

- (1) aiša bižike herne (< herna + ε?)
Aisha bizike(f.) bought
'Aisha bought the bizike (I saw it happen)'
- (2) aiša bižike herna (< herna + a?)
Aisha bizike(f.) bought-EV
'Aisha bought the bizike (it's reported)'
- (3) aiša non herna (< herna + Ø?)
Aisha bread(m.) bought
'Aisha bought the bread (I saw it happen)'
- (4) aiša non herno (< herna + o?)
Aisha bread(m.) bought-EV
'Aisha bought the bread (it's reported)'

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).

- (5) ali ne weš bi **or** ali bi ne weš
Ali un- well was Ali was un- well
'Ali was sick (I saw)'
- (6) ali bio ne weš
Ali was-EV un- well
'Ali was sick (I hear)'
- (7) ali bi bi ne weš
Ali was was un- well
'Ali had been sick?'
- (8) aiša bižike pot bi bi
Aisha bizike(f) cook was was
'Aisha cooked the bizike in the distant past?'

...or maybe just a pluperfect? The absence of agreement with the object is surprising--maybe I mistranscribed this one.

(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 šimite (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: aiša hešen 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) layiki čiver ya kyerd=ya yaki da=ɟa
 boy-OBL door or did=open or gave=place
 'the boy maybe opened the door or closed it...'
 ...hama εz ne zana [e či kerd]
 but I-NOM not know [he-OBL what did
 '...but I don't know what he did'
- (15) layiki ya kitab wend yaki šereb šimit
 boy-OBL or book read or wine drank
 'The boy either read a book or drank wine'
- (16) ewre tai čie xirabi bi
 today some things bad-PL were
- (17) ewre čüo de xirab bi
 today thing-EZ that bad was
- (18) domani berbai
 children-NOM cried
- (19) ya mehemedi kutike xo kerd vindi,
 or Muhammad-OBL dog-EZ self's did lost
 yaki aiša fištane xo kerd qilerin
 or Aisha dress-EZ self's did dirty
 'Either Muhammad lost his dog, or Aisha ruined her dress'
- (20) layiki ya čiver kerd=ya, yaki da =ɟa
 boy-OBL or door did=open or gave=place
 'The boy either opened the door or closed it'
- (21) ya layiki čiver kerd=ya, yaki da =ɟa
 or boy-OBL door did=open or gave=place
 'Either the boy opened the door, or closed it'
- (22) ya layiki čiver kerd=ya, yaki čeneke
 or boy-OBL door did=open or girl
 'Either the boy opened the door, or the girl did'

- (23) waxto ke ali ne weš bi, e gyere do bišimitene
time-EZ that Ali un well was he-OBL must salty.yogurt.drink drink-PAST.INF
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 i in bišimitene has a tendency to drop, but I'll consistently write it)*
- (24) layik ya čaj yaki do šimeno
boy or tea or *do* drinks
- (25) layik ya čaj šimeno yaki do (šimeno)
boy or tea drinks or *do* drinks
- (26) ya layik čaj yaki do šimeno
or boy tea or *do* drinks
- (27) ya layik čaj šimeno yaki do (šimeno)
or boy tea drinks or *do* drinks
- (28) ya layiki čaj šimit yaki do (šimit)
or boy-OBL tea drank or *do* drank
- (29) čaj bišime!
tea drink-IMP.2SG
'Drink the tea!'
- (30) gyere layiki ya čaj yaki do bišimo
must boy-OBL or tea or *do* drink-INF
'The boy has to drink either tea or *do*'
- (31) gyere layiki ya čaj yaki do bišimitene (...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)'
- (32) gyere layiki ya čaj bišimitene yaki do
must boy-OBL or tea drink-PAST.INF. or *do*
- (33) gyere ya layiki čaj bišimitene yaki do (bišimitene)
must or boy-OBL tea drink-PAST.INF. or *do* drink-PAST.INF.

- (34) ya gyere layiki čaj bišimitene yaki do (bišimitene)
or must boy-OBL tea drink-PAST.INF. or do drink-PAST.INF.
- (35) ya gyere layiki čaj yaki do bišimitene
or must boy-OBL tea or do drink-PAST.INF
- (36) ne zo (*ya) e šimit (yaki) ne šimit
un known? or he-OBL drank or not drank
'We don't know if he drank it or not'
- (37) layiki ne qawa neki do šimit
boy-OBL neither coffee nor do drank
'The boy drank neither coffee nor do'
- (38) *layiki ya qawa yaki do ne šimit
boy-OBL or coffee or do not drank
- (39) ya layiki yaki čeneke dina ra žü qawa ne šimite
or boy or girl them-DAT from one coffee not drank-FEM
'Either the boy or the girl didn't drink coffee'

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...

- (40) ne layiki neki čeneke qawa šimite
neither boy-OBL nor girl coffee drank-FEM
- (41) hem layiki hem(i)ki čeneke qawa šimite
all boy-OBL all girl coffee drank-FEM
'Both the boy and the girl drank coffee'

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.

- (42) ina hem qawa šimite hem(i)ki čaj šimit
they-OBL all coffee drank-FEM all tea drank
'They both drank coffee and drank tea'
- (43) ?? hem ina čaj hem(i)ki do šimit
all they-OBL tea all do drank

- (44) ali wazeno ke ya qawa yaki do bišmo
 Ali wants that or coffee or *do* drink-INF-3sg
 'Ali wants to drink coffee or *do*'
- (45) ali waštene 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 k^hamji 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 k^hamji bišmo.
 but I not know he wants thta which drink-INF
- (50) ali ne qawa neki čaj 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 čaj 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 čaj yaki qawa wazeno bišmo
 Ali or tea or coffee wants drink-INF
- (53) ali ya čaj wazeno bišmo yaki qawa
 Ali or tea wants drink-INF or coffee
- (54) hem ali hemki mehemed čaj 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) čaj bišme
 neither Ali nor Mohammed (not) want-PL that tea drink-INF.PL

- (56) kitabe mi esto
 book-EZ_{POSS} my exist-Masc
 'I have a book'
- (57) qeḷema mi esta
 pen-EZ my exist-Fem
 'I have a pen'
- (58) qeḷema to esta
 your
 'You have a pen'
- (59) qeḷema de esta
 his
 'He has a pen'
- (60) qeḷema dae esta
 her
 'She has a pen'
- (61) qeḷema ma esta
 our
 'We have a pen'
- (62) qeḷema šima esta
 your-PL
 'You (pl) have a pen'
- (63) qeḷema dina esta
 their
 'They have a pen'
- (64) kitabe heṣeni 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) qeľema to biye
pen-EZ your was-Fem
'You had a pen'
- (68) qeľema mi to dera
pen-EZ my you-OBL at.is-Fem
'You have my pen'
- (69) kitabe to bi
book-EZ your was-Masc
'You had a book'
- (70) kitabei řima 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) kitabei to este
books-EZ your are-PL
'You have books'
- (72) kitabe 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 baxće ma dere
children yard-EZ our in.are
'The children are in our yard'
(can be an answer to 'Where are the children?')
- (75) baxće ma de domani este
yard-EZ our in children exist-PL
'There are children in our yard'

- (76) **žo baxče dero**
 Jo yard in.is-Masc
 'Joey is in the yard'
- (77) ***baxče ma de žo esto**
 yard-EZ our in Jo exist-Masc
 (sounds like "Joey is an animal")
- (78) **baže ma**
 garden-EZ our
 'our garden'
- (79) **zaf piyay / issan^yi 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^yiye / 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) **žo baxče de n^yiyo**
 Jo yard in not.is-Masc
 'Joey isn't in the yard'
- (83) ***žo baxče de čino**
 Jo yard in doesn't.exist-Masc
 (sounds like Joey 'is an animal or a plant')
- (84) **t^hase baxče de n^yiya**
 bowl yard in not.is-Fem
 ('you can say (this)...')
- (85) **t^hase baxče de čina**
 bowl yard in doesn't.exist-Fem
 ('...but this is more correct' (than (84)))

- (86) *baxče de t^hasε n^yiya
yard in bowl not.is-Fem
- (87) baxče de t^hasε čina
yard in bowl doesn't.exist-Fem
- (88) kuliye qełema masa sera e
all pencils-Obl table on are-Pl
'All the pencils are on the table' ("You're not happy")
- (89) qełemi kuli masa sera e
pencils all table on are-Pl
- (90) masa sera qełemi 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 žu 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) εz kitab masa sera wazen
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) εz kitab masa sera ne wazen
I book table on not want
'I don't want the book (to be) on the table'

- (98) gyere kitab masa sera me / ne bo
must book table on Irr.Neg not be-Inf
'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.

- (99) ti gyere xo de awe bere
you must self on water carry-Inf
'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.

- (100) ez xo de awe bena
I self on water carry
'I will take water with me'

- (101) mi awe berde
I-Obl water carried-Fem
'I brought water'