

Archaeological excavations at L'Erée, Guernsey, 2009

- Interim report -



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1. Introduction

This report presents the results of an archaeological excavation relating to Neolithic/Early Bronze Age occupation at the northern end of L'Erée Bay on the west coast of Guernsey (Figures 1 and 2). The work was carried out in September 2009 on land owned by the States of Guernsey (Field 333) and by Mr T. Queripel (Field 336), just below the Prosperity Memorial car park. The excavation was initiated in response to the preliminary results of excavations carried out in 2008 (Garrow & Sturt 2009a). Overall, the 2009 excavations revealed significant evidence – including structural features – for settlements of probable Early/Middle Neolithic (Cérny) and Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age (EBA) date. These findings represent a significant addition to our knowledge of the prehistoric settlement of Guernsey.



Figure 1. Map showing the location of Guernsey.

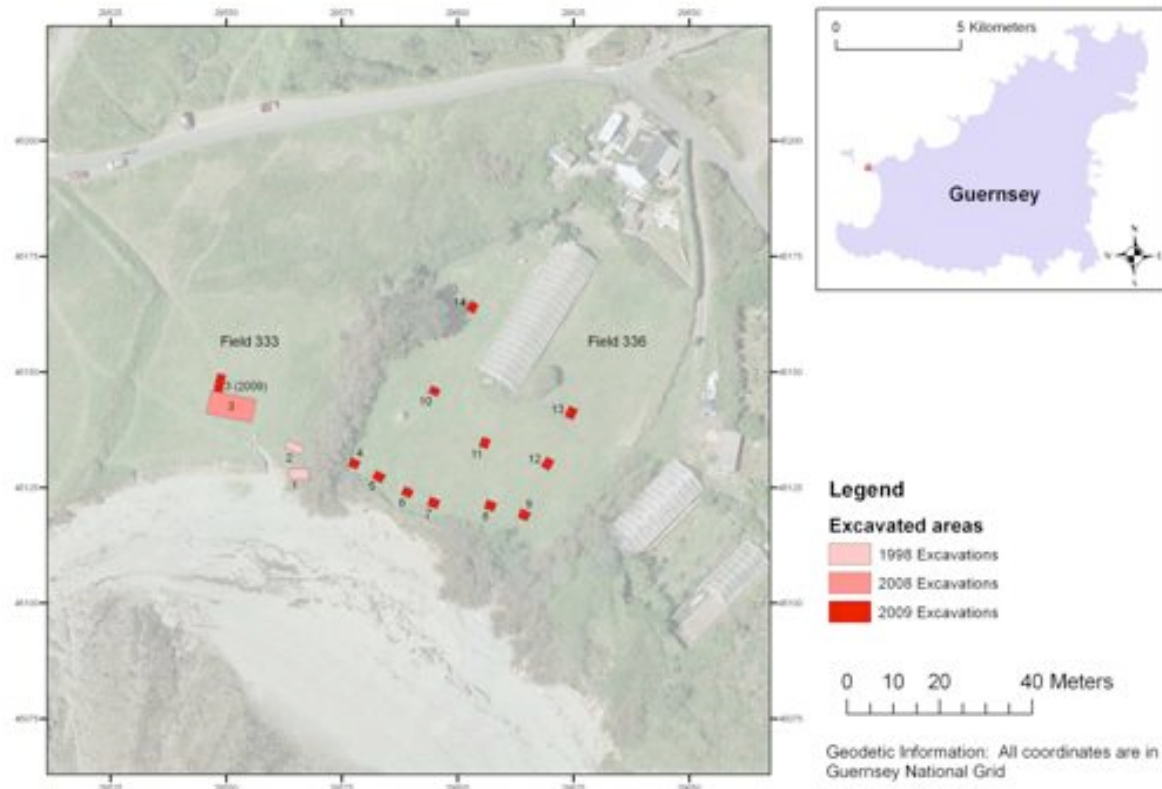


Figure 2. Site location, showing 2009 trench and test pits in relation to 1998/2008 excavations

The Neolithic/EBA of Guernsey is renowned for the impressive number of burial monuments found within its shores, a picture mirrored across the Channel Islands more widely (Patton 1995; Sebire 2005). In stark contrast, the settlement record of the same period remains very poorly understood. Within the Channel Islands as a whole, only three potential Neolithic occupation sites have been identified: an artefact scatter or midden at La Motte, Jersey (Patton 1997, 41), a group of ephemeral post-holes and pits at the Royal Hotel site, St Peter Port, Guernsey (Sebire 2005, 55 and pers. comm.), and the site at L'Erée under discussion here.

Since the 1970s, erosion caused by seasonal storms has revealed what appears to be a very promising Neolithic/EBA habitation site at L'Erée. Each year, quantities of pottery and flint/quartz along with occasional settlement-related features (such as hearths) are eroded out of the low cliff face onto the beach below. Concerned by the continuing loss of this vital archaeological material, Barry Cunliffe and Heather Sebire initiated a small-scale excavation at the site in 1998 (Cunliffe & de Jersey 2000). In summary, this work recovered substantial artefactual evidence, two buried horizons and a ditch-like feature, all within two 2 x 4m trenches. This evidence considerably strengthened previous suggestions that the site was indeed a potentially substantial Neolithic and/or EBA settlement.

A proper understanding of settlement practices is vital to our understanding of any archaeological region. In Guernsey, and indeed the Channel Islands more broadly, it is critical that the well-known and rich monumental record is placed within its broader landscape context, and that we gain a better knowledge of the sites where people lived out their daily lives (see also Scarre 2009). It was this aspect of the site's research potential, along with the continuing damage caused by coastal erosion – highlighted specifically as cause for concern within the recent Coastal

Strategy document drawn up for the island (Royal Haskoning 2007, 48) – that prompted our interest in and investigations at the site.

Building on the results of Cunliffe's work, we initiated a ground-penetrating radar and borehole survey at L'Erée in March 2008. On the basis of this survey's results, we subsequently carried out a relatively small excavation (10 x 5m trench) in September 2008 (see Garrow & Sturt 2009a). This enabled us to ascertain in much more detail the extent and character of the archaeological deposits. Most significantly, it revealed what may have been part of a Late Neolithic structure.

2. Research Strategy (2009)

The 2009 excavation described in this report had two main research objectives (see also Garrow & Sturt 2009b, 3):

1. To examine the potentially Late Neolithic gully identified in Field 333 in greater detail, in order to establish the character and date of this structure more conclusively than had been achieved in 2008.
2. To begin an investigation of the potentially Early Neolithic, as well as Late Neolithic/EBA, settlement in the adjacent Field 336. In doing so, we aimed (a) to recover further quantities of material culture, under closely monitored archaeological conditions rather than through cliff erosion; (b) to establish whether any archaeological features survived; and (c) to clarify the nature and chronology of the settlement(s) as a whole.

In order to achieve these aims, in Field 333 we excavated a small 4 x 2m trench, which extended and formed a T-shape with our 2008 trench (Trench 3); and in Field 336 we excavated a total of eleven 2 x 2m test pits (Trenches 4-14), and drilled eight boreholes across the extent of the field.

3. Methodology

Due to its ecological importance and sensitivity, parts of the L'Erée headland have been designated as a 'Ramsar' site. Consequently, no mechanical earth-moving machinery was used within Field 333. The 4 x 2m trench was hand-excavated to a maximum depth of 0.60m (the level at which the gully feature (F. 1) was identified) in spits of 0.10m depth.

The Ramsar site does not extend into Field 336, and consequently it was possible to use a small mechanical excavator there. The machine was used only to excavate the upper 0.30-0.40m of the test pits, removing a deposit which, following the 1998 and 2008 excavations, is interpreted as a Medieval/Post-Medieval cultivation soil. The remaining, lower deposits were carefully hand excavated in 0.10m spits, to a maximum depth of 1.50m. In order to avoid confusion of terminology, during the 2009 excavations these 'test pits' were numbered as 'trenches' (4-14), following on in sequence from Trench 3 (excavated in 2008/9) and Trenches 1 and 2 (excavated in 1998).

In order to understand the deposits encountered through excavation and their archaeological significance more fully, a geoarchaeological and topographic survey was carried out within Field 336, to augment the results obtained in previous years for Field 333 (Garrow & Sturt 2008). In 2009, a Cobra TT percussion drilling system was used to gain additional insight into the stratigraphy via boreholes. Material recovered from the boreholes has been submitted for particle

size and loss on ignition analysis; bulk and micromorphological samples were also taken from within the excavated trenches. We are currently awaiting the results of analysis of these samples. This work was augmented through a topographic survey carried out using a Leica 1200 real time kinematic global position system (RTK GPS) connected to the States of Guernsey correction signal, transmitted via an internet server.

The site archive is currently held at the University of Southampton under the site code LER09. Once the project is fully completed, the archive will be deposited along with all relevant reports at Guernsey Museum.



Figure 3. Excavation in progress, Field 336, September 2009 (showing test pits 4-9; Tr. 9 is in the foreground)

4. Results

4.1. Field 333

Excavations in Field 333 during 2009 were limited to a single 4 x 2m trench. This was dug with the specific aim of establishing whether the gully and post-hole feature identified within the 2008 trench was part of a Late Neolithic/EBA structure, or whether it was a later feature cut into deposits of that date.

In our previous report (Garrow & Sturt 2009a, 7), the feature was described as follows:

“At a depth of 0.6m, at the interface between the Medieval/Post-medieval ploughsoil [3] and the Late Neolithic/EBA ‘A’ horizon [4], two archaeological features were observed. The first of these was a shallow gully (Feature 1). It extended right across the trench, and was aligned SSW-NNE (parallel with the trench edge and present-day field boundary). The feature was 20cm wide and approximately 10cm deep. Considering the shallow depth which remained, it was very regular in terms of its straightness and overall depth.

The second feature was a post-hole (Feature 2), identified close to the northern edge of excavation. The post-hole was actually set within the gully and so it can be assumed that both features formed part of the same putative structure. The post-hole measured 32cm in diameter x 18cm deep, and had steep/vertical

sides with a rounded base. Its fill [6] was a light brown sandy silt. Within the fill, eight pebbles/cobbles were observed; these are likely to represent packing material for the post. A sherd of diagnostically Late Neolithic/EBA pottery and a small scraper were found within the post-hole fill.

On its initial discovery, both the date and the structural nature of the gully were uncertain. The Medieval/Post-medieval ploughsoil layer [3] appear to have truncated both the layer into which the gully was cut [4], and probably also the gully itself. Unfortunately, because the fill of the gully was very similar to the layer above [3], it was impossible to determine in section whether it had originally been cut during the Neolithic/EBA and then subsequently truncated, or whether it had simply been cut in the Medieval/Post-medieval period ...

Overall, an element of doubt inevitably remains as to the precise structural nature of these two features, and indeed their date. Nevertheless, the most likely explanation – given the evidence so far revealed – is that they belong to a Late Neolithic/EBA structure, the rest of which lies beyond the edge(s) of excavation to the north and/or west”.

The 2009 trench (Tr. 3 extension) was located immediately to the north of, and adjacent to, our 2008 trench, directly over the projected line of the gully. As expected, at a depth of 0.60m, a further length of Feature 1 was fully exposed; the gully extended right across the newly-excavated trench and off into the northern edge of excavation. The 4m length which was exposed was completely excavated. No finds at all were recovered from its fills, and no further post-holes were observed within its base.



Figure 4. Feature 1, the gully, as exposed in the 2009 trench, looking north (note that the excavated feature visible towards the left-hand side of the photo was a natural solution hollow).

In combination, our 2008 and 2009 excavations have now exposed Feature 1 for a total length of 9m. While the gully could potentially still be seen as representing a Neolithic/EBA structure of some sort, if so, it would have to be a fairly large one. The fact that no finds of prehistoric date, or any further associated post-holes, were recovered during the 2009 excavations must be seen as adding further doubt in terms of its authenticity as a prehistoric building. Equally, the stratigraphic level at which Neolithic/EBA features were found in Field 336 was significantly lower (see section 4.2). In this light, the fact that the gully is directly parallel with the modern

field boundaries also appears more significant. Ultimately, given all of these factors, the balance of evidence seems to suggest that Feature 1 does not form part of a prehistoric structure, but is most likely of relatively recent origin, perhaps a post-medieval field boundary. The prehistoric material found within the post hole in 2008 is thus likely to be residual.

4.2. Field 336

In total, eleven 2 x 2m test pits were excavated within Field 336 (figure 5). Most of these, and especially those towards the south of the field, revealed a deep stratigraphic sequence of archaeological deposits (up to 1.50m in depth), which contained substantial amounts of Late Neolithic/EBA, and smaller amounts of Middle Neolithic, material culture. Matching the expectations we had following our 2008 borehole survey in the adjacent field (Garrow & Sturt 2008), the depth of these deposits tailed off dramatically towards the northern part of the field. Within Trench 14, for example, undisturbed loess deposits were exposed at a depth of only 0.35m.

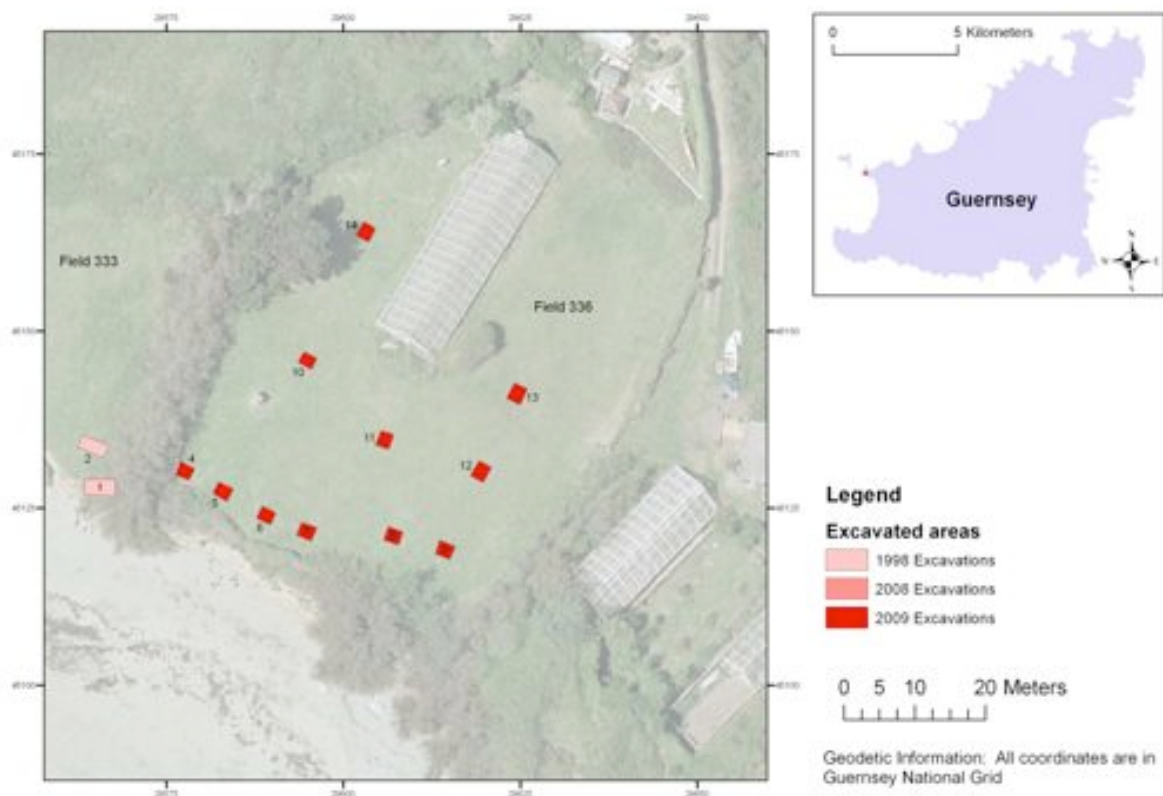


Figure 5. Location of test pits (Trenches 4-14) within Field 336.

In addition to these buried deposits, a number of potentially Early/Middle Neolithic archaeological features were observed (within trenches 4, 6, 7 and 11); these either cut into, or lay immediately above, the undisturbed loess. We will account for the stratigraphic deposits first below, before turning to the features.

Stratigraphic sequence

The best-preserved sequence of deposits was visible in Trenches 6 and 7, the lowest lying part of the site. It is likely that similar deposits had originally extended right across the southern part of the field, but that these had not been quite so well preserved because they were not as deeply buried. In order to illustrate the character of those deposits succinctly, the sequence observed in Trench 6 is described below.



Figure 6. Photograph of trench 6 section, looking north. Post-hole F. 10 (described below) can also be seen in the base of the test pit.

Post-medieval/modern deposits

[1] *Modern Topsoil 'A1' Horizon:* A dark brown sandy silt with frequent pebble (4-64mm diameter) and granule (2-4mm diameter) inclusions. In evidence across the entire site ranging in thickness from eight to ten centimetres.

[2] *Current 'A/B1' Horizon:* A very dark greyish brown sandy silt. In evidence across the site ranging in thickness from one to four centimetres.

[22] *Medieval/Post-medieval cultivation soil:* Mid brown silty sand with frequent pebble inclusions. In evidence across the site, with an average thickness of 0.4m. Interpreted in 2008 and here as Medieval/Post-medieval in date due to pottery found within it, as well as the numerous pebble inclusions (probably resulting from the use of seaweed as a fertilizer).

Neolithic/EBA deposits

[28] *Late Neolithic/EBA [?] 'A2' horizon:* Pale brownish grey compact sandy silt. Approximately 0.12m thick. Interpreted as the remnant lower part of a Late Neolithic/EBA topsoil.

[38] *Late Neolithic/EBA Buried soil 'B2' horizon*: Mottled/laminated pale grey compact sandy silt with mid-brown silty streaks. It is interpreted as a 'B' horizon to the buried soil 'A' horizon [28] described above (i.e. a buried Late Neolithic/EBA subsoil).

[94] *Buried turf* : Mid reddish brown mineralised very compact sandy silt. It is interpreted as a possible turf line to the buried soil 'A' horizon [39] described below.

[39] *Late Neolithic buried soil 'A3' horizon*: Light-mid brownish grey sandy silt with numerous bands/lenses of mid-brown silt. Interpreted as a third 'A' horizon within the sequence, i.e. a buried topsoil.

[51] *Late Neolithic buried soil 'B3' horizon*: Mottled pale-mid yellow/beige-ish brown sandy silt. Interpreted as the subsoil developed out of *in situ* loess deposits.

[52] *Late Neolithic buried soil 'B/C' horizon*: Mid-dark brown sandy silt with small lenses/pockets of pale yellow/brown sandy silt. Interpreted as the interface between the subsoil and insitu loess.

The significance of this sequence will be discussed in more detail alongside the results from the borehole survey in section 4.3 below.

Archaeological features

Trench 4

Feature 13. Possible stone wall. Line of ten granite stones [86] in the north-western corner of the trench (the line was observable for 1.30m, and continued at both ends into the northern and western edges of the test pit). The stones were approximately 0.15-0.20m in size, and lay on top of the natural loess subsoil. No cut/foundation trench was discernible beneath or around them. However, given the fact that they were very clearly in a linear arrangement, and that the stratigraphic level at which they were found was the same as other definite features elsewhere, it seems reasonable to suggest that the stones had perhaps once formed part of a stone wall relating to a structure of some kind. A provisional Early/Middle Neolithic date is given for this feature based upon its position within the stratigraphy; however we are still waiting for the return of a radiocarbon date which will help to confirm this (see below).



Figure 7. Feature 13, possible stone wall

Trench 6

Feature 10. Post-hole (see Figure 6, above). Cut [81]: 0.22 x 0.20 x 0.19m deep; circular in plan, very steep sides, narrow, flattish base. Fill [80]: very dark grey brown sandy silt with occasional charcoal flecks. This feature produced sherds of prehistoric pottery, one of which had very diagnostic, fish rib-impressed decoration, which is typical of the Cérvny tradition (I. Kinnes pers. comm.). The form and artefactual contents of this feature suggest that it formed part of a mid-5th millennium post-built structure.

Trench 7

Feature 12. Ditch. Cut [85]: 0.50 wide x 0.40 deep x ?? long (2.00m visible); very steep sides, gently rounded base. Fill [84]: mid-dark grey-brown compact sandy silt. Due to time pressures, only a one-metre long slot of this feature was excavated. The excavated portion of the ditch produced 15 sherds (66g) of pottery. Within the confines of a 2 x 2m test pit, it was difficult to establish fully the form and character of this feature. It appeared to be curving rather than straight, suggesting that it may be the corner of an enclosure ditch or something similar. Its close physical proximity to F. 10 in Tr. 6 could indicate that these were related, forming part of a wider complex of settlement features.



Figure 8. Feature 12, ditch

Trench 10

Feature 14. Modern pit. Cut [89]: >2.00m diameter (full extent not exposed), 0.70m deep; moderately steep sides, flat base. Fill [88]: mid orange-brown sandy silt. This feature contained large amounts of greenhouse glass and bottles, suggesting that it had been dug to dispose of this unwanted broken material, possibly during or immediately after the Second World War.

Trench 11

Feature 7. Hearth pit. Cut [75]: 0.55 x 0.55 x 0.10m deep; circular in plan, bowl-shaped in section, with very gently sloping sides and shallow curving base. Fill [74]: very dark grey-black sandy silt with abundant charcoal flecks and fragments. A series of seven angular stones (up to 0.10m across) was found towards the southern edge of F.7. It is likely that these had originally been placed around the edge of the feature to define its edge during use. This feature is provisionally dated to the Early/Middle Neolithic (see below).

Feature 8. Hearth pit. Cut [77]: 0.60 x 0.60 x 0.10m deep; circular in plan, bowl-shaped in section, with very gently sloping sides and shallow curving base. Fill [76]: very dark grey-black sandy silt with abundant charcoal flecks and fragments. A series of nine angular stones (up to 0.20m across) was found curving neatly around the southern edge of F.8. Six additional stones were found spread across the middle part of the feature. As with F.7, it is likely that these stones had been placed around the edge of the feature in order to define its edge during use; the first nine of these were probably still in situ, the other seven displaced from around the north-eastern side of the feature. The pit contained five sherds (8g) of undiagnostic pottery. However, we are awaiting the results of radiocarbon dating on a sample of charcoal from F. 8, which should provide an accurate date for this feature and, by association, those around it.

Feature 9. Hearth pit. Cut [79]: ??(0.50 visible) x ?? (0.40 visible) x 0.10m deep; irregular oval in plan, bowl-shaped in section, with very gently sloping sides and shallow curving base. Fill [78]: very dark grey-black sandy silt with abundant charcoal flecks and fragments. This feature was not as regular or well-defined as Features 7 and 8, but it appears to be a related hearth feature.



Figure 9. Features 7 (right) and 8 (left), stone-lined hearths. Feature 11, post-hole, is visible in the bottom left corner of the photo, the edge of Feature 9 just visible at the bottom centre.

Feature 11. Post-hole. Cut [83]: 0.17 x ?? (0.20 visible) x 0.14m deep; probably oval in plan, steeply sloping sides, narrow curving base. Fill [82]: dark grey sandy silt with abundant charcoal

flecks. The physical proximity of this post-hole to the hearths, and the fact that its fill was very similar to theirs, suggests that it may well have been functionally related to them.

4.3 Topographic and borehole survey results

In order to understand the sequence of the deposits found at the L'Erée headland, and their archaeological significance, a broader environmental, geoarchaeological and topographic survey was carried out. Results from macrobotanical, micromorphological, particle size and loss on ignition analysis are not yet available, and so the following discussion will likely be refined in later reports.

In 2009, topographic survey focused on detailed recording of features within field 336. When combined with data gathered in 2008 this allowed for the generation of a detailed (sub 1m resolution) topographic model (figure 10). Within field 336 this has allowed for identification of post-medieval/modern ditch features, possibly associated with glasshouse construction. However, equally importantly, this topographic data can be integrated with sub-surface data gained via the boreholes and excavation to model the nature and extent of deposits across the headland.

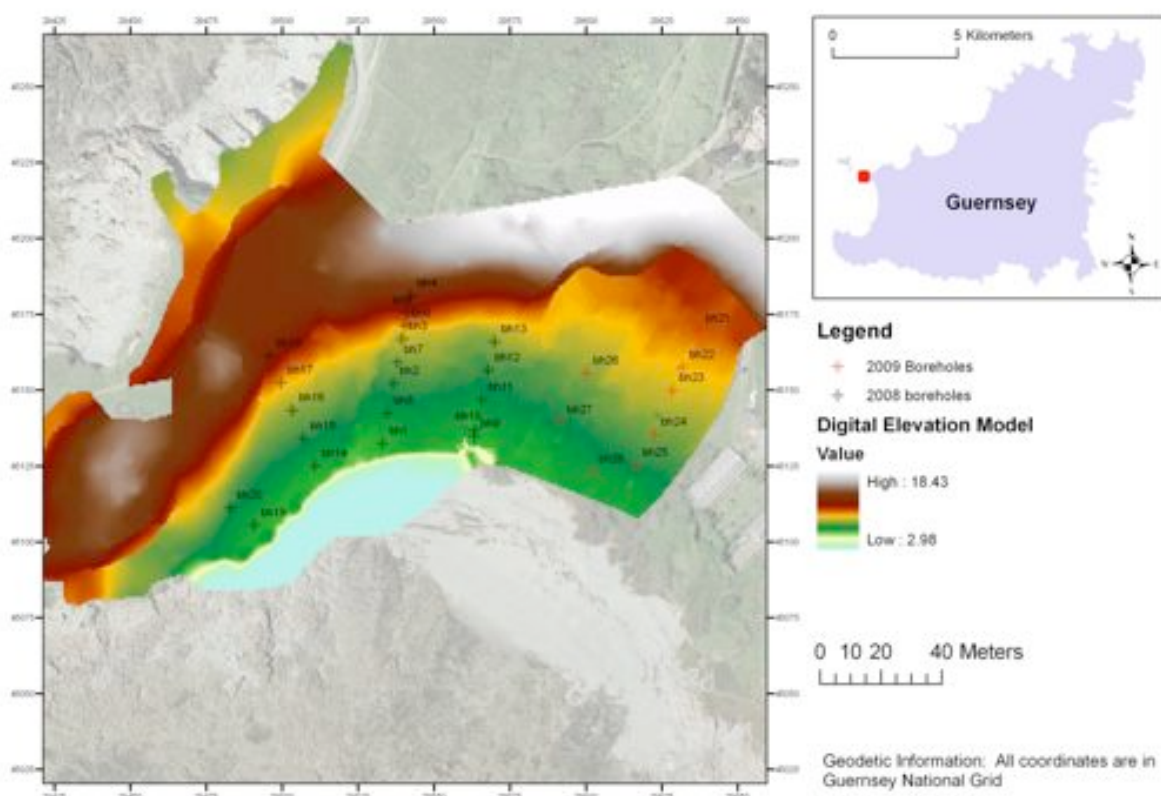


Figure 10. Map showing the location of boreholes and the topographic model generated from 2008 and 2009 data.

Work in 2009 helped to clarify the difference in stratigraphic sequence noted previously (Garrow and Sturt 2009a) between the 2008 excavations and those undertaken in 1998 by Cunliffe. Below the cultivation soil, Cunliffe recorded a series of layers which in post-excavation were grouped together into two units, termed Unit 1 and Unit 2 (Cunliffe & de Jersey 2000, 874-5). Unit 1, the lower of the two, was seen as representing a sequence of wind/water erosion (resulting in the formation of finely-laminated deposits of sand interspersed with loam) followed by a more stable

phase of consolidation (resulting in the formation of loamy soil); it was thought to be Earlier Neolithic in date. Unit 2, which lay immediately above Unit 1, represented a repetition of this sequence, and thus resulted in the formation of essentially very similar deposits (ibid., 875); it was thought to be Late Neolithic/EBA in date. Within our 2008 excavation trench, only a single set (or Unit) of deposits along these lines was identified, rather than two: a layer of finely-laminated deposits of sand interspersed with loam [7] overlain by a layer of more stable loam [4]. Consequently, in between our trench and those dug in 1998, one of the two units identified in Cunliffe's trench just 9m to the south was lost (See Garrow & Sturt 2009a, 20-21).

By integrating the data from the work carried out in 1998, 2008 and 2009, it has been possible to model the stratigraphic sequence within the geological utilities computer package *Rockworks 15*. Figure 11 (below) provides an example output from this modelling process. Here the reason for the discontinuity between Cunliffe's 1998 excavations and our work in 2008 becomes apparent, with a stepped terrace like topography visible in the deposits. As such, the area within which the lower unit (Cunliffe's Unit 1) earlier deposits may be found is relatively narrow, and currently under direct threat from erosion.

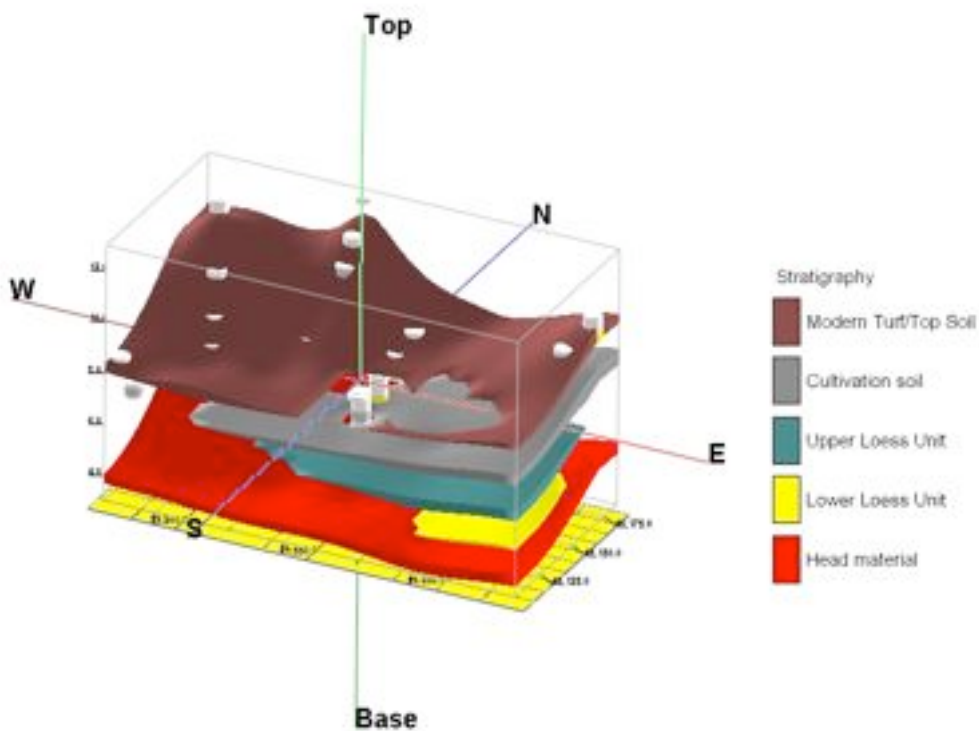


Figure 11 Volumetric stratigraphic model of deposits encountered through borehole survey and excavation.

A number of interesting research questions emerge from the geoarchaeological survey which will be explored in greater detail in later publications. However, one key issue is worth highlighting at this early stage. At present the excavated trenches and boreholes within field 336, along with Cunliffe's results, indicate marked periods of landscape stability in the Early/Middle Neolithic and in the Later Neolithic (associated with soil formation). However, between these periods at this location there is significant landscape instability, documented in the 'marbled' reworked loess deposits. The causes and impact of this instability on the people who lived in the area is of great archaeological interest. Does the landscape instability reflect a hiatus in occupation, or a relocation of settlement? It is hoped that through expanding our survey area, further excavation

and discussion of our results with others working in Channel Islands, we may better understand social change alongside and at the same time as environmental change.

5. Specialist analysis

It is important to note here that, at this early stage in the post-excavation analysis, we are still awaiting the results of most of the specialist studies. These include:

Pottery

1805 sherds of prehistoric pottery (weighing 8204g) were recovered during the 2009 excavations. 1986 of these were found within the test pits in Field 336, 19 within Field 333. The vast majority were Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic/EBA in date, and the collection as a whole exhibited numerous similarities with that recovered previously within Field 333 (Bukach 2000, Cooper 2009). The assemblage included coarse ware jars, a small number of Beakers and Jersey bowls, and carinated or shouldered bowls, in both coarse and fine wares. In addition to this material, the assemblage also contained a very small element of much earlier, probably Cérvny pottery (identified by C. Marcigny and I. Kinnes, pers. comm.). These included a fine sherd with distinctive fish rib-impressed decoration from post-hole F.10, elongated and pierced lugs from Trench 7, and a fine impressed sherd from Trench 11.

Worked stone

Initial findings indicate an assemblage similar to that documented in the 2008 report (Garrow and Sturt 2009a), but with some significant differences. First, while the majority of raw material is still indicative of working small beach cobbles, the lower buried soil also revealed flakes from large, black flint, cores. The knapping strategy is more formal and blade like and may suggest an Early/Middle Neolithic presence. Second, within the beach cobble material there are many more cores and flakes from primary reduction. This added to the presence of a quernstone is more suggestive of settlement activity.

Radiocarbon dating

One sample (charocal from hearth F. 8) has been submitted to Beta Analytic; the result is due in late January 2010.

Micromorphology

Experimental work is being carried out to compare traditional micromorphological analysis with results that can be gained via x-ray micro tomography. At present samples are being scanned in the micro-CT lab at University of Southampton. Following this, Dr Charly French from the University of Cambridge will carry out a more traditional micromorphological analysis.

Particle Size and Loss on Ignition Analysis

Samples from the boreholes drilled in 2009 are being processed for particle size and organic content (via loss on ignition) at the National Oceanography Centre at the University of Southampton.

8. Summary

The excavation described within this report produced a series of interesting results, which increase our knowledge of the site at L'Erée significantly. It is important to note that both of the stated key research objectives for the season were met.

Firstly, the gully identified in Field 333 was examined in greater detail, and its extent/character better defined. Unfortunately, our 2009 findings weighted interpretation towards a non-prehistoric origin for the shallow gully and post-hole. This interpretation cannot be proved beyond all doubt, but the balance of evidence suggests that it was a Medieval/Post-medieval field boundary, which had come to contain small amounts of prehistoric material because it had been cut into deposits of that date.

Secondly, we were able to investigate Field 336 in substantial detail – the first time that the archaeology within that field has ever been systematically excavated. Our work there confirmed previous impressions (resulting from work carried out in the adjacent field and artefacts/features recovered from the eroding cliff face) that there must have been a substantial settlement in the vicinity during the Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic/EBA. The hearth features and artefact-rich ‘midden’ deposits appear to resemble closely sites of a similar date elsewhere in the Channel Islands (see Patton 1995, Chapters 5 and 6). We were also able to establish beyond doubt that there was also earlier, Early/Middle Neolithic occupation at the site. Intriguingly, this phase of occupation appears to be represented by a substantial number of structural features, suggesting a sustained period of settlement.

In summary, the site at L’Erée – which includes settlement(s) of Early/Middle Neolithic (c. 4500 BC) and Late Neolithic/EBA (c. 2500-2000 BC) dates – represents a vital addition to our knowledge of prehistoric settlement in Guernsey. The earlier phase represents the first conclusive evidence of occupation of Early/Middle Neolithic date (with surviving settlement features) in Guernsey, adding to previous glimpses obtained at both the Royal Hotel site, St Peter Port (Sebire 2005, 55 and pers. comm.) and at Les Fouaillages, L’Ancresse (Pioffet et al. forthcoming). The latter, equally, represents important excavated evidence for Late Neolithic/EBA settlement in the Channel Islands, and provides an important landscape context for the Le Creux ès Faïes tomb immediately upslope, which is known to have been used – if not built – during the Late Neolithic/EBA (Kendrick 1928, 184-5; Sebire 2005, 74).

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