Prosody: speech rhythms and melodies

6. Speech Timing

Dafydd Gibbon

Guangzhou Prosody Lectures, November 2016

Schedule

Week 1:

- 01 Forms and functions of prosody: models and methods Nov. 2 (Wednesday) 2:30pm--4:30pm
- 02 Forms and functions of prosody: prosodic semantics Nov. 4 (Friday) 10am--12pm

Week 2:

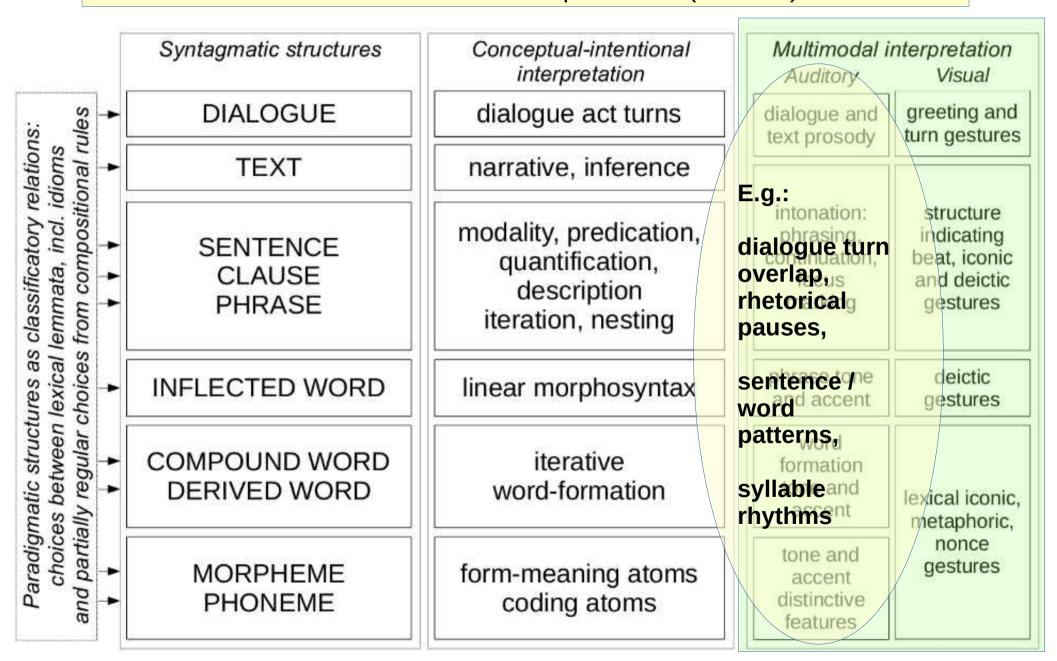
- 03 Basics of digital phonetics
 - Nov. 8 (Tuesday) 10am--12pm
- 04 Pitch Stylisation: tone and intonation
 - Nov. 8 (Wednesday) 10am--12pm

Week 3:

- 05 Syllables and Prosody Modelling
 - Nov.15 (Tuesday) 10am--12pm
- 06 SpeechTiming: durations and rhythm
 - Nov.15 (Tuesday) 2:30pm--4:30pm

Speech Timing: Ranks from Dialogues to Phonemes

Multilinear Grammar – Ranks and Interpretations (MLG-RI) Architecture



Time concepts in linguistics

- The time dimension (1)
 - Time in pragmatics:
 - pause type (filled unfilled), length:
 - disfluency
 - hesitation
 - rhetorical
 - tempo (speed) of speech
 - synchronisation: sequence and ovelap of dialogue contributions
 - Time in semantics:
 - tense, aspect,
 - temporal adverbs and prepositional phrases
 - temporal nouns (including dates) and verbs
 - Time in discourse, utterance, sentence and word grammar:
 - word order
 - parallel patterns of words, prosody, gestures

Time concepts in linguistics

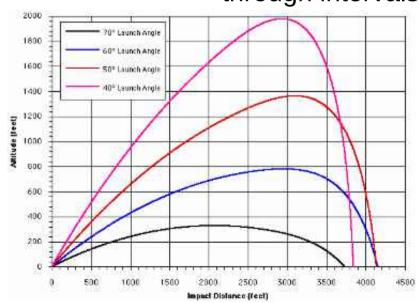
- The time dimension (2)
 - Time in phonology:
 - lexical phonemic contrast: long-short vowels and (geminate) consonants
 - phoneme, syllable, foot, intonation phrase order
 - parallel patterns in prosodic phonologies (e.g. autosegmental phonology)
 - regular rhythm-like patterns in metrical phonology
 - Time in phonetics:
 - sequence of phones
 - coarticulation of phones with neighbouring phones (assimilation, dissimilation)
 - parallel features:
 - consonants: place of articulation, manner of articulation, nasality, voicing

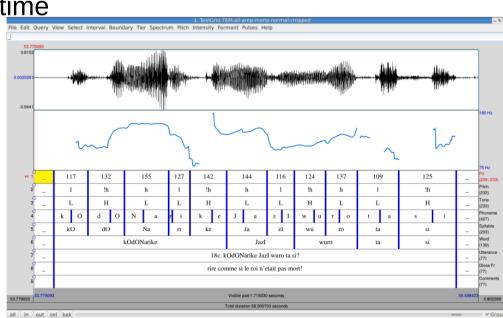
Lecture 6: Speech Timing

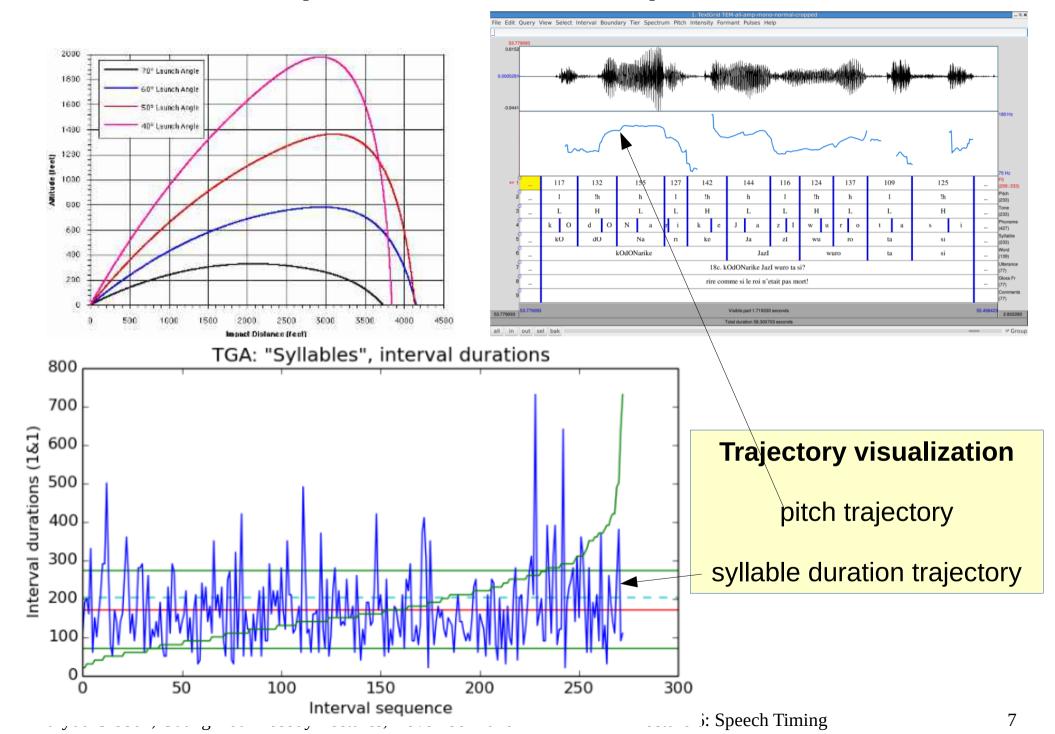
- vowels: high-mid-low, front-centre-back, rounded, nasal
- articulation rate fundamental frequency pitch
- Methodological perspectives:
 - static (study of features at points/intervals in time)
 - dynamic (study of trajectories of features in time)

- The time dimension (3)
 - Methodological perspectives:
 - static
 - study of feature spaces
 - at points in time
 - in intervals in time
 - dynamic
 - study of trajectories through feature spaces

• through intervals in time





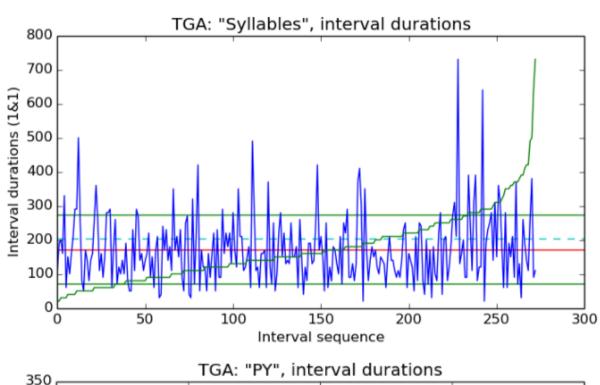


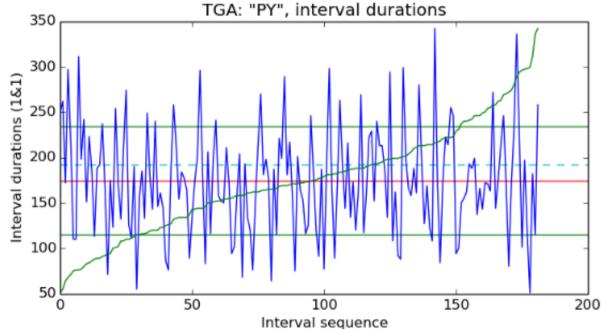


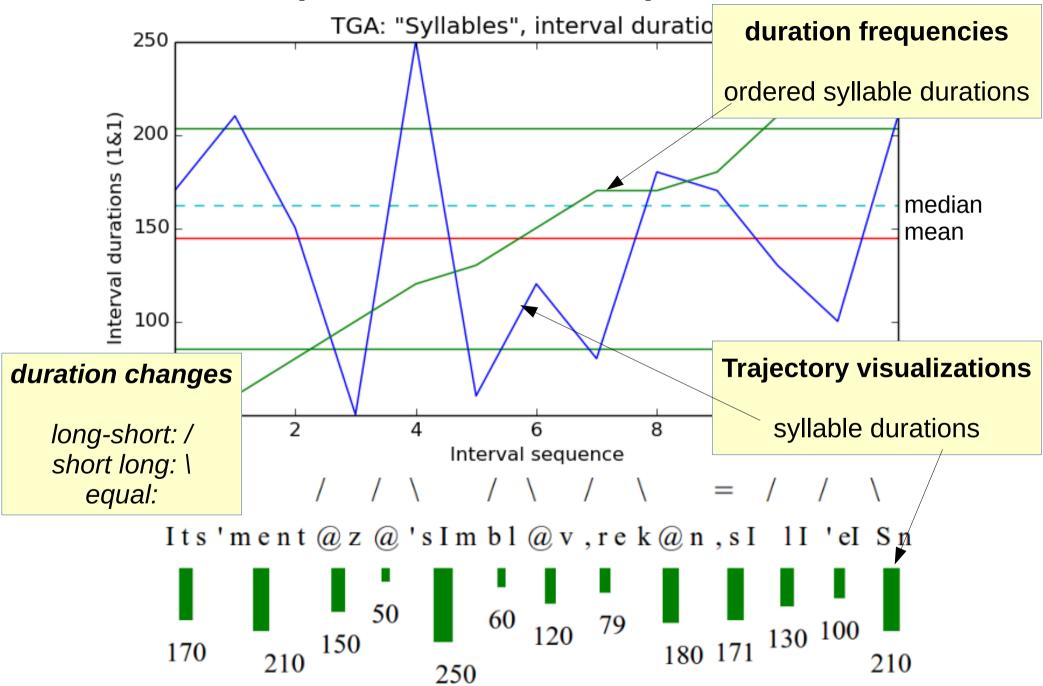
Trajectory visualization

syllable durations

Mandarin







Timing: Basic Characteristics

• <u>Timing</u>:

either a property of an <u>event</u>
 which is a relation between a <u>state</u> and an <u>interval</u>:
 event = <state, interval>

- e.g.
 - the state and the interval of speaking an utterance

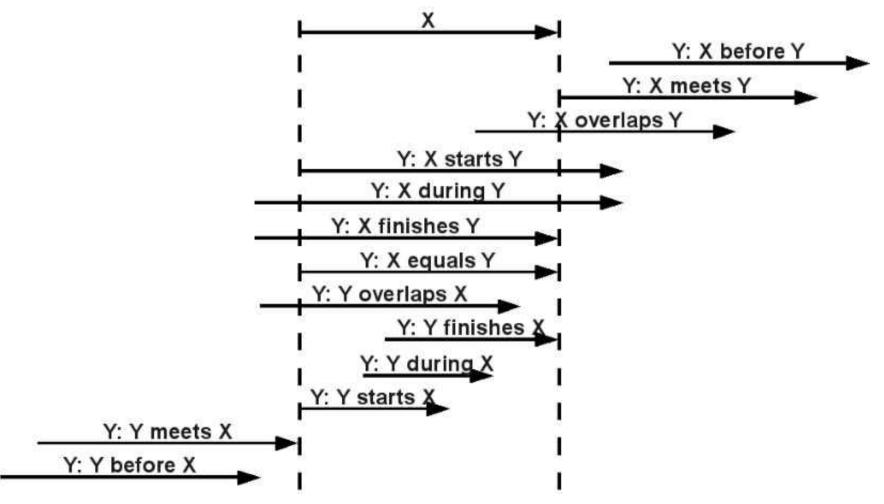
Lecture 6: Speech Timing

- the state and the interval of producing a vowel
- or one of 13 possible relations
 between two (or more) intervals / events
 - which are in sequence
 - which overlap

The Allen Interval Calculus

• <u>Timing</u>:

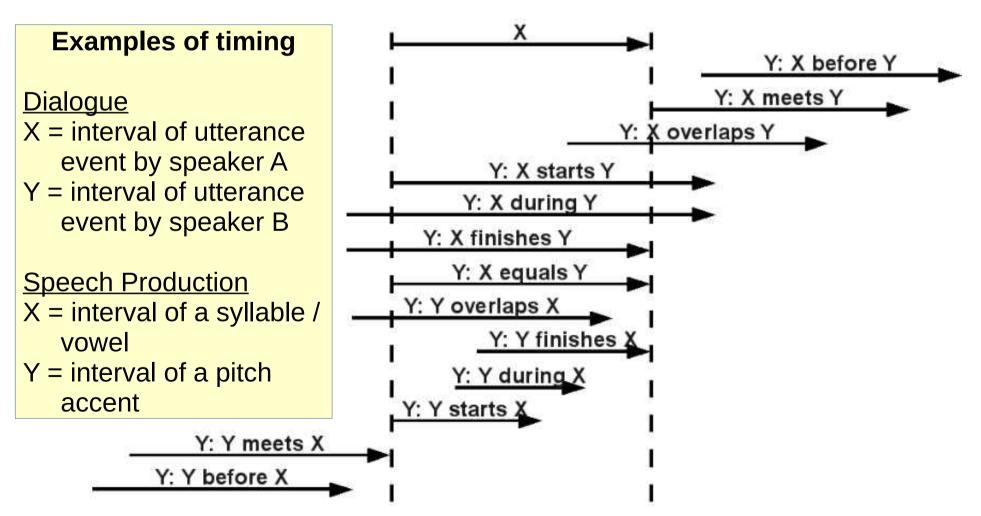
13 possible relations between the intervals of all kinds of events:



The Allen Interval Calculus

• <u>Timing</u>:

13 possible relations between the intervals of all kinds of events:



Timing and Rhythm

What is Rhythm?

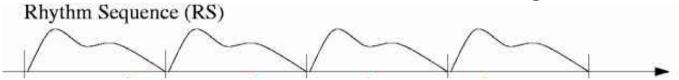
- Oscillation
- Regular timing
 - syllable timing
 - foot / stress timing
 - mora timing

A fundamental issue

Is rhythm an objective, physical fact?

Or is rhythm a pattern which our perception imposes on physical events?

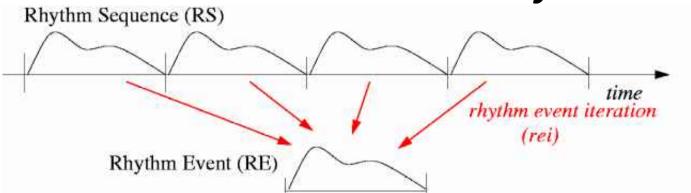
- Variation of regular timing:
 - irregularity
 - syncopation
 - acceleration/deceleration
- Strong Weak alternation
- Speech-Pause ratios

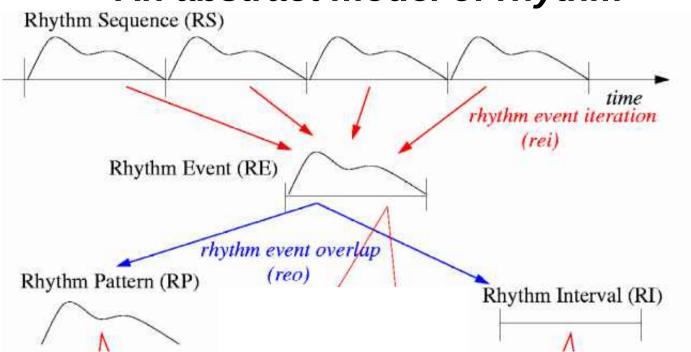


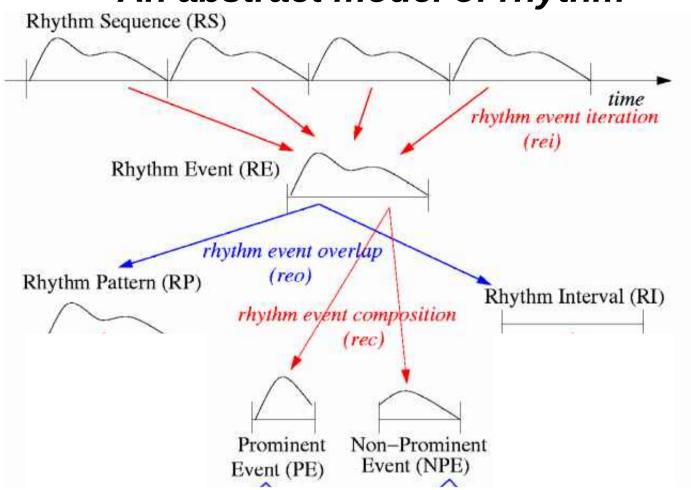
Components of rhythmic oscillation of syllables:

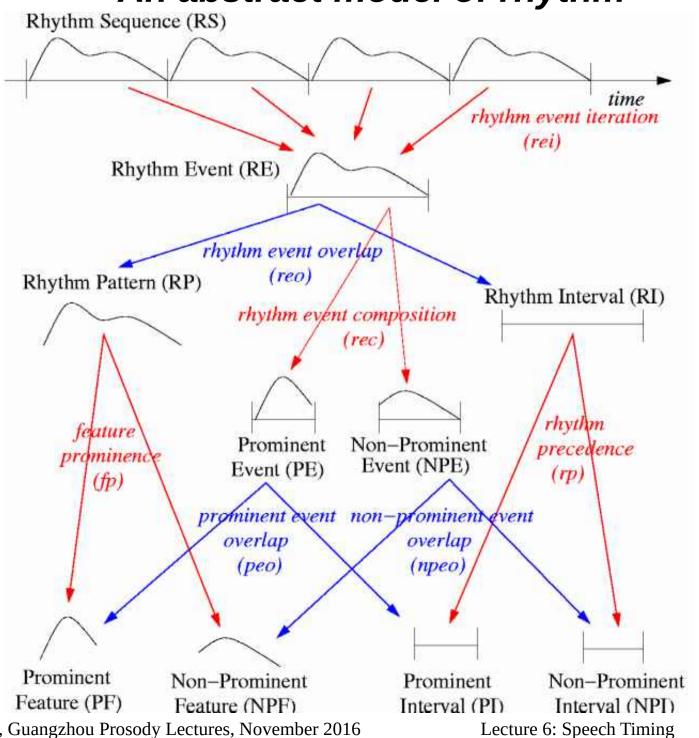
- State:
 - Strong-Weak state (e.g. C-V segment; high-low or level-contour pitch)
 - Long-Short interval
- Sequence of states:
 - Strong-Weak state sequence
 - Long-Short interval sequence

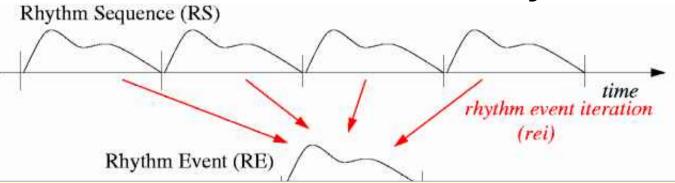
Gibbon, Dafydd (2006). Time Types and Time Trees: Prosodic Mining and Alignment of Temporally Annotated Data. In: Sudhoff, Stefan, Denisa Lenertova, Roland Meyer, Sandra Pappert, Petra Augurzky, Ina Mleinek, Nicole Richter and Johannes Schließer, eds. (2006). *Methods in Empirical Prosody Research*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 281-209.











Components of rhythmic oscillation of syllables:

- State:
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 - Long-Short interval
- Sequence of states:
 - Strong-Weak state sequence
 - Long-Short interval sequence

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Timing domains and the prosodic hierarchy

Domains of speech timing: from dialogues to phonemes

Dialogue timing
Utterance timing
Phrase timing
Word timing
Syllable timing
Phoneme timing

X

Duration

- contrastive
- rhetorical

Rate

- speed
- acceleration

Rhythm

- internal
- external

Hierarchical domains of speech timing: a closer look

Dialogue

- turn sequence & overlap
- synchronisation / entrainment)

Utterance (Utt)

Intonational Phrase (IP)

Phonological phrase (PhP)

Foot (φ)

Syllable (σ)

Mora (µ)

Phoneme ('segment', seg)

Subphoneme

phases of voiceless plosive/stop production:
 closing – silence – opening; affricates; diphthongs

Conventional Prosodic Hierarchy domains

MLG-RI domains

MLG: Multilinear Grammar RI: Rank Interpretation architecture

Hierarchical domains of speech timing: a closer look

• Dialogue timing:

- Dialogue act sequences, turn sequences
- Turn sequence and overlap, synchronisation and entrainment

• Utterance timing:

- Phones/syllable rate (standard deviation, Pairwise Variability Index
- Acceleration and deceleration of speech rate; rhythm
- Pauses; timing of information structure focus, emphasis, contrast
- Turn structure: rhetorical pause, hesitation, disfluency

Phrase timing:

- Timing of parts of speech (lexical words, functional words); boundary effects, grammatical structure
- Timing of pitch accents, 'phrase accents', 'sentence stress'

Word timing:

- Strong and weak syllables, primary, secondary 'word stress'; 'foot timing' rhythms
- Prosodic morphology: compound words and stems and affixes of derived words

Syllable timing:

- Onsets, Nuclei and Codas; Moras (morae); contrastive V and C length
- syllable rate, syllable timing rhythms
- Phones and sub-phone units: rate; stop closure-pause-release; Voice Onset Time

The Prosodic Hierarchy: a finite depth grammar

- Utterance (Utt): constituent of turn-taking, Q&A etc.
- Intonational Phrase (IP): boundary tones, association with grammatical phrase
- Phonological phrase (PhP), Intermediate Phrase (ip): phrase boundary tone, domain of phrase stress
- Phonological word, Prosodic Word (PW, PrWd, ω): domain of word stress, prosodic morphology, clitics
- **Foot (φ):** Domain of primary, secondary, fixed stress, prosodic morphology
- **Syllable (σ):** main local timing unit; phonotactic patterns, stressbearing unit
- Mora (μ): tone placement, phonotactic patterns
- Segment: smallest 'leaf' element in prosodic hierarchy
- **Subsegment:** affricates, diphthongs; (phonetic: stop closure-pause-release, Voice Onset Time)

The Prosodic Hierarchy: a finite depth grammar

Prosodic Hierarchy (PH) inventory and ordering:

 $PC = \{Utt, IP, PhP, PrWd(\omega), Ft(\phi), syll(\sigma), mora(\mu), seg\}$

Structural constraints on PH:

 $< I_1, I_2, I_3, I_4, I_5, I_6, I_7, I_8 >$ (note also subsegmental units)

Strict Layering Hypothesis: PCs at L_i dominate only PCs at L_{i+1}

- Fixed depth (no recursion): No PC at L_i dominates a PC at L_i
- Exhaustivity: All PCs at L_i are dominated by a single PC at L_{i-1}

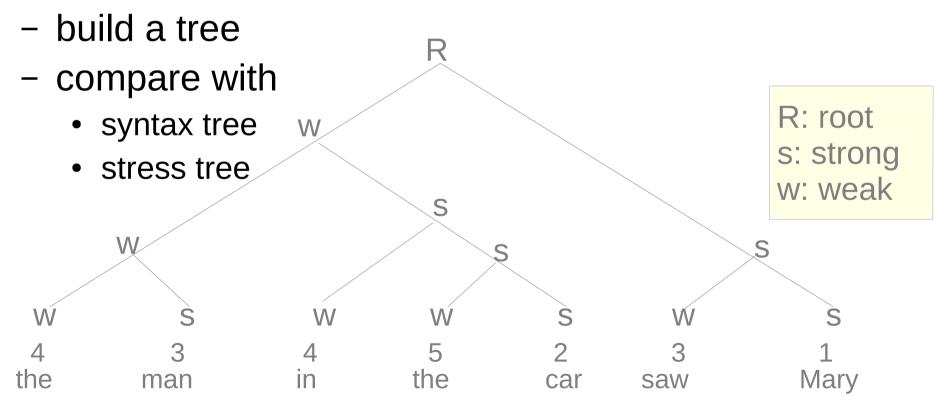
<u>Headedness</u>:

- Every PC at L_i immediately dominates a PC at L_{i+1}

Selected top-down domains: sentence

Timing and stress hierarchies

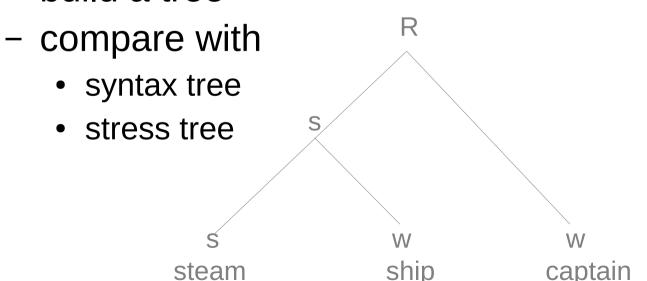
- Syllable timing tends to follow the Nuclear Stress hierarchy
- Time Tree analysis:
 - compare durations of neighbouring syllables
 - select criterion (longest/shortest item last/first)



Selected top-down domains: word

Timing and stress hierarchies

- Syllable timing also tends to follow the Compound Stress hierarchy
 - approximately: reversal of Nuclear Stress hierarchy
- Time Tree analysis:
 - compare durations of neighbouring syllables
 - select criterion (longest/shortest item last/first)
 - build a tree



R: root

s: strong

w: weak

PHONETIC APPROACHES: STATIC TIMING MODELS

1. Tones and syllable durations

Lecture 6: Speech Timing

What are we looking for?

Try to prove or disprove a 'null hypothesis'

Null hypotheses:

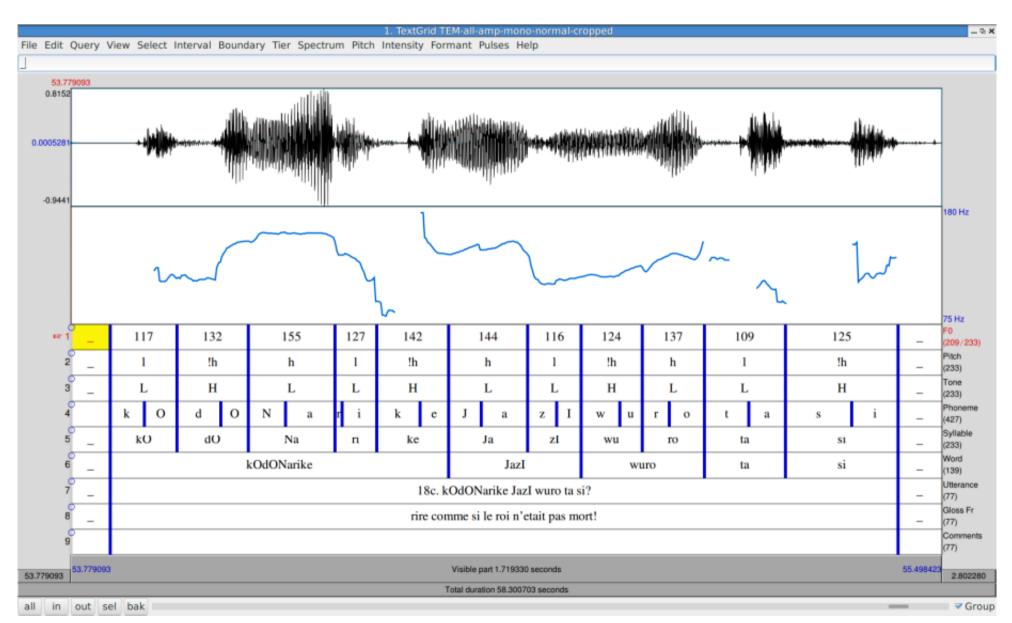
if

- all syllables have the same duration (syllable timing)
- all tones are associated with syllables (the syllable is the tone-bearing unit, TBU)
- then
 - all tones have the same duration
- Right or wrong?

Lecture 6: Speech Timing

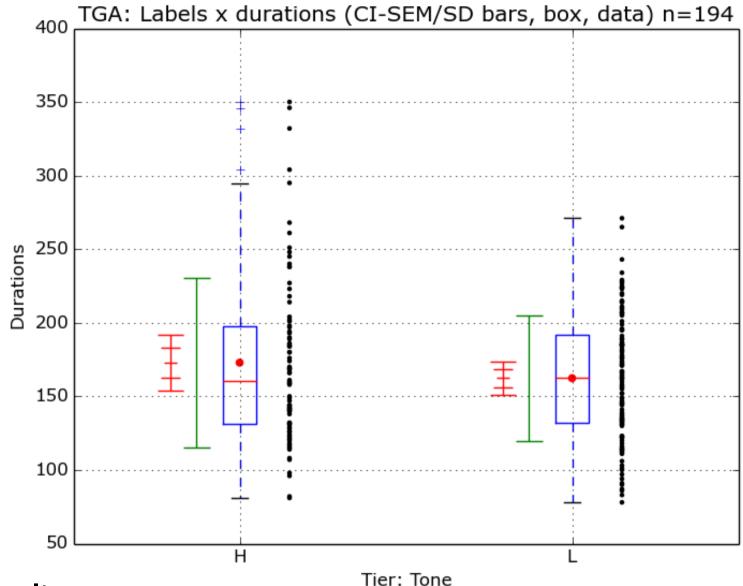
1.1. The H and L tones of Tem	(Niger-Congo >)	Gur)
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The H and L tones of Tem (Niger-Congo > Gur)



TEM kodoNa

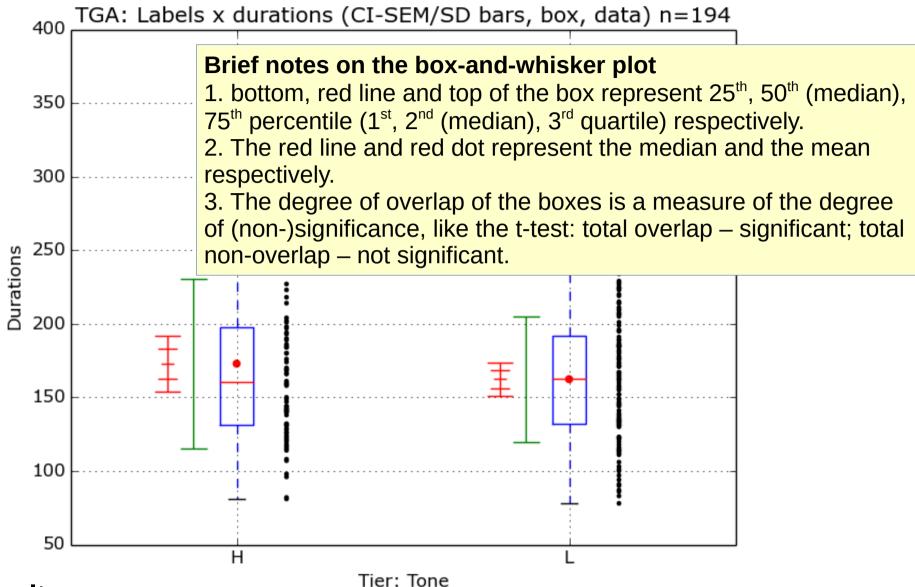
The H and L tones of Tem (Niger-Congo > Gur)



Result:

- Boxes overlap strongly, thus no significant difference.
- So the null hypothesis is not refuted:
 H and L syllables tend to have the same length.

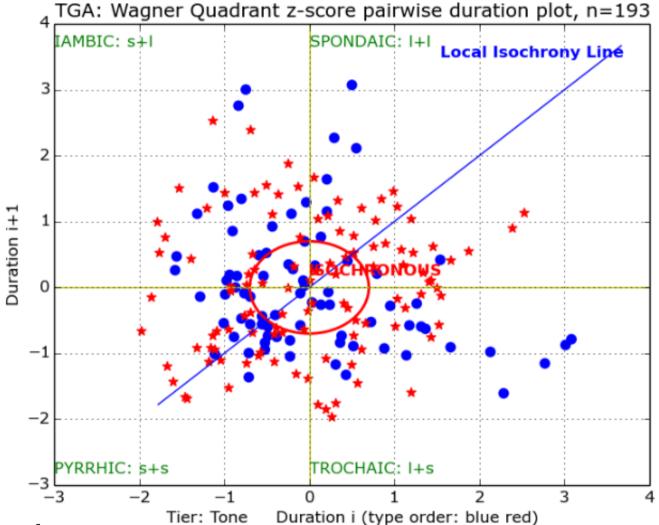
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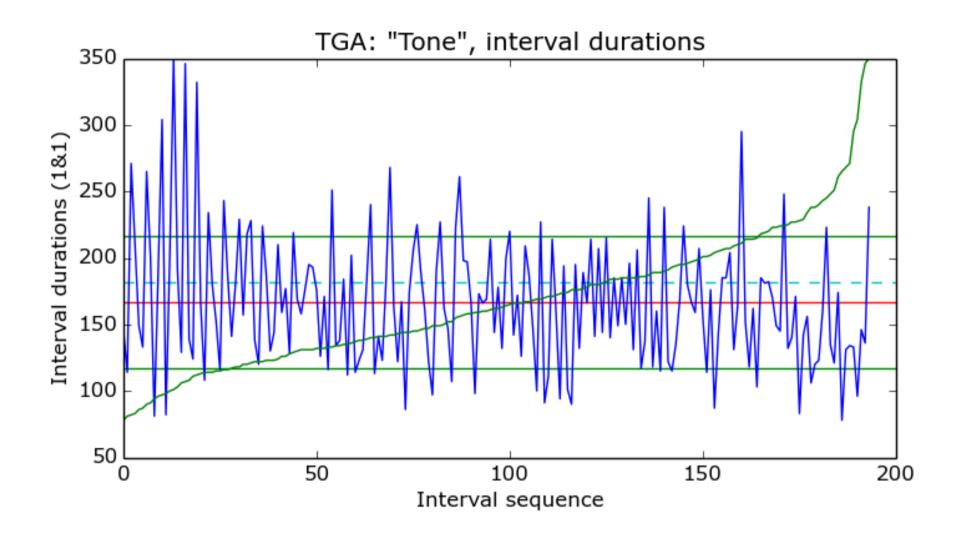
Wagner Quadrant for Tem tones (Niger-Congo > Gur)



Quasi-isochrony:

- L tone: blue, H tone: red
- Durations of neighbouring syllable pairs tend to be scattered randomly close to zero in the normalised z-scores (zero is the mean duration)
- For details see the box plot.

The H and L tones of Tem (Niger-Congo > Gur)

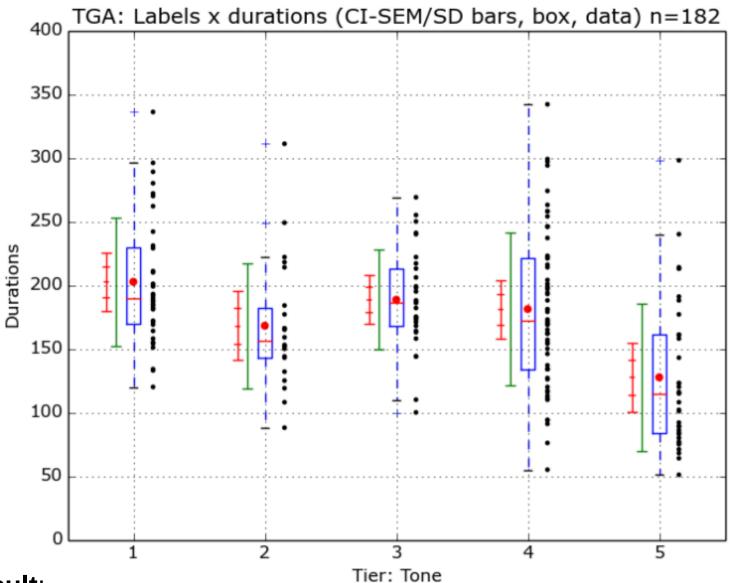


Durations:

- Durations are similar and vary randomly around the mean.
- As the speech session continues, syllables get shorter and shorter (i.e.

1.2. The 5 tones of Mandarin (1, 2, 3, 4 and neutra	<i>1.2.</i>	The 5	tones	of Mana	larin (1,	2, 3	, 4 and	neutra
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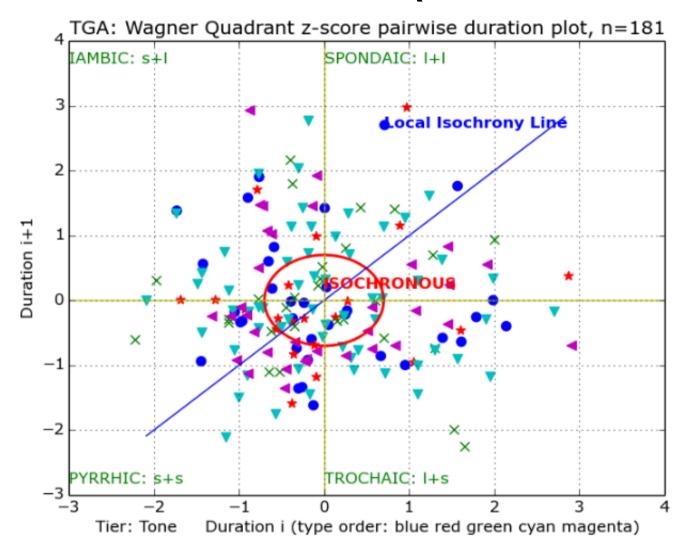
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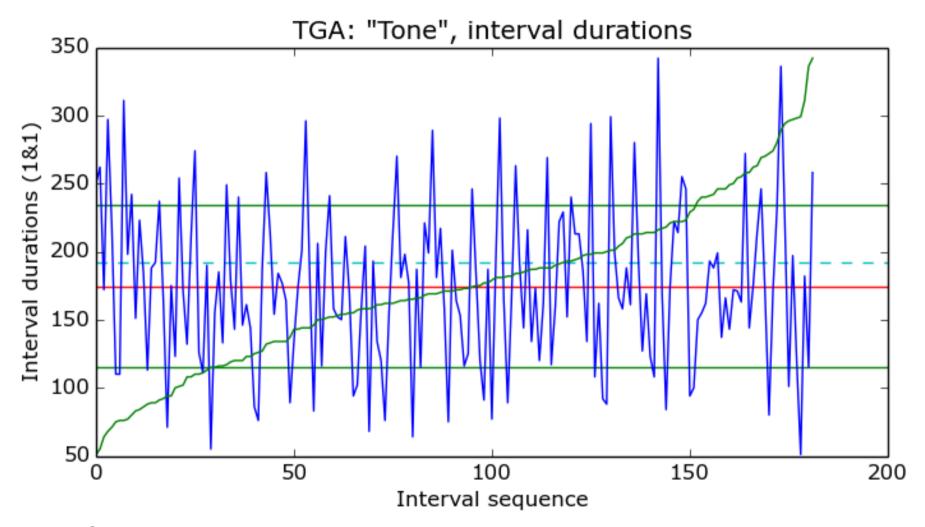
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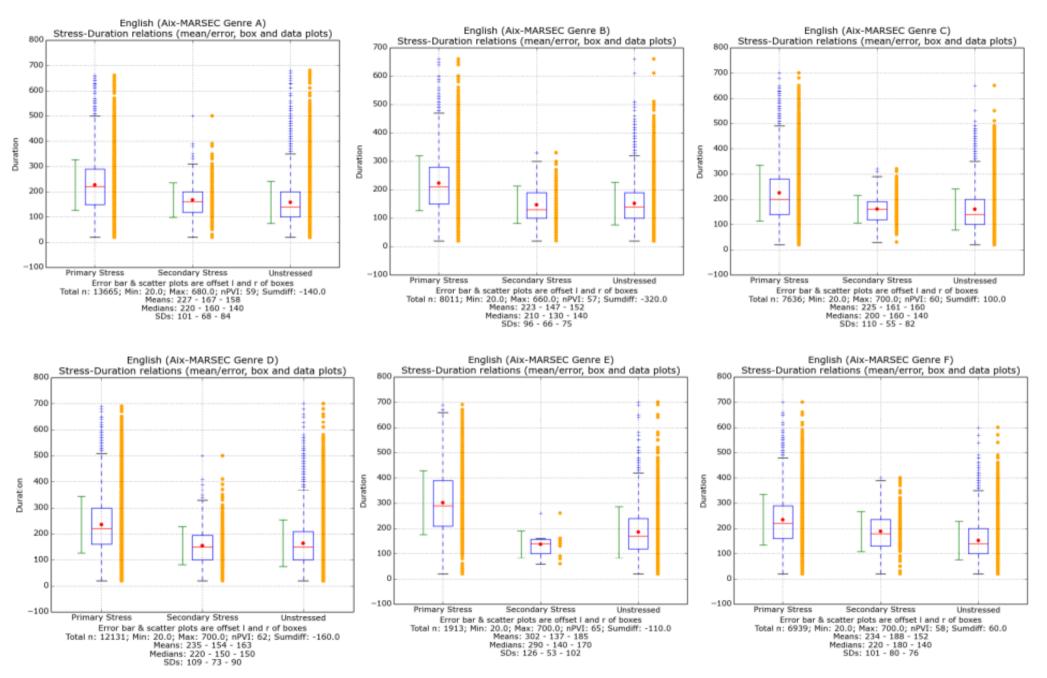
- Durations are similar and vary randomly around the mean.
- As the speech session continues, syllables get slightly shorter (i.e. the syllable rate gets faster, accelerates)

1.3. Three stress levels in English

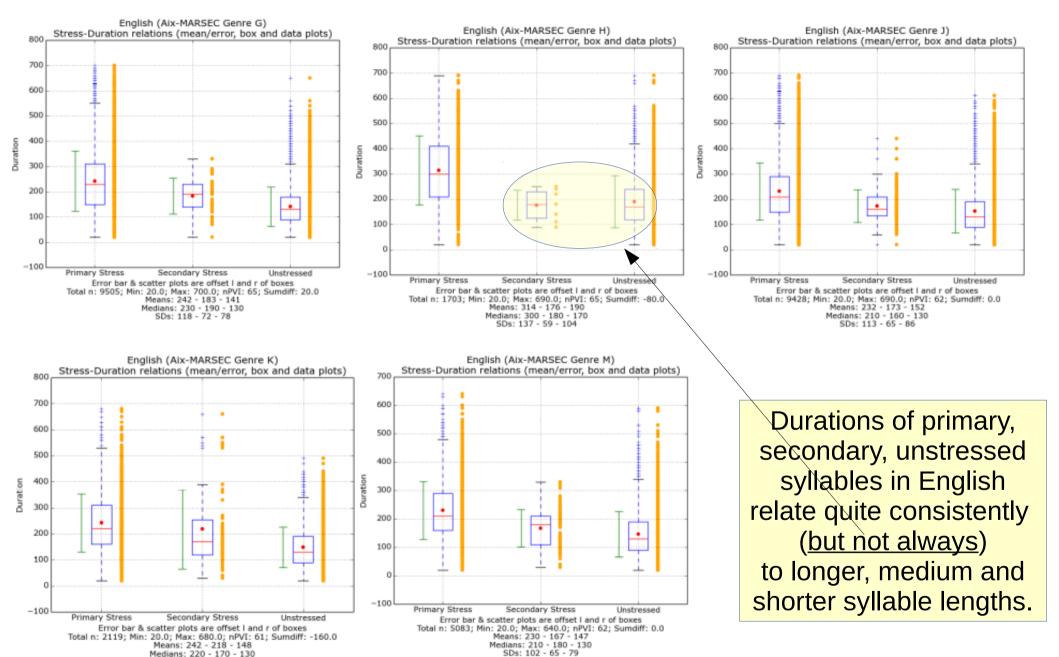
Corpus description

Auran, Cyril, Caroline Bouzon and Daniel Hirst. 2004. The Aix-MARSEC Project: An Evolutive Database of Spoken British English. Proceedings of Speech Prosody 2.

Three stress levels in English

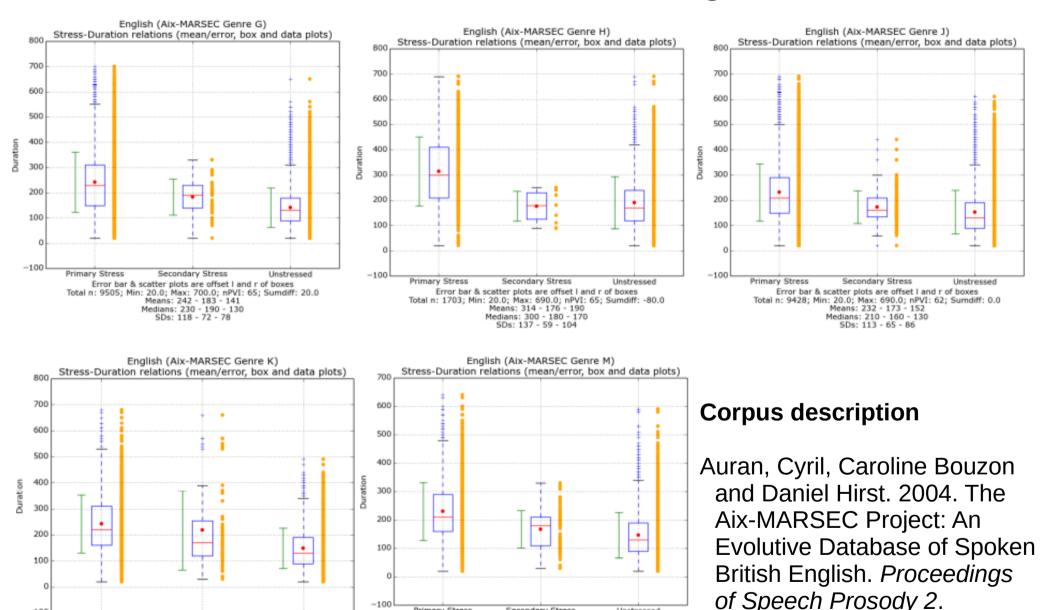


Three stress levels in English



SDs: 112 - 153 - 78

Three stress levels in English



Secondary Stress

Error bar & scatter plots are offset I and r of boxes

Total n: 5083; Min: 20.0; Max: 640.0; nPVI: 62; Sumdiff: 0.0

Means: 230 - 167 - 147

Medians: 210 - 180 - 130 SDs: 102 - 65 - 79

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spoken English Corpus

Secondary Stress

Error bar & scatter plots are offset I and r of boxes

Total n: 2119; Min: 20.0; Max: 680.0; nPVI: 61; Sumdiff: -160.0

Means: 242 - 218 - 148

Medians: 220 - 170 - 130 SDs: 112 - 153 - 78

-100

PHONETIC APPROACHES: STATIC TIMING MODELS

3. Rhythm and <u>isochrony</u> (duration similarity) or <u>anisochrony</u> (irregularity, smoothness, dissimilarity): the PIM, PFD, rPVI, nPVI measures (one could also add standard deviation)

These measures are sometimes referred to as 'rhythm metrics'.

Lecture 6: Speech Timing

This term is unsuitable, because they only measure interval length averages, not the alternation 'oscillation' property.

Definitions of 'rhythm'

- "An ordered recurrent alternation of strong and weak elements in the flow of sound and silence in speech." (Webster web version)
- "Rhythm is the directional periodic iteration of a possibly hierarchical temporal pattern with constant duration and alternating strongly marked (focal, foreground) and weakly marked (non-focal, background) values of some observable parameter." (Gibbon & Gut 2001)
- "Rhythm is viewed here as the hierarchical organisation of temporally coordinated prosodic units ... certain salient events (beats) are constrained to occur at particular phases of an established period." ... "Rhythm is manifested as the temporal binding of events to specific and predictable phases of a superordinate cycle." (Cummins & Port 1998)

Emergent & Physical Rhythm Theories

- Are we talking about RHYTHM
 - or more generally TIMING?
 - In recent work, mainly phonetic, phonological and signal processing perspectives, leading to a wide range of non—comparable methodologies.
- But: speech rhythm is a function of many `hidden' physiological, cognitive and linguistic factors
 - So far, different selections from these factors, leading to incomplete models
 - Emergent Rhythm Theory necessary:
 - Coordination at different ranks leads to rhythm as an emergent function of all ranks
 - ERT is still too complex and inexplicit to be falsifiable.
 - So:
 - start wih Physical Rhythm Theory (PRT) approaches, using speech signal parameters
- But check: Which models really model rhythm?

Rhythm Periodicity Condition

Basic conditions on rhythm:

- Observable parameter (simple or complex) in the acoustic, visual or tactile modalities.
- Alternating (often binary) pattern (with simple or complex components) of one strong and possibly several weak values of this parameter.
- Iteration of the alternating pattern (Rhythm Unit).
- Isochrony (equal timing) of the iterations of the alternating pattern.
- Absolute durations of rhythm units vary: 0.3 ... 1.0 sec.
- Steele, 18th century British actor:
 - SPEECH RHYTHM ≈ HEARTBEAT-PACED PERIODICITY
 - Also notice that English stress approximately corresponds to moderate walking speed!

$$PIM(I_{1,...n}) = \sum_{i \neq j} |\log \frac{I_i}{I_j}|$$

- 'Rhythm metrics' of relative ('fuzzy', 'sloppy') isochrony:
 - measures of regularity...irregularity of timing units
 - PIM: Pairwise Irregularity Measure
 - PFD: Pairwise Foot Difference
 - rPVI, nPVI: raw and normalised Pairwise Variability Index
 - not rhythm, though: they ignore rhythmic alternation

51

$$PFD(foot_{1...n}) = \frac{100 \times \sum |MFL - len(foot_i)|}{len(foot_{1...n})}$$
where MFL = 'mean foot length'

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$$nPVI(d_{1...m}) = 100 \times \sum_{k=1}^{m-1} \left| \frac{d_k - d_{k+1}}{(d_k + d_{k+1})/2} \right| / (m-1)$$

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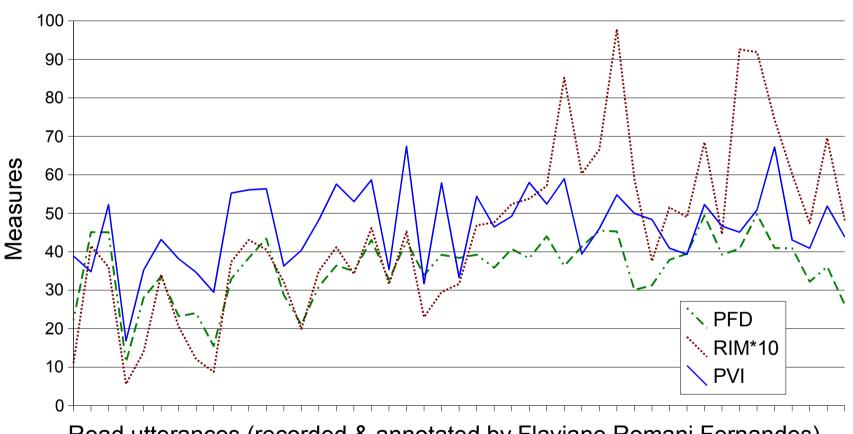
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Empirical comparison of RIM, PFD and PVI measures

PFD, scaled RIM, PVI distributions (Brazilian Portuguese, MC, neutral)



Read utterances (recorded & annotated by Flaviane Romani Fernandes)

Critique of 'isochrony-only' approaches

- Isochrony-only models
 - fail to recognise
 - the structure of rhythm: <u>alternation</u> + <u>isochrony</u>
 - directionality of alternation between neighbouring syllables, by using absolute values of differences
 - PIM and PFD
 - global measures of difference, like standard deviation: no directionality
 - rPVI and nPVI
 - measure of local differences: no directionalityconvenient abstraction away from change of articulation rate (acceleration, deceleration)
 - uses a binary rhythm model by comparing neighbours, but:
 - Big John swam fast past Jane's boat (unary, syllable timed)
 - Johnny walked along the pathway (binary, foot-timed)
 - Jonathan Appleby hurried away on his bicycle (ternary, foot-timed)

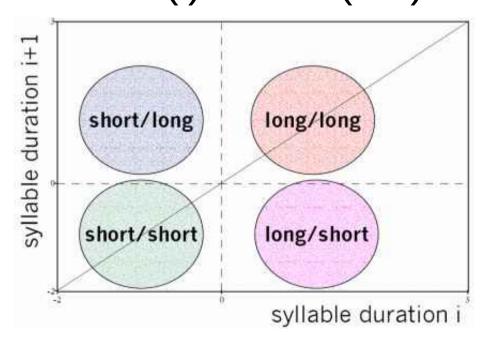
Critique of 'isochrony-only' approaches

 There are many other useful isochrony / irregularity / smoothness measures perhaps most prominently in the past 5 years the 2dimensional Ramus model: ΔC X %V

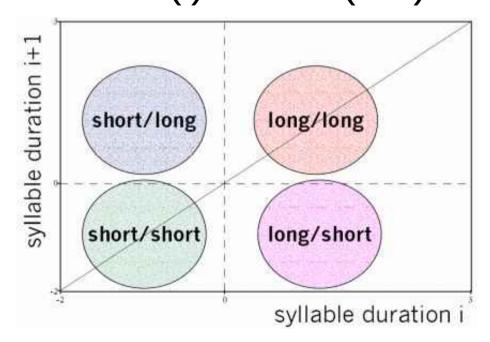
But beware:

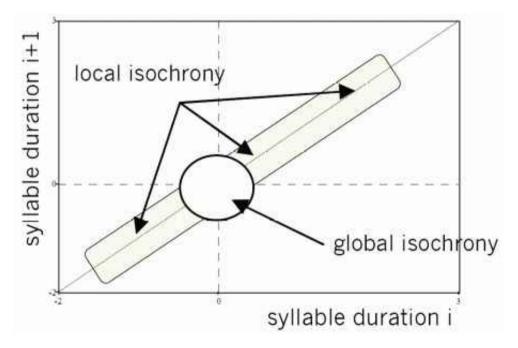
- Isochrony/irregularity/smoothness:
 - a <u>necessary</u> but not a <u>sufficient</u> condition for <u>rhythm</u>:
 - cf. Cummins (2002) on Ramus:
 - Where is the bom-di-bom-bom in %V?
- Cummins' critique applies to all isochrony-only models:
 - the <u>necessary</u> condition of alternation must combine with the <u>necessary</u> condition of isochrony to create a more complex <u>sufficient</u> condition for rhythm

Wagner (2006) has a topological procedure for recovering non-absolute differences by plotting DUR(i) x DUR(i+1):

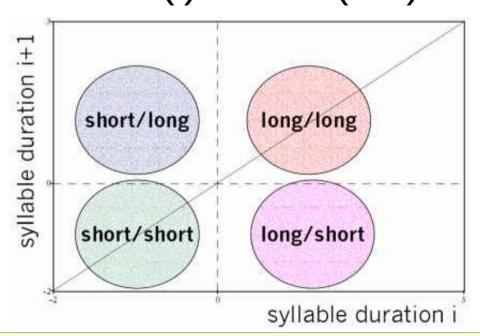


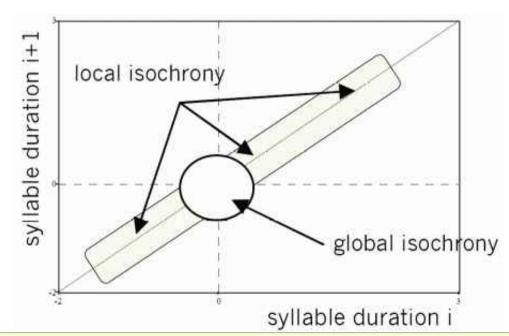
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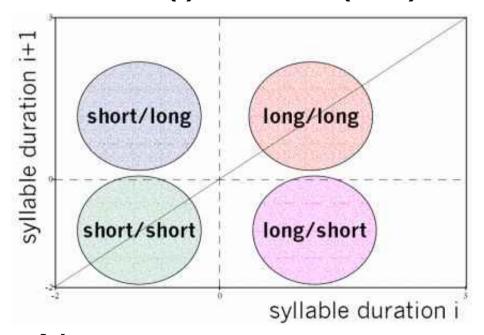
Heuristic idea

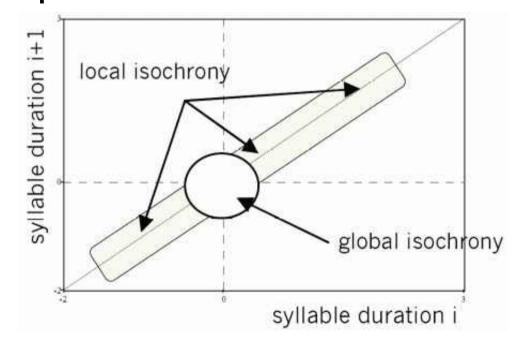
In isochonous sequences, items will lie within the global isochrony circle.

In binary alternating long-short/short-longsequences, differences will lie in the top left and bottom right quadrants.

In non-binary sequences, similar longer than average (e.g. unary) sequences will be top right, similar shorter than average sequences will be bottom left.

Wagner (2006) has a topological procedure for recovering non-absolute differences by plotting DUR(i) x DUR(i+1) in 4 quadrants:

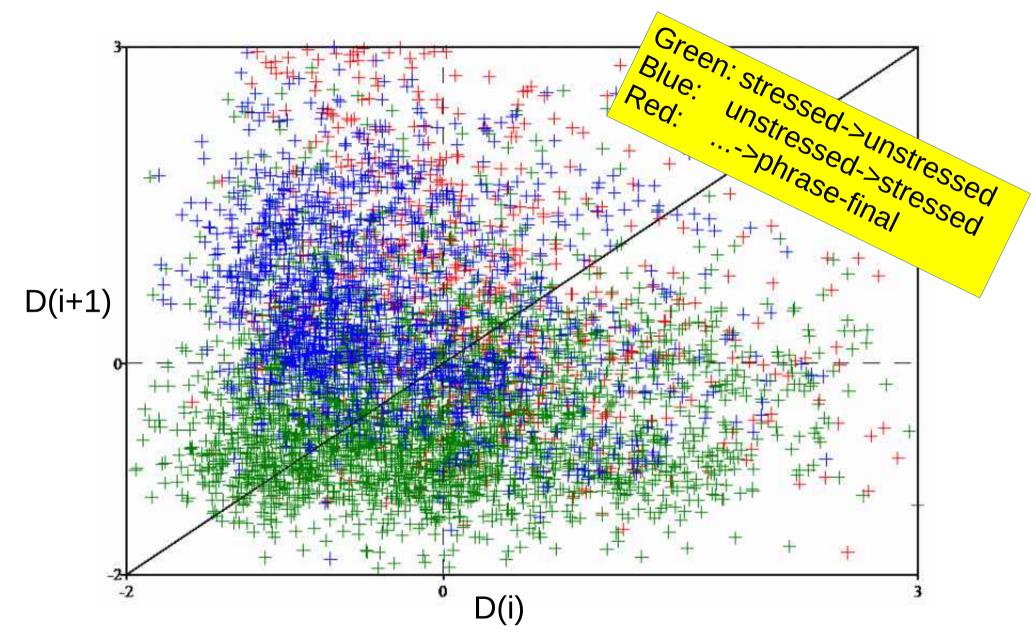




Note:

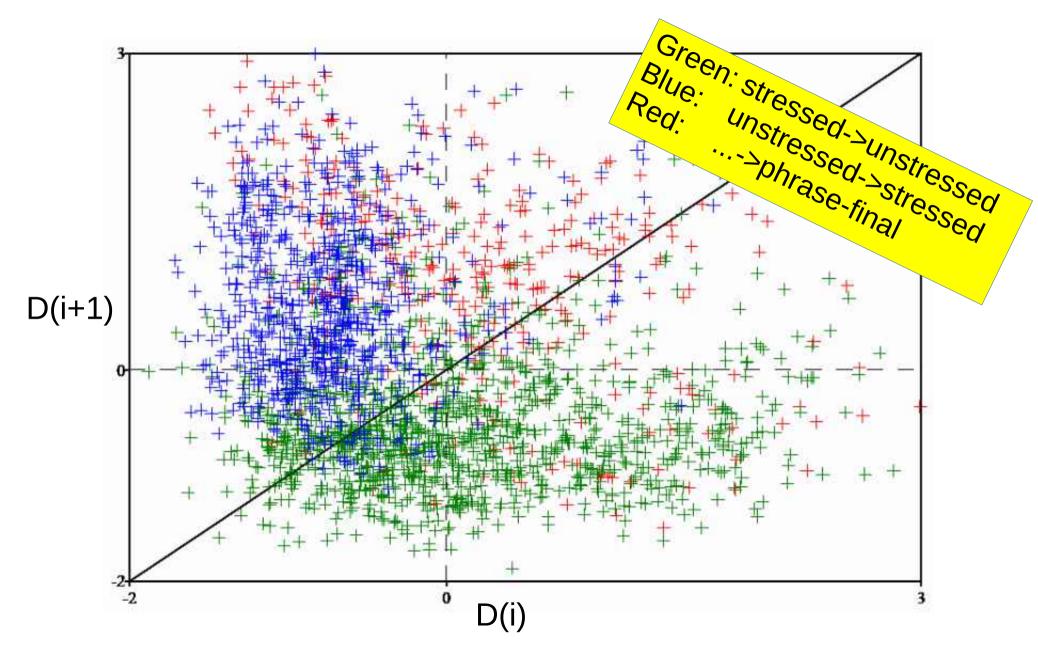
- the relations are still binary only
- the method distinguishes both directionality and difference

Binary duration relations: German



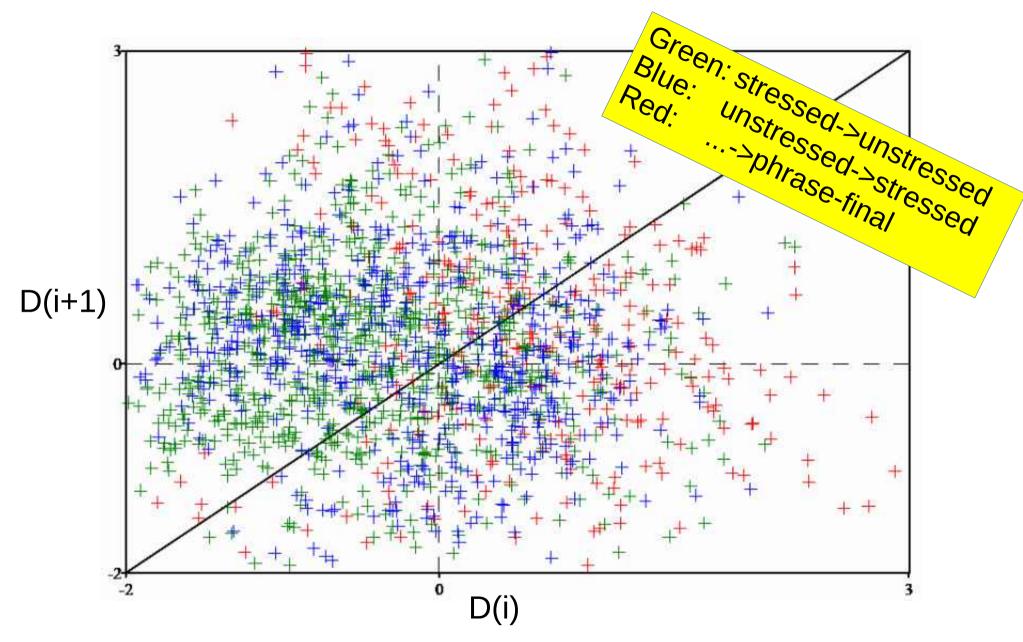
Comment: stress timed - green & blue disjoint

Wagner Quadrants: English



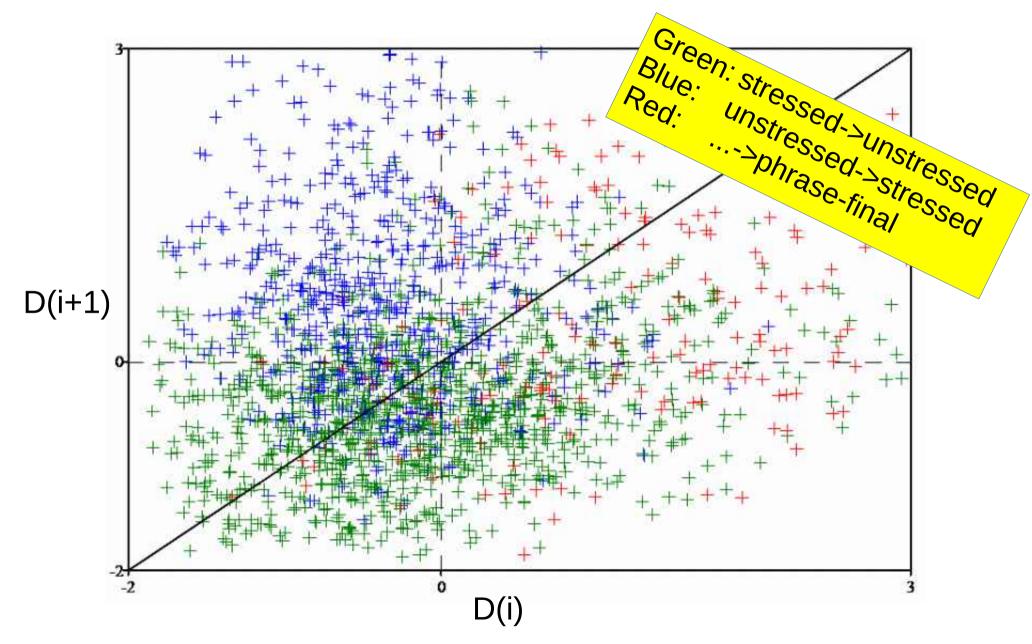
Comment: stress timed - green & blue disjoint

Wagner Quadrants: French



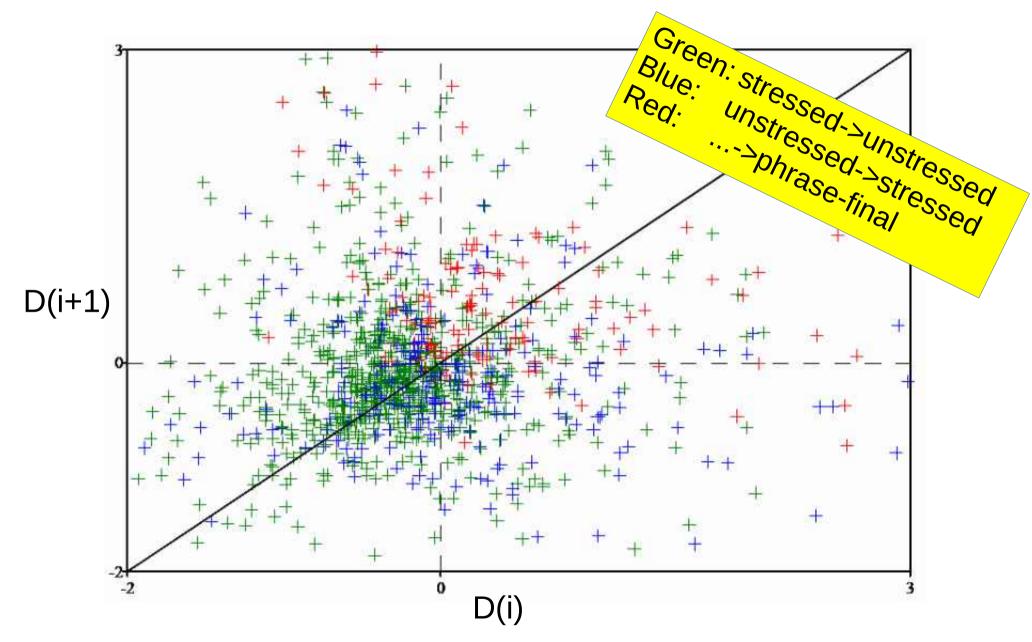
Comment: syllable timed - green & blue overlap

Wagner Quadrants: Italian



Comment: stress timed - green & blue disjoint

Wagner Quadrants: Polish



Comment: highly syllable timed - green & blue overlap

PHONETIC APPROACHES: STRUCTURED TIMING MODELS The Phonology of Timing

Need for structure in timing models

- The <u>necessary</u> condition of alternation must combine with the <u>necessary</u> condition of isochrony to create a more complex <u>sufficient</u> condition for <u>rhythm</u>
- Consequently more structure is needed, e.g.:
 - Abercrombie's depth 1 hierarchical model (English):
 - Foot = Ictus Remiss (Strong Weak)
 - Jassem's depth 2 hierarchical model (English):
 - TRU = ANA NRU
 NRU = Stress Unstressed* #
 - TRU: Total Rhythm Unit; ANA: Anacrusis; NRU: Narrow Rhythm Unit
 - *: sequence of any length;
 - #: all unstressed syllables until the nearest grammatical boundary

Phonological models

There are numerous phonological models of accentuation:

- descriptive phonetic models
 - Abercrombie
 - Generative Phonology, Metrical Phonology
- phonetically grounded quantitative models
 - Jassem
 - Campbell
 - Wagner

Adding structure

- Sequential / overlap temporal structure
 - Wagner:
 - Nouns, Numerals, Proper Names
 - Adverbs, Adjectives
 - Verbs, Demonstrative Pronouns, WH-Pronoun

Remember the Event Logic relations?

- Modal & Auxiliary Verbs, Affirmative & Negation Particles
- Determiners, Conjunctions, Subjunctions, Prepositions
- Hierarchical temporal structure:
 - Jassem: TotalRhythmUnit = ANAcrusis NarrowRhythmUnit
 - where ANA is anisochronous, NRU is isochronous
- Barbosa, Cummins:
 - Oscillation hierarchy
- Wagner:
 - Explication of alternation and iteration with Finite State Automaton (FSA)

PHONETIC APPROACHES: DYNAMIC TIMING MODELS (Selection from signal-theoretic models of timing)

Barbosa's dynamic timing model of rhythm

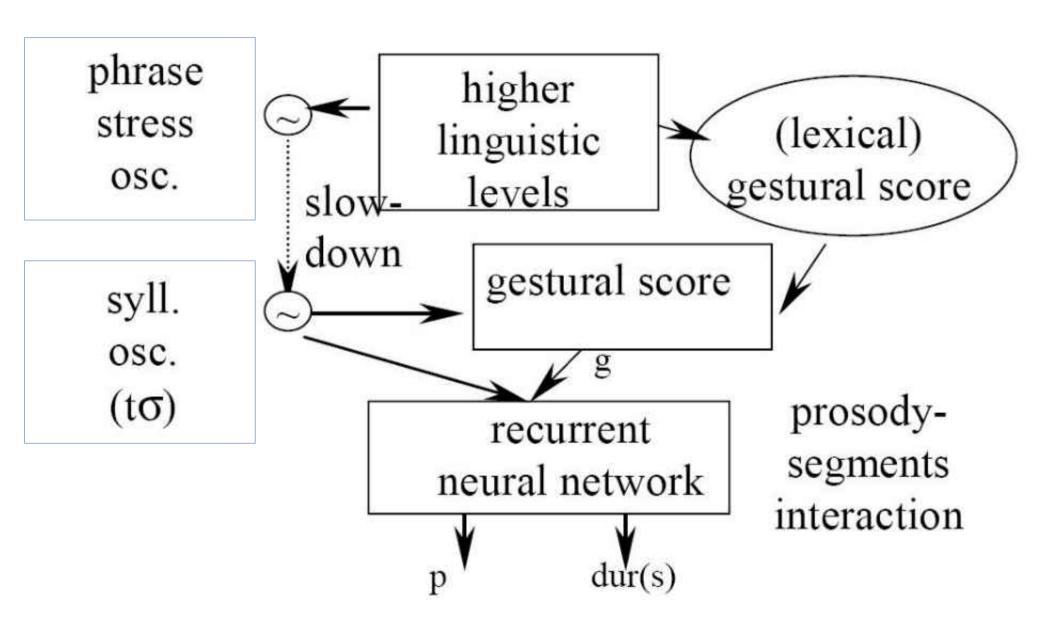
Perceptual definition of rhythm:

 speech rhythm is understood as the consequence of the variation of perceived duration along the entire utterance.

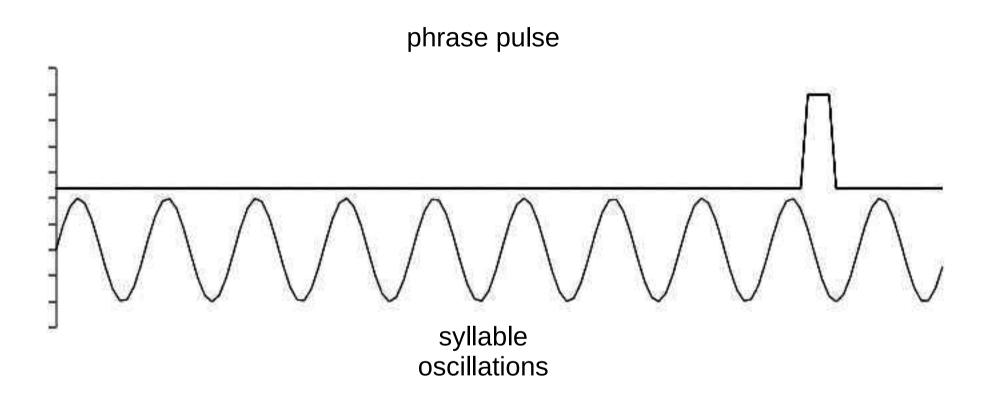
Model:

- Two levels of duration encoding / control / specification, coupling between 2 oscillators:
 - syllabic: intrinsic lexical level
 - phrasal: extrinsic, properly rhythmic level
- Entrainment (coupling) of the oscillators
- Emulation of results of other studies:
 - more like stress-timing?
 - more like syllable-timing?

Barbosa's dynamic timing model of rhythm



Barbosa's dynamic timing model of rhythm



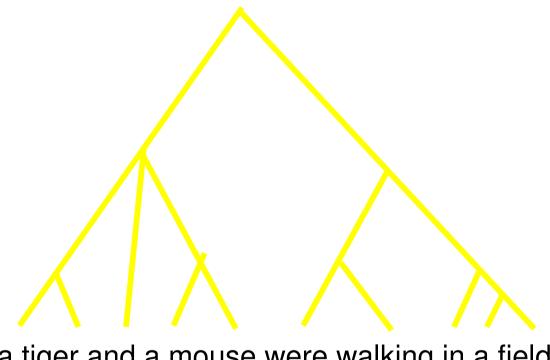
(for English these could be stress oscillations)

Note also work by Cummins, Port, Wagner, Windman and others on oscillator models of rhythm.

How do we analyse timing?

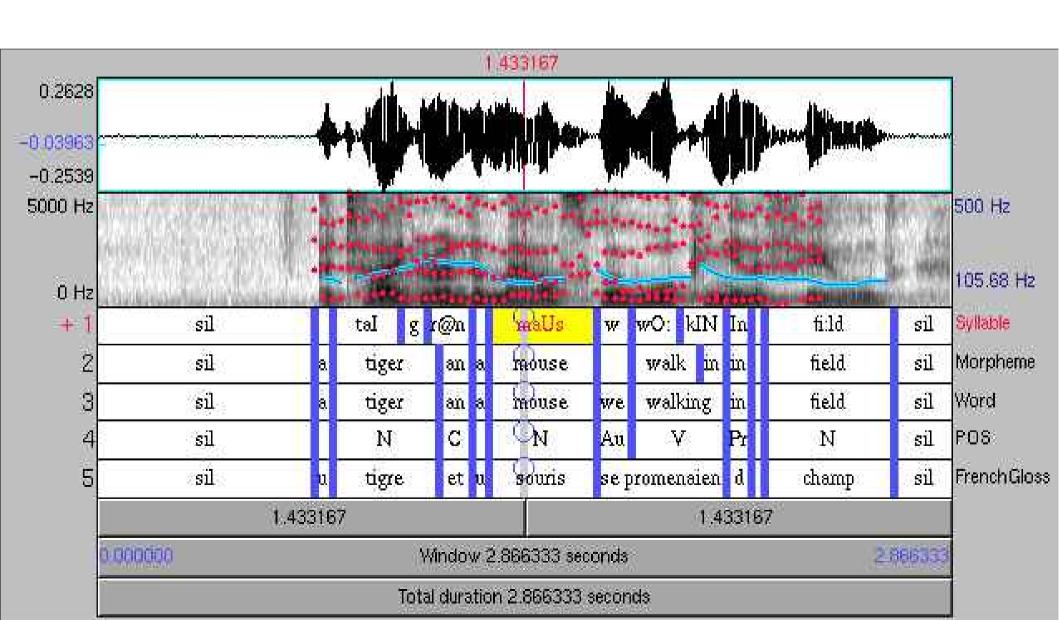
ANNOTATION MINING

Parsing

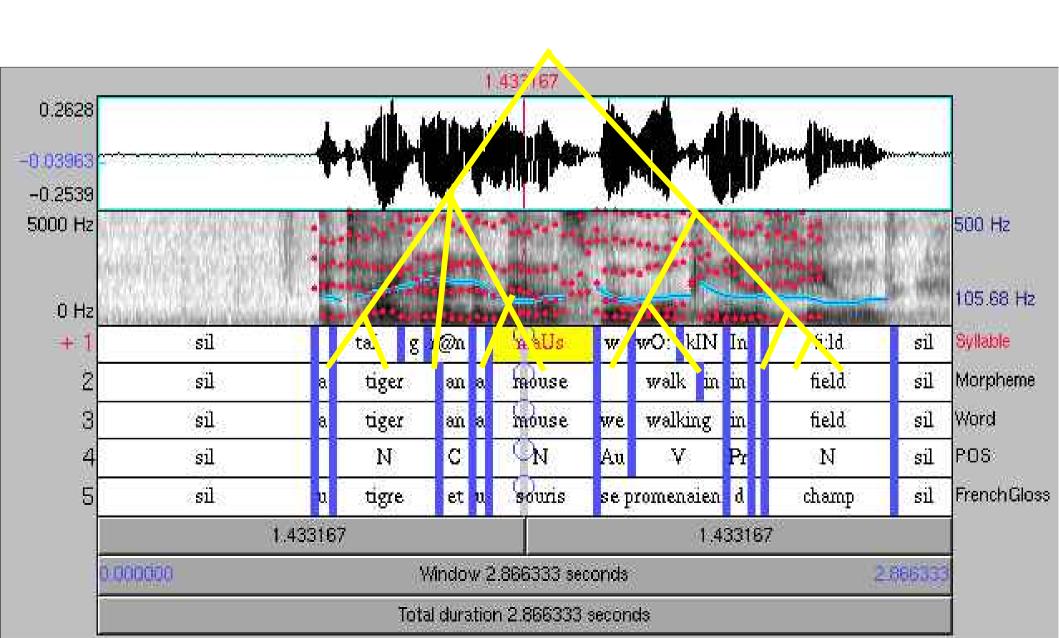


a tiger and a mouse were walking in a field

Annotation mining



Annotation mining plus parsing



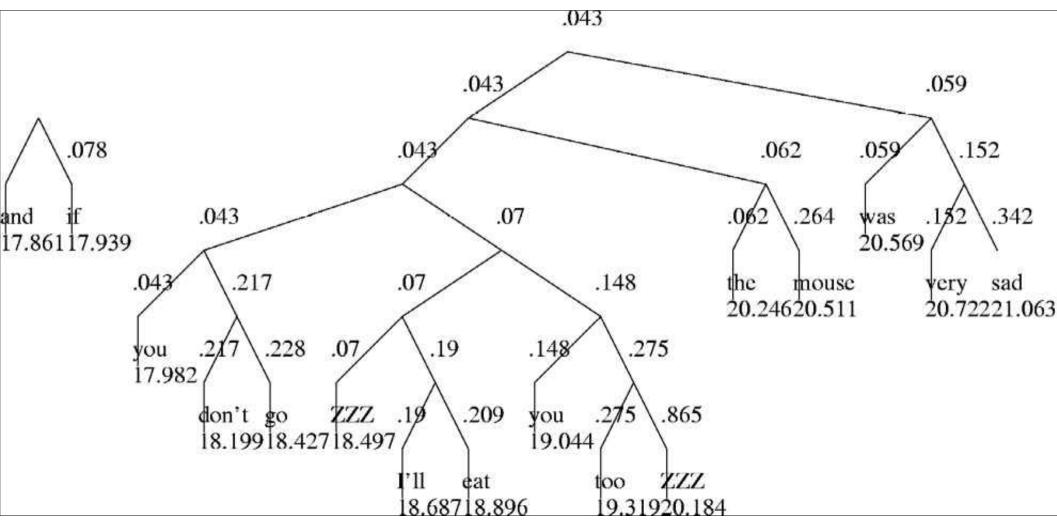
A tiger and a mouse

A tiger and a mouse were walking in a field when they saw a big lump of cheese lying on the ground. The mouse said: "Please, tiger, let me have it. You don't even like cheese. Be kind and find something else to eat." But the tiger put his paw on the cheese and said: "It's mine! And if you don't go I'll eat you too." The mouse was very sad and went away. The tiger tried to swallow all of the cheese at once but it got stuck in his throat and whatever he tried to do he could not move it. After a while, a dog came along and the tiger asked it for help. "There is nothing I can do." said the dog and continued on his way. Then, a frog hopped along and the tiger asked it for help. "There is nothing I can do." said the frog and hopped away. Finally, the tiger went to where the mouse lived. She lay in her bed in a hole which she had dug in the ground. "Please help me," said the tiger. "The cheese is stuck in my throat and I cannot remove it." "You are a very bad animal," said the mouse. "You wouldn't let me have the cheese, but I'll help you nonetheless. Open your mouth and let me jump in. I'll nibble at the cheese until it is small enough to fall down your throat." The tiger opened his mouth, the mouse jumped in and began nibbling at the cheese. The tiger thought: "I really am very hungry.."

Lecture 6: Speech Timing

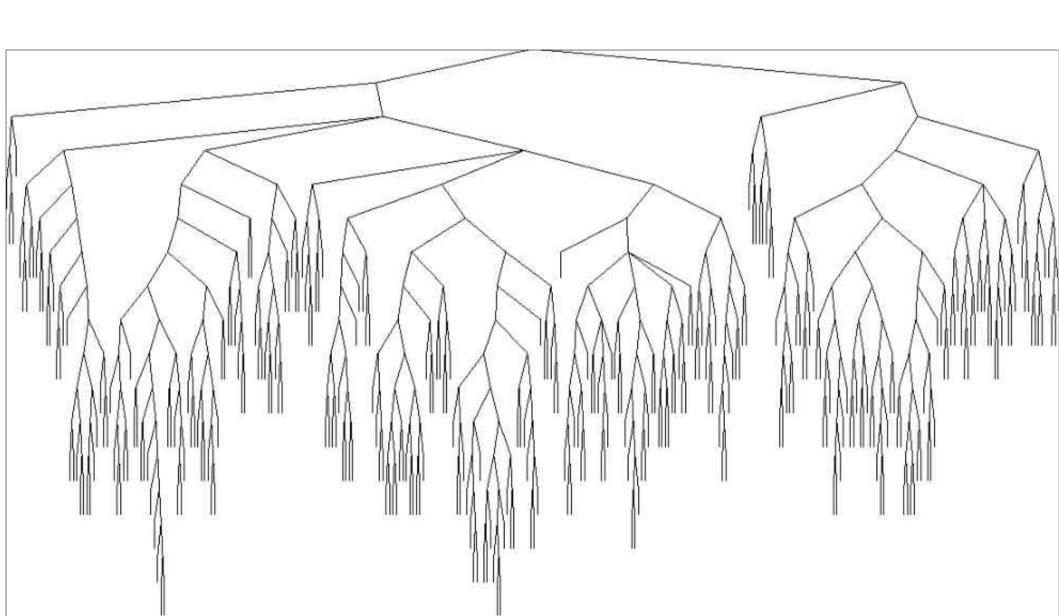
Annotation mining and timing hierarchies: tree induction

Part of a narrative:



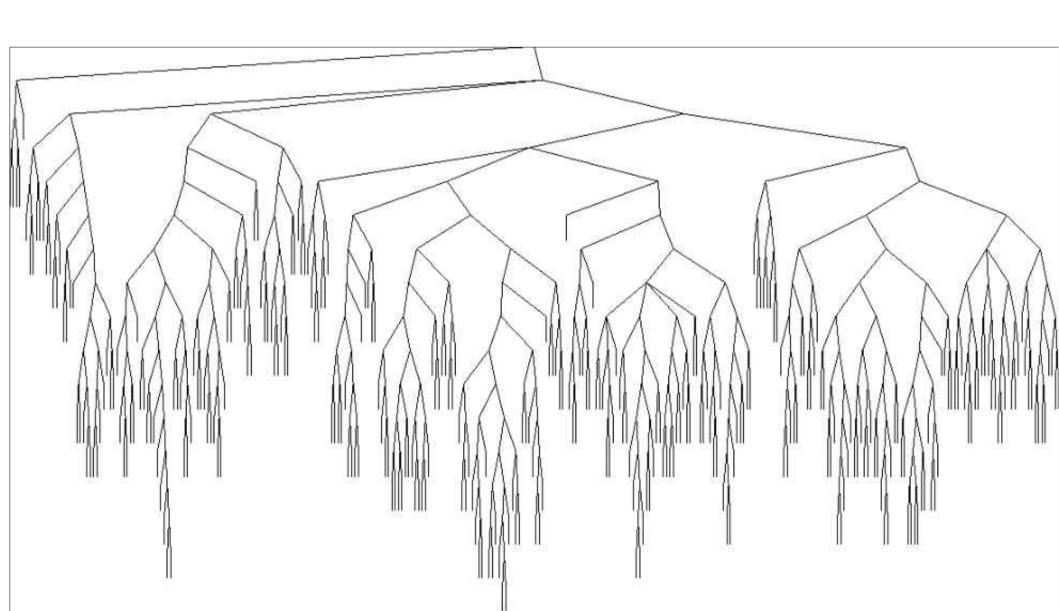
Annotation mining and timing hierarchies: tree induction

A complete narrative - parametrisation A:



Annotation mining and timing hierarchies: tree induction

A complete narrative - parametrisation B:



CONCLUSION, SUMMARY, OUTLOOK

Lecture 6: Speech Timing

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Towards an Emergent Rhythm Theory

- Toward an Emergent Rhythm Theory
 - Recall Dauer (1983): different rhythms as conditioned by many structural factors – phonotactics, grammar, ...
- Structural criteria:
 - relevant units (syllable, ...)
 - alternation pattern
 - iteration
 - isochrony
- Process criteria:
 - coordinative entrainment of production processes by superordinate oscillator (Cummins)
 - relating linguistic information with interacting phrase and syllable (maybe also other) oscillators (Barbosa)

Lecture 6: Speech Timing

Summary and Outlook – Applications of Timing Analysis

Phonetics:

- direct 'bottom-up' phonetic analysis of timing
- Phonology:
 - timing domains in prosodic typology ofe.g. mora, syllable, foot timing (depending on annotation)
- Language teaching
- Musicology
 - e.g. annotated music performances
- Speech technology
 - measuring foreign language phonetic proficiency
 - diagnosis and therapy in speech pathology
 - creation and benchmarking of
 - duration models in natural speech synthesis
 - designing disambiguation models in speech recognition

Towards an Emergent Rhythm Theory: the Context

Multilinear Grammar – Ranks and Interpretations (MLG-RI) Architecture

