



Societas Linguistica Europaea, 49th Annual Meeting

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Workshop “Language contact in the territory of the former Soviet Union”

Quotative indexes in Permic: between the original strategies and Russian

Denys Teptiuk, University of Tartu

denys.teptiuk@gmail.com

Outline

1. Typological notion of *quotative index*
2. Permic languages: brief introduction
3. Methodology and data
4. Hypotheses and research questions
5. Some (new) quotatives in Russian
6. Results: Udmurt
7. Results: Komi
8. Summary
9. Discussion

Quotative index as a typological notion (1)

Quotative index (QI) is “a segmentally discrete linguistic expression, (...) used (...) to signal the occurrence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse” (Güldemann 2008: 11):

(1) **I said to him** “your party won't be pleased about this” (dailymail.co.uk)

Quotative index as a typological notion (2)

New quotatives are lexical material with non-reportative semantics that is being used as an instrument introducing reported discourse (Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012):

(2) and **he goes** I am the police bitch and starts touching the register **I'm like** oh this mf'er didn't just do that (twitter.com)

Permic languages: brief introduction (1)

- Permic (Permian): Komi and Udmurt;
- spoken within the European part of Russia, covered by three standardized literary languages:
 - (i) *Komi-Zyrian* (approx. 220 thousand speakers in 2010);
 - (ii) *Komi-Permyak* (approx. 63 thousand speakers in 2010);
 - (iii) *Udmurt* (approx. 340 thousand speakers in 2010)(e.g. Klumpp 2016: 529);

Permic languages: brief introduction (2)



Permic languages: sociolinguistic characteristics

- Diglossia and unidirectional bilingualism – main sociolinguistic characteristics of Eastern Finno-Ugric (Leinonen 2006; Salánki 2007);
- Exhaustive dominance of Russian in all the spheres of language use (Kuznetsov 2010);
- Code-switching as the characteristic feature of the vernacular variants of Komi and Udmurt (on Komi – Leinonen 2006, Nekrasova 2013; on Udmurt – Edygarova 2014, Salánki 2015);

Methodology and data

- Comparative qualitative analysis of written data available in free access on the Internet;
- Observation of comments and discussions – look for quotations in general and comments about previous publications:
 - **Udmurt:**
 - (a) independently collected material (*vk.com*);
 - (b) Blog subcorpora of Udmurt corpus (<http://webcorpora.net/UdmurtCorpus>);
 - **Komi:** independently collected material (*vk.com*; *blogspot.com*);
 - **Russian:** independently collected material (Google Search engine);

Hypotheses set for the conducted research

- Russian influence on the choice of quotative indexes in Permian;
- **Udmurt**: the new ways of quote-introduction are borrowed from Russian;
- **Komi**: prevalent use of autochthonous quotative strategies;

Research questions

- Is there a visible Russian influence on QI-strategies in Permic?
- Are there analogies between quotative strategies of Permic and Russian?
- Can the QIs in these languages be identified as corresponding markers?
- How borrowable are quotative indexes (based on the evidence from Permic)?

Some (new) quotatives in Russian (1):

- Complementizer strategy: SP-verb + complementizer *čto/budto*;
- The quotative particle *mol*;
- The originally simulative marker *tipa*;
- The originally demonstrative *tako*;

Some (new) quotatives in Russian (2):

- Complementizer strategy:

(3) *Vova skazal, čto vsë horošo*
PN said that all good

‘...Vova **said that** all is good’ (pikabu.ru)

(4) *...v samom načale ja skazal, budto mne
in very beginning I said like to me
ponravilas’ mašyna
liked car*

‘...in the very beginning I **said like** I liked the car’ (autonavigator.ru)

Some (new) quotatives in Russian (3)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| <i>Čto</i> : + <i>budto</i> : + | <i>Čto</i> : +/- <i>budto</i> : +/- | <i>Čto</i> : – <i>budto</i> : – | <i>Čto</i> : + <i>budto</i> : + |

Table 1. Occurrence of the complementizers *čto* and *budto* in different QI-constructions

Some (new) quotatives in Russian (4)

- Quotative particle *mol*:

(5) ...*i on skazal, mol, da, eti rebjata horošije*
 and he said QI yes these guys good
 ‘...and he *said, like, yeah, these guys are good*’ (vz.ru)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | + | + | + |

Table 2. Occurrence of quotative *mol* in different QI-constructions

Some (new) quotatives in Russian (5)

- Similative marker *tipa*:

(6) *I on jej tipa “segodńa budet nezabvajemaja noč’...”*
 and he her like today will be unforgettable night

‘And he to her **like** “today will be unforgettable night...”’ (mundolatino.ru)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | + | + | + |

Table 3. Occurrence of new quotative *tipa* in different QI-constructions

Some (new) quotatives in Russian (6)

- Deictic *takoj*:

(7) ...*i ja jemu takoj* - *Čakki, Čakki spokojneje*
 and I him such PN PN calmer
 ‘...and I (was) to him **such** Chucky, Chucky – calm down’
 (demotivation.me)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | – | + | – |

Table 4. Occurrence of new quotative *takoj* in different QI-constructions

Results: Udmurt (1)

- Autochthonous quotative particle *pe* (Bartens 2000);
- Russian influence on the choice of quotatives:
 - (a) Cases of matter and pattern replication (Matras 2009):
 - complementizer strategy with complementizers *čto/budto*;
 - quotative particle *mol*;
 - similative marker *t'ipa*;
 - (b) Cases of pattern replication (Matras 2009):
 - deictic *syče* 'such' (compare with Rus. *takoj*);

Results: Udmurt (2)

- Autochthonous quotative particle *pe*:

(8) *no vera pe: osto pije vokšo gorodskoj*
and tells QI God my son completely city
luemyd-uk ton...
became you

‘...and (his mother) tells **like**: Oh my God, my son, you have completely become a city boy’ (vk.com)

Results: Udmurt (3)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | + | + | + |

Table 5. Occurrence of quotative particle *pe* in different QI-constructions

Results: Udmurt (4)

- Complementizer strategy – complementizers *čto/budto*:

(9) *Kyt'ijaz daže malpaško, čto Ižyn šuldyges*
Sometimes even I think that in Izhevsk funnier

luysal dyr

would be maybe

‘Sometime I even **think that** in Izhevsk it would be maybe funnier’

(vk.com)

(10) *Kožaškod, budto mon ug todišky val, čto ton*
suppose like I do not get to know was that you

vańze umoj šotod?

all correctly will give

‘You **suppose like** I did not get to know that you will give everything

correctly’ (Blog subcorpora)

Results: Udmurt (5)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| <i>Čto</i> : + <i>budto</i> : + | <i>Čto</i> : +/- <i>budto</i> : +/- | <i>Čto</i> : – <i>budto</i> : – | <i>Čto</i> : – <i>budto</i> : + |

Table 6. Complementizer strategy in Udmurt (the case of *čto* and *budto*)

Results: Udmurt (6)

- Quotative particle *mol*:

(11) *Kin ke šue, čto mol obščagayštymy*
somebody says that QI from our dormitory

kyče ke mužik tatcem
some man jumped

‘Somebody says that **like** some man jumped out from our dormitory’ (vk.com)

Results: Udmurt (7)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | + | + | + |

Table 7. Occurrence of quotative *mol* in Udmurt

Results: Udmurt (8)

- Similative marker *t'ipa*:

(12) *Noš mon so šory učkiško nomyr veratek,*
and I DEM on stare nothing without saying
t'ipa, davaj, aćid vera, mon treńer övöl...
like PTCL yourself tell I coach NEG

‘And I stare at him without saying nothing, **like**, come on, tell us yourself, I am not a coach...’ (Blog subcorpora)

Results: Udmurt (9)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | + | – | + |

Table 8. New quotative *t'ipa* in Udmurt

Results: Udmurt (10)

- Deictic *syče* ‘such’:

(13) *Komnatays' eše syče šue: "Vot mil'amjos*
 from room my friend such says PTCL our
arys' are vormišjosleš ad'džem karo...
 from year to year from winners example do
 ‘My roommate **such** says: “our (people) from year to year take winners for a model...” (Blog corpora)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | – | – | – |

Table 9. Quotative *syče* in Udmurt

Results: Komi (1)

- Autochthonous quotative particles (Bartens 2000):
 - (a) *pö*;
 - (b) self-quoting particle *miśa*;
- Russian influence on the quotative strategies – the case of pattern replication in complementizer strategy;

Results: Komi (2)

- Autochthonous quotative particle *pö*:

(14) ...*a mödys pyr i preššingujtny kutčis* -
and the other right away PTCL put pressure started
ńinömla pö tijan raskladka, kodly kolö, med
for nothing QI your layout to whom must OPT
lydpasjasön kod nabirajtö
with numbers password taps

‘...and other started to put pressure – there is no use of your layout, who uses numbers to insert the password’ (vk.com)

Results: Komi (3)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | + | + | + |

Table 10. Occurrence of quotative particle *pö* in different QI-constructions

Results: Komi (4)

- Autochthonous self-quoting particle *miša*:

(15) *Me seśśa šui, miša, Robertovna, abu žö*
I then said QI PN not PTCL

t'ut'tas, a kajjas

birds (dial.) but birds (Ko.)

'I said then, **like**, Robertovna, the right word for bird (in Komi) is not t'ut'tas, but kajjas' (vk.com)

Results: Komi (5)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | + | + | + |

Table 11. Occurrences of self-quoting particle *miśa* in QI-constructions

Results: Komi (6)

- Complementizer strategy with complementizer *myj*:

(16) *Ydžyd poet Šergej Ješeńin gižlis, myj “Jonly eska,
great poet PN PN wrote that to god believe
najö služityśjasly og”.*
they to servants not

‘Great poet Sergey Yesenin **wrote that** “I believe in God, but I don’t believe to the servants (of God)”’ (vk.com)

Results: Komi (7)

| Constructions with verbs | | Verbless constructions | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| With SP-verbs | With non-SP-verbs | Lack of predicate | Non-clausal usage |
| + | +/- | - | - |

Table 12. Occurrence of complementizer *myj* in different QI-constructions

Summary

1. Presence of the complementizer strategy in all three languages (pattern replication; in colloquial variants – matter (use of complementizer *čto* and *budto*) and pattern replication);
2. Quotative particles (Rus. *mol*, Udm. *pe*, Ko. *pö*, *miśa*) considered as structural correspondent markers;
3. Appearance of new quotatives from Russian in Udmurt (matter and pattern replication);
4. Recent influence of Russian on QIs in Komi is not noted;
5. Exclusively self-quoting particle appears only in Komi (*miśa*);

Discussion

1. Complementizers are a borrowable material cross-linguistically as a part of the category of *conjunctions* (cf. Matras 2007, 2009);
2. If one conjunction is borrowed, likelihood of the borrowing of others is rather high (Stolz 1996; Matras 2009) – *čto* and *budto* in Udmurt;
3. QIs as a material that “requires greater processing effort” and are difficult “to maintain control over the separation of subset in the linguistic repertoire” - evidence of the matter (cf. Hlavac 2006) and pattern replication (Matras 2009: 159) in the speech of bilinguals;
4. New quotatives as a part of the category of *focus particles* (on foregrounding functions of quotatives see Güldemann 2008) which in turn are attested cross-linguistically as a borrowable material (Matras 2009);

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Appendix 1

- (17) *Uže togda on podumal, što skorost' i brošok u nego*
already then he thought that speed and toss in him
na urovne NHL.
on level NHL
'Already then he **thought that** his speed and toss are on the level of NHL'
(nhl.com)
- (18) *on podumal budto my iz mafiji...*
he thought like we from mafia
'He **thought like** we are from mafia...' (livejournal.com)
- (19) *Ja polučaju soobščeniye, što moja video sliškom bol'shoje...*
I receive message that my video too big
'I receive **message that** my video is too big...' (whatsapp.com)
- (20) *prišlo soobščeniye budto ja posylaju spam svojej odnoklassnitse*
came message like I send spam my classmate
'came **message like** I send spam to my classmate' (otvet.mail.ru)

Appendix 1

- (21) ...*a Serega jemu pokazyvajet mol "idi dal'se"*
and PN him shows QI go further
'...and Sergey **shows** him, **like** "Go, go further"' (anekdots.ru)
- (22) ...*i on mol, davaj pomogu*
and he QI let help
'...and he **(was) like/(says)** let me help you' (baby.ru)
- (23) ...*nu mol horošo, kak skažete.*
well QI alright as you say
'[He is dragging himself along to his bedding] well, says, alright, as you say'
(unoforum.pro)
- (24) *On govorit, tipa nado rasstat's'a*
he says like need break up
'He **says like** we need to break up' (risovach.ru)
- (25) *Pokazyvajet tipa - pošel na kuj...*
shows like go on dick
'**Show like** - fuck off' (caricatura.ru)

Appendix 1

- (26) *On takoj otvetil - horošo, no ničego delat' ne stal.*
he such responded alright but nothing do NEG start
'He **responded such** – alright, but has not done anything' (pikabu.ru)
- (27) *Marija, vot sobere žalet' karo, čto ožy kari, jake nomyr öj kary šuysa*
PN PTCL then pity (Rus.) does that so
did or nothing did not do COMP
'Maria, but then (s)he will **feel sorry that** I did it this way, or that I did not do anything'
(vk.com)
- (28) *Sobere mar ke čork šoramy učkiz no, ti pe, tolon, kontesertyn val kad'*
after some suddenly on us looked and 2PL
QI yesterday on the concert were like
'Then somehow straight at us **looked** (saying) you were like yesterday on the concert'
(vk.com)

Appendix 1

- (29) *Ojdo, pe, veraškon vaň.*
PTCL QI talk is
‘[She called me with the finger] Come, we needed to talk’ (vk.com)
- (30) *Nu tatyn izviňat’ša kari, mol jangyšaj.*
Well here sorry (Rus.) did QI I was mistaken
‘Well here I **was sorry, like I was mistaken**’ (vk.com)
- (31) *I tatyn lykte malpan, mol, Maly udmurt*
and here comes thought like/QI why Udmurt
kylyn taće kontent övöl?
in language such content NEG
‘And here comes **a thought, like, Why in Udmurt language there is not such content**’
(vk.com)

Appendix 1

- (32) *Bogdan dl'a prikola šuiz, čto mone*
 PN for (Rus.) fun (Rus.) said that me
kuasen snimat' karyny, t'ipa mynym
 with take picture (Rus.) to do like to me
kel'she tolalte.
 like winter

‘Bogdan **said** for fun that to take picture of me with skis like I like winter’ (Blog subcorpora)

- (33) *t'ipa, dogadajša, čto Čumol'e, Muvazi no Šöd Ošmes*
 like guess what PN PN or PN
Alnaš jorosyn
 PN in region

‘[Only from you, boy from Alnash region, managed to come out **this question**], **like**, guess, what is in Alnash region: Chumole, Muvazhi or Söd Oshmes?’ (Blog subcorpora)

Appendix 1

- (34) *Syče st'ih-gočaton. Tipa, ej, hva'tit pukyny kompjuter*
such poem-provocation like hey enough (Rus.) to sit computer
šöryn, ojdole urame, uram zynez vunetidy ni, dyr.
behind let's go to street streetsmell you forget already maybe
'Such a poem-provocation. Like, hey, enough sitting in front of computer, let's go out,
you've forgotten the smell of the streets already, maybe' (Blog subcorpora)
- (35) *Rodvužys čajtöny, myj sijö batračitöma čiganly.*
His family think that he works for gipsy
'His family thinks that he works for gipsy' (vk.com)
- (36) *Töryt voj kežlas pö bara'ok loöma da nuömaös*
yesterday night to him QI againbad was and taken
reañimatsijaö, vyl' operačija vöčny li myj li
to reanimation new operation to do if what or
'[I came to visit him yesterday, but did not catch him up in his room] Yesterday night he
felt bad again and they took him to reanimation to make new operation, or what' (vk.com)

Appendix 1

- (37) *Em šušög: oz pož pö kykyś pyrny*
 is proverb does not is possible QI from two enter
öti i sijö žö juö.
 one and DEM PTCL into river
 ‘There is a proverb: **like/they say**, it is not possible to enter the same river twice’ (vk.com)
- (38) *Kösji sömyn sodtyny, miša tom jözysly kolö*
 wanted only to add QI young to the people must
boštčyny i komi kyv infrastrukturaö...
 undertake PTCL Komi language to infrastructure
 ‘I wanted only to **add**, young people should undertake the infrastructure of Komi language’ (vk.com)
- (39) *Vaś Lenaśań pyralis öti studentka, miša vaj aski*
 Vas from Lena came in one student QI let's tomorrow
lok - talun vyvtińin unaön da og ud'it.
 come todayvery already with much and I don't manage
 ‘From Lena Vas came one studen, (I said) why don't you come tomorrow – today I have a lot of hings to deal with and I won't manage’ (vk.com)



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denys.teptiuk@gmail.com

Russian:

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PN said that all good
'...Vova **said that all is good**' (pikabu.ru)
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'Already then he **thought that his speed and toss are on the level of NHL**' (nhl.com)
- (3) *Ja polučaju soobščeniye, čto moja video sliškom bol'shoje...*
I receive message that my video too big
'I receive **message that my video is too big...**' (whatsapp.com)
- (4) *...v samom načale ja skazal, budto mne ponravilas' mašina*
in very beginning I said like to me like car
'...in the very beginning I **said like I liked the car**' (autonavigator.ru)
- (5) *on podumal budto my iz mafiji...*
he thought like we from mafia
'He **thought like we are from mafia...**' (livejournal.com)
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came message like I send spam my classmate
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- (12) *Pokazyvajet tipa - pošel na kuj...*
shows like - go to dick

‘**Show like - fuck off**’ (caricatura.ru)

- (13) *I on jej tipa “segodna budet nezabyvajemaja noč’...”*
and he her like today will be unforgettable night

‘And he to her **like** “today will be unforgettable night...”’ (mundolatino.ru)

- (14) *...i ja jemu takoj - Čakki, Čakki spokojneje*
and I him such PN PN calmer

‘...and I (was) to him **such** Chucky, Chucky – calm down’ (demotivation.me)

- (15) *On takoj otvetil - horošo, no ničego delat’ ne*
he such responded alright but nothing do NEG

stal.

begin

‘He **responded such** – alright, but has not done anything’ (pikabu.ru)

Udmurt:

- (16) *no vera pe: osto pije vokšo gorodskoj*
and tells QI God my son completely city

luemyd-uk ton...

became you

‘...and (his mother) tells **like**: Oh my God, my son, you have completely become a city boy’

(vk.com)

- (17) *Sobere mar ke čork šoramy učkiz no, ti*
after some suddenly on us looked and 2PL

pe, tolon, kontesertyn val kad’

QI yesterday on the concert were like

‘Then somehow straight at us **looked** (saying) you were like yesterday on the concert’

(vk.com)

- (18) *Ojdo, pe, veraškon vań.*

PTCL QI talk is

‘[She called me with the finger] Come, we need to talk’ (vk.com)

- (19) *Kyřijaz daže malpaško, čto lžyn šuldyges*
Sometimes even I think that in Izhevsk funnier

lusal dyr

would be maybe

‘Sometime I even **think that** in Izhevsk it would be maybe funnier’ (vk.com)

- (20) *Marija, vot sobere žalet’ karo, čto ozy*
PN PTCL then pity (Rus.) does COMP so

kari, jake nomyr öj kary šuysa

did or nothing did not do COMP

‘Maria, but then (s)he will **feel sorry that** I did it this way, or that I did not do anything’

(vk.com)

- (21) *Kožaškod, budto mon ug todišky val, čto ton*
suppose like I do not get to know was that you

vańze umoj šotod?

all correctly will give

‘You **suppose like** I did not get to know that you will give everything correctly’ (Blog

subcorpora)

- (22) *Kin ke šue, čto mol obščagayštymy kyče ke mužik tatčem*
somebody says that QI from our dormitory some man jumped

‘Somebody says that **like** some man jumped out from our dormitory’ (vk.com)

- (23) *Nu tatyn izviňat’ša kari, mol jangyšaj.*

Well here sorry (Rus.) did QI I was mistaken

‘Well here I **was sorry, like** I was mistaken’ (vk.com)

(24) *I tatyn lykte malpan, mol, Maly udmurt*
 and here comes thought like/QI why Udmurt
kylyn taće kontent övöl?
 in language such content NEG
 ‘And here comes **a thought, like, Why in Udmurt language there is not such content**’
 (vk.com)

(25) *Bogdan dl'a prikola šuiz, čto mone*
 PN for (Rus.) fun (Rus.) say.PST.3SG COMP 1SG.ACC
kuasen snimat' karyny, t'ipa mynym kel'se
 ski.INSTR take picture (Rus.) do.INF like 1SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG
tolalte.
 winter
 ‘Bogdan **said** for fun that to take picture of me with skis like I like winter’ (Blog
 subcorpora)

(26) *Noš mon so šory učkiško nomyr veratek,*
 and I DEM on stare nothing without saying
t'ipa, davaj, acíd vera, mon treńer övöl...
 like PTCL yourself tell I coach NEG
 ‘And I stare at him without saying nothing, **like, come on, tell us yourself, I am not a**
coach...’ (Blog subcorpora)

(27) *t'ipa, dogadajša, čto Čumole, Muvazi no Šöd Ošmes*
 like guess.INP.2SG (Rus.) what PN PN or PN
Alnaš jorosyn
 PN region.INE
 ‘[Only from you, boy from Alnash region, managed to come out **this question**], **like,**
guess, what is in Alnash region: Chumole, Muvazhi or Söd Oshmes?’ (Blog subcorpora)

(28) *Syče stih-gočaton. T'ipa, ej, hva'it pukyny kompjuter*
 such poem-provocation like hey enough (Rus.) sit.INF computer
šöryn, ojdole urame, uram zynez vunetidy ni,
 behind.INE let's go street.ILL street smell.ACC forget.PRS.2PL already
dyr.
 maybe
 ‘Such a poem-provocation. **Like, hey, enough sitting in front of computer, let's go out,**
you've forgotten the smell of the streets already, maybe’ (Blog subcorpora)

Komi:

(29) *...a mödys pyr i preššingujtny kutčis -*
 and the other right away PTCL put pressure started
ninömla pö tijan raskladka, kodly kolö, med
 for nothing QI your layout to whom must OPT
lydpassjasön kod nabirajtö
 with numbers password taps
 ‘...and other started to put pressure – there is no use of your layout, who uses numbers to
insert the password’ (vk.com)

(30) *Em šušög: oz poź pö kykyś pyrny*
 is proverb does not is possible QI from two enter
ö'i i sijö žö juö.
 one and DEM PTCL into river
 ‘There is a proverb: **like/they say, it is not possible to enter the same river twice**’ (vk.com)

(31) *Töryt voj kežlas pö bara l'ok loöma da nuömaös*
 yesterday night to him QI again bad was and taken
reańimatsijaö, vyl' operačija vöčny li myj li
 to reanimation new operation to do if what or

‘[I came to visit him yesterday, but did not catch him up in his room] Yesterday night he felt bad again and they took him to reanimation to make new operation, or what’ (vk.com)

- (32) *Me sešša šui, miša, Robertovna, abu žö*
 I then said QI PN not PTCL
tut’as, a kajjas
 birds (dial.) but birds (Ko.)

‘I said then, **like**, Robertovna, the right word for bird (in Komi) is not tut’as, but kajjas’ (vk.com)

- (33) *Kösji sömyn sodtyny, miša tom jözysly kolö*
 wanted only to add QI young to the people must
boštčyny i komi kyv infrastrukturaö...
 undertake PTCL Komi language to infrastructure

‘I wanted only to **add**, young people should undertake the infrastructure of Komi language’ (vk.com)

- (34) *Vas Lenašan pyralis öti studentka, miša vaj aski*
 Vas from Lena came in one student QI let’s tomorrow
lok - talun vyvti nin unaön da og ud’it.
 come today very already with much and I don’t manage

‘From Lena Vas came one student, (I said) why don’t you come tomorrow – today I have a lot of things to deal with and I won’t manage’ (vk.com)

- (35) *Ydžyd poet Šergej Ješeňin gižlis, myj “Jonly eska,*
 great poet PN PN wrote that to god believe
najö služityšjasly og”.
 they to servants not

‘Great poet Sergey Yesenin **wrote that** “I believe in God, but I don’t believe to the servants (of God)”’ (vk.com)

- (36) *Rodvužys čajtöny, myj sijö batračitöma čiganly.*
 His family think COMP he works for gipsy

‘His family thinks that he works for gipsy’ (vk.com)