OCEANIA

The Politico-Historical construction of the Pintupi Luritja and the Concept of Tribe

Sarah Holcombe

Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the history of the emergence of Pintupi Luritja as the dominant language in the Central Australian community of Amunturrngu (Mt Liebig), traced from the people's first encounters with settlement in the 1940s at Haasts Bluff, through to the present. It is a political history, as movement toward settlement demanded a re-structuring of social relations within a newly settled polity. To elaborate on this polity I examine the concept of a language community through the construction of Pintupi Luritja as a 'communilect'. The development of this communilect as a lingua franca in these early settlements signals the value of the original term 'Luritja' as a trope. The meaning of this original Indigenous term is not only indicative of the regional history, but also of the flexible potential in group formation. The pattern of contact and settlement in this Pintupi Luritja region has compelled a socio-linguistic re-configuration, lending a currency to the label Pintupi Luritja that suggests a modern, firmed up, 'tribe'. This tribe is a 'secondary phenomenon' formed through the manipulation of relatively unstructured populations — stateless societies — by the colonial State (Fried 1975). At issue here is the inter-cultural aspect of this language formation that is the elemental process in the creation of this 'new' social formation.

INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the history of the emergence of Pintupi Luritja as the dominant language in the Central Australian community of Amunturrngu (Mt Liebig) traced from the people's first encounters with settlement in the 1940s through to the present. It is a political history, as movement toward settlement demanded a re-structuring of social relations within a newly settled polity. Within this re-configuration of people and place Pintupi Luritja developed as the language that best served the needs of this new grouping.[1] These people came together primarily from the neighbouring country in the west onto a country that had been apparently 'vacated'. Through classical processes of succession, over the following generations, some of these new settlers succeeded to land in this country of the Mayutjarra language. Although not all Luritja are land holders, there is nowadays a correlate between language territory and language ownership. This correlate is not a neat overlap reminiscent of Tindale's 'tribe' (1974) or Birdsall's 'dialectical tribe' (1976:96). Berndt had previously presented a widely accepted

model (1959/1966) opposing this notion of a bounded tribe for the Western Desert, emphasising the fluidity of social organisation and group composition, with which I concur. Hamilton, (drawing on Elkin 1940), argued that this fluidity of local organisation was due to the constant migration in this region, so that life was in a 'state of flux' (1982:93).

In this paper I argue that this 'state of flux' has been halted by contact and settlement in this Luritja region, effectively compelling a socio-linguistic re-configuration, lending a currency to the label Luritja that suggests a modern, firmed up, tribe. This tribe is a 'secondary phenomenon' formed through the manipulation of relatively unstructured populations — stateless societies — by the colonial State (Morton Fried 1975). It is this inter-cultural aspect of this language formation as, conversely, social formation that is at issue here.

Employing the concept of 'tribe' is beset with denotative and connotative baggage. Nevertheless, it is crucial to admit this baggage and allow for its scrutiny, in order to situate formulations of contemporary Indigenous identity within it. Over twenty years ago Rigsby and Sutton noted that, although anthropologists had rejected the word 'tribe' 'they have nevertheless continued in many cases to make use of its traditional meanings. Instead of saying the "X tribe", they often now say "the X", where "X" is the name of a language' (1979:721). This conflation of a society or social network with a language range is still conveniently adopted today, especially within applied anthropology, as examined by Rumsey (1989, 1993) and noted by Rigsby (1995). Smith has also recently examined the 'tribal resurgence' of the Ayapathu people on Cape York Peninsula as closely tied to the re-recognition of these people as a wider group through the land claim process (2000:247).[2]

Some of the fundamental attributes of tribe, especially as outlined by Fried (1975), will be addressed by the following ethnography of group formation in Amunturrngu and its neighbouring Luritja communities. The relationship of Amunturrngu community to its neighbours is considered in terms of the relational aspects of identity formation. This concept of 'community' is a conceptual neighbour to the tribe. It is another term that is often loaded with naturalistic assumptions, some elements of which are referred to below in linguistic usage. There is slippage between the concepts, and as I am not binding the tribe to one formulation, but rather many relational markers, the community will enter as one of these.[3] Here, my focus is on the formulative history of the Luritja language and its impact on present day political identity. As a result this paper deals with the macro or higher-level order of structure, focusing on properties that bind groups and effectively create them. I will be asking 'in what contexts is this macro level group constituted and how is this related to the language(s) they choose to speak and thus identify with?'

This paper will progress from an overview of some relevant concepts within the field of socio-linguistics, through to a brief history of settlement in this Luritja region and its impact on the establishment of this new language, to recent ethnographic evidence of this 'communilect' (a term to be discussed in detail shortly) and the 'tribe' as political formation.

The concept of tribe has relevance for an anthropological examination of contemporary socio-spatial structure and language use. However, it is not a term employed in Aboriginal-English in the Amunturrngu region. This is not the case, however, in other regions such as southern Arnhem Land and in the Borroloola region.[4] Nevertheless, keeping in mind that 'language is only one of the many features of a social network, no one of which is necessarily diagnostic' (Rigsby and Sutton 1979:719), the use of the term tribe is apposite here. My aim is to trace the making of the Luritja language community of Amunturrngu and to shed light on why this Luritja is unique in terms of the configuration of the socio-political structure in which is it used.

THE CONCEPT OF LANGUAGE COMMUNITY

Because this concept of tribe tends to be conflated with language group, an investigation of how the language group is theoretically formed is a good place to start. The concept 'speech community' is more widely used than 'language community' within socio-linguistics (cf.

Wardhaugh 1998). However, the term language community is preferable over the former for my purposes. As Silverstein[5] notes, the concept of speech holds within it ambiguities, as interaction through speech does not necessarily presume shared grammar. The linguistic community I am examining here is rather more aligned with community members having 'the intention to speak the same language [whilst] "know" [ing] they speak the same language' (Rigsby and Sutton 1980–82:10). As Rigsby and Sutton note, Silverstein considers intention to speak the same language important and he suggests that where it exists, shared grammar also exists. Where the two conditions are lacking, but interaction by means of speech takes place, Silverstein calls this a speech community (in Rigsby and Sutton 1980–82:10).

Nevertheless, although the de-construction of this concept is relevant and useful, Hymes, for instance, glosses over the semantics of this speech/language distinction by referring only to speech communities. Like Silverstein, however, Hymes also emphasises that the rules for using a language may be just as important as feelings about the language itself: how people establish that they speak one language over another and how they maintain language boundaries (1974:123). He also importantly adds that to participate in a speech community is not quite the same as being a member of it (1974:51). His analysis of a speech community resonates with the general sentiments surrounding the concept of community and the 'consciousness of kind' that is embodied in the classic community (Giddings 1922). Although neither Silverstein nor Hymes problematises the community concept, they appear to employ it to reaffirm the solidarity of the 'group' of language speakers. As Hymes indicates the speech community is 'a local unit, characterised by its members by common locality and primary interaction' (1974:51). It is the sentiment of choice that Hymes emphasises. So there is something of the classical usage of community at play in this linguistic appropriation of the term (see also Gusfield 1975).

This is consistent with the Lutheran linguist Heffernan's work (1984). He has categorised Luritja as a communilect, rather than a dialect. This is because the language grew 'out of the various family and horde groups which now live in these communities [of Haasts Bluff, Papunya and Amunturrngu]' (1984:1). This linguistic label of communilect is relatively peculiar to the conditions of the Western Desert, which are extreme by wider Australian standards. In contrast, Sutton (pers. com. 2001) says that the term is applicable to a brand of Wik-Munkan in Cape York which is a dominant mission/town lingua franca, but this language is also an original language (one that existed pre-colonisation).[6] Luritja is not an original language, although it is Indigenous. This language developed in Haasts Bluff, but as its people spread to other communities, as they became established, so too did Luritja. Because it began on these communities, this language was originally referred to as Papunya Luritja by linguists (Heffernan 1984, Institute of Aboriginal Development: 'current distribution of Central Australia languages' 1990).

That the term communilect is not widely used in linguistic circles is indicated by its lack of an index entry in various linguistic dictionaries and texts (Black 1995, Crystal 1987, Yallop 1982). A communilect is a term applicable to the community of language speakers among whom it is the dominant accepted form of communication. It is not a social dialect or sociolect, as these terms mean that there are multiple dialects spoken for social reasons in one group context — the one community. Such dialects may indicate class structures, geographic boundaries, and clan groups or moieties (as in Arnhem Land). There were, nevertheless a number of 'multigroup dialects' (to be discussed further), as well as distinct languages that the original emigrants to Haasts Bluff brought with them. A reasonable surmise is that it would not have been viable to maintain these multiple speech forms in the emerging post-settlement sociality. Thus, the communilect Luritja evolved.

Luritja manifests features that are unique (Heffernan 1984), which distinguish it from the Luritja that is spoken from Areyonga south to Finke and Oodnadatta. These features developed from the interaction with the other languages on the Haasts Bluff settlement.

EARLY CONTACT AND MOVEMENT TOWARD SETTLEMENT

Self-identification today as Luritja is a politicised assertion of local identity that bears with it not only a common dialect, but also a common or shared history. This history draws on shared settlement patterns for the majority of middle aged and elderly members of the Amunturrngu community. Migration has, almost without exception, been from Haasts Bluff to Papunya and finally to Amunturrngu and surrounding outstations.[7] The parents of the present resident adults and several elderly women and men still alive today first emigrated to the settlement of Haasts Bluff in the early 1940s. Many of the people who initially moved to the settlement had been living in the outlying areas. On an annual visit, from Hermannsburg, in 1936 Pastor Albrecht estimated that his party contacted groups totalling nearly 300 people in the area between Haasts Bluff, Mount Wedge and Mount Liebig (Long 1989:21). These people were, at this stage, the Eastern Pintupi and the Ngaliya Warlpiri.[8] The rationale for establishing the Haasts Bluff settlement was government concern over the eastward drift of 'western people' such as these, towards Alice Springs and, in particular, towards pastoral leases such as Glen Helen and Tempe Downs.

This movement east, which had begun in the 1920s had been encouraged by (or at least had developed out of) the increasing number of contacts with prospectors and evangelists.[9] For instance, prospectors such as Donald Mackay and Lasseter's party, searching for the elusive gold reef, met up with about 30 people in the Ehrenburg Ranges (Ilypili).[10] They identified them as the 'Pinto and Eumo tribes'(Long 1989:19), or Pintupi and Yumu. Towards the end of the same year, Pastor Albrecht led a party with camels to the north west from Hermannsburg, again towards the Ilypili area, 'to bring the gospel to the nomads'. For several years after this trip an evangelical party left Hermannsburg each winter in an effort to establish mission outposts at natural waters in the area (cf. Long 1989:20–21). In 1932 the University of Adelaide (also with researchers from the South Australian Museum) mounted an anthropological expedition to Mount Liebig (Amunturrngu).[11] At the research camp there were, eventually, about 90 people, the majority of whom were recorded by Tindale as Ngaliya and Pintupi. However, he also recorded 3 people as Jumu (Mackay's 'Eumo', Yumu) and one as Luritja (Tindale 1932).[12]

The Mount Liebig research camp was, in fact, in the country of the Mayutjarra. But where were these Mayutjarra people and their most closely affiliated neighbours, the Kukatja, who were both referred to at times as 'the Luritja' in some literature? (cf. Roheim 1974).

THE MAYUTJARRA AND KUKATJA, AND REGIONAL PROCESS[13]

The Pintupi had travelled east and the Ngaliya south, both to the Mount Liebig area, while the Mayutjarra and the Kukatja had themselves travelled east and south considerably earlier. Long notes that by the time the Haasts Bluff settlement was established the Aboriginal population of the area proper had 'largely disappeared...having died out or become absorbed into the population of the Hermannsburg Mission and other places to the east' (1970:321).

Tindale's recording of the term Jumu (Yumu) as applied to people of the Mount Liebig area (1974:138, 227) appears to have been mistaken.[14] Community members today indicate, without exception, that Amunturrngu is not country belonging to the Yumu language group. Rather, they say, either, that it was originally Mayutjarra or Kukatja, and that the two are, at any rate, closely aligned. Furthermore, they indicate that, today, both of these terms are conflated with Luritja. The historian Dick Kimber, however, also recorded that two old men (now deceased), Johnny Warangula Tjupurrula and Jimmy Tjungurrayi, amongst others, are of the Yumu 'tribe', although he indicates that 'they prefer the term Maiatjara [Mayutjarra]'. He added that, 'they are also referred to by other names' (1981:13). This tendency to identify with a range of linguistic labels is not, necessarily, indicative of a pan-Australian predisposition. Rather, it could be regarded as extreme and somewhat specific to the Western Desert. Nevertheless, this rationalisation of language labelling across northern Australia is a topic in itself that requires investigation.

Clearly the area has a history of interrelated 'group' labels. In fact, according to Hansen (Lutheran Linguist) the complexity of certain Western Desert dialects, such as that known today as Pintupi for example, can only be understood in terms of local groups and collections of local groups he calls 'multigroups'.[15] Each of these multigroups had minor speech variations and were often tagged with a name derived from such speech differences. For instance, *'Ngapi wangkatjarra* ... were so called because they used *ngapi* instead of *ngaatja* for this. *Ngapi wangkatjarra* means (the people) with the talk/word *ngapi'* (1984:7). Hansen indicates that while such linguistic differences existed they were not considered as any barrier to communication or socialisation, as the differing speech forms only affected 20% of their speech, the other 80% was shared (1984:7). He lists 17 of these multigroups, but states that there must have been scores of such multigroup dialect names over the whole Gibson and Great Sandy Desert.[16] Douglas refers to this differentiation of naming dialects on the basis of particular idiosyncracies as 'nicknames' (1977:2). So clearly the contemporary language label 'Pintupi', neighbouring Luritja to the west, was not used as a regional language name in the bush prior to settlement either. Many of the so-called Pintupi only learned of it after meeting people from Papunya and other settlements for the first time. Settlement, like urbanisation, is a great eroder of linguistic frontiers (cf. Rosen 1980 in Wardhaugh 1998), and conversely a great builder of new political formations that stem from this erosion.

This nebulous or indeterminate nature of landed and dialect identity still operates today and is also apparent in the issue of succession to the Mount Liebig area. There always was a flexible portent in group formation and, if Hamilton is to be believed, this portent had in fact never been realised prior to colonisation in this region. She maintains that the reason for the polemic debate concerning Western Desert local organisation (just to refresh: Tindale's finding of 'tribes with known territorial associations' (1974) versus Berndt's finding of a 'cultural bloc' as this refers to dialectical variation not being of territorial significance (1966/1959)), is that:[17]

> The whole of the Western Desert cultural area was, at the time of the arrival of Whites, in a state of transition, in which Indigenous cultural institutions were undergoing transformations without having yet achieved any kind of balance. A static model of social organisation could not possibly account for the structural features found under these circumstances. Where such transitions had already occurred and been stabilised, a static account appears much more successful (see the Walbiri [Warlpiri], the Aranda [Arrernte])" (Hamilton 1982:103).

Although clearly there can never be such a thing as a 'static' form of social organisation, what Hamilton is alluding to are social structures that are identifiable, coherently consistent (read balanced) and presumably less open to scholarly debate. One major transition being undertaken in this Pintupi/Luritja region during the 1930s, when Elkin was undertaking research on Western Desert social organisation, was the adoption of the eight-sub-section system as it was replacing the four-section system. However, as Fry recorded in Mt Liebig in 1932 the Pintupi were still 'wrestling with the novel section groupings ...while also trying to correlate these with the neighbouring Walbiri [Warlpiri] subsection system' (Fry 1934:473 in Meggitt 1986). Even today, Myers noted that although the Pintupi have fully adopted the eight sub-section system, which correlates with that of the Warlpiri system, they do not objectify it in the same way as the Warlpiri.[18] Their explanations do not engage with a structural analysis of it. Rather, its adoption is attributed to the Dreaming (Myers 1986:183, see also 1986:226). Meggitt also noted, following Elkin, that 'considerations of social prestige have importantly determined the speed of diffusion of sections and subsections ... [so] that for instance, I had often heard [Walpiri] men speak contemptuously of the Pintubi [Pintupi], who even yet have not fully grasped the principles underlying subsection affiliation' (Meggitt 1962:169).[19] The relationship between the adoption of these

terms and the move toward sedentarism has not been widely explored in the literature. However, one might envisage that these section terms may have been adopted more speedily when interaction with neighbouring groups became more intensified with settlement.

Unlike ego-centric kinship terms, the sub-section categories are socio-centric so they act as 'a metalanguage that permits systematic ordering of relationships on a society wide scale, (Myers 1986:188). Thus, these new categories were no doubt useful in enabling affiliations with much broader groups of people to develop and cement relationships among them. Certainly, the permeability of any 'boundary' to the north between the Luritja and the Ngaliya Warlpiri is assured by the shared Dreamings that carry forth shared sub-section categories in 'company' relationships, as will be discussed in terms of succession.

One of the central questions of this paper: the association between territory and language, is pertinent to raise here. The issue is illustrative of the dynamics that were activated in the movement toward settlement as for some — such as the Luritja of today — this involved **integration** rather than disintegration (per Sutton). The 'pulsating heart' analogy of Sutton's is useful in this context, as it connotes the propensity of people to fill a void, perhaps akin to a type of human osmosis, in the need to reach a demographic equilibrium (Sutton 1990:74). In the eastern area of the region today associated with the Haasts Bluff Land Trust, this process of disintegration or decline of a peoples and the rise through the integration of neighbouring groups is apparent.

### DECLINE OF THE YUMU/MAYUTJARRA AND THE RISE OF THE LURITJA

The name 'Yumu' may be incorrect,[20] yet Tindale's findings regarding the process of their apparent 'decline' appears to mirror that of the Mayutjarra. So it would seem that we could simply replace one term with the other, as Kimber's informants (see above), have done. Some in Amunturrngu today have also said that the Mayutjarra are *mirri tjuta* (all dead).[21] Nevertheless, as these same people outline, roughly, the extent of Luritja / Mayutjarra country today, a close parallel with Tindale's recording of Yumu country can be observed. This same area is generally described as Luritja, rather than Mayutjarra (or Yumu).[22] However, it may also be referred to as Kukatja. I suspect that the Mayutjarra did 'decline' and that their close neighbours the Kukatja took over certain responsibilities, perhaps succeeding to the area on some level during the 1930s through to the 1950s. However, as noted, the Kukatja were also moving toward settlement, away from their country, to the east, during this period. Nevertheless, many, mainly older, Luritja also refer to themselves today as Kukatja. This apparent succession, however, is in name only: the issue of Luritja as descended from Kukatja, or Mayutjarra, is a political identity rather than a genealogical one.[23] Association with the 'original' group establishes the locally authentic nature of Luritja.[24]

The decline of the majority of the 'original' Mount Liebig inhabitants (the Mayutjarra) and the movement of the Kukatja out of their country, which had begun in the late 1800s, was followed by movement of Pintupi and Ngaliya into it from the 1930s. These migrations raise several questions for the future 'ownership' of the apparently vacated country in the area of Mount Liebig. Tindale states that as a result of the Yumu demise the Ngaliya laid claim to their territory which they said was unpossessed and as their assertions were, apparently, undisputed this was accepted by later anthropologists as correct (1974:138). One anthropologist Tindale appears to be referring to is Charles Mountford (1968) who, more or less, demonstrates that the process of succession by the Ngaliya had been successful over Kukatja and Mayutjarra country during the 1960s, although this does not appear to have been the case earlier.

The Ngaliya are identified by Mervyn Meggitt as one of four sub-groups of the Warlpiri 'tribe' (1962:47).[25] It is apparent today that the core community members at Amunturrngu, those who are in positions of power and influence, are almost all of Ngaliya descent. Yet, none of these people term themselves Ngaliya, or Warlpiri; instead they identi-

fy themselves as Luritja. To understand why I will briefly outline the early politics that developed at Haasts Bluff and later at Papunya as it became established. However, before I do so the significance of this succession needs further elaboration.

Hamilton argued that 'there was indeed an association between dialect and territory', but that this was 'a *de facto* relationship' as it was dependent on the dialect spoken by the majority of people at any one location at any one time. This is because 'the customary rule of courtesy is that one uses the same dialect form as most others in the place where you happen to be' (1982:97–98). As such, she continues 'the boundaries of such areas are not defined physiographically — instead they exist only by virtue of the linguistic behaviour of the people usually to be found there'. I argue that today this *de facto* relationship has become formalised in marriage. Older Luritja speakers may still be polyglots, however they consistently live in the same region, usually the same residential community, where the same language is consistently spoken. The boundaries of this region are in reality not possible to draw, but there are clear and stable heartlands and this is where people live and thus focus their territorial attentions. Unlike the term Pintupi, the term Luritja is more than a conflation of linguistic frontiers and language labelling. It does seem to be the case, contra Rumsey, that the relationship
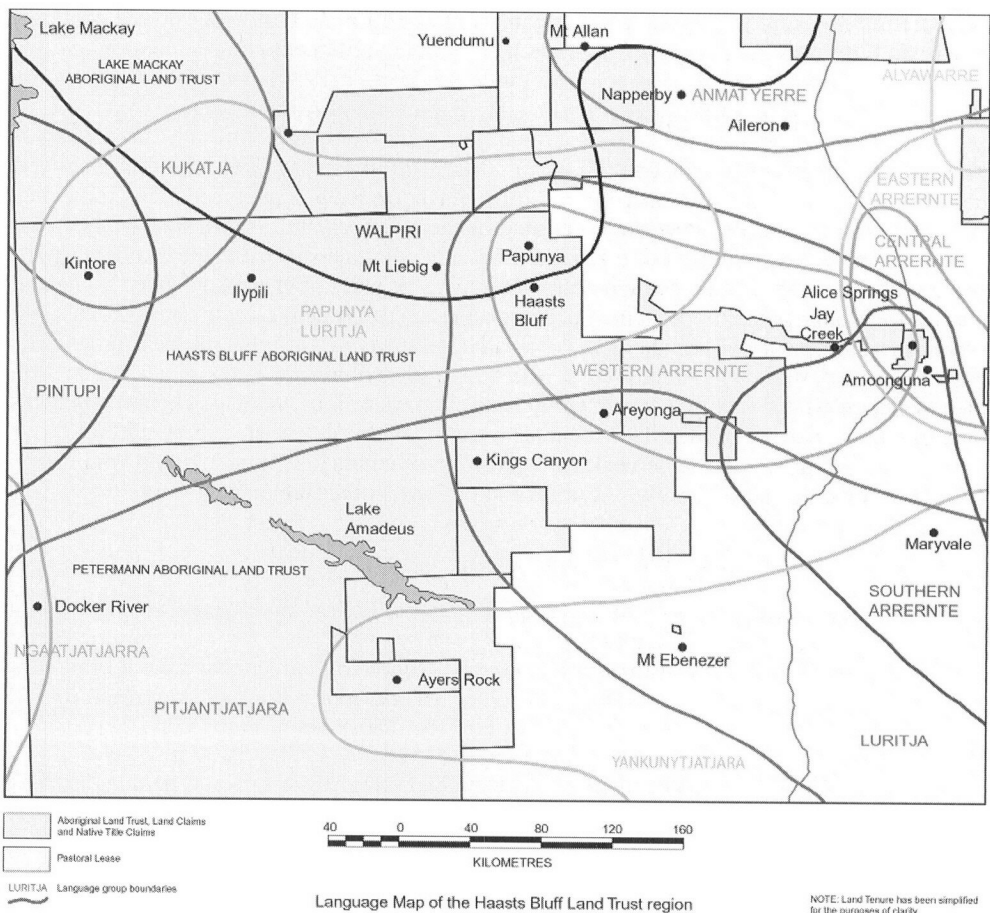
'Current Distribution of Central Australia Languages'. Adapted from the Institute of Aboriginal Development (IAD) map (1990). The Haasts Bluff Land Trust boundary is underlain. The other neighbouring Land Trusts have not been included.

between territory and language is subject to change under certain conditions, as 'one people conquers or assimilates another' (Rumsey 1993:204). I am not, however, talking here about nation building, but rather tribe building, although perhaps as an element in both processes is about national(ist) identity building, these terms may be inter-changeable here.[26]

SETTLED GROUPINGS

As the history and pattern of movement indicate, the country within which the communities of Haasts Bluff, Papunya and Mount Liebig are today situated became the focus of several groups as they moved toward settlement. But these original 'groups' were not discrete.[27]

Long estimated 'that of the 263 people in [Haasts Bluff in] 1941 about one-third were Pintupi — primarily eastern Pintupi [of Ilypili], one third were Ngaliya Warlpiri and the remaining were Kukatja, Pitjantjatjara, Ngaatjatjarra, and Anmatyerre from the north east'[28]. Considerable intermarriage occurred between these groups, who were now co-habiting in the settlements of Haasts Bluff and later Papunya. Long states that, because of this inter-marriage 'the intertribal lines of division, never clear-cut, are thoroughly blurred' (1970:323).[29] These groups — beginning with the processes of shared settlement life in Haasts Bluff — were to become amalgamated into the Luritja. This process was cemented in Haasts Bluff particularly, by the relative lack of inter-settlement communication and vis-iting by Aborigines from the 1930s to the 1960s (cf. Hansen 1984). Those who came to the settlement during this period stayed or moved to Papunya and Amunturrngu.

Luritja history could, thus, be described as a tapestry, woven through the process of movement toward settlement and the establishment of sedentary life. It is this history of movement 'in' from the west that many Luritja focus on when questioned. This movement from the west, to the better-watered country of the relatively fertile Western MacDonnell fringe, could also be understood in terms of the general tendency of Desert dwellers toward expansionism (cf. Peterson 1976 and Sutton 1990).[30] This issue of expansionism could be con-sidered as a fundamental opportunism that was intrinsic to Western Desert social organisation 'given the ecological constraints of the area' (Hamilton 1982:103). The logical progression from this line of argument suggests that when these constraints are lifted, when the environ-mental limitations of food and water are radically diminished by the new welfare apparatus, then so too are there possibilities to 'stabilise' local organisation (per Hamilton 1982:103).[31]

So Luritja identity is the shared heritage of the otherwise disparate people who moved east, and south, and stayed. So why Luritja and not some other language?

THE MEANING OF 'LURITJA'[32]

Fried notes that:

> Most "tribal" peoples are known to the world at large by names that have no rela-tion to their own self-appellations. Worse, a good many are called derogatory words from the languages of people they consider their enemies (1975:31).

The term 'Luritja' is itself derivative from a general term for Western Desert people. Strehlow indicates that Luritja is a name applied by the Arrernte to all Western Desert speakers:

> Loritja [Luritja] is a name applied by the Aranda [Arrernte] to all the Western Desert speech groups. Loritja languages are spoken from the Western McDonnells to Mount Margaret, in Western Australia, and from the Granites in the north to Ooldea on the Trans-continental railway. None of these Western groups speaks of themselves as 'Loritja'. They call themselves Kukatja, Pintupi, Ngalia, Ilpara, Andekerinja, etc (1947:177–78).

Tindale emphasised that the name Luritja was derogatory, an insult.[33] Strehlow indicates that it is 'suggestive of everything that is barbarian, crude, savage and generally speaking non-Aranda' (1947:52).[34] This Arrernte ethnocentrism was earlier recorded by Elkin, who noted that 'Loritja is an Aranda word meaning stranger' (1938:424, in Doohan 1992:36, see also Hansen 1984:13). Thus, historically, the term was not self-definitional.[35]

Doohan in her study of the Finke community (1992:30–41), which is predominantly Luritja, tends to conflate the Luritja living on this community with a general 'Western Desert' Luritja culture and language block, as opposed to the culture and language of the Lower Southern Arrernte with whom they share the community. This is in part due, it seems, to the fact that the community is on Lower Southern Arrernte country, and that these people, although a minority in the community, are still perceived as the land holders. So although this group of Luritja have been long term residents and have intermarried with the Lower Southern Arrernte, and 'despite the common view that "all the old Arrernte are dead", Arrernte land has not become Luritja or Pitjantjatjara' (1992:38).[36] This is not the case in Amunturrngu, where the Luritja have become the landholders.

Doohan indicates that the category Luritja in Finke is 'negative …, that is, non-Arrernte when used by Arrernte people' (1992:39). So in Finke it is clearly a relational term. The linguistic construction of the dialect known as Pintupi Luritja reflects this colonial history of inter-group language contact due to settlement.[37] As the term communilect suggests the 'community' is the core component behind the dynamism of this language. Separating the language of Luritja from what it means to be a community member is not possible. The sense of language ownership is a core component of community membership.

It is primarily the generation of people who had grown up in Haasts Bluff and who remained living in Haasts Bluff or Papunya, or who then moved to Amunturrngu and surrounding outstations, who identify as Luritja. Those who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s were called Pintupi and they moved to Kintore and outstations, as they were established, thus returning to Pintupi country (see Myers 1986:22).

However, over the settlement period in Haasts Bluff and Papunya the meaning of the term Luritja shifted dramatically. It was the dynamic of this period through which the Luritja became self-identified as a group in terms of language and culture. That these people did not refer to themselves as such until settlement suggests that the appellation was, and still is, a useful tool that drew on the inclusive history of the term. Heffernan guesses that the whole-hearted adoption of the term Luritja was not made until the most recent arrivals from the desert occurred in the late 1950s and early 1960s (1984:3). This is supported by Hansen who says that Pastor Pech, who was at Haasts Bluff in the 1950s, stated that all the Western Desert people in those days were called Pintupi. He had not heard the term Luritja (1984:13).

Luritja succession to Mayutjarra and Kukatja country has not been achieved as a group process. As I have discussed elsewhere, succession is ongoing and the term Luritja is a political construct (1998). This construction draws on the complex history of pre-colonial and post-colonial language and country affiliations. Simply calling oneself Luritja does not mean that one can lay claim to rights in what is now Luritja country. Such rights are dependent on an individual's affiliations. When discussing this re-territorialisation it is to be understood in terms of degrees of rights, or loosely, primary and secondary rights. It is those Luritja of Ngaliya descent who are the primary successors to Amunturrngu land, yet not by privileging Ngaliya language, but by following the principle of the 'company relationship' with Ngaliya Dreamings from the north travelling to and constructing Amunturrngu.[38]

Nevertheless, the contemporary shape of Luritja territory is reasonably clearly defined. What is now recognised as Luritja country adjoins Pintupi country to the west, Ngaliya (Warlpiri) country to the north, Western Arrernte country to the east and south-east, Pitjantjatjara country and (southern) Luritja to the south west. These people also recognise the Luritja as their neighbours.

The Luritja who live in Haasts Bluff, Papunya, Amunturrngu and outstations are dis-

tinct from not only those Luritja who live in Finke, but also those who live in Areyonga and other closer Luritja communities. There is intermarriage and other social intercourse between these communities, with Areyonga particularly. However, the difference that is fostered is based on the landedness of these northern Luritja. The other Luritja speakers for instance at Maryvale and Finke do not appear to be land-holders.[39]

PINTUPI LURITJA AS A POSITIVE GROUP LABEL

Originally the term Luritja was applied by the Arrernte to 'people from the west', as a distinguishing and derogatory appellation within the growing settlements of Haasts Bluff and Papunya. Later, the term Pintupi began to be used for those 'people [further] from the west' (cf. Myers 1976:30). This term, 'Pintupi' differentiated new arrivals to these settlements, to distinguish them from the, now primarily Luritja, residents who had been in the settlement and in the area since the 1940s and 1950s. It was initially this construction of difference between these two, western, groups that contributed to Luritja becoming a positive group label. And it appears that this separatism between the Pintupi and the Luritja became increasingly defined by the move of many Haasts Bluff and surrounding residents to Papunya when it was established in 1957. As Hansen and Hansen note 'Children whose Pintupi parents had moved to Haasts Bluff before 1956–1962 and who had grown up on the settlement refer to themselves as Luritja' (1978:23).

Those who had been in the settlements the longest and had become accustomed to the new ways of interacting in this context had differentiated themselves from those newly arrived from the west. Those who were new to the settlement had to learn appropriate behaviours for both interacting amongst large groups of kin (classificatory and biological) and with the non-Aboriginal service workers. This distinction between newcomers and residents became so marked that to be called 'Pintupi' was an insult (like the term Luritja before it), comparable to the 'poor country cousins', the unsophisticated (see also Myers 1986:36, Meggitt 1962:42, Lockwood 1964). Many chose instead to be called Luritja. This term changed from being derogatory and a term of exclusion to being complimentary and inclusive. It connoted the modern in the context of settlement life. Perhaps, this transformation of Luritja was possible precisely because, like Arrernte before it, it needed an 'other' to distinguish itself from. Today the term 'Pintupi' is still used as a joking insult for the naïve or inadequate.[40]

Clearly these status relations existed prior to settlement, not only between the Pintupi and the Warlpiri, but also between the Arrernte and the Warlpiri (Meggitt 1962:41) and between the Arrernte and Western Desert groups (see Tindale 1974:229, Strehlow 1947:52). Across the region they can be related to the real, and perceived, environmental fecundity of the lands associated with each group and differences in social organisation, however broadly defined and relatively judged. Meggitt's understanding of Warlpiri ethnocentricity would seem to apply here, as 'they evaluate the behaviour and usages of other peoples in terms of the coincidence of these with [their] norms, and they consider any noticeable divergence between the two to be evidence of the shortcomings of the outsiders' (1962:44). That the Arrernte coined the term Luritja is surely related to their relative position of environmental comfort within the MacDonnell Ranges and along many of the major (if ephemeral) Central Australian rivers. Their apparently more elaborate social organisation — the 'njinanga section' (per Strehlow 1947) — would be found to be one of a kind in Central Australia leading one to suggest that the Arrernte region may have been more settled prior to settlement than their western neighbours.[41] While from a Warlpiri perspective the Pintupi were 'lizard eaters', an inference that as their country lacked kangaroos, they were less than men (Lockwood 1964, Davis et al. 1977:22). As Sutton notes, regional contrast between better and worse favoured Aboriginal economies is mirrored by patterns of demographic and political pressures (1990:73) and we should add associated grounds for ethnocentrism.

That these status relations have become more intensified in the magnifying context of settlement tells us that the boundaries suggested by these status relations have become firmed up. Government policy during the Papunya period also played a role in doing this, by alienating the new Pintupi arrivals. The adoption of the term Luritja cannot be separated from this policy agenda of the time. I will discuss this further below.

The Luritja became, metaphorically speaking, the people 'from the east', in relation to the Pintupi. As a configuration of people they are from all points of the compass, being descended from Pintupi, Ngaliya Warlpiri, Anmatyerre, Kukatja/Mayutjarra and those Pitjantjatjara and Ngaatjatjarra who were also resident in Haasts Bluff and shifted from there to Papunya. These languages also had impact on the construction of this Luritja, so clearly today, as in the past, many adults are polyglots, although as indicated Luritja is spoken as the language of choice, and community members choose to speak and identify as Luritja, thus identifying themselves with the history of its construction. The adoption of the Luritja language is an implicit rejection of the multiple genealogies represented on the community, as expressed in the language of a previous generation. The language of Luritja, contemporary as it is, places the past in abeyance (cf. Jackson 1996). As a communilect, Luritja is representative of what Clastres (1987) defines as a people without history, a people concerned more with today than yesterday. The vast genealogies of the desert are condensed in the adoption of Luritja as a socio-political act, as it encompasses the shared reactive construction of identity in a settled context. This language label of Luritja emplaces or situates the individual. The term holds with it an identity that conjures up the surrounding land and its history.

Although being a member of a speech community is relative, as being a member of any group is relational (cf. Wardhough 1998:121), it is the element of choice that informs a political position. For instance, Ginger Tjakamarra of New Bore outstation, one of Fred Myers' informants, was during Myers' field-work (in the late 1970s and early 1980s) identifying as Pintupi (Myers 1986:8, 264). When I conducted my field research he and his family from New Bore identified as Luritja. After living on this outstation, on Luritja country, for over twenty years this long-term post-migration residence has encouraged a shift toward an identity that marks not only a shared formulative history, but also a distinctive label that tells of the need for grosser, community based, distinctions.[42] Likewise, Whisky Tjapaltjarri, the male head of the family from Yinyilingki outstation is historically Pitjantjatjara. However, after a comparable history of long-term residence and the conception of children and grandchildren at the outstation a re-configuration of social identity emerged. Likewise, these two men, along with their spouses and residential classificatory female kin, have been especially active in the performance of *inma kuwaritja* (new ritual derived from dreams) which situates them sentimentally and politically within the landscape of their residence.[43]

THE ECONOMIC TRIBE AND ECONOMIES OF SCALE

In this section I return to the key theme outlined at the beginning of this paper on the construction of Luritja as tribe and the ramifications of this for contemporary engagement with the local State administration.

The emergence of this grosser political identity, as an active response to early policy regimes on the Papunya settlement in particular, also has broad contemporary ramifications. On one level at least, assimilation has been successful. As disparate Aboriginal 'groups' were brought together and forced to communicate and create a shared history a modern identity was forged. This modern formation is assisting in the current policy climate of 'regionalisation'. Fried noted this possibility early, when he suggested that the treatment by government of an Indigenous population as a more or less homogenous population of wards will create a tribal level of consumption (1975:49). This hypothesis has played out, as Westbury and Sanders note that:

experience both in Australia in respect to the ALRA [Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1976] and the Native Title Act 1993, and overseas, is that governments prefer to deal with wider regional population groupings, not small localised groups (2000:5).

In 1999 the Northern Territory minister for Local Government argued that the number of councils in rural and remote areas should be reduced from the current number of 62. This is because many of these local councils were servicing populations smaller than 300 and were too small to attract sufficient numbers of staff; to generate the revenue necessary to support the delivery of minimum services; or to sustain an administration that allows for the achievement of any economies of scale (Westbury and Sanders 2000:4). This argument has been couched in terms of the government seeking a 'unified local sovereignty' (Rowse 1992). CDEP size has also recently become an important issue for ATSIS.[44] Sanders indicates that:

> A push towards larger, regional multi-locational, corporate CDEP's has emerged, with an emphasis on arguments about economies of scale in relation to the on-cost components of CDEP funding and, in particular, the employment from within that funding of CDEP co-ordinators/Administrators (2001:17).

How does one define the limits of the regional service population? Who is included in the region and how is its population defined? Is it, as Fried suggests, that the early creation of 'a reservation system [is] one way of bringing such a condition into existence' (1975:49).

In the early period of the Haasts Bluff and Papunya settlements, movements of the 'wards' were monitored; Aboriginal people were not allowed to leave the settlement to visit Alice Springs for instance. Native Welfare legislation and land reservations kept Aboriginal people in and non-Aboriginal people (unless service workers) out. Today, although Aboriginal people have freedom of movement, non-Aboriginal people are not allowed access to this land which is held as inalienable freehold title under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1976); unless they are service workers or have reason to apply for a permit. The concept of the Luritja tribe becomes relevant as a means of constructing an Indigenous bounded grouping. However, does this assume that there is an internal social coherence to this new region? As Fried notes below, this coherence, need not be totalising, but rather functional for the purposes of administration:

> What should be distinctive about a tribal type of economy: it should have mechanisms integrating several otherwise discrete communities into one system of production, distribution, consumption, or some combination of these. Let it be hastily added that for a system to be tribal it is not necessary that its economy constantly work at the tribal level. It is sufficient that it be capable of occasionally functioning at that level (Fried 1975:41).

A new regionalised service delivery program has been proposed for the Haasts Bluff Land Trust region.[45] This governance proposal is known as 'Westmac/Wangka Wilurarra'[46] — after the Western McDonnell Ranges. Although this 'Westmac' concept has been discussed by Indigenous leaders, such as Alison Anderson (ATSIC Central Zone Commissioner), and the Northern Territory Department of Local Government over a period of years it is yet to be set down as policy. However, a financial modelling report for this governance proposal was undertaken in 2002 (Warchivker and Mitchell).

In this financial modelling report it was noted that: a 'repeated view [of Councillors] was that where the council of one community is not very strong and may not be able to talk to government departments well, a regional body would be stronger and more effective at representing the regions interests' (Warchivker and Mitchell 2002:10). In Indigenous dealings with the State there is a certain efficiency in corporatising identity that operates both

ways. However, just where does this region finish? Is it bounded by the Land Trust boundary, as it was arbitrarily placed bit by bit from 1929.[47] In fact, there is some considerable coincidence between this Land Trust boundary and the Luritja language territory, although it also includes the Pintupi community of Kintore (Walungurru), which will be discussed further below. The IAD map, however, indicates that the borders are hazy. Nevertheless, how the process of the laying of this Land Trust boundary, the restriction of movement of Aboriginal 'wards' and the programs of service delivery, have all impacted on this tribal level of consumption and articulation of identity can only be broadly outlined here. It is the stuff of another paper.

Sanders' study on the potential sharing of a CDEP between the four major communities that lie in the Haasts Bluff Land Trust, as it would be regionalised from Papunya, is indicative of this varying macro-regional corporatisation. There is a direct equivalence with the proximity of communities from Papunya, the extent of their shared history and the sentiments attached to this, and their levels of interest in sharing a CDEP with them. Those at Haasts Bluff entertained the possibility of sharing a CDEP with Papunya, those in Amunturrngu were only interested if their CDEP could be separate from Papunya, while those at Walungurru were only marginally interested in a CDEP scheme and not at all in sharing with Papunya (2001:intro).

It was earlier noted that Luritja was first known as Papunya Luritja (Heffernan 1984). The Papunya at the forefront of this earlier labelling is significant, as the concept of 'Westmac/Wangka Wilyurrarra' grew out of strong leadership of Alison Anderson, a Luritja speaker and member of the Papunya community. This political dynamic in itself has ramifications for the regional success or otherwise of a governance proposal.

WHERE DO THE PINTUPI FIT? AND ETHNOCENTRISM

The cultural resonance of Luritja as a shared language and concomitantly shared history underlies a tribal level of commonality, one which does not necessarily play out with the neighbouring, albeit also very closely related, Pintupi. The 1960s and 1970s in the Papunya settlement were formative years in the gross delineation of what are now contemporary group boundaries. As discussed, the language distinctions between the Pintupi and the Luritja are minimal, in fact, the Pintupi refer to the Luritja language as 'baby Pintupi' (Ken Hansen pers. com. 1996). However, the marginalisation and alienation of the Pintupi, especially those that were newly arrived to the settlement during the early 1960s, served to catalyse their desperate return west and the eventual development of the Walungurru (Kintore) community from 1981.[48] Myers examined a meeting about this issue held with representatives from the then Department of Aboriginal Affairs at Papunya in 1981. At this meeting Pintupi sought to have their funding separated from the Papunya administration so that they would have control over their own affairs and establish their own outstations and eventually their own community (1986b:430). Interestingly, this issue of independence appears to have arisen again. One of the major rationales of the Territory government, in seeking to amalgamate the four local community government councils within the Haasts Bluff Land Trust, is to centralise the administration of the region and gain an efficient economy of scale by pooling the resources.

Walungurru community is marginally inside the Northern Territory and is the only Pintupi community, plus several outstations, within the Haasts Bluff Land Trust. In the regional CDEP study, Sanders noted that because of the Pintupi experience at Papunya those interviewed at Walungurru 'are still somewhat suspicious of Papunya as a regional centre of non-Indigenous governmental power and they do not entirely trust that a CDEP based at Papunya would in fact be fully shared with them' (2001:17). Thus, contemporary socio-linguistic identifications have a very real effect on the policy and service delivery environment, as they were created and will be recalled in relation to this history.[49]

269

There is a policy problematic in the placement and the politics of the Walungurru community. Because of its proximity to the Western Australia border and its distance from the Central Australian municipal centre of Alice Springs (approximately 500km along mostly unsealed roads), service delivery is particularly difficult in terms of its effectiveness and sustainability. All the Luritja communities are within 70km of each other (at the most), they share a comparable history of settlement and re-territorialisation and they speak the same language. Walungurru is isolated; their closest neighbours are in Western Australia. Many of the Walungurru residents have family in the neighbouring Western Australia community of Kiwirrkurra and during the massive flooding in March 2001 many from Kiwirrkurra relocated to Walungurru (Sanders 2001:16). If, however, one follows Fold's recent rhetoric that the socio-economic marginalisation of this community can be solved if only 'the dominant society came to accept that Pintupi are not merely failed whitefellas...' (2001:180), then the issues are clearly one-sided.[50]

Thus, the issue of incorporating Walungurru into the developing Westmac Governance proposal will not be a simple one. A key issue that the Financial Modelling report for this governance proposal (2002) did not consider is that of community ethnocentricity (and historical experience), a trait that Walungurru exemplifies more clearly in comparison to its eastern Luritja neighbours (recall Sanders earlier CDEP comments). Although there is considerable mobility between these communities this inward looking trait is encouraged by, amongst other things, aspects of the current funding regimes, where 'sitting down in one place' is rewarded. This is the case, for instance, in relation to CHIP[51] funding for housing and, for example, in the case of the Mt Liebig store, profits that can be accessed for vehicle purchases. Competition for service delivery resources tends to be at the community level.

CONCLUSION

Revisiting this language history of Luritja is part of a wider research agenda that is about the formulation of the 'group' as an imagined structure. There always was a flexible portent in group formation that has enabled this socio-political recasting of contemporary identity. In a programmatic discussion Keen gave consideration to Aboriginal Australia as a regional system encompassing networks of interaction in a 'focused network' as providing a useful corrective to assumptions about isolated groups and communities (1997:272). Keen's attempt at redefining a 'local system' in a relative way allows a re-reading of the 'spatial aspects of social action and interaction' (1997:268) that I have found enabling for this project.

In tracing this history of the Luritja, I have sought to contextualise the community of speakers in relation to early movement towards settlement. 'Luritja' is more than a language label; it has emerged as an active response to colonisation. The appellation of Luritja as a socio-political category has been considered in terms of Morton Fried's 'Notion of Tribe'. Fried's analysis of the assumptions behind this term 'tribe' was of the same ilk as Clastres in relation to the term 'stateless societies' in his classic text 'Society Against the State' (1987). Fried's contention is that the tribe was not a social formation that existed as an independent early form of pre-state social organisation, but rather as a secondary phenomenon that comes about with minority or ethnic group formation. He argues that it is a political phenomenon that has little to do with the conventional notions of tribal behaviour, as it occurs largely as a reaction to the presence of the State.

In fact, this irony was anticipated by Elkin, 'when he found it necessary to suggest a collective name (Aluridja) [Luritja] for all the "tribes" of the Western Desert' (in Birdsell 1976:96). That this generalised tribal label has been recast to refer to only a portion of the entire Western Desert peoples, confirms the dynamic of this social re-invention, and Hamilton's contention that the whole of the Western Desert cultural area was in a 'state of transi-

tion', at the time of the arrival of Whites (1982:103). Although the contemporary policy ramifications of the new push toward regionalism and this new tribalism have only been briefly touched upon in this paper, it nonetheless lays some foundations for future research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

1. This language was referred to as Papunya Luritja on the 1990 Institute of Aboriginal Development (IAD) language map. The most recent IAD language map (2002) has renamed this language to Pintupi Luritja. It is classified as a different language group to the Luritja that lies to the south from Kings Canyon to Finke. However, the Pintupi Luritja speakers refer to their language as Luritja only, as I will also throughout the remainder of the paper.
2. Another reading of the term 'tribal' has it as starkly reduced to the mirror opposite of modernity, having no implicit value other than as a referent to capitalism. I am referring here to Sandall's concept 'designer tribalism' being as shallow as its marketable allusion (2001).
3. Nevertheless, I have examined the relevance of this community concept to contemporary Amunturrngu social organisation elsewhere (1998).
4. This observation is based on my experience working in these areas for the Northern Land Council as a regional staff anthropologist. The term 'tribe' is used in the Roper River region in southern Arnhem Land and in the McArthur River region, to specifically refer to a language group. It is not necessary to be able to speak this language, rather it identifies the individual with the land with which the language is associated, even in broad terms.
5. Much of the material that Rigsby and Sutton call upon from Silverstein is unpublished.
6. Inherited through patrifiliation and other lines.
7. Outstations are also known as homelands. They are small decentralised settlements, often consisting of only an extended family (see Davis and Arthur 1998).
8. Both of these language terms have complex associations.
9. This movement east had begun earlier for the people of the Western MacDonnell ranges, such as the Kukatja and the Western Arerrnte.
10. Kimber notes that a severe drought prevailed over much of Central Australia and the Western Desert during the 1930s (1981:12). This may then also account for the large numbers of people at Ilypili at this time.
11. The expedition leader was J.B. Cleland, accompanied by, amongst others, N.B. Tindale and H.K. Fry. Aboriginals were to be gathered at Mt Liebig for research assisted by Ted Strehlow, who travelled north to find people, as Mt Liebig was practically depopulated (1932:60).
12. As stated above, Albrecht recorded that the situation had changed four years later, in 1936. This was, perhaps, due to the increased number of contacts in 1930–32, with more 'Pintupi' families having moved into the area (Long 1989:21).
13. There are in fact two language terms in this Western Desert region that have the name Kukatja. The Kukatja language of concern here is defined by Tindale as belonging to the Western MacDonnell Ranges west of Glen Helen, while the other Kukatja, he writes as Kokatja, occupy country in Western Australia around Lake Gregory (1974:137). They both appear, however, to be dialects of the Western Desert language block. Note also that the WA Kukatja appears on the IAD language map (1990) as north-west of, yet, overlapping some of the area considered to be Pintupi Luritja. Heffernan (1984) locates both dialects with the same spelling, however with Pintupi lying between them.
14. Davis and Prescott relied on Tindale's map of the area when they constructed their argument about the Luritja 'frontier'. They state that the Pintupi and Pitjantjatjara subsumed and gradually displaced the area of the Yunnu (1992:112).
15. Hansen draws on Longs' 1971 article about the composition of these groups. Long terms them 'family groups' which ranged in size from 'three to twelve people…one can think in terms of loose associations of families, which commonly foraged independently but often within a days march of each other' (1984:5). Hansen also interviewed four Pintupi men regarding their travels. He states that 'normally there was a great deal of movement between local groups and multigroups. This would have meant that vocabulary and grammatical borrowings would have become widely known. The practice of intermarriage with members of more distant multigroups also would have resulted in a great deal of synomyn and grammatical variation' (1984:8). See also Myers (1976) for significant detail of pre-contact journeys of Pintupi men and (1986:79–89).
16. Hansen further indicates that he has made no attempt to list all multigroup dialect terms because of a complicating factor such that 'when eliciting some of the above terms it became evident there is a variation of dialect terms for the same multigroup, depending on which other multigroup member refers to them' (1984:7)

17. As Hamilton indicates 'There is no reason to assume bad faith on either of their parts...they are both careful and meticulous scholars...' (1982:96).
18. The difference between the Warlpiri and Pintupi and Luritja orthography is that Warlpiri have a J to the Pintupi and Luritja Tj.
19. The Pintupi interaction with the Warlpiri at Papunya in the 1960s and 1970s would have influenced, perhaps consolidated, the adoption of these terms. See Myers for a comparison between the Pintupi and Warlpiri interpretations of these categories as relevant to their existing social systems (1986:180–191).
20. Like myself, Heffernan (1984) appears to have found no evidence of the 'Yumu'.
21. However, in making such a statement, the speakers are not disclaiming an immutable spiritual responsibility towards Amunturrngu land. While, one Amunturrngu community member, in particular, maintains that she is of Mayutjarra descent.
22. The term 'Mayutjarra' is not in common usage in the community.
23. Only two people, that I am aware of claim ancestry from a Mayutjarra person.
24. Amunturrngu community members say that the term Luritja is interchangeable with Kukatja: *Luritja Kukatja kula* (kula- affirmative suffix, "indeed"). Further, in a 1977 report written for the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Education no mention was made of the Luritja, but rather only of the Kukatja, Pintupi and Warlpiri as Papunya residents.
25. There is a dispute by linguists and others surrounding the accuracy of the term Ngaliya (see Wild 1987:102 and footnote). Suffice it to indicate here that this term is in use in the Amunturrngu community, as is the term Nyampujarra. Heffernan also noted the use of these terms in Papunya.
26. I would like to thank Patrick Sullivan for consideration of this issue.
27. Heffernan, indicates, for instance, that almost without exception, the descendants from the *Ilypili* (Ehrenburg Ranges) people are both of 'Pintupi' and 'Warlpiri' parentage (1984:2). Note that Mackay also recorded both Pintupi and Yumu living at Ilypili Spring in 1930. This place roughly forms the western border of Luritja country (and the eastern border of Pintupi country) as it is known today. Interestingly, Heffernan, on his language map, has the eastern neighbours of the Pintupi as the Kukatja/Mayutjarra, rather than the Luritja. (1984:3).
28. The question of how the Pitjantjatjarra and Ngaatjatjarra (who are primarily south and south west of the Luritja) came to be in Haasts Bluff during this early period is interesting. According to Nathan and Japanganka two different groups of people were brought into Papunya from Giles in 1964 by the WRE Patrol Officers (1983). Those who have worked among the Pitjantjatjara, such as Wallace (1977), focus only on SA and southern NT communities, rather than this region.
29. It is worth noting that according to Long the most common intermarriage was with the Pintupi, who complained that their women were being taken away. However, it was 'probably a working out of demograpic trends; the people from the eastern parts have suffered a declining population in contact with White society...' (1970:323).
30. Peterson produced a map of seventeen proposed culture-areas, emphasising their approximate correlation with the major drainage divisions of the continent (1976). Sutton developed this concept by articulating these 'culture-areas as elements in a wider set of spatio-temporal processes' (1990:73). He categorised three main kinds of ecological break that 'commonly provide key imagery for the way fundamental distinctions ... of local Aboriginal geography and ... local Aboriginal society are symbolised'. These are coast versus inland, river versus hinterland and hills versus plain (1990:75). It is this last type that is relevant in arid areas such as the desert.
31. Hamilton (1972) analyses Indigenous agency on the early frontier in the quest for food. She states that 'the twin principles which kept Aboriginal society functioning were the need to find food and the desire to limit the effort in doing so — vital elements in a hunting and gathering economy...When the news came that the Whites had abundant, if strange, food, more than they could possibly eat, this was like news of Eden — or the super waterhole in Aboriginal terms' (1972:41). See also Rowse 1998.
32. Like Pintupi and other Western Desert languages, Luritja is a member of the Pama Nyungun (wati subgroup) (Yallop 1982)
33. Tindale maintained that Strehlow referred to the Kukatja from the Arrernte perspective. He indicated that 'in 1929 [he] was asked by the old men of this tribe to refrain from using the term imposed on them by the [Arrernte] and to record their "true" name — Kukatja' (1974:229).
34. Strehlow wrote this in relation to a statement made by a Northern Arrernte man who referred to the Western Arrernte as 'half breed Loritja'.
35. Although there appeared to be antipathy between these 'neighbours' Strehlow indicates that the Western Arrernte conducted joint ceremonies with their Loritja Kukatja and Loritja Matuntara neighbours. 'In addition, constant intercourse between the two tribes [Western Arrernte and Luritja] has resulted in extensive borrowings in the field of animal and plant terminology, particularly where the animal and plants form ceremonial totems' (1947:65–66). It would seem, then, that it was the influence of Kukatja on Luritja that may also account for the Arandic influences.
36. Unfortunately, Doohan makes no mention of other Western Desert communities, such as Haasts Bluff, Papunya and Amunturrngu, who are self-identified as Luritja and have both Arrernte and Western Desert neighbours, such as the Pintupi. She indicates that the term is relational, without exploring in any detail the particular politico-historical construction of this group of Luritja in the Finke community. Neither does she explore the linguistic construction of this Luritja or the role they play within the community, such as what positions they hold and whether there is an equivalence of access to resources between Luritja and Arrernte residents.

37. The features that differentiate Luritja from Pintupi are the mixture of grammatical forms and vocabulary. Hansen and Hansen state that: Arrernte and Warlpiri, although not mutually intelligible with the Western Desert dialects Pitjantjatjara, Pintupi and Luritja, have had noticeable influence on Luritja. No grammatical borrowings from Warlpiri have been noted. However, numerous vocabulary borrowings are evident. Many Arrernte vocabulary borrowings are used in Luritja and several grammatical borrowings as well (1978:23).
38. Luritja land tenure, like the Luritja language, is an amalgam of surrounding forms — principally Warlpiri and Pintupi. See Myers for a clear exposition of the Warlpiri company relationship as he contrasts it with Pintupi principles of land tenure (1986:154–155). These Warlpiri principles do operate for the Luritja.
39. The case of the Luritja living in Watarrka (Kings Canyon) was researched for a land claim under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1976, Northern Territory. Field research has also been conducted in relation to a land claim to Tempe Downs Station, an area identified with Luritja speakers.
40. During the 1996 Papunya sports carnival, women from Amunturrngu and Kintore were standing together watching a football match. A player from the Amunturrngu team missed catching the ball so that it fell outside the line; the Amunturrngu observer nudged Napurrula from (the Pintupi) community of Kintore beside her and said 'Nya Pintupi?' ('What [is he] Pintupi'?).
41. I would like to thank Oceania's anonymous reviewer 2 for the final point concerning the relatively settled pattern of Arrernte social organisation.
42. This lability of identification also speaks of the context and historical moment in which the researcher is operating.
43. See Holcombe forthcoming 'The sentimental community: A site of belonging. A Case study from Central Australia' (TAJA 2004).
44. Community Development Employment Projects. This Indigenous employment scheme began in certain remote communities in 1977 and has spread across Australia. About one-third of all Indigenous people in employment across Australia participate in this scheme (Morphy and Sanders 2001).
45. This proposal is an element in the Northern Territory wide policy known as 'Building Stronger Regions, Stronger Futures' launched in 2003 by the Indigenous minister for Regional Development John Ah Kit. 'The major structural initiative…[in the "strategy"] is provision for the establishment of Regional Authorities where existing community councils agree to amalgamate. These elected representative bodies will have the power to take on a broad range of functions and responsibilities to provide an effective framework for good governance and service delivery' (foreward). There are 21 regions proposed, of which the Western MacDonnells is one.
46. Wangka Wilurarra translates as 'talk west'. This phrase again trades on the contemporary need for grosser distinctions, as western talk incorporates many different dialects, although in this case it is specifically referring to Luritja and Pintupi.
47. This Land Trust was originally a series of reserves that had been added to over the years, the first portion of which was gazetted in 1929. These reserves were then scheduled as Aboriginal Land under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (Northern Territory) 1976.
48. In fact of the 72 Pintupi who came into Papunya in 1963 and 1964, 29 died. These deaths were blamed on sorcery and related antagonisms. However, as Kimber notes 'more disastrous (than fighting or adjustment to rations) were the infections, largely pneumonia or viral (measles) that destroyed more than half the population …' (Kimber 1981:26). See also Davis et al. (1977:52) and Folds (2001:21–33).
49. A major project beginning this year– the 7 year Desert Knowledge CRC — has a significant component on Indigenous governance issues. I am jointly involved with this project at CAEPR (ANU).
50. Folds' highly problematic book raises some powerful and important issues. He tends to dramatically overstress the cultural resilience and adaptive strategies of the Pintupi to imposed policies: they simply take what they want and reject what they don't. On one level this style of analysis is strongly humanising, allowing policy makers access to the Pintupi daily world. However, by entirely disregarding statistical indicators Folds negates the daily Pintupi realities of poor health, education and access to employment that nevertheless need to be addressed. Likewise, as he accuses the policy makers of essentialising Pintupi to a group of those 'without' and thus in need, he claims that Pintupi cannot comprehend a more fulfilling life than their own'. I suspect that there are many Pintupi, as there are Luritja, who are disheartened and exhausted by the regular attendance at funerals for young people from vehicle accidents, middle aged men from heart attacks and diabetes, and the high levels of domestic violence and drug abuse.
51. ATSIC's Community Housing and Infrastructure Program.

REFERENCES

AH KIT, J. 2003. *Building Stronger Regions — Stronger Futures*. Northern Territory Government. Department of Community Development, Sport and Cultural Affairs. Minister for Regional Development. Darwin.
BERNDT, R.M. 1966 (1959). The Concept of 'The Tribe' in the Western Desert of Australia. In I. Hogbin and L.R.Hiatt (eds), *Readings in Australian and Pacific Anthropology*. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne. pp.26–56.
BIRDSELL, J.B. 1976. Realities and Transformations: the Tribes of the Western Desert of Australia. In N. Peterson (ed). *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia*. Social Anthropology Series No. 10. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. Humanities Press Inc. Atlantic Highlands New Jersey, U.S.A. pp 50–71. pp.95–120.

BLACK, P. 1995. *The Dance of Language: Some Practical Linguistic Approaches*. Centre for Studies of Language in Education Northern Territory University.

CLASTRES, P. 1987 (1974). *Society Against The State*. Urzone Inc, Zone Books, New York.

CRYSTAL, D. 1987. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, Sydney

DAVIS, K. HUNTER, J. and PENNY, D. 1977. *Papunya: Its History and Future Prospects. A report prepared for the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Education*. Unpublished, Canberra.

DAVIS, R and ARTHUR, W.S. 1998. Homelands and Resource Agencies since the Blanchard Report: A Review of the Literature and an annotated bibliograhy. *CAEPR Discussion Paper No.165*.

DAVIS, S.J. and PRESCOTT, J.R.V. 1992. *Aboriginal Frontiers and Boundaries in Australia*. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

1993. *Australia's Extant and Imputed Traditional Aboriginal Territories* (map). Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

DEPARTMENT OF TERRITORIES. 1967. *The Australian Aborigines*. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

DOOHAN, K. 1992. One Family, Different Country. *Oceania Monograph* 42. University of Sydney.

DOUGLAS, W.H. 1977 (1964). An Introduction to the Western Desert Language. *Oceania Linguistic Monograph No 4*. University of Sydney.

FRIED, M. 1975. *The Notion of Tribe*. Cumming Publishing Company. California, Massachusetts, London, Amsterdam, Ontario and Sydney

FOLDS, R. 2001. *Crossed Purposes: The Pintupi and Australia's Indigenous Policy*. UNSW Press, Sydney.

GIDDINGS, F.H 1922. *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*. Macmillan, New York.

GUSFIELD, J.R. 1975. *Community: A Critical Response*. Harper Colophon, New York.

HAMILTON, A. 1972. Blacks and Whites: the relationships of change. *Arena 30*. pp.34–48.

1982. Descended from Father, Belonging to Country: Rights to Land in the Australian Western Desert. In E. Leacock and Lee (eds), *Politics and History in Australian Band Societies*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. pp.85–108.

HANSEN, K.C. 1984. Communicability of some Western Desert Communilects. In J. Hudson and N. Pym (eds). *Work Papers of SIL –AAB Series B Volume 11. Language Survey*. Summer Institute of Linguistics. Australia Aborigines Branch. Darwin.

HANSEN, K.C. and HANSEN, L.E. 1978. *The Core of Pintupi Grammar*. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.

1979 (1974).*Pintupi/Luritja Kinship*. Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.

1992 (1974). *Pintupi/Luritja Dictionary*. Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.

HEFFERNAN, J.A. 1984. *Papunya Luritja Language Notes*. Papunya Literature Production Centre, Papunya, Northern Territory.

HOLCOMBE, S. 1998. *Amunturrngu: An Emergent Community in Central Australia*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Newcastle, NSW.

2004. The Sentimental Community: A Site of Belonging. A Case Study from Central Australia. In *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 15:2. pp.163–184.

HYMES, D. 1974. *Foundations in Socio-Linguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

JACKSON, M. 1996. Introduction: Phenomenology, Radical Empricism, and Anthropological Critique. In M. Jackson (ed), *Things As They Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology*. pp.1–50. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis.

KEEN, I. 1997. A Continent of Foragers: Aboriginal Australia as a Regional System. In [eds] Patrick McConvell and Nicolas Evans. *Archaeology and Linguistics: Aboriginal Australia in Global Perspective*. Oxford University Press. pp.261–273.

KIMBER, R.G. 1981. *The Pintupi of the Kintore Range*. Report for the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, unpublished.

LOCKWOOD, D. 1964 (1998). *The Lizard Eaters*. J.B. Books Australia. Marleston, South Australia.

LONG, J. 1964. Papunya: Westernization in an Aboriginal Community. In M. Reay (ed) *Aborigines Now: New Perspective in the Study of Aboriginal Communities*. Angus and Robertson, Sydney, pp.72–82.

1970. Change in an Aboriginal Community in Central Australia. In *Diprotodon to Detribalisation: Studies of change among Australian Aborigines*. A.R Pilling and R.A Waterman (eds). pp.318–332. East Lansing Michigan State University Press.

1971. Arid Region Aborigines: The Pintupi. In D.J Mulvaney and J. Golson (eds), *Aboriginal Man and Environment in Australia*. ANU Press, Canberra, pp.262–270.

1989. Leaving the Desert: Actors and Sufferers in the Aboriginal Exodus from the Western Desert. *Aboriginal History* 13:1, pp.9–43.

1992. *The Go-Betweens; Patrol Officers in Aboriginal Affairs Administration in the Northern Territory 1936–74*. North Australian Research Unit, Darwin, ANU.

MEGGITT, M.J. 1986. (1962) *Desert People: A Study of the Walbiri Aborigines of Central Australia*. Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

MORPHY, F and SANDERS W. 2001. The Indigenous Welfare Economy and the CDEP scheme. *CAEPR Research Monograph 20*. ANU, Canberra.

MOUNTFORD, C.P. 1967. *Winbaraku and the Myth of Jarapiri*. Rigby Limited, Adelaide.

MYERS, F. 1976. *To Have and to Hold: A Study of Persistance and Change in Pintupi Social Life*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Bryn Mawr College.

1986. *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

1986b. Reflections on a Small Meeting: Structure, Language and the Polity in a Small Scale Society. *American Ethnologist* 13:3, pp.430–447.

PETERSON, N. 1976. The Natural and Cultural Areas of Aboriginal Australia: A prelimarary Analysis of population groupings with adaptive significance. In Nicolas Peterson (ed) *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia*. Social Anthropology Series No. 10. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. Humanities Press Inc. Atlantic Highlands New Jersey, U.S.A. pp.50–71.

RIGSBY, B. 1995. Tribes, diaspora people and the vitality of law and custom: Some comments. In J. Fingleton and J. Finlayson (eds). *Anthropology in the Native Title era: Proceedings of a workshop*. Canberra

RIGSBY, B. and SUTTON, P. 1979. Linguistic communites and social networks on Cape York Peninsula in S.A Wurm (ed) *Australia Linguistic Studies. Pacific Linguistics*. pp.713–732

1980–82. Speech Communities in Aboriginal Australia. In *Anthropological Forum Vol 5 no 1*. pp.8–23

ROHEIM, G. 1974. *Children of the Desert: The Western Tribes of Central Australia. Volume One*. Werner Muensterberger (ed). Harper Torchbooks. Harper and Row Publishers, New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London.

ROWSE, T. 1992. *Remote Possibilities: The Aboriginal Domain and the Administrative Imagination*. North Australian Research Unit (ANU), Darwin, Canberra.

1998. *White Flour, White Power: from rations to citizenship in Central Australia*. Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom.

RUMSEY, A 1989. Language Groups in Australian Aboriginal land Claims. In *Anthropological Forum 6 (1)*.

1993. Language and Territorality in Aboriginal Australia. In M. Walsh and C. Yallop (eds), *Language and Culture in Aboriginal Australia*. Canberra

SANDALL, R. 2001. *Designer Tribalism and Other Essays*. Westview Press, Colorado

SANDERS, W. 2001. A Regional CDEP for Four Remote Communities? Papunya, Ikuntji, Watiyawanu and Walungurru. *CAEPR Discussion paper 224*.

SMITH, B. 2000. The Ayapathu people of Cape York Peninsula: A case of Tribal Resurgence? In *Aboriginal History Vol 24*. pp.224–252.

STREHLOW, T.G.H. 1932. Journal of Expedition to Mount Liebig and Surrounds. Unpublished manuscript, South Australian Museum.

1947. *Aranda Traditions*. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

SUTTON, P. 1990 The Pulsating Heart: Large scale cultural and demographic processes in Aboriginal Australia in B. Meehan and N. White (eds) *Hunter-Gatherer Demography: Past and Present*. Oceania Monograph 39.

1995. *Country: Aboriginal Boundaries and Land Ownership in Australia*. Aboriginal History Monograph Series (ANU), Canberra.

TINDALE, N.B. 1932. Journal of a Visit to Mt. Liebig, Central Australia. August 1932. Unpublished manuscript, South Australian Museum.

1974. *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia: Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names*. Australian National University Press, Canberra

WALLACE, N.M. 1977. Pitjantjatjara decentralisation in north-west South Australia: spiritual and psycho-social motivation. In R.M. Berndt (ed), *Aborigines and Change: Australia in the 1970s*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 124–135.

WARCHIVKER, I and MITCHELL, J. 2002. *wangka Wilirarra Governance Proposal: Financial Modelling Report*. Final Report, June. Unpublished. Centre for Remote Health, Alice Springs.

WARDHAUGH, R. 1978. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Third edition*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford UK.

WESTBURY, N and SANDERS, W. 2000. Governance and Service Delivery for remote communities in the Northern Territory: Challenges and Opportunities. *CAEPR Working Paper No. 6/2000*.

WILD, S. 1987. Recreating the Jukurrpa: Adaptation and Innovation of Songs and Ceremonies in Warlpiri Society. *Oceania Mongraph* 32, 97–120.

YALLOP, C. 1982 *Australian Aboriginal Languages*. The Language Library, [ed] David Crystal. Andre Deutsch Limited, London.