## **Part One**

- (1) šɨma newɛšimɛ you.Pl sick
- (2) ma newεše we sick
- (3) εz newεša I sick
- (4) tɨ newεša you.Sg sick

- (5) ma Boston-der-ime we Boston-in-1.Pl
- (6) ma telebimε we students.1Pl
- (7) Ali domane-xo ja-verdai Ali children-self's abandoned
- (8) Pie-ma ma ja-verda(imε) father-our us abandoned
- (9) ma xo kɛrd vindi, pie-ma ma dimɛ we self made lost, father-our us saw 'we got lost, our father found us'
- (10) ma xo da-wε, pie-ma ma vinɨtime we self hid, father-our us found 'we hid, our father found us'
- (11) bidewe! hide!
- (12) to xo da-wε, pie-to to di you self hid, father-your you saw 'you hid, your father found you'
- (13) to xo da-wɛ, pie-to tɨ diya you self hid, father-your you saw-EV
- (14) Ali kɨlamɛ vatɛ Ali a song said
- (15) Ali kilami vati Ali songs said
- (16) Ali kilami vate Ali songs said-EV
- (17) Ali kɨlamá vate Ali songs-obl said
- (18) čɨmkε o dɛngbež-o because he singer-is

- (19) ne (kɨtabi) bɨde-mɨ! these (books) give-me!
- (20) Ali ne kilami vati Ali these songs said
- (21) pie-to ɛz diya father-your me saw
- (22) \*pie-to mɨ di father-your me-obl saw
- (23) pie-de e di father-his them saw

- (24) layiki ti diya boy you saw-EV(?)
- (26) pie-ma šɨma di-e father-our you.Pl saw-EV
- (25) pie-ma šɨma di father-our you.Pl saw
- (27) waya-ma šɨma 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 ma dime 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
- (38) Ez gyere kitab biwani I should book read
- (36) εz gyεrε bɨzε bɨherni I should goat buy
- (39) mɨ gyɛrɛ kɨtab bɨwɛndenɛ I should book read.have
- (37) mɨ gyɛrɛ bɨzɛ bɨhɛrnenɛ I.obl should goat bought.have
- (40) waxto kε tɨ ama, mɨ kɨtab wɛndenε when C you came, I.obl book reading.was
- (41) waxto kε tɨ ama, mɨ kɨtabi wɛndenε when C you came, I.obl books reading.was
- (42) hena kε tɨ niyama bi, mɨ kɨtab wɛnd 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 tɛlɛfonemi kɛrd 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 newεš this end-from, George was sick 'Recently, George has been sick'
- (45) axriya-xo-dε, 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 bižike werde Hesen father-self's saw he.obl bizike ate 'Hesen saw his father eat the bizike'
- (47) \*pie-xo bɨżɨkε wεrdε / \*pie-xo newεšo 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) čɨmkε pie-de newεš-o Because father-his sick-is

Gulcem offered (??) as an answer to (??).

- (51) Gulcem pie-xo-ra hεs kεna G father-self's-from love does 'Gulcem loves her father'
- (52) Heseni<sub>j</sub> va ke pie-de<sub>j</sub>/-mi<sub>j</sub>/-\*xo newešo H said that father-his/-my/-self's sick-is 'H<sub>j</sub> said that his<sub>j</sub> father was sick'
- (53) Heseni  $mi_j$ -ra va ke pie-to<sub>j</sub> newešo H me-from said that father-your sick-is 'H said to me 'your father is sick''
- (54) Heseni  $mi_j$ -ra va ke pie- $mi_j$  newešo H me-from said that father-my sick-is 'H told me my father was sick'

- (55) H $\varepsilon$ seni<sub>j</sub> murozun-o č $\varepsilon$ imk $\varepsilon$  pie-xo<sub>j</sub> new $\varepsilon$ so H sad-is because father-self's sick-is
- (56) toxtori mɨ<sub>j</sub>-ra va kε pie-to<sub>j</sub> newεšo
- (57) toxtori  $m_j$ -ra va kɛ pie-de<sub>k</sub> newɛšo (where k=addressee) doctor me-from said that father-his sick-is 'The doctor said to me (about you<sub>j</sub>) 'His<sub>j</sub> father is sick''
- (58) Hεsεn tειmin kεno kε pie-de newešo H belief does that father-his sick-is 'H believes that his father is sick'
- (59) Hesen<sub>j</sub> termin keno ke pie-xo<sub>j</sub> newešo H belief does that father-self's sick-is 'H<sub>j</sub> believes that his<sub>j</sub> father is sick'
- (60) Hesen<sub>j</sub> termin keno ke  $ex_{spkr/*j}$  neweša H belief does that I sick-am 'H believes that I am sick'
- (61) layiko kε waya-xo pači kεrdε 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) Heseni<sub>j</sub> toxtori-ra pers kɛrd ke pie-xo<sub>j</sub> newɛšo yaki niyo H doctor-from word did that father-self's sick-is or not-is 'H<sub>j</sub> asked the doctor if his<sub>j</sub> father was sick or not'
- (65) Hesen<sub>j</sub> mereq keno eke pie-xo<sub>j</sub> newešo yaki niyo H wonder does if father-self's sick-is or not-is 'H<sub>j</sub> wonders if his<sub>j</sub> father is sick'
- (66) Hεseni qotiye-dε xo di H mirror-in self saw
- (67) Hεseni qotiye-dε qatiye-xo kεrdH mirror-in look-self's did

- 'H looked at himself in the mirror'
- (68) pyayi taε-dε-xo Diyarbakɨr-dɛr-e people some-in-self's D-in-are 'Some of the people are in D'
- (69) zü pyayi va kε domani taε-dε-xo Dayirbakir-dεr-e, taε-dε-xo one person said that children some-in-self D-in-are some-in-self ki Muš-dε mɛndi also Mus-in stayed
  'Someone said that some of the children are in D, some stayed in Mus'
- (70) \*domani va ke tae-de-xo Dayirbakir-der-e
- (71) kamji ciflig-a kɛ merik te-dɛ xɛbetino which farm-is that man there-at works 'Which farm does the man work at?'
- (72) kamji cifligε biε kε merik te-dε xεbetiya which farm was that man there-at worked 'Which farm did the man work at?'
- (73) mɨ merɨ kɛ na cɨfligɛ-dɛ xɛbetino, de-ra heqɛrɛt kɛrd I-obl man that this farm-at works he-from insult did 'I insulted the man who works at this farm'
- (74) mɨ merɨ kɛ na cɨfligɛ-dɛ xɛbetino pɛsɛna I-obl man that this farm-at works he-from praised 'I praised the man who works at this farm'
- (75) merik kε na cifligε-dε xεbetino newεšo 'The man that works at this farm is sick'
- (76) kamji ciflig-a kε merik-o newεš te-dε xεbetino which farm-is that man-EZ sick there-at works 'Which farm does the sick man work at?'
- (77) kamji ciflig-a kε merik[-o kε] te-dε xεbetino newεšo 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 kε Hεseni va kε merik-o kε te-dε xεbetino newεšo 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?'