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Multi-CAST Vera’a annotation notes v1.1 last updated 8 May 2019
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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). It corresponds to version 1905 of the annotations, published in May 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 subconstituents are all glossed as such. In the following I outline the basic structure of the Vera’a language alongside their handling in GRAID annotations.

2.1 Clause structure and syntactic functions

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

2.1.1 Verbal clauses and syntactic functions

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

(1)  ne maran
      TAM2:3SG daylight
      # lv-pro:_s v:pred

‘(And then) it became daylight.’

[mc_veraa_isam_0032]

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

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

‘(And then) the woman got pregnant.’

[mc_veraa_pala_0003]
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 \(\text{diē}\)
3pl \(-\text{TAM1}\) kill 3sg
\#
pro.h:a =lv v:pred pro.h:p

‘They killed him.’

(6) du\(\text{ru}\) \(-k\) kal ba\(\text{a}\) kel sarē
3dl \(-\text{TAM2}\) enter into back in
\#
pro.h:s =lv v:pred rv rv other:1

‘Then the two went ashore again.’

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

(7) dir \(-\text{ēk}\) qērē ba\(\text{a}\) di sar lē \(-n\)
3pl \(-\text{TAM2}\) push into 3sg in LOC \(-\text{ART}\)
\#
pro.h:a =lv v:pred rv pro.h:p rv adp =ln

\(\text{rō}\) mo -\(\text{gi}\) \(-n\) ni\(\text{mē}\)
poss.house -3sg \(-\text{ART}\) house
ln -\(\text{rn}\) pro.h:poss =ln np:g

‘They pushed her into her house.’

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 \textit{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:
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) \( ba \ _{n} \ gasel \ ga \ ʾōg\ ʾōg \ mē-n \ e \ Janet \)

but \( =_{ART} \) knife \( =_{STAT} \) red:stay \( DAT-CS \) PERS.ART J.

\[ \text{'The knife is with Janet.' (elicited)} \]

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

(11) \( ne \ \_n \ ʾālā \ ʾālā \ mē-n \ e \ Janet \)

\[ \text{‘... took a breadfruit and gave her one (as well)’} \]

(12) \( duru \ _{k} \ . . . \ sor \ mē \ duru \ _{n} \ gogov \)

\[ \text{‘The two put their clothes on.’} \]

(13) \( Tumeren \ _{n} \ ʾālā \ mē \ dirē \)

\[ \text{‘Then Tumeren said to them...’} \]
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 mor-
pmorphology, 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 sem-
antic role ⟨:obl⟩.

(14) kamam mi’ir lē =n qaāris
1PL.EX:TAM1 sleep LOC =ART oven
## 0.pro.1s v:pred adp =ln np:l
‘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) man kalu den ēn wio
ZER0 PFV exit ABL ART bamboo
## 0.h:s lv v:pred adp ln np:obl

‘(They) had already come out of the bamboo, they had already come down.’

(16) ba di ga mana ’i lē =n raw wuva
but 3sg STAT magical DEL LOC =ART hermaphrodite.pig only
## other pro.1s lv v:pred rv adp =ln np:obl other
‘But it [i.e. some water] is magic only through a hermaphrodite pig.’

The glossing of oblique PP arguments as either ⟨:l⟩, ⟨:g⟩, or ⟨:obl⟩ follows semantic role consid-
erations 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 qōn
1SG =TAM1 go hither LOC =ART night
## 0.pro.1s =lv v:pred rv adp =ln np:other
‘…I came here last night, (but then where were you guys?)’

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) \[ n \, kaka \, agēnē \, dī \, \text{ART} \, \text{story} \, \text{DEM2} \, 3sg \, =\text{ART} \, \text{story} \, \text{ voice} \, \text{spirit} \]
\[ \#\# \, \text{ln} \, \text{np}:\text{dt}_s \, \text{rn} \, \text{pro}:s \, =\text{ln} \, \text{np}:\text{pred} \, \text{rn} \, \text{rn} \]

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

(19) \[ ba \, kumru \, 'ā' \, =\text{n} \, wōvinga \]
\[ \text{but} \, \text{2DL} \, \text{with} =\text{ART} \, \text{coconut.shell} \]
\[ \#\# \, \text{other} \, \text{pro.2:s} \, \text{adp} \, =\text{ln} \, \text{np}:\text{pred} \]

‘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) and (21):

(20) \[ qōn \, ne \, vō-wal \, 'erē \, 'aṅsar \, 'a \, Lēmērig \]
\[ \text{day} \, \text{NUM:ART} \, \text{NUM:one} \, \text{PL person} \, \text{LOC:SP} \, \text{L.} \]
\[ \#\# \, \text{np}:\text{other} \, \text{rn} \, \text{rn} \, \text{l1} \, \text{np}:\text{pred} \, \text{rn} \, \text{rn_np} \]

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

(21) \[ =\text{n} \, lañ \, vus \, m \, vus \, kacam \, ē \, =\text{n} \, mar \]
\[ \text{=ART} \, \text{wind} \, \text{hit} \, \text{real} \, \text{hit} \, \text{1PLEX} \, \text{CC} \, =\text{ART} \, \text{famine} \]
\[ \#\# \, =\text{ln} \, \text{np:a} \, \text{r1} \, \text{v:pred} \, \text{pro.1:p} \, \# \, \text{other} \, =\text{ln} \, \text{np}:\text{pred} \text{ex} \]

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

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) \[ e \, Dōl \, so \, # \, o \, no \, man \, qē' \]
\[ \text{pers:ART} \, \text{D} \, \text{QUOT} \, \# \, \text{no} \, \text{1sg} \, \text{pfv} \, \text{finish} \]
\[ \#\# \, \text{ln} \, \text{np:h:s} \, \text{other:pred} \, \text{ds} \, \text{other} \, \text{pro.1:s} \, \text{1v} \, \text{v:pred} \]

‘Dōl said: ‘No, I am done. [The kava has already made me drunk.]’
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)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{dir} & \text{ne} & \text{gitag} & \text{lē} = n & \text{bo-re} \\
3pl & \text{not.exist} & \text{loc} & = \text{ART} & \text{poss.bed-3pl} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{##neg} & \text{pro.h:s} & \text{other:pred} & \text{adp} & = \text{ln} & \text{np:1} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They are not in their beds.’

(26)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{n} & \text{qoro-giluwo} & \text{bēne} & \text{suwei} \\
\text{ART} & \text{hole-3sg} & \text{big} & \text{exist} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{##} & \text{ln} & \text{np:s} & \text{rn} & \text{other:predex} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘It had a big hole at the bottom.’ [lit. ‘A big hole of it existed at the bottom.’]

### 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)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{n} & \text{nuō} & \text{di} & = m & \text{lañłañ} & \text{en} & \text{bini} & -gi \\
\text{ART} & \text{turtle} & 3sg & = \text{TAM1} & \text{RED:SLAP} & \text{ART} & \text{hand/arm} & -3sg \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{##} & \text{ln} & \text{np.d:dt-a} & \text{pro.d:a} & = \text{lv} & \text{v:pred} & \text{ln} & \text{np:p} & -\text{rn.pro.d:poss} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘And when Turtle had clapped his hands,…’

(28)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{no} & \text{no} & \text{me} & \text{sag} & \text{irwur} \\
1sg & 1sg & \text{FUT} & \text{sit} & \text{behind} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{##} & \text{pro.1:dt-s} & \text{pro.1:s} & \text{lv} & \text{v:pred} & \text{rv} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘[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) and (28). I assume here that a left-dislocated expression may correlate with an object function that receives zero expression within the clause, glossing it ⟨:dt_p⟩ and the clause-internal object as ⟨0:p⟩. These are entirely analogous to instances where the object function is expressed by a pronoun:

(29) \[ \textit{lavet vō-wal anē dir } \textit{=ēm gis} \]

feast NUM-one DEM1.A 3PL =TAM1 hold

# np:dt_p =n pro.h:a =lv v:pred

'This feast, they held (it).'

(30) \[ \textit{e ruwa re-reñe anē duru } \textit{=m} \]

pers.art two.people NSG-woman DEM1.A 3DL =TAM1

# ln np.h:dt_p =n pro.h:a =lv

də 'ō' duruō

da with 3DL

v:pred rv pro.h:p

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

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) \[ \textit{... di } \textit{=m le } \textit{nī'i } \textit{‘añana ‘a } \textit{...} \]

3SG =TAM1 transfer =ART small man hes

# pro.h:a =lv v:pred =ln np.h:p =n nc

’siśhēre anē ...’

second.born DEM1.A

np.h:appos =n

'(When) she gave birth to the boy, the second born, ...'

(32) \[ \textit{e Qo’ dirē man ‘ēgēl} \]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>expression</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>alt. gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>common NP</td>
<td>⟨np⟩</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal NP</td>
<td>⟨np⟩</td>
<td>⟨pro⟩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative NP</td>
<td>⟨np⟩</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral phrase</td>
<td>⟨np⟩</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal expression</td>
<td>⟨pro⟩</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free pronoun</td>
<td>⟨pro⟩</td>
<td>⟨wpro⟩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bound person marker</td>
<td>⟨-pro⟩</td>
<td>⟨pro⟩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb, demonstrative</td>
<td>⟨other⟩</td>
<td>⟨pro⟩</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ə=n which may be omitted in clause initial position. Examples can be found in (29–32) above, and elsewhere in this document. They are glossed as ⟨np⟩.

2.2.2  Personal NPs

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

(33) so e Qo’ ne mulō
    pers.art pers.name tam2:sg go
    # other ln np.h:s lv-pro_h_s v:pred
‘(And now) Qo’ was about to go home.’ [mc_veraa_jjq_0040]
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
pers.art 1sg
# ln pro.1:s other:pred
'\textit{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, for example a place name, and commonly function as the complement of the specific locative preposition \textit{a}. Locative NPs are simply glossed ⟨np⟩ in GRAID annotations. Two examples:

(36)
```
sul di ga 'og a lo
folk 3sg stay loc.sp seaside
# np:h:dt pro.h:s lv v:pred adp np:l
'The people who lived down at the sea, …'
```

(37)
```
ba duru ga 'og a Lēmērig
but 3dl stay loc.sp Lemērig
# other pro.h:s lv v:pred adp np:l
'The two lived at Lēmērig.'
```

2.2.4 Numeral phrases

Numeral phrases are optionally introduced by the numeral article \textit{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 vo-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.'
```

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>trial/paucal</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; incl.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(gi)du(ō)</td>
<td>(gi)dō’ōl</td>
<td>(gi)dē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; excl.</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>ka(ma)du(ō)</td>
<td>ka(ma)m’ōl</td>
<td>ka(ma)m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nik(ē)</td>
<td>kumru(ō)</td>
<td>kimi’ōl</td>
<td>kimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>di(ē)</td>
<td>duru(ō)</td>
<td>dir’ōl</td>
<td>dir(ē)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dir} & = \text{m} \quad \text{vus} \quad \text{diē} \\
3\text{PL} & = \text{TAM1} \quad \text{kill} \quad 3\text{SG} \\
\# & \quad \text{pro.h:a} = \text{lv} \quad \text{v:pred} \quad \text{pro.h:p}
\end{align*}
\]
‘They killed him.’  
[mc_veraa_iswm_0208]

(40) ...
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{no} & \quad \text{mak} \quad \text{‘aram} \quad \text{enteg} \quad \text{mē} \quad \text{nikē} \\
1\text{SG} & \quad \text{IMM} \quad \text{tell} \quad \text{well} \quad \text{DAT} \quad 2\text{SG} \\
\# & \quad \text{pro.1:s} \quad \text{lv} \quad \text{v:pred} \quad \text{rv} \quad \text{adp} \quad \text{pro.2:g}
\end{align*}
\]
‘… 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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{du} & = \text{k} \quad \text{gen} \quad \text{qe’} \quad \text{gēdu} \quad \text{mak} \quad \text{mulō} \\
1\text{DL.IN} & = \text{TAM2} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{finish} \quad 1\text{DL.IN} \quad \text{IMM} \quad \text{go} \\
\# & \quad \text{wpro.1:s} = \text{lv} \quad \text{v:pred} \quad \text{rv} \quad \# & \quad \text{pro.1:s} \quad \text{lv} \quad \text{v:pred} \quad \text{pro.1:s}
\end{align*}
\]
‘… 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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kamam’ōl} & \quad \text{biriī} \quad \text{ēn} \quad \text{vêvē} \quad \text{-maduō} \quad \text{’ōg-’ōgo} \\
1\text{LEX} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{mother} \quad -1\text{DL.EX} \quad \text{RED-stay} \\
\# & \quad \text{pro.1:s} \quad \text{rn} \quad \text{rn} \quad \text{rn_np.h} \quad -\text{rn_pro.1:poss} \quad \text{v:pred}
\end{align*}
\]
‘We two, together with our (two) mother, will stay behind.’  
[mc_veraa_mvbw_0127]
Possessive suffixes are glossed as bound person markers, \( (-rn\text{\_pro}) \) or \( (-ln\text{\_pro}) \). 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 \( (ln\ -ln\text{\_pro}) \) and \( (rn\ rn\text{\_pro}) \) respectively. Examples:

(43) \text{INTERJ}\ 1DL.EX\ DEM1.A =TAM1 go hither \text{for} 2SG DEM1.A
## other\ pro.1:s\ rn =lv\ v:pred\ rv\ adp\ pro.2:g\ rn
\text{'We two have come just for you.' [mc_veraa_pala_0061]}

(44) \text{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\text{\_pro.h:poss}
\text{'Then they tied up their canoes.' [mc_veraa_jjq_0032]}

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

(46) \text{\text{ART}\ devil\ PFV\ devour\ EMPH\ ART\ two\ people}
## ln\ np.d:a\ lv\ v:pred\ other\ ln\ ln
\text{ni-ni'i\ -duō\ ē}
\text{RED:child\ -1DL.IN\ DEM3}
np.h:p\ -rn\text{\_pro.1:poss}\ rn
\text{'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:
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 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.’

(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 ...’

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 deic (Deixis am Phantasma in narratives) or discourse-deictic reference. They are always glossed ⟨dem_pro⟩, as in (50).
Almost all other demonstrative forms are derived from these two basic forms. They occur either as satellites in NPs, glossed simply ⟨rn_dem⟩, or as modifiers on the clause level, then glossed ⟨other(_dem)⟩. The addition of ⟨_dem⟩ is not done consistently in these latter cases.

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

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

kumru =m rōn̄ ēn sava ...
2DL =TAM1 hear ART what

‘If you don’t sleep at night, what you hear...’

(52) nikē e sē
2sg pers.art who

‘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, 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.’

(54) diṅ ma =n niṅē mō-n e ’amaruō wo =n
reach hither =art house poss.house-cs pers.art father-3dl and =art

rv rv =ln np:p rn rn rn_np.h:poss rn =rn

vēvē-ruō
mother-3dl
rn_np.h:poss

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

The preposition birin ‘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):
‘We two, together with our (two) mother, will stay behind.’

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:

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

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

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).

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

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:
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 ‘ainspect’ above includes ⟨.h⟩. Where the same noun is used to refer to a spirit, it is glossed ⟨.d⟩:

‘... 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 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 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:
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).

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)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{di} & \text{e} & \text{ka-kalu} & \text{rōs} & \text{den} & \text{ēn} & \text{nīnē} \\
\text{3SG} & \text{gen.neg1} & \text{red-exit} & \text{gen.neg2} & \text{ABL} & \text{ART} & \text{house} \\
\#\text{neg} & \text{pro.h:s} & \text{1v} & \text{v:pred} & \text{rv} & \text{adp} & \text{ln} & \text{np:obl} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He didn’t leave the house.’

(64)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{a.} & \text{nik} & \text{e} & \text{Wowōt} & \text{wuva} & \text{rōs} \\
\text{2SG} & \text{gen.neg1} & \text{W} & \text{only} & \text{gen.neg2} \\
\#\text{neg} & \text{pro.2:s} & \text{1v} & \text{v:pred} & \text{rv} & \text{rv} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You are not Wowōt for no reason,…’

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{b.} & \text{ba} & \text{nik} & \text{Wowōt} & \text{sir} & \text{ēn} & \text{sava} \\
\text{but} & \text{2SG} & \text{W} & \text{because} & \text{ART} & \text{what} \\
\#\text{other} & \text{pro.2:s} & \text{np.h:pred} & \text{adp} & \text{ln} & \text{np:other} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘…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 \(\langle v:\text{pred}\rangle\) gloss (rather than \(\langle np:\text{pred}\rangle\)) 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:

\begin{verbatim}
(65)  ō di rōs
      no 3SG GEN.NEG2
   #ds.neg other pro_v:pred rv

‘No. (That’s) not him.’
\end{verbatim}

### 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 \(\text{‘alēn}\).

#### 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 \(\langle \text{vother} \rangle\). Overt subject pronouns may nevertheless occur, and thus where no overt subject appears a zero argument is glossed:

\begin{verbatim}
(66)  nik van ma lē -n kolo -k
      2SG go hither LOC =ART back -1SG
   #ds pro.2:s vother:pred rv adp =ln np:g -rn_pro.1:poss

‘Come onto my back, [and then we go].’
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(67)  dam mululum qē’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.]’
\end{verbatim}

The same applies to non-singular subjects. Here, the pluralising particle \(\text{‘erē}\) occurs adjacent to the verbal head. It is glossed \(\langle \text{other} \rangle\) (cf. Section 2.2.6 above), and its function is rendered as vocative,\(\langle :\text{voc} \rangle\):

\begin{verbatim}
(68)  kimi \(\text{‘erē}\) vrig qēl wal row
      pro.2:pl other:voc vother rv rv rv
   #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...].’
\end{verbatim}
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.

\[(70)\]

(70) a. \(\text{di} \ so \ ne \ kal \ ba’ \ lē = n \ qoro \ lie \ ’alēn\)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
3SG & PROSP & TAM:2SG & enter & into & = ART & hole & cave & ASS
\end{array}
\]

# pro:hs 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. \(\text{ga} \ le = n \ ve’ \ tiklik \ ’alēn\)

\[
\begin{array}{lllllllllll}
\text{STAT} & \text{take} & = ART & \text{stone} & \text{small} & \text{PURP}
\end{array}
\]

#cc:other lv vother:pred =ln np:p rn adp

\[
\begin{array}{lllllllllll}
g \ van \ ma
\end{array}
\]

STAT go hither

#cc:other lv vother:pred rv

‘... in order to collect small stones to bring them and [smash open his canarium nuts.]’

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:

\[(71)\]

(71) a. \(\text{womarawraw} \ ne \ ’ōg \ ’i\)

\[
\begin{array}{lllllllllll}
\text{Spider} & TAM:2SG & stay & del
\end{array}
\]

# np:d:s 1v-pro_d_s v:pred rv

‘And so Spider stayed behind.’

b. \(’ōg \ ’i\)

\[
\begin{array}{lllllllllll}
\text{zero} & \text{stay} & \text{del}
\end{array}
\]

# 0:d:s v:pred rv

‘Stayed behind,...’

c. \(\text{lē} = n \ qōn̄ \ anē \ womarawraw \ ne \ dur\)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{LOC} & = ART & \text{night} & \text{DEM1} \ Spider & TAM:2SG & hollow & \text{ZERO}
\end{array}
\]

# adp =ln np:other rn np:d:a 1v-pro_d_a 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. \begin{verbatim}
dir  =ēk  lak-laka  \\
3PL  =TAM2  RED-dance  \\
#  pro.h:s  =lv  v:pred  \\
‘Then they danced.’
\end{verbatim}

b. \begin{verbatim}
dir  =ēm  lak-laka  ē  ...  \\
3PL  =TAM1  RED-dance  DEM3  \\
#  pro.h:s  =lv  v:pred  other  \\
‘[And as] they danced,…’
\end{verbatim}

c. \begin{verbatim}
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.’
\end{verbatim}

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)  \begin{verbatim}
dir  'ēn  vag-'ōl  na-qi  \\
3PL  see  ord-three  ??-3sg  \\
#  pro.h:a  v:pred  np:p  rn  \\
‘They saw the third one.’
\end{verbatim}

(74)  a. \begin{verbatim}
'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,…’
\end{verbatim}

b. \begin{verbatim}
bul  munmunō  \\
ZERO  stone  shatter  \\
#  0.h:a  v:pred  rv  \\
‘…smashed them open,…’
\end{verbatim}

c. \begin{verbatim}
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.’
\end{verbatim}

(75)  \begin{verbatim}
kamabō'ōl  briñi  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.’
\end{verbatim}

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 TAM 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 GRAI-D-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 ū galala
 2SG STAT want CPL 2SG TAM2:2SG know
  #1 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 ū ’ēn so =n naw di =m
 2SG TAM2 see CPL =ART saltwater 3SG =TAM1
  #1 pro.2:s lv-pro_2_s v:pred #cc other =ln np:dt pro:s =1v
  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)  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{no} & \text{ga} & \text{mōrōs} \\
\text{1sg} & \text{v:pred} \\
\hline
\text{#ds} & \text{pro.1:s} & \text{lv} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{no} & =k & \text{kaka} & \text{biriǐn} & \text{nikē} \\
\text{1sg} & \text{=tam2} & \text{talk} & \text{with} & \text{2sg} \\
\hline
\text{#ds_cc} & \text{pro.1:s} =lv & \text{v:pred} & \text{adp} & \text{pro.2:obl} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I want to talk to you.'  

(79)  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{lē} & =n & \text{masōgi} & \text{di} & \text{ga} & \text{mōrōs} \\
\text{loc} & \text{=art} & \text{time} & \text{3sg} & \text{v:pred} \\
\hline
\text{## adp} & \text{=ln} & \text{np:other} & \text{pro.h:s} & \text{lv} & \text{v:pred} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ne} & \text{vrigō} \\
\text{zero tam2:3sg} & \text{rush} \\
\hline
\text{#cc} & \text{0.h:S} & \text{lv-pro_h_s} & \text{v:pred} \\
\end{array}
\]

'When he wanted to run away ...'

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)  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nik} & \text{ga} & \text{mōrōs} & \text{kur} & \text{kamaduō} \\
\text{2sg} & \text{v:pred} & \text{devour} & \text{1pl.ex} \\
\hline
\text{#ds} & \text{pro.2:a} & \text{lv} & \text{v:pred} & \text{rv} & \text{pro.1:p} \\
\end{array}
\]

'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) and (82).

(81)  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{di} & =m & \text{’en} & \text{’ow’ōw} & \text{én} & \text{lösō} & -gi & \text{ga} & \text{sag} \\
\text{3sg} & \text{=tam1} & \text{see} & \text{before} & \text{art} & \text{testicles} & -3sg & \text{v:pred} & \text{sit} \\
\hline
\text{## pro.h:s} & =lv & \text{v:pred} & \text{#cc other ln np:s} & -rn_pro.h:poss & \text{lv} & \text{v:pred} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{lē} & =n & \text{mē’emē} \\
\text{loc} & \text{=art} & \text{door} \\
\hline
\text{adp} & \text{=ln} & \text{np:1} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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 com-
plex 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.
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 a syndetic relative clauses are given in (86) and (87) together with GRAID glossing. The relativizer $a$ is glossed $\langle \text{other} \rangle$. Where a relative clause appears centre-embedded, its end is marked by $\langle % \rangle$, as in (87).

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 $\langle \theta \rangle$, as in (88).
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:1 adp =ln np:other rn

mēw va’a
many still
rn rn
‘Probably they died there after many years,…’ [lit. ‘in years that are still many.’]

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:2
## pro.2:a 1v-pro_2_a v:pred ln np:p rn rn
‘You see an open door, [go in this door].’

b. nik ē ’ēn ēn mē’ēmē ga wak
2SG TAM2:2SG see ART door STAT:2
## pro.2:s 1v-pro_2_s v:pred #cc ln np:s 1v v:pred
‘You see (that) the door is open, [you may go in].’

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) \( di \ ne \ rōn \ =s \ ra-rara \)
3sg TAM2:3sg feel ZERO =SIM RED-cry
## pro.d:a 1v-pro_d:a v:pred #rc.h:p 0.h:s 1v 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 \( \langle \text{other} \rangle \), as in (92).

(92) \( n \ maru \ -ru \ ne \ tēk \ mē \ duru \ so \)
ART uncle -3DL ne TAM2:3sg say DAT 3DL QUOT
## ln np.h:s_ds -rn_pro.h:poss 1v-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 \( \langle \#ds \rangle \). 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 \( \langle 0 \rangle \), where the \( \langle _{ds} \rangle \) 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 \( \langle \text{other:pred} \rangle \). 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 1v v:pred

'Oh, I’m done.'

c. \( n \ gie \ man \ man \ no \)
ART kava PFV stimulate 1SG
##ds ln np:a 1v 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.’

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 …’

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 $\langle v: \text{pred} \rangle$ gloss, other constituents being treated as additional sub-constituents, glossed $\langle rv \rangle$, as in (96) and (97). Note that in (96), an object pronoun occurs evidently inside the VC.

(96)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{dir} & =\text{êk} & \text{qêrê} & \text{ba’a} & \text{di} & \text{sar} & \text{lé} & =\text{n} \\
\text{3pl} & =\text{TAM2} & \text{push} & \text{into} & \text{3sg} & \text{bushwards} & \text{loc} & =\text{ART} \\
\# & \text{pro.h:a} & =\text{lv} & \text{v:pred} & \text{rv} & \text{pro.h:p} & \text{rv} & \text{adp} & =\text{ln} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{mo} & =\text{gì} & =\text{n} & \text{nîmê} \\
\text{poss.house} & =\text{3sg} & =\text{ART} & \text{house} \\
\text{ln} & =\text{rn.pro.h:poss} & =\text{ln} & \text{np:g} \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{Then they pushed her into her house.}'

(97)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{nik} & \text{ga} & \text{môrûs} & \text{kur} & \text{kamadû} \\
\text{2sg} & \text{stat} & \text{want} & \text{devour} & \text{1dlex} \\
\# & \text{ds} & \text{pro.2:a} & \text{lv} & \text{v:pred} & \text{rv} & \text{pro.1:p} \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{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)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{a.} & \text{êqel} & \text{suw} \text{ ma} \\
\text{zer} & \text{descend} & \text{down} & \text{hither} \\
\# & \text{0.h:s} & \text{v:pred} & \text{rv} & \text{rv} \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{[He climbed the tree, picked a few (fruits),] (then) came down, ...}'

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{b.} & \text{bul} & \text{munmunû} \\
\text{zer} & \text{stone} & \text{shatter} \\
\# & \text{0.h:a} & \text{v:pred} & \text{rv} \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{... smashed them open, ...}'

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{c.} & \text{le} & \text{mê} \text{ di} \\
\text{zer} & \text{transfer} & \text{zer} & \text{dat} \text{3sg} \\
\# & \text{0.h:a} & \text{v:pred} & \text{0.p} & \text{adp} & \text{pro.h:g} \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{... smashed them open and gave (some) to him.}'

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 $\text{ma}$ always occurs at the right margin of a VC.
References


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.
<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(ō)</td>
<td>-dō’ōl</td>
<td>-dē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st excl.</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-madu(ō)</td>
<td>-mam’ōl</td>
<td>-mam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-mr(ō)</td>
<td>-mi’ōl</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-g(ē)</td>
<td>-ru(ō)</td>
<td>-r’ōl</td>
<td>-rē</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual/plural</th>
<th>Trial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>=k</td>
<td>=k</td>
<td>=k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>=k</td>
<td>=k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>=k</td>
<td>=k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.4 Vera’a TAM2 person markers.
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-assertive 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

Clause boundary symbols

⟨_rn⟩  clausal subconstituent of a NP, to the right of the head; attaches to ⟨#rc⟩

Subconstituent symbols

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

Other symbols

⟨lv-pro⟩  bound verbal cross-index for the subject of the clause; reflects properties of the subject by combining with certain person/animacy symbols ⟨_1⟩, ⟨_2⟩, ⟨_h⟩, and ⟨_d⟩ and function symbols ⟨_s⟩, ⟨_s_ds⟩, and ⟨_a⟩, e.g. ⟨lv-pro_h_s⟩; should not be conflated with corresponding nominal forms

⟨nc_⟩  specifier: marks form glosses with RefIND indices in segments otherwise not considered (i.e. those marked ⟨#nc⟩)
## C List of abbreviated morphological glosses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First person</th>
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<th>Second person</th>
<th></th>
<th>Third person</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>ABIL1</td>
<td>ability; see Appendix A.1</td>
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<td>m̄as</td>
<td>ABIL2</td>
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<td>dissociative possessive suffix, possessor unspecified</td>
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<td>discourse particle; has discourse-structuring function, probably introduces a new paragraph or theme</td>
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<td>future TAM marker; predicates refer to events posterior to CT; see Appendix A.1</td>
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<td>hes</td>
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<td>hesitation; particles, pauses, ellipses, etc.</td>
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<td>interjection; covers various types</td>
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<td>NUM</td>
<td>numeral prefix; fossilized prefix for cardinal numbers</td>
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<td>numeral article; introduces numeral phrases (NumPs)</td>
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<td>NY.NEG2</td>
<td>'not yet' negation; occurs in right periphery of VC</td>
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<td>ORD</td>
<td>ordinal quantifier; resembles the possessive classifier</td>
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<td>PART</td>
<td>partitive article; restricted to particular types of possessive constructions</td>
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<td>PERS.ART</td>
<td>personal article; non specified for sex</td>
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<td>PERS.ART.F</td>
<td>personal article female; specialized form for female referents</td>
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<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective; predicates refer to events anterior to CT, see Appendix A.1</td>
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<td>PL</td>
<td>plural; category of the person marker, co-occurs with person and clusivity glosses</td>
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<td>pluralizer; free particle</td>
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<td>possessive classifier for ‘bedding possession’ (e.g. bed, pillow, sheets)</td>
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<td>POSS.CL</td>
<td>possessive classifier</td>
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<td>POSS.DOM</td>
<td>possessive classifier for ‘domestic possession’ (e.g. animals, crops, personal belongings)</td>
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<td>possessive classifier for ‘drink possession’ (e.g. water, kava, juicy fruit)</td>
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<td>POSS.EAT</td>
<td>possessive classifier for ‘eating possession’ (e.g. food; also diseases)</td>
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<td>POSS.GEN</td>
<td>possessive classifier for unspecifier possessive relationships</td>
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<td>POSS.HOUSE</td>
<td>possessive classifier for ‘housing possession’ (e.g. house, door(way), window)</td>
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<td>POSS.VAL</td>
<td>possessive classifier for ‘possession of customarily valuable items’</td>
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<td>POSS.VEs</td>
<td>possessive classifier for ‘vessel possession’ (e.g. canoes, boats, trucks, planes)</td>
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<td>prohibitive 1; see Appendix A.1</td>
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<td>PROH2</td>
<td>prohibitive 2</td>
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### Multi-CAST Vera’a annotation notes

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<th>prospective marker; might overlap with complementation, quotatives, etc.</th>
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<td>ver-</td>
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<td>reduplication; has different functions: non-singular, imperfective, distributive</td>
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<td>simultaneity; predicate expresses SOA simultaneous with other SOA</td>
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<td>stative TAM marker; predicates express habitual, generic SOAs and properties</td>
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<td>=m</td>
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<td>ne, =k ē</td>
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<td>TEMP.DEM1</td>
<td>va’anē</td>
<td>temporal adverb 1; see Appendix A.3</td>
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<td>va’anē</td>
<td>temporal adverb 2</td>
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<td>THING</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>placeholder word; has either context-retrievable specific or non-specific reference</td>
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<td>TL</td>
<td>trial; probably a genuine trial rather than paucal</td>
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<tr>
<td>NC</td>
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Multilingual Corpus of Annotated Spoken Texts

multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/