

Kurlumarniny

We come from the desert

Monty Hale (Minyjun)

Edited by Anne Scrimgeour

Transcribed and translated by Barbara Hale and Mark Clendon

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Foreword

Monty Hale is one of the quiet achievers of Indigenous Australia, and one of its greatest intellectuals. Coming from the deserts of Western Australia, he was part of one of the foundational movements of Indigenous economic independence associated with the strike from sheep and cattle stations in the Pilbara in 1947, culminating in the establishment of Strelley and other communities in the 1970's. He was a key person in the establishment of Strelley School, fiercely independent of governments and missionaries, and dedicated to a 'two-way' approach, teaching in Aboriginal languages (such as his own Nyangumarta) and recognising local indigenous culture alongside English and western skills.

When I arrived in Strelley in 1978 to help start up a second language program in Manjiljarra alongside Nyangumarta, it was to Monty that the fledgling program looked for guidance and inspiration. While a bulwark of the community and the movement it was leading, Monty's role was not that of the more political leaders of the strike movement, but very much an intellectual role. I remember his quiet but friendly presence, often sitting reading and writing in Nyangumarta, dedicated to the aims so clearly articulated in this book, of recording the history of his people and their struggle to achieve real independence while maintaining their language and culture. As we learn in this book, he was a disciplined scholar, learning how to write his language to a great extent on his own, long before the dream of an independent school was realised. When literacy was mastered, beginning to write down his stories and ideas, some of which were later collected together here.

An autobiography by an Indigenous person, written by that person (not ghost-written) in their traditional language, and translated into English, is a rare event to be treasured. His choice of language is not simply a result of the fact that Monty's fluency in English is not perfect, on his own admission. It also flows from his immense pride in Nyangumarta and its expressive ability which encodes unique ways of looking at the world and social relations (such as in frequent reference to kinship terms and the 'face' section system used in a wide region).

Monty's story ends on a sad note, bemoaning how the young people of the region have lost their way and no longer follow the spirit of collective action, sobriety and self-reliance that the strike movement nurtured for many years. In this he reflects what many other Indigenous elders feel in recent years. But hope survives: the new generations can appreciate the history of achievement narrated here, and use it as a model for themselves. In particular, Monty's distinctive intellectual contribution to writing and education is a key to passing on this message, so vital for the future of Indigenous people in the Pilbara and in Australia as a whole.

Dr Patrick McConvell, the Australian National University

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Minyjun wishes to thank Janet Sharp and Gwen Bucknall for their help in the earlier stages of writing this book.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to Wallace McKittrick, Senior Program Officer in the Office for the Arts in the Department of Regional Australia, Local Government, Arts and Sports, for his professional interest and support; Professor Peter Mühlhäusler of the University of Adelaide, for his kind support and guidance, and John and Gwen Bucknall for their interest, encouragement and assistance in this project. Thanks also to Turrkuwanti (Bruce Thomas) for his help in writing this story, and to Jacqui Wright and Dave and Cupar Ross, for their hospitality in accommodating us all on their block in Broome for four weeks in July 2009.

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Monty Hale, Anne Scrimgeour, Barbara Hale and Mark Clendon

Contents

Foreword	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Nyirrnikartijangaku • Preface	vi
Editor's note	viii
Key people	ix
Maps	xii
Chapter 1: Childhood	1
Chapter 2: Strike time, 1946–50	20
Chapter 3: Mining times, 1950–55	36
Chapter 4: Working on the coast, 1955–59	63
Chapter 5: The Split and the early 1960s	81
Chapter 6: Elopement	101
Chapter 7: Yurtingunya (Strelley), 1973–85	133
Chapter 8: Bereavement, 1985	177
Chapter 9: The later years	185
Appendixes	210
Appendix 1: Naming conventions and kinship terminology	210
<i>Marrngu</i> names	210
Whitefella names	210
<i>Marrngu</i> naming conventions	211
Section names	211
Singular kinship terminology	211
Dyadic and tri-relational kinship terminology	213
Appendix 2: A guide to pronunciation of Nyangumarta words	217
Appendix 3: Glossary	218
Appendix 4: A note on the Nyangumarta text	220
Bibliography and further reading	221
Notes	222
Index	225

Nyirrirkartijangaku

Parrjarnarnapulaka, pulanyju muwarr wirrirknipulu, muwarr mirlimirlingi kalyarralu. Parrjarnarna ngalya; ngaju karramarnarna, ngajulu ngurnipali wirrilamarna muwarrpa yarntarnarna mirlimirlingi. Marrngupa nyirrirkartijanga parrjalapiyi muwarr, palajun.

Muwarr pala yarntarnarna Nyangumartalu, wunyurru wanikinyi walangkarrangu nganarnamili kurlumarniny. Munumpa ngaju English-ku yarntanaku, Nyangumarta yarntarnarna muwarr nyungu, nyungu Marrngumili muwarr, palajun.

Walangkarrangulu wurrarnayi, yankunya kara. Palaja yalinyjakurnu yanayi, karakurnu. Purlpi Jirrirkartinyakartipa Jirrpaiyinyakarti milpanyilpiyi kurlumarniny. Ngajumili pipi japartu pirraja milpanyilpipulu, palanga Wanyilakartanyanga yalajarrinyirni. Ngaju wirtujarrikinyirni warrkamjarrikinyirni *bullock*-karrapa *mineral*-karra. Moolyella-nga yapinikinyiirni *tin*-pa mijimiji. Mirta Ngarnkawaru milpanyanganaku, *strike*-jarrikinyiirni *station*-ja, palaja warrkamujarrikinyiirni *mineral*-karra warrarnjarrangu warinypa warinyja ngurrarrangu. Kujungurrungu pirrapirra ngarnipinikinyiirni, palaja yarti manayirni Strelley Station. *School*-ja wanikinyiirnijanaku Strelley-nga partanykarranguku, punyja palanga warrkamjarrikinyirni. Palanga karramarnarna purlpi, ngajulu yarntalamarna muwarr nganarnamili.

Muwarr nyungu Nyangumartapa English. Yartajirniirni 1979-nga yarntanaku nyungu muwarr. Kurrnganikinyalayi palaji Malcolm Brown-pa Gwen Bucknall, palaja Janet Sharp. Janalu yarntarnaya English, ngajulu yarntarnarna Nyangumarta. Yarti yakarnaya, Gwen Broome-karti yana. Palaja 2008-nga milpanyi kurntal ngajumili murrkangunya Barbara-pa Mark, Anne. Muwarr wurrarnarnapulaku kurntaljapa yakungu, palanga pulanyju yarntarnapululu mirlimirlingi Nyangumarta. Yakulupa Barbara-lu, Anne-ju yarntarnaya English.

Muwarrpa wunyurru wurrankinyiinganaku kurlumarninyju nganarnanga, munu warinykurnujarrinyaku. Yija nganarnalu kalkunayirnijanaka muwarr kurlkanga janamili. Nyirrirkartijangalu yajalkulunyurru yirnkungu muwarrja nganarnamilingi jinanga. Munu muwarr kakunamiyirnijanaka palajun.

Preface

I saw what my *kalyarra*¹, Billy Dunn and Jack McPhee, had written, when they wrote their stories down in books.² I saw that it was done well and I thought, perhaps I should put what I've written of my own story into a book also, then the younger people coming behind us could read about what had happened.

So I wrote the story in Nyangumarta, how our old people, our forebears, used to live. I didn't know enough English to write in English, so I wrote it in Nyangumarta. This is a *marrngu* story.

Our old people said, let's travel to the west. So they set out for the west, and for the north. Eventually our forebears reached the pools on the Oakover River called Jirrirrikartinya and Jirrpayinya. My parents came in from the desert with them, and I was born at the Wanyjilakartanya pool on the Nullagine River. I grew up working with cattle, and in mining. At Moolyella we yandied for tin and for gold. Don McLeod came to work with us, and we went on strike from the stations. We then worked at mining at different places all over the Pilbara, and we collected pearl-shells along the coast. Later we purchased Strelley Station. We set up a school at Strelley for our children, and I worked there for a long time. It was there some time ago that I began to think about writing down our story.

This story is in Nyangumarta and English. I started writing it in 1979. I discussed it first with Malcolm Brown and Gwen Bucknall, and then with Janet Sharp; and after I'd written it in Nyangumarta, they wrote it in English. After a while they left, Gwen went to live in Broome. And then in 2008 I arranged to work with my eldest daughter Barbara, and with Mark and Anne. I narrated the remainder of the story to Barbara and Mark, who wrote it down in Nyangumarta. Then Barbara, Anne and Mark translated it into English.

What our old people told us still holds true; we held on to their ideas and never disregarded what they told us. You who are coming after us need to follow the example that we have set for you.

Editor's note

Minyjun (Monty Hale) began writing his autobiography in 1979 at Yurtingunya (Strelley Station), filling school exercise books in neatly handwritten Nyangumarta, his first language, and the language in which he is most fluent and literate. The first sections of his book appeared in the Strelley Community School newsletter *Mikurrunya* in the early 1980s, translated into English at first by Malcolm Brown, a linguist working in the school. Minyjun continued to add to this work over the next twenty-five years.

More recently, Minyjun worked with his daughter Barbara Hale, linguist Mark Clendon, and myself, to complete the work. He dictated the remainder of his life story to Barbara and Mark, who wrote it down as he spoke. As each section was written in this way, it would be read back to Minyjun for him to make any editorial changes he felt necessary. He would frequently work and rework the text a number of times, reorganising, clarifying and adding more information until he was happy with it. Working with Minyjun to ensure accuracy, we then translated the Nyangumarta text into English, as Minyjun wishes his story to be accessible to both English-speaking and Nyangumarta-speaking readers.

In consultation with Minyjun, his autobiography has been edited for publication. The complete unedited version can be accessed from the archives of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. The editing for publication included the addition of information on the historical events in which Minyjun was involved. However, this is not a history. It is, rather, the life memories of a man who lived through a remarkable history. Most people with similar life experiences had little or no western education, and are, by necessity, required to tell the story of their lives for English speakers and readers through another person. This is a life story told directly by the man who lived it, in his own language.

Terminology

Indigenous people of the Pilbara region of Western Australia, speaking Nyangumarta and associated languages, use the term *marrngu*, meaning 'person', to refer to themselves as Aboriginal people, and *walypila*, meaning 'whitefellas', to refer to Europeans and other non-Aboriginal people. These terms are used throughout this book.

Section names and kinship

The English translation retains terms that Minyjun uses to refer to individuals and groups of people. In common with many Indigenous groups in Australia, *marrngu* have a system of kinship which divides all people into a number of sections. Depending on the sections to which one's parents belong, all *marrngu* are either Panaka, Purungu, Milangka or Karimarra, and these section names are sometimes used by Minyjun to refer to individuals. He also uses family names and names which refer to an individual's position in a family. Frequently, individuals are referred to in relationship terms. Because the meanings of Nyangumarta kinship terms do not exactly correspond to relationship terminology in English, the Nyangumarta term is used in the translation. Minyjun also uses dyadic and tri-relational kinship terminology to refer to groups of two or more people according to both their relationship to one another and their relationship to him. An explanation of *marrngu* naming conventions, kinship terms, and of the terminology used in this book, can be found as appendixes to this book.

While Minyjun does sometimes use personal names, he avoids doing so where the use of a personal name would be disrespectful. This is particularly the case when he refers to people who have passed away, especially those who have passed away more recently. Often, these people are referred to in terms of their relationship with someone else, such as a spouse or child. This convention has also been retained in the translation.

Key people

The following people appear regularly in or are important to Minyjun's story. *Marrngu* are listed first by their most commonly used name.

Rurla (Fred Bradman) MILANGKA



Rurla was a close friend who worked with Minyjun in the Strelley School as an illustrator, teacher, and linguist. His wife was Mirlimirli (Susie Rowlands).

Ngalaya marntiyarra. Ngalaya wanikinyalayi partanyjirri Moolyella-nga, witi-witikarrikinyalayi. Palaja yana yalinyja paliny Moola Bulla-karti, kulpanya marrngujarrinyi paliny, ngaju partany. Palangulu warajanga wanikinyalayi jintapirnalayarninyi. Yarti kulurnalayarninyi Five Mile-ja Yirramakartunyanga kakarrakurnu, palangulu yana-yanalayi. Manayirni Yurtingunya, palanga wanikinyiyirni. Palangulu ngalaya yana-yanalayi warajangangarra warrkamupa wanikinyalayi *school*-ja, miranujirnirna ngajulu Nyangumartaku yarntanaku muwarrku. Paliny miranu muwarrku English-ku, ngalypangarra miranujarrinya pipurru. Yanalayi Karntimartakarti, palanga wanikinyalayi *school*-ja. 2002-ngu ngaju yakarnanya.

He and I were in the *marntiyarra* relationship. We were children together at Moolyella, and played together there. Later he went north to Moola Bulla, and when he came back he'd been through the Law, whereas I had not. When we bought Yurtingunya we lived there, and were together from that time on, working together in the school. I taught him to write the Nyangumarta language. He already knew how to read and write English, and so he learnt quickly. He passed away in 2002.

Photograph courtesy *Mikurrunya*, 20 August 1979, p. 19, courtesy Nomads Foundation.

Puwujapiji (Tobin Binbin) PANAKA



A close friend of Minyjun, Puwujapiji passed away in 1985.

Ngalaya wanikinyalayi warajanga Puwujapijipa kuyiku wirlanakata. Jilamanmajirringi warnkulu palinyju malyanikinyi kangkuru tukulu. Ngajulu palajun malyanikinyirnijaninyi kangkuru yurlukulupa; ruwanyikinyalayijaninyi. Ngalaya partanyja wirtujarrinyalayi warajanga, ngalaya tulmarrirti warajanga. Nyurramanikinyiyingalayinyi kuyimartajirri.

Puwujapiji and I were always together, and were both good hunters. If he didn't have a gun he could knock down a kangaroo with a stone. We grew up together as children, and were best friends. Everyone use to say that we were both good hunters.

Photograph courtesy John Smart.

Mirta (Don McLeod) MILANKA



Born in Meekatharra, Western Australia, in 1908, Mirta, Don McLeod, became a spokesman for *marrngu* involved in the 1946 pastoral workers' strike, and from 1949 worked with the group that emerged from the strike, principally as an advisor. He remained closely involved with the breakaway group that became the Nomads, until his death in 1999. He wrote an account of the group's history in *How the West was Lost* (Self-published, Port Hedland, 1984). Also called Ngarnkawaru or Ngarnka.

Walypila warrkamjarrikinyi Mirta, karlikinya pirti ngapajalu windmill wirrinikinyi. Mirtalu palalu walypilalu yinganyikinyijaninya martumpirri ngalypakatalu. Yirrirniyi marrngulu ngalypakata, janalu muwarr yimpirnaya, wurrarniyili Mirtanga, 'muwarrpilamannganaka'.

Mirta was a *walypila* who worked sinking bores and erecting windmills, and who was generous in giving *marrngu* food. *Marrngu* saw

that he was a good person and talked to him, saying, 'We want you to speak for us'.

Note: 'Mirta', the name used by Minyjun for Don McLeod, means 'old man'. It also means 'older brother or sister'. 'Mirta', the name of Don McLeod, is written with an upper-case M, while a lower case m and italics is used when the kinship term *mirta* is used to refer to people other than Don McLeod.

Photograph by Patsy Adam Smith, courtesy Robert Hall Publishing London.

Minyjun (Jacob Oberdoo) PANAKA



Often referred to by Minyjun as Mamaji, older brother, Jacob became spokesman for the faction that split from Putungaja and Kangkushot in 1959, and a principal leader of the Nomads group and the Strelley community.

Photograph by Patsy Adam Smith, courtesy Robert Hall Publishing London.

Dick McKenna PANAKA



Often referred to by Minyjun as Malyurta, Dick is one of Minyjun's older brothers.

Photograph courtesy Tindale Collection 564, South Australian Museum.

Yakalya, Crow Yougala PANAKA



Born in the desert, Crow worked on stations as a young man and took part in the 1946 strike. He became one of the leaders of the Nomads group when they settled at Yurtingunya (Strelley Station).

Photograph courtesy Tindale Collection 603, South Australian Museum.

Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra) PANAKA



A friend of Minyjun's, Maruntu became a leading member of the Strelley community. His wife was Ngajukulayi (Nancy).

Photograph courtesy Tindale Collection 325, South Australian Museum.

Putungaja (Ernie Mitchell) KARIMARRA



A Nyamal man, Putungaja took over from Yurlpuly (Dooley) as the main leader of the group that emerged from the 1946 strike, and was a director of the Pindan Company. Following the 1959 split, he remained the leader of the group that moved away from association with Mirta, Don McLeod.

Photograph by John Wilson.

Kangkushot (Peter Coppin) PURUNGU



Born at Yarrie Station in 1920, Kangkushot was a Pindan Company director, and the secondary leader of the group. He remained with Putungaja's Pindan group following the split, and, at the death of Putungaja in 1970, took over the leadership of the community which became Magarinya. His life story is told in

a book written with Jolly Read, called *Kangkushot: the Life of Nyamal Lawman Peter Coppin*, Aboriginal Studies Press, 1999.

Photograph by Katrin Wilson.

Pitpit (Billy Thomas) PANAKA



Born near Warrawagine, Pitpit grew up around Nullagine and became a leading member of the Strelley community.

Photograph courtesy Tindale Collection 326, South Australian Museum.

John and Gwen Bucknall PURUNGU AND MILANGKA



Involved in the setting up and operation of Strelley Community School from the 1970s, the Bucknalls worked with Minyjun as teacher-linguists and school principals over many years, and have remained close friends.

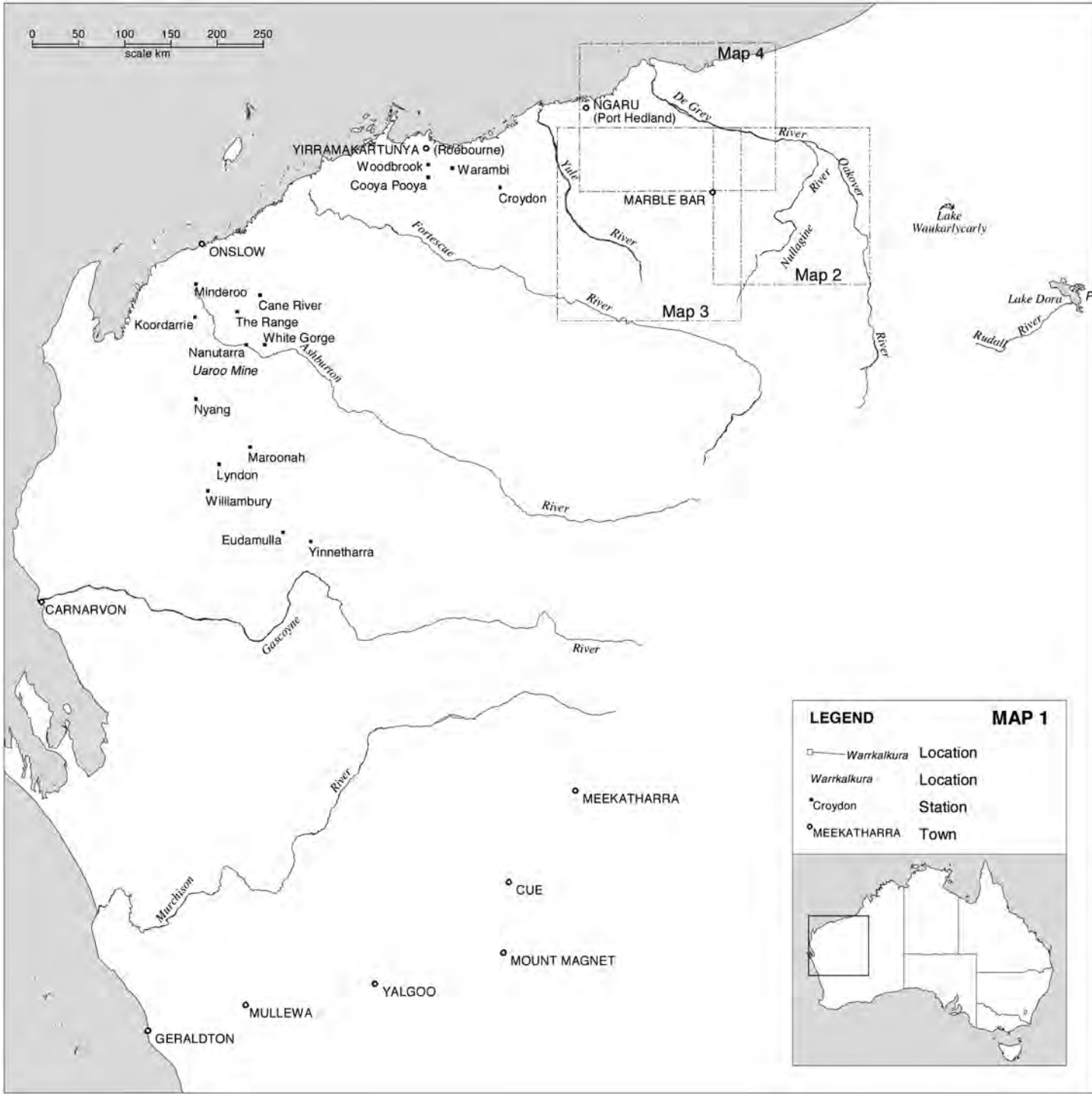
Photograph by Anne Scrimgeour.

John Smart PANAKA

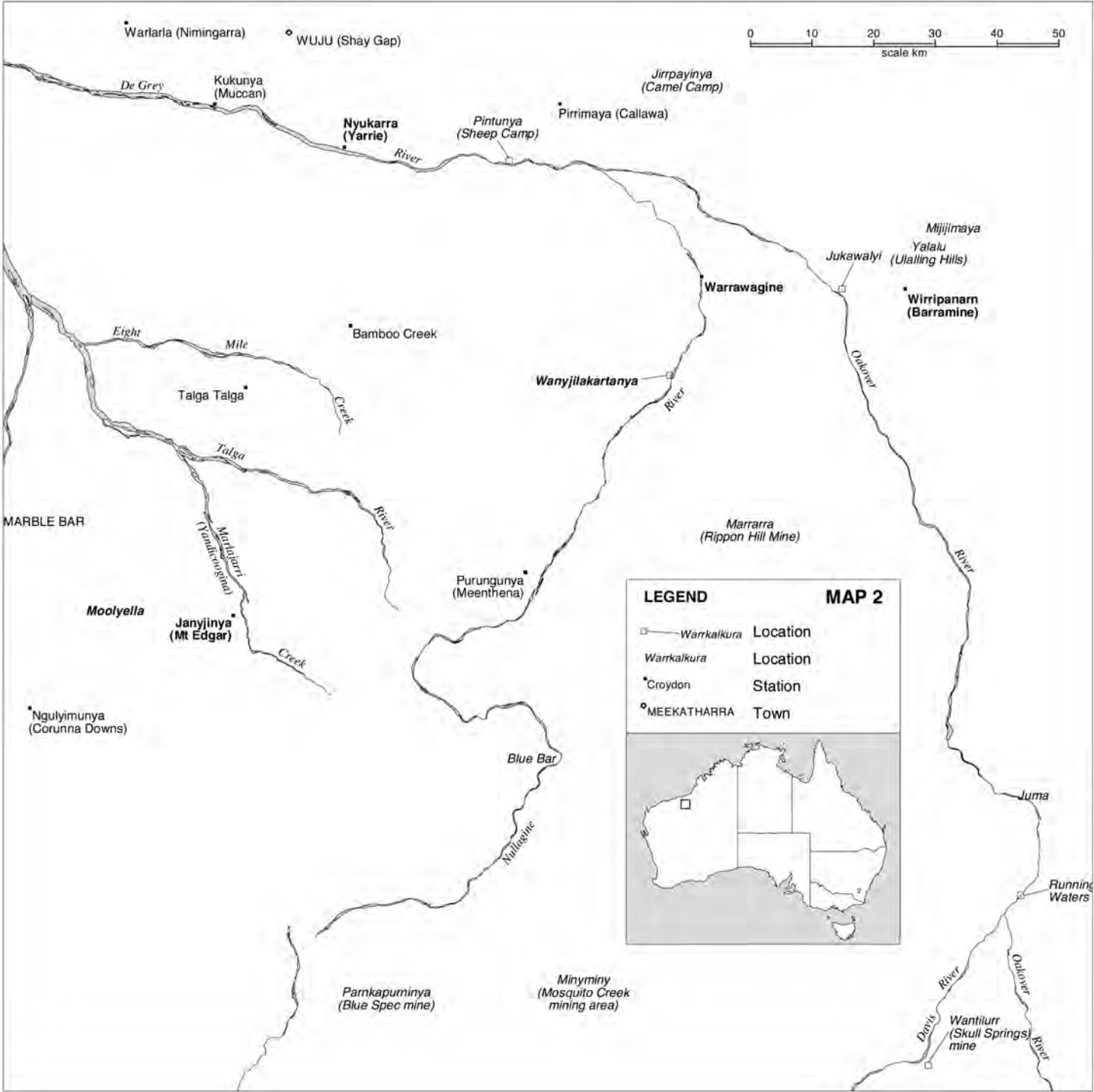


A mechanic employed by the Nomads group, John Smart had a long association with the Pilbara, and experience in keeping second-hand cars and machinery operating in extreme conditions.

Photograph courtesy John Smart.



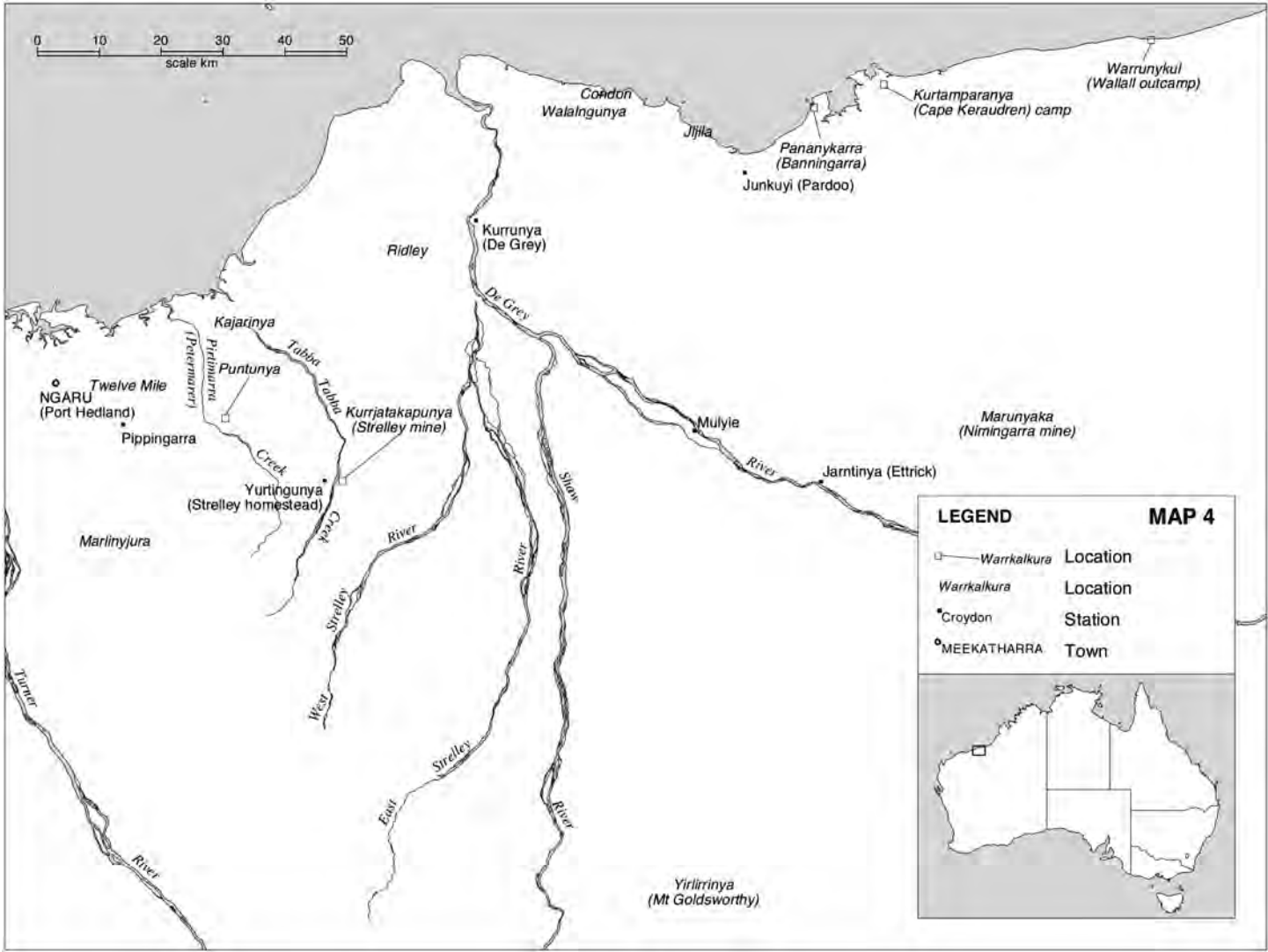
Map 1: Regional map of the central-western part of Western Australia.



Map 2: The north-eastern Pilbara showing the courses of the Nullagine, Oakover and Upper De Grey rivers.



Map 3: The riverline country at the heart of the eastern Pilbara: four major waterways nourish this region.



Map 4: The confluence of the Shaw, Strelley and De Grey river systems, and the coastline between Port Hedland and Cape Keraudren.

Yukurru muwarrpinikinyi, marrngu jama wanikinyi

Yukurru muwarrkata kalkunikinyi marrngulu, paliny jama wanikinyi, muwarrmajirri. Marntungujarrinyi kayimanikinyi pingka kuyikarti, yanikinyipulu kuyi wirlanikinyipulu kurrngal. Kampana nganikinyipulu manyjanga, ruka kulpanyikinyipulu ngurrakarti. Palajunpirli karrpurangu karrpu yanikinyipulu.

Palaja yarrana yanapulu kuyikarti, kuyiku munu kanyjirnipula. Yukurrulu wurrarnala, 'kulpuli ngurrakarti, munurla nyungu kuyimajirri. Wakany wirlarnalijaninyi'.

Wurrarnala yukurrulu, 'wika murnila, pirti karla, warnku wirrilijaninyi wikanga. Tilijili wika, yirti ngartala makanu. Marra yurluku, taki wirlalanyi'. Marrngulu palalu wirlarna taki yukurru marlkarri.

Pala marlkarrilu yukurrulu wurrarnala, 'tarrpalinyi wikanga'. Marrngulu mana, parnpirna wikanga. 'Warinykarti warinykarti jilinyi, wirrilinyi jalakarti. Ngany kutapilinyi', wurrarnala yukurrulu. 'Mirliki marranyi nganypa, wirrurrtujirri marranyi. Ngukurtukurtu marranyi.' Yukurru muwarrpinikinyingarrany. Wurrarikinyili, 'marra yirti, yapan marra wikaja, wirriliji nganyja. Yawu kankarnijilinyi. Kajala palanga, mimaliji murlajarrulumarna. Ngalajaninyi ngunyja palarrangu kuyirrang'.

Pala marrngu kartakarrikinyi. Yarti kartaja jitirni: 'turlpa, marra wurruly ngartarnajaninyi', yawuja jitoliminyin, wirrilinyi wurrulyja kankarni, ngartarrimalanyi. Palinyju kuta-kutapirni. 'Junturtu ngartalinyi wirrilinyi jalakarti. Ngalanyi.' Palalu marrngulu kuyi ngana wakany. 'Junturtu marra, jarliny wirrilinyi jalakarti.' Junturtu pala ngana wakany. Wurrarnala, 'ngalanyi jarliny,' palinyju ngana. Wurrarnala yukurrulu marrngunga, 'muwarrpili'. Pala marrngu muwarrpinirni.

Purlpi wanikinyiyi marrngu muwarrmajirri, yukurrujakun muwarrpinikinyi.

Dogs used to talk and people were silent

There was once a man who had a talking dog, but he himself was silent, unable to speak. Each morning he'd call to him to go hunting, and they'd go out and kill a lot of game. They'd cook and eat the meat out in the bush, and return to camp in the evening. They went out hunting like that every day.

One day they didn't find any game, and the dog said, 'Let's go back home. There are no animals around here, we've killed them all'.

Then he told the man, 'Gather some firewood, dig a hole, and fill it with rocks. Light a fire and break off a long stick. Get a big heavy club, and hit me on the neck'. So the man hit the dog on the neck, and killed him.

And the dog who was now dead said, 'Burn all my hair off in the fire'. The man picked him up and threw him on the fire. 'Turn me over and cook me on both sides, and then take me out of the fire. Then cut open my stomach', said the dog. 'Take out my liver, my stomach, and my two kidneys. Then remove my heart.' That dog was still able to talk. He said, 'Get a stick, take the hot stones out of the fire and put them in my body cavity, and then cover me over with hot coals. Sit there and wait until I am cooked. Eat all my internal organs'.

The man slept, and later the dog woke him up, saying, 'Get up. Break off some leafy branches, take me out of the fire, put me on top of the branches, and break me into pieces'. When the man had cut him up, the dog said, 'Break off my head, and put it to one side. Now eat me'. The man ate all of the meat. The dog said, 'Get the head, and take out my tongue, and put it to one side'. Then the man ate all of the head. The dog said, 'Eat my tongue,' and the man ate it. Then the dog said to the man, 'Speak'. And the man spoke.

In the old days, people didn't have any language, only dogs could talk.



'Dessert Natives [sic], De Grey, North West'. Members of a group who travelled from the desert to Barramine and Warrawagine station area, c. 1928, photograph courtesy State Library of Western Australia, 2861P.

Chapter 1

Childhood

*In 1934, when Minyjun was born in the dry creek bed of the Nullagine River near Warrawagine Station in the north-eastern Pilbara region of Western Australia, his parents and elder siblings had only recently arrived in the area from their homelands around Lake Waukarlykarly and Karlamilyi, the Rudall River, in the Great Sandy Desert. They referred to themselves as Ngulipartu, a subgroup of Nyangumarta-speaking people whose traditional country extended over 'an area from the south and east of Lake Waukarlykarly (towards Telfer) northwards to a long string of claypans that lie east of Sandfire, and which reach over 120 km into the Great Sandy Desert.'*³

In undertaking the journey west from their homeland, Minyjun's family was taking part in a larger population migration which had begun in the late nineteenth century, and which would continue until the 1960s. Over these decades, Nyangumarta people made the decision to leave their homelands to travel in small family groups northward to the pastoral regions of the Kimberley, or west to the pastoral and mining regions of the Pilbara. The journey may have taken several years, with families staying at permanent waterholes during the dry season and continuing their westward journey following rain when seasonal waterholes were full.

Having arrived on the edge of sheep and cattle station country, many families appear to have spent a period of time camped at waterholes such as Jukawalyi and Jirrirrikartinya on the Oakover River, taking in their new surroundings and the new animals and people they encountered there. It was while his family were camped on the edge of the station country that Minyjun and his sister were born, one day apart, to each of the two wives of their father. During this stage of their journey the newly arrived families met with local Nyamal-speaking people, and with people speaking a variety of Nyangumarta known as Walyarli, who told them what they needed to know about their new environment. For many it was their first encounter with the European Australians who had first moved into that area of the country in the second half of the nineteenth century. They called the Europeans walypila, 'whitefellas', and used the Nyangumarta word marrngu, meaning 'person', to refer to themselves as Aboriginal people.

When they felt confident to do so, desert families joined the station workforce on stations such as Warrawagine, which, located at the edge of the desert, accommodated a large population of new arrivals. While some remained working there, others, such as Minyjun's family, moved on after a short stay, joining family members on other stations, or taking employment with prospectors and miners in the small mining towns such as Marble Bar and Nullagine, and on the scattered mining fields. Alternatively, some scratched an independent living digging gold or tin in areas such as the tin field at Moolyella, near Marble Bar.

Like other Aboriginal children growing up on Pilbara sheep and cattle stations in the 1930s and 1940s, Minyjun received no formal schooling. Instead, he received training to prepare him for an anticipated life as an Aboriginal stockman, and became, while still a child, a part of an Aboriginal labour force that was crucial to the operation of pastoral stations.

Kakarni milpanyiyi pirraja

Wunyjurru wanikinyiyi pirraja kulumarniny.

Jartanga-jartangangarra wanikinyiyi ngapanga-ngapangarrangu, yintangarrangu. Kuyikartipa yanikinyiyi wuntajinikinyiyi minyjinikinyiyi wuntanga kuyi wirlikinyiyajaninyi. Yanikinyiyi mirrarnputu ngurnarringi wanikinyiyi. Kulpanyikinyiyi ngurrakarti ruka, ngurrarrangukarti janamilikarti palajun. Yimpinikinyiya ngurlukupa wunyjurru waninyaku ngurlukarra wanyjarningi yintanga palanga yanikinyiyi. Palakarti yulyjajinikinyiya pala wanyjarni milpanyikinyiyi wiyirr ngurnarrija: kakarni, karangu, yalinyu palanga wanikinyiyi ngurlukarra. Palajun, karrpurrangu karrpu ngurnipali wanikinyiyi palajun.

Ngurlukarra jipi wurrarikinyiyarningu kulpanyikinyiyi ngurrarrangukarti. Palajun. Warajanga wanikinyiyi. Wani-wanikinyiyi palakurtirri janamilingi warrarnja.

Yartikarla yimpirn-yimpirniya wurrarnayarningu milpanyaku yakujarniku. Palanga ngajumili mamajipa kangkuji pirrangangarra *born*-jarrinyiyi. Palajun. Ngajumajirringi yijangarra yimpirn-yimpirniya yanayi karakurnu; *now* yanayi ngarramarnti jipi. Jinta marrngu milpanyiyi walangkarrangu yakujarni mayakarti, kulpanyiya wurrarniyijanaku ngalypa wurrupa kalkunayi marrngulu martumpirriya yinganyayijaninya. Yakarnaya janamili warrarn. Katu-katukarnayi kurilakurti yalinyjakurti jinta kakarni, mayarrangukarti *now*.

Palan katukarnayi, munumpa jana. Yirrirniyi pala pinyji nyarra, *rabbit-proof fence* yirrirniyi. Ngani nyungayi yirrirniyi? Partal karntikinyiyi. Janalu wurruparnpinikinyiya ngurnarrikarti, yukurru paarnpinikinyiyijaninya. Partanykarrangu wirrinikinyiyijaninyi. Karntikinyiyi palanga pinyjingi. Karntikinyiyi katukanikinyiyi ngurnarrikarti. Palajun pala.

Yijangarra milpanyiyijanaku kaninyipirringi marrngungu. Jinta muwarrpinikinyiyi Nyamal, Niyiparli, munumpa. Kakunikinyiyijaninyi muwarrja. Nyangumarta pinakarrinyiyijaninyi muwarrja, karramarnayi Nyangumartarla nyungu muwarrpinayi nganyjurrukapan. Pala *now* Nyangumarta, Walyarri Nyangumarta, *Coast* Nyangumarta. Palajun yija. Ngaany ngurnungu ngalypajarrinyi, 'marrngu nyungu nganyjurrukapanngarra'. Nyangumartarla muwarrpinayi wurrarnarninya. Puntaju pinakarrinyiyijaninyi Nyangumarta *again* kakarnija. Ngalypa *again*, ngaany ngalypajarrinyi. Milyangkulpa waninyi, nganirrangu wurrarnayarninya: Milangka, Purungu, Karimarra, Panaka. Yinkujiniyarninya palajun.

Kurlumarniny nganarnamili pirraja wanikinyiyi warajanga, kakarni katukarnayi jartanga-jartanga Mangarlpa Ngulipartu, Nyangumarta, Warnman, Kartujarra, Manyilyjarra. Nganarnamilalu kurlumarninyju warrarn yakarnaya janamili pirra. Yanayi jurtu kakarni jinta yalinyjakurti, jinta Jigalong kurilakurti ngalparra kakarni katukarnayi. Jinta marrngu kurlumarniny yalinyjakurti pirraja katukanikinyiyi Jirrpaiyakarti, jinta jurtu kakarni katukanikinyiyi, jinta kurilakurtiji palajun. Pipa japartu ngajumili kurlumarninyrrangu wiyirr nganarnamili milpanyiyi. Ngajumili jamujipa kamiji, pipi muwarr Ngulipartu Nyangumarta, ngajumili japartu Pijakarla Nyangumarta. Ngajumili pipi Yantikujingi mirarljarrinyi, japartu ngajumili mirarljarrinyi yalinyjakurnupa kakarrakurnu Karlamilyingi.

Pulanyju kurrngalngarra kanyapulujaninyi Wirriparnankarti palanga wani-wanikinyiyi. Munumpa jana muwarrku walypilamikupa wariny marrngu kaninyipirti wanikinyiyi. Jana ngurrara marrngu. Marrngungarra jana muwarr warinyipirti Nyamal, Walyarli Nyangumarta. Jana walangkarrangupukun kakarni milpanyiyi pirraja munumpa walypilaku, kuwarrijakun yirrirniyijaninyi kawu mirtamirta. Ngurinjikarikinyiyijanaku walypilaku munu palajunmarta yirrirnimiyijaninyi, juljulu jana karramanikinyiyi, nganija nganyjurru kawu warrukurla, jana mirtamirta kawu warinyin?

Coming in

This is the way my forebears lived in the desert.

Families used to live a long way from each other, all at different waterholes. When they hunted they would set fire to the spinifex plain and kill the animals on the burnt ground. They used to go out hunting all day and then in the evening they'd go back to their homes. They talked about Law and ceremony; how they were going to stage it, and at which waterhole they would hold it. They would go there to prepare the *ngurlu* place and everyone would come in from across the country: from the east, the west and the north, and they would live there for the time of the ceremony. That's how it was; that's how they lived, all their lives.

ngurlu

Restricted ceremony, literally 'fear'.

When they'd agreed that the ceremonies could end they all went back to their different homes. They all lived as one society, way out there in their own country.

Later however they started to talk about coming in this way. By that time my brothers and sisters had been born out there in the desert. Before I was born they talked about coming in to the west, and when they came in they came permanently. Others who had gone before them into the station country, had returned and told them of all the good things they had there, and of the food they'd been given. They left their own country; some came out to the south, some headed north and some came here from the east, into station country.

They wanted to come in but they knew nothing about the outside world. They came across that fence out there, they came up against the rabbit-proof fence. What was this they'd found? They couldn't get over it. So they threw all their things over, their dogs and all. They put their children over, and then they all climbed the fence; they climbed up and over to the other side.

Then they started to meet up with Aboriginal people who already lived there, people who spoke Nyamal and Niyiparli, languages my family couldn't understand. But some of them spoke Nyangumarta, they understood our Nyangumarta and they could speak Nyangumarta as well, like us. The Nyangumarta they spoke was Walyarli, or Coastal Nyangumarta, and it gave my family a good feeling to hear people speaking their own language.⁴ They thought, 'These people are really just like us', because they could talk to each other in Nyangumarta. Those people could understand the Nyangumarta of the people from the east, and that made them feel good. They introduced each other and they talked about all sorts of things, like what skin they were: Purungu, Milangka, Karimarra and Panaka. So then they knew how to relate to one another.

Our forebears used to live as one society out in the desert, but they came from the east to different places: they came as Mangarla people, Ngulipartu Nyangumarta people, Warnman, Kartujarra and Manyilyjarra-speaking people. Our forebears left their country out in the desert. One after the other they came in from the east, some went north, some went down south as far as Jigalong. Some of those old people who came out of the desert went north to Jirrpayinya⁵, some came this way from the east, and some headed south. My parents and all our forebears came in like this. My mother's parents, *jamuji* and *kamiji*, and my mother spoke Ngulipartu Nyangumarta and my father spoke Pijakarla Nyangumarta. My mother had been born at Yantikuji⁶ and my father was born in the country north-east of there, at Karlamilyi, the Rudall River.

My parents brought their whole family to Wirriparnan (Barramine Station), and they lived there for a while. They didn't understand the *walypila* language but there were other *marrngu* people there already, the original occupants, who spoke Nyamal and Walyarli, or Coastal Nyangumarta. Those people who first came out of the desert from the east had never seen *walypila*, and now they were seeing people with white skins for the first time. They were intrigued by them when they first saw them and wondered, our skin is dark, how come theirs is pale?

Kuyipa wapina nganikinyiyi yarrkalju. Jana kukurnjariku munumpa, wirlanikinyiyijaninyi kanganyikinyiyi mirrarnkarti kampanaku. Kukurnjarijartiny ruka-ruka murlajartiny ngurrakarti kulpanyiyi. Ngurnipali janalu wurrarikinyiya, kuyiminyirrikapan marrngumili; nyungukarlarti walypilamili. Munurla nyungu yirrinikinyiyijaninyi warajanga wanikinyiyi kurrngal mirrarn wirtu mirrarnja nyarrakurnujirri. Nyarra yulupirti mirrarnja ngapanga wangka parrpakarra, rukaku mimanikinyiya warrijirringi yanikinyiyi wirrpa palajun ngananyaku.

Pala maaja yanikinyi winmalkarti, marrngu yirrinikinyijaninyi kukurnjarija yirtilmanaja ngalypangarra yakanikinyijaninya. Yarti wurrarnajanaku, munu ngulyulu wirlanaku kukurnjari, pala walypilamili jarntu.

Nyamalju wurrarnayijanaku, 'Nganarnalu munu wirlanakayirnijaninyi, tuku jinayirnijaninyi. Ngawuja yarranyurrulu jinmurntu warrarn warinykarti'. Palajun nyungu jana munumpa kukurnjariku kakarnija marrngu wapira yanikinyiyi. Yukurrulu pajinikinyiyijaninyi kukurnjari wupartu yirlamu yirtilmanakanu. Taki wirlanikinyiyijaninyi yurlukulu jalarnja jinakanu kanganyikinyiyi, pipimarniny warntaranga kanganyikinyiyi mirrarnkartilu kampanikinyiyi yawungu. Jinyjilu kawu yangkanikinyiyarninyi junturtu palajun. Yija, jana ngakumpa kuyiminyirrikapan. Janalu wurrarniyijanaku, 'Nyungu wirlanaku kukurnjari walypilamilirti jarntu: ngulyuja maninyajapa wirlanaja janakurra walypila kunymanikinyijaninyi karlungarnarralu. Maajalu manikinyi karlungarnarra muwarr ngakanikinyalu'.

Walypila jinta ngalypakata, walypila jinta kulikata. Palanga marrngu kakarnija warrkamukupa muwarrku walypilamiliku miranujarrikinyiya, yija. Palajun, winmal ku yarnimanaku, piinyikupa yarnimanaku, jarlingajinaku yawartaku manganja, nganin-nganirnku walypilamiliku jinaku. Palajun yartapa marrngulu yarnimanikinyijaninyi; maajalu: 'nyurra manikinyijaninyi warrkamuja ngalypa', wurrarnikinya, pikalyjarrikinyi pala maaja. Palinyju wurrarikinyijaninyi ngakumpakapan; nyungu yijarti ngalypajinikinyiyi.

Nyungu jinta marrngu warrkamujarrikinyiyi, jinta marrngu wanikinyiyi ngatu ngurranga, jinta pingka yanikinyiyi kuyikarti. Walypila yirrinajalu wirnti mirtijinikinyiyi ngurnarrikartilu murrurlungulu. Wungkanikinyiyalu parrjanikinyiyi pala maaja yani-yaninyaja winmalja kulpanyikinyi yanikinyi warinykarti winmalkarti. Jana kulpanyikinyiyi minpinaku ngapaku pururli minpinikinyiyi ngapa. Yija, ngakumpa nganarnamili kurlumarniny palajun. Warajanga wanikinyiyi mayanga Warrukanyanga, yarti janalu jinta-jintapirniyarninyi yanayi wirrpa mayarrangukarti palajun.

Malyurtapa murrkangunya partanyirri yanapulu wirlarnapulujaninyi rawalpa maruntu, kulpanya yanapulu winmalkarti winujartiny. Minpirnipulu ngapa *trough*-ja. Munu minpinamapulu *tank*-ja ngapa tirlungu. Wangal milpanya, pala winmal rurrijipirni warrkamjarrikinyi marrja. Palaja manapulujaninyi kuyirrangu mirtijirnipulu martukarti, wungkanikinyipula martungulu murtukaku. Pulanyju wurrarnapula, 'maajaku ngurnipali muwarr ngakarnalu'. Pulanyju parrjanikinyipulu winmal warrkamjarrikinyi, maaja munu milpama. Kulpanyapulujanaku mirrarnkarti kurlumarninykarti, palanga kampana nganayi kuyirrangu.

Wirriparnanja yarti pipipa japartu ngajumili yanapulu Warrukanyakarti, palanga wanikinyiyi kuyikarra kurila Warrukanyanga Wanyjilakartanyanga.

People would go out hunting on day trips. They didn't know about sheep and would kill them and take them into the shade and cook them. They would return to camp in the evening with the cooked mutton. They thought it was good food for *marrngu*, but they really belonged to the *walypila*. They saw big flocks of sheep everywhere, lying down in the shade. They always stayed in the shade close to water in the heat of the day, but they were waiting for the evening, and when it got cooler they would spread out and feed.

When the *walypila* went out checking the windmills he saw *marrngu* chasing the sheep, but he left them alone. Later he told the local people, 'Tell them not to steal the sheep, they belong to the whitefellas'.



Wanyjilakartanya, Minyjun's birthplace, photograph by Anne Scrimgeour.

So the Nyamal people told the newcomers, 'We don't kill the sheep, we look after them. If you don't understand that, you'll be taken away and locked up.' Those people just in from the east lived by hunting, and they didn't know about sheep. Their dingoes would bite the sheep and chase their little lambs. The men would then knock them on the head with a club and string them in their belts, or carry the ewes over their shoulders to some shade and cook them over the coals. They would take the fat and rub it all over their bodies and heads. They really didn't know how to treat those animals. People would tell them, 'This is what happens when you kill the *walypila*'s pet sheep: the first lot of people who came in used to steal them and kill them, and the white policeman tied them up. The boss sent out a message for the police to come'.

Some *walypila* were good and others were hostile. Some of the *marrngu* who came in from the east learned how to work, and learned the *walypila* language. They learned how to fix windmills, how to mend fences, how to break horses in; they learned all the *walypila* work. They learned how to build yards, and the boss⁷ would say, 'You're all working really well' and would be pleased with them. He'd thought they were incapable of learning, but now he saw they were doing well.

Some *marrngu* used to work and some stayed back in the camp, while other people stayed out in the bush hunting. When they saw *walypila* they were frightened, they ran away and hid in gullies. Then they'd peer out and watch the boss until he left the bore to go off to another windmill; only then would they come out and have a drink; they just wanted a drink of water. Our old people really didn't understand these things. At first they stayed together at Warrawagine Station, but later they went off in different directions to other stations.

When they were children **Malyurta and Murrkangunya** went out hunting for the goannas we call *rawal* and the goannas called *maruntu*, and on their way back they were thirsty and came to a windmill. The air was calm and they drank water from the trough instead of the tank. Then a wind came up, and the windmill started to creak and spin around. They grabbed their meat and ran behind a rise, peering out, watching for a car. 'It must have sent a message to the boss!' they said. They stared at the windmill as it was spinning, then went back to their families in the shade where they cooked and ate the meat they'd caught.

Later my mother and father went from Wirriparnan to Warrawagine Station, and lived by hunting south of Warrawagine at Wanyjilakartanya.⁸

Malyurta and Murrkangunya

These were Minyjun's brother Dick McKenna, referred to as Malyurta as a middle child in the family, and Purnungurrara (Cocky Brown), called Murrkangunya as his mother's oldest child.

Palanga ngaju miraljarrinyirni manyjanga kurila Warrukanyanga. Karrpu warinyja miraljarrinyi ngajumili marrka. Yarti kulpanyiyi Warrukanyakarti wupartu ngurlingurli ngalaya jartungu wanikinyalai. Ngajumili mamajirrangupa kangkuji pirranga miraljarrinyiyi kurrngalngarra kanyayijaninyi wirtumarta kakarni kuyi wirlanayi palajun.

Warrukanyanga maajalu wurrarnajanaku warrkamuku. Yijanyin jana warrkamujarrinyiyi kukurnjari majuramujinikinyiyi jinangulu patikirrangu patiki palajun. Jinta jarlinga yanikinyiyi yawartanga. Janalu ngalypakapan wurrarikinyiyi jinangulu kukurnjari majuramujinaku; jana nyungu miranurla marntiku yananyaku kajaku palajun. Ngarrulu kanganyikinyiyijaninyi pinyjingi mirtipa, mirtilu kukurnjarilu pinyji yajanikinyiyi. Wangka-wangkajinikinyiya jirramuku palajun.

Warrukanyanga purlpi wanikinyipulu Nyamaljirri mirtajirri; palajirri wanikinyipulu waljararra pipija warajaja Kurtijikapujirri. Pulany jawalyka kuyiku karrikinyipula ngunjunikinyipula wunyjurrulu kuyi wirlanaku. Palanga yija, yanapulu kuyiku kanyjina karrpungu yirrinipulu jukurti-jukurti jina ngapakartija lirriala minpinikinyiyi kangkurulu.

Kulpanyapulu mimarnapulu rukajarrinyajalu palakarti jinapa kartapirnipulujaninyi kangkururrangu ngapakartija jukurti-jukurti mimanikinyipulujanaku. Yijalu, yirrinipulu walanya parlkarrakringu milpanyikinyi ngapakarti. Pulany kukujarri wanikinyipulu. Mirtijirni pala kangkuru kajarna lirringi wangka kurtipakarna parrjarna ngurnarrijirri. Munu nganipa parrjanama paliny warrkina kawarna lirrikarti. Ngalpanya ngapaku minpinaku narnmajakun wanikinyi jalakarti junturtukurnu ngalpanya minpinikinyi ngapa palalu kangkurulu. Wungkarnapulalu pulanyju, yijalu yirrinipulu narnmajakun ngayarta wanikinyi. Warinymarninyju wurrarnala, 'Ngaju, ngaju yankulumarnalu. Nyuntulu mimaliji wirlalaman taki'.

'Yu,' karramarnalu, 'nyampa yarralu turlpalipa'. Palanga, yija, yanalu jakarn jakarrmajirri warlirni warntingulu. Palakurla wanparrku jitirna kangkuru pala kanka turlpanya nyampa mirtilu kanya purrirni. Marrngumarninyju marrjalu warlinikinyi! Wirnti kangkuru pala wirturla kankawarrangu wirtitimanikinyili kurtirra-kurtirralu marrngumarninyju mantaljilu warnti warlinikinyi. Kamanikinyalu, 'Nyampajarra kurtalalu wirlalaman kuyi'. Palinyjukala pitarr-pitarrju. Nyungu marrkamarninyju jukamanikinyi kutu nyarrupinikinyalu munu yanamawalu nyampa wirlanaku wararrjungarrany jukamanikinyi. Mamajimurninyju jinirni pala kuyi manyurlajartinyju warntamarna. Marrkamarniny wurrarnala, 'Munurla nyampalu kuyi pala wirlanamanngalika: manyurlajarrinyirni jinirni nganyju-nganyjujartinyju!'



Mustering group, Warrawagine, around 1935, photograph by Bill Hill.

It was there that I was born, in the bush south of Warrawagine. On the following day my *marrka*, **my little sister, was born**. Later they went back to Warrawagine when we were still newborn babies, carrying us in a *jartu*. My older brothers and sisters were all born in the desert, and when they were big enough my parents had brought them in from the east, hunting as they came.

At Warrawagine the boss told my parents to go to work, and so they worked with sheep, mustering them on foot into different paddocks. Other people rode horses, but they preferred to muster sheep on foot; they were used to traveling long distances on foot like that. They preferred to take the sheep along the fences, with the sheep running along the fence line. Shearing time was coming soon.

At that time **two Nyamal brothers** from the same mother, of the Kurtijikapu family, were living at Warrawagine. They hadn't had any meat for a long time, and, not having any weapons, tried to figure out a way to get some. One day they set out to look for some game, and found a lot of kangaroo tracks coming and going around a soak where they'd been coming down to drink.

The brothers went home and waited until evening, then went back and found the tracks again, and they waited for the kangaroos. Then they saw a big plains kangaroo coming down to the water. They stayed out of sight. The kangaroo came in and sat close to the soak. It looked carefully around, and not seeing anything went slowly up to the water. As it went down to drink only its hindquarters were visible; its head was down drinking. Looking up cautiously, the men saw its hindquarters right in front of them. One of them said, 'I'll go. You wait and hit it behind the head.'

'All right,' the other said, 'but hurry up before he goes.' Then he went slowly and soundlessly and grabbed hold of its tail. Startled, the kangaroo jumped up and hopped off. The man held on tight, dragged all over the place by the large and frightened kangaroo. Still hanging on he cried out, 'Hurry up! Come over here and kill it!' He was cut and bruised all over his body. Meanwhile his younger brother was laughing so hard he couldn't go and help him kill it, but just stood there laughing. The older brother let the kangaroo go, he was too tired to hold on, and he told his brother off. 'You didn't rush in to help me kill it,' he said. 'I ran out of breath and had to let go!'

my little sister was born

Minyjun's father had two wives, who both bore children at this time. The child born the day after Minyjun was Karlene Ponce, Beryl's mother.

jartu

a wooden dish, coolamon.

two Nyamal brothers

These were Fred and Jack Mitchell.

Wanyjilakartanya

Kurrngalngarra wanikinyayi Nyamal manguny Karuwanyanga. Kujarra mirtawajirri kalkunikinyipulinyi kangkungu wanikinyipulu. Palajirri marrapakarrikinyipulu ngunjunikinyipula yaninyaku; kurntanikinyipulu,

'Yanampali, yanampali Wanyjilakartanyakarti.'

Yija yanapulu Wanyjilakartanyakarti, wanikinyipulu ngurranga.

Pinakarrikinyipulu muwarrja nyarrakala muwarrpininyi, 'Ngampungu kurtakurta, yankulupalalu marntungu.' Marntungujarrinyi yanapulu palakarti. Yirrripulu nyungukala, 'pirirri kajanikinyi,' karramarnapulu. Yirtilmarnapulinya karntinyipulu pulany kanka warnkungu. Ngunjunikinya pala pirirri karntinyaku warnkungu. 'Katukalapulu,' karramanikinyipuluku, wurrarikinyipululu, 'munu katukanaku ngalaya'. Palalujirri mirtawalujirri wurrarnapululu, 'karntuluman nyungungu'. Purruny ngakarnapulalu kaninykurnu, palanga kanka karntinyi pala pirirri. Wangkayiji pulanymartaji, purruny kutapirnarninyi kangkujimurninyju. Pungkanya jungkanga, Yakayi! Yakayi! yilanikinyi. Marrkamarninyju purruny kaninyjirnarninyi, 'karnta nyungungu,' wurrarnala. Turlpanya pirirri kanka karntinyi. Kanka karntinyi wangkajarrinyi, wangkayiji kutapirnarninyi, kaninykurnu jurrurrukarra yana, pungkanya jungkanga.

Yana ngurrakarti. Mirtawajirri katukarnapululu yanapululu ngurrakarti. Purru wanikinyipulu kartakarrinyi, marntungujarrinyi.

Pala pirirri maparn. Yumunyjirnipulakalu narngurla mungkanga. Jana yanayi, wurrarnapuluku, 'narngurla waninyi mungkanga'. Yirrripulu mirtawalujirri yija. Karntinyipulu pulany, malyanikinyipula narngurlaku. Pala mungka kankajarrikinyi. Pulanyju wartapirtulu malyanikinyipula winyajinikinyipulu winya kurtinyja palalujirri. Yarti parrjarnapula kaninykurnu, nyungu mungka kankajarrikinyi, pala pirirri yirrripulu wupartu kajanikinyi. Karramarnapululu, 'kaninyjila mungka, marrangalayinyi'. Pirirrilu karramarnapulaku, 'munu maninyaku, wantapulu palamangangarra'. Mirtawajirri ngangkurlijinikinyipulu, 'kaninyjilingalayakalu mungka, kalkulamangalayinyingarra ngurranga'. Pirirri pala mirti turlpanya kaninyjirnipulakalu mungka. Yampumarnapululu pala pirirri. Yinimarnapulaku kurrngal partanykarrangu. Palanga waninyi kulalkanyayi.

Wanyjilakartanya

In the Dreaming some Nyamal people were living at Karuwanya (Carawine Gorge). Living with them there were two young women who were sisters. The sisters became homesick and were longing to leave, and they sang:

'Let's go, let's go to Wanyjilakartanya.'

And so they went to Wanyjilakartanya and lived there.

One night they heard a voice calling out, and they said, 'That's *kurtakurta*, a spotted nightjar, on its nest. Let's go and look for it in the morning'. Accordingly they set off in the morning to find it. Then suddenly they saw him, and cried, 'It's a man, sitting in wait for us!' He chased them. They climbed high up the side of the cliff, and he wondered how he could get up there after them. 'Come down,' he called up to them. But they replied, 'No, we don't want to come down. You climb up here'. Then they let their hair down, and he climbed up. When he got close to them, the older sister cut her hair, and he fell back down to the ground. '*Yakayi, yakayi*,' he cried out in pain. The younger sister let down her hair. 'Climb up this,' she called. The man got to his feet, and climbed up. Higher he climbed, closer and closer, and when he was right up close she cut her hair and he plummeted, falling to the ground.

He went back to his camp. The two women climbed down, and went to their camp. They kept well away from him, and slept until the morning.

But that man was a *maparn*, and he used magic to put honey in a tree. When they set out next day he said to them, 'There's honey in that tree'. The women looked and saw that it was true. They climbed up, and as they were chopping out the honey, the tree began to rise. The women were busy chopping out honey and filling up their wooden bowls, but after a while they looked down and saw that the tree had risen high into the air. They saw the man, a tiny figure sitting at the bottom. And they called out to him, 'Make the tree go down, get us off here'. But he called back, 'I don't want to get you off. You two can stay up there'. The women pleaded with him. Then they told him he could do what he wanted with them, they would comply with his wishes. They said, 'Make the tree go down for us and you can have us for your wives'. He jumped up and brought the tree back down. Then they embraced him, and bore many children by him. And they all lived there, and eventually turned into the island in the centre of the gorge.

Janyjinya

Ngaju wupartu partany kanyanyiyi Warrukanyaja kurlumarninyju Moolyella-karti. Marrngu wanikinyiyi kurrngal kaninyipirti palamartaji ngurrara Nyamalpa Nyiyaparli. Jinta Nyangumarta walangkarrangumarta milpanyiyi pirraja janapalaji. Palanga kurlumarniny warrkamu wanikinyiyi Moolyella-nga tiyinkarra. Punja waninyiyi kurlumarniny palanga kuyikartipa yarrkal yanikinyiyi, kuyi wapinikinyiya warrkamumarninyju. Warrkamujarrikinyiyi karrpurangu karrpu.

Moolyella-ja ngaju kanyanyiyi kurlumarninyju *station*-karti Janyjinyakarti, palanga warrkamjarrikinyi wariny mirta, ngajumili japartumili yaku. Wurrarnala walypilalu ngajumilingi japartungu wirlanaku kangkururrangu. 'Kurlka wirrkanalumanjaninyi, kanganyaluman ngajukarti.' Palalu warnkulu manikinyi martumpirri. Palarrangulu kangkururrangulu nganikiyiyijanaka warrapa mayi kukurnjarimili. Ngajumililu japartulu kangkuru wapinikinyijaninyi wirrkanikinyijaninyi kurlkarrangu jalamujinikinyi tuwanga. Warnku yinganyikinya *threepence* warajaku kurlkaku, kujarra kurlkajirriku *sixpence*; palapali tukulu manikinyi mayirrangu palalu wupartu warnkulu. Palajunpirli, yanikinyi wapira yukurrujartiny ngurraputu. Yarti kulpanyikinyi *station*-karti ngurraputuja winyajinakanu yirtingi kurlka. Kujarrangapa ngurranga mimanikinyarninya wakalaja ngurrangulu yarrana yanikinyi wapira kangkurukarti. Palajunpirli yanikinyi karrpurangu karrpu ngurraputurrangu ngurraputu winyajinikinyi ngurnarringilu, kurlka kulpanyikinyi ngurrakarti yirti winyajartiny.

Partunujarrikinyi ngajumili japartu warrkumujarrikinyi, wika malyanikinyijanaka jarrarnmanku, rapiji parnpinikinya ngurrajarrangupa. Yanikinyi yartakarti kukurnjari winyajinikinyijanaka wuparturrangungu yartanga jirrarnmanku. Kukurnjari wiyirrinajalu, kamanikinyiyi jirrarnmanju, 'Kukurnjariyawu!' Palinyju winyajinikinyijanaka nyampalu. Palajunpirli warrkamujarrikinyi partunurrangu partunu.

Ngajumili japartu yana Janyjinyaja wujupitilkarti wurrku *train*-ja kara Ngarukarti. Palanga waninyi punja, yarti marrapakarrinyi. Palinyju kurntarnajaninyi walypilapa marrngu kartajirninjaninyi, punja kartakarrinyiyi. Paliny yana warrukarti yajarna *train line* kakarralu Twelve Mile-ja kanka, Puntanyanga pipurru yana, karrpu turlpanyala Kurrjartakapunyanga karakurnu. Yajana kawanikinyi *train line* kakarralu punja yaninya kawana Pangkaparanga kanka. Kuyipa wirlana kawanikinyijaninyi marntilungarra Coongan Siding-ngikartijakun. Jartuntarralu yirrinipularninyi palanga ngangkurlijipirnipularninyi. Purunguja yana kara, ngajumili yana kakarra, yajarna piju kakarralu. Wungkuwungkunyanga kanka partijirri karrkarna. Jalkujalkunyanga kanka yana, paliny miranu warrarnku ngaany ngalypajarrinyi. Yana pipurru milpanyanganaku ruka Janyjinyanga. Palinyju wurrarnanganaku, 'mujarrijarrinyirnirla ngurnipali kanyjilapiji kunymanakatalu.' Kukujarri wanikinyi karrpurangu karrpu rukajakun, milpanyikinyi ngurrakarti. Karpumajirringi yanikinyi kukujarrikinyi. Munungarra kanyjinamiyalu kunymanakatalu.piju wariny, yajarna kakarralu.

Ngajumili pipilu manikinyi wajantayirrangu wajantayi mayi tuwaja. Ruwajin yinganyikinya palalu maajalu. Ngaju wupartu pipi yajanikinyirni tuwakartilu. Partanyjurla ngawulu! Maajalu yinganyikinyinya jurikata. Ngurnilapali yirrinikinyinyi nyungu milpanyi tuwakarti wajantayirrangu wajantayi, yarti maaja kurlkajarrinya palinyju karramarnalu ngajumiliku pipiku, 'Palama nyuntumili partany milpanyi yajarnanti nyuntu wajantayirrangu wajantayi. Ngajulu yinimalamarna *Monday*'.

Karramarnalu pipilu, 'Yu, ngalypa. Pala yini yinyanpa.'

Mt Edgar Station

When I was small my family took me from Warrawagine to Moolyella, where lots of Nyamal and Nyiyaparli people, the original occupants, were living. There were also Nyangumarta people there who had arrived earlier from the desert. The adults there mined tin. Those old people had been working there for a long time, and hunting as well; they used to go out hunting before work. They worked there day after day.

From Moolyella they took me to Janyjinya (Mt Edgar Station), where an old man, my father's brother-in-law, was working. The boss told my father to kill kangaroos. 'Cut off their ears', he told him, 'and bring them to me'. The kangaroos were eating grass required for the sheep. My father hunted kangaroos, and would cut their ears off and sell them at the store. He was given threepence for an ear and sixpence for two ears; he would save it up and use it to buy food. He would go out hunting overnight with his dogs. Later he'd come back to the station with all the ears threaded on a long stick. Tired out, he would rest at home for a few days and then go out after kangaroos again. He'd go out for days on end camping out, collecting ears out in the bush, then come back home with his stick full of ears.

In the winter my father used to work chopping wood for the shearers and carting rubbish away from their camps. He'd then go over to the yard and keep the shearing pens full of sheep for the shearers. When they ran out of sheep the shearers would call out, 'sheep-o!' and he would quickly fill the pen up again. He used to do that work every winter.

Once my father became ill and went in the train from Janyjinya west to the hospital in Ngaru (Port Hedland).⁹ He stayed there for a long time, and became very homesick. He sang, and put all the *walypila* and *marrngu* to sleep, and they slept for a long time. That night he left, following the train line east past the Twelve Mile, past Puntanya,¹⁰ and when the sun rose he was west of Kurrjatakapunya, the Strelley Mine. He continued east along the train line. He walked for a long time and crossed the Shaw River at Pangkapara. He hunted as he walked along, right up to the Coongan Siding, where he met a **Purungu** man, and they, two *jartuntarra*, cried to see one another. Purungu went on to the west and my father continued eastwards along the river. On the other side of Wungkuwungkunya Gorge he reached another creek and followed it further to the east. He went past Jalkujalkunya (the Talga Talga River), and then he was in country that he knew, and was happy. When he joined us at Janyjinya that afternoon, he told us, 'I ran away, and the police are probably out looking for me'. He went into hiding each day, returning home in the evenings. At dawn he would go back into hiding. But he needn't have worried; the police weren't looking for him.

Every Monday my mother used to get food from the store, where the boss would give out our rations. When I was small I used to go with my mother to the store, I was just a little child. The boss used to give me lollies. He must have seen that I came along every Monday, because later he thought about this and said to my mother, 'That child of yours comes following after you every Monday. I'm going to call him Monday.'¹¹

My mother said, 'Yes, all right, that's a good name you've given him.'



The store at Janyjinya, 2010, where Minyjun was given the name 'Monday', photograph by Anne Scrimgeour.

Purungu

Tommy Nungkanungka, referred to by his skin, or section, name, Purungu. He had met up with Minyjun's father at the siding while waiting for a train for Ngaru (Port Hedland), where he worked as a police tracker.

jartuntarra

A pair of brothers-in-law in the generation of the speaker's parents or children. Minyjun uses this term to refer to a pair of brothers-in-law who are Milangka and Purungu, in this case referring to his father (Milangka) and Tommy Nungkanungka (Purungu).

Ngaju partany wupartu wanikinyirni Janyjinyanga munumpa warrkamuku, puru parrjanikinyirnijaninyi jana warrkamuja. Mirtalu maajalu kanganyikinyinyi murtukanga winmalkarti. Palinyju yarnimanikinyi wurnmanyaja pala winmal. Ngajulu parrjanikinyirni paliny warrkamuja pala kurlkanga jinikinyirni. Ngaju karramanikinyirni, 'Yakun winmal wurnmanyaja yarnimalalumarna wirtujarrinyajalu'. Palajunpirli kanganyikinyinyi ngarrakuny karrpurangu karrpu pinyjikarti yarnimanaku, yanikinyilayi kaja patikingirrangu. Yarti kulpanyikinyalayi rukajakun. Ngaju miranupirrayi warrkamuku, kiyirtikujakun katukanikinyirna wupunamujinaku palajun. Yija, wirtujarrinya kawanikinyirni yijamarta miranujarrikinyirna warrkamuku yulupirti.

Yarti maajalu mananganaku jujika wirrirninganaku jinanga. Palinyju kanyanganinyi murtukanga kurila kiyirtingi katukarnayirni. Palinyju wurrarnanganaku, 'Kulpulunyurru ngurrakarti jinangu. Nyurra miranujarrulunyurra kanganyaku jinanga punjalu jujika'. Palanga yijalu yakarnanganinya, nganarna kulpanyiyirni jinangu ngurrakarti. Nganarna munumpa jujikaku kanganyaku jinanga ngarrakunyju, wakalajinikinyinganinyi. Mimana kawanikinyirnarninya wangkala punyjurla, pala jujika kuwarrijakun. Jananga kanyayirni munumpajalu wakalajinikinyinganinyi nganyju-nganyjujinikinyinganinyi. Jujikalu jina kampanyikinyinganinyi, yinyjipinikinyiyirni wangkalalu yarrana jinanga kulpanya wirrinikinyiyarningu. Kajanikinyiyirni manyurlajartiny karrpu ngalpanyajalu milpanyiyirna ngurraku.

Yinjipirniyirni jinaja jujika kartamarninyju. Marntungujarrinyi ngalpanyiyirna jujikanga yanayirni warrkamu. Maajalu japirrmarnanganinya, 'Nyurralu jinanga ngalpa kanyanyurru jujika, munu wakalajinamanyurrinyi'.

Nganarnalu wurrarniyirni, 'Munu ngalypawayi, wakalajinikinyinganinyi wangkala kajana kawanakinyiyirni mimanarnarninya wakalajartiny'. Palanga ngalpa kanganyikinyiyirni jinanga, munu manyurlajinamanganinyi. Yinjipinikinyiyirna kartamarninyju palajun.

Yarti maajalu wurrarniji ngajungu, 'Nyuntu kuwarri miranujilimintipula jarlingaku. Yawarta jarlingajilaman kangkulumintipulu Mangkamangka Purnungurraralu pijukarti'. Yija, ngalpa yawartaku jarlingijinaku miranujarrinyirna, munu pungkamarna mirtija. Karntinyakurlarla ngunjunikinyirna marrngulu karntijinikinyinyi. Munu walyja karntimarna yawartanga marrngumajirringi. Yawarta kanganyikinyirna murrurlakarti, yawarta martungu warrrjinikinyirni, karntikinyirni yawartanga yanikinyirni, palajun. Mungkakarti kanganyikinyirna mungka jurrrkanikinyirna karntikinyirni palajun, mintipikarti kanganyikinyirna karntikinyirni yawartanga jurrrkanikinyirna yawarta raminy marntiku yaninyaku. Yija, yawarta marnti yanikinyi luku jurrrkanikinyirna.

Mungkamajirringi karntikinyirni yawartanga. Yarti wirtumartajarrinyirni jirrapayin jurrrkanakanu karntikinyirni ngalpa yawartanga. Yija, mirtijalupa karntikinyirni ngalpa yawartanga, yija, mirtijalupa karntikinyirni wirrurrujalu, yijayijijarrinyirni miranu mirtijalu yawartanga karntikinyirni.

Palanga yija nganarna yanayirni pijukarti. Ngaju wirntikarrikinyirna pungkanyangamarra jannganapinikinyirni wirntijartiny. Karntijirninypulu yawartanga purrinikinyinyipulu puratilngulu. Kintilu marnti yanikinyiyirni. Ngajulu pamal marrjalu warlinikinyirni pungkanyangamarra. Pulanyju jinyi-jinyilu ngaju kanganyikinyinyipulu kintilukurra. Yarti pulanyju wurrarnijipulu, 'Kuwarringi, mirtilu kangkulupalayinti wirrurru'. Yija, mirtijarrinyiyirni pijungurla miranujarrinya kawanikinyirna mirtiku ngalpa.

When I was a small child at Janyjinya I didn't do any work, I just watched the others working. That old boss took me out in the car to check the windmills. He used to fix all the windmills when they broke down. As I watched him work, I was learning. I thought, 'When I grow up I'll be like that, and fix up windmills when they break.' He used to take me out every day to fix the fences, and we'd go a long way across the paddocks and return later when it was dark. I was beginning to understand about work; I used to jump off and open the gates. As I grew up I was learning all the time about different kinds of work.

Later the boss got us boots and put them on our feet. He took us all south in the car and dropped us off at the gate. He said, 'You'll have to walk back home. This way you'll learn how to wear boots.' Then he left us there and we walked home. We'd never worn boots before and they made us tired. They were so heavy we had to stop often and rest; they were our first boots. We weren't used to wearing them. They made us tired, they wore us out. The boots burned our feet so we took them off, then put them back on again when we got close to home. When we got back at the end of the day we were exhausted.

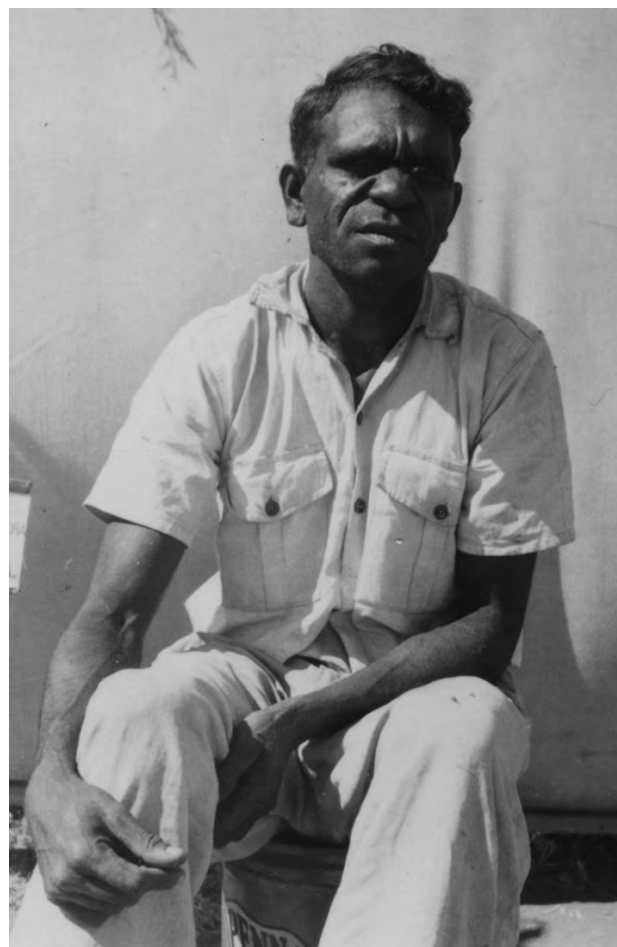
We only took the boots off when we went to sleep. In the morning we put them back on when we went to work. The boss told us, 'You wore the boots well, they won't make you tired.'

We told him, 'No, they're not good at all, they made us tired and we had to sit down all the time and rest, we were so tired'. But later on we did learn to wear them and they no longer made us tired. We only took them off to sleep.

Some time after that the boss told me, 'Two men are going to teach you to ride a horse today. You'll get on a horse and George Mangkamangka and Purnungurrara, Cocky Brown, will take you down to the creek'. And that's how I came to learn to ride a horse well, so that I didn't fall off when it was galloping. I was wondering how I was going to get up, when one of the men put me on it. I couldn't climb on the horse on my own without help from someone. I would lead the horse over to a bank and stand it in a ditch, then I used to mount up like that. Or I'd lead it to a stump, step up and mount it like that, or I'd take it to an anthill, get on the anthill, climb on and kick it in the ribs to make it go: the horse would go when I kicked it with my heels.

Later when I got bigger I didn't need a stump to climb up on, I was able to use the stirrups to mount a horse. I could climb on while the horse was moving. Later when I was used to it, I knew how to climb on while the horse was running.

But now as we set off to go to the creek, I was afraid of falling off and shook with fear. They put me on a horse and pulled the bridle. We went along slowly. I clung on to the pommel in case I fell off. They took turns in leading me slowly along. After a while they told me, 'Now we're going to gallop with you.' Then we ran along the river and in doing that I got to learn how to gallop.



Purnungurrara (Cocky Brown), photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R642, South Australian Museum.

Pulanyju yarti wurrarnijipulu, ‘Yakurrmala mirtijarra wirrurumarta!’ Yijanyin ngaju mirtijarrinyirni wirrurru munu pungkamarta yawartaja; ngalypangarra kajanyikinyirni jatilja. Yarrana yakurrmarnarna parlkarranga mirtijarrinyirni ngalypa.

Pulanyju wurrarnapululu maajanga, ‘Paliny miranujarrinya jarlingaku.’

Maajalu wurrarna, ‘Ngalypa, kangkulunyumpulu ngurnarri majuramu kukurnjarikarti rukalu.’

Palanga nganarna ruka yija yanayirni majuramu kukurnjarikarti kulpanyiyirni waruwarrulja ngurrakarti. Ngaju yija, miranujarrinyirni jarlingaku majurumu ngalypa, yanikinyirni mirtijarrikinyirni yawatajartiny wirrurru, wirrkijinikinyirniyaninyi warinykurnuja. Yaninyaja warajanga jinakanu kanganyikinyirniyaninyi piinyjingi. Ngalypa yanikinyiyi pipurru, munu wirrkijarrinyaku palajun. Warinyja patikija majuramujinikinyirniyaninyi kukurnjari wirrinikinyirniyaninyi patiki warinyja.

Wangkajinikinyirni jirramuku kukurnjarirangu. Kajemartaja jirramuku manikinyirniyaninyi wangkajamarta munu yaninyaku kaja ngurrangulu. Yanikinyirni *station*-ngulu maninyi kulpanyikinyirni patikirrangukarti kiyirti yinyjipinakanu jinikinyirniyaninyi walyja kulpanyikinyiyi patikirrangukarti. Jana miranu kukurnjari warrarn waljaku, wupun kiyirtirangu yakanikinyirniyanaka walyja kulpanyikinyiyi wiyimanaya. Wirrinikinyijianinyi *station*-mili jintamili jintapinakanu, wirrinikinyirniyanaka warinyja patikingi mampujartinyngarra milpanyikinyaya janangarra walyja maninyaku kukurnjari palajun.

Partunurrangu partunu winmalkarti kanganyikinyinganinyi maajalu murtukanga warrkamu. Partanujarrikinyi jarlinga yanikinyirni majuramu kukurnjarikarra ngurraputu. Patikirrangu patiki majuramujinikinyirni. Punja yanikinyirni patiki wirturla majuramujinikinyirni nganarnalu marrngulu. Yarti kulpanyikinyirni palakarti *station*-karti.

Palaja walypila milpanyikinyiya jirramujinaku kukurnjariku. Palaja ngakanikinyinganinyi *station* warinykarti maninyaku kukurnjari palajakurra yanikinyiyi *station*-ja nganarnamilija. Palajun wanikinyirni *station*-ja.

Palaja ngakanikinyinganinyi pingkayi kujarra wiyiki, jinta wanikinyiyi ngatu warrkamu. Palajunngarra yanikinyirni *station* warinykarti pingkayi jinangu, waninyi kulpanyikinyirni. Pingkayi yanikinyirni wanyjarnipa pala warinykarti *station*-karti yirrinikinyirniyanaku kurlumarninyku. Palaja kulpanyikinyirni palakarti *station*-karti waljakarti warrkamujarrikinyirni. Palajunngarra yanikinyirni Marble Bay-kartipa Moolyella-karti kulpanyikinyirni walyjakartangarrany. Palajunpirli ngarrakuny, partunurrangu partungu jinyi-jinyi pingkayi yanikinyirni. Jinta warlinikinyijianinyi marrngu warrkamu. Palarrangu kulpanyikinyi pingkayija warrkamujarrikinyiyi, palarrangu ngakanikinyijaninyi puntaju pingkayi palajun.

Maajalu kangkuru jutumujinikinyi wurranyikinyinganaku ‘Kinamujinakanu majangu yinganyalunurrujaninyi pawurlarrangu.’ Nganarnalu nyampalu kurlka kangkuru wirrkanikinyirni jalamujinikinyirni. Warnku *one shilling* yinganyikinyinganinyi warajaku kurlkaku tuwakipalu, manikinyirni nganirn-nganirn tuwaja. Mitumanikinyirni pala tuwakipa wurranyikinyirnila, ‘Kangkuru nganarnalu wirrarniyirni ngurnungu pijungu.’ Palinyju ngakanikinyinganinyi: ‘Yarrayi yarrana kangkurukarti.’ Nganarna yanikinyirni janpakarti, munu yanimiyirni kangkurukarti pijungu janpanyikinyirni.

After a while they said to me, 'You try to gallop, now!' Then I really did, I galloped and I didn't fall off the horse, I sat in the saddle well. I tried again, galloping out on the plain and it was all right.

They told the boss, 'He's learned how to ride a horse.'

The boss said, 'Good, you two can take him out mustering sheep in the afternoon.'

So that afternoon we went out mustering sheep, and came back home after the sun had gone down. Now I knew how to ride and muster, I could gallop on a horse and turn the sheep back when they broke away. We would herd them in a mob along a fence line. They ran straight ahead, they wouldn't turn or break. We'd herd the sheep out of one paddock and put them into another.

We brought all the sheep in for shearing, bringing them in from the farthest reaches so they wouldn't have so far to go. Afterwards we went back out from the homestead opening all the gates so the sheep could take themselves back to their various paddocks. Those sheep knew their own country, so we'd leave the gates open for them to go back out on their own. We used to draft out all the sheep that belonged to other stations and put them unshorn into separate paddocks, so men from those stations could come and take back their own sheep.

Every year the boss used to take us out in the car to work on the windmills. And when winter came we would ride out and muster the sheep, camping out overnight. We used to put them all into their different paddocks. We *marrngu* used to go out on the range and do the mustering, and only later come back to the station.

White shearers would come to do the shearing. Then we'd be sent out to other stations to bring in any sheep that had strayed from our station. That's how we used to live, out on the stations.

We'd be sent off for two weeks holiday, while some of the others stayed behind to work. We'd always walk to other stations for our holidays and stay there for a while, and then go back. Wherever we went for our holidays, we'd visit our relations on different stations. Then we'd go back to our own station to start work again. We'd go to Marble Bar and Moolyella and then go back to our own station. It was always like that, every year we'd take our holidays in turn. They'd hold some people back to work. When one group returned from holidays they'd go to work, while the others were sent off in their turn for a holiday.

When the boss shot a kangaroo he'd tell us, 'Skin it, and give the meat to the chickens.' We used to cut off the kangaroo's ears, and sell them. The storekeeper would give us one shilling for each ear, and we'd get all our tucker from the store. We used to trick the storekeeper, and we'd tell him, 'We've killed a kangaroo over there in the creek', and he'd tell us to go back and get it. We'd go out to the swimming hole; instead of going out for kangaroos we'd swim in the creek.

Nganarna partanykarrangu ngurnarringi jalakarti witi-witikarrikinyiyirni kajakurra, wangka-wangkajarrinyikinyiyirni parrjanikinyiyirnalulu tuwakipaku. Yijalu yirrinikinyiyirni warrkamu wanikinyi katinmayanga pala walypila kalparti kuta. Nganarna nyampajarrikinyiyirni ngalpanyikinyiyirni tuwamayanga kaninykurti, ngulyulu manikinyiyirnijaninyi karnujartinyapa nganirn-nganirn. Nyampalu mirtijinikinyiyirni wirrurru martukarti. Palalu tuwakipalu yirrinikinyinganinyi warntamanikinyinganinya kajangulungarra. Munurla nyungu paliny kalparti kuta mirtikupa, parrjarna ngakanikinyinganinyi mirtija palajun.

Ngapa milpanya wirtu, walypilalu wurrarikinyiya *willy-willy*. Walypilalu wurrarikinyiinganaku, yija milpanya warnayirti wirtu. Jinta marrngu yanayi *shearing-shed*-karti, nganarna wanikinyiyirni ngurranga. Ngaju mirtijarrinyirni maya warinykarti, ngalypakapan wurrarnarna. Wangalju parnpirna yirrarla nganarnapa wanikinyiyirni pirlijirni pala maya. Ngapa ngalpanyikinyi winyajarrikinyi ngapa nganarnapa wanikinyiyirni. Palanga ngurriny kanka wirrirniyirnijaninyi ngapangamarra; nganarna wararrkarrinyiyirni kakarrara. Palanga pirlingi ngapa jarinyikinyi. Ngajulu wurrarnarna ngalypakapan pala maya, munurti nyungu ruwanya wangalju parnpirna yirrarla. Ngurnungungarra yakarnarna maya ngalypa.

Pijungurrangu warrkirni, ngapa yana ngaparr. Purungunya warnankanya mayarrangu mangkurtulu, jinta marrngu karntinyi kanka murrurlungu, jinta mayanga kanka. Mangkurtu mirtijirni ngaparr pijurrangungu. Jintanga mayangarrangu pinyjipa kukurnjari yawartarrangu warnankanyajaninyi. Ngarungu mangkurtu milpanya kakarni ruutungujakun ngapingi kanka Elders-japa *police station*-ja, Esplanade-jakanka. 1939, palanga ngapa pungkanya wirtu. Walypilarrangu *station*-jarrangu maaja-maaja ngaany wurnmanyi.

Kulipatinikinyiyi

Palaja walypilarrangu kulipatinikinyiyi wirlikinyiyarninyi kulilu mikulu wurrarnjamarra. Ngurnipali 1942-ngu nyunguja wurrarnja karrijinikinyiyanaku walypilalu wurrarn warinykarti Kunyangurniku. Yanikinyiyi jana mangarrjarranga Ngulyimunya wanikinyiyi jurlja walypila. Nganarna wirntikarrikinyiyirna wirlanangamarra, watarrkulupa wirlanamiyinganinyi. Kukujarrikinyiyirni katanga ngalpanyikinyiyirni wirntijartiny mangarrjarra pinakarikinyiyirni kjangarrany ngurntirri. Mirtijarrikinyiyirni wirrurru, jinalu jurranikinyiyi pipi japartulu paru ngalpanyikinyiyirni. Warrukartilupa munu wika jakanamiyirni, karpungujakun mayipa. Ngurntirri pinakarikinyiyirni wuta wanikinyiyirni, munu rurrinyakupa yijalmanangulu parrjanikinyiyirna wurrarn marntimarninyju. Punja kulipartinyi walypilarrangu jana.

Mangarrjarra kalarti yaninyiyi kankarni nganarnanga karpurrangu karpur warrukartirrang warrukarti. Palajun yanikinyiyi kakarrara mimanamajirri karpungupa warrukarti, wirntijipinikinyiinganinyi yijayiji. Kanka kala yirrinikinyiyirni walaparraparra yanikinyiyi ngalparra warrukartipa karpungu jinta mangarrjarra. Jinta waraja yanikinyiyi kakuputu wirlikinyiyaninyi, jinta ngalypangarra kulpanyikinyiyi.

When we were kids we used to play a long way off, and then come in closer and closer to keep an eye on the storekeeper. We'd see him go out to work in the garden; that *walypila* had only one leg. Then we'd rush into the shop and steal oranges and other things. We'd race out and dive into a ditch. That storekeeper would see us and come yelling after us. He had only one leg and couldn't run, and just had to watch us all run off.

One year a lot of rain fell. The *walypila* called it a willy-willy. The *walypila* told us it was coming and sure enough there was a big flood. Some people went into the shearing shed but some of us stayed in the camp. I ran across to another little building that I thought would be safer, but the wind blew a sheet of iron into it, making a big hole. The rain poured in and it filled it with water while we were inside. We put our swags and blankets up out of the water [on a wire strung across] and we stood in the water until dawn. The rain poured in through the hole in the roof. I thought I'd be safer in that house, but it was struck by a sheet of iron; the house I'd left was the safer one after all. All the creeks rose and burst their banks. All the buildings at Purungunya, the old Meentheena Station, were washed away in the flood. Some people climbed up on top of the hill, some on top of the houses.

The floodwaters came racing down and overflowed the rivers. On some stations all the fences, the sheep and the horses were washed away. In Port Hedland the storm arrived from the east, and washed along all the roads, through Elders, through the police station, and through the Esplanade Hotel. It was in 1939 that all that rain fell. All the white bosses on the stations were really upset.

War

Then the *walypila* began fighting and killing each other, fighting over the land. In 1942 *walypila* from this country went to attack the Japanese in another country. At Ngulyimunya (Corunna Downs Station), there were white soldiers who flew out in planes.¹² We were afraid of all this fighting, we thought they might kill us by mistake. We went and hid in the bushes in fear whenever we heard in the distance the sound of the planes coming. We used to run out and our parents would kick up mounds of spinifex,¹³ and we'd hide underneath. We didn't light fires at night, and only cooked food during the day. We used to listen for the sound of engines and we stayed quiet; we didn't move around, and we would look carefully around at the country before we set out to go anywhere. The *walypila* were fighting each other. The planes were flying above us day after day and night after night.

They used to go out every day and every night, without let-up, and they really frightened us. We watched the squadrons of planes flying high above us in formation night and day, spread out across the sky. Some didn't come back from the fighting, but others did return safely.

Jurlja wanikinyiyikurra Ngulyimunyanga, Ngarlkapangulu nyirrpujirni:

Wanyjarningalu nyarra parlparrpa manyajipininyi kululu yananyi?
Kurningumarra yirtiwarli kankarla kaniny ngalparra yananyi
Wanyjarningalu nyarra parlparrpa manyajipininyi
Kululu yananyi kurningumarra yirtiwarli kankarla kaniny ngalparra
Ngalparra yananyi karrpiringi warajanga jungkarnarninya marramarranga
Kuntukuntu jarukanganyi ngurnarrijirri
Karrpiringi warajanga jungkarnarninya
Marramarranga kuntukuntu jarukanganyi ngurnarri.

Ngurnarrijirri ngalparralu warrarn warlpaninyi yalinyjikurnu
Jarujarungu yananyi kanka marramarranga panikanganyaku
Ngalparralu warrarn warlpaninyi
Yalinyjikurnu jarujarungu yananyi kanka marramarranga paniku
Panikanganyaku kurningumarra yirrili walaparraparra kuli kaninyipirtilu
Nyirlwaruwaru wirnti yalinyji walyjakartikurnu
Kurningumarra yirrili walaparraparra kurni
Kaninyipirtilu nyirlwaruwaru wirnti yalinyji walyjakarti.

Pukulukulu karpumajirringi marrayirti marramarranga yananyi yakarryakarpay
Kupilya kajarnangu yarlurnumarralu karpiri jiwarnjinalu landing-ku jurtujinalu
Pukulukululu karpumajirringi marrayirti marramarranga yananyi
Yakarryakarpay kupilya kajarnangu yarlurnumarralu
Karpiri jiwarnjinalu landing-ku jurtujinalu
Ngulyimunyaku nyarni karnta kurni parrjalkunyalu mujungungu ngarlukarti
Kartawarrpa jarukanganyi marramarranga kankarni nyarra kurili karrpiringi
Palinymilingi yananyi jarujarungu
Nyarni karnta kurili parrjalkunyalu mujungungu
Ngarlukarti kartawarrpa jarukanganyi marramarranga
Kankarni nyarra kurili yiwiringi palinymilingi yananyi jaru.
Jarujarungu yawarra canon-ju mirlkujinalu landing-ku marramarrangulu
Murrurnan yumunyjinaja kajaninyi jungkanga wuta palaji kankajirringulu
Yawarra canon-ju mirlkujinalu canon
Marramarrangulu murrurnan yumunyjinaja kajaninyi jungkanga wuta palaji kankaja.

Palaja ngaju yanarna Ngulyimunyakarti pingkayi. Partany ngaju kanyanyiyi kurlumarninyju.
Yarrkal palangulu yanayirni marntungu Janyjinyaja kurila. Partijirri mirrarnjarrinyiyirni
palaja ruka yanayirni ngurrangajarrinyiyirni. Marntungu yanayirni kurilangarrany
kartakarrinyiyirni wangka mayanga. Yalinyjakurnu purungarra wanikinyiyirni kartamajirri
wirntijartiny. Munurla nyungu mangarrjarra kala mirtijarrikinyiyi nyarrakurnujirri
kartamajirri kakarrara.

Palaja turlpanyiyirna karpumajirringi marntungu milpanyiyirnijanaku Ngulyimunyanga
palanga punja waninyiyirni. Jurlja walypila wanikinyiyi nyarrakurnujirri, yamarnaya
pala station jurljalungarra. Nganarnalu partanykarrangulu parrjanikinyiyirnijaninyi
jana jilaman kalarti kanganyikinyiyi jaljarr kanka, wirntijipinikinyiyinganinyi. Janalu
parirrp muwarrpinikinyiyinganaku nganarnaku ngalypa puntaju; nganarnalu parirr
muwarrpinikinyiyirnijanaku. Palaja ngaju kulpanyarna, kanyanyiyi warrkamukarti
kurlumarninyju. Yanayirni ruka partijirri kartakarrinyiyirni. Marntungu turlpanyiyirna
yanayirni mirrarnjarrinyiyirni. Palaja ruka turlpanyiyirna yanayirni Janyjinyanga.
Kajarniyirna warrul-warrulja. Palaja ngaju yanarna.

Ngarkapangu (Jack Coppin) made a song about the soldiers living at Ngulyimunya:

*Where are they coming from, going along shaking the sky like thunder?
 Coming up from the south spread out in a line, in formation, one on top of the other,
 Where are they coming from, shaking the sky?
 Coming like thunder from the south, spread out in formation one over the other
 Going along spread out in a line, in formation away up high
 Racing everywhere precisely, carefully
 Joined together in one long line
 Racing away so precisely, away up high.*

*Going everywhere in a long line, hunting across the country to the north
 There in the distance, going high up over the plain
 Spread out in a line, hunting across the country
 They appear high over the plains, heading north
 Look where they appear from the south, hunting in a line, and the angry people from that place¹⁴
 Terrified, go back to their own families
 Look at them hunting in formation, coming up from the south
 The people from that place go back north to their own place in fear.*

*Skimming along on top of the fog at the break of day before sunrise
 Coming in from the north in a line, searching for the landing ground
 Flying high up before the break of day
 Skimming over the fog, coming in from the north
 Searching out the landing ground in a line
 Looking for Ngulyimunya north of the gap, this side of the clouds
 Racing overhead in a line towards the south
 Flying over the plain in their own vapour trails
 Searching for the gap in the south, this side of the clouds
 Racing along high overhead
 Going south high overhead, precisely following their own vapour trails.
 From away over the plain, from high up in the sky, aiming their guns at the landing ground
 Aeroplanes sitting on the ground, resting from the sky, from causing misery
 Aiming their guns from far away
 Aeroplanes from the sky, sitting on the ground, resting from the sky, from causing misery.*

I went to Ngulyimunya in the holiday time. I was a child and was taken by my family. We set off one morning and travelled for a few of days south from Janyjinya. On the way we stopped and had dinner in the shade, and in the evening we made camp. The next morning we continued south, and made camp close to the station and a little to its north. We didn't get any sleep, we were so anxious and afraid. Planes were flying around everywhere all night, and we couldn't sleep.

We rose before dawn and went to meet everyone at Ngulyimunya, and stayed there with them. White soldiers were everywhere; the station was full of soldiers. We children saw them marching around with their guns on their shoulders, and they frightened us. But they always waved to us, and we waved back. Then I went back, my family took me back to work. We set out in the evening and made camp on the way. We went on in the morning, and found a place to have lunch in the shade. In the evening we went on to Janyjinya, arriving home after dark. And I went back to work.


Chapter 2:

Strike time, 1946–50

Minyjun's preparations for life as an Aboriginal stockman came to an end at the age of twelve when he and his family took part in an historic movement which would take his life in another direction. There was discontent among marrngu arising from their poor living conditions on the stations, their low rates of pay, and the little control they were able to exercise over their own lives under the Western Australian Native Administration Act. For a number of years marrngu leaders had discussed their situation among themselves, and with an unusual walypila, Don McLeod, whom they call Mirta, the Old Man, or Ngarnka or Ngarnkawaru, the Bearded One. A well-sinker and prospector, Mirta showed an interest in and sympathy for their plight, and in 1943 was invited to attend a large meeting of Aboriginal leaders at Wantilurr (Skull Springs), on the Davis River. There they discussed the possibility of marrngu regaining control over their lives by acting as a group to withhold their labour from the stations.

Preparations for the strike began in earnest when the Second World War came to an end, with a widespread walk-off from stations across the eastern Pilbara planned for 1 May 1946. As Mirta was prevented by section 39 of the Native Administration Act from approaching within five chains (about 100m) of a place where Aboriginal people were camped or congregated, it was marrngu organisers Yurlpuly (Dooley Binbin) and Warntupungkarna (Clancy McKenna) who travelled around the stations to discuss the plan with Aboriginal workers. To coordinate action on the widely dispersed stations, they distributed calendars with the day of the strike marked in red, and instructed workers to mark off each day until 1 May. Accordingly, on or around 1 May 1946 and over the following months, marrngu on stations across the eastern Pilbara refused to carry out the orders given them by white bosses, and left the stations.

In 1946, as part of the widespread strike action, Minyjun and his family left Janyjinya to join a large number of strikers at Moolyella, where they were able to support themselves mining alluvial tin. Other strikers gathered at the Twelve Mile camp near Ngaru (Port Hedland), and supported themselves by hunting kangaroos, fishing and gathering pearl shells.



As a result of the actions of marrngu in withholding their labour from the stations, there was some improvement in wages and conditions for marrngu workers. Some strikers returned periodically to station employment, to be called out again by the strike leaders during three years of protracted and often bitter dispute with pastoralists and the authorities. The strikers consistently challenged restrictive legislation of the Native Administration Act, which was employed by the authorities in their attempt to break the strike. Strikers were arrested, under a clause of the Act which prohibited the 'enticement' of Aboriginal people from their places of employment, when groups of men visited stations to urge marrngu workers to join the group. When those involved refused to name ringleaders, authorities were forced to make large-scale arrests, effectively flooding the police lockups with strikers. This was, according to John Wilson, a deliberate tactic to render such legislation unworkable.¹⁵

Minyjun lived with his family at the strikers' camp at Moolyella until 1949.

Strike-jarrinyiyi

Yarti muwarr wurrarnanganaku palinyju Yurlpulyju. Yurlpuly warrkamjarrikinyi Paruwanga. Walypila warrkamjarrikinyi Mirta, karlikinya pirti ngapajalu *windmill* wirrinikinyi. Mirtalu palalu walypilalu yinganyikinyijaninya martumpirri ngalypakatalu. Yirrinnyi marrngulu ngalypakata, janalu muwarr yimpirnaya, wurrarniyili Mirtanga, ‘muwarrpilamannganaka.’ Palinyju wurrarna, ‘munu, *I can’t do it, it’s against the law.*’ Janalu wurrarniyili marrngulu, ‘nganarnalu yajalapiyirinti.’

Jana waninyiyi muwarrja Ngarnkawarulu kalkurnujaninyi Wantilurrja. Palinyju Mirtalu japirrarnajaninya, ‘Wunyurru nyurra kalkunayinyurrinyi *station*-ja maajalu walypilalu? Ngalya?’ Japirrarnajaninya marrngu jana warrkamu.

Janalu wurrarniyili, ‘Munurla, kurlu waninyayirni. Kalkunayinganinyi *station*-jarrangu, warrkamupa ngalypajirniyirni, nganarnalu palapali manipa wupartu maninyayirni. Pingkayipa ngakanikinyiinganinyi maajarrangulu *station*-jarrangu jampangarra, munu punjakupa kujarrapa waraja wiyiki. Punjaja waninyaja wurrarnikinyiyili kunymanakatanga, yijarti ngakanikinyinganinyi, “Kulpayi nyurramilikartirrangu *station*-karti.” Yijarti wirntijartiny kulpanyikinyiyirni. Munu punjakupa waninyaku punjajalu waninyajalu muwarr ngakanikinyayalu *station*-ngulu kunymanakataku. Palajunparla walangkarrangu, wanikinyiyirni nganarna *station*-jarrangu maajalu kalkunikinyiinganinyi. Mayipa yinganya-yinganya pirniny puruyiji, munu ngalypakupa. Yakunngarra waninyayirni pijungupa kartakarrinyayirni palajunkarra, wurrarniyilu.

Janalu yijalu yukunypirniyijaninyi maaja-maaja walypilarrangu. Mirtanya wurrarniyili wirtu waninyiyi jana muwarrja.

Marrngurrangu milpanyaya palaku muwarrku warrarnjarrangu warinypa warinyja yintarrangu. Palinyju wurrarnajanaku, ‘Ngajulu mirlimirli yarntalamarna yungkulumarnangu nyuntungu, palajartiny yankuluman nyungu muwarr kangkuluman wurrana kawalamanjanaku *station*-jarrangu, kalantapa.’ Mirlimirli yarntarna pulutulu pinjirlmajirrilu. Palanga yana Janyjinyanga wurrarnanganaku. Marntilu paliny yana mayarrangungu palajartiny muwarrjartiny, palapali yana Ngarukartijakun wurrana kawarna muwarr, ‘Yankulunyurru yawarta mirtija parrjalkulunyurru. Palaja yakalkulunyurrujaninya walypila nyurramilirrangu maajarrangu.’

Yija milpanyiyi *station*-jarrangu marrngukarra Marble Bar-karti, palanga parrjarniyirni yawarta mirtija jarrirtingipa wajantayi. Ngurranga wanikinyiyirni nganarna Yukurlukurlunyanga. Palaja maajarrangu milpanyikinyiinganaku maninya ngakamanaku marrnguku warrkamukarti. Nganarnalu wurrarnikinyiyirnijanaku, ‘Munurla nganarna waninyayirni ngatu.’ Palajun wurrarnikinyiyirnijanaku maajarrangungu, ‘Nganarna yanayirni Moolyella-karti palanga wanikinyiyirni.’ Palaja nganarnamili maaja milpanya kayimarnanganinyi warrkamukarti.

‘Munu, wurrarniyirni nganarnalu, ‘waninyayirni nyungungu. Jipi, yakarnayirni! Nyuntu kulpa, palangarra!’

Strike

Some time after that, that man Yurlpuly (Dooley Binbin), spoke to us. He had been working at Paruwa (Bonney Downs Station), where the *walypila* Don McLeod, or Mirta, was sinking bores and erecting windmills. That *walypila* was generous in sharing his food with them, and *marrngu* saw that he was a good person. They talked to him, saying, ‘We want you to speak for us’. He answered, ‘No, I can’t do it. It’s against the law’. Those *marrngu* said, ‘we’ll back you up’.

And so a meeting was held with Ngarnkawaru McLeod at Wantilurr (Skull Springs). Mirta asked them, ‘How are all the white bosses treating you on the stations? Do they treat you well?’

And they’d told him, ‘No, we’re not living well at all. We have to stay on the stations. We work well, but we’re paid very little. The bosses on the stations only let us go on holidays for a short time, not for a reasonable amount of time like three weeks. If we stay away too long they tell the police and have them send us back, ordering us back onto the stations. So then we feel intimidated, and we return. We can’t stay out for a long time; if we stay away too long the stations send for the police. It’s been like that since people first came here; we live on the stations and the bosses keep us there. All they hand out is stale food, not good food. We live like this in the creek bed, and that’s where we sleep’.

They complained about the white bosses, they told Mirta all about how they were living.

People came from all their different countries for that meeting, and he told them, ‘I’ll write a letter and give it to you, and you go and take that information to everyone on all the stations, along with calendars’. He wrote the letter with a bullet, because he didn’t have a pencil. Then Yurlpuly came to Janyjinya and told us about it. He travelled on to see the *marrngu* on all the other stations with that proposal, then to Ngaru (Port Hedland), to tell them about it there. ‘When you all go to the races, you should leave your *walypila* bosses.’

Accordingly, when *marrngu* from all the stations went to Marble Bar for the races, we watched the races on the Saturday and Monday, and then we stayed in a camp on the Yukurlukurlunya Creek. When the bosses arrived to pick up *marrngu* to go back to work we said to them, ‘No, we’re staying here. We’re going to Moolyella and we’ll live there.’ Our boss arrived and called us for work.

‘No’, we told him, ‘we’re staying here. That’s it, we’ve left you. You go back, that’s it.’



Mirta (Don McLeod),
photograph by Patsy Adam
Smith.

Moolyella

Ngungu yimpilamarna purlpija Moolyella-nga wanikinyiyrni. 1946 warrkamujarrikinyiyrni tiyinkarra, kalkunikinyiyinganinyi mirtanya-mirtanyalu palanga warrkamujinikinyiyrni tiyin. Punja waninyirni Moolyella, partunurrangu partunu. Moolyella Marble Bar-nga kakarra wanikinyi, kurrngal marrngu wanikinyiyrni warnkumarramarranga *town*-pirrayi. Tuwamaya wanikinyi, *sell'm*-jinikinyiyrni tiyin, mayi manikinyiyrna yurnturapa parrka, jungurr, jangupa wurru. Ngurrarrangunga wanikinyiyrni yirrarlanga mayangapirrayi. Jinta wupartungu mayanga wanikinyi. Nganarna waljamarr jinta waljamari wanikinyiyrni. *Weeki*-jarrikinyi julurrja yakujarrikinyi, pala Warrukanya julurr ngapi Banjo Flann-mili. Yurlpuly maaja wanikinyi.

Kuyikarti ngurraputu ngaju kanyanyiyi. Kakarra Punyjungunyaja yanayirni, ruka kartakarrinyiyrni Yarlunyanga. Kakarrakurnu marntungu turlpanyiyrna yanayirni. Piju yajarniyrni kaninykurnulu pijungu warinyja wirtungujarrinyiyrni, Marlajarringi kakarnikarti. Palanga mirrarnajarrinyiyrni mimanikinyiyrnalulu japartuku. Yana paliny kuyikarti yarrkal. Yija milpanya yarti kuyirrangujartiny marunturrangu kanganyikinyijaninyi. Pipilujirri wika murnirnipula, kamparnapulujaninyi yawungu jitinakanu nganayirni.

Nyungu purlpinyin mujungu parnpinikinyili yirtinykarra jurritipinikinya nyarrakarti nyarrakarti. Nganarna nyampa kulpanyiyrni, munuyiji wirtujarrakinyi purujinakanu. Paru warlkarniyi ngalpajirniyinganinyi kaninykarti parungu jampa jupanya ngapa. Pipilujirri japartulu ngakarninyi, 'Mirtijarra, nyampa walangkarra! Parrjalamanpa ngurrinyku! Ngurnipali mangkurtulu kanyajaninyi!'

Palanga yijanyin ngaju mirtijarrinyirni wirrurru kintijarrinyirni yanikinyirni mirtipa mirti mangan palajun. Wangkajarrinya kawanikinyirni karra kala yirrirnirni mangkurtu kala mirtijirni ngakamarna purlpi. Ngaju nyampajarrinyirni manarnajaninyi wurrurrangu nyampalu, jinta purlpi kanganyikinyijaninyi mangkurtulu. Ngajulu nyampalu nyampalu palarrangu manarnajaninyi wiyirr wurrukarra. Yarti milpanyi japartupa pipijirri.

Wanikinyiyrni Moolyella-nga pala jarntinikinyiyrnili warrarn Marble Bar-nga mangarrjarrapinti kajanaku.

Mangarrjarra kajanikinyi purlpi yawartapa mirtijarrinyai. Yawartalu mirtijalu ruutu martujinikinyi jungka. Walangkarrangupukun mirtijinyi *these horse* palanga Yukurlukurlunyanga martaji. Yanayirni *aces*-karti, palakarti wurrarnapulunganaku palalujirri Walypilalujirri wanikinyipulu Bamboo Creek-ingi. Palaja milpanyapulu *aces*-karti. Wurrarnanganaku, 'yankulunyurra nyurra wika murnilkulinyurru wurujilkulunyurru wika martumpirripa kamparna ngalkuluminyi.' Palajunkarra wurrarnanganaku. Yijarti nganarna yanayirni palakarti *racecourse*-karti. Wika murnirniyrni palanga kankajirri wika kulpanyiyrni ngurrakarti. Palaja parrjarniyrni pala mirtijaja *these horses*-rrangu, kulpanyiyrni Moolyella-karti. Yarrana milpanyapulu palajirri. Kayimarnapulunganinyi, 'kurtaliyi, jarntilkulunyurru mangarrjarrapa kajanaluny warinyja. Nyungu *these horse*-ju mirtilu kurlupinayi jungka. Martupa martu jirnayi. Mangarrjarra palanga kajanikinyi martupa martungu.' Palajunkarra wurrarnanganaku. Yijarti nganarnaku palaja jurtijirninganaku wanyjarni palarti nganarnalu jarntirniyrnili. Partanykarrangupa yanayirni wirtumarta, pirrimarta, mirtawa, marrjapanu nyarra warrkamuku miranu. Wakala-wakalamarta mirtanya-mirtanya ngatu yakarniyrnijananya.

Moolyella

I'll talk now about how we lived at Moolyella in the old days. In 1946 we were working tin, our elders looked after us there, mining for tin. We lived at Moolyella for a long time, for many years. It's to the east of Marble Bar, and a lot of *marrngu* lived there in a sort of little town among the hills. There was a store there where we'd sell our tin and buy food, including flour, tea, sugar, tobacco and clothes. We lived in tents in many different camps, and some people lived in small tin houses. We lived in our different family groups. On weekends we held big corroborees, the Warrawagine ceremony that belonged to Banjo Flann. Yurlpuly (Dooley Binbin) was the boss there.

One night I was taken out hunting to the east from Punyjungunya, the Six Mile, and in the evening we stopped at the outcamp called Yarlunya. The next morning we continued to the east following a creek bed until it turned into a larger creek, Marlajarri (Mt Edgar Creek), in the east. We stopped there and waited for my father, who'd gone hunting. When he returned he was carrying some goannas. **My two mothers** collected firewood and cooked them in the ashes, then we took them out and ate them.

Then we noticed columns of clouds and thunderheads building up all around us, and it started raining heavily. We hurried back, but already the rain was pouring down. They made little shelters of spinifex and put us inside until it stopped raining. Then my two mothers and my father sent me ahead, saying, 'Quickly, you run on ahead and look for our blankets; maybe the flood has swept them away'.

So I ran on ahead, faster and faster as I got closer. When I got there I found it was just as they'd feared, the floodwater had raced through and swept things away. I ran around gathering up all the blankets and clothes, those that had not already been carried away by the flood. I quickly gathered them all into a pile, and then later my father and my two mothers arrived.

While we were living at Moolyella we made an airstrip at Marble Bar.

At that time the racecourse was between Marble Bar and the Yukurlukurlunya Creek. In the old days it was also used by planes as an airstrip, but the horses galloping over it had made the ground rough and uneven. We went to the races there,¹⁶ and a *walypila* couple who used to live at Bamboo Creek spoke to us; they'd also come to the races. They said, 'How about you all go and gather firewood and make a big heap, to cook damper for us.' We collected wood, and piled it in a heap and went back to our camp. After we'd watched the races, we returned to Moolyella. The couple came to us there, and called to us, 'Come over here: you need to clear an airstrip. The racehorses have mucked up the ground, and made it all uneven. Planes are landing on a whole lot of ditches and bumps.' And they showed us where to clear the ground. So all the kids went, and the adults, men and women, anyone who was strong and knew how to work. We left only the frail old people at home.

My two mothers

Minyjun's father had two wives, both of whom are referred to as *pipi*, 'mother'.



Juwikarayirti (Jimmy Uridja), Pilgangoora, photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R686, South Australian Museum.

Karrpu waraja jarntirniyirni warajanga karpungu palarrangu nganiwurralpirti lakarnpirniyirniyaninyi warnkupa mungkapa. Waraja *tractor* jarntinikinyili. Warajanga karpungu jarntirniyirni rukakartijakun. Jintalu mungkapa kuta-kutapinikinyi, warnku lakarnpinikinyi; jintalu *rake*-jartinyju jarntinikinyi, parirru pala jarntirniyili. *Crow-bar, shovel, pick* palarrangujartinyju, wurrukarra palarrangu. Jarntirniyirni yija parlkarrajarrinyi. Mangarrjarra yija kajanikinyi ngalya palanga.

Ngaju wirtu kuyi-wirlana, nganarna marirra-marirra Moolyella-ja yanayirni kurila. Juwikarayirti kanyanganinyi mijimijiku kanyjina Warruwanakarti. Marntungu yanayirni partijirri mirrarnjarrinyiirni nyamirla wurrangka yanganikinyiirni kuyimajirrija janparru. Palanga kampanakanu nganayirni, ruka yanayirni. Partunungu milyanga, karpungu partijirri ngalpanyanganaku marntijalungarrany. Warrukarti yirru ngalpanyanganaku marntijalungarrany. Warrukarti yirru yaninya kawarniyirni wirlarranga. Ngapa yirrirniyirni ngurra paljurniyirna kartakarrinyiirni. Marntungu turlpanyiirna jungurrjakun minpirniyirni, yanayirni karakurnu mijimijiku yapirni-yapirniyirna. Munu manamiyirni, kulpanyiirni ngurrakarti.

Palangalu ruka kakarra yanayirni kuyiku. Munu wirlanamiyirni kuyi, wamajakun ngumanikinyiirni kumpalya mungkaja. Kanyjirna piju warinykarti mayi yirrirniyirni makartu. Palanga yangarniyirni winya jartanga. Ngarlarli yana Janyjnyakarti, ngalaya kulpanyilayipulaku mariraku. Jurrulypirtingi milpanyalayi ngurraku yinalayipulunya makartu. Pulanyju yinyapulungalayinya mangkurrka. Palanga kartakarrinyiirni marntungujarrinyi jungurrjakun minpirniyirni mayimajirri. Turlpanyiirna karpumajirringi yanayirni kakarra pijukarti, partijirri jintapirniyirnarinyi. Pulany yalinyakarti yanapulu, ngalaya kurilakurti yanalayi. Nyampa ngalaya yanalayi mimanikinyalayanaku wilypanga kangkuruku.

Yijalu yirrirnalayi pakarlikarra kangkuru mirtijinikinyi yalinyu wangkayiji ngalayamartaji. Wararrkarrinyi kurtipakarnu nyirriirni parrrjana. Ngajulu partu-partumarnarna ruwanyarna warnkulu pitakaju nyuku, pungkanya marlkarrri. Manarna kanka warntaranga jirniirni kanyarna, yanalayi kakarra milpanyalayipulaku mariranga. Yirrirnipulungalayinyi kuyijartiny wurlkamarninyju. Yanayirni palakarti makartupa yirriirna wirrirnalayi rukalu. Palanga pala kangkuru kamparniyirni jitinakanu nganayirni.

Ruka yanayirni pijungu kara, yalinyja wirrkijarrinyiirni yanayirni pijungu katukarnayirni karajarrinyiirni warrukarti wirlarranga. Yija milpanyiirniyanaku kurlumarninyja palanga wanikinyi warrkamu tiyinkarra. Ngaju palangulu yanarna Moolyella-karti; ngajumili kurlumarniny Moolyella-nga karakurnu wanikinyi. Milpanyarnajanaku pala kuyi yinyarnajaniny nganayi.

Nyarra yanayirni marirra-marirra kanyjirniyirna mijimijiku. Nyungu *thirty-three* marrngu yanayi kakarra jinangu maninyaku marrnguku *station*-jarrangu. Kulpanyiirni jinta marrngu *station*-kartirranggu warrkamujarrikinyi yirru. Yanayi Purungunya, jana munu *strike*-jarrimiyi marrngu Purungunyaja, yirru warrkamjarrinyi. Palanga yanayalu Walypilaku. Wurrarniyili 'kangkulupiyirniyaninyi marrngu.'

'Yu, ngalya,' wurrarna.

Palaja yanayi pijungu yalinyakurnu. Piju yajarni, milpanyaya Warrukanyaku. Yanayalu Walypalaku maajaku wurrarniyili, 'kangkulupiyirniyaninyi marrngu nyungu, milpanyiirna.'

In just one day we cleared everything away and dug out all the boulders and trees. A tractor was grading there as well. We took one day, working right up until sunset, clearing the ground. One work party cut down all the trees, and dug out all the boulders. Another group cleared the ground by hand using rakes. The only tools we had to work with were crow bars, shovels and picks. I also cleared the ground and leveled it. Planes could now land safely.

When I was bigger, old enough to hunt for myself, a group of us *marirra-marirra* left Moolyella and went south. Juwikarayirti (Jimmy Uridja) took us to Waruwana to prospect for gold. We left in the morning and stopped in some shade on the way to collect insect larvae we call *nyamirla* out of the gum trees, as we were hungry and had no meat. After cooking and eating them, we went on in the afternoon. It was the beginning of winter, and we were still walking as the sun went down. We went on after dark, walking in the light of the moon, until we saw some water and made camp. In the morning we had a cup of tea and went out towards the west yandying for gold. We found none, and so returned to our camp.

In the evening we went east in search of meat. We didn't get anything, except to suck nectar from the *kumpaly* tree. By another creek we found some *makartu*, or rock figs, which we collected, filling up our shirts. *Ngarlarli* went to back Janyjinya, and two of us went back to see the other *marirra* in our camp. Arriving back at sunset we gave them some figs, and they gave us *mankurrka*, galls of the bloodwood tree. In the morning we had tea to drink, but no food. We rose before sunrise, and went east to the creek, splitting up on the way. Two headed north, and two of us went south and waited for kangaroos by a path they'd made.

Then sure enough we saw a young male kangaroo racing towards us from the north, right up close to us. It stopped and looked back and around. I ran straight at it and threw a rock which hit it on the forehead, and it fell down dead. I picked it up and put it over my shoulders, and we went east and met up with the two *marirra*. When they saw us they were really pleased. We went back to the fig tree we'd found the previous evening. We cooked the kangaroo, then took it out of the coals and ate it.

That afternoon we followed the creek to the west, and then turned north and crossed over, and went west at night by moonlight. Then at last we met up with some of the older people working tin. From there I went to Moolyella in the west where my family was living. I found them and gave them the rest of the meat.

While we *marirra-marirra* were out prospecting for gold, thirty-three men set out from Moolyella to see *marrngu* who were still working on the stations. They went to Purungunya (Meenthen Station), where there were *marrngu* who hadn't gone on strike, and were still working. They saw the *walypila* boss there and told him, 'We want to take all these people.'

'Yeah, that's all right,' he said.

Then they followed the river north to Warrawagine. They saw the *walypila* boss and said, 'We've come to take away all these people.'



Pouring mineral into billycan, photograph by John Bucknall.

marirra-marirra

A group of men or boys who are brothers and brother's-in-law to one another. Minyjun uses the term to refer to a group of Panaka and Karimarra men and boys.

Ngarlarli

Adam Barker.

marirra

A pair of people in this relationship.

Palajun wurrarnajanaku, ‘Yu, ngalya.’

Yanayi kara pijungu kara Callawa-karti. Pirrimaya pala yini, *station*. Manayijaninyi yija marrngu. Yanayi Pintunyakarti. Palanga ngurnipali pala maajarrangulu muwarr ngakarnayalu *policeman*-ku, ‘miraniyinganinya marrnguku, kanyayijininyi wakany.’ Yija *policeman* milpanya, milpanyapulu *policeman*-jirri *truck*, *semitrailer*-jartiny. Palanga japirmanajaninya, ‘nganurtu maaja nyurranga?’

‘Munu nganarna maajamajirri,’ wurrarniyili.

Jilaman manajanakalu, palalu kunymanakatalu jilamanjartinyju muwarrpinikinyijanaku kunymarnajaninyi. Palaja kanyajaninyi *truck*-nga pala *semitrailer*-nga Marble Bar-karti. Jinymuntu kanyajaninyi, *court*-ngu muwarrpiniyi marrngulungarra palarrangulu *win’m*-jiniyi *court*. Jinirnijaninyi.

Jinta yanayi Yirrangkajikarti, ngakamarnayijaninyi yanayi Kurlkuny-karti. Yanayi Kurlkuny, Paruwa; palajirri *station*-jajirri manayijaninyi marrngu, kulpanyiyi Yirrangkajikarti. *Policeman*-ju manajaninyi palarrangu jinymuntu kanyajaninyi. *Court*-ngu waninyiyi marrngulungarra *win’m*-jirniyi. Palarrangulu *win’m*-jirniyi muwarr.

Jinta yanayi Ngulyimunyakarti. Manayijaninyi Ngulyimunyaja, palajun kanyajaninyi jinymuntu *again*. Palanga muwarrpirniyi marrngulungarra palarrangulu *win’m*-jirniyi. Jinirnijaninyi, jinymuntuja kulpanyiyi wiyirr. Wiyirr Moolyella-jakun wanikinyiyirni. Palangarra nyarra wurrarnarna.

Don Thompson wanikinyi *storekeeper* Moolyella-nga. Palanga warntamarnapularninya Ngarnkawarulu tiyinjamarra, munu yija yingamajaninya marrngu warnku wirtu. Mirtalu jintapirnijaninyi yanayi warrarnkarti warinypa warinykarti. Kanyajaninyi Split Rock-karti. Jana kanyajaninyi Kumpu Well-ja wanikinyiyi. Jinta kanyayi, jinta yanayi kakarra Minyminyja wanikinyiyi mijimiji ngarnipinikinyiyi. Jinta Pilykunkurakarti yanayi.

He said, ‘Yes, OK’.

They went west along the river to Callawa, the station called Pirrimaya, and they took all the people. Then they went to Pintunya, the Sheep Camp on Warrawagine Station. The bosses must have sent for the police, telling them, ‘They’ve taken away all our workers, they’ve taken everyone’. So then the police arrived; two policemen came with a semi-trailer. They asked, ‘Who’s your leader?’

And they told him, ‘We haven’t got a leader’.

The policeman got a gun and pointed it at them. He ordered them around at gunpoint, put chains on them, and took them to Marble Bar in the semi-trailer. The *marrngu* were taken to jail, but they argued their case in the court, and won. So they were released.

Some people went to Yirrankaji (Nullagine), and picked up *marrngu*, and then went to Kurlkuny (Noreena Downs Station). They collected people from Kurlkuny and Paruwa (Bonney Downs Station), and went back to Yirrankaji. The police arrested and jailed them as well. They also went to court, and won.

People also went to Ngulyimunya and took away the *marrngu* workers, and were again jailed. But again they argued their case, and won. So they let them go, they all got out of jail. And so then we all lived at Moolyella. That’s all I can say.

Don Thompson was the storekeeper at Moolyella. He and Mirta had an argument about the tin; he wasn’t giving *marrngu* a true and fair amount of money. So Mirta split everyone up, and we all went out to different parts of the country. We were taken to Split Rock and others were taken to Kumpu Well and stayed there. Others were taken east and lived at Minyminy (Mosquito Creek), mining gold, while others went to Pilykunkura, the Pilgangoora mining area.



Tin dressing at Moolyella, 1927, photograph courtesy State Library of Western Australia, 3540d.



Yirrapinya (Jim Watson),
photograph courtesy Tindale
Collection R532, South Australian
Museum.

Station-ja warrkamjarrinyirni

Ngaju yanarna *station*-karti 1949-ja. Ngajumili pipi wanikinyi Yirrankajingi. Yanarnalu pipikarti *now*, partijirri kangkujilu ngajumililu warlirnininyi wurrarniji. ‘Warrkamjarruluman.’ ‘Yu,’ karramarnarna. Pipi pala Yirrankajija milpanya *mail*-ja, kulpanya Moolyella-karti. Ngaju palanga warrkamjarrinyirni. Wajantayi yanarna warrkamkarti, maajalu wurrarniji ‘nyuntu yini Monday’. Palinyju wurrarniji, ‘Wajantayimurrangu wajantayi maninyalumanjaninyi kuyi kukurnjarirrangu’.

Jana yanayi walangkarrangupukun Split Rock *close*. Majuramjirniyaninyi kukurnjaripa yawartarrangu, kanyayijaninyi Ngulyimunya-karti. Palanga nganarna yanayirni Split Rock. Split Rock-nga yakujarnikarti wanikinyiyirni majuram kukurnjarikarra.

Marrngumililu yukurrurrangu pajinamiyaninyi kukurnjari. Maajalu yijalu manajanakalu kanganyikinyi kalungarnarra yukurrurrangu wirlarnajaninyi kalungarnarralu Kumpu Well-ja. Pala kalungarnarra kulpanya kanya. Jampa kalungarnarralu wirlanikinyijaninyi yukurru nganarnamili kuyimarta kangkuruku pajinakata, nganarna ngaany kurlujarrikinyiyirni.

Yawarta warajalu yajarna *fence*. Palinyju yirriirni pala warrarn jurtulu. Ngurnipali paliny karramarna, ‘nyungu ngurnipali ngajumili warrarn.’ Yana milpanyajanaku Kumpu Well-ja, *hobbled up*. Yirriirniyi pala yawarta karramarnayi, ‘ngurnipali nyarningi marrngu waninyayi majuramu kala.’ Yijalu kulpanya kanyayi. Yirrapinyalupa palinymililujirri partanyujirriipa marrukulu wiyimarnayi pala yawarta. Ngaju kanka kajanikinyirni warnkungu pala yawarta yirriirniirni wapakana kawanikinyi yawarta. Yirriirniirniyaninyi nyirriirnilu marrngulu kanganyikinyiyi pala yawarta. Ngaju katukarnarna wurrarnarnala Wartayarntarnanga, ‘nyarra pala yawarta kanganyayi marrngulu.’

‘Yu,’ karramarna paliny.

Ngaju kulpanyakanu kajanikinyirni warnkungu. Parrjanikinyirniyaninyi Yirrapinyalu yakarnajaninya partanyirri marruku pijungu. Palinyju kanya pala yawarta palakartijakun ngurrakarti. Yirriirnalayi jurtulungarra. Palanga kurrngarniyirni wurrarnalayili, yanayi jinta majuramula. Warlirnalayi pala mirta: ‘wanta mimalajanaku, kulpulupi *dinner*-karti.’

Yija milpanyiyi Walypilanga wurrarnalayili ‘nyarra yawarta wiyimanikinyi nyungulu mirtalu.’

‘Yu,’ karramarna pala Walypila, ngaany ngalypajarrinyi. Yinyayirna jukurtapa, parrka, jangu, kuyi murla, kulpanya ngurrakarti.

Warrkamjarrinyirni *station* pala Split Rock *close*-jarrinyi. Manikinyiyirniyaninyi palaja *station*-ja kukurnjari. Majuramujinikinyiyirni kanganyikinyiyirniyaninyi Ngulyimunya-karti. Kujarramal yanayirni pala majuramu kukurnjariku. Split Rock-jaja manayirniyaninyi kukurnjari *paddock*-jarrangu wiyirr. Kulpanyiyirni Ngulyimunya-karti, palanga warrkamjarrikinyiyirni Ngulyimunya.

Partunujarrinyi yanayirni majuramu *paddock*-rrangu *paddock*, majuramjinikinyiyirniyaninyi. Kurukuru manayirniyaninyi kukurnjari wangkajirniyaninyi. *Shearing-man* milpanyiyi, *shear’m* ku kukurnjariku. Palanga *shear’m*-jirniyi kukurnjari wiyirr, kulpanyiyi *shearing-man*. Palanga waninyiyirni warrkam, yanayirni *rac*es-karti Marble Bar. Palanga parrjarniyirniyaninyi mirtija. Ngaju ngatujarrinyirni, janajakun kulpanyiyi.

Station work

I went to a station in 1949. My mother was living in Yirrankaji (Nullagine), and I was on the way to see her when my older sister told me I should stay there at Ngulyimunya (Corunna Downs). She said, ‘You ought to work.’ I agreed to stay there. My mother left Yirrankaji on the mail truck, and returned to Moolyella, so I started work. When I went to work on Monday, the boss told me, ‘As your name is Monday, you can go and get the **killers** every Monday’.

killers

Sheep to be killed and eaten on the station.

Some people went ahead of us to Split Rock Station to muster the sheep and horses to take back to Ngulyimunya. Then we went there as well and camped there on this side, mustering sheep.

Sometimes dogs belonging to *marrngu* would attack the sheep, and while I was working at Split Rock Station the boss brought in a policeman who rounded up and killed all the dogs at Kumpu Well [where striking *marrngu* were mining]. When the police killed our hunting dogs that were good at getting kangaroos, it would really upset us.

Once one of our horses wandered off along the fence line, heading back to country that was familiar to him. He probably thought, ‘This must be my country over here.’ He arrived, all hobbled up, at the miner’s camp at Kumpu Well, and they said, ‘There must be people mustering somewhere around here.’ So they brought the horse back to us, Yirrapinya (Jimmy Watson), his two sons, and his wife, my *marruku*. I was sitting on top of a hill looking after the sheep, when I saw the horse hobbling along, with some people coming behind him. I came down from the hill and told Wartayarntarna (Brumby), ‘Some people are bringing that horse back.’

marruku

A person with whom one has an avoidance relationship. As a classificatory mother-in-law, Yirrapinya’s wife was in an avoidance relationship with Minyjun.

‘Oh, right,’ he said.

I went back up the hill and watched Yirrapinya and his two sons and *marruku* approaching along the creek, bringing the horse back to the camp. We saw who it was, and talked with them and told them that everyone else was out mustering. We asked them to wait. ‘Wait for the others, they’ll be back for dinner’.

When they got back we told the overseer, ‘This old man has returned the horse’.

‘Good,’ the overseer said; he was pleased. They were given sugar, tea, tobacco, and cooked meat, and then they went back to Kumpu Well.

While I was working at Split Rock Station, it was closed down. We brought all the sheep off that station, we mustered them up and took them over to Ngulyimunya. We went back twice to muster all the sheep. Then we went back to Ngulyimunya and stayed working there.

In the winter we mustered the sheep from all the paddocks and brought them all in together close to the homestead. Shearers arrived and did the shearing. Then everyone went to the races at Marble Bar, and I stayed there instead of returning to Ngulyimunya.

Marntiyarralu wurrarnijipulu Crow-lupa Kanyjamarramili japartulu, 'yankuluminyila kuwarri kangkuliny nganyjurringi mirtalu Split Rock-karti.' Yija palangarra ruka kanyanganinyi Coongan Pijukarti. Palanga murtuka wararrjirni ruutungu. Nganarna katukanayirni pala wanikinyi ngapangarra lirri. Wariny yana kajarna palanga, purtamarna ngapa lirrija yinyala warinyja palajalu yinyala warinyja, palajun. Wariny wangka murtukanga wararrkarrikinyi, yinganyikinyili ngapa kanka kajanikinyi *drum*-ngu jurtinikinyi ngapa *drum* palajun.

Karrpu ngalpanya partijirri yanayirni *windmill*-kartijakun. Palanga mirtalu murtuka wararrjirni, nganarna katukanayirni. Crow yana mangan-mangan walangkarra, munu yirrinama *wire*, ngakamarna palalu *wire*-lu kulpanya parnpirni. Pungkanya ngarlukanka, nganarnalu jukumarnayirni, 'nganija nyuntu?'

'Parnpirninyala piinyjilu', wurrarnanganaku. Munu yirrinama piinyji. Palaku *windmill*-ku ngaju miranu, piinyjijartiny pala *windmill*. Munu wurranamarnala, katukarna ngapaku maninyaku paliny palaji yana mangan-mangan.

Palanga mayi nganayirni *supper*. Palaja *supper*-ja yanayirni, warrukarti *now*. Wirlarranga wirlarra kanka. Murtuka pala *light*-majirri palapali mirtalu tukulu jipanikinyi murtuka. Munu watayanama. Yanayirni Wijununyanga, milpanyiyrnijanaku. Palanga wanikinyiyrni warrkamu Wijununyanga *tin*-karra ngarnipinikinyiyrni. Palanga marrngu kurrngal warrkamjarrikinyi. Kakarrakurti warnkumarramarra, karakurti parlkarra. Wanikinyiyrni pijungu, warrkam yanikinyiyrni marntungu, kulpanyiyrni ruka.

Yarti milpanya Mirta mayijartiny. Palanga wurrarnanganaku Mirtalu, 'yankulunyurru Jarlirrananykarti.' Yijarti yanayirni Jarlirrananykarti. Jarlirranany partijirri kaniny Nyukarangapa Mampurljaringi. Wupartu piju waninyi, parlkarra murrurlungu waninyi *well*-maya. Yalinyu warnku yana milyajirni, kurni warnku yana milyajirni, ngurra partijirri kaniny wanikinyinganaka. Mijimiji ngarnipinikinyiyrni, *Pudding* nganayirni.



In Marble Bar *marntiyarra*, who were **Kanyjamarra's father** and Crow, said, 'We're heading off today, Mirta's taking us to the Split Rock Mine'. We were taken by Mirta that afternoon, and we pulled up on the side of the road at the Coongan Crossing, where there was a soak. One of us sat beside the soak scooping up the water, and passing it on to someone else, who handed it to another, and so on in that way. The person by the truck handed the water up to someone on the back, who poured the water into the drum. In that way we filled the drum.

We went on and as the sun went down Mirta pulled up at a windmill and we got down. Crow raced ahead of us and, not seeing the wire of the fence surrounding the windmill, ran headlong into it. He was flung back onto the ground. He fell on his back and we laughed. 'What happened to you?'

'I got thrown by the fence', he replied. He hadn't seen it. I knew that windmill, and knew there was a fence around it. I hadn't told him, he'd just got down and had gone at full speed to get water.

We ate there and went on through the night. There was a full moon. The car had no headlights, but Mirta, driving carefully, managed to stay on the road. We came to Wijununya and joined everyone there. A lot of people were working there. There were hills up to the east of that place and a flat plain to the west. We camped in the creek bed, and went out to work yandying for tin, setting out each morning and returning in the evening.

Later when Mirta came back with food he said, 'You should all go to Jarlirrany now, the Western Shaw Mine'. And so we shifted to Jarlirrany. Located between Hillside Station and Mampurljari (Woodstock Station), Jarlirrany has a creek and there was a windmill there on top of a rise. The hills there come in from the north and from the south, and we camped between them. We mined gold, and had Christmas there.¹⁷

marntiyarra

People in adjacent generations in the speaker's patriline. These were a classificatory father and son: Yakalya, Crow (Panaka) and Kanyjamarra's father, Bill Marney (Milangka).

Kanyjamarra's father

Bill Marney.



Country near Jarlirrany, the Western Shaw Mine, photograph by Anne Scrimgeour.

Kuwarriyakun yirrirnirni kujungurru

1951-jartiny, partunu pala. Mirta milpanya ngurranga nganarnaku, ‘kulpulunyurru Marble Bar-karti’. Nganarna yanayirni Ngarukarti *hospital*-karti, ngaju kurlka wurrku. Yija yanayirni, nganarna jinirninganinyi partijirri ruutungu, mimanikinyiyirnalulu *mail*-ku, *mailman*-ku. Jinta kanyajaninyi Split Rock-karti, pala karakurnu wanikinyiyi warrkamu. Ngajumili pipi japartu yanayi Marble Bar, Marble Bar-nga kurilakurnu Five Mile-ja wanikinyiyi. Mamajijirri palanga warrkamu mijimijikarra.

Mail truck-ju ngakamarnanganinyi kanyanganinyi yakarnanganinya Kapunngarlanyanga. Nyungu ngakamarnanganinyi nganarna, yanayirni Wajinamartaji jinirninganinyi. Wurrarnanganaku, ‘mimaliji, ruka mankulumarnanyurrinyi.’ Pala *mailman* yana Wajinakarti, Kangan, Yandeyarra. Ruka kulpanya ngakamarnanganinyi. Yanayirni Ngaru, ruka milpanyiyirna Ngaruku. Pipurrungarra yinyanganinya *medicine*, yanayirni Two Mile-karti ngurranga waninyiyirni. Yarlipala kulpanyiyirni, *medicine* yarrana yinyanganinya. Wurrarnanganaku ‘marntungu *train* yankuliny Marble Bar, palanga karntulunyurru.’ Yu karramarnayirnalulu.

Kujupurrulu wurrarniji, ‘yankuli jurtijilamarnangu kujungurru.’ Yijarti ngalaya yanalay. Paliny walangkarranguja pujamu ngajuku. Warajanga yanikinyalayi, kanganyikinyinyi partany ngaju.

Karntinyalayi niyamarrinyi. *Bough shed* palanga wanikinyi murrurlungu. Wurrarniji, ‘milyakaniny yarra.’ Yijarti ngaju milyakaniny yanarna, palakartijakun *bough shed*-karti. Wurrarniji, ‘parrjala yalinyja.’ Karralu kala yuwapirni. Yalinyja nyungu yirrirnirni warrukurlajartu. Ngajulu wurrarnarna, ‘wurntakapan.’ Nyungu kujungurrurti munumpajalurla yirrirnirni kuwarriyakun.

Kulpanyalayi ngurrakarti Two Mile-karti yanalay. Kartakarrinyiyirni palanga, ngaju marrapa. Kartakarrinyiyirni karrpumajirringi turlpanyarna ngurriny *roll’m-up*-jinakanu yanarna mimanikinyirna *siding train*-ku. Nyungu jana kartakarrikinyiyingarrany. Ngajulu pipurrupakan, yanku yartiyiji *eight o’clock*. Yirrirnirnijaninyi marrngu palarrangu milpanyiyi. *Train* yija karangu milpanya ngakamarnanganinyi. Yanayirni Marble Bar.

My first view of the sea

It was now 1951, and Mirta arrived at our camp, saying ‘You should all go to Marble Bar’. Some of us were going to the hospital in Ngaru (Port Hedland); I had a sore ear. We were dropped off on the way to Marble Bar and we waited for the mail truck. Mirta took some others to the Split Rock mine and they lived there working in the south. My parents went to Marble Bar and were living in the Five Mile Camp south of the town, where my two older brothers were mining for gold.

The mail truck picked us up, and left us at Kapunngarlanya (Turner River). The driver came back and picked us up later, and dropped us off at a place near Wodgina. He told us, ‘Wait for me, I’ll pick you all up this evening’. He then went on to Wodgina, Kangan Station, and Yandeyarra. In the late afternoon he came back and picked us up and in the evening we arrived in Ngaru. The doctor gave us medicine straight away, and we went and stayed at the Two Mile camp. Early the next day we went back and were given more medicine. The doctor told us, ‘Tomorrow there’s a train going to Marble Bar, and you can catch that’. We told him we would.

Kujupurra (Cranky Iti) said me, ‘Come with me and I’ll show you the sea.’ And so I went with him. He was my classificatory sister’s son, but he was older than me. We used to go around together; he looked after me when I was a child.

We climbed up a sandhill. There was a bough shed there on top. He said, ‘Lower your eyes’, and so I went along with my head down, Kujupurra leading me, until we got to the bough shed. He said, ‘Look north,’ and I did so. I looked up and was astonished. There to the north I saw a dark blue expanse, and I said, ‘It’s like burnt ground’. It was the first time I’d seen the sea.

We went back and slept at the Two Mile. But I was homesick. I got up early before daybreak and rolled up my swag, and went to wait for the train at the siding while the others were still asleep. I thought the train was going to leave really early, but it wasn’t going until eight o’clock. I didn’t want to miss the train, and was anxious to get back to Marble Bar. I saw everyone else arrive, and then the train came in from the west and picked us all up, and we went to Marble Bar.



Kujupurra (Cranky),
photograph courtesy Tindale
Collection R356, South
Australian Museum.

Chapter 3:

Mining times, 1950–55


Out of the strike there developed an Aboriginal movement with a clear ideology of independence and resistance, and Minyjun remained a member of a community for which the 1946 strike remained a central motif. The community, indeed, regarded itself as being permanently on strike. As late as 1992 a member of the community said,

‘Nyungu now strike yaninya kawarni. From that time now we bin fighting, and we bin battling too.’

[The strike is still going on, from that time until now we’ve been fighting, and we’ve been battling, too.]¹⁸

During the 1950s, with Mirta (Don McLeod) playing a principal advisory role, the group maintained its independence through a number of economic ventures, most notably mining, including the mining of tin, gold, columbite, beryl, scheelite, copper, wolfram, and manganese. In the hot and harsh conditions of the various mining fields across the eastern Pilbara, Minyjun and other marrngu men and women used picks and shovels to extract minerals now being mined in the region by multinational companies. Employing a technique traditionally used to separate grass seed from the stalk, marrngu would separate the mineral from the dross in corrugated iron versions of the traditional wooden yandy. Camping close to drinking water, they often had to walk some distance to the ore bodies each day, carrying water and young children. As different mining areas proved more or less productive, and the demand for and price of various minerals rose and fell, the work gangs shifted from field to field, either on foot or on the back of one of the trucks owned by the group, which were also used to deliver food supplies to the working gangs, and to carry out the ore.

In 1951 and 1952, the mining operations of the group were highly successful, and the number of people in the group grew to over six hundred. Profits made by its company, Northern Development and Mining, were used to purchase some abandoned sheep and cattle stations. One of these, Yandeyarra, became a base for the group’s operations, and a site for the establishment of a hospital and home for old people. As part of this project Minyjun’s brother Dick worked there constructing rammed-earth buildings.



Education was always a high priority for the group, and whenever possible some form of schooling was provided for the children. With the acquisition of Yandeyarra, the community hoped to establish a more permanent school. While parents continued working in mining areas throughout the Pilbara, children lived at Yandeyarra and attended a school conducted by a walypila couple, Kathy and Max Brown. A group of teenage boys, including nineteen-year-old Minyjun, also shifted to Yandeyarra for schooling.¹⁹

Kathy and Max Brown were two of a number of walypila who, impressed and inspired by the group's independence and ideology, shifted to Yandeyarra from other parts of Australia at that time to be involved in the movement.²⁰ However, the financial collapse of the group in the middle years of the decade resulted in the loss of Yandeyarra and the other stations, the return of some families to the stations, and the temporary fragmentation of the group. Those who remained with the group experienced a period of severe hardship they call the starvation time. After a failed attempt by the Department of Native Welfare to replace Mirta in managing its affairs, the group formed a new company, Pindan.



Excavating a mine with a wheelbarrow, photograph by John Wilson.

Warrkamjinikinyirni mijimiji Five Mile-ja

Marble Bar-nga wurrarniji, 'nyuntumili pipipa japartu mamaji waninyayi pala Five Mile-ja.' Yijarti nganarna yanayirni jinangu Five Mile milpanyayirnijanaku. Warrkamjinikinyirni mijimiji karrpurrangu karrpu palanga.

Palanga wanikinyirni pala karlikinyirni *tunnel*. Jungka wirrinikinyirni *shovel'm*-jinakanu, warinyju purrinikinyi mirtilu pala *wheelbarrow* jujinikinyi jungkajartiny kankakurnu. Pala martuja jungkajartiny *wheelbarrow* mirtilu purrina kawanikinyi kankakurnu. Jungka pala jutinikinyi kulpanyikinyipulu *wheelbarrow*-jartiny kaninykurnu. Jukurti-jukurtilu palajunngarra *wheelbarrow* pala kanganyikinyipulu kankakurnu mirtilu. Jungkajartiny parnpinikinyipulu.

Parlkarra Maya *bloke*-ju muwarr ngakarna *policeman*-ku, yija milpanyapulu *policeman*-jirri karrpumajirringi. Wararrjirnipulu murtuka katukarnapulu jilamanjartinyjirri. Munu ngurnungu janyja turlpama. Warinyju ngajumililu mamajilu purrpimarnapulinyi kalungarnarrajirri. Ngajulu jitinikinyirni mamaji ngajumili, 'turlpa, turlpa; *policeman*-jirri milpanyapulu.' Yija turlpanya mana yukurru yampungu kalkunikinyi. Wariny yanalu kalungarnarralu wurrarnili, 'jilili palama yukurru, jutumujilamarna.'

'Munu, nyungu ngalypakata yukurru, kuyiku pajinakata.' Jinirni yukurru, *shoot'm*-jirni. Palanga palinyju warlirni pala kalungarnarra marrjalu. 'Marshall!' kayimanikinyalu, 'Marshall!' mitulu. Yijakapan wurranaku, yijalu jinirni. Yanalu kakarrakurnu warinyku

karlungarnarraku purntumarnaku, pala rajilamujinikinyipularninyi kalungarnarralupa marrngulu. Kalungarnarra kajanikinyili kankarni marrngungu. Wariny marrngu turlpanya kartaja partu-partu mirtiawalu wirlarna taki, yirra pungkanya jungkanga. Warinyju kalungarnarralu wirlarna pala marrngu jarlpanyuku pijirringi. Jintalu nyungu kalungarnarra wariny wirlanikinyi, mirti milpanyikinyi jana ngurrajarrangu, palanga wirlarniyipulinyi. Kanyajaninyi jinmurntu Marble Bar-karti. Muwarrja waninyi janalungarrany marrngulu *win'm*-jirniyi.

Mining gold at the Five Mile

At Marble Bar I was told, ‘Your parents and older brothers are all at the Five Mile’. So we walked to the Five Mile and joined everyone there. And we worked for gold there for some time.

While we were there we dug a tunnel. We dug out the dirt with shovels and wheeled it out in a wheelbarrow, one man pulling the wheelbarrow full of dirt to the top of the hole while another pushed. One of them would haul the wheelbarrow out of the hole, empty it, and they’d both take it back down. They’d take it back and forth in that way, from the bottom to the top, tipping the dirt outside.

While we were living at Five Mile, Freddy Mallett, the owner of Parlkarra (Limestone Station), sent for the police, who arrived at the camp before daybreak to shoot our dogs. Their car pulled up and two policemen got out with guns. The sun had not yet risen. My oldest brother, Jacob, walked towards them. I woke my other brother, Dick, saying ‘Get up, get up, there are policemen here.’ Dick woke up, and put his arms around one of his dogs. One of the policeman approached him saying, ‘Let go of that dog, I’m going to shoot it’.

‘Don’t’, my brother said. ‘This is a really good dog, a good hunter!’ He let the dog go, and the policemen shot it. Then Dick grabbed the policeman in a tackle, and held him down. The policeman tried to bluff him into letting go by calling for the police constable, who wasn’t actually at the Five Mile that morning. ‘Marshall!’ he cried, ‘Marshall!’ Dick released him, and he went to the aid of the other policeman who had been wrestling with my brother Jacob, and was now sitting on top of him. Another *marrngu*, Partanya, woke up and charged at the policeman on top of Jacob, striking him on the back of the neck and causing his false teeth to fly out of his mouth. The other policeman bashed him on the forehead with the butt of his gun. Everyone else was fighting with the other policeman, they’d come running in from the other camps to join in the fight. Some of the men were taken to the lockup in Marble Bar, but they put their case and won.²¹



Minyjun’s older brother, Jacob, photograph by Patsy Adam Smith.



Minyjun at the Five Mile gold mine, 2010, photograph by Anne Scrimgeour.

Kurlira

Palanga punja waninyiyirni jana milpanyiyi Marble Bar-karti *train*-ja. Jinta yanaya kakarra Blue Bar-karti, nganarna Marble Bar-nga kurulakurnu wanikinyiyirni warrkamu mijimijikarra. Palangulu warrkamujinikinyiyirni palaja yanayirni yalinyja Kurlirakarti warrkamujinikinyiyirni *wolfram*. Palangulu punja waninyiyirni kirimijipa nganayirni. Pijungu wanikinyiyirni ngurranga, yanikinyiyirni marntungu warrkamkarti. *Bore'm*-jinikinyiyirni warnku *compressor*-jartinyju, *dynamite*-jartinyju wirranikinyiyirni. Palaja malyanikinyiyirni *hammer*-jartinyju warnku *wolfram*-jartiny, wirranikinyiyirni kurtanyja. *Truck* milpanyikinyi mayijartiny, wiyijinikinyinganaka marrngulu, pala warnku kanganyikinyijaninyi Marble Bar-karti. Palanga Marble Bar-nga malyarn-malyanikinyiyi warnku kurtanyja wirranikinyiyi, *truck*-lu kanganyikinyi Ngarukarti.

Pudding nganikinyiyirni nganarnalu. Mujungu parnpinikinyili yirtinykarra jurrtipinikinya ngalparrajarrinyi, ruwanya pintilpinikinyi wirrlurulu puru tungkurkanyanganaku kankarni. Yarti jupanya ngapa jurruypirtingi, mangkurtu pijuja kankajarrikinyi. Nganarnalu mirtilu manikinyiyirnijaninyi nganirn-nganirn. Jinta kanganyikinyijaninyi mangkurtulu, karnujartinyapa yapurl yanganikinyiyirnijaninyi. Kanganyikinyi mangkurtulu mirtijarrinyakanu manikinyiyirnijaninyi palajun.

Yurranga ngapa jupanyikinyi, jijimarranga wirtu ngapa wanikinyi. Partunupa jupanyajalu yanikinyiyirni warinykarti ngapakarti pala kaninyijirrikarti. Ngurra wariny palarla wanikinyinganaka; yijamarta, pala ngapa punja wanikinyi, yurrangapa munu jupama. Nganarna warrkamu wanikinyiyirni ruutukarra. Ngapamajirrijarrinyi pala ngurra jupanya, yanayirni pala yalinyjakurnu ngurrajirniyirni. Palangulu nganarnalu ruutujinikinyiyirni *windmill*-karti kurulakurnu. Mirrarnputu yanikinyiyirni rukajakun kulpanyikinyiyirni ngurrakarti. Nganarnalu ngulyulu mata manikinyiyirni ngurra warinyja kurtanja winya, kampanikinyiyirni yawungu. Wirrparranga japurlpa pika kanganyikinyiyirni mayipa palajun yanikinyiyirni warrkamu karrpurangu karrpu. Yartikarra munu parrjarnaya matak; jina kartapirniyanganinyi jukurti-jukurtija yaninya. Jana kurllajarrinyiya: 'ngurnungurrangulu ngulyulu ngurnipali maninyayi.' Palanga warrukarti *meeting* waninyayi, warntamarnayinganinya ngulyuja maninyaja, jamanga palajun.

Kurliranga nganarna wanikinyiyirni warrkamu palanga mayimajirrijarrinyiyirni. Palanga ngalaya marntiyarra ngakarniyingalayinyi jinangu. Ngalaya marntiyarra warrinyijirri. Ngalaya wanikinyalayi partanyirri Moolyella-nga, witi-witikarrikinyalayi. Palaja yana yalinyja paliny Moola Bulla-karti, kulpanya marrngujarrinyi paliny, ngaju partany.

Rurlapa yanalayi Marble Bar-karti marntungu kurila mayikarti. Ruka milpanyalaya Marble Bay-ku, palanga kartakarrinyalayi marntungujarrinyi. Wurrarniyi ngalayiku, 'pajikilja yankulunyumpulu; kujarra pajikiljirri mayipa nyungungu kangkulunyumpulu.' Palanga waninyalayi tina nganalayi mayi, rukajarrinyi warrijirringi yanalayi pajikiljartinyjirri. Ruka kakarra palanga mirtijarrinyalayi Moolyella-nga, milpanyalayijanaku palanga wanikinyiyi marrngu. Palanga muwarr muwarrpirniyirni palaja ngalaya warrpujirnalaya yalinyja mirtijarrinyalayi. Jalkujalkunya kurulakurnu karrpu ngalpanyangalayiku, warrukartijarrinyi. Wirrarrangamirtijarrikinyalayi, karakurnu mirtijarrinyalayi jampangarra ngurranga milpanyalayijanaku warrukarti. Jana wanikinyiyi parrirl kurrnganikinyiyi, palanga milpanyalaya ngurranga. Ngalaya wakala pajikiljirri manyurlajirnipulungalayinyi, kalpartijirri pa purtuly. Palanga kartakarrinyalayi marntungujarrinyi. Jana yanayi warrkamu, ngalaya waninyalayi ngatu ngurranga. Wurrarniyingalayiku, 'wantapulu nyumpala warrkamumajirri.' Palanga kurtirra wanikinyalayi ngurranga, palanga pajikilja.

At Kurlira

We stayed at the Five Mile for a long time. Some people arrived at Marble Bar in the train and some of them went east to Blue Bar, but we stayed to the south of Marble Bar mining gold. After working there we went north to Kurlira, the Eight Mile mining area. We mined wolfram there for some time and had Christmas there. We lived in a camp in the creek, and set out from there to work each morning. We used a compressor to bore into the rocks, and blasted them apart with dynamite. We then used hammers to break up the rocks containing wolfram, and put them into bags. When the truck arrived with food and the driver had unloaded it, he'd take the rocks to Marble Bar where they'd be crushed and put into more bags. A truck then took them to Ngaru (Port Hedland).

We had Christmas there. Big dark rain clouds were building up all around, spreading out around the sky. Then they burst, lightning flashed and the rain came pouring down. Later at sunset it stopped, but the water in the creek was coming up. We ran down to get all our things. The flood swept some of it away, but we managed to gather up our oranges and apples. We got to them before the floodwaters came pouring down.

Before the wet season the waterhole at Kurlira would dry up, but it would fill up with all the wet season rain. In the winter when the water dried up we'd move to another pool further down the river which was always there for us, a permanent pool which never dried up. We were working on a road; when our camp ran out of water we went a bit further north and made another camp there, and made a road from there south to the windmill. We'd go out all day and not get back home until the evening. Some of us used to steal potatoes from the other camp. We'd fill up a bag with them and cook them in the ashes. We used to put shovels, picks, food and everything in a wheelbarrow, and go out to work every day. Later on, however, when they couldn't find any potatoes, they saw our tracks coming and going and knew it was us. They said, 'That mob over there must have pinched them all'. They had a meeting that night, and told us all off for stealing; and we couldn't argue.

Once when we were living and working at Kurlira we ran out of food, and Rurla (Fred Bradman) and I were sent off on foot for supplies. We were young men in the *marntiyarra* relationship. We'd been children together at Moolyella, and had played together there. Later he'd gone north to Moola Bulla, and when he'd come back he'd been through the Law, whereas I had not.

We set out in the morning walking south to Marble Bar to get food. We got there in the evening, and slept there. We were told, 'You can ride back. Take the food back on these two bicycles'. We had dinner there and in the cool of the late afternoon set off on the bikes. We rode east to Moolyella, where Rurla's sister and brother-in-law were. We stopped and had a yarn with them, and then we set off riding north. We were south of the Talga River (Jalkujalkunya), when the sun went down, and night fell. We rode on westward by the light of the moon, riding hard, and got back to the others in the dark. They were still up talking when we arrived. We were both really weary from riding the bikes, our legs were tired and aching. So we slept, and the next morning when everyone went to work, we stayed home. They told us, 'Have a break today', so we stayed home and rested from our ride.

marntiyarra

Minyjun refers to himself and Rurla together as *marntiyarra*, being a classificatory father and son.

Karlaya jutumujirnirni

Ngurraputu kanyanyiyi kuyikarti kurlumarninyju Jalkujalkunyakarti. Palanga ngurra paljurniyirna, ngaju ruka yarrkal yanarna kartapirni jina jukurti-jukurti karlaya lirringi. Ngapa jupanyajalu kulpanyarna kartakarrinyirni. Ngaju turlpanyarna marntungu yanarna kanka murrurlungu kajanikinyirni. Wangkajalu pulanyjalu kartakarrinyirni jampangarra parrilyarrinyirni yirrinnirnipulinyi wararrpalaji lirringi. Munu muwarrpinamapulu. Ngapaku parrjarn-parrjarna warinyju kajarna lirringi. Rirralu jungka parnpinikinya. Ngaju karramarnarna, 'Yakunju, yakunju janpamajirringi rirralu jungka parnpininya lirrija.' Palanga jutumujirnirni, wariny martarra yirru mirtijirni pijirri wirtungarra karupinikinyi. Yana kaku munungarra kulpanyarna kuyimajirri ngurrakarti. Kangkurujakun nganayirni, marntungujarrinyi kulpanyirni ngurrakarti.

Yarrkal yanayirni marrkajirri kanyarnapulinyi ngajumilijirri yanayirni yalinyja. Ngajulu yirrinnirni karlaya kujarra wurtajirri kanganyikinyipulinyi. Palanga jutumujirnirni mirtijarrinyakanu pungkanya. Nganarnalu maninya kanyayirni kulpanyirni partijirri yirrinniyirni janinyi japartupa pipijirri nganarnamili yajanikinyiinganinyi nyirrinnilu. Janalu yirrinniyiinganinyi warntarangarra karlayajartiny. Rakaraka ngaju, munumpa karlayaku jutumujirnirni, kangkurujakun jutumjinikinyirni janinyi. Palajun jana palangulungarra kulpanyiyi, partijirri kamparniyirni murla kanyayirni janaku ngurrakarti.

Marntungu kanyanyiyi kuyikarti, yukurrulu pajirni kangkuru. Ngajumili japartulu mana pala kangkuru, kanya mirrarnkarti, yakarnapulinyi pipijirri palanga. Ngaju yanarna kara, munu kuyimajirri kulpanyarna palakarti. Kamparniyi kangkuru jitinakanu nganikinyiyi. Milpanyarnajanaku, yinyanyiya pala kuyi, nganarna. Wurrarnarnajanaku, 'nyungu yaninyarni kurilakurnu, kartakarralumarna mirrarnja.' Yanarna palakarti mirrarnkarti kartamaninyju jilamanja *bullet* manarna, jarntijirni jungkanga kartakarrikinyirni.

Karangu karlayarrangu milpanyikinyiyi, murrurlungu yaninya kawanikinyiyi warrulykarra. Japartumurninyju yirrinninyi kartaja, karramarna ngurnipali paliny, 'ngani nyungu waninyi? Yankulumarnalu parrjalamarnalu wangkangulu.'

Katukarna murrurluja pijukarti, yanaji ngajukarti. Jukurti-jukurtulu parrjarna, kulpanyikinyinyi wangkayiji ngajumartaji, yarrana kulpanyikinyi ngurnarrikurnu. Yarti karramarnarna ngaju, 'pa, marrngulupa wirlalinyiyili karripilju.' Kulpanya ngurnarrikurnu, wirlkijarrinyi mangan yana ngajukarti. Parrirljarrinyirni ngaju, pinakarrinyirni jakarr-jakarrkarraja. Wangkajarrinyi jampa, turlpanyarna kajanapalaji. Karlayalu ngalyi ngartarnarninyi jungkangajakun purta wiyurrkarramarnalu ngajumartaji wangkayiji. Katurli ngajungu purta ngajinakaji. Nyarrupirni ngaju, manarna jilaman nyarrungkarralu purlpinyin nyungu kajajarrinyi mirtijarrinyi.

I kill my first emu

Once my family took me out from Kurlira on an overnight hunting trip to Jalkujalkunya on the Talga Talga River. We made camp. I went out walking in the evening and I found sets of emu tracks coming and going all around a soak. There was only a small amount of water left. I went back and went to sleep. In the morning I set out again and waited on top of a rise. I lay down when two emus came near, and got ready when I saw them by the soak. They weren't making any noise. One was looking round for water while the other was sitting by the soak, digging in the dirt with its beak. I said to myself, so that's how they do it when there's no water, they dig in the dirt around the soak. Then I shot one of them, it was wounded but ran off vomiting lots of blood. So I had to go back without any meat. All we had to eat was kangaroo, and the next morning we returned home.

But it was while we were at Kurlira that I shot my first emu. One day when I was out walking to the north with my two younger brothers, I saw an emu leading along its two chicks. I shot it; it ran and then dropped. We were carrying it back when we met our father and mothers who'd been following behind us. They saw us with the emu and I felt really proud of having shot it, as I'd only got kangaroos before that. They turned back with us and we cooked it on the way, and took the cooked meat home.

One morning I was taken hunting, and the dogs killed a kangaroo. My father took it to the shade where we'd left my mothers. I'd gone off to the west, but returned without any meat. They cooked the kangaroo, took it out of the fire, and ate it. When I got back they gave me some, and when I'd eaten I said, 'I'm just going over here to the south to have a sleep in the shade'. I went over and before going to sleep I took the bullets out of the gun and stood it up in the ground.

Some emus came along from the west, walking along the banks of the river where the grass was green. An old man emu saw me asleep, and must have said to himself, 'what have we got here? I'll go over and have a closer look'.

He came down the bank into the creek and over to where I was lying. He went back and forth looking at me, coming up close to where I lying, and then going back again. After a while I thought, 'Oh dear, maybe this is a featherfoot man coming to kill me'. The emu went back. It had gone off some distance when it turned around and came running back towards me. I woke up, and heard footsteps. When it got close I sat up. The emu turned around quickly, and did a big shit on the ground, only just missing me. He almost did it right on top of me. I laughed. I grabbed the gun, but couldn't stop laughing, and by that time the emu was already a long way off.

Yanayirni Pilykunkurakarti

Kurliranga milpanya murtuka ruka. Wurrarniyirnijanaku, ‘kuwarri yankulupiyirni nganarna Pilykunkurakarti nyungungu murtukanga. Jipi wantayi.’ Palanga nganarnalu wurru wirriniyirnijaninyi murtukanga, yanayirni Marble Bar-karti. Warrukarti nganarna yanayirni *picture*-karti. Kulpanyiyirni wurrarnapulunganaku pipilujirri, ‘wurrkujarrinyi japartu nyurramili, kanyayi *hospital*-karti.’ Palanga wanikinyiyirni mimanikinyiyirnalalu ngalypajarrinyaku *hospital*-ja.

Ruka ngalaya yanalai malyurta partijirri yirrinralayi yalinyu milpanyikinyi. Palanga wurrarnangalayaku, ‘jipi yakarnanyurrinya japartulu nyurramililu.’ Ngalaya ngangkurljirnalayi kulpanyalai ngurrakarti ngangkurlangkarra. Pipilu ngalayamililu pinakarrinyingalayinyi ngangkurlaja, karramarna paliny, ‘ngurnipali jipi, yakarnanganinyi.’ Palangangarra ngajumili mamaji wariny wanikinyi, palanga kulurnuyirnarinyi ngangkurljipirniyirnarinyi.

Yartikala Pilyamajayimililu nyamulu yimpinikinyingalayaku, ‘yanarna ngaju nyungu kakarrakurnu kuyikarti jilamanjartiny ruka. Yirrinirni warrkinikinyi ngapa partijirri kaniny warnkumarramarranga. Pala wanikinyi puripi purnarra warli.’ Palajun wurrarnangalayaku, ngalaya kurlkajarrinyalai, ngurnipali ngalimili japartu nyarra walyimarnalipa, jurrujarrinyi palajun. Wurrarnalayili; ‘yija ngurnipali paliny,’ karramarna.

Waninyiyirni Marble Bar-nga ngalpajina wirriniyirni. Palanga pipi wariny yakarniyirna, nganarnamililu pipilu kanyanganinyi. Pipi warinyju wurrarnanganaku, ‘yarti milpulumarna nyirrin.’ Yirrinirni Guitar-man, japirmarnayirna, ‘kangkulumannanganinyi Ngarukarti?’ ‘Yu,’ karramarna. Pala marrngu *truck driver, transport motor-car* jipanikinyi. Japirmarnanganinya, ‘kanganyanyurru jilaman?’ ‘Munu,’ wurrarniyirni. Wurrarnanganaku palinyju minngalaminjaninyi kangkuru ruutungu. Yija, yanayirni. Kanyanganinyi warrukarti yijalungarra. Minngana kawarniyirnijaninyi kangkururrangu, wirrinikinyiyirnijaninyi nyirrin *truck*. Yanayirni Pangkaparanga nganayirni *supper*. *Supper*-ja yanayirni kara Twelve Mile-karti milpanyiyirnijanaku warrukarti. Twelve Mile waninyi Ngarungu kakarrakurnu, marrngumili ngurra piju martaji. Yinyayirnijaninya kuyi, jinta yanayi walangkarrangupukun Twelve Mile-ja wanikinyi.

Tractor partal jujinikinyiya munu ngurntirrijarrima. Palajun wurrarniyinganaku nganarnalu jujirniyirna pala *tractor* kaninykurnu. Munu ngurntirrijarrima. Jujinikinyiyirni kankarrakurnu kanka murrurlungu. Kaninykurnu jujinikinyiyirni, munu ngurntirrijarrima. Jukurti-jukurtilu kaninykurnu kankakurnu. Jintalu purrinikinyiyi *rope*-jartinyju mirtilu, nyirrinilu jujinikinyiyirna nganarnalu mirtawalupa piririlu nyirrinilu. Yija ngurntirrijarrinyi palanga *roll’m up*-jirniyirna ngurriny. Nyampalu wirriniyirnijaninyi *trailer*-nga nganarna karntinyiyirni. Yanayirni kurila ngurrangajarrinyiyirni Marl原因yuranga. *Trailer* yinyjipirni kanya murrurlukarti palanga wararrjirni kulpanya. Palanga nganayirni supper, kartakarrinyiyirni. Marntungujarrinyi yanayirna palaku *tractor*-ku, karntinyili *tractor*, jujirniyirna mirtilu kaninykurnu, munu ngurntirrijarrima. Kulpanya jujirniyirni kankakurnu murrurlungu. Palanga yarrana jujirniyirna kaninykurnu, karrpu ngurnungu kankajarrikinyi, ngurntirrijarrinyi. Yanayirni ruka, milpanyiyirna Pilykunkuraku.

The move to Pilykunkura and the death of my father

One afternoon when a vehicle arrived at Kurlira we told everyone that we'd catch a lift to Pilykunkura. We loaded up all our swags and gear went as far as Marble Bar that day, and that evening went to the pictures. When we got back to the camp at Marble Bar, our two mothers said to us, 'Your father has got sick, and has been taken to hospital'. So we stayed there at Marble Bar waiting for him to get better.

One afternoon when **Malyurta** and I were out walking we saw someone approaching from the north. He told us, 'Your father has left you'. We wept, and came back home in mourning. Our mother heard us keening and thought: He must have died, he must have left us. My other older brother, Jacob, was living there at that time, and we met up with him and we mourned together.

Some years later Pilyamajayi's **nyamu** told us, 'One afternoon when I was out hunting with a rifle to the east of here, I saw water flowing along among the hills. That place used to be just a dry ditch'. When he said that we thought, 'That must be our father, whom we have lost, turned into a snake'. We told him, and he said, 'Yes, it probably is him'.

We didn't go on to Pilykunkura until after the funeral. We left **our second mother** and now just our own mother looked after us. Our other mother told us, 'I'll come along later'. We saw **Guitar Man** and asked him for a lift to Ngaru (Port Hedland). He was a truck driver who drove a transport truck, and he asked us 'Have you got a gun?' When we said we didn't he told us we would knock down kangaroos on the road. So we went off with him, and sure enough as he drove through the night he ran down kangaroos and we'd put them on the back of the truck. We had supper at Pangkapara on the Shaw River and then went on west during the night arriving at the Twelve Mile, a *marrngu* camp by a river, to the east of Ngaru. We gave the meat to the people who'd gone ahead of us and were there already.

They were trying to get a tractor to start by pushing it, but it wouldn't start. They told us to push it downhill, but it still wouldn't start. So we pushed it back up the hill. We pushed it back down but couldn't get it started. Backwards and forwards, up and down we went. Some people pulled it with a rope, while we pushed it, men and women together. At last it started, and we rolled up our swags. Quickly we threw them all into the trailer, and jumped on. We went south and arrived at the camp at Malinyjura, a small creek south-west of Pippingarra. We took the trailer off, and took the tractor up to the top of the hill and left it up there. In the morning we pushed it down the hill, but it didn't start. We pushed it back up and pushed it down again. The sun rose higher, and it started. We went on in the afternoon, driving all afternoon until we arrived at Pilykunkura.

Malyurta

Minyjun's brother Dick.

nyamu

Grandfather or grandson; mother's father or daughter's son.

our second mother

This was Lily Hardcase, their father's second wife, and the mother of Karlene, Gilbert, Rindy and Jack.

Guitar Man

Mick Basildene.



Warrkamjarrikinyirni *mining* nyarralanga warrarnjirri

Nganarna warrkamjarrikinyirni *mining* nyarralanga warrarnjirri. Warinya jupanyikinyi *mineral*, warinykarti yanikinyiyirni palajun partunurrangu partunu. *Truck*-lu kanganyikinyinganaka wurrupa ngurriny, martumpirri, jinta marrngu mirtanya-mirtanya, marntarn-marntarn marntikatawayi. Nganarna jinta wariny marntiurrangu yanikinyiyirni jinangu.

Palanga jana yakarniyirnijaninya Pilykunkuranga. Jinta warrkamujarrikinyiyi Tarrki Kirikingi, Kurlikurlingi, Putituwungu, Wijununyanga, Warrkalkuranga. Palaja milpanyiyi Yandeyarra-karti

putrin nganayirni. Pilykunkuranga palanga warrkamjinikinyiyirni kulumpayiti. Palanga waninyiyirni punja partunurrangu partunu. Jinangu kanyjinikinyiyirna minurulku, kaja yanikinyiyirni ngurraputu wiyikurrangu wiyiki. Yarti kulpanyikinyiyirni palakarti ngurrakarti Pilykunkurakarti. Jinta warrkamujarrinyiyi palanga ngatu.

Warrkamujarrinyiyirni palanga yanikinyiyirni kurilakurnu Warrkalkurakarti. Yapinikinyiyirni kulumpayitapa parrarl manikinyiyirni. Roy Hill-ja marrngurrangu kanyajaninyi Marble Bar-karti kangkujilu ngajumililu. Kayimarnajaninyi marrngurrangu ngajumililu kangkujilu, 'yankulumanyalu Mirtaku muwarr ngakarnanganyjurraku kuwarri yankuluminyi Yartikinkarti.' Ngakarniyijaninyi Split Rock-karti pala karakurnu wanikinyiyi Yartikinja. Jinta Kulirrpanga wanikinyiyi marrngu warrkam *tin*-karra. Palangulu yanayi walangkarrangumarta Pilykunkurakarti. Jinta marrngu wanikinyiyi Purlupanga, palaja jinangu milpanyi kakarni Pilykunkurakarti. Wikurrangu wiki yanayi punja, jijimarra yanikinyiyi ngapalupa ngulyana kawanikinyijaninyi. Blue Bar-ja milpanyiyi Pilykunkurakarti. Pilykunkurangapa Bore-ngu wanikinyiyirni warrkam.

Palaja yanayirni kurilakurnu Wijununyakarti, palanga wanikinyiyirni warrkam. Nganarna yanayirni pala kankajirri warrkamjarrikinyirni, jinta wanikinyiyi Wijununyangangarra. *Load'm* mayi milpanya, Middle Camp-ja partijirri yakarnajaninya mayi. Palanga wanikinyiyi marrngu. Jartuntarralu kalkunikinyipulujaninyi jinta marrngu. Wurrarniyijanaku martumpirri yakarna Middle Camp-ja, palaja marntungu karrpumajirringi turlpanya wurrarniyili, 'yarrajanaku, marrajaninyi marrngu jinta.' Yija paliny yana Razorblade milpanyanganaku muwarrjartiny. Wurrarnanganaku mayi yakarna Middle Camp-ja. Yija nganarna yanayirni palakarti Wijununyakarti. Jinta yanayi walangkarrangumarta, nganarna marirra-marirra Panakapa Karimarra Pinnacle-karti nganarna yanayirni. Marirra yanapulu walangkarramarta wanikinyipulu nganarna jinta marirra-marirra milpanyiyirnipuluku. Nganarna wiyirr kartakarrinyiyirni palanga.

Palanga *tea* jinipulunganaka yakarnapulunganaka wikanga wangka. Yanapulu karrpumajirringi walangkarra. Ngaju turlpanyarna kartaja jitirnirnijaninyi, 'turlpaya, yanapulu marirra, *tea* nyungu yakarnapula.' Ngajulu jitirnirnijaninyi kartaja. Minpirniyirni *tea*-jakun martumpirrimajirri. Yanayirni yakujarnikarti, pijungu pinakarrinyiyirni narngulaku malyanikinyipula, *tarr tarr*-karra. Nganarna pipurru yanayirni milpanyiyirnipuluku. Yirrinipulunganinyi palanga martumpirri kamparnapulunganaka nyampalu, *fry'm*-jirnipulu martuwaranga winya. Nganarnalu nganayirni wiyirr martuwaraja *tin of meat*-pukun.



Mining at Gorge Creek, photographs by John Wilson.

Moving around the work camps

And so we worked at mining in mineral fields across the Eastern Pilbara. Year after year, as places we were working ran out of minerals, we'd head off to another place to work. All our belongings, blankets and food, would be carried by truck, as well as those who were old or unable to walk far. The rest of us who could walk travelled on foot.

Some people worked at Pilykunkura. Other groups were working at Turkey Creek, Kurlikurli to the north of Turkey Creek, Forty-Two (Wijununya), and Warrkalkura (Mt Francisco). At Pilykunkura we mined columbite, and we stayed there for several years. We'd work away from the base camp, walking long distances prospecting for minerals. We'd camp out for the whole week, every week, and then return to the base camp at Pilykunkura, where other people were working.

After working there we went south to Warrkalkura, where we yandied for columbite and dug up beryl. Other people were living at Blue Bar. All the *marrngu* from Roy Hill Station were taken to Marble Bar by my *kangkuji*, Daisy Bindi.²² She called to everyone, 'Let's go and see Mirta. He's sent word to us that we're to go to Hartigan's Mine.' They were sent to the Split Rock Mine, and they lived there on the west side at Hartigan's. Other people lived at Kulirra, between Pijangarrangu and Hillside, mining tin. From there they went on ahead to Pilykunkura.

At one time the people living at Blue Bar walked all the way to Pilykunkura from the east. It was in the wet season and it took them a long time, as they were walking through pouring rain. They arrived at Pilykunkura from Blue Bar, and we lived and worked there and at **the Bore**.

Later when we went south to Wijununya we went and worked upstream, while others stayed and worked at Wijununya itself. The loading truck came and left all the food at the Middle Camp where other people were living. The *jartuntarra* who were camp bosses had told them to leave the food there. In the morning before the sun rose, Razorblade (Tommy Marney) got up and was told to come and pick us up, and so he came to us with the message. He told us they'd left the food at the Middle Camp, and so we went back to Wijununya. Others had already gone on from there, and we *marirra-marirra*, Panaka and Karimarra, headed off to the Pinnacle after them. We met up with two *marirra* who had gone on ahead of us, and camped with them.

Those two *marirra* made tea for us, and went on ahead before sunrise, leaving us sleeping by the fire. I rose and woke up the others, 'Get up, our two *marirra* have gone on, and they've left some tea here.' We drank the tea, but had nothing to eat. As we were coming along this side of Chinnamon Creek, we heard the sound of someone on the other side chopping out honey, *tarr*, *tarr*. We headed over to find them. When they saw us they quickly made a damper for us. They fried up a big dish of it, and we ate up everything in the dish as well as a tin of meat.



Daisy Bindi, 1953, photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R514, South Australian Museum.

kangkuji
Older sister.

the Bore
A mining area near Pilkunykura, also called the Bore Hole.

jartuntarra
The Milangka referred to is Dougal Cornish, and Purungu, Kuli's father.

Palajun wurranaku muwarr kurlkapilijarrinyirna

Palajalu jinta marrngu milpa-milpanyiyi, wurrarniyinganaku ‘yankulunyurru Bore-karti, Pilykunkurakarti, Kurlikurlikarti, Forty-Two-karti.’ Nganarna wanikinyiirni warrkam Bore-ngu. Pulanyju wurrarnijipulu, ‘yakun wirrinalumanjaninyi warrkamuja mirlimirlingi *tin* palajun.’ Wurrarnijipulu ngajungu ‘nyumpala yaninyalunyumpulu ngurrarrangukarti wirrinalunyumpulu mirlimirlingi warrkamuja.’ Ngalaya yanikinyalayi karrpurangu karrpu mirlimirljartiny ngurrarrangukarti. Ngaju munumpa wanikinyirni, mirtalu wurrarniji Matapangulu karrpurangu Wajantayim, Yayintayim, *Wednesday*, Jaaji, Rapu, Jatiti, *Week-i. Calendar*-pa jurtijirni, wurrarniji nyungu *January, February, all the months* miranujirninya. ‘Palajun wirrinaluman mirlimirlingi,’ *time*-pa wurrarniji; *date*-kupa wurrarniji. Warrkamuja ruka milpanyikinyiyi, nganarnalu wirrinikinyiirni pala mirlimirlingi janamili warrkamuja *minerals* wirrinikinyiirni. Pala *mineral* kurlparrpinikinyiirni ngapanga, yarlkajinikinyiirni purnarrajarrikinyi yapinikinyiirni. *Clean*-pala jinikinyiirni *fruit tin*-ja wirrinikinyiirni kurtanyja. *Count’m*-jinikinyiirni *twelve fruit*-kartijakun pala *one bag*. Jurtinikinyiirni *drum*-ngu, palajun.

Ngalaya ruka yanalayi marirra Putungajapa partijirri *boring plant*-jartiny wanikinyiyi walypila. Wurrarnala murtaka kurluny-kurlunyjartiny. Palinyju mana *screwdriver*, pala *screwdriver* wirriirni *engine*-ja. Kurlka wirriirnarinyi pinakarrinyi pala kurluny-kurlunyjarrinyaja wurrarnala palinyju yarnimarna ngalypa. Yarrana pinakarrinyaja wurrarnala ngalypa. Yirriirna mirarniji mirlimirli *comic* kalkunikinyiirni parirra. ‘Wanyja palama? Karna mirlimirli.’ Parrjarna palinyju wurrarniji, ‘nyungu yini Lash LaRue.’ Wurrarniji *sounds*, ngajulu jukamarnarna; witikapan wurrarnarna. Palinyju wurrarniji, ‘yija pala, palajunjungarra *pronounce the sounds*.’ Pala Walypila *wartime* wanikinyi Ngulyimunya. Ngawujarrinyi pala *mechanic* Ngulyimunya. Pala nyarra wurrarniji *sounds*: p, t, *all that*. Ngaju karramarna ngurnipali nyungulu wurrarninya yija: palajunju wurranaku muwarr kurlkapilijarrinyirna, walangkarrangupukun wurrarniji Five Mile-ja Harvey Tilbrook-ju palajun. Milpanyanganaku walypila Harvey Tilbrook, wilpiyarla pala kurrnganikinyinganaku. Ngajulu manarna jangumili *tin* parrjanikinyiirni. Palalu yirriirnininyi Walypilalu parirra kalkunikinyiirni, palinyju wurrarniji, ‘*tin*-ja nyungu muwarr waninyi.’ Yakun karramanaku *sound* wunyjurrulu wurranaku. Ngajulu jukamarnarna pala wurranaja. Palinyju wurrarniji, ‘yija pala yakun karramanaku *sound*’. Wurrarniji palajun, muwarr wurrarni.

How I learnt to read

Later people came and told everyone to shift to the Bore, to Pilykunkura, to Kurlikurli, and to Forty-Two. We worked at the Bore. Matapangu (Sam Mitchell) and Razorblade said to me, ‘You need to keep a record of how much tin everyone gets.’ Matapangu told Razorblade and me, ‘You two go around all the different camps and record the work on paper.’ Each day we’d go around the camps with our papers. There were many things I didn’t know, but *mirta* Matapangu taught me the days of the week: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday Saturday, Sunday.²³ He showed me a calendar, and showed me January, February and so on, and taught me all the months. ‘Write it down on paper like this.’ He told me about the time and about dates as well. When everyone came in from work in the evening, we’d record the amount of mineral they’d got during the day. We washed the mineral in water, spread it out to dry, and then we yandied it. When it was clean we put it in fruit tins and poured it into bags. We counted twelve fruit tins to one bag. We poured them into a drum, and that was that.

One evening we two *marirra*, Putungaja (Ernie Mitchell) and I, came across a couple of *walypila* with a boring plant. Putungaja told them there was a problem with his car, and one of the men took a screwdriver, and put it to the engine. Putting his ear to the screwdriver, he listened to the rough sound of the engine, and told him he’d fix it up. After he worked on the engine, he listened to it again and said it was OK. He noticed the comic I was holding in my hand. ‘What’s that? Give me that book.’ He looked at it and said to me, ‘This is Lash LaRue.’²⁴ When he told me the sounds made by the letters, I laughed. I thought he just fooling. But he said to me, ‘No, that’s right. This is how you pronounce the sounds.’ That *walypila* was at Ngulyimunya (Corunna Downs), during the war. He went crazy at Ngulyimunya [as a result of the war]. That man taught me the sounds, ‘p’, ‘t’, all that. And I thought that maybe he was telling me the truth. This is how I learnt to read, just as, earlier, Harvey Tilbrook had told me at the Five Mile. Harvey Tilbrook was a *walypila* from Native Welfare, and he came to talk to us there. I was looking at a tin of tobacco in my hand. That *walypila* saw me holding it, and said to me, ‘There’s words on that tin.’ He sounded out the letters the way they were pronounced, and I laughed at him doing that. He told me, ‘They’re the sounds the letters make.’ That’s how he told me about writing.



Matapangu (Sam Mitchell), photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R514, South Australian Museum.



The senior boys' class at Yandeyarra, Minyjun at centre back, photograph by Max Brown.

Yandeyarra

Nganarna wanikinyiyirni Kurliranga. Mirtalu mananganaka *station*-rrangu Purungunya, Riverdale, Yandeyarra. Blue Bar-nga wanikinyiyingarrany marrngu. Jinta yanayi marrngu Purungunyakarti; jinta yanayi Riverdale-karti, jinta wariny *mining* warrkamjarrikinyiyingarrany. Kangkushot yana Yandeyarra-karti, palanga wanikinyi maaaja. Palanga warrkamjarrinyiyirni Pilykunkuranga, Kangkushot milpanya marrkan, kayimarna mamaji ngajumili ngajupukun, karntinyalayi kanyangalayinyi Yandeyarra. *Carpenter* paliny, mayarrangu yarnimanikinyijaninyi, karrpurangu karrpu. Kujarra kalkunikinyipulinyi warrkam marntiyarra walypilalu, Dick and Jeannie Yaparla's *daddy*.

1953-ngi nganarna yanayirni Yandeyarrakarti kurlja wanikinyiyirni. Nyungu wanikinyiyirni kurlja Yandeyarranga marntungu, wanikinyiyirni mirlimirlikarra yarntanikinyiyirni. Ruka Mirtalu Ngarnkalu kalkunikinyinganinyi miranujinikinyinganinya wunyjurrulu mayi jinaku kartinmayanga. Palanga jampangarra waninyiyirni, walypila kuljarrinyiyi. Palanga jampajirniyirna kurl, kapamanju munu mirrjunamanganaku palinyju. Ngurnipali panyju paliny nganarnaku kapaman. Jirniyirnaranga kurl nganarnalu. Palanga palaja *meeting* waninyiyirni palanga walypilarrangu ngakarniyirnijaninyi.

Muwarrpirniyirni palanga, yimpirniyirna muwarr. Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku, 'miralapiyinganyjurrinya nyunguku mayaku.' Mirtalu wupartu yinyajaninya warnku *government* palaku *station*-ku Yandeyarraku. Munu yingamajaninya wirtu, punja mimarnaya warnkuku. Palangamarra miranamiyinganinya *station*-kupa nganiwarrarlptirtiku palajun. Palarrangu walypilarrangu ngakarniyirnijaninyi, yanayi. Miralapiyinganinya nganiwarrarlptirtiku.

Welfare-lu Harvey Tilbrook-ju kanganyikinyijanaka martumpirri partanykarranguku, yakarnajanaka Yandeyarranga. Partanykarrangu wanikinyiyi pala kurulakurnu Elephant Pool. Ngalayalu Mangkikatalu kanyalayijanaku partanykarrangu martumpirri warrukartilu.

Palanga wani-waninyiyirni Yandeyarranga, Kangkushot-ju jinta marrngu kanyajaninyi Mampurlunyakarti. Nganarna wanikinyiyirni Yandeyarranga. Ngajumili mamaji wanikinyi Yandeyarranga. Bore-ngulu muwarr ngakarnayalu Kangkushot-ku *meeting*-ku. Ngaju yanarna Yandeyarraja muwarrjartiny yirrirnirnalulu Kangkushot-ku, wurrarnarnala, 'muwarr ngakarniyingu, yankuluman Bore-karti,' ngaju kulpanyarna Yandeyarrakarti. Paliny yija yana jarlinga Bore-karti. Palanga muwurr-muwarrpirniyi wurrarniyili miralapiyinganyjurrinya, nganiwarrarlptirtiku. Paliny kulpanya Mampurlunyakarti. Bore-ja milpanya *truck* Yandeyarrakarti, mananganinyi. Ngajumili mamaji wanikinyi Yandeyarra-nga. Nganarnajakun manayinganinyi, yanayirni Bore-karti; Bore-ngu yijamarta mayi kalkunikinyiyi. Jintalu marrngulu kanyayijaninyi yawartapa *donkey*, *camel*, Bore-karti. Kangkushot milpanya palakarti Mampurlunyaja. Palaja yanayirni Green Tank, palanga wanikinyiyirni puru, warrkam-majirri. Palarrangu kalkunikinyiyirnijaninyi yawartapa *donkey*, *camel*, kukujarri miranangamarra. Bore-ngu kukujinikinyiyijaninyi murtukarrangu miranangamarra. Palaja nganarnalu kanyayirnijaninyi kajamarta Kunangarnarranyakarti. Palanga ngurra yartajirniyirna kukujarri; janalu *truck* wiyimarnayi yakarnaya kukujarri.

Yandeyarra

When we were living at Kurlira, Mirta bought some stations for us, Purungunya (Meentheena Station), Riverdale, and Yandeyarra. People were living at Blue Bar, and some of them moved on to Purungunya, and some to Riverdale, while others kept on with the mining. Kangkushot (Peter Coppin) moved to Yandeyarra, and was in charge of things there. He arrived at Pilykunkura when we were working there, and picked people up. He sang out to my older brother Dick to come. I went along too. We got on board the truck and he took us to Yandeyarra. Dick was a carpenter, and built houses for some time; *marntiyarra* and Jeannie Yaparla's father were working with a *walypila* there.

In 1953 we went to school at Yandeyarra. We had literacy classes each morning, and in the afternoon Ngarnka McLeod took us and taught us how to grow vegetables. We hadn't been there long when the *walypila* authorities became antagonistic to us. We'd started a school but the government wouldn't support us. Apparently the government didn't like us; but we went ahead and made a school anyway.

We had a meeting there to discuss the situation. Mirta told us 'This station is going to be taken from us.' He'd paid the government only part of the money for Yandeyarra. He hadn't given them the full amount, and they had to wait for the rest. That was the reason they were going to take the station from us, and everything else as well. We sent all the *walypila* away, and they left. Everything was going to be taken from us.

Harvey Tilbrook, a Native Welfare Officer, brought food for the children and left it at Yandeyarra. The children were living south of there at Elephant Pool, and so that night Mangkata (Jack Horace) and I took the food out to them.²⁵

While we were at Yandeyarra Kangkushot took some people prospecting at Mampurlunya.²⁶ We were at Yandeyarra with my *mamaji*, when a message came from the Bore that Kangkushot was needed for a meeting. I rode from Yandeyarra with the message, found Kangkushot, and told him, 'There's a message for you; you have to go to the Bore.' Then I returned to Yandeyarra, and he rode to the Bore. There they talked about how everything was going to be taken from us.²⁷ He returned to Mampurlunya, and a truck came from the Bore to Yandeyarra to pick everybody up. My *mamaji* stayed at Yandeyarra, but the rest of us were taken to the Bore. They stored all the food there and other people took all the horses, donkeys and camels there, and Kangkushot went there from Mampurlunya. Then we went to Green Tank, and we just lived there without working. We took all the horses, donkeys and camels and hid them so that they wouldn't be taken away from us. The vehicles from the Bore were hidden to prevent them being taken away. And then we took them further out to Kunangarnarranya, on the East Turner River near Woodstock, and made a camp there out of sight. They took the truck and hid it away.

marntiyarra

A Panaka–Milangka pair, Dick and Paddy Yaparla were a classificatory father and son.



Minyjun, aged 19, photograph
courtesy Tindale Collection R563,
South Australian Museum.

Nganarna palanga *columbite* warrkamjinikinyirni. Milpanyiyi Walypila Kunangarnarranyakarti. Kalkunikinyiyi *plant*, ngajumili mamajipa marirra warrkamjarrikinyipulu *boring plant*-jartiny. *Grade'm*-jirniyi *road* Bore-kartipa Pilykunkurakarti. Palaja *truck*-jartinyju manikinyiyi jungka, kanganyikinyiyi palakartijakun Kunangarnarranyakartijakun. *Truck*-lu jungka jurtinikinyi. *Truck*-rrangulu jungka manikinyiyi Bore-japa Pilykunkuraja kanganyikinyiyi Kunangarnarranyakarti. Jurtirna wirrinikinyiyi kulpanyikinyiyi. Marrngu Pilykunkurajapa Bore-ja karntikinyiyi murtukanga, kanganyikinyijaninyi Kunangarnarranyakarti katukanikinyiyi. Warrukartijarrikinyi ngapanga mimanikinyiyirnijanaku kangkuruku *shoot'm*-jinikinyiyirnijaninyi ngapakartija. Marntungujarrinyi karntikinyiyi marrngu kuyijartiny *truck*-nga yanikinyiyi Bore-karti; *truck*-lu jinikinyijaninyi kuyijartiny Bore-ngupa Pilykunkuranga. Jinyji-jinyji karntikinyiyi *truck*-nga palajun.

Palanga warinyju walypilalu wurrarnanganaku, 'maya yarnimalkulunyurru ngajumili.' Nganarna yu karramarnayirnal, ngajupa Taliwan punarri, Jalilimili japartu. Yija yarnimarnayirnal ngalya. Yirrirni yija, wurrarna ngalya. Palinyju japirrarnangananya, 'warnku yungkulumarnanyurrinya?' 'Munu,' wurrarniyirnil, 'mayi yungkulumannganinya.' Yija yinyanganinya mayi.

Walypilarrangu yanayi *pudding*-karti Karrkarrakarti. Wurrarnanganaku mayaku kalkunaku, yija jana yanayi punja waninyiyi Karrkarranga. Nganarnalu *pudding* nganayirni, milpanya ngapa wirtu *cyclone*. Nganarna ngapangamarra wanikinyiyirni kalikingi *Indian*-milikapan mayanga. Pala kaliki tungkurrkanya, nganarna mirtijirniyirni ngalpanyiyirni maya warinyja. Mangkurtu warrkirni kankajirri.

Yandeyarranga warrkirni mangkurtu wangka mayanga katu kangama. *Pudding*-kartija Walypilarrangu kulpanyiyi warrkamkarti. Pala mamaji ngajumili warrkamjinakanu yana Bore-karti. Ngaju wanikinyirni Kunangarnarranyanga 1955-nga, *closed*-jarrinyi pala *mine*, ngalaya mamajipa yanalayi Marble Bar-karti.



Travelling around by truck,
photograph by Max Brown.

We were working at Kunangarnarranya mining for columbite when some *walypila* arrived with a drilling plant, and my *mamaji* and *marirra* started working for them on the drill. The *walypila* graded the road all the way to the Bore and to Pilykunkura. They loaded dirt onto trucks and tipped it out at Kunangarnarranya where there was a plant to extract the columbite. They took dirt from Pilykunkura and the Bore to Kunangarnarranya, tipped it out, and went back to get more. Some *marrngu* would come to Kunangarnarranya, getting on the truck at Pilykunkura and the Bore and getting off at Kunangarnarranya. When night fell we'd wait for kangaroos to come in to drink at the waterhole, and shoot them on their way back. In the morning the people from Pilykunkura and the Bore would get back on the truck with the meat and go back; the truck would drop them off there. They'd go back and forth by truck.

One of the *walypila* at Kunangarnarranya asked us, 'Could you build me a house?' and we agreed to do so, **Taliwan's father**, **Jalili's father** and me. And we built him a good house. When he saw it, he said, 'That's great', and asked us, 'Shall I pay you in cash?' 'No,' we told him, 'we'd rather you gave us food'. So that's what he did.

Taliwan's father
Les Ankie.

Jalili's father
Paddy Yaparla.

When all the *walypila* went to Perth for Christmas, they told us to look after the house, as they would be away for some time. After Christmas there was a big cyclone. To keep out of the rain we stayed in an Indian-style tent, and when it blew down we had to run into another house. The floodwaters rose and came rushing down the creek.

At Yandeyarra the floodwaters came up to the houses and nearly washed them away. After Christmas the *walypila* came back to work. My *mamaji* finished working there and went to the Bore whereas I lived at Kunangarnarranya during 1955, until the mine there was closed down and Dick and I went to Marble Bar.

Yanalayi pajikiljartiny yirrina kulpanyaku ngalayamiliku kakajiku

Marble Bar-nga yinyangalayiku pajikiljirri, ngalayamililu jaluwalju yinyangalayiku pajikiljirri. Yija ngalaya yanalayi ruka kurila. Rukajarrikinyi mujungu karangu kankajarrikinyi. Ngalaya pajikiljartinyjirri mirtijirnikinyalayi warrukartijarrinyi partijirri. Ngapa nyungu pungkanyikinyi yilyily. Karntikinyalayi murrurlungu kankakurnu wurrarniji, 'nyuntu palaji yarra walangkarra, mimalapijin martungu.' Paliny jurrurrukarra mirtijirni kaninykurnu, wirlarranga kanka wanikinyi. Palajun yanikinyalayi, murrurlungu karntikinyalayi, katukanikinyalayi. Partijirri Split Rock *turn-off* kaliki parnpirnalaya kanka mungkanga, kartakarrinyalayi ngalypa punarra. Marntungu turlpanyalaya karrpumajirringi mirtijirnalayi Pijangarrangukartijakun. Wurrarnangalayiku Karrartirtilu nyungu waninyayi karakurnu. Yija ngalaya yanalayi palakartijakun ngurrakarti. Palanga ngalayamili kakaji wanikinyi. Marrngu junta wanikinyiyi Lalla Rookh Mine-ja. Palarrangulu piju yajarniyi kankakurnu mujarrijarrinyiyi Lalla Rookh Mine-ja. Yirrirnalayijaninyi palanga wanikinyiyi. Palanga ngajulu kanganyikinyirni partany paliny wupartu pajikilja, kanganyikinyirni jarlingi kulpanyikinyalayi ngurrakarti. Palanga jampangarra wani-waninyalayi, japirrmarnalayi ngalayamili kakaji, 'kulpulupalayi marntungu.'

'Ngalypa' yu karramarna kaka pala ngalayamili, 'ngalypa.' Wurrarnangalayaku, 'ngalypa yirrirninyumpulu, ngaany ngalypajarrinyirni.' Yakupa kangkuji ngalayamili palanga wanikinyipulu.

Yija marntungujarrinyi, yija yanalayi kakarra mirtijirnalayi pajikiljartinyjirri. Murrurlungu wararrkarrinyalayi. Nyirrirni parrjarnalayi kurlurlu yirrirnalayi *truck* milpanyi. Ngalayalu warlirnalayi *truck* pala. Japirrmarnalaya, 'karntulupalayi?'

Palinyju wurrarnangalayiku, 'yu, wunyurru nyumpala, karntulunyumpulu *or* yankulunyumpulu pajikiljartiny.'

Ngalayalu karntijirnalayipulinyi pajikiljirri, ngalayapukun karntinyalayi. Palanga yanayirni Marble Bar-nga yakujarnikarti, wurrarnalayili, 'murtuka wararrjili,' katukarnalayi. Kakarra mirtijirnalayi jampangarra ngurrakartijakun; milpanyalayijanaku marrngu wanikinyiyi palanga. Palanga wurrarnangalayiku Eddie Black-ju, 'yankulumarna Ngarukarti ruka.'

'Yu,' karramarnalayalu, 'ngalayapukun kangkulumanngalayinyi.' Palanga mimarnalayalu, warrukartijarrinya kawanikinyi, munu milpama. Mirtumarnangalayinya, palangangarra kartakarrinyalayi. Jampa pirrpajarrinyi yanamalayi ngurrakarti, pinakarrinyalayi ngurntirri pala *truck*, karramarnalayi ngalaya, 'ngurnipali nyarra *truck*, kanyangalinyipa.' Ngalaya mirti kulpanyalayi ruutukarti, mimarnalayalu. Karrpumajirringi yana wararrjirni *town-ja*, jampangarra pinakarrinyalayi nyarra ngurntirri, yirrirnalayi yijangarra nyarra kanyangalinyipa. Palanga wararrjirnalayi karntinyalayi. Jampangarra yanayirni Yukurlukurlunya martaji, murtuka kurlujarrinyi, palanga yarni-yarnimarna ngurntirrijarrinyi ngalypa. Palangulu yanayirni pipurru munu wararrkarrinyaku partijirripana yanayirni Ngarukartijakun katukarnalayi. Palanga wani-waninyalayi yanalayi Bore-karti.

We visit family on bicycles

At Marble Bar our *jaluwal* gave Dick and me a couple of bicycles, and one afternoon we set off riding to the south. As evening came on clouds built up in the west. We sped along on our bikes, and night fell as we travelled along. It started to spit with rain. We rode up a hill, and at the top Dick said, ‘You go first, and wait for me at the bottom’, then he raced down after me. There was a full moon. That’s how we went along; we rode up the hills and sped down, as our bikes didn’t have brakes. At the Split Rock turn-off we put a canvas up over a branch, and went to sleep nice and dry. In the morning we were up before sunrise and went on to Pijangarrangu, on the upper reaches of the Shaw River. Karatiti told us, ‘Everyone is just over here in the west’. And so we went on and arrived at the camp. Our uncle, or *kakaji*, was there, and other people were living there who had run away from the Lalla Rookh Mine. We saw them there where they were living. I took a **little kid** for a ride on the bike, and brought him back. We stayed there just a short time, and we said to my *kakaji*, ‘We might head on back in the morning’.

‘OK’, our uncle agreed, ‘that’s fine. It’s good that you came to see me. I’m really happy about that’. Our *yaku* and *kangkuji* were living there.

So in the morning we set off riding our bikes to the east. We stopped on top of a hill. We looked back and saw a cloud of dust and a truck coming along. We stopped it and asked, ‘Can we get a lift?’

‘Please yourself’, he said. ‘You can step it out, or chuck your bikes on the back’.

We put our bikes up on the truck, and climbed on. When we got to just this side of Marble Bar we said to him, ‘Pull up here’, and we got off. We rode off to the east, and soon we got to the camp and met everyone there. Then Eddie Black told us, ‘I’m going to Ngaru (Port Hedland), this afternoon’.

‘OK’, we told him, ‘we’d like you to take us too’. So we waited for him at the State Battery until it got dark, but he didn’t come. He’d let us down, and so we camped there. When the sun rose and we were heading off back to the camp, we heard the sound of a truck’s engine. We said, ‘Maybe that’s the truck that brought us here’. We raced back to the road, and waited for it. The truck had come and stopped in town before sunrise, and we heard the sound of its engine. And we saw that it was indeed the truck that had brought us. We waved him down, and climbed on. Approaching the Yukurlukurlunya Creek, we started having engine trouble and he worked on it there until it was sounding good again. From there we continued on, not stopping at all on the way until we got to Ngaru, where we got off. We stayed there and then we went on to the Bore.

jaluwal

A person of the section from which one’s husband or wife is selected, but who is not an actual or potential partner, or the sibling of an actual or potential partner. For Minyjun, the term refers to a Karimarra woman who is too close a relation for him to marry, or a Karimarra man who is too close a relation for his sister to be a potential wife. People of this relationship are referred to as ‘joking mates’. The *jaluwal* referred to here is Swampy Albert.

a little kid

This was Gordon Yuline, a Nyiyaparli man.

yaku

Brother-in-law.

kangkuji

Older sister.



Nganakulu, 1953 , photograph
courtesy Tindale Collection R580,
South Australian Museum.

Ngurra pukutinikinyalayi Lalla Rookh Mine

Bore-ngu Putungajalu wurrarnangalayiku, 'yankulunyumpulu Lalla Rookh Mine-karti, wantulunyumpulu palanga.' Jinta marrngu walangkarrangu wanikinyiyi, mujarrijarrinyiyi kurrngal palaja. Wurrarnangalayaku, 'parrjanalunyumpulu pala *mine*, milpayilipa walypila *miners* mijimijiku maninyaku.'

Yija yanalayi ruka mujungu-mujungu. Kartakarrinyalayi partijirri. Yarnimarnalaya maya paru puntarnalayi marturnalayili partirringi mungkanga. Ngapa pungkanya kakarrara. Ngalya punarra waninyalayi. Yawarta wangkangarra wanikinyi. Turlpanyalaya marntungu, yawarta manalayi yanalayi wilywilykarranga. Ngalaya munumpajirri palaku *mine*-ku, yirrinalayi ruutu, nyungu ngurnipali ruutu palakarti *mine*-karti. Ruutu yajarnalayi rukajarrikinyi yirrinalayi yija nyungu ngurra. Palanga kartakarrinyalayi, wanikinyalayi.

Wurrarniji Pijangarrangu ngajumililu marrkalu jilaman kukujirri parungu. Marntungu kanyjirnalayi palaku jilamanku, yijalu manalayi. Partunurla wanikinyalayi palanga.

Palaja yanalayi Lalla Rookh Station-karti, majuramu wanikinyiyi, *shearing time*. Palanga wurrarningalayaku, 'marntungu mankulupiyirni warnku, yungkulupiyirninyumpulunya.' Yija yinyayingalayinya warnkupa jukurta, parrka, jangu, *bullets*. Ruka kulpanyalayi ngurrakarti ngalayamikarti. Lalla Rookh Mine-karti wanikinyalayi. Jarrirtingi yanalayi Martakurakarti; yinyayingalayinya warnkupa jangu, kulpanyalayi *mine*-karti. Wani-waninyalayi palanga *mine*-ja, yarrana yanalayi Martakurakarti, kulpanyalayi *week*-ngi ruka. Jina kartapirnalayi yawarta jampa yanalayi yirrinalayijaninyi jina *bullock*-rrangu. Yawarta jina yajarnalayi manalayi kanyalayi *mine*-karti. *Saddle'm*-jirnalayi kulpanyalayijanaku palaku *bullock*-ku jinapa parrjarnalayijaninyi. Yajarnalayijaninyi pijukartijakun.

Yartajirnalaya ngurra, wurrarnarnala, 'parrjalamarnangalika kuyiku.' Jampangarra yanarna yirrinnirnipulinyi kangkurujirri kulipatinikinyipulu. Parrjanikinyirnipulinyi kulija karlikinyipularninyi jurkanikinyipularninyi, yijalu warinyju jurrkarna mirtijirni. Parrjanikinyi rakalu, ngajulu rakaja *shoot'm*-jirni pungkanya. Manarna warntaranga kulpanyarna, yirrinninyi kuyijartiny. Palanga kamparna nganalayi.

Marntungujarrinyi jina pala yajana kawanikinyalayijaninyi, yijalu yirrinalayijaninyi kartakarrikinyiyi yarrarringi. Wurrarniji, 'mimaliji, ngaju yankulumarnajanaku.' Palanga warrkinikawarna wurrupirni mungka yajarna, warinyju ngurnipali jumparna turlpanya wararr. Mirtijirniyi, palinyju mirtija *shoot'm*-jirni. Pala *shoot'm*-ja karrkarna *drunka-drunka*. Jinta mirtijirniyi pipurru, pala karrkarnapa *drunka-drunka* wararrkarrinyi palinyju *shoot'm*-jirni pungkanya. Ngalayalu *skin'm*-jirnalayi, kuta-kutapirnalayi kurtanyja wirrinalayi, jinta kuta-kutapinakanu *salt'm*-jirnalayi. Wirrinalayi kanka karntingi kulpanyalayi ngurrakarti. Palanga kuyi nganalayi. Marntungu kanyalayijanaku Bore-karti pala kuyi, kulpanyalayi *mine*-karti. Pilykunkuraja milpanyiyi Munumijirri kanyjarri Nganakulu, mirta Minga yarruwamalingi, ruka. Yarrana kulpanyalayi kanyalayijanaku *salt meat* Bore-karti, malyurta yana Pilykunkurakarti martumpirri mana, kulpanya ruka jarlinga.

We work as caretakers at Lalla Rookh Mine

At the Bore, Putungaja (Ernie Mitchell) said to us, ‘You two go to the Lalla Rookh Mine and stay there.’ The people who’d been living there had all gone off. Putungaja said, ‘You two will have to look after that mine, in case *walypila* miners come and take the gold’.

So we set off one cloudy evening, and camped on the way. We made ourselves a little house out of the branches of a *partijirri* tree, and thatched it with spinifex. It rained all night, but we stayed nice and dry. There was a horse nearby, and in the morning we caught it and went on through the pouring rain. We didn’t know where the mine was. We saw a road and thought it could be the right one. We followed it until evening, when we saw sure enough that there was a camp there. We slept there, and that’s where we stayed.

My *marrka* had told me at Pijangarrangu that there was a gun hidden in the grass. In the morning we looked around and found it. We stayed there that winter.

We went from there to Lalla Rookh Station, where they were mustering at shearing time. There we were told, ‘We’ll get paid in the morning, and we’ll give you some money.’ And they did, and gave us sugar, tea, tobacco and bullets as well. We went back and stayed at our camp at the mine, and on Saturdays we’d go to Martakura (Lalla Rookh Station), where we’d be given money and tobacco. Once on our way back to the mine we followed the tracks of a horse, and while we were following them we saw bullock tracks. We followed the horse, caught it, and took it to the mine. We saddled it and went back to where we’d seen all the bullock tracks, and followed them as far as the river.

We made camp, and I said, ‘I’m going to have a look around for some meat for us.’ So I went out, and saw two kangaroos fighting. I watched them slashing at each other with their front paws, and kicking one another, until one of them kicked out and ran off. As the winner was watching the other one go, I shot it and it dropped. I put it over my shoulders and went back, and Dick saw me coming with the meat. We cooked and ate it.

Next morning we continued to follow the tracks until we found the bullocks sleeping in the sun. Dick said, ‘Wait here, I’ll go and get them.’ He crawled along behind the bushes, until one of the bullocks must have had an uneasy feeling, and stood up. They all ran off, but Dick shot one as it ran. It turned and staggered. The others ran straight on, but the one that had turned stood there swaying. Dick shot it again, and it fell down. We skinned it, butchered it, put some pieces in a bag, and salted the rest of it. We hung it up in a tree, went back home and had a feed of meat. In the morning we took some to the Bore, and then went back to the mine. *Yarruwamalingi* arrived from Pilykunkura in the evening, Munumijirri and his two wives, who were my *kanyjarri* Nganakulu and the old lady *Minga*. We went out again and took more salt meat out to the people at the Bore. *Malyurta* went to Pilykunkura to get flour and rode back in the evening.



Yesterday Munumijirri, 1953, photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R598, South Australian Museum.

marrka

Younger sibling: this was Rindy (Ron Hall).

Yarruwamalingi

Minyjun’s classificatory brother and his two wives, one of whom is a classificatory grandmother to Minyjun.

kanyjarri

Grandmother; father’s mother.

Minga

Minyjun’s classificatory sister, Molly Yesterday, who was the sister of Purnungurrara (Cocky Brown).

Malyurta

Minyjun’s brother Dick, a middle child in the family.

Ngarnipinikinyiyirni warrapa

Ngurnipali waninyiyi muwarrja kurrngarniyi Mirtalu ngurnipali kurntajirnijaninyi warrkamuku *mine*-ja. Wurrarniyingalayaku janalu, ‘yanayi marrngu Pilykunkuraja *buffel grass* maninyaku.’ Jinta yanayi Kakurrkakarti, *Boodarie*-karti, Pirtimarrakarti palarrangukarti yanayi. Warrukarti kuwarri kulpuliny Putungaja. Jampangarra yirrirniyirni warrukarti jurra, yija milpanya. Wurrarnangalayaku, ‘marrngu wakany nyunguja yanayi. Nyumpala milpulunyumpulu, *rac*es-karti, mirtijilipiyirla *foot race*.’ Yu karramarnalayi, ngalaya kulpanyalayi Lalla Rookh Mine-karti.

Rukalungarra wurrarnalayijanaku yarruwamalingi, ‘ngarnipiliminyi kujarra kurtany *buffel grass*.’ Palaja yanayirni rukangarra pijukarti, yijalu ngarnipirniyirni kujarra kurtanyjirri. *Buffel grass* tikirljarrinyaja purrinaku parirru, wirrinaku kurtanyja. Jungkanga pungkanyaja kurumanaku wirrinaku jartungu yapinaku. Kulpanyiyirni *mine*-karti, marntungujarrinyi yakarnalayijaninyi kanyalayipulinyi kurtanyjirri *buffel grass*-jartiny Bore-karti. Palanga kartakarrinyalayi. Wurrarnalayili Woodman-ja, ‘nyungu kulpanya kangkuluman yawarta yankuluman Lalla Rookh Mine-karti. Ngalaya yankulupalayi Ngarukarti.’

Palaja yanayirni Pirtimarrakarti, palanga warrkamjarrikinyiyirni Pirtimarranga. Yanayirni Ngarukarti *rac*es-karti. Ruka milpanya Kangkushot wurrarnanganaku, ‘Marble Bar-karti yankuluminyi *rac*es-karti,’ yija yanayirni. Yanayirni Yukurlukurlunya wanikinyiyirni. Parrjarniyirnijaninyi mirtija yawartarrangu, ngalaya ngajumili marrka yanalayi Ridley-karti. Ridley waninyi Makanykarranga warnkungu yalinyjakurti piju. Janalu walangkarrangulu ngurrajirniya murrurlungu kanka piju martaji. Palanga wanikinyiyi jinta warrkamu *buffel grass*-karra. Palanga wanikinyiyirni yanikinyiyirni mirrarnputu marntungu ngarnipinikinyiyirni *buffel grass seed*. Ruka kulpanyikinyiyirni ngurrakarti. Palajunpirli karrpurangu karrpu, *weeki*-rrangu *weeki*.

We collect buffel grass seeds

It seems that Mirta had had a meeting with everyone, and had called a stop to the mining for a while. We were told, ‘Everyone has left Pilykunkura to go and collect buffel grass seeds’. People had gone to Kakurrka on the Yule River, to Boodarie Station, and to Pirtimarra (Petermarer Creek near Port Hedland). That night, Putungaja came to the Bore; suddenly in the night we saw lights and he drove up. He told us, ‘Everyone’s gone from here. You two should come to the races, they’re going to have a sports day.’ We agreed and went back to the Lalla Rookh Mine.

We said to our *yarruwamalingi*, ‘Let’s go and collect some bags of buffel grass seeds’, and we went out to the river that afternoon and gathered two full bags. If the buffel grass was dry we could pluck it with our hands and put it straight into bags. Seeds that had fallen on the ground we gathered up in yandying dishes and winnowed. We went back to the mine and the following morning Malyurta and I left the others and rode to the Bore with the bags of seed. We asked **Woodman**, ‘Can you take this horse back to the Lalla Rookh Mine? We’re going to Ngaru’.

Then we went to Pirtimarra and worked there. We went to the races in Ngaru. One evening Kangkushot arrived at Pirtimarra and said, ‘Come to the Marble Bar races’. We went and camped at the Yukurlukurlunya Creek. After the races my *marrka* and I went to Ridley, a river on the north side of the Makarnkarra hill. The people who were there before us had made a camp on the bank of the river, and were working there gathering buffel grass. We stayed there, going out to work each morning to collect grass seed all day. We did that day after day, week after week.

Woodman

Tommy Woodman, the father of Bidy and Munda Woodman.

marrka

Younger brother or sister. This was Minyjun’s brother, Rindy.



Delvine Hale and Clevan Rogers at Ridley, 2010, photograph by Anne Scrimgeour.

Jarrkurnpangu

Wanikinyi marngu kurngal manguny pirranga. Jurla marngu kalkunikinyi; palalu marngulu jurlalu kalkunikinyijanaka panijartu. Marntungjarrikinyi pingka yanikinyi kuyikarti. Kuyi wirlikinyi kurngal, kulpanyikinyi kuyijartiny ngurrakarti. Kuyi kampanikinyijanyinyi jitinakanu nganikinyi. Pala pirri jurla kajanikinyi partijirri. Kuyi yinganyikinyiyarninya; paliny parri jirranikinyi kuyiku, karramanikinyialu, 'nyuntuwayi, palama ngurnarrikartingi.' Paliny 'ya,' karramanikinyi, 'ngajukapal yungkunyurra.' Munu pala jurla yingamaya, kuyi jaminikinyi puntaju, palinyju tukujinikinyijanaka panijartu. Palajun wurnanikinyi karrpurangu karrpu, yanikinyi pingka. Munu yingamiya, kuyi kumarrimanikinyi.

Yukurrungarra kalkunikinyi jurlalu. Yarti yanayi wakany pingka, palalu yukurrulu palinymililu jinyanikinyi jirtamarra kujarrakarti. Palalu jurlalu parjarna warrarn, palinymililu yukurrulu jinyarna jirtamarra ngalypajirri; ngalypa warrarn parjarna. Parjarna kurila, munu. Kakarra parjarna, munu. Kara parjarna, munu. Yalinya parjarna, yirriri kujungurru, wangka yirriri. Palinyju mana pala panijartu, kanya yalinyalu. Yana kujungurrukartijakun.

Nyungu kuyijartiny kulpanyikinyi ngurrakarti. Parjarnayalu palaku jurlaku, munu yirrimiyi, nyarni yana yalinya. Ngapijirri jungka marntu. Purpinyin paliny yana marntungungarra, jampa yanayi jana kuyikarti. Pala marngu kulpanyi wiyir kuyikartija, munu parjarnaya wikaku, panijartu kanya yalinyalu. Waparnulu wurnarnajanaku, 'ngajulu yajalamarna, miralamarna panijartuku.' 'Yu,' karramarnayi. Paliny yana partijirri, kulpanya kajarna mungkanga, munu wurnarnajanaku. Palajunju yajanikinyi maparnju, munu partijirri kulpanyikinyi. 'Kaku yana kaja,' wurnanikinyiarningu.

Nyungu ngalpajinikinyi panijartu kujungurrungu, kankajinikinyi wangalju karruru wanikinyi tilijarikinyi. Kurtnanikinyi jurlurr: *Jupakurnapi warlupiyi*.

Kujungurrungu ngalpajinikinyi, panijartu kankajinikinyi wangalju karruru wanikinyi tilijarikinyi. Nyungu partal wangkamanikinyi maparnju, partijirri kulpanyikinyi.

Kujarra warrinyjirri wanikinyipulu, mulyakarntirritirri tipu. Palalujirri yajarnapula wariny kanka, wariny kaniny. Yirrinipulu ngurnungu wararrarikinyi. Wurnarnapularningu, 'ngaju kaniny yankulumarna,' mulyakarntirritirri karramarnalu. 'Miralamarna panijartuku, parnpilamarnangu kanka.' 'Yu,' karramarnalu tipulu. Palinyju panijarti kaninyjirri yamarna, kankajirri palinyju kurtnanikinyi jurlurr: *Jupakurnapi warlupiyi*.

Tilijarrinyi pala panijartu, mirarna mulyakarntirritirri, kanka parnpirna mana tipulu. Pala marngumarniny kanka kanya mulyakarntirritirri jinirri, pungkanya kujungurrungu, kulalkanya warnkujarrinyi.

Pala panijartu kulpanya kanyapulu. Partijirri minyjirri paru. Yijalu yirrimiyi, 'ngurnungu wika, yijalu mirarnapula panijartuku,' karramarnayi. Jana pikalyjarrinyi: 'munujalukala mirarnawayijalu, wanka nganamiyirri kuyi.'

Pala yini warnku Jarrkurnpangu. Kuwarri waniny warnku partijirri kaniny kujungurru Kurtamparanya kakarrakurnu.

Jarrkurnpangu

In the *Manguny*, the Dreamtime, there were a lot of people living in the desert. They had with them a blind man, who was in charge of their firestick. Each morning they'd go out hunting, kill lots of game, and bring the meat back to camp. While they cooked the meat and removed it from the fire, the blind man would wait in the centre of the circle. When they shared it out, he would hold out his hand for some, but they would say to him, 'Not you, this is for the person on the other side of you'. And he'd say, 'Oh, I thought you were giving it to me'. They gave the blind man nothing; they didn't share the meat with him, although he looked after the firestick for them. This is what they would say to him day after day, after they had been out hunting. They wouldn't give him anything, and kept the meat away from him.

That old man had a dog, and one day when everyone had gone out hunting his dog licked both his eyes. Then he could see the country, the dog's licking had healed his eyes. Now he could see the country well. He looked to the south, but there was nothing. He looked to the east, but there was nothing there. He looked to the west but there was nothing there. He looked to the north and suddenly he could see the sea. He picked up the firestick and carried it north, travelling right up to the sea.

Now the others came home with their meat. They looked around for the blind man and couldn't see him, but they saw from his tracks that he'd gone north. They felt the earth where the firestick had been, and it was cold. He had left in the morning, after they'd gone hunting. Now they couldn't find any fire; he'd taken the firestick north. The wedgetail eagle said to them, 'I'll follow him, and I'll get the firestick back'. 'Good', they replied. He flew off half way to the sea, but then flew back to a tree, and didn't say anything to them. One after another all those *maparn* men went out after him, and one after another they turned back. 'He's gone too far, and he's gone for good', they told each other.

The blind man put the firestick into the sea, but when he pulled it up the wind blew on it and lit it again. And so he sang: *I want to put the fire out*.

He plunged it under the sea, but when he pulled it up the wind blew on it and ignited it again.

None of the *maparn* could get to him, and all turned back before they reached him. But there were two young men there, *mulyakarntirrintirri*, the peregrine falcon, and *tipu*, the sparrowhawk. They went out after him, one flying high, and the other flying low, and they saw him standing in the distance. And the peregrine falcon said to the other, 'I'll fly low and seize the fire-stick off him and throw it up to you'. 'Yes indeed', said the sparrow hawk. The blind man thrust the firestick under the sea, and as he pulled it up he sang: *I want to put the fire out*.

But the firestick caught alight again. The falcon seized it and threw it up, and the sparrow hawk caught it. The falcon seized that man, lifted him up, and dropped him into the sea, where he turning into a rock.

Then they brought the firestick back, setting fire to the spinifex on the way. When the others saw it they said, 'There's a fire. They have indeed retrieved the firestick'. And they were happy. 'If they hadn't got it back, we would have all had to eat our meat raw'.

The name of that rock is Jarrkurnpangu; it's there still in the middle of the sea, just to the east of Kurtamparanya, Cape Keraudren.

Chapter 4:

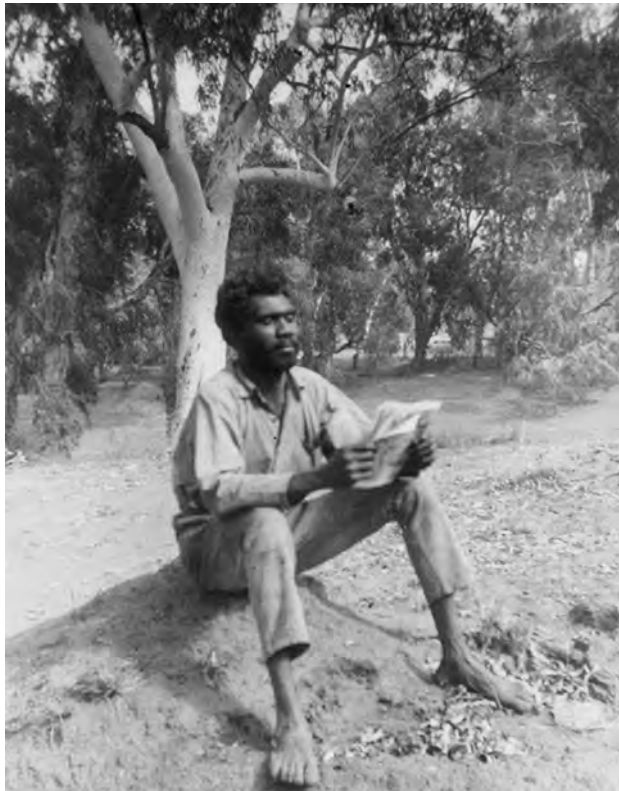
Working on the coast, 1955–59

In the mid 1950s mineral prices collapsed and the group, now working under the company name of Pindan, shifted its activities to the coast near Port Hedland, and turned its attention to gathering buffel grass and kapok seed for sale to a distributor in Sydney, hunting goats and kangaroos for their hides, and dry shelling for mother of pearl shell, which were used in the manufacture of buttons. This latter brought the group good returns but was highly seasonal, and could only be carried out during periods of greatest tide range.

During this time, the group continued to challenge the discriminatory laws of Western Australia's Native Welfare Act. A law prohibiting the movement of Aboriginal people across the twentieth parallel from north to south, which had been instituted in 1941 to prevent the spread of leprosy, had effectively prevented marrngu working on stations north of the twentieth parallel from joining the group. While working on the coast, and after receiving messages from marrngu unhappy with the wages and conditions on the coastal stations of Mintarr (Mandora) and Wallal Downs, Dooley Binbin travelled north of the line to collect workers and transport them across the line to the group's work camps. This act again brought group members up against the state's legal system.

In 1958 members of the group travelled to Perth to conduct a defamation case against the Australian Broadcasting Commission and the Commissioner for Native Affairs, SG Middleton. The ABC had reported in 1955 that the group had refused to assist police to locate a lost walypila, and reported defamatory comments allegedly made about the group by Middleton. The group's claim was partially successful, and leaders Putungaja (Ernie Mitchell) and Kangkushot (Peter Coppin) were each awarded £50 damages.

After a period of financial hardship for the group, the discovery of manganese at Murunyuka (Nimingarra) in 1958 seemed to herald better fortune. The group joined forces with a Sydney metal purchasing company, AG Sims, to form a company, called Simdan, and worked on the installation of mining equipment to exploit the resource.



Puwujapiji, 1961, photograph by John Smart.

Kujungurruja ngarnipinikinyiyirni pirrapirra

Mirta yana kanyapulinyi jartuntarra Moola Bulla-karti parrjanaku warrarnku. Kangamanganinyi palakarti parrjarna kurlujartiny warrarn. Puju ngalypakata warrarn kangamanganinyi, wanimiyyirni palanga Moola Bulla-nga.

Palanga parrjan-parrjarniyi kulpanyiyi, wurrarnapuluku jartuntarranga 'yankuluminyi kujungurrukarti pirrapirra ngarnipilaminyi.' Yu karramarnapulalu. Kulpanyiyi Ngarukarti, Mirtalu japirrmarna Wambi Ball murtukaku, yija yinyala *truck*. Yanayi pala marrngu *truck*-nga milpanyiyinganaku Ridley-nyi. Wurrarniyinganaku, 'nyungu yaninyayirni warrkamu pirrapirrakarra wantulupiyirni.' Yanayi ruka ngurra palajurnaya Jijila, warrkamjarrikinyiyi pirrapirrakarra. Ruka kujungurru kulpanyikinyiyi. Yajana kawanikinyi kujungurru kulpanyaja. Pirrapirra yanganyikinyiyi, yanganyikinyiyi kulpanyikinyiyi ngurrakarti. Kartakarrikinyiyi marntungu kulpanyikinyiya karpumajirringi yajanikinyiyi kujungurru kulpanyaja. Yanganyikinyiyi pirrapirra, kulpanyikinyiyi ngurrakarti, palajun wanikinyiyi. Wirlarra karlikarrikinyi yanganyikinyiyi pirrapirra. Wirlarra *full moon*-jarrikinyi palajun *again* yanganyikinyiyi pirrapirra. Wirlarra wakalajarrikinyi munu yanamiyi warrkamu.

Kurtirra wanikinyiyi. Nyungu nganarna wanikinyiyirni ngarnipinikinyiyirni *buffel grass seed*. *Full moon*-jarrikinyi yanikinyiyirni Jijilakarti, ngarnipinikinyiyirni pirrapirra nganarnalupukun wiyirrju. Wiyirr kulpanyikinyiyirni nganarna, palajun wanikinyiyirni. Kulpanyikinyiyirni Ridley-karti. Palangarra ngurra nganarnamili.

Ngaju yanarna Ridley-ja Jijilakarti, palanga wanikinyiyi jana pirrapirrakarra; ngaju milpanyarnajanaku. Wanikinyiyirni wiyirrngarra nganarna palanga. Walypila milpanya Jijilakarti, yanimarnanganaka *boat*-pirrayi palalu Jim Wigley-lu; pala *boat engine*-jartinypirrayi. Mirtalu miranujinikinyipulunya rampanu jipanaku *boat*-ku, yija miranujarrinyipula. Pulanyju jipanikinyipulu pala *boat* jinyji-jinyjilu ngalypa. Palaja yanayirni Pananykarrakarti. Wiyimarnapulunganinyi rampanulu, yakarnapulunganinya palanga. Wani-waninyiyirni milpanyapulu palajirri *boat*-jartiny, manapulunganinyi, kulpanyayirni Jijilakarti.

Palanga ngurlukarra wanikinyiyirni Kajarinyanga. Palangangarra pirirrijarrinyirni partanyja. Waninyirni palanga ngaju yanarna Ridley-karti.

Palaja jana yanayi warrkamu ngarnipinaku *buffel grass*-ku *windmill*-kartijakun. *Windmill*-ja jina kartapirniyaninyi jukurti-jukurti karlaya ngapakarti. Wurrarniyingalayaku rukalu, 'yankulunyumpulu kartapirniyaninyi jina karlaya jukurti-jukurti ngapakarti *windmill*-ja.' Ngalaya wanikinyalayi warajanga Puwujapijipa kuyiku wirlanakata. Jilamanmajirringi warnkulu palinyju malyanikinyi kangkuru tukulu. Ngajulu palajun malyanikinyirniyaninyi kangkuru yurlukulupa; ruwanyikinyalayianinyi. Ngalaya partanyja wirtujarrinyalayi warajanga, ngalaya tulmarrirti warajanga. Nyurramanikinyiyingalayinyi kuyimartajirri.

We work on the coast

The old man Mirta took *jartuntarra* to **Moola Bulla** to have a look at the country. Mirta was considering taking us up there, but saw that the country wasn't suitable. If the country had been better, he would have taken us, and we would have gone to live at Moola Bulla.²⁸

After they'd had a look around there, Mirta said, 'We should shift to the coast and gather pearl shells', and they agreed. They went back to Ngaru, and Mirta asked Wambi Ball for a truck, and was given one. People came on the truck to see us at Ridley, and told us they were going out to start gathering pearl shell. They set up a camp at Jijila²⁹ and gathered shells there. In the evening, as the tide was going out, they'd follow the tide out gathering shells, and then come back with the in-coming tide. The next morning they'd be up before dawn following the tide as it went out, picking up pearl shells and then returning to camp. That's how they lived. They worked at the new moon and when the moon was full. When there was a half moon they didn't work, but stayed in camp. We were collecting buffel grass seed, but when the moon was full we'd go to Jijila and all work together gathering pearl shell. Then we'd go back, that's the way we lived. We'd go back to Ridley, which was our base.

After a while I shifted from Ridley to Jijila and joined the people who were working on the pearl shells there. A *walypila* who came there, **Jim Wigley**, made us a boat which had an engine. Mirta taught *rampanu* how to handle it; they took turns at driving the boat. Then we went to Pananykarra; *rampanu* took us in the boat and dropped us off. When it was time to leave they came and picked us up and took us back to Jijila.

Then we had Law business at Kajarinya. It was there that I went through the Law. I stayed there for a while, and then went to Ridley.

One day some people collecting buffel grass at a windmill saw emu tracks coming and going around it. That evening they said to Puwujapiji and me, 'You two should get over there; there are emu tracks all around the windmill'. Puwujapiji and I always hung around together, and we were both good hunters. If he didn't have a gun he could knock down a kangaroo with a stone. I also could bring down a kangaroo with a *yurluku*, a throwing stick, and we used to get meat that way. He and I had grown up together since we were children, and were best friends. Everyone use to say that we were both good hunters.



Minyjun and his granddaughter, preparing a cooking fire, 2010, photograph by Anne Scrimgeour.

jartuntarra

These two were Sambo Pina (Milangka) and Jackson (Purungu).

Moola Bulla

A government-run settlement for Aboriginal people in the east Kimberley.

Jim Wigley

The artist, James Vandeleur Wigley.

rampanu

Two men in the relationship of uncle and nephew to one another. The two referred to here are Martin Fauntroy and Billy Aspro. Because of the work they were involved in at this time, both were called by the name 'Boat-Bloke' throughout their lives.

Nganarna karrpumajirringi turlpanyiyirna yanayirni palakarti *windmill*-karti. Yirrirniyirni mirtija karlaya partanyjartiny kujarraartiny. Munu yirrinamanganinyi, palalu karlayalu wapakarna piinyi ngurnarrikarti. Ngalaya Puwujapiji mirtijarrinyalayi *windmill*-kartijakun, mimarnalayalu *windmill*-ja. Pala karlaya wirlkijarrinyi *windmill*-karti, ngalaya kukujarri wanikinyalayi. Jampa wangkajarrinyi *shoot'm*-jirnalayi yijalu. Mirtijarrinyi pungkanya, manalayi kanyalayi nyungu warinyjirri mimanikinyipulungalayiku rampanu. Yirrirnipulu pala karlaya pungkanyaja pulanyju wika murnirnipula nyampalu pirtipa karlinyipulu warnkupa wirrirnipulu wikanga tilijirnipulu. Puntarniyirnili tarrparna. Puwujapijilu ngaany wirrkarna purriri ngarlu milikipa ngukurtukurtu. Kurrkanya wika yapan wirrirnirnila ngajulu, yawu kankarni jinirni. Mimarnirna palanga, nganayirnijaninyi palarrangu miliki ngaany ngukurtukurtu. Jitirniirni pala yawuja wurruly ngartarnapulu wirrirniyirni wurrulyja jitinakanu. Kuta-kutapirniyirni nganikinyiyirni palalju. Yarti yuwapirniyirni yalinya, kujarra milpanyikinyipulu ngapakarti. Ngalayalu parrjarnalaya munu *bullets*. Ngajulu kalkunikinyirnipulinyi kujarra *bullet*-jirri, yinyarnala waraja palinya, mirtijarrinyalayi *windmill*-karti. Paliny ngalpanya *wind*-mayanga. Ngaju ngamparl-ngamparl wanikinyirni *windmill*-jangarra. Palajirri karlayajirri milpanyikinyipulu ngapakarti pipurru winujartiny. Wurrarnarnala palinya, 'nyuntulu palaji *shoot'm*-jilaman. Walangkarrja parrjala ngakalaman. Jampa minpilkulinyipulu ngapa, *shoot'm*-jilapalipulinyi,' wurrarnarnala ngajulu. Yijalu *shoot'm*-jirnalayipulinyi pungkanyapulu. Pirti karlinyipulu rampanulu wikapa murnirnipulu ngalaya milpanyalayi warntarangkarra. Puntanakanu tarrparniyirnipulinyi yawu kankarni jirniyirni palajun. Karrpu ngurnungu kaninyjarrinya kawanikinyi jirirnipulinyi kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti. Ngalpanya karrpu partijirri, wirlarranga yaninya kawanikinyiyirni. Yirrirniyanganinyi, 'yija nyungu milpanyayi kuyijartiny,' wulkajarrinyi jana. Palanga pipurrulungarra janalu ngartarrimarnayipulinyi nganayirni.

Palanga warrkamjarrikinyiyirni ngarnipinikinyiyirni *buffel grass*, kulpanyikinyiyirni ngurrakarti palajun. Palaja nganarna wiyirr yanayirni palakarti *windmill*-karti, ngarnipinikinyiyirni *buffel grass*. Janyja nyungu kankajarrinya kawanikinyi, kayimarnayinganinyi, 'kurtaliyi *dinner*-karti,' nganikinyiyirni martumpirri.

Karrpu warinyja ruka yanayirni kara, kanyjirniyirna ngurrngurrku. Yijalu yirrirniyirni kujarrapa waraja pipimurninyju kanganyikinyijaninyi. Yirtilmarnayirna warlirniyirnijaninyi. Yanayirni karakurnu kanyjin-kanyjina ngurrngurr wirtu yirrirniyirni. Yirtilmarnayirna, paliny mirtijarrinyi ngalpanya janpanga mayampapirni ngurnarrikarti turlpanya. Nganarna karramarnayirni, 'ngurrngurr nyungu mayampakata.'

Yaninya kawanakinyiyirni janpanga rirri-rirringi, kangkuru mirtiturlpanya warrinykura wirtujina mirtijina kawanikinyi rirri-rirringi. Nyungu wariny kangkuru kartakarrikinyi warnkukarringu wirtu pala walanya. Wapakana kawanikinyi pala parlkarrakarringu karangu, ngurnipali pinakarrinyi palinyju pala parlkarrakarringu wangkajarrinyikawanikinyi. Wapakarnala kankarni pirntilja warnkukarringungu. Mirtiturlpanya kartaja kankarni pirntilja wapakarnala, kanya mirtilu pirtilja. Nganarnalu jukamanikinyiyirnipulinyi jarlingijinikinyi pala kangkuru parlkarrakarringu. Karramarna pala warnkukarringu ngurnipali, 'nyungulu wirlalaminyi kuwarri.' Mirti marrjarrinyi parnpirna ngarlukanka jinajirri kanka. Jukamanikinyiyirnipulinyi nganarnalu. Palanga mirtiturlpanya warrinykuramarniny mirtijarrinyi.

So before daybreak he and I were up and off to the windmill. We saw an emu running along with two chicks. They didn't see us, and the emu jumped over to the other side of the fence. Puwujapiji and I ran straight to the windmill and waited there. That emu turned back towards the windmill, where we were hiding. As soon as it came close, we shot it. It ran off and then dropped. We picked it up and carried it back to where **rampanu** were waiting for us. When they saw the emu we'd killed they quickly gathered up some firewood, dug a hole, put rocks inside it, and lit the fire. They plucked the emu, and singed the carcass. Puwujapiji cut open the stomach, and pulled out the innards, including the liver and the heart. When the fire had died down I put the hot stones in the body cavity, and covered it with hot ashes. While we waited for it to cook we ate the liver, the innards and the heart. I removed the meat from the hot ashes, while the other two broke off branches, and we placed in it on the foliage. We cut it up and ate with our heads down. Later we looked up towards to north and saw two more emus coming down to the water. We had a look and found we were nearly out of bullets. I still had two bullets, one of which I gave to Puwujapiji, and we raced off to the windmill. He got into the well, and I lay on my stomach right by the bore. Those two thirsty emus headed straight for the water. I said to Puwujapiji, 'You shoot first. See that front one, let him go. As soon as they start drinking water, we'll shoot them both.' And we shot them both, and they dropped. *Rampanu* had dug a hole and collected a lot of firewood by the time we showed up with the emus across our shoulders. When we'd plucked and singed them, we covered them over in hot ashes, just as we'd done before. The sun was setting in the west when I roused the others, and we got up and headed home. The sun went down as we walked, and we went on in the moonlight. The others saw us, and called out, 'Here they come with meat!' They were really happy about that. Then they very quickly cut up the emus, and we ate them.

rampanu

An uncle and nephew, Rindy Hale and Alec Snowy's younger brother, Paddy Snowy.

We went on working in the buffel grass, and coming home again each day. We all used to go out to that windmill collecting seeds. When the sun was high, they used to call out to us, 'Come in for dinner', and we'd have a meal.

One day we set off to the west looking for pigs, and sure enough we saw a mother with her three young ones. We chased and grabbed them. We continued to the west looking for more, and saw another big one. We chased it, and it ran off and jumped into the water, swam across to the other side, and climbed out. We said, 'This is a swimming pig!'

As we walked along the side of the Ridley River, a big plains kangaroo sprang up and went bounding along beside the pool. Another kangaroo, a big male hill kangaroo, was sleeping nearby, and as the plains kangaroo came hopping along from the west the hill kangaroo must have heard it approach. The plains kangaroo jumped, and landed on the back of the hill kangaroo, which jumped up out of its sleep, and ran off with the other one on its back. We really laughed at the sight of them. The hills kangaroo must have thought, 'This thing's going to kill me!' As it ran it threw the other one off, and it landed on its back with its legs in the air. We had a really good laugh at the pair of them. The plains kangaroo jumped up and bounded off.



Majawariny (Captain Wilson), photography by John Wilson.



Coombie, photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R505, South Australian Museum.

Wirlanikinyiyirni *muster'm*-jinkinyiyirni nanikutu

Palaja Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku nanikutu *shoot'm*-jinalunyurru, *skin'm*-jinalunyurru palajun, wurrarnanganaku. Yija nganarna yanikinyiyirni marntungu jinyji-jinyji *shoot'm*-jinakanu *skin'm*-jinikinyiyirni. Palaja yarti wurrarnanganaku, 'puru yakaliyijaninya wirlanawayi,' palajun. Wurrarnanganaku Mirtalu kurntajirninganinyi, majuram-jilkulunyurrujaninyi. Palaja Yandeyarra-ja milpanya yawartarrangujartiny yarlu Majawariny. Juwumap-jirniyirnijaninyi yawartarrangu, yanayirni majuram. Manayirnijaninyi kurrngal nanikutu, *yard*-nga wirrinakanu kanyayirnijaninyi, yanayirni Kulykungananya. Nyungu jana palaji milpanyiyi karangu Kakurkaja Kulykungananyakarti. Palanga jana wanikinyiyi, yirrirniyinganinyi jarlingaja. Nyungu janalu ngulyulu wirlarniyi kukurnjari *paddock*-ja Piparnkarramili, kampanikinyi kuyi pala ngulyuja. Jana karramarnayi, 'nyungu Piparnkarraja milpanyayi jarlinga.' Janalu mirtijinakanu manayijaninyi wikaja, julpunpa *three legs* wikaja kukujirniyijaninyi, kuyingipa yamarniyili yirrarlalu. Parrjanikinyiyiyaninyi wararrju milpanyaja, karramarnayi, 'nyungu kala nganyjurrumulirrangu marrngu milpanyayi Ridley-ja. Pala manayijaninyi kukujinaja kuyirrangu, yinyayinganinya nyarrungkarralu. Jukamanikinyiyarninyi nganayirni kuyi. Wurrarniyinganaku, 'nganarnalu wurrarniyirninnyurrinyi Piparnkarrajakapan milpunyurru.' Palanga nganayirni pala kuyi nganarnalu wiyirru.

Jana kulpanyiyi manayijaninyi partijirrija nanikutu. Ngalaya yanalai walangkarra Kajarinyakarti. Lirimarnalayi ngapaku, jana milpanyiyi nyirrirni *nanny goat*-jartiny jarlinga. Palalu *wagon*-ju kanganyikinyinganaka wurrupa ngurriny, martumpirri, *wire netting nanny goat*-ku. *Wagon* pala milpanya, yarta yarnimarnayirnijanaka *nanny goat*-ku, ngalpajirniyirnijaninyi yartanga. Marntungujarrikinyi jinikinyiyirnijaninyi yartaja. Kanganyikinyiyirnijaninyi jalakarti; jinikinyiyirnijaninyi karrpurangu karrpu. Nganarna kulpanyikinyiyirni martumpirri nganikinyiyirni. Martumpirri ngananyakanu kulpanyikinyiyirni kalkunikinyiyirnijaninyi. Rukajarrikinyi kanganyikinyiyirnijaninyi yartanga.

We hunt and herd goats

Later Mirta told us to shoot goats and skin them. And so we went out each morning, taking turns to shoot and skin them. Then later he told us, ‘Just leave them, don’t kill them’. He called a stop to that, and said, ‘Just round them all up’. **Majawariny**, my *yarlpu*, arrived from Yandeyarra with a lot of horses, and we shod them and rode out mustering. We got a lot of goats. After we’d brought them all in and put them in the yard, we went out to Kulykunguranya Bore. There were other people already there who had come from the west, from Kakurrka on the Yule River. They were camped there, and saw us approach on our horses. They’d killed some sheep they’d stolen from the paddocks of Pippingarra Station, and were cooking the stolen meat. When they saw us approach on our horses, they thought we must be riders from Pippingarra. They quickly grabbed everything out of the fire, got the three-legged camp oven out of the fire and hid it, and covered all the meat over with a canvas. They stood up when they saw us, and said, ‘Oh, it’s just our own people coming from Ridley!’ They got all the meat out of hiding and gave it to us, laughing. They were laughing to each other as they were eating their meat. They said to us, ‘We thought you lot looked like you were coming from Pippingarra!’ So then we all had a feed of meat.

They were on their way back with a herd of goats. My brother **Rindy** and I went ahead to Kajarinya and dug a soak, and the others followed with the goats. All the swags, blankets and food, and wire netting for the goats, was carried in a chuck wagon. When it arrived we made a yard for the goats. Each morning we let them out, and kept an eye on them while they grazed. We’d put them back in the yard while we ate our dinner. After we’d eaten we’d let them out and watch them again, and bring them all back to the yard in the evening.

Majawariny

Captain Wilson, who was Kangkushot’s nephew.

yarlpu

A person of your own age, with whom you grew up or with whom you went through the Law.

Rindy

Minyjun’s younger brother, Ron Hall.



Kajarinya, photograph by John Wilson.



Massey, photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R440, South Australian Museum.

Palaja yarrana yanayi majuramjinaku nanikutuku Forty-Two-karti. Ngaju ngatu wanikinyirni kurlka wurrku, munu yanamarna. Manayijaninyi kurrngalngarra kalkunikinyijianinyi, kulpanya pala maaja nganarnamili Wampurlija Kajarinyakarti. Martumpirriku milpanya maninyaku, ngaju mananyi ngajumili pipi ruka kulpanyiyirni Forty-Two-karti. Palinyju nyampalilu kanganyikinyinganinyi kurrngal marrngu jakulinikinyinganinya warrkamuku wanyjarnikarti yaninyaku majuram. Nganarnalu pinakarrikinyiyirnalumuwarra wanyjarnikarti yaninyaku majuram nganarnamili maajaku. Milpanyiyirnijanaku ruka. Marntungu yanayirni pala kaninyijirri yartajirniyirna ngurra. Warinyja marntungu yanayirni majuram, munu kanyjirniyirna *nanny goat*-ku, kartakarrinyiyirni. Munu yanamiyirni majuram, waninyiyirni ngatu rukajarrinyi *roll'm-up*-jirniyirni ngurriny, yarta yinjipirniyirni, yanayirni ngurra warinykarti. Jinta warinyju kanganyikinyiyirnijaninyi *nanny goat*. Jinta majuram yaninyikinyiyi kanyjinikinyiya *nanny goat*-ku. *Nanny goat* yirrinajalu kanganya wiyimanikinyinganaku.

Marntungujarrinyi martumpirri ngananyakanu majuram yanayirni, yijalu manayirnijaninyi *nanny goat*, wirrirniyirnijaninyi yartanga. Palaja yarrana yanayirni munu kanyjirniyirna *nanny goat*, kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti.

Wurrarnanganaku maajalu, 'yankuluminyi Ridley-karti.' Marntungujarrinyi martumpirri ngananyakanu yanayirni yalinyja, kanganyikinyiyirnijaninyi *nanny goat*. Warnkungu wangka ngalparrajarrikinyiyirni jarlinga. Warnkungu wangka ngampa-ngampapinikinyiyirnijaninyi palajun. Yanayirni Ridley kakarrakurnu ngurrajirniyirna. Marntungu partal kanyjirniyirna munu manamiyirnijaninyi. Wurrarnanganaku, 'kulpuluminyi Kajarinyakarti.' Yija kulpanyiyirni.

Pala karakurnu Pirtimarranga wanikinyiyi partanykarrangu kalkunikinyijianinyi Kumpilupa Pirnarralu, Massey-lupa Pirnarralu. Milpanyiyi palaja ngurraja Kajarinyakarti, palanga wanikinyiyirni wiyirr. Ngalayalu nanikutu kalkunikinyalayijaninyi karrpungu, rukajarrikinyi kulpanya kanganyikinyalayijaninyi *yard*-karti, palajun karrpurrangu karrpu. Jinta wirlanikinyijianinyi kuyiku nganinyaku, jinta ngama manikinyiyi minpinikinyiyi.



Kids' Camp, photograph by John Wilson.

Everyone went mustering goats at Forty-Two. They got a lot, and kept them there. I stayed at Kajarinya with a sore ear until our gang boss, Wampurlija (Bobby), came back to get flour. As our boss he was the one who took us *marrngu* out and told us where to muster, and we'd follow his directions. He picked my mother and me up and we headed back to Forty-Two that afternoon. We arrived in the evening and the next morning we set up a camp further down the river. We went out mustering from there the next day, but didn't find any goats, and so the following afternoon we rolled up our swags, packed up the yard and moved camp. Some of us drove the goats while others went out looking for more goats, which they brought back to our herd.

We went out mustering again the next day, and got a lot of goats which we put in the yard. We didn't find any more on the following day, so our gang boss said, 'We'll go to Ridley'.

We went north, taking all the goats with us. We rode in a line between the goats and the hills, blocking their escape up into the rocks. We made camp to the east of Ridley. In the morning we looked around but couldn't find any more goats. So Wampurlija said, 'We'll go back to Kajarinya', and we went back.

Two *pinnarra*, Coombie and his wife and Massey and his wife, had been taking care of all the children in the Kids' Camp over in the west at Pirtimarra. They shifted from there to Kajarinya, and we all lived there together. Puwujapiji and I looked after the goats all day, and brought them back to the yard in the evening. Some of the goats were used for meat, and some for milking.

Two *pinnarra*

Married couples consisting of the speaker's brothers and their wives who are in the speaker's generation.



Yurlpuly Dooley (right),
photograph by John Wilson.

Pirra-pirrakarra

Nganarna yanayirni Kantungukarti. Jijilanga jinta marrngu wanikinyiyi Pananykarranga Kurtamparanyanga. Palaja ngaju yanarna Kantunguja Kurtamparanyakarti milpanyarnajanaku palanga waninyiyirni pirrapirrakarra. Palangulu yanayirni kakarrakurnu wanikinyiyirni Warrungkulja pala karakurnu pirrapirrakarra warrkam. Kulpanyiyirni palangulu Kurtamparanyakarti wanikinyiyirni pirrapirrakarra palanga. Kajarinyaja kanyayijaninyi partanykarrangu, Kantungu karakurnu wanikinyiyi. Kurtamparanyaja ngaju kulpanyarna Kantungukarti, palanga wanikinyiyirni pirrapirrakarra.

Marntungu-marntungu kujungurru yajana kawanikinyiyirni kulpanyaja *boat-jartinyju*. Kujungurru kulpanya kaja, pala *boat* wanikinyi wupartungu ngapanga kujungurrungu. Rukalu yajana kawanikinyiyirni kujungurru *boat-jartinyju*, wirrinikinyiyrnarningu jirtamarrangapa jinanga parrjana kawanakinyiyirna *glass-jartinyju* pirrapiraku. Yirrinikinyiyirni pirrapirra pinyjiri parnpinikinyiyirna kujungurrungu, nganarnapukun wapakanikinyiyirni kaninykurnu nyimurjarrikinyiyirni. Nganarna katukarnayirni yanganikinyiyirnijaninyi pirrapirra.

Ngajulu manarnajaninyi pirrapirrarangu *a hundred altogether*, kurtanyja wirrirnirnijaninyi. Kujungurru kulpanyikinyi pala *boat-pirrayi* kankajarrinyi, ngajukarti milpanya pala *boat-jartiny*, karntijirniirni pala kurtany pirrapirrajartiny, ngajumuntu karntinyirni, kujungurru ngurnungu winyajarriinyi pijungupa kulpanyiyirni jitimayakarti. Putungajalu mimanikinyinganaku palanga jitingi. Kajanikinyi *chair-nga*, nganarna milpanyiyirni yija. Wararrjirni pala *boat* wangka jitimayanga, parnpirnijanaku mirrilyi kunmarni mungkanga. Putungaja kajanikinyi kalkunikinyi mirlimirli parirrja, nganarna katukarnayirni *boat-ja* palaja. Pirntilja wirrinikinyiyirnarningu *number* matalu, nganurtulu kurrngal manikinyijaninyi pirrapirra. Palinyju wirrinikinyijaninyi *number* mirlimirlingi. Japirrmanikinyinganinya waraja-waraja, 'wunyjurumalu mananjaninyi pirrapirra nyuntulu?' Wirrkijarrikinyi pala marrngu, pala number yirrinikinyi pirntilja wirrinikinyi mirlimirlingi, palajun. Wurrarnajanaku, 'palamapa Panaka?' Wurrarniji, 'wirrkijarra.' Yija ngaju wirrkijarrinyirni, yirriirni pala *number, a hundred* pirrapirra. Jirtamarra warla turlpanya, katupungkama *chair-jaja*.

Palanga *boat-japirrayi forty-gallon drum* kutapirniyi jungka wirriirni winya, wirriirni *boat-ja* wikamuntu palanga. Kujungurrungu partijirri kaniny mayipa kuyi kampanakanu nganikinyiyirni. Pala *boat* makanu *trough-kapan* walpurra; *twelve* marrngu kanganikinyinganinyi, kujarra kujarra kajana kawanaku. Pala *driver* kajanikinyi nyirriirni *chair-nga*, jipanikinyi *boat*. Kanganyikinyi *four-gallon drum-ja spare-one petrol*. Jupanyikinyi *petrol*, parnpinikinya kujungurrungu *anchor-pirrayi*, winyajinikinyi *petrol*. Purrinikinyi *anchor*, ngurntirrijinakanu yanikinyiyirni.

Yangarniyirnijaninyi pirrapirra, kujungurru ngurnungu nyampa kulpanyikinyi. 'Ngurntirrikuranti pala,' wurrarnayi, 'nyampakata kulpanyakata kujungurru.' Nganarna walangkarramarta yanayirni. Yanikinyiyirni, pala yarlpu nyirriirni yanikinyi. Kurtanyja winya kanganyikinyijaninyi, warntaranga pirrapirra. Nyampa palan nyungu wuparturrangu pijurrangu winyajarrikinyiyi. Kankajarrinya kawarna pala kujungurru. Paliny yirrkungarra yanikinyi, warntarangkarra. Kujungurru yanala kankarni. Kanka parnpinikinya pinturalu. Turlpanyikinyi kanka, nganyjunikinyi. Pinturanga ngalpanyikinyi kaninyjarrikinyi. Pala yirrkulungarra kanganyikinyi kurtanyja warntaranga, munu parnpinama. Palajun yaninya kawanikinyi. Ngurnu parrjanikinyiyirni nganarnalu, pajukarrikinyiyirnalulu.

We gather pearl shell

We shifted to Condon and we also worked at Kurtamparanya and Warrunykul gathering shell. There were groups of people living at Jijila, Pananykarra and Kurtamparanya (Cape Keraudren). All the children were brought from Kajarinya, and they lived west of Condon.

Every morning we'd go out in the boat on the outgoing tide. The tide went out a long way, and the boat would be left in shallow pools. In the evenings we used to follow the tide out with the boat, and we'd put on goggles and flippers to go and look around for pearl shells through the glass. When we saw pearl shells we'd thrust the rod down through the sea [into the sand] and then we'd jump overboard and dive down. Under the sea we'd collect the pearl shells.

Once I got altogether a hundred pearl shells and put them in the bag. When the tide was coming in, the boat floated up off the sand, and Billy Aspro came to pick me up. I threw the bag on board, then climbed on after it. When the tide had come in and filled up the creek we went back to the jetty, where Putungaja was waiting for us. He used to sit on a chair with a clipboard. Billy Aspro pulled the boat up next to the jetty and threw the rope up to them and they tied it to the bollard. Putungaja was sitting there with his paper when we climbed out of the boat. We used to write numbers in mud on each other's backs to show who'd got the most pearl shells. Putungaja would record the numbers on his piece of paper. He asked us one by one, 'How many pearl shells did you get?' and as each person turned around to show the number on his back, he would write it down. That's how it was done. He asked them, 'What about **Panaka**?' and said to me, 'Turn around'. So I turned around and he saw the number, one hundred pearl shells. His eyes opened wide, and he nearly fell off his chair.

A forty-four gallon drum that had been cut in half was put on the boat and filled with sand, and firewood was also put in the boat so that out at sea we could cook food to eat out there. That boat was long like a trough, and wide. It could carry twelve of us men sitting two abreast. The driver used to sit at the back on a chair, driving the boat. He'd carry spare petrol in a four-gallon drum; when it ran out of petrol he'd throw out the anchor and fill the engine. He'd then pull in the anchor, start the boat, and away we'd go.

One day we were gathering pearl shells when the tide started to come in at a rush. 'Listen to that sound,' they said. 'The tide's racing in.' We went back before it got to us, with my *yarlpu* coming along behind. He was carrying a big bag full of shells on his back. All the rivulets and channels were quickly filling up with water as the tide came rushing in. He kept on coming with the bag across his back. Then the sea came up around him and a wave knocked him over. He got his head above water and gasped for breath, but was swamped under another wave. He kept on coming with the bag across his back, he wouldn't throw it away. He kept on going like that, we saw him out there and we were worried about him.



Washing pearl shells,
photograph by John Wilson.

Panaka

Minyjun, referred to by his section name.



Billy Aspro, photograph courtesy
Tindale Collection R547, South
Australian Museum.

Yarti ngapipirrayi, pala nganarnamili *boat*-pirrayi wurrarnayirnijanaku, yanayalu palajartiny. Parrjanikinyiyirni ngurnungu kujungurru *finish*, kaninyjirniyi. Kankajarrikinyi, yirrkungarra palinyju kanganyikinyi pala kurtany pirrapirrajartiny. Kujungurru winyajarrinya kawanikinyi. Munu pala parnpinama pirrapirrajartiny kurtany, yirrkulu kanganyikinyi. Palajun nyungu wangkajarrinyi yija, *boat*-pirrayi, *dinghy*-pirrayi pala. Parrjarnaya wangkanga kaninyjarrinyi. Karramarnaya ngurnipali kujungurrulurla nyungu ngukarna. Kankajarrinyi wangkangkaku jananga, manayi. Karntijirni pala *dinghy*-ngi, ngalypangarra.

Yirrkulungarra kanganyikinyi pala kurtany pirrapirrajartiny. Kulpanyiyi ngurrakarti ngalypangarra.

Ngaju yanarna Kantunguja *offsider* Putungajamili, Puwujapiji *offsider* Kangkushot-mili. Ngaruja yanikinyalayi ngurrarrangukarti. Mirlimirlingi ngajulu wirrinikinyirnijaninyi pirrapirra *count'm*-jinakanu pakujingi wirrinikinyiyijaninyi janalu. Ngajulu pakujingi yini wirrinikinyirnijaninyi ngakanaku wanyjarnikarti pala *town*-karti. Palajun ngurrarrangu ngurra yanikinyalayi. Janalu *truck*-nga karntijinakanu ngakanikinyiyi pala pirrapirra, ngalaya kulpanyikinyalayi Ngarukarti. Palaja ngalaya Puwujapijipa kulpanyalayi Kantungukarti.

Jijilaja marrngu jinta yanayi kakarra Walalkartipa Mintarrkarti. Yanayi manayijaninyi palajajirri *station*-ja marrngu. Munu milpamiyi palarrangu marrngurrangu yajanamiyanganinyi, ngampapinikinyijaninyi palalu mirurrulu janamililu walypilamililu *twentieth parallel*. Marrngu munu yanamiyi wirntikarrikinyiya wurrkungumarra. Wallal-*bloke*-lu maajalu warntamarnajaninya, 'nganijalu kanganyanyurrujaninyi: nyurra miranu nyarra piinyi waninyi partijirri *twentieth parallel*'. Wurrarniyili janalu, 'munu kanganyayirnijaninyi kuwarri'. Yija kanyayijaninyi Kantungukartijakun. Palanga wanikinyiyi palangarrangu ngurrangarrangupa Kajarinya.



Painting of *marrngu* gathering pearl shell by Jim Wigley, photograph courtesy Christabel Wigley.

So we told the men who had our boat, and they took it out. As we watched we thought he was gone, he was completely submerged. But he came up again, and kept on coming with that bag full of pearl shells across his back. Now the tide was nearly full, but he wouldn't throw the bag away, he hung on to it. Now the boat, the dinghy, had got up close to him, and they saw him go under again right next to it, and they thought he must've been swept out to sea. But he came up almost under the boat, and they got him. They pulled him into the dinghy and he was safe.

He wouldn't let go of that bag of pearl shells, but he got back home again safely.

I left Condon as Putungaja's offsider, and Puwujapiji was Kangkushot's offsider. From Ngaru we went all around the different camps where I'd count all the pearl shells, and record the numbers in a book. They'd then be put into boxes. I wrote on the boxes the names of the towns to which they were to be sent. We went around all the camps doing this. When they'd loaded all the shells onto a truck and sent them off, we'd go back to Ngaru. And after that Puwujapiji and I went back to Condon.

Some men went from Jijila to Wallal and Mintarr (Mandora Station), and got people from those stations. These people hadn't joined the strike because the *walypila* had put a *mirurru*,³⁰ an invisible barrier, at the twentieth parallel, which had prevented them. *Marrngu* weren't allowed to cross it, for fear that they would spread disease. The boss of Wallal Station confronted them: 'Why are you taking these people? You know about that fence out there on the twentieth parallel!' They answered, 'Too bad, we're taking them anyway'. And so they took them to Condon and they lived at Kajarinya and our other camps.



Tuntian (Patrick Henry),
photograph by Katrin Wilson.

Kanyjirniya *manganese*-ku

Walypila milpanya wurrarnanganaku, 'kanyjilkulunyurra *manganese*, warnku mankulunyurru parrkakapan.' Paliny maajapirrayi Simdan Company milpanya japirrmarna Mirta, 'ngalypangarra kanyjilapiya *manganese*-ku nyuntumilirrangu marrngulu?' 'Yu,' karramarnalu. Yija jana yanayi kakarra, kanyjirniya *manganese*-ku. Yanayi Yirrirrinya, kanyjirniya munu yirrinimiya *manganese*. Kakarra yanayi Warlarla yalinyakurnu; yijalu yirrirna wirrirniya *manganese*. Yajana kawaniyi pala warnku kakarralu ngalparra yanikinyi kanyjirna *manganese* Wulukunyakartijakun. Palaja yanayi kakarra Yalalukartijakun. Palangu yanayi karakurnu Warrukanyanga kanka yajarni warnku, parrjana kawanikinyi *manganese*-ku. Bamboo Creek-ngi kanka Julinyanga wapirripirri yanayi munu kanyjinikinyi *manganese*. Yaninya ngakamarnayi Pangkapparanga Strelley Mine-kartijakun, jipi. Kulpanyiya Ngarukarti.

Nganarna Mirtalu kanyanganinyi Makanykarranga

kanyjin-kanyjirniyirna, munu. Yanayirni Warrkalkura, palangu yanayirni Mampurlunyakarti; kanyjin-kanyjirniyirna *manganese*-ku, munu. Kulpanyiirni Kunangarnarra palanga kanyjirniyirna, yijalu yirrirniyirni *manganese* wupartu, munu wirtuku. Kantungukartijakun kulpanyiirni.

Pirtimarranga yirrirniyirni murtuka wariny. Wurrarniinganaku palamajirri kalyarra *driver*-pa, 'kangkulupiyirnipulinyi.' Karntinyipulu palanga murtukanga, Juwikarayirti palaja murtukaja katukarna. Kanyayipulinyi Murunyukakarti, nyungu jiparna murtuka Juwikarayirtilu. Rukajarrinya kawanikinyi ngaju karramarnarna, wunyurrulakulu? Puwujapiji mulyapajirni. Palanga kurtanyarnayirni Ridley-ngi karrpu ngalpanya pirrpanga. Tuntianju *spot-light* warlinikinyi karntinyiirni murrurlungu kankakurnu. *Gear*-ngajirni ngurnipali wirrirni warinya *gear*-nga, *second gear*-nga. Murtuka partal karntinyi wakalajarrinyi. Kulpanya purlupurlujarrinyi ngalypangarra yirniku. Purlupurlujarrinyi kakarrakurtimarta nyirrirnijalu *wheel*-ju wupartu murrurlu minngarna. Murtuka yirrikurlajarrinyi tungkurrkanya nyirrirnija nganiwarrarlpirti. Crow-mili *trousers* warlirnalulu *bolt*-ju, kamanikinyi. Nganarnalu wurrarniirni pirlpukapan wurnmu, ngalypangarra munu nyitanamanganinyi. Murtuka pala ngurntirringarra wanikinyi. Juwikarayirtijirri wapakarnapulu *windscreen*-ja wapirripirri. Nganarnalu kankamarnayirni pala murtuka yirrikurlaja wararrjirniyirni. Juwikarayirti karntinyili murtukanga, kintingarra karntinya kawarna. Wirrkijarrinyi palanga kartakarrinyiirni.

Marntungu yanayirni Kurrunyakarti. Wanikinyi jinta marrngu warrkam *buffel grass* ngarnipinikinyi, milpanyiirnijanaku. Palanga jinta yakarniirnijaninyi, nganarna yanayirni Kantungukarti, palanga wanikinyiirni.

Looking for manganese

In 1958 a *walypila*, Jim Hallam (an agent of AG Sims), who was a kind of boss of the Simdan company, came and asked Mirta, ‘How about getting all your people to start looking for manganese?’ and Mirta agreed. Jim Hallam said to us, ‘If you go and look for manganese, you’ll have as much money as there are leaves on the trees.’ So they went east prospecting for manganese. They went to Yirlirinya (Goldsworthy Hill) and searched there, but they didn’t find any manganese. So they went east to a place just north of Warlarla (Nimingarra Station), and indeed found some manganese there. They spread out in a line and followed the line of hills eastwards, going along searching for manganese, all the way to Wulukunya (Marnie Springs).³¹ And then they went east all the way to Yalalu.³² After that they went west through Warrawagine, following the hills looking for manganese. They went through Bamboo Creek, right through Julinya Gorge,³³ but found nothing. They went past Pangkapara (the Shaw River), right up to the Strelley Mine, and that’s as far as they went. They went back to Ngaru.

Mirta took us further on, and we prospected at Makanykarra, but found nothing. We went to Warrkalkura (Mt Francisco), and then we went to Mampurlunya. We prospected for manganese in that area, but found nothing. We came back to Kunangarnarranya and prospected there, and found a little bit of manganese, but not much. And so we headed back to Condon.

On the way back, at Pirtimarra, we saw another vehicle approaching with a driver. There was a *kalyarra* pair in our car, one of them driving, and the people in the other vehicle said, ‘Those two men need to come with us.’ So they went over to the other vehicle and went to Murunyuka (Nimingarra Mine), while Juwikarayirti came over to ours and took over as our driver. As evening came on, I started to wonder, ‘How’s this driver going to get on?’, and Puwujapiji’s nose tickled, which meant that something bad was about to happen. We crossed the De Grey River at Ridley, the sun went down and there was a glow in the west. Tuntiyan (Patrick Henry) was holding the spotlight as we drove up the hill. The driver changed into third gear, and then down into second gear. The car couldn’t get up, it stopped and rolled straight back down. It went flat out, a little to the right of the road, and the back wheel rolled over a mound of earth. The truck rolled on its side, and everything flew off the back. Crow’s trousers got caught on a bolt, and he was crying out, so that we thought he’d broken his leg. We were lucky it hadn’t rolled on us. The engine was still idling. The two men of the **Juwikarayirti** family flew right through the windscreen. We pushed the truck off its side, and stood it up upright. Maori Tom climbed back in the truck and took it slowly up the hill. He turned off onto level ground and we slept there.

In the morning we went to Kurrunya (De Grey Station). Some people were living there collecting buffel grass seed, and we went to see them. We left some of our people there and travelled on to Condon, and stayed there.



Juwikarayirti (Sago), photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R687, South Australian Museum.

kalyarra

A pair of kin in adjacent generations in the opposite patriline to that of the speaker. For Minyjun, this means a Karimarra–Purungu pair, of adjacent generations, such as father and son, or father and daughter. The pair referred to here are Norton Williams Puja and Reggie Captain.

The two **Juwikarayirti** men were Maori Tom and Sago, both of whom had worked at Anna Plains Station as drovers.



The manganese equipment at Murunyuka, photograph by John Wilson.

Murunyuka

Jurra yirrirniyirni murtuka warrukarti, rampanu milpanikinyipulu. Yija milpanyapulu wurrarnapulunganaku, 'nyurrakartingarra milpanyalai kangkulupalayinyurrinyi Murunyukakarti warrkamukarti yarnimalaminyi *plant*.' *Supper* yinyayirnipulunya, yanayirni warrukartingarra. Kurrunya kakarrakurnu wirrkijarrinyiyirni mirtijirniyirni kurila Mulyie-ngi kakarrakurti. Kakarrajarriyirni Jarntinyanga wararrjirniyirni murtuka kartamirrarlja. Palanga wanikinyi ngulyungulyu Purtikana. Kartaja turlpanya, japiirmarnapula rampanulu janguku. Yinyapulunya mijimijipa pakujingi winya. Palangulu yanayirni kakarra pipurru Warlarlangu kurilakurti, milpanyiyirna

Murunyukaku marntungu-marntungu. Palanga wanikinyiyirni warrkamu. Yanikinyiyirni pijukarti mungka kutapinikinyiyirni yarrkalju, kutapinikinyiyirniyaninyi mungka pijuja jampangarrany yarnimanikawanikinyiyirni *mine* pala kuwarrira. Pala mungka kutapinaja *truck*-nga wirrinikinyiyirniyaninyi, palajun karpurrangu karrpu. Pirti karlikinyiyirna jarntijinikinyiyirniyaninyi mungka. *Plant* wirrirniyirniliki kankarni, warlinikinyi mungkalu pala *plant* warnkuku juntupinaku. Pala walypila Norman Sharp miranu palajulmartaku yarnimanaku. Palinyju yarnimarna Kalgoorlie-nga palajunmarta.

Milpanyiyi marrngukarra *truck*-nga karangu. Ngakamarnayijaninyi jinta marrngu, karntinyiyi yanayi Karrkarrakarti *court case*-karti. Palanga waninyiyi *court*-karra kulpanyiyi Murunyukakarti. Jinirniyijaninyi palarrangu karntinyiyipa palanga murtukanga, jana yanayi Ngarukarti. Ngaranra warrkamjarrikininyiyirni mine-ja palanga, yanikinyiyirni pijukarti mungka kutapinikinyiyirni *truck*-nga wirrinikinyiyirni. Pala murtuka munu *wind'm-jinapintimajirri*. *Start'm-jirni* partal munu ngurntirrijarrima martungurla. Mamajilu ngajumililu wurrarnanganaku, 'jarlilpimarrayi,' palanga kaninykurti wirrirni kankajarrinyi *wheel-jirri*. Wurrarnanganaku '*wind'm-jili tyre*' mamajilu ngajumili. Yija ngurntirrijarrinyi karntinyiyirni kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti.

Murunyukaja yanayirni *wedding*-karti Kurrunyanga. Jinta yanayi walangkarra Kurrunyakarti, nganarna wanikinyiyirni palangangarrany. Mujungu parnpinikinyili ruka, jurrti-jurrtipirni ngapa tungkurrkanya. Ngapa pungkanya warrukartikartijakun. Marntungu turlpanyiyirna yanayirni Nimingarra Crossing ngurnarrikarti. Janpa yirrirniyirni wirtu wanikinyi ruutungu.

Partal mimarniyinganaku, munu milpamiyirni. Putungajapa Jim Hallam kulpanyapulunganaku purrpi nganarnaku, 'ngurnipali warlirniyaninyi matalu' karramarnapulu. Parrjana kawanapulunganaku ruutu munu yirrinamapulunganinyi; ruka milpanyapulu Murunyukakarti, yirrinipulunganinyi palanga. Karramarnapulu pulany, 'nyungu waninyayi.' Kartakarrinyiyirni marntungu yanayirni. Pulany walangkarra nganarna nyirrirni Kurrunyakartijakun yanayirni. Ruka kulumartajarrinyi marirra-marirra. Kartakarrinyiyirni, palanga yanayirni Ngarukartijakun, palanga wani-waninyiyirni. Yanayirni Ngaruja Kakanyakarti warrkamu wanikinyiyirni pirrapirrakarra. Ruka yanikinyiyirni kuyi kangkuru jitinikinyiyirnarngu ngalparra. Yanikinyiyirni jampa mirtijarrikininyi kakarrakurnu kangkuru, yurlukulu ruwanyikinyiyirniyaninyi. Kuyijartiny kulpanyikinyiyirni ngurrakarti.

Murunyuka, the Nimingarra mine

One night we saw some headlights approaching, and *rampanu* arrived. ‘We’ve come to see you all and to take you to Murunyuka, the Nimingarra Mine’, they said. ‘We’re going to start setting up the plant’. We gave them some supper, and we headed off through the night. Turning off to the east of Kurrunya, we drove south to the east side of Mulyie Station, then east to Jarntinya (Ettrick Station), where everyone was fast asleep. *My ngulyungulyu, Purtikana*, was living there, and we woke him up. *Rampanu* asked him for tobacco and he gave them a box of tomatoes as well. We continued travelling east along the south side of Warlarla (Nimingarra Station), and arrived at Murunyuka before sunrise. And we stayed there working. Each day we’d go to the De Grey River and cut wood for poles that were needed to get the mine ready. When we’d cut the wood we’d load it onto a truck, we did that every day. We dug holes and stood the posts up in them, and put the plant up on the wooden platform. The *walypila* Norman Sharp knew how to construct that sort of thing; he’d made one like it in Kalgoorlie.

A truck arrived from the west to pick some people up for a court case in Perth. They stayed there while court was in session, and then came back to Murunyuka. We were still working at that mine, going to the river, cutting posts, and loading them on the truck. That truck didn’t have a crank handle, and on one occasion we’d left it in a hollow and it wouldn’t start. *My mamaji* told us, ‘Jack it up’, so they put the jack underneath and lifted the two back wheels off the ground. My brother told us, ‘Spin the tyre’. That got it started, and we climbed on and went back home.

We left Murunyuka to go to a wedding at Kurrunya. Some people went on ahead, but we stayed behind. Clouds were building up that afternoon. We could see rain falling in the distance, and then it began to pour.³⁴ It rained until night. In the morning we got up and went out to the Nimingarra Crossing, where we saw that the road was under water.

The others were waiting for us and when we didn’t show up Putungaja and Jim Hallam came back to find us, thinking that we must have got bogged. They looked for us along the road, but couldn’t find us. They continued on to Murunyuka and found us there that evening. We left with them in the morning; they drove ahead and we followed them to Kurrunya (De Grey Station), where three couples were married in the *marrngu* way that evening. The next day we drove through Ngaru to Kakanya, near Munda Station, and worked there gathering pearl shell. One evening we went out in a line to flush out kangaroos. As we went along a mob of kangaroos suddenly bounded off to the east; we hurled our *yurluku*, our throwing sticks, at them, and returned home with meat.

rampanu

Putungaja, Ernie Mitchell (Karimarra) and his classificatory nephew, Sambo Pina (Milangka).

My ngulyungulyu, Purtikana

This was Jack Davey. As the man who put Minyjun’s brother Dick through the Law, he is referred to by Minyjun as ‘ngulyungulyu’ and their relationship is one of avoidance.



Taking a bore sample; Mirta (Don McLeod) on left, photograph by John Wilson.



Men in ceremonial dress, photograph by John Wilson.

Chapter 5:

The Split and the early 1960s

In 1959 tensions that had been simmering within the group came to a head, and a split occurred.³⁵ The Pindan Company continued under the leadership of Putungaja (Ernie Mitchell) and Kangkushot (Peter Coppin), while a breakaway group made up principally of Ngulipartu Nyangumarta, Mangarla and Warnman families who had migrated from the desert chose to maintain their allegiance with Mirta. Their decision to 'stick with Don' remained a source of pride for members of this group. Under the leadership of Minyjun's brother, Jacob Oberdoo, they formed a new company, Nomads, and continued to support themselves through mining operations throughout the 1960s. The group shifted to Yirramakartunya (Roebourne) and mined beryl. Members of the group, including Minyjun, travelled widely through more southern areas of the state, prospecting for minerals.

Jintapirnirnarninyi

1959-nga jana yanayi Warrkalkurakarti, palanga warrkamjarrikinyiyrni, karrpurangu karrpu wanikinyiyrni warrkam.

Mirtalu kalkunikinyijaninyi palarrangu *plant*. Warrkalkuranga Kangkushot-jupa Putungajalu japirrarnapula Mirta *plant*-ku. Palanga *meeting* waninyiyrni, muwarrpirniyalu Mirtaku japirrarnaya, ‘wunyurru nyuntu, nyungu *machinary use’m*-jilaminyi?’

‘Munu,’ wurrarna palinyju. Munu wurrarnapulaku, ngampapirnipulinyi. Palayinkarraja muwarrja mirta yakarnaya.

Janalu wurrarniyili, ‘kuwarri yakarnayirninta wantulupiyirni jartanga.’ ‘Yu,’ karramarnajanaku Mirtalu. Jinta warinyju yajarniyi Mirta. Nganarna waninyiyrni, yajarniyrnipulinyi Putungajapa Kangkushot nganarnalu. Ngajumili mamajilu, Crow, Snowy, Sambo Pina jana yanayi Pilykunkuranga ngurnarikarti wanikinyiyi. Ngurrajirnaya warrkam wanikinyiyi. Nganarna wanikinyiyrni warrkamu Warrkalkuranga parrarl manikinyiyrni.

Jinta marrngu yanayi Ngarukarti *rac*es-karti. Nganarna kalkunikinyinganinyi mirtalu Warlupirtilu. Palanga warrkamjarrikinyiyrni wurrarnanganaku, ‘yankuluminyi ruka.’ Yanayirni Ngarukartijakun, mirtalu Ngarnkalu kanyajaninyi *rac*es-karti. Rapungu milpanyiyi. Marntungujarrinyi karrpu jartiti yanayirni mirtija parrjarniyrnijaninyi yawartarrangu rukakartijakun, kulpanyiyrni ngurrakarti, palanga kartakarrinyiyrni.

‘Kuwarri wantuluminyi *meeting* marntungu.’ Palanga yija waninyiyrni muwarrja. Nganarna turlpanyiyrna Puwujapiji, ngajumili mamaji, ngaju. Wurrarniyrnipuluku, ‘nganarna kulpulupiyirnalulu Mirtaku. Nyungulungarra Mirtalu ngalypajirninganyjurraka wiyirrku, *strike*-jarrinyaku wurrarnanganyjurraku *station*-jarrangu. Nyarra wurrarna palinyju walangkarrangupukun nyungu: ‘wantuluminyi *poor or rich*’; palajun wurrarnanganyjurraku. Pala kurlkangajarrinyinganaku pala muwarr.’

Yakarniyrnipulinyi kalyarra palajirri. Waninyiyrni walangkarrangupukun Kajarinyanga, Jim Hallam-ju wurrarnanganaku, ‘kanyjilkulinyurra *manganes*e-ku; yijapa yirrirkulinyurru *manganes*e, mankulunyurru warnku parrkakapan.’ Yijalu yirririyrni pala *manganes*e. Pulanyju ngurnipali kurlkanga kalkunikinyipulu pala muwarr. Palajartinyju muwarrjartinyju ngurnipali yakarnapula Mirta. Jana *pull out*-jarrinyiyi. Ngurnipali yajarnapululu Yalamu muwarrja palaja, jipirlakulu warnku wirtujartiny. Munu warrkamjarrimiyrni jartanga, yanayalu warrkamjarrikinyiyalu Yalamuku. Mirta nyungu warnku wirtumajirri. Palajunngarra kulpanyiyrnalulu Mirtaku, munu kakunamiyirnalulu muwarr palinymili nganarnalu. Janalu pala malypakarrinyiyalu yakalmarnayi. Janalupali wiyirrju yajarniyrnipulinyi Putungajapa Kangkushot. Jipirlakulu pala yajarniyi warnku wirtujartiny. Warrkamjarrikinyiyi Murunyukanga jana. Nganarnalu wurrarniyrnipuluku Putungajapa Kangkushot-ja, ‘nganarna kulpulupiyirnalulu Mirtaku,’ yananya kajarniyrnili Mirtanga wangka. Palaja yarlu yana Putungajakartipa Kangkushot-karti, Mirta yakarna.

Yanayirni Twelve Mile-karti nganarna, jinta wariny marrngu wanikinyiyingarrany Two Mile-ja. Jampa warrukartijarrinyi mujarrijarrinyiyi, yakarnayipulunya Putungajapa Kangkushot, yanayi Twelve Mile-karti. Yirririyrnijaninyi milpanyiyi warrukarti. Nganarna wiyirr yanayirni Pilykunkurakarti milpanyiyrnijanaku jinta wanikinyiyi palanga. Yirririyinganinyi, ‘kurrngal nyungu marrngu milpanyanyurru,’ ngaany ngalypajarrinyiyi.

The Split

In 1959 everyone moved to Warrkalkura (Mt Francisco), where we stayed working for some time.

Mirta was in charge of all the plant and equipment. At Warrkalkura, Kangkushot and Putungaja asked for mining machinery. We had a meeting there at which they addressed Mirta, and they asked him, ‘How do you feel about us using the machinery?’

‘No’, he said. He refused and turned them down. It was as a result of that argument that they left Mirta.

They told him, ‘Today we’re going to leave you, and we’ll go out on our own.’ Some people followed Mirta, but we stayed with Putungaja and Kangkushot. My *mamaji*, and Crow, Snowy, Sambo Pina, and others, left with Mirta and lived out on the other side of Pilykunkura. They made a camp there and continued working. Our group stayed at Warrkalkura, and worked there mining beryl.

Some people went to the races in Ngaru (Port Hedland). The old man Warlupirti who was our gang boss at Warrkalkura said to us, ‘We’ll head off this afternoon’, and we went to Ngaru. Mirta Ngarnka took the other group to the races; they arrived on Friday. On Saturday morning we watched the races until evening, when we returned to camp to sleep.

Everyone said, ‘We’re going to have a meeting this morning.’ It was there that we had the meeting. Puwujapiji, my *mamaji*, and I stood up, and said to Putungaja and Kangkushot, ‘We’re going back to Mirta. Mirta made things better for us all when he told us to go on strike from the stations. Back there, right from the beginning, he told us this: “We might be poor, we might be rich”. This is what he told us. We all heard what he said.’

We left the two *kalyarra*. When we’d been living at Kajarinya some time before, Jim Hallam had said to us, ‘You should go and look for manganese, because if you find it, money will fall down on you like leaves.’ So they’d gone and found manganese. Putungaja and Kangkushot must have remembered that promise, and it must have been thinking about that, that made them decide to leave Mirta. They pulled out and followed Yalamu, Jim Hallam, probably because of what he’d said, and the promise of big money. They were no longer going to work for themselves, they’d be working for Hallam instead. Mirta didn’t have a lot of money; we went back to him because we hadn’t forgotten what he’d said. Others disliked and rejected him; they followed Putungaja and Kangkushot for the money they’d get working at Murunyuka (Nimingarra Mine). But we told Putungaja and Kangkushot, ‘We’re going back to Mirta.’ We went over and sat down next to him, and my *yarlpu* Teddy Chalgo went over to Putungaja and Kangkushot, and left Mirta.³⁶

We shifted to the Twelve Mile, while the others stayed on at the Two Mile. When it got dark some people ran away from Putungaja and Kangkushot, and came to the Twelve Mile. We saw them arrive during the night. We all went to Pilykunkura and joined the people there. They saw all of us arrive, and said, ‘Here’s a really big mob of our people arriving.’ [A small group of people had left for the races, but a much larger group returned], and they were happy about that.



Ernie Mitchell addressing a meeting, photograph by John Wilson.

kalyarra

Kangkushot (Purungu) and Putungaja (Karimarra) were a classificatory father and son.

Dry camp-ngu kartakarrikinyiyirni ngapamajirringi. Yanikinyiyi Pilykunkurakarti ngapaku maninyaku *drum*-rrangu winyajinikinyiyijaninyi palajun. Palanga marntungujarrinyi yanayirni warrkamu karrpurangu karrpu. Mirta yana mana wariny *truck* Ngaruja. Yirrirniyirna milpanya warrukarti. Mirtalu japirrmarna Walypila Alan Crawford, 'milpulupiyirni palamakarti warrkamjarrulupiyirni?' 'Yu,' karramarna, 'ngalya.' Nganarna yanayirni palakarti Tapakarti. Jinta marrngu wanikinyiyi palanga *tin* ngarnipinikinyiyi. Janalu ngarnipinikinyalu Alan Crawford-ku *tin*, *sell'm*-jinikinyiyi; nganarnalu ngarnipinikinyiyrnarninga nganarnaku. Parlkan, Wambi Ball, Warntupungkarna palanga nganarnapukun warrkamjarrikinyiyirni wiyirr. Milpanyikinyi pala walypila Alan Crawford, mayi kanganyikinyijanaka palarranguku, janalu *sell'm*-jinikinyi *tin*. Yinganyikinyijaninya warnku, palalungarra warnkulu manikinyiyi mayi. Palamilingarra mirtamili wanikinyalu *station*, *closed*-jarrinyi pala *station*. Palaja kanyayijaninyi kukurnjaripa yawarta puru kalkunikinyi palinymilingarra maya. Palajun warrkamjarrikinyiyirni karrpurangu karrpu. Palalu walypilalu palajunngarra kanganyikinyijanaka mayi janaku. Yinganyikinyiyinganinyangarra mayi janalu.

Yinyanganinya *tractor* Jock Henderson-ju, wurrarnala Mirtanga japirrmarna marrnguku warrkamjarrinyaku. Nganarna wiyimarnanganinyi palakarti warrkamkarti *twelve altogether*. Two Mile-kartijakun yanayirni; wurrarnanganaku, 'yinjipilkulunyurru *railway line*, maninyalumarnanyurrinyi marntungu.' Mirtalu wiyimarna wirrinnganinyi marntungu. Milpanya Jock Henderson yinyanganaku *pick*-pa *crowbar*, *hammer*, kulpanya. Malyanikinyiyirnijaninyi *bolt*, *crowbar*-jartinyju ngarlukankajinikinyiyirni, lakarnpinikinyiyirni pala *railway*, marrngulu kanganya wirrinikinyiyi parlkarranga.

Palanga Two Mile-ja kalkunikinyiyirni murtuka janamilingarra, pala murtuka Pindan Company-mili. Nganarnalu ngurranga kalkunikinyiyirni. Yirrirniyirnijaninyi ruka karangu milpanyiyi pala nganarnamilikarti ngurrakarti palanga murtuka wararrkarrinyi. Milpanyiyi jujirniya pala murtuka janamilikarti ngurrakarti jamalungarra muwarrmajirralu. Wararrjirniyi janamilingi ngurranga. Nganarna turlpanyiyirna, kakarni yanayirni pala murtuka jujirniyirna nganarnamilikarti ngurrakarti jamalungarra muwarrmajirralu. Palajunngarra yija nganarnalungarra kanyayirni kakarrakurnu. Munu milpamaya palaku murtukaku.

Marntungu wurrarnanganaku, 'kangkulumarnanyurrinyi Seven Mile-karti.' Yakarnanganinya kulpanya *town*-karti paliny, milpanya marntungu. Kakarralu yinjipina kawanikinyiyirni Twelve Mile kakarrakurnu. Twelve Mile-ja kakarra yinjipina kawanikinyiyirni *railway*, Puntanyakartijakun. Marntungu milpanya, *truck*-nga wirrinikinyiyirni *railway*. Puntanyangulu karakurnu warrkamjarrinya kawanakinyiyirni. Palunyarra martaji wupartu piju palanga ngurrajirniyirna. Nganayirni *Pudding* palanga. Mujungu parnpinikinyili, yanayirni Twelve Mile-karti. Palanga ngapa tungkurrkanya, wirtu pungkanya; piju warrkirni *bank-and-bank*.

We were camped at a dry camp, where there wasn't any water. People would go to Pilykunkura to fill up drums with water, and we'd get water that way. Each morning we would go out working. Mirta got another truck from Ngaru, and we saw him come back in the night. He got permission from the *walypila* Alan Crawford for us to work on Tabba Tabba Station, and so we shifted there. There were already people there yandying for tin which they sold to Alan Crawford, but we worked for ourselves. We worked there with Parlkan, Wambi Ball and Warntupungkarna (Clancy McKenna). Alan Crawford would bring food, and they'd sell him their tin and use the money to buy the food. The station still belonged to that old man, but it had been shut down. All the sheep and horses had been taken away, and he was just left with his own house. We worked there like that for some time. When Alan Crawford brought food for the others, they'd give some to us.

Jock Henderson gave us a tractor, and he asked Mirta for people to work for him. So Mirta took twelve of us away to work. We went to the Two Mile at Ngaru, and Mirta said to us, 'You'll be dismantling the railway line; I'll come and pick you up in the morning.' In the morning he took us and dropped us off. Jock Henderson arrived, provided us with picks, crowbars and hammers, and went back. We knocked out the bolts, dislodged them with a crowbar, and pulled up the railway lines, which some of the others took away and put in a pile.

At the Two Mile we had a vehicle³⁷ that belonged to the Pindan Company, [the company now run by Putungaja and Kangkushot]. We kept it at our camp. One evening we saw them coming from the west to our camp, to where the vehicle was standing. They came and pushed it to their camp in complete silence, without saying a word. We got up, and went over and pushed that vehicle back to our camp, again in complete silence, without a word. It went back and forth like that, until we ended up with it on the east side, and in the end they didn't come back for it.

One morning Jock Henderson said, 'I'll take you all to the Seven Mile', and he dropped us off there. We dismantled the railway line to the east of the Twelve Mile, and then from there all the way to Puntanya, Poondino siding. He'd come back each morning and we'd load the girders onto the truck. We continued working westwards from Puntanya. We made camp on a little creek between Palunyarra and the Twelve Mile, and that's where we had Christmas. Clouds were building up, and so we went to the Twelve Mile. There the rain poured down; it was a big wet season and the rivers ran bank to bank.



Punch , photograph courtesy
Tindale Collection R332, South
Australian Museum.

Yanayirni Yirramakartunyakarti, ngaju miranujarrinyirna muwarrku wirrinaku mirlimirlingi Nyangumarta

Tapangulu kanyajaninyi Mirtalu rampanumalinga kara Yirramakartunyakarti; kanyirniya parralku, yijalu yirrinri. Palangulu manayinganinyi Twelve Mile-ja, yanayirni Yirramakartunyakarti. Jinta wanikinyiyi marrngu pala kurilakurnu *racecourse* martaji. Jinta wanikinyiyi *nickel*-ja. Yanyirni manayirnijaninyi palarrangu kulpanyiyirni kakarrakurnu ngurra paljurnirna. Palaja kanyayinganinyi jurtujirniyinganaku pala parrarl: wararrkarrikinyi marrngukapan. Kajangulupa yirrinaku. Yanarna wangka wararrkarrinyirni palamartaji; palinyngarrany ngaparr ngajungu pala parrarl. Kulpanyiyirni, ruutu yarnimanikinyi palakarti ngurrangulu. Yarnimarnayi jipi. *Truck*-nga *drum*-ngu winyajirniyirni ngapa, wiyimarnayirni ngapa wirrinijirniyaninyi palanga. Pijungulu jinangu yanikinyiyirni warrkamkarti. Karlikinyiyirnalulu *side-jirri pick and shovel*-jartinyju, lakarnpinikinyiyirni *crow-bar*-jartinyju.

Wirrinikinyiyirni murtukanga kanganyikinyiyirna ngurrakarti; jungkanga wirrinikinyiyirni. Ngurranga jintalu malyanikinyiyi malyanapintijartinyju, wirrinikinyiyi kurtanyja. Kulpanyikinyiyirni ruka ngurrakarti. Ngurrajaja pala parrarl kanganyikinyiyirniyaninyi *jetty*-mayakarti, katujinikinyiyirni *ramp*-ngu wirrinikinyiyirni. Palajunpirli karrpurangu karrpu.

Walypilajirri milpanyapulu, marntungu yanikinyi *reserve*-karti muwarr manikinyijaninyi Yinjiparntipa Ngarluma. Palaja wariny wanikinyi, ngalaya marntiyarra kalkunikinyingalayinyi wunyjurrulu muwarr wirrinaku Nyangumarta. Wariny walypila yini Ken Hale, wariny Geoff O'Grady; pala warrkamjarrikinyi Walalja. Paliny warrinyji, *tape* kanganyikinyi *saddle*-ja jarlingalu, muwarrja manikinyijaninyi marrngu, Walyarli Nyangumarta. Mirlimirlingi wirrinikinyi muwarr. Milangka pala walypila; wariny Panaka. Palajunpirli yanikinyi Panakajamurniny *reserve*-karti karrpurangu karrpu. Milangkajamurninyju kalkunikinyingalayinyi ngurranga. Kujarrapa warajanga ngaju miranujarrinyirna muwarrku wirrinaku mirlimirlingi Nyangumarta. 'Ngalya,' wurrarniji palinyju, 'nyuntu miranu.' Kulpanyapulu, ngurnipali pulanymilikarti warrarnkarti. Palanga Milangkajamurniny Canada Bloke; wariny marniny America. Pulany warrinyjijirri milpanyapulu.

Cyclone milpanya. Ngalaya marntiyarra murtukanga wanikinyalayi. Kakarrara pungkanya ngapa. Mangkurtu warrkirni pijungupa ngaparr. Jupanya ngapa yanayirni, yirrinijirniyaninyi marrngulu *reserve*-ngu. Kurtanyjarna ngakamarnayirni wupartungu karrungu. Wurrarniyirnilu, 'wanta nyuntu mimalanganaku' Rurlanga. Palanga nganarna mayampapirniyirni, pijungupa mangkurtu warrkirni ngaparr. Karntinyiyirni *police station* martaji. Marrngulu parrjanikinyiyaninyi mayampaja, karramanikinyiyi, 'nganyjurru ngurrara marrngu munumpa,' kuwarriyakun yirrinijirniyaninyi mayampaja. 'Nganyjurru wirntikarrikinyinya mayampaku,' karramarnayi jana. Yanayirni *store*-mayakarti Tommy Leigh-milikarti, wangka yirrinninganinyi wurrarnanganaku palinyju, 'nganija nyurramili wurru wirna?'

Nganarnalu wurrarniyirnilu, 'mayampapirniyirnila mangkurtungu.'

We move to Yirramakartunya (Roebourne) and I learn to write my own language

Mirta had taken *rampanumalinga* from Tabba Tabba west to Yirramakartunya (Roebourne) to prospect for beryl, and they had indeed found some. They came and picked us up from the Twelve Mile. A group of people were camped on the southern side of the racecourse at Yirramakartunya, and others were camped at the nickel mine, and we picked everyone up and we set up a camp together in the east. They showed us the beryl which was standing there, as tall as a man; you could see it from a long way off. When I went and stood beside it, it was taller than me. We went back and built a road from our camp to the beryl deposit. Then we filled drums on the truck with water and dropped them off near the beryl. We'd walk to work from the creek. We dug around the side of the beryl with picks and shovels, and loosened it out of the earth with crowbars. We put it on the truck and took it back to camp, and left it on the ground there for other people to break up and put in bags. When we returned to camp in the evening we'd take the bags of beryl down to the jetty, and unload them down a ramp. That's what we did each day.

Two *walypila* arrived and each morning one of them would go out to the reserve to record the **Yindjibarndi** and **Ngarluma** languages, while the other one took us two *marntiyarra* and taught us how to write in Nyangumarta. One of the men was Ken Hale, and the other was Geoff O'Grady, who'd worked on Wallal Station as a young man.³⁸ When he was out riding he used to carry a tape recorder on his saddle to record the language, Walyarli or Coastal Nyangumarta. He'd written the language down. He was Milangka, the other, Ken Hale, was Panaka. Every day Panaka went to the reserve, and Milangka worked with us in the camp. After three days I'd learnt how to write Nyangumarta. 'That's good', he told me, 'now you know'. Then they went back, I suppose to their own countries. That Milangka was a Canadian, and the other was American. They were both young men when they came.

There was a cyclone and we two *marntiyarra* took shelter in a truck. The rain fell all night and the floodwaters rose up over the banks of the river. When the rain stopped we went on and the local *marrngu* on the Reserve saw us. We crossed the little creek, and we said to Rurla, 'Stay here and wait for us'. Then we swam across while the river was in flood. We climbed out of the river near the police station. The people at the Reserve watched us, and said, 'We local people never do that'. It was the first time they'd seen *marrngu* swimming, and they said, 'We're afraid to swim'. We went to Tommy Leigh's store, and as we came through the door he asked, 'How come all your clothes are wet?'

'We swam across the flooded creek.'



Top: Wining tantalite from a yandy.

Bottom: Digging for beryl near Port Hedland.

Photographs by John Wilson.

rampanumalinga

A group of men of adjacent generations in the same matriline, who are uncles and nephews to one another. These were two Purungu and one Panaka.

Yindjibarndi and Ngarluma

Two of the languages spoken in the Roebourne area.

marntiyarra

Minyjun refers to himself (Panaka) and Punch (Milangka) who was Sambo Pina's younger brother.



Kujupurra (Cranky), photograph by John Wilson.

Palinyju wurrarnanganaku, 'kuwarriyakun nyurra mayampapirninnyurru. Munukurra nyungurrangu marrngurrangu mayampapinakayi. Wirntikarrinyaya mayampaku; nyurra tarlka mayampapirninnyurru,' wurrarnanganaku palinyju. Palanga manayirna martumpirri, jukurta, parrka, jangu. Kulpanyiyirni warntarangkarra. Ngarlarlilu manajaninyi mirrilyi mayampalu kanya mirrilyi mungkarrangu mungka kunymana kawarnajaninyi. Nganarnalu warntarranga jinakanu mirrilyi warlina kawanikinyiyirni, kulpanyiyirni nganarnamilikarti ngurrakarti. Yirrinnyinganinyi warntarangkarra mayijartiny.

Walypila milpanya Max Brown. Jampangarra waninyi manikinyinganinyi *photo*-nga; yana Ngarukarti. Muwarr ngakarniji Jock Henderson-ju warrkamuku, ngaju yanarna mangarrjarranga Ngarukarti. Wurrarniji marntungu, 'yankuluminyi Marrarrakarti.' Ngalaya Maruntupa kanyangalayinyi, marntungu yanayirni Marrarrakartijakun. Kartakarrinyiyirni palanga, marntungu yanayirni *compressor* kankakurnu yanikinyi. Kankakurnu purrinikinyi, murtuka kaninykurnu yanikinyi; pala *compressor* kankakurnu yanikinyi, *wheel*-ja warnku wirrinikinyalayili, yinjipinikinyiyirni *wire rope*. Purlupurlujarrikinyi kankakurnu, *wire rope* kulpanya wirrinikinyalayili mutakanga. Murtuka kaninykurnu yanikinyi, *compressor* kankakurnu yanikinyi. Yija kankakurnu murrurlungujarrinyi *bore'm*-jinikinyiyirni. *Bore'm*-jinikinyiyirni *dynamite* wirrinikinyiyirni, minyjinikinyi tarlpanikinyi. Pala tungkurkanganyikinyi *manganese*. Palajun karrpurangu karrpu. Rapujarrikinyi karrpu yanikinyiyirni Ngarukarti. Palanga wanikinyiyirni, wajantayim kulpanyikinyiyirni Marrarrakarti, palajun.

Yarrana kulpanyiyirni Rapungu Ngarukarti, ngatujarrinyirni ngaju. Marlurlu wanikinyiyi Twelve Mile-ja, milpanya Jalyayintinyaja. Ngajulu yajarnarna warrukarti yanayirni *truck*-nga. Whim Creek kakarrakurnu kurilajarrinyiyirni; yanayirni kurila yakujarnikarti, yirrinnyirniyaninyi marrngukarra wanikinyiyi, mimanikinyiinganaku. Martumpirri nganinyakanu pujurrju yangkarnirnarninyipa marnipirnarnarninyi wirntawirntangupa purtapurta wirrinirnarningu rukalu. Ngurraja milpanyanganaku marrngu yaku Wangkamijiji, paliny mamiya milpanyanganaku janturlurlu. Wurrarnanganaku, 'karnku purlpirla waninyayi mimanayinyurraku.' Palangulu witalu kanyayirna, wangkajarrinyiyirni, jinyjanungulu turlpanyaya witalu kanyaya. Nganarna yananya kajarniyirni, jintalu jinyjanungulu karnkungu jinikinyiyi marlurlu. Yinyayinganinya martumpirri. Palaja marlurlu kajana jirniyi, karnku turlpanyaya pirirripa mirtawa witalu kanyaya kuramirntingi kankarni. Kajarniyi, nganarna jinyjanungu turlpanyiyirna manayirnarninga kuramirnti. Warrukartijarrinyi purntulja kirirpinikinyayi mirtawanyjarri. Marntungu marrngujarrinyi, pala ngajuku jamuji Jiyikarra, karluji Kurrkurrayinyamili.

Palaja nganarna marntiyarranya kanyanganinyi mirtalu. Murtuka wararrjirni pijungu, jujirniyirna turlkarramarna wurnmanya *axle*, Sherlock Crossing-ja. Palinyju yartarna muwarr mirlimirlingi yakarna, wurrarnanganaku, 'nganurtupa ngurnipali milpuliny kakarni murtuka, karntulunyurru palanga: ngaju nyungu yaninyarni Malanakarti.' Jinangu yana paliny Malanakarti. Ngaju jampangarra yanarna kurilakurnu kangkuru *shoot'm*-jirnirni, warntarranga kulpanya kanyarna. Jampa wangkajarrinyirni pinakarrinyirni murtuka ngurntirri wararrkarrikinyi palanga. Janalu wurru wirrinnyi *truck*-nga. Karramarnayi, 'ngurnungupa yana kuyikarti mimalkunyalu,' wurrarniyili walypilanga. Wangka yirrinnyiyi, 'nyungu milpanyi.' Pala mirlimirli parrjarna mirtalupa yartarna.

‘This is the first time I’ve known any Aboriginal people to swim’, he said. ‘You won’t catch the people around here swimming. They’re all afraid of swimming; you were pretty game to swim across there.’ We got bread, sugar, tea and tobacco, and went back carrying it over our shoulders. Ngarlarli (Adam Barker) got a rope for us, and swam across tying it from tree to tree. We put the food over our shoulders and, holding on to the rope with the other hand, went back to our own camp. They saw us arrive with the food over our shoulders.

The *walypila*, Max Brown, arrived and stayed for a short while and took our photos,³⁹ and then we went to Ngaru. Jock Henderson sent word for me about some work, so I went to Ngaru by plane. In the morning he said to me, ‘We’ll go to Marrarra, the Rippon Hill mine.’ In the morning he picked up me and Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra) and we went out to Marrarra. We made camp and in the morning we went and winched a compressor up a hill. It was pulled upwards by the car going down, and when it was as high as it would go, we put rocks behind the wheels and took off the wire rope. The car then reversed past it up the hill and we re-attached the wire. It then drove down the hill, and the compressor was pulled up. That’s how it got to the top of the hill, so we could drill a hole. We put dynamite down the hole, lit it, and when it exploded it blew out the manganese. We did that every day. On Fridays we’d go into Ngaru, then go back out to Marrarra each Monday.

One Friday I stayed back in Ngaru. *Marlurlu* were at the Twelve Mile, having come in from Jalyayintinya (Croydon Station). We headed off in a truck at night following the *marlurlu*. East of Whim Creek we turned south, and saw a lot of people there waiting for us. In the evening we covered ourselves with red ochre, and decorated ourselves with red, white and black lines. We put on *wirntawirnta* and *purta*. My *yaku*, Wangkamijiji,⁴⁰ came to us from the camp. He was the *mamiya* who came to us with all his weapons and said, ‘The *karnku* have been ready here for ages and are waiting for you.’ So then we danced, and as we approached, the *jinyjanungu* got up and danced. We went and sat down, while other *jinyjanungu* put the *marlurlu* in the laps of the *karnku*. They gave us food, and then they sat the *marlurlu* down. The *karnku* got up, and men and women danced around the ceremonial food. They sat down, and we *jinyjanungu* got up and took some of the ceremonial food for ourselves. As night came on they danced *purntul*, in which the women dance in a circle, and the men sing. By morning the initiate had become a man; he was my *jamuji* Jiyikarra, the *karluji*, or grandson, of Kurrkurrayinya (Jimmy Doyle).

After the ceremony, a group of us *marntiyarra* headed back with *mirta* Kenny Walker, but the vehicle stalled in a creek. and while we were pushing it there was a bang, and the axle broke, there on the Sherlock crossing. *Mirta* wrote a note and left it in the vehicle, and said, ‘If anyone comes in a car from the east, get a lift with them. I’m going to Malina Station.’ He set off to Malina on foot. I went to the south and shot a kangaroo, and headed back with it across my shoulders. As I approached I heard the sound of a vehicle pulling up. Everyone was putting their swags onto a truck, and they called out to the *walypila*, ‘There’s someone else who’s gone hunting, we’ll wait for him.’ When they saw me coming they said, ‘Here he is.’ They looked at the note that *mirta* had written.

Marlurlu

Boy candidates on their first initiation journey.

wirntawirnta

Head decorations.

purta

Forehead decorations.

yaku

Brother-in-law.

mamiya

One who plays the role of jester at *marlurlu* ceremonies.

karnku

Parents and those of the parent’s generation, representing two of the four skin groupings, as a generational moiety. The *karnku* at *marlurlu* ceremonies are those of the initiate’s parents generation, who, on this occasion, were Milangka and Purungu men and women. The *karnku* perform the role of masters of ceremony.

jinyjanungu

People of the opposite generational moiety to the *karnku*, in this case Panaka and Karimarra, who take the role of workers in the proceedings.



Laka's wife, Mary Henry, photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R667, South Australian Museum.

Nganarna yanayirni *truck*-nga Yirramakartunyakarti, *reserve*-ngu jinirninganinyi. Ngajumili mamaji wanikinyipulu pirnarra palanga. Narngurla wupartu wanikinyi ngurlingurli. Ngaju yanarna Five Mile-karti, wani-waninyirni, kulpanyarna *reserve*-karti wanikinyirni palanga. Ruka milpanya walypila Jock Henderson, mananganinyi yarruwarra Lakapa ngaju. Kanyanganinyi Ngarukarti, marntungu wurrarniji, 'yankuluminyi warinykarti warrkamjiliminyi *copper*, munu *manganese*-ku.' Kanyanganinyi palakartijakun *mine*-karti Karruwarlkankarti, 1962-ngu.

Kulpanyarna Yirramakartunyakarti mangarrjarranga. Nyarra pijungupa wanikinyiyi marrngukarra, yanayi Five Mile-karti ngurrajirniyi palanga *windmill*-ja. Ngaju milpanyarnajanaku palanga. Palangulungarra yanikinyiyirni warrkam, jintalu ngarnipinikinyili *wolfram*; nganarnalu karlikinyiyirni parrarlku.

Karakurti kanyjin-kanyjina *mineral*-ku

1962-ngu kanyanganinyi Mirtalu karakurti kanyjin-kanyjina *mineral*-ku punja. Manikinyiyirningarra *mineral* waraja-waraja, warinykarti yanikinyiyirni,

palangulu kulpanyiyirni 1964.

Ngalypakata pala Mirta Ngarnka kulikatawayi, pikalykata. Munu kuljarrimanganaku. Ngalypalu tukujinikinyinganinyi warntamajirralu.

Palaja Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku, 'yankuluminyi kara,' nganarna *twelve altogether* kanyanganinyi Minderoo Bridge. Kakarra yanayirni Minderoo Station, palangarra yajana kawanikinyiyirni kakarrakurnu piju. Mirta yanikinyi puripi palanga ruutungu, yanayirni katukarnayirni pijukarti. Jampa yanamiyirni, murtuka wurnmanya pijungu partijirri kaniny. Palangulu kakarra yanayirni jinangu piju yajarniyirni, kanyjinikinyiyirna *minerals*. Waraja ngurra kartakarrinyiyirni, kulpanyiyirni. *Windmill*-ja jampangarra milpanyanganaku walypila, wurrarniyirni, 'nganarna munumpajakun warrarnku nyarralaku.' Wurrarnanganaku, 'karntayi, kangkulumarnanyurrinyi ngurrakarti' yija kanyanganinyi ngurrakarti.

Karangu yirrirniyirnipulinyi kurtarra mayijartiny, kuyipa kukurnjari yinyapulinya Koordarie Station-ja. Rampanu yanapulu yalinyja Minderoo Station-karti. Palanga Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku, 'yarrana yarrayi kakarra, yakalipulinya kujarra marrngu.' Ngalaya yakarniyingalayinya Puntanyapa. Kartakarrinyiyirni marntungujarrinyi Mirta yana kanyjin-kanyjirna *mineral*-ku, ngalaya ngatu wanikinyalayi. Palanga milpanya Minderoo-ja walypila *part* kanganyikinyi murtukaku. Yakarna kulpanyapulu Walypilapa Marrngu. Mirta kulpanya wurrarnarnala ngajulu, 'nyungu yakarna *part*.' Wurrarnangalayu, 'yarnimalapulu,' ngalayalu yarnimarnalayi yija. Ngurntirrijirni janpanga wangka wararrjirni. Ngalayalu winyajinikinyalayi ngapa *drum*-ngu. Karntinyalayi murtukanga, karangu yirrirnalayipulinyi rampanu; marrngulu wiyimanikinyipulinyi. Wurrarnalayili Mirtanga, karntinyipulu murtukanga jampangarra kakarra yanayirni ruutu pala, yajanikinyiyi *four-wheel-drive*-jartinyujakun. Paru wirrirniyirnila nyampalu karrpu nyungu ngalpanya kawanikinyi. Yanayirni partijirri wararrjirniyirni. Ngaju yanarnajanaku wurrarnarnajanaku, 'murtuka waninyi murrurlungu.' Palaja yanayirni murtukakarti kartakarrinyiyirni.

We went to Yirramakartunya on the truck, and were dropped off at the Reserve. *Pirnarra*, my older brother and his wife, were living there with Narnngurla, who was a newborn baby at the time. I stayed out at the Five Mile for a while, then stayed at the Reserve. One evening the *walypila* Jock Henderson arrived to pick up Laka *yarruwarra* and me, and took us to Ngaru. The next morning he said to me, 'Instead of mining manganese at Marrarra we'll go somewhere else and mine copper'. And then he took us out to the mine at Karruwalkan; that was in 1962.

I returned to Yirramakartunya by plane. The people living in the creek bed had moved to the Five Mile, and had made a camp at the windmill there. I joined them, and we went out working. Some people were mining wolfram, while our group was digging for beryl.

Prospecting in the Gascoyne and the Murchison regions

In 1962 Mirta took some of us away for a long time to prospect for minerals down in the south. For two years we travelled around from place to place getting minerals, not returning until 1964.

Mirta Ngarnka was a good man. He was not at all bad-tempered, but was happy. He wouldn't get angry with us, but looked after us well, without telling us off.

He said to us, 'Let's head out to the west', and he took twelve of us to Minderoo Bridge. We went to Minderoo Station, and followed the creek eastwards from there. Mirta had been along that road before as a young man. We drove down to the Ashburton River, and would have gone on but the truck broke down in the middle of the river. So we followed the river eastwards on foot, looking for minerals, and camped out at a windmill overnight. A *walypila* came along and said, 'You're not familiar with this country. Hop on board and I'll take you back to your camp'. And he took us back.

We saw *kurtararra* coming from the west with food and mutton which they'd been given at Koordarie Station. *Rampanu* had gone north to Minderoo Station. Mirta told everyone to go off prospecting to the east again, and to just leave two men with the vehicle. So they left me and Puntanya (Bill Watson senior). The next morning Mirta went around prospecting for minerals, and Puntanya and I stayed in camp. A *walypila* came from Minderoo, bringing a part for the truck, which he left with us. When Mirta got back, I told him, 'He left this part here', and he said, 'You two fix it up'. And so we repaired the vehicle. Mirta started it up, and parked it next to the water, and Puntanya and I filled up the drums. We climbed on board, and looking back saw in the west those two *rampanu* hurrying back; we'd nearly left them behind. Someone was bringing them back, and we told Mirta, and they jumped on board. Travelling east, we soon came to a four-wheel-drive track. The sun was going down and so we quickly put spinifex along the wheel tracks, and continued on for a time before stopping. I went out to where the others were prospecting, and told them, 'The truck's up on the hill'. And we all went back and camped by the truck.



Laka Flower, photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R666, South Australian Museum.

Pirnarra

The speaker's brother and sister-in-law; these were Dick McKenna and his wife Topsy.

yarruwarra

A married couple, where the husband is the speaker's brother, and his wife is in the generation of his grandparents or grandchildren. The couple referred to here are Laka Flower and his wife Mary Henry.

kurtararra

Milangka brothers Paddy Yaparla and Mervin Murlarri, who were Minyjun's classificatory sons.

Rampanu

An uncle and nephew, Billy Dean (Karimarra) and Raymond Hill (Milangka).

Marntungu kakarra yanayirni Nanutarra Crossing karakurnu ngurrajirniyirni. Marntungu kurila yanayirni kanyjin-kanyjirniyirna yijalu yangarniyirniyaninyi parrarl. Karimarra kulpanya Yirramakartunyakarti ngakarna Mirtalu, maninya kulpanyajaninyi marrngupa murtuka *four-wheel-drive* yijamarta. Palanga kartakarrinyiyirni yanayirni kurila marntungu Nyang Station. Piju yirrirniyirni, pala *four-wheel-drive*-jartinyjakun yaninyaku palanga ruutungu. Mirta karntinyili murtukanga mirtijarrinyi wirrurru. Nganarnalu mirtilu yajana kawanikinyiyirni. Jampa warlinikinyi jungkalu jujinikinyiyirni, ngalypa mirtijarrikinyi murrurlukartijakun. Wararrjirni murrurlungu karntinyiyirni, kurila mirtijirniyirni Maroonah Station. Kurilangarrany mirtijirniyirni ngurrajirniyirni Lyndon Station martaji wangka. Kartakarrinyiyirni marntungu turlpanyiyirna mirtijirniyirni Williambury Station kurilangarrany. Eudamullah Station ruutu yirrirniyirni *four-wheel-drive*-milijakun. Palanyngarra Mirtalu jiparna wirrurru, jampa warlinikinyi jungkalu, jujinikinyiyirni ngurnarrikarti pijungu wararrjinikinyi. Yanayirni kurila *windmill*-ja ngurrajirniyirni, marntungu yanayirni kanyjin-kanyjirniyirna *mineral*-ku.

Karimarralu manajaninyi jumpayi marrngu pirirripukun, mirtawanyjarripa partanykarrangu wanikinyiyi nyirrirni Yirramakartunyanga. Nyungu *truck*-jartiny milpanyi munu parrjarninganaku partijirri kartakarrinyiyi. Pinakarrinyiyi kamajaja pawurla, karramarnayi, 'nyarrakala kamaninyi *station*-ja.' Marntungu nganayi martumpirri, yanayi *station*-kartijakun. Wurrarnajanaku, 'karrpu warinya yanayi nyarni kurila.' Nyirrirni jana Nyang Station-jaja kartapirniyanganinyi, 'nyarni yanayi.' Yajana kawaniyanganinyi nyirrirnilu *windmill*-kartijakun, yijalu yirrirniyi Mirta, wurrarnajanaku 'yanayi kanyjirniyirna *mineral*-ku.' Nganarna kulpanya kawanakinyiyirni ngurrakarti yirrirniyirniyaninyi kurrngal marrngu.

Palanga wurrarnanganaku Mirtalu, 'yankuluminyi kuwarringarra pipurru.' Yija nganarna karntinyiyirni partijirri yartajirniyirna ngurra. Yanayirni ruka kurila kanyjin-kanyjirna, ngulyarnanganinyi ngapalu kulpanya kawanikinyi ngurrakarti. Karrpu ngalpanya wirlarrangarra Mirta purnku-purnkujarrikinyi, yija milpanyiyirni warntamarnanganinyi Mirtalu. Ngapalu ngulyarnanganinyi warrukarti marntungujarrinyi kakarra yanayirni. Purpija *mine* yirrirniyirni, palanga waninyiyirni kanyjinikinyiyirni *mineral*-ku palangulu ngurrangulu. *Pudding*-pa nganayirni palanga 1962.

Gascoyne

Pudding-ja 1963-ngi yanayirni kurilakurnu ngurra paljurniyirna ngapamajirringi. Manikinyiyirni ngapa *windmill*-ja palanga marntungu; ruka kanyjinikinyiyirna *mineral*-ku. Wurrarnanganaku Mirtalu, 'munu minpinaku ngapa pijuja, *windmill*-jajakun minpinalunyurru.' Yakarniyirna murtuka wariny yamarna wirrirniyirnilu yirrarlalu. Yanayirni karakurnungarra wangka kanyjirniyirna *mineral*-ku. Ruka yanayirni ngurra paljurniyirna kartakarrinyiyirni. Marntungujarrinyi yanayirni wirrpa kanyjin-kanyjirna *mineral*-ku.

Kulpanyiyirni palaja, ruka yanayirni kara Gascoyne-karti. Mangkurtu pijungu warrkinikinyi winya. Jana turlpanyaya marntungu mangkurtu parrjanikinyiyi, ngaju kartakarrikinyirni. Marntiyarra mayampapirnipulu ngurnarrikarti. Ngaju kartaja turlpanyarna. Mirtalu munu-munujinikinyijaninyi, ngaju mayampapirniyirni ngurnarrikarti. Mirtalu junturtungu kunymarnarningu *mail* mayampapirni. Jataranga yirruku mayampapinikinyi. Wurrarnarnala, 'wararrkarra, jata ngapa.' Yana palajartiny *mail*-jartiny *town*-karti. Kulpanya waraja kurtany kanganyikinyi jukurtajartiny milpanyanganaku.

In the morning we travelled east and made camp just west of the Nanutarra crossing. We went prospecting to the south, and actually found some beryl there. Mirta sent Karimarra⁴¹ back to Yirramakartunya to collect some more people and a four-wheel-drive vehicle. The next morning we went south to Nyang Station. We saw that the road across the river was only suitable for four-wheel drives, so Mirta drove at full speed while we ran along behind. Whenever it got bogged we pushed it, and we sped across to the opposite bank. Mirta pulled up and we climbed on, and drove south to the other side of Maroonah Station, making camp close to Lyndon Station. The next day we drove down to Williambury Station, and still further south to Eudamullah Station. South of Eudamullah we made camp at a windmill and went out prospecting for minerals.

Karimarra came back bringing more young men, all the women and children remaining behind in Yirramakartunya. They came along with the truck, and not having found us made camp along the road. They knew there was a station nearby when they heard roosters crowing. At the station they were told, 'They passed through here yesterday, travelling south.' They came along behind us, following our tracks from Nyang Station, and they said, 'Oh, they went this way.' They kept following along, right up to the windmill where we were camped, and Mirta told them that everyone was out prospecting. Returning to camp we saw a big group of people there.

Then Mirta said to us, 'Let's head off immediately', and so we climbed on board the two vehicles and set off, making camp along the way. That evening as we were prospecting out towards the south, rain began to fall and we headed back to camp. The sun went down, and there was just the moon. Mirta was worried that we were lost, and told us off when we got back. It rained on us all night, and in the morning we set off to the east. We found an old abandoned mine and stayed there, and went out prospecting for minerals from that base. We spent the Christmas of 1962 there.

The Gascoyne River

After Christmas, at the beginning of 1963, we headed south and made a camp where there was no water. In the morning we fetched water from a windmill, and in the afternoon we went prospecting. Mirta told us, 'The water in the creek isn't drinkable. Only drink water from the windmill.' We left one of the vehicles behind there, covered over with a tarpaulin, and went a short way out further to the west prospecting for minerals. We went on and made another camp that afternoon, and the following morning spread out in all directions prospecting.

That afternoon we went west to the Gascoyne River, which was full and flowing fast, and we made camp. In the morning the others looked at the river flowing past, while I was still asleep. **Marntiyarra** swam across to the other side. I got up and swam across; I'd been asleep when Mirta had told everyone not to. Mirta tied all the mail to the top of his head and swam across. He was swimming even when it was shallow enough to walk. I said, 'You can stand up, it's shallow there.' He went into Gascoyne Junction with the mail and came back with a bag of sugar.

Marntiyarra

Classificatory father and son, Paddy Yaparla and Crow. Both were good swimmers.

Eudamullah-ja milpanya maaja, yinjipirni jinapuka kunymarnarningu jalarnja mayampapirni yana *town*-karti. *Town*-ja load wirririyaninyi *semitrailer*-nga, kulpanya maaja mayijartiny. Wirrurru yirririyanirni mirtijarrinyi ngalpajirni mangkurtungu. Pala yirririyanirni truck mangkurtungu ngalpajirni *axle* wurnmanya. Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku, ‘wararrkarrayi ngalparra mayampakata, wararrkaralunyurru partijirri kaniny.’ Walypila wanikinyi kanka *truck*-nga, yinganyikinyijanaku martumpirri, palalu yinganyikinyili warinyja, palajun. Nganarna mayampakata wanikinyiyanirni partijirri kaniny. Jinta mayampakatawayi wanikinyiyi milyanga wararrkarrikinyiyi jatarranga. Palayinngarra yinganya kawanikinyiyanarningu ngurnarrikartingi winyajarrikinyi martumpirri. Ngurnungu karpu ngalpana kawanikinyi pakuji lakarnkanya *cool drink*-jartiny. Maajalu wurrarnanganaku, ‘marraya,’ yijalu nganarnalu manikinyiyanirna. Yirririyananinyi *truck driver*-lu, wurrarnanganaku, ‘yakalaya! Nganija ngulyulu maninyanyurru?’ Kurntajirninganinyi pala *truck driver*-lu, maajalu Eudamullah *bloke*-ju wurrarnala, ‘ngajulu wurrarnarnajanaku maninyaku.’ Yanayirni ngurrakarti.

Carnarvon-ja *mail man*-ju wiyimarna *load* martumpirri, yakarna Gascoyne Junction-ja. Marntungu jupanya kawanikinyi ngapa, nganarna kurtanyarnayirni *town*-kartijakun. Kakarra yanayirni reserve marrngu wanikinyiyi pala kakarrakurnu. Nganarna yanayirni wirrkijarrinyiyanirni pijukarti. Mirta kulpanya *town*-karti, *load* mana martumpirri, kulpanya palakarti yakarnanganinyapa. Milpanya karntinyiyanirni yanayirni kurila pipurru *station* warinyja yalinyajarrinyiyanirni Yinnetharra.

Copper warrkamjinikinyiyanirni, kulpanyiyanirni Yirramakartunyakarti

Pala kakarrakurnu ngurrajirniyanirna kartakarrinyiyanirni. Marntungu yanayirni kanyjin-kanyjirna *mineral*-ku, munu yirririyanirni nganipa. Kulpanyiyanirni Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku, ‘*seven cyclones* milpanyayi. Yankuluminyi wungkukartimarta.’ Yanayirni yalinyja karrkarniyanirni karakurnu ngurrajirniyanirna niyamarringi. Palanga yija milpanya warrukarti *cyclone*. Pungkanya kakarrara, mangkurtu warrkirni pijungu kankajirri. Munujarrinyi *cyclone* nganarnalu kanyjinikinyiyanirna wirrpa yanikinyiyanirni kulpanyikinyiyanirni ngurrakarti. Wurrarnanganaku Mirtalu, ‘marntungu yankuluminyi kurila.’ Palanga ngurra paljurniyanirna, *copper warrkamjinikinyiyanirni*.

Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku, ‘nyurra kulpulunyurru, nyarra yakarninyapa murtuka.’ Wiyimarnanganinyi yakarnanganinya palanga, kulpanya murtukajartiny. Kanyajaninyi kurila yanayi kanyjinikinyiya *mineral*-ku. Mullewa-nga kanka kakarrajarriyaniyi Yalgoo, Mount Magnet, Cue-ngu yalinyajarrinyiyi karakurti Meekatharra-ngapa. Munu kanyjirniya *mineral*-ku, kulpanyiyi partijirri jinirniyipulinyi rampanu. Jinangu yanapulu warrukartijarrinyi wirrarranga yanikinyipulu, pinakarrinyiyanirni kamarnapulu, nganarna ngaany ngalypajarrinyiyanirni milpanyapulu. Wurrarnapulunganaku marntungu, ‘yankuluminyi.’ Yija nganarna marntungu milpanyayirniyanaku palanga.

Mirtalu wurrarnala Pajarlingananyanga, ‘yankuluman Yirramakartunyakarti *compressor* mankuluman.’ Palanga nganarna marirra-marirra kulpanyiyanirni. Murtukanga wirririyanirni *compressor*, kulpanyapulu pulany. Palanga warrkamjarrikinyiyanirni Five Mile-ja. Palajirri kulpanyapulu palakarti palanga yakarniyanirniyaninyi jinta marrngu warrkamu wanikinyiyi. Palanga warrkamjarriyaniyi, yanayi Uaroo-karti. Pala kakarrakurnu ngurrajirniya, *copper warrkamjarrikinyiyi*, karlinikinyiyi wirrinikinyiyi *dynamite*.

The boss of Eudamullah Station came along; he removed his boots and tied them onto his belt, and swam across to town. He loaded up a semitrailer and came back with a load of food. We watched as the truck charged through the floodwaters, and then the axle broke. Mirta said to us, 'All you men who can swim form a line out into the river'. The *walypila* stood on the truck, and handed down the food to the first man, who passed it to the second, and so it was passed from hand to hand. Those of us who could swim stood out in the middle of the river; while those who couldn't, stood in the shallow water along the edges. We passed the load along the line in that way until all the food was on the other side. As the sun was going down we found a box of soft-drink bottles that had broken open, and the boss said, 'Help yourselves'. And so we all got one. The truck driver saw us, and told us, 'Put them back! What do you have to go and steal those for?' He was going to stop us, but the Eudamullah Station boss told him, 'I told them to take them'.

A load of food from Carnarvon had been left for us at Gascoyne Junction by the mail truck. In the morning the floodwaters had receded, and so we crossed over and went into town. We went to the Reserve on the east side of town, where *marrngu* were living. Mirta went on into the town, got the load of food, and came back to where he'd left us. Then we headed south, and then turned north to Yinnetharra Station.

Copper mining, and a return to Yirramakartunya (Roebourne)

We made camp on the east side of Yinnetharra Station, and prospected around there but found nothing. When we got back Mirta told us, 'There are seven cyclones coming, let's go and find some shelter'. We went north, and turned west, and made camp at the side of a sandhill. There was indeed a cyclone that night; rain fell all night and the creek became flooded. When the cyclone had passed over we all spread out prospecting, and then returned to camp. Mirta said, 'Tomorrow we'll go further south'. And we established a camp there in the south and started mining copper.⁴²

Mirta told some of us to go back to where we'd left the other vehicle. He took us and dropped us off there, and then took another group of people prospecting to the south. They went east through Mullewa, Yalgoo and Mt Magnet, and at Cue they went north to the west of Meekatharra. They looked for minerals, but finding nothing they headed back to the copper mine. On the way they dropped off *rampanu*, who walked through the night by the light of the moon. We heard them calling out, and we were really pleased to see them. In the morning they said, 'Let's go', so we went back to join everyone else.

Mirta told Pijarlingananya to go to Yirramakartunya to get a compressor, and we *marirra-marirra* went back with him. At Yirramakartunya we loaded the compressor on the back of the truck, and my brother Jacob and I stayed and worked there at the Five Mile, while Pijarlingananya and Wurta took the compressor back down to the copper mine where we'd left people working. After a while everyone shifted from there to Uaroo. They made a camp to the east of Uaroo, and mined copper, digging and blasting it out with dynamite.

rampanu

This uncle and nephew were Karimarra man Pajarlingananya (Bobby Janyjijanyji) and Milangka, Paddy Yaparla.

marirra-marirra

A group made up of two Panaka brothers (Minyjun and his brother Jacob) and their Karimarra brothers-in-law, Pajarlingananya and Wurta.

Ngaju wanikinyirni Five Mile-ja. Uaroo-ja palaja mujarrijarrinyi jumpayi, yanayi Onslow-karti. Onslow-ja wiyimarnayijaninyi Yirramakartunyakarti milpanyiinganaku Five Mile-karti. Mirtalu ngakarnanganaka murtuka Yirramakartunyakarti, wurrarnala, ‘marrajaninyi marrngu,’ yija milpanyapulu ruka. ‘Milpanyalayi yarrkal maninya kulpanyaku marrnguku.’ Yanayirni marntungu Onslow-karti wurnmanyanganaka murtuka *reserve*-ja partal ngurntirrijinikinyi. Ngakarnanganaku wariny murtuka Onslow-karti. Nganarna karntinyirni palanga murtukanga, ruka milpanyiyrninanaku.

Station-ja warrkamjarrinyirni

Warrkamjinikinyirni *copper*. Japirrarna Mirta marrnguku; yu karramarna. Wiyimarnanganinyi yakarnanganinya Range Station. Palanga warrkamjarrinikinyirni *windmill* yarnimanikinyirni, *yard*-rrangu yarnimanikinyirni, piinyipa. Palaja yanayirni ruka kuyikarti murtukanga. Yanayirni kakarra warnku martaji murtuka wararrjirni. Kangkuru palaja warnkuja mirtijarrinikinyi, wariny kajanikinyi munu mirtijarrima. Ngajulu pala yirrirnirni kajanikinyi. Janalu partal parrjanikinyiya, wurrarikinyirninjanaku, ‘yirrirnanyurru ngurnungu kajaninyi?’ Partal parrjanikinyiya, janalu yinyajiyi jilaman. Ngajulu wurrarnarnajanaku wanyjarningi yirrilkulunyurru pungkanyaja, ‘parrjalaya kankajirri.’ Parrjanikinyiyi warnkugu. Ngajulu *sight’m*-jirnirnil, tarlparna pala jilaman, yirrirniyi yijalu wapakanaja kaninykurnu warliwarlikanya nganarnakartijakun. Janalu jangu yarnimarnajiya yinyajiyi. Katukanakanu manayi kulpanyiyrni ngurrakarti, nganayirni pala kuyi. Karlujilu wurrarnajanaku jananga, ‘yaninyaluminyi kuyikartipa, munu nganyjurrulu *shoot’m*-jinaku, palinyju palaji *shoot’m*-jinaliny kuyi ngungkukatalu. Nganyjurrulu *shoot’m*-jinaluminyi yarti, palajun.’

Majuramu yanikinyiyi jana *yard*-nga wirrinikinyiyijaninyi kukurnjari. Mujungu-mujungu ngapa pungkanyikinyi yilyily. Palanga *Pudding* nganayirni, palaja 1964-jarrinyi. Palanga *shear’m*-jinikinyiyijaninyi kukurnjari. *Shear’m*-jirniyijaninyi wakany, ngapa wirtujarrinya kawanikinyi. Jinirniyirninjaninyi kukurnjarirrangu pintirri, rukajarrinyajalu ngapa wirtujarrinyi. Nganarnalu wurrarikinyiyrni ngapaminyirrikapan pungku: nyungu *cyclone*. Pungkanya kakarrara; karrpu turlpanya jupanya ngapa. Murtuka wariny murrurlungu wararrkarrikinyi, wariny murtuka pijungu wanikinyi. Mangkurtu yaninya ngakamarnala wararrkarrikinyi janpanga partijirri kaniny murtuka. Nganarnalu jujirniyrna murrurlukartijakun, maajalu *start’m*-jirni, ngurntirrijarrinyi ngalya. Nganarna yanayirni kujarra murtukajirrijartiny ruka Onslow-karti, mangkurtu ruutungu warrkinikinyi. Karakurnu janpanga yanikinyiyrni Onslow-kartijakun. Kulpanyiyrni *station*-karti, milpanyiyrninjanaku. Parrjarniyrna *paddock* pala, kukurnjari wiyirr marlkarri, wakany wurrijirniyi. Palanga warrkamjarrinyirni.

Uaroo Mine-ja Mirtalu wiyirr kanyajaninyi kakarrakurnu Nanutharranya yakarnajaninyi, White Gorge-ja, pala yini yinta. Kujarra marrngujirri wiyimarnapulinyi yakanmalinga *station* warinykarti. Mirta milpanyanganaku *station*-ja. Palanga warrkamjarrinikinyiyrni, ngurnipali wantamarnapularninya. Palaja karakurnu yanayirni ruka, *windmill* yarnimanikinyiyrni, yarnimarniyrni partal. Wurrarnanganaku Mirtalu yankuluminyi Marble Bar-karti; nganarna ngaany ngalypajarrinyiyrni.

While I was at the Yirramakartunya Five Mile some of the young men got tired of working at Uaroo, and took off to Onslow. They were brought from there to the Five Mile. Mirta sent a vehicle to Yirramakartunya for us, telling Janyjijanyji, 'Pick everyone up'. They arrived one evening, saying, 'We've come to get everybody'. At Onslow the truck broke down at the Reserve and Mirta sent another vehicle to pick us up, and we arrived at Uaroo that evening.

Some station work

While we were mining copper the manager at Range Station asked Mirta for workers, and Mirta agreed. He dropped us off at the station, and we worked there, fixing windmills, and building yards and fences. One evening we went hunting in a vehicle. We went east and we pulled up next to a hill. Kangaroos came running down the hill. One stopped running and sat still. I saw it sitting there, but the others didn't, so I said, 'See that kangaroo over there?' They couldn't see it, so they gave me the gun. I told them to watch and see where it was going to fall. 'Look up there', I said. They looked up at the hill; I took aim, fired, and they saw it as it leapt up, and rolled right down to where we were standing. Each man rolled me a smoke and gave it to me. We got the kangaroo and got back on the truck, and went home, and had meat for dinner. My *karluji* said to the others, 'When we go out hunting, nobody else shoot. This man is a good shooter; let him have the first shot. We'll shoot after him, let's do it like that.'

karluji

Classificatory grandson (son's son); this was Misha Peters.

They went out mustering, and put all the sheep into yards. Clouds gathered, and it started to rain lightly while the shearing was on. That was around Christmas time, and then it was 1964. When the shearing was finished, the rain set in. We released all the shorn sheep, and in the evening the rain started to pour down. We thought this was just seasonal rain, but it was a cyclone. It rained all night. When day broke it stopped. One vehicle was on a rise, and the other was in the creek. The floodwaters had spread out all around it, and it was now in the middle of the water. We pushed it up to some high ground, the station boss started it, and the engine ran just fine. That evening we took two vehicles and went to Onslow; the roads were still under water from the flood. All the way west to Onslow we were driving through water. When we got back to the station we saw in the paddocks that all the sheep were dead, they had all drowned.

Mirta took everyone from the Uaroo mine to White Gorge⁴³, to the east of Nanutarra, and left them there. He took two couples, *yakanmalinga*, out to another station, and then came to join us on Range Station. He and the manager must have argued while we were there. After the argument we went to the west to try to fix a windmill, but couldn't repair it. So Mirta said, 'Let's go to Marble Bar', and we were very pleased to hear that. We didn't get paid for the work we did there.

yakanmalinga

A group of kin of any gender combination in different sections in the generation of the speaker's grandparents or grandchildren. This may be a brother-in-law or sister-in-law pair, or a husband and wife. Minyjun uses the term to refer to a group of Panaka-Karimarra people who are not in his generation. In this case the term refers to two Panaka-Karimarra couples, Murlangajayi (Norman Murla), the youngest brother of Rurla's father, and his wife Nelly, and Bruce Wandarri and his wife Polly Mirlpanga, who was Tom Linmarra's sister. Bruce Wandarri worked as a blacksmith at Warrawagine.

Kulpanyiyirni warrarn waljakarti

Yanayirni marntungu milpanyiyirniyanaku White Gorge-ngi. Murtuka kurlujarrinyi palanga yarni-yarnimanikinyipulu partangurralu, munu ngurntirrijarrima. Yirrkulu yarnimanikinyipulu marntungu rukakartijakun palajun. Kartakarrikinyiyirni marntungu turlpanyapula yarnimanikinyipulu. Yarnimarnapulu yirrkulu yakurrmarnapula, yija ngurntirrijarrinyi. Kamarniyirni nganarna. Mirta turlpanya kartaja, wurrarnanganaku, ‘wurru wirriliyaninyi, yankuluminyi kuwarringarra.’ Yanayirni kakarra, *windmill*-ja wararrjirni murtuka, ngapa winyajirniyirni kujarra *drum*-ngu. Yanayirni kakarra kartakarrinyiyirni partijirri.

White Springs-ja wurrarnanganaku, ‘munu, yankuluminyi Warrkalkurakarti’ Mirtalu. Nganarna ngaany kurlujarrinyiyirni. Palanga yanayirni yalinyja karakurnu wirrkijarrinyiyirni Warrkalkurakarti. Palanga wanikinyiyirni ngurrangapa warrkamjarrikinyiyirni.

Wurrarniyijanaku Five Mile-ja, ‘waninyayi nyungu, Warrkalkuranga nyarra karapa yanayi.’ Yanayi jinta marrngu Five Mile-ja Twelve Mile-karti. Marntungu yana Ngarukarti Mirta mayiku maninyaku. Twelve Mile-ja wangka yirrirnijaninyi marrngu Five Mile-jaja wanikinyiyi. Wurrarnajanaku, ‘ngakamalamarnanyurrinyi walarnijalu, yaninyarni kara mankulumarna martumpirri.’ Twelve Mile-ja ngakamarnajaninyi kanyajaninyi Warrkalkurakarti.

Ngalaya marntiyarra yanalay kurila kuyikarti. Munu nganipa wirlanamalai, maralyka kulpanyalai. Partijirri warrukartijarrinyi wirrarranga yaninya kawanikinyalai, yirrirnalayi wika kampanikinyi yirtinykarra. Karramarnalai, ‘nyungukala, kurrngal waninyayi marrngu.’ Wikanga wangka wararrkarrikinyiyi, mirtawanyjarripukun jinajinajartiny. Yija wangkajarrinyalai yirrirnalayijaninyi kurrngal.

Marntungujarrinyi yanayirni warrkamkarti, ruka kulpanyiyirni, palajunngarra karrpurangu karrpu, karlikinyiyirni mijimijikupa *columbite*-ku, pawalku, *tin*-ku.

Yarti japirrmarna mirtalu Doug Wilson, ‘milpulupiyirni palamakarti?’ Yu karramarna. Wurrarnanganaku Mirtalu, ‘yankuluminyi Jurriyakarti.’ Marntungu yanayirni Warrkalkuraja Jurriyakartijakun. Wurrarnanganaku, ‘nyungungu wantulunyurru mayanga.’ Palanga wurru katujinikinyiyirniyaninyi murtukaja. Kartakarrikinyiyirni palanga, karrpungu yanikinyiyirni warrkamu. Palajun karrpurangu karrpu. Kanganyikinyinganinyi murtukanga pijukarti jatitingi. Wanikinyiyirni palanga pijungu kuyikarra, kulpanyikinyiyirni ruka, palajun. Warrkamjarrikinyiyirni palajun ngarrakuny. *Pudding* nganayirni palanga 1965-jarrinyi.

Wurrarnanganaku, ‘yankuluminyi Marble Bar-karti,’ ruka yanayirni karrpu ngalpanya kawanakinyi. Woodstock-ja kanka yanayirni, kurila Tambourah-nga kakarrakurti yanayirni. Jarlirrany *turn-off* karakurnu kartakarrinyiyirni ngapamajirringi. Marntungu turlpanyiyirna yanayirni, Hillside karakurnu nganayirni *breakfast*. *Breakfast*-ja yanayirni Spear Hill-ja kurilakurti, Marble Bar-nga wapirripirri milpanyiyirniyanaku Martanyanga. Kurrngal wanikinyiyi marrngu ruutungu kurilakurnu, karakurnu ruutungu Pindan Mob. Kangkushot-ju kalkunikinyijaninyi kurrngal marrngu. *Tin* ngarnipinikinyiyirni, marntungu yanikinyiyirni mirrarnputu, ruka kulpanyikinyiyirni ngurrakarti. Palaja nganarna yanayirni ngurra paljurnirna Kukalpanyanga yakujarnikarti. Palangulu yanikinyiyirni warrkamu mirrarnputu, ngapa kanganyikinyiyirni. Wanikinyiyirni warrkamu ruka kulpanyikinyiyirni, palajun.

We return to familiar country

The next morning we set out to find all the others at White Gorge. The truck broke down; *partangurra* worked on it but couldn't get it started. They worked on it from the morning right up to the evening. We slept there that night, and in the morning they set to work on it again. Eventually they tried to start it, and it started. We gave a shout. Mirta woke up, and said, 'Roll up your swags and we'll get going'. We went east and pulled up at a windmill, where we filled up two drums. We continued east, making camp on the road.

When we got to White Springs Mirta said, 'We won't go to Marble Bar, we'll go to Warrkalkura⁴⁴ instead'. We weren't happy about that; we thought we were going home. So we headed north and turned off to the west towards Warrkalkura. We set up camp there and began working.

The people at the Roebourne Five Mile heard we'd come back. 'They're here; the people who went away to the west are now at Warrkalkura.' So some of them left the Five Mile and went to the Port Hedland Twelve Mile. One morning when Mirta was on his way to Ngaru to get food he saw a lot of Five Mile people near the Twelve Mile. He told them, 'I'll pick you all up on my way back. I'm going west into Ngaru to get food'. He picked them up from the Twelve Mile, and brought them to Warrkalkura.

We two *marntiyarra*, Rurla and I, had gone out hunting to the south and were coming back empty handed as night fell. Walking along in the moonlight we saw camp fires burning all over the place and we said, 'Look! A whole lot of people are here'. They were standing around their fires, women and all with their dresses. And as we got nearer we saw them all.

We went out to work each morning, returning in the evening. We did that every day, mining gold, columbite, beryl and tin.

After some time Mirta spoke to Doug Wilson, a *walypila* who looked after Jurriya, the Wodgina mining area. He asked him, 'How about we come over there?' and Wilson agreed. Mirta told us, 'We'll go to Jurriya'. So one morning we left Warrkalkura and went to Jurriya. Mirta told us, 'Here you'll live in houses'. We took all our swags off the truck, and slept there, and the next day we went to work mining. That's what we did every day. On Saturdays he'd drive us down to the East Turner River, and we'd spend the day hunting along the river; that was what we'd do on the weekends. We kept on working like that, and had Christmas there, just before the New Year of 1965.

Then Mirta said, 'Let's go to Marble Bar', and we left that afternoon as the sun was going down. We went past Woodstock and travelled south to the east of Tambourah. West of the turn-off to Jarlirrany (Western Shaw Mine), we made a dry camp. In the morning we went on and had breakfast to the west of Hillside. We travelled to the south of Spear Hill and straight past Marble Bar, and arrived at Martanya (Brockman River). A lot of people were there south of the road, and to the west of the road was the Pindan Mob, with Kangkushot in charge. We were mining for tin, going out for the day each morning and returning each evening. After that we went on and made a camp this side of Kukalpanya, a mine near the Nullagine turn-off. We went out working from there, just going out each day and taking water with us. We'd stay out there working and we'd go back in the evening, that's the way it was.

partangurra

Two people in the speaker's generation in the section of the male speaker's brothers-in-law, or the female speaker's sisters-in-law. For Minyjun, this refers to two Karimarra men, in this case Bobby Pajirlingananya, the driver and mechanic for the group, and Wurta, his offsider or assistant driver.

Chapter 6:

Elopement

By tradition, marriage in marrngu Law is strictly regulated. Selection of marriage partners was governed by the kinship system, which permitted only Panaka–Karimarra, and Purungu–Milangka relationships. In 1965 Minyjun, who was Panaka, formed an illicit relationship with a Purungu woman which was to alter the course of his life over the following years.

Nyupa

Jijilanga 1956 yirrinnirni. Kujarramal paliny mujarrijarrinyi. Warrkalkuranga palanga warrukarti mujarrijarrinyipulu Gladys-mili mamajipa. Yajarniyipulinya munu, kulpanyiyi partijirri, munu manamiyipulinyi. Yirramakartunyanga palalu pirirrilu yakarna, yirrinnirni yarti Yirramakartunyanga 1960-ngi.

Yarti Martanyanga palinyju wurrarniji, ‘yankulumarna kangkuluminyi ngajumililu mamajilu Yirrangkajikarti, Bonney Downs-karti, Bamboo-karti.’ Ngurnipali yungkulupiya pirirri wariny, ngajulu wurrarnarna; ngurnipali nyungu yankuliny kakuputu. Palanga wurrarnarnala, ‘yankulupali warrukarti mujarri.’

Ngajulu wurru kanyarnaja wakany, kulpanyarna Martanyakarti. Warrukartijarrinyi mujarrijarrinyalayi Two Sisters yalinyjakurnu kartakarrinyalayi. Marntungu turlpanyalaya karpumajirringi. Ngapaku kanyinikinyalaya, yirrinnalayi lirri kangkurulu karlikinyiya ngapaku. Palanga ngalayalu winyajirnalayi ngapa *billycan*-ja. Pijungu kara yanalayi, Dingo Point-ngi kanka Eginbah Tank-karti, ngapa wanikinyi palanga janpa. Wurru yakarnalaya yarrkal yanalayi kangkuru *shoot’m*-jirnnirni kulpanyalayi. Nganalayi pala kuyi, ruka yanalayi warrijirringi piju yajanikinyalayi karakurnu. Wurrarnarnala, ‘nyarni yankulupali,’ karntinyalayi murrurlungu murtuka yirrinnirni. Ngalaya murrurlungu karntinyalayi, ngajulu warntaranga kanganyikinyirni ngurriny. Murtuka karntinyi murrurlungu, palalu *driver*-lu yirrinnigalayinyi, munu wurranamajanaku nyarrinnigalayinyi, janalu jintalu jinaku parrjana kawanakinyiya. Pungkanyarna ngaju.

‘Ngani yirrinnin?’

Wurrarnarnala, ‘murtuka yirrinnan?’

Kakarrakurnujarrinyi, parrjanikinyalayi kajanangulu. Kakarra yanayi, wurrupirrijarrinyi pala murtuka, ngalaya kulpanya katukarnalayi pijukarti. Mangan yanalayi ngurnarrikarti murrurlungujarrinyalayi. Pukukarnti yanalayi, karrpu ngalpanya warrurl-warrurlja. Yanalayi Eginbah-karti, pinakarrinyalayi muwarrja pupukarrangu *trough*-ja. Karramarnarna, ‘nyarra muwarrpinayi ngapangarla.’ Wurrarnarnala, ngapa nyirnnalayi *trough*-ja. Yanalayi karakurnu kartakarrinyalayi. Karpumajirringi turlpanyalaya, kupilyalu yamarna warrarn. Pijungu kurtanyjarnalayi, ngajulu wararrjirnnirni *manganese truck*. Wararrkarrinyi, ngapaku japirrarnarna. Yu karramarna, yinyarnala *billycan*, winyajirni ngapa. Yanalayi karakurnu, mimanikinyalaya murtukaku Warralong *turn-off*-ja. Yirrinnalayi kurlurlu, *manganese truck* milpanyikinyi. Yana wararrkarrinyi, ngaju yanarnalu japirrarnarna, yu karramarna, karntinyalayi Bell Brothers’ *truck*-nga, kara Ngarukarti kanyangalayinyi.

Kakarrakurnu yanayi karrpu warinyja Eginbah Tank-kartijakun. Kartapirniyingalayinyi jina: ‘nyarni nyungungu wanikinyipulu’ karramarnayi. Yirrinniyi pala kuyi wirnanaja. Ngurnipali kuyi manayi janalu jinyjikata. Kulpanyiyi Martanyakarti. Marntungujarrinyi yarrana yanayi jantujartiny, yajarniyingalayinya pijungu kara. Palanga marntiyarralu yakarnapulujaninya jinta marrngu. Wurrarnapulujanaku pulanyju, ‘ngalayalu nyarni kara kanyijalapalayipuluku murtukajartinyju.’ Janalu yajarniyingalayinya jina, ‘nyungungu mirtingarnapulu yirrinnipulunganyjurrinyi.’ Janalu jina yajanikinyiyingalayinya karrpu warinyja. Murtukajartinyju jungka yirrinnipulu wirna, ‘nyungungu ngapa ngurnipali yinyapulinya walypilalu, nyarningi ngurnipali waninyapulu.’ Milpanyiyi palarrangu jinguja, karramarnayi, ‘karntinyipulu murtukanga ngurnipali.’ Kulpanyiyi.

My wife

I had first seen her at Jijila in 1956.⁴⁵ Later, at Warrkalkura, she'd run off one night with Gladys' older brother. Their families had gone out looking for them but hadn't found them. He left her in Yirramakartunya, Roebourne, and it was there that I met her again in 1960.

Now at Martanya she told me, 'My older brother is going to take me away to Nullagine, and then to Bonney Downs and Bamboo Station'. I thought it likely that they would give her away to another man, and that she'd be lost to me. And so I said to her, 'Let's run away together at night'.

I gathered up all my clothes and swag and things, and went back to Martanya. That night, she and I ran away together. We camped to the north of the Two Sisters⁴⁶ and went on in the morning while it was still dark. We looked for water and we found a soak in the Talga Talga River where kangaroos had been digging for water. We filled our billycan, and went on to the west, past Dingo Point to the Eginbah Tank⁴⁷ where there was a pool. We left our swags there and went out hunting. I shot a kangaroo and we went back and ate the meat, and that evening when it was cool we went on following the river westward. I said, 'Let's go this way'. We climbed the hill and I saw a vehicle. We were climbing up the hill, with me carrying the swags on my shoulders. A car was coming up the hill. That driver [Ross Gardiner] saw us but didn't tell the others, he didn't give us away. The others were looking for our tracks. I ducked down.

'What did you see?' she asked.

I replied, 'See that car?'

We sat watching as the vehicle turned off to the east and disappeared over the hill. We went back down to the river and hurried away in the opposite direction over the rise of the hill, walking on grass and stones to conceal our tracks. We went to Eginbah; we heard frogs calling in the trough, and I thought, 'There must be water for there to be frogs calling out'. We drank by scooping water from the trough. Then we went to the west and slept. We rose before dawn, when the land was enshrouded in mist. We crossed the river, and I flagged down a manganese truck. When it stopped I asked for water. He agreed, so I gave him a billycan, and he filled it up. We went further west, and waited for a lift at the Warralong turn-off. I saw a cloud of dust as a manganese truck approached. It pulled up and I asked the driver for a lift. He agreed, and we climbed into the Bell Brothers' truck, and were taken west towards Ngaru (Port Hedland).

The previous day the people looking for us had travelled east as far as the Eginbah Tank, where they found our tracks. 'They've been here', they said. They found the meat that I'd killed. They probably took the meat, because it was nice and fat. Then they'd gone back to Martanya. The next morning they went out again with their weapons, and followed us westward along the river. Then *marntiyarra* left the others, saying, 'We'll go and look for them in the car along here to the west'. The others followed our tracks on foot, and probably said, 'They must have seen us, and ducked down here'. They were following the tracks we'd made the day before. The two in the vehicle found some wet ground, and said 'This must be where some *walypila* gave them water. They must be around here somewhere.' The others who were tracking on foot arrived, and said, 'They must have got a lift in a truck.' So they went back.



Nalma, photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R534, South Australian Museum.

mantiyarra

Classificatory father and son, Ngarlarli (Jack Kempton) and Ross Gardiner.

Ngalaya yanalai *truck*-nga, wararrjirnirni truck katukarnalai Strelley *turn-off*-ja. Ngapa minpirnalai *windmill*-ja, yanalai Strelley-karti. Karrpu ngalpanya partijirri, wangkangarra *shearing shed*-martaji pipurru yanalai. Yakarnarna pijungu, ngaju yanarna, yirrirninyi Purungujalu. Japirrarnanya, ‘nyanga milpanyan?’

‘Kuwarri,’ wurrarnarnala. Palinyju *supper* yinyanya nganikinyirni *table*-ja. Palinyju parrjanikinyinyi wararrju.

‘Nyungu wariny marrngu,’ karramarna paliny. Japirrarnanya, ‘nyuntu Tuntiyan?’ Wurrarnarnala ngaju, ‘wariny.’

‘Yu,’ karramarna, ‘ngajulu wurrarnarnanta Tuntiyankapan.’

‘Mujarri yanalai, pijungu palama yakarnarna.’

Palanga palinyju wurrarniji, ‘kawalu martumpirri.’ Kulpanyarna yinyarnala pala martumpirri. Kartakarrinyalai pijungu.

Marntungu yanarna japirrarnarna walypila *storekeeper* yurntaraku; ‘munu,’ wurrarniji. Jukurtapa parrkajakun yinyanya. *Bullet buy*’m-jirnirni. Janguku japirrarnarna, ‘munu,’ wurrarniji.

Yanalai kulpanyalai ruutungu palanga *windmill*-kartijakun, *dinner* nganalai. Ruka yanalai karakurnu *main road*-martaji wanikinyalai. Ngapa manikinyalai palaja *windmill*-ja. Palajun punja waninyalai palanga waraja *week*. Yirrirnalayijaninyi murtukajartiny marrngu *races*-karti yanikinyi Marble Bar-karti, ngalaya mirtingarnalai. Kartakarrinyakanu marntungu yanalai *windmill* warinykarti, palanga wanikinyalai. Yanalai kurila wurru yakarnalaya *windmill*-ja. *Shoot*’m-jirnirni kangkuru, kulpanyakinyalai. Warlapanga yirrirnalayijaninyi nyinyirrirrangu, wurrarnarnala palinya, ‘ngapa waniny nyarningi.’ Yanalai yijalu yirrirnalai ngapa martungu. Minpirnalai kulpanyalai *windmill*-karti, kamparnalai pala kuyi, nganalai. Marntungu yanalai *main road*-karti, kakarni yirrirnalai *manganese truck*. Wararrjirnirni, yija wararrkarrinya.

Japirrarnarna, yu karramarna. Karntinyalai *truck*-nga, kanyangalai katukarnalai Seven Mile-j. Waninyalai palanga, warrukartijarrinya kawanikinyi, yanalai kara, Boodarrie-ngi kakarrakurnu kartakarrinyalai. Marntungu-marntungu karrpumajirringi pinakarrinyalai ngurrtirri murtuka. Ngaju yanarna ruutukarti, wararrjirnirni yija wararrkarrinyi. Japirrarnarna, ‘nyuntu yaninyan Yirramakartunyakarti?’

‘Yu,’ karramarnaji paliny.

‘Karntulupalayi?’ Karntinyalai murtukanga kanyangalayinyi Five Mile-j pipurru, pala kakarrakurnu Reserve martaji katukarnalai. Palanga janalu yirrirniyi *races*. Yanayi kulpanyi ngurrakarti, kurila yanalai *racecourse*. Yirrirnalai nyungu karlukarlupa yangkanapinti. Manalai yanalai pijukarti nganalai. Wanikinyalai pijungu ruka mimana, karrpu kaninyjarrinya kawanikinyi. Ngalpanya karrpu ngaju yanarna *store*-mayakarti, yakarnarna paliny. Manarna jukurta, parrka, yurntara, *bullet*, jangu, kulpanyarna ngakamarnarna.

Warrukarti wirlarranga kara yanalai *windmill*-ja kartakarrinyalai. Marntungu warnayirti winyajirnalaya, kanganyikinyalaya kara yanalai karrkarnalai ruutuja. Jalakarti yanalai kurulakurta. Kangkuru *shoot*’m-jirnirni, nganalai pala kuyi. Jinta kanyalaya Nickel Well-j kartakarrinyalai. Marntungujarrinyi kara yanalai jalakarti. Yanikinyalai ruutungu *windmill*-kartijakun; ngapa minpirnalai *windmill*-ja.

Meanwhile we were travelling along in the truck, and were dropped off at the Strelley turn-off. We drank at the windmill, and went on to Strelley. As we walked the sun went down. We passed the shearing shed. I left her in the creek and went further on, and Purungu saw me and asked, 'When did you get here?'

'Just now', I said. She gave me some supper which I ate it at a table. She stood there looking at me.

'I don't know this man', she said to herself. She asked me, 'Are you **Tuntiyan**?' I answered, 'Not me.'

Tuntiyan
Patrick Henry.

'Oh', she said. 'I thought you looked like Tuntiyan.'

'We've run away. I've left her in the creek there.'

'Take her some food', she said. I went back and gave her something to eat, and we slept in the creek bed.

In the morning I asked the white storekeeper for some flour. 'I haven't got any', he told me. Sugar and tea was all he had to give me, and I bought some bullets. I asked for tobacco but he said he didn't have any.

We went back along the road to the windmill and had dinner there. That evening we went west to the main road and stayed there. We got water from the windmill. We stayed there like that for some time, for a week. When we saw *marrngu* in vehicles on their way to the Marble Bar races, we ducked out of sight. One morning we set off and camped at another windmill. Leaving our swags there we went south and I shot a kangaroo. On some flat rocks we saw some *nyinyirri*, zebra finches, and I said, 'There's water around here.' Sure enough, we found some water in a hollow. We had a drink and returned to the windmill where we cooked and ate the meat.

The next morning we went out to the main road and flagged down a manganese truck coming from the east. I asked him for a lift and he agreed. We climbed on and got a lift to the Seven Mile windmill where we stayed until dark. Then we went on west and slept east of Boodarie Station. Before dawn we heard the sound of a vehicle and I went out to the road and flagged it down. 'Are you going to Roebourne?' I asked.

'Yes.'

'Can we jump on?' He took us past the Five Mile and we got off just to the east of the Reserve. Everyone was away at the races, and when they came back we went south to the racecourse. We found some bread and jam there, and took it to the creek to eat it. We waited for the evening, and when the sun went down I left her there and went to the store. I bought sugar, tea, flour, bullets and tobacco, and went back to get her.

That night we went west by moonlight, and slept by a windmill. In the morning we filled our billycan with water and went west, turning away from the road. We walked south across country, and I shot a kangaroo and we ate some of it. We took what was left to Nickel Well, and slept there. In the morning we continued west across country, then followed a road until we came to a windmill, where we had a drink.

Nyukarrakarti kulpanyalayi

Marrapajarrinyalayi palanga. Ngapa nyirninralaya kulpanyalayi kartakarrinyalayi palanga *well* martaji. Marntungu turlpanyalaya kakarra yanalayi *shearing shed*-ja kanka *town*-ja wangka. Wanikinyalayi ruka mimana, karrpu ngalpanya ngaju yanarna *store*-mayakarti. Jukurtapa parrka, *bullet*, jangu manarna, yinyarna wupartu mijimiji. Kulpanyarna ngakamarnarna warrukartingarra yanalayi yalinyjakurti Reserve-ja, kakarra; Five Mile-ja yalinyjakurti Nine Mile-kartijakun. Kartakarrinyalayi Nine Mile-ja.

Marntungu turlpanyalaya, kurila yanalayi kartapirnalayi maruntu jina. Yajarnalaya ngalpanya pirtingi, karlinyakanu wirlarnalayi kamparna nganalayi. Waninyalayi palanga, warrukartijarrinya yanalayi kakarra wirlarranga wapakarna ngakamarnalayi warinyja pijungu. Yanalayi piju warinykarti, kartakarrinyalayi palanga.

Marntungu turlpanyalaya yanalayi *windmill*-karti. Wanikinyalayi *windmill*-ja. Nganalayi *dinner*, karlayarrangu milpanyikinyiyi *windmill*-karti. Ngalaya wuta wanikinyalayi. Wangkajarrinyiyi *trough*-kartijakun ngapa minpinikinyiyi. Wurrarnarnala, ‘*shoot*’m-jilajaninyi;’ yinyarnala jilaman. Palinyju *shoot*’m-jirnijaninyi tarlparna jilaman; munu, mirtijarrinyiyi palarrangu karlayarrangu. Wangkaja walyi wirlarnajanaku, mirtijarrinyiyi wararrkarrinyiyi kajamarta. Mirarnarna ngajulu jilamanku, ngajulu wirlarnarna ngungkulu, yija pungkanya. Palanga yanarna manarna, munu nganamalayi, yakarnalaya murrjin.

Rukajarrinyi, yanalayi kakarrakurnu. Rukajarrinya kawanikinyi karrpungungarrany, kakarra yanalayi pijukartijakun. *Windmill*-ja wanikinyiyi Road Board, pala piju wurrarnaya Little Sherlock River. Yanarna ngaju yirrininyi walypilalu, ‘*g’day*,’ karramarnaji. Japirrarnarna martumpirriku, yinyanya jukurta, parrka, karlukarlu, *milk*, *jam*. Janguku munu, wurrarniji. Kulpanyarna palanga kamparna nganalayi kuyipa mayi, kartakarrikinyalayi. Marntungu turlpanyalaya nganalayi mayi, kakarra yanalayi, Sherlock-kartijakun pijukarti. Palanga wurru *wash*’m-jirnalaya, janpanyalayi.

Pinakarrikinyalayi ngurntirri, ngalayalu *dinner* nganikinyalayi. Wurrarnarnala, ‘nyarra ngurnipali warrkamjarrinyayirla Road Board, nyampa yankulupali.’ Yija yanalayi pijungu kara. Yirrinlayipulinyi kujarra walypilajirri wurru wirrinikinyipulujaninyi murtukanga. Ngaju yanarna mangan japirrarnarna pala *driver*, ‘yankuluman nyuntu Ngarukarti?’

‘Yu,’ karramarna.

‘Kangkulumanngalayinyi?’

‘Yu,’ karramarna, ‘karntapulu.’ Karntinyalayi kanyangalayinyi.

Ngajulu wurrarnarnala, ‘katukalapalayi Boodarie martaji,’ yija palanga katukarnalayi. Ngaju yanarna ngapaku. Ngapa manarna, kulpanya kawanikinyirni yirrinirni *watermelon* purtan-purtan wanikinyiyi. Ngajulu yinjipirni jarta, kujarrapa kujarra ngartarnarnajaninyi wirrinirni jartanga. Milpanyarnala yirrininyi *watermelon*-jartiny. Japirrarnanya palinyju, ‘nganurtulu yinyanta?’

Wurrarnarnala, ‘partijirrija manarna.’

‘Yu,’ karramarna, nganalayi.

Wanikinyalayi ruka mimana. Yanalayi rukajarrinyajalu kinti yanikinyalayi, karrpu ngalpanya. Ngalaya yanalayi Seven Mile-karti, *tank*-ja ngapa manalayi. Yanalayi pala yalinyjakurnu Twelve Mile-ja kartakarrinyalayi. Marntungu turlpanyalaya Twelve Mile-ja kakarrakurnu wanikinyalayi. Pinakarrinyalayi ngurntirri karangu *manganese truck*. Ngajulu wararrjirni japiirrarnarna, yu karramarna, karntinyalayi. Kanyangalayinyi kakarra, Yarrrie *turn-off* wararrjirni *truck*.

We find work and company

But we were homesick. We got some water, and went back and slept by the well. In the morning we set off to the east, past the shearing shed that was close to town. We waited until evening and when the sun had gone down I went to the shop and bought sugar, tea, bullets and tobacco, paying for it with a small amount of gold. I returned to pick her up, and that night we went east to the north side of the Reserve, north of the Five Mile, and slept at the Nine Mile, on the Harding River.

We set off to the south the next morning, and followed some goanna tracks to a burrow. We dug the goanna out, killed it, and cooked and ate it. When night fell we went east by the light of the moon. We crossed over another creek, and when we came to another creek we slept there.

The next day we were having dinner at a windmill when we saw a group of emus approaching. We stayed very quiet, and they came right up to the trough and started drinking. I said to her, 'You shoot them,' and gave her the gun. She shot, the gun went off, but all that happened was that the emus ran away. She missed them from close range. They ran away and stood off at a distance. I took the gun and I shot accurately, and one of them dropped. I went and got it but we didn't eat it; we left it as it was too skinny.

In the cool of the late afternoon we continued east. Evening was coming on but the sun was still above the horizon when we reached a river. There was a Road Board camp at the windmill there; that river is called the Little Sherlock River. I went over and a *walypila* saw me, and said, 'G'day'. I asked him for some food, and he gave me sugar, tea, bread, milk, and jam. He didn't have any tobacco, he told me. I went back and we cooked and ate the meat and bread, and went to sleep. In the morning we went on to the east until we reached the Sherlock River. There we washed ourselves and our clothes.

While we were eating dinner we heard the sound of an engine. I said, 'The Road Board must be working over there. Let's go'. On west side of the river we saw two *walypila* loading their gear onto a truck. I hurried over and asked the driver, 'Are you going to Port Hedland?'

'Yes', he replied.

'Can you give us a lift?'

'OK', he said, 'get on'. We climbed on.

I said, 'Drop us off somewhere near Boodarie'. When we got off I went out looking for water. On my way back I saw watermelon vines spread out over the ground. I took off my shirt and picked four of them, carrying them in my shirt. When she saw the watermelons she asked, 'Who gave you those?'

'I got them on my way back'.

'Great', she said, and we ate them.

We stayed there waiting for the evening. Towards dusk we went on slowly and the sun went down. We got water from the tank at the Seven Mile and slept north of the Twelve Mile. The next morning we set off and waited to the east of the Twelve Mile, until we heard the sound of a manganese truck approaching from the west. I flagged him down and asked for a lift, and when he said 'yes' we got on board. He took us east and pulled up at the Yarrie turn-off.

Wurrarnarnala, 'katukalapalayi nyungungungarra.'

Palinyju wurrarnangalayaku, 'kangkulumarnanyumpulinyi mayakartijakun.'

'Munu,' wurrarnarnala, 'yankulupalayi jinangu, wangkarla.' Yu karramarna, paliny yana. Yanalayi pijukartijakun, yakarnarna pijungu, ngaju yanarna mayakarti. Yirrirninyi maajalu; 'hello,' karramarnaji. Puntaju 'hello' karramarnarnalu.

Japirrarnarna, 'wanyjarni yanapulu nyunguja marrngujirri?'

Wurrarniji, 'ngurnungu waninyayi Eight Mile-ja.'

Wurrarnarnala, 'mimalapalayipuluku; ngalypa?'

'Yu,' karramarna paliny.

'Pijungurla wantulupalayi.'

Palinyju karramarnaji, 'wunyjurru nyuntu, wantuluman nyungungu mayanga mimalamanpulaku?'

Wurrarnarnala, 'ngajulu pijungulu mimalamarnapulaku.'

'Yu,' karramarna.

Pijungu wanikinyalayi. Paliny yana maaja wurrarnala, 'kanyjirnangu marrngulu nyuntuku. Japirrarnanya, wanyjarra yanan nyuntu? Wurrarnarnala ngurnungu waninyi Eight Mile-ja. Pala yini marrngu Muuki. Nyuntu miranu?'

'Nganurtu palajunmarta yini?'

Palanga wanikinyiyi majurramkarra. Ngalaya wanikinyalayi pijungu, mimanikinyalayipulaku nyuparraku. Yija milpanyapulu, ngalaya wanikinyalayi mayanga kaninykurti. Murtuka wararrjirnipulu ngurranga, ngalaya kaninykurtigarrany wanikinyalayi. Wurru katujirnipulujaninyi jungkanga, kajanikinyipulu *bunk*-nga. Ngalaya turlpanyalaya kaninykurtija mayaja jurrkarnalayipulaku.

'Munu,' wurrarnapula pulanyju, 'ngalaya kurlujartinyirri. Nganijakartiny warntamalayinyumpulinyalu? Ngalypa wanta, milpanyanyumpulu jarrurl.'

Paliny yanalu maajakarti japirrarnarna warrkamjarruliny. Yu karramarna, 'wajantayingi warrkamjarruliny.' Wurrarnala wirlalkuliny kukurnjari rukalu. Ruka yanarna wirlanaku kukurnjariku. Pala maajalu wurrarniji murtuka kawa, ngalaya yanalayi murtukanga *shearing shed*-karti. Pala kukurnjari manarna, ngalyi wirrkarnarna, *skin'm*-jirnarna, wirrirnirni murtukanga. Palinyju manajaninyi ngaany, junturtu, yanalayi *butcher shop* wirrirnirni kukurnjari palanga. Maaja milpanya wurrarnangalayaku, 'nyumpalangarra wajantayimu warrkamjarrulunyumpulu.' Wurrarnalayili yini ngalaya. 'Yu, ngalypa,' karramarna. Palanga wanikinyiyirni warrkamu nganarna wiyirr.

Karrpu Jatitijarrikinyi yanikinyiyirni murtukanga, yakanikinyipulungalayinyi partijirri kuyikarra, pulany yanikinyipulu Martanyakarti. *Week*-ngi ruka ngakamanikinyipulungalayinyi, kulpanyikinyiyirni Yarrie-karti. Palajunpirli yanikinyipulu Martanyakarti, partijirri yakanikinyipulungalayinya Jatitingi karpungu; *week*-ngi kulpanyikinyiyirni. Punja palanga warrkamujarrinyiyirni.

I said, 'We'll get off here.'

'I can take you right up to the homestead,' he said.

'That's all right,' I said. 'We'll go on foot, it's not far.' He said goodbye, and drove on. We went on as far as the De Grey River. I left her there and went on alone to the homestead. The boss saw me. 'Hello' he said, and I greeted him in return, and asked, 'Where have they gone, those two *marrngu* who live here?'

'They're over there at the Eight Mile Windmill.'

'We'll wait for them, is that all right?'

'That's fine,' he said.

'We'll stay in the river.'

'It's up to you. You can stay in this house while you wait for them.'

'I'll wait at the river.'

'Righto,' he said.

We waited in the river bed. The boss went out and told them, 'There's someone here looking for you. He asked me where you were, and I told him you were at the Eight Mile. That man's name is Muuki. Do you know him?'

'Who do we know with that name?' he asked his wife.

They were out there mustering, and we stayed and waited for them at the river. Then we moved into a house and were inside when we heard a vehicle pull up. *Nyuparra* threw down their swags and sat down. **We went out and waited for them in the open.**

'It's all right,' they said. '**We're troublemakers ourselves.** What right have we got to chastise you? We're pleased that you've come to keep us company.'

He went to the boss and asked if I could work there, and the boss agreed. 'He can start on Monday,' he said. 'Get him to kill a sheep this afternoon.' He told us to take the Landrover, so she and I drove to the shearing shed. I got a sheep and cut its throat, and skinned it and put it in the Landrover. She took the innards and the head and we left the sheep at the butcher-shop. The boss came and said, 'You can both start work on Monday.' We told him our names. 'That's good, fine,' he said, and so we lived and worked there.

Every Saturday we'd all go out in a vehicle and we two would be dropped off along the way to do some hunting, while the others went on to Martanya. On Sunday evening they'd pick us up again, and we'd all go back to Yarrie. That's what we did every weekend. When they went to Martanya on the Saturday they'd drop us off somewhere on the way, and on the Sunday they'd come back again. We worked there for a long time.

Nyuparra

A married couple who were the speaker's classificatory son and his wife. This Milangka was the father of Nyanya (Lindsay Hardcase) and his wife, Lavender. Minyjun had known Hardcase when he, Minyjun, was a boy at Mt Edgar.

We went out and waited for them in the open

Minyjun and Nalma waited in the open to be chastised and punished for running away together.

We're troublemakers ourselves

That is, they had also married against traditional law.

Ruka yanalay murtukanga *shearing shed*-karti, ngajulu kukurnjari ngalyi wirrkarnarna, *skin'm*-jinikinyalayi, yirrinalayi murtuka. Milpanya Martanyaja Jarrarra, kujarrapa waraja marrngu kanganyikinyijaninyi. *Skin'm*-jinakanu murtukanga wirrirnirni, kanyarna *butcher shop*-karti. Murtuka yakarnarna *garage*-nga, yanalay ngurrakarti jurrkarnalayijanakalu.

Palanga yija warntamarnayingalayinya, Razorblade-mili japartulu mana wirrkanapinti karrjirnal palinyku, yarntanama kalparti wirrkanapintijartinyju. Palajunwayi, karramarnayalu kurntajinikinyiyi, warlinikinyiyi, 'kalyaya, kalyaya,' karramarna paliny, 'yarntalamarnakurra!' Mingkamanikinyiyi palanga warntamarnangalayinya jipi. Pala yanayi warntaja Pirrimayakarti, kulpanyiyi Martanyakarti. Ngurnipali wurrarniyijanaku janalu, 'nyarrajirripali waninyapulu Yarrie-ngi.'

Wanikinyalayi Nyukarranga

Palanga wanikinyiyirni warrkamu, palaja pulany yanapulu nyuparra *outcamp*-ja wanikinyipulu, ngalaya *station*-ja wanikinyalayi. Martumpirri wiyijinikinyalayipulaku, kulpanyikinyalayi ruka. Palajun. Palaja martumpirri kanyarnapulaku jarlingalu, pulany milpanyapulu mimarnijipulu *windmill*-ja. Walypila *tractor*-jartiny yanikinyi, *dinner*-ja kulpanyalayi; pulany kulpanyapulu *outcamp*-karti. Ngaju yanikinyirni walangarra jarlinga, paliny nyirrini milpanyikinyi *tractor*-jartiny pala walypila. Yanarna katukarnarna pijukarti, yirrirnirni mangkurtu warrkikinyi pijungu. Purnarranga mujungumajirringi, ngurnarringi kanka pungkanya ngapa wirtu. Kinti warrkina kawanikinyi palanga pijungu. Yawarta jurrkarnarna ngaany partal: wirntikarikinya yaninyaku janpanga. Kulpanyarna murrurlungu yinjipirni *saddle*-pa *bridle*, yakarnarna yawarta, pala mimanikinyarnalu pala walypilaku *tractor*-jartinyku Wurrarnarnala mangkurtu warrkikinyi pijungu, palanga *tractor* wararrjirni yakujarnikarti murrurlungu. Yanalay mayampapirnalayi; paliny karakurti, ngaju kakarrakurti. Kara kanya mangkurtulu walypila, ngalypangarra karntinyi ngurnarrikarti. Ngajulu pala yakarnarna kalparti kuyi narngula. Palanga mayampapirnalayi ngurnarrikarti, yanalay ngurrakarti. Yakarnarna paliny mayangarla wanikinyi. Yirrirninyi, 'nganija nyuntumili wurru wirna?' karramarnaji. Wurrarnarnala, 'mangkurtula warrkikinyi pijungu.' Wurrarnarnala, 'kuyipa narngula yakarnarna.'

'Yankula,' wurrarniji, ngalaya yanalaya.

'Mimaliji nyungungu,' wurrarnarnala. Ngaju mayampapirni ngurnarrikarti yanarna manarnapulinyi kuyipa narngula. Kulpanya mayampapirni, yanalay ngurrakarti nganikinyalayi palanga, palaja wanikinyalayi.

Yarti milpanyapulu *outcamp*-jaja. Rukalu *shoe'm up*-jirni palinyju yawarta. Yanalay jarlinga yalinyja. Wangkangarra mayamartaji wangal purpanyikinyi karangumarra. Ngalaya yaninya kawanikinyalayi jarlinga, yirrirnirni ngajumili yawarta kurkajirri rurri-rurrikinyi, karramarnarna ngaju, 'ngani nyungulu jumpaninyi?' Kulpanya parrjarnarna nyirrini, yirrirnirnipulinyi walypilajirri *motor bike*-jartinyjirri. Yawarta pala mirtijarrinyi wirruru mangankarrinyi. Pulanyju wararrjirnipulupulinyi *motor bike*-jirri parrjanikinyinyipulu yawarta mangankarrinyi. Wararkarrinyi mirtija mangankarrinya kawanikinyi. Yarti wararkarrinyi, yirrkungarrany mangan-karrikinyi. Nyungu marrngumarninyju wurranikinyiji, 'warlili, warlili, marrjalu.' *Saddle* kaninyjarrinyi wararkarrinyi. *Shoe'm up*-jinaja lakarnkanyala *shoe*-rrangu. Katukarnarna, *saddle* kulpanya wirrirnirni pirntilja. Walypilajirri karramarnapululu, 'yija nyuntu *rider*,' nyurramarnanyipulu.

Ngajungu kurkangajarrinyiji mirtalu wurranikinyiji wunyurrulu jarlingajinaku manganja yawarta. Mayangulu yirrinikinyinyi Lang-mili pipulu. Karntinyirni ngalypa yanarna.

One evening we went to the shearing shed in the Landrover and I got a sheep and cut its throat. As we were skinning it we saw a vehicle pull up; it was Jarrarra (Billy Green) coming from Martanya with three other men. When we'd skinned the sheep I put it in the Landrover and took it to the butcher-shop. I put the car in the garage, and then we both went down to the camp and stood out in the open ready to receive them.

Then they berated us there. **Razorblade's father** grabbed a knife, and went for her, as if to stab her in the leg with it. But he didn't do it, they yelled at him and stopped him. He was held down, crying out, 'Get out of my way, get out of my way! I want to stab her.' They held him back, and all he could do was abuse us. After they had done this they all went on to Pirrimaya (Callawa Station), and then back to Martanya. They must have told everybody there, 'Those two runaways are living at Yarrie'.

Razorblade's father

Tommy Injil, Minyjun's father's brother.

Our life at Yarrie

We continued working there, and then *nyuparra* went to live at an outcamp, while we two stayed on at the station. We used to take food out to them and go back in the evenings. That's how things were for a while. I'd ride out with food for them, and they'd go and wait for me at a windmill. On one occasion a *walypila* went out on a tractor, and after dinner we both headed back, and the other two went back to the outcamp. I went ahead on horseback, and the *walypila* came along behind in the tractor. As I went down the banks of the river, I saw floodwaters flowing along it. Although it was dry and there were no clouds, a lot of rain had fallen a way upstream. The river was running slowly. I spurred on my horse, but it was no good, he was afraid to enter the water. I went back to the bank, took off the saddle and bridle, and left the horse there. I waited for the *walypila* on the tractor and told him the river was in flood. He parked the tractor on that side of the river and we swam across. He swam on the west side and I was on the east side. The flood carried him downstream, but he got to the other side safely. I had left an emu leg and some honey on the other side.

When we'd swum across we walked home. I'd left her behind and she was at the homestead. When she saw me she asked, 'Why are all your clothes wet?'

I answered, 'The river's in flood. I left some meat and honey behind'.

'Let's go and get it', she said, and we set out.

'Wait here for me', I told her. I swam across to the other side and got the meat and the honey. I swam back, and we went back home.

One afternoon when *nyuparra* had come back from the outcamp, Nyanya's father shod some horses and we rode north together. Not far from the homestead, a westerly wind blew up. We kept on riding, until I saw my horse's ears twitching, and I thought, 'What's up with him? What's spooking him?' I looked back and saw two *walypila* on motorbikes. Suddenly my horse bolted. The two men stopped their bikes when they saw me on a bolting horse. The horse was running and bucking, then it stopped running but kept on bucking. Nyanya's father yelled out to me, 'Hold on! Hold on tight!' The saddle had slipped forward over his head, and he had to stop. The shoes that had just been put on had all come off. I jumped off, and put the saddle on his back again. The two *walypila* said, 'By Jeez, you can ride a horse!' and they complimented me.



Goanna tied to the saddle of a horse, photograph by Tim Dwyer.

Yanayirni manayirnijaninyi kukurnjari *killer*. Kanyayirnijaninyi *yard*-nga wirrirniyirnijaninyi. Jinta jinirniyirnijaninyi palajun.

Warrkamjarrikinyirni marntungu, yanikinyirni ngurrakarti. Palaja ruka yana paliny warrkamkarti warntamarna mirtawamarninyju. Wurrarniji, 'warntamarnanya ngaju.' Marntungu yanarnalu wurrarnarnala nganijalu warntamarna piririmarninyja. Wurrarnarnala ngajupukun yankulumarna. Yinyangalayinya jukurtapa parrka, jangu, warnkupa. Wanikinyalai ngurranga. Wurrarnalayipuluku marrngumarninyjajirri, palinyju wurrarnapulaku, 'mirtawamarninyju warntamarninya, ngalaya yankulupalayi.' Ngatujirnipulungalayinyi, 'wantapulu.' Nyungu maaja palaku *station*-ku yanapulu pingkayi, warinyju kalkunikinyi pala maya.

Yanayirni jatitingi Pirrimayakarti; jurrkarnalayijanakalu warnta-warntamarnayingalayinya ngalypa. Nyungu yaljarlirra wanikinyipulu Pirrimayanga warrkam. Kulpanyirni Yarrie-karti.

Yanayirni pingkayi Martanyakarti. Warntamarnayingalayinya *meeting* palanga jintapirniyalayinyi. Palanga paliny wanikinyi, ngaju kakarra kanyanyi Jajipanyakarti. Marntungu yanikinyirni warrkamu. Jana karangu milpanyikinyiyi warrkamkarti palakarti warajanga warrkamjarrikinyirni. Palajun karrpurangu karrpu.

Yarrana mujarrijarrinyalai

Palinyju wurrarniji, 'yankulumarnala kangkuluminyi ngajumililu mamajilu Yirrangkajikarti, Bamboo-karti.' Ngaju karramarnarna ngurnipali nyungu yankuliny kakuputu munu kulpanyawayi. 'Kuwarri yankulupiyirni *town*-karti.' Yija jana yanayi jatitingi karrpu *picture*-karti. Ngaju Jajipanyaja ruka yanarna wurru kanyarnaja wakany. Yanarna Martanyakarti Kangkushot-milikarti ngurrakarti. Yirrirninyi Kangkushot-ju, ngajulu japirrmarnarna, 'yankuluman *town*-karti?'

'Munu,' wurrarniji, 'nyungu yankuliny.'

Ngajulu japirrmarnarna pala, 'yu,' karramarna, 'yankulumarnangarra ruka.'

Yanarna ruka *town*-karti.

Yirrirnirni ngajumili kangkujilu warntamarnanya, 'nganijalu yakarnanpa pipi, wuta waninyakan?' Yinyanya warnku *picture*-pinti. Palanga mimanikinyarna warrukartijarrinyaku. Pinakarrikinyirnijaninyi kakarrakurnu, yimpinikinyinyi ngaju: 'nganijalu nyungu yajarnanganyjurrinyi? Munu waninyaka kinti.'

Paliny yana karakurnu yirrirniji wurrarniji, 'palinyju nyarrarrangulupali ngurrmanayinti.'

I remembered how that old man, **Sambo Pina**, had taught me how to handle a horse when it bolts. **Lang**'s mother had been watching me from the house. I climbed back on the horse and he went on without any problem. We went out to get some killers. We brought them in and put them in the yards. We culled out the ones to be killed, and let the others go.

We used to work in the mornings and then go home. One afternoon when she went to work in the house, the white woman chastised her. My wife said to me, 'She's told me off'. So in the morning I went to the boss, and asked him why she'd been chastised. I told him we would both leave. He gave us sugar, tea, tobacco and money. We stayed at home and told the others what had happened. She told them, 'That woman there told me off, and we're leaving'. But they persuaded us not to go, saying, 'Stay here'. The boss of the station had gone on holiday, and someone else was looking after the place.

One Saturday we went to Pirrimaya (Callawa Station), and we stood out on the flat in sight of everyone, and they chastised us. They harangued us for a long time, and then it was all right. **Yaljarlirra** were living and working at Callawa at that time. After that we went back to Yarrrie.

In the holiday time we went to Martanya (Brockman River). They harangued us at a meeting there, and split us up. She stayed there, and I was taken east to Jajipanya, a waterhole east of Moolyella. Each morning we went out to work. Some people had come from the west to work there, and we all worked together there for some time.

We run away again

One day she told me, 'I'll be going away soon. My big brother's going to take me to Yirrangkaji and Bamboo Creek Station'. I thought she might not come back. She said, 'Today we're going to town'. And sure enough they went to the Saturday picture show. I left Jajipanya, taking all my gear. I went to Kangkushot's camp at Martanya. Kangkushot saw me, and I asked him, 'Are you going to town?'

'No', he told me, 'but this man here is going'.

I asked him and he said, 'Yes, I'll be going his evening'.

So I went to town that evening.

My **kanguji** saw me and had a go at me. 'What do you have to leave our mother for? Can't you stay with her?' But she gave me money for the pictures. I waited in town for night to fall. Over in the east I heard her family talking about me. 'Why is this man following us around? Can't he stay in his own place and leave our sister alone?'

She came over to the west and told me, 'My family over there is running you down'.

Sambo Pina

Sambo Pina had been at Janyjinya (Mt Edgar) breaking horses when Minyjun was a child, and had taught Minyjun how to handle a bolting horse.

Lang

Lang Coppin, whose family owned Yarrrie Station at the time, and who still owns it.

Yaljarlirra

Two people in the section of the speaker; these were Panaka men Rindy Hale and Tommy Marney.

kanguji

Classificatory older sister, Polly Blair.

Ngajulu wurrarnarnala, 'kuwarri warrukartingi *picture* parrjalapali. Jupuliny, wariny wirrilapiyi, yankulupali. Marra nyuntumili wurru yungkulupijin.' Yija yana mana yinyaji, wirrirnirni murtukanga. Warrukartijarrinyi jana yanayi walangkarra *picture*-karti. Ngaju nyirrirni milpanyarna kajarnarna *chair*-nga. Light jupanya parrjarniyirni *picture*. Parrjarniyirni jupanya, yanayirni *cuppa tea*-karti, jangukarti. Ngajulu jangu *smoke'm*-jinikinyirni, palinyju manaja *pie*-pa *cool drink* yinyaji. Wurrarnarnala 'jampa yarrana parrjalapiyi. Jupuliny *light*, mimalamarnangu ngajulu *toilet* martaji.' Yija jupanya *light* yirrirnirni milpanyikinyi. Palangulu yanalaiyi. Paliny yakarnarna martungu, ngaju yanarna manarnajaninyi wurru ngalayamili. Mangan yanarna mananya ngakamarnarna, yanalaiyi pijungu kakarra. Pinakarrinyalayijaninyi karrangumarranga wangalja: 'nyarrajjirripali yanapulu,' karramanikinyiyi. Ngalaya nyampa yanalaiyi yalinyajarrinyalaiyi, ruutu yajarnalaiyi yalinyjalu wirlarranga. Partijirri pungkanya mirarniji *bolt action rifle*-mili. Yanalaiyi ruutungu yalinyja, *windmill* yirrirnalayi katukarnalaiyi pijukarti, yanalaiyi Julinyamartaji, mimarnalayarninya.

Jampangarra kakarra yirrirnalayi pirrpajarrinya kawanikinyi. Parrjarnarna jilaman: munu parrjarnarna *bolt action*, pungkanya mirarniji partijirri ngurnipali. Ngalaya turlpanyalaya yanalaiyi yalinyjakurnu Julinyanga kanka. Yirrirnalayi kangkuru wanyi jampa mirtijarrima janta karntinya kawanikinyi. Ngajulu yirtilymarnarna warnti warlirrirni warntipirrirni jungkanga. Yanalaiyi kurtanyjarnalaiyi ruutungu *windmill*-kartijakun. Palanga nganalayi kuyi. Kuyi ngananakanu, ruka yanalaiyi warnkungu kajanikinyalaiyi, mimanikinyalaya murtukaku. Yijalu yirrirnalayi kurlurlu karangu mirtijarrikinyi *truck*. 'Kula, ngurnipali karrkalkuliny Marble Bar-karti.' *Truck* karrkarna yakujarni, ngaju mirtijarrinyirni ruutukartijakun, mimarnarnalu wararrjirrirni palanga. Palinyju wararrjirni *truck*. Yirrirninyi, japirrmarnanya, 'ngani nyuntu, kalungarnarra?' Ngajulu kamarnarnalu wurrarnarnala, 'jinilamangalayinyi Callawa *turn-off*, wurrarnarnala.

Palinyju wurrarniji, 'yankulmarna Callawa-nga kankangarra.'

'Yu,' karramarnarnalu, 'jinilamangalayinyi Callawa-nga.'

Kanyangalayinyi jinirningalayinyi Callawa-nga.

Warrkamu *station*-ja

Ngaju warrkamjarrinyirni palanga Pirrimayanga kujarra *week*. Palangulu yanayirni Yarrie-karti, yakarnalayipulinya nyukunurra. Ngalaya yanalaiyi kara Kukunyakarti, japirrmarnarna walypila warrkamuku. Munu, wurrarniji. Palaku walypilaku ngaju miranu; ngalaya palajirri warrkamjarrikinyalaiyi Ngulyimunyanga, 1949. Paliny wanikinyi warrinyi, yini paliny Terry Hall. Yanarna tuwamayakarti manarna jangu, jukurta, parrka, *bullets*. Kulpanyalaiyi kakarra, karrpu ngalpanya partijirri. Milpanyalayipuluku warrukarti. Kartakarrinyiyirni ngurranga, marntungujarrinyi. Waninyiyirni palanga rukajarrinyi yanayirni ruutukarti.

Kakarni milpanyikinyi *manganese truck* wararrjirni. Japirrmarna, 'kangkulumannganinyi? Yakalamannanganinya Eginbah-nga.'

'Yu,' karramarna paliny, 'karntayi.' Kanyanganinyi jinirninganinyi Eginbah-nga.

Kartakarrinyiyirni, marntungujarrinyi paliny yana Karimarra japirrmarna warrkamuku. 'Yu,' karramarnalu. Wurrarnala palinyju yakarnarnajaninya pijungu jinta. Kanya murtukanga mananganinyi nganarna. Palinyju palalu walypilalu wurrarnala, 'warrkamjarrulunyumpulu nyumpala kujarrany.'

I said, 'Tonight let's watch the first movie, and when they put the second one on, we'll go. Get your things and give them to me.' She gave them to me and I put them in the vehicle. As night fell they went to the pictures, and I followed. They turned down the lights, and we watched the movie. In the interval we went out for a cup of tea and a smoke. I had a smoke and when she brought me a pie and soft drink I said, 'Soon they'll be going in to watch the film again. When they turn out the lights, I'll wait for you next to the toilets.' Sure enough, when they turned out the lights I saw her coming. Then we went. I left her in a hollow and went and got all our things. Then I hurried back and we went into the creek in the east. When the wind blew from the west we heard them talking. 'Those two have taken off again,' they were saying. We hurried off to the north, following the road by the light of the moon. On the way I dropped the bolt out of my rifle. We saw a windmill, and went down into the river and along towards Julinya (Coongan Gorge), and had a rest.

After a while we saw day breaking in the east. I looked at my gun, and saw that the bolt was missing. We set off again to the north past the Coongan Gorge. We saw a baby kangaroo that could barely hop; it was just stumbling along. I chased it, grabbed it by the tail, and bashed it down on the ground. We crossed over the road and went on until we got to a windmill, and ate the meat there. That afternoon we waited for a lift near the black rocks. Sure enough we saw a cloud of dust raised by a truck in the west. 'Hang on,' I said. 'It might turn off to Marble Bar,' but it turned and came our way. I ran out to the road and hailed it down. The driver stopped and asked, 'What are you, a policeman?' I called out to her, and then I said to him, 'Can you drop us off at the Callawa turn-off?'

He said, 'I'm going right through Callawa.'

'That's great. Drop us off at Callawa.'

He took us all the way to Callawa.

Station work

I worked at Pirrimaya (Callawa Station), for two weeks, and then we went with *nyukunurra* to Yarrie Station. We left *nyukunurra* there and we two went west to Kukunya (Muccan Station). I asked the *walypila* there for work but he said no. I knew him; we'd worked together at Ngulyimunya in 1949. He was a young man then, his name was Terry Hall. I got tobacco, sugar, tea and bullets at the store there, and we went back to the east. The sun sank as we went along and we got back to the other two at night.

The next afternoon we all went out to the road. When a manganese truck came along from the east I waved it down and asked, 'Can you give us a lift to Eginbah?'

'Sure,' he said, 'Climb on.' He dropped us off at Eginbah. The next morning **Karimarra** asked if there was any work, and was told that there was. He told the boss that he'd left the rest of us over in the creek, so the *walypila* took him in the car to pick us up. The boss said, 'You can both have work.'

nyukunurra

A classificatory sister and her husband, these were Bill Watson (Karimarra) and his wife.

Karimarra

Bill Watson.

Kukurnjari majuramjinikinyirni *shear'm*-ku. Yakarniyirnipulinya kurntalkarra yanayirni ngurraputu Jalkujalkunyakarti. Kukiman palanga *pulled-out*-jarrinyi, yakarnanganinya. Wiyimarna maajalu *main road*-karti. Nganarna yanayirni majuram *open country*. Kurrngal manayirnijaninyi kukurnjari, nganayirni martumpirri. Ruka kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti, kukurnjari wirriirniyaninyi yartanga.

Palajirri kurntalkarra yakarniyirnipulinyapa, karntinyipulu murtukanga yanapulu Marble-Bar-karti. Partijirri Nullagine *turn-off* katukarna ngajumilimarniny. Kulpanya yana Two Sisters martaji yakujarnikarti karrpu ngalpanya. Kakarrajarriinyi pijungu kurtanyjarna pala kakarrakurnu kartakarrinyi.

Marntungujarrinyi nganayirni mayi, ngajulu kanganyikinyirnijaninyi kukurnjari pijungu kara. Maajalu jipanyikinyi *tractor*, yirriirni karangu milpanyikinyi piinyji yajanikinyi. Wurrarnala, 'kulpanyayirni *station*-karti, karnta.'

Yakulu wurrarniji, 'ngakamarna maajalu marruku partijirri.'

'Yu,' karramarnarnalu.

Yanayirni pijungu kara *windmill*-kartijakun. Kukurnjari wirriirniyaninyi yartanga, kartakarrinyiyirni. Marntungujarrinyi nganayirni martumpirri yanayirni kara. Ngajulu kukurnjari kanganyikinyirnijaninyi pijungu kara Edginbah Tank. Wurrarnarnala, 'kulpa ngurrakarti.' Nyungu kukurnjarirrangku jinilipiyirnijaninyi *shearing shed*-ja wangka. Yanayirni yakarniyirnijaninya kukurnjari wangka *shear*-amuku. Marble Bar-ja kulpanya nyukunumurniny pala Karimarramili.

Palanga wanikinyiyirni, wurrarnanganaku, '*free rights time, now*; kari minpinaku ngalypa marrngulu.' Kangkushot-mili pujamu Mick Wilson milpanya karijartiny, yinyanganinya nganarna. Ngalayalu munu minpinamalai, kukujirnalayi yartiku. Munu yingamalayipulinya nyukunurra. Palaku kariku marrngu wulkajarrinyi.

Milpanya mirta Mick Wilson *shear'm*-uku kukurnjariku, rukalungarra wirriirniyaninyi kukurnjari yartanga *shear'm*-uku. Marntungujarrinyi nganayirni mayi yanayirni *shearing shed*-karti. Kukurnjari *shear'm*-jinikinyipulujaninyi wiyirr maajalupa Mick Wilson-ju. Mick Wilson kulpanya Kurlumpurrnyakarti. Ngulyungulyu Purtikanapa wanikinyipulu warrkam palanga Kurlumpurrnyanga piinyjikarra.

Kurlumpurrnya

Eginbah-ja nganarna ngakarnanganinyi, 'jipijirninnyurru warrkam.' Martumpirri yinyanganinya warnkupa, kanyanganinyi murtukanga yakarnanganinya pijungu. Kartakarrinyiyirni marntungujarrinyi, nganayirni martumpirri wurrarnalayipuluku, 'yankulupalayi Kurlumpurrnyakarti kuwarri.'

Wurrarnapulungalayaku, 'wantapulu, yankuluminyi Marble Bar-karti.'

'Munu,' wurrarnalayipuluku, 'yankulupalayi Kurlumpurrnyakarti.' Yanalay *boundary*-kartijakun. Wurrulu nyitanikinyangalayinya, yakarnalayijaninya *boundary*-nga, wurru kanyalay wupartumarta. Partijirri *dinner* nganalayi, kangkuru *shoot'm*-jinirni. Ruka yanalay ruutungujakun yalinyja *windmill*-ja murtuka yirrirnalayi wararrkarrikinyi maaja. Karrkarnalay pijukarti. Pijungu lirrimarnalaya ngapaku. Minpirnalayi ngapa, kulpanyalay ruutukarti. Yanalay *shearing shed*-ngi paliny yakarnarna. Yanarna yirriirninyyi janalu martumpirri nganikinyiyi, 'wanyarningi yakarnanpa? Kulpiyalu marra, jipija warntaja.' Palanga kartakarrinyalay japiirmarnarna warrkamuku marntungu. 'Munu,' wurrarniji. Ngajulu wurrarnarnala, 'Ngalypangarra wantulupalayi punja nyungungu?'

We mustered sheep for the shearing. We left *kurntalkarra*, our wives, and went off camping out towards Jalkujalkunya (Talga Talga River). We mustered the open country, we'd round up a lot of sheep and after dinner we'd bring them into the yard.

Back at the homestead, *kurntalkarra* got a lift in a vehicle going to Marble Bar, and my wife got off at the Nullagine turn-off. She walked back to a place just this side of the Two Sisters as the sun was setting, and went east, crossing over the river and making camp just east of there.

In the morning I took all the sheep along a creek, heading towards the west. The boss was driving a tractor, and he saw my wife coming along in the west, following the fence line. He said to her, 'We're going back to the station, hop on.' And he brought her to where we were.

Yaku told me, 'The boss has picked my *marruku* up along the way'.

We went west along the creek to the windmill, where we yarded the sheep and slept. In the morning we continued west, taking the sheep along the creek to the west to the Eginbah Tank. And I said to my wife, 'You go on home.' We left all the sheep at the shearing shed to be shorn. *Karimarra's* wife returned from Marble Bar.

Kangkushot's nephew Mick Wilson arrived with some beer, and gave us some. 'It's free-rights time now,' he said. '*Marrngu* are allowed to drink beer now'. My wife and I didn't drink it, but put it away for later. We didn't give any to *nyukunurra*, Bill Watson and his wife. *Marrngu* are too fond of beer.

Mirta Mick Wilson had come to do the shearing, and in the afternoon we put all the sheep in the yard ready to be shorn. He and the boss did the shearing, and then Mick went back to Kurlumpurrnya (Coongan Station), where he and my *ngulyungulyu* *Purtikana* had a fencing contract.

Kurlumpurrnya (Coongan Station)

The boss sent us away from Eginbah saying, 'All the work's finished'. He gave us food and money and gave us a lift to the Coongan River. We slept there and in the morning after breakfast we two told Bill Watson and his wife, 'We're going to Kurlumpurrnya now'.

'Don't go', they said. 'Let's all go to Marble Bar'.

'No', we told them. 'We're going to Kurlumpurrnya'. We went on until we got to the boundary fence. Our load was heavy, so we left a lot of it there and went on with a lighter load. We ate dinner on the way and I shot a kangaroo. That afternoon we went north until we reached the road, but we saw the boss's car at the windmill, so we turned off to the river and dug a soak for some water. Then we went back to the road. I left her at the shearing shed. As I went on some people who were eating dinner saw me and said, 'Where have you left her? Go back and get her; you've been reprimanded enough'. So we slept there, and in the morning I went and asked the boss if there was any work. He said there wasn't, but I asked him, 'Is it OK if we stay here for a while?'



Two riders, photograph by Tim Dwyer.

kurntalkarra

Female kin in adjacent generations, in a given matriline. This was a mother and daughter, Minyjun's wife (Purungu) and Bill Watson's wife (Panaka).

Yaku

Brother-in-law. This was Dan Murphy.

Mirta

Older brother.

ngulyungulyu *Purtikana*

Jack Davey was Minyjun's *ngulyungulyu*, having put his brother through the Law. As a result he was not allowed to talk to Minyjun or his family.

‘Yu,’ karramarna pala maaja.

Marntungujarrinyi karrpungu *week*-ngi. Wurrarnala maajalu, ‘ngakalaman paliny’. ‘Wurrarniji manyjapirningu maajalu: yankulumanpalu.’ Yanarnalu yirrinninyi wurrarniji palinyju, ‘ruka yankulunyumpulu nyuntulu jipalaman murtuka nyungulu jipalkuliny *motorbike*. Marntungu yankulupiyirla nyungurrangu pinyjikarra warrkam. Nyumpala warrkamjarrulunyumpulu.’ Mirtalu Mick Wilson-ju kanyangalayinyi marntungu wurruku mananyaku. Wurru mananyakanu kulpanyiyirni. Palanga ngalaya walypila warinypa yanalai. Mimanikinyirnal, palinyju yirtilmarnajaninya kukurnjari warlirni waraja. Kulpanya kanya murtukakarti yinyaji karntijirni murtukanga. Kanyarna wirrirnirni *shearing shed*-ngi kulpanyarna. Rukajarrinyi yanarna *shearing shed*-karti ngalyi wirrkarnarna karnupirni, kulpanya kanyarna *meat house*-karti *hang’m-up*-jinirni tarlkungu.

Kartakarrinyiyirni jana yanayi kakarra. Ngalaya warrkamjarrinyalai. Yanikinyalai wariny walypilapa piinyjikarra warrkam, paliny warrkamjarrikinyi mayanga.

Marntungujarrikinyi yanikinyalai *windmill*-karti yirrinalayipulinyi rankurrjijirri wararrkarrikinyipulu. *Shoot’m*-jirnirni pungkanya pala palajarrinyi *bullet* wariny wirrinnili jilamanja yarrana *shoot’m*-jinama wariny, yirrini ngurlarn kankarni kajanikinyili marlkarringi rankurrjingi. Paliny mirtikatukarna murtukaja; ‘*hey! hey!*’ karramarna. Ngurlarn kanka turlpanya yana, palinyju yana mana, karntijirni murtukanga. Kulpanyalai ngurrakarti. Warrukarti yanikinyiyirni *spot-light*-jartiny ngajulu *shoot’m*-jinikinyirni kangkuru kulpanyikinyiyirni ngurrakarti palinyju yinganyikinyiji ngajungu murtuka jipanaku, munu yingamala palinymilingi mirtawanga. Palinyju *shoot’m*-jinikinyijaninyi kangkuru warinyju warlinikinyi *spotlight*. Kuyi jinyjikata kangkuru murtukanga wirrinikinyingalayaku, kulpanyikinyiyirni ngurranga kampanikinyiyi *three-legged camp oven*-ja.

Yanikinyalai marntungu warrkamu piinyji yarnimanikinyalai. Pala walypila *overseer* partijirri wanikinyalai, mimanikinyalaya *time*-ku wangkajarrinyaku *twelve o’clock*. Wangkajarrikinyi, yanikinyalai ngurrakarti. Rukalu murtuka yarnimanikinyalai, wurrarikinyiji palinyju, ‘Puru kajalkuli.’ Parrjanikinyalayu maajaku munu, palaja puru kajanikinyalai. Milpanyikinyi maaja ngalaya mitu warrkamjarrikinyalai. Japirrmannikinyinya maajalu, ‘Ngalya pala warrkamjarrinyi?’ ‘Yu,’ karramanikinyarnalu. Palajunpirli japirrmannikinyinya karrpurangu karrpu.

Japirrmannanya maajalu, ‘wanyjarningi ngalkuluman *Pudding?*’

‘Marble Bar-nga’ wurrarnarnala.

Palinyju wurrarniji ‘kulpuluman *Pudding* nganinyakanu, nyuntu wantuluman *overseer*. Warnku maninyaluman wirtumarta.’

‘Yu,’ karramarnarnalu.

‘Yes, fine,’ the boss said.

The next day was Sunday. The boss gave a message to Mick Wilson’s wife for me to come and see him. When I saw him he said, ‘This afternoon I want you and the white overseer to go out together; you drive the car and he’ll take the motorbike. In the morning the others will go out to work on the fences. You two will have work to do.’ *Mirta* Mick Wilson took us to pick up our swags. Then the *walypila* overseer and I went out and I waited while he chased and caught a sheep. He carried it back and, saying it was for me, put it in the car. I took it back and put it in the shearing shed. That evening I cut its throat and skinned it. Then I took it over to the meat house and hung it up on a hook.

We stayed and worked there while the others went east. I went with another *walypila* to work on the fences, while my wife worked in the house.

One morning as we drove out to a windmill we saw two bush turkeys⁴⁸ standing in the paddock. He shot one, and it dropped, and as he was reloading his rifle to shoot the other one, he saw a wedge-tail eagle swoop down and land on the dead turkey. He leapt out of the car, shouting, ‘Hey! Hey! Get off!’ The eagle flew off and he got the turkey and put it in the car. We went out with a spotlight in the evening, and I shot a kangaroo. On our way back home he got me to drive the car. He never let his wife drive that car. He shot kangaroos, while another man held the spotlight. He put a big fat kangaroo into the car for us, and we went home and they cooked it in a three-legged camp oven.

In the mornings when we set out to work on the fences the white overseer would stop half way and just wait until twelve o’clock, and as midday drew near we’d return home. One afternoon when we were supposed to be fixing the car he said to me, ‘Let’s just take it easy’. We kept an eye out for the boss, but he wasn’t anywhere in sight, so we just sat around. When the boss came over we both quickly got back to work. The boss used to ask me, ‘Is that bloke working all right?’ I told him ‘yes’. He used to ask me that quite often, almost every day.

The boss asked me, ‘Where are you going to have Christmas?’

‘At Marble Bar,’ I said.

‘When you come back after Christmas, you can be the overseer. You’ll get paid more.’

‘OK’ I said.

Wupartu mirtawa

Yanalayi *mail-truck* Marble Bar-karti, munu kulpamarna Kurlumpurnnyakarti. Palanga kanyjinikinyaji ngajuku Yarrie-*bloke*-lu Marble Bar-nga, yijalu yirrininyipulu marrngulupa walyupilalu. Yirrkulu kayimanikinyipulu walypilalupa marrngulu. Nyanyamili japartulu wurrarniji, 'ngajulurla wupartuja wirtujirnirinti: kurtali warrkamjarruluman Yarrie-nga.' Karntinyalayi murtukanga kanyapulungalayinyi Yarrie-karti. Yarrie-nga warrkamjarrikinyirni palanga wanikinyipulu nyuparra Nyanyamili japartu. Palangulu yanayirni manayirnijaninyi kukurnjari, *paddock* warinyja jinirniyirnijaninyi wangkamarta.

Palaja wiyimarnarna Marble Bar-karti, paliny yana *doctor plane*-ja Ngarukarti. Ngaju wanikinyirni Marble Bar-nga, munu kulpamarna Yarrie-karti. Yajarnarna nyirrinilu Ngarukarti, wanikinyirni Two Mile-ja. Marntungu yanarna *hospital*-karti. Wurrarniji *nurse*-ju, 'wupartu mirtawa kanya nyuntumililu mirtawalu.' Kayimarnanyi jurtijirni wupartu partany. Waninyirni palanga yinyanyiya *dinner*; punja waninyirni rukakartijakun, kulpanyarna ngurrakarti. Yarrana yanarna *hospital*-karti, wurrarniji 'yana mangarrjarranga kulpanya Marble Bar-karti.' Ngaju yanarna nyirrin, paliny wanikinyi Marble Bar-nga *hospital*. Ngaju milpanyarna Marble Bar-nga, japirrnarnana kangkuji ngajumili, 'yirrinin?'

'Munu,' wurrarna palinyju.

Ngajulu wurrarnarnala, 'milpanya nyarnikurnungarra. Ngurnipali waninyi *hospital*-ja, parrjalamarnalu.'

Yanarna *hospital*-karti, yirrinirni yijalu. Wurrarniji, 'marntungu milpulumarna ngurrakarti. Kulpulupijin marntungu.' Kulpanyarna ngurrakarti wurrarnarnala kangkujingi ngajumilingi marntungu milpuliny. Marntungujarrinyi yanarnalu *hospital*-karti. Maninya kulpanyarna ngurrakarti.

Punja waninyirni Marble Bar-nga, warrkamjarrinyirni ngaju palanga Shire-nga; pulany warrkamjarrikinyipulu palangangarra Shire-nga. Kujarra *week* waninyirni warrkam, yanarna Moolyella-karti wanikinyalayi Moolyella-nga. Yirrininyi walypilalu milpanya ngurrakarti wurrarniji warrkamuku, 'warrkamjarruluman nyuntu? Wurralamarnala maajanga.'

'Yu,' karramarnarna ngaju. Palinyju wurrarnala maajanga, 'yu' karramarna maaja, 'warrukarti warrkamjarrinyarruliny.' Yija warrukarti warrkamjarrikinyirni, karrpu munu warrkamjarrimarna, warrukartijakun.

Kujarra *week* warrkamjarrinyirni, marntungu milpanya Yarrie-ja maaja. Kanyangalayinyi Yarrie-karti. Marntungujarrinyi yanikinyiyirni *windmill*-karti palajun karrpurrangu karrpu.

Waninyalayi Yarrie-ngi warrkam kujarra paturnu. Wupartu partany kalkunikinyalayi warrkinakata. Yarrana yana Yarrie-ja ngajumili mirtawa miraljarrinyi nyirti. Ngajumili pipilu kalkunikinyi ngajumili partany murrkangunya.

Marble Bar-ja paliny yana mangarrjarranga Ngarukarti, ngaju yanarna nyirrin. Three Mile-ja wanikinyirni, marntungu yanikinyirni *hospital*-karti, ruka kulpanyikinyirni ngurrakarti, palajun, karrpurrangu karrpu. Yarrana yanarna wurrarniji yana *hospital* warinykarti rukangarra. Palanga miraljarrinyi wariny wupartu mirtawa 1969. Marntungu yanarna *hospital*-karti maninya kulpanyarna, analayi *taxi* Three Mile-karti. Palanga wanikinyalayi Three Mile-ja.

Our daughters are born

We went to Marble Bar on the mail truck, but I didn't go back to Kurlumpurrnya. The boss of Yarrie was looking for me in Marble Bar, and they soon found me, a *marrngu* bloke and a *walypila*. Both of them strongly urged me to come with them. **Nyanya**'s father said to me, 'I raised you from the time you were small. Come with me and work at Yarrie.' So we got in the car and they took us to Yarrie. I worked at Yarrie, where Nyanya's father **nyuparra** were living. We set to work mustering the sheep into a paddock close to the homestead.

Nyanya

Lindsay Hardcase.

nyuparra

Hardcase and his wife.

Shortly after that I took my wife into Marble Bar, and she went by the Flying Doctor to Ngaru (Port Hedland). I stayed in Marble Bar instead of going back to Yarrie. I followed her to Ngaru and stayed at the Two Mile camp. In the morning I went to the hospital and the nurse told me, 'Your wife has given birth to a little girl'. She called me in and showed me the little child. I stayed there and they gave me dinner. I stayed there most of the day until evening. When I went to the hospital the next day they told me, 'She's gone back to Marble Bar on the plane'. I went after her, she was in the Marble Bar hospital. I arrived in Marble Bar and asked my *kangkuji*, 'Have you seen her?'

'No', she said.

I told her, 'She's come here, she might be in the hospital. I'll go and look for her.'

I went to the hospital and I found her there. She said, 'I'll go home in the morning. Come back for me then'. I went back to camp, and told my *kangkuji* that she'd be coming out the next day. In the morning I went to see her in the hospital, picked her up, and took her back to the camp.

I stayed in Marble Bar for a while, working for the Shire. Turti (Peter Derschaw) and my *yaku* were also working for the Shire. I worked there for two weeks and then I went to Moolyella and we lived there. A *walypila*, Tony Richardson, saw me, and came into camp to talk to me about work. 'Do you want to work? If you do I'll let the boss know.'

'Sure,' I said. He told the boss, who agreed. 'He can work the night shift'. And so I worked at night at Moolyella. I didn't work in the daytime, only at night.

I'd been working for two weeks when the Yarrie boss arrived one morning to pick us up, and took us to Yarrie. Each morning we went out checking the windmills.

We lived and worked at Yarrie for two years, caring for our baby daughter. Then my wife left Yarrie again when our youngest child was showing, and my mother looked after my older child.

She was taken by plane from Marble Bar to Ngaru, and I followed her there. I stayed at the Three Mile, going to the hospital each morning. One day when I went there I was told that she'd gone to another hospital the previous evening, and there another little girl had been born. This was 1969. In the morning I went to the hospital and brought them back to the Three Mile in a taxi, and we stayed there.



Ngajukulayi (Nancy), photograph courtesy Tindale Collection R561, South Australian Museum.

Kulpanyalayijanaku

Mangarrjarra pungkanya Indee martaji, kurrngal walypila marlkarrijarrinyi, TAA. Mirta Mantawawa ngangkuljinikinyi Martanyanga. Pinakarrinyi Pitpitju ngangkurlaja, japirrarna, ‘nganija ngangkurljinan?’

Palinyju wurrarnala, ‘walypila pungkanyiyi mangarrjarranga Indee martaji.’

‘Walypilarla pala pungkanyiyi, marrnguwayi,’ karramarnalu Pitpitju, ‘nganiku ngangkurljinanpa?’

‘Ngaju ngangkurljinarnijanaku, miranurla ngaju janaku, janalu puntaju miranu ngajuku.’

Wangal wirtu purrpanyikinyi kakarnimarra warrarn yamarna kurlurlu.

Wurrarnala Junamantamili japartulu palinymilingi mirtawanga, ‘yarrapulaku marrapulinyi, kurrngalparla marrngu waninyayi walypirru. Yija yana marntungu *town*-karti, *taxi* mana, yana Three Mile-karti. Kayimarnangalayinyi, ‘mamaji nyurrulu ngakarninyi maninyaku nyumpalaku.’ Manangalayinyi yija, kanyangalayinyi Nine Mile-karti. Palanga wanikinyalayi. *Meeting*

wirrirniyingalayiku, ngajumililu mamajilu warntamarnangalayinya, munungarra jintalu warntamanamiyingalayinya marrngulu, palajun.

Palaja Pirnarralu kayimarnapulungalayinyi Tampirrakarti yarrkal yanayirni, *Christmas Day*. Kulpanyiyirni Kilam martaji yirrirnirnipulinyi kujarra karlayajirri, jampa wararrjirni murtuka, mirtijarrinyipulu kakarra. Wariny ruutu wanikinyi kakarrakurtingarra purlpija. Wirrkijarrirniyirni palajirri karlayajirri kurtanyjarnapulu wararrkarrinyipulu. Ngajulu *shoot’m-jirnirni* pungkanya, wariny mirtijarrinyi. Yanayirni manayirni kulpanyiyirni ruutukarti. Palanga wararrjirni murtuka mirtalu. Japirrarnanganinya, ‘wunyurru, yankunyi pipurru?’

Ngajukulayilu wurrarnala, ‘kampalaminyi nyungungungarra.’ Yu karramarna. Wika murnirni pirtipa karliniyirni. Puntarniyirnilili tarrparna yawu kankarnijirni mirtalu. Parrpakarranga. Jitinakanu kutakutapirni nganayirni *Pudding*. Nganayirni *Pudding* pala karlaya. Nganayirni pala kuyi, kulpanyiyirni Nine Mile-karti, palangarla ngalaya wanikinyalayi ngurranga.

Palangulu marntungu yarrana kanyapulungalayinyi wiyimarnapulungalayinyi ngarrakuny Tampirrakarti. Kurrngal wanikinyiyi palanga marrngu warrkam kakarnikarti Jurriyanga. Rurla wanikinyi palanga *storekeeper*. Marntungujarrinyi yanikinyiyirni warrkam mirrarnputu, ruka kulpanyikinyiyirni ngurrakarti. Walypila milpanya palakarti mirtawajartiny, kalkunikinyipulunganinyi *school*-ja marntungu; pala Mirtamili *mate*. Jinyji-jinyji jinta yanikinyiyi warrkamu, jinta kalkunikinyipulujaninyi mirlimirlikarra yarntanikinyiyi. Kujarrarla ngurra: wariny pala yalinyjakurnu, nyarra waninyayi Parngurrjapa Punmu marrngukarra; jinta waninyayi Jigalong-ja. Wariny walypila milpanya, pala yini Ian Wallace. *Picture*-nga manikinyijaninyi warrkamuja. Warinyjirri walypilajirri mirtawapa pirirri yanapulu.

Partanyujirri kunkurrmanapulu, kanyalayipulinyi *hospital*-karti. Kunkurrja ngalypajarrinyipulu kulpanyalayi. Palanga warrkamjarrikinyirni karrpurangu karrpu.

We rejoin our families

There was a plane crash near Indee Station at that time, and a lot of *walypila* were killed; it was a TAA plane. At Martanya, Pitpit heard my *mirta* Mantawawa crying, and asked, ‘Why are you crying?’

‘I’m crying for the *walypila* who were killed in the plane crash near Indee,’ she said.

‘But it was only *walypila* who died, not *marrngu*,’ Pitpit said. ‘So why are you crying?’

‘I’m crying for them because I knew them, and they knew me.’

There was a big storm blowing out of the east at the time of the crash, and the ground was obscured by dust.

Junamanta, Peter Willalang’s father, told his wife, ‘Go and bring those two over here. A lot of people are married unlawfully.’ And so she went to town in the morning, and took a taxi to the Three Mile. She called out to us, ‘Your *mamaji* sent me to bring you two back.’ She took us to the Nine Mile, and we stayed there. They had a meeting about us, and my *mamaji* berated us, along with a number of other people who had not yet had the opportunity to chastise us.

Then *pimarra* invited us to go to Tambourah and we went out for the day. It was Christmas Day. On our way back we saw two emus near Kilam Well. As the car pulled up they ran off to the east. There was an old disused road going off in that direction, and we drove along it. The emus ran across the road and stopped. I shot one and it dropped, and the other one ran off. We went and picked it up, and went back to the road. *Mirta* asked, ‘What shall we do, shall we go on?’

Ngajukulayi said, ‘Let’s cook it right here,’ and *mirta* agreed. I gathered firewood and we dug a hole. We plucked it and *mirta* scorched the hide, and piled hot coals over it. It was a really hot day. We pulled it out and cut it up, and had our Christmas dinner. That emu was our Christmas dinner. Then we went back to the Nine Mile, where we lived for a while.

One morning we were taken to live over at Tambourah again. A big group of people were living there working just east of Jurriya, the Wodgina mining area. Rurla was the storekeeper there. We’d set out each morning and work all day, returning to camp in the evening. A *walypila* who was a **mate of Mirta** arrived with his wife, and they ran a school for us in the mornings. We took it in turns, some went out to work while others attended literacy classes. There were two camps; families who are now living at Parnngurr, Punmu and Jigalong were living in the northern camp. Another *walypila*, named Ian Wallis, arrived and made a film about our work.⁴⁹ The two other *walypila*, the husband and wife, left.

Our two daughters developed respiratory disease and we took them to the hospital in Ngaru. When they had recovered we returned, and I went on working there day after day.

mirta

Older sister Mantawawa (Smiler); she’d been married to Putungaja (Ernie Mitchell).

mamaji

Older brother.

pimarra

The speaker’s classificatory brother and his wife; these were Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra) and Ngajukulayi (Nancy).

mirta

Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra).

mate of Mirta

Stan Davey, a long-time campaigner for the rights of Indigenous people, and a founding member of the Victorian Aboriginal Advancement League and the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement. He and his wife, Jan Richardson, spent a period of time with the group in the late 1960s teaching literacy.

Yarti warinyju walypilalu wurrarnala Mirtanga, ‘milpulunyurru nyungukarti warrkamjarrulunyurru nyungungu.’ Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku, ‘yankulunyurru palakarti Pinga Well-karti warrkamukarti.’ Yija jana yanayi palakarti. Yakarniyinganinya kujarrapa waraja marrngu, ngalaya Ngiyirpa palinymili mirtawa nyuparra pipipa japartu Jarlakumili. Wanikinyiyrni palanga ngurra pukujinikinyiyrni. Yarrana partanyjirri wurrkujarrinyipulu kanyalayipulinyi *hospital*-karti; pulany yakarnalayipulinya, wirrirnalayipulinyi partanyjirri *hospital*-ja manyjarra wanikinyipulu. Jampangarra waninyipulu manalayipulinyi, palaja ngalaya yanalayi Pinga Well-karti. Palanga wanikinyiyrni warrkam, punyja waninyiyrni. Kunkurr wirtu manayirni wiyirru nganarnalu. Ngalayalu yarrana kanyalayipulinyi partanyjirri *hospital*-karti, munu warlinamapulinyi, yinyapulinya *medicine*-jakun.

Kulpanyalayi Pinga Well-karti 1970. Mirtalu wurrarnala Pitpitja, ‘milpulunyurru nyungukarti warrkamuku.’ Palangulu jinta marrngu yanayi Kurntinyakarti. Ngalaya ngatu wanikinyalayi warrkam palanga.

Yarti yanalayi Kurntinyakarti. Palanga wanikinyiyrni warrkam. Pala kakarrakurnu Pindan Mob mirtalu Kangkushot-ju kalkunikinyijaninyi warrkam. Nganarna karakurnu wanikinyiyrni. Jinta wariny yanayirni pijukarti, palangulu warrkamjarrikinyiyrni. Palanga nyirti marntikatajarrinyi. Palangulu yanayirni yakarniyrnipulinya yarruwarrapa martungurra, yanayirni yalinyja Jalkurlunyakarti, warrkamjarrikinyiyrni palanga. Mirrarnputu yanikinyiyrni marntungu, ruka kulpanyikinyiyrni ngurrakarti, karrpurangu karrpu.

Murtuka mana Wunyangulu, wiyimarnalayijanaku martumpirri Kurntinyakarti; ruka kulpanyalayi Jalkurlunyakarti. Palaja yanayirni Spear Hill-karti. Kangkushot wanikinyi pala Kurilakurnu, kalkunikinyijaninyi warrkam. Kurntinyaja yanayi jana palakarti. Palanga warrkamjarrikinyiyrni, wurrarniyinganaku, ‘*bad news*: yarruwarralu walyimarnapulu.’ Palanga ngangkurljirniyrni nganarna. Ngalaya yanalayi Ngaru kurlurlukarti.

Later Jock Henderson told Mirta, ‘Your people can come and work over here at Pinga Well.’ So Mirta sent everyone there, leaving just a few of us behind at Jurriya: my wife and I, Ngiyirr and his wife, and *nyuparra* who were the parents of Jarlaku (Alistair Sammy). We stayed there looking after the camp as caretakers. When our daughters got sick again we took them to hospital and left them there, they stayed there without their parents. When we picked them up we all went to work at Pinga Well for quite some time. Everybody developed a respiratory illness. We took our two daughters to hospital again; this time they weren’t kept there but were just given medicine.

We returned to Pinga Well. It was 1970. Mirta told Pitpit, ‘Bring your group over here to work,’ and they shifted to Coondina, while we remained working at Pinga Well.

Later we moved to Kurntinya (Coondina), and worked there. Over on the east side *mirta* Kangkushot had his Pindan Mob working, while we lived on the west side. One group went to the river and we worked with them there. **Nyirti** started to walk there. Leaving *yarruwarra* and *martungurra* at Kurntinya, we moved north to Jalkurlunya on the Shaw River and worked there. We set out each morning and worked all day, and only came home in the evening. We did that day after day.

Wunyjunga (Georgie Betts), bought a car and we used to take food for everyone at Kurntinya and go back to Jalkurlunya in the evening. Later we moved to Spear Hill. Kangkushot’s people were working just south of us, having moved there from Kurntinya. While we were working there we received the bad news that *yarruwarra* had lost their son. We were in mourning there, and went to the funeral in Ngaru.

Nyirti

Minyjun and Nalma’s younger daughter, Sharon, referred to as Nyirti as the youngest child in the family.

yarruwarra

These were Billy and Lola Walker.

martungurra

A married couple where the husband is the speaker’s classificatory father; for Minyjun this is a Milangka man and a Purungu woman; these were Sambo Pina and Mary Rowlands.

yarruwarra

The speaker’s classificatory brother and his wife, who is in the generation of his grandparents or grandchildren. These were Yakalya (Crow) and his first wife, Lucy.

Pukutinikinyalayi Yirramakartunya Five Mile

Kurlurlu wiyirrinakanu, wurrarniji Taliwan punarrilu, ‘yankuluman Five Mile-karti kara Yirramakartunya, pukutinaku ngurraku.’ Palanga yanalayi, wiyimarnangalayinyi, yakarnangalayinyi. Wanikinyalayi Five Mile-ja, palanga Munumijirripa yarruwarra wanikinyipulu yininirra.

Ngalaya kayimarnayingalayinyi Five Mile-ja, wurrarnala jartuntajimarninyju, ‘yankuluminyi *Pudding*-karti kurila Cooya Pooya-karti.’ Nyungujirri yininirra, nyungujirri nyukunurra palakarti yanayirni. Yija yanayirni kanyayingalayinyi. Parruparru wirrinnyi janpanga, kurrngal warlirniyijaninyi janpamalu. Parruparrulu *Pudding*-pintirla manayirnijaninyi janpamalu, *Pudding* nganayirni palanga. Ruka kulpanyiyirni Yirramakartunyakarti, ngalaya kulpanyalayi Five Mile-karti. Pawurla wiyirr wurrjirniyi winuja.

Marntiyarra milpanyapulu marntungu, kayimarnayingalayinyi kuyikarti. Yanayirni kakarra pijukarti. Ngajulu yakarnarnajaninya palanga pijungu, kurila yanarna. Palaja janpa wirtu yirrinirni, *shoot’m*-jirninirni *swan*. Manarna parrjarnarna jinyjikata yirrinirni. Karramarnarna, yankulumarna mankulumarnajaninyi karntinyirni murrurlungu palalpalal kakarra parrjarnarna yirrinirnipulinyi karlayajirri, wariny wararrkarrinyi, wariny mirtinganikinyi. Mungka yajana kawarnarna mungkamajirrijarrinyi. *Sight’m*-jinikinyirnili pala wararrjaku, kajamarta wararrkarrikinyi, puru yakurmalkurna, yijalu ngungkulu *shoot’m*-jirninirni, mirtijarrinyi pungkanya. Pala warinymarniny mirtijarrinyi wirrurru. Yanarna manarna marlkarri. Wirtitimarnarna mirrarnkarti, parrjarnarna nyungu jinyjikata.

Parrpakarrangarla, yakarnarna mirrarnja wipiya puntarnarna *pocket* wirrinirni yanarna milpanyarnajanaku. Janparrkarrikinyi jana. *Tea* jirniyi minpirninirni *pocket*-ja manarna wipiya parnpirninirnanaku. Jana karramarnayi, ‘Oh, jankurna! Yankuluminyi janpakarti.’ Wurrarnarnajanaku, ‘yakarnarnapulinya *swan*-pa karlaya marlkarri.’

Karntinyiyirni murtukanga yanayirni palakartijakun. Ngalaya marntiyarra yanalaya palaku kuyiku, palinyju kulpanya kanya murtukakarti. Karntinyirni murrurlungu, kakarra parrjarnarna, yirrinirni wararrkarrikinyi karlaya mirrarnja. Kulpanya mirtijirninirni wurrarnarnala, ‘jilaman marra, jilaman!’

Wararrkarrinyirla mirrarnja. Karramarnarna ngaju ngurnipali wankajarrinyi marlkarrija, nyungu palarti mirtijarrinyipa, kulpanya mirrarnkarti. Palinyju wurrarna karlayalu, ‘nganija pungkanya? Ngurnipali kartakarrinyi, parrjalkurnalu.’ Kulpanya yirrinirni nyungu kartakarrinyi mirrarnja. Pala marlkarri wariny wanikinyi yirrinirni wipiya wangalju karruwurranyikinyi. Mirtijarrinyi murtukaja mana jilaman yinyaji. Kakarralu yajana kawarnarna mungka palakartijakun warinypa wirlarnarna. Palangulu *shoot’m*-jirninirni pungkanya. Nyirrinilu murrkangunya yajarninyi manalayipulinyi palajirri. Yirrininyingalayinyi karlayajartinyirri. Kanyalayi murtukakartijakun, wika murnirniyirni puntarniyirnili kamparniyirnipulinyi. Maaja milpanya Warrumpija, yirrinninganinyi kampajana, ngalya munu kuljarrima. Parrpakarranga. Jitirniyirnipulinyi kuta-kutapirniyirni nganayirnipulinyi. Ruka kulpanyiyirni Reserve-karti. Wiyikingi ruka wiyijirniyingalayinyi Five Mile-karti.

Caretakers at Yirramakartunya Five Mile

When the funeral was over **Taliwan's father** said to me, 'We want you to go to the west to look after the Five Mile Camp at Yirramakartunya (Roebourne)'. We were taken and dropped off there, and we lived there at the Five Mile with Munumijirri *yarruwarra*, and *yininirra*.

One day people from Yirramakartunya called us to go out on a day trip with them: *jartuntaji*, my wife's sister-in-law, said to her, 'Let's go south and have Christmas at Cooya Pooya Station'. And so we were taken there, along with two *yininirra* and a *nyukunurra* couple. They put fishing nets into the pool and we got a lot of fish for our Christmas dinner. In the evening we all went back to Yirramakartunya, and my wife and I went back to the Five Mile. All the chickens there had died of thirst.

Marntiyarra arrived one day and called us to go out hunting, and we went to George Creek. Leaving the others by the creek, I walked south. I saw a big pool of water and shot a swan. I picked it up and saw that it was nice and fat. I decided to go and get the others, and as I came up over the bank, walking along with my head down, I saw two emus, one standing still and one crouching. I crept along screened by bushes, until the bushes ran out. I took aim at the one that was standing; it was still a long way off, but I thought I'd give it a go. As it turned out, I shot straight. It jumped up and ran off, and then dropped. The other one dashed off at top speed without stopping, so I went and got the dead one. As I dragged it into the shade I saw that it was really fat.

It was a really hot day. Leaving it in the shade, I pulled out a feather, put it in my pocket, and went back to the others. They were hungry. They made a cup of tea for me. I pulled the feather out of my pocket and threw it into the centred the group. They said, 'Oh, an emu! Let's go to that pool'. I told them 'I left a swan there, and an emu'.

We climbed into the car and drove over there. We *marntiyarra*, Stream Mick and I, went to get the meat, and he carried the swan back to the car. I climbed up to the bank and, looking to the east, saw an emu standing in the shade. I ran back, and said to him, 'The gun, get the gun!'

The emu was standing there in the shade. I thought the one I'd shot must have revived, but this was actually the one that had run away and had come back to the shade. It must have thought, 'What did he fall down for? Perhaps he's having a sleep. I'll go and have a look for him.' It had come back and seen that emu lying in the shade. I saw the dead one with its feathers waving in the breeze. Stream Mick came running from the car, and gave me the gun. I kept behind bushes until I reached the one I'd shot. Then I shot the other one and it fell. *Murrkangunya* came along behind me and we picked them both up. The others saw us come back with the two emus. We carried them back to the car, and I gathered firewood, and we plucked and cooked them. A boss from Warrumpi Station came and saw us cooking, but he was OK about it, and not angry. It was a really hot day. We got them out of the fire, cut them up and ate them. In the afternoon we went back to the Reserve, and on Sunday afternoon they took us back to the Five Mile.

Taliwan's father

Les Ankie. Taliwan is his daughter, Lisa Williams. Les had been caretaker of the Roebourne Five Mile.

yarruwarra

Minyjun's classificatory brother, Munumijirri (Yesterday) and his Karimarra wife Molly Edgar, who was not in Minyjun's generation.

yininirra

A married couple, the wife being the speakers aunt (mother's brother's wife) or mother-in-law, and therefore a relationship of avoidance. These were Jack Kurala's brother, Paddy Wakiji, and his wife Spinifex, who was Minyjun's *marruku*. Mick Wayinartu's son, Stream Mick, also lived there.

Mamntiyarra

Minyjun's brother and a Milangka man.

Murrkangunya

Stream Mick referred to as Murrkangunya as he was his mother's oldest child.

Yurtingunya

Milpanya Taliwan punarri mayijartiny Ngaruja. Wurrarniji palinyju, ‘Mirtalu mananganyjurraka Yurtingunya.’ Paliny kulpanya ruka Ngarukarti.

Palanga wanikinyalayi Five Mile-ja. Marntungu yanikinyalayi pijukarti mirrarndputu, janpamalu manikinyalayijaninyi, ruka kulpanyikinyalayi ngurrakarti. Karrpu *Thursday*-jarrikinyi manikinyinganinyi *town*-karti murtukanga; wariny milpanyikinyi *town*-ja murtukajartiny marrngu, kanganyikinyinganinyi tuwamayakarti. Kulpanya wiyimanikinyinganinyi rukalu. Palajunpirli *Thursday*-rrangu *Thursday* maninya kulpanyikinyinganinyi Purungujalu.

Partany warlirniyi palanga, ngakarniyi Ngarukarti. Nganarna marirrijirri Pankapa Karimarra karnku wanikinyiyrni; Purungupa Milangka, jinyjanungu. Palinyju kurrngal manajaninyi marrngu Ngarujaja. Rukalu witolu kanyaya, warrukartijarrinyi purntulja yakujarrikinyi. Marntungujarrinyi kulpanyiyi Ngarukarti, yakarniyinganinyi. Pala partany warlirniyipa ngajumili pujamu, Marrawarta *family*; ngajumilija mamajija pala. Pala yini Jack Alexander’.

Yarti wurrarniyiji, ‘nyuntumili pipi pungkanya.’ Palanga ngangkurljirni. Milpanya Karimarra Five Mile-karti manangalayinyi kanyangalayinyi Nine Mile-karti. Wanikinyalayi Nine Mile-ja, miman-mimana kurlurlu. Muwarr ngakarnayalu malyurtaku Carnarvon-karti. Palangarla wanikinyi paliny, Dick McKenna. Yija milpanyapulu pirnarra Ngarukarti, Seven Mile-jangarra yamana wirriniyili jipi. Kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti palanga kulpanyapulu pirnarra Carnarvon-karti.

Wigley-pa ngalaya yanikinyalayi *town*-karti marntungu warnku *pensioner*-mili manikinyalayi. Palinyju mirlimirilingi jinikinyijaninyi warnkurrangu. Jinta wirrinikinyijaninyi *bank*-ja, jinta kurtanyja wirrinikinyijaninyi. Pala kurtany yinganyikinyiji ngajungu. Palarrangu marrngu wanikinyiyi Nine Mile-japa yinganyikinyirnijaninyi warnku. Yanikinyirni ngaju Yurtingunyakarti ngurrangarrangu yinganyikinyirnijaninya warnku. Ruka kulpanyikinyirni Nine Mile-karti, kurtany yinganyikinyirni Wigley-ngi warnkujartiny. Jinta marrngu wanikinyiyi palangangarra ruutukarra warrkam wanikinyiyi, jintalu jarntinikinyiyili ngurra Jarturtungu; jinta wanikinyiyi *Station*-ja, jinta wanikinyiyi Jalkurlunyanga. Ngalayalu warnku manikinyalayijanaka *pensioner*-mili *bank*-ja; jintapinikinyijaninyi warnkurrangu marrnguku yinganyaku, jinta kulpanya wirrinikinyijaninyi. Ngajulu wiyimanikinyirnijanaka pension warnku palajunpirli Thursday-rrangu Thursday Nine Mile-ja. Palangarra ngajumili warrkam wanikinyi.

We buy Yurtingunya (Strelley Station)

When Taliwan's father arrived with food from Ngaru he told me, 'Mirta has bought Yurtingunya (Strelley Station), for us.'

For a while we stayed on at the Five Mile. In the mornings we'd go out to the river fishing for the day. On Thursdays a Purungu man would drive out from town and pick us to do our shopping, and then he'd run us back in the evening.

While we were there they **grabbed** my brother's son and took him to Ngaru. We *marirrijirri*, Panaka and Karimarra, were the *karnku*, the masters of ceremony, the Purungu and Milangka people were *jinyjanungu* and took the role of workers. He brought a lot of people from Ngaru. They danced in the evening and the ceremonial dancing went on right through the night. In the morning they went back to Ngaru and left us there. That boy that they took was my *pujamu*, my classificatory son, of the Marruwarta family, my older brother's son. His name was Jack Alexander.

Later they told me, 'Your mother has passed away', and I mourned for her there. Karimarra, Les Ankie, came and took us to the Nine Mile and we stayed there waiting for the funeral. They sent a message to Carnarvon where Malyurta, my brother Dick McKenna, was living. *Pirnarra*, Dick and his wife, came to Ngaru, and we had the funeral at the Seven Mile cemetery. We went back to the Nine Mile and *pirnarra* returned to Carnarvon.

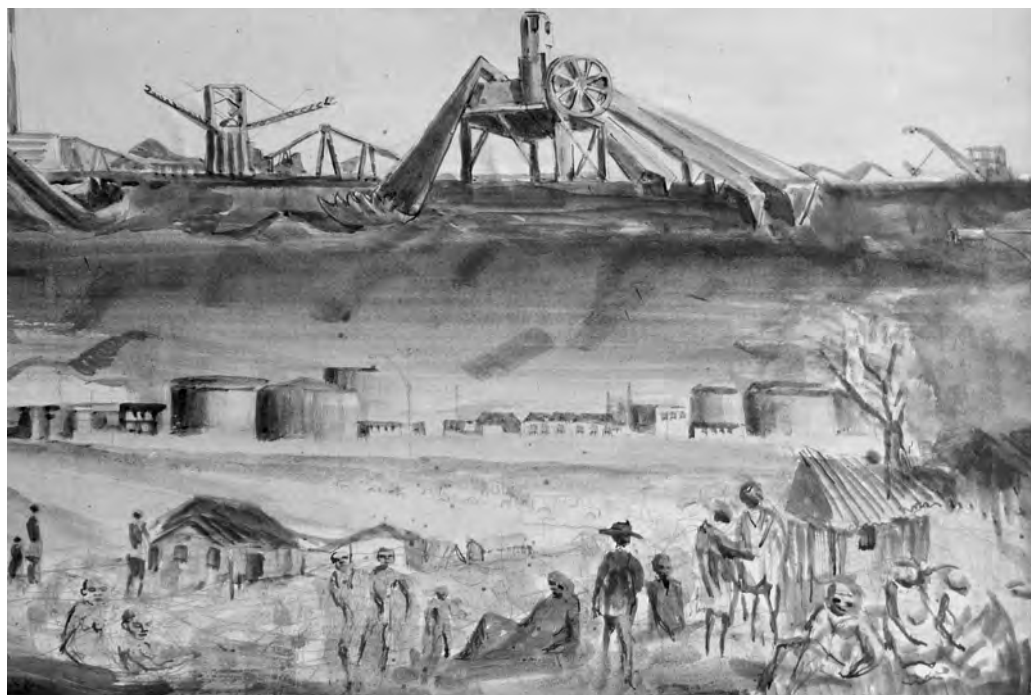
Jim Wigley and I would go into Ngaru in the morning to get the pensioners' money. He'd record the amounts in a ledger book. He'd put some of it in the bank, and some in a bag, and he'd give the bag to me to give to people at the Nine Mile. I'd go to Yurtingunya and take the money around to the different camps. In the afternoon I would go back to the Nine Mile, and give the bag with the leftover money to Wigley. Some people who were living at Yurtingunya were making roads, some were clearing a place for the Jarturtu, or Top Camp, some were living at the station, and others were living at Jalkurlunya on the Shaw River. Wigley and I would get all the pensioner's money out of the bank and he would divide all the money up for different groups of people, and put what was left over back in the bank. Every Thursday I used to take all the pension money out to those people who lived at the Nine Mile, that was my job.

grabbed

Seized for the first stage of initiation.

maririjiri

A group of people in the same generational moiety as the speaker.



Jim Wigley's painting of marrngu in Port Hedland, photograph courtesy Ian Wallis.

Wirlurupa karlaya jartuntarra

Kujarra wanikinyipulu jartuntarra wirlurupa karlaya mangunyjiirri. Marntungjarrikinyi wirlurumarniny yanikinyi kuyikarti yakanikinya karlaya ngurranga. Karlayalu wurrarikinyili wirlurungu, 'junturtu wartitijarrinyarni,' warlinikinyarninyi junturtu. Yilanikinyi, 'yakayi, yakayi.' Pala wirluru yanikinyi kuyikarti wirlanikinyijaninyi kurrngal kuyi, kulpanyikinyi ngurrakarti. Palanga wika murninikinya marntijalungarra wakalalu. Nyungu karlaya yilanikinyi, kampanikinyijaninyi kuyi, jitinikinyijaninyi wirrinikinyi wurrulyja. Karlaya mirti turlpanyikinya kuyiku murlaku, jinta-jintapinikinyi wirtumarta kuyirrangu. Wurrarikinyili, 'ngajulu wirlarnarnajaninyi, nyuntulu wirlarnanjaninyi wuparturrangu kuyirrangu.' Palajun karrpurrangu karrpu wurrarikinyili karlayalu, wirluru yanikinyi kuyikarti. Karlayalu kuru-kurumanikinyijaninyi kuyi wirtumarta, palinyjukapan wirlalkujaninyi.

Yarti yana wirluru wirlarna kangkuru wanyijartiny waraja. Munu wirlanamajaninyi kurrngal kuyi. Palaja wirluru kulpanya ngurrakarti. Wika murnirna tarrparnamaninyju jaraja mana wanyi parnpirna jalakarti. Karlayalu wurrarnala, 'nganija parnpirnanpa kuyirla palama?' Turlpanya pala karlaya, yana jampa manama. Wanyi kanka wapakarna, walyi purlurpirnalu. Purrrjapirna jampa warlinama, wapakarna. Pala wanyi wapakankinyalu, 'wawu wurtu, wawu wurtu, wawu wurtu.'

Wirlurulu maparnju yumunyjiirnalu pala wanyi yakumurninyku. Wangkakurra pala kurtirri, purrrjapinikinya kurtirra-kurtirra. Kajajarrinya kawanikinyipulu, pinakarrinyalu munu waninyalu kamaku. Yalinyjalu purrrjapirna, karajarrinyipulu. Wanyilu ngurramanikinyalu mirtilu kurtirra-kurtirralu. Jampa karlayalu walyi warlinikinyalu, wapakankinyalu. Walyi warlinaja januku waninyi ngapa. Yirtilmanikinya kurtirra-kurtirralu, januku waninyayi kujarrakartingi yalinyjakurti, kurilakurti. Yirtilmana kawarna kujungurrukartijakun, ngalpanyapulu kujarranyngarrany. Palanga karlaya kulalkanya, kuwarri jina waninyi mangunja karlaya, pala Broome-ja.

The curlew and emu brothers-in-law

In the Dreamtime, there lived two brothers-in-law, the stone curlew and the emu. Every morning the curlew would go out hunting, leaving the emu behind in camp. The emu would say, 'My head is aching' and holding onto his head would cry in pain, 'yakayi, yakayi'. The curlew would go hunting and return to camp with a lot of meat. Then, tired from having travelled so far on the hunt, he would gather firewood. The emu would be still crying in pain as the curlew cooked the meat, took it out of the fire, and placed it all on a bed of leaves. But he'd quickly get up when he saw the cooked meat. He'd pick out all the biggest bits of meat for himself, and say to curlew, 'These are the one's I killed; you only killed the little ones'. This is what the emu used to say every day when the curlew had been hunting. The emu would take all the biggest pieces for himself as if it was he who had killed them.

Then one day the curlew went out and killed a kangaroo with a little joey. He didn't kill many animals that day. He brought it back to camp and gathered firewood. Before singeing off the hair he took the joey out of the pouch and threw it over to one side. And the emu said, 'Why did you throw that meat away?' He jumped up and tried to take hold of it, but the joey jumped away out of his grasp. He chased after it and tried to grab it, but it hopped away. As the little kangaroo hopped away, the emu called after him '*Wa wurtu, wa wurtu!*'

That curlew was *maparn*, a sorcerer, and had put a spell on the little kangaroo because of his brother-in-law. The emu chased it around their camp, backwards and forwards and all over the place. They went further and further away until the curlew could no longer hear the emu's cries. He chased it up north, and then to the west. The little kangaroo ran ahead, dodging from side to side. Just as the emu was about to grab him, the little kangaroo would hop away. Wherever he nearly grabbed it, there's now a soak with water. He chased it backwards and forwards, zig-zagging from side to side, and there are soaks now on both sides of the plain, on the north side and on the south side. He kept on chasing him until they got to the sea, and then they, both of them, went into the water. And there the emu turned into stone, leaving tracks in the rock, which are still there in Broome.

Chapter 7:

Yurtingunya (Strelley), 1973–85

In the early 1970s the Nomads group purchased Yurtingunya (Strelley Station), near Port Hedland, which became a centre for its operations. The move to Yurtingunya enabled the group to achieve its long-held ambition of establishing its own school. A major difficulty they had faced in educating their children had been their need to relocate frequently, shifting from work camp to work camp in search of minerals and other means of subsistence, and often spread out over a large area in small working groups. With the purchase of Yurtingunya as a community base, the establishment of a school was an early priority in which Minyjun played a central role.

Rejecting the options of sending children to school in Port Hedland, or of having the government operate one at Yurtingunya, the community sought to maintain control of its children's education by setting up an independent, community-controlled school. The school it established in February 1976 was the first community-initiated non-government Aboriginal school to be registered in Australia. Concerned at what they saw as the undermining of language, culture, and community authority by mainstream schools, the community hoped that a school under its own control would serve to maintain and strengthen their language, culture and identity as a group, rather than undermining it. It decided that its children would be taught to read and write Nyangumarta as well as English.

The person charged by the community with the principal responsibility for the school and the Nyangumarta literacy program was Minyjun. A key player in the school for nearly thirty years, he taught Nyangumarta literacy to adults and children, wrote Nyangumarta books for use in the literacy program, and worked with linguists employed by the school to compile a Nyangumarta dictionary, grammars and teaching materials, teaching them the language as he did so.

As part of the school program, children were frequently taken into country where they learned the cultural knowledge of their elders, and the history of their community. The sharing of this knowledge of the country and of history was extended to walypila teachers who came from other parts of the country to teach in the school. Walypila teachers John and Gwen Bucknall, who were involved in the school when it began and who worked there for many years, became Minyjun's close friends.

The early 1980s were years of dynamic years for the Nomads group, as the group acquired and operated a number of pastoral leases and established desert outstations, enabling families to return to country. Desert camps were used to facilitate the rehabilitation of young people by taking them away from the influence of alcohol in coastal towns. Schools which operated as annexes of the school at Yurtingunya were established on the stations and in each of the desert camps. The group also established an independent health service.

School jiniyirna Yurtingunyanga

Yarti yanarna Yurtingunyakarti Nine Mile-ja; nganarnalu wiyirrju jarntinikinyiyrnili Jarturtungu. *Bough shed* yarnimanikinyiyrni palaja yanarna Yurtingunyakarti mayakarti. Palanga wanikinyiyrni kurrngalngarra marrngu, jinta *shearing shed*-ja. Palakarti milpanya Wigley, paliny warrkamjarrikinyi *garden*-mayanga, *grow'm*-jinikinyijaniny martumpirrirranggu. Yija ngalypa, yinganyikinyijaninya partanykarrangu *garden*-mayaja martumpirri.

Muwarrja waninyiyrni wunyjurruku waninyaku. Muwarripinikinyiyrni kurrnganikinyiyrni munu minpinaku ngarrarta, yawurr milpanyikinyi wirlanikinyiyrnijaninyi, palajun. Wirrinijirnijaninyi maajarrangu kujarrapa waraja, marrngu muwarripinakata. Yija wanikinyiyrni walangkarrangu, warntamanikinyiyrnajaninya nyurnpalya.

Welfare-lu kanganyikinyi Bucknall, kurrnganaku Mirtaku. Palanga kurrngarnapulu, Bucknall-ju japirrmarna *school* jilamarna nyungungu. Mirtalu yu karramarnalu, 'ngalypa' wurrarnala. Ngurrmanikinyi palalu *Welfare*-lu Mirta kurlujartiny wurranikinyili Bucknall-ja. Paliny ngaany karramana kawanikinyi, puru yakurmmalamarna ngurnipali yija paliny kurlujartiny, puru *school* jilamarna. Palangulu yanapulu Marble Bar, Yirrangkaji, kulpanyapulu Ngarukarti.

Bucknall kulpanya Karrkarrakarti, nganarna wanikinyiyrni *station*-ja. Jinta warrkamjarrikinyi pinyikarra yarnimanikinyiyrninaninyi piinyjipa *windmill*. Kukurnjari *muster'm*-jinikinyiyrninaninyi, wangkajinikinyiyrninaninyi *shear'm*-ku. Palanga yija *shear'm*-jinikinyiyrninaninyi kukurnjari; ngajulu kukurnjari pirntirri wirrinikinyiyrninaninyi mirlimirlingi, palarrangu *shear'm*-ja. Rurlalu kurkura jinikinyiyrninaninyi. Marntungu *shear'm*-jinikinyiyrni janalu kukurnjari, ngajulu *count'm*-jinikinyiyrninaninyi *shear'm*-ja kukurnjari *pen*-jarrangu, nganurtumili *shear'm*-ja kurrngal. Martumpirri nganikinyiyrni, yarrana ruka *shear'm*-jinikinyiyrni. *Five o'clock* ruka kulpanyiyrni ngurrakarti, karrpurangu karrpu. *Shear'm* wakanyijirniyi, Rurlalu kurkura jinikinyiyrninaninyi, pirntirri jinirniyrninaninyi. *Shear'm*-ja *Pudding* nganayirni 1973-jarrinyi.

Ngajumili mamaji yana Wave Hill-karti mangarrjarranga, martumpirri kanyajanaku; Mirtalu ngakarna. *Station*-jarrangu yanayi jinangu puru wanikinyiyrni martumpirrimajirri Kuurrinyi marrngurrangu. Stan Davey-ju muwarr ngakarnalu Mirtaku.

Palaja Kurntinyaja jungka *tin*-jartiny wirrinikinyi murtukanga. Murtukalu kanganyikinyi Jarturtungu wirrinikinyi. Janalu yapinikinyiyrni jungka pala *tin*-jartiny. Yarrana yanapulu jungkaku maninyaku *tin*-jartinyku rampanu, mirtapa Purunguja. Pungkanyapulu partijirri, warajamalngarra pungkanya yirrikurlajarrinyi *tin*-jartiny. Wirntilykanya jungka, ngalypangarra pulany; marrngujirri murtuka ngalypangarra jungkajakun wirntilypirnipulu *tin*-jartiny.

Palaja Kurntinyajapa Jalkurnunyaja wiyirr milpanyiyrni marrngu Yurtingunyakarti. Palanga punya wanikinyiyrni. Kurrngal warlirniyrninaninyi partany, palangangarra kurtirra marrngujirniyrninaninyi *twelve* partany. Munu ngakanamiyrninaninyi yintarrangukarti. Yarrana nganayirni *Pudding*.

Mirtalu mayi manikinyinganaka Karrkarraja, *truck*-lu kanganyikinyi Yurtingunyakarti. Palanga jinta-jinta pinikinyiyrni ngurrarrangukarti palajun.

We set up Yurtingunya and prepare for a school

Later I shifted from the Nine Mile to Yurtingunya, where we cleared the ground at **Jarturtu** and built bough sheds. I then moved to the Strelley homestead, a big group of us lived there and at the shearing shed. Wigley moved there and grew vegetables in the garden. That was good; he used to give the kids vegetables from the garden.

In meetings we decided how we were going to live. We decided that we wouldn't drink alcohol, and if drunks came into our community we would beat them. We appointed a few men to be bosses, men who spoke up strongly at meetings. And indeed we lived like that at first, and would get on top of the trouble-makers.

John Bucknall came to Yurtingunya with a Native Welfare Officer⁵⁰ to talk about things with Mirta. Bucknall discussed starting a school there. Mirta agreed, saying 'That would be good'. The Native Welfare Officer spoke disparagingly of Mirta, telling Bucknall he was no good. But Bucknall thought, 'I'll just give it a try. Maybe it's true that he's no good, but I'll put a school here anyway'. Then they both went to Marble Bar and Yirrankaji, and then back to Ngaru. Bucknall returned to Perth.

At Yurtingunya people worked on the fences and repaired the windmills. They mustered the sheep and brought them in for shearing. During the shearing I recorded the number of sheep that were shorn. **Rurla** put the wool into bales. In the mornings they'd do the shearing and I'd count all the shorn sheep in the pens, and see who'd shorn the most. They'd have dinner and go on with the shearing in the afternoon. At five o'clock we'd go home. When they'd finished the shearing, and Rurla had baled up all the wool, the sheep had all been shorn. After shearing we had Christmas, and then it was 1973.

My *mamaji*, Jacob, flew to Wave Hill and took food for the people there. Mirta sent him. All those Gurindji *marrngu* had walked off the stations, and didn't have any food. Stan Davey had sent word about it to Mirta.

People at Kurintinya loaded tin-bearing sand onto a truck, and it was brought and dumped at Jarturtu, where everyone yandied it for tin. The two *rampanu*, *mirta* and *Purungu*, went off again to get more and had an accident on the way back; the truck tipped over and fell on its side with a load of tin. The sand spilt out, but the two men and the truck were unhurt.

Then all the *marrngu* who'd been living at Kurintinya and Jalkurnunya moved into Yurtingunya, and everybody settled there. We took a big group of boys and put them through the Law right there, twelve boys, without taking them anywhere else, not sending them to different places. And then it was Christmas again.

Mirta would get food for us from Perth and bring it to Yurtingunya by truck. There it would be sorted out into different lots for all the different camps.



Strelley homestead, photograph by John Bucknall.

Jarturtu
Top Camp at Yurtingunya.

Rurla
Fred Bradman.

rampanu*, *mirta* and *Purungu
Panaka man Arthur Muccan, referred to as *mirta*, 'older brother', and his classificatory nephew, Purungu man, Ray Thomas.

Palanga partany warlirniyirnijaninyi kujarrapa waraja Pakurtpa Nyanya ngakarniyirnipulinyi yalinyja Looma-kartipa Noonkanbah-karti. Kanyayipulinyi palajirri partanyjirri Yakalyalu, Maruntulu, ngajumililu mamajilu; kurrngal manapulujaninyi marrngu, kulpanyiyi Jarturtukarti. Ruka milpanyiyi pala yalinyjakurnu kartakarrinyiyi. Rukalu witolu kanyaya, palajalu kulpanyiyi wiyirr marrngurrangu yintarrangukarti. Palangulu marrngujina kawanikinyiyirnijaninyi ngaparrpa purulu.

Ngakarnapulinyi Bucknall-ju kujarra walypilajirri, Brian-pa Dan. Kalkunikinyiyirnipulinyi Jarturtungu, ngajulu miranujinikinyirnipulinyi Nyangumartaku muwarrku. Wariny wurrkujarrinyi Brian-marniny kulpanya Karrkarrakarti, warinymarniny palanga wanikinyi; mirlimirlingi yarntanikinyijanyinyi muwarr Nyangumarta. Yarti kulpanya Karrkarrakarti Dan. Palaja Malcolm milpanya, ngakarna Bucknall-ju. Miranujinikinyalaya marntiyarralu Rurlalupa ngalayalu Malcolm. Palangulu kulpanya Malcolm, milpanyiyi jinta walypilarrangu Bucknall-pa palinymili mirtawa, kujarra partanyjirri; Robyn, Brian-pa palinymili mirtawa, waraja partany; Dan-pa palinymili mirtawapa kujarra partanyjirri; Peter Spinks-pa palinymili mirtawa. Pinakarrinyiyirni nyarra 1974-ngu parnpirnijaninyi mayarrangu Cyclone Tracy-lu Darwin-ja.

Yanalayi Milingimbi-karti

Ngajumili mamajipa Ngajukulayimili yanapulu mangarrjarranga Darwin-karti palangulu Milingimbi-karti. Yanapulu parrjanaku wunyjurru waninyayi *school*-ja, marrngumilingipa walypilamilingi miranujarrinyayi. Palanga wani-waninyipulu yanapulu kakarra Elcho Island-karti. Parrjarnapulujaninyi marrngu kulpanyapulu Darwin-karti.

Marntiyarra yanalayi parrjanaku wunyjurru kalkunayijanyinyi partanykarrangu *school*-ja, warrkamu waninyalayi kalkunikinyingalayinyi Morgan-ju. Miranujarrinyalaya wunyjurru kalkunaku partanykarrangu Yurtingunya School-ja.

Palaja ngalaya yanalayi marntiyarra mangarrjarranga Darwin-karti. Kaninyjarrinya kawanikinyi mangarrjarra pirrpapirrpanga, yirrirnalayi mayarrangu parnpirnaja pala *town*; ngalayalu wurrarnalayi *rubbish dump* kapal: waraja-waraja maya ngalya. Katukarnalayi mangarrjarraja, *gate* martaji yirrirnalayipulinyi nyakajiyarra, Purungupa Panaka. Ngangkurljipirniarninyi, wurrarnalayipuluku, 'nyungu yaninyalayi ngurrakarti *hostel*-karti.' Pulany wanikinyipulu *town*-ja ngurranga. Yirrirnalayipulinyi palajirri yarlpurrangu kaninyipirti mimanikinyapula kulpanyaku Ngarukartiku. Marntungu yanalayi *airport*-karti, karntinyalayi mangarrjarranga, yanalayi Milingimbi-karti. Yirrirnipulungalayinyi *principal*-jujirri walypilalupa marrngulu. Kanyangalayinyi walypilamarninyju ngurra jurtijirningalayaku; 'nyungungu waninyalunyumpulu.' Pala maya kankawarrangu, 'kartakarrinyalunyumpulu mintu; *bull* pala milpanyayi warrukarti.'

Marntungujarrinyi *breakfast* nganalayi yanalayi *school*-mayakarti. Yirrirnalayi David Morgan, palangangarra warrkamjarrikinyalayili palinyja. Kanyangalayinyi marrngukarti maajakarti; wurrarnangalayiku, 'nyungu maaja marrngu. Pala pirirri,' wurrarnangalayiku, 'kurrngaljartiny mirtawajartiny.' Junturtu mirtamirta. Kulpanyalayi ngurrakarti ruka. Marrngu marlkarrijarrinyi palanga, kurntanikinyiyili julurr warrukartirranggu warrukarti, kakarrara. Kayimanikinyiyingaliyinyingarra parrjanaku. Ngalaya wirntikarrikinyalaya munu yanamalayi; waninyalayi ngurranga. Munu ngurranga nganamalayi ngalayalu martumpirri, kayimanikinyiyingalayinyi nganinyaku martumpirriku jananga: palajun walypilalu marrngulu.

We grabbed some other boys for initiation, including Pukurt (Kevin Fred) and Nyanya (Lindsay Hardcase) and sent them north to Looma and Noonkanbah. Yakalya (Crow Yougala), Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra) and my *mamaji* looked after them. A lot of people went up with them, and then came back to Jarturtu. They arrived in the afternoon and made camp to the north of Yurtingunya. In the evenings there were ceremonies. After that we put more people through the Law, one after the other.

Bucknall sent along two *walypila*, Brian Erickson and Dan Logan. We put them up at Jarturtu, and I taught them Nyangumarta. Brian got sick and went back to Perth, but Dan stayed on working on writing Nyangumarta before also returning to Perth. Then Malcolm (Brown) arrived, sent by Bucknall, and we *marntiyarra*, Rurla and I, taught him the language. When he went back, other *walypila* arrived to teach in the school, Bucknall and his wife and two children; Brian and his wife and child; Dan and his wife and two children; Peter Spinks and his wife; and Robyn Stacey. That was in 1974, when we heard that Cyclone Tracy had flattened all the houses in Darwin.

We visit a bilingual school

My *mamaji* and **Ngajukulayi's husband** flew to Darwin and then on to **Milingimbi**, to see how they ran the school and how both the *marrngu* and the *walypila* languages were taught. They spent some time there, and then went east to Elcho Island, and returned to Darwin.

Marntiyarra, Rurla and I, also went to have a look at how the children were taught in the school and we stayed there working for a while with **David Morgan**. We went to find out how to teach the kids at the Yurtingunya school.

We travelled by plane to Darwin. As we came in to land at daybreak we saw all the houses that had been destroyed and we thought it looked like a rubbish dump. Only a few houses were left standing. As we got off the plane we saw *nyakajiyarra*, Purungu and Panaka, and we cried together to see one another. We told them 'We're going up here to stay in the hostel'. They were living in town. At the hostel we met *yarlpurrangu* who were on their way back to Ngaru. The next morning we flew to Milingimbi and were met by the two school principals, a *walypila* and a *marrngu*. The *walypila* principal, David McLeay, showed us the house we'd be staying in. 'You two can stay here', he said. It was up on stilts. He said, 'When you go to sleep be aware that bulls come walking around here at night time.'

In the morning we met David Morgan at the school, and worked with him. He took us to see the *marrngu* community boss. That man, he told us, had lots of wives. His hair was white. In the evening we went back to where we were staying. There had been a death there, and they were holding funerary ceremonies every night, all night long. They called us over to watch, but we were afraid and didn't go.

Ngajukulayi's husband
Snowy Jittermarra.

Milingimbi
An Indigenous community in Arnhem Land, Milingimbi had an Education Department school in which literacy was taught in both English and the vernacular.

David Morgan
Morgan worked in the literature production centre in the Milingimbi school, producing vernacular literacy material for use in the school.

nyakajiyarra
A husband and wife who are not of the sections that are customarily allowed to marry. The couple referred to here were Cocky Brown's younger sister Polly, and Charlie Stream.

yarlpurrangu
Minyjun's brother Jacob and Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra) who had grown up together, or gone through the Law together.

Wiyikingi kanyayingalayinyi kuyikarti kujarranga murtukanga. Palanga wararrjirniyi murtuka, katukarnayirni. Jana yanayi kuyikarti; nganarna mimanikinyiyirniyanaku - yija milpanyiyi kuyijartiny. Wirlarniyijaninyi kurrngal kuyi parrjarniny. Kamparniyijaninyi kuyi palarrangu, wurrarnalayijanaku ngalayalu, 'munu kuyi palajunmarta nganinyakalayi; jaji ngalaya, maruntujakun nganinyalayi.' Marrngu walja pungkanyaja, munu ngananyakayirni parlkarakarringu, jinta walypilamili kuyi, kukurnjaripa purlika, ngurrngurr. Wurrarnayirni jaji waninyaku. Jaji waninyayirni punya kujarrapa waraja wirllarra.

Palanga jana yanayi kujarrapa waraja wirllarniyijaninyi maruntu. Kulpanyiyi mirrarnkarti, kamparniyijaninyi palarrangu jitirniyi wurrulyja wirrirniyi kutakutapirniyi yinyayingalayinya, ngalayalu nganikinyalayi.

Marntungjarrikinyi yanikinyalayi warrkamu yirrinikinyalayalu Morgan-ku. Palinyju jurtijinikinyingalayaku muwarr pala wirrinikinyijaninyi *machine*-ja. Ngalayalu muwarr Nyangumarta yarntarnalayi wirrirnalayi mirlimirlingi. Palinyju wirrirni *machine*-ja, *book*-jirni, kulun-kulunu yinyangalayiku. Pala muwarr wirrirnalayipa ngalayalu parrjarnalaya pala ngalypa, muwarr ngalayamili wirrirnalayipa.

Wanikinyiyi warajalkaniny; *meeting time*-pa *picture time*-jakun kulunikinyayarninyi. Palanga waninyalayi kujarra *week*.

Rukajarrinyi pala marlkarri kanganyikinyiyi jungkarakarti. Warinyju kayimarnangalayinyi, 'kurtalipulu, parrjalkulunyumpulu wunyjurru wirrinayijaninyi marlkarrija marrngu.'

'Munu,' wurrarnalayili ngalayalu, waninyalayi, parrjanikinyalayijaninyi kajangulu. Kulpanyiyi ngurrakarti.

Wangkajarrikinyi karrpu ngalayaku kulpanyaku. Yanalayi *school*-mayakarti, japirmarnalayijaninyi Morgan palanga, marrngu *teacher*-rrangupa, walypilarrangu *teacher*, marrngu *principal* Charlie Manjirri: wurrarnalayijanaku, 'ruka kulpulupalayi; ngurnipali yartipa kulpulupalayi nyungukarti. Karntinyalayi kanyangalayinyi mangarrjarrakarti, karntinyalayi. Yanayirni kajarniyirni partijirri Maningridanga. Mirlimirli wirrirnijanaka, palaja yanayirni mujungu-mujungu, wily-wilykarranga. Kajarniyirni Darwin-ja katukarnalayi yanalayi *hostel*-karti.

Karrpu wariny yakarniyirna Darwin *four o'clock*. Karntinyalayi mangarrjarranga, yanayirni partijirri, wurrarnanganaku, 'time wirrilkulinyurru warinyja.' Kaninyjarrinya kawanikinyi kajarniyirni Kununurranga *three o'clock*. Milpanyirna Ngaruku, Bucknall-pa palinymili mirtawa, ngajumili mirtawapa partanyjirri, Mirliya palinymili partanyjirri purrpi milpanyiyi. Manayingalayinyi yanayirni warrukarti Yurtingunyakarti.

We didn't eat meals at our house, both *walypila* and *marrngu* would invite us out to have meals with them. On Sunday we were taken out in two vehicles. We waited while they went hunting and eventually they came back with lots of little wallabies that they'd killed. They cooked them, but we said, 'We can't eat that kind of meat, it's forbidden to us. We can only eat goannas'. When people in our families die we're not able to eat the plains kangaroo or any of the *walypila* animals, such as mutton, beef, or pork. We call this custom *jaji*. We stay under the *jaji* prohibition for a few months.

So they went out again and killed a few goannas. They came back to the shade, and cooked them. They pulled them out of the fire, put them on a bed of leaves, cut them up, and we ate them.

Each morning we'd go to work and watch Morgan. He showed us how he made books with the printing press. We wrote down Nyangumarta stories and he put them in the printing press and made a book which he gave to us. We looked at the story we'd written, and were pleased.

We stayed there for two weeks.

One evening they took the dead person to the cemetery, and called to us, 'Come on, come and see how they bury the dead'.

'No', we said. We stayed where we were and watched them from a distance.

As the time drew near for us to leave we went to the school to talk with Morgan, the *marrngu* and *walypila* teachers and the *marrngu* principal, Charlie Manjirri, and told them we'd be going back that afternoon. We said, 'Perhaps we'll come back here sometime.' We boarded the plane and took off. We landed at Maningrida where the mail was dropped off, then took off through clouds sprinkling with rain. We landed in Darwin and went to the hostel.

At four o'clock the next afternoon we left Darwin. On the way they told us, 'Change your time'. We landed at Kununurra at three o'clock. Bucknall and his wife, my wife and children, and **Mirlimirli** and her children, met us in Ngaru, and we drove to Yurtingunya that night.

Mirlimirli

Susie Rowlands, Rurla's wife.



Minyjun and family, with teacher Kerry Boyd, photograph by John Bucknall.

Warrkamjarrinyarni school-ja

Yimpirniyirna nganarnalu wunyjurru partanykarrangu miranujarrinyaku *school*-ja. Jartanga-jartanga kalkunaku *school*-ja: Purungupa Karimarra, Milangkapa Panaka palajun. Yajalapiyinganaka nganarnamilingi jinanga. Munu ngakanamiyirniyaninyi *school* warinykarti nyurnpalyjamarra. Walangkarrangu jinta kanyayijaninyi kakuputu, munu kulpamiyi, miranujarrinyiya walypilamilikujakun, marrngumili kakurniyi.

Janalu wurru *ready*-jinikinyiya *school*-ku; *teacher*-rrangu wanikinyiyi palangangarra, muwarr wirrinikinyiyijaninyi mirlimirlingi *ready school*-pinti. 1976-jarrinyi. *Meeting* waninyiyirni Middle Camp-ja, wurrarnanganaku Bucknall-ju kujarra muwarr yarntanalupiyi, English-

pa Nyangumarta. Puru wanikinyiyi *school*-ja mayamajirringi, *bough shed* jakun palajun. Karimarrapa Purungu, Panakapa Milangka partanykarrangu. Ngalaya marntiyarra Gwen-jupa Malcolm-ju kalkunikinyipulungalayinyi. Nyangumartapa muwarr wurrarikinyalalayipulaku, pulanyju yarntanikinyipulu mirlimirlingi muwarr pala. Marntungujarrikinyi yanikinyi kara murtukajartiny, manikinyijaninyi partanykarrangu *school*-karti. Kulpanya kanganyikinyijaninyi ngurrakarti martumpirriku nganinyaku, yakanikinyijaninya. Maya yarnimanikinyiyingarra *carpenter*-lu, nyarra wirtu; *clinic*-pa yarnimarnayi. Mayapa yarnimarnayinganaka marrngumilipa walypilamili.

Peter Spinks-ju kanganyikinyinganinyi Ngarukarti; jipanikinyiyirni murtuka Ngarungu. Wurrarikinyinganaku wunyjurru wararrkarrinyaku wirrkijarrinyaku palajun. Yaninyaku wararrkarrinyaku parrjanaku murtukaku yijalmanangulu murtuka warinyku. Murtukamajirrijalu yaninyaku wirrkijarrinyaku, yaninyaku pipurru. Miranujinikinyinganinya maninyaku *license*-ku. Palanga yijalu manayirni *license*, palanga Bucknall-ju manaja murtuka.

Palanga *school holiday*-jarrinyi. Yanayirni Carnarvon-karti, milpanyiyirniyanaku. Palangarla wanikinyiyi ngajumilirrangu mamajipa marrkajirri, jamuji. Palanga kanyayinganinyi *town*-karti, jurti-jurtijirniyinganaku janalu; nganarna munumparla palaku *town*-ku. Kanyayinganinyi *jetty*-karti, kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti, nganayirni martumpirri kartakarrinyiyirni. Waraja *week* waninyiyirni. Wurrarnarnajanaku marntungurla kulpulupiyirni; yu-karramarnayi. Marntungujarrinyi martumpirri nganayirni, wurru wirrinnyirniyaninyi murtukanga. Malyurtalu wurrarniji, 'nyungujirri kangkulumanpulinyi partanyjirri.' Ngajumili marrkapa partanykarrangu kulpanyiyirni. Partijirri kartakarrinyiyirni, marntungu yanayirni pipurru Yirramakartunyanga, milpanyiyirni ruka Yurtingunyaku.

Marntungujarrikinyi warrkamjarrikinyiyirni, muwarr Nyangumarta Gwen-ju wirrinikinyijaninyi mirlimirlingi. Palinyju puntaju wurrarikinyingalayiku wunyjurru English muwarr wirrinaku mirlimirlingi, karrpurangu karrpu.

Palanga Bucknall-ju kanyanganinyi Ngulyimunyakarti; partunu yanayirni warringi. Partijirri kartakarrinyiyirni, marntungu yanayirni. Ngajulu wurrarikinyirniyanaku *soldier*-rrangu wanikinyiyi kurrngal *wartime*. Kanka karntinyiyirni warnkunu, yimpinikinyirniyanaku *machine-gun* wirtu wanikinyi. *Machine-gun*-pa mirurru janamili maparn wanikinyipulu palanga warnkunu. Wariny pala jumpanakata mangarrjarraku, pala yini warnku Pimpininya. Katukanakanu yanayirni *station*-karti, palanga yimpinikinyiyirniyanaku purpi wanikinyiyirni *soldier*-majirringikurra nyungunu ngurranga. Maajalu wurrarnajanaku, 'nyungunu ngurranga waninyalunyurru, milpanyalunyurru nyunguja ngurranga warrkamkarti. *Soldier*-rla milpulupiyi kurrngal nyungukarti.'

We start a school

We decided how we wanted to teach the children in the school. We wanted to organise the school with Purungu and Karimarra children together and Milangka and Panaka together; they were to follow in our customs. We didn't send them away to other schools because that causes problems. Children who'd been taken in the past had remained away, they never returned. They'd only learnt *walypila* ways, and had forgotten about *marrngu* ways.

Everything was made ready for the school. The teachers were there, and stories were made into books ready for school. This was in 1976. We had a meeting in Middle Camp, and Bucknall talked to us about writing in two languages, English and Nyangumarta. We had a school without any school buildings; we just had bough sheds. The children were divided into classes according to skin groups: Karimarra and Purungu in one class, and Panaka and Milangka in another. **Gwen and Malcolm** worked with us two *marntiyarra*, Rurla and me, to write down Nyangumarta stories that we told to them. In the mornings the children would be taken west in a truck for school, and taken back home for lunch. Carpenters built a building for the school, and built a clinic. Houses were built for *marrngu* and *walypila*.

Peter Spinks, a *walypila* teacher at the school, took us into Ngaru and as we drove around the town he taught us how to stop and give way in traffic, how to drive along and pull up and have a proper look around for other cars coming. If there were no cars coming you could turn or go straight ahead. He taught us what we needed to know to get our driver's licenses. When we had our licenses Bucknall got me a car.

In the school holidays we drove to Carnarvon to visit everyone there, **my mamaji and two marrka and my jamuji**. They took us into town to show us around as we hadn't been there before. We spent a week there, and then one morning I told them that we'd go back. We loaded the car, and **Malyurta** said to me, 'Take these two kids back with you.' I also went back with my *marrka* and his kids.

At Yurtingunya we'd work in the mornings. Gwen would write Nyangumarta words in the dictionary, and in turn she would tell me how to write down the English words; we did that every day.

We went on a trip with the Bucknalls to Ngulyimunya (Corunna Downs Station); it was winter time and cold. I told them how all the soldiers had lived there during the war. We climbed to the top of a hill and I showed them where the big machine-gun had stood. The radar that was used to detect planes approaching had been on the hill called Pimpininya. We went to the station and I told them how we had lived there in the old days before the soldiers came. Back then, the station owner had told all the *marrngu*, 'You lot can shift over to this camp, and come in to work from here. A whole lot of soldiers will be coming to work here.'



Minyjun preparing an area for a cooking fire, photograph by John Bucknall.

Gwen and Malcolm

Teacher-linguists Gwen Bucknall and Malcolm Brown, who worked with Minyjun and Rurla to prepare materials and undertake the initial implementation of the school's Nyangumarta literacy program.

My mamaji and two marrka and my jamuji

Big brother, Dick, two younger brothers, Rindy and Gilbert, and grandson Frank Thomas, the brother of Turrkuwanti (Bruce Thomas).

Malyurta

Dick, a middle child in the family.

marrka

Younger brother or sister: this was Rindy, who returned with Minyjun to Yurtingunya with his children Nigel, Pamela and Frances.



Minyjun's daughter, Barbara, 1976, photograph by John Bucknall.

Palajalu yanayirni Janyjinyakarti, wurrarnarnajanaku, 'ngaju wirtujarrinyirni nyungungungarra *station*-ja.' Pijungu wanikinyiyirni kurrngal janpamalu manayirnijaninyi. Manayirni nganayirni, ruka kulpanyiyirni Yurtingunyakarti.

Palanga punya waninyiyirni warrkam *school*-karra Yurtingunya, karrpurangu karrpu warrkamjarrinyirni. Ngalayalu jinyji-jinyji kalkunikinyalayijaninyi *high school* partanykarrangu *school*-ja. Wirtumarta *teacher*-rrangu Nyangumartaku miranujinikinyalayijaninyi wunyjurru muwarr wirrinaku Nyangumarta janalu. Rukajarrikinyi ngurrakartirangu kulpanyikinyiyi, marntungjarrikinyi yanikinyiyirni warrkam *school*-karti. Jinyji-jinyji kalkunikinyipulungalayinyi Malcolm-jupa Gwen-ju marntiyarra palajun. Rapujarrikinyi karrpu yanikinyiyirni janpamalukarti Kurranyakarti. Kanganyikinyiyirnijaninyi *teacher*-rrangu, manikinyiyirnijaninyi janpamalurrangupa, janpanyikinyiyi walypilapa marrngu; kulpanyikinyiyirni ruka ngurrakarti.

Palaja yanayirni Makanykarrakarti, ngalaya partanyjirri Tatin-Tatinpa

Gwen wupartunga murtukanga pawurlanga.⁵¹ Waninyiyirni janpamalukarra jampa munu yakurrmarnayirna. *Shoot'm*-jirnirnipulinyi kangkurupa yarnkarra, partanyjirrilu manapulu wirrinipulu murtukanga. Yanayirni katukarnayirni pijungu palanga wika murnirniyirna kamparnalayipulinyi mimarniyirna murlajarrinyaku. Jitinkanu nganayirnipulinyi kulpanyiyirni ruka ngurrakarti.

Wajantayimjarrikinyi karrpu yanikinyiyirni *school*-mayakarti. Turrkuwanti yanikinyi ngurrarrangukarti partanykarrangu ngakamanikinyijaninyi *school*-karti, kulpanya kanganyikinyijaninyi mayikarti, yarrana ruka ngakamanikinyijaninyi; palajun karrpurangu karrpu.

Yarrana kanyarnapulinyi mirtawapa pirirri partanyjartiny ngalaya partanyjirri, yanayirni pala Makanykarrakarti partal parnpirniyirna janpamaluku, munu manamiyirnijaninyi. Yanayirni kakarra *railway crossing* martaji nganayirni martumpirri janpanyiyirni palanga. Kulpanyiyirni ruka warrijirringi ngurrakarti.

Ngajulu yimpirnirni muwarrpa yarntarnarna Nyangumarta, Julakarlajulu marnipirni *picture*. Morgan-ju kulun-kulurnujaninyi mirlimirlijirni. Palaja wirrinnyirnijaninyi mirlimirli *school*-ja partanykarrnguku *read'm*-jinaku.

School holiday-jarrinyi nganarna ngalaya partanyjirri, Rurla Mirlimirlipa partanyjirri yanayirni Bidyadangakarti. Rurlamili mamajipa Windmill Man wanikinyipulu palangangarra. Broome-ja Mapayi milpanya Bidyadangakarti, palanga kurrnganikinyiyirni. Mapayilu yimpinikinyinganaku partanykarrangu palinymili kanyapulujaninyi yininirralu janpamalukarti palakarti Makanykarrakarti. Katukarnayi murtukaja kaninykurnu yanayi, kajanikinyiyi palalpalal ngalparra wirliwirli parnpirnaya janpanga maninyaku janpamaluku. Janpa wirtu pala wanikinyi. Kurlurlu-kurlurlu janpa yintanga partijirri kaniny. Turlpanya kurlkajirri makanu *donkey*-kapan, ngarnngany janpuly-janpuly makanu junturtujakun kankajarrinyi partijirri kaniny yintanga. Parrjarnaya kurila turlpanya pala janpajaja. Parnpirna wirrinnyijaninyi wirliwirrirangu wirntijartinyju warrkina kawarniyi kankakurnu. Turlpanyakanu karntinyiyi murtukanga yanayi ngurrakarti.

After that we went to Janyjinya (Mt Edgar Station), and I told them, 'I grew up right here on this station'. We went to the creek and caught a lot of fish which we had for dinner, and in the evening we returned to Yurtingunya.

We lived there working in the school for a long time, working every day. **We marntiyarra** took turns at teaching the high school students. We also taught the teachers how to read and write Nyangumarta. In the evenings they'd return to their camps, and in the morning they'd go and work in the school. Malcolm and Gwen took turns in working with us two *marntiyarra*. On Fridays we'd go out fishing at Kurrunya (De Grey River). We'd take all the teachers and we'd get plenty of fish. The *walypila* and the *marrngu* would go swimming, and we'd come back home in the evening.

One time we went to Makanykarra, my wife and I and our two daughters, and Tatin-Tatin and Gwen, in the little Suzuki. We hooked up our lines and threw them in the water, but we didn't get any bites. I shot a kangaroo and a brolga and the girls put them in the car, and we cooked and ate them there.

On Mondays we'd go back to our work in the school. Turrkuwanti (Bruce Thomas) used to go around the camps bringing all the children to school, and would take them back home for lunch, then go off again to pick them up in the afternoons. He did that every day.

Once I took a couple of school teachers and their child, and my wife and two daughters, to Makanykarra again, but we couldn't catch any fish. We just didn't get anything. We went east to a place by the railway crossing and had dinner, and everyone had a swim. We came back home in the cool of the evening.

I used to tell stories and write them down in Nyangumarta. Julakalaju (William Gardiner) drew the pictures for them, and David Morgan⁵² put them together to make books. After that we put the books in the school for the children to read.

In the school holidays I set off with my wife and two daughters, Rurla and Mirlimirli and their two daughters, to Bidyadanga (La Grange), where Rurla's *mamaji* and Windmill Man (Tommy Edgar) lived. Mapayi (Teddy Allen) arrived there from Broome and we all had a yarn together there. Mapayi told us that **yininirra** had taken all of his (Mapayi's) kids fishing to Makanykarra. They went down to the creek and were sitting in a row looking at the fishing lines they'd thrown out. There was a lot of water there. In the middle where it was deep it was quite cloudy. Then two long ears like a donkey's rose up out of the water, and a head with a long thick beard and mane appeared from the depths of the waterhole. Looking south, they saw it rise up out of the water. They threw down their fishing lines in fear, and scrambled back up the bank. They jumped back in the car, and went back home.



Nyangumarta literacy class at Strelley School (Frances Hale teaching), photograph by John Bucknall.

We marntiyarra

Classificatory father and son, Minyjun and Rurla.

yininirra

A married couple, of which the wife is the speaker's aunt or mother-in-law, and therefore in an avoidance relationship. These were Mapayi's first wife and her Purungu husband, of the Monaghan family from Carlini.

Palakarti yintakarti yanikinyipulu ngurraputu parruparru wirrini rukalungarra *dinghy*-jartinyju. Kulpanya yana kajarna jungurr jakarnalu mirtawamarninyju yinyala minpinikinyipulu pulanyju. Karrpu rukajarrinya kawanikinyi parrjarnapula palaku parruparruku kaninyjarrinyi *float*-jakun wanikinyi mirarl. Karntinyi piririmarniny *dinghy*-ngi yana partijirri kaniny wararrkarrinyi. Partal kankamarna, nyitarnaya kurrngalju janpamalulu, wangkamartaja manikinyijaninyi waraja-waraja wirrinikinyijaninyi *dinghy*-ngi. Kujarramal yana *dinghy*-ngi palaku, kurrngal manajaninyi janpamalurrangu *dinghy*-ngi winya. Wirrinijaninyi murrurlungu kulpanya yarrana manajaninyi wiyirr palanga. Kulpanyapulu Ngarukarti, yinyapulujaninya Twelve Mile-japa Three Mile-ja mirtanya-mirtanya. Jinta kanyapulujanaka Yandeyarrakarti.

Palangulu Bidyadangaja kulpanyiyirni Yurtingunyakarti.

Bucknall-jupa palinymilalu mirtawalu wurrarnapulungalayiku, 'yankuluminyi Yandeyarrakarti kurrngalapalayalu walypilaku *teacher*-ku.' Kanyapulunganinyi Rapungu, ngalaya partanyjirri pulany Mirlimirlipa partanyjirri yanayirni Yandeyarra. Karrpu wiyikijarrinyi marntungu yanayirni Mampurljarikarti. Yanayirni kurila kakarrajarrinyiyirni, kurilajarrinyiyirni Tampira. Palanga wurrarnarnapuluku, 'ngajulu nyungukarti yanikinyiyirni kuyikarti ngurraputu Jarlirranyja. Purlpi wanikinyiyi walypila warrkam palanga.'

Yanayirni kakarra Jarlirrany *turn-off*. Wurrarnarnala, 'wararrjili murtuka. Nyungungu mayi yakanikinyinganaka *mail truck*-ju.' Yanayirni kakarra kangkuru *shoot*'m-jirniirni yanarna murtukanga wirrinirni. Yanayirni Nyukarranga karakurti, yalinyajarrinyiyirni partijirri, wurrarnarnapulaku, 'nyungungu pijungu kaninyjirri mirarljarrinyi Kulirra 1952-ngu.' Pala yini yinta Kulirra. Yanayirni yalinyja Jalkurlunyakarti. Palanga yimpirnirnijanaku, 'pijungu martu wanikinyi, *truck* partal karntikinyi murrurlungu, kulpanya purlupurlujarrikinyi. Malpu mirtikatukarna murtukaja warnku kurtuka mana, nyirrinilu yajana kawarna warnkujartinyju, wirrin *wheel*-ja, munu warlinama murtuka, murtukalu minngarna ngakamarna.' Yanayirni kakarrakurti Pijangarrangu, Spear Hill-ja kurilakurti Marble Bar-karti pipurru yanayirni Yurtingunyakarti.

Yarrana yanayirni 1979 Jigalong-karti, ngalaya partanyjirri, Mirlimirlipa partanyjirri, Jalkurnunyamili punarripa Gwen. Ruka yanayirni, ngajulu murtuka jipanikinyirni; ngajumilirla pala murtuka. Kurila yanayirni, karrpu kaninyjarrinya kawanikinyi kangkururrangu yirrina kawanikinyiyirnijaninyi ruutungu wangka kajanikinyiyi. Nganarnalu walangkarrju *count*'m-jinikinyiyirnijaninyi kajanaja kangkarurrangu karrpu ngalpanya. Pirrpangangarra kangkuru wariny kajanikinyi ruutungu wangka wurrupirni jarntaranga. Munu yirrinamiyirni pala kangkuru; wapakarna wurrupirni *light*-jirri ngartarnapulinyi. Palaja ngaju katukarnarna murtukaja, palanga manarna ngalyi warlirniirni kiyimanarna. Gwen palanga nyarrupinikinyi. *Park-light*-jirri ngalypa jampa yanayirni.

Warrurl-warrurljarrinyi *park-light*-jujirri pirrpanikinyipulu. Jalkurlunyamililu *torch*-jartinyju pirrpanikinyi ruutu. Jampangarra yanayirni Jatungu pijungu kartakarrinyiyirni. Karrpu wariny milpayiyirni Jigalong-ngu. Paliny yanal walypilakarti, nganarna yanayirni ngurrakarti. Nganarna jinta wariny munumpa kuwarriyakun yirrinirni Jigalong; Mirlimirlipa pulany miranu. Wanikinyiyirni palangangarra kartakarrinyiyirni. Maya marrngumili waraja-waraja *round roof* palanga wanikinyijanaka. Marntungujarrinyi martumpirri nganayirni yanayirnal walypilaku Jim Marsh-ku. Muwarrpirnipulu kulpanyiyirni marntungu. Pangkapara karakurnu karrpu ngalpanya, mirtijirniirni ngalypangarra warrurl-warrurlja milpanyiyirna ngurraku Middle Camp-ja. Jana katukarnayi, nganarna kakarra yanayirni. Gwen jinirniirni, nganarna pala kakarrakurnu wanikinyiyirni.

Mapayi also told us that his sister and her husband once camped at that waterhole and set a net across it. In their camp they had a cup of tea and waited. As the sun was going down they saw the net sink until only the cork floats were visible. He got into the dinghy and went out into the middle of the pool. He couldn't pull up the net, it was so heavy with fish. He just got what he could and put them into the dinghy. Twice he went back out and got lots and lots of fish, each time filling the dinghy. He piled them up on the bank and went back again until he'd got them all. When they returned to Ngaru they gave fish to the old people at the Twelve Mile and the Three Mile, and all the rest they took out to Yandeyarra.

Later we left Bidyadanga and went back to Yurtingunya.

One day Bucknall and his wife said to us, 'Let's go to Yandeyarra to talk to the white teachers there'. They took us on Friday, my wife and I and our two daughters, and Rurla and Mirlimirli and their daughters, and we all went to Yandeyarra. On Sunday morning we went to Mampurljari, and then on to Tambourah and I told them, 'This is where I used to come with the others camping out and hunting from Jarlirrany, the Western Shaw mine. In the old days *walypila* lived around here working'.

We went east to the Jarlirrany turn-off. I said, 'Pull up here. It was here that the mail truck used to leave food for us'. We went east and I shot a kangaroo and put it on the car. We went to the west of Hillside Station, and on the way I said to them, 'Kulirrrpa was born down in this creek in 1952'. That place is Kulirrrpa. We went north to Jalkurlunya (Upper Shaw River). There I told them, 'There's a channel in this river, and trucks can't get up the bank. They always roll back down. Once a man called Malpu jumped off the truck and grabbed a boulder, and carried it behind the truck. He put it behind the wheel, but it didn't stop the truck, which rolled back over him and killed him'. We went to the east of Pijangarrangu, on the Shaw River, and south of Spear Hill, past Marble Bar, and straight home to Yurtingunya.

In 1979 we went to Jigalong, my wife and I and our two daughters, Mirlimirli and Rurla and their two daughters, Jalkurlunya's father, and Gwen. We set off in the afternoon in my car; I was driving. Heading south as the sun was going down we saw lots of kangaroos by the side of the road. Those of us in the front counted them sitting there in the setting sun. After sunset there was one that we didn't see and it jumped out in front of us and smashed both headlights. I stopped the car, got out, and holding the kangaroo by the throat, I throttled it. 'You broke the lights on my car!' Then I threw him down to the ground. The others were laughing at me. The parking lights weren't damaged, and we went on.

It got really dark and we drove on with just the parking lights on. **Jalkurlunya's father** stood up in the back of the ute and shone the torch onto the road. We got to Jatu (Mt Edgar Creek), and made camp there. The next day we got to Jigalong. It was the first time my family and I had been there, although Mirlimirli and Rurla had been there before. There were a few *marrngu* houses there with round roofs. We camped there, and in the morning we went to see the *walypila* called **Jim Marsh**. He and Gwen spoke together, and the next morning we headed home. We were west of Pangkapara on the Shaw River when the sun was low, but we drove straight on, and managed to get home, arriving back at Middle Camp in the dark. We dropped people there, and went east, dropped off Gwen, then went home to our camp in the east.

Jalkurlunya's father

Frank French. Jalkurlunya is Ronald Francis.

Jim Marsh

A linguist of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Palaja walypilajirri kanyalayipulinyi waraja partany yukurrujirri ngalaya partanyjirri. Pijukarti yanayirni ruka, murtuka wararrjirni. Yukurrujirri wapakarnapulu murtukajaja yanapulu yirrirnipulu maruntu yirtilmarnapula ngalpanya pangkurlja. Larnngapinikinyipulu nyarrakarti-nyarrakartilu. Ngaju yanarnapuluku ngarrarinikinyipulu pangkurlja. Wungkarnarna yirrirnirni maruntu wanikinyi wirtu pangkurlja kaninykurti. Kulpanya yanarna wurrarnarnajanaku, 'maruntu pangkurlja ngalpajirnipulu.' Manarna yilipi, pala pangkurl malyarnarna yilipijartinyju, wirlarnarna. Kanyarna jurtijirniirnijanaku. Wika manarna, pirti karlinyarna tilijirniirni wika, tarrparnarna yawu kankarnijirniirni, jitirniirni parrkarlpirniirni, nganayirni. Kartakarrinyiirni palanga, marntungujarrinyi parnpirniya wirliwirli, manayijaninyi kurrngal yirrakana. Kamparna nganayirni ruka kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti.

Ruka yanayirni Bucknall-pa palinymili mirtawa, partanyjirri pa wariny partany, Mirlimirli pa partanyjirri, ngalaya partanyjirri Jarntinyakarti. Kartakarrinyiirni palanga, marntungujarrinyi manayijaninyi janpamalu kurrngal; kamparniyirnijaninyi nganayirni. Ruka kulpanyiyirni, partijirri yirririirniirni karlaya partanyjartiny. Ngajulu *shoot'm*-jirniirni kalpartinyuku pungkanya. Palanga lirrpa-lirrpapinikinyi. Mirlimirli mirti katukarna murtukaja Bucknall-mili partanypa. Wurrarnalayili, 'munu warlinaku kalparti, wirlala mungkalu.' Mirlimirli warlirni yirrkulu pilpunyuku, palanga karlayalu jurrkarna murnturanyuku. Munu waninyalu Mirlimirli pungkanya. Murrkangunyajakun wararrkarrikinyi parrjanikinyi Mirlimirli wararrju. Rurla katukarna murtukaja yanalu, partal turlpanyikinyi. 'Pala now nyarra wurrarnarnangu, munu mirrjunamijin.' Palanga jukamarna, taki wirlarna mungkalu, mana kanya murtukakarti, wirriirni. Yanayirni Yurtingunyakarti, palanga kamparniyirniirni nganayirni.

Yurtingunyaja marntungu yanayirni Katanykaninyakarti janpakarti. Janpanyi palanga rukajarrinyi kulpanyiyirni. Ngajumili murtuka kurlujarrinyi partijirri. Bucknall nyirririirni milpanyikinyi, yirriringaninyi japirrmarnanya, 'nganijarrinyi murtuka?'

Wurrarnarnala, 'mirtijangarra wararrkarrinyi.'

Bucknall katukarna parrjarna partal ngurrtirrijirni, munu ngurrtirrijarrima. 'Purrilamarnanta,' wurrarniji; palinyju yija purririirniirni. Purrinya kawarnanganinyi karakurnu *railway line* ruutungu, palanga *main road*-jarrinyiirni. Kara yanayirni *turn-off* martaji, *wheel* tultulkarramanikinyi; parirr muwarrpinikinyirnalul: munu yirriniminyi palinyju *glass-ngulu*. Yarti yirririirniirni *turn-off*-ja wangka, wararrjirni murtuka. Ngajumili murtuka jampa wararrjinamarna palanga tirrkurnu *wheel* lakarnkanya. *Door open'm*-jirni, jampa katukarna Bucknall, *wheel* yirririirni palinyja kanka mirtijirni ngakamarnala. Palanga 'Oh!' karramarna paliny, kulpanya *shut'm-up*-jirni *door*. Tyre kintijarrinyi pungkanya. Yakarnirna murtuka palanga karntinyiirni Bucknall-milingi murtukanga yanayirni ngurrakarti ruka.

Some time after that my wife and I took two *walypila* and their child and two dogs, and our two daughters, and we went in the afternoon to a river. When we pulled up the two dogs leapt out of the car and ran around until they saw a goanna which they chased into a hollow tree. They were barking all around there. I went over to where they had holed it up. I peered into the hole and saw a big goanna there. I went back to the others and said, 'They've got a goanna holed up in a tree'. I got my axe and chopped the tree, and I killed it. I showed it to everyone and cooked it, and we ate it. We camped there, and in the morning they threw their lines out and got a lot of little *yirrakana* fish. We cooked and ate them, and went home in the evening.

One afternoon we went out, Bucknall and his wife and their two sons and another child, Mirlimirli and Rurla and their two daughters, and my wife and I and our two daughters, to Jarntinya (Ettrick Pool). We camped there and in the morning they caught a lot of fish which we cooked and ate. In the afternoon as we were coming back we saw an emu and its chick, and I shot it in the thigh and it fell. It was kicking around on the ground. Mirlimirli jumped out of the car, along with Bucknall's son. We said to her, 'Don't grab its leg. Hit it with a stick'. Mirlimirli took no notice and grabbed its leg, and the emu kicked her right in the kneecap. Mirlimirli fell down and disappeared from view. **Murrkangunya** just stood there looking at her. Rurla got out of the car and went over to her; but she couldn't get up. 'This is what I told you would happen, but you didn't listen to me'. He was laughing as he rubbed her knee. He hit the emu on the back of the head with a stick, carried it back and put it on the car. We went on to Yurtingunya and there we cooked and ate it.

We left Yurtingunya one morning to go to Katanykaninya, where everyone had a swim. On the way back in the evening my car broke down. Bucknall was coming along behind, and he saw us and asked, 'What's wrong with your car?'

I told him 'It was going along fine, and then it just stopped'.

Bucknall got out and tried to start it, but it wouldn't start. 'I'll tow you', he said. He towed us westward along the railway line road, and then we turned off onto the main road. We went on to the west and near the turn-off the wheel started making a horrible grinding noise. I signalled to him but he didn't see me in the rear vision mirror. Later he saw me when we were near the turn-off, and he stopped but my car was still going. I couldn't stop it, and the wheel came off and kept rolling. Bucknall opened the door and got out, and saw the wheel go flying past him. 'Oh', he yelled, jumped back in, and shut the door. The wheel slowed down and fell over. I left the car there and we went back home in Bucknall's car.



Minyjun with school kids and a brolga, *Mikurrunya*, 26 September 1983, p. 19, photograph courtesy Nomads Foundation.

Murrkangunya

Euan Bucknall, referred to as Murrkangunya as the oldest child in the family.

Mayarrangu manayirnijaninyi

Mayarrangu manajaninyi Mirtalu Nganinyjangupa, Martakura, Karntimarta, Kurlumpurrnya, Pirrimaya. Nganarna walangkarranguja miranu warrkamuku *station*-ja, kuwarrija jumpayi munumpa warrkamuku, miranujirniyirnijaninya warrkamuku: jarlipinaku yawartaku, piinyjikupa *windmill* yarnimanaku.

Yurtingunyaja jinta marrngurrangu yanayi jirrja *station*-kartirrangu warrkam. Janamili partanykarrangu wanikinyi *school*-ja Yurtingunyanga. Kurlumpurrnyanga warrkam kalkunikinyipulujaninyi Pitpitjupa Kalyiralu jumpayi. Palanga Kurlumpurrnyanga walypila wanikinyi Ray Eckerman. Piinyjikarrapa *windmill* yarnimanikinyi, kukurnjari *muster'm*-jinikinyi, *shear'm*-jinikinyiyaninyi. Marrngulu Murlangajayilu, Ngulalulu, Purnupungju, Dudley-lu, Warnartanju palarrangulu *shear'm*-jinikinyiyaninyi marrngulu. *Truck* milpanyikinyi *cattle truck*, kurlkura wirrinikinyi *truck*-nga, *truck*-lu kanganyikinyi Karrkarrakarti. *Shear'm* wakanyjinakanu yanikinyi *muster'm* pulukukarra. Wirrinikinyiyaninyi *yard*-nga, jintapinikinyiyaninyipa *brand'm*-jinikinyiyaninyi. Mimanikinyiya *truck*-ku; *truck* milpanyikinyi, karntijirna. Ngakanikinyiyaninyi pulukurrangu *truck*-nga Karrkarrakarti, palajun.

Yarrana yanayi Pangkaparanga kurilakurnu wanikinyi *muster'm* pulukukarra. *Truck* milpanya palakarti karntijirna ngakarniyijaninyi, kanyajaninyi *truck*-lu Karrkarrakarti. Pala yanayi kurilakurnu Lalla Rookh Mine-ja yakujarnikarti; wanikinyi palanga *muster'm*. Wirranikinyi jinta puluku, wiyimanikinyiinganaku kuyi Yurtingunyakarti.

Yarti milpanya *cyclone*, kukurnjarirrangu wakany wurrjirniyi Yurtingunyangapa Nganinyjangungu; *windmill*-pa piinyji ngartarnajaninyi. Janalu palarrangu wurnmanyaja yarnimanikinyi.

Pipi japartu warrkamjarrikinyi Kurlumpurrnyangapa Karntimartanga. *School* wirrirniyi Karntimartangapa Martakuranga wangkajirniyijanaka partanykarranguku. Pipi japartulu wangkangulu ngakanaku *school*-karti. Bucknall yana Karntimartakarti 1979; palanga wanikinyipulu Gwen-pa. Yakarna Yurtingunyanga Paul Roberts wanikinyi. Ngalaya marntiyarra wanikinyalayi warrkamu *school*-ja Yurtingunyanga.

Daylight palaji yana walangkarrangu Martakurakarti, kanyajaninyi partanykarrangu palinymili. Kalkunikinyiyaninyi *school*-ja *teacher*-lu Mark-ju. Palangulu yana Ngalkurninyakarti. Palaja Pitpit yana Martakurakarti, kanyajaninyi palinymilirrangu partanykarrangu palanga, kalkunikinyiyaninyi *school*-karra *teacher*-lu Anne-ju. Ngajulu muwarrpinikinyirnijanaku muwarrpintingi wirtumartaku partanykarranguku Yurtingunya Martakurakarti. Janalu muwarr wirrinikinyi mirlimirlingi, wurrnikinyiji muwarrpintingi.

We get more stations

Mirta acquired more stations: Nganinyjangu (Carlindi), Martakura (Lalla Rookh), Karntimarta (Warralong), Kurlumpurrnya (Coongan) and Pirrimaya (Callawa) Stations. We bought them so that the young men could learn how to work, and so that they could be taught how to run stations. We of the older generation knew how to do station work, but the young people didn't, and we taught them about it; how to ride horses, and how to repair fences and windmills.

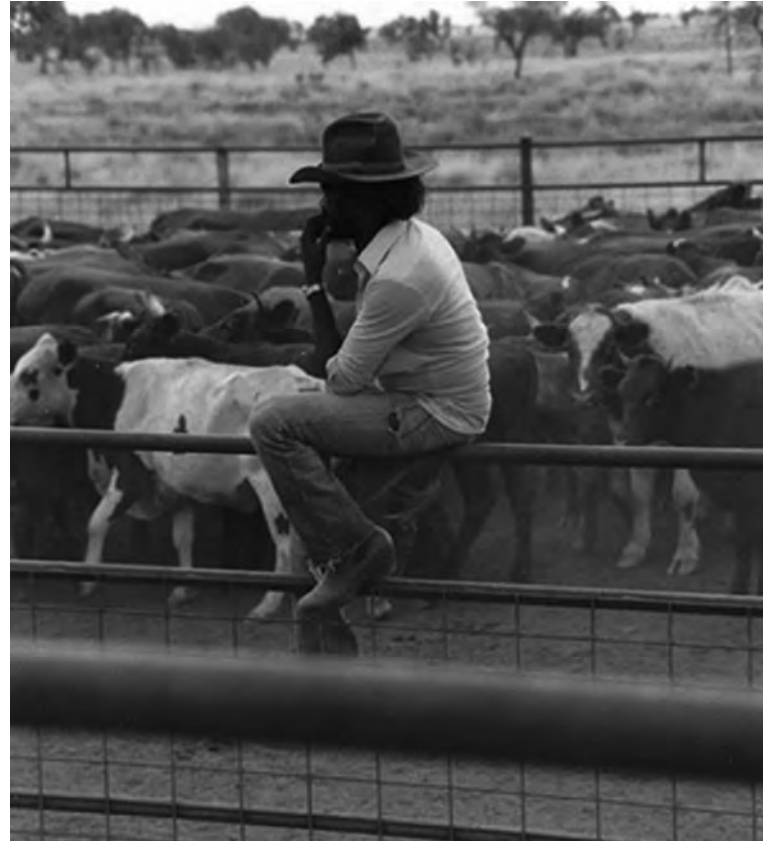
Some people from Yurtingunya went out to work on the other stations while their children stayed at school at Yurtingunya. Pitpit and Kalyira (Toby Jones) had some ringers working on Kurlumpurrnya (Coongan). A *walypila*, Ray Eckerman, was working there as well. They repaired fences and windmills, and mustered and sheared the sheep. The shearing was done by Murlangajayi (Norman Murla), Ngulalu (Alec Sambo), Purnupungu (Joe Wirecutter's oldest brother), Dudley Coppin and Warnartan (Charlie Wannadon). When the truck arrived with supplies it was loaded with wool to be taken to Perth. After the shearing they went out mustering cattle. They put them in the yard, drafted them out and branded them. When the truck arrived they loaded them on to be taken to Perth, that's how it was done.

They set out again and went to Pangkapara, on the south side of the Shaw River, and stayed there mustering cattle, which they sent down to Perth by truck. They then moved further south to this side of the Lalla Rookh Mine, and stayed there mustering. They killed a couple of bullocks there and sent them over to us in Yurtingunya for meat.

Later there was a cyclone which killed all the sheep on Yurtingunya and Nganinyjangu. The fences and windmills were damaged and had to be repaired.

Some of the people working on Kurlumpurrnya and Karntimarta were the parents of school children, and so schools were set up at Karntimarta and Lalla Rookh. Children could then be with their parents and go to a school close by. Bucknall shifted to Karntimarta (Warralong Station), in 1979 and he and Gwen lived there. They left Paul Roberts as school principal at Yurtingunya. We two *marntiyarra* stayed at Yurtingunya working in the school.

Daylight was the first to shift out to Martakura (Lalla Rookh Station), taking all his kids with him. The teacher there was Mark. When Daylight went to Ngalkurninya (**Camp Sixty-One**) Pitpit went to Martakura and took all his kids there, and Anne was the teacher.⁵³ I was at Yurtingunya, and I talked to the older children at Lalla Rookh over the two-way radio. They wrote stories and read them to me over the radio.



Cattleyard, working the stations, photograph by Tim Dwyer.

Camp Sixty-One

Camp Sixty-One (Ngalkurninya), located on the Rabbit-Proof Fence, 62 km north-east of the Jigalong Mission, was established by the group in 1980 to enable Manyjilyjarra-speaking families to return to their own country.

Kurllkarriya

1980-ngu Mirtapa ngajumili mamaji yarruwamurniny yanayi yalinyja Kurllkarriyakarti. Yanayi walypila *minning* company *drill'm*-jinikinyi jungka *oil*-ku. Munu kanyirniya *oil*-ku, ngapa yirriniyi. Jalypapinikinyijaninyi *premier*-lu Charles Court; yirrkukarikinya karlinyaku. *Meeting* wanikinyi, marrngulu jalypapinikinyi: 'munu,' wurrarikinyiyanaku; 'nyungu kumpurrjira, jungka nyungu ngurlujartiny.' Ngajumili mamajipa Mirtalu Steve Hawke jalypapinikinyiyaninyi walypilarrangu pala *premier*.

Bucknall-jupa Gwen-ju marrngu *teacher*-rrangulu kanyayijaninyi partanykarrangu wirtumarta Karntimartaja. Nganarnalu walypilalupa marrngulu kanyayirnijaninyi jinta partanykarrangu wirtumarta Yurtingunyaja yalinyja Kurllkarriyakarti *school trip*. Bucknall-ju wurrarnala Paul-ja, 'nganarna yankulupiyirni walangkarra partijirri ngurra paljulapiyirna, mimalapiyirninnyurru palanga.' Nganarna Yurtingunyaja marntungu yanayirni nyirrini lu yajarniyirnijaninyi. Jinta yanayi *truck*-nga, nganarna wupartungu murtukanga. Milpanyirniyanaku Bucknall *mob*-ja palanga kartakarrinyirni, marntungu nganayirni martumpirri yanayirni Purrala *turn-off*-ngu kakarrajarrinyirni. Yanayirni Looma *turn-off*-ngu kurilajarrinyirni Loomakartijakun wararrjirniyirni murtuka. Kurrngarniyirniyanaku; wurrarniyirniyanaku partanykarrangu kanganyayirnijaninyi Kurllkarriyakarti. Wurrarniyanaganaku, 'yankuluminyi pijukarti kurrngalaminyi.' Yija yanayirni nganarna janapa ngurrara. Wanikinyirni pijungu muwarrkarra; muwarr-muwarrpirniyirni rukakartijakun. Kulpanyirni ngurrakarti kartakarrinyirni marntungujarrinyi nganayirni martumpirri, kanyayijaninyi partanykarrangu *school*-mayakarti walypilalupa marrngulu. Parrjanikinyiyaninyi *school*-ja, janapukun wanikinyi *school*-ja. *Principal* wanikinyi palanga walypila Les Mack. Marrngukarra palangapa wanikinyi kakunikinyiyaninyi, muwarrja Walmajarrirra muwarrpinikinyi, walypilmiljakun muwarrpinikinyiyrnarningu.

Yarti kulpanyirni. Yakarniyirnijaninya ngajumili mamajipa yarruwarra Mirtapa Pakarni. Yakarniyirnijaninya ngatu Kurllkarriyanga, mimanikinyi muwarrku. Kurllkarriyangu muwarr ngakarnapulu marrngulupa walypilalu; 'milpulunyurru yakujarni.' Yija yanayi jana yirriniyanaku Kurllkarriyakarti. Jana yanayi *turn-off*-ja yakujarnikarti kartakarikinyi ruutungu partijirri kaniny. Kurrtanikinyiyili julurr.

Truck-rrangulu kanganyikinyiyaninyi wurru *drilling rig* Kurllkarriyakarti *drill'm*-jinaku jungka *oil*-ku. Pala warrarn kumpurrji. Nganarna yanayirni Yurtingunyaja kajanikinyirni partijirri kaniny *bridge*-ngi. Warnkurrangu manayirnijaninyi kurtukarrangu wirrinnyirnijaninyi partijirri kaniny ruutungu. Noel-lupa warinyju marrngulu warlinikinyipulu *flag*. Twelve Mile-ja waraja marrngu kartakarikinyi partijirri kaniny ruutungu. Ngakamarnayi kunymanakatalu karntijirniyirni murtukanga. Mirtawapa pirirri walypilajirri milpanyapulu Yirlirrinayaja, yanikinyipulu Ngarukarti. Yirrini pulunganinyi kajanaja, katukarna murtukaja karramarnanganaku, 'kalyaya, karntijina ngakalamarna ngajumili mirtawa mangarrjarranga yankuliny.' Nganarna jama kajanikinyirni, Paul yanalu kurrngarnalu pala walypilaku, kulpanya wurrarnanganaku, 'marr kalyamalayalu, kangkuliny palinymili mirtawa mangarrjarranga karntijina ngakalkuliny.' Waraja kunymanakata milpanya, wurrarnanganaku, 'kalyamalaya, nganiku kajananyurra? *Truck* milpanyayi kurrngal karangu.' Jinta walypilarrangu milpanyi manayinganinyi *picture*-ngapa muwarrja. Yirru kajanikinyirni jamarrangu muwarrmajirri. Kunymanakata pala muwarr muwarrpirni jamajarrinyi. Wurrarniyili kunymanakatanga jintalu walypilalu, 'ngalyparla kajanayi, munu nganipa jinakayi.' Broome-ja milpanyikinyipulu Malcolm-pa Merlin, jampa wirrkijarrinyapulu Yurtingunyakarti, yirrini pulunganinyi murtukapa nganarna marrngurrangu kajanikinyirni ruutungu. Pulany milpanyapulu palakarti. Jama kajanikinyirni yalinyja parrjanikinyirni warrarn. Karangu yirriniyaninyi kurrngal kunymanakatarrangu. Pala kurilakurnu wararrjirniyaninyi murtukarrangu katukarnayi. Parrjanikinyiyaninyi wararrju, mimanikinyiyanaku *truck*-rranguku.

Kurlkarriya, the Noonkanbah dispute

In 1980 Mirta and my *mamaji* and his wife went north to Kurlkarriya (Noonkanbah Station), where a mining company was drilling for oil.⁵⁴ Instead of oil they found water. The premier, Charles Court, was being bloody-minded and determined that the drilling should go ahead. The *marrngu* and *walypila* had a meeting together, and the *marrngu* were insistent, saying, ‘This is a sacred site. This area has men’s business sites.’ *Mamaji*, Mirta, and **Steve Hawke**,⁵⁵ all argued with the *walypila* and the premier.

Bucknall and Gwen and the *marrngu* teachers took all the older children from Karntimarta, and we *walypila* and *marrngu* took the older children from Yurtingunya, and we went north to Kurlkarriya for a school trip. We were invited down to the river to discuss the situation. We sat with the local people for the meeting, and talked until the afternoon. The next morning the *marrngu* and *walypila* took all the children over to the school where they met the other children and attended classes with them. The principal was a *walypila* called Les Mack. We couldn’t understand the *marrngu* who lived there as they spoke Walmajarri, and so we spoke to one another in English.

Later we went back home, leaving *yarruwarra* there, my older brother and his wife, and Mirta and Pakarni. They stayed at Kulkarriya waiting to hear what was going to happen. Later they sent a message from Kulkarriya saying ‘Come up’, so some people went up to join them. They camped near the turn-off, and sang ceremonial songs.

Trucks were carting a rig up to Kurlkarriya to drill for oil in that sacred place. We went out and sat in the middle of the road on the Tabba Tabba Bridge. We got boulders and put them on the road. Noel and someone else were holding a banner. At the Twelve Mile someone went to sleep in the middle of road and he was arrested and put in a police car. A *walypila* couple came in from Yirlirrinya, Goldsworthy, on their way to Ngaru, and when they saw us sitting there the man got out of the car and said, ‘Get out of the way. I’ve got to get my wife to the airport’. We didn’t say anything. **Paul** went over and spoke to him, and then came back and said, ‘Make room for him to get by. He’s got to take his wife to catch a plane’. A policeman arrived. ‘Get out of the way; what are you sitting here for? There are a lot of trucks coming from the west’. A television crew came and took our photos and got our stories. We sat there silently, saying nothing. The policeman addressed us again, then fell silent. Some *walypila* said to a policeman, ‘It’s right that they should sit there, they’re not making trouble’. **Malcolm and Merlin** arrived from Broome, and as they were turning to go into Yurtingunya they saw us and all the cars, and all the *marrngu* sitting in the road. They came over and joined us. We sat there quietly facing north, then we saw lots of policemen coming in from the west. They parked their cars on the south side of the road, and got out. They stood there looking at us, waiting for the trucks to arrive.



Noonkanbah protest on the Tabba Tabba Bridge, photograph by John Bucknall.

mamaji and his wife

Jacob and Rosie Oberdoo.

Steve Hawke

Acted as media adviser for the Yungngora community at Kurlkarriya.

Paul

Paul Roberts, the school principal at the time.

Malcolm and Merlin

Non-Aboriginal school staff, Malcolm Brown and Merlin Francis.

Karangungarra milpanyikinyi, jampa wangkajarrinyi kunymanakatarrangu karrjirniyinganaku nganarnakarti. Wurrarniyinganaku, 'kalyamalaya, nyampa turlpaya;' nganarna yirru kajanikinyirni. Wurrarnikinyiyinganaku, 'nyampa turlpaya, munujanga kangkulupiyirninnyurriny jinmurntu.'

Malcolm-lu wurrarnikinyiyinganaku, 'kajaliyi, kajaliyi.'

Jinta mirtawanyjarri mananya wararrjinikinyiyaninyi. Wariny kunymanakata yanalul mananya wararrjinama, wurrarnala palinyju, 'nganiku nyampajinanyinpa? Ngaju wurru kunkurrjartiny.'

Kinti turlpanyirna yaninya kawanakinyirni. *Truck*-rrangu wangkajarrinyi kinti yaninya kawanikinyi. Kunymanakatarrangulu warnku parnpina kawanikinyi. Nganarnalu kalyamarnayirniyanakalu kurntanangkarralu. Janalu *beep-beep*-jirniyinganaku *truck driver*-rrangulu, ngumpapa yamarnyarngu.

Nganarna kulpanyirni Yurtingunyakarti. Palarrangu *truck*-rrangu yanayi yalinya, yirrirniyaninyi marrngu kajanikinyi ruutungu partijirri kaniny Roebuck Roadhouse *turn-off* martaji. Kunymanakatalu wurrarniyanaku, 'kalyaya, *truck*-rrangu milpanyayi *oil rig*-jartiny kurrngal, Kurlkarriyakarti yaninyayi; kalyamalayianakalu.' *Truck*-rrangu kintijirniyaninyi, janalu marrngurrangulu marr kalyamarnayianakalu.

Mirtijirni kakarra yanayi wirrkijarrinyi kurila Kurlkarriyakarti, karalukala yirrirniyaninyi kurrngal marrngu kajanikinyi partijirri kaniny ruutungu, murtukarrangupa wirrirniyaninyi partijirri kaniny ruutungu. Jinta marrngu jalypaja wirrinikinyiyaninyi nyirirni murtukanga, kanganyikinyiyaninyi jinmurntu Fitzroy-kartipa Purrurlakarti. Jinta yirru kajanikinyi partal manikinyiyaninyi parirr warlinakanu wirtirti manikinyiyanaku wirrinikinyiyaninyi jalakarti ruutuja. Jintalu julurr kurntanikinyi watapirtilu. Munu wirnti yirrinamiyaninyi kunymanakatarrangu.

Kunymanakatarrangulu murtukarrangu wirtirti mana wirrinikinyiyaninyi jalakarti. *Truck*-rrangu kintijirniyaninyi wararrkarrikininyi. Yarti marr kalyamarnayianakalu. *Truck*-rrangu mirtijarrinya ngakamarnayi yanayi pala kakarrakurnu yartajirniya ngurra. Ngurra paljurnaya palanga *truck*-ja katujirniyaninyi *drilling rigs* kulun-kulurniyaninyi wararrjirniyaninyi. Munu karliniya *oil*-ku, ngapajakun wangka yirrirniyi. Pala walypila maaaja wulkaja kurntanya, jalypajarrikinypa karlinyaku jungkaku. Marrngurrangulu pala martajilu 'munu' wurrarnikinyiyanaku, 'kumpurrjirla pala warrarn.'

Ngajumili mamajipa Mirta wanikinyipulungarrany Kurlkarriya. Yarti milpanyapulu muwarrkurra wakanyjirniyi.

As the trucks came in from the west the policemen got up and confronted us. ‘Get out of the way!’ they said, ‘Stand up now!’ But we were determined not to move. They kept telling us, ‘Get up now! If you don’t we’ll take you all to jail!’

Malcolm said to us, ‘Sit down, sit down.’

They took hold of some of the women and pulled them to their feet. One of the policemen went to Crow’s younger sister, took hold of her and would have pulled her up, but she said, ‘Why are you hurrying me up? I’m sick with a cold.’

We slowly got up, and walked along. The trucks were now close, but they were travelling slowly. The policemen threw all the rocks off the road. We began singing as we let them through. The truck drivers honked their horns at us, and covered their faces.

We went back to Yurtingunya and the trucks went on to the north, where they found *marrngu* sitting in the middle of the road by the turn-off to the Roebuck Roadhouse. Police told them, ‘Get out of the way, there’s a convoy of trucks coming carrying an oil rig on their way to Noonkanbah. Move out of the way for them.’ The trucks came along slowly, and again the *marrngu* moved aside for them.

They drove on to the east and turned south to Noonkanbah where they suddenly came across a whole lot of *marrngu* sitting in the middle of the road with all their cars. Some *marrngu* who resisted were put in the back of police wagons and taken to jail in Fitzroy and Derby. Others remained sitting and refused to move, and were grabbed by their arms and dragged off the road. The rest took no notice and kept singing regardless; they weren’t intimidated by the police.

The police dragged the cars off the road. The trucks slowed down, then stopped. Eventually the road was cleared and they drove on past towards the east. They established a camp and took the rigs off the trucks, and assembled and erected them. They didn’t strike oil but found only water just below the surface. That *walypila* boss, Charles Court, who had so been so insistent on drilling, was now embarrassed. The *marrngu* who lived there had said no to the mining, as that country had sacred sites.

Mamaji and Mirta stayed on at Kurlkarriya, and came back when the meetings were all over.

Miranujarrinyaku warrarnkupa yintarranguku

Partanykarrangu kanganyikinyiyrnijaninyi wunyjurru warrkamjarrikinyiyrni purlpi. Miranujinikinyiyrnijaninyi kuwarrija partanykarrangu wunyjurrulu wirlana kampana kuyi yawungu. Ngapapa janukurrangu jurtijinikinyiyrnijanaku nganurtumili warrarn pala.

Palaja yanayirni yalinyja Junkuyikarti. Japirrarnayirna maaja, ‘yaninyayirni Pananykarrakarti, munumpa partanykarrangu kanyayirnijaninyi.’

‘Yu, ngalypa,’ wurrarnanganaku.

Yanayirni palakartijakun. Ngajulu wurrarnarnajanaku, ‘nyungungu purlpi wanikinyiyrni warrkam pirrapirrakarra nganarna 1955-ngu.’ Palanga kartakarrinyiyrni, marntungujarrinyi martumpirri nganayirni. Wurrarnikinyiyrnijanaku, ‘ngapa nyunguja manikinyiyrna. Kujungurru milpanyikinyi yamanikinyili liringi kankarni yanikinyili, kujungurru kulpanyikinyi. Nganarnalu wirily parnpinikinyiyrna kankarnija kujungurru. Mimanikinyiyrna kankajarrikinyi ngapa lirrija ngalypa, jawurl-jawurlmajirri. Palajunmarta ngaparrangu waninyayi ngurnarri kakarra, wariny jalakartimarta waninyi ngapa. Wariny waninyi partijirri kaniny. Walypila ngurnarrija milpanyikinyi warakankalajartiny. Wararrjinikinyi warakankala pijungu, nyampa yanikinyi *dinghy*-jartiny, wirily parnpinikinyi kankarnija kujungurru, mimanikinyi kankajarrikinyi ngapa. Nyirninikinyi nyampalu, jurtina kulpanyikinyi palajun; yarrana nyirninikinyi.’ Wurrarnarnajanaku yalinyja ngurnungungu wanikinyi *lighthouse*. ‘Nyungungu partijirri purlpi manguny yakujarrikinyi wanartanga jakurn-jakurn. Pirrrumartalu kurntanikinyi, mirtawanyjarri kirirpinikinyi jakurn-jakurn.’

Yurtingunyaja yanayirni marntungu yarrkal, kanyayirnijaninyi partanykarrangu walypilalupa marrngulu: jana munumpa walypilarrangupa partanykarrangu. Kanyayirnijaninyi yalinyja, yanayirni Karntungukarti. Murtukaja katukarnayirni wurrarnarnajanaku ngajulu, ‘nyungu *jetty* wanikinyi purlpi; *town*-ngarra wanikinyi nyungungu. Ngurnarrija milpanyikinyi nyungukarti timarrangu martumpirrijartiny, wirrinikinyiyrnijanaku nyungungu. *Station*-jarrangu milpanyikinyi martumpirriku maninyaku *camel*-jartiny pulukujartiny; murtukamajirringirla wanikinyi walangkarrangu. *Station*-jarrangu janalu kurlkura kanganyikinyiyrnijaninyi *donkey-wagon*-jartinyjupa pulukujartinyjupa *camel*-jartinyju. Wiyimanikinyi nyungukarti palarrangu kurlkura, karntijina ngakanikinyiyrnijaninyi timanga. *Town*-ngarra wanikinyi palanga mirtija yawarta parrjanikinyiyrnijaninyi palajun, yimpirnirnijanaku muwarr ngajulu. ‘Kuwarri-kuwarrimarta nganarna yanayirni nyungukarti 1955-ngupa 1956-ja. Wanikinyiyrni nyungungu pirrapirrakarra, maninyikinyiyrnijaninyi kujungurruja.’

Palanga jana yanayirni wanikinyi wirliwirlikarra, janpanyikinyi *teacher*-rrangupa partanykarrangu. Jintalu kampanikinyiyrnijanaku martumpirri. Palanga rurrijiyrni jungka, partanykarrangu wirntijartiny janpaja mirtijarrinyi nganarnakarti. Ngajulu japirrarnarnajaninyi, ‘nganija mirtijirninnyurru?’ Karamarnayirni jana partanykarrangu, ‘ngurrara ngurnipali kaninykarti waninyi nyungungu: rurrijiyrnirra jungka jurrulu.’ ‘Ngalyparla wanikinyiyrni nyungungu warrkam pirrapirrakarra nganarna, nyungu jungka rurrijiyrni ngapilurri *earthquake*-ju warrarn warinyja’ karamarnarna ngajulu.

Teaching about the country

We often took the children to show them how we used to work in the old days. We also taught the young people how to kill animals and cook them in the ashes, showed them where the waterholes and soaks were, and told them who owned the different parts of the country.

Once we went north to Junkuyi (Pardoo Station) and told the owner, ‘We’re going out to Pananykarra. The kids don’t know about the place and we’re taking them.’

‘Yeah, that’s fine,’ he said.

At Pananykarra I told everyone, ‘We used to live here in the past, working pearl shells in 1955’. We camped there and in the morning we told everyone, ‘We used to get water from here. The tide comes in and flows right over the top of the soak, and then goes out. We scoop out all the salt water from the top. Then we wait for the fresh water to rise. There are soaks all along here and away to the east. There’s one waterhole that’s inland, and another that’s in between the creek and the marsh. *Walypila* used to come in their luggers and anchor them in the creek. They’d go up the creek in dinghies and scoop out the salt water from the top, and wait for the fresh water to rise. They’d fill up their containers, pour them into a barrel, and come back and fill them up again’. I told them that in the north there used to be a lighthouse. ‘Right in the middle here, a long time ago in the *Manguny*, the Dreamtime, they used to dance around in a circle here. The men used to sing, and the women used to dance in a circle around them.’

One morning a group of us, *walypila* and *marrngu*, set out on a day trip from Yurtingunya. We took our children; there were some things that both the *walypila* and *marrngu* kids didn’t know. We took them north to Condon. ‘There was a jetty here in the old days,’ I told them. ‘There was a town right here. Ships would arrive from other places with supplies, and unload them here. People came in from all the stations with camel and bullock teams to get supplies. There were no cars back in those days. They brought their wool from the stations in wagons drawn by donkeys, bullocks and camels, and loaded it onto ships. In the town here they used to have horse races and things like that.’ I told them this history. ‘More recently our families came here in 1955 and 1956. We worked here gathering pearl shells, which we found out in the sea.’

Then everyone got out their fishing lines and the teachers and the kids had a swim. Some people were making lunch for us. The ground shook, and the children were frightened and came running out of the sea. I asked them, ‘Why are you running?’ They said, ‘There must be a spirit from the Dreamtime underneath this place; a snake just moved the ground,’ I said, ‘We were fine when we were here gathering pearl shell in the old days. There must have been an earthquake somewhere that made the ground shake.’ After lunch we went back to Yurtingunya, and heard on the radio that in another country far away, the ground had split open.



Minyjun yandying, watched by Barbara, 1976, photograph by John Bucknall.



Minyjun and daughter, Barbara,
photograph by John Bucknall.

Mayi nganinyakanu kulpanyiyirni ruka Yurtingunyakarti. Pinakarrinyiyirni *wireless*-ngi ngurnarringi jungka pala larrkanya warrarn warinyja. Partanykarrangu kanyayirnijaninyi kakarra parrijanaku yintarranguku. Yanayirni Yurtingunyaja Karuwanyakarti, kartakarrinyiyirni palanga. Yimpinikinyiyirnijanaku partanykarrangu pala yinta Nyamalmili warrarn, mirtamili Donkey-Blake-mili. Wurrarniyirnijanaku yinta wariny nyungu kakarrakurnu waninyi Juma; pala Pulamumili. Yanayirni wararrjirniyirni pijungu yakujarnikarti murtukarrangu. Katukarnayirni murtukaja yimpirnijanaku Pitpitju, 'nyungu warnku kurilakurti waninyi Winyjanyamili warrarn. Pala yini Winyjanyangarra warnku nyungu kurilakurna Running Water waninyi. Nyungu kakarrakurnu karlinyayapa *manganese*-ku Winyjanyamilingarra warrarn. Pala yini marrnguja Witiwiti. Nyungungungarra pijungu kurila waninyi Yatanyamili warrarn. Yatanyangarra yini pala warrarn.'

Palaja ruka yanayirni mirtijirna ngakamarnayirni Running Water-nga, yanayirni partijirri karrkarniyirni; yimpirninganaku Pitpitju, wurrarnanganaku, 'nyungungungarra *station* jinamiyi Balfour Downs, yakalmarnayi walypilalu, kurlu wurrarnaya warrarn, munu nyungu wirrinapintiwai *station* nyungungu. Kurilakurna pala *station* wirrinaiyi Balfour Downs.' Palajun wurrarnanganaku Pitpitju. Pipurru karrpu rukajarrinya kawanikinyi ngalpanyanganaku partijirri karrpu warrukarti milpanyiyirna Wantilurrnyaku. Marntungujarrinyi martumpirri nganayirni partanykarrangu kayimarnayirnijaninyi, 'kurtaliyi yakujarni; kajaliyi palamanga.' Pitpitju wurrarnikinyijanaku, 'nyungu yini yinta Wantilurr. Nyungungungarra wanikinyi,

Mirtalu kalkunikinyijaninyi muwarrja kurrngal marrngu. Yimpinikinyiya *strike*-jarrinyaku. Yakalapirnijaninyi maaja-maaja walypilarrangu *station*-jarrangu palajun,' yimpirnijanaku partanykarrangu. 'Kurila nyarningi nyungungungarra pijungu yinta waninyi Junkungalaji ngurnarikarti. Partijirri waninyi yinta wariny Horses' Creek. Nyungu piju karakurnu waninyi Ngarlkunya.'

Palanga kartakarrinyiyirni kulpanyiyirni Yurtingunyakarti.

Palajalu kanyayirnijaninyi partanykarrangu walypilalupa marrngulu yalinyja Kurrunya kanka karakurti. Walyparnja karakurti yanayirni kujungurrakartijakun. Nyarra piju nyungu ngalpanyi kujungurrungu. Parnpin-parnpirniyirna janpamaluku, munu pajinamiyi janpamalulu. Nganayirni martumpirri, ruka kulpanyiyirni kartakarrinyiyirni partijirri. Ngalyapakapan munurti nyungu, pajirniyinganinyi kakarrara kunyayilu; kartamajirri waninyiyirni. Marntungujarrinyi martumpirri nganinyakanu kulpanyiyirni Yurtingunyakarti.

Palaja yanayirni kurila kanyayirnijaninyi partanykarrangu, karajarrinyiyirni Kurrjatakapunyanga. Yajarniyirni *old railway line* ruutu Puntanyakartijakun. *Truck* wararrjirniirni katukarnayi walypilapa marrngu partanykarrangu. Pala kanyayirnijaninyi *teacher*-rrangu walypilarrangu jurtijinaku ngarlukuku. Palanga karlikinyiya partanykarrangulupa wirtumartalu; manayijaninyi kurrngal ngarlukurrangu. Ngaju yanarna yalinyja, kangkuru *shoot'm*-jirniirni kulpanyarna. Palangulu yanayirni pala kaninyirri, murtuka wararrjirniirni katukarnayirni pijukarti. Pala ngarlukurrangu jurtijinikinyiyirnijanaku, wunyjurrulu kampanakanu ngananyaku. Martumpirri nganayirni kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti.

We took the children east to show them other waterholes. We went from Yurtingunya to Karuwanya (Carawine Gorge), and made camp there. We told the children that that was Nyamal country, and that it belonged to an old man called **Donkey-Blake**. We told them about another place further to the east called Juma, that belongs to Pulamu (Old Albert). We went on and pulled up on this side of the river, and Pitpit told them, ‘This hill to the south is **Winyjanya**’s country, it’s name is Winyjanyangarra Hill, there on the south bank of the Running Water. To the east of here, where they’re mining manganese, that’s really Winyjanya’s country. Its *marrngu* name is **Wirtiwirt**. This creek right here to the south is **Yatanya**’s country; it’s called Yatanya.’



That afternoon we went through Running Water and at the turn-off Pitpit spoke to the children: ‘It was here that Balfour Downs Station was going to be established,’ he said, ‘but the *walypila* decided against it. They thought this country was too poor, or at least not good enough to be station country. They ended up putting Balfour Downs further south.’ We travelled through the evening as the sun went down, arriving at Wantilurr (Skull Springs), in the dark. In the morning we called all the kids around: ‘Come and sit down over here.’ Pitpit told them, ‘The name of this place is Wantilurr. It was right here that Mirta held a meeting with all the *marrngu* and they talked about going on strike. It was here that they decided to leave their *walypila* bosses on the stations.’ That’s what he told the children. ‘South of here on this same river there’s a place on that side called Junkungalaji, but before you get there there’s another place called Horses’ Creek. To the west of this creek is Ngarlkunya.’

The next morning we returned to Yurtingunya.

One time some of us, *walypila* and *marrngu*, took all the kids north to the western side of Kurrunya (De Grey River). We went out to the sea west of Walyparn, an outcamp of De Grey Station, where the river flows into the sea. We threw out our lines to get some fish, but they weren’t biting. We had our dinner, and came back in the evening, making camp on the way. It looked like a good place, but the mosquitoes bit us all night until sunrise and we couldn’t get any sleep.

Another time we went south, taking all the kids. We turned west at the Kurrjatakupunya (the Old Strelley mine), following the road that went along the old railway line to Puntanya. I parked the truck and all the *walypila* and *marrngu* kids got out. We had taken all the *walypila* teachers with us to show them *ngarlku*, bush onions. The kids and the adults dug there, and got lots of *ngarlku*. I went north and shot a kangaroo. Then we drove further downstream and I pulled up and we went down to the creekbed. We showed everyone the *ngarlku*, and how to cook and eat them. We had lunch then, and went home.

School group collecting bush food, photograph by John Bucknall.

Donkey-Blake

The father of Dendo Carbine; Dendo was also the owner of Karuwanya.

Winyjanya

Julie Flann’s *kaparliji*, her father’s mother.

Wirtiwirt

The Woodie Woodie mine. Wirtiwirt is the name of the father of Long Man (Ray Thomas).

Yatanya

One of the names of Kangkushot (Peter Coppin), a traditional owner of that country.

Palaja yarrana yanayirni Pirtimarrakarti, wurrarikinyirniyanaku, 'nyungungu purlpi wanikinyiyi, kalkunikinyiyijaninyi partanykarrangu 1956. Nganarna wanikinyiyirni pala kakarrakurnu ngurra warinyja, wurrarnarnajanaku. 'Pala yini Kajarinya: palakarti yankuluminyi ngalkuluminyi martumpirri'. Palaja karntinyiyirni murtuka, yanayirni yajarniyirni ruutu. Puru karrkarniyirni ruutumajirringi. Kurtanyjarnayirni jampa *marsh*-ja, martalu warlirni murtuka. Palanga jujin-jujirniyirna partal, puru nganayirni martumpirri. Martumpirri ngananyakanu puntarniyijaninyi paru *shovel*-jartinyju, *wheel*-kujirri karlinyiyirnalu, paru wirrirniyili *wheel*-jajirri. Ngajulu wurrarnarnajanaku, 'purlupurlujilamarna, nyurralu paru wirrilkulunyurru *wheel*-jajirri.' Ngaju karntinyirni murtukanga, ngurrtirrijirniirni purlupurlujirniirni, yija kankajarrinyipulu *wheel*-jirri nyirrirnija. Paru wirrirniyi walangkarrjajirri *wheel*-ja. Wurrarnarnajanaku ngajulu, 'jujilkulunyurru nyurralu.' Ngurrtirrijirniirni murtuka, wirrurru mirtijirniirni, janalu jujirniya, yija ngalypa, wararrjirniirni murrurlungu. Wurru wirrirniyijaninyi murtukanga, wurrarnarnajanaku, 'nyungu waninyi yalinyjakurnu Martakura. Palangarla wanikinyiyirni purlpi kalkunikinyiyirniyaninyi nanikutu *yard*-nga.' Yanayirni kurila partijirri wararrjirniirni murtuka katukarnarna. Wurrarnarnajanaku, 'nyungu wariny ngurra, wanikinyinganaka purlpi.' 'Yu,' karramarnayi partanykarrangu. Karntinyiyirni murtukanga kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti.

Yarrana yanayirni Yirrangkajikarti. Nyunguja Karntimartaja kujarrapa kujarranga murtukangarrangu yanayirni walypilarrangupa partanykarrangu. Kanyayirniyaninyi parrjanaku warrarnku Yirrangkajikarti. Pipurrujarrinyiyirni karakurnu *mine*-karti, pala walypilalu karlinyi mijimijiku. Yanayirni Parnkapurninyakarti parrjanaku pala *mine*. Purlpija mijimiji warrkamu jinikinyi, kuwarripa palanga waninyayi walypilarrangu, warrkamu walypila. Palanga parrjarn-parrjarniyirni, yanayirni rukajarrinyi Minyminykartijakun. Palanga Pitpitjupa Rurlalu wurrarnapulujanaku, pulany wanikinyipulu warrkamu palanga, mijimiji ngarnipinikinyiyi. Palangulu ngurrangulu palayil parrjanakanu, yanayirni Blue Bar-kartijakun. Palanga marrngu wanikinyiyi kurrngal 1951-ja. Palanga nganarnalu mayi nganayirni yanayirni kara. Ruutu pala kurluny-kurlunymarta puru yajarniyirni. Partijirri karrpu ngalpanyanganaku warrukarti. Yirrku yanayirni martulu wariny murtuka warlina kawanikinyi wuparturla. Tuku jina kawanikinyiyirni, ngalypangarra yanikinyi. Janyjinyanga yanayirni pipurru, kara Martanyanga kartakarrinyiyirni.

Ngurrarrangu jirniyijaninyi pirranga

Yanayi Yurtingunyaja Mirta, John Smart-pa palinymili partany, ngajumili mamajipa yarruwa palinymili Pakarnipa jinta jumpayi Sixty-One-karti. Kanyayijaninyi *truck*-nga *bulldozer*-pa *grader*. Ngurra paljurnaya, palangulu ruutu jina kawanikinyi kakarralu Parnngurrkartijakun. Parnngurrja yalinyjakurnujarrinyiyi jarntina kawanakinyiyi ruutu Panaka-Panakakarti. Palangulu kakarra ruutujirniyi kulurniyili warinyja ruutungu; purlpijangarra pala ruutu wanikinyi walypilalu kanyjinikinyiyapa *oil*-ku. Kulpanyiyi Yurtingunyakarti.

Palanga wanikinyiyi kurrngal *school*-pa jirniyi. Palanga waninyi Janet Sharp, Minyapa Bert Lane marrngu *teacher* palanga, Manyjilyjarra *school* jirniyi. Maaja wanikinyi Jalkurlunyamili.

Yurtingunyaja yarrana kulpanya John Smart. Mayarrangupa windmill yarnimarnajaninyi kulpanya. Wariny walypila milpanya, Mirtalu wiyimarna Panaka-Panakakarti, mungkarrangu jarntijinikinyijaninyi. Jinta marrngu yanayi palakarti wanikinyiyi, mungka jarntijinikinyiyijaninyi. Jarntinikinyili *grader*-jartinyju mangarrjarrapinti Sixty-One-japa Panaka-Panakanga.

We also had a trip out to Pirtimarra and I told everyone, ‘People used to live here in the old days, and they looked after all the kids here in 1956. We lived in another camp over there in the east. The name of that place is Kajarinya: we’ll go over there and have lunch’. So then we got back in the vehicle, and set off following the road. After a while we turned off and went on across country. As we crossed the marsh, the truck got bogged in the mud. We tried to push it but couldn’t, so we just ate lunch there. After lunch, they got shovels and dug out lots of spinifex. They dug away the mud beneath the wheels and laid down the spinifex. I said, ‘I’ll back up, and you put spinifex under the wheels’. I got into the vehicle, started it up, and reversed. The two back wheels came up out of the mud. They put spinifex under the front ones. Then I said to them, ‘Everybody push’. I started the engine and accelerated. They pushed, and it worked; I could park the car up on a rise. They put everything back in the truck, and I told them, ‘Kajarinya is over there to the north. It was there that we lived in the old days and where we kept a whole lot of goats in a yard’. We went south, and on the way I stopped the car and got out. I said, ‘This is another place that was one of our camps in the old days’.

We made another trip, this time to Yirrangkaji (Nullagine). We went from Karntimarta in four vehicles, with *walypila* and some children; we were taking them to Nullagine to look at the country. We went straight to the Five Mile Mine on the west side of the town where *walypila* were digging for gold. We went to Parnkapurninya (the Blue Spec Mine). In the old days they’d mined gold there, and now *walypila* were living and working there. We looked around, and in the evening went on to Minyminy (Mosquito Creek). There Pitpit and Rurla told everyone how they used to work there, yandying for gold. After we’d looked around we went on to Blue Bar where lots of *marrngu* had been living in 1951. We had lunch there and then went west. The road was really rough, but we followed it anyway. Along the way the sun set and it got dark. We pressed on. The little car started getting bogged in the soft ground, but we took it carefully and got through. We went past Janyjinya (Mt Edgar Station), and camped to the west at Martanya.

The desert movement

Mirta; John Smart and his son; my **mamaji and his wife** and son, Pakarni; and some other young men left Yurtingunya and went out to Camp Sixty-One with a bulldozer and grader on the back of a truck. They made a camp there. Then they graded a road to Parnngurr, and another road north from there to **Panaka-Panaka**. From there they graded a road out to the east, linking Panaka-Panaka to a road made some time earlier by *walypila* looking for oil.⁵⁶

People moved out to Sixty-One and a school was set up there. Janet Sharp was the teacher, and Minya and Bert Lane were the *marrngu* teachers. It was Manyjilyjarra-language school. The boss there was Jalkurlunya’s father, Frank French.

John Smart went back out to Panaka-Panaka and built houses and put up a windmill. Another *walypila* arrived and Mirta sent him out to Panaka-Panaka to plant a lot of trees. Other people shifted out there and worked planting trees. John Smart graded an airstrip there and at Sixty-One.

mamaji and his wife

Minyjun’s older brother and his wife, Jacob and Rosie Oberdoo. Pakarni is their son, Terrence Jacob.

Panaka-Panaka

Established at Rawa Soak on the edge of Lake Dora, in 1980. It is now called Punmu.

Jinta marrngu wanikinyiyi Parungu. Yakankarralu kalkunikinyipulujaninyi, Ngarlarli maaja palaku ngurraku. Marrngu yawurrjarrikinyiyi karija minpinaja, wiyimanikinyiyijaninyi Parukarti. John Smart-ju wiyimanikinyijanaku martumpirri.

John Smart-ju wurrurrangu palinymili wirrirnijaninyi Yurtingunyanga, palanga warrkamjarrikinyi murtukapa yarnimanikinyinganaka wurnmanyaja. Kulpanyikinyi ruka *town*-karti ngurrakarti. Palinymili partanyjirri kanganyikinyipulinyi marntungu Yurtingunyakarti, palanga warrkamjarrikinyi. Japartumurninyju jarntinikinyili mangarrjarramili kajanapinti Yurtingunyanga.

Marrngu waninyayi ngurranga janamilingi waljanga. Bucknall miranujarrikinya jipanaku mangarrjarraku. Yanikinyi Ngarukarti, yija miranujarrinya jipanaku mangarrjarraku. Mangarrjarrajartiny yanikinyi Yurtingunyaja Sixty-One-kartipa Panaka-Panakakarti. Palaja maparnkarra milpanya Yurtingunyakarti, mamaji Anne-mili. Bucknall-ju kanganyikinyi Sixty-One-kartipa Panaka-Panakakarti marrnguku wurrukujaku. Parrjanikinyijaninyi ngalypa, wurruja marrngu yinganyikinyijaninyi *medicine*. Palangulu kulpanyikinyipulu Yurtingunyakarti palajun. Kujarra partunu waninyi warrkam Yurtingunyanga.

Karntimartajapa Yurtingunyaja yanayirni partanykarrangu kanyayirnijaninyi, kakarra yanayirni Pirrimayakarti. Pirrimayaja ruka yanayi walangkarra jinta. Nganarna jampa karntimiyirni *truck*-nga, *tyre* lalypajarrinyinganaka katukarnayirni. Ngalayalu Ngarlarlilu wirrirnalayili *tyre* wariny *truck*-nga karrpu nyungu ngalpanya. 'Wunyjurru yankunyi?' ngalayalu japirrmarnalayijaninyi; 'puru kartakarrinyi marntungu yankuluminyi.'

Palanga kartakarrinyiyirni marntungu-marntungujarrinyi wurru wirrirniyirna karntinyiyirni *truck*-nga, yanayirni pirrpa-pirrpajarrinyi kakarra. *Truck*-nga yanayirni yalinyja, milpanyiyirnijanaku pala walangkarrapa yanayi. Jinta kartakarrikinyiyingarrany, jinta turlpanyaya martumpirri nganikinyiyi. Palanga nganarnalupukun nganayirni martumpirri nyirrirnijalu. Kartaja turlpanyaya nganayi martumpirri, wurru wirrirnijaninyi janamili *truck*-ngapa *tractor*-nga. Palalu *tractor*-lu kanganyikinyinganaka ngapapa martumpirri. Nganarna walangkarrajarrinyiyirni; yalinyja yanayirni wirrkijarrinyiyirni kakarrakurnu ruutu warinya.

Yanayirni partijirri kartakarrinyiyirni ngapamajirringi punarranga. Marntungu turlpanyiyirna mamajilu ngajumilalu wurrarnanganaku, 'nyungu yalinyjakurnu wirruja waninyi.' Yanayirni Parungu milpanyiyirnijanaku jinta wanikinyiyi marrngu palanga. Kartakarrinyiyirni marntungujarrinyi nganayirni martumpirri yakarnaya *tractor*, karntinyiyi *truck*-nga. Kujarranga *truck*-nga yanayirni kakarra.

Kurilajarrinyiyirni kakarrajarrinyiyirni, kara wirrkijarrinyiyirni Panaka-Panakakarti. Ruka milpanyiyirnijanaku palanga kartakarrinyiyirni. Marntungu jurtijinikinyiyinganaku ngaparrangupa warrarn. Wurrankinyiyinganaku, 'purlpi wanikinyiyi walangkarrangu yintanga palanga.' Wurrankinyiyinganaku, 'purlpi wanikinyiyi walangkarrangu yintanga palanga. Karlamilyingi wanikinyiyi marrngu purlpi Warnman, Manyjilyjarra, Kartujarra, Pijakarla Nyangumarta, Ngulipartu, warajanga. Ngurlu yartajinikinyiya Karlamilyingi ngurnarrija yalinyu milpanyikinyi Mangarlapa Yurlparija. Kakarni milpanyikinyiyi Manyjilyjarra; kuluna wanikinyiyi warajanga ngurlukarra. Puntaju yanikinyiyijanaku yalinyjakurnu Wirnpakarti ngurlukarti, palanga wanikinyiyi ngurlukarra. Ngurlu wiyirrinajalu kulpanyikinyiyi ngurrarrangukarti janamilikarti; palajun wanikinyiyi purlpi kurlumarniny. Manyjilyjarra marrumanikinyiyijaninyi mirtawa Warnman, Nyangumarta, Ngulipartu, Kartujarra, Mangarla, Yurlparija. Puntaju Warnmanju marrumanikinyiyiarninyi mirtawalupa pirririlu warinyu warinyju muwarru.'

Waninyiyirni palanga waraja *week*, kulpanyiyirni.

Another group of people moved to **Paru**. *Yakankarra* looked after things there; Ngarlarli was in charge. *Marrngu* who got drunk were sent out there and John Smart took them out supplies.

John Smart put all his plant and equipment at Yurtingunya and worked there fixing broken-down vehicles. He'd go back to his place in town in the afternoon. He brought his two sons out to Yurtingunya each morning to work there, and they graded an airstrip.

Marrngu were living now in their own country. Bucknall learnt to fly; he had flying lessons in Ngaru. He'd fly out to Sixty-One and Panaka-Panaka. A doctor, Anne's *mamaji*,⁵⁷ came to Yurtingunya, and Bucknall would fly him out to Sixty-One and Panaka-Panaka to see anyone who needed medical attention. He'd examine them and give medicine to those who were sick. Then they'd return to Yurtingunya; they did that on a regular basis. He worked at Yurtingunya for two years.⁵⁸

We took school children on a trip to Panaka-Panaka and Paru. We set out with the children from Karntimarta and Yurtingunya, and went east to Pirrimaya (Callawa). Some of the others set off from Pirrimaya that afternoon, but as we were getting onto the truck the tyre went flat and we had to get off again. Ngarlarli (Jack Kempton) and I changed the tyre as the sun was going down: 'What shall we do?' we asked the others. They said, 'Lets camp here and go on in the morning'.

So next morning before sunrise we rolled up our swags, got back on the truck and set off as the eastern horizon was growing light. We went north and met up with all the others who'd gone on ahead. Some of them were still asleep while others were up having breakfast; so we joined them for a meal. When everyone was up they put their swags on the truck and on the tractor that was carrying our water and food, and we went on. We travelled north and then turned east along the other road.

We made a dry camp that night. The next day we arrived at Paru and greeted everyone: there were a lot of *marrngu* living there. We camped there and set off to the east the following morning in the two trucks, leaving the tractor at Paru. We turned south and east again, and then west to Panaka-Panaka, arriving in the late afternoon.

The next morning they showed us all the waterholes and the country round about. 'People have been living at these waterholes for a very long time', they told us. 'In the old days, Warnman-speaking people, Manyjilyjarra-speaking people, Kartujarra-, Pijakarla-, Nyangumarta-, and Ngulipartu-speaking people, all lived together around Karlamilyi, the Rudall River. When they were preparing for ceremonies at Karlamilyi, Mangarla- and Yurlparija-speaking people came from far away to the north. Manyjilyjarra people came from the east, and they'd all meet up here for ceremonies. And in return, they would go and visit those people up north and stay for ceremonies at Wirnpa.⁵⁹ When the ceremonies were over they'd return to their own countries. That's how our old people lived back then. Manyjilyjarra people sought wives who spoke Warnman, Nyangumarta, Ngulipartu, Kartujarra, Mangarla and Yurlparija, and in return Warnman speakers sought wives and husbands among speakers of all the other languages.'

We stayed at Panaka-Panaka for a week.



Pirrimaya (Callawa) outhouses, photograph by John Bucknall.

Paru

Also called Spinifex, this camp was established at Ngayurnangalku in Mangarla country in 1982 by Minyjun's brother Jacob.

Yakankarra

A Panaka-Karimarra couple who are not in Minyjun's generation; these are Ngarlarli (Jack Kempton) and his wife Selina Pindu.

Yarrowarralu kanyapulupulinyi partanyjirri pingkayi kakarra Panaka-Panakakarti. Yanayi Yurtingunyaja yalinyjakurti. Kurilajarrinyi pala kurilakurnu Yirrangkangu martaji. Partijirri kartakarrinyi, marntungu yanayi Panaka-Panakakarti. Palanga waninyi waraja *week*. Kulpanyi mujungu-mujungu, partijirri yirriirni John Smart. Noel karntinyi John Smart-ja, kulpanya kanyapulu wariny partany Yurtingunyakarti. Yanayi partijirri murtuka kurluny-kurlunjarrinya kawanikinyi. Mamajilu ngajumililu wurrarnanganaku *radio*-nga, ‘mutuku kurluny-kurlunjarrinya kawanaja, ngurnipali partijirri wurnmuliny. Milpulunyurru purrpi.’

Pirrimaya *turn-off*-ja yalinyjarrinyi, *radio tower* martaji kurilakurnu murtuka mirtija wararrkarrinyi. Katukarnayi murtukaja wurrarnapulaku, ‘yankunyi parrjalamanya ruutuku wangkamartayi ngurnipali waninyi.’ Jinangu yanayi yalinyja, parrjarnaya murrurlungulu wanyjarnimarta ruutu waninyi. Ngurnipali wangka puru, kulpanyi kartakarrinyi. Marntungu yarrana yanayi jinangu. Yija yirriirni kurlurlu, murtuka milpanyikinyi yalinyu *radio tower*-karti yanikinyi. Wararrjirni japirrmarna, ‘wanyjarni yaninyan?’

Wurrarnala walypilalu, ‘nyungu yaninyarni *tower*-karti.’

Marrngumarninyju wurrarnala palanga walypilanga, ‘murtuka wurnmanyanganaka nyungu kurilakurnu.’

‘Yu,’ karramarnalu walypilalu, ‘nyungukurra wurru mankulumarna; karntayi.’ Kartinyi yanayi. Walypilalu wurru pala mana wirriirni murtukanga, yanayi palakarti murtukakarti wurnmanyapa. Wurrarnajanaku, ‘purrlamarnanyurrinyi partijirri rila waninyayirni warrkamu; *radio tower* wariny yarnimarnayirni.’

Janalu, ‘yu,’ karramarnayalu, kanyajaninyi palakartijakun walypilapa jinta warrkamjarrikinyi. ‘Ruka yankulumarna Ngarukarti,’ wurrarna walypilalu.

Janalu wurrarniyili, ‘murtuka yakalapiyirna, kangkulumannanganinyi jinilamannganinyi Yurtingunyanga?’

Ngapa wangkajarrikinyi *cyclone*. Wilywilykarranga kanyajaninyi Yurtingunyakarti.

Radio-nga japirrmarnayinganinya, ‘wurtu milpanyi palarringi?’

‘Munu milpamiyi,’ wurrarniyirni janaku.

‘Ngurnipali murtuka wurnmanyajanaka partijirri.’

‘Yu,’ karramarnarna ngaju.

Palangulu ngaju Mirlimirlipa Monk-pa palinymili pipi japartu, Frances yanayirni Yurtingunyaja purrpi yalinyja. Partijirri wirrkijarrinyirni Yirlirrinnyakarti. Pipurru yanayirni Wujungu kanka Pirrimayakartijakun. Rukajarrikinyi, martumpirri manayirna palaja yanayirni yalinyja wilywilykarranga.

Waraja *shoot*-jirniirni rankurri, manayi partanykarrangulu wirriirni murtukanga. Yalinyja yanayirni warrurl-warrurlja milpanyirna *rainwater tank*. Murtuka ngalpajirniirni kaninykarti, katukarnayirni pirti karlinalu Monk-mili japartulu, nganarnalu wika murnirniirni wilywilykarranga. Tilijinakanu tarrparna yawu kankarnijirni kamparna. Ngunya nganikinyirni ngaanypa mirliki. Yirriirniirni tilikarti mirnipari milpanya. Katu pajinaka partany, mana nyampalu pipimarninyju, wirriirni kanka murtukanga. Jampa waninyirni wilkarramarnayi mirniparirangu parntirniy kuyi. Nganarna karntinyirni murtukanga kanka kajanikinyirni mimanikinyirna murlajarrinyaku kuyiku. Jitirnipulu pirnarralu. Kutakutapirnipulu nganayirni kankalungarra murtukanga. Ngaju walangkarra kartakarrikinyirni, marntiyarra kartakarrikinyipulu *bonnet*-ja kanka. Jinta nyirriirni kartakarrikinyi.

Yarruwarra, my brother and his wife, took two children for a holiday east to Panaka-Panaka. They spent a week there and headed back in cloudy weather. They met John Smart on the way, and Noel went on with him, and my brother and his wife went on with the other child. On the way they started having engine trouble. *Mamaji* got on the radio and told us, ‘Our car’s running badly, it’s likely that we’ll break down on the way. You’d better come out and meet us.’

They turned north at the Callawa turn-off, and the car finally broke down just south of the radio tower on the WAPET road. They got out and my *mamaji* said, ‘Let’s go and see how far away the main road is.’ They walked north and looked for the road from the top of a rise. They decided it couldn’t be too far away, and so went back and made camp, and set out on foot the next morning. They saw a cloud of dust and a vehicle came along from the north heading for the radio tower. My brother waved him down and asked, ‘Which way are you going?’

The *walypila* told him, ‘I’m going here to the tower.’

‘Our car’s broken down just south of here.’

‘All right’, the *walypila* said. ‘I’ve got to get some things from here first, but you can hop on.’ They got on board, and set off. The *walypila* loaded his equipment in the car, and they went to the broken-down vehicle. He said, ‘I’ll tow you to where we’re working. We’re fixing the other radio tower.’

‘That’s fine’. He took them to where other *walypila* were working. One of them said, ‘I’m going to Port Hedland this afternoon.’

They said, ‘We’ll leave the car here. Can you take us and drop us off at Strelley?’

A cyclone was approaching. They were taken to Yurtingunya through pouring rain.

Meanwhile we were asked on the radio, ‘Have they got back yet?’

‘They haven’t arrived’, we told them.

‘Their car must have broken down on the way.’

‘Yes, it must have’, I said.

So then I set out from Yurtingunya with Mirlimirli and her husband, and Monk (Johnson Hale) and his parents, and Frances, heading north to meet them. We turned off at Yirlirrinia (Goldsworthy), and went past Wuju (Shay Gap), to Pirrimaya (Callawa). It was getting late; we had something to eat and kept going north through the rain.

I shot a bush turkey and the children put it on the back of the car. We kept travelling north as night was coming on, until we arrived at the rainwater tank at Pirrimaya. I put the car under shelter, Monk’s father dug a hole, and we gathered firewood in the rain. We lit a fire, singed the feathers off the turkey, and cooked it on top of the hot coals. We ate the guts and the liver as delicacies while the meat was cooking. We saw a scorpion coming in to the light of the fire; it nearly bit that little boy, Monk, but his mother quickly grabbed him and put him on the car. After a little while lots of scorpions came in, attracted by the smell of meat. We got in the vehicle and sat there waiting for the meat to cook. **Pirnarra** took it out of the fire. They cut it up and we ate it inside the vehicle. I slept in the front, **marntiyarra** slept on the bonnet, and the others slept on the back.



Barbara and her children with a bush turkey, 2010, photograph by Anne Scrimgeour.

Yarruwarra

Minyjun’s brother Jacob and his wife Rosie. They took Minyjun’s daughter Barbara, and his brother’s son, Noel.

Pirnarra

Monk’s parents, Minyjun’s brother and his wife.

marntiyarra

Rurla (Milangka) and Monk’s father (Panaka).

Ngapa pungkanya kakarrara.

Marntungu turlpanyiyirna nganayirni martumpirri. Ngapa nyungu pungkanyikinyingarrany. Palaja yanayirni wilywilykarranga yalinyja, riyin yana ngapa. Rankurri wirlana kawanikinyiyirniyaninyi warinyja ruutungu. Kakarrajarriyirni, yirrirniyirni partijirri karlimartaji wararrkarrikinyi kulijarrikinyinganaku. Jilaman manarna *shoot'm*-jinaku, wurrarniji Rurlalu, 'puru yakala wurrkurla palama.'

Ngajulu wurrarnarnala, 'munu, palama kuyi ngalypakata wurrkwayi: wangkanyu tungkurkanya palama jinyjirla.' Ngajulu *shoot'm*-jirnirni pungkanya. Wurrarnarnala ngajulu, 'kula yirrilaman murlajarrinyaja; palamangangarra jinyji waninyi wangkanyurla pala.' Manayirni yanayirni; kurrngal wirlana kawanakinyiyirniyaninyi *nine* rankurri. Wurrarnarnajanaku, 'kampalaminyi partijirri ngapamajirringirla.' 'Yu,' karramarnayi. Wikamarramarranga wararrjirnirni murtuka katukarniyirni nyampalu wika murnirniya pirtipa karlinyiyi, puntarniyirniyanaku nyampalu tarparniyirniyaninyi, yawu kankarnijirniyirniyaninyi, mimanikinyirna murlajarrinyaku. Karangu milpanyikinyi ngapa. Wangkajarrikinyi nganarnalu nyampalu jitirniyirniyaninyi karntijirniyirni murtukanga, ngapa pungkanya. Wilywilykarranga mirtijarrinyiyirni kakarra. Rukajarrinya kawanikinyi ngapalu ngulyana kawanikinyinganinyi. Warrurl-warrurljarrinyi partijirri karrkarniyirni murrurlukarti. Wurrarnarnajanaku, 'yirrarla nyampalu wirrilkulunyurru murtukanga kankarni,' Yilipijartiny Monk-mili japartu yana malyarnapulinyi kujarra mungkajirri. Pirti karlinyia nyampalu jarntijirni kankarni yirrarla wirrirni mayapirrayi. Palanga kartakarrinyiyirni munu nganamiyirni kuyi.

Ngapa pungkanya kakarrara. Marntungujarrinyi ngapa riyin yana. Nyampalu wikajirniyirna nganayirni kuyipa martumpirri. Ngajulu wurrarnarnala Rurlanga, 'nyarra marra kuyi wurrkupa wurrarnanpa.' Mana palinyju kutapirni yirrirni pala jinyjikata. Nganikinyiyirni, wurrarnarnala, 'palamangangarra jinyji waninyi wangkanyungu; kawu paliny jinyjimajirri.' Nganinyakanu wurru wirrirniyirniyaninyi murtukanga, kurila yanayirni minyjina kawanikinyiyirni wika. Yirrirniyirni Jakarlara warnku. Ngajulu wurrarnarnajanaku, 'ngurnipali nyungungarra wurrarnaya Jakarlara warnku, puru kulpunyi.'

Kulpanyiyirni palangulu jampangarra yanayirni waru wirtu milpanyikinyi karangu. Wilywilykarranga yanayirni ngulyana kawanikinyinganinyi ngapangangarra. Karangu milpanyikinyi munu martangarra ruutungu purnarranga. Kulpanya kawanakinyiyirni yirrirniyirni waru pala wirtu milpanyikinyi, ruutungu warrkikinyi ngapa. Wurrarniji Rurlalu, 'munu karrkanaku, nyungungarra ruutu yajalkunyi, warlilinganyjurrunyi karrkanaja martalu.' Nganarnalu ruutu yajanikinyiyirni palangarra, munu karrkanamiyirni. Partijirri wararrjirnirni murtuka, wurrarnarnapulaku marntiyarranga, 'winyajilipulu *petrol*, winyajirnipulu *half a tank*. Yanayirni mangkurtulupa nganarnalu murtukajartinyju yajanikinyiyirni ruutu pala. Yanayirni yirrirniyirni Pirrimaya *road*, wararrjirnirni murtuka japirrmarnarnajaninyi, 'wunyjurru nyurra? Yankunyi Pirrimayakarti kartakarraluminyi palanga; marntungu yankuluminyi: *cyclone*-rla nyungu milpanyi.'

Janalu wurrarniyiji, 'pipurru yankunyi Yurtingunyakarti.'

'Yu,' karramarnarnajanaku ngajulu. Kara wirrkijarrinyiyirni, yalinyja *main road*-karti. Rukajarrinya kawanikinyi palanga ruutungu janpa wirtu waninyi kawanikinyi martungu. Palayinngarra wurrarnikinyiji Rurlalu munu karrkanaku, janpangangarra partijirri kaniny yaninyaku. Ngalpanyanganaku karrpu partijirri, warrukartijarrinyi yanayirni yalinyja *main road*-karti.

It rained all night.

In the morning it was still raining. We went on northwards though the rain, and after a while it cleared. On the WAPET road we killed some bush turkeys. We turned east and saw a big bush turkey standing there defiantly, puffed up and not moving. I got the gun to shoot it, but Rurla said, 'Just leave it, it's sick'.

I told him, 'No, it's fine, it's not sick. Its throat sac is puffed up, which means it's in good condition'. I shot it and it fell. I said, 'Wait until you see it when it's cooked; it's a fat one, you can tell from the throat sac'. We got it and went on. We killed nine bush turkeys along the road. I said, 'Let's cook them along the way, while it's not raining', and they agreed.

There was lots of firewood around, so I pulled up and they gathered wood and dug a hole. We hurriedly plucked all the birds, singed them, put them on the hot coals, and waited for them to cook. Rain was coming from the west. As it approached we pulled the meat out of the fire and got in the vehicle, and then the rain came down. We drove on through the pouring rain towards the east. By evening everyone was soaked through. When the sun went down we turned off onto high ground. I said, 'Quickly spread the canvas out over the car'. Monk's father took an axe and cut down two trees. He hurriedly dug a hole and erected the two poles, and put the canvas up to make a kind of a tent. We slept there without eating any of the meat.

Rain fell all night. We quickly built a fire and ate the meat and damper. I said to Rurla, 'Get that bird that you said was sick'. He got it and cut it up, and saw how fat it was. As we ate I said, 'On this one the fat is all in its throat sac. Its body has no fat on it'. After we'd eaten we put our things back on the vehicle and went on south, lighting fires as we travelled along. When we came to the Jakarlara hill, I said, 'This must be Jakarlara. We should head back'.

We turned around and as we headed back a big black curtain of rain came towards us from the west. We drove on through the rain and got soaked through. When we had travelled that stretch of road from the west, it had been dry and not muddy. On our way back we saw that big curtain of rain coming towards us, and water was running all over the road. Rurla told me, 'Stay on the road. Keep on the road or we'll get bogged'. We followed the road and didn't turn off. I stopped the car, and told *marntiyarra*, 'Put some more petrol in, it's getting low'. So they put in half a tank. Driving through sheets of water all along the way, we went on until we found the road to Pirrimaya. I pulled up and asked everyone, 'What do you want to do? Why don't we go to Pirrimaya and camp there, and in the morning we can go on. There's a cyclone coming'.

They replied, 'Let's just go straight to Yurtingunya'.

'All right', I said. We turned west, and then north again to the main road. As evening came on, there was a lot of water lying all over the road and in the depressions. Rurla insisted that we not turn aside, but keep going right down the middle of the flooded road. The sun set as we went along, and at night we came to the highway in the north.



Rainclouds at Callawa,
photograph by John Smart.

Main road-ngu pirlurru yanayirni, ruutu nyungu yamanikinyi puyurlangulu, ngapa wirtu pungkanyikinyi. Partijirri murtuka wararrjirni wilywilykarranga. ‘Yarrana winyajilipulu *petrol*,’ nyampalu winyajirnipulu karntinyipulu. Ngajulu wurrarnarnajanaku, ‘pala *now* yanaminyi Pirrimayakartikartakarriminyi mayanga. Nyurra yirrkujarrinyinyurru yakujarniku yaninyaku.’ Janalu wartujirniyarninyi yirrarlalu. Ngalaya nyungu marntiyarra walangkarra purnarra. Yanayirni Partijirri Ngurra warrukarti wilywilykarranga. Ngapa nyungu wirtu pungkanyikinyi. Katukarnapulu nyuparra, nganarna yanayirni kakarra *school*-mayakarti.

Japirrmarnarnajaninya, ‘wanyjarningi waninyi ngajumili nyupa?’

Wurrarniyiji, ‘kurila ngurnungu waninyi.’

Yanarna milpanyarnajanaku japirrmarnarna, ‘milpanyi murtukapa wurnmanyajanaka partijirri? Munurla parrjana kawanakinyiyrnijanaku ruutu.’

‘Nyungurla purlpi milpanyi nyirrinnin nyurrapa yananyurru.’

‘Wanyjarnimartanga yaninyi *cyclone*?’

‘Nyungungarrarla pungkayinyi *cyclone*.’

...

Ngurrajarrangu milpanyi marrngurrangu muwarrkarti *school*-mayakarti.

Wurrarniinganaku janalu, ‘yakalapiyrninyurrinya nyurra kuwarringi, jartanga wantulupiyirni nganarna. Yankulupiyirni Panaka-Panakakarti.

Nganarnalu karramarnayirnijanaku, ‘nganijalu yakalkulunyurrunganinya? Ngalyparla waninyanyi warajanga. Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku walangkarrangu nyungu wantuluminyi kurlungupa, ngalypanga, warnkujartinyapa warnkumajirri. Palajunngarra waninya kawaniyrni walangkarrangupa, kuwarri nyungu waninyanyi. Munu yakalmanamiyrni Mirta. Mirtalungarra ngalypajirninganyjurraka, walangkarrangu wanikinyinyi kurlunguyiji. Palajunkatalu munu yakanamanyurrujaninya walypila *station*-jarrangu. Jipirla yakalmarnayinganinyi walangkarrangu Warrkalkuranga, kanyapulujaninyi marrngu Kangkushot-jupa Putungajalu. Yakujunngarra kuwarringi yakalmarnanyurrunganinyi nyurralu, ngurnipali malyparrkarrinyanyurralu Mirtaku. Ngurnipali janapa nyurra ngamparnanyurra warnkuku wirtuku maninyaku. Nyungu kuwarri waninyanyi ngalypamartangarla. Jipirla *government*-jurrangupa kurlujartiny wurrarnaya Mirta. Nganarna nyungu kalkulkulinynganinyi Mirtalu yakujunngarra. Wantulupiyirnila palinyja, mananganyjurraka *station*-rrangupa. Ngalyparla yankulunyurru, nganarna wantulupiyirni nyungungungarra Yurtingunyanga. Mirtalurla kurumarnanganinyi marrngu, Mirtamilingi muwarrja wantulupiyirni. Nyurralu yakalmarnanyurrunganinyi, yarrayi watapirti.’

Palanga yija yanayi Partijirrija Ngurraja kakarra Panaka-Panakakarti. Pala yanayi kakarra nganarna wanikinyiyrni Yurtingunyanga.

We went straight ahead along the highway. Our view of the road was completely obscured by dense rain, a huge amount of rain was falling. Along the way I stopped the car in the pouring rain. ‘Put some more petrol in,’ I said, and they quickly put petrol in and got back on. I told the others, ‘I told you we should have gone to Pirrimaya, and camped in the homestead there, but you insisted that we come this way.’ The others had covered themselves with a canvas. We *marntiyarra* were sitting in the front and were dry. We got to Partijirri Ngurra, the Middle Camp at Yurtingunya, at night in the pouring rain. *Nyuparra* got out, and we went east to the school building.

I asked everyone there, ‘Where’s my wife?’

They said, ‘She’s over there in the south.’

I found them, and I asked, ‘Have the people that broke down got back? We didn’t see them along the road.’

‘They came in sometime after you left.’

‘How far away is the cyclone?’

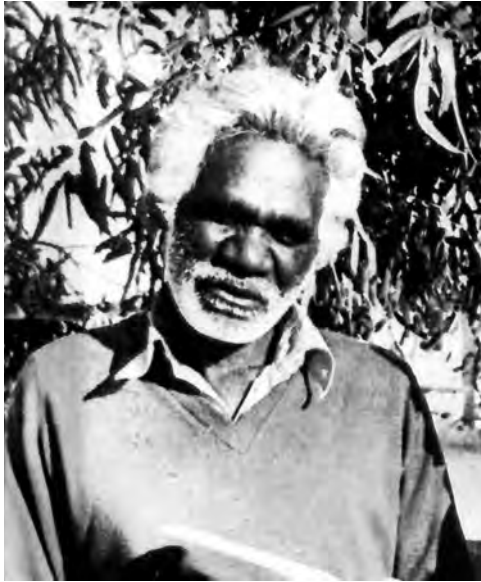
‘This is it. The cyclone’s here now.’

...

In 1983 people came from all the various camps for a meeting in the school building. The Panaka-Panaka people said, ‘We’re going to split from you now, and go out on our own. We’re going out to Panaka-Panaka.’

We asked, ‘What are you leaving us for? We’re living well together. Mirta told us long ago that we should stay together through good times and bad, with money and without money. That’s how it was in the old days, and that’s how it is now. We’re not going to abandon Mirta. Mirta has always done the right thing by us; he did so before, when times were hard. It wasn’t you who walked off the *walypila* stations. It was enough that in the old days they split from us at Warrkalkura, and that Kangkushot and Putungaja took people away. The same thing is happening now; you’re turning your back on us, and maybe it’s because you don’t like Mirta. It must be that, like them, you’re resentful because you want to get more money. We’re living well today. We know that different governments have said that Mirta is wrong. But he has always stuck by us. We’re going to stay with him, he got the stations for us. Well, go if you must; we’re going to stay here at Yurtingunya. Mirta brought all us *marrngu* together and we’re going to stick with his word. You’ve rejected our way, so go on, you follow your own path.’

And indeed they went east to Panaka-Panaka, while we stayed at Yurtingunya.⁶⁰



Minyjun, 1982, *Mikurrunya*,
13 August 1982, p. 6, photograph
courtesy Nomads Foundation.

Wanikinyiyirni Yurtingunyanga

Yurtingunyanga puru wanikinyiyirni pamarrja mayamajirringi. Ngajulu yarnimarnarnaja yirrarlajartiny maya ngapangamarra. Ngajukulayimililu maya yarnimarnarninga palajunmarta ngajumilikapan. Yarti wurrarniyinganaku, ‘mayarrangu yarnimalapiyinyurraka, ngurrarrangu tilipapa wirrilipiyinyurraka.’ Partijirri Ngurranga yarnimarnayipulaka rampanuku maya. Pala kakarrakurnu Pitpitmili yarnimarnayijaninyi mayarrangu. Jinta yarnimana kawanikinyijaninyi pala kurilakurnu mamajiku ngajumiliku; partijirri nganarnamili pala yalinyjakurnu marntiyarramili. Maya yarnimarnayi wirtumarta Partijirri Ngurranga *generator*-ku. Yijamarta wanikinyiyirni jurranga tilijartiny. Yarnimarnayi *petrol bowser*-pukun wirrirniyinganaka. Mirtalu walypilalu kalkunikinyi waraja marrngu warrkamu yarnimanikinyipulujaninyi janpapinti mayarrangu. Pala mirta milpanyikinyi ngurrangulu marntungu Ngarungulu warrkamukarti Yurtingunyakarti; warrkamjarrikinyi palanga, ruka kulpanyikinyi ngurrakarti: palajunpirli karrpurangu karrpu. Nganarna marrngurrangu wanikinyiyirni mayangarrangu ngalypa: ngapalupa ngulyanikinyinganinyi

wanikinyiyirni waljanga mayarrangungu.

Ten men wirrirniyirnijaninyi marrngurrangu, maninya kulpanyikinyiyijaninyi marrngurrangu yawurrja *town*-ja. Warntamanikinyiyijaninya muwarrja kalkunikinyiyirnijaninyi ngakanikinyiyirnijaninyi Pirrimayakarti *truck*-jartinyju, palangulu kanyayijaninyi Parukarti. Wiyimana wirrinikinyiyijaninyi murtukajartinyju.

Palanga waninyiyirni, ngurnipali muwarr yimpirnaya jumpayilu; karramarnayi ‘yakalaminyijaninya nyungurrangu, yankuluminyi ngurra yartajilamanya wariny.’ Wurrarniyinganaku jumpayilu, ‘nganarna yankulupiyirni yakalapiyirninuyurrinyi’.

‘Yu,’ karramarnayirni mirtanya-mirtanya, ‘watapirti yarrayi; ngalypanga nyurramilingi.’

Yanayi Drivers’ Rest ngurrajirniya. Ngurnipali kurrngarniyijanaku walypilaku Nyangumarta Company-jilapiyirni. Yija yinyayijaninya jungka pala mayarrangupa yarnimarnayijanaka. Yinyayijaninya murtuka, punyjangarra waninyiyi palanga. Ngarrartapa minpinikinyiyi, pikaly wanikinyiyi. Yarti yirrirniyijaninyi walypilalu nyurnpalyjarrinyaja. Warnkuku kumarrimarnayijaninya murtukaku mirarniyijaninya. Ngalyppangarra wanikinyiyi jana, ngarrartalu kurlupirnijaninyi ngalypaja waninyaja palajun. Jinta kulpanyiyi Karntimartakarti, jinta wanikinyiyi yirrkungarrany.

Nganarna yanayirni Yandeyarrakarti ngurlukarti. Wurrarniyinganaku, ‘yarrayi marrayijaninyi jumpayi.’ Yija yanayirni nganarna wupartungurrangu murtukanga waraja *truck*, wararrjirniyirnijaninyi murtukarrangu Coles-ja. Japirrmarnayirnijaninyi, ‘wanyjarningi waninyayi jumpayi?’

Wurrarniyinganaku, ‘ngurnungu pala karakurnu waninyayi, yarta martaji.’ Nganarna yanayirnijanaku, murtukarrangujartiny. *Bridge* martaji wararrjirni *truck*, Kalyiralu wararrjirni murtuka karakurti. Janalu jinta warinyju wararrjirniyijaninyi murtuka ngalparra, mimanikinyiyijanaku wirntijaku. Nganarna kujarranga murtukanga karakurnujarrinyiyirni yajarniyirni ruutu; yirrirniyinganinyi janalu. Piririmarta mirtijarrinyiyi yalinyja, mirtawanyjarri mirtijarrinyiyi kakarrakurnu. Palanga ngampapirniyijaninyi mirtawanyjarri, wurrarniyijanaku ‘karntayi murtukanga.’

Nganarna yanayirni palakartijakun, katukarnayiyirni murtukajajirri, yanayirni munu parrjarniyirnijanaku. Yawu kankarni yakarnaya martumpirripa, kuyi julypunja winya. Jirralu piririmarta mirtijarrinyiyi kaku. Yalinyja ngalpanyiyi kaninykurti *bridge*-ngi, ngapangangarra kajanikinyiyi wirntijartiny.

Living at Yurtingunya

At Yurtingunya we didn't have proper houses, and had been living in bough shelters. I'd made myself a house out of corrugated iron against the rain, and **Ngajukulayi's husband** made himself the same sort of house. Later we were told, 'Houses will be built for you and there'll be lights in the camps as well.' A house was built for **rampanu** in Partijirri Ngurra (Middle Camp). Further to the east they built Pitpit's houses. Other houses were built: one to the south for my *mamaji*, and further on were our houses, with those for *marntiyarra*, Orange Wayinartu and Rurla, to the north. A powerhouse was built at Partijirri Ngurra to house a generator to provide us with power and lighting, and a petrol bowser was installed for us as well. An old man, Alf Rieck, and a *marrngu* who was working with him, built a shower and toilet block. He came out from Ngaru each morning to work at Yurtingunya. We *marrngu* now lived in good houses, and when it rained we could stay in our own places.

We appointed a group of *marrngu* called the Ten Men to bring drinkers back from town. They'd take them to meetings and chastise them, and send them off to Pirrimaya (Callawa Station), on the back of a truck, and from there they took them out to Paru. They'd drive them out and leave them there.

While we were living there the young people started talking among themselves, saying, 'Let's leave the group, and set up our own community.' They told us, 'We're going to go away and leave you.'

We older people said, 'All right, if that's what you want, then go, if you think that will do you any good.'

They went off and set up a camp at the Drivers' Rest, near the Twelve Mile. I think they must have talked with the *walypila* about setting up a Nyangumarta company, for sure enough they were given land, and houses were built for them. They were also given vehicles. After a while they started drinking alcohol and having a good time. When the *walypila* saw that they were drunk all the time they cut off their funding, and took away their vehicles. They'd been doing all right, but were destroyed by alcohol. Some of them came back to Karntimarta and others stayed away.

There was going to be Law business in Yandeyarra, and we were told to go and bring in the young people. So we drove to Coles and asked around, 'Where are all the young people?'⁶¹

Someone said, 'They're over there in the west near the stockyard', so we drove over to get them. We parked the truck next to the bridge and Kalyira, Toby Jones, pulled up just to the west of us. The others parked their vehicles in a line, so we were ready for them if they tried to make a run for it. We took two vehicles and followed the road around to the west. When they saw us the men took off to the north. The girls ran east but their escape was blocked, and they were told, 'Get into the vehicles.'

We went to their little camp to look for them but there was no-one there. They'd left damper in the ashes and a saucepan full of meat. The men had fled without looking back. They'd gone under the bridge into stormwater pipes just to the north, and were crouching in the water in fear.



Marrngu staff of Strelley School, 1980. Minyjun back right, his wife Nalma front right, daughter Barbara middle row right, Rurla next to Minyjun, *Mikurrunya*, 3 October 1980, p. 1, photograph courtesy Nomads Foundation.

Ngajukulayi's husband
Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra).

rampanu
Classificatory uncle and nephew
Yakalya (Crow Yougala) and Ginger.

Mirtawanyjarri manayirnijaninyi, palangangarra nganarna yanayirni Coles-karti. Wararrjirniyirnijaninyi murtukarrangu wurrarniyirnijanaku, ‘yankulupiyirnijanaku pirrimartaku, nyarra mirtijarrinyiipa yalinyja. Yanayirni wararrjirniyirni murtuka *bridge*-martaji, marntiyarra katukarnapulu wungkarnapulujanaku nyungu waninyayi. Pulanyju wurrarnapulujanaku, ‘kurtaliyi; nganija wirntikarrinyanyurra? Nganarnalungarra wirtujirniyirninnyurrinyi.’ Turlpanyiyi karntinyiyi murtukanga kanyayirnijaninyi Yandeyarrakarti.

Rukajarrinyi warrijirringi muwarrja kalkurniyirnijaninyi warntamarnayirnijaninya. Wurrarniyirnipulaku, ‘nyumpala kurtalipulu nyungukarti, wararrkarrapulu nyungungu.’ Yija yanapulu wararrkarrinyipulu partijirri kujarra, mirtawapa pirirri, turlpanyiyirna nganarna Panakarrangu wirlarniyirnipulinyi yurlukulu. Palaja yananya kajarnapulu, warinyjirri wirlarniyirnipulinyi. Palajun kujarra-kujarra wirlanikinyiyirnijaninyi.

Palanga waninyiyirni ngurlukarra. Tilypirniyirni kulpanyiyirni Karntimartakarti. Karntimartanga yarrana ngurlukarra waninyiyirni, palanga tilypirniyirni.

Palaja ngalayalu kanyalayijaninyi partanykarrangu, yanayirni milpanyiyirnijanaku Pirrimayanga. Palanga mimanikinyiyirnipulaku marlurlukujirri. Wariny yana kara Yirramakartunyakarti, wariny yana yalinyja Bidyadangakarti. Karangu milpanyiyi Yirramakartunyaja kurrngal marrngu manajaninyi marlurlulu. Ngurrangajarrinyiyi Pintunyanga palanga wanikinyiyi ruka mimana. Nganarna yanayirni kara Wujukarti Wawuwawu ngaju Ngarlarli. Manayirni *cool drink*-pa *ice* nyampa kulpanyiyirni. Karramarnayirni, ‘nyampa kulpunyi; marlurlujartiny waninyayi nyarra Pintunyangarla wurrarniyijaninya.’ Nyampa yanayirni wangkajarrinya kawanikinyiyirni yirriirniyirnijaninyi kurrngal murtukarrangu *turn-off*-ja. Ngarntarniyinganinyi, wunyjurrujarrunyi, munurla nyungu waninyayi ruutungu marlurlujartiny.

Wawuwawulu wurrarnangalayaku, ‘puru yankunyi nyarni kurilakurti karrkarniyirni ruutumajirringi parumarramarranga.’ Yanayirni kurilakurti wararrjirni murtuka. Ngalaya katukarnalayi jujirnalayi piinyji pala, paliny yana murtukajartiny ngurnarrikarti wararrjirni. Ngalayalu kulpanya jarntijirnalayi piinyji, karntinyalayi murtukanga. Ngurnarrikarti niyamarringi wararrjirni murtuka, katukarnayirni wungkarniyirnijanaku. Karramarnayirni, ‘munungarrany, karnkurla kajana jinayijaninyi jinyjanungulu: nyampa yankunyi mayanga ngurnarrikarti yangkarnirnarninyi pujurrju, jungkarniyirnarningu yakirri nyampalu.’

Ngarlarlilu wurrarnangalayaku ‘ngurnipali warntamalapiyinganyjurrinya, janyinjarrunyi.’

Nganarna mangan yanayirni kajarniyirni. Karramarnayinganaku, ‘pala *now*, kartakarrinyanyurru nyurra-nyurra, kakunanyurrunganinyi.’

Palanga nyingamarnayirnarinyi nganarnalu: ‘ngalypa wurrarniyinganyjurruku, munu kulijarrimiya.’

Martungu wanikinyiyi ngurnarrikarti marlurlujartiny. Yanayijanaku jinyjanungu kayimarnayijaninyi, palangulu wtilu kanyaya nyungu wartupinikinyiyirnilu nganarnalu jinta jinyjanungu mirtawanyjarri kirirrpikinyiyi Panakapa Karimarra. Kajana jirniyijanaku karnkungu pala marlurlu, yanayi kajarniyi. Puntaju marirrijirri turlpanyaya wtilu kanyaya, yaninya kajarniyi. Palanga karnkulu wtilu kanyaya. Yakujarrinyiyi kuramirntingi jakurn-jakurn.

We took the girls back to Coles and told them, ‘We’re going to get the men who’ve run off to the north.’ We pulled up next to the bridge and *marntiyarra* peered into their hiding place. ‘Come out here, all of you,’ they said. ‘What have you got to be frightened of? Aren’t we the ones who raised you?’ They came out and got into the vehicles, and we took them to Yandeyarra.

In the afternoon when it was cool we had a meeting about them, and castigated them. We said to each couple, ‘You two come and stand here in the middle.’ And when each couple, boy and girl, had come to stand in the middle, all us Panaka men got up and hit them with a *yurluku*, a fighting stick. They then went back and sat down, and we’d hit the next two, and so on. We hit them two at a time.

After that we had the Law business, and then went back to Karntimarta and had more Law business there.

One day my wife and I took some children and met up with everyone at Pirrimaya (Callawa). We waited there for two *marlurlu*. One had gone west to Yirramakartunya (Roebourne), the other had gone north to Bidyadanga. Lots of people came in from Yirramakartunya in the west, brought in by the *marlurlu*. They made camp at Pintunya (Sheep Camp), and waited for the evening. Wawuwawu (Fisher Paddy), Ngarlarli (Jack Kempton) and I went west to Wuju and got soft drinks and ice. We heard that the men with *marlurlu* had come in to Pintunya, and so we headed straight back. As we drew near we saw lots of cars at the turn-off, blocking our way, and we wondered, ‘How will we get back? We can’t go this way, they’re all on the road with the *marlurlu*’.

Wawuwawu said, ‘Let’s go across to the south and turn off the road, then go round through the spinifex.’ We went south. While Ngarlarli and I held the fence down, Wawuwawu drove over it. We put the fence back up and went on. He stopped behind a sandhill and had a look. ‘It’s all clear. The *jinyjanungu* are sitting all the *karnku* down, let’s go quickly. Behind the house they’re rubbing each other down with red ochre, and putting on red headbands.’

Ngarlarli said, ‘We’re sure to be told off. Let’s hurry.’

We raced across and sat down. They said to us, ‘There, you see? You’ve been sleeping all day, and you haven’t been with us as you should have been.’

We nudged each other. ‘It’s lucky they think we’ve been sleeping or they would have been really angry.’

Everyone was sitting with the *marlurlu* on the lower ground. The *jinyjanungu* went up to the *marlurlu* and called them over, and they came along dancing while other *jinyjanungu* were singing. The Panaka and Karimarra women were dancing a *kirirr*. They sat the *marlurlu* down on the laps of the *karnku*, and then went and sat down themselves. In their turn the *marirrijirri*, Panaka and Karimarra, got up and danced along, then sat down again. Then the *karnku* got up and danced. They danced in a circle around food placed ceremonially on the ground.



Shearers' quarters at Pintunya, 1978, photograph by John Smart.

marntiyarra

Classificatory father and son, Paddy Yaparla (Milangka) and Kalyira, Toby Jones (Panaka).

jinyjanungu

People in the same generational moiety as the initiate, in this case Milangka and Purungu, who take the role of workers in the proceedings.

karnku

Parents and those of the parent's generation, represented by two of the four skin groupings, as a generational moiety. The *karnku* at *marlurlu* ceremonies are those of the initiate's parents generation, who, on this occasion, were Milangka and Purungu men and women. The *karnku* perform the role of masters of ceremony at *marlurlu* ceremonies.

kirirr

A circular dance performed only by women.

marirrijirri

A group of people in the same generational moiety as the speaker, in this case Panaka and Karimarra people.

Kartakarrinyiyi marntungu kulpanyiyi Yirramakartunyakarti. Nganarna mimanikinyiyrnijanaku yalinyujakun, yarti yija milpanyiyi ruka. Rukalungarra wtilu kanyaya, wartupinikinyiyrnili nganarnalu jinyjanungulu. Jana mirtawanyjarri kirirrpinkinyiyi kamijipa kaparliji. Palanga karnkungu jirniyijanaku jananga palaji. Palajalu nganarnalu jinyjanungulu ngangkurlijipirniyirni pala marlurlu, kajarniyirni. Karnkulu wtilu kanyaya kankarni kuramirntingi. Palanga kartakarrinyiyrni, marntungu kulpanyiyi yalinyjakurnu Bidyadangkarti. Nganarna kulpanyiyrni Yurtingunyakarti, Karntimartakarti, Martakurakarti, Yandeyarrakarti. Karnkupa jinta jinyjanungu ngatu yakarniyiyrnijaninya palanga Pirrimaya.

Ngakarniyi puntaju Yirramakartunyaja partany Pirrimayakarti. Mananganinyi Pirrimayaja palalu partanyju, yanayirni *truck*-nga. *Truck* jipanikinyi Turrkuwantimililu mamajilu. Ruka yanayirni partijirri *tyre* lalypajarrinyi. Muwarr ngakarniyirnal John Smart-ku, wurrarniyirnili *tyre* lalypajarrinyinganaku Six Mile-ja. Nyukarra kakarrakurnu. Palanga mimanikinyiyrnal warrukartijarrinyi.

Yanaya ngapaku yininirranya pijukarti Pamanamili pipi japartu Yakayakayi. Ngapa manayi kulpanya kawanikinyiyi jinta jumpayi yanayi karruruwa pinakarrinyiyrnijaninyi muwarrja. Janalu wurrarnaya, 'ngurnipali karrpiri muwarrpinayi nyarningi.' Pinakarrinyiyrnijaninyi 'waraa! waraa!,' kamana kawanikinyiyi, mirtijarrinya kawanikinyiyi karangu. Kujupurra turlpanya mirtijarrinyijanaku purrpi, 'ngani yirrirninyurru? Ngani yirrirninyurru?'

'Marrngu! Marrngu pinakarrinyiyrnijaninyi nyarningi kurilakurnu muwarrpinayi!' wurrarnajanaku. Kujupurralu japirrna kawanakinyijaninya mirtilungarra. Nyungu karangulu mirtilungarra wurrarniyili, 'nyarningi marrngu muwarrpinayi kurilakurnu.'

Puntaju palinyju wurrarnajanaku, 'nyunguja partanykarrangu yanayi karruruwa.'

Jana mirtija kintijarrinyiyi nyarrupirniyi jukamana kawanikinyiyrninyi. Milpanyiinganaku, nganarnalupukun jukamarnayirnijaninyi.

Palanga kartakarrinyiyrni marntungu milpanya John Smart. Yarnimarna *tyre* ngalpa, yanayirni kara Yurtingunyakarti. Marntungujarrinyi martumpirri nganinyakanu yanayirni Yirramakartunyanga kurilajarrinyiyrni Woodbrooke-karti. Partijirri wararrkarrinyiyrni wangkangarra pala yalinyjakurnu. Palanga yangkarnirnarninyi pujurrjupa, yakirri wirrirniyrnirnarningu. Rukajarrinyi wtilu kanyayirna. Karnku kajanikinyiyi, nganarnalu wtilu kanyayirna kajarniyirni. Palanga kayimarnayinganinyi, 'kurtaliyi, mankulunyurra martumpirri.' Nganarna yanayirna manayirnijaninyi martumpirri kulpanya kajarniyirni. Janalu wiyijirniyinganaku *tea*-pa martumpirri. Nganayirni, warrukartijarrinyi purntulja yakujarrikinyiyi mirtawanyjarripa partanykarrangu. Palanga kartakarrinyiyrni kulpanyiyrni Yurtingunyakarti warrkamukarti.

In the morning they went back to Yirramakartunya and we waited for others to arrive from the north. They arrived later that afternoon. They danced in the evening, and we *jinyjanungu* did the singing. The women, *kamiji* and *kaparliji*, the mother's mothers and father's mothers, were dancing the *kirirr*. Then, first of all, they sat the *marlurlu* in the laps of the *karnku*; we *jinyjanungu* cried for the *marlurlu* and sat down again. Then the *karnku* got up and danced around the ceremonial display of food. The next morning the visitors went north back to Bidyadanga and we went back to Yurtingunya, to Karntimarta, to Martakura and to Yandeyarra. Some of the *karnku* and *jinyjanungu* stayed behind at Pirrimaya.

Now in their turn they sent a boy from Yirramakartunya to Pirrimaya. That boy called us⁶² from Pirrimaya and we set off in a truck driven by **Turkuwanti's mamaji**. We had a flat tyre, and sent a message to John Smart. We told him we were just east of the Six Mile Windmill on Nyukarra, Yarrie Station, and waited there until night.

Yininirra went to the creek to get water with Pamana's parents and Yakayakayi (Janet Norman). They were on their way back when they heard the voices of some young men who were going for a walk. They said, 'There must be featherfoot men here!' Then we heard them yelling, 'Waraa! Waraa!' and running in from the west. Kujupurra jumped up and ran out to meet them: 'What did you see, what did you see?'

'People! We heard voices just over to the south!' they said. Kujupurra was still running as he asked them about it, and, still running, they said, 'There were voices just over there to the south.'

He said, 'But that's just the boys who went for a walk.'

They stopped running and laughed. When they told us we all had a good laugh.

We made camp there and in the morning John Smart arrived to fix the tyre, and we went on to Yurtingunya. The next morning we went to Yirramakartunya, and turned south towards Woodbrooke and stopped just north of the station. There we rubbed ourselves with red ochre and put on our red headbands. In the evening we danced. The *karnku* were sitting down while we danced, and then we sat down. They called us over, saying, 'Come here, come and get the food.' They'd gathered the tea and damper together for us. We ate, and at night the women and the children danced.



Minyjun's wife, Nalma,
photograph by John Bucknall.

Turkuwanti's mamaji

Bruce Thomas's older brother,
Frank.

Yininirra

A married couple, of which the wife is the speaker's aunt or mother-in-law, and therefore in an avoidance relationship (Milangka–Purungu). The *yininirra* referred to here are Janet Orange and Tommy Beard.

Yanayirni marntungu ngalaya partanyijirripa jinta marrngu pijukarti. Palanga pijungu kurtanyjarniyirni kakarra wirrkijarrinyirni. *Railway crossing*-ja kanka kurilajarrinyirni kakarnikarti pijungu yintakartijakun. Katukarnayirni wurrupa wirrirniyirniyaninyi mirrarnja. Jana yakarnalayijaninya wirliwirlikarra wanikinyi. Ngalaya yanalay pijungu kara kartapirnalayi maruntu jina kuwarrija. Yajarnalaya ngalpanya pirtingi janpanga wangka. Jungka pala wirna. Ngajulu karlinyarna wangkangarra wanikinyi purrirnirni wipungulu. Kanka marnarna jampa warntipinamarna jungkanga, kapuraly kanyaji parirra pungkanya jungkanga mirtijarrinyi ngalpanya janpanga. Palinyja wurrarnarnala, 'nyuntu yarra kajala palamanga parnpinarrija janpamaluku. Ngaju yankulumarna kakarrakurti wirrkijarrulumarna kakarnikarti janpanga kajanalumarna mimalamarnalu. Nyuntulu parrjanalumpanalu palarrikartilu, yirrilaman wurralapijin.' Ngaju yanarna kajanikinyirni mungkanga parrjanikinyirnal wanyjarningi turlpuliny janpaja. Yija turlpanya partijirri wurrarnarnala, 'nyarrapali turlpanya kurilakurnu. Kula,' karramarnarnalu; 'yarrana turlpuliny wanyjarningi, *shoot'm*-jilamarna.' Parrjanikinyalayalu janpa. Pala maruntu nyimurl yanikinyi jurrkurl ngajukarti. Mirarl janpanga yirrirnirni, wurrarnarnala, 'nyungu! Ngaju martaji.' Kankajarrinya kawanikinyi nyarrapali rakakata. Ngaju karramarnarna, 'kuwarrilu *shoot'm*-jilmarnanta ngajupa yakarninyinpa.' Nyimurl yaninya kawana ngaju martaji turlpanya kawanikinyi ngalyi paljarrinyi. *Shoot'm*-jirnirni warlirniirni ngalyi parnpirnarna jalakarti. Lirrpapapinikinyi ngalyi wirlarnarna mungkalu. Palinyju manajaninyi kurrngal janpamalu *bucket*-ngi winya.

Kulpanyalayijanaku, janalu manayijaninyi kurrngal janpamalu. Kampanikinyijianinyipa nganikinyi. Ngalaya milpanyalayijanaku; wika murnirnirna ngajulu pirtipa karlinyirni, tilijirniirni wika tarrparnarna yawu kankarnijirniirni mimanikinyiirna murlajarrinyaku. Murlajarrinyi jitirniirni; palinyju wurruly ngatarna, wirrirnirni wurrulyja. Parrkarlpirniirni kutakutapirniirni yinyarnajaninya, nganayirni palanga. Ruka kulpanyiirni ngurrakarti.

Palaja kanyalayipulinyi partanyijirri kujarra Ericapa Malyurta; ruka yanayirni Yandeyarrakarti. Twelve Mile-ngulu kurilajarrinyirni Piparnkarranga kanka pipurru. Kapalyanyanga kanka kurila yanayirni, pinakarrinyiirni tulkarraja *wheel*, wurnmanya murtuka. Wararrjirniirni parrjan-parrjarnarna, wurrarnarnajanaku, 'ngurnipali *bearing* wurnmanya.' Nyaparu wirrirniyirni kaninykurti *wheel* kankajarrinyi. Yakurrmarnarna *wheel* tultulkarramarna, kaninyjirniirni nyaparu, wurrarnarnajanaku, 'puru kulpunyi, kinti yaninya kawalaminyi.' Indee-ja kurila yana *motorbike*-jartiny kurnijarrinyi, munu wararrjinamarna ngajulu. Wurrarnarna walypila warinykapali, pala yana karrkarna Indee-karti. Palanga karntinyiirni murtuka kinti yaninya kawanikinyi. Kulpanyiirni yanayirni murrurlunguwararrkarrinyiirni, *wheel* parrpakarrajarriinyi. Palanga waninyiirni warrijarrinyi pala *wheel*, karntinyiirni murtuka. Karrpu ngalpanya kawanikinyi yaninya kawanikinyiirni kinti. *Grid*-ja yakujarnikarti parrpakarrajarriinyi warrukartijarrinyi. Wirlarrangarla mimanikinyiirna warrijarrinyaku *wheel*-ku. Palaja yanayirni Piparnkarra kurilakurnu warnkupa waninyi warlapa wararrjirniyirni. Waninyiirni palanga warrijarrinyi *wheel*, yanayirni Piparnkarranga karakurti, Twelve Mile-ja wirrkijarrinyiirni kakarra. Pirtimarranga wapiirripirri kakarra pirrpa-pirrpajarrikinyi yanayirni, wararrjirniirni murtuka. Karrpu turlpanya kawanikinyi. Yanayirni wirrkijarrinyiirni *windmill*-kartijakun, palanga nganayirni martumpirri, waninyiirni ruka mimana. Pirnarra milpanyapulu, yirrirnipulunganinyi wurrarnapulunganaku, 'yaninyalay *town*-karti.'

'Yu,' karramarnayirni. 'Murtuka kurlujarrinyi partijirri Kapalyanyanga ngurnarrikarti,' wurrarnarnapulaku. Palanga waninyiirni rukajarrinyi warrijirri, kinti yaninya kawanikinyi Yurtingunyakarti.

One morning I went out with my family and some other people. We crossed the De Grey River and turned east. Above the railway crossing we turned south and went along the east side of the river to a big pool of water. We put all our things in the shade, and my wife and I left the others fishing and went west down the river following the fresh tracks of a goanna. We tracked it to a hole by the water. The ground was damp and I dug down and grabbed it by the tail. I pulled it out and was about to bash it on the ground when it twisted out of my grasp, fell to the ground, and ran into the water. I said to my wife, 'Go and sit over there, and try fishing. I'm going to go down the east side of the pool and wait for it there. You watch for it on this side, and if you see it, tell me.' I went and sat on a log, and watched for it to surface. It came up in the middle of the pool and I said, 'It's come up over there to the south. Wait there: wherever it comes up next I'll shoot it.' We both watched the water. That goanna was coming straight towards me: I could see it under the clear water and called out, 'Here it is.' It came to the surface, it was big and aggressive. I said, 'You got away from me before, but now I'm going to shoot you.' It went along under the water and came up near me, lifting its head out of the water. I shot it, grabbed it by the neck and threw it onto the bank. It was kicking around, and I hit it on the head with a lump of wood. My wife had got lots of fish and filled up her bucket.

We went back to the others, and they too had a lot of fish, which they cooked and ate. When we got back to them I collected firewood, lit a fire, singed the goanna, put it onto the hot coals, and waited for it to cook. When it was done I took it out, my wife broke off some branches and I put it on the leaves. I broke it open and cut it up, and we ate it there.

On another occasion we took two children, Erica and **Malyurta**, and set out for Yandeyarra in the evening. On the other side of the Twelve Mile we turned south, and went past Pippingarra Station. We'd crossed over the East Turner River at Kapalyanya when I heard a bang in the wheel, and the car broke down. I pulled over and examined it. I said, 'I think the bearings have gone.' We jacked it up and I tried spinning the wheel to listen to the noise it made, then lowered the jack. I said, 'We'll just have to go back, and we'll have to go slowly.' A man on a motorbike came out of Indee Station and went south, and then turned back, but I didn't wave him down. I thought it was a different *walypila* when he turned back to Indee. So I got back into the car and drove along slowly. At the top of a hill I stopped, as the wheel was overheating. We stayed there until it cooled down, and then went on. We were still crawling along as the sun set. Just south of the grid, with night falling, it overheated again. We waited in the moonlight for it to cool. Then we went on, and stopped again by the big flat rock south of Pippingarra. When it was cool we went on to the west of Pippingarra, and turned east at the Twelve Mile. We crossed over Pirtimarra Creek heading east into the sunrise. I stopped again, and the sun rose. We turned off to a windmill where we had breakfast, and waited until the evening. **Pirnarra** came along and said, 'We're going into town.'

'Our car broke down on the other side of Kapalyanya,' I told them. We stayed there until it cooled down in the evening, then slowly made our way back to Yurtingunya.

Malyurta

This was Donna Lockyer, the younger sister of Erica, called Malyurta as a middle child.

Pirnarra

Minyjun's classificatory brother and sister-in-law, Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra) and Ngajukulayi (Nancy).

Chapter 8:

Bereavement, 1985

Ngajumili mirtawa wurrkujarrinyi

Jinta partanykarrangu wanikinyiyi Pirrimayanga *school*-karra. Massey-pa ngajumili mamaji wanikinyipulu Jirrpaiyinyanga. Purlpi ngurra wanikinyijanaka Jirrpaiyina. Palangulu ngurrangulu yarnimanikinyiyi piinyji. Yarrana ngurrajirniyi 1985-ja piju martaji. John Smart-ju ruutu-jinikinyi Jirrpaiyinyaja Mijijimayakarti, Pitpitju wurrarnala John Smart-ja maya yarnimanaku *windmill*-pa Mijijimayanga, jarntinaku mangarrjarrapinti. Purlpi wanikinyi *station*, Pitpitju wurrarna, 'ngajumili warrarn pala. Kajemarta kalkulkulunyurrujaninyi partanykarrangu nyurnpalyjamarra.' Warnku waninyi karakurnu yini Yalalu, linyji waninyi yalinyjakurnu.

Karangu milpanya marlurlu, ngakarniyi Yurtingunyakarti Cane River-ja. Manajaninyi marrngurrangu Karntimartaja, Nganinyjanguja, Martakuraja, Yurtingunyaja yanayi kara. Ngaju ngatu wanikinyirni Yurtingunyanganga. Palaja ngalaya yanalayi kakarra Jirrpaiyinyakarti, palanga wanikinyalayi. Nganayirni *Pudding* palanga. *Pudding* nganinyakanu kulpanyalayi, partijirri karrpu ngalpanyalayaku warrukarti yanalayi Yurtingunyakarti.

Kartakarrinyalayi marntungujarrinyi ngajulu partal jitirniirni nganinyaku martumpirriku; wurrkujarrinyi paliny. Karta wanikinyi, munu kajanama. Partal muwarrpirnarnalu jama wanikinyi. Ngaju yanarna wurrarnarnala Wunumilingi pipingi. Kayimarnarna palanga, walypurpinikinyi paliny. Ngaju yanarna Partijirri Ngurrakarti mananya kulpanyarna Palyakulayi. Palanga warlirni palinyju munu turlpama, kartakarrikinyingarrany. Ngajulu wurrarnarnapuluku, 'kangkuluminyi *hospital*-karti.' Yanayirni kara Ngarukarti wurrarnarnajanaku maparnkarrangapa *matron*-ja, 'ngajumili mirtawa wurrkujarrinyi, munu turlpanyaka kartajakun waninyi.' Yaninya manayi *stretcher*, wirriirni palanga parrjarniyi maparnkarralu *x-ray*-nga. *Matron*-ju wurrarniji, 'yankuliny kuwarringarra ruka Karrkarrakarti.'

Ngaju kulpanyarna Yurtingunyakarti, palaja karangu kulpanyiyi marrngurrangu Cane River-ja. Ngajulu yajarnarna nyirriirnilu Karrkarrakarti, yanarna mangarrjarranga, yanarna pipurrungarra *hospital*-karti; kanyanyi Nyaparu Williams-ju. Ngalpanyalayi kaninykarti *hospital*-ja, palinyju japirrmarnajaninya, 'wanyarni nyungumili mirtawa wanikinyi?' Wurrarniyili, 'ngurnungu kanka.' Kanyangalayinyi *matron*-ju palakarti jurtijirningalayaku nyungu waninyi. Wurrarnangalayaku *matron*-ju, 'kartajakun waninyi, munu turlanyakapa muwarrpinaka, jama waninyi rurrinyamajirri.' Ngajulu muwarr-muwarrpirnarnalu partal, munu pinakarriminyi. Palanga yakarnanya, Nyaparu kulpanya *office*-karti. Wurrarniji, 'ruka kulpulumarnangu.' Palanga ngaju kajanikinyirni paliny martajingarra wangka. Yinyanyiya martumpirri, nganarna. Partal muwarrpinikinyarnalu, munu pinakarriminyi muwarrja.

Rukajarrinyi, maninya kulpanyinyi Nyaparulu, kanyanyi palinymilikarti ngurrakarti. Kakarrakurnu *town*-ja ngurra palinymili wanikinyalu kanka murrurlungu. Kanyanyi palakartijakun, palanga wanikinyirni marntungurrangu marntungu wiyimanikinyinyi *hospital*-karti, parrjana kulpanyikinyarnalu. Karrpurangu karrpu palajun, maninya kulpanyikinyinyi rukalu. Punyja waninyirni palanga. Munurla ngalypajarrima. Jinyji-jinyjilu kanganyikinyinyiyi *hospital*-karti Nyaparu Williams-ju, Mirtalu, Butler-lu marntungurrangu marntungu, rukalu maninya kulpanyikinyinyiyi, wanikinyirni *hospital*-ja rukakartijakun.

Yarti *school holiday*-jarrinyi Judy Brittain milpanya Yurtingunyaja, ngaju wanikinyirni *office*-ja, maninya kulpanyinyi kanyanyi Mundaring Dam-karti, jurtijirniyi, wurrarniji, 'nyungu yini Mundaring Dam. Nyungujangarra ngapa minpinayi.' Palanga *picture*-nga mananyi kulpanyalayi ngurrakarti palinymilikarti pipi japartukarti. Jurtijirniyi, 'nyungu ngajumili pipipa japartu, marrka.' Palanga nganayirni martumpirri kulpanya wiyimarnanyi warrukarti ngurrakarti Nyaparumilikarti. Yarti kulpanyarna Ngarukarti mangarrjarranga, palaja yanarna Yurtingunyakarti.

My wife becomes ill

Some children were doing their schooling at Pirrimaya (Callawa). Massey and *mamaji*, my older brother, were living at Jirrpayinya (Camel Camp), where in the old days there'd been a camp for boundary riders who went out from there to repair the rabbit-proof fence. In 1985 we set up another camp there close to the river. John Smart made a road from Jirrpayinya to Mijijimaya⁶³, and Pitpit told him to put up a building and a windmill there, and to grade an airstrip. There'd been a station there in the old days, and Pitpit said, 'That's my country. It's far enough out to keep children away from trouble'. There's a hill in the west called Yalalu, and a claypan to the north.

Marlurlu came from the west, sent to Yurtingunya from Cane River.⁶⁴ The *marlurlu* called all the people from Karntimarta, Nganinyjangu (Carlindi), Martakura and Yurtingunya, and everyone went west. I stayed back at Yurtingunya, and my wife and I went east to Jirrpayinya and spent Christmas there. We went back after Christmas, arriving at Yurtingunya at night.

In the morning I couldn't get her up to have breakfast, she was sick. She lay there sleeping, and wouldn't get up. I spoke to her but she didn't respond. I went and told **Wunun's mother**, I called her over, and she rubbed and massaged her. I went to Middle Camp and brought back **Palyakulayi**, who took hold of her but couldn't rouse her. I said, 'We'll have to take her to hospital'. We took her to Ngaru and I told the doctors and the matron, 'My wife is sick. She's not getting up, she just sleeps.' They put her on a stretcher and doctors X-rayed her. The matron said to me, 'She needs to go straight to Perth this afternoon'.

I went back to Yurtingunya, where a lot of people had arrived from Cane River in the west, and then followed my wife to Perth by plane. There I was taken directly to the hospital by **Jack Williams**, where he asked, 'Where's this man's wife?' They told him, 'On the top floor'. The matron took us up and showed us her lying there. 'She's in a coma', she said, 'and can't get up or speak, but just lies without moving'. I talked and talked to her in vain; she couldn't hear me. Jack went back to the office (the Nomads office in Perth), telling me he'd come for me that evening. I sat with her all day, and was given a meal. I talked to her but she couldn't hear anything I said.

In the evening Jack took me to his house in the hills to the east of the town. I stayed there and each morning he took me back to the hospital, where I'd stay with her all day. I stayed in Perth for a long time, but she didn't get any better. Jack Williams, Mirta, and **Ray Butler** took turns in taking me to the hospital each morning and taking me home each evening.

During the school holidays **Judy Brittain** came down from Yurtingunya. She picked me up from the office and took me out to Mundaring Dam. She told me, 'This is called Mundaring Dam, it provides water for the city'. Then she took a photo of me and we went back to her parents' house where she introduced me, saying, 'This is my mother and father and little brother'. And after dinner that night she took me back to Jack's house. Later I flew back to Ngaru, and from there went out to Yurtingunya.

Wunun's mother
Molly Willalang.

Palyakulayi
Ginger Bob. He was a healer, or *maparn*.

Jack Williams and Ray Butler
Walypila who were working in the Nomad's Perth office.

Judy Brittain
A *walypila* teacher at Strelley School.

Palaja kanyapulunganinyi *yellow* Toyota-nga Tim-jupa Bucknall-ju ngaju partanykarrangu. Yakarnapulunganinya *office*-ja kartakarrinyiyrni. Marntungujarrinyi yanayirni *hospital*-karti, wiyimarnanganinyi mirtawalu, yakarnanganinya *hospital*-ja. Kanyarnajaninyi kanka yirrirnirnalulu jurtijirniirnijanaku. Janalu ngangkurljipirniyi, kankarni muwarr-muwarrpirnarnalu, munu: kartangarrany wanikinyi. Palangulu kulpanyiyrni kaniny, *lawn*-ja nganikinyiyrni martumpirri. Mimanikinyiyrnalu mirtawaku, mananganinyi kulpanyiyrni *office*-karti. Palanga marntungu kanyanganinyi mirtawalu Fremantle-karti, parrjana kulpanyaku Clare Mann-ku. Wangka yirrirninganinyi, palanga kurrngan-kurrngarniyrnalu ruka kulpanyiyrni. Palaja marntungu yarrana kanyanganinyi *hospital*-karti, parrjana kulpanyaku munungarrany kartajakun wanikinyi. Kulpanyiyrni ruka ngurrakarti.

Tim-jupa Bucknall-ju manapulupulinyi kujarra *school* murtukajirri, Hilux-pa *truck*. Palanga nganarnalu wurru wirrirniyrnijaninyi murtukanga.

Yurtinunyanga wani-waninyiyrni, yarrana yanarna kanyarnapulinyi partanyjirri, yanayirni *bus*-ja Karrkarrakarti. Mimanikinyinganaku marntungu Nyaparu Williams-ju *town*-ja Midlands-ja. Kanyanganinyi *office*-karti wurrarnanganaku, 'nyungungu kartakarrinyalunyruru *caravan*-ja.' Marntungu martumpirri ngananyakanu kanyanganinyi Nyaparulu *hospital*-karti, yirrirniyrnalu yakarnanganinya Nyaparulu. Pulanyju ngangkurljipirnipulu, wurrarniji *matron*-ju nyarrajunngarra, 'munu muwarrpinakapa rurrinyaka, kartajakun waninyi.' Yinyayinganinya martumpirri nganayirni rukajarrinyi maninya kulpanyanganinyi ngurrakarti. Yakarnanganinyi *office*-ngi, paliny yana palinymilikarti ngurrakarti.

Palaja yanayirni marntungu Fremantle-karti, Clare Mann mimanikinyinganaku, milpanyiyrni palanga karntinyiyrni *boat*-ja. Yanayirni karakurnu *island*-karti, katukarnayirni. Palanga yana-yanayirni martumpirri nganayirni mimanikinyiyrnalu *boat*-ku, ruka milpanya karntinyiyrni kulpanyiyrni Fremantle-karti. Clare Mann-ju kulpanya wiyimarnanganinyi ngurrakarti.

Palajalu ruka kanyanganinyi mirtawalu tuwamayakarti. Ngaju wurru murntura kajanikinyirni, mimanikinyirnijanaku jana yanayi kaninykarti. Eralu ngulyulu manajaninyi ngalyipintirrangupa kurlkapinti. Warinyju walypilalu yirrirni ngulyuja mananyaja, ngakarnayalu muwarr kunymanakataku. Yija milpanya kunymanakata, Erica kanyayi kunymanakatalupa maajalu kanka *office*-karti, kalkunikinyiyi palanga. Yirrirnirni mangan milpanyikinyi ngajukarti Manyanmili kangkuji wurrarniji, 'kanyayi kunymanakatalu Erica ngulyuja, kurtali parrjalamapalu.' Ngaju yanarna, paliny yakarnarna palanga, kayimarnanyi palalu mirtawalu. Kanyanyi kanka, palanga kalkunikinyiyi Erica muwarrja kunymanakatalupa maajalu. Palanga wurrarniyili munu maninyaku ngulyulu, kulpanya mirarnaya palarranguku wurruku. Wurrarniyili ngulyuja maninyaja yarranpili jinmurntu, paliny palanga ngangkurljinikinyi. Wurrarnapulungalayaku kunymanakatalujirri, 'wiyimalapalayi ngurrakarti ngalayalu,' karntijirnipulu. Ngalaya yanalay, wurrarnarnala Manyanmili kangkujingi, 'kanyapulurla kunymanakatalujirri jinmurntu, ngalajakun wantulupali ngurranga.' Karntinyiyrni murtukanga kulpanyiyrni *office*-karti katukarnalayi. Kunymanakatajirri milpanyapulu jinirnipulu Erica, kulpanyapulu. Wurrarniji palinyju, 'nyungurla milpanyi: mitumarnanyinpa wurrarnanpa kanyapulu jinmurntu kunymanakatalujirri.'

Marntungujarrinyi kulpanyiyrni *yellow* Toyota-nga Yurtingunyakarti.

Later **Tim** and Bucknall took me and **some children** back down to Perth in the yellow Toyota. They dropped us off at Perth office where we slept, and in the morning the woman who worked in the office drove us to the hospital. I took everyone upstairs to see her. Everyone cried, and we stood about her and talked to her, but she didn't respond, she remained fast asleep. We had lunch on the lawns and were taken back to the office. Next morning we were taken to Fremantle to see **Clare Mann**. She was surprised to see us, and we had a long talk with her. Next morning we went to the hospital again but she was still in a coma.

Tim and Bucknall had two school vehicles, a Hilux and a truck. We loaded up our swags and went back to Ngaru.

I stayed at Yurtingunya for a while, before setting out once again with **two children** to travel down to Perth by bus. Jack Williams was waiting for us at Midland and took us to the office saying, 'You can stay here in the caravan.' After breakfast he took us to the hospital where we saw her, and Jack left us. The girls wept for her, and the matron told me, 'She's still the same; she hasn't spoken and hasn't moved. She's just stayed asleep'. They gave us lunch, and in the afternoon we were taken back to where we were staying. Jack left us at the office, and went to his own home.

The next morning we went to Fremantle, where Clare Mann was waiting for us. We boarded a boat to an island in the west. We walked around and had lunch, and waited for the boat again. It came back in the afternoon and we went back to Fremantle and Clare took us all back to where we were staying.

The next afternoon the woman who worked in the office took us shopping. I had a sore knee and so I waited outside for the others. Erica stole some necklaces and earrings and a *walypila* saw her and called the police. The police and the shop owner took Erica upstairs into an office, and held her there. I saw Carol come running up to me, crying, 'The police have arrested Erica for stealing, you've got to come and see her'. I went, leaving Carol there. Another woman took me upstairs where they were holding Erica in a meeting with the police and a store owner. They told her not to steal things, and took back all the things she'd stolen. They told her, 'If you steal things again you'll go to jail'. She was in tears. Then the two policeman said, 'We'll take her home', and they put her in the police car. I told Carol that the policemen were taking her to jail. 'It's just you and me now'. We went back to the office. The two policemen arrived and dropped Erica off. Carol said to me, 'She's come back. You were tricking when you said that she was going to jail!'

We drove back to Yurtingunya in the yellow Toyota the next morning.



Top: Minyjun with his daughters and Donna Lockyer, on a trip to Perth, 1985.

Bottom: In Perth, photographs by Tim Dwyer.

Tim

Tim Dwyer, who worked in literature production at Yurtingunya.

some children

Minyjun's daughters, Barbara and Sharon, and Donna Lockyer.

Clare Mann

Clare had previously been a teacher at Yurtingunya.

two children

Erica Lockyer and Carol Ginger.

Yurtingunyanga wani-waninyirni warrkam *school*-karra. Palanga marrngurrangu jartanga-jartangajarrinyi; jinta yanayi Jirrpaiyakarti, Pirrimayakarti, Karntimartakarti. Yurtingunyanga nyurnpalyjarrikinyi marrngu ngarrarta minpinikinyi. Partanykarrangupukun nyurnpalyjarrikinyayi. Palaja yanayirni kakarra Pirrimayakartipa Jirrpaiyakarti. Yurtingunya wangka *town* martaji, kanyayirnijaninyi kajamarta kakarra nyurnpalyjamarra.

Nganarna yanayirni yarrana Yurtingunyaja Karrkarrakarti parrjana kulpanyiyrnalun gajumuliku mirtawaku. Kanyarnajaninyi kujarrapa kujarra partanykarrangu yirtarnkarra. Marntungu yanayirni *school* Hilux-ja. Yanayirni Carnarvon-ja pipurru, Geraldton-ja pipurru, rukajarrinya kawanikinyi karrpu ngalpanya partijirri, warrukartijarrinyi. Yanayirni yirriniyirnijaninyi kunymanakatarrangu wararrkarrikinyi ruutungu. Warlinikinyiyijaninyi murtukarrangu yalinyuja; kurnijamunu warlinamajaninyi. Nganarna warliniyinganinyi japirmarnanganinyi, 'wanyarniya nyurra milpanyanyurru?' ngajulu wurrarnarnala, 'Ngaruja.' Palinyju wurrarniji, 'ngulyulurla manayi *crayfish*, puru warlirnarninyurrinyi. Parrjalamarna nyirrini.' Palanga parrjan-parrjana, munu. 'Yu, ngalya,' karramarna.

Yanayirni wirrkijarrinyiirni ruutu warinyja yalinyujanga. Kurilajarrinyiirni mimanikinyinganaku Nyaparulu partijirri. Yirriniyirni Nyaparu wararrkarrikinyi. Mirtijirna ngakamarnayirni, janalu wurrarniji, 'ngurnungu yakarnanya wararrkarrinyi.' Palanga wararrjirni murtuka, purlupurlujarrinyiirni. 'Hello,' karramarnanganaku, nganarnalu puntaju again. Wurrarniji, 'walangkarrpilamarnangu, yajalaminyin nyirrini.' Yija ngajulu yajarnarna, yanayirni *office*-kartijakun. 'Nyungungungarra kartakarrinyalunurru.'

Marntungu martumpirri nganinyakanu kanyanganinyi mirtawalu, yanayirni *hospital*-kartijakun. *Matron*-ju wurrarniji, 'nyarrajunngarrany waninyi muwarrmajirri, munu rurrinyaka.' Kulpanyiirni ruka *office*-karti. Kartakarrinyiirni marntungujarrinyi nganarna kanyanganinyi mirtawalu parrjanaku kuyirrangupa yintajarrarrangu *zoo*-karti. Parrjanakanu ruka kulpanyiirni yanayirni ngurrakarti. Murtuka wararrjirni mirtawalu katukarnayirni. Mirtalu purrpimarnanyi ngaju, wurrarniji, 'jipi yakarnanta mirtawalu nyuntumililu.' Yampumarnanyi, ngangkurljipirnalayarninyi. Palanga janapukun ngangkurljirniyi. Palajalu wurru wirriniyirnijaninyi murtukanga rukalungarra kulpanyiirni.

Marble Bar-karti yanayirni, kulurniyirnijaninyi ngangkurljipirniyirnarinyi. Palangulu yanayirni yalinyja Pirrimayakarti palanga kulurniyirnarinyi milpanyiirnijanaku Jirrpaiyina. Palanga kulurniyirnarinyi waninyiirni, palanga yarti yanayirni Karntimartakarti. Karntimartaja Yurtingunyakarti wanikinyiirni palanga, mimanikinyiirna kurlurluku. Kurlurlu wiyirrjinakanu kulpanyiirni ngurrakarti. Palanga ngaju wanikinyirni Yurtingunyanga, jinta marrngu kulpanyiirni ngurrarrangukarti.

I stayed at Yurtingunya working in the school. All the *marrngu* went to live at different places, some to Jirrpayinya, some to Pirrimaya and some to Karntimarta. People had been drinking and making trouble at Yurtingunya, and even children were getting into trouble. For that reason everyone shifted to the east, out to Pirrimaya and Jirrpayinya. Yurtingunya is too close to town, and to get away from all the problems we took everyone out further east.

Then I set out again to go down to Perth to see my wife. This time I took **four children** and *yirtarnkarra*, and we set out one the morning in the school Hilux. We drove on through Carnarvon and Geraldton, we were still driving as the sun went down and darkness fell, and we drove on through the night. We saw police cars parked across the road, stopping all the cars coming down from the north, but not those from the south. They stopped us, and one of them asked me, 'Where have you all come from?' I told him, 'Port Hedland'. He said to me, 'People are stealing crayfish, and we've stopped you as a matter of routine. I want to look in the back'. He looked in the back, but he didn't find anything. 'OK, that's fine,' he said.

We went on and turned onto the road that comes down from Cue. As we drove south Jack Williams met us on the way; the others saw him parked on the side of the road. We drove right past him, and they said, 'You passed him back there'. I stopped the car and reversed back. 'Hello', he said to us, and we greeted him. 'I'll go in front,' he said, 'and you follow me'. When we arrived at the Perth office he said, 'You can all camp here'.

In the morning the woman from the office took us to the hospital. The matron said, 'There's still been no change. She hasn't spoken or moved'. We went back to the office in the evening and the next morning the woman took us to look at all the animals and birds in the zoo. Back at the office that afternoon she pulled up and we got out. Mirta came out to meet me and said, 'It's all over. Your wife has left you'. He hugged me, and we cried in each other's arms. Then everyone was crying. Then we put all our swags in the car, and set out to go back that afternoon.

When we got to Marble Bar we called everyone together, and together we grieved. From there we went north to Pirrimaya, and we all gathered together to grieve there. Then we went to see the people at Jirrpayinya, and everyone gathered around and we mourned there. Then we went to Karntimarta and from there to Yurtingunya, where we stayed and waited for the funeral. When the funeral was over everyone went back; I stayed on at Yurtungunya while everyone else went back to their different homes.



Minyjun with his daughters and Donna, 1985, photograph by Tim Dwyer.

four children

Minyjun's daughters, Barbara and Sharon, his sister's daughter Beryl Ponce, and Donna Lockyer.

yirtarnkarra

Siblings in the section of the speaker's mother. For Minyjun this is two Purungu people; these were Solomon Cocky and Nancy Muccan.

Chapter 9:

The later years

Jirrpayinya

Yarti Yurtingunyaja yanarna Jirrpayinyakarti, palanga wanikinyirni, partanykarrangu *school*-ja wanikinyiyi. Kujarra mirtawajirri wanikinyipulu *teacher*-jirri. *High school* partanykarrangu kanganyikinyirnijaninyi marntungu Pirrimayakarti, wurru yarntanikinyiyi ngurrinypirrayi. Ruka kulpanya kanganyikinyirnijaninyi Jirrpayinyakarti. Ngajulu Jirrpayinyaja kanyarnajaninyi partanykarrangu pijukarti.

Picture-nga manikinyipulujaninyi walypilalujirri marrngurrangu muwarrja. Jinta yanayi marrngu palaja ngurrajapa Pirrimayaja Pintunyakarti. Karangu milpanyiyi Martakuraja, Yurtingunyaja, Karntimartaja *truck*-ngapa wupartungurrangu murtukanga. Wurrarniyipulaku janalu, 'yakunjirnipulunganinyi kunymanakatalujirri *thirty-three* marrngu nyungungungarra Pintunyang. Kunymanakatajirri milpanyapulunganaku nyungukarti Marble Bar-ja *truck*-jartiny. Nganarna wararrkarrikinyiyirnalulu yakujan ngalyparra.' Warinyju walypilalu *picture*-nga manikinyijaninyi wararrjaja. Wurrarniyipulaku pulanyja, 'marrapulu kurtany *chain*-jartiny murtukaja jungkanga tungkurripilkulunyumpulu.' Nyaparulu mana kurtany murtukaja tungkurripirni jungkanga. 'Wirrinalumannganaku palama ngalyingi *chain*.' Palayin wurrarniyili, yija mana Nyaparulu *chain* ngalyingi wirrirnili wararrjanga. Pala *chain* parnpina mirarnala marrngulu. Warinyja marrngungu wirrirnili ngalyingi, palajun parnpina miranikinyiyili janalu. Palinyju jilaman manajanakalu kunymanakatalu. Jana parirr kankajarrinyi, yarrana wirrirninyi ngalyingi, munu parnpinama. Wirrirnijanaku jintanga wiyirra ngalyingi, munu parnpinamaya. Kanyajaninyi jinmurntu *truck*-nga wirtungu Marble Bar-karti.

Palaja jana kulpanyiyi Jirrpayinyakarti, jinta wariny yanayi Marble Bar-karti; jinta wariny kulpanyiyi Martakurakartipa Karntimartakarti. Nyungu kanyayipulinyi walypilajirri Marble Bar-karti, jurtijirniyipuluku ngalpanyi wiyirr kaninyakarti *jail house*-ja. Pitpitju yimpirnipulaku muwarr, wurrarnapuluku nyungungungarra ngalpajirnipulujaninyi kunymanakatalujirri. Kartakarikinyiyi nyungungu jinmurntu ngalparra. Waraja turlpanyikinya karruruwa, wiyirr turlpanyikinyiya kartaja jintapukun. Palajun wurrarnapulaku Pitpitju, jana kulpanyiyi Karntimartakarti.

Ngaju wanikinyirni pala kankajirri Pintunyang, partanykarrangu kalkunikinyirnijaninyi. Munu yanamarna Pintunyakarti, palajun. Kulpanyiyirni ruka Jirrpayinyakarti, palanga wanikinyiyirni.

Muwarr ngakarnangalayaku marntiyarraku Bucknall-ju, 'yankulunyumpulu Batchelor-karti *certificate*-ku mankulunyumpulu,' 1985-ja. Palaja yanalai Batchelor-karti, yija *certificate* yinyayingalayinya, palaja milpanyalayi ngurrakartijakun.

Jirrpayinya (Camel Camp)

Later I shifted from Yurtingunya to Jirrpayinya (Camel Camp), and lived there, and the children went to school there. We had two female teachers. I used to take the high school children to Pirrimaya in the mornings, where they were sewing a quilt. In the afternoons I'd take them all back to Jirrpayinya, and I'd take the children down to the river on the weekends.

Two *walypila* arrived to make a film about *marrngu* history. Everyone from Jirrpayinya and Pirrimaya went to Pintunya (Sheep Camp), and people arrived there from the west, from Martakura, Yurtingunya and Karntimarta in a truck and in smaller vehicles. They told those two *walypila*, 'This is what two policeman did to thirty-three of us *marrngu* right here at Pintunya. Two policemen from Marble Bar came and put us onto a truck. We stood in a long line.' One of the *walypila* filmed them all standing there. They told them, 'Get the bag with the chain in it from the car, and tip it out onto the ground.' Paul Roberts got the bag and tipped it out. 'You have to put that chain around our necks.' They told him to do it like that, and so Paul got the chain and put it around their necks, while they were standing there. The *marrngu* threw the chain down. He put it around the neck of other *marrngu*, and they also threw it back down on the ground. The policeman then pointed a gun at them, and they put their hands in the air. And again he put it around the man's neck, and this time he didn't throw it off. He put the chain around the neck of all the others, and they didn't throw them off. And they were taken off to Marble Bar jail in a truck.

People went back to Jirrpayinya and others went on to Marble Bar, while some people returned to Martakura and Karntimarta. They took the two *walypila* to Marble Bar and showed them where they'd all been jailed. Pitpit told them that they'd slept chained up in a line, and when one man got up to go to the toilet all the others had to get up as well.

I took the children up the river from Pintunya, and then we also returned to Jirrpayinya.

Bucknall sent a message to us two *marntiyarra*, Rurla and I, saying, 'You two could go to Batchelor to get your **certificates**'. This was in 1985. We went to Batchelor and were awarded our certificates.

***walypila* arrived to make a film**

In 1985 David Noakes and Paul Roberts made a documentary film about the strike, called *How the West was Lost*.

certificates

Minyjun and Rurla gained certificates in literacy attainment from Batchelor College (now the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education), in the Northern Territory.

Yanarna Mijijimayakarti

Palaja Karntimartaja marntungu yanayirni Jirrpayinyakarti, palanga wanikinyiyirni. Kanganyikinyiyirniyaninyi marntungu *high school* partanykarrangu Pirrimayakarti Jirrpayinyaja, ruka kulpanyikinyiyirni. Jinta wuparturrangu partanykarangu wanikinyiyi *school*-karra Jirrpayinyanga. Palanga kurrngarnarnajanaku yankulupiyirni kangkulumarnajaninyi *high school* partanykarrangu Mijijimayakarti. ‘Yu,’ karramarnayi, marntungu yanayirni kakarra Mijijimayakarti. Partijirri murtuka parrpajarrinyi, nganayirni martumpirri palanga. Ruka warrijirringi yanayirni parrpakarrajarinyi murtuka. Ngapa winyajirni *radiator*, palajunpirli yanikinyiyirni wangkala parrpakarrakarrikinyi. Karrpu kaninyjarrinya kawanikinyi yanayirni partijirri karrpu ngalpanya. Yirrkungarrany nganarna yanayirni warrukarti wirlarrangarla Mijijimayakartijakun. Nyirirni milpanyapulu walypilajirri *teacher*-jirri. Ngurra yartajirniyirna, *school* jirniyirni kujarra walypilajirri *teacher*-jirri Sharon-pa Karen. Wanikinyiyirni palangangarra partanykarrangu *school*-karra wanikinyiyi. Palanga milpanyapulu ngajumilijirri mamajijirri; ngurra paljurnapula pala yalinyakurnu linyjingi. Palaja milpanya *truck* martumpirrijartiny kanganyikinyi *radiator*-pukun, palanga ngajulu yarnimarnarna wirrirni *radiator new-one truck*-nga.

Yarti milpanyiyi Jirrpayinyaja jinta marrngu, yininirra Kujupurrapa, yininirra Nganakulupa, yarruwarra Mangarlapurrjapa. Jintapukun marrngu milpanyiyi palakarti Mijijimayakarti.

Mirtalupa John Smart-ju kanyapulujaninyi jumpayi Wakarlikarlikarti. Parrjan-parrjarniyi warrarn kulpanyiyi Mijijimayakarti, ngurrajirniyi Seven Drums. John Smart-ju yarnimarnajaninyi *windmill*-pa mayarrangu *round roof*.

Palaja yanayirni pijukarti *truck* warlirni jungkalu. *Shovel’m*-jirniyirni jungka, wirrirniyirni parupa wurruly, yamarniyirni jungkalu. Purlu-purlujirni martungu wirrirniyi paru parrpakarrangarla. Yakurrmarnarna ngalpa, karntinyirni murrurlungu, kara yanayirni pijukartijakun, pala yini Jukawalyi. Yakarnarnajaninya jana ngaju yanarna pijungu kakarra munu nganipa wirlanamarna, kulpanyarna. Jina kartapirniyaninyi karlayarrangu ngapanga, jukurti-jukurti yanikinyiya palaku ngapaku. Janpamalupa wanikinyiyi janpanga. Kulpanyarna munu wurrarnarnajanaku kuyiku. ‘Kartakarraluminyi?’ karramarnarnajanaku, ‘yijamarta marntungu kulpuluminyi kuyijartiny, *shoot’m*-jilamarna karlaya. Kuwarri kulpuluminyi ngurrakarti ngani ngalkuluminyi ngurranga. Munurli martumpirrijakun ngalkuluminyi kuyimajirri.’

‘Yu,’ karramarnayi jana, ‘ngalpa kartakarraluminyi.’ Warrukartijarrinyi kartakarrinyiyirni wirntikarrikinyiyirna *camel*-jamarra. Kartamajirri wanikinyiyirni marntungujarrinyi. Ngaju yanarna kakarrakurnu wangkarla janpa wanikinyi pala karlayarrangu kartapirniyaninyi jina, mimanikinyirniyanaku ngapanga kanka murrurlungu: janpa pala wanikinyi martungu. Kara parrjanikinyirniyanaku. Kurtipakarnarna wulku yirrirni janpanga. Ngapa minpinikinyi jamalu, munu muwarrpinama wararrju. Karramarnarna ngaju, ‘nyungu purlpi waninyi ngapa minpininyi.’ Ngajulu *shoot’m*-jirni mirtijarrinyi pungkanya murrurlungu. Yakarnarna kulpanyarnajanaku.

Yirrirninyiyi janalu japirrmarnanyiya, ‘*shoot’m*-jirnin karlaya?’

‘Munu,’ wurrarnarnajanaku, ngumpa minyirrjarrinyi. ‘Milpanyangarra waraja ngapakarti. Ngurnipali yirrirninyurrinyi nyurra, yani-yaninyaja.’

Janalu wurrarniji, ‘nyungungarra yani-yanikinyi Erica.’ Warntamarnaya janalu: ‘palangarra wurrarniyirnangu munu yana-yananyaku, wuta waniman.’

I move to Mijijimaya

We lived at Jirrpayinya, taking the high school children in to Pirrimaya each day and bringing them back in the evening. The younger ones had school at Jirrpayinya. I talked to everyone about taking the high-school students out to Mijijimaya and they agreed, so one morning we set off. On the way the car overheated, so we had dinner by the road and went on in the late afternoon when it was cooler. The vehicle was still overheating; we kept filling the radiator with water and driving on a bit further. Towards sunset we'd only got half way. The sun went down and we continued on through the night, arriving at Mijijimaya in the moonlight. The two *walypila* teachers, Karen Cowie and Sharon Collins, came in behind us, and we made a camp there and set up a school. Then my two older brothers arrived and made their camp on the north side of the claypan. Sometime later a truck arrived with food and a radiator, and I fixed up my car and put a new radiator in it.

Later other people arrived from Jirrpayinya to live at Mijijimaya: *yininirra* Kujupurra and his wife, *yininirra* Nganakulu, Jack Kurala, and his wife, and *yarruwarra* Mangarlapurrja, Toby Williams, and his wife. Still more people came to live there.

Mirta and John Smart took some young men out to Lake Waukarlykarly. They looked at the countryside, and then came back to Mijijimaya and set up a camp at Seven Drums. John Smart put up a windmill and some houses with round roofs.

One weekend we took the truck to the river and got bogged in the sand. We shovelled away at it and laid spinifex and bushes down, and covered them over with sand. I put the car in reverse, and put some more grass under the hollow of the wheels, all in the heat of the day. We were successful and climbed up onto a ridge, and then went on to the west until we reached the Oakover River, at a place called Jukawalyi. I left the others and went out east of the river, but I didn't get any game. I followed some emu tracks around a pool where they'd been coming and going down to the water. There were fish in the pool. I went back and told the others I hadn't got any meat. 'Shall we camp here?' I asked them. 'If we go back now, we won't have much to eat at home. All we'll have is damper but no meat.'

'That's fine. We'll sleep here.' That night we were frightened by camels. I lay there all night without sleeping. In the morning I went a short way east back to the pool where I'd seen emu tracks, and lay in wait for them on top of a rise beside the water. That pool was down in a hollow. I watched out for them towards the west. Then I looked back and saw the shadow of an emu in the water, he was quietly drinking, standing there without making any noise. I thought to myself, here he is, having a drink. I shot him and he ran off, but dropped on the ridge. I left him there, and went back to the others.

They saw me coming and asked, 'Did you shoot an emu?'

'No,' I told them, and their faces fell. 'One came down to the water,' I said, 'but he must have seen you walking around.'

And they all said, 'It was Erica here who was walking around,' and they told her off. They said to each other, 'We told you not to go walking around, but to sit down quietly.'

Palanga wurrarnarnajanaku, 'wurru wirrilayijaninyi *truck*-nga, nyungu yankuluminyi kakarrakurnu janpamalu mankulunyurrunganyjurraka.' Yijalu wirrirniyijaninyi wurrakarra, yanayirni. Wirrkijarrinyirni ruutumajirringi parumarramarra, yanayirni palakartijakun janpakarti. *Truck* wararrjirni, wurrarnarnajanaku ngajulu, 'marrayi martumpirri; kawayi ngurnungukarti mirrarnja wirrilkulunyurru.' Yijalu janalu manayijaninyi martumpirri, kanyayi mirrarnkarti wirrirniyijaninyi. Ngajulu karramarnarnajanaku, 'ngurnungu yarrayi kanka murrurlukarti, wartamalarn waninyayi;' jana mirtijirniya yija palaku ngarru. Mirtijirniyi, yirrirniyi karlayanyin marlkarri. Karramarnayi jana, 'nyungukala karlaya!' Ngalyingulupa pirlpungulu mirtilu kanyayi kamangkarralu wulkajartinyju. Wirrirniyi mirrarnja, ngajulu wurrarnarnajanaku, 'nyarra japirrmarnanyinyurra wirlarnan karlaya? Munu wurrarnarnanyurraku. Nyungu karlaya wirlarnarnanyin, nyarrirniyinyurraku.' Jana wulkajartiny nyarrupirniyi. Ngajulu wurrarnarnajanaku wika murniliya jintalu, pirti karlaya warnku wirrilkulunyurru, jintalu puntalkulunyurru. Puntarniyili ngarrulu palanga. Wika tilijirni tarrparnarna, ngaanypa mirliki ngukurtukurtu manarna warnku wirrirniyili parrpakarra ngaanyja. Yawu kankarnijirni, mimanikinyirni murlajarrinyaku. Nganayirnijaninyi ngunyja, palaja partanykarrangu yanayi janpanyikinyi. Ngunyarrangkujilu martumpirri kamparniyi *tea*-pa, wurruly ngartarniyi wirrirniyi jungkanga. Ngajulu jitirni kuta-kutapirni nganayirni. Wurrarnikinyirnijanaku nganinyangkarralu, 'kulpaminyi ruka, kuyimajirri waniminyi. Ngajumili muwarr wurrarnarnanyurraku ngalya kartakarrinyaku, yakun kuyi nganinyanyi yijamarta. Kulpaminyi purnarra nganaminyi martumpirrijakun.'

Ruka kulpanyirni partijirri *tyre* lalypajarrinyi, kartakarrinyirni. Marntungu milpanyiyi rampanurranya *tyre*-jartiny. Yinjipirniyili *tyre* wirrirniyili wariny. Yinyayirnijaninyi kuyi, kulpanyirni ngurrakarti.

Rapungu yanayirni *truck*-nga pijukarti. Yininiranyapa partanykarrangu yanayi warinykurnu kuyikarti wupartu murtukanga. Nganarna yanayirni pijukartijakun wajirrikarrapa, partanykarrangu wirliwirlikarra wanikinyi. Partangurrulu kanyapulu marruku. Yukurrulu purrpapirni maruntu karntinyi mungkanga, malyanikinyipulu warnkujartinyju pala maruntu karntija. Yijalu malyarnapulu, yarti punkanya jungkanga, lirrpa-lirrpapinikinyi. Yaninyakanu wirlarnapulu nyampalu mungkalu pala maruntu. Kulpanyapulu mirrarnkarti, kamparnapulu.

Ngaju yanarna kakarra, kartapirni jina maruntu, yajarnarna kurilajarrinyi, jinamana kawanikinyirni parrpakarrajarri kawanikinyi, yalinyajarrinyi pala maruntu. Pinakarrinyirni rarr-rarrkarraja, karlikinyi juntu-juntu pangkurl; wirlarnarna. Manarna jampangarra karakurnu yanarna yirrirni wariny wipu kuta; pala maruntu *shoot'm*-jirni, kulpanyarna mirrarnkarti. Palajirri maruntujirri kamparnapulupulinyi jitirnipulujaninyi. Partanykarrangulu wurruly ngartarniyi, yinyayirnijaninyi wipu kutamarniny maruntu partanykarrangulu. Ngajulu parrkarpirnijananaka yinyarnajaninyi nganayi. Rukajarrinyi kawanikinyi jarntin-jarntinikinyipululu marirralu. Nganarnalu wurru manikinyirnijaninyi *truck*-ja. Yukurru *drunka-drunka*-jarrinyi punkanya marlkarrijarrinyi. Wurrarniyirnipuluku marirra, 'kurtalipulu, yukurru panipungkanya, ngurnipali kari ngana, panta wuramarnayi. Kulpanya yankuluminyi ngurrakarti,' wurrarniyirnipuluku. Kulpanya karntijirniyirnijaninyi wurrakarra murtukanga, yukurru pirtingi jiniyirni, kulpanyirni wirntijartiny ngurrakarti. Partijirri warrukartijarrinyi jumpanikinyingarra Ngawulu, wurrarnanganaku, 'yajanganyjurrinyi mirurrulu.'

'Pack up now,' I said, 'and we'll go a little way east and you can get some fish for us.' So they put all their things on board. We turned off the road and drove through spinifex until we got to the pool. I pulled up and said, 'Get the tea and sugar and flour and everything, and put it over there in the shade,' so they did. 'Go to the top of the ridge,' I said, 'there are watermelons there,' and they ran off happily to get them. As they went they saw the dead emu, and yelled out, 'There's an emu right here!' They dragged it back by the neck and the legs, calling out delightedly. They put it in the shade and I said, 'You asked me before if I'd shot an emu, and I told you I hadn't, but I did; I just kept it a secret.' They laughed and I told some of them to go and get firewood, and I told everyone to dig a hole and put rocks in it, and others to pluck it. They plucked it quite happily. I lit a fire and singed the hide. I got out the insides, the liver and the heart, and put hot stones inside the stomach cavity. I put it on top of the hot coals, and we waited for it to cook. We ate the offal as an entrée, and the children went for a swim. *Ngunyarrangkuji* cooked damper and tea and broke off branches and spread them out. I took the meat out of the fire and cut it up, and we ate it.

As we were heading back that afternoon we got a flat tyre and had to sleep there, and in the morning *rampanurranya* came out with a spare. We changed the tyre, gave them some meat and went back home.

One Friday we set out for the river in the truck; *yininirranya* and some children went off hunting in a different direction in a little car. We went to the river, and *wajirrikarra* and the kids went fishing. *Partangurra* took *marruku* hunting, and their dog chased a goanna up a tree. They threw stones at it. Sure enough they hit it and it dropped to the ground, where it lay kicking around. They killed it with a stick, then went back to the shade and cooked it.

I went east following goanna tracks. The tracks turned off to the south, and I continued tracking through the heat of the day. The goanna then turned north. I heard a scratching noise; it was digging its way into an old hollow log. I killed it. Shortly afterwards, walking along to the west, I saw another one with a short tail. I shot that one and went back to the shade. The two sisters cooked the goannas and we gave the children the one with the short tail. As evening fell the two *marirra* cleared a space for us to camp, and we had just taken our swags off the truck, when the dog started staggering around, and then fell down dead. We called to *marirra*, 'Come here, your dog has dropped dead. It must have eaten poison, or maybe it's been killed by sorcery. Let's go back home.' We put all our swags and everything back on the truck, buried the dog, and set off back home quite frightened. On the way it got dark, and Ngawu (Johnny Thomas), had a strange feeling and said, 'There's a *mirurru*, a demon, following us'.



Minyjun and Sharon, mid 1980s, photograph by Tim Dwyer.

Ngunyarrangkuji

A group of women in adjacent generations in the same patriline, in the relationship of aunt and niece to one another. Those referred to here were two Purungu women, Daisy Yabbi and Mavis Waju, and a Karimarra, Kathleen Orange.

rampanurranya

A group of men who are classificatory uncles and nephews to one another.

yininirranya

A group of married couples, the wives being in the relationship of mother-in-law, and so in an avoidance relationship with Minyjun. These were Purungu men and their Milangka wives, including Ngampunya (Ginger Major) and his wife.

wajirrikarra

The speaker's sibling and a *nyamu*, a mother's father or daughter's son.

Partangurra

Karimarra women, sisters Lorna Linmarra and Kathleen Orange.

Kakarra yanayirni, pala wupartungupa murtukanga yanayi wurnmanyajanaka murtuka yininiranyakupa partanykarranguku. Jinangu kulpanyikinyi warrukarti wirlarranga. Yirrirniyi karangu jurra milpanyikinyi. Karramarnayi jana, 'nyampa yankunyi, ngurnipali ngakamalkulinganyjurrinyi.' Yija yanayi nyampa jana, mimanikinyiinganaku ruutungu. Ngampunya yakarnaya nyirrirni milpanyikinyi. Nganarna wangkajarrinyiirni yirrirniyanganinyi karramarnayi, 'nyungu kala nganyjurrumilirrangu Mijijimayaja.' Wurrarniinganaku, 'janparrja nganarna; munu nganipa nganamiyirni, murtuka wurnmanyanganaka. Yakarniyirna Ngampunya, ngurnipali nyirrirni milpanyi. Partal nyampajinikinyiirni.'

'Yu,' karramarnarna ngaju, 'kulpulupiyalu nyungurrangu.' Yinyayijaninya kuyipa martumpirri ngapapa, yanayirni ngurrakartijakun. Katukarnayirni, pala murtuka walarnijarrinyalu kulpanya maninyaku.

Jana wiyirrkurra palinypukun pala wurnmanyajanaka murtukapa, kulpanyiyi ruutu yajarniyi partijirri wirlkijarrinyi, wunta yajarniyi partal wurrarikinyiyili nyampajarra kinti yanikinyi paliny. Palanga paliny wuntanga kajarna mimarnaninya manyurlajartiny kartakarrinyi.

Jana kulpanyayalu palakartijakun wuntakarti katukarnayi kanyjirnyalu; kaman-kamarniyi, paliny kartakarrikinyi. Yilipi kalkunikinyi parirra, wirlarrangarla yirrirniyi kajangulungarra. Yanayalu yilipi mirarnaya jitirniyi kartajaja. Kulpanyiyi ngurrakarti.

Ngurrajirniyi pala yalinyjakurnu, Pitpit milpanya kanyajaninyi palinymilirrangu partanykarrangu Mijijimayakarti. *School* yartajirna palanga, Martakura yakarna. John Smart-ju jinta yarnimanikinyijaninyi mayarrangu. Nganarna kurilaja yanayirnijanaku pala yalinyjakurnu ngurrajirniyirna.

Nganarna yanayirni Pintunyakarti muwarrkarti. Kakarni milpanyiyi marrngu Panaka-Panakaja; karangu Karntimartapa Martakuraja milpanyiyi marrngu. Palanga muwarrpirniyirni jalypa-jalypapirniyirnarninyi warrarnjamarra. Telfer warrarn Pijakarla Nyangumartamili, Karlamilyi Ngulipartupa Warnmanmili. Warturarra pala Kartujarramili. Palangamarra muwarrpirniyirni Pintunyang. Manyilyjaralupa Kartujarralu wurrarnayi pala janamili warrarn Karlamilyi. Nganarna Karntimartajalu wurrarnayirni pala nganarnamili Warnmanmilipa Ngulipartumili pala warrarn. Jana kulpanyiyi, nganarna kulpanyiirni Mijijimayakarti. Jinta kulpanyiyi Karntimartakartipa Martakurakarti.

Ngajumili maya wanikinyija Karntimartanga; yarrkal-yarrkal yanikinyirni Mijijimayaja Karntimartakarti palajun. Palanga Mijijimayanga yimpirniya ngurluku, nganarna yanayirni Karntimartakarti Mijijimayaja. Marrngu manayirnijaninyi kanyayirnijaninyi Mijijimayakarti, palanga waninyiirni ngurlukarra. Jampangarra waninyiirni ngurlu wakanyjinakanu kulpanyiirni Karntimartaku. Munu kulpamarna Mijijimayakarti, ngalaya marntiyarra warrkamjarrikinyalayi *school*-ja. Ruka kalkunikinyalayijaninyi *high school* partanykarrangu palajun, karrpurangu karrpu. John Smart-pa Stan Martin milpanyikinyipulu marntungu Ngaruja, mayarrangu yarnimanikinyipulujaninyi: kurrngalngarra yarnimarnapulujaninyi. Ngapa milpanya parnpirnijaninya palarrangu mayarrangu wangalju, yarnimarnapulupa walypilajirrilu. Waraja-waraja wanikinyi maya.

We went on eastwards. The others who'd been out in the little car had broken down, with *yininirranya* and all the kids, and they had to walk back by the light of the moon. They saw a light coming towards them from the west, and said, 'Let's hurry. They might be able to pick us up.' So they hurried over and waited for us on the road. They left the old man Ngampunya (Ginger Major), to come along behind. When we got there they called out, 'Here's our lot from Mijijimaya. We're hungry, we haven't had anything to eat and our car's broken down. We've left Ngampunya back there, he must be coming along behind. We couldn't make him go any faster.'

'All right', I said, 'Some of us will go and get him.' We gave them meat, damper and water. We got off the car, and they went off to get him.

When their car had broken down, they'd all come back with that old man, first following the road and then cutting across some burnt country, but they couldn't get him to go fast enough. He was just ambling along at his own pace. Finally he sat down on the burnt ground; he was tired and while he was resting there he fell asleep.

Now they went back there and looked for him. They called out but he was asleep. He was holding an axe, and they saw it glinting in the moonlight and went over and found him. Before they woke him they took the axe out of his hand, in case he woke with a start and lashed out, thinking they were demons.

A new camp was set up on the northern side of Mijijimaya, and Pitpit brought all his children to live there. They shifted from Martukura and moved their school there. John Smart put up some more buildings. We came up from the south side to live with them on the north side.

We went to Pintunya for a meeting, and other people came in from the east, from Panaka-Panaka, and from the west, from Karntimarta and Martakura. In the meeting we argued over the country. The country around Telfer belongs to Pijakali Nyangumarta. Karlamilyi, on the lower section of the Rudall River, belongs to Ngulipartu and Warnman people. Wartararra, on the upper Rudall River, belongs to Kartujarra people. Manyjilyjarra and Kartujarra people said that Karlamilyi was their country, but we Karntimarta people said that it was ours, that it belonged to Warnman and Ngulipartu people. Everyone went back then, we returned to Mijijimaya and the others went back to Karntimarta and Martakura. We had further meetings at Karntimarta and at Karlamilyi.

My house was at Karntimarta and I used to go backwards and forwards between there and Mijijimaya. Out at Mijijimaya they were talking about Law business, and we went from there into Karntimarta to pick up a lot of people to take back out to Mijijimaya. We lived there while the ceremonies were on, and as soon as they were finished we went back to Karntimarta. I didn't return to Mijijimaya; we *marntiyarra* stayed at Karntimarta working in the school there. We worked with the high school kids each afternoon. John Smart and Stan Martin came out from Ngaru each morning and were building houses; they put up quite a few. But later there was a storm and the houses were all blown down in the wind. Only a few remained standing.

Ulurukarti yanayirni

Karntimartangarra wanikinyirni, marnti yanayirni marntiyarrapa Bucknall, Ngajukulayimili. Bucknall-ju wurrarnanganaku marntiyarranyanga, ‘kangkulumarnanyurrinyi Ulurukarti.’ Yijamarta kaja yanayirni kakarra, palaja milpanyiyirnijanaku Warakurnanga. Nyungungungarra wanikinyiyi nyarra manguny kurri-kurri. Yanikinyiyi kuyikarti yarrkal kulpanyikinyiyi palakarti ngurrakarti karrpurangu karrpu. Yarti ngawukarntinyijanaku karramarna, ‘nyungu waninyayi kurrngal mirtawanyjarri.’ Yanajanaku pala pirirri, yirrirniyi janalu nyungu pirirri milpanyi. Jana wirnti mirtijarrinyiyi, nyirtimarninyju munu yirrinama. Yirrirnijaninyi kangkujimurninyarrangu mirtija, karramarna paliny, ‘nganija mirtijarrinyayi?’ Nyirrirni parrjarna nyungu pirirri wirnti yirrirniyi, yirtilmanikinyijaninya. Nyirtimarniny mirtimarparna nyirrirni. Kankajarrinyiyi palarrangu palinymilirrangu kangkujirrangu, paliny kankajarrinyi nyirrirnilu yajarnajaninyi. Pala pirirri kurntanya. Nyarra yirrinanyijaninyi kurri-kurri kanka, pala wanikinyiyi mangunya. Yimpina kawanikinyinganaku Ngajukulayimilalu.

Turrukwantimili jamuji pungkanya Nyukarranga. Jurrujarrinyi paliny, turlpanya yana palaja. Ngurra yartajirna Warakurnanga, wanikinyi palanga. Kaninyjarrinyi palanga ngapa wirtu pungkanya, kajarna palanga. Warrukartijarrinyi papanpinikinyi palanga, jana yanayi palakarti yirrirniyi janpa. Kawu pala yirrirniyi jurru ngumpa marrngu. Kuyi wirlikinyiyi parnpinikinyiyalu. Puntaju ngapa ngakanikinyijanaku kuyikartijaku, minpinikinyiyi palajun. Yarti palaja yana kulpanya, kuwarri waninyi Ngarungu *jetty*-mayanga. *Cyclone* milpanyajalu wirlikijininyi warinykurnu yanayinyi.

Yanayirni kakarrakurnu yirrirniyiirni warnku. Nganarnalu wurrarniyirna wupartumartakapan warnku, nyungu wirtuyiji kankawarrangu. Nganarnamililu kurlumarninyju yimpinikinyiinganaku pala warnku mangunya waninyi, palanga wanikinyi Manguny. Kunamarna yirrkirli palinyju wurrarna palangakapan pungkanya nyungu, karakurnu pungkanya pala yirrkirli. Palanga karlikinya yirrkirliku pampirtalu mangunyju. Murtinga juripi-jurpilu jungka parnpinikinya nyirrirni; pala jungka nyirrirnija parnpinikinyipa kankajarrikinyi warnkujarrinyi. Palinyju parrjarna nyirrirni, ‘ngani nyungu?’ karramarna. Pala muwarr kuwarri wurrarnarna mangunya, yimpinikinyiinganaku muwarr mangunya nganarnanga partanykarrangu. Nganarnalu kurkanga kalkunikinyiyirni pala yimpinaja mangunya palajun.

Kurilakurti yanayirni kajamarta, milpanyiyirni Adelaide-karti. Karntinyiyirni mangarrjarranga, kajarniyirni Karrkarranga. Palaja yanamiyirni pipurrungarra karntimiyirni warinyja mangarrjarranga, Rurlalu wurrarna, ‘ngaju munumpa nyunguku *town*-ku.’

Ngajulu wurrarnarnala nyaparungu, ‘nyungu munumpa nyunguku *town*-ku, wantulupiyirni, yarti yankulupiyirni *bus*-ja.’

‘Yu,’ karamarna, jijarniyirnili nganikapan Karrkarra yirrirni palinyju. Partijirri kaniny wararrjirni murtuka, wurrarnala nyapurulu, ‘katukala, parrjalaman pala maya.’ Yija katukarna palanga, kanka parrjarna mujungu-mujungu wirntijipirni paliny pungkukapan maya. Palaja yanayirni Fremantle-karti parrjan-parrjarniyirni, kulpanyiyirni *office*-karti.

Palanga kartakarrinyiyirni, marntungu martumpirri nganinyakanu wiyimarnanganinyi karntinyiyirni *bus*-ja, yanayirni kakarrara Ngarukartijakun. Palanga yanayirni Karntimartakarti.

Bucknall-jupa Gwen-ju kanyapulungalayinyi marntiyarra. Bucknall-ju wurrarnangalayaku, ‘yankuluminyi Karrkarrakarti muwarrkarti.’ Yanayirni Karrkarra, jintapukun milpanyiyi palakarti muwarrku ngurrarranguja. Palanga kurrnganikinyiyirni wunyjurru kalkunaku partanykarrangu *school*-ja. Waraja *week* waninyiyirni muwarrja, kulpanyiyirni ngurrarrangukarti. Palajun yanikinyiyirni Karrkarrakarti muwarrpinikinyiyirni palanga yimpinikinyiyirna wunyjurru kalkunaku partanykarrangu *school*-ja. Palajun pali yaninya kawaniyirni partunurrangu partunu. Kuwarripa yaninyayi muwarrkarti palajun.

A trip to Uluru (Ayers Rock)

While I was living at Karntimarta I went on a trip with Rurla, Bucknall and Ngajukulayi's husband [Maruntu]. Bucknall told us, 'I'd like to take you to Uluru'. We travelled a long way to the east, and passed through Warakurna. A big group of women had lived around there in the *Manguny*, the Dreamtime. Each day they'd go out hunting. One day a man came upon them unexpectedly and thought, 'There's a whole lot of women living here'. As he was approaching, they saw he was a man, and fled in fear. But the youngest sister hadn't seen him, she saw her older sisters running, and wondered, 'Why are they running away?' She looked back; they'd seen the man and were afraid, he was chasing after them. And so the younger sister also fled in fear. Her older sisters rose up into the air, and she rose up behind them. That man was ashamed. We can still see those women up in the sky; they are there from the *Manguny*. Maruntu told us that story.

When Turrkuwanti's *jamuji*, his mother's father, died at Nyukarra (Yarrie Station), he turned into a snake, rose up, and went away. He made a home at Warakurna, and rested there. At the place that he went into the ground a lot of rain fell, and he stayed there underground. In the night lightening flashed, and in the morning they found a big pool of water where there'd never been water before. They saw the body of that snake with a human face. When they went hunting they'd give him food, and in return when they came back from hunting he used to send water down for them, so they could drink. Later he left that place and went back, and now rests at the jetty at Ngaru. When cyclones come he turns them aside and they go somewhere else.

We travelled further east and saw the Rock. We'd expected it to be smaller than it was; this rock was enormous. Our old people used to tell us that that rock was *Manguny*, it was there in the Dreaming. A man in the Dreaming threw a boomerang, and thought it had gone the other way, instead of over to the west. He was a *pampirta* lizard, and he dug in the sand to find his boomerang. He knelt down to dig for it, throwing the sand out between his legs into a pile behind him. He threw up a huge pile of sand which turned into a hill. He looked behind him. 'What's this?' he said. This story I'm telling now is from the *Manguny*, from the Dreaming. They used to tell it to us when we were kids, and we remember what we were told about the Dreaming.

We drove down to Adelaide, and Rurla and I caught the plane to Perth there. We were to have got a connecting flight to Ngaru, but Rurla said, 'I've never seen Perth'.

I told Jack Williams, 'This man hasn't been here before. We'd like to stay and travel up later by bus'.

'Fine', he said. We showed Rurla around, so he could see what sort of place Perth was. Jack parked the car in the middle of the city and said, 'Hop out and have a look at this building'. Rurla got out and looked up at the clouds, and was frightened because the building seemed to be swaying and about to fall. We went on to Fremantle and had a look around, and then went back to the office.

In the morning we were dropped off at the bus station, and we went overnight to Ngaru, and from there we went on to Karntimarta.

Bucknall and Gwen used to go on trips with us two *marntiyarra*. Bucknall would say to us, 'We need to go to Perth for a meeting'. We'd go to Perth and so would people from other places. There we'd talk about how to teach children in the independent schools. We'd have meetings for a week. We'd go there often to talk about teaching children; we'd do that every year. They still have those meetings today.

Partunurrangu partunu kanyayirnijaninyi partanykarrangu wirtumartarrangu warrarnkarti warinykartipa wariny, parrijanaku wunyjurru jana waninyayi warrarnja waljanga janamilingi. Yarrana yanayirni Kununurrakartipa Purnurlurlu, wuju palanga yirrirniyi. Yarrana yanayirni kaja yalinyja Darwin-kartipa Lajamanukarti, Kakadukarti. Kanyayirnijaninyi wirtumarta partanykarrangu parrijanaku wunyjurrulu janalu jinayipa yarntarnayi muwarr walja janamili. Kujarra wiyiki yanayirni. Janalu munumpalu yirrirniyi mungka yirtinykarra waninyayi warrarnja munu parlkarrakupa katangangarra. Yanayi kurila, kakarra, yalinyja, kara mungkalungarra yamarna. Yirtinykarrapali makanu-makanu waninyayi. Yarrana yanayirni kanyayirnijaninyi partanykarrangu Coral Bay-karti.

Ngajumili mamaji pungkanya

Kartimartanga ngalaya wanikinyalayi ngatu. Palangulu yanayi kanyayijaninyi partanykarrangu Kantungukarti ngajumilijirri mamajijirrilu. Parpin-parnpirnaya wirliwirli, munu manamiyijaninyi janpamalu. Kartakarrinyi yarrana yanayi yakurrmarnaya, yijalu manayijaninyi waraja-waraja. Nganayi martumpirri kulpanyi ruka Karntimartakarti. Walarungulu wurrarnapulaku, 'yawurr waninyayi marrngu.' Yanapulu yawurrjamarra Kurlumpurnnyakarti pijungu kartakarrikinyi. Palangangarra ngajumili mamaji kakurnarninyi. Yarruwamurninyu muwarr ngakarna Karntimartakarti: 'ngajumili pirirri kakurnarni, kurtaliyi.' Karrpumajirri yanapulu Karntimartaja *ambulance*-ja Maruntupa Sister Joan maninyaku kawu. Yinkarnirra nyirrirni milpanyapulu warinyja murtukanga Karntimartakarti. *Ambulance* yana *school*-maya wararrjirni. Palajun ngakarnajanaku kunymanakataku muwarr. Pala yinkarnirra yanapulu wararrjirnipulu *windmill* martaji. Ngangkurlangkarra katukarnapulu murtukaja, palanga kulurnupularninyi ngangkurljipirnininyi.

Yaku

Milpanyi karangu, mirtalu kanyajaninyi palinymilirrangu marrngukarra, yanayi Papangaranyakarti. Wurrarnanganaku mirtalu, 'jurlurr kurntalaminyi; jumpayi miranujiliminyijaninya yakukupa kurntanaku julurru.' Yanayirni martumpirri nganinyakanu kanka, purtapurtapa wirntawirntangu yilypirrijirniyaninyi. Warrukartijarrinyi janalu pirrimartalu purrku-purrkupinikinyiyili mangkajapa wirrirniyi wikapa murnirniya. Nganarna wangkajarrinyiirni martungu ngurnarikarti mimanikinyiirna. Nyirrirrilu marrngulu kayimarnanganinyi, 'kurtaliyi,' yanayirni mangkajarrangungu kajarniyirni. Kayimarnayijaninyi mirtawanyjarri ngurraja, partijirri kajarniyi; jinta mirtawanyjarri kayimarnayijaninyi yakuku: yanayi mangkakarti. Kurntanikinyiyili mirtawalupa pirirrilu. Jinta mirtawa papunpinikinyiyili, miranujinikinyiyijaninya papunku. Wika tilijirniyi manayinganakalu julurr yakupinti, palanga yaku-yakujarrinyiirni mirtawapa pirirri.

Palanga wani-wanyiyirni, wurrarnanganaku mirtalu, 'yankuluminyi yalinyja Bidyadangkarti,' palanga marntungu yanayirni yalinyja. Sandfire-nga manayirna martumpirripa *cool drink*, yanayirni jampangarra partijirri parlkarranga kartakarrinyiirni. Martumpirri nganinyakanu marntungu milpanyiirniyanaku Bidyadanga. Rampanumpanulu wurrarniyianaku, 'nyungu milpanyiirni julurr kurntalaminyi; nyurramilirrangu jumpayi miranujarrulupaya kurntanaku jurlurrukupa yakuku papunpinaku.'

Every year we used to take the high school students on a trip to another part of the country to see how other people lived in their own country. One year we went to Kununarra and Purnurlurlu in the Kimberley, and saw the gorge there. On another occasion we travelled up north to Darwin, Lajamanu, and Kakadu for two weeks, taking the older kids to look at how other people read and write their own languages. They'd never seen country with so many trees, where there was no flat open ground; it was all woodland. Wherever they went, south, east, north or west, trees covered the countryside, there were tall trees everywhere. We also took the children on a trip to Coral Bay.

My brother's death

Rurla and I stayed back at Karntimarta when my two older brothers took all the children on a trip to Condon. They threw in their lines but didn't get any fish, so they slept there and tried again the next day, and this time got a few. After lunch they came back to Karntimarta, where Walarungu (Amy Jones), told them, 'There's drunks around', and so to avoid them they went and slept in the river bed at Kurlumpurnnya, the Coongan River. It was there that my older brother died. My *yarruwa* sent a message to Karntimarta: 'my husband has died, come here'. Before dawn Maruntu and Sister Joan went out from Karntimarta in the ambulance to pick up the body, and *yinkarnirra* came along behind in another vehicle. The ambulance pulled up outside the school, and from there they rang the police. *Yinkarnirra* went and parked next to the windmill. They got out of the car and mourned; they cried together and I mourned with them there.

The *yaku* ceremony

My *mirta* Kangkushot came in from the west with all his people and went out to Papangarranya (Red Bank). He said, 'We should stage a ceremony and teach all the young people here how to perform the *yaku* ceremony and how to sing those ceremonial songs'. So after dinner we went out to the *ngurlu* ground. We put on our ceremonial adornments, the *purtapurta*, the *wirntawirnta*, and *yilyipirri*. When night fell some of the men began the *purrkupurrku*, the introductory singing, in an area where a screen had been erected, and where there was a pile of firewood. We approached and waited below the bank of the river. The man who was the main singer, the *nyirninirri*, called us over, and we went and sat behind the screen. Then they called the women over from camp, and they came and waited some distance away. Other women were called over for the *yaku* ceremony, and they went and sat behind the screen. Everyone, both men and women, were singing. Some of the women kept time with *papuny*, hitting their hands on their thighs while showing younger women how to do it. A fire was lit, and they started the song for the *yaku* dance. Then both men and women performed the *yaku* ceremony.

When we'd been out there for some time *mirta* Kangkushot said, 'We should go north now, to Bidyadanga', and so we headed north the next morning. We got food and drinks at the Sandfire Roadhouse and made camp a bit further on, in an area of flat open ground. The next morning we arrived at Bidyadanga and *rampanumpanu* told them, 'We've come here to perform ceremonies, so that your young people can learn to sing ceremonial songs, and the *yaku* ceremony, and *papuny*'.

yarruwa

The speaker's brother's wife who is in the generation of the speaker's grandparents or grandchildren. Here Minyjun is referring to Rosie Oberdoo, the wife of his brother Jacob.

yinkarnirra

The speaker's brother and woman who is in the section of his wife, but who is too close a relation to be a wife. Minyjun uses this term to refer to his brother Dick, and Rosie Oberdoo.

purtapurta

Forehead decoration.

wirntawirnta

Head decoration.

yilyipirri

Arm bands.

rampanumpanu

All the Panaka and Purungu men, such as Pitpit (Panaka) and Kangkushot (Purungu).

Yanayirni ruka yaku mimana janalu jarntirniyilipa wikapa murnirniya mangkajapa wirrirniyaninyi. Jinta jumpayi kanyayirniyaninyi yaku kaninyipirti, jinta wirnti mirtijarrinyi mirtawapa pirirri Broome-karti: wurrarnaya janalu ngurlukartikapan milpuyirni. Wiyimarnayinganaku martumpirri, nganayirni warrukartijarrinyi. Kayimarnayinganinyi yanayirni mangkajanga kajarniyirni. Purru-purrukupinikinyiyili nyirririlupa jintalu marrngulu, marrngurrangu ngurraja milpanyi, kayimarnayianinyi kurntanyikinyiya wirntikarrikinyiya. Palanga yakujarrinyiirni mirtawanyjarripa pirirrimarta warrukarti jurtijiniyirniyanaku yaku, wunyjurru purrpi yakujarrikinyi mirtanya-mirtanyapa jumpayi. Kuwarrija jumpayi munumpa yakuku, mirtawanyjarri papunku munumpa palajun. Palamartajilu mirtanya-mirtanyalupa kurlumarninyju wurrarnaya ngalypa, yijangarra jana munumpa. 'Yirrirniyinyurrinyi yakuja, jurtijirniyurrujanaku ngalypa,' wurrarnaya janalu.

Palanga kartakarrinyiirni marntungu turlpanyiirna martumpirri nganinyakanu wirrirniyaninyi wurrukarra nganarnamili murtukanga. Kulpanyiirni Karntimartakartipa Yandeyarrakarti.

Jana wanikinyi ngurlukarra marrngukarra kurrngal, Jikulyunguja, Parnngurra, Punmuja, Yirrangajija milpanyi. Palanga waninyi kujarra wiyiki ngurlukarra nganarnamilipukun marrngu Karntimartajaja. Yarti yanayi yalinya, yintarranguja ngakamarnayianinyi marrngukarra, kanyayianinyi Kurungalkarti. Palanga waninyi ngurlukarra waraja wiyiki. Kulpanyi yakujarni ngurlu wiyirrinakanu. Nyunguja nganarnamilipukun kanyayianinyi jumpayi ngurlukarra palajun. Munumpara jana palaku ngurluku nyunguja jumpayi, miranujirniyaninya palajunngarra. Marrngu munumpaja miranujinaku ngurlungu pala jina mangunymilingi. Yija, kuwarringi panypanyinganaku jumpayilupa kurrinyarrilu mirtawalu wurranaajalu. Munu mirrjunakayinganaku nyurnpalyjarrinyayi. Ngawu jana, yija, palajun. Nyurnpalyjarrinyayi kuwarrija nyirrirnikartija partanykarrangu. Nyungurli muwarr wurrarniyirniyanaku partunurrangu partunu. Ngurnipali nyanga kurkapilijarrulupiyi, nganarna purrpila nyungu marntan-marntarnjarrinyayirni. Wurrana wantaja palajun.

Mampurljarikarti yanayirni

Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku, 'yankuluminyi Mampurljarikarti, muwarrkarti; mankuluminyi pala,' yija yanayirni. Ngaju, Mirlipa nyuparra, martungurra, partanykarrangu yanayirni kartakarrinyiirni Kunangarnarranyanga. Marntungu martumpirri nganinyakanu yanayirni Mampurljarikarti, kurrngal wanikinyi marrngu pijungu. Palanga milpanyi Yirramakartunyaja, Yandeyarraja muwarrkarti. Palanga waninyiirni muwarrja, wurrarnanganaku Mirtalu, 'nyungu mankuluminyi maya,' Jantarla maaaja palaku warrarnku. 'Ngalypa' wurrarnaya marrngulu. Muwarr wakanyjinakanu kartakarrinyiirni, kulpanyiirni marntungu Karntimartakarti.

Karntimartaja yanayi marrngu Mampurljarikarti nyukunurra Taliwan purnarripa, nyuparra, Ngiyirr, Janta, nyakajiyarra, Julia, yininirra, wanikinyi palanga.

Ngalaya marntiyarra wanikinyalayi Karntimartanga. Nganarnalu muwarr yimpirniyirna *school* jinaku palanga mayanga. Partanykarrangu jintapirniyaninyi wirtumartapa yanayi palakarti. Palanga janalu yimpirniya ngurra wariny jinaku, palanga yijalu ngurrajirni yalinyakurnu, pala yini Mampurljari. Palanga ngurranga yaninyayi *school*-karti palakarti mayakarti. Palangangarra *school*-ja partanykarrangu waninyayi, ruka kulpanyayi ngurrakarti palajun. Marntungujarrinyi yaninyayi murtukanga *school*-karti palajun.

We went out to where a dancing area had been cleared, where they'd collected firewood and built a screen, and waited for the evening. We took some of the young people who lived at Bidyadanga to the *yaku* ceremony, but other young men and women were afraid and had run away to Broome. They thought we were going to put them through the Law. Food was brought out for us, and when night fell we had dinner. They called us over and we went and waited behind the screen. The lead singer and other men began singing the introductory songs, then they called people from the camp over. Some of them were shy and fearful. That night all of us, men and women, performed the *yaku* ceremony, and we showed them how to dance in the way that, long ago, both old and young people had performed that ceremony. These days young people don't know the *yaku* ceremony, and women don't know how to keep time by beating on their thighs. The old men and women who lived there said they were pleased, as it was true that the younger people hadn't learned these things. They said, 'They watched you performing the *yaku* ceremony, and you showed them how to do it very well.'

In the morning we put all our swags up on the truck and went back to Karntimarta and Yandeyarra.

A lot of *marrngu* arrived at Karntimarta for business, coming from Jigalong, Parnngurr, Punmu and Nullagine. They stayed for two weeks, along with our own people from Karntimarta. Later they went north, picking up *marrngu* from all different places and taking them to **Kurungal**. They conducted business for a week, returning when everything was over. They took our young men too, away on business; the young men from here weren't familiar with that ceremony, and they taught them how to perform it. They wanted people to learn the path that came from the *Manguny*, the Dreaming. And really it is the case these days that young men and women don't pay attention to us when we tell them things. They don't accept what we say, they're just disruptive. They're really stupid all the time. These days the younger generations just make trouble. We talk to them about this year after year. I don't know when they're going to finally understand, they can see we're getting old. We say the same thing over and over again.

Kurungal

Wangkatjungka, or Christmas Creek Station.

We move to Mampurljari (Woodstock Station)

Mirta said, 'Let's go to Mampurljari for a meeting. We could buy that station.' And so we went: me, Mirli *nyuparra*, *martungurra*, and our children. The we camped on the way at Kunangarnarranya on the East Turner River. In the morning we went on to Mampurljari where a lot of *marrngu* were camping in the river. They'd come for the meeting from Yirramakartunya and Yandeyarra. Mirta said, 'We should get this station.' Jantarla (Gordon Ponteroy), was the boss of that area. 'That'll be good,' all the *marrngu* said. After the meeting we returned to Karntimarta.

Those who shifted from Karntimarta to Mampurljari were *nyukunurra* Taliwan's father, *nyuparra*, Ngiyirr, *nyakajiyarra*, Caroline Julia, and *yininirra*.

We *marntiyarra*, Rurla and I, stayed at Karntimarta and discussed setting up a school at Woodstock. We arranged for the older children to go there. They talked about making another camp, and later they set one up to the north of the station and called it Mampurljari. The kids that lived there went to school in the station homestead. Every afternoon after school they'd go back to the camp, and each morning they'd go back to school in a truck.

nyuparra

The speaker's classificatory son and his wife. These were Rurla (Fred Bradman) and Mirlimirli (Susie Rowlands).

martungurra

A married couple of which the man is the speaker's classificatory father. This couple was Sambo Pina and Mary Rowlands.

nyukunurra

Minyjun's sister and brother-in-law, Les Ankie and his wife Nora Williams.

nyuparra

Paddy Yaparla and Topsy Bamba.

nyakajiyarra

A husband and wife who are not of the skin groups that are customarily allowed to marry. This couple was Les Ankie's brother Norton Williams, and his wife Lily Spree.

Mirta

Mirtalungarrarla puru mujuja mananganinyi kuwarri-kuwarrimarta. Nyungu walangkarrangumarta walypilalu *station*-ja munu tukujinaminganinyi. Mayipa kurluny-kurluny yinganyikinyiyinganinya wampurr kurluyijingarra. Yija nganarna marrngu wanikinyiyrni yitinykarrapali palajun nyarralanga warrarnja. Warinyja warrarnja marrnguku jukurukarrikinyiyinganaku. Munumparla nyungu muwarrku walypilamilaku palajun, kurlmajirrija wata muwarrpinikinyiyrni, jukamanikinyiyinganinyi.

Muwarr Mirtanga wurrnayirni nganarnalu, pala muwarr nganarnamili Mirtalu wurranyili kapamanja. Palinyju kapamanju mituyaninya muwarrja, palajun. Yijayiji kuli nganarnaku, munu pajukarrinya kanganaku, puntaju mirarnanganinya warrarnku. Jinta walypila ngalypakata, jinta kurlu, muwarr kanganyayalu kapamanmili.

Kapamanju muwarr yimpininya, wunyjurrujinaku marrngurrangu yintangarrangu. Wurrarnajanaku jintanga walypilanga palinyjangapa warrkamujarrinyayili palajun. Partunurrangu partunu muwarr jinanganakalu marrngukupali yirtinykarraku warrarnjirriku; pajumajirrilu munu kurntanya kawa. Warrarnkupa mirarnanganinya, kulilunyin yirrarnanganinyi pajumajirrilu. Rakajarrinyanganaku munu kurntanya kawa. Jalypajarrinyi nyungu Ngarnkawaru marntan-marntarnjarrinyaka; waninyi ranyijarrinyi.

Ngarnkawarulu karrinya ngalypajinaku marrnguku warrarnjirriku, warrarn warinyjakupa. Mirta kurlkapiljarrinya, warinyju kapamanju warnku yakarnanganaka purlpilu. Yartipa ngurnipali kurlkapiljarrulupiyi marrngukarra, pala kapaman karramarna. Yakanarnijanaka warnku miranujarrulupayapa English-ku muwarrku. Mankulupiyi nyungu warnku janalu yartipa ngurnipali miranujarrulupiya yakanarnijanaka karramarna pala kapaman. Palaku warnkuku kuwarri-kuwarrimarta japirrarnajaninya kapaman Mirtalu. Palajun wurrarniyili janalu. Palinyju wurrarnajanaku pala warnku yakarnajanaka marrngukungarra, jalypapirnijaninyi *court*-ja muwarrpirni. *Lawyer*-lupa Mirtalu japirrarnapulujaninya palaku warnkuku. Janamililu *lawyer*-lupa kapamanjurrangu munu wurrarniyipulaku Mirtakupa *lawyer*-ku. Palajun Mirtalu wurrarnanganaku nganarnanga, 'ngaju pungkulumarna, kapamanjupa marrngulupa walypilalu *mining company*-lu nyurnpalymalapiyinyurrinyi.' Palajun wurrarnanganaku.

Munurlakurra kamuja warnku yinganya kanganinya. Partal kamumanayirna, jalypajarrinyi kuwarrikupakan jupanyaku; nyungu yirtilmalapiyirna yirrkulu kapaman palajun. Wunyjurrujilkulinynganinyi yarti. Nganarna muwarrpina kawanayirni yirrkungarrany. Munurla nyungu kararrjarrinyi kapaman. Mitu yakaninya muwarrja Mirta, palangarranyin nganarnamili Mirta muwarrpa wurrarnayirni wunyjurru muwarr. Nganarnalu marrngulu yimpinayirni pala wurrarnayirni palinyja. Punyarli waninyiyrni mimarniyirna kapaman, kumarrimananganinya nganin-nganirnkulu, panypanyanganaku. Munungarra nganarna pakajarrinyakayirni. Yirrkulu kararrkata pala kapaman. Nganarnalu muwarr yimpinayirnalulu yirrkulu nyungu. Yarti ngurnipali nganarnakartijarruliny.

Mirta

It wasn't all that long ago that Mirta picked us up out of the rubbish heap. Before that the *walypila* on the stations weren't treating us well. They gave us poor food all mixed up together, and it wasn't good. We *marrngu* lived like that on all the stations around this country. In some places they didn't like us *marrngu*; we didn't know the *walypila* language, and without schooling we said things wrongly and they laughed at us.

We told Mirta our ideas, and he told these to the government, but it has always been the case that the government has disregarded our views. They must have thought very poorly of us; instead of sympathising with us, they took the land off us. Some *walypila* are considerate, but those who take the government's position are mistaken.

The government has been talking about what they're going to do with *marrngu* in other places. It's told all the public servants that they're working for the government [rather than working for *marrngu*]. Year after year they have meetings about us, about all the *marrngu* in all the different places, they're not ashamed to be so unsympathetic. They took the land away from us, and yet they look upon us with anger, and without understanding. The government is arrogant towards us, and is without shame. Ngarnkawaru McLeod kept talking as he grew old, until he became an old man.

Ngarnkawaru wanted to do the right thing by *marrngu* in all the different areas and regions. He recalled how a government in the old days had set aside some money for us.⁶⁵ That government had thought, 'Later *marrngu* might understand [how to deal with money and things like that]', and they put money aside for them for when they could speak English. They thought, 'They can get this money later when they know more.' More recently Mirta went and asked the government for the money. He told them that it had been put aside for *marrngu*, and he argued with them about it in the courts. Mirta and the lawyer asked for the money, but the government lawyers denied their claims. Mirta told us, 'When I pass away the government and other *marrngu*, *walypila* and the mining companies will all cause problems for you.'

We haven't been given the money we asked for. We ask in vain; but we're going to keep on asking and they're mistaken if they think we'll stop. We'll continue to pursue the government about this. They still have to deal with us, we will go on talking. It's not easy because the government is difficult, and rejects Mirta's ideas. He was our appointed spokesman; it was us who told him what to say. When we *marrngu* talked together about something, we'd talk to him as well. For a long time we've been waiting for the government, but it doesn't want to support us. It ignores us. We've been chasing the government for a long time. The government continues to be hard, and we continue to say these things. In time they may come around to our way of thinking.

Munurla nyungu kalyamarnayinganinya wiyirru jumpayilu

Yijamarta mayi manikinyirna, Karrkarraja *truck*-lu kanganyikinyinganaka nyungukarti palajun. Kuwarringi mayi maninyayirna *town*-ja, walja yaninyayirni maninyaku mayiku *town*-karti. Jartanga-jatangajarrinyirni, munu mayi maninyakayirna warajanga. Nganarnalu nyungungu Karntimartanga palajunngarra walja yaninyayirni mayiku maninyaku *town*-ja. Walangkarrangunin yijamarta wanikinyirni mayi kanganyikinyinganaka *truck*-lu Karrkarraja. Kuwarri kurluny-kurlunyajarrinyirni; ngalypangarra, waljarti yaninyaku mayiku maninyaku.

Munurla nyungu kalyamarnayinganinya wiyirru jumpayilu, karajirriakun waninyayi *town*-ja. Nganarna yakalmanapintingarra malyparrkarrinyinganaku. Purungarra kartakarrinyayi parumarramarranga, nyungukala munu wiyirru kartakarrinyakayi mayanga, manyjanga kartakarrinyayi, mayanga waraja-waraja marrngu waninyayi palajun. Munu palarrangupali mayanga waninyakayi yakalmanakata, parlkarranga karta-kartakarrinyayi kangkurukapan. Jana pala yanaya ngalypakukapan waninyaku *town*-ja. Munurti nyungu janalungarra kurlupinayarninyi waljalungarra, nyurnpalyarrinyayi. Nyungungu yija ngalypa wanikinyi Karntimartanga, *town*-ja waninyayi kurluyiji.

Nyunguyiji kurlu nganarnaku, kapamanju wirrinninganaka warrarnjirriku yirtinykarraku yintarrangu yinta palaku kariku. Munu kamukarrimiyirna kariku. Palinyju ngalyparla wurrarna kapamanju nganarnaku; kurlu pala, kutujinakata marrnguku. Jinta wariny marrngu kutujirnijaninyi jajangalypapa mirtanya-mirtanya jurntuwarrawarra waninyi warrarnjirri karija minpinaja. Pala ngalypa kapamanku ngarlu ngalypajarrinyi. Nganarna marrngu ngarlu kurlujarrinyayirni: marrngu kutujarrinyayi, karilu kutujinajaninyi. Partal nganarna kuliny-kulinyjarrinyayirnijanaku, kayimarnayirnijaninyi *town*-ja marrngu, panypanyayinganaku. Janalu mununin yirrinakayi marrngu wakanyjininyi karilungarra warrarnjirri. Kakunayi karilu ngawujinajaninyi kapamanmilalu. Munu tukujinakayarninyi, warnkupa wirtu maninyayi. Nganarnalu warnku wirrinayirni warajanga. Kari wirnti yirrinayirni pala kutujinakata.

Partal marrngu kurumanayirnijaninyi *town*-ja, yakalmanayinganinyi panyjukarrinyaya. Kuwarringi wirrinayirnijaninyi *ten men* marrnguku maninyaku *town*-jarranguku. Ngurra jirniyirnijanaka kakarra Mijijimaya yawurru marrnguku. Jana munu waninyaku panyju, yirru kulpanyayinganakalu *town*-karti; malyparr jana warajangajarrinyaku. Karrinyayi waninyaku jartanga-jartanga. Muwarrpa wurranayirnijanaku kurlu kapamanmili, panypanyayinganaku. Marrngulu waljalu yijalmartajinayili muwarrja kapamanmilingi. Panyju karrinyayalu Ngarnkawarumiliku muwarrku, warnkuku wirtu karrinyaya maninyaku kapamanju. Nyungu warnku wupartujartiny yakalmanayinganinyi marrngulu, jana karrinyaya waninyaku jalakarti. Partal kunmu-kunmujinayirnijaninyi jalakartijajirri marrngu. Nganarna karrinyayirna warajangajarrinyaku. Ngurnipali kapamanju warnku wirtu yungkulinynyaninya. Munurla nyungu panypanyanganaku kapamanju.

Our young people abandon us

In the past we used to have our food brought from Perth by truck, but these days we get it from town, each family going to town individually to do their own shopping. We've become separate and no longer get our food as a group, we go in to town separately to do our shopping. Things are becoming a little more difficult for us now.

All the young people have abandoned us, and live in town to the west. We've been rejected, they don't respect us anymore. They sleep out in the spinifex, instead of in houses. Only a few have houses. None of them live in communities; they don't like living there, they sleep out in the open like kangaroos. They go off and think it's good to live in town, but that's not the case at all. They just ruin their lives and become a nuisance to everyone else. They were fine when they were living here at Karntimarta, but in town they're in a bad way.

This is really bad for us. All over the country the government is building places where you can get alcohol. We didn't ask for grog. The government said it would be good for us, but it's bad, it's death for *marrngu*. It's killed whole communities. Fine young people and old people are in their graves all over the country from drinking alcohol. All this is good for the government, and they're happy about it, but we *marrngu* are upset about all this. *Marrngu* are dying, and it's alcohol that's killing them. We just can't make them understand. We call people out of the town, but they ignore us. They don't see that all the *marrngu* have gone from the country because of alcohol. They don't see that the government's alcohol makes them fools. They don't look after one another, and they get a lot of money, whereas we used to put all our money together.⁶⁶ We regard alcohol with fear, because it's a killer.

When we go to bring back the young people from town, they resist; they don't like us doing that. We had a group of ten men to collect *marrngu* out of the towns. We made a camp out east at Mijijimaya for the drunks, but they don't like staying there, and were always leaving us to go to town. They refused to stay with us, they wanted to live apart from us. We told them what the government says is wrong, but they ignore us. Our own people now believe the government's line. They don't like Ngarnkawaru's way, they want to get lots of money from the government. They abandoned us because they only got a little bit of money when they were with us. We haven't been able bring together all the *marrngu* who have gone away. We want everyone to come together as one. The government could give us proper funding, but it ignores us completely.

1994-ngu jumpayilu yakarniyinganinya jartangajarrinyiyi. Ngalyapakurra wanikinyiyirni warajanga, ngampanyaya warnkuku. Janalu wurrarniyinganinya kukujinaja warnkuku, kulpanyiyinganaku mirtanya-mirtanyanga, warntamarnayinganinya muwarrja ngampanju. Pala yajarniyi warnku wirtujartiny, wurrarnajanakukurra yinganyaku warnkuku, janalu mirrjurniyi palanga walypilanga. Nganarnalu walangkarrangu jumpayilu munu kulilu yirrirmiyirnijaninyi. Ngalya kanyayinganinyi nyarralanga warrarnja, pinakarrikinyiyirnijanaku wunyjurru muwarr wurrarnikinyiyinganaku palanga muwarrja nganarnalu mirrjunikinyiyirni. Ngalya warnkumajirri kanyayinganinyi warrkamumu, munu kulijarrimiyirnalalu Ngarnkawaruku. Nyungu kuwarrija jumpayi ngininykatajarrinyayi ngalypaku palaji. Wurrarniyinganaku, 'Mirtalu punya kalkurnunganyjurrinyi, yakarnayirninnyurrinya kuwarri palajun.' Muwarr wurrarniyinganaku janalu panyjukarrinyiyalu Mirtaku, puruyiji kurlungujarrinyiyi jana. Jintalu mirtanya-mirtanyalu yajarniyijaninyi jumpayi, purungarra kujarrapa warajalu nyarra jana. Jintapirninarninyi juljukapan Warrkalkuranga; jinta warinyju yajarniyi Mirta, jinta warinyju yajarniyipulinyi Putungajapa Yatanya. Ngampanyaya wirtuku warnkuku, kuwarrikapan nyungu jumpayi palajun.

Partanykarrangu wirrirmiyijaninyi Pipunya kurlja, panyjukarrinya Nyangumartaku kurlku, kurlu janaku. Ngalypanga kurlja kapamanmilingi wirrirmiyijaninyi, yakalmarnayi Nyangumarta muwarr. Jana karrinyaya walypilamiliku muwarrku miranujarrinyaku *English*-ku.

Kuwarri waninyayirni janapa nganarna, kurlu wurrarnaya nganarnamilipali wiyirrmili Nyangumarta. Kapamanmiliku kurlku yanaya ngalypaku. Janalu wurrarnayarninya panyju muwarr wantaku. Muwarrja purlpinyinyarra muwarrkupa pinakarrikinyiya yijamarta. Milpanyikinyiyi muwarrkarti nganikupa yimpinaku muwarrku palajun. Kuwarri kalarti kurlungujarrinyiyi, ngunjurnaya wunyjurrujarlupiyi; warntamarnayarninya janalungarra waljalu.

In 1994 the young people left us and went out on their own. We were living quite well together, but they wanted more money. They accused us of hiding the money away, and they pulled out from the old people, and attacked us in a meeting. They were after big money. They'd been told they could get a lot of money and they believed it. In the old days when we were young we didn't argue with the old people. They looked after us well in this country, and when they gave us advice we listened to them and paid attention to what they said. It wasn't a problem that we didn't get wages; we didn't argue with Ngarnkawaru. These days the young people want to get everything up front. They told us, 'We've been with Mirta for a long time, but we're leaving you now'. They said they didn't like Mirta. I think they've just gone the wrong way. Some of the old people went with the young ones, but only a few. They split from us like others did before at Warrkalkura, when some followed Mirta, and some followed **Putungaja and Yatanya**. They'd wanted more money, just as these young people do now.

The young people put their kids into the school at Marble Bar, because they didn't want a Nyangumarta school. They thought it was bad for them. They put them into a conventional government school. They didn't want the Nyangumarta language, but wanted them to learn the *walypila* language, English, instead.

Today we're living together again, but they say our Nyangumarta language is no good and that a government school is better. They say they don't want to have meetings all the time. In the old days we used to really listen to what was being said at meetings. People came to meetings to discuss all kinds of things. Things aren't going well now, they're wondering what to do and are arguing among themselves.

Putungaja and Yatanya

Ernie Mitchell and Kangkushot
(Peter Coppin).



Rurla teaching at Mampurljari, photograph by Alison Bullock.

Rurla

2002-ngu marntiyarra ngaju yakarnanya.

Kanyayirnijaninyi partanykarrangu yanayirni Purnurlurlukarti Ngurnarrikarti Halls Creek-ja wurrarniji, 'wararrjili murtuka, yimpilamarnajanaku muwarr.' Yija palanga wararrjirni. Nyirirni milpanyiyi wararrkarrinyiyi katukarnayi murtukaja. Palinyju wurrarnajanaku, 'nyungu wanikinyi purlpi town. Ngurnungu yirrinanyurru kara warnku wirtu waninyi: pala karakurnu ngaju wanikinyirni *school*-ja; pala yini Moola Bulla. Ngalaya wanikinyalayi Charlie Eda, partanyjirri *school*-ja palanga. Ngajumili japartu yini Murlangajayi, pipi yini Kitty walypilaja. Ngajumili japartulu wirlarna marrngu Nyukarranga purlpi marlkarri kulipatinikinyi, ngaju wupartu partany wanikinyirni.

Munu ngakanamiyi jinmurntu, ngakarniyi Moola Bulla-

karti. Ngajumili pipi japartulu kanyanyipulu partany wupartu.' Palinyju yimpinikinyijanaku muwarr partanykarrangu. 'Kurrngalngarra wanikinyirni partanykarrangu *school*-ja, *teacher*-lu kanyayinganinyi kurila jurtijirninganaku martu wirtu waninyi. Kulpanyiyirni ngurrakarti *soldier* wanikinyiyi kurrngal palanga. Jinta nyarra wanikinyiyi Ngulyimunyanga, pala 1942.' Palajun wurrarnajanaku partanykarrangu. '*Soldier*-lungarra kanyayinganinyi palaja Marble Bar-karti *army truck*-ja.'

Paliny wanikinyi Moola Bulla-nga kulpanya Marble Bar-karti. Moolyella-nga ngalaya kulurnalayarninyi partanyjirri. Palangulu warajanga yanikinyalayi jintapirnalayarninyi. Yarti kulurnalayarninyi Five Mile-ja Yirramakartunyanga kakarrakurnu, palangulu yana-yanalayi. Manayirni Yurtingunya, palanga wanikinyiyirni. Palakarti milpanya Bucknall japirmarna Bucknall-ju *school*, 'wirrilamarna nyungungu.' Yijajirni *school* 1976-ja. Palangulu ngalaya yana-yanalayi warajangangarra warrkamupa wanikinyalayi *school*-ja, miranujirnierna ngajulu Nyangumartaku yarntanaku muwarrku. Paliny miranu muwarrku English-ku, ngalypangarra miranujarrinya pipurru. Yanalayi Karntimartakarti, palanga wanikinyalayi *school*-ja. Paliny yana Mampurljarikarti, palanga kalkunikinyijaninyi *school*-ja; ngaju wanikinyirni Karntimartanga. Ngajumilijirri marrkajirri pungkanyapulu, palanga waninyirni jampangarra, yanarna Mampurljarikarti. Palanga kalkunikinyijaninyi palinyju partanykarrangu *school*-ja. Yarti kurlkapilijarrinyarna ngaju nyungu muwarr wirrinikinyirni mirlimirlingi, kuwarripa nyungu jinarni.

2002-ngu ngaju yakarnanya, palaja ngaju yanarna wanikinyirni Yurtingunyanga wani-waninyirni. Karntimartakarti yanarna palanga warrkamjarrikinyirni. Karntimartanga nyungupali muwarr wirrinikinyirni mirlimirlingi 2002-ngulu ngapikartijakun 2005-karti. Ngakarnijiyi mirlimirli mirtarrangulu; palanga mirlimirlingi muwarr wurrarnijiyi, 'nyuntu pinjinajarruman, munu warrkamuku kurlja. Maninyaluman pinjina warnku.' Jipi.

Rurla

In 2002, my *marntiyarra*, Rurla, passed away.

When we took school children on a trip to Purnurlurlu, he said to us, as we approached Halls Creek, ‘Pull up here, and I’ll tell them some history,’ so I stopped there. The others pulled in behind us, and climbed out. Rurla said, ‘There used to be a town here. Look over to the west where there’s a big hill; over that way on the west side is where I went to school, it was called Moola Bulla. I lived there with Charlie Eda, and we went to school there when we were kids. My father’s name was Murlangajayi⁶⁷ and my mother’s *walypila* name was Kitty. My father killed a man in a fight at Nyukarra (Yarrie Station), when I was small. Instead of sending him to prison, they sent him to Moola Bulla,⁶⁸ and my parents took me with them.’ Rurla told this history to all the children. ‘There were lots of us kids at the school there, and the teacher took us south and showed us a big crater. When we got back to Moola Bulla, a lot of soldiers were there. Other soldiers were staying at Ngulyimunya; this was in 1942. Some soldiers gave us a lift back home to Marble Bar in an army truck.’

When Rurla returned to Marble Bar, I met him at Moolyella; we were kids, and hung around together there. We then went separate ways, but later on we met up again at the Five Mile east of Roebourne and did things together. When we bought Yurtingunya we lived there, and Bucknall came and talked about setting up a school. From the time the school started in 1976 we were always together, working together in the school. I taught him to write Nyangumarta. He already knew how to read and write English, and so he learnt quickly. We both moved to Karntimarta and worked in the school there. When he shifted to Mampurljari and taught in the school there, I stayed at Karntimarta. My two younger brothers passed away and I stayed on there for a short time, then I too moved out to Mampurljari where Rurla was teaching in the school. When he passed away I thought I would write this story, and I’m doing so now.

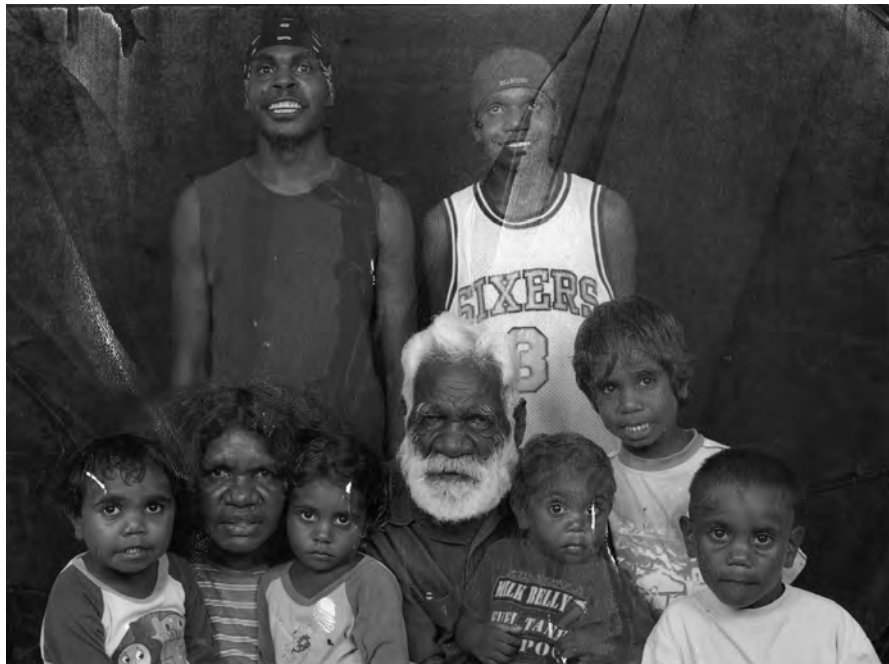
When he left me I went and stayed at Yurtingunya for a while. Later I shifted to Karntimarta and worked there. I worked on writing this story there between 2002 and 2005. Then **the old men** sent me a letter, saying, ‘You’re a pensioner now, and you don’t need to work in the school. You can go on the pension.’



Rurla working as an illustrator, photograph by Tim Dwyer.

the old men

Jack Williams and Ray Butler, who worked in the Nomads’ Perth office.



Minyjun and some of his family, 2006, photograph courtesy Hale family album.

Yatil pungkanyiyi wiyirr

Ngajumili mamaji pungkanya 1989-ja Karntimartanga. Jipingarra mirtanya-mirtanya pungkanya kawanayi wangkala. Nganarnayijikurra warajangapa yanayirni, Ngarnkawarulu kanganyikinyinganinyi. Nyungungu warrarnja kuwarrikala kujarra warinyjarrinyayirni palajun. Walangkarranguja marrngu *strike*-ngi wanikinyiyirni, palarrangu wakany pungkanyiyi; waraja waraja waninyayirni, ngurnipali wakany yarti pungkulupiyirni. Munurla nyungu wangalangulu yakalmarnayinganinyi kuwarrikala mirtawalupa pirirrilu. Mirtanya-mirtanyajakun waninyayirni jumpayikala mirarnanganinyi *town*-ju. Ngarrarta yajarniyi kakuputulu palayijingarra janaku ngalya. Nyungukalarti palalungarra

warntipilkulinyaninyi ngarrartalu ngurnarrijirrija wangalangu; milpanyayi Ngarukartijakun, pala ngarrarta yajarnayi wirntimajirralu minpirnaye. Ngalyparla pala janaku jumpayiku, ngurra warinyjarrangu yaninyayi Ngarukarti. Palayiji janaku *town* ngalya, jinta yakalmarnayijaninyi *town* palajun. Nganarnakurra walangkarranguja wirntijipinanganinyi ngarrartalu, pala kutujinakata walypilakupa marrnguku. Ngarrartalungarra wiyirr jininyi warrarnjirrija marrngupa walypila jurntuwarrawarra waninyiyi *town*-jarrangu. Warrarnjirri kuwarripa pungkanya kawanayi ngarrakuny mirtapa wangalangu; ngirnkarramarnayirni kakuputu. Panyjurla nganarna ngirnkarrawantaku.

Ngalaya marntiyarra warrkamu wanikinyalayi Mampurljaringi. Palanga ruka muwarrja wanikinyiyirni, Taliwan purnarri jampa muwarrpinama, jawa manyurlajarrinyi pungkanya wararrja jungkanga. Marirralu pulyu-pulumarnapulu partal. Kakurnarninyi palangangarra. Wurrarnapulunganaku, 'jipi yakarnanganyjurrinya.' Palanga nganarna ngangkurljirniyirni, yanayirni palaja ngurra warinykarti. Mimanikinyiyirna kurlurluku palanga, ngalpajina wirrinnyirni.

Palanga punyja wani-waninyiyirni kakarra. Karntimartaja yanayi muwarrkarti Karlkunkarlunkarti. Nganarna munu yanamiyirni Mampurljarija, wanikinyiyirni ngatu palan. Ngajukulayimili pirirrilu kakurnarninyi palanga. Wurrarniyinganaku walyimanaja, palangulu yajana kawarnayarninyi pungkanyiyi wakany. Yajarnayarninyi nyirrirni kankalu marirra-marirralu. Yakarniyinganinyi wiyirrju muwarrkatalu palajun nganarnamilirrang. Yatil pungkanyiyi wiyirr, yakarniyinganinyi palajun. Muwarrpa wunyjurru wurranikinyiinganaku janalu nganarnanga, munu warinykurnujarrinyaku. Yajalkulunyurru yirnkungu muwarrja nganarnamilingi jinanga. Yija nganarnalu kalkunayirnijanaka muwarr kurlkanga janamili. Munu muwarr kakunamiyirnijanaka palajun. Nyungu kuwarrijalu muwarr kakunayi wurranajalu. Yijayiji ngakumpa jana jumpayi pirirripa mirtawa. Muwarr kakunayinganaka, partal kurntajinayirnijaninyi panypanyayinganaku nganarnanga. Yija jana ngakumpa jumpayi kuwarrija, mirrka kararr, nyanga ngurnipali kurlkapilijarrulupiyi. Ngurnipali jana wantulupiyi ngakumpa kakuputu palajun.

Our leaders pass away

My older brother had passed away at Karntimarta in 1989, and after that all the old people began to pass away, one after the other. We'd been together for a long time, and together with Mirta. In this area now there's only a few of us left. Of all the *marrngu* who were in the strike, most have now passed away. One or two of us are left, and sooner or later we'll go that way too. The young people have rejected us these days. We old people are still here, but the town has taken the young people away from us. They followed alcohol, and haven't come back. It must hold an attraction for them, but grog is the thing that will destroy the young people everywhere. They arrive in Ngaru, and they recklessly follow the grog. It appeals to the young people; they come to Ngaru from all over the place. That town is attractive to them; they leave all the other towns. We of the older generation know the danger of alcohol; it's death for both *walypila* and *marrngu*. It's the same for everybody, for *marrngu* and *walypila* everywhere. Alcohol is filling the graveyards in every town. These days all over the country old people and young people are dying all the time, and we are constantly in mourning. We don't want to be in mourning all the time.

We *marntiyarra* were working at Mampurljari when we had a meeting there one afternoon. **Taliwan's father** had been speaking for a short time when his speech became slurred, and he collapsed. The **two marirra** tried to revive him but couldn't, and he passed away. They said, 'It's over, he's left us.' We wept for him there, and moved away. We waited there for the funeral when we buried him.

We stayed in the east for a long time. Some people from Mampurljari went to a meeting at Karlkun-karlkun, on the lower reaches of the Rudall River. We stayed back at Mampurljari. It was there at Karlkun-karlkun that Maruntu died. They told us he'd passed away, and from then on they all passed away, one after another. They followed one after the other, those **marirra-marirra**; they all left us. All our spokesmen left us. All our leaders died, they all passed away, but what they said to us still holds true. You need to follow the example that we have set for you; we held on to their ideas and never disregarded what they told us. These days people are ignoring what they've been told. Really, the young people, both men and women, have no sense. They disregard what's said to them, and we can't influence them because they don't accept what we say. They're really stupid these days, and very stubborn; I don't know when they'll begin to understand. It could be that they'll stay stupid all their lives.



Minyjun and wife, Mary,
photograph courtesy Hale family
album.

Taliwan's father
Les Ankie.

two marirra
Two brothers-in-law, Maruntu and
Norton Williams.

marirra-marirra
Panaka and Karimarra men who
were the community leaders.

Appendixes

APPENDIX 1

Naming conventions and kinship terminology

MARRNGU NAMES

Marrngu are frequently known by more than one name; having what is referred to as a 'whitefella name' as well as one or more *marrngu* names.

Some of the *marrngu* names by which individuals are referred to in Minyjün's autobiography are family names. A comprehensive system of family names which pre-date contact with Europeans is used by people of Minyjün's generation. The name *Minyjün* is itself a family name, and is the name by which Minyjün's older brothers, Jacob Oberdoo and Dick McKenna, were also known. When Minyjün speaks about visiting his older brother, for example, he says that:

Ngalaya ngatu wanikinyalayi
Minyjünmilingi ngurranga
We stayed at Minyjün's place'.

People generally take the family name of their mother. Minyjün's father's family name was Ngulalu, the name by which he refers to Alec Sambo, the son of his father's sister. The family name of Minyjün's wife, Nalma, was Purnupungu, and this is the family name of Minyjün's daughters, Barbara and Sharon. Minyjün refers to Nalma's mother's brothers, Joe Wirecutter and his brother, by the family name Purnupungu.

Other family names used in Minyjün's story are *Juwikarayirti*, the family name of Jimmy Uridja, Maori Tom and Sago; *Kurtijikapu*, the family name of Fred and Jack Mitchell; *Ngarlarli*, the family name of Adam Barker and Jack Kempton, and *Murlangajayi*, the family name of Rurla's father and Norman Murla.

There has been little documentation of these Aboriginal family names. Perhaps because

few non-Aboriginal people have been aware of their existence, they have not generally become incorporated into the whitefella names of *marrngu* people as surnames. The fact that these names are passed on through one's mother is also possibly a reason these names are not incorporated into the non-Aboriginal patrilineal naming system.

Other *marrngu* have names associated with their place of birth, or with an animal, plant or natural feature with which a spiritual connection was established at the time of their conception or birth. Snowy Jittermarra's name, Maruntu, for example, means 'goanna'. Occupations have also given rise to *marrngu* names, such as Purlajimiji (blacksmith), Donkey-bloke or Boat-bloke, and in some cases have become family names. Other names operate in much the same way as nicknames. Individuals may be known by a number of names: Pitpit is also known by the name of his place of birth, Yalalu, as well as his whitefella name, Billy Thomas.

WHITEFELLA NAMES

In the past, *marrngu* were frequently given names by *walypila* on stations and in mining communities, as Minyjün was given the name 'Monday' by the European boss at Mt Edgar Station. As people may have been known by a single whitefella name, such as Fred or Sambo, it became customary for a father's christian name to be taken by his children as a surname, and this has continued until recent times. *Marrngu* also sometimes took the surname of *walypila* they knew: Minyjün, for example, was given the surname Hale by a non-Aboriginal worker at Mt Edgar. Other surnames are Aboriginal names, sometimes anglicised. These whitefella names

are used by *marrngu* for official purposes and are usually the names by which they are known to non-Aboriginal people, but *marrngu* names are more frequently used by Aboriginal people when talking between themselves.

MARRNGU NAMING CONVENTIONS

While individuals are sometimes referred to by name in Minyjun's story, personal names are used with caution to avoid disrespect. This is particularly the case when referring to people who have passed away. For Minyjun, the imperative to set down an historical record overrides such cultural constraints to the extent that he has made the decision to record names, and to include photographs, of men and women who have passed away. Nevertheless, he does avoid referring directly to people who have passed away more recently, particularly in the case of community leaders such as Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra), Les Ankie, and Frank French. These men are all referred to in terms of their relationship to a wife or child. Maruntu is usually identified by reference to his wife, Ngajukulayi (Nancy), as *Ngajukulayimili*, literally *Ngajukulayi's*, meaning Ngajukulayi's husband. Les Ankie is spoken of by reference to his daughter, Taliwan, Lisa Williams, as *Taliwan punarri*, Taliwan's father. There are other cases like these in which Minyjun avoids referring to people directly. Throughout his story he never uses the name of his wife, Nalma, who passed away in 1985.

The taboo on the use of names of people who have passed away has meant that some people have become known by their surname only: John Bucknall, for example, is referred to as *Bucknall*, and David Morgan as *Morgan*.

SECTION NAMES

In common with many Indigenous groups in Australia, *marrngu* have a system of kinship which divides all people into a number of sections. Depending on the sections to which one's parents belong, all *marrngu* are either Panaka, Purungu, Milangka or Karimarra, one's section determining the section from which marriage partners can

be selected. Individuals are sometimes referred to by their section name. Minyjun refers to Pajarlingananya, Bobby Janyjijanyji, for example, as Karimarra, and Tommy Nungkanungka, the man Minyjun's father met up with on his journey back to Janyjinya from the hospital in Port Hedland is referred to as Purungu.⁶⁹ The son of a Milangka man and a Purungu woman, Minyjun is Panaka. When Putungaja (Ernie Mitchell) enquires about Minyjun he uses his section name, asking, 'What about Panaka?' Section names are used for both men and women, as in the case of the woman who gave Minyjun and Nalma food at Strelley Station when they first ran away together and who is referred to as Purungu. Section names are also used in reference to non-Aboriginal people, who are incorporated into the *marrngu* kinship system in this way. Minyjun refers to linguists Ken Hale and Geoff O'Grady as Panaka and Milangka respectively.

Minyjun also occasionally refers to individuals according to their position in the family, as the oldest, the youngest, or a middle child. This is most often used in reference to siblings. The oldest sibling in a family is called *Murrkangunya*, the youngest *Nyirti*, and middle children are referred to as *Malyurta*. Minyjun refers to the eldest son of non-Aboriginal schoolteachers, John and Gwen Bucknall, as *Murrkangunya*, to his brother Dick, who is a middle sibling, as *Malyurta*, and to the younger of his two daughters as *Nyirti*.

SINGULAR KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

More frequently, individuals are referred to in relationship terms. A list of such terms used by Minyjun in his autobiography is given below. The meanings of these terms do not exactly correspond to relationship terminology in English. For example, *japartu* is the Nyangumarta word for 'father', but its reference is broader than that of the English term, being used to also refer to one's father's brothers, one's mother's sister's husband (both of which are encompassed by the term 'uncle' in English), and one's wife's mother's brothers. Similarly, the Nyangumarta *kaka*

or *kakaji* could be translated as ‘uncle’, but again correspondence is not exact. In English, ‘uncle’ refers to one’s mother’s brother, mother’s sister’s husband, father’s brother, and father’s sister’s husband, but the Nyangumarta *kakaji* refers only to the first and last of these; one’s father’s brother and mother’s sister’s husband being referred to by the same word as one’s father, *japartu*. The English ‘grandmother’ refers to one’s mother’s mother, and one’s father’s mother, but in Nyangumarta separate terms are used for these: *kamiji* (mother’s mother) and *kaparliji* (father’s mother), while *kamiji* also refers to a father’s father’s sister, and is used by a woman to refer to her daughter’s daughter (the English ‘granddaughter’), and by a man to refer to his son’s daughter.

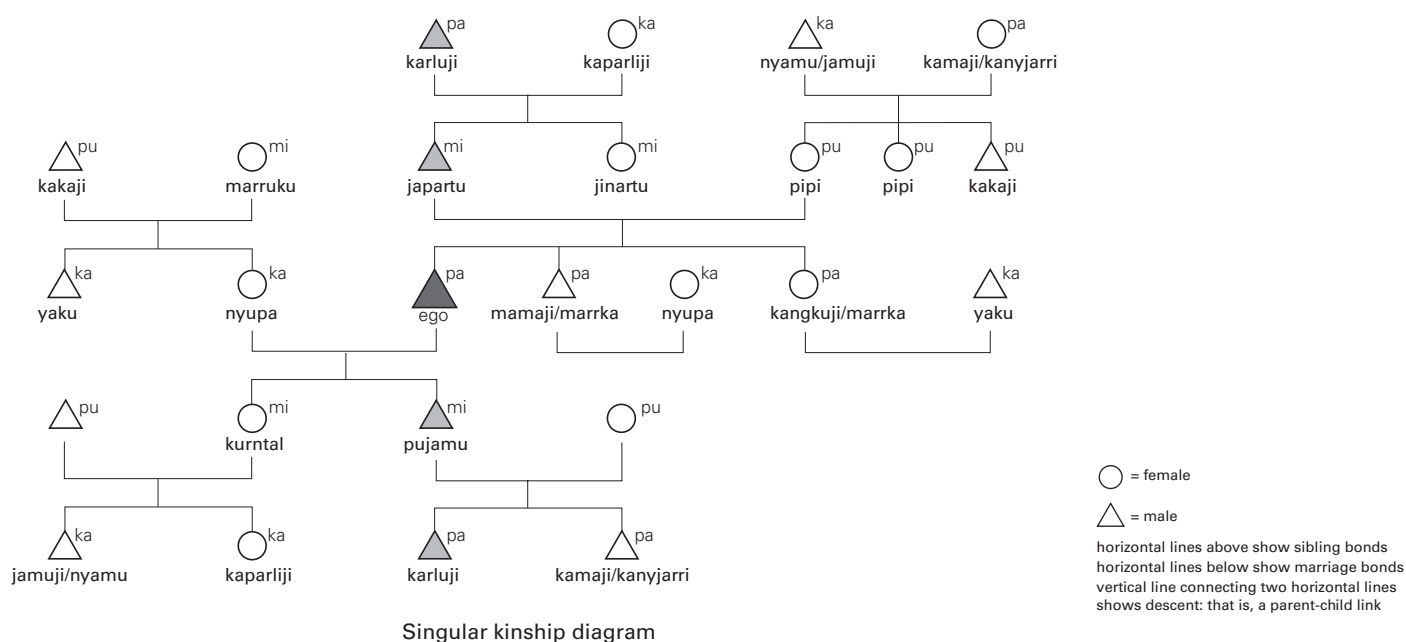
Another important difference between English and Nyangumarta kinship terminology is that Nyangumarta terms are used to refer to both biological and social, or classificatory, relationships. While Minyjun calls his biological father, his father’s brothers

and his mother’s sister’s husband, *japartu*, there are other men, boys, and even very young children who, because of their position in the kinship system, are also referred to by him as *japartu*. This extension of kinship to include all members of a society is common to many Aboriginal societies: linguist Jeffrey Heath has observed that ‘most kin terms in Australia are classificatory, and are thus extended in such a way that everyone in the social universe is included within one of these terms.’⁷⁰ These systems of kinship are a central component of Aboriginal social organisation.

Because there is no direct correspondence in the meanings of kinship terminology in the two languages, Nyangumarta terminology has been retained in the English translation of Minyjun’s text, rather than attempting to translate kinship terms into English. The exception is those terms that refer to biological relationships that have a clear English equivalent, such as references to Minyjun’s parents.

Singular kinship terminology used by Minyjun⁷¹

<i>jaluwal</i>	a person of the section from which one’s husband or wife is selected, but who is neither an actual or potential partner, or the sibling of an actual or potential partner. For Minyjun, the term refers to a Karimarra woman who is too close a relation for him to marry, or a Karimarra man who is too close a relation for his sister to be a potential wife for Minyjun. People of this relationship are referred to a ‘joking mates’.
<i>jamuji, nyamu</i>	grandfather/grandson (mother’s father, father’s mother’s brother, daughter’s son; also daughter’s daughter before puberty)
<i>japartu</i>	father, father’s brother
<i>kamiji, kanyjarri</i>	grandmother/granddaughter (mother’s mother, father’s mother’s brother’s wife, son’s daughter)
<i>kanguji</i>	older sister
<i>kakaji</i>	uncle; mother’s brother, or father’s sister’s husband
<i>kaparliji</i>	grandmother/granddaughter (father’s mother, daughter’s daughter)
<i>karluji</i>	grandfather/grandson (father’s father, mother’s mother’s brother, son’s son)
<i>mamaji</i>	older brother
<i>marrka</i>	younger sibling
<i>marruku</i>	wife’s mother (this is an avoidance relationship)
<i>mirta</i>	old man or woman, or older brother or sister
<i>ngulyungulyu</i>	a man’s circumciser, with whom he and his family have an avoidance relationship
<i>nyupa</i>	wife or husband
<i>pipi</i>	mother, mother’s sister, father’s brother’s wife
<i>pujamu</i>	son, sister’s or brother’s son
<i>punarri</i>	father, refers to a brother-in-law as the father of some other person
<i>yaku</i>	brother-in-law (sister’s husband, wife’s brother)



This diagram shows the relationship terms used by a Panaka male Ego, and the section names of each of his kin, Panaka (pa), Karimarra (ka), Milangka (mi) or Purungu (pu).

Note that everyone in the Ego's generation (his wife, siblings, and brothers- and sisters-in-law) are either Panaka or Karimarra, while everyone in his parents' generation are either Milangka or Purungu, representing the generational moieties.

The shaded symbols illustrate one of the patrilineal moieties, as everyone in this line of descent from father to son is either Panaka or Milangka.

DYADIC AND TRI-RELATIONAL KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In addition to using this singular kinship terminology, Minyjun uses dyadic and tri-relational kinship terminology to refer to two or more people according to both their relationship to one another and their relationship to him. For example, a particular term will be used to refer to two men who are classificatory brothers and who are in the same section as the speaker (two of the speaker's brothers), but speakers belonging to other sections would use other terms to refer to the same two men.

Many of the terms refer to two people who belong to different sections, or a group made up of people of two sections. Any two sections can be said to represent a half of the whole community; Panaka and Purungu, for example, are one half of the community, while Karimarra and Milangka are the other.

These halves, or moieties, represent either generational groupings (Panaka–Karimarra, and Purungu–Milangka), or relationships of descent, such as father-son relationships (or patrilineal moieties: Panaka–Milangka, and Karimarra–Purungu) or mother-daughter relationships, the matrilineal moieties Karimarra–Milangka and Purungu–Panaka. Terms differ depending on whether the speaker is in the same moiety as the pair referred to, or in the opposite moiety.

The pair referred to by such terms may include the speaker. Minyjun frequently refers to himself and his close friend and colleague, Rurla, who was Milangka, by the dyadic term *marntiyarra*.

This terminology is also used to refer to groups of more than one person, where a single relationship exists between members of the group. Whereas two brothers- or sisters-in-law in the generational moiety of the speaker are referred to as *marirra*, a group of

Karimarra–Panaka men and women who are brothers- and sisters-in-law to one another is referred to as *marirra-marirra*. Similarly, Minyjun refers to a man and his two wives as *yarruwamalingi* in place of the dual term *yarruwarra*.

This system of terminology is now rarely used by Nyangumarta speakers of middle age or younger.

Pairs of individuals in the same section

Terms used by Minyjun to refer to pairs of individuals who belong to the same section include *yaljarlirra* to refer to two people of the same section as the speaker (two Panaka when used by Minyjun), *partangurra* for two people of the section of the speaker's spouse (two Karimarra), *kurtararra* when referring to two people in the section of the speaker's children (two Milangka) and *yirtarnkarra* when referring to two people in the section of one's mother (two Purungu).

Moieties

Any two of the four sections coupled together form a moiety, or a half, of the whole community. That is, Karimarra and Purungu together make one half of the community, while Panaka and Milangka make up the other. Likewise, Karimarra and Panaka form another half, with Purungu and Milangka forming the opposite moiety.

Generational moieties

One way that sections can be coupled is along generational lines. Everyone in the same generation as a Panaka man is either Panaka or Karimarra — his siblings, his wife and her siblings, his cousins and her cousins. Because everyone in the community is a real or classificatory relation, everyone in the community that is part of that generation is either Panaka or Karimarra. Likewise, everybody in his parent's generation is Milangka or Purungu, and theoretically (if he marries 'straight') everyone in his children's generation is either Milangka or Purungu. His mother's mother is Panaka, his mother's father is Karimarra. His father's mother is Karimarra, and his father's father is Panaka. His grandparent's generation, therefore, is Panaka–Karimarra, like his own. Likewise, the generation of his grandchildren is

Panaka–Karimarra.

These generations are not age groups; each of these kinship generations is made up of community members of all ages. One's classificatory grandfather, for example, could be a young child, one's classificatory granddaughter an old woman.

Panaka–Karimarra

The sections Panaka and Karimarra together represent one generational moiety; the sections Milangka and Purungu the other, and so Panaka–Karimarra and Milangka–Purungu pairs are described in generational terms. Pairs of kin of the same section are also referred to in generational terms, as a pair of Karimarra women, for example, may be sisters, or grandmother and granddaughter, depending on their generation.

Married Panaka–Karimarra couples may be made up of a Panaka woman and a Karimarra man, or a Panaka man and Karimarra woman. If both members of a Panaka man — Karimarra woman couple are in the same generation as Minyjun, he refers to them by the term *pirnarra*. If the Panaka husband is in Minyjun's generation (his classificatory brother) but the wife is in the generation of his grandparents or grandchildren, he refers to them as *yarruwarra*. A Panaka woman (Minyjun's classificatory sister) and her Karimarra husband who is in Minyjun's generation are referred to as *nyukunurra*.

Other examples of Karimarra–Panaka pairings that Minyjun uses in this book are brother-in-law or sister-in-law pairs, called *marirra*, and a pair made up of a sibling and a *nyamu*, a mother's father or daughter's son, called *wajirrikarra*. If neither member of a Karimarra–Panaka pair is in Minyjun's generation, he refers to them as *yakankarra*.

Milangka–Purungu

From Minyjun's point of view, Milangka–Purungu pairs are made up of individuals who are either in the generation of his parents, or in the generation of his children. Married Milangka–Purungu couples include a classificatory father (Milangka) and his Purungu wife, who may be either Minyjun's classificatory mother or niece, and Minyjun refers to such a couple as *martungurra*.

Minyjūn's classificatory son (Milangka) and his Purungu wife are referred to as *nyuparra*. Minyjūn uses the term *yininirra* to refer to a married couple made up of a Purungu man and Milangka woman who is either Minyjūn's aunt or mother-in-law, with whom he has a relationship of avoidance.

A pair of men in the same generation who are Milangka and Purungu are brothers-in-law to one another, and are referred to by Minyjūn as *jartuntarra*.

Moieties of descent

Dyadic terminology is also used to refer to pairs of individuals who are Panaka and Purungu, Milangka and Karimarra, Panaka and Milangka, and Karimarra and Purungu. These pairs form moieties of descent.

Matrimoieties

Because Milangka women have Karimarra children, and their Karimarra daughters

have Milangka children, Karimarra and Milangka together form a matrilineal moiety, while Purungu and Panaka form the other matrimoiety. Two women in adjacent generations in either of these moieties, such as a Karimarra–Milangka mother and daughter, are referred to as *kurntalkarra*.

Two men in adjacent generations in the same matriline are a man and his mother's brother, referred to as *rampanu*.

Patrimoieties

Patrilineal pairings are Panaka–Milangka and Karimarra–Purungu, as Panaka men have Milangka children, and their Milangka sons have Panaka children. A pair of individuals in adjacent generations in the speaker's patriline, such as a father and son, is referred to as *marntiyarra*, a term Minyjūn uses to refer to a Panaka–Milangka pair. A similar pair in the opposite patriline is called *kalyarra*.

Dyadic and tri-relational kinship terminology in Minyjūn's story

<i>Jartuntarra</i>	a pair of brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law who are in the speakers parents' or children's generation (i.e. in the opposite generational moiety to the speaker). Minyjūn uses the term to refer to a pair of Milangka–Purungu men or women.
<i>Kalyarra</i>	a pair of kin in adjacent generations in the opposite patriline to that of the speaker. For Minyjūn, this means a Karimarra–Purungu pair, of adjacent generations, such as father and son or father and daughter.
<i>Kurntalkarra</i>	female kin in adjacent generations in the same matriline, such as a mother and daughter. The term can be used to refer to either a Purungu–Panaka pair, or a Karimarra–Milangka pair.
<i>Kurtarra</i>	brothers in the section and generation of the speaker's son. For Minyjūn, the term refers to two Milangka brothers.
<i>Marirra</i>	a brother- or sister-in-law pair, in the speaker's generation. For Minyjūn, this would refer to a Panaka and a Karimarra (more than two: <i>marirra-marirra</i>).
<i>Marntiyarra</i>	a pair of kin in any gender combination in adjacent generations in the speaker's patriline, such as a classificatory father and son. For Minyjūn this means a Panaka and Milangka pair (more than two: <i>marntiyarranya</i>).
<i>Martungurra</i>	a male–female pair, the male being the speaker's father, and a woman or girl who is either the father's wife (the speaker's mother), or his daughter's daughter. For Minyjūn, this is a Milangka male and Purungu female.
<i>Ngunyarrangu</i>	women or girls in adjacent generations in the same patriline, one being the aunt (father's sister) of the other. For Minyjūn this is a Karimarra–Purungu pair (more than two: <i>Ngunyarrangkaji</i>).
<i>Nyakajiyarra</i>	a husband and wife who are not of the skin groups that are customarily allowed to marry.
<i>Nyukunurra</i>	a married couple, the wife being the speaker's sister, and the husband in the speaker's generation (the speaker's sister and brother-in-law). For Minyjūn, this is a Panaka woman and a Karimarra man.

Dyadic kinship terminology in Minyjun's story continued

<i>Nyuparra</i>	the speaker's son and daughter-in-law. For Minyjun, this refers to a Milangka man and a Purungu woman.
<i>Partangurra</i>	two people in the speaker's generation in the section of the male speaker's brothers-in-law, or the female speaker's sisters-in-law. For Minyjun, this refers to two Karimarra people.
<i>Pirnarra</i>	a married couple, the husband being the speaker's brother, and the wife in the speaker's generation. For Minyjun this is a Panaka man and a Karimarra woman.
<i>Rampanu</i>	men or boys in adjacent generations in the same matriline. They are uncle and nephew to each other. This could be a Purungu–Panaka pair, or a Milangka–Karimarra pair (more than two: rampanurranya, rampanumpanu, rampanumalinga).
<i>Wajirrikarra</i>	the speaker's sibling and <i>nyamu</i> (mother's father or daughter's son). For Minyjun, this is a Panaka–Karimarra pair.
<i>Yakankarra</i>	kin of any gender combination in different sections in the generation of the speaker's grandparents or grandchildren. This may be a brother- or sister-in-law pair, or a husband and wife who are not in the speaker's generation. For Minyjun, this is a Panaka–Karimarra pair (more than two: yakanmalinga).
<i>Yaljarlirra</i>	people of the section of the speaker. Minyjun uses this to refer to two Panaka people.
<i>Yarlpurrangu</i>	technically two people who were born on the same day, but used to refer to two men who have grown up together and/or gone through the Law together.
<i>Yarruwarra</i>	a married couple, the husband being the speaker's brother, and the wife in the generation of the speaker's grandparents or grandchildren (more than two: yarruwamalingi — e.g. a man and his two wives).
<i>Yininirra</i>	a married couple, of which the wife is the speaker's aunt or mother-in-law and therefore in an avoidance relationship (Milangka–Purungu) (more than two: yininirranya).
<i>Yinkarnirra</i>	a male–female pair, the speaker's brother and woman who is in the section of his wife, but who is too close a relation to be a wife. The speaker's brother and a woman who is in the section of his wife, but who is not his wife. Minyjun uses this term 'yarruwarra' to refer to his brother Jacob and Jacob's wife Rosie, but 'yinkarnirra' to refer to his brother Dick and Rosie.
<i>Yirtarnkarra</i>	siblings in the section of the speaker's mother. For Minyjun this is two Purungu people.

APPENDIX 2

A guide to pronunciation of Nyangumarta words

When pronouncing Nyangumarta, remember that stress falls on the first syllable. A very basic guide to Nyangumarta sounds is provided below.

Vowels

- a* like the 'a' in 'father', but a bit shorter
- i* like the 'i' in 'hit' or 'bit'
- u* like the 'u' in 'put'

Consonants

The sounds represented by *m*, *w*, *r*, *n*, *l* and *y* are all similar to English.

- t* a cross between English 't' and 'd'
- p* a cross between English 'p' and 'b'
- k* a cross between English 'k' and 'g'
- ng* as in 'ring' or 'song'; hence, Ngaru (Port Hedland) is pronounced Nga-ru
- rt* like English 't' but with the tongue curled back; hence, Mirta (Don McLeod) is pronounced Mi-rta
- rn* like English 'n' but with the tongue curled back; hence, Karntimarta (Warralong Station) is pronounced Karn-ti-ma-rta
- rl* like English 'l' but with the tongue curled back; hence, Rurla (Fred Bradman) is pronounced Ru-rla
- ny* a single sound a bit like the -ni- in 'onion'; hence, Minyjun is pronounced Miny-jun; Janyjinya (Mt Edgar) is pronounced Jany-ji-nya
- ly* a single sound a bit like the -lli- in 'million'; hence, Waly-pi-la
- rr* a trill, like the Scottish r-sound; hence, Marr-ngu

APPENDIX 3

Glossary

The Bore	a mining area, also referred to as the Bore Hole
Janyjinya	Mt. Edgar Station, where Minyjun lived and worked as a child
jartuntarra	a pair of brothers-in-law in the generation of the speaker's parents or children. Minyjun uses this term to refer to brothers-in-law who are Milangka and Purungu
Jarturtu	Top Camp on Yurtingunya (Strelley Station)
Jijila	Jijilajangunya. Located on the coast near Condon, various anglicised spellings of the name include Disler, Deisler, and Techelo
Jirrpayinya	Camel Camp, east of Callawa Station on the Rabbit-proof Fence
kangkuji	Older sister
Kangkushot	Peter Coppin
Karimarra	a section name
Karntimarta	Warralong Station
Kujupurra	Cranky Iti
Kunangarnarranya	a mining area on the east Turner River near Woodstock Station
Kurlira	the Eight Mile mining area, north of Marble Bar
Kurlkarriya	Noonkanbah Station, in the east Kimberley
Kurlumpurrnya	Coongan Station
Kurntinya	Coondina, a mining area
Kurrunya	De Grey Station; the De Grey River
Malyurta	the name given to a middle child in the family; Minyjun uses this to refer to his brother, Dick McKenna
mamaji	older brother; the term by which Minyjun refers to his brother, Jacob Oberdoo
Mampurljari	Woodstock Station
Mampurlunya	a hill south of Yandeyarra which is Les Ankie's country
Mangarla	a language
Manguny	the Dreamtime
maparn	magic; a sorcerer or healer
marirra	a kinship term referring to a brother- or sister-in-law pair in the speaker's generation; for Minyjun, Panaka–Karimarra pair; <i>marirra-marrira</i> refers to a group of Panaka and Karimarra people
marlurlu	boy candidates on their first initiation journey
marntiyarra	a kinship term referring to a pair of kin in any gender combination in adjacent generations, in the speaker's patriline, such as a classificatory father and son. For Minyjun this means a Panaka and Milangka pair. Minyjun often uses this term to refer to himself and Rurla.
marrka	younger sibling
marrngu	a person, an Aboriginal person
marruku	wife's mother, an avoidance relationship
Martakura	Lalla Rookh Station
Martanya	a mining area on the Brockman River, near Marble Bar
maruntu	a species of goanna; also the name of Snowy Jittermarra
Milangka	a section name
mirta	old man or woman, or older brother or sister
Mirta	Don McLeod
Moolyella	a tin mining field near Marble Bar
Murrkangunya	the name given to a woman's oldest child

Ngarnka, Ngarnkawaru	Don McLeod
Ngaru	Port Hedland
Ngulipartu	a dialect of Nyangumarta
Ngulyimunya	Corunna Downs Station
Nyamal	a language
Nyirti	the name given to a woman's youngest child
Nyukarra	Yarrie Station
nyuparra	the speaker's son and his wife. Minyjun uses this to refer to a Milangka man and Purungu woman, including Hardcase and Lavender, with whom he worked at Nyukarra (Yarrie Station)
Panaka	a section name
Panaka-Panaka	Punmu, a desert outstation established by the Nomads on Lake Dora
Pananykarra	a creek and spring, also called Banningarra or Benningarra, near Mt Blaze on Pardoo Station
Pangkapara	a place on the Shaw River
Partijirri Ngurra	Middle Camp on Yurtingunya (Strelley Station)
Pijakali	a dialect of Nyangumarta
Pilykunkura	the Pilgangoora mining area
Pindan	the company formed by the group in 1954; after the split in 1959–60, the company was operated by the faction led by Putungaja and Kangkushot
Pintunya	Sheep Camp, an outcamp of Warrawagine Station
Pirrimaya	Callawa Station
Pirtimarra	the Petermarer Creek, east of Port Hedland
Pitpit	Billy Thomas
Purungu	a section name
Putungaja	Ernie Mitchell
Puwujapiji	Tobin Binbin
Rampanu	men or boys in adjacent generations in the same matriline; uncle and nephew to each other, they are either a Purungu–Panaka pair, or a Milangka–Karimarra pair
Rurla	Fred Bradman
Twelve Mile	a camp twelve miles east of Port Hedland.
Warrkalkura	the Mt Francisco, or 'Mt Frisco', mining area
Walyarli	a dialect of Nyangumarta, also called Coastal Nyangumarta
walypila	whitefella, a non-Aboriginal person
Wodgina	a mining area
yaku	brother-in-law
Yirramakartunya	Roebourne
Yirrankaji	Nullagine
Yukurlukurlunya	a creek not far from Marble Bar
Yurtingunya	Strelley Station

APPENDIX 4

A note on the Nyangumarta text

The Nyangumarta spelling system used here is that developed for use in the bilingual program at Strelley School by Minyjun and the linguists with whom he worked.

English words that have been incorporated into the Nyangumarta sound system, and which are used in ways that show they have actually become Nyangumarta words, are spelled accordingly. Examples are *kangkuru* ‘kangaroo’, *piinyji* ‘fence’, *ruutu* ‘road’, *murtuka* ‘motor vehicle’, *walypila* ‘whitefella’ and *maaja* ‘boss’. Although Nyangumarta has a number of words for kangaroo, these words have gradually fallen out of use owing to the deaths of people totemically associated with the animals they refer to, so that now *kangkuru* is used as a generic term for all large macropods. And although there are traditional arrangements in which particular categories of kinfolk may act as ‘bosses’ of

others who are ‘workers’, the word *maaja* is used in contemporary contexts where kinship plays little or no part in role assignment. Other English words — such as ‘cyclone’ and ‘station’, that have not been incorporated into the Nyangumarta sound system, and which have more frequently-used Nyangumarta equivalents — retain their English spelling. For example, the Nyangumarta word *maya* is usually translated as ‘house’ or ‘building’, but may just as frequently refer to the pastoral lease upon which buildings are situated.

Where an English word is used with a Nyangumarta suffix, the two morphemes are separated by a hyphen. Examples are *full moon-jarrikinyi* ‘the moon was becoming full/a full moon was appearing’ and *bullet-jirri* ‘two bullets’. Nyangumarta words formed by reduplication are also hyphenated, as in *jinyji-jinyji* ‘taking turns’.

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Notes

1. A kinship term, referring in this case to a Karimarra and Purungu pair; see Appendix 1.
2. Referring to the Pilbara Aboriginal biographies *Wanamurranganya: the story of Jack McPhee* (Sally Morgan, Freemantle Arts Centre Press, Freemantle, 1989) and *Pilbara Bushman: the Life and Experience of W. Dunn* (Graham Wilson, Hesperian Press, 2002).
3. Janet Sharp, *Nyangumarta: A language of the Pilbara Region of Western Australia*, Pacific Linguistics, Canberra, ACT, 2004, p. 4.
4. Walyarli Nyangumarta, also called Coastal Nyangumarta, is a dialect of Nyangumarta. Ngulipartu Nyangumarta is a different Nyangumarta dialect. See Janet Sharp's Nyangumarta grammar for a discussion of this.
5. Camel Camp, east of Callawa Station on the Rabbit-proof Fence.
6. Yandagooge.
7. The term Minyjun uses is *maaja*, from the English term 'master'.
8. Mywalla Gorge on the Nullagine River.
9. A weekly rail service, called the Spinifex Express, operated between Marble Bar and Port Hedland from 1911 to 1951.
10. A small hill just east of Port Hedland, halfway to Yurtingunya (Strelley Station). It was the site of the Poondino railway siding and the Poondino Pub.
11. The name became 'Monty'.
12. During the Second World War a secret airbase was established at Ngulyimunya (Corunna Downs Station), which was used as a staging point for B-24 Liberator bombers flying reconnaissance and bombing raids against Japanese bases in the Dutch East Indies. Between 1943 and 1945, 213 raids were conducted from Ngulyimunya by the 380th Bombardment Group of the United States Army Air Forces and the 24th and 25th squadrons of the Royal Australian Air Force. The buildings of the base were covered with camouflage netting and spinifex, and this, together with the natural heat haze of the region, made it difficult to locate. At the height of its operation in 1945 around 300 personnel were stationed there.
13. Kick, or grade: uprooting spinifex with your heels from a sitting position.
14. Japan.
15. John Wilson, 'The Pilbara Aboriginal social movement: An outline of its background and significance', in RM Berndt & CH Berndt (eds) *Aborigines of the west: Their past and their present*, pp. 151–83, University of Western Australia Press, 1979, p. 163.
16. Annual race meetings held in Port Hedland and Marble Bar during winter were significant and festive occasions for both *marrngu* and *walypila* in the district. The Hedland races were held over a week, and holidays were granted on stations for both race meetings. Before the strike, 'Races Time' enabled *marrngu* from all the stations to get together for meetings and ceremonies, and they continued to be important meeting times for *marrngu* following the strike.
17. Christmas, called 'Pudding' by *marrngu* from the custom of preparing large puddings on stations, was significant for *marrngu* as a time when station work ceased for a month or so. Before the strike *marrngu* were able to get together for ceremonies at this time of the year. Christmas was also important as a marker of time; the end of one year and the beginning of another.
18. Recording of Pitpit (Billy Thomas) addressing school children at Wantilurr (Skull Springs), 21 September 1992.
19. An application was made to the Western Australian Education Department for teaching resources and a trained teacher for Yandeyarra, but the government believed that a permanent school at Yandeyarra would encourage more Aboriginal people to leave their employment on the stations to seek an education for their children. Moreover, it was felt that the government would be criticised for providing educational facilities for a group associated with Mirta, a supposed communist, when no educational provisions were made for Aboriginal people on other stations in the regions. The application for support for the school was denied.
20. *Walypila* who became involved with the group at this time included artist Sam Fullbrook and writer Donald Stuart, who wrote a novelised account of the strike, called *Yandy*. Max Brown also published an account of the strike and the group's activities in *The Black Eureka*, published in 1976. His book includes an account of his own experiences at Yandeyarra, and of the meeting in December 1954 at which *marrngu* asked all *walypila* to leave the community. This decision seems to have been a result of criticisms expressed by some of the *walypila* about the organisation of the group, and concerns over Stuart's interest in secret/sacred knowledge.

- 21 Those arrested were Minyjun's brothers Jacob and Dick, Partanya (Bobby), Bruce Wandarri, Nganakulu (Jack Kurala) and Tommy Annet. Following this incident, many workers who had returned to work on stations left their employment to join the group's mining activities. The magistrate hearing the case in Marble Bar reminded the police that Aboriginal men were allowed to each own one dog, and reprimanded them for failing to inform the strikers of their intention to kill the dogs. As a result of such incidents, according to John Wilson (1961, p. 80), *marrngu* 'gradually gained legal protection for their activities', including the entitlement to carry guns, peg and work mining claims, and travel through station property when prospecting.
- 22 Daisy Bindi, a domestic worker at Roy Hill Station, led a walk-off from that station in 1951, which was inspired by the activities of the group, but not directly organised by it. Ninety-seven *marrngu* station workers boarded a semitrailer which Daisy Bindi had organised, and left the station to form an independent work party on the mineral fields, with Daisy Bindi as camp leader. They struggled financially, however, and later joined the larger group.
- 23 Some of the names for days of the week used by Minyjun arise from work that was customarily undertaken on particular days on the stations. Monday, for example, is *Wajantayim*, from 'washing time', and Tuesday *Yayintayim*, from 'ironing time'. The names of the other days are *Jaaji* (Thursday), *Rapu* (Friday), *Jatiti* (Saturday), and *Wiiki*, from the English weekend, is Sunday.
- 24 An actor in American Westerns, Lash LaRue was the hero of a series of Western comic books popular in the 1940s and 1950s.
- 25 After the financial collapse of the group, children in the 'kids' camp' who attended school at Yandeyarra were cared for at Elephant Pool by Massey and his wife, Lily.
- 26 A hill south of Yandeyarra which is Les Ankie's country.
- 27 According to John Wilson, the Pindan Company was formed at this meeting at the Bore (1961, p. 102).
- 28 Established to provide a base for Aboriginal people to support themselves through pastoral activities, Moola Bulla was put up for sale in 1955. Mirta (Don McLeod), discusses his interest in the sale of Moola Bulla in his book *How the West was Lost* (pp. 89–93).
- 29 Located on the coast near Condon, Coppin and Read (1999, p. 121) give the Ngarla name of this place as Jijilajangunya. Various anglicised spellings of the name include Disler (Palmer & McKenna, 1978), Deisler, and Techelo.
- 30 The term Minyjun uses for the invisible barrier is *mirurru*, a word used to refer to an evil spirit, but also used to refer to technology such as automatic doors and airport x-ray machines.
- 31 Marnie Springs is north-west of Callawa.
- 32 Ullaling Hills at the western end of the Isabella Range.
- 33 Also known as Doolina Gorge, or Coongan Gorge.
- 34 A literal translation is 'the clouds tipped out the water'.
- 35 The complex reasons behind the split have been examined in depth in a 1961 Masters dissertation written by John Wilson, who was living with the group at the time.
- 36 Teddy Chalgo's shift in allegiance was significant as he had been a spokesman for Mirta's faction. See John Wilson (1961).
- 37 This was an ex-army, left-hand drive, 4x4 Scout. There was a dispute between the two factions over ownership of the vehicle.
- 38 Ken Hale and Geoff O'Grady were pioneering linguists whose research, including work on endangered languages, is highly regarded. Minyjun met O'Grady again in 1980 when O'Grady visited the Strelley community where Minyjun played a principal role in establishing a Nyangumarta literacy program.
- 39 Max Brown had lived with the group at Yandeyarra in the early 1950s.
- 40 The name, meaning 'white woman's voice', refers to his effeminate mannerisms or transvestite behaviour.
- 41 Pajarlingananya (Bobby Janyjanyji) was a good mechanic who was able to fix any car or windmill. He was also a good shearer, having a very quick hand; Minyjun had never seen a *marrngu* who could shear like him.
- 42 Between Mt Phillip and Yinnitharra.
- 43 A disused station between Nanutarra and Bululu
- 44 Mirta used to refer to it as the mother of the group, as it was so rich in mineral.
- 45 Nalma, Minyjun's first wife, passed away in 1985 and Minyjun never refers to her by name.
- 46 A hill with a creek through the middle, just north of Marble Bar.
- 47 A railway tank.
- 48 The Australian bustard.
- 49 *Warrkamu: Aboriginal Mining Community*, made by Ian Wallis and Ken Widdowson, showed aspects of the group's organisation and mining activities at Wodgina.
- 50 This was Harvey Tilbrook, then retired.
- 51 Suzuki motor vehicle.

- 52 Morgan had worked at Milingimbi and was in the literature production centre at Yurtingunya.
- 53 Mark Clendon and Anne Scrimgeour.
- 54 During 1979 and 1980, Kulkarriya (Noonkanbah Station), 100 km south-west of Fitzroy Crossing in the Kimberley, became the site of a dispute between the Western Australian Government and the Yungngora Aboriginal community. A company exploring for petroleum drilled an exploration well on Noonkanbah in the vicinity of Pea Hill (Umpampurru), an area identified as having important cultural significance to the Yungngora community which owned the pastoral lease. Despite strong opposition from the Aboriginal community to further exploration being carried out there, and an anthropological report outlining the significance of the area, the premier Charles Court was determined that exploration should go ahead. Months of stand-off and unsuccessful negotiation took place, in which Court became personally involved. Mirta (Don McLeod) and Minyjun's brother Jacob Oberdoo were also involved in support of the Yungngora community's position. To break the deadlock, a convoy of 45 trucks carrying drilling equipment travelled from Perth to Kulkarriya in August 1980, under heavy police escort. Protestors blockaded the convoy at various points along the route, including one staged by the Strelley community on the Tappa Tappa Bridge, in which Minyjun was involved. Despite delays caused by these blockades the drilling rig reached Noonkanbah, and drilling commenced on 30 August. No commercial reserves of oil were discovered.
- 55 Steve Hawke described the dispute in *Noonkanbah: Whose Land, Whose Law*, written with Michael Gallagher (Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1989).
- 56 The road made by *walypila* looking for oil is the WAPET road which was made by Western Australian Petroleum Pty Ltd.
- 57 David Scrimgeour.
- 58 The group established an independent Aboriginal medical service in 1981, and this, together with the purchase of a small secondhand single-engine aeroplane in the same year, enabled medical services to be provided to the new desert communities.
- 59 A large waterhole, the home of a big snake, near salt lakes to the north of the Percival Lakes. Another important waterhole, Karrparti, has a dangerous snake living beneath it, but the one at Wirnpa is not dangerous.
- 60 Following the split with the Nomads group, the people who had moved to the desert camp of Panaka-Panaka changed its name to Punmu, and continued as an independent community.
- 61 The Coles shopping centre in South Hedland is a popular gathering place for *marrngu* who are drinkers.
- 62 An initiate is spoken of as if he is instrumental in organising and arranging the ceremony, when in fact he has no control at all over the procedures.
- 63 Mijijimaya was established near the site of the abandoned Lochinvar Station, near Yalalu (the Ullaling Hills) which was Pitpit's birthplace. Pitpit is known also as Yulalu. The name Mijijimaya means 'white woman's house'.
- 64 Cane River is about 60 km south-east of Onslow.
- 65 'The government had set aside some money for us': Refers to Section 70 of the Western Australian constitution. Self-government was conferred on the colony of Western Australia in 1889, with the condition that 1 per cent of gross revenue be set aside each year for the use of the Indigenous population. This section was deleted from the constitution in 1894, however, under the premiership of John Forrest. McLeod and the Strelley community have consistently argued that Section 70 was removed from the constitution illegally. See McLeod's book *How the West was Lost* (pp. 3–12).
- 66 Referring to the fact that the Strelley community would pool their social security payments, in what was called the 'chuck-in' system.
- 67 A family name. Rurla's father was the brother of Norman Murla.
- 68 A government settlement for Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley which operated from 1910 to 1955. Aboriginal people were forcibly placed there, along with Aboriginal prisoners, and from the 1930s children of mixed descent were sent there after being removed from their families. Oral histories of the experiences of Aboriginal people at Moola Bulla can be found in the book *Moola Bulla: In the shadow of the mountain*. Kimberley Language Resource Centre, Magabala Books, Broome, 1996.
- 69 Interestingly, Minyjun uses the term 'Purunguja' to refer to a someone who is Purungu, while other section names do not involve the suffix *-ja* in this way.
- 70 Jeffrey Heath, 'Introduction' in J Heath, F Merlan, & A Rumsey (eds), *Languages of kinship in Australia*, Oceanic Linguistic Monographs 24, University of Sydney, 1982, p. 5.
- 71 Many of the terms in this list have a broader range of meanings than those given here, but these definitions are sufficient for understanding their use in this book.

Index

Note: Only the English translation has been indexed; entries in Nyangumarta will appear on the page opposite the English entry. Bold numbers indicate a photograph, and 'b' after a page number indicates a marginal note.

- ABC, defamation case 63
- AG Sims 63
- alcohol 117, 135, 169, 178, 181, 197
 - attempts at rehabilitation 133, 169, 203
 - problems with 181, 197, 203, 209
- Allen, Teddy *see* Mapayi
- Ankie, Les 53, 127b, 199b, 209
- Aspro, Billy 73, **74**
- avoidance relationships 31, 79b, 117b, 127b, 143b, 173b, 191b
- Ball, Wambi 65, 85
- Barker, Adam *see* Ngarlarli
- Basildene, Mick *see* Guitar Man
- Batchelor College 187
- Beard, Tommy 173
- Betts, Georgie *see* Wunyjungu
- Bidyadanga 171, 197–9
- Binbin, Dooley *see* Yurlpuly
- Binbin, Tobin *see* Puwujapiji
- Bindi, Daisy 47, **47**
- Black, Eddie 55
- Blair, Polly 113b
- Bobby *see* Wampurlija
- Boyd, Kerry **140**
- Bradman, Fred *see* Rurla
- Brittain, Judy 179
- Brown, Cocky *see* Purnungurrara
- Brown, Kathy 37
- Brown, Malcolm 137b, 143, 151
- Brown, Max 37, 89
- Brown, Polly 137b
- Bucknall, Euan 147b
- Bucknall, Gwen 133, 137, 141, 143, 145, 149
- Bucknall, John 133, 137, 139, 145, 149, 179, 195
 - and school at Yurtingunya 135, 141, 207
- buffel grass seeds, gathering of 59, 63, 65, 67
- business *see* Law
- Butler, Ray 179, 207
- Callawa Station *see* Pirrimaya
- Camp Sixty-One *see* Ngalkurninya
- Captain Wilson *see* Majawariny
- Carbine, Dendo 157
- Carlindi Station *see* Nganinyjangu
- Carol 181
- ceremony 3, 25, 79, 89, 171–3
 - ceremonial dress **86**, 89, 197–9
 - dancing in 25, 129, 171–3, 197–9
 - funerals 125, 127, 129, 137, 183, 197
 - and initiation 89, 129, 135–7
 - see also* Law, marriage
- Chalgo, Teddy 83
- Christmas Creek Station *see* Kurungal
- Coastal Nyangumarta *see* Walyarli
- Collins, Sharon 189
- Commissioner of Native Affairs 63
- community breakdown 169, 181, 203–5, 209
 - dissent among young people 199, 203, 205, 209
 - Pindan split 81, 83–5, 167, 205
 - see also* alcohol, problems with
- Coombie **68**, 71
- Coongan Station *see* Kurlumpurrnya
- Coppin, Dudley 149
- Coppin, Jack (Ngarlkapangu) 19
- Coppin, Lang 113
- Coppin, Peter *see* Kangkushot
- Cornish, Dougal 47b
- Corunna Downs Station *see* Ngulyimunya
- country 157, 161b, 178, 193, 196, 199
 - teaching about 143, 145, 147, 153, **155**, 155–9, 197
- Court, Charles 151, 153
- Cowie, Karen 189
- Cranky Iti *see* Kujupurra
- Crawford, Alan 85
- Crow Yougala *see* Yakalya
- cyclones 17, 53, 87, 95, 97, 149, 163–7, 193
 - Cyclone Tracy 137, 139
 - see also* floods
- Davey, Jack *see* Purtikana
- Davey, Stan 123b
- Daylight 149
- Dean, Billy 91
- death of leaders and elders 197, 207, 209
- death of parents 45, 129
- death of Nalma, 183
- Department of Native Affairs 37, 63
- disease, respiratory 123, 125
- disillusionment with young people 199, 203, 205, 209
- Donkey-Bloke 157
- Dooley *see* Yurlpuly
- Doyle, Jimmy *see* Kurrkurrayinya
- Dreamtime stories xvii, 9, 61, 131, 155, 195
- Drovers' Rest 169
- Dwyer, Tim 179
- earthquake 155
- Eckerman, Ray 149
- Eda, Charlie 207

- Edgar, Molly 127b
 Edgar, Tommy *see* Windmill Man
 education 35, 137–9, 195, 197
 teaching about country and culture 143, 145, 147, 153, 155, **157**, 155–9, 197
 Nyangumarta teaching materials 133, 137, 139, 141, 143
 see also schools, community-controlled and literacy classes
 Eight Mile mining area *see* Kurlira
 Elcho Island school 137
 elopement 101–13
 Erickson, Brian, linguist 137
- father (of Minyjun) 1, 3, 5, 7b, 11, 25, 43, 45
 Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement 123b
 Fisher Paddy *see* Wawuwawu
 Flann, Julie 157b
 floods 17, 25, 41, 53, 79, 85, 87, 93, 95, 113
 see also cyclones
 Flower, Laka 91b
 Francis, Merlin 151
 Francis, Ronald *see* Jalkurlunya
 Fred, Kevin *see* Pukurt
 free-rights time 117
 French, Frank 145b, 159
- Gardiner, Ross 103b
 Gardiner, William *see* Julakalaju
 Ginger (nephew of Yakalya) 169
 Ginger Bob *see* Palyakulayi
 Ginger, Carol 181
 Green, Billy *see* Jarrarra
 Guitar Man (Mick Basildene) 45
 Gurindji people 135
- Hale, Barbara (Minyjun's daughter) 121, 123, 125, **142**, 143–5, **163**, **183**
 visiting mother in hospital 179, 181, **181**, 183
 with her father **154**, **156**
 Hale, Frances (son of Rindy) 141b, 163
 Hale Gilbert 45b, 141b
 Hale, Johnson *see* Monk
 Hale, Ken 87
 Hale, Nigel (son of Rindy) 141b
 Hale, Pamela (daughter of Rindy) 141b
 Hale, Sharon (Minyjun's daughter) 121, 123, 125, 143–5, 155, **181**, **183**
 visiting mother in hospital 179, 181, 183
 Hall, Ron *see* Rindy
 Hall, Terry 115
 Hallam, Jim *see* Yalamu
 Hardcase, Lily 45b
 Hardcase, Lindsay *see* Nyanya
 Hardcase (Nyanya's father) 111, 121
 Hawke, Steve 151
 health service on country 37, 133, 161
 Henderson, Jock 85, 89, 91, 125
- Henry, Mary 89, 91b
 Henry, Patrick *see* Tuntiyana
 Hill, Raymond 91
 Horace, Jack *see* Mangkata
 hospital 11, 35, 45, 121, 123, 125, 179–83
 see also health service on country
How the West was Lost (film) 187b
- initiation 89, 129, 135–7, 169–71
 see also ceremony, Law
 Injil, Tommy 111
- Jack (son of Lily Hardcase) 45b
 Jackson 65
 Jalili's father *see* Yaparla, Paddy
 Jalkurlunya (Ronald Francis) 145b
 Jantarla (Gordon Ponteroy) 199
 Janyjijanyji, Bobby *see* Pajarlingananya
 Jarlaku (Alistair Sammy) 125
 Jarrarra (Billy Green) 111
 Jijila 65, 75
 Jirrpayinya (Camel Camp) 3, 179, 181, 183, 187, 189
 Jiyikarra 89
 Jones, Amy *see* Walarungu
 Julakalaju (William Gardiner) 143
 Junamanta 123
 Jurriya (Wodgina) 35, 99, 123, 124
 Juwikarayirti (Jimmy Uridja) **26**, 27
 Juwikarayirti (Maori Tom) 77b
 Juwikarayirti (Sago) 77b, 77
- Kajarinya 65, 69, **69**, 71, 73, 75, 83, 159
 Kalyira (Toby Jones) 149, 169, 171b
 Kangkushot (Peter Coppin, Yatanya) x, 51, 59, 63, 75, 81, 99, 113, 125, 157
 and Pindan split 81, 83–5, 167, 205
 and yaku ceremony 197–9
 Karatiti Corbett 55
 Karlene (daughter of Lily Hardcase) 45b
 Karntimarta (Warralong Station) 149, 151, 159, 161, 179, 183, 187, 199, 209
 Law business 171–3
 problems at 169, 181, 197, 203
 school at 193, 207
 Kartujarra 3, 161
 Kempton, Jack *see* Ngarlarli
 Kids' Camp 70, **71**
 Kitty (Rurla's mother) 207
 Kujupurra (Cranky Iti) 35, **35**, **88**, 173, 189
 Kunangarnarranya 51–3, 77, 199
 Kurala, Jack 127b, 189
 Kurlira (Eight Mile mining area) 41, 43, 51
 Kurlkarriya (Noonkanbah Station) 137, 151, 153
 Kurlumpurrnya (Coongan Station) 117, 121, 149, 197
 Kurkurrayinya (Jimmy Doyle) 89
 Kurrunya (De Grey Station) 77, 79, 143, 157
 Kurungal (Wangkatjunga or Christmas Creek Station) 199

- Laka Flower 88, **91b**
 Lalla Rookh Station *see* Martakura
 Lavender (Purungu) 109b
 Law business ix, 3, 41, 65, 169–73, 171, 193, 199
 initiation 89, 129, 135–7
 see also ceremony, marriage
 Leigh, Tommy 87
 Lily (wife of Massey) 71
 linguists 87, 137, 145
 see also Bucknall, Gwen
 Linmarra, Lorna (Karimarra) 191b
 literacy classes 51, 87, 123, 123b, 133, 137b, 141b, **143**, 187
 Minyjun's role 133, 137, 141, 143, 195, 207
 resources for 133, 137, 139, 141, 143
 Lockyer, Donna 175, 179, 181, **181**, 183, **183**
 Lockyer, Erica 175, 181, 189
 Long Man (Ray Thomas) 135b, 157
 Lucy (wife of Crow Yougala) 125
- Majawariny (Captain Wilson) **68**, 69
 Makanykarra 143–5
 Malpu 145
 Malyurta (middle child) *see* Lockyer, Donna;
 McKenna, Dick
 Mamaji (older brother) *see* Oberdoo, Jacob
 Mampurljari (Woodstock Station) 199, 207, 209
 Mangarla 3, 81, 161
 Mangarlapurrja (Toby Williams) 189
 Mangkata (Jack Horace) 51
 Manjirri, Charlie 137, 139
 Mann, Clare 179, 181
 Mantawawa (Smiler) 123b
 Manyjilyjarra 3, 149b, 159, 161
 Maori Tom Juwikarayirti 77b
maparn 9, 131, 179
 Mapayi (Teddy Allen) 143–5
 Marble Bar races 23, 31–3, 59, 105
 Marney, Tommy *see* Razorblade
 marriage, *marrngu* 79, 101, 137b
 illicit 55b, 101, 109, 123, 199b
 punishment for illicit 111, 113, 117, 123
 Marsh, Jim 145
 Martakura (Lalla Rookh Station) 57, 149, 173, 179, 187, 193
 Lalla Rookh Mine 55, 57, 59
 Martin, Stan 193
 Maruntu (Snowy Jittermarra, Panaka) x, 83, 89, 123b, 137, 169b, 175, 195, 197, 209
 Mary (wife of Minyjun) **209**
 Massey 71, **71**, 179
 Matapangu (Sam Mitchell) **49**
 McKenna, Clancy *see* Warntupungkarna
 McKenna, Dick x, 5, 35, 53, 55, 57, 129, 141b, 189
 and building work 37, 51
 and family deaths 45, 129, 197
 McLeay, David 137
 McLeod, Don *see* Mirta
- Middle Camp *see* Partijirri Ngurra
 Middleton, SG 63
 Mijijimaya 77, 189, 193, 203
 Milingimbi 137–9
 Minga (Molly Yesterday) **56**, 57
 mining 1, 37–59, 91, 95, 99
 beryl 47, 81, 83, 85, **86**, **87**, 91, 99
 gold 27, 29, 33, 39–41, 99, 159
 manganese 63, 77, **78**, 79, 83, 89
 methods of **38**, 39, 41, **46**, 53, **78**, 89, 95
 tin 11, 21, 25, 27, 29, 33, 47, 49, 85, 99, 135
 Mintarr (Mandora Station) 63, 75
 Minyjun (Jacob Oberdoo) *see* Oberdoo, Jacob
 Mirli *see* Mirlimirli
 Mirlimirli (Susie Rowlands) 139, 143, 145, 147, 163, 199b
 Mirlpanga, Polly 97b
 Mirta (Don McLeod) x, 21, **22**, 51, 65, 95, 125, 158, 179, 189
 allegiance to 83, 167, 203, 205
 character and disposition 91, 93, 201
 directing *marrngu* work 47, 69, 77, 97
 and mining work 33, 59, **79**, 87, **87**
 and Noonkanbah dispute 151, 153
 purchase of stations 37, 51, 129, 133, 135, 149, 199
 relationship with government 37, 201, 201–63
 relationship with *marrngu* 23, 37, 51, 81, 183, 201
 split in Pindan 81, 83–5, 167, 205
 Mitchell, Ernie *see* Putungaja
 Mitchell, Sam *see* Matapangu
 Monaghan family 143b
 Monk (Johnson Hale) 163, 165
 Moola Bulla 41, 65, 207
 Moolyella 21, 23, 25–9, 30, 41, 113, 121, 207
 mining at 1, 11, 13, 25, 29
 Morgan, David 137–9, 143
 mother (of Minyjun) 3, 5–7, 11, 25, 31, 43, 45, 71, 113, 121, 129
 Mt Francisco *see* Warrkalkura
 Muccan, Arthur 135b
 Munumijirri (Yesterday) 57, **57**, 127b
 Murla, Norman *see* Murlangajayi
 Murlangajayi (Norman Murla) 97b, 149
 Murlangajayi (father of Rurla) 207
 Murlarri, Mervin (Milangka) 91
 Murphy, Dan 117, 137
 Murrkangunya (eldest child in family) *see* Bucknall,
 Euan; Stream Mick
 Murunyuka (Nimingarra Mine) 63, **78**, 79
 Muuki 109
- Nalma 101–29, **101**, **103**, 113–15, 139, 143, 145, **173**, 175
 and children 121, 123, 125
 elopement 101–17, 123
 final illness 179–83
 working for stations 109, 113
 Nancy *see* Ngajukulayi

- Narnngurla 91
Native Administration Act 21
 Native Welfare 49, 51, 135
Native Welfare Act 63
 Nelly (wife of Murlangajayi) 97b
 Ngajukulayi (Nancy) **122**, 123, 123b, 175
 Ngalkurninya (Camp Sixty-One) 149, 159, 161
 Ngampunya (Ginger Major) 191b, 193
 Nganakulu 57, 189
 Nganinyjangu (Carlindi Station), 149, 179
 Ngarlarli (Adam Barker) 89
 Ngarlarli (Jack Kempton) 103b, 161, 171
 Ngarlkapangu (Jack Coppin) 19
 Ngarluma 87, 87b
 Ngarnka *see* Mirta (Don McLeod)
 Ngarnkawaru *see* Mirta (Don McLeod)
 Ngaru (Port Hedland) 23, 45, 59, 75, 83, 85, 89, 91, 141, 209
 and ceremony 129, 195
 hospital 11, 35, 121, 123, 179
 Ngawu (Johnny Thomas) 191
 Ngulalu (Alec Sambo) 149
 Ngulipartu 1, 3, 81, 161, 193
 Ngulyimunya (Corunna Downs Station) 17–19, 49, 141, 207
 Nimingarra Mine *see* Murunyuka
 Nimingarra Station *see* Warlarla
 Noakes, David 187b
 Nomads 81–99, 133–7, 167, 179b, 207b
 purchase of stations 37, 129, 133, 135, 149, 199
 see also Mirta; Oberdoo, Jacob; Pindan Company
 Noonkanbah dispute 151–3
 Northern Development and Mining company 37
 see also Pindan Company
 Nyamal 1, 3, 11, 157
 Nyangumarta 11, 161, 133, 141, 207
 teaching materials 133, 137, 139, 141, 143
 see also education, schools
 Nyanya (Lindsay Hardcase) 109b, 121b, 137
 Nyanya's father *see* Hardcase
 Nyirti (youngest child) *see* Sharon
 Nyiyaparli 3, 11, 55b
- O'Grady, Geoff 87
 Oberdoo, Jacob x, 35, 39, **39**, 135, 137b, 159b, 197, 209
 leadership of Nomads 81, 161b, 189
 and Noonkanbah dispute 151, 153
 Oberdoo, Rosie 151, 153, 159b, 197
 Orange, Janet 173
 Orange, Kathleen 191b
- Pajarlingananya (Bobby Janyjijanyji) 93, 95, 97, 99
 Pakarni (Terrence Jacob) 151, 159, 159b
 Palyakulayi (Ginger Bob) 179
 Panaka-Panaka (Punmu) 159, 159b, 161, 163, 167
 Pananykarra 65, 73, 155
 Papangarranya (Red Bank) 197
- Parlkan 85
 Partijirri Ngurra (Middle Camp) 47, 141, 167, 169, 179
 Paru (Spinifex) 161, 169
 pearl shell, gathering 21, 63, 65, 73–5, **73**, **75**, 79, 155
 Petermarer Creek *see* Pirtimarra
 Pijakarla 3, 161
 Pilykunkura (Pilgangoora) 29, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 57, 83–5
 Pina, Sambo 79b, 83, 113, 125b, 199b
 Pindan Company 37, 63, 81, 83–5, 99, 125, 167, 205
 see also Kangkushot, Putungaja
 Pindan Mob 99, 125
 Pindu, Selina 161b
 Pintunya (Sheep Camp) 29, 171, **171**, 187, 193
 Pirtimarra (Callawa Station) 111, 113, 115, **161**, 163, 165–7, 169, 171–3, 183
 living at 149, 181
 school at 179, 187, 189
 and strike 29, 187
 Pirtimarra (Petermarer Creek) 59, 69, **70**, 71, 159
 Pitpit (Billy Thomas, Panaka) 123, 125, 149, 169, 187, 197–9
 and cultural teaching 157, 159, 193
 police 5, 11, 21, 31, 39, 63, 151–3, 181
 and strike 23, 29, 187
 Ponce, Beryl 181
 Ponteroy, Gordon *see* Jantarla
 Pukurt (Kevin Fred) 137
 Punch (Milanka) **86**, 87b
 Punmu *see* Panaka-Panaka
 Puntanya (Bill Watson senior) 91
 Purnungurrara (Cocky Brown) 57b
 Purnupungu 149
 Purtikana (Jack Davey) 79b, 117b
 Putungaja (Ernie Mitchell) 49, 59, 63, 75, 79, 123
 leadership role 57, 73, 81, 83
 and Pindan split 81, 83–5, 167, 205b
 Puwujapiji (Tobin Binbin) ix, **64**, 65–7, 71, 75, 77, 83
- rabbit-proof fence 3, 149b, 178
 Razorblade (Tommy Marney) 47, 49, 113
 Richardson, Jan 123b
 Richardson, Tony 121
 Ridley 59, 65, 69, 71, 77
 Rieck, Alf 169
 Rindy (Ron Hall) 45b, 59, 69, 113, 141b, 207
 Roberts, Paul 149, 187
 Roebourne *see* Yirramakartunya
 Rowlands, Mary 125b, 199b
 Rowlands, Susie *see* Mirlimirli
 Rurla (Fred Bradman) ix, 41, 99, 163, 165–7, 195, 207
 and Mampurljari 199b, **206**, 207
 recording Nyangumarta stories 139, 141, **207**
 and teaching 137, 143, 145, 147, 159, 187, 193, 195, 207
 working 123, 135, 169

- Sago Juwikarayirti 77b, 77
 Sambo, Alec *see* Ngulalu
 Sammy, Alistair *see* Jarlaku
 schools, community-controlled 49, 133, 137–9, 205
 set up on communities 51, 149, 199, 207
 see also education, teachers
 Seven Drums 189
 Sharp, Janet 159
 Sharp, Norman 79
 Simdan 63, 77
 Sister Joan 197
 Skull Springs *see* Wantilurr
 Smart, John xi, 159, 161, 173, 179, 189, 193
 Snowy Jittermarra *see* Maruntu
 Spinifex (Paru) 161, 169
 Spinifex (wife of Paddy Wakiji) 127b
 Spinks, Peter 137, 141
 split *see* community breakdown
 Spree, Lily 199b
 station work 1, 5, 31, 51, 97, 109–11, 115, 117–21
 cattle 1, 37, 149
 fences 5, 13, 97, 118, 135, 149
 goats 69–71
 sheep 7, 11, 15, 31, 57, 97, 113, 135, 149
 windmills 5, 97, 121, 135, 147, 159, 178, 189
 Stream, Charlie 137b
 Stream Mick 127b
 Strelley Station *see* Yurtingunya
 strikes 21–29, 135, 157, 187
 arrests 21, 29, 187
 marrngu organisers 21, 23, 27–9, 63
 see also Mirta, Yurlpuly
 Summer Institute of Linguistics 145
 swimming, *marrngu* 15, 87–9, 93b, 95, 113, 143

 TAA plane crash 123
 Tabba Tabba Bridge protest 151–3, **151**
 Taliwan (Lisa Williams) 127
 Tatin-Tatin 143
 teachers, *marrngu* 157, 159, 193, 207
 Minyjun 133, 137, 141, 143, 193, 195, 207
 Rurla 137, 143, 145, 147, 159, 193, 195, 207
 teachers, whitefella 133, 137, 139, **140**, 143, 149, 159, 179b
 see also Bucknall, Gwen; Bucknall, John
 Ten Men 169, 203
 Terrence Jacob *see* Pakarni
 Thomas, Billy *see* Pitpit
 Thomas, Bruce *see* Turrkuwanti
 Thomas, Frank 141b, 173
 Thomas, Johnny *see* Ngawu
 Thomas, Ray *see* Long Man
 Thompson, Don 29
 Tilbrook, Harvey 49, 51, 135 (n50)
 Tuntian (Patrick Henry) **76**, 77, 105b
 Turrkuwanti (Bruce Thomas) 141b, 143, 173
 Turti 121

 Uaroo 95–7
 Uluru, visit to 195
 Uridja, Jimmy *see* Juwikarayirti

 Waju, Mavis 191b
 Wakiji, Paddy 127b
 Walarungu (Amy Jones) 197
 Walker, Billy 125b
 Walker, Kenny 89
 Walker, Lola 125b
 Wallal Downs Station 63, 75
 Wallis, Ian 123
 Walmajarri 151
 Walyarli (Coastal Nyangumarta) 1, 3, 87
 Wampurlija (Bobby) 71
 Wandarri, Bruce 97b
 Wangkamijiji 89
 Wangkatjungka *see* Kurungal
 Wannadon, Charlie *see* Warnartan
 Wantilurr (Skull Springs) 21, 23, 157
 Wanyilakartanya (Mywalla Gorge) 5, 9
 Warlupirti 83
 Warnartan (Charlie Wannadon) 149
 Warnman, people and language 3, 81, 161, 193
 Warntupungkarna (Clancy McKenna) 21, 85
 Warralong Station *see* Karntimarta
 Warrkalkura (Mt Francisco) 47, 77, 81, 83–5, 99, 103, 167, 205
 Warrkamu: *Aboriginal Mining Community* (film) 123 (n 49)
 wartime 17–19, 141, 207
 Watson, Bill 109, 115b, 117
 Watson, Bill (senior) *see* Puntanya
 Watson, Jimmy *see* Yirrapinya
 Wave Hill walk-off 135
 Wawuwawu (Fisher Paddy) 171
 Waynartu, Mick 127b
 Wayinartu, Orange 169
 Wigley, James Vandeleur 65, **75**, **129**, 135
 Willalang, Molly 179
 Williams, Jack 179, 181, 195, 207
 Williams, Lisa *see* Taliwan
 Williams, Nora 199b
 Williams, Norton 199b, 209
 Williams, Toby *see* Mangarlapurrja
 willy-willy *see* cyclone
 Wilson, Doug 99
 Wilson, Mick 117, 147, 181, 199
 Windmill Man (Tommy Edgar) 143
 Winyjanya 157
 Wirecutter, Joe 149
 Wirti wirti 157
 Wodgina mining area *see* Jurriya
 Woodman, Biddy 59b
 Woodman, Munda 59b
 Woodman, Tommy 59
 World War II *see* wartime
 Wunyjungu (Georgie Betts) 125

- Wurta 95, 99
 Yabbi, Daisy 191b
 Yakalya (Crow Yougala) x, 33, 77, 83, 93b, 125, 137, 169
 Yakayakayi (Janet Norman) 173
 Yalamu (Jim Hallam) 77, 79, 83
 Yandeyarra 37, 51, 53, 145, 169–73, 175, 199
 yandying 37, 47, 59, 85, **87**, 135, 152
 Yaparla, Jeannie 51
 Yaparla, Paddy 51, 53, 91, 93b, 171b
 Yatanya *see* Kangkushot
 Yesterday, Molly *see* Minga
 Yesterday Munumijirri *see* Munumijirri
 Yindjibarndi 87
 Yirramakartunya (Roebourne) 81, 87, **87**, 91, 93, 95–7, 103, 127, 171–3, 199
 Yirrapinya (Jimmy Watson) **30**, 31
 Yougala, Crow *see* Yakalya
 young people 169–71, 197–9, 203, 205, 209
 Yurlparija 161
 Yurlpuly (Dooley Binbin) 21, 23, 63, **72**
 Yurtingunya (Strelley Station) 129, 131, 133, 135, **135**, 141, 169, **169**, 179, 2

