. The morphophoneme \check{A} stands for /ă/ with back vowel words, and /ę/ with front vowel words. C means any consonant (including y), and the dot . is used to indicate morpheme boundaries. Essentially, the basic endings are $\{ \check{A}n \}$ after C and $\{ n \}$ after V, with minor variants in the stem of the word declined.

1. Zero allomorph, optional with any stem —
2. After polysyllabic consonant stems, and . $\check{A}n$
vocalic stems in -U, employing their stem

alternant in $\check{A}v$ to replace -U; and some monosyllabic consonant stems

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| 3. After polysyllabic vocalic stems except U and A | .n or .n $\check{A}n$ |
| 4. After polysyllabic vowel stems in $-C_1\check{A}$ | $C_1C_1\check{A}.n$ |
| 5. After polysyllabic vowel stems in $-C_1C_2\check{A}$ | $C_1C_2\check{A}.n$ |
| 6. After borrowed polysyllabic stems in $-C_1C_1$ | $C_1.An$ |
| 7. After some monosyllabic stems in C_1 | $C_1C_1.\check{A}n$ |
| 8. After native and foreign stems in -i | .n or .y $\check{e}n$ |
| 9. After borrowed vowel stems in -a, -ya, -e, -u, and some in -o | - $\check{A}.n$ |
| 10. After some borrowed vowel stems in -o | -o.n |
| 11. After borrowed stems in -st' | -s. $\check{a}n$ |

According to the Chuvash grammarians, variant 1 is in free variation with all other allomorphs, and is employed for stylistic reasons, or for emphasis. There is also free variation between the allomorphs listed under entries 3 and 8, the grammarians saying the fuller form is used for a particular emphasis. Some others are of the view that it has its origin in a dialect difference.

There is as yet no structural or formal criterion by which loanwords (nearly all of which are Russian) may be identified, apart from the presence in them of non-Chuvash phonemes and phoneme sequences. From a practical point of view, it is generally obvious, although no rule can be given.

Some examples of the possessive relational morpheme in its various allomorphic disguises are the following words.

laša
lašan
sakā lašanān

horse
of a horse, a horse's
of this horse, this horse's

ēne
ēnen
sakā ēnenēn

cow
of a cow
of this cow

χalāχ
χalāχān

people
of the people, the people's

ěś
ěśēn

affair, matter
of an affair, of a business,
of work

šāši	mouse
šāšin	of a mouse, a mouse's
šāšiyēn	of a mouse
unān ivalē	his son (lit. 'his son of him')
tālāx arāmān pēr ivał	a widow woman's son
ḡay puyanān šem'yisem	the members of that rich man's family
šak puyan ḡērē	this rich-man's girl (zero allomorph) (207, 15)
puyanān ḡērē	the rich-man's daughter (207, 19)
ku kēneke Ivanān	That book (is) John's.
ku manān	That is mine.

Note the shift of emphasis in such combinations as the following:

laša pūšē	lit. , 'the horse its head' (employing a possessive morpheme to be studied later), i. e. , a horsehead, as opposed to a moosehead, hogshead, sheephead
lašan pūšē	the head of the horse, the horse's head (that is, not his tail, his hoofs, his mane, etc.) ⁶

Instances of foreign (Russian) words employing the allomorph -n are:

stsenān	of the stage (note shortening)
kinon	of the movie
kengurun	of the kangaroo
rezolyutsin	of the resolution
partin	of the party (political). Also /partiyēn/
basn'ān	of the fable (note shortening)
kofen	of the coffee

Russian loanwords in $-C_1C_1$, that is, a doubled same consonant, of which only $/-ss/$ and $/-ll/$ have thus far been found as examples, employ a stem alternant with only one of the pertinent consonants, viz.:

klass	class
klasśn	of a class
metall	metal
metalśn	of metal

Russian loans in $/-ost'/$ and $/-st'/$ likewise employ a stem alternant omitting the final consonant when relational morphemes are attached, viz.:

vlast'	power, authority
vlasśn	of power

Two particularly interesting formations in Chuvash are variants 2 and 4 in the allomorph table on p. 99. There is a small class of nominals ending in $-U$ (i. e. , $/-u/$ or $/-ũ/$) with morphophonemic stem alternation. Their stem in the genitive is formed with $-ăv$ and $-ăv$, to yield:

śiru	letter	pěľũ	fact, thing known
śirăvăn	of a letter	pěľěvăn	of a fact
tu	mountain	pũ	growth
tăvăn	of a mountain	pěvăn	of growth

Such a nominal in $-U$ may be created from any verbal stem.

Chuvash disyllabic stems in single consonant (C) + $-ě$ or $-ă$ (A) have a stem alternation in which the final C is geminated, rather reminiscent of the declensions in Finnish. Some monosyllables in single consonant do so too.

pulă	fish	yită	dog
pullăn	a fish's, of a fish	yittăn	a dog's, of a dog

tilě	fox	sivě	cold
tillěn	of a fox	sivvěn	of cold
külě	lake	ală	hand
küllěn	of a lake	allăn	of a hand

Note:

šin	man	tır	grain
šinnăn	of a man	tırrăn	of grain

Lastly, in variants 5 and 6, note that if the final ă/ě is preceded by two consonants, the allomorph /n/ is employed, if preceded by one consonant, that consonant is geminated and then the allomorph /n/ applied.

UNIT THREE

Objective relational morpheme (= dative and accusative cases, direct and indirect object); locative relational-morpheme; ablative relational morpheme.

Objective Relational Morpheme

The function of the objective relational morpheme in Chuvash combines most features of the dative and accusative cases of other languages, or the functions of direct and indirect object, hence the name, objective relational, as indicating the objects of action, direct or indirect

The objective relational morpheme in Chuvash is {- (n)A}, and as in the preceding lesson, we shall employ here too morphophonemic symbols to indicate the various allomorphs (which exist for the most part under the same conditions as for the genitive morpheme).

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Zero allomorph with all stems | — |
| 2. After polysyllabic consonant stems, and some monosyllabic | .A |
| 3. After polysyllabic vocalic stems, except in -i, -U, and -ă/-ě | .nA |
| 4. After native and foreign stems in -i | .ye |
| 5. After stems in -U, employing their stem alternant in -ăv/-ěv | .A |

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 6. After polysyllabic vowel stems in -C ¹ Ä | -C C ₁ .A |
| 7. After polysyllabic vowel stems in -C ¹ C ² Ä | -C C ₁ C ₂ .A |
| 8. After borrowed stems in -a, -ya and some in -o | -ä.na |
| 9. After borrowed stems in other vowels (-V) and some in -o | -V.na |
| 10. After some monosyllabic consonant stems | -C C ₁ .a |

The objective relational morpheme has the function of indicating the person or object to or for which something is done, as well as indicating the actual object of action, in the event that this is a definite and specific object. Some instances of the various allomorphs are:

arman	mill	aläk	door
armana	to a mill, the mill	aläka	to a door, the door
tir	leather, hide	kukäl'	pie
tire	to leather	kukäle	to a pie, the pie
uy	field	siy	layer
uye	to the field	siye	to a layer
parti	political party	laša	horse
partije	to the party	lašana	to a horse, the horse
ěne	cow	šäši	a mouse
ěnene	to a cow, the cow	šäšiye	to a mouse
kinona	to the movies	obščestvána	to society
stsenäna	to the stage	ideyāna	to an idea

mašināna benzin yanā	they put gas in the machine
udarniksene premi panā	they give prizes to shock-workers
Petěre kēneke kirlē pulnā	Peter needs a book (to P. a book is needed)

When the object of action is general and unspecified, the zero allomorph is employed. When the object is enumerated, or specific

and definite, the appropriate other allomorph is used. The indefinite accusative thus coincides at this point with the so-called absolute case. According to some, the indefinite accusative enables the object to stand in a particular and close relationship to its verb, thus:

epě kěneke iltěm

I bought a book, in the sense "I did bookbuying, I book-bought"

But:

epě šakā kěnekene iletěp
vēreneken ximi kěnekine
vulat

I buy this book
the student reads the
chemistry book

Notice:

epě matematika vērenetěp I study mathematics

The dative function of "to" is also performed by this morpheme.

epir irpe Šupaškara
šitrēmēr
kile

we came to Cheboksary
in the morning
home, homewards (Ger.
nach Hause, Russ.
domoi)

This morpheme is also used to indicate the specific length of time, and other expressions of quantity and duration:

vutā pēr uyāxa šitet

the firewood will hold
out for a month

kanašlu višē kuna pirat

the conference will last
three days

šēr tenke patām

sold for 100 rubles

Note the following instance of definite vs. indefinite:

kěneke vulat

he reads books, he reads
a book (or books in gen-
eral as a practice)

ku kěnekene vulat

he is reading the book
(some particular one,
perhaps previously
mentioned)

Some particular cases of formation should be mentioned. The disyllabic stems in -ǎ/-ě employ a stem alternation which geminates the consonant preceding, to which a full-length a or e is then added. Thus:

pulǎ	fish	yitǎ	dog
pulla	the fish, to a fish	yitta	the dog, to a dog
külě	a lake	külle	to a lake, the lake

Also:

śin	a man	śinna	the man, to a man
tir	grain	tirra	the grain, to grain

Stems which already end in two consonants (CC) plus a reduced vowel add one unit of length, thus, /purtǎ/ 'axe' > /purta/ the axe (acc.). However, Russian loans, particularly in -a and -ya shorten this vowel to -ǎ or -yǎ after which the regular ending -na is added.

As in the case of the genitive morpheme, stems in -u/-ü employ their stem alternate in -ǎv/-ěv, thus:

pělü	fact	śiru	letter
pělēve	the fact (acc.)	śirǎva	the letter (acc.)

Locative Relational Morpheme

The locative relational morpheme is used in the function of indicating the place where something is or where an action takes place, thus corresponding in general to the use of "in" in English. It is both temporal and spatial in reference. The morpheme is {-RA}, with the following allomorphs:

1. After front vowel stems and consonant stems except /l n r/ -re
2. After back vowel stems and consonant stems except /l n r/ -ra
3. After front vowel consonant stems in /l n r/ -te
4. After back vowel consonant stems in /l n r/ -ta

5. After possessives (to be learned later) and the plural morpheme {-seN} -če (only)
6. After the 3rd p. sg. possessive morpheme -nče (will be discussed later)

Note that stems in -ǎ/-ě, which had some changes in the genitive and accusative cases, do not have these changes in the locative, or in any other case. Foreign words, usually in -a or -ya, do, however, employ a stem alternant shortening the vowels to -ǎ, viz., stsenǎra 'on the stage,' or ideyǎra 'in the idea,' but kinora 'in the movies.' Some instances of use of the various allomorphs are the following:

šivra	in the water	Atǎlta	on the Volga
tiněsre	at sea, on the sea	Xusanta	in Kazan
vǎrmanta	in the woods	pǔrtre	in the house
uyra	on the field(s)	kilte	at home (Ger. zu Hause)
	ernere šíčč kun		in the week are seven days
pulǎra	in the fish	śirura	in the letter
kǔlěre	in the lake	pěľure	in the fact, matter
	alǎkra		in the door
	alǎksenče		in the doors (from *alǎk-sen-te)
	slon Indire puranat		the elephant lives in India

Somewhat similar endings are employed on the pronouns (to be treated later), as manra 'in me' (note n + r!).

leš ténčere	to that world
lupaškara	in the ravine
χirte	in the field

Ablative Relational Morpheme

The ablative morpheme is used in the general meaning of English "from," or "out of, owing to, because of." Its endings are exactly like those of the preceding locative case, except that they affix an -n, thus, -ren, -ran, -ten, -tan, -čen. There are quite a few uses of the ablative, and not every type can be covered here.

- A. The English general usage of "from" to indicate distance in space and time:

tu. ran*	from the mountain	alāk. ran	from the door
yultaš. ran	širu iltēm	I got a letter from (my)	friend
ačasem uy. ran	čečeksem	the boys brought flowers	from the field
tatsa kilčěš			

- B. Material from which things are made, or the place from which things are taken.

yivāš. ran	tunā pūrt	a hut made from wood
Atāl. tan	titnā pulā	a fish taken from the Volga

- C. In use with expressions of time, the ablative often has the effect of English "in" with a future meaning, as "in a month, in a few days we will do it."

ūlem. ren	in the future
uyāχ. ran	in a month
više kun. tan	in three days
pēr sexet. ren	after an hour

- D. Some functions of the Instrumental (Unit Four) can be found with the ablative, and may be translated "by, through, via, by means of, owing to."

sasā. ran	by (one's) voice
kūršě. ren	by a neighbor, in company with a neighbor
alāk. ran kēr-	to enter by the door
čūreče. ren pāχ-	to look from the window

- E. A very important use of the ablative is a making comparisons, to mean "than."

* The subscript dot is used to indicate a morpheme boundary, that is, where the word proper ends, the declensional morpheme begins.

yuman śākaran yivār	oak is heavier than linden (lit. "Oak from linden is heavy")
utran śūle, kurākran lutra	"Higher than a horse, lower than the grass" (Folk-riddle: Answer: 'saddle')
irāran irā	best of all (lit. "good from good," i. e., bet- ter than good)
Atāl śavaltan pisāk	the Volga is bigger than the Tsivil

F. Sometimes still other words must be used as the English equivalents of the Chuvash ablative.

viśē ivāl. tan pēri	one of my three sons (202, 9-10)
ača lašinčen ıytñā	the boy asked (inquired of) his horse (203, 24)
suxal. tan	(seized him) by the beard (lit. "from the beard") (202, 6)
kuś. ran načar śuk. ran	weak in the eyes on account of there not being any
sivē. ren	on account of the cold

UNIT FOUR

Instrumental relational morpheme; minor case morphemes (privative, purposive, directive, vocative); compound case morphemes. Tables of nominal declension. Plural declension.

Instrumental Relational Morpheme

This morpheme is used to indicate the general means or instrument by which something is accomplished, corresponding to

such words as "by, with, by means of" and so on, in English. The morpheme is {-pA}, with allomorphs of /-pa/ with back vowel words, and /-pe/ with front vowel words. In addition, the archaic and dialectal endings /pala, palan, pele, pelen/ may also be seen occasionally, but no nuance of meaning attaches to them. A few foreign words, mostly in -a and -ya, do employ a stem alternant of -ǎ and -yǎ before the instrumental morpheme, but there is none of the other complications found in the genitive and accusative morphemes.

Some instances of the use of the instrumental are the following:

poyezda	by train
pāraḡutpa kiltēm	I came by steamer
věšem vārmanpa pīnǎ	they went by way of the woods
kolyozniksem tirra	the collective farmers
kombainpa virsa	harvest grain with a combine
puštaraššě	
manpa pěrle kilčě	he came together with me

In addition to indicating the instrument or means by which things are accomplished, it may also indicate the place by which or through which an action goes on, the joint performing of actions with something or someone else. The instrumental may also indicate the time at which an action occurs, and thus is frequently found in fixed expressions of time, as:

irpe	in the morning (Ger. <u>morgens</u> , Russ. <u>utrom</u>)
kašpa	in the evening (<u>abends</u> , <u>večerom</u>)
kuněpe	all day (lit. 'with its day,' a possessive)
payan kuněpe	today all day
šěrepe	all night
ernipe	all week

The instrumental morpheme is often used to mean "and," especially in titles.

kaḡalpa puyan

"The Lazybones and the Rich Man" (folktale) (207)

Minor Case Morphemes

In addition to the case morphemes enumerated, some Chuvash grammarians consider the morpheme -săr/-sěr 'without' (the so-called privative case, meaning to be deprived of something), and the morpheme -šăn/-šěn 'for' (the so-called purposive case denoting the purpose of something) to be cases. In the present work, we shall not include them as cases in the regular sense of the word, largely because their use is absolutely regular and predictable both in form and content. They have no allomorphs other than those required by vowel harmony, and may be used with every noun if the central meaning of the word permits it to be logically used. Some examples are the following.

Privative

alsăr-urasăr	without arms or legs
sivalăšsăr	airless, without air,
	anaerobic
văisăr śin	a man without strength,
	a weak man
śinsăr	without a man, having no
	man
kěnekesěr ača	a boy without books,
	"a bookless boy"

Purposive

śin sivlăχěšěn	for a man's health
tirpulšăn	for (the goal or end of)
	harvests
śirěp miršěn	for lasting peace! (slogan)
měnsěn, měšěn	for what, why?
věsem kulnăšăn	owing to their laughing,
	because they laughed
	(207, 14)

ača šapaχ anaššān pulnā	the boy was for descend- ing (= wanted to go down) (205, 19-20)
manān χērē tālāχa χāvarnāšān	because of my daughters' remaining widows (205, 42)

Directive

The directive morpheme is {- (A)lla}, and means "towards, to, at, in the direction of, -wards" and so on. It is still a productive suffix and is found in the reading materials. Some instances are the following:

vārmanalla	towards the woods, woods- ward
ayalalla	downwards
tāvalla	towards the mountain
šūlle	upwards
kille	towards home, homewards (Ger. nach Hause)

It is interesting to note a case of similar phonemic formation and function in the Finnic languages.

Others

There are some additional morphemes which might be considered case morphemes, as the terminative (cf. Hungarian!) in -ēčen, meaning "up to, as far as," and some others, including a few vocative remnants. These forms, however, are little employed, and for our present purposes will not be considered.

Compound Case Morphemes

There is nothing to prevent more than one case morpheme being used at one time, should the meaning of both of them be needed in a phrase or sentence, and this is occasionally done. The most common is the use of the combined ablative and locative in {- .RAnpA}, of which the following are examples:

pašärtanpa
 ěnertenpe
 kilněrenpe

since time immemorial
 since yesterday
 from the time I arrived

Tables of Nominal Declension

On pages 114 and 115 are given tables to illustrate various types of nominals in the six cases, namely, absolute, genitive, dative-accusative, locative, ablative and instrumental. As this order is always the same, we shall not henceforth mark the names of cases when all are given at once.

Note that nouns in orthographic l', n', r' use front endings in the written language.

Plural Declension

The plural morpheme in Chuvash is {-seN}, with the allomorph /-sem/ in word-final position, before a homoorganically articulated consonant (e. g., -p), and before the privative and purposive morphemes -sĀr and -šĀn, and the allomorph /-sen/ before all other endings. This morpheme does not observe vowel harmony in the written language; thus, all endings may be given as:

-sem
 -sen (-ěn)
 -sene
 -senĉe
 -senĉen
 -sempe
 (-semsĕr
 -semšĕn)

Examples of the plural declension are the following. As pointed out previously, Chuvash is unique among Turkic languages in that the possessive morphemes are added before the plural morpheme, contrary to the practice in others.

sămaχsem	tinĕssem	lašasem
sămaχsen(ěn)	tinĕssen(ěn)	lašasen(ěn)
sămaχsene	tinĕssene	lašasene
sămaχsenĉe	tinĕssenĉe	lašasenĉe
sămaχsenĉen	tinĕssenĉen	lašasenĉen
sămaχsempe	tinĕssempe	lašasempe

If the -s of -sem is preceded by a *ś* or *š*, remember that in pronunciation, the two s sounds will assimilate to each other, namely, to *ś* or *š*.

UNIT FIVE

Personal possession; the verb "to have" (pur and śuk)

In English and some other languages we are accustomed to having special words to indicate possession, as "my, your, their, our, his" and so on. Chuvash can do this too when it is a question of expressing possession on the part of a person (that is, not the genitive relationship existing between things expressed by "of" in English), by using words which mean "my, our, your." These words are actually the genitive case of the personal pronouns, the entire declension of which will be given in Unit Eight. When possession of things on the part of persons is expressed in this way, the forms are:

manǎn laša my horse	pirěn laša our horse
sanǎn laša your horse	sirěn laša your horse
unǎn laši his (her, its) horse	věsen laši their horse

The forms manǎn, sanǎn actually mean 'of me, of you,' thus, "the horse of me, the horse of you," hence "my horse, your horse." In the case of the 3rd p. sg., there is an additional suffix -i, which we shall explain shortly. There are also short forms of the first three forms, viz., man laša, san laša, un laša, but not of the others.

Two different forms are translated "your," the first being the singular and the familiar (used within the family, with friends one would call by first name, relatives, pet animals, etc.). The second form is plural and polite. It is used to people whom one would call "Mr.," or whenever there is more than one addressed. However, depending on who is addressed, this form can mean one or more than one, and it is never in doubt which, because there must always be some prior reference that tells one who "you" means. It is also used for more than one person who would be addressed with the familiar form.

Although the manner of expressing possession shown above is a very common one in Chuvash, there is another important way,

TABLES OF NOMINAL DECLENSION

<u>Back</u>		<u>Front</u>	
Consonant	Vowel	Consonant	Vowel
arman armanǎn	laša lašan(ǎn)	tir mǎkǎn' tirēn mǎkǎnēn	ěne šǎši ěnen(ěn) šǎšin or šǎšiyēn
armana armanṭa armanṭa armanpa	lašana lašara lašaran lašapa	tire mǎkǎne tirte mǎkǎn'te tirten mǎkǎn'ten tirpe mǎkǎn'pe	ěnene šǎšiye ěnerē šǎšire ěneren šǎširen ěnepe šǎšipe
alǎk alǎkǎn alǎka alǎkra alǎkran alǎkpa	(y-stem) uy uyǎn uya uyra uyran uypa	tinēs tinēsēn tinēse tinēsre tinēsren tinēspe	(y-stem) siy siyēn siye siyre siyren siype
	pulǎ pullǎn pulla pulǎra pulǎran pulǎpa	purtǎ purtǎn purtā purtǎra purtǎran purtǎpa	pěrcē pěrcēn pěrcē pěrcēre pěrcēren pěrcēpe

	<p>šíru šířavň šířava šírura šíruran šírupa</p>		<p>kětd kěťvěn kěťve kěťdre kěťdren kěťdpe</p>
BORROWINGS			
<p>metall metalň metala metalra metalan metarpa</p>	<p>kin kinon kinona kinora kinoran kinopa</p>	<p>-stvo -stvň -stvňa -stvňra -stvňran -stvňpa</p>	<p>oktyabr' oktyabrň oktyabre oktyabr'te oktyabr'ten oktyabr'pe</p>
<p>vlast' vlašň vlaša vlašra vlašran vlašpa</p>	<p>stsena stsenn stsennna stsennra stsennran stsennpa</p>	<p>ideya ideyň ideyňna ideyňra ideyňran ideyňpa</p>	<p>parti parti or partiyň partije partire partiren partipe</p>
		<p>izvest' izvesň izveše izvešre izvešren izvešpe</p>	

also found in the other Turkic languages and elsewhere. This is to add suffixes (morphemes) to the word to indicate who the owner is. This is a new idea for speakers of English, but one not hard to grasp. Thus, if 'son' is *iväl*, by adding *-äm* (after a consonant), or *-ëm* if it is a front vocalic word, or just *-m* if it ends in a vowel (as *ačam* 'my child'), we create the form *iväläm*, which of and by itself means "my son," with no need for additional words. The entire scheme is:

<i>iväläm</i>	my son	<i>ivälämär</i>	our son
<i>ivälu</i>	your (fam.)	<i>ivälär</i>	your son
	son		(polite or more than one address- ed)
<i>ivälë</i>	his, her, son	<i>ivälë</i>	their son

Note that the ending of the 3rd p. means not only "his" but also "hers" (even "its" under proper circumstances), and that it violates vowel harmony. Chuvash has experienced a general laxness in its vowel harmony, especially in the sounds *-i* and *ë*. Finally, the same suffix is used for singular and plural, viz. "his, her" as well as "their." Since, however, in order to say "his, her," or "their," it must be clear who is referred to, there is never any trouble to tell them apart.

If speakers want to make it absolutely clear as to what possession is involved, they may combine both forms, and use the genitive of the personal pronoun and then add the appropriate endings to the noun as well, in this way;

<i>männän iväläm</i>	my son	<i>pirën ivälämär</i>	our son
<i>sanän ivälu</i>	your son	<i>sirën ivälär</i>	your son
<i>unän ivälë</i>	his son	<i>vësen ivälë</i>	their son

This is chiefly used for a stronger emphasis, as "Our son did this, but their son did that." Note that this method removes any doubts between "his, hers" and "theirs" in the 3rd p. For ease in presentation henceforth, we shall identify the third person only as "his" throughout.

Table of Possessive Forms

BACK		FRONT	
Consonant	Vowel	Consonant	Vowel
ivălăm	ačam	χěrēm	ěnem
ivălu	aču	χěrŭ	ěnŭ
ivălě	ači	χěrě	ěni
ivălămăr	ačamăr	χěrēměr	ěneměr
ivălăr	ačăr	χěrěr	ěněr
ivălě	ači	χěrě	ěni

All words may be given possessive forms according to the above possibilities, including loanwords, the only peculiarity there being that a few Russian words in -o use an allomorph -vě in the 3rd p. sg. (viz., byurově 'his office'). Note above the use of -i in the 3rd p. sg. possessive vocalic stems, which arises from a replacement of the preceding vowel by -i (thus, laša + i > laši). It will be generally clear from the above table what the ending is, but note that the possessive morpheme displaces the regular vowel of the stem in several places.

Nouns in -u/-ŭ employ their stem alternant in -ăv/-ěv when any possessive morpheme follows, hence:

śirăvăm	my letter	pěľěvēm	my fact
śirăvu	your letter	pěľěvŭ	your fact
śirăvě	his letter	pěľěvě	his fact
śirăvămăr	our letter	pěľěvēmēr	our fact
śirăvăr	your letter	pěľěvēr	your fact
śirăvě	their letter	pěľěvě	their fact

Nouns in single consonant plus ă/ě employ their stem alternant with geminated consonant when a possessive morpheme follows, thus:

pullăm	my fish	těvvēm	my knot
pullu	your fish	těvvŭ	your knot
pulli	his fish	těvvi	his knot

pullamăř	our fish	těvveměr	our knot
pullăr	your fish	těvvěr	your knot
pulli	their fish	těvvi	their knot

In the 3rd p. sg. possessive, words in -t and -d (orthographically -t, -t', -d, -d') replace that consonant with č and add ě, as follows:

pürt	house	sklad	storehouse
pürčě	his house	sklačě	his storehouse
yat	name	tetrad'	notebook
yačě	his name	tetračě	his notebook

In current Chuvash usage, the personal possessive morphemes of the 1st and 2nd p. pl. have been largely supplanted by the analytical forms. Thus, instead of ivălămăř "our son," pirěn ivăl is used, and instead of ivălăr "your son," sirěn ivălu (note -u!) is used.

As mentioned, words in the foreign phoneme -o have their 3rd p. sg. possessive in -vě, as kinově 'his movie,' depově 'his depot.'

A special possessive morpheme {-ăăě} is found with a small class of words made up of kinship terms and some numerical terms, thus: appa 'elder sister' but appăă(ě) 'his, her elder sister.'

amăăě	his mother
aăăě (< *aăăăě)	his father
numayăăě	many of them (lit. "its many, their many")
viăăěăăě	the three of them (lit. "their three")

The entire declension of atte 'father' is rather irregular.

atte, attem	my father	atteměr	our father, "Our Father"
aău	your father	aăăr	your father
aăăě	his father	aăăě	their father

Later, we shall take up the endings (morphemes) that indicate different persons or actors in the verb, and then the student will

notice that these endings are very similar to the personal possessive morphemes. Thus tusămăr 'our friend,' but also śirtămăr 'we wrote' (lit. "our having written"). From this some have concluded that, in these languages and others, verbal endings are an outgrowth of an originally possessive idea, e.g., "my seeing exists" is "I see," and "I am a see-er" becoming "I see."

The Verb "To Have" (pur and śuk)

Chuvash does not have a single verb meaning 'to have' the way English and some other languages do. Instead, they usually say something like "my book exists" (cf. the Russian 'to me a book is' with omission of is), "our son is non-existent" for 'we have no son,' and so on. Chuvash has two words used to indicate possession: pur 'that which is, what exists,' and its opposite śuk 'that which is non-existent, what there is none of.' The following examples will help to make this more evident.

manăñ kěneke pur	I have a book (of me a book exists)
sanăñ văxăt śuk	you have no time (your time is-not)
unăñ ěne śuk	he has no cow
manăñ laşam pur	I have a horse, I have my horse
lašam pur	I have a horse
karnăñ pur, āna tata parěś	of him who has, to him will be given also (Mark IV, 25)

For those who may have some acquaintance with Turkish, the words pur and śuk correspond exactly in form, origin and usage to Turkic var and yok. Further, just as var and yok may take the past tense morpheme (vardı 'there was,' yoktı 'there was not'), in Chuvash too the past tense morpheme {-ččě} (of like origin) may be added to form purččě and śukčě "there was, there wasn't."

UNIT SIX

Possession expressed in different cases

In the foregoing we have learned the different relationships in which a nominal may stand, as genitive, ablative, instrumental,

and so on. We have also learned how to indicate possession on the part of persons or things of objects. It is therefore possible in Chuvash, as in English, not only to say "my son," or "to a house," one may say "to my son's house." This is accomplished in Chuvash by adding the relational morphemes after the possessive morphemes as previously learned.

In this case too, the agglutinative forms with several morphemes seem to be giving way to analytic forms under Russian influence. The manner of formation as given in older and newer grammars differs in some details (e. g., in the 2nd p. sg., Ashmarin, 1898, gives *ǎ* where 1960 grammars give *u*). Thus, the present writer has had to create a few forms by analogy since complete tables are not given. In spite of minor handicaps, the principle and manner of formation are clear, and from a practical point of view they are not hard to recognize.

1st p. possessives expressed in different cases may be given as:

ivălām	ǵērēm	ačam	ěnem
ivălāmān	ǵērēmēn	ačamān	ěnemēn
ivălāma	ǵērēme	ačama	ěneme
ivălāmra	ǵērēmre	ačamra	ěnemre
ivălāmran	ǵērēmren	ačamran	ěnemren
ivălāmpa	ǵērēmpa	ačampa	ěnempe

Note that these are all translated by phrases in English such as "from my son, to my cow, with my child."

The 2nd p. sg. forms may be given as follows. Note two particular changes (also applying to the 3rd p. sg.): in the dative-accusative, the *-u* characteristic of the 2nd p. sg. drops entirely, leaving only the ending *-na/-ne*. In the locative and ablative forms, a prothetic *-n-* occurs between the morpheme *-u-* and the regular ending *-ta, -tan* (but not with the instrumental *-pa*).

ivălu	ǵěrŭ	aču	ěnŭ
ivălun(ǎn)	ǵěrŭn(ěn)	ačun(ǎn)	ěnŭn(ěn)
ivălna	ǵěrne	ačuna	ěnŭne
ivălunta	ǵěrŭnte	ačunta	ěnŭnte
ivăluntan	ǵěrŭnten	ačuntan	ěnŭnten
ivălupa	ǵěrŭpe	ačupa	ěnŭpe

In the 3rd p. sg., a form widely used when two nouns are juxtaposed (the so-called izafet construction), but also used to indicate possession by him, her or it, only front endings are used, since the suffix itself occurs only in the forms -i and -ě. Note that stems in -n double the n when the morpheme -ne is added (e.g., zakonne 'to his law'). The forms given below may also serve to indicate the 3rd person pl., although usually un or unān 'his' or věsen 'their' is prefixed.

ivălě	χěrě	laši	ěni
ivălěn	χěrěn	lašin	ěnin
ivălne	χěrne	lašine	ěnine
ivălěnče	χěrěnče	lašinče	ěninče
ivălěnčen	χěrěnčen	lašinčen	ěninčen
ivălěpe	χěrěpe	lašipe	ěnipe

Thus far, we have considered only instances in which one person or object was possessed by one person or object. Now we shall consider instances in which more than one person possesses one object (or person), viz. "our, your (pl.)." In the case of "your," it must be remembered that in some cases this is only a matter of form, since it can refer, in the polite usage, to only one person. The forms for the 1st p. pl. are as follows:

ivălămăr	χěrēměr	lašămăr	ěneměr
ivălămărăn	χěrēměrěn	lašămărăn	ěneměrěn
ivălămăra	χěrēměre	lašămăra	ěneměre
ivălămărta	χěrēměrte	lašămărta	ěneměrte
ivălămărtan	χěrēměrten	lašămărtan	ěneměrten
ivălămărpa	χěrēměrpe	lašămărpa	ěneměrpe

The corresponding forms for the 2nd p. pl. are the following.

ivălăr	χěrěr	lašăr	ěněr
ivălărăn	χěrěrěn	lašărăn	ěněrěn
ivălăra	χěrěre	lašăra	ěněre
ivălărta	χěrěrte	lašărta	ěněrte
ivălărtan	χěrěrten	lašărtan	ěněrtan
ivălărpa	χěrěrpe	lašărpa	ěněrpe

As previously noted, forms such as yalāmārta 'in our village' have been supplanted by pirēn yalta 'in our village.' A few other instances, drawn from various texts, are:

pirēn atteme	to our father
sirēn ivālupa	with your son
sirēn laša	your horse
lašuna	your horse (acc.)
pirēn rayonta	in our region

Some particular types of nominals, as previously pointed out, employ stem alternants under certain conditions. Thus stems in morphophonemic -U employ their alternant in -āv/ēv before possessive morphemes beginning with a vowel, and before the port-manteau morpheme /.na/. Stems in single consonant plus ā/ē employ the alternant with geminated consonant. The 1st p. is:

śirāvām	pēlēvēm	pullām	kūllēm
śirāvāmān	pēlēvēmēn	pullāmān	kūllēmēn
śirāvāma	pēlēvēme	pullāma	kūllēme
śirāvāmra	pēlēvēmre	pullāmra	kūllēmre
śirāvāmran	pēlēvēmren	pullāmran	kūllēmren
śirāvāmpa	pēlēvēmpe	pullāmpa	kūllēmpe

The 2nd p. forms are not quite as predictable. They are as follows:

śirāvu	pēlēvū	pullu	kūllū
śirāvun	pēlēvēn	pullun	kūllūn
śirāvna	pēlēvne	pulluna	kūllūne
śirunta	pēlūnte	pullunta	kūllūnte
śiruntan	pēlūnten	pulluntan	kūllūnten
śirāvupa	pēlēvūpe	pullupa	kūllūpe

In the 3rd p., the following forms are used: (Note front endings only!)

śirāvē	pēlēvē	pulli	kūlli
śirāvēn	pēlēvēn	pullin	kūllin
śirāvne or sirune	pēlēvne or pēlūne	pulline	kūlline

śirāvēnče	pělěvēnče	pullinče	küllinče
śirāvēnčen	pělěvēnčen	pullinčen	küllinčen
śirāvēpe	pělěvēpe	pullipe	küllipe

Note several interesting features in this declension, namely, that gen. sg. /pělěvēn/ coincides with that of the 2nd p., the same for the dat.-acc. /pělěvēne/. Note also the prothetic -n- in the locative and ablative -nče, -nčen.

The possessive forms of nominals in /t/ and /d/ (and orthographic t' and d') are treated like other words, except for their morphophonemic change of t/d to č before ě, viz.

sklad	warehouse	skladām	skladu	sklačě
apat	dinner	apatām	apatu	apačě
tetrad	notebook	tetradēm	tetradū	tetračě
element	element	elementēm	elementū	elemenčě
turat	branch	turatām	turatu	turačě
yat	name	yatam	yatu	yačě

Up to now, we have considered the following instances of possession, viz:

1. one person possessing one thing: my book, your book, her book
2. more than one person possessing one thing: our book, their book

There are still two more possibilities that may be expressed, viz.:

3. one person possessing more than one of the items: my books, his books
4. more than one person possessing more than one of the things involved: our books, your books, their books

The formation of the latter two types is quite easy in Chuvash, and can be created by the student on the basis of the following examples for all forms, as it consists merely of adding the invariable plural morpheme forms after the appropriate possessive morphemes.

ivălămse ^m	my sons	ivălă ^m ărse ^m	our sons
ivălămse ⁿ (^{ən})		ivălă ^m ărse ⁿ (^{ən})	
ivălămse ⁿ e		ivălă ^m ărse ⁿ e	
ivălămse ⁿ če		ivălă ^m ărse ⁿ če	
ivălămse ⁿ čen		ivălă ^m ărse ⁿ čen	
ivălămse ^m epe		ivălă ^m ărse ^m epe	

UNIT SEVEN

The nominal as adjective; comparison of the adjective; possessive adjectives; superlative intensifiers; the morpheme /-lă/.

The Nominal as Adjective

There is little formal difference between the various subclasses of nominals: hence, there are no formal characteristics, as endings, which mark the Chuvash adjective, or rather, the nominal used adjectivally. As previously remarked, the same Chuvash word may be identically used as noun, adjective and adverb, for instance:

śură śă ^m marta	a white egg
śă ^m marta śurri	egg its white = egg-white, albumen
yivăś śurt	wooden house
čul kęper	stone bridge
aša	warm, warmth, warmthness
aša să ^m ma ^x	a warm word, friendly greeting
pěr pisăk tipě yuman	a big dry oak-tree
şamă ⁿ siltă ^m xă ^l şă	into my right earhole
şătakne	(folktale) (204, 28)

Comparison of the Adjective

In the absence of any feature of form to distinguish the adjectival subclass, a feature or function of adjectives may be mentioned, that of comparison. In Chuvash, as in other languages,

it is possible to distinguish three degrees of intensity in an attribute, the positive or normal degree, the comparative degree, greater than the preceding, and the superlative degree, denoting the greatest amount of that quality possible. A few words, by their very nature, do not admit of comparison, e. g., timěr 'iron' (as in timěr vitre 'iron pail'). Something cannot be more iron or less iron, it can only be iron in nature.

The positive or normal degree of the adjective has no marker or ending to note it.

sarǎ čeček	yellow flower
šulě χěr	a tall girl

The comparative degree, denoting a greater or lesser amount of degree of the quality or attribute of an object (as compared with another object) is expressed in two ways. The first is a syntactic means employing the ablative morpheme:

yuman šăkaran yivăr	oak from linden is heavy = oak is heavier than linden
kiltén písăk	larger than a house ('from a house, big')
iltăn kēmēlten χaklă	gold is more valuable than silver

The second means employs the comparative morpheme {rAχ}, which has several allomorphs:

- A. Stems ending in vowels, or in consonants except -r, use the allomorphs -raχ/-reχ.

sarǎraχ	yellow, more yellow
χitrereχ	more beautiful, prettier

- B. Stems in -r employ the allomorph -tarăχ/-terēχ.

yivărtarăχ	heavier
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Note also:

nummaytarăχ	more, greater amount (207, 36)
načartarăχ	worse

C. Stems ending in -l and -n have free variation between allomorphs A and B.

avan	good
avantarax	better

Additional instances of comparatives are the following examples.

pisākraχ	bigger
pisākraχ kil	a rather large house
χaklā	expensive
χaklāran χaklā	more and more expensive
χitarax	harder, more vigorously
šultrarax χāyarsene tatrāmār	we picked bigger cucumbers
layāχrax	better
ilemlērex	more beautiful
pěčēkreχ	smaller

Not only may nominals and adjectives take the comparative morpheme, this may be found with still other forms.

kaś	evening
kaśčen	towards evening ('up to the evening')
kaśčenterex	more on into the evening, more towards evening
pūrt	house
patne	towards ('to its direction')
pūrt patnereχ	a bit more towards the house
kurāk	grass, weeds
kurākraχ iraš	rye with quite a bit of grass in it ('grassier rye, weedier rye')
kunta	here
kuntarax	closer this way

kilelle	towards the house
kilellereḡ	more towards the house

Both the above ways of forming the comparative may also be combined, e.g.,

yuman šăkaran	oak from linden is heavier =
yivărtarax	oak is heavier than linden

Adjectival words, when used in the plural, function just like other nominals, e.g., puyansem 'the rich ones, the rich men.'

Superlative Intensifiers

The superlative degree, or its equivalent, may be formed by using special words to indicate "very, much, most" and the like, placed before the word to be intensified. The word most used is či, and other words of similar function are pit, pitě 'very,' ıtla 'more, beyond, further,' maysăḡ 'immeasurably,' săv teri 'quite, as it were, so to say,' mala 'more,' etc.

či šivěč	very sharp, sharpest
či layăḡ	very good, the best
mala ilemlě	more beautiful
ıtla avan	more good, better, very good
pitě layăḡ	very good, best

Reduplication in whole or in part also plays a considerable role in forming a superlative in Chuvash. This type of formation, well-known in other Turkic and Altaic languages, is of several sorts.

A. The entire stem may be reduplicated, as

sară-sară	very yellow, exceptionally yellow
šură-šură	most white, white as white can be

- B. The adjective may be preceded by an intensifying partly reduplicated prefix, in the form CVC-, where the first consonant is that of the word involved, the vowel usually the one of that word (but sometimes another one, but in vowel harmony with it), and the second consonant is -p, but sometimes -m or even other consonants. Hence,

χup-χura	jet-black
yem-yešěl	green as green can be
yěp-yěpe	soaking wet
šap-šura	snow-white (note prefix!)
χěp-χěrle	red as all get-out
tak-takăr	absolutely flat
tăp-tulli	chockful, brimful

- C. In a few cases, the reduplicated syllable is not based on that word being intensified, but on some other stem, e.g.,

věr-šěně	brand-new
sēm-těttēm	pitch-dark

Possessive Adjectives

Since the Chuvash adjective is essentially a substantive, it may express possession, although by its nature only possession of and by things, hence, it occurs only with the 3rd p. suffix, -i. Very frequently, this -i is added to the locative morpheme {RA}, yielding the following allomorphs:

- A. After /l n r/, -ti

yalti	what is in the village, local
kilti	domestic, what is in the home
varmanti	pertaining to the forest, in the woods
kunti	(from <u>kunta</u> 'here') local
χirti	on the field

B. After other consonants except /l n r/, -ri

anat	lower, Lower Chuvashia
anatra	in the lower part, in Lower Chuvashia
anatri	one who is in or from Lower Chuvashia (name of one of the two major Chuvash dialects)
puéri kalpak	the hat on the head
śirēmri śin	a man in his twenties
uramri	on the street
sămaχri sasăsem	the sounds which are in words
alfavitri saspallisem	the letters in the alphabet
Gor'kiri avtozavod	the automobile factory in Gorky

C. The allomorph -či is found after the prothetic -n- of the possessive locative.

pürt patěnči	the one in the vicinity or direction of the house
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A very similar morpheme is /-χi/, meaning approximately "the one which is in." It may be added after any consonant.

śul	year
śulχi	yearly, what is in a year, annual
śurχi	vernal, spring, what is in the springtime
irχi	morning, pertaining to the morning

kašχi	evening, in the evening (as adjective)
ilemχi	future, what is in the future
layǎχχi	the one who is good
vǎrsǎ	war
vǎrsǎččen	before the war, up to the time of the war
vǎrsǎččenχi	pre-war
unččenχi	the former (Ger. damalige), 'the one up to it'
χal'	now, at present
χal'χi	contemporary, the ones at present

The Morpheme / .lǎ/

The function of adjectives may also be performed by the extremely common suffix *-lǎ/-lě*. It is very similar to the English suffix *-like*, as in *childlike*, *birdlike*, etc. It has the essential meaning of "having, possessing, having the nature of," and its allomorphs are *-lǎ/-lě* after consonants and *-llǎ/-llě* after vowels. It may be affixed to any nominal stem. Note there are two similar morphemes, one *-la/-le* with full grade vowel (to be discussed below), and another morpheme *-la-/-le-*, which occurs only with verb stems.

čap	fame
čaplǎ	famous, having fame
yat	name
yatlǎ	named (so-and-so), having the name ---
ut	horse
utlǎ	having a horse
ilem	beauty
ilemlě	beautiful
vǎrmalǎ	wooded, having woods
tu. llǎ	mountainous, hilly

šāmā	bone
šāmālla	bony
aš	meat, flesh
ašla	meaty, fleshy
χarpār	each
χarpārlā	own, individual, unique

There are many, many other formations with this morpheme. It may also be used with borrowed words.

aktivlā	active, having activity
talantlā	talented, having talents
intereslē	interesting, of interest

Note the difference between simple juxtaposition and the use of -lā.

čul pēve	a stone dam, a dam made out of stones (not wood)
čullā pēve	a rocky dam, a dam with loose rocks lying about
tāvar kūlli	a salt-lake, lake salty by nature
tāvarlā šiv	salted water, salty water (but not salt water), water to which salt was mistakenly added

Note also these examples:

tāvat ura	four legs (that is, not three or five)
tāvat urallā	a four-legged one, quadruped, four-footed
ikē vitre	two pails, two buckets
ikē vitrellē šāmavar	a two-pot samovar
yitā pušē	a dog-head (not a moosehead)
yitā pušlē upāte	the dog-faced baboon

The morpheme *-sẵr/-sě̃r* is the antonym to *-lẵ/-lě̃*.

In addition to the morpheme *-lẵ/-lě̃*, there is a very similar morpheme *-la/-le* with full vocalism. Its meaning essentially duplicates the former, and is used chiefly with stems denoting nationalities, but also with some other stems, especially borrowed words. No instances of contrast have been found, nor of free variation.

čăvašla kěneke	a Chuvash book
čăvašla-virasla slovar'	A Chuvash-Russian Dictionary
tutarla	Tatar
bol'ševikla	Bolshevik, Bolshevistic
staḡanovla yuxẵm	the Stakhanovite movement
fašistla zaḡvatčiksem	the fascist usurpers
kapitalistla tata	the capitalistic and land-
pomeščikla pusmẵr	owner's yoke

UNIT EIGHT

Pronouns: Personal, reflexive, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, negative, personal possessive, and other pronominal words.

Personal Pronouns

The general declensional pattern of the pronouns is similar to that of the nominal declension. There is a stem, fairly consistent in form, to which the relational morphemes previously given are added to indicate the various cases. The greatest disparity occurs between the absolute or nominative case and the oblique cases (including all others).

In the case of the 1st p., for instance, the allomorph /epě/ occurs only in the nominative, and in all other cases, the suppletive form /man-/, to which the regular case morphemes are added, is used, thus:

epě
man.ăn
man.a

man. ra
man. ran
man. pa

The same pattern is followed in the second person singular, employing esě in the nominative, and san- in the oblique. In the 3rd p., văl "he, she, it, that, this" is opposed to un- of the oblique, except that a form ăn- is used before the dative ending -a. The plural of văl employs an allomorph vě- to which -sem is added, viz., věsem 'they.' The remaining forms of the 1st and 2nd p. pl. may be similarly analyzed. All forms are presented herewith in tabular arrangement.

epě	esě	văl
man(ăn)	san(ăn)	un(ăn)
mana	sana	ăna
manra	sanra	unra (unta)
manran	sanran	unran (untan)
manpa	sanpa	unpa
epir	esir	věsem
pirěn	sirěn	věsen(ăn)
pire	sire	věsene
pirěnte (pirte)	sirěnte	věsenče
pirěnten	sirěnten	věsenčen
(pirten)		
pirěnpe	sirěnpe	věsempe

In addition to the above, some other forms are occasionally found, as for the nominative, ep, es, ul, epěr, esěr and vălsem. The locative and ablative of esir may also use sirte and sirten like epir does.

Some examples of their use are the following ones.

ku brigadir — pirěn	This team-leader is ours.
pire puḡura ırlarěś	We were praised at the meeting.
pirěn brigada malta	Our team goes forward.
pirat	
epě kolḡozra ěśletěp	I work on the kolkhoz.
văl śın	that man
văl śınsem	those people

văl sire pallarě
Tură ăna kalană
man ăersene

he has recognized you (204, 34)
God said to him (204, 36)
my girls (acc.)

Reflexive Pronouns

In Chuvash, the words for myself, yourself, himself, herself, and so on, are expressed with possessive forms of the morpheme ăa 'self.' To this morpheme may be added morphemes of possession and of case. From the following table the student can easily determine the similarity of these endings to those already learned. The reflexives are usually used with a personal pronoun to strengthen or intensify them, but may also be used alone.

ăam	ău	ăăy(ě)
ăamăn	ăăvăn	ăăyăn
ăama	ăăvna	ăăyne
ăamra	ăăvănta	ăăyenče
ăamran	ăăvantan	ăăyenčen
ăampa	ăupa	ăăype
ăamăr	ăăvăr	ăăysem
ăamărăn	ăăvărăn	ăăysen(ăn)
ăamăra	ăăvăra	ăăysene
ăamărta	ăăvărtă	ăăysenče
ăamărtan	ăăvărtan	ăăysenčen
ăamărpa	ăăvărpa	ăăysempe

Some examples of use of the reflexive pronouns are the following:

văl ăăy	he himself
esir ăăvăr	you yourselves
ăăysen tăvan yal	their own native village
ăam pirăp	I am coming myself
ăăysem kilčěs	they came themselves
epě ăama šăvatăp	I wash myself
ăăvaă kay!	Go yourself! (202, 18)
ăăvăr Tură ăărěsem	ye are God's daughters (204, 33)
ăăvăn upăăku	your own husband (205, 13)
ăăyăn aăă kilne pınă	he came to his own father's house (204, 43)

Demonstrative Pronouns

Like other languages, Chuvash too has words used to point out things or persons at near or far distances, as "these, those, this, that." It is not always possible to equate Chuvash usage exactly with English usage, because much depends on the circumstances: whether the speaker envisages something as near or far in relation to him, or whether it is near or far in relation to some other person.

Some of these words are the following: ku 'this,' śak, śakă 'that,' śav, śavă "that one (more distant than śak)," vă 'that one, he,' leś 'that one at some distance,' leśă id., ḡay, ḡayḡi (NB: not ḡăy!) 'that selfsame one, that very one, the aforementioned,' apla, kapla, śapla 'such a one, one like that, that sort of one.' Also used are un pek, śavăn pek, śakăn pek "the like of it, the like of that" meaning 'similar, that sort of.'

The declensions of these words follow previously established patterns:

ku	śak(ă)	leś(ă)	ḡay, ḡayḡi	śav(ă)
kun(ăn)	śakăn	leśăn	ḡayḡin	śavăn
kuna	śakna	leśne	ḡayḡine	śavna
kunta	śakănta	leśănče	ḡayḡinče	śavănta
kuntan	śakăntan	leśănčen	ḡayḡinčen	śavăntan
kunpa	śakănpa	leśpe	ḡayḡipe	śavănpa

When it is necessary to use the plural forms of these words, they employ their basic stem plus the regular endings of the plural (viz. -sem, sen(ăn), -sene, -senče, -senčen and -sempe), namely,

kusem	śaksem	leśsem	ḡayḡisem	śavsem
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Some examples of the demonstrative pronouns are the following:

kunta	here (lit. 'in this')
kuntan	hence, for this reason, therefore
unta	there ('in that')
untan	from that = thereupon, thence, then
śakă kăneke	this book

un pek śin	such a man
śakă - kĕneke	This is a book.
ɣayɣine asturăm	I remembered that (that thing which you were talking about previously)
pirĕn śuxăś śapla	Our opinion is thus and so.
ku pioner layăɣ vĕrenet	This Pioneer (Boy Scout) studies well.
leś ačan kĕnekesem numay	That child has a lot of books. (that child's books are many)
ača kĕneke ānlanmalla vulat	The boy reads the book clearly.
śapla vulani mana savăntarat	Such a reading (a reading like that) delights me.

Interrogative Pronouns

The words for "what, who, which" etc. are interrogative pronouns, and like the preceding pronouns, follow the same general pattern of formation. Their use is essentially that of their English counterparts. In Chuvash, these words are kam 'who,' mĕn 'what,' ɣăś(ĕ) 'which, which one,' miśe 'how many' (of numbers), mĕn ĉuxlĕ, mĕn ĉul 'how many, of what quantity,' and mĕnlĕ 'what sort, of what kind.' Note that, unlike their English equivalents, Chuvash kam and mĕn may be used in the plural: kamsem 'what persons, what ones, who?', or mĕnsem 'what things, what objects, what ones.'

Their declension is as follows.

kam	mĕn	ɣăś(ĕ)
kamăn	mĕnĕn	ɣăśĕn
kama	mĕne	ɣăśne
kamra	mĕnre	ɣăśĕnĕ
kamran	mĕnren	ɣăśĕnĕn
kampa	mĕnpe	ɣăśinpe (!)
miśe	mĕn ĉuxlĕ	mĕn ĉul
miśe(ĕn)	mĕn ĉuxlĕn	mĕn ĉulăn

mišene	měň čuxle	měň čula
mišere	měň čuxlěre	měň čulra
mišeren	měň čuxlěren	měň čulran
mišepe	měň čuxlěpe	měň čulpa

Some other interrogative words are: ǎšta 'where'; měňsker, měšker, 'what'; yeple, měňle 'what sort'; měňšěň 'why,' 'owing to what.'

Examples of their usage may be found in these phrases.

payan měň kun?	Today, what day? = What day is today?
měň tirǎ	What crop? = What is the crop like (this year)?
ku yapałana měňe iltěň?	Why did you buy this thing?
yeple šın vǎl?	What sort of a person is he? (What man he?)
ǎššě asli, ǎššě kěšěňni pallama titǎp	I shall hire (you) to know which is the eldest and which is the youngest (Folktale: 230, 20)

The student must note carefully the fact that Chuvash does not have a relative pronoun such as "that, which" in English. Sentences of the types "The man who did it came yesterday" or "The book that he bought was stolen" are expressed in Chuvash in a completely different way (viz., approximately "The having-done-it man came yesterday," "His bought book was stolen").

Occasionally, however, in imitation of Russian usage, the words kam or měň will be found in a relative usage.

kam tǎrǎšša ǎšet,	Who works assiduously will
unǎň ǎššě ǎnsa pirat.	succeed at this task (lit. 'Who works trying, his affair succeeds').

Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns may be formed from interrogative pronouns by:

1. Adding the morpheme *ta-/te-* 'some' before them:

takam	someone
teměn	something
teměsker	someone, a certain one
taḡǎšě	someone, a certain which one
teměnle	some sort
temiše	somewhat, to some amount

2. Adding the particle ta and the words puḡin or pulsan (lit. 'let it be' or 'if it is'), in a manner reminiscent of the Russian formations kto-nibud' 'who it may be' = whoever, someone, and so on.

kam ta puḡin	anyone, whoever it may be
měnte puḡin	anything, whatever it may be
měnle te puḡin	anyhow, however

3. By adding the word kirek before them

kirek kam	somebody
kirek měn	something
kirek měnle	somehow

Negative Pronouns

Negative pronouns are formed from interrogatives by adding the prefix morpheme ni before them, and the particles ta, te after the stem.

nikam ta	no one
niměn te	nothing
niměske te	no sort
niḡǎšě te	no one
niyeple te	nothing
niměnle te	nothing
niměn čuxlě te	seldom

Personal Possessive Pronouns

Chuvash also has formations like English "mine, yours, his" which can be used as nouns. This usage is similar in formation to the German das meinige or French le mien 'the one which is

mine.' These are formed in Chuvash by adding the possessive -ni to the genitive forms of the personal pronouns, viz.:

manni, manǎnni	sanni, sanǎnni	unni, unǎnni
pirĕnni	sirĕnni	vĕsenni (vĕsenĕnni)

The reflexive pronouns may also be used this way:

χamǎnni	the one which is my own
χǎvǎnni	your own
χǎyĕnni	his own
χamǎrǎnni	our own
χǎysenni	their own
χǎvǎrǎnni	your own

These forms, being nouns, may also occur in all cases, and since their formation is perfectly regular and predictable, all forms will not be given here.

manni	sanni	unni
mannin	sannin	unnin
manne	sanne	unne
manninĕ	sanninĕ	unninĕ
manninĕn	sanninĕn	unninĕn
mannipe	sannipe	unnipe
mannisem	sannisem	unnisem
	(and so on)	

Both short and long forms may serve as the base:

manǎnni	sanǎnni	unǎnni
manǎnnisem	sanǎnnisem	unǎnnisem
	(and occur in all cases)	

Further, the forms may refer to the plurals "our, your, their," viz.:

pirĕnni	sirĕnni	vĕsenni
pirĕnnisem	sirĕnnisem	vĕsennisem
	(oblique cases as usual)	

In general these forms are but little used, as the circumstances calling for their use infrequently arise. Their formation poses no problems. One example from the Reader is:

iran kěšěnnine pallama	Come to recognize the young-
kil	est one tomorrow! (Folk-
	tale 203, 37), lit. 'its young
	one.'

Other Pronominal Words

There are also some other words of pronominal character, expressing accumulation and generalization.

kašni	each
purte	all, every
pur, pětēm	all
χarpārχăy	each himself
urăχ	other, another
tepěr	other

UNIT NINE

The verb: Primary tenses of the indicative mood (durative present, negative formation, future, preterite).

The essential order of words in the Chuvash sentence, a subject which we shall devote greater attention to later in any event, positions the verb at the end of the clause or sentence. Thus, the sentence begins with the subject, followed by the object, with any other elements of manner or place and time arranged next in line, and finally, the verb concluding. The basic function of the verb is to state action or to predicate existence.

In the present Grammar we shall confine ourselves to the chief forms of current Chuvash usage. Some other forms may be found, but their usage is limited. For convenience, we divide the tenses of the indicative mood (the forms that express fact or actual occurrences, rather than what might or would happen) according to their formation into the primary and secondary tenses. Although we use the term "tense" to describe the different forms of the Chuvash verb, the connotation of time that this word has is not the only one which the form possesses. We might also speak of "aspect," or the manner of looking at an action, focusing not so much on the

relative time sequence of events, but features like customary action versus one-time action. In the case of the first tense, the durative present, the meaning is not only that of an action occurring this instant (the fish is swimming this moment in the stream) but also of actions habitually characteristic of the subject (fish swim, as in their nature, in the ocean).

Durative Present

The durative present tense has the formant -t-, after which certain endings characteristic of the different persons are added. These persons are the first, or the speaker (I), and its plural (we), the second, or person spoken to (you) and its plural (also 'you' in English, but different in Chuvash), and the third person, the one spoken of, (he) with its plural (they). The persons will always be given in the same order (1st sg., 2nd sg., 3rd sg., 1st pl., 2nd pl., 3rd pl.), and for this reason, will not be specially marked. The endings characteristic of this tense are not difficult. Chuvash verbs in general have only one declensional type, but there are some variants caused by the vowel harmony, and by whether the stem ends in a vowel or consonant. According to the Chuvash grammarians, the durative present (which they call the Present-Future) denotes:

- a. action being completed at the moment of speaking
- b. actions going on in general terms, as part of the natural order of things
- c. a definite categorical future: something that absolutely is going to take place — this is expressed with the durative present

Herewith we present the forms for the four possible variants in this tense.

<u>vowel stem</u>		<u>consonant stem</u>	
vula. tǎp	ěśle. tǎp	śır. atǎp	kil. etǎp
vula. tǎn	ěśle. tǎn	śır. atǎn	kil. etǎn
vula. t	ěśle. t	śır. at	kil. et
vula. tpǎr	ěśle. tpǎr	śır. atpǎr	kil. etpǎr
vula. tǎr	ěśle. tǎr	śır. atǎr	kil. etǎr
vula. śśě	ěśle. śśě	śır. aśśě	kil. eśśě

Note that the tense formant -t- is characteristic of all persons except the 3rd p. pl., where it assimilates before ś to ś. In the current Cyrillic orthography, a soft sign ('') is used after the -t- of the 3rd p. sg. for back vowel stems only. Since this is not phonemic, we do not reproduce it in these lessons, but it will be found in the reading selections. The student is reminded that the -t- of the 1st p. pl. assimilates in ordinary pronunciation to the following bilabial stop -p-, so that these forms are usually pronounced [vulappǎr], [ǎślepǎr], [ǎrappǎr] and [kileppǎr].

Historically, it may be of interest to note the origin of the tense from a combination of a verb form in -a/-e to which a reduced form of another verb tǎr- ("to stand" > "to be") was added, plus reduced forms of personal pronouns.

Note that this tense is sometimes translated into English by a future, especially with "going to," as in "I write, I am going to write, I'm going to New York tomorrow," rather than the future "I shall go to New York." Some examples of the tense follow.

χǎvel tuxat	the sun rises
śin ōpkepe sivat	man breathes with his lungs
ǎiv anatalla yuxat	water flows downstream
iran epǎ Muskava	I'm going to Moscow tomorrow
kayatǎp	
mǎśǎn xuyχǎratǎn	Why are you sorrowing? (204, 24-25)
χǎśan tavrǎntǎn?	When do you return? (When are you going to come back?)
ansan sana titaśśǎ	When (we) descend, they will seize you (205, 19)
ǎśemeśśǎ	they do not drink, they are not drinking (202, 4)
niśtata kaymastǎp	I am not going anywhere (205, 30)
titaśśǎ	they are holding you, they will hold you, they are going to hold you (205, 19)

Negative Formation

Up to now we have not mentioned how to say "not" with respect to anything. Thus it may surprise the student to learn that in Chuvash there is no individual word for not, but that this is incorporated

as a morpheme into the middle of the word. The morpheme is {-m-}, with allomorphs of -mă-/-mě-, -ma-, etc. In the durative present, the allomorph is -mas-/-mes-. The negative forms of the preceding verbs are, then:

śirmastăp	kilmestăp	vulamastăp	ěśilemestăp
śirmastăn	kilmestăn	vulamastăn	ěśilemestăn
śirmast	kilmest	vulamast	ěśilemest
śirmastpăr	kilmestpăr	vulamastpăr	ěśilemestpăr
śirmastăr	kilmestăr	vulamastăr	ěśilemestăr
śirmaśśě	kilmeśśě	vulamaśśě	ěśilemeśśě

In colloquial pronunciation, the -t of the 3rd p. sg. disappears. A few examples are the following:

tupaymastăr	you cannot find (204, 34)
ništata kaymastăp	I shall not go anywhere (205, 30)
xătălaymastăn	you will be unable to save yourself (205, 19)

Future Tense

The second tense of the indicative or factual mood is the future. It is formed with the stem of the verb, to which the personal endings (almost identical with those of the durative present) are added. The ending of the future tense is a zero-formant, in other words, no ending, plus the durative endings in all persons except the 3rd, where -ě and -ěś are used. This tense is called the Future-Indefinite in Chuvash grammars, and is used when the expression of the future is more general, and not so dogmatic, that is, when the speaker is less convinced that an action will definitely take place. The endings for this tense, are the following:

śirăp	pělěp	vulăp	ěśilěp
śirăn	pělăn	vulăn	ěśilăn
śirě	pělě	vulě	ěśilě
śirăpăr	pělěpăr	vulăpăr	ěśilěpăr
śirăr	pělăr	vulăr	ěśilăr
śirěś	pělěś	vulěś	ěśilěś

The negative formation for this tense infixes the allomorph -m- of the negative morpheme.

širmăp	pělměp	vulamăp	ěšleměp
širmăn	pělměn	vulamăn	ěšleměn
širmě	pělmě	vulamě	ěšlemě
širmăpăr	pělměpăr	vulamăpăr	ěšleměpăr
širmăr	pělměr	vulamăr	ěšleměr
širměš	pělměš	vulaměš	ěšleměš

Note that in the written language the 3rd p. sg. and pl. uses front vocalism regardless of stem. The dialects also use the expected -ă.

Some examples of the use of this tense are the following.

anmăpăr	let's not descend, go down (205, 18)
ülemren kuraymăn	you will not be able to see him in the future (205, 15)
χăšne ilěn	Which one will you take? (204, 38)
kuraymăn	you will be unable to see me (205, 24)
esě kayăn-i	Will you go?
esě kirek äšta yarsan ta	I shall go wherever you may send me (203, 2)
kayăp	
tupayăn-i	Will you be able to find them? (204, 7)
epě višě χučen kěsenep	I shall whinny three times (205, 22-23)
sana arămu tită	your wife will seize you (205, 22)
pallama tităp	I shall hire you for to know... (203, 20)

Preterite Tense

The third tense of the Indicative is the preterite, employing the tense formant -R, with the following allomorphs:

- r after vowel stems, and after consonants except /l n r/
- t after stems in /l n r/
- č -in the 3rd p. sg. of stems in /l n r/

Note the similarity of these morphophonemic changes to that of the locative relational morpheme. To the tense formant, personal endings very similar to the possessive morphemes are added. Some persons speculate that these formations like the preterite arose from an original noun, in this case, in -r, to which reduced personal pronouns were added, thus "my writing, my written thing" becomes "I wrote, I have written."

This tense indicates a clearly past action, not relative to any other past, thus, being more like a perfect tense: I have seen, have written. It is an eye-witness tense, used by persons who know about the event first-hand, rather than a narrative tense, in which the event is merely reported by another. The preterite is used for vivid description, and is called the past categorical by the Chuvash grammar writers. The forms are the following:

vularām	ěślerēm	śirtām	kiltēm
vularān	ěślerēn	śirtān	kiltēn
vularē	ěślerē	śirčē	kilčē
vularāmār	ěślerēmēr	śirtāmār	kiltēmēr
vularār	ěślerēr	śirtār	kiltēr
vularēs	ěślerēs	śirčēs	kilčēs

The negative conjugation of the preceding uses the -ma- allomorph of the negative morpheme. Note that since it is added after the stem, and before the tense formant, there are only two variants, front and back.

vulamarām	ěślemerēm	śirmarām	kilmerēm
vulamarān	ěślemerēn	śirmarān	kilmerēn
vulamarē	ěślemerē	śirmarē	kilmerē
vulamarāmār	ěślemerēmēr	śirmarāmār	kilmerēmēr
vulamarār	ěślemerēr	śirmarār	kilmerēr
vulamarēs	ěślemerēs	śirmarēs	kilmerēs

Examples of various verbs in this tense may be given as follows:

tuprē	he found	tuprān	you have found (them)
pěltēn	you knew	pitančē	he has hidden himself
itlemerē	he did not obey	tuprār-i	Did you find (him) ?

šürerěň	you travelled	terěm	I said
kilemerěm	I did not come	titřě	he seized
savă pallarăn		you have recognized that one	
		(203, 29)	
savă pělťěň		you have known her	(203, 36)
pitantartăġm		I have caused (them) to be	
		hidden	(204, 24)
tupaymarăġmăř		we were unable to find (him)	
		(204, 32)	
văġ sire pallarě		he recognized you	(204, 34)

Verb stems ending in -r in this tense have two subclasses, for which no conditions of assignation have as yet been discovered. The first subclass retains -r in all forms of this tense, thus:

kurtăġmăř	we did see it	(205, 40)
kurčě	he saw it	(205, 38)
esir kurtăř-i	did you see it	(205, 39)

The members of the second subclass, however, drop the -r of the stem before the morpheme of the -R preterite. There are about ten common stems in this class. They are the following verbs of frequent occurrence.

yěr-	to weep
kěr-	to enter
kūr-	to bring
par-	to give
per-	to throw, shoot
pır-	to go
tăř-	to stand
ġur-	to place, put
šăř-	to urinate
yar-	to send, leave, let, release

Some examples of formations are the following.

mana Tură ulma	God has given me an apple
pačě	(204, 13)
yačě	he let me go (202, 17)
yamarě	he did not let him go (202, 16)

yamasčě	he did not let go (202, 16) (past habitual tense)
esě šinna āšta xutān	where did you put the man? (205, 34)
laša nummay tavlāša tāčě	the horse stood there struggling fiercely (205, 40)
laša šāvarma karām	I went to water the horses (202, 14)
aššě vara šime kěně	his father then came in to eat (203, 2)

In folktales, the verb /kay-/ to go, also loses -y- before the morpheme of the preterite tense. In the literary language of today, it does not: /kayrě/.

No explanation of this phenomenon has as yet been advanced. Some other common verbs ending in -r do not participate in this change, as:

lar-	to sit, dwell, be
tar-	to run
kur-	to see

UNIT TEN

Secondary past tenses of the Indicative:

- Durative past in -ttām
 - Past in the Future: -nā + pul-
 - Past of the preterite: -se + -ttām
- The Morpheme -ččě 'was'

The Durative Past

The past imperfective or past iterative seems to function essentially as a past tense to the durative, as regards its function (but not its formation). As the durative indicates action extending in the present, the durative past, as we shall call it, indicates an action extending in the past, like the imperfect of Western European languages. It may thus frequently and conveniently be translated by forms such as "I was reading, I was writing." It indicates incompleted action. The tense formant is the morpheme -tt-, arising from the verb tār- 'to stand, to be,' thus, "I stand and work" > I was working.

vulattām	ěšlettēm	śirattām	pělettēm
vulattān	ěšlettēn	śirattān	pělettēn
vulatčě	ěšletčě	śiratčě	pěletčě
vulattāmār	ěšlettēmēr	śirattāmār	pělettēmēr
vulattār	ěšlettēr	śirattār	pělettēr
vulatčěś	ěšletčěś	śiratčěś	pěletčěś

The negative forms to the above are the following.

vulamastām	ěšlemestēm	śirmastām	pělmestēm
vulamastān	ěšlemestēn	śirmastān	pělmestēn
vulamastčě	ěšlemestčě	śirmastčě	pělmestčě
vulamastāmār	ěšlemestēmēr	śirmastāmār	pělmestēmēr
vulamastār	ěšlemestēr	śirmastār	pělmestēr
vulamastčěś	ěšlemestčěś	śirmastčěś	pělmestčěś

Past in the Future

Just as the durative has its past, so too can the future have a past. This tense, commonly called the future perfect, refers to an action that will be past at some future time, thus, if one year from now, I can say "I have taught five years," then now, that is expressed as "I shall have taught five years" (in a year from now). This tense is not a native Chuvash formation, but has obviously been introduced on the model of those found in other languages. Its form, too, is not one employing stem changes or root morphemes, but merely one of juxtaposition of forms. It is little used, and no instance is found in our reading selections. It is made by adding to the stem the invariable morpheme {nA}, followed by the verb pul- 'to be, become' in the future tense.

epě kaynā pulāp	"I shall be one who has gone,"
	"I shall have gone"
esě kaynā pulān	you will have gone
vāl kaynā pulě	he will have gone
epir kaynā pulāpār	we shall have gone
esir kaynā pulār	you will have gone
věsem kaynā pulěś	they will have gone

If a verb with front vowels is used, as il- 'to take, buy,' the corresponding form ilně 'taken, bought' is substituted. This form in

-nă/-nă will be discussed shortly at length. The negative to this is in -mAn, as /kayman/ or /ilmen/, viz. epě kayman pulăp "I shall not have gone." Since the formation is invariable, no additional listings will be given here.

Past Preterite

The preterite too may have its own past, which the Chuvash grammarians call the 'long-past categorical.' Although not connected in form with the preterite proper, its function seems to place it here as a sort of pluperfect, being used to denote an action which went on in the past before the completion of another action also in the past. Like the preterite, this too is an eyewitness tense. It actually arises from a compounding of the main root morpheme with the coordinate gerund in -sa (a feature to be taken up shortly), to which the formation -ttăm (etc.) of the past durative is then added. In the negative formation, note that the allomorph -ma- occurs before the morpheme -sa-. This tense too is a rather artificial one, and seldom seen.

vulasattăm	ěślesettēm	śirsattăm	pělsettēm
vulasattăn	ěślesettěn	śirsattăn	pělsettěn
vulasaččě	ěśleseččě	śirsaččě	pělseččě
vulasattămăr	ěślesettēmăr	śirsattămăr	pělsettēmăr
vulasattăr	ěślesettěr	śirsattăr	pělsettěr
vulasaččěś	ěśleseččěś	śirsaččěś	pělseččěś

The negative formation is as follows.

vulamasattăm	ěślemesettēm	śirmasattăm	pělmesettēm
vulamasattăn	ěślemesettěn	śirmasattăn	pělmesettěn
vulamasaččě	ěślemeseččě	śirmsaččě	pělmesecčě
vulamasattămăr	ěślemesettēmăr	śirmasattămăr	pělmesettēmăr
vulamasattăr	ěślemesettěr	śirmasattăr	pělmesettěr
vulamasaččěś	ěślemeseččěś	śirmsaččěś	pělmesecčěś

The Morpheme -ččě 'was'

The morpheme -ččě has the meaning of "was, were," and may be added to many stems to give the additional emphasis that something is completed, or in the past. It is exactly equivalent in origin, meaning and usage to the -di of Turkic languages. It may be

attached to the nouns pur and śuk to yield purččě "there was, there were" and śukčě "there was not, there were not." Note that in the case of several tenses, the 3rd p. sg. ends in -čě, which is more properly considered part of the tense formation.

The morpheme ččě occurs regularly as a free variant with zero in the past preterite and the past durative, viz.:

śirattāmččě	śirsattāmččě
śirattānččě	śirsattānččě
(śiratčě)	(śirsaččě)
śirattāmārččě	śirsattāmārččě
śirattārččě	śirsattārččě
(śiratčěś)	(śirsatčěś)

As the same formation is added to front and back words alike, and to the negative forms, there is no need to give a separate listing here.

The formation may be a bit clearer if we paraphrase it into rather long-winded English, giving its literal meaning as:

"I was one who was working"
 you were one who was working
 he is one who was working
 (etc.)

"I was one who had been working"
 (etc.)

UNIT ELEVEN

- Present participle (nomen actoris) in -kan
- Past participle (nomen perfecti) in -nă
- Future participle (nomen futuri) in -as
- Infinitive (nomen concretum) in -ma
- Nomen necessitatis in -malla

Present Participle (Nomen actoris)

As briefly observed previously, Chuvash does not have relative clauses of the sort "The man, who is reading the book, said so." Instead, this function is handled by a number of verbal nouns corresponding to the participles of other languages. The first of these, is the present participle, or nomen actoris, which is made from a

verbal stem plus the morpheme {(A)kAn}. Since it is a noun, it may occur in various cases and in the possessive and plural. It denotes the person doing customarily or presently the action of the verb. Thus, it frequently refers to occupations or professions, as well as temporary practices. It may be subject, modifier or object.

vulakan	reader, one who reads, the reading one
ěntě kileken etem	'the now coming man' = the man who is coming now
šiva kürteken Ioann	'causing to go into water John' = John the Baptist
tira akakan	a grain-sower, the one sowing grain
šinna puláššakan šin	a philanthropist ('a man-helping man')
esir yulakan yurā	'the you singing song' = the song which you are singing
čey šėeken čašāk	the tea-drinking cup (obviously, not the cup which is drinking tea, but the cup for the purpose of tea-drinking)
vulakan čarānčė	the reader stopped
pěr vātār xālaš šavřānakan yuman	an oak thirty fathoms in circumference (lit. 'revolving around') (203, 11)

The nomen actoris may have an object of its own, and it in turn may be the modifier of another word, or the object of another word, as

xulana kayakan šul	the road leading to the city
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It may occur with possessive endings, as in these examples:

širakanni širat, vulakanni vulat	the writer writes, the reader reads (lit. 'its writing-one writes')
-------------------------------------	---

pušlakanni esě pultān,	"Its beginning one you were;
věšlekenni — epě	its finishing one, I" = You started it but I finished it.

This form may occur in all cases, and its formation is absolutely regular.

vulakan	ěšleken	vulkansem
vulkanān	ěšlekenēn	vulkanšenēn
vulakana	ěšlekene	vulkansene
vulakanta	ěšlekente	vulkanšenče
vulakantan	ěšlekenten	vulkanšenčen
vulkanpa	ěšlekenpe	vulkansempe

The morpheme -ččě may also be affixed:

esě xašata stat'ya	you used to write newspaper
širakanččě	articles ('you were one who was writing articles')

The negative is made with the morpheme {mAn}:

vulaman	not reading, one who does not read, a non-reader
kuš kurman šin	'a non-eye-seeing man' > a blind man
šivra putman yapalasem	things which do not sink in water, unsinkables
ereḡ ěšmen šin	a non-wine-drinking man, teetotaler
pělmenten an ıyt	don't ask a man who doesn't know (note ablative!)

There is in addition an older form of this noun without the k, and ending in -an/-en. It is met today in a few fixed phrases, as:

yuxanšiv	'flowing water' = river
věšen kayāk	'flying bird' = fowl, bird
šüren šul	'going, travelling road' = well-trodden path

Past Participle (Nomen perfecti)

This form is of extremely wide application. It is chiefly a narrative and abstract participle, and functions in general like the preceding form, in that it occurs as a modifier and as a predicate. From its latter usage as a predicate, many grammarians, both Chuvash and Western, treat it like a tense. Although it is superficially like a tense, it differs from them in not having any personal endings. Yet, it differs from the nouns, and the foregoing nomen actoris in that it does not occur in different persons (except as a special formation with the 3rd p. sg. suffix). Like other nouns, it may take the past morpheme -ččě, thus making it a sort of past form of itself. It is a non-eyewitness form, and when used predicatively in its tense-like function, it is chiefly found in narrative style, especially of folktales. The ending is -nă/-ně, and does not vary for person. Before this morpheme, monosyllabic verb stems in -r employ their stem alternant without -r.

epě vulană	I was a reader, I am one who read; I read (past)
epě pělne	I was a knower, I am one who knew, I knew
śin kurnă	the man saw
kurnă śin	the seen man, i. e., the man who was seen AND the man who saw
esě kurnă etem	'your seen man' = the man whom you saw
kilně etem	the man who came
varmanti pisăk tipně	a big oak which has dried out in the forest (206, 22)
yuman	
pitannă šěrten tuprăn	you have found their hidden place, i. e., their hiding place, place they hid in (204, 37)
arămě yană titnă	his wife went and held him (= began to hold him)

manǎn xěřě tǎlǎxa
xǎvarnǎšǎn

from having left my daughters
as widows, because you
left them as widows

Note that both active and passive may be inferred from this form, depending on the context:

kurnǎ šin

the man who saw, the man
who was seen

kurman iltmen šin

a man who was neither seen
nor heard; a man who did
not see or hear

The negative to this morpheme is in -mAn, which thus coincides formally with that of the preceding nomen actoris. Both positive and negative forms may occur in different cases and in possessive forms, of the 3rd p. only.

pělmen sǎmaχ

an unknown word, a word one
didn't know

šemyisem pěri te
sismen

not one of the family-mem-
bers noticed

lašasem šiv ěšmenten

owing to the horses' not
drinking water

kaχal kaynǎne kursassǎn

when they saw Lazybones
coming (206, 27)

kaχal věsem kulnǎšě
šilenně

Lazybones grew angry from
their having laughed

yulnǎške

the one who has remained
(207, 29)

In the possessive of the 3rd p. sg., with the suffix -i, this form is used as a verbal noun in -ni, which may then occur in different cases.

kěneke vulani usǎllǎ

book reading is useful
(‘book its reading useful’)

tabak turtnine siyenlě
teššě

tobacco smoking is harmful,
they say

vulani

reading, the act or occupa-
tion of reading

tărăšni	the trying, striving, endeavor, attempt
epir tavlašnine šáltăr uyăx xěvel kurčě ančax ača laši kalanine itlemen	the stars, moon and sun saw us fighting (205, 38) however, the boy did not obey the horse's talking (what the horse had said)
xu savnine par	give the one you love, your loved one (202, 7-8)
xăyne čup tunine kăšt sisně	she felt somewhat herself having been kissed (205, 11)

Future Participle (Nomen futuri)

The formation of this noun is not difficult: to the stem of the word -(A)s is added, thus:

vulas	one who will read, that which is to be read, which will be read
pěles	what will be known, one who will know
viras văxăt	the time to harvest
pulas văxăt	future tense ('the going-to- become time')
kiles šul	the coming year
kalas sămax	the words (I am) going to say
ěntě kěřū tăvas pulě	now there will be the making into a son-in-law (= now we shall make you my son- in-law)

The negative of this form employs the -mAs- allomorph of the negative morpheme, thus, kilmes 'not going to come,' or yurlamas 'not going to sing.' In today's language, however, this usage is relatively rare. Instead, the postposed negative word mar is employed, or the word šuk 'there is none.'

epě temterle kayas mar I said (I was) one who will
terēm not go at all (205, 35-36)

The nomen futuri may also be used predicatively, with or without pronoun.

epě pēles	I will know, I should know
kayas, atte	I'll go, father (203, 1) lit. 'there will be a going'
āšta pitanas	Where is one to hide? (204, 27)
yeple pēles	How to know? = How is one to know that? (203, 25)
yeple tupas	How to find? = How is one to find her? (204, 10)

The future participle is also frequently used with the so-called purposive case denoted by the morpheme *-/šān/*, meaning "for, for the purpose of." This combination functions like the infinitive of European languages in many ways. Note that in pronunciation the combinations *-sš-* or *šš* become *-šš-*.

appana kurasšān epě	I came here for the seeing
kunta kiltēm	of my sister, to see my sister
ača šavax anasšān	the boy was for descending
pulnā	there (anyway), the boy wanted to go down there (205, 19-20)
ku xēre kaḡala	that girl was not for going to
kayasšān pulman	the Lazybones, did not want to go to Lazybones (207, 41)

Infinitive (Nomen concretum) in -ma

This form, which other writers have called the infinitive (and Ashmarin the supine), is a standard verbal noun formed from any stem with the morpheme *{-mA}*. It is frequently translated into English with a form (gerund) in *-ing*. It does not refer to any mood, tense, person or number, but to the action in a nominal sense. There is no negative form.

yurla	to sing
yurlama	singing, the act or practice of singing
vāl yurlama xavas	he loves singing, he loves to sing
mana tupma xušat	he orders me to find (them) (204, 10)
vutā tiyeme xatērlenē	he readied the loading of firewood (207, 5)
vāl šiv āsma annā	he went down to draw water (206, 4)

This form frequently has a purposive connotation, "for, for to, in order to, for the purpose of doing so."

pērre amašē šiva kayma xušnā	once his mother ordered going for (the purpose of getting) water (206, 2)
šav starik lašisene šāvarma annā	that old man went down to water (in order to water) his horses (202, 3)
aššē vara šime kēnē	then his father came in to eat (203, 2)
akā tirā akakan akma tuxnā	Lo, a sower went out to sow [Mark IV, 3] (209, 5)
kartana laša titma kaynā	he went into the herd to catch a horse (203, 6)
pallama pırsan	when he went in order to recognize (203, 33-34)

Although there is no negative, this form may occur with the privative morpheme -sār, viz.:

nummayččen kaymasār tāna	he stood for a long time without going (206, 17)
čātaymasār	inability to restrain (204, 15, 21)

arǎmǎ tepǎr kas
 šivǎrmasǎr sıxlasa
 virtnǎ

the next night his wife lay
 and watched without sleep-
 ing [183,1]

Nomen necessitatis in -malla

The so-called obligatory noun, or noun of necessity, is formed from the verbal noun in -ma by the addition of the old directive morpheme -lla, which we previously encountered in forms like vǎrmanalla 'towards the woods.' It most frequently occurs in the 3rd p. sg. possessive, thus -malli, or -malle. It has no negative formation, except to add mar after it. Examples are:

vulamalla, vulamalli	that which must be read, is to be read
pǎlmelle, pǎlmelli	that which must be known, is necessary to know
epǎ kilmelle	I must come, I have to come
χal'ǎχ kaymalli?	is it necessary to go now (= do we have to go now?) (203, 3)
untan tepǎr kun vǎtalǎχne pallamalla pulnǎ	the next day it was necessary to recognize the middle one (the middle one was to be recognized) (203, 30)
χǎššan ... pǔrtre puran purǎnmalla pulǎr-šǎ	When will we be having to live in a house? (= When do we get to live in a house like other people?) (208, 13)

UNIT TWELVE

Mood-formants: Imperative; optative; conditional.

Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is the mood of command and order, and in this mood we find the bare stem of the verb used. This occurs in the 2nd p. sg. In the other persons endings are used.

epě vulam, pělem, širam	let me read, know, write!
esě vula, pěl, šir	read! know! write!
vāl vulatār, pēltēr širtār	let him read, know, write!
epir vular, pēler, širar	let's read, let's know, let's write!
esir vulār, pēlēr, širār	read! know! write!
věsem vulaččār, pēlččēr, širččār	let them read, know, write!

The negative imperative adds the postposed morpheme mar in the 1st p., sg. and pl., and the preposed morpheme of similar meaning, an, in the other persons, viz.:

vulam mar	pělem mar
an vula	an pěl
an vulatār	an pēltēr
vular mar	pēler mar
an vulār	an pēlēr
an vulaččār	an pēlččēr

Examples of the usage in this mood are the following.

atya epir anar	well then, let's go down (to the earthly world) (205, 21)
leš tēncene ansa kurar	let's go down and see the other world (204, 42)
esě āna sīxla	you watch him (205, 14)
an sīvār	don't sleep
titta an yar	hold on and don't release him (205, 14)
χāvax kay	go yourself! (202, 18, 23)
pētēm Rašeye kursa sūrēr	let's ride and see all of Russia (203, 9-10)
šūle kayar-i ye šēre kayar-i	shall we go to the sky or to the earth (203, 14)
kus kaysa kan čntě	go and return and rest now (203, 36-37)

xalě xu pítan
šivra karas pulášem
šúreččěr

now you hide yourself (204, 24)
Let carp-fish go in the water!
(208, 29)

Conditional Mood

This mood is used for actions in which the possibility of the action occurring is only probable, or is contingent upon some other happening. Thus, it is translated by words like "would, if" etc. It is characterized by the conditional morpheme {(Ā)ttām}. Note the close resemblance of these forms to those of the durative past formation in -ttām. The conditional has a short ě before the ending. The 1st and 2nd ps. are also often used with the past morpheme -ččě, to create the nuance "would have." Note the lack of vowel harmony in the 3rd p. sg. and pl.

vulättām	pělettēm	širättām	kayättām
vulättā	pělettēn	širättān	kayättān
vulěččě	pělēččě	širěččě	kayěččě
vulättāmār	pělettēmēr	širättāmār	kayättāmār
vulättār	pělettēr	širättār	kayättār
vulěččěś	pělēččěś	širěččěś	kayěččěś

The negation to the above employs the allomorph -m- of the negative morpheme.

vulamättām	pělměttēm
vulamättān	pělměttēn
vulaměččě	pělměččě
vulamättāmār	pělměttēmēr
vulamättār	pělměttēr
vulaměččěś	pělměččěś

The negative may also employ the suffixed morpheme -ččě. Examples of this mood are the following.

vulättām	I would read (but I have no book)
ilěttēm	I would buy (but I have no money)

kalättäm	I would say (if I dared)
kaymättäm	I wouldn't go (but I can't refuse)
ilmettä	I wouldn't buy it (but I have to)
yarättäm ta ...	I would release you, but ... (206, 7)
'kayättäm ta ūrkenetěp' teně	"I would go, but I am lazy" he said (206, 3)

An artificial past tense is formed to the conditional by the use of the nomen perfecti in -nă to which the conditional of pul- 'to be, become' is added, thus, širnă pulättäm "I would have written" lit. I would become one who has written.

Optative (Subjunctive) Mood

This mood expresses the hope that something will come to be, in the sense "would that it should happen, would that he come," or the concessive idea of "even if he should come." It is relatively little used, and in its formation appears to arise from two form-classes, the 2nd p. forms being suppletive.

vulăpin	pělěpin	larăpin
vulăsă	pělěsă	larăsă
vulin	pělin	larin
vulăpărin	pělěpěrin	larăpărin
vulăsăr	pělěsăr	larăsăr
vulăšin	pělěšin	larăšin

The negative forms of the above are the following.

vulamăpin	pělmăpin	larmăpin
vulamăsă	pělmăsă	larmăsă
vulamin	pělmin	larmin
vulamăpărin	pělmăpěrin	larmăpărin
vulamăsăr	pělmăsăr	larmăsăr
vulamăšin	pělmăšin	larmăšin

There is also an artificial past tense formed from the nomen perfecti in -na plus the subjunctive of pul-, thus:

śirnă pulăpin
etc.

śirman pulăpin
etc.

According to the Chuvash grammarians, a true optative mood is formed by adding the morpheme -ččě to the forms given in the first paragraph. However, today, such expression of desire as "would that ..." is rendered by the imperative mood.

UNIT THIRTEEN

Converbs: Subordinate, coordinate, past, antecedent.

One of the unique features of Chuvash grammar is the use of a grammatical form which we shall call converbs. These are formations which are like verbs, because they derive from verb stems, but do not refer to any person, number or tense. They serve to denote that the action referred to stands in a certain relationship to the action of the main or finite verb. Thus, they function like English gerunds or present participles. The thought is held in abeyance by use of a converb until the concluding verb. Hence, we may call them verb forms of a suspensory nature denoting secondary action coordinate to or complementary to the main action. They may not end a statement. In English, we would say "He went downtown, bought a suit, drank some coffee and returned home." In Chuvash, this idea would be rendered approximately as "Having gone downtown, bought a suit and having drunk some coffee, he returned home."

Subordinate Converb

The subordinate converb in -a/-e denotes an action completely subordinated to the main action. It is frequently best translated into English by a form in -ing. Sometimes the form is reduplicated to show continuation.

tăra
věše
vula-vula
titta

standing
flying
reading and reading
holding

Examples of usage are the following.

ulmisem šěrelle usăna usăna larnă	its apples were (lit. 'lay') hanging and hanging towards the ground (= hanging way down to the ground) (204, 18)
epě kuněpe ulma šīye šīye šūrěp	I shall go about eating and eating apples all the day (204, 20)
starik vara pit xuyxăra pušlană	the old man then began cry- ing greatly (202, 11)
pirěn Ivan pičče yurla yurla yulčě	our brother John continued to sing on and on
šira pušlană	began searching
čup tăva pušlană	began kissing

Coordinate Converb

The coordinate converb is of extremely frequent occurrence in Chuvash; in fact, it may be found in nearly every Chuvash sentence. It denotes the first of two (or more) actions of equal value. Some of the more common combinations have become stylized into equivalents of single verbs, rather like English phrases such as "Go and get them," "he went and did it," "they sat and told us about it," instead of simply "Bring them, he did it, they told us." The ending of this form is -sa/-se.

vulasa larat	reading he sits = he sits reading, he sits and reads
un patne pırsa kalană	going to him, he said; he went up to him and said
xăvarsa larnă	he climbed up and sat ('climbing up he sat')
šiva vırtsa păxnă	he lay and watched the water, he lay watching the water
esě ulma tatsa il te	you pick and take an apple (204, 13)
šak teksta šırsa ilěr tultax xuyxărsa larnă	take and write this text he sat outside and wept (202, 12)
ku xăvăn upăšku sana kilse čup tăvat	this is your own husband who comes and kisses you (205, 13)

In the case of stems ending in *ś* or *š*, there is assimilation to that phoneme, thus, věśse [věśśe] 'flying.' For the subordinate and the coordinate converb, the negative employs the suffix *-masār/-mesār*, which is identical in formation with the verbal noun in *-ma* plus the privative morpheme *-sār*.

vaskamasār	without hurrying, the fact of not hurrying, while not hurrying
------------	--

Some of the fixed combinations of verbs employing the coordinate converb in company with another verb are the following. The student may collect many more examples by himself.

kěrse kay-	to go in, enter (to go enter- ing)
tuḡsa kay-	to go out, leave (to go emerg- ing)
ilse kil- pırsa kala- tārsa yul-	to take and come, to bring to go and say, to tell to remain standing, to remain, stop
ilse pır- ḡusa yar-	to bring hither, to go taking to send and dispatch = to send

In some Chuvash dialects, this form may function as a finite tense, viz., *epě śırsa* - I have written. No examples occur in our material.

Past Gerund

The past gerund has the form *-san/-sen* or *-sassān/-sěssen*. It is used when there is a time difference between the two actions involved, so that the general pattern of translation into English is "when... happened, then so and so happened," or "after doing so and so, another thing occurred." With stems in /*ś*/ and /*š*/, there is assimilation to that consonant phoneme. Take care not to confuse this morpheme with the purposive case *-śān* 'for'

vulasan	having read, after reading (then something else happened)
---------	---

kalamasan	when he didn't say
kaḡal kaynāne	when they saw Lazybones
kursassān	coming, they ... (206, 27)
ěš ḡušān vāl itlemen	when she ordered him to
	work, he did not obey
sakār śula śiltse	after he had arrived at the
	age of eight
ḡire tuḡsan lasine	when he came out onto the
kalanā	field, he said to the horse
	(203, 9; 205, 6-7)
śūle Turā patne kaysan	when we go towards God on
avantarax pulě	high, it will be better (= it
	would be better if we went
	to God on high) (203, 15-16)
ansan sana titaśśě	when you descend, they will
	seize you (205, 19)
śavna iltsen	when they heard that, they ...
tesen	when you say > "if"
manran pulāšu ıytas	"when you say there is to be
tesen	the asking of help from me"
	= if you ask me for help

This form may also be reduplicated.

sūresen sūresen pěr	they rode and rode (for a
yuman patne śitně	long time) and came to an
	oak (203, 11)
purānsan purānsan vutti	after they lived that way a
pětně	very long time, their fire-
	wood ran out (206, 15)
purānsan purānsan Turā	after he had lived there a
kěřūšne kalanā	long time, God said to his
	son-in-law:

Antecedent Converb

This converb has the general meaning of "before," and employs the ending -iččen. Note that vowel stem verbs employ their stem alternant without vowel before this morpheme. It also has the meanings of "rather than, instead of."

vula- > vuliččen	before reading, until
	reading

kiliččen	until he comes, until the arrival, before he comes
epě kiliččen	until I came
namášlaniččen	rather than becoming ashamed (208, 1)
šinsem pěliččen	before people learn of it (208, 3)

Other Forms

The Chuvash grammarians consider still other forms to be gerunds (as they usually call them), but most of these are of relatively infrequent occurrence. Some of them are -masseren "every time that . . .," -nāranpa "from the time that . . .," and -uśān or -atśān "while."

There is an infinitive-like form in -māškan/-mēšken, which is rather similar to the nomen concretum in -ma.

UNIT FOURTEEN

Adverbs; Postpositions; conjunctions; particles; interjections.

Adverbs

We have previously observed that there is little formal difference between nominals in their function as nouns and in their function as adjectives. The same words may also be used in adverbial uses. There are some particular endings which occur on words used adverbially, but examination reveals them to be morphemes already familiar to us, functioning differently. Study the following examples:

ilemlě vārman	a beautiful woods
ilemlě tērleně	beautifully sewn
iněe śul	a distant road
iněe an xur	don't put it far away
xurlăxľă yură	a sad song
xurlăxľă yulaśśě	they sing sadly
virăsla yura	a Russian song
virăsla yurlat	he sings in Russian

Some additional examples of adjectives, pronouns, numerals and nouns used as adjectives are the following phrases (taken mostly from Dmitriyev & Gorskii, p. 890).

layǎχ kalaśat	he speaks well
tirpeylě tit	be careful, take care
čávaśla kalaśat	he speaks Chuvash
śěnělle purānat	he's living like a new man (turned over a new leaf)
urǎχla tāvǎpǎr	we do it differently
unččen kilēn	until you come
tepreččen χāvarar	let's stay until the next one
śavānta kay	go there
kuntan kayatpǎr	we are leaving here (from here)
viśśēn purnatpǎr	we three live together
ikserēn piraśśē	they go two at a time
śurkunne kayāksem	the birds came flying in the
věśse kilčěś	springtime
kunēpe śumǎr śāvat	it rains all day

The morphemes -lla of the directive, and the -la morpheme of adjectives may also be found in an adverbial function as: untalla 'thither,' kilelle 'homewards,' śamrākla 'as a youth, young,' śērle 'by night, at night,' kētesle 'in installments.' The genitive case is also often used to create adverbs, thus, irēkkēn 'voluntarily, of a voluntary nature,' sivvēn 'coldly,' śāmāllān 'slightly,' tēplēn 'in detail,' virānān 'in places, somewhere,' māśārān 'in pairs, paired up,' kunēn-śērēn 'by day and night.' The dative is found with some expressions of time, as kērkunne 'in the fall,' śurkunne 'in the spring,' irīyne 'in the morning.' The suffix -ččen or -čen is found on some expressions of time, as well as in the antecedent converb: χaliččen 'up to this time,' paytaχčen 'since time immemorial,' nummayččen 'a great deal, for a long time.'

We have previously met the prefixes -ta-/-te- with the indefinite pronouns; they occur with some adverbial words: taχśan 'sometime,' taśta 'somewhere,' temēnle 'some sort,' niśta 'no where, to nowhere,' teple 'somehow.' The compound suffix -ranpa, arising from the instrumental and ablative cases, is also used adverbially: ēnertēnpe 'since yesterday,' paśārtanpa 'since time began,' kilnērenpe 'since I arrived, from my having arrived.'

Some words and phrases occur only in adverbial usage:

pašār	recently
sasartāk	suddenly
aran	somehow
aval	formerly
yalan	always
pěrmay	continually
kāśal	nowadays (< <u>ku</u> 'this' + <u>śul</u> 'year')

Postpositions

Unlike languages with which the student may be acquainted, Chuvash does not have any prepositions, but instead uses postpositions, which get their name from the fact that they come after the word which they govern instead of before it. These words were once substantives, and for that matter, still are, although usually they occur in the function of postpositions. Some typical words which are used as postpositions are the following:

ayak	side	χěr	edge
um	front, before	pat	direction, towards
vară	midst	śum	along
ay	underpart, underside	χušă	between; internal
śi	surface	χěrri	front one side (‘its edge’)
yen	side	ăś(ě)	interior, inside
tără	upon	tărri	upon (possessive)
χiś	rear, behind	śivăχ	vicinity, near

Case forms suffice to express some relationships, as:

ăkapa kěneke χur	place the book in the book- case
------------------	-------------------------------------

If it is necessary to tell in greater detail, then postpositions may be used:

kěnekeayne tetrad' χur	put the notebook under the book
kěneke śine tetrad' χur	put the notebook on the book
kěneke χiśne tetrad' χur	put the notebook behind the book

Some examples from the reading are the following.

yuman patne	towards the oak
šuni šinččen	down from his sled
těp šine	on the ground
kašin šinčen	from off each
lašu patne	towards your horse
pěrin uri piče šine	at the side of one's leg (on top of the side of the foot of one) (204, 5)
aslin pušě patěčen	from the side of the eldest's head (203, 26)

In the modern literary language, the postposition words do not take possessives other than the 3rd p. , and take only the dative, locative and ablative case endings, and govern the genitive of pronouns. With nouns, the absolute case is used. Nearly any word which means some sort of location or direction can be used with the practical effect of a postposition.

Some postpositions of invariable form, which cannot be declined, are:

urlă	through, across
pěrie	together with (+ instrumental)
vitěr	through, across
pek	like
taran	up to
tărăχ	by, according to
pula	thanks to
pirki	by virtue of
valli	for
kura	thanks to
χirěš	against
pušne	except (+ ablative)

They may govern different cases, as genitive, dative and ablative.

san valli kěneke iltēm	I bought this book for you
ku kěneke Ivana valli	this book is for John
Verukă ivălěčen pušne	Vera has no one except her
urăχ nikam ta šuk	son
šumăra pula ută	On account of the rain the
tipmerě	hay did not dry out.

Some persons consider the purposive -šǎn and the terminative -čĕn as postpositions. One could equally well consider them cases.

měňšĕn
kaśčĕn

for what, why?
until evening

Conjunctions

Chuvash conjunctions function essentially the same as do their English counterparts, and may be divided into subordinating and coordinating, which, as their names imply, serve either to connect explanatory clauses with main clauses, or simply to unite words and clauses of equal (hence coordinate) status.

Coordinating conjunctions are the following:

connective: tata, -ta/-te "and, too, also"

partitive: ye, te, pĕrre ... tepre, pĕr ... pĕr "now ... now;" ye ... ye "either ... or," "now this ... now that"

adversative: śapaχ, ančax "but, however"

negative: ni ... ni "neither ... nor" (of foreign origin)

Subordinating conjunctions are the following:

causative: měňšĕn tensen "because" ('if you say for what')

consequential: śavǎnpa, śavǎnpa vara, vara "since"

purposive: tese "in order to" (lit. 'saying')

conditional: tesen "if" ('when you say')

concessive: pulin te, pulsan ta "although" ('if it be')

Some examples are:

virǎs ta, čǎvaś ta, irśe te χǎy čĕlχipe kalaśat	Both Russian, Chuvash and Erzyan speak in their own language.
χula uramĕsem aslǎ ta takǎr	City streets are broad and flat.

epě śeś mar, itisem te	Not only I, but others too
śaplaχ śuχăślaśśě	think so.
payan epě ni paχčana,	Today I neither went into
ni urama tuχmarăm	the garden nor onto the
	street.

Particles

The use of particles imparts nuances of meaning to words and clauses. They may be divided into the following general types:

<u>intensifying</u> :	-aχ/-eχ (strengthens the preceding word like Russian <u>že</u> or German <u>doch</u> , <u>ja</u> , or the way in English we stress with the voice, by saying "He <u>did</u> go there") — this is very frequent, especially in folklore, where it is mostly written as part of the preceding word. śeś, śeχ "only, merely"
<u>demonstrative</u> :	akă "here," avă "there;" văt "voici," veś "voilà"
<u>interrogative</u> :	-i, -ăi "whether" (often merely indicates a question is in existence, like Japanese ka); -i-măn or im "really, you don't say"
<u>lightly expressed command</u> :	-χα, -ka
<u>clarifying</u> :	śăp "equally, exactly, namely, viz."
<u>negating</u> :	an, mar "no, not, not any"

Most of these particles are enclitic (that is, pronounced and stressed with the preceding word), but -aχ, and the other intensifying particles, together with the demonstrative and negative, may also bear accents of their own. The interrogative -i is used at the end of sentences, and only when no other interrogative word is present.

Interjections

Interjections, too, function chiefly in Chuvash as in English, to insert parenthetical exclamations not essential to the sentence,

but conveying a definite feeling of the speaker regarding the circumstances. Some of them are:

ey	used in salutation and greeting
ay	expresses dissatisfaction and indignation
aχ, eχ	alas! expresses satisfaction, but also extreme discontent, perplexity, grief and indignation
e-e, 1-1χ	reproachful, tsk-tsk!, uh-uh!
ay-χay, ay-yay	ah-hah! derisive or ironical attitude
atya!	come on! let's go! get with it! plural is: atyăr. Also occurs metathetized: ayta, aytăr

Onomatopoetic Words

Chuvash is quite rich in onomatopoetic or sound-imitative words, and these are found frequently in literature, folklore and native songs. For our present purposes, they are not too important.

šănkăr-šănkăr šiv
yuxat

The water babbles, gurgle-gurgle.

UNIT FIFTEEN

Numerals: Cardinal, ordinal, distributive, collective, fractional.

Numerals, being a subclass of nominals, are exactly like nouns in most of their functions, and may occur in the various cases and possessive forms, as well as in juxtaposition with another noun to denote the quantity of objects involved. Unlike those of some other languages, however, Chuvash nouns do not employ the plural form after numbers, the presence of a quantity word being sufficient indication of the plurality, thus:

ike laša
pilěk kěneke

two horses
five books

The cardinal numbers in Chuvash have two forms, the short and the long, of which the first is used attributively, that is, when some noun or object comes immediately after that numeral, and the second, the long, used when the numeral stands alone. Thus, "three houses" would require the short form, but "the houses are three (in number)" or "there are three" requires the long. The short forms also have forms without the final -ă/ě in free variation with short forms with these vowels. The long forms differ only in having a geminated consonant in place of a single consonant.

The numbers 11-19 are formed by compounding two stems. Numbers 101 through 119 employ the word te 'and,' as do numbers over 1,000.

A table of cardinal numbers follows herewith.

1.	pěr	pěrre
2.	ikě, ik	ikkě
3.	visě, vis	visěě
4.	tăvată, tăvat	tăvattă
5.	pillěk	pillěk
6.	ultă, ult	ulttă
7.	śičě	śičěě
8.	sakăr	sakkăr
9.	tăxăr	tăxxăr
10.	vună, vun	vunnă

The numbers 10-19 are compounded as: vunpěr, vunikě, and so on. Units with higher tens are formed as in English: śirēm pěr '21,' śirēm ikě '22,' etc.

20.	śirēm
30.	vătăr
40.	xěřěx
50.	allă, ală, al
60.	utmăl
70.	śitměl
80.	sakărvunnă
90.	tăxărvună
100.	śěr

The other hundreds are compounded with stem forms plus sěr, namely, iksěr, visěr, tāvatsěr, pillěksěr. Smaller units with hundreds add te 'and.'

vāl sěr te ikke sítně he reached 102

The same for numbers over 1,000:

pin te tăḡārsěr sirem	1927
sičě	
pin te tăḡārsěr utmāl	1961
pěr	

The long forms express the concept of the number as an abstract entity, and may be subject, object or predicate.

tăḡḡārtan pillěk	five from nine is four ('from
kālarsan, tăvattă	nine, when five is taken
yulat	away, four remains')
visě ḡut visě —	three times three — (is)
tăḡḡār	nine

The short forms are qualitative attributes of nominals, and like adjectives, come directly before the noun to form a nominal group. Requirements of juncture and speech rhythm allow final ă/ě to be dropped in some cases.

ḡirte visě brigada	three teams are working in
ěslet	the field
sič ḡut vis te pěr ḡut	measure seven times, cut
kas	once (= Look before you
	leap!)
vis-tăvat	three or four, some three
	or four
iksēměr	(we) two together (lit. 'our
	two')

Ordinal numerals denote the order or sequence in which one object follows another, and are formed from the long form of cardinal numbers by the morpheme -měš (invariable). Syntactically, they are attributes, as ikkēměš brigada 'the second team.' If the possessive -ě is used, then the ordinals may occur in all cases, and be used as subject, object or predicate.

kolyozra ikě brigada:	There are two teams in the
përreměš ută şulat,	kolkhoz: the first mows
ikkěmeşne iraş vırma	hay, and the second was
yană	sent out to reap rye.

The forms for the ordinals are the following.

përreměš	first
ikkěměš	second
vişşeměš	third
tăvattăměš	fourth
pillěkměš	fifth
ulttăměš	sixth
şicčěměš	seventh
sakkărměš	eighth
tăχχărměš	ninth
vunnăměš	tenth

Distributive numerals are formed with the suffix -şar/-şer added to the short form of the cardinals, and denote the distribution of a certain number of objects, usually best rendered by "each" in English.

pillěkşer tetrad'	five notebooks each
pinşer	every thousand
përşer	one each (the only irregular form)

Collective numerals denoted an accumulation of uniform objects, and are formed from the cardinal numbers plus the special possessive morpheme -ěşě used with some terms of relationship.

përi	one of them ('its one')
ikkěşě	two of them, a pair, twosome
vişşěşě	a three of them, a group of three
tavăttăşě	a foursome, four of them
pillěkěşě	five of them
ulttăşě	six of them
şicčěşě	seven of them
sakkărăşě	eight of them
tăχχărăşě	nine of them
vunnăşě	ten of them (and so on)

Collective numerals being nouns may be declined, and the ones up to seven may occur with the 1st and 2nd p. pl. possessive suffixes.

iksēmēr	both of us, the two of us
iksēr	you two, the two of you
viś-sēmēr	we three
viś-sēr	you three
puyan xuralta ikkěšě	Today two of them are keep-
tāraśśě	ing watch.
viś-sēměre xaśat	The three of us must make
kālarma tivet	up an issue of the paper.

Fractional numbers combine cardinal numerals in the full form as the numerator, together with an ordinal denoting the denominator. This combination may be then declined by adding case morphemes to the second number.

ikkě viśśēměššēnčēn	If one-fourth is taken away
pērre tāvattāměššě	from two thirds, the re-
kālārsan, pillěk	mainder is five-twelfths.
vuikkāměššě yulat	

UNIT SIXTEEN

Word formation in nouns and verbs.

Chuvash is a synthetic or agglutinative language, which means that rather long words may be built up out of basic root morphemes plus more morphemes of tense, mood, possibility, and of many other meanings. Chuvash is more flexible than a language like German at times. One of the chief differences between it and similar formation in English is that Chuvash usually uses only one morpheme, where several may be required in English. For instance, in the English words baker, motorist, electrician there are three distinct suffixes, each with the essential meaning of "the man who does it." In Chuvash, the single suffix -śă/-śě serves for this purpose. In addition to specific suffixes for forming nouns and verbs in Chuvash, there are also compound nouns of the following sort:

al hand + śirāvē
its writing
(< śiru- to write)

alśirāvē manuscript
(itself of similar formation)

pilēk five + śullay
(< śul year)

pilēkśullay five-year plan

śul road + śūren
(< śūre- to go, travel)

śulśūren traveller

śur half + utrav island
(Russian)

śurutrav peninsula (cf. the
similar formations in
German Halbinsel, Danish
halvø, Hungarian félsziget)

The student with experience in other languages will quickly recognize many loan-translations and formations similar to already known ones, and the new student will also be able to analyze the parts to determine the constituents.

Some of the suffixes most frequently used to form nouns from other stems will be given next, but we must restrict ourselves to the most important ones with but a few examples, to which the student may add his own.

- A. The suffix -śā/-śē denotes the occupation of the person, or the person logically associated with some object and its function.

pulā	fish	pulāśā	fisherman
timēr	iron	timērśē	smith
kētū	herd	kētūśē	herdsman
yurā	song	yurāśā	singer
yērke	order, system	yērkeśē	director

- B. An extremely important suffix of wide application is the one in -lāχ/-lēχ. Its most important usage is to denote a concept derived from the main word, like English -ness, -ship and some other endings. It also denotes the purpose of an object, and the locality where that thing is naturally found or located.

yuman	oak	yumanlāχ	oakgrove
χāyār	sand	χāyārīlāχ	sandbank
śēlen	snake	śēlenlēχ	snakepit

kuś	eye	kuślăχ	glasses
săχman	caftan	săχmanlăχ	material for a caftan
savar	mouth	săvarlăχ	bit (in a horse's mouth)
tus	friend	tuslăχ	friendship
tasa	clean	tasalăχ	cleanliness
yultaś	comrade	yultaślăχ	comradeship
vată	old	vatălăχ	age
sivă	well, healthy	sivlăχ	health
puyan	rich	puyanlăχ	wealth
pur	there is	purlăχ	property
śuk	there is not	śuklăχ	lack, insuf- ficiency
etem	man	etemlăχ	mankind, humanity
patša	king	patšalăχ	kingdom

- C. A somewhat similar suffix, -ăă/-ăě denotes the concept of the quality or attribute involved, e. g. ,

tarăñ	deep	tăranăăă	depth
śulě	high	śulěăă	height
sarlaka	wide	sarlakăăă	width
yivăr	heavy	yivărăăă	weight

In reality, this suffix is none other than the possessive morpheme metwith in some terms of relationship, but the Chuvash grammarians consider it to belong here.

- D. The suffix -u/-ũ (after consonants) or -v (after vowels) is a very useful one to form nouns of action from verb stems.

śir-	to write	śiru	letter
pěl-	to know	pělũ	fact, knowledge
věren-	to study	věrenũ	studies
suyla-	to choose	suylav	elections
puple-	to speak	puplev	speech
kul-	to laugh	kulu	laughter
pux-	to gather	puxu	collection

In addition to these, there are quite a few other suffixes forming nouns from nouns or verbs, but it will be just as practical for the student to learn these through texts, as not all of them are equally productive. Some of the are: -an/-en, -ăk/-ăk, -ăm/-ăm, -ăş/-ăş, -čăk/-čăk, -kă/-kă, -kăč/-kăč, -măş/-măş, -ăka/-ăke, -ske, and -uk/-ük.

In the realm of the verb, it is also possible to form quite a few variations on the basic idea inherent in that verb, and this not by employing any separate words, but by adding certain morphemes of fixed meaning to that stem. For instance, there is no separate verb "can" in Chuvash. This idea, however, can easily be expressed with every Chuvash verb by infixing the morpheme -ay/-ey. This is called the potential infix.

kil-	to come
kiley-	to be able to come
kileymest	he cannot come
tupayman	they could not find (him) (204, 31)
ělkěreymesen	when you are not able to get to me (205, 23)
tupayăn-i	will you be able to find (them)? (204, 7)
piraymastăp	I cannot go
tupaymarămăr	we were unable to find him
ănlanaymastăr-i-χa	are ye not able to understand? (Mark 4,13) (210, 1)

Another extremely important morpheme, which, like the preceding, maybe infixing with every Chuvash verb, is the causative, which denotes actions brought about by someone at the command or behest of another. It uses the morphemes -tar/-ter, and -ttar/-tter, and -t. Be careful not to confuse this morpheme with the ending of the 3rd p. sg. imperative -tăr/-tăr, as in:

pultăr	let there be
vaklantăr	let it be chopped to pieces
yultăr	let it remain

Some examples of the causative are these.

tutarsa kil- śuntarsa	go and have made causing to be burned, branding
kūr-t-se	bringing in, causing to be brought in
pitantar-	to cause to secrete, to hide (trans.)
śitersen	when you feed me (cause to eat)
śirtar- vulattar-	to have write, to make write to make read, to have some- one read
ěśletter-	to make work, to cause to work
věrent-	to cause to study, to make to learn

The reflexive and passive formations in Chuvash are those in which the action is reflected back on the subject itself, or when subject and object of the action coincide in one person. Its morphemes are -ăn/-ěn, -n, and -ăl/-ěl, as in the following examples

śăvan- kasăl-	to wash oneself to cut oneself up (of a tree in a folktale)
vitěn- sarăl- sirěl- śilen- usăl-	to cover oneself to enlarge to shun, avoid to grow angry, anger oneself to open itself (as of a door)

Such a passive verb does not require an agent to be expressed.

Another important verbal formation in Chuvash is the reciprocal voice, which denotes actions taking place in a reciprocal manner between several subjects or objects. It has the suffixes -ăś/-ěś, -ś, or ăś/-ěś, -ś.

pulăś-	to help one another, be of assistance to each other
pallaś-	to become acquainted with each another
kalaś-	to discuss together with someone else (something)

kăškăraš-

to cry, shout (of several
persons)

Verbs may also be formed from nominal stems, hence, they are called denominal verbs. The suffixes used for this are: -la/-le, -al/-el/-ăl, -ar/-er and -n.

puś	head	puśla-	to begin
śuta	light	śutăl-	to dawn
yŭn	cheap	yŭnel-	to cheapen
χura	black	χural-	to blacken
yešěl	green	yešer-	to become green
ăš	warmth	ăšăn-	to heat
kăvak	blue	kăvakar-	to become blue

Verbs formed with these suffixes may also have forms in the other voices, as reflexive-passive, reciprocal and causative, yielding the suffixes: -lăn/-len, -laš/-leš, and -lat/-let.

tumlan-	to undress oneself
sudlaš-	to judge one another
përleš-	to join with one another, unite
părlat-	to freeze (trans.)

Chuvash also has some onomatopoeic verbs, formed with the suffixes -tat/-tet- and -lat/-let-, viz.,

ăătărtat-	to crackle
čëriklet-	to chirp
mărlat-	to purr

The iterative suffix denoting repeated or strengthened action in Chuvash is -kala/-kele-.

śirkala-	to write a bit, write a few lines
śūrkele-	to go for a little walk
ěšlekeleně	He worked as opportunity presented itself.
kăškăraškala-	to cry or shout repeatedly (of several persons)
ăšărkala-	to whittle (206, 25)

SYNTAX*

Word Order and the Principles of Modification

One of the major principles of Chuvash structure is that modifying elements precede the modified, the group thus formed then even modifying still another group, and so proceeding to the end of the clause or sentence. The essential order of the Chuvash sentence begins with the subject, or with a subject group (in which the subject is preceded by some words which it governs), concludes with the predicate or the predicate verb, or a group of words in which the predicate concludes and governs the preceding. All other elements of time, manner and circumstance are arrayed in between.

pirĕn pattār pogranič- niksem kunĕn-šĕrĕn tĕrlĕ tǎšmansenĕn granitsǎsene sıxlaśśĕ	Our reknowned border guards protect the border day and night from various enemies.
anlǎ Atǎl xǎyĕn tulǎx šivne tinĕse vaskasa xǎvalat	The Volga hurriedly drives its abundant waters to the sea.
pirĕn xǎvatlǎ Sovet śarĕ fašistla Germaniya śĕnterse tǎkrĕ	Our valiant Soviet army scored the victory over Fascist Germany.

The subject does not need to be expressed with any special word:

temĕn ĕuxlĕ vak vilyǎx pulnǎ	There was such a number of small cattle.
śapla pǎxnǎ ĕux suḡaltan yanǎ titnǎ	When he was watching thus (‘at such a watched time’) he pulled (him) by the beard. (202, 4-5)

* Based on Dmitriyev and Gorskii's Grammatical Sketch in Dmitriyev's Russian-Chuvash Dictionary (Moscow, 1951).

untan vara šavsene pallama këršně	Thereupon he then hired himself out for the purpose of knowing them. (203, 21)
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In folktales especially, but also in the literary language, one will find instances in which the verb does not occupy absolute-final position, this being usurped for the nonce by some other word.

tepër kun kallex kayăka yană kërüne	Another day he sent his son- in-law to hunt game. (205, 6)
epë ilse kërëp attene	I'll go bring father in (202, 20)
šavaχ yaman arămë	Then his wife did not let him loose. (205, 28)

In most instances, however, the customary order is as follows:

përre amăšë šiva kayma χušnă	Once his mother sent him to to fetch water. (206, 2)
arămë tepër kaš šivărmasăr sıχlasa virtnă	His wife the next evening lay and watched without sleep- ing. (205, 16)
ulăm šine purttăne χunë	He placed his axe on the hay.

Compound sentences are constructed exactly like simple clauses or sentences: any subordinate clause clarifying or modifying the main clause, or a combination of words modifying any part of the sentence, comes before that main clause.

epë unăn kandidaturine tăratsan, puχu χavassăn unăăn sasălarë	When I proposed his can- didacy, the entire assembly readily voted for him.
konferentsiya χupănnă χıšsăn delegatsem rayonsene salančëš	After adjourning the con- ference, the delegates departed to their own regions.

Certain word groups between junctures cannot be separated in Chuvash: these include substantives with their postpositions, or nouns juxtaposed in nominal groups (izafet).

Words in Chuvash may be joined by coordination or by subordination. In the former case, the words need not depend on each other, and all identical parts of the sentence which have equal weight or are of the same type maybe connected by such coordinates as: tata, ta, te, ančax, šapax, ye, te, etc.

epir numay šěně zavodsem, fabriksem tăvatpăr	We are building many new factories and plants.
--	---

xulara ta, yalta ta, insetri šursěrte te suylava xatěrlenetpěr	We are preparing for the elections in the town, in the country, and in the far north.
--	--

văl pitě tărăsat, ančax ilemlě širaymast-ğa	He tries very hard, but still cannot write nicely.
--	---

In joining words by subordination, there is agreement, government and juxtaposition. Agreement in Chuvash is limited to verbs agreeing with their subjects in person and number (epě vërenetěp - I study, epir vërenetpěr - we study), as agreement of nouns or pronouns with the noun modified is found only in a few isolated expressions (esě šělěkne attenue tăxănă - you put on papa's hat, lit. "the hat, the papa one"). Appositives agree with the word modified in case and number, e. g. ,

pirěn, komsomoletssen, naukāna šavārša ilmellex	We Komsomols must master science. (Science must be mastered by us Komsomols)
---	--

epir, šamrăksem, naukāna šavārša ilmellex	We, youth, must master science.
---	------------------------------------

Government is when the subordinating word requires the subordinated word to be in some definite oblique case. Almost any word (verbs, participles, converbs, postpositions, nominals) may act as a governing word.

Ivanăn kěneki kěneke vuliččen šile xirěš	John's book until reading a book against the wind
--	---

Juxtaposition is that type of subordinate liaison in which the word so subordinated is immediately next to the subordinating word, forming a nominal group with it, and preceded and followed by some type of juncture. Almost any type of word may be juxtaposed to any other.

χěrlě yalav	red banner
visě pilěksullăχ	three five year plans
pětēm χalăχ	the entire nation
tumalli ేశ	work to be done
vulama tităntăm	I began reading, I set about reading
ăăă śantalăk	warm weather
văylă śil	strong wind
visě brigada	three teams
Muskav uramě	a Moscow street
vulakan kēneke	a book which is being read
yurlakansen sassi	singers' voices

Quite a large number of such nominal groups employ the izafet relation, in which the modified noun is in the possessive form, thus denoting its particular connection with the preceding.

kolχoz uyě	a kolkhoz field
suylav komissi	electoral commission
pereket kassi	savings bank
kolχoz pravleniyě	kolkhoz management
śutěś Ministerstvi	Ministry of Education
vărman χušalăχě	forestry ('forest economy')

We have previously noted nominal groups composed of nouns without any suffix.

čul śurt	stone house
kēměl sexet	a silver watch
čugun śul	railroad ('iron road')

The genitive case suffix distinguishes some phrases from each other.

laša pušě	a horsehead
ku lašan pušě	the head of this horse, this horse's head
student čěšě	student work, work performed by students
ku studentěn čěšě	this student's work, the work of this student

Use of Cases

We shall briefly recapitulate here the chief uses of the Chuvash cases. The Nominative (Absolute) functions both as subject and as predicate nominative, as well as being an attribute to a following noun by forming a nominal group.

Ivanov vėrenet	Ivanov studies
Ivanov student	Ivanov is a student
čugun śul	railroad (iron road)

The Genitive is used to express possession, regardless of whether a verb is present or not.

Ivanān avtomat-ručka pur	John has a fountain pen.
ku kėneke Ivanān	This book is John's.
epě Petěrěn kėnekine iltēm, sanānne mar	I took Peter's book, not yours.
Ivan kėneki parta śincex	John's book is on the desk.

The Dative-Accusative denotes direction, the indirect object and the direct object as well.

brigadira premi pačěš	They awarded a prize to the teamleader.
Ivan vėrenme Instituta kėnė	John began to study at the Institute.
Ivan kėnekene vulat	John reads the book.
Ivan kėneke vulat	John reads books.

The Locative denotes the place where an action occurs.

sanra šančak pur	You can be depended on.
	('there is hope in you')
epě kolχozra ěšlerěm	I worked on the kolkhoz.

The Ablative is widely used in the function of a comparative degree, and also is a case denoting the place from which movement takes place.

učitel' ačasenčen	The teacher collected the
sočineni puštarčě	compositions from the
	students.
director Muskavran	The director returned from
tavrěščě	Moscow.
Kazaχ SSR-ě Ukraināran	The Kazakh SSR is larger
pisāk	than Ukraina.

The Instrumental case arises from the postposition -palan/-pelen, now surviving as the ending -pa/-pe, and denotes the means or method.

epě muzikāpa	I am interested in music.
intereslenetěp	
esě kašpa kil	Come in the evening.
Setner pirat vārmanpa	Setner goes by way of the
	woods.
epě pāraχutpa kiltěm	I arrived on the steamer.

Types of Subordinate Clauses

Before taking up the structure of compound and complex sentences, we shall briefly survey the chief types of subordinate clauses, as given by Dmitriyev and Gorskii.

Attributive:	epir χulana kayakan	The bus in which we were
	avtobus kilčě	going to town arrived ('the
		us to town taking bus came').
Subject:	epě šaχmat kružokpe	My joining the chess club
	kěni yultašsene pitě	greatly heartened the
	xěpěrtetterčě	members.

Object:	ačasem ekskursiye kaynine epě pětetěp	I know the children went on the outing (I know the children's having gone on an outing).
Predicate:	pirěn tēp zadača — nauka nikēsēsene šavārsa ilessi	Our basic task is to master the fundamentals of science.
Adverbs of time:	χēvel ansan, epir ēše pēttertēmēr	When the sun went down, we finished work.
	konferentsi χupānnā χīsšān delegatsem rayonsene balančēs	After closing the conference, the delegates set out for their region.
Purpose:	mēn vērennine širēpletme epir kalašu tusa irtttertēmēr	In order to confirm what had taken place, we conducted a talk.
Reason:	šēr nūrlēren tirāsem časax šātrēs	Since the ground was moist, the grain quickly sprouted.
	vāχāt numaya kaynā pirki, purte balančēs	In view of the fact that it was late, everyone went his way.
Manner:	kolxozniksem, agroteχnikāna vērene-vērene, tirpul tuχāšne numay ūsterčēs	The kolkhoz workers, study- ing agrotechnics, increased the crop yield considerably.
Condition:	staχanovla ēšlesen, epir srokčen plana tultaratpār	If we work in a Stakhanovite manner, we shall fulfill the plan ahead of schedule.
Concessive:	avtobus avan pirsan ta, epir poyezda ēlkēres šuk	Even if the bus runs all right, we won't make it to the train.

Types of Complex Sentences

The Chuvash grammarians attempt to explain sentences with subordinate clauses mostly in terms of Russian grammar and syntax, and distinguish four types, of which the first represents essentially a Russian borrowing, as:

kam ekskursiye kayas
tet, vāl irankiltēr

Whoever wishes to go on the
outing is to come tomorrow
(‘who, saying to go on the
trip, let him come tomorrow’).

Subordinate clauses may also be marked by such concluding words as tese, tesen, pulsan, pulsan ta, and pulin te. With the first of these, tese, lit. ‘saying’, the 3rd p. imperative or the nomen futuri is usually used.

sumār tumtire an
yēpettēr tese, storoz
xāy sine nakidka
tāxānna

So that the rain would not wet
his garments, the watchman
put on a cloak. (Saying,
‘let the rain not wet the
clothes,’ the watchman...)

xasāt-žurnalsene
vāxātra vulas tese,
epir čital'nāna yalanax
šūretpēr

In order to keep up with
newspapers and magazines,
we visit the reading room
regularly (lit. ‘saying, “to
read on time newspapers,”
we visit the r. room.’).

The word tesen (lit. ‘when one says’) may also be used with the obligatory noun in -malla to indicate purpose.

xasāt-žurnalesene
vāxātra vulas tāras
tesen, yalanax
čital'nāna šūremelle

In order to keep abreast of
newspapers and magazines,
one must visit the reading
room regularly.

Instead of šūremelle, one may also find šūre ‘one will go,’ or šūres pulat ‘there will be a going.’

The word pulsan (lit. ‘when it becomes, when it comes to pass that’) is also used to mean “if” and indicate the conditions under which something may be performed, and the subjunctive pulin te (‘let it be that, although it be’) is used for “although, even though, in spite of the fact that” ideas.

kərtemestěn pulsan,
vāl vāypa kěret

If you don't let him in, he'll
come in by force (lit. 'when
your not letting him in
comes to pass, he will
enter with force').

šěr těttem pulin te,
yal kurānat-ḡa

Although the night is ('be!')
dark, the village is visible.

Sentences of consequence or result, using words like "because, owing to, on account of," employ the Chuvash words měňšěn tensen ('when one says for what' = because), šavānpa or šavānpa vara ('since by this, by virtue of this').

čul šivra putat, měňšěn
tensen vāl šivran yivār

A stone sinks in water be-
cause it is heavier than
water (a stone sinks in
water; if we say for what
reason, it is heavy from
water).

pirěn patra šartlama
sivěsem pulčěš.
šavānpa vara virāně-
virāněpe ulmušsisem
ḡārčěš

We had heavy frosts, for the
appletrees were destroyed
by frost in places.

Some sentences are composed of clauses which may also be used independently, thus, note the first clauses of these sentences.

kam ěslemest, vāl
šimest

Who doesn't work, doesn't
eat.

čul šivra putat,
měňšěn tensen vāl
šivran yivar

A stone sinks in water be-
cause it is heavier than
water.

zanyatisem pětne
ḡışšānḡa, ačasem
vilyama pušlarěš

As soon as classes let out,
the children began to play.

However, in the following sentence, the first words cannot be used independently.

χέvel tuχiččenex,
brigada čše titānčē

Before the sun got up, the
team set out to work.

In speech, there are junctural features sometimes setting off clauses, often corresponding to marks of punctuation.

epē, pičče Instituta
vērenme kēnērenpe,
āna pērre te kurman-
χa

After my elder brother began
to study at the Institute, I
never saw him again.

But:

pičče Instituta vērenme
kēnērenpe epē āna
pērre te kurman-χa

does not contain punctuation.

PART III

CONTEMPORARY READING SELECTIONS

(Cyrillic Alphabet)

1. A Border Incident

Ку ёс СССР чиккинчен инсе мар пулса иртинё. Петя Сомов пионер вярманта кэмпта татса сүремё. Сасартэк вэл палламан сынна курах кайнё. Палламан сын малтан Петёйна канфет панё, унтан хулана каякан сул синчен ыйтнё. Петя ку сын ташман пулнине, вэл шпион иккенне тавсарса илнё. Петя ёна застава патнелле каймалли сула кэтарнё. Унта пирён пограничниксем пулнё. Шпион заставёна пинё. Унта ёна арестленё.

2. My First Airplane Jump

Самолёт синчен чи малтан эпё виё сул ёлэкreh сикнёччё. Самолёт сүлтен сүле хэпаратъ. Ёханывсем сүлтен синсе ёёр лек анчах курёнассё. Эпё самолёт суначё сине хэпарса тётэм. Лётчик мана сикмеллине систерчё. Фав вэхэтрах эпё самолёт синчен сикрём те пите хэвэрт аялалла анна пусларём. Часах парашют та сарёлса кайрё, вара сёр сине лэпкан, ерипен анна пусларём. Эпё Ёманай ялё патне антэм.

3. The Girl in the Airplane

Тутё ёнесем кавлесе вуртассё. Лэстэрка хурён айёнче ватё кётусё харлаттарса сывэратъ. Микулай хэлхине сасартэк самолёт керлени илтёнчё. Вэл самолёт сёре анса ларнине асэрхарё. Анчах Микулай, самрэкскер, чётса тэраймарё. Вэл хашкаса чупса пынё сёре самолётан кабининчен Микулай пекех сап-самрэк хёр кулса тухрё те, тутэр татэкё илсе, хэйён хурсё кайёкне шёлса тасатма тытёнчё.

4. The Old Man and the Fox

Пёр карчэкпа старик пурёнассё, тет. Пёрре старикки вэрмана сунара каятъ, тет. Вэрмантан вэл пёр чёрё тилё тытса килет, тет те, пуртне керичченех карчёкне кэшкэратъ, тет: "Карчэк, ман сёлёке кэмакана пэрахса сунтар, эпё

сѣдѣлѣх пит аван тир тупса килтѣм, пѣх-ха!" -- тѣре, тет те, тиллине михѣ ѡшѣнчен кѣларса урайне ячѣ, тет.

5. Falling Acorns

Пырсан-пырсан, пѣр пѣчѣк усланкѣ курѣнса кайрѣ. Ирхи хѣвелѣн сута пайѣркисем усланкѣ урлѣшѣпех хѣласланса укнѣ. Кирукѣн кушѣсем сав сута сине нѣяни пѣхасѣ. Сав вѣхѣтрах хѣйѣнчен инсех те мар йѣпшѣнса шѣвакан кѣташсене те кушран ямасть вѣл. Умра тѣсѣлса ларакан хыр лѣсси сасартѣк чѣштѣртѣрѣ. Йѣкелѣсем те умлѣн-хыслан патлатса персе анчѣс. Кирук ку сасѣ-чѣвѣрен пѣрре те шикленмерѣ. Хыр тѣрринче лѣлсѣрка хурелле хѣрлѣ пакша сиккелесе суренине вѣл часах курчѣ.

6. Spring on the Steppe

Хутор хысѣнче юртан тасалса ситнѣ уй. Вѣл хуп-хура сарѣлса выртать. Плуг тимѣрѣсем савѣра-савѣра пѣрахнѣ хура тѣпра хѣвел йѣшинче пѣсланса тѣратъ. Кѣнтѣр тѣлнелле сѣсен-хирте пѣпланать. Сухаланѣ уй-хире хѣвел сѣтатать, сѣт пек шура пѣс сирѣлет, ирхи тѣрин кѣмѣла хускатакан кѣвви илтѣнет. Улѣп тѣприсем сине вѣрипе тѣтрелетнѣ ѡшѣ шевли вѣлтѣртетсе чѣтрѣнсе тѣратъ, сѣнѣ курѣк сѣлсин йѣп евѣрлѣ сивеч те ешѣл сѣнни, иртнѣ сѣлхи хѣрѣк курѣк тунисене сирсе, хѣвел патне туртѣнать. Силпе типнѣ кѣрхи калса хѣйѣн сѣлсисене ялкѣшса тѣракан хѣвел еннелле тѣсса хѣпаратъ. Анчах сѣсен-хирте халлѣхе чѣрри сахал-ха, сѣвѣрсемпе тыркасем хѣллехи нѣхѣран вѣранайман-ха, тискер кайѣксем вѣрмансене, тарѣн варсене чѣмнѣ, хѣрнѣ сѣмкурѣксем хушшипе сайра хутра хир шѣшийѣ чупса иртет.

---Шолохов

7. Going Home

Вѣр-сѣнѣ тумтир тѣхѣннѣ лейтенант вагон чѣречи умне пырса тѣчѣ. Ун кушѣ умѣнчен телеграф юписем, тин сѣс сѣма чѣрѣннѣ сѣмѣрпа йѣпеннѣ ват юмансем, чугун сѣл хѣррипе купаласа хунѣ шпалсемпе кивѣ рельсѣсем вѣлтлетсе иртме пушларѣс. Вѣл пѣр самант ним шухѣшламасѣр пычѣ. Унтан, сѣл кукрине сѣтсен, сѣлѣ мѣрѣеллѣ заводсем курѣнсан, хѣй тѣван сѣршыв патне сѣвхарнине сисрѣ.

---Кирек

8. On Work

Пирён кашни сыниһан ёслев прави пур. Пирён сёршывра ёсёёрлэх сук. Колхозра ёслекексене ёс тәрәх түлессё: мән чухлё нумай ёслетён, саван чухлё илетён. Колхозра халё ёслеке те сәмәл, ёсленёсемён ёслес килет. Колхозра ёссер сүрекенсене, ёслем пек туса сүрекен сынсене юратмассё. Ёспе пиһнё, ёсчен, тәрәшса ёслекек ударниксем пур сёрте те хисепре.

9. Meres'yev The Hero

- Совет Союзён Геройё Алексей Максимович Мересъев—
 5 пите чаплё совет лётчикё. Отечественный вәрса пус-
 ламәшнече вәл ытти лётчиксемпе пёрле фашиста захватчик-
 сене хирёс сапәснә. Пёр сапәсура тәшман унән самолётне
 сёмёрнё. Мересъев машинәран тухса үкнё. Вәл, нимён
 пёлми пулса кайнаскер, кёрт әшне кёрсе үкнё. Тәнё
 килсе кёрсен, Мересъев урисем пите хытә ыратнине туйнә.
 10 Вәл сапах та ура сине тәнә та утма пусланә. Урисем
 тата хытәрах ыратнә. Вәл вара упаленме тытәннә.
 Лётчикән вәйё пётсе килнё. Вәл упаленейми те пулнә,
 йәваланса анча кайма пусланә.
- Сапла Мересъев утса, упаленсе тата йәваланса
 18 таләк кайнә. Ансартран әна ялти шул ачисем тәл
 пулнә. Ачасем унан ытса тәпченё те вәл совет лётчикё
 15 иккене пёлнё. Ачасем яла кайнә та лётчик патне кол-
 хозниксене ертсе пинә. Колхозниксем лётчика яла илсе
 кайнә, әна лайәх пәхнә, унтан ун синчен сар часне пёл-
 тернё. Мересъева самолётпа пырса илнё те госпитале
 20 ырнастарнә. Госпитальте Мересъевән пысәк хуйхә пулнә.
 Унән урисене татма тивнё. Лётчик сапах та пусне усман,
 вәл хәй часне таврәһма, каллех вёме, каллех тәшмана
 сёмёрме шуланә. Ана протез туса панә. Вәл нумайчен
 тата сине тәрса протезпа утма вёреннё, чупакан та пулнә.
 25 Сывалса ситсен, Мересъев чанах та вёме пусланә. Орёл
 сывәхәнчи сапәсура вәл тәшмансен висё самолётне персе
 үкернё. Сав чаплә ёсшён Мересъева Совет Союзён Геройё
 ятне панә. Сапла Тәван сёршыва пите хытә юратни тем
 тёрлө йывәрләксене те сёнтерме пуләннә.

10. The Fishermen

Висё пуләсә шәматкун кақхине Хурәнвартан Атәл хёррине
 кайрёс. Ситнё—ситменех кула-кула вәлтасем хатёрлерёс.
 Пёр-ик минутран пёри алтуни пысәкәш пулә тытрё, аран-аран
 туртса кәларчё. Вун-вуникшер тытсан, ыртса сывәрчёс.

Ирхине анкартисем сүмөпө ушканын-ушканын ача-пачасем пычэс. Иханшывра пула вёсё-хёррисёр нумай. Тытсан-тытсан ачасем, чун-чёререн саванса, аштё-амашесене кятартма киле чупса кайрэс.

11. Morning

Хёвел, йалам вэрманё урла кармашса, хайён ылан пайёр-кисене затон хёрринче ларакан суртсем сине сапаларё.

Сакёр сехет. Ирхи шайлаха сирсе, горн сасси уссан та янравлан илтёнсе кайрэ. Самантрах лагерь сурчёсенчен тусы кан таханны, хёвелпе пиёне самрак ачасем чупса тухрэс. Вёсем пурте, затон хёррине анса, тўрем площадкына строя таёсё. Ирхи зарядка турёс те шыа кёрсе чўхенчёс.

8 сехет те 45 минут. Пионерсем, отрядан-отрядан йёркеленсе, виёсё кетеслё линейкына тараёсё. Вёсем ёнтё пурте тумланны. Майёсенче--хёрлё галстуксем. Пуёсенчи шурё пилоткысем ачасене тата ытларах илем кўресёс.

12. The Last Five Years

Пилёк сул хушшинче Мускав, Ленинград, Баку, Киев, Горький хулисем тавра тата Урал, Донбасс, Кузбасс промышленность центрёсенче, Сёпёрте, Инсет Хёвелтухасенче хуласем сывахёнче сёрулмипе пахча фимёс ытларах ларта тытанны. Иханшыв флотне чылай сёнетсе пысаклатны. Шурё тинёспе Балтика тинёсё хушшинчи канала, Днепрпа Буг шыв сулне тунё, Мускавпа Симферополь хушшинчи автомобиль сулне туса пётернё тата Атылапа Дон хушшинчи канала та туса пётернё.

13. Sentry on the Amur

Суркуннепе кёркунне Амур шывё темён сарлакыш сарылса каять. Ик аяккипе те сулё хамашпа вётё хыва йываёсёсем лараёсё. Амур тарах, Амурпа сума-суман тайга вэрманё кашласа ларать. Тайгапа Амур шывён мёнпур йёркисене вёренсе ситрё Ахмет улты уйах хушшинче. Вёренсе ситрё вал кашни палламан йёрён тупсамне тупмашкы, кашни сасын вёрттан шухашне уйарса илмешкён. Саванпа пёр самант та телёрмест самрак пограничник Ахмет. Сирёп тытатё вал винтовкине аллинче, сивёч сынаса пахатё хайён суралны сёршывён чиккисем синеэле. Кёрлет мухтавлё сёршыв. Ёмёрсен ёметне хёвел пек йалкыштарса юратё Совет сёршывё.

Паян уяв. Октябрьти Аслă революци сирĕм сұл тултарчĕ. Ку кун Ахметшĕн тата тепĕр савăнăç илсе килчĕ: сар ёсне чи лайăх ёренсе пынипеле вăл Октябрь вахтине тăма тивёслĕ пулчĕ. Ёпле пысăк савăнăç ирĕклĕ гражданиншĕн сак аслăран та аслă, мухтавлăран та мухтавлă кун хайĕн ирĕклĕ сĕршывĕн чиккисене хуралламашкăн.

---Тукташ

14. Facts and Figures

Куйбышев гидроэлектростанцине тунă сĕрте тĕнчери чи пысăк машинăсем ёсленĕ. Сĕр чавакан машина унта сехетре 1,000 кубометр сĕр чавса 80 метр сұлш хйпартнă. Çав машина пĕр вăхăтрах 35,000 сын ыранне тата 5 пăравус, 200 вагон, 50 трактор ыранне ёслет. Вăл 2500 тонна таять. Унăн 14 электромотор пур. Çав пите пысăк машинăн оборудованине пирен сĕршыври 30 завод туса хатĕрленĕ.

1954 сұлхи августăн 1-мĕшĕнче Мускавра Пĕтĕм Союзри яхусалăх выставки уçлнă. Вăл 200 гектар йышăнать. Çав выставкăра пĕр ёнерен 13,572 килограмм сĕт суса илнине, пĕр така 126 кг тайнине курма пулать.

"Сатира" ятлă ййĕр 15,453 кг тиенĕ лава туртнă.

"Путь Ильича" колхозра кашни ёнерен сұлталăкра 2,228-шар литр сĕт суса илнĕ.

Çăваш республикинчи хуласемпе ялсенче 1957 сұлта пурĕ 600 драма, 500 хор, 230 музыка коллективĕ тата 170 тамă коллективĕ пулнă, вёсенче 30 пин сын ытла шутланнă.

15. Then and Now

Патша саманинче Шупашкарта чан шăратакан заводсем--2, су шăратаканнисем--5, тир-сăран завоçĕсем--15, 1 кирпĕч завоçĕ тата хăма сұракан пĕчĕк заводсем пулнă. Çав заводсенче пурĕ 80 сын ёсленĕ.

Халĕ хуларă промышленность рабочийĕсем 17 пин сын ытла. Шупашкарти трактор пайĕсем тăвакан завод кашни талăкра 1,5 миллион тенкĕлĕх продукции кăларса тăмалла, унăн чугуи шăратакан цехĕнче сұллен 40-шер пин тонна чугуи шăратса кăлармалла пулать.

Хуларă электротехника промышленноçĕ валли 3 сĕнĕ завод, хăйсем тĕртекен пысăк фабрикăпа 30 миллион мăшăр чăлха тата 80 миллион мăшăр кёпе-йĕм туса кăларакан фабрика, сұл-йĕр машинисем тăвакан завод тата ытти заводсемпе фабрикăсем тумă палăртнă.

16. Rivers, Lakes and Oceans

Атл 20 пин километр тәршә юханшыв сулә пулса тәрәт. Каспи тиньсән тәршә 1000 километр, сарлакшә 300 километр. Байкал куллин тарһәшә 1700 метр ытла. Океансенчен чи пысакки -- Ләпкә океан. Уһән лаптәкшә 180 миллион таваткал километр. Ләпкә океанһә вәтам тарһәшә 4000 метр ытла, чи тарһән ырыһсенче 8000--10,000 метра ситет (филиппин утра-вәсем тәләнче уһән тарһәшә 10830 метра яһә). Атлантика океанә Ләпкә океанран 2 хут пәчәкрәх, уһән вәтам тарһәшә 3900 метра яһә, чи тарһән ырыһсенче вәл 6000-8000 метра та ситет.

17. The Communist Party

Совет Союзһәчи Коммунистсен партиһә ретәнче 1956 сулхи февралән 1-мәшә тәлне 7.215.505 сын, сав шутра парти членәсем 6.795.896 сын тата парти членән кандидачәсем 419.601 сын тәһә. Сака вәл КПСС ретәнче партиһә XVIII съездә тәлне пулһә хисепрен вишә хута яһә ытларәх пулһәне, XIX съезд тәлне пулһәнен 333 пин сын ытларәх пулһәне пәлтерет.

1954 сулхи мартһән 1-мәшә тәлне комсомол 18.825.000 сәмрәкә пәрлештерсе тәһә. Вәрсә вәхәтәһәне тунә паттәрлә әссемтән 3.500.000 комсомолецә орденсемпә медальсем парса наградһәләһә, 5.249 пионера тата шул аһәне "Ленинградә хутәленәшән" медаль панә.

18. Пуплеври сасәсем — The Sounds of Speech

Пуплев сәмахсенчен пулатә. Сәмахсем уйрам сасәсем сһәне пайланасә. Сасә тәвакан каласу органәсем: җпкә, тип пыр, карланкә, пәчәк чөлхә, савар маһчи, чөлхә, шәлсем, тутасем. Сасәсем тәрләрен пуласси сәк каласу органәсем мәнле майлаһса әслениһен, вәсем мәнле ырыһса тәһәнен пур. җпкәрен сывләш тип пыр тәрәх карланка пыратә. Карланкәра сасә чөләхәсем пур. Вәсем карланкә урлә ырыһәһә. Сасә чөләхәсем хушһәнен хушәк пур.

Хәшпәр сасәсәне (сәмрахән а, у, и, л, м, б, г,) каланә чух сасә чөләхәсем карһәмасә те чәтрәненә. Тәпәр сасәсәне (сәмрахән к, ц, с, т) каланә чух сасә карһәмасә, җпкәри сывләш вәсем хушһәне ирәккән тухатә, савһәпа карланкәра сасә пулһәстә.

19. Shevchenko Day in Chuvashia

Чечеклĕ Украина шăпчăкĕ,
 Аслă сăвăç Шевченко, --
 Асăнап юбилей ячĕпе
 Хамăрăн чăваш чĕлхипе.

Хĕрлĕ ялавпа ёçыннисем
 Пусмăр сăнчăрне çĕмĕрчĕç.
 Эс ёмĕтленнĕ ирĕклĕхсем --
 Чи çутă кун-çулсем çитрĕç.

---Шелепи

20. My Cheboksary!

Шупашкарăм, шур хула!
 Аслă школ та пур унта,
 Пур паха театр та,
 Хулара музей те пур,
 Эс йăна та çитсе кур:
 Иртнине те, хальхине те
 Пĕлсе çитен ун чухне.

---Хусанкай

FOLKLORISTIC READING SELECTIONS

(Latin Alphabet)

21. The Tale of Three Sons — visē ivāl

NB. This tale is retranscribed from Paasonen, Volksdichtung, pp. 175-184. The postposed enclitic -te 'then, and' has been written as a separate word. The emphatic suffix -aχ/-eχ, however, remains written as part of the preceding word. Hyphens have been inserted to clarify the formation of a few words.

visē ivāl

šlěk pěr puyan šin pulnā. unān visē ivāl visē kin pulnā.
temiše pin puš šultra vilyāχ pulnā, temēn čuχlē vak vilyāχ
pulnā. pērre šapla šav starik lašisene šāvarma annā. lašisem
pēri te šēmen. starik kalanā: "kēsem mēšēn (šēmesšē) šivra
5 pēr pēr yapala šuk-i?" tese šiva virtsa pāχnā. šapla pāχnā
čuχ suχaltan yānā titnā. starik kalanā: "yar, pēr karta laša
sana pultār" tenē. šapaχ yaman. vutāš kalanā: "χu savnine
par, yarāp" tenē. starik kalanā: "pēr karta ēne pul sana"
tenē. vutāš šapaχ yaman. untan starik kalanā: "visē ivāltan
10 pēri sana" tenē te yānā.

starik vara pit χuyχāra pušlanā. starik kilne pinā ta pūrtne
kēmen tultax χuyχārsa larnā. ašlā ivālē tuχnā ta "atya, atte,
šime" tenē. aššē kalanā: "payan mana pisāk χuyχā pulčē.
laša šāvarma karām, ta lašasem šiv šēmenten "šivra mēn pur"
15 tese virtsa pāχrām. šavān čuχ suχaltan titrā ta vutāš ni-pe te
yamasčē. "šurri vilyāχāma parāp, yar" terēm, šapaχ yamarē.
"visē ivāltan pēri sana" terēm te tin|yačē. esē kayān-i?" tenē.
ivālē kalanā: "χāvaχ kay" tenē te kērse kaynā. starik putyex
χuyχārsa yulnā.

20 vātālāχ ivālē kalanā: "epē ilse kērēp attene" tenē. untan
aššē patne pina ta, "atya, atte, šime" tenē. aššē kalanā:
"payan mana šapla šapla χuyχā pulčē" tenē. ivālē kalanā:
"χāvaχ kay" tenē.

25 unta kēšēn ivālē tuχnā ta, "atya, atte, šime mēšēn
χuyχāratān?" tenē. aššē kalanā: "mana payan šapla šapla

pulčē. esē kayān-i?" tenē. ivālē kalanā: "kayas, atte, (esē kirek āšta yarsan ta kayāp" tenē. (aššē vara šime kēnē. šise tāransan kēšēn ivālē kalanā: "xalex kaymalla-i?" tenē. aššē: "xalex kaymalla" tenē. ivālē kalanā: "atte, sānčār yēven tutarsa kil" tenē. aššē vara sānčār yēvene tutarsa kilse panā.

ivālē yēvene ilnē te kartana laša titma kaynā. yēvene ivātnā ta pēr sarā kārčankālā laša pīrsa pušne čiknē. vara šavna tīsa utlannā ta šemyisene prušetsā tusa tuḡsa kaynā. xire tuḡsan lašine kalanā: "atya, pīrvay pētēm Rašeye kursa

10 sūrēr" tenē.

šūresen šūresen pēr vātār ḡlas šavranakan yuman patne sitnē. šav yumana kassa vaklanā. untan vut ḡursa lašine vutpa šuntarsa ḡīrsa šusa tasatnā, laši vara itarma šuk ḡitrelense kaynā. untan lašine kalanā: "šūle kayari ye šēre kayari?"

15 tenē. laši kalanā: "šēre kayaččen šūle Turā patne kaysan avantaraḡ pulē" tenē. untan vara šūle Turā patne ulāḡsa kaynā.

šūlte šūresen šūresen pēr starik patne pinā ta, "esē mana tarša titmān-ši?" tenē. starik kalanā: "manān taršā titma nimēn ēš te šuk" tenē. untan kalanā: "manān višē ḡēr pur,

20 šavsene ḡāšē asli ḡāšē kēšēnni šavsene pallama titāp" tenē. untan vara šavsene pallama kērānē. *

ḡērēsem višēšē te pēr pek pēr tēslē pulnā. starik ačana kalanā: "lašuna kaysa šime parsā kil, epē ḡērsene kūrtese tārātāp" tenē. ača laši patne pīrsan lašinčen iytānā: "ḡuša aslā

25 ḡērne pallama ḡušat. yeple pēles, purte per pek?" tenē. laši kalanā: "aslin puše patēnčen šimēl šāna irtse kayē, šavna as tu" tenē. untan ača ḡērsem patne pinā ta pāḡsa tānā. čānaḡ pēr šāna vēšē irtse kaynā. vara ača: "ak šakā" tenē. starik kalanā: "šavā pallarān" tenē.

30 untan tepēr kun vātālāḡne pallamalla pulnā. ača tataḡ laši patne pinā ta kalanā: "payan vātālāḡ ḡērne pēlmelle, yeple pēles?" tenē. laši kalanā: "pilēk tēlēnčen šāna vēšē irtse kayē, šavā pulē vātālāḡē" tenē. untan ača ḡērsene pallama pīrsan pāḡsa tānā. čānaḡ ta pēr šāna pērin pilēke tēlēnčen

35 vēšē kaynā. ača kalanā: "akā šak pulē vātālāḡe" tenē. starik kalanā: "šavā pēltēn" tenē. untan ačana kalanā: "kus kaysa kan čētē" tenē. "iran kēšēnnine pallama kil" tenē. ača kaysa šivārānā.

irxine tårsan aça pırvay laşı patne pırsa laşine kalanā:
 "payan kēsēn xerne yeple pal[i]as?" tenē. laşı kalanā: "pērin
 uri pičē śine śāna pırsa larē, śavna as tu" tenē.

vara aça xērsene pallama pınā ta pāxsa tănā. čānaχ ta pēr
 5 śāna pērin uri pičē śine pırsa larnā. untan aça kalanā: "ak
 śakā kēsēnni" tenē. starik "pallarān" tenē. untan starik
 kalanā: "esē purne te pallarān. ēntē tata pıtarām, tupayāni"
 tenē. aça kalanā: "tupār" tenē.

aça laşı patne kaysan starik xērsene pıtarānā. aça laşinčen
 10 ıytñā: "payan xērsene pıtarat, mana tupma xuşat, yeple tupas?"
 tenē. laşı kalanā: "esē pēr lupaşkara vişē panulmi yāvāśi tēl
 pulān. vēsen ulmisem śērelle usānsa larēś. esē kaşnin śinčen
 pērer ulma tatsa il te 'akā (mana Turā ulma pačē) epē payan
 kunēpe panulmi śise Turā xērsene śirasā śūrēp' tese kala, *God has given me an apple*
 15 vara vēsem kulsa yarēś čātaymasār" tenē.

untan vara aça Turā xērsene śirama tayñā. śirasā śūrenē
 čuχ pēr lupaşkara pırsa kēnē. śav lupaşkara čānaχ ta vişē
 panulmi yāvāśi larnā. ulmisem śērelle usāna usāna larnā. aça
 pınā ta kaşnin śininčen pērer ulma tatsa ilnē te kalanā: "akā mana
 20 Turā ulma pačē. epē payan kunēpe ulma śiye śiye Turā xērsene
 śirasā śūrēp" tenē. śavna iltsen Turā xērsēm čātaymasār
 kulsa yanā. vara śapla tupsa tavrānnā.

untan Turā ačana kalanā: "esē man xērsene pallarān ta
 pıtantartām śirasā tuprān. xalē xupıtan laşu patne kaysa,
 25 vēsem sana śirasā tupayāśi" tenē.

aça laşı patne pınā ta laşine kalanā: "Turā mana xama
 pıtanma xuşat, śāta pıtanas?" tenē. laşı kalanā: "xamān
 siltām xālxa śātākne kēr" tenē. aça vara laşı xālxa śātākne
 kērse larnā. untan Turā xērsene kalanā: "kaysa śirār,
 30 pıtanče" tenē. xērsēm laşa patne pınā ta śira puşlanā,
 ančaχ tupayman. xērsēm aśşē patne pırsan aśşē kalanā:
 "tuprārı?" tenē. xērsēm: "şuk, tupaymarāmār" tenē.
 aśşē kalanā: "xāvār Turā xērsēm aχal śınna ta śirasā
 tupaymastār, vāl sire pallarē te śirasā ta tuprē" tenē.

aça laşa xālxi śātākenčen tuχsa Turā patne pırsa tănā ta
 35 Turā ānā kalanā: "nu esē manān xērsene xāşē asli xāşē
 kēsēnnine pēltēn, pıtanñā śērtēn tuprān. sana ēntē kērū tāvas
 pulē. xāşne ilēn?" tenē. aça kalanā: "kēsēnnine" tenē. Turā
 vara ikēsēne māsārlasa yanā.

purānsan purānsan Turā kērūşne kalanā: "kus xire kaysa
 40 kayāk tıtsa kil" tenē. kērūşē laşine utlannā ta xire kayñā.
 xırte laşine kalanā: "atya, leş tēnčene ansa kurar" tenē.
 laşı, "atya" tenē. vara vēsem annā ta xāyēn aśşē kilne pınā.

šemyisem purte šivārna. vāl pur šemyisene te čup tusa tuḡnā ta kallex šūle ulāḡnā. šemyisem pēri te sismen.

Turā kērušne pirsan kalanā: "mēšēn nummay sūrerēn?" tenē. kērušē kalanā: "inše karām, šavānpa čas kilemerēm"

5 tenē.

tepēr kun kallex kayāka yanā kērušne. kērušē ḡire tuḡsan lašine kalanā: "atya tataḡ ansa kurar" tenē. vara vēsem šak tēnčene annā. aššē kilne pinā ta vēsem kallex šivārna tēle pulnā. vāl tataḡ šemyisene čup tunā ta kallex šūlti tēnčene ulāḡnā.

šavān čuḡ arāmē ḡayne čup tunine kāšt sisnē pek pulsa yulnā. irḡine tārsan "mana mēsker čup tāvat" tese yumāša kaynā. yumāš karčāḡē kalanā: "ku ḡavān upāšku sana kilse čup tāvat. ešē āna sīḡla, an šivār, titta an yar, vāl sana tempek yālānnē. yarsan ūlēmren kuraymān" tenē.

arāmē tepēr kaš šivārmasār sīḡlasa virtnā. untan tepēr kun Turā kērušne tataḡ kayāka yanā. kērušē ḡire tuḡsan lašine, "atya tataḡ ansa kurar" tenē. laši kalanā: "šuk tek anmāpār, anšan sana titaššē) ešē ḡātālaymastān" tenē. ača šapaḡ anaššān pulnā. šapla vēsem numayčen tavlāšša tānā. ančay ača laši kalanine itlemen. laši kalanā: "atya epir anar, as tu: sana arāmu titē, ešē kakniput vēšerēnme ḡātlan. epē višē ḡučen kēšenep. ešē tuḡsa ēlkēreymesen vara mana tekeḡ kuraymān" tenē.

vara vēsem anša aššē kilne pinā. pirsan vāl kallex čup tāva pušlanā. un čuḡne arāmē sīḡlasa virtnā. vāl arāmne čup tunā čuḡ arāmē yanā titnā. upāški arāmne yālāna pušlanā. laši kēšense yanā. untan ḡitāraḡ yālāna pušlanā, šapaḡ yaman arāmē. laši tataḡ kēšense yanā ta pētēm pūrt čētrese kaynā. untan tataḡ arāmne kalanā: "yar, epē ništa ta kaymastāp) tula tuḡsa kērem" tenē. arāmē šapaḡ yaman. laši višēmēš ḡut kēšennē te vara tapransa kaynā ta šēr čētrese yulnā.

untan laši Turā patne pirsan Turā laša šinsār pinine kursan lašana kalanā: "ešē sinna āšta ḡutān?" tenē. "āna leš tēnčere arāmē titta yulčē, unān leš tēnčere arāmē pur. epē temtērlē kayas mar terēm, vāl šapaḡ itlemerē" tenē. Turā kalanā: "esir tavlāšnine kam ta pulsa kurči?" tenē. laša kalanā: "epir tavlāšnine šāltār uyāḡ ḡēvel kurčē" tenē. untan Turā šāltāra uyāḡa ḡēvele čēnternē te "esir kurtāri?" tese iytān. leššem, "kurtāmār: laša kaymasār nummay tavlāšša tāčē te kērēvē itlemerē" tenē. untan Turā šilense ku tēnčeri šinsene kalanā: "manān ḡēre tālāḡa ḡavarnāšān upāški vilse arāmē"

täläxa yultär, arämë vilse upäški täläxa yultär, aššë amäšë vilse ači päči täläxa yultär, ači päči vilse aššë amäšë täläxa yultär" tenë.

šavänpa xalë šapla pulat, teššë.

22. The Lazybones and the Rich Man — kaxalpa puyan

NB. This tale is retranscribed from Paasonen's Volksdichtung, pp. 107-115, in the same manner as the preceding tale.

kaxalpa puyan

- täläx arämän pēr ıvāl pulnā. vāl pit nayan pulnā. āna amäšë ēš xuššan itlemen. pērre amäšë šıva kayma xušnā. "kayättäm ta ūrkenetēp" tenë amäšne. amäšë āna mäsār vitrepe šıva xuşa yanā. vāl šiv āsma vak-kušne annā. vak-
 5 kušēnce pēr sasan pulā pēr šumne šānsa šıpāšnā. pulā kalanā kaxala: "mana pēr šumēncen xāpātsa yar" tenë. kaxalā kalanā: "yarättäm ta ūrkenetēp" tenë. pulli tatax "xāpātsam xāpātsam mana, xāpātnipe ırlāx kurān" tenë. "manran pulāšu ıytas tesen mana asān". kaxal pulla xāpātsa yanā. ikē vitrene te šiv
 10 tultarnā ta vitrene pēr šıne lartsa pulāran pulāšu ıytnā. "sasan pulā, kalarēšpe Turā šırsa Pülēx pūrse šak mäsār vitre pūrte kaysa kētär" tenë. šapla kalasanax viŧtrisem xāysemex kile šusa kaynā, pūrte te kēnē, kaxalē xıšaltan utsa pinā. amäšë šalt tēlēnnē.
 15 tata purānsan purānsan vēsen kāmākāne xutma vutti pētnē. amäšë tatax ıvālne vutta kayma xušnā. kaxalē "kayättäm ta ūrkenetēp" teşe nummayččen kaymasār tānā. tatax āna amäšë xuşa pūrtren kālarsa yanā. xay kaxal tumlansa tuxnā ta šara šunāne vēren šıxnā, šekēl šıxnā, turtāne šūllelle tāratsa
 20 urxalāxpa šıxnā, šuni šıne pärtak ulām xunā, ulām šıne purttāne xunā, untan xāy xāparsa larnā ta šapla kalanā: "sasan pulā, kalarēšpe Turā šırsa Pülēx pūrse šak šuna vārmanti pıšāk tipnē yuman kutne kaysa lartär" tenë. šapla kalasanax alākē te ušālnā šuni te tapransa tuşa kaynā. šuni čašlattarsa
 25 šusa pırat tet. kaxalē kulkalasa šäxärkalasa larsa pırat tet. šapla vāl pēr puyan šemyipe avān šapnā šérten irtse kaynā. puyanān ıvālēsem kinēsem xērēsem kaxal kaynāne kursassān tēlēnse kulsa "xa, kaxal vārmana kayat, vārmana kayat" teşe kākškäraškalasa yulnā. kaxalān šuni pēr pıšāk tipē yuman

- patne sitse savārānsa larnā. kaḡal šuni šinčen purttāne ilse annā ta šapla kalasa purttāne yuman tēp šine lartnā: "sasan pulā, kalarēšpe Turā širsa Pūlēḡ pūrse šak yuman kasālsa vaklantār." yumanē ḡāyēssēneḡ kasālsa vaklansa vırtnā. kaḡal
- 5 vėrenne saltsa šekėlne ḡatėrlese šuna šine vutā tiyeme ḡatėrl-enē. vuttisem ḡāysemēḡ tiyense, vėrenē šekėlren šaklansa šıḡānsa pārkāčāpe pārānsa tānā. kaḡal purttāne ḡursa ḡāy ḡāparsa vutti šine larnā ta "sasan pulā, kalarēšpe Turā širsa Pūlēḡ pūrse šak šuna vutā kaski patne pırsa vutti pušansa,
- 10 šuni ḡāy virānne kaysa lartār" tenē te šuna ḡāyēssēneḡ tapransa čašlattarsa kilelle tavārānnā.

- ḡay puyanān šemyisem kallaḡ ankartēnčen kurnā ta tārsa pāḡsa kulnā. "ḡay kaḡal vutāran lašasāraḡ vutā turttarsa tavrānat" tese tēlēnnē. kaḡal vėsem kulnāšān šilennē te "sasan
- 15 pulā, kalarēšpe Turā širsa Pūlēḡ pūrse šak puyan ḡērē ḡıřām yāttār, ıvāl-ača tutār" tenē. kaḡal kilne sitse kēnē. šuni ḡāyēssēneḡ pušansa ēlēḡḡı virāna kaysa larnā. kaḡal pūrte kēnē.

- purānsan purānsan puyanān ḡērē čānaḡ ta ḡıřām yātsa
- 20 ıvāl-ača šuratnā. ači kamran pulnāne nikam ta pēlmen. vėsem šapla šuḡāšlanā: "ḡēr kampa pētēlennē, unān ıvālē šavna atte tese kalē. atyēr yalti avlanman ačasene pėrerēn pėrerēn čēnse kiler: ača kama atte tet, puyan pulsan ta, ıytkalakan pulsan ta, šuk-šin pulsan ta ḡėre šav ačana kačča parāpār"
- 25 tenē.

- untan vėsem šapla tunā. ači pėrne te atte tese čēnmen. vara vėsem 'kam yulčē-ši; pıřēn pata kilmenni' tese nummay-čēn šuḡāšlanā. šuḡāšlasan šuḡāšlasan asa ilnē vara kaḡal yulnāške šak yalta kilmenni. "kaysa čēnse kilēr šavna" tenē.
- 30 aššē vara pėri kaysa čēnnē kaḡala. kaḡalē kalanā: "pıřāttām ta ūrkenetēp, ikerčē pēserse kilse šıtersen pıřāp" tenē. vėsem ikerčē pēserse yanā pėr kinne kaḡal patne čēnme. kaḡal iker-čēne pārtak šine te puyan šın patne kinēpe tuḡsa kaynā. puy-anān kinē šul tārāḡ ikerčē parsa šıterse yertse pınā ḡāy pele.
- 35 alāk patne šıtsen ikerči pētnē te kaḡal kayalla kilne tarnā. ḡayḡı puyan kinē nummaytarāḡ ikerčē ilse kaḡal ḡıšēnčen kaynā. kaḡala tataḡ ikerčē para para yertse kilne pınā. alāka ušā pūrte kėrsenēḡ ḡėrēn ıvālē "atte kilčē, atte kilčē" tese kaḡal patnelle pınā. pētēm šemyisem tēlēnnē. "yeple ku ača kaḡaltan pulnā pul,
- 40 leple ku kaḡala kačča paras, ku ḡėre. pētēm šınsem tēlēnse kulēš pirten, ak šāmlāḡ šapaḡ ta paras pulat pıřēn." ku ḡėre kaḡala kayaššān pulman. vėsem šapla šuḡāš titnā: "šin umēnče

kačča parsa namāslaniččen pīsāk pičēke tāvar ta un āšne kaḡala
ḡupar, ḡere ıvālpe ḡupar ta viśśēšne pīsāk śirmāna kaysa yarar
śinsem pēliččen" tenē. vēsem vara pīsāk pičēke āšne kaḡala
ḡerne ačipe ḡupsa pīsāk śirmāna kaysa yanā.

- 5 kaḡalsem pičēke šēnče śiv śinče nummayččen makārśa
ḡuyḡārśa yuḡsa śūrenē. kaḡalān arāmē pit makārnā "ḡāt
vileśčē pirēn" tese. kaḡalē āna iltsen śapla kalanā: "sasan
pulā, kalarēšpe Turā śirśa Pūlēḡ pūrse śak pičēke śiran
ḡerrēne tuḡsa salantar" tenē. kalasanaḡ pičēke śiran ḡerrēne
10 tuḡsa salannā. vēsem vara śirma ḡerrēnče yāvāś-śimēśēsem
śērśirlīsem śise tertlense purānnā. śāmār ta śunā sive te
pulnā, vēsene purānma ḡen pulnā.

- tataḡ kaḡal arāmē makārnā: "ḡāśśān śinsem pek pūrte
purānmalla pulāpārśi?" tenē. kaḡalē kalanā: "epē pūr
15 tāvassa tāvāp ta ūrkenetēp" tenē. arāmē āna kuś-pulpa makārśa
yālānnā. vēsem kaśḡine śivārma virtnā. arāmēpe ači tāriččen
kaḡalā tānā te śapla kalanā: "sasan pulā, kalarēšpe Turā śirśa
Pūlēḡ pūrse śakkān ta ḡula pek yal pulsa tātār, lavkasem pulsa
tavar sutakan pultār" tenē. arāmēsem tānā śēre ḡula pulsa
20 lavkasem pulsa tavar sutsa ilse tānā.

- arāmēpe ači vārannā ta či layāḡ kil-śurtra pulnā. arāmē
te kaḡalē te pit savānnā. vēsem pasara kaysa layāḡ tumtirsem
kēpe-yēmsem čaśāk-kaśāksem kil-śurtra mēn kirlēne ilse
tavārānnā. mēn ileś tesen te vēsene lavkaḡuśisem aḡaleḡ parśa
25 tānā.

- arāmē aśśēsem amāśśem patne ḡānana kayaśśān pulnā.
kaḡal kallāḡ śapla kalanā: "sasan pulā, kalarēšpe Turā śirśa
Pūlēḡ pūrse ḡamār ḡularan ta ḡunēm ḡapḡi umēnčen /ittān kēper
10 pultār, ik yenčen śiv yuḡsa tātār, śivra karas pulāsem vilyasa
yuḡsa śūrečēr, śiran ḡerripe ulma-yāvāśī pultār, śulśī śupsa
ulmi taślāsa tātār, arāmpa ıvāl valli ḡayēśśēn kussa śūreken
pavuska pultār" tenē. kalanā pekeḡ pulsa tānā. arāmēpe ači
śav pavuska śine larsa aśśēsem amāśśem patne ḡānana kaynā.

- aśśē irḡine tula tuḡnā ta iltān kēpere kursan tēlēnnē.
35 ḡeripe ači pīrsan vēsem purte śemyipe savānnā. vēsem unta
viś kun ḡāna pulnā. untan aśśēpe amāśśē kērūśē patne ḡānana
kaynā, kaḡalin arāmēpe ačipe pērle. kaḡal patne śitśen kaḡal
vēsene ḡirēś tuḡsa ilnē. vēsem kaḡal panče viś kun ḡānara
purānnā. ḡulāne te kursa pasarne te lavkisene te kērse kursa
40 śūrenē.

viśśēmēś kunne kaḡal urama tuḡnā ta "sasan pulā, kalarēšpe
Turā śirśa Pūlēḡ pūrse śak ḡula ēlēḡḡi pekeḡ pičēke ḡamīsem

pulsa täčär," tenë. kaçal kalanä pek pulsa tänä. xunë te xun-
emëš te 1ači te xay te šir xërrënče pičëke xamistem patënče
tänä. šämärta šunë sivë te pulnä. xunëpe xun-emëššë yëpense
šännipe pitë makärnä: "ax kërü, mën turän, pire xire xävarätän"
5 tenë. kërüššë kalanä: "šapla kirlë sire, ešër pire te šak kuna
kätarträr" tenë kaçal, kulnä vësenčen. vësem kačala čërkuš-
lansa ükse puššapsa yälännä: "pire šiv urlä ta pulsan kašarsa
yar" tenë.

kaçal kallaç vësenčen uräx šërelle kaynä ta "sasan pulä,
10 kalarëšpe Turä širsa Pülëx pürse ëlëkxi pekeç xula pulsa xunën
xapxi patne šiteččen ilttän këper pultär" tenë. šapla kalasanax
pulsa tänä. xunëpe xun-emëššëne xayëššën kusakan pavuskapa
šatsa yanä. vël pavuskapa xayën amëšne kilme xušnä.

vësem vara šapla pit savänsa purännä. tavrari šinsem te
15 vësem purännänčen tëlënnë.

(NB. This text has been emended to correct dialect forms
like pusa, kise and ise to the standard forms pulsa, kilse and
ilse.)

23. Jesus Teaches at the Seaside (Mark IV)

¹untan kallaç tinëš xërrinče vërente pušlanä: Un patne
temën čuxlë xaläx pučännä ta, Väl kimë šine kërse tinëš šinče
larnä; xaläx purte tinëš xërrinče, tipë šërte tänä. ²Väl vësene
yumaxsem kalasa numay vërentnë; vërentnë čuxne Väl vësene
5 šapla kalanä: ³"itlër-xa, akä tirä akakan akma tuxnä. ⁴aknä
čuxne šapla tël kilnë: xäs përci šul xërrine üknë, vëšen
kayäksëm vëšse pinä ta, äna šise kaynä. ⁵xäšë čullä šëre
üknë, unta täpra saçal pulnä; täpra äšäkrän časaç šätsa tuxnä;
⁶ančax xëvel tuçsa sarälsan šansa kaynä ta, timar yaraymansker
10 tipseç larnä. ⁷xäšë šumlä šëre üknë; šümë üsse šitnä te, äna
pussa ilnë, vara unän šimëšë pulman. ⁸xäšë tata avan šëre
üknë; vël šätsa tuçsa üsse šitënnë te, pë përcëren vätär përcë
te, utmäl përcë te, šër përcë te pultarnä" tenë. ⁹untan vësene
kalanä: "kamän iltme xälxa pur, ilttër" tenë.

15 ¹⁰Väl pëččen čuxne, Unpa yulnisem vun-ikë vërenekenëpe
përle untan šav yumax šinčen iytnä. ¹¹Väl vësene kalanä:
"sire Turä patšäläxin pëlmi ëšësem šinčen pëlme panä, itti-
semšën vël purte yumaxla pulat: ¹²vësem kušësempe päxsan
ta, kurmaššë; xälxisempe iltsen te, änlamaššë; vësem šiläxšë-
20 sene kašarttarma šaväränaššan mar" tenë. ¹³untan vësene

- kalanä: "esir ku yumaḡa ta ānlanaymastār-i-ḡa? itti yumaḡsene tata yeple purne te ānlasa ilēr? ¹⁴akakan sāmaḡ akat. ¹⁵šul ḡerrine ūknē teni sāmaḡa kama kalanä, šav šinsene pēlteret, ančax vēsem iltsenex, vēsem patne šuyttan pırat te, vēsen
- 5 čērıne aknä sāmaḡa ilse kayat. ¹⁶čullä šēre āknä teni te šavān pekeḡ: sāmaḡa iltsen, āna časaḡ ḡavaslansa ḡapāl tāvakan šinsene pēlteret; ¹⁷ančax vēsem čērısenče tımar šukran, šāmāl šuxāšlā pulasšē te, šav sāmaḡšān ḡuyḡā kilsen, ye ḡēsērlesen, časaḡ ultalanasšē. ¹⁸šumlä šēre ūknē teni te sāmaḡa ilteken
- 10 /ä šinsenex pēlteret; ¹⁹ančax ku tēnčeri purānās šuxāššēm puyanlāḡpa ultalanni, itti šavān pek šuxāššēm te vēsem āšne kērse, iltnē sāmaḡa ḡuplasa ileššē te, sāmaḡ vara usāšār pulat. ²⁰ırā šēre aknä teni sāmaḡa iltse ḡapāl tāvakan šinsene: pēri vātār ḡut, tepēri utmāl ḡut, tata tepēri šēr ḡut itla usā kūrēken-
- 15 /s sene pēlteret" tenē. ²¹untan kalanä vēsene: "šurtana savāt ayne, ye virān ayne lartasšān ilse pırasšē-i-mēn? āna šurta virānē šıne lartma ilse pımasšē-i vara? ²²kurānmasār pıtansa yulna nimēn te šuk, vārttān tuni te čapa tuḡmasār yulni šuk. ²³kamān iltme
- 20 ḡālḡa pur, iltter!" tenē. ²⁴tata kalanä vēsene: "mēn iltnine as tāvār: yeple višepe višēr, ḡāvāra ta šav višepex višse parēs; sire, iltekensen, itlarax ta parēs. ²⁵kamān pur, āna tata parēs, kamān šuk, unānne mēn pur pekkine te turtsa ilēs" tenē.
- 25 /ē ²⁶tata kalanä: "Turā patšalāḡē ak mēn yevērlē: ²⁷šin ḡāy vārlāḡne šēre akat te, šērle te, kāntārla ta šıvārat, tārat; tirri yeple šātsa, yeple ūsnine pēlmēst vāl. ²⁸šēr ḡāyex maltan yešēl kalča ūsteret, untan pušax kālartttarat, pušax āšne tēš tultarat. ²⁹pērči pulsa šıtsessēn, viras vāḡāt šıtrē
- 30 tese, vāl časraḡ šurla kālartttarat" tenē. ³⁰untan kalanä: "Turā patšalāḡne tanlaštara-ši? āna yeple yumaḡ kalasa pallāraḡ tāvar-ši? ³¹vāl sarā parās pērči yevērlē: sarā parās pērči šēre aknä čux šēr šıncı vārāsenčen purınčen te pēčēksē; ³²aksassān šātsa tuḡat te, pur kurākāsenčen
- 35 32 pisāk pulat, pisāk turatsem yarāt, unān sulḡānēnče vēsen-kayāksene te pıtansa larmalāḡ virān pulat" tenē. ³³šinsene vāl vēsem iltne pultarnā taran numay šavān pek yumaḡsem kalasa vērentnē, ³⁴yumaḡsār kalaman vēsene, vērenekenēsene vara purin šınčen te uyārām šērte kalasa
- 40 ānlantarnā. ³⁵šav kun kašḡine vēsene kalanä: "atyār, tinēsēn leš yenne kašsa kayar" tenē. ³⁶vēsem ḡalāḡ yarsan, lisusa ḡāy larnā

- kimēpeχ ilse kaynā; Unpa pērle urāχ kimēsem te pulnā. ³⁷šavān
 čux pit vāylā šil-tāvāl tuxnā; χum šapnipe kimme šiv tula
 pušlanā. ³⁸Iisus kimē χūri patēnče pušēlēc šinče šivārnā; Āna
 vāratsa kalanā: Vērenteken! pētēpēr-ēške, Sana epir pētni
 5 nimēn pek te mar-im?" tenē. ³⁹Vāl tānā ta, šile čarānma
 χuša, tinēse kalanā: "čarān, an šavla" tenē. vara šil čarānnā
 ta, šantalāk lāpaχ pulnā. ⁴⁰untan vēsene kalanā: "mēnšēn esir
 šav tērlē χāravšā? yeple sirēn ēnenū sūk?" tenē. ⁴¹vēsem
 pit χitā χārasa pēr pērinpe kalašnā: "kam-ši Ku? Āna šil te,
 10 tinēs te itlet" tenē.

24. The Lord's Prayer

- "ey sūlti Attemēr,
 sanān yatu χiseplentēr;
 sanān irēkū šēr šinče te sūlti pekeχ pultar;
 payan purānmalāχ šākār par pire;
 5 epir χamāra parāmlā pulnisene kašarnā pek,
 pirēn parāmsene kašar pire,
 šilāχa an kūrt pire,
 usaltan χatar pire.
 sanān patšalāχu, χāvatu, aslālāχu ēmēreχ.
 10 Amin" tiyēr.

25. Narspi (Poem)

Narspi is the great poem of the Chuvash, written in 1906-1908 by Konstantin V. Ivanov, Chuvashia's greatest literary figure of pre-revolutionary days. It is a poem of some two thousand verses, divided into fourteen cantos ranging from 60 to 240 verses each. The stanzas are of four verses, of which each verse contains seven syllables, riming a b a b. The poem is not properly an epic, for it does not deal with great folk heroes or battles, nor is it a saga. The best classification is perhaps that of romance, containing much description of the Chuvash countryside, farmer's lives and customs, and centering on the beautiful maiden Narspi, who is the ultimate downfall of everything. The poem is also an indictment of the inequality the Chuvashes experienced under the Czarist régime. A separate edition of this poem is being prepared by the present writer.

NARSPI

Canto I. Силпи ялѣнче — In the Village of Silbi

Пуш уйăхѣн вѣсѣнче
Хѣвел пăхрѣ ашăтса,
Силпи чăваш ялѣнче
Юрѣ ирѣлчѣ васкаса.

5 Тусем, сăртсем хуп-хура
Юрѣ кайса пѣтнѣрен,
Тухать курăк сăп-сăра
Хѣвел хытă хѣртнѣрен.

10 Сивѣ, хаяр хѣл иртет,
каятъ йѣрсе, хурланса;
Сивѣ куçсулѣпе йѣрет
Иртнѣ куншăн хуйхăрса.

15 Путăксемпе, варсемпе
Сѣмѣрѣлсе шыв кѣрлет.
Анчах, мѣнле йѣрсен те,
Хѣвел хѣртнѣсем хѣртет.

20 Хѣл куçсулѣ шавласа
Юкса кайре сырмара.
Ачи-пăчи выласа,
Чупса сурет урамра.

*

Килчѣ ыра суркунне,
Килчѣ, ячѣ ашăтса.
Хѣвел савать тѣнчене,
Хѣл айхинчен вăратса.

25 Тѣттѣм вăрман чѣрѣлет,
Ешѣл тумтир тăхăнать,
Çеçен хир та ешерет,
Илемѣпе мухтанать;

30 Тѣрлѣ-тѣрлѣ чечексен
Ыра шăрши сарăлатъ.
Пур сѣрте те кайăксен
Лайăх юрри янăратъ;

35 Султе, пѣлѣт айѣнче,
Тăрри юрри илтѣнет,
Çемсе курăк сийѣнче
Путех-сурăх сиккелет.

40 Хйй кѣтѣвѣ патѣнче
Ача шѣхличѣ калать,
Хырѣмѣ пит выѣнипе
Силпи ялнелле пѣхать.

*

Силпи ялѣ — пуян ял,
Ларать вѣрман ѣшѣнче.
Кантур пекех сурчѣсем
Ват йѣмрасем айѣнче.

45 Ялѣ тавра укѣлча,
Сѣнѣ сатан укѣлча,
Кив капанлѣ анкарти,
Тѣрлѣ сѣмѣслѣ пахча.

50 Аслѣ урам тѣрѣшпѣпе
Хѣма витнѣ сурчѣсем,
Урам икѣ айѣккипе
Ем-ешѣлех сачѣсем.

55 Суртсем тавра килкарти
Чул хѣме пек савѣрнѣ.
Сарѣ хапха килсерен
Чѣнтѣрленѣ тѣрѣллѣ.

60 Силпи ялѣ — аслѣ ял,
Хула тийѣн инсѣтрѣн.
Ахѣр, кунти чѣвашсен
Мулѣ пур-тѣр сав вѣсен.

(About 100 verses of Canto I are omitted here)

Canto II. Сарѣ хѣр — The Beautiful Girl

Ешѣл курѣк хушшинче
Сап-сарѣ чечек ѣсет,
Аслѣ Силпи ялѣнче
Нарспи ятлѣ хѣр ѣсет.

5 Пичѣ-кусѣ пит хѣхѣм,
Хирти сарѣ чечек пек.
Икѣ кусѣ хуп-хура,
Икѣ хура шѣрса пек.

10 Явѣнасѣ хѣсалта
Сивѣт вѣсѣ кѣтрисем.
Утса-утса пынѣ чух
Шѣнкѣртатать тенкисем.

15

Куѣсемпе пѣхнѣ чух
 Качѣн чѣри ѡѡкленет.
 Ѣухе тути кулнѣ чух
 Качѣн чунѣ ѡемѡелет.

20

Хирти сарѣ чечеке
 Ашѣ куѡпа кам пѣхмѣ?
 Ун пек лайѣх хитре хѣре
 Мѣнле качѣѣ ѡратмѣ?

*

25

Хѣвел анса ларсанах,
 Питне ѡѡватѣ, шѣлѣнатѣ,
 Вѣйѣна тухма шѣлкеме
 Кѣкѣрѣ ѡине ѡакатѣ,

30

Шѣнкѣр-шанкѣр теветне
 Хулпусси урлѣ яратѣ,
 Хѣрлѣ пурсѣн тутѣрне
 Хѣрлѣ савѣрса ѡыхатѣ.

35

Вѣйѣсенче ун сасси
 Кайѣк сасси евѣрлѣ,
 Ахѣлтатса кунлѣ чух,
 Ѣирѣп ѡн ку темелле.

40

Вѣйѣ саланичченех
 савѣнтаратѣ сассипе.
 Ирхи ѡѣлтѣр хѣпарса
 Иѣл-Иѣл кулатѣ тѣпере.

Хѣйѣн ашѣ килѣнче
 Нарспи канлѣ ѡывѣратѣ:
 Ырѣ тѣлѣксем курса,
 Тѣлѣкре те савѣнатѣ.

*

(Canto II goes on for another 120 lines.
 There are twelve more cantos.)

CHUVASH — ENGLISH VOCABULARY

This vocabulary is intended to include all words occurring in the grammar (except a few added in the final revision), and in the individual texts of pp. 195-214. In addition, many other useful and important words have been added from different sources.

The transcription of Chuvash words into Latin letters is intended only to reproduce the current official orthography. Owing, however, to the various sources from which texts have been drawn, there will be found some minor variations in spelling of some words.

Modern Chuvash contains many Russian loanwords, most of which will be apparent to a student knowing even a little Russian. Fuller explanations of the meaning of such contemporary loans may be sought in a Russian-English dictionary. The presence of non-Chuvash letters in these words will also aid in recognizing them.

The order of letters follows that of the English alphabet; letters with diacritic marks coming after the unadorned letter, viz.,

a, ä, b, č, d, e, ě, f, g, i, ı, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, ś, š, t, u, ů, v, x, y, z, and ž. In addition, there are such Russian combinations as šč, and letters like ' (soft sign) and " (hard sign).

- a -

ača child, boy

agroteynika (Russ.) agricultural technology

ak, akä lo! here! (as in 'see here!')

ak- to sow; akakan sower

aka plow; plowed field, arable land

akäš swan

akka elder sister

alä hand

aläk door

alla- to sift

allä fifty

alsa mitten

alsırävě manuscript

altuy walking stick, pole, rod, fishing pole

ama wife, mother; amäšě his his mother (special form)

amin (Russ.) amen

an indeclinable negative particle placed before verb in imperative

an- to descend, go down (both in general, and of the sun)

- anatri low, lower (specifically, the lower dialect of Chuvash)
- ančay but, only, however
- ankarti threshing yard; vegetable garden
- anne mother; anlä atäl Mother Volga
- apat (Russ.) dinner, main meal of the day, whether at noon or evening
- apla such, how, thus, so
- appa elder sister
- aprel' (Russ.) April
- ar male, man, husband
- aran somehow
- aräm female, woman, wife
- arestle- to arrest (Russ.)
- arëuri woodgoblin (title of a famous folk poem)
- as mind, understanding, memory; as tu- to pay heed, watch out, remember
- asän- to remember, pray, implore, ask
- asap pain, torment
- asatte grandfather
- asärya- to guess, deduce, conclude, notice
- aslä old, big, great, respected; asli the old one (a senior member); asläläy greatness, glory, grandeur
- astu- to pay heed (from as + tu- 'to do, make'); cf. above
- aš meat
- aššë his father (a special form deriving from attë); aššë-amäšë father and mother, parents
- atäl Volga river; anlä atäl Mother Volga
- atte father; atte-anna father and mother, parents
- atya come on! let's go! well!; atyär, atyër plural to preceding
- av house, dwelling
- aval formerly
- avan good, well; avantaray better (regular comparative)
- avä there (as in 'see there!')
- avän a flail to thresh grain; avän šap- to thresh
- avgust (Russ.) August
- avlan- to marry ('found one's house')
- avtobus (Russ.) trolley bus
- avtomat-ručka (Russ.) fountain pen
- ay interjection of satisfaction, or of discontent
- ay enclitic particle of emphasis, like Russian že. The effect obtained in English by stressing that word with the voice (he did go!).
- ayal in vain, to no avail; free, gratis
- ayälat- to laugh uproariously, guffaw
- ayär to be sure, certainly, of course
- ay interjection of dissatisfaction
- ay postposition: the underside, underneath, lower surface of something; ayalalla downwards, towards the underside

ayak sideazot (Russ.) nitrogenay-xay interjection of ironical nature, sarcastic

- ä -

än reason, understanding, memory; änla(n)- to understand, perceive; änlanmalla distinctly, clearly; änlantar- to make understand, to explainäš postposition: the interior, inner, insideäšä warm; äšän- to heat, to warm; äšät- to heat, to warmänsa pir- to succeedäšäk shallow, shallownessänsartran unexpectedlyäväs aspen treeäs- to draw, tap (water, etc.)äyär stallionäsat- to accompany;äyäx sleepäšta where; äštan whence, from where

- b -

barža (Russ.) bargebrigada (Russ.) team, work brigadebasyna (Russ.) fablebyuro (Russ.) office, bureaubol'ševik (Russ.) Bolshevikbol'ševikla (Russ.) Bolshevik (as adjective)

- č -

čan bell; barrel, vatčašlattar- to go 'sh-h-h!'; of sled runners, to make a noise in the snow, to hissčap news, fame; čaplä famed, famousčast' (Russ.) unit, partčar- to hold back, stop; čarän- to restrain oneself, hold oneself backčav- to digčaršav veil, scarf, curtainčavsa elbowčas quick; časay quick, quicklyčäm- to dive underčašäk (Russ.) cupčan true, truth; čänay truly, indeed

- čāt- to endure, hold out, last
- čávaš Chuvash, pertaining to
to Chuvash or Chuvashia;
čávašla Chuvash (adjective),
in the Chuvash language
- čeček flower; čečeklē colorful
- čertyožnik (Russ.) draftsman
- čey (Russ.) tea; čeynik (Russ.)
teapot
- čėkesė the swallow (bird)
- čėlēx cord, band; the vocal
cords
- čėlye tongue, language
- čėn- to invite, call; čėnter-
to have invited
- čėnterle- to adorn with carving
(especially wood)
- čėr knee; čėrkušlan- to fall
on one's knees
- čėre heart
- čėrė live, alive; čėrėl- to
come alive
- čėriklet- to squeak, creak
- čėtre- to shake, quiver,
tremble, vibrate
- čėvē noise, sound (of any sort)
- či very, most (forms super-
latives); či layăx very
good, excellent
- čik inside, interior, insides
(especially of a living
person); border, edge
- čik- to stick, to stick in
- čiper good, respectable
- čirkū church
- čirlė sick, ill
- čital'nya (Russ.) reading
room
- čilay much, great, a lot
- člen (Russ.) member, part
- čukun (Russ.) iron, cast
iron; čukun šul 'iron
road', railway, railroad
- čul stone
- čun spirit, soul
- čup- to run
- čup tu- to kiss (lit. 'to make
a kiss')
- čusta dough
- čux time, once, suddenly, for
a time; often: "at the time
when," as an accusative
without suffix; čuxne 'at
its time' = when, at the
time when ...
- čuxlē so much, so many
- čüreče window
- čūyen- to pour over oneself;
to wash

- d -

dekabr' (Russ.) December
delegat (Russ.) delegate

direktor (Russ.) director
drama (Russ.) drama, dramatic

- e -

e-e interjection of reproachekskursi (Russ.) excursion,
tripelektroteynika electrotechnical,
electrically operatedemel medicineepě Iepir weerey liquor, wine, vodkaerne weekernekun Fridayesě you (singular)esir you (plural)etem manex interjection of dissatisfaction
or satisfaction-ex enclitic particle of emphasis,
cf. -axey interjection of greetingělěk formerly, once upon a time;ělěkxi the former one, the
one that was formerlyělkěr- to get to, have time for;
succeeděměr life, age; ěměrex
foreverěmětle- to hopeěne cowěnen faith, beliefěnen- to believeěner yesterdayěntě already, nowěš work, business, matter,
affair, ěščen industrious,
diligent; ěšle- to work;
ěšleken worker; ěšletter-
to make work; ěššerlěx
unemployment, 'workless-
ness'; ěššin worker
working maněš- to drink; ěškě beverage
(alcoholic), drinkěške indeed, verily

- f -

fabrika (Russ.) factoryfašist (Russ.) Fascistfevral (Russ.) Februaryflot (Russ.) fleet

- g -

galstuk (Russ.) necktie,
neckerchiefgektor (Russ.) hectareGermaniya (Russ.) Germanygidroelektrostantsi (Russ.)
hydroelectric power plant

gorn (Russ.) horngosudarstvo (Russ.) state
(political entity)granitsa (Russ.) border

- i -

-i interrogative particleIisus (Russ.) Jesusik, ikě, ikkě two; ikšerěn two
at a timeikken it seems, as it were (lit.
'the one who is' from *i-
'to be')ikerčě blintz, a kind of waffle
or pancakeil- to take, to buyilem beautiful, beauty; ilemlě
beautiful, having beauty;
ilemlě literatura belles-
lettres, literature in the
artistic senseilt- see itl-im, i-měn Really! you don't
say!iměš as it were (also from *i-
'to be')institut (Russ.) instituteinše far, distant; inšetri
far, distant, in the distanceintereslen- (Russ.) to be
interested (takes instru-
mental case)irěk will, freedom, volition;
irěkkěn voluntarily, freely,
at willirěl- to melt, thawirt- to occur, take place,
pass, happenirtěncěx playful childirxi morning; irxine in the
morningitle- to listen, hear, obey

- 1 -

iltăn goldiran tomorrow; iranččen until
tomorrowiraš ryeirat- to pain, hurt; iratni pain,
hurtiră good; irla- to praise; irlăx
good, beneficenceitarma šuk endlessly, unlimitedly,
exceptionallyitla quite, very, more than;
itlarax more, still moreitlari kun Tuesdayitti other, the othersivăl son, boyivăt- to throw, castiyt- to ask, inquire; iytkalakan
'one who asks repeatedly'
= beggariyxă sleep, slumber

- k -

- ka particle: lightly expressed command
- kabin (Russ.) cabin, fuselage, cockpit
- kaččā bridegroom, husband
- kakniput (Russ.) somehow, by some means
- kala- to speak, tell, say; play (an instrument); kalaś- to converse; kalaśu conversation, speech; kalarēšpe 'with the speaking' = with the saying this, in accordance with what you have said (occurs in folktales)
- kalča kernel, grain
- kallax, kallex again, still, back
- kam who; kam ta pulin anyone, whoever it may be; kamānlāx (padežē) genitive (case)
- kan- to rest; kanlē carefree, happy
- kandidatura (Russ.) candidacy
- kanfet (Russ.) confections, candy
- kantāk window; glass
- kantur (Russ.) office, especially of rural courthouses
- kanan haystack
- kapla such, such a, so
- kar- to stretch out; karān- to stretch oneself
- karas a kind of carp
- karčāk old woman
- karlankā throat, larynx
- karmaš- to reach out for
- karta (Russ.) map
- karta herd of livestock
- kas- to cut; kasāl- to cut oneself up; kaska chopping block
- kassa (Russ.) savings bank, bank; pay-window, cashier's stand
- kaś evening; kaśxine in the evening
- kaś- to go over, cross over; kašar- to lead over, forgive, excuse
- kašāk spoon
- kašla- to murmur (of a forest)
- kašni each, every
- kaxal lazybones, person who is lazy
- kavle- to chew (as to chew the cud)
- kay behind, after portion, rear; kayran postposition: after; kayalla back to, towards, again, once more
- kay- to go, travel; kayni the going, departure
- kayāk wild animal, wild bird, bird, game
- kazax Kazakh
- kākār breast, bosom, chest
- kālar- to go out, issue; subtract; get away (as of fish); kālartar- to put out
- kāmaka stove
- kāmālla good, kind
- kāmṛāk coal
- kāmpa mushrooms
- kāna rather, only, merely

kāntār south, noon; kāntārla
by day

kārantaš (Russ.) pencil

kārčankā scabs, mange;

kārčankāla scabby, mangy

kāśal present-day, of this year;

kāśalyi present-day, in this
year

kāškār- to cry out; kāškāraškala-
to cry out repeatedly

kāšt a bit, a little

kātart- to show, to cause to see

kātra curl, lock (of hair)

kāvak blue

kāvakal duck (fowl)

kenguru (Russ.) kangaroo

kēmēl silver

kēneke (Russ.) book

kēpe shirt

kēper bridge

kēr fall (season); kērkunne in
the fall

kēr- to go in, enter; kērt-
to let in, admit; kēnī
entrance, going in

kērle- to murmur, rustle; roar
(of airplanes)

kēreple (Russ.) rake

kērēš- to hire oneself out

kērt snowdrift

kērū son-in-law; kērūšē his
son-in-law (special form)

kēske short; kēsket- to shorten,
abbreviate

kēšem these (plural of ku 'this')

kēšen- to neigh, whinny

kēšēn young, small

kēšernikun Thursday

kēt- to wait; kētesle in install-
ments, on credit

kētū herd

kēvē melody

kil house; kilelle homewards
(Ger. nach Hause); kilseren
at each and every house

kil- to come, arrive

kilēšū peace

kilogramm (Russ.) kilogram

kimē boat, ship

kin daughter-in-law

kino (Russ.) movie, cinema,
motion picture

kirek: kirek kam somebody,
whoever; kirek mēn some-
thing, whatever; kirek
mēnle somehow, however;
kirek āsta wherever,
anywhere

kirlē necessary; deserving,
suitable

kirpēč (Russ.) brick

kivē old (of things, not people)

klass (Russ.) class

kofe (Russ.) coffee

kollektiv (Russ.) collective

kolyoz (Russ.) kolkhoz,
collective farm; kolyoznik
(Russ.) kolkhoznik,
collective farm worker

kombayn (Russ.) combine

komissi (Russ.) commission

komsomolets (Russ.) Kom-
somolets, member of the
Young Communist League

konferentsi (Russ.) conference

kružok (Russ.) circle, club
ku this (plural: kěsem these)
kukál' pie, pastry
kukār bend, corner, turn
kul- to laugh; kulkala- to laugh repeatedly
kun day; kuněpe all day (lit. 'with its day'); kunšul life ('day-road')
kunta hither, to here, here;
kunti at here, local; kuntan from here, hence
kupa stack, pile; kupala- to stack, pile up
kur- to see
kura postposition: thanks to, in regard to, concerning
kurāk plant, grass

kurān- to be seen, seem, be visible, look like
kurka cup, scoop
kuršanak burdock seed
kus- to turn, return, go back
kuš eye; kušlāx eyeglasses
kuššul tear (lachrima)
kušar- to translate
kušak pussy cat
kut rear, behind, posterior, derrière
küle lake
kūr- to bring, produce, yield
kūrt- to bring in, let in, lead into
kūršē neighbor

- 1 -

lager (Russ.) camp
lapka area, flatness, surface; flat
lar- to sit, seat oneself; lart- to set, place
laša horse (cf. Russian lošad')
lav cart, load (from šlav)
lavka (Russ.) shop, store
lāpay still, quiet, peaceful
lāpkā peaceful, Pacific

lāstārkkka lazy, indolent; ragged
leple thus, so, as, consequently
leš, lešē that (distant), other
lētčik (Russ.) pilot
lineika (Russ.) a line, rank
litr (Russ.) liter, quart
lupaška gorge, ravine

- m -

mačča ceiling; roof (of mouth)
makār- to cry, weep, bewail

mal front, fore; malta forward;
malalla forwards; maltan previously, before, at first

mamăk cotton

manăñ mine, my (genitive of 'I')

mar negative article occurring
before verbs: no, not

mart (Russ.) March

matematika (Russ.) mathematics

matka old woman

may (Russ.) May

mayëpen slow

maylaš- to be constructed,
formed, organized.

maysăr quite, very

măkăñ' poppy

mărlat- (Russ.) to purr

măr''ye (Russ.) smokestack

măšăr pair, twain; măšărla-
to marry (transitive);
măšărrăñ in pairs

măy neck

metall (Russ.) metal, metallic

mën what?; mënle having what?,
what sort; that way, so,
like that; mënle pulin what-
ever it may be, anything;
mënle te pulin however it
may be, anyhow

mënpur total, assembled,
whole, entire

mëñšën why, for what?

mëšën why, for what?; mëñšën
tesen because ('if one says
for what reason')

mësker what sort of person or
thing?

ministerstvo (Russ.) ministry
(government)

miše how much?

mul property, goods, belongings

Muskav Moscow

mussya Mussya (proper name)

muxta- to praise, glorify;
muxtavlä glorious,
renowned

muzika (Russ.) music

- n -

načar bad

nagradăla (Russ.) to award,
decorate

nakidkă (Russ.) cloak

namăs shame; namăsăr
shameless, dishonorable;
namăsla- to be ashamed

Narspi Narspi, name of a
beautiful Chuvash maiden
in famous poem

nauka (Russ.) science

nayan lazy

ni negative particle, no, not;

nikam ta no one; nimën te
nothing; nimën čuylë te
seldom; nimënle te nothing;
nimëske to no sort; ništa
nowhere, to nowhere;
niyəšë no one; niyeple te
nothing

nim, nimën nothing, no sort of;
nimën eş te no sort of
work, no work at all

nikës basis, fundamental

noyabr' (Russ.) November

nu (Russ.) now, well, then
numay many, much;
nummayččen for a long
 time, much, a great deal

nūrē damp, moist

- o -

oborudovani (Russ.) equipment,
 outfittings
oktyabr' (Russ.) October
orden (Russ.) order, decoration

otečestvennāy fatherland
 (adjective), patriotic
otryad (Russ.) detachment,
 squad, unit

- p -

-pa with, at, in the company of,
 together with, etc.; pala
 'having the with' = being in
 company with = and, along,
 too; pančēn 'at the with' =
 at the house of, chez; palan
 postposition: for (plus
 instrumental case)

pallā sign, characteristic;
pallā yačē adjective

padežē (Russ.) case
 (grammatical)

pakša squirrel

palla- to know, recognize;
pallaš- to know one another,
 to be acquainted

panulmi apple

par- to give, present

parankā potatoes

parappan (Russ.) drum

parām guilty; transgressions,
 debts; obligation

parta student's desk

parti (Russ.) party (political)

paru dative case; tax

pasar bazaar, fair, market

pašārtanpa for a long time

pat postposition: side, towards;
patne to its side, to,
 towards, e. g., un patne:
 towards him, to him;
patenčēn on the side, from
 the side, from beside;
pirēn patra at our place
 ('in the side of us')

patša ruler, king, pasha,
 padishah, Czar; patšalāk
 kingdom

pattār reknowned, brave,
 strong; hero, epic hero,
bogatyr'; pattārrān
 heroically, bravely;
pattārla heroically

pavuska (Russ.) cart, wagon

paxa dear, valuable; good,
 fine

paxča garden

pay part; paylana- to be parted;
 divided

payan today; now

payarka bundle, sheaf; rays

paytax enough, rather, quite;
paytaxčen for a long time

păča only in the phrase
ača-păča "children"

păr ice

păr- to turn, wind, bend, bore;

părăn- to turn oneself

păray- to throw

părayut (Russ.) steamship

părăś pepper; sară părăś
'yellow pepper' = mustard

părkăčă shaft-poles of a cart
or wagon

părtak a little, some, a bit

păs steam; păslan- to steam,
rise up in mist

păx- to watch, observe; wait,
await; take care of

pedagogika (Russ.) pedagogy,
teaching methods, education

pek such, such a, like; śavăn
pek like this, such a;
śakăn pek like this, such a

pele same as pala 'and, with';
pelen same as palan

pepke baby, infant

per- to shoot, throw

pereket abundance, excess,
savings

pěččën alone

pěčěk small; pěčěksě small;
pěčěkkën little by little
gradually

pěl- to know, experience;
pělter- to make known,
mean; pělŭ knowledge,
things known

pělēt sky, cloud

pěltër last year

për one, a; për për something,
one or another; përi 'its
one' = one of them; përer
one each; për përinpe to
one another

përcčë grain, crop; particle

përle 'having one' = as one,
together, e. g., unpa përlë
together with him; përlelëx
instrumental (case); përleś-
to make one, unite, unify;
përleštër- to be united

përmay continually, all

përpek 'like one,' alike,
similar, identical

përre same as për;
përre ... tepre now ...
now

pëśer- to cook, make boil

pët- to end, finish, lose; give
out, run out; pëter- to
end, use up

pëtëlen- to become pregnant

pëtëm all

pičče uncle, elder brother

piččeke barrel, tub, vat

pičet (Russ.) press; seal

pilëk waist

pillëk, pilëk five; pilëksullăx
five-year plan

pilotka side-cap (overseas cap?);
Boy Scout-type cap

pin thousand

pirën our (genitive of epir 'we')

pirki postposition: by means
of, on account of

pirvay first of all

piš- to cook, boil; pišně
mature, ripe, experienced

pit face, side; piče 'its side,'
at the side of

pitě very; strong, powerful

pir throat

pir- to go, walk, come, travel

pisák large, great, big;

pisákla- to enlarge, make
bigger, grow

pitán- to secrete, hide oneself,
take refuge; pitár- to hide,
secrete (transitive)

plan (Russ.) plan

ploščadka (Russ.) square,
court, platform

plug (Russ.) plow

pograničnik (Russ.) border
guard

povest' (Russ.) story, narrative

poyezd (Russ.) train

prašnik (Russ.) holiday,
vacation

pravleni (Russ.) direction,
management

pravo (Russ.) right, rights,
law, justice

predloženi (Russ.) clause,
sentence

predsedatel' (Russ.) chairman,
presiding officer, president

preměk (Russ.) gingerbread

premi (Russ.) prize

produktai (Russ.) production

proliv (Russ.) straits

promišlennost' (Russ.) industry

protez (Russ.) prosthesis,
artificial limb

prušetsa tu- (Russ.) to take
leave, bid farewell

pul- to be, to become

pula postposition: for, owing
to

pulā fish; pulāšā fisher,
fisherman

pulāš- to help, aid; pulāšu
help, aid, assistance

pulē from pul- : it is, it is
possible; pulin 'let it be,'
concessive verb form,
makes interrogatives
indefinite; pulin te although;
pulsan verb form making
interrogatives indefinite;
pulsan ta although; pultar-
to cause to be, to be able

puple- to speak; puplev speech
(the faculty)

pur there is, there are, there
exists

purān- to live; purānāš life;
purānmalāy 'living' =
enough to live on

puršān silk

purččē past of pur: there was,
there were

purtā axe

purte all, every, each

pus- to press, step

pusan = pulsan; pusan ta =
pulsan ta

pusmār oppression, force

puš head; beginning; pušēlēy
pillow, cushion, headrest;
pušla- to begin; pušlamāš
the beginning

pušne postposition: except

puššap- to implore, beg

puštar- to collect, gather

puš March (archaic)

pušă empty, vacant; pušan-
to empty oneself, unload
oneself; puşyir desert,
desolate place

put- to sink

putăk valley, ravine

putek young ewe, lamb

putyex probably, indeed

puş- to assemble, gather
(transitive); puşăn- to
assemble, to come together
in a gathering; puşu
meeting

puyan rich, wealthy, rich man;
puyanlăx wealth, richness

pülēm room

Pülëx (folktales) a sort of god
or evil spirit that prevents
good things from happening
(Selection 22)

pūrne finger

pūrt house, residence, living
room (usually, the central
heated room of a small
hut, as opposed to an
entire dwelling or house)

- r -

raboči (Russ.) worker

Rašeye Russia (now archaic)

rayon (Russ.) region

rel's (Russ.) rail (of a railroad)

respublik (Russ.) republic

ret (Russ. ryad) order, row,
rank, file, series

revulyutsi (Russ.) revolution

rezolyutsi (Russ.) resolution

Rossiya Russia

- s -

sad (Russ.) garden

sakărvunnă eighty

sakăr, sakkăr eight

salan to fall apart, go apart,
break in pieces, disband

salt- to untie, loosen, unfasten

saltak (Russ.) soldier

samana time (the concept); păr
samant for a while

samolët (Russ.) airplane

sanăn your (genitive of esă
'you')

sapala- to sow, scatter, pour,
sprinkle

sară yellow; fair, beautiful
(in folklore)

sarăl- to extend oneself,
enlarge

sarlaka wide, widely;
sarlakaşë width, wideness,
extent; latitude

sasan carp-fish

sasartăk suddenly

sasā voice, sound; vote;
sasā čelēye vocal cords;
sasā-čevē sound, noise,
 voice; sasāla- to vote,
 give one's voice

saxal little, few, shallow

sav- to love; savān- to be
 happy

savāt (Russ. zavod) container,
 holder; factory (obsol.)

sayra thin, sparse

sāmax word, speech; parable;
sāmaxšān for example

sāmsa nose

sān exterior, appearance, face,
 form, shape

sāna- to observe, notice

sānav attempt, try

sānčār chain, reins

sāpka cradle

sāra beer

sāran skin, hide

sārt hill, mountain

sāvār marmot

sāymanlāx material for a caftan

sekretar' (Russ.) secretary

sentyabr' (Russ.) September

-seren suffix occurring in a
 few words, meaning 'each,
 every,' as kilseren every
 house, šulseren annually,
 and so on

sexet watch; hour

sēm-tētēm pitch-dark

sēr- to grease, smear

sēt milk

sētel (Russ.) table

sik- to spring, leap, jump;
sikkepe at a run; sikkele-
 to shake, move, frolic,
 gambol; twinkle

Silpi Silbi, name of the village
 in the poem Narspi
 (Selection 25)

simēs green

sir- to remove, take away;
sirēl- to shun, avoid;
 drift, disperse, go away

sirēn your (genitive of esir
 'you')

sis- to feel, sense; sister-
 to make feel

sivē cold, frost; sivvēn coldly

siyenlē harmful

siltām right

sīp- to bind, join; sīpāk joint,
 link; chapter

sivā healthy

sival- to get well

sivla- to breathe; sivlāš air,
 breath

sīyla- to guard, watch, keep,
 observe

-sker suffix, strengthens the
 preceding form or word,
 emphatic, often 'the one
 who ...'

sočineni (Russ.) composition

sovet (Russ.) soviet, council,
 Soviet

sovyoz (Russ.) sovkhoz, state
 farm

srok (Russ.) time, time limit,
 deadline

starik (Russ.) old man

stat'ya (Russ.) article
 (composition)

stayanovets (Russ.) a Stakhanovite, one who exceeds his assigned quota; stayanovla Stakhanovite, in the Stakhanov way

storož (Russ.) watchman, guard

tsenā (Russ.) stage (of theater)

student (Russ.) student, at university level usually

sudlaš- to judge (from sud - court, a Russian borrowing)

sukkār blind

sulyān coolness

suntal anvil (name of a literary periodical of the Chuvash Writer's League)

supān soap

surāy sheep

sut (also sud) (Russ.) court (of justice)

suya (Russ.) wooden plow; suyala- to plow with a wooden plow

suyal bearded; suyallā bearded

suy- to lie (tell a falsehood)

suyla- to choose, select, elect; suylav election

sū- to peel, flay, strip

s'yezd (Russ.) conference, congress, assembly

- š -

šak, šakā this; šakān pek such, such a, similar

šaklan- to hang itself onto, affix

šamrāk young, youth; šamrākla from youth; šap-šamrāk extremely young

šantalāk weather

šap- to strike, hit, fight, beat; avān šap- to thresh; šapāš- to struggle, fight; šapāšu a struggle, battle, fight

šapay but, however, still, yet; šapla such, thus, how, then; šapla šapla thus and so

šap- intensifying prefix for words in š-; šap-šutā extremely light (in color); šap-šamrāk very young

šar army, troops

šara bare, bald, naked, empty

šatan wattle fence

šav, šavā that (not too distant); šav teri quite, to such a degree; šavān čuylē so much, such an amount; šavān pek such a, similar; šavānpa (vara) since, for this reason; šavānta to there

šavār- to turn, roll; šavārān- to turn about, turn around; šavranakan in circumference

šavārsa il- to master

šāka linden

šākār bread

šāltār star, planet; constellation

šāmāl light, easy; šāmāllān slightly

šāmār = šumār rain

šāra thick, dense

šāv- see šu- to wash; to rain; šāvān- to wash oneself

šavar mouth

še see šeš

šekl hook, hitch

šeměn postposition: by means of, to the degree that

šemše soft; šemšele- to grow soft, weak

semyi, sem'ye (Russ.) family, household

šerši sparrow

šeš only, merely; šeš mar not only

šešen-yir the steppe

šěkle- to lift, raise, surge;
šěklem burden

šelen snake, serpent

šělěk hat, cap

šemər- to destroy, ruin;
šemərēl- to break, smash, shatter

šēnē new; šēnēle- to renew, rebuild

šēnter- to win, be victorious

šēpər Siberia

šēr 1. land, country 2. night
3. hundred

šērē ring

šērək rotten, spoiled

šēršiv land, country, native land, fatherland

šerulmi 'land apples' = potatoes

ši postposition: on, top, surface;
šinče on it, on its top;
šimēl = šinče

ši- to eat

šič, šičē, šiččē seven

šil wind

šil- to become angry; šilen- to become angry

šime, šimēš food, repast, meal

šinče see ši

šinše thin, fine, narrow

širēm twenty; širēmmeš twentieth

širēp strong, firm, hard;
širēplet- to strengthen

šišēm lightning

šit- to arrive, get to, succeed, suffice; reach, attain;
šitēn- to grow up

šiter- causative from ši- = to feed, cause to eat

šitmēl seventy

šivēč sharp

šivēt hair, braid

šilāx sin

šin man, human

šipās- to fasten, affix, attach, glue

šir- to write; širkala- to write a bit; širtar- to have write, to cause to write; širu thing written, letter; širulāx written language, script; Turā širsa (Selection 22) "God grant" - in folktales

širan shore, bank

širla berry

širma river; ravine, gorge

šivār- to sleep

šivāx postposition: near, in the vicinity of; šivāyar- to approach

śiy- to bind, tie; śiyān- to fasten oneself

śu oil, grease; butter; summer

śu- (śāv-) to wash; to fall (of rain)

śuk there is not, there are not, there does not exist; śuk-śin a man who has nothing

śul 1. road, highway, path; 2. year; 3. tear (lachrima)

śul- to mow

śulśā leaf, sheet, list

śul-yēr highway

śulśūren traveller, 'road-goer'

śulta(v)lāk year

śum postposition: along, beside, towards, at, near; śuma-śumān side by side

śum weed; śum-kurāk weed; śumlā weedy, weedgrown

śumār rain

śun- to burn (intransitive); śuntar- to burn (transitive), to cause to burn

śunaśka sled, sleigh; śuna sled, sleigh

śunat wing

śup- to clap, strike, strike together, box

śur spring; śurkunne in the springtime

śur- to split

śural- to be born; śurat- to bear, give birth to

śurā, śur half

śurla sickle

śurśēr north

śurt house, residence

śurutrav peninsula, 'half-island'

śutā light, visible, clear, bright; śutal- to dawn, get light; śut- to lighten; śutēs education, enlightenment

śuxa collar

śūl, śūlē tall, high; śūlēśē height; śūlti heavenly, pertaining to on high; śūlelle upwards, towards up

śūre- to go, wander, travel, visit; śūrekele- to walk a bit; śūrenī going, the going

śūś hair

śūye thin, narrow

- ś -

śalt quite, very

śan- to wither

śančāk hope

śap-śurā snow-white

-śar suffix of numerals: 'each, per'

śartla- to crackle

śavla- to rage, roar

śaymat (Russ.) chess

śāl tooth

śāl- to wipe off, sweep; wash
śālān- to wipe oneself off

šalt-šalt onomatopoetic words

šamlāy wonder, strange

šamatkun Saturday

šan- to freeze

šāna fly (insect)

šānkār-šānkār onomatopoetic words

šāp same, equal, exact;

šāplan- to be the same

šāp stillness, quiet; šāplāy
stillness, quiet

šāpčāk nightingale

šārat- to melt, heat, smelt,
pour

šārsa pearl, bead

šāši mouse

šāt- to grow, spring up, burst
out (as of wheat)

šātāk hole, opening

šātārtat- to crack

šāvar- to water (animals), give
water to

šāyārkala- to whistle

šāyličē pipe, reed, flute

-šer see -šar

ševle flash of lightning

šēlkeme breast buckle on
Chuvash native costume

šēnče for āšēnče 'inside,'
"in its inside"

-ši particle: whether;
kam-ši ku Who is this One?

šiklen- to be afraid of, fear

šira- to seek

šiv water

škap (Russ.) case, cupboard,
drawer

špal (Russ.) railroad ties

škul (Russ.) school

špion (Russ.) spy, agent

šu- to creep, glide, move

šultra great, large, big

Šupaškar Cheboksary, capital
of Chuvashia

šur, šurā white

šut (Russ. sčēt) account,
number, calculation;
šutla- to calculate

šuxāš opinion, thought;
šuxāšla- to be of the
opinion, to think

Šuyttan Satan, the devil

- t -

ta and, or

ta particle: makes
interrogatives indefinite

tabak (Russ.) tobacco

takam someone, anyone

taka ram

takār even, flat

talāk = tavlāk

tan-tan-tan onomatopoetic word

tanlaštar- to compare

tapran- to move oneself

tar- to flee

taran postposition: up to

tarān deep; tarānāšē its
deepness = depth

tarsā servant

tasa clean; tasal- to clean;
tasat- to clean; tasaläx
 cleanliness

tašta somewhere; taštalla to
 somewhere

tašä dance; tašla- to dance

tat- to rip, pluck, snap, tear,
 pick (flowers, etc.)

tata and, still yet; tatax again,
 moreover, too

tatak piece

tavar goods, wares

tavär- to turn around; tavrän-
 to return; tavärän- to come
 back, return

tavlaš- to quarrel

tavläk day (a period of twenty-
 four hours; night and day)

tavra postposition: around

tavšär- to perceive, understand,
 presume

taxäšä someone

taxäan sometime

tay- to weigh

täk- to pour, to inflict (a loss)

täfax widow, widower

tän consciousness

täpra ground, soil, dust, earth

tär- to stand, be located; to be;
 to get up

täran- to satiate, eat one's fill

tärä top, summit, apex

täräš- to try, strive; busy
 oneself, be industrious,
 diligent; täräšni striving,
 endeavor

tärat- to cause to stand; to move, tepär next, other
 propose

täräx postposition: along, by,
 according to

tärin, tärri skylark, lark

tärri postposition: upon,
 above, on top of

täs- to stretch out to, extend;
täsat- to extend

täšman enemy

täv- see tu- 'to do, make'

tävän native, indigenous

tävar salt

tävattä, tävatä, tävat four;
tävatkal square, quarter

täväl storm, windstorm

tävu accusative case

täxän- to put on, to don

täxärvunä ninety

täxxär, täxär nine

te or, indeed (often emphasizes
 the preceding)

te- to say

tek only, just

teley luck, fortune

temän something, somewhat;
temän čuyle so much, so
 many; temänle any, some
 sort; temäsker someone,
 a certain one

temise somewhat

tempek however much

temtärle no small amount,
 quite a bit, greatly, very;
 not at all

tenkē ruble; tenkelēx an
 amount of rubles, — rubles
 worth

- teple somehow
tepre see përre ... tepre
 'now ... now'
teri see şav teri 'to such a
 degree'
tert need, distress; tertle-
 to be in need, distress
tese in order to, so that
tesen if (lit. 'when you say')
tetrad' (Russ.) notebook
tevet a Chuvash native garment,
 worn by girls to weddings
teynik (Russ.) technician
teynikum (Russ.) technicum,
 a Russian higher technical
 school
tël place, spot; tël pul- to meet,
 encounter
tëlëk dream
tëlën- to be astonished,
 surprised, amazed
tëlër- to doze, drowse
tëmeske hillock
tënçe world
tëp ground, base, chief, stem,
 root; tëplën basically
tëpçe- to question in detail
tërlë various, different;
 tërlëren various, different,
 variegated
tës color, form; për tësle with
 one form, identical
tës grain, kernel; tësıra
 xuşalāx agriculture
tëtëm smoke
tëtre cloud; tëtrele- to cloud
 over
tëttëm dark, darkness
- tilë fox
timër iron (metal); timërşe
 smith
tin just, then, only, not until;
 tin şeş just now
tinës sea
tip- to dry out; tipë dry
tip pir windpipe
tirpeyle orderly, carefully
tiskër-kayāk predator (bird
 or beast)
tiv- to concern, touch, fall to
 one's lot; tivëşlë fitting,
 proper, obliged
tiye- to load (a wagon or cart)
timar root
tirā grain; tirkas ground-
 squirrel (lit. 'grain-cutter');
 tirpul harvest, crop
tit- to hold, seize, set on,
 catch; titan- to hold, seize;
 to get ready to, to start,
 be on point of
traktor (Russ.) tractor
trest (Russ.) trust (financial)
trusy (Russ.) underclothes,
 slips, shorts
tsex (Russ.) workshop
tu mountain
tu- (tāv-) to do, make, finish,
 build; tutar- to have made,
 produce
tula out, outwards, outside,
 exterior; tulaşënci
 external
tulāx rich, abundant, plentiful
tultar- to fill, fulfill
tumalli (from tu-) what is to be
 done, imminent, at hand

tumlan- to dress
tumtir clothes, garments
tuna stalk, stem
tuntikun Monday
tup- to find
tupsām reason, existence,
 answer, solution
turam piece, bit
turat branch, twig
Turā God, god
turt- to pull, draw; to smoke;
turtni pulling, drawing,
 smoking; turtān- to strive,
 pull toward
turtā shaft, pole
tus friend; tuslāx friendship

tuta lip
tutā well, adequately,
 contentedly, filled
tutār cloth, shawl, kerchief
tux- to go out, come out;
 to rise (of the sun)
tuxtār (Russ.) doctor
tuxu ablative case
tuy- to feel, notice
tuya stick, staff, pole
tūle- to pay
tūpe rooftop, ceiling,
 summit
tūrem even, smooth
tūs- to stand, endure

- u -

učitel' (Russ.) teacher
ukālča a fence, stockade (around
 villages)
Ukraina Ukrainia
ukša money
ulām straw, hay
ulāx- to arise, ascend
ulma apple; ulmuššī appletree
ult, ultā, ulttā six
ultala- to deceive
um postposition: before, in front
 of, in the presence of;
umla-xīšla one after the
 other
un pek 'like unto that' = similar,
 like, such a
unān his, hers, its (genitive of
vāl 'he, she, it')

unččen until
unta there, thither; untan
 then, thereupon, from
 there; untalla thither,
 to there
upalen- to creep, crawl
upāška husband, spouse
ura leg, foot
uram street
urapa wagon, cart
urāx other, another; urāyla
 in another way
urlā postposition: through,
 over, across; urlāšē
 width
urpa barley
uryalāx the backstrap,
 cross-strap

us- to hang; usăn- to hang

usal evil, bad

uș- to open; ușăl to open oneself

ușă use, profit, advantage;
ușăllă useful

ușlankă clearing, glen

ușșăn clear, fresh

ușkă pile, heap, crowd, herd,
group

ut horse; utlan- to mount to horse

ut- to walk, go, step

ută hay; island

utmăl sixty

utrav (Russ.) island

u-ux interjection: reproachful attitude

uy field

uyav holiday, celebration

uyăr- to divide, split, share;
to make out, distinguish;
uyărăm separately, apart

uyăx moon; month

- ũ -

ŭk- to fall; ŭker- to cause to fall, to fell

ŭkerčëk illustration, sketch

ŭlëm in the future, evermore,
then

ŭpke lungs

ŭrkene- to be lazy

ŭs- to grow, extend; ŭster- to cause to grow, to grow (transitive), to raise

- v -

vak small; vakla- to make small; vaklan- to break up into small pieces, to chop up

vak-kusë ice-hole

valli postposition: for, for the sake of

Vanyuk proper name: Johnny, Vanya (from Ivan 'John')

var valley, center, midst

vara since, after, indeed, so thus, so that

vaska- to hurry, hasten;
vaskat- to drive

vată old, oldster

văkăr ox, bull

văl he, she, it, that

vălta fishhook

văran- to wake up, waken;
vărat- to wake

vără seed; bandit

vărăm long

vărlăy seed, grain

vărman forest

vărs- to fight, quarrel, war;
vărăă war

värttän secretly

väta middle, center; vätäläx
middle; vätam central,
average

vätär thirty

växät time, instance

väy strength; väylä strong

väyä games, dances and singing

vältlet- to flash, zip, whiz
(past); vältértet- flutter,
flash, hover

vëren rope, line

vëren- to study, learn;
vëreneken disciple,
student; vërenü studies;
vërent- to make study, to
learn; vërenteken teacher

vëri hot, heat

vër-sënë brand-new

vësem they (plural of väl);
vësen their (genitive of
vësem)

vës end; vëse-xërri-sër
'without its end and edge' =
infinite

vës- to fly; vësen-kayäk flying
creature, bird

vëser- to unfasten; vëserën-
to unfasten oneself

vëtë small, tiny

vil- to die

vintovkă (Russ.) rifle

vir¹yal upper, especially
upper dialect of Chuvash
(from vir + yal)

vis- to measure

vis, visë, visëë three; visëën
three together, three at
a time

vit- to cover; vitën to cover
oneself

vitër postposition: through

vitre (Russ.) pail, bucket

vilyäx livestock

vilya- to play

vir- to reap

virän place, spot,; bed; virna-
to be located, situated;
vir(a)nastar- to settle
(transitive); virän (padežë)
locative case

viräs Russian

virarnikun Sunday

virt- to lie

vistavkă (Russ.) exposition, fair

vis- to be hungry; visă hungry

vlast¹ (Russ.) authority

vula- to read; vulakan reader,
one who reads; vulakani
reading; vulattar- to make
read, to have read

vun, vună, vunnă ten

vut fire

vută firewood

vutăš water sprite

- x -

ya particle: lightly expressed
command

yal¹, yalë now

yaläx nation, people, folk

xaliččen (from xalē) up to now,
up to this time

xam I myself; xamār we
ourselves

xapāl reception, accepting,
conversion (religious);
xapāl tu- to convert

xapxa gate

xarlattar- to snore, buzz

xarpārxāy each himself

xaska- to wheeze, pant

xasat (Russ.) newspaper,
gazette

xatērle- to prepare, make ready

xavas joy, pleasure; xavaslan-
to be joyful, rejoice;
xavassān readily, with
pleasure

xay that

xayar bad, evil

xayxi that (distant)

xālas a measure: fathom, two
yards, 1.9 meters;
xālasla- to stretch, extend

xālxā ear

xāma board, stave

xāmāš reed, rush, cane

xāna guest

xāpar- to rise, ascend, go up

xāpāt- to take away, free, tear
loose, peel, cut off, skin

xār- to dry, dry out

xāra- to be afraid, to fear;
xāravšā fearful, frightened

xārāk dry, dried up

xāśān, xāśān when

xāšē which, certain

xāšpēr some, certain ones

xāt lo! woe! alas!

xātar- to save, deliver;
xātāl- to be saved

xātlan- to try, attempt,
concern oneself with

xāv see xu

xāva willow

xāvala- to drive; chase

xāvar- to stay, remain; to
leave (transitive)

xāvat power, strength, might;
xāvatlā valiant, strong

xāvay you yourself

xāvār you yourselves

xāvāl hole, opening, cavity

xāvart quickly

xāy he himself; xāysem they
themselves; xāyēssenex
'of and by itself'

xāyar cucumber

xāyār sand; xāyālāx sandbank

xāyu wick

xēl winter

xēn pain, trouble, misfortune

xēpērtē- to delight, hearten

xēr girl, daughter, woman;
xērača girl child, girl

xēr- to glow, become glowing;
xērt- to glow

xērē shore, edge (of road,
water); xērri postposition:
'its edge,' 'at one side,
beside

xērēx forty

xērlē red

xēsērle- to press, be urgent,
compelling

yěvel sun; yěveltuyăś 'sun's rising' = Orient, Far East

yir plain, field, desolate place

yirěś postposition: against

yisep number; yiseple- to reckon, heed, treasure, hallow

yitre clean, nice, beautiful;

yitrelen- to become beautiful

yipar report, message; title of a revolutionary paper of 1906 (= Izvestiya)

yir pine tree

yir- to scrape, shave, clean

yirām belly, stomach

yis postposition: behind;

yisaltan from behind;

yisśan after

yitā hard, stiff, firm, earnest

yor choir, choral

yu you yourself

yu- (yāv-) to drive, pursue, dispatch, send

yul-puśśi shoulder

yula town, city

yum wave

yun father-in-law; Khan

yunem mother-in-law

yup- to close up, close in;

yupānni closing, close;

yupla- to close, cover

yup-yura black, jet black

yupā sasā consonant

yur goose; shame, distress

yur- to place, set, lay; vut yur- to lay a fire, make a fire

yura black

yural sentry; yural tār- to stand watch

yural- to blacken (from yura)

yuran kettle

yurān birch tree

yursā steel

yusā master, host (Russ. khozyain); yusalāy economy (Russ. khozyalstvo)

yusan Kazan

yuš- to command, order; add

yušamat family name

yušā postposition: interval, distance, between; yušāk space, interval, interstice

yut paper

yut time, -fold, row, order, page; viśē yučen three times

yuta during (postposition)

yut- to heat

yutor (Russ.) farm

yutran-sitren at times

yutśān- to mix, mingle, cooperate

yuyxā care, sorrow, grief;

yuyxār- to bemoan, weep

yūme fence of rails, or stone

yūre tail, stern of ship

yūxēm beautiful, fine, glorious, superior

yūtele- to defend

- y -

- yal village
yalan always, continually;
yalanax always, regularly,
 promptly
yalkaş- see yalkaş-
yalav banner
yalxuśalāx agriculture
yanāravla- to sound, make noise
yanvar' (Russ.) January
yapala thing, object; yapala
yačē noun
yar- to send; to leave, let,
 release, let go
yat name; nominative case
yaxān approximately
yāl-yāl smiling
yālām meadow bank of the Volga
yālān- to ask, beg, request
yālkāš- to burn, blaze brightly
yāmra willow
yāpšan- to lurk, hide
yāt- to lift, carry; xīrām yāt-
 to be pregnant
yāvalan- to roll
yāvās = yivās tree
ye or; ye ... ye either ... or
yem-yešēl very green
yen side, direction; yenēpe
 'on its side' = on behalf of,
 on the part of
yeple what sort of, how, thus;
yeplesker what sort of a
yert- to lead
yešēl green; yešer- to become
 green
yevērle like, similar
yēkelē acorn
yēm pants
yēnerčēk saddle
yēp needle
yēpen- to become wet; yēpet-
 to wet; yēpe wet;
yēp-yēpe soaking wet
yēr line, strip, trace, track
yēr- to weep
yērke order, row
yērkele- to line up
yēven rein
yīšan- to appropriate, take
 over, occupy
yitā dog
yivār heavy, difficult;
yivārlāx difficulties
yivās tree
yul- to remain; yulaski last,
 final
yultaš comrade; yultašlāx
 comradeship, camaraderie
yul' (Russ.) July
yuman oak; yumanlāx oak
 grove
yumax tale, parable, riddle
yumāš sorcerer, fortune-teller
yun blood
yun' (Russ.) June
yunkun Wednesday

yupa pole, columnyur snowyurat- to love, likeyurā song; yurla- to singyut strange, foreignyux- to flow (of liquids, rivers)yuxanšiv riveryūn cheap; yūnel- to cheapen

- z -

zadača (Russ.) taskzanyati (Russ.) classzaryadka (Russ.) exercisezastav (Russ.) border post,
guard stationzaton (Russ.) creekzavod (Russ.) plant, factoryzaxvatčik (Russ.) usurpers,
agressors

- ž -

žurnal (Russ.) magazine

KEY — Translations to Reading Selections

As these translations are meant to aid the student in analyzing the texts, they are purposely given sometimes in rather unidiomatic English, so as better to reflect the wording of the original. The implied objects of Chuvash verbs are largely supplied in the translation, and some literal translations of words and phrases are given in parentheses. The sources of the twenty-five selections are indicated in the Bibliography.

1. A Border Incident

This affair happened not far inside the USSR. A Pioneer (a sort of Boy Scout), Petya Somov, was going picking mushrooms in the woods. Suddenly he went and saw an unknown man. The unknown man first gave Petya candy, then inquired about a road leading to the city. Petya presumed that this man was an enemy, and that he was a spy ("his being a spy"). Petya showed him the road he would have to go in the direction of the zastav (border station). Our border guards were there. The spy went to the zastav. There they arrested him.

2. My First Airplane Jump

I jumped from an airplane for the very first time more than three years ago. The airplane rises higher and higher ("from high to high"). The rivers however looked like narrow strips seen from on high. I rose and stood on the wings of the airplane. The pilot made me feel that I had to leap. At that time I leaped and began to descend very rapidly. Quickly the parachute went and opened out, then I began to descend slowly and softly onto the earth. I descended at Yumanai village.

3. The Girl in the Airplane

Full cows lie and chew (the cud). The old herdsman is sleeping and snoring lazily under a birch tree. Mikulai suddenly heard the murmuring of an airplane in his ears. He imagined (guessed) the airplane to be descending and sitting (landing) on the earth. But Mikulai, the young one, was unable to hold out (endure, wait). He ran panting to the spot, and from the airplane's cabin emerged laughing a very young girl like Mikulai (i. e., Mikulai's age) and taking a piece of cloth, seized it to clean and wipe off her own steel beast.

4. The Old Man and the Fox

There lived an old man with an old woman, it says (that is, the story says). Once the old man (her old man) went to the woods in a sleigh, it says. In the woods he catches a live fox, it says, and before entering the main room, cries out to the old woman, saying: "Old woman, throw and burn my cap in the stove, I am coming having found a very good hide to make a cap, look!" he said, it says, and, releasing the fox from inside the bag, let it out onto the floor, it says.

5. Falling Acorns

After he had travelled some time, a broad opening came into view. The morning sunlight's rays fell extending the width of the field. Kiruk's eyes watched this light until they grew tired. He did not take his eyes from his comrades creeping and hiding not far from himself at that time. The branches of a pine tree stretching out in front of him suddenly rustled. The acorns (pine-cones?) descended one after another, falling with the sound 'pat.' Kiruk once did not fear this sound. On top of the pine-tree bunched up towards the end, he suddenly saw red squirrels going shaking.

6. Spring on the Steppe

Behind the farm was the field (now) clear of snow. It lay and stretched out jet-black. The plow-irons turned and turned, the

cast-up black earth lay steaming under the sun. Towards the south on the steppe it was the same. The sun was shining on the plowed fields, steam white as milk drifted away, he listened to the sweet moving melody of the morning lark. Over the giant fields hot flashes of lightning laden with heat fluttered (hovered) and trembled, the new plants' leaves sharp like a needle and green in form, taking away the stalks of last year's dry plants, strove (pulled themselves) toward the sun. They rose extending their leaves and kernels dried by the wind in the fall towards the sun which blazed on brightly. However, on the steppes at present living-creatures were few, marmots and ground-squirrels were unable to awake from their winter slumber, predators in the woods burrowed under the deep furrows, between the dried weeds in sparse rows the field mouse ran.

---Sholokhov

7. Going Home

The lieutenant, dressed in brand-new clothes, was standing in front of the railroad car window. Before his eyes the telegraph poles, the old oaks soaked with rain which had stopped falling just now, the old rails and railroad ties stacked in piles beside the railroad, began to flash past. He went for a while thinking of nothing. When they reached a bend in the road, and when he saw the factories with their high smokestacks, he felt he was returning to his own native land.

---Kipek

8. On Work

Every one of us men has the right to work. In our homeland there is no unemployment. Workers on the kolkhoz (collective farm) are paid according to work: how much you work, so much do you receive. On the kolkhoz now working is easy, one must work to the degree that work has been done (i. e., meet the norms or quotas previously established). On the kolkhoz the workless ones do not love the men doing work. They are among the ones mature with work, industrious, striving workers and udarniks (shock-workers) on the earth.

9. Meresyeff the Hero

Hero of the Soviet Union Meresyeff is a very famed Soviet flier. At the beginning of the Fatherland (Patriotic) War (i. e., World War II), he fought, together with other fliers, against the fascist usurpers. In one battle the enemy destroyed his plane. Meresyeff fell out of his machine. He, not knowing where he was, going, fell into a snowdrift (free). When he became conscious, Meresyeff's feet felt very great pain. He however got to his feet and started to walk. His feet pained more severely. He then got ready to crawl. The flier's strength began to give out. He was able to crawl, but began to go rolling. Thus Meresyeff went, walking, crawling and rolling 18 days and nights. Unexpectedly village school children met him. The children asked and questioned him and learned he was ('knew his being') a Soviet flier. The children went to the village and led the kolkhozniks (collective farm workers) toward the flier. The kolkhozniks brought the flier to the village, took care of him well, then let an army unit know about him. They took Meresyeff with an airplane and settled him in a hospital. In the hospital Meresyeff suffered greatly. It fell to his lot to take off his legs. The flier however did not hang his head, he himself calculated (thought) to return to his unit, to fly again, to destroy the enemy again. They made and gave him a prosthesis (artificial limb). He stood on it a great deal and learned to walk, he was able to run (he became a runner). When he got well, Meresyeff actually began to fly. In a battle in the vicinity of Orël he shot down three enemy planes. For this famed deed, Meresyeff received the name (title) of Soviet Union Hero. Thus loving his native country very greatly, he aided greatly the difficulties and the victory.

10. The Fishermen

Three fishermen went one Saturday evening from Khurānvar to the banks of the Volga. Laughing and laughing as soon as they got there, they got their hooks ready. In a few minutes, one of them caught a fish the size of a hand, but, by somehow pulling, it got away. When they caught ten or twelve each, they lay down and fell asleep. In the morning heaps and piles of children came past the garden-plots (of houses). In the river were endlessly many fish. The children caught and caught, happy in soul and heart, and ran home to tell their parents.

11. Morning

The sun, reaching out across the meadow-bank woods, poured its golden rays on the dwellings located on the creek bank.

Eight o'clock. The morning stillness cleared away, the sound of a horn was heard resounding clearly. At that time young children, matured (tanned?) by the sun, ran out, clad only in underclothes, from the camp dwellings. They all descended to the creek bank, and stood formation on the level square. They did morning exercises and bathed (washed themselves) going in the water.

Eight o'clock and forty-five minutes. The Pioneers (Boy Scouts), lined up row on row, stood three deep in line. They are now all dressed. On their necks are red neckties (neckerchieves?). The white side-caps (overseas caps) on their heads make the children all the more beautiful.

12. The Last Five Years

In the space of five years, they have started setting out still more garden greens and potatoes around the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, Kiev and Gorkii, in the industrial centers of the Urals, Don basin and Kuznetz basin, in Siberia and in cities in the Far East. The river fleet has been greatly renewed and enlarged. The canal from the White Sea to the Baltic Sea, and a waterway from the Dnepr to the Bug has been made, the automobile road from Moscow to Simferopol has been completed, and the canal from the Volga to the Don has also been completed.

13. Sentry on the Amur

From springtime to fall the Amur River extends its width somewhat. On both sides lie high reeds and small willow-trees. Along the Amur, the taiga-forest murmurs side by side with the Amur. In the space of six months, Ahmed got to study all sides of the Amur river and the taiga (i. e., he got to know them pretty well in six month's time). He learned to find the reason for each unknown track, of distinguishing the secret thought of each sound. For this reason, the young border guard Ahmed did not drowse once. He firmly clutched his rifle in his hand, and closely observed the surface of his own native countryland. The glorious motherland murmured (rustled).

The Soviet country sings, blazing like the sun hoped for ages. Today was a holiday. The Great October Revolution completed twenty years (i.e., was twenty years old today). Today brought another joy for Ahmed. He was privileged to stand October watch with the ones who had best studied army affairs. Such a great joy to be a sentry in his free country, on this most glorious, greatest day of free citizens!

---Tuktash

14. Facts and Figures

The biggest machines in the world are working in the earth where the Kuibyshev hydroelectric station is being made. The earth-digging machine there in an hour digs 1,000 cubic meters of earth and raises it 80 meters high. This machine at one time does the work of 35,000 men, five locomotives, 200 railway cars, 50 tractors. It weighs 2500 tons. It has 14 electric motors. 30 factories in our homeland prepared the equipment for this very great machine.

On the first of August, 1954, in Moscow the All-Union Agricultural Exposition opened. It occupied 200 acres (hectares). At this exposition one could see a cow from which 13,572 kg of milk had been taken, and a ram weighing 126 kg.

A stallion named "Satyr" pulled a load weighing 15,453 kg. On the kolkhoz "The Il'yich Way" from each cow annually 2,228 liters of milk were drawn. In the cities and villages of the Chuvash Republic in 1957 were 600 dramatic, 500 choral, 230 musical, and 170 dance collectives, including in them more than 30,000 persons.

15. Then and Now

In Tsarist times in Cheboksary were two bell-casting plants, five fatrendering ones (lit. 'oil-melting'), 15 skin and hide factories, one brick plant and big stove-splitting works. In these plants 80 men in all worked.

In the city now are more than 17,000 industrial workers. In the Cheboksary tractor-parts-making plant every 24 hours 1 1/2 million rubles worth of products can come out; in its iron-casting plant annually 40,000 tons of cast-iron are poured and produced.

Three new plants for the electro-technical (electrically operated?) industry of the city, a factory producing 30 million pairs of socks and 80 million pairs of shirt-pants, together with a big wick-weaving factory, the roadway-machinery-making plant, and other plants and factories may be seen.

16. Rivers, Lakes and Oceans

The Volga is a waterway 20,000 km in length. The length of the Caspian Sea is 1,800 km, its width 300 km. The depth of Lake Baikal is over 1,700 meters. The greatest of the oceans is the Pacific. Its surface is 180 million square km. The Pacific Ocean's average depth is more than 4,000 meters, and in its deepest places it reaches 8 to 10 thousand meters (in a place off the Philippine Islands, its depth is 10,830 meters). The Atlantic Ocean is two times smaller than the Pacific, its average depth is about 3,900 meters, in its deepest place it reaches 6 to 8 thousand meters.

17. The Communist Party

In the ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the 1st of February, 1956, were 7,215,505 persons, in which number 6,795,896 were party members, and 419,601 were party member candidates. This means that in the ranks of the CPSU were more than 333,000 persons than were in the 19th assembly, and approximately three times the number in the 18th party congress. On the first of March, 1954, there were 18,825,000 youth united in the Komsomol. For their heroic deeds done in war-time, 3,500,000 Komsomols were given and awarded (with) orders and medals, and 5,249 Pioneers and school children were given the medal "For Defense of Leningrad."

18. The Sounds in Speech

Speech consists of words. Words are divided into separate sounds. The sound-creating speech organs are: lungs, windpipe, throat, the large tongue (= body of the tongue?), the mouth roof (= palate), the tongue, teeth and lips. The sounds' being different comes from these speech organs' working and functioning that way,

and from their being situated that way. Breath from the lungs traverses the throat via the windpipe. In the throat are the vocal cords. They are placed across the throat. There is space between the vocal cords.

When some sounds (a, u, i, l, m, b, g, in a word) are said, the vocal cords move and vibrate. Then other sounds (k, p, s, t in a word) are said, the vocal cords do not move, the breath in the lungs emerges freely between them, therefore no sound occurs in the throat.

19. Shevchenko Day in Chuvashia

Colorful Ukrainian nightingale,
Great poet Shevchenko,
I commemorate (in the name of) the anniversary
In our own Chuvash language.

Workmen with the Red banner
Have broken oppression's chains.
They attained the freedoms you hoped for,
The brightest lives.

---Shelebi

20. My Cheboksary

My Cheboksary, white city!
A higher school is there too;
There's a fine theater there, what's more.
A museum in the city as well,
Get to see it:
Then you will get to know
What is present and what is past.

---Khusangay

21. The Three Sons

Once upon a time there was a rich man. He had three sons (and) three daughters-in-law. He had some thousand head of large

livestock, and such a number of small livestock. Once then this old man went-down to water his horses. His horses not a one had drunk. The old man said: "Why do they not drink? Is there not something in the water?" Saying (this) he lay and watched the water. When he was watching thus ("at his thus-watching time"), he was seized by the beard. The old man said: "Let go, a herd of horses be yours!" he said. He did not release him. The water-sprite said: "Give your own loved one!; I shall let go," he said. The old man said: "A herd of cows be yours" he said. The water-sprite did not release that-one. Thereupon the old man said: "One from my three sons (be) yours." When he said that the water-sprite let go.

The old man then began suffering greatly. The old man went to his house and not entering his main-room sat sorrowing outside. The eldest son emerged and said: "Come on, father, food." His father said: "Today great misfortune befell me (was to me). I went to water the horses and saying, owing to the horses' not drinking water, 'something is in the water,' I lay and watched. At this time the water-sprite seized (me) by the beard and did not let go for nothing ('with nothing' = not at all). 'I'll give the half of my livestock; let go!' I said, he did not release me. 'One of my three sons is yours' I said, only-then did he release (= not until I said so and so did he release). Will you go?" he said. His son said: "Go yourself," and when he said that, he went in. The old man continued then sorrowing.

The middle son said: "I will take father and enter" he said. Then he went to his father. "Come on, father, food!" he said. His father said: "Today such and such a mishap occurred" he said. His son said: "Go yourself," he said.

Then his youngest son came out. "Come on, father, food, why are you sorrowing?" he said. His father said: "Today such and such happened to me. Will you go?" he said. His son said: "I will go ('there will be a going'), father, I shall go when you send me wherever" he said. (= I shall go wherever you send me.) His father then came in to eat. When he, eating, had eaten his fill, his youngest son said: "Must one go now?" he said. His father: "One must go now" he said. His son said: "Father, go and have made a bridle chain." he said. His father then had a bridle chain made and came and gave (it to him).

His son took the bridle and went to catch a horse in the herd ('went to the herd for horse-catching'). He cast his bridle and a mangy bay horse came and inserted his head. Then seizing him he

mounted and taking leave of the family members went out. When he came out onto the field, he said to the horse: "Well, let us first travel and see all Russia." he said.

They travelled and travelled and arrived at an oak which was thirty fathoms going around (in circumference). He felled this oak and chopped it up (into small pieces). Then making a fire, he burned (branded?) his horse with fire, scraped, washed and cleaned it. His horse then came to be incomparably beautiful. Then he said to his horse: "Shall we go on high or shall we go on the earth?" he said. His horse said: "Before going on the earth, it will be better when we go towards God on high" he said. Thereupon he ascended to God on high.

After wandering and wandering above he came towards an old man. "Will you take me as servant?" he said. The old man said: "There is no work at all for me to take a servant ('for my servant-taking there is no work') he said. Then he said: "I have three daughters; I shall hire you for recognizing them, the which is the eldest, and the which is the youngest of them" he said. Thereupon he hired himself out then for recognizing them.

His daughters, the three of them, were completely of one kind. The old man said to the boy: "Go to your horse, give him to eat, and come. I shall bring in the daughters and stand (them on display)" he said. When the boy went towards his horse, he inquired of his horse: "The master orders the recognizing of his eldest girl. How to know? all (are) alike." he said. His horse said: "There will go past a fly on the side of the eldest one's head; mark her (pay heed to her)" he said. Then the boy went towards the girls, and stood and watched. In truth, a fly went flying past. Then the boy: "Lo, this one!" he said. The old man said: "You have recognized her" he said.

Then the next day his middle one was to be recognized. The boy again went towards his horse and said: "Today his middle girl must be known; how to know?" he said. His horse said: "There will go flying past from the area of her waist a fly. This one will be the middle one" he said. Then when the boy went to recognize the girls, he stopped and watched. In truth a fly was flying around the waist of one. The boy said: "Lo, this one will be the middle one" he said. The old man said: "You have known her" he said. Then he said to the boy: "Come back, after going and rest now" (= go and rest now, then come back) he said. "Tomorrow come to recognize the youngest one" he said. The boy went and slept.

When he got up in the morning, the boy at first went to his horse and said to his horse: "Today how to know the youngest girl?" he said. His horse said: "A fly will be going on the side of the one's foot. Mark that one" he said.

Then the boy went to recognize the girls, stood and watched. Forsooth, a fly sat and went on the side of the leg of one. Then the boy said: "Lo, this one is the youngest" he said. The old man: "You have recognized (her)" he said. Then the old man said: "You have recognized all. Now then let me hide (them); will you be able to find (them)?" he said. The boy said: "I shall find" he said.

When the boy went to his horse, the old man hid the girls. The boy inquired of his horse: "Today he is hiding his girls; he orders me to find; how to find?" he said. His horse said: "You will be at a spot in a valley with three apple trees. Their apples will stand hanging towards the ground. You take and pick one apple from off each of them, and speak, saying 'Lo, God has given me apples; I shall travel seeking the god-daughters and eating apples all day today.' Then they will let go laughing (= burst out laughing) without restraining (it)" he said.

Thereupon the boy went to seek then God's daughters. When he travelled seeking, he went and entered a valley. In this valley indeed dwelt three apple trees. Their apples sat hanging and hanging towards the ground. The boy went and taking and picking one apple from off each, said: "Lo, God has given me apples. I shall go seeking the god-girls eating and eating apples all day today" he said. When they heard this, the god-girls were unable to restrain (it) and broke out laughing. Then having found them thus he returned.

The God said to the boy: "You have recognized my daughters and you have searched and found what I have caused to be hidden. Now you yourself hide, and go to your horse. Will one be able to search and find you?" he said. The boy went to his horse and said to his horse: "God wants me to hide myself; how to be hidden?" he said. His horse said: "Enter the hole of my own right ear." The boy then sat having entered the earhole of his horse (his horse's earhole). Then God said to the girls: "Go and search, he has hidden (himself)." he said. The girls went toward the horse and began searching, however, did not find. When the girls went to their father, their father said: "Did ye find?" he said. His girls: "No, we did not find" they said. Their father said: "You, God's girls, are unable to find a man and search in vain. He recognized and searched and found you" he said.

The boy emerged from his horse's ear and going to God stood. God said to him: "Well, you have known which is the eldest and which is the youngest of my girls. You have found their hiding ('hidden') place. Now you will be made son-in-law. Which one will you take?" he said. The boy said: "The youngest" he said. God then paired off (= married) the two.

They lived and lived (= after living quite a while) and God said to his son-in-law: "Return, having gone to the field and caught game, come" (= Go to the fields and catch game and then return) he said. His son-in-law mounted his horse and went to the fields. On the field he said to his horse: "Well, let's us go down and look at the other world" he said. His horse "let's go" he said. Then they went down and he went in his own father's house. His family members all slept. He kissed all the family members and went out and again ascended on high. Not one of his family members noticed.

God went and said to his son-in-law: "Why did you travel so much?" he said. His son-in-law said: "I went afar, because of this I did not come quickly" he said.

The next day again he sent his son-in-law for game. When his son-in-law went out on the field, he said to his horse: "Well, let's go down and see again" he said. Then they descended to this world. He went in his father's house, and it was a place where they slept again (= there they were all sleeping again). He again kissed the family members and again ascended to the world in the heights.

At this time his wife continued to be like one who felt herself a bit having been kissed (literal). When she arose in the morning: "What sort of person kisses me?" she said and went to a fortune-teller. The fortune-teller lady said: "This your own husband comes and kisses you. You watch him, don't go to sleep, hold (him) and don't let go; however much he pleaded. If (when) you release, you will not see (him) in the future" she said.

His wife the next night lay and watched without sleeping. Then the next day God again sent his son-in-law for game. When his son-in-law had gone onto the field, to his horse: "Well, let's go down and see again" he said. His horse said: "We are not going down any more, when we go down, they will catch you. You will be unable to save yourself" he said. The boy was for going down to there (= wanted to go down there). Thus they stood struggling for a long time. However, the boy did not obey what his horse had said. His horse said: "Well, let's go down, pay heed; your wife will seize you, you try somehow to unfasten yourself. I shall whinny

three times. If (when) you are unable to get to come out, then you will be unable to see me any more" he said.

Then they descended and went to his father's house. When they went, he again began to kiss. At that time, his wife lay watching. When he kissed his wife, his wife seized him. Her husband began pleading with his wife. His horse began to whinny. Then he began to plead more strongly; his wife did not release him; his horse again began to whinny, and the whole house went and quivered. Then again he said to his wife: "Let go. I will not go anywhere; after going outside, I enter" he said. His wife did not let him go. His horse whinnid a third time and then went and moved, shaking the earth continuously.

Then when his horse went to God, when He saw the horse's coming manless, He said to the horse: "Where did you leave the man?" he said. "His wife continues to hold him in the other world; he has a wife in the other world. I said I will not go at all, he did not obey that" he said. God said: "Who was there who saw your struggling?" he said. The horse said: "The stars, moon and sun saw our struggling" he said. Then God had invited (= summoned) the stars, moon and sun. "Did you see" he said and asked. They: "We saw: the horse stood struggling greatly without going; the (your) son-in-law did not obey" they said. Then God grew angry and said to the men of this world: "For my daughters being left as widows, husbands dying, let their wives remain widows; wives dying, let their husbands remain widowers; parents dying, let children and kids remain orphans; children and kids dying, let parents remain bereaved (free)" he said.

For this reason it is now thus, they say.

22. The Lazybones and the Rich Man

There was a widow-woman's son (= A widow woman had one son). He was very lazy. When his mother ordered him to work (ordered work for him), he did not obey. Once his mother ordered (him) to go for water. "I would go but I am lazy" he said to his mother. His mother sent him for water with a pair of pails. He went down to a ice-hole for drawing water. At his ice-hole there was fastened frozen a carp-fish at the edge of the ice. The fish said to the lazybones: "Release me from the side of the ice" he said. The lazybones: "I would release (you) but I am lazy" he said. The fish ('his fish') then: "Release, release me! With your

releasing you will see good" (= i. e. , if you release me, good things will happen to you), he said. "If there is asking help from me, pray to me!" The lazybones released the fish and let him go. When he filled his two buckets with water, he set them on the ice and implored help from the fish. "Carp-fish, with what you have said (= according to your having said), God granting (lit. 'writing') and Pülex (see Vocabulary) permitting, let these two buckets go to the main room" he said. When he had said thus, the buckets themselves went gliding to the house, and entered the main-room. The lazybones came walking from behind. His mother was greatly astonished.

Then they lived and they lived, and the firewood for heating their stove gave out. His mother again ordered her son to go for firewood. The lazybones (her lazybones) saying "I would go but I am lazy" stood a long time without going. Then his mother drove him and sent him going (departing) from the main-room. The lazybones dressed himself and went out. He bound the rope to the empty sled, fastened the hitch, and binding with a cross-strap and making the shaft stand up (= lifted up the shafts and fastened them with a back-strap), placed some hay on top of the sled, placed his axe on top of the hay, then, raising himself, sat and said thus: "Oh, carp-fish, as you have said, God granting and Pülex permitting, let this sled go to behind the great dry oak in the forest and sit (there)" he said. When he had said that the door opened of itself and his sled moved and went out. His sled went gliding and creaking 'creak,' it is said.

The lazybones goes a-sitting, laughing and whistling, it (the story) says. Then he goes past a place and there is going on threshing by a rich man and his family (= where a rich man is threshing with his family). The rich man's sons, daughters and daughters-in-law, when they saw the lazybones were amazed and laughed "Ha! the lazybones is going to the woods, going to the woods!" they said, and continued to cry out. The lazybones' sled arrived at a great dry oak, turned around and sat there. The lazybones taking his axe from the top of the sled, he got down and saying thus, placed his axe on the foot of the oak: "Carp-fish, as you have said, God granting and Pülex permitting, let this oak cut itself up and make itself into small pieces." The oak of and by itself cut itself up and broke into small pieces and lay there. The lazybones unfastening his rope, got his hitch ready, and prepared to load the firewood onto the sled. The pieces of firewood loading themselves, the rope hung itself onto the hitch and fastened itself, and drew itself with the shaft (turned itself with the shaft-pole). The lazybones put down his axe and

raising himself up sat on his firewood: "Carp-fish, as you have said, God granting and Pŏlex permitting, let this sled go towards the wood-chopping block, unloading itself of firewood, and go and sit at its own place" he said, and the sled of and by itself moved and went gliding 'creak' and went back towards the house. That rich man's family members again watched from their threshing-yard, standing there watching and laughing. "That lazybones is coming back from (gathering) firewood hauling wood without horses" they said and were amazed. Lazybones becoming angry at their laughing: "Carp-fish, as you have said, God granting and Pŏlex permitting, let that rich man's daughter become pregnant (lit. 'carry her belly'), let her make a boy-child" he said. The lazybones arrived at his house and went in. His sled unloading of and by itself went to its former place and sat there. Lazybones went into the main-room.

Living and living (= after living a while) the rich man's daughter really becoming pregnant gave birth to a boy-child. No one knew the child's being from whom (= i. e. , no one knew from whom the child had come). They thought as follows: "The one with whom the girl has become pregnant, his son will call him saying 'father' (i. e. , will call him father when he sees him). Let's go then and call one by one the unmarried fellows in the village. The one of whom the boy says father (lit. 'the boy whom father says'), although rich, although a beggar ('one who continually asks'), although a man with nothing ('a nothing-man'), we shall give this boy to the girl as bridegroom (husband)" they said.

Thereupon they did thus. Her child did not call anyone saying 'father.' Then they thought a great deal, saying: "Who remained and did not come to us?" Thinking and thinking they noticed then that the lazybones was the one remaining who had not come in this village. "Let us go and invite him to come" they said. Her father then going alone invited the lazybones. Lazybones said: "I would go but I am lazy. If you will cook blintzes, come and feed me, I shall go" he said. They cooked blintzes and sent one of his daughter-in-laws to the lazybones to invite (him). The lazybones ate a little of the blintzes and went out to the rich man's with his daughter-in-law. The rich man's daughter-in-law on the way gave him blintzes and fed him and came leading him along with herself. When they got near the door her blintzes ran out, and the lazybones turned towards home. That daughter-in-law took some more blintzes and went from behind the lazybones. Then continuing to give blintzes to the lazybones and leading him, she came to their house. When he opened the door and entered the main-room, the girl's son, saying

"Father has come, father has come" went towards the lazybones. All the family members were astonished. "Now since this child is become from the lazybones (has come into being on the part of the lazybones), then we shall give this lazybones as husband to this girl. All men will be amazed and laught at us; lo! it is amazing, we shall give (her) to this one (lit. 'our giving to this-one comes to pass')." That girl was not for going to the lazybones. They held the opinion thus: "Before (rather than) making ourselves ashamed before men (by) giving (him to her) as a husband, let us make a big barrel and let us place the lazybones inside it, let us put the three of them together with the girl and (her) son. Let us go and cast them into a big river before people know (about it)." they said. They then closing up the lazybones with his wife and son inside a big barrel went and cast them into the big river.

The lazybones-family went floating along inside the barrel on top of the water, weeping and wailing greatly. The lazybones' wife wailed loudly: "Alas, let us die (would that we should die)" she said. When her lazybones heard her, he said thus: "Carp-fish, as you have said, God granting and Pūlex permitting, let this barrel come out and break to pieces on the shore of the bank" he said. When he had said that the barrel emerged on the bank shore and broke up. Then on the shore of the river they ate 'tree-foods' and 'ground-berries' and lived in need (distress). Rain fell and it was cold, their living became painful (= it was hard for them to live).

Then Mrs. Lazybones bemoaned: "When will we be in a position to live in a main-room like (other) people?" she said. The lazybones said: "I shall make, making a main-room, but I am lazy" he said. His wife weeping tears pleaded with him. In the evening they lay down to sleep. Before his wife and child got up, the lazybones said, speaking as follows: "Carp-fish, as you have said, God granting and Pūlex permitting, let a village stand and become like unto this one, let there be various shops and sellers of goods" he said. At the spot where his wife and family stood, a city came into being, different shops came into existence, and one stood buying and selling goods.

When his wife and child woke up, there was a very fine house and home. The wife and the lazybones were very happy. They went to the bazaar (market) and bought good clothes, shirts and pants, cups and spoons and what is needed in a house and home, and returned home. If they said to buy something (= if they wanted to buy something) the shop-owners stood and gave it gratis.

His wife was for going as guest (= wanted to go visit) to her father's and mother's people. Lazybones again spoke thus: "Carp-fish, as you have said, God granting, Pŭlex permitting, let there be a golden bridge from our own city to the front of my ~~mother~~-in-law's ^{father} gate, on both sides let water be flowing, and in the water let carp-fish go flowing and playing, let there be apple trees at the banks of the shore, let them be clapping their leaves so that the apples dance, and for the wife and child, let there be a wagon travelling and going of and by itself" he said. It became and was like unto what he said. His wife and child seating themselves on this wagon, went off as guests (went to visit) her mother and father's people.

Her father went outside in the morning and when he saw the golden bridge was astonished. When the boy and the daughter came, the entire family was happy. Then they visited three days. Then her father and mother went to visit their son-in-law's, together (in company) with the child and wife of the lazybones. When they got to the lazybones' (place), Lazybones came out and received them (lit. 'against them'). They lived as guests three days at the lazybones' place. Looking at the town's (things) they travelled, seeing and going in the shops and the bazaar.

On the third day the lazybones went out on the street, "Carp-fish, as you have spoken, God granting and Pŭlex permitting, let this city become like the barrel-staves it formerly was" he said. It became as the lazybones had said. His father-in-law and his mother-in-law, his wife and his child and he himself stood alongside the barrel-staves on the shore. Rain fell and it was cold. His father-in-law and mother-in-law got wet and were freezing, and complained (wailed) greatly: "Oh, son-in-law, what have you done? You have left us on a steppe" they said. Their son-in-law said: "Such is suitable (lit. 'necessary') for you; you showed (such an action) to us that day" said the lazybones, and laughed at them. They fell on their knees imploring and begging the lazybones: "Release us even if we must go over the water" (lit. 'although it is (necessary) for us (to go) across the water, let us go and cross over') they said.

The lazybones again went towards another place from them: "Carp-fish, as you have said, God granting and Pŭlex permitting, let there be a city like the former one, and let there be a golden bridge reaching as before to my father-in-law's gate" he said. When he had said thus it became as he said. He sent his father-in-law and mother-in-law, accompanying them with the self-moving

carriage. He sent for his own mother to come (back) with that carriage.

They then thus lived very happily. The various persons who were (round about) were amazed at the way they lived.

23. Jesus Teaches by the Seaside

This selection is from the fourth chapter of the Gospel according to Mark, in the New Testament, and contains forty-one verses. Since it is presumed that the student can easily locate a copy of the Bible in an old or new translation, no special translation will be given here. Although the Chuvash text is very close to the sense of the English translations, note that neither is an exact translation of the other. No particular problems, however, will be found when working through this selection. The Chuvash text is from the edition of 1901, with a few phrases from the edition of 1911.

24. The Lord's Prayer

This text is from the sixth chapter of Matthew, verses 9-13.

25. Narspi

The following translation intends only to give the literal meaning of the verses of the original, with no attempt at riming. To convey the fact that the work is a poem, I have tried to make the first few stanzas more or less cadenced, so that they scan, after a fashion, to a trochaic tetrameter rhythm. * Even this, however, requires adding extra words (in parentheses) to the tersely expressed Chuvash text, and resorting to many extra syllables (as 'a-running,' 'a-flowing') to round out the lines.

The rather trite (at least to present-day tastes) expression of the nature imagery would seem to point to the author as a young man still under the influence of Romanticism.

The selections presented are from Canto I, verses 1-60, and Canto II, verses 1-40. The poem is in 14 Cantos totalling about 2,000 verses.

* Mostly with catalexis, I fear, and anacrusis as well.

Narspi

Canto I.

In the Village of Silbi

At the end of March the sun
Was warming and looked on.
In the Chuvash village, Silbi,
Snow was melting hastily.

5 Hills and mountains, black as black
(On them) snow was running out.
Plants came up (then) very thick,
Strongly blazed the sun.

Cold unpleasant winter passes,
10 Goes a-weeping, growing black;
Weeping with cold tears (it goes),
Mourning (deeply) for past days.

Water murmurs, (roughly) breaking
In the valleys and ravines;
15 (But) however, as it weeps so,
Sun is blazing, blazing down.

Winter's tears a-raging
Go-aflowing in the stream.
Children playing
20 Go a-running in the street

*

The good spring came
Came, its name blazing;
The sun loved the world,
Waking (it) from winter sleep.

25 The dark woods come alive
And don green dress.
Field and steppe too become green
Grow glorious with beauty.

All kinds of flowers
30 Spread out, good pearls.
Through all the earth the birds
Sound good songs.

In the sky under clouds,
 The song of the lark is heard;
 35 Over the soft greenery (plants)
 Young lamb-sheep go leaping.
 Beside his own herd
 The boy plays on a reed.
 Because his stomach is hungry,
 40 He looks toward the village of Silbi.

*

Silbi village is a rich village,
 It sits within the forest.
 Its houses, like rural-offices
 Are under old willows.
 45 Around the village, a stockade,
 And a new wattle-fence stockade,
 Threshing-yards with old haystacks,
 Gardens with different foods.
 Along the big street
 50 There were board-covered houses;
 On both sides of the street
 There were very green garden-plots.
 Around the houses, the house-yards
 Went like a stone fence.
 55 A lovely gate at every house
 Adorned on top with carving.
 Silbi village is a great village;
 From afar, one would call it a city.
 To be sure, as for local Chuvash,
 60 This is their property.

*

Canto II.

The Beautiful Girl

Among the green plants
 A very beautiful flower is growing;
 In the grand village of Silbi
 Grows a girl named Narspi.

- 5 Her face and eyes were very beautiful,
Like lovely flowers on the field;
Her two eyes were jet-black,
Like two black pearls.
- 10 Around in back there curled
Locks of braided ends.
When she went walking
Her coins (of bracelets and necklaces) jingle-jangled.
- 15 When she looked with her eyes
Men's hearts surged.
When her fine lips laughed
Men's spirits yield.
- 20 Who looks with warm eyes
On the beautiful flower in the field?
What sort of a man loves
Such a good clean girl?
- *
- 25 When the sun had sat, descending,
She washes her face, cleans herself up.
Hangs on her breast her breastplate,
Used to go out to dances in.
- 30 Across her shoulders she lets go
Her tevet (a wedding garment) jingling 'shonggor.'
Tied her red silk scarf
Around in the style of a girl (i. e., unmarried woman).
- 35 In the dance her voice
Is like the song of birds;
When she laughed and giggled
Men say: "She's a sturdy one!"
- 40 Until the dance disbands,
She's making people happy with her voice.
When the morning star rises,
It laughs smilingly on the rooftops.
- In her father's house
Narspi sleeps peacefully:
Seeing good dreams,
She is happy in her sleep.

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Dimitriyev, B. D. , "История Чувашии XVIII века" (до крестьянской войны 1773-1775 годов), Cheboksary, 1959, 532 pp.

A valuable and scholarly work, based largely on archival material, concentrating on the 18th century, but with a useful introduction surveying the early history of the Volga Bulgars and Chuvash (pp. 23-39). Contains also information on housing, costume and practices of the earlier periods.

Dobb, Maurice H. . "Soviet Economic Development since 1917," London, 494 pp.

An important general work dealing with the Soviet economy over all.

"Economic Geography of the USSR," edited by S. S. Balzak, V. F. Vasyutin and Ya. G. Feigin, 1956, xiv + 620 pp. (English translation issued under auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies)

A comprehensive work discussing in detail the natural resources of the USSR and their location and development. Chuvash resources are mentioned only as part of the over-all picture.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, various printings.

- a. Vol. 19, "Russia" pp. 682-745; "RSFSR," p. 758.

Good general articles with much information about the Soviet Union.

- b. Vol. 5, "Chuvash," pp. 689-690.

Valuable article, though brief, with current information.

Gray, G. D. B., "Soviet Land, the country, its people and their work," London, 1947, 324 pp.

An informative work chiefly on the physical and geographical aspects of the Soviet Union, but also with other useful information.

Harcave, Sidney, "Russia, A History," New York, 1952, xxxiv + 665 pp.

A general history of Russia, with occasional reference to Chuvashia.

Holzmann, Franklyn, "Soviet Taxation," Harvard Univ. Press, 1955.

Detailed treatment of Soviet taxation. No mention of Chuvashia.

Jyrkänkallio, Paul, "Übersicht über die türkischen Völker unserer Zeit," in Studia Orientalia, Vol. 14, Helsinki, 1950, 31 pp. + maps.

Valuable general survey of Turkic peoples, with section on Chuvash. An English edition appeared in 1961 (Central Asian Collectanea, VII).

Karpovich and Vernadsky: See Vernadsky. The two authors will be responsible for a history of Russia in ten volumes, of which four have appeared.

Kolarz, Walter, "Russia and her Colonies," London, 1952.

Pp. 46-48 contain valuable and astute observations on Chuvash nationalism.

Lach, Robert and Grönbeck, K., "Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener: tschuwaschische Gesänge," in Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vol. 218, No. 4 (1940), 147 pp.

Gives the transcribed texts and melodies of quite a few Chuvash songs as recorded from Chuvash prisoners of war in Germany, together with remarks about Chuvash music.

Lyashchenko, Peter I., "History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1917 Revolution," New York, 1949, 880 pp. (English translation issued under auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies)

A thorough history of Russian economic development from earliest times up to 1917, with many maps and figures about agriculture, and natural resources.

Mikhailov, Nicholas, "Soviet Russia, the Land and its People," New York, 1948, 374 pp.

An elaborate travel guide taking the reader on several long imaginary trips throughout the USSR, and thereby describing to him the country. With appendix for the year 1950. Some mention of Chuvashia.

Mil'kov, F. N., "Среднее Поволжье, физико-географическое описание," Moscow, 1953, 262 pp.

A general book dealing with geology, flora, fauna, climate, soils and so on for the entire central Volga region.

Ministry of Culture of the Chuvash ASSR, "Аннотированный тематический план Чувашского государственного издательства на 1960 год," Cheboksary, 1960, 96 pp.

A prospectus of the State Publishing House of Chuvashia, listing authors, titles and contents of about 300 works to be issued in 1960.

Paasonen, Heikki, "Gebräuche und Volksdichtung der Tschuwassen," edited by E. Karahka and M. Räsänen (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne* XCIV), Helsinki, 1949, 381 pp.

Although primarily devoted to a text-collection of Chuvash tales, with parallel German translation, also gives considerable ethnographic information on customs of marriage, death, ceremonies, and so on.

Pares, Sir Bernard, "A History of Russia," New York, 1926 (also later editions), 558 pp.

One of the important histories of Russia.

Poppe, N., "Чуваши и их соседи," Cheboksary, 1927, 32 pp.

A booklet discussing the relations of the Chuvash with the Mari and Permyaks, and giving some linguistic development of Chuvash.

Pulod, F., "Chuvashskaya literatura," in *Za natsional'nuyu svobodu*, January 10, 1945. (Only in Manuscript translation belonging to me.)

Rubinshtein, Yu., "Советская Чувашия, Очерк о документальном фильме," Moscow (Goskinoizdat), 1952, 38 pp., including many illustrations.

Booklet issued to accompany a travelogue and documentary film about Chuvashia for the Soviet viewer. Valuable information on many aspects of current Chuvash life.

Schwartz, Harry, "Russia's Soviet Economy," xxvi + 592 pp. New York, 1950.

Much information on transportation, communication, trade, housing, industry, agriculture, and so on, but not dealing specifically with Chuvashia.

Sirotkin, M. Ya., "Очерк истории Чувашской советской литературы," Cheboksary, 1956, 352 pp.

A work chiefly devoted to the output of Chuvash writers during the Soviet period. Discussion of Seapel, Shelebi, El'ger, Khuzangay and Ukhsay, plus others of lesser importance.

Simmons, Ernest J., "USSR: A Concise Handbook," Cornell, 1947, 494 pp.

A reprinting of articles originally appearing in an encyclopedia. Useful general information about the USSR.

Sumner, B. H., "A Short History of Russia," New York, 1943, 469 pp.

Emphasis on the 20th century.

Vernadsky, G., and Karpovich, M., "A History of Russia," (to be in ten volumes)

a. Vernadsky, "Ancient Russia," 1943, xiv + 425 pp.

Information about the Chuvash region in Bolgar times.

b. Vernadsky, "Kievan Russia," 1948, xii + 412 pp.

Information about the Chuvash in post-Bolgar times.

c. Vernadsky, "The Mongols and Russia," 1953, xi + 462 pp.

Information about the Chuvash area during the time of the Mongols.

Walsh, Warren B., "Russia and the Soviet Union," Ann Arbor, 1958, 640 pp.

A general history.

Wurm, Stefan, "Turkic Peoples of the USSR," London, 1954, 51 pp.

Pp. 1-19, 'Historical Sketch' are pertinent to the development of Turkic tribes in the Chuvash and neighboring areas.

PART TWO:

Bibliography of Grammatical Works

A fairly complete bibliography of Chuvash linguistic items may be found in Rudolf Loewenthal, "The Turkic Languages and Literatures of Central Asia," Central Asiatic Studies, Vol. I, The Hague, 1957, pp. 149-155 (§§1633-1705), and Supplement (supplied by the present writer), pp. 187-188 (§§2069-2080).

Useful information of a general nature will also be found in some of the works listed above, and those titles (such as the dictionaries of Dmitriyev, Ashmarin and Paasonen, and the text collection by Paasonen) are mostly not repeated here. The articles on Chuvash historical linguistics by Professor N. Poppe (they may be found in the bibliography by Loewenthal cited above) have not been included here because their orientation is historical rather than practical. Some other important linguistic works of this sort are N. Poppe's Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, Wiesbaden, 1960, M. Räsänen's Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen (Helsinki, 1949), both of which devote space to Chuvash phonological developments. Also useful is O. Pritsak's "Tschuwaschische Pluralsuffixe," Studia Altaica, 1957, pp. 137-155.

The list below gives only works actually used in compiling the present grammar, although the books and articles previously cited have also furnished general and specific information.

Andreyev, N. A., "Чӱваш чӗлхи стилистики," Cheboksary, 1958, 216 pp.

In Chuvash. A general work dealing with features of the literary language as neologisms, technical terms, irony,

synonymy, homonyms, epithets, and the like. A sort of a literary handbook.

Ashmarin, N. I., "Материалы для исследования чувашского языка," Kazan, 1898, 34 + 392 + 19 pp.

A comprehensive grammar of Chuvash, now rather antiquated, but with a wealth of material and observations on dialect features. The modern written language differs in some respects from what Ashmarin treats.

_____, "Опытъ исследования чувашскаго синтаксиса," Part I, Kazan, 1903, 14 + 11 + 570 + 3 pp.

A lengthy work with copious illustrations of Chuvash sentence types.

Benzing, Johannes, "Kleine Einführung in die Tschuwaschische Sprache," Berlin, 1943, 137 pp.

A handy and practical guide to Chuvash, written for the would-be German occupiers of Chuvashia.

_____, "Das Tschuwaschische," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, pp. 695-731, Wiesbaden, 1958.

A detailed outline of Chuvash phonology and grammar. Very useful. Also has some facts about the Volga Bulgars and about early settlement.

Dmitriyev, N. K. and Gorskii, S. P., "Краткий грамматический очерк чувашского языка," pp. 872-896 of Dmitriyev's Russian-Chuvash Dictionary, Moscow, 1951.

A valuable and concise outline of modern Chuvash, with many examples.

Gorskii, S. P., "Очерки по истории чувашского литературного языка," Cheboksary, 1959, 272 pp.

A rather general work dealing with the development of stylistic features in the Chuvash literary language up to the Revolution.

_____, "Чăваш чĕлхĕн грамматикĕ," Part II, Syntax. Cheboksary, 1960, 155 pp.

In Chuvash. A brief syntax for schools, with selections from Chuvash writers illustrating the types of sentences.

"Материалы по грамматике современного чувашского языка," Part I, Morphology, Cheboksary, 1957, 362 pp.

A very complete and modern grammar of the literary language, consisting of separate articles by different authors on each part of speech.

Reading Selection 20 is from p. 325.

Sergeyev, M. S., et al., "Чăваш чĕлхĕн грамматикĕ," Part I, Phonetics and Morphology, Cheboksary, 1960, 144 pp.

In Chuvash. A small but extremely useful grammar to be used in the Chuvash schools, containing many exercises and practical selections.

PART THREE

Dictionaries

Ashmarin, Nikolai Ivanovich, "Thesaurus linguae Tschuvaschorum" (with subtitle also in Russian: Slovar' čuvaškogo yazyka and in Chuvash: čävaš sämayesen kēneke), 17 Vols., 5,749 pp. (paginated separately), Kazan-Cheboksary 1928-1950 (Vols. 1-2 appeared in Kazan in 1928-1929, all others in Cheboksary more or less every year until Vol. 16 in 1941. Final Vol., No. 17, with obituary and abbreviations of sources, was published in 1950.).

The best and most comprehensive of Chuvash dictionaries ever published. Although defining words, this work is chiefly a dictionary of citation and usage, giving sometimes a page or more of examples from books, newspapers and other sources. The older Chuvash spelling (with l', n', r', t', etc., is mostly used, except in Vol. 17, and is accompanied by a phonetic transcription in Cyrillic for many words (except in Vol. 17). Frequent citation of dialect words and parallels. Vols. 1-2 also have definitions in Latin, followed by Russian equivalents. Ashmarin died in 1933 when only Vol. 5 had appeared.

The novice will require some practice to use the dictionary, because all derivations are given after the main entry, thus sometimes disrupting the alphabetical order, or appearing to.

Dmitriyev, N. K., "Русско-чувашский словарь," Moscow, 1951, 896 pp. About 45,000 entries, plus grammatical outline.

A large Russian-Chuvash dictionary giving the Chuvash equivalents or explanations of Russian words, especially modern words. Contains a valuable grammatical outline of Chuvash at the end (pp. 872-896).

Paasonen, Heikki, "Csuvas Szójegyzék," Budapest, 1908, 244 pp.

A Chuvash dictionary in Latin transcription, with definitions in Hungarian and German. Although a knowledge of German will be adequate to use the dictionary, the Hungarian explanations are fuller, and not always translated into German. Hungarian and German indexes accompany. As it is a dictionary of the materials in his text collections (see below), it is not very suitable for reading contemporary materials with new loanwords, but is excellent for folktales. Very good etymological treatment of most entries.

Yegorov, V. G., "Чăвашла-вырăсла словарь," Cheboksary, 1954, 320 pp.

A medium practical Chuvash-Russian dictionary, with emphasis on modern terminology and Russian loans. Also with concise grammatical sketch (pp. 299-320).

Texts

Bible, New Testament. "Пирĕн Туррамаĕр Иисус Христосĕн таса евангелийĕпе святой апостолсенĕн ёсĕсем," Simbirsk, 1901, 365 pp.

Contains the Synoptic Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. The source of Selections 23-24 (with a few revisions from an edition of 1911).

Иванов, Константин, "Ўырнисен пуххи," Cheboksary, 1957, 460 pp.

Contains the collected works of K. V. Ivanov, Chuvashia's greatest poet, parallel Russian and Chuvash texts of writings. The source of Selection 25.

Paasonen, Heikki, "Gebräuche und Voksdichtung der Tschuwassen," in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Vol. 94, 381 pp. Edited posthumously by E. Karahka and M. Räsänen. Helsinki, 1949.

An extensive collection of Chuvash folktales in Latin transcription, with a discussion of Chuvash marriage, burial and other customs. Although giving the impression of being phonetic transcriptions, they are in reality re-transcriptions in phonetic style of tales written down in Cyrillic script by a Chuvash, except for about twenty pages collected by Paasonen personally. The texts have in addition been normalized. All are accompanied by a German translations. Quite a few songs, poems, riddles and the like are given. The materials were collected in Chuvashia about 1900, mostly in one village. The source of Selections 21-22.

Sergeyev, M. S., Vasil'yev, A. I., and others, "Чăваш чĕлхин грамматики," 11th edition, Cheboksary, 1960, 144 pp.

A Chuvash grammar for elementary schools, written in Chuvash, and giving the chief forms of the language, together with many exercises and drills. The source of Selections 1-19.

Addenda. The following works were received too late to be made use of (Dec. 1961).

Semenov, N. M. and Mikhailov, P. M., "Совет халăхĕсен тăванла ҫемйинче," ("In the Brotherly Family of Soviet Peoples"), Cheboksary, 1960, 96 pp.

A brief work sketching the rise of the Chuvash ASSR during the Soviet period, written in simple style.

Sirotkin, M. Ya., "Тăван литературă, VI класс валли, хрестомати," (National Literature, for the 6th class, a Reader), Cheboksary, 1957, 238 pp.

_____, ed., "Чувашско-русский словарь," Moscow, 1961, 630 pp.

A new Chuvash-Russian dictionary containing about 25,000 entries, and with a brief grammatical sketch of Chuvash by N. A. Andreyev.

Trofimov, A., "Чăваш чĕлхи, пуçламăш шкулăн 1-мĕш класĕнче вĕренмелли кĕнеке," ("The Chuvash Language, a Reader for the first class of Elementary Schools"), Cheboksary, 1961, 56 pp.

A children's primer for the first grade, with illustrations. Large type.

Yegorov, V. G., "Русско-чувашский словарь," ed. I. A. Andreyev, Cheboksary, 1960, 497 pp.

A medium-sized Russian-Chuvash dictionary.

_____, "Современный чувашский литературный язык в сравнительно-историческом освещении," Cheboksary, 1954.

A modern Chuvash literary language treated in the light of comparative and historical data.

Petrukhin, A. I., "Материализм и атеизм в устном творчестве Чуваш," Cheboksary, 1959, 191 pp.

A work showing the existence in Chuvash folklore of atheistic and materialistic concepts, apparently intended to justify the imposition of Communist materialism on the Chuvash.

Rezyukov, N. A., "Сопоставительная грамматика русского и чувашского языков," Cheboksary, 1959, 328 pp.

A contrastive grammar of Chuvash and Russian.

Вопросы чувашского языка и литературы, Vol. 18 of Ученые записки of the Scientific Research Institute for Language, Literature, History and Economics attached to the Soviet of Ministers of the Chuvash ASSR. Cheboksary, 1958, 243 pp.

A symposium containing articles by different authors on questions of Chuvash language and literature.

N. B. Russian or Chuvash books cited above, which are not available through regular library loan channels, are in the possession of this author.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN WORKS ON ALTAIC SUBJECTS

AF	Asiatische Forschungen, Wiesbaden.
AM	Asia Major, Leipzig, 1924-33, -35, -38.
AML	Asia Major, A British Journal of Far Eastern Studies, London.
AM NS	Asia Major, Neue Serie, Leipzig, 1944-, series 3, 1949-.
AOH	Acta Orientalia Hungarica, Budapest, 1950-.
Arch Or	Archiv Orientální, Praha, 1929-.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, London, London Oriental Series, 1953-.
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal, The Hague, 1955-.
FUF	Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen, Helsinki, 1901-.
GAF	Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Wiesbaden.
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge Mass. 1936-.
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1822-.
JAOS	Journ. of the American Oriental Soc., 1843-.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1834-.
JSFOu	Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki, 1886-.
KCsA	Kőrösi Csoma Archivum, Budapest, 1921-32, Ergänzungsband 1935-.
KSz	Keleti Szemle, Budapest, 1900-32.
MSFOu	Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki, 1896-.
NyK	Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, Budapest, 1862-.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig-Berlin, 1898-.
Or	Oriens, Leiden, 1948-.
RCAJ	Royal Central Asian Journal, London, 1914-.
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Kraków, 1914-15-.
StO	Studia Orientalia, edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica, Helsinki, 1925-.
TP	T'oung Pao, Leiden 1900-.
UAJb	Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, 1951-.
UJb	Ungarische Jahrbücher, Berlin, 1921-43.
VOK	Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, 1951-.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien, 1887-.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden, 1847-.

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