Don't Cry Over *Spilled* or *Spillt* Milk?: Nuanced Semanto-Pragmatic Differences Between *-ed* and *-t* in English

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Received: February 2, 2023 Accepted: March 22, 2023 Online Published: April 3, 2023

doi:10.5539/ijel.v13n3p1 URL: https://doi.org/10.5539/ijel.v13n3p1

1. Introduction

Modern English has a small set of verbs that show variability between the inflections -ed and -t as preterite and past participle morphemes (Peters et al., 2022; Quirk, 1970). Examples include: burn, spoil, spill, learn, dream, spell, smell, kneel, dwell, leap, and lean (Peters et al., 2022; Quirk, 1970). While -ed is thought to be the more prevalent form in U.S. Englishes, -t is more widespread in U.K. dialects of English (as related to both preterite and perfect forms) (Cambridge English Dictionary, 2023; HarperCollins, 2023). However, in spite of this difference being regularly deemed dialectal (Cambridge English Dictionary, 2023; HarperCollins, 2023), according to some scholars (e.g., Peters et al., 2022; Quirk, 1970), choice between one form or the other may carry semantic consequences. For instance, whereas -ed in participial contexts may be understood as representing imperfective actions, -t might be associated with perfectivity (Quirk, 1970). With this in mind, the present paper had as its objective to further explore the meaning differences that may come about with the use of either inflection.

In the sections to come, I add to the aforementioned discussion by pointing out that, in **adjectival** environments, the aspectual differences between the two can be analogized as the PLIANT and INTERRUPTIBLE (-ed) vs. the NON-COMPLIANT and TERMINAL (-t). I explain that, while -ed tends to be interpreted as being tied to **modifiable** or **malleable** events, -t is read as signaling those which are **fixed** or **unyielding**. The findings to be discussed are significant for several reasons: 1) they shed light on the contexts in which each inflected form may be preferred; 2) very few academic works acknowledge any differences, other than regional preferences; and 3) to my knowledge, no previous scholarly article has focused on their uses in exclusively, adjectival environments.

2. The Pliant and Interruptible vs. the Non-Compliant and Terminal

2.1 Burned vs. Burnt

Our first step towards understanding this dichotomy will be to analyze and compare a series of authentic, natural language examples. Let's begin with the *burned/burnt* contrast.

- 1) "[...] That would turn the **burned** wood to charcoal which, because it's so dry here, would never decay" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 2) "The fears, she says, are irrational and all-embracing sights, sounds, and smells, like the **burned** toast she was served that morning which forced her to leave the restaurant" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 3) "Black as burnt wood, rust, and snowflake" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 4) "I was doing the Barbara Walters Oscar special last year and I talked about this idea of "burnt toast", eating a piece of burnt toast instead of throwing it away and starting fresh [...]" (Davies' COCA, 2008).

In the case of sentence (1), we can infer that, although having experienced some burning process, the wood in question is likely not incinerated. In other words, despite being exposed to flames and fire, its current state is somewhat intact. In contrast to this are the inferences made with respect to example (3). In this context, the state of the particular wood is paralleled with the color black. With such a comparison, the wood is understood to be burnt *up* and no longer minorly defiled (as in 1). Moving on to the toast examples, we see that, as related to example (2), the state of the slice(s) of bread was not deemed inedible or incapable of being served (although, perhaps, not ideal). Conversely, it is assumed that the normal order of business, as pertains to (4), would have been to get rid of or do away with the toast in question. Thus, if we compare all four contexts, we can observe

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that, whereas *burned* was used to describe objects that had been significantly exposed to fire, but only moderately blemished, *burnt* was attached to situations in which the flame-exposed material was essentially destroyed.

2.2 Spoiled vs. Spoilt

Our next analysis will focus on the *spoiled* vs. *spoilt* dichotomy. The sentences to follow exemplify the contextual differences that will be discussed.

- 5) "But like a **spoiled** child who got everything he wanted, then suddenly finds himself on his own, Americans will wonder where it all went" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 6) "Your father and I, we treat you like adults. And you turn around and you act like a couple of **spoilt** kids. Now, I want you two to kiss and make up" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 7) "The refrigerator may be empty or contain spoiled food" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 8) "This would probably result in increased amounts of contaminated and spoilt food" (Davies' COCA, 2008).

In the case of sentence (5), we may understand the phrase *spoiled child* to be indicative of an individual who is coddled, pampered, and/or babied. However, as related to example (6), *spoilt* is likely to be understood as referring to the individual's character; i.e., a negative demeanor or attitude that is inherent to them or that they are portraying. In the context of comestibles, whereas *spoiled* in example (7) seems to refer to food that is no longer fresh or has gone bad, *spoilt* in example (8) appears to exacerbate this condition, instead pointing out the food's status as being unfit for human consumption (i.e., emphasizing its toxicity). Therefore, in comparing the four abovementioned contexts, we observe that, while the *-t* inflection is suggestive of an undisguised, pungent behavior or quality, the *-ed* morpheme respectively evokes a more tempered or superficial condition or attitude.

2.3 Spilled vs. Spilt

Our next -ed vs. -t adjectival comparison involves the spilled/spilt opposition.

- 9) "I took the dish towel from him and wiped up spilled wine" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 10) "[...] still milled about the smoke-laden room on a floor sticky with spilt beer" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 11) "[...] and the ecosystems with their specific environmental conditions impacted by the **spilled** oil" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 12) "Spilt oil floats on water and initially forms a slick a few millimeters thick" (Davies' COCA, 2008).

In examples (9) and (11) above, we may infer that the spilling events in question happened recently. In addition to their recency, the presence of the *-ed* seems to suggest both agentivity and accidentality. Different from (9) and (11), sentences (10) and (12) are implicative of spilling incidents that are more likely dated, as well as complete. In other words, whereas the spills described in (9) and (11) may have been abridged or unfinished (i.e., some wine and oil remained un-spilled), those discussed in (10) and (12) indicate consummation or resultativity (i.e., the conclusion of the spilling is the focus).

2.4 Learned vs. Learnt

Similar to the *spilled/spilt* contrast, the *learned/learnt* dichotomy may also be said to be governed by nuanced, semantic constraints.

- 13) "I don't think men are born with an innate lack of respect for women. It is a **learned** behavior" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 14) "When you begin to stack one **learnt** behavior on top of a series of others, the answer to understanding a particular person's reasons for acting a certain way or having a particular belief about the world may take quite a lot of unraveling" (When you begin to stack one learnt behavior, 2023).
- 15) "Some people are naturally resilient, but it's also a learned skill" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- **16)** "After some time, if the **learnt** skills [...] are deployed by the machine to recreate human endeavor, then the machine is the brain" (Davies' COCA, 2008).

It is seen that, in examples (13) and (15), the behaviors in question are the result of learning processes which may or may not give rise to conduct that is deep-rooted or indissoluble. Contrarily, in the case of sentences (14) and (16), *learnt* is better understood as referencing tangible, learning products, which are more likely to be perceived as enduring or well-established. Thus, whereas *learned* skills or behaviors referred to the undertaking or realization of the particular learning events, *learnt* tended to be indicative of the established, conduct-related

practice, product, or end-result.

2.5 Dreamed vs. Dreamt

Like the -ed vs. -t pairs we have already examined, the dreamed vs. dreamt dichotomy may also constitute semantic differences.

- 17) "Harper does not deserve to have even a minority, let alone a dreamed majority" (Davies GloWbE, 2013).
- **18)** "Unfortunately, it is not easy to remember a **dreamt** song, let alone convert it to a real life digital production" (Davies iWeb, 2018).
- **19)** "Basically, now it's a **dreamed** up idea from bloggers needing something to talk about" (Davies GloWbE, 2013).
- 20) "It was a rapidly dreamt up attempt at irony or sarcasm" (Forgoodorill, 2019).

In example (17), the use of *dreamed* may be interpreted as signaling a majority that does not currently exist. Put differently, reference is being made to an idea (i.e., reaching or obtaining a majority) that has only recently been birthed or concocted and, thus, has not yet come to fruition. In contrast to this interpretation is the use of the form *dreamt* in sentence (18). In this context, the song in question is understood to have been awakened or invented during a somnolent moment in the individual's life. However, despite relating to a sleep-oriented event, the dream being discussed (i.e., the existence of some song) is perceived as actually having taken place. If we turn to examples (19) and (20), which involve the use of a phrasal form of *dream* (i.e., *dream up*), we can, again, observe that, whereas (19) refers to an idea that is in the works, unfinished, or not fully developed, the attempt being referenced in (20) has been fully executed.

2.6 Spelled vs. Spelt

Another predicate exhibiting variability of inflection is the verb *spell*. The sentences below provide examples in which the *-ed* vs. *-t* morphemes may signal nuanced differences.

- 21) "But this year is particularly interesting because we're going to end it with a **spelled** out agenda and timetable of what we're going to do in the areas of education and the areas of voter engagement" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- **22)** "Invite [them] to a properly moderated forum with a clearly **spelt** out agenda to get your answers..." (Murabula, 2016).
- 23) "And the transition from a spelled word, letter by letter, to assigned thought [...]" (Davies' COCA, 2008).
- 24) "Finally a spelt [out] strategy for enhancing women's participation [...]" (Davies' COCA, 2008).

Let's start with a comparison of sentences (21) and (22). In example (21), the use of the *-ed* morpheme puts forth an agenda (and timetable) that is carefully expounded upon and, thus, characterized by great detail. In visualizing such an agenda, it is likely that the reader envisions an open document with many leaves and numerous bulleted points, possibly awaiting further adjustments. As related to example (22), the *-t* inflection presents an agenda that is a comprehensive, finished product. Thus, whereas the agenda being described in (21) may create a mental image of a schedule with its contents exposed and visible to the addressee(s) in question, that being discussed in (22) is conceivably an enclosed or wrapped-up, end result. In moving to sentences (23) and (24), we, again, see that, whereas the *-ed* form of *spell* suggests that the particular word or concept is unrefined, makeshift, unpolished, or rudimentary, with the *-t* in (24), one might envisage a settled-upon and complete strategy.

2.7 Smelled vs. Smelt

Next up on our list of verbs to cover is the predicate *smell*. We will examine the sentences below in order to locate any potential meaning differences.

- **25)** "In the seen there will be merely the seen; in the heard, merely the heard; in the **smelled**, the tasted and touched, merely the **smelled**, tasted, touched, in the cognized, there will be merely the cognized" (Davies iWeb, 2018).
- **26)** "For whatever needs fire to function and demands a renewal of flame for its work must be counted as of your domain. To pry for hidden metals, to **smelt** out riches deposited in the veins of the earth [...]" (Davies iWeb, 2018).
- 27) "The aroma of cat scat wafting up from the base of a feeder is all it takes to keep certain songbirds away, while among domestic chicks, one bird will react excitedly to the smell of feces from a fearful peer, but only if both the **smelled** and smeller are eating a natural diet of insects and greenery" (Davies iWeb, 2018).

28) "The aroma of cat scat wafting up from the base of a feeder is all it takes to keep certain songbirds away, while among domestic chicks, one bird will react excitedly to the smell of feces from a fearful peer, but only if both the [smelt] and smeller are eating a natural diet of insects and greenery" (Adapted from Davies iWeb, 2018).

Let's begin with examples (25) and (26). In (25), the presence of the *-ed* morpheme presents a mental picture of an item whose scent has not waned and, thus, potentially lingers. Put differently, a fragrance or odor that persists or is accessible, if one is in the object's presence. In the case of (26), the *-t* ending evokes an 'end result' or 'final product' interpretation. In other words, the riches in question have already been detected or discovered by "smell" (i.e., instinct) which, therefore, resulted in the conclusion of the smelling (out) event. As pertains to examples (27) and (28), whereas (27) depicts an implicitly-mentioned "smelled" thing, that may (or may not) continue to emit a fragrance or odor, (28), like (26), elicits a final outcome reading, in which it is understood that the "smelling" process has ceased to exist.

2.8 Kneeled vs. Knelt

- 29) "A kneeled person is less visible from the distance" (Davies iWeb, 2018).
- **30)** "A very comfortable stock which fits [onto] the body nicely when in a **knelt** position" (Davies iWeb, 2018).
- **31)** "Starting in a **kneeled** position, place one foot forward firmly on the ground, keeping your chest up, and push the hips towards your front leg" (Davies iWeb, 2018).
- 32) "The second snap saw Aisha still proudly posing in a knelt position" (Davies' NOW, 2016).

In example (29), the presence of the *-ed* form of *kneel* elicits an image of an individual who has adopted the particular posture, momentarily. Conversely, the *-t*-inflected-form of *kneel*, used in sentence (30), seems to imply that the item of clothing in question will be comfortable to its wearers (or buyers) when kneeling in an unhurried or slow-moving fashion. Like (29), through sentence (31), we may infer that the position being discussed is one which will only be temporarily carried out by the instructed party(ies). A similar grouping can be achieved with examples (30) and (32). In the same way as (30), the use of *knelt* in (32) is understood as representing a stance that is enduring. This is made clear by the fact that the "snap" or photograph under consideration presents a still or static rendering of Aisha's bearing.

2.9 Dwelled vs. Dwelt

Perhaps not as common a contrast is the *dwelled/dwelt* opposition. Let's compare the examples below in order to identify any potential semanto-pragmatic differences.

- **33)** "The Paris of mansard roofs [...] is seen as a **dwelled**-in, frequented space-world, a roof village, a city in itself [...]" (O' Keefe, 2013, p. 177).
- **34)** "This conceptualization of culture, in other words, allows for cross-cultural encounter with a **dwelt**-in world, rather than a withdrawal into (pre-existing) abstractions mapped onto an encountered materiality" (Papakostas & Pasamitros, 2015, p. 243).
- **35)** "To promote sustainability-relevant CPS learning, sustainability contextualization of game play scenarios is also necessary (e.g., a **dwelled** tropical island exposed to tsunamis)" (Gyaurov et al., 2019, p. 870).
- **36)** "It is significant in this context of thinking about forests and identities that Heidegger's original formulation of dwelling famously returned to peasant life in the Black Forest to illustrate his notion of a **dwelt**, authentic life" (Ritter & Dauksta, 2011, p. 163).

In sentence (33), the use of the *-ed* form brings to mind a world in which people currently (and will continue to) reside. Although example (34), does, also trigger a mental image of an inhabited world, said world's ongoing continuity is not intuitively recognized. Similar to sentence (33), the land being described in (35) may be understood as being presently occupied. Again, like example (34), the constancy or progression of the life mentioned in (36) is not instinctively discerned. Thus, we could argue that, whereas the *-ed* inflection in (33) and (35) engenders a continuative reading, the *-t* in examples (34) and (36) may be interpreted as signaling expiration or discontinuance.

2.10 Leaped vs. Leapt

Our third to last comparison is the *leaped/leapt* dichotomy. The examples to follow seek to evidence how each inflection may contribute subtle semantic differences.

37) "At some show-ring speeds, the transfer becomes a **leaped** step, with both hooves clear of the ground for a split second" (Ziegler, 2005, p. 20).

- **38)** "Whatever inspires you to take a **leapt** chance [...]" (King, 2010, p. 204).
- **39)** "Its main components are the atomism of the earlier 'mutakallinūm', plus the idea that time is a **leaped** sequence of moments" (Griffel, 2009, p. 126).
- **40)** "Turning now to the soprano entrance in m.13, we find a tritone and a diminished seventh against the D on the third beat; a **leapt**-to seventh on the fourth; a simultaneous clash of tritone, seventh, and fourth on the ensuing downbeat; a tritone against the sustained B on the second beat; another **leapt**-to seventh on the third beat, and so it goes" (Taruskin, 2009).

As for example (37), the *-ed* ending may be interpreted as indicating a step that is regularly or recurrently missed. Sentence (38), however, seems to be suggestive of an opportunity that had, at a particular, singular moment in time, been lost or overlooked. Like (37), the sequence in (39) may be understood as repetitively being discounted or disregarded. Conversely, in (40), the skipping of the particular beats in question appears to be a process that has concluded. Therefore, while the past, adjectival form *leaped* suggests a practice that will be repeated, the *-t* alternate (i.e., *leapt*) seems to signal events that have been completely executed.

2.11 Leaned (on) vs. Leant (on)

The examples below have the objective of bringing to light fine-drawn differences between *leaned* and *leant*.

- **41)** "The shriek and pump of all that rage was unsustainable, so as he grew older, the note would descend to the uninflected blare of a **leaned**-on car horn" (Shriver, 2010, p. 260).
- **42)** "The shriek and pump of all that rage was unsustainable, so as he grew older, the note would descend to the uninflected blare of a [leant-on] car horn" (Adapted from Shriver, 2010).
- **43)** "The common link is that the loss of a "**leaned** on" object leads to a loss of stability that in turn leads to the development of a predictable and measurable set of symptoms, either in the individual or in this case the employees of an organization" (O'Sullivan, 2008, p. 107).
- **44)** "The common link is that the loss of a "[**leant** on]" object leads to a loss of stability that in turn leads to the development of a predictable and measurable set of symptoms, either in the individual or in this case the employees of an organization" (Adapted from O'Sullivan, 2008, p. 107).

In comparing examples (41) and (42), we may observe that, while the *-ed* morpheme puts forth habituality, that of the *-t* indicates finality. The same goes for sentences (43) and (44), where (43) likely describes an object that has repeatedly provided support (and would continue to offer comfort, if circumstances had been different) and (44) hones in on its loss or dissolution.

2.12 Turned up vs. Turnt up (Note 1)

Our final comparison is the *-ed* vs *-t* past morpheme as related to the phrasal verb *turn up*, which is regularly used in African American English. Items (45) through (48) aim to exemplify nuanced differences.

- **45)** "No one would have ever known that she was sick as she'd been, not the way she was **turned up** in the moment" (Scott, 2015).
- **46)** "And shawty we all the way **turnt up**" (Dash, 2010).
- **47)** "Any other time, Sonja would have a fit if people were in front of her door, but she was **turned up**, too" (Jones, 2015).
- **48)** "The next night, David throws a party and the palace is **turnt up**" (Spann, 2019).

In example (45), the -ed morpheme brings to mind a situation in which the good time being experienced by the individual (i.e., being under the influence of some substance) is unfinished or underdone. Put differently, the particular mental state's "ongoing-ness", rather than its completion, is the focus. Unlike (45), the -t inflection of (46) puts forth a condition that has reached its pinnacle. In terms of (47), similar to (45), the frame of mind in question is understood as resulting from a continuing action or event. In our last example (i.e., 48), like (46), turnt up may be interpreted as signaling a state of affairs that has culminated. As such, whereas the -ed ending is suggestive of continuance or non-completion, the -t makes reference to the attainment of a particular climatic point.

3. Conclusion

In the present paper we discussed how adjectival uses of the -ed and -t past tense forms may be interpreted as carrying nuanced meaning differences. As we saw by means of authentic-language examples involving each of the two inflections (with respect to twelve distinct predicates: burn, spoil, spill, learn, dream, spell, smell, kneel,

dwell, leap, lean, and turn up), whereas the -ed morpheme tended to be tied to pliant and interruptible actions, the -t ending regularly appeared in contexts in which the event being described was fixed or unyielding. For instance, a) burned, spoiled, spilled, smelled, dwelled (in), leaped (over), or leaned (on) items or objects; b) learned, dreamed, or spelled (out) concepts; and c) kneeled or turned up individuals were understood to be representative of events, states, or conditions that were likely to be both recently carried out and modifiable. In other words, as related to the below-mentioned examples:

- **a.** The **burned** wood (1) and toast (2) were likely recently exposed to flame or heat and neither was presumably destroyed; i.e., neither was respectively incinerated nor inedible and were, therefore, salvageable;
- **b.** The **spoiled** child (5), who was possibly coddled or babied, earned this description through the behavior of others behavior which can be stopped or interrupted; the spoiled food (7) may have recently gone bad, but was not likely to be considered virulent;
- **c.** The **spilled** wine (9) and oil (11) may be interpreted as having been newly released from their receptacles, where each respective container had not been fully emptied;
- **d.** The **learned** behavior (13) and skill (15) are read as conducts that may be unlearned and, thus, lost;
- **e.** The **dreamed** majority (17) and idea (19) have not yet come to fruition and are best understood to be aspirations that may or may not ever materialize;
- **f.** The **spelled** (out) agenda (21) and word (23) may be considered rudimentary or underdeveloped versions of a potential, final product to come;
- **g.** The **smelled** "thing" (25) and feces (27) may be paralleled to objects of interest that will perpetually give off the particular fragrance and odor;
- **h.** The **kneeled** person (29) and position (31) are understood as temporary bearings that are unlikely to persist for long periods of time;
- i. The **dwelled** (in) world (33) and island (35) put forth an image of spaces that are presently occupied and will continue to welcome and receive inhabitants;
- **j.** The **leaped** step (37) and sequence of moments (39) portray actions that are repeatedly carried out and, therefore, reference frequently skipped or missed practices and opportunities;
- **k.** The **leaned** (on) car horn (41) and object (43) describe habitual events that, as inferred, happened frequently in the past and are possibly, currently ongoing;
- **I.** The **turned up** individuals in (45) and (47) are in states of mind (under the influence of some substance) that are alterable, in the sense that the "high" being experienced has not yet reached its peak (i.e., said "high" can be increased).

As for the -t inflection: burnt, spoilt, spilt, smelt, dwelt (in), leapt (over), or leant (on) items or objects; b) learnt, dreamt, or spelt (out) concepts; and c) knelt or turnt up individuals were understood to be representative of events, states, or conditions that were likely to be both dated and inalterable.

- a) The **burnt** wood (3) and toast (4) were likely exposed to flame or heat for long periods of time, causing each item to become irremediable. Put differently, the burning activities continued for too long before ceasing, which resulted in wood and toast that were depleted and almost reduced to ashes;
- b) The spoilt kids (6) and food (8) being discussed have reached states that are irreversible, in that, the children's behaviors (6) have been long-standing and uncompromising and the food (8) has become toxic and highly disagreeable;
- c) The **spilt** beer (10) and oil (12) likely overflowed from their "holders" long before the particular conversations were had, by means of events that probably emptied said "holders" or containers;
- **d)** The **learnt** behavior (14) and skill (16) are understood to reflect prevailing practices that are well-established and long-lived and, therefore, difficult to unlearn and deconstruct;
- e) The **dreamt** song (18) and attempt (20) are read as being "tangible" since they refer to events that had actually materialized (i.e., whether in a dream world or the actual world);
- f) The **spelt** (out) agenda (22) and strategy (24) are visualized as finalized, detailed documents that are not likely to undergo further adjustments;
- g) The smelt (out) riches (26) and feces (28) represent smelling actions that have concluded and are,

- consequently, complete;
- h) The **knelt** positions being described in (30) and (32) suggest stances that are enduring (i.e., will last a long while) or are permanent (as in the photograph mentioned in example (32));
- i) The **dwelt** (in) world (34) and life (36) may be interpreted as depicting a world and life in which the residing and living processes have been fully accomplished or completed (i.e., there are no more inhabitants to come and there is no more life to live);
- j) The **leapt** chance (38) speaks to an opportunity that had previously been missed and, thus, cannot be unmissed (i.e., a focus on the finality of the missed event); the **leapt** (to) beat (40) centers on the final product of the leaping (i.e., the arrival at the seventh);
- **k)** The **leant** (on) car horn (42) and object (44) represent the past conclusion or ending of the leaning processes in question, both physically, as in (42), and emotionally, as in (44);
- 1) The **turnt up** individuals (46) and palace (48) may be visualized as people who have achieved the solicited "good feeling" and a location in which the enjoyment being experienced can reach no higher level.

Thus, we observe, that, whereas the *-ed* adjectival past inflection makes reference to actions, events, or states that may be adjusted (i.e., **pliant and interruptible**: e.g., those which may be stopped, increased, decreased, undone, corrected, are habitual, and/or temporary/unfinished, etc.), the *-t* inflection tends to refer to those which are fixed or unyielding (i.e., **non-compliant and terminal**: e.g., those which are completed, unsalvageable, well-established, long-standing, indissoluble, permanent, or climatic, etc.).

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Notes

Note 1. The predicate *turn up* in the above contexts is not to be understood as being synonymous with *show up* or *arrive*, but instead with 'to be under the influence of some substance'.

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