

## 7. MARTU<sup>1</sup> STATEMENTS ON THE OWNERSHIP OF KARLAMILYI

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### 1:0 INTRODUCTION

Much of the following information was recorded during fieldwork in Karlamilyi<sup>2</sup> (Rudall River) in July/August 1988. The field trip was organised by a group of Warnman men at Punmu, who applied successfully to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) for funding in 1987, to record information about Warnman language and culture. During a three week period, we travelled from Punmu down along Karlamilyi (Rudall River) to a number of waterholes. The men visited country that they used to walk over in their youth. We found waterholes that were two and three hours drive from the main roads, often relying on tyre tracks from a single vehicle that had been to the area sometime in the past. The men's memory of the geography and of the important sites in the area was impressive. Their affiliation by birth, descent, and long association with the country, leaves no doubt as to their authority to speak for Aboriginal interest in this area.

The group wanted to assess the damage done by tourists and miners, and to salvage whatever they could of sacred materials now located within the park boundaries. During the three weeks they hunted animals, picked wild plant food, and harvested wood for artefact production, commenting on the overabundant cover of spinifex, and the need for the country to be burned. We visited waterholes at Lalapakujarra, Pimurlu, Punamalara, Karlaya Karlaya Karlkun Karlkun, Karuly Karuly and Yantikuji. Each of these waterholes was known to the men and each place had stories of

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'Martu' will be used to refer to the people of the area including those living in the communities of Punmu, Parngurr and Jigalong. This is a local (Manyjilyjarra) term for 'man' or 'person' (depending on context) that has general currency, even among speakers of other Western Desert languages (other equivalents are 'puntu', and 'kirta'). 'Martu' is also used in opposition to 'kartiya' or 'walypala' (words denoting non-Aboriginal people).

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper I will use a practical orthography rendition of placenames in the region. This is the same orthography as is used in the work of Jim Marsh, the Strelley schools and Punmu community school. I hope that these spellings will eventually replace the inaccurate spellings currently used on Natmap 51-10, and that the name of the park itself will be changed to Karlamilyi or Waturarra.

Square brackets in translations indicate my comments on the information translated.

either a mythological or personal nature attached to them. We visited three stands of 'pilu' (boomerang wood trees), the locations of which were well known to the party.

During the fieldwork and further discussion with Warnman people from Karlamilyi it became apparent that there is little sympathy with intrusion by outsiders, especially miners. There is no question in the minds of these people that the country belongs to the local Aboriginal people (in the sense of their knowing and using the resources of the country), some of whom have only recently (in the past 25 years) 'walked in' from the country in question. Indeed, the main apparent interest shown by the outside world in this country is in the form of extraction of minerals. As Teddy Kiya put it, "The whitefella's only interested in wages, it's Martumili ngurra (Aboriginal home/country)". White interests are seen as money oriented and destructive in contrast with the close Martu relationship with the country.

A major objection to exploration and mining is of proper consultation (see for example Lawrence, Cotton, Veth, this vol.). There is also a feeling that the park should not have been declared without greater consultation, and a guarantee that the Aboriginal inhabitants of the area be recognized as rightful owners.

When discussing the issues involved in the Plan of Management for the Park with Martu from the region, there was concern on their part that there be adequate consultation with the appropriate people. The following were considered to have some immediate say in the region. The list is by no means exhaustive, it was presented by a group of men and women at a meeting at Jigalong who said that a more detailed study will need to take into account the widely spread population of Warnman people now living as far afield as La Grange, Wiluna, Yandeyarra, and Nullagine as well as the Strelley camps:

Itiwanu, Charlie Pinapayi, Rutal, Punama Sailor, Minyal Miller, Waka Taylor, Muuki Taylor, Ian Taylor, Desmond Taylor, Pijuka Eidwun, Teddy Edwards (Kiya), Frank French, George French, Mayiwarti, Mukurtu, Socks Lanti, Yaya Minta, Milton Chapman, Leo Chapman, Mayiwalku Chapman, Jampu Yilyirri, Bert Lane, Yurnti Panaka, Mitchell Biljaba, Neal Pitu, Teddy Biljaba, Roy Kikipa, Puja, Mulyatingki, Donald Chapman, Topsy Robinson, Mirturtu, Katikati, Purnta Jones, Jiya, Jilipina, Lydia, Pukayi Wayulta, Pinyipa (Nancy) Wayulta, Marjory Chapman, Darleen Chapman, Priscilla Chapman, Mantarrar, Kunyjukunyju, Rena Richards, Rita Richards, Phyllis Richards, Ngarikatu, Nola Taylor, Nantuwita Nayipi, Gladys Pitu, Ngamurru.

## 2:0 LANGUAGE GROUP AS A FORM OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A brief note about the relation between 'language group', and other forms of social organisation in the Western Desert. Local groups may consider themselves to be distinct political or social entities, but form part of larger agglomerations that speak one language. Small differences in vocabulary, usually of high functional-load words such as the equivalents of 'no', 'come', or 'go' may become key features in naming what are essentially dialect groups. Goddard (1985:11) points out that the Everard Ranges people can be called Yankunytjatjara (having yankuntja going) to distinguish them from their western neighbours, but that this name will not distinguish them from their northern neighbours who also use the word yankunytja. In this case the distinction is made by use of the word for 'true' mula (Mulatjara as opposed to Martujara). Hansen (1984:8) cites the example of one local group (which he calls a 'multigroup') that is known by at least five terms because they use the following words, each of which is used in forming language names as described by Goddard above: jukujuku; kuwarra; manjila; minuru; and kayili. Multiple naming would have been the norm for most multigroups, resulting in a plethora of language names in the desert. Despite this plethora of names, the relationship of local groups to their particular country was always clearly defined and widely known.

In addition to the 'shifting' nature of the application of language names, there is potential for an individual to shift language group allegiance. A person may be multilingual and have language affiliations associated with either their mother or father, their place of birth, or where they were brought up. These affiliations can be called upon to assert one's identity in a number of different directions.

The statements that follow are by men who have affiliation to country inside Karlamilyi (Rudall River) National Park. This contribution to the Resource Documents is mainly concerned to give representative examples of consensus opinions that are held in the Aboriginal communities of the region. These examples were offered by local Aboriginal people in response to my requests, at meetings, for statements that would represent their views to outsiders. The statements, then, were intended specifically to be presented to people concerned with the government's management of the region.

## 3:0 ITIWANU'S STATEMENT

Itiwanu is an old Warnman man who until recently lived at Punmu. He is regarded by people at Punmu as an authority on the ownership of Karlamilyi. The following statement was seen by those present at the recording and subsequently at the

transcribing session (many of the older residents of Punmu) as being an important statement which gave authority to the WDPAC point of view regarding the legitimacy of competing claims between them and some members of the Nomads group.

The statement was recorded in August 1988 at Punmu, a week after the meeting at Karlkun Karlkun at which the Premier promised to fund this Social Impact Study. Don McLeod and members of the Strelley community attended that meeting uninvited. Their presence prompted a heated reaction on the part of the other Martu at the meeting and it was then that I was encouraged by Warnman men from Punmu to record Itiwanu, as his story would provide important evidence of the number of people who can claim affiliation with Karlamilyi, in contrast with the Strelley claim that the only people who can speak for that country now reside at Strelley camps. Although hard of hearing and very frail, Itiwanu came from his camp to the meeting place where a group of men had convened to listen to his speech.

In the statement, Itiwanu outlines the area that he travelled in his youth, reinforcing his position to talk with authority for the country in question. He reiterates the point that the country does not belong to one person but is open for many people. A major concern is that there is bad feeling between the people, something that is typically avoided in social interaction in the desert (see Liberman, 1985, on the importance of maintaining good social relations in Western Desert culture). The feeling in Punmu at the time was that the Strelley mob were doing the wrong thing by talking with CRA about country that they have little to do with today and without talking to the other people who have an interest in the area. This creation of jealousy over country is the target of Itiwanu's speech.

Yu ngalya yalayuru kurtunta maranypa yalala wimila ngarlka wirranykartila jurrkulpa parayaninyayarna ngalya yaninyayarna nyarrakurnangka kamparri yarna yarninya kararra. Now parrarna partu yaninya ngampaya ngurrrpa nyarningurrara Partu parna yaninya Nyarra Yantikujiwanalurna yaninya parrapartu kararrala. Martu ngalyi warrinypongkupayiwana. Nyila wanangulyurna parra yaninya, nyarraninyarna ngurlu nganaji nyarraninyarna ngurlula ngalyparna. Nyarraninya yunganinyanyanya warrinyjila nyaya warrinyjilarna nganynganykurtunta. Yumurna parra yarninya kurlkamuntu yu mitarna nganampayi kuwarntaninya kujupakarti, no, ngurrrparna parrayaninya watarlpa. Parrarla. Ngalka ngalkakurtunta ngalya ngulyurna parrayarninya. Janyjinya wanarna yaninya ngulyurna.

Janyjinyangka kararrarna yaninya ngalyuwari pungku payingkangalya yarujunganyana. Partularna ngalyparna yaninya. Ngaly pangulyurna wantimanyi ngangulyu. Mirtarna wirranykurna junganinya. Yu warranyjamarra yanangu ngumparninyjakutunta. Jurrkulpawantimanyi parrawarta nyarrala kararramalula ngalya lunyaya kanyininya... ngumpanyjakurturntalu yarnaninya. Yu munukula pukurljinyrra pukurljinyarna nyarrajangulyu kararraja. Pukurlmarta jinyarna nyupamartalunyaya parlinyinya. Yalalungulyu parntanyparntany walkaya wanti malkarriyawanti wankangulyuyawanti nyilanula kuwiyirnajanaku punganyinya maruntu kanyili yunganinyarnajananya. Nyupararranya nyarraninyaya ngurrara yala ngulyurna nyurraku pininpa wantimanyina ngalya nyarni ngulyu. Warranyja marra yakalpa nyaya ngumparnimara marany ngalya kanyaya jalkarninya kuwiyilaku. Waranykalakurnala palawarninyjarraku yirnamililaku yaninya ngalya wananyaya kanganyiya. Pinininyajananya nyarningulyupa kulpanyjapinti.

Wirnpa kararralpa nganaku ngalya nganaku ngurraparraku yalala kurntarapaya ngarlka wirranykartila. Yala ngulyurna pinirnpa ngalya nganalu ngumpalyjanta ngalya kanyinyanyaya parrarna parturla yarrngalungulyu. Karlamilyi ya nganaku yarrngaku. Yumupala warranyyukuji ngulyu ngarinypa. Yumupala munkujunganyiya kunangukurlu nyampayurujapalyja. Karlamilyiwana Wayirnu kurujununya Wayirnu kurujununya nyilawanalarna nyaraninya ngapila nganayala.

Pirlinywanala nyaraninyarna kalyuwirranypa. Yu, yirnanyjarriluniyaya kulpunyaya parrakanganinya nyampayuru palungarna ngalkupayi. Ngalya. Yankupayirna kakarra ngapartikuti ngurrpajanaku nyarrakarti yantulku ngapartikuti Ngayurna Ngalkupayiwananga. munu kajanaku. Yalalapanganyjuraku ngalya warranykala. Yalala ngaly panganyjuraku ngalya. Ngurra walyjanga manarrjinya. Karlamilyi parna patu wajarnilampaju. Pawaku. Yu mirta julyju yarrnanangulara yurntirijunganinya maranypa yumuyarna parayaninya yurnturi kurtunta. Ngalya nganaku yu, ngarl kangarlka lanayalala kuwarntanpa yantulmilinga. Ngumpanyjamilila jalpu maarajanaku yalalapanganaku ngalya parrawartajarrala.

Ngulartu ngulyu

Summary in English:

Yes it was good, without any of that bad talk. There were no problems, we were happy, walking around walking over to the west. I was on my own, no people from here. I walked around Yantikuji and to the west alone. I went to the country of the people who used to break other blackfellows' necks and eat them (Nyamal) The old people fed me on special food. They fed me when I was young, before my beard grew. I walked around, I didn't listen to anything else, I was minding my own business. There was nothing bad. From Janyjinya west to the Marble Bar area I went around quietly. It was good staying there. We went around the country the right way, not interfering in other people's country. We stayed around there with people belonging to the west side. They looked after me and made a good man out of me from a young fellow. I would go hunting for meat, for goanna for those old people, some still alive some dead now. I stayed in that country with my wife, that country that I'm telling you about. It was good staying there.

It was quiet. I went around the men's country. From Wirnpa east those camping places are all okay. A lot of different people can stay there. Karlamilyi belongs to a lot of different people. Now they're not living there. No more people getting full on the food from there. Around Karlamilyi to Wayirnu Kurujununyja [big caves to the south of Parnngurr, Itiwanu's place]. I was eating different food, different water, yes, the men and my brother looked after me and fed me when I was young. It's clear, over to the east, to the south belongs to another group. South over Lake Disappointment side [where the Ngayurna Ngalku (mythic cannibals)] live.

The country is good for us, no trouble. No arguments between the old people. I'm speaking for all of us for Karlamilyi. Big mob. We didn't get angry with each other. None of that, we moved around there, without getting upset. We are hearing bad things from other people, hunting people away, taking over their country. That is our clear country. That area is clear.

That's all.

**4:0 A STATEMENT BY MUUKI TAYLOR**

Muuki Taylor is a Warnman man who grew up in the area of Karlamilyi (Rudall River). He now lives at Punmu. He is concerned to show the longstanding use of the country by the Martu, and their frustration at the recent intrusion by white outsiders. These outsiders deny Martu access to their 'run' or 'range', country which has previously always been available for the accumulation of plant and animal resources. He points out that a number of different groups have association with the country. The

Warnman in some senses were a host group; their country, rich in water and animal and plant resources, was able to support meetings of local groups from many different language groups in the area (see Tonkinson, this vol.). This statement was recorded at Punmu in January 1989:

Karlamilyinyarni partunilaya parrayaninya kartiyakuturntangka wantimanyinyapaya. Kuwarrilaluya kartiyalu jawanypa purli yalangulyu. Ngalyangka purrapaya wantimanyinya julyju partupartunila kartiya kuturntangka. Patu partunimalula. Kuwiyiya nyarraninya maruntu, karlaya ya wakarnili nyarraninya kangkuruya yapuyijapa nyarraninya yalijarrala wantimanyiya yalangkayarrangulyu. Yalijarralajunganyilinuya wantimanyinya karrungkakili. Karrungkaya wantimanyinya.

Patu partunimalula.

Kuwarrijinya nuyarna yalakukili. Yalakukili yanara wantinyjaku yanara wimijurni. Yalanganaku parrawartajarra ngurrara. Ngurrangkayarnapala wantinyjaku yalangka Karlamilyingka karrungka.

Kalyu yana yalangulyu parrajikiniku, maruntupa, parnaparntipa yana pinyili nyarranyiku pujikatupa, kuwiyi karrulanganaku yalangulyu. Nyila yala pinyili nyarranyiku kartiyakuturntangka. Layana pinyilinyarnanimara kartiyaluparrangula yangajunpa. Julyjujaja yayaninya pantunykunu warranyja yayaninya yintapartu yintapartu. Julyamarta kanyinta walypalalu warranypa patulukurangu juka patukurangungkala kalyungka yarnaninu yangajurna. Yangajurnanula wantimanyi julyamarta kanyinta warranypa patukurangujuka.

Mannga wimijurni yanara yalaku ngurraku karrukarruku. Karrulanganaku yarrngamili yalala Warnmanmili, Nyangumartamili, Manyilyjarramili, Kartujarramili, Kurajarramili, Kiyajarramili, Niyaparlimili, Nyangajarramili, laltumili yalala ngurrala. Nyarnila ngapartimpala Karlamilyi.

Ngulartu ngulyu.

Summary in English:

We lived around Karlamilyi for a long time without whitefellas. Today the whitefella is digging up the hills. We were happy for a long time before the white people came. We ate meat like goanna, emu, we speared and ate kangaroo. We camped there in the summertime, along the river. That's our country, our home.

We went there for water, for meat, for goanna, for lizard, for cat. We would hunt them before the whiteman came. Now they block the country. We are still talking for that country. That place belongs to alot of different people, to Warnman, Nyangumarta, Manyilyjarra, Kartujarra, Kurajarra, Kiyajarra, Niyaparli, Nyangajarra, to lots of people. That place in the south, Karlamilyi.

That's all.

#### 5:0 WATURARRA SONGS

These songs were recorded during the trip to Karlamilyi in July 1988. They were sung by the group of men as we travelled from one part of the region to the next, and in the evenings around a camp fire. Presented below are the words to thirteen songs, part of a song set that describes the country from Parngurr in the south to Yantikuji in the north. These songs are not restricted to any particular audience and have been cleared by the men for public hearing. In performance the songs follow a usual pattern of 5 repetitions of the fixed pattern of words with occasional changes to the starting point. The accompaniment is clapping and rattling boomerangs (by men) and clapped thighs (women).

In Aboriginal Australia, some songs are documentation of ownership of country (Wild 1987:114), others fill the function of entertainment, others form part of mystified knowledge (Merlan 1987:44). Songs are a medium of exchange; their possession is prized, and singers with a large repertoire are revered for their knowledge. A song is not generally thought to be created by any person, but rather is attributed to them, coming to them in dream-spirit travel in the country which the song describes (in local Aboriginal belief). During the trip to Karlamilyi one of the men dreamed of a number of new songs, all related to the area in which we were camping.

The lyrics of Aboriginal songs may appear abstract to the outsider (see Strehlow 1971:160). They make reference to events or to characteristics of people or places which often rely on an implicit understanding of these characteristics on the part of the listener. Such lack of explicit reference is a feature of much discourse in Aboriginal languages, relying as it often does on an assumption of shared knowledge on the part of



the speaker and listener (see Merlan 1981:189). One reason for this is undoubtedly the general practice in Aboriginal societies of avoiding use of personal names. Oblique reference may be made by use of kin relationships or nicknames. It may be that the traditional small band of people constantly living together and sharing the same experiences would similarly share points of reference that need not be explicitly stated in conversation. Furthermore, a function of this discourse style is to exclude outsiders who do not share the cultural understanding to decode the text. In songs of a religious or 'secret' nature, the ability to negotiate meanings increases the power of those who are in a position to determine meanings.

These songs are a lyrical representation of the country. While they may be associated with ancestral tracks, as Tonkinson (1978:105) suggests for other songs in the region, I am unaware of such links in this instance. The thirteen songs presented here begin at Pungkulyi, a hill in the south of the Park, go through the Waturarra ranges, Kumururru hill and Wariwari rockhole. The Waturarra songs are referred to as 'Itiwanu's songs', as he came upon them in dream-spirit form, during travels in the country. Despite the fact that the songs are from an 'owner' of the country, knowledge of them today appears not to be a title of ownership of the country so much as it is a statement of affinity with the country. This is supported by the widespread familiarity with the songs displayed by Martu at Punmu, Parnngurr and Jigalong.

1. Kakarra puyurliny ngaringa yuwanyparna marlakuna Pungkulyi
2. Wanalanga Murrpu jananza walkantulanga Waturarra
3. Kumururru kanya yirnti yirnti walykarrkanya
4. Wariwari nyangu parntaralparnala nyangu yilyarrpirtikurna
5. Purli marlakuku wumukuku yana pikarli kintiri ngurni
6. Yala maya yungka yungkarnu nyangu parrparrparrparrjunu pakiju yungkarnu nyangu
7. Yala maya yungka yungkarnu nyangu palyu yankunyja pakiju yungkarnu nyangu
8. Payinku karntunu kajarnu yintiyintina ngurrakurnala
9. Kaja marunpuru nyakula yanamapa nyinyjinyinyji marrunpuru
10. Parrparrparrparrjunu yala mayarungka kartarrpalkanaju nyangu
11. Yala maya yungka yungkarnu nyangu parrparrparrparrjunu pakiju yungkarnu nyangu
12. Ngajarayi kurnala kirinkirin kanga kunarurru nala nyangu
13. Japiya kurnala kuwilirr kilirrkil yakumarntimanmal wakarna

These are translations by the singers:

1. See Pungkulyi from a long way, like in smoke
2. Follow back along Muurru hill along Waturarra
3. Kukurru hill, little stick pointing
4. Wariwari, see open country through a crack in the rock
5. Back to the hill, come together, bring it in close
6. Throw it through the home see the lightning, shimmering
7. Throw it through the home, see the light, go from there
8. Blindly rain sweeping down, pointing at country
9. See a long way, pointing with a spear into the distance
10. Shimmering like a mirage. I see my rockhole
11. Throw it through the home, see the lightning, shimmering
12. See the dark smoke across a long way
13. To the increase site, dance, pointing with a spear

#### **6:0 NYAPARU (BILLY) GIBBS' STATEMENT**

Nyaparau Gibbs is the chairman of the Western Desert Puntukurnuparna (Aboriginal Corporation). He lives at Punmu. This text was recorded in August 1987, at Punmu, after a meeting held at Parnngurr and Karlkun Karlkun (at which Nyaparau (Ned) Gibbs' statement was recorded) to discuss the intrusion of miners into Martu living areas.

In this statement Nyaparau (Billy) Gibbs reiterates the close link between Martu and Karlamilyi. He cites the fact that Martu have had names for all of the local features since the Two Men (see Tonkinson 1978:75, 89) travelled through the country and gave them those names in the dreamtime. He sees that changing the names is part of an attempt to make it into a non-Aboriginal National Park.

He is concerned for the dangers posed by uranium, and for the potential damage to water supplies in the marginal environment of Karlamilyi. This statement was recorded immediately after a meeting at which the Strelley mob were discovered to be 'sneaking around' (see Nyaparau (Ned) Gibbs statement below), and were not responding to calls from the residents of what is now the Park for a meeting. Nyaparau (Billy) Gibbs says that they are talking for the Mijijimaya (a Strelley camp) people as well, even though there was, at that stage, little communication between them ("we're all too far apart").

Martulaju mitingkutu yanu ngajana. Yarrapulayinya laju yanu kalki mutukakiyanu. Jikulyungu mapuniya yanuni yarnnga Martu. Yarnnga nguyulajanu kujungkarringku mitingkutuwangkangu. Yapuku jiiku karruku jiiku. Karrujinya Rudall River manuya Palunyanyju yini kujupa yiniya junu karruwa januya Rudall River. Jingampa Karlamilyi karrunga julyjujanu nyukurnijanu jinga yini mangunyanu. Kalyujanama kuju jingulyu kujungkarriya nyinama puyulurutayimunga kujungkarriyaka. Yatpalatayimu yukujungkarriku jingka ngulyu. Kaya kujungkarriku nyinama jiji karra marlulukarra ka karlingka pijinijingka nyinama. Parnajanampa Martukujinga kuwarri najunal pak wajarninpanya walypalalu jinga. Parnajanampa jinga Martuku. Punturayi ninti. Nyukurnijanu ngarraya ninti jiingu. Kuwarriwiya parnijinga nyukurnijanu yini Karlamilyinga. Palunya kungawu wiya kujupa ngurraku yini kujupa. Yini kujupa yini jiinya kujupalunga Martulunga Karlamilyi wulu. Julyjujanu yini palunya kuwarri janunga mangujanu yini palunya Karlamilyinga yini. Palunya kulujurra wangkangu karru putamalyjakuya karru parnaya mangkuraka nyinajaku pulakamura nyinajaku ngapi tarrki julyjulkuyan karrungka kalyuwayilkuraku palunyaku. Kalyukujungka jingakujunguyutinga. Jinga nyinaku karrungka kalyungulyujinga Karlamilyingka rawa nyinaku. Kujarra wantanyinaku yupalpa wanta nyinaku rawa ngarrimalpa jiingu. Wajaninpayi jinga Martulunga. Karlamilyi wulu yini.

Palunyangkalajura wajarnujingka. Yinikujupa yanu nyanguka jinga wirtuka Karlamilyinga nganngapinka wajana Yantikuji. Mayinaju jawalkijalu yini ngapi rayinium. Rayinium jinga wajalaju kalyuwayilyjakurni jijanau. Karrungka jiingka wayiraka jiingka yangkulampajuku jarrpajaku kalyu kujupangka mayangka jarrpajaku kalyu kujupangka. Jikilykulaju pukularriku yarnnga. Puta jinga. Wartalurrju kilamurlku mirrkalurrju lampajuku kilamurlku kangurulurrju kilamurlku. Mituntangkujananya kanguruluju yarnnga. Puta kalyu puta puta, puwijanpa jinga. Puwijanpa wajaninpa. Palunya kurajura wajanu. Yantikujingka yiningka. Yinikujupa Yantikuji yapurra waraku maawayinpa. Jiinga Yantikuji wulu nintiraya Martu yarnnga jiiku. Jinga rawa nyinaku. Palunya marlaku ka yankujingka parra nyinamalpa Yantikuji mangunyanu yini. Mangunyanulaju wiya wajarninpa kuwarrijanu. Ngayulurna jiji marlajanulu wajarninpa mayirti. Palunya wiyakukalyjakuya kartiyalu. Yantikuji yini nganga jiinga mangunyanu.

Yirna kujarralu yinijunu mangunyju jiinga yininga Karlamilyi. Wituka Karlamilyinga witukapula wajanu Yantikuji yirna kujarralu. Ngurrpa lajura. Walypala lungara palunyangu purtuparra ngurilyjakurnparra wangkaku ngapiku jiiku. Wanyjalparalajura ninti jiiku. Ngampalajura ninti yinanyukurni januluya wajalpayi jiingulyu. Yantikujinga rayinium jinya puta. Yapurrani wangalpa wangkaku parntilujanaya mirtuntalku kakarra waraku ngapinga Parnngurrja. Ngapartinijanu wayilkurni kalyu wanalkurni jarrpawa kurlkuni ngangka kalyungka karla lanyaju mirtuntalkunirra jiikilkulaju putarriku jinga kalyungka. Kangurulunga jikaramiturrimalpa kangurulu nyalupa wartalaju jananyakilimarlku. Mirtunalku wartalurrju putajinga ngalpukepaya mirtupayi ngayunpalaju ngulurrinpalajura jingkamarra putaparnti juma tiwayankupayi wangalaju kakarranilu yungkarlku pinyalpunku kakarrani yankuwangalyju yapurrajananya parntilu mirtuntangu. Puyukuna yapurra jananya mirtulangku. Mijijimayajanuya Martu wiyalaju kujunkarirrawangkaparni Yantikujinga. Ngalyalpa marriti nyininpa wangkaparlil kujungkariya wangkaparni. Mijijimayangka palunyalaju wajarnuwangkangulajura yapunga janampa jingayilta minyirringajinga Martuku. Martungulyuraya jikunga yapuwalyjajarranga ngurrpa. Wiyakukanimpaya kartiyalu ngampa yilta jinga jinga nyinamalpa yulungulyu yinijunamalpayuluya marlajanulunga jijiparakulu yiniyulu nyinamalpa jinga Yantikujinga yinanga jijimarlajanuyakutuwana janu jumakaja jitukaya wajarninpawajarlmarlpa ngapi yirna kujarralupa mangunyju yini junu jiji Yantikujinga ngapikarnu Karlamilyi yapu lurrju jinga kakarranga yini pungkulyijingka kakarra warrakunga kakarraya yaninpa ngapikutu Tuk Ruutu kutu jinga yini yiyajuya Marturaya ninti ngayunpalajura ninti. Jiku Yantikuji wajarni Pungkulyilurrju yinijuninpa yiya wajarlalparni wiya ngalaju kuwarri paki kajalparnilajujananya kalkingka walypalangka ngangalaju yilta warjarninpa.

Summary in English:

People from Punmu went to a meeting at Cotten Creek to talk for our country, especially for Karlamilyi. The proper name for Rudall River is Karlamilyi. They call it Kintyre mine but we have had the name since the dreamtime, it is Yantikuji. In the summer there are meetings at that place, they have ceremonies and initiation business there. That was our land and now it is a National Park. We know it still belongs to the Aborigines. We're not lying, we know Karlamilyi, you can't change it to another name.

If they take the sand away, they are going to block the river, the water should not be disturbed. Water has been there for a long time and will stay there even in the hottest times. The miners went there and they called it all the wrong names. They are going to dig up uranium, a dangerous thing. If it gets into our drinking water supply we'll be sick and dead. It's too dangerous. Water might run down the river, our kids swim in the water. It could kill trees, fruit, and animals. We don't want bad poisoned water. That creek is called Yantikuji. It runs to the west. We've known about the rivers, creeks and waterholes ever since the dreaming, we're not making this up for the first time. The Two Men [= wati kujarra] named the places in the dreamtime. The whitefellas came and didn't know the names. Our old people knew the names and they passed them to us

That Yantikuji uranium is a bad thing. When the wind blows to the east, dust will blow to Parnngurr (Cotten Creek). The water will travel underground and will kill us. It will be bad water. Kangaroos will die. Trees will be cut down. We can see the dangers, we're frightened of the dust. Some of the Warnman people from Punmu are still owners for the Yantikuji area. Aboriginal people are not happy for that mine to start. We are talking for the Mijijimaya people too, we haven't had a proper meeting to talk about the area, we're all too far apart.

The people that own this country will stay there forever. They will tell the names to their children and the children will follow them. The Two Men named Yantikuji and Karlamilyi hill. To the east they named Pungkulyi and on to the Stock Route.

Today they say we are lying to the white people, but we are telling the truth.

**7:0 A STATEMENT BY THE LATE FOUNDING CHAIRMAN OF THE  
WESTERN DESERT PUNTUKURNUPARNA**

This is a transcript from a videotape made of a meeting of Martujarra at Karlkun Karlkun, in August 1987, with Peter Veth. As one of the speakers died in late 1988, it is requested that reference to him in the presence of Aboriginal people from the Western Desert be avoided. Nyaparu (Ned) Gibbs was an important member of the Jigalong/Western Desert community. He was articulate in both European and Martu ways of speaking and was chairman of the Western Desert Puntukurnuparna during its formative years.

In this transcript two main issues are discussed, one is the multiple ownership of Karlamilyi, the other is what is considered to be the improper behaviour of the Strelley mob in speaking for country that they had previously abandoned for living areas to the north-west. The Strelley mob have their living areas. However, they are making decisions with CRA for country that is now the living area of another group of people, those represented at this meeting at Karlkun Karlkun.

At this meeting it was discovered that a group of Strelley people were at Kintyre, engaged in site clearance work. Martu from Punmu and Parnngurr all drove up to talk with the Strelley people but arrived to literally see the dust settling from the aeroplane taking the Strelley mob back to their camps to the north.

**Founding Chairman:** I think that the mining companies haven't been doing right by the people as well as people at Cotten Creek and Punmu and the rest of the communities from the Western Desert area.

They've been sneaking around, the people, and doing whatever they want to. That's McLeod. He's not a traditional owner, you're the traditional owners. That should have been treated equally.....

**Nyaparu (Billy) Gibbs:** Two or three years, none of them been here from the Strelley group, but people what are here now, that's the people that are speaking for this area, and the people's area, Rudall River in a National Park, that Parnngurr area. Now we can't believe one person, from another place, you know they come in and organise everything here and to make particular area for one person, that's not clear for everybody. Everybody, just about, did talk about it in the meeting we had at Cotten Creek, that's clear what we had that meeting in there. We've been calling Strelley people to come to have a meeting for this area to clear this area, but no one ever turned up here. They just running behind us you know, but they sneaking around all the time, that's not fair to everybody, that's not a proper thing for every Martu people.

Speak for everybody, that's not the way. You'll be representing from Punmu, 33, Mulyarlkiri, Jigalong, Wakulpa. That's the people, they talking for this area.

**Founding Chairman:** Yuwa. That meeting that we had a few days ago. The feeling from the people they said it's not only Warnman country. Years ago the people said that everybody is together in. Now one person is coming and every mining company to recognise is not how it should be. That meeting that we had at Cotten Creek, when they talked about land rights, a few years ago [Seaman Inquiry] they, them people wasn't

even interested. They was interested in taking over the coastal land. Now all of a sudden, since the people moved back on their own land, which they recognise as their traditional land, what we get is another people that don't want, not even interested in the land, comes in and the mining company says they recognise them people as the traditional owner.

A few days ago we went to the camp out here [Kintyre CRA camp], few miles from here. We talked to them and we didn't know they [Strelley mob] was here, they been working around here, and when we turned up they wasn't here, and a day later they back, site clearing for CRA. Double standard there, you know they [CRA] just want to go along and talk to us, not bring in these other people [Strelley mob], it's just not right.

### 8:0 CONCLUSION

This paper has presented some Aboriginal viewpoints on the ownership of Karlamilyi (Rudall River) National Park. I co-ordinated the translation of statements made in local languages during workshops with younger, literate speakers of both English and Aboriginal languages. That each of the four statements discusses the multiple ownership of the area (in response to the claims by CRA that they have cleared the country with the alleged sole owner) indicates the great importance that local people attach to the issue. This is further indicated by the list of names of some owners of that country that was presented in the introduction.

The presentation of Aboriginal viewpoints in their own language gives voice to opinions that are too often entirely mediated by outsiders. In this case, the translations are certainly another form of mediation, but one which still allows retrieval of the original words. I have not attempted a word by word translation due to time constraints. The summary translations presented here were read back to meetings of Martu and have their approval, which reinforces my feeling that these are consensus views held by most of the men (and certainly all of the men present at these meetings).

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