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Multi-CAST Tulil annotation notes  v1.0  last updated 5 July 2019
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1 Notes on the GRAID annotations

The following comprises selected notes on the GRAID (Haig & Schnell 2014) and RefIND (Schiborr et al. 2018) annotations of Tulil. It corresponds to version 1907 of the annotations, published in July 2019. Unless a more recent version of this document exists, it also applies to any later versions of the annotations.

1.1 Verbal clause types and marking of arguments

Verbal clauses can be classified in terms of the transitivity of the predicate, as either transitive, intransitive or ditransitive. Intransitive clause shows split-s marking, differentiating between active intransitive and stative intransitive predicates. Transitive impersonal clauses can be identified in the language, as a special case of the transitive clauses.

Structurally, verbal clauses normally either take A/S_A argument person markings on verbs and/or show patientive case on P/S_P arguments, depending on the subcategories of the verbs. The person indexes are obligatory on verbs, specify the person, number, gender of the argument, as well as tense. They are not specified in the GRAID annotation, but taken as part of the verbs, such as və¬-sg.m.p¬ in (1).

(1) vənu bəvəton vareot.
    vənu =a bə= və¬-t¬-ton vareot
    sun =sg.cl:masc asp= 3sg.m.pst¬-look long_time
    ## np:s =rn =other v:pred rv
    'The sun was shining for a long time.' [mc_tulil_alrm_0010]

On the other hand, NPs and free pronouns as the indexed arguments are optional if they are recoverable from the context. In the case when there is no overt arguments in the clause, a zero-argument marking is assumed and placed at the beginning of the clause, as shown in (2):

(2) təmat idə.
    tə-mat idə
    0 3pl.pst¬-eat 3n
    ## 0.h:a v:pred pro:p
    'They ate them [the pigs].' [mc_tulil_sves_0006]

Usually a topic specifies the identity of the arguments in a clause, and is annotated as ⟨:dt¬_a⟩ or ⟨:dt¬_s⟩, with zero-marking of the subject (3). Topics are recognized by their overt marking with o.

(3) tudəka o vore tavai.
    tudək =a o vò-re tavai
    0 wallaby =sg.cl:masc top 3sg.m.pst¬-carry fern.sp.
    ## 0.h:a np.d:dt¬_a =rn other v:pred pro:p
    'The wallaby carried ferns.' [mc_tulil_lrdw_0010]
1.1.1 Transitive impersonal clauses

Transitive impersonal clauses also take person markings, but do not involve a substantial A argument. In a transitive impersonal construction, only the third person neuter prefixes *idə-* and *it-* are used, and they do not refer to any arguments (dummy arguments). Thus the person indexes in transitive impersonal clauses only represent the tense of the predicate, but not person or gender. In example (4), the argument *kəguing* following the transitive impersonal verb (*ida*) *mang* ‘burnt’ is taken as the subject, and is annotated with ⟨np:s_iv⟩, where the specifier ⟨_iv⟩ stands for ‘impersonal verb’.

(4) bidəmmangakəguing.

In the case of (5), there is no overt marking of a topic, so the argument before the verb complex *idila* = *a* is annotated as having the same function as the actual argument = *a* inside the verb complex structure. The same structure is observed in stative intransitive clauses, and is treated the same there.

(5) idilabidəmatnada…

1.1.2 Stative-intransitive clauses

Stative intransitive clauses take stative verbs as the heads of their predicates, which however are not marked by person indexes. The subject follows the verb, and is annotated as ⟨:s_sv⟩, where ⟨_sv⟩ stands for ‘stative verb’.

(6) toktokakilapdo.

As with (5) above, in stative-intransitive clauses such as (7) that lack overt topic marking, the argument before the verb complex, here *ianem*, is annotated as having the same function as the argument inside the verb complex structure, here = *idə*:

(7) ianembələlt nidə.

Chenxi Meng
1.1.3 Patientive case

Patientive case shows on NPs as a preposed case marker \(-a\), and causes personal pronouns to take their patientive forms (only for 3rd person singular). Patientive case extends its use to mark all non-A/S arguments, including: (i) objects (P) and obliques in transitive clauses and (ii) subjects of stative-intransitive clauses (S\(_P\)). The patientive case marker \(-a\) is phonologically detached from the marked argument and encliticized to the preceding element. It is annotated as \(\langle -ln \rangle\). See (6) for an example.

1.1.4 Omission of P/S\(_P\) arguments

P/S\(_P\) arguments can only be omitted when they are 3rd person neuter pronouns (i.e. \(idə\)). The second clause in (8) takes a zero patient that could be expressed overtly as \(idə\):

(8) \(\text{və-tak}\ be\ nangə\ idə\ itən,\ me\ kori\ ngatak\ bem.\)

```
0 3SG.M.PST-call at tree 3N name
```

me kori nga-tak bem

```
0 0 and NEG 1SG.NPST-call at
```

‘He called the names of the herbs, and I’m not going to call (these names).’

[mc_tulil_alrm_0035]

1.1.5 Oblique arguments

Oblique arguments are primarily marked by prepositions. Like P arguments, oblique arguments also take patientive case, either marked by a patientive marker, or by the patientive form of a personal pronoun.

(9) \(\text{volata o vətuka kəvop na.}\)

```
0 3SG.M.PASSINAL= head =SG.CL:MASC TOP 3SG.M.PST-give =PAT
```

kəvop n =a
dog APPL =3SG.M.PAT
np:p adp =pro:obl

‘He gave his [the pig’s] head to the dogs.’

[mc_tulil_aves_0015]

Locative PPs usually receive the \(\langle :l \rangle\) function gloss, as in (10). Arguments expressing goals are glossed \(\langle :g \rangle\).

(10) \(\text{da ngu-teltel ba viuv.}\)

```
0 PUPR 1DL.NPST-wander in sea =SG.CL:FEM
```

‘[Dog said to wallaby,] “Let’s wander in the sea.”’

[mc_tulil_lrdw_0006]
Adverbial demonstratives are likewise glossed either as \( \langle 1 \rangle \) or \( \langle g \rangle \), as in (11). When a PP expressing location or goal is present after the demonstrative, it is the PP that receives the \( \langle 1 \rangle \) or \( \langle g \rangle \) gloss while the demonstrative does not receive a function gloss, as shown in (12).

\[(11) \quad \text{duppi nəmumə, ...} \]
\[\text{du-p~-pi nə-mumə} \]
\[0 \quad 1\text{PL.PST-RED~go LOC-DOWN.FAR} \]
\[\# 0.1:s \text{ v:pred dem\_other:} g \]
\[\text{‘We went down there, …’} \]

\[(12) \quad \text{kavar və-kərtang o vəppi nəmumə təba məngəda.} \]
\[\text{kavar və-kərtang o və-p~pi} \]
\[0 \quad \text{just\_then 3SG.M.PST-arise TOP 0 3SG.M.PST-IPFV~go} \]
\[\# \# \text{ac 0.h:s other v:pred } \%	ext{ other 0.h:s v:pred} \]
\[\text{nə-mumə tə= ba məngəd =a} \]
\[\text{LOC-DOWN.FAR to= in home =SG.CL:MASC} \]
\[\text{dem\_other adp= adp np:} g \text{ } =\text{rn} \]
\[\text{‘Just then he got up and he went down to the village.’} \]

### 1.2 Demonstratives

There are four types of demonstratives that are relevant to GRAID: adnominal demonstratives, pronominal demonstratives, predicative demonstratives, and locative adverbial demonstratives. The first three types typically have the same form (but different syntactic functions), and are glossed respectively as \( \langle \text{rn\_dem} \rangle \) (13), \( \langle \text{dem\_pro} \rangle \) (14), and \( \langle \text{dem\_other(:pred)} \rangle \) (15). Adverbial demonstratives are glossed as \( \langle \text{dem\_other} \rangle \) (16) and function variously as predicates or adjuncts.

\[(13) \quad \text{atiriva abo o məreka.} \]
\[\text{a-tiriv =a a-bo o mərek=a} \]
\[\text{ART-kulau =SG.CL:MASC 3SG.M-UP TOP good=SG.CL:} PAT \]
\[\# \# \text{np:s } =\text{rn } \text{rn\_dem other np:pred} \]
\[\text{‘This kulau I mentioned is good.’} \]

\[(14) \quad \text{ava itira evi.} \]
\[\text{ava i-tir =a e-vi} \]
\[0 \quad \text{also 3SG.F.PST-asfk =PAT 3SG.F-PROX1} \]
\[\# \# \text{0.d:a other v:pred } =\text{ln dem\_pro.d:p} \]
\[\text{‘She [the turtle] also asked her [the shell].’} \]

\[(15) \quad \text{ləmat mukəm ipbo.} \]
\[\text{ləmat mukəm ip-bo} \]
\[\text{coconut two.CL:MASC 3DL.M-UP} \]
\[\# \# \text{np:s } =\text{rn dem\_other:pred_l} \]
\[\text{‘Two coconut trees are up there.’} \]
1.3 **PPs as predicates**

PPs can function as either non-verbal predicates (17) or verb-like predicates (18). In both cases, the complement NP of the preposition receives one of the function glosses ⟨:pred⟩, ⟨:pred_1⟩, or ⟨:pred_g⟩.

(17) ngang o təpma iao, ti voin.

```
ngang o təpma =a iao ti voin
1sg top with =pat fear lest ghost.pl
## pro.1:s other adp =ln np:pred adp np:obl
'I was with fear of ghosts.' [mc_tulil_jkpp_0021]
```

(18) ... dava ip katum itəbatipur.

```
da-va ip katum i-tə= ba tipur
PURP:again 3dl.m all 3dl.m.npst-goal= in bush
## other pro.h:s rn =rn_pro.h adp np:pred_g
'The two wanted] to go to the bush again.' [mc_tulil_sves_0008]
```

1.4 **Possessive NPs**

In a possessive construction, the possessed noun, as the head of the possessive NP, is preceded by possessive indexes. Possessive indexes specify the number, person, and gender of the possessor. The possessor as a NP can either be present (19) or omitted (20). In the first case, both the possessor NP and the possessive pronoun receive the ⟨:poss⟩ function, while the the second case, only the possessive pronoun receives the glossing.

(19) məlanga va kuvit idokəreut do.

```
məlang lizard =sg.cl:masc 3sg.m.poss.al claw.pl 3np.pst-scratch here
va =a
kuvit claw.pl
idos-kəreut 3n.p=scratch
do other:l
## ln_np.d:poss =ln ln_pro.d:poss np:s v:pred other:l
'The lizard’s claws scratched here.' [mc_tulil_lnsl_0039]
```

(20) nga vove o bingəp.

```
ga grandma =sg.cl:fem top asp= 3sg.f.pst-die
vove =e other:poss
0 1sg.poss =e o b= i-ngəp
## 0.h:s ln_pro.1:poss np.h:dt_s =rn other=other v:pred
'My aunt died.' [mc_tulil_jkpp_0030]
```
1.5 Comitatives

The comitative \( n(\sigma) \) “with” is usually prefixed by person markings, and is commonly used for coordinating two NPs. In this case, the person marking indexes the first conjunct. The comitative \( n(\sigma) \) is glossed as a part of the NP, \( \langle \text{rn} \rangle \):

\[
\text{(21) } \text{io vore bali tuka va dörnge ena ipvila.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
0 & \text{then} & 3\text{SG.M.PST-carry} & \text{pig,PL} & \text{give/RECIPI}=\text{PAT} & 3\text{SG.M.POSS} \\
\hline
\text{dörng} & =e & e-n & =a & \text{ip=} & \text{vil} & =a \\
\text{old} & =\text{SG.CL:FEM} & 3\text{SG.F-with} & =\text{PAT} & 3\text{DL.M.POSS} & \text{son} & =\text{SG.CL:MASC} \\
\text{np.h:g} & =\text{rn} & \text{rn} & =\text{rn_pro.h:poss} & \text{rn_np.h} & =\text{rn} \\
\end{array}
\]

'Then he carried pigs to his wife and their son.' [mc_tulil_sves_0005]

As with verbal and possessive constructions, the indexed conjunct can be omitted (22). In this case, the comitative receives the \( \langle \text{pro} \rangle \) form gloss and argument function, and the complement is glossed as \( \langle \text{rn} \rangle \):

\[
\text{(22) } \text{ngana nga mòlna avo, ngunu körtang mëndo.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
0 & \text{1SG-COM} & =\text{PAT} & 1\text{SG.POSS} & \text{cousin} & =\text{SG.CL:MASC} & 3\text{SG.M-PROX1} \\
\hline
\text{o} & \text{ngunu-kört} & \text{tang} & \text{mën=} & \text{do} \\
\text{TOP} & 1\text{DL.PST-rise} & \text{REFL} & \text{from= here} \\
\text{other} & \text{v:pred} & =\text{pro.1:p} & \text{adp=} & \text{other:1} \\
\end{array}
\]

'Me with my cousin, we got up from here.' [mc_tulil_alrm_0005]

1.6 Quotatives

The quotative -e can be used either as a complementizer (23), or as a quotative predicator (24). In both cases it takes a person index. In the first case, the quotative -e is glossed as \( \langle \text{other} \rangle \). When it is used as a predicate, it receives the glossing (other:pred), similar to a verb.

\[
\text{(23) } \text{vongar ate, ngikutong mata go rovònam.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
0 & \text{3SG.M.PST-say} & 3\text{SG.M-QUOT} & 0 & \text{2SG.NPST-cut} & \text{get}=\text{PAT} & \text{NSPEC} \\
\hline
\text{ro} & =\text{vònam.} \\
\text{bamboo} & =\text{SG.CL:SHORT} \\
\text{np:p} & =\text{rn} \\
\end{array}
\]

'He said, “You cut a bamboo cutting”.' [mc_tulil_alrm_0047]
(24) ngane, o! laikta o ɬəpm ɬəmək.

ngan-e, ’o laik =ta o ɬəpm =a ɬəmək
0 1SG-QUOT INTERJ big =PL-HUM TOP with =PAT lie
## 0.1:s other:pred ##ds other np.h:s =rn other adp =ln np:pred

‘I thought, “Oh! The ancestors were full of lies.”’

References


Appendices

A 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 Tulil corpus. Please refer to the GRAID manual (Haig & Schnell 2014: 54–55) for an inventory of basic GRAID symbols.

Form symbols and specifiers

(\texttt{cl\_pro}) classifier used pronominally
(\texttt{dem\_pro}) demonstrative used pronominally
(\texttt{pn\_np}) proper name
(\texttt{dem\_other}) demonstrative used adverbially
(\texttt{intrg\_other}) interrogative form

Function symbols and specifiers

(\texttt{:s\_iv}) subject of a transitive impersonal clause
(\texttt{:s\_sv}) subject of a stative-intransitive clause

Clause boundary symbols

(\texttt{purp}), (\texttt{\_purp}) \textit{tag}: purposive clause

Subconstituents symbols

(\texttt{\_dem}) demonstrative used adnominally; attaches to (\texttt{l\_n}) and (\texttt{r\_n})

Other symbols

(\texttt{nc\_}) \textit{specifier}: marks form glosses with RefIND indices in segments otherwise not considered (i.e. those marked (\texttt{\#nc}))
### List of abbreviated morphological glosses

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
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