

Annie and Reuben's daughter, Lena, had a child to Banyjima man, Wobby Parker, and was also the spouse of Henry Long. Her sister, Kathleen, had a Ngarlawonga partner, another sister, Charlotte, had a Nyiyaparli partner and a brother, Sydney, married Gladys, a daughter of Percy Tucker. Although Gladys' children have followed her in returning to the Banyjima homelands, they follow their father as Top End Banyjima. **Annie's first children therefore clearly remained within the Central Pilbara cultural block through marriage, particularly as both their parents were Banyjima.**

Although Annie's last five children with Scotty Black have 'married out', they identify as Banyjima. Elizabeth Black's son, Keith, in particular has maintained the tradition of laws and customs and uses the medium of PAKAM radio to strengthen community bonds across the whole Pilbara.¹ He is also a recognised 'lawman'. May and Beverley, daughters of Kathleen, are establishing a Milyaranpa Banyjima community beside Karijini Drive to the east of the National Park in an area within the overlap of MIB and IBN native title claims.²

Their son David Stock worked on Roy Hill Station and was initiated at Pintakalli, or Pug Well, near Weeli Wollie Creek. David is known as 'Yandicoogie', and identifies as Nyiyaparli. His first wife was a granddaughter of the Banyjima woman, Sally Warbun, giving the sons and daughters strong Banyjima ancestry, but they are listed as Nyiyaparli. These cases indicate that the amount of Banyjima 'blood' or descent is less important today and choice plays a bigger part in identity formation. When half the siblings go one way and others another way, this may be decided by the parents to maintain an interest in each area or to strengthen one side. This has been recorded elsewhere.³ On the stations, when a child has a white biological parent, they may follow their mother's tribal husband, as for Herbert Parker, or their mother, as for Alice Smith or in some cases the male who 'reared them up.'

¹ 'Joog', short for Jukari, or Keith Lethbridge operates Radio Gumala which broadcasts on FM to Onslow, Roebourne, Bellary, Paraburdoo, Youngaleena and Tom Price (see *Ethical Investor*, No. 34, June 2004).

² Also see interviews with May in *Pilbara News* November 3, 2004, p.7 and *North West Telegraph*, December 1, 2005, p.11.

³ Families with Nyiyaparli and Palyku grandparents have arranged for some siblings to be Nyiyaparli and some to be Palyku.