A Pragmatic Analysis of Impoliteness in the Kurdish Drama TV series Ax û Tax

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Abstract
In view of the less significance that impoliteness triggers have received in the pragmatic studies of impoliteness, the current study aims at showing how impoliteness is triggered in a Kurdish drama TV series. Culpeper’s (2011) model of impoliteness triggers was drawn upon to investigate 28 extracts taken from Ax û Tax drama TV series as the data for the current study and then the utterances which contained impoliteness triggers were selected to be analyzed and interpreted via descriptive qualitative and quantitative methods. The study hypothesizes the higher rate of occurrences of implicational impoliteness than the conventionalized impoliteness formulae in the current data due to the communal nature of Kurdish culture. Four main conclusions were drawn from the results of the current study. First, the findings showed the higher rate of conventionalized impoliteness formulae compared to implicational impoliteness. Second, within all the categories of conventionalized impoliteness formulae, unpalatable questions as a category were the most dominant category, while condescensions and message enforcers with equal frequencies were the least dominant categories used in the selected data. Third, the results also found a new category belonging to conventionalized impoliteness formulae, unpalatable questions as a category were the most dominant category, while condescensions and message enforcers with equal frequencies were the least dominant categories used in the selected data. Fourth, among all categories of implicational impoliteness, form-driven implicational impoliteness was the most used category, whereas context-driven implicational impoliteness was the least used category in the selected data.
المستخلص:

بالنظر إلى الاهتمام الذي تلقته مفاهيم سوء الأدب في الدراسات التداخلية، فإن الدراسة الحالية تهدف إلى أظهار مدى تأثير سوء الأدب في مسلسل تلفزيوني درامي كردي. تم الاعتماد على نموذج Culpeper's مأخوذًا من مسلسل تلفزيوني درامي "خدعة وكتابة" كبيانات للدراسة الحالية. ثم تم اختيار الأقوال التي تحتوي على مفاهيم سوء الأدب لتحليلاً، وتسيرها من خلال طرق الوصف النموذجي والكمي. تتفصّل الدراسة ارتفاع معدل حدوث سوء الأدب الضمني مقارنة بصيغة سوء الأدب التقليدية في البيانات الحالية بسبب الطبيعة المجتمعية للثقافة الكردية. تم استخلاص أربعة استنتاجات رئيسة من نتائج الدراسة الحالية: أولاً، أظهرت النتائج ارتفاع معدل سوء الأدب التقليدي مقارنة بسوء الأدب الضمني. ثانياً، ضمن جميع فعّالات مصغّر سوء الأدب التقليدية، كانت الاستناد غير المستندة كتابة في الفئة الأكثر شيوعًا، وكان التفاعلي ومرسل الرسائل الأكراهية ذات الكرة المتساوي هي الأقل شيوعًا من بين البيانات المستخدمة في البحث. ثالثًا، وجدت النتائج أيضاً فئة جديدة تنتمي إلى صيغ سوء الأدب التقليدية والتي وصفها الباحث بأنها أوامر غير مخففة. رابعًا، من بين جميع فعّالات سوء الأدب الضمني، كان سوء الأدب الضمني المعتمد على الشكل هو الفئة الأكثر استخدامًا، في حين كان سوء الأدب الضمني المعتمد على السياق هو الفئة الأقل استخدامًا في البيانات المختارة.

الكلمات الرئيسة: نموذج 2011 (Culpeper) لسوء الأدب، الصيغ التقليدية لسوء الأدب ، مفاهيم سوء الأدب ، سوء الأدب الضمني ، والتشابه

1. Introduction

Undoubtedly, conflictive interactions in which impoliteness is used bluntly or indirectly occur in our daily life. Thus, impoliteness can be found in almost all types of human communication and pervades drama TV series as well. The meaning of the prefix im- in the term impoliteness demonstrates antonymic relationship between both terms; politeness and impoliteness (Marlangeon& Juez, 2012, p.70). However, the phenomenon of impoliteness is more complex than simply considering it as “the opposite of” or “the lack of politeness” (De Marlangeon& Alba-Juez, 2012, p.70).

Due to the fact that linguists for many years ignored impoliteness in comparison to politeness, interest in investigating the concept of impoliteness has recently increased in pragmatics (Culpeper et al.,2010, p.1) and thus it is “a new field of study” (Culpeper, 2011, xii). The most well-known and most widely cited studies in the literature of impoliteness are (Culpeper 1995, 2011), Bousfield (2008), Kienpointner (2008), Culpeper & Hardaker (2017). Based on Brown and Levison’s (1987) politeness super strategies, the first linguist who builds an impoliteness framework is Culpeper (1996) in which he proposes impoliteness super strategies by just reversing politeness strategies. Accordingly, Jonathan Culpeper is considered as a pioneer in investigating the concept of impoliteness who works hard in several publications to confirm that impoliteness should not be considered as a kind of pragmatic failure and at last systematized this view in his (2011) book.

There are numerous definitions of impoliteness which all share the same notion that impoliteness refers to “behaviors that are considered emotionally negative by at least one participant” (Culpeper & Hardaker, 2017, p.1). Bousfield (2008) defines impoliteness as the opposite of politeness and adds that impoliteness “constitutes the issuing of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive verbal face-threatening acts (FTAs) that are purposefully performed” (p.262). Kienpointner (2008) defines impoliteness as “a kind of prototypically non-cooperative or competitive communicative behaviour which destabilizes the personal relationships of the interacting individuals (p.245). Culpeper (2011) offers his last definition of the concept of impoliteness after reformulating it several times which states that “impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts” (p. 23).
2. The Problem of the Study

Literature on impoliteness has paid more importance to Culpeper’s “impoliteness strategies” which belong to Culpeper’s (1996) former impoliteness model and paid less attention to the impoliteness triggers which are “conventionalized impoliteness formulae” and “implicational impoliteness” that belong to Culpeper’s (2011a) most updated work and model. Also, to the researcher’s knowledge, the concept of impoliteness in general and impoliteness triggers have not been investigated in the Kurdish context which can be considered as one of the major gaps to be filled in the literature on impoliteness

3. Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to investigate impoliteness triggers pragmatically in the Kurdish drama TV series Ax û Tax. Moreover, this study aims at pointing out that impoliteness is not inherent in certain linguistic expressions. Also, this study aims at finding whether characters in Ax û Tax drama TV series prefer using conventionalized impoliteness formulae or implicational impoliteness. To do so, the data is analyzed descriptively via using mixed methods.

4. Research Questions

The present study attempts to find satisfactory answers to the following questions:

1. Do characters in Ax û Tax drama TV series prefer using conventionalized impoliteness formulae or implicational impoliteness?

2. Apart from the list which Culpeper (2011) proposes for conventionalized impoliteness formulae, are there any other categories of conventionalized impoliteness formulae that can be found in the present data?

3. Within the utilization of conventionalized impoliteness formulae and implicational impoliteness, which category is the most frequently used category and which category is the least frequently used category by characters in the present data?

5. Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are proposed in the present study:

1. Since the Kurdish culture is tribal, it is hypothesized that implicational impoliteness which is less blunt will be used more than conventionalized impoliteness formulae by characters in the selected extracts taken from Ax û Tax drama TV series so as not to sabotage completely the solidarity between them.

2. Due to the fact that Culpeper’s (2011) list of conventionalized impoliteness formulae reflects Anglo cultures, particularly British, therefore it is hypothesized that other categories of conventionalized impoliteness formulae will be found in the Kurdish drama TV series Ax û Tax.

6. Limitations and Scope of the Study

The current study is limited to investigating solely impoliteness triggers in spoken interactions excluding responses to impoliteness and impoliteness resolution. Second, it is beyond the scope of the current study to deal with paralinguistic cues.
7. The Significance of the Study

The significance of the current study is highlighted in three aspects. First, investigating the concept of impoliteness is crucial because impoliteness is “of great social importance” as verbal impoliteness usually has more adverse consequences on a person than physical violence which “results in emotional pain but can even end in suicide” (Culpeper, 2011a, xii-xiii). Second, exploring the concept of impoliteness is useful as it clarifies how impoliteness destroys interpersonal communications and thus people need to regulate their actions in a communication. Third, the current study can be considered as the first study to examine the concept of impoliteness in general and impoliteness triggers in the Kurdish context and thus this study is conducted to make a contribution to the concept of impoliteness by filling one of the major gaps in the literature of impoliteness which is having no studies of impoliteness triggers in the Kurdish context.

8. Culpeper’s (2011) Impoliteness Triggers

Culpeper (2011) proposes the term “triggers” as an alternative term to impoliteness strategies. Moreover, he sums up a bottom-up model of impoliteness triggers where he analyzes his data and lets triggers to extract from it (Culpeper, 2016, pp.436,442). Bousfield (2008) approaches the concept “triggers” while answering the question “how impolite discourses are triggered” which he raises in his book (p.2). He claims that impoliteness triggers are “the triggering events which give rise to conflictive illocutions” (pp.218-220). Moreover, Culpeper (2011) categorizes impoliteness triggers into conventionalized impoliteness formulae and implicational impoliteness.

8.1 Conventionalized Impoliteness Formulae

Culpeper (2011) defines conventionalized impoliteness formulae as “a form of language in which context-specific impoliteness effects are conventionalized” (p.153). Accordingly, he proposes conventionalized impoliteness formulae by listing down a list of some impolite forms of language which are not considered impolite unless they are used in impolite contexts:

1. Insults: [you] [are] [so/such a] [shit/stink/thick/etc.]
2. Pointed criticisms/complaints: [that/this] [is/was] [bad/rubbish/etc.]
3. Unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions: why do you make my life impossible?
4. Condescensions: [that] ['s/is being] [babyish/childish/etc.]
5. Message enforcers: you got [it/ that]?
6. Dismissals: [go] [away]
7. Silencers: shut [the f**k] up
8. Threats: [X] [before I] [hit you/strangle you]
9. Negative Expressive (e.g. Curses and ill-wishes): [go] [to hell/hang yourself]

(Culpeper, 2011, pp.135-136; Culpeper, 2016, pp.437-438)
8.2 Non-conventionalized Impoliteness: Implicational Impoliteness

Impoliteness can also be implied even when an utterance or a behavior is not “pre-loaded” for impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011, p.155), therefore implicational impoliteness is often creative (Culpeper, 2013, p.6). Culpeper (2011) notices from his data that 59% of impolite instances were instances of implicational impoliteness and categorizes into the following categories:

8.2.1 Form-Driven Implicational Impoliteness

In this category, implied meaning is triggered by “formal surface or semantic aspects of a behavior” which can be seen in everyday terms such as mimicry, casting aspersions, and snide remarks (Culpeper, 2011, pp.156-157).

8.2.2 Convention-Driven Implicational Impoliteness

This category refers to instances where there are mixed interpretations of polite and impolite messages such as sarcasm and [harsh/bitter] jokes/humour (Culpeper, 2011, pp.165, 166).

8.2.3 Context-Driven Implicational Impoliteness

This category occurs in instances where a behavior goes against contextual expectations in a context in which performing a polite behavior is highly expected and required and thus considered impolite, for example when a person receives a present and stays silent without expressing gratefulness (Culpeper, 2011, pp.180,193).

9. Data Collection and Methodology

The data used in the current study were 28 extracts which contained impoliteness in the form of dialogues taken from the Kurdish drama TV series Ax û Tax from Waar Media You-tube channel. After collecting the data, the researcher wrote all the selected extracts in Kurdish language and in Kurdish Latini as well and finally translated the whole data to English language. Moreover, the researcher took only impolite instances into consideration in the data analysis by using mixed methods. Additionally, the number of extracts (Ext.) and episodes (Ep.) were mentioned next to each example. Impolite utterances were examined through looking at co-text and context. In the qualitative analysis which was done pragmatically, the researcher classified all the impolite instances according to Culpeper’s (2011) model of impoliteness triggers. In the quantitative analysis, the researcher used tables and pie charts to illustrate the frequency of impoliteness triggers.

10. Discussion and Analysis

The findings reveal that both conventionalized and implicational impoliteness as triggers are used by characters in the current data which both make 105 impoliteness triggers. Figure 1 shows that conventionalized impoliteness formulae with 86 occurrences prevails over the implicational impoliteness and represents 81.90% of the impoliteness triggers in the current data. This result is in contrast with Culpeper’s (2011) result in which implicational impoliteness occurred more frequently which made 59% of impoliteness triggers in his study. The higher frequency of conventionalized impoliteness formulae in the present data can be construed in the sense that conventionalized impoliteness formulae are usually blunt and easy for the viewers to catch as the majority of viewers are lay people. Additionally, with only
19 occurrences of impoliteness triggers, implicational impoliteness counts for only 18.09% of impoliteness triggers in the current data. The lower frequency of implicational impoliteness in the current data can be explained in the sense that implicational impoliteness is time consuming as it is often creative, and viewers spend much cognitive effort in decoding it.

Figure 1: Distribution of conventionalized impoliteness formulae and implicational impoliteness (non-conventionalized impoliteness) in the selected data taken from Ax ū Tax drama TV series

10.1 Conventionalized Impoliteness Formulae

As it can be seen in table 1 that unpalatable questions are on top of the list with (21) occurrences which make (24.41%) of the conventionalized impoliteness formulae. This is in contrary to Culpeper et al’s. (2017) findings, where they revealed the highest frequency of occurrences of insults which made 47% of the conventionalized impoliteness formulae in their data. Condescensions with only (2) occurrences and message enforcers also with (2) occurrences are the least frequently used conventionalized impoliteness triggers in the current data which each make (2.32%) of the conventionalized impoliteness formulae. All the categories of conventionalized impoliteness formulae will be explained in the following subsections:

Table 1: Conventionalized impoliteness formulae in the current data
10.1.1 Insults

In total, 15 occasions of insults are found in the current data analysis which counts for (17.44%) of the conventionalized impoliteness formulae. Personalized negative vocatives are the most common examples of this category:


Farsat: [loudly] Hugo, let me tell you something. I promise if I see you in the neighborhood one more time, I will kill you. [Ext.20, Ep.6]

In this example, Huger is the target of Farsat's unjustifiable resentment as Huger and Farsat do not get by because both love the same girl who is Naze. So, Farsat mispronounces Huger's name in an unfriendly context where Farsat is so angry at Huger.

10.1.2 Pointed criticisms/complaints

This category appears in the present data with 4 occurrences which represents (4.65%) of conventionalized impoliteness formulae:

(2) Cîhan: Ez zanim korrê min we naket. Eve direwe.

Jihan: I know my son does not do such things. This is a lie. [Ext.8, Ep.2]

This example consists of a pointed criticism used by Jihan to a man’s complaint who comes to her house to inform her that his son’s head is broken by Jihan’s son. Jihan’s use of the deictic expression ‘this’ refers to the man’s complaining her son which she describes as a lie along with a loud voice is an extremely remark of her impolite attitude towards the man’s complaint.

10.1.3 Unpalatable questions

With (21) instances of impoliteness, unpalatable questions as a category are the most frequently used category of conventionalized impoliteness formulae in the current data which make (24.41%) of conventionalized impoliteness formulae. The majority of instances of unpalatable questions are rhetorical questions.
Example (3) is a personal question which is asked between socially distant participants in the form of rhetorical questions and thus is interpreted as impolite. So, Farsat (the teamaker) asks Huger the bolded unpalatable questions as he knows that Huger is there to see his beloved (Naze). Moreover, the unpalatable question asked by Farsat can be considered as invasion of Huger’s personal space.

### 10.1.4 Condescensions

With only 2 instances of impoliteness, condescension as a category is among the least frequent categories of conventionalized impoliteness formulae occurring in the present data which represent only (2.32%) of the conventionalized impoliteness formulae. Both instances of condescensions in the current data occurred in asymmetrical power relations between interactants:

(4) Nazê: Hat u çû, tu çayçî yê babê minî.

Naze: you are merely my father's tea maker. [Ext.18, Ep.6]

In example (4), Naze (Mukhtar’s daughter) as a higher-status interlocutor condescends Farsat’s occupation as Farsat is her father’s teamaker.

### 10.1.5 Message enforcers

Message enforcers are among the least frequent category of conventionalized impoliteness formulae which occur twice in the current data which make (2.32%) of conventionalized impoliteness formulae:

(5) Nazê: Eve dimahî car bit tu husa gel min baxivî. Basê?

Naze: This should be the last time you talk to me in this way. Okay? [Ext.18, Ep.6]

In example (5), Naze’s use of the expression (Okay?) to Farsat is used to enforce the previous message (This should be the last time you talk to me in this way).

### 10.1.6 Dismissals

This category occurs with (6) occurrences in the current data which represent (6.97%) of conventionalized impoliteness formulae:


Farsat: Get out of here. Get out of my face. [Ext.20, Eo.6]

In example (6), the dismissals are used by the offender (Farsat) when he dismisses Huger from the neighborhood as Farsat always feels antagonistic towards Huger.

### 10.1.7 Silencers
Silencers are used only in 3 occasions in the present data which represent (3.48%) of conventionalized impoliteness formulae:

(7) Cihan: Herre u ne axive.
Jihan: Get lost and shut up. [Ext.2, Ep.1]

In this example, Jihan silences an aged cleaner who comes to her house to criticize her constructively for positive change regarding her uncleanness habit. So, Jihan’s use of silencer can be interpreted that the aged cleaner’s opinion is not needed and esteemed.

10.1.8 Threats

Threats as a concept appears in the present data with (11) occurrences which make (12.79%) of conventionalized impoliteness formulae:

(8) Ferset :Suz bît ez careka dî te li ví taxî bînim , ez dê te kujim .
Farsat: I promise if I see you in the neighborhood one more time, I will kill you. [Ext.20, ep.6]

In this example, the threat used by Farsat towards Huger consists of death threat in which the death threat is emphasized by the first part of the threat (I promise).

10.1.9 Negative Expressives

This category occurs 4 times in the present data representing (4.65%) of conventionalized impoliteness formulae:

(9) Şahîn: [bi dengekê bilind] 'Emrê te nemînît. Hemî gava te kart nîne.
Shaheen: [loudly] Damn you (literally: vanish to your age). You don't have credit all the time [Ext.14, Ep.4].

In the above mentioned example, Shaheen uses the negative expressive (Damn you) (literally vanish to your age) where he wishes his wife (Jihan) to be afflicted with death wish as she does not quickly calls him that their son is sick.

10.1.10 Unmitigated orders

Culpeper (2011) claims that the list of conventionalized impoliteness formulae proposed by him is just what he finds in his data (p.136). So, the researcher finds a new category of conventionalized impoliteness formulae and is labelled by the researcher herself as unmitigated orders. Unmitigated orders are those orders which occur mostly between socially distant participant in which the speaker attempts at ordering the addressee baldly in a way to comply with the order and in a context where the “risk of retaliation is less” (Culpeper, 2011, pp.228-229). Therefore, unmitigated orders are mostly used by more powerful speakers. This result suggests that Culpeper’s conventionalized impoliteness formulae are open-ended formulae.

(10) Şahîn: ka zîka bu min subekê bîne û hindek baqilka bike nav da. 'Erebanka xu jî rake zî
Shaheen: Give me some soup quickly and put some beans in it. Also, get your cart out of the way quickly [Ext.13, Ep.3].

In this example, Shaheen (a business-man) as he more powerful interlocutor uses unmitigated orders to Sirwan(broad beans seller). Shaheen uses three unmitigated orders in parallel which are (Give me some soup quickly) which is the first unmitigated order, (put some beans in it) is the second unmitigated order, and (get your cart out of the way quickly) is the third unmitigated order.

10.2 Non-Conventionalized Impoliteness: Implicational Impoliteness

Table 2 illustrates that form-driven implicational impoliteness with (13) occurrences is the most frequently used category of implicational impoliteness making 68.42% of implicational impoliteness in the present data. However, context-driven implicational impoliteness with only one occurrence is considered as the least frequent implicational impoliteness triggers which only makes (5.26%) of implicational impoliteness in the present data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-conventionalized impoliteness categories</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form-driven implicational impoliteness</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>68.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention-driven implicational impoliteness</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context-driven implicational impoliteness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong> (19)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.2.1 Form-Driven Implicational Impoliteness

This category occurs (13) times in the present data representing (68.42%) of implicational impoliteness which is found in the present data:

(11) Şahîn: [bi dengekê bilind] Başe tu na bèjye min dê çewa derkevim? Rexek te yê girtî û rexek 'erebana te.

Shaheen: [loudly] Can't you tell me how to get out of this situation? One part of the roadway is blocked by you, and the other part is blocked by your cart [Ext.13, Ep.3].

In example (11), Shaheen uses a snide remark regarding Sirwan’s fat physical body. To do so, Shaheen uses the bolded form-driven implicational impoliteness where negativity is ascribed to Sirwan via using the word “blocked” along with the deictic expression(you) and thus the ridiculing impolite inference that Sirwan has an unpleasant appearance can be drawn.

10.2.2 Convention-Driven Implicational Impoliteness

This category appears in the present data 5 times which makes (26.31%) of implicational impoliteness:
Dilşad: Xudan ezim, hey çavê min. Eva berê bu te di qetya , êdî bu te na qetyêt.

Dilshad: The owner is me, oh my eyes (a Kurdish term of endearment). You will be deprived of your personal rights from now on. [Ext.25, Ep.11

In example (12), Dilshad uses convention-driven implicational impoliteness to Sirwan because of Sirwan’s habit of standing next to his shop which annoys Dilshad. The first part of the utterance is a term of endearment (oh my eyes) which superficially indicates the speaker’s (Dilshad) positive emotion towards the hearer (Sirwan). However, the second part of the utterance (You will be deprived of your personal rights from now on) which is a threat that Dilshad will not allow him to stay next to his shop. Consequently, the second part of the utterance mismatches the first part.

10.2.3 Context-Driven Implicational Impoliteness

This category occurs only once in the present data representing (5.26) of implicational impoliteness.

Şahîn: Xizim, da hema têştê jî gel (nanî) frê key da timam biba.

Shaheen: Buddy, if you have just delivered it (the bread) with breakfast, it would be complete [Ext.9, Ep.3].

In an effort to build rapport with Shaheen, Mukhtar sends bread to Shaheen and all the neighbors. However, Shaheen responds to this action of strengthening solidarity with the bolded context-driven implicational impoliteness. Moreover, after receiving bread from Mukhtar which is a situation where showing gratitude as a polite behavior is expected in this example, Shaheen chooses to withhold showing him gratitude.

11. Conclusions and Recommendations

11.1 Conclusions

Generally, the current study arrives at four main conclusions:

11.1.1 Characters in Ax û Tax prefer the use of conventionalized impoliteness formulae more than the implicational impoliteness. This can be construed in a sense that conventionalized impoliteness formulae which is easy to catch for the viewers who are usually lay people. The less frequency of implicational impoliteness is due to the fact it is carried out through linguistic creativity and is demanding to some extent. This result answers research question number (1) and refutes hypothesis number (1) of the current study.

11.1.2 Unpalatable questions as a category outnumbers all the other categories of conventionalized impoliteness formulae in Ax û Tax drama TV series, whereas each condescensions and message enforcers as categories are of equal frequencies and are the least frequently used categories of conventionalized impoliteness formulae by characters in the present data. The present study reveals the highest frequency of form-driven implicational impoliteness among the three categories of implicational impoliteness. On the other hand, the current study shows the lowest frequency of context-driven implicational impoliteness out of the three categories of implicational impoliteness. This answers research question number (3).
11.1.2 The results reveal a new category which is labelled as unmitigated orders and usually occur when socially distant interlocutors have imbalance of power. This leads us to think of Culpeper's conventionalized impoliteness formulae as open-ended formulae. Accordingly, the hypothesis number (2) of the present study is verified. Also, research question number (2) is addressed by this result.

11.2 Recommendations

From a pedagogical perspective, the current study highlights the importance of pragmatic competence in language teaching as it deals with on what grounds a linguistic expression is considered impolite. This can be observed through the whole idea of the study which confirms that that the concept of impoliteness should not be understood solely through linguistic expressions. Rather, co-textual and contextual factors should be taken into consideration.

References


