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Cultural Exchange Through Proverbs: Yorùba Sayings In English Discourse

1. Yemi Ogunsiji, Phd.

2. Oluranti Adekemi Olajuyigbe, PhD

3. Ilufoye Fawole Ojo, PhD

4.Mercy Ayo FasehunPhD

1 & 2: Department of English 3 & 4: Department of Yorùbá

Faculty Of Arts, Adeyemi Federal University Of Education, Ondo.

Abstract

Proverbs are considered as parts of the wisdom of a race. As such, people value the use and meanings of adages highly. Proverbs are seen as parts of the culture of the users which emanate from series of observations of natural phenomena and human relations. These types of wise sayings are usually associated with elderly people and perhaps that is why such a class of people is often regarded as the repository of proverbs in their respective cultures. Proverbs usually occur in the users' everyday communication and they usually make references to persons, situations, phenomena and so on. In our day-to-day communication, language usually serves as the pivot. In a bilingual multilingual environment like Nigeria, the interlarding of languages is inevitable. This paper looks into how the Yoruba speakers of English will change code so as to express his or her proverbs in such a way that the expected meaning are carried out in the shows that majority of Yoruba/English bilinguals prefer to express most of their proverbs in their indigenous language. When speaking English, they do not mind to mix their codes more especially in informal interactions. This is to uphold the belief that a language caters adequately for its environment and as soon as what is meant in one language is expressed in another language, the meaning becomes lost one way or the other and this will affect the meaning and the operation of such expressions.

Keywords: bilingualism, code-switching, biculturalism, proverbs, discourse.

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I. Introduction

When human beings communicate, they do so with a purpose and the major purpose is to communicate effectively so as to arrive at the desired meaning which will be properly decoded by the listeners. Africans, and especially, place much premium on the ability to speak with wisdom and this is ultimately used as the yardstick to determine the speaker's experiences and age. No wonder, one can be described as wiser than his or her age or vice versa depending on how one uses language in various contexts. One thing that usually contributes tremendously to one's use of language is the effective manipulation of proverbs in different contexts and cultures. The culture of the users however has very important implications for how one uses language and the meaning attached to it. In a bilingual, multilingual setting like Nigeria, our use of language becomes more complex when we think of meaning being conveyed. Because of our bilingual/bicultural settings, one begins to wonder how effective it will be when a Yoruba_speaker of English uses proverbs in his/her utterances. The problem begins to throw some questions into our minds: what language will be used to present the proverb so as to carry along the desired meaning? Why has the speaker chosen the language used? These will be adequately handled in this paper.

II. Literature Review

Proverbs are global, there is no race in the world that does not have its own proverbs, nonetheless they may be different from one race to the other. Proverbs occur informally in day-to-day verbal communication, their reference being a person or a situation known to both the audience and the user before they are uttered. The Yoruba people value proverbs very highly, for they considered to be wisdom love of the race. Old people

are usually regarded as a repository of proverbs, thus, the proverbs are combined to be traditional, and originate from the observation of natural phenomena and human relations. Anyone who does not know, or who cannot understand the application of proverbs, is regarded as unwise (Olútunji, 1984).

A lot of scholarship has been done about proverbs worldwide, but there is a limitation to interspersing conversation; Yoruba proverbs in English dialogue in Yoruba scholarship. There have been a number of general collections and publications of Yoruba proverbs by some authors. Among these authors are Ajibola (1947), Fásanya (1962), Ládipo (1955), Túbi (1955), Délano (19166), Bada (1970), Akinladé (1987), Koseemani (1987) and Sheba (2006). In each of the publication, only alphabetical arrangements and translations of proverbs into English are done. Délàno (1966) and Koseemani (1987) go beyond this level by giving meanings and usages of each proverb in their collections. Adeola (2006) collects different Yoruba proverbs and emphasizes its completeness and not in half sentence presentation. Owomoyela (2005) too has a collection on "A kii..." (we do not ...) type of proverbs (Sheba, 2013), while Sheba published her collections of Yoruba proverbs with feminine lexis in 2006. Ajewole (2009) also collects six-hundred proverbs and their meanings. Yusuf (1998) works on a speech act study of English and Yoruba proverbs about women. This is an interesting comparative study of both English and Yoruba proverbs, though about women. Besides, some aspects of Yoruba proverbs have been discussed in the various articles. Beier and Gbadamósi (1959) examine the ideas contained in them as reflecting the Yoruba world-view. The veiled language in which the moral intent is conveyed as well as the feelings contained in the proverbs are also discussed. Sobande (1967) classifies the proverbs into eleven categories, e.g. self-explanatory, allusive, semantically related locally derived, deriving from Islam, Christianity and contemporary songs, and those referring to body parts. Odunjo (1969) cited in Olatunji (1984) examines the origin of the proverbs, namely; observation of natural phenomena and human relations. Adejumo (2008: 14) says "in Yoruba communities, proverbs are the most commonly used because of frequency of use surpasses that of every other genre of literature. This shows the position of proverbs in Yoruba society before its changing phases recently. Adejumo (2008: 18) goes further to say that "in the past, frivolous use of Yoruba proverbs was almost an abomination, probably to prevent them from bastardisation and illogicalities especially by inexperienced young ones and some unknowledgeable adults" Adéjumo's view shows that transilative Yoruba proverbs to English may bastardise them. Thus, bastardisation of Yoruba proverbs may affect their meanings. In support of this view, Akeem (2001: 7) says that "all existing proverbs in Yoruba enjoy protection as an attempt to pollute them with "new proverbs" are always rebuffed. That is why Adéove (2010: 25) asserts that:

Of particular interest is that Yoruba proverbs are invulnerable as they are not affected or influenced by scientific study or reasoning. Religion does not change Yoruba proverbs and neither does modern technologies.

Adéoyè's view above on Yoruba proverbs shows that science and modern technology do not affect the Yoruba proverbs. This may be true but any attempt to translate them into English may not make their meaning sensible.

III. Meaning And Description Of Proverb

According to *African Encyclopedia* (1974:44), a proverb is "a short wise saying which has been accepted into current speech or writing". Also, *The New Webster's Dictionary* (1995:804) describes proverb as "a brief familiar maxim of folk wisdom". *Webster's Universal Dictionary* (2003) on its own says a proverb is a wise saying or maxim is constant. Again, it has to do with the tradition and culture of the users and it is a principles that is generally accepted as the pivot of wisdom or truth. See also *The New Thesaurus 3rd Edition* (1993: 780) which has described proverb in the same way.

Oral literature or folklore is an important channel of social interpretation, social cohesion and the transmission of group values and believes (Sheba, 2013). One very important aspect of African folklore that still subsists today and remains dynamic and current is proverbs Finnegan (1968: 390) says "proverb is a model of compressed or forceful language". This means proverb is like an idiomatic expression that is powerful. Délano (1966) opines that Yoruba proverbs are the combinations of wise sayings, wisdom, truth and insightful which translate one's thought faster and straight forward. Thus, "Owe lesin oro, bi oro ba sonu, owe la a fi i wa a (proverbs are horse-footed to solve a problem, when the truth is elusive, it is proverbs that we use to discover it)" Olatúnji (1984: 170). Great is, therefore, given to anyone who can use proverbs frequently and appropriately.

Yankah describes proverb as the bone of conservation. It is the oil that speech act consumes. Without proverbs, listening, conversations, speeches, discussions and communications are not usually enjoyable. Akinladé (1982: 1) says that "proverb is a short sentence with full of wisdom. Alabi (1985: 7) asserts that "proverbs are contraction of words with a concise meaning. Malomi (1994: 7) says that "proverbs are the combinations of words in a short wise saying that are full of wisdom and understanding" while Adéreti (1986) describes proverbs as conglomeration of wise saying or maxim that are deep and concise uttering in a short form.

Vidal (1852) and Bamgbose (1968) also examine the form of proverbs in their works. Olatunji (1984) observes that Bamgbose describes the sentence patterns –simple, complex, sequencial, parallel and the lexical, lexico-grammatical features – in the proverbs. He also discusses dialectal fossilization and word-play in them.

Other scholars such as Alaba (1986), Arora (1994), Ojoadé (2004), Kéhindé (2004), Agbajé (2006), Ajíbadé (2006), Babatundé (2005), Akinyemi (2007), Fáturoti (2022), Fáturoti and Adésina (2013) also work on Yoruba proverbs. Bamgbosé (1968) and Milner (1971) discuss the structural patterns of Yoruba proverbs. Adéjumo (2009) describes the various ways of using proverbs and their strength. Osoba (2007), Koseemani (2010) Faturoti and Adésina (2013) critically examine the power of Yoruba proverbs. Basodé (2008) collects one thousand Yoruba proverbs with their meanings and translates them into English language. Ráji and Ojó (2021) appraise the philosophical expressions in the creation, presentation and the use of Yoruba proverbs while Ojó(2016), Akinola(2016), Adejubee(2016), Fasehun(2016), Faturoti(2016) and (2022) have discussed the various changes recently observed in Yoruba proverbs and their usage. This has made some proverbs to be categorized as traditional or olden day's proverbs and modern day's proverbs. Having looked at the various works done on proverbs, one could easily conclude that Yoruba proverbs are useful in different ways. It is an aspect of oral genre that is indispensable in Yoruba day-to-day verbal communication. Thus, these Yoruba proverbs form the link between Yoruba literatures and their contents. Proverbs are the pillars of all other types of literature. Any attempt to translate them into English language usual hybridized and polluted them.

Among the Yoruba people, proverbs are highly regarded as markers of wisdom, and respected person should be able to comment and advice on the situation by making use of relevant proverbs. Some proverbs are, at times, common to a particular community and such proverbs often reflect the belief and way of life of the community or culture where they develop. Such will have the desired meaning only to the people who live in that community. For example, proverbs like "A man who lives on the bank of the Niger does not wash his hand and spittle" or an 'abiku' makes the doctor a liar" will be meaningful to many Nigerians in the riverine areas and of course Yoruba people who are conversant with the concept of 'abiku'.

We need to know also that there are some proverbs that are not culture-specific: such are universal in meaning and usage. An example is a proverb like "Health is wealth" (Îlera lorô). Such a proverbs have to do with wisdom. No wonder, the biblical book of proverbs is also called, the book of wisdom. They enriched our language and when used, the beauty is shown in the meaning and how language is manipulated to bring out the expected meaning. The best of the proverbs are very simple but they have the true and deep meanings that a speaker might want to convey. Proverbs have been given some synonyms like adage, aphorism, apothegm, bromide, byword, dictum, epigram, maxim, precept and so forth. Whatever name it is called, the fact remains that a proverb is the saying of the wise and it is used to bring out facts. What one is saying will be incomplete if at least a proverb has not been employed. The meaning will be taken as full only when the appropriate proverbs are used; it is like the salt which must be added to a soup before the required taste is shown. Proverb is a repository of knowledge, wisdom and understanding. Whoever has the knowledge has education, understanding and observation of things in presenting matters in a way that people will understand it well (Rájí and Ojó, 2021).

Since proverbs are wise saying that are widely used all over the world. Achebe (1958) has rightly described proverbs as like oil which Igbo men use in eating yam. This shows how proverbs facilitate the series of discourse we can embark on. There is therefore no doubt that proverbs are seen as the vehicle pivoting the way we use language. The Yoruba people morally say "Owe lesin oro, oro lesin owe bi oro ba sonu, owe ni a fin wa a" (which can be literally translated as proverbs are horse that words ride, words are the hoses that proverbs ride, if a word gets lost, proverbs are used to find it). This has shown the functionally and the importance of proverbs among the people.

In any verbal interaction where proverbs are used, such an interaction is not handled with all seriousness. It is seen as words of children that lack maturity, it is amateurish. However, when a proverb/aphorism or canon is professionally manipulated, such as interaction is taken as that of the wise which will carry the needed weight in all circles. No doubt, the Biblical book of proverbs is usually taken as the book of the sage written by somebody God has given the wisdom that can no longer be paralleled. Therefore, proverbs are global culture. Every races in the world make use of proverbs and they are useful in all ramifications. Anyone who is making a speech without proverb is considered as someone who does not understand Yoruba very well. Hence, a great honour is given to anyone who knows proverbs in Yoruba society.

IV. Functions Of Proverbs

Proverbs are very functional in the society and they are used to play series of roles. Proverbs are used to advise, to teach, to lampoon, to describe, to praise, to settle discords, to elevate, to appease, to minister and so forth. There are not limited to the African settings only because different societies in the world use proverbs to perform my raids of functions. The context usually determines the type of proverbs to be used and how such

proverbs will be effectively manipulated. The functionality of proverbs has helped in diverse ways to settle scores that would have dismantled different homes and associations. At times, proverbs embolden or encourage people to progress in areas where he/she would have been dampened irredeemably. The experience of the elders and users of proverbs go a long way in helping the functions that proverbs perform. Before a type of proverb will be used, intending user will take note of the context and the circumstances surrounding the situations at hand. If a right proverbs is used at the right time, the meaning will be conveyed easily but if a particular type of proverb is used at a wrong time, such a proverbs might aggravate or worsen the situation. Hence, wisdom is to be employed before a proverb is used.

Culture, to a large extent, also determines the types of proverbs to be used at certain circumstance and how they can be effectively used. In a group involving diverse peoples of different age among Yorubas, the relief is that proiverbs are words of the elders. If a person of a younger age makes use of proverbs where there are elders, there is usually the need to pay a verbal homage to the elders; "Toto, o se bi owe" "Enu agba lobi ti n gbo" (A kind of plea for using proverbs when the elders are around because of the belief that proverbs must come from elders).

In terms of functions, Délàno (1979) has itemized five different types which proverbs perform. These are to advise, to command, to preach, to warn and to encourage. Examples of proverbs that are used to perform these functions are also given. The types of functions provided by Délàno are broad one because there are still some functions that proverbs perform that are not stated here. We have earlier given a more detailed function performed by proverbs.

No doubt, proverbs occur informally in our day-to-day verbal communication Olatunji (1984) observes that the person or a situation known to both the audience and the user usually determine the reference of proverbs. As in all races, Olatunji (1984) states further that proverbs serve as social charters used to praise what the society considers to be virtues as well as to condemn what we refer to as bad practices. Among the Yoruba, parts of the virtues usually lauded include respect for elders, consideration for others, cooperation, hardwork, tactfulness and regard for promises made. In the same vein, laziness, meddling with other people's affairs, thefts and other deeds that have negative influence or connotations are condemned. Yusuf (1997, 2001) has done quite a substantial work on proverbs and issues like features, functions and other beauties of proverbs have been highlighted in his work. The fact is that proverbs are used to perform quite a lot of functions in our present society. The Yoruba have great respect for the concept of wisdom which usually comes from the elders and the learned who are expected to manipulate language with maturity in different contexts. The way language is used matters, we will also recall the concept of bilingualism which is an unavoidable one. Does this have any implication for our use of proverbs in carrying out the functions expected?

V. Proverbs And The Yoruba English Bilingualism

The concept of bilingualism is an interesting one in a country like Nigeria where there are different local languages. Much work has been done on the concepts of bilingualism/biculturalism and multilingualism/multiculturalism (Stewart 1970): Thelander 1967. Ojo 1977: Weinreich 1974: Scotton 1982: Oyetade 1995: Ogunsiji 2004). In most of these works, we have noticed the inevitability of language interference, mixing and switching of codes from one language to the other. Among the educated Yoruba people, it has become impossible to sick to one language, either Yoruba or English, when interacting with another Yoruba/English bilingual. There is usually the interlarding of the two languages. It is almost impossible for a bilingual to stick to one language only when in a casual conversation with fellow bilingual. However, this can be contested.

Bánjo (1996) while making an overview of the English language in Nigeria has examined different aspects of change of codes among bilinguals. He observes that the mixing of codes between English and our local languages like Yorùbá, Hausa or Igbo appears to be like new languages (Engloruba, Englausa and Engligbo) that are rearing their heads. The fact is that there are lexical items in one language that do not have the same meanings in another language. This has been part of the problems encountered when translating from one language to the other. For example, a lexical item like 'oko' in Yorùbá has a wide meaning that goes beyond 'husband', when translated. So, it is a problem and when a speaker is speaking with an audience of different linguistic background and he does not want the real meaning of his utterance to be properly decoded, he may deliberately switch or mix his codes so as to compound his utterance. Conversely, a change of code can also help to make one's utterance understandable. No doubt, all languages cater for their cultures adequately. All the linguistic items or symbol in Yorùbá are adequately catered for by all the lexical items in the Yorùbá language. The same thing occurs in other languages and when a speaker intends to express a culture in the language apart from its own, one needs to be extra-careful.

It has therefore been observed that, when a Yoruba/English bilingual is expressing him or herself in English in a casual discourse and there is the need to inject the utterance with a Yoruba proverb, much is now left to the speaker whether to switch to Yoruba in uttering the proverb or to stick to the English language in the

expression of the proverb. The knowledge and understanding of the speaker comes in if the meaning is to remain at it should be. However, there are lots of Yoruba/English, bilinguals who are never satisfied with the meanings of translated words from another language. In the light of this, this paper will look into the interspersing of language among Yoruba/English bilinguals with a view to view to bringing out the desired meaning in the Yoruba proverbs.

Among the Yoruba/English bilinguals, it has been observed that there is the interspersing of English with Yoruba or vice versa as far as the use of proverbs is concerned. In casual conversation, therefore, the use of proverbs has been enjoying this interspersing and one can ask what has been the justification for this.

VI. Methodology

This study has used educated Yoruba/English bilinguals as our subjects and the population selected are form ages 18 and above. Questionnaire items were used so as to collect the needed data and simple percentage was used to arrive at the answers in our analysis. Based on this analysis, we are able to arrive at the overall findings before the final conclusion is arrived at.

Analysis of Results

The instrument used to collect data is the questionnaire and based on the response given to the questionnaire items, the following information emanated:

Table1: Sex of the subjects used

Male	Female
80	80

Table 2: Age

Youth (18-30 Yrs)	Adult (31-50 Yrs)	Old (51 years and above)
50	60	50

Now, on the issue of the interspersing of Yoruba and English when proverbs are being used, the following findings are made;

Table3: Sex

S/NO		Male		Female	
		Score	%	Score	%
1	I prefer to express my proverbs in Yoruba even when	56	70	54	67.5
	speaking English				
2	I prefer saying my proverbs in English without	24	30	26	33.5
	interspersing				

In this table, 70% of the male subjects used stated their preference to say their proverbs in Yoruba rather than English even when they are communicating casually in English. In the same vein, 67.5% of our female subjects stated the same thing while 30% of male and 33.5% of our female subjects would prefer to stick to the use of English without mixing or switching codes.

Table4: Age

	1 able4: Age								
S/NO		Youth (18-30 Yrs)		,		Old (51 years and above)			
		Score	%	Score	%	Score	%		
1	I prefer to express my proverbs in Yoruba even when speaking English	32	64	48	80	40	80		
2	I prefer saying my proverbs in English without interspersing	18	36	12	20	10	20		

The two tables above have showed the preference of our subjects in the use of either Yoruba or English to express their proverbs in casual discourse. The subjects used have given their reasons for the use of either of two languages to express their proverbs. The reasons are shown in that tables below:

Table 5: Age

S/NO		Youth (18-30		Youth (18-30 Adult (31-50		Old (51 years and		
		Yrs)		Yrs)		above)		
		Score	%	Score	%	Score	%	

1	Saying Yoruba proverbs in Yoruba makes	20	56	38	63.3	42	84
	them more meaningful than in English						
2	Saying Yoruba proverbs in English does not	22	44	22	36	18	16
	reduce their meanings at all						

Table 6: Sex

S/No		Male		Female	
		Score	%	Score	%
1	Saying Yoruba proverbs in Yoruba makes them more	53	66.25	45	60
	meaningful than in English				
2	Saying Yoruba proverbs in English does not reduce	27	33.95	32	46
	their meanings at all				

VII. Findings

From the research carried out, we have looked into the interspersing of Yoruba and English and more especially the use of Yoruba to express proverbs when one is originally interacting casually in English. 70% of male subjects prefer using the Yoruba language to express their proverbs. This means they will not switch or mix their codes. When compared, it is discovered that a very high percentage of our subjects will say their proverbs in Yoruba rather than English.

When the ages of the users are examined, the young, the adult and the old subjects who will switch to the use of Yoruba when proverbs come in are in a very comfortable lead of 64%, 80%, and 80% respectively. What all these boil down to is that majority of Yoruba/English bilinguals prefer to express their proverbs in Yoruba even when they are communicating originally in English. A very low percentage of the subjects examined would continue their discourse in English. We can now ask why such a choice is made? According to our findings, 56% of the youth: 63.3% of the adults and 84% of the old subjects have stated that they would switch to Yoruba when the issue of proverb comes in basically because it is the Yoruba language that can only give the original meanings intended. This is because when a proverb is said in Yoruba, the proverb will be explanatory enough and the meaning will not be lost. This reason is backed up with the fact that a language caters adequately for its culture. Besides, the aesthetics value of the proverb at the point of usage in communication will be useless. If a different language is used, the meaning might not be there again. In the same vein, since all cultures have their proverbs, there are English proverbs that may not explain adequately the Yoruba concepts or ideas. Even if the same Yoruba proverb is translated into English, the meaning may be reduced one way or the other. Thus, the original meaning is already bastardized.

From the perspective of sex, 66% of the male and 60% of the female subjects also agreed with the reason stated above, while 33.7% of the male and 46% of the female subjects maintained that the use of English to express the Yoruba proverbs will affect the meaning of such proverbs. No doubt, 46% is relatively high but when compared with 60% of the female subjects who have negated this belief, it is discovered that there is a sense in what the majority of our subjects has identified.

VIII. Yoruba Proverbs And Their Translation

Under this sub-heading, we want to examine some of the Yoruba proverbs being translated to English to support our argument. Let us examine some Yoruba proverbs that have been translated into English and see whether the original meaning is adequately relayed or not:

(a) A kì i ru eran arin lori ki a maa fi ese tan iho ìre.

Translation: One does not carry elephant meat on the head and tries to turn up a cricket's hole with his foot.

(b) Alágbára má mo ero, baba ole.

Translation: The thoughtless strong man is the chief among lazy men.

(c) A kì i ni eni ni ìdi osàn ki á mu kikan.

Translation; One does not eat sour fruit when one's servant is nearby to collect good fruit.

(d) Abinú fùùfùù níi wá oúnje fún abinú wéréwéré.

Translation: One who cannot endure hunger cooks the food for the one who can endure hunger.

(e) Eni tí ó wá ayé kò pò bí eni tí ó sìn wón wá.

Translation: Those who have come to the world are not as many as those who accompanied them.

(f) Aàyè kì í há adie kí ó má dé idí àba rè

Translation: However crowded the way may be, the hen will reach her eggs.

(g) Ologinni re ajo, ilé di ilé èkuté.

Translation: When the cat goes on a journey, the house becomes a home for mice.

Ogun omodé kì i seré gba ogun odun.

Translation: Twenty children will not play together for twenty years.

Sìkasìka gbagbé ajobí, adaniloró gbagbé ola.

Translation: The wicked man forgets his blood relationship with others, a tormentor forgets the tomorrow.

Pipé ni voo pé akololo voo pe baba.

Translation: How ever long it will be the stammerer will call father.

These are few examples and if we look at them critically, one will discover that the translated meanings cannot be compared with the original meanings and if such translated proverbs are used, the meaning is already hybridized or even polluted and ultimately, the message that is originally intended will not be there again.

The idea of interspersing of languages in the present dispensation cannot be avoided: in fact the concept of interlarding of languages is indispensable in our society today. Poplack (1980) has observed that the change of codes does not mean that it is as a result of incompetence on the side of the user. Most of the time, the mixing or switching of codes are deliberate so as to achieve one's goal in communication (Ogunsiji, 2004).

IX. Conclusion

This study has looked into the use of Yoruba or English to express Yoruba proverbs when one is interacting casually. A research was carried out and in the analysis of the data collected, it was discovered that majority of the Yoruba/English bilinguals prefer to intersperse their English utterances with Yoruba especially when the use of proverbs comes in, the reason for this, according to the study, is that each language has its own culture and a language caters adequately for its own culture. The reason for this, according to the study, is that each language has its own culture and a language caters adequately for its own culture. This implies that the Yoruba language will cater adequately for all aspects of Yoruba culture and such, the Yoruba language will best express Yoruba proverbs. The findings therefore suggest that in order to achieve the ultimate goal of our communication, especially casual communications, the best is to express the Yoruba proverbs in Yoruba language not minding whether the discourse is initiated in English. So as to achieve the required goal in our communication (especially in the use of proverbs), there is the need to make use of the appropriate tool i.e, the required language that will give the expected meaning

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