

Multi-CAST

Vera'a
annotation notes

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Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	Basic structural features and GRAID glossing	1
2.1	Clause structure and syntactic functions	1
2.1.1	Verbal clauses and syntactic functions	1
2.1.2	Non-verbal clauses and syntactic functions	5
2.1.3	Other syntactic functions	6
2.2	Form of referential expressions	7
2.2.1	Common NPs	8
2.2.2	Personal NPs	8
2.2.3	Locative NPs	9
2.2.4	Numeral phrases	9
2.2.5	Pronominal expressions	10
2.2.6	Further types of expression	12
2.3	Animacy and person of referential expressions	14
2.4	Other elements	15
2.4.1	Adverbs and clause-level demonstrative forms	15
2.4.2	Particles and conjunctions	15
3	Clausal constructions with special features	16
3.1	Negation and neutralization of syntactic categories	16
3.2	Finite and non-finite clause constructions	17
3.2.1	Imperative constructions	17
3.2.2	The <i>ga</i> -construction	18
3.2.3	The head-tail construction and zero TAMP marking	18
4	Complex sentences, direct speech, clause repetitions, and complex predicates	20
4.1	Complement clauses	20
4.1.1	Syndetic complement clauses	20
4.1.2	Asyndetic complement clauses	21
4.2	Adverbial clauses	22
4.3	Relative clauses	23
4.3.1	Syndetic relative clauses	23
4.3.2	Asyndetic relative clauses	23
4.3.3	Function of relative clauses	24
4.4	Direct speech	25

4.5	Predicate or clause repetition	26
4.6	Complex predicates versus clause chaining	26
References		27
Appendices		29
A	Paradigms	29
A.1	Tense, aspect, mood, and polarity marking	29
A.2	Person markers	29
A.3	Demonstrative forms	31
B	List of corpus-specific GRAID symbols	32
C	List of abbreviated morphological glosses	33

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 1908 of the annotations, published in August 2019. 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 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.' [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 kirmō =n gako wova'al ē*
 RED-close.to 2SG TAM2 gnaw break =ART stalk pawpaw DEM3
 ## other pro.2:a lv v:pred rv =1n np:p rn rn
 '...would you almost have gnawed off the stalk of the pawpaw (fruit)?'
 [mc_veraa_gabg_0083]

- (4) *Mag'ie 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 =1n 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 =1n

mō -gi =n nimē
 POSS.house -3SG =ART house
 1n -rn_pro.h:poss =1n 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_ismw_0004]

- (9) *dir =m van kal sar lē =n wōmōmō'*
 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 'aṅsar '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 1PLEX 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_gaag_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 ⟨θ: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 'aāman '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' 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.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0347]

Appositional expressions are distinguished from 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:

<i>expression</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>alt. gloss</i>
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)	<i>so</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>Qo’</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>mulō</i>
		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_pa1a_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.

<i>person</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>trial/paucal</i>	<i>plural</i>
1 st incl.	—	(gi)du(ō)	(gi)dō'ōl	(gi)dē
1 st excl.	no	ka(ma)du(ō)	ka(ma)m'ōl	ka(ma)m
2 nd	nik(ē)	kumru(ō)	kimi'ōl	kimi
3 rd	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*
 1TLEX with ART mother -1DLEX 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]

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

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 deictic (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 =1n 1n 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 rōñ ēn sava ...*
 2DL =TAM1 hear ART what
 ## pro.2:a =1v v:pred 1n 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 1n 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 =1v v:pred pro.h:p other
 'His father and mother, they looked for him.'
- [mc_veraa_iswm_0179]

- (54) *diñ ma =n niñē ño-n e 'amaruō wo =n*
 reach hither =ART house POSS.house-CS PERS.ART father-3DL and =ART
 ## rv rv =1n 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 =lv 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 =1n np:dt_s pro:s =1v v:pred rv
- rekse* =*n* 'aṅsara
 like =ART person
 adp =1n 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* =1v 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 'aṅsara above includes ⟨.h⟩. Where the same noun is used to refer to a spirit, it is glossed ⟨.d⟩:

- (60) 'aṅsara *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 niṁē*
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_ismw_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 =1n 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* *qōn* *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* *birin* *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)
- | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| | <i>no</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>mōrōs</i> | | |
| | 1SG | STAT | want | | |
| ##ds | pro.1:s | lv | v:pred | | |
| | <i>no</i> | <i>=k</i> | <i>kaka</i> | <i>biriñ</i> | <i>nikē</i> |
| | 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)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| | <i>lē</i> | <i>=n</i> | <i>masōgi</i> | <i>di</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>mōrōs</i> |
| | LOC | =ART | time | 3SG | STAT | want |
| ## | adp | =ln | np:other | pro.h:s | lv | v:pred |
| | <i>ne</i> | <i>vrigō</i> | | | | |
| | 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)
- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| | <i>nik</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>mōrōs</i> | <i>kur</i> | <i>kamaduō</i> |
| | 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)
- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|-----------|---------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------------|------------|--------|
| | <i>di</i> | <i>=m</i> | <i>'ēn</i> | <i>'ōw'ōw</i> | <i>ēn</i> | <i>lōsō</i> | <i>-gi</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>sag</i> | |
| | 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 |
| | <i>lē</i> | <i>=n</i> | <i>mē'ēmē</i> | | | | | | | |
| | 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 'ēn ēn 'ñsar 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 anē'ē*
 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 $\langle \theta(.x):y \rangle$.

4.3.1 Syndetic relative clauses

Two examples of 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 θ: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 θ.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 ⟨θ⟩, as in (88).

- (88) *lē =n vunūō ne vō-wal*
 LOC =ART island NUM.ART NUM-one
 ## adp =1n 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 probably =TAM1 dead LOC.DEM1 LOC =ART year STAT
 ## pro.h:s other =lv v:pred other:l adp =1n 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’ēmē ga wak*
 2SG TAM2:2SG see ART door STAT open
 ## pro.2:a lv-pro_2_a v:pred 1n 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 1n 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 rōñ =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

m̄o -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 1DLEX
 ##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 particular syntactic 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.

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

Table A.1 Vera'a free personal pronouns.

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

Table A.2 Vera'a free personal pronouns.

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

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

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

Table A.4 Vera'a TAM2 person markers.

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

Table A.5 Vera'a demonstratives.

	<i>DEM3</i>	<i>interrogative</i>		
		<i>plain</i>	<i>a-prefix</i>	<i>e-prefix</i>
basic set	<i>ē</i>	<i>viē</i>	<i>aviē</i>	
manner adverb		<i>siviē</i>	<i>asiviē</i>	<i>esiviē</i>
locative adverb		<i>kiviē</i>	<i>kiviē</i>	<i>kiviē</i>

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

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

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
<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
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Clause boundary symbols

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

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

PROSP	<i>so</i>	prospective marker; might overlap with complementation, quotatives, etc.
PROX		proximal
PURP		purpose
QUOT		quotative
RCP		reciprocal
REC	<i>ver-</i>	reciprocal prefix
RED		reduplication; has different functions: non-singular, imperfective, distributive
REL	<i>a</i>	relativizer
REM.PST	<i>mal</i>	remote past; see Appendix A.1
SG		singular
SIM	<i>=s</i>	simultaneity; predicate expresses SOA simultaneous with other SOA
SP		specific
STAT	<i>ga</i>	stative TAM marker; predicates express habitual, generic SOAs and properties
TAM1	<i>=m</i>	TAM1; see Appendix A.1
TAM2	<i>ne, =k ē</i>	TAM2
TEMP.DEM1	<i>va'anē</i>	temporal adverb 1; see Appendix A.3
TEMP.DEM2	<i>va'anē</i>	temporal adverb 2
THING	<i>ge</i>	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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