

THE STORY OF MALAGASY

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1. Background

- a. lexicon: recent and not so recent loanwords from Swahili, Comorian, other Bantu languages
- b. phonology: un-Austronesian, not general Sabaki Bantu but much in common with Comorian
- c. morphosyntax: very Austronesian at first sight; rather “Philippine-type”

- a. Dahl : Bantu substratum: Madagascar had “Old Comorian” Bantu population before Austronesian settlement
- b. Others: Madagascar was empty before Austronesian settlement; Malagasy has rather pristine Austronesian morphosyntax
- c. Deschamps 1960 (history), Hurles et al. 2005 (human genetics), archaeological research: point to settlement out of Africa
- d. Sinclair, Blench: Madagascar had an old population (animal bone research) but it was not Bantu (its ethnic affiliations are not known)

2. What I would like to discuss today

- a. There is much linguistic evidence for intense early contact with Bantu languages, and not in the least in morphosyntax; this is in support of Deschamps’ Out-of-Africa theory
- b. part of what seems to be the rich Austronesian heritage in Malagasy (lost in other South East Barito languages) may actually be due to early contact with Bantu languages

3. Bantu grammatical influence

3.1 Nominalising *ki-*

The nominalising *ki-* prefix reflects the nominal classifier No.7 in Bantu languages.

1. with nouns, it forms diminutives, e.g. *tranu* ‘house’ and *ki-tranu-tranu*, Sakalava MLG *ki-tranu* ‘a miniature house for children’s game’ (sic) (< Malay *dayaw* ‘field hut’); *lulu* ‘ghost’ and Sakalava *ki-luluk* ‘butterfly’ (< Bantu, cf. Kiswahili *ki-lulu* ‘small insect’, Dahl 1988:109).
2. with verbal roots it usually forms instrumental nouns, e.g. *fafa* ‘to sweep’, *ki-fafa* ‘broom’; *lalau* ‘to play’, *ki-lalau* ‘plaything’.
3. with some verbal roots, it has a somewhat wider meaning; e.g. *sese* ‘to bring far away’ and *ki-sese* ‘competition in throwing far away’; *ki-lalau*, which also means ‘a play, game’.

A variant form *tsi-* has the same meaning as *ki-* and is sometimes in free alternation with it, e.g. *ki-tranu-tranu* and *tsi-tranu-tranu* (same meaning).

From Comorian or from Kiswahili?

Cannot be borrowed recently from modern Comorian languages, compare Shingazija *hi-* and *š-* in Shindzuani (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:197)

However *hi-* and *š-* < Early Comorian **ki-*

Compare also *kiràru* ‘shoe’ which may < Shindzuani *shilarú* but not < Kiswahili *kiatu* ‘shoe’

3.2 The future tense marker /*hu* < *h-*/

Malagasy verbs distinguish past tense (*n-*, *nu*), present tense (*m-* or \emptyset -) and future tense (*h-*, *hu*).

mangalatră Pauli ‘Paul steals’ (*maN-halatră Pauli* ‘PRS.AO-steal Paul’)

nangalatră Pauli ‘Paul stole’ (*maN-halatră Pauli* ‘PST.AO-steal Paul’)

hangalatră Pauli ‘Paul will steal’ (*maN-halatră Pauli* ‘FUT.AO-steal Paul’)

Underived verbs: no distinction between present and past; future marked with *hu*, e.g.:

tunga izau izi ‘she’s arriving now’ (*tunga* ‘to arrive’; *izau* ‘now’; *izi* ‘3s’)

tunga umali izi ‘she arrived yesterday’ (*umali* ‘yesterday’)

hu tunga rahampitsu izi ‘she’ll arrive tomorrow’ (*rahampitsu* ‘tomorrow’)

According to Dahl (1954, 1988), Malagasy *hu* is based on an erroneous interpretation of the Sabaki “infinitive” marker **ku* as a future marker. Cf. structure of Sabaki verb in future tense:

pronominal prefix + **ta*(*ka*) [+FUTURE] + **ku* [+INFINITIVE] + lexical verb.

Kiswahili counterpart: *wa-ta-ku-ja* (3rd.person.plural-future-infinitive-come ‘they will come’)

However, Dahl’s analysis is unrealistic and unnecessarily complicated:

1. It is not likely that an affix so close to the verbal root (as **-ku-* in *wa-ta-ku-ja*) was borrowed into Malagasy as an external prefix *hu-/h-*, let alone as a free-standing *hu*.
2. In Kiswahili, the prefix *ku-* does occur at the beginning of any “infinitive” verb: it is more likely that this *general* infinitive prefix was interpreted as a future marker than the infix *-ku-* in *future tense verbs derived from monosyllabic roots*, as claimed by Dahl.

3.3 Malagasy reciprocal causative and causative reciprocal forms

Malagasy verbs have causative and reciprocal forms that are formed through affixation.

Causative verbs : <amp> infixes behind the initial *m-* of an agent prefix
 Reciprocal verbs: <if> infixes behind the initial *m-* of an agent prefix.
 <amp> and <if> : both inherited from Proto South East Barito.

Examples of causative verbs:

<i>tahotra</i> ‘fear’	<i>ma-tahotra</i> ‘to be afraid’	<i>m<amp>a-tahotra</i> ‘to inspire fear’
<i>anatra</i> ‘instruction’	<i>mi-anatra</i> ‘to learn’	<i>m<amp>i-anatra</i> ‘to teach’

Examples of reciprocal verbs:

<i>lahatra</i> ‘line, order’	<i>man-dahatra</i> ‘to align, arrange’	<i>m<if>an-dahatra</i> ‘to defend o.a.’
<i>anatra</i> ‘instruction’	<i>mi-anatra</i> ‘to learn’	<i>m<if>i-anatra</i> ‘to teach one another’
<i>atrika</i> ‘face, front’	<i>man-atrika</i> ‘be present, assist’	<i>m<if>an-atrika</i> ‘to confront o.a.’

Causative reciprocal verbs:

<i>m<if>an-atrika</i> ‘to confront o.a.’	<i>m<amp><if>an-atrika</i> ‘confront people with o.a.’
<i>m<if>an-araka</i> ‘to agree’	<i>m<amp><if>an-araka</i> ‘to make agree’
<i>m<if>an-dahatra</i> ‘to defend oneself, appear in court’	<i>m<amp><if>an-dahatra</i> ‘to make someone defend her- or himself before the judge’

Reciprocal causative verbs:

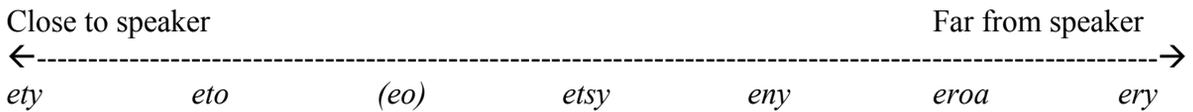
<i>ma-tahotra</i>	<i>m<amp>a-tahotra</i> ‘to inspire fear’	<i>m<if><amp>a-tahotra</i> ‘to scare o.a.’
<i>mi-anatra</i>	<i>m<amp>i-anatra</i> ‘to teach’	<i>m<if><amp>i-anatra</i> ‘to teach o.a.’

Cf. also *ome* ‘to give’: *m<amp><if>an-ome* ‘to make people give to each other’ (‘faire que l’un donne à l’autre’) versus *m<if><amp>an-ome* ‘to cause one another to give’ (‘se faire donner réciproquement’) (Rajaonarimanana 2001:52; no context given).

According to Hyman (2002:4), causative reciprocal vs. reciprocal causative opposition also occurs in Bantu languages. His examples are from Chichewa, spoken in Malawi ; however, it does not occur in Kiswahili.

3.4 Deixis

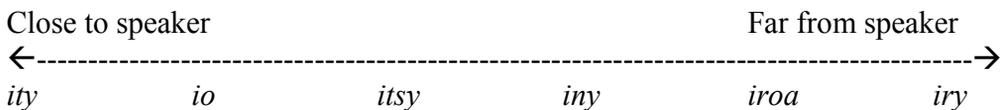
Malagasy: Locative adverbs: seven degrees of distance:



“*eo* has specialized meaning of ‘inside of’

Additional distinctions: 2. Visibility (change initial *e* to *a*: *aty*, *ato*,... etc.)
 3. tense (with *t-* prefix: past; with *ho-* prefix: future)
 4. (enclosed space)

Demonstrative pronouns (also used adjectivally): six degrees of distance:



Additional distinction: 5. number (only in demonstrative pronouns+ infix *<re>* after initial vowel)

(Anderson and Keenan 1985:292)

Kiswahili:

<i><pa></i> (definite)	<i>hapa</i> ‘here’, <i>pale</i> ‘there’ (def. space)	<i>pana</i> ‘there is/are’ (def. pl.)
<i><ku></i> (indefinite)	<i>huku</i> ‘here’, <i>kule</i> , ‘there’ (indef; space)’	<i>kuna</i> ‘there is/are’ (def.place)
<i><m></i> (inside)	<i>humu</i> ‘here’, <i>mle</i> ‘there’ (inside)	<i>mna</i> ‘there is/are’ (inside)

Note also: in Kiswahili, definite/indefinite/inside location is also expressed on (present-tense) locative verbs; in Malagasy, it is not, but note that the locative adverb can be used predicatively:

Kiswahili: *Rafiki ha-yu-mo* *ha-pa* ‘Rafiki is not here inside’
 Rafiki neg-C11-be.at+inside prox-def

Malagasy: *E-to an-trano-ko izy* ‘he’s here in my house (I see him)’
 still in-house-my 3s

T-a-o *am-bata* *ny pataloha-nao*
 Past-invisible-here.inside in-suitcase article pants-your
 ‘Your pants are in the suitcase (not within sight)’

3.5 The circumstantial voice

Voice affixes in Proto Austronesian and their corresponding forms in Malagasy:

	PAn	MLG
Actor Voice	*m-, *<um>	m-
Undergoer Voice	*-ən	-ina
Locative Voice	*-an	-ana
Instr./Recip. Voice	*Si-	a-

Has Malagasy maintained the Austronesian voice (V) system, in contrast to other South East Barito languages?

1. The Malagasy system has more or less merged the original PAn Undergoer Voice (UV), Locative Voice (LV) and Instrument/Recipient Voice (IV) into a general passive. Their markers are still there, but they have almost become allomorphs, and their occurrence is largely lexicalised. (In some descriptions, these markers are still considered to signify separate voices).

2. Malagasy has developed a new voice category, the “circumstantial voice” (CV), which can take on a large variety of non-core arguments as a subject.

Formally, the CV combines the LV suffix *-ana* with an AV prefix (*maN-*, *mi-*) without initial *m*:

soratra: *soratana* ‘id. (LV)’ *manoratra* ‘to write (AV)’ *anoratana* (CV)

Malagasy Examples (subject in bold>)

AV *mamono* [*maN-vono*] *akoho amin’-ny* *antsy ny* *mpamboly*
 AV-kill chicken PST-PREP-DEF knife DEF farmer
 ‘The farmer kills a chicken with a knife’ (Matt Pearson)

UV *vono-in’-ny* *mpamboly* *amin’-ny* *antsy ny* *akoho*
 kill-UV-DEF farmer PST-PREP-DEF knife DEF chicken
 ‘The chicken is being killed by the farmer’ (Matt Pearson)

CV *amonoan’-ny* [*aN-vono-an-ny*] *mpamboly* *akoho ny* *antsy*
 CV-kill-CV-DEF farmer chicken DEF knife
 ‘A knife is being used by the farmer to kill chickens (Matt Pearson)

AV *Nanao* [*n-aN-tao*] *kermèsy* *ny* *Croix Rouge*
 PST-AV-make fair DEF Red Cross
 ‘The Red Cross organised a fair’ (my example)

AV *nanoratra* [*n-aN-soratra*] *taratasy* *t-amin’-ny* *penina ny* *mpianatra*
 PST-AV-write paper, letter PST-PREP-DEF pen DEF student
 ‘The student wrote a letter with a pen’

- LV *sorat-an'-ny mpianatra t-amin'-ny penina ny taratasy*
 write-LV-DEF student PST-PREP-DEF pen DEF paper, letter
 'The student wrote **the** letter with a pen'
- CV *nanoratana [n-an-sorat-an'-ny] mpianatra taratasy ilay penina*
 PST-CV-write-CV-DEF student paper, letter MED pen
 'The student used that pen to write a letter' (that's the pen he used to write the letter with)
- IV *n-a-tàov-n' ny Croix Rouge t-amin'-ny vòla voa-àngona ny kermèsy*
 PST-IV-do-GEN DEF Cross Red PST-PREP-DEF money RESULT-raise DEF fair
 'The Red Cross organized the fair with the money raised' (Rasoloson & Rubino 2005)
- CV *Nanàovan' ny Croix Rouge kermèsy ny vòla voa-àngona*
 n-aN-tàov-ana-n' ny Croix Rouge kermèsy ny vòla voa-àngona.
 PST-CV.do-CV-GEN DEF Cross Red fair DEF money RESULT-raise
 The money raised was used by the Croix Rouge to organize a fair. (Rasoloson & Rubino)
- CV *T-ào Mahavòky t-amin'-ny zomà no nanàovan'ny*
 PST-INVIS-there Mahavòky PST-PREP-DEF Friday FOC
- [n-aN-tàov-an'-n'-ny] Croix Rouge kermèsy t-amin'-ny vòla voa-àngona.*
 PST-CV.do-CV-GEN-DEF Cross Red fair PST-PREP-DEF money RESULT-raise
 'It was in Mahavòky on Friday that a fair was organized by the Red Cross with the money raised' (Rasoloson & Rubino 2005)

Bantu languages:

The applicative suffix *-il- (Schadeberg 2005:74): has the benefactive and locative in its scope, but in some Bantu languages it can also raise various other non-core arguments to object position, including phrases referring to circumstance (time cause, reason, instrument).

Note that in Bantu languages:

- (1) the Circumstantial exists as a semantic category, although it is not a voice but an applicative,
- (2) a circumstantial object can be raised to subject in passive constructions, and
- (3) morphosyntactically, it is an extension of the dative/locative.

In other words,

- (1) both Malagasy and Bantu languages distinguish a circumstantial category: in Malagasy, it applies to a voice raising a vast array of non-core arguments to subject; in e.g. Kiswahili it applies to an applicative raising many non-core arguments to object, and the resulting object can be raised further to subject position through passivisation
- (2) in both languages the circumstantial is morphosyntactically built on the locative. This may be no coincidence, and the emergence of the circumstantial voice in Malagasy could (at least partly) be due Bantu influence

3.6 Malagasy influence on Bantu languages?

Proto Austronesian *-*n-ia* is a 3d person singular genitive pronoun

It became *-ni* in Malagasy, Maanyan and other SEB languages

In Malagasy as well as in Maanyan there seems to be a tendency for this suffix to become a locative marker:

Maanyan: *andi-ni* ‘her brother’, *darangan-ni* ‘his wife’, *sumpah-ni* ‘his oath’

Rua-m-pulu taon lawah-ni ‘for 20 years, 20 years long’
two-LINKER-ten year long-3S.GEN

panan tane ngworiong-ni ‘all land around (it)’
all land around-3S.GEN

dinong-ku *telo ansiding* *basusun* *ha-ambaw* *olo-ku,*
see-1S.GEN three baskets to pile LOC-top head-1S.GEN

ha-wuang-ni *naan* *anakota*
LOC-inside-3S.GEN EXIST food

‘I saw three baskets on my head, with food in[side of] them’

Hi *Adam* *rueh* *hi* *Hawa* *na-huyu* *Alatalla* *muneng* *ha-wuang-ni*
Pers. Article Adam two;and PA Eve PV-order God reside LOC-inside-3S.GEN

‘God told Adam and Eve to go and live inside’ (--> garden of Eden)

Malagasy: *trano-ny* ‘his house’, *vadi-ny* ‘her/his spouse’

no-vono-in-ny ny akoho
PST-kill-UV-3S.GEN DEF chicken
‘He killed the chicken’

Am-ba-ny, *am-bo-ny,* *an-dani-ny,* *fara-ny* *i-vela-ny*
LOC-bottom-3S.GEN LOC-top3S.GEN LOC-extremity-3S.GEN end-3S.GEN LOC-exterior-3S.GEN
‘below’ ‘on top, above’ ‘on one side’ ‘last’ ‘outside’

Kiswahili: *nyumba-ni* ‘in the house, at home’, *mji-ni* ‘in town’, *mguu-ni* ‘on the leg’, *kikapu-ni* ‘in the basket’, *meza-ni* ‘on the table’

Eastern Bantu: locative suffix **-ini* (Schadeberg 2003a:82, 2003b:158)

Suffixation of nominals is not productive in Bantu languages; distribution of **-ini* does not coincide with other features critical for subgrouping (‘exclusive shared innovations’ etc.).

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