Vera’a
— annotation notes —

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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). 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.’

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) # rene ne wotoqtoq
# woman TAM2:3SG pregnant
## np:h:s lv-pro:h:s v:pred
‘(And then) the woman got pregnant.’

(3) # roo-roo’e nik e kur kirn =n
# RED-close.to 2SG TAM2 gnaw break =ART
## other pro:2:a lv v:pred rv =ln

gako wova’al e
stalk pawpaw DEM3
np:p rn rn
‘...would you almost have gnawed off the stalk of the pawpaw (fruit)?’

(4) # Mag’i ane 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
’anu’ e so
devil DEM3 QUOT
np:d:p rn other
‘(And then) the old woman asked the devil: …’

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 die
# 3PL =TAM1 kill 3SG
## pro:h:a =lv v:pred pro:h:p
‘They killed him.’

(6) # duru =k kal ba’a kel sar
# 3DL =TAM2 enter into back in
## pro:h:s =lv v:pred rv rv other:l
‘Then the two went ashore again.’

Where the P function is expressed by a bare pronoun, this pronoun is incor-
porated into the VC, as in example (7) where third singular di precedes the
directional adverb sar ‘in(wards)’:

(7) # dir =e di qe’re ba’a di sar
# 3PL =TAM2 push into 3SG in
## pro:h:a =lv v:pred rv rv.pro:h:p rv
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 ’ôg wal sa lê =n
   # 3DL STAT stay exactly EMPH LOC =ART
   ## pro.h:s lv v:pred rv other adp =ln
   wono-n e Wowôt ’a Nôs
   home-CS PERS.ART W. LOC.SP N.
   np:l-np.h:poss mn mn np.h:poss mn mn
   ‘The were living right up in Wowôt’s home village at Nos.’

(9) # dir =m van kal sar lê =n
   # 3PL =TAM1 go upwards inland LOC =ART
   ## pro.h:s =lv v:pred rv rv adp =ln
   wôôôôôô’ bush
   np:g
   ‘He went down to the reef...’

In all three examples, the same basically locative preposition lê 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):
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 bièg ne  
# 0 TAM2:3SG transfer =ART breadfruit NUM.ART  
## 0.h:a lv-pro.h:a v:pred =ln np:p rn  
vô-wal wo 0 ne le mè 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 vô-wal  
NUM.ART NUM-one  
ln np:p  
‘... took a breadfruit and gave her one (as well).’  

(12)  # duru =k ... sor mè 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.’  

(13)  # Tumeren ne têk mè dirè  
# 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: ...’

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 qaňris
# 1PL.EX:TAM1 sleep LOC =ART oven
## pro.1:s v:pred adp =ln np:obl
‘We slept in the stone oven.’

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 ‘eqel
# 3PL PFV descend
# pro.h:s lv v:pred
‘(They) had already come out of the bamboo, they had already come down.’

(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.’

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):
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 agênë di =n kaka nelëø vu’
# ART story DEM2 3SG =ART story voice spirit
## ln np:dt s rn pros =ln np:pred rn rn

‘This story here, it is a customary story [lit. a spirits’ voice].’

(19) # ba kumru ‘ö’ =n wëvinga
# but 2DL with =ART coconut.shell
## other pro.2:s adp =ln np:pred

‘But do you have a coconut shell with you?’

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) # qûñ ne vø-wal ’erë ’añsar
# day NUM.ART NUM-one PL person
## np:other rn rn ln np:predex

’a Lëmërig
LOC.SP L.

rn rn np

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

(21) # =n lañ vus m vus kamam
# =ART wind hit real hit 1PL.EX
## =ln np:a rn lv v:pred pro.1:p
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 `bene` ‘there is’, as in (24):

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

(23) # e raga 'i'-isi-gi snwul  
# PERS.ART people NSG-same.sex.sibl-3SG ten  
## ln ln np.h:s other:pred  
wal dêmê ne vō-ruō  
one ? NUM.ART NUM-two  
rn rn rn rn  
‘His brothers were twelve.’ [i.e. ‘He had twelve brothers.’]

(24) # si =n wova'al bène  
# if =ART pawpaw exist  
## 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).’

Where existence is expressed by `bene` (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.’

(26) # n qoro-giluwo bēne suwei
# ART hole-3SG big exist down
## ln np:s rrn other:predex other:l
‘It had a big hole at the bottom.’ (lit. ‘A big hole of it existed at the bottom.’)

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,…’

(28) # no no me sog ’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).’

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:

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A further type of function distinguished for Vera’a is that of appositional expressions. These are typically co-referent with the one they are juxtaposed 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 juxtaposed 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 ‘aţan’a
... # 3SG =TAM1 transfer =ART small man hes
... # pro.h:a =lv v:pred =ln np.h:p rn nc
‘isimière ané ...
second.born DEM1.A
np.h:appos rn
‘(When) she gave birth to the boy, the second born, …’

(32) # e Qo’ diré man ‘eqêl
# 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.’

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.
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>`.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>expression</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>alt. gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>common NP</td>
<td><code>&lt;np&gt;</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal NP</td>
<td><code>&lt;np&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>&lt;pro&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative NP</td>
<td><code>&lt;np&gt;</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral phrase</td>
<td><code>&lt;np&gt;</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal expression</td>
<td><code>&lt;pro&gt;</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free pronoun</td>
<td><code>&lt;pro&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>&lt;wpro&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bound person marker</td>
<td><code>&lt;pro&gt;</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb, demonstrative</td>
<td><code>&lt;other&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>&lt;pro&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:hs lv-pro:hs v:pred
‘(And now) Qo’ was about to go home.’

(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 e
two.people red-child-1DL.IN DEM3
    np:h:p-pro.1:poss rn
‘The devil has already devoured our (DL) two children.’

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 ’ðw’ðw
    # PERS.ART 1SG before
    ## ln pro.1:s other:pred
‘I am first (to jump).’

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 ’ðg a lo
    # folk 3SG STAT stay LOC.SP seaside
    ## np:h:dt pro:hs lv v:pred adp np:l
‘The people who lived down at the sea, …’
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 vɔ-wal ne van ma
    # NUM.ART NUM-one TAM:3SG go hither
    ## ln np:h:s lv-pro:h:s v:pred rv
    ‘(Then) one (of them) came over.’

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 =TAM kill 3SG
    ## pro:h:a =lv v:pred pro:h:p
    ‘They killed him.’

(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.’

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
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 # gēdu mak mulô # 1DL.IN =k gen qê’ # gēdu mak mulô
## wpro.1:s =lv v:pred rv ## pro.1:s lv v:pred
[pro.1:s]
‘... we will eat, then we go home.’

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’ôl bîrîn ên vēvê-maduô ‘ôg-ôgo
# 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.’

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{person} & \text{singular} & \text{dual} & \text{trial/paucal} & \text{plural} \\
\hline
1^{\text{st}} \text{incl.} & — & (gi)du(ô) & (gi)dô’ôl & (gi)dô’ô \\
1^{\text{st}} \text{excl.} & no & kam(ô)du(ô) & kam(ô)du’môl & kam(ô)du’mô \\
2^{\text{nd}} & nik(ô) & kumru(ô) & kimi’ôl & kimi’ôl \\
3^{\text{rd}} & dit(ô) & duru(ô) & dir’ôl & dir’ôl \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Table 2. Vera’a free personal pronouns

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>trial/paucal</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st incl.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-du(ô)</td>
<td>-dô’ôl</td>
<td>-dê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st excl.</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-madu(ô)</td>
<td>-man’ôl</td>
<td>-mam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-mrut(ô)</td>
<td>-mi’ôl</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>-ru(ô)</td>
<td>-r’ôl</td>
<td>-rê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 vilovil =ên 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.’

(45) # 0 le =n ko-ru =n nak su-suô
# 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 …’

(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-n’î-duô e
RED-child-1DL.IN DEM3
np.h:p-pro.1:poss rn
‘The devil has already devoured our (‘dl’) two children.’

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, ê and ne, respectively. This information is reflected in the GRAID annotation by treating ne as a sub-constituent with a bound person marker:
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.

### 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 ʾōg 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.’

(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 . . .’

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* 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) #  
# 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).’

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 clause level, thus 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) #  
# if 2DL and sleep NEG2 
## neg other pro.2:s other v:pred other
## pro.2:a =lv v:pred ln np:p
‘If you don’t sleep at night, what you hear...’

(52) #  
# 2SG PERS.ART who 
## pro.2:s ln np:pred
‘Who are you?’

**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 vêvê-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.’

(54) # diô ma =n nînê nî-o-n e 
  # reach hither =ART house POSS.house-CS PERS.ART 
  ## rv rv =ln np:p rn rn rn 

‘Amaruô wo =n vêvê-ruô 
  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.’

The preposition biriî ‘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) # kamabô’ol biriî ên vêvê-maduô ’ôg-’ôgo 
  # 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.’

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 ên vus biriî 
  # 3DL =TAM2 go hold ART bow COM 
  ## pro.h:a =lv v:pred rv ln np:p 
  ên ’erê wô’iqê 
  ART PL arrow 
  adp ln ln np:obl 

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

(57) # 0 mom ’ kumruô biriî ên 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
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 0.2s other:2:voc vother:pred rv rv rv

‘But you guys paddle back here and come ashore...’

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 ‘āñsara
like =ART person
adp =ln np:h:obl

‘... that the reef, it had become like a human being.’
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 ‘ašara’ above includes <.h>. Where the same noun is used to refer to a spirit, it is glossed <.d>:

(60) # ‘ašara 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: …’

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 un-derived conjunctions like adverisitive/theme-shifting ba, coordinative wo, the
disjunction *si*, and subordinators like clause-combining *e*, 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 *qe*‘finish’ that occur clause-initially to mark causal or temporal relations between sentences:

(61) # da be di =m kalu ma
### other np:dt_s pros =lv v:pred rv
‘[The rain became really heavy.] And so the water came out [and carried away the trunk I live in].’

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 en qa near ve ane e
# CPL 3SG =TAM1 climb ART side rock DEM1.A
#cc other pros:a =lv v:pred ln np:p np np np dem1
‘And consequently he climbed up this rock wall.’

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
    en niñē
    ART house
    ln np:obl
    ‘He didn’t leave the house.’

(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 en 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 TAM 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) # dō di rōs
    # no 3SG GEN.NEG2
    ##ds.neg other pro.v:pred rv
    ‘No. (That’s) not him.’

### 3.2 Finite and non-finite clause constructions: \(<v> vs. <v:other>\)

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 \(<v:other>\)

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].’

(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.]’

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

Loc.SP  seaside
adp   np:g

‘… you guys run down to the sea [and look for a tree…]’

(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…’

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.

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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 qōn anē womarawraw ne
   # LOC =ART night DEM1 Spider TAM2:3SG
   ## adp =ln np:other rm 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).’

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 =èk lak-laka  
\# 3PL =TAM2 RED-dance  
## pro.h:s =lv v:pred  
‘Then they danced.’

b. \# dir =èm lak-laka ë  
\# 3PL =TAM1 RED-dance DEM3  
## pro.h:s =lv v:pred other  
‘[And as] they danced, . . .’

c. \# duru =k 'èn ma =n lumgav  
\# 3DL =TAM2 see hither =ART young.man  
## pro.h:a =lv v:pred rv =ln np.h:p  

ne vòwal  
NUM.ART NUM-one  
rn rn  
‘. . . [the two were hiding in the bush,] they (the two girls) spotted a young man.’

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 'èn vag-‘òl na-gi  
\# 3PL see ord-three ??-3SG  
## pro.h:a v:pred np:p rn  
‘They saw the third one.’

(74) a. \# 0 'èqel 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 munmunò  
\# 0 stone shatter  
## 0.h:a v:pred rv  
‘. . . smashed them open, . . .’
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).
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 \(<\text{other}>\). 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.’

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

(80) # nik ga môroš kur kamaduô
# 2SG STAT want devour 1DL.EX
##ds pro.2:a lv v:pred rv pro.1:p
‘You want to eat us.’

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 ‘ên # ’ôwôw ‘ên lôsô-gi
# 3SG =TAM1 see # before ART testicles-3SG
## pro.h:s =lv v:pred #cc other ln np:s-pro.h:poss

ga sag lê =n me’ênhê
STAT sit LOC =ART door
lv v:pred adp =ln np:d
‘Then he saw that before his [a giant’s] testicles had been sitting in the door(way).’

(79) # lê =n masôgi di ga môroš
# LOC =ART time 3SG STAT want
## adp =ln np:other pro.h:s lv v:pred
# 0 ne virgô
# 0 TAM2:3SG rush
#cc 0.h:S lv-pro.h:s v:pred
‘When he wanted to run away . . .’

Another case of fuzzy boundaries between complement clause construction and other structures is represented by the set of examples in (81–82).
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 $den$ lik $en$ 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
   $vọ\-wọl$ $\\bar{a}n\-\bar{e}'\-\bar{e}$
   NUM-one DEM1.A
   $\\bar{n}n$ $r\\bar{n}$_dem1
   ‘He flicked yet another one of those caves, …’

b. # $\\bar{A}n$ lie ne wak
   # =ART cave TAM2:3SG open
   ## =ln np:s lv-pro:s v:pred
   ‘… and the cave opened.’

(84) # $di$ ne $den$ lie $\\bar{A}n\-\bar{e}$
   # 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.’

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) # `òw` òw den ēn vēvē-ru ne
# before ABL ART mother-3DL TAM2:3SG dead
##ac other adp ln np.3D:pro.3D:poss lv-pro.3D: v:pred
# ma’ di =m rusō
# 3SG =TAM1 sick
## pro.3D: =lv v:pred

‘Before their mother died, she fell sick.’

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 gōsūwō ga
# ART basket # REL like =ART rat STAT
## ln np:dt_s ln #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.’
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 rm rn
    # dir ga ul 0 so Hiw
    # 3PL STAT call 0 QUOT Hiw
    rm,#rc pro.h:a lv v:pred 0:p other np:other
    ‘... at one island which is called Hiw ...’

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’ ēkēnē lē =n
    # 3DL probaly =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 rm rn rn
    ‘Probably they died there after many years, ...’ (lit. ‘in years that are still many.’)
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'ēnē ga wak
   # 2SG TAM2:2SG see ART door STAT open
   ## pro.2:a lv-pro.2:a v:pred ln np:p rm rn
   ‘You see an open door, [go in this door].’

b. # nik ē 'ēn # ēn mē'ēnē 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 rōn # 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.’

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

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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. # $e$ Dól so
   # PERS.ART D. QUOT
   ## In np.h:s other:pred
   ‘After a while Dól said: …’

b. # $o$ no man $qê’$
   # 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.’

(94) a. # 0 so
   # 0 QUOT
   ## 0.h:s other:pred
   ‘(He) said: …’

b. # $ba$ ruwa $mê$ $=n$ ‘$isiruô$
   # but two.people DAT =ART same.sex.sibl-3DL
   ##ds other np.h:voc rm $=rn$ rm
Vera’a | annotation notes

# kumru \(=k\) vanvan a vië
# 2DL \(=\text{TAM2 RED:go LOC.SP where}\)
##ds pro.2:s \(=l\v\text{pred adp other:g}\)

‘. . . 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 \(=\text{TAM2 RED:search POSS.DOM-1DL.EX}\)
    ##ds pro.1:a \(=l\v\text{pred ln-pro.1:poss}\)

e. raw
    ART hermaphrodite.pig
    ln np:p

  ‘. . . We are looking for an intra-sex pig for us.’

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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 \(<\#\text{nc}\>\), as in (95).

(95)  # e raga amē \(=k\) sik durūō
    # PERS.ART people DEM1.A \(=\text{TAM2 search 3DL}\)
    ## ln np.h:a rm \(=l\v\text{pred pro.h:p}\)

  ‘Then everybody was looking for them, looking for them, looking for them, looking for them, on and on . . .’

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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

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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  
=ART mōgi =n ninē  
=ART POSS.house-3SG =ART house  
=In ln-pro.h:poss =ln np:g  
‘Then they pushed her into her house.’  

(97) # nik ga mōrōs kur kamadūō  
# 2SG STAT want devour 1DL.EX  
##ds pro.2:a lv v:pred rv pro.1:p  
‘You want to eat us.’  

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 munmunūō  
# 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.’  

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


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). Below is a list of Vera’a-specific and standard LRG glosses used in glossing of Vera’a texts.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>exponents</th>
<th>category</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>comment</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>ABIL1</td>
<td>ability</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ABIL2</td>
<td>ablative preposition</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablatve prep</td>
<td>ablatve preposition</td>
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<td>=(e)n</td>
<td>ART</td>
<td>common article</td>
<td>inherently enclitic, introduces common NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘amèn, ‘alèn</td>
<td>ASS</td>
<td>associative</td>
<td>associative prepositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘a</td>
<td>ASS.SP</td>
<td>specific associative</td>
<td>associative prepositions</td>
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<tr>
<td>ᵐ</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>clause-combining</td>
<td>clause-combining particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>biriṅ</td>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>construction restart after false start</td>
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<td>-n</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>construct suffix</td>
<td>possessive suffix</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>dative preposition</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td>DEL</td>
<td>delimitative</td>
<td>post-verbal delimitative aktionsart</td>
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<td>DEM1</td>
<td>basic dem 1</td>
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<td>anè</td>
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<td>pref. basic dem 1</td>
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<td>DEM2</td>
<td>basic dem 2</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D</td>
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<td>DEM1.A</td>
<td>pref. basic dem 1</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᶞ</td>
<td>DEM3</td>
<td>pref. dem 1</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D</td>
</tr>
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<td>nei</td>
<td>DEM4</td>
<td>dissociative</td>
<td>dissociative possessive suffix, possessor</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ge</td>
<td>DIS</td>
<td>dissociative</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>DISC</td>
<td>discourse particle</td>
<td>discourse-structuring function; probably new paragraph, theme</td>
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<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>emphatic particle, can have focus-marking effect</td>
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<td>me</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>predicates refer to events in posterior to CT; cf. Appendix A</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>GEN, NEG1</td>
<td>general negation 1</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rös</td>
<td>GEN, NEG2</td>
<td>general negation 2</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mak</td>
<td>IMM</td>
<td>immediacy</td>
<td>hesitation phenomenon (particles, pauses, dots, etc.) predicate expresses soa immediately anterior or posterior to CT</td>
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<tr>
<td>mas</td>
<td>INABIL2</td>
<td>inability</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
<td>used to cover various types of interjection</td>
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<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative prep</td>
<td>locative preposition</td>
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<td>LOC, DEM1</td>
<td>locative adv 1</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D for explanations and comments on demonstratives</td>
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<td>LOC, DEM2</td>
<td>locative adv 2</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēnei</td>
<td>LOC, DEM4</td>
<td>locative adv 4</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>LOC, SP</td>
<td>specific loc. prep</td>
<td>specific locative preposition; marks specific locative expressions</td>
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<td>MAN, DEM1</td>
<td>manner adv 1</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D for explanations and comments on demonstratives</td>
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<td>MAN, DEM1.A</td>
<td>pref. manner adv 1</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esenē</td>
<td>MAN, DEM1.E</td>
<td>pref. manner adv 1</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>segēn</td>
<td>MAN, DEM2</td>
<td>manner adv 2</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D</td>
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<td>derives iterative adverbs</td>
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<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>nominalisation</td>
<td>usually reduplication in nouns; occasionally simply ‘red-’</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSG</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
<td>reduplication in nouns; occasionally simply ‘red-’</td>
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<tr>
<td>vō</td>
<td>numeral prefix</td>
<td>fossilised prefix ‘red-’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>numeral article</td>
<td>introduces numeral phrases (NumPs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'èn</td>
<td>‘not yet’ negation</td>
<td>occurs in right periphery of VC</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ordinal quantifier</td>
<td>seems to resemble poss. classifier</td>
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<td>partitive article</td>
<td>restricted to particular types of poss. constructions</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>personal article</td>
<td>not specified for sexus</td>
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<tr>
<td>erō</td>
<td>personal article</td>
<td>specialised form for female referents</td>
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<td>man</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>predicates refer to events anterior to CT; cf. Appendix A</td>
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<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>category of person marker, cooccurs with person, clusivity gloss</td>
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<tr>
<td>'erē</td>
<td>plurailizer</td>
<td>free particle, used on its own</td>
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<tr>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>poss. clf ‘bedding’</td>
<td>classifier for ‘bedding’ possession (bed, pillow, sheets, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>no-</td>
<td>poss. clf ‘domestic’</td>
<td>classifier for ‘domestic’ possession (animals, crops, personal etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>poss. clf ‘drink’</td>
<td>classifier for ‘drink’ possession (water, kava, etc.; juicy fruit)</td>
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<td>go-</td>
<td>poss. clf ‘eat’</td>
<td>classifier for ‘eating’ possession (food, diseases)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>poss. clf ‘general’</td>
<td>classifier for unspecified possessive relationship</td>
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<td>description</td>
<td>comment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‑ mo‑</td>
<td>POSS.HOUSE</td>
<td>poss. clf ‘house’</td>
<td>classifier for ‘housing possession’ (house, door(way), window etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>bolo‑</td>
<td>POSS.VAL</td>
<td>poss. clf ‘valuable’</td>
<td>classifier for ‘possession of customarily valuable items’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ko‑</td>
<td>POSS.VES</td>
<td>poss. clf ‘vessel’</td>
<td>classifier for ‘vessel possession’ (canoe, boat, truck, plane)</td>
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<td>PROH1</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṛos</td>
<td>PROH2</td>
<td>prospective marker</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A</td>
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<td>so</td>
<td>PROSP</td>
<td></td>
<td>might overlap with complementation, quotative, etc.</td>
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<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
<td>reciprocal prefix</td>
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<tr>
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<td>RED</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
<td>different functions, non-singular, imperfective, distributive</td>
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<td>relativizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal</td>
<td>REM.PST</td>
<td>remote past</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=s</td>
<td>SIM</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>predicate expresses soa simultaneous with other soa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga</td>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>stative TAM marker</td>
<td>predicates express habitual, generic soas, properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=m</td>
<td>TAM1</td>
<td>TAM1</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne, =k, ṥ</td>
<td>TAM2</td>
<td>TAM2</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va’anē</td>
<td>TEMP.DEM1</td>
<td>time adv 1</td>
<td>cf. Appendix A for explanations and comments on demonstratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va’aqēn</td>
<td>TEMP.DEM2</td>
<td>time adv 2</td>
<td>cf. Appendix D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge</td>
<td>THING</td>
<td>placeholder word</td>
<td>has either context-retrievable specific or non-specific reference probably genuinely trial rather than paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TL</td>
<td>trial</td>
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Table A. Morphological glosses for Vera’a
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.

### Table B. Vera’a free personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative exponents</th>
<th>category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=m</td>
<td>TAM1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=k, ề, ne</td>
<td>TAM2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mak</td>
<td>immediacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
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<td>=s</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
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<td>man</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal</td>
<td>remote past</td>
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<td>me . . . thèse</td>
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<table>
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<th>negative exponents</th>
<th>category</th>
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<td>(e) ... rôs</td>
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<td>mak</td>
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<td>ga</td>
<td>‘not yet’</td>
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<td>‘not yet’</td>
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<tr>
<td>mal</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me . . . thèse</td>
<td>disability</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**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 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 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 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.
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 summarise 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.