WORD ORDER TYPOLOGY OF RĀJI

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Abstract

This paper reports on the results of an empirical study of word order correlations based on the samples of the Barzoki dialect of the Rāji language (Esfahan Province, Iran) with respect to Dryer’s proposed criteria (1992). Barzoki Rāji is an endangered language with small communities of less than 50 speakers. The data was elicited from audio recordings of 4 of Rāji’s native participants, including 2 males and 2 females. The findings of this survey show that 15 criteria of 26 criteria act as an OV language and 11 criteria act like a VO language. Therefore, it can be stated that more than half of the Barzoki criteria show the linguistic criteria of OV language.

Keywords
typology, word order, syntactic phrase, Barzoki, Rāji, Dryers criteria, endangered language

TIPOLOGÍA DEL ORDEN DE PALABRAS EN RĀJI

Resumen

Este artículo describe los resultados de un estudio empírico sobre correlaciones de orden de palabras basado en muestras del dialecto de Barzoki del idioma Rāji (provincia de Esfahan, Irán) con respecto a los criterios propuestos por Dryer (1992). El Barzoki Rāji es un idioma en peligro de extinción con pequeñas comunidades de menos de 50 hablantes. Los datos se obtuvieron de grabaciones de audio de 4

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participantes nativos de Rāji, incluidos 2 hombres y 2 mujeres. Los resultados de esta encuesta muestran que 15 de los 26 criterios actúan como en una lengua OV y 11 criterios actúan como en una lengua VO. Por lo tanto, se puede afirmar que más de la mitad de los criterios de Barzoki cumplen los criterios lingüísticos del lenguaje VO.

Palabras clave

tipología, orden de palabras, frase sintáctica, Barzoki, Rāji, criterios de Dryer, lengua amenazada

1. Introduction

The notion of “basic word order” has been the center of attention since Greenberg’s (1966) study and the main purpose of the current paper is the study of the basic word order of Rāji (Rāyeji) language of Barzok with respect to Dryer (1992) and Typological criteria. Rāji belongs to the northwest new Iranian languages. In a detailed classification, Rāji is in the group of Central Iranian Plateau Languages. This paper has been divided into four parts. The first section deals with a brief study presented on typological studies. Section 2 introduces language of Barzoki Rāji as an endangered language that is ranked as the severely endangered language by UNESCO scales. Section 3 presents word order typology of this language by Dryer criteria (1992). Finally, section 4 is devoted to discussion of the results and conclusions about the word order typology of Barzoki Rāji.

1.1 Word order perspectives

On the last fifty years, lots of typological studies have been carried out, and they have been increased in the last three decades. Typological comparison is distinguished from the historical comparison of languages — the province of Comparative Philology and Historical Linguistics — and its grouping may not coincide with those set up by the historical method (Crystal 2003). Word order typology, as a main branch of typology, is
now considered as one of the most important fields of typological research. Although an awareness of a relationship between the order of verbs and objects and other word order characteristics dates back to at least the nineteenth century, it is the work of Greenberg (1963) that is generally viewed as marking the beginning of an interest in word order typology. In this part, we are going to take a brief look at some studies about word order perspectives. Word order typology often relies on the basic word order of subject, object, and verb.

In that sense, languages can have one of six basic word orders, SOV, SVO, VSO, VOS, OVS or OSV (Greenberg 1966). Greenberg (1963) discussed that the order of certain pairs of grammatical elements correlates with the order of verb and object. This means, for example, that OV languages prefer to be postpositional, and VO languages prefer to be prepositional. In this regard, he suggested 45 language universals on the basis of the data from 30 languages and according to three elements: a) the order of adposition and noun phrase, b) the order of subject-verb-object, and c) the position of adjective in noun phrase. At last, he proposed a tripartite typology for all of the world's languages naming SOV, SVO, and VSO. In fact, Greenberg's aim was to provide proofs for a number of universals rather than to show which pairs of elements correlate with the order of verb and object. But the next step was taken by Vennemann (1972) who focused attention on the notion of which pairs of elements correlate in order with the verb and object and made it the principal part of word order typology. He decreased this tripartite typology to a bidirectional typology and grouped languages into two classes named VO and OV.

Dryer (1991, 1992, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2007, 2008) found a number of correlation pairs which he claimed to be correlated with the order of object and verb. Dryer’s studies suggest that basic word order and the order of other elements, such as of noun and relative clause and article and noun, are correlated. In this way, Dryer (1992) arranged 20 criteria and tested them on 1228 languages, and the study led him to the conclusion that between the tested languages, 492 languages act as SOV and 435 languages act as SVO, and there are another structures that are very rarely seen on some of the other languages. Kayne (1994) proposed that the only probable order in the world's languages
is verb-object (VO). He discussed that according to this point that verb-object (VO) and object-verb (OV) orders are the most frequent order between the worlds languages, the specifier must be added to this order so as to reach to the substructure of the SVO and OVS. At last on the basis of lots of reasoning, he selected the SVO order as a default form that all of the other structures emerge from. Dabir-Moghaddam (1997) analyzed Old Persian, middle Persian, contemporary Persian, and some of the other Iranian languages with respect to Dryer’s proposed criteria. In this research, he concluded that in most of its structure, Persian language acts as a VO language and is promoting from OV to VO and in its path it has passed 2/3 of the way. Moyinzade (2005/1384) introduced the Persian language as a head initial language. He discussed that in Persian, noun phrases, adjective phrases, and adpositional phrases and clauses are definitely head initial, and only verb phrasse and sentences are uncertain but which mostly turn up as head final. Moreover, their head initial match springs in an unmarked way.

Dryer (1992), on the basis of data from 1228 languages, has studied the probability and the type of interaction between 24 pairs of elements from one side, and verbs and objects on the other side. He says that former studies came up to the wrong spot from two point of views: first in suggesting a list of elements that are interacted with each other and second in which elements interacted with each other. After suggesting 20 criteria, he analyzed a diversity of languages and concluded that Head-Dependent Theory can’t describe these interactions carefully. He at last proposed Branching-Direction Theory that according to this, languages tend to be right-branching or left-branching and suggested that it is better to analyze the interaction of word order with respect to the direction of their branching. Dabir-Moghaddam (2013) has studied on the typology of some Iranian languages. After an introduction to typology and Iranian languages through two chapters, he has analyzed 12 Iranian languages on the basis of typology of word order and agreement system.

This survey studies the order of head and is dependent on the syntactic groups of Barzoki Rāji so that to recognize its dominant order on the basis of Dryer proposed Typological criteria.
1.2 About Rāji (Rāyeji) of Barzok

Barzoki (spoken by the residents of Barzok 50 km. far from Kashan) is a Central Iranian Language. It shares many common features with the other Iranian languages, although with some unique properties too. Being known as Rāji or Rayji, its remains have been found in Teymarein Central Iran and in towns and the counties close to Kashan, such as Abuzeidabad, Naragh, Gohrud, Badrud, Barzok, and in Delijan, Nimvar, Mahallat, Meyme, Jowshaghan e Ghali, Vazvan, and Vandad. According to Mann & Hadank (1926), Rāji and other Iranian Central Languages are the continuation of the Median Language. The word Rāji is derived from the name of the capital city of the Median Ancient Land. It is clear that among Iranian languages, the Rāji language is mostly related to the Persian language. These relations were found among the Persian language and all the Persian dialects, but with some phonetic changes. The languages like Armenian, Balouchi, Gilaki, and Neyshaburi are near relatives of Rāji, and the nearest relative of this dialect is Semnani. The Rāji dialect has different varieties. One of the common features of the Central Iranian dialects is that they all had kept the Middle Persian /v/.

In Persian, the consonant, meaning /v/ has changed into /b/ or /go/, but it has remained intact in the Rāji language like the following: /gorg/ (wolf) is /varg/, and /baran/ (rain) is /varan/. According to Sadeghi (2014/1393), one of the unique phonetic features of the Barzaki language is the change of /k/ into /q/. According to this, the Persian word /xak/ would pronounce as /haq/, and the name of Barzok would pronounce as /varzaq/ too.

The Dialects of the Rāji language are also spoken in three villages (Viduj, Viduja and Ozvar) near Barzok, but their dialects are a little different from Barzoki, phonetically and semantically. However, Barzoki Rāji has a number of specific features that make it unique among other Rāji dialects, especially in syntactical features. Among ten neighborhoods in Barzok, just a tiny percent of people knows this language. Sadeghi (2014) and Borjian (2009) believed that this language was going to extinct. Factors such as family's
preference to speak in Persian and the language of education which is Persian has exposed this language to danger.

1.3 Barzoki Rājī as an Endangered language

A language is endangered when it is on a path toward extinction (UNESCO 2003). The most commonly used factor in evaluating the vitality of a language is whether or not it is being transmitted from one generation to the next (Fishman 1991). Endangerment can be ranked on a continuum from safety to extinction. Table 1 indicates the Intergenerational Transmission of languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Endangerment</th>
<th>Speaker population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>safe</strong></td>
<td>The language is spoken by <em>all generations</em>. There is no sign of linguistic threat from any other language, and the intergenerational transmission of the language seems uninterrupted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stable yet threatened</strong></td>
<td>The language is spoken in <em>most contexts by all generations</em> with unbroken intergenerational transmission, yet multilingualism in the native language and one or more dominant language(s) has usurped certain important communication contexts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unsafe</strong></td>
<td>Most but not all children or families of a particular community speak their language as their first language, but it may be restricted to specific social domains (such as at home where children interact with their parents and grandparents).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Definitely endangered</strong></td>
<td>The language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home. The youngest speakers are thus of the <em>parental generation</em>. At this stage, parents may still speak their language to their children, but their children do not typically respond in the language.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Barzoki Rāji language is used mostly by the old generation. While the parent generation may understand the language, they cannot use it in cultural communication. By the UNESCO scale, this language is ranked as a severely endangered language.

2. Word order typology of Barzoki Rāji (Rāyeji)

In this part, each of the criteria is presented with some examples. In every section, at first a criterion is presented, then an analysis is put forward, and at last some Barzoki samples are given that each is analyzed in three parts. On the first line, a Barzoki sample is given. On the second line, there is its syntactic analysis, and on the third line, its English equivalent is given.

The authors have used the latest version of The Leipzig Glossing Rules (2015) for glossing the phrases of the language.
1. Adposition type

(1) **mina ru kiede sowaf de reza do**
    3sg-Sub-Fem  PREP  N  Obj1  PREP  Obj2  1sg -give-pst
    mina at home her apple to Reza gave

Mina gave her apple to Reza at (in) the house.

**Ergative structure in the past**

(2) **Mæ Xodø Ahmad æf-om**
    1sg  PREP  dat.sg  1sg-go-prs-prog
    I With Ahmad go

I go with Ahmad.

In some cases, it is possible to eliminate the adposition, like in the following example:

(3) **Kommæ de kio**
    2sg-come-fut  PREP  N
    will come to house

Will you come to house?

(4) **nu merio ta sob esborfæke**
    3sg  PREP  dat.sg  3sg-plow-prs-prog
    That man until morning plow

That man was plowing until morning.

(5) **numin ve mæ bæftændæ ræz**
    Sub  prep  1sg-pronoun  3 pl -go-pst OBL
    They without me Went garden

They went to the garden without me.
Based on the examples, Barzoki Rāji is is almost a prepositional language. Some of the Barzoki Rāji prepositions are: dʏ (on), ru (in, at), xode (with), ta (until), and ve (without). The only postposition in Barzoki is de (from) that is shown in example 16. According to Dabir-Moghaddam (1992), Persian has the same status in adposition, with a single postposition (rɒ) and a large number of prepositions.

2. Order of noun and relative clause

The man who talked to you yesterday.

In this language, relative clauses come after nouns. In fact, after a noun there is a relative pronoun /ke/ as the beginner of the relative clause.

3. Order of noun and genitive

The button of dress

our house
In Barzoki, the genitive comes after the noun.

4. Order of adjective and standard in comparative construction

Noun-adjective compounds arise from modifying adjectives after a head noun:

(9) dowmun butulfær -e Mæ hæstæ
    SUB ADJ from OBJ 3sg -is-prs-
sister younger than me is

My sister is younger than me.

(10) Gortær -e Kiₐ æmae
    ADJ from OBJ
    bigger than our house

Bigger than our house

(11) Mæqbul tære Nun dotia
    ADJ-beautiful more...than that girl

More beautiful than that girl.

(12) Dæw-mun gord -tær-e dow -mun -æ
    brother my old -er sister my is

My brother is older than my sister.

(13) Esbid -tær-æ fîr -æ
    white -er milk is

(It is) whiter than milk.

Standard in comparison construction is the postposition /a/, /æ/ which comes before the noun. /a/, /æ/ are the equivalents of ‘than’ in this language, in Persian “from.”
5. Order of verb and adpositional phrase

(14) numa dy zemi botæ
    3sg-F PREP OBL 3sg -sleep-pst- F
    She on the floor slept

She slept on the floor (ground).

(15) ne bæjtæ ræz
    3sg-m 3sg -sleep-pst-M OBJ
    he went (to) garden

He went to garden.

(16) Kiæmun b-æmæd-om De
    OBL postpos 1sg -come-pst
    Our house from came

I came from our home.

(17) vær Reza gol-e moiro
    OBL Prep OBL 1sg -get-pst
    from Reza a flower got

I got a flower from Reza.

ADP.PH+V

In Barzoki, there are prepositions like: dy: ‘on’, vær: ‘from’, and just one postposition: de means ‘from’, and all of them precede the verb.
6. Order of verb and manner adverb

(18) nænæ æxændædæ bæmædæ
    SBJ 3sg laugh- ADV 3sg -come-pst-f
    mother laughing came

Mother came (while) laughing.

(19) pærpærija æræqsædæ dy zemi ætæftæ
    SBJ-3sg 3sg-dance- pst-prog-ADV PREP obl 3sg -sit-pst
    The butterfly dancing on floor sat

The butterfly sat on the floor (while) dancing.

There is no special manner adverb in this language, and the concept of manner adverbs is stated with a progressive verb, and it comes before the main verb.

7. Order of copula and predicate

(20) Ne Modir -æ
    3sg-m Pred COP -3sg -is-prs
    he teacher is

He is a teacher.

(21) nænæmun budæ
    Noun COP -3sg -is-pst
    Our mother was

(she) was our mother.

(22) bæstæne ræxtun nænæm xeli mæqbul -æ
    Noun Gen1 GEN2 ADJ COP -3sg -is-prs
    bundle (bag) clothes my mother very beautiful is

My mother’s bundle of clothes is very beautiful.
In this language, the predicate comes before the copula.

8. Order of 'want' + verb

(23) Nu jæi bæfe jær
     3sg-m 3sg -want-prs 3sg -go-prs OBL
     he      want      go      city (Kashan)

He wants to go to the city.

(24) mæ moi be jænom bæxusom
     1sg 1sg -want-prs prep OBL 1sg –hit,prs
     I want to my wife hit

I want to hit my wife.

(25) døgp bose
     2sg -want-pst 2sg –sleep
     wanted sleep

Do you want to sleep?

(26) to dægo jænet be bæxuse
     2sg-pron 2sg-want-pst prep OBL 2sg -hit,pst
     you wanted to our wife hit

Did you want to hit your wife?

In Barzoki, the word ‘want’ comes before the main verb.
9. Order of noun and adjective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(27)</th>
<th>sow</th>
<th>sYr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>apple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Red apple

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(28)</th>
<th>kio</th>
<th>buʃyl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Small house

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(29)</th>
<th>vafre</th>
<th>esbid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>snow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

White snow

In Barzoki, the adjective comes after the noun.

10. Order of demonstrative and noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(30)</th>
<th>nun</th>
<th>jæne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That woman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(31)</th>
<th>dote</th>
<th>nem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This girl

The demonstrative comes before the noun.
11. Order of intensifier and adjective

(32) xeili esbid
Inten adj
very white

very white

The place of the intensifier in Barzoki is before the adjective.

12. The order of content verb and auxiliary verb

(33) kom -oft- -om
AUX Verb, go 1sg
will go suffix
I will go.

(34) kon dardi -mæ
AUX verb, have 1pl
will have
We will have.

(35) bæ -mæde -bodom
Prefix-pst pst stem-come Suffix-pst, 1sg
I had come.

(36) bæn xærde -bodom -
Prefix-pst pst stem-eat Suffix-pst, 1sg
I had eaten.

In Barzoki, there are modal auxiliaries /kom, kon/ which show future aspects and
come before the verb stem. The prefixes / bæ(n), ba/ represent the perfective mood on the past tense that comes before the verb stem. Moreover, the suffix /om/ stands for imperfective mood. At last the auxiliary verb for present perfect and past perfect (bodom: meaning to be) comes after the verb stem. So, for auxiliary verb placement there are two possibilities: before and after the verb stem.

13. Order of question particle and sentence

(37) to xode mæ æta bæjmae ræz
    2sg prep obl 2sg -want-pst 1pl -want-pst
    you with me come go garden

Do you come to go to the garden with me?

(38) dunæ de juju-in do
    OBJ art Obl 2sg -give-pst
    food the chickens gave

Did you feed (give the food) to chickens?

In Barzoki, there is no question particle or auxiliary inversion, so they just change the intonation to make a yes and no question.

14. Order of adverbial subordinator and clause

(39) nun bajo mæ bænvo
    3sg 3sg -come-pst 1sg 1sg -say-pst
    he came I said

When he came, I said.
When children grow, I will tell you.

There is no adverbial subordinator in this language.

15. Order of article and noun

(41) vætʃæ -i
INF N
a Kid

A kid

(42) modir -æ
Def isg
teacher The

The teacher

(43) marjin -e
1sg def

The cat

The definite article in this language is /æ, e/ and the indefinite article is /i/. Both of the definite and indefinite articles in this language are suffixes and come after the noun.

16. Order of verb and subject

(44) 44. mæ Ali -m bædi
1sg 3sg.act 1sg see-pst

I saw Ali.
The kids are eating food.

In Barzoki, the subject comes before the verb.

17. Order of numeral and noun

(46)  

haewde  mie

Num  noun

seventeen  ewe

Seventeen ewes

(47)  

vis  dojo  o  daejæ

Num  noun  noun

twenty  sisters  and  brothers

Twenty sisters and brothers

The numeral always comes before the noun in Barzoki.

18. Order of tense-aspect affix and verb stem

(48)  

bae  -væf-  t-  -om

prefix-past  verb, run, pst  interfix  suffix

I was running

(49)  

æ  -vez  -om

prefix-1sg-prs  verb, run, prs  suffix, prog

I am running.

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In Barzoki, there are modal auxiliaries /kom, kon/ which show future aspects and come before the verb stem. The prefixes /æ, bæ/ represent the past tense and come before the verb stem. Moreover, the suffix /om/ stands for the imperfective mood. So, tense aspect affix splits in this language and comes as a prefix and suffix.

19. Order of possessive affix and noun

Possessive pronouns are commonly criticized as nouns–phrase clitics and eventually also noun affixes (Givón 2001: 66).

20. Order of content verb and auxiliary verb
I could go.

(54) \textit{jæ-tun-æ} \quad \textit{bae-xær-e}

3sg-aux-could-pst \quad 3sg-prs-eat

could \quad eat

(He) could go

(55) \textit{æ-tun-om} \quad \textit{bawjom}

1sg-aux-could-prs \quad 13sg-prs-say

can \quad say

I can say.

The auxiliary verb comes before the content verb.

21. Order of complementizer and sentence

(56) \textit{mæ} \quad \textit{zunom} \quad \textit{nem} \quad \textit{jaene} \quad \textit{mehræbun} \quad -æ

1sg \quad 3sg -come-pst \quad 3sg - \quad 3sg \quad Adj-pred \quad COP -3sg -is-prs

I know (that), this woman is kind.

In Barzoki, the complementizer comes before the supplementary clause. Moreover, in Barzoki, the complementizer is omissible.

22. Wh movement

(57) \textit{kopæzæt} \quad \textit{be} \quad \textit{ke} \quad \textit{do}

obj-erg-question-letter \quad \text{prep, to} \quad \text{q-whom} \quad 2sg, pst, give

to \quad whom \quad gave

To whom did you give the letter?
I asked the police, where is my brother?

The question particle stays in its position.

23. Order of verb and object

The kids caught the goat.

I dried the alfalfa.

The direct object comes before the verb. This language has ergative structure in the past tense, and the object agrees with verb. But in example 54 as a clausal object sample, you see that the object comes after the verb so two possibilities are conceivable for the order of object and verb.
24. Order of verb and negative particle

Negation-marking morphemes cliticize to the verb or verb phrase, often in the same complex as tense-aspect-modality (Givón 2001: 71).

(61)  næ æft om  
    neg go 1sg-pst  
I did not go.

(62)  næ kom oft om  
    neg 1sg-aux-will go 1sg-prs  
I did not go.

The negative particle in Barzoki is the prefix /næ/ which comes before the verb stem.

3. Discussion

Based on Dryer’s criteria, the basic word order of Barzoki Rāji’s sentences is subject-Object-Verb, typically abbreviated as SOV. This is also the basic word order of languages like Persian, Japanese, and Hindi. Although Marashi (1970) has assumed the SVO order for Persian, Tabaian (1974), Karimi (1989), and Darzi (1996) have proposed the underlying SOV order when the object is phrasal and the SVO order when the object is a clausal complement. Showing 14 features of OV and 9 features of VO typological word order put this language among languages with flexible word order.
As mentioned before, the Rāji language of Barzok has a flexible SOV word order. Nepali is a language discussed by Givón (2001: 236) which has a SOV word order and morphologically ergative language like the Rāji language.

Subject–object–verb (SOV)

Nepali is the main Indic language of Nepal. It is a morphologically ergative language (Givón 2001: 236). Rāji is also morphologically ergative in past tense.
The kids caught the goat.

Ergative structure in the past but has no ergative behavior in the present tense.

The kids are reading a book.

Example 65 illustrates an example of modern Nepali with a SOV word order and an Ergative structure (Givón 2001).

I have to do this work.

The project found its way on the basis of Dryer’s (1992) work on word order.

4. Conclusion

Barzoki Rāji as an endangered language is a SOV language that shows pragmatically SVO behavior. From the discussions we have had and on the basis of tables, we could reach to some conclusions:

1. Although Barzoki Rāji is a prepositional language, some of its adpositions are omissible.

2. As you can see in the table 3, Barzoki acts in 15 criteria of 26 criteria as an OV language and acts in 11 criteria like a VO language. Therefore, it can be stated that in
more than half of the criteria Barzoki shows the OV linguistic characteristics.

3. It has to be mentioned that Rāji Barzoki has great influences from new Persian because of great language contacts. This language is an endangered language that is spoken just by the old generation of this city, and this language is going to die because of some sociolinguistic factors.

References


## Appendix

List of Abbreviations for glossing of word order typology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1person</td>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 people</td>
<td>3 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
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<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>Article</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLIT</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>Complementizer</td>
<td>Complementizer</td>
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