

106. What is Evidence? Part 5: Traditional owners

In this podcast series, Maratja Dhamarrandji and Richard Trudgen discuss who are considered the traditional owners of the land, but how there is a communication breakdown because most Yolngu do not understand the meaning of the English words 'traditional' or 'landowner'. There are also issues surrounding the fact that, even though, according to the Aboriginal Land Rights Act of 1976, it clearly says that land ownership should follow traditional law, the Land Council and the government do not recognise Yolngu political leaders, the *dalkarra djirrikay*, who uphold the evidence – all the checks and balances that determine who owns land under the original Yolngu ('traditional') law.

On top of this, younger Yolngu generations do not understand their own original law. They believe the only things their elders have got are their songlines and nothing else. They see them having no money, no houses, no equipment, and everything coming from the all-powerful government. And some other Yolngu are also taking advantage of this Balanda/Yolngu English driven two-way confusion.

The Yolngu elders, especially the *dalkarra djirrikay*, who have been set aside by the people as their political leaders, have knowledge of the original law. And everyone should be listening to the real 'traditional' evidence that determines land ownership under this Yolngu original law. Instead, many are now looking to the government and the Lands Council to say who the 'traditional landowners' are. This leads to anarchy and lawlessness. These two systems, Balanda and Yolngu, must be understood on both sides and brought together.

In this podcast, Maratja and Richard unravel the confusion, showing how language hugely affects land ownership, any chance of business development across Yolngu lands, and how we can move forward in the future.

Note: Due to lack of resources and time, the complete Yolngu Matha (ym) translation of this series has not been finalised. This translation is done at our own time and cost. Because of the important nature of this subject we will update this as soon as possible.

Story No. 1: Traditional owner meaning

Richard Trudgen: Good morning brother.

Maratja Dhamarrandji: Yo, good morning.

RT: Brother, this morning we want to talk about one English word, hey?

MD: Yo.

RT: Traditional, is that what we want to talk about?

MD: Traditional.

RT: Traditional. What is the meaning of 'traditional'? A lot of Balanda think that Aboriginal people know that word, traditional, really easy but it's a bit hard isn't it?

MD: Yo. Yeah. There is lots of evidence, lots of evidence. In relation to the traditional owner. That points towards who is the traditional owner, who owns the place or country. There is the law and the songlines in our Maḍayin system of law, and the ḍalkarra djirrikay political leaders will return to the evidence. Yo, there is lots of evidence, lots of evidence, that exists, to say who is the wāṇa waṭaṇu, owners of the particular country.

RT: There is lots of evidence to point towards who is the traditional people, the traditional owners of the land.

MD: Yeah, nhawi ah, ah, what's it called? Bakumirriyanhawuy and the Wananhirrpanawuy Yolḷu, they have received the law from the broad group of owners, citizens (in relation to that land ownership). The Märi, grandmother's people on the mother's side, and the Gutharra grandchildren's clan, the yapa sister clan. All those people. You see it?

RT: So you're saying that they are bāka-ṇayathama (holding back). Who is baku...

MD: no, bakumirriyanhawuy. Bakumirriyanhawuy.

RT: Bākumirriyanhawuy.

MD: it's like the appointed one. That has been selected, that Yolḷu person.

RT: Ah right.

MD: To have the stories. And they are biding for the time when those true groups (of owners) like traditional owners, or like children, the descendant group, they grow up into maturity and then they get the responsibilities back to that peoples. Yo.

RT: The appointed one.

MD: The appointed one.

MD: Yo.

RT: So when we're talking about land, it's who has been given the authority and that authority can be guwarr, it can be temporary, is it?

MD: Depending on the circumstances.

RT: Yes, yes.

MD: Or the family needs, and the, what you call, that group, thinking of the elders. What they're thinking?

RT: Yeah.

MD: What is it they are thinking.

RT: Right.

MD: It is the generation from that land.

RT: Hmm.

MD: Whether it's Dhuwa Yirritja moiety groups, the Märi Gutharra (and all the other represented citizens), all the checks and balances (are in place as the owners).

RT: Hmm.

MD: Are becoming mature.

RT: Hmm.

MD: Ready to take over the responsibility. Then the person who has the authority has to release it. Accordingly to the Maḍayin system of the rom law.

RT: Yeah.

MD: You see?

RT: According to the Maḍayin system of law who had been given authority.

MD: Yo.

RT: And that can be a temporary authority or it can be long-term authority?

MD: Depends on what you call?

RT: Circumstances.

MD: Whether the person is burapuy.

RT: Right.

MD: He will continue holding onto authority until...

RT: The right time.

MD: The right time. Pass it onto the descendant mala group.

RT: The right descendants. Yeah.

MD: Yo, yo, right descendants.

RT: So, you say it's burapuy, he can be a middle person, a middle person, a middleman.

MD: The term waṭaṇu is, what you say, applying. Waṭaṇu owner.

RT: He can be burapuy waṭaṇu (a middleman owner). Hey?

MD: He is a waṭaṇu (owner), burapuy-nha (a middleman until the true descendants take over).

RT: so he can be a middleman owner.

MD: With the authority.

RT: With the authority until the right time when the descendants of that land grow up. Until they grow up, old enough?

MD: Fits into that line, lining, like a plumb line, plumb line, fits into that line of descendants. If he fits into that category, he receives that authority.

RT: If that descendant line is broken or the descendants are too young, there might be a burapuy, a middleman, hey? They'll give that ganydjarr authority. They give that ganydjarr authority to that burapuy middleman Yolngu waṭaṇu owner.

MD: Nunhi (You know that, that sort of thing, if, what if, if we do that) ṇayi (he, she, it), that sort of thing for that person is temporary, temporary.

RT: Guwarr-nha, temporary.

MD: (corrects RT's grammar) guwarr yan? Temporary only? Yo, yes.

RT: Holding it temporary until.

MD: But, but he has to somehow fit, like a cousin there. Or something like that. A galki close key relative.

RT: A close relative.

MD: Yo, yo galki close relative to hold onto that responsibility, for them to hold it.

RT: To hold on that responsibility temporarily.

MD: Yo, yo temporarily yeah.

RT: They have to be a close relative that is chosen.

MD: Yo.

RT: That is chosen for that job, hey?

MD: Yo.

RT: To hold that country for that while, yeah?

MD: Yo.

RT: How do we get there from the English word 'traditional'?

MD: Yes. Here I have been explaining that the traditional owner, what is its meaning. Who is the owner and what is the traditional meaning? Traditional, it is the Maḍayin system of law that tells us everything.

RT: Traditional should mean, who is the Maḍayin waṭaṇu (the owner with the legal authority at Maḍayin law). That should be the TO as the...

MD: Yo.

RT: ...as the Lands Council are always talking about TO's.

MD: Maḍayin system of law and the Njārra' parliament will tell us who is the wāṇa waṭaṇu landowners.

RT: Yeah.

MD: Yo. It's a ḍalkarra djirrikay who we returned back to tell us whose land it is.

RT: So it should be back to the ḍalkarra djirrikay, the political leaders, for them to say who are the right people.

MD: Yo. Yes this is the information that comes from the ṇurrṇgitj buḷanybuḷany dhāwu ṇāthiliṇu (ṇurrṇgitj - the charcoal carbon record practice of the people from the beginning of time, found in the shell midden heaps. Bulanybulany - from the creation of time. Dhāwu - story, word. Njāthiliṇu - old, long time ago.). This is the information that the ḍalkarra djirrikay political leaders will rely on to tell us who's land it is.

RT: Yeah.

MD: As they call out Gunbur', the Dhuwa (proclamation for legal announcements). And Birkarr the Yirritja proclamation. After calling out the proclamation names, they will name all the estate owners.

RT: Yeah.

MD: All the Yirritja ones and all the Dhuwa ones. All the people hear the proclamations, the elders and everyone. All hear it from the elders.

RT: Yeah.

MD: The Dhuwa Yirritja groups, the Yothu Yindi, the Märi Gutharra. They all hear it.

RT: Hmm.

MD: And they all respond with a 'yo'. Yo, yes, we yurama, agree.

RT: Yeah.

MD: Responding. Bala, (movement away from speaker) bejuru, (from there) they go gapu (water) guwtjamana (meet with). Responding they moved to the water, assenting to the law. They immerse themselves (into the water).

RT: Yeah.

MD: This is our system for us Yolŋu people.

RT: Yeah.

MD: You see. It's not like a... yes it's not like djupur', djupur', djupur'.

RT: Nhä what?

MD: Djupur' means narrow, narrow.

RT: Narrow.

MD: It's not narrow, it's yindi (big). It's (what) everybody knows.

RT: It's not narrow, djupur'.

MD: Djupur', djupur'.

RT: Djupur', it's not djupur' it should be...

MD: Yindjipirr, Yindjipirr.

RT: Yindjipirr.

MD: Yindjipirr (a large crowd) bukmak (all, every everybody) bukmak everybody knows this law. They know whose estate, whose country it is. You see. Whose Likan surname is applied to it. Who is for, whose is it?

RT: It should be what everybody knows - who the landowners are. Like that. Yeah?

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: Now that's the right meaning for traditional. The njäthili (old, long time ago).

MD: Yo.

RT: Djalkiri (foot, foundation) rom (law) dhukarr (path, road, way). The time before, the foundational law way. Nhä, nhä, what it is, what it is? Därrpik rom the law

consistent from its source.

MD: Yo.

RT: The Maḍayin ḍärrpik rom, the Maḍayin law consistent to its source.

MD: When the ḍalkarra djirrikay legal leaders gather all the evidence together.

RT: Yeah.

MD: Pull it all together, they can see (what's being said), the Yolḷu elders. And they will say, "Yaka no you're wrong. Don't say those things."

RT: Hmm.

MD: "That's a long way off (the truth). This is what should be said". This is what the ḍalkarra will say. To good they are this group, the political leaders, the ḍalkarra djirrikay when it comes to the Maḍayin system of law.

RT: Yeah.

MD: Making sure that what is said in the proclamation.

RT: Yeah.

MD: The ḍalkarra will give the evidence that is straight, not incorrect.

RT: Yep.

MD: Yo.

RT: That's the real meaning for the English word 'traditional'.

MD: Yo.

RT: We can have other meaning for traditional, like traditional custom, your original modus operandi, things like that.

MD: Yo.

RT: Or traditional rom law is the Maḍayin rom, that is the traditional rom law.

MD: Yo.

RT: The traditional owner is the true wāṇa waṭaṇḷu landowners, yirralka waṭaṇḷu estate owners.

MD: Yo.

RT: Who is this group? They are the TO's, they are the traditional owners.

MD: Yep.

RT: Not who Balanda's say they are.

MD: Far from it!

RT: Who the rom law says they are.

MD: Yo Wämut (RT skin name).

RT: Yeah. Who the law says are the owners? Yo yes.

MD: Yo.

RT: Yo brother. Let's come back again and we'll keep talking about this.

MD: Yo manymak, manymak yes good, good.

Story No. 2: Our relationship and landowners are the same

RT: Brother, let's keep talking about this because there's, it's always confusing when we're moving from English to Yolŋu Matha, Yolŋu Matha to English, yeah?

MD: Yo.

RT: Ah... and especially when we're talking about, who are the yirralka waṯaṯu (estate owners) wäṯa waṯaṯu (country or place owners) and groups like that. And then when the Balanda come in with Balanda rom law. Yeah they jump in. And then they use English. Like they use that word TO yeah, which is like traditional owner but that English word 'traditional' is meaningless to a lot of Yolŋu. Hey?

MD: What is it I am thinking, Wämut?

RT: Hmm.

MD: Just an idea (of mine), a notion.

RT: Hmm.

MD: About us Yolŋu. We have known this information since we were young.

RT: Yeah.

MD: As we were growing up, growing up. Going through the ṇärra' system (inside chamber of law). Learning all the big laws and things.

RT: Hmm.

MD: You see. The ceremonies and song lines. We learn all this as we go. It's not one year or two months. Or anything like that. It's over a long time that we learned all this, these legal things.

RT: So, you're learning, you're learning all your life about the traditional law. Because it's your gurruṯu, your relatives.

MD: Yo.

RT: Connected to the same system, the gurruṯu (kinship) system, to the land ownership system. Hey?

MD: Exactly, exactly.

RT: Land ownership and relatives are all connected.

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: You can look at the relatives and you can see their land.

MD: Yo

RT: And the other way around, hey?

MD: Yo. This is our story. This is including some of the bush Yolŋu universities.

RT: Yeah.

MD: Where we learn a lot more.

RT: Yep, yep.

MD: Where they tell us the leaders, the elders. They give us information like both Dhuwa and Yirritja (classifications of information). We learn a lot. Some of us become highly proficient while some just learn a bit, or learn quickly. Like that you see.

RT: Yep.

MD: We learn. It's not just...?

MD: 1 minute, 2 minute, 5 minute job, it's not.

RT: No.

MD: Yaka, no. Learn some of these, what you call them, rom mala legal things.

RT: Yeah.

MD: It is the ṇäthiliṇu, long time ago original gurranjay academic terms.

RT: Hmm.

MD: The njäthiliṇu. That has existed for a long time.

[end of Yolngu Matha translation from here]

RT: Yeah when you say that ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: That is the ym... for traditional, that's the ym... for traditional, English word traditional.

MD: Yo.

RT: It could be traditional ym... it could be traditional ym... it could be traditional ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: ym...

MD: Yo ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym... yo

RT: I'm not hearing you clear with what you're saying there, you're saying you can also recognise who's telling you the truth, true stories and you can recognise also people who are maybe telling lies, hey?

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: To steal the land or to steal...

MD: Yo.

RT: The assets, the ym... hey?

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: ym...

MD: Revealing, revealing.

RT: Reveals.

MD: Yo revealing.

RT: So you're back to this big word mägaya again, it's the mägaya law, the big peace law that reveals the truth about who are the true ym... landowners or the ym... hey?

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: According to system of ym... law yeah?

MD: Yo full stop ym...

RT: And that should be where the full stop comes in.

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: There's really no other conversation it's just...

MD: ym...

RT: That's how it should be ym...

MD: Yo, yo ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: Yo ym...

RT: Yep.

MD: ym...

RT: We should be listening to the old people, yeah?

MD: Yo.

RT: And you keep saying the ym... hey?

MD: Yo.

RT: The ones who have been given the authority, because they have been given the authority...

MD: They are the servants, servants ym... proclamation.

RT: To proclaim.

MD: ym...

RT: The true, the true story.

MD: True story, yo, yo.

RT: It's their job to be the servant of the people.

MD: ym...

RT: To proclaim the true story, what is the true story.

MD: Yo.

RT: You could say they're ym...

MD: ym...

RT: Been given the authority to speak on behalf of the people.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Just say that again...

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym... yo.

RT: So when ym... at the big parliament time.

MD: Yo.

RT: Those ym... they climb up into that special ceremonial tree hey?

MD: Hmm.

RT: Ah ym... that's when they are given the authority to speak out through that process, they are like, what do you call it, you call it – they are endorsed, they are... but you're saying ym... they are given that authority?

MD: ym...

RT: They are given that authority.

MD: The announcement ym... proclamation ym...

RT: They can then proclaim things at law.

MD: Yo.

RT: Hey.

MD: Yo.

RT: Because they have that authority from ym... which belongs to the people.

MD: Yo.

RT: Yeah, yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Yo ym...

MD: ym...

RT: ym... we'll just keep talking about this a bit better hey, yo?

MD: ym...

Story No. 3: Yolngu Political leaders not on Lands Council

MD: ym...

Richard Trudgen: Yeah ym...

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym... Yolngu ym...

RT: Yo.

MD: ym... Balanda.

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym... English ym... traditional owner ym...

RT: So we're looking at the evidence, the evidence that points towards the traditional owners, hey?

MD: Yo.

RT: And you've said a lot about this in other programs, yeah?

MD: Yo.

RT: So it doesn't matter if the Lands Council calls people TO's or traditional owners, they are the same because in the Land Rights Act ym... it says the ym... the ym... according to traditional law ym... according to ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: ym...

MD: Yo, ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: Yo, ym... do not cross the boundaries what your ancestors have drawn and we follow the ym...

RT: It's the same yeah, yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: Where everything is ym...

RT: Yeah so that system of law which you call ym... law, yeah?

MD: Yo.

RT: Will reveal who the right people are, who the true people are, yeah?

MD: Yo.

RT: Who the true people are with authority under traditional law, under ym... law ym...

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: Yo, ym... hey.

MD: Yo ym...

RT: ym...

MD: Yo ym...

RT: Yeah what meaning does that have in ym...

MD: Same ym... appointed one.

RT: Yep.

MD: Yes, appointed one.

RT: Yeah, who are the appropriate appointed ones under traditional law under ym...

MD: ym...

RT: Balanda hey?

MD: Yo, yo, yo.

RT: Yo.

MD: Yo, ym... the next question who appointed you.

RT: Yeah.

MD: Tell us everybody you know and we'll accept you.

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: And as you say, ym... Yolju or ym... Yolju, almost all Yolju people are witnesses to those ceremonial processes, those processes at law, what we say the process at law umm, who has been given the authority, the right people but that becomes difficult when over in the Balanda ym... like with the Lands Council who are the members on the Lands Council, they're not the ym... Yolju don't even appoint them.

MD: Yo.

RT: Yolŋu ym... Lands Council ym... hey?

MD: Yo ym... Yolŋu.

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: But I am not going to use my English to control my people.

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: Until ym... Yolŋu appointed ym... Elders to ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: Somebody ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym... Mägaya rom.

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym... yo.

RT: Yeah.

MD: Another ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym... thinking ym... it has ym... checks and balances ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: Accountability, the new process ym... Yolju ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym... Balanda ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: Yo ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Wait til you give them the authority through the true process of law, yeah?

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: What we call in English 'true due process of law', ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: ym... you have to learn all that ancient language, the right language, especially the academic Yolŋu Matha.

MD: Yo.

RT: Which ym... people want to call the ceremonial language, but it's not the ceremonial language, it's the academic Yolŋu Matha ym... Matha you have to learn all that properly first and you have to wait your time, as you say, you're not going to use your English to control your people.

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym... Mark Twain, ym... don't let school interfere with your good education.

RT: Yep, so your ym... education means your Balanda, Yolŋu ym... education Balanda, yeah?

MD: Exactly.

RT: Don't let the western education, the Balanda education interfere...

MD: Yo.

RT: With your ym... education.

MD: Yo.

RT: It is ym... education because it comes from ym... (laughing) ym...

MD: Yo, yo ym...

RT: It's the māgaya rom as we keep saying, the big peace law.

MD: ym... justice ym...

RT: So we could all live together in harmony with each other.

MD: Respecting ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: Yo ym...

RT: Yo, yeah, yeah, yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah, yeah.

MD: Yo ym...

RT: ym... come back we've got one more program this morning, hey.

MD: ym...

Story No. 4: Confusion around meaning of land owners

RT: Yo, ym... we're talking about that, we were talking about traditional owners ym... yeah we were talking about who's the traditional landowner or TO people call it, ym... and there's that other English word that some Yolngu, not everybody, but Yolngu are a bit confused about when we talk about landowner ym...

MD: Yeah ym... landowner.

RT: Yeah, land...

MD: ym... he's the owner.

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: So land is ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: And owner is ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: So it's clearly they're the same they're ym... hey?

MD: They're the same.

RT: Yeah.

MD: Yo ym... but...

RT: ym... there is always a big but.

MD: Yo yeah ym... underlying ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym... Rupiah.

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym... Rupiah ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym... law Balanda law ym... Lands Council ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym... Yolju ym... question ym...

RT: Yep.

MD: ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: So it seems like the English name 'landowner' now has become confused because people are arguing over money, yeah?

MD: Yo.

RT: And people are not sure really what that landowner means anymore in English, they're alright in Yolŋu Matha, they know what ym... means but some people are confused about what the English term 'landowner' means now because of all the trouble that has been caused from bad communication ym... hey?

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: Like you said before, like the checks and balances ym... the evidences that are there in Yolŋu law are not being, are not being applied in the conversations that people are having even with the Land Council, hey?

MD: Yo.

RT: It's like we're having ym... with the Lands Council and ym... it's like there are two conversations going on, hey?

MD: Yo.

RT: And this English word 'landowner' then gets thrown in and some people now are picking that up and putting a different meaning on it, what different ym... what different meaning have they given to it now?

MD: The meaning ym... landowners ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: ym...

RT: ym...

MD: Implications.

RT: What are the implications of the name landowner?

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: Yep.

MD: Listen to ym... Lands Council ym...

RT: Right that's interesting what you're saying, let me just check that, so you're saying that some people are now looking to the government and looking to the Lands Council for them to say who are the landowners, hey?

MD: Yo.

RT: Rather than looking to the evidence ym... all the evidence that ym... at your law, at your ym... law. People are now looking the wrong way because they think there is a new rule of law, a new law?

MD: Hmm, ym...

RT: Which is really ym... which is really lawlessness.

MD: Yo.

RT: Because it's all about stealing people's...

MD: Yo.

RT: ym... the money ym... who are the landowners at law and ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: And they're also stealing their assets.

MD: Yo.

RT: Yeah.

MD: Yo.

RT: Yeah is that what you're saying there?

MD: Yeah ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym... parliament ym... beating around the bush ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym... yo

RT: So it's through the Yolngu parliament, the Yolngu ym... parliament.

MD: Yo.

RT: The true story is told.

MD: Yo.

RT: And through the ym... the political representatives, which sadly the government and even the Lands Council don't even recognise, don't even know they're there.

MD: Yo.

RT: They don't even know they're there, hey?

MD: Yo ym...

RT: Yeah ym... what you're saying to me is true because young people are saying that to me now.

MD: Hmm.

RT: They're saying all the old people have got is their ym... they've only got their songlines, they've got nothing.

MD: Hmm.

RT: They haven't got any equipment, they haven't got any money, they haven't got anything – exciting houses come from the government, everything comes from the government.

MD: Hmm.

RT: And they're saying those old people have got nothing, but really the old people have got something because the Lands Rights Act that ym... Aboriginal Land Rights Act of 1976, the Northern Territory Land Rights Act clearly says that ym... that section of the Act says that according to traditional law, it's according to ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: And that should be also according to ym... it should be also according to ym...

MD: Yo.

RT: So they should be also using ym... to find out the true evidences, hey?

MD: Yo.

RT: And bring these two systems together.

MD: Yo.

RT: Otherwise we're just making complete anarchy as you've said before, complete lawlessness, hey?

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: And there's ym... no Mägaya rom, there's no...

MD: ym...

RT: Big peace law.

MD: Hmm.

RT: That can bring peace and order to the community, hey?

MD: Hmm.

RT: ym...

MD: Yo, ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: ym... what's the meaning of ym... again?

MD: Mockery.

RT: Mockery.

MD: ym...

RT: ym... mixing everything together.

MD: Yeah, ym...

RT: Making a mockery of it.

MD: Yo, ym...

RT: So the ym... shouldn't make a mockery of the law, we say in English, yeah?

MD: Yo, yo, yo.

RT: Should not make a mockery of the law by ym... mixing everything together.

MD: Yo.

RT: And confusing everything, yeah?

MD: Yo, ym... checks and balances ym... Mägaya rom what is ym...

RT: Yeah.

MD: ym...

RT: Hmm.

MD: Yo.

RT: And this is the big issue ym... the big ym... how can we bring those two together now I think we can bring Balanda and Yolju together systems together if we get this ym... hey if we get it ym... correct?

MD: Yo.

RT: Because I can see how the Lands Council could be ym... they can be straight in for the Regional Lands Council because they're the right one who have been given the authority ym... hey?

MD: ym...

RT: They are the ym... hey.

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: They are the ones that have been given the authority to talk through this all, and that would then be, that would then be a true election of who's...

MD: Yo...

RT: Involved in the Lands Council sort of thing, yeah?

MD: Yo.

RT: That would be the true proper people, but Yolŋu have to talk this out, Yolŋu have to ym... hey?

MD: Yo.

RT: ym... thank you for talking again on this one, we'll keep talking because there's not ym...

MD: ym...

RT: So we'll come back another day ym...

MD: ym...

RT: ym... yo, yo.

MD: Yo, yo.

RT: Yo ym...

MD: ym...