

free presentational copula;  
& used to draw attention to  
NPs in verbal clauses

strong association with  
definite Os;  
weaker association with  
indefinite Os & other roles

reanalysed as suffix to PGN  
markers;  
elsewhere remained free

reinterpretation as optional  
O marker;  
occasional S marker

PGN markers become  
obligatory in NPs

obligatorification of suffix in  
certain circumstances,  
usually on O NPs and  
marked S NPs

