## Part One

(1) šima newešime
you.Pl sick
(2) ma newとše
we sick
(3) ez neweša

I sick
(4) ti neweša you.Sg sick
(5) ma Boston-der-ime
we Boston-in-1.Pl
(6) ma telebime
we students.1Pl
(7) Ali domane-xo ja-verdai

Ali children-self's abandoned
(8) Pie-ma ma ja-verda(ime) father-our us abandoned
(9) maxo kerd vindi, pie-ma ma dime we self made lost, father-our us saw 'we got lost, our father found us'
(10) maxo da-we, pie-ma ma vinitime we self hid, father-our us found 'we hid, our father found us'
(11) bidewe!
hide!
(12) to xo da-we, pie-to to di you self hid, father-your you saw 'you hid, your father found you'
(13) to xo da-we, pie-to ti diya you self hid, father-your you saw-EV
(14) Ali kilame vate Ali a song said
(15) Ali kilami vati Ali songs said
(16) Ali kìlami vate Ali songs said-EV
(17) Ali kilamá vate Ali songs-obl said
(18) čimke o dengbež-o because he singer-is
(19) ne (kitabi) bide-mi! these (books) give-me!
(20) Ali ne kilami vati Ali these songs said
(21) pie-to $\varepsilon z$ diya father-your me saw
(22) *pie-to mi di father-your me-obl saw
(23) pie-de e di father-his them saw
(24) layikiti diya
boy you saw-EV(?)
(25) pie-ma šima di
father-our you.Pl saw
(26) pie-ma šima di-e father-our you.Pl saw-EV
(27) waya-ma šima di
sister-our you.Pl saw
(28) vane pie-ma šima di(-e) they.say father-our you.Pl saw(-EV)
(29) maya-to ma dime mother-your us saw
(30) vane maya-to madime they.say mother-your us saw

The previous two examples illustrate that no evidential distinction is made in the 1st person.
(31) čeneke ma pesenena girl us praises
(32) čeneke ma pesenayime
girl us praised
(33) vane čeneke ma pesenayime they.say girl us praised
(34) vane čeneke šima/e pesene they.say girl you.pl/them praised.EV
(35) vane čeneke ti pesena they.say girl us praised
(36) ez gyere bize biherni I should goat buy
(38) ez gyere kitab biwani I should book read
(39) mi gyere kitab biwendene

I should book read.have
(37) mi gyere bize bihernene
I.obl should goat bought.have
(40) waxto keti ama, mi kitab wendene when C you came, I.obl book reading.was
(41) waxto ke ti ama, mi kitabi wendene when C you came, I.obl books reading.was
(42) hena ke ti niyama bi, mi kitab wend already when you not-came was, I.obl book read 'By the time you came, I read the book'
(43) Bazari-ra hetani nika, mayami des dolumi telefonemi kerd Sunday-from until now, mother-my ten times call-my made 'Since Sunday, my mother has called me ten times'
(44) na peniya-ra, George bi neweš this end-from, George was sick
'Recently, George has been sick'
(45) axriya-xo-d $\varepsilon$, o bi dewleti
end-self's-at, he was rich
'At the end of his life, he was rich'

## Part Two

(46) Heseni pie-xo di e biž̌ike werde Hesen father-self's saw he.obl bizike ate
'Hesen saw his father eat the bizike'
(47) *pie-xo bižike werde / *pie-xo newešo father-self's bizike ate father-self's sick
(48) Hesen murozun-o Hesen sad-is
(49) qai Hesen murozun-o? why H sad-is?
(50) čimke pie-de newと̌̌-o Because father-his sick-is

Gulcem offered (??) as an answer to (??).
(51) Gulcem pie-xo-ra hes kena

G father-self's-from love does
'Gulcem loves her father'
 H said that father-his/-my/-self's sick-is ' $\mathrm{H}_{j}$ said that his $j$ father was sick'
(53) Heseni $\mathrm{mi}_{j}{ }_{j}$-ra va $\mathrm{k} \varepsilon \quad \mathrm{pie}^{-\mathrm{to}_{j}}$ new $\varepsilon$ šo $\mathrm{H} \quad$ me-from said that father-your sick-is 'H said to me 'your father is sick"
(54) Heseni $\mathrm{mi}_{j}$-ra va $\mathrm{k} \varepsilon$ pie-mí ${ }_{j}$ new $\varepsilon$ šo H me-from said that father-my sick-is 'H told me my father was sick'
(55) Heseni ${ }_{j}$ murozun-o čimke pie-xo ${ }_{j}$ newとšo

H sad-is because father-self's sick-is
(56) toxtori $\mathrm{mi}_{j}$-ra va $\mathrm{k} \varepsilon$ pie-to $_{j}$ newešo
(57) toxtori $\mathrm{mi}_{j}$-ra va ke pie-de ${ }_{k}$ newsšo (where $\mathrm{k}=$ addressee) doctor me-from said that father-his sick-is
'The doctor said to me (about you ${ }_{j}$ ) 'His ${ }_{j}$ father is sick"
(58) Hesen témin keno ke pie-de newešo

H belief does that father-his sick-is
'H believes that his father is sick'
(59) $\mathrm{Hesen}_{j}$ tєьmin keno ke pie-xo ${ }_{j}$ newešo

H belief does that father-self's sick-is
${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{H}_{j}$ believes that his ${ }_{j}$ father is sick'
(60) $\mathrm{Hesen}_{j}$ tєьmin keno $\mathrm{k} \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \mathrm{z}_{s p k r / * j}$ neweša

H belief does that I sick-am
' H believes that I am sick'
(61) layiko k $\varepsilon$ waya-xo pači kerd $\varepsilon$ girs-o
boy that sister-self's kiss did big-is
'The boy who kissed his sister is big'
(62) layiko ke waya-xo-ra hes kerde girs-o
boy that sister-self's-from love did big-is
'The boy that loved his sister is big'
(63) layiko ke waya-xo ji-ra hes kerde girs-o boy that sister-self's him-from love did big-is 'The boy whose sister loved him is big'
(64) $\mathrm{Heseni}_{j}$ toxtori-ra pers kerd ke pie-xo ${ }_{j}$ newešo yaki niyo H doctor-from word did that father-self's sick-is or not-is ${ }^{'} \mathrm{H}_{j}$ asked the doctor if his ${ }_{j}$ father was sick or not'
(65) $\operatorname{Hesen}_{j}$ mereq keno $\varepsilon k \varepsilon$ pie-xo $_{j} \quad$ newešo yaki niyo H wonder does if father-self's sick-is or not-is ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{H}_{j}$ wonders if his ${ }_{j}$ father is sick'
(66) Heseni qotiye-d $\varepsilon$ xo di

H mirror-in self saw
(67) Heseni qotiye-d $\varepsilon$ qatiye-xo kerd

H mirror-in look-self's did
' H looked at himself in the mirror'
pyayi tac-d $\varepsilon$-xo Diyarbakir-der-e
people some-in-self's D-in-are
'Some of the people are in D'
(69) zü pyayi va $\mathrm{k} \varepsilon$ domani ta $\varepsilon$-d $\varepsilon$-xo Dayirbakir-d $\varepsilon$-e, tac-d $\varepsilon$-xo one person said that children some-in-self D-in-are some-in-self
ki Muš-d $\varepsilon$ mendi also Mus-in stayed
'Someone said that some of the children are in D, some stayed in Mus'
(70) *domani va ke tac-d $\varepsilon$-xo Dayirbakir-d $\varepsilon$-e
(71) kamji ciflig-a ke merik te-d $\varepsilon$ x $\quad$ betino which farm-is that man there-at works
'Which farm does the man work at?'
(72) kamji ciflige bis $\mathrm{k} \varepsilon$ merik te-d $\varepsilon$ x $\quad$ betiya which farm was that man there-at worked 'Which farm did the man work at?'
(73) mi meri k $\varepsilon$ na cifflig $\varepsilon$-d $\varepsilon$ x $\varepsilon$ betino, de-ra heqeret kerd I-obl man that this farm-at works he-from insult did 'I insulted the man who works at this farm'
(74) mi meri k $\varepsilon$ na cifflige-d $\varepsilon$ x $\varepsilon$ betino pesena

I-obl man that this farm-at works he-from praised
'I praised the man who works at this farm'
(75) merik ke na ciflige-d $\varepsilon$ x $\varepsilon$ betino newešo
'The man that works at this farm is sick'
(76) kamji ciflig-a ke merik-o neweš te-d $\varepsilon$ xebetino which farm-is that man-EZ sick there-at works
'Which farm does the sick man work at?'
(77) kamji cifflig-a ke merik[-o k $\varepsilon$ ] te-d $\varepsilon$ x $\varepsilon$ betino new $\varepsilon$ šo which farm-is that man[-EZ that] there-at works sick is 'Which farm is the man who works there sick?'

There was debate as to whether Gulcem actually uttered the morphemes in brackets in the preceding example.
(78) kamji ciflig-a k $\varepsilon$ Heseni va $\mathrm{k} \varepsilon$ merik-o $\mathrm{k} \varepsilon$ te-d $\varepsilon$ x $\varepsilon$ betino new $\varepsilon$ šo which farm-is that Hesen said that man-EZ that there-at works sick-is 'Which farm did Hesen say that the man who works there is sick?'

