Evidential forms seem to be characterized by agreement with the Absolutive argument that's like the adjective-introducing Ezafe vowel, or the morpheme that shows up where you'd expect a present-tense copula. Non-evidential forms have agreement suffixes that look like the suffixes on attributive adjectives (or, equivalently, on nominative nouns).
(9) ali bekiya šereb šimito
   Ali maybe wine drank-EV
   'Maybe Ali drank the wine'

(10) #ali bekiya šereb šimit
    Ali maybe wine drank (non-EV)

*Failure to use evidential form with an adverb like bekiya 'maybe' is odd, since it suggests that you witnessed the event yourself and thus ought to know for sure.*

(11) ali ya šereb šimit, yaki qawa šimit persuade (or yaži, instead of yaki)
    Ali either wine(m.) drank or coffee(f.) drank
    'Ali either drank wine or drank coffee'

(12) ali šereb šimit(*o), mi bi čimane xo di
    Ali wine drank (*EV) I with eyes-EZ self's saw
    'Ali drank wine, I saw it with my own eyes'

(13) A: šande se bi?
    last.night how was
    'What happened last night?'

    B: aïsa hesen pačikyerd
    Aisha Hasan kissed
    'Aisha kissed Hasan'

    A: heya, ez inam kyena ke ina žumini pačikyerd...
    yes I-NOM belief do that they-OBL each.other kissed
    'Yes, I believe that they kissed each other...'

    ...hama ti zuri kena. to e ne di.
    ...but you-NOM lie do you-OBL them-NOM not saw
    '...but you're lying. You didn't see them.'

    ti uža ne biya.
    you-NOM there not were
    'You weren't there.'
(14) boy-OBL or door did=open or gave=place 'the boy maybe opened the door or closed it...'

...but I don't know what he did'

(15) boy-OBL or book read or wine drank 'The boy either read a book or drank wine'

(16) today some things bad-PL were

(17) today thing-EZ that bad was

(18) children-NOM cried

(19) or Muhammad-OBL dog-EZ self's did lost

'Either Muhammad lost hs dog, or Aisha ruined her dress'

(20) boy-OBL or door did=open or gave=place 'The boy either opened the door or closed it'

(21) or boy-OBL door did=open or gave=place 'Either the boy opened the door, or closed it'

(22) or boy-OBL door did=open or girl 'Either the boy opened the door, or the girl did'
I actually didn't get this one straight; does it mean:

- 'When Ali was sick, he had to drink *do*, or
- 'When Ali was sick, he should have drunk *do* (but didn't),'

*(INF is probably a misnomer for an irrealis mood, or something, but I'll just keep calling it INF. The second *in bişimitene has a tendency to drop, but I'll consistently write it)*

- (layik ya čai yaki do šimeno)
  - boy or tea or *do* drinks
- (layik ya čai šimeno yaki do (šimeno))
  - boy or tea drinks or *do* drinks
- ya layik čai yaki do šimeno
  - or boy tea or *do* drinks
- ya layik čai šimeno yaki do (šimeno)
  - or boy tea drinks or *do* drinks
- ya layiki čai šimit yaki do (šimit)
  - or boy-OBL tea drank or *do* drank
- čai bišime!
  - tea drink-IMP.2SG
  - 'Drink the tea!'
- gyere layiki ya čai yaki do bišimo
  - must boy-OBL or tea or *do* drink-INF
  - 'The boy has to drink either tea or *do*'
- (gyere layiki ya čai yaki do bişimitene (...hama ne šimit))
  - must boy-OBL or tea or *do* drink-PAST.INF but not drank
  - 'The boy should have drunk either tea or *do* (...but he didn't)'
- gyere layiki ya čai bişimitene yaki do
  - must boy-OBL or tea drink-PAST.INF. or *do*
- (gyere ya layiki čai bişimitene yaki do (bişimitene))
  - must or boy-OBL tea drink-PAST.INF. or *do* drink-PAST.INF.
This is sort of interesting in light of the facts we talked about the next week, where negation licenses NPIs in subject position. Apparently the subject is capable of scoping outside negation (since the positive polarity item ya...yaki can modify the subject here; (38) suggests that this is indeed a positive polarity item) but, since NPIs can also be in subject position, the subject can also scope inside negation. At least, that's one way of describing it. See (50-55) for more on scope...

I remember we had examples with three conjuncts, showing that hem doesn't mean 'both', but I don't seem to have them written down.
(44) ali wazeno ke ya qawa yaki do bismo
Ali wants that or coffee or do drink-INF-3sg
'Ali wants to drink coffee or do'

(45) ali wāštene ke ya qawa yaki do bišimitene
Ali wanted that or coffee or do drink-PAST.INF

(46) ya ali wazeno ke qawa yaki do bišmo...
or Ali wants that coffee or do drink-INF
'Ali either wants to drink coffee or do...'

(47) ...hama ez ne zana o kʰaṃjī šimeno.
but I not know he which will-drink

(48) ...hama ez ne zana o či wazeno bišmo.
but I not know he what wants drink-INF

(49) *...hama ez ne zana o wazeno ke kʰaṃjī bišmo.
but I not know he which wants drink-INF

(50) ali ne qawa neki čay wazeno bišmo
Ali neither coffee nor tea wants drink-INF
both > not: 'Ali wants to drink neither coffee nor tea'

(51) ali hem qawa hemki čay ne wazeno bišmo
Ali all coffee all tea not wants drink-INF
not want > both: 'Ali doesn't want to drink both coffee and tea'

you can also get both > not want reading, with a big pause after qawa.

(52) ali ya čai yaki qawa wazeno bišmo
Ali or tea or coffee wants drink-INF

(53) ali ya čai wazeno bišmo yaki qawa
Ali or tea wants drink-INF or coffee

(54) hem ali hemki mehemed čay ne wazene bišme
all Ali all Mohammed tea not want-PL drink-INF.PL
both > not: 'Both Ali and Mohammed don't want to drink tea'

(55) ne ali neki mehemed (ne) wazene (ke) čay bišme
neither Ali nor Mohammed (not) want-PL that tea drink-INF.PL
(56) kitabe mi esto
to book-EZposs my exist-Masc
'I have a book'

(57) qelema mi esta
to pen-EZ my exist-Fem
'I have a pen'

(58) qelema to esta
your
'You have a pen'

(59) qelema de esta
his
'He has a pen'

(60) qelema dae esta
her
'She has a pen'

(61) qelema ma esta
our
'We have a pen'

(62) qelema šima esta
your-PL
'You (pl) have a pen'

(63) qelema dina esta
their
'They have a pen'

(64) kitabe heseni esto
book-EZ Hasan-OBL exist-Masc
'Hasan has a book'

(65) kitabe to mi de esto
book-EZ your me-OBL at exist-Masc
'I have your book'

(66) kitabe to mi dero
book-EZ your me-OBL at.is-Masc
'I have your book'
I've just written dero as one word, since it isn't yet clear whether the r is something specific to this postposition--looks like it might be.

(67) qelema to biye
    pen-EZ your was-Fem
    'You had a pen'

(68) qelema mi to dera
    pen-EZ my you-OBL at.is-Fem
    'You have my pen'

(69) k'tabe to bi
    book-EZ your was-Masc
    'You had a book'

(70) k'tabei šima bi(:)
    books-EZ your-PL was-PL
    'You-PL had books'

Thought I heard the last vowel as long here, though I could be wrong.

(71) k'tabei to este
    books-EZ your are-PL
    'You have books'

(72) k'tabe to bi bi
    book-EZ your was was
    'You had a book a long time ago'

(73) dinia de zaf meseli este
    world in many problems exist-PL
    'There are many problems in the world'

(74) domani baxče ma dere
    children yard-EZ our in.are
    'The children are in our yard'
    (can be an answer to 'Where are the children?')

(75) baxče ma de domani este
    yard-EZ our in children exist-PL
    'There are children in our yard'
(76)  jo baxče dero  
      jo yard  in.is-Masc  
      'Joey is in the yard'

(77)  *baxče  ma de jo esto  
      yard-EZ our in jo exist-Masc  
      (sounds like "Joey is an animal")

(78)  baçe  ma  
      garden-EZ our  
      'our garden'

(79)  zaf  piyay / issan’i ami partie  
      many men  people came party  
      'Many men/people came to the party'

(80)  domane  mi baxče dere  
      children-EZ my yard  in.are-PL  
      'My children are in the yard'

(81)  domani baxče de n’iyé  /  čine  
      children yard  in  aren't-PL don't-exist-PL  
      (later investigations suggested that niye is just ne plus the copula e, while čin- is the negative of est-. So maybe the version with niye means something like '(the) children aren't in the yard', while the version with čine means 'there aren't children in the yard')

(82)  jo baxče de n’iyoy  
      jo yard  in  not.is-Masc  
      'Joey isn't in the yard'

(83)  *jo baxče de čino  
      jo yard  in  doesn't.exist-Masc  
      (sounds like Joey 'is an animal or a plant')

(84)  thase baxče de n’iya  
      bowl yard  in  not.is-Fem  
      ('you can say (this)...')

(85)  thase baxče de čina  
      bowl yard  in  doesn't.exist-Fem  
      ('...but this is more correct' (than (84)))
(86) *baxče de t³ase n’iya
    yard in bowl not.is-Fem

(87) baxče de t³ase čina
    yard in bowl doesn’t.exist-Fem

(88) kuliye qelemma masa sera e
    all pencils Obl table on are-Pl
    'All the pencils are on the table' ("You're not happy")

(89) qelemi kuli masa sera e
    pencils all table on are-Pl

(90) masa sera qelemi este
    table on pencils exist-Pl
    'There are pencils on the table'

(91) žüye de kitaba masa sera čine / niye
    one even books Obl table on don’t.exist-Pl not-are-Pl
    'none of the books are on the table' (not > one, *one > not)

(92) kitaba ra žüye de xo masa sera čino
    books Obl from one even self’s table on doesn’t.exist-Masc
    'none of the books are on the table'

(93) kitaba ra žü masa sera čino
    books Obl from one table on doesn’t.exist-Masc
    'one of the books isn’t on the table' (one > not)

(94) ez kitab masa sera wažen
    I book table on want
    'I want the book (to be) on the table'

(95) kitab gyere masa sera bo
    book must table on be-Inf
    'The book must be on the table'

(96) gyere kitab masa sera bo
    must book table on be-Inf

(97) ez kitab masa sera ne wažen
    I book table on not want
    'I don’t want the book (to be) on the table'
The book must not be on the table.

The other place we've seen me, I think, is as the negation that shows up in imperatives.

You must take water with you.

The word for 'water' has the usual velar constriction/fricativization around the w, which I won't try to transcribe here.

I will take water with me.

'I brought water'