



Using Linguistics to expand histories of interaction between Indigenous Australians and the Islanders of Eastern Indonesia

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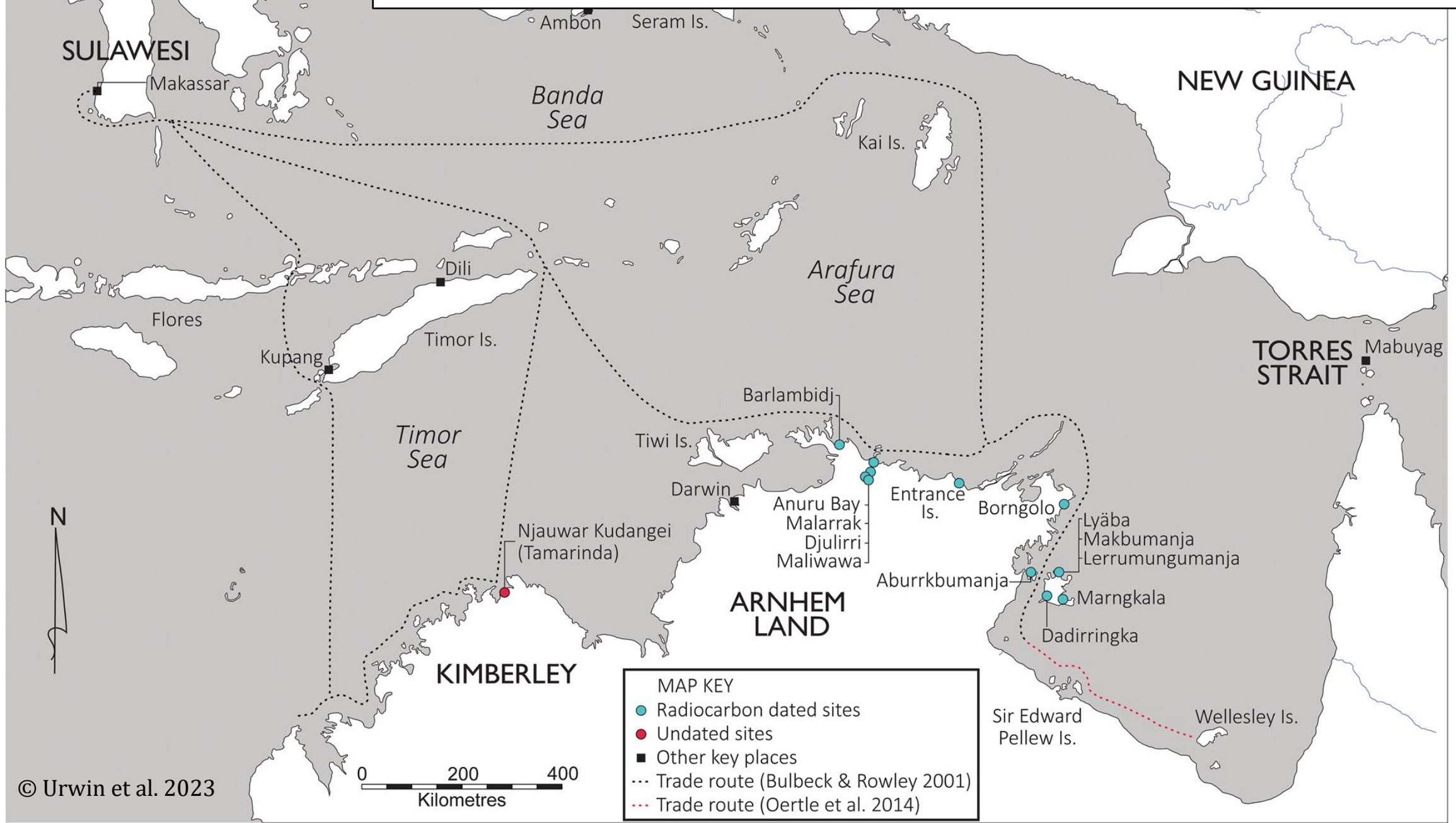
Perahu layar tradisional Aru dengan layar kain dari bahan (kulit) kayu. © Moluks Historisch Museum

Beyond Macassans and sea cucumbers?

- A **varied history of contact** between the indigenous peoples of Australia and the Indo-Pacific has long been suspected.
- Yet **little solid evidence** has been successfully adduced to demonstrate that this occurred beyond that surrounding the sea cucumber industry organised from and originating in the city of Makasar.



Macassan trade routes through eastern Indonesia



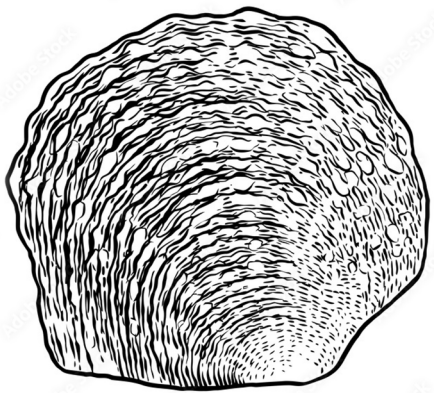
Multi-ethnic crews

- The crew on Macassan ships were typically of diverse ethnicities and, accordingly, spoke several different languages.
- From Port Essington, Earl (1846: 240):

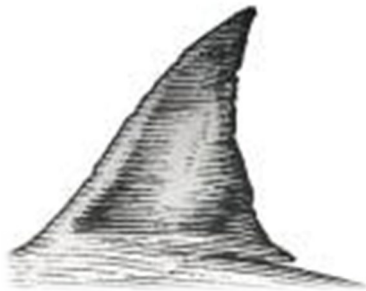
“...about the month of April, when the prahus congregate at Port Essington, the population of the settlement became of a very motley character, for then Australians of perhaps a dozen different tribes might be seen mixed up with natives of Celebes and Sumbawa, Badjus of the coast of Borneo, Timorians, and Javanese, with an occasional sprinkling of New Guinea negroes.”

Marine goods collected in Australia

- Macassans incidentally collected several other marine products alongside the industrial processing of sea cucumber.
- Demand for these products mostly predates the demand for sea cucumber.
- Eastern Indonesia and eastern Indonesian Islanders had long been involved in their supply to global markets.



pearl shell



shark's fin/tail



hawksbill turtle shell



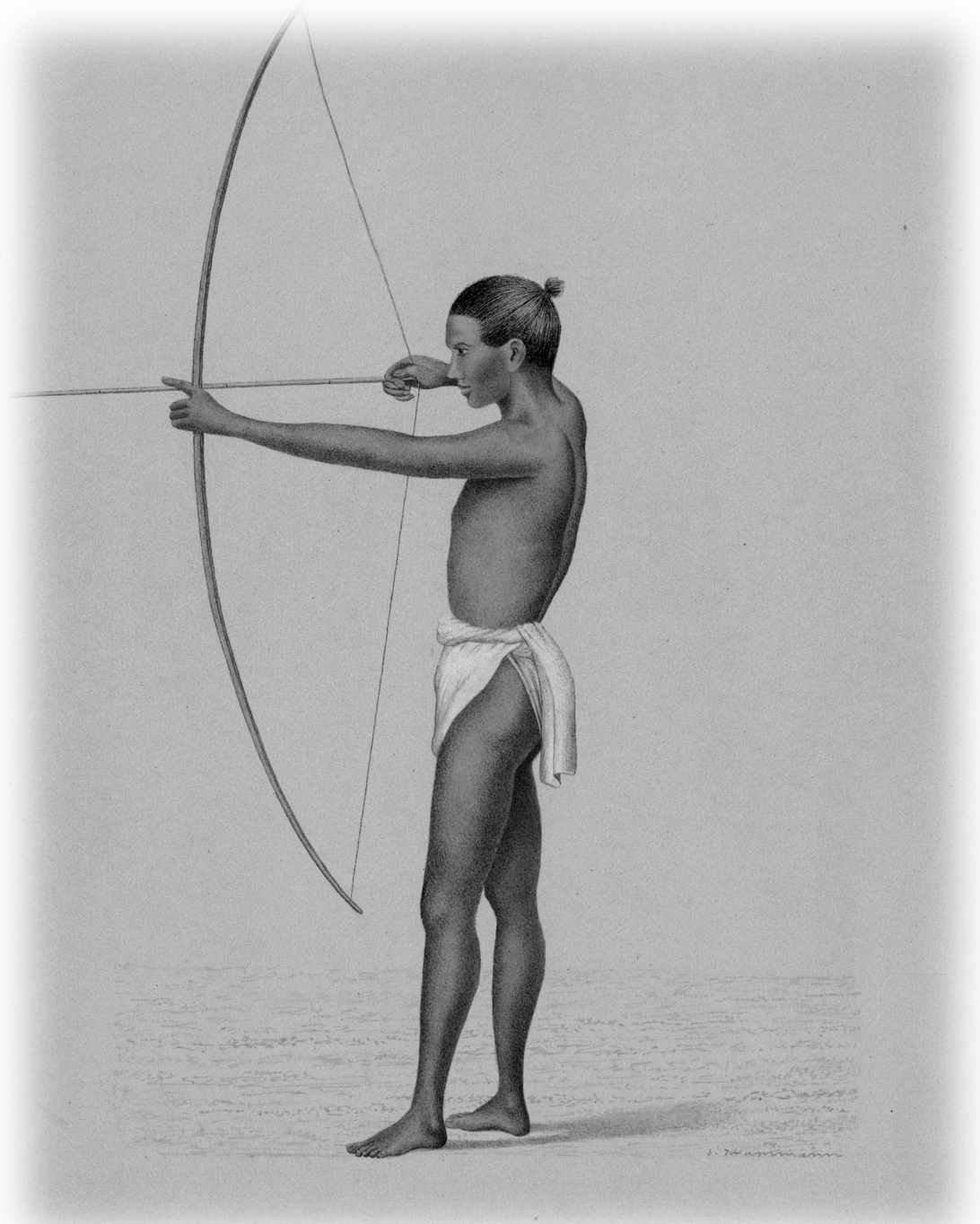
trochus shell

Tracing contact with Australia

- **Is there any reasonable prospect of linguistics being able to shed light on contact between Australia and eastern Indonesia?**
- Linguists such as David Zorc, Nick Evans and Patrick McConvell have pointed to a large number of words in the languages of Arnhem Land for which borrowing seems probable, but potential sources have not been identified – **are these from contact with peoples of eastern Indonesia?**
- Contact is also thought to have occurred with peoples along the north-western coast of Australia – **is there linguistic evidence of this being with peoples of eastern Indonesia?**

Getting at answers

- To answer these questions requires a **recalibration of sights and a (re-) assessment of ideas** about (probable) past contacts between Australia and Eastern Indonesia.
- **Comprehensive review of Austronesian loanwords in Australian languages needed** (cf. reviews taking place in other disciplines).
- **Coordination with work in other disciplines**, so as to enhance and test hypotheses generated by different lines of enquiry.



Arunese archer by Ernst Krammann, circa 1900. Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Language contact - Loanwords

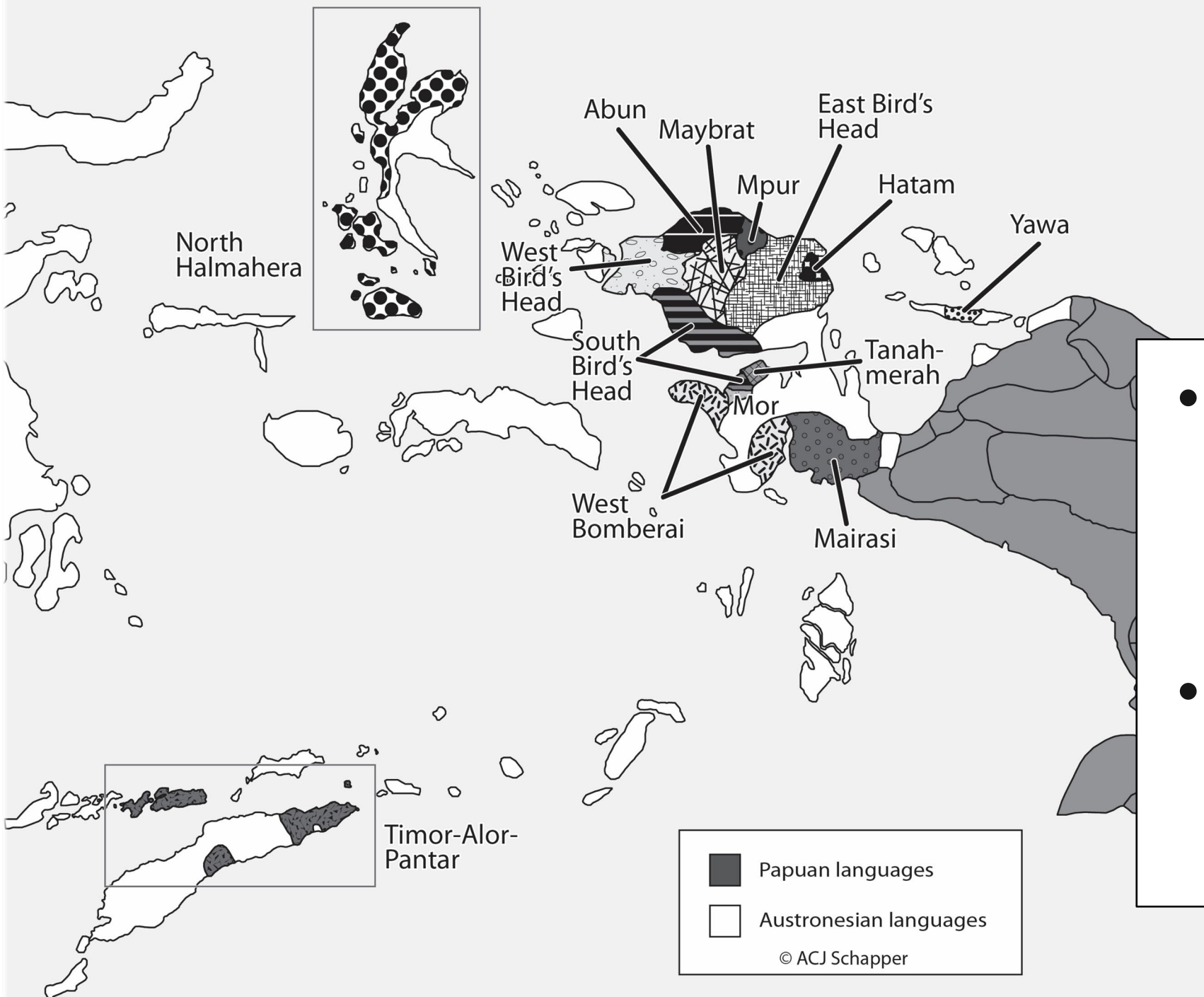
- Loanwords – *words borrowed from one language into another*
- **Monuments of cultural contact** that bear witness to arenas in which contact took place, the directions of that contact, and the circumstances under which it was made.
- When loaned, words will often **undergo phonological and semantic adaption.**
- Where words have unexpected sounds and meanings, this can indicate **problems with loan scenario** (e.g., chance resemblance), or different loan pathways/histories.



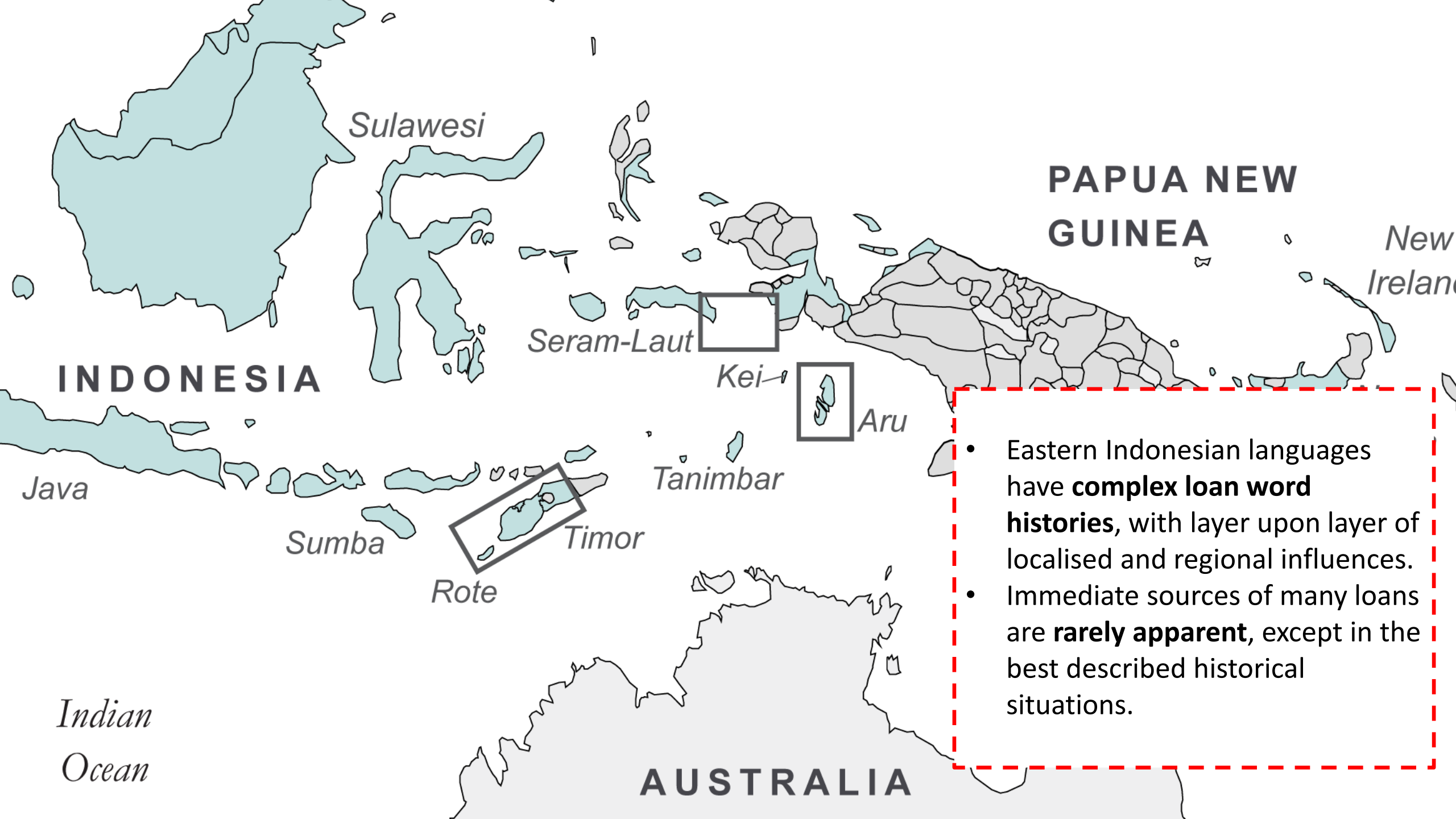


Understanding Eastern Indonesia

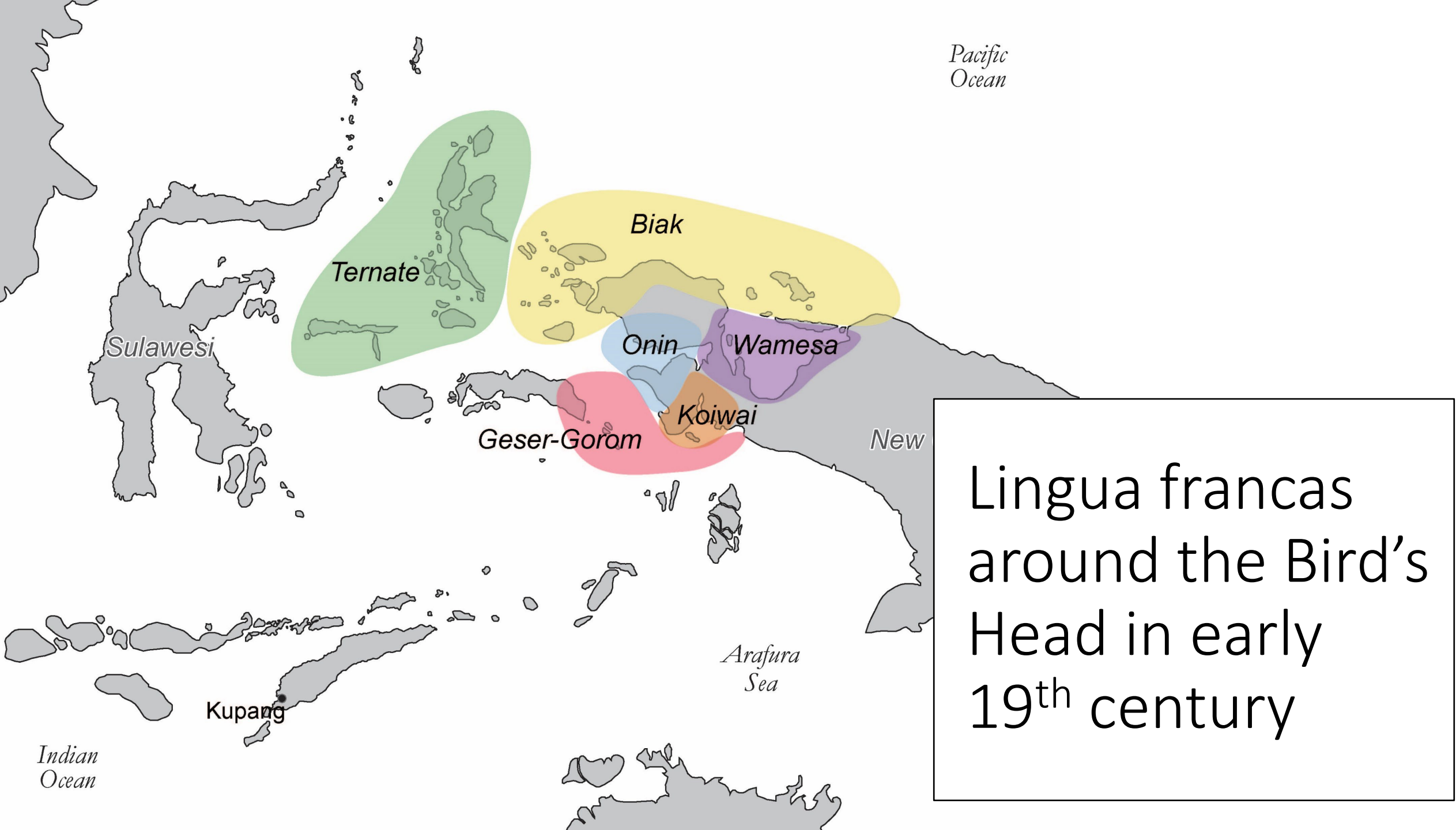
A linguistic history

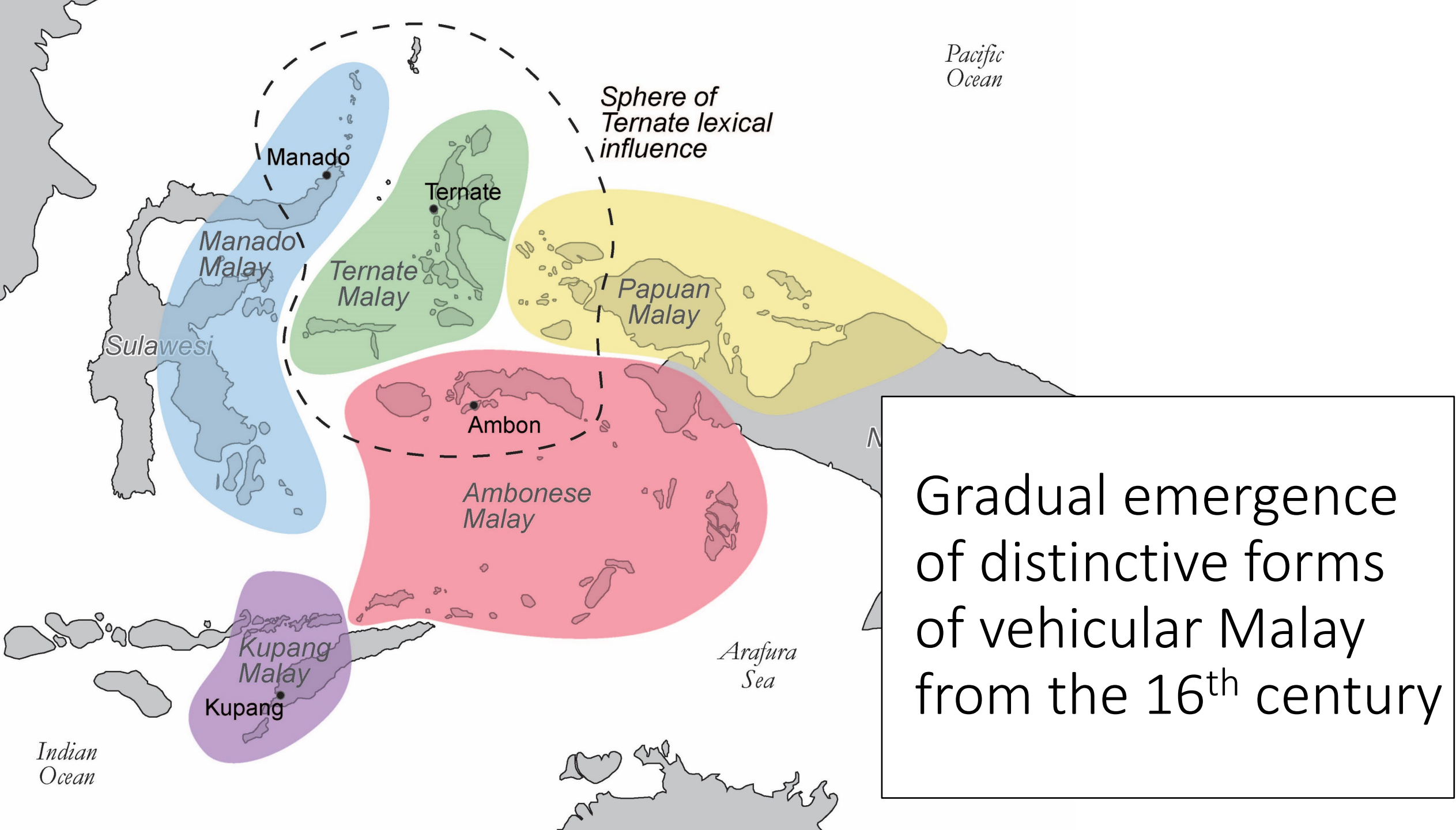


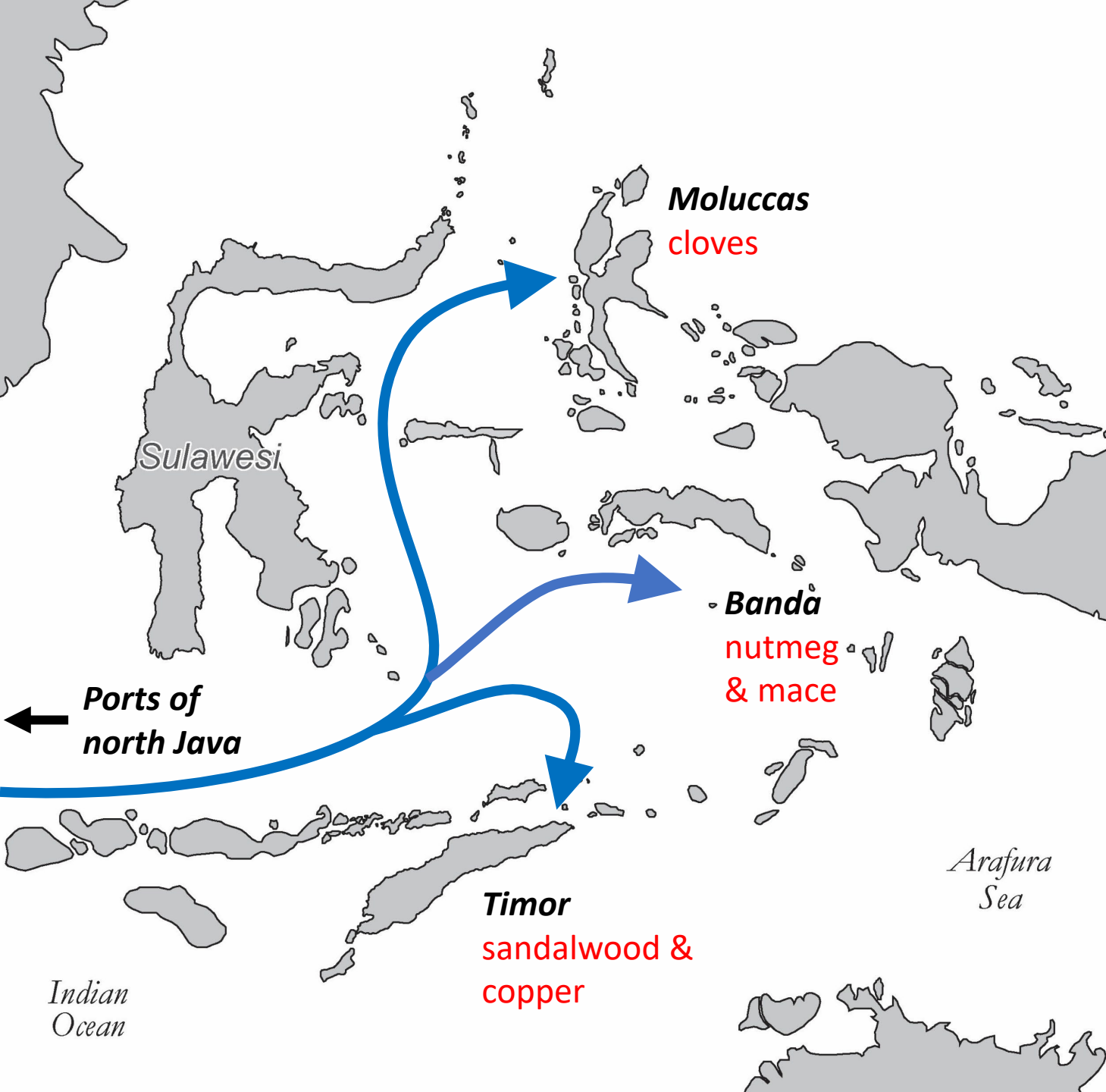
- 250+ languages of diverse families, Papuan and Austronesian.
- Little role for Malay until well into the modern era.



- Eastern Indonesian languages have **complex loan word histories**, with layer upon layer of localised and regional influences.
- Immediate sources of many loans are **rarely apparent**, except in the best described historical situations.

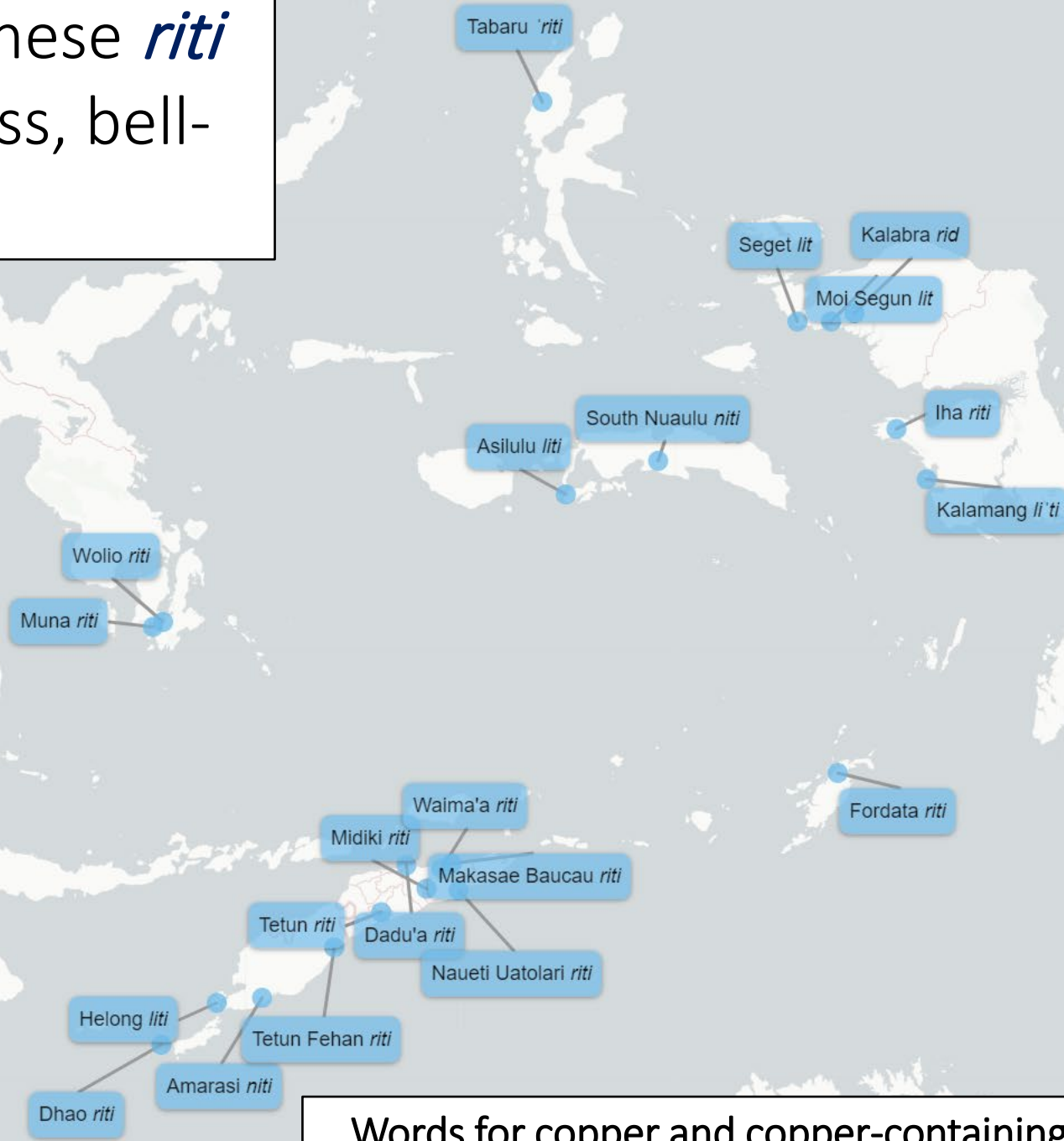






Global trade networks connected to Eastern Indonesia date back to well before 1000BP.

Loans of Old Javanese *riti*
< Sanskrit *rīti* 'brass, bell-metal'



Words for copper and copper-containing items in eastern Indonesia

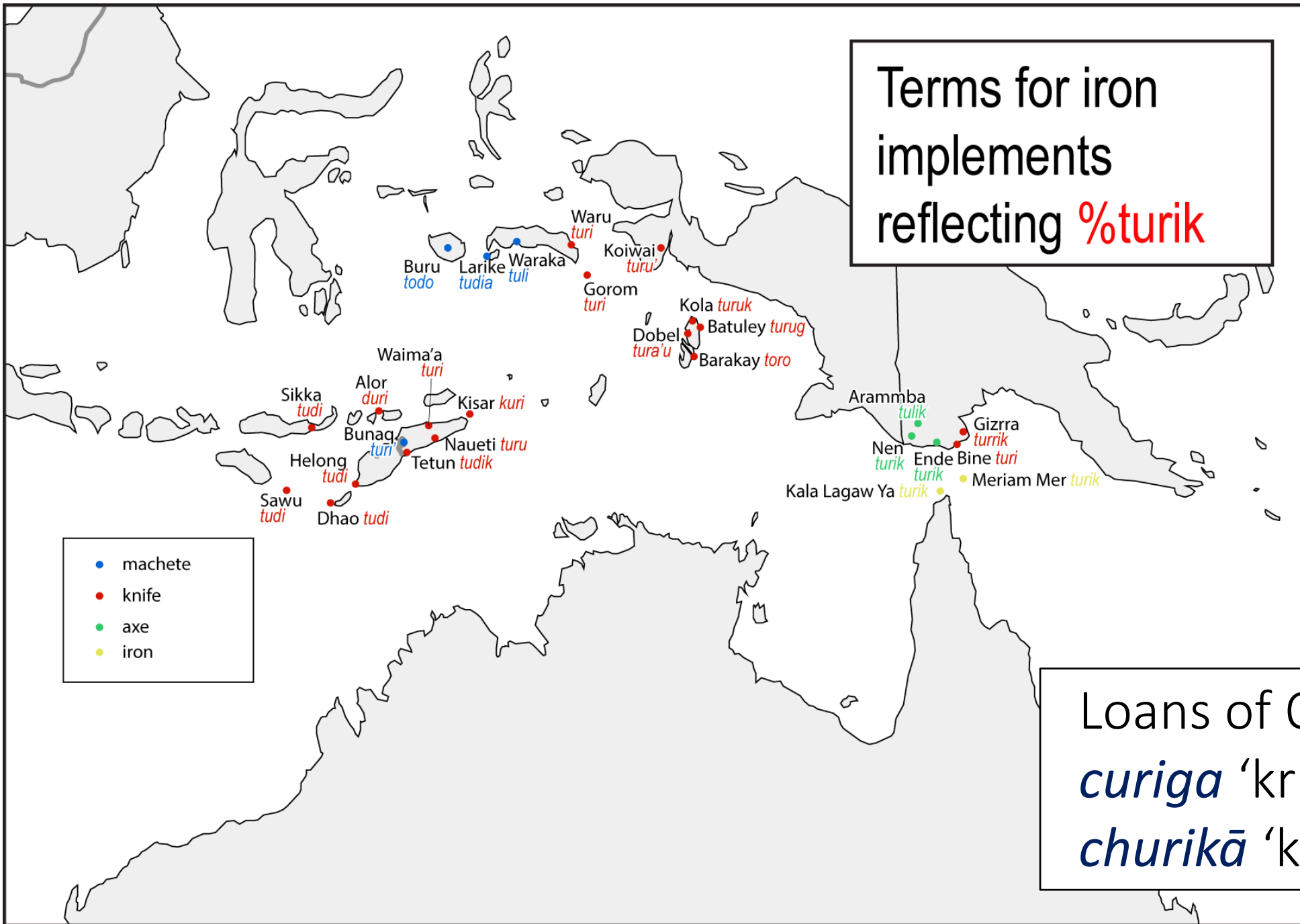
Loans of Old Javanese
padamaran 'ko. lamp',
dispersed via Ternate.



Words for fuel-burning lamps in eastern Indonesia

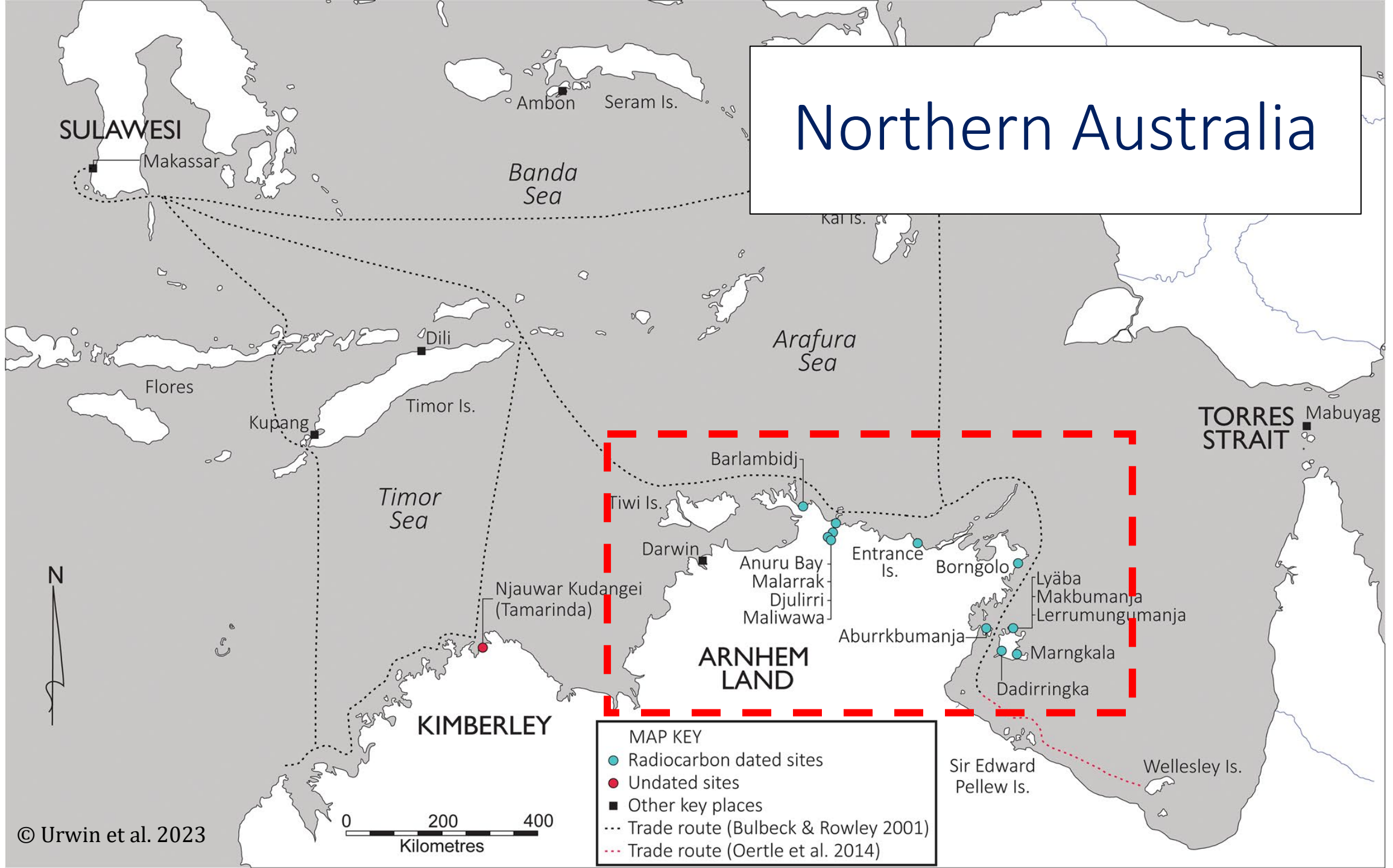
Terms for iron
implements
reflecting %turik

- machete
- knife
- axe
- iron



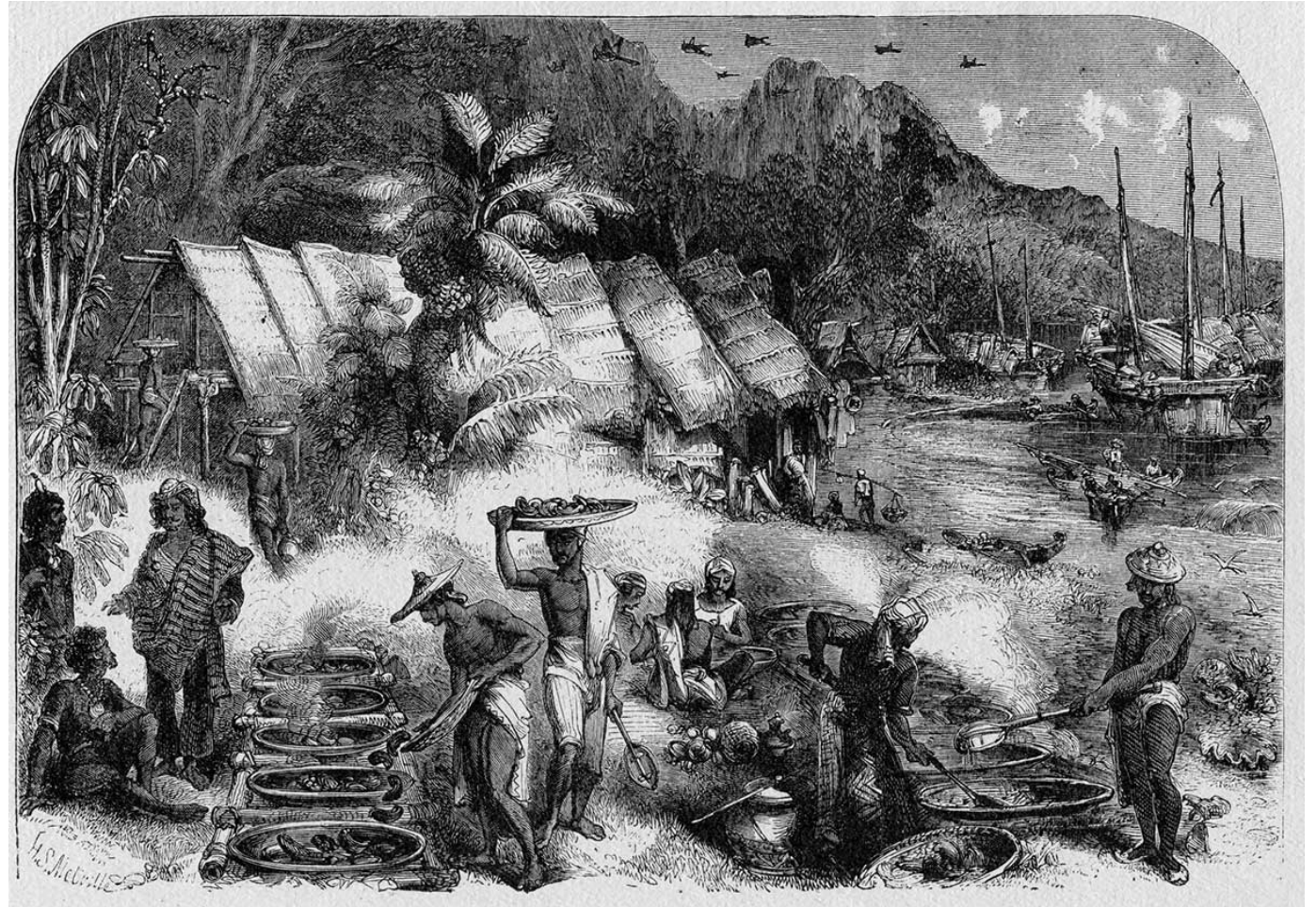
Loans of Old Javanese
curiga 'kris' < Sanskrit
churikā 'knife'

Northern Australia

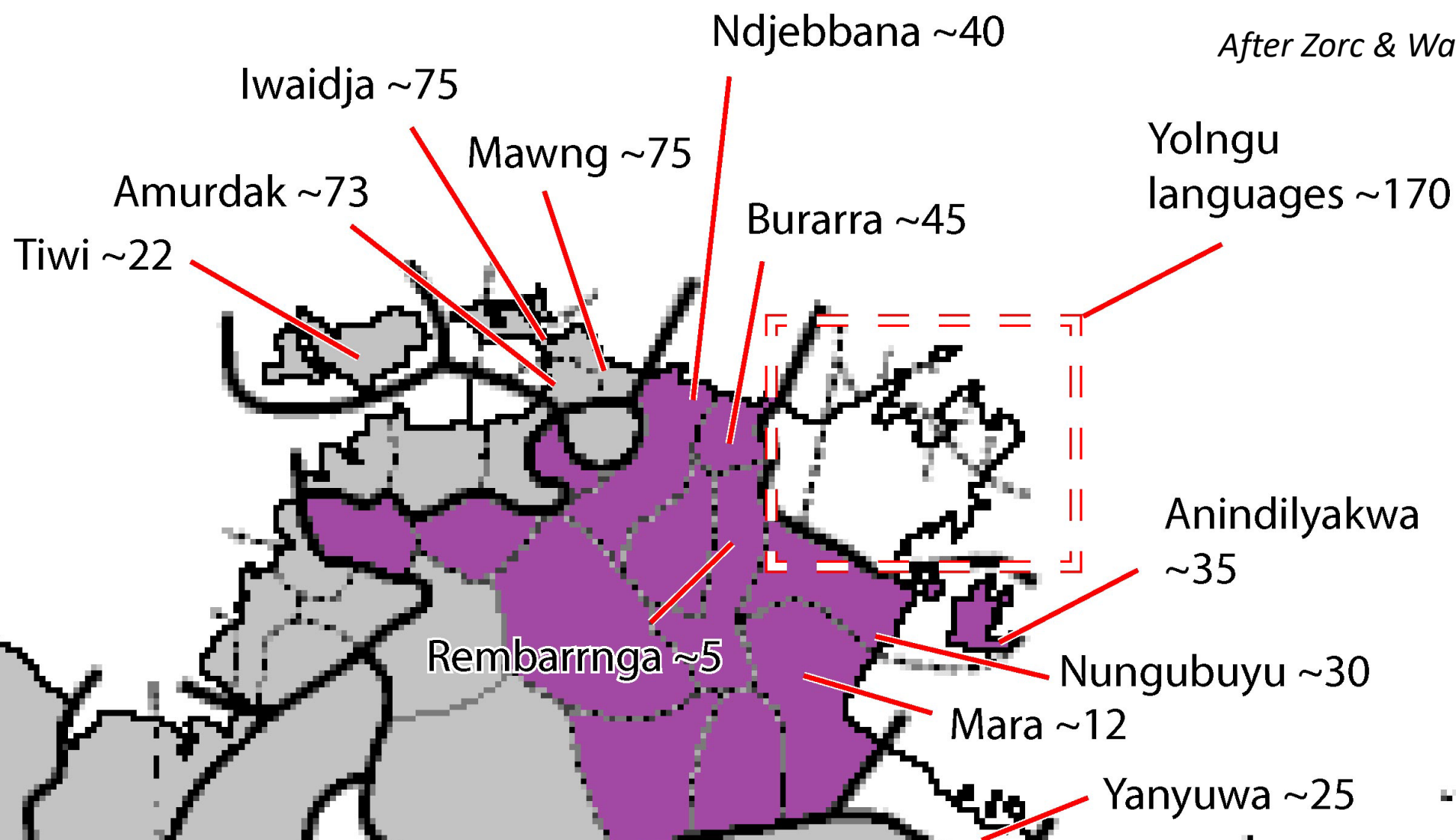


Loans in Australia's Top End

- **Extensive contact with Macassan and Malay speaking peoples** is evidenced in a sizeable body of loanwords from those languages in the indigenous languages of Australia's Top End.



Macassans at Victoria, Port Essington by HS Melville



Makasar/Malay borrowings per language

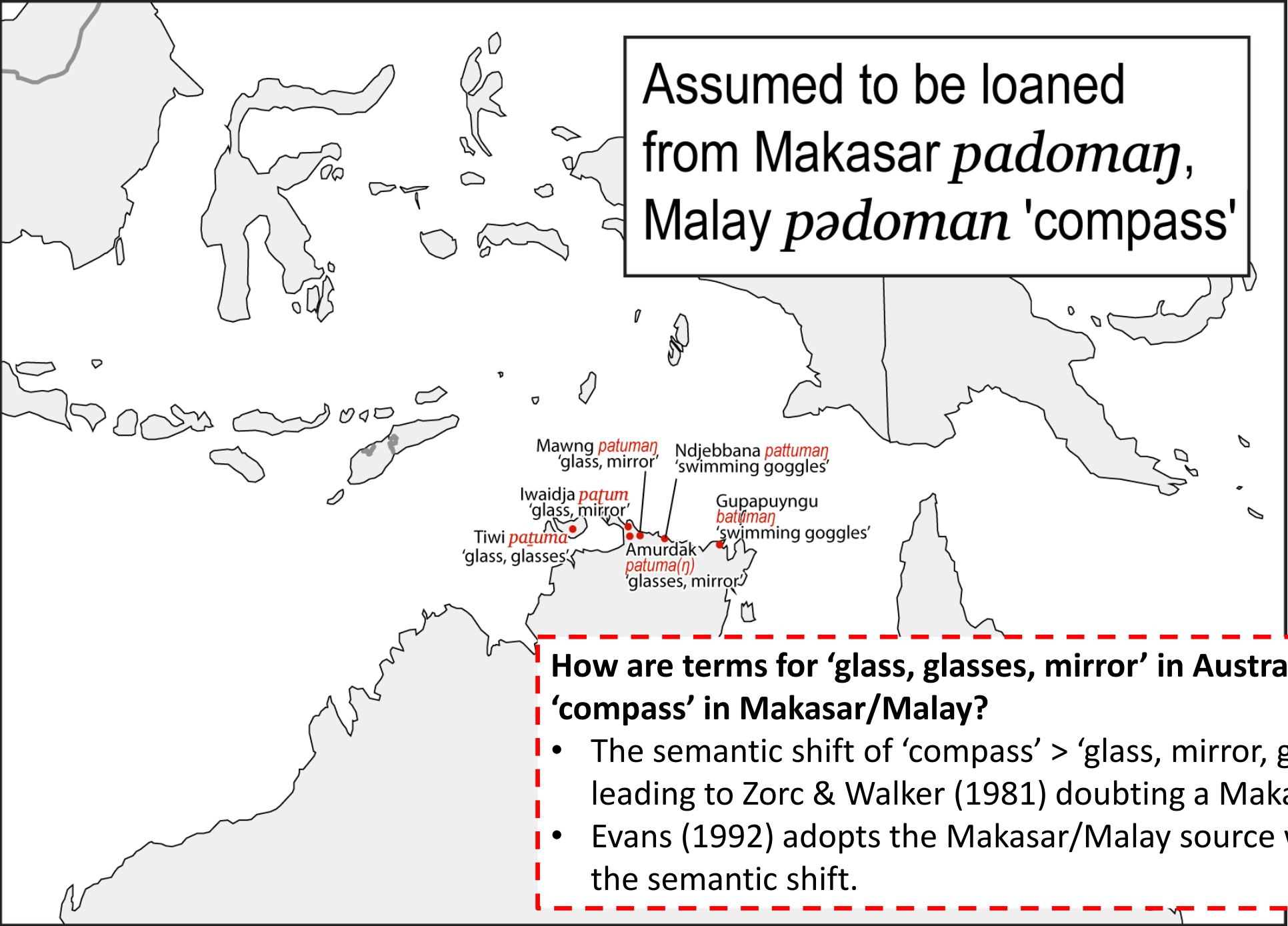
Burarra *kucikaŋ* 'pillow case' >
Makasar *kocci-kaŋ* insert.hand.in-
to-NMLZ 'pocket' (regular forma-
tion < *kocci?* plus *-aŋ*; (cf Zorc
and Walker 1981: 131)

Gupapuyngu *bakura* 'robber' >
Makasar *pa-gorra?* NMLZ-rob 'robber'
(cf Zorc and Walker 1981: 129)

Nunggubuyu *baŋili* 'rifle', <
Makasar *ba?dili?* 'rifle' < Malay,
bādil < Tamil *veṭil* 'gunpowder'

Anindilyakwa *maŋiyuwaŋa*
'shark', < Makasar *maŋjiwaŋ*
'shark' (cf. Aru/Papuan Malay
maŋiwaŋ 'shark')

Newly identified Makasar loanwords

A map of Southeast Asia and Australia. A text box in the upper right corner contains the text: "Assumed to be loaned from Makasar *padoman*, Malay *pədoman* 'compass'". In the lower part of the map, several locations in Australia are marked with red dots and labeled with their names and meanings in English, with the original word in red. The labels are: Mawng *patuman* 'glass, mirror', Ndjebbana *pattuman* 'swimming goggles', Iwaidja *paṭum* 'glass, mirror', Tiwi *paṭuma* 'glass, glasses', Amurdak *patuma(n)* 'glasses, mirror', and Gupapuyngu *batuman* 'swimming goggles'.

Assumed to be loaned
from Makasar *padoman*,
Malay *pədoman* 'compass'

How are terms for 'glass, glasses, mirror' in Australia related to terms for 'compass' in Makasar/Malay?

- The semantic shift of 'compass' > 'glass, mirror, glasses' is unexplained, leading to Zorc & Walker (1981) doubting a Makasar/Malay source.
- Evans (1992) adopts the Makasar/Malay source without discussion of the semantic shift.

%padoman 'glass, glasses, mirror'

- Loans of this term in eastern Indonesia meaning 'glass, glasses, mirror' are common.
- Ultimately from Javanese *padoman* 'NMLZ-needle-NMLZ', probably reflects earlier layer of borrowing in EI, before Malay.
- Suggests that **an eastern Indonesian language is the immediate source** of the forms in Australia, not Makasar/Malay.

Buli *padoman*

Yawa Central *padumane*

Kurudu *paduman*

Kapauku *papaado*


Moni *papado*

Teiwa *padoom*

Oirata *maʔomo*

Selaru *hadoman*

Tetun Fehan *baroma*



Naked pearl shell diving was a common economic activity in parts of southern Maluku already at the beginning of the 19th century.

Duikers te Dobo op de Aroe-eilanden in de Molukken, circa 1905 © KITLV

Seacucumber terms reflecting %bunapi

Nedebang
buna
West Pantar
banai
Helong *hnahe*
Tetun
banahi
Termanu
nafi
Amarasi
blafi
[]
< Proto-Rote-Meto
*b'anafi 'sea cucumber'

Burarra
buŋapi
Yan-nŋangu
buŋapi
Djinang
buŋapi

- Sea cucumbers terms in western Timor and beyond are **strikingly similar** to several sea cucumber terms in coastal languages in Arnhem Land.
- No extant Indonesian language can be shown to be the immediate source for the Australian words.
- The spread of related words across Austronesian and Papuan languages suggests this word was **part of an established trade language**.

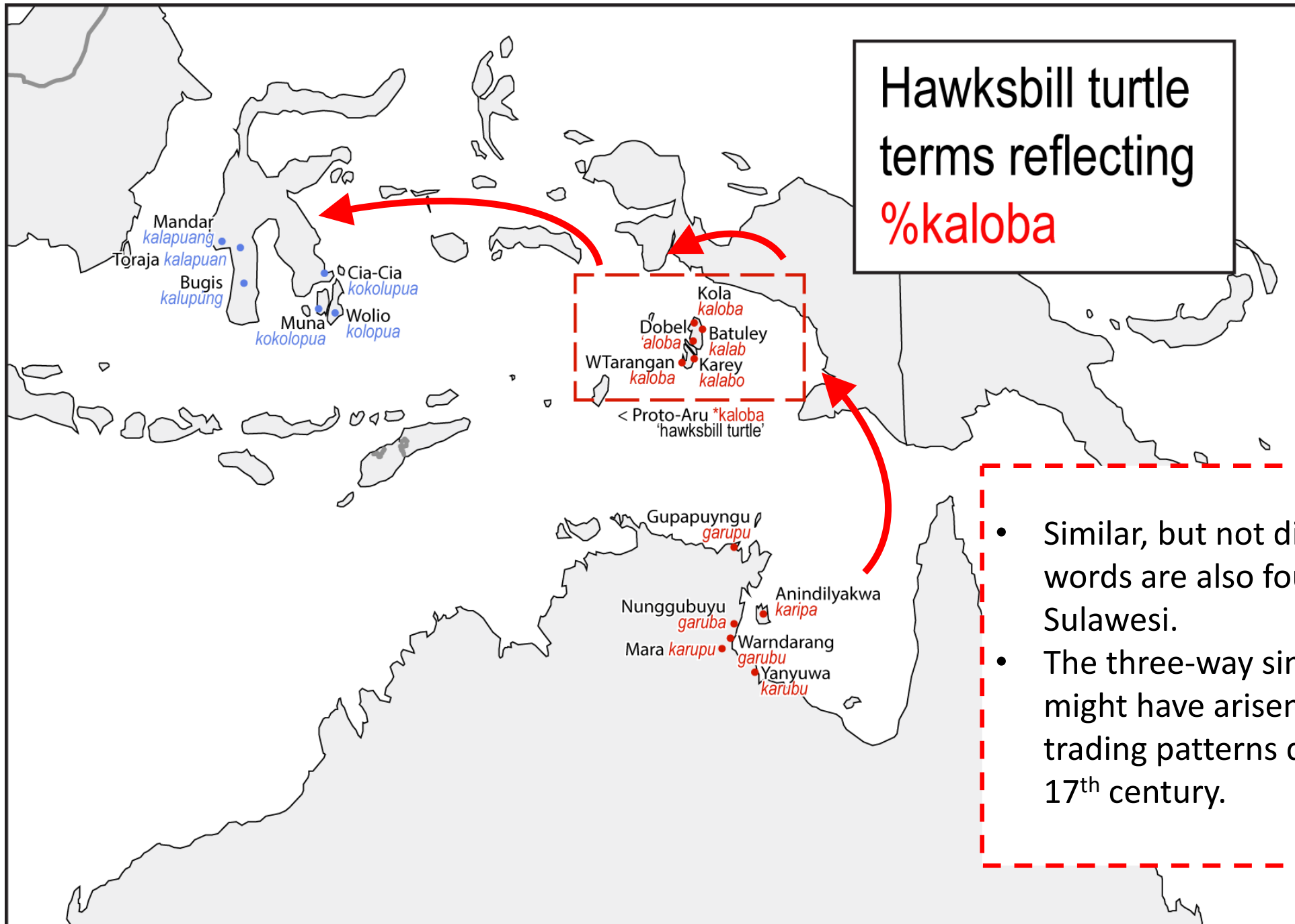
Hawksbill turtle terms reflecting %kaloba

Kola
kaloba
Dobeli
'aloba
Batuley
kalab
WTarangan
kaloba
Karey
kalabo
< Proto-Aru **kaloba*
'hawksbill turtle'

Gupapuyngu
garupu
Nunggubuyu
garuba
Mara
karupu
Anindilyakwa
karipa
Warndarang
garubu
Yanyuwa
karubu

- Hawksbill turtle terms across Aru provide a **very close match** to several hawksbill turtle terms in and near the Gulf of Carpentaria.
- Not perfect: Aru / should be reflected as r in Australian languages. Earlier loan strata? Or alternative, but closely related source with *l > r?

Hawksbill turtle terms reflecting %kaloba



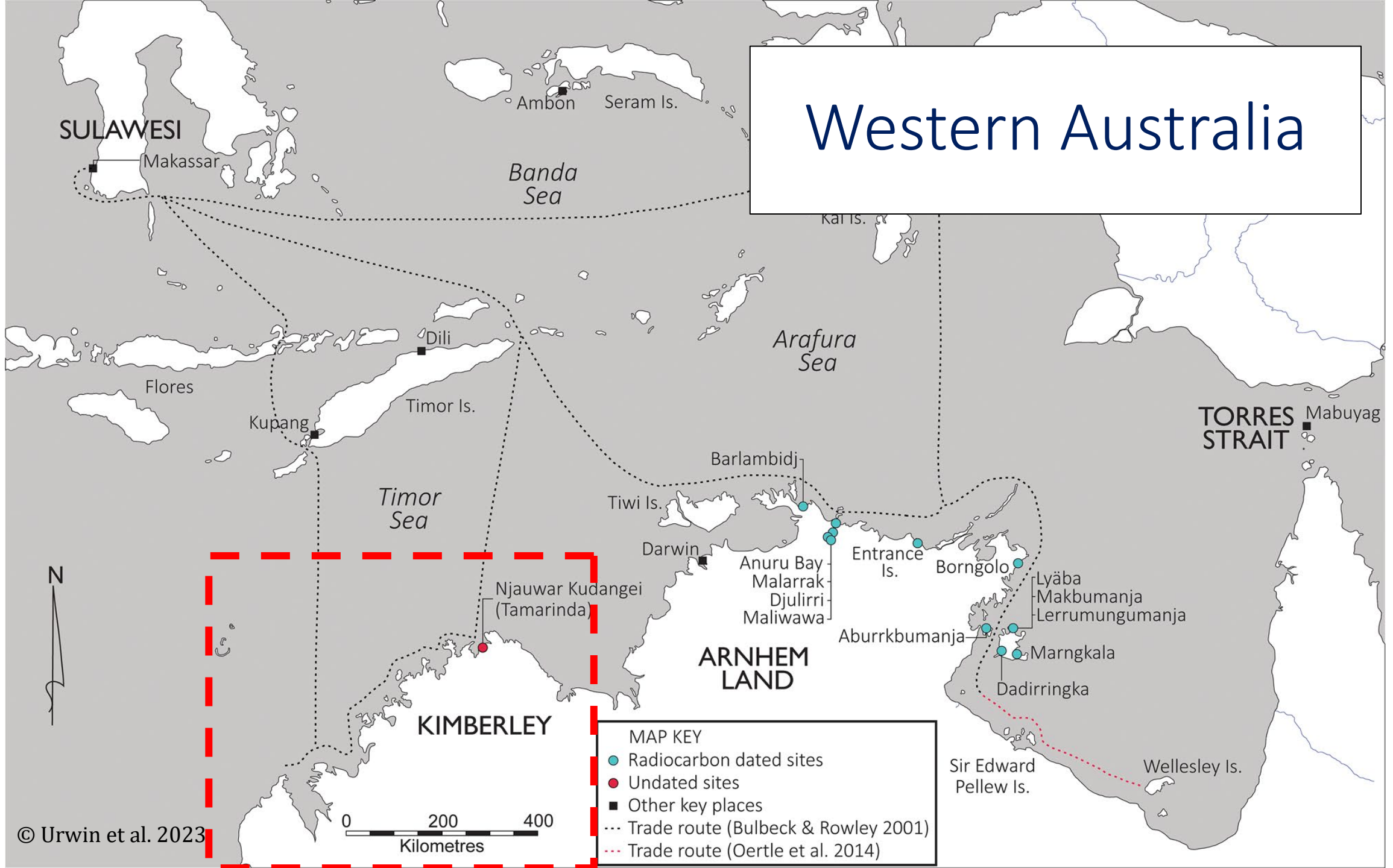
- Similar, but not directly relatable 'turtle' words are also found across much of Sulawesi.
- The three-way similarity in words here might have arisen through "staged" trading patterns described already in the 17th century.

A map of eastern Indonesia, including the islands of Sulawesi, Sula, and Halmahera. Several locations are marked with red dots and labeled with knife terms: Muna *malati*, Kola *malat*, Dobel *malatu*, Lolina *malati*, Kambera *malati*, and Gumatj *malati*. A text box in the upper right corner contains the title "Knife terms reflecting %malati".

Knife terms reflecting %malati

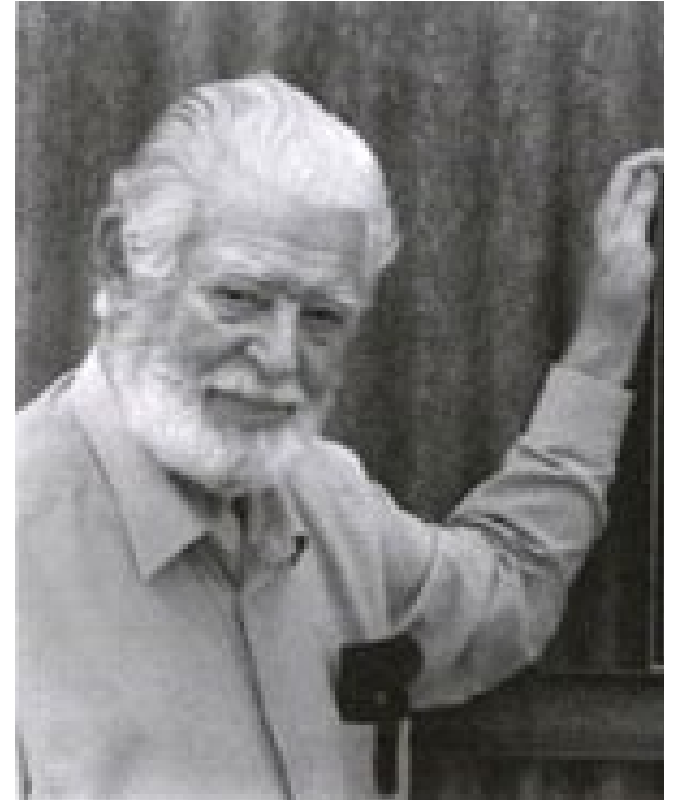
- More often than a direct source for a loan in northern Australia is not identifiable.
- As contact patterns shift over time, languages experience lexical replacement in the domain of key trade items.
- Rather the repeated presence of similar words with similar meanings throughout eastern Indonesia points to an eastern Indonesian source.

Western Australia



Von Brandenstein's turtle

- In the 1970s, the linguist Carl-Georg von Brandenstein **claimed that the Portuguese had established a "secret colony" in the Pilbara**. He argued that linguistic material from Indigenous Australian languages of the northern Pilbara which looked to be Portuguese in origin supported his hypothesis, pointing most notably to words for 'turtle'.
- The patent absurdity of von Brandenstein's proposal meant that, apart from provoking brief bouts of ridicule, the problem of von Brandenstein's turtle has never been addressed.



Carl Georg von Brandenstein

Turtle terms from Portuguese *tartaruga*

North Moluccan Malay
tuturuga

Papuan Malay
tuturuga

Ambonese Malay
teteruga

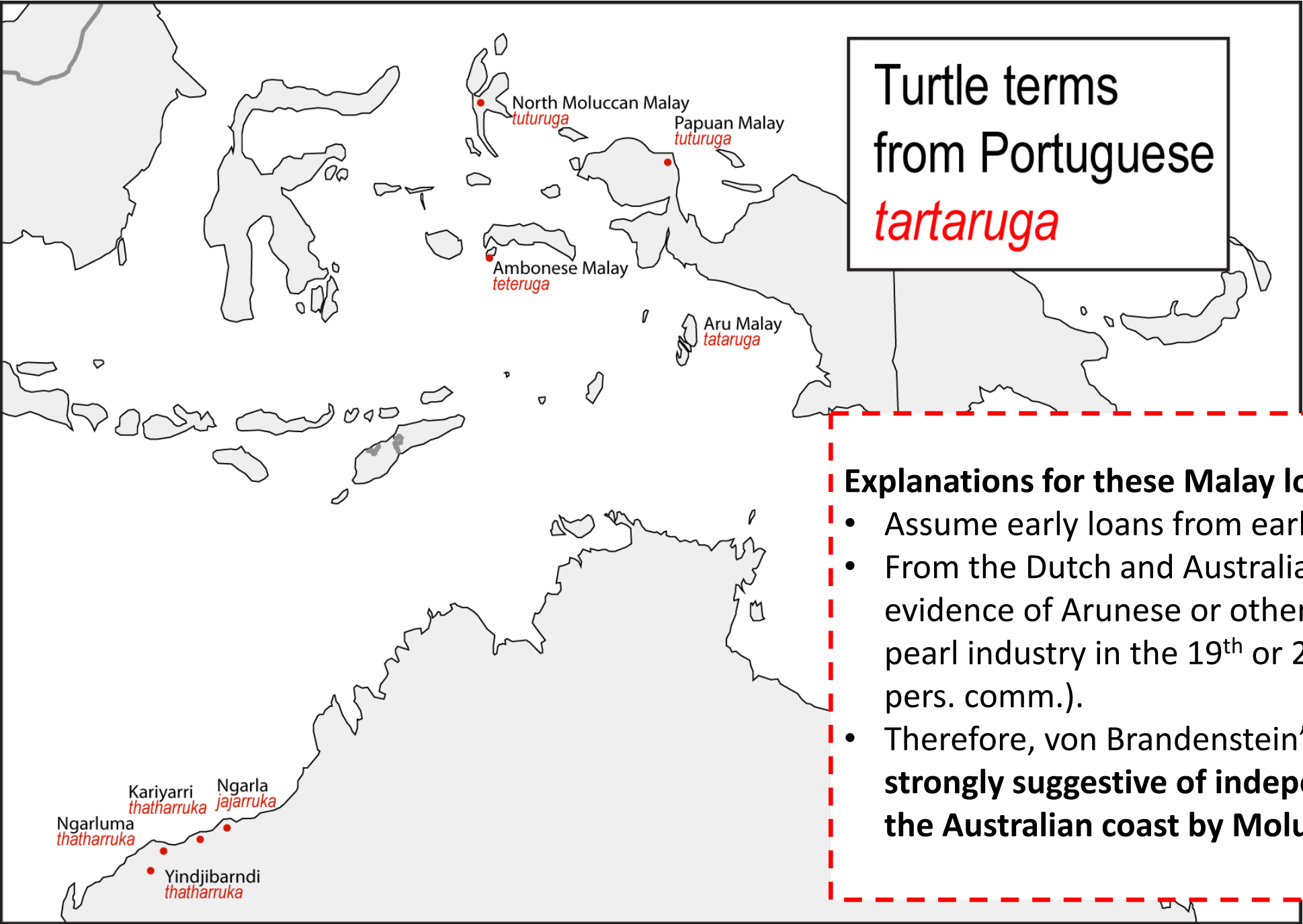
Aru Malay
tataruga

Kariyarri
thatharruka

Ngarla
jajarruka

Ngarluma
thatharruka

Yindjibarndi
thatharruka



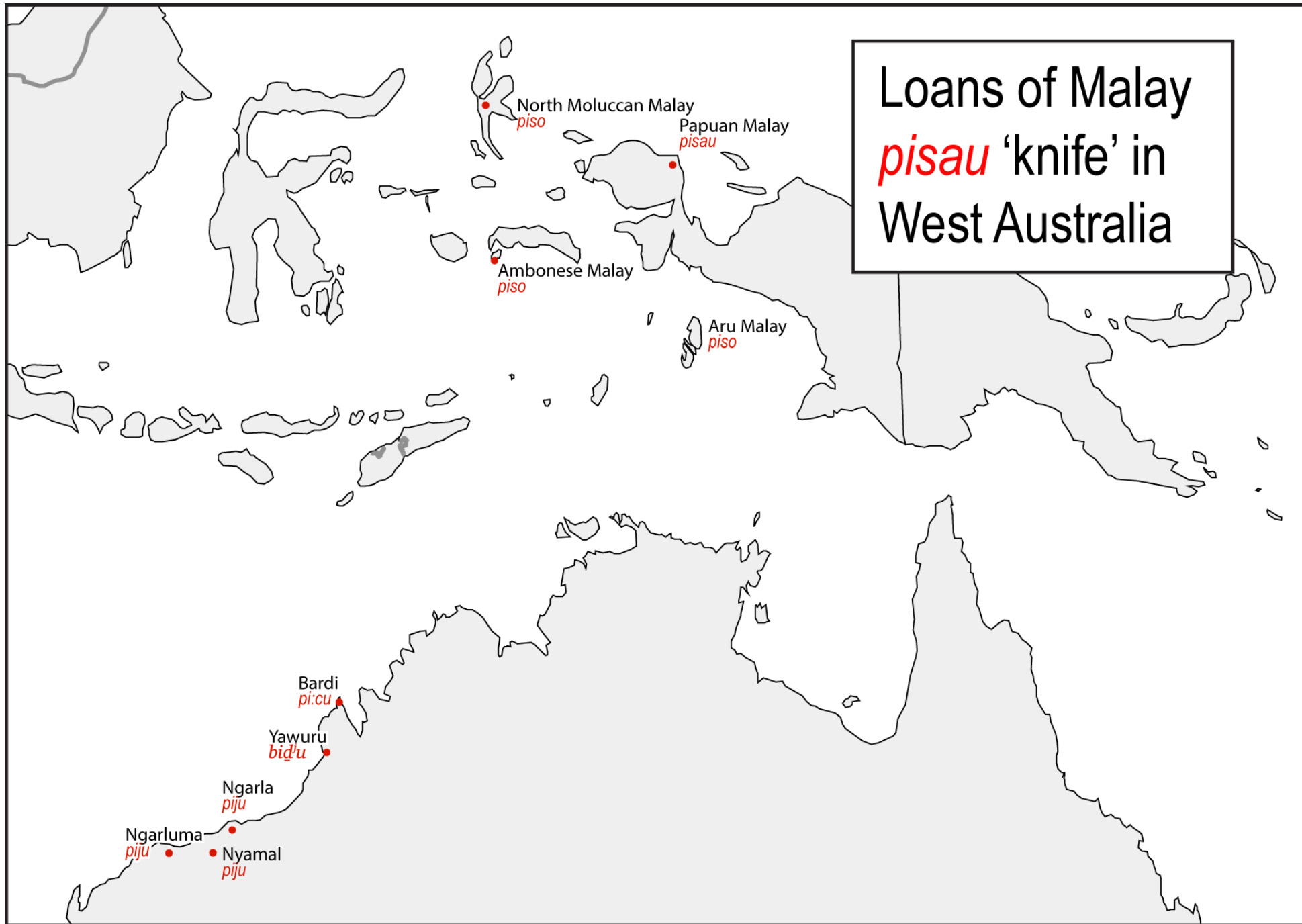
The map shows the Indonesian archipelago and the northern coast of Australia. In Indonesia, four locations are marked with red dots: North Moluccan Malay (tuturuga), Papuan Malay (tuturuga), Ambonese Malay (teteruga), and Aru Malay (tataruga). In Australia, four locations are marked with red dots: Ngarluma (thatharruka), Kariyarri (thatharruka), Ngarla (jajarruka), and Yindjibarndi (thatharruka). A text box in the upper right corner contains the title 'Turtle terms from Portuguese' and the word 'tartaruga' in red italics. A red dashed box on the right side of the map contains a section titled 'Explanations for these Malay loans?' followed by three bullet points.

Turtle terms from Portuguese *tartaruga*

Explanations for these Malay loans?

- Assume early loans from early pearling industry?
- From the Dutch and Australian archives, there is no evidence of Arunese or other Moluccans working in pearl industry in the 19th or 20th century (Gia Giay pers. comm.).
- Therefore, von Brandenstein's turtle words are **strongly suggestive of independent journeying to the Australian coast by Moluccans.**

Loans of Malay *pisau* 'knife' in West Australia





The map shows the Malay archipelago and the western coast of Australia. Red dots indicate the locations of various Malay loanwords. In Southeast Asia, the dots are labeled: North Moluccan Malay *piso*, Papuan Malay *pisau*, Ambonese Malay *piso*, and Aru Malay *piso*. In Western Australia, the dots are labeled: Bardj *pi:cu*, Yawuru *biɖu*, Ngarla *piju*, Ngarluma *piju*, and Nyamal *piju*. A text box in the upper right corner contains the title 'Loans of Malay *pisau* 'knife' in West Australia'. A red dashed box on the right side of the map contains a section titled 'Explanations for these Malay loans?' followed by three bullet points.

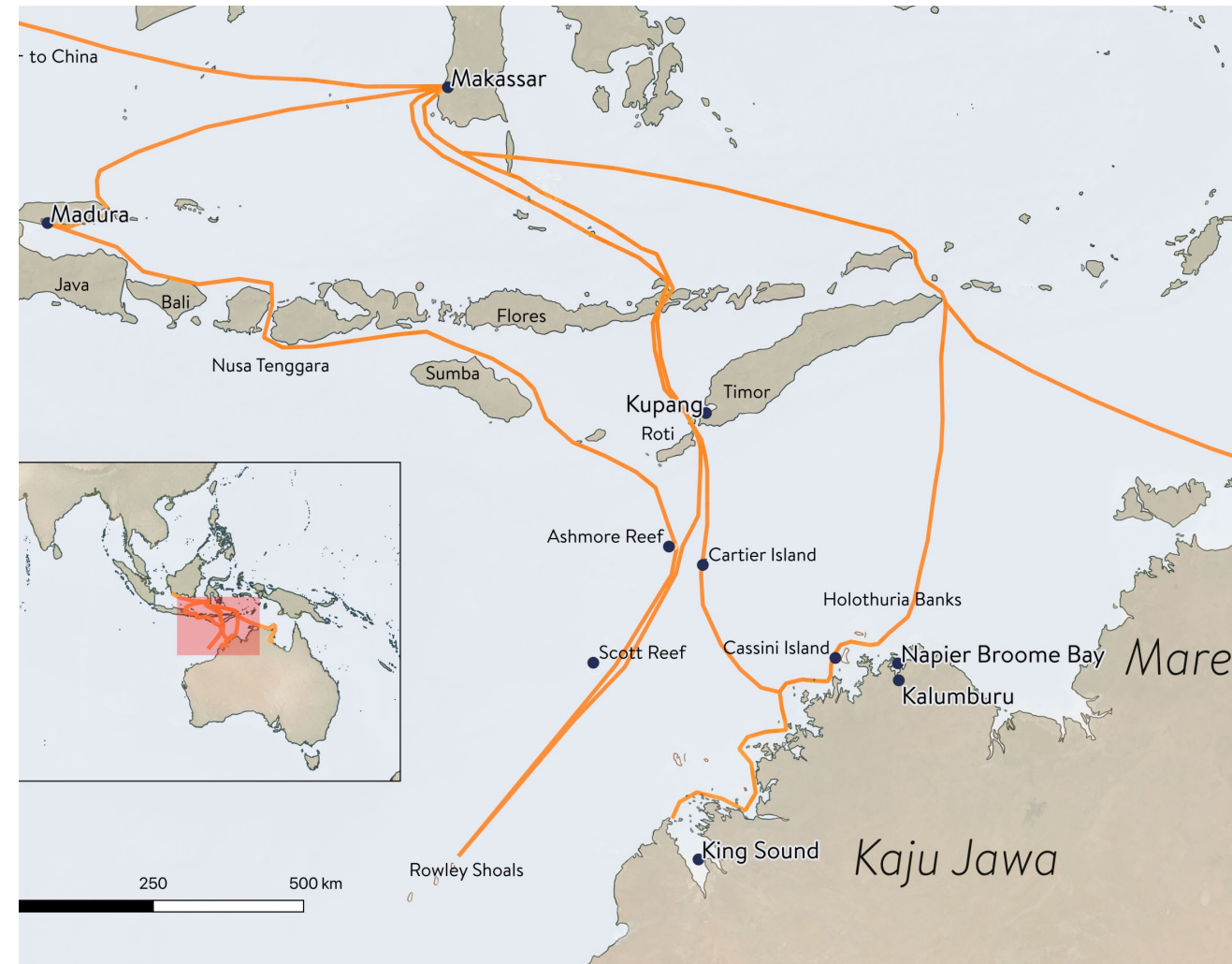
Loans of Malay *pisau* 'knife' in West Australia

Explanations for these Malay loans?

- Given von Brandenstein's turtle words indicate Moluccans visiting the western Australian coast, there is **no reason to assume** that these items are the result of contact through the pearling industry either.
- Other loans not evidenced in Broome, like Ngarluma, Ngarla *lampu* 'lamp' < Malay *lampu* 'lamp', support this.
- In fact, **remarkably little Malay influence on Yawuru in Broome** although knowledge of Malay seems to have been widespread in the early pearling industry.

The missing Kimberley

- **Loans along the Kimberley coast are yet to come light – why?**
- Interactions between Indigenous Australians and Indonesians seem to have been less frequent in the Kimberley than in Arnhem Land and the Gulf of Carpentaria.
- Still clear from oral traditions and archaeological finds that there was contact.
- To start looking in the Kimberley for the linguistic traces of such contact, we need to be guided by the evidence from these other disciplines.



The missing Kimberley

- Numerous sites in **Napier Broome Bay** indicate that that was likely a location repeatedly visited by Indonesians and where contact would have taken place.



-23-	
waungula naran	I get cleaned, clean myself up
wañata	IV. skin
wañgi	soon,bye&bye
wañgana	II.crow
wañwan naram	I shake my head
wara	IV.brain
waral bunada	I see him
warangara	sharp
wargam	III.work(Eng.)
wargali	IV.wattle tree
waridjo narambun	I drop
warmaidj bunoranjmani	I collect
wari	V. excitement
warira	II.sp.lizard
wari	II.bream ? fish
wawurur	III.milky way
wedj naram	I grind,sharpen
weninar	like,resembling
wenimia	two alike
wenina ninga	covetous
weinjuru	empty
wenix wer bunarajma	I take,get,catch
weriba bunambun	I miss
wé wire	under
-wewur	below
weiwiri dun	bottom
wo naram	I am itching
wi naram	I swim
widji	II. a sore
widjinar	III, fat
wieri	II.emu
wil naran	I pull (rir banamba)
wila	I. a boy with pubic hair
wilie wunarambun	I put stick through animal's guts
wilindjit	II.night parrot
wilmur	II.wire spear for fish
wilwil naram	I dance on my toes
windi	II.curlew
windjiral	IV.burnt.dead grass
winjedja	yesterday (lowale)
wiramungi	III.stone for spearhead (dennndji)
wiri	III.hand
wiri bunarambun	I help him
" anbrabun	" " "
wijir naram	I tell a lie
wirimulmul	IV.eyebrow
wirirá	II. a finch
wirin naram	I whistle
wúda naram	@ cook
wodida	III. cleared space
wúdai	II.sp.bird
wól	III.axehandle
wolea	I.bad woman (wálwál)
wolgo	female

Arthur Capell's Gwini materials



JRB Love's Worrorra materials

Loans of Makasar *lading* 'knife'

Makasar
lading

Tiwi
yilati

Iwaidja
lati

Ndjebbaṇa
lati

Amurdak
lati

Yolngu
la:ti

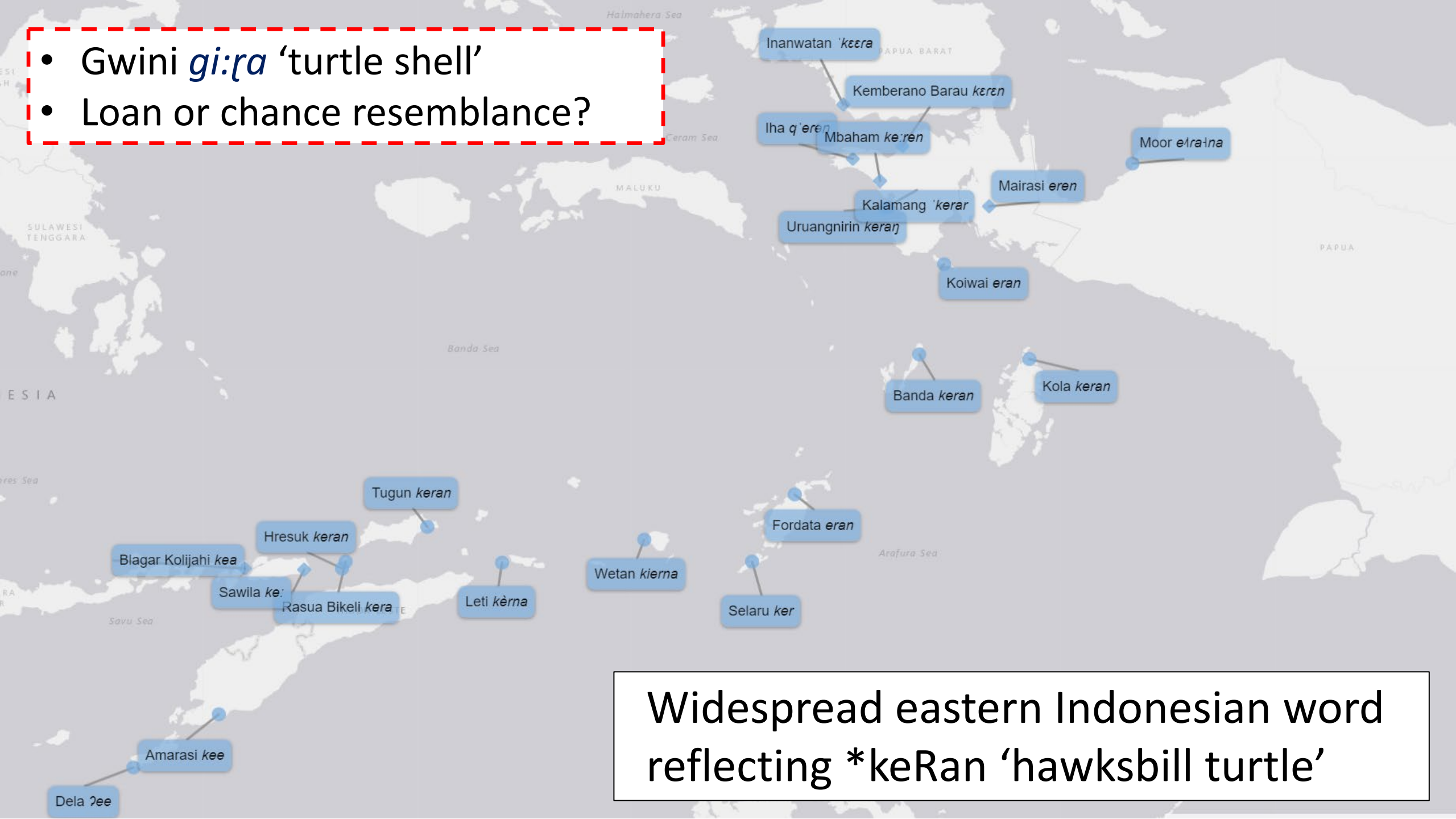
Gwini
laḏi

- First linguistic data point confirming Indonesian-Austronesian contact in Napier Broome Bay.

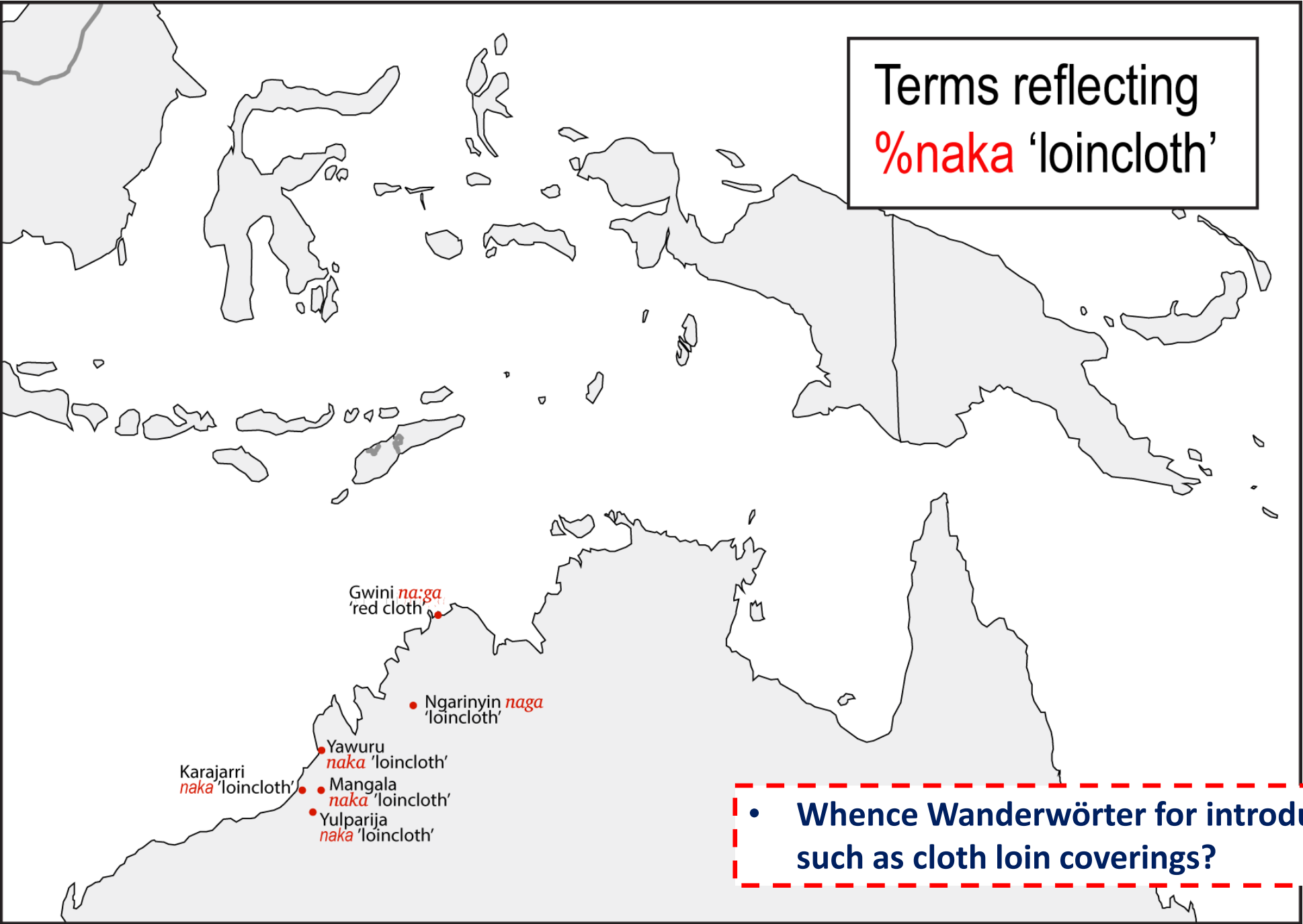


Widespread eastern Indonesian word reflecting *keRan 'hawksbill turtle'

- Gwini *gi:ra* 'turtle shell'
- Loan or chance resemblance?



Widespread eastern Indonesian word
reflecting *keRan 'hawksbill turtle'



Terms reflecting
%naka 'loincloth'

The map shows the geographical distribution of the word 'naka' (or its variants) meaning 'loincloth'. It covers Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, Indonesia, and Papua New Guinea, as well as the northern and eastern coasts of Australia. Specific locations in Australia are marked with red dots and labeled with their names and the word for 'loincloth'.

Gwini *na:ga*
'red cloth'

Ngarinyin *naga*
'loincloth'

Yawuru
naka 'loincloth'

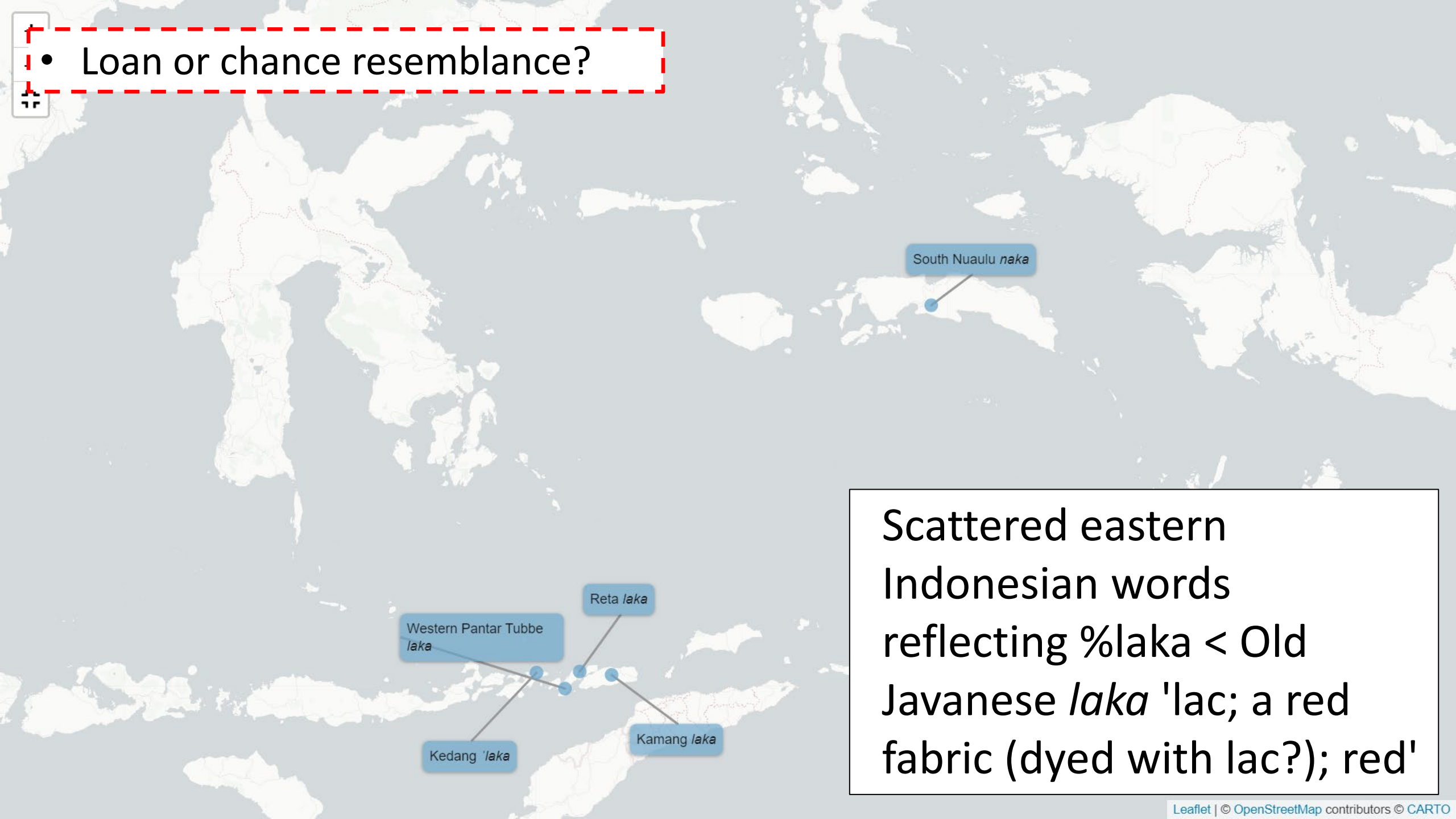
Karajarri
naka 'loincloth'

Mangala
naka 'loincloth'

Yulparija
naka 'loincloth'

- Whence Wanderwörter for introduced (???) trade items such as cloth loin coverings?

- Loan or chance resemblance?



Scattered eastern Indonesian words reflecting %laka < Old Javanese *laka* 'lac; a red fabric (dyed with lac?); red'

Microcosms of contact

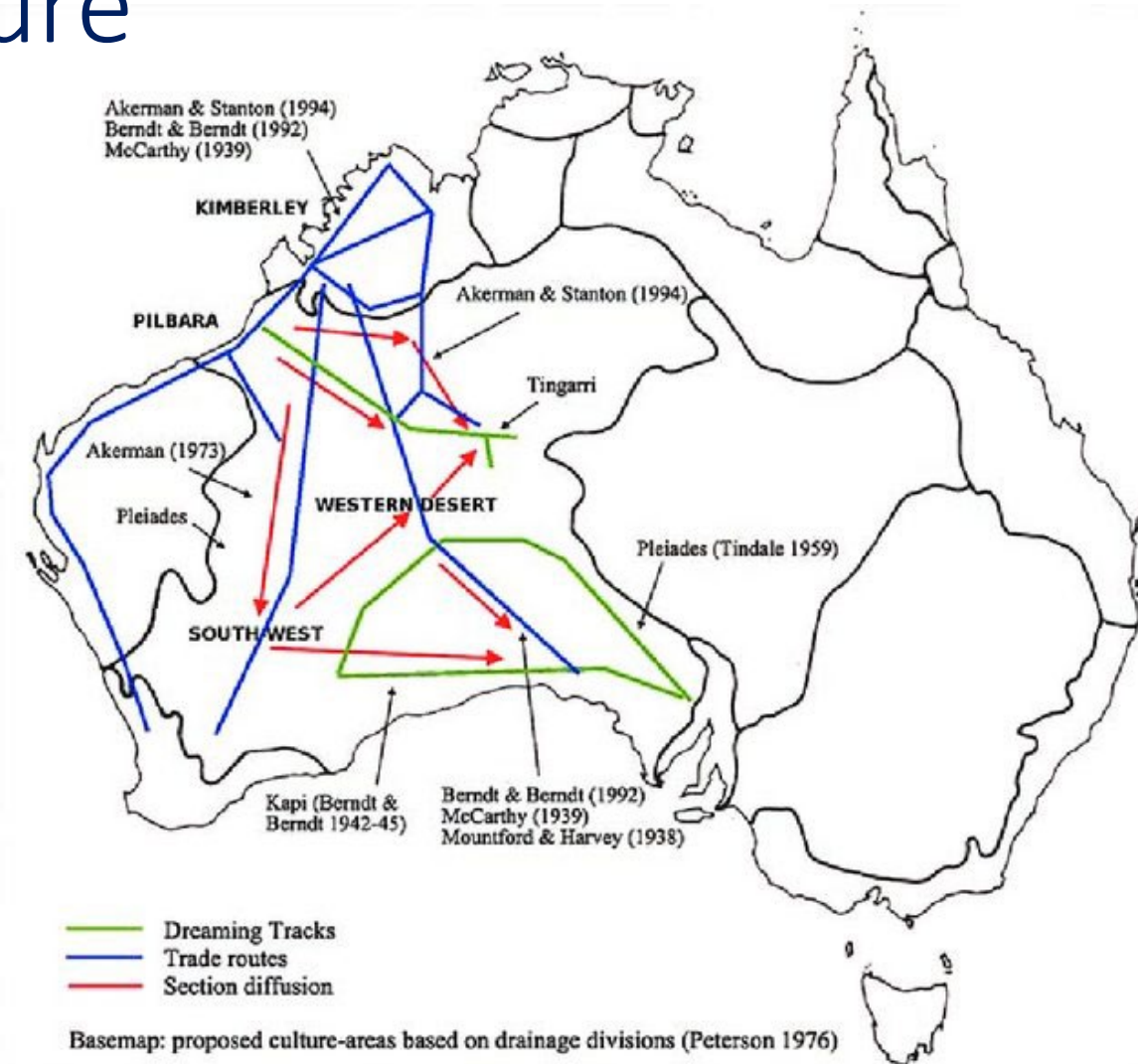
- **Non-Macassan loanwords do indeed appear to be present in northern & western Australia**, but they are not “carpeted” across the region the way Macassan loanwords are over Arnhem Land.
- Rather they are dotted in a thin mosaic across the landscape, reflecting what was almost certainly **sporadic and small scale contact**.



Hawksbill eating sea cucumber

Developing a denser picture

- Careful collation of **historical sources on the lexicons of northwestern Australia**, in particular along the Kimberley and Pilbara coast.
- Wide-reaching areal study of words along the coasts of Australia needed to **identify potential loans and their centres of dispersal** – this major desideratum would be best achieved with a lexical database of non-PN.



Acknowledgements

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Citing the OUTOFPAPUA database

The OUTOFPAPUA database is a curated collection of historical lexical materials on and in many languages of the Papuan language area. The current pre-release can be cited as follows:

David Kamholz, Anne van Schie, Allahverdi Verjee. 2019. OUTOFPAPUA: A curated collection of historical lexical materials on and in many languages of the Papuan language area. Version 1.0. Available online at: <https://outofpapa.github.io/>