Multi-CAST

Multilingual Corpus of Annotated Spoken Texts

Vera'a

— annotation notes —

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1 Introduction

This document outlines the mophosyntactic structure of Vera'a, and describes the implementation of GRAID glossing conventions, as outlined in the *GRAID Manual 7.0* (Haig & Schnell 2014). 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 the Appendices. The following table of contents is intended to serve as a quick reference to individual passages.

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 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; article + noun, and sub-constituents 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.'

veraa_isam_032

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 function 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, 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.'

veraa_palaa_003

(3)
#	*rōv-rōv'ē*	*nik*	*ē*	*kur*	*kirm̄ō*	*=n*
#	RED-close.to	2SG	TAM2	gnaw	break	=ART
##	other	pro.2:a	lv	v:pred	rv	=ln

gako	*wova'al*	*ē*
stalk	pawpaw	DEM3
np:p	rn	rn

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

veraa_gabg_083

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

'ama'	*ē*	*so*
devil	DEM3	QUOT
np.d:p	rn	other

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

veraa_asms.e_068

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 (5–6):

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

'They killed him.'

veraa_iswm_208

(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.'

veraa_isam_061

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*
#	3PL	=TAM2	push	into	3SG	in
##	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	rv	rv_pro.h:p	rv

lē	*=n*	*m̄o-gi*	*=n*	*nim̄ē*	
in	LOC	=ART	POSS.house-3SG	=ART	house
adp	=ln	ln-pro.h:poss	=ln	np:g	

'They pushed her into her house.'

veraa_iswm_171

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. Bare P pronouns are glossed for VC-internal position (by preposed <rv_>) only in those cases where this is indicated by the presence of other VC-internal elements following it, as in (7).

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 (8–9) show location and goal roles:

(8)

#	*duru*	*ga*	*'ōg*	*wal*	*sa*	*lē*	*=n*
#	3DL	STAT	stay	exactly	EMPH	LOC	=ART
##	pro.h:s	lv	v:pred	rv	other	adp	=ln

vono-n	*e*	*Wowōt*	*'a*	*Nōs*
home-CS	PERS.ART	W.	LOC.SP	N.
np:l-np.h:poss	rn	rn_np.h:poss	rn	rn

'The were living right up in Wowōt's home village at Nos.'

veraa_iswm_004

(9)

#	*dir*	*=m*	*van*	*kal*	*sar*	*lē*	*=n*
#	3PL	=TAM1	go	upwards	inland	LOC	=ART
##	pro.h:s	=lv	v:pred	rv	rv	adp	=ln

wōm̄ōm̄ō'
bush
np:g

'He went down to the reef...'

veraa_jjq_008

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.'

(observed/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)

#	*0*	*ne*	*le*	*=n*	*biēg*	*ne*	
#	0	TAM2:3SG	transfer	=ART	breadfruit	NUM.ART	
##	0.h:a	lv-pro.h:a	v:pred	=ln	np:p	rn	

vō-wal	*wo*	*0*	*ne*	*le*	*mē*	*di*
NUM-one	and	0	TAM2:3SG	transfer	DAT	3SG
rn	# other	0.h:a	lv-pro.h:a	v:pred	adp	pro.h:g

ne	*vō-wal*
NUM.ART	NUM-one
ln	np:p

'… took a breadfruit and gave her one (as well).'

veraa_mvb_103

(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

'They put them clothes on.'

veraa_anv_026

(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: …'

veraa_jjq_318

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 7.0* (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.'

veraa_jjq_310

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)
#	*0*	*man*	*kalu*	*den*	*ēn*	*wio*
#	0	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.'

veraa_jjq_346

(16)
#	*ba*	*di*	*ga*	*mana*	*'i*	*lē*	*=n*
#	but	3SG	STAT	magical	DEL	LOC	=ART
##	other	pro:s	lv	v:pred	rv	adp	=ln

raw	*wuva*
hermaphrodite.pig	only
np:obl	other

'But it [i.e. some water] is magic only through a hermaphrodite pig.'

veraa_as1_102

In accordance with the *GRAID manual*, 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*	*qōn̄*
…	#	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?)'

veraa_jjq_393

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 spirits' voice].'

veraa_mvb_009

(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?'

veraa_as1_083

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 (20–21):

(20)

#	*qōn*	*ne*	*vō-wal*	*'erē*	*'añsar*	
#	day	NUM.ART	NUM-one	PL	person	
##	np:other	rn	rn	ln	np:predex	
'a	*Lēmērig*					
LOC.SP	L.					
rn	rn_np					

'Once upon a time, (there were) the people of Lemerig.'

veraa_isam_002

(21)

#	*=n*	*lañ*	*vus*	*m*	*vus*	*kamam*
#	=ART	wind	hit	real	hit	1PL.EX
##	=ln	np:a	rn	lv	v:pred	pro.1:p

#	*ē*	*=n*	*mar*
#	CC	=ART	famine
#	other	=ln	np:predex

'… [when] a hurricane hits us and (when) (there is) famine.'

veraa_panr_010

Such clauses are existential clauses, i.e. 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(ex)>. 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.)'

veraa_as1_040

(23)

#	*e*	*raga*	*'i-'isi-gi*	*sañwul*
#	PERS.ART	people	NSG-same.sex.sibl-3SG	ten
##	ln	ln	np.h:s	other:pred

wal	*dēmē*	*ne*	*vō-ruō*
one	?	NUM.ART	NUM-two
rn	rn	rn	rn

'His brothers were twelve.' [i.e. 'He had twelve brothers.']

veraa_jjq_003

(24)

#	*si*	*=n*	*wova'al*	*bēne*
#	if	=ART	pawpaw	exist
##	other	=ln	np:s	other:predex

#	*du*	*=k*	*gen*	*0*
#	IN	=TAM2	eat	0_them
##	wpro.1:a	=lv	v:pred	0:p

'… (and) if there are pawpaw fruits we will eat (them).'

veraa_gabg_043

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 and in either case is glossed as in the examples in (25–26):

(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.'

veraa_jjq_338

(26)
#	*n*	*qoro-giluwo*	*bēne*	*suwei*	
#	ART	hole-3SG	big	exist	down
##	ln	np:s	rn	other:predex	other:l

'It had a big hole at the bottom.' (lit. 'A big hole of it existed at the bottom.')

veraa_iswm_175

The locative expressions in the two examples presumably have different statuses, but the difference is not noted in GRAID annotations.

2.1.3 Other syntactic functions

Dislocated expressions receive the function gloss <:dt> for 'dislocated topic', regardless 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*
#	ART	turtle	3SG	=TAM1	RED:SLAP	ART
##	ln	np.d:dt_a	pro.d:a	=lv	v:pred	ln

bini-gi
hand/arm-3SG
np:p-pro.d:poss

'And when Turtle had clapped his hands, . . . '

veraa_gaqg_084

(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).'

veraa_palaa_090

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 (27–28). 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	0:p

'This feast, they held (it).'

veraa_palaa_022

(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.' *veraa_palaa_009*

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

veraa_mvbw_020

(32)

#	*e*	*Qo'*	*dirē*	*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.'

veraa_jjq_347

Appositional expressions are distinguished form coordinated phrases or 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.

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

2.2 Form of referential expressions

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

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

Table 1 summarises 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 summarise 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 (33–34):

(33)

#	*so*	*e*	*Qo'*	*ne*	*mulō*
#	PROSP?	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.'

veraa_jjq_040

(34)

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

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

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

veraa_palab_226

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).'

veraa_anv_063

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, e.g. 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, …'

veraa_bsvh_006

(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.'

veraa_as1_003

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 fossilised 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.'

veraa_mvbw_111

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.

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.'

veraa_iswm_208

(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.'

veraa_gabg_025

The paradigm of free pronouns is given in Table 2. Initial investigation of subject pronouns (Schnell 2010, 2011b, 2012c, b) suggests that these pronouns are grammaticalising 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

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

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 [pro.1:s]	=lv	v:pred	rv	##	pro.1:s	lv	v:pred

'… we will eat, then we go home.' *veraa_gabg_043–044*

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-pro.1:poss	v:pred

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

veraa_mvbw_127

(43)

#	*'ei*	*kamadu*	*anē*	*=m*	*van*	*ma*
#	INTERJ	1DL.EX	DEM1.A	=TAM1	go	hither
##	other	pro.1:s	rn	=lv	v:pred	rv

sir	*nik*	*anē*
for	2SG	DEM1.A
adp	pro.2:g	rn

'We two have come just for you.'

veraa_palaa_061

Possessive suffixes are glossed as bound person markers, <-pro>. Their paradigm is given in Table 3. The possessive suffix may attach directly to

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

the possessed noun or to one of 8 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-pro> and <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-pro.h:poss

'Then they tied up their canoes.'

veraa_jjq_032

(45)
#	*0*	*le*	*=n*	*ko-ru*	*=n*	*nak*	*su-suō*
#	0	take	=ART	POSS.VES-3DL	=ART	canoe	RED-paddle
##	0.h:a	v:pred	=ln	ln-pro.h:poss	=ln	np:p	rn

'... took their canoe ...'

veraa_hhak_071

(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-pro.1:poss	rn

'The devil has already devoured our ('dl') two children.'

veraa_palab_226

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*	
#	PERS.ART	Q.	TAM2:3SG	go	hither	
##	ln	np.h:s	lv-pro.h:s	v:pred	rv	
#	*0*	*ne*	*rēv*	*sur*	*ēn*	
#	0	TAM2:3SG	drag	down	ART	
##	0.h:a	lv-pro.h:a	v:pred	rv	ln	

'Qo' came and dragged down his canoe.'

veraa_jjq_117

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 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 (48–49) 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
rn_#rc		other	pro.h:s	=lv	v:pred	other:l

'…went to the village where they lived.'

veraa_1.tnu_012

(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*	*0*	*rem*	*rōw*	*rana*	
#	TAM2:3SG	0	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 …'

veraa_jjq_117

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(ʼē)* 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*	*ʼerē*	*ni-niʼi-k*	*wal*
#	DEM1	=ART	PL	RED-small-1SG	once
##	dem_pro:s	=ln	ln	np.h:pred-pro.1:poss	other

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

veraa_mvbw_079

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

Interogative 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*	*miʼir*	*rōs*	
#	if	2DL	and	sleep	NEG2	
##neg	other	pro.2:s	other	v:pred	other	
#	*kumru*	*=m*	*rōñ*	*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...'

veraa_mvbw_102

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

'Who are you?'

veraa_jjq_277

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, for instance in (53). Only possessors are specified for their function, see (54).

(53)

#	*ama-gi*	*=n*	*vēvē-gi*	*duru*	*=k*
#	father-3SG	=ART	mother-3SG	3DL	=TAM2
##	np.h:dt_a	=rn	rn_np.h	pro.h:a	=lv

sik	*di*	*so*
search	3SG	QUOT
v:pred	pro.h:p	other

'His father and mother, they looked for him.' *veraa_iswm_179*

(54)

#	*diñ*	*ma*	*=n*	*niñē*	*ñno-n*	*e*
#	reach	hither	=ART	house	POSS.house-CS	PERS.ART
##	rv	rv	=ln	np:p	rn	rn

'amaruō	*wo*	*=n*	*vēvē-ruō*
father-3DL	and	=ART	mother-3DL
rn_np.h:poss	rn	=rn	rn_np.h:poss

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

veraa_palab_120

The preposition *biriñ* 'with' can function as a co-ordinator on NP level, and the modifier PP is in these cases 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-pro.1:poss	v:pred

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

veraa_mvbw_127

In cases where the co-ordination 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 clause level expressing a comitative role, as in (56) and (57) below:

(56)

#	*duru*	*=k*	*van*	*gis*	*ēn*	*vus*	*biriñ*
#	3DL	=TAM2	go	hold	ART	bow	COM
##	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	rv	ln	np:p	

ēn	*'erē*	*wō'iqē*	
ART	PL	arrow	
adp	ln	ln	np:obl

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

veraa_hhak_109

(57)

#	*0*	*mom*	*'*	*kumruō*	*biriñ*	*ēn*	*go-mru*	*=n*
#	0	put	DEL	2DL	with	ART	POSS.eat-2DL	=ART
##ds	0.1:a	v:pred	rv	pro.2:p	adp	ln	ln-pro.2:poss	=ln

gengen
food
np:obl

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

veraa_mvbw_096

Pluralising particle 'erē. 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 2nd person non-singular reference in imperative constructions. Here it occupies a slot following a possible 2nd person pronoun (see Section 3.2.1 on imperative constructions), and is glossed <other.2> in these instances too, as in (58).

(58)

#	*ba*	*0*	*'erē*	*su*	*kal*	*kel*	*ma*
#	but	0	PL	paddle	up	back	hither
##ds	other	0.2:s	other.2:voc	vother:pred	rv	rv	rv

'But you guys paddle back here and come ashore…'

veraa_hhak_144

Note that the function gloss <voc> for 'vocative' is used here due to this function of the particle in everyday communication outside imperative constructions. No example of this latter kind is attested in the current corpus.

2.3 Animacy and person of referential expressions

Referential expressions with human referents receive an animacy feature gloss <.h>. Those with non-human referents that are anthropomorphised – 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 (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. 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.'

veraa_isam_023–24

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*
person LOC =ART reef TAM2:3SG speak DAT
np.d:s rn =rn rn_np lv-pro.d:s_ds v:pred adp
diē *so*
3SG QUOT
pro.h:g other
'… then the person inside the reef said to him: …'

veraa_isam_036

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 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 also simply glossed <other>, 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].'

veraa_gaqg_024

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*
#	?	=TAM1	do
##	other	=lv	v:pred

#	*so*	*di*	*=m*	*rem*	*ēn*	*qañ*	*ve'*	*anē'ē*
#	CPL	3SG	=TAM1	climb	ART	side	rock	DEM1.A
#cc	other	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	ln	np:p	rn_np	rn_dem1

'And consequently he climbed up this rock wall.'

veraa_iswm_128

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 neutralisation of syntactic categories: <np:pred> vs. <v:pred>

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*
#	3SG	GEN.NEG1	RED-exit	GEN.NEG2	ABL
##neg	pro.h:s	lv	v:pred	rv	adp

ēn	*nimē*
ART	house
ln	np:obl

'He didn't leave the house.'

veraa_iswm_03

(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, …'

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…]'

veraa_iswm_029

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 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.'

veraa_iswm_326

3.2 Finite and non-finite clause constructions: <v> vs. <vother>

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 and <vother>

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-pro.1:poss

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

veraa_isam_025

(67)

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

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

veraa_anv_060

The same applies to non-singular subjects. Here, the pluralising particle *'erē* occurs adjacent to the verbal head. It is glossed <other.2> (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.2: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…]'

veraa_jjq_439

(69)

#	*0*	*'erē*	*gen*	*sa*	*=n*	*gengen*
#	0	PL	eat	EMPH	=ART	food
##ds	0.2:a	other.2:dt	vother:pred	other	=ln	np:p

'You guys eat this food that …'

veraa_mvbw_098

3.2.2 ga-construction: <vother>

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*
#	3SG	PROSP	TAM2:3SG	enter	into	LOC	=ART
##	pro.h:s	other	lv-pro.h:s	v:pred	rv	adp	=ln

qoro	*lie*	*'alēn*
hole	cave	ASS
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.]'

veraa_jsu_121

3.2.3 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.

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

'Stayed behind, …'

c.

#	*lē*	*=n*	*qōñ*	*anē*	*womarawraw*	*ne*
#	LOC	=ART	night	DEM1	Spider	TAM2:3SG
##	adp	=ln	np:other	rn	np.d:a	lv-pro.d:a

dur	*0*
hollow	0
v:pred	0:p

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

veraa_jjq_074

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*
#	3DL	=TAM2	see	hither	=ART	young.man
##	pro.h:a	=lv	v:pred	rv	=ln	np.h:p

ne	*vōwal*
NUM.ART	NUM-one
rn	rn

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

veraa_palaa_041

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.'

veraa_jjq_241

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

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

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

'… smashed them open, …'

c. # *0* *le* *0* *mē* *di*
0 transfer 0 DAT 3SG
0.h:a v:pred 0:p adp pro.h:g
'… smashed them open and gave (some) to him.'
veraa_mvbw_052

(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-pro.1:poss v:pred
'We two, together with our (two) mother, will stay behind.'
veraa_mvbw_127

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 will 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

Complement clauses can be syndetic or asyndetic, the latter case obviously being the more problematic one.

4.1.1 Syndetic complement clauses

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

(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.'

veraa_hb08

(77)

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

di	*=m*	*mēlē*	*vag-'ōl*
3SG	=TAM1	break	MULT-three
pro:s	=lv	v:pred	other

'When you see that the waves broke three times, …'

veraa_jjq.e_162

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 properties: 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 realised 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.'

veraa_mvb_087

(79)

#	*lē*	*=n*	*masōgi*	*di*	*ga*	*mōrōs*
#	LOC	=ART	time	3SG	STAT	want
##	adp	=ln	np:other	pro.h:s	lv	v:pred

#	*0*	*ne*	*vrigō*
#	0	TAM2:3SG	rush
#cc	0.h:S	lv-pro.h:s	v:pred

'When he wanted to run away …'

veraa_bsvh_034

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.'

veraa_pawv_072

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 (81–82).

(81)

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

ga	*sag*	*lē*	*=n*	*mē'ēm̄ē*
STAT	sit	LOC	=ART	door
lv	v:pred	adp	=ln	np:l

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

veraa_isv_084

(82)
#	*di*	*ne*	*ʼēn*	#	*ēn*	*ʼīnsar*	*ne*
#	3SG	TAM2:3SG	see	#	ART	person	NUM.ART
##	pro.h:s	lv-pro.h:s	v:pred	#cc	ln	np.h:s	rn

vō-wal	*ne*	*van*	*ma*	
NUM.ART	NUM-one	TAM2:3SG	go	hither
rn	lv-pro.h:s	v:pred	rv	

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

veraa_mvb_081

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*
#	3SG	TAM2:3SG	flick	more	ART	cave	NUM.ART
##	pro.d:a	lv-pro.d:a	v:pred	rv	ln	np:p	rn

vōwal	*anēʼē*
NUM-one	DEM1.A
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.'

veraa_palab_024

(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

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

'You want to eat us.'

veraa_palab_055

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*
#	before	ABL	ART	mother-3DL	TAM2:3SG	dead
##ac	other	adp	ln	np.h:s-pro.h:poss	lv-pro.h:s	v:pred

#	*ma' di*	*=m*	*rusō*
#	3SG	=TAM1	sick
##	pro.h:s	=lv	v:pred

'Before their mother died, she fell sick.'

veraa_mvbw_024

Thus, in (85) the dependency of the two clauses is overtly marked, 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 (86–87) 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*	#	*a*	*rekso*	*=n*	*gōsuwō*	*ga*
#	ART	basket	#	REL	like	=ART	rat	STAT
##	ln	np:dt_s	rn_#rc	other	other	=ln	np.d:a	lv

gis	*0*	%	*di*	*=m*	*wur*	*nēnēn*
hold	0	%	3SG	=TAM1	full	entirely
v:pred	0:p	%	pro:s	=lv	v:pred	rv

'The basket that the rat took with him was full.'

veraa_gabg_030

(87)

#	*n*	*maru-n*	*e*	*reñe*			
#	ART	uncle-CS	PERS.ART	woman			
##	ln	np.h:s	rn	rn_np.h:poss			
#	*a*	*0*	*=m*	*ma'*	*nē*	%	…
#	REL	0	=REAL	dead	DEM	%	
rn_#rc	other	0.h:s	=lv	v:pred	other	%	

'So the uncle of that woman that had died said: …'

veraa_anv_023

4.3.2 Asyndetic relative clauses

In asyndetic relative clauses, the relativised 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*	*0*	*so*	*Hiw*	
#	3PL	STAT	call	0	QUOT	Hiw	
rn_#rc	pro.h:a	lv	v:pred	0:p	other	np:other	

'… at one island which is called Hiw …'

veraa_isam_033

However, asyndetic relative clauses with relativised 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*
#	3DL	proabaly	=TAM1	dead	LOC.DEM1	LOC	=ART
##	pro.h:s	other	=lv	v:pred	other:l	adp	=ln

'e	*ga*	*mēw*	*va'a*
year	STAT	many	still
np:other	rn	rn	rn

'Probably they died there after many years, …' (lit. 'in years that are still many.')

veraa_iswm_360

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'ēmē*	*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'ēmē*	*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 <rn_#rc>, 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*	*rōñ*	#	*0*	*s*	*ra-rara*
#	3SG	TAM2:3SG	feel	#	0	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.'

veraa_jjq_174

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*
#	ART	uncle-3DL	TAM2:3SG	say	DAT
##	ln	np.h:s_ds-pro.h:poss	lv-pro.h:s_ds	v:pred	adp

duru	*so*	#	*ēi*	…
3DL	QUOT	#	INTERJ	
pro.h:g	other	##ds	other	

'Their uncle said to them: Hey, …'

veraa_anv_047

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), and is then 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.'

veraa_as1_040

(94) a.

#	*0*	*so*
#	0	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.

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

'(He) said: …'

d.

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

e	*raw*
ART	hermaphrodite.pig
ln	np:p

'… We are looking for an intra-sex pig for us.'

veraa_as1_011

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 …'

veraa_anv_081

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 (96–97). Note that in (96), a object pronoun occurs evidently inside the VC and is thus glossed <rv_pro.h:p>.

(96)

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

=n	*mōgi*	*=n*	*niw̄ē*
=ART	POSS.house-3SG	=ART	house
=ln	ln-pro.h:poss	=ln	np:g

'Then they pushed her into her house.'

veraa_iswm_171

(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.'

veraa_pawv_072

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.

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

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

b.

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

'… smashed them open …'

c.

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

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

veraa_mvbw_052

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 Notes on the morphological glossing

Morphological glossing of Vera'a Multi-CAST texts follows the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (LGR, Comrie et al. 2008).[1] Below is a list of Vera'a-specific and standard LRG glosses used in glossing of Vera'a texts.

exponents	category	description	comment
	1		
	2		
	3		
me	ABIL1	ability	cf. Appendix A
mās	ABIL2		cf. Appendix A
den	ABL	ablative prep	ablative preposition
=(ē)n	ART	common article	inherently enclitic, introduces common NP
'amēn, 'alēn	ASS	associative	associative prepositions
'a	ASS.SP	specific associative	associative prepositions
ē	CC	clause-combining particle	may be same as DEM3 and/or disc
biriñ	COM	comitative	comitative preposition
	COR	correction	construction restart after false start
-n	CS	constuct suffix	possessive suffix accommodating personal NP possessors
mē	DAT	dative	dative preposition
'i	DEL	delimitative aktionsart	post-verbal delimitative marker, not part of TAMP system, cf. Appendix A
nē	DEM1	basic dem 1	cf. Appendix D for explanations and comments on demonstratives
anē	DEM1.A	pref. basic dem 1	cf. Appendix D
gēn	DEM2	basic dem 2	cf. Appendix D
agēn	DEM1.A	pref. basic dem 1	cf. Appendix D
ē	DEM3		cf. Appendix D
anei	DEM4.A	pref. dem. 4	cf. Appendix D
nei	DEM4		cf. Appendix D
-ge	DIS	dissociative	dissociative possessive suffix, possessor unspecified

table continued on next page

[1] `http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php`

table continued from previous page

exponents	category	description	comment
ē	DISC	discourse particle	discourse-structuring function; probably new paragraph, theme
	DL	dual	
sa	EMPH	emphatic	emphatic particle, can have focus-marking effect
	EX	exclusive	
me	FUT	future TAM marker	predicates refer to events in posterior to CT; cf. Appendix A
e	GEN.NEG1	general negation 1	cf. Appendix A
rōs	GEN.NEG2	general negation 2	cf. Appendix A
	HES	hesitation	hesitation phenomenon (particles, pauses, dots, etc.)
mak	IMM	immediacy	predicate expresses soa immediately anterior or posterior to CT
	IN	inclusive	
mās	INABIL2	inability	cf. Appendix A
	INTERJ	interjection	used to cover various types of interjection
lē	LOC	locative prep	locative preposition
('e)kēnē	LOC.DEM1	locative adv 1	cf. Appendix D for explanations and comments on demonstratives
('e)kēnēn	LOC.DEM2	locative adv 2	cf. Appendix D
kēnei	LOC.DEM4	locative adv 4	cf. Appendix D
a	LOC.SP	specific loc. prep	specific locative preposition; marks specific locative expressions
senē	MAN.DEM1	manner adv 1	cf. Appendix D for explanations and comments on demonstratives
asenē	MAN.DEM1.A	pref. manner adv 1	cf. Appendix D
esenē	MAN.DEM1.E	pref. manner adv 1	cf. Appendix D
segēn	MAN.DEM2	manner adv 2	cf. Appendix D
vag-	MULT	multiplicative	derives iterative adverbs

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exponents	category	description	comment
	NMLZ	nominalisation	usually reduplication in nouns; occasionally simply 'red-'
	NSG	non-singular	reduplication in nouns; occasionally simply 'red-'
vō	NUM	numeral prefix	fossilised prefix for cardinal numerals
ne	NUM.ART	numeral article	introduces numeral phrases (NumPs)
'ēn	NY.NEG2	'not yet' negation	occurs in right periphery of VC
na-	ORD	ordinal quantifier	seems to resemble possessive classifier
'e	PART	partitive article	restricted to particular types of poss. constructions
e	PERS.ART	personal article	not specified for sexus
erō	PERS.ART.F	personal article female	specialised form for female referents
man	PFV	perfective	predicates refer to events anterior to CT; cf. Appendix A
	PL	plural	category of person marker, cooccurs with person, clusivity gloss
'erē	PL	plurailizer	free particle, used on its own
bo-	POSS.BED	poss. clf 'bedding'	classifier for 'bedding possession' (bed, pillow, sheets, etc.)
no-	POSS.DOM	poss. clf 'domestic'	classifier for 'domestic possession' (animals, crops, personal etc.)
mo-	POSS.DRINK	poss. clf 'drink'	classifier for 'drink possession' (water, kava, etc.; juicy fruit)
go-	POSS.EAT	poss. clf 'eat'	classifier for 'eating possession' (food, diseases)
mu-	POSS.GEN	poss. clf 'general'	classifier for unspecified possessive relationship

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exponents	category	description	comment
mō-	POSS.HOUSE	poss. clf 'house'	classifier for 'housing possession' (house, door(way), window etc.)
bolo-	POSS.VAL	poss. clf 'valuable'	classifier for 'possession of customarily valuable items'
ko-	POSS.VES	poss. clf 'vessel'	classifier for 'vessel possession' (canoe, boat, truck, plane)
mas	PROH1	prohibitive	cf. Appendix A
rōs	PROH2		cf. Appendix A
so	PROSP	prospective marker	might overlap with complementation, quotative, etc.
ver-	REC	reciprocal	reciprocal prefix
	RED	reduplication	different functions, non-singular, imperfective, distributive
a	REL	relativizer	
mal	REM.PST	remote past	cf. Appendix A
	SG		
=s	SIM	simultaneous	predicate expresses soa simultaneous with other soa
ga	STAT	stative TAM marker	predicates express habitual, generic soas, properties
=m	TAM1	TAM1	cf. Appendix A
ne, =k, ē	TAM2	TAM2	cf. Appendix A
va'anē	TEMP.DEM1	time adv 1	cf. Appendix D for explanations and comments on demonstratives
va'agēn	TEMP.DEM2	time adv 2	cf. Appendix D
ge	THING	placeholder word	has either context-retrievable specific or non-specific reference
	TL	trial	probably genuinely trial rather than paucal

Table A. Morphological glosses for Vera'a

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

Table B. Vera'a free personal pronouns

B Tense, aspect, mood, polarity marking

Vera'a has a fairly complex system of tense, aspect, mood and polarity marking. Table B 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 C 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 Alexandre 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.

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 C. 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 D. Possessive (pronominal) suffixes in Vera'a

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

Table E. Vera'a TAM2 person markers

C 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 C and D 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 E.

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 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.

	DEM1			DEM2		
	plain	*a*-prefix	*e*-prefix	plain	*a*-prefix	*e*-prefix
basic set	*nē('lē)*	*anē('lē)*		*gēn(ē)*	*agēn(ē)*	
manner adv	*senē*	*asenē*	*esenē*	*segēn(ē)*	*asegēn(ē)*	*esegēn*
time adv 1						
time adv 2	*va'anē*	*va'anē*	*va'anē*	*va'agēn*	*va'agēn*	*va'agēn*
locative adv	*('e)kēnē*	*akēnē*		*('e)kēgēn(ē)*	*('e)kēgēn(ē)*	

Table F. Vera'a demonstratives

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

Table G. Vera'a demonstratives and related forms

	DEM3 / interrogative		
	plain	*a*-prefix	*e*-prefix
basic set	*nei*	*anei*	*enei*
manner adv			*esenei*
locative adv	*('e)kēnei*	*('e)kēnei*	*('e)kēnei*

Table H. Possible additional set of Vera'a demonstratives

D 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 F and G summarises these forms.

Possibly also related to these forms is a fourth set of demonstrative forms, glossed DEM4, see Table H. 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.