Kāi Tahu Cultural Narrative *for* Andersons Bay School

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for Aukaha Limited

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Ko Kāi Tahu te iwi!

Introduction

There are two types of historical information here that are available for your school. When using this information with classes and students, it is important to be cogniscant that there are different sections of information, that which is of a celestial nature and that which is of a historical nature. This information is from within the Kāi Tahu tribe with a focus on Otago and the area your school is in. Furthermore the bibliography supplied is important for your school as you can follow up on particular references for your students, classes and so forth.

It is important to note that our own tribal dialect is used in this report. The ng is replaced by the k eg: Ranginui is Rakinui in our dialect. We also use any words or idiom particular to our tribe.

Macrons are also a crucial part of the Māori language. They indicate whether the vowel is a long or short vowel. If there is a macron on a particular vowel of a word, it must go on any names you use for classrooms or other spaces. This is the official orthographic convention from our Māori language commission.

Finally, please ensure that if you have any questions to follow up with Aukaha.

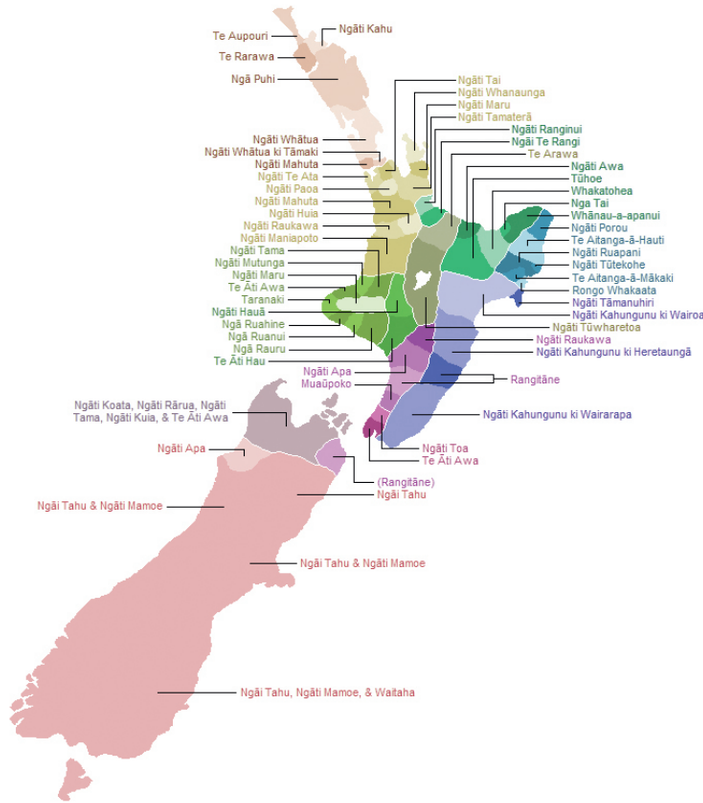
This report is sectioned in to these areas:

ORIGINAL POLYNESIAN INHABITANTS OF THE DUNEDIN AREA

The South Island (Te Waipounamu) of New Zealand not only has an entirely different landscape to that of the North Island (Te Ika-a-Maui) but also a different indigenous demographic. The South Island was originally inhabited by early Polynesian settlers.

The original inhabitants of the area were known as Kāti Hāwea and Te Rapuwai. Anderson claims that these people were certainly Polynesians and among the ancestors of Southern Māori.[1] The following onset of people were the Waitaha and their legacy was left in the many places they named the South Island. They are an early group of people who are known to have arrived on the canoe, the Uruao. The well-known Southern tribal ancestor Rākaihautū of the Waitaha people, was described as a giant. He carved out the lakes and rivers of the South Island with his supernatural digging implement.

The consequent migration and intermarriage of Kāti Māmoe and then Kāi Tahu from the East coast of the North Island to the South Island and in to Waitaha procured a stronghold for Māori in Te Waipounamu. Map 1 illustrates the large tribal area now associated with Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu in the South Island.



Map Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rohe

“Aoraki and his crew scrambled to the high ground but were caught by the sun’s rays and were turned to granite becoming the highest peaks of the Southern Alps.”

Introduction to the Kāi Tahu creation story

In our Southern Māori history the creation story is very detailed and somewhat different. The original story itself has been recorded, edited and published in a book that is accessible in most libraries.[2] and it is a good place to start if you are interested in the original creation beliefs. This also has a focus on the tribal narrative of Kāi Tahu. Te Waka o Aoraki and Tūterakiwhanoa feature as the oldest stories that connect to Otago.

Aoraki was one of the senior progeny from Rakinui’s (male) first marriage to Pokohāruatepō (female). Raki’s (Rakinui) second marriage was to Papatūānuku. Aoraki and his brothers were interested in Raki’s new wife and descended from the heavens in their canoe (waka) to greet Papatūānuku. The meeting appears to have been amicable but when Aoraki attempted to once again ascend to their celestial home a mistake was made in the requisite prayers and the canoe began to list. Aoraki and his crew scrambled to the high ground but were caught by the sun’s rays and were turned to granite becoming the highest peaks of the Southern Alps.

It was the nephew of Aoraki, Tūterakiwhanoa, who was charged with the responsibility to determine the whereabouts of his uncles and he discovered that they and their waka had become an island in the vast ocean. After a period of grieving he grasped his great adze, Te Hamo, and set about shaping the canoe and its inhabitants so that it could be an inhabitable land mass.

He carved out the sounds in Fiordland and Marlborough and also formed the peninsulas along the eastern seaboard including Otago Peninsula, Huriawa Peninsula and the Moeraki Peninsula. He left guardians in place namely Kahukura and Rokonuiatau. These atua kaitiaki (guardians) remained in place right up until the time the old religion was abandoned and Christianity was adopted.

After the entire South Island had been shaped fit for habitation Tūterakiwhanoa returned to Piopiotahi/Milford Sound. It was brought to his attention that the Sound was so beautiful that those who saw it would never move on. His relation, the goddess Hinenuitepō left behind the small namunamu, or sandfly, to ensure that nobody would stay put in the area for too long.

> *Hoani Karetai, the paramount chief of Ōtākou, used to speak about a taniwha which was the guardian of the spirit of a famous Kāti Māmoe chief.*

Matamata

This is a very localised tradition and it relates to a guardian taniwha known as Matamata. Matamata himself appears in many traditions in the South Island from as far north as Marlborough to the Hokonui Hills. He is an ancestor of the Kāti Māmoe tribe and the local chief Karetai was his descendant. Below is an account recorded by the Rev. Thomas Pybus (1954a) for his book *The South Island Māoris*.

Regarding their legends, the Māori people of Ōtākou used to speak about taniwhas and fabulous monsters which performed extraordinary deeds. Hoani Karetai, the paramount chief of Ōtākou, used to speak about a taniwha which was the guardian of the spirit of a famous Kāti Māmoe chief. This taniwha lost its master and set out in search of him. From Silverstream near the base of Whare Flat, it journeyed as far as the present Mosgiel. Then it took its course down the Taieri River and wriggling, caused all the sharp bends and twists in the river. The same taniwha scooped out the Otago Harbour. The monster now lies solidified in the Saddle Hill. The humps of the hill are named Pukemakamaka and Turimakamaka.

History

The Māori history around the Andersons Bay area is not specific to that area but the wider Otago area with a particular focus on the Ōtākou area.

The Otago Peninsula has a long history of occupation beginning with that of Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand. The origins of how the peninsula was formed has been cemented in Southern Māori narratives as discussed previously. The early occupation of the Peninsula was immediately focused at the entrance of the harbour rather than populating near the mainland or in-fact across the Peninsula. This focal area remains occupied today by the descendants of the first people to the peninsula. Muaupoko, has recently been adopted by our own people as the over-arching Māori name for the Otago Peninsula. However with merely one source to the name Muaupoko from Herries Beattie in 1915 it has a spurious attachment to the Otago Peninsula. Furthermore, Muaupoko is not mentioned in the original Deed of Sale of Otago. The Otago Deed was signed by 23 Māori leaders and two 'proxies' on the 31st July 1844 at Kōpūtai (Port Chalmers) across the harbour from the Otago Peninsula.

Ōtākou is the significant name of the area. Originally Ōtākou is the name of the waterway that spans the area from Taiaroa Heads to Harwood township. Although, it is

an ocean harbour it was known as an *awa* (river) by our old people because of its river like appearance. Today however, Ōtākou is more widely recognised in the Otago area as the name for the entire harbour and the settlement at the lower end of the Otago Peninsula. Otago eventually became the name for that entire southern region that is a modified version of Ōtākou. The origins of the meaning are still somewhat dubious although as Beattie's has recorded the word "kou" in Ōtākou means a jutting point or an end point. This is quite possibly a description of the shape of the area of Ōtākou.

The earliest of activity on the Otago Peninsula was in the AD 1150-1300 period according to Anderson.[3] These were moa butchery sites including one at Harwood on the Peninsula and one at Andersons Bay on the mainland. The following wave of people migrated in different phases from the North Island and married into these existing groups of people. Kāti Mamoe were the first in the series of migrations south.

The migration that followed Kāti Māmoe were descendants of an ancestor from the East Coast of the North Island known as Tahupōtiki. The Kāi Tahu tribe is a well-known Māori entity of the South Island today and take their name from the eponymous ancestor, Tahupōtiki. Tahupōtiki lived his life in the North Island on the East Coast around the area now known as Hawkes Bay.

There are a series of events that occur in a relatively short timeframe that explain Kāi Tahu's position at the harbour entrance of the Otago Peninsula.

That depth of identity that was previously shared by only the descendants of Ōtākou is now an identity that many locals experience and affiliate with. This illustrates the strength of Māori identity on the Otago Peninsula. The first known arrival of Kāi Tahu to Otago started with the ancestor Waitai who made his way south leaving behind his siblings and relations who were known as Kāti Kurī. Kāti Kurī were resident in the Wellington area and made their way to the South Island. Waitai had made his way south to the fortified village, Pukekura (Taiaroa Heads) where he became resident. He married Te Rakitauneke's sister, a local Kāti Māmoe chief and an alliance was established. The pair embarked on a number of skirmishes throughout Otago and Waitai moved south and was eventually killed by local Kāti Māmoe.

Another manoeuvre that occurred at a similar time involved a well-known figure named Tarewai. He was based at Pukekura. While Waitai was gone he had left the pā (village) in the hands of his two brothers and their nephew, Tarewai. There was tension between the more recent inhabitants like Tarewai and others. The Kāti Māmoe had invited Tarewai and some of his colleagues to a place known as the Pyramids today near Papanui Inlet on the Otago Peninsula on the premise that they would help them to build a house. After a days work and kai (food) they started to play some wrestling type games and Tarewai was taken by surprise as men held him down and started to cut his stomach open with their weapons. According to accounts he was a large and strong man and was able to throw off the attackers and make an escape. However he left behind his mere

> *Tarewai created a diversion so that he could run along the beach and back into the safety of his pā, which was successful.*

pounamu (greenstone weapon). He hid at Hereweka where he healed his wounds with the fat of a weka and planned a return to retrieve his mere pounamu. He eventually returned one night to the village of Kāti Māmoe who were sitting around a fire admiring his mere pounamu. Tarewai pretended to be another villager by feigning their speech impediment and was handed his mere pounamu and took off into the night. Tarewai eventually returned to Pukekura and Kāti Māmoe had established a pā (village) opposite Pukekura named Rakipipikao. Tarewai created a diversion so that he could run along the beach and back into the safety of his pā, which was successful. The spot where he leapt to his safety is named 'Te Rereka o Tarewai'. Tarewai and his uncles then sought revenge on Kāti Māmoe over a period of time pursuing them into Southland. Tarewai met his demise in Fiordland.

Following the skirmishes at Pukekura and a brief period of asserting dominance the Ōtākou people enjoyed a relatively settled period with no external threats and formalized peace-making arrangements with sub-tribes to the north.

Ultimately there were a number of significant battles but the Tarewai battle is a significant one and a useful one to retell tamariki. The places where he battled or recuperated can be visited and the imagery of the mere can be illustrated in art work and so forth.

Trails and movement

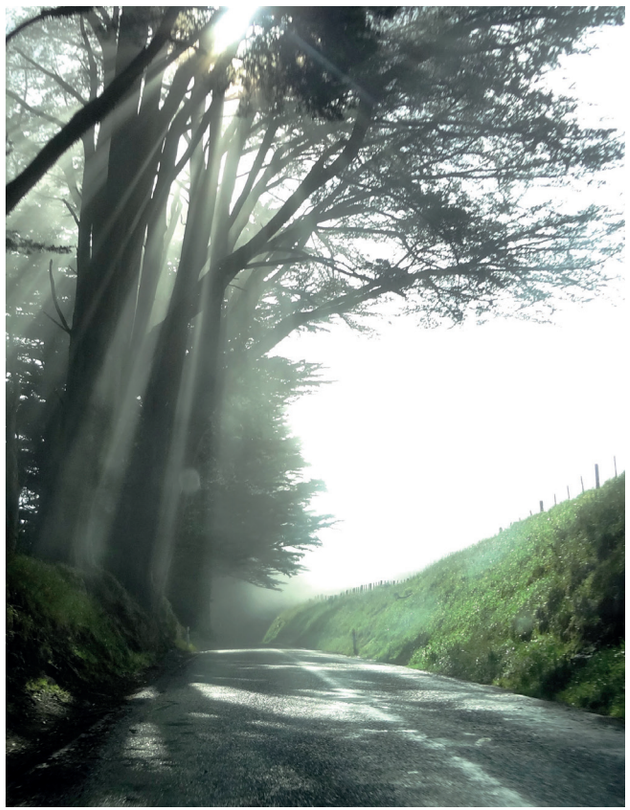
Kāi Tahu were a nomadic people who travelled extensively on land and sea. They travelled from Ōtākou villages up the Otago Harbour and up in to bays and inlets within the Dunedin area, known as Otepoti. This area was a landing spot and a point from which the Ōtākou based Māori would hunt in the surrounding bush. Māori would drag their waka into estuaries and walk by foot to food gathering places such as the Taiari (Taieri). The Taiari was rich in food source with bird life, eels, and so forth. There were four species of moa that roamed the Otago Peninsula. There were moa hunter sites in Andersons Bay, St Kilda and St Clair. Māori were able to follow particular tracks over the peninsula and around the Lawyers Head area and in to the Taiari plain. According to traditions the bush was very thick in the Dunedin area that when some European ventured in they never returned. The lakes and the wetland areas that are now known as Te Nohoaka o Tukiauau/Sinclair Wetlands (a fantastic place to visit with tamariki and the school) was teeming with kai, including whitebait, eels, lamprey and birdlife. Shortland suggests that the ancient walking tracks were falling into disuse by the time he was exploring the Otago area because of the superior marine technology that had been employed by Māori over the previous forty years. The whaling boat proved to be a vastly improved mode of transport from the carved single or double hulled Māori vessels that dominated sea transport until the arrival of the European.

Treaty of Waitangi and the consequent land sales in Dunedin.

In 1836, the ship, 'the Sydney Packet' arrived at Ōtākou with a few influenza cases on board. Immediately the disease attacked the Māori and the people died in hundreds reducing the population to an alarming degree. Following the demise of the Ōtākou Māori population came the loss of land. This began with the Treaty of Waitangi that was led by Major Bunbury in the Kāi Tahu tribal region in order to obtain the Southern Māori signatures. The Treaty had been signed by many iwi (tribes) in the North Island and on the 13th June 1840 Korako and Karetai signed the Treaty at Taiaroa Heads. They were amongst seven the signatures for Southern Māori. The premise in their hearts and minds was that they accepted that under the Treaty they would retain their lands and have equal protection and rights as British citizens. The ongoing political struggle over the total disregard to the promises agreed to in the Treaty of Waitangi would continue for one hundred and fifty years. After the signing of the Treaty came the most significant contractual breech for Māori on the Otago Peninsula.

The British Crown eventually came under pressure from the New Zealand Company. It waived its right of pre-emption as stated in the Treaty of Waitangi, allowing the New Zealand Company to negotiate with the local chiefs for the purchase of land in the south. The New Zealand Company and the Free Church of Scotland selected the area at the head of the harbour, on the mainland for a permanent site, to be called New Edinburgh. Frederick Tuckett, a surveyor for the New Zealand Company, was assigned to oversee the purchase of the site. George Clarke wrote an account of the proceedings in Otago that included Tuckett, surveyors and local Māori in 1844. They had come to survey the land for a 'New Edinborough, the Dunedin of the future'.

Kāi Tahu wanted to keep 21,250 acres of Otago Peninsula with ancestral sites for themselves. However, the Europeans did not agree and would not proceed with the sale unless the peninsula was included. The Māori conceded to accept only the land at the northern end of the Peninsula, and a few other areas outside of that including, 9,612 acres total. On July 31, 1844 at Koputai (opposite the Peninsula – Port Chalmers today) 25 chiefs signed the Otago deed (around 400,000 acres) for £2,400. Of the 400,000 acres, 150,000 acres would be chosen for the New Edinburgh site. In addition to this land, verbal agreements were made to reserve 10% of all land sold, known as 'the tenths', in trust for the benefit of Kāi Tahu. The agreement was not honoured and the work on New Edinburgh on the mainland began in 1846. The organized settlement of the suburban and rural areas of the peninsula began in 1848 and focused on Anderson's Bay and Portobello. The peninsula was divided into farms of about 50 acres which were gradually occupied



and supplied a growing Dunedin with food. West states that 'the sale Otago Block to the New Zealand Company in 1844 was by far the most significant event that shifted control over the Peninsula.....the Ōtākou Māori were stranded on the northern tip of the Otago Peninsula, confined to meagre portions of their once vast property. The way was thereby opened to the European settlement, and the making of a new environment on the Otago Peninsula.'[4]

Place Names around Andersons Bay

It is suggested to refrain from attempting to translate names as the meanings are often complex or forgotten. There are some possible meaning recorded here from different resources, however this doesn't make them right.

Puketai	Andersons Bay
Tūtaehinu	A mountain range on Highcliff Road – first ridge.
Te Ika o Pariheka	Lawyers Head
Whakaherekau	St Clair (according to Taylor, it was related to presenting a gift of peace) However others suggest that it may have been a fish caught by a man much like Te Ika a Maui.
Pounui-a-Hine	White Island which is out from St Clair beach.
Te Kōau	Waverley
Motu Korere	A reef at Tomahawk
Tomohaka	Known as Tomahawk today

Food source - Moa

An important food gathering source was a Moa butchery site at Andersons Bay[5]. Moa was obviously an accessable and excellent food source. Anderson suggests that up to 100,000 moa were killed during the early period in southern New Zealand alone.

There are archeologists such as Atholl Anderson who suggest that moa were ambushed and killed with spears at short range, taken in traps and snares or were bailed up by hunting dogs. The dogs of the South Island had powerful jaws and neck muscles similar to an Australian dingo. The butchery sites like that of Anderson Bay comprise of rows of ovens situated along the banks of streams, with large quantities of bone, moa eggshell and artifacts in them or near them. Very few were brought back to the site as whole carcasses as they were too heavy. Most moa were brought back to the camp as leg joints. Leg bones at these sites have been found smashed and it was assumed they extracted the fat and bone marrow.

Native Flora and Fauna around Andersons Bay

There are some themes for teachers to look at here.

1. Visualising what the peninsula and outlying areas might have looked like in period of pre contact and contact between Māori and European.
2. Examining some of the types of plants that were in abundance once around your school area. Some plants have medicinal purposes, therefore investigation in to these would be valuable.
3. Looking at a cross section of land near your school to assess if any of those plants are still standing in your area.

At the point of European contact to Dunedin, the vista that looked out from Anderson's Bay would have differed greatly to that of today.

In 1826 Thomas Shepard writes his observations of the upper Ōtākou harbour (Dunedin),

> *When we reached the utmost extent of the harbour we were agreeably surprised – instead of woods on each side as we had all the way up we saw a fine open*

> *The sky, a great part of the time, was without a cloud, and not a breeze ruffled the surface of the water, which reflected the surrounding wooded slopes, and every sea-bird that floated upon it, with mirror-like accuracy.*

> *country chiefly covered with flax plants, fern grass and a few small shrubs which might easily be burnt down and made ready for the plough [the site for future Dunedin]*[6]

In 1844 Monro makes his observations about the mouth of the harbour of the Peninsula,

> *The sky, a great part of the time, was without a cloud, and not a breeze ruffled the surface of the water, which reflected the surrounding wooded slopes, and every sea-bird that floated upon it, with mirror-like accuracy. For some hours after sunrise, the woods resounded with the rich and infinitely varied notes of thousands of tui and other songsters. I never heard anything like it before in any part of New Zealand. (Monro, 1844)*

He follows on to state that there is 'absence of a good site for a town'. He mentions how inhospitable the bushland is on the mainland and whalers have mentioned how they never venture in.

Edward Shortland wrote in his diary between 1843-1844 on his stay at Ōtākou (the Otago Harbour and village at the end of the peninsula) that

> *In the morning I woke early; and, as the dawn first peeped forth, was deafened by the sound of bell birds. The woods which were close by seemed to be thronged with them. Never before had I heard so loud a chorus. I called to mind Captain Cook's description of the impression made on him by the singing of these birds, when at anchor near the shore in Queens Charlotte's Sound. He is wrong, however, in saying that they sing at night, like the nightingale. They commence at dawn of day their chime of four notes, which, repeated independently by a thousand throats, creates the strangest melody. But they cease, as by one consent, the moment the suns first rays are visable; and there is a general silence. Again, at evening, they commence, just as the suns last ray fades, and sing on till dark.*[7]

Here are some of the traditional Flora and Fauna in the area of Andersons Bay:

Totara

The totara was an incredibly useful plant for Southern Māori. It was put to multiple uses including wood for housing, canoes, musical instruments, toys, the bark was used for torches and containers for water, preserved birds and rats etc. The totara was seen as a chiefly tree. In the South Island the muttonbirders would make torches with the bark being interwoven with flax fibre and saturated with mutton bird fat.

Herries Beattie recorded that

> *"to get boiling water the ancient Maori had to resort to a certain amount of ingenuity. As he had no pottery nor metal utensils he had to use a wooden vessel sometimes called a waka but more commonly known as an ipu. This was sometimes a tree trunk hollowed out and sometimes it was a receptacle made of totara bark in such a way that it would hold water. The usual way to make these vessels was to bark a totara tree and lay the bark in strips overlapping each other".*[8]

Houi – Ribbonwood

The ribbonwood bark could be stripped off a tree and used for cloaks and other clothing items. Murdoch writes that the name "thousand jacket" is given to this tree for the many lace-like layers of inner bark it has. A mock korowai (cloak) could be made with students in class as an example. There is only one actual example in New Zealand and that is stored in the Canterbury Museum.

The kakahu-houi is a mat made of ribbonwood bark (kiri houi). The bark was scraped, dried and beaten into a kind of material suitable for making mats, baskets, poi, belts, piupiu etc.

An example from the Canterbury Museum (the only example available)

Kahikātea

This was is a tall white pine tree that provided Māori with wood for weapons, canoes and torches from its bark. The gum-resin and soot from its heart-wood was used for tattooing. White wrote about the tattooing of moko, that the bone of an albatross was carved in to a needle for picking out the line. The soot from burnt kauri gum, charcoal from burnt kahikātea and sometimes the milk from women to soften the mixture was used as a type of ink.[9]

Kōwhai

Beattie also wrote about the Kōwhai having medicinal purposes in the South Island. The bark was soaked in water and was an excellent remedy for cuts. Swellings of any sort were treated with wai kōwhai (kōwhai water) and this was a swift cure. It was also used as an internal remedy for colds and sore throats. The bark was steeped in boiling water and the infusion had to be drunk fresh as it will not keep.

Beattie was told of an incedent where kōwhai juice was used successfully:

> *"One aged man narrated the case of a Māori who had been with him on a sealing hunt. This man suffered very nasty injuries when his face unfortunately came between the teeth of a kekeno (fur seal). As soon as possible waikohai (kowhai juice) was poured into the wounds and in two or three days the man was right again."*[10]

Harakeke/Kōrari

This plant was a hugely important resource to Māori but also to Pākehā when they arrived on our shores. The flax was used for making clothing, ropes and medicinal purposes. That flax is an incredibly strong and useful plant. The flax leaves were used but also the flax rhizome and roots. Edward Pohau Ellison of Ōtākou who became a medical doctor, gave medical advice in the newspaper to those with dysentry;

> *"Dysentry cure and care. Do not take any food on the first day. Take boiled liquids only. To clean out the bowels, take Epsom salts every two hours. There is no problem using flax water but it may be too severe for children...."*[11]

Beattie collected information on using the flax root for toothache;

> *"Toothache is said to have been a very rare affliction in olden days. It was called nihotuka. Juice from the flax root, so the collector was told, if poured in to the ear would make the recipient give a cold shiver, but in about 20 minutes time it would cause the toothache to depart."*[12]

The Kōrari part of the flax was also useful. In our southern traditions the Kōrari was used to make a musical instrument. The porotu was a type of flute that was made from wood or Kōrari and had between 4-6 holes in it. This would be a great project to do with the children in your class and see if you can get a sound from them. Beattie wrote:

"Cuts..., scratches and wounds were treated with various healing agencies according to which was most convienient at the time and place. Flax gum (pia-harakeke) was extensively used. A European who came to Otago in 1857 told me that following the maori example he used flax gum for cuts, binding it round with whitau (dressed flax) and that he found it very effacious".[13]

Poroporo

The Poroporo has berries that are poisonous when green but safe when ripe. Riley wrote that;

> *"Poroporo were planted around villages of the Māori and in their plantations for the value of their fruit, a great favourite with the children. Its dark-green leaves were put on the hot stones of the earth steam oven, sprinkled with water, then the food to be cooked was added, and everything covered with mats and earth."*[14]

Poroporo was also used for skin irritabilities and bruises. It was said that the stalks and leaves were never eaten, but they were boiled with the manuka and then that water was used for bathing eczema.

Ramarama (Pepper tree)

This tree had sharply pungent leaves and bark and the leaves would sometimes be rubbed in the face or body as a scent. Beattie recorded the ramarama as good wood to make spinning tops (child toy). He also recorded that the ramarama leaves could be boiled in water and the mixture taken for certain internal ills.

Kaikōmako

The Kaikōmako has small creamy, white flowers are produced between November and February, followed by a shiny black fruit in autumn. They are a favourite food of the bellbird.

The Māori name kaikōmako means food (kai) of the bellbird (kōmako). Traditionally the Māori used kaikōmako to make fire by repeatedly rubbing a pointed stick into a groove on a piece of māhoe.

Pōkākā

This is known as the Hīnau elsewhere and has some other Māori names. It is a native forest tree and it is a very tolerant plant in cold conditions. It has tiny leaves. Beattie comments that the Pōkākā bark is steeped in boiling water and becomes a step in the dying process of flax fibre (whītau).[15]

Some of the types of traditional birdlife in the area would have been:

Moa

There were many moa hunter sites on the Otago Peninsula including one in Andersons Bay.

Kārearea

Falcon

Rūrū

Owl

Koreke

Quail

Takahē

This birdlife was mainly relagated to the forest areas and the birdlife near the ocean and in to Ōtākou was abundant.

Further to this mokomoko (lizards and gecko) were also abundant in the area.

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Glossary for your school

Kakahu
clothing

Korowai
cloak

Mokomoko
lizard/gecko

Kiri
bark

Wai
water

Kekeno
seal

Kai
food

Endnotes

1 Anderson, Atholl, 1983, p. 4
2 Harlow, (1987) Te Waiatatanga Mai o nga Atua
3 Anderson, A (1983) p 7.
4 West, J (2009) p 265.
5 Anderson, (1983); Hamel (2001)
6 Gaining a Foothold, Historical Records of Otago's Eastern Coast 1770-1839, p 126
7 Shortland, Edward, (1851) The Southern Districts of New Zealand, pp 121-122.
8 Anderson (Ed) (1994) p 111
9 Riley, M(1994) p 159.
10 Anderson (Ed) (1994) p 83
11 Ellison, E, P (1929) Te Rongoā me te tiaki in Te Toa Takitini, October 1st, p1090.
12 Riley, (1994) p 133.
13 Anderson (Ed) (1994), p 83
14 Riley (1994) p 361
15 Anderson (Ed) (1994), p 61.

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