

*NOTE ON PARTICIPANTS*

*R and N are two women who asked to be interviewed together. N had recruited R for this purpose.*

2 R: This is about how adults used to teach children in the past. Its about, its about, [[Sounds of tape recording sound level being adjusted]] when they used to teach them hunting, or making baskets, for example. And in the case of the young men, bark painting.

**3 SE: *Is it okay if you both speak loudly?***

4 R: Sometimes if they were stalking an animal, the young men would follow along after them. Not the young women. At that time people didn't often go to school. Sometimes they would spend three months at the ceremonial site, in the ceremony. They would go right through with that until it finished. And back in those days school children didn't smoke tobacco. Their teachers used to stop them doing that. They could only go on smoking in their own homes. And also, they used to teach them English when they went to school, and about Aboriginal things, our (inc) Aboriginal people's things.

5 When it was, I mean...[[Discussion off tape.]] When it was coming up to Christmas time, when it was nearly the start of the wet season, when (school) finished, ah, I mean when they were finishing school, at that stage they used to take them off on long trips. They didn't just have them here at hone. They would take them and teach them hunting. They would do that until school was nearly about to start again, and then they used to come back. Whereas nowadays, well, when we just stay in the one place, and when that happens some of the kids will go and start sniffing, doing all sorts of things, breaking into places. But the kids, we give them...when we tell them stories, the kind so that they will know, so they will understand, then they will apply it. In the past they didn't just stay put, and neither did they do those (bad) things. The mothers used to take them along, In fact fathers, mother's mothers, mother's fathers. That's enough, its Ngalbulanj's turn to say something.

6 N: Back then they also used to take them along and tell them stories, we would, they would look after them, the kids were in our care, and I mean wherever we were, out in the bush, I mean the old people used to tell them stories, and in the same way we used to tell our own children. They (my parents) would tell them stories, Nabangardi and Ngalkamarrang. It was about giving them ideas, but, no, the kids would disregard what they explained to them. They were trying to give them ideas, to teach them. Now in fact, it's all come back to us here now. They've forgotten what they were told, what was explained to them. So consequently those children have just gone off on their own different way. They haven't thought about what they were taught, unlike what we did when we were children and they would teach us, and we really hung on to what they taught us. We didn't just dismiss it like they do now when we explain things to them, the kids. They just disregard what we say. They don't do what we say.

**7 SE: Do you want me to ask you some questions? [R: Yes.] So, you both went to school here in Kunbarllanjja? When you were children. Would you like to talk about that? Did you like going to school? Did you like it? [[Discussion off tape.]]**

8 R: Yes, back then. Back then we used to go to school, and we didn't just quit. There was a really tough man we had as our teacher. We didn't just come for one day and then next day leave it. [**SE: He was tough?**] He was tough that one, and we used to go and he would make us pull weeds at his place. We would clean the grounds up. Sometimes we weren't in the classroom. He would hit us, not like the ones who teach you now, they're nice. They let you take a week or two off if you don't like school. That's fine, you just stay home. Whereas with us that never happened back then. In fact he would drive to our place sometimes, and look for us. So we didn't miss any school with him, we always went. We would go right through until it finished. [[Discussion off tape.]]

9 N: And also, back when we used to go to school we didn't look for arguments among ourselves either. Some of the kids we went with would argue among themselves, but he would rouse on us. Cigarettes, we didn't smoke tobacco either when we were going to school. He used to get angry with us, our teacher. And the

young men, when they were being silly, he would be angry with them too. We used to behave well when we used to go school, we didn't argue among ourselves.

**10 SE: *When you were young women, did you mix in with the young men at school? Or were you separate?***

11 R: Yes. We were mixed together in the classroom. [**SE: *Classroom?***] Yes.

**12 SE: *What were the names of some of your teachers?***

13 R: Oh, who were they? Nabulanj, you know who I mean. [N: David Hassall] Uh Uh. I mean Nabulanj. [N: Mr. Turner.] Yes, Bob Turner, who was your...[N: And what's his name, Rod Roles, Miss Charnock – Dorothy.] Miss Lord.

**14 SE: *Did you both go to Kormilda?***

15 R: She went, not me.

**16 SE: *My sister, can you talk about Kormilda?*** [[Discussion off tape.]]

17 N: We went to school here, and then Rod Roles picked us, four young women and we went to Kormilda College in Darwin. I...Is it okay to talk about myself? [**SE: *It's good, yes.***] Those Ngalwakadj women, and Ngalngarridj. We went there but we didn't really go for very long because we were always homesick for Kunbarllanjja. So we didn't actually go for very long, and so we left and came back here and went to school. Then we just decided we didn't like that so we left school.

**18 SE: *And your father, what did he think? Was it okay that you went?***

19 N: Yes. He said it was okay that I went. It was me: I just didn't like it. I went when we were living at Wurlwunj.

**20 SE: [[Asks R]] *What about you?***

21 R: The other thing that happened back then was the young women, I mean the older ones who'd been the first group, they used to live in, and they'd put up a building for them, I mean the training centre, and they lived there.

**22 SE: Did you go there, back then?**

23 R: Now who was that woman, that Balanda? [[Discussion off tape.]]

**24 SE: Now about Kormilda, did you send your children?**

25 N/R: No.

**26 SE: But you sent your children to school here in Kunbarllanjja?**

27 R: Our kids? [SE: Yes.] Yes. My (daughter) just always went here until she finished. Nerissa. But she didn't go to Kormilda. The teachers didn't organize them.

**28 SE: What about Nungalinya, or Batchelor college: did you go there?** [R: Did we go?] Yes. [[Both indicate no.]] No.

29 R: Wait on, yes. Batchelor I did go to when I was working at whatsit? [N: Speak up a bit, a bit louder.] What? [N: That's good. That's loud enough.] I worked as a hospital worker. [SE Health worker?] Yes. I hadn't worked at school then.

**30 SE: [[To R]] And you, didn't you work at school sometimes? Or not, you only worked as a health worker?** [R: Yes, yes.] **And my sister, did you work at school?** [N: Yes.] **Just for a short time.**

31 R: Yes, she worked there a while ago [SE: Yes.] When (she was at) Nabarlek. [SE: Last year?]

32 N: Last year, and 1984. [R: Yes. When we were living at Nabarlek.] It might have been 1984 and 1985, I can't remember.

**33 SE: Older kids or littlies?**

34 N: Yes, well that was with whatever kids were attending, when I worked with Sharon Carter. It was the outstations kids we had. [[Discussion off tape.]]

**35 SE: About ceremonies. Did either of you attend ceremonies where they used to teach you? Women's' ceremonial things?**

36 N/R: No.

**37 SE: Okay, I'll just ask you both some questions I have.**

38 R: Hang on. No. We didn't go. The ceremonies were for those others, they were their ceremonies. That group went and attended. Whereas we, we just, we just went for the last part at the end, when they were finishing and we all got together as a group for that.

**39 SE: About the school at present; is it okay or is something wrong? Is there anything you want to talk about? For example, are they teaching them well or are they getting it wrong?**

40 R: Yes. It's the kids who are fighting among themselves, but the teachers are okay. For example, my (younger sister's son) D\_\_\_, he sometimes comes home and tells me some other kids have been trying to start a fight with him, and that was why he didn't go back to school last year. He just didn't want to. Maybe this year he'll go. Some of those kids are violent.

**41 SE: Why is that?**

42 R: I don't know why.

**43 SE : The teachers, are they strict or not?**

44 R: On one occasion Nabulanj, my husband, went there. He went and spoke to those teachers, D\_\_\_'s teachers I think. They were asking why he didn't like school. So he told the teacher (D\_\_\_) disliked school because kids were hitting him. I don't know what she had to say about that, that Balanda lady. I don't know why (that child) hit (D\_\_\_) but that's what made him dislike school, so he didn't keep going.

**45 SE: What did (the teachers) say?**

46 R: Pardon? (My husband) Nabulanj really got angry with D\_\_\_'s lady teacher.

**47 SE: What did she say?**

48 R: Pardon? I don't know what she said.

**49 SE: Did they listen to you (2)?** [R: Pardon?] **Did they listen to you (2)?** [R: What?] **The teachers.** [R: That lady teacher.]

**50 SE: What are they learning at school, I mean Balanda things and are they learning any Bininj things?**

51 R: Yes. The Aboriginal stuff they just...when they whatsit, every whatsit, "Open Day". That's when they teach them dancing, and they go hunting and maybe get long necked turtle, and they take the young men and get some bark for painting, bamboo for spears, and they do some painting. Meanwhile the young women make baskets, I mean the older girls. Yes, so they young men go looking for game. [[Discussion off tape.]] This is what happens every "Open Day". But as to whether the school should start doing this, maybe not, I don't know.

**52 SE: Do you both want the school to teach Kunwinjku language?**

53 N/R: Yes. We'd like that.

**54 SE: You remember the "Bilingual Programme" years ago?**

55 N/R: Yes. Yes.

56 R: And Religious Instruction, what about that? They used to go to Religious Instruction.

**57 SE: Okay. Talk about that, whatever you would like the school to do.**

58 R: You mean about RI, or what? They used to teach them RI. [N: And sometimes they took them to Church.] Sometimes they went to RI at school. Go ahead and say what you think. It would be good if they start doing that again.

59 N: Yes. It would be good if they start doing it again the way they used to, taking them for RI, and teaching them Kunwinjku.

60 R: Reading. Yes. So they can read.

61 N: Kunwinjku they should teach, and they should take them for RI too and teach them. That's what they used to do in the past, when they had them. They should make time for that and do it.

62 R: In the past we also used to go and play, whatsit, that thing we had in that building, that, ah, what do they call it? It was [[Discussion off tape.]] Mr. Quinn. Mrs Quinn used to take us and we would play soccer, a soccer game [N: Hockey] Yes, we would play hockey. Then afterwards they would tell us stories, and we would get something to eat, maybe we would eat some meat, and then we would go home. That was Church. [[Discussion off tape.]]

**63 SE: Good. About that. Who teaches RI, and language: should it be Balanda or Bininj?**

R: Yes, Balanda or Bininj.

**65 SE: Both?**

69 R: Yep. [N: That would be good.] That would be good.

**70 SE: And is it good that Balanda teachers are working with Bininj here in the school?**

71 R: When they [*SE: As...*] teachers?

**72 SE: Should there be, I mean, Balanda and Bininj teaching? Or should it be maybe only Bininj or only Balanda, just either one?** [[Discussion off tape.]]

73 N: Its good that the two are teaching, both Balanda and Bininj. [[Discussion off tape.]]

74 R: Balanda, it's their role to teach about Balanda things. The Aboriginal people, I mean we (inc) Aboriginal people, we Bininj, we should teach about Aboriginal things. [[Discussion off tape.]]

75 N: The Aboriginal people should teach about our Aboriginal things.

**76 SE: Yes. And what do you do at home? Do you teach your children, your daughter's children?**

77 R: Yes. We teach them for example in the dry season when we take them to get long necked turtle, or sometimes fish, and what else? We take them down to the coast, collecting clams; they, we show them vines, fish to spear - that's with the young men - and turtle eggs, they, they dig up Sea Turtle (eggs). When we go down to the coast. And here, inland, we come back here so they can kill, for instance, kangaroo or emu. Then for example, they can teach the young men what to do when you cook an animal, perhaps an emu or a kangaroo. That's what we do with my Desmond. We do that to teach him, his mother's father teaches him, that old man Namurnidjbuk. But when we go down to Wadjbi, it's that man who raised Marradjirra who shows him things, I mean about the sea. He shows him fish that are no good, and the right ones to spear. So we show him both areas, land and sea. And he'll catch file snakes alive, that boy. Yes, I'm too scared! And that Nabangardi of

yours, he was scared [] there, at Wak. That child was just going on collecting and filled a really bag right to the top. Yes. We brought it when we came to that meeting. So, that's what we are teaching our (inc) children. This is at home, I mean on the weekends. On Saturdays and Sundays. We (inc) teach them. We go hunting so they can do whatever they should to cook and cut up (the animals).

**78 SE: *What about the law?***

79 R: And we warn about that whatsit, so that in everything, as they grow up, they won't, for example, have sex too early as it were. Well, we (exc) warn them about that too. If they just go off and do anything, with other men and women, and they take someone's woman, and he'll kill them. They'd die too young. [**SE: Yes.**] And I do the same, warning those women, I mean my (family), where I've got quite a lot of women, and only the one man, and also just that one uncle. So I give Mildred a hand too, warning those children about things. And also I tell them stories from the old days when Nakangila and Ngalngarridj used to tell me stories. That one about the woman attacked by Yirrbadbad, and also the one about the two young men who killed their grandfather's dogs. We northerners have a lot of stories. I mean from Wurlwunj. I tell them those stories so they'll know what I was told by Nakangila and Ngalngarridj. So I'm always telling them stories, I mean Nichole, the two older ones, N\_\_\_, D\_\_\_, R\_\_\_, R\_\_\_.

80 R: That's what I tell them. Whenever I have time. If I'm busy I'll just, I just forget. I really tell them very straight about this. I'll say, "Whatever happens when you grow up, you should whatsit them, you should help people. Some of you, when you grow up you'll be chasing women. Some of you will hurt other people's (hunting) dogs, maybe belonging to someone important. This has happened." So those children are just keeping on doing the right thing. [[Speaking to N]] Ngalbulanj, your turn. When we (inc) were living at Wurlwunj and those old people used to tell us stories. They used to teach us to dig up those little things to eat.

**81 SE: *That's great. Do you want to talk about something?***

82 R: [[Asks N]] What do you want to talk about? No, that's it.

**83 SE: I'll ask you both something, eh?** [R: Go ahead.] ***In the past when the old people used to teach, when you were both children, were they strict or easygoing when they spoke to you?***

84 R: Yes. We used to just go along and not disregard their directions when they used to say, "Let's go." Then we would sometimes go to the landing back then – on foot because there were no cars then. We would go on foot, and we would always follow their directions closely. I'm talking about Nakangila, Ngalngarridj, they would tell us to come to them. And that was that, we just followed them along in a group, those Ngalbulanj girls, and Nabulanj boys, our family. We just went along. We would be going along and we wouldn't hold them up because we were carrying animals on our shoulders. We just carried them along on our shoulders.

**85 SE: When they taught you, or maybe you just learnt., did you just, you just copied what they did?** [R: Yes.] ***Did they really explain things to you?***

86 R: Yes. [N: Yes.] They used to teach us about, for example, long yams, the vines, they showed us the vines, because we didn't know about that, not yet. [R: Talk about it.] They used to tell us. (I say that) because of those bush onions. That's right isn't it? And you could tell by the leaves on the long yams. [N: You meant Cheeky Yams.] Ah yes. Cheeky Yams. Sometimes they would say, "Not this kind. You might collect this by mistake." What else did those old people warn us about? What did they teach us? [N: Hardwood roots.] Yes. Hardwood roots too. We used to soak them. Soak them when we collected them.

**87 SE: And what about mats and baskets?**

88 R: [[Talking to N.]] You talk about this... Yes, I (make) baskets, when was it, at school we used to make them, but I can't make mats properly, only baskets, that's all, I make them. That Ngalbulanj I live with, she lived with me last year, she started me off so now I make them myself. [**SE: At school?**] What? No this was when we were at home. [**SE: And school?**] Yes.

89 N: And when we were going to school they used to teach us, those old people.

90 R: Yes, That's in that photograph of us.

91 N: At that building in the old days where the old people used to teach us young women how to make baskets. And they taught the young men too, spears, and they used to prepare bark. Those elders. When we were going to school, every morning we would go, then [R: In the afternoons, after lunch] every (day) after lunch we used to come here for the old people to teach us. We did those things, we used to come for that. They used to teach us.

**92 SE: And when those elders used to teach you, did, I mean, when you made mistakes, or you just couldn't do something, what did they say? Did they put you under pressure or what? What did they do?**

93 R: Yes, they would fix it. They would fix it so they could hand over to us. [SE: *Okay.*] They would gradually make it more demanding.[SE: *They would help you?*] Yes, they used to help us. [N: If we made a mistake.] When we would make mistakes.

**94 SE: So what did they say? "Hurry up!" so they learnt quickly, or what did they do?**

95 R: No. They were nice.

**96 SE: They were patient with you mean?**

97 R: Yes. That Ngalbangardi, what do we call her? What are those photos A\_\_\_ has of us? Nabulanj. Prints. Aren't we are there in that photo with Ngalbangardi R\_\_\_? [SE: *Really?*] Yes, I've got a photo I'll show you. Why don't you ask him, that Nabulanj about those photos from wherever. He has a copy here that he got hold of, and I got a copy.

**98 SE: Oh yes...Keith Hart was making copies from the computer disc. Printing the photos from the disc. So the photo's are there.**

99 R: Our names are there too. I'll look at the names later, L\_\_\_\_, Ngalngarridj was in it, so is that (computer) still there?

**100 SE: Um, now who's got one? Demed has one, and the Council has a copies. My brother A\_\_\_\_ has one and he knows how to use the computer they put there for him in that new building – you know?**

101 R: That's the one.

**102 SE: He spends time there. So okay. I'll ask you two something, hang on. When Balanda kids learn, sometimes they just copy what the adults are doing, they just follow what they do. Do Aboriginal kids, do they do the same – watch what (the adults) do and copy them? [R: Yeah, what do they do?] When they learn, sometimes. [N: What the adults do?] Do they just copy them or listen to them, and then try for themselves? [N: Some of them.]**

103 R: Yes, some of them listen to them, some of them look. No, I don't really know.

**104 SE: Okay, well I'll ask you something different. [R: Okay.] Why is it that some kids learn well, and others, some of them, just learn slowly – you know? Why is it?**

105 R: About Balanda things?

**106 SE: I mean Aboriginal things. You know with some kids. Maybe one will learn well and the others don't learn very well.**

107 R: That's always that way. [[Discussion off tape.]]

108 N: Instead of (the fast learners) just overtaking the others, they should explain things to them so they learn about whatever it is. If they explain things to them, those

who get ahead I mean, then they won't be competing with each other. If they talk to them so they'll learn things, when they are being taught. The (slower ones) can copy them.

**109 SE: What about a child who maybe is better than the other, who learns well?**

110 N: He really understands it?

**111 SE: Yes. Why is that?**

112 R: Maybe he's got the idea. [N: Yes.] He's got a lot of ideas.

113 N: I mean he might have a lot of ideas. [**SE: Like, some (kids)?**] Some kids. [R: Some, yes.] They understand and they really listen to the ideas when they are being taught. They really understand, some of those kids. Some (others) of them, when they are being taught [R: They just dismiss it.] Yes, they dismiss it, and some are just confused when they are taught. [R: Mm. Mm.] About the adults' ideas. Some of them, I mean, they, they know, and with them, they really listen. When they are being told about ideas.

**114 SE: So, Aboriginal and Balanda kids, white and black, who learns the most? Or are they the same?**

115 R: The same.

**116 SE: The same?**

117 N: The same. Aboriginal and...we Aboriginal people and white people, in what way are they the same? It's the same. What Balanda say about this I don't know. I don't know what Balanda think,

118 R: [] to start with, and that's it. It's the same. We (exc) don't know what Balanda think.

**119 SE: So who learns best, Balanda or Bininj?**

120 [[End of side A. Tape turned over. Initial discussion off tape, including interviewer.]]

121 R: We (exc) don't know what Balanda think. Did you turn this on? [N: Yes, its on.]

**122 SE: Later I'll write this out and look at it. And maybe, I'm thinking, later I could ask you both something, is that okay?** [N: Yes.] **Only briefly.** [R: Okay.]

123 R: What's going on? Did it stop? [[Sound of setting up microphones, etc.]]

**124 SE: Later on when we've finished I'll give you both a copy. I'll give you both a copy so** [R: We can listen to it.] **Yes, so you can listen to yourselves later on. I'll keep a copy for myself and give you one.**

125 R: When we go and listen to this, if we whatsit, we'll tell you about it.

**126 SE: It'll be good if you want to discuss it with each other.** [[Discussion off tape. Joking.]]

127 R: About what? About Balanda and Bininj?

**128 SE: Parents sending their children to school, they send them to school – but some don't.**

129 R: Yes. Some of them just go, and others will just get scared and run away, they just go off anywhere. They don't go back to school. I'll talk about this, okay? [**SE: Good.**] Good? Eh? [**SE: Yes.** [[Checking tape levels.]] **It's going okay.**]

**130 SE: So why don't some of them send them?**

131 R: Yes. Some of them, some of those kids, (parents) take them to card games where the mothers play, and so they can't get up on time in the morning. Some of (the kids) just don't want to, they just want to stay at home. Some of them are just looking for money – they just want to keep hold of their money. And there's a lot of them, I mean mothers, that I see, who put their children there to play cards and win, so that's why they don't send them to school. They just get up and off they go, they get up early for cards, but as for school, they can read some numbers, but reading, they don't know about. Once Nabulanj and I drove up and had a talk to them on our own initiative, and they got angry with us, they went crook at him. They said, "There's already too many kids there!" That's what they said. It was a long time ago we went and did that. [[Discussion off tape.]] Yes, the fact is some children don't go to school. Some of them just don't want to go and that's all, I don't know. [*SE: It's their decision?*] Yes, it's theirs.

**132 SE: *And are the teachers all right?***

133 R: Yes, some of them are good.

138 N: They are good. Probably some of them want to take the kids, to teach them. That's the right thing. But in this matter, its our kids who dislike it, who don't want to go. The teachers are actually good, and they want to teach the children well. And we do too, we mothers and fathers want the teachers to teach the children well. [R: Balanda teachers.]

**139 SE: *When a child doesn't go, maybe he's staying at home, does he learn anything?***

140 R: He doesn't learn!

**141 SE: *When there's no teacher, say, I'm thinking of, hang on, when (the child) looks at a book maybe on his own initiative, or her own, can he learn?***

142 R: This is at home? No, not really. With the book but no one there to teach at home, no.

**143 SE: You remember in the past what the adults used to do, when they taught you, did they tell you stories? Is that what happened?**

144 R: Sometimes it was stories. Balanda or us? [**SE: Aboriginal stuff. About Aboriginal things.**]

145 R: Yes.

**146 SE: Like, did they...?**

147 R: Nakangila, Nangarridj.

**148 SE: Yes. They told you stories when they talked to you about Yirrbadbad.**

149 R: Yes. It was a favourite. [**SE: And others too.**] Yes.

**150 SE: They had a lot?**

151 R: We had a lot of stories up there in the north.

**152 SE: You used to listen to them?**

153 R: Yoh.

**154 SE: [[Asking N]] You too my sister?**

155 N: Yes.

156 R: They were our favourite stories, our stories, the two boys who killed their grandfather's dog, and that other one about Yirrbadbad, the other one who burned them all, the little one who played all the time. The one about Namorrodo who fought with the baby stealer, lots of stories. And nowadays I tell these stories to D\_\_\_, and whenever they get those Ngalkangila kids from Goulburn Island, I tell them

those stories. Those kids who live here, R\_\_\_, N\_\_\_, and there's K\_\_\_, the older ones I tell the stories to. And that D\_\_\_esmond always wants that story about Namorrodo - where they had the fight, and the baby was stolen. That's his favourite.

**157 SE: Nowadays, do the adults still do this?**

158 R: I don't know.

159 N: The alcohol, for some of them, has changed the way they think. [**SE: Really?**] [R: Some of them nowadays.] So they don't tell them stories.

160 R: Some kids just prowl around at night – we can see them [N: They come here too.] When (the adults) come out of the club all the kids just wander around all over the place. And nobody, not the mothers, or any of the mothers' mothers will send them (home) not the mother's older sister. They don't do anything, nothing.

161 N: They've forgotten what used to happen long ago, when they used to talk about our (culture) when we were children. That's gone. It's over.

**162 SE: Children are growing, so** [R: They are learning, yes.] **You know when Balanda (kids) go to high school and finish year 12, and then go to university or college. Do you want your children to do that?**

163 R: Yes, it would be good.

**164 SE: Do they want to?**

165 R: Well I want to send them, maybe N\_\_\_, D\_\_\_ so... [**SE: Those ones?**] Yes. So they can help me in whatever Balanda business, whatever turns up in English, whenever as I grow old. So they can help me, they'll speak for me. [N: Yes.] Sometimes, about, our country, well they can hold it for me.

**166 SE: So do you want them to learn English?**

167 N/R: Yes. Yes, that too.

168 R: That would good, that. English too.

**169 SE: And what about ceremonial things, ceremonies?** [R: Our kids?] *Yes, as they grow up.*

170 R: Yes. I think I'll show them that, my children here, I mean D\_\_\_\_, K\_\_\_\_, E\_\_\_\_, L\_\_\_\_. They'll see the Wubarr, that's certain. I won't teach them that, not that one. Others maybe, they might be willing to.

**171 SE: Do they want to or maybe they don't like the idea? Or don't they know?**

172 R: Well, also, I've been listening to the kids, the littlies, like H\_\_\_\_, D\_\_\_\_, (talking) about what was set up out there on the way to the airport. They wanted (to go to that Yaburlurrwa ceremony) because they'd seen Ngalkodjok taking those children – she's your cousin, eh? Or maybe your aunty? [SE: Yes.] I think she lives there in number 12. Your cousin? Ngalkodjok who lives there at Nangarridj Stanley's. [N: [[Addressing SE]] You call her aunty.] Yes, that's right, she's your aunty, and those children, all my brothers, went to that ceremony, so these others were crying because they wanted to go to. That was probably what happened. But they told them, "No" because the mothers didn't want them to go. They said, "It would be bad because that ceremony would put us under food restrictions." This would mean long necked turtle, fish, barramundi I mean, they won't be able to eat them because their children would be in their first ceremony. Yes, some of them are interested those young men, little kids who are maybe ten or eleven. Dawson is maybe eleven. [SE: *He's eleven.*] Yes. D\_\_\_\_. H\_\_\_\_ is maybe twelve, or still eleven. They're the older ones. D\_\_\_\_ is younger. He's turned ten. [] October. [[Discussion off tape.]]

173 N: When they're older we (inc) teach them (Aboriginal things), when they're becoming adults. They want (people) to teach them but they'll get too scared when they're only small, maybe 12, 13, 14, 15 or maybe 16. With my kids, I want them to keep going (to school) so they will really learn Balanda things, and then later our

Aboriginal things, so ours would be after (school). They would forget it if they did it first then went through and were taught the Balanda side.

**174 SE: *My sister, when you worked at school, when you were teaching, did you like it?***

175 N: Yes. In fact I wanted to work but then I decided because of what was happening to me, I didn't want to. I didn't want to keep on working. It was because we (my husband and I) used to argue and he made it impossible for me. [R: MmMm.]

**176 SE: *And when you were at the school teaching, did you like the kids?***

177 N: Yes. I used to take some of them here, some of the kids. In fact when I was working there, teaching, the kids wanted me to teach them, and they wanted me to tell them stories. [SE: *They would listen to you?*] Yes. These kids I was looking after here, and when I took the outstations kids too, they liked it when I actually read from some of the books in English. With that group, I didn't teach them Kunwinjku.

**178 SE: *The outstation kids grow up without books. Do they learn well without books?***

179 R: Which books? Pardon?

**180 SE: *Just without books. A child maybe growing up in the bush, without books. Can he learn a lot? About Aboriginal or Balanda things?***

181 R: They (adults) would teach him, wouldn't they? [N: We don't really know.] We don't know.

**182 SE: *Too hard!*** [R: Yes.] *I'm thinking about, say, a long time ago when maybe they learnt things, young women and young men, without any books. They didn't write things.* [R: Oh, I see.] *You know? Aboriginal things, without writing.*

183 R: That was back in the past.

**184 SE: And they learnt a lot then.**

185 N/R: Aboriginal stuff. Yes, our Aboriginal stuff.

**186 SE: In the past, did adults teach children to sing, did they teach them songs?**

[R: Singing?] *Yes.*

187 R: Yes. In the past they would come and do that [**SE: Aboriginal?**] Yes, Aboriginal. How did God teach them so they then taught us?

**188 SE: Something different? I'd like to ask you both something "different".** [R: Go ahead.] *All right. This is about language. Do you teach your kids Kundembuy, Kundebi [N: Kundebi.] and Kunbalak? Do you?*

189 R: In my case, I don't...with my kids I teach them, my kids, M\_\_\_'s kids. And Judith's [] I speak to them using Kundebi and I do that, I mean, for example when their fathers are involved. And there is one child I've actually heard speak Kundebi very well. It's that young Nawamud, the son of Old Nakangila. His mother has died. That Nabulanj killed her, smashed her face, here. Poor thing. I can't say (that child's) name – you say it. [N: B\_\_\_]

**190 SE: And he speaks it?**

191 R: Oh, that one (speaks) Kundebi, just like an adult. Yes. When he was quite small [N: I've never heard him.] When he was about seven or eight, yes, I heard him, down at the club. Ngalbulanj spoke to him using Kundebi. She referred to me using Kundebi, and oh, it made me look silly. I thought, "That child is better than me at Kundebi." I don't know it. And then I spoke to him, "The three of us are coming tomorrow," and I said to him, "Listen to this Kundebi. That Nabulanj, your uncle, my husband, and that Ngalwakadj, you call aunty, and those other Ngalwakadj ladies I talked about." Well, he understood that Kundebi. It didn't faze him at all. [**SE: Really?**] Yes. The young men I've seen, lots of them, they can't do it. Not that. [**SE:**

*Maybe some are better than me.*] Yes, me too, he's better than me. That time I just looked silly. I nearly fainted! Probably when he was very small they taught him, that's what it is. Nakangila (his father) taught him. [N: Nakodjok.] Yes, Nakodjok Benny, his mother's father, who I call kakkak, he taught him too.

**192 SE: It's hard and there's a lot of it.**

193 R: Yes, its big. But he knows it all, this and that. The lot.

**194 SE: I'm surprized. What about Kunbalak (Mother-in-law language)?**

195 N: With our kids, they know that Mother-in-law language. And perhaps we can use Kundebi with some of them. [R: Yes.] They more or less understand it. Probably because we push them too. [R: Yes.] You too, if we go on telling them, well, they'll do it in their turn.

196 R: Yes. For example with my R\_\_\_, R\_\_\_, E\_\_\_, D\_\_\_, N\_\_\_ – all those kids, whenever I speak Kunbalak I make them match me in it. And it works. They're going ahead, using bits and pieces of it with others. I probably don't know what happens with other kids. But those children at my place, that's how it is.

**197 SE: But at school they don't teach them?** [R: School, no they don't.] **Do they teach them?**

198 R: No the don't as far as I know. But it would be good if they did teach them. [N: MmMm.] And Mother-in-law language.[SE: Kundebi?] Kundebi, yes.[N: They should teach them so they'll know it.] So they'll know it. After (school) they go home of course, to where we we're speaking our Aboriginal language, where we (exc) speak Aboriginal and they'll hear it whenever they're there. But whenever they're at school, no, they're just getting English.

**199 SE: The school: who (singular) runs it? Who (plural) is in charge of it?**

200 R: Ngalkamarrang, E\_\_\_, who you'll be seeing later. She's the second principal, whatever. They've appointed her. []

201 N: They're teaching well at the school.

**202 SE: And the council, the School Council [R: Yes.] Who are the people running that? The ones doing it?**

203 R: I don't know. I don't know about it. [N: I don't know either.] But that one old man, Nawamud "Respect" - ask him later. [SE: *I'll ask him later. N\_\_\_?*] Yes. [N: Yes.] "Respect" they call him, why is that? They named Nakodjok, P\_\_\_, "8DN", they just call him that. [SE: *Really? "8DN"?*] Yes. [[laugh]]. Maybe because he talks all the time.

**204 SE: But about this Nawamud, P\_\_\_'s father. [R: Yes. He's the one.] I've already interviewed him, that man Nawamud.**

205 R: Did you interview him and ask him about school? [N: That Nawamud.]

**206 SE: Old J\_\_\_?**

207 R: What? No, Nawamud, not the old man J\_\_\_\_\_.

**208 SE: M\_\_\_?** [R: What?] **What did you say? I thought you said M\_\_\_?** [N: About school.] [R: Not him. About school, I said, did you ask him?]

**209 SE: Yes, I asked him but he didn't say very much. He was a bit shy to talk. Later I'll ask him again. Later on.**

210 R: Yes. And also Ngalkamarrang E\_\_\_.

**211 SE: I'm actually just waiting for that Ngalkamarrang to come back from her holidays so I can ask her a lot of things, because she works there. That's right.**

212 R: And you can tell her not to be so hard on the kids!

**213 SE: And Nabulanj who's still in Darwin for the time being. He'll come sometime.** [R: They both went. They've both gone.] **He'll come sometime.** [R: Yes.] **They'll come back, I don't know when, D\_\_\_ and someone will come with him.** [R: Yes.] **So I can interview them both.** [R: Yes. D\_\_\_ would be good.] **D\_\_\_ would be good, I want him. And to tape, who else should I tape? I don't know who. Nangarridj? A\_\_\_.**

214 R: Al\_\_\_? Oh, yes. He's here, yes. [**SE: He was working with J\_\_\_.**]

215 R: Yes. They were working together. Then he went off somewhere for one day, just for the weekend he went, then on Monday instead of him coming back, they sacked him, those two. What for? They act as if they are Balanda those two, husband and wife. [**SE: Yes, it's a bit sad.**] Yes. You know my husband, Nabulanj doesn't like those two. She wanted to be Balanda, to run (the school), to be principal. But she's only second in charge. We want an Aboriginal person to actually help the kids []. So he/she would keep an eye on the kids in the classroom, for example. Then she could speak to the kids when they playing up in any way, when they do something bad so the teachers get angry. She could just talk to them quietly. She shouldn't just go along, just sit there, she should work. She's making herself into a Balanda that one.

**216 SE: I interviewed Ngalkamarrang, back last year I questioned her. It was about that. Yes. I asked her, "Has it got very hard for you working at the school?" And she said yes. She was in the middle between Balanda and Aboriginal people.** [R: She's in the middle.] **She's in the middle. That's what she said. I watched her teaching some kids and she was good. She was doing a good job. Yes. Hang on. I'll ask you both one question about school, just the one.** [R: Go ahead.] **When someone, a Balanda comes, a new teacher comes, he comes into the school and teaches the kids, does he teach in a Balanda way, a Balanda style, or maybe he should change so he does it Aboriginal way, I mean when he teaches? What should he do? How should he do it?**

217 R: It's good if he works with another teacher who is Aboriginal, and he can show him. [*SE: The Aboriginal man?*] Yes. [*SE: Balanda and Aboriginal.*] Yes. Yes. Black and white. That would be a good way for (the kids) to learn about Balanda things and Aboriginal things. [*SE: So, both.*] Yes. [N: And they do have (Aboriginal) assistant teachers.] Yes. For instance at the Pre-School, that man Joe, they still have (assistant teachers). Alec did work there but those two sacked him, threw him out. And then there's that whatsit? There, what do they call that one? Transition, eh? [*SE: Yes.*] Next to the Pre-School, just past it. [*SE: Transition, yes.*] There's just one teacher there, or maybe two. There's just that one lady, Balanda. [*SE: Chris?*] Yes. And that's no good. Its too hard for her. [N: C\_\_\_\_.] C\_\_\_\_ is working there too, C\_\_\_\_ looks after them. [*SE: And that other Chris?*] Chris, the other lady. There are two called Chris.

**218 SE: That's it. What else would you like to talk about? Anything?**

2191 R: That's all I think.

**220 SE: You're tired?**

221 R: No, we're right. But if we hear anything wrong on the tape we're taking, well, we'll come and tell you whatever it is.

**222 SE: I'll make a copy to give you both one each, so you can listen to it. If there's problems or there's anything you want (to say), well tell me about it.** [R: Yes.]

[[Interview finished. Some informal discussion off tape. Visitors arrive. Tapes off.]]