

Chechen (Nakh, East Caucasian)

Staggiy lähiy (Jakovlev 1940:308-313)

Transliteration; Analysis, glosses and translation: W. Schulze 2003

šera-ču ara-xula čħa stag xil-la nowq'a w-ödu-š
broad-obl field-trans one man be-infer on=road i-go:pres-cv:par
'Over a broad field, a was going on the road.'

ħäž-na malx a xil-la šien q'ölli-n oyla y-e-š
shine-infer sun foc be-inf refl:poss poorness-gen thought iv-do:pres-cv:par
'Looking at the sun, thinking of his poorness'

hara d^ša-w-ödu-ču zaman čuħ teq-na b-ea-na qunna düħal čħa läħa b-äl-la
prox thither-i-go:part-obl time in creep-infer vi-come-infer prox:obl:dat against one snake vi-go-infer
'at the time, when he was walking, a snake went creeping (and) coming towards him.'

suna t'äħa so b-en d-oğu-š orca d-u.
I:dat behind I vi-kill:inf iii-go:pres-cv:par hunt iii-cop:pres
'There is a hunt behind me to kill me.'

hinca aħ so k'elħara b-aqqa-ħ ħuna d-a-n d-ika d-a-ra-q san äl-la b-ilxi-na läħa.
now you:sg:erg I below=abl vi-take-cond:real you:sg:dat iii-do-inf iii-gut iii-cop-past-prtlcl I:poss say-infer vi-weep-inf snake
'If you now take me up, I will have (something) good for you to do, saying wept the snake.'

b-elxa-n ğullaq d-a-c.
vi-weep-inf thing iii-cop-neg
'Weeping is not a thing.'

k'elħara b-oqqu-r b-u as ħo.

below=from vi-take=up:pres-fut vi-cop:pres I:erg you:sg
'I will take you up.'

hun d-ie as?
what iii-do:mod I:erg
'What shall I do?'

ħayn kiyra b-axiyta-ħara aħ so y-illin-ču metti-e qäč-ča šħa a b-e(a)-ra b-a-ra so äl-la läha-n-o.
you:sg:poss stomach v-enter:caus2-cond:ir you:sg:erg I iv-denoted-obl place-loc arrive-cv:ds here foc vi-go=out-past vi-cop-past I say-infer snake-sa-erg
'If you let me enter your stomach, I will be going out having arrived at a certain place, said the snake.'

d-ikka oyla y-i-na q'ien-ču stag-a
iii-good:emph thought iv-do-infer poor-obl man-erg
'The poor man deeply thought.'

t'äħara oyla sec-na qu-nan.
finally thought settle-infer prox:obl-gen
'Finally, his thought settled.'

qo kiyra b-axa-na ca w-eħ a wüšta q'ölla a leš w-a-y so.
prox:erg stomach v-enter-infer not i-kill-cond:real foc else poorness foc kill:fut i-cop:pres-q I
'When it does not kill me having entered my stomach, will else poorness will be killing me?'

qo b-oxu-rg ca' xila-n a mega.
prox:erg vi-say:pres-part:ref one:num be-inf foc be=possible:pres
'What it says can still be possible.'

der as qo b-oxu-rg äl-la stag-a läha-n-ie xätti-na.
iii-do:fut I:erg prox:erg vi-say:pres-part:ref say-infer man-erg snake-sa-loc ask-infer
'I will do what it says, said the man (and) asked the snake.'

boq'q'al suna d-a-n d-ika d-u ħan as ħuo k'elħara bäqq-ča?
really I:dat iii-do-inf iii-good iii-cop:pres you:sg:poss I:erg you:sg below:abl take=up-cv:ds

‘Do you really have (something) good to do for me, when I take you up from below?’

da ħuna so cq'a-a b-ic-lur b-ocu-š d-oqqa d-ika d-u san.
iii-cop you:sg:dat I never-foc vi-forget-lv:fut vi-not=be:pres-cv iii-much iii-good iii-cop:pres I:poss
‘It is for you, that I will never forget (that) I have much good.’

way-šiy-a čĥaniy b-utq'a irax-b-axan-ču lam t'iera ħuna y-uqqe qäč-ča
we:incl-two-foc together v-fine pointed-v-go:part-obl mountain above wood(:dat) iv-between arrive-cv:ds
‘When we two arrive together in between the woods above a fine pointed going mountain’

cigaĥ čĥa y-oqqa ħun y-u.
there one iv-great wood iv-cop:pres
‘There is a great forest.’

cu y-ist-eĥ so šĥa-b-är b-u.
anph:poss iv-end-loc I hither-vi-go:fut vi-cop:pres
‘At his edge, I will come out.’

t'aqqa way-ša a čĥaniy txan paččaĥ w-ol-ču ġur d-u.
then we:incl-two foc together we:excl:poss king i-be:part-obl go:fut iii-cop:pres
‘Then we two will go together (there were) our king is.’

cunna t'e-q'äč-ča cuo xottu-r d-u way-ši-nga
anaph:dat up-arrive-cv:ds anaph:erg ask-fut iii-cop:pres we:incl-two-loc
‘Having arrived at him, he will ask.’

hun liela-d-o aša äl-la
what come-iii-caus1:pres you:pl:erg say-infer
‘Having said: What do you bring?’

as er d-u ħuna

I:erg say:fut iii-cop:pres you:sg:dat
'I will say (pointing) to you.'

hoqu stag-a so b-ö-čü-ra b-äqqi-na.
prox:obl man-erg I vi-kill:pres:part-obl-abl vi-take=up-infer
'This man has taken me up from being killed.'

t'aqqa hōga cuo xattar d-iy r d-u.
then you:sg:loc anaph:erg question iii-do:fut iii-cop:pres
'Then he will ask you.'

hun d-ika d-ieza huna äl-la.
what iii-good iii-necessary you:sg:dat say-infer
'What do you need, he said.'

olxazar-iy-n mott xaiyta-hara suna qin humma-a ca öšu-ra äl-la-h.
bird-pl-gen language know:caus2-cond:ir I:dat other thing-foc not necessary:pres-past say-infer-imp:modest
'Say: If you let me know the language of the birds, I do not need any other thing.'

i mott xi'-ča olxazar-š-na mel xuu xazna-š huna mičaḥ^{sic!} y-u xuur d-u.
prox language know:past-cv:ds bird-pl-dat some knowing treasure-pl you:sg:dat where iv-be know:fut iii-be:cop
'When you know the language of the birds, you will know where some treasures known to the birds are.'

t'aqqa ho w-allalc huma öšu-r d-a-c huna.
then you:sg i-until=death thing necessary:pres-fut iii-cop:pres-neg you:sg:dat
'Then you will not need anything until your death.'

d-ika d-u stag-a a äl-la.
iii-good iii-cop:pres man-erg foc say-infer
'It is good, said the man.'

läha steg-an kiyra b-axa-na.
snake man-gen stomach vi-enter-infer

,The snake went into the man's stomach.'

ocu soħta-na šħa-lilxi-na qunna ħalxa d^sa-hitti-na ezar zu.
dist:obl hour-dat hither-jump-infer anaph:obl in=front thither-stand-infer thousand hedgehog
'At that hour, thousand hedgehogs jumped out (and) stand in front of him.'

xätti-na thamda-n-uo.
ask-infer tamada-sa-erg
'The tamada asked.'

läħa b-ay-r-iy ħuna quzaš b-ödu-š?
snake vi-see-evid-q you:sg:dat here vi-go:pers-cv:par
'Did you see a snake going here?'

ca b-ay-ra äl-la stag-a
not vi-see-evid say-infer man-erg
'I did not see it, said the man.'

ezar zu qunna t'ex a y-äl-la d^sa-y-axa-na.
thousand hedgehog anaph:dat up:away foc iv-go=away-infer thither-iii-go-infer
'The thousand hedgehogs went away from him and went.'

hara ši' nowq'a d^sa-d-axa-na.
prox two:num on=way thither-iii(!)-go-infer
'These two went further.'

d-ödu-š läħa-n-uo b-iyčin-ču lam-ana y-uxxe ħann-aš-ka qäč-na horš.
iii-go:pres-cv:par snake-sa-erg v-tell:past:part-obl mountain-dat iv-between wood-pl-loc arrive-infer prox:pl
'Going, the two arrived at the wood in between the mountain indicated by the snake.'

aħ quza qäč-ča šħa-b-era b-u ma al-liera läħa äl-la stag-a.

you:sg:erg(!) here arrive-cv:ds hither-vi-go-evid vi-cop:pres so say-pluperf snake(!) say-infer man-erg
'When you have arrived here, I would come here, had said the snake, said the man.'

han d^ha-qäč-n-iy way-ši?
well thither-arrive-infer we:incl-two
'Well have we two arrived?'

d-ika d-u ara-b-är so hinca äl-la läha kiyra-ra ara-b-äl-la.
iii-good iii-cop:pres out-vi-go:fut I now say-infer snake stomcha-abl out-vi-go-infer
'Ok, I will come out now, saying the snake came out of the stomach.'

stag t'aħa a hott-iy-na läha ħalxa a b-äl-la hara ši' olxarzar-iy-n paččaħ w-exa-ču damuo-ču ġopa ču-d-axa-na
man after foc stand-lv-infer snake in=front foc vi-go-infer prox two bird-pl-gen king i-live:pres:part-obl golden-obl castle into-iii-go-infer
'Then the man stood and the snake appeared; they two entered the golden castle where the birds' king lived.'

hun liela-d-o aša äl-la paččaħ-uo.
what come-iii-caus1:pres you:pl:erg say-infer king-erg
'What do you bring, said the king.'

qu stag-a so b-ö-čü-ra k'elħara b-äqqi-na äl-la läha-n-uo.
prox man-erg I vi-kill:pres:part-obl-abl below:abl vi-take=up-infer(!) say-infer snake-erg
'This man has taken mit up from being killed, said the snake.'

hun d-ika d-ieza ħuna äl-la xätti-na qien-ču stag-ie.
what iii-good iii-necessary you:sg:dat say-infer ask-infer poor-obl man-loc
'What good do you need, said he asking the poor man.'

olxazar-iy-n mott xaa-n läa-ra suna äl-la stag-a.
bird-pl-gen language know-inf want-imperf I:dat say-infer man-erg
'I would like to know the birds' language, said the man.'

i mott xaiyta-n yiš y-a-c äl-la paččaħ-a
prox language know:caus2-inf possibility iv-cop:pres-neg say-infer king-erg:hum

‘It is not possible to let know this language, the king said.’

d-ela-ḥ qin humma-a ca öšu suna-m äl-la
iii-be:cond:cond:real other thing-foc not necessary:pres I:dat-thus say-infer
‘If it is so, I do not need other things he said.’

stag d^ʕa-hött-ča paččaḥ-a äl-la.
man thither-stand:past-cv:ds king-erg:hum say-infer
‘When the man stood, the king said.’

d-ela-ḥ heta xoüytu-r b-u as ḥuna i mott
iii-be-cond:real thus know:caus2:pres-fut vi-cop:pres I:erg you:dat prox language
‘If it is so, I will thus let you know this language.’

amma aḥ i mott ḥayna xäi-yla čhäna-a stag-ie xaiyta-ḥ liyr w-u-yla
but you:sg:erg prox language your:sg:refl:dat know:pres-subj someone foc man-loc know:caus2-cond:real die:fut i-be-subj
‘But if you, should you know this language, let know anybody, you should die’

xaa-l-aḥ ḥuo iza xaiyt-in-ču minuot-eḥ.
know-imp:mild-2sg you anaph know:caus2-part:past-obl minute-mat
‘know that in the minute when you let know.’

d-ika d-u stag-a äl-la t'aqqa paččaḥ-a lähan-ie ^ʕama-b-ie cunna wayn mott äl-ča läha-n-uo stag-ie äl-la.
iii-good iii-cop:pres man-erg say-infer then king-erg snake-loc learn-vi-caus1:mod anaph:dat we:incl:poss language say-cv:ds snake-sa-erg man-loc say-infer
‘Ok, the man said (and) then when the king said had to the snake: teach him our language, the snake said to the man.’

šha-y-ella-l ḥayn бага
hither-iv-open-imp:mild you:sg:poss mouth
‘Open your mouth!’

y-illi-na miska-ču stag-a бага.
iv-open-infer poor-obl man-erg mouth

‘The poor man opened (his) mouth.’

lāha-n-uo cūnan бага туй а төх-на y-uxu šien бага ġatt-iy-na.
man-sa-erg anaph:gen mouth spittle foc knock-infer iv-again refl:poss mouth close-caus1-infer
‘The snake hit spittle into his mouth; again he closed his mouth.’

hinca san бага tuoxa-l as төх-на-ču туй-n-ax ħayn туй а y-eday туй.
now I:poss mouth knock-imp:mild I:erg knock-infer:part-obl spittle-sa-loc you:sg:poss spittle foc iv-[mix] spittle
‘Now spit the spittle into my mouth which is your spittle mixed with the spittle that I have spit.’

miska-ču stag-a i туй төх-ča олзар-iy-n mott ʼemi-na.
poor-obl man-erg dist spittle knock-cv:ds bird-pl-gen language learn-infer
‘When the poor man had spit the spittle, he learned the birds’ language.’

c’a w-an šha-w-ola-w-el-la-ču stag-ana t’aħa a b-äl-la laħa-n-uo äl-la.
at=home i-go:inf hither-i-move-i-arrive-part:past-obl man-dat after foc vi-go-infer snake-sa-erg say-infer
‘The snake was going behind the man who started to go home (and) said:’

w-ar-iy w-ar-iy chānna-a stag-ie ħayna txan mott xäi-yla ma xaiyta-l-aħ.
i-see-and i-see-and someone:obl-foc man-loc you:refl:poss we:excl:poss language know:past-subj proh know:caus2-imp:mild-2sg
‘Look, look! Do not let know anybody that you know our language!’

liyr w-u ħo.
die:fut i-cop:pres you:sg
‘You will die!’

d-ika d-u äl-la c’a w-ea-na stag.
iii-good iii-cop:pres say-infer home i-go-infer man
‘Ok, saying, the man went home.’

chāna diy-n-aħ i stag šien zuda a ec-na šien ozalla y-ala-n y-ollu gowr worda-n-na a y-öž-na
one:obl day-sa-loc dist man refl:poss wife foc take-infer refl:poss hunger iv-die-inf iv-being:emph horse charriot-sa-dat foc iv-bind-infer

‘one day, that man take his wife, harness the horse that was dying of hunger’

dečg-an ge-n-aš y-a-n w-axa-na.
wood-gen twig-sa-pl iv-bring-inf i-go-infer
‘went to bring wooden twigs.’

dečg-an ge-n-aš a y-aħa-š horš c'a b-oğu-š q'iyg-o qa-r-na t'öxula a ħäwzi-na šien naq'ost qiyg-ie äl-la.
wood-gen twig-sa-gen foc iv-bring-cv:par they home i/ii-go-cv:par crawl-erg foc anaph-pl-dat from=above foc turn-infer refl friend crawl-loc say-infer
While bringing home the wooden twigs (and) while going, a crow turned to them from above (and) said to his fellow crow:’

ħaža-l d¹a-d-ödu-ču ši' i gowr-an dä¹axk-aš a y-öž-na.
look-imp:mild thither-iii-go:part:pres-obl two:num dist horse-gen bone-pl foc iv-bind-infer
‘Look at the two walking (and) at the harnessed horse bones.’

d-exa-š d-u b-oxu-š liela xir du-q hara zud-iy mayr-iy
iii-live-cv:par iii-cop:pres i/ii-say-cv:ar stroll:pres be:fut iii-cop:pres-ptcl prox woman-and husband-and
‘Living is strolling, they say, as the wife and the husband will be.’

i ala-r-ca yiek-aš ši q'iyg d¹a-axa-na.
dist say-masd-instr cry-pl two crawl thither-go-infer
‘With saying cries, the two crows went away.’

warda-na t'äħa-hötti-na w-oğu mayra i olu xez-ča w-iela-w-el-la.
charriot-dat behind-stand-infer i-go:part:pres man dist say:part:pres hear-cv:ds i-smile-i-come-infer
‘When the man, standing (and) going behind the charriot heard this saying, he started to smile.’

zud-čo c'iyndega xätti-na.
wife-erg house:gen-father-loc ask-infer
‘The wife asked the husband.’

stenna w-ölu ħo äl-la.
why i-smile:pres you:sg say-infer

‘Why do you smile, she said.’

so-m cħa huma xaz-d-el-la w-iela-w-eli-ra ä-l-la q’uonax-čuo.
I-ptcl one thing hear-iv-come-part:past i-smile-i-come-evid say-infer young=man-erg
‘Having started to hear a thing, I started to smile, said the young man.’

ha-han ĥo sox v-iela-v-eli-ra ä-l-la zud-čuo.
no-no you:sg I:mat i-smile-i-come-evid say-infer wife-erg
‘No. no, you have started laughing at me, said the wife.’

ca v-iela-v-eli-ra so ĥox-m
not i-smile-i-come-evid I you:sg:mat-ptcl
‘I did not start laughing at you.’

dera v-iela-v-eli-ra
finally i-smile-i-come-evid
‘By god, you started laughing at me.’

dera ca v-iela-v-eli-ra
finally not i-smile-i-come-evid
‘By god, I did not start laughing at me.’

san da w-axa-n-ču exart-or w-ölu-ra ĥo sox.
I:poss father i-go-part:pres-obl hereafter-oath i-smile:pres-evid you:sg I:mat
‘By the hereafter, where my father has gone, you were laughing at me.’

ca v-ölu-ra zuda.
neg i-smile:pres-evid wife
‘I did not laugh, wife!’

d-exxa q’iysi-ra zudčo-y mayrčo-y.
iii-long:emph quarrel-evid man-erg-and wife-erg-and
‘The man and the woman quarreled for long.’

t'ähhara a zuda q'ar-a-ca-y-el-la mayra-čo äl-la.
finally foc wife give=up-foc-neg-ii-come-infer husband-erg say-infer
'Finally, when the wife did not give up, the man said.'

zuda so chäna huma-n-ax v-iela-v-eli-ra.
wife I one:obl thing-sa-mat i-smile-i-come-evid
'Wife, I started to laugh at a thing.'

i d-iyca-n san yiš y-a-c.
dist iii-tell-inf I:poss possibility iv-cop:pres-neg
'I cannot tell about this.'

iza d-iyca-ča so liyr w-u.
dist iii-tell-cv:ds I die:fut i-cop:pres
'When I tell this, I will die.'

liyr w-ela-ħ a d-iyca eli-ra zud-čo.
die:fut i-be-cond:real foc iii-tell:imp say-evid woman-erg
'(And) if you die, tell, said the woman.'

cul t'äha a d-exxa q'iyis-in-ču-l t'äha mayra-čo eli-ra.
anaph:comp after foc iii-long:emph quarrel-part:past-obl-comp after man-erg say-evid
'After that, after having quarreled long, the man said.'

d-ela-ħ c'a qäč-ča-ħana d-üycur d-u as ħuna.
iii-be-cond:real home arrive-cv:ds-temp iii-tell:fut iii-cop:pres I:erg you:sg:dat
'Be it that when we have come home, I will tel you.'

b-äxk-ina c'a qeči-ra horš.
i/ii-come:pl-infer home reach-evid they
'Coming they reached the house.'

t'aqqa a čüra-y-äl-la hāwzi-ra zuda.

then foc in:out-ii-come-infer wind-avid wife

‘Then the wife come out of herself and winded around.’

mayra-čuo b-illa a älla q'ilb-ieħa b-erz-iy-na mott b-illi-ra zud-čuo.

man-erg v-prepare:imp foc say-infer kilba-all v-turn=to-caus1-infer bed v-prepare-avid wife-erg

‘When the man said ‘prepare’, the wife turning the bed to the kilba prepared it.’

mayra metta a w-iž-na w-istxili-ra.

man bed:loc foc i-lie=down-infer i-talk-avid

‘The man lay down in the bed (and) started to talk.’

xincca as ħuna suo w-ala-r-an baħana d-üycu-r d-u

now:emph I:erg you:sg:dat I i-die-masd-gen reason iii-tell-fut iii-cop:pres

‘Now I will tell you the reason of (my) dying.’

t'aqqa san sa qu metta-ħ a d-er d-u.

then I:poss soul prox place-loc foc iii-go=away-fut iii-cop:pres

‘Then my soul will leave this place.’

so w-ala-le suna t'iera saġiy-na huma tasa-ħ wayn ž'äli-na.

I i-die-cv:before I:dat on:abl alms-dat thing throw:imp-2sg we:poss dog:dat

‘Before I die, throw something for me as alms to our dog.’

zud-čuo čħa siskal yüxk tesi-ra ž'äli-na.

wife-erg one corbread piece throw-avid dog-dat

‘The wife threw a piece of corbread to the dog.’

t'e-y-ea-na n'äna.

onto-iV-come-infer rooster

‘A rooster came near.’

cu yuxk-ax z^ʰok y-etta-n hötti-ra.
dist piece-mat beak iv-hit-inf stand-evid
‘It stood to hit its beak at a piece.’

d^ʰa-y-ala-ħa n^ʰäna suna saġi-na tes-na yuxk y-ita-ħa eli-ra ž^ʰäl-uo.
thither-iv-go=away-imp:2sg rooster I:dat alms-dat throw-infer piece iv-let-imp:2sg say-evid dog-erg
‘Go away, rooster! let this piece thrown to me as alms, said the dog.’

ħan ħan-na t^ʰiera äl-la xätti-ra n^ʰän-uo.
who who-dat on:to say-infer ask-evid rooster-erg
‘Who, for whom? saying asked the rooster.’

wayn da w-u leš w-ollu-š
we:incl:poss father i-cop:pres die:cv:par i-be:emph-cv:par
‘Our boss is dying.’

hunda.
why
‘Why?’

cunna wayn mott xaa-ra.
anaph:dat we:incl:poss language know-imperf
‘He knew our language.’

i šiena xäi-yla xa-iyt-ča iza w-ala-n dieza-š w-a-ra.
dist refl:dat know-subj know-caus2-cv:ds dist i-die-inf must-cv:par i-cop:pres-past
‘If he would let know that he knows it, he would have to die.’

zud-čun-na čħa huma tuosa-d-el-la cunax.
wife-sa-dat one thing feel-iii-come-infer anaph:mat

‘The wife has felt something as for him.’

dʰa-d-iyca b-oxu-š zuda qʼar-ca-luš
thither-iii-tell:imp v-say-cv:par wife give=up-neg-come:cv:par
‘Tell! saying insisted the wife.’

hinca iza zud-čun-na d-iyca qʼilb-ieħa mott a b-ill-iyti-na
now dist wife-sa-dat iii-tell(:inf) kilba-all bed foc v-prepare-caus2-infer
‘Now, in orde to tell the wife, he let her prepare the bed to the kilba’

ša w-al-lie šiena tʼiera saġa d-oqqu-š
refl i-die-cv:before refl:dat onto alms iii-give-cv:par
‘Before he would die, he is giving alms for himself.’

w-u-q i wayn da äl-la zʰäla d-istxil-ča nʰän-uo eli-ra.
i-cop:pres-ptcl dist we:incl:poss father say-infer dog iii-pronounce-cv:ds rooster-erg say-evid
‘When the dog pronounced saying ‘that is our father’, the rooster said.’

dʰa-d-älla-ħ heta w-e-l-ča-a qʼa d-a-c ħuna čħa zuda ca saca-lu stag.
thither-iii-go:imp-2sg thus i-die-cv:ds-foc sin iii-cop:pres-neg you:sg:dat one wife neg stop-give:part:pres(?) man
‘Thus go away! It is not a sin for you when a man is dying, who cannot not make stop a wife.’

as a saca-y-o-y is kʼorni šiena tʼäħa d-olu kuotam?
I:erg foc stop-iv-caus1-q(?) nine chicken refl:dat behind iii-be:part:pres hen.
‘Do(n’t) I make stop (my) hen who has behind itself nine chicken?’

qünga hunda ca saca-l-o šien zuda?
anaph:loc why neg stop-give:pres refl:poss wife
‘Why doesn’t he can stop his wife?’

i qʼamel xez-na w-ala-n w-iž-na-ču stag-ana.
dist speech hear-infer i-die-inf i-lie-part:past-obl man-dat

‘The man who had lied down to die heard that speech.’

cuo part äl-la ħäla a iqqi-na äl-la zud-č-ie.
anaph:erg knock say-infer high foc jump-infer say-infer wife-sa-loc
‘He knocked, jumped up and said to (his) wife.’

zuda cq'a-a as iza ħayga d-iyca-r ca xil-ča
wife never-foc I:erg dist you:sg:loc iii-tell-masd neg be-cv:ds
‘Wife, as I never be telling you this’

q'ar-lur-y-olu-š ħo y-ela-ħ q'ar-luola-ħ san iza d-iyca yiš y-a-c ħuna.
give=up-give-fut-ii-be-cv:par you:sg ii-be-cond:real give=up-give:imp-2sg I:poss dist iii-tell(:inf) possibility iv-cop:pres-neg you:sg:dat
‘if you can give up you should give up; I cannot tell you that.’

cul t'äħa čħa šo d-äl-ča
anaph:comp after one year iii-pass-cv:ds
‘When one year had passed by after this’

čħä-na lam-anan šina leča-n-uo q'amel d-e-š
one-obl mountain-gen two-obl hawk-sa-erg speech iii-do-cv:par
‘when two hawks of a mountain were talking’

ladöğ-na-ču qu stag-ana lam-anan ġorzo-š-kaħ deši d-olu-š mettig xaa-y-el-la.
listen-part:past-obl prox man-dat mountain-gen rock-pl-loc gold iii-be-cv:par place know-iv-come-infer
‘this listening man started to know a place where there was gold in the rocks of the mountain.’

w-axa-n-ču qu stag-a i deši c'a öz-na.
i-go-part:pres-obl prox man-erg:hum dist gold home bring-infer
‘This man who went brought home that gold.’

i deši b^šärga gi-ča zud-čuo y-iela-a-y-el-la äl-la.
dist gold eye:loc see-cv:ds wife-erg ii-smile-foc-ii-come-infer say-infer

‘When the wife saw in (her) eyes the gold, she started to laugh saying:’

hara d-a-ra aħ suna stoxka ca d-iyci-na-rg?
prox iii-cop:pres-past you:sg:erg I:dat last=year neg iii-tell-part:past-ref
‘Is this what you did not tell me last year?’

d-a-ra-tie mayra-čuo äl-la.
iii-cop:pres-past-possible husband-ger say-infer
‘May have been, the husband said.’

ištta d-axa-n xii-ra i ši’ naq’ost.
such iii-live-inf know-evid dist two:num friend.
‘Thus those two knew to live, friend.’