

Example text (Образцы 1981: 126–127)

- (1) *роман картин-лэн, нэ, ок. пол коз-эз ыш-эм...*
 Roman Ekaterina-GEN s/he said one.time goat-3SG get.lost-2PRT.3SG
 ‘Once a goat of Ekaterina Romanova got lost.’
- (2) *ну, нэ, курэкт-э ук ни картин-эд.*
 PRTC s/he said grieve-PRES.3SG PRTC already Ekaterina-2SG
 ‘Ekaterina became very sad.’
- (3) *оло. кы`-ти но учча-л́лам — өвөл шэт́т-и́лам.*
 everywhere-PRL PRTC search-2PRT.3PL NEG find-2PRT.3PL
 ‘They looked for [it] everywhere – they did not find [it].’
- (4) *сик-ыс но учча-л́лам — нокыт-ын но, нэ, өвөл коза-зы...*
 forest-EL also search -2PRT.3PL nowhere-INS PRTC s/he said NEG goat-3PL
 ‘They looked for [it] also in the forest — the goat is nowhere...’
- (5) *тарэ санко ван́ка му́нчо-э ну ну-э ыш-эм.*
 now Alexander Ivan sauna-ILL firewood.ACC bring-3PRS.3SG AUX-2PRT.3SG
 ‘Then [once] the son of Alexander Ivan was bringing firewood to a sauna.’
- (6) *соку ай санко-ос роман-йос-ын чош ул-о вал.*
 this.time still Alexander-PL Roman-PL-INST together live-PRS.3PL AUX.1PRT
 ‘At this time the family of Alexander still lived together with the family of Roman.’
- (7) *йа, тарэ ван́ка, пичи макэ ай, ну, нэ, ну-э.*
 well now Ivan small something still firewood.ACC s/he said bring-PRS.3SG
 ‘Well, Ivan, he was still child, is bringing firewood.’
- (8) *ну-он сам-ыс со-ид му́нчо укно-э учкыны өвөл-а шэт́т-эм.*
 bring-PRT nature-3SG he-2SG sauna window-ILL look.INF NEG-INTR find-2PRT.3SG
 ‘On the way he looked accidentally at the window of the sauna.’
- (9) *ну-эз но та-ид-лы кулэ өвөл ни, нэ, до`л-дол*
 firewood-3SG even he-2SG-DAT need NEG already s/he said everything
шултыр-ша`лтыр кушты-са кэл́т-эм.
 crash throw-GER leave-2PRT.3SG
 ‘He even did not need anymore firewood, [he] threw [it] away and left [it].’
- (10) *кук-йос-ыз но, нэ, у-з ни йотыл-о.*
 leg-PL-3SG even s/he said NEG.PRS-3 already touch.CNG-PL
 ‘He ran away very fast.’ (Lit. ‘His foot do not touch [the ground] anymore.’)
- (11) *о́зы гурт-а-з бэрт-эм.*
 thus village/home-ILL-3SG come.back-2PRT.3SG
 ‘So he came back home’.

- (12) *тарэ мум-из-лы ма́д-э ни: вот о́зы-о́зы*
 now mother-**3SG**-DAT tell-PRS.3SG already there this this
мунчо кукни́к-эз а́зз-и.
 sauna spirit-ACC see-1PRT.1SG
 ‘Then he told to his mother: here’s what happened, I saw a sauna ghost.’
- (13) *ымныр-ыс, нэ, с’од, туш-эз но, нэ, ван, ач-ис, нэ,*
 face-**3SG** s/he said black beard-**3SG** even s/he said EX itself-**3SG** s/he said
быдэс ко́за са́мэн бо́кс-э.
 whole goat nature bleat-PRS.3SG
 ‘[He said that] the face is black, [it] even has a beard, and [it] bleats like a goat.]
- (14) *ма ишан та шуы-са, нэ, мунчо-а-зы кошк-и́ллам.*
 what ghost this say-GER s/he said sauna-ILL-**3PL** go.away-2PRT.3PL
 ‘What’s up – they thought, and went to the sauna.’
- (15) *дс-с-эс у́ст-и́ллам но, ко́за-зы, нэ, урткы́ч*
 door-**3PL**-ACC open-2PRT. 3PL and goat-**3PL** s/he said bat
ка́д ло́ба-са кошк-и-з.
 like fly-GER go.away-1PRT-3SG
 ‘[They] opened the door, and the goat rushed out [from there] like a bat.’
- (16) *ван вэ́ник-с-эс си́-эм, йы́рй-эм.*
 all bunch.of.green.birch.twigs -**3PL**-ACC eat-2PRT.3SG gnaw-2PRT.3SG
 ‘[It] ate and gnawed all the sauna brooms.’
- (17) *ко́на котол-а-зы ву-зы вы́л-эм, до`л-дол со-э но йу-эм.*
 hwo.much pot-ILL-**3PL** water-**3PL** EX-2PRT everything this-ACC also drink-2PRT
 ‘[It] also drank all the water that [they] had in the pot.’
- (18) *стэ́на-ос-ыс’ жэ́уй-з-э но чи́сто ишк-эм.*
 wall-PL-EL moss-**3SG**-ACC also everything tear-2.PRT.3SG
 ‘[It] also ate the moss of the wall [slots].’