

AUSTRONESIAN LOANWORDS IN YOLNGU-MATHA OF NORTHEAST ARNHEM LAND*

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For well over a century scholars have been aware that some Aboriginal languages contained loanwords from languages spoken in the islands to the north of Australia.¹ Although early authors spoke of 'Malay' influence² or, more accurately, of 'Makassan' contacts,³ they conceded that the influence need not necessarily have been from a single language group. Speakers of various Austronesian languages had made trips, primarily concerned with the trepang industry, to the north coast of Australia from before 1800⁴ until 1906.⁵

Linguists currently use the cover term Austronesian, rather than Malayo-Polynesian, the term favoured earlier (but now applied to a subgroup of Austronesian), to classify the family of languages spoken from Formosa in the north to New Zealand (Maori) in the south, from Madagascar (Malagasy) in the west to Easter Island or Hawaii in the east. We are dealing here with members of the western branch of this family, particularly Makassarese and Buginese, who came into contact with speakers of Aboriginal languages on the Arnhem Land coast. Other possible contacts include speakers of Malay and Javanese, central and southern Philippine Bisayan slaves (used on trepang expeditions), southern Philippine Lanaw pirates (who apparently operated off the coast of northern Australia), and Bajau entrepreneurs.

Numerous articles have been written on the topic of Macassan influence on Aboriginal languages,⁶ but no serious effort has been made to identify the precise donor languages on scientific linguistic grounds.⁷ As Macknight has observed:

Enough is now known about the Macassans to set some limit to their usefulness as a general ragbag source of the unusual. This is not to say that there have been no other external cultural influences in northern Australia, but discussion of such other influences should also specify the presumed source of the influence

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1 See Earl 1842:140, Jennison 1927, Lowe 1976, Macknight 1976:89, and Urry and Walsh 1981.

2 For example, Jennison 1927:178, Warner 1932.

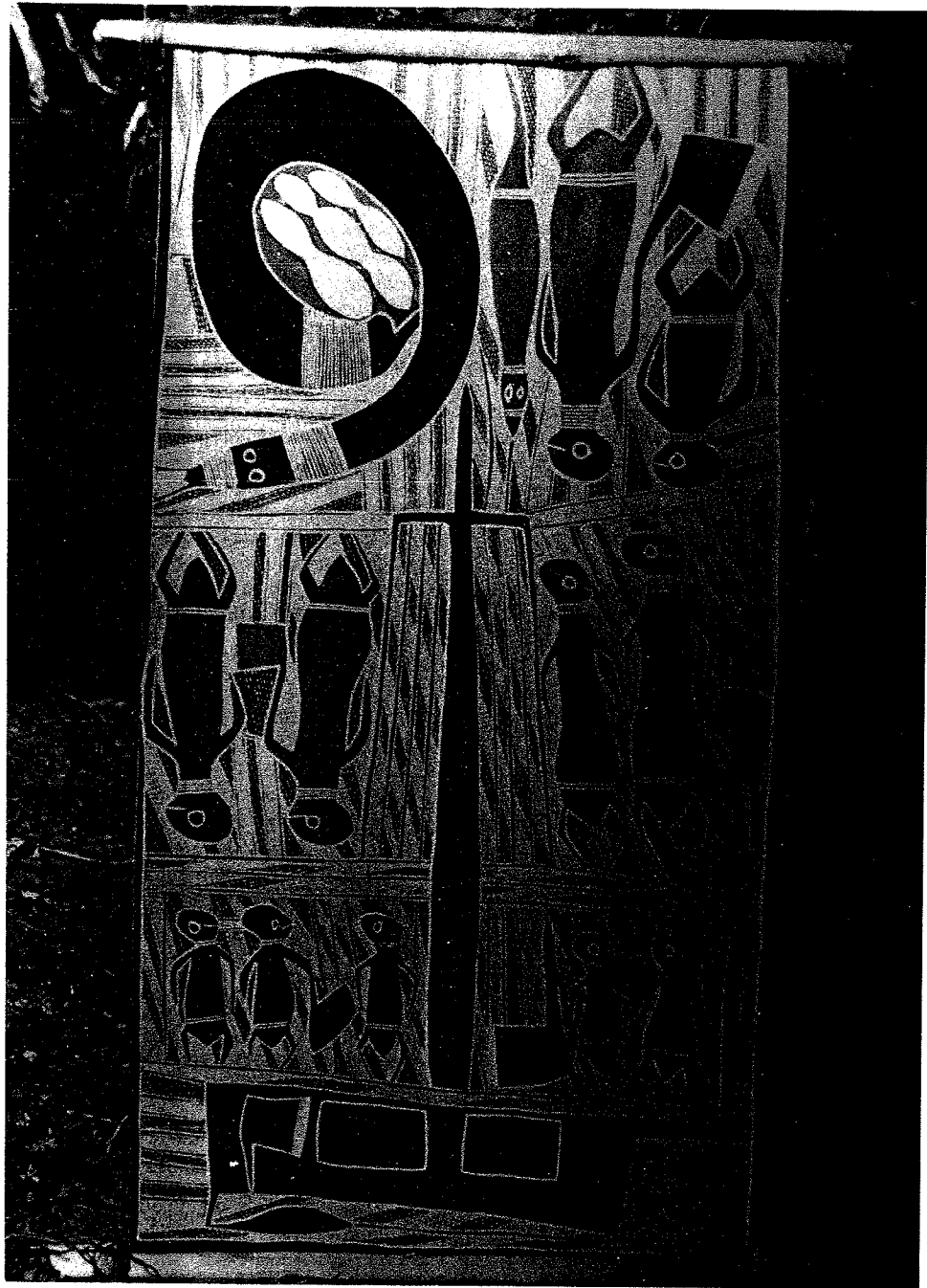
3 For example, Earl 1842, Worsley 1955, Macknight 1972, 1976, Turner 1974.

4 Macknight 1972:284 states: 'The Makassan industry was certainly in operation by about 1760, and is most unlikely to have been so long before 1700. It thus endured for approximately two centuries'. See also Worsley (1955:2) who reports that 'The written historical records of Macassarese and Buginese enterprise go back to 1768'.

5 See Macknight 1972:284, 1976:Chapter 8. In 1906 the South Australian government, then responsible for the Northern Territory, ceased issuing licences to foreign trepang fishermen; after a brief exploratory test of these regulations (November 1906 to February 1907) the Macassan industry terminated.

6 See the bibliography in Macknight 1976:166-169 or his earlier work 1972:318-321.

7 Wirjosuparto 1969 was a first step in this direction, but suffers from several deficiencies: (1) the Aboriginal languages are not identified and represent data from genetically-diverse varieties (e.g., Anindilyakwa, Burarra, Yolngu-Matha, and Nunggubuyu); (2) most of the data is neither phonemic nor phonetic; (3) the quality of some of the evidence suggests little more than guesswork or chance agreements (e.g., relating the names of the two moieties, yirica (yirritja) and duwa (dhuwa) to Makassarese juragan 'shipmaster' and tua 'old'). See also Macknight 1972.



Bark painting by Mithinari (193?-1976), Galpu clan, Yirrkala, northeast Arnhem Land. It represents Yolngu and Macassans in Arnhem Bay. The Macassans, arriving in a prau, bring with them steel axes to replace Yolngu stone axes. The painting, done in 1974, is in the National Ethnographic Collection, Canberra.

Photograph and description courtesy of Howard Morphy

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and when and how it might have arrived, or if such precision is not possible, clearly say so . . . Further publication of linguistic work in northern Australia should make more definitive lists possible. However it is worth stressing the complexity of the linguistic issues involved and the difficulty of obtaining anything approaching a complete conspectus of Aboriginal knowledge of relevant vocabulary items.⁸

Macknight points out that Makassarese is obviously 'the most important source of influence'⁹, although Buginese, Malay and Javanese are worthy of investigation since some crew members appear to have been able to speak these languages.¹⁰

This paper will be concerned with Yolngu-Matha, the speakers of which live mainly in northeastern Arnhem Land at Yirrkala, Mililingimbi (Yurrwi), Elcho Island (Galiwin'ku), Lake Evella (Gapuwiyak) and Ramingining as well as on outstations of these settlements, and deep into Arnhem Land as far south as Roper River. It is our purpose to offer a preliminary conspectus of lexical items we have noted in our work in dialects of Yolngu-Matha¹¹ that impressed us as Austronesian in nature.¹² Since between us we have a good knowledge of several Austronesian languages¹³ and of historical Austronesian reconstruction, we feel confident to initiate this endeavour, in the hopes of gaining the assistance of other scholars to further this work.

Neither of us has had direct access to Makassarese or Buginese informants, and we have had to rely on Dutch dictionaries¹⁴, so we make no claim to comprehensiveness. To date, we have identified approximately two hundred forms that can reasonably be associated with one or another Austronesian language. We have avoided forms that are 'remembered' by very old Yolngu people as being Makassarese¹⁵, or those that are not of general knowledge and use, such as specialised boating vocabulary.¹⁶ Another area we have excluded are names used exclusively for persons or places which have no known or traceable meaning. Our procedure is to set out suspected borrowings into four groups:

- (1) most probably Makassarese, based on soundshifts or innovations limited to that language¹⁷;
- (2) possibly Makassarese, but possibly other Austronesian languages, since identical forms are found in many Austronesian speech varieties;

- 8 Macknight 1972:291,295. Note Macknight's definition: 'The term "Macassan" does not refer to any racial, linguistic or cultural group as such. It refers simply to any person who came on the annual fleet of praus to the Northern Territory. Even an Aborigine, when travelling with the trepangers beyond his normal ambit, can be included within the definition' (1976:1-2).
- 9 Macknight 1972:294.
- 10 Macknight 1972:294-295.
- 11 The term 'dialect' is used here without prejudice to the possibility that some speech varieties may not form a chain of mutual intelligibility. Most YM speakers are at least bilingual (father's dialect and mother's dialect), and many are multilingual since they come from communities where up to a dozen different varieties are spoken. See footnote 19.
- 12 Initially our judgments were 'impressionistic', i.e. words 'sounded' like Malay or Austronesian words we knew, but these were later confirmed by research into Makassarese, Malay and other Austronesian languages, and led to the establishment of Groups 1-3 in this paper; Group 4 remains 'impressionistic'.
- 13 These include: Bahasa (Malay or Indonesian), Filipino (Tagalog), Bisayan (and several other southern Philippine languages), Sawu, Sumba, Manggarai, Ndao, Timor, Belu, and Helong/Kupang [the latter seven spoken in western Timor and adjacent islands (Flores, Sumba, and Ndao)].
- 14 Matthes 1859 (1885); Cense 1979.
- 15 See Macknight 1972:297; 1976:89 on 'pepper-potting'.
- 16 See Macknight 1972:297-300, 1976:89.
- 17 In an unpublished paper, Nothofer 1970 discusses some of these; we have also worked the standard reflexes out for ourselves. Certain sound shifts earmark some borrowings as exclusively Makassarese, particularly the shape of the words that ended in *-D, *-R, *-r, *-s, and *-l, where a support vowel and glottal stop have been added (15, 20, 25, 33, 43, 65, 82, 89, 97, 99) whereas Buginese has replaced the final consonant with -ʔ (see 15, 20, 21, 33, 97). Another outstanding feature (shared with Buginese) is the change of all final nasals to -ŋ (10, 36, 47, 53, 56, 58, 84, 90). The loss of final stops (11, 30, 51, 59, 69, 79, 85, 93) is common to several languages besides Makassarese and Buginese, but is not found in Malay, Indonesian, Javanese, and Southern Philippine languages.

- (3) not Makassarese, but clearly Austronesian, based on word shapes, sound- or meaning-shifts not found in Makassarese, but found in other Austronesian languages; or
- (4) possibly Austronesian, but precise donor forms have not yet been identified, established or proven.

Each of these groups will be discussed in greater detail below.¹⁸

A brief discussion of the phonology of Yolngu-Matha and Makassarese is necessary in order to see how borrowings from the latter are mapped into the former. The phonology of Yolngu-Matha (which includes speech varieties such as Gupapuyngu, Gumatj, Djambarrpuyngu, Rirratjingu, Gälpu, DhaLwañu, and Ritharrñu)¹⁹ is given in Table 1.²⁰ The phonemic system of Makassarese is given in Table 2. The phonetic interpretation is based on two published phonemic statements,²¹ comparison with other Austronesian languages, and the shape of loanwords in Yolngu-Matha. Thus, Mkr t is dental [Mkr t > YM t or d] (12-13, 25, 26, 31-34, 47, 53, 98), while d is alveolar [Mkr d > YM t or d] (07, 28, 29, 30, 39, 46, 81, 85). Since YM has no spirant, Mkr s > YM j in initial position (53, 60, 61, 63-70; less frequently d- as in 35-37, 119), but YM c in intervocalic position (48, 60, 63, 86, 89, 100, 111; less frequently t as in 82, 83).²² Mkr r > YM r (there are no provable instances of R;²³ 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 26, 31, 33, 39, 42, 44, 45, 46, 55, 57, 58, 65-70, 73, 74, 76, 82-84, 90-95, 97, 99). Mkr l > YM l (01-03, 05, 06, 09, 12, 19, 23, 24, 29, 35-37, 40-43, 50, 51, 53, 62, 63, 68, 71-81; less frequently L as in 04, 25, 76, 78, 163). Mkr² is preserved in two known clusters (09, 62) and sporadically in word-final position (01, 11, 20, 30, 43, 65, 69, 70, 97), but analogically introduced on forms where it never occurred (08, 14, 53, 98; note its loss on 05, 06, 12, 15, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 31, 33-35, 39, 41, 42, 45, 48, 49, 51, 52, 59, 60, 63, 66, 68, 71-74, 76, 77, 79, 81-83, 85, 89, 92, 93, 99). A stressed vowel in the first syllable of a Mkr word not followed by a geminate consonant is usually interpreted as a long vowel in YM (10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 26-30, 34, 35, 48, 49, 54, 57,

18 From now on the following abbreviations will be used when specific languages are discussed:

AN	Austronesian	Mkr	Makassarese
Baj	Bajau	PAN	Proto Austronesian (c. 8000 B.P.)
Bis	Bisayan (Cebuano)	PHN	Proto Western Austronesian (c. 3000 B.P.)
Bug	Buginese	PIN	Proto Indonesian (c. 2500 B.P.)
Ind	Indonesian	PMP	Proto Malayo-Polynesian (c. 5000 B.P.)
Jav	Javanese	Port	Portuguese
Mal	Malay	Skt	Sanskrit
Mar	Maranao (SPh)	SPh	Southern Philippine
Min	Minangkabau Malay	YM	Yolngu-Matha

19 Zorc 1978 and 1979 has refined a subgrouping of Yolngu-Matha (originally made by Schebeck n.d.): Southern Yolngu includes a group of closely related dialects (Gumatj, Gupapuyngu, Djambarrpuyngu, Liyagawumirr), Djapu, and DhaLwañu; while MaDarrpa, Wagilak, and Ritharrñu are closely related to each other and more distantly to southern Yolngu; Northern Yolngu includes another group of dialects (Gälpu, Rirratjingu, Wangurri, and Warramiri) and the more distant Golpa. The rift between Northern and Southern Yolngu vocabulary and grammar is wide and should be great enough to bar mutual intelligibility, but so many speakers are bilingual that it is difficult to substantiate this by mutual intelligibility testing alone. Unless otherwise noted, the words cited in this paper are known to and used by speakers of all these varieties of Yolngu-Matha.

20 We have 'normalised' the orthography of both YM and Mkr in order to highlight the mapping of the two systems. In YM orthography dentals are written with an h digraph (dh, th, nh), palatal stops with a j digraph (dj, tj), but the palatal nasal with y (ny), retroflexes are underlined (d, l, n, ŋ), while the rhotics are distinguished by single r (retroflex) and double rr (trill); long vowels are written as á [a:], e[i:], and o [u:]. The symbol -2 is used in Indonesian and Malay to indicate the full reduplication of a stem, e.g. balla²-2 = [balla²balla²]. It should be noted that a final -k in Malay and Indonesian is pronounced -², jérók = [jéró²] (177).

21 Ngewa 1972 and Cense 1979.

22 Earl 1842:140 noted that Aborigines could not pronounce the [s] sound. This is perhaps the greatest single change from the Mkr source forms, with shifts in voiced/lax vs voiceless/tense distinctions being second (see below). All in all, however, Yolngu-Matha was perhaps the best equipped Aboriginal language group to 'copy' Makassarese phonetics and phonotactics.

23 Therefore we have retained only two suspect forms with R (216,237), while a large number of others have been excluded on these grounds: giRiRirk 'calico, fabric', guRipa 'fish-hook', guwacuRu 'canoe', maRtaña, maRtaña 'boat, ship', Ra:w² (Ritharrñu) 'body-hair, fur' (cf. PHN *Da:hun 'leaf', Rupa 'tin, cup'. Retroflex R does not appear to have any viable AN source.

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TABLE 1. PHONOLOGY OF YOLNGU-MATHA							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
LENIS	b	<u>d</u>	d	j	D	g	word initial and medial ²⁵
FORTIS	p	<u>t</u>	t	c	T	k	? word medial and final
NASAL	m	<u>n</u>	n	ñ	N	ŋ	
GLIDE	w		r	y	R		
LATERAL			l		L		
VOWELS:	u	i	a	+	vowel length (:) in first syllable only		

Guide: 1 BILABIAL, 2 LAMINO-DENTAL, 3 APICO-ALVEOLAR, 4 LAMINO-PALATAL, 5 APICO-DOMAL (RETROFLEX), 6 VELAR, 7 GLOTTAL

Syllable types: CV, CVC, CVCC; in CC clusters the first member can be any nasal, glide, or lateral followed by any fortis stop (except t), e.g., guk 'cut', maŋgi 'know', wuRp.mi 'one', ba:w? 'fragrance'. A large number of dissimilar clusters occur across syllable boundaries, e.g., guR.ta 'fire', gañ.bu 'fishnet', gal.ŋa 'skin, bark', man.ŋu 'take it'.

TABLE 2. PHONOLOGY OF MAKASSARESE.							
	1	2	3	4	6	7	
VOICED	b		d	j	g		never in final position
VOICELESS	p	t		c	k	?	only ? in final position
NASAL	m		n	ñ	ŋ		only ŋ in final position
GLIDE	w			y			
LATERAL			l				} ————— [always followed by a support vowel + ? in final position, i.e., -CV?
TRILL			r				
SPIRANT			s		h		
VOWELS:	u	o	i	e	a	+	stress (´)

Numbers correspond to places of articulation listed in Table 1.

Source: Ngewa (1972), Cense (1979), and Nothofer (1970).

25. An alternate hypothesis could eliminate one of the series of stops by positing geminate stops contrasting with non-geminate stops in intervocalic position, otherwise a stop is lenis word-initially and fortis word-finally, e.g., [bá:pa?] = /pá:ppa?/ 'father', [bábaji] = /pápaci/ personal name.

59, 62, 65-70, 78, 79, 83-85, 89, 90, 92, 94, 95), otherwise when stress falls on a vowel before geminate consonants (01, 07, 08, 12, 22, 43, 47, etc.) or other than in the first syllable (03, 04, 13, 16, 19, 24, 36, 39, 40, etc.), such vowels are interpreted as short in YM.²⁴ Generally speaking, the mapping is reasonably straightforward following the allowed (canonical) shape of inherited words, so that initial stops in Mkr (whether voiced or voiceless) are interpreted as lax (e.g., Mkr b-, p- > YM b- in 01., 03, 04, 08 vis 05-07, 09, 10, etc.; Mkr g-, k- > YM g- in 41, 129, 131-134 vs 39, 40, 42-51, etc., Mkr j-, c- > YM j- in 54, 56, 58, 59 vs 55, 57, 62, etc.). However, it is important to note that the number of syllables and the basic vowel quality (high vs low, front vs back) is copied in YM quite faithfully, so that YM *biŋal* 'axe' could *not* reflect Mkr *pāŋkulu*? 'axe' or *biŋkuŋ* 'adze' (see 188). Only a few exceptions have been noted (35, 36, 37, 86, 87, 98, 118, 129, 139, 199) where Yolngu-Matha does not reflect the donor language sound-for-sound and syllable-for-syllable, but the departure is never drastic (as would be the case in Anindilyakwa, for example), and can be explained by standard or natural changes (assimilation, reduction, epenthesis, or syncope).

The productive Makassarese suffix -*aŋ*, used inflectionally in making passive verbs and derivationally in making nouns denoting place or instrument, e.g., *bandéra* 'flag', *banderāŋ* 'flagpole, place where flag waves', has apparently led to several analogies in Yolngu-Matha whereby -*ŋ* has been dropped from Makassarese forms as if it were an unnecessary suffix (06, 07, 13, 23, 24, 44, 55, 66, 81, 91, 100, 106, 121, 134, 137, 142, 150), and a few cases where it has been added as if it were a noun-formative (98, 111, 118, 119, 135, 141, 145, 155).

Since Yolngu-Matha does not allow vowels to occur initially in words, w- is added before u- (97, 98), y-before i- or e- (99), and either *ŋ-* or w- before a- (contrast 89, 236 vs 96, 158; note also *wacpil* < English hospital).

Since this study is aimed primarily at the identification of Austronesian source languages for Yolngu-Matha words (based on resemblances in sound and meaning), it would seem useful to present an index oriented to various semantic and cultural domains in order to highlight the many areas of impact on Yolngu material culture and language. Dubious forms (from Group 4) are omitted.²⁶

INDEX

- BOATING: anchor (04), boat (43, 86, 161), sail (35, 45, 175), canoe (80), inside of boat (49), rudder (134); telescope (123).
- BUILDING: house (01), shelter (02), plank (10), steps/ladder (34), plane (47), timber (41), to build (54, 189), saw (129).
- CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT: thread (08), needle (58), to sew (59), shirt (101-2), trousers (139), shoes (119, 145), cloth (57, 79, 106), hat (148); necklace (132), earrings (146), perfume (113); naked (68).
- COMMERCE AND TRADE: to pay (15), to count (26), money (30, 156), cheap (74), costly (93), rich (24), poor (126), size (52), equal (91), adequate (92), to buy (120), few (71, 136), to change/barter (143), separate (170).
- DISEASE: medicine (09), ringworm (115), spots (116), diarrhoea (83).
- DRINK: alcoholic-beverages (89), drunk (32, 78, 87); bottle (25).
- FISHING: fish-hook (17), to dive (36-7), sinker (151, 218); goggles (186).
- FLORA AND FAUNA: pig (14), sheep/goat (18), buffalo (28), horse (56), dog (166), horn (118), prawn (38), mudcrab (61), jellyfish (90), trepang (121), coral (128), pearl (50, 153), turtle-shell (60); string-bark (51), bamboo (112), tamarind (141); jungle (95).

²⁴ Some exceptions are 25, 33, 38, 50, 56, 58, 73, 97 (which have short vowels which normally would have been interpreted as long) and 09, 83, 84 (which have long vowels that should have been interpreted as short).

²⁶ Where we are confident, or our informants are most insistent about Mkr or foreign provenance of a form, they are included (180, 189, 218, 246).

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FOOD: corn (19), rice (20), coconut (39, 40, 46), salt (62), banana (98), syrup (133), bread (157), potatoes/vegetables (162); to boil (94).

LITERATURE: paper (27, 69), book (69), to write (97).

METAL: tincan (100), tin/iron (140), wire (146), lead (151, 218), chain (155).

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: drum (31), mouth-organ (147).

PEOPLE AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS: greedy (03), robber (05), Makassan (13, 21, 82), white-woman (16, 154), white-person, European (103, 247), boss (114).

RELIGION: lord (44), light, radiance (65), prayer (142); grave-post (246).

SEX: to masturbate (176), smooth (72, 77—used in a number of idioms with direct sexual reference).²⁷

TOOLS AND WEAPONS: revolver (63), rifle (64), gun (84), fighting-stick (104), knife (81, 107, 127, 150, 160), axe (165), digging-stick (180), shovel-nose spear (172).

WIND-DIRECTIONS: west (wind) (11), northeast (wind) (33), south (wind) (53, 174).

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS: pillow (06), gambling (29), mirror (55), spoon (66-7), bucket (99), flag (105), bag/sack (108, 171), bowl (111), prison (122), key (135), soap (137), lamp (149), paint/tar (152), eyeglasses (159).

Of particular interest is the presence of Austronesian words in the basic vocabulary:²⁸ big (12), day/sun (96), do/work (54), feather (163), forehead (22), fragrant (110), good/nice (72, 77), heel (167), high/tall (124), moon (23), rear/behind (168), short (169), smooth (76), sour (177-8), stone (109), tall/long (73), tooth (131), tree/wood (130), wind/air (158), year (125), yes (179, 249), and a tag-question particle (88). An unwary lexicostatistician might find that Yolngu-Matha has enough 'cognates' (5-10% depending on how one scored) to be grouped distantly with the Austronesian family—a tenet ludicrous in the context of Australia, but not so (for at least some scholars) if these languages were spoken in New Guinea instead.

Of considerable importance is the impact on Yolngu-Matha grammar, whereby a new verb type has been formed. Whereas Yolngu-Matha verbs fall into several classes and have at least four inflectional categories,²⁹ a new class of verbs has emerged which have only one basic inflection (26, 54, 97, 138, 143).³⁰ The use of Mkr stems in YM compounds (59, 83) is similarly noteworthy.

Thus, there is a substantial Austronesian imprint upon Yolngu-Matha. In speaking about Malay loanwords in Tagalog, Wolff has noted:

Their very number as well as their character indicates that there must have been a considerable population in the Tagalog speech community which could speak Malay. Some of these Malay borrowings are words of an ordinary, everyday character: forms referring to personal characteristics, . . . words for parts of the

27 The practice of a kind of forced homosexuality by or with Makassans has not been discussed to our knowledge in the literature, but should not be prudishly dismissed. The Yolngu guarded their women, not only from the Makassans but also from the young Yolngu who had not achieved the age, prestige, or ceremonial status to claim a promised wife (hence the traditional marriage of older men with younger girls). There are several affectionate or pejorative curses in YM that strongly suggest homosexual activity (gurka iaycu 'smooth penis', mu:ku laycu 'smooth anus', mu:ku bu:lk-miri 'anus with semen') which is no longer practised due to the now acceptable marriage of young with young. The presence of an AN (SPh) word for 'masturbate' and of the Mkr for 'smooth' in these idioms does not necessarily imply the introduction of such activities by Makassans (including Bisayan slaves on the boats), but reveals the likelihood of sharing such activities with Mkr or other AN speakers.

28 Not all of these would be found in either the Swadesh 100 or 200 word list, but do represent very common words used daily by YM speakers. Enough of these would yield the 'false' percentages cited below, regardless of the list chosen and the items deselected from this list.

29 Base form, definite future, indefinite past, and definite/remote past, e.g., Gumatj waja, waji, wajana, wajana 'speak', maltun, malturu, malturuna, maltuna 'follow', buma, buju, bumaRa, buja 'hit, kill', etc.

30 Macknight 1976:89 cites 26, 54, 97, 138, but not 143; however, he includes bilina 'to finish' (<Mkr, Mal bilan 'to reckon, count'), which is an unlikely etymology [due to poor match of sound (YM *bi:lan would be expected) and meaning]; furthermore, dialects which drop the final vowel from function words (Djambarrpuyju, Liyagawumirr, etc.) have the form bilin, which suggests it is a genuine YM word, i.e., they do not show signs of vowel-dropping from non-inherited words.

body, and others of the type that refer to things for which there must have been good native terms. Such basic vocabulary can only have come in if members of the Tagalog speech community could speak Malay.³¹

Such a situation appears to have obtained where (a form of) Makassarese was used as a pidgin or *patois* for speaking to foreigners (be they trepangers, Europeans, or speakers of other Aboriginal languages).³² Furthermore, even where perfectly adequate Yolngu-Matha terms existed, adoption of Makassarese forms was surely favoured by the need for synonyms to replace words tabooed because of death: thus 05 is synonymous with YM manangan 'thief', 12 with YM yindi 'big', 23 with YM ŋaLindi 'moon', 32 with YM jawuLpa 'old-person', 60 with YM ŋaRaka 'bone; shell', 51 with YM Na:ku 'stringy-bark', 61 with YM ŋu:ka? 'mudcrab', 65 with YM baDayala 'light', 68 with YM waraŋul 'naked', 73 with YM wi:yin? 'long', 72 and 77 with YM maŋmak 'good, nice', etc.³³ Note also the many introduced synonyms for coconut, cloth, and knife (above). Thus, although the contacts ceased some seventy-five years ago, they must have been intensive and long enough to have left such an impact on the language and (perhaps less obviously) the culture of the Yolngu bloc.³⁴

Clearly the main source language for Yolngu-Matha words is Makassarese. Most of the 99 forms in Group 1 show characteristics of shape or soundshift that earmark them as Mkr. In several instances, Buginese has identical forms, some of which (25, 29, 31, 33, 43, 45, 89, 99) are anomalous and which are themselves suspect of being under Makassarese influence. Since no clear instances of Buginese etymologies have thus far presented themselves, we have not assigned any weight to such co-occurrences, and take the Mkr provenance to be the most probable.

The 59 words in Group 2 also have a high probability of being from Makassarese, although (near) identical forms in other Austronesian languages prevent any definitive statements in this regard. A particular problem that arose was the loss or addition of final -ŋ on a number of forms (discussed above). In the absence of any evidence that there is an Austronesian language with precisely such forms that have undergone the same changes, it is most reasonable to assume that the Yolngu coined these forms on their own from Mkr material (based on analogies or abstractions from their understanding of Mkr grammar).

The 21 words in Group 3 should be of particular interest, because they are least likely to be Mkr in origin, although our science and our sources do not allow us to state from which language they derive. The citation of Malay or Southern Philippine forms should not be construed as an indication that they come from these languages, since the full linguistic and historical picture of the islands to the north of Australia has yet to be ascertained. For example, it is known that the Bisayans [bisayá?] of the central and southern Philippine areas have been taken as slaves by various Philippine and Indonesian groups (the word means 'slave' in Maranao and Tausug). It is known that the Tausug of Jolo (Sulu) traded slaves with the Buginese (and thence to the Makassarese).³⁵ If Bisayan slaves were on the Makassan trepang boats, then the presence of forms like 159, 163, 165,

31 Wolff 1976:353.

32 See footnotes 1, 2, 3; in particular Earl 1842:140.

33 Macknight 1976:89 notes: 'Probably the most common degree of assimilation is suggested by informants themselves. They describe many of these loan-words as 'Old Testament' — that is, slightly archaic synonyms for other terms in common use.' This is true of many words omitted from this study, but not for the bulk of the words presented here. In a literacy class at the School of Australian Linguistics consisting of 21 YM speakers, students were asked to spell forms 01-178 (and several items from Group 4). Approximately 120 of the words were known to *all* of the students, while each of the other 80 words were known by at least six speakers as viable forms or synonyms. Ages ranged from 18-28 and various dialects of both Southern and Northern Yolngu were represented (see footnotes 19 and 39).

34 The use of Mkr and AN nouns and names as personal names, synonyms equally affected by the death taboo, innovations in the funeral ceremony, bark and rock paintings, openness to and awareness of other races and cultures, new artifacts and foodstuffs and uses thereof, introduction of new totems (generally) as members of the Yirritja moiety — to cite a few. See Macknight 1976:88-92 and Urry and Walsh 1981.

35 See Warren 1977 on the extent and impact of the Jolo slave trade; Earl (1853:198) reports on Ilanun 'pirates' shipwrecked on Croker Island. There are thus two sources of SPh loans in YM (slaves and 'pirates').

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166, 167, 176, in YM would be less surprising. Several forms (160, 161, 162, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179) may be assumed to be primarily or secondarily introduced through Malay (as a major trade language known to the trepang fishermen).

The words in Group 4 could be taken as Macknight's 'general ragbag source of the unusual' if offered without appropriate caution.³⁶ The list is presented to both Australianists and Austronesianists for evaluation and assistance. In most instances, the meanings represent cultural innovations, and Austronesian languages would seem to be the best source; some of these may be Pama-Nyungan³⁷ or Yolngu words that have acquired extended or secondary meanings. In still other instances, the words seem to be similar to forms in Austronesian languages, but the matches are not convincing enough. For example, despite a search for possible Bajau loans, based on the lead of Fox,³⁸ we found only one reasonable candidate (189)—and the match is weakened because of its singularity. Finally, we have included forms which Yolngu-Matha speakers insist are from 'Makassan' (181, 182, 184, 185, 194, 199, 202, 204, 208, 212, 216, 224, 227, 237, 246, 247, 248), on the grounds that a number of such intuitive judgements have been proven in the course of our study.³⁹

All in all, we hope to have justified on linguistic and comparative grounds the statements made about the impact of Makassarese (and to a lesser extent, of other Austronesian peoples) upon the Yolngu-Matha speakers of northeastern Arnhem Land. We intend to continue these studies and elicit the help of other scholars in compiling a comprehensive list of loanwords and identifying their provenance.

GROUP 1: MOST PROBABLE MAKASSARESE LOANWORDS

- 01 bala? '(European-style) house' < Mkr bálla? 'house';
cf: Bug bola 'Id.'. PMP *bálay, Ind balay 'building, office, hall'; Ind, Mal, Baj rumah 'house'.
- 02 bala?pala 'bush-shelter; anything that has four legs and a flat top' < Mkr bálla?-2⁴⁰ 'cottage, small-house; couch';
cf: Ind, Mal balay-2 'couch'.
- 03 balala 'greedy'; personal name < Mkr balála 'greedy'.
- 04 baLaŋu 'anchor' < Mkr, Bug baláŋo 'anchor';
cf: Ind, Mal sauh, jaŋkar 'Id.'.
- 05 baluka 'robber' < Mkr pa- noun-forming prefix + lúkka? 'thief, robber'; cf: Ind, Mal pəncuri, pərampas, pəŋamun 'robber, thief'.

36. Macknight 1972:291.

37. Pama-Nyungan is the name of the proposed parent language of most Australian Aboriginal languages including the Yolngu bloc, but excluding a large number of other Arnhem Land languages, such as Burarra, Nunggubuyu, Anindilyakwa, and other languages that have prefixes or linguistic elements put before (rather than after) the main word. This name comes from the two common words for 'man, Aboriginal' found in the family: pama / ŋuŋa.

38. Fox 1977; although our only source of Bajau data to date has been Schneeberger 1937.

39. It is remarkable how many YM speakers (particularly above age 35, but not exclusively so) will state "that word is 'Mangataŋa'" or 'batariŋa'. In terms of one popular linguistic theory, besides knowing the denotative meaning of a form, they carry a notion [+Makassan] or [+Foreign] along with the connotative meaning. Of course it does not always hold true that the form is Mkr or AN. Once an informant specified gimatata 'baking-powder' as probably Mkr; after a long and futile search for Mkr or AN sources, it finally dawned on us that this was English 'cream of tartar' with a semantic shift. (See also footnotes 33 and 42).

40. The convention of writing -2 after a word indicates full reduplication in Indonesian and Malay orthography. (See footnote 20 for other conventions.)

- 06 baluŋa 'pillow' < Mkr paʔluŋaŋ 'pillow' [with -ŋ loss];
cf: Mal bantal, Mar oloŋaʔ 'Id.'.
- 07 bamutuka 'pipe' < Mkr pammudúkaŋ 'bamboo opium pipe' [with -ŋ
loss], root word Mkr uduʔ, Mal udut 'to suck-at, smoke'.⁴¹
- 08 bananʔ 'thread(s); wool' < Mkr bánnanʔ 'thread, yarn'; Mal bənanʔ,
Bug wənnanʔ 'Id.' < PHN *bənanʔ 'thread'.
- 09 ba:ʔpali 'medicine; wooden-dish' < Mkr paʔbálla 'medicine',
root word bálla 'to medicate'; cf: Mal ubat, SPH bulún
'medicine'.
- 10 ba:paŋ 'plank, timber' < Mkr pápaŋ 'board; plate';
cf: Bug pépaŋ, Mal papan 'board, plank'.
- 11 ba:raʔ 'west(wind)' < Mkr báraʔ 'westwind, rainwind';
cf: Bug báreʔ, Mal barat 'Id.' < PHN *haba:Rat 'monsoon-
wind'.⁴²
- 12 baʔala 'big, large' < Mkr báttalaʔ 'heavy, big, onerous';
cf: Mal besar 'big', bərat 'heavy'.
- 13 baʔaripa 'Makassarese' < Mkr, Bug patarípaŋ 'trepanɡ-fisherman'
[with -ŋ loss].
- 14 ba:wi(?) 'pig' < Mkr, Bug báwi 'pig'; cf: Mal babi 'Id.' <
PHN *ba:buy 'Id.'.
- 15 ba:yara 'to pay; pay-back, revenge' < Mkr báyaraʔ 'pay';
cf: Bug wájaʔ, Mal, Jav bayar < PHN *ba:yaD 'to pay'.
- 16 bayini 'white-woman' < Mkr baíne 'woman, wife, female';
cf: Bug wawine, Mal bini 'wife, spouse'.⁴³
- 17 bi:kaŋ 'fish-hook' < Mkr pékaŋ 'fish-hook; rod';
cf: Mal kail, panciŋ 'fish-hook'.
- 18 bi(:)mbi '(young) sheep' < Mkr, Bug bəmbe 'goat';
cf: Mal kambin 'goat', biri-2 'sheep'.

41 Jennison 1927:178 cites Mal pamadutan (sic, correctly pomadatan) 'tobacco or opium pipe', but the phonetic match is with the Mkr form.

42 Informants state that ba:raʔ was the wind used by Makassans to sail from Ujung-Pandang to Australia, and dimuru (33) was the wind used to return. This knowledge is borne out to be factual (Macknight 1976:32), and is yet another instance of the knowledge retained about Makassans so long after they have ceased coming to Australia (see also footnote 39).

43 The legends of the bayini are discussed by Berndt and Berndt 1954:33-9; Worsley 1955:2; Mountford 1956:333-8; Macknight 1976:92,97. Since this word is peculiarly Mkr for 'woman' it may refer to a time when some Mkr did visit Arnhem Land with women companions (see Macknight 1976:29), or it may refer to another group such as the Turijene-Bajau (although time and lack of data have not allowed us to check words cited in the above-mentioned studies as 'Bayini'). The linguistic data itself presents an enigma: the word comes from Mkr, yet it refers to 'white-woman' (perhaps alluding to the lighter skin colour of the earlier visitors?). Why the YM speakers did not ascertain (or remember?) the identity of their visitors is puzzling.

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- 19 birali 'corn, maize' < Mkr birálle 'maize';
cf: Bug warálle, Mal jagon 'Id.'.
- 20 bi:rata? (var: birata?, biraca?) 'rice; wheat; barley' <
Mkr bérasa? 'milled-rice'; cf: Bug bérre?, Mal beras,
Jav wos, Baj buas < PHN *bǝRas 'milled-rice'.
- 21 buki-mangata (Gum) 'Macassarese' < Mkr bugisi?⁴⁴ 'Buginese'
+ Mkr maŋkasara? 'Macassar(ese)'; cf: Bug wugi 'Buginese' +
maŋkasa? 'Macassar(ese)', Mal bugis 'Buginese' + maŋkasar
'Macassar(ese)'.
- 22 buku 'forehead; cliff' < Mkr búkku? 'hump, ridge, lump;
mountainous; roof of a boat'; cf: Bug bukku?, Mal boŋkuk
'hump, hunchback(ed)'.
- 23 bu:la 'moon; dugong-stomach' < Mkr búla? 'round' (or) Mkr
bulan 'moon' [with -ŋ loss]; cf: Mal bulan, Bug uləŋ < PMP
*bu:lan 'moon' and Mal bulat 'round'.
- 24 bulay 'rich; jewellery; gold' < Mkr buláəŋ 'gold' [with -ŋ
loss]; cf: Bug uláwəŋ < PHN *bula:wan 'gold', Mal emas 'gold'.
- 25 butulu 'bottle' < Mkr, Bug bóto? 'bottle'; Mal botol < Port
botelha 'Id.'.
- 26 bu:turu 'to count' < Mkr bóto? 'to play-dice, gamble';
cf: Bug boto?, Mal bər-judi 'to gamble'.
- 27 bu:yaŋ 'paper' (archaic word) < Mkr búyaŋ 'paper';
cf: Bug újaŋ 'Id.', Mal kertas, Mkr karáttasa? 'paper'.
- 28 di:tun 'buffalo' < Mkr, Bug tédoŋ 'carabao, water-buffalo';
cf: Mal kərbaw, Baj krabaw.
- 29 du:pulu 'gambling' < Mkr, Bug dóbo? 'gamble' < Dutch
dobbelen, Port dobro 'to play-dice, gamble'.
- 30 du:y? 'money' < Mkr doe?, Bug doi? 'money' < Dutch duit;
cf: Mal duit.
- 31 damburu 'drum' < Mkr, Bug tamboro? 'drum' < Port tambor;
cf: Mal tambur.
- 32 dawutuwa 'old-man; drunk(ard)' < Mkr, Bug táu 'person' +
Mkr, Bug tóa 'old'; cf: Mal oraŋ 'person' + tuha 'old',
PHN *ta:uh 'person', PHN *tuqah 'old'.

44 This form is somehow related to Mkr bugisi? and Bug wugi. It is either a shortening of the Mkr form (by dropping the final syllable), or a re-analysis of the Bug form based on the presence of b- (rather than w-) in Mkr.

- 33 *dimuru* 'northeast (wind)' < Mkr, Bug *tímoro?* 'eastwind';
cf: Bug *tímo?*, Mal *timor* < PHN **ti:muR* 'east(wind)'.
34 *du:ka* 'steps, ladder, stairs' < *túka?* 'steps, ladder';
cf: Mal *tanga* 'Id.'.
35 *du:mala* 'sail' < Mkr *sómbala?*⁴⁵ 'sail'; cf: Mal *layar*,
PHN **la:yaR* 'Id.'.
36 *dumbilaŋ* 'to dive' < Mkr *sumélaŋ*⁴⁶ 'to dive';
cf: Mal *selam* 'Id.'.
37 *dumbulaŋ* 'to dive' (alternate of 36, q.v.).⁴⁷
38 *duwaŋ* 'prawn' < Mkr, Bug *doaŋ* 'shrimp, prawn'; cf: Mal (h)udaŋ
< PHN **qũDaŋ* 'shrimp, crustacean'.
39 *gadaru* 'coconut' < Mkr, Bug *ka?dáro* 'husk, shell (of fruit)';
cf: Mal *təmpuruŋ* 'husk, shard, coconut-shell ladle'.
40 *galuku* 'coconut' < Mkr, Bug *kalúku* 'coconut';
cf: Mal *kəlapa*, *ñior* 'Id.'.
41 *galuma* 'timber' < Mkr *galuma?* 'deck with loose planks';
Mal *gelumat* 'deck'.
42 *galuru* 'cigarette, cigarette-paper' < Mkr, Bug *kalúru?* 'to
roll-up; cigar'.
43 *gapala?* 'large-boat; rudder' < Mkr, Bug *káppala?* 'boat';
cf: Mal *kapal* 'Id.'.
44 *garay* 'lord, master' < Mkr *karáeŋ* 'lord, master, title of
person of high rank' [with -ŋ loss]; cf: Bug *ma-raja*,
Mal *raya* 'great, big, high'.
45 *garuru* 'sail' < Mkr, Bug *karóro?* 'coarse cloth or leaves woven
into sail'; cf: Mal *karoŋ* 'large matwork sack made of coarse
material', Ind *bagor* 'coarse weave of palm leaves'.
46 *gataru* 'coconut' (alternate of 39, q.v.).
47 *gaŋaŋ* 'carpenter's plane' < Mkr, Bug *káttan* 'Id.'.
cf: Mal *ketam* 'Id.'.

45 YM copies the length of the Mkr form, but reduces the -mb- cluster to a simple -m-. Possibly phonotactics may be the answer; we have noted several occurrences of -u:ma-, but none of -u:mba-.

46 YM has introduced -mb- for what should be simply -m-, possibly based on the position of stress or accent in Mkr, i.e., **súmelaŋ* would have become YM **du:milaŋ*, but *sumélaŋ* had two options, either YM **gumilaŋ* or *dumbilaŋ* (as here).

47 As for footnote 45, but with assimilation or change of i to u, which is not uncommon in YM; note *DhaLwanu wiña?-yun* = *wuña?-yun* 'disappear', *Gumatj wuŋili* = *wuŋili* 'shadow, spirit, image, photo, movie'.

