

*NOTES ON THIS INTERVIEW*

[1] *The preamble was punctuated by numerous responses from DM, followed on the tape by a long pause ( between the preamble and the start of her comment ), due to visitors to the interview site.*

[2] *SE asks some questions through his wife, NE, because SE and DM are in a mother in law avoidance relationship.*

2 Yes. What (will I say?) Yes, about in the old days when we were little. We used to go to school. [[Brief discussion off tape.]] We used to go to school. This is when we were only little. [[Suggestion from visitor to DM.]] Oh, yes. Wait till I think. Yes. When we were little we had just that one airstrip. Is that right? No, there wasn't any airstrip. That's right, there was no airstrip then. It was later when they built that one where the club is. That was as we were growing up. But earlier on, no. There wasn't any airstrip. But the road was there. The one that went to Darwin, that road, went to Pine Creek then turned up towards Darwin. [**There?**] Yes. That's where it used to go, that first road.

3 When the balanda first came, the first ones who came, made that road so it came to Kunbarllanjja. Then later Mr Wilson widened (the road) so he could bring food back. I think the Nominees ran it then. So they used to help us, the, whatsit, Church Missionary Society. [**When...**] Yes. Before that no one had built a road. I mean they settled things, they put in the road and food came for the store. That's what we used to eat.

4 They all got involved, because Mr Wilson asked them. He said to them, "Come and we'll work together, men, women and children, and we'll make a substantial road to Border Store." Then some of the men, well they went up there to the north to cut down trees. Big trees, called, ah, [], they cut them down. Then they put the timber there at Border Store (crossing). And some of the men and women (collected) rocks. They, they were putting the rocks there and we school kids were helping the adults. Yes. We worked on it and finished it. And it was good because Mr Wilson brought over loads of food. That transport (truck) used to bring it.

5 Then later on some of us got involved when they were making the airstrip. All the Aboriginal people were clearing trees, women, men and we children too. We would help the adults with that airstrip. And we wanted to. I mean that's how we learnt, by looking at new ways. The adults, yes, we helped them. We built that airstrip which ran from where the club is, coming right up to here. This was where the, oh, the office used to stand, here. That was where the Balanda used to live. That was near the public toilet, it stood there. And the aeroplane would park there.

6 But we always used to go to school. We had two old ladies who would cook the food: Ngalkwadj and Ngalkangila. They worked there, cooking our food – breakfast, dinner, supper that we used to eat, us school kids. Yes, and they used to do the washing, washing our dirty clothes. They did the washing. But we had another uniform. We would wear one uniform and when we came to shower, we would change into the other uniform and go to school. We used to eat breakfast, dinner and supper and then go home. Yes. We that's how we always ate. For the little children – I mean like Shauna or Angus. Not Shauna, not Angus, but Shauna or maybe like Annaleesha – the smaller ones, they would eat here where the hospital building was.

7 The nurses cooked for them there, and so there were a lot of them there. They would cook for them, and they would eat there, so the children didn't take the food away. The adults could take food home for the children. So they always had food to eat, that they cooked for them. And we had fresh food too, vegetables they had planted. We had pumpkin, watermelon, peanuts, tomatoes, potatoes, and we had bananas. That's what we ate all the time. They would cook it for us slightly bigger kids, and for the little ones. Even the babies old enough to crawl used to eat that food. They would eat there when their mothers took along, though they had to wait till after they'd bathed them and washed them, and if they had sores, they would put ointment on them. And they had fresh milk to drink – cows' milk and goats' milk. And we used to drink that too. We would go to school and drink goats milk at morning tea time. We used to drink that here.

8 In the afternoons we would go and work at, oh, we had that "work experience" and we would go and do that. Yes. They used to show us how to work. Some of us went

and did sewing. Others went to work as nurses. Some went to work in the office. Some worked as carpenters, some as mechanics. Some went and worked with horses, and they were taught stockwork. And some would go to the, um, to be taught gardening. Now, who was it used to teach them? Mr Morrow taught them. Sometimes lots of us would go and help with the food growing there. They planted lots of food, so we school kids used to go and help them with that. We would plant foods. And later when the peanuts were fully grown we would go and help them, we would, we used to harvest it. We would be pulling it up. Yes. And putting in bags. Potatoes too, when they were ready we school kids would go and lift them, I mean the potatoes, and put them in bags. Yes.

**9 SE:** [[Because SE calls DM “mother-in-law” which involves a general avoidance of direct contact, we arranged for SE’s wife, NE, to ask some of these questions]]

***When you went to school, what language did you speak? [Pardon?] English or Kunwinjku or what?***

10 Yes. They used to teach us in English. Yes. The Balanda would teach us so we were learning English. We already knew our own language that we spoke. They had taught us that. And we used to eat that wonderful food. They would get fresh vegetables. In the afternoons they would get them all, and bring a container of fresh vegetables. This was at the shop, where they had containers of them, a wheelbarrow or a bucket. A whatsit? A big dish. And in the afternoons when they finished all their jobs, our mothers and fathers would go there and get potatoes, watermelon, pumpkin and tomatoes. We would take that home and they would cook it for us and we would eat it. And they killed buffalo for fresh meat. We would go and get meat and vegetables every day. Yes, and they would get milk in billy cans, they would get fresh milk and bring that home. Yes.

***11 SE: In the old days, did Aboriginal people, and I mean this was before Balanda came, who used to teach the children? Was it just the parents who taught them?***

12 When there were no Balanda? [**Yes.**] Yes, at that stage it was just the old people who used to teach us and stay with us. What happened was that I came here (to

Kunbarllanjja) way back then and my mother and father used to teach me. I'd been born in the bush. [*So how old were you then?*] I was very small, maybe something like five months old, oops, I mean five years old when I came here. Until then we'd just been in the bush, and I'd been born in the bush. They used to wrap me with paperbark, because there hadn't been any cloth. So they wrapped me in paperbark. (My mother's mother) Ngalkodjok cut my umbilical cord herself, she did that. [[Discussion about this particular family's relations off tape.]] (She cut it with) a mussel shell. [*Really?*] The shell of a mussel. Yes. Well, she cut my cord when we were staying there up north. They had been working there, ah, collecting buffalo hides, so I was born there, up north. I was born at Kardjikkarda. To start with they were collecting buffalo hides and crocodile (skins). That was a long time they did that. I was born in the north, that's why I was born there and then I grew up a bit and we went back (to Kunbarllanjja).

13 It was when I burnt my leg, so they tell me, in a campfire. Just here, my leg was burnt black. [*Really?*] Yes, I burnt my leg and so we came back here. I had, um, a pet, a baby whistle duck, and I was nursing it, and I felt cold that morning, so I was warming myself at the fire holding the baby (bird), and he didn't like it – maybe he felt hot – and he just took off and landed in the hot coals and kicked them everywhere. He burnt his foot, but I got burnt worse. So we came back so they could give me, um, medicine. But that bird that burnt me, kicked out the coals, that whistle duck, I still kept it. We came back and there were Balanda here, a lot of them staying here.

14 They had those buildings here, the building where back then the Balanda used to look after that earlier generation. The Dormitory buildings were here. The females had theirs, and the males lived in theirs, and they looked after them. So all the children were brought and put there to live in the Dormitories. [*What about you?*] No, not me. Because my mother spoke against it. [*Ah.*] Yes. But those buildings were there all that time. I saw them there in the north (end of town) and then later in the southern end [] there were some buildings, but they've been demolished.

**15 SE:** *Yes.* [[Brief discussion off tape.]] ***What about Aboriginal law, the law of the Aboriginal people, who used to teach you that? Was it the adults in your family?***

16 Yes. The adults in my family, my father's mothers, my father's father, my mother's mother's mother, they all taught me, they used to tell me stories.

**17 SE:** [[Question asked through NE.]] ***Really? What did they tell you?***

18 Yes, well they used to say to us, "Don't go doing anything wrong.." "Don't swear at other women or men, don't gossip about them." "You (s) just mind your own business without being silly." They would say, "If you look after yourself no one will abuse you or hurt you. But if you stick your nose in other people's business, if you abuse them, or gossip about them, or swear at them, they'll attack for that and you'll die. Maybe you'll die young. When you're still a young person you could die, or just a child if []. You might go for a swim and a man will come and grab you by the throat and maybe drown you." They told us that. [***Really?***] Yes. "Don't go and steal someone else's food or things. Don't steal anyone's things We don't know whether he might have something sacred there. If you go and steal his things, whatever, we could die, or your could die, they could kill you while you're playing. You could be there with other children, yes, or could be swimming, and that man would kill you there." When we thought about that we were frightened. So we didn't go and steal things, or abuse people or swear at them. We were too scared.

**19 SE:** ***How did, how did you learn about, um, animals and the names of things, whatever?***

20 Yes, well. Well they used to take us hunting, we would go with the old people. We would go hunting and they would say the names of the animals for us. And we would watch them making fish traps, and they would say to us, "Okay. Let's go. We'll get some fish. We'll catch them." We should go and we would wait for them and watch them getting fish and as they put them out they would say their names for us: "This is a nail fish, this is a saratoga, baby bream, bream, baby nail fish, and this is a very bony little fish." "What do we call this one?" We didn't know. And we

would have a good look at whatever animal or fish they were catching, whatever. And we would ask them, “What’s this called?” we would ask.

21 And they would name them for us. They would tell us the names of the foods, the sort that grew on trees, and the sort that was under the ground, like long yams, cheeky yams and bush potatoes. They would show us the vines. “This is the long yam. And this one has the cheeky yams. This one has the bush potatoes.” (Called) Mankurrkkeb. (or) Djarrkbam. They showed us the underwater yams. They would tell us the names of things and at the same time point out the vines to us, as we looked at the vines. “This one. Come and have a look at this vine. This is what the vine from this food looks like,” they would say, “So if you dig down under, you’ll see it and you can pull it up for yourself.” They told us that. We would dig and bring up that food. We used to go and they would teach us about bush honey. “Look there and you’ll see the bees flying where there is honey.” Then they would chop into the fallen log, get the comb and put the honey in a container.

22 To start with we didn’t have any proper containers, or lots of billy cans, none of that. Sometimes we put things into paperbark. Paperbark, or sometimes we would make palm leaves to put things in. We would put something into it and wrap it up in paperbark or palm leaves. Sometimes we would bring string baskets. We would put anything in the string baskets, sometimes long yams, or maybe fish, cheeky yams – the string baskets were, they made little ones so we could carry just small amounts. We would go and wade in and collect underwater yams, they weren’t deep, we would take the small ones. There were big ones and small ones. “Put them in your mouth,” they would say. But that was only a very small amount. In our mouths. We would put them in there, just a little bit in our mouths, then empty it into something bigger, a proper basket. A big one. That would eventually fill up, then we would come up out and go on our way.

23 So how did they teach us, those people, our Makka, Kakkak and Mawah who used to take us hunting? It was so we could learn more and more, yes. Ngalwamud, my own father’s mother, she’s died now, but I used to follow her from birth. You know, she used to live there, with Nakangila R\_\_\_\_, her brother’s boy. She lived there

with Ngalbangardi. Well she was the one. We would go along together and she would teach me and explain things to me all the time. [*Mm.*] We would go collecting file snakes. “You grab them as I show you so when you grow up you’ll know how to gather things for yourself, animals or plant food. And you won’t have to go to another man and hang around begging, or have other women giving you things. If you know how to collect things, you’ll have plenty to eat. If you go begging they won’t give you anything, they’ll refuse you and there’ll be no food. So you’ve got to learn for yourself how to collect things so you’ll have plenty to eat.”

24 So we would collect file snakes, wading in the water. We were scared. They used to hold our hands, Ngalbangardi, Nakamarrang, so...[[Laughs.]] We would be collecting the filesnakes with them holding our hands. [*Yes.*] “It’s all right. You grab them so you’ll know how, so you’ll learn,” they said. We gathered them and we would watch them when they got the filesnakes and bit their heads to cut through the back of their necks. But when we did it we were scared [[Laughs]]. Maybe it would bite us in the mouth. Yes. We did that. Yes. They taught us and we went to the paperbark trees and stripped the bark because we got so many filesnakes. They said to us, “Let’s go, where’s the paperbark you’ve prepared?” We got the bark, and collected all the filesnakes. We tossed them into the earth oven with some rocks. We had dug it all to roast that food. We got the firewood, waited, opened the oven and then roasted (the filesnakes).

25 Goanna too. They would always take us hunting and teach us about goanna, and the holes they dug. And some would climb trees, so we would cut a long stick, and tie some rope on it and then lasso that creature, and just pull him down, so we would put the rope around his throat and toss him down. [*Yes.*] [[Laughs.]] Yes. If we saw it was a tall tree we would throw the rope, and it would go over the neck, then we would tie it here around the neck and kill them. Or, sometimes, we would be go out on the floodplains getting goanna, and we would say to them, “Goodbye Goanna!” (They told us,) “If you say goodbye, the goanna will just stay still for you, then you can go and kill it.” It would just wait there and we would kill it. Out on the floodplains the goanna would run away from us. We used to take dogs so they could sometimes bite them for us. We used to take a pack of dogs, lots of them.

**26 SE: *Were you happy about learning all this?***

27 When we were doing that we were just so very happy, really contented, just completely delighted. Nothing was happening to upset us. We would get up and it was as if we couldn't get enough of it. We would always be getting up thinking we would be going hunting, finding animals, having a meal and them coming back in the afternoons. If we felt tired, we would just go to sleep early. We would have a wash, then go to sleep. When they showed us how to cut palm leaves, we would collect the stem and roast it. If the dogs attacked a buffalo, he (Nakamarrang) would spear it for us, or a pig. We would cook some of it and take some of it in the palm leaves and divide it up, and then cook the rest.

31 We would wait at the camp. They would come back with stuff for us, and we would take some for our mothers and fathers, all that meat. And there was lilies: Ngalbangardi was always showing us, that lady Labbidja. We would be gathering lily stems, wading in the water, and we would collect the lily roots, and mussels. And fish, if he caught any in his net, that old man Nakamarrang. We took some string with us to where we camped, so we could also, um, tie the fish ready to carry. He used to get a lot of fish, and we would give half to another group of people. Yes, they'd be looking out for fish so we would give some to them that we'd taken there ourselves. We would take it and roast that fish.

**32 SE: *What about the young women and young men, boys and girls, were they taught separately?***

33 Yes. Sometimes they would go hunting, just them, for kangaroo. They would take them, take them along and teach them, the men. The old men would teach them. They would paint themselves with clay so the kangaroo couldn't smell them. They used to paint themselves with clay, then go hunting, going along, and they would kill a lot of kangaroos.

**34 SE: *(You) young women – did they take you along?***

35 We young women had our own, yes. We would go after long necked turtle. They would teach us about yams, and underwater yams. They would show us the cheeky yams. The old ladies used to take us, just us young women. They took us separately - the men went on theirs too.

**36 SE: Did the ones who used to teach them, I mean, were they “special people” who taught the young men, the young women about for example the really important laws?**

37 Yes. The old people told us about it. In the afternoons, for example, we would come back from hunting, we’d be tired, and so we’d say to them, “Tell us a story so we can go to sleep.” They would tell us stories, and they would say to us, sometimes they would say to us, “You pay attention when we tell you this so you will know it.” The old people used to tell us stories, and they would say, “This is the really important law.”

**38 SE: Did you learn effectively? Did they assess you, I mean, did they “test” you and evaluate you?**

39 Yes, they evaluated us. Sometimes, sometimes we would obey what we heard from them, what we heard them saying. Sometimes not, they wouldn’t obey them, and they just did the wrong thing, and they hit them for that. Yes.

**40 SE: And during ceremonies, when they used to really teach you about Aboriginal...[Yes.] The ones in charge of the ceremonies, were there people there, did they have jobs that were like a teacher?**

41 Yes. They did that, some of them. They were old people, the old people who did. They taught us. They used to teach them, so...

**42 SE: And at home, nowadays, um, are they teaching them?**

43 Nowadays they are still teaching them but, there is a lot of, lots of things that distract them: there's alcohol, the disco – that they put on for the little kids, but the young women and young men all go into the disco. And then they don't think about anything else except dancing, which I say means they are all mixing together. So that (law) of ours (exc) well, it's not [], its already died out. But to some extent, we who are mature adults we still know it. So we want to teach them, but they don't want to listen. [*Really?*] Yes.

**44 SE: *You teach your own children good things?***

45 Yes. Up to a point I teach them, my own children and they know it, and I'm always explaining things to them.

**46 SE: [[Asking through NE.]] *How do they respond?***

47 Pardon? They just do the right thing, they live the right way and they look after their husbands when their husbands treat them properly. I mean they teach them, that's how they do it. I mean it's like what I used to see my husband doing, my first husband, who always treated me well all the time. So in the same way I tell them so they will look after them. For example (my son) G\_\_\_ looks after his wife and children, and (my daughters) L\_\_\_ and J\_\_\_n do that too. So they teach them, so they will see it, "Oh, that's it." So they're living well, without fights.

**48 SE: *Do you teach them Kunbalak and Kundebe?***

49 Yes. I certainly teach them Kunbalak. Kundebe, well, G\_\_\_ (my son) knows Kundebe now. [*Really?*] He knows Kundebe and I'm teaching Kunbalak to L\_\_\_ and J\_\_\_, (my daughter) and she wants me to teach her. R\_\_\_ (my son), who else? R\_\_\_, no, but J\_\_\_, M\_\_\_ and C\_\_\_ are learning. C\_\_\_ little by little. They hear me speaking Kunbalak with them, but they don't speak it. And there's M\_\_\_, D\_\_\_ and A\_\_\_ (my grandchildren). [*They know it?*] Yes, they've been listening to me when I talk so they understand Kunbalak and Kundebe.

**50 SE: Children learn things. How do they learn language? Do people teach them or do they just hear it or...?**

51 Yes. They listen to us. I mean this is what we did when we would hear them talking to us, and we would ask them, “What did you mean by that?” And they would be taking proper Kunwinjku. “Ah, that’s what they’re saying. When they said that.” So then next time they spoke, we would understand.

**52 SE: A long time ago when you were going to school, did your teachers only speak in English?**

53 Yes. They spoke English when they were teaching us. But we still listened and learned to speak it, and understood it, and our parents had already been teaching us (Kunwinjku). [**What about now?**] Now we still know it, Kunbalak and Kundebi. We still know and we speak it and we teach it to our children.

**54 SE: Back then when Aboriginal people, when Aboriginal people taught their children, did they rouse on them if they made a mistake? A child who might have misbehaved...**

55 Yes. The mothers sometimes hit them.[**The mother?**] Yes. But (our fathers’ mothers) the ones we called Makkah, would say to them, “Oh, don’t hit them. They won’t listen if you do that. You should just teach them in a kindly way.[**Yes.**] Yes. And speak to them slowly, and softly...I mean teach them straight. Then they’ll learn and they’ll behave.” They used to say. And I mean, I still remember what that Makka used to say, my Makkah. [**Really?**] Yes. I mean she spoke softly to me, she didn’t speak to me roughly. Just softly, and whatever I might have needed, and she would give me things quietly and she would kiss me. And she would say to me, “Let’s you and I go hunting.” So we would go and she would teach me about everything. I would go along and if I got tired we would come back and I would have a sleep.

**56 SE: What about the people who work at the school now?**

57 Yes. When I grew up bigger, I used to go to school. I used to and I knew the teacher would hit me when I was silly. I didn't want that, and I would rouse on the other kids and the teacher would hit me. Things spoiled it for me. And the teacher used to hit me. And we used to tease each other, and that teacher would split us all up, our teacher, and we would have to stay separate. Then we would do our lessons and we used to learn.

**58 SE: *At the school are they teaching Aboriginal things or just English or...[Pardon?] Both?***

59 Both. Well, yes, it's English they are teaching, and ours...our own, that Aboriginal (language)...It would be good if they taught both. Nowadays our is written down, our own language, so they could read it in its turn, both English and Language so they would learn them.

**60 SE: *So, who can should teach the Aboriginal language? Who, an Aboriginal or a Balanda?***

61 Balanda are experts. Balanda and Aboriginal should join together to teach them. So they'll learn well. What the old people used to say to us is, "You go to school. We didn't go ourselves. We were born in the bush and just grew up our own way. We want you younger generation to go and learn so you can write for us, and speak English. You can interpret for us when we don't understand." That's what they told us.

**62 SE: *So nowadays do the adults send the children?***

63 Yes. They send them and that's fine, but. They children themselves just may not want to go. But we, back then, if we hadn't wanted to go, then our parents or other family members besides parents – our parents were working by then at jobs – but if other people saw us just there at home, if we hadn't wanted to go to school, well they would have hit us and taken us to school. Yes. They'd have taken us and put us in

school. And then those people (teachers) would have hit us. But these people (now) they just see them there and leave them there at home.

64 And we didn't smoke tobacco either, no way. But now the kids smoke. When we went to school we didn't smoke. We were grown up into adults before we smoked, after we'd finished school. And back then they used to smell it on our breath. They would smell it on the breath of the ones who had smoked. The teacher would smell the breath of the ones who smoked. Ngabangardi Judy was among them, Ngalkangila Annie, Grace, Loila, Jimmy – they smoked, Ngalwakadj Beddjowh. They smoked tobacco. I didn't know about it so I didn't smoke. Yes, they smelt their breath and the teacher would say to them, "Go and wash out your mouths." They would wash their mouths out with soap or sometimes salt. And they would hit them too. When they got tobacco, they had a pipe too. They hid it, that pipe they smoked. They would run to the toilet and smoke there. [[Laughs.]] Yes. So the teacher hit them. [*With a stick?*] Yes, with a cane, she hit them. She cut their skin. But I don't know about this younger generation now, they don't hit them, or they don't hit them the right way. [[Some inaudible discussion off tape.]]

**65 SE: :You remember the Bilingual Programme you and I worked in? [Yes.] Should they...What do you think about them starting it again, or what?**

66 It would be good if they started it again. Good. So a lot of adults too, men and women could learn, and kids. That would be good.

**67 SE: About the school: who is in charge of it? Who (pl) should be running it? Balanda or Aborigines, who (pl)?**

68 Maybe Balanda, I don't know. [*Or Aboriginal people?*] Maybe Aboriginal people [] they are supervizing it, the council or whatever it's called. [*School Council?*] Yes, I think so.

69 [[ Tape runs out on side A. Turned over to start side B.]]

70 Yes, some men see (the ceremony), but they just keep on doing wrong. They are taught at ceremonies, and they see how hard it is. Maybe they learn from that, or maybe they just don't. [*Young men or women?*] Young men, yes. And women too. The ceremony warns them not to be sexually promiscuous, not to cause fights. Various things, it stops them doing, it prevents them doing, so they don't do the wrong thing. Because the elders already notice that they are not doing what they teach them. So then they teach them the hard way too. If they don't behave, then there's a consequence. Maybe they'll pay a money fine or they'll kill them, they'll die. If they don't pay the money fine, then they'll kill them and they'll die. They'll sing (a curse on) them. [*Straight away or maybe later on?*] Mm. Later on. If that man or woman who commits a serious crime doesn't pay up the fine quickly, then his family, his brother, her child, uncle, father, mother, they'll attack them and they'll die. And then that woman or man would be in the clear. If they kill one man from her family, or his family. Well, that's it, he or she has paid.

**71 SE:** [[Asked through NE.]] *Who talks about this person, the bosses?*

72 Yes. Sometimes the man in charge (of the ceremony) dies because the other mob claim he did something wrong, maybe that he didn't look after them, didn't do things the right way. He should say to them, "Don't fight. Don't argue with each other. Don't cause bloodshed. That would just give me trouble." He could say that.

**73 SE:** [[Asked through NE.]] *So who is at that meeting, that decides? Is it everyone or just a few?*

74 Yes. It's all the men who collectively run the ceremony. They all talk together and they'll say, "It's okay, it's settled." Or one of the other bosses might say, "Okay, he can pay in either cloth or money." But if not, then it's over and he'll die.

**75 SE:** [[Asked through NE.]] *In the past, when people didn't have money, what did they do? They didn't have money so...*

76 They would give each other spears. [*Spears?*] They used to give each other spears, boomerangs, and um, they gave each other spearheads. And they would make paintings, string bags, baskets. That was so they could come to one mind together. [*Just men, or women too?*] The women made the baskets. They made shoulder bags and headband bags. They would give them to the men to sell, to sell off. [*Really?*] Yes, they in turn would give them spears. Of sometimes they would pay using women (instead of money). [*They used women until when...*] Mm. This was done right back with the first people. [*Yes.*] They would pay using women. They would give them women. The men would go out west and get a woman. Sometimes a women would come down, come from the west down to the coast. Those were dangerous men, Maung and Balang men or []. Yes. That's what they used to do, they would pay fines that way back then, when they didn't have money. And even now it still goes on. [*Really?*] Now, yes. That law is still in force. That can happen to pay a fine. Women, women getting exchanged. [*Does she stay with a man all the time, or ...*] Yes. They stay together permanently. If the women leaves that man, if she runs away, well her family will die. That is still happening.

**77 SE: *So what do some people say about this, do they think its good or bad?***

78 Yes, some of them say this is a good thing. Some say it's wrong. They continue to pay fines, and if they don't have enough money, they pay with women. Or a child, the woman's young daughter. They promise her to a different man and then give her to him. [*Straight away or...*] After she's grown up, then he'll get her. Yes, that's going on all the time. It still happens now.

**79 SE: *At the ceremonies they punish people very strictly. But at school, is it a good thing if they are strict, or should they go easy?***

80 It should be the same with the teachers at school. They should be strict. So then our children would learn. Yes.

[[Inaudible discussion about follow up interviews. Interview finished. Tape off.]]