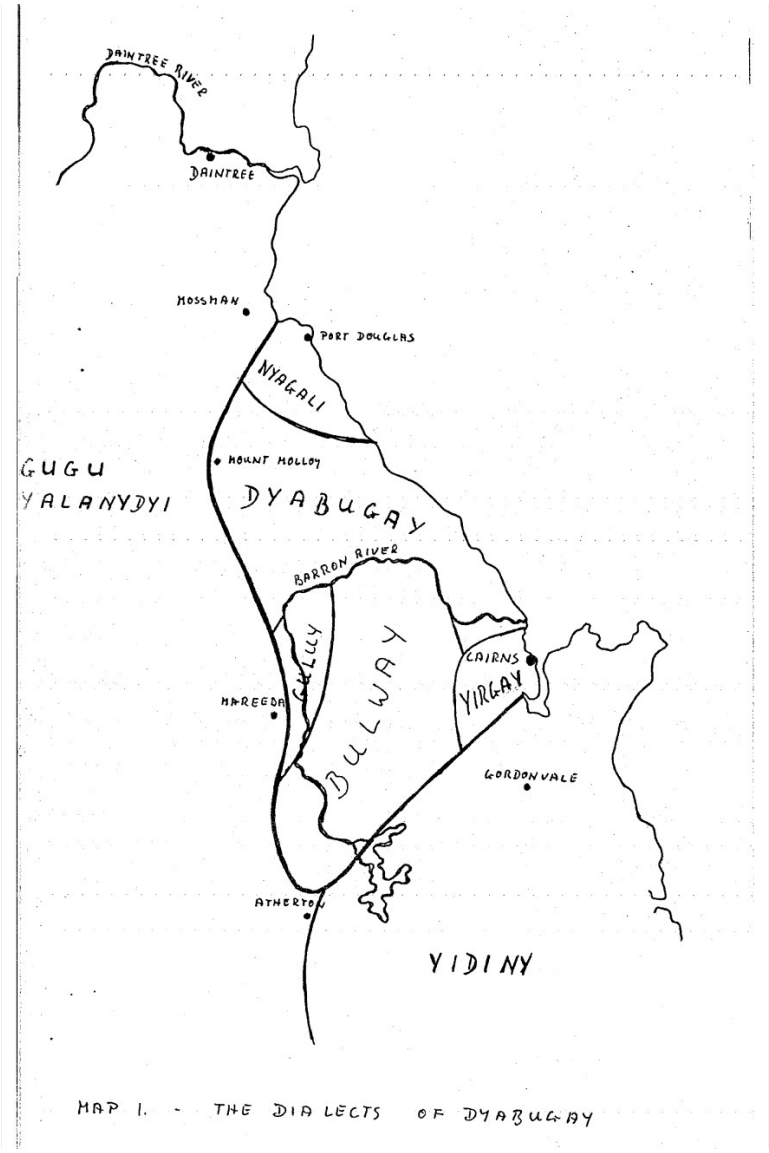
A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF DYABUGAY - ELISABETH PATZ, 1980 (Thesis), Page 4

MAP 1 – THE DIALECTS OF DYABUGAY

SOURCE: https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/items/15b4e08e-2fc5-428a-8b9f-1d764bfb1787/full



SOURCE: A grammar of the Kuku Yalanji language of North Queensland By Elisabeth Patz 2002, sourcing R.M.W. Dixon

Where the self-termed "languages" of several tribes are mutually understandable, the linguist may recognise these as **dialects** of one superordinate language. But "**there was not usually any name for a group of tribes whose speech was mutually intelligible**, nor for the language^ [the superordinate language] that we can - on linguistic criteria - assign to them. It is necessary to **choose some label for each language^**, and this usually has to be done fairly **arbitrarily by the linguist**" (Dixon 1980:43).

*According to expert Professor R.M.W. Dixon in the text above, the linguists arbitrarily (m. by chance) chose a name, in this local case 'Dyabugay', as a reference point for the neighbouring tribes that had similar languages. This naming convention using **dialects** is not primary source or traditional law and custom, instead a linguistic 'adjustment' that is confusing and simply, by definition, not true.*

Therefore, the neighbouring tribes Buluwai and Yirrganydji are NOT dialects, clans or subgroups of a super-group or nation called Djabugay.