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- * Juncture Modification in Nigeria English
- * Underspecification and the Morphophonemics of Ibibio /k/
- * Concept and Context in Utterance Interpretation
- * Standardizing Nigerian English: Problems and Prospects
- * Linguistic Interference and the Teaching of French in Nigeria.
- * Case Grammar: Today
- * Functionality of Basic Literacy in Nigeria
- * Emanation: A Logico-Theological Conundrum
- * The Canonization of the Old Testament
- * Interpersonal Communication and Behaviour Modification in the Organizational Setting.
- * * Dimensions of Meaning in Nonverbal Communication
- * The Traditional Objective of the Mass Media and Views of News Determination: Myth or Reality?
- * Sembene Ousmane and Family Planning in Africa: The Xala Example.
- * Poetry and the Critical Labour: Language as a Mediating Factor.
- * Kete-krachi-Hausa Trade and Conflict in the Brong Region Revisited.
- * Creative Arts: A prerequisite for Science and Technology.

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DIMENSIONS OF MEANING IN NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION*

BY

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Abstract:

This article examines, in broad detail, the concept of nonverbal communication. It first reviews studies that have hitherto been carried out in the field and then goes on to examine the various aspects of nonverbal behaviour ranging from body language (gestures, symbolic displays, glances, haptics, kinesics); nonsegmental indicators that do not have specific dictionary meaning (voice quality, loudness, pitch, stress, tone, intonation); mode of dressing, grooming, chronemics, proxemics, attitude, artifacts and other cultural indicators. Specific examples of these are discussed and the relationships between them and their vocal accompaniments are shown. The conclusion of this article is that nonverbal behaviours represent reinforcement of vocal acts and nonvocal ones in others. In the latter case, the article sees nonverbal communication behaviours as representing the true meaning of the expressed behaviour rather than 'false' or 'deceptive' meaning of the verbal act. Nonverbal behaviour is thus seen as one simple way of discovering the truth in communication.

1. Introduction

Nonverbal Communication(NVC) is an aspect of man's communication possibilities which provides us with a kind of 'Open Sesame' in many complex Communication contexts. Through NVC it becomes clear that there is more meaning to verbal communication than just words themselves. These nonverbal messages are manifested through body gestures, symbolic displays, glances, haptics, kinesics as well as mode of dressing, grooming, chronemics, proxemics, attitude, artefacts, and other cultural and non-segmental indicators such as voice quality, loudness, pitch, tone, and intonation.

The meaning of meaning is illustrative of the distinction between concrete reality and appearance. Within the context of meaning there is the social fact representing the concrete or objective reality which confirms the cultural consensual orientation expressed and institutionalised in the language, that is, at the level of stipulative meaning. But at the second level, represented by a welter of social interactions, ascriptions, deviance, stereotypes which might be said to fall within a labelling theory, meaning is eclectic and perhaps could be best understood through an examination of socially located meaning systems, mediated by class, education, medium, sex, age and other variables. In this article, meaning should be seen to reside in everything be it text, utterance, programme, activity or behaviour at more than one level of abstraction. Too often our decoding of meaning is at the verbal referential level hence the frequent misinterpretation of 'messages' whereas the nonverbal system provides more than enough information sometimes supportive of, and at other times contradictory to our verbal acts.

Complementary and contradictory nonverbal behaviours may not always be so because the supposed contradiction in a nonverbal communication behaviour may in fact represent an 'idiolect'. Thus as Professor Ray Birdwhistel (1955) (quoted in Julius Fast 1970:108) has noted: 'no body position or movement, in and of itself, has a precise meaning', a view which is re-echoed by Fast (1970) when he says that 'like words nonverbal communication codes take their meaning according to the context of the entire behaviour pattern of a per-

son'. Yet Professor Birdwhistel stresses further that neither spoken language alone nor body language alone will give us the full meaning.

In support of this, Dr. Scheflen (1964) has noted that;

'The meaning or function of an event is not contained in itself, but in its relation to its context.' Julius Fast (1970:164) sums it all up in the following words:

The real value of body language, however still remains in a blending of all levels of communication of the spoken language, and whatever else is transmitted on the vocal wavelength, with the visual language including body language and self-imagery, with communication along any other bands.

But our main thrust here is to look at the nonverbal communication symbols which involve the use of parts of the human body alone. Other nonverbal codes may be pursued in another study.

2. Earlier Studies

There is somewhat a growing interest in nonverbal communication as in the contribution of Judee K. Burgoon (1978), Edward T. Hall (1959), Allan Pease (1987), Albert Mehrabian (1969,1971), P. Ekman et al (1970). Of these, Burgoon (1978), Allan Pease (1987) and Julius Fast (1970) stand out as important modern writers on the subject of nonverbal communication.

Nonverbal communication as is clear from the corpus of available literature only began to generate serious academic interest recently even though as early as 1875, A.M. Bacon had published his *A Manual of Gestures* and three years earlier, Charles Darwin had published *The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals*. Other early works include G. Mallery's *The Gestures Speech of Man* (1881) and W. James's, *Principles of Psychology* which addressed the psychological bases of human nonverbal behaviour. These early works were anthropological and though are very useful scholarly contributions did not seem to go far enough. It was only in the 1960s that the communicative possibilities and their implications for human communication and cross-cultural communication were actively studied and the public, it seemed, became more aware of it only when Julius Fast (1970) published his book *Body Language*.

Charlie Chaplin and many silent movie actors pioneered nonverbal communication skills in modern times. But nonverbal communication skills had their early origins in the sophisticated employment of mimes and pantomimes in Greek drama, music, and general stage entertainment. At the early stage NVC skills were the only means of communication available on the screen, but with the advent of the talking films and moving pictures, nonverbal aspects of acting began to fade into obscurity.

As Allan Pease (1987) has also pointed out perhaps the most influential pre-20th century technical study of body language was Charles Darwin's, *The Expression of the Emotion in Man and Animals* (1872). It has been shown that many of Darwin's ideas and observations have since been validated by modern researchers around the world. Allan Pease (1987:9) also notes that since that time, researchers have noted and recorded almost one million nonverbal cues and signals. This view obviously contradicts David Crystal's (1980:34) view that a dictionary of body language would find it difficult to accumulate more than several hundred contrasts. Thus Crystal thinks that gestural communication or body language lacks productivity, that is, the creative capacity of language users to produce and understand an indefinitely large number of words and sentences. However, the truth as noted by Albert Mehrabian (1969,1971) is that the total impact of a message is about 7% verbal (i.e

words only) and 38% vocal (including tone of voice, inflection and other sounds) and 55% nonverbal. Professor Birdwhistel (1971) has estimated the amount of nonverbal communication that takes place amongst humans. He estimates that the average person actually speaks words for a total of about ten or eleven minutes a day and that the average sentence takes only about 2.5 seconds. The total impact (T.I) of a communication transaction is represented by Mehrabian thus - $T.I = .07 \text{ verbal} + .038 \text{ vocal} + .55 \text{ facial}$. Like Mehrabian, his findings show that the verbal component of a face-to-face conversation is less than 35% and that over 65% of communication is carried out nonverbally. Generally, most researchers agree that the verbal communication channel is used primarily for conveying information, while the nonverbal channel is used for negotiating interpersonal attitudes, and in some cases it is used as a substitute for verbal messages. Judee K. Burgoon (1978) takes a perceptive look at the nonverbal communication channels and codes and identifies seven commonly used nonverbal codes, proxemics, chronemics, kinesics, physical appearance, haptics, paralanguage and artifacts. She also distinguishes five general categories of the functions of nonverbal communication codes. These are symbolic displays, metamessages, structuring interaction, self presentation and manipulating others.

Julius Fast's (1970) book summarises the research work done up to his time by behavioural scientists on nonverbal communication. But its importance lies in the fact that it draws the attention of the general public to the existence and importance of body language in their lives. It also serves as an important source book on how to use body movements to achieve specific goals. All these point to the fact that nonverbal communication is an important aspect of human communication.

But it is ironic that people spend their early years in school systematically studying verbal language in its primal trinity of reading, 'riting' and 'rithmetic' but almost devote little or no time to the study of the syntax or vocabulary of nonverbal behaviour.

3. Body Symbols in a World Without Sound

Many forms of nonverbal language are used across cultures but some are culture specific. These nonverbal or body languages are 'spoken' and understood by a variety of persons in a variety of situations. Research shows that most of the basic forms of body language are the same in every part of the world. Smiling, frowning, nodding, shaking the head from side to side, a shoulder shrug and other forms of symbolic display signify the same basic human emotions across cultures. For example, the smile may signify happiness, a frown, sadness or anger; nodding, an agreement; shaking the head from side to side, disagreement; and the shoulder shrug, lack of understanding. In combination with other nonverbal acts these displays reduce uncertainty in the possible range of meanings. In the case of the shoulder shrug, it is a multiple gesture which employs the palms, hunched shoulders and raised brows. It is so definitive through its accompanying gestures that its denotative meaning can hardly be missed. The hands are spread sideways from a front position and the palms are turned upwards while the shoulders are raised in a sudden twitch into a hunch and eyes become dilated as the brows are raised in a kind of synchomesh. This may also be accompanied by a vocal behaviour which will provide an additional information on the symbol user's emotional state. Differences in sex also yield a lot of information variations in symbolic displays. Such differences may arise from the way we walk, the gestures we use, the way we touch each other, our voice qualities, the way we try to manipulate other sexes, and the distances we adopt in interpersonal communication contexts. Thus as Julius Fast (1970:116) has noted, specific body positions can be related to statements, types of statements, questions, answers, explanations etc.

The human body provides perhaps the greatest source of unscripted message outside speech. The body speaks in all languages but the meaning of its message is generally understood across cultures even though there may be variants which may be referred to as 'corpulect' - that distinctive individual body language which may communicate something in a slightly different way from the next signifier's use of similar body codes. The body is thus a communication centre with its network of ancillary organs which make different messages possible. The human body could be roughly divided into three broad high information zones 'comprising the head, acting as a zonal centre for the employment of the face, eye, mouth, lips, eyebrow and neck region; the upper limbs connecting the hands, chest, fingers, thumb, arms and shoulders; and the lower limbs being supported by hips, legs, ankle and toes. These body parts are then employed in various communication games comprising (a) Proxemics (b) Chronemics (c) Haptics (d) Kinesics (e) Paralanguage (f) Attitude (g) Dressing and Grooming (h) Colour (i) Sight/vision (j) Objectics

The body is also used as a 'writing' surface in tattooing, as a symbolic cultural veneer in body dabbing, as in sex differentiation in puberty rites and clitoridectomy and male circumcision, as in beauty treatment in breast shaping or lip spread (among some Southern African ethnic groups), and this gives it a unique place in man's communication systems.

3.1 The Head

The head is one of the most communicative zones of the human body. It is here that the face, (the human billboard, chameleon-like) reflects all its various messages like the changing scenes in a movie. It is here too that the eyes, the nose, the mouth and eye brows are located as substations of a larger transmission facility. The face, in the first place, is able to reflect different emotions at various times. It may express happiness, (smiling), sadness, (frowning), blankness (expressionlessness). It has the ability to mask as well as it may be the one place where the insincerity of verbal communication is detected through the contradictory message or signal it may give. Men, it seems, are better able to mask certain situations with the face than women. For example, if you met an elderly woman used to our phatic communication (communion) and asked her in these difficult times: 'Mma, how are you?' She will obviously tell you 'Fine' but with a twitch of the face and perhaps a wrapping up of the hands around the neck in complete negation of the response: 'Fine'. A keen user of nonverbal communication interpretes the old lady's nonverbal cues to mean: 'Social convention demands I must pretend I'm fine and even though the reverse is the case I must not say it, but as you can see from my body language, all is not well. I need help'. So in decoding any verbal language it must be placed in the context of a nonverbal act. Early psychoanalysts in treating the problems arising from inconsistencies between nonverbal and verbal communication sought to resolve it through the concepts of the conscious and the unconscious. Mehrabian (1976:100) notes that: 'They assumed that contradictory messages meant a conflict between superficial, deceitful, or erroneous feelings on the one hand and true attitudes and feelings on the other.'

In a telephone conversation, a decoding in this manner is not possible but the vocalic-tone, voice quality, loudness, intonation or pitch may help to discern the true meaning of the utterance. In addition, a joyous state of mind could be communicated through a smile playing on the face of the encoder. If the smile reveals happiness it cannot be mistaken by the decoder. But as we know, it is possible to smile without smiling. This is the smile that shields the soul and masks it in one silky film of deception. The body usually does not lie and that is why some forms of masking do not wear on people easily. Masking as a concept in the use of facial communication, is momentary so it is difficult to maintain a lie with the body for too long. The faking soon wears out and the silent language of the body is 'heard' loud and clear.

The mouth which is also the physiological base of the lips, tongue and teeth provides various nonverbal messages which tell us more than what the mouth vocalises. Apart from kissing and in make-up, the lips provide a very graphic, even if lucid picture of animal sexuality. It has been suggested that when a woman becomes sexually aroused, her lips, breasts and genitals become larger and redder so, the woman uses the red lipstick to mimic her physiological state (Pease, 1987). Nose rings, ear rings and painting of eye brows and lashes all communicate the message of self-advertisement by the female. The he-goat demonstrates a curious kinaesthetic manipulation of the lips and nostrils with occasional subdued bleating intended to excite the female. The she-goat may tail off in an 'I'm-not-that-cheap' fashion only to compromise after several advances and often ending with, an 'It ain't easy' attitude. For a man, the way the mouth or nose twists to a given direction when he sees a woman suggests a similar sexual attraction of the woman to the man albeit in a lustful manner.

96

In this regard, the eyes, those daring searchlights, investigative and probing radar, play a part in leading the mind and body in this transactional game. The eyes may stare at strangers, non-persons or even those considered socially or culturally inferior. Looking is another function of the eyes. It may be inviting, pleasant, turn-off, or contemptuous. It may take the form of a glance, that passing look which we give to persons or things without any intention of being hooked to them or allowing our eyes to interlock with theirs. Leering is a lecherous look which involves the manipulation of eye brows; while winking and blinking may be used in conspiratorial circumstances, agreements or even disagreements.

All of these various forms involve the use of sight (oculesics) to communicate. In the very rich and lucid vocabulary of Nigeria's bawdy literature, this is referred to as 'lookery'. As Julius Fast (1970:136) notes:

looking is something that has always had strong emotions attached to it and has been forbidden under certain circumstances in prehistory and legend.

For example, he points out that:

"Lot's wife was turned to a pillar of salt for looking back, and Orpheus lost Eurydice by looking at her. Adam, when he tasted the fruit of knowledge, was afraid to look at God." In Nigeria and similar cultures outside the western world, a child that has wronged an elder does not look at the elder's face when rebuked but rather bows his head in shame, looking to the ground. The exact opposite is what happens in the Western world. A criminal when interrogated has evasion of eye contact with his questioner as his main weapon at escaping detection. If his eyes are held in continuous contact for some appreciable time it is possible to detect a lie even though the truth may not be known. It is usually the effective employment of eye signals that often leads to equally successful transactions between two persons or more communicating. Hess (1975) has pointed out 'that the eye seems to give the most revealing and accurate of all human communication signals because it is a focal point on the human body and 'its pupils work independently. Thus they act as searchlight or detectors. A criminal while walking towards the direction of a person with superior moral standards easily stumbles and looks away if he realises he is being watched. Young lovers who look into each other's eyes deeply may be seeking that tell tale sign or blush which may lead to a confirmation or disconfirmation of a mutual suspicion. The eyes are very versatile especially in courtship situations. The eyes, eyebrows and eye lashes perform varying communication tasks in different situations. In all these coding systems we are able to establish the meaning of all verbal-communication messages and to examine various codes against a background of other intervening messages, masking and cultural differences. This is why we see the head

as a high information zone.

3.2 The Upper Limbs and Body

Human beings use the highly mobile upper limbs, that is, the hands, including the shoulders, arms, wrist, fingers and thumb in various ways. The hands generally carry out numerous communication activities, ranging from the handshake to the aggressive slap.

A look at the Ibibio verbal and nonverbal greeting pattern reveals a lot about the culture of the people. For instance, when a younger person (male) meets (or is parting from) an adult male, the usual mode of greeting with some variations according to the status of the adult is: 'Ete mmekomo-o' (Greetings, Sir). This is usually accompanied by the adult's stretch of the hand for a handshake. At the stretch of the right hand, the younger person quickly sticks out his two hands. The right hand is used to clasp the adult's right hand while the left is employed to provide a symbolic secure hold accompanied by other nonverbal acts like genuflection or a bowing of the head. This act reflects full respect given by the youth to the elder and is known as the 'glove handshake' and is popular with politicians. The elder must be in the dominant position, i.e. on top while the youth's hand is in the submissive position. But if the youth sticks out his right hand, he reveals his attitude of non-recognition of the age differences between them or he may simply be unaware of the cultural implications of his nonverbal behaviour. Or the influence of western culture may simply have eroded this aspect of the 'vocabulary' of his culture.

Another may stick out his right hand but with the left hand giving support to the right at the elbow point. This left hand support may vary from the arm to the wrist. This could be interpreted to mean that he recognises the age or status differences between them but is not going to go the whole hog in expressing the traditional nonverbal code. Whatever other interpretations may be given, it is obvious that the symbolism is not the same with the first. Certainly courtesy is extended in varying values and measures within each culture, using the upper limbs.

The open palm always represents something positive in most cultures. For example, it is linked up with generosity, truth, honesty, allegiance and submission. When a host receives his visitor with open hands it simply means he was generous. Although this is a figure of speech, the action of open embrace and generous attention reflects the open-handed nature of the reception. In the same manner when someone is pressed for truth and he raises his two hands in the air and swears, it is generally seen as an expression of truthfulness. Even so, care has to be taken in observing other nonverbal cues like eye movements and facial expression to balance this act against the accompanying verbal behaviour in order to arrive at the truth. This is important because when a man takes an oath in the court, the Bible is held up in the left hand and the right palm is held up for the members of the court to see. The silent expression of the oath taken is: Here am I; believe everything that I have to say because the Bible will be my guide. Yet many still go ahead to lie sometimes without winking. As Allan Pease (1987:30) has pointed out:

If you tell an outright lie with your palms exposed, you may still appear insincere to your listeners because many of the other gestures that should also be visible when displaying honesty will be absent and the negative gestures used when lying will be visible and therefore inconsistent with the open palms.

But he also warns that 'con men and professional liars... have developed the special art of making their nonverbal signals complement their verbal lies'.

Apart from the hands, the thumb, finger, wrist and arm are also used to convey messages. The thumb-up sign is almost a universal language but it can mean three different things depending on the context. A traveller could try to thumb a lift. This is usually an indication that the traveller wants to have a ride sometimes free (if it is a female traveller). It is also used as a signal for 'OK, everything is all right', and it may be a form of insult

meaning 'Up yours' or 'Sit on this'.

The late Winston Churchill of Britain was well known with the 'V' sign; so also was Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Here the fore finger and the middle finger are raised while the thumb and the other two fingers are lowered into the palm which faces the audience. The reverse of this where the palm faces the user is an insult sometimes accompanied by verbal obscenities. There is also the Ring 'OK' Gestures which means something close to the thumb-up. Here the thumb and the fore finger are made into a ring and the other fingers are raised with the palm facing the audience. This is usually accompanied by a facial expression of satisfaction in 'I'm OK, I-hope-you're-Ok' fashion.

Other forms include holding hands which may be expressions of intimacy or a claim of ownership especially by a couple. Among the Gwari, Fulani and Kanuri, young maidens often leave their mid-sections uncovered in their mini-blouses while the lower wrap-per flows down below the knees. It is possible to assess the beautiful maiden this way.

The hand is also used for other things. It may fondle a baby or a loved one, but it may be a mere impulsive act without any undertone other than an 'aggressive' way of drawing the attention of a listener to the verbal or other nonverbal acts of the communicator. For example, there are some speakers who impulsively tap their listeners as an aid to speech. When it occurs between a woman and a man it could sometimes send wrong signals to the man and the feedback could sometimes be embarrassing. But it must be noted that users of such form of communication do not employ it when they talk to utter strangers.

3.3 The Lower Limbs Zone

The lower limbs for communication include the hips, legs, ankles, feet and toes. Like other parts of the human body they communicate different messages in different contexts. Certain human emotions are expressed through 'legging', swinging of the hips, kicking and fondling with the toes or painting of toe nails. 'Legging' is the employment of leg movement by a man usually in a sitting position to attract the attention of a female who is sitting next to him in a crowded room. Sometimes this may be employed without attracting the attention of the lady but persistent 'legging' could arouse ill-will in the lady. It is purely an amorous overture. The most frequent employment of the legs is in the area of walking, or gait (as in fashion or beauty contests), leg crossing (in sitting and standing positions), ankle lock etc. The lower body zone is significant in other respects. The way and manner we sit communicates a whole range of messages from the stand-offish to the let's-get-it-on posture. Since the lower limbs are largely responsible for man's kinesic ability, it is usually desirable to try to understand the kinesicography, the vocabulary of body movement, of human beings. The limbs (both upper and lower) are natural defences for the erogeneous zones as well as being 'instruments' of aggression.

The ways we walk, stand, and sit all communicate different messages even when we verbalise nothing. They form part of man's use of silent language as part of his communication strategy. These zones of the human body may sometimes be employed towards unpleasant ends. The lower part may sometimes be manipulated to emit unpleasant odours in order to create disaffection among those present. This can be done either imperceptibly or in a manner suggestive of an explosion. The mouth can also be made to spew out phlegm or spittle in disdain of another with whom one is in conflict. The spittle always attracts a counter-attack in what may sometimes be seen as the war of spittle sometimes so violent that only a well negotiated peace can bring matters to an end.

Another aspect of body communication is the language of the body's odours. For some, the miasma from the mouth when not properly taken care of is seen as a sign of careless living and is repulsive to people. Naturally, everyone has a mouth odour but the way we arrange to get rid of it is a matter of our level of personal hygiene. Deodorants and perfumes abound in our society and the use of these either in moderation or excess communicates certain things about us. For some, these perfumes are made to replace personal hygiene but keen observers of such communication behaviours are able to see through such

actions.

Keeping our body odourless is one attempt by man to communicate our concern for ourselves and how we should be perceived in matters concerning personal hygiene. It also provides the mirror by which both men and women offer themselves for appreciation by members of the opposite sex. It could provide some clues as to what life could be beyond the 'public' communication.

4. Conclusion

After what seemed like a quick snoop into the seamy-side of nonverbal communication, it would perhaps be fitting at this juncture to recap some of our main points here. We have shown that nonverbal communication (NVC) provides fitting clues to the hidden meanings of verbal communication. It is therefore proper to conclude that it is necessary to pay more serious attention to nonverbal forms of communication in order not to misinterpret some verbal cues.

We have also shown that body language is situated in three information zones of the body namely, the head, upper limbs, and lower limbs. Each of the zones plays different roles and communicates different kinds of information.

We have also demonstrated the differences in meaning between verbal and nonverbal communication in specific contexts. It is therefore necessary to point out that broadcasters and their audience must be able to show more than ordinary interest in nonverbal communication so that both can understand each other.

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