Multi-CAST

Vera'a

annotation notes

Stefan Schnell

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Contents

1 Introduction

This document outlines the morphosyntactic structure of Vera'a, and describes the implementation of GRAID glossing conventions as outlined in the *GRAID Manual 7.0* (Haig & Schnell 2014). It corresponds to version `2101` of the annotations, published in January 2021. Unless there is a more recent version of this document, it also applies to any later version of the annotations.

Section 2 gives an overview of Vera'a basic morphosyntactic features and the implementation of the core set of GRAID glosses. Section 3 deals with the treatment of other finite and non-finite types, and Section 4 with that of complex sentences. Morphological glosses and form paradigms are provided in Appendices A and C.

2 Basic structural features and GRAID glossing

Vera'a is an isolating language with grammatical affixes being confined to possessive pronominal suffixes on bound nouns. Exponents of some TAM (tense-aspect-mood) categories and the common NP article are enclitics and occur detached from their functional heads. Typically, phrases consist of at least two and often more words, e.g. TAM marker + verb or article + noun, and subconstituents are all glossed as such. In the following I outline the basic structure of the Vera'a language alongside their handling in GRAID annotations.

2.1 Clause structure and syntactic functions

Vera'a has two basic clause types, verbal and non-verbal ones. These have different types of predicate expressions, a verb complex (VC henceforth) in verbal ones and some other type of phrase in non-verbal ones.

2.1.1 Verbal clauses and syntactic functions

A verbal clause need not have any argument expression, and may consist of only the VC functioning as the predicate, as in (1):

(1)
	ne	*maran*
	TAM2:3SG	daylight
##	`lv-pro_s`	`v:pred`

'(And then) it became daylight.' `[mc_veraa_isam_0032]`

As in (1), the VC receives the form gloss ⟨`:v`⟩, regardless of whether its head word itself is unambiguously classified as a 'verb'. Core argument functions S, A, and P (in the sense of Andrews 2007) are encoded by the position of the NP or pronoun relative to the VC. S and A arguments precede the VC, and P arguments occupy a post-verbal position, as in the following examples (2–4):

(2)
	reñe	*ne*	*wotoqtoqo*
	woman	TAM2:3SG	pregnant
##	`np.h:s`	`lv-pro_h_s`	`v:pred`

'(And then) the woman got pregnant.' `[mc_veraa_pala_0003]`

(3)
	rōv-rōv'ē	*nik*	*ē*	*kur*	*kirm̄ō*	*=n*	*gako*	*wova'al*	*ē*
	RED-close.to	2SG	TAM2	gnaw	break	=ART	stalk	pawpaw	DEM3
##	other	pro.2:a	lv	v:pred	rv	=ln	np:p	rn	rn

'…would you almost have gnawed off the stalk of the pawpaw (fruit)?'

[mc_veraa_gabg_0083]

(4)
	Mag'iē	*anē*	*ne*	*vesir*	*sa*	*=n*	*'ama'*
	old.woman	DEM1.A	TAM2:3SG	ask	EMPH	=ART	devil
##	np.h:a	rn	lv-pro_h_a	v:pred	other	=ln	np.d:p

ē	*so*
DEM3	QUOT
rn	other

'(And then) the old woman asked the devil: …' [mc_veraa_asmse_0068]

Where the S or A function is expressed by a pronoun, it will occupy the same pre-VC slot where lexical S or A arguments occur, as in (5) and (6):

(5)
	dir	*=m*	*vus*	*diē*
	3PL	=TAM1	kill	3SG
##	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	pro.h:p

'They killed him.' [mc_veraa_iswm_0208]

(6)
	duru	*=k*	*kal*	*ba'a*	*kel*	*sarē*
	3DL	=TAM2	enter	into	back	in
##	pro.h:s	=lv	v:pred	rv	rv	other:l

'Then the two went ashore again.' [mc_veraa_isam_0061]

Where the P function is expressed by a bare pronoun, this pronoun is incorporated into the VC, as in example (7) where third singular *di* precedes the directional adverb *sar* 'in(wards)':

(7)
	dir	*=ēk*	*qērē*	*ba'a*	*di*	*sar*	*lē*	*=n*
	3PL	=TAM2	push	into	3SG	in	LOC	=ART
##	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	rv	pro.h:p	rv	adp	=ln

m̄o	*-gi*	*=n*	*nim̄ē*
POSS.house	-3SG	=ART	house
ln	-rn_pro.h:poss	=ln	np:g

'They pushed her into her house.' [mc_veraa_iswm_0171]

It seems that in some cases, bare pronouns may also follow the VC; in other – probably most – cases, this question is not decidable in particular contexts, as in (5) above.

Oblique arguments are encoded by means of prepositional flagging, and so are adjunct functions. Both occupy positions following the VC. Three types of oblique arguments are considered in the *GRAID Manual* (Haig & Schnell 2014: 13f.), that is those expressing locations ⟨:l⟩, goals ⟨:g⟩, or some other semantic role ⟨:obl⟩, and all three are also distinguished in Vera'a. Examples (8) and (9) show location and goal roles:

(8)
```
    duru      ga    'ōg      wal     sa     lē    =n     vono-n
    3DL       STAT  stay     exactly EMPH   LOC   =ART   home-CS
##  pro.h:s   lv    v:pred   rv      other  adp   =ln    np:l

    e         Wowōt          'a      Nōs
    PERS.ART  W.             LOC.SP  N.
    rn        rn_np.h:poss   rn      rn
```
'The were living right up in Wowōt's home village at Nos.' [mc_veraa_iswm_0004]

(9)
```
    dir       =m     van     kal      sar      lē    =n     wōm̄ōm̄ō'
    3PL       =TAM1  go      upwards  inland   LOC   =ART   bush
##  pro.h:s   =lv    v:pred  rv       rv       adp   =ln    np:g
```
'He went down to the reef…' [mc_veraa_jjq_0008]

In all three examples, the same basically locative preposition *lē* is the head of the PP expressing either a location or a goal, with more specific semantic role interpretations relating to differences in verbal semantics and world knowledge. A dative preposition is used where location or goal are human participants. Examples of human locations did not occur in GRAID corpora so far, but would be glossed as done for the following elicited example in (10):

(10)
```
    ba      =n     gasel  ga    'ōg'ōg    mē-n    e         Janet
    but     =ART   knife  STAT  red:stay  DAT-CS  PERS.ART  J.
##  other   =ln    np:s   lv    v:pred    adp     ln        np.h:l
```
'The knife is with Janet.' (elicited)

Goal-like roles carried out by humans are recipients/beneficiaries and addressees, and are all glossed with ⟨:g⟩, as shown in (11–13):

(11)
```
        ne          le        =n     biēg       ne        vō-wal
    ZERO  TAM2:3SG  transfer  =ART   breadfruit  NUM.ART   NUM-one
##  0.h:a lv-pro_h_a v:pred   =ln    np:p       rn        rn

    wo          ne          le        mē    di       ne        vō-wal
    and   ZERO  TAM2:3SG    transfer  DAT   3SG      NUM.ART   NUM-one
#   other 0.h:a lv-pro_h_a  v:pred    adp   pro.h:g  ln        np:p
```
'… took a breadfruit and gave her one (as well)' [mc_veraa_mvb_0103]

(12)
```
    duru      =k     ..e..  sor      mē    duru      =n     gogov
    3DL       =TAM2  HES    wear     DAT   3DL       =ART   clothes
##  pro.h:a   =lv    nc     v:pred   adp   pro.h:g   =ln    np:p
```
'The two put their clothes on.' [mc_veraa_anc_0026]

(13)
```
    Tumeren     ne          tēk      mē    dirē
    T.          TAM2:3SG    say      DAT   3PL
##  np.a:s_ds   lv-pro_h_s  v:pred   adp   pro.h:g
```
'Then Tumeren said to them, …' [mc_veraa_jjq_0318]

In three-participant constructions, word order may vary slightly, according to considerations of referentiality and animacy features of arguments (cf. Schnell 2012a), demonstrated by (11) and (12). Hence, NPs with P function may actually occur following a dative (or ablative for that

matter) PP; thus, P NPs are those that are not flagged by a preposition and occur in some post-VC position. The roles of recipients or beneficiaries may also be expressed by possessive morphology, which is glossed ⟨:poss⟩ for possessor, as the specific reading as either possessor or recipient/beneficiary is a matter of inference rather than encoding.

In accordance with the *GRAID Manual* (Haig & Schnell 2014), no sharp distinction is made between arguments and adjuncts. Thus, locative PPs as in (14) would also be receiving the ⟨:l⟩ function gloss. The same holds for arguments/adjuncts expressing a goal ⟨:g⟩ or some other semantic role ⟨:obl⟩.

(14)
```
     kamam       mi'ir   lē    =n     qañris
     1PL.EX:TAM1 sleep   LOC   =ART   oven
##   pro.1:s     v:pred  adp   =ln    np:l
```
'We slept in the stone oven.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0310]

Other oblique arguments express a variety of semantic roles. In some instances, the choice of a particular preposition unambiguously encodes a particular semantic role, for instance source being expressed by an ablative preposition in (15), while in other instances verb semantics and context reading appear to play an important part, as in (16), where the instrument reading is not encoded as such by the locative preposition:

(15)
```
          man  kalu    den  ēn   wio
   ZERO   PFV  exit    ABL  ART  bamboo
## 0.h:s  lv   v:pred  adp  ln   np:obl

  dir      man  'ēqēl
  3PL      PFV  descend
# pro.h:s  lv   v:pred
```
'(They) had already come out of the bamboo, they had already come down.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0346]

(16)
```
     ba     di      ga    mana     'i   lē    =n     raw              wuva
     but    3SG     STAT  magical  DEL  LOC   =ART   hermaphrodite.pig only
##   other  pro:s   lv    v:pred   rv   adp   =ln    np:obl           other
```
'But it [i.e. some water] is magic only through a hermaphrodite pig.' [mc_veraa_as1_0102]

The glossing of oblique PP arguments as either ⟨:l⟩, ⟨:g⟩, or ⟨:obl⟩ follows semantic role considerations rather than formal ones. Thus, the locative PP in (16) is glossed as bearing ⟨:obl⟩ rather than ⟨:l⟩ or ⟨:g⟩ function because it expresses the semantic role of an instrument.

Clear instances of circumstantial adjuncts are glossed for their form and receive the function gloss ⟨:other⟩. This is typically the case with temporal PP or NP adjuncts, as in (17):

(17)
```
     no      =m     van     ma      lē    =n     qōñ
     1SG     =TAM1  go      hither  LOC   =ART   night
##   pro.1:s =lv    v:pred  rv      adp   =ln    np:other
```
'… I came here last night, (but then where were you guys?' [mc_veraa_jjq_0393]

For clause-level adverbs and other types of one-word modifiers the gloss ⟨other⟩ is used, not further classifying form and function distinctly.

2.1.2 Non-verbal clauses and syntactic functions

The predicate of a non-verbal clause is a phrase of various types, but not a VC. These phrases are glossed for their form like arguments and take the function gloss ⟨:pred⟩:

(18)
```
    n     kaka      agēnē  di     =n    kaka      nelēo  vu'
    ART   story     DEM2   3SG    =ART  story     voice  spirit
##  ln    np:dt_s   rn     pro:s  =ln   np:pred   rn     rn
```
'This story here, it is a customary story [lit. a spirit's voice].' [mc_veraa_mvb_0009]

(19)
```
    ba    kumru   'ō'   =n    wōvinqa
    but   2DL     with  =ART  coconut.shell
##  other pro.2:s adp   =ln   np:pred
```
'But do you have a coconut shell with you?' [mc_veraa_as1_0083]

Thus, it is a NP in (18) and a PP in (19) that bear predicate function in the respective non-verbal clauses. As shown in these two examples, the subject expression in a non-verbal clause is considered to have S function, glossed ⟨:s⟩. As with verbal clauses, non-verbal clauses may not contain a subject relation at all, as in following examples (20) and (21):

(20)
```
    qōn       ne       vō-wal    'erē  'añsar     'a      Lēmērig
    day       NUM.ART  NUM-one   PL    person     LOC.SP  L.
##  np:other  rn       rn        ln    np:predex  rn      rn_np
```
'Once upon a time, (there were) the people of Lemerig.' [mc_veraa_isam_0002]

(21)
```
    =n    lañ   vus  m     vus   kamam    ē   =n    mar
    =ART  wind  hit  real  hit   1PL.EX   CC  =ART  famine
##  =ln   np:a  rn   lv    v:pred pro.1:p  #  other =ln   np:predex
```
'… [when] a hurricane hits us and (when) (there is) famine.' [mc_veraa_panr_0010]

Such clauses are existential clauses, that is they express that an entity or state of affairs exists or has come into being. The predicates of these clauses receive the function gloss ⟨:predex⟩ for 'existential predicate'.

There are a number of other elements, neither NPs nor PPs, that may function as predicate. All of these are glossed as ⟨other:pred⟩ or ⟨other:predex⟩. Examples are the quotative particle *so* that accommodates direct speech in the matrix clause, as in (22), a bare numeral, as in (23), or the existential *bēne* 'there is', as in (24):

(22)
```
    e        Dōl      so         #    o      no       man  qē'
    PERS.ART D.       QUOT       #    no     1SG      PFV  finish
##  ln       np.h:s   other:pred #ds  other  pro.1:s  lv   v:pred
```
'Dōl said: 'No, I am done. [The kava has already made me drunk.]' [mc_veraa_as1_0040]

(23)
```
    e          raga    'i-'isi-gi                sañwul      wal  dēmē
    PERS.ART   people  NSG-same.sex.sibl-3SG  ten         one
##  ln         ln      np.h:s                   other:pred  rn   rn

ne         vō-ruō
NUM.ART    NUM-two
rn         rn
```
'His brothers were twelve.' [i.e. 'He had twelve brothers.'] [mc_veraa_jjq_0003]

(24)
```
   si      =n     wova'al  bēne              du          =k      gen      0
   if      =ART   pawpaw   exist             IN          =TAM2   eat      0_them
# other   =ln    np:s     other:predex  ##  wpro.1:a    =lv     v:pred   0:p
```
'… (and) if there are pawpaw fruits we will eat (them).' [mc_veraa_gabg_0043]

Where existence is expressed by *bēne* (or likewise non-existence/absence by its negative counterpart *gitag*), it receives the function gloss ⟨:predex⟩, and the NP denoting the entity that is said to exist is considered an S argument. Where these existential particles occur with a locative oblique argument, the clause may have locational or existential semantics. In either case, it is glossed as in the examples in (25) and (26):

(25)
```
        dir       ne gitag      lē    =n     bo-re
        3PL       not.exist     LOC   =ART   POSS.bed-3PL
##neg   pro.h:s   other:pred    adp   =ln    np:l
```
'They are not in their beds.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0338]

(26)
```
    n     qoro-giluwo  bēne  suwei
    ART   hole-3SG     big   exist
##  ln    np:s         rn    other:predex
```
'It had a big hole at the bottom.' [lit. 'A big hole of it existed at the bottom.'] [mc_veraa_iswm_0175]

2.1.3 Other syntactic functions

Dislocated expressions receive the function gloss ⟨:dt⟩ 'dislocated topic', irrespective of whether the pragmatic function of its referent is actually considered a 'topic' in the narrow sense. No distinction is made between left- and right-dislocated expressions. Dislocated expressions can have lexical or pronominal form. Examples:

(27)
```
    n     nuō        di        =m      lañlañ     ēn    bini       -gi
    ART   turtle     3SG       =TAM1   RED:SLAP   ART   hand/arm   -3SG
##  ln    np.d:dt_a  pro.d:a   =lv     v:pred     ln    np:p       -rn_pro.d:poss
```
'And when Turtle had clapped his hands, …' [mc_veraa_gaqg_0084]

(28)
```
    no          no        me    sag      'irwur
    1SG         1SG       FUT   sit      behind
##  pro.1:dt_s  pro.1:s   lv    v:pred   rv
```
'[You two sit first,] and I, I will sit last one in the back (of the canoe).' [mc_veraa_pala_0090]

Where applicable, information on clause-internal function a dislocated phrase correlates with is added to the ⟨:dt⟩ function gloss, for instance ⟨:dt_a⟩ and ⟨:dt_s⟩ in (27) and (28). I assume here that a left-dislocated expression may correlate with an object function that receives zero expression within the clause, glossing it ⟨:dt_p⟩ and the clause-internal object as ⟨0:p⟩. These are entirely analogous to instances where the object function is expressed by a pronoun:

(29)

	lavet	*vō-wal*	*anē*	*dir*	*=ēm*	*gis*
	feast	NUM-one	DEM1.A	3PL	=TAM1	hold
##	np:dt_p	rn	rn	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred

'This feast, they held (it).' [mc_veraa_pala_0022]

(30)

	e	*ruwa*	*re-reñe*	*anē*	*duru*	*=m*
	PERS.ART	two.people	NSG-woman	DEM1.A	3DL	=TAM1
##	ln	ln	np.h:dt_p	rn	pro.h:a	=lv

da	*'ō'*	*duruō*
do	with	3DL
v:pred	rv	pro.h:p

'The two girls, they [i.e. their parents] looked after them.' [mc_veraa_pala_0009]

A further type of function distinguished for Vera'a is that of appositional expressions. These are typically co-referential with the one they are juxtaposed with and provide additional information on said referent. They receive the function gloss ⟨:appos⟩, as in (31). Treated in the same way here are so-called 'inclusory constructions' where the juxtaposed expression is a non-singular pronoun that is partially co-referential with the expression it is juxtaposed with, as in (32).

(31)

	...	*di*	*=m*	*le*	*=n*	*ni'i*	*'amān*	*'a*	...
		3SG	=TAM1	transfer	=ART	small	man	HES	
##		pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	=ln	np.h:p	rn	nc	

'isimēre	*anē*	...
second.born	DEM1.A	
np.h:appos	rn	

'(When) she gave birth to the boy, the second born, …' [mc_veraa_mcbw_0020]

(32)

	e	*Qo'*	*direē*	*man*	*'ēqēl*
	PERS.ART	Q.	3PL	PFV	descend
##	ln	np.h:s	pro.h:appos	lv	v:pred

'Qo' and those with him had already hopped off.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0347]

Appositional expressions are distinguished form coordinated phrases and other complex argument expressions, as outlined in Section 2.2 below.

The only NP-internal function noted in GRAID glossing of Vera'a texts is that of possessors, glossed ⟨:poss⟩. All other NP-internal expressions do not receive a function gloss. Also, possessors are glossed only where they have a specific referent, excluding certain cases of compounding and modification.

2.2 Form of referential expressions

Vera'a has the following basic types of referential expressions:

expression	*gloss*	*alt. gloss*
common NP	⟨np⟩	
personal NP	⟨np⟩	⟨pro⟩
locative NP	⟨np⟩	
numeral phrase	⟨np⟩	
pronominal expression	⟨pro⟩	
free pronoun	⟨pro⟩	⟨wpro⟩
bound person marker	⟨-pro⟩	
adverb, demonstrative	⟨other⟩	⟨pro⟩

Table 1 Form type–gloss correspondences of referential expressions in Vera'a.

- common NPs,
- personal NPs,
- locative NPs,
- numeral phrases,
- pronominal NPs,
- free pronouns,
- bound person markers, and
- adverbs.

Table 1 summarizes the glossing practices for each of these form types.

Common, personal, locative NPs and numeral phrases are all glossed ⟨np⟩. Vera'a also has pronominal NPs which are multi-word expressions consisting of a free pronoun plus further modifiers, and these are glossed as pronouns, ⟨pro⟩. For free pronouns, a distinction between default and weak forms is occasionally (but at present not consistently) made. Under bound person markers, we mainly summarize possessive suffixes. An additional bound person marker is assumed to be contained in one TAM allomorph, namely *ne* which is a portmanteau morph for both the TAM2 category as well as third person singular of the S or A (i.e. subject) argument. The gloss ⟨other⟩ is used for all other types of referential or non-referential expressions. The following subsections provide a brief outline of each form type.

2.2.1 Common NPs

Common NPs are introduced by the common article *=n* which may be omitted in clause initial position. Examples can be found in (29–32) above, and elsewhere in this document. They are glossed as ⟨np⟩.

2.2.2 Personal NPs

Personal NPs are introduced by the personal article *e* and most typically have personal names or one of a small class of other personal nouns as their heads, as in the following examples in (33) and (34):

(33)

	so	*e*	*Qo'*	*ne*	*mulō*
		PERS.ART	PERS.NAME	TAM2:3SG	go
##	other	ln	np.h:s	lv-pro_h_s	v:pred

'(And now) Qo' was about to go home.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0040]

(34)

	n	*'ama'*	*man*	*kur*	*sa*	*e*	*ruwa*
	ART	devil	PFV	devour	EMPH	PERS.ART	two.people
##	ln	np.d:a	lv	v:pred	other	ln	ln

ni-ni'i	*-duō*		*ē*
red-child	-1DL.IN		DEM3
np.h:p	-rn_pro.1:poss		rn

'The devil has already devoured our (DL) two children.' [mc_veraa_pala_0226]

In some instances, a personal pronoun takes a personal article and thus forms a personal NP. It will nonetheless be glossed ⟨pro⟩ rather than ⟨np⟩:

(35)

	e	*no*	*'ōw'ōw*
	PERS.ART	1SG	before
##	ln	pro.1:s	other:pred

'I am first (to jump).' [mc_veraa_anv_0063]

2.2.3 Locative NPs

Locative NPs differ from other NPs in that they are not introduced by an article. They are headed by a local noun, for example a place name, and commonly function as the complement of the specific locative preposition *a*. Locative NPs are simply glossed ⟨np⟩ in GRAID annotations. Two examples:

(36)

	sul	*di*	*ga*	*'ōg*	*a*	*lo*
	folk	3SG	STAT	stay	LOC.SP	seaside
##	np.h:dt	pro.h:s	lv	v:pred	adp	np:l

'The people who lived down at the sea, …' [mc_veraa_bsvh_0006]

(37)

	ba	*duru*	*ga*	*'ōg*	*a*	*Lēmērig*
	but	3DL	STAT	stay	LOC.SP	Lemerig
##	other	pro.h:s	lv	v:pred	adp	np:l

'The two lived at Lēmērig.' [mc_veraa_as1_0003]

2.2.4 Numeral phrases

Numeral phrases are optionally introduced by the numeral article *ne* and headed by a numeral word which consists of a fossilized numeral prefix and a numeral root. Where numeral phrases function as arguments on clause level, they are glossed as NPs, as in (38):

(38)

	ne	*vō-wal*	*ne*	*van*	*ma*
	NUM.ART	NUM-one	TAM2:3SG	go	hither
##	ln	np.h:s	lv-pro_h_s	v:pred	rv

'(Then) one (of them) came over.' [mc_veraa_mcbw_0111]

Where they function as modifiers in a NP, they are glossed as sub-constituents, both numeral article and numeral word receiving ⟨rn⟩, as in example (20) above.

person	*singular*	*dual*	*trial/paucal*	*plural*
1st incl.	—	*(gi)du(ō)*	*(gi)dō'ōl*	*(gi)dē*
1st excl.	*no*	*ka(ma)du(ō)*	*ka(ma)m'ōl*	*ka(ma)m*
2nd	*nik(ē)*	*kumru(ō)*	*kimi'ōl*	*kimi*
3rd	*di(ē)*	*duru(ō)*	*dir'ōl*	*dir(ē)*

Table 2 Vera'a free personal pronouns.

2.2.5 Pronominal expressions

As for person markers, four types are distinguished here for Vera'a. All of these are glossed as ⟨pro⟩, despite their structural differences. Free pronouns function as subjects, objects, and complements of prepositions:

(39)
```
    dir      =m     vus     diē
    3PL      =TAM1  kill    3SG
##  pro.h:a  =lv    v:pred  pro.h:p
```
'They killed him.' [mc_veraa_iswm_0208]

(40)
```
...  no       mak  'aram   enteg  mē   nikē
     1SG      IMM  tell    well   DAT  2SG
##   pro.1:s  lv   v:pred  rv     adp  pro.2:g
```
'… and I will make it clear to you immediately.' [mc_veraa_gabg_0025]

The paradigm of free pronouns is given in Table 2. Initial investigation of subject pronouns (Schnell 2010; 2011; 2012c; b) suggests that these pronouns are grammaticalizing into subject indexes, showing tendencies for a tighter morphological integration with subsequent TAM markers. This involves occasional reduction in form of first person non-singular pronouns through deletion of the first or second syllable, see Table 2; the reduced form is considered weak here and glossed – though not entirely consistently at this stage – with ⟨wpro⟩. Thus, the following two glossing practices can both be found in the current Vera'a Multi-CAST corpus:

(41)
```
    du       =k     gen     qē'      gēdu     mak  mulō
    1DL.IN   =TAM2  eat     finish   1DL.IN   IMM  go
##  wpro.1:s =lv    v:pred  rv    ## pro.1:s  lv   v:pred
    pro.1:s
```
'… we will eat, then we go home.' [mc_veraa_gabg_0043-0044]

Where final vowel deletion occurs with pronouns, the forms are not counted as weak. Note that subject pronouns are essentially treated as free pronouns here. Their possibly intensifying closer integration with the VC is taken as a research question to be tackled through analysis of GRAID-annotated texts rather than a fact that feeds into the annotation.

Free pronouns may take further modifiers in Vera'a, and thus form a complex expression which is termed pronominal NP here and glossed ⟨pro⟩. Note that modifiers of such pronominal heads are glossed ⟨rn⟩:

(42)
```
    kamam'ōl  biriñ  ēn   vēvē     -maduō          'ōg-'ōgo
    1TL.EX    with   ART   mother   -1DL.EX         RED-stay
##  pro.1:s   rn     rn    rn_np.h  -rn_pro.1:poss  v:pred
```
'We two, together with our (two) mother, will stay behind.' [mc_veraa_mvbw_0127]

person	*singular*	*dual*	*trial/paucal*	*plural*
1st incl.	—	*-du(ō)*	*-dō'ōl*	*-dē*
1st excl.	*-k*	*-madu(ō)*	*-mam'ōl*	*-mam*
2nd	*-m*	*-mru(ō)*	*-mi'ōl*	*-mi*
3rd	*-gi*	*-ru(ō)*	*-r'ōl*	*-rē*

Table 3 Possessive (pronominal) suffixes in Vera'a.

(43)
```
    'ei      kamadu  anē      =m     van     ma     sir  nik      anē
    INTERJ   1DL.EX  DEM1.A   =TAM1  go      hither for  2SG      DEM1.A
##  other    pro.1:s rn       =lv    v:pred  rv     adp  pro.2:g  rn
```
'We two have come just for you.' [mc_veraa_pala_0061]

Possessive suffixes are glossed as bound person markers, ⟨-rn_pro⟩ or ⟨-ln_pro⟩. Their paradigm is given in Table 3. The possessive suffix may attach directly to the possessed noun or to one of eight possessive classifiers that either precede or follow the head noun. Possessive classifiers themselves are mostly glossed as sub-constituents, thus either ⟨ln⟩ or ⟨rn⟩, yielding ⟨ln -ln_pro⟩ and ⟨rn rn_pro⟩ respectively. Examples:

(44)
```
    dir      =k     vilvil   =ēn    nak     mu        -re
    3PL      =TAM2  RED:tie  =ART   canoe   POSS.GEN  -3PL
##  pro.h:a  =lv    v:pred   =ln    np:p    rn        -rn_pro.h:poss
```
'Then they tied up their canoes.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0032]

(45)
```
            le       =n    ko       -ru              =n    nak    su-suō
    ZERO    take     =ART  POSS.VES -3DL             =ART  canoe  RED-paddle
##  0.h:a   v:pred   =ln   ln       -rn_pro.h:poss   =ln   np:p   rn
```
'… took their canoe …' [mc_veraa_hhak_0071]

(46)
```
    n     'ama     man  kur      sa     e    ruwa
    ART   devil    PFV  devour   EMPH   ART  two.people
##  ln    np.d:a   lv   v:pred   other  ln   ln

    ni-ni'i    -duō             ē
    RED-child  -1DL.IN          DEM3
    np.h:p     -rn_pro.1:poss   rn
```
'The devil has already devoured our (DL) two children.' [mc_veraa_pala_0226]

Possessive classifiers may also function as the head of a common NP, and are in these cases treated like any other directly possessed noun in this function. While Vera'a does not have a full-fledged subject indexing system like many other Oceanic languages, the paradigm of the morpheme glossed TAM2 here (labelled "aorist" by François 2009) has a distinct forms for the second and third person singular, *ē* and *ne*, respectively. This information is reflected in the GRAID annotation by treating *ne* as a sub-constituent with a bound person marker:

(47)
```
    e          Qo'       ne           van      ma          ne
    PERS.ART   Q.        TAM2:3SG     go       hither ZERO TAM2:3SG
##  ln         np.h:s    lv-pro.h:s   v:pred   rv     0.h:a lv-pro_h_a

    rēv        sur       ēn
    drag       down      ART
    v:pred     rv        ln
```
'Qo' came and dragged down his canoe.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0117]

As this bound person marker is the only possible bound form for S and A function, these can be quantified distinctly from other person markers in these functions by counting ⟨pro⟩ and ⟨-pro⟩ separately.

2.2.6 Further types of expression

There are some further elements that potentially pose problems in terms of their analysis and glossing of formal properties: oblique pronominal forms, demonstratives, interrogative nouns, conjoined NPs, and others.

Oblique pronominal forms. Vera'a has two special pronominal forms that are restricted to oblique argument functions, typically expressing a location or goal. Their form is rendered as ⟨other⟩ in GRAID, as in (48) and (49) below.

(48)
```
    mul      ma      lē     =n      vunu
    go       hither  LOC    =ART    village
##  v:pred   rv      adp    =ln     np:g

         a        dir       =s     'ōg      bēne
         REL      3PL       =SIM   stay     OBL.PRO
#rc_rn   other    pro.h:s   =lv    v:pred   other:l
```
'…went to the village where they lived.' [mc_veraa_tnu01_0012]

(49)
```
    e          Qo'       ne           van      ma
    PERS.ART   Q.        TAM2:3SG     go       hither
##  ln         np.h:s    lv-pro_h_s   v:pred   rv

    ne                   rem      rōw       rana
    TAM2:3SG   ZERO      climb    seawards  OBL.PRO
##  lv-pro_h_s 0.h:s     v:pred   rv        other:g
```
'Qo' came and dragged down his canoe, climbed onto it and …' [mc_veraa_jjq_0117]

They are classified as locative adverbs and glossed ⟨other⟩ in terms of form as they are not personal pronouns in the narrow sense.

Demonstratives. The demonstratives *nē('ē)* and *gēn* can form a referential expression and function as an argument. It always has deicic (Deixis am Phantasma in narratives) or discourse-deictic reference. They are always glossed ⟨dem_pro⟩, as in (50).

(50)
	nē	*=n*	*'erē*	*ni-ni'i*	*-k*	*wal*
	DEM1	=ART	PL	RED-small	-1SG	once
##	dem_pro:s	=ln	ln	np.h:pred	-rn_pro.1:poss	other

'[Oh, people,] this is truly my kids (whose voices we are hearing).'

[mc_veraa_mvbw_0079]

Almost all other demonstrative forms are derived from these two basic forms. They occur either as satellites in NPs, glossed simply ⟨rn_dem⟩, or as modifiers on the clause level, then glossed ⟨other(_dem)⟩. The addition of ⟨_dem⟩ is not done consistently in these latter cases.

Interrogative and indefinite expressions. Vera'a does not have interrogative or indefinite pronouns, and instead NPs headed by interrogative-indefinite nouns fulfil the respective functions. Examples:

(51)
	si	*kumru*	*wo*	*mi'ir*	*rōs*
	if	2DL	and	sleep	NEG2
#neg	other	pro.2:s	other	v:pred	other

	kumru	*=m*	*rōn̄*	*ēn*	*sava* ...
	2DL	=TAM1	hear	ART	what
##	pro.2:a	=lv	v:pred	ln	np:p

'If you don't sleep at night, what you hear…' [mc_veraa_mvbw_0102]

(52)
	nikē	*e*	*sē*
	2SG	PERS.ART	who
##	pro.2:s	ln	np:pred

'Who are you?' [mc_veraa_jjq_0227]

Complex NPs. In complex NPs the gloss for the entire phrase is aligned with the first nominal head, and all other constituents to the right are glossed ⟨rn⟩, with sporadic further specifications of form and animacy, as for instance in (53). Only possessors are specified for their function, see (54).

(53)
	ama-gi	*=n*	*vēvē-gi*	*duru*	*=k*	*sik*	*di*	*so*
	father-3SG	=ART	mother-3SG	3DL	=TAM2	search	3SG	QUOT
##	np.h:dt_a	=rn	rn_np.h	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	pro.h:p	other

'His father and mother, they looked for him.' [mc_veraa_iswm_0179]

(54)
	diñ	*ma*	*=n*	*nimē*	*mō-n*	*e*	*'amaruō*	*wo*	*=n*
	reach	hither	=ART	house	POSS.house-CS	PERS.ART	father-3DL	and	=ART
##	rv	rv	=ln	np:p	rn	rn	rn_np.h:poss	rn	=rn

vēvē-ruō
mother-3DL
rn_np.h:poss

'[… ran] to the house of their father and mother.' [mc_veraa_pala_0217]

The preposition *biriñ* 'with' can function as a coordinator on the NP level, and the modifier PP in these cases is treated as a sub-constituent, as in (55):

(55)
	kamabō'ōl	*biriñ*	*ēn*	*vēvē*	*-maduō*	*'ōg-'ōgo*
	1TL.EX	with	ART	mother	-1DL.EX	RED-stay
##	pro.1:s	rn	rn	rn_np.h	-rn_pro.1:poss	v:pred

'We two, together with our (two) mother, will stay behind.' [mc_veraa_mvbw_0127]

In cases where the coordination analysis is not clearly suggested by the syntactic distribution – the pronoun and PP in (55) occupy a single pre-verbal slot – it is treated as an oblique PP on the clause level expressing a comitative role, as in (56) and (57) below:

(56)
	duru	*=k*	*van*	*gis*	*ēn*	*vus*	*biriñ*	*ēn*	*'erē*	*wō'iqē*
	3DL	=TAM2	go	hold	ART	bow	COM	ART	PL	arrow
##	pro.h:a	=1v	v:pred	rv	ln	np:p	adp	ln	ln	np:obl

'Then they grabbed (their) bows together with the arrows [and went.]' [mc_veraa_hhak_0109]

(57)
		mom	*'*	*kumruō*	*biriñ*	*ēn*	*go*	*-mru*	*=n*	*gengen*
	ZERO	put	DEL	2DL	with	ART	POSS.eat	-2DL	=ART	food
##ds	0.1:a	v:pred	rv	pro.2:p	adp	ln	ln	-rn_pro.2:poss	=ln	np:obl

'… and (we) will take you together with your food.' [mc_veraa_mvbw_0096]

Pluralising particle 'ere. The pluralising particle *'erē* typically occurs as a plurality-marking particle in NPs, as in (56) above, but is also used as a free form with second person non-singular reference in imperative constructions. Here it occupies a slot following a possible second person pronoun (see Section 3.2.1 on imperative constructions), and is glossed ⟨other⟩ in these instances too, as in (58).

(58)
	ba		*'erē*	*su*	*kal*	*kel*	*ma*
	but	ZERO	PL	paddle	up	back	hither
##ds	other	0.2:s	other:voc	vother:pred	rv	rv	rv

'But you guys paddle back here and come ashore…' [mc_veraa_hhak_0153]

2.3 Animacy and person of referential expressions

Referential expressions with human referents receive an animacy feature symbol ⟨.h⟩. Those with non-human referents that are anthropomorphized – typically capable of speech/thought, desires, planned actions – receive the feature gloss ⟨.d⟩. These non-human referents are typically certain spirits and animals in customary fables.

Where inanimate objects – typically rocks, reefs, trees – turn into human-like super-natural beings (called in Vera'a *vu'* or *'ama'*) in a narrative, the discourse referent in question is treated as inanimate as long as it does not appear as human-like, and as human-like where it appears as such. An example:

(59) a.

	so	*=n*	*me'*	… *di*	*=m*	*van*	*ma*
	CPL	=ART	reef	3SG	=TAM1	go	hither
##	other	=ln	np:dt_s	pro:s	=lv	v:pred	rv

rekse	*=n*	*'añsara*
like	=ART	person
adp	=ln	np.h:obl

'… that the reef, it had become like a human being.'

b.

	di	*=m*	*rērē*	*kal*
	3SG	=TAM1	crane.neck	upwards
##	pro.d:s	=lv	v:pred	rv

'It craned upwards.' [mc_veraa_isam_0023-0024]

As a rule, animacy features are assigned according to reference, not to classification of nouns. Reference is here treated as including class/generic reference, thus the gloss for *'añsara* above includes ⟨.h⟩. Where the same noun is used to refer to a spirit, it is glossed ⟨.d⟩:

(60)

	'añsara	*lē*	*=n*	*me'*	*ne*	*tēk*	*mē*	*diē*	*so*
	person	LOC	=ART	reef	TAM2:3SG	speak	DAT	3SG	QUOT
##	np.d:s	rn	=rn	rn_np	lv-pro_d_s_ds	v:pred	adp	pro.h:g	other

'… then the person inside the reef said to him, …' [mc_veraa_isam_0036]

Numeral expressions or NPs headed by the place-holder noun *ge* 'thingy' likewise receive animacy glosses by type of reference.

2.4 Other elements

A number of other elements are only noted as such, and are mostly glossed ⟨other⟩.

2.4.1 Adverbs and clause-level demonstrative forms

Adverbs and demonstratives on clause level are simply glossed ⟨other⟩. For demonstratives, additional tags are occasionally – but not entirely systematically – added, for instance ⟨other_dem1⟩.

Temporal adverbs functioning as frame-setting topic expressions are likewise simply glossed ⟨other⟩, and no indication of this particular pragmatic function is noted in their glossing.

2.4.2 Particles and conjunctions

Particles and conjunctions on clause level are also simply glossed ⟨other⟩ in most instances. This is also true for all instances of the emphatic particle *sa* which precedes or follows the phrase it marks; further research is required in order to determine its nature.

Clause-connecting elements are all glossed ⟨other⟩. This comprises underived conjunctions like adversitive/theme-shifting *ba*, coordinative *wo*, the disjunction *si*, and subordinators like clause-combining *ē*, relativizer *a*, or the complementizer *so*, and so on.

Also glossed ⟨other⟩ are words that appear to be de-verbal conjunctions, originally involving complex sentence structures. Typical examples are *da* 'do' and *qē'* 'finish' that occur clause-initially to mark causal or temporal relations between sentences:

(61)
	da	*bē*	*di*	*=m*	*kalu*	*ma*
	do	water	3SG	=TAM1	exit	hither
##	other	np:dt_s	pro:s	=lv	v:pred	rv

'[The rain became really heavy.] And so the water came out [and carried away the trunk I live in].'
[mc_veraa_gaqg_0024]

In other cases, however, the structures involved seem to resemble complex sentences, the verb *da* 'do' heading a VC, thus clearly forming a clause entering a complex sentence structure. These are glossed as in (62).

(62)
	so	*=m*	*da*		*so*	*di*	*=m*	*rem*	*ēn*	*qañ*
	CPL	=TAM1	do		CPL	3SG	=TAM1	climb	ART	side
##	other	=lv	v:pred	#cc	other	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	ln	np:p

ve'	*anē'ē*
rock	DEM1.A
rn_np	rn_dem1

'And consequently he climbed up this rock wall.' [mc_veraa_iswm_0128]

Thus, the first elements here are taken to form a matrix clause for a subsequent complement clause, licensed by the verb *da*. The matrix clause does not have a clearly referential subject in these instances, thus no zero argument is considered for glossing. Section 4.1 below provides more details on the glossing of complement clauses.

3 Clausal constructions with special features

In this section I discuss a number of clausal constructions that differ in some regard from the basic structures outlined above.

3.1 Negation and neutralization of syntactic categories

Negation in Vera'a is expressed by a separate set of TAMP (tense-aspect-mood-polarity) markers. Crucially, a VC marked with a negated-set marker can contain a nominal expression as its head that would in affirmative clauses form a non-verbal predicate, for example a noun phrase. Compare the following two examples:

(63)
	di	*e*	*ka-kalu*	*rōs*	*den*	*ēn*	*nimē*
	3SG	GEN.NEG1	RED-exit	GEN.NEG2	ABL	ART	house
##neg	pro.h:s	lv	v:pred	rv	adp	ln	np:obl

'He didn't leave the house.' [mc_veraa_iswm_0035]

(64) a.
	nik	*e*	*Wowōt*	*wuva*	*rōs*
	2SG	GEN.NEG1	W.	only	GEN.NEG2
##neg	pro.2:s	lv	v:pred	rv	rv

'You are not Wowōt for no reason, …' [mc_veraa_iswm_0029]

b.
	ba	*nik*	*Wowōt*	*sir*	*ēn*	*sava*
	but	2SG	W.	because	ART	what
##	other	pro.2:s	np.h:pred	adp	ln	np:other

'…you are Wowōt because of something, [namely…]'

Thus, while the predicate in (64b) is a NP headed by the personal name *Wowōt*, the predicate of in (64a) is treated like a VC due to the presence of TAMP marking and receives the ⟨v:pred⟩ gloss (rather than ⟨np:pred⟩) like the negated VC in (63). Even pronouns can be the head of negated VCs, and these are glossed likewise, though information about the pronominal form is added as follows:

(65)

	ō	*di*	*rōs*
	no	3SG	GEN.NEG2
##ds.neg	other	pro_v:pred	rv

'No. (That's) not him.' [mc_veraa_iswm_0326]

3.2 Finite and non-finite clause constructions

Besides imperative clause constructions, there exist two potentially non-finite clause constructions. These are (A) a type of head-tail construction, and (B) a type of purposive clause construction, the so-called '*ga*-construction', which occurs as the complement of the purposive preposition *'alēn*.

3.2.1 Imperative constructions

Orders, commands and similar speech acts may be expressed in Vera'a by an imperative construction in which an otherwise verbal predicate does not take TAMP marking. Lacking a finiteness feature, the predicate is glossed ⟨vother⟩. Overt subject pronouns may nevertheless occur, and thus where no overt subject appears a zero argument is glossed:

(66)

	nik	*van*	*ma*	*lē*	*=n*	*kolo*	*-k*
	2SG	go	hither	LOC	=ART	back	-1SG
##ds	pro.2:s	vother:pred	rv	adp	=ln	np:g	-rn_pro.1:poss

'Come onto my back, [and then we go].' [mc_veraa_isam_0025]

(67)

		dam	*mulumlum*	*qe'i*
	ZERO	hand	slow	a.moment
##ds	0.2:s	vother:pred	rv	rv

'Keep swinging for now, [I'll swing back, and then we go.]' [mc_veraa_anv_0060]

The same applies to non-singular subjects. Here, the pluralising particle *'erē* occurs adjacent to the verbal head. It is glossed ⟨other⟩ (cf. Section 2.2.6 above), and its function is rendered as vocative, ⟨:voc⟩:

(68)

	kimi	*'erē*	*vrig*	*qēl*	*wal*	*row*
	2PL	PL	rush	descend	once	seawards
##ds	pro.2:s	other:voc	vother	rv	rv	rv

a	*lo*
LOC.SP	seaside
adp	np:g

'… you guys run down to the sea [and look for a tree…]' [mc_veraa_jjq_0439]

(69)
		'erē	*gen*	*sa*	*=n*	*gengen*
	ZERO	PL	eat	EMPH	=ART	food
##ds	0.2:a	other:dt	vother:pred	other	=ln	np:p

'You guys eat this food that …' [mc_veraa_mvbw_0098]

3.2.2 The *ga*-construction

A clause-like construction functions as the complement of the prepositions *'alēn* or *'amēn* and expresses a state-of-affairs that is the purpose of the action expressed in the matrix clause. The predicate in these constructions takes the stative marker *ga* and does not allow for overt realisation of the subject, thus no zero subject is noted and the head of the predicate receives the ⟨vother:pred⟩ gloss.

(70) a.
	di	*so*	*ne*	*kal*	*ba'*	*lē*	*=n*	*qoro*	*lie*	*'alēn*
	3SG	PROSP	TAM2:3SG	enter	into	LOC	=ART	hole	cave	ASS
##	pro.h:s	other	lv-pro_h_s	v:pred	rv	adp	=ln	np:g	rn	adp

'… he wanted to go into the opening of the cave …'

b.
	ga	*le*	*=n*	*ve'*	*tiktik*	*'alēn*
	STAT	take	=ART	stone	small	PURP
#cc:other	lv	vother:pred	=ln	np:p	rn	adp

	ga	*van*	*ma*	
	STAT	go	hither	
#cc:other	lv	vother:pred	rv	

'… in order to collect small stones to bring them and [smash open his canarium nuts.]' [mc_veraa_jsu_0121]

3.2.3 The head-tail construction and zero TAMP marking

Vera'a seems to have a type of clause construction that resembles what has come to be called head-tail linkage or head-tail construction. A candidate for such a construction is the following:

(71) a.
	womarawraw	*ne*	*'ōg*	*'i*
	Spider	TAM2:3SG	stay	del
##	np.d:s	lv-pro_d_s	v:pred	rv

'And so Spider stayed behind.'

b.
	'ōg	*'i*	
ZERO	stay	del	
##	0.d:s	v:pred	rv

'Stayed behind, …'

c.
	lē	*=n*	*qōn̄*	*anē*	*womarawraw*	*ne*	*dur*	
	LOC	=ART	night	DEM1	Spider	TAM2:3SG	hollow	ZERO
##	adp	=ln	np:other	rn	np.d:a	lv-pro_d_a	v:pred	0:p

'… and at night Spider began to hollow (it, i.e. the canoe).' [mc_veraa_jjq_0074]

As in this example, the clause essentially repeats the state-of-affairs expressed in the preceding one, leaving the same subject zero. No TAMP marking occurs. However, a would-be tail-head

construction is not straightforwardly distinguishable from other constructions with similar properties. For one thing, similar discourse-structuring functions are carried out by canonical finite constructions, as in (72b):

(72) a.
	dir	*=ēk*	*lak-laka*
	3PL	=TAM2	RED-dance
##	pro.h:s	=lv	v:pred

'Then they danced.'

b.
	dir	*=ēm*	*lak-laka*	*ē* ...
	3PL	=TAM1	RED-dance	DEM3
##	pro.h:s	=lv	v:pred	other

'[And as] they danced, …'

c.
	duru	*=k*	*'ēn*	*ma*	*=n*	*lumgav*	*ne*	*vōwal*
	3DL	=TAM2	see	hither	=ART	young.man	NUM.ART	NUM-one
##	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	rv	=ln	np.h:p	rn	rn

'… [the two were hiding in the bush,] they (the two girls) spotted a young man.'

[mc_veraa_pala_0041]

On the other hand, constructions lacking overt TAM marking also occur in other contexts, as in (73–75), which are clearly not tail-head linkages, but the exact finiteness status of which appears to be yet unclear:

(73)
	dir	*'ēn*	*vag-'ōl*	*na-gi*
	3PL	see	ord-three	??-3SG
##	pro.h:a	v:pred	np:p	rn

'They saw the third one.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0241]

(74) a.
		'ēqel	*suw*	*ma*
	ZERO	descend	down	hither
##	0.h:s	v:pred	rv	rv

'[He climbed the tree, picked a few (fruits),] (then) came down, …'

b.
		bul	*munmunō*
	ZERO	stone	shatter
##	0.h:a	v:pred	rv

'… smashed them open, …'

c.
		le		*mē*	*di*
	ZERO	transfer	ZERO	DAT	3SG
##	0.h:a	v:pred	0:p	adp	pro.h:g

'… smashed them open and gave (some) to him.' [mc_veraa_mvbw_0052]

(75)
	kamabō'ōl	*biriñ*	*ēn*	*vēvē*	*-maduō*	*'ōg-'ōgo*
	1TL.EX	with	ART	mother	-1DL.EX	RED-stay
##	pro.1:s	rn	ln	rn_np.h	-rn_pro.1:poss	v:pred

'We two, together with our (two) mother, will stay behind.' [mc_veraa_mvbw_0127]

Thus, in (73) we seem to be dealing with a "normal" non-embedded independent clause. Yet, no TAMP appears between subject pronoun and verb. The chained clauses in (74) seem to resemble essentially the same type of structure, with the subject being left zero. In (75), the subject

is first person trial, and it may be possible that we are dealing with a zero allomorph of the TAM2 morpheme. The exact nature of these "zero TAMP markers" is yet unclear, and therefore, it seems, head-tail linkages are not clearly identifiable.

The practical conclusion from these combined analytical uncertainties is that we treat constructions without an overt subject as in (72) and (74) both as zero subjects, not distinguishing between would-be head-tail linkages and clause chaining. Again, systematic analyses of GRAID-annotated Vera'a corpora should eventually inform our analytic decision, rather than a premature analysis inform our glossing practice.

4 Complex sentences, direct speech, clause repetitions, and complex predicates

This section deals with the treatment of combinations of clauses into larger units, that is, complex sentences. I discuss the glossing of complement clauses (Section 4.1), adverbial clauses (Section 4.2), relative clauses (Section 4.3), embedded direct speech (Section 4.4), the handling of clause repetitions (Section 4.5), and clause-chaining constructions (Section 4.6) which are distinct from complex predicates involving serial verbs.

4.1 Complement clauses

4.1.1 Syndetic complement clauses

Syndetic complement clauses are clearly recognisable by the complementizer *so* that introduces them. They are glossed as in (76) and (77).

(76)

	nik	*ga*	*mōrōs*	*so*	*nik*	*ē*	*galala*
	2SG	STAT	want	CPL	2SG	TAM2:2SG	know
##	pro.2:s	lv	v:pred	#cc other	pro.2:s	lv-pro_2_s	v:pred

'… (if) you want to know.' [mc_veraa_hb08]

(77)

	nik	*ē*	*'ēn*	*so*	*=n*	*naw*	*di*	*=m*
	2SG	TAM2	see	CPL	=ART	saltwater	3SG	=TAM1
##	pro.2:s	lv-pro_2_s	v:pred	#cc other	=ln	np:dt	pro:s	=lv

mēlē	*vag-'ōl*
break	MULT-three
v:pred	other

'When you see that the waves broke three times, …' [mc_veraa_jjq.e_0162]

The function of a complement clause is taken here as a unique function, as the structures involved do not resemble those of "regular" NPs with P function in the sense of Andrews (2007: 138ff.). Thus, no function gloss is added to the ⟨#cc⟩ gloss. Consequently, the other argument in the matrix clause bears S rather than A function. Note that syndetic complement clauses can never have the function of an S or A argument.

The complementizer *so* is related to the quotative *so* 'say' and glossed ⟨other⟩. In some instances complement clause constructions as discussed here can be hard to distinguish from direct speech, see Section 4.4 for details. Syndetic complement clauses show typical clausal prop-

erties: their predicate is TAM-marked, all arguments can be expressed, and all non-core positions are available to the left of the core, for instance the left-dislocated position, as witnessed by (77).

4.1.2 Asyndetic complement clauses

Asyndetic complement clauses lack a complementizer, but are fully verbal and unreduced. They contain a TAM-marked VC functioning as predicate, and the subject may be realized overtly, but need not be. Examples:

(78)

	no	*ga*	*mōrōs*			
	1SG	STAT	want			
##ds	pro.1:s	lv	v:pred			
	no	*=k*	*kaka*	*biriñ*	*nikē*	
	1SG	=TAM2	talk	with	2SG	
#ds_cc	pro.1:s	=lv	v:pred	adp	pro.2:obl	

'I want to talk to you.' [mc_veraa_mvb_0087]

(79)

lē	*=n*	*masōgi*	*di*	*ga*	*mōrōs*	
LOC	=ART	time	3SG	STAT	want	
## adp	=ln	np:other	pro.h:s	lv	v:pred	
	ne	*vrigō*				
ZERO	TAM2:3SG	rush				
#cc 0.h:S	lv-pro_h_s	v:pred				

'When he wanted to run away …' [mc_veraa_bsvh_0034]

Complement clause constructions with *mōrōs* 'want' as matrix predicate are to be distinguished from constructions where *mōrōs* 'want' occurs in a series with a following verb:

(80)

nik	*ga*	*mōrōs*	*kur*	*kamaduō*	
2SG	STAT	want	devour	1DL.EX	
##ds pro.2:a	lv	v:pred	rv	pro.1:p	

'You want to eat us.' [mc_veraa_paww_0072]

This construction is analysed as a serial verb construction (SVC) here, rather than a complex sentence where the matrix predicate would take a clausal complement, as in the English translation. There is no evidence for subordination in this construction in Vera'a, and the structure resembles exactly that of a SVC. Treatment of serial verb constructions is discussed in Section 4.6 below.

Another case of fuzzy boundaries between complement clause construction and other structures is represented by the set of examples in (81) and (82).

(81)

di	*=m*	*'ēn*		*'ōw'ōw*	*ēn*	*lōsō*	*-gi*		*ga*	*sag*
3SG	=TAM1	see		before	ART	testicles	-3SG		STAT	sit
## pro.h:s	=lv	v:pred	#cc	other	ln	np:s	-rn_pro.h:poss		lv	v:pred

lē	*=n*	*mē'ēm̄ē*	
LOC	=ART	door	
adp	=ln	np:l	

'Then he saw that before his [a giant's] testicles had been sitting in the door(way).' [mc_veraa_isv_0084]

(82)
	di	*ne*	*ʾēn*	*ēn*	*ʾñsar*	*ne*	*vō-wal*	*ne*
	3SG	TAM2:3SG	see	ART	person	NUM.ART	NUM.ART	NUM-one
##	pro.h:s	lv-pro_h_s	v:pred #cc	ln	np.h:s	rn	rn	lv-pro_h_s

van	*ma*
TAM2:3SG	go
v:pred	rv

'… then he saw a man coming up (to him).' [mc_veraa_mvb_0081]

While in (81), we find a complement clause with a clear left boundary marked by the left-most adverb, the construction in (82) could be analysed as subject-to-object raising. Again, nothing in Vera'a grammar forces such an analysis, and thus the complement clause analysis seems to be preferable. A reversed type of structure is found in the following set of examples:

(83) a.
	di	*ne*	*diñ*	*lik*	*ēn*	*lie*	*ne*	*vōwal*	*anēʾē*
	3SG	TAM2:3SG	flick	more	ART	cave	NUM.ART	NUM-one	DEM1.A
##	pro.d:a	lv-pro_d_a	v:pred	rv	ln	np:p	rn	rn	rn_dem1

'He flicked yet another one of those caves, …'

b.
	=n	*lie*	*ne*	*wak*
	=ART	cave	TAM2:3SG	open
##	=ln	np:s	lv-pro_s	v:pred

'… and the cave opened.' [mc_veraa_pala_0121-0122]

(84)
	di	*ne*	*diñ*	*ēn*	*lie*	*anē*
	3SG	TAM2:3SG	flick	ART	cave	DEM1.A
##	pro.h:a	lv-pro_h_a	v:pred	ln	np:p	rn

	ne	*wak*
ZERO	TAM2:3SG	open
## 0:s	lv-pro_s	v:pred

'She flicked the cave open.' [mc_veraa_pala_0152]

As the first predicate in (84) does license a NP complement but not a clausal complement, the NP must be regarded as bearing P function. The following clause has a zero S argument, as is clear from comparison with (83).

The practical conclusion thus is that we gloss complement clauses in cases where this type of complementation is licensed by the matrix predicate in question, and gloss clause chaining in other cases.

4.2 Adverbial clauses

The distinction between adverbial clauses and main clauses is not consistently represented in GRAID annotations of Vera'a texts. Vera'a is strongly paratactic and clues pointing towards complex sentence structure are often restricted to prosodic features. Adverbial clauses are glossed as such only where the occurrence of certain subordinators at the beginning of a clause makes this clear, as in (85). However, even in these latter cases the annotation of adverbial clauses has not been done consistently so that they are often simply treated like independent clauses.

(85)
```
      'ōw'ōw  den  ēn   vēvē    -ru                ne           ma'
      before  ABL  ART  mother  -3DL               TAM2:3SG     dead
#ac   other   adp  ln   np.h:s  -rn_pro.h:poss    lv-pro_h_s   v:pred

   di       =m     rusō
   3SG      =TAM1  sick
## pro.h:s  =lv    v:pred
```
'Before their mother died, she fell sick.' [mc_veraa_mvbw_0024]

Thus, in (85) the dependency of the two clauses is overtly marked, and the first clause is glossed as an adverbial clause.

4.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are usually considered for GRAID annotation in Vera'a. They may be syndetic or asyndetic. The relativizing strategy in both types of relative clauses is gapping for core arguments, and the gap is considered a zero argument in GRAID ⟨0(.x):y⟩.

4.3.1 Syndetic relative clauses

Two examples of a syndetic relative clauses are given in (86) and (87) together with GRAID glossing. The relativizer *a* is glossed ⟨other⟩. Where a relative clause appears centre-embedded, its end is marked by ⟨%⟩, as in (87).

(86)
```
   n     bēlēl
   ART   basket
## ln    np:dt_s

      a      rekso   =n     gōsuwō  ga    gis
      REL    like    =ART   rat     STAT  hold    ZERO
#rc_rn other  other   =ln   np.d:a  lv    v:pred  0:p   %

di     =m     wur     nēnēn
3SG    =TAM1  full    entirely
pro:s  =lv    v:pred  rv
```
'The basket that the rat took with him was full.' [mc_veraa_gabg_0030]

(87)
```
   n     maru-n  e         reñe
   ART   uncle-CS PERS.ART  woman
## ln    np.h:s  rn        rn_np.h:poss

      a            =m     ma'     nē      …
      REL    ZERO  =REAL  dead    DEM
#rc_rn other 0.h:s =lv    v:pred  other   %
```
'So the uncle of that woman that had died said, …' [mc_veraa_anv_0023]

4.3.2 Asyndetic relative clauses

In asyndetic relative clauses, the relativized function is often the object, in which case the relativizing strategy is gapping. The respective gapped function is glossed ⟨0⟩, as in (88).

(88)
	lē	*=n*	*vunuō*	*ne*	*vō-wal*	
	LOC	=ART	island	NUM.ART	NUM-one	
##	adp	=ln	np:g	rn	rn	

	dir	*ga*	*ul*		*so*	*Hiw*
	3PL	STAT	call	ZERO	QUOT	Hiw
#rc_rn	pro.h:a	lv	v:pred	0:p	other	np:other

'… at one island which is called Hiw …' [mc_veraa_isam_0033]

However, asyndetic relative clauses with relativized zero subjects do seem to exist. These REDUCED relative clauses usually contain a *ga*-marked VC as their predicate which is in turn headed by a stative verb expressing a property, as in (89). Formation of this type of relative clause in Vera'a – as in many other Oceanic languages – is a means of modification by property words that are formally verbs and cannot usually function as modifier just on their own. Their GRAID glossing therefore does not reflect the relativisation structure but merely treats the stative marker ga and the following verb as ⟨rn⟩-glossed NP constituents, even in cases like this where the final adverb *va'a* 'still' provides some evidence of the clausal status of this construction.

(89)
	duru	*wunva*	*=m*	*ma'*	*'ekēnē*	*lē*	*=n*	*'e*	*ga*
	3DL	proabaly	=TAM1	dead	LOC.DEM1	LOC	=ART	year	STAT
##	pro.h:s	other	=lv	v:pred	other:l	adp	=ln	np:other	rn

mēw	*va'a*
many	still
rn	rn

'Probably they died there after many years, …' [lit. 'in years that are still many.'] [mc_veraa_iswm_0360]

Like complement clauses discussed above, reduced relative clauses potentially involve structural ambiguity as well. Two elicited examples illustrate this:

(90) a.
	nik	*ē*	*'ēn*	*ēn*	*mē'ēm̄ē*	*ga*	*wak*
	2SG	TAM2:2SG	see	ART	door	STAT	open
##	pro.2:a	lv-pro_2_a	v:pred	ln	np:p	rn	rn

'You see an open door, [go in this door].'

b.
	nik	*ē*	*'ēn*		*ēn*	*mē'ēm̄ē*	*ga*	*wak*
	2SG	TAM2:2SG	see		ART	door	STAT	open
##	pro.2:s	lv-pro_2_s	v:pred	#cc	ln	np:s	lv	v:pred

'You see (that) the door is open, [you may go in].' (elicited)

Glossing decisions are made according to the context of the surrounding discourse, which involves among other things the specificity of the NP's referent.

Similar structures of relative clauses with gapped subjects are found with the simultaneous marker *=s*.

4.3.3 Function of relative clauses

Where relative clauses function as modifiers in NPs, they are glossed ⟨#rc_rn⟩, as they represent a constituent within the NP (see examples above). Vera'a also has headless relative clauses, and

their respective function and animacy features of their referent are annotated in GRAID. Thus, in (91), a relative clause functions as a P argument.

(91)

	di	*ne*	*rōn̄*			*=s*	*ra-rara*
	3SG	TAM2:3SG	feel		ZERO	=SIM	RED-cry
##	pro.d:a	lv-pro_d_a	v:pred	#rc.h:p	0.h:s	lv	v:pred

'And he heard someone crying.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0174]

4.4 Direct speech

The occurrence of direct speech (or thought, content) is usually marked in Vera'a by means of a quotative marker *so* 'say'. It is analysed as a particle where it follows on a verb of speech or thought etc and receives the gloss ⟨other⟩, as in (92).

(92)

	n	*maru*	*-ru*	*ne*	*tēk*	*mē*	*duru*	*so*
	ART	uncle	-3DL	TAM2:3SG	say	DAT	3DL	QUOT
##	ln	np.h:s_ds	-rn_pro.h:poss	lv-pro_h_s_ds	v:pred	adp	pro.h:g	other

	ēi	*...*
	INTERJ	
##ds	other	

'Their uncle said to them: Hey, …' [mc_veraa_anv_0047]

As in this example, direct speech often comprises more than a single subordinate clause, and hence all clauses constituting direct speech are treated as independent clauses and receive the ⟨##ds⟩. Moreover, clauses containing complements that resemble direct speech are not analysed as transitive constructions here, thus the subject of such a clause, expressing the "utterer", is glossed as ⟨:s_ds⟩, where the ⟨_ds⟩ tag signals that the clause has a direct speech complement which may in other languages be analysed as a transitive object expression.

The quotative marker may also function as a predicate, as in (93a); in such cases, it is glossed ⟨other:pred⟩. In (93), the quotative marker functions as the predicate and occurs without a subject, which is a common way of signalling a shift of speaker-addressee roles in reported conversation.

(93) a.

	e	*Dōl*	*so*
	PERS.ART	D.	QUOT
##	ln	np.h:s	other:pred

'After a while Dōl said: …'

b.

	o	*no*	*man*	*qē'*
	no	1SG	PFV	finish
##ds	other	pro.1:s	lv	v:pred

'Oh, I'm done.'

c.

	n	*gie*	*man*	*man*	*no*
	ART	kava	PFV	stimulate	1SG
##ds	ln	np:a	lv	v:pred	pro.1:p

'I'm already drunk on the kava.' [mc_veraa_as1_0040]

(94) a.

	so	
	ZERO	QUOT
##	0.h:s	other:pred

'(He) said, …'

b.

	ba	*ruwa*	*mē*	*=n*	*'isiruō*
	but	two.people	DAT	=ART	same.sex.sibl-3DL
#ds	other	np.h:voc	rn	=rn	rn

	kumru	*=k*	*vanvan*	*a*	*viē*
	2DL	=TAM2	RED:go	LOC.SP	where
##ds	pro.2:s	=lv	v:pred	adp	other:g

'… Hey, you two brothers, where are you going?'

c.

	so	
	ZERO	QUOT
##	0.h:s	other:pred

'(He) said: …'

d.

	kamadu	*=k*	*siksik*	*nō*	*-madu*	*e*
	1DL.EX	=TAM2	RED:search	POSS.DOM	-1DL.EX	ART
##ds	pro.1:a	=lv	v:pred	ln	-rn_pro.1:poss	ln

raw
hermaphrodite.pig
np:p

'… We are looking for an intra-sex pig for us.' [mc_veraa_as1_0011-0012]

4.5 Predicate or clause repetition

It is quite common in Vera'a narratives to stress the duration of an action or process, or the intensity of a property, by repeating the predicate. Though this type of repetition is of course part of the way of speaking in the language, and thus by no means "wrong" or "inferior", it is nevertheless not considered for the analysis of argument realisation, following the conventions of the GRAID manual. Repeated clause constructions are thus glossed ⟨#nc⟩, as in (95).

(95)

	e	*raga*	*anē*	*=k*	*sik*	*duruō*
	PERS.ART	people	DEM1.A	=TAM2	search	3DL
##	ln	np.h:a	rn	=lv	v:pred	pro.h:p

	sik	*duruō*		*sik*	*duruō*	*…*
	search	3DL		search	3DL	
#nc	nc	nc	#nc	nc	nc	

'Then everybody was looking for them, looking for them, looking for them, looking for them, on and on …' [mc_veraa_anv_0081]

4.6 Complex predicates versus clause chaining

As mentioned above, a VC in Vera'a may consist of more than one word, and further verbs (serial verb constructions), but also adverbs, or directional particles, may occur in the VC in addition to the head verb. Thus, we deal with only one single predicate in these cases, and thus only the head

verb receives the ⟨v:pred⟩ gloss, other constituents being treated as additional sub-constituents, glossed ⟨rv⟩, as in (96) and (97). Note that in (96), an object pronoun occurs evidently inside the VC.

(96)

	dir	*=ēk*	*qērē*	*ba'a*	*di*	*sar*	*lē*	*=n*
	3PL	=TAM2	push	into	3SG	bushwards	LOC	=ART
##	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	rv	pro.h:p	rv	adp	=ln

mō	*-gi*	*=n*	*nimē*
POSS.house	-3SG	=ART	house
ln	-rn_pro.h:poss	=ln	np:g

'Then they pushed her into her house.' [mc_veraa_iswm_0171]

(97)

	nik	*ga*	*mōrōs*	*kur*	*kamaduō*
	2SG	STAT	want	devour	1DL.EX
##ds	pro.2:a	lv	v:pred	rv	pro.1:p

'You want to eat us.' [mc_veraa_paww_0072]

Complex predicates clearly differ from chained clauses, even where this is not so obvious on first sight, as in (98) already discussed above.

(98) a.

		'ēqel	*suw*	*ma*
	ZERO	descend	down	hither
##	0.h:s	v:pred	rv	rv

'[He climbed the tree, picked a few (fruits),] (then) came down, …'

b.

		bul	*munmunō*
	ZERO	stone	shatter
##	0.h:a	v:pred	rv

'… smashed them open, …'

c.

		le		*mē*	*di*
	ZERO	transfer	ZERO	DAT	3SG
##	0.h:a	v:pred	0:p	adp	pro.h:g

'… smashed them open and gave (some) to him.' [mc_veraa_mvbw_0052]

The analysis as a clausal chain rather than a complex predicate follows from combinatory rules applying to different categories of words, for instance a directional marker *ma* always occurs at the right margin of a VC.

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Appendices

A Paradigms

A.1 Tense, aspect, mood, and polarity marking

Vera'a has a fairly complex system of tense, aspect, mood and polarity marking. Table A.1 provides an overview, arranging the total of 13 morphemes in two sets of markers, one with affirmative and one with negative polarity.

The TAM2 morpheme is the only one showing complex allomorphy, and the allomorphic variation is conditioned here by the person and number of the subject. See Appendix A.2 on person markers for the forms involved. Note that the functional aspects of TAMP marking in Vera'a requires more research. It seems, however, that for those categories with an informative label, the core set of functions can be described as such. Particularly problematic in this regard are the two most frequently occurring TAMP markers labelled TAM1 and TAM2 here. In everyday communication, TAM1 marked predicates seem to designate realis, known states-of-affairs situated in the past, or having come into being gradually in the present. TAM2-marked predicates on the other hand designate states-of-affairs that are new to the addressee, ongoing or situated in the future. The use of these markers in narratives is an even less understood issue, but it seems likely that it can be accounted for in terms of shifting of deictic centre/CT within a narrative. More research is expected to elucidate these issues. Note that in work by François, the Vera'a category TAM2 is analysed as 'aorist'; see for instance François (2009) on the development of aorist markers from person prefixes in North Vanuatu languages.

A.2 Person markers

Person markers in Vera'a are glossed only for the three categories of person, number and clusivity. Vera'a does seem to possess a genuine trial, the respective form probably being restricted to reference of three people. Morphological glossing does not reflect the syntactic function of person forms. Person suffixes always express possessors, and these possessive suffixes are distinguished from free person forms by the presence of a hyphen. Free forms can occur in a variety of syntactic functions, noted by GRAID glossing. Tables A.2 and A.3 provide the paradigms of free person markers and possessive suffixes.

All dual forms, as well as some forms within the free paradigm show variation in the presence vs. absence of a final vowel. This variation is conditioned solely by the prosodic environment of the forms. The omission of the initial syllable in non-singular inclusive free forms as well as that of the medial syllable in non-singular exclusive free forms, on the other hand, is restricted to a partiular syntatic slot, namely the pre-VC subject position.

As indicated above, the TAM2 marker shows complex allomorphy conditioned by the number and person of the subject. The marker thus constitutes a person marker, be it with a quite "deficient" paradigm or high degree of syncretism, making only rudimentary person and number distinctions. The paradigm is given in Table A.4.

According to François (2009), these forms historically derive from bound subject indexes that were prefixed to the verb in the respective proto-language of Vera'a and other closely related languages of the region. All of the non-singular forms *k* are related to the first person form which would have spread throughout the paradigm. In the trial, it seems we find an alternation between *k* and zero, also noted by François (2009). Note, however, that overt zero TAMP markers may have different origins, as discussed in Section 3.2.3 above.

affirmative		negative	
exponents	*category*	*exponents*	*category*
=m	TAM1	*(e) … rōs*	general negative
=k, ē, ne	TAM2		
mak	immediacy		
ga	stative		
me	future		
=s	simultaneous		
man	perfective	*… ʾēn*	‘not yet’
mal	remote past		
		mas … rōs	prohibitive
me … mās	ability	*mas … mās*	disability

Table A.1 Vera’a free personal pronouns.

person	*singular*	*dual*	*trial/paucal*	*plural*
1st incl.	—	*(gi)du(ō)*	*(gi)dō’ōl*	*(gi)dē*
1st excl.	*no*	*ka(ma)du(ō)*	*ka(ma)m’ōl*	*ka(ma)m*
2nd	*nik(ē)*	*kumru(ō)*	*kimi’ōl*	*kimi*
3rd	*di(ē)*	*duru(ō)*	*dir’ōl*	*dir(ē)*

Table A.2 Vera’a free personal pronouns.

person	*singular*	*dual*	*trial/paucal*	*plural*
1st incl.	—	*-du(ō)*	*-dō’ōl*	*-dē*
1st excl.	*-k*	*-madu(ō)*	*-mam’ōl*	*-mam*
2nd	*-m*	*-mru(ō)*	*-mi’ōl*	*-mi*
3rd	*-gi*	*-ru(ō)*	*-r’ōl*	*-rē*

Table A.3 Possessive (pronominal) suffixes in Vera’a.

person	*singular*	*dual/plural*	*trial*
1st	*=k*	*=k*	*=k*
2nd	*ē*	*=k*	*=k*
3rd	*ne*	*=k*	*=k*

Table A.4 Vera’a TAM2 person markers.

	demonstrative 1			*demonstrative 2*		
	plain	a-*prefix*	e-*prefix*	*plain*	a-*prefix*	e-*prefix*
basic set	*nē('lē)*	*anē('lē)*		*gēn(ē)*	*agēn(ē)*	
manner adverb	*senē*	*asenē*	*esenē*	*segēn(ē)*	*asegēn(ē)*	*esegēn*
time adverb 1						
time adverb 2	*va'anē*	*va'anē*	*va'anē*	*va'agēn*	*va'agēn*	*va'agēn*
locative adverb	*('e)kēnē*	*akēnē*		*('e)kēgēn(ē)*	*('e)kēgēn(ē)*	

Table A.5 Vera'a demonstratives.

		interrogative		
	DEM3	*plain*	a-*prefix*	e-*prefix*
basic set	*ē*	*viē*	*aviē*	
manner adverb		*siviē*	*asiviē*	*esiviē*
locative adverb		*kiviē*	*kiviē*	*kiviē*

Table A.6 Vera'a demonstratives and related forms.

	demonstrative 3 / interrogative		
	plain	a-*prefix*	e-*prefix*
basic set	*nei*	*anei*	*enei*
manner adverb			*esenei*
locative adverb	*('e)kēnei*	*('e)kēnei*	*('e)kēnei*

Table A.7 Possible additional set of Vera'a demonstratives

A.3 Demonstrative forms

Vera'a has a large set of demonstrative forms which are systematically related to a 3-way system of basic demonstratives (DEM1–3) in the sense of Himmelmann (1997). Related to these are different types of adverbs. Apparently also formally related to all these forms is a set of interrogative forms. Tables A.5 and A.6 summarize these forms.

Possibly also related to these forms is a fourth set of demonstrative forms, glossed DEM4, see Table A.7. Their exact status is, however, not entirely clear at present. At least some of these forms may in fact be free variants of DEM1 forms, while others clearly seem to resemble temporal adverbs, for example *enei* 'now'.

Different sets of demonstrative forms show prefixing by two types of element. The *a*-prefix is probably the specific locative preposition a accreted to the respective plain forms of the basic demonstratives or manner adverbs. The a-prefixed forms of the basic set seem to be preferred with adnominal uses, though occasionally the plain forms are found in this function too. Both the plain and the *a*-prefixed forms of the basic set occur on clause level, namely clause-finally, with different functions: the plain forms seem to have reinforcing-assertative function ('You do know that this is true!'), while the latter has the function to mark the proposition of the clause as a common ground package to which further information will be amended in following propositions.

B List of corpus-specific GRAID symbols

The following is a list of the non-standard GRAID symbols used in the annotation of the Multi-CAST Vera'a corpus. Please refer to the *GRAID manual* (Haig & Schnell 2014: 54–55) for an inventory of basic GRAID symbols.

Form symbols and specifiers

⟨dem_pro⟩	demonstrative pronoun
⟨pn_np⟩	proper name
⟨dem_other⟩	adverbial demonstrative
⟨dem1_other⟩	adverbial demonstrative 1
⟨dem2_other⟩	adverbial demonstrative 2
⟨dem3_other⟩	adverbial demonstrative 3
⟨dem4_other⟩	adverbial demonstrative 3

Function symbols and specifiers

⟨:s_ds⟩	subject of a verb of speech

Clause boundary symbols

⟨#rc_rn⟩	relative clause as a subconstituent of a NP

Subconstituent symbols

⟨rn_dem1⟩	adnominal demonstrative 1
⟨rn_dem2⟩	adnominal demonstrative 2
⟨rn_dem3⟩	adnominal demonstrative 3
⟨rn_dem4⟩	adnominal demonstrative 4

Other symbols

⟨lv-pro⟩	bound verbal cross-index for the subject of the clause; reflects properties of the subject by combining with certain person/animacy symbols (⟨_1⟩, ⟨_2⟩, ⟨_h⟩, and ⟨_d⟩) and function symbols (⟨_s⟩, ⟨_s_ds⟩, and ⟨_a⟩), e.g. ⟨lv-pro_h_s⟩; should not be conflated with corresponding nominal forms
⟨nc_⟩	*specifier:* marks form glosses with RefIND indices in segments otherwise not considered (i.e. those marked ⟨#nc⟩)

C List of abbreviated morphological glosses

1		first person
2		second person
3		third person
ABIL1	*me*	ability; see Appendix A.1
ABIL2	*m̄as*	ability; see Appendix A.1
ABL	*den*	ablative preposition
ADN		adnominal
ART	*=(ē)n*	common article, introduces common NPs
ASS	*'amēn, 'alēn*	associative prepositions
ASS.SP	*'a*	specific associative preposition
CARD		cardinal numeral (prefix)
CC	*ē*	clause combining particle; may be the same as DEM3
COM	*biriñ*	comitative preposition
COR		correction
CPL		complementizer
CS	*-n*	construct suffix; a possessive suffix accommodating person NP possessors
DAT	*mē*	dative preposition
DEICT		deictic
DEL	*'i*	delimitative aktionsart; post-verbal delimitative marker, not part of the TAMP system, see Appendix A.1
DEM1	*nē*	basic demonstrative 1; see Appendix A.3
DEM1.A	*anē*	prefixed basic demonstrative 1
DEM2	*gēn*	basic demonstrative 2
DEM2.A	*agēn*	prefixed basic demonstrative 2
DEM3	*ē*	basic demonstrative 3
DEM4	*nei*	basic demonstrative 4
DEM4.A	*anei*	prefixed basic demonstrative 4
DIR		directional
DIS	*-ge*	dissociative possessive suffix, possessor unspecified
DISC	*ē*	discourse particle; has discourse-structuring function, probably introduces a new paragraph or theme
DL		dual
EMPH	*sa*	emphatic particle, can have focus-marking effect
EX		exclusive
FUT	*me*	future TAM marker; predicates refer to events posterior to CT; see Appendix A.1
GEN.NEG1	*e*	general negation 1; see Appendix A.1
GEN.NEG2	*rōs*	general negation 2; see Appendix A.1
HES		hesitation; particles, pauses, ellipses, etc.
IMM	*mak*	immediacy; predicate expresses SOA immediately anterior or posterior to CT
IN		inclusive
INABIL1		inability
INABIL2	*m̄as*	inability; see Appendix A.1

INTENS		intensifier
INTERJ		interjection; covers various types
LOC	*lē*	locative preposition
LOC.DEM1	*(ʼe)kēnē*	locative adverb 1; see Appendix A.3
LOC.DEM2	*(ʼe)kēnēn*	locative adverb 2
LOC.DEM4	*kēnēi*	locative adverb 4
LOC.SP	*a*	specific locative preposition
MAN.DEM1	*senē*	manner adverb 1; see Appendix A.3
MAN.DEM1.A	*asenē*	prefixed manner adverb 1
MAN.DEM1.E	*esenē*	prefixed manner adverb 1
MAN.DEM2	*segēn*	prefixed manner adverb 2
MULT	*vag-*	multiplicative; derives iterative adverbs
NEG		negation
NMLZ		nominalization; usualy reduplicated in nouns, occasionally glossed RED-
NSG		non-singular; reduplicated in nouns, occasionally glossed RED-
NUM	*vō*	numeral predix; fossilized prefix for cardinal numbers
NUM.ART	*ne*	numeral article; introduces numeral phrases (NumPs)
NY.NEG2	*ʼēn*	'not yet' negation; occurs in right periphery of VC
ORD	*na-*	ordinal quantifier; resembles the possessive classifier
PART	*ʼe*	partitive article; restricted to particular types of possessive constructions
PERS.ART	*e*	personal article; non specified for sexus
PERS.ART.F	*erō*	personal article female; specialized form for female referents
PFV	*man*	perfective; predicates refer to events anterior to CT, see Appendix A.1
PL		plural; category of the person marker, co-occurs with person and clusivity glosses
PL	*ʼerē*	pluralizer; free particle
POSS.BED	*bo-*	possessive classifier for 'bedding possession' (e.g. bed, pillow, sheets)
POSS.CL		possessive classifier
POSS.DOM	*no-*	possessive classifier for 'domestic possession' (e.g. animals, crops, personal belongings)
POSS.DRINK	*mo-*	possessive classifier for 'drink possession' (e.g. water, kava, juicy fruit)
POSS.EAT	*go-*	possessive classifier for 'eating possession' (e.g. food; also diseases)
POSS.GEN	*mu-*	possessive classifier for unspecifier possessive relationships
POSS.HOUSE	*mō-*	possessive classifier for 'housing possession' (e.g. house, door(way), window)
POSS.VAL	*bolo-*	possessive classifier for 'possession of customarily valuable items'
POSS.VES	*ko-*	possessive classifier for 'vessel possession' (e.g. canoes, boats, trucks, planes)
PROH1	*mas*	prohibitive 1; see Appendix A.1
PROH2	*rōs*	prohibitive 2

PROSP	*so*	prospective marker; might overlap with complementation, quotatives, etc.
PROX		proximal
PURP		purpose
QUOT		quotative
RCP		reciprocal
REC	*ver-*	reciprocal prefix
RED		reduplication; has different functions: non-singular, imperfective, distributive
REL	*a*	relativizer
REM.PST	*mal*	remote past; see Appendix A.1
SG		singular
SIM	*=s*	simultaneity; predicate expresses SOA simultaneous with other SOA
SP		specific
STAT	*ga*	stative TAM marker; predicates express habitual, generic SOAs and properties
TAM1	*=m*	TAM1; see Appendix A.1
TAM2	*ne, =k ē*	TAM2
TEMP.DEM1	*va'anē*	temporal adverb 1; see Appendix A.3
TEMP.DEM2	*va'anē*	temporal adverb 2
THING	*ge*	placeholder word; has either context-retrievable specific or non-specific reference
TL		trial; probably a genuine trial rather than paucal
VOC		vocative
ZERO		zero
NC		not classified

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