

Subject placement in Estonian Swedish

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Abstract

This paper presents an overview of subject placement in sentences with a negation in Estonian Swedish (ESW) with a focus on the relative order between subject and negation in the so-called middle field (cf. Diderichsen [1946] 1957; Teleman et al. 1999, vol. 4:7–11). In one of the four dialect areas in ESW, the Rågö/Vippal/Korkis area, the designated position for the subject in the middle field is found to be the one following the negation. The other dialect areas seem to have a subject position that corresponds more to Standard Swedish (SSW), where the relative order of subject and sentence adverbial in this area of the clause is decided by factors as information structure and semantic scope (cf. Andréasson 2007).¹

1. Introduction

Estonian Swedish is an umbrella term for the Trans-Baltic Swedish dialects that were spoken mainly in the north west of Estonia. Figure 1 shows the area where ESW was spoken from Nargö in the north to Runö in the very south. There is evidence that there were Swedish settlements in this area in the 14th century, and Swedish presence is mentioned in the town of Hapsal already a century before that (Tiberg 1964:17f; Lagman 1979:3ff; Rendahl 2001). During the second world war the main part of the Swedish population in Estonia was evacuated to Sweden, and today there are just a handful of Estonian Swedes left in Estonia. However, in Sweden there is still a group of speakers of the dialects, mainly men and women that were evacuated as young children during the war.

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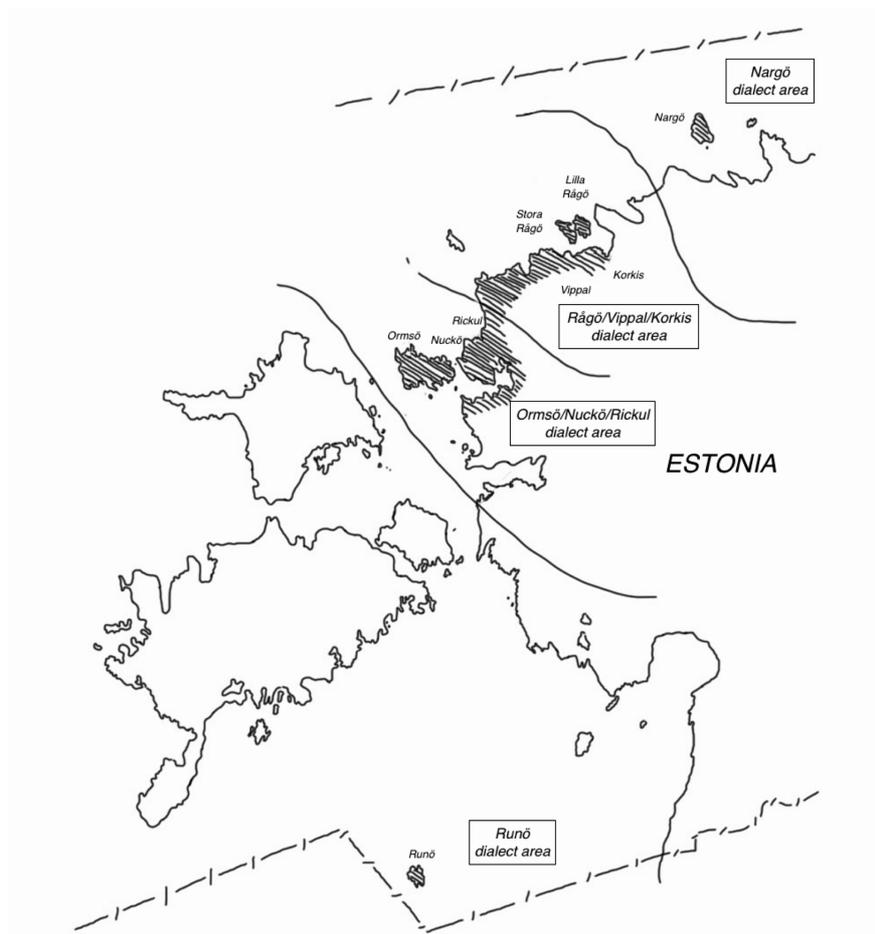


FIGURE 1: Estonian Swedish dialect areas in Estonia: Nargö; Stora Rågö, Lilla Rågö, Vippal, Korkis; Ormsö, Nuckö, Rickul; Runö.

The ESW dialects have distinct characteristics that separate them both from Swedish dialects and from the Finland Swedish (FSW) dialects. To the present day, there has not been much work done on the dialect syntax of ESW. In previous work, it is instead mostly the sound system and the lexicon/morphology that has been investigated in traditional dialectological studies (cf. Tiberg 1964; Lagman 1979a,b; Rendahl 2001). The investigation in this paper has been performed within the ESST project (Estlandsvenskans språkstruktur, University of Gothenburg).²

² <https://sites.google.com/site/esstprojektet/>

The corpus used is a text collection where ESW texts appear with a SSW translation (Lagman 1979b). The texts consist of written narratives from all ESW dialect areas.³ From this corpus 312 instances of negations corresponding to the SSW *inte* ‘not’ were identified. With this as a starting point sentences with both a subject and a negation were excerpted. I have excluded clauses without subjects, since they are not relevant for this investigation: sentence fragments, see (1a), relative clauses that lack subjects, see (1b), and sentences with coordinated subjects or subjects that are left out in topic drop as in (1c), or by incorporation in the finite verb as in (1d).⁴

- (1) a. *Ete h are uare.* [RUN O]
not every the-year
 ‘Not every year.’
- b. *T rbakit gick los ari s am itt dansa.* [STORA R AG O]
there-behind walked los ari who not danced
 ‘At the end, the *los ari* came, who didn’t dance.’
- c. *Har itt herd k  langan tid gick b art  t*
have not heard how long time went away to
stackars m anne [...] [VIPPAL]
poor the-men
 ‘(I) have not heard how long it took for the poor men...’
- d. *Han tien fikst  nt s  m ang juLsk nk [...]* [ORMS O]
him the-time got-REFL not so many Christmas-gift
 ‘In those days, you did not get so many Christmas gifts.’

Out of the remaining 273 sentences that contain both subject and sentential negation, 71.5% are declarative V2-clauses (195), 23.5% are subordinate clauses where subject and negation precede the finite verb (64). *Wh*-questions, V1-questions and V1 subordinate clauses constitute 5% (14) of the sentences investigated in this study. In the following, these 273 sentences

³ In this investigation I have chosen leave out the ESW texts from Gammalsvenskby, Ukraine, that are included in Lagman (1979b), and only include the dialects in Estonia.

⁴ The incorporation of something that appears to be a reflexive subject into the verb is an interesting issue that needs to be subject of further research.

are called *the sample*. I have also listened to recordings of the sample sentences to determine stress patterns that would suggest contrastive readings.

In this article I also refer briefly to questionnaire data from the ESST project. In this project evaluation tests have been performed with speakers of ESW. The test sentences in the questionnaire used are a subset of those used in the ScanDiaSyn project (see Lindstad, Nøklestad, Johannessen & Vangsnes 2009), combined with a few sentences designed for the ESW dialect area. I will refer to this investigation as *the questionnaire*.

The term *middle field* used in this paper refers to the area of a Mainland Scandinavian V1 or V2 clause directly following the finite verb and preceding the position of a non-finite verb. In subordinate clauses with non-V2 word order it refers to the area following the subordinating conjunction and preceding the position of the the finite verb.

The default position for subjects in the Swedish middle field has been considered to precede the position for the negation, $SUBJ > NEG$. Originally this goes back to Diderichsen's sentence schema for Danish, which reflected generalisations on Danish word order (Diderichsen 1957 [1946]). The sentence schema in the Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman et al 1999) follows Diderichsen in this respect, even though Swedish has a more free word order in this area of the clause than Danish (cf. Andréasson 2005, 2007). The Norwegian reference grammar (Faarlund et al 1997) has adverbial positions preceding and following the subject position, thus reflecting word order variation between subjects and adverbials in the middle field in Norwegian (cf. also Østbø Munch 2013 and Bentzen 2014).

2. Subject positions in Estonian Swedish

Generally, subjects seem to appear in the middle field in declarative sentences to a greater extent in ESW than in SSW. In the 195 declarative sentences in the sample, 50% (97) of the subjects are inverted, i.e. they appear in the middle field, and 50% (98) appear in the initial position. This contrasts with data from SSW. In Andréasson (2007:135) where as much as about 74% of the subjects appear in the initial position in declarative sentences with negations and other sentence adverbials.⁵ The difference is quite striking, but we have to bear in mind that the corpora are different; it may be that the written non-fiction and fiction investigated in Andréasson (2007) is not completely comparable with written dialect narratives.

⁵ Investigations of Swedish sentences irrespective of the presence of a sentence adverbial show that between 64% (non-fiction, Westman 1974:155) and 67,5% (fiction, Teleman & Wieselgren 1970:119) of the subjects appear in the initial position in declarative sentences.

Another component that could affect the larger amount of subjects in the middle field in ESW is that the ESW dialects seem to be more inclined to allow sentential negations in a initial position in declaratives than SSW. Westman (1974) shows that clause initial negation in negated sentences in SSW is as low as 0.5%. In the ESW sample, however, there are 20 negations in initial position, i.e. approximately 10% of the declarative sentences. In this respect ESW seems to correspond more to Swedish in Late Old Swedish period, when 8% of the negations appeared in the initial position (Brandtler & Håkansson 2014). Furthermore, in ESW initial negations do not seem to have the pragmatic implications that they have in SSW (cf. Teleman et al. 1999; Brandtler & Håkansson 2014; Rosenkvist forthcoming). Nevertheless, even if we exclude the 20 sentences where the negation blocks the subject from appearing in the first position, 44% of the subjects appear in the middle field, which still constitutes a major difference from the findings for SSW in Andréasson (2007).

When we take a closer look at the relative order between subjects and negations in the middle field an interesting pattern emerges, see Table 1 below.

DIALECT AREA	SUBJ > NEG	NEG > SUBJ	TOTAL
Nargö	85% (23)	15% (4)	27
Rågö/Vippal/Korkis	7% (3)	93% (38)	41
Ormsö/Nuckö/Rickul	90% (69)	10% (8)	77
Runö	(78% (7))	(22% (2))	9
TOTAL	102	52	154

Table 1: Relative order, subject and negation, all clause types, ESW dialect areas

In the Rågö/Vippal/Korkis area, the predominant position for subjects in the middle field is following the negation in all clause types, whereas the other dialect areas pattern with SSW where subjects precede negations in the middle field in 87,6% of the investigated sentences (Andréasson 2007:134). Table 2, below, shows that this pattern is just as predominant for pronominal subjects as it is for full NP subjects in the Rågö/Vippal/Korkis area.

DIALECT AREA	SUBJ _{pro} > NEG	NEG > SUBJ _{pro}	SUBJ _{fullNP} > NEG	NEG > SUBJ _{fullNP}	TOTAL
Nargö	21	2	2	2	27
Rågö/Vippal/ Korkis	2	27	1	11	41
Ormsö/Nuckö/ Rickul	56	0	13	8	77
Runö	7	0	0	2	9
TOTAL	86	29	16	23	154

Table 2: Relative order, subject and negation, all clause types, the ESW dialect areas: Pronouns (incl. expletives) vs. full NP:s

Table 1 and 2 and the comparison with Andréasson (2007) suggest that the ESW dialect areas follow two distinct patterns when it comes to subject placement in the middle field. Nargö, Runö and the Ormsö/Nuckö/Rickul dialect area pattern with SSW, with 78–90% of the subjects preceding the negation. The Rågö/Vippal/Korkis area does not. In this area subjects generally follow negation.

In the following, I will for the purposes of this article treat Nargö, Ormsö, Nuckö, Rickul, and Runö as one dialect group, called *NONR*, and Stora and Lilla Rågö, Vippal, and Korkis as another, *RVK*.

3. Subjects, information structure and semantic scope in the middle field

Andréasson (2007) shows that there are several factors that decide the position of a subject in relation to a sentence adverbial in SSW. Information dynamics, or information structure, including contrast, is a main factor and semantic scope is another. In this section, I present data on the degree to which information structure and semantic scope affect subject placement in ESW.

3.1 Pronominal subjects and negation

In the sample from the *NONR* area, almost all pronominal subjects in the middle field in the sample (84) appear preceding the negation. This corresponds very well with SSW, where pronominal subjects appear preceding sentence adverbials in the middle field in as much as 98% (Andréasson 2007:135). Only on two occasions, both from Nargö, pronominal subjects

follow the negation. Let us take a closer look at these two Nargö examples, see (5) and (6).

- (5) [...] ferva tåordist inga ja, när tem andra påikana
 [...] why was-allowed not I when the other boys
 fikk [...] [NARGÖ]
 got [...] ' [...] why I wasn't allowed, when the other boys were.'

In Nargö the equivalent of SSW *inte* 'not' is *inga*. In example (5), this negation precedes the subject *ja* 'I'. In SSW pronominal subjects in this position generally carry some kind of contrast interpretation (cf. Andréasson 2007:173 f.), and this is also the case in (5). The speaker has asked his mother whether he might take his dinghy and earn some money shipping visiting Swedes over the bay, and when the answer is "no", he wonders why it is that he can not do this when all the other boys are allowed by their mothers. The contrast set *tem andra påikana* 'the other boys' is expressed in the following subordinate clause.

In example (6) it is not contrast, but the quality of the pronoun that triggers the word order. The subject is in this case not a personal pronoun, but the adjectival pronoun *andert* (SSW *annat* 'else; other').

- (6) [...] sen bläi inga andert iver som gå tillbaka ti
 [...] then became not other over than go back to
 Meedo. [NARGÖ]
 Meedo ' [...] then, there was nothing else to do but to return to Meedo.'

The pronominal subject *andert* 'else' in combination with the negation expresses the meaning of 'nothing but', and the SUBJ>NEG word order would be ungrammatical in SSW, and most likely also in ESW in general. I have found no counterexamples to this in the corpus.

Of course it is not possible to draw any wider conclusions as to what triggers the word order NEG>SUBJ_{pro} in the NONR group only from example (5) and (6). Nevertheless data from the questionnaire supports the generalisation that pronominal subjects following negation should not be unstressed. In the ESST project, 17 speakers of ESW in Sweden have been interviewed; 16 of these were from the NONR dialect areas. Two

test sentences were presented where a non-contrasted pronominal subject followed a negation, and 15 of the speakers rejected this word order. The one informant that accepted the word order seems to have been influenced by his RVK interview partner not only in the evaluation of these two sentences, but in many other answers too.

The one RVK informant did not only put high scores on the NEG>SUBJ_{pro} test sentences in the questionnaire, but he spontaneously and apparently unconsciously shifted places on subjects and negations in the middle field to obtain a NEG>SUBJ word order, when translating other test sentences to his dialect. In consistency with this, the RVK sentences in the sample seems to indicate that the authors of the RVK texts in Lagman (1979b) have no problem whatsoever with non-contrasted pronominal subjects in the position following the negation, see (7) and (8) below. In fact, not one of the RVK pronominal subjects in the sample may be interpreted as having contrast. Consequently, none of these 27 pronominal subjects in the middle field would have been felicitous in following the negation, neither in SSW nor – as it seems – in the NONR dialects.

Two RVK examples of non-contrasted pronominal subjects following negation are given in (7).

- (7) a. [...] känn från hå var minns et ja. [LILLA RÅGÖ]
 [...] where from she was remember not I
 ‘[...] I don’t remember where she was from.’
- b. Tåm visst allt, enn itt a var gifta. [STORA RÅGÖ]
 they knew all that not she was married
 ‘All of them knew that she wasn’t married.’

The examples in (7) do not evoke a contrast interpretation on the subject referent. A SSW translation would have the SUBJ>NEG word order, and in the SSW translations of (7a) and (7b) presented in Lagman (1979b) the subjects do precede the negation.

Pronouns with contrast interpretation are normally marked with contrastive stress in Swedish, and cannot be unstressed, and the lack of stress on the subjects in the recordings also indicate that the subject pronouns following negation in RVK are not contrasted. Furthermore, the pronoun for ‘her’ in (7b) has a reduced, unstressed form, *a*.⁶ It is also well known

⁶ There is a stressed word form for ‘she/her’ in Stora Rågö: *hån*. According to a RVK informant in May 2015, this full form is used only when there is some kind of word stress, for instance when there is contrast, otherwise the reduced, non-stressed form (g)a is the unmarked choice.

that expletives do not carry stress, and the fact that both the expletive pronoun *det* 'it' (8a), below, the expletive adverb *där* (8b) and the impersonal pronoun *man* 'one' (8c) appear following the negation in RVK strengthens the impression that it is not contrast that licenses pronominal subjects in the position following negation in the middle field.

- (8) a. Ve äibå kund alltider her än ett e var
we islanders could always hear that not it was
 äibåfölk från birjande. [LILLA RÅGÖ]
island people from beginning
 'We who came from the (Rågö) islands could always hear who was not from here.'
- b. [...] å så var itt där inga dans mäira. [STORA RÅGÖ]
 [...] and so was not there no dance more
 '[When they got together the next night, it was already Advent,] and there was no more dancing.'
- c. Häim iti gådn tarva itt man våra rädder itt. [STORA RÅGÖ]
home in the-farm need not one be afraid not
 'You didn't need to be afraid at home at the farm.'

There are, however two examples from the RVK area where a pronominal subject *precedes* a negation, see (10) and (11) below. Interestingly, in both these examples there is a contrast interpretation, but not on the subject or the negation. Instead another element in the clause is contrasted.

- (10) Så dans dåm itt friden å itt läuden åm
so danced they not the-Friday and not the-Saturday on
 kveldn. [STORA RÅGÖ]
the-evening
 'So they did not dance on the Friday and on the Saturday in the evening.'

Example (10) is written in a context where dancing on different days in a certain week is discussed. The main subject is which days people did get to dance, and which days they did not. In this case there is a clear contrast interpretation on the word *friden* 'the Friday' (and also on the following *läuden* 'the Saturday').

- (11) Tå gick dām itt mäira iti rad itt. Tām gick iti äin
then went they not more in row not they went in a
 skock. [STORA RÅGÖ]
flock
 ‘Then, they did not walk in a row. They went as a flock.’

Also in example (11) there is a clear contrast interpretation on another element in the clause than the subject. Here the context tells us that the subject referents are walking out of a building in a certain very strict order. In the example, the contrasted element is *rad* ‘row’, they did not walk in an orderly fashion when they left the gates. This is confirmed in the following sentence, where it is stated that they now moved about as a flock.

It appears from these two examples that contrast on another element in the clause than the subject may put the default NEG>SUBJ word order out of play. This corresponds with generalisations on object shift for Swedish (and to some extent Danish), where contrast on another element in the clause seems to license a shifted word order for pronominal objects that normally appear following a negation (Andréasson 2010). There is need for a more thorough investigation to establish that this is indeed the trigger for pronominal subjects to shift over a negation in RVK, but it is remarkable that the only two examples where pronominal subjects precede negation include contrast on another element in the clause.

3.2 Full NP subjects and negation

When it comes to full NP subjects there is considerably more variation in subject positions in the middle field in the NONR group than in the RVK group. Table 3 shows us the relative distribution of subjects and negations in the sample.

DIALECT AREA	V2 declaratives SUBJ>NEG	V2 declaratives NEG>SUBJ	non-V2 subordinate SUBJ>NEG	non-V2 subordinate NEG>SUBJ	TOTAL
Nargö/Ormsö/ Nuckö/Runö	3	6	12	6	27
Stora Rågö/ Lilla Rågö/ Vippal/ Korkis	1	8	0	3	12
TOTAL	4	14	12	9	39

Table 3: Relative order, SUBJ_{FullNP} and negation in the ESW dialect areas

The numbers for full NP subjects in the sample is so low that a comparison with Andréasson (2007) is not motivated. It is, however, interesting to note that SSW patterns with ESW in that there is a greater variation in word order for full NP subjects and sentence adverbials, than for pronominal subjects. In declarative sentences as much as 42%, and in subordinate clauses 11%, of the full NP subjects appear following a sentence adverbial (2007:135). Table 3 shows that the NONR area has a tendency for a similar distribution, but in RVK the *SUBJ*>*NEG* word order seems to be dispreferred also for full NP subjects; there is only one out of 12 full NP subjects that appear preceding a negation in the middle field. We will return to RVK below and now turn to what might be the cause the variation of positions for full NP subjects in NONR.

For pronominal subjects, we suggested that in the NONR dialect areas, it may be information structure and, more specifically, contrast that allows subjects following a negation. In SSW both information structure and semantic scope affect the relative positions of full NP subjects in the middle field. Full NP subjects that are included in the rhematic portion of the sentence, i.e. the information that is intended to increase the listener's knowledge (Andréasson 2007), and subjects that are contrasted appear following sentence adverbials in SSW. Scope sensitive subjects appear in a position that reflect their semantic scope in relation to scope sensitive adverbials, such as a negations (Börjars et al. 2003; Engdahl et al. 2004; Andréasson 2007:61ff, 68). If a negation takes scope over a scope sensitive subject, the subject appears following the negation in the middle field.

There are 12 NONR examples where a full NP subject follows a negation. Five of these do so unambiguously because of the information structure of the clause; all these subjects are part of the rhematic portion of the clause. Example (12) shows a rhematic subject following a negation.

- (12) Allt sko ha vari gått åm inga bispåikana sko
all should have been good if not the-village-boys should
 ha bärja ti råop min jollan ti Jostini. [NARGÖ]
have begun to cry my the-dinghy to Jostini
 'All would have been well, if the boys from the village hadn't
 started to call my dinghy Jostini.'

Here we revisit the Nargö boy that was not allowed to row Swedes in his dinghy. In the context previous to the sentence in (12), the narrator tells us

about how the young boy disobeyed his mother, and transported – among others – a lady named Jostini over the bay, with the unfortunate consequence that she fell into the water. The narrator ends with the comment in (12). There is not any reference to *bispåikana* ‘the boys from the village’ in the immediate context, and the subject is part of the rheme of the sentence.

In two examples the subjects seem to be scope sensitive. In one a scope sensitive full NP subject follows the negation, see (13).

- (13) a. [...] så ät ti slut jälft inga någo andert som ti
 [...] *sothat to end helped not something else that to*
 gå ti Meedo [NARGÖ]
go to Meedo
 ‘...so in the end nothing else helped, but going to Meedo...’
- b. [...] så ete engan luft fick kuma utter.
 [...] *so-that not no air got-to come out*
 ‘[...] so that no air got out.’

In example (13a), from Nargö, the subject is *någo andert* ‘anything else’. In this sentence the negation takes scope over the subject and a SUBJ>NEG word order would be infelicitous with this interpretation. Example (13b) is from Runö, where double negation is common. In this sentence the double negation, the negated subject NP *engan luft* corresponds to SSW *någon luft* ‘any air’, a scope sensitive item. There are no examples in the sample where the sentence negation follows a negated NP in the Runö part of the sample.

There are also five NONR examples of full NP subjects following a negation where there is no clear information structural or scope properties of the subject that licence them in this position. In four of these, the NEG>SUBJ word order seems OK in SSW but there is need for a more thorough investigation into what licenses these subjects in this position. Interestingly all four examples are from the same story, a narrative on preparing leather on Ormsö. The fifth one can be dismissed on other grounds, since it originates in poetry, see (14).

- (14) Hå fagror var änt skoen [...] [NUCKÖ]
how beautiful was not the-forest
 ‘How beautiful the forest was [...]’

In example (14), the subject *skoen* 'the wood' is at the end of the first strophe, and the metrics of the verse constrains it to appear in this position, to rhyme with *roen* 'the rye' later in the poem.⁷

There are also 15 NONR examples from the sample where the subject precedes the negation. In all these, the subjects are non-rhematic, without any contrast interpretation and none of them are scope sensitive.

Let us now turn to full NP subjects in the RVK part of the sample. Table 3 shows that in the full NP examples from RVK the subjects appear following the negation in all but one case. Of the 11 subjects that follow the negation, some subjects are rhematic, but there are also – as in (15) below – non-rhematic subject referents. Hence, information structure seems not to be influencing the position of subjects in the middle field in the same way as in the NONR dialects.

- (15) CONTEXT: Äista ändrast mike unde republiktin. [LILLA RÅGÖ]
 'The Estonian language changed a lot during the republic.'
 Fire 1918 (äittusand nihundra ageta) var et
before 1918 one-thousand nine-hundred eighteen was not
 äista ingat riksspråk, [...]
Estonian no national-language
 'Before 1918, Estonian was not a national language.'

In the immediate context of example (15) the narrator mentions the Estonian language, *äista*, and the question of its change during the republic. Hence in the example sentence the subject referent is already up for discussion; it is non-rhematic. In SSW and – as we have seen above – in the NONR area a SUBJ>NEG word order would be more felicitous in (15). In the RVK dialects, however, this information structure of a sentence does not trigger a SUBJ>NEG word order in the middle field.

The only sentence from RVK in the sample where a full NP subject precedes the negation in the middle field, example (16) below, patterns with example (10) and (11) in that there is a contrast interpretation on another element in the clause.

⁷ Furthermore, the expressive meaning of the sentence, which indicates that the forest was indeed beautiful and not the other way around, makes the NEG>SUBJ word order felicitous in most Scandinavian varieties.

- (16) Äist tidningar bruka föLke et läsa, nãran selda
Estonian newspapers used the-people not read some seldom
 milat. [LILLA RÅGÖ]
in-between
 ‘Newspapers in Estonian the people never used to read, only seldom
 they read some.’

The context of example (16) is a lengthy discussion about newspapers in Swedish and Estonian Swedish, and who read them. In (16) the fronted object *Äist tidningar* ‘newspapers in Estonian language’ is contrasted with the set of newspapers in Swedish referred to in the context. The three examples in (10), (11) and (16) are too few to make the analysis conclusive. Nevertheless, it is – as mentioned earlier – interesting to note that all counterexamples of the NEG>SUBJ word order in the RVK portion of the sample include contrast on another element than the subject.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that subjects seem to appear in the middle field to a greater extent in Estonian Swedish than in standard Swedish. The investigation of subject placement in sentences with a negation in Estonian Swedish shows that there are two distinct patterns when it comes to the relative order between subject and negation in the middle field.

In the Rågö/Vippal/Korkis area, the designated position for the subject in the middle field is following the negation. Tentative results indicate that contrast on another element in the clause than the subject seems to allow a violation of the default NEG>SUBJ word order in the middle field in this dialect area. The Nargö, Ormsö/Nuckö/Rickul and Runö dialect areas on the other hand have strategies for subject placement that correspond more to standard Swedish, where the relative order of subject and sentence adverbial in this area of the clause has been shown to be decided by factors as information structure and semantic scope. Pronominal subjects appear preceding negation, if not contrasted, and full NP subjects seem to follow negation when contrasted or rhematic. Scope sensitivity also seems to play a role in these areas.

This is only a small investigation, and a more thorough information structural analysis must be performed to validate the findings. How-

ever, the statistics do show that the default word order in Estonian Swedish middle field is different in the Rågö/Vippal/Korkis area than in the rest of the dialects. If it is the default position of the subject or that of the negation that differ in these varieties, may be a question to which different grammatical frameworks do not have the same answer, and this is a question that remains to be discussed in another forum.

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