Macassan loanwords in top end languages
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MACASSAN LOANWORDS IN TOP END LANGUAGES

Nicholas Evans

1. INTRODUCTION

We now have a substantial corpus of 'Macassan' loanwords into the Yolngu languages of Eastern Arnhem Land (Walker & Zorc 1981, Walker 1988), dating from the centuries during which seafarers from Macassar (now Ujung Pandang) in Sulawesi collected trepang along the shores of Arnhem Land. The purpose of this paper is to extend our knowledge of Macassan loans into the many other languages of the Top End coast (i.e. from the Bonaparte Gulf to the Pellew Islands) showing evidence of Macassan contact, and to consider some of the questions they raise for Australian historical linguistics and

1 I would like to thank the following people for their help: Michael Walsh for detailed general comments, Sander Adelaar for useful discussion of many issues concerning Malay and Austronesian, James Collins for discussing possible Malay sources, Daeng Peter Spillett for being a fount of information on the history of Macassan-Australian contacts, Patrick McConvell for discussions of problems of relative chronology, Graham McKay for sending me a list of proven and suspected loanwords in Ndjébbana, Margaret Boland for assistance with the Dutch translations, and Amin and Wardah for information on Bugis. In addition, the following generously made available their unpublished data on particular languages: John Bradley (Yanyuwa), Caroline Coleman (Ndjébbana), Anne Dineen (Mawng), Velma Leeding (Anindilyakwa), and Oscar Whitehead (Garig, Iwaidja). Robert Handelsmann provided a substantial list of loans into Amurdak, and also some valuable sociolinguistic information discovered in interviews with Mr Nelson Mulurinj. Needless to say I alone am responsible for any errors of fact or judgment.

I dedicate this paper to the memory of Steve Johnson, who was a dearly valued friend from the time that I worked with him at the School of Australian Linguistics in 1985-6. He was always a stimulating colleague, argumentative but encouraging. Steve combined a wide and phonetically meticulous knowledge of many languages with a total disregard of academic pretension, and a number of papers he gave struck me by the way in which he would juxtapose a punctiliously correct pronunciation of example sentences from a whole range of languages, with a heavily Australianized pronunciation of French and other loanwords that he considered assimilated into English. In this paper I have not considered the question of how speakers have a certain latitude to manipulate the process of phonological nativization for similar social and expressive purposes, but I hope that the data collected here will at least lay the groundwork for this to be done one day.

2 Following established practice, I use 'Macassan' as a cover term for contacts presumed to originate in Macassar, and 'Makassarese' and 'Malay' as the names for two distinct languages used aboard these voyages and contributing vocabulary.

3 The classic history of Macassan-Australian contacts is MacKnight (1976).
sociolinguistics. The scope of this article excludes Kimberley languages, in which the presence of Macassan loans has yet to be properly investigated.

During a period lasting from around the late seventeenth century\(^4\) until 1906 there were regular yearly contacts between Macassan visitors and coastal groups. Besides working for the Macassans in exchange for various material items, Arnhem Landers are known to have visited (and in some cases taken up residence in) Macassar, to have worked on Macassan prahu\(s\), sometimes travelling as far afield as Singapore, and to have formed lasting relationships of trade and marriage with them; in the last few years some families from North-Eastern Arnhem Land have reestablished contacts with families in Ujung Pandang to whom they are related through marriages made last century. It is hardly surprising, then, that the Yolngu languages should have adopted a large number of loanwords from the languages spoken by the Macassans – primarily from Makassarese, but also from Malay and perhaps other Austronesian languages such as Bajau and Bisayan (Walker & Zorc 1981).

As yet no single definitive list of Macassan loans into the Yolngu languages has been compiled, but if one includes the various Macassan names listed in Zorc (1986) and Cooke (1987), as well as the 179 reasonably definite loan words in Walker & Zorc (1981), and various others scattered through other publications by them (some of which offer more solid sources for the remaining ‘possible Austronesian loans’ in their main article), the corpus is somewhere between two and three hundred.

While the linguistic impact of Macassan loans on the Yolngu languages is well attested, there has been little work on Macassan loans into other languages of northern Australia, even though historical evidence indicates an extensive presence right along the Arafura coast, with further, less intensive contacts in the Bonaparte Gulf and the Kimberleys, as well as the possibility that a Malay-based pidgin was used for contacts between distant coastal groups (Urry & Walsh 1981). My intention in this article is to provide an initial documentation of Macassan loans in the non-Yolngu languages of Arnhem Land – primarily those in the Cobourg Peninsula, but also those around Maningrida, in the hinterland, on Bathurst and Melville Islands, and in the South-Western Gulf of Carpentaria. Substantial numbers of loans are attested right along this coast, which corresponds to the stretch of coastline for which the Macassans had place names (see map).

The evidence collected in this paper shows that languages right along the coast from Melville Island to the Vanderlin Islands – which corresponds to the area in which the Macassans had bestowed names (see Spillett 1989a, 1989b) – contain substantial numbers of loan words. The figures for the

\(^{4}\) This is the date seen as most likely by MacKnight (1976:97), although earlier dates for more sporadic contacts based on other commodities than trepang are not to be ruled out, and MacKnight’s radiocarbon dates are, puzzlingly, consistently earlier.
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Words listed here, which are certainly far from an exhaustive collection, are given below; figures in brackets indicate extra, more questionable items. Note that the number of identified loans does not simply reflect the intensity of Macassan contact, since the quality and detail of the source is also important.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Loans</th>
<th>Extra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiwi</td>
<td>22 (+5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwaidja</td>
<td>76 (+3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garig</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawng</td>
<td>75 (+5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amurdak</td>
<td>73 (+1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrgu</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaagudju</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayali/Kunwinjku</td>
<td>17 (+5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rembarrnga</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndjebbana</td>
<td>39 (+2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burarra</td>
<td>45 (+5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anindilyakwa</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunggubuyu</td>
<td>28 (+4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanyuwa</td>
<td>22 (+4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lardil</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data to be discussed in this article raise a number of interesting issues. Firstly, they establish that Macassan loans had a substantial impact on many languages of Northern Australia, not just on the Yolngu group; in fact, there are a good number of loanwords into the Cobourg languages, for example, which have not been reported in Northeastern Arnhem Land. Secondly, there are some interesting questions of phonological adaptation, including evidence of hypercorrection towards a perceived 'ŋ-final' Macassan norm. There is some evidence that ŋ-final-hypercorrection, and (in the Iwaidjan languages) a move closer to the perceived 'correct' Macassan pronunciation in the form of pronouncing Macassan t (phonetically a voiceless interdental stop, contrasting with the voiced alveolar stop d) as ʈ in place of the previous t pronunciation, were driven by an emerging social contrast between 'sophisticated' coastal groups (who had in many cases travelled to Sulawesi or Singapore) and 'myall' or unsophisticated inland groups.

Thirdly, a number of what appear to be Austronesian loans into coastal languages have no source in Makassarese or Malay, and suggest that substantial contacts took place with other Austronesian groups, according with stories of the Baine in the Arnhem Land oral tradition. A set of these

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5 The following abbreviations will sometimes be used for language names: Am(urdak), An(indilyakwa), Baj(au), Bug(is), Bur(arra), Ga(rig), Jav(anese), KW (Kunwinjku), Mal(ay), May(ali), Nd(j(ebbana), Nung(gubuyu), Port(uguese), Rem(barrnga), Skt (Sanskrit), Ti(wi), Yan(yuwa).

6 Data from Harvey (1992).
forms is included here in the hope that their source language will one day be found.

ARNHEM LAND LANGUAGES WITH MACASSAN LOANS

2. DISTRIBUTION ACROSS LANGUAGES; SOURCES

TIWI. It has sometimes been asserted (e.g. Hart & Pilling 1960:9) that the Tiwi killed all visitors to their islands, and that therefore there were no contacts with Macassans that would lead to linguistic loans. This view is not consistent with stories of Macassan contacts told to Peter Spillett (p.c.), and is also at odds with the linguistic picture.

All loans identified in this paper are from the word list in Osborne (1973), which contains around twenty-five identifiable loans from Makassarese or Malay. A few of these are identified as such by Osborne himself; some are listed by him as ‘Iwaidja’, and many (e.g. pwaṭa < buaja)\(^7\) are not identified.

\(^7\) Full details of all loans cited in the main text are to be found in Appendix 2.
as loans in any way. This suggests that there are three types of status for Macassan loanwords in Tiwi: those still thought of as ‘Macassan’, indirect loans via Iwaidja, and fully assimilated loans no longer thought of as such. Note that the ‘Iwaidja’ words include, besides indirect Macassan loans, bona fide Iwaidja loans such as alapa(n)tia ‘rope tree, bark used for making rope’ (from Iw alapanji ‘tree sp. from which rope is made’), kaïla ‘evil spirit’ (from Iw kallak ‘devil’) and makamaka ‘mother’s brother’s wife, husband’s or wife’s mother or father, son’s wife, daughter’s husband’ (from Iw makamaka ‘father’s sister’), and indirect loans, via Iwaidja, from Kunwinjku, such as kurampali ‘house, corrugated iron’ and kupuñi ‘dug-out canoe’.

Some of these loans appear to be older, to judge by the presence on them of noun-class prefixes that are no longer productive (see §4).

The Iwaidjan Languages: Mawng, Iwaidja, Garig, Marrgu, AmurdaK. The Cobourg Peninsula was a major focus of Macassan activity, lying as it does on the traditional route south-east from Timor to Arnhem Land (MacKnight 1976). Its importance was increased, first during the settlement of Port Essington between 1838 and 1849, which ‘saw considerable friendly contact with the Macassans’ (MacKnight 1976:2) and later with the establishment of a customs station in Bowen Strait (between Croker Island and the Cobourg Peninsula) by the South Australian government in 1885. So significant was Macassan influence here that some ‘tribes’ identified by Father Confalonieri in 1846 are named by adaptations of Macassan place names, e.g. Limbakaregio Tribe from Mkr lembana karassa ‘Port Essington’, and Limbapiu Tribe from Mkr lembana peo? ‘Blue Mud Bay’ and it has been suggested to me by Peter Spillett (p.c.) that the tribal name Iwaidja is based on the Mkr name, ujurj tambana iwaja, for the customs station at Bowen Strait. Reflecting this intensive contact, the

8 Iwaidja was spoken between the wars at the ‘half-caste’ settlement at Garden Point, as well as being something of a lingua franca on pearling luggers working around the Cobourg Peninsula.

9 My identification of these as originally Kunwinjku is on the basis of their clear Kunwinjku etymologies: kurampalk < ku-ra-palk ‘LOC-mouth(door)-blocked’ (i.e. place whose entrance can be blocked) and kupuñ analyseable as ku-puñ ‘LOC-hollow, wood’. These words have a widespread distribution in Western Arnhem Land.

10 In support of this argument, Spillett mentions the lack of any attested use of the name ‘Iwaidja’ before the establishment of the Customs Station. However, many other tribal names, of clearly indigenous origin, such as Marrgu, are also unattested until this century (and it is quite normal for there to be such a multiplicity of group names that some get overlooked). A second point weakening Spillett’s argument comes from the pronunciation of the tribal name as yipaña in the Ndjébbana language. Given that Iwaidja has lenited medial /p/, this suggests that Ndjébbana preserves an original unlenited form subsequently modified in Iwaidja itself; taking the putatively Macassan-derived form iwaja as original would fail to explain the Ndjébbana form of the name.
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Cobourg languages have the highest concentration of Macassan loans outside North-Eastern Arnhem Land.

All the Cobourg languages belong to the Iwaidjan family, whose nearest relatives are Gaagudju and Umbgarla to the south (see Evans forthcoming a) and more distantly the Gunwinjguan group in the Arnhem Land escarpment. There is a reasonable published description of Mawng (Capell & Hinch 1970), which lists some of the loan words as ‘Malay’ and also notes that some such loans admit a special interdental pronunciation, outside the regular Mawng phonemic system. For Iwaidja Pym & Larrimore (1979) have published some grammatical information, and there is also an unpublished word list by Pym (n.d.) which includes many Macassan loans but without identifying them as such. Salvage work is in progress with the last speakers of Amurdak, Garig and Marrgu.¹¹

There is also documentation of the ‘Port Essington language’, made between 1846 and 1848, by the Italian missionary Father Angelo Confalonieri (see Confalonieri 1846, 1847; Soravia 1975). This is a valuable early source, particularly as it records a language variety that appears to have had a number of ephemeral Macassan loans (such as palepale ‘tell lies’ and lombolombo ‘many’) that have not persisted into more recent times. However, the exact identity of the language, though assumed by Soravia (1975) to be Iwaidja, is problematic. Some features, such as the absence of initial k and ḫ from certain loans (see the kanre jawa and tali ksras sets), are uncharacteristic of any attested coastal Iwaidjan language, but found in Amurdak. Some vocabulary items, such as the word nagojo (in Confalonieri’s orthography, but phonemically /nakuyu/) for ‘father’, are limited to Garig (actually this is originally a subsection term; its semantic restriction to ‘father’ is a Garig peculiarity). Nelson Muluriny, with whom Oscar Whitehead has tried to identify as much as possible of the Confalonieri manuscript, is of the opinion that it represents a mixture of Cobourg languages; the matter may be further confused by the presence of terms from a now extinct dialect.¹²

¹¹ This work is being carried out by Robert Handelsmann, Oscar Whitehead and the present author, respectively.

¹² One of the great losses to Australian linguistics is the disappearance of a comparative vocabulary of six Cobourg languages, compiled by Confalonieri and said by Bleek to have been deposited in the British Museum. To this day it has never been located: ‘A Vocabulary of about 650 words in these four Port Essington dialects, formed in 1844, corrected and improved in 1848, - with prefixed very brief grammatical sketch of the Limbekaredsio Language by Father Angello (vide no. 27a) - was given by Mr James Macarthur to Mr. John McGillivray, and deposited by the latter in the Library of the British Museum (No. 26a, McGillivray, Vol. I, p. 157, Vol. II, p. 338).’ (Bleek 1858). However, it may never have reached the British Museum, since McGillivray himself merely stated that he intended to deposit it in the British Museum.
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Much of the information on Amurdak, all on Garig, and some on Iwaidja, has been supplied by Mr Nelson Mulurinj, now about seventy, in interviews with Robert Handelsmann and Oscar Whitehead. His father used to speak 'Macassan', which he learned from Rrimba, Silimang and Yusing, three Macassans who used to trepang in the Cobourg regions. In most cases Mr Mulurinj correctly attributes loan words to Macassan (he knows some Indonesian and Makassarese himself, and visited Ujung Pandang some years ago); he also maintains the interdental pronunciation of borrowed Makassarese t (see §3.1 below).

NDJEBBANA. Although a coastal group, the Ndjébbana were traditionally hostile to the Macassan visitors. Nonetheless, information sent to me by Graham McKay has led to the identification of nearly forty loans.

BURARRA. Easterly neighbours of the Ndjébbana, the Burarra appear to have had much friendlier relations with the Macassans, and I have found over forty Macassan loan words (not generally identified as such) in the Glasgow’s provisional dictionary of Burarra (Glasgow & Glasgow 1985).

MAYALI. By Mayali I designate the chain of dialects including Kunwinjku, Kune and Gun-djeihmi, spoken around the north end of the Arnhem Land escarpment. So far 18 Macassan words are attested in Mayali. As an inland group, it is likely that they borrowed many Macassan words indirectly from other groups, although I have no conclusive evidence for this. However, we know from cave paintings done last century that Mayali speakers saw Macassan prahus, which might be taken as evidence of direct contact (Chaloupka et al 1985), either through Mayali people travelling to the coast and meeting Macassans there, or through Macassans or Malays travelling inland, either on foot or by boat up the East Alligator River. Furthermore, Leichhardt (1847) records meeting people from the Alligator Rivers region who knew some ‘Macassan’.

REMBARRNGA AND JAWOYN. These inland languages, closely related to Mayali, have a number of loans that appear to be indirect, via Mayali and Burarra: for Rembarrnga, see Mkr lépalépa, pékaŋ, purupuru and tambako, Mal lamaŋ and the Austronesian suspect ċımńtści, and for Jawoyn see purupuru.

ANINDILYAKWA, NUNGGUBUYU. Along with North-East Arnhem Land and the Cobourg Peninsula, the region around Groote Eylandt (Anindilyakwa)

13 For some words at least, indirect loans should in theory be detectable as follows: those entering Mayali via Iwaidjan languages should fail to preserve mid vowels, medial voicing/gemination, and the glottal stop: these elements are present in Makassarese and Mayali, but absent in the Iwaidjan languages. However, I have no examples with the relevant diagnostic segments.
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and the adjoining mainland (Nunggubuyu) appears to have been one of the three main foci of Macassan activity.

Many place names still in use on Groote Eylandt, such as Umbakumba (< Mal ombak-ombak ‘lapping of waves’) and Bartalumba Bay (< Mkr batu lompoa ‘the big rock’), and the use of the Macassan counting system among old men (Tindale 1925, Harris 1982) attest to substantial linguistic influence. Since on the one hand there has already been some published discussion of the subject (see Worsley 1955), and on the other hand work on an Anindilyakwa dictionary is still in progress, in this article I do not undertake a comprehensive survey, but include around thirty five words to illustrate the distinctive Anindilyakwa pattern of phonological assimilation.

Nunggubuyu includes many very specific nautical loans from Macassan that have yet to be reported elsewhere, such as baŋkenjalar? ‘pedestal of tripod mast’, sanqilaj ‘rudder bench’ and urin ‘Macassan cauldron’, attesting considerable Macassan influence. While the main lexicographical source, Heath (1982), comments in a general way on the prevalence of Macassan loans among nautical terms, he does not give specific sources from Makassarese or Malay. However, there are a number of interesting Nunggubuyu texts about the Macassans in Heath (1980:530-550).

MARA, YANYUWA. Though only distantly related, these two languages were spoken on adjoining stretches of the Carpentaria Coast. Mara territory, around the mouth of the Roper River in Limmen Bight, does not appear to have been visited much by the Macassans, although they left traces on Maria Island (MacKnight 1976:61), but the Vanderlin Islands in Yanyuwa territory were visited frequently. Both languages bear evidence of direct Macassan influence with 13 and 25 loans respectively.

The Mara vocabulary, in Heath (1981), is a salvage work and even further from complete than most other sources used here. Few loans are explicitly identified as such, but the presence, despite this, of some Macassan loans found in no other language (see kanre set) suggests these are not just indirect loans.

The Yanyuwa vocabulary, soon to be published by John Bradley, explicitly identified almost all of the Macassan vocabulary discussed here, including their sources. Yanyuwa attests some Macassan loans found nowhere else (see bulalala, lumpu and talimpu sets), and contains a couple of words that predate initial lenition and are thus useful in dating sound change (see §5).

LARDIL AND KAYARDILD. Although the Wellesley Islands were known to the Macassans, and a tamarind tree and earthenware shards were found on

14 A map with 23 Anindilyakwa place names of Macassan origin is in Spillett (1989a).
15 MacKnight (1972) cites various Macassan accounts showing knowledge of the Wellesley Islands, which they called variously Pulona Tallumbatua ‘the three
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Fowler Island by Mathew Flinders (1814), there is no record in the Kayardild or Lardil oral traditions of Macassan contact, and it seems contact was avoided. Nor are there any words of Macassan origin that evidence direct borrowing. But there are a couple of words – Mal para-para and the unidentified Austronesian suspect larwa – that appear to have been borrowed indirectly, probably through Yanyuwa and Karrwa down the coastal trade route. They are included here as examples of how Macassan loans penetrated well beyond the zones of direct contact, both further along the coast and inland into the hinterland.

Another language of the hinterland to the south-western Gulf, Wambaya, contains the possible indirect loan parawu ‘house’, poss. from Mal pərahu ‘boat, prau’.

3. PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF LOANS

The differences between the Macassan and Malay phoneme inventories on the one hand, and those of the various Australian languages on the other are sufficient to produce considerable phonological modification of loan words. Table 1 gives the phoneme inventories of Macassan and Malay, and Table 2 the phoneme inventories for the various Australian languages. Superscripts indicate segments confined to the designated subset of languages.

**TABLE 1:** Makassarese and Malay phoneme inventories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop: voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop: voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s (z)</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels          | a | e | i | o | u | o(Mal) (stress is contrastive) |

1 = bilabial 2 = apico-dental 3 = apico-alveolar 5 = palatal 6 = velar 7 = glottal stop.

In Makassarese all consonants except glides may be geminated; all other clusters are homorganic nasal plus stop, but with nr in the apical series. Makassarese phonotactics permit words to end in (a) a vowel (b) ? (c) η. Words with underlyingly final l, r or s add -V? in final position – cf. Malay timur ‘east’, Makassarese timoro?.

islands’, *Pulona i Salasa* ‘Disappointment Island’ or ‘Tuesday Island’ or *Je?ne Tattunggenga* ‘Upside down water’.

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Although t and d belong to the same series phonologically, the voiceless stop has a dental articulation while the voiced stop has an alveolar articulation; this has consequences for how these loans are treated in Australian languages and is shown here.

The Malay inventory resembles Makassarese, but with an added sixth vowel ø, and much richer possibilities for consonant clusters and final consonants. z is marginally present in Arabic loans in both languages.

TABLE 2: Phonological inventories of Arnhem Land languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2¹</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5²</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long stop</td>
<td>p:</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>k:</td>
<td>k:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>je</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelateralized stop</td>
<td>l:²</td>
<td>l:²</td>
<td>l:²</td>
<td>l:²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels a e ô i o ø u øh

1 = bilabial 2 = lamino-dental 3 = apico-alveolar 4 = apico-retroflex 5 = lamino-palatal 6 = velar 7 = glottal stop.

NOTES

a Lamino-dental series confined to Tiwi, Anindilyakwa¹⁶, Nunggubuyu and Yanyuwa, with marginal occurrence in a few Makassarese loans in the Iwaidjan languages, and a number of loans (from Yanyuwa, Nunggubuyu and Makassarese) in Mara.
b Lamino-palatal series absent in Tiwi, and are borrowed as lamino-dentals.
c Glottal stop restricted to Mayali, Ndjébbana, Burarra and Nunggubuyu.
d Long stop series have been variously characterized as long, geminate, fortis and voiceless. Their exact characterization is irrelevant here; what is important is that they are generally confined to medial positions, are voiceless phonetically, and because of these get used for borrowed medial voiceless stops. Long stops are confined to Mayali and possibly Burarra; McKay (1975, forthcoming) gives evidence for treating phonetic long voiceless stops as geminates in Rembarrnga and Ndjébbana respectively.
e Palatal lateral limited to Yanyuwa.
f Prelateralized stops limited to the Iwaidjan languages, except Mawng.
g Mid-vowels limited to Burarra, Mayali and Ndjébbana, with marginal occurrence in Mawng and Mara.
h Schwa limited to Tiwi and Anindilyakwa.

¹⁶ Though Anindilyakwa practical orthography does not distinguish apico-alveolars from lamino-dentals (Stokes 1981).
The discrepancies between the Macassan and Australian systems give rise to considerable phonological adaptation. I will discuss these in four groups: (a) obstruents (b) nasals (including nasal-stop clusters), especially the problem of final ŋ (c) liquids (d) vowels.

3.1 Obstruents

In terms of place of articulation, bilabial, alveolar, palatal, and velar stops are generally taken over without modification, though alveolars may be borrowed sometimes as apico-retroflexes. In Tiwi, which lacks a palatal series, palatais are borrowed as lamino-dentals: Mkr jaran ‘horse’ > Tiwi ṭara, Mkr ganrejawa > Tiwi kaniŋawa, Mkr konci or Malay kunji ‘key’ > Tiwi kunji ‘door’. Glottal stops are taken over if the receiving language has that phoneim; otherwise they are lost.

The Makassarese and Malay voicing contrast is lost completely in some languages (e.g. Tiwi, Iwaidja), but in others it is more or less carried over in two ways:

(a) if the receiving language has an interdental series, it will borrow Makassarese /t/ as interdental ŧ: whether initial or medial: Mkr ŧambάko ‘tobacco’ > An ŧampvakwa, Nung ŧampaŋku, Mkr mutiŋara ‘pearl shell’ > Tiwi muŋara, An mwiŋiyara, Nung mwiŋiyara.

In some languages, such as Mawng and Garig, Makassarese /t/ has even created a marginal lamino-dental series found in a few loans. Capell & Hinch (1970:21) note this marginal occurrence in three Mawng words, without attributing it to a Macassan source: ‘an interdental stop [d] occurs in just three words, where it is in free variation with [d]: [baŋin], [baŋin] ‘box’, [muŋaraŋ], [muŋaraŋ] ‘pearlshell’, [gadaŋ] (gadaŋ) ‘carpenter’s plane’. The sources for these are Mkr patti, mutiara and gattaŋ. In Iw and Garig the word for ‘pearlshell’ may be pronounced as [muŋara] or [muŋara], in Iw ‘glass, mirror’ is patuma (< Mkr patomar), in Iwaidja the word for ‘trepang’ is taripa or taripa, in Amurdak Mkr tāipa is borrowed as tāipa ~ tāipa, and in Amurdak, Garig and Iw ‘box’ is paŋtu (< Mkr patti).

Other languages lacking an interdental series simply borrow /t/ as ŧ: Mkr rate ‘south’ > Bur ŋaŋa; Mkr timoroŋ ‘east wind’ > Bur čimaru, Ndj čimuru.

17 There are no comparable examples with Malay loans.
18 It is interesting to ask why these Australian languages should maintain the Macassan contrast, phonemically a voicing contrast and phonetically a contrast in both voice and place of articulation, but creating a new place contrast rather than a contrast in voicing. Presumably there were two reasons: (a) voicing is not a contrasting feature in the Australian systems, so it was more economical to add a new place value than to borrow in a voicing feature that was completely alien (b) to the extent that speakers of these languages had had contact with other Australian languages with an interdental series (such as Tiwi and the Yolngu languages) they were already attuned to interdental place of articulation as what might be called a familiar foreign sound.
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‘east wind’, Iw Ɂimuru ‘south-easterly trade wind’, Mawng Ɂimuru ‘East; East or South East wind’, Marrgu Ɂimuru ‘east’. This then contrasts with Mkr words with /d/, which has been borrowed as t: Mkr láduŋ > Bur latuŋ; Mkr ládiŋ > Iw lati.

(b) if the receiving language has a long/short stop contrast, or a contrast between single and geminate stops, the contrast between Makassarese or Malay intervocalic voiceless and voiced stops will be retained in the form of a long vs short contrast (Mkr patomarj > May pat:umarj, Mkr pékarj > May pikat) or geminate vs single contrast (Mkr rupia or Malay rupiah > Ndj ruppiya vs Mkr panami ‘fishing net type’ > Ndj panámpi). In Ndj, however, there are a number of words in which medial geminates reflect Mkr single stops [e.g. Ndj Ɂampakkaj < Mkr tambaga; Ndj lát ‘knife’ < Mkr, Mal ladiŋ], so it cannot be said that Macassan gemination maps neatly onto Ndj gemination. Makassarese geminate voiceless stops are borrowed as long or geminate stops in languages with a length contrast, becoming conflated with single voiceless stops (Mkr kappala > May kapala, Mkr pacco > May an-paŋu, exhibiting the same realization as long stops derived from Mkr voiceless stops).

In initial position, the Makassarese or Malay voicing contrast is lost for all phonemes except /t/, in all languages under consideration: Mkr ñulĩj ‘rudder’ > Bur kuli, Mawng kuliŋ; Mkr galuma ‘deck with loose planks’, Mawng kalumaj; Mkr kanrejawa > Bur kantiţawa, May kantiţawa, Mawng kantiţawa. Compare also the treatment of Mkr /p/ in initial and medial position in the word para-para ‘attic, rack, shelf’, borrowed as palapala in Mayali.

Mkr and Mal ? is almost invariably lost: see for example the sets corresponding to the Mkr words bara?, berasa?, botolo?, colo?, galuma?, jaʃjala?, kalamba?, kaluru?, kapasa?, karoro?, lipa? and puru?. The only possible exceptions are Mkr buccu? > Iw pu^uk (but this may be from Mal pusut) and Mkr mijja? (or Mal mijak) > Bur mijak (and Tiwi mijaya). While this is expected in languages, such as Iwaidjan, Tiwi, and Yanyuwa, which lack a glottal stop phoneme, its failure to be retained in Burarra, Ndjébbana and Mayali, which permit syllable-final glottal stop, is a puzzle, suggesting either the very recent development of the glottal stop in these languages (which seems unlikely) or that loans into these languages were mostly indirect, most likely via Iwaidjan. Further evidence for this comes from the treatment of mid-vowels, to be discussed below.

The fricative s is generally borrowed as a palatal stop, e.g. Mkr pamisseəŋ > Iw amịţan, Bur and Ndj miţiyan; Mkr bérasa? and Malay bərasa ‘rice’ > Iw, Ga, Am, and Mawng piratja, Bur, Ndj piratja. As the Bur and Ndj words illustrate, there is a tendency (though not universal – see pamisseəŋ above) for Mkr and Malay s to be borrowed as a geminate palatal stop in these languages: other examples are Mkr mankásara? > Ndj
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máŋkaŋtara, and Mkr ánisi? > Bur šanáŋtjī ~ šanitjī, Ndj šanitjī. Fricative pronunciation of s is retained in just one word in Amurdak and Garig: Mkr sallataŋ is pronounced sal̤an; the stop here is also always pronounced voiceless.

In Tiwi, which lacks a palatal series, Macassan s is borrowed as a lamino-dental: Mkr bérasa? 'rice' > Ti p̤aŋga. Many examples of the treatment of s-initial words can be found in the Appendix, and they will not be given here.

The z phoneme, which is marginal in educated Islamicized varieties of both Makassarese and Malay, and absent in many colloquial varieties, has no clearly attested forms in Arnhem Land languages (though see ziarah in the section on 'more tentative identifications').

The following table summarizes the treatment of borrowed obstruents in the languages under discussion; here and in subsequent similar tables Yolngu-Matha is included for reference.

### TABLE 3: Treatment of Borrowed Obstruents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makassarese / Malay</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YM p, p̤, t̤</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiwi p, p̤, t̤</td>
<td>t̤</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burarra, Mayali, p, p̤, t̤</td>
<td>t̤</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndj</td>
<td>t̤</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanyuwa p, p̤, t̤</td>
<td>t̤</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anindilyakwa, Nunggubuyu p, p̤, t̤</td>
<td>t̤</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mara p, p̤, t̤</td>
<td>t̤ (ţ)</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwaidjan p, p̤, t̤</td>
<td>t̤ (ţ)</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.2 Nasals

Most nasals from Makassarese and Malay are preserved in the borrowing language, as the rich inventories of nasal phonemes in Australian languages would lead us to expect. Two types of deviation from this are:

(a) Makassarese words containing n are borrowed sometimes as apico-alveolars, sometimes as retroflexes: Mkr toana 'guest' > Mayali, Iw, Mawng ţawĩŋa, but Bur and Yan ţawĩṇa.
(b) Makassarese words containing the cluster nr (phonemically part of the prenasalized stop series) are given a rather variable treatment. On occasion they are borrowed as a nasal+stop sequence: Mkr ganrejawa > Iw, Am, Mawng, Mayali kantijawa (but Tiwi kaniţawa). Sometimes only the n is retained: Mkr panra? > Bur źin-panaţa.

However, the biggest discrepancy comes in the treatment of final velar nasals: many Makassarese words lose final nasals in some Australian languages, while other Makassarese words that end in a vowel (possibly followed by a glottal stop) have a velar nasal added. Sometimes glottal-final Makassarese words are also treated in the same way: since glottal stop is not present in these languages (and is never retained in loans) it was presumably ignored and the words treated as vowel-final. Examples of each of these processes in Iwaidja and Mawng are:

**Iwaidja rj-loss (one example only).**
Mkr birjkurj > Iw birjku.

**Iwaidja rj-addition (five examples).**
Mkr kaluma? > Iw kalumaj, Mkr kapjoli > kaştulij, Mkr jama > Iw ḣamaŋ, Mkr lantera > Iw lanţiraŋ, Mkr sulappa > Iw źulapanŋ.

**Mawng rj-loss (one example only).**
Mkr [ka]cangoreŋ > M taŋkuri.

**Mawng rj-addition (six examples).**
Mkr bandera > M pantirj, Mkr botolj > M puţulunŋ, Mkr kaluma? > M kalumaj, Mkr lantera > M lanţiraŋ, Mkr pacco > M paţunŋ, Mkr bassi > M paţinŋ.

Now a striking feature of Makassarese is the high proportion of words ending in -rj. Indeed, with the glottal stop it is one of only two permissible final consonants. In the languages of Western Arnhem Land, by contrast, it is rare or non-existent in final position in native words. The most likely explanation for this inconsistent treatment of final -rj is that a phase in which Macassan loans were lost was followed by a period during which speakers hypercorrected by adding ź even to those Macassan loans that lacked it.

Amurdak, the Iwaidjan language furthest away from the Macassan contact sites, often lacks a final -rj present in its northern relatives: cf. Am patoma (Ga, Mawng patumaŋ < Mkr patomaj), palajara (Ga, Iw palajaraŋ, Mawng pulyaraŋ < Mkr pallyaraŋ), palaŋa (Mawng palunaŋ < Mkr pâlunaj), źara (Ga, Iw, Marrgu źaraŋ < Mkr jaraŋ) itiilha (Mawng šitiilhaŋ < Mkr sele?selekaŋ), źiru (Mawng źiruŋ < Mkr siiruŋ/siirunŋ), źulapa (Ga, Iw źulapanŋ, Mawng źulapaŋ < Mkr sulappa), kapaja (Ga, Iw kapajaŋ, Mawng kapajâŋ < Mkr kapasaŋ), kaluma (Ga, Iw, Mawng kalumaŋ < Mkr galumaŋ), kantij (Ga, Iw kaŋtij < Mal kaŋtij), lanţira (Ga, Iw, Mawng lanţiraŋ < Mkr lantera), kaştulij (Ga, Iw kaştulij < Mkr kaştulij). Note that
since only about half of these words have final -ŋ in the Macassan original, the Amurdak form corresponds to the original in respect to final -ŋ about as often as the forms of the other languages.

Nelson Mulurinj, in commenting on the fact that Amurdak often lacks the final -ŋ found in the other Iwaidjan languages, said that the coastal people refer to the Amurdak as bugisulabu: "all from Iwaidja or Marrgu mob or Garig mob, they bin call us bugisulabu because...we the bush men". This appears to be a derogatory reference to their lack of sophistication on the Macassan front; according to Robert Handelsmann, who obtained this information, the term seems to have similar connotations to 'country bumpkin' in English. While the term clearly contains the word bugis, I have been unable to find a source for the (s)ulabu.

A final outcome of this hypercorrection is that -ŋ became a marker of foreign loans more generally, not just of Macassan terms. It is also found on loan words of Malay origin (e.g. Mal kayuh > May kayunkayunj) and from English (e.g. ‘bullocky’ > Mawng pulikunj).

Nonetheless, both -ŋ-loss and -ŋ-hypercorrection affect a minority of loans in the Iwaidjan languages. In Iwaidja there are 17 vowel-final loans that do not hypercorrect (against 4 that do), and 7 ŋ-final loans that retain the nasal (against one that doesn’t). In Mawng there are 22 vowel-final loans that do not hypercorrect (against six that do) and fifteen ŋ-final loans that retain the nasal (against one that doesn’t). Just one Makassarese word in final ŋ receives another treatment in the Iwaidjan languages: Mkŋ pamissean ‘to row’ is borrowed as a-mijan in Iwaidja and Garig; this represents an adaptation of the final nasal to the verb conjugation system of these languages, which has a final apical nasal in the present (= citation) form.

In Burarra a higher proportion of words undergo ŋ-loss. I have three such examples: piŋay < biséan, kuli < guliŋ, pamutuka < pammuđuka; a less clear case is the possible cognate aakawa, possibly from rakkarj-rakkarj. If this is a genuine case it has lost final ŋ then added a formative -wa. Against

Walker & Zorc (1981:114) note this phenomenon in Yolngu languages, but suggest a different reason: "The productive Makassarese suffix -ŋ, used inflectionally in making passive verbs and derivationally in making nouns denoting place or instrument, e.g. bandéra 'flag', bandéraŋ '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 unnecessary and a few cases where it has been added as if it were a noun-formative". Against their explanation, I would argue (a) that the relevant suffix is far too rare in the corpus of attested loanwords to serve as the basis of such analogy (b) their hypothesis does not explain how the same process applies to borrowed verbs, such as jama > Iw iama (c) although final -ŋ is phonotactically possible in native Yolngu words, it is nevertheless rare enough (Morphy (1983) gives a figure of 5.3% for the percentage of Djapu vocabulary ending with it, including Macassan loans) that its frequency in Makassarese loans would be noticeable enough to make it a marker.
these three to four cases of η-loss are only three in which η is retained: karuŋ, mariyaŋ, and țalațțaŋ (< sallataŋ).

An alternative strategy for dealing with final η is to add epenthetic a. This is found in Anindilyakwa and Nunggubuyu, and as a less-favoured strategy in Burarra; it is also found in Mara: kuľiŋ > An kwiliŋa, Nung kuľiŋa; kâlewaŋ > An, Nung kâliwaŋa; bișeąŋ > An mwițiaŋa; pekaŋ > An pikaŋa, Nung pikaŋi (final i unexplained here); jaraŋ > An țaraŋwa, Nung țaraŋu. In An and Nung, though, this strategy sometimes fail to apply and final -ŋ is dropped: sinapâŋ > An înapwa; sabuŋ > An țîpwa. There are no examples of η-hypercorrection in An or Nung. Burarra examples are Mkr guľiŋ > Bur guľiŋa (also in Mara); poss. Mkr panraŋ? > Bur țin-panaŋa.

A second type of hypercorrection occurring in the Iwaidjan languages involves the treatment of Macassan t. As mentioned above, this becomes an interdental stop in those Australian languages that have it; in those that lack it, it becomes a palatal stop. However, Iwaidjan languages have been developing an interdental articulation under Macassan influence, which is found in the more recent Macassan loans, while the palatal is found in older loans. In some such words the coastal languages have the interdental where Amurdak and/or Mawng has the palatal: Mkr tambaga > Iw ţampaŋa but Am ţampaŋa; Mkr mutiraŋa > Ga/Iw muțara but Am muțara; Mkr taripaŋ > Ga/Iw ţaripa but Am and Mawng ţaripa. But for some words there is evidence of hypercorrection of Macassan j (normally borrowed as ț) to ț: Mkr pokejukuŋ? > Ga and Am pukijuku but Ga/Iw pukițuku, Mkr pajaŋ? > Mawng pajaway but Am and Ga pająaway.

Hypercorrection may be of some use in giving a relative chronology of loans: in languages like Iwaidjan, words dropping final η may be older loans than those adding it through hypercorrection. However, the value of this tool is lessened by the sporadic nature of hypercorrection, as witnessed by the many words to which it fails to apply.

3.3 Liquids

The mapping between the two Makassarese/Malay liquids, r and l, and the much larger liquid inventories of Arnhem Land languages is not straightforward. The basic possibilities are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mkr/Mal</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian lgs</td>
<td>r, r (₃), l, l</td>
<td>l, l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The treatment of Mkr/Mal r is rather complex.

The phonetically closest segment to the apical trill of standard Malay and Makassarese in Australian languages is the apical trill/flap r, and this treatment is widely attested, particularly intervocally. A few examples only are given here: Mkr bandéra > Iw, Ga, Am, Mawng pantiraŋ; Mkr
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bára? > Iw, Ga, Mawng, Bur, Nung and Mara para, Marrgu para, Ndj pára; Mkr buburu? > Mawng, Am, Iw and Ga pupuru; Mal paraŋ or Mkr béraŋ > Bur paraŋ; Mal porahu > Mara parawu.

Many Australian languages do not permit initial r, or have only developed this possibility recently and show evidence of an earlier restriction of this type; in such cases r is borrowed as s. For example, Iw has no initial r with the exception of the likely loanword rapi 'rasp', and has borrowed Mkr rupia as jupiya. Mawng has just six r-initial words, four of them Mkr loans: rajuŋ (< Mkr racuŋ), riŋarija (< Mkr rezi?), rimba (prob. < Mkr romba) and rupiya (< Mkr rupia); in addition there is the Austronesian suspect rapi and a single word likely to be Australian (though currently without etymology): rurulrja 'insect which eats pandanus'. And Burarra, which has initial r in a number of native words, e.g. rawa 'camp, place; heritage, philosophy' and rira 'tooth', retains initial Mkr and Mal r in some loans (e.g. Mkr rupia > rupiya, Mal rambaŋ > rempaŋ), but borrows Mkr rate 'south' as jatja, suggesting this loan predated the development of initial r.

More puzzling are two cases in which medial r is borrowed from Malay or Makassarese as l or f: (i) Mal and Mkr para-para > Iw, Ga, Mawng palapala; Mayali palapala, Bur pelampilala, Mara palapala, Yan nawa[Mkr palapa]a (arguments that the source for these is Mal or Mkr para-para rather than balla?balla?, as Walker & Zorc (1981) claim, are given in the footnote to this entry in the appendix); (ii) Mkr daradara > Mara ṭala-ṭala, Yanyuwa tajatala. Possibly also (iii) Mal orarja ‘person’ > Bur walarj ‘learned, accomplished, leader’. Each of the languages involved has other loanwords in which intervocalic /r/ is retained unaltered. The most likely explanation is that the donor lect had a non-standard pronunciation of /r/ as [k].

Significantly, the root-initial lenition of p to w in Yanyuwa suggests that para-para at least belongs to an earlier loan stratum (see §4 below). Ultimately it may be possible to match this aberrant set to a different donor source.

Makassarese or Malay 1 is realized sometimes as an alveolar, sometimes as a retroflex.

Mkr/Mal 1 > Australian 1: This is the normal pattern, as in Mkr ládiŋ, Mal ladin > Gar, Iw lati, Tiwi yilati, Ndj latti. Mkr balase > Bur palàŋga, Ndj palàṭṭi, Am, Mawng palaṭi, Tiwi palaṭi. Most other Mkr or Mal words with l behave similarly – see Appendix for further examples.

Mkr/Mal 1 > Australian 1: This is a sporadic possibility. At present it is not clear why a given language borrows words sometimes with alveolar and sometimes with retroflex laterals, although this pattern correlates weakly with a Malay rather than Makassarese source. Some examples are Mkr cé?la > Bur rurulrj > Iw, Ga, Mawng, Bur, Nung and Mara para, Marrgu para, Ndj pára; Mkr buburu? > Mawng, Am, Iw and Ga pupuru; Mal paraŋ or Mkr béraŋ > Bur paraŋ; Mal porahu > Mara parawu.

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20 These usually reflect a proto-Australian phoneme *RLD which descends variously as /l/, /h/ and /H/ in different languages - see Evans (1988).
Vowels

Makassarese, with its five-vowel system, and even more so the six-vowel system of Malay, was subject to a loss of distinctions when mapped onto the typical three vowel system of North Australian languages. Normally i and e map onto i, u and o onto u, and a (and Malay o) onto a.

Examples of the adaptation of mid vowels to the corresponding high vowels are: Mkr cangorerj > Am, Ga, Iw, Mawng ṭila; Mkr ce?la > Am, Ga, Iw, Mawng ṭila, Bur ṭila; Mkr dobolo? > Am, Ga, Iw, Mawng ṭila. There are few clear examples of Mal o and its treatment varies: poss. Mal galarj > Bur kalarj; Mal sambiyarj > Mawng jumpilarj (also with unexplained introduction of lateral).

Some languages have richer systems with four or five vowels: Tiwi adds schwa; Burarra, Mayali and Ndjébbana each have five-vowel systems. However, even in these languages only rare Macassarese loans see mid-vowel distinctions preserved. In Burarra, for example, Mkr o is preserved in stressed, initial position but mapped onto u in unstressed positions (Mkr botolo? > Bur poṭuḷa; Mal boro? > Bur pora; note also Mkr karō > Bur karū) and sometimes lost in final position (Mkr balaŋ > Bur paḷaŋ). Ndjébbana, despite having a five vowel system, never preserves Mkr or Mal mid vowels as distinct (e.g. Mkr karóro > Ndj karúru), though in one case it

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21 I am grateful to Jim Collins for bringing to my attention the existence of eastern Malay dialects with the uvular pronunciation.

22 My Marrgu notes show this word as ṭila, with a flapped retroflex lateral, but my understanding of Marrgu phonology is still preliminary and tentative.
assimilates Mkr a to o: Mkr ja?jala? > Ndj òàòíà. No language retains Macassan e.

Tiwi, the only language in a position to borrow schwa, only has a single (and not decisive) case of o corresponding to Malay o: Tiwi pòórà 'rice', which may be from either Mal baras or Mkr bérasa?; in any case other Mal words with o are borrowed into Tiwi with a: kòlâapa > Ti a1lipwa.

The interpretation of the failure of five-vowel languages to retain mid vowels in Macassan loans is problematic. One possibility is that mid-vowels are a very recent development in the languages of the area; this is unlikely given the wide spread of five-vowel languages over central Arnhem land but cannot be rejected completely until proper phonological reconstructions have been carried out. Another possibility is that Macassan loans mostly entered these words as indirect loans through three-vowel languages like Iwaidjan; this is supported by the loss of Mkr glottal stop mentioned above. There is certainly some historical evidence for the use of 'Macassan' in contacts between tribal groups (see Urry & Walsh 1981 and refs cited there), though it is unclear whether this consisted of a fully-developed lingua franca or merely the use of Macassan-derived vocabulary.

Some languages of the region do not allow initial vowels and add an initial consonant to the borrowed form. I only have three examples so far of this phenomenon: initial Macassan a has n added, as in Mkr ánisi? > Bur ñàñàñà and Ndj ñàñííí; initial e has initial y (as in Mkr eppanj > Am, Ga, Iw yipanj) and possibly l (in Anindilyakwa lipwa, prob. from the same source) added; and initial u adds initial w as in Mkr úkiri? > Bur wukur-ëa.23

Macassan phonotactics allows sequences of vowels, generally unacceptable in Arnhem land languages, and such sequences undergo certain modifications under borrowing. At the simplest an appropriate glide is inserted (see rupia and mariàñ sets). In a couple of examples somewhat greater modifications are made: Mkr buaja > Tiwi pwaà, and Mkr toana > ñawià in a number of languages.

4. STRATIFICATION OF LOANWORDS

Apart from the direct evidence that it provides for the nature and intensity of contacts with Macassans, the study of strata in the contact vocabulary can provide useful evidence concerning the linguistic prehistory of Arnhem Land: in several Arnhem land languages there is evidence that some words belong to an older stratum from the fact that they undergo various phonological

changes characteristic of particular languages. Ultimately studies of stratification may allow Australianists to assign at least approximate datings to certain reconstructible changes in the phonology and morphology of these languages (see McConvell 1990, Evans forthcoming b). A full and rigorous account must of course await careful phonological reconstruction of Arnhem Land language groups, a survey of Indonesian sources other than Makassarese and Malay, including work on Makassarese dialects, and the compilation of a larger set of loanwords than the present far from complete list, and there will inevitably be many questions that it will not prove possible to answer. Nonetheless, it is useful to outline the types of evidence here in a preliminary way.

(a) Within the Iwaidjan group the following words appear to have been borrowed in time to undergo initial or medial lenition: Mawng wurupuru < Mkr puru-puru; Iw tiyi and Mawng yiyi from Mal gigi; Mawng alan and Iw alanud from Mal jalan; Iw yaman ~ ayaman and Mawng -yama from Mal or Baj jama; poss. Mawng alampa from Mak kalampa?. For a discussion of how these loan strata fit into the broader frame of Iwaidjan historical phonology see Evans (forthcoming b).

(b) Within Yanyuwa, a couple of Macassan loans appear to be older on the basis that they have undergone initial or medial lenition: na-walapaľa from Mkr or Mal parapara, and wuruwuru from Mkr puru-puru. While no systematic study of historical Yanyuwa phonology has yet been attempted, I can at least cite some parallel examples of lenition of initial bilabial stops in native Yanyuwa words: proto-Pama-Nyungan pula ‘(they) two’ > Yanyuwa wula ‘they two’; cf. also Kayardild and Lardil kuŋa ‘cold’, Yan wuŋa ‘cool’, as well as internal evidence from such reduplicated words as wurulpurul ‘lumpy’, wurulpurlpururl ‘tail piece of the sea-turtle along with the fat and meat’ Note also that there is confirming evidence for the antiquity of both loans into North Australian languages: puru-puru is also part of the old loan stratum in Iwaidjan languages, and parapara behaves aberrantly in its treatment of source r (see discussion in §3.3).

(c) Lenition of k in Tiwi: the Tiwi word mijana ‘fat’ has lenited what was presumably an original k in Malay mīnak ‘oil, grease’. Given the total absence of work on Tiwi historical phonology it is hard to interpret this in any way more general than saying that it may be an older loan. A second area that needs to be looked at in Tiwi is the reduction of loaned vowels to a.

(d) Another potential source of evidence for stratification comes from changes in the treatment of borrowed phonemes. For example, the change in

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24 Another possible case is the lenition of intervocalic ţ in some Yolngu languages - see Walker (1988). His discussion is confined to the case of the putative loan mupakat, which appears metathesized, and semantically-shifted, as mupaţak in some dialects but mupayak in others. Further investigation of stratifications in Yolngu requires more solid cases, plus a reconstruction of Yolngu historical phonology.
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Burarra from borrowing initial r as ɾ, to borrowing it as i, could be correlated with the emergence of phonemic r in initial position. As yet no phonological reconstruction of the Burarran languages has been attempted.

A similar argument could be made with respect to Iwaidjan borrowings of Macassan words containing t, since there has been a move from assimilating them to initial ɾ, to pronouncing them with initial ɾ, a loan phoneme recently introduced just in Macassan loans: cf. Mkr timoro? ‘east wind’ > Iw, Mawng and Marrgu timuru, and Mkr ‘lantern’ > Ga, Iw and Mawng lanțiranj and Am lanțira, presumably old loans, with Mkr taripanj ‘trepan’ > Mawng taripanj and Am taripa but Ga and Iw ţaripa ~ taripa, and Mkr taipa ‘mango tree’ > Iw and Am ţayipa ~ tayipa. Care needs to be exercised here, however, due to the potentially confusing effects of hypercorrection (§3.2 above).

(e) The presence of grammatical affixes may also provide clues about stratification. We need to distinguish two types of situation here. In order of the antiquity they suggest, these are:

ARCHAIC MORPHOLOGY. The Tiwi words wurupia (< Mkr rupia or Mal rupiah) and yilati (< Mkr or Mal ladinj) each contain prefixes that are no longer productive in Tiwi – they have been replaced by a masculine vs feminine suffixing system. But they can be related to an earlier system of noun class prefixation shared with a number of other non-Pama-Nyungan languages (see Evans forthcoming a), with yi- deriving from an older masculine prefix ki-, and wu- from an older neuter prefix ku-. This marks them as earlier loans from a time when the prefixing system was still productive; some more recent loans (such as tara ‘horse’, taraŋini ‘buffalo, beef’ (masc.) and ţaraŋa ‘buffalo, beef (fem.)’ < Mkr járan) add the currently productive masculine and feminine suffixes -ni and -ŋa.

CURRENT MORPHOLOGY. The vast majority of Macassan loans into all north Australian languages have not acquired any Australian morphology. However, a number of languages have added current noun class prefixes to Macassan nouns, or integrated Macassan verbs into paradigms of verbal morphology: thus Yanyuwa, Burarra, Mayali and Nunggubuyu, which all have productive systems of noun-class prefixation, have added prefixes to some Macassan loans: Mayali an-papu ‘wild potato’, with vegetable class prefix an-, from Mkr or Baj pacco ‘taro’; poss. Burarra ţin-panaŋa ‘rust’, with feminine prefix ţin-, from Mkr panra? ‘wrecked, ruined, spoiled’; Nunggubuyu ma-talaŋala ‘box’ from Mkr daradara (with added ma-prefix), and Yanyuwa a-lipalipa ‘dugout canoe’ (with feminine prefix a-); for verbs assimilated into native morphological patterns see the entries for Mkr biséarj, jama and ukiri?. To assess whether this provides evidence for earliness of the loan we need to know (a) the extent to which the language tolerates un-affixed loan words, and the phonological and semantic factors that favour loan words acquiring morphology, and (b) how rapidly the particular language integrates loans into the morphological system – in Mayali, for
example, there is evidence that some English noun loans (presumably not older than eighty years) have acquired prefixes (e.g. an-jut from English ‘road’), while in other languages, such as Yanyuwa, there is no evidence of English loans yet acquiring prefixes. In any case, we can normally assume that if other factors are comparable, affixed loans are earlier than unaffixed ones, but we cannot really use this to locate their arrival with respect to other changes in the language.

5. EARLIER AUSTRONESIAN CONTACTS?

It seems unlikely that the Macassans were the first Austronesians to visit Northern Australia. Arnhem Land oral traditions mention an earlier group, known in Yolngu languages as the bayini (almost certainly derived from the word for ‘woman’ in many Austronesian languages, including Makassarese baine), who differed from the Macassans in a number of ways: they brought their women with them, settled in Arnhem Land where they lived in stone houses, cultivated the ground, and manufactured cloth, and had copper-coloured skin unlike that of the Macassans. For a more detailed discussion of the Bayini, including a number of specifically ‘Bayini’ vocabulary items, the reader is referred to Chapter 5 of Berndt & Berndt (1954).

More recently it has been suggested by Pelras (1982:205) that the Bayini were actually Bajau or sea-gypsies. He points out that although MacKnight (1976) sets the late seventeenth century as the beginning of Macassan visits to Arnhem Land, primarily on the basis that historical records of the trepang trade only begin then, this does not rule out earlier mercantile visits by a group such as the Bajau, who would have collected trade items such as turtle-shell and sandalwood. As a result of the close relationship between the Sulawesi Bajau and the Macassans, the latter would have learned about Arnhem Land and eventually followed the Bajau there, upgrading the Bajau visits into the more intense and lucrative sojourns required by the trepang trade.

25 It might be suggested that the accretion of a prefix here is motivated by the desire to avoid monosyllables, but in fact Mayali has dozens of monosyllabic nouns.

26 Here is Pelras’ (1982:205) suggestion in full: “Or, nous savons que cette région fournissait d'autres produits secondaires à l'époque du tripang, mais qui pourraient avoir motivé auparavant des voyages au moins épisodiques sur cette côte: ainsi .. l'écaillle de tortue ..., certaines espèces de bois, une variété de santal, de l'écorce (tinctoriale de morinda citrifolia ), de la nacre et des perles. On nous dit aussi que les Bajo observés dans la flotille en 1840 n'étaient pas venus pour le tripang mais justement pour l'écaillle de tortue. Or, l'esprit aventureux de ce peuple de la mer est bien connu; et j'ai fait ailleurs l'hypothèse qu'en vertu de leurs rapports privilégiés avec les Makassar, il se pourrait qu'ils aient été, à l'origine, leurs maîtres en navigation lointaine; pourquoi pas aussi les premiers visiteurs indonésiens en l'Australie?”
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In fact, however, I have only been able to identify two remotely possible cases of Bajau loans from the best source available to me (Verheijen 1986)\textsuperscript{27} and neither are at all clearcut: Baj dalaʔán 'beam in house and prahu' > Iw taluman ‘floor’ and rakaʔ ‘fasten, tether with a short rope’ > Bur jakawa ‘catch fish with hook and line’. A number of others could equally well be from Makassarese or Bajau and are listed in the Makassarese section of the Appendix.\textsuperscript{28} The linguistic evidence so far, then, fails to support the hypothesis that the Bayini were Bajau speakers.

On the other hand, there remains a large set of suspected loans for which I have been unable to find a Makassarese, Malay, Bugis or Bajau source; to this must be added many of the Yolngu words included in Walker & Zorc as ‘Group 4: Austronesian loanwords (requiring further research)’.\textsuperscript{29} My grounds for suspecting an Austronesian (or at least a non-Australian) origin come from one or both of the following considerations:

(a) Distribution: found right around the Top End coastline (at least from Bathurst & Melville Islands in the west), shared between languages that are only distantly related and have extremely low levels of shared vocabulary. Examples are: manṭawak ‘slashing knife’, larwa ‘Macassan-style bamboo pipe’.

(b) Nature of the referent: introduced items of steel, textiles or maritime technology, or items likely to be traded with seafaring visitors, for which I have been unable to find any Australian etymologies. Examples: forms related to waliman ‘steel axe’, maṭinṭi ‘Hawksbill turtle’ in various Western Arnhem Land languages.

A full list of such unidentified suspects is given at the end of this article. Of course, many may eventually prove spurious by turning out to be inherited vocabulary, or loans from an Australian source (as with kupuji ‘dugout canoe’, which is a widespread name for an introduced item, but with a Mayali

\textsuperscript{27} It should be noted, however, that Verheijen’s book refers to a variety of Bajau spoken in the lesser Sunda islands, and I have been unable to locate a sizeable lexicon of Bajau dialects spoken in Sulawesi.

\textsuperscript{28} The recent works by Walker and Zorc do not scrutinize the Yolngu languages for the ‘Bayini’ loans mentioned in Berndt (1954). I have not been able to investigate this question, although one possibility to note is the Yolngu word for the important edible spike-rush corm, ṭakay, which may be cognate with Sunda Bajau ragaʔ ‘root’ (Verheijen 1986). Cf. Berndt & Berndt (1954:36): “When the Baijini departed their gardens fell into disuse; and the Aborigines today collect the roots of a type of grass or bulrush, termed ragai, which they say grew up in place of the neglected rice.”

\textsuperscript{29} Makassarese sources have since been found for a few of the words in ‘Group 4’ of Walker & Zorc (1981), such as #234 muwaiya (muwuţak in some dialects) ‘calico, material; clothes’, suggested by Walker (1988) as a metathesized form of Malay mupakat ‘consultation, agreement’, with semantic shift mediated by the agreement necessary to trade in materials, and #238 rica-rica ‘dive for trepang’ (see Mkr resa in this article). Some of the words are probably accidental resemblances, as Walker and Zorc admit. But it is likely that a substantial proportion of the others will eventually be traced to some as yet unidentified Austronesian language.
etymology). But I hope that my publishing them here will encourage Austronesian scholars to track down the linguistic origins of at least some of them, and that this may in turn give us some clue as to the identity of the Bayini.

APPENDIX 1: LOANS BY SEMANTIC FIELD

The following list is intended to give some idea of the main semantic areas in which loans occurred. Macassan words are cited in their original form – Makassarese (if the source language is not specified), Malay or Bajau. Full details of phonological and semantic shifts are to be found in Appendix 2.

**BOATING:** anchor (balarj), boat (bisean, kappala?, Mal parahu), canoe (lepa-lepa), compass, with semantic shift to ‘glass, mirror’ (patomanj), flag (bandera), mast (pallayaranj), paddle (pamissean), paddles (Mal kayuh), pedestal of tripod mast (barkensalara?), prow (< ‘open eyes’ mila), rudder (gulinj), rudder bench, with semantic shift to ‘pole on ship’ (sankilanj), sail (sombala?, karóro?), ship (< ‘steamship’ kappala?-pepe?).

**BUILDING & CARPENTRY:** beam (> ‘door’) (Baj dala?an), door (< ‘key’: konci), peg, wedge, nail (> ‘digging stick’) (paso?), plank (galuma?), platform (parapara), supports (> ‘house’) (ja?jala), wooden board, box (< board game: daradara).

**CLOTHING, MATERIAL, & ADORNMENT:** carry-bag (purukanj), crocodile-point pattern (buaja), hat (songko?), headband < scented bark (kalamba?), jewellery (maniti?maniti?), loin-cloth (sulu), naked (solara?), thread/wool (bannarj), sack (balasi), sack > blanket (karonj), sarong > bright material (lipa?), shirt (bajubaju), soap (sabun), trousers (salúwara?).

**COMMERCIAL & TRADE:** gambling (dobolo?), money (rupia), work (jama).

**COMMUNICATION:** lie (balleballe).

**DISEASE:** scabies, ringworm (puru-puru).

**DRINK:** alcohol, grog (anisi?), bottle (botolo?).

**FAUNA:** baler-shell (tali?bo), crab (sikuyu), horse (jarañ), pearl (mutiara), Portuguese man-of-war > poison (racunj), trepang (taripanj).

**FIRE AND LIGHT:** glow, light (rinra), lantern (lantéra), light, lamp (kanjoli), matches (colo?).

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30 As Michael Walsh (p.c.) has pointed out, there is an unaccountable absence of reflexes of the word for ‘shoe’, Mkr sapatu and Mal sopatu from Port sapato; for loans of this word into Northeastern Arnhem Land see Walker & Zorc (1981:125).
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FISHING: bait (eppan), cast-net (Mal jala), catch fish by line (< Baj raka? ‘fasten’), fish-hook (pékaj), fish-net (panambi), fish-spear (sombiyanj, poke juku?), sinker (ladunj).

FLORA: coconut (kaluku, Mal kəlapa), ‘cotton-wool’ plant (kabasa), flower (> ‘smell’) (buṣa), kemiri tree (husks used as bedding) (sapiρi), mango (tayipa), tamarind (cambal), wild potato, taro (pacco).

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION: bamboo-cooked rice (sonkolo?), bamboo food container (taroporj), billycan (Mal kalen buka), cauldron (urin), cooking pot (balanja), corn (biralle), fat (< grease:miɲpa? or Mal mipak), flour < small cakes (kanrejawa), food (kanre), frying pan (pam(m)maja?), peanuts (cargoreŋ), panikin (< lontar tray) paja?, porridge (buburu?), rice (bərasa?), sack, bag (balase), salt (ceʔla), satisfied (balala), spoon (siʔrun), starch (Mal kanji).

METAL: iron, metal (< copper: tambaga), iron (> container) (bassi), lead (ladunj), rust (panraŋ).

PEOPLE, PERSONALITY: boss (puqgawa), European (balanda), European woman (nona), friend (< subordinate, guest) (toana), Makassan (maŋkàsara?), Malay (Mal malayu).

QUALITIES: equal (rambaræŋ), fat (romba), large, great (lompo), sharp (< long and pointed object) buccu?, stuffy (> stinking) (bussan).

RELIGION: visit to grave (Mal ziarah, jiarah).

SMOKING: cigarette < cigar (kaluru?), smoking pipe (pammudukanj), tobacco (tambako), tobacco tin (sulappa).

TOOLS AND ARTEFACTS: adze (bikunj), axe (paŋkulu?), box (patti), cauldron (kawa), drill (puru?), knife (ladiŋ), needle (jarun), plane (kattaj), rolled object (gulijn), soap (sabunj), wedge (paso?), small box (salappa).

WEAPONS: cane knife (< sabre kaléwarj ), gun (marian), harpoon (< wedge paŋkale), machete (Mal paran), pistol (seleʔselekaŋ), rifle (sinapan), sabre (lamanj), shovel-nosed spear (saŋa?).

WINDS AND DIRECTIONS: downwind (< down turun) east wind (timoro?), south, south wind (rate), south east wind (tungara), west, north-west wind (bara?).

WRITING: book, paper (surat), write (ukiri?).

MISCELLANEOUS: firecrackers (baraccun); oil, tar (miŋna?), path (Mal jalan), pillow (paʔluŋaŋ), ebb of tide (resal?), tooth (gigi, gišina).
APPENDIX 2: FULL LIST OF MACASSAN LOANS

Several lists are presented in the following order: (i) loans that are either clearly from Makassarese, or else could equally well be Makassarese, Malay and/or Bajau; (ii) loans that are clearly from Malay (iii) loans that are clearly from Bajau (iv) less well-supported loans, from any of the above languages (v) loans in Arnhem land languages that are likely to be of Austronesian origin (see §5) but for which no source has yet been found.

For each loan item I first give details of the source language(s), then, where applicable, the equivalent loan in Yolngu languages (the abbreviation YM:WZN means ‘number N in the list contained in Walker & Zorc 1981), then the forms and meanings in all non-Yolngu languages of Arnhem Land in which they are attested. In general I cite these languages following the coastline from west (starting with Tiwi) to east (ending with Yanyuwa), except where several sets of items (e.g. compounds) have been derived from the one Macassan source, or where a more dubious form is treated at the end of a given entry. Where it is useful to cite equivalents in Austronesian languages other than the source language(s) in order to rule them out as donors, I have done so in square brackets.

1. LOANS FROM MAKASSARESE

Mkr, Bug ánisi? ‘alcoholic beverage, strong drink’, from Dutch anîjs ‘aniseed’ = YM:WZ 89 ɲanici
Am anîti, Marrgu anîti; Bur ɲañātti, ɲanîttā ‘liquor, grog’; Ndj ɲanîtī ‘grog’, An anîtā, Nung anîtī.

Iw bâtubâtu ‘dress, shirt’, Mawng bâtubâtu ‘coat, shirt’, Ndj bâtubâtu ‘shirt’, May bâtubâtu ‘id.’

Mkr balala ‘greedy’; Baj balala = YM:WZ 3.
Yan bulala ‘satisfied in relation to food or sex’.


May, Bur palanta ‘European (n. or adj.), white person’ Ndj palânta ‘white man’, Am, Iw, Mawng palanta ‘European (n. or adj.), white person’.
An pwalanta ‘white person’. Yan palanta ‘name given to male members of Wurdaliya semi-moiety; Macassan in origin’.

Mkr balle-balle ‘lie’.
Iw ‘Macassan’ palepale ‘tell lies’; not in Pym MS, but given as Macassan version of Iw angarokoye in Confalonieri 1846.
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Mkr balaŋa ‘earthen cooking pot’, Mal. sc-balaŋa ‘one earthen cooking pot’
Bur ṭapalana ‘metal container, any billy can, cup, plate, drum, etc’, Ndj ṭapilana ‘billy can’, Mayali ṭapilana ‘billy can’, Mawng ṭapilanta ‘panikin’; Iw, Ga, Am ṭapilanta ‘panikin, billycan’. Change of ŋ to n unexplained, and the source may not be correctly identified.

Mkr, Bug baláŋo ‘anchor’ = YM.WZ 04 baḷaŋu ‘anchor’.
Bur palaŋ ‘anchor’. An pwalanja, Nung palaŋu ‘rope (for sail or anchor)’, Yan palaŋu ‘stone anchor used with dugout canoes’.

Mkr balase ‘sack, bag’

Iw, Ga, Am pantiranj ‘flag’, Mawng pantiranj ‘flag, rag’.

Mkr bananja ‘thread, yarn’, Bug wonnaŋ, Mal bannaŋ = YM bananja(?) ‘wool, thread, yarn’.
Bur pannaŋ ‘coloured woolly yarn used to make ritual bags etc. for Marnurng ceremony’. An pannaŋwila ‘wool’; final two syllables unexplained.

Mkr banjkeŋsalara? ‘pedestal of tripod mast’.
Nung pakaŋalyara ‘mast’.

Mkr barattjurj ‘kind of firework, small paper tubes that are filled with gun powder, set off in large crowds by children of Makassar’.
Mawng paratturj (Capell & Hinch) / parajar (Hewitt), Iw, Ga, Am, Gag parajar ‘firecrackers’.


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Mkr, Bug birjkuŋ ‘native tool, for hacking the ground; also a carpenter’s tool’; Baj birjkoŋ ‘transverse adze’.

Iw, Ga, Mar, Am, Gag piŋku ‘short, hoe-like adze, used for scraping out dugout canoe’.

Mkr birálnle, Bug warólle ‘corn, maize’ = YM:WZ 19 biralı ‘corn, maize’.

Mkr biséanŋ ‘boat, vessel’, pamisseaŋ ‘to row’ = YM.WZ 86 miciyáŋ ‘boat, vehicle’.


Mkr, Bug bótole, Mal botol ‘bottle’ < C17 Dutch bottel ‘bottle’ = YM.WZ 25 putulu ‘bottle’.


Mkr, Bug buaja ‘crocodile’; Mal buaya.

Tiwi pwata ‘points on crocodile’s back; rows of dots in painting representative of crocodile’s back’.

Mkr buburuŋ ‘rice porridge with water or mixed with coconut milk’, Mal bubur ‘porridge’.

Mawng pupuru ‘porridge’, Am, Iw, Ga pupuru ‘porridge made from flour added to water’.

Mkr buccuŋ amμuccuŋ ‘something that is long and held in the middle, the throwing of this to some one or something (e.g. spear, sharp pointed top of a lontar palmwood)’. But may also be from Mal pusut ‘awl’.

Am, Mawng puŋuk ‘sharp’ (non-prefixed form).

Mkr, Bug, Mal buŋa ‘flower, blossom’ = YM buŋa ‘perfume, aromatic powder’.

An pwiŋapwinaŋ ‘good smell’.

Mkr bussaŋ ‘warm, stuffy from warmth’

Iwaidja puŋaŋ ‘bad smell, rotten thing’, Maw, Marr, Ga yiwuŋaŋ ‘id.’

Mkr cámba, Bug cámpa’, Baj camba ‘tamarind’ = YM.WZ 141 jambaj ‘tamarind’.


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Mkr cáŋgoreŋ, Mal kacan goron ‘fried peanuts’.
Am, Ga, Iw, Mawng tânkuri ‘peanut(s)’.

Mkr céʔla ‘salt(y), brackish’ = YM.WZ 62 jiʔla ‘salt’.

Mkr coloʔ, Mal colok ‘match’; Mal sulu or Baj sulu ‘torch’.
Am, Iw, Mawng ṭulu ‘matches’, Yanyuwa ṭulu ‘matches (archaic)’, Ndj ṭulu ‘matches’. The Ndj form favours sulu ‘torch’ as the source, or we would expect the form ṭolo; other forms occur in languages with only three vowels and no final stops and are therefore compatible with either source.

Mkr daradara ‘board game played on a board with small holes’ and paðdaradarāŋ ‘board of the daradara game, also used in religious ceremonies’.
Mara ʔala-ʔala ‘wooden board or plank, wooden box’, Yanyuwa talaala ‘wooden box, seat on a canoe’, Nung matalaala (with added noun-class prefix).

Mkr, Bug dóboloʔ ‘gamble’ < Dutch dobbelen, Port dobro ‘play dice, gamble’ = YM.WZ 29 dupulu.
Tiwi ʔiipilu ‘playing cards’ [Osborne calls this a ‘Jiwadja’ term], Am, Ga, Iw ʔipulu ‘card game, card’, (in Mawng may also be used as uninflected particle after verb ‘sit’, with meaning ‘gambling’).

Mkr eppan ‘bait’.
Am (y)ipan ‘bait’, Ga, Iw, Mawng yipan ‘bait’, An lipwaŋa ‘bait’.

Mkr galumaʔ ‘deck with loose planks’, Mal gelumat ‘deck’ = YM.WZ 41 galuma ‘timber’.
Am kaluma ‘timber, floor (boards)’, Ga, Iw kalumaŋ ‘piece of wood, plank, board’, Mawng kalumaŋ ‘plank, flat board on surface (arboreal noun class)’.

Mkr giği ‘tooth; with extension to barbs, teeth’ of comb etc.’, giġina ‘his/her tooth’, Malay giği ‘tooth, tooth-like object’ = YM:WZ 131 giği ‘tooth’.
Iwaidja ʔiyi ‘tooth, fishhook’, plu ayiyi, Mawng -yiyster ‘tooth, point of spear’, Garīg yi-yiyster ‘tooth, barb of spear, fishhook’, Marrgu yiyster ‘tooth’. The (regular) sound changes undergone mark this as a loan from an earlier stratum – see §4.

31 Leeding cites a Makassarese form lipaŋ ‘fish fillet’ as the source for Anindilyakwa; I have been unable to confirm the Mkr source.
NICHOLAS EVANS

Mkr, Bug gúliŋ ‘rudder’ = YM:WZ 134 guili.
Am kuliŋ ‘tiller’, Ga, Iw, Mawng kuliŋ ‘rudder of boat’, Tiwi kuliŋ ‘rudder’
(identified as an Iwaidja loan by Osborne), Bur kuliŋ ‘rudder’, Ndjébbana
kuliŋ ‘rudder’, An kwiliŋa, Nung kuliŋa, Mara kuliŋa ‘long rope in
sailboat’s rigging’.

Am, Iw ṯala ‘throw-net’, KW ṯala ‘sling net’.

Mkr jajalam ‘supports, props’.
Ndj ṭatoja ‘house’.

Mkr, Bug jáma ‘do, work, handle, touch’, Baj jama ‘work’, Malay jamah
‘handle’ = YM.WZ 54 jama .
Ga iyamaŋ ‘he works’, Iw ṭamaŋ (ayamaŋ) ‘work’, Bur ṭama ‘work, job’,
ṭama ti ‘work’, mu-ṭama ‘worker’ (mu- is a Burarra agentive prefix).

Mkr járan, Baj jaraŋ ’horse’, ult. from Javanese jaran. = YM.WZ 56 jaraŋ.
Tiwi ťara ‘horse’ [Osborne: “Jiwadja”], źaraŋ ‘buffalo, beef’, źaraŋini
‘buffalo, beef’,32 Ga, Iw, Marrgu źaraŋ, Am źara, Ndj źaraŋ, KW źaraŋ
‘horse’, An źaraŋwa, Nung źaraŋu ‘horse’.

Mkr, Bug, Baj jarunj ‘needle’ = YM jarunj ‘id.’
An źara, Nung źaruk ‘needle’.

Mkr, Bug kaléwanga Mal kolewanga ‘sword, sabre’ = YM: WZ 127 galiwan
Mawng kaliwan ‘cane knife’, Ga, Iw kaliwan ‘machete’, An, Nung
daliwan, Mara kaliwanja ‘machete; metal axe’.

Mkr, Bug kaluku ‘coconut’ = YM.WZ 40 galuku
Am, Ga, Iw, Ma, Mawng kaluku, Ndj kaluku ‘coconut tree, fruit’.

Mkr, Bug kaluru? ‘to roll up; cigar’.
Tiwi kaluri ‘cigarette’ (identified by Osborne as a loan from Iwaidja), Am,
Ga, Iw, Mawng kaluru ‘(ready-made) cigarette’, Ndj kaluru ‘cigarette’,
Mayali kaluru ‘cigarette, cigarette-paper’.

Mkr kanjoli ‘kind of light, used by natives’
Ga, Iw kaŋtulín ‘light, lamp, torch’, Am kaŋtuli.

Mkr kanre ‘food, cooked rice’.
Mara kantiri ‘flour; food’.

Mkr kanrejawa ‘pastry, cake, biscuit’
Tiwi kaniŋawa ‘damper’ (identified by Osborne as an Iwaidja loan), Am, Ga,
Iw, Marrgu kaniŋawa ‘flour, damper, bread’ Mawng kaniŋawa

32 These latter two forms are derived feminine and masculine forms, respectively adding
the noun class suffixes -a and -ni.
MACASSAN LOANS IN TOP END LANGUAGES


Ga, Iw kapaṭan ‘cotton wool’, Am, Mawng kapaṭa ‘cotton-wool, cotton-wool tree’.


Tiwi kapala ‘sailing boat’ (identified by Osborne as a loan from Iwaidja), Am, Iw, Mawng kapala ‘boat’, Mayali kapala, Burarra kappala, Ndj kapála.

Mkr kappala?-pepe? ‘steamship’.

Tiwi kapalapi pi ‘big ship’ (identified by Osborne as a loan from Iwaidja), Iw, Mawng kapalapi pi ‘big ship, large boat’.

Mkr, Bug karóro? ‘coarse cloth or leaves woven into sail’, Baj karoro = YM:WZ 45 garuru.

Am, Ga, Iw, Mawng karuru ‘sail of boat’; Ndj karuru ‘sail’, An kaliwira, Nung kaliwura [Dissim. of first r to l in both An and Nung?]

Mkr karun ‘jute-sack’, Mal karunj ‘large matwork sack of raw material’, Baj karunj = YM:WZ 171 garunj

Tiwi karú ‘bag’, Am, Iw karunj ‘sack, bag’, Mawng karunj ‘sack; bag’, Baj karunj ‘blanket’.

Mkr, Bug kattan ‘carpenter’s plane’ (Mal kótam) = YM:WZ 47 gatán ‘id.’

Mawng [gadaŋ] ~ [gadaŋ] ‘carpenter’s plane’.

Mkr kawa, Malay kawah ‘cauldron, kettle’.

Ndj káwa ‘trepang boiler’ (not really a borrowing but quoted as the Macassan term for the item in a narrative on Macassans).

Mkr konci ‘key’, Mal kunci ‘key’, ult. from Hindi kuṇci ‘lock, bolt; key’ = YM:WZ 135 guṇjiṅ ‘key’.

Tiwi kuṇṭi ‘door’, said by Osborne to be ‘Hindi, via Malay and Jiwadja’.

Mkr ládiṅ ‘knife’, Mal ladin ‘cleaver’ = YM:WZ 150 lati ‘knife’.

Tiwi yilati ‘knife’,34 Am, Ga, Iw lati ‘knife’. Ndj látti ‘knife’.

33 Confalonieri’s 1846 MS gives the Iwaidja form as ‘handigiava’, probably a rendition of antiṭawa, suggesting an earlier form that had undergone initial dropping was replaced by g-initial form, possibly under influence from neighbouring languages that did not lose initial stops.

34 yi- is an old noun-class marker - see Evans (forthcoming a).
NICHOLAS EVANS

Mkr, Bug láduŋ, Mal batu-ladong ‘sinker, plummet’ = YM.WZ 151 lätuŋ ‘sinker, lead’.

Mkr, Bug lantéra, Mal lantera, Baj lantera < Port lanterna ‘lantern’ = YM:WZ 149 láŋdíra
Am láŋtira, Ga, Iw, Mawng láŋtiraŋ ‘lamp, light’.

Am lípa ‘material’, Iw lípa ‘material coloured red, yellow or pink’, Mawng lípa ‘material, esp. beautiful material’ (man-burwa is the more general term), Ga lípa ‘long coloured/patterned length of cloth’.

Mkr, Bug lépa-lépa ‘dugout canoe (smallest and simplest type)’ = YM.WZ 80.

Mkr lombo ‘large, great’.
Iw lombo ‘very, many’ in Confalonieri (1847) only, Yan lumpu ‘strong, having strength, healthy’.

Mkr mani?-mani?, Mal manik-manik ‘bead’.
Am manimání ‘necklace’, Iw manimání ‘jewellery’.

Mkr manjákásara? ‘Makassar(ese)’ = YM.WZ 21, 82 máŋkaṭarra ‘Makassar(ese)’.
Am, Ga, Iw, Mawng máŋkaṭara ‘Macassan, Macassar’, Ndj máŋkaṭtara ‘Macassan’, Nung máŋkaṭjarra ‘Macassan, Macassar’.

Mkr, Bug marián ‘gun, cannon’ = YM.WZ 84 máɾiyán ‘gun, rifle’.
Ga, Iw mariá ‘cannon’, Bur marián ‘firearm, gun, rifle’.

Tiwi míŋya ‘fat’ (said by Osborne to be an Iwaidja loan); poss. Bur míŋtaŋ ‘game, animal’ (with semantic shift from ‘fat’ to ‘source of fat’ to ‘game’). An mwíŋya ‘tar’.

Tiwi múṭara ‘pearl shell’ (id. by Osborne as a ‘Macassarese loan word’), Mawng múṭara ‘pearl shell’ (pronounced with interdental ŋ by some speakers), Ga/Iw múṭara ~ múṭara, Am múṭara, Bur múṭara ‘pearl clam’, An múṭiyara, Nung múṭiyara ‘pearlshell’.
MACASSAN LOANS IN TOP END LANGUAGES

Mkr, Bug nōna ‘Miss, Mrs’, Mal nona ‘miss, unmarried European or Chinese girl’, from Port donha = YM.WZ 154 nu:na ‘white-woman’.
Am, Ga, Iw, Mawng nuna ‘European woman’, Ndj nūna ‘white woman’.

Mkr pacco ‘kind of plant called arum colocasia R. The roots, when cooked, are floury and very palatable to eat, while the leaves have the curious property that water does not lie still on them but continuously rolls or slides to and fro’, Baj pacco ‘taro, colocasia esculenta’.

May an-paṭtu ‘wild potato, microstemma tuberosum’, Mawng paṭuṇ ‘yam type’ (Hewitt 1978)

Mkr paṭa ‘old-fashioned round flat tray made of coloured lontar leaves, often used for serving up of food’.
Mawng paṭaway ‘pannikin’, Am, Ga paṭaway ‘pannikin’.

Mkr pallayararj (& palliararj) ‘mast’

Mkr pa(m)maja? ‘iron frying pan’.
Am, Ga, Iw pamaṣa ‘saucepan’.

Mkr pamissean – see bisean.

Mkr pammudūkarj ‘bamboo opium pipe’ = YM.WZ 07 bamutuka ‘pipe’.
Burarra pamatuka ‘long tobacco smoking pipe’.

Mkr panambe ‘sort of fishing net’.
Ndj panámpi ‘fishing net’.

Mkr pantara? ‘somewhere outside, away’.
Am pantara ~ paṇṭara ‘go sailing somewhere, implying going away for a long time’.

Mkr paṅkale ‘wedge’ = YM.WZ 181 ba:kala ‘harpoon’.35
Burarra pakala ‘harpoon’. Note also Am pakal ~ pakay, Ga, Iw pakay ‘harpoon’.

Mkr paṅkulu? ‘axce’
An pwaṅkwilya, Nung paṅkiliṭina ‘axe’, Yan paṅkulu ‘axce’; note also Tiwi kuluti ‘steel axe’.

An pwaṭa ‘nail’, Nung paṭu ‘digging stick’.

35 Walker & Zorc (1981) were unsure of the origin of this, but Walker (1988:35) derives it from Mkr paṅkale ‘wedge’ ‘with regular n loss’.


Mkr patti, Mal pātī ‘chest, case’.

Mawng patiṇ ‘box’ (also recorded with interdental t), Am, Ga, Iw paṭī.

Apparent compounds of this with Mkr kāllirj or Mal kalēng ‘tin, can’ (= YM:WZ 100 bacikali, also YM:Z baṭi ‘container, dillybag, box, case’36) are:


Note also Tiwi paṭaliri ‘wooden smoking pipe’, said by Osborne to be an Iwaidja loan; origin of liri unclear.


Mkr paṭluraṇ ‘pillow’ = YM:WZ 06 baluṇa.

Mawng paluraṇ ‘pillow’ (erroneously given as ‘English’ in Capell & Hinch), Am, Ga, Iw paluraṇ.

Mkr pēkarj ‘fish-hook; rod’ = YM:WZ 17 bikkārj ‘fishhook’.


Mkr poke jukul ‘spear for spearing fish’.

Mawng pukijuku ‘two-pronged wooden spear’, Am pukijuku, Ga, Iw pukijuku ‘single-pronged fish spear’.


Bur purkak ‘boss, lord’, Nung purkaka ‘boss, chief, owner, big man, important person’.


36 Walker & Zorc (1981) suggest the first two syllables of the YM equivalent derive from Mkr bāssi, Bug bōssi, or Mal boṣi ‘iron’, but patti or pātī ‘chest, case’ fits the semantics better; I am grateful to Sander Adclaar for suggesting this source.
MACASSAN LOANS IN TOP END LANGUAGES


Mkr purukanj ‘bag with sliding band (string), money bag’.
Am purupurukanj ‘little bag’, Ga, Iw, Mawng purupurukanj ‘carrying bag, made of cloth’.

Mkr puruj ‘winding around, e.g. metallic wire in fire’.
Ndj puru ‘drill’.

Mkr, Baj racun ‘poison’.
Am, Garig raṭuŋ ‘box jellyfish’, Mawng raṭuŋ ‘portuguese man of war’, Ndjębbana raṭuŋ ‘poisonous spike; needle; sting; syringe’.

Mkr rambæņj ‘equal, together’, Mal rømbaŋ ‘zenith, peak’, bærmbanŋ ‘to be bare, open, exposed’; Mkr. lembæŋ ‘stretch of land’ sallembaŋ ‘everywhere of the same height, level’ pasilembaŋ-lembaŋ ‘to bring to one level’ galampaŋ ‘level, flat/smooth’ lappanŋ ‘flat, level, flat object lying horizontally’
Bur rembaŋ ‘level, same height’.
The exact source here is problematic: the form best matches Malay rømbaŋ, the meaning best matches Mkr rambæņj ‘everywhere of the same height, level’.

Mkr rate ‘south’
Bur raṭa ‘south wind’

Mkr romba ‘to look fat because of the large clothes one is wearing, wide bulging of clothes’
Mawng rimpa ‘large’ (Capell & Hinch), ‘boss’ (Hewitt 1978) (with irreg. vowel shift).

Mkr resaŋ ‘to bathe and look for shellfish on the beach at low tide (mostly on a little island; kind of picnicking), Mkr. esaŋ ‘dried up, lowering (of sea), dried out, almost empty (of bottle), to run dry’
Mawng riṭariŋa ‘lowest ebb of tide’, Am riṭariŋa ‘low tide’, with further explanation by Nelson Mulurinj ‘like a low tide, and he going work for trepang’.

37 Probably also the source for YM.WZ 238 Gumatj rica-rica ‘dive (for trepang)’, listed by Walker and Zorc as a ‘possible Austronesian loan’.
NICHOLAS EVANS

Mkr, Bug rupia, Mal rupiah ‘money’ < Skt rūpya- ‘silver, rupee’ = YM.WZ 156 rupiya ‘money’.


Mkr, Bug sábuŋ ‘soap’, Mal sabun ult. from Arabic = YM.WZ 137 jaibu ‘soap’.
An ṭipwa ‘soap’.

Mkr salappa, sulappa, Mal salapa ‘little box for perfumery, tabacco, sirih etc.
Am ṭulapa, Ga, Iw ṭulapaŋ ‘tobacco tin’, Mawng ṭulapaŋ ‘tobacco tin’.

Mkr, Bug salátaŋ ‘southwind, land-wind’, Mal selatan ‘south’ = YM.WZ 53 jalatang ‘south(wind)’.
Bur ṭalatang ‘southeast wind, varying to south, which blows in the dry season’ , Am, Ga salatang ‘south wind’.


Mkr sanjkinj ‘rudder bench (where the rudder is set)’
Nung ṭanjki / ṭanjku ‘pole on ship’.

Mkr sapiri ‘kemiri tree; kemiri nut’. That the peels of this nut were used as a sort of rough mattress is suggested by this quote from Cense: kammaki? tu-tinro riawan-sapiri ‘we are like people who lie on kemiri peels (hulls): we are very restless because of difficulties or sorrow’.
Am ṭapiri ‘mattress’, Mawng ṭapiri ‘large mat, bedcloth’

Mkr sele?-selekaŋ ‘pistol’ = YM.WZ 63 jilicilikan ‘revolver’.
Am ṭilišišika ‘revolver’, Mawng ṭilišišikan ‘gun, pistol’.

Mkr sikuyu ‘crab’ = YM.WZ 61 jikuyu ‘mudcrab’.
Yan ṭikuyu ‘crab (gen.)’.

Mkr, Bug sinápəŋ ‘gun, musket, rifle’, Baj sinəph from Dutch snaphaan ‘flintlock’ = YM.WZ 64 jinapəŋ ‘gun, rifle’.
An ṭinapwa ‘rifle’, Yan ṭinapəŋ ‘gun, rifle’.

38 Source of wu- prefix unclear.
MACASSAN LOANS IN TOP END LANGUAGES

Am jiru ‘1. wooden rice spoon 2. article made of bamboo, the size and shape of a tennis racquet, for collecting barramundi’, Mawng jiruñ (C & H 1970) jiruñ (Hewitt 1978) ‘stirring rod, wooden spoon’.

Am, Iw  dưlara, Mawng 杜兰ara ‘naked’.

Mkr sómbala? ‘sail’ = YM.WZ 35 ฏูลama ‘sail’.

Mawng ṭunku ‘hat’, Bur ṭunka ‘hat’.


Mkr taipa ‘mango tree’.
Am tayipa ~ tayipa, Iw tayipa ‘mango tree’.

Mkr タルbo ‘large shellfish’.
Yan ṭalimpu ‘baler shell’.

Mkr, Bug tambåga, Mal tempaqa, Baj tambaga ‘copper’ < Prakrit tambaga ‘copper’ = YM.WZ 140 jambaka ‘tin, pannikin’.
Am tampaka, Iw tampaka ‘iron, metal’, Mawng tampakan ‘iron’; Ndj tampåkkan ‘roofing iron’. Poss. also Ti tampayani ‘stone axe’ (with added masculine noun class suffix -ni).


81
NICHOLAS EVANS

Mara ūtaripa ‘trepan’;39 Yan ūtaripa ‘trepan’.
Mkr tarorpoŋ ‘small bamboo sheath closed on one side, used for storage; telescope’; Mal taropon ‘telescope, spyglass; tube, pipe’, Baj taropoh ‘telescope; bamboo weaving shuttle’. Cf. YM ūtarupun ‘telescope (female name)’ (Cooke 1987).
Ndj ūtarppu ‘bamboo container for grog/honey, Macassan gun’ (quoted as Macassan term in narratives about them – not in everyday use).
Mkr, Bug ūtimoroʔ, Mal timur ‘east wind’ = YM.WZ 33 ūtimuru.
Mkr, Bug ūtoana ‘guest’.
Mkr, Bug ūtʊŋgara, Mal ūtʊŋgara ‘southeast wind’ = YM.WZ 125 ūtʊŋgara ‘year’.
Am ūtʊŋkara ‘long time’, Mawng ūtʊŋkara ‘year, long time’, An ūtʊŋkwrara ‘south-east’.
Mkr ūturun (Mal turun) ‘down, go down, descend’.
Nung ūtur ‘downwind, before the wind’.
Mkr ūkiriʔ ‘to write upon, inscribe’, Mal ūkiri ‘engraving, wood-carving’, Bug ūkiriʔ ‘to write’ = YM.WZ 97 wukiri(? ‘to write’.
Bur wukurja ‘write’.
Mkr ūriŋ ‘cooking pot’.
Nung wuri ‘(Macassan) cauldron’.

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39 One of only two ū-initial words. The other, ūkul ‘wattle used for spear shafts’, is unlikely to be of Macassan origin.
40 Leeding (n.d.) suggests these are cognate with Mkr timur. But both the apical initial stop here, and the inserted p, are unexplained - one would expect ūtimuru. It is also possible that the final ala segment comes from a contracted form of Malay timur barat - in some Malay dialects, barat simply means ‘north-west monsoon’ rather than west, and timur ‘south-east monsoon’. Yan timpuru ‘easterly wind’.
MACASSAN LOANS IN TOP END LANGUAGES

2. LOANS FROM MALAY

Mal babi 'pig', Mkr bawi 'pig, swine'.
Yan wawi 'horse'. The semantics is somewhat anomalous; the lenition of initial (and perhaps also medial) b to w is found in other older-stratum Malay loans into Yanyuwa (see §4).

Mal boro? 'ulcer, boil' [see also Mkr purupuru).
Bur pora 'ringworm', Ndj puránti 'ringworm', Mara puranti 'itchy area on body, itchiness', Yan na-puranti 'ringworm'. The source of the suffix on the puranti forms remains a mystery: this is not the only case in which an unexplained suffix -nti is added (cf. ṭananti set in section 5).

Malay gəlan 'cylindrical fastenings, incl. metallic'.
Am kalaj 'fishing line', Bur kalaj 'hook, fish-hook', Mawng kalan 'fishing'.

Mal guliŋ 'to roll', also guluŋ 'classifier for rolled objects', [incl. rope, wire etc].
Bur kuliŋa 'wire (generic), fish spear with three or four wire prongs' [made from wire], Mara kuliŋa 'long rope in sail-boat's rigging'.

Mal jalan 'path, road'; [Mkr jalan and Baj lelan can be ruled out as sources on phonological grounds].
Iw alanut 'path', (ut is a nominal suffix in Iwaidja), Mawng alan 'path', Marrgu aulan 'path'.

Mal kanji 'starch'
Am kaŋti, Ga, Iw kaŋtʃiŋ 'porridge, flour, cold water and heated'.

Mal kayuh 'oar, paddle'.
Am, Iw, KW kayuŋkayuŋ 'paddle, oars'.

Mal kalapa 'coconut', Mkr akkalapa?.
Tiwi alipwa 'coconut'

Am, Iw lama, Mawng lama 'shovel-nosed spear', Ndj lama 'shovel-nosed spear', Rem lama 'shovel-nosed spear (only secondary term)', An lamwa ~ ramwa, Nung laːma 'shovel-nosed spear', Yan lama 'tomahawk'.

Mal məlayu 'Malay'.
Nung malayu 'Macassan crew'.

83
Malay para-para ‘1. attic 2. rack, shelf’; Mkr para-para ‘1. grill raised by copper-melting people as a place to put their pots 2. trellis’.41

Iw palapala ‘flat raised surface, table, bed, chair’, Am, Ga palapala ‘bed’. Mawng palapala ‘flat surface, e.g. table’; Mayali palapala ‘table, sleeping platform, esp. platform used in tree burials; bed; flat’, Bur pelapila ‘platform, table, bed frame’, pelampla ‘space, room, large area; spacious, roomy’; Mara palapala ‘tree fork, platform formed by forked sticks’; Yan na-wala ‘forked stick/pole’. Lardil parapar [oblique root parapara-] ‘shade house, structure erected to provide shade; nest upon which deceased is placed (facing east)’ is probably an indirect borrowing, via Yanyuwa.

This is more likely to be a Malay loan both on semantic grounds and since Malay, but not Makassarese, has dialects containing a uvular r that could be the source of the retroflex in some receiving languages.

Mal parang ‘cleaver, machete’, [Mkr berang ‘chopping knife, cleaver’ = YM.WZ 160 baram ‘cane-knife, machete’].

Bur parang ‘sword, long knife’. If the source were Makassarese, one would expect Burarra pirar.

Mal parahu ‘boat, prau’ (Mkr sampah, kappala) ult. from Tamil = YM.WZ 161 (Ritharrngu) barawu.


Mal sombiyan ‘small single-pointed fish spear’.

Mawng umpian ‘spear type’, Am jumpbag ‘stone spear’. Correspondence of y to l is unaccounted for.

3. LOANS FROM BAJAU

Both of these are far from clear cases.

Baj dalañ ‘beam in house and prahu’.

Iw talumañ ‘floor’. [With unexplained substitution of m for ?]

Baj rakañ ‘fasten, tether with a short rope’.

Bur jakawa ‘catch fish with hook and line’.

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41 Walker & Zorc (1981) relate the similar YM word bala?pala, whose meaning is given there as ‘bush shelter, anything that has four legs and a flat top’ but in Zorc (1986) as ‘chair, table, bush-shelter, platform, wharf’, to Mkr balla?balla ‘cottage; small house; couch’; Mal balaybalay ‘couch’. However, the semantic correspondence is better with the para-para forms. Jim Collins (p.c.) has pointed out that some Malay dialects have a uvular pronunciation of the r, and this would account better for its borrowing with l or l.
MACASSAN LOANS IN TOP END LANGUAGES

4. MORE TENTATIVE IDENTIFICATIONS

Mkr ballisi? 'bad, wicked'.
Nung palîti, said to be the Macassan word for 'grog'.

Mkr bolaî 'flame, flaring'
May & Jawoyn pula ‘earthquake’, Am ula, Iw wula ‘earthquake’, Mawng wula ‘earth tremor’ (lenited form in Iw/M would suggest it is an early loan). Note that this word occurs inland as far south as Jawoyn, and for some inland people has the meaning ‘volcanic eruption’ which is more plausibly related to the Mkr semantics.

Malay ganja ‘marijuana’ + ?
Mawng, Mayali kaŋtawara ‘large mangrove crab’, Ga kaŋtâra; YM kaŋtawara? ‘crab claw – used for smoking’.

Malay jiarah < Arabic ziarah ‘visit to a sacred place (e.g. the hallowed grave of one’s parents, ancestors, a saint’ [Mkr. jera?]).

Bur yaiarja ‘mourning’. The most likely source would be by dropping the first syllable of the Malay ziarah but retaining a y on-glide. The final ja is problematic; it may be connected to the final h in the Malay, or simply be added by hypercorrection. Possibly also Iw yiwaruŋ ‘worship, story, word, law’, Kunwinjku yiwaruŋ ‘prayer’, Ndj yiwaruŋ ‘worship, church, prayer’; the initial y could be explained if this was an early stratum loan which had undergone initial lenition; the final uŋ remains problematic unless the ū reflects Mal h.

Mkr kalamba?, Malay kôlambak, kôlambak ‘fragrant wood of the trees Aquilaria agallocho or Aquilaria malacensis’
Mawng alampa, kâlampa ‘headband’, Marrgu alampa ‘forehead band’, May kalampa ‘headband, usually made from inner bark of Ficus Virens’. Semantics is rather tenuous here, unless there is evidence that fragrant wood was used for making such headbands.

Mal kaleŋ ‘can, tin’ plus buka ‘to open’.
Tiwi kaŋlupuka ‘tin, billy can’; note also Tiwi kölupi ‘tin, billy can’, with no identifiable source.

Mkr milla? ‘opening of the eyes’
Tiwi mila ‘prow of boat’ (Osborne says is a Jiwadja loan), i.e. where one’s eyes are open for reefs etc.

Malay oraŋ ‘person’.
Burarra walaŋ ‘learned, accomplished, leader’.

Mkr panra? ‘wrecked, ruined, spoiled’.
Burarra űin-panaŋa ‘rust’ (e.g. on an axe).
NICHOLAS EVANS

Mkr soŋkolo? ‘sticky rice cooked in steam’.
Ndj þurjkúlu ‘Macassan equivalent of sugar stored in long bamboo (?sugar cane)’. (Quoted as Macassan terms in narratives about them – not in everyday use.)
Mkr sulu (given by Bradley as meaning ‘wrap-around piece of material’; I have been unable to confirm this).
Yan þulu ‘loin cloth’.
Malay tali kōras ‘taut line’. (This would presumably refer to the way in which the string holding the prongs in place must be pulled taut).
Ndj þalakkįət – þalakkiyak fish wire, wireless’, Bur þalakurit ‘light metal rod used for spearing fish and digging tubers, single-pronged spear’,
Malay tembok ‘masonry wall’, Mkr þimbokai ‘copper fingerbowl’.
Nung þimuka ‘Macassan bark dwelling’. Phonetically this better matches the Mkr, but semantically the Malay fits better (though not perfectly). W&Z have YM jimuka ‘piece of steel, iron crowbar’ as an unidentified Austronesian suspect.

5. AUSTRONESIAN SUSPECTS WITH NO IDENTIFIED SOURCE

Nung araia, said by Nunggubuyu to be the Macassan word for ‘sail’.
Am paŋku ‘mangrove bark, red in colour, used in the preparation of trepang’,
Iwaidja paŋku, Mawng paŋku, Mayali paŋku ‘part-Aboriginal person’
(could this derive from Port branco, or It bianco?).
Bur polaron ‘plug tobacco’
Iw, Ga paŋkupaŋ ‘seaweed’.
Bur puppuppa ‘grog, liquor’
Iw puraŋ ‘really big’
Bur kurirjuriŋ ‘type of mangrove tree’
Bur larwa, Ndj lárwa ‘long pipe’, Am, Mayali, Nung. larwa ‘id.’,
Kayardild jarwa: ‘long pipe (Macassan style)’, Yanyuwa ma-laruwa ‘tobacco pipe’. This word is found as far west as Murrinhpatha on the Bonaparte Gulf, where it has the form larwa ‘smoking pipe’.

[42] In fact Austronesian languages need not be the only suspects. After Macassan contacts ended in 1906/7, Japanese continued working around the Top End coastline, and Michael Walsh (p.c.) has suggested (personal communication) that it may be worth looking for Japanese as a source language for some of these loanwords.
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Am, Ga, Iw, Mawng, Kunparlang mațiŋti, Tiwi mați(n)ti ‘species of turtle’ (identified by Osborne as ‘Jiwadja loan’), Ndj mațiŋti ‘large Hawksbill turtle’.

Am, Iw mamiŋa ‘clam shell’
Mawng mațaŋ ‘open pattern dillybag’
Am, Iw, Mawng manpurwa ‘clothing’, Ndj manpúrpa ‘cloth, naga’.


Ndj mankimánki ‘spines’, May mankimanki, An mwaŋki-mwaŋka, Nung mankimanki ‘sorcery using stingray spines’

Iw minaŋ ‘cattle tick’, Am minaŋ ‘dog tick’.
Nung míŋkira, An mwaŋkira ‘sinker’.
Mawng míŋkaya ‘fence, barrier’, Am míŋkawa, Iw míŋkal ~ míŋkawa “yard’ Ndj míŋkáka ‘yard, paddock’.

Mawng miyi, Yan a-rimi ‘paddle, oar’.

Bur múkal ‘cloth, clothing’

Iw munaŋ ‘shell type, white, grey or fawn, good food, biped’, Am munaŋ ‘mussel’.

Am, Iw muwuŋ ‘coral’

Iw, Mawng ṣanaparu ‘buffalo’, Mayali ṣanapar-u, Rembarrnga ṣanaparu Ndj ṣanappári ‘buffalo’, Yanyuwa manaparu ‘water buffalo’. The first buffaloes were released on the Cobourg peninsula after being brought from Timor, so Timorese languages may be a possible source.

Iw wi-ṇjaralakan ‘be the paymaster’.

Yan pawa ‘sail of a dugout canoe’, Mara pawa ‘bits of grass used as kindling’.

Am, Iwaidja rapi ‘file, rasp’, Mawng rapi ‘file’ (also used for piece from stingray’s back, dried to use on wood), Ndjébbana ráppi ‘file, sandpaper rasp’; Yanyuwa rapirapi ‘chisel cut from baler shell’. While it is not impossible that this is from English ‘rasp’, a retroflex continuant ṣ would be expected.

Am, Ga, Iw talamuru ‘iron box’.

Yan ṣaŋani ‘shovel spear’, thence borrowed into Kayardil (taŋaŋti) and Lardil (taŋaŋ-/taŋanti-)
Nicholas Evans

Bur ṭayana ‘tobacco residue or sediment’. Poss. Mkra ḣanna ‘fat, nice, delicious’.


Bur ṭittapatta ‘four-pronged fish spear’, Nung ṭutapata or ṭurapata ‘wire spear; heavy wire, metal rod’.

Bur ṭaŋapita ‘harpoon shaft’.


Yuk waṭuku, Mara ṇatuku ‘rope’

Bur wiṇin ‘canvas, tarpaulin, tent’.

Tiwi wulimiri ‘iron’ [O: “Jiwadja”]

Bur yaḷaṇa ‘bare, naked, exposed’.

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