On the feminine singular declension of the Russian demonstrative

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Masaryk University (Brno)

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The puzzle

(1) a. ét-a žen-a
the-fem.nom wife-fem.nom

The puzzle

(1) a. ét-a žen-a
the-fem.nom wife-fem.nom

b. ét-u žen-u
the-fem.acc wife-fem.acc

The puzzle

(1) a. ét-a žen-a
the-fem.nom wife-fem.nom

b. ét-u žen-u
the-fem.acc wife-fem.acc

c. ét-oj žen-y
that-fem.gen wife-fem.gen

The paradigm

Table: Declension II and a feminine DEM (Timberlake 2004)

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a
ACC	žen-u	et-u
GEN	žen-y	et-oj
LOC	žen-e	et-oj
DAT	žen-e	et-oj
INS	žen-oj(u)	et-oj(u)

The talk

- The general take on identity between nouns and modifiers

The talk

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- The idea of root size as a source of non-identity (Caha et al. 2019)

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- The idea of root size as a source of non-identity (Caha et al. 2019)
- Root-size does not work in Russian
- Root shape works (movement-containing trees) (Blix 2022)

The talk

- The general take on identity between nouns and modifiers
- The idea of root size as a source of non-identity (Caha et al. 2019)
- Root-size does not work in Russian
- Root shape works (movement-containing trees) (Blix 2022)
- Requires some modifications of the spellout algorithm (Starke, unpublished work)

The wider project

Segmenting the paradigm

The root-size proposal

Movement containing trees
+ new spellout algorithm

Conclusions

Identity cases

(2) Finnish Karlsson 2013: 80, 281

CASE	that	road	those	roads
NOMINATIVE	tuo	tie	nuo	tie-*t*
GENITIVE	tuo -n	tie-n	no -*i*-den	te-*i*-den
PARTITIVE	tuo -ta	tie-tä	no-*i*-ta	te-*i*-tä
INESSIVE	tuo -ssa	tie-ssä	no-*i*-ssa	te-*i*-ssä
ELATIVE	tuo -sta	tie-stä	no-*i*-sta	te-*i*-stä
ILLATIVE	tuo -hän	tie-hin	no-*i*-hin	te-*i*-hin
ADESSIVE	tuo -lla	tie-llä	no-*i*-lla	te-*i*-llä
ABLATIVE	tuo -lta	tie-ltä	no-*i*-lta	te-*i*-ltä
ALLATIVE	tuo -lle	tie-lle	no-*i*-lle	te-*i*-lle
TRANSLATIVE	tuo -ksi	tie-ksi	no-*i*-ksi	te-*i*-ksi

Identity cases

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CASE	that	road	those	roads
NOMINATIVE	tuo	tie	nuo	tie-*t*
GENITIVE	tuo -n	tie-n	no -*i*-den	te-*i*-den
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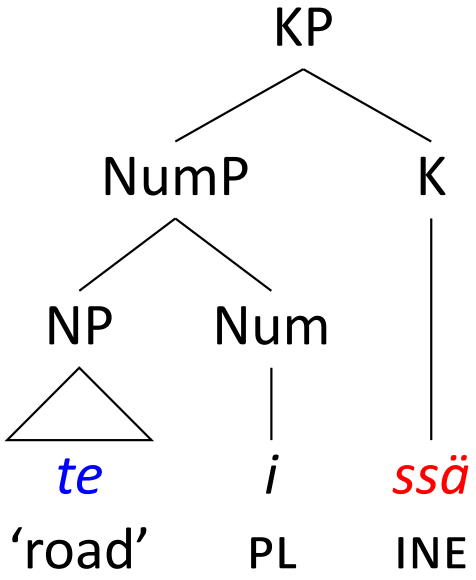
ELATIVE	tuo -sta	tie-stä	no-*i*-sta	te-*i*-stä
ILLATIVE	tuo -hän	tie-hin	no-*i*-hin	te-*i*-hin
ADESSIVE	tuo -lla	tie-llä	no-*i*-lla	te-*i*-llä
ABLATIVE	tuo -lta	tie-ltä	no-*i*-lta	te-*i*-ltä
ALLATIVE	tuo -lle	tie-lle	no-*i*-lle	te-*i*-lle
TRANSLATIVE	tuo -ksi	tie-ksi	no-*i*-ksi	te-*i*-ksi

(3) Greenberg's Universal 39 (Greenberg 1966: 95)
Where morphemes of both number and case are present and both follow or both precede the noun base, the expression of number almost always comes between the noun base and the expression of case.

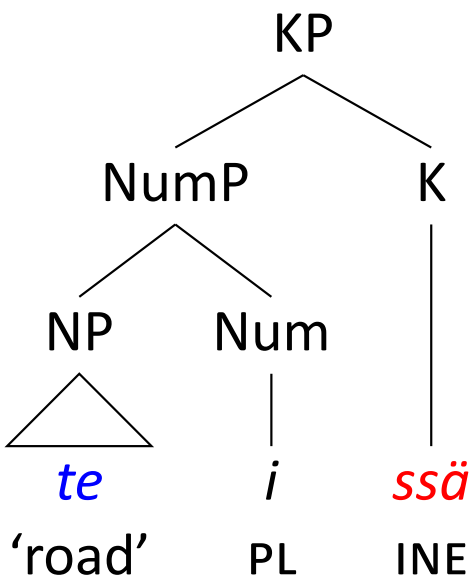
The analysis of identity

(4)



The analysis of identity

(4)



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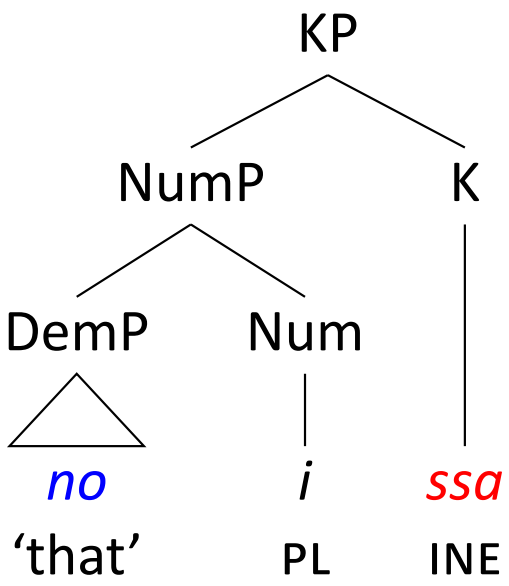
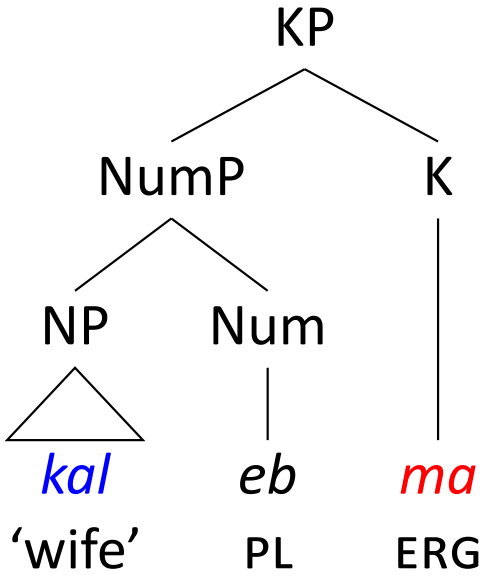


(6) Georgian paradigm fragment (Hewitt 1995: 45)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	tall	wife	tall	wife
NOM	maġal-i	kal-i	maġal-i	kal-eb-i
VOC	maġal-o	kal-o	maġal-o	kal-eb-o
ERG	maġal-ma	kal-ma	maġal-ma	kal-eb-ma
DAT	maġal	kal-s	maġal	kal-eb-s

The analysis of non-identity

(7)



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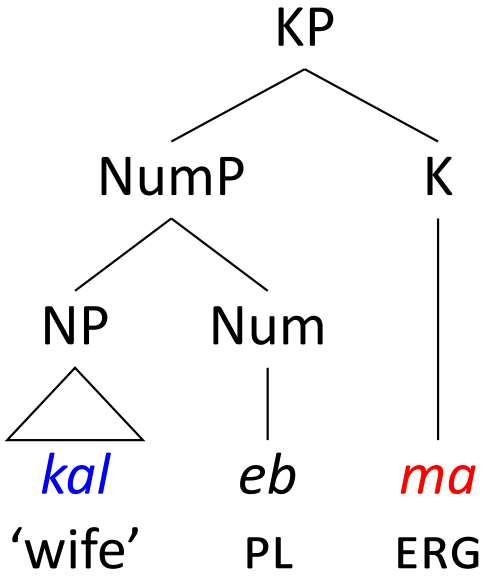

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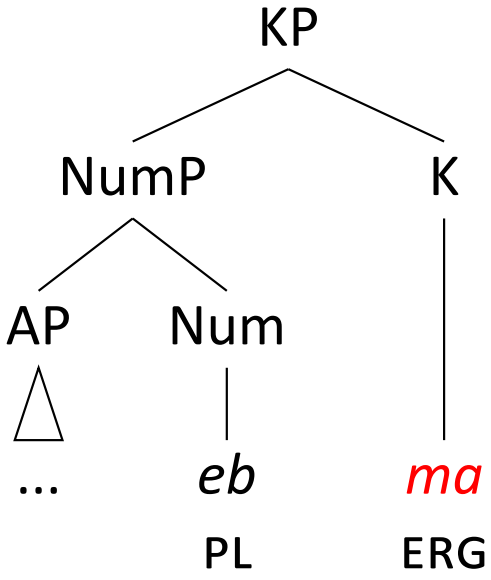

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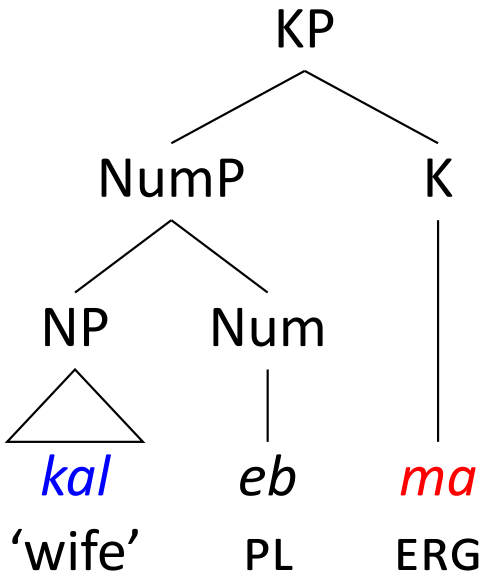

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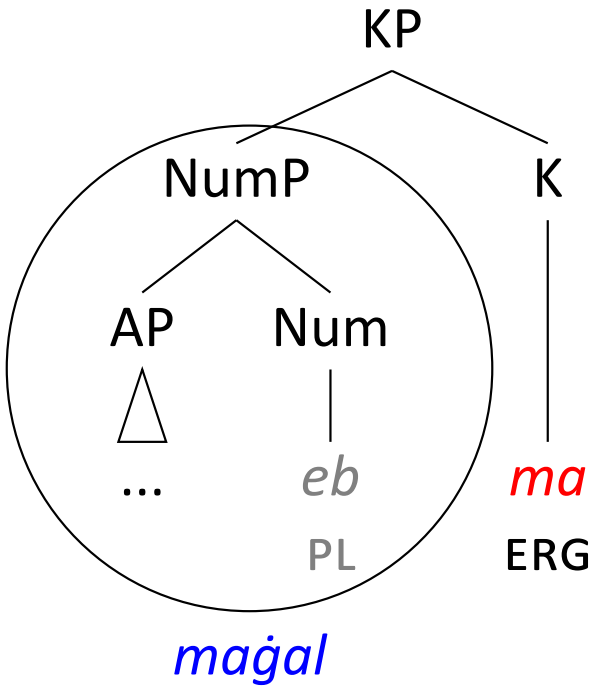

The analysis of non-identity

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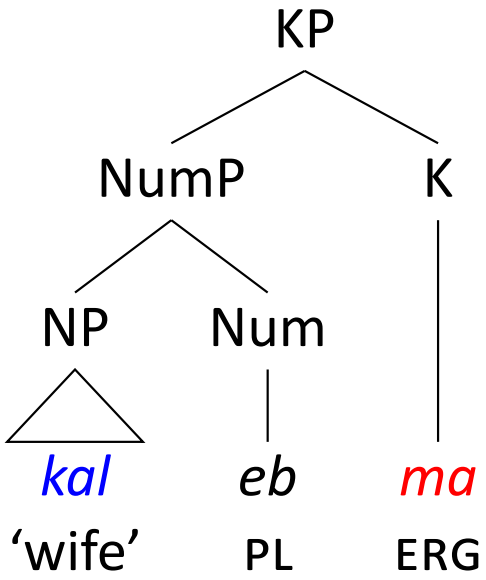

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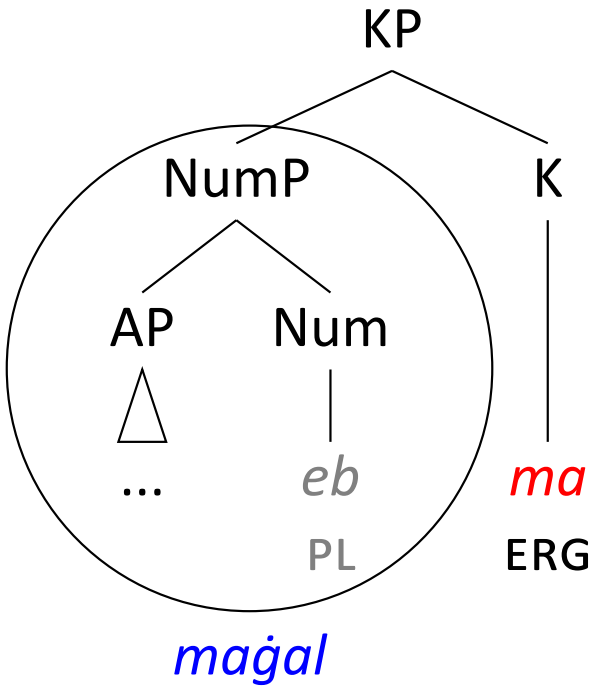

- The goal: propose an analogous analysis for Russian FEM DEM

Adjectival proper names

Table: Declension of a proper name and the feminine DEM

	this	Panova
	FEM.SG	NAME, FEM.SG
NOM	et-**a**	Panov-**a**
ACC	et-**u**	Panov-**u**
GEN	et-**oj**	Panov-**oj**
LOC	et-**oj**	Panov-**oj**
DAT	et-**oj**	Panov-**oj**
INS	et-**oj**	Panov-**oj**

The paradigm

Table: Declension II and a feminine DEM (Timberlake 2004)

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a
ACC	žen-u	et-u
GEN	žen-y	et-oj
LOC	žen-e	et-oj
DAT	žen-e	et-oj
INS	žen-oj(u)	et-oj(u)

The segmentation

Table: Declension II and a feminine DEM (Timberlake 2004)

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a
ACC	žen-u	et-u
GEN	žen-y	et-o-j
LOC	žen-e	et-o-j
DAT	žen-e	et-o-j
INS	žen-o-j(u)	et-o-j(u)

Adding declension III

Table: Declension II, III and a feminine DEM (Timberlake 2004)

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø
ACC	žen-u	et-u	tetráď-Ø
GEN	žen-y	et-o-j	tetráď-i
LOC	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i
DAT	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i
INS	žen-o-j(u)	et-o-j(u)	tetráď-ju

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GEN	žen-y	et-o-j	tetráď-i
LOC	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i
DAT	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i
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ACC	žen-u	et-u	tetráď-Ø
GEN	žen-y	et-o-j	tetráď-i
LOC	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i
DAT	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i
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ACC	žen-u	et-u	tetráď-Ø
GEN	žen-y	et-o-j	tetráď-i
LOC	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i
DAT	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i
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Adding neuter DEM

Table: Declension II, III and DEM (Timberlake 2004)

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	et-o
ACC	žen-u	et-u	tetráď-Ø	et-o
GEN	žen-y	et-o-j	tetráď-i	et-o-go
LOC	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i	et-o-m
DAT	žen-e	et-o-j	tetráď-i	et-o-mu
INS	žen-o-j(u)	et-o-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

Adding neuter DEM

Table: Declension II, III and DEM (Timberlake 2004)

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
ACC	žen-u	et-u	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
GEN	žen-y	**et-o**-j	tetráď-i	**et-o**-go
LOC	žen-e	**et-o**-j	tetráď-i	**et-o**-m
DAT	žen-e	**et-o**-j	tetráď-i	**et-o**-mu
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

Adding neuter DEM

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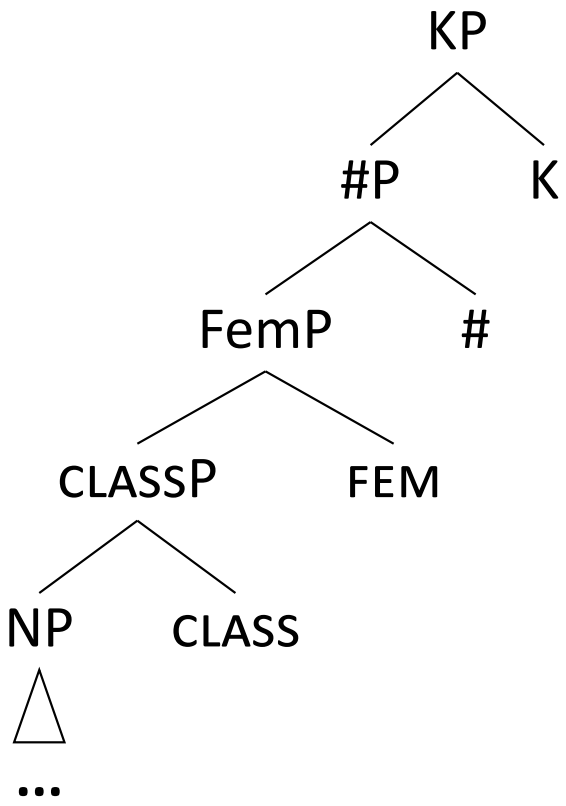
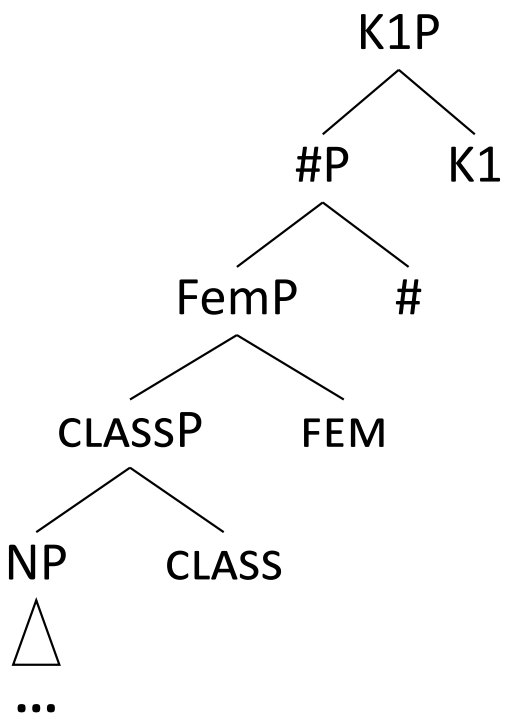
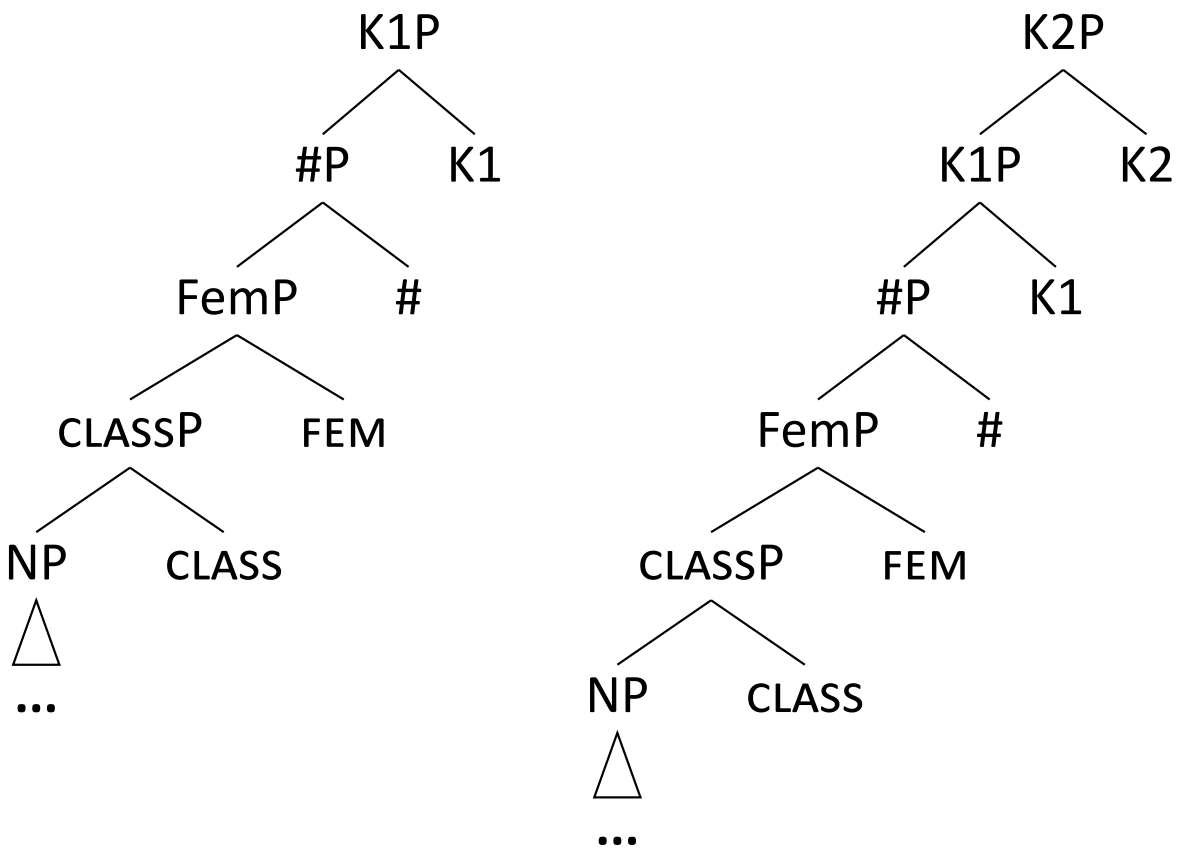
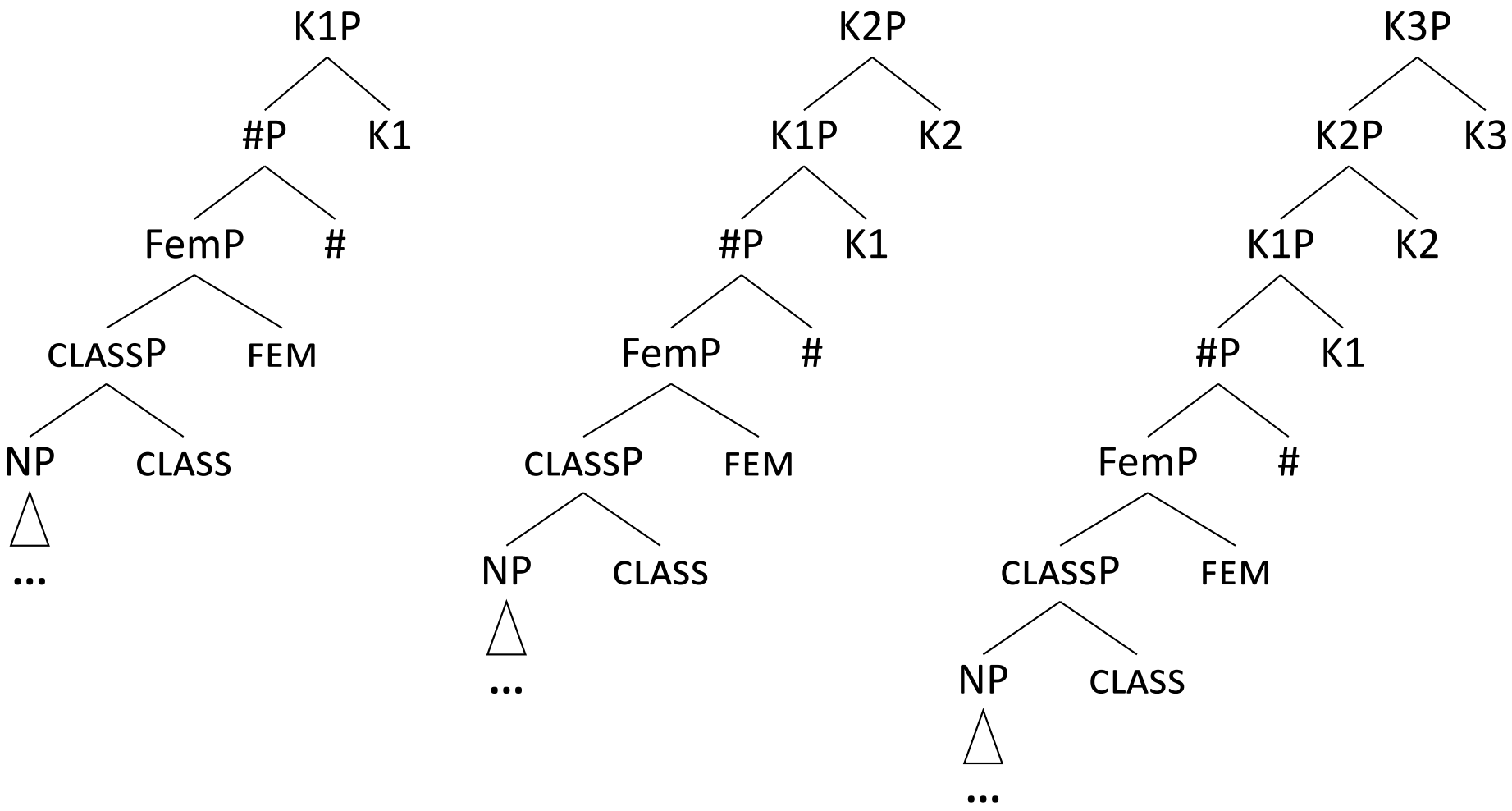
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
DAT	žen-e	**et-o**-j	tetráď-i	**et-o**-mu
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im


KP
#P
K
FemP
#
CLASSP
FEM
NP
CLASS
...


K1P
#P
K1
FemP
#
CLASSP
FEM
NP
CLASS
...

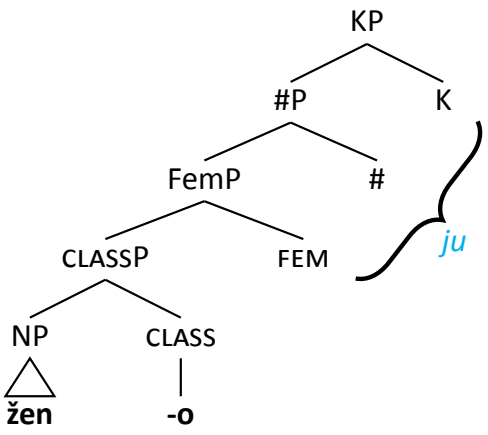

K1P
#P
K1
FemP
#
CLASSP
FEM
NP
CLASS
...
K2P
K1P
K2
#P
K1
FemP
#
CLASSP
FEM
NP
CLASS
...


K1P
#P
K1
FemP
#
CLASSP
FEM
NP
CLASS
...
K2P
K1P
K2
#P
K1
FemP
#
CLASSP
FEM
NP
CLASS
...
K3P
K2P
K3
K1P
K2
#P
K1
FemP
#
CLASSP
FEM
NP
CLASS
...

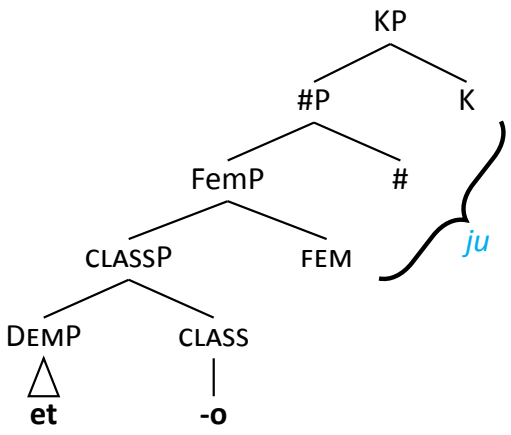
	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

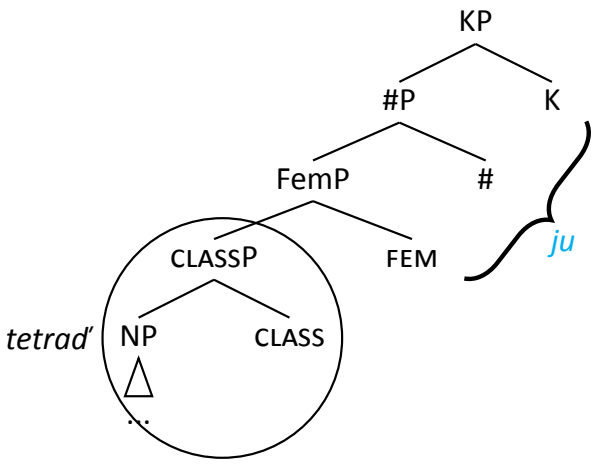
Declension II



Demonstrative

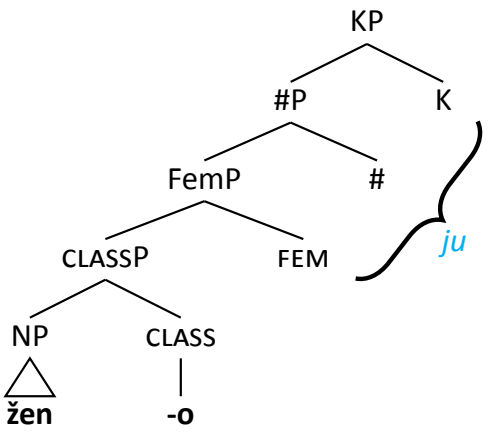


Declension III



	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

Declension II



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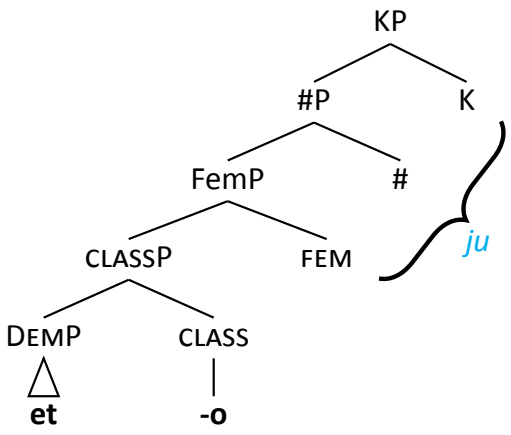
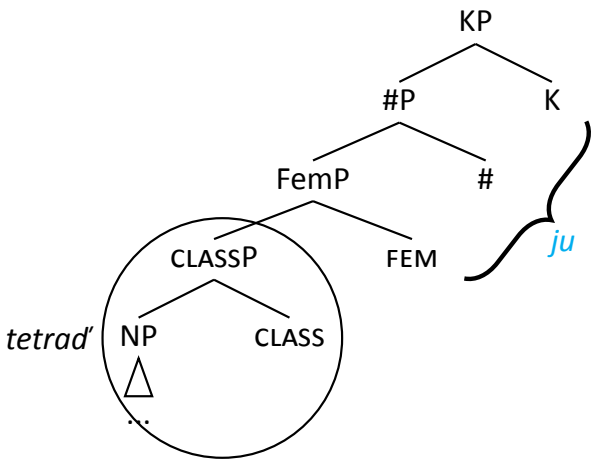


Declension III



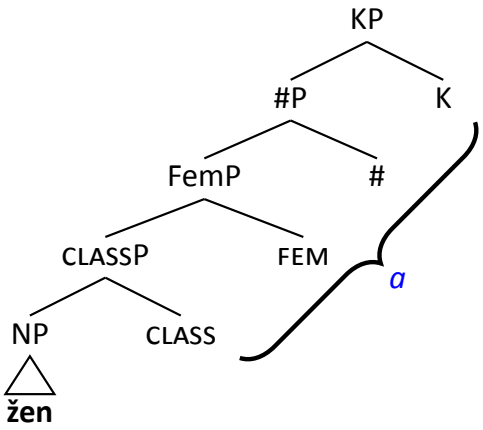
Lexicalisation table

	XP	CLASS	FEM	#	K1	K2	K3
DECLENSION I	*žen*	o			ju		
DEMONSTRATIVE	*et*	o			ju		
DECLENSION III	*tetraď*				ju		

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

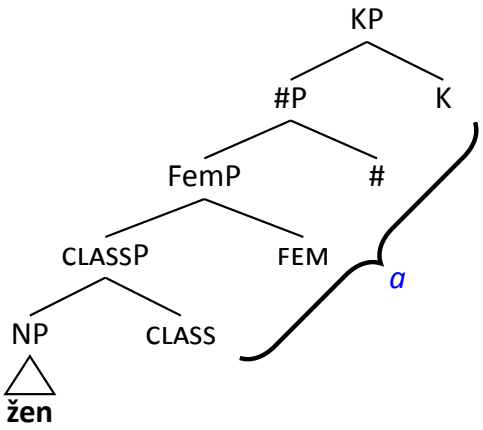
	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

Declension II

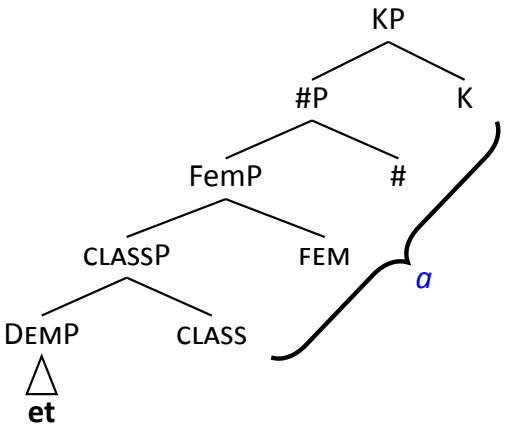


	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

Declension II



Demonstrative



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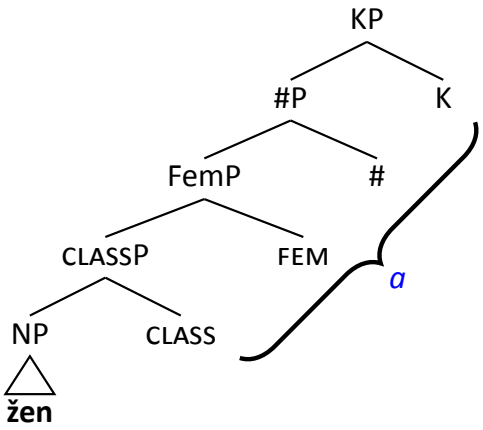
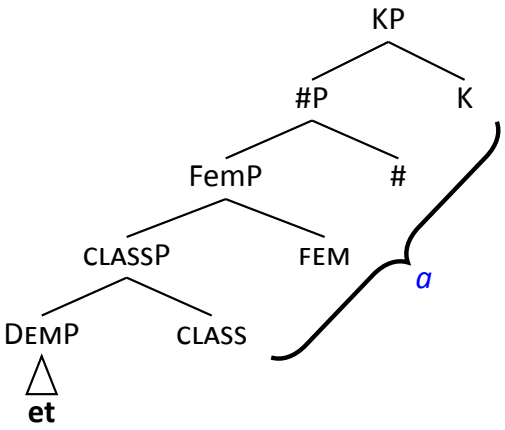
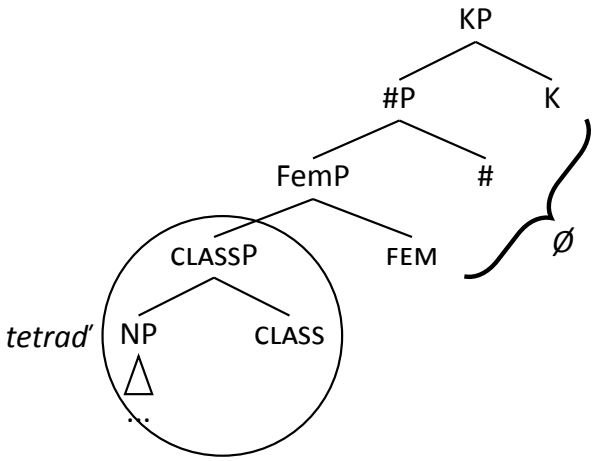


Demonstrative

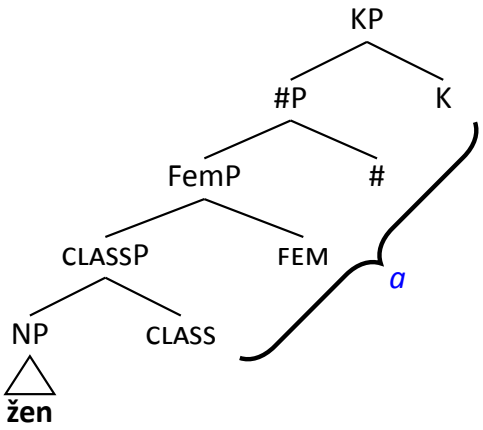


Declension 1



	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

Declension II



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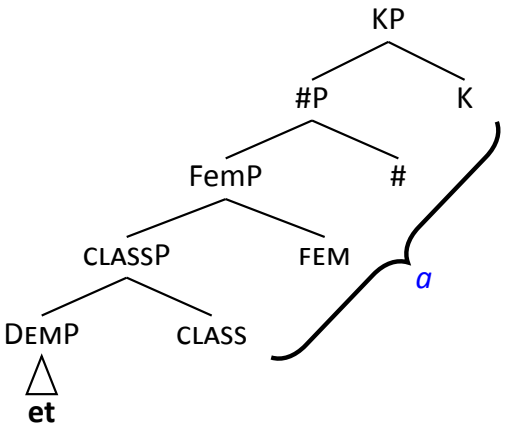

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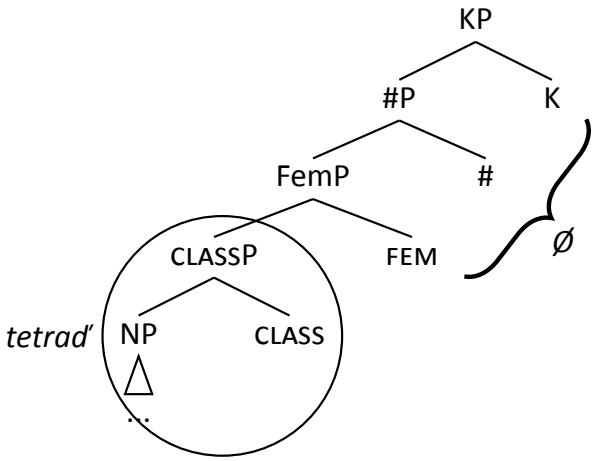
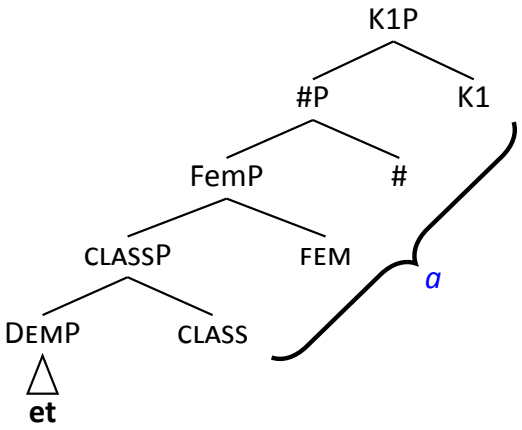


Lexicalisation table

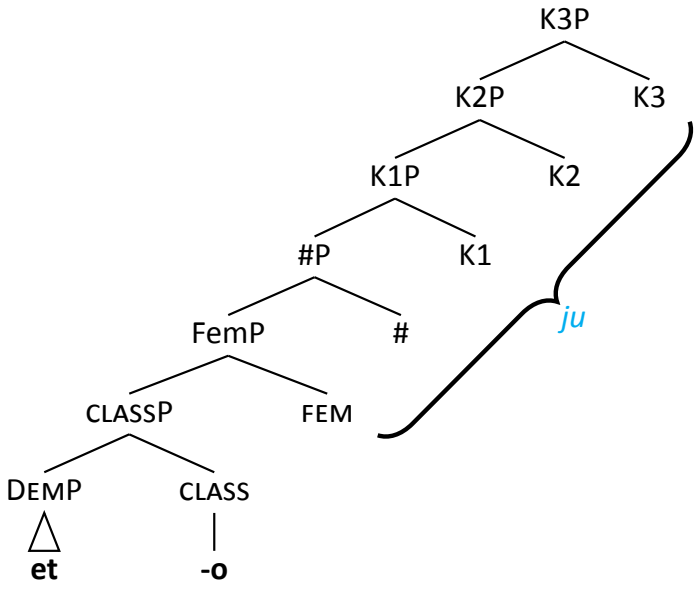
	XP	CLASS	FEM	#	K1
DECLENSION I	*žen*	a			
DEMONSTRATIVE	*et*	a			
DECLENSION III	*tetraď*		Ø		

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

Demonstrative NOM



Demonstrative INS

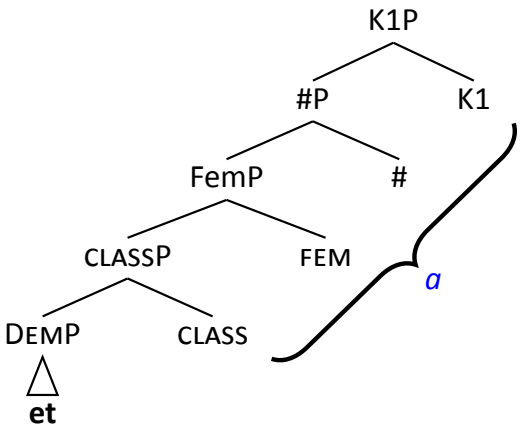


Lexicalisation table

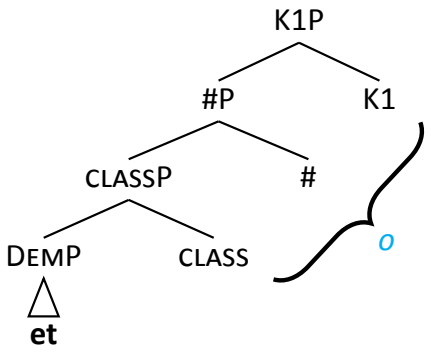
	XP	CLASS	FEM	#	K1	K2	K3
DEM.FEM.NOM	*et*	a					
DEM.FEM.INS	*et*	o	ju				

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

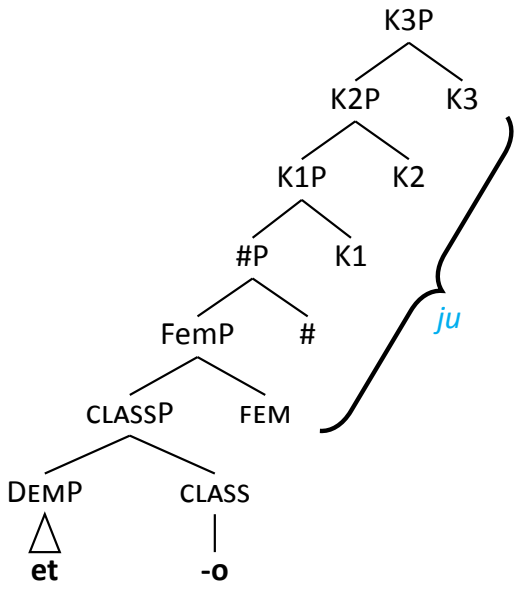
FEM.NOM



NEUT.NOM



FEM.INS



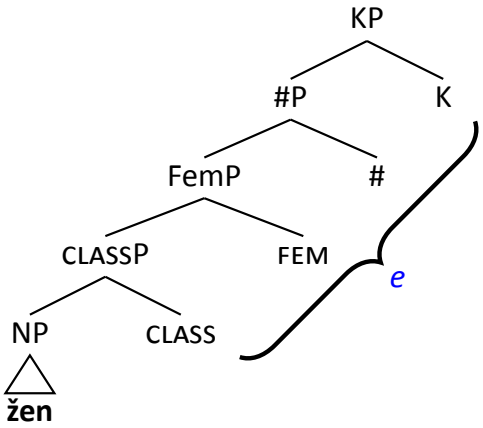
Lexicalisation table

	XP	CLASS	FEM	#	K1	K2	K3
DEM.FEM.NOM	*et*	a					
DEM.FEM.INS	*et*	o	ju				

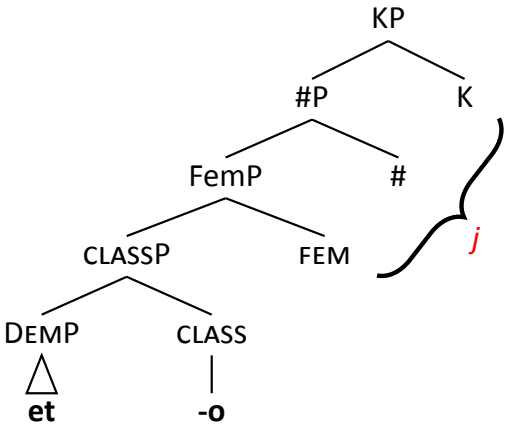
	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
DAT	žen-e	**et-o**-j	tetráď-i	**et-o**-mu
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
DAT	žen-e	**et-o**-j	tetráď-i	**et-o**-mu
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

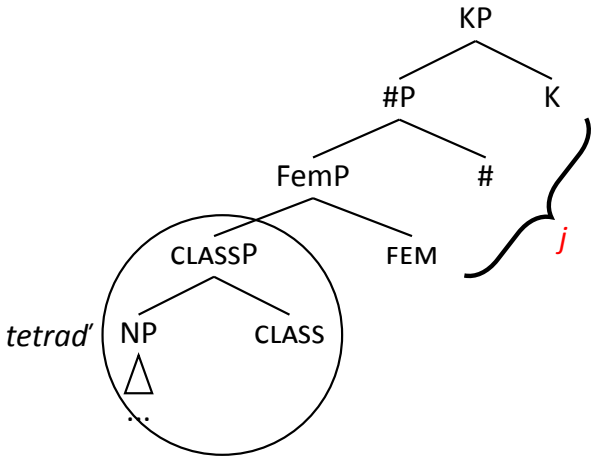
Declension II



Demonstrative

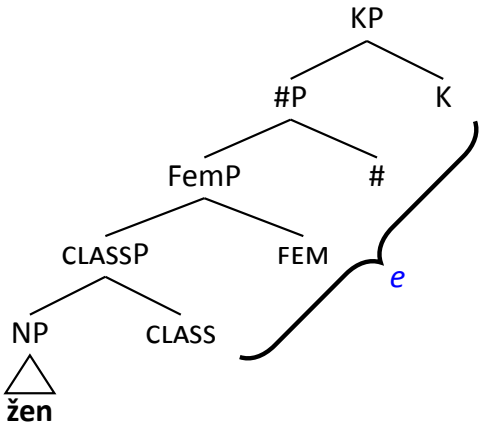


Declension III

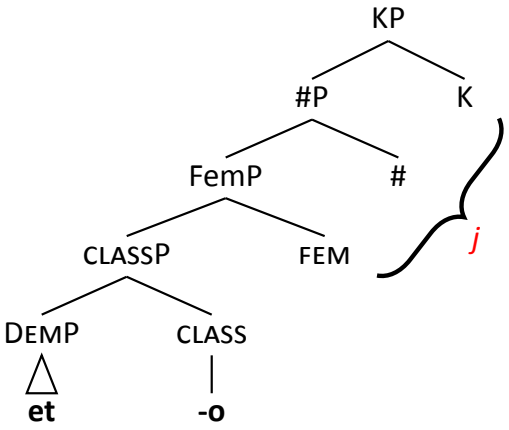


	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
DAT	žen-e	**et-o**-j	tetráď-i	**et-o**-mu
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

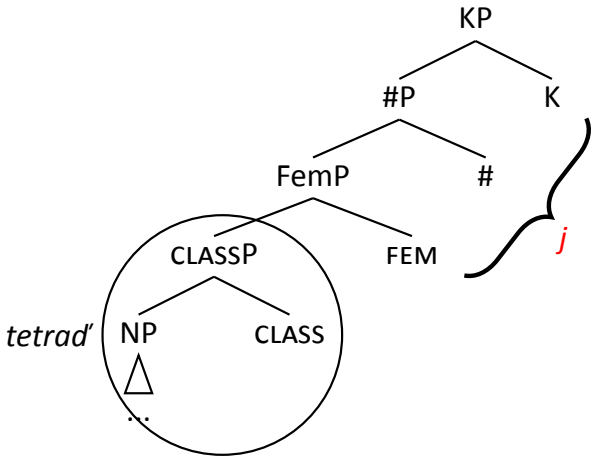
Declension II



Demonstrative



Declension III

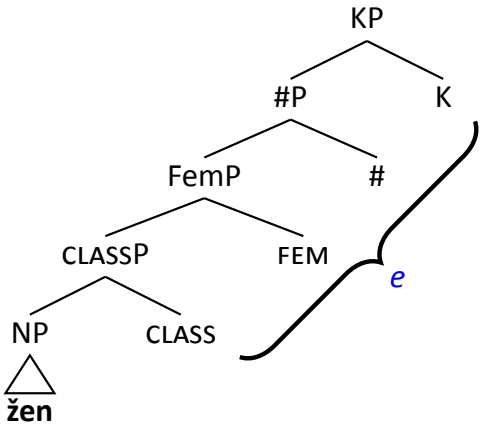


Lexicalisation table

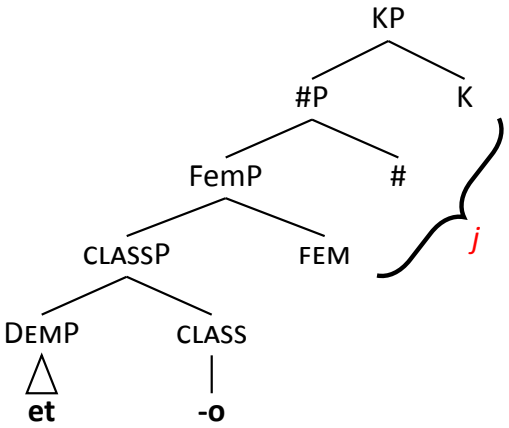
	XP	CLASS	FEM	#	K1	K2
DECL II, DAT	*žen*	e				
DEM.FEM.DAT	*et*	o	j			

	wife DECL II	this FEM.SG	notebook III, FEM.SG	this NEUT.SG
NOM	žen-a	et-a	tetráď-Ø	**et-o**
DAT	žen-e	**et-o**-j	tetráď-i	**et-o**-mu
INS	žen-o-j(u)	**et-o**-j(u)	tetráď-ju	et-im

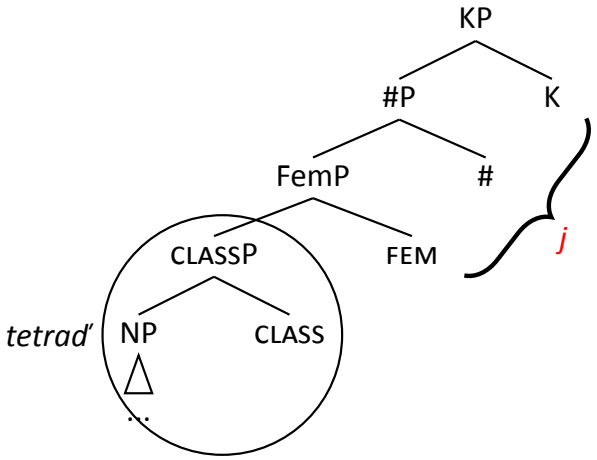
Declension II



Demonstrative



Declension III



Lexicalisation table

- This wrongly predicts **et-e*

	XP	CLASS	FEM	#	K1	K2
DECL II, DAT	*žen*	e				
DEM.FEM.DAT	*et*	o	j			

The wider project

Segmenting the paradigm

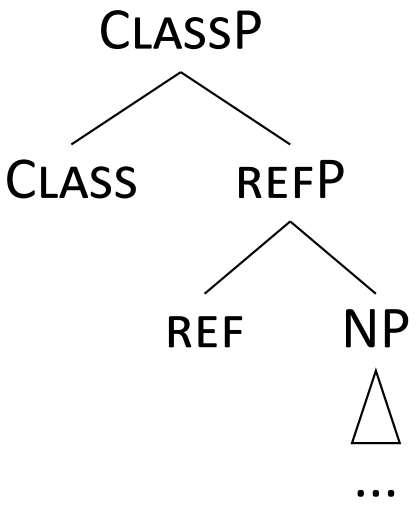
The root-size proposal

Movement containing trees
+ new spellout algorithm

Conclusions

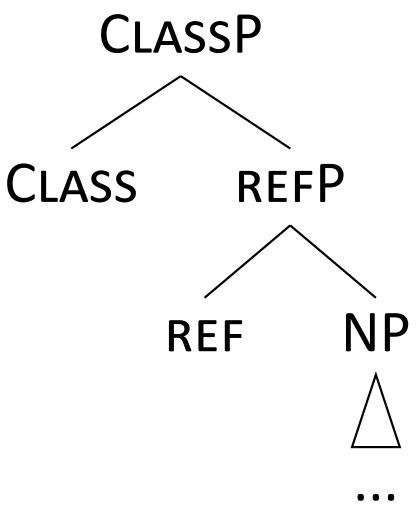
Movement-containing trees (Blix 2022)

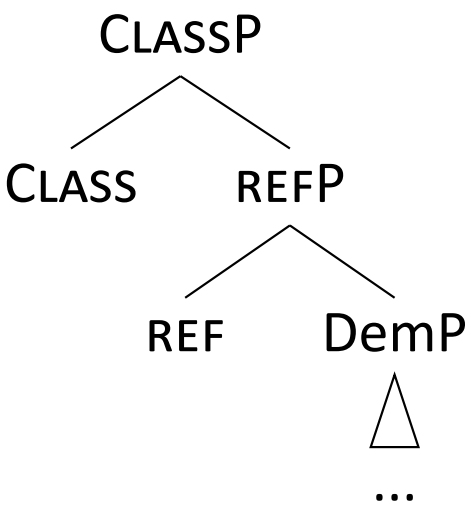
Introducing REF



Movement-containing trees (Blix 2022)

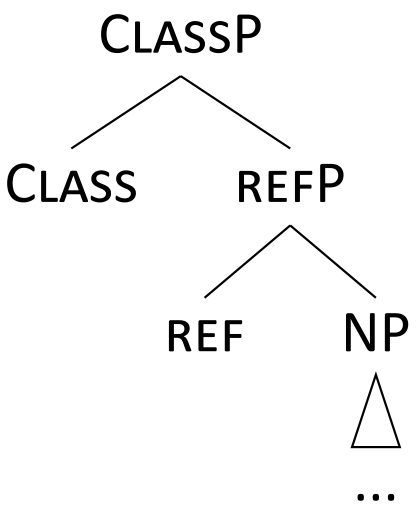
Introducing REF

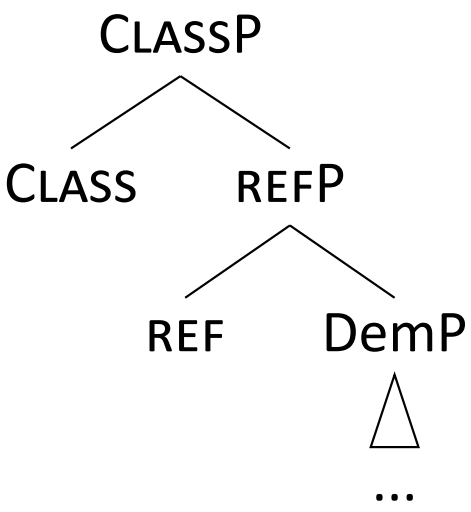


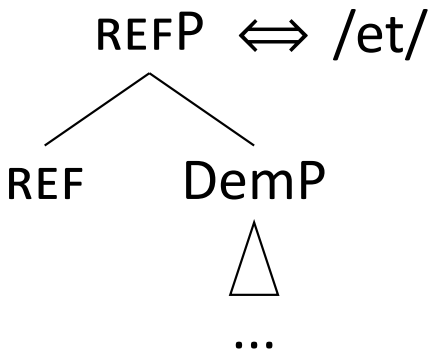


Movement-containing trees (Blix 2022)

Introducing REF

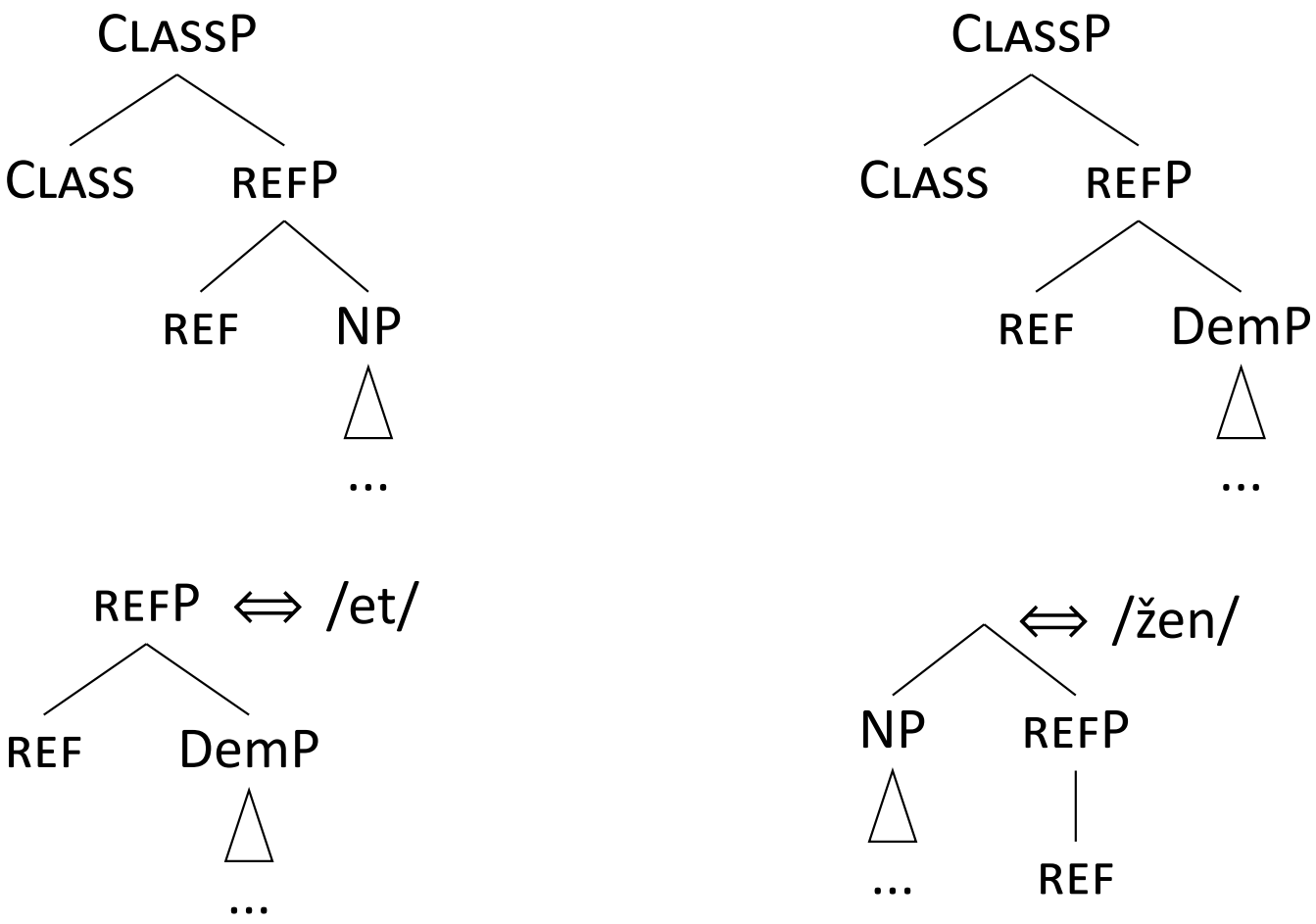






Movement-containing trees (Blix 2022)

Introducing REF



New spellout algorithm (Starkle, unpublished)

(9) Spellout Algorithm (based on Starke 2018)

a. Merge F and spell out.

b. If (a) fails, move the Spec of the complement and spell out.

c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out.

d. If (c) fails, go back to the previous cycle and try the next option for that cycle.

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(10) Spellout Algorithm (based on Starke, 2022)

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(10) Spellout Algorithm (based on Starke, 2022)

a. Merge F and spell out.

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a. Merge F and spell out.

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c. If fail, move the dominating unlabelled node and spell out. (Recursive)

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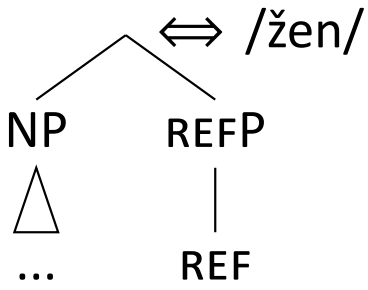
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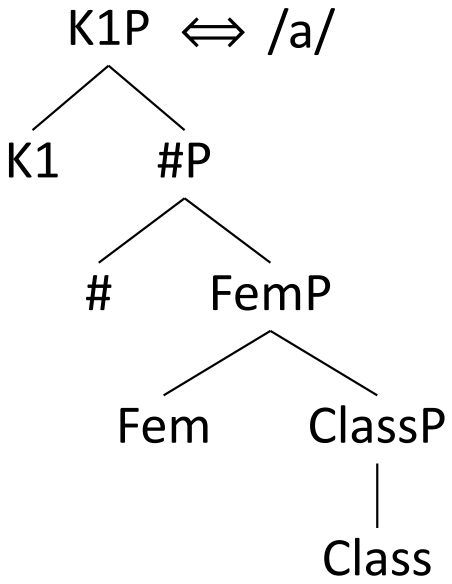
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K1
#P
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FemP
Fem
ClassP
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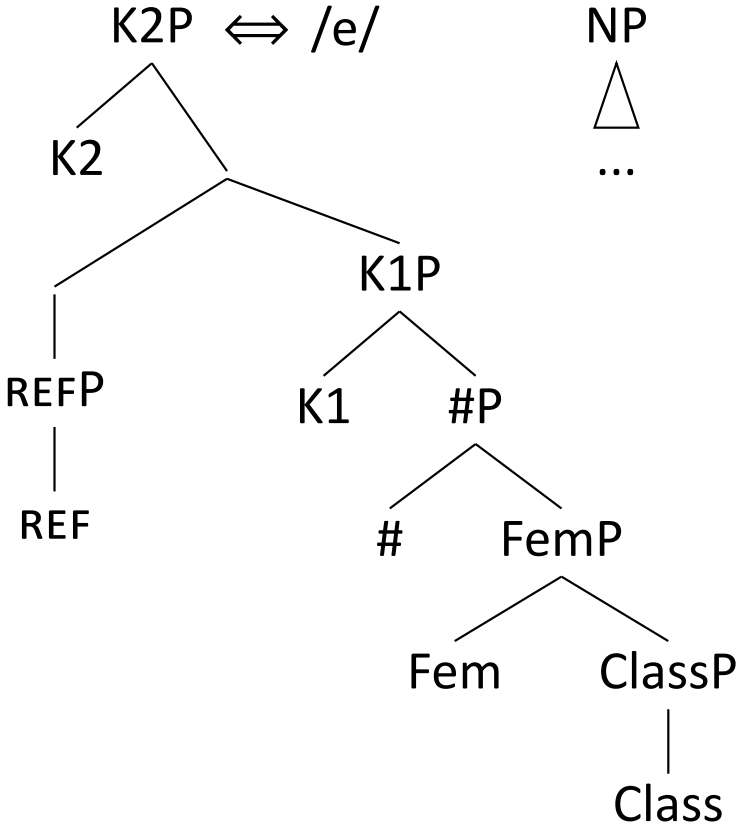
K2P ⟺ /e/
K2
K1P
REFP
REF
K1
#P
#
FemP
Fem
ClassP
Class
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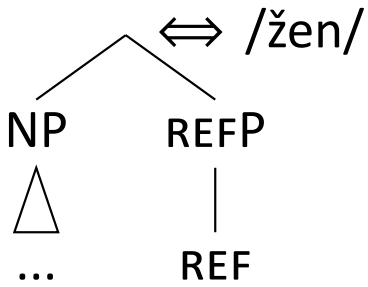
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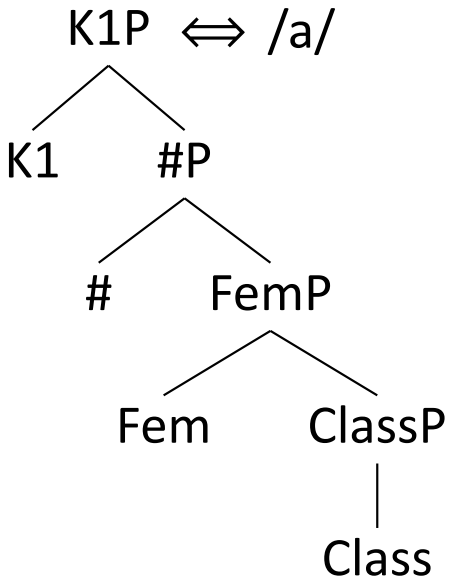
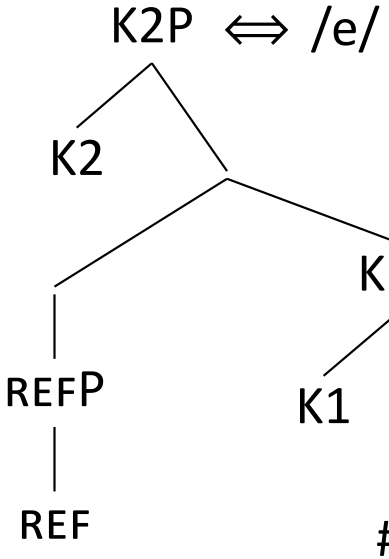

K1P ⟺ /a/
K1
#P
#
FemP
Fem
ClassP
Class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K2
K1P
REFP
REF
K1
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FemP
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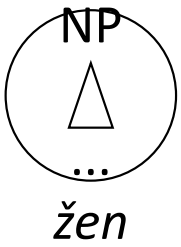
Class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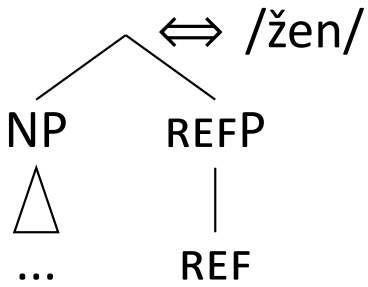
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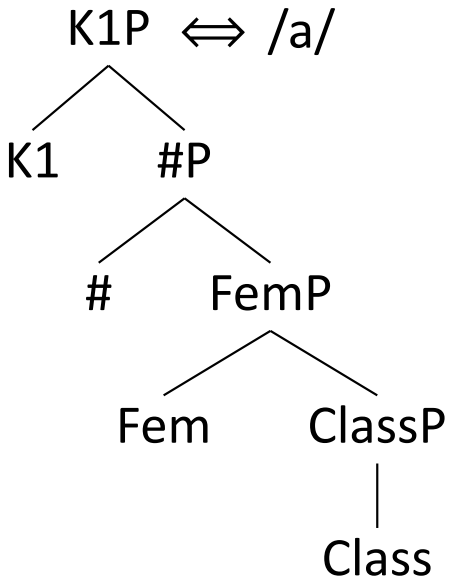
K1P ⟺ /a/
K1
#P
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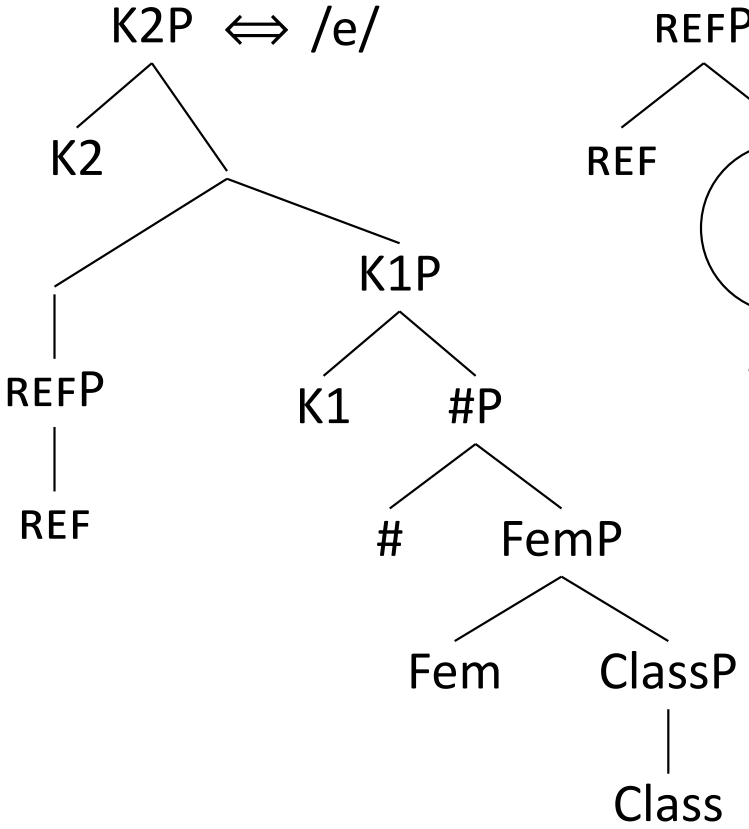
FemP
Fem
ClassP
Class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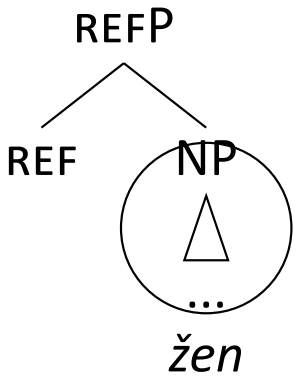
K2
K1P
REFP
REF
K1
#P
#
FemP
Fem
ClassP
Class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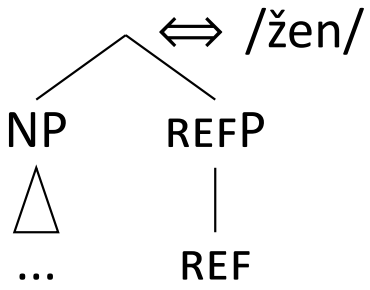
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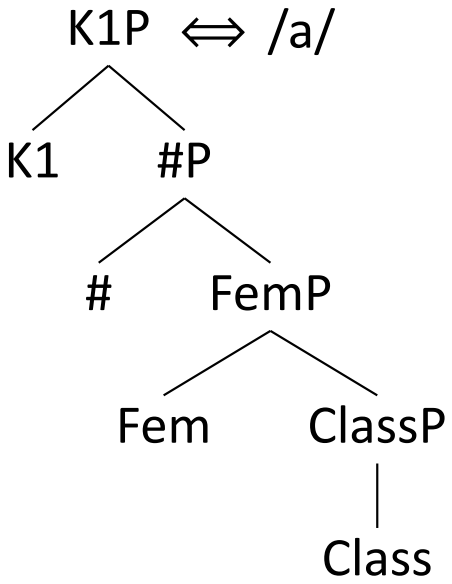
K1P ⟺ /a/
K1
#P
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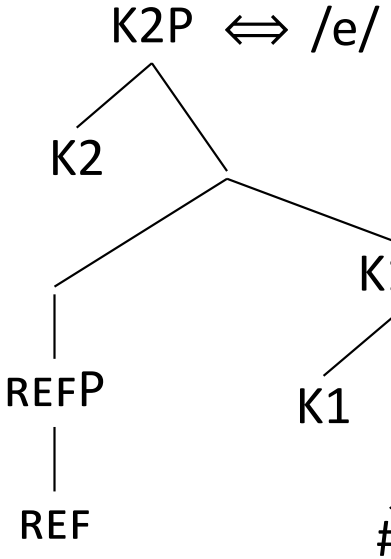
FemP
Fem
ClassP
Class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K2
K1P
REFP
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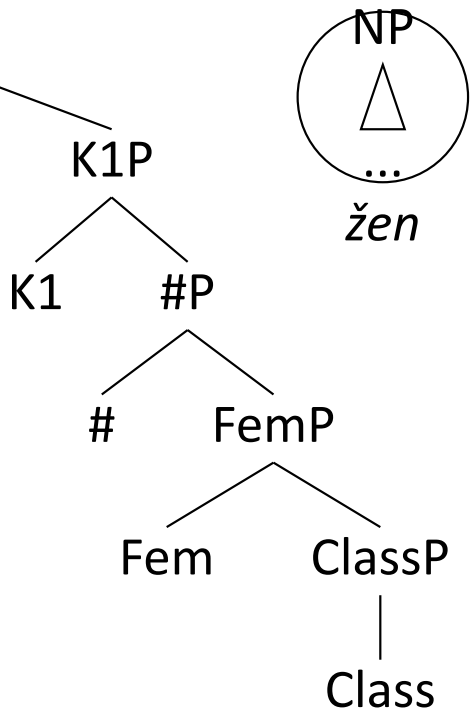
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#P
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FemP
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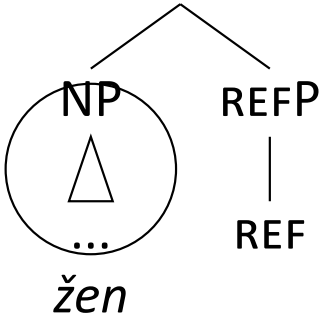
ClassP
Class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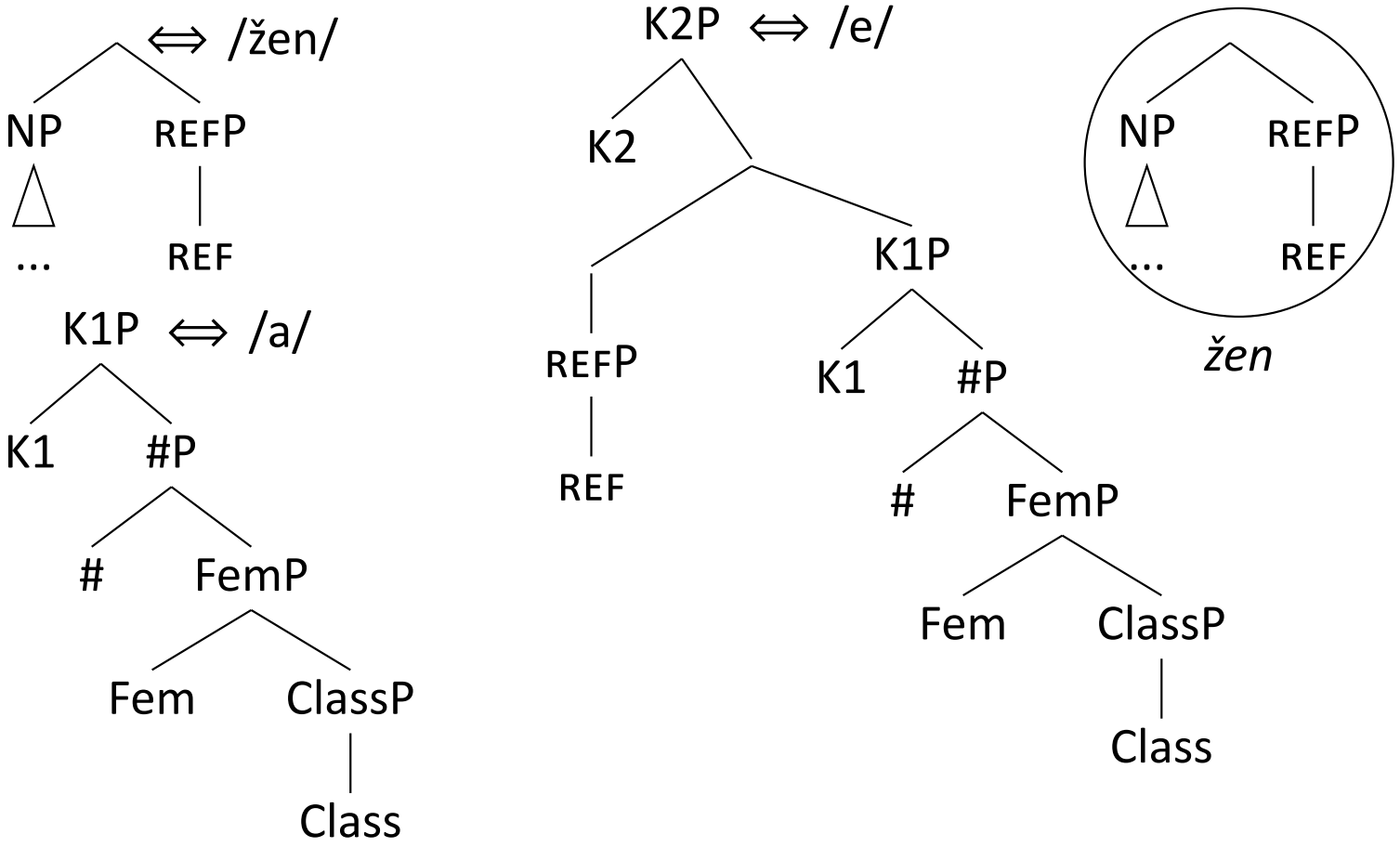
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REF
K1P ⟺ /a/
K1
#P
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FemP
Fem
ClassP
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K2P ⟺ /e/
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K1
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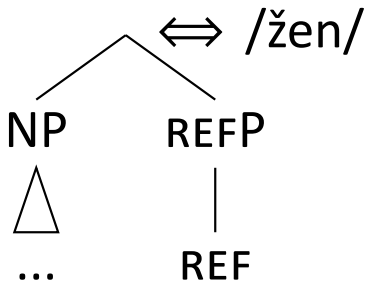
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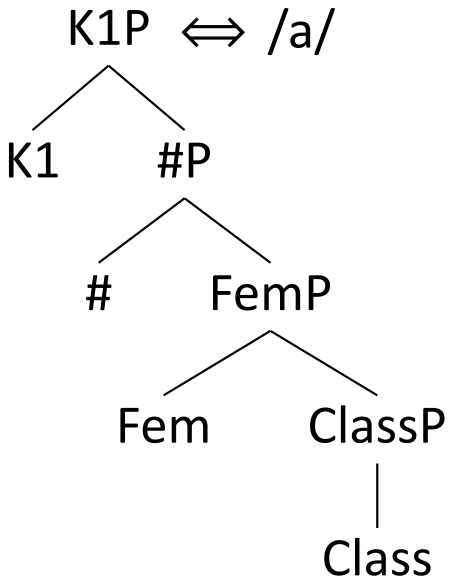
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K1
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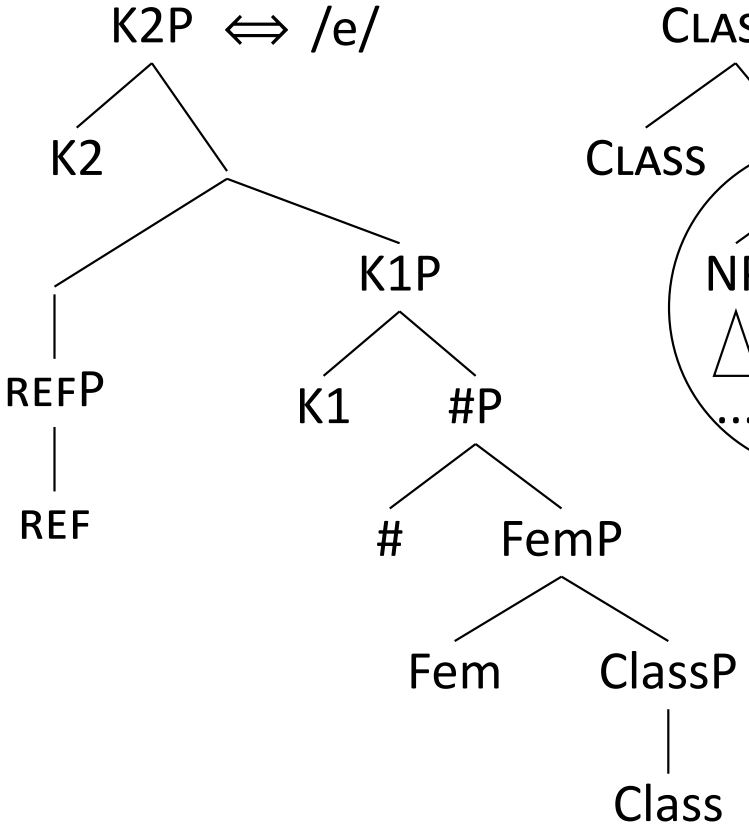
FemP
Fem
ClassP
Class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K1P
REFP
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K1
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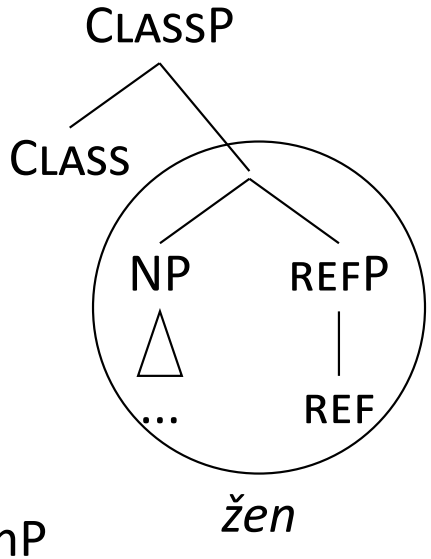
FemP
Fem
ClassP
Class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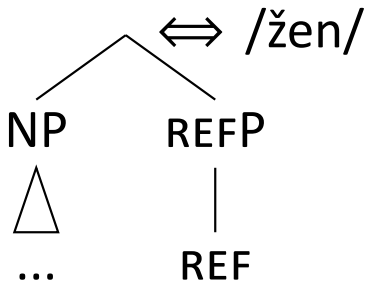
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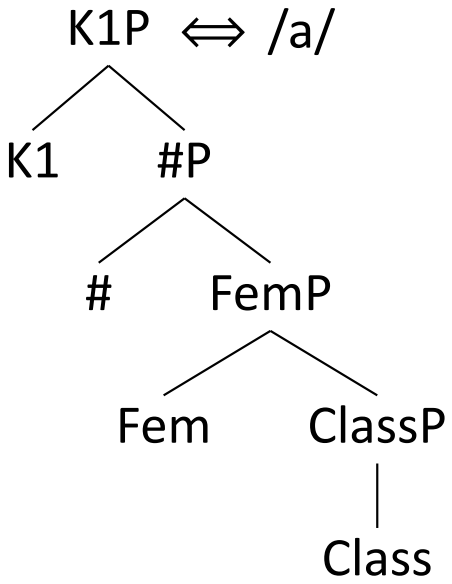
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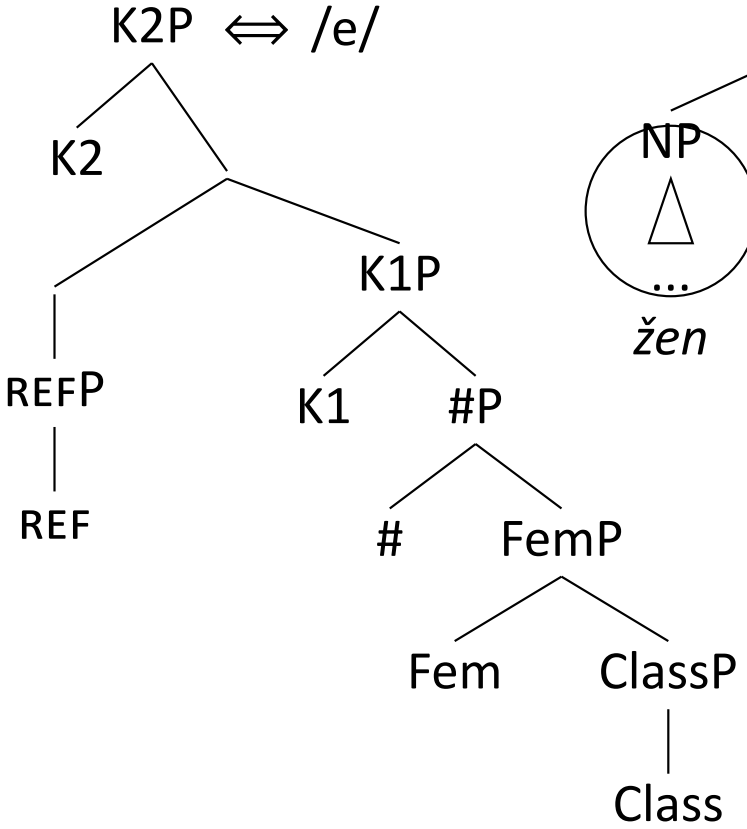
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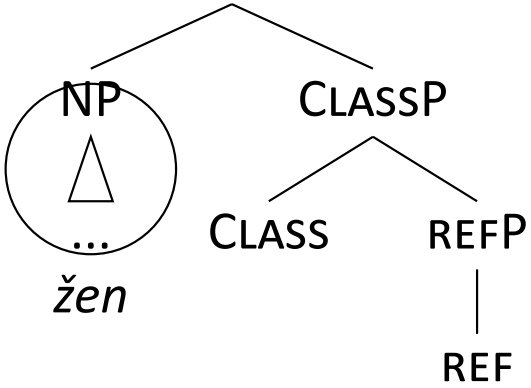
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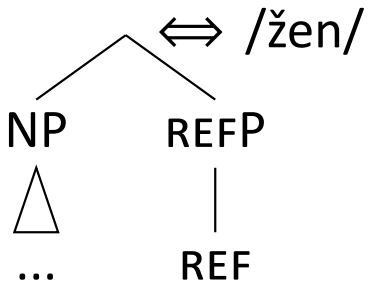
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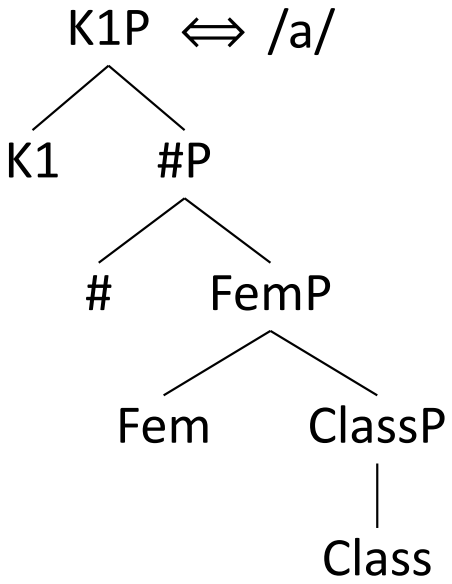
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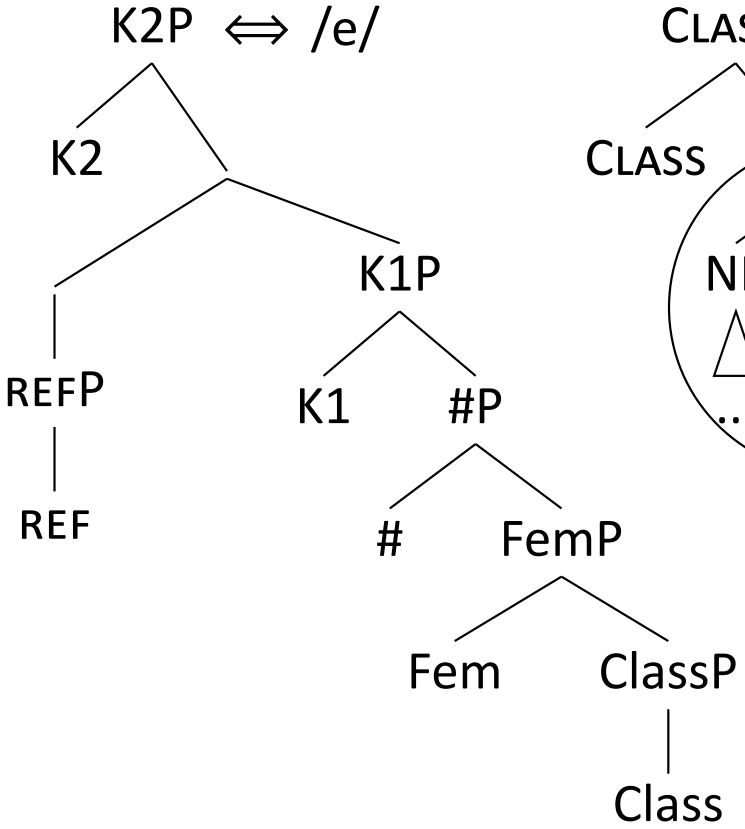
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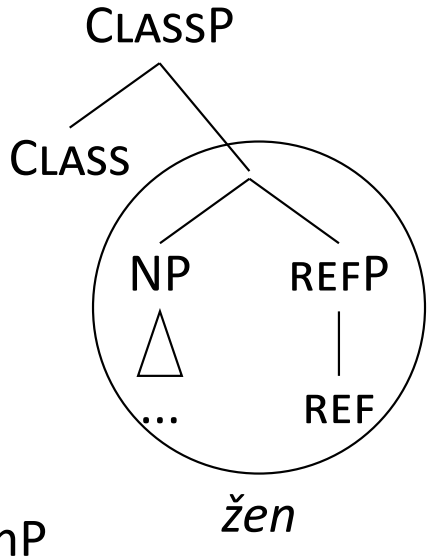
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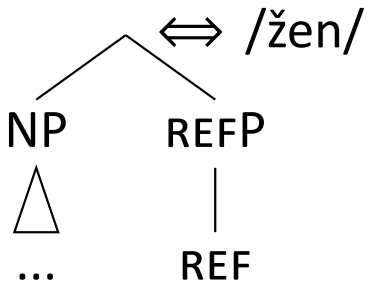
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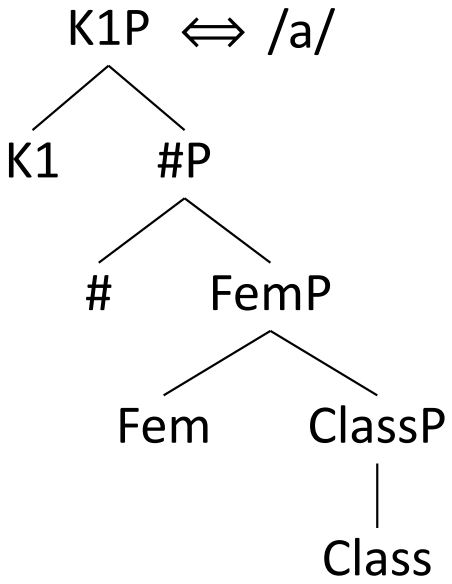
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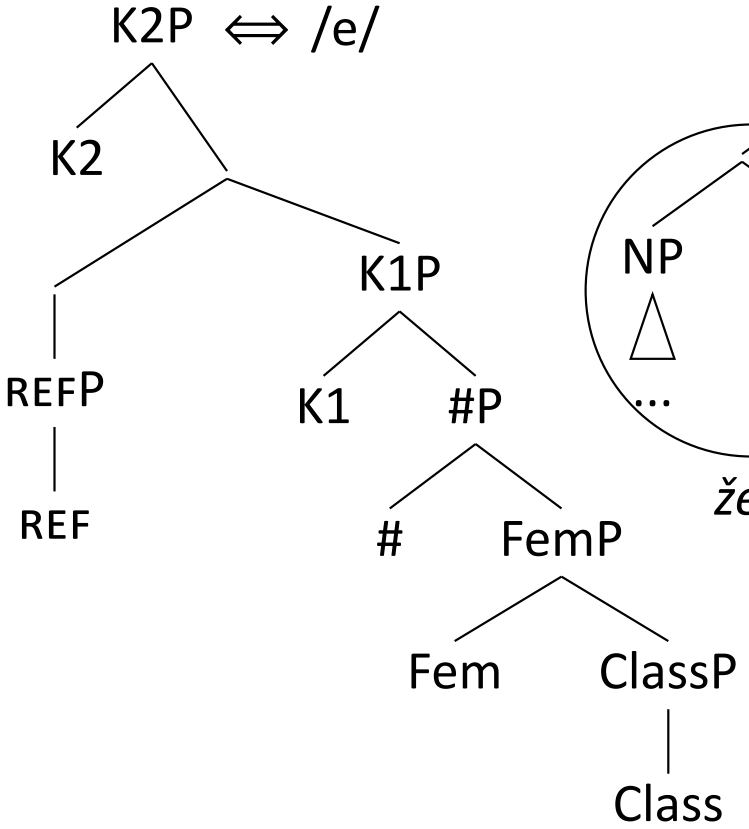
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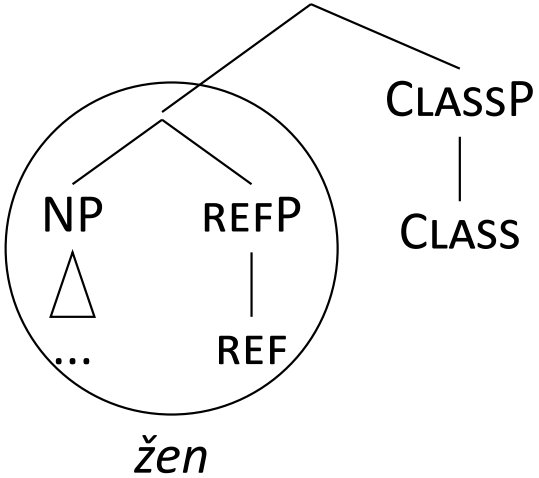
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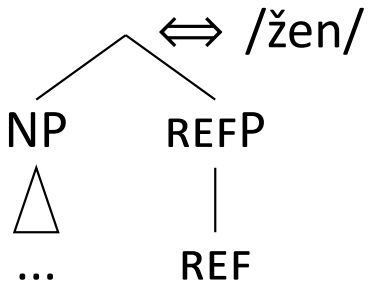
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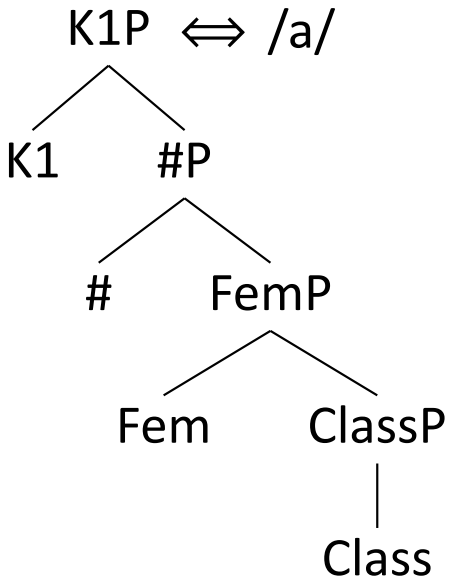
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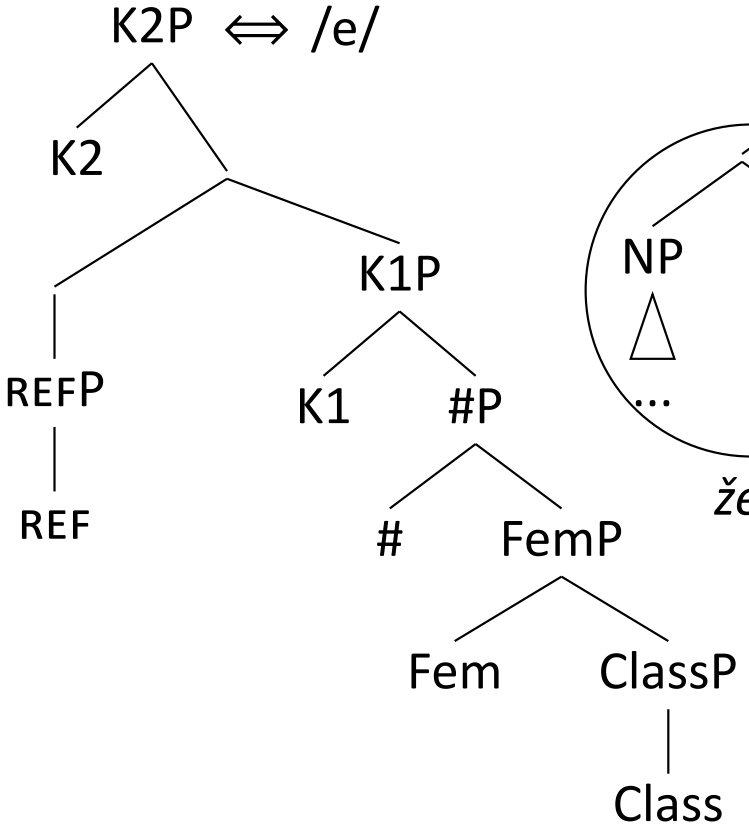
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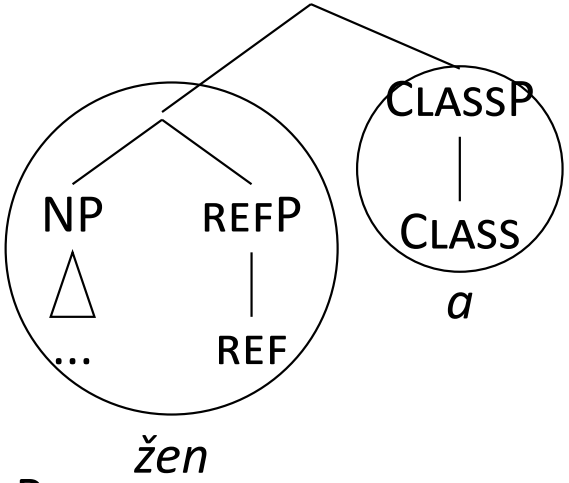
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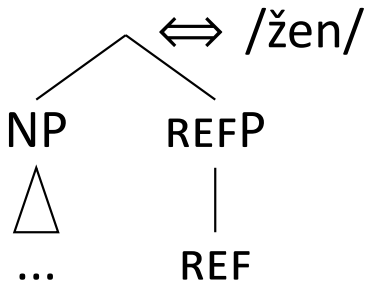
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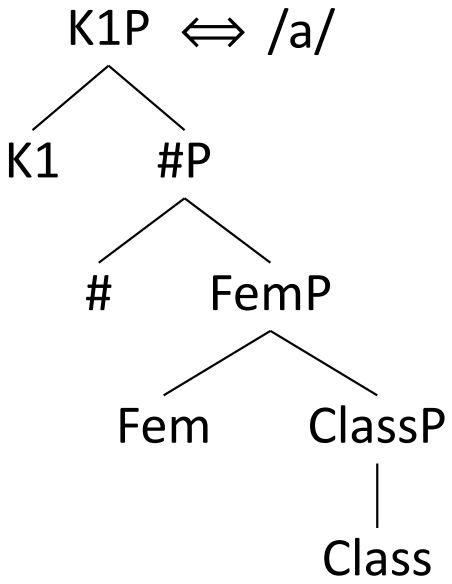
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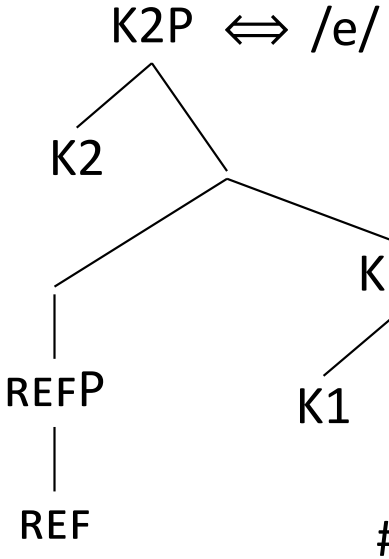
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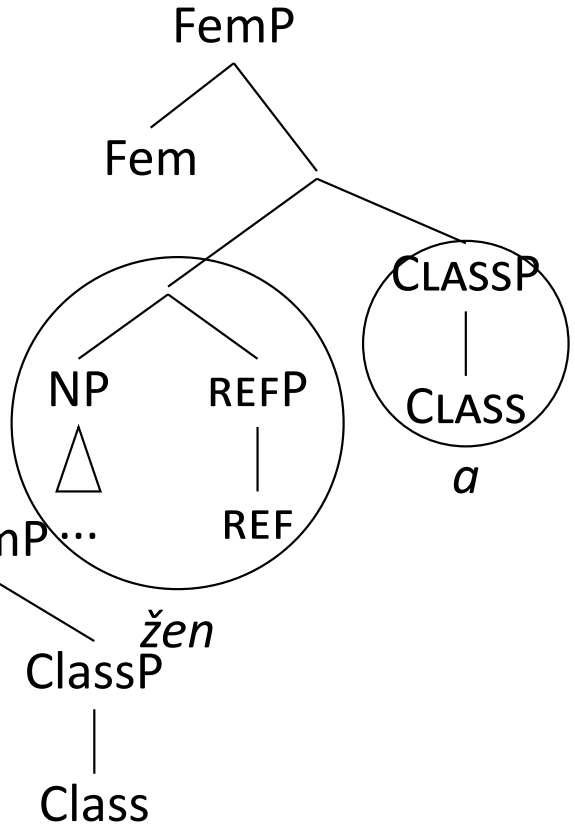
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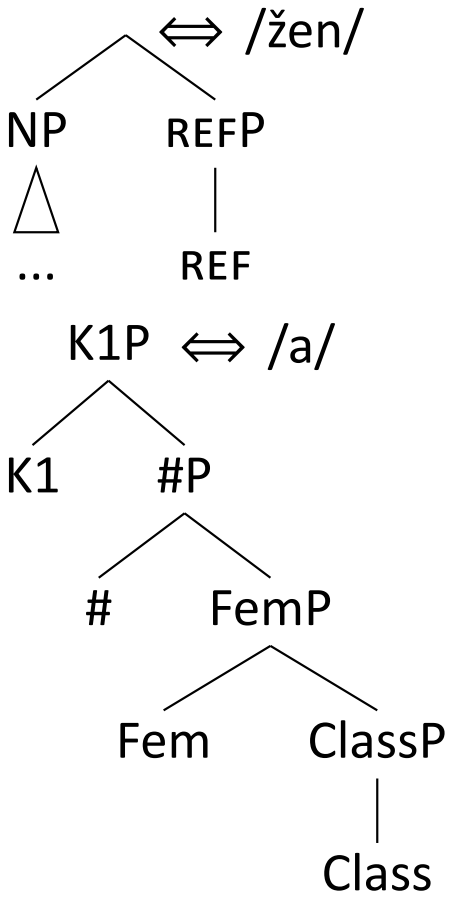
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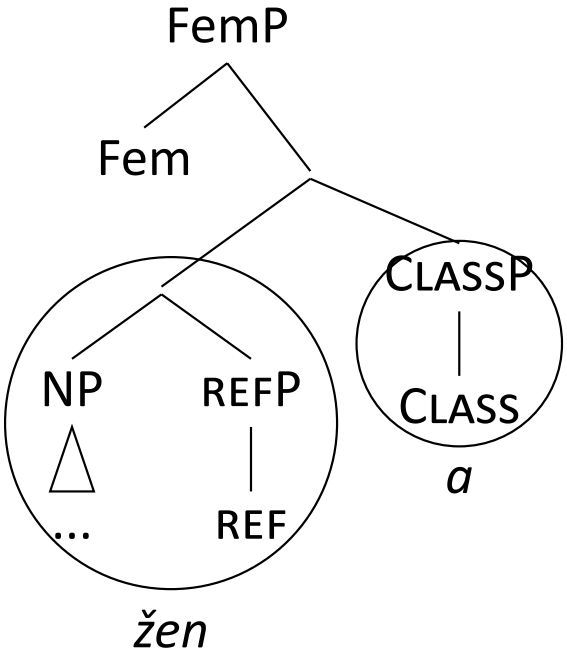
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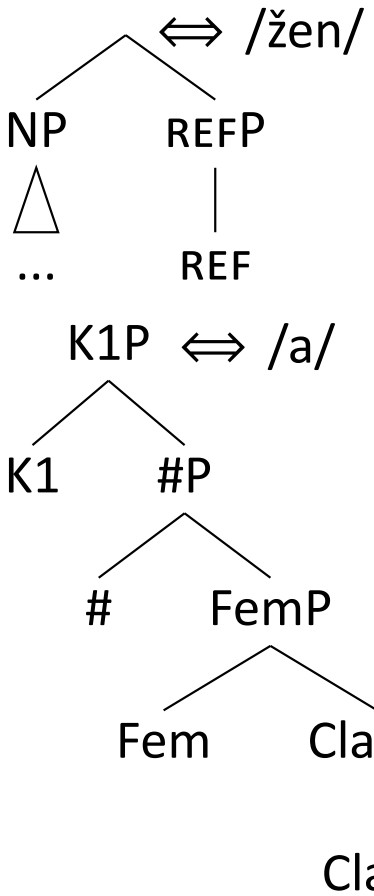
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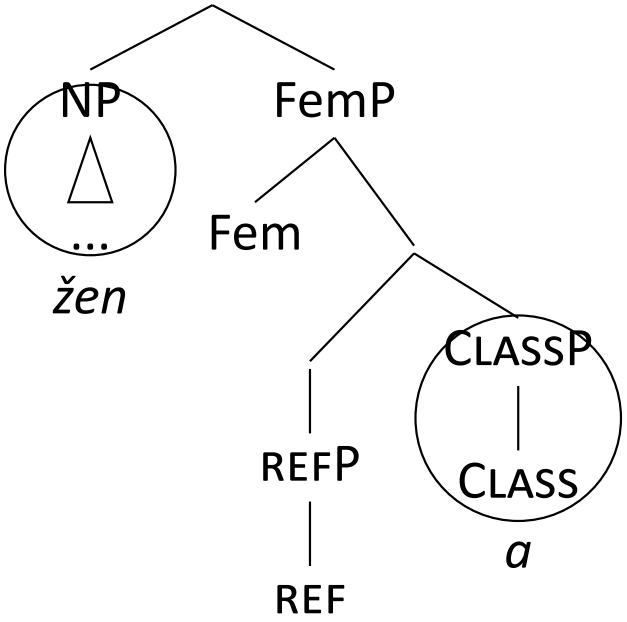
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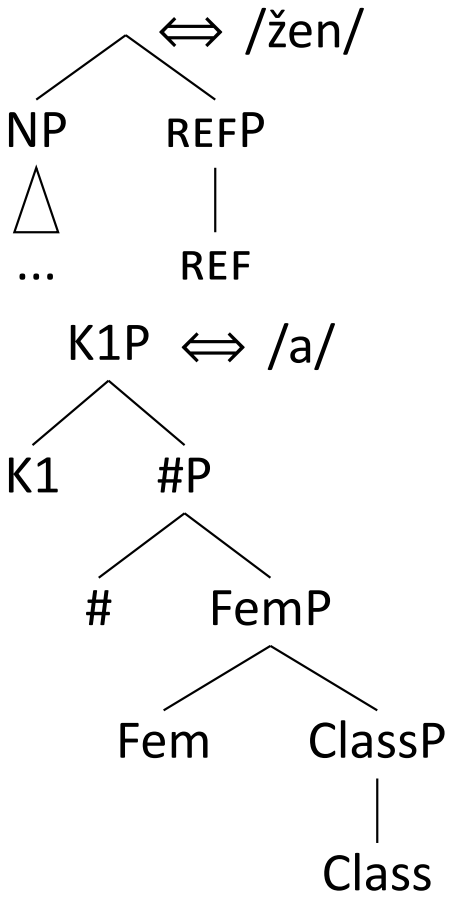
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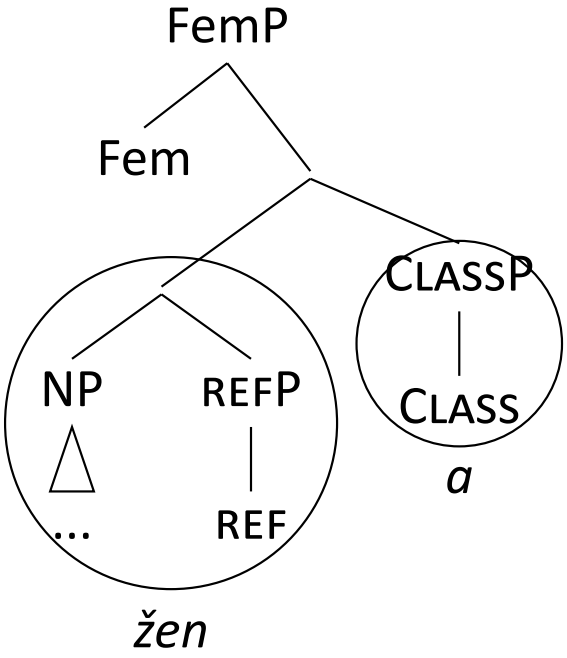
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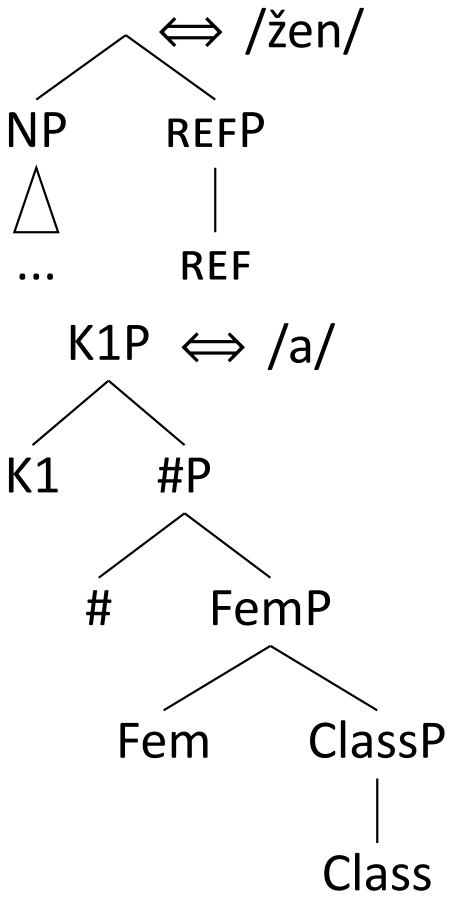
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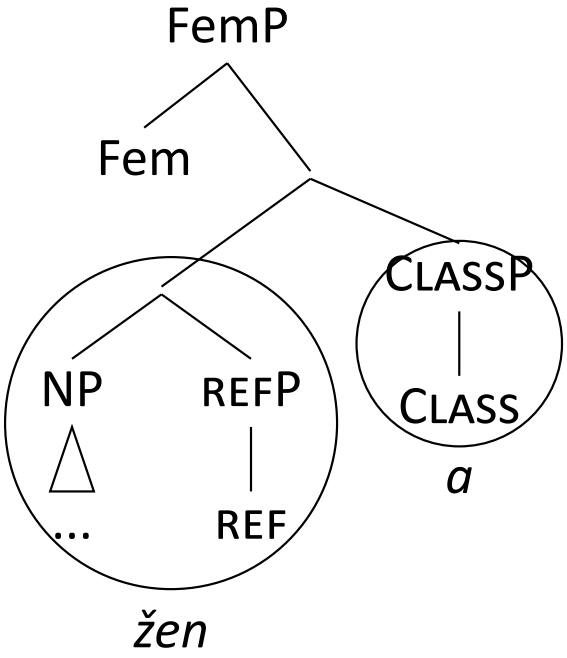
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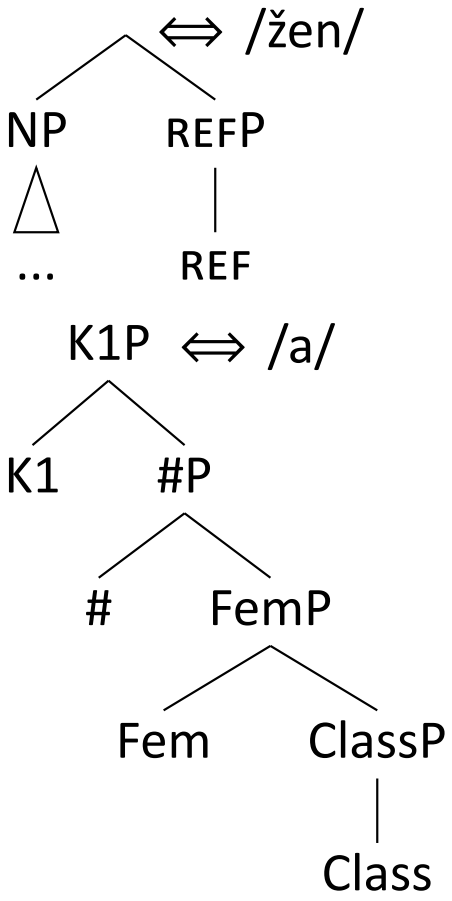
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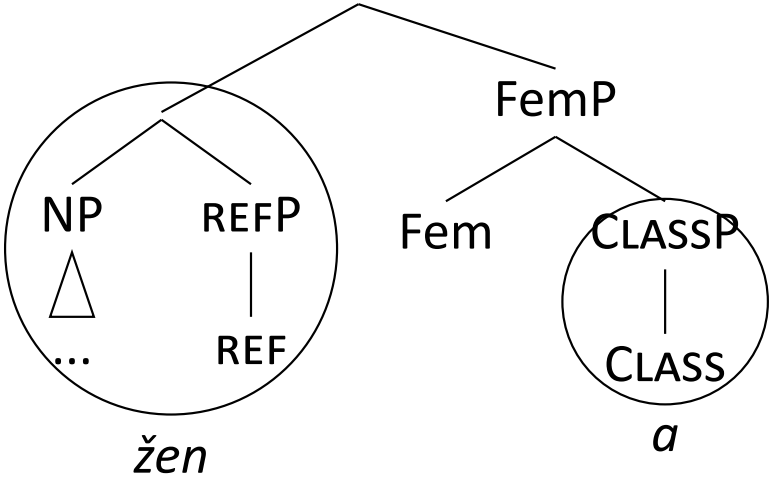
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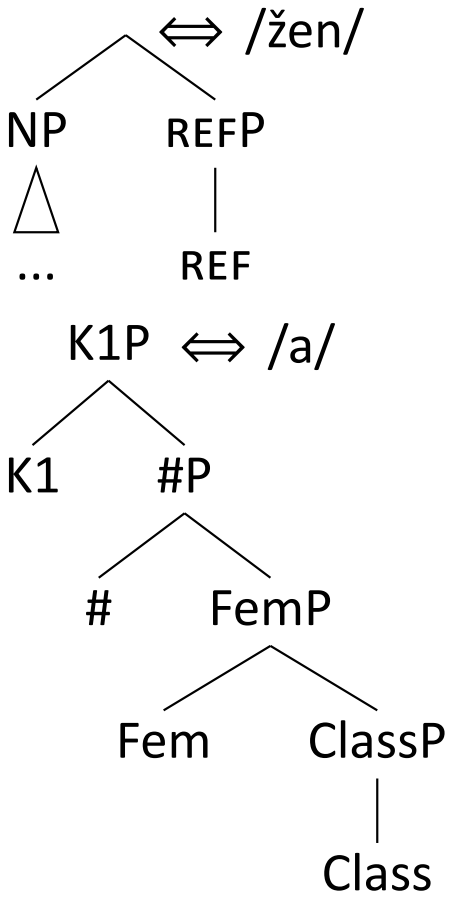
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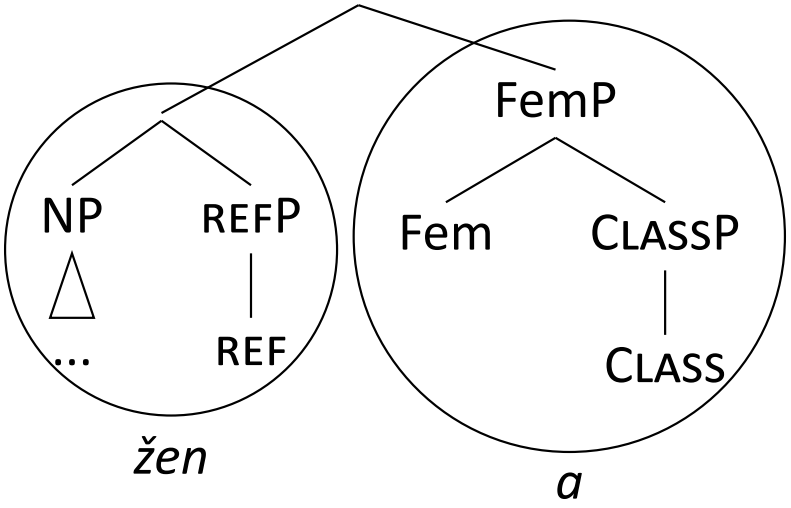
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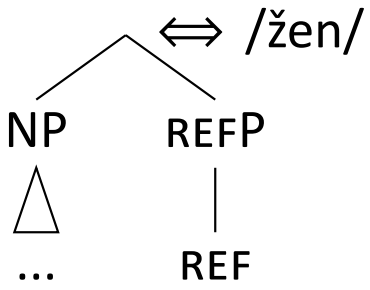
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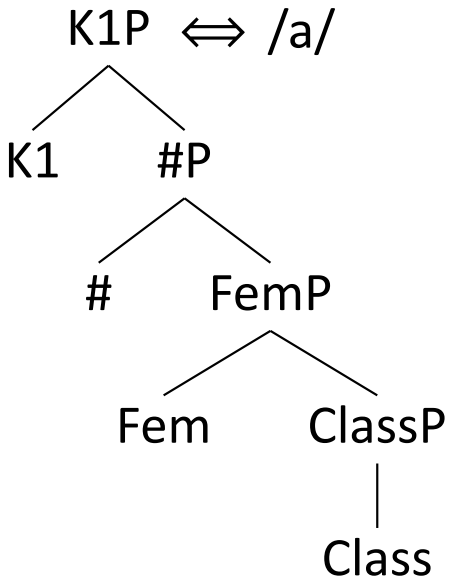
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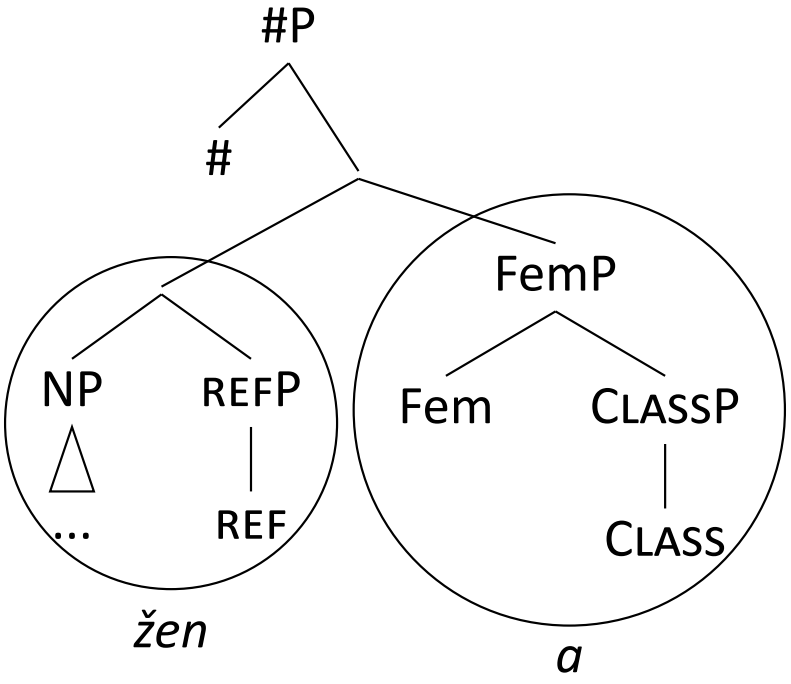
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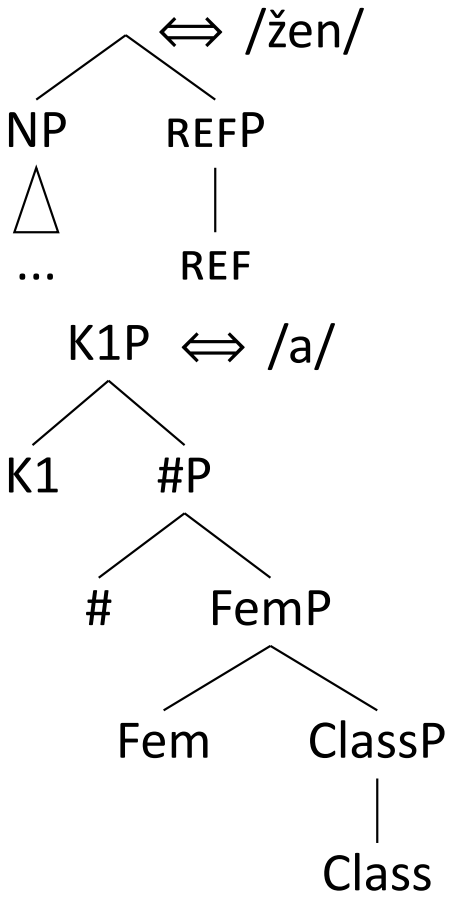

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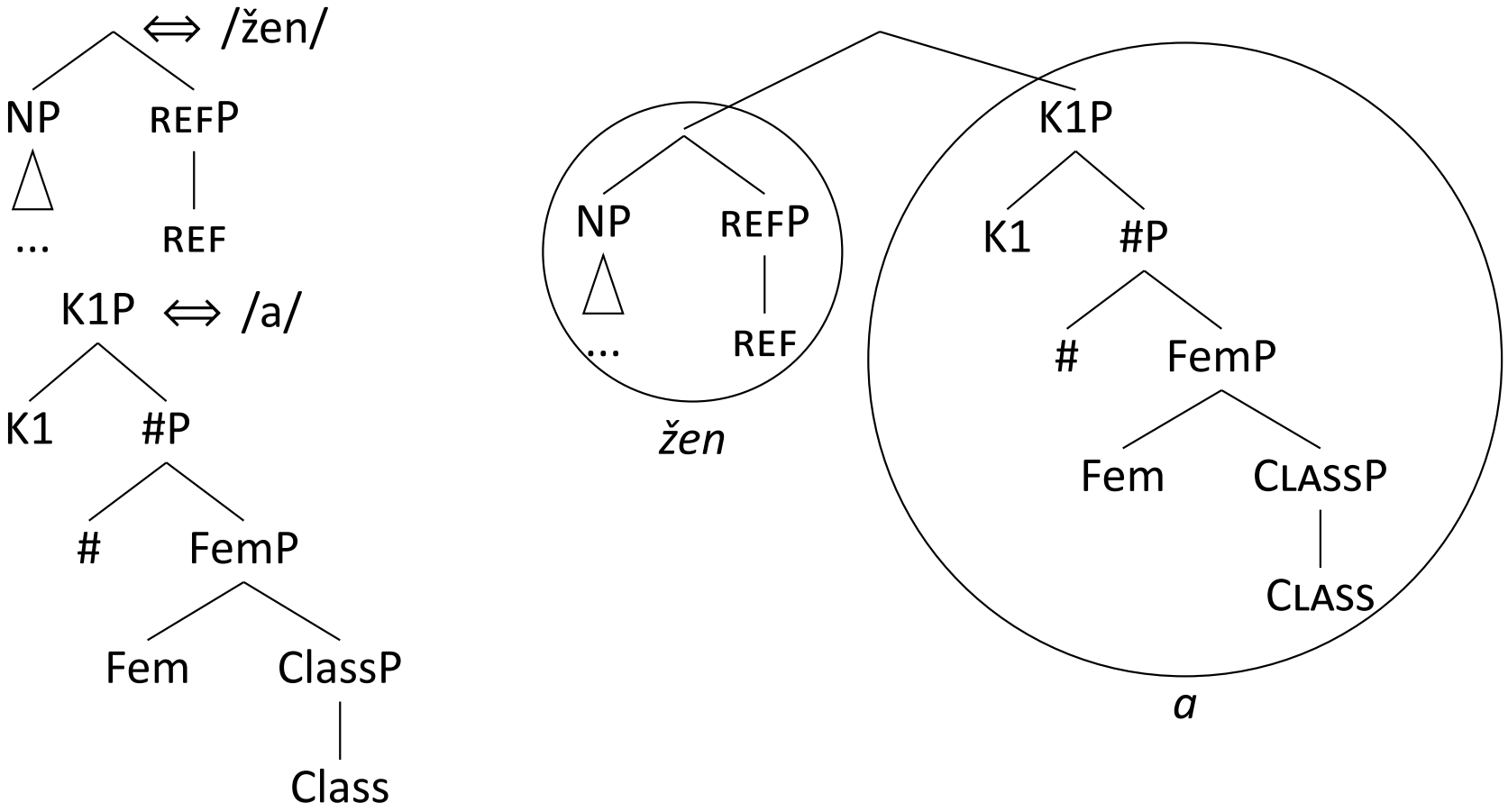
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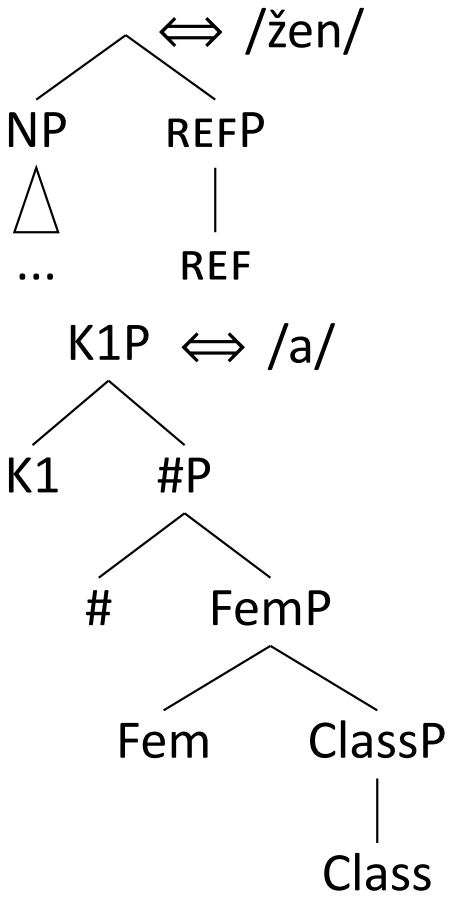
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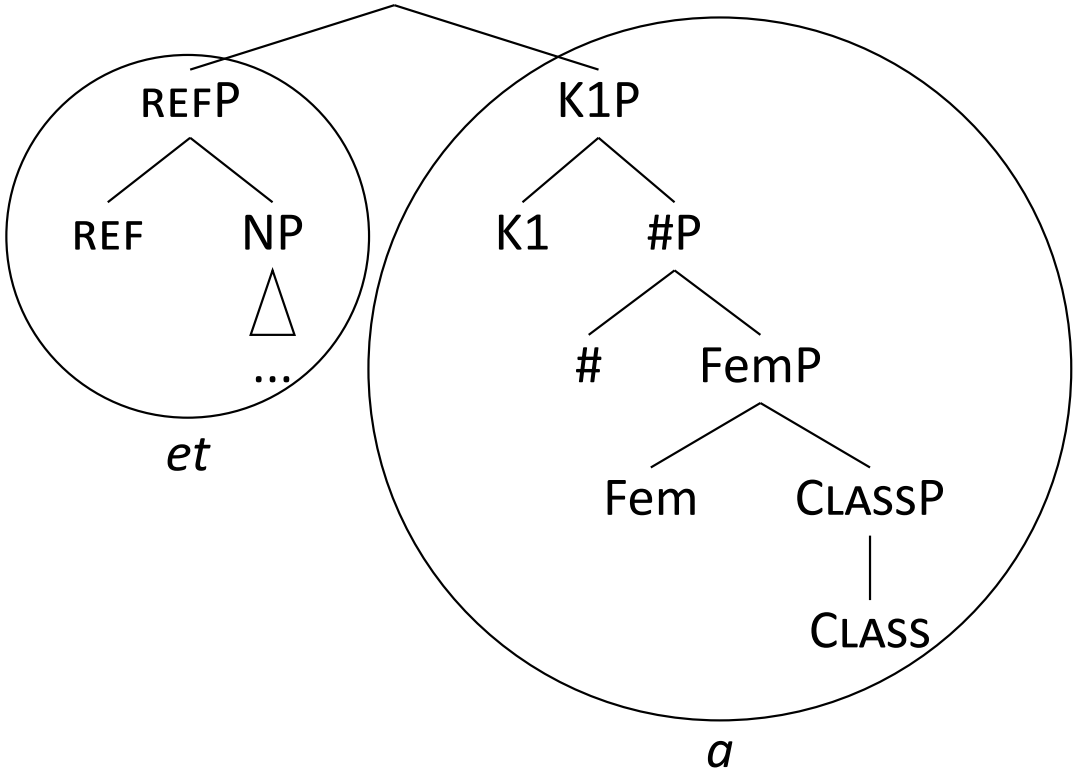
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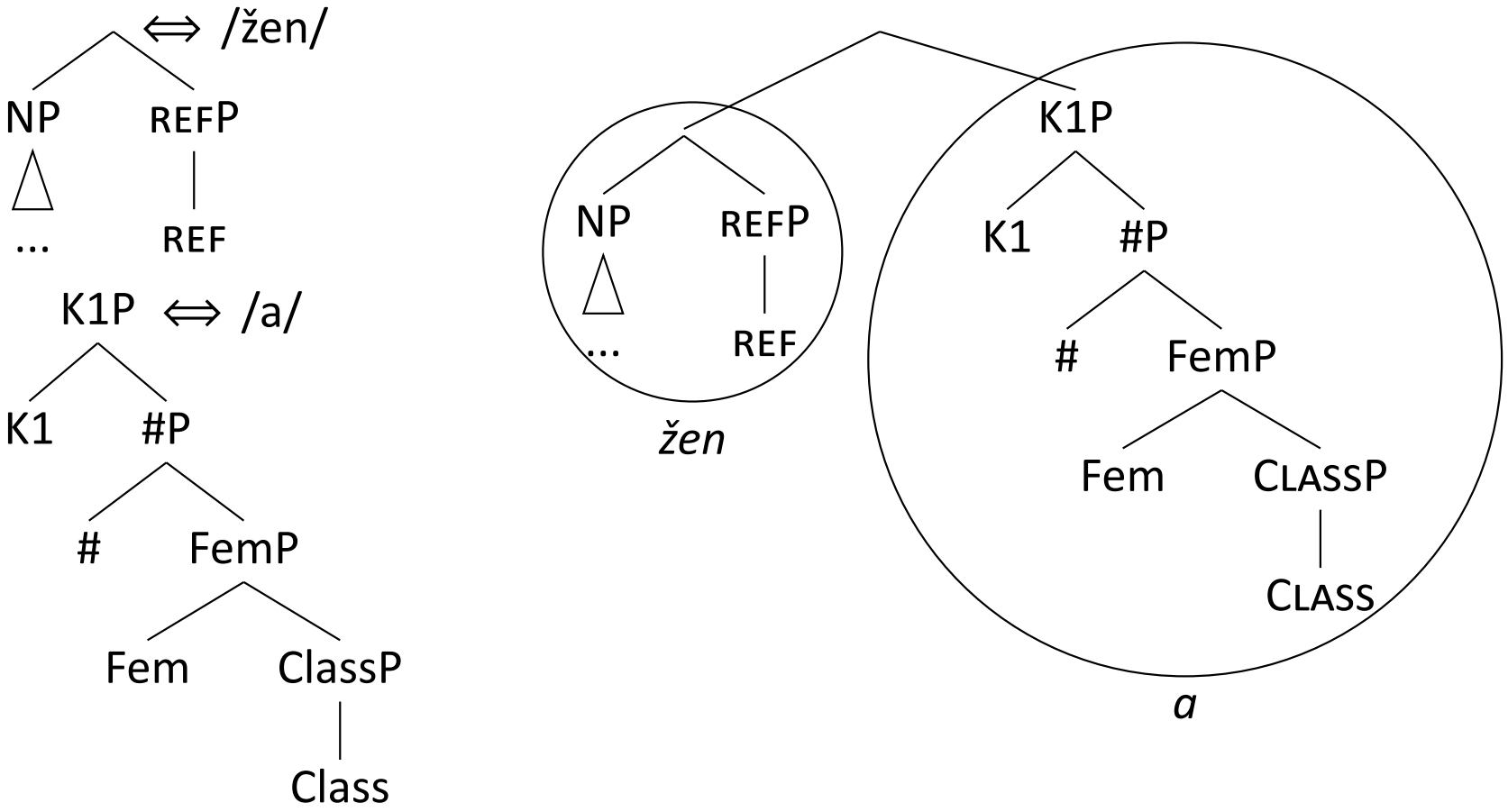
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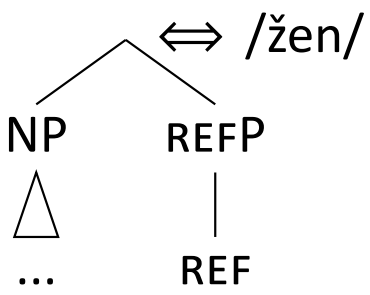
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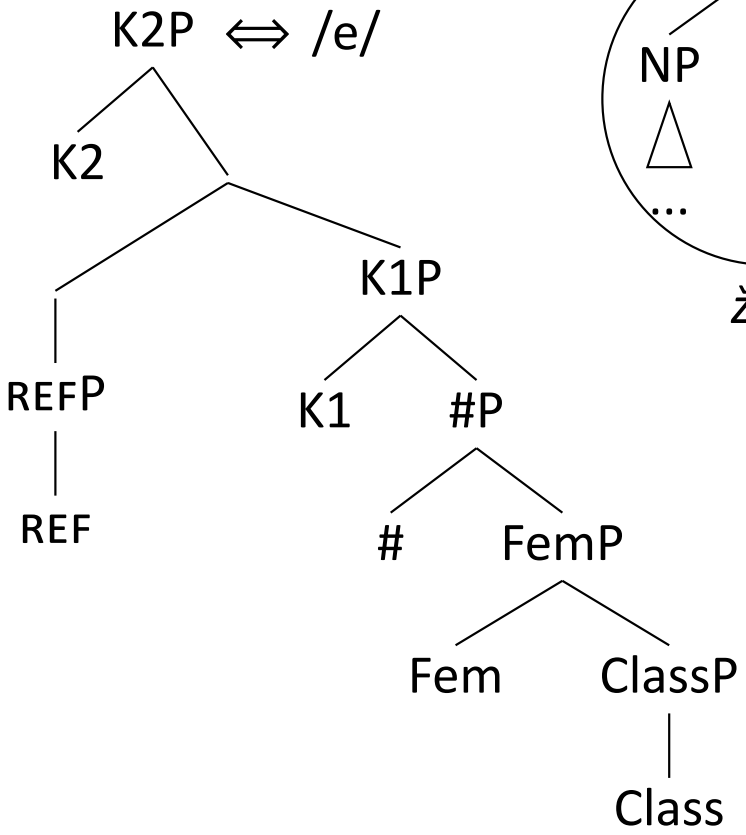
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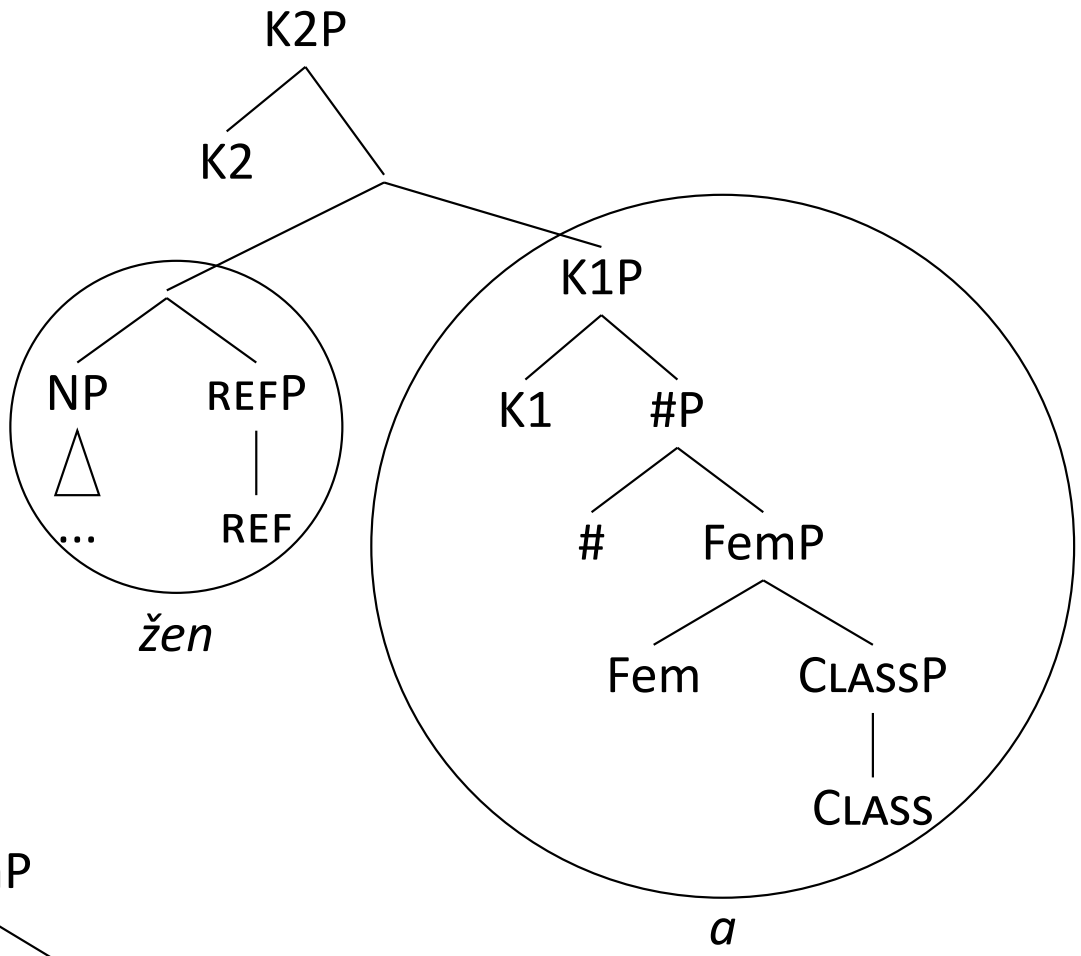
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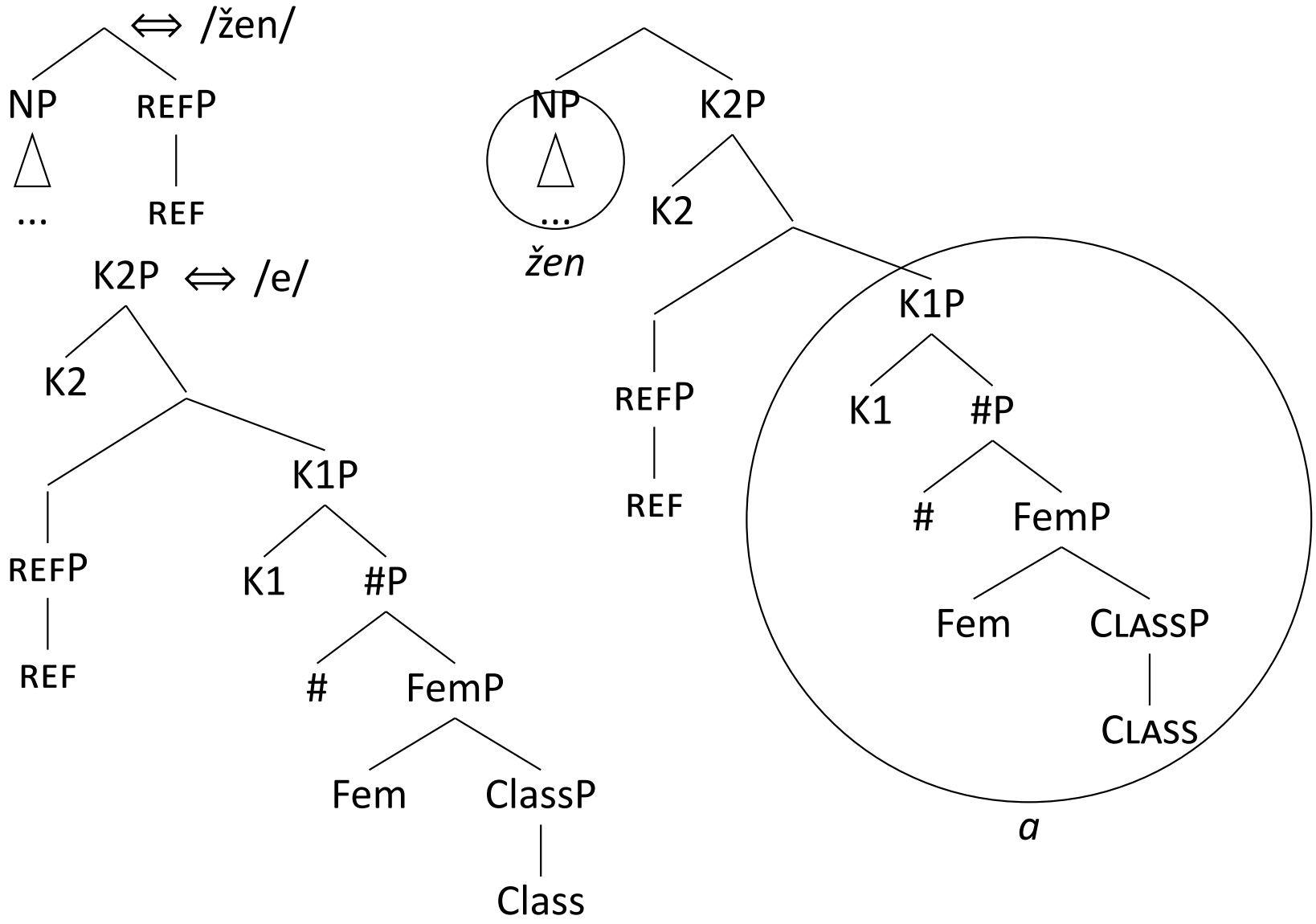
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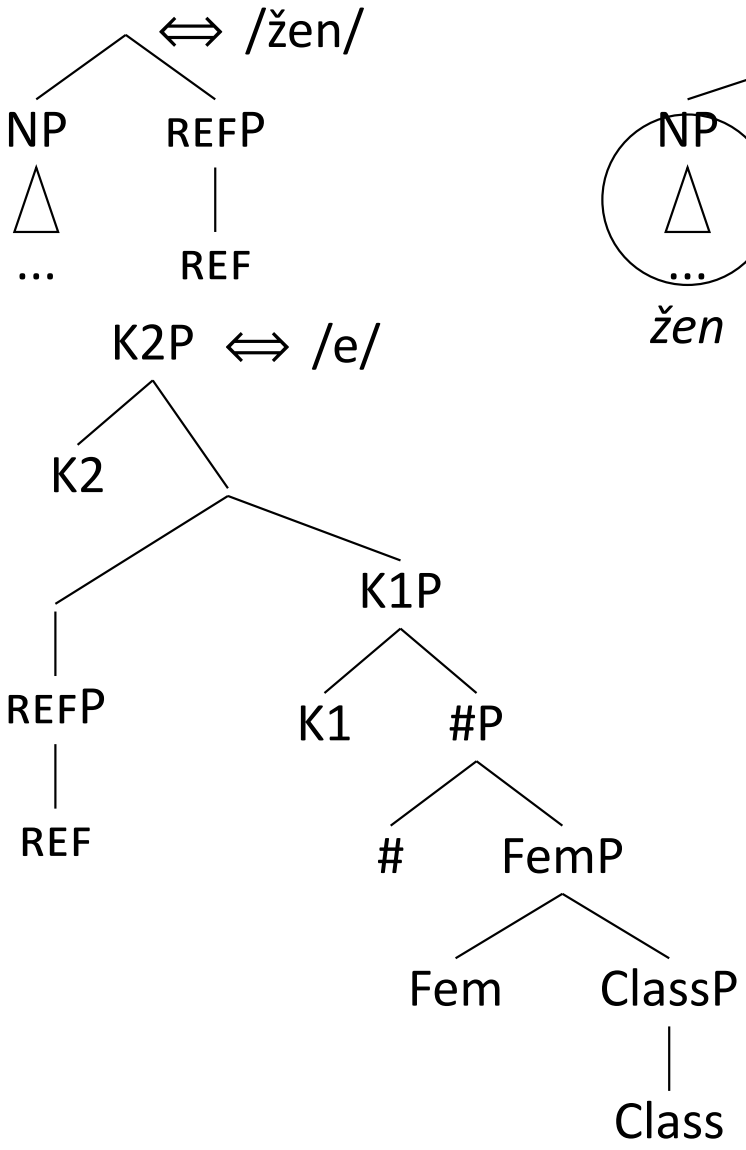
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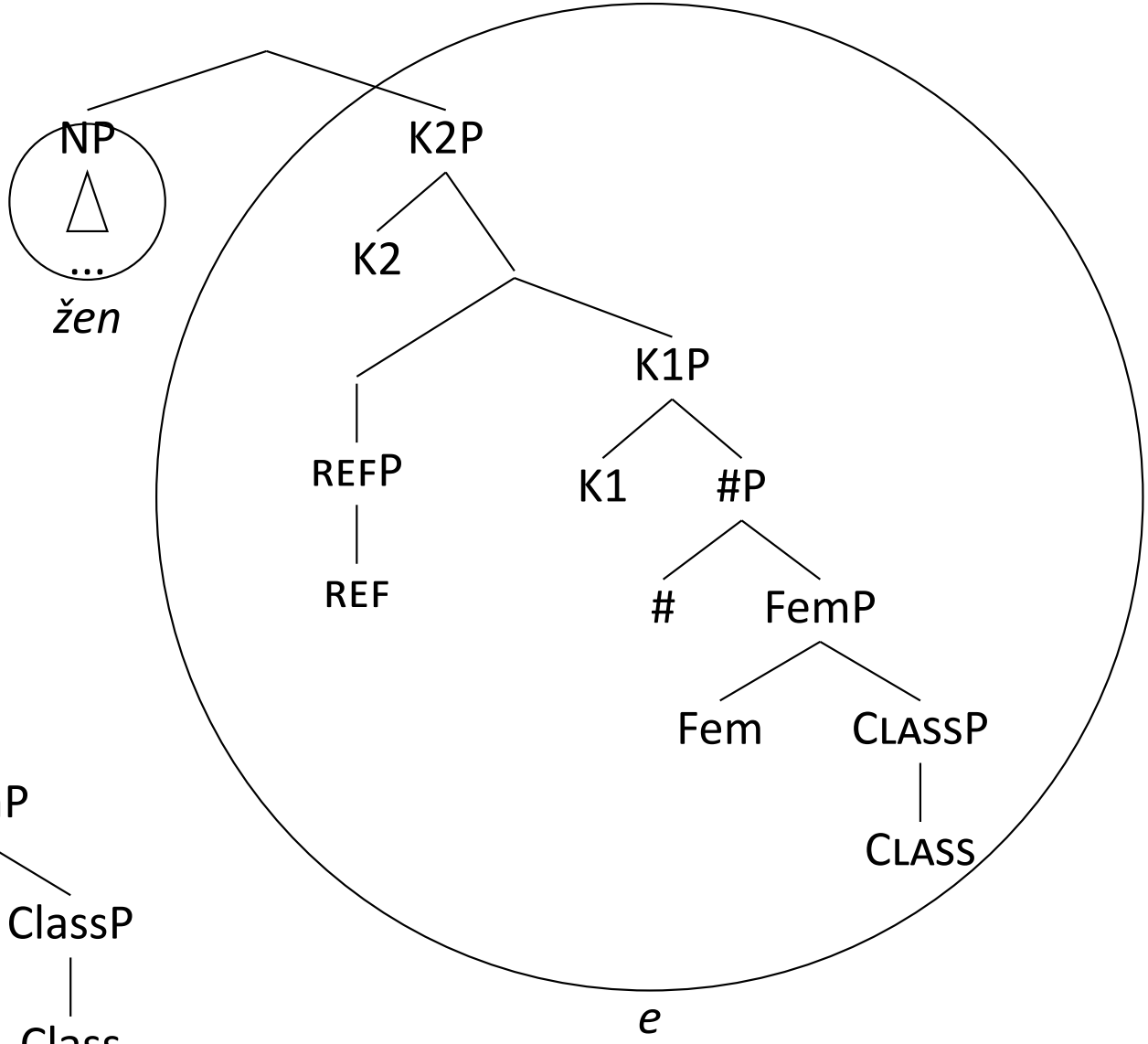
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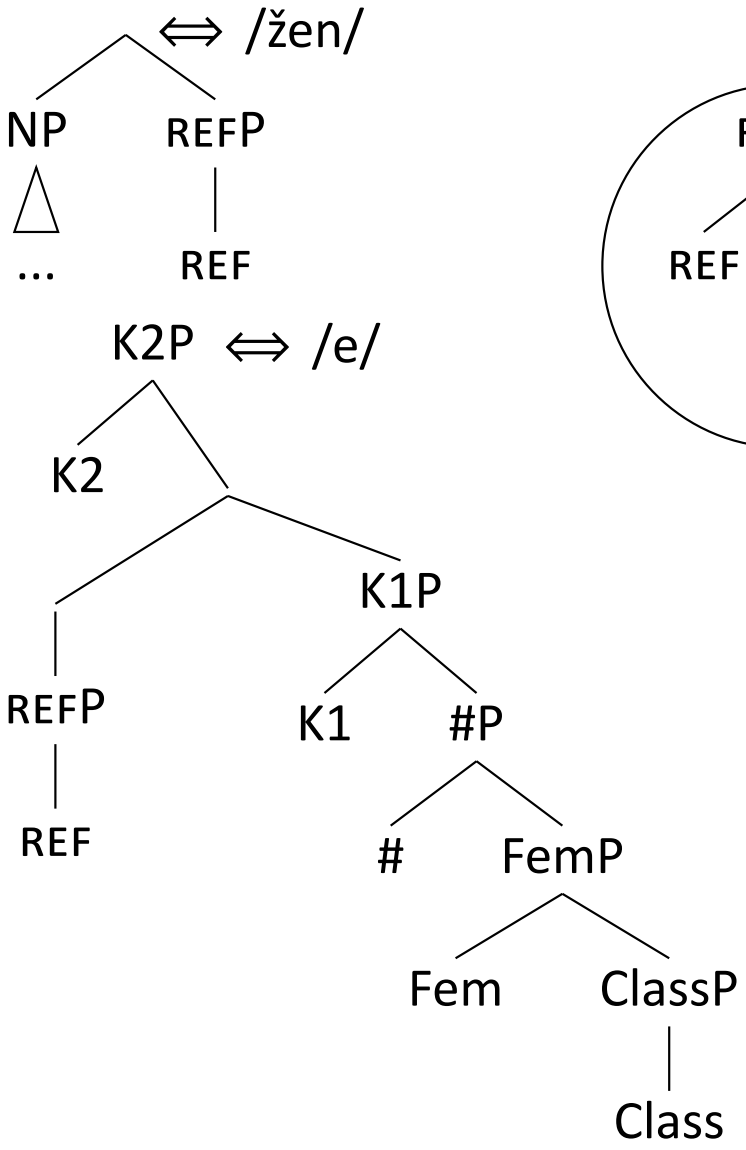
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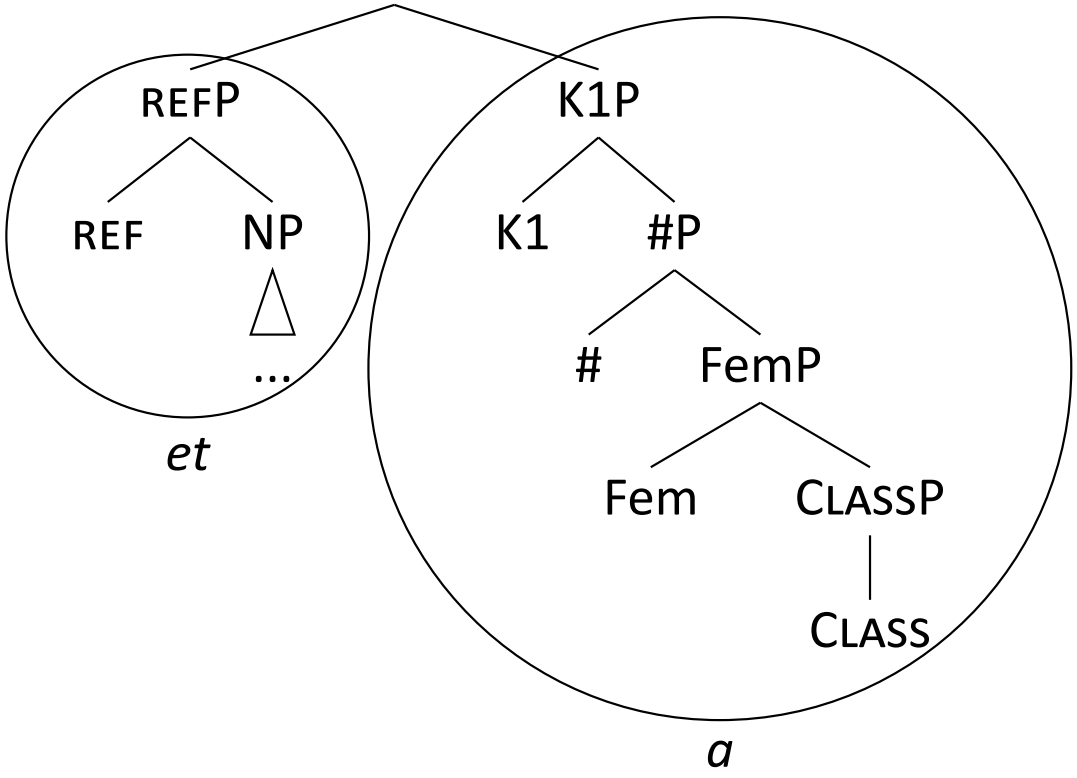
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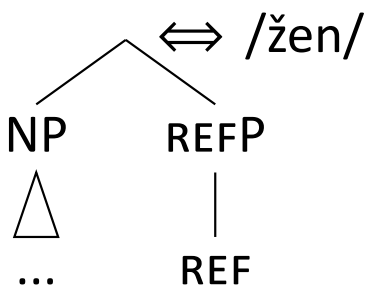
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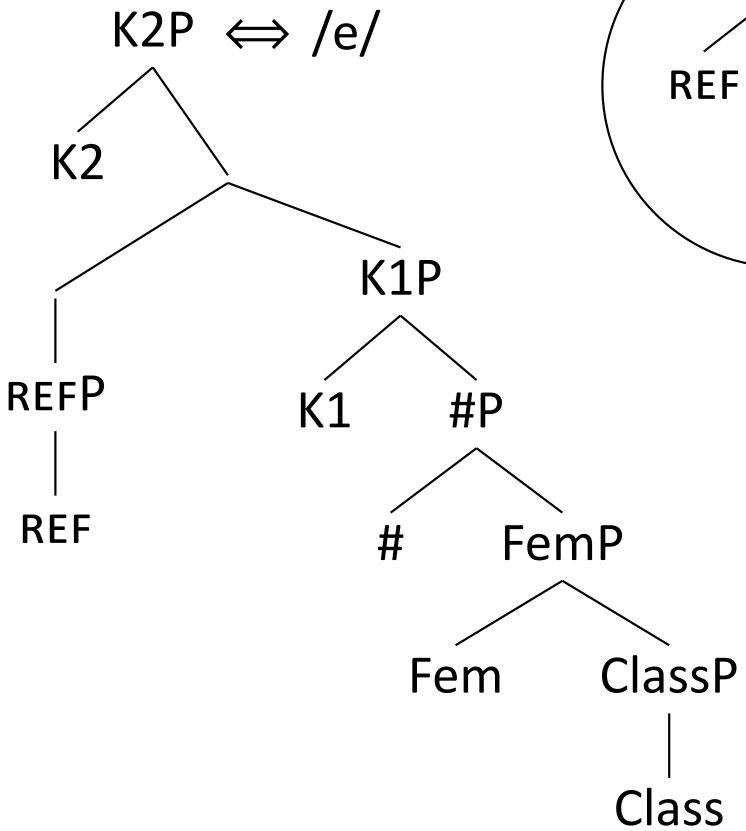
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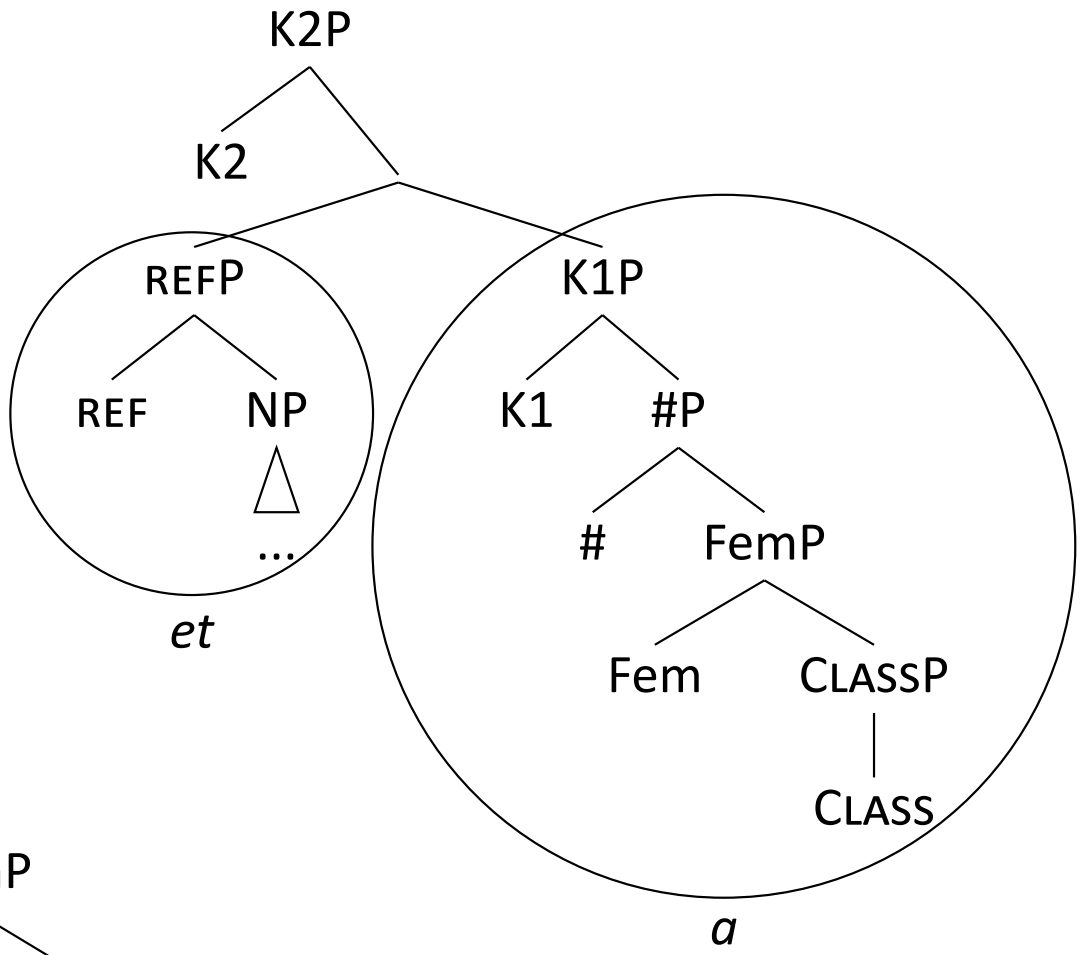
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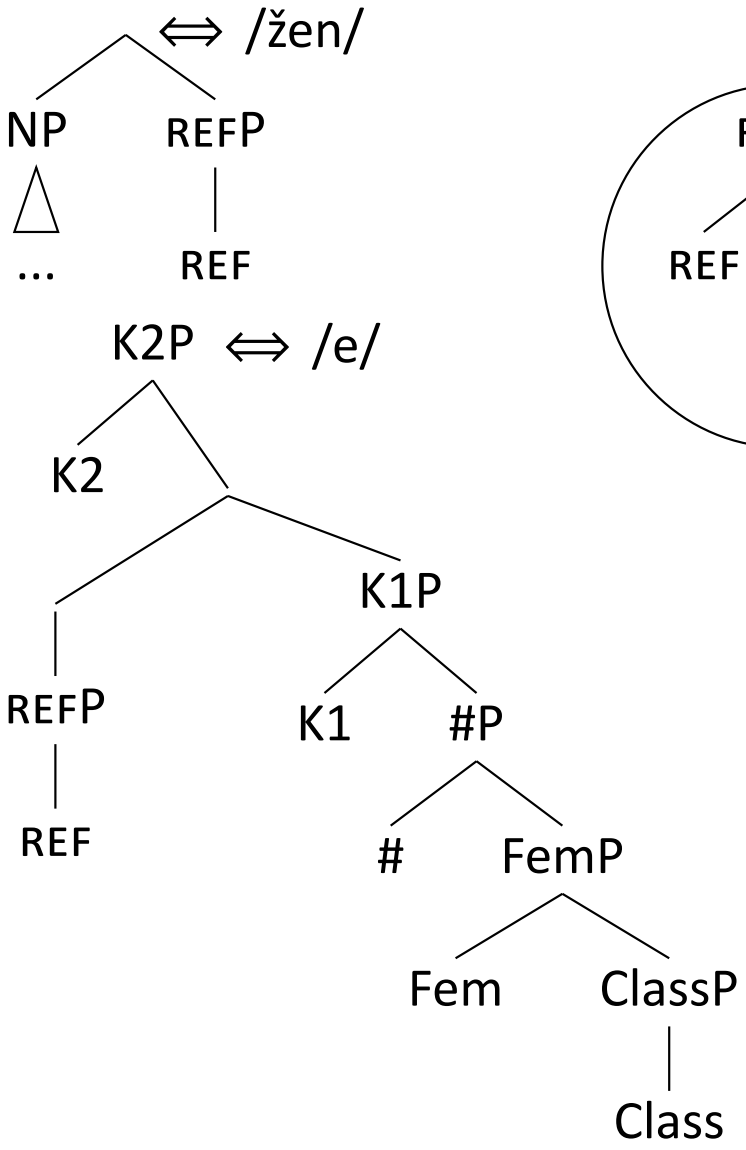
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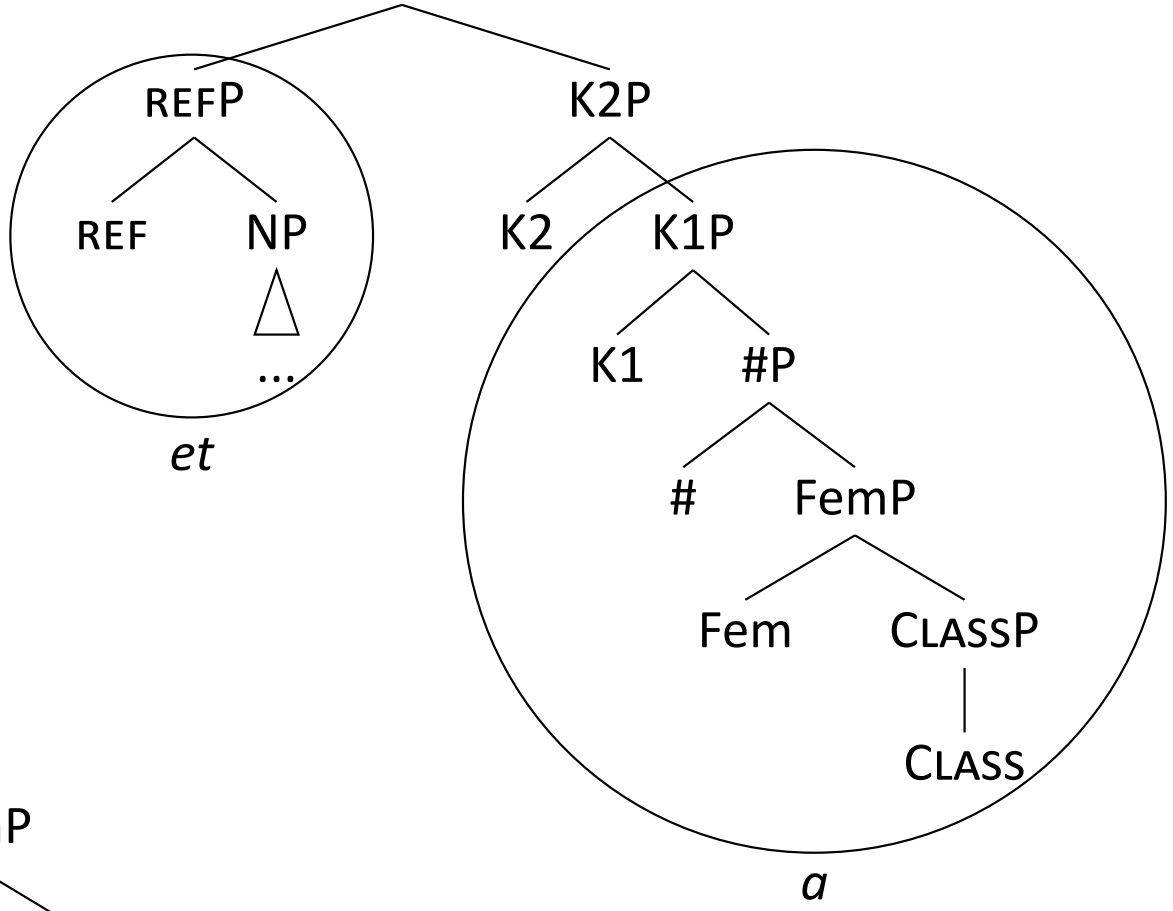
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Conclusions

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