

Grammaticalization and Pragmatic Inference: The Case of Insubordination

1. Introduction

- Korean has a large inventory of *cosa* (nominal morphology; postpositional particles) and *emi* (verbal morphology; endings for connection and termination). Lee & Lee (2010) list 2,056 grammatical forms (*emi* & *cosa*).
- Korean grammatical markers signal not only garden-variety grammatical notions but also diverse stance-related notions simultaneously, the latter being often difficult to pinpoint or label ('elaborateness', 'semantically elaborate categories' Kuteva & Comrie 2005, Kuteva 2009).

2. Preliminaries

- "silence" "connectives" "sentential endings"

2.1 Silence in interaction

- silence generally avoided in interaction but frequently occurs
- silence categorization in global and local contexts (Rhee 2008)

(1) Silence in global context

A. Non-initiation of dialogue

- (a) Cognitive/Epistemic Silence: "I don't have anything to speak to you about."
- (b) Conative/Affective Silence: "I don't want to speak to you."
- (c) Affective/Interactional Silence: "I don't need to speak to you."

B. No response (to implicit/explicit solicitation)

- (a) Cognitive/Epistemic Silence: "I have no information to add to what you say."
- (b) Interactional/Conative/Affective Silence: "I don't want to interact with you."

C. Discontinuation

- (a) Cognitive/Epistemic Silence: "I have no more to say."
- (b) Conative/Affective Silence: "I don't want to say any more."
- (c) Cognitive/Epistemic/Interactional Silence: "I don't need to tell you the rest." ☞

(2) Silence in local context (Ellipsis) ☞

[I don't need to tell you the rest]

- a. Cognitive Ellipsis: "You already know this (from some sources)."
- b. Cognitive/Interactional Ellipsis: "I already said this."
- c. Cognitive/Inferential/Interactional Ellipsis: "You can figure it out now."

2.2 Connectives

- not a category among the parts of speech (formally heterogeneous) (Lee 2008)
- diverse constructions often involving nominals, adnominals, locative particles, etc.

- (3) a. nominal connection: $-\emptyset$, $-(k)wa$, $-na$ ($-na$), $-hako$, $-lang$ ($-lang$), $-tunci$ ($-tunci$), ...
- b. verbal connection: $-ko$, $-se$, $-(u)n/(u)l/-nun/-ten$, $-tunci$, $-na$, $-kena$, $-nikka$, $-myen$... (also for complementation)

2.3 Sentential Endings

- Sentential endings comprise numerous sentence-final particles (verbal morphologies), marking TAM.
- Among the ultimate sentence-enders are the sentence-type markers (speech act markers).

(4) Sentence-Type Markers (a partial list)

Declarative: **-ta**, *-supnita*, *-suptita*, *-ney*, *-ui*, *-lsey*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-uo*, *-so*, *-ketun*, *-ntey*...

Interrogative: **-nya**, *-ni*, *-supnikka*, *-suptikka*, *-na*, *-nka*, *-lkka*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-uo*, *-so*...

Imperative: **-la**, *-ela*, *-sipsio*, *-key*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-uo*, *-kwulye*, *-lyem*, *-lyemuna*, *-sose*...

Hortative: **-ca**, *-psita*, *-sey*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-uo*, *-kwulye*...

- Sentence-type markers are modulated via honorification and politeness. (4-7 levels) (a partial list)

(5) A sample list of sentence enders by speech levels (modified from Sohn 2001[1999]: 355)

Speech level	DEC (Declarative)	INT (Interrogative)	IMP (Imperative)	HORT (Hortative)
Plain	<i>-(n)ta</i>	<i>-ni?/-nunya?</i>	<i>-ela/-ala</i>	<i>-ca</i>
Intimate	<i>-e/-a</i>	<i>-e?/-a?</i>	<i>-e/-a</i>	<i>-e/-a</i>
Familiar	<i>-ne-y</i>	<i>-na?/-nu-nka?</i>	<i>-ke-y</i>	<i>-se-y</i>
Blunt	<i>-(s)o</i>	<i>-(s)o?</i>	<i>-(u)o</i>	<i>-(u)p-si-ta</i>
Polite	<i>-e.yo/-a.yo</i>	<i>-e.yo?/-a.yo?</i>	<i>-e.yo/-a.yo</i>	<i>-e.yo/-a.yo</i>
Deferential	<i>-(su)p-ni-ta</i>	<i>-(su)p-ni-kka</i>	<i>-(u)si-p-si-o</i>	<i>-(u)si-p-si-ta</i>
Neutral	<i>-(n)-ta</i>	<i>-nu-nya</i>	<i>-(u)la</i>	<i>-ca</i>

- A large number of innovative SFPs in Korean arose from connectives through insubordination (Sohn 2003, Rhee 2012) (see Evans 2007, 2009, Evans & Watanabe 2016 for ‘insubordination’).
- Insubordination is very common in grammaticalization in Korean. (Sohn 1995, Park & Sohn 2002, Jung 2001, Rhee 2002, 2012, Koo & Rhee 2001, Koo 2005).
- Kim (2001: 147-151) lists 381 sentence-enders (183 DECs, 154 INTs, 27 IMPs, & 17 HORTs).
- Inferential meanings become semanticized on the utterance-final formants (i.e. connectives). (‘from silence to grammar’ Rhee 2002)

2.4 Pragmatic Inferencing in Grammaticalization

- Pragmatic inferencing is among the most prominent mechanisms of grammaticalization.
- ‘Context-Induced Reinterpretation’ (Heine et al. 1991): reconciles metaphor & metonymy in language change. (cf. Lessau ‘post hoc metaphor’ 1994: 672)

- (6) a. From Cologne to Vienna it is 600 miles.
 b. From Cologne to Vienna it is 10 hours by train.
 c. He was asleep all the way/all the time from Cologne to Vienna.
 d. To get to Vienna, you travel from morning to evening. (Heine et al. 1991: 164-165)

- (7) SPACE > SPACE/TIME > TIME

3. From Connectives to Sentential Endings: Case Studies

3.1 Contingency/Conditional connectives:

- contingency-marking connective *-nun tey* [-ADN place] (*-n tey*, if the host is an adjective)
- *tey*: ‘place’ > ‘at the place where’ > ‘while’ > ‘even though’ > ‘tell me more’ > ‘I have something to say’ > ‘I’m surprised’
- SPACE > TIME > TEXT > DISCOURSE > STANCE

- (8) a. *tey* n. ‘place’
ilha-nun tey-ka eti-y-a?
 work-ADN place-NOM where-be-END
 ‘Where do you work?’ (lit. ‘Where is the place that you work at?’)

b. *tey* n. 'place' / *-nuntey* CONN 'while'

ilha-nun tey *pwulphyenha-n* *ke* *eps-e?*
work-{ADN-place, while} be.inconvenient-ADN thing not.exist-END

(i) 'Don't you have any inconvenience at the place where you work?'

(ii) 'Don't you have any inconvenience while you work?'

c. *-nuntey* CONN 'while'

ilha-nuntey(-ey)* *cenhwa-ka* *o-ass-ta*
work-while(*-at) telephone-NOM come-PST-DEC

'The phone rang while (I was) working.'

d. *-nuntey* CONN 'while, even though'

ilha-nuntey *il-i* *an* *toy-n-ta*
work-CONN work-NOM NEG become-PRES-DEC

'Even though I'm trying, there is no progress with the work.'

(Lit. 'While/At the place where (I) work, work does not occur.')

e. *-nuntey* SFP 'elaboration request'

ne *encey* *ilpon* *ka-nuntey?*
you when Japan go-SFP

'When are you leaving for Japan (tell me more...)?'

f. *-nuntey* SFP 'agreement request'

nal-i *ceyep* *chwuwu-ntey*
weather-NOM pretty.much be.cold-SFP

'It is pretty cold, isn't it!'

g. *-nuntey* SFP 'mild disagreement/discontent'

na-to *khwukhi* *cohaha-nuntey*
I-too cookie like-SFP

'I too like cookies! (How come I don't get one)?'

h. *-nuntey* SFP 'counterexpectation, mirativity'

wa *wuli* *ttal* *nolay* *cal* *ha-nuntey*
wow our daughter song well do-SFP

'Wow, our daughter really sings well!

(I'm surprised)'

- Conditional connective: *-ketun* (Koo 1989a,b,c; Rhee 2002)

- *ketun* << *ke-tA-n* [Unperceived-place/thing/time-topic] (Koo 1989a,b; cf. Yoo 1980)

- 'if' > 'because' > 'background' 'reason' 'common ground' 'reluctance' 'now it's your turn'

- CONDITION > CAUSALITY > LOGIC > DISCOURSE > STANCE

(9) a. *-ketun* CONN 'if'

ku-ka *o-ketun* *i* *ton-ul* *cwu-ela*
he-NOM come-if this money-ACC give-IMP

'If he comes, give him this money.'

b. *-ketun* SFP 'reason'

A: [Why does he look so down?]

B: *ayin-i* *ttena-ss-ketun*
sweetheart-NOM leave-PST-SFP

'(It's) because his sweetheart left him.'

c. *-ketun* SFP 'topic presentation'

na-ø *ecey* *caymiiss-nun* *chayk-ul* *sa-ss-ketun.*
I-NOM yesterday be.interesting-ADN book-ACC buy-PST-SFP

'(You know what?) I bought an interesting book yesterday.'

d. *-ketun* SFP 'turn-yielder, common ground solicitation'

A: *cikum* *ayki-ka* *tases-sal-i-ketun-yo*
now baby-NOM 5-year-be-SFP-POL

'My child is now five years old. (You're with me, right?)'

B: *ney* 'yes'

A: *kuntey* *caknyen-ey* *Icha* *noyyemcwusa-lul* *macchwu-ess-ketun-yo*
then last.year-at first encephalitis.vaccination-ACC give-PST-SFP-POL

'And (I) got her the first encephalitis vaccination shot last year. (You're with me, right?)'

B: *ney* 'yes'

A: *kuntey* *olhay-ey-to* *tto* *macchwu-eyaha-nunci* *kwungkumha-ketun-yo*
then this.year-at-too again give-must-if wonder-SFP-POL

'And (I'm) wondering if we should get her another shot this year. (You're with me, right?)'

(Adapted from Lee 1996, re-cited from Koo & Rhee 2001: 15)

- e. *-ketun* SFP ‘turn-yielder, common ground solicitation, mildly apologetic, reluctance’
 A: [Hello? Who is this calling and where are you calling from?]
 B: *ney pongchentong-i-ntey-yo. ilum-un malha-kosiph-cianh-ketun-yo*
 yes [place.name]-be-SFP-POL name-TOP say-want-NEG-SFP-POL
 ‘Yes, (I’m calling from) Bongchundong. (But) I don’t want to tell you my name. (Please understand)’
- A: *ney, kulentey sengham-un malssumha-ycwu-sy-eyaha-ketun-yo*
 yes but name-TOP tell-BEN-HON-must-SFP-POL
 ‘Yes, but you need to kindly tell (us) your name. (Please understand)’
- B: *kulay-yo? kuntey com chayngphiha-ketun-yo*
 be.so-POL? but a.little be.ashamed-SFP-POL
 ‘Is that so? But I would be embarrassed (if my name becomes known) (Please understand).’ (Koo & Rhee 2001: 16)

3.2 Complementizer-based Connectives

[Grammaticalization of Complementizers]

- The complementizers *-tako*, *-lako*, *-nyako* and *-cako* grammaticalized from the sentence-type-marking endings (*-ta*, *-la*, *-nya* and *-ca*), the verb of locution *ha-* ‘say’, and the connective *-ko* ‘and’.
- COMPs retain the sentence-type markers.

(10) *-ta/nya/la/ca* + *ha* + *ko* >>> *-{ta/nya/la/ca}-ko*
 Sentence-type marker say Connective Complementizer

(11) Complementizers in Modern Korean (adapted from Rhee 2008: 593) (simplified)

Embedded Clause Type	Complementizer	Example
DEC (Declarative)	<i>-tako</i>	<i>-ka-n-tako</i> ‘that (he) goes’
INT (Interrogative)	<i>-nyako</i>	<i>-ka-nyako</i> ‘if (he) goes’
IMP (Imperative)	<i>-lako</i>	<i>-ka-lako</i> ‘that (he should) go’
HORT (Hortative)	<i>-cako</i>	<i>-ka-cako</i> ‘(suggest) that (they) should go together’

- (12) a. *ku-nun ka-n-tako ha-yss-ta*
 he-TOP go-PRES-COMP say-PST-DEC ‘He said that he was leaving.’
 b. *ka-nyako* ‘He asked if (I) was leaving.’
 c. *ka-lako* ‘He told me to leave.’
 d. *ka-cako* ‘He suggested that we leave.’

[COMP to SFP]

(13) From Declarative COMP to SFP *-tako*

- a. *ne ches welkup tha-ss-tako tul-ess-ta* b. *ne ches welkup tha-ss-tako?*
 you first salary receive-COMP hear-PST-DEC you first salary receive-PST-SFP?
 ‘I heard that you got your first salary.’ ‘You got your first salary? (Is that true?)’
 (lit. That you got your first salary?)
- c. *na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-tako.* d. *wuli emma-ka elmana yeyppu-tako!*
 I-also really die-FUT-SFP we mom-NOM how be.pretty-SFP
 ‘I am really hard-pressed, too. (Stop pressing me)’ ‘My mom is really pretty.’ (You’ll never know!)
 (lit. That I’m really hard-pressed, too.) (lit. How beautiful mother is.)

(14) From Imperative COMP to SFP *-lako*

- a. *ku-nun ppalli o-lako solichye-ss-ta* b. *na-ltele kekceng mal-lako?*
 he-TOP fast come-COMP yell-PST-DEC I-DAT worry stop-SFP
 ‘He yelled (at me) to come quickly.’ ‘I shouldn’t worry? (How can’t I?)’
 (lit. That I shouldn’t worry?)

c. *hwangtangha-n mal com kumanha-lako!*
 be.absurd-ADN word a.little stop-SFP
 ‘Please stop talking nonsense! (I cannot stand it any more.)’

(15) From Hortative COMP to SFP *-cako*

a. *ku-nun tosekwan-ey kathi ka-cako colu-ass-ta* b. *pap-pwuthe mek-cako?*
 he-TOP library-to together go-COMP press-PST-DEC meal-from eat-SFP
 ‘He begged me that I go to the library with him.’ ‘(Are you suggesting) that we eat first?’

c. A: *icey pap-mek-ule ka-cako.* B: *kule-cako.*
 now food-eat-PURP go-SFP do.so-SFP
 ‘Let’s go eat now.’ ‘OK, let’s.’

d. A: *com pikhi-cako-yo.* B: *mil-cimal-cako-yo*
 a.little step.aside-SFP-POL push-PROH-SFP-POL
 ‘Step aside, please. (You’re blocking my view.)’ ‘Stop pushing me, please.
 (Don’t you have manners?)’

- Conventional SFPs vs. innovative SFPs derived from COMPs
- Utterances ending with innovative SFPs are COMP-headed clause (fragment) in appearance.
- Innovative SFPs carry a stronger illocutionary force (with nuance of emphasis, irritation, insistence, etc.)

(16) a. *na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-ta.* (Conventional) (17) a. *ppalli o-ala.* (Conventional)
 b. *na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-tako.* (Innovative) b. *ppalli o-lako.* (Innovative)
 I-also really die-FUT-SFP quickly come-SFP
 a/b: ‘I am really hard-pressed, too.’ a/b: ‘Come quickly.’
 b. << (I (already) said) that I’ll really die. b. << ‘(I (already) told you) to come quickly.’

- There are numerous other examples of connectives developing into SFPs (e.g. Causal: *-tani. -tanikka...*)

4. Insubordination across Languages

- Terminology: ‘inconsequential clauses’ (Haiman 1988), ‘syntactic upgrading’ (Heine-Claudi-Hünemeyer 1991, Rhee 2012), ‘suspended clause’ (Ohori 1995), ‘insubordination’ (Evans 2007), ‘main-clause ellipsis’ (Rhee 2002), ‘disruption’ (Davis n.d.), ‘insubordinated clauses’ and ‘thetical constructions’ (Heine-Kaltenböck-Kuteva 2011, 2016, Kaltenböck-Heine-Kuteva 2011, Heine-Kaltenböck-Kuteva-Long 2016, forthcoming)
- The strong pragmatic effect of ellipsis seems to motivate other strategic uses of non-final forms as sentential endings (Horie 2011, 2012; Kim & Horie 2006, 2008, nominalizers and modifiers into sentential endings).
- Grammatical change influenced by ellipsis is attested across languages (cf. Haiman, 1988 in Hua; Davis, n.d. in Hua and Alabama; Ohori, 1995, Iguchi 1998, Higashiizumi 2006, in Japanese; Rhee, 2002, Sohn, 2003 in Korean; Evans, 2007, 2009, Evans & Watanabe 2016, across languages; Heine-Kaltenböck-Kuteva 2011, Heine-Kaltenböck-Kuteva-Long 2013, 2017, across languages; see Evans & Watanabe 2016 and works therein).

[Japanese *-te, -kara, -node...*] (cf. Ohori 1995: 205; Evans 2007: 391)

(18) a. *Tyotto kotti ki-te-kudasai/kure/tyoodai* b. *Tyotoo kotti ki-te*
 a.little(?) here come-TE-give[BEN] a.little(?) here come-TE
 ‘Will you please do the favor of coming here now?’ ‘Come here now.’

(19) a. *Boku wa ik-u kara*
 I TOP go-PRS because
 ‘Since I am going, [please don’t bother / don’t worry / etc.]’
 b. *Boku wa iki masu node*
 I TOP go ADR.HON because
 ‘Since I am going, so... [please don’t bother / don’t worry / etc.]’

[Indonesian *supaya...*] (Evans 2007: 388)

- (20) *supaya di-baca halaman lima puluh*
in.order.that PASS-read page five ten
'If you could read page fifty.'

[Basque *-ela...*] (Evans 2007: 419)

- (21) A: *Jon d-a-tor* B: *Zer?*
John 3SG.ABS-PRS-come what
A: *Jon d-a-tor-ela*
John 3SG.ABS-PRS-come-SBJV
'(I said) That John's coming.'

[English *if, if only, as if, that...*]

(22) English *if* (Evans 2007, Verstraete & D'Hertefelt 2016)

- a. *(I wonder) If you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please.*
b. *If you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please, (I'd be most grateful).*
c. *If you (dare) touch my car!*
d. *If you could take your seats, please.*

(23) English *if only* (cf. López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2012, Brinton 2014)

- a. *If only he were here, I would be very happy.*
b. *If only he were here!*

(24) English *as if* (Brinton 2014)

- a. *He acts as if he didn't know that.*
b. *As if you didn't know that.*
c. *As if!*

[German *ob, dass...*] (Buscha 1976, Evans 2007)

- (25) a. [*Ich zweifel-e,*] **Ob** *wir richtig sind?*
I doubt-1SG if we right are
'(I doubt), whether we are right?' (Buscha 1976)
b. [*Ich wundere mich,*] **Daß** *du immer noch Witze mach-en kann-st!*
I am.amazed REFL that you still still jokes make-INF can-2SG
'[I am amazed] that you can still make jokes (about it).'

- Germanic languages have independent clauses headed by a complementizer, e.g. *dat* (Dutch), *dass* (German), *that* (English), *att* (Swedish), *at* (Danish). (Verstraete & D'Hertefelt 2016)

(26) English *that* (Evans 2007)

- a. [*I'm amazed and shocked*] **That** *he should have left without asking me!*
b. **That** *I should live to see such ingratitude!*

(27) a. *Dat iemand zo hard kan zijn.* (Dutch)

COMP someone so hard can.PRS be
'[I can't believe] that anyone can be so cold-hearted.'

b. *Mensch, dass das überhaupt erlaubt ist.* (German)

Man COMP that even allowed is.PRS
'Man, [I can't believe] that something like that is even allowed.'

c. *At noget så katastrofalt kan ende så godt.* (Danish)

COMP something so catastrophic can.PRS end so well
'[I can't believe] that something so catastrophic can end so well.'

(33) = (9b) Inferences

A: [Why does he look so down?]

B: *ayin-i ttena-ss-ketun*
 sweetheart-NOM leave-PST-CONN/SFP?
 ‘Because his sweetheart left him.’
 [His sweetheart left him]-*ketun* ‘if’

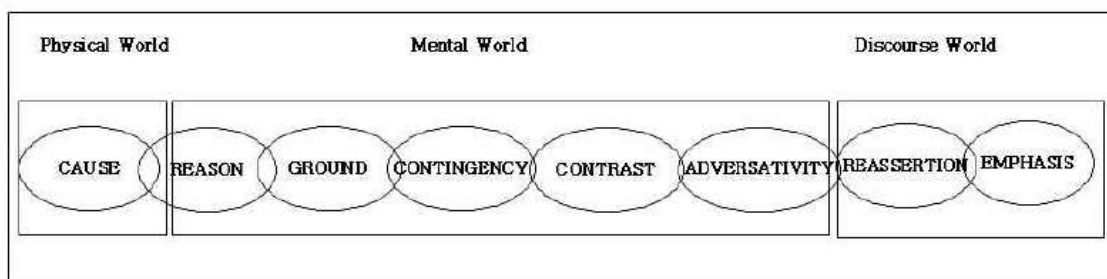
- (a) I heard: [His sweetheart left him]-*KETUN* (‘if’)
- (b) The speaker did not complete the sentence.
- (c) If the speaker had completed the sentence, it must have been [If his sweetheart left him, how can he not be down?]
- (d) It is impossible for him not to be sad in such a situation.
- (e) The speaker seems to have not completed the sentence because what remained unsaid is very straightforward.
- (f) Then the embedded proposition [His sweetheart left him] is a strong cause of his sadness.
- (g) The apparent conditional marker *-KETUN* is better interpreted as ‘because’ rather than ‘if.’
- (h) [If his sweetheart left him] in fact means [Because his sweetheart left him].

(34)

salam-i kule-myen mos ssu-n-tanikka
 person-NOM do.so-if cannot use-PRES-CONN/SFP?
 ‘A (respectable) person should not do such things!’
 [A respectable person should not do such things]-*TANIKKA*

- (a) I heard [A respectable person should not do such things]-*TANIKKA* ('because' 'while' 'despite')
- (b) X did not finish the sentence. But the prosody indicated completion of utterance.
- (c) If X had completed the sentence it would have been:
 [A respectable person should not do such things]-*TANIKKA*('despite'), [you are doing or did such things.]
- (d) I did such things.
- (e) X thinks that my doing such things is against what X (or someone else) said.
- (f) X is protesting against what I did.
- (g) X is reiterating what X said before (or something that is well-known).
- (h) X is emphatically restating what X said before (or something that is well-known).
- (i) *-TANIKKA* may not simply mean 'because' 'while' 'even though'; its meaning is more felicitous when interpreted as an emphatic assertion marker.
- (j) Then, what I heard may be:
 [A respectable person should not do such things]-*TANIKKA* (**emphatic assertion**)

(35) Semantico-functional extension of *-(ta)nikka* (Rhee 2012: 290)



- Korean connectives, particularly *-a*, *-key*, *-ci*, and *-ko* (similar to the Japanese *-te*) were extensively involved in the grammaticalization of SFPs (Kim 1997, 1998, 2000; Rhee 2002).

- Korean exhibits more widespread ellipsis-based grammaticalization than Japanese, in which a suspended clause is marked by a (pseudo-)logical connective of reason or concession, such as *kara*, *kedo*, and *noni* (Ohori 1995: 207-213; see also Haugh 2008).
- Functions of insubordinated constructions (Heine-Kaltenböck-Kuteva 2016: 50; Evans 2007: 387ff; Mithun 2008: 106)

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| (36) a. Indirection and interpersonal control | e. Warnings and admonitions |
| b. Requests | f. Evidential meanings |
| c. Politeness | g. Epistemic meanings |
| d. Threats | |

5.2 Intersubjectification & Interpersonality

- Intersubjectification is prominent in the development of SFPs from connectives.
- Since they originated from a discourse situation where the ellipsis is strategically used by the speaker, SFPs are necessarily highly interpersonal and intersubjective.
- They are frequently used in emotive interactions, often with an intonation typical of sentences uttered by irritated speakers.
- SFPs indicate the speaker's acknowledgment of, and response to, the addressee's attitude/stance.
- The attitudes in these situations are different from those typically encoded by the modality markers for the speaker's epistemic stance, since they are attitudes toward the addressee (e.g., irritation), rather than toward the proposition.

6. Conclusion

- Korean has a large number of SFPs developed from connectives through ellipsis.
- Ellipsis is strategically used by the speaker in discourse.
- The addressee actively seeks the elided information in the missing main clause. Repeated inference patterns may be conventionalized.
- The inferred meanings are often intersubjective and they often become semanticized on the utterance-final materials (mostly connectives), thus creating 'semantically elaborate' grammatical markers (Kuteva 2009, Kuteva & Comrie 2005).
- The extent of grammaticalization may be fundamentally constrained by the limit of pragmatics.
- The pragmatic inferences shape the routes of semantic changes in grammaticalization (cf. Heine-Claudi-Hünemeyer. 1991).

Abbreviations: ACC: accusative; ADD: additive; ADN: adnominal; BEN: benefactive; CAUS: causal; COMP: complementizer; CONN: connective; DAT: dative; DEC: declarative; END: sentential-ending; FUT: future; HON: honorific; IMP: imperative; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PASS: passive; POL: polite; PRES: present; PROH: prohibitive; PST: past; PURP: purposive; SFP: sentence-final particle; TOP: topic

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