

CONCEPT AND DISCOURSE OF “HEIMAT”

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**Annotation.** The German concept of Heimat (homeland/native side) and the discourse developing around it are discussed in article in the context of modern German culture. In the era of globalization, the need for reflection on the topic of Heimat has intensified, which led to the emergence of new concepts and approaches to the study of both the concept itself and the corresponding discourse. The concept of Heimat has long been burdened with ideological and political connotations, but today it has become a new “trend” word” in Germany, which is considered as complex, ambivalent, not amenable to strict definition and having national specifics.

**Abstract.** The article describes the contemporary state of the *Heimat* discourse in German culture. The era of globalization has triggered a new wave of interest in this subject, which has given rise to new ideas and accounts for new approaches to the concept *Heimat*. For a long time the notion, *Heimat* has been ideologically and politically connoted. Nowadays this notion is regarded as complex, ambiguous and hard to define. The talk focuses on its cultural aspect and the variety of its definitions.

**Keywords:** concept «motherland»; extra-temporal discourse; globalization; historical semantics; symbolic words; slogans; ideologically loaded vocabulary; historical memory.

The article is devoted to the current state and development “eternal” concept Heimat “homeland” and emerging around him discourse, which occupy a special place in modern scientific research and in German culture in general. As a result of the revival of interest and need for reflection on concept of Heimat, it again found itself in the center of scientific and public attention. Researchers explain this by the reaction of society and individuals to globalization, which causes many fear for the fate of their “small homeland” or “motherland”, i.e. Places where a person was born and raised, for the preservation of his personal world. This finds expression in a stream of scientific publications, in discussions, in modern German fiction, in oral histories and interviews with ordinary people. Citizens - witnesses of their time, recorded and published within the framework of the Oral History project (“told story”), where in the focus of attention is the person and his view of the events of his personal life in a socio-political

context. Oral lyrics History is rightly considered by scientists as important historical sources that show the depth and multifaceted nature of the individual's perception of the concept Heimat [Andresen et. al., 2015]. Today Heimat has become a new “trend word” in Germany [Zöllner, 2015, S. 10]. In 2004, as a result of a competition announced Council for the German Language and the Institute named after I.V. Goethe "The Most beautiful German word of 2004" (“Das schönste deutsche Wort 2004”), it took fourth place in the list of the most frequently mentioned words sent by residents of Germany: 1. Liebe “love”; 2. Gemütlichkeit “comfort”, “friendliness”, “good nature”;

3. Sehnsucht “passionate desire”, “desire”, “longing”; 4. Heimat "homeland, home country / side", although in the end the winners of the competition were other words [ibid., electron. resource].

At different stages of German history and especially in connection with political events of the first half of the twentieth century. in Germany and world, the German concept of Heimat was burdened with negative ideological and political connotations, since often used as a propaganda, slogan word from ideological vocabulary (More about the various stages for the history of the concept and discourse of Heimat, see: [Hüppauf, 2007; Zöllner, 2015], as well as the dissertation research of E.M. Ignatova, dedicated to the linguistic and cultural analysis of the concept of “homeland” in the ideological discourse of German political propaganda of the 20-40s of the XX century. [Ignatova, 2008]).

After World War II, the concept of Deutsche Heimat The "German homeland" has virtually disappeared from the intellectual discourse in Germany, but already in the 70s it acquired new semantic shades that gave it a positive connotation. As German researchers note, “Germans’ homesickness” quickly manifested itself in everyday life already in these years [Zöllner, 2015, S. 22]. Numerous compound nouns with the component Heimat, widespread in modern German language, reflect the realities of everyday life associated with the popularization of this concept and its consolidation in public consciousness [Bausinger, 1984, S. 19; Zöllner, 2015, S. 22]. In most cases, these lexemes do not have complete correspondences in Russian language, since they are complex national-cultural concepts. For a relatively complete (adequate) translation, a descriptive (explanatory) translation is required, i.e. conveying the meaning of a lexical item using expanded descriptions. This allows us to more or less fully reveal the essence of the phenomenon, although even with such a cumbersome method of translation it is difficult to avoid losses [Latyshev, 2000, p. 151–152]. We are talking about such nouns as Heimatmuseen - local history museums; Heimatvereine - associations for the purpose of preserving the culture,

traditions and history of the native land; Heimatfilme is an untranslatable concept that has no correspondence in Russian and means a special genre of German and Austrian cinema, sentimental films expressing longing for a lost homeland, idealizing traditional values, glorifying the native land and the beauty of untouched nature; Heimatromane – novels about Malaya Motherland, a special genre of trivial literature, close to the above definition of the corresponding film genre, etc. Originated in 1933–1934. The expression Heimatfilm was transferred to all films similar in a number of characteristics, turning into a common name for the genre for the entire German-speaking cultural space. It is important to note that in many languages this the concept, as untranslatable and purely German, entered as borrowing and is transmitted by transliteration, or by the German spelling Heimatfilm. The incredible success of this genre in the post-war years (the heyday of the genre occurred in the mid-50s) was explained by the need of a generation that experienced war, destruction, loss of loved ones, exile and deprivation, for “eternal” values, unaffected by war. It gave people in difficult times confusion and chaos, hope and support.

First of all, idealized ideas about the homeland were associated with life in rural localities or small towns, usually located in The Alps with their idyllic landscapes, snow-capped mountains, clean rivers, rustling green forests. It's no coincidence that one of the most successful Austrian films of this genre became 1959 film adaptation of the novel of the same name by a Norwegian writer T. Gulbrandsen “And the forests are forever rustling” [Gulbrandsen, 1935]. Appeared at the end of the 19th century. concept Heimatliteratur / Heimatroman (literature/novel about the Small Motherland) has become a designation for the genre of trivial literature, including rural novel (Dorfroman), peasant novel (Bauernroman), novel about rural residents of mountainous areas (Bergroman). It should be noted that in the case of cinema and literature, the Heimat component gives the word, in the eyes of part of the population and criticism, a disdainful, mocking connotation that persists to this day in relation to traditional films of the post-war heyday of this genre, the difference from the so-called “new native cinema” (moderne Heimatfilme), which appeared in the 80s. The ironic but warm attitude of a modern educated German to these genres is shown in a small scene in the novel by D. Schwanitz "Campus" [Schwanitz, 1995]. A young employee from Bavaria, Alice Hopfenmüller, appears at the University of Hamburg. The author includes elements of the Bavarian-South German dialect in her speech. The reaction of the German professor Weskamp to the dialectal the colored speech of the new employee is characterized in the author's commentary:

Berni kam sich vor wie in einem Heimatfilm, von fern hörte er

die Kuhglocken läuten, und seine Seele schwang sich in die freie Bergluft...

“Bernie felt like he was in a melodrama film about his native land, the bells of cows could be heard in the distance, and his soul rushed into the vastness of the mountain air...”) [Schwanitz, 1996, S. 41]. (Translation hereinafter ours. - G.F.) In 1984 H.-G. Wehling writes about "rehabilitation" words of Heimat: “The word Heimat shone in a new way” [Wehling, 1984, S. 7]. In his opinion, this concept no longer divides the old political conflicting parties: conservatives, or even “reactionaries”, on the one hand, liberals and progressives thinking - on the other. New dividing lines run between those who consider human capabilities and natural resources limitless, and those who believe that industrial society has not only reached the optimal limit in its development, but and exceeded it, threatening the very foundations of human existence. This new state of affairs, according to H.-G. Velinga, is unusual and further complicates the discussion on the topic of Heimat, especially since that all parties use this word [ibid., S. 7–8]. In the same 1984 H. Bausinger writes about the reasons for the emergence of a new waves of interest in this topic and its new quality, also calling the 70s as the moment of the return of the concept of Heimat to public and scientific discourse and the time of the emergence of a new wave interest in the topic (Heimatwelle) [Bausinger, 1984, S. 22]. As H. Bausinger rightly believes, Heimat refers to words whose active use over many centuries does not lead to the fact that old meanings are gradually erased, disappear, and what remains is pure modern substance. On the contrary, such words carry subtle layers of previous eras and it is precisely therefore they look somewhat different at the new stage. Sociolinguists, according to H. Bausinger, have already realized that in many cases it is not the accuracy of the concept, but the ambiguity and uncertainty of what is said that support and simplify communication. But what is good for everyday communication is not enough for a scientific approach. Here, different strategies are needed in relation to imprecision and uncertainty. One of the strategies is to avoid such concepts. This is exactly what happened for decades with the concept of Heimat, which practically disappeared from sociological discourse. However, in this way the problem cannot be solved. The lexeme Heimat was preserved and continued to be used in non-scientific discourse. The second strategy is to attempt a strict definition of the concept, limiting it within a certain framework and leading to the fact that the divergent implications of the concept Heimat are outside the zone of attention (ausgeblendet), and important references are lost sight of. That's why many scientists go the other way and try to consider everything facets of a complex complex education Heimat not only in its current state, but also taking into account its historical development [Bausinger, 1984, S. 11–12]. German researchers agree on opinion that the impetus

for a new perception of the concept of Heimat in Germany, the revolutionary performances of youth in 1968, during which the values of the elder were revised generations, the mistakes of the past were branded, and the concept of Heimat became a symbol of autonomy, self-determination, opposition to market, rationalistic thinking. The need to revive the concept of Heimat was due to such new threats as like the next wave of urbanization, the Cold War, the death of forests (Waldsterben), etc. In accordance with historical traditions of Heimat discourse in Germany, the connection again came to the fore with nature (Naturverbundenheit) (cf. [Bausinger, 1984; Gebhard, 2007; Zöllner, 2015]). Attitude to the concept of Heimat in public consciousness changed dramatically, it began to be perceived as progressive, associated with responsibility for the world around us [Zöllner, 2015, S. 24]. Changing the meaning of a given concept, its content and the amplitude of fluctuations in his perception from absolutely positive to extremely negative are reflected in the collection of scientific articles "Heimat. Outlines and fluctuations of a controversial concept" ("Heimat: Konturen und Konjunktoren eines umstrittenen Konzepts") [Gebhard et. al., 2007]. One of the articles in the collection is entitled "Heimat. – Return of the Forbidden Word: A Popular Myth in era of globalization" [Hüppauf, 2007, S. 109]. The author of the article notes that in the twentieth century. this word has been involved in nationalist and racist policies, and therefore acted both in literature and in politics, and polarizing in society, although at the beginning of the nineteenth century. it evoked high and noble feelings. At the same time with revival and revaluation of the concept of Heimat, its perception as positive, it should be noted that now again Concerns have been expressed regarding the possibility of its use as a politicized slogan from the ideological vocabulary [Kampfvokabel "Heimat", electronic resource]. This contacts globalization, migrant flows, with the phenomenon that today called new nomadism: "A new nomadism has arisen. Idea "nomadism", which went beyond the purely academic discourse thanks to the works of Deleuze and Guattari, develops the ideal of anti-patriotic thinking (das Ideal eines Anti-HeimatDenkens)" [Hüppauf, 2007, S. 134] (our translation - G.F.). German linguists who study the language of politics identify ideological vocabulary (Ideologievokabular), in which, along with ideologically connoted vocabulary of a terminological and non-terminological nature may include everyday vocabulary associated with certain ideological views or value systems, although in itself this or that word/concept seems neutral [Girnth, 2002, S. 51]. So ideologically charged words (ideologiegebundene Wörter) have not only denotative, but also evaluative (evaluative) and deontic signs. Many common concepts in this vocabulary are used simultaneously by different ideologies that put different meanings into them. This phenomenon is called "ideological polysemy" or "semantic variation", by which

we mean differences in the use of a word due to the speaker/writer's commitment to one or another a different position. The emergence of the term "semantic competition competition of meanings" puts the political struggle of opinions about the "correct" meaning of a word at the center and brings the study to level of semantics to the level of pragmatics [Klein, 1989, cited. By: Girth, 2002, S. 52].

The core part of the ideological vocabulary is formed as follows: called symbol words (Symbolwörter), or "key words" (Schlüsselwörter, Leitvokabeln, Grundwerte-Lexeme), which have a strong emotional potential. I can't help but agree with approval

H. Girth that the study of the functioning of such words in a certain historical era is an important contribution to the understanding of this era [Girth, 2002, S. 52]. H. Bausinger supplies the title of his article "Towards a new active understanding homeland" subtitled "History of a concept as a history of a problem" [Bausinger, 1984, S. 11]. It is obvious that Heimat as one of the main historical concepts require study from the standpoint of cultural semantics (kulturwissenschaftliche Semantik), widespread which is associated with the linguistic turn in 60s of the twentieth century. According to such authoritative scientists as D. Busse [Busse, 2009], research from the standpoint of historical semantics was initiated, first of all, by one of the most prominent German historians of the twentieth century. R. Koselleck, who had a significant influence on linguistics. He considered the semantics of effective use of language (originally the "history of concepts") not only as an indicator of historical social processes, but also as an effective factor in these processes. Subsequently, such approaches were developed into semantics-oriented discourse analysis [Busse, 2009, S. 125]. In 1972–1997 in German Klett-Cotta publishing house published the fundamental eight-volume lexicon "Basic Historical Concepts. Historical Dictionary of the Social and Political Language of Germany," in which 122 concepts were considered. In 2014 in Russia, as part of project Studia europaea of the German Historical Institute in Moscow and the publishing house "New Literary Review" a two-volume edition of translations of the "Introduction to German edition of the Dictionary" written by R. Koselleck, and nine articles devoted to the concepts of "burgher, citizen, burghers / bourgeoisie", "history", "society, civil", "politics", "revolution", "people, nation, nationalism" , mass", etc. [Dictionary of basic historical concepts, 2014].

We see this approach in numerous modern studies of historical concepts, keywords, words and symbols. Thus, A. Bastian examined the functioning of the concept of Heimat (not included by the authors of the German eight-volume publications in the list of concepts they consider) in everyday life sphere, in the sphere of politics, natural sciences, religion and fiction, rightly

believing that it is the study individual spheres of communication can give an idea of the existing diversity of the conceptual field (Begriffsfeld) in its historical development. The diachronic approach allows insight into the historical depth of this concept and explore its changes in certain areas of use [Bastian, 1995, S. 1]. In the course of such studies, the question naturally arises about the influence changes in the cultural and spiritual life of society to change concepts, since linguistic issues cannot be considered in isolation from a cultural-historical perspective. The starting point of the study was the assumption that existence of two separate areas: everyday life and theory [ibid]. Such factors constituting the concept of Heimat as “territory” and “community” are, according to A. Bastian, hyperonyms (superior taxa) of spatial and social categories of meaning [Bastian, 1995, S. 218].

The author comes to the conclusion that, despite what was established during research into separate development of functional areas, it is impossible to talk about the existence of Heimat concepts that are not related to each other, since there are constant elements of spatial and social categories that are found in all functional areas, and this indicates the presence a single concept of Heimat. Content spectrum of this concept very wide and multifaceted, and the boundaries of the conceptual field are unlikely can be clearly defined. In each specific case, the conceptual content depends on the functional area, the set of factors that determine its application, the associations and intentions of a particular user. It follows from this that the choice elements of the meaning of a given concept occurs individually, determined by the sphere of communication, context, situation and personal, subjective experience [ibid., S. 221].

The works of Russian scientists in the field of historical semantics of key concepts of Russian culture confirm the main positions of the conclusions of German researchers. So, G.V. Durinova examined the Russian concepts of citizen and society and, following N.B. Mechkovskaya came to the conclusion that the question of semantic changes in words belongs to a vast field problems of linguistic dynamism, specific to each individual level of the language system. Moreover, in the history of vocabulary the conscious influence of society on language [Durinova, 2015, p. 5].

In our opinion, the concept of Heimat can also rightfully be attributed to the basic historical concepts, i.e. to concepts that are “of utmost importance in the course of the historical process that constitutes the subject of study by historians”, Moreover, “the entire language of the sources of the period under study represents is one big metaphor for the history that he wants to know historian” [Koselleck 2014, p. 24, op. from: Durinova, 2015, p. 8–9]. Words-symbols, which may include basic historical concepts, including the concept of Heimat, according to their

function can reflect complex reality in a concise form and have an emotional impact on the addressee, i.e. they are close to the so-called “slogan words” (Schlagwörter). Difference between symbol words and slogan words is that slogan words become such as a result of their specific, i.e. targeted use, while words-symbols are historically established reference points, firmly anchored in the ideological value system of a given community. Slogan words depend on the political relevance of their content (meaning) and have an appellative nature and a precisely programmed pragmatic effect. Important The distinguishing feature of these two groups of words is that that slogan words are transient in nature, short-lived, are replaced by new slogan words, more relevant, and word-symbols are characterized by stability, constancy, immutability. Along with this, there are possible cases of words-symbols transitioning into the category of slogan words as a result of their use and vice versa [Girnth, 2002, S. 53].

The use of the expression “Deutsche Heimat” is typical (German Homeland) in E. Leest’s novel “The Hangover” [Loest, 1992], in which shows the feelings of the inhabitants of East and West Germany immediately after the reunification of their homeland. For the first time in several decades after the end of World War II, citizens Germany got the opportunity to travel around their country again united country and see places that during the four post-war decades they knew only from stories and films. The hero of the novel, an artist living in West Germany, finds himself in Thuringia and travels to the Wartburg museum complex, which is important in German culture and is associated with names M. Luther, I.-V. Goethe, R. Wagner and others:

“There the Rhön mountain range was blue, and there was the Thuringian Forest, beyond them Franconia and Hesse, all this is again a single Fatherland, and in at this moment the woman next to him said thoughtfully with a special in the intonation of the Central German dialect: “Beautiful German Motherland.” This sounded from the depths of my soul <...> “The beautiful German homeland” should become the main theme for the tiles, which will sell well in the new states of Germany. Motifs: Wartburg, Meissen Cathedral, Dresden skyline including Frauenkirche church, Berlin city palace, churches Halle...” [ibid., S. 173]. (Italics and translation our. - G.F.) The words “one Fatherland” (“einig Vaterland”) are a quotation from the first stanza of the national anthem of the German Democratic Republic, the text for which was written in 1949 by I. Becher (Auferstanden aus Ruinen “Reborn from the Ruins”):

Auferstanden aus Ruinen / und der Zukunft zugewandt, / laß uns  
Dir zum Guten dienen, / *Deutschland, einig Vaterland.*

From 1970 to 1989, the GDR anthem was sung without words because the text written in different historical conditions contained an idea Germany as a “single Fatherland”, while later



the policy of the GDR was reoriented towards the existence of two sovereign German states and the development of bilateral relations with Germany. At the same time, this quote from the GDR anthem can be considered as an allusion to the "Song of the Germans" (Song of Germany) / "Das Lied der Deutschen" (Deutschlandlied), namely the third stanza of the poem by Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1841) with its key words "Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit für das deutsche Vaterland!" "Unity and right and freedom for the German Fatherland!" This stanza since 1991 it has become the text of the anthem of a united Germany (Cf.: [Schmidt, e-mail. resource]). Emphasizing the national and cultural specificity of German concept of Heimat, researchers argue that it is the cross-cultural difference that clarifies this specificity. It is no coincidence that the German the word Heimat does not have a complete correspondence in many languages, including in English. For example, the English words home, homeland, homecountry cannot, in the opinion of many German scholars, be considered as equivalents of the German Heimat, which is a complex complex concept [Hüppauf, 2007, S. 111]. The modern Austrian writer T. Arzt also writes about this, devoting a number of works (from a comedy play to an essay) to issues of identity and the concept of Heimat. Let's limit ourselves to one quote from his essay "Ten Attempts to Talk About the Motherland": "Heimat is a terrible translation problem. German put into this word its untranslatability, so that the translators of my plays, in despair, again and again ask me what is actually meant when it comes to "meine Heimat". Certainly, one could find one word or another to describe this concept, but it seems that the characters in the plays who utter this word talking about different things at the same time. Contained in one word, thus, a whole lexicon of uncertainties" [Arzt, electronic. resource]. (Our translation - G.F.). Let us briefly note that, according to In the opinion of a number of authors, which we share, it is the Russian concept of "motherland" that is very close to the German concept of Heimat ([cf.: [Hamann, 2016, S. 57]).

The German concept of Heimat, in our opinion, is a cultural a complex that passes through successive eras, maintaining a certain invariance, like eternal / end-to-end image of different eras, and the corresponding discourse can be considered as a cross-cutting discourse, along with many other eternal /cross-cutting images and themes in cultural memory (cf.: [Lotman, 2010 a, p. 260]). Yu.M. Lotman repeatedly emphasized: "The meaning of a symbol is not something permanent, and the memory of a culture should not be imagined as some kind of warehouse in which messages that are unchanged in their essence and always equivalent to ourselves. <...>Memory is not a storehouse of information, but a mechanism for its regeneration. In particular, symbols stored in culture, on the one hand, carry information about contexts (resp.

languages), on the other hand, for this information to “wake up”, the symbol must be placed in some modern context, which is inevitable transforms its meaning" [ibid., p. 262–263]. The complex, ambivalent, transforming nature of the concept of Heimat is fully reflected in modern German discourse on this topic, which we understand in line with theories of M. Jung as a set of statements on a specific topic (in our case, this is the topic of Heimat), made in within a wide variety of texts and forming a corpus that develops in time and space [Jung, 1996]. This approach allows not only to study the discourse that arises around a certain topic, but also to highlight various discourses in polythematic corpora, as well as to trace constant themes and cross-cutting discourses that cross the boundaries of eras and cultures and provide a common memory for the cultural space, despite natural historical transformations (cf.: [Lotman, 2010a, c. 263]). As constituents of a higher unit (general discourse on a given topic), as a rule, the next largest, smaller unit, private discourse, is considered. Around concept of Heimat as an important concept of German culture with its semantic breadth already exists and continues to develop a huge virtual corpus of statements related to this a topic that, in our opinion, with all its heterogeneity, can be considered as a general Heimat discourse, consisting of many private discourses [Fadeeva, 2009; Fadeeva, 2015]. From the point of view of semiotics Yu.M. Lotman understood culture as collective intelligence and collective memory, i.e. How supra-individual mechanism for storing and transmitting certain texts and development of new ones: “In this sense, the space of culture can be defined as the space of some shared memory, those. a space within which certain common texts can be preserved and updated. <...>Thus, memory common to the space of a given culture is provided, firstly, the presence of some constant texts and, secondly, either by the unity of codes, or their invariance, or continuity and natural nature of their transformation" [Lotman, 2010, p. 249]. An example of extremely intensive development of discourse Heimat in the modern cultural space of Germany can serve a program of events in Mainz (Germany) in just one month (November 2016) under the general title “Stories about the Motherland” (Geschichten über Heimat), which shows a wide range views, definitions, approaches, associations, as evidenced by the names of the events:

- 1) Heimat ist Mundart “Motherland is a dialect”;
- 2) Verfolgung, Flucht, Ankommen... Willkommen? “Pursuit, flight, arrival... Welcome?”;
- 3) Meine Heimat Mainz “My homeland Mainz”;
- 4) Wohl dem, der jetzt noch Heimat hat “It’s good for the one who has now there is a homeland”;
- 5) Heimat ist da, wo meine Bücher sind “Homeland is where my

books";

6) Heimat: Woher du kommst oder wo du lebst? "Homeland is where are you from or where do you live?"

7) Heimat ist so ein seltsames deutsches Konzept wie Wald "Homeland is as special a German concept as the concept forest".

Various approaches of modern scientists to the concept of Heimat found expression in a series of lectures by professors of German universities under the general title "Heimat heute" ("Homeland today"), which took place at the University. I. Gutenberg (Mainz) in November 2016: 1) "Homeland and globalization: Statement affairs in modern German-language literature"; 2) "What is homeland? Through the eyes of artists"; 3) "A person is like a Motherland? Dot the view of anthropologists"; 4) "Motherland: searches and visits. Ethnographic A Chinese look at the cultural practices of memory of those forcibly resettled (expelled) in Eastern Europe." In conclusion, it can be assumed that interest in research and discussion of the concept of Heimat will increase in the future in the context of problems associated with globalization, "new nomadism" and reactions to these processes. From linguistic and cultural point of view, the most appropriate and promising approach to the study of the complex, ambivalent, nationally specific concept of Heimat and the one emerging around it discourse is an approach that combines discourse analysis and historical semantics (cf.: [Hellmann, 2008, S. 12–13]), in which attempts are made to consider all facets of a complex comprehensive education Heimat not only in its modern condition, but also taking into account its historical development [Bausinger, 1984, S. 11–12]. Thus, the Heimat discourse is certainly "fashionable", if we mean by this its popularity, prevalence, rapid development in space and time, as well as wide interest in this topic among various segments of the German population. But this "fashion" expresses the urgent need of society and individual in the context of global changes in the modern world.

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