

“WHERE THE HOLLER HITS THE HARDTOP:” PAUL “MOON” MULLINS ON WPFB
Collected by Joe Brashear (JB), Joe Colvin (JC), Gary Lake (GL), Katie Laur (KL), and Fred Bartenstein (FB)

Paul Mullins was a linguistic giant. The jazz players of the same period came up with "cool" and "cutting the cake" (paying the band), "dig you later." Paul made his own Appalachian musical *patois* equally appealing. Knowing what he was talking about made you part of the "in-group." And as a transplanted hillbilly myself, I know we needed all the self-acceptance we could garner.

Katie Laur, 7/27/05

I first met Paul Mullins when we were both stage managing and emceeding bluegrass festivals in the late 1960s. At the time, I was editor of *Muleskinner News*, a national bluegrass music magazine, and attending Harvard College in Massachusetts. It was clear that Mullins had a deep knowledge and affection for bluegrass music, a unique opportunity to connect with audiences, and enjoyed the personal regard of the first and second generations of bluegrass all-stars. They knew him for his own fiddling and singing – with the Stanley Brothers, with the Bluegrass Playboys of Eastern Kentucky, and for his authorship of “Katie Daley,” already a bluegrass standard by the early 1970s and since recorded and performed by numerous artists.

When I moved to southwestern Ohio in 1975, I became aware of Paul Mullins’ enormous popularity and influence as a bluegrass and country music disc jockey on WPFB in Middletown. This station’s signal blanketed one of the largest bluegrass markets on earth, the Cincinnati/Dayton region, thickly populated with transplanted residents of the mountainous parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. To these Appalachians, “Moon” was a musical guru and household name.

Mullins was no ordinary DJ. Fiercely independent, he played only music that met his exacting standards. To ensure his continued employment by less discerning radio executives, and to support his growing family by supplementing the meager wages of a broadcast personality, he overcame his natural shyness and learned to sell advertising and to ad lib commercials. Listeners were enthralled by his use of language, rich with compelling imagery (“These are shoes you’ll want to be wearing if you’re sacking wildcats,” and “It’s no disgrace to be poor, but it’s mighty unhandy,” for example), and thronged to the doors of his delighted advertisers.

Paul Mullins’ radio commercials were among the highest forms of folk humor I have ever heard. It is tragic that recordings were not collected of Mullins on the air during his heyday (his own disdain for the way his voice sounded on the radio accounted for the lack of a family collection).

Mullins was almost single-handedly responsible for preserving and promoting bluegrass in Southwest Ohio during the dry years of the 1960s and 1970s, in which much of the recording and performing activity of the 1950s moved from Cincinnati and Dayton to Nashville and to outdoor festivals in more remote locations. Paul Mullins recorded significant bluegrass albums under his own name, and those of the Valley Ramblers, Nu-Grass Pickers, Boys from Indiana, and Traditional Grass (in addition to playing fiddle and mandolin as a guest musician on scores of other recordings). He and family members promoted several well-attended concert series that exposed important artists in this market and provided them with much-needed income. He turned his charisma and listener trust to the promotion of important social causes – most notably adult literacy, for which he was often a public spokesman.

Mullins was never able to pursue a higher education, but it was obvious to any listener that he was remarkably well read, particularly on current events, history, and meteorology. Although transplanted

southerners were his core and targeted radio audience, native Ohioans (“buckeyes” in his daily patter) were also great fans of his broadcasts. From him, they learned a respect for bluegrass music as well as for the urban Appalachians Mullins loved and served. He has been a voice for tolerance as well as one of the most distinctive patches in Ohio’s cultural quilt, from his arrival in 1964 to the present.

This collection of Paul “Moon” Mullins’ sayings was made by listeners who knew they were hearing something special, something they knew should be permanently documented. Whenever they heard him spin a turn of phrase that particularly delighted them, they would run for a pencil and paper and transcribe it as closely as they could to his pattern of speech and pacing. If you were a listener to these classic broadcasts, you will hear Paul’s voice as you read through “Where the Holler Hits the Hardtop.” If you missed that daily pleasure, the words alone will make you smile and stay with you always.

Fred Bartenstein, September 30, 2005

ON BEING A RADIO ANNOUNCER

Opening the show

- “Hello and Howdy Do!” (JC)
- “Welcome to my radio problem.” (JC)

Station identification:

- “This is WPFB: We Play For Br’ars” (*i.e. briars, short for briarhoppers, a term which is derogatory when applied to mountain people by outsiders; a friendly ingroup designation when used among mountain people*) (FB)
- “After other radio stations have quit, WPFB and WPBF are still broadcasting... We broadcast 24 hours a day... Sometimes not very stout, but we still don’t shut ‘er down.” (JB, 1/12/76)
- “It’s the day before tomorrow.” (JC)

On a live remote broadcast:

- “There ain’t enough people here to start a fight on the 4th of July with a fifth of whiskey.” (JB, 1/17/78)

On a bad day:

- “I was here 10 minutes before my ‘hind end ever got here... Now that’s how bad hit’s a draggin’ today... I’d a been as well off to not put the bridle on the mule... Shoulda’ just left him on the hill. . I ain’t a doin’ no good a-tall today... I needed to come to work today about like a hog needs a songbook.” (JB, 8/12/77)
- “I gotta get this computer to compute.” (JC)
- *About having a cold:* “I done took a double shot fer it...” “The doctor says I need to be in the bed with a nurse...” “Don’t me talkin’ through my nose over the radio make you wanta’ wring your hands and whup the young’uns..., th’ow the cat out the winder?” (JB, 3/31/77)
- *About FCC requirements, such as keeping records for five years of what time the show starts and ends, in seconds:* “It’s a’drivin’ me crazy and I don’t smoke that ‘wacky backy’ a’tall... or that “squirrely burley”... Never have even tried it... Been tempted a time or two, though.” (JB, 2/16/78)

Signing off

- “You can stick a fork in me; I’m almost done.” (JC)
- “I got ‘er in the short rows now... got it fixed... Hang in there and keep it wrapped up good and warm and don’t worry about it because:
A. hit ain’t never gonna’ git no better no way no how, and
B. hit ain’t worth it.” (JB, 3/10/77)
- “I got it fixed today friends—got it in the short rows...bye, goodnight.” (*No mention of “keep it wrapped up...,” etc. – first time ever in my listening career.*) (JB, 12/27/77)
- “Thanks for lettin’ me run through your transistors!” (JC)
- “Keep it between the ditches.” (JC)

ON MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

Dedications:

- “I’m goin’ to play me a song....” (JC)
- “I did that one fer my wife’s husband.” (JC)
- “Here’s one for the War Department” (*referring to Mrs. Mullins*) (FB)
- *Dedicating a barroom song (“Colorado Kool-Aid” by Johnny Paycheck) to some drinkers gathered up at some auto garage:* “Boys, here’s one especially for you all... They got I.W. Harper in custody over there... Boys, y’all keep it between the ditches!” (JB, 2/6/78)

Music he appreciates:

- “I like good tone and a real good lick.” (JC)
- “You can tell they’re Martins when you lay the pick to ‘em.” (JC)
- “He’s got it... no doubt about it!” (JC)
- “He had the torque up on that one.” (JC)
- *On Dolly Parton:* “She’s got a good pair of lungs.” (JC)
- *On an Earl Scruggs banjo tune:* “This reminds me of a well-tuned automobile.” (JC)
- *On a Jimmy Martin instrumental:* “Had the drive, push, and shove but they didn’t speed, did they?” (JC)
- *About Earl Scruggs’ second banjo break on “Rockabye My Saro Jane:”* “...That’s flat got it... Sounds like a dominecker hen peckin’ corn off the bottom of a #2 washtub.” (JB, 2/14/77)
- *On a George Jones song:* “...Boys that’s good, ain’t it?... That’s better ‘n snuff at \$2.00 a dip and not half as dry.” (JB, 3/31/77)
- *On Tony Rice’s “Don’t Give Your Heart to a Rambler:”* “That’ll hold water, won’t it?” (JB, 9/8/77)
- *After “Hello Stranger” by Emmylou Harris:* “I read in *Bluegrass Unlimited* that Rick Skaggs was leavin’ his group, Boone Creek, and goin’ to front the Emmylou Harris show. You talk about somebody a’leavin a hole... Rick’ll cut a big swath now, folks... He played all the fiddle on this album.!” (JB, 2/13/78)
- *After playing “My Rough & Rowdy Ways” by Merle Haggard:* “Boys, Merle does a good job on that don’t he?... That’n hit ‘im right in the middle of the fard (forehead)... As Melvin (Goins) would say... “That’s an identical song for Merle.” (*Moon probably heard the “identical spot for a festival” story about Melvin Goins when he (Moon) was emceeing at Lexington Festival.*) (JB, 6/30/78)

And music he doesn’t...

- “The bass player should’ve kept one hand in his pocket.” (JC)
- *On a novelty song about a bird:* “...That’s just about a half-bubble off plumb... Its bread ain’t near done.” (JB, 1/12/76)
- “The feller that wrote this here song musta’ been a’ smokin that quar ‘backer – one of them quar smellin’ cigarettes.” (JB, 2/9/77)
- *About Emmy Lou Harris’ arrangement of A.P. Carter’s “Hello Stranger:”* “Ah, Emmy Lou... that mandolin player sounds like he ain’t got no back on that mandolin... Wouldn’t hurt if he tuned his E string before he started, would it?” (JB, 3/31/77)

- “If I was chargin’ you \$6 a head to turn your radio on, damned if I wouldn’t see to it you got entertained... got your money’s worth. At that show, you couldn’t hear the Osborne Brothers half the time and the vocal mike on Haggard wasn’t right... I feel like I got ripped off. Haggard’s flat got it a’ singin’ but he acted like he was doin’ us a favor bein’ there, and that ain’t right.” (JB, 2/6/78)
- *After playing “Come on Back to Nashville” by Tom T. Hall (“Ode to the Outlaws”) beseeching those such as Waylon & Willie to return to Nashville:* “When Keith Whitley gets there he’ll put ‘em all to shame... And he’ll get there one of these days too, friends.” (JB, 2/20/78)

On an upcoming concert:

- “We’ll be meetin’, greetin’, shakin’ and howdyin’.” (JC)
- “We’ll all have a large time.” (JC)
- *On the “Festival of the Bluegrass:”* “There’s going to be a show this weekend that’ll put a wrinkle on your horn.” (JB, 6/7/77)

On one of his own recordings:

- “Fort Gay, Louisy (Louisa). Five Forks Hill – left off the bridge – up where you can drink beer and the law won’t bother you. This is where we decided to learn a new song: “False Hearted Lover.” On the second eight pack [one of Moon’s buddies] was left in the car and he built a fire in the back floorboard using the cardboard from the first eight pack. We got out of there just in time to put out the fire. If you ain’t never heard the words to “False Hearted Lover” you ain’t a’ gonna hear ‘em now either cause they ain’t too plain on this cut. We ‘uz all nervous in the studio up in Cincinnati.” (JB, 1/11/78)
- *After playing “Carter’s Blues” (“False Hearted Lover”) and just before a recorded commercial:* “Aaah Boy! If we had some ham, we could have some ham & eggs... if we had some eggs.” (JB, 2/17/78)

ON THE WEATHER

Forecasts and forecasters:

- “It ain’t warm... ain’t cold.” (JC)
- *On the weatherman*: “He ain’t got nothin’ nailed down yet.” (JC)
- *After reading the weather, which account did not match the current conditions*: “The weatherman would do well to quit lookin’ at them little scopes and take a look out the “winder” every now and then before he writes this stuff.” (JB)
- “Weather man’s talkin’ ‘bout rain and it 70 degrees, clear skies, and sunny outside... Now what do you think about that?... Course I’ve seen it come one that’ll make Noey’s flood look like the mornin’ dew, ...and reat out a’nowhur.” (JB, 11/2/77)
- “The weatherman’s a’runnin’ with the dry cattle ain’t ‘e?’ (*i.e. he’s worthless, needing a job, etc., like a dry cow*) (JB, 12/27/77)

Snow:

- *On a light snow*: “Ain’t gonna amount to a heckuva lot!” (JC)
- “Mother Nature is shaking the feather bed.” (JC)
- “Hominy snow.” (JC)
- “Blue snow.” (JC)
- “Snow knee deep to a tall Indian.” (JB, 1/25/78)
- “It’s snowing like it means it.” (JC)
- “Up to your axle in snow – need a mule, do ye?” (JC)

Cold:

- “The cold wind will turn the hair of your dog inside out.” (JC)
- “It’s blue cold, brother.” (JC)
- “Colder than a well-digger, man!” (JC)
- “Hope the dipper won’t be frozen in the water bucket.” (JC)
- “You won’t find gnats with sweat beads... It’s gettin’ up to 35.” (JC)
- “Don’t park your sled in the mud; it’s gonna freeze tonight.” (JC)
- “The wind has barbs.” (JC)
- “I know a lot of you folks wish you had an electric heater in your bathroom these cold days... when you go in there and straddle that thunder bucket.” (JB, 2/9/77)
- “It’s like the back side of a witch’s lap.” (JB, 1/9/78)
- “Hit’s a gonna be blue cold tonight – whooo!... Let’er go!... Just as well’s to say, ‘come on...lets all freeze in a pile.’ ... If a body survived the winter of ’77 he can shorely live through the winter of ’78.” (JB, 1/9/78)
- *After reading umpteen school closings and event cancellations*: “The Ohio River’s only runnin’ three days a week now...” (JB, 1/16/78)

Fog:

- “It’s foggy... The birds are walkin.’” (JC)
- “Keep your runnin’ lights on... your parkin’ lights, too.” (JC)

Drought:

- “Hit’s dry as a covered bridge ain’t it?” (JB, 5/26/77)
- “Boys, hit’s been dry as a shuck bean lately, h’ain’t it?... Have y’all noticed how the trees have been followin’ the dogs around?” (JB, 8/9/77)

Heat:

- “Sun’s as warm as a biscuit.” (JC)
- “It’s, ah, eight minutes to four...Hot...ah...hotter’n an old lady at a kissin party. Whoo-ee!” (JB, 5/31/78)

COMMERCIALS

Words of praise:

- “He’s got business in this business.” (JC)
- “He’s a real dude... a real briar!” (JC)
- “He won’t fix something that ain’t broke.” (JC)
- “He knows about adding water to the soup.” (JC)
- “He won’t stand and argue on your time.” (JC)
- “He’s the sharpest tool in the shed.” (JC)
- “He’ll set you straight.” (JC)
- “They do it rat (right) the first time.” (JC)
- “They’re the real thing, brother!” (JC)
- “Them boys from Magoffin & Floyd County are hard to clean after, ain’t they? ...Good mountain people with good mountain ways.” (JB, 11/3/77)
- *Advertising Don House’s House of Drugs:* “They’ll treat you just like you git treated in one of them country stores down in Powell County or Menifee County or Montgomery County... there where the holler hits the hardtop.” (JB, 3/7/78)
- “Beats anything you ever put your bucket under!” (JC)
- “Cleanest restrooms in Beaver creek.” (JC)
- “Pretty as a 19-year-old’s leg.” (JB, 8/7/78)

The competition:

- “We ain’t all alike, you know.” (JC)
- “The freshest drink of water comes at the head of the creek.” (JC)
- *On most insurance companies:* “They only call you when they want money.” (JC)
- “A warranty as long as a rake handle.” (JC)
- “A business is just like a wheelbarrow... It just sits there ‘til somebody pushes it, don’t it?” (JB, 1/8/78)

Unique goods and services:

- “He’ll put the female worms in one can and the males in another.” (JC)
- “Need someone to gripe at you while you eat? He’ll do that fer you!” (JC)
- “...Your tomcat [husband, boyfriend] been a’rangin’ on you has he?... Take him to Homer Gross’ Phillips 66 Station fer a good thrashin’... Homer never breaks a sweat ner uses any profanity, but when he’s done you’ll know your cat’s been thrashed good.” (JB, 10/26/77)
- “If your vessel needs tunin,’ or your saw needs filin,’ or your tomcat needs thrashin,’ go to Homer Gross’s Phillips 66 Station. He’ll thrash your cat without using any profanity, make your car sound like a mouse chewin’ on a piece of cornbread, set your saw or upset your ax...whatever you need done.” (JB, 2/9/77)
- *Ad for a macrame supply shop:* “You been a’macrame’in have ye?” (JB, 1/12/76)

- “Is your yaller bird a’ makin’ ye nervous, is he? ... Well feed him some of that thistle seed... They got it at Jason’s Home Center... Hit’s imported from India, you know.” (JB, 10/14/77)

Automobiles:

- *Body shop commercial:* “Did ye skin it up, have ye?” (JC)
- “Got a smokin’ and drinkin’ automobile, have ye?” (JC)
- You boys out there ridin’ around with cardboard in your wing-windows, are ye? (KL)
- *On a car battery:* It ain’t gonna make your day but it’ll sure get it started right.” (GL)
- *Ad for Mall Pontiac:* “...Take one out fer a test drive and lay the ears back on ‘er... Lay the carbide to ‘er and point ‘er towards Springboro...” (JB, 3/10/77)
- “You feel like a sardine, do ye?... Ridin’ in one of them little cars you can burp?... Go to Munich Motors and git you one of them LTD’s and ra’r back and be somebody... Yessir, Munich Motors can make you feel like you are.” (JB, 7/18/77)
- “Git you a set a’ them steel belted radials from J&J Tire Co.... They’re the kind that don’t blow out when you run over tire tools... spring hangers... kitchen sinks... and all that scrap iron.” (JB, 9/8/77)
- “Orville Gross is as good a hand as ever straddled a pot when it comes to fixin’ your car.” (JB, 1/10/78)
- “These UniRoyal steel belt radials’ll last as long as your engine’ll run, and your axle ain’t a draggin’... Hit’ll gitchy thar, friends!” (JB, 1/16/78)
- “Go in there and lay your deal on them... Give ‘em whatever breeze makes your skirt blow up... whatever tune makes you pat your foot... and see what they think about it.” (JB, 2/2/79)
- “You fellers out there a’ ridin’ around with a pasteboard in your cozy-wing better git on over to Jacone Glass.” (JB, 2/2/79)
- *Sloan’s Texaco:* “Bill & Ernie’r Floyd Co. Boys... Hard to clean after.” (JB, 1/31/78)
- “Bill & Ernie Sloan’s good fellers... from down Floyd Co.... They run Sloan’s Texaco, right across from Frisch’s in Moraine City... These boys can fix your car... and they’ll work just about any way you hitch ‘em.” (JB, 2/7/78)
- “Robbie Teewees is a Chinese briar. He’ll clean your windshield for you over at Bill & Ernie Sloan’s Texaco Service.” (JB, 2/9/77)
- *Robbie Teewees:* “He’s an oriental, but he’s a briar. He’s Chinese but he’s born right down out of Hazard. He says he’s not a gas pumper... he’s a petroleum redistribution engineer.” (JB, 1/31/78)
- *Advertising Tom Sparkman’s Valley Salvage:* *Moon said he flew mad at his truck for not starting back during the blizzards and swore when the snow melted to where he could find some rocks, he was going to rock his truck – which he did... Now he says he needs to see Junkyard Tom Sparkman (from Blackey, KY) about a new door for the truck. He got a hold of a pretty good size rock when he rocked the door.* (JB, 4/3/78)
- *Advertising motorcycles, reading a claim, following with:* “I don’t know whether hit’ll do that or not... I don’t know nothin’ bout ‘em. Now I’ll ride anything with wheels or hair, but a motorcycle’ll hurt ye. Got my boy one, an orange ‘un that he picked out. Hit got me between the house and the clothesline and that big yeller poplar tree and I thought that was gonna be it. I hit second gear and the front wheel got off the ground and I couldn’t get it back down... Lord, folks, I’m scared of a motorcycle!” (JB, 4/25/78)

Choice and size:

- “(The Collett) Propane folks’ll bring you in a big or little bunch?” (JC)
- “One size don’t fit all.” (JC)
- “If you need a bale of straw for your doghouse, or flea powder for your dog.” (JC)
- “Shoes to wear if you’re sacking wildcats or just gawking at the mall.....” (JC)
- “You can hang a lot of ‘baccer in there.” (JC)
- “We got it... no doubt about it!” (JC)

Value for the money:

- “It ain’t no disgrace to be poor, but it’s mighty unhandy.” (JC)
- *Ad for Rogers Jewelers:* “You don’t have to have enough money to burn a wet mule to be able to afford a Kentucky cluster...”
“...19 diamonds...not costume jewelry...”
“...If you want to scrutinize it real close, one of the diamondologists will let you look through one of them little ‘quar’ pieces they wear on their eye.” (JB, 1/12/76)
- “...And buy you and your ol’ lady a Kentucky cluster apiece... And when she gets where she’s a’wantin’ to fight and argue, and’s threatenin’ to sack up her other dress and leave...you can cut her finger off and take it with ye.” (JB, 2/24/77)
- *Callahan Jewelry ad:* “If the old lady’s been about half good you can go buy ‘er one earring... Then when she shows you she means business you can go get ‘er the other one.” (JB, 1/27/78)
- “Even if you ain’t got a pit to hiss in... Look out now!... You can still buy furniture at Charlie Elam’s in South Lebanon.” (JB, 1/3/78)
- “You folks hang in thar... Be shore ye saddle the right hoss... Don’t wait to where you can’t see the bottom.” (JB, 1/23/78)

Good eating (and drinking):

- *Soup Beans & Cornbread at Betty’s Drive-in, 45 W. Main, Franklin, Ohio:* “I don’t know whether she mixes the brown bombers with the windy whites or not – but they’re good and you can get ‘em with a big onion ‘til way up in the night.” (JB, 1/12/76)
- *On pizza:* “I’ve talked to some folks that says it’s the best thing since po’ke & possum.” (JB, 6/7/77)
- *On a market’s bologna:* “100,000 flies can’t be wrong.” (GL)
- *Homer Gross, owner of Springboro IGA Grocery, says:* “I’m repairing to go home.”
Moon says: “What do you mean repairing?... When you repair something it means you fix it...”
Homer says: “That’s what I said. I’m fixin’ to go home.” (JB, 1/24/78)
- “Tell ‘em at the Springboro IGA you haven’t had their biscuits and gravy and you’ll get free biscuits and gravy... If you lie about it, I hope you choke on it... Git Great Lakes Charcoal thar too... Now this is good charcoal...lights real easy... You know some of this charcoal you see around wouldn’t burn in hell... wouldn’t burn with all the kindling in the world.” (JB, 4/3/78)
- “Charlie Moore’s Carry Out has that big red roll baloney that’s as good as you ever stuck to your forehead.” (JB, 2/10/77)
- “Don’t mess up a hundred-dollar drunk with a 20-cent sandwich.” (JB, 2/18/77)
- “Beer cold enough to crack a tooth.” (JB)

- "...You're drier'n'a shuckie bean, are ye?... Go to Jimbo's Wheel-Thru in Blue Ball and git'chu a bottle of wine..." (JB, 3/10/77)

Furniture & Appliances:

- *On Charlie Elam's Furniture Store in South Lebanon:* "Git you one a'them RCA color consoles... That's the ones that's got the wood all the way to the floor." (JB, 8/27/77)
- *Advertising Elam's Furniture:* "Just talk to Charlie Elam or Evelyn, if you can find her... They're so overstocked Charlie said he has to have a search warrant to find Evelyn." (JB, 4/26/78)
- *In conjunction with an ad for Genntown Furniture:* "Genntown's so small they have to take turns being the town drunk." (JB, 11/7/77)
- *On Marvin's TV Sales & Service in Blueball:* "Don't pay much attention to Marvin folks, cause he shore ain't goin' to you." (JB, 1/11/78)

EXPRESSIONS

On aging:

- “She’s been standing so long there making that gravy that’s she’s worn a hole in the linoleum.” (JC)
- “We’ve passed a lot of water since 1941.” (JC)
- “Watched him get elderly.” (JC)
- “When you get the white in your hair.” (JC)

On drinkers:

- “Tonight the amateurs are going to be out.” (JC)
- “Raise more hell than a mule in a tin barn.” (JB)
- “Layin’ tracks like a nervous hen.” (JB, 11/8/77)
- “...You talk about the “ship hittin’ the sand!...” (JB, 9/28/77)
- *On a hangover:* “Need a cold, cold towel for a day-long head?” (JB)

And in closing...:

- “.....before they hit the first lick.” (JC)
- *Referring to listener’s wife:* “Have your War Department share it with you.” (JC)
- “Like buying hay for a dead horse.” (JB)
- “...Prouder ‘n a dommer [Dominecker] hen on a new white football.” (JB, 3/14/77)
- “...No longer than Pat was in the army.” (JB, 3/14/77)
- “Honey hush... Go get the hammer, granny, there’s a fly on the baby’s head...” (JB, 2/13/78)
- “Don’t worry about the mule; just load the wagon.” (JC)