

CHUVASH GRAMMAR

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 â€œLiterary Chuvash,â€œ 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 virjal (from vir â€˜upperâ€˜ + jal â€˜village, peopleâ€˜), spoken in the northern or flatter regions nearer the Finnic peoples, and the lower or anatri (from anat â€˜lower partâ€˜ + -ri â€˜the one inâ€˜), 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 â€˜mother,â€˜ ÅŸerÅŸi â€˜sparrowâ€˜ asatte â€˜grandfather,â€˜ sehet "watch, hour," inÅŸe â€˜far,â€˜ kÄƒshkÄƒr- â€˜to cry out,â€˜ hÄƒÅŸan â€˜when,â€˜ ÅŸÄƒkÄƒr â€˜bread,â€˜ timÄ•rÅŸÄ• â€˜smith,â€˜ and so on. Words from the upper dialect are ash â€˜meat,â€˜ pichche elder brotherâ€˜ and others. Sometimes, there are two words, one from each major dialect, as uj and hir â€˜field,â€˜ ulÄƒh and hÄƒpar_ â€˜to risc, ascend,â€˜ or vÄƒrÅŸ-. and sapÄƒÅŸ- â€˜to fight, Struggle.â€˜

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 districis 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 Ashmarinâ€˜s Thesaurus, Vol. 1, pp. 217-226, under the entry anatri chÄƒvash.

1.1 Orthography and Alphabets of Chuvash

The Volga Bolgars, 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 Bolgarian 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 Yakovlev, 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 vaiants 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 Yakovlev, that of the present-day, and the transcription into English letter s a s given in this book.

Old	Present	Engl.Transcr.	Comments
a	a	a	
Äƒ	Äƒ	Äƒ	
(Ð±)	Ð±	b	In Russ. &for. words only
Ð²	Ð²	v	
(Ð³)	Ð³	g	In Russ. &for. words only
(Ð´)	Ð´	d	In Russ. &for. words only
Ðµ	e	ye	Old=e everywhere; new=ye - initially and e elsewhere
Ä•	Ä•	Ä•	
	Ñ‘	yo or Ñ‘	Only in Russian loanwords
(Ð¶)	Ð¶	zh	In RUSS. & for. words only
(Ð·)	Ð·	z	In Russ. &for. words only
Ð¸, i	Ð¸	i	
Ð¹	Ð¹	i or y	Occurs only after vowels. Transcribed as y except after i
Ðº	Ðº	k	
Ð»	Ð»	l	
Ñ™	(Ñ™)	l or ly	Not a separate letter today
Ð¼	Ð¼	m	
Ð½	Ð½	n	
Ñš	(Ñš)	n or ny"	Not a separate letter today
(o)	o	o	In Russ. & for. words only
Ñ€	p	r	
p	pÑŒ	r or ry, r"	Not a separate letter today
Ñ‹	Ñ‹	s	
Ãß	Ãß	ÅŸ	
Ñ‚	Ñ‚	t	
Ñ‚	Ñ‚	t (t")	Not a separate letter today
y	y	u	
″³	″³	u	
(Ñ„)	Ñ„	f	In Russ. & for. words only
x	x	h or x	

(Ñ†)	Ñ†	ts	In Russ. & for. words only
Ñ›	Ñ‡	ch	
(Ñˆ)	Ñˆ	sh	Only in Russian loanwords
(ÑŠ)	ÑŠ	"" or omitted	Only in Russian loanwords
Ñ‹	Ñ‹	y	
(ÑŒ)	ÑŒ	" or omitted	Both foreign and native words
	Ñ‍	e	Occurs initially and in loanwords
(Ð¹y)	ÑŽ	yu	
(Ð¹a)	Ñÿ	ya	

Although the old YÐ∞kovlev 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 Äƒ and Ä• last, followed by the semivowels y and v. The consonants range in order after that. In transcription this alphabet ran as follows: a, e, y, i, u(o), Ã¼, Äƒâ€š Ä•, j, v, k, l, l", m, n, n"â€š p, r, r", s, ÅŸâ€š t, t", châ€š (f), h and sh. 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 ÑŽ and Ñÿ were given in the old alphabet as Ð¹Ñƒ and Ð¹a.

About 1938 a revision of the Yakovlev alphabet was introduced in Chuvashia, which meant the dropping of the four letters Ñ™, Ñš, Ñ, (with breve) and Ñ›â€š the use of Russian ÑŽ and Ñÿ, as well as Ñç/e, the introduction of the voiced consonants (b, d, g, zhâ€š 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 Ä=i, É™=Ä•, Ã™=Äƒâ€š and tsh=ch. 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, Äƒâ€š b, châ€š d, e, Ä•â€š f, g, i, y, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, ÅŸâ€š shâ€š t, u, Ã¼, v, h, j, z, and zh. 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 semivowels. 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 j). 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 statable 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 j/ began to be neutralized. Whereas formerly Ashmarin (III, 52-53) could oppose /yltÄƒm/ [yldÄ•m] to /ilttÄƒn/ [ylttÄƒn] â€˜gold, gold coin,â€˜ /kurka/ [kurga] (VII, 8) â€˜scoop, ladleâ€˜ to /kÄƒrkka/ [kÄ•rkka] (VII, 179) â€˜turkeyâ€˜ and type s like /jultash/ [juldash] â€˜comradeâ€˜ to types like /ulttÄƒ/ [ulttÄ•l,â€˜ six,â€˜ at present, if we are to believe the statement of Yegorov (Chuvash-Russian Dictionary, p. 302) â€œthis in our time is no longer a sign of length, but a mere orthographical device to denote voiceless consonants in a voiced position.â€œ Hence, a new opposition of volced to unvoiced after /l m n r v j/ has arisen. In other words, formerly /karta/ was [karda] â€˜herdâ€˜ and /karttÄƒ/ was [karttÄƒ] â€˜map;â€˜ now, they would be [karda] versus [kartÄƒ], thus op-
posing /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., /kakÄƒra/
and /kakkÄƒra/, /jÄƒrka-/ and /jÄƒrkka-/, and /kÄƒrtÄƒsh/ vs. /karttÄƒsh/.)

Consequently, the provisional phonemic analysis of Chuvash texts presented here (in heu of an analysis of a spoken corpus) considers, for pedagogical reasons, native voiced consonants to exist only as allophones to their voiceless counterparts under statable 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 oneâ€˜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	Ã¼	Ä•
back y	a	u	Äƒ

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, Äƒ 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 dose 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 [Ã¶], 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/ â€˜mother,â€˜ /urpa/ â€˜barley,â€˜ and /urapa/ â€˜carriage.â€˜ It is opposed to other vowels in such words as: /pat/ direction, /pit/ cheek, /pÄ•t/ end! finish!

1.2102 The back, low, rounded vowel is denoted by the Symbol /Äƒ/ 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 /i/ or [É™] (the schwa-like sound of a in English sofa) to a labialized version of the a in English all (with rounded lips). lt is like Russian /o/ or /a/ after the accent (as in direktor or traktor). It is fleetingly pronounced, and sometimes so reduced as to sound almost coalesced with the following consonant as in /kÄƒvak/ â€˜blue,â€˜ almost > [kvak], somewhat as when an English speaker slows down a consonant cluster to yield â€˜pul-leeze!â€˜ Hence doublets sometimes occur, as /arÄƒslan/ and /arslan/ â€˜lion.â€˜ This vowel is an unstable one and drops easily at the end of words, or in compounds, e. g. â€š tÄƒvat(Äƒ) ura â€˜four feet.â€˜ By itseif, it is rather like a short «’, and when with other vowels, like a schwa, É™. Hence:

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        /ÅŸÄƒltÄƒr/ â€˜starâ€˜ = [Åŷá°¯ldÄƒr], but /ÅŸÄƒmarta/
â€˜eggâ€˜ = [ÅŸÉ™mardÃ¡J
        /vÄƒkÄƒr/ â€˜bullâ€˜ = [vá°¯gÄƒr], but /hÄƒvar/ â€˜stay!â€˜ =
[hÉ™vÃ¡r].
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It occurs initially, medially and finally, as in /unÄƒn/ his, /ÄƒÅŸta/ where, /pulÄƒ/ fish, /Äƒn/ reason, mind, and is opposed to other vowels in such words as: /pulÄƒ/ fish, vs. /pula/ thanks to; /pÄƒr/ ice, vs. /pÄ•r/ one, a; /ut/ horse, vs. /utÄƒ/ 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. â€š 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 /jen/ side, against /jun/ blood.

1.2104 The front, low rounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /Ä•/, and, like its counterpart /Äƒ/, does not have an equivalent in English. It is essentially the same as /Äƒ/, except that it is pronounced in the front of the mouth, like an unlabialized schwa (É™). 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 [Ã¶], 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 /Äƒ/, is unstable in compounds and at the end of words.

It occurs initially, medially and finally, as in /Ä•ntÄ•/ now, already, or /pÄ•r/ one, a, /epÄ•/ I, /Ä•ne/ cow, and others. It is opposed to other vowels in words like /pÄ•r/ one, a, /pur/, there is, /par/ give!, /pyr/ go!, /pÄƒr/ ice, /pir/ hemp, linen, /pÃ¼r/ pus, and /per/ throw!

To judge from the remarks of Ashmarin (Materialy, p. 13), some dialects of Chuvash distinguish [Ä•] and [Ã¶] as phonemes, not allophones. In the literary language treated here, however, no distinction is made between such homonyms as /ÅŸÄ•r/ hundred and /ÅŸÄ•r/ earth, or between /kÄ•r/ enter! and /kÄ•r/ 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 /ikkÄ•/ two, /irhi/ morning, /pft/ 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. /Ä•m/ such!, vs. /um/ front, fore, and /pir/ hemp linen, vs. /pyr/ go!

1. 2106 The back, high, unrounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /y/, a dotless or undotted i, and may be compared with the sound denoted by the same letter in Turkish, or with the Russian y (yery), 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 â€˜justâ€˜ when given the pronunciation that it has in some sections of the United States as â€˜jistâ€˜. Unlike all other vowels, which may occur initially, medially and finally, /y/ may occur only in initial or medial position, but finally, there is no phonemic opposition of /y/ to /i/. It may be stressed or unstressed. Examples are /yvÄƒl/ son, /yran/ tomorrow, /yltÄƒn/ gold, /pysÄƒk/ large. It is opposed to other vowels in such pairs as /yran/ 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 /Äƒ/. Examples of its use are /yvÄƒlu/ your son, /ulma/ apple, and /juman/ 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 /oktjabr/ October, or /sovet/, soviet, or /ko1hoz/ kholkhoz, collective farm.

1.2108 The front, high rounded vowel is denoted by the symbol /Ã¼/, and may be compared with the German Ã¼, 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 â€œmusicâ€œ or â€œTuesdayâ€œ (â€˜Tyews-dayâ€˜). The usual instruction for producing this sound is to round the lips for â€˜eeâ€˜ while articulating â€˜ooâ€˜, 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 /Ã¼pke/ lungs, /pÄ•lÃ¼/ fact, thing known, /ÅŸurt/ house. In such pairs as the following its opposition to other vowels is shown: /pÃ¼rt/ room ve. /purte/ all, every; /hura/ black, vs. /hÃ¼re/ tail, and /jun/ blood vs. /jÃ¼n/ 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 /~/. Words containing /o/ are /sovet/ council, soviet, /revoljutsi/ revolution, /produktsi/ production, and many others.

1.2110 Note the orthographic convention (also observed in our transcription in this book) to write the combination /jo/ in Russian loanwords as Ã´â€š thus, /samolÃ´t/ for /samoljot/, or /lÃ´tchik/ for /ljotchik/, meaning, respectively, â€˜airplane,â€˜ and â€˜pilot.â€˜ (But note /jod/ â€˜iodine.â€˜)

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 /j/ may occur preceding all eight (or nine) vowels, and after vowels as foliows: /aj, ej, oj, uj, lj, Äƒj/. No examples have yet been found for /Ä•j/ and /Ã¼j/. Hence, /j/ is treated as a consonantal phoneme in Chuvash.

1. 2112 It will be noted by some that the Ã¶ and o of other Turkic languages is not to be found in (native) Chuvash words, their positions instead being occupied by Ä• and Äƒ. This does not mean that Chuvash /Ä•/ corresponds to general Turkic Ã¶, but simply that instead of a midlow rounded Ã¶ , there is a somewhat labialized e (hence the symbol Ä• or É™ in some transcriptions), and instead of an o, a schwa-like reduced sound symbolized by Äƒ (or É™). Thus the dose 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. /-Ä•/ 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 /y/ finally. Thus we may find such pairs as:

/sarÄƒl-/ to enlarge	/ÅŸyrka1a-/ to write a lot
/syrÄ•l-/ to shun	/ÅŸÃ¼rkele-/ 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 view-point 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 semivowels /j/ 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 soounds 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 j v/. Consonants remain unvoiced before any other consonant, and before 1 m n r j 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 /kalarÄ•ÅŸpe/ â€˜when he said,â€˜ or /tuhsa/ having arisenâ€˜ and the presence of a third consonant in a medial cluster also inhibits the normal voicing, viz. /saltra, vyrtma, saltsa/. Likewise, a voiceless consonant in

final position, even if after /1 m n j r v/ remains voiceless, e. g. â€š /salt, shart, pÃ¼rt/ (cf. Ashrnarin, Materialy, p. 46). In medial clusters, one of the three will be /1 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 /Äƒ/ and /Ä•/ gives the acoustic impression of a cluster, as /kÄ•rÄ•shnÄ•/ â€˜he hired himself outâ€˜ > [kÄ•rshnÄ•].

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 /ÅŸÄ•n ÅŸu1/ New Yearâ€˜s> [ÅŸenÅºul], or /jala kilet/ â€˜he comes to the villageâ€˜ > [jala giletâ€˜]. 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 /ch/â€˜ and represents the general sound of ch as in cheese, cheer, church, etc. â€š 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. â€š /pichche/ elder brother. In a few forms, it is in absolute word-final position, as /ÅŸich/ â€˜seven,â€˜ the short form of /ÅŸichchÄ•/. It is frequently geminated, and in such a case, remains unvoiced medially and after /1 m n r j v/, but retains its palatalization. After an unvoiced consonant, /ch/ is unvoiced. (/lajÄƒhche, vileschÄ•, kalamaschÄ•/).

/chechek/	[tshedzhÃ©k]	flower
/acha/	[adzhÃ¡]	child
/purchchÄ•/	[pÃ°rchÄ•]	there was, he was
/yranchchen/	[iranchÃ©n]	until tomorrow
/kachchÄƒm/	[kÃ¡chÄƒm]	my child
/ÅŸukchÄ•/	[ÅŸÃ°kchÄ•]	there was not
/chÄƒvash/	[chÄƒvÃ¡sh]	Chuvash

/ch/ may also occur opposed to other consonant phonemes, as in /aka/ field, vs. /acha/ child, or in /kilchÄ•/ he cameâ€˜ vs. /kilchchÄ•/ â€˜you would comeâ€˜ (Dmitriyev & Gorskii, Russian-Chuvash Dictionary, p. 875). The latter example, if it is pronounced [kildzhÄ•] vs. [kilchÄ•] as we have seen earlier (pp. 68-69) would furnish a perfect minimal pair to construct a voiced /Äµ/ phoneme opposing the unvoiced /ch/. The word for â€œmuch, for a great dealâ€œ has been found in texts in free variation, viz. [nummajchchen) (206,17; 208,5)*, vs. [nummajdzhen] [250,13; 256,3J.*

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

Some writers have transcribed ch as [Å£â€™], which would indicate a palatalized domal t. Such an analysis would lead one to oppose /tâ€˜/ (plus retroflexion) to /t/, and to isolate palatalization as a phonemic feature. More information about the articulatory nature of ch 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 vowels, viz. â€š /e, i, Ã¼, Ä•/ 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 /1 m n r j v/, it becomes voiced. When doubled between vowels, it retains its unvoiced articulation.

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

It is opposed to other Chuvash phonemes in such pairs as /aka/ [aga] â€˜fieldâ€˜ versus /akka/ [akka] â€˜elder sister,â€˜ versus /acha/ [adzha] â€˜childâ€˜ or in the series /kapla,

apla, sapla/ â€˜suchâ€˜ (each denotes a degree of distance).

According to the semiphonetic data of Paasonenâ€˜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]; /shÄ•hÄ•rkalasa/ [shÄ•hÄ•rkalaza]; 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 [kâ€˜} finally, e. g. â€š [starikâ€˜] old man, {praÅŸnikâ€˜} holiday, or [premÄ•kâ€˜] gingerbread, whereas modern loanwords are pronounced with a hard /k/ as in Russian, viz., /tehnik/, technique, /chertÃ´zhnik/ draftsman, /kolhoznik/ 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/	/tehnik/
gen.	/starikÄ•n/	/tehnikÄƒn/
dat.	/starike/	/tehnika/
instr.	/starikpe/	/tehnikpa/

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 /ch/, 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 /lâ€˜/ are two phonemes in Russian the Chuvash orthography has been influenced to write a soft 1 /lâ€˜/ 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 (â€˜) 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 an that consonant. From the phonetic data available, apparently /l/ does not make /h/ > /Œ³/ [e. g. â€š 207, 6, 209, 1-2: julhav], hut this may be due to a deficiency of typography in the sources, or at least inconsistency (cf. Sergeyev, Grammatika, p. 9, l sting /sulhÄƒn/ as pronounced [sulgÄƒn], presumably [g] standing for spirantic [Œ³]).

/l/ frequently occurs geminated, especially as a result of the common formative morpheme /. la/ or /. LÄƒh]. Note such oppositions as /killÄ•n/ â€˜of mortarâ€˜ vs. /ki1Ä•n/ of a house,â€˜ /pilÄ•k/ belt vs. /pillÄ•k/ five, or /alÄƒ/ hand vs. /a1lÄƒ/ fifty. The /l/ may also be opposed to other consonants, as /ÅŸul/ road vs. /ÅŸur/ half. Examples of initial and final position are /lajÄƒh/ good, well and /mal/ front.

No minimal pair (or subminimal pair) exists between /jul/ remain! and /ijulâ€˜/, because the soft sign in the latter comes from a Russian loan, â€˜July.â€™

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 /mÄ•n/ what? and /mamÄƒk/ 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 /ch/ is palatalized to [Å„]. Before /k/ and /h/, /n/ employs its allophone /Å‹/, namely, the sound of sing! as opposed to sin (compare an English pair such as can go vs. Congo.).

/nachar/		bad
/manÄƒn/		my, mine
/anchah/	[andzhÄƒh]	but, only, however
/an kar/	[aÅ‹ gar]	donâ€˜t spread out!
/an hup/	[aÅ‹ hup] (Î³up?)	donâ€˜t shut!

In the hypocaristic form /anne/ â€˜mother, a loanword from other Turkic languages, the /n/ is always palatalized, viz. [aÅ„Å„e]. As remarked previously, when voiceless consonants follow /n/, they become voiced unless geminate.

Note the combination /n/ + /l/> [ll], e. g. â€š /mÄ•nle/ â€˜what sortâ€˜ being pronounced [mÄ•lle].

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 j v/ (but not preceding these). When written doubled between vowels, it is unvoiced, but this is restricted to only a few forms.

```
/tÄƒpra/              earth, soil
/arpa/ [arba]  barley
/appa/         elder sister
/epÄ•, epir/    I, we
/pÄƒs/          steam
/chap/         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 /Å•/ occurs, but such an allophone is a feature of some Chuvash dialects. /r/ may occur geminate, witness /surÄƒn/ â€˜of a swampâ€˜ vs. /surrÄƒn/ â€˜of whiteness,â€˜ or /pattÄƒrÄƒn/ heroâ€˜s, of a hero, vs. pattÄƒrrÄƒn/ heroically. Other instances of the use of /r/ are /vÄƒrÄƒ/ seed, /pÄ•r/ one, a, and /rajon/ region (< Russian). In opposition, it may be seen in such pairs as /ÅŸar/ army vs. /ÅŸak/ this, or /Ä•nen/ believe! vs. /Ä•ner/ 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 /1 m n r j v/. It may occur with front or back vowels. In the presence of /ÅŸ/ and /sh/â€˜ an /s/ readily assimilates, so that /ÅŸ + s/ > [ÅŸÅŸ] and /sh + s/ > [shsh], and vice versa (progressive and regressive assimilation). Instances are:

```
/namÄƒssÄƒr/          dishonorable
/sÄƒmsa/ [sÄƒmza]          nose
/pÄƒs/               steam
```

In opposition, it occurs as follows: /suha/ plow vs. /ÅŸuha/ collar, and /sÄ•r/grease! vs. /ÅŸÄ•r/hundred.

1.22109 The palatal voiceless sibilant is denoted by the symbol /ÅŸ/. Take care not to confuse this symbol with the following phoneme /sh/. The /ÅŸ/ has been selected for typographical ease and visual clarity, instead of the ÅŸ symbol found in the traditional Chuvash orthography (Cyrillic Ãß), and also because in modern Turkish ÅŸ 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 sâ€˜s is not unknown in other languages, as Basque and Nez PercÃ©. Russian and Western descriptions of this /ÅŸ/ all call it a palatalized sâ€˜ 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: â€œThe sound ÅŸ is not a soft variant to the sound s, but represents an independent sound (phoneme)â€œ). Since palatalization has not been phonemic in the case of /1 m n t r/, it would be inconsistent to expect it to play a role here. Thus, there can be no attempt to analyze /ÅŸ/ as /s + j/, 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 /ÅŸ/ is always transcribed into Russian with the Cyrillic Ãß, and vice versa. It is clear that the situation is strongly influenced by Russian phonemics and orthography.

The presence of a palatalized ÅŸ 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.

/ÅŸ/ may occur with front or back vowels. Instances of its uses are: /ÅŸerÅŸi/ sparrow, and /ÅŸurÅŸÄƒr/ north. Minimal pairs are /kun/ day vs. /kuÅŸ/ eye, or /simÄ•s/ green vs. /ÅŸimÄ•sh/ food. In conjunction with /s/, that /s/ is assimilated to /ÅŸ/.

1.22110 The broad post-dental (perhaps alveopalatal?) sibilant is denoted by the symbol /sh/. Take care not to confuse its diacritic with that of /ÅŸ/. 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 /1 m n r j v/ is semi-voiced to [zh]. When doubled it has a voiceless pronunciation, but this is restricted to a very few words, such as /ashshÄ•/ â€˜fatherâ€˜ (< *aÅŸshshe). In conjunction with /s/, that /s/ is assimilated to /sh/. Instances of its use are the following.

```
/ash/                  meet vs. /ar/ male
/shiv/                 water
/shupashkar/           Cheboksary, capital of Chuvashia
/chÄƒvash/              Chuvash
/patsha/               king, czar, ruler  (< Persian padishah)
/lasha/                horse (cf. Russian  loshadâ€˜)..
```

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 j v/, it has voiced allophones. Examples of its occurrence are the following:

```
/pit/          cheek
/tus/          friend
/sÄ•tel/               table (Russian stol)
/ut/           horse
/pattÄƒr/       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 /tÄ•tÄ•m/ [tÄ•dÄ•m} smoke, vs. /tÄ•ttÄ•m/ [tÄ•ttÄ•m] dark. Others are /ÅŸuttÄƒn/ â€˜of light,â€˜ vs. /ÅŸutÄƒn/ â€˜of a hill, â€˜ or /pÄƒttÄƒn/ â€˜of porridgeâ€˜ vs. /pÄƒtÄƒn/ of a poodâ€˜ (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. â€š /kajatpÄƒr/> [kajappÄƒr] â€˜we go.â€˜ Whether this occurs in all positions is not known, e. g.â€š does /vut/ â€˜fireâ€˜ + /-pa/ â€˜withâ€˜ > {vuppa]? or [vutpa]?

There is also a palatalized allophone [tâ€˜], 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.â€š [atâ€˜a] or [atja], for /ajta/ or /atja/. In the transcription between slant lines, the soft sign [â€˜] 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/ â€˜shop.â€˜ Now, however, a new phoneme /f/ has developed (formerly it was represented in a few loans by the combination /hÄ•v/ as in /hÄ•vetÄ•r/ Theodore < Russian Fjodor or FÃ´dor). To judge from the distribution and function of /v/ as a semi-vowel and counterpart to /j/, 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
/ÅŸav/          that vs. /ÅŸap/ hit!
/vak/           this
/avÄƒ/          there
/ÅŸavsa/        [ÅŸavza] elbow
```

1.22113 The velar voiceless fricative is denoted by the symbol /h/ (or /x/), and has the values of the ich-laut and ach-laut in German, or of X in Russian (e. g. â€š hotetâ€˜). 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 MÃ©jico, San JosÃ©, Trujillo, etc.). The semiphonetic data of Paasonenâ€˜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 [Œ³] of modern Greek, or the intervocalic -g- of North German sagen (viz., [zaŒ³É™n]). One modern source does give an example (Sergeyev, Grammatika, p. 9) of /su1hÄƒn/ being pronounced [sulgÄƒn], which I interpret to refer to a spirantic [Œ³] and not the occlusive [g] for which there is a symbol in Russian.

```
/halÄƒh/                people
/hapha/         gate
```

Examples of opposition are /puh/ gather! vs. /pus/ press!, and /chux/ time vs. /chu1/ stone.

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

```
/aj/            interjection, Ah!
/jal/           village
/kajma/         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 Ñ† /ts/, Ñ‰ /shÅŸ/, or the hard sign ÑŠ (represented by /â€œ/). We have also previously mentioned the convention to write /jo/ as in Russian, viz. Ñ‘.

1.2221 The voiced bilabial plosive is symbolized by /b/, and occurs in such words as /barzha/ 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. â€š /petrov/ [petrof], /avtomobil/ [aftomobil], and /avtor/ [aftor] author. See also ¬ß 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 /zadacha/ task, duty, assignment.

1.2226 The voiced wide-spread palatal sibilant is symbolized by /zh/ and occurs in words like /zhurnal/ 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 Paasonenâ€˜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 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

```
frÃ©quent       vs.     to frequÃ©nt
cÃ³ntract       vs.     to contrÃ¡ct
cÃ³mbat         vs.     to combÃ¡t
sÃºbject                vs.     to subjÃ©ct
pÃ©rfect                vs.     to perfÃ©ct
blÃ¡ckbird      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 /Ä•/ or /Äƒ/

```
/lashÃ¡/                horse
/Ä•nÃ©/         cow
/kÄƒmakÃ¡/      stove
/sarlakÃ¡/      widely
```

1.32 If the last syllable does contain /Ä•/ or /Äƒ/â€˜ then the accent is on the syllable immediately preceding. Should the last two syllables both contain /Ä•/ or /Äƒ/, then the accent will immediately precede those two syllables.

```
/Ã¡lÄƒk/                 door
/jÄ•nÃ©rchÄ•k/  saddle
/Ä•ÅŸlÃ©rÄ•mÄ•r/         we worked
/kÃ¡lÄƒttÄƒmÄƒr/         we would say
```

1.33 If all syllables contain a reduced /Ä•/ or /Äƒ/â€˜ then the stress will be on the first syllable. Or, if X successive syllables contain /Ä•/ or /Äƒ/, then the accent will be on the first syllable preceding the succession of Äƒ/Ä• syllables.

```
/Ä•ÅŸlÄ•pÄ•r/           we shall work
/tÄƒtÄƒmÄƒr/           we got up
/ÅŸÃ¡vÄƒrÄƒnÄƒtÄƒmÄƒrchchÄ•/   we would return (Ashmarin, Material, 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.

```
/sÄ•tÄ•l ÅŸinchi/       located on the table
/Ã¡tÄƒl tÄƒrÄƒh/         on the Volga
/kÃ¡j ha/       Go on!
```

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

```
/shÃ¡p-shurÄƒ/  snow-white very white
/pÃte paxÄƒ/    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 /Äƒ/ or /Ä•/ may not take the accent although suffixes containing any other vowel may be accented.

```
/lashÃ¡sÄƒr/    horse1ess, without a horse
/Ä•nÃ©sÄ•r/     cowless, without a cow
/lashapÃ¡/      having a horse, with a horse
/Ä•nepÃ©/               with a cow
```

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

```
/kÄ•nekÃ©/      book (< Ð°Ð½Ð¸Ð³Ð°)
/kÄ•replÃ©/     rake (< Ð³Ñ€Ð°Ð±Ð»Ð¸)
/chejnÃk/      teapot (< Ñ‡Ð°Ð¹Ð½Ð¸Ð°).
```

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

```
/secretÃ¡râ€˜/  secretary (< Ñ‘ÐµÐ°Ñ€ÐµÑ‚Ð°Ñ€Ñ‘)
/predsedÃ¡telâ€™/       chairman (< ÐøÑ€ÐµÐ¥Ñ‘ÐµÐ¥Ð°Ñ‚ÐµÐ»Ñ‘).
```

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

```
/tÃ©hnikumra/          in the technical school
/predsedÃ¡telâ€˜pe/     with the chairrnan
/kolhozrÃ¡/            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 â€œHeâ€˜s going todayâ€œ 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.

Theoretical Basis of the Analysis (CV Manual, 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 com1ementary 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 p˛rt 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.,:

chăn	true, truth, that which is true, truly
chăn sămah	a true word
chăn sutlarĕ	he calculated truly, correctly
tĕttĕm	dark, somber, darkness, darkly
tĕttĕm kaş	a dark evening
anchah	but, however, only
anchah kiltĕm	I just arrived
epĕ anchah	I alone

UNIT ONE (CV Manual, Grammar):

Chuvash manual

UNIT ONE
The Chuvash noun; gender; plural.

The Chuvash Noun

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.

tinĕş	sea
atte	father
pichche	brother
yvăl	son
văkăr	bull
taka	ram
chăvash	Chuvash
epir	we
pӧrt	house
ikkĕ	two
anne	mother
akka	sister
hĕr	girl, daughter
arăm	woman, lady
ĕne	cow
lasha	horse
etem	man, mankind
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
chăvash	Chuvash
Kavkaz	Caucasus
Shupashkar	Cheboxary
Petĕr	Peter
Mars	Mars
ujăx	moon, Moon
oktjabr"	October
husan	Kazan
Ivan	Ivan, John

Later, we shall find it convenient to put into subclasses such collections of forms as pronominals (**epĕ**, I; **esĕ**, you, etc.), **kam** who, **mĕn** 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.

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 really nonexistent.

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

ar	man, male	arăm	woman
aşa sysna	boar	ama sysna	sow
aşa hur	gander	ama hur	goose
văkăr	bull	ĕne	cow

yvăl acha	son, "boy-child"
xĕracha	daughter, "girl-child"
arşin (< ar + şyn)	man, male person
patsha	king, czar
xĕrarăm patsha	queen, princess ("lady-king")

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

atte	father	anne	mother
pichche	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 (0. 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; applies 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 Live mile trip." In Chuvash, however, the plural is never, or at least rarely, used after a numeral, or quantity word hence:

şirĕm sĕtel	twenty table	twenty tables
numaj şyn	many man	many a man, many people
pilĕk pürt	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 prin ciple is unchanged), that is, those apples which each person has in his or her hand just now, but not apples in general
vută	firewood, kindling
vuttisem	the pieces of firewood, taken as individual objects, not as a whole (also possessive)
şem"je	family
şem"jisem	the members of one‘s family
pürt	house, hut
pürtsem	houses, a number of individual houses somewhere, but not houses as a class
shuhăshsem	thoughts (on different subjects)
Ivanovsem	the Ivanoffs, members of the Ivanoff family
kahalsem	the lazybones‘ and his family (folktales)

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
shyv	water
shyvsem	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, ĕ, i, ü/** and one used with **back vowels /a, ă, i, y, 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 (CV Manual, Grammar):

Chuvash manual"s Contents

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 y u/** or to the **front series /e ĕ i ü/**. Hence,

Front		**Back**	
chüreche	window	yvăl	son
ĕşleken	worker	kuşşul	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 loanwords 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’’jezdra	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., **jivăsh vitre** iron pail, **şăm săhman** silk garment, **chul şurt** stone house. Examples of the absolute case in its subject function are:

```
        traktor ĕşlet          the tractor is working, works
        pulă shyvra ishet      the fish swims in the water (or: fish
swim in water)
```

samolët vĕşet the airplane flies, airplanes 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)An}, and its chief allomorphs given as follows with the conditions for their occurrence. **The morphophoneme Ă stands for /ă/ with back vowel words, and /ĕ/ with front vowel words**. C means any consonant (including y), and the dot . is used to indicate morpheme boundaries. Essentially, the basic endings are {.Ăn} 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 vocalic stems in -U, employing their stem alternant in Ăv to replace -U; and some monosyllabic consonant stems

.Ăn

3. After polysyllabic vocalic stems except U and A

.n or **.nĂn**

4. After polysyllabic vowel sterns in .-C1Ă

C1C1Ă.N

5. After polysyllabic vowel stems in -C1C2Ă

C1C2Ă.n

6. After borrowed polysyllabic stems in – C1C1

C1.Ăn

7. After some monosyllabic stems in C1

C1C1.Ăn

8. After native and foreign stems in –i

.n or .jĕn

9. After borrowed vowel stems in -a, -ja, -e, —u, and some in –o

-ă.n

10. After some borrowed vowel stems in –o

-o.n

11. After borrowed stems in -st‘

-s.ăn

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.

lasha	horse
lashan	of a horse, a horse‘s
şakă lashanăn	of this horse, this horse‘s
ĕne	cow
ĕnen	of a cow
sakă ĕneněn	of this cow
halăh	people
halăxăn	of the people, the people‘s
ĕş	affair, matter
ĕşĕn	of an affair, of a business, of work
shăshi	mouse
shăshin	of a mouse, a mouse‘s
shăshijĕn	of a mouse
unăn yvălĕ	his son (lit. ‘his son of him‘)
tălăx arămăn pĕr yvăl	a widow woman‘s
haj pujanăn şem‘jisem	the members of that rich man‘s family

	şak pujan xĕrĕ	this rich-man‘s girl (zero allomorph)
	pujanăn xĕrĕ	the rich-man‘s daughter
	ku kĕneke Ivanăn	That book (is) John‘s.
	ku manăn	That is mine.

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

	lasha püşĕ	lit., ‘the horse its head‘ (employing a possessive morpheme to be studied later), i. e., a horsehead, as opposed to a moosehead, hogshead, sheepshead
	lashan püşĕ	the head of the horse the horse"s head (that is, not his tail, his hoofs, his mane etc)

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

	stsenăn	of the stage (note shortening)
	kinon	of the movie
	kengurun	of the kangaroo
	rezoljutsin	of the resolution
	partin	of the party (political). Also /partijĕn/
	basn’ăn	of the fable (note shortening)
	kofen	of the coffee

Russian loanwords in -C1C1 , that is, a doubled same consonant, of which only **/-ss/** and **/-ll/‘**have thus far been found as examples, employ a stern alternant with only one of the pertinent consonants, viz.:

	klass	class
	klasăn	of a dass
	metall	metal
	metalăn	of metal

Russian loans in **/-ost’/** and /-st‘/ likewise employ a stern alternant omitting the final consonant when relational morphemes are attached, viz.:

	vlast‘	power, authority
	vlaşăn	of power

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

şyru	letter	pĕlü	fact, thing known
şyrăvăn	of a letter	pĕlĕvĕn	of a fact
tu	mountain	pü	growth
tăvăn	of a mountain	pĕvĕn	of growth

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

Chuvash disyllabic stems in single consonant (C) + -ĕ or –ă (Ă) 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.

pula	fish
pullăn	a fish‘s, of a fish
jytă	dog
jyttăn	a dog‘s, of a dog
tilĕ	fox
tillĕn	of a fox
külĕ	lake
küllĕn	of a lake
sivĕ	cold
sivvĕn	of cold
ală	hand
allăn	of a hand

Note:

şyn	man
şynnăn	of a man
tyr	grain
tyrrăn	of grain

Lastly, in variants 5 and 6, note that if the final ă/ĕ 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 (CV Manual, Grammar):

Chuvash manual

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 sterns, and some monosyllabic	.A
3	After polysyllabic vocalic stems, except in -i, -U, and -ă/-ĕ	.nA
4	After native and foreign Sterns in -i	.ye
5	After sterns in -U, employing their stem alternant in -ăv/-ĕv	.A
6	After polysyllabic vowel stems in –C1Ă	C1C1.A
7	After polysyllabic vowel stems in –C1C2Ă	C1C2.A
8	After borrowed stems in -a, -ya and some in -o	ă.na
9	After borrowed stems in other vowels (- V) and some in -o	V.na
10	After some monosyllabic consonant stems	C1C1.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	a1ăk	door
armana	to a mill, the mill	a1ăka	to a door, the door
tir	leather, hide	kukăl‘	pie
tire	to leather	kukăle	to a pie, the pie
uj	fieid	sij	layer
uje	to the field	sije	to a layer
parti	political party	lasha	horse
partije	to the party	lashana	to a horse, the horse
ĕne	cow	shăshi	a mouse
ĕnene	to a cow, the cow	shăshije	to a mouse
kinona	to the movies	obshchestvăna	to society
stsenăna	to the stage	idejăna	to an idea

mashinăna benzin jană	they put gas in the machine
udarniksene premi pană	they give prizes to shock workers
Petĕre kĕneke kirlĕ pulnă	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 dose

relationship to its verb, thus:

epĕ kĕneke iltĕm	I bought a book, in the sense 'I did bookbuying, I book-bought'

But:

```
epĕ şakă kĕnekene iletĕp        I buy this book
vĕreneken himi kĕnekine vulat   the student reads the chemistry book
```

Notice:

```
epĕ matematika vĕrenetĕp        I study mathematics
```

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

```
epir irpe Shupashkara şitrĕmĕr  we came to Cheboksary in the morning
kile                            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:

```
vută pĕr ujăxa şitet            the firewood will hold out for a month
kanashlu vişĕ kuna pyrat        the conference will last  three days
şĕr tenke patăm                 sold for 100 rubles
```

Note the following instance of definite vs. indefinite:

```
kĕneke vulat            he reads books, he reads a book
                        (or books in general as a practice)
ku kĕnekene vulat       he is reading the book
                        (some particular one,  perhaps previously mentioned)
```

Some particular cases of formation should be mentioned. The disyllabic stems in -a/-ĕ

employ a stem alternation which geminates the consonant preceding, to which a full-length a or e

is then added. Thus:

```
pulă    fish                    jytă    dog
pulla   the fish, to a fish     jytta   the dog, to a dog
külĕ    a lake                  külle   to a lake,  the lake
```

Also:

```
şyn     a man                   şynna   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,

/purtă/ ‘axe‘ > /purta/ the axe (acc.). However, Russian loans, particularly in -a and –ja

shorten this vowel to -~ă or -jă after which the regular ending –na is added.
As in the case of the genitive morpheme, stems in -u/-ˌ employ their stern alternate in

-ăv/-ĕv, thus:

pĕlü	fact	şyru	letter
pĕlĕve	the fact (acc.)	şyrăva	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 {-R.A}, with the following allomorphs:

1.After front vowel sterns and consonant stems except /l n r/
-re
2.After back vowel sterns 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}
- ce (only)
6.After the 3rd p. sg. possessive morpheme (will be discussed later)
-nce

Note that stems in –ă/-ĕ which bad 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 -ja, do, however, employ a stern alternant shortening the vowels to -ă, viz., stsenăra ‘on the stage,‘ or idejăra ‘in the idea,‘ but kinora ‘in the movies.‘ Some instances of use of the various allomorphs are the following:

shyvra	in the water	Atălta	on the Volga
tinĕsre	at sea, on the sea	Xusanta	in Kazan
vărmanta	in the woods	pürtre	in the house
ujra	on the field	kilte	at home

ernere şichĕ kun in the week are seven days

pulăra	in the fish	şyrura	in the letter
külĕre	in the lake	pĕlüre	in the fact, matter

```
                alăkra                  in the door
                alăksenche              in the doors (from * alăk-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!).

```
        lesh tencere            to that world
        lupashkara              in the ravine
        hirte                   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, -chen. 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;

```
        turan           from the mountain               alăkran
        from the door

        jultashran şyru iltĕm                           I got a letter
from (my) friend
        achasem ujran checheksem tatsa kilchĕş          the boys brought
flowers from the field
```

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

```
        jyvăşran tună pürt              a hut made from wood
        Atăltan tytnă pulă              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.“

```
        ülemren                 in the future
        ujăχran                 in a month
        vişĕ kuntan             in three days
        pĕr seχetren            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.“

```
        sassăran                        by (one‘s) voice
        kürshĕren                       by a neighbor, in company, with
a neighbor
        alăkran kĕr-                    to enter by the door
        chürecheren păχ-                to look from the window
```

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

```
        juman şăkaran jyvăr             oak is heavier than linden
                                        (lit. “Oak from linden is
heavy“)
        utran şüle, kurăkran lutra      “Higher than a horse, lower than
the grass“
```

	(Folk-riddle: Answer: 'saddle')
yrăran yră	best of all
	(lit. "good from good," i. e., better than good)
Atăl şavaltan pysăk	the Volga is bigger than the Tsivil

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

vişĕ yvăltan pĕri	one of my three Sons
acha lashinchen yjtnă	the boy asked (inquired of) his horse
suhaltan	(seized him) by the beard (lit. "from the beard")
kuşran nachar	weak in the eyes
şukran	on account of there not being any
sivĕren	on account of the cold

UNIT FOUR (CV Manual, Grammar):

Chuvash manuals Contents

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 -ja, do employ a stem alternant of -ă anti –jă 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:

pojezdpa	by train
părahutpa kiltĕm	I came by steamer
vĕsem vărmanpa pynă	they went by way of the woods
kolhozniksem tyrra kombainpa vyrsa puştaraşşĕ	the collective farmers harvest grain with a combine
manpa pĕrle kilchĕ	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. morgens, Russ. utrom)
kaşpa	in the evening (abends, vecherom)
kunĕpe	all day (lit. ‘with its day,‘ a possessive)
pajan kunĕpe	today all day
şĕrĕpe	all night
ernipe	all week

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

kahalpa pujan	“The Lazybones and the Rich Man“ (folktale) (207)
fonetikapa morfologi	“Phonetics and Morphology“ (subtitle of a Chuvash grammar)

Minor Case Morphemes

In addition to the case morphemes enumerated, some Chuvash grammarians consider the morpheme -săr/-sĕr ‘without‘ (the so-called privative case, meaning to be deprived of something), and the morpheme -shăn/-shĕn ‘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
syvălăshsăr	airless, without air, anaerobic
văisăr şyn	a man without strength, a weak man
şynsăr	without a man, having no man
kĕnekesĕr acha	a boy without books, “a bookless boy“

Purposive

şyn syvlăhshĕn	for a man‘s health
tyrpulshan	for (the goal or end of) harvests
şirĕp mirshĕn	for lasting peace! (slogan)
mĕnshĕn, mĕshĕn	for what, why?
vĕsem kulnăshăn	owing to their laughing, because they laughed
acha şapah anashshăn pulnă	the boy was for descending (= wanted to go down)
manăn hĕrĕ tălăha xăvarnăshshăn	because of my daughters‘ remaining widows

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;

vărmanalla	towards the woods, woods-ward
ajalalla	downwards
tăvalla	towards the mountain
şülelle	upwards
kilelle	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 -ĕchen, 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:

paşărtanpa	since time immemorial
ĕnertenpe	since yesterday
kilnĕrenpe	from the time I arrived

Tables of Nominal Declension

Here 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.

TABLES OF NOMINAL DECLENSION

Back		Front		
Consonant	***Vowel***	***Consonant***		***Vowel***
arman	lasha	tir	măkăn‘	ĕne shăshi
armanăn	lashan(ăn)	tirĕn	măkăněn	ĕnen(ĕn) shăshin or shăshijen

armana	lashana	tire	măkăne	ĕnene
shăshiye				
armanta	lashara	tirte	măkăn‘te	ĕnere
shăshire				
armanta	lasharan	tirten	măkăn‘ten	ĕneren
shăshiren				
armanpa	lashapa	tirpe	măkăn‘pe	ĕnepe
shăshipe				

	(j—stem)		**(j—stem)**
alăk sămah	uj	tinĕs	sij
alăkăn sămahăn	ujăn	tinĕsĕn	sijĕn
alăka sămaha	uja	tinĕse	sije
alăkra sămahra	ujra	tinĕsre	sijre
alăkran sămahran	ujran	tinĕsren	sijren
alăkpa sămahpa	ujpa	tinĕspe	sijpe

pulă	purtă		külĕ
pĕrchĕ			
pullăn	purtăn		küllĕn
pĕrchĕn			
pulla	purta		külle
pĕrche			
pulăra	purtăra		külĕre
pĕrchĕre			
pulăran	purtăran		külĕren
pĕrchĕren			
pulăpa	purtăpa		külĕpe
pĕrchĕpe			

şyru			kĕtü
şyrăvan			kĕtĕvĕn
şyrăva			kĕtĕve
şyrura			kĕtüre
şyruran			kĕtüren
şyrupa			kĕtüpe

BORROWINGS

Back			**Front**	
Consonant		***Vowel***	***Consonant***	***Vowel***
metall	kino	-stvo	oktjabr‘	parti
metalăn	kinon	-stvăn	oktjabrĕn	parti or partijĕn
metala	kinona	-stvăna	oktjabre	partije
metalra	kinora	-stvăra	oktjabr‘te	partire
metairan	kinoran	-stvăran	oktjabr‘ten	partiren
metalpa	kinopa	-stvăpa	oktjabr‘pe	partipe

vlast‘	stsena	ideja	izvest‘

vlaşăn	stsenăn	idejăn	izveşĕn
vlaşa	stsenăna	idejăna	izveşe
vlaşra	stsenăra	idejăra	izveşre
vlaşran	stsenăran	idejăran	izveşren
vlaşpa	stsenăpa	idejăpa	izveşpe

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 -sĂr and -shĂn, 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 (-ĕn)
-sene
-senche
-senchen
-sempe
(-semshĕr
-semshĕn)

Examples of the plural deciension 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.

sămahsem	tinĕssem	lashasem
sămahsen(ĕn)	tinĕssen(ĕn)	lashasen(ĕn)
sămahsene	tinĕssene	lashasene
sămahsenche	tinĕssenche	lashasenche
sămahsenchen	tinĕssenchen	lashasenchen
sămahsempe	tinĕssempe	lashasempe

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

UNIT FIVE (CV Manual, Grammar):

Chuvash manual: Contents

UNIT FIVE
Personal possession;
the verb "to have" (pur and şuk)

Personal possession

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:

manăn lasha	my horse
sanăn lasha	your horse
unăn lasha	his (her, its) horse
pirĕn lasha	our horse
sirĕn lasha	your horse
vĕsen lasha	their horse

The forms manăn, sanăn 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 forma of the first three forms, viz., man lasha, san lasha, un lasha, 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 n shown above is a very common one in Chuvash, there is another important way, 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 yvăl, by adding -ăm (after a consonant), or -ĕm if it is a front vocalic word, or just –m if it ends in a vowel (as acham ‘my child‘), we create the form yvălăm, which of and by itself means “my son,“ with no need for additional words. The entire scheme is:

yvălăm	my son	yvălămăr	our son
yvălu	your (fam.) son	yvălăr	your son
yvălĕ	his, her, son	yvălĕ	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 -ĕ. 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:

mănăn yvălăm	my son	pirĕn yvălămăr
our son		

sanăn yvălu	your son	sirĕn yvălăr	your son
unăn yvălĕ	his son	vĕsen yvălĕ	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**
yvălăm	acham	hĕrĕm	ĕnem
yvălu	achu	hĕrü	ĕnü
yvălĕ	achi	xĕrĕ	ĕni
yvălămăr	achamăr	hĕrĕmĕr	ĕneměr
yvălăr	achăr	xĕrĕr	ĕnĕr
yvălĕ	achi	xĕrĕ	ĕni

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 -vĕ in the 3rd p. eg. (viz., bjurovĕ '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, lasha + i> lashi). 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/-ų employ their stem alternant in -ăv/-ĕv when any possessive morpheme
follows, hence:

şyrăvăm	my letter	pĕlĕvĕm	my fact
şyravu	your letter	pĕlĕvü	your fact
şyrăvĕ	his letter	pĕlĕvĕ	his fact
şyrăvămăr	our letter	pĕlĕvĕmĕr	our fact
şyrăvăr	your letter	pĕlĕvĕr	your fact
şyrăvĕ	their letter	pĕlĕvĕ	their fact

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

pullăm	my fish	tĕvvĕm	my knot
pullu	your fish	tĕvvü	your knot
pulli	his fish	tĕvvi	his knot
pullămăr	our fish	tĕvvĕmĕr	our knot
pullăr	your fish	tĕvvĕr	your knot
pulli	their fish	tĕvvi	their knot

In the 3rd p. sg. possessive, words in –t and -d (orthographically -t, -t‘, -d, -d‘) replace that consonant with ch and add ĕ, as follows:

pürt	house	sklad	storehouse
pürchĕ	his house	sklachĕ	his storehouse
jat	name	tetrad"	notebook
jachĕ	his name	tetrachĕ	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 yvălămăr “our son,“ pirĕn yvăl is used, and instead of yvălăr “your son,“ sirĕn yvălu (note ..u!) is used. As mentioned, words in the foreign phoneme -o have their 3rd p. sg. possessive in -vĕ, as kinovĕ ‘his movie,‘ depovĕ ‘his depot.‘ A special possessive morpheme {-ăshĕ} is found with a small class of words made up of kinship

terms and some numerical terms, thus: appa ‘elder sister‘ but appăsh(ĕ) ‘his, her elder sister.‘

amăshĕ	his mother
ashshĕ (< *aşăshĕ)	his father
numajăshĕ	many of them (lit. "its many, their many")
vişşĕshĕ	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“
aşu	your father	aşăr	your father
ashshĕ	his father	ashshĕ	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 şyrtămăr ‘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 şuk)

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 şuk 'that which is non-existent, what there is none of.' The following examples will help to make this more evident.

manăn kĕneke pur	I have a book (of me a book exists)
sanăn văhăt şuk	you have no time (your time is-not)
unăn ĕne şuk	he has no cow
manăn lasham pur	I have a horse, I have my horse
lasham pur	I have a horse
kamăn pur, ăna tata parĕş	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 şuk 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 {-chchĕ} (of like origin) may be added to form purchchĕ and şukchchĕ "there was, there wasn't."

UNIT SIX (CV Manual, Grammar):

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 ~ 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:

yvălăm ĕnem	hĕrĕm	acham
yvălămăn ĕnemĕn	hĕrĕmĕn	achamăn

yvălăma ĕneme	hĕrĕme	achama
yvălămra ĕnemre	hĕrĕmre	achamra
yvălămran ĕnemren	hĕrĕmren	achamran
yvălămpa ĕnempe	hĕrĕmpe	achampa

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).

yvălu ĕnü	hĕrü	achu
yvălun(ăn) ĕnün(ĕn)	hĕrün(ĕn)	achun(ăn)
yvălna ĕnüne	hĕrne	achuna
yvălunta ĕnünte	hĕrünte	achunta
yvăluntan ĕnünten	hĕrünten	achuntan
yvălupa ĕnüpe	hĕrüpe	achupa

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 –ĕ. 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 pi., although usually un or unăn ‘his‘ or vĕsen ‘their‘ is prefixed.

yvălĕ ĕni	hĕrĕ	lashi
yvălĕn ĕnin	hĕrĕn	lashin
yvălne ĕnine	hĕrne	lashine
yvălĕnche ĕninche	hĕrĕnche	lashinche
yvălĕnchen ĕninchen	hĕrĕnchen	lashinchen
yvălĕpe ĕnipe	hĕrĕpe	lashipe

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 (p1.)." 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:

yvălămăr ĕneměr	hĕrĕměr	lashamăr

yvălămărăn	hĕrĕmĕrĕn	lashamărăn
ĕnemĕrĕn		
yvălămăra	hĕrĕmĕrne	lashamăra
ĕnemĕrne		
yvălămărta	hĕrĕmĕrte	lashamărta
ĕnemĕrte		
yvălămărtan	hĕrĕmĕrten	lashamărtan
ĕnemĕrten		
yvălămărpa	hĕrĕmĕrpe	lashamărpa
ĕnemĕrpe		

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

yvălăr	hĕrĕr	lashăr
ĕnĕr		
yvălărăn	hĕrĕrĕn	lashărăn
ĕnĕrĕn		
yvălăra	hĕrĕrne	lashăra
ĕnĕrne		
yvălărta	hĕrĕrte	lashărta
ĕnĕrte		
yvălărtan	hĕrĕrten	lashărtan
ĕnĕrten		
yvălărpa	hĕrĕrpe	lashărpa
ĕnĕrpe		

As previously noted, forms such as jalămărta ‘in our village‘ have been supplanted by pirĕn jalta ‘in our village.‘ A few other instances, drawn from various texts, are:

pirĕn atteme	to our father
sirĕn yvălupa	with your son
sirĕn lasha	your horse
lashuna	your horse (acc.)
pirĕn rajonta	in our region

Some particular types of nominals, as previously pointed out, employ stern alternants under certain conditions. Thus sterns in morphophonemic -U employ their alternant in -ăv/-ĕv before possessive morphemes beginning with a vowel, and before the portmanteau morpheme /. na/. Stems in single consonant plus ă/ĕ employ the alternant with geminated consonant. The 1st p. is:

şyrăvăm	pĕlĕvĕm	pullăm
küllĕm		
şyrăvămăn	pĕlĕvĕmĕn	pullămăn
küllĕmĕn		
şyrăvăma	pĕlĕvĕme	pullăma
küllĕme		
şyrăvămra	pĕlĕvĕmre	pullămra
küllĕmre		
şyrăvămran	pĕlĕvĕmren	pullărnran
küllĕmren		
şyrăvămpa	pĕlĕvĕmpe	pullămpa
küllĕmpe		

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

şyrăvu	pĕlĕvü	pullu
küllü		

şyrăvun küllün	pĕlĕvĕn	pullun
şyrăvna küllüne	pĕlĕvne	pulluna
şyrunta küllünte	pĕlünte	pullunta
şyruntan küllünten	pĕlünten	pulluntan
şyrăvupa küllüpe	pĕlĕvüpe	pullupa

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

şyrăvĕ külli	pĕlĕvĕ	pulli
şyrăvĕn küllin	pĕlĕvĕn	pullin
şyrăvne or şyrune külline	pĕlĕvne or pelüne	pulline
şyrăvĕnche küllinche	pĕlĕvĕnche	pullinche
şyrăvĕnchen küllinchen	pĕlĕvĕnchen	pullinchen
şyrăvĕpĕ küllipe	pĕlĕvĕpe	pullipe

Note several interesting features in this declension, namely, that gen. sg. /pĕlĕvĕn/ concides with that of the 2nd p., the same for the dat. -acc. /pĕlĕvne/. Note also the prothetic -n- in the locative and ablative -nche, -nchen.

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 ch before ĕ viz.

sklad sklachĕ	warehouse	skladăm	skladu
apat apachĕ	dinner	apatăm	apatu
tetrad tetrachĕ	notebook	tetradĕm	tetradü
element elemenchĕ	element	elementĕm	elementü
turat turachĕ	branch	turatăm	turatu
jat jachĕ	name	jatăm	jatu

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.

yvălămsem	my sons	yvălămărsem
our sons		
yvălămsen(ĕn)		yvălămărsen(ĕn)
yvălămsene		yvălămărsene
yvălămsenche		yvălămărsenche
yvălămsenchen		yvălămărsenchen
yvălămsempe		yvălămărsempe

UNIT SEVEN (CV Manual, Grammar):

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 adjectively. As previously remarked, the same Chuvash word may be identically used as noun, adjective and adverb, for instance:

shură şămarta	a white egg
şămarta shurri	egg its white egg = white, albumen
jyvăş şurt	wooden house
chul kĕper	stone bridge
asha	warm, warmth, warmness
asha sămah	a warm word, friendly greeting
pĕr pysăk tipĕ juman	a big dry oak-tree
hamăn syltăm hălha shătakne	into my right earhole (folktale)

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., timĕr ‘iron‘ (as in timĕr 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.

sară chechek	yellow flower
şülĕ hĕr	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:

```
        juman şăkaran jyvăr             oak frorn linden is heavy = oak
is heavier than linden
        kilten pysăk                    larger than a house (‘from a
house, big‘)
        ylttăn kĕmĕlten haklă           gold is more valuable than
silver
```

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

A. Stems ending in vowels, or in consonants except -r, use the allomorphs –rah/-reh.

```
        sarărah                 yellower, more yellow
        hitrerex                more beautiful, prettier
```

B. Stems in -r employ the allomorph -tarah/-tereh.

```
        jyvărtarah              heavier
```

Note also:

```
        numajtarah              more, greater amount (207, 36)
        nachartarah             worse
```

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

```
        avan                    good
        avantarah               better
```

Additional instances of comparatives are the following examples.

```
        pysăkrah                        bigger
        pysăkrah kil                    a rather large house

        haklă                           expensive
        haklăran haklă                  more and more expensive

        hytarah                         harder, more vigorously
        şultrarah hăjarsene tatrămăr    we picked bigger cucumbers

        lajăhrah                        better
        ilemlĕreh                       more beautiful
        pĕchĕkreh                       smaller
```

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

```
        kaş                             evening
        kaşchen                         towards evening (‘up to the
evening‘)
        kaşchentereh                    more on into the evening,  more
towards evening

        pürt                            house
        patne                           towards (‘to its direction‘)
```

pürt patnereh	a bit more towards the house
kurăk	grass, weeds
kurăkrah yrash	rye with quite a bit of grass in it (‘grassier rye)
kunta	here
kuntarah	closer this way
kilelle	towards the house
kilellereh	more towards the house

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

juman şăkaran jyvărtarah	oak from linden is heavier = oak is heavier than linden

Adjectival words, when used in the plural, function just like other nominals, e. g., pujansem ‘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 chi, and other words of similar function are pit, pitĕ ‘very,‘ ytla ‘more, beyond, further,‘ majsăr ‘immeasurably,‘ săv teri‘quite, as it were, so to say,‘ mala ‘more,‘ etc.

chi şivĕch	very sharp, sharpest
chi lajăh	very good, the best
mala ilemlĕ	more beautiful
ytla avan	more good, better, very good
pitĕ lajăh	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
shură-shură	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,

hup-hura	jet-black
jem-jesh ĕl	green as green can be
jĕp-jĕpe	soaking wet
shap-shura	snow-white (note prefix!)
hĕp-hĕrle	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.,

vĕr-şĕnĕ	brand-new
sĕm-tĕttĕm	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

jalti	what is in the village, local
kilti	domestic, what is in the home
vărmanti	pertaining to the forest, in the woods
kunti	(from kunta 'here') local
hirti	on the field

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

anat	lower, Lower Chuvashia
anatra	in the lower part1 in Lower Chuvashia
anatri	one who is in or from Lower Chuvashia (name of one of the two major Chuvash dialects)
puşri kalpak	the hat on the head
şirĕmri şyn	a man in his twenties
uramri	on the street
sămahri 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 -~i is bund after the prothetic -n- of the possessive locative

pürt patĕnchi.	the one in the vicinity or direction of the house

A very similar morpheme ja /-hi/ meaning approximately "the one which is in.' It may be added after any consonant.

şul	year
şulhi	yearly, what is in a year, annual
şurhi	vernal spring what is in the springtime
irhi	morning, pertaining to the morning
kaşhi	evening, in the evening (as adjective)
ülemhi	future, what is in the future
lajăhhi	the one who is good
vărşă	war
vărşăchchen	before the war, up to the time of the war
vărşăchchenhi	pre -war
unchchenhi	the former (Ger. damalige), 'the one tip to it'
hal'	now, at present
hal'hi	contemporary, the ones at present

The Morpherne /.lă/

The function of adjectives may also be performed by the extremely common suffix –lă/-lĕ. 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 off and its allomorphs are -lă/-lĕ after consonants and -llă/-illĕ alter 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.

chap	fame
chaplă	famous, having fame
jat	name
jatlă	named (so-and-so), having the name - - -
ut	horse
utlă	having a horse
ilem	beauty
ilemlĕ	beautiful
vărmală	wooded, having woods
tullă	mountainous, hilly
shămă	bone
shămăllă	bony
ash	meat, flesh
ashlă	meaty, fleshy
harpăr	each
harpărlă	own, individual, unique

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

aktivlă	active, having activity
talantlă	talented, having talents
intereslĕ	interesting, of interest

Note the difference between simple juxtaposition and the use of –lă.

chul pĕve	a stone dam, a dam made out of stones (not wood)
chullă pĕve	a rocky dam, a dam with loose rocks lying about
tăvar külli	a salt-lake, lake salty by nature
tăvarlă shyv	salted water, salty water (but not salt water), water to which salt was mistakenly added

Note also these examples:

tăvat ura	four legs (that is, not three or five)
tăvat urallă	a four-legged one, quadruped, four -footed
ike vitre	two pails, two buckets
ikĕ vitrellĕ sămavar	a two-pot samovar
jită puşĕ	a dog-head (not a moose head)
jită puşlĕ upăte	the dog-faced baboon

The morpheme -săr/-sĕr is the antonym to -lă/-lĕ.

In addition to the morpheme -lă/-lĕ, 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.

chăvashla kĕneke	a Chuvash book
chăvashla-vyrasla slovarʻ	A Chuvash-Russian Dictionari
tutarla	Tatar
bolʻshevikla	Bolshevik, Bolshevistic
stahanovla juhăm	the Stakhanovite movement
fashistla zahvatchiksem	the fascist usurpers
kapitalistla tata	the capitalistic and land
pomeşikla pusmăr	owner's yoke

UNIT EIGHT (CV Manual, Grammar):

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 stern, 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 /epĕ/ 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:

epĕ
manăn
mana
manra
manran
manpa

The same pattern is followed in the second person singular, employing esĕ 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 vĕ- to which -sem is added, viz., vĕsem 'they.' The remaining forms of the 1st and 2nd p. pl. may be similarly analyzed. All forms are presented herewith in tabular arrangement.

epĕ	esĕ	văl
man(ăn)	san(ăn)	un(ăn)
mana	sana	ăna
manra	sanra	unra (unta)
manran	sanran	unran (untan)
manpa	sanpa	unpa
epir	esir	vĕsem
pirĕn	sirĕn	vĕsen(ĕn)
pire	sire	vĕsene
pirĕnte (pirte)	sirĕnte	vĕsenche
pirĕnten (pirten)	sirĕnten	vĕsenchen
pirĕnpe	sirĕnpe	vĕsempe

In addition to the above, some other forms are occasionally found, as for the nominative, ep, es, ul, epĕr, esĕr 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 – pirĕn	This team-leader is ours.
pire puhura yrlarĕş	We were praised at the meeting.
pirĕn brigada malta pyrat	Our team goes forward.
epĕ kolhozra ĕşletĕp	I work on the kolkhoz.
văl şyn	that man
văl şynsem	those people
văl sire pallarĕ	he has recognized you
Tură ăna kalană	God said to him
man hĕrsene	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 ha ‘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, hut may also be used alone.

ham	hu	hăj(ĕ)
hamăn	hăvăn	hăjĕn
hama	hăvna	hăjne
hamra	hăvănta	hăjenche
hamran	hăvantan	hăjenchen
hampa	hupa	hăjpe
hamăr	hăvăr	hăjsem
hamărăn	hăvărăn	hăjsen(ĕn)
hamăra	hăvăra	hăjsene
hamărta	hăvărta	hăjsenche
hamărtan	hăvărtan	hăjsenchen
hamărpa	hăvărpa	hăjsempe

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

văl hăj	he himself
esir hăvăr	you yourselves
hăjsen tăvan jal	their own native village
ham pyrap	I am coming myself
hăjsem kilchĕş	they came themselves
epĕ hama şăvatăp	I wash myself
hăvah	Go yourself!
hăvăr Tură hĕrĕsem	you are God‘s daughters
hăvăn upashku	your own husband
hăjĕn ashshĕ kilne pynă	he came to his own father‘s house

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,' şak, şakă 'that,' şav, şavă "that one (more distant that şak)", văl 'that one, he,' lesh 'that one at some distance,' leshĕ id., haj, hajhi (NB: xăj!) 'that selfsame one, that very one, the aforementioned,' apla, kapla., şapla 'such a one, one like that, that sort of one.' Also used are un pek, şavăn pek, şakăn pek "the like of it, the like of that" meaning 'similar, that sort of.'

The declensions of these words follow previously established patterns:

ku	şak(ă)	lesh(ĕ)	haj, hajhi
şav(ă)			
kun(ăn)	şakăn	leshĕn	hajhin
şavăn			
kuna	şakna	leshne	hajhine
şavna			
kunta	şakănta	leshĕnche	hajhin~e
şavănta			
kuntan	şakăntan	leshĕnchen	hajhin~en
şavăntan			
kunpa	şakănpa	leshpe	hajhipe
şavănpa			

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(ĕn), —sene, —senche, —senchen and -sempe), namely,

kusem	şaksern	leshsem	hajhisem
şavsem			

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
şaka kĕneke	this book
un pek şyn	such a man
şakă kĕneke	This is a book.

hajhine asturăm	I remembered that (that thing which you were talking about previously)
pirĕn shuhăsh şapla	Our opinion is thus and so.
ku pioneer lajăh vĕrenet	This Pioneer (Boy Scout) studies well.
lesh achan kĕnekesem numaj	That child has a lot of books (that child' s books are many)
acha kĕneke ănlanmalla vulat	The boy reads the book clearly.
şapla 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,' měn 'what, hăsh(ĕ) 'wich, which one" mişe "how many" (of numbers), měn chuhlĕ, měn chu1 how many, of what quantity", and měnle "what sort, of what kind.' Note that, unlike their English equivalents Chuvash kam and měn may be used in the plural: kamsem 'what persons, what ones, who?', or měnsem "what things, what objects, what ones.'

Their declension is as follows.

kam	měn	hăsh(ĕ)
kamăn	měnĕn	hăshĕn
kama	měne	hăshne
kamra	mĕnre	hăshĕnche
kamran	mĕnren	hăshĕnchen
kampa	mĕnpe	hăshinpe (!)
mişe	měn chuhlĕ	měn chul
mişe(ĕn)	měn chuhlĕn	měn chulăn
mişene	měn chuhle	měn chula
mişere	měn chuhlĕre	měn chulra
mişeren	měn chuhlĕren	měn chulran
mişepe	měn chuhlĕpe	měn chulpa

Some other interrogative words are: ăşta 'where;' mĕnsker, mĕsker, 'what'; jeple, mĕnle "what sort;' mĕnshĕn "why,' "owing to what.'

Examples of their usage may be found in these phrases.

pajan měn kun?	Today, what day? = What day is today?
měn tyra	What crop? = What is the crop like (this year)?
ku japalana mĕne iltĕn?	Why did you buy this thing?
jeple şyn văl?	What sort of a person is he? (What man he?)
hăshĕ asli, hăshĕ kĕşĕnni	I shall hire (you) to know which is the eldest
pallama tytăp	and which is the youngest (Folktale)

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 měn will be found in a relative usage.

kam tărăsa ĕşlet,	Who works. assiduously will succeed at this task
unăn ĕşĕ ănsa pyrat.	(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
temĕn	something
temĕsker	someone, a certain one, someone, a certain which one
temĕnle	some sort
temişe	somewhat, to some amount

2. Adding the particle ta and the words pulin 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 pulin	anyone, whoever it may be
rnĕnte pulin	anything, whatever it may be
mĕnle te pulin	anyhow, however

3. By adding the word kirek before them

kirek kam	somebody
kirek mĕn	something
kirek mĕnle	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
nihăshĕ te	no one
nijeple te	nothing
niměnle te	nothing
niměn 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, manănni	sanni, sanănni	unni, unănni
pirĕnni	sirĕnni	vĕsenni (vĕseněnni)

The reflexive pronouns may also be used this way:

hamănni	the one which is my own
hăvănni	your own
hăjĕnni	his own
hamărănni	our own
hăjsenni	their own
hăvărănni	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
manninche	sanninche	unninche
manninchen	sanninchen	unninchen
mannipe	sannpe	unnipe
mannisem	sannisem	unnisem

(and so on)

Both short and long forms may serve as the base:

manănni	sanănni	unănni
manănnisem	sanănnisem	unănnisem

(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:

yran kĕşĕnnine pallama kil Come to recognize the youngest one tomorrow!

(Folktale), lit. 'its young one."

Other Pronominal Words

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

kashni	each
purte	all, every
pur, pĕtĕm	all
harpărhăj	each himself
urăh	other, another
tepĕr	other

UNIT NINE (CV Manual, Grammar):

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 inline, 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 on 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.

vowel stem			consonant stem	
vula. tăp	ĕşle. tĕp	şyr. atăp	kil. etĕp	
vula. tăn	ĕşle. tĕn	şyr. atăn	kil. etĕn	
vula. t"	ĕşle. t	şyr. at"	kil. et	
vula. tpăr	ĕşle. tpĕr	şyr. atpăr	kil. etpĕr	
vula. tăr	ĕşle. tĕr	şyr. atăr	kil. etĕr	
vula. şşĕ	ĕşle. şşĕ	şyr. aşşĕ	kil. eşşĕ	

Note that the tense formant -t- is characteristic of all persons except the 3rd p. pl., where it assimilates before ş to ş. In the current Cyrillic orthography, a soft sign

(ʻ) 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 {Chuvash.org: it is phonemic, e.g. vărat "to wake smb", vărat" "he"s throwing smth". Chuvash.org may have replaced soft signs where necessary}. 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 [vulappăr], [ĕşleppĕr], [şyrappăr] and [kileppĕr].

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 tăr- ("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, Iʻm going to New York tomorrow," rather than the future "I shall go to New York." Some examples of the tense follow.

hĕvel tuhat"	the sun rises
şyn üpkepe syvlat"	man breathes with his lungs
shyv anatalla juhat"	water flows downstream
yran epĕ Muskava kajatăp	Iʻm going to Moscow tomorrow
mĕnshĕn hujhăratăn?	Why are you sorrowing?
hăşan tavrăntăn	When do you return? When are you going to come back?
ansan sana tytaşşĕ	When (we) descend, they will seize you
ĕşmeşşĕ	they do not drink, they are not drinking
nişta ta kajmastăp	I am not going anywhere
tytăşşĕ	they are holding you, they will hold you, they are going to hold you

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-/-mĕ-, -ma-, etc. In the durative present, the allomorph is -mas-/-mes-. The negative forms of the preceding verbs are, then:

şyrmastăp	kilmestĕp	vulamastăp	ĕşlemestĕp
şyrmastăn	kilmestĕn	vulamastăn	ĕşlemestĕn
şyrmast"	kilmest	vulamast"	ĕşlemest
şyrmastpăr	kilmestpĕr	vulamastpăr	ĕşlemestpĕr
şyrmastăr	kilmestĕr	vulamastăr	ĕşlemestĕr
şyrmaşşĕ	kilmeşşĕ	vulamaşşĕ	ĕşlemeşşĕ

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

tupajmastăr	you cannot find
nişta ta kajmastăp	I shall not go anywhere

hătălajmastăn you will be unable to save yourself

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 -ĕ and -ĕş 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:

şyrăp	pĕlĕp	vulăp	ĕşlĕp
şyrăn	pĕlĕn	vulăn	ĕşlĕn
şyrĕ	pĕlĕ	vulĕ	ĕşlĕ
şyrăpăr	pĕlĕpĕr	vulăpăr	ĕşlĕpĕr
şyrăr	pĕlĕr	vulăr	ĕşlĕr
şyrĕş	pĕlĕş	vulĕş	ĕşlĕş

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

şyrmăp	pĕlmĕp	vulamăp	ĕşlemĕp
şyrmăn	pĕlmĕn	vulamăn	ĕşlemĕn
şyrmĕ	pĕlmĕ	vulamĕ	ĕşlemĕ
şyrmăpăr	pĕlmĕpĕr	vulamăpăr	ĕşlemĕpĕr
şyrmăr	pĕlmĕr	vulamăr	ĕşlemĕr
şyrmĕş	pĕlmĕş	vulamĕş	ĕşlemĕş

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
ülĕmren kurajmăn	you will not be able to see him in the future
hăshne ilĕn	Which one will you take?
kurajmăn	you will be unable to see me
esĕ kajăn-i	Will you go?
esĕ kirek ăşta jarsan ta kajăp	I shall go wherever you may send me
tupajăn-i	Will you be able to find them?
epĕ vişĕ hutcen kĕsenep	I shall whinny three times
sana arămu tytĕ	your wife will seize you
pallama tytăp	I shall hire you for to know.

Preterite Tense

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

a. -r after vowel stems, and after consonants except /l n r/

b. -t after stems in /l n r/

c. -ch -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:

vularăm	ĕşlerĕm	şyrtăm	kiltĕm
vularăn	ĕşlerĕn	şyrtăn	kiltĕn
vularĕ	ĕşlerĕ	şyrchĕ	kilchĕ
vularămăr	ĕşlerĕmĕr	şyrtămăr	kiltĕmĕr
vularăr	ĕşlerĕr	şyrtăr	kiltĕr
vularĕş	ĕşlerĕş	şyrchĕş	kilchĕş

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.

vulamarăm	ĕşlemerĕm	şyrmarăm	kilmerĕm
vulamarăn	ĕşlemerĕn	şyrmarăn	kilmerĕn
vulamarĕ	ĕşlemerĕ	şyrmarĕ	kilmerĕ
vulamarămăr	ĕşlemerĕmĕr	şyrmarămăr	
kilmerĕmĕr			
vulamarăr	ĕşlemerĕr	şyrmarăr	kilmerĕr
vulamarĕş	ĕşlemerĕş	şyrmarĕş	kilmerĕş

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

tuprĕ	he found	tuprăn	you have found (them)
pĕltĕn	you knew	pytancĕ	he has hidden himself
itlemerĕ	he did not obey	tuprăr-i	Did you find (him)?
şürerĕn	you travelled	terĕm	I said
kilmerĕm	I did not come	tytrĕ	he seized

şavna pallarăn	you have recognized that one
şavna pĕltĕn	you have known her
pytantartăm	I have caused (them) to be hidden

tupajmarămăr	we were unable to find (him)
văl sire pallarĕ	he recognized you

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:

kurtămăr	we did see it
kurcĕ	he saw it
esir kurtăr-i	did you see it

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.

jĕr-	to weep
kĕr-	to enter
kür-	to bring
par-	to give
per-	to throw, shoot
pyr-	to go
tăr-	to stand
hur-	to place, put
jar-	to send, leave, let, release

Some examples of formations are the following.

mana Tură ulma pacĕ	God has given me an apple
jacĕ	he let me go
jamarĕ	he did not let him go
jamastcĕ	he did not let go (past habitual tense)
esĕ şynna ăşta hutăn	where did you put the man?
lasha numaj tavlashsa tăcĕ	the horse stood there struggling fiercely
lasha shăvarma kajrăm	I went to water the horses
asshĕ vara şime kĕnĕ	his father then came in to eat

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

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 (CV Manual, Grammar):

UNIT TEN

Secondary past tenses of the Indicative:
a. Durative past in -ttăm
b. Past in the Future: -nă + pul-
c. Past of the preterite: -se + -ttĕm
The Morpheme chchĕ "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 tăr- 'to stand, to be,' thus, "I stand and work" > I was working.

vulattăm	ĕşlettĕm	şyrattăm	pĕlettĕm
vulattăn	ĕşlettĕn	şyrattăn	pĕlettĕn
vulatchĕ	ĕşletchĕ	şyratchĕ	pĕletchĕ
vulattămăr	ĕşlettĕmĕr	şyrattămăr	
pĕlettĕmĕr			
vulattăr	ĕşlettĕr	şyrattăr	pĕlettĕr
vulatchĕş	ĕşletchĕş	şyratchĕş	pĕletchĕş

The negative forms to the above are the following.

vulamastăm	ĕşlemestĕm	şyrmastăm	pĕlmestĕp
vulamastăn	ĕşlemestĕn	şyrmastăn	pĕlmestĕn
vulamastchĕ	ĕşlemestchĕ	şyrmastchĕ	
pĕlmestchĕ			
vulamastămăr	ĕşlemestĕmĕr	şyrmastămăr	
pĕlmestĕpĕr			
vulamastăr	ĕşlemestĕr	şyrmastăr	pĕlmestĕr
vulamastchĕş	ĕşlemestchĕş	şyrmastchĕş	
pĕlmestchĕş			

Fast 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 stern the invariable morpheme {. nA}, followed by the verb pul- 'to be, become' in the future tense.

epĕ kajnă pulăp	"I shall be one who has gone," "I shall have gone"
esĕ kajnă pulăn	you will have gone
văl kajnă pulĕ	he will have gone
epir kajnă pulăpăr	we shall have gone
esir kajna pulăr	you will have gone

vĕsem kajnă pulĕş they will have gone

If a verb with front vowels is used, as il- ‘to take, buy,‘ the corresponding form ilnĕ ‘taken, bought‘ Is substituted. This form in -nă/-nĕ will be discussed shortly at length. The negative to this is in -mAn, as /kajman/ or /ilmen/, viz. epĕ kajman 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 ja 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	ĕşlesettĕm	şyrsattăm	pĕlsettĕm
vulasattăn	ĕşlettĕn	şyrsattăn	pĕlsettĕn
vulasachchĕ	ĕşlesechchĕ	şyrsachchĕ	pĕlsechchĕ
vulasattămăr	ĕşlesettĕmĕr	şyrsattămăr	pĕlsettĕmĕr
vulasattăr	ĕşlesettĕr	şyrsattăr	pĕlsettĕr
vulasachchĕş	ĕşlesechchĕş	şyrsachchĕş	pĕlsettĕş

The negative formation is as follows.

vulamasattăm	ĕşlemesettĕm	şyrmasattăm	pĕlmesettĕm
vulamasattăn	ĕşlemesettĕn	şyrmasattăn	pĕlmesettĕn
vulamasachchĕ	ĕşlemesechchĕ	şyrmasachchĕ	pĕlmesechchĕ
vulamasattămăr	ĕşlemesettĕmĕr	şyrmasattămăr	pĕlmesettĕmĕr
vulamasattăr	ĕşlemesettĕr	şyrmasattăr	pĕlmesettĕr
vulamasachchĕş	ĕşlemesechchĕş	şyrmasachchĕş	pĕlmesechchĕş

The Morpheme chchĕ ‘was‘

The morpheme –chchĕ 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 -dy of Turkic languages. It may be attached to the nouns pur and şuk to yield purchchĕ “there

was, there were" and şukchchĕ "there was not, there were not." Note that in the case of several tenses, the 3rd p. sg. ends in -chĕ, which is more properly considered part of the tense formation. The morpheme chchĕ occurs regularly as a free variant with zero in the past preterite and the past durative, viz.:

şyrattămchchĕ	şyrsattămchchĕ
şyrattănchchĕ	şyrsattănchchĕ
(şyratchĕ)	(şyrsachchĕ)
şyrattămărchchĕ	şyrsattămărchchĕ
şyrattărchchĕ	şyrsattărchchĕ
şyratchĕş	şyrsatchĕş

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 wie who had been working"
(etc.)

UNIT ELEVEN (CV Manual, Grammar):

UNIT ELEVEN

a. Present participle (nomen actoris) in -kan
b. Past participle (nomen perfecti) in -nă
c. Future participle (nomen futuri) in -as
d. Infinitive (nomen concretum) in -ma
e. 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
ĕntĕ kileken etem	'the now coming man' the man who is coming now
shyva kürteken Ioann	'causing to go into water John' = John the Baptist

```
        tyra akakan             a grain-sower, the one sowing grain
        şynna pulăshăkan şyn    a philanthropist (a man-helping man‘)
        esir julakan jură       ‘the you singing song‘ = the song which
you are singing
        chej ĕşeken chashăk     the tea-drinking cup (obviously, not the
cup which is drinking tea,
                                but the cup for the purpose of tea-
drinking)

        vulakan charănchĕ       the reader stopped

        pĕr vătăr hălăş         an oak thirty fathoms in circumference
(lit. ‘revolving around‘)
        şavrănakan juman
```

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

```
        hulana kajakan şul      the road leading to the city
```

It may occur with possessive endings, as in these examples:

```
        şyrakanni şyrat,        the writer writes,
        vulakanni vulat         the reader reads (lit. ‘its writing-one
writes‘)

        puşlakanni esĕ pultăn, “Its beginning one you were; its
finishing one, I“
        vĕşlekenni – epĕ        You started it but 1 finished it.
```

This form may occur in all cases, and its formation is absolutely regular

vulakan	ĕşleken	vulakansem
vulakanăn	ĕşlekenĕn	vulakanseneĕn
vulakana	ĕşlekene	vulakansene
vulakanta	ĕşlekente	vulakansenche
vulakantan	ĕşlekenten	vulakansenchĕn
vulakanpa	ĕşlekenpe	vulakansempe

The morpheme -chchĕ may also be affixed:

```
        esĕ haşata stat‘ja şyrakanchchĕ              you used to write
newspaper 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
        kuş kurman şyn          ‘a non-eye-seeing man‘ >  a blind man
        shyvra putman japalasem        things which do not sink in
water, unsinkables
        ereh ĕşmen şyn          a non-wine-drinking man, teetotaler
        pĕlmenten an yjt        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:

juhanshyv	flowing water‘ = river
vĕşen kajăk	‘flying bird‘ = fowl, bird
şüren şul	‘going, travelling road‘ = well-trodden path

Fast 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 lt 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 -chchĕ, 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/-nĕ, and does not vary for person. Before this morpheme, monosyllabic verb stems in -r employ their stem alternant without -r.

epĕ vulană	I was a reader, I am one who read; I read (past)
epĕ pĕlnĕ	I was a knower, I am one who knew, I knew
şyn kurnă	the man saw
kurnă şyn	the seen man, the man who was seen AND the man who saw
esĕ kurnă etem	your seen man‘ the man whom you saw
kilnĕ etem	the man who came
varmanti pysăk tipnĕ juman	a big oak which has dried out in the forest
pytannă sĕrten tuprăn	you have found their hidden place
arămĕ jană tytnă	his wife went and held him (began to hold him)
manăn hĕrĕ tăläha	from having left my daughters as widows,
hăvarnăshăn	because you left them as widows

Note that both active and passive may be inferred from this form, depending on the context:

kurnă şyn	the man who saw, the man who was seen
kurman iltmen şyn	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 3rdp. only.

pĕlmen sămah	an unknown word, a word one didn"t know
şemjiseni pĕri te sismen	not one of the family-members noticed
lashasem shyv ĕşmenten	owing to the horses‘ not drinking water

kahal kajnăne kursassăn when they saw Lazybones coming

kahal vshsem kulnăshĕ Lazybones grew angry from their having laughed
şilennĕ julnăshke the one who has remained

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.

kĕneke vulani usăllă book reading is useful (‘book its reading useful‘)
tabak turtnine sijenlĕ teşşĕ tobacco smoking is harmful, they say
vulani reading, the act or occupation of reading
tărăshni the trying, striving, endeavor, attempt

epir tavlashnine şăltăr the stars, moon and sun saw us fighting
ujăh hĕvel kurchĕ

anchah acha lashi kalanine however, the boy did not obey the horse‘s talking
itlemen (what the horse had said)

hu savnine par give the one you love, your loved one

hăjne chup tunine kăşt sisnĕ she felt somewhat herself having been kissed

Future Participle (Nomen futuri)

The formation of this noun is not difficult: to the stern of the word -(A)s is added, thus:

vulas one who will read, that which is to be read,
which will be read

pĕles what will be known, one who will know
vyras văhăt the time to harvest
pulas văhăt future tense (‘the going-to-become time‘)
kiles şul the coming year
kalas sămax the words (I am) going to say
ĕntĕ kĕrü tăvas pulĕ 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 jurlamas ‘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 şuk ‘there is none.‘

epĕ temterle kajas mar tĕrem I said (I was) one who will not go at all

The nomen futuri may also be used predicatively, with or without pronoun.

epĕ pĕles	I will know, I should know
kajas, ate	I'll go, father lit. 'there will be a going'
ăṣta pytanas	Where is one to hide?
jeple pĕles	How to know? How is one to know that?
jeple tupas	How to find? = How is one to find her?

The future participle is also frequently used with the so-called purposive case denoted by the morpheme -/shăn/, meaning "for, for the purpose of." This combination functions like the infinitive of European languages in many ways. Note that in pronunciation the combinations -ssh- or ṣsh become -shsh-.

appana kurasshăn epĕ kunta kiltĕm	I came here for the seeing of my sister, to see my sister
acha ṣavah anasshăn pulnă	the boy was for descending there (anyway), the boy wanted to go down there
ku hĕre kahala kajasshăn pulman	that girl was not for going to the Lazybones, did not want to go to Lazybones

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.

jurla	to sing
jurlama	singing, the act or practice of singing
văl jurlama havas	he loves singing, he loves to sing
mana tupma hushat	he orders me to find (them)
vută tijeme hatĕrleně	he readied the loading of firewood
văl shyv ăsma annă	he went down to draw water

This form frequently has a purposive connotation, "for, for to, in order to, for the purpose of doing so."

pĕrre amashĕ shyva kajma hushnă	once his mother ordered going for (the purpose of getting) water
ṣav starik lashisene ṣăvarma annă	that old man went down to water (in order to water) his horses

ashshĕ vara ilme kĕnĕ — then his father came in to eat

akă tyră akakan akma tuhnă — Lo, a sower went out to sow [Mark IV,3]
kartana lasha tytma kajnă — he went into the herd to catch a horse
pallama pyrsan — when he went in order to recognize

Although there is no negative, this form may occur with the privative morpheme -săr, viz.:

nummajchchen kajmasăr tăna — he stood for a long time without going
chătajmasăr — inability to restrain

arămĕ tepĕr kaş şyvărmasăr — the next night his wife lay and watched without
syhlasa vyrtnă — sleeping

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 vărmanalla ‘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
pĕlmelle, pĕlmelli — that which must be known, is necessary to know
epĕ kilmelle — I must come, I have to come
hal"ĕh kajmalli? — is it necessary to go now (= do we have to go now?)

untan tepĕr kun — the next day it was necessary to recognize the middle
vătalăhne pallamalla pulnă — one (the middle one was to be recognized)

hăşşan … pürtre puran — When will we be having to live in a house? (When do
purănmalla pulăr-shi — we get to live in a house like other people?)

UNIT TWELVE (CV Manual, Grammar):

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. In the other persons endings are used.

epĕ vulam, pĕlem, şyram	let me read, know, write!
esĕ vula, pĕl, şyr	read! know! write!
văl vulatăr, pĕltĕr, şyrtăr	let him read, know, write!
epir vular, pĕler, şyrar	let‘s read, let‘s know, let‘s write!
esir vulăr, pĕlĕr, şyrăr	read! know! write!
vĕsem vulachchăr, pĕlchchĕr, şyrchchăr	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	pĕlem mar
an vula	an pĕl
an vulatăr	an pĕltĕr
vular mar	pĕler mar
an vulăr	an pĕlĕr
an vulachchăr	an pĕlchchĕr

Examples of the usage in this mood are the following.

atja epir anar	well then, let‘s go down (to the earthly world)
lesh tĕnchene ansa kurar	let‘s go down and see the other world
esĕ ăna syhla	you watch him
an şyvăr	don‘t sleep
tytta an jar	hold on and don‘t release him
hăvah kaj	go yourself!
pĕtĕm Raşşeje kursa surer	let‘s ride and see all of Russia
şüle kajar-i je şĕre kajar-i	shall we go to the sky or to the earth
kus kajsa kan ĕntĕ	go and return and rest now
halĕ hu pytan	now you hide yourself
şyvra karas pulăsem sürechchĕr	Let carp-fish go in the water!

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 {(Ă)ttĂm}. Note the close resemblance of these forms to those of the durative past formation in -ttăm. The conditional has a short ă before the ending. The 1st and 2nd ps. are also often used with the past morpheme -chchĕ, to create the nuance “would have.“ Note the lack of vowel harmony in the 3rd p. sg. and pl.

vulăttăm	pĕlĕttĕm	şyrăttăm	kajăttăm
vulăttăn	pĕlĕttĕn	şyrăttăn	kajăttăn
vulĕchchĕ	pĕlĕchchĕ	şyrĕchchĕ	kajĕchchĕ
vulăttămăr	pĕlĕttĕmĕr	şyrăttămăr	
kajăttămăr			
vulăttăr	pĕlĕttĕr	şyrăttăr	kajăttăr
vulĕchchĕş	pĕlĕchchĕş	şyrĕchchĕş	
kajĕchchĕş			

The negation to the above employs the allomorph -m- of the negative morpheme.

vulamăttăm	pĕlmĕttĕm
vulamăttăn	pĕlmĕttĕn
vulamĕchchĕ	pĕlmĕchchĕ
vulamăttămăr	pĕlmĕttĕmĕr
vulamăttăr	pĕlmĕttĕr
vulamĕchchĕş	pĕlmĕchchĕş

The negative may also employ the suffixed morpheme –chchĕ. Examples of this mood are the following.

vulăttăm	I would read (but I have no book)
ilĕttĕm	I would buy (but I have no money)
kalăttăm	I would say (If I dared)
kajmăttăm	I wouldn‘t go (but I can‘t refuse)
ilmĕttĕm	I wouldn‘t buy it (but I have to)
jarăttăm ta	I would release you, but
‘kajăttăm ta ürkenetĕp‘	“I would go, but I am lazy“ he said

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, şyrrnă pulăttăm “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	pĕlĕpin	larăpin
vulăsăn	pĕlĕsĕn	larăsăn
vulin	pĕlin	larin

vulăpărin	pĕlĕpĕrin	larăpărin
vulăsăr	pĕlĕsĕr	larăsăr
vulăşin	pĕlĕşin	larăşin

The negative forms of the above are the following.

vulamăpin	pĕlmĕpin	larmăpin
vulamăsăn	pĕlmĕsĕn	larmăsăn
vulamin	pĕlmin	larmin
vulamăpărin	pĕlmĕpĕrin	larmăpărin
vulamăsăr	pĕlmĕsĕr	larmăsăr
vulamăşin	pĕlmĕşin	larmăşin

There is also an artificial past tense formed from the nomen perfecti in -na plus the subjunctive of pul-, thus:

şyrnă pulăpin	şyrman pulăpin
etc.	etc.

According to the Chuvash grammarians, a true optative mood is formed by adding the morpheme -chchĕ 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 (CV Manual, Grammar):

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	standing
vĕşe	flying
vula-vula	reading and reading
tytta	holding

Examples of usage are the following.

ulmisem şĕrelle usăna	its apples were (lit. "lay') hanging and hanging
usăna larnă	towards the ground (hanging way down to the ground
epĕ kunĕpe ulma şije	I shall go about eating
şije şürĕp	and eating apples all the day
starik vara pit hujhăra puşlană	the old man then began crying greatly
pirĕn Ivan pichchĕ jurla jurla julchĕ	our brother John continued to sing on and on
shyra puşlană	began searching
chup tăva puşlană	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 about it."

The ending of this form is -sa/-se.

vulasa larat	reading he sits = he sits reading, he sits and reads
un patne pyrsa kalană	going to him, he said; he went up to him and said
hăvarsa larnă	he climbed up and sat ('climbing up he sat')
shyva vyrtsa păhnă	he lay and watched the water, he lay watching the water
esĕ ulma tatsa il te	you pick and take an apple
şak teksta şyrsa ilĕr	take and write this text
tultah hujhărsa larnă	he sat outside and wept
ku hăvăn upăshku sana kilse chup tăvat	this is your own husband who comes and kisses you

In the case of stems ending in ş or sh, there is assimilation to that phoneme,

thus, vĕşse [vĕşşe] ‘flying.‘ For the subordinate and the coordinate converb, the negative employs the suffix -masăr/ -mesĕr, which is identical in formation with the verbal noun in -ma plus the privative morpheme -săr.

vaskamasăr without, 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.

kĕrse kaj-	to go in, enter (to go entering)
tuhsa kaj-	to go out, leave (to go emerging)
ilse kil-	to take and come, to bring
pyrsa kala-	to go and say, to tell
tărsa jul-	to remain standing, to remain, stop
ilse pyr-	to bring hither, to go taking
husa jar-	to send and dispatch = to send

In some Chuvash dialects, this form may function as a finite tense, viz., epĕ şyrsa - I have written. No examples occur in our material.

Past Gerund

The past gerund has the form -san/-sen or -sassăn/-sĕssen. 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 /ş/ and /sh/, there is assimilation to that consonant phoneme. Take care not to confuse this morpheme with the purposive case -shăn ‘for‘

vulasan	having read, after reading (then something else happened)
kalamasan	when he didn‘t say
kahal kajnăne kursassăn	when they saw Lazybones coming, they
ĕş hushan văl itlemen	when she ordered him to work, he did not obey
sakăr şula şiltsen	after he had arrived at the age of eight
hire tuhsan lashine kalană	when he came out onto the field, he said to the horse
şüle Tură patne kajsan	when we go towards God on high, it will be better
avantarah pulĕ	(it would be better if we went to God on high)
ansan sana tytaşşĕ	when you descend, they will seize you
şavna iltsen	when they heard that, they…

tesen	when you say > "if"
manran pulashu yjtas tesen	"when you say there is to be the asking of help
	from me" = if you ask me for help

This form may also be reduplicated.

süresen süresen pĕr	they rode and rode (for a long time) and came to an oak
juman patne şitnĕ	
purănsan purănsan vutti	after they lived that way a very long time, their
pĕtnĕ	firewood ran out
purănsan purănsan Tură	after he had lived there a long time, God said
kĕrüshne kalană	to his son-in-law:

Antecedent Converb

This converb has the general meaning of "before," and employs the ending -ichchen. Note that vowel stern verbs employ their stem alternant without vowel before this morpheme. It also has the meanings of "rather than, instead of."

vula- > vulichchen	before reading, until reading
kilichchen	until he comes, until the arrival, before he comes
epĕ kilichchen	until I came
namăslanichchen	rather than becoming ashamed
şynsem pĕlichchen	before people learn of it

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 ...," -năranpa "from the time that ," and -uşăn or -atshăn "while."

There is an infinitive-like form in -măshkan/-mĕshken, which is rather similar to the nomen concretum in -ma.

UNIT FOURTEEN (CV Manual, Grammar):

UNIT FOURTEEN

Adverbs; Postpositions; conjunctions; particle s; 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:

ilemlĕ vărman	a beautiful woods
ilemlĕ tĕrleně	beautifully sewn
inşe şul	a distant road
inşe an hur	don‘ t put it far away
hurlăhlă jură	a sad song
hurlăhlă julaşşĕ	they sing sadly
vyrăsla jură	a Russian song
vyrăsla jurlat	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).

lajăh kalaşat	he speaks well
tirpejlĕ tyt	be careful, take care
chăvashla kalaşat	he speaks Chuvash
şĕnĕlle purănat	he‘s living like a new man (turned over a new leaf)
urăhla tăvăpăr	we do it differently
unchchĕn kilĕn	until you come
teprechchen hăvarar	let‘s stay until the next one
şavănta kaj	go there
kuntan kajatpăr	we are leaving here (from here)
vişşĕn purnatpăr	we three live together
ikserĕn piraşşĕ	they go two at a time
şurkunne kajăksem vĕşse kilchĕş	the birds came flying in the springtime
kunĕpe şumăr şăvat	it rains all day

The morphemes -lla of the directive, and the -la morphemeof adjectives may also be found in an adverbial function as: untalla ‘thither,‘ kilelle ‘homewards,‘ şamrăkla ‘as a youth, young,‘ şĕrle ‘by night, at night,‘ kĕtesle ‘in installments.‘ The genitive case is also often used to create adverbs, thus, irĕkkĕn ‘voluntarily, of a voluntary nature,‘ sivvĕn ‘coldly,‘ şămăllăn ‘slightly,‘ tĕplĕn ‘in detail,‘ vyrănăn ‘in places, somewhere,‘ măshărăn ‘in pairs, paired up,‘ kunĕn-şĕrĕn ‘by day and night.‘ The dative is found with some expressions of time, as kĕrkunne ‘in the fall,‘ şurkunne ‘in the spring,‘ irhine ‘in the morning.‘ The suffix -chchen or –chen is found on some expressions of time, as well as in the antecedent converb: halichchen ‘up to this time,‘ pajtahchen ‘since time immemorial,‘ nummajchchen ‘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: tahşan ‘sometime,‘ taşta ‘somewhere,‘ temĕnle ‘some sort,‘ nişta ‘no where, to nowhere,‘ teple ‘somehow.‘ The compound suffix -ranpa, arising from the instrumental and ablative cases, is also used adverbially: ĕnertenpe ‘since yesterday,‘ paşărtanpa ‘since time began,‘ kilnĕrenpe ‘since I arrived, from my having arrived.‘

Some words and phrases occur only in adverbial usage:

paşăr	recently
sasartăk	suddenly
aran	somehow
aval	formerly
jalan	always
pĕrmaj	continually
kăşal	nowadays (< ku ‘this‘ + şul ‘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:

ajak	side	hĕr	edge
um	front, before	pat	direction, towards
vară	midst	şum	along
aj	underpart, underside	hushă	between; internal
şi	surface	hĕrri	front one side ("its edge‘)
jen	side	ăsh(ĕ)	interior, inside
tără	upon	tărri	upon (possessive)
hyş	rear, behind	şyvăh	vicinity, near

Case forms suffice to express some relationships, as:

shkapa kĕneke hur	place the book in the book case

If it is necessary to tell in greater detail, then postpositions may be used:

kĕneke ajne tetrad‘ hur	put the notebook under the book
kĕneke şine tetrad‘ hur	put the notebook on the book
kĕneke hyshne tetrad‘ hur	put the notebook behind the book

Some examples from the reading are the following.

juman patne	towards the oak
şuni şinchchen	down from his sled
tĕp şine	on the ground
kashnin şinchen	from off each
lashu patne	towards your horse
pĕrin uri piche şine	at the side of one"s leg (on top of the side of the foot of one)
aslin puşĕ patĕnchen	from the side of the eldest‘s head

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 which can"t be declined, are:

urlă	through, across
pĕrle	together with (+ instrumental)
vitĕr	through, across
pek	like
taran	up to
tărăh	by, according to
pula	thanks to
pirki	by virtue of
valli	for
kura	thanks to
hirĕş	against
puşne	except (+ ablative)

They may govern different cases, as genitive, dative and ablative.

san valli kĕneke iltĕm	I bought this book for you
ku kĕneke Ivana valli	this book is for John
Verukăn ivălĕnchen puşne urăh nikam ta şuk	Vera has no one except her son
şumăra pula ută tipmerĕ	On account of the rain the hay did not dry out.

Some persons consider the purposive -shăn and the terminative -chen as postpositions. One could equally well consider them cases.

mĕnshĕn	for what, why?
kaşchen	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:	je, te, pĕrre ... tepre, pĕr . .. pĕr "now … now;"
	je . .. je "either . . or," "now this ... now that"
adversative:	şapah, anchah "but, however"
negative:	ni . .. ni "neither ... nor" (of foreign origin)

Subordinating conjunctions are the following:

causative:	mĕnshĕn tensen "because" ('If you say for what')
consequential:	şavănpa, şavănpa 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:

vyrăs ta, chăvash ta, irşe te hăj chĕlhipe kalaşat	Both Russian, Chuvash and Erzyan speak in their own language.
hula uramĕsem aslă ta takăr	City streets are broad and flat.
epĕ şeş mar, ytisem te şaplah shuhăshlaşşĕ	Not only I, but others too think so
pajan epĕ ni pahchana, ni urama tuhmarăm	Today I neither went into 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:

intensifying:

-ah/-eh (strengthens the preceding word like Russian zhe or German doch, ja, or the way in English we stress with the voice, by saying "He did go there") - this is very frequent, especially In folklore, where it is mostly written as part of the preceding word. şeş şeh "only, merely"

demonstrative:

akă "here," avă "there;"văt "voici," veş "voilà".

interrogative:

-i, -shi "whether" (often merely indicates a question is in existence, like Japanese
ka); -i-mĕn or im "really, you don't say"

lightly expressed command:

-ha, -ka

clarifying:

shăp “equally, exactly, namely, viz.“

negativing:

an, mar “no, not, not any“

Most of these particles are enclitic (that is, pronounced and stressed with the preceding word), but -ah, 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:

ej

used in salutation and greeting

aj

expresses dissatisfaction and indignation

ah, eh

alas! expresses satisfaction, but also extreme discontent, perplexity, grief and indignation

e-e, y-yh

reproachful, tsk-tsk!, uh-uh!

aj-haj, aj-jaj

ah-hah! derisive or ironical attitude

atja!

come on! let‘s go! get with it! plural is: atjăr. Also occurs metathetized: ajta, ajtăr

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.

```
        shănkăr-shănkăr shyv juhat              The water babbles,
gurgle-gurgle.
```

UNIT FIFTEEN (CV Manual, Grammar):

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

```
ikĕ lasha               two horses
pilĕk kĕneke            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 same 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/ĕ 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.      pĕr             pĕrre
2.      ikĕ, ik         ikkĕ
3.      vişĕ, viş       vişşĕ
4.      tăvată, tăvat   tăvattă
5.      pilĕk           pilĕk
6.      ultă, ult       ulttă
7.      şichĕ           şichchĕ
8.      sakăr           sakkăr
9.      tăhăr           tăhhăr
10.     vună, vun       vunnă
```

The numbers 10-19 are compounded as: vunpĕr, vunikĕ, and so on. Units with higher tens are formed as in English: şirĕm pĕr '21,' şyrĕm ikĕ '22,' etc.

```
20,     şirĕm
30.     vătăr
40.     hĕrĕx
50.     allă, ală, al
```

60. utmăl
70. şitmĕl
80. sakărvunnă
90. tăhărvună
100. şĕr

The other hundreds are compounded with stem forms plus şĕr, namely, ikşĕr, vişşĕr, tăvtşĕr, pilĕkşĕr. Smaller units with hundreds add te ‘and,‘

văl şĕr te ikke şitnĕ he reached 102.

The same for numbers over 1,000:

pin te tăhărşĕr şirĕm şichĕ 1927
pin te tăhărşĕr utmăl pĕr 1961

The long forms express the concept of the number as an abstract entity, and may be subject, object or predicate.

tăhhărtan pillĕk five from nine is four (from nine,
kălarsan, tăvattă julat when five is taken away, four remains‘)
vişĕ hut vişşĕ – tăhhăr three times three - (is) 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/ĕ to be dropped in some cases.

hirte vişĕ brigade ĕşlet three teams are working in the field
şich hut viş te pĕr hut kas measure seven times, cut once (Look before you leap!)
viş-tăvat three or four, some three or four
ikşĕmĕr (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 -mĕsh (invariable). Syntactically, they are attributes, as ikkĕmĕsh brigada ‘the second team.‘ If the possessive -ĕ is used, then the ordinals may occur in all cases, and be used as subject, object or predicate.

kolhozra ikĕ brigada: pĕrremĕsh ută şulat, ikkĕmĕshne yrash vyrma jană
There are two teams in the kolkhoz:
the first mows hay, and the second was sent out to reap rye.

The forms for the ordinals are the following.

pĕrremĕsh first
ikkĕmĕsh second

viṣṣĕmĕsh	third
tăvattămĕsh	fourth
pilĕkmĕsh	fifth
ulttămĕsh	sixth
ṣichchĕmĕsh	seventh
sakkărmĕsh	eighth
tăhhărmĕsh	ninth
vunnămĕsh	tenth

Distributive numerals are formed with the suffix -shar/-sher 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.

pilĕksher tetrad"	five notebooks each
pinsher	every thousand
pĕrer	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 ĕshĕ used with some terms of relationship.

pĕri	one of them ('its one')
ikkĕshĕ	two of them, a pair, twosome
viṣṣĕshĕ	a three of them, a group of three
tăvattăshĕ	a foursome, four of them
pilĕkĕshĕ	five of them
ulttăshĕ	six of them
ṣichchĕshĕ	seven of them
sakkărăshĕ	eight of them
tăhhărăshĕ	nine of them
vunnăshĕ	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.

iksĕmĕr	both of us, the two of us
iksĕr	you two, the two of you
viṣ-sĕmĕr	we three
viṣ-sĕr	you three

pajan huralta. ikkĕshĕ tăraṣṣĕ Today two of them are keeping watch

viṣ-sĕmĕre haṣat kălarma tivet The three of us must make 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.

ikkĕ viṣṣĕmĕshĕnchen pĕrre tăvattămĕshĕ kalărsan, pilĕk vunikkămĕshĕ julat

If one-fourth is taken away from two thirds, the remainder is five-twelfths.

UNIT SIXTEEN (CV Manual, Grammar):

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 -şă/-şĕ 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 + şyrăvĕ its writing (< şyru - to write)	alşyrăvĕ manuscript (itself of similar formation)
piĕk five + şullah (< şul year)	piĕkşullah five-year plan
şul road + şüren (< şüre - to go, travel)	şulşüren traveller
şur half + utrav island	şurutrav peninsula

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 -şă/-şĕ denotes the occupation of the person, or the person logically associated with some object and its function.

pulă	fish	pulăşă	fisherman
timĕr	iron	timĕrşĕ	smith
kĕtü	herd	kĕtüşĕ	herdsman
jură	song	jurăşă	singer
jĕrke	order, System	jĕrkeşĕ	director

B. An extremely important suffix of wide application is the one in -lăh/-lĕh. 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.

juman	oak	jumanlăh	oakgrove
hăjăr	sand	hăjărlăh	sandbank
şĕlen	snake	şĕlenlĕh	snakepit
kuş	eye	kuşlăh	glasses
săhman	caftan	săhmanăh	material for a caftan
şăvar	mouth	şăvarăh	bit (in a horse's mouth)
tus	friend	tuslăh	friendship
tasa	clean	tasalăh	cleanliness
jultash	comrade	jultashlăh	comradeship
vată	old	vatălăh	age
syvă	well, healthy	syvlăh	health

pujan	rich	pujanlăh	wealth
pur	there is	purlăh	property
şuk	there is not	şuklăh	lack, insufficiency
etem	man	etemlĕh	mankind, humanity
patsha	king	patshalăh	kingdom

C. A somewhat similar suffix, -shă/-shĕ denotes the concept of the quality or attribute involved, e.g.

tarăn	deep	tăranăshă	depth
şülĕ	high	şülĕshĕ	height
sarlaka	wide	sarlakăshă	width
jyvăr	heavy	jyvărăshă	weight

In reality, this suffix is none other than the possessive morpheme met with in some terms of relationship, but the Chuvash grammarians consider it to belong here.

D. The suffix -u/-ˌ (after consonants) or -v (after vowels) is a very useful one to form nouns of action from verb stems.

şyr-	to write	şyru	letter
pĕl-	to know	pĕlü	fact, knowledge
vĕren-	to study	vĕrenü	studies
sujla-	to choose	sujlav	elections
puple-	to speak	puplev	speech
kul-	to laugh	kulu	laughter
puh-	to gather	puhu	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/-ĕk, -ăm/-ĕm, -ăş/-ĕş, -chăk/-chĕk, -kă/-kĕ, -kăch/-kĕch, -măsh/-mĕsh, -shka/-shke, -ske, and -uk/-ˌk.

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 stern. 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 -aj/-ej. This is called the potential infix.

kil-	to come
kllej-	to be able to come
kllejmest	he cannot come
tupajman	they could not find (him)
ĕlkĕrejmesen	when you are not able to get to me
tupajăn-i	will you be able to find (them)?
pyrajmastăp	I cannot go
tupajmarămăr	we were unable to find him
ănlanajmastăr-i-ha	are ye not able to understand? (Mark 4,13)

Another extremely important morpheme, which, like the preceding, maybe infixed 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/-tĕr, as in:

pultăr	let there be
vakantăr	let it be chopped to pieces
jultăr	let it remain

Some examples of the causative are these.

tutarsa kil-	go and have made
şuntarsa	causing to be burned, branding
kür-t-se	bringing in, causing to be brought in
pytantar-	to cause to secrete, to hide (trans.)
şitersen	when you feed me (cause to eat)
şyrtar-	to have write, to make write
vulattar-	to make read, to have someone read
ĕşletter-	to make work, to cause to work
vĕrent-	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/-ĕn, -n, and -ăl/-ĕl, as in the following examples

şăvan-	to wash oneself
kasăl-	to cut oneself up (of a tree in a folktale)
vitĕn-	to cover oneself
sarăl-	to enlarge
sirĕl-	to shun, avoid
şilen-	to grow angry, anger oneself
uşăl-	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 -ăsh/-ĕsh, -sh, or ăş/-ĕş, -ş.

pulăsh-	to help one another, be of assistance to each other
pallash-	to become acquainted with each another
kalash-	to discuss together with someone else (something)
kăshkărash-	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.

puş	head	puşla-	to begin
şuta	light	şutăl-	to dawn
jün	cheap	jünel-	to cheapen
hura	black	hural-	to blacken
jeshĕl	green	jesher-	to become green
ăsh	warmth	ăshăn-	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, -lash/-lesh, and -lat/-let.

```
tumlan-         to undress oneself
sudlash-        to judge one another
pĕrlesh-        to join with one another, unite
părlat-         to freeze (trans.)
```

Chuvash also has some onomatopoetic verbs, formed with the suffixes -tat-/-tet- and -lat-/-let-, viz.,

```
shătărtat-      to crackle
chĕriklet-      to chirp
mărlat-         to purr
```

The iterative suffix denoting repeated or strengthened action in Chuvash is -kala-/-kele-.

```
şyrkala-        to write a bit, write a few lines
şürkele-        to go for a little walk
ĕşlekelenĕ      He worked as opportunity presented itself.
kăshkărashkala- to cry or shout repeatedly (of several persons)
shăhărkala-     to whittle
```

SYNTAX (CV Manual, Grammar):

Chuvash manual

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 pattăr pogranichniksem kunĕn-şĕrĕn tĕrlĕ tăshmansenchen granitsăsene syhlaşşĕ	Our reknowned border guards protect the border day and night from various enemies.
anlă Atăl hăjĕn tulăh shyvne tinĕse vaskasa hăvalat	The Volga hurriedly drives its abundant waters to the sea.
pirĕn hăvatlă Sovet şarĕ fashistla Germanija şĕnterse tăkrĕ	Our valiant Soviet army scored the victory over Fascist Germany.

The subject does not need to be expressed with any special word:

temĕn chuhlĕ vak vyljăh pulnă	There was such a number of small cattle.
şapla păhnă chuh suhaltan jană tytnă	When he was watching thus (at such a watched time') he pulled (him) by the beard.
untan vara şavsene pallama kĕrshnĕ	Thereupon he then hired himself out for the purpose of knowing them.

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.

tepĕr kun kalleh kajăka jană kĕr¸ne	Another day he sent his son-in-law to hunt game.
epĕ ilse kĕrĕp attene	I‘ll go bring father in
şavah jaman arămĕ	Then his wife did not let him loose.

In most instances, however, the customary order is as follows:

pĕrre amăshĕ shyva kajma hushnă	Once his mother sent him to to fetch water.
arămĕ tepĕr kaş şyvarmasăr syhlasa vyrtnă	His wife the next evening lay and watched without sleeping.
ulăm şine purttăne hună	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.

epĕ unăn kandidaturine tăratsan, puhu havassăn unshăn sasălarĕ	When I proposed his candidacy, the entire assembly readily voted for him
konferentsija hupănnă hyşşăn delegatsem rajonsene salanchĕş	After adjourning the conference, 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, anchah, şapah, je, te, etc.

epir numaj şĕnĕ zavodsem, fabriksem tăvatpăr	We are building many new factories and plants.
hulara ta, jalta ta, inşetri şurşĕrte te sujlava hatĕrlenetpĕr	We are preparing for the elections in the town, in the country, and in the far north.
văl pitĕ tărăsat, anchah ilemlĕ şyrajmast-ha	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 (epĕ vĕrenetĕp - I study, epir vĕrenetpĕr - we study), as agreement of nouns or pronouns with the noun modified is found only in a few isolated expressions (esĕ şĕlĕkne attenne tăhănăn - you put on papa‘s hat, lit. “the hat, the papa one“). Appositives agree with the word modified in case and number, e.g.,

pirĕn, komsomoletssen, naukăna şavărsa ilmelleh	We Komsomols must master science. (Science must be mastered by us Komsomols)
epir, şamrăksem, naukăna şavărsa ilmelleh	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 keneki	John‘s book
kĕneke vulichchen	until reading a book
şile hirĕş	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.

hĕrlĕ jalav	red banner
vişĕ pilĕkşullăh	three five year plans
pĕtĕm halăh	the entire nation
tumalli ĕş	work to be done
vulama tytăntăm	I began reading, I set about reading
ăshă şantalăk	warm weather
văjlă şil	strong wind
vişĕ brigada	three teams
Muskav uramĕ	a Moscow street
vulakan kĕneke	a book which is being read
jurlakansen 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.

kolhoz ujĕ	a kolkhoz field
sujlav komissi	electoral commission
pereket kassi	savings bank
kolhoz pravlenijĕ	kolkhoz management
şutĕş Ministerstvi	Ministry of Education
vărman huşalăhĕ	forestry (‘forest economy‘)

We have previously noted nominal groups composed of nouns without any suffix.

şul şurt	stone house
kĕmĕl sehet	a silver watch
chugun şul	railroad (‘iron road‘)

The genitive case suffix distinguishes some phrases from each other.

lasha puşĕ	a horsehead
ku lashan puşĕ	the head of this horse, this horse‘s head
student ĕşĕ	student work, work performed by students
ku studentĕn ĕşĕ	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 vĕrenet	Ivanov studies
Ivanov student	Ivanov is a student
chugun şul	railroad (iron road)

The Genitive is used to express possession, regardless of whether a verb is present or not.

```
        Ivanăn avtomat-ruchka pur              John has a fountain pen.
        ku kĕneke Ivanăn                       This book is John‘s.
        epĕ Petĕrĕn kĕnekine iltĕm, sanănne mar I took Peter‘s book,
not yours
        Ivan kĕneki parta şincheh              John‘s book is on the
desk
```

The Dative-Accusative denotes direction, the indirect object and the direct object as well.

```
        brigadira premi pachĕş                 They awarded a prize to
the teamleader
        Ivan vĕrenme Instituta kĕnĕ            John began to study at
the Institute
        Ivan kĕnekene vulat                    John reads the book
        Ivan kĕneke vulat                      John reads books
```

The Locative denotes the place where an action occurs.

```
        sanra shanchak pur     You can be depended on (there is hope in
you)
        epĕ kolhozra ĕşlerĕm   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.

```
        uchitel achasenchen sochineni puştarchĕ
        The teacher collected the compositions from the students.

        direktor Muskavran tavrănă
        The director returned from Moscow

        Kazah SSR-ĕ Ukrainăran pysăk
        The Kazakh SSR is larger than Ukrainia.
```

The instrumental case arises from the postposition –palan/-pelen, now surviving as the ending -pa/-pe, and denotes the means or method.

```
        epĕ muzykăpa intereslenetĕp            I am interested in music
        esĕ kaşpa kil                          Come in the evening
        Setner pyrat vărmanpa                  Setner goes by way of the
woods
        epĕ părahutpa kiltĕm                   I arrived on the steamer
```

Types of Subordinate Clauses

Before taking tip he structure of compound and complex sentences, we shall briefly survey the chief types of subordinate clauses, as given by Dmitriyev and Gorskii.

Attributive:

```
        epir hulana kajakan avtobus kilchĕ
```

the bus in which we were going to town arrived
(the us to town taking bus came').

Subject:

epĕ shahmat kruzhokpe kĕni jultashsene pitĕ hĕpĕrtetterchĕ
My joining the chess club greatly heartened the members.

Object:

achasem ekskursije kajnine epĕ pĕletĕp
I know the children went on the outing
(I know the children a having gone on an outing).

Predicate:

pirĕn tĕp zadacha - nauka nikĕsĕsene şavărsa ilessi
Our basic task is to master the fundamentals of science.

Adverbs

of time:

hĕvel ansan, epir ĕşĕ pĕtertĕmĕr
When the sun went down, we finished work.

konferentsi hupănnă hyşşăn delegatsem rajonsene salanchĕş
After closing the conference, the delegates set out for their region.

Purpose:

mĕn vĕrennine şirĕpletme epir kalaşu tusa irttertĕmĕr
In order to confirm what had taken place, we conducted a talk.

Reason:

şĕr nürlĕren tyrăsem chasah shătrĕş
Since the ground was moist, the grain quickly sprouted.

văhăt numaja kajnă pirki, purte salanchĕş
In view of the fact that it was late, everyone went his way.

Manner:

kolhozniksem, agrotehnikăna vĕrene-vĕrene, tyrpul tuhăshne numaj üsterchĕş
The kolkhoz workers, studying agrotechnics, increased the crop yield considerably.

Condition:

stahanovla ĕşlesen, epir srokchen plana tultaratpăr
If we work in a Stakhanovits manner, we shall fulfill the plan ahead of schedule.

Concessive:

autobus avan pyrsan ta, epir pojezda ĕlkĕres şuk
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 ekskursije kajas tet, văl yran kiltĕr
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.

şumăr tumtire an jĕpettĕr tese, storozh hăj şine nakidka tăhănna
So that the ram would not wet his garments, the watchman put on a cloak.
(Saying, ‘let the ram not wet the clothes,‘ the watchman. ..)

haşat-zhurnasene văhătra vulas tese, epir chital‘năna jalanah şüretpĕr
In order to keep up with newspapers and magazines, visit the reading room regularly
(lit. ‘saying, ‘to read on time newspapers, we visit the reading room")

The word tesen (lit. "when one says‘) may also be used with the obligatory noun in -malla to indicate purpose.

haşat-zhurnalesene văhătra vulasa tăras tesen, jalanah chital‘năna şüremelle
In order to keep abreast of newspapers and magazines, one must visit the reading
room regularly.

Instead of ş¸remelle, one may also find ş¸re ‘one will go,‘ or ş¸res 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.

kĕrtemestĕn pulsan, văl văjpa kĕret
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‘).

şĕr tĕttĕm pulin te, jal kurănat-ha
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 w6rds mĕnshĕn tensen (‘when one says for what‘ = because), şavănpa or şavănpa vara (since by this, by virtue of this‘).

chul shyvra putat, mĕnshĕn tensen văl shyvran jyvăr
A stone sinks in water because it is heavier than water
(a stone sinks in water; if we say for what reason, it is heavy from water).

pirĕn patra shartlama sivĕsem pulchĕş. şavănpa vara vyrănĕ-vyrănĕpe ulmuşşisem hărchĕş
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 ĕşlemest, văl şimest
Who doesn‘t work, doesn‘t eat.

chul shyvra putat, mĕnshĕn tesen văl shyvran jyvăr
A stone sinks in water because it is heavier than water.

zanjatisem pĕtne hyşşănah, achasem vyljama puşlarĕş
As soon as classes let out, the children began to play.

However, in the following sentence, the first words cannot be used independently.

hĕvel tuhichcheneh, brigada ĕşe tytănchĕ
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.

epĕ, pichche Instituta vĕrenme kĕnĕrenpe, ăna pĕrre te kurman-ha
After my elder brother began to study at the Institute, I never saw him again.

But:

pichche Instituta vĕrenme kĕnĕrenpe epĕ ăna pĕrre te kurman-ha

does not contain punctuation.

Three Sons (CV Manual, Reader):

The Tale of Three Sons – vişĕ yvăl

vişĕ yvăl

ĕlĕk pĕr pujan şyn pulnă. unăn vişĕ yvăl pulnă. temişe pin puş shultra vyljăh pulnă, temĕn chuhlĕ vak vyljăh pulnă. pĕrr şapla şav starik lashisene shăvarna annă. lashisem pĕri te ĕşmen. starik kalană: "kĕsem mĕshĕn ĕşmeşşĕ, shyvra pĕr

për japala şuk-i?" tese shyva vyrtsa pähnă. şapla pähnă chuh suhaltan jană tytnă. starik kalană: "jar, për karta kasha sana pultăr" tenĕ. şapah jaman. untan starik kalană: "për karta ĕne pul sana" tenĕ. vutăsh şapah jaman.untan satik kalană: "vişĕ yvăltan pĕri sana" tenĕ te jană.

starik vara pit hujhăra puşlană. starik kilne pynă ta pˬrtne kĕmen tultah hujhărsa larnă. aslă ivălĕ tuhnă ta "atja, atte, şime" tenĕ. ashshĕ kalană: "pajan mana pysăk hujhă pulchĕ. lasha shăvarma karăm ta lashasem shyv ĕşmenten "shyvra mĕn pur" tese vyrtsa pährăm. şavăn chuh suhaltan titră ta vutăsh ni-pe te jamaschĕ. "şurri vyljähăma parăp, jar" terĕm, şapah jamarĕ. "vişĕ yvăltan pĕri sana" terĕm te tin jachĕ. esĕ kajăn-i?" tenĕ. yvălĕ kalană: "hăvah kaj" tenĕ te kĕrse kajnă. starik putjeh hujhărsa julnă.

vătalăh yvălĕ kalană: "epĕ ilse kĕrĕp attene" tenĕ. untan ashshĕ patne pynă ta, "atja, atte, şime" tenĕ. ashshĕ kalană: "pajan mana şapa hujhă pulchĕ" tenĕ. yvălĕ kalană: "hăvah kaj" tenĕ.

unta kĕşĕn yvălĕ tuhnă ta, "atja, atte, şime mĕshĕn hujhăratăn?" tenĕ. ashshĕ kalană: "mana pajan şapla şapla pulchĕ. esĕ kajăn-i?" tenĕ. yvălĕ kalană: "kajas, atte, esĕ kirek ăşta jarsan ta kajăp" tenĕ. ashshĕ vara şime kĕnĕ. şise tăransan kĕşĕn yvălĕ kalană: "haleh kajmalla-i?" tenĕ. ashshĕ: "haleh kajmalla" tenĕ. yvălĕ kalană: "atte, sănchăr jĕven tutarsa kil" tenĕ. ashshĕ vara sănchăr jĕvene tutarsa kilse pană.

yvălĕ jĕvene ilnĕ te kartana lasha tytma kajnă. jĕvene yvătnă ta për sară kărchankălă lasha puşne chiknĕ. vara şavna tytsa utlannă. ta şemjisene prushetsă tusa tuhsa kajnă. hire tuhsan lashine kalană: "atja, pirvaj pĕtĕm Raşeje kursa şˬrer" tenĕ.

şˬresen şˬresen për vătăr hălaş şavrănakan juman patne şitnĕ. şav jumana kassa vaklană. untan vut hursa lashine vutpa şuntarsa hyrsa şusa tasatnă, lashi vara yrarma şuk hitrelense kajnă. untan lashine kalană: "şˬle kajar-i je şĕre kajari?" tenĕ. lashi kalană: "şĕre kajchchen şˬle Tură patne kajsan avantarah pulĕ" tenĕ. untan vara şˬle Tură patne ulăhsa kajnă.

şˬlte şˬresen şˬresen për starik patne pynă ta, "esĕ mana tarşa tytman-shi?" tenĕ. starik kalană: "manăn vişĕ hĕr pur, şavsene hăhĕ asli hăshĕ kĕşĕnni şavsene pallama tytăp" tenĕ. untan vara şavsene pallama kĕrshnĕ.

hĕrĕsem vişĕshĕ te për pek për tĕslĕ pulnă. starik achana kalană: "lashuna kajsa şime parsa kil, epĕ hĕrsene kˬrtse tăratăp" tenĕ. acha lashi patne pyrsan lashinchen yjtnă: "huşa aslă hĕrne pallama hushat. jeple pĕles, purte për pek?" tenĕ. lashi kalană: "aslin puşe patĕnchen şimĕl shăna irtse kajĕ, şavna as tu" tenĕ. untan acha hĕrsem patne pynă ta păhsa tănă. chănfh për shăna vĕşşe irtse kajnă. vara acha: "ak şakă" tenĕ. starik kalană: "şavă pallarăn" tenĕ.

untan tepĕr vătalăhne pallamalla pulnă. acha tatah lashi patne pynă ta kalană: "pajan vătalăh hĕrne pĕlmelle, jeple pĕles?" tenĕ. lashi kalană: "pilĕk tĕlĕnchen shăna vĕşşe irtse kajĕ, şavă pulĕ vătalăhĕ" tenĕ. untan acha hĕrsene pallama pyrsan păhsa tănă. chănah ta për shăna pĕrin pilĕke tĕlĕnchen vĕşşe kajnă. acha kalană: "akă şak pulĕ vătalăhĕ" tenĕ. starik kalană: "şavă pĕltĕn" tenĕ. "yran kĕşĕnnine pallama kil" tenĕ. acha kajsa şyvărnă.

irhine tărsan acha pirvaj lashi patne pyrsa lashine kalană: "pajan kĕşĕn hĕrne jeple pallas?" tenĕ. lashi kalană: "pĕrin uri pichĕ shăna pyrsa larĕ, şavna as tu" tenĕ.

vara acha hĕrsene pallama pynă ta păhsa tănă. chănah ta pĕr shăna pĕrin uri pichĕ şine pyrsa larnă. untan acha kalană: "ak şakă kĕşĕnni" tenĕ. starik "pallarăn" tenĕ. untan starik kalană: "esĕ purne te pallarăn. ĕntĕ tata pytaram, tjpajăni? tenĕ. acha kalană: "tupăr" tenĕ.

acha lashi patne kajsan starik hĕrĕsene pytarnă. acha lashinchen yjtnă: "pajan hĕrĕsene pytarat, mana tupma hushat, jeple tupas?" tenĕ. lashi kalană: "esĕ pĕr lupashkara vişĕ panulmi jyvăşi tĕl pulăn. vĕsen ulmisem şĕrelle usănsa larĕş. esĕ kashnin şinchen pĕrer ulma tatsa il te "akă mana Tură ulma pachĕ, epĕ pajan kunĕpe panulmi şise Tură hĕrĕsene shyrasa ş˛rĕp" tese kala, vara vĕsem kulsa jarĕş cătajmasăr" tenĕ.

untan vara acha Tură hĕresene shyrama tajnă. shyrasa ş˛renĕ chuh pĕr lupashkana pyrsa kĕnĕ. şav lupashkara chănah ta vişĕ panulmi jyvaşi larnă. ulmisem şĕrelle usăna larnă. acha pynă ta kashnin şininchen pĕrer ulma tatsa ilnĕ te kalană: "akă mana Tură ulma pachĕ. epĕ pajan kunĕpe ulma şije şije Tură hĕrĕsene shyrasa ş˛rĕp" tenĕ. şavna iltsen Tură hĕrĕsem chătajmasăr kulsa jană. vara şapla tupsa tavrănnă.

untan Tură achana kalană: "esĕ man hĕrsene pallarăn ta pytantartăm shyrasa tuprăn. halĕ hu pytan lashu patne kajsa vĕsem sana shyrasa tupajăshi" tenĕ.

acha lashi patne pynă ta lashine kalană: "Tură mana hama pytanma hushat, ăşta pytanas?" tenĕ. lashi kalană: "hamăn syltăm hălha shătăkne kĕr" tenĕ. acha vara lashi hălha shătăkne kĕrse larnă. untan Tură hĕrĕsene kalană: "kajsa shyrăr, pytanche" tenĕ. hĕrĕsem lasha patne pynă ta shyra puşlană anchah tupajman. hĕrsem ashshĕ patne pyrsan ashshĕ kalană: "tuprăr-i?" tenĕ. hĕrĕsem: "şuk, tupajmarămăr" tenĕ. ashshĕ kalană: "hăvăr Tură hĕrĕsem ahal şynna ta shyrasa tupajmastăr, văl sire pallarĕ te shyrasa ta tuprĕ tenĕ.

acha lasha hălhi shătăkenchen tuhsa Tură patne pyrsa tănă ta Tură ăna kalană: "nu esĕ manăn hĕrsene hăshĕ asli hăshĕ kĕşĕnnine pĕltĕn, pytannă şĕrten tuprăn. sana ĕntĕ kĕr˛ tăvas pulĕ. hăshne ilen?" tenĕ. acha kalană: "kĕsĕnnine" tenĕ. Tură vara ikĕshĕne măshărlasa jană.

purănsan purănsan Tură kĕr˛shne kalană: "kus hire kajsa kajăk tytsa kil" tenĕ. kĕr˛shĕ lashine utlannă ta hire kajnă. hirte lashine kalană: "atja, lesh tĕnchene ansa kurar" tenĕ. lashi, "atja" tenĕ. vara vĕsem annă ta hăjĕn ashshĕ kilne pynă. şemjisem purte şyvărnă. văl pur şemjisene te chup tusa tuhnă ta kalleh ş˛le ulăhnă. şemjisem pĕri te sismen.

Tură kĕr˛shne pyrsan kalană: "mĕshĕn nummaj ş˛rerĕn?" tenĕ. kĕr˛shĕ kalană: "inşĕ karăm, şavanpa chas kilemerĕm" tenĕ.

tepĕr kun kalleh kajăkra jană kĕr˛shne. kĕr˛shĕ hire tuhan lashine kalană: "atja tatah ansa kurar" tenĕ. vara vĕsem şak tĕnchene annă. ashshĕ kilne pynă ta vĕsem kalleh şyvărnă tĕle pulnă. văl tatah şemjsene chup tună ta kalleh ş˛lti tĕnchene ulăhnă.

şavăn chuh arămĕ hăjne chup tunine kăsht sisnĕ pek pulsa julnă. irhine tărsan "mana mĕsker chup tăvat" tese jumăşa kajnă. jumăş karchăkĕ kalană: ku hăvăn upăshku sana kilse chup tăvat. esĕ ăna syhla, an şyvăr, tytta an jar, văl sana tempek jălănnĕ. jarsan ˛lĕmren kurajmăn" tenĕ.

arămĕ tepĕr kaş şyvărmasăr syhlasa vyrtnă. untan tepĕr kun Tură kĕr˛shne tatah kajăka jană. kĕr˛shĕ hire tuhsan lashine, "atja tatah ansa kurar" tenĕ. lashi kalană: "şuk tek anmăpăr, ansan san tytaşşĕ, esĕ hătălajmastăn" tenĕ. acha şapah

anashshăn pulnă. şapla vĕsem numachen tavlashsha tănă. anchah acha lashi kalanine itlemen. lashi kalană: "atja epir anar, as tu sana arămu tytĕ, esĕ kakniput vĕserĕnme hătlan. epĕ vişĕ huchen kĕşenep. esĕ tuhsa ĕlkĕrejmesen vara mana tekeh kurajmăn" tenĕ.

vara vĕsem ansa ashshĕ kilne pynă. pyrsan văl kalleh chup tăva puşlană. un chuhne arămĕ syhlasa vyrtnă. văl arămne chup tună chuh arămĕ jană tytnă. upăshki arămne jălăna puşlană. lashi kĕşense jană. untan hytărah jălăna puşlană. şapah jaman arămĕ. lashi tatah kĕşense janăta pĕtĕm p˳rt chĕtrese kajnă. untan tatah arămne kalană: "jar, epĕ nişta ta kajmastăp, tula tuhsa kĕrem" tenĕ. arămĕ şapah jaman. lashi vişĕmĕsh hut kĕşennĕ te vara tapransa kajnă ta şĕr chĕtrese julnă.

untan lashi Tură patne pyrsan Tură lasha şynsăr pynine kursan lashana kalană: "esĕ şynna ăşta hutăn?" tenĕ. "ăna lesh tĕnchere arămĕ tytsa julchĕ, unăn lesh tĕnchere arămĕ pur. epĕ temtĕrlĕ kajas mar terĕm, văl şapah itlemerĕ" tenĕ. Tură kalană: "esir tavlashnine kam ta pulsa kurchĕ-i?" tenĕ. lasha kalană: "epir tavlashnine şăltăr ujăh hĕvel kurchĕ" tenĕ. untan Tură şăltăra ujăha hĕvele chĕnternĕ te "esir kurăr-i?" tese yjtnă. leshsem, "kurtămăr: lasha kajmasăr nummaj tavlashsha tăchĕ te kĕrĕvĕ itlemerĕ" tenĕ. untan Tură şilense ku tĕncheri şynsene kalană: "manăn hĕre tăläha hăvarnashăn upăshki vilse arămĕ tăläha jultăr, arămĕ vilse upăshki tăläha jultăr, ashshĕ amăshĕ vilse achi păchi tăläha jultăr achi păchi vilse ashshĕ amăshĕ tăläha jultăr" tenĕ.

şavănpa halĕ şapla pulat, teşşĕ.

💥The Three Sons (translation)

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 carne 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: "Weil, let us first travel and see all Russia." he said.

They travelled and travailed 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 Lind 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.