

Clitic Placement in Amazigh

Naïma Omari
Al Quaraouiyine University, Agadir

L'objet de cet article est d'examiner quelques aspects de la syntaxe des clitiques en amazighe, plus précisément des clitiques accusatifs en tachelhit. Cette étude est menée dans le cadre du programme minimaliste (MP) tel qu'il est préconisé dans Chomsky (1992, 1995). Nous adhérons à l'analyse selon laquelle les clitiques (CLs) sont générés en tant que tête de leur propre projection maximale CLP. Notre hypothèse est que la syntaxe des CLs est déterminée par les propriétés morphosyntaxiques de la catégorie fonctionnelle Temps (T), d'une part, et par les caractéristiques morphologiques du CL, d'autre part.

Introduction

The object of this paper is to examine clitic placement in Amazigh, concentrating on third person accusative clitics (CLs). The discussions are based on data from the Tachelhit variety, spoken in the southwest of Morocco. We will argue that not only morphological features (in the abstract morphosyntactic sense discussed in Chomsky (1992, 1995), but also purely phonological properties of CLs, function as triggers for CL placement. The paper is constructed as follows. First, we consider the distribution of direct object pronominal CLs in Amazigh. Second, we present some general properties of Amazigh clause structure, with particular reference to those that are relevant for our discussion of the syntax of CLs. Third, we identify the categorial status of CLs in Amazigh. We will argue that CLs are generated as heads of the functional category CLP (Omari, 2001; Ouali, 2011). Fourth, we raise the questions of why CLs get placed where they do, approaching their syntax from a minimalist (Chomsky, 1992, 1995) and antisymmetric (Kayne, 1994) perspective. Finally, we offer an explanation for the flexible ordering which CLs manifest with respect to negation (Neg). We will show that the interaction of Neg and CL placement can be described in an attractive way if a relaxed version of the shortest move requirement is adopted.

1. Distribution of Clitics

As illustrated by the contrast in (1a) vs (1b) below, CLs may follow the verb (V) in Amazigh:

- (1) a. i - sya -tn.
he - buy+ Perf -them
“He bought them.”
- (1) b. *tn - i - sya.
them- he - buy+ Perf

The order is not available in the presence of the head elements tense (T), aspect (Asp), Neg, and complimentizer (C), as the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples in (2-5) demonstrates:

- (2) a. rad - tn i - sy.
Fut - them he- buy+A
“He will buy them.”
- (2) b. *rad i - sy - tn.
fut he – buy+ A- them
- (3) a. ar -tn i - ssay.
Asp-them he- buy+Imperf
“He is buying them.”
- (3) b.* ar i - ssay - tn.
Asp he- buy+Imperf- them
- (4) a. ur - tn i - syi.
not- them he- buy+ Perf
“He did not buy them.”
- (4) b.* ur i - syi - tn.
not he- buy+ Perf - them
- (5) a. is - tn i - sya?
C - them he- buy+ Perf
“Did he buy them?”
- (5) b. * is i - sya - tn?
C he- buy+ Perf- them

Given the above contrast, we wonder what the source is of the flexible order of CLs in Amazigh. By contrasting the paradigm with the minimal pair in (6), (7) and (8) below, we will demonstrate that T is relevant for CL placement¹:

- (6) a. rad - tn i - sy.
Fut - them he- buy+A
“He will buy them.”
- (6) b. *rad i - sy - tn.
Fut he- buy+A- them
- (7) a. ur rad -tn i - sy.
Neg Fut- them he- buy+A
“He will not buy them.”
- (7) b.*ur -tn rad i - sy.
Neg-them Fut he- buy+A
- (8) a. is rad - tn i - sy?
C Fut -them he-buy+A
“Will he buy them?”
- (8) b.*is -tn rad i - sy?
C -them Fut he-buy+A

Concerning the order of CLs with respect to Neg, there is clear evidence that it is not a fixed one. This is illustrated by the following examples:

- (9) a. is rad-tn ur i - sy.
C Fut- CL Neg he- buy+A
“He WILL not buy them.”
- (9) b. ur rad-tn i - sy.
Neg Fut- them he- buy+A
“He will not buy them.”
- (10) a. is -tn ur i - syi.
C - them Neg he- buy+Perf.
“He DID not buy them.”
- (10) b. ur -tn i - syi.
Neg- them he- buy+Perf
“He didn’t buy them.”

¹ Ouhalla (1988) states that when there is more than one potential host for the CL, there is rigid order of preference which is based on hierarchical terms expressed by the Clitic Placement Condition (CPC). This condition requires that CLs be attached to the highest head in the clause at the S-structure level. Data in (7&8) illustrate that CPC is too strong.

(1-10) clearly demonstrates that CLs interact with the verb and the functional elements of the clause. In the next section, we will briefly consider the distributional properties of these functional elements.

2. Aspects of Amazigh Clause Structure

V in Amazigh consists of the stem (the root and its vowel and/or consonantal melody) and an agreement affix. We will assume, following Chomsky (1992, 1995), that V is lexically generated with its associated inflectional properties and later moves to the relevant functional heads for feature checking purposes². In expressing sentential negation, the particle *ur* heads its own maximal projection NegP above TP. The two main Cs *ad* and *is* are inserted under the head C above Neg³. The clause structure adopted here is represented in (11) (cf. Boukhris, 1998; Omari, 2001; Ouali, 2011 among others)⁴:

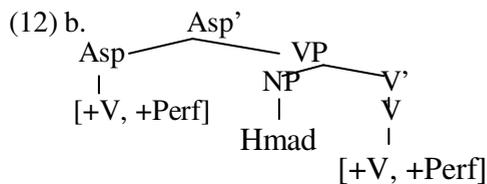
(11) [CP [NegP [TP [AspP [vP [VP...]]]]]]

In what follows, we will focus on the different feature specifications which characterize the elements that head the functional projections Asp and T in order to make predictions about head movement.

2.1. Aspect

Amazigh expresses a binary aspectual distinction, namely imperfectivity and perfectivity. We take this to mean that there is a category Asp(ect), immediately above V, with a categorial feature [+V] and a syntactic feature [+/-Perf(ective)], as part of the syntactic representation of sentences like (12) and (13) (cf. Omari, 2011):

(12)a. i -mmudda hmad.
he-travel+Perf Hmad
“Hmad travelled.”

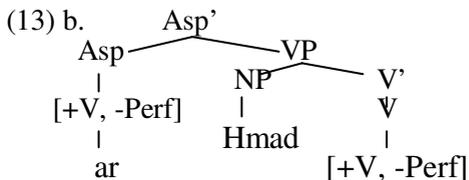


² Within the derivational approach, V is neither inflected for T/Asp nor for Agr; it picks up its inflected forms through syntactic movement. However, within the minimalist approach, the inflected forms of V are not created derivationally; V is lexically generated with its associated inflectional properties. The functional categories, such as T and Asp, have their own features to which the features encoded in V must correspond to. The function of these features is to license the morphological properties of V taken from the lexicon.

³ See Boukhris (1998) and Omari (2001) for a discussion of the syntax of Neg and C in Amazigh.

⁴ Omari (2001) argues that Agr is not itself a functional head. Rather, Agr is a relation between a head and its specifier in which features of the head and specifier must match. V agrees with its subject in its base position.

(13) a. ar i -tmuddu ħmad.
 Asp he-travel+Imperf Hmad
 "Hmad is travelling."



When the verb is specified for [+Perf], it carries the morphological feature of the perfective stem, (12). When it is specified for [-Perf] it carries the morphological feature of the imperfective stem and is preceded by the aspectual morpheme *ar*, (13). Following Boukhris (1998) and Omari (2011), we assume that AspP is headed by a null morpheme in the context of sentences with perfective interpretation, and by *ar* in the context of sentences with imperfective interpretation. Concerning V-movement, there is clear evidence that it takes place overtly. For example, if the postverbal subject in Amazigh⁵, as in (12) and (13) above, is in the specifier of VP, as predicted by the VP-internal subject hypothesis (cf. Koopman and Sportiche, 1991 among others), then this lends support to our claim that V has overtly moved over the subject to Asp to check the corresponding features [+V, +/-Perf].

2.2. Tense

Amazigh distinguishes two general classes of tense: future and non-future. This latter class includes present and past⁶. This opposition results from the observed fact that future is morphologically realized by the verbal particle *rad* while past and present are not:

(14) rad i -mmuddu ħmad.
 Fut he-travel+A Hmad⁷
 "Hmad will travel."

(15) a. i -mmudda ħmad.
 he-travel+Perf Hmad
 "Hmad travelled."

(15) b. ar i -tmuddu ħmad.
 Asp he-travel+Imperf Hmad
 "Hmad travels/ is travelling."

⁵ Amazigh is a pro-drop language. The subject may or may not be represented by an overt NP. The usual order is VSO as in (i):

(i) i -mmudda ħmad.
 he-travel+Perf Hmad
 "Hmad travelled."

This language also exhibits SVO order. In this case, NPs occur before V when they are topicalised or focussed, as shown in (ii) and (iii) respectively:

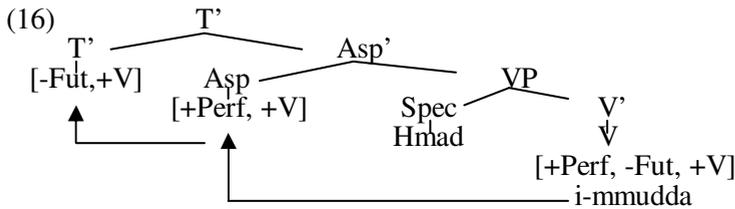
(ii) Hmad i -mmudda. (iii) Hmad ad i -mmuddan.
 Hmad he-travel+Perf Hmad that he-travel+Perf
 "Hmad, he travelled." "It was Hmad who travelled."

⁶ Omari (2011) provides a detailed analysis of T and Asp in Amazigh.

⁷ The A(orist) stem in Amazigh is defined as a verbal form that expresses the verbal action without reference to its aspectual or temporal values (cf. Boukhris, (1998)).

As argued in Omari (2011), when T is specified for the feature [+Fut], as in (14), the tense morpheme is a free particle: There is no need for overt V-movement to T; the free particle *rad* is base generated under T and will check the relevant feature.

In (15a), where no tense particle projects, V is allowed to occupy tense via a stepwise raising operation. We take this to mean that the feature [-Fut] is strong, and so necessitates explicit checking. The two stages of the derivation are given in (16):



As for (15b), since we are claiming that the feature [-Fut] is strong, this requires that checking take place in the overt syntax. Following Omari (2011), we argue that the verb *i-ttmuddu*, though a potential checker, is not attracted to T by the main features it can check, namely [+V] and [-Fut]. *Ar*, being of a verbal nature, blocks the potential landing site of the main verb due to the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) (Chomsky, 1995). *Ar* is closer to T, and it can enter into a checking relation with T. Thus, the MLC prohibits T from attracting V.

So far, we have presented some aspects of Amazigh clause structure⁸. In the following section, we return to the main topic of this work and discuss the structural analysis of CLs.

3. Structural Analysis of CLs

Most analyses of CL placement agree that CLs are heads (cf. Borer, 1983; Rouveret, 1987; Kayne, 1991; Sportiche, 1992; Boukhris, 1998; Omari, 2001; Ouali, 2011, among others). More controversy surrounds the question of what the correct structural analysis of constructions with CLs is: Are CLs generated in their surface position or moved from the argument position? The analyses taking the former option are generally referred to as “base generation analysis” (Borer, 1983; Rouveret, 1987). The analyses taking the other option are generally referred to as “Movement analysis” (Kayne, 1991). We will assume Sportiche’s (1992) analysis which treats them as involving both movement and base generation. As argued in Sportiche, there are strong arguments for both the movement and the base generation analyses. One direct evidence in favour of each type comes from examining the clitic-doubling construction.

⁸ See Omari (2001) for two related issues in the grammar of Amazigh clause: Agreement and word order.

The movement approach is supported by the complementarity of distribution between CLs and their associated phrasal arguments. This is exemplified in (17), from French:

- (17) a. Marie lit le livre.
 Mary read the book
 “Mary reads it.”
 c. *Marie le lit le livre.
 Mary it read the book
- (17) b. Marie le_i lit e_i.
 Mary it read
 “Mary reads the book.”

The CL *le* in (17b) is base-generated as a phrasal argument and is adjoined by a movement operation to an appropriate head upward. The ungrammaticality of (17c), which contains no phonological break between the verb and the doubled element “Marie”, indicates that the doubled NP cannot appear in the position from which the CL has moved. CLs in Amazigh exhibit the same behaviour as their counterparts in French:

- (18) a. i - sya iżžign.
 he- buy+Perf the-flowers.
 “He bought the flowers.”
 c. *i -sya - tn iżžign.
 he-buy+Perf- them the-flowers
- (18) b. i - sya - tn.
 he- buy+ Perf - them
 “He bought them.”
 d. i - sya - tn , iżžign.
 he-buy+Perf-them, the-flowers

(18a–c) show that, significantly, the CL and the direct object lexical NP occur in complementary distribution: there is no clitic-doubling of non-pronominal direct object in Amazigh. In order to preserve the movement analysis in (18d), we assume that the doubled lexical NP is right-dislocated, since an obligatory phonological break occurs between it and the rest of the sentence.

The base generation approach is supported by the existence of clitic doubling constructions where the A-position associated with the CL is occupied by a pronoun, as exemplified below:

- (19) Prynais I ei dy ef. (Welsh)
 buy-past I CL (3ms) house him
 “I bought his House.”

- (20) ur - tn zri - ħ ntni. (Amazigh)
 Neg- them see+ Perf- I them
 “I did not see them.”

In this type of construction, no dislocation intonation separates the pronoun from the rest of the sentence, which means that the construction in question involves clitic doubling whereby the pronoun doubles the CL. This is confirmed by the inability of the pronoun to occur as the argument of V:

- (21) *Prynais i dy ef. (Welsh)
 buy-past I house him
- (22) ur *(tn) zri - ħ ntni. (Amazigh)
 not *(them) see+ Perf- I them

(21) and (22) show that the existence of the lexical pronoun forces the presence of the CL. Coordination facts provide further reasons to assume that the CL is a base-generated head. It is a well-known fact that coordination operates only between elements with identical structural and categorial identity.

- (23)*zri -ħ- tt_i [t_i d ħmad],
 see+ Perf -I- her_i [t_i and Hmad]
 “I saw her and Hmad.”

(23) illustrates that *-tt*, which is an X^o-element, must be assumed to be base generated in its surface position since it cannot enter into a coordination relation with *ħmad*, which behaves as a maximal projection. This seems to argue against generating the CL in argument position. Thus, both the movement analysis and the base generation analysis of cliticization phenomena are supported by some of the data. For this reason, Sportiche treats cliticization phenomena as involving both movement and base generation and assimilates the syntax of CLs to that of other functional heads, and we will follow him in this respect. As argued by Sportiche, associated with CLs are full noun phrases in the argument position, which may be overt in clitic doubling constructions or empty in all other constructions, and which move to the Spec position of CLP (or Clitic Voice, as Sportiche terms it) for licensing which relates to an interpretive property which he identifies as specificity. At some point in the derivation, these elements, being arguments, will also need to check Case/ agreement features in Spec-CLP. The proposed structure is given in (24):

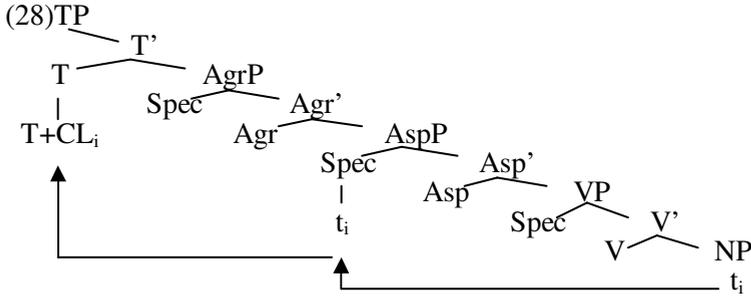
- (24)
- | | | |
|------|-----|-----|
| Spec | CLP | CL' |
| [α] | / | CL |

(24) accommodates cases involving an independent pronoun ((19) and (20)). In cases where the CL does not coexist with another lexical element ((17) and (18)), Spec,CLP is occupied by an empty pro-like element.

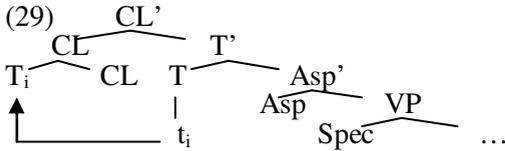
With a structural analysis of CLs now proposed, let us consider the question of why CLs get placed where they do.

4. Matters of placement

In what follows, we will show that the occurrence and the distribution of CLs in a clause are subject to well-defined principles based on feature checking requirement as well as on a purely phonological requirement. From a syntactic perspective, the main motivation for CL placement arises from the specific referential nature of CLs (cf. Uriagereka, 1995). The CL, which takes TP as a complement, attracts T to check the morphological feature [+Ref(erential)] inside it in overt syntax. From a morphophonological perspective, the factor that triggers CL placement is the phonologically enclitic nature of the CL. Specifically, the CL must move to an X^o at PF to avoid being stranded as an affix.



The structure in (28) above featuring rightward adjunction of the CL to T is questionable in the light of the MP, since it is difficult to conceive of rightward CL-movement as being triggered by feature checking considerations. Moreover, the Linear Correspondance Axiom (LCA) as proposed by Kayne (1994) has the effect of ruling out (28): T cannot serve as an adjunction site for CLs. This is because movement of CLs to adjoin to an inflectional head to which the verb moves for feature checking results in multiple adjunction, an illicit configuration, since linear order cannot be derived from hierarchical structure. The only possible representation is therefore as follows¹⁰:



As the structure (29) shows, rather than considering the CL to move to T, we take them to head the phrase that complements NegP and takes TP as a complement. The CL attracts T to check the morphological feature [+Ref] inside it. In its movement upward, T left-adjoints to CL, in tune with Kayne's LCA which eradicates rightward movement operation. The adjoined element (T) in (29) asymmetrically c-commands the element adjoined to CL; and hence must occur to its left. This follows from the definition of c-command assumed by Kayne. In the adjoined structure, $[_{CL}T, CL]$, T c-commands CL, but CL does not c-command T

¹⁰ In Ouali's (2011) analysis, CLs are functional heads that morphologically merge with any available higher head. When no such a head is available, V to T movement takes place at PF. The proposed structure is as follows:

(i) [CP [NegP [TP [CLP_{Dat} [CLP_{Acc} [AspP [VP]]]]]]]

It is the grammaticality of (ii) that runs counter to this analysis:

(ii) ma ad -as -t ur ifkin?

Who that-him-it Neg he-give+Perf

"Who did not give it to him?"

If Neg in (ii) is the higher phonologically overt head that is available to act as a host for the object CLs, it is not clear how C can host them.

because CL does not exclude T. As a result, T must precede CL, and right adjunction is not allowed.

4.2. Morphological Factors

So far, we have assumed that CL is generated as the head of CLP, basically following Sportiche (1992). We will follow Sportiche (ibid) and Zwart (1993) in assuming that CL can undergo additional head movement. This movement is triggered by purely phonological requirement. Specifically, CL must move to an X° at PF to avoid being stranded as an affix. The affixal nature of the CL in Amazigh is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of examples like (30-33):

(30) *tn - i - sya.
 them- he - buy+ Perf

(31) *tn rad i - sy.
 them fut he - buy+ A

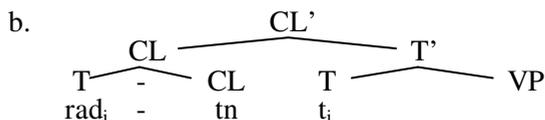
As a way of making the trigger for CL-movement more precise, we adopt Wilder and Cavar's (1994) proposal that the enclitic property of clitic forms can be represented as a "prosodic subcategorization" forming part of its lexical specification:

(32) $[[\Phi]_w] CL]_w$
 (Wilder and Cavar, 1994: 66)

This subcategorization is satisfied if the clitic form attaches to a constituent with the status of a phonological word in prosodic structure. Where the syntax delivers a string already containing a word preceding CL, then phonological cliticization onto the immediately preceding word ensures that the lexical requirement (32) is satisfied in the PF-representation.

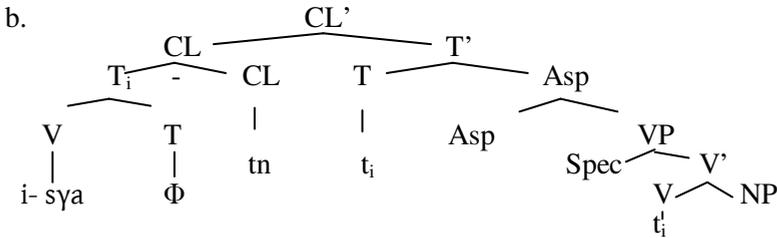
With this in mind, let us consider how this proposal fares well with the Amazigh data above. Given our assumption that T left-adjoints to CL for feature checking purposes, it ends up in a position where it qualifies as a potential host for CL. Thus, in the presence of the Fut marker *rad* in T, CL must obligatorily incorporate into it so as to satisfy (32), as shown in (33):

(33) a. rad-tn i -sy.
 Fut-them he-buy+A

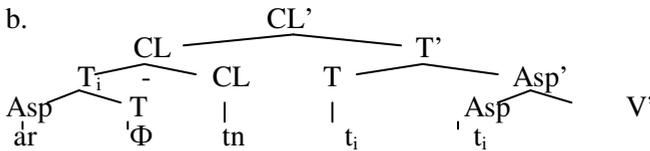


As far as present and past tenses are concerned, the tense element is not endowed with a lexically realized affix. In this case, the V-category is raised to T, as depicted in (34) and (35):

(34) a. i - sya -tn.
 he-buy+Perf-them

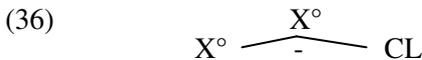


(35) a. ar- tn i- ssay.
 Fut-them he-buy+A



The factor that triggers V-raising and Asp-raising to CL, in (34) and (35) respectively, is the phonologically enclitic nature of CL: CL cannot stand in string initial position. We attribute this to the fact that (32) requires the PF-form of CL lean on a phonologically independent element immediately to its left in the string. That (32) is the sole trigger for V-raising to CL in (34), for example, is suggested by the fact that V-raising is blocked in the case where other material stands before the CL: an overt T (33), Neg(4), or C(5) stands before the CL, enabling (32) to be fulfilled without resort to V-raising to T.

One important aspect of CL placement in (33-35) is the directionality of CL adjunction. When CL in Amazigh moves to a head, it always yields a structure as in (36):



(36) suggests that CL-placement in Amazigh must be analyzed as right adjunction. This is problematic, considering that we have adopted Kayne's generalization that adjunction always takes place to the left handside. This puzzling aspect of the analysis can be maintained if CLs are exempt from the LCA. In other words, still assuming Kayne's hypothesis that syntactic adjunction invariably takes place to the left, the structure (36) suggests that CL-placement is not a morphosyntactic adjunction operation.

On this view, we obtain an interesting formal consequence. In its movement upward, T checks an m-feature [+Ref], hence its left adjunction to the head CL. The situation is different for cliticization to a head, assuming that CL does not

move to check m-features: CL has no morphological structure that needs to be checked, hence its right adjunction.

To sum up, the distribution of CLs is deduced from the hierarchy of the functional elements of the clause structure. It is determined by well-defined principles based on feature checking as well as a phonological requirement of CLs. Nevertheless, it remains to account for the fact that the order of CLs and the functional head Neg is not a flexible one. This will be the main concern of the next subsection.

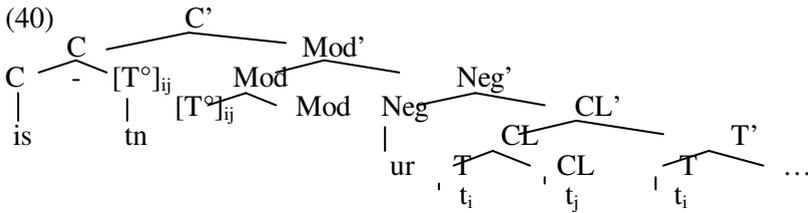
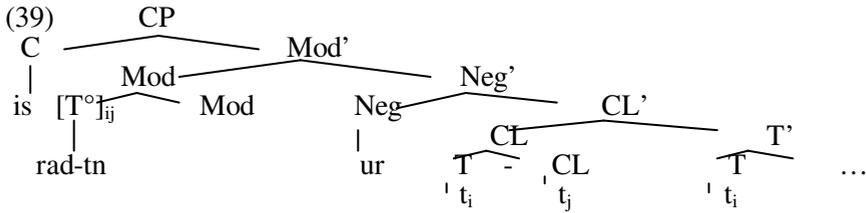
4.3. Negation and Clitics

The crucial cases illustrating CL placement in the context of Neg are reproduced below for convenience's sake:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(37) a. is rad- tn ur i - sy.
 C Fut- CL Neg he- buy+A
 “He WILL not buy them.”</p> | <p>b. is - tn ur i - syi.
 C -them Neg he- buy+Perf
 “He DID not buy them.”</p> |
| <p>(38) a. ur rad- tn i - sy.
 Neg Fut- them he- buy+A
 “He will not buy them.”</p> | <p>b. ur - tn i - syi.
 Neg- them he- buy+Perf
 “He didn’t buy them.”</p> |

In (37a & b), X^o-movement is non-local, i.e. skipping an intervening Neg-position. We turn presently to the question of whether head skipping should be allowed by the theory. We will adopt the relaxed version of the “Shortest Move” requirement (cf. Dikken and Brockuis, 1993; Dikken, 1996; Terzi, 1996; Fergusson, 1996; Omari, 2001), refining the notion of ‘potential landing site’.

T in (37) has a modality reading; it expresses intention (willingness) and determination. This implies that T movement across Neg in the overt syntax is motivated by the checking of a matching [+Intentional] feature, which we consider to be generated in Mod above NegP. This PF-null Mod^o is required to account for the elimination of the [+Int] feature in T^o; therefore, T-movement to Mod^o is the result of an abstract morphological trigger. From the point of view of the relaxed version of the Shortest Move principle, according to which non-local head movement is legitimate if the position skipped does not check features of the moved head, there is nothing to prevent T from skipping the head *ur* (cf. Omari, 2001). In other words, Mod has a [+Int] feature which must be checked in the course of the derivation by a matching [+Int] feature. T is the one to check this feature, hence Mod attracts it. Since Neg does not have a [+Int] feature, it does not prevent Mod from attracting T. This solves the head-skipping immediately: Neg is not a position in which the T’s features can be checked. Accordingly, the derivations of (37 a&b) are represented in (39) and (40), respectively:



In (39), two heads are allowed to skip over Neg, namely T and CL. Mod has a strong [+Intentional] feature and under Chomsky's Greed principle, T raises overtly to check this feature. In its way to Mod, T proceeds via CL to check the [+Ref] feature. After left-adjoining to the CL, in the way illustrated in (29), T hosts CL. T plus CL form the complex [T°] that subsequently continues to Mod, skipping Neg in the process. As for (40), we attribute the order C CL Neg to the fact that T that moves to Mod° proceeds via CL- to which it left-adjoins- and subsequently carries CL along to Mod for feature checking purposes. Being activated by the former operation, the tense element renders the empty T able to host CL. Thus, CL placement operation applies deriving an output where CL is placed on T. At PF, however, CL cannot be hosted by T in Mod since the T element, in this instance, is not endowed with a morphologically realized affix. To satisfy (32), the complex [T°] must incorporate into an adjacent head. Being the closer head, C hosts the latter at PF.

In (38 a&b), however, T does not move up to Mod which is not specified for any feature, hence not projected. The difference in interpretation between (37) and (38) indicates that [T°] movement is not optional and that it is affected by the feature specification of the functional head Mod. It then follows that head skipping is legitimate if it renders Mod° a checking position, in conformity with the Greed principle.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we offered an analysis for the distribution of accusative clitics in Amazigh. We showed that CL is generated as the head of CLP, basically following Sportiche (1992). We argued that CL placement in a clause is subject to well-defined principles based on feature checking requirement as well as on a purely phonological requirement. From a syntactic perspective, the main motivation for CL placement arises from the specific referential nature of CLs. The CL, which takes TP as a complement, attracts T to check the morphological feature [+Ref(erential)] inside it in overt syntax. From a morphophonological perspective, the factor that triggers CL placement is the phonologically enclitic nature of the CL. Specifically, the CL must move to an X^o at PF to avoid being stranded as an affix.

The proposed analysis accounts for the flexible order of CLs and the functional head Neg. We showed that that the relevant facts require a certain qualification of Chomsky's (1992/1995) system. In the suggested analysis, we have proposed that CL placement in the context of Neg is not problematic from the minimalist point of view, if a relaxed version of the Shortest Move requirement is adopted, according to which non-local head movement is legitimate if the position skipped does not check features of the moved head.

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