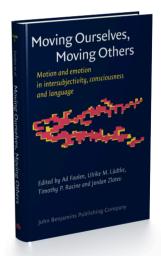
# (E)motion in the XVIIth century

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# (E)motion in the XVIIth century

A closer look at the changing semantics of the French verbs *émouvoir* and *mouvoir* 

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According to Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995: 176), "the medieval physiologicalpsychological theory of the four humors and the four temperaments has left its traces on our emotional vocabulary". In this study, we would like to go a step further by showing how the changing conceptualisation in the era of Descartes also influenced our emotional lexicon. The XVIIth century can be considered as a key moment in the origin of modern emotive consciousness (see Bloem 2008). For instance, from this period on, the term *émotion* is used more frequently in a rather abstract sense instead of the "mouvements de l'ame", which was commonly used until then in order to refer to emotional changes. In our analysis, we confront the semantic and syntactic profile of the verbs émouvoir and mouvoir in order to study their uses within the XVIIth century. Therefore, the attested occurrences are analysed in a semasiological way, inspired by Geeraerts' (1997) prototype semantics. I especially peruse some encyclopaedic treaties like for instance Le tableau des passions humaines (1620), Les charactères des passions (1640), De l'usage des passions (1642) and Les passions de l'âme (1649). These works provide us with very important testimonies regarding the changing conceptualisation of emotions. In other words, I examine the evolution of émouvoir and mouvoir within reflections about the nature of emotions in order to demonstrate the close connection between culture and lexicon (see also Kövecses 2005; Gevaert 2005).

**Keywords:** Descartes; metaphors; cultural and diachronic perspective; semantic and syntactic profile; verbal analysis of *mouvoir* and *émouvoir* 

### i. Introduction

In order to better understand the historical origin of our (linguistic) concept of emotion, and its close connection to that of motion, this chapter examines the relation between culture and lexicon by investigating how the changing conceptualisation of emotions in the era of Descartes influenced our emotional lexicon. One of the main questions is whether we can perceive the diminishing influence of the theory of the four humours, in inverse relation to a rising influence of the encyclopaedic treaties within the XVIIth century.

Within the literature, some references to the influence of humoral theories on the emotive lexicon can be found. First of all, according to Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995: 176), "the medieval physiological-psychological theory of the four humors and the four temperaments has left its traces on our emotional vocabulary". More specifically, they propose that:

As the original literal motivation gradually disappears, the elements of our emotional vocabulary could receive a new interpretation as figurative expressions of the physiological effects of particular emotions.

(Geeraerts & Grondelaers 1995: 171)

Such a take on our metaphorical language concerning emotion seems contrary to that of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, CMT (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Johnson 1987) which takes a rather opposite approach stating that, rather than cultural conceptions, (universal) bodily experiences ground metaphorical language (see also Zlatev et al. this volume). According to CMT, conceptual metaphors are based upon bodily source domains:

Thought is embodied, that is, the structures used to put together our conceptual systems grow out of bodily experience and make sense in terms of it; moreover, the core of our conceptual system is directly grounded in perception, body movement, and experience of a physical and social character.

(Lakoff 1987: xiv)

However, as argued by Quinn (1991), Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995), Gibbs (1999) and Gevaert (2007), the impact of supposedly universal and ahistorical metaphors needs to be put in a cultural perspective. In this chapter, I investigate whether the disappearance of the humoral pathology had an impact upon the emotive lexicon. In other words, the role of cultural influence will be further explored by showing how the changing conceptualisation in the era of Descartes influenced the emotional lexicon in French.

How to study the Cartesian influence upon the emotive lexicon? I will focus on the semantic analysis of the verbs *mouvoir* and *emouvoir*, two prototypical verbs of emotion in Old and Middle French. I will especially present in detail their behaviour within theoretical and encyclopaedic treaties within the XVIIth century. The XVIIth century can be considered as a key moment in the origin of modern emotive perception (see also Bloem 2008). For instance, from this period on, the term *émotion* is used more frequently in a rather abstract sense instead of the "mouvements de l'ame" ('movements of the soul'), which was commonly used until then in order to refer to (strong) feelings. By examining here the linguistic evolution of *émouvoir* and *mouvoir* within reflections about the nature of emotions, the chapter will argue for a close connection between culture and lexicon (see also Kövesces 2005; Gevaert 2005, 2007).

If we take a closer look at the global evolution of mouvoir and émouvoir, we see that these verbs have been subject to different patterns of semantic change. The following sections will present the results of different corpus studies which show some intriguing tendencies.

### Patterns in the semantic "evolution" of mouvoir and émouvoir

In Old and Middle French, mouvoir and émouvoir are often found in similar contexts and domains, especially within those of movement and emotion (see also Bloem 2007). The following sentences show that in Old and Middle French, mouvoir and émouvoir can be used in very similar contexts. In the following sentences, both verbs are possible in order to refer to the concrete movement of heaven and the movement of the firmament:

- (1) Et il covient ke le ciel et le firmament se tornent et muevent tozjors; et s'il ne fust reont, quant il se tornoie il covendroit a fine force k'il revenist autre point ke au premier dont il estoit esmeus. Carmody éd., p. 86.
- (2) [...] & il convient que li ciel & le fermament si tornent & se muent tousjor, & s'il ne fust reont quant il se tornoie il convendroit a fine force que il revenist a autre point que a premier dont il estoit meus. Baldwin & Barrette éd., p. 67.

In the next contexts, again, both émouvoir and mouvoir can be used in order to say that somebody is moved to anger and hate (esmu a ire et a haine) or to joy or sadness.

- (3) Sachiés que lor est il damages dou parleor a dire le fait selonc ce que il a esté quant celle chose desplaist as oïans & que il en soient contre lui esmu a ire & a haine, se il ne adousist por le bons argumens que conferme sa chause. Baldwin & Barrette éd., p. 328.
- (4)Car les grans fortunes qui adviennent a nos amis nous doivent notablement mouvoir a joie ou a tristece. Frantext.

In Modern French, however, we observe a strict division between the uses of those two verbs. Mouvoir for instance is almost exclusively used in order to express concrete and often physical movement whereas émouvoir expresses emotional change. In other words, we could say that the verb *émouvoir* underwent a process of "psychologisation".

## Corpus and categories

For the purpose of the study, a corpus from various registers such as literary texts and encyclopaedic texts was compiled. Different attestations of the verbs mouvoir and émouvoir from various sources were selected. For Old French, the database Frantext

and Laboratoire de français ancient was used. I also selected occurrences from various scientific texts such as the editions by Francis J. Carmody (1975 [19481]) and by Spurgeon Baldwin & Paul Barrette (2003) of Li livres dou tresor and Sydrac le philosophe. Besides this, Le livre de la fontaine de toutes sciences, edited by Ernstpeter Ruhe in 2000 was studied. For the XVIIth century, I used the database Frantext and included encyclopaedic treaties such as Le tableau des passions humaines from Nicolas Coeffeteau (1620), Les charactères des passions from Cureau de la Chambre Marin (1640), De l'usage des passions from Jean-François Senault (1642/1987) and Les passions de l'âme from René Descartes (1649)1. These works provide us with very important testimonies regarding the changing conceptualisation of emotions. The analysis examined the semantic profile of the verbs émouvoir and mouvoir in order to study their uses within the XVIIth century. These uses were confronted with the uses of the verbs in Old French in order to identify patterns in their historical evolution.

The attested occurrences were analysed in an empirical and semasiological way,<sup>2</sup> inspired by Geeraerts (1997) diachronic prototype semantics. More precisely, 809 contexts from Old French and 1674 contexts from the XVIIth century were gathered, analysed and categorised. In this way, five main categories based on the number and nature of complements and on their encyclopaedic reality were established, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1	The five	major	categories	of analysis
Table 1.	THE HVC	maior	categories	OI allaly sis

Uses of mouvoir and émouvoir							
Concrete		Abstract					
(1) PM	(2) PHM	(3) PP	(4) E	(5) E			
Physical, concrete movement	Physiological movement	Psychophysiological movements	Psychological movement or emotion	Stimulation			
All concrete cases of movement	Movements within the body	Ambiguous contexts in which the experiencer has to be inanimate and psychophysiologic, such as the heart or the soul	All abstract contexts	To give [somebody] an appetite, to encourage somebody to do something, to exhort to/to incite to/to urge to, to stimulate/ to excite			

<sup>1.</sup> I used the edition of Rodis-Lewis (1970) of Les passions de l'ame and the editions of Les charactères des passions, Le tableau des passions humaines and De l'usage des passions that have been published on the website Gallica of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

This means that I used the different verbal occurrences as a starting-point for the delimitation of the different semantic categories, shown in Table 1.

The first category we can distinguish is the one of physical, concrete movement (PM) in which all concrete cases of movement are gathered, such as those in (5) and (6), which deal with movement of water.

- (5) Et c'est pource que la lune [...], quant elle vient en orient et qu'elle commence a monter sur la terre, esmoet adonc la mer de ses rais. Problèmes. "And that's why the moon [...], when she comes from the east and when she begins to rise above the earth, she thus moves the sea with her rays".
- (6) [...] en la manière que l'yaue quant on y giete aucune pierrete se moet de toutes pars [...] Problèmes. "[...] the way in which water moves everywhere when one throws a stone in it [...]"

Within this category, we also find many cases in which a directional movement, or "bounded translocation" (cf. Zlatev et al. this volume) from A to B is expressed:

- Ceste .ix.e espere donc se meut de sa propre nature de orient (7)en occident [...] EAM. "This 9th sphere **moves** itself from the east to the west [...]"
- (8) En la contree de Asyam vers le Levant un moult tres durement grant ost s'esmovra et encontre son annemi ira et il perdra. Syderac. "In the region of Asyam towards the east, a very big army will move and it will go towards his enemy and he will lose."

The second category is that of physiological movement (PHM), that is, movements within the body which deal with movement of humours (les melancolies), movement of the heart and veins (coeur and arteres) and phlegm (flegme):

- (9) [...] et pource dit ausy Ypocras que u prin tans les melancolies se esmoeuvent. Problèmes. "[...] and that's why also Hippocrates says that during spring the humours move."
- [...] et pource se moet en ceste passion la chaleur naturele au (10)dehors du cors impetueusement [...] Problèmes. "[...] and that's why in this passion the natural heat **moves** violently outside the body [...]"

The third category involves psychophysiological movements (PP), such as those expressed in sentences (11) and (12). In these cases, the experiencer has to be inanimate<sup>3</sup> and psychophysiologic, such as the heart or the soul. In other words, these

<sup>3.</sup> Within this chapter, "animate" is exclusively used for persons or animals. Therefore, terms such as soul and heart are considered here as being "inanimate".

contexts are necessarily ambiguous because they deal with the physiological consequences of emotive changes.

- Et ausi se moet li coers ausi diversement et inordeneement en peur (11)pour la commotion de la chaleur qui se depart de li [...] Problèmes. "And also the heart moves so differently and disorderly in fear for the concussion of the heat which comes from it."
- C'est la cause qui le courage fait a ire esmouvoir. Problèmes. (12)"That is the cause that **moves** courage to anger."

It was not always easy to establish a strict division between this category and the former one. Therefore, it is necessary to study the broader contexts in which the attestations are found. When the sentence is embedded in a clearly medical context, the attestations were classified within the category of physiological movement (PHM). When the contexts rather deal with emotional changes as a result of physiological actions, they were placed within the third psychophysiological category (PP).

Within the fourth category, i.e. "psychological movement or emotion" (E), all abstract contexts were assembled, such as those in examples (13) and (14):

- (13)De ces choses et de moult d'autres muevent les hainnes. Syderac. "Hatred originates (lit: moves) from these and many other things".
- (14)Car les grans fortunes qui adviennent a nos amis nous doivent notablement **mouvoir** a joie ou a tristece. *Frantext*. "Because of the big fortune who touches our friends we have notably to move us to happiness or to sadness."

The fifth category of "stimulation" (S) is defined by contexts which deal with an agent being stimulated, or "moved" to perform something, or otherwise to change his motivational state such as: to give [somebody] an appetite, to encourage somebody to do something, to exhort to/ to incite to/ to urge to, to stimulate/to excite...:

- (15) [...] ris se **esmeut** [...] *Frantext*. "[...] laughter arises [...]"
- (16)[...] aucun en sont esmeu a toussir, et c'est de l'oele de olive dont Aristote parle. *Problèmes*. "[...] some are inclined (lit: moved) to cough, and it is the olive oil of which Aristotle talks."

Besides these five categories, there were some instances which could be classified in a sixth one in which the source or the origin of a legacy is mentioned (O), such as in "le seigneur de qui li eritages muet" (Frantext) ("the lord of whom the heritage comes"). However, this is a very limited category, only attested for some minor attestations of mouvoir in Old French.

### Quantitative analysis

The following figures provide us with a semasiological overview of all the uses for each verb within Old French and the XVIIth century. As we can see, in Old French (Figure 1), both verbs are most often used to express either physical movement (PM) or stimulation (S).

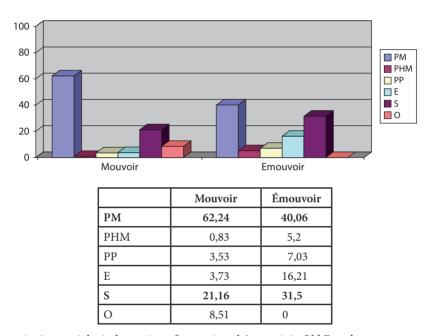


Figure 1. A semasiological overview of mouvoir and émouvoir in Old French

Within the XVIIth century period (Figure 2), however, each verb is specialised in a different domain: mouvoir expresses in most cases a concrete, physical movement (PM) whereas émouvoir is mostly used in order to express emotion (E).

The semantic changes that have taken place between the two periods become even clearer if we compare the proportions of the six categories for the same verb. Comparing the semantic behaviour of *mouvoir* in Old French to the situation in the XVIIth century (Figure 3), we can see that in both periods mouvoir is mostly used in order to refer to a concrete and physical movement. However, while the proportion of (PM) increases, the other two more significantly represented categories in Old French, (S) and (O) decrease, while (E) and (S) remain marginal. We also notice a decrease within (PHM), which might indicate that referring to humoral movement gradually disappears.

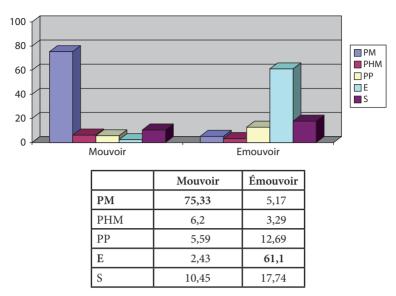


Figure 2. A semasiological overview of *mouvoir* and *émouvoir* within the XVIIth century

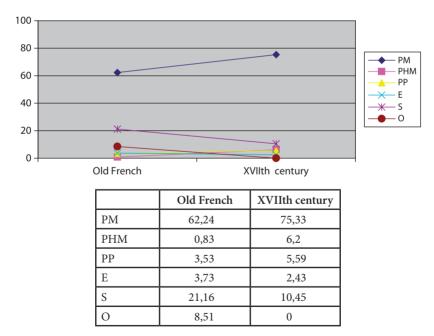


Figure 3. The global semantic change of mouvoir

The semantic evolution of the verb émouvoir (shown in Figure 4) tells us a completely different story. First of all, we observe a spectacular decrease in the number of cases expressing concrete, physical movement (PM). In Old French, still 45% of the cases refer to concrete movement<sup>4</sup> and only 16% refer to emotions. Until the XVIth century, there is still a high amount of "stimulation" (S) uses. From the XVIIth century onwards, émouvoir is mostly used to refer to emotions (E).

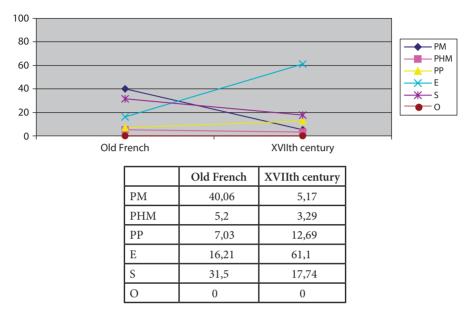


Figure 4. The global semantic change of émouvoir

# Cultural influences on semantic change

How can the patterns described in the previous section be explained? We can begin by considering the importance of encyclopaedic information for semantic change, emphasized by Geeraerts (1997: 70):

> In the context of prototype theory, however, the synchronic observation is made that the borderline between semantics and world knowledge is inherently ill defined. Diachronically, this is reflected in the fact that alleged encyclopaedic information may at any moment be the starting-point for the birth of a new reading, and, as such, has to be taken into account when studying semantic changes.

More precisely, we see that in Old French, 40,06% of the cases of émouvoir refer to physical movement and 5,2% refer to physiological movement.

Furthermore, according to Grondelaers and Geeraerts (2003:68), the reason why a term is chosen in a particular context depends upon its semasiological salience in which the prototypicallity of the semantics of the term is being considered and upon its onomasiological salience (i.e. the term's relation to other related terms). Besides these two factors, it is also important to take into account the sociolinguistic context.

In other words, we need to take a closer look at the encyclopaedic reality, i.e. the nature of encyclopaedic "world" knowledge within the XVIIth century in order to explain the attested tendencies. Therefore, it is appropriate to analyse the encyclopaedic treaties of that period because those works are a good indication of how emotions and bodily movements were perceived at that time. For instance, we do find many reflections upon the metaphorical status of "mouvement de l'ame". In the following passage, taken from Descartes' "passions de l'ame" from 1644, we see that, instead of talking about "mouvements de l'ame", he prefers to use the term "emotion". In other words, it seems that the term "movement" is not convenient any more in order to talk about emotional change. In fact, Descartes suggests to use the expression "emotions de l'ame" (translated as "excitations of the soul", apparently to preserve the aspect of motion in English) because the term movement is too restricted in order to describe all the mutations and changes that can affect the soul (cf. also infra):

> Mais on peut encore mieux les nommer des émotions de l'ame, non seulement à cause que ce nom peut estre attribué à tous les changements qui arrivent en elle, c'est-à-dire à toutes les diverses pensées qui luy viennent, mais particulierement pource que, de toutes les sortes de pensées qu'elle peut avoir, il n'y en a point d'autres qui l'agitent et l'esbranlent si fort que font ces passions.

> > (Descartes 1644: article 28)

"But they may still better be named excitations of the soul, not only because this name may be attributed to all the changes that take place within it, that is, to all the different thoughts that come to it, but in particular, because, among all the sorts of thoughts that it can have, there are no others which agitate it and shake it so strongly as these passions do. (Voss (trad.) 1989: 34)"

It must be underlined here too that within this period, the first uses of the substantive "emotion" are attested in the abstract way it is used nowadays. In Old and Middle French, *émotion* was rather used to refer to uprisings, rebellions and riots (cf. *DMF*).

Furthermore, within different texts of the XVIIth century, we find several sections in which the authors stress the problem of gaps in the lexicon in order to refer to emotional changes. For example, in the treatise "Les characters des passions" by Cureau de la Chambre, the author prefers talking about passions instead of using "mouvemens de l'Appetit naturel" and he criticises the fact that there are not enough proper terms in order to refer to emotional changes.

#### The conceptualisation of emotions in the XVIIth century 6.

In order to approach an answer to the question posed in the previous section, we need to consider still more facts concerning the conceptualisation of emotions within the XVIIth century which would allow us to embed the evolution of the verbs mouvoir and émouvoir within its cultural context. First of all, the previous examples clearly show that, through the centuries, there have been some changes with respect to the term mouvement ('movement'). More precisely, whereas in the past, mouvement referred to "power", from the XVIth century onwards, mouvement becomes a near synonym of déplacement ('displacement'), as also stated by Talon-Hugon (2002: 10). More importantly, from this period on, preclassical conceptions of movement and soul(s) are abandoned: instead of the aristotelic-thomist notion of the soul, the soul is considered to be a res cognita, ("thinking substance") from the XVIIth century onwards (Desjardins 2001: 76).

My proposal is that these changes have gradually affected the lexical level. We find evidence for this in sections in which Cureau de la Chambre reflects upon the metaphorical status of the lexeme "mouvement de l'ame". He literally says that the words used in order to specify what happens to the soul do not properly express what really happens and that they are rather "metaphorical".

> Les mots que l'on employe pour s'en expliquer, sont tous metaphoriques & ne designent point proprement ce qui se passe alors dans l'Ame.

> > (Cureau de la Chambre, vol. V, p. 301)

"The words used in order to explain this, are all metaphorical and do not properly point out what is then happening in the Soul."

In the following section, Cureau also mentions the lexical problem with respect to the classification of different passions. He stresses the fact that one should use the differences within movement in order to define various passions:

> Quoy qu'il en soit, puisqu'en definissant la passion en general on se sert du mot de mouvement, il faut de necessité pour marquer les differences des passions, y employer les differences du mouvement, & trouver en chacune d'elles quelque agitation particuliere qui ait de la convenance & du rapport avec quelqu'un des mouvemens sensibles.

> > (Cureau de la Chambre, Vol. I, pp. 42–43).

"Be that as it may, since defining passion in general one uses the word movement, it is necessary in order to mark the differences of the passions, to use the differences of movement, & to find in each of them some particular agitation that is convenient & that has a link with some of the sensible movements."

Thus, we may conclude that during the XVIIth centrury in France, considerable changes of the concept of emotions have taken place and that these changes have caused many lexical problems with respect to the field of emotions. One factor seems particularly important to help explain what precipitated these changes: a Cartesian conception of mind and emotion which especially consists of a separation of body and mind and which in the XVIIth century overruled the galenic-medieval physiologic and humoral conception. Whereas in older times, emotions were conceived as being the result of bodily movements and a humoral disproportion, from the XVIIth century onwards, emotions became rather abstract and metaphorical sensations, entirely disconnected from the body or movements of fluids. Besides this, it is also important to underline the development of anatomic and scientific analyses and the overall upcoming more rationalist worldview. It is thus within this framework that the increase of the abstract uses of the verb *émouvoir* can be situated.

However, we could wonder why it is especially *émouvoir* instead of *mouvoir* that is used in order to express abstract emotive changes? A possible answer lies within the meanings of the different uses of the two verbs. Although both verbs could be used in a concrete way in Old French, some subtle differences, even within the oldest attestations of these verbs do exist. First of all, within the category of physical movement, the verb *émouvoir* was more often used in Old French in order to refer to water or to violent movements or even big changes (see also Section 3). On the other hand, mouvoir was mostly used in order to refer to directional movements from A to B and to refer to more neutral movements. The same is also true at the physiological level: whereas mouvoir was used to refer to neutral movements, émouvoir was used to refer especially to fluid substances such as humours, and more often than mouvoir to substantial changes such as bouillir ('to boil') or échauffer ('to overheat'), as is the case in example (17) from the XIVth century.

Et pource, quant en l'yver ces superfluités sont ataintes et estraintes de (17)la froidure circonstant, elles se eschaufent par dedens et esmoeuvent a ebullition et putrefaction, Et ainsy font fievres, car fievre n'est autre chose que une excessive chaleur estendue par tout le cors. *Problèmes*. "And that is why, when during winter, these superfluities are affected and closed up by the surrounding cold, they overheat from the inside and they are moved to boiling and putrefaction, And make fever this way, because fever is nothing else than an excessive heat spread out all over the body."

Another possible motivation is that the prefix es- is used in Old-and Middle French as en intensifier such as in esgarder, ('to look closely, to inspect'), garder ('to see, to examine').

In short, from the XVIth century onwards, the humoral theories were replaced by a far more analytical view in which body and soul are clearly separated and this was also reflected within the uses of the verb *émouvoir*. When we look at its complements, we can observe that, in older times, esmouvoir les humeurs ("movement of the humours") was very frequent. Gradually, psychophysiological movements such as esmouvoir le coeur a ire ('to move the heart to anger') were increasingly attested. Nowadays, we almost exclusively find constructions in which the effect upon the person is stressed, as in *émouvoir quelqu'un* ('to move somebody'). We could designate this process as a delitteralisation process, i.e. a semasiological chain from the spatial to the psychological uses by means of the physiological and the psychophysiological ones.

### Conclusions

The diachronic semantic analysis presented in this chapter revealed that, from the XVIIth century on, the verbs mouvoir and émouvoir have become specialised in French. Indeed, from this period onwards, the verb mouvoir is almost exclusively used as a verb of movement whereas émouvoir has become a real psychological verb. The evolution of the verb *émouvoir* can be considered a delitteralisation process because of the fact that we can observe a chain starting from the spatial to the psychological uses.

It has also to be stressed that the XVIIth century appears to be a very interesting period for the study of the changing conceptualisation of emotions and its influence on the emotive lexicon. More precisely, within this century, encyclopaedic texts provide us with very explicit thinking on the psychophysiological level of emotions. What's more, within these texts, we also find many reflections on certain linguistic "problems". Cureau de la Chambre's writings show clear evidence of metalinguistic reflection about the metaphoric status of the phrase "mouvement de l'âme", which was probably typical of the time.

By studying the uses of the prototypical verbs of emotion, namely mouvoir and *émouvoir*, within encyclopaedic reflections revealing the changing conceptualisations of emotions during that period, I have stressed the relevance of taking into account cultural and historical influences upon the lexicon. This way, we observed that, besides the influence of the humoral doctrine, we also have to take into account the Cartesian impact in order to understand the evolution of the emotive lexicon in French. These findings allow us to underline the importance of cultural motivation for metaphor formation instead of focussing exclusively on universal bodily conceptualisations.

However, it has to be stressed that these changes are especially true for the French émouvoir, mouvoir and émotion. It is interesting to note that in English, the word emove and emotion have been borrowed from French. However, nowadays, emove is not attested anymore. It thus seems that, in English, motion and emotion remain more closely related to each other than it is the case for French. In other Romance languages, such as Italian, the Italian equivalent emozionare is used. Curiously, another verb, commuovere, is also used in order to designate emotional changes. The same is true for Spanish in which emocionar and conmover are used.

To sum up, while Descartes may have contributed to separating motion and emotion, both linguistically and conceptually, the close etymological relation between the two expressions parallels the close relationship between the two concepts, investigated within this volume. In both European and non-European languages (see Zlatev, this volume), we still metaphorically refer to feelings in terms of movements. In other words, emotions have not entirely cut off their "motion roots".

### Acknowledgments

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