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PERSONAL NAMES DERIVED FROM QURANIC ARABIC WORDS: THE PHENOMENON OF "BAD" NAMES AMONG SIOMPU ISLANDERS, SOUTHEAST SULAWESI, INDONESIA

Abstract

This study investigates the meanings of Arabic personal names (PNs) of the Quran words origin among Siompu islanders, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. It focuses on the phenomenon of "bad" names, i.e., names derived from Arabic words and wordgroups with negative meanings. The initial corpus of schoolchildren's personal names (n = 2,662) was examined. Among 1,173 of the Arabic names, 324 (28%) were found to be "bad" names. Some "bad" names are one-word forms (e.g., Jahilun 'The fool,' Majnun 'A madman,' Khatiun 'The sinner,' etc.), while others are two-word formations (e.g., Jabaran Syaqiya 'Arrogant and unblest,' Qiratadan Khasirin 'Despised and hated ape,' Afakin Asim 'A sinful liar,' etc.). Some two-word "bad" names are phrasemes taken from a single Quranic verse, while others are combinations of words from different verses. This trend spread along with the Islamization of the island, the phenomenon being particularly interesting because such names are generally forbidden in Islam. In Siompu, however, giving "bad" names is not intentional as it is in some other cultures, but rather due to the name-givers' inability to comprehend the meanings of the Arabic words, their lack of knowledge of religious norms, and their misunderstanding of the sacred text used as the source of names. The choice between one-word or two-word names is also based solely on the name-givers' preferences; no underlying rationale was found during the research. The article provides statistical data and discusses the phenomenon of "bad" names in both regional and broader typological contexts.

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Keywords: anthroponymy; personal names; Quranic Arabic; names with negative connotations; semantics; the Quran; Siompu Island; Sulawesi

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АРАБСКИЕ ЛИЧНЫЕ ИМЕНА КОРАНИЧЕСКОГО ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЯ С НЕГАТИВНОЙ СЕМАНТИКОЙ У ЖИТЕЛЕЙ ОСТРОВА СИОМПУ (ЮГО-ВОСТОЧНЫЙ СУЛАВЕСИ, ИНДОНЕЗИЯ)

Аннотация

Настоящая статья посвящена семантике арабских личных имен коранического происхождения, зафиксированных у жителей острова Сиомпу, Юго-Восточный Сулавеси, Индонезия. Основное внимание уделяется феномену «плохих» имен, т. е. имен, образованных от арабских слов и словосочетаний с негативной семантикой. Объектом исследования является корпус личных имен школьников острова Сиомпу (2 662 имени). Из 1 173 арабских имен, зафиксированных в корпусе, 324 имени (28 %) оказались «плохими» — имеющими отрицательные коннотации в арабском языке. Некоторые «плохие» имена представляют собой однословные формы (например, Jahilun 'Дурак', Majnun 'Безумец', Khatiun 'Грешник' и т. д.), в то время как другие являются двусловными образованиями (например, Jabaran Syaqiya 'Высокомерный и неблагословенный', Qiratadan Khasirin 'Презираемая и ненавистная обезьяна', Afakin Asim 'Грешный лжец' и т. д.). Некоторые двусловные «плохие» имена — это словосочетания, взятые из одного стиха Корана, в то время как другие представляют собой комбинации слов, заимствованные из разных стихов. Данное явление, возникшее вместе с распространением ислама на острове, интересно прежде всего потому, что обычно такого рода имена в исламе запрещены. В статье показано, что на Сиомпу наречение ребенка «плохим» именем во всех случаях происходит не преднамеренно, как в некоторых других культурах, а из-за неспособности лиц, выбирающих для ребенка имя, понимать значение соответствующих арабских слов, их незнания религиозных норм и их непонимания священного текста, используемого в качестве источника имени. Выбор между однословными или двусловными именами также основан только на предпочтениях лиц, выбирающих имя для ребенка. В статье приводятся статистические данные и обсуждается феномен «плохих» имен как в региональном, так и в более широком типологическом контексте.

Ключевые слова: антропонимия; личные имена; коранический арабский язык; имена с негативными коннотациями; семантика; Коран; остров Сиомпу; Сулавеси

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1. Introduction

In societies that adopt Islam, the spread of the religion is often accompanied by changes in naming practices. This was the case, for example, in medieval Kazakhstan, where, after the formation of the Kazakh Khanate in 1465, new names borrowed from Arabic were adopted [Aliakbarova et al. 2020]. Similarly, in Africa, the shift from indigenous to foreign naming practices has been linked to both Western colonialism and Arab missionary activities throughout history [Fakuade et al. 2018]. Muslim religious authorities normally encourage the practice of giving children Arabic names from the Holy Quran (HQ). For example, in modern Turkey, people often name their children after family members of Prophet Muhammad (e.g. Fatima, Avsa, Zainab, Husain, Husen, etc.), they also use the name of the prophet himself, Muhammad [Sakallı 2016]. This phenomenon is common for the entire Muslim world. The use of the names of the family and friends of the Prophet, including the names of the other prophets mentioned in the HQ (e.g., Ibrahim, Musa, Harun, Zulkarnain, Ilyas, Zakariah, Yusuf, etc.), has become a persistent trend and a widespread practice. However, in societies where Islam is newly introduced, naming practices may reflect misunderstandings of religious norms. For example, in the period of active Islamization of the Pakistan in the late 20th c., the ninety nine names of God (for example, Rahim, Akbar, Hamid, Bashir, etc.) frequently appeared in the names of Pakistani people. However, some people who have already added a name of God to their names — e.g., Mohammad Akbar, Abdul Akbar, etc. — had to change them under the instructions of their religious schoolteachers who explained that their names meant 'Mohammad is great' and 'Abdul is great', whereas, according to the religious norms, only God can be great. However, such "incorrect" names continue to be used by certain groups (such as rural citizens and westernized elite) reflecting the uneven spread of Islamization in different social groups of Pakistan [Rahman 2013: 47].

According to Kuipers and Askuri [2017], for Muslims, giving children Arabic names is an expression of the parents' religious feelings and aspirations for their

child's future in Islam. This is the general reason why in many Muslim countries, parents would prefer giving their children names of the prophets mentioned in the HQ. However, a lesser-known practice in some Muslim communities is the use of random words from the HQ as personal names, as seen among Siompu islanders in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. This practice, which has become more common over the past fifteen years, is particularly noteworthy because the name-givers often do not consider the meanings of the words they choose, resulting in names with undesirable meanings and negative connotations.

The trend of giving "bad" names in Siompu stems from the name-givers' ignorance of religious norms, their inability to understand Arabic, and their misinterpretation of the sacred scripture used as the source of the names. This phenomenon, of course, differs from the deliberate practice of giving "bad" names in other cultures which often serves specific purposes. Akans people in West Africa, for example, think that calling infants "bad" names is a strategy to deal with unlucky circumstances, i.e., the "bad" names are given for the sake of survival and death prevention. In this culture, personal names such as Sumina 'Garbage,' Abirekvie 'Goat,' Dənkə 'Slave,' and others are well-liked [Agiyekum 2006]. In the Namwanga culture of Zambia, parents frequently give their kids names that indicate their dislike or hostility toward particular circumstances. To express these conditions, they name their children, such as, Watapwa 'You are hated,' Wingaji 'Carry on chasing him or her' and so on [Lungu et al. 2022]. Likewise, the African Basotho people tend to deliberately give "bad" names for unexpected births. The popular names used for their children include Liphapang 'Conflict,' Bothata 'Problem,' Mohanoua 'The rejected one,' Likhupiso 'Annoyance,' Nthoesele 'Nonsense,' etc. [Possa-Mogoera 2020]. In contrast, among the Siompu islanders, "bad" names are not seen as good-luck charms or markers of origin. Instead, they are perceived as expressions of parents' piety due to their phonetic resemblance to Arabic and their source in the sacred text.

2. Siompu Island: the people, language, naming practice

Siompu (or Siumpu) is a small island located off the southwest coast of Buton Island in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. This island belongs to the South Buton Regency area that broke away from the Buton Regency Zone and became a new autonomous region in 2015. Based on the Statistical Bureau of Southeast Buton, in 2020 the population of Siompu Island wa around 23,242 people.

In daily communication, people living in 15 villages located on the north coast, east coast, west coast, and center of the island speak the Muna language. The other three villages, located on the southern coast, speak the Kaimbulawa

language. Kaimbulawa and Muna have many similarities in terms of vocabulary and grammar, and are both Austronesian languages belonging to the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch. Meanwhile, Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian national language) is introduced to children of this island as they enter elementary school. Muna and Kaimbulawa are used by the people of the island as the official languages in government institutions and in official community meetings. The national language is used only as the language of instruction in schools.

Since the region's residents first converted to Islam in the 15th c. [Abidin & Macknight 1974: 165], the people of Buton, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia, have abandoned their traditional names in favor of more prominent Arabic and foreign names, which they view as more prestigious than their own traditional names. However, as it will be shown below, in some areas, the shift towards Arabic names has fostered a specific name-giving practice that substantially differs from what we normally expect to observe in a Muslim community. This particularly applies to the Siompu islanders who, in the last years, tend to name children with Arabic words/phrases taken randomly from the Quran.

In each village in Siompu Island, there are normally two to three individuals who are trusted by the community as name-givers; the name-givers are religious figures called kaungkula (the term meaning an honoured elderly person). The naming process begins with chanting adhan (Islamic call for obligatory prayers) in the newborn's right ear for baby boys and in the left ear for baby girls some time after the baby is born. The *kaungkula* arbitrarily opens the HQ pages and chooses a word or words to use as a unique name that have never been used by anyone else. Name-givers' preferences determine whether one or two words are used, and no specific reason behind these preferences was identified. Some would create one-word names by taking a single word of the HQ, others would opt for two-word hybrid names by adding other elements (for example, father's name, grandfather's name, place name, etc.). Some name-givers have a tendency to utilize two words sequentially from the same verse, while others combine them with words from other verses. The name-givers are proficient in reciting the HQ but, largely, unable to speak Arabic. The meaning of the name is not taken into account. Instead, the phonetic qualities of the words are prioritized.

Typologically, using arbitrary Arabic words from the HQ as one's personal name is an extremely rare occurrence. According to Kuipers and Askuri [2017], in some rural communities in Java, people would call a respected leader in the village for

¹In Siompu, this procedure of bestowing a name occurred along with the emergence of the trend of taking names from the HQ. In the past, when traditional names were still popular, anyone could give a name to a newborn without following any particular procedures or requirements.

the sake of selecting an Arabic "good name." One justification for such consultations is that because only a few Javanese are proficient in speaking, reading, or writing in Arabic. The counselor would offer a potential name (or names) in Arabic, and then explain what they signify. However, Kuipers and Askuri [2017] emphasize that in some villages, when naming newborns, people tend to favor the sonority of the name rather then its meaning.

There is no special ritual carried out by the people of Siompu Island in the process of name-giving, as is the case in other cultures. However, there is a tradition in Siompu that is still maintained today, namely an occasion for giving thanks for a baby's birth and announcing the newborn's name; the ceremony is called *kasungki*. This event is held four to seven days after the baby is born. Parents and traditional leaders are invited to attend this ceremony. This process is named *kapaliki* and is carried out by several men and women assigned by the family. The *kasungki* ceremony begins with the reading of a prayer by the *kaungkula*, which originates from the HQ verses, its aim is to implore God to grant the infant and the family safety and benefits of nourishment. Furthermore, the newborn's name is announced to attendees of the ceremony by the father of the newborn or by someone else who has been appointed. Then, the family of the newborn serve food and a variety of refreshments to attendees at this event.

3. The Quran and Arabic Literacy in Indonesia

The HQ is the central religious and the great literary-sacred text for Muslims, written in Arabic. The word *Quran* means 'reading' or 'recitation,' probably derived from the Syriac word *qeryana*, which was used for a scriptural lesson or reading as found in Christian worship [Pickthall 1992: ix]. The HQ consists of 30 juz (sections), 114 surah (divisions), 6,236 ayah (verses), and it is estimated that it consists of 77,430 words, 18,994 unique words, 12,183 stems, 3,382 lemmas and 1,685 roots [Dukes 2010]. It comprises the fundamentals of Islamic dogma on the matters of divinity, belief, morality, worship, law, history, and science. As the HQ is written in Arabic, belived to be the language designated by God (*Allah*) [Boudelaa & Marslen-Wilson 2013], this is a vital language for any Muslim community.

In Indonesia, parents enroll their children in HQ learning centers at a young age, even before they start primary school. In those centers, children learn how to read Arabic script, including *tajwid* (set of rules for the correct pronunciation of the Arabic letters). Arabic grammar and vocabulary are largely neglected in the teaching and learning process because the main target of the teaching is the accuracy of pronunciation needed for religious rituals and not for communication [cf. Alsharbi et al. 2021]. This phenomenon is characteristic of many Muslim countries. Therefore,

most Muslims can read Arabic script but it is estimated that only 20% of Muslims of the world can actually speak and understand Arabic [Mohammed 2005].

For the Muslim community in Indonesia, the only regular exposure to Arabic as a foreign language is through HQ, which is read continuously everyday during religious rituals. *Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an* (Quran Recitation Competition), a religious festival for the practice of Quranic reading, is annually organized by the Indonesian authorities. Participants in this festival compete in reciting the HQ using the *qira'at* (a particular methodology for recitation), and their recitation (pronunciation) and tone or beauty of voice are judged. However, the participants are not required to understand what they read.

Due to the importance of Arabic literacy for the Muslim community in Indonesia, most autonomous regions have issued a uniform regional regulation, which stipulates that every Muslim who wants to get married must be literate in Arabic [cf. Suneth et al. 2013]. If either the bride or the groom are unable to read in Arabic, the marriage process is postponed until the requirement is fulfilled. Paradoxically, Arabic is not taught in Indonesian public schools, being an obligatory subject only at schools connected to Islamic educational institutions. These schools, however, are very limited in number if compared to public schools. In Siompu Island, for example, there are only three Islamic schools compared to 32 primary and secondary schools. All the Islamic schools were built after 2015 and have a relatively small number of students in comparison to public schools.

4. Research Methodology

The present study utilizes a survey method to collect a corpus of personal names of schoolchildren aged 3 to 15 (born between 2007 to 2018). Altogether, there were 2,662 anthroponymic units included in the data analysis (Table 1). The data were collected from 9 nursery schools, 13 elementary schools, and 8 junior high schools. The analysis process comprises two steps. First, separating between Arabic and non-Arabic names. Second, translating the Arabic names into English and segmenting them into two categories: names with a negative meaning ("bad" names) and names with a positive meaning. As this research is focused on the phenomenon of "bad" names, the names with positive meanings were excluded from further analysis. Two senior scholars with more than 20 years of experience in teaching Arabic and English took part in proofreading the results of the names translation.

5. Findings

Table 1 shows that 1,173 (56.64%) of the 2,662 total data points of the personal names were Arabic words of HQ origin. The majority of the Arabic names, or

473 (40.33%), belong to nursery school pupils, 447 (38.10%) go with pupils in elementary school, and 253 (21.57%) with junior secondary school students. The non-Arabic personal names found in this study are all foreign names (i.e. the names of celebrities, political figures, movie characters, etc.).

Table 1
The share of Arabic and non-Arabic personal names in each cohort depending on level of education

Level of Education	Non-Arabic Name		Arabic Name		Amount	
Level of Education	Number (percentage)		Number (percentage)		Amount	
Nursery School	267	(36.08%)	473	(40.33%)	740	
Elementary School	546	(38.83%)	447	(38.10%)	1,406	
Junior Secondary School	483	(57.30%)	253	(21.57%)	843	
Total Number	1,296	(43.36%)	1,173	(56.64%)	2,989	

As shown in Table 2, it was discovered that 324 (28%) out of 1,173 of Arabic names identified as "bad" names or the names with negative connotations. The table also displays the representation of "bad" names based on gender in each level of education. Among the "bad" names, boys comprise 221 (68.17%), while girls account for 103 (31.71%). Most of the "bad" names — 145 out of 44.75% — belonged to nursery school children; 110 (33.96%) to elementary school children; and 69 (33.96%) to children of junior secondary school.

 ${\it Table~2}$ The share of "bad" names based on gender in each level of education

	"Bad" Name			
Level of Education	Male	Female	Amount (percentage)	
	Number (Percentage)	Number (Percentage)	(FMge)	
Nursery School	97 (29.90%)	48 (14.81%)	145 (44.75%)	
Elementary School	80 (24.69%)	30 (9.25%)	110 (33.96%)	
Junior Secondary School	44 (13.58%)	25 (7.71%)	69 (21.29%)	
Total Number	221 (68.17%)	103 (31.77%)	324 (100%)	

The majority of the names is one-word (see Table 3), while only some are two-words. No names have been found to be composed of three words. A few two-word

hybrid names (combinations of a HQ word with other elements) have been noted. Most of the two-word "bad" names are phrasemes (set of phrases) from one verse of the HQ (see Table 4), and some are combinations of words that both have negative connotations but retrieved from different verses to create compound names (see Table 5). A few words of the HQ used as personal names can only be found in one verse of the HQ, but some exist in multiple verses and divisions of the book. Hence, for the sake of uniformity, in all instances, only one reference to the division (*surah*) and verse (*ayah*) of the HQ is indicated in the following tables. It is also worth noting that the spelling of Arabic words used as names has undergone domestication, i.e. it has been adapted to the spelling norms of the Indonesian national language.

Table 3
Samples of one-word "bad" names

Names	Gender	Source	Marrian
		Division/Verse	Meaning
Jahilun	Male	39/64	'Fool'
Musrifin	Male	26/150	'Prodigal'
Syayatina	Female	19/67	'Devil'
Mufsidin	Male	11/85	'Wrong-doers'
Mujrimin	Male	11/52	'Guilty'
Kharrasun	Male	51/10	'Liars'
Majnun	Male	54/9	'Mad man'
Gislin	Female	69/36	'Filth'
Khatiun	Female	69/37	'Sinner'
Zalimin	Male	17/99	'Despotic'

Table 4
Samples of two-word "bad" names from words of one verse of the HQ

Nomes	Gender	Source	Meaning	
Names	Gender	Division/Verse		
Jabbaran Syaqiyya	Male	19/32	'Arrogant and unblest'	
Qiratadan Khasirin	Female	2/65	'Despised and hated ape'	
Affakin Asim	Male	26/222	'A sinful liar'	

End of the table 4

Names	Gender	Source	Magning	
	Gender	Division/Verse	Meaning	
Sihrum Mustamir	Male	54/2	'Prolonged illusion'	
Kazabun Asyir	Female	54/25	'A rash liar'	
Azaban Sadida	Female	17/58	'Dire punishment'	
Insana Lakafur	Female	22/66	'A verily ingrate man'	
Azaban Alim	Male	10/98	'Painful doom'	

 ${\it Table~5}$ Two-word "bad" names from words different verses of the HQ

Names	Gender	Source	Manufac	
		Division/Verse	Meaning	
Majnun Mufsidin	Female	54/9 and 11/85	'Mad man' + 'Wrong-doers'	
Gislin Musrifin	Female	69/36 and 26/150	'Filth' + 'Prodigal'	
Faqir Maniftara	Male	22/28 and 20/61	'Poor' + 'Liar'	
Mujrimin Fahirin	Male	11/52 and 28/76	'The Guilty' + 'Proud Man'	
Sahirun Jahilin	Male	10/77 and 11/46	'Witch' + 'Fool'	
Muktadin Faqir	Male	10/83 and 22/28	'Guilty' + 'Poor'	
Maniftara Zalimin	Female	20/61 and 12/37	'Liar' + 'Despotic'	

It was also discovered that there were several "bad" names coined from both "negative" and "positive" words originating from different verses, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6
Samples of two-word names coined from words having "negative" and "possitive" meanings taken from different verses of the HQ

Names	C 1	Source	Magning
	Gender	Division/Verse	Meaning
Sahirun Yusran	Male	10/77 and 12/18	'Witch' + 'Ease'
Mardiyya Fasiqin	Female	19/55 and 28/32	'Acceptable' + 'Ungodly'
Majnun Sadiqin	Male	54/9 and 28/49	'Mad man' + 'Truthful'

End	of	the	table	6

Names	Gender	Source	Magning
		Division/Verse	Meaning
Ahsana Kharasun	Female	17/53 and 51/10	'Kindlier' + 'Liar'
Jannah Musrifin	Female	26/150 and 26/150	'Heaven' + 'Prodigal'
Jahilun Syakirin	Male	39/64 and 39/66	'Fool' + 'Thankful'
Khatiun Jamil	Female	69/37 and 12/18	'Sinners' + 'Handsomely'
Muhlisin Nadimin	Male	28/39 and 23/40	'Reformer' + 'Repentant'

6. Discussion

According to Islamic traditions, parents should give their kids honorable names. Parents must ensure that the name given is appropriate because the name is a prayer, a reflection of one's beliefs, ethics, and personality. Hoesterey [2015] affirmed that in Islamic religious teaching, Muslims are taught to choose the best name for their descendants. Muslims must follow the Islamic principles and the instructions of the HQ and sunnah by choosing meaningful and pleasant names during the name-giving process [Aliakbarova et al. 2020; Al-Qawasmi & Al-Haq 2016].

This research reveals that a number of Arabic personal names derived from the HQ words that the Siompu islanders gave to their children have negative meanings, which normally makes them unsuitabe as personal names. This occurs because the name-givers neglect the semantic aspect of the words they choose as personal names. In Javanese philosophy, as stated by Kuipers and Askuri [2017], if parents are preparing a pious child, they choose a pious name that will "fit" that child; a pious name is an Arabic name. Therefore, the name-givers might believe that the names given to their children function merely as labels.

From the religious perspective, Islam explicitely forbids and advises against giving children names that have negative connotations since doing so would be against their religion (beliefs) and etiquette since the children would grow up associated with these names and the connotations they convey [Al-'Areefee 2021: 46]. Some of the "bad" names revealed in this study, e.g., *Mufsidin* 'The wrongdoers,' *Musrifin* 'The prodigal' are also found in other cultural societies in Indonesia. For instance, the main character of a short story entitled *Mufsidin Dimakan Kucing* ("Mufsidin was Eaten by a Cat") written by the modern Javanese writer Mahfud Ikhwan is named *Mufsidin* [Ikhwan 2016]. Personal names like *Qiratadan Khasirin* 'The despised and hated ape,' *Affakin Asim* 'A sinful liar,' *Majnun* 'A madman,' *Jahilun* 'The fool,' *Syayatina* 'The devil,' etc. — found in this study — are

essentially new, unusual, and still not often used among Muslims in other places. As the majority of the "bad" names (around 78.71%) are found in pre-school (kindergarten) and elementary school children (aged 3–10 years), the phenomenon under study seems to be a relatively new trend and appears to show indications of further spreading.

7. Conclusion

The personal naming practices of the Siompu islanders discussed in this study seem to stem from a peculiar personal naming-practice entrenheed in religious inclination. The use of words with negative meanings, albeit taken from a sacred text, as personal names is done unintentionally and has two main reasons. First, the name-givers can only read Arabic script but are unable to comprehend the meaning of Arabic words. Second, the name-givers could have a belief that a name is just a semantically empty label whose only function is to identify the named person, which is guaranteed by the uniqueness of the name, the meaning of the name being disregarded. This may have been a result of their ancestral naming customs: traditional names used in Southeast Sulawesi in earlier times were etymologically obscure and semantically opaque, which makes them meaningless labels [Dunifa 2019].

The phenomenon under study also reflects the uneven character of Islamization of the area and a rather superficial understanding of the Muslim naming customs in relatively recently converted communities. It is also noteworthy that while in some families, parents tend to give their children names by taking random words from the HQ, although without understanding their meanings, in other families, parents still prefer foreign (non-Arabic) names. The latter trend, as shown in Table 1, is slowly decreasing. However, the very co-existence of two culturally opposed name-giving practices — sacred and secular — with all related rituals, more or less institutionalized, is an interesting phenomenon.

The fact that children receive names that have negative meanings may have some impact on them since, even if they wish to change their "bad" names to "good" ones, it is particularly difficult to do so in Indonesia. Considering that the number of children with such names is increasing, in the future, this may require adopting some institutional norms and regulations regarding name changes.

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