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Malagasy Personal Pronouns: A Lexical History

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This paper traces the history of pronouns in various regional forms of Malagasy and proposes a reconstruction of Proto-Malagasy pronouns. Four sets of pronouns are reconstructed for Proto-Malagasy: a default nominative set marked with \emptyset , a topicalized nominative set in which 1st person pronouns are marked with a form *i, a genitive set marked with *=n-, and an oblique set marked with *an=. The development of some pronouns is shown to provide clues for the internal classification of Malagasy varieties. The Proto-Malagasy pronouns are also compared with external references and higher-order reconstructions, namely pronouns from the closely related Southeast Barito languages in Borneo and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. Finally, an attempt is made to reconstruct Proto-Southeast Barito pronouns.

1. INTRODUCTION.¹ In this paper, we follow the history of Malagasy (MLG) pronouns. We try to reconstruct Proto-Malagasy (PMLG) pronouns² based on a comparison of pronominal forms found in various sources, including grammatical descriptions, dictionaries, and texts, covering 16 regional and historical varieties of MLG.³ It appears that four pronominal sets must be reconstructed for PMLG: default nominative, topicalized nominative, genitive, and oblique sets. These functions are marked by the forms \emptyset , *i/ \emptyset , *=n-, and *an=, respectively.⁴ The pronominal history of Malagasy also provides important clues for the internal classification of MLG regional varieties. Finally, we dis-

1. This research was conducted as part of the project "An examination of the genetic relationships between Barito languages" funded by the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan (March 2011–February 2012). The authors are listed in alphabetical order. We are grateful to Noël Gueunier (Paris), Tom Hoogervorst (Leiden), Waruno Mahdi (Berlin), Laurie Reid (Osaka), and an anonymous reviewer for their critical comments, and to Chandra Jayasuriya (Melbourne) for preparing maps.
2. See table 1 for abbreviations of language names and language sources used in this article. Other abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: EX, exclusive; GEN, genitive; IN, inclusive; NOM, nominative; OBL, oblique; PL, plural; SG, singular.
3. The term "variety" here is value-neutral regarding the dialect/language distinction.
4. In the topicalized nominative series, 1st person pronouns are marked with a preceding *i; 2nd and 3rd person pronouns are not marked for topicalization.

Note that this paper focuses primarily on the lexical reconstruction of pronouns, and not on the reconstruction of their syntactic properties. The reconstruction of the PMLG syntactic system within which the pronouns occurred requires a systematic comparison of the syntactic functions of each of the reconstructed sets in the context of other syntactic constructions. This will be treated by Kikusawa in a separate paper.

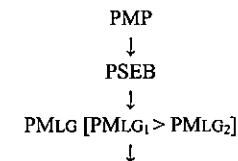
cuss the relation between PMLG pronouns and personal pronouns in Southeast Barito languages in Central and South Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) and in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP), and we make an attempt at the reconstruction of Proto-Southeast Barito pronouns. External evidence for PMLG pronouns is provided by PMP and some languages spoken in Central and South Kalimantan which, together with MLG, belong to the Southeast Barito (SEB) group.

We use the comparative method and basically take a bottom-up approach to the reconstruction of PMLG pronouns. Forms are reconstructed based on the data available for each of the MLG varieties. Irregular forms and sound alternations in pronouns are listed and given possible explanations. In addition, the PMLG pronouns that we reconstruct are also examined against external evidence from PMP and SEB languages, sometimes resulting in their adjustment toward less ambiguity.

We distinguish several levels of reconstruction. Based on the assumption that the histories of individual pronouns provide clues for the establishment of MLG subgroups and contribute to a classification of the MLG linguistic group, we identify the lower-order protolanguages Proto-South+West-Malagasy (PSWMLG), Proto-Central-Malagasy (PCMLG), and Proto-North+East-Malagasy (PNEMLG) (see section 6). We also adopt Simon's (2006) distinction of two stages for PMLG, one referring to the time of the migrations of SEB speakers from Borneo to East Africa (ca. seventh century AD: Adelaar 1989), and the other postdating these migrations (section 7). This distinction allows a clearer view on the relation between SEB languages in Borneo and the varieties of MLG in Madagascar. Wherever ambiguity needs to be avoided, we use PMLG₁ (Simon's "Indonesic Proto-Malagasy") to refer to the language as it was spoken at the time Southeast Barito speakers first began to migrate to East Africa, and PMLG₂ (Simon's "Common Palaeo-Malagasy") to refer to the language it had evolved into in East Africa after it had undergone extensive influence from African languages. We also use the general term PMLG in this paper, which is neutral as to the difference between PMLG₁ and PMLG₂. Finally, we sometimes use an unspecified "Post-PMLG" label for protolanguages that are later than PMLG but cannot chronologically be pinpointed more precisely. The protolanguages we use are chronologically related as shown in figure 1.

In conducting the bottom-up comparison and reconstruction, we assume no a priori hypothesis with regard to the subgrouping of MLG varieties. We do this in spite of the fact that MLG subgroups have been proposed and discussed in the literature. However, the exact delineation of these subgroups and the overall classification of MLG varieties has not yet been sufficiently sorted out. As it happens, the outcome of the present study of MLG pronominal history is in line with a basic historical division between western and

FIGURE 1. CHRONOLOGY OF PROTOLEVELS



Post-PMLG = any level after PMLG including: PSWMLG, PNEMLG, PCMLG

southern varieties on the one hand, and northern, central, and eastern varieties on the other (see Simon 2006 and Adelaar 2013).

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 is a review of previous studies dealing with the history of MLG pronouns. Section 3 is an informed presentation of the data forming the basis of the reconstructions in this paper. Section 4 gives an outline of the main sound correspondences between MLG varieties so that the reader will have a better understanding of how the various pronouns within a cognate set are related. In section 5, we reconstruct PMLG₂ pronominal forms for each cognate set, based on what appear to be regular reflexes supporting their reconstruction. We also discuss irregular reflexes and try to explain them. We present the PMLG₂ pronoun paradigm that we have reconstructed in 5.5. In section 6, we reconstruct lower-order pronouns at the PCMLG, PSWMLG, and PNEMLG levels. In section 7, we reconstruct pronouns for PMLG₁ (7.1) and PSEB (7.2). We give a summary and make some concluding remarks in section 8.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF MLG PRONOUNS.

One of the first scholars to be concerned with the development of MLG pronouns was Ferrand (1905). He pointed out, among other things, that the plural marker *-re-* in *hiana-reu* '2PL' and other pronouns and deictic elements was historically not an infix but had evolved from an original 3rd person plural pronoun.

Dahl (1951) is an insightful attempt to find historical links between MLG pronouns and the pronouns of Maanyan and other Austronesian languages. However, some of Dahl's conclusions are not persuasive, partially due to limitations on the data he had at his disposal. This is particularly evident where he compares MLG data with data from languages outside of the SEB group, which he did not fill the gaps where SEB data were not available.

With the data from SEB languages and MLG regional varieties that had later become available, Pierre Simon was in a more advantageous situation when he published his history of the MLG language in 1988, including a chapter on dialect divergence (1988:102–3, 216). Simon was also the first scholar to differentiate between two stages of PMLG (see section 1). However, he did not take a bottom-up approach, relying too much on evidence from Austronesian languages in general without making full use of evidence within the SEB material. Some of the pronouns he reconstructed for both Indonesian PMLG and Common Palaeo-MLG reflect forms in a pre-Proto-SEB stage. For example, he reconstructs an Indonesian PMLG series characterized by *(si), yielding the 2nd person singular pronouns *(si) ika, *(si) ikau, *(si)-hu, and so on. This parenthesized *(si) is supposedly a reflex of PMP *si, but it ignores the very regular change from PMP *s to Proto-SEB *h (and on to MLG Ø). Furthermore, some of the pronouns he proposes, such as Indonesian PMLG 2nd person pronouns *-hu and *ikau, have no reflexes in any MLG varieties. There is insufficient evidence for his Common PMLG pronouns marked with *ra- that are allegedly used as preposed predicates. Simon (2006:104–5, 215) presents more convincing solutions but still fails to address some questions that are central to MLG pronominal history.

In an unpublished conference paper dealing with the reconstruction of the PMLG₂ pronominal system, Kikusawa (2005) laid the basis for the present reconstruction of PMLG personal pronouns.

3. DATA USED FOR RECONSTRUCTION IN THIS STUDY. The data upon which the reconstructions in this paper are based were taken from both published and unpublished descriptive sources and text materials. They do not include data from the two MLG varieties in Mayotte (Comoros) because the latter were introduced rather recently (eighteenth century), and are offshoots of varieties still spoken in Madagascar itself (Gueunier 1986:4). Table 1 is a list of the languages frequently used in this study together with their abbreviations, sources, and nature of sources. Map 1 shows the approximate areas where these varieties are spoken. The pronominal forms in these varieties will be presented in tables 4, 7, and 9. Other sources are occasionally referred to when they carry significant extra information relating to the reconstruction.

In the sources referred to in this study, pronominal sets are labeled with a wide variety of different terms (as can be seen in table 2), and where the same terms are used, they do

MAP 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALAGASY VARIETIES EXAMINED IN THIS STUDY

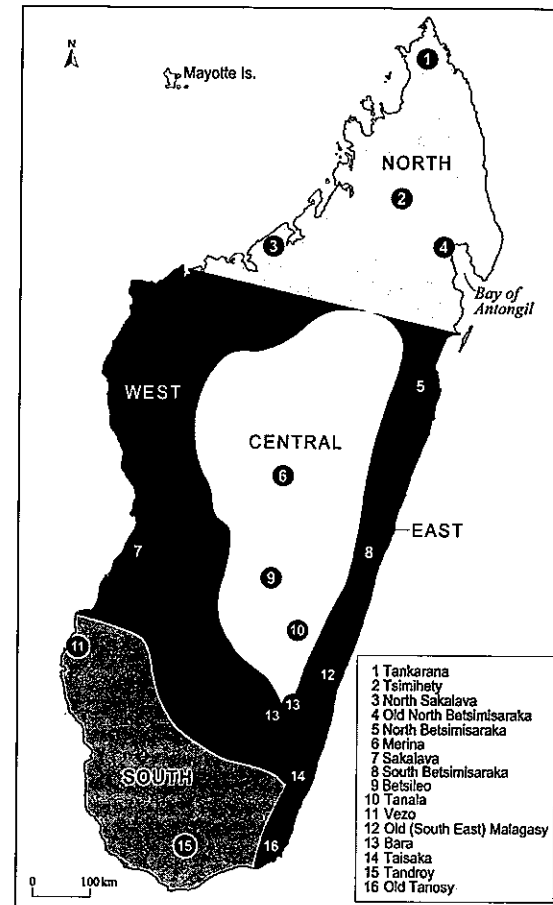


TABLE 1. FREQUENTLY USED LANGUAGE NAMES WITH THEIR SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATION	LANGUAGE NAME	MAIN SOURCE	NATURE OF SOURCE
Banjar MAL	Banjar Malay	Abdul Jebar Hapip (2006)	Dictionary
BAR	Bara	Rabenilaina (1983), Elli (1983)	Grammar; dictionary; texts
BAY	Bayan	Adelaar and Hoogervorst	Unpublished fieldnotes
BTL	Betsileo	Dubois (1938:1236-37)	Grammatical notes
DM	Dusun Malang	Adelaar and Hoogervorst	Unpublished fieldnotes
DW	Dusun Witu	Hudson (1967)	Word lists; Adelaar- (unpublished fieldnotes)
MAL	Malay	Wilkinson (1959)	Dictionary
MLG	Malagasy	(as per regional variety)	
MNY	Maanyan	Adelaar (unpublished)	Unpublished fieldnotes
MRN	Merina	Rajaona (1972:608-14)	Grammar
North BTM	North Betsimisaraka	Kikusawa (2006)	Grammar sketch
North SKL	North Sakalava	Thomas-Fattier (1982:101-2)	Grammar sketch
Old MLG	Old (Southeast) Malagasy	Ferrand (1904)	Annotated texts
Old North BTM	Old Betsimisaraka (Antongil Bay in coastal North)	Houtman (1603)	Wordlist, texts
Old TNS	Old Tanosy	Flacourt (1658)	Dictionary, grammar notes
PAK	Paku	Dunis Iper et al. (2002)	Grammar sketch
PCMLG	Proto-Central Malagasy	(this publication)	
PEMLG	Proto-East Malagasy	(this publication)	
PMLG	Proto-Malagasy	Dahl (1951), Adelaar (unpublished)	Reconstructions
PMLG ₁	Proto-Malagasy before the migrations to East Africa	(this publication)	
PMLG ₂	Proto-Malagasy after the migrations to East Africa	(this publication)	
PMP	Proto-Malayo- Polynesian	Blust and Trussel (ongoing)	Online dictionary
PSEB	Proto-Southeast Barito	Hudson (1967), Dahl (1977)	Reconstructions
PSWMLG	Proto-South+West Mal- agasy	(this publication)	
SEB	Southeast Barito	Hudson (1967)	Wordlists
SKL	Sakalava	Gueunier (online)	Dictionary
SMH	Samihim	Surat Pangajaran (no date)	Text
South BTM	South Betsimisaraka	Ruud (1955:36-41)	Grammar sketch
TDR	Tandroy	Rajaonarimanana and Fee (1996:22)	Dictionary, grammar notes
TKR	Tankarana	Velonandro (1983)	Dictionary
TMH	Tsimihety	Faridanona (1977)	Dictionary
TNL	Tañala	Beaujard (1998:36)	Dictionary, grammar notes
TSK	Taisaka	Deschamps (1936:17-18)	Grammar notes
VEZ	Vezo	Poirot (2011)	Dictionary

not necessarily designate the same functions. Nevertheless, some generalizations can be made. For the purpose of this study, pronouns that agree in having similar forms and functions in each of the varieties are considered to constitute a cognate set and form the basis for the reconstruction of their parent set. These identified sets are labeled as nominative, genitive, and oblique sets. Within each set, forms are reconstructed for first, second, and third person, as well as singular and plural, with distinct inclusive and exclusive pronouns for the first person plural. In some varieties, such as MRN, TNL, and BAR, there is no number distinction in third person, an issue discussed in detail in 6.2.⁵

Pronouns identified as belonging to the nominative set are typically referred to as "independent pronouns" and/or "nominative pronouns." Many MLG varieties distinguish default and topicalized first person nominative singular pronouns, and this distinction is also found in other pronouns in some varieties. The default pronouns occur following the predicate, which is their grammatically unmarked position, while the topicalized pronouns occur in a prepredicate position marked as the topic of the sentence. These two subsets are compared and reconstructed separately in 5.1.1 and 5.1.2. The contrast

TABLE 2. TERMS FOR PRONOUN SERIES USED IN DESCRIPTIONS OF MALAGASY LANGUAGES

THIS PAPER	NOMINATIVE	OBLIQUE	GENITIVE
Standard Malagasy (Rasoloson & Rubino 2005)	Nominative	Dative	Genitive
Standard Malagasy (Déz 1980)	Série A: sujet, prédicat	Série B: complément d'objet	Série C: complément de circonstance
Standard Malagasy (Richardson 1885)	Separate forms		Inseparable forms
	Nominative	Accusative & Possessive	Possessive case
Betsimisaraka (Kikusawa 2005)	Nominative	Oblique	Genitive
Tañala (Beaujard 1998)	sujets	compléments	compléments
Bara (Rabenilaina 1983)	définies/autodéfinies	non définie	peines/réduites
Tandroy	Formes définies	Formes non-définies	
		Formes non-définies disjointes	Formes non-définies conjointes
Sakalava (Dahl 1968)	Libres	Dépendants	Suffixes
North Sakalava (Thomas-Fattier 1982)	MP1 (les modalités personnelles 1)	(not specified)	MP2 (les modalités personnelles 2)

5. Data from MRN, BAR, BTM, Old TNS, South BTM, North SKL, SKL, VEZ, and TDR were obtained from grammars, grammar sketches, and dictionaries. Old MLG data were drawn from texts. The BAR data were checked against corroborating evidence from texts. Houtman's Old MLG material includes wordlists, as well as a text containing pronouns that are missing in the wordlists. The preponderance of BTM sources is due to the fact that the large and protracted Betsimisaraka area along Madagascar's east coast is home to several varieties exhibiting quite different degrees of relationship, and that there are current as well as seventeenth-century sources available for some of these. Language data are presented in the original orthography used in the sources, except for the following changes: paragogic vowels (which are whispered vowels) are marked with a breve (\tilde{a} , \tilde{e} , \tilde{i} , etc.); velar nasals are rendered as η ; o is replaced by u ; and final y is replaced by i (note that there is no phonemic opposition between o and u or between i and y). Stress is indicated wherever the original sources do so (basically, it is indicated in the Merina, Sakalava, Vezo, and Tandroy dictionaries). Exceptions to these spelling conventions are data from Houtman (1603) and Flacourt (1658), as well as toponyms and dialect names, which we left in their original spelling.

MLG *y had not yet become z. Today, *y is still maintained as y in South BTM and (in some words) in TDR and TNL. We, therefore, consider it inappropriate to render the Old MLG *yā* as z and retain its reading as y in this paper.

For the present study, we made extensive use of a sixteenth-century Sorabe text published by Ferrand (1904). This is not the only Sorabe text, but we chose it over other texts because of its insightful clues to the development of personal pronouns (see 5.1) and its rich vocabulary and useful annotations. Where appropriate, we also refer to additional data from Munthe (1982).

4. VARIETIES OF MLG: SOUND CORRESPONDENCES. Phonological differences among the MLG varieties are discussed in Dahl (1938, 1951) and Adelaar (2012, 2013). The main sound correspondences they have elicited are listed in table 3, as they are pertinent to the examination of pronominal forms in this study. The varieties are provisionally classified into five main regional groups based on shared features (Adelaar 2013), as indicated in the leftmost column of the table. This classification becomes relevant when the development of the pronominal forms is examined (see 6.1 and 6.2).

5. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF PMLG₂ PRONOUNS AND THEIR EXPLANATIONS. In this section, we present two reconstructed nominative pronominal sets (5.1), as well as a genitive (5.2) and an oblique (5.3) set, along with explanations supporting each reconstruction and changes that took place in each variety. As explained above, we also reconstruct Post-PMLG forms wherever they are relevant in order to demonstrate subsequent developments.

5.1 RECONSTRUCTING NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS. The pronominal forms belonging to the nominative sets of various MLG languages are presented in table 4.

The proposed PMLG₂ reconstructions based on the comparison of these pronominal forms in table 4 consist of a default nominative set and a topicalized nominative set. They are presented in table 5. (The *-N in *tikaN and *i tikaN stands for any nasal in word-final position: see 5.1.1.4.)

As shown in this table, topicalized forms only existed for first person. Their reconstruction takes account of the following points: (i) some MLG varieties show a contrast between default and topicalized pronouns; (ii) the contrast is almost always limited to 1st person and usually to singular number; and (iii) even in the varieties where there is no default vs. topicalized contrast, some pronominal forms carry the reflex of an earlier initial *i element, implying that it was part of the pronominal form in one way or another and not simply a preposition preceding it every now and then. It is reflected as *i*, *y*, *z*, or *iz*, as we will see in this section, and the existence of a topicalized category and its scope was determined on the basis of whether these reflexes occur in present-day MLG varieties or not.

In addition to the above mentioned sets, it is sometimes possible to reconstruct proto-forms that developed subsequent to PMLG₂.

In this section, reconstructed nominative pronouns are presented first (5.1.1), and a discussion of the distribution of *-i- forms follows (5.1.2).

5.1.1 Reconstructed forms

5.1.1.1 *ahu '1st person singular default nominative', *i ahu '1st person singular topicalized nominative'. Two forms are reconstructible for PMLG: a default nominative pronoun *ahu, and a topicalized one *i ahu. More than half of the varieties (to wit MRN, North SKL, TNL, BAR, SKL, TDR, and Old MLG) show a default versus topicalized

TABLE 3. SOME SOUND CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN PMP, PSEB, PMLG₂, AND MODERN MALAGASY VARIETIES†

REGION	LANGUAGE	SOUND CORRESPONDENCES					
	PMP	*li	*ti	*b/w	*y	*ŋ	*-n
	PSEB	*li	*ti	*w	*y	*ŋ	*-n
	PMLG ₂	*li	*ti	*w	*y	*ŋ	*-n
North	Tankarana	li, di	ti, tsi	v	z	ŋ	-ŋV,(Ø)
	Tsimihety	li, di	ti, tsi	v	z	ŋ	-ŋV,(Ø)
	North Sakalava	li, di	ti, tsi	v	z	ŋ	-ŋV, -Ø
West	Sakalava	li	ti	v	z	ŋ	Ø
South	Vezo	li	ti	v	z	ŋ	Ø
	Tandroy	li	ti	v	z	ŋ	-Ø
Central	Merina	di	tsi, si	v	z	n	-na,(Ø)
	Betsileo	di	tsi, si	v	z	ŋ	-na,(Ø)
	Bara	li	tsi	v	z	ŋ	-Ø
	Tañala	di	tsi	v	z	ŋ	-na,(Ø)
East	Taisaka	di	tsi	v	z	ŋ	Ø
	South Betsimisaraka	di	si (tsi)	w, v	y, z	ŋ	-n,(Ø)
	North Betsimisaraka	di	tsi	v	z	ŋ	-ŋa, Ø
	Old Tanosy	li	tsi	v	z	ŋ	-n, Ø
	Old North Betsimisaraka	di	tsi	w, v	y	ŋ	-n,(Ø)
Old MLG	li	tsi	w	y	ŋ	-n,(Ø)	

REGION	LANGUAGE	SOUND CORRESPONDENCES				
	PMP	*-ŋ	*-m	*n(d/ŋ)	*-t/d/ŋ/r	*-ay/-a
	PSEB	*-ŋ	*-m	*n(d)r	*-t	*-äy/-ä
	PMLG ₂	*-ŋ	*m/N	*ndr	*-t	*-e
North	Tankarana	-ŋV,(Ø)	-ŋ,(Ø)	ndr	-trV	-i
	Tsimihety	-ŋV,(Ø)	-ŋ,(Ø)	ndr	-trV	-i
	North Sakalava	-ŋV,(Ø)	-ŋ,(Ø)	ndr	-trV	-i
West	Sakalava	Ø	Ø	ndr	-tse	-e
South	Vezo	Ø	Ø	ŋj	-tse	-e
	Tandroy	-Ø	Ø	ndr	-tse	-e
Central	Merina	-na,(Ø)	-na,(Ø)	ndr	-tra	-i
	Betsileo	-ŋa,(Ø)	-na,(Ø)	ndr	-tra	-i
	Bara	Ø	Ø	ndr	-tsi	-i
	Tañala	-ŋa,(Ø)	-na,(Ø)	ndr	-tra	-i
East	Taisaka	Ø	Ø	ndr	-tri	-i
	South Betsimisaraka	-ŋ,(Ø)	-ŋ,(Ø)	ndr	-r	-i
	North Betsimisaraka	-ŋa, Ø	-ŋ,(Ø)	ndr	-tra	-i
	Old Tanosy	-ŋ, Ø	-m,-ŋ,Ø	ndr	-tse	-e
	Old North Betsimisaraka	-ŋ,(Ø)	-n,-ŋ,Ø	ndr	-ts	-i
Old MLG	-ŋ,(Ø)	-ŋ,(Ø)	ndr	-trV	-i	

† The symbol "V" in final position indicates a paragogic vowel (that is, the same vowel as in the preceding syllable).

contrast in 1SG nominative pronouns (see table 4), reflecting both the form and function of the two reconstructed forms.

Topicalized forms are marked with initial *i-*, *y-*, *z-*, or *iz-*. These all reflect PMLG₂ **i-*, depending on whether or not desyllabification and/or spirantization took place, and in what order (**i* ahu > *iahu*, *yahu*; **i* ahu > **yahu* > *zahu*). In MRN (and TKR) *izàhu*, *z* is the result of the spirantization of an epenthetic glide that emerged between **i* and **ahu* (**i* ahu

TABLE 4. NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS EXAMINED IN THIS STUDY†

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
TKR	izàhu	?	izi, ie	atsika	?	?	rèu, ràu, rò
North SKL	zahu TOP: zahu	anò	izi	atsika	zahei TOP: izachei	anarò	irò
SKL	ahu TOP: zahu	iha	i, ie, rie, ri, rike	tsika	zahay, rahay	nareu, nahareu	ruze, reu
VEZ	àhu	iha	ie	tsika	zahài	narèu	rùze
TDR	ahu, rahu TOP: zahu	ihe, rehe	ie, re(ke)	tika(ŋe)	zahai	nareu	iareu
MRN	ahu TOP: izahu	hianau	izi	isika	izahai	hianareu	izi (ireu)
BTL	ahu	aŋau	i	?	aŋay	aŋareu	i
BAR default	ahu	hanau, i	i	tsika	ahai	hanareu	i
TOP	iahu	iha, hanau	ri, i	atsika	iahai	nareu	ri, i, ruzi, reu
TNL	ahu TOP: iahu	(h)anau, (h)ianau	i, izi	itsia(na), itsika	ahai, iahai	(h)anareu, (h)ianareu	i, izi, izi ireu, rizareu
TSK	iahu	hanau	izi	intsika	ahai, iahai (Dahl 1951:236)	hanareu	izi
South BTM	iao	anò	iye	isena	iehè	anarò	iye, iye zarò, iye ireu
North BTM	zahu, za	anò, anau	izi	atsika	zehè	anarè	zarè
Old TNS	zaho (F1)	hanau (F1)	izi (F1)	?	zahaye (F1)	hananreu (F1)	reu (F1)
Old North BTM	iahou (H78)	hannau (H167), hennau (H79)	(?tsyang) (H114)	ettsicka, tsiken, attsiken (H83)	iahey (H80)	?	rohoy (H153)
Old MLG.	ahu (Fe106), TOP: yahu (Fe44, 63)	ihanau (Fe39), hanau (Fe75)	iyi (Fe85), riri (Fe77)	itsika (M158), atsika (M253)	yahay (Fe41)	hanaureu (Fe21)	reu (Fe20)

† TOP = topicalized

TABLE 5. PMLG₂ NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS

	DEFAULT	TOPICALIZED
1SG	*ahu	*i ahu
2SG	*iha	
3SG	*iye	
1PL.IN	*tikaN	*i tikaN
1PL.EX	*ahai	*i ahai
2PL	*nau	
3PL	*ire u	

> *i[y]ahu > *iyahu > *izahu*). Note that North SKL has two forms, *zàhu* (nontopicalized) and *izàhu* (topicalized), both of which originated from the PMLG₂ topicalized form **i* ahu. Otherwise, the nontopicalized form in varieties with a default/topicalized contrast is *ahu*, a regular reflex of **ahu*.

Other varieties have only one form. The forms in TKR, TSK, North BTM, and South BTM reflect initial **i*, whereas in BTL and VEZ they do not. Our hypothesis here is that the earlier distinction that existed in PMLG₂ was lost in these varieties, with the topicalized form being retained in TKR, TSK, North BTM, North SKL, and South BTM, and the default form being retained in BTL.

TDR has an additional form *rahu*, which has *(a)- prefixed to it. This is an “honorific” personal prefix that is found in many pronouns, kinship terms, and terms of address, and was borrowed from (Old) Javanese into PMLG₁ (Adelaar 2009). Its honorific connotation was generally maintained in modern MLG reflexes, although it seems to have been lost in some contexts (as in TDR *rahu*). Although a reflex of *(a)- occurs in various personal pronouns, it was not an integrated part of the PMLG pronominal system.

5.1.1.2 **iha* ‘2nd person singular nominative’ (Post-PMLG **iha* nau ‘2nd person singular polite/plural nominative’). We reconstruct **iha* for the PMLG₂ 2nd person singular nominative, with no distinct topicalized form. It must have been a single form, in which the initial **i* was an integral part of the root, and not a topicalization marker.¹² This is supported by the lack of a contrasting form without *i-* (that is, **ha* or **he*), and the external evidence in some SEB languages in Indonesia, such as BAY *ika*, PAK *iko*, *iko*? ‘2nd person singular free pronoun’ (7.2).

In MLG varieties, there are two sets of 2nd person singular nominative pronouns. One set consists of reflexes of **iha*, and the other set of *hianau* and its cognate forms. The first set is represented in southern and western Madagascar and includes SKL, VEZ, BAR *iha*, and TDR *ihe* and *rehe*. We explain TDR *rehe* as being derived from *(a) + **iha*, with vowel contraction in the first two syllables and subsequent height leveling and vowel assimilation in all syllables: *(a) + *iha* > **rayha* > **reha* > *rehe*. The other form in TDR, *ihe*, is also irregular on account of its final *a*, which we tentatively explain as a back-formation from *rehe*.

The second set includes the varieties MRN, TNL (*hianau*), BAR, TNL, TSK, and North BTM (*hanau*), South BTM *anò*, North SKL *anò*, and BTL *aŋau*. These forms must have developed from a post-PMLG compound consisting of **iha* and **nau* (a 2nd person plural pronoun), which originally had a plural or polite meaning. It was maintained unchanged in Old MLG *ihanau*, although the latter has become a singular pronoun. Deriving *hianau* and its cognates from a compound would explain the unusual length of these forms, which are often trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic.

Evidence for this compound is the existence of **iha* reflexes in southern and western varieties and the presence of the external witness *naun* ‘2PL’ in the SEB languages MNY and SMH (see 7.2). The second component of this compound **nau* must originally have been the PMLG 2nd person plural form, on account of the plural meaning of its SEB cognates.

12. BAR *iha* is the only reflex that has become a dedicated topicalized nominative pronoun, resulting from a complete realignment of the nominative pronouns (5.1.2).

Reflexes of *i_ha nau appear to have geographically expanded, although they have obviously not replaced all the reflexes of PMLG₂ singular form *i_ha. The following changes account for the development of the present-day *hianau*-like forms. In MRN and TNL (*h*)*ianau*, the initial sounds *ih-* were reversed and the initial *h* is now being lost, as it is in other words. Strong support for this metathesis is that the sequence *-ia-* did not develop a nonphonemic glide *-y-* (which would have subsequently changed to *z*), a common process that should have taken place in these varieties if the original sequence had been **hia-* instead of **i_ha-* (compare **i ahu* '1SG.NOM' > **yahu* > MRN *izahu*). TSK, South BTM, BAR *hanau*, TNL (*h*)*anau*, North SLK *anò*, South BTM *anò*, and BTL *anau* are shortened forms of **i_ha nau*. The velar nasal in BTL *anau* developed as part of a paradigmatic change unique to this variety, where nominative and oblique forms are contrasted with the sounds *-ŋ-* and *-n-*: thus, BTL *anau* '2SG.NOM' vs. *anau* '2SG.OBL'. Although not mentioned explicitly in Dubois (1938), the same contrast occurs with other persons and with plural pronouns, such as BTL *anay* '1PL.EX.NOM' vs. *anay* '1PL.EX.OBL', and presumably also *anareu* '2PL.NOM' vs. *anareu* '2PL.OBL'.

Although reflexes of **i_ha nau* nowadays express singular number, the protoform itself must have had a plural meaning, considering that in the SEB languages in Borneo *naum* is plural. If it had, it must have lost its plural meaning soon afterwards, because otherwise we cannot explain how it subsequently became the basis for the creation of a new 2nd person plural pronoun in combination with **ire* and **u* (see below). Another possibility is that it originally came into being as a polite counterpart to **i_ha*.

5.1.1.3 *iye '3rd person singular nominative'. The form **iye* is reconstructed for the 3rd person nominative pronoun, with no distinct topicalized form. Among the forms found in modern languages, both *i* and *izi* reflect **iye* '3rd person'. Vowel contraction took place in the former but not in the latter, where it created the right environment for an intervocalic nonphonemic glide **y* to become *z*. This change did not take place in Old MLG *iyi*, TDR *ie*, VEZ *ie*, South BTM *iye*, or SKL *ie*. One might argue that based on its form, *i* reflects an original **iye*, whereas *izi* goes back to a topicalized variant **i iye*, but semantic support is missing, given that *izi* is always a general 3rd person nominative pronoun and never a dedicated topicalized one. Note that, historically, PMLG final **i* and **e* merged as *-i* in all MLG varieties except the western and southern ones and Old TNS.

Various other reflexes with *ri-* or *re-* (South BTM, BAR *ri*, Old MLG *riri* [with reduplication], SKL *ri*, *rie*, *reke*, TDR *re*, *reke*) are later developments involving **iye* with the honorific *(*a*)-, parallel to those described for some 2nd person nominative pronouns. SKL *ri*, *rie*, *reke* show respect to the person referred to (Dahl 1968:11), and Old MLG *riri* only refers to 'God' (Ferrand 1904). The final syllable in SKL and TDR *reke* remains unexplained.

5.1.1.4 *tikaN '1st person plural inclusive default nominative', *i tikaN '1st person plural inclusive topicalized nominative'. PMLG₂ must have had a default form **tikaN* with a topicalized counterpart **i tikaN* as 1st person inclusive nominative pronouns. They have reflexes in most varieties. MRN *isika* and TNL *itsika* agree with North BTM, Old MLG, and North SKL *atsika*.

Old MLG and North SKL *atsika* have *a-* instead of *i-*, giving the impression that these were originally oblique forms that have widened their functional scope to include nomina-

tive forms. However, the form with *a-* is more easily explained as the result of antepenultimate vowel neutralization, an occasional sound change in MLG varieties causing any vowel in antepenultimate syllables to become *a*.¹³ The circumstance that it has not taken place in MRN *isika*, TNL *itsika*, and TSK *intsika* suggests that in these varieties the emblematic value of **i* as a nominative marker (in contrast to *a-* as an oblique marker) was strong enough to withstand this tendency. The nasal in TSK *intsika* remains unexplained.

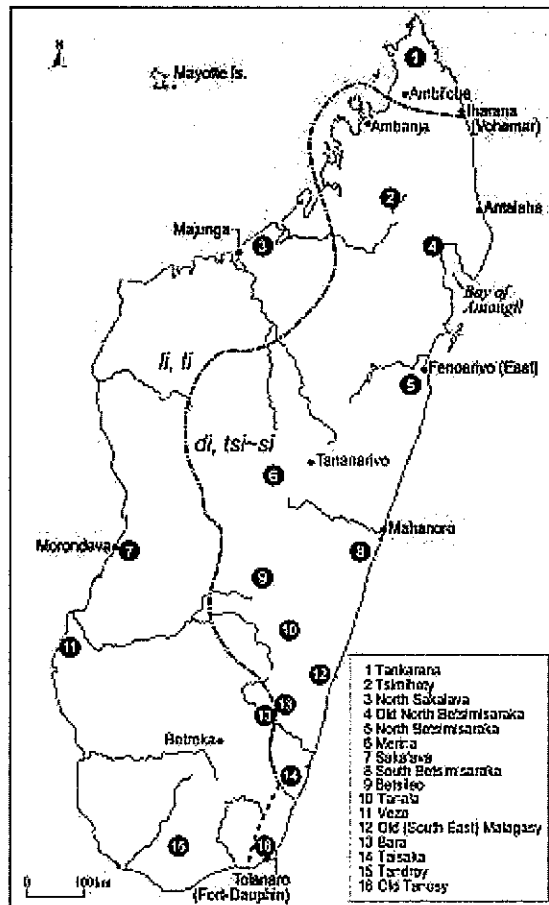
Whereas in most sources MLG varieties except TDR have *tsi* or *si* as penultimate syllables in their 1st person inclusive pronouns, Vérin, Kottack, and Gorlin (1969:36) recorded a *ti* in TDR *tika(ŋe)*, Mahafaly *tika*, and TKR and VEZ *atika*. (Both *ti* and (*t*)*si* are regular reflexes of **ti*: see table 3.) The different reflexes of **ti* in this set are remarkable in the light of discussions about the classification of MLG varieties. According to Dez (1963), the opposition between *ti* and *tsi* (or *si*) together with that between *li* and *di* are critical for a basic West/East classification of MLG varieties. Adelaar (2013) shows that this classification does not hold. It is methodologically flawed because *li* and *ti* are retentions (from PMLG, PSEB, and PMP **li* and **ti*, respectively), whereas *di* and *tsi/si* are innovations. It is also flawed because the division on which it is based is undermined by many exceptions. In short, these sound changes are not critical for the genetic classification of MLG regional varieties. This is also clearly demonstrated in the regional reflexes of (**i*) *tikaN*. On the one hand, until recently, TKR had *atika* and other vocabulary in which **ti* was reflected as *ti*, which puts this variety in an odd position and makes it a "western outlier" in Dez's eastern MLG area (see map 2). On the other hand, while SKL and VEZ are western varieties, they do exhibit affrication (the change of a stop to an affricate) of **ti* in their reflexes of **tikaN*, which is contrary to what is expected. It seems that many varieties that normally have not undergone affrication of **ti* have nevertheless replaced their reflexes of (**i*) *tikaN* with forms that do show affrication as the result of some diffusion process. It is, therefore, not without significance that some 45 years ago, Vérin, Kottack, and Gorlin (1969:36) still recorded *ti* in TDR *tika(ŋe)*, Mahafaly *tika*, TKR *atika*, and VEZ *atika*, whereas the recent wordlists of Serva and Petroni (2011) show affrication of **ti* in all reflexes of (**i*) *tikaN* except TDR and Mahafaly. This clearly indicates that the diffusion process has progressed considerably in the time that has passed between these publications.

Final *-N stands for a final nasal in general. Its reconstruction in **tikaN* is based on TDR *tikaŋe*, the Old North BTM form *atsikan*, TMH *atsikaŋa* (Dahl 1951:238; Faridanona 1977), and on corroborating evidence from PSEB **kita* (i)kam '1st person plural inclusive free pronoun' (see 7.2.1). All MLG varieties lost original final nasals, but they did so in varying degrees: the process went all the way in SKL and some other varieties, but it was more limited elsewhere on the island, and had only a marginal effect on MRN (Adelaar 2012).

In South BTM and TNL, the general first person plural inclusive pronouns are *isena* and *isia(na)*, respectively.¹⁴ There is also Old North BTM *isyang* 'he', which agrees in form but

13. Other examples of antepenultimate vowel neutralization to *a* are *andèvu* (along with *undèvu*, *ndèvu*) 'domestic, servant' < PSEB **ulun* 'person' + **iewu* 'house' (Dahl 1951:312); MLG *lavènuŋa* and MNY *walenon* 'ashes' vs. Dusun Deyah *lowanan*, Samihim *wulenun*, Luangan (also called Lawangan or Lowangan, a North East Barito language) *bəlonur* 'ashes' (same meaning; Hudson [1967]).

14. TNL also has *isika*, but this is less common (Beaujard 1998:377).

MAP 2. MALAGASY VARIETIES AND THE *li/di* AND *ti/tsi* ISOGLOSSES

not in meaning.¹⁵ These forms lack a *k reflex and therefore cannot originate from (*i) tikaN. They reflect an earlier form (*i) ti(h)aN, which matches MAL *tianj* and Old Javanese *tihanj*, *tiyanj* ‘mast; post; pillar’ (Zoetmulder 1982). The latter evolved into modern high Javanese *tiyanj* ‘person; someone’ (Janz 1913), and is sometimes used as a 3rd person pronoun. Balinese has *ti/tianj*, *tianj*, and *icanj*, which are number-neutral pronouns for the 1st person in high, medium, and low register, respectively (Kersten 1984). A semantic configuration combining the notion of a supporting post with a pronoun is not unique: a comparable set of related meanings is found in PMP *ha-diRi ‘housepost’ yielding MAL *diri* ‘1. self, oneself; 2. an erect attitude’ (also used as a 2nd person pronoun in Kelantan and Negeri Sembilan [Malaysia] and in literature), *mən-diri-kan* ‘to erect (a building)’, and Kendayan (or Kanayatin, a Malayic language in West Borneo) *diri?* ‘we (inclusive)’ (Adelaar 2005).

15. This form could still be related, assuming that Houtman had confused the 1st person plural pronoun with the 3rd person singular one.

In the past, both MLG and Balinese underwent intensive Malay and Javanese influence. In Balinese, this influence has lasted for more than a millennium and has had a very strong impact. In MLG, it must have begun before the MLG migrations to East Africa, and may have continued with a presumably much reduced intensity until the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean (Adelaar 2009; Beaujard 2012). Considering this common cultural stage in the histories of both nations and the impact it has had in each case, it is very likely that South BTM *isena*, TNL *itsia(na)*, and Balinese *ti/tianj*, *tianj*, and *icanj* originate from a common (MAL or Javanese) source *ti(h)an. This *ti(h)an may have been borrowed into MLG before the migrations from Borneo to East Africa. In that case, South BTM *isena*, TNL *itsia(na)* (and possibly Old North BTM *tsyang*) originate from a PMLG pronoun (*i) ti(h)aN, the reflexes of which were lost in varieties outside southeast Madagascar. But it could also have been borrowed after the migrations, in which case it was a post-PMLG introduction, and its spread was apparently limited to southeast Madagascar. It has no cognates functioning as pronouns in other SEB languages.

5.1.1.5 *ahai ‘1st person plural exclusive default nominative pronoun’, *i ahai ‘1st person plural exclusive topicalized nominative pronoun’. We reconstruct PMLG₂ *ahai ‘1st person plural exclusive default nominative pronoun’ with its topicalized counterpart PMLG₂ *i ahai.

The form *ahai was retained without change in TNL, TSK, and, with a topicalized meaning, in the Vinda subdialect of BAR. The form *i ahai was retained as such in TSK *iahai*. It appears with desyllabified *y* in Old MLG *yahay*, with vowel height leveling in South BTM *iehè*, and with spirantization of the following nonmorphemic glide in MRN (compare *i[y]ahai > *izahai*). In other varieties, *i became a nonsyllabic *y, which subsequently underwent spirantization, so that presently there is only a *z* left (compare TDR, SKL, VEZ *zahai*, North SKL, Old TNS *zahèi*). Eastern BAR has a default form *ahai* and a topicalized form *iahay* (see 5.2). The same opposition apparently exists in TSK: although Deschamps (1936) lists only TSK *iahai*, according to Dahl (1951:236), this variety opposes a default form *ahai* with a topicalized one *iahai*. BTL developed *ahai* through systemic realignment (as discussed above). TNL has both *iahai* and *ahai*, but the difference between them remains unexplained. Vowel leveling took place in North BTM *zehè* and North SKL *zahèi*. The final *e* in Old TNS *zahaye* is odd.¹⁶

5.1.1.6 *nau ‘2nd person plural nominative’ (Post-PMLG *iha nau ire u ‘2nd person plural nominative’). We have already reconstructed PMLG₂ *nau ‘2nd person plural nominative pronoun’, along with PMLG₂ *iha and post-PMLG *iha nau, both 2nd person singular nominative pronouns. Here we also reconstruct Post-PMLG *iha nau ire u ‘2nd person plural nominative’. Neither of these pronouns had designated topicalized counterparts.

Post-PMLG *iha nau ire u ‘2nd person plural nominative’ forms the basis of MRN *hianareu* and corresponding forms. It is a combination of the 2nd and 3rd person plural nominative pronouns (*iha nau + *ire u; see also 5.1.1.7). Its initial *i was lost in Old MLG *hanaureu* and various other reflexes. In North BTM *anarè*, the original final back vowel was lost. In other varieties, reflexes of *iha nau ire u underwent many of the

16. It may be the result of a mistaken adherence to French spelling conventions by Flacourt (1658).

changes that also apply to *iha nau, all things being equal. SKL *nareu*, *nahareu*, BAR *hanareu*, and VEZ and TDR *nareu* must have been borrowed, considering that these varieties never substituted (a reflex of) *iha nau for *iha (2nd person singular) in the first place, whereas *nareu*, *hanareu*, and *nahareu* clearly represent expansions on the basis of *iha nau. Dahl (1952:242) mentions a form *anaureu* occasionally heard in southwest Madagascar, which has maintained the *u originally occurring in *iha nau.

5.1.1.7 *ire u '3rd person plural nominative pronoun'. We reconstruct PMLG2 *ire u '3rd person plural nominative' (no default vs. topicalized contrast).

The first element *ire is a regular reflex of PMP *si-ida '3PL free pronoun', which is also directly ancestral to SMH *hire* and (with assimilation of *i to e) MNY *here* '3PL', while *u is a deictic pronoun indicating medial distance. This reconstruction basically follows Ferrand and Dahl, who argue that the plural marker -re- occurring in pronominal and deictic elements in some MLG varieties is not an infix but historically developed from a PMLG 3rd person plural pronoun *ire (Ferrand 1909; Dahl 1951:242, 260), losing its first vowel in the process.

The postcliticization of deictic elements occurred with *u 'medial' (MED)¹⁷ and *itu 'proximate' (PROX, now obsolete), as seen in the following examples:

- (5) a. *ire + *u 'MED' > *irèu* 'plural marker' (in MRN and elsewhere),
 reu '3rd person plural pronoun' (in other varieties)
 b. *ire + *itu 'PROX' > MRN *irètu* 'here (PL)', as in *izahai irètu* 'we here, as to us'

Among other SEB languages, the tendency of 3rd person plural pronouns to cooccur with a deictic element is also observed in DW, where *here* is often followed by the demonstrative pronoun *hio* 'that' (Adelaar fieldnotes). A fossilized deictic element may also be part of the third person plural pronoun in PAK *reyu*.¹⁸

After the split of PMLG, *ire + *u developed in two different directions: in some varieties it remained a 3rd person plural pronoun, and in other varieties it became a marker of plurality in general. It remained a 3rd person plural pronoun in South BTM, Old MLG, and SKL *reu*, where it has lost its initial vowel; it also remained this pronoun in North SKL *irò*, which has undergone vowel contraction, and in TDR *iareu*, North BTM *zarè* (with loss of -u), and TNL *rizareu*, which all derive from *reu with a prefixed personal article *ia-. TNL *rizareu* also has the honorific *r(a)- prefixed to it (< *r(a)- + *ia + *(i)re + *u?). SKL has *ruze*, and VEZ and BAR have *ruzi*, which must be the result of vowel metathesis involving the emergence of an epenthetic glide [y]. When *ire + *u came to be used as a 3rd person plural pronoun and was reduced to *reu, it must subsequently have developed a nonphonemic glide and become *re[y]u. This would have brought it in alignment with lexical items with *iCu and *eCu sequences, which are sensitive to vowel metathesis.¹⁹ This metathesis admittedly involves a high front vowel *i more often than a mid front

17. In current MLG, *u occurs in the derivations *èu* 'there (visible)' and *àu* 'there (invisible)'. It is part of a regular deictic paradigm where *e-* and *a-* are indicators of visibility and nonvisibility, respectively.

18. It is also seen in the use of Indonesian/MAL *màréka* '3PL'. This pronoun (which is a nineteenth-century innovation) is often followed by *itu* 'that'. The resulting *màréka itu* literally means 'they over there', but is commonly interpreted as 'they'.

vowel *e, but *re[y]u would not be the only case: compare PSEB *a(n)teluy 'egg' > *antuli > MRN *antùdi* 'egg'. Both cases show that the metathesis applies not just to *i but to front vowels in general. To summarize, *ruzi* can be analyzed as a cognate form of *reu* and must have developed as shown in (6):

- (6) *ire + *u > *(i)re[y]u > *reyu > *ruye > SKL *ruze*, VEZ, BAR *ruzi* '3rd person nominative'

Varieties in which *ire + *u has become a plural marker include MRN and TNL. In these varieties, as well as in BAR, the 3rd person pronouns (*izi* or *i*) do not distinguish number. If needed, plural is made explicit with an optional plural marker *irèu*. The latter also occurs with common nouns. The shift from a 3rd person plural pronoun to a general plural marker is an innovation. Observe *irèu* as a general plural marker in the following MRN example:

- (7) Anuntani-ù irèu anabavi-nàu! Àfaka manàmpi anàu izi irèu!
 ask-IMPERATIVE PL sister-2SG.GEN able help 2SG.OBL 3NOM PL
 'Ask your sisters! They are able to help you!'

5.1.2 Discussion: Topicalized nominative pronouns. As the comparative data above have shown, PMLG2 must have had a contrast between topicalized and default 1st person singular pronouns.

The case for other PMLG2 topicalized pronouns is less straightforward, but it seems that they also existed for the first person plural inclusive and exclusive. All varieties except SKL, TDR, and VEZ have maintained initial *i (as *i* or, in some cases, as *a*) in their first person singular inclusive pronouns. Moreover, all varieties except SKL, North SKL, TDR, and VEZ have maintained *i in their reflexes of the 1st person plural exclusive pronoun; TNL has both *ahài* and *iahài* and, according to Dahl (1951:236), TSK opposes *ahai*, a default form, to a topicalized *iahai*.²⁰ It is likely that this *i was a topicalization marker

19. In MLG (and more widely in SEB languages), *iCu* and *eCu* sequences seem to be disfavored, and in many historical *iCu sequences, the *i assimilated to *u* (resulting in *uCu*) or both vowels underwent metathesis (yielding *uCi*). Examples of metathesis of *iCu and (less often) *eCu sequences to *uCi*:

- (i) PMP *ikuR 'tail' > MRN *ùhi* 'id.'
 PMP *tiduR 'to sleep' > MRN *tùri* 'id.' (also *tùru*, see below)
 PMP *qicəluR 'egg' > PSEB *a(n)teluy > *antuli > MRN *antùdi* 'id.'
 PMP *qaninu 'shadow' > MRN *ùnina* 'shape or appearance of something' (with unexplained -nā)

Examples of assimilation of *iCu sequences to *uCu*:

- (ii) PMP *qalimukən 'pigeon' > *dimuhen > MRN *dumùhinā* 'id.'
 PMP *qijuSuŋ 'nose' > MRN *ùrunā* 'id.'
 PMP *ta-likuj 'back' > Proto-East Barito *talikut > Old MLG *talutukū* (with further metathesis of *k and *t) 'id.'
 PMP *tiduR > MRN *tùru* (*tùri*)
 PMP *liuR 'moisture' > *riuR (with regressive assimilation of r) > *ruu(R) > rù 'bouillon, broth'

Proto-East Barito *biuŋ 'neck' > PSEB *wiyuŋ > *wuyuŋ > MRN *vùzunā*, Luangan (a Northeast Barito language) *biuŋ* 'id.' (Adelaar 2012:127)

20. Dahl notes that Deschamps only mentions *iahay* and fails to mention this opposition in his pronoun inventory (Deschamps 1936:17). Another oversight by Deschamps is where he fails to mention the existence of *ahu* alongside *izahu*, although this pronoun actually occurs in one of his examples on p. 19.

as it is not historically part of the lexical root of these pronouns, and the opposition between forms with and without *i has not disappeared completely. If this is correct, the 1PL.IN and 1PL.EX pronouns in question have now become general forms in systems that have lost the default versus topicalized opposition in pronouns other than *ahu.

It is much less likely that the contrast also existed for 2nd and 3rd person pronouns, because these pronouns do not have remnants of topicalized variants. Some of them, like *iha, *iye, and *ire u, have an initial *i-, but unlike the initial *i in 1st person pronouns, this vowel is part of the lexical root and can be traced to PSEB, if not to PMP.

An exception to this is BAR, which has extended the topicalized category to all pronouns. Rabenilaina's (1983:90–94) explanation is somewhat vague, but it appears that BAR opposes a default series of short forms to a topicalized series (see table 4). The topicalized forms in BAR usually begin with *i-* or *a-* or (in the case of 3rd person pronouns) are formal extensions of original pronouns. (The 2PL topicalized pronoun *nareu*, which is a shortened form, is somewhat exceptional in this respect.) Furthermore, the 2SG pronoun *iha* must have been favored as a topicalized form because of its initial *i-*. We consider the BAR topicalized pronoun series as innovative and atypical because BAR is the only variety showing a full paradigm, and the series is, moreover, based on 2nd and 3rd person nominative pronouns that are not formally marked for topicalization at all (namely *iha*, *hanau* '2SG', *nareu* '2PL', and *ri*, *i*, *ruzi*, *reu* 3rd person).

5.2 THE RECONSTRUCTION OF PMLG₂ GENITIVE PERSONAL PRONOUNS. The genitive pronominal forms of various MLG varieties are presented in table 6.

5.2.1 General observations. All MLG varieties have a genitive series of pronouns. These pronouns have two functions: they express a possessor when suffixed to a noun, and they express an actor when they are suffixed to a verb. In North BTM and South BTM there is a tendency to use oblique pronouns in possessive constructions and, more generally, to merge the oblique and genitive series. In MRN, TNL, BAR, and SKL, pronouns other than those for the 1st person singular and the 3rd person receive an initial *n* when they are suffixed to a word ending in a vowel. This *n* does not appear when they are suffixed to words ending in *-kã*, *-trã*, or *-nã*. Compare the MRN examples in (8), where the genitive pronouns *=(n)au* (2nd person singular) and *=(n)tsika* (1st person plural inclusive) are suffixed to words with and without *-kã*, *-trã*, or *-nã*. Other varieties do not seem to have this conditioning.²¹

(8)	<i>hèvitrà</i>	'thought, idea'	<i>hevit=àu</i>	'your (SG) ideas'
	<i>zànakã</i>	'offspring'	<i>zànak=àu</i>	'your (SG) child'
	<i>ùlunã</i>	'person'	<i>ulun=àu</i>	'your (SG) men'
	<i>trànu</i>	'house'	<i>tranu=nàu</i>	'your (SG) house'
	<i>hèvitrà</i>		<i>hevi=tsika</i>	'our (PL.IN)ideas'
	<i>ùlunã</i>		<i>ulun=tsika</i>	'our (PL.IN)men'
	<i>zànakã</i>		<i>zàna=tsika</i>	'our (PL.IN)child'
	<i>trànu</i>		<i>tranu=ntsika</i>	'our (PL.IN)house'

21. Or at least, if they have it, it is not mentioned in their respective descriptions.

The PMLG₂ genitive personal pronouns are presented in table 7. Note that in **=nau*, initial **n* is part of the lexical root, whereas it is not in other pronouns. Evidence for this is that plural genitive and oblique pronouns are derived from nominative pronouns. Among the latter, **nau* has an initial **n* (in contrast to all other nominative pronouns). In most modern MLG varieties, the initial *n* is dropped when *=nau* is preceded by a consonant, thus bringing *=nau* into alignment with other postclitic pronouns.

Genitive pronouns in TDR, VEZ, and other southern MLG varieties stand out for having an initial glottal stop instead of an initial nasal (cf. table 6). The 3rd person singular genitive pronoun also has one, even if this pronoun historically has a nasal as part of its lexical structure. On the other hand, the 1st person plural inclusive pronoun still has a nasal, even if it is not part of its lexical structure. This shows that the glottal stops are a

TABLE 6. GENITIVE PRONOUNS EXAMINED IN THIS STUDY

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
North SKL	=ku	=no	=ni, =nàzi, =nàni	=ntsika	=nèi	=nàru	=ndriu
SKL	=(k)u	=(n)au	=ne, =(n)dri, =drike	=(n)tsika	=(n)ay	=(n)areu, =(n)ahareu	=(n)druze, =(n)dreu
VEZ	=ku	=(?)au	=(?)e	=ntsika	=(?)ai	=(?)areu	=juze (following -n)
TDR	=ku	=?u	=?e	=ntika(ŋe)	=?ai	=?areu	=?iereu
MRN	=(k)u	=(n)au	=ni	=(n)tsika	=(n)ai	=(n)areu	=ni
BTL	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
BAR	=(k)u	=(n)au	=ni; =(n)dri	=(n)tsika	=nai	=nareu	=ni; =(n)dri, =(n)druzi, =(n)dreu
TNL	=(k)u	=(n)au	=ni	=(n)tsia(na), =(n)tsika	=(n)ai	=(n)areu	=ni
TSK	=ku	=nau	=ni	=ntsika	=nai	=nareu	=ni
South BTM	=ku/	=nô/	=ne/	=nséna/	=né/	=narô/	=ne/
BTM	=anãha	=anô	=anaye	=anséna	=ané	=anarô	=anaye
North BTM	=ku/=ki, =anahi	=nô	=ni, =ananji	=tsika	=nè	=naré	=njaré
Old TNS	?	?	-ri (Fl)	?	nay (Fl)	-nareo (Fl)	reo (Fl)
Old North BTM	=ko (H82), nahy (H78)	nou (H81)	?	tsiken (H79), tsika (H81)	ney (H78)	?	?
Old MLG	=ku (Fe44)	=nau (Fe41)	=ni (Fe42)	?	=nay (Fe40)	=nareu (Fe82)	=dreu (Fe24), =ndreu (Fe27)

TABLE 7. PMLG₂ GENITIVE PRONOUNS

1SG	*=ku
2SG	*=nu
3SG	*=ne
1PL.IN	*=(n)tikaN
1PL.EX	*=(n)ai
2PL	*=nau
3PL	*=(n)dre u

recent phenomenon: they have replaced all nasals irrespective of their history, except for the one in *=ntika(nye)*, where the nasal was “protected” by the following stop.

5.2.2 The reconstructed genitive pronouns

5.2.2.1 **=ku* ‘1st person singular genitive pronoun’. All varieties have a 1st person singular genitive pronoun *-ku*. In MRN, there is a short form *-u* occurring after *-kã* or *-trã*; compare the following MRN forms:

(9)	<i>urunã</i>	‘nose’	<i>urun=ku</i>	‘my nose’
	<i>trãnu</i>	‘house’	<i>tranu=ku</i>	‘my house’
	<i>hëviträ</i>	‘thought, idea’	<i>hevitr=u</i>	‘my ideas’
	<i>zãnakã</i>	‘offspring’	<i>zanak=u</i>	‘my child’

The short form occurs in MRN, TNL, and BAR descriptions, and in the SKL textual material in Dahl (1968). We reconstruct PMLG2 **=ku* ‘1SG genitive’. We do not reconstruct a short form because it mainly occurs in MRN, TNL, and BAR, which are central MLG varieties spoken in a contiguous area, and it is not mentioned in the descriptions of other varieties. It does not seem to be inherited from PMLG2.

5.2.2.2 PMLG **=nu* ‘2nd person singular genitive’, Post-PMLG **=nau* ‘2nd person singular genitive’. We reconstruct PMLG **=nu* ‘2nd person singular genitive’. It is based on TDR *=ɲu* and its MNY cognate *-nu*, which are both 2nd person genitive pronouns. There are no cognates in other MNY varieties. TDR *=ɲu* reflects an earlier **=nu*, conforming to the **n : ʔ* correspondence in TDR and VEZ genitive personal pronouns.

One might be tempted to interpret *=ɲu* as a reflex of **=nau* having undergone vowel contraction. However, there is no precedent for such contraction. TDR words as a rule exhibit the full sequence *au* for a historical **au* sequence, as shown in forms like *vau* ‘recently’ (<PMLG2 **wau* ‘id.’ <PMP **baqRu* ‘new’); *tau(nye)* ‘year’ (<PMLG **taun* ‘id.’ <PMP **taqun* ‘agricultural cycle’); and *tau* ‘to make’ (<PMLG **tau* ‘id.’ <PMP **taqu* ‘to know’).

All other varieties have a 2nd person singular genitive pronoun *=nau* or a reduced form of it. Ruud’s (1955) grammar sketch of South BTM has *no* as well as *anô*. The latter must be an oblique form deriving from **an-* + **nau*. (It illustrates the tendency to use oblique pronouns in possessive constructions; see 5.2.1 and 5.3.) VEZ has *=(?)au*: in VEZ and TDR pronouns, glottal stop as a rule has replaced an earlier initial **n*.

We reconstruct PMLG2 **=nau* as a 2nd person plural genitive pronoun. Because of its association with the PMLG2 nominative plural pronoun **nau* and the fact that there already is a PMLG2 2nd person singular genitive pronoun **=nu*, we assume that it had a plural meaning and that it took on a singular meaning only after the split of PMLG (see section 6). Hence, also, the reconstruction of Post-PMLG **=nau* ‘2nd person singular genitive’.

5.2.2.3 **=ne* ‘3rd person singular genitive’. We reconstruct PMLG **=ne* as a 3rd person singular genitive pronoun. All varieties exhibit *=ni* or a related form, such as TDR, VEZ *=ɲe* and SKL *=ne*. In MRN, TNL, BAR, TSK, and possibly South BTM, this suffix is not number-specific. The final **e* is based on the evidence from SKL, TDR, and VEZ, which have maintained the PMLG2 opposition between **-i* and **-e* (Dahl 1951:79–80).

As to SKL *ndrike* and SKL, BTM *ndri, dri*, these are cliticized forms of *ri* and *rike*. The latter are secondary developments in the western and southern varieties, as pointed out in 5.1. North BTM *=ananji*, South BTM *=anaye*, and North SKL *=nazi* all reflect an earlier **an-aye*. They are oblique pronouns that have expanded their role to include that of genitive pronouns. The history of North SKL *=nani* remains unexplained.

5.2.2.4 **=N=tikaN* ‘1st person plural inclusive genitive’. All varieties except South BTM have *=(n)tsika* ‘1st person plural inclusive genitive’ or a form corresponding to it. We reconstruct **=N=tikaN* as the PMLG2 1st person plural inclusive genitive pronoun, by analogy with its nominative counterpart **tikaN* (see 5.1.1.4). South BTM *=nsena* and TNL *=(n)tsia* and *=(n)tsiana* form the basis for reconstructing a post-PMLG form **=N=ti(h)aN* ‘1st person plural inclusive genitive pronoun’ (analogous to nominative **ti(h)aN*; see 5.1.1 and fn.17).

5.2.2.5 **=(n)ai* ‘1st person plural exclusive genitive’. All varieties have *=(n)ai* or a cognate form for the 1st person plural exclusive genitive; we reconstruct PMLG2 **=(n)ai* with the same meaning.

5.2.2.6 PMLG2 **=nau* ‘2nd person plural genitive pronoun’; Post-PMLG **=nau ire u* ‘2nd person plural genitive pronoun’. We have already discussed PMLG2 **=nau* as a 2nd person plural genitive pronoun (see above). All varieties have *=(n)areu* or a cognate form for the 2nd person plural genitive. This is the suffixed counterpart of *hianareu* and related nominative forms. We reconstruct a post-MLG **=nau ire u* ‘2nd person plural genitive pronoun’. SKL *=(n)ahareu* (alongside *=(n)areu*) is apparently the result of antepenultimate neutralization of **u* to *a* in an earlier **=naureu*.

5.2.2.7 **=(n)dre u* ‘3rd person plural genitive’. Various forms are used for the 3rd person plural genitive in the MLG varieties. Most are manifestations of *=ni*, *=(n)dreu*, and *=(n)druze*. As pointed out above, *=ni* is originally not a plural pronoun but derives from a 3rd person singular genitive suffix **=ne*; it became unmarked for number in MRN, TNL, and BAR. The forms *=(n)dreu* and *=(n)druze* are cliticized counterparts of the nominative forms *reu* and *ruze*, respectively: *=(n)dreu* seems to be the general 3rd person plural genitive pronoun in South BTM and Old MLG; it is the cliticized form of **ire u*. Its spread is limited nowadays to varieties spoken in east Madagascar, but it is cognate with *=(n)druze* (and *ruze*) in SKL and BAR, and with the plural marker *reu* in MRN and TNL. The form *=(n)druze* is inherently plural and is typical of varieties in southern and western parts of Madagascar; VEZ *=ɲize* is the expected regular cognate if the preceding nominal host ends in *-n* (VEZ *nj* corresponds to *ndr* in other varieties: see table 3), but it must have lost this conditioning, as it can apparently be cliticized after any host form; *=(n)druze* and *=ɲize* are cliticized forms of **ruze* (which in turn is a secondary development deriving from **ire u* through metathesis: see above). We reconstruct PMLG2 **=(n)dre u* ‘3rd person plural genitive’. At a lower level, we reconstruct Proto-SW-MLG **=ndruye* ‘3rd person plural genitive’.

Other 3rd person plural genitive forms are less significant from a historical perspective. BAR *=(n)dri* is the cliticized counterpart of the polite form *ri* (5.1.1); South BTM *anaye* is basically an oblique form (< **an-aye*, see 5.2.1 and 5.3); North BTM *=njare* and TDR *=ɲiereu* must be independently derived from **=(n)ia-reu*, which is an innovation

based on *re u: =*njare* underwent desyllabification and subsequent fortition of *i + loss of *u, whereas =*iereu* shows the typical TDR change from **n*= to glottal stop, as well as assimilation from *a to e.

5.3 THE RECONSTRUCTION OF PMLG₂ OBLIQUE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

5.3.1 General observations. Oblique pronoun sets found in the individual MLG varieties are presented in table 8. In almost all varieties, the oblique series is characterized by two features: the 1st and 3rd personal singular pronouns are separate lexical items, and plural pronouns consist of *an-* prefixed to roots that are identical to the genitive pronominal cliticized roots treated in 5.3.2. TDR has also retained (from PSEB) a separate lexical item for the 2nd person singular. Therefore, PMLG₂ must have had a series of singular oblique personal pronouns; plural oblique personal pronouns appear to have all been combinations of the oblique marker **an*=²² and a suffixed pronominal root. We are able to reconstruct the PMLG series of oblique pronouns shown in table 9.

5.3.2 The reconstructed oblique pronouns

5.3.2.1 *ahe '1st person singular oblique'. We reconstruct PMLG₂ **ahe* as a 1st person singular oblique pronoun. MRN, Old MLG, BAR, TDR, TSK *ahi* (and Old North

TABLE 8. OBLIQUE PRONOUNS EXAMINED IN THIS STUDY

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
TKR	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
North SKL	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
SKL	ahi, anakahi	anau	azi, aze, andri, andrike	antsika	anai	anareu, anahareu	andruze, andreu
VEZ	àhe, àhi	ànau	àzi, àze	—	anàe	anareu	—
TDR	ahi, ahiku	azu	aze	ántika	anai	anareu	iareu
MRN	ahi	anau	azi	antsika	anai	anareu	azi ireu
BTL	?	anau	azi	?	anay	anareu	azi
BAR	ahi, anahi, anakahi, anakahiku	anau	azi(anazi), (andri)	atsika	anai	anareu	azi, andri, andruzi, andreu
TNL	anahi	anau	anazi	antsia(na), antsika	anai	anareu	anazi
TSK	ahi, anahi	anau	azi, anazi, enazi	atsika	anai	anareu	azi, anazi, enazi
South BTM	anaha	anò	anaye	ansena	ane	anarò	anaye
North BTM	anahi	anò, annò	ananji	ntsika	ne	naré	njaré
Old TNS	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Old North BTM	ahy (H83)	anauw (H80)	?	atsiken (H79)	iay (H83)	?	?
Old MLG	ahi (Fe94)	anau (M186)	ayi (Fe36), an-driri (Fe17), anazi (M186)	—	anay (Fe55)	anaureu (Fe28), anareu (Fe27)	andreu (Fe31), areu (Fe48)

22. According to Dahl (1951:141, 233), the clitic particle *an-* is a reflex of PMP **anu*, which he thought was an indefinite pronoun. However, neither the meaning he gives to **anu* nor its implied relation to MLG *an-* is convincing.

TABLE 9. PMLG₂ OBLIQUE PRONOUNS

1SG	*ahe
2SG	*ayu
3SG	*aye
1PL.IN	*an=tikaN
1PL.EX	*an=ai
2PL	*an=nau
3PL	*an=dre u

BTM *ahy*) reflect the PMP 1st person singular oblique pronoun **akən*; *ahi* also occurs in various hypercorrect forms involving *an-*, *anak-*, or *-ku*, and even some forms combining *an-* or *anak-* with *-ku*. This concatenation also happened with other singular pronouns as part of a general tendency toward morphological rationalization in the oblique pronoun paradigm. VEZ has the variant forms *àhi* and *àhe*. South BTM has *anaha*, which developed from *an*= + **ahe*, apparently with assimilation of the final vowel to the preceding one. We reconstruct **ahe* '1st person singular oblique pronoun', which in turn reflects PMP **akən* '1st person singular oblique'. The loss of its *-n is in accordance with the fairly general tendency among MLG varieties to lose historical final nasals (Adelaar 2012:126–27). Its final **e* reflects PMP **ə* and corresponds to final *i* in the varieties listed above. SKL *ahi* must be borrowed from MRN or another variety: the expected form would be **ahe*, as SKL regularly reflects PMP **ə* in final syllables as *e*, not as *i*.

5.3.2.2 *ayu '2nd person singular oblique'; *an=nau '2nd person plural oblique'. We reconstruct the PMLG₂ pronoun **ayu* for the 2nd person singular oblique. We do so on the basis of TDR *azu*, which must be a PSEB retention, as it is related to the MNY general 2nd person singular pronoun *hañu*, as pointed out by Dahl (1951:239). The connection is even more obvious with SMH *hayu*, which, in contrast to MNY *hañu*, has maintained the original *y*.²³

All other varieties have combinations involving *an-* and a suffixed root *-nau* or a related form for the 2nd person singular oblique. We use it as a basis to reconstruct **an=nau* '2nd person plural oblique'. We attribute a plural meaning to it, in line with the original meaning of **nau* discussed in 5.1.1.

5.3.2.3 *aye '3rd person singular oblique'. This etymon is based on MRN, BTL, BAR, TSK *azi*, Old MLG *àyi*, TDR *aze*, and SKL, VEZ *aze* and *azi*. In many varieties, cognates of this pronoun form concatenations with *an*=: compare South BTM *anàye*, BAR, TNL, TSK, Old TNS *anàzi*, and North BTM *ananji*, which are all derived from **an*= + **aye* (in the case of *ananji*, with nasal assimilation of **y* due to influence of the preceding nasal).

5.4 THE PMLG₂ PRONOUN PARADIGM. The paradigm of PMLG₂ pronouns that we have reconstructed is shown in table 10.

23. Hudson's comparative wordlist has SMH *hañu?* (Hudson 1967); however, the Surat Pangadjan (a 40-page liturgical text in SMH) frequently and consistently uses *hayu*. The latter makes more sense historically, and is also in structural agreement with the correspondence between MNY *hañe* and SMH *haye* (both 3rd person singular pronouns).

TABLE 10. AN OVERVIEW OF PMLG₂ PRONOUNS

	DEFAULT NOMINATIVE	TOPICALIZED NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
1SG	*ahu	*i ahu	*=ku	*ahe
2SG	*iha		*=nu	*ayu
3SG	*iye		*=ne	*aye
1PL.IN	*tikaN	*i tikaN	*=(n)tikaN	*an=tikaN
1PL.EX	*ahai	*i ahai	*=(n)ai	*an=ai
2PL	*nau		*=nau	*an=nau
3PL	*ire u		*=(n)dre u	*an=dre u

6. A CLASSIFICATION OF MLG VARIETIES: THE EVIDENCE FROM PRONOUNS. At this point, it is worthwhile to see how the various pronouns and the PMLG₂ pronominal reconstructions may contribute to a classification of MLG varieties. Of course, such a classification needs to be based on much more than pronominal evidence alone. Nevertheless, this evidence provides a good starting point, as its value is qualitatively much higher than that of most other lexical evidence.

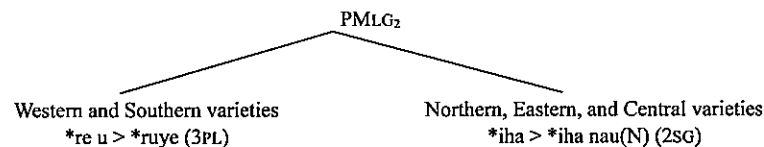
Sections 6.1 and 6.2 present pronominal evidence for subgrouping, while 6.3 gives an overview of the pronouns that can be reconstructed at the PCMLG, PNEMLG, and PSWMLG levels.

6.1 LEXICAL AND SEMANTIC INNOVATIONS. Two important developments happened in the pronoun systems of all MLG varieties, although it is likely that they originated in only some of them after the split of PMLG₂ and then spread into other varieties through contact:

- (i) *nau(N) lost its plural meaning.
- (ii) The vacuum for the 2nd person plural thus created was filled by *iha nau (i)re u, a new compound derived from *nau(N).

Various other historical developments were not general but were limited to certain configurations of regional varieties only, as shown in figure 2. They are crucial indicators for classification. In the northern, eastern, and central varieties, the original 2nd person singular pronoun *iha was expanded with *nau(N) to form a new compound *iha nau(N). This innovation distinguishes these varieties from those in the west and south of Madagascar. The northern, eastern, and central varieties also lost the nonnominative second person singular forms *=nu and *ayu (which were also lost in western varieties). On the other hand, the western and southern varieties developed a 3rd person plural pronoun *ruye: whether or not the result of metathesis of the vowels in *re u, it is an innovation common to these varieties and marks them off from the northern, eastern, and central ones. We see a

FIGURE 2. AN EARLY SPLIT OF MLG BRANCHES BASED ON THE HISTORY OF PRONOUNS

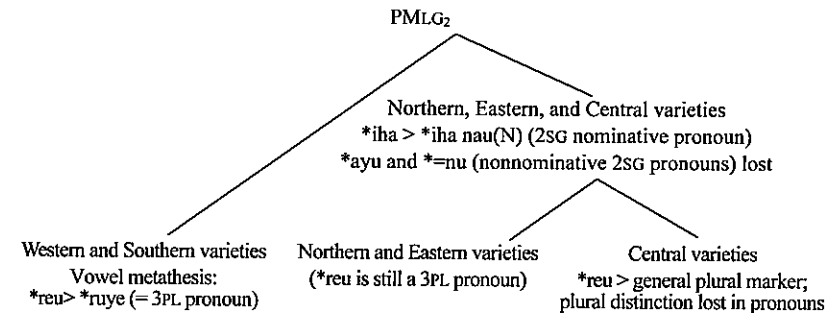


basic dichotomy emerge between the southern and western varieties on the one hand, and the northern, eastern, and central ones on the other, as illustrated in figure 2.

6.2 LOSS OF NUMBER DISTINCTION IN CENTRAL MLG VARIETIES.

Two further interrelated developments are typical of central MLG varieties. One is the evolution of the original PMLG₂ 3rd person plural pronoun *ire into a general marker of plurality (5.1). The other is the emergence at some stage of a pronominal system with no number distinction, which was caused by *ire becoming a general plural marker and the loss of plurality in *nau(N). These developments are not shared with the northern and eastern varieties: whereas these three regional groups maintained *ireu without metathesis, it was kept as a 3rd person pronoun in northern and eastern varieties but became a plural marker in central varieties. This is illustrated in figure 3.

FIGURE 3. A CLASSIFICATION OF MLG SUBGROUPS BASED ON INNOVATIONS IN THE FORM AND MEANING OF PRONOUNS



The central MLG varieties include MRN, TNL, Sihanaka, and BTL. Their 3rd person pronoun is basically the same for singular and plural and reflects PMLG₂ *iye. Moreover, the plural 2nd person pronoun *hianareu* and its cognate forms are innovative. *iha nau ire u spread to most varieties through borrowing and came into being relatively recently, because (a) it is grafted on *iha nau, which itself is already a Post-PMLG innovation, and (b) it developed after *ire had changed from a 3rd person plural pronoun to a general plural marker. These factors combined indicate that there must have been a stage in the common history of central MLG varieties in which plurality was only expressed in 1st person pronouns. However, plurality is not a basic category in the semantics of 1st person inclusive and exclusive pronouns: rather than plural, these pronouns are more accurately described as configurations of, respectively, 1st+2nd person and 1st+3rd person (see table 11). From that vantage point, Proto-Central MLG had arguably lost the PMLG₂ number distinction at some stage when *hianareu* had not yet been created. This loss of number distinction was

TABLE 11. THE PROTO-CENTRAL MLG PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

2ND PERSON	1ST PERSON	3RD PERSON
*iha nau	(*i) tikaN	*iye
	(*i) ahu	(*i) ahay

innovative, and set the central MLG varieties off against other forms of MLG. The Proto-Central MLG pronominal system can graphically be expressed as in table 11.

It should be noted that the history of pronouns is not always useful for testing phonological change in general. For instance, SKL is a test language for PMLG **e*, but in the case of *ahi* (< PMLG **ahe*), it has *-i* instead of the *-e* that is expected on the basis of corroborating evidence from Austronesian languages in general. Furthermore, many southern and western varieties show affrication of **ti* in their reflexes of **tikaN*, which is also irregular. In cases like these, MLG varieties have apparently been influencing one another too much to demonstrate the expected patterns of regular sound change.

6.3 THE RECONSTRUCTION OF PSWMLG, PNEMLG, AND PCMLG PRONOUNS. Based on the innovations outlined above we propose the lower-order pronoun reconstructions as given in tables 12–14.

TABLE 12. PSWMLG, PNEMLG, AND PCMLG NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS

	PMLG2	PSWMLG	PNEMLG	PCMLG
1SG	*ahu	*ahu	*ahu	*ahu
2SG	*iha	*iha	*iha nau	*iha nau
3SG	*iye	*ie	*iyi	*iyi
1PL IN	*tikaN	*tikaN	*tikaN	*tikaN
1PL EX	*ahai	*ahai	*ahai	*ahai
2PL	*nau	*nau	*iha nau reu	*iha nau reu
3PL	*ire u	*ruye	*reu	*iyi

TABLE 13. PSWMLG, PNEMLG, AND PCMLG GENITIVE PRONOUNS

	PMLG2	PSWMLG	PNEMLG	PCMLG
1SG	*=ku	*=ku	*=ku	*=ku
2SG	*=nu	*=nu	*=nau	*=nau
3SG	*=ne	*=ne	*=ni	*=ni
1PL IN	*=(n)tikaN	*=(n)tikaN	*=(n)tikaN	*=(n)tikaN
1PL EX	*=(n)ai	*=(n)ai	*=(n)ai	*=(n)ai
2PL	*=nau	*=nau	*=nau reu	*=nau (reu)
3PL	*=(n)dre u	*=(n)druye	*=(n)dreu	*=ni

TABLE 14. PSWMLG, PNEMLG, AND PCMLG OBLIQUE PRONOUNS

	PMLG2	PSWMLG	PNEMLG	PCMLG
1SG	*ahe	*ahe	*ahi	*ahi
2SG	*ayu	*ayu	*an-nau	*an-nau
3SG	*aye	*aye	*ayi	*ayi
1PL IN	*an=tikaN	*an=tikaN	*an=tikaN	*an=tikaN
1PL EX	*an=ai	*an=ai	*an=ai	*an=ai
2PL	*an=nau	*an=nau	*an=nau reu	*an=nau (reu)
3PL	*an=dre u	*an=druye	*an=dreu	*ayi

7. EARLIER LEVELS OF RECONSTRUCTION. In the following subsections, we trace pronominal developments preceding PMLG₂ and try to reconstruct pronouns at the PMLG₁ and PSEB levels.

7.1 AT THE TIME OF THE MIGRATIONS TO EAST AFRICA AND AFTERWARDS: FROM PMLG₁ TO PMLG₂. After the early Malagasy had migrated to East Africa, their language underwent some important changes, of which the most emblematic ones are the spirantization of nonfinal **p*, **k*, **d*, and **g*, and the fricativization of semivowels. It has these phonological changes in common with the Comorian languages. The easy explanation for these phenomena would be that they are due to Bantu influence, but the resulting features are equally difficult to explain from a general Bantu perspective in Comorian as they are from an Austronesian perspective in MLG, and it may, therefore, be necessary to explain them in both MLG and Comorian languages as the effect of a substratum from a regional language that has now disappeared. The existence of such a substratum would agree with the presence of an earlier population in Madagascar (and the Comoros?) before the first migrants of Austronesian and Bantu descent came to these islands, a theory for which there seems to be a mounting body of evidence (cf. Blench 2007, 2010; Dewar et al. 2013). Be that as it may, this spirantization of stops and fricativization of semivowels had not yet happened in Indonesia at the time MLG split off from other SEB languages, although nowadays these features have spread among most MLG varieties. They are, therefore, part of the post-migratory East African history of MLG.

Spirantization and fricativization had not yet taken their full course at the time of PMLG₂. Some of the manifestations of these processes are more recent or are still going on, such as **y* > *z*. However, some other changes that are part of this overall process have taken place in all varieties and must date from the period between PMLG₁ and PMLG₂. They crucially include the spirantization of **k* and concomitant changes, which must have happened in the following chronological order:

1. PMLG₁ **h* > PMLG₂ ∅
2. PMLG₁ **k* > PMLG₂ **h*
3. PMLG₁ **ŋk*, **kk*, **k^h* > PMLG₂ **k*

Applying these sound changes to the pronouns reconstructed for PMLG₂ yields the PMLG₁ pronouns shown in the left columns in tables 15–18 (the geminated **k* in **tikkam* and the choice of nasals in various etyma will be explained in 7.2):

TABLE 15. PMLG₁ AND PMLG₂ DEFAULT NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS

	PMLG ₁	>	PMLG ₂
1SG	*aku		*ahu
2SG	*ika		*iha
3SG	*(h)i(y)e		*iye
1PL IN	*tikkam		*tikaN
1PL EX	*akai(n)		*ahai
2PL	*nau(n)		*nau
3PL	*hire (u)		*ire u

TABLE 16. PMLG₁ AND PMLG₂ TOPICALIZED NOMINATIVE PRONOUN

	PMLG ₁	>	PMLG ₂
1SG	*i aku		*i ahu
1PL IN	*i tikkam		*i tikaN
1PL EX	*i akai(n)		*i ahai

TABLE 17. PMLG₁ AND PMLG₂ GENITIVE PRONOUN

	PMLG ₁	>	PMLG ₂
1SG	*=ŋku		*=ku
2SG	*=nu		*=nu
3SG	*=ne		*=ne
1PL IN	*=(n)tikkam		*=(n)tikaN
1PL EX	*=(n)ai(n)		*=(n)ai
2PL	*=nau(n)		*=nau
3PL	*=(n)re (u)		*=(n)dre u

TABLE 18. PMLG₁ AND PMLG₂ OBLIQUE PRONOUN

	PMLG ₁	>	PMLG ₂
1SG	*ake(n)		*ahe
2SG	*(h)ayu		*ayu
3SG	*(h)aye		*aye
1PL IN	*an=tikkam		*an=tikaN
1PL EX	*an=ai(n)		*an=ai
2PL	*an=nau(n)		*an=nau
3PL	*an=re (u)		*an=dre u

7.2 PSEB PRONOUNS. The next step in tracing the history of MLG pronouns is to compare them to pronouns in other SEB languages and to attempt to reconstruct PSEB pronouns. SEB languages are poorly documented. They differ from MLG varieties in that their pronoun paradigm is much smaller. According to their often incomplete descriptions, they have only one pronominal series, except for MNY, which also has pronominal suffixes for the singular (it has no suffixes for the plural, juxtaposing free pronouns instead). There is also no clear evidence of a distinction between default and topicalized nominative pronouns. However, in contrast with MLG varieties, MNY, DW, and BAY also have a 1st person dual pronoun (see 7.2.3). Considering the syntactic implications of this reduction, it makes more sense to call these series “free” and “bound,” respectively. Whether the SEB languages originally had larger paradigms that became reduced later on is likely—but remains a matter for further research.

An additional problem in the comparison of SEB pronouns is that it is not always possible to relate them to PMP pronouns. As far as the latter are concerned, there is also no consensus on their reconstruction and the system governing them.²⁴ It is remarkable that the free pronouns in some SEB languages regularly correspond to PMLG nonnominative

24. In the pages to follow, we refer to the PMP pronouns presented in Blust (2009:443). Other recent attempts at the reconstruction of Austronesian pronouns at high cladistic levels are Reid's PMP pronouns (Reid 2009, 2014) and Ross's Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Nuclear Austronesian pronouns (Ross 2006, to appear). They are mainly concerned with 1st and 2nd person pronouns. Reid reconstructs a PMP nominative pronominal clitic series including *=aku '1SG', *=ta '1DU.IN', *=ta[kamu] '1PL.IN', *=kami '1PL.EX', *=ka'u '2SG', *=kamu '2PL', and a PMP genitive pronominal clitic series including *=ku '1SG', *=ta '1DU.IN', *=ta[mu] '1PL.IN', *=mi '1PL.EX', *=mu '2SG', and *=mu[yu] '2PL', where parenthetical forms are assumed to be dialectal variants. Ross (to appear) reconstructs six series, of which only the neutral/nominative and genitive/nominative clitic series are directly relevant for our comparison. The neutral/nominative series has the following members: *i-aku '1SG', *ita '1PL.IN', *i-ami '1PL.EX', *iSu[qu] '2SG', and *i-mu[qu], (*i-amu) '2PL'. The genitive/nominative clitic series has *=ku '1SG', *=ta '1PL.IN', *=mi[a] '1PL.EX', *=Su '2SG', and *=mu '2PL'.

pronouns: compare DM singular free pronouns *ku*, *nu*, and *ne* with the PMLG₁ singular genitive pronouns *=ŋku, *=nu, *=ne, and the MNY singular suffixes =ku, =nu, =ni; compare also the second and third person free pronouns in MNY (*hañu* and *hañe*) and SMH (*hayu* and *haye*), which formally agree with their oblique counterparts *(h)ayu and *(h)aye in PMLG.

In summary, due to lack of adequate data, our attempt at reconstructing PSEB pronouns will perforce be very tentative and limited. We will only compare sets of free pronouns (7.2.1) and (singular) bound pronouns (7.2.2). SEB and PSEB pronouns are shown in table 19.

7.2.1 The reconstruction of PSEB free pronouns.

7.2.1.1 PSEB *aku '1st person singular free pronoun'. For the first person singular, we can reconstruct PSEB *aku '1st person singular free pronoun', based on the combined evidence of reflexes in PMLG, most SEB languages, as well as evidence from PMP, which according to Blust (2009:443) had *i-aku.

7.2.1.2 PSEB *ika (?) '2nd person singular free pronoun'. We tentatively reconstruct PSEB *ika (?) '2nd person singular free pronoun'. This etymon is more arbitrary than those proposed for other SEB pronouns. It is based on BAY *ika*, PAK *iko*, *ikō?*, and PMLG₁ *ika (> PMLG₂ *iha). As shown above, in various SEB languages, there seems to be a mismatch between syntactic categories: compare MNY, DW²⁵ *hañu*/SMH *hayu* (free pronouns) versus PMLG₁ *(h)ayu (+ oblique), and DM *nu* (free pronoun) versus PMLG *=nu and MNY =nu (both + genitive).

7.2.1.3 PSEB *(h)i(y)ε '3rd person singular free pronoun'. There is not much agreement among SEB 3rd person singular pronouns, but PSEB *(h)i(y)ε '3rd person singular free pronoun' can still be reconstructed on the basis of the regular correspon-

TABLE 19. PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN SEB LANGUAGES

	1SG	2SG	3SG	IDUAL	1+2	1+3	2PL	3PL
PSEB	*aku	*ika (?)	*hi(y)ε (?)		*kita-(f)kam (*kita-kam(u)?)	*kami (?) *(a)kain (?)	*naun	*hire
PMLG ₁	(*i) aku	*ika	*(h)i(y)ε		(*i) tikkam	(*i) akai(n)	*nau(n)	*hire (u)
PMLG ₂	(*i) ahu	*iha	*iye		(*i) tikaN	(*i) ahai	*nau	*hire u
MRN, MLG	ahu, izahu	hianau	izi	isika	izahay	hianareu	izi, iziireu	
Maanyan	aku	hañu	hañe	taruh	takam	kami	naun	here
Dusun Malang	ku	nu	ne		taka	kamin	lun deon	ire
Samihim	aku	hayu	haye		takam	kami	naun	hire
Dusun Witu	aku	hañu	aye	ueh	takam	kami	kaun	here (hio)
Bayan	ku	ika	ne	tatarue	taka	kami	ilaj deon	ire
Paku	aku (DI166)	iko (DI166)	iyu (DI167)		takam (DI199)	kain (DI167)	ikam (DI167)	reyo (DI168)

25. Hudson (1967) has DW *kayo?*; his DW wordlist represents the Rahai (upriver) subdialect of DW, which is spoken along the Barito River between Buntok and Muara Teweh; Adelaar's data are from Kalahien village and represent the Ma'ai (downriver) subdialect, which is spoken in the vicinity of Buntok.

dence between PMP *si-ia, PMLG₁ *(h)i(y)e, and the regular reflex *ivo* in PAK; note that PAK -o reflects PMP *-a and PSEB *-e (Hudson 1967; Dahl 1977), and hence agrees with PMLG *-e. As pointed out earlier, MNY *hañe* and SMH *haye* seem to reflect the oblique form *haye, in tandem with MNY, DW *hañu* and SMH *hayu*, the 2nd person singular pronouns, which may reflect oblique *hayu (the palatal nasal in MNY and DW *hañu* must be secondary). Their shift from oblique to free pronoun pairs remains unexplained.

7.2.1.4 PSEB *kita (i)kam (?) '1st person plural inclusive free pronoun'.

A complicated case, that, however, is phonologically more regular than it seems at first sight, is the set of 1st person plural inclusive pronouns: all SEB languages have a form *takam* or (in BAY, DM, and PAK) *taka*. This can be reconciled with PMLG₁ *tikkaN if we assume that Proto-SEB had a compound pronoun.²⁶ We tentatively reconstruct *kita (i)kam '1st person plural inclusive free pronoun', basically combining the root of the PMP 1st person plural inclusive *kita with a 2nd person plural pronoun. A reflex of *ikam is found in PAK *ikam* '2nd person plural'. Reflexes are also found in various other Bornean languages (Ray 1913:54–55), as well as in Banjar MAL, which has *ikam* '2nd person singular'. The initial component of *kita (i)kam must have undergone metathesis of *k and *t and intervocalic vowel syncope in early MLG, and loss of the first syllable in other SEB languages. The initial *i in *ikam must reflect a historical topicalization marker; however, none of the current SEB languages seems to distinguish morphologically between topicalized and nontopicalized personal pronouns, nor do they have forms reflecting *kam without *i. Based on this analysis, the evolution went as follows in MLG varieties:

- (10) SEB *kita (i)kam > *tik(a)-kam > PMLG₁ *tikkam > PMLG₂ *tikaN
> MRN *i/sika*, SKL *tsika*, TDR *tika(ŋe)*, etc.

The metathesis between velar and coronal stops that took place in the development from SEB *kita (i)kam to PMLG₁ *tikkam, PMLG₂ *tikaN also happened elsewhere in MLG and is not unique. It can be seen in Old MLG *tahutukū* 'backbone', which derives from PMP *talikuj 'id.' (5.1). It may also have taken place in MLG *lika*, *dika* 'to make a step, transgress', a Bantu loanword eventually deriving from Common Bantu *kida.²⁷

The evolution may have been as follows in other SEB languages:

- (11) SEB *kita (i)kam > *(ki)ta-(i)kam
> DM, BAY *taka*, other SEB languages *takam*

An alternative explanation of *taka/takam* in SEB languages in Borneo is that it also involved metathesis of *k and *t, combined with antepenultimate neutralization of *i to a and syncope of *a:

- (12) SEB *kita (i)kam > *tika-kam > *tak(a)kam > *takam
> DM, BAY, PAK *taka*, other SEB languages *takam*

26. Note that we follow Dahl (1951:238) in assuming an original compound, but we reject his etymon *kita kam(i) (combining Dempwolff's [1938] PMP 1st person plural inclusive and 1st person exclusive pronouns), because the semantics are inherently contradictory. Dahl also failed to explain the metathesis between *k and *t implied in the development from an alleged *kita kam(i) to MRN (*i/sika*, SKL *tsika*, and other cognates).

27. Simon (2006:140) believes that this metathesis did not happen in MLG itself but in a non-Sabaki Bantu language that became the source of MLG *dika*, *lika* later on.

An alternative protoform to *kita (i)kam is *kita kam(u), which might have resulted in the same range of reflexes as we find today. As a protoform, it would be justified on the basis of PMP *kita + a non-topicalized PMP form *kamu '2nd person plural'. However, this is less likely, because *kamu has no reflexes in any current SEB language; moreover, it would leave the implied loss of final *u to be accounted for.

According to Reid (2009, 2014), the Proto-Austronesian first person plural inclusive pronouns *kita and *=ta became first person dual pronouns at the PMP stage, and expression of the first person plural inclusive required a combination of *ta + *kamu '2nd person plural'. According to his analysis, it would make sense to derive SEB *takam* (and, by extension, also *taka*) from PMP *ta + *kamu. However, leaving undecided whether or not PMP *kita and *=ta had a dual meaning, we find this derivation problematic because it does not apply to PMLG₁ *tikkam (and PMLG₂ *tikaN), leaving the phonological changes in the latter unaccounted for. It leaves unexplained (i) what happened to original PMP final *u; (ii) why MLG varieties reflect *i* in *tikkam (/ *tikaN); and (iii) why MLG varieties reflect a historical geminated *k in this pronoun. In short, deriving SEB *takam* (and *taka*) directly from PMP *ta-kamu would make it very difficult to establish a historical connection between these pronouns and PMLG₁ *tikkam.

7.2.1.5 PSEB *kami (?), kain (?), both '1st person plural exclusive free pronoun'.

The 1st person plural exclusive pronouns are formally similar, but they probably reflect two distinct sources. MNY, SMH, DW all have *kami*. This form is in obvious agreement with PMP *-i-(k)ami 'id.' and may be a regular reflex of it. However, it could also be borrowed and reflect Malay *kami* '1st person plural exclusive'. DM *kamin* is probably derived from the same root, or else came about as a conflation of *kami and *kain. A reflex of the latter (*kain*) is found in PAK, and it must also be related to PMLG₁ *akai(n) and/or its short form *(=n)ai(n). Cognate forms are found in other East Barito languages: compare Dusun Deyah *kaitm* (with preposition of the final nasal) and Taboyan, Luangan *kain* (all with the same meaning). We tentatively reconstruct both PSEB *kami (?) and PSEB *(a)kain (?) '1st person plural inclusive free pronoun'.

7.2.1.6 PSEB *naun (?) '2nd person plural free pronoun'.

As far as the 2nd person plural free pronoun is concerned, MNY and SMH *naun* agree with PMLG₁ *nau(n). Speculatively, DW *kaun* may have originated through a conflation of *naun and *kamu. BAY *nu* is identical to the 2nd person singular free pronoun in DM. DM *lun deon* is a lexical replacement or a circumlocution literally meaning 'many people' (< *hulun 'human being' + *deon* 'many').²⁸ PAK has a corresponding *ikam*. We tentatively reconstruct PSEB *naun (?) '2nd person plural free pronoun'.

7.2.1.7 PSEB *hire '3rd person plural free pronoun'.

There is nearly complete agreement in shape throughout the SEB group for the 3rd person plural. SMH *hire* is in regular agreement with PMLG₁ *(h)ire (u). MNY, DW,²⁹ and PAK *here* have undergone additional vowel leveling, while DM *ire* lost expected *h (< PMP *s). These reflexes

28. Hudson (1967) has *kəŋkəŋəŋ*, which is a similar circumlocution. DM *kəŋ* refers to a number (of people), and in the neighboring North East Barito language Taboyan *əŋəŋ* 'all, finished' and *kəŋəŋəŋ* 'all' occur (Adelaar and Tom Hoogervorst, 2010 fieldnotes).

29. Hudson (1967) has *hire* representing the Rahai (upriver) subdialect of DW.

warrant the reconstruction of PSEB *hire '3rd person plural free pronoun', which is also a regular reflex of PMP *si-ida.

Summarizing the above, corresponding sets of free and nominative pronouns in PMP, PSEB, PMLG₁, and PMLG₂ are presented in table 20. A direct continuity from PMP onwards is clear in 1SG, 3SG, and 3PL pronouns, but less so in other pronouns.

7.2.2 The reconstruction of PSEB bound singular pronouns *= η ku '1SG', *= ν u '2SG', and *= $n(i)$ e '3SG'. Corresponding sets of bound and genitive pronouns in PMP, PSEB, PMLG₁, and PMLG₂, are presented in table 21. There is reasonable agreement between the PMLG genitive singular pronouns *= η ku '1st person', *= ν u '2nd person', and *= $n(i)$ e '3rd person', and the MNY bound suffixes = ku '1st person', = ν u '2nd person', and = ni '3rd person', respectively. On the basis of their correspondences, the PSEB bound suffixes *= η ku, *= ν u, and *= $n(i)$ e can be reconstructed accordingly. The velar nasal in *= η ku derives from a PMP genitive linker *ni- marking pronominal suffixes (Blust 2009:443); none of the PSEB pronominal suffixes appears to have maintained the original *i in this linker (although one might speculate that the high vowel in MNY = ni is the result of the palatalizing effect of the vowel in PMP *ni on the following PMP 3rd person singular suffix *=a).

TABLE 20. (FREE/NOMINATIVE) PERSONAL PRONOUNS
IN PMP, PSEB, PMLG₁, AND PMLG₂

	PMP	PSEB	PMLG ₁	PMLG ₂
1SG	*i-aku	*aku	(*i) *aku	(*i) ahu
2SG	*i-kahu	*ika (?)	*ika	*iha
3SG	*si-ia	*hi(y)e	*(h)i(y)e	*iye
1PL.IN	*i-(k)ita	*kita-(i)kam (*kita-kam(u)?)	(*i) tikkam	(*i) tikaN
1PL.EX	*i-(k)ami	*kami? *kain?	(*i) akai(n)	(*i) ahai
2PL	*i-kamu, *ihu	*naun (?)	*nau(n)	*nau
3PL	*si-ida	*hire	*hire (u)	*ire u

TABLE 21. BOUND/GENITIVE PERSONAL PRONOUNS
IN PMP, PSEB, PMLG₁, AND PMLG₂

	PMP	PSEB	MNY	PMLG ₁	PMLG ₂
1SG	*ni=ku	*= η ku	=ku	*= η ku	*=ku
2SG	*ni=hu	*= ν u	=nu	*= ν u	*= ν u
3SG	*ni=a	*= $n(i)$ e	=ni	*= $n(i)$ e	*= $n(i)$ e

7.2.3 PSEB dual pronouns? Finally, MNY *tarueh*, DW *ueh*, and BAY *tatarue* are dedicated 1st person dual pronouns. They can easily be derived from a compound *kita '1PL.IN' + *rue 'two'. This compound is structurally rather transparent and lacks corresponding forms in other SEB languages. It is not sufficient evidence for the reconstruction of a PSEB dual protoform, nor, for that matter, for the existence of a dual category in PSEB.

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS. PMLG (in its pre- and post-migratory stages) had an extensive pronoun system lexically distinguishing singular and plural number and

inclusion/exclusion as well as syntactic categories. It included a default nominative, topicalized nominative, genitive, and oblique set of pronouns. In nominative case, topicalized pronouns differed from default ones in that they were marked with a preceding *i and only existed for the 1st person. Genitive pronouns were bound forms marked with *= n - throughout, and oblique pronouns were marked with *an= in the plural. Both genitive and oblique sets had dedicated lexical forms for the singular, and derivations related to nominative pronouns for the plural.

PMLG pronouns have cognates in Southeast Barito languages in Borneo. However, the latter languages do not have oblique forms, and the way their pronoun systems are related to that of PMLG is not always straightforward. The relationship between PMLG and SEB pronouns on the one hand, and PMP pronouns on the other, is generally even less transparent.

The PMLG pronoun system evolved in different ways throughout Madagascar, thus providing some clues for an internal classification of MLG varieties. Pronominal developments indicate a basic split between western and southern varieties (SKL, VEZ, TDR, Vinda BAR, Mahafaly, Masikoro) on the one hand, and northern, central, and eastern varieties on the other. Within the latter group, central varieties (MRN, BTL, TNL, Sihanaka) again form a distinct subgroup.

In all varieties, 1st person pronouns have remained more stable than other pronouns. The original 2nd person plural pronoun *nau(n) was lost as such. In combination with *iha '2SG', it became *iha nau, a second person singular pronoun in northern, central, and eastern varieties. This pronoun in turn became the basis of a 2nd person plural pronoun derivation that was eventually adopted in all varieties: thus, Post-MLG *iha + nau + *ire '3PL' + *u (+MED) became Old MLG *ihanareu*, MRN *hianareu*, North SKL *anarò*, TDR *nareu*, and so on. In central MLG varieties, the 3rd person plural pronoun lost its pronominal meaning and became a general plural marker. Due to this, as well as to the shift from plural to singular in *nau(n), central varieties essentially lost their number distinction; it was reintroduced later on with the formation of *iha + nau + *ire '3PL' + *u.

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Book Reviews

Alain Lemaréchal. 2010. *Comparative grammar and typology: Essays on the historical grammar of the Austronesian languages. Orbis Supplementa 35*. Paris: Peeters. xx + 368. ISBN 978-90-429-2254-9. €79.00, paper.

This is a very difficult volume to review. It consists of a series of papers previously published in French, translated into English, and now collated together here. From a number of comments in the text, it is clear that the author feels that his work has been snubbed and not given its fair due in the heavily English language dominant academic environment of Austronesian linguistics: hence this translated collection. While it is certainly true most academics based in the English-speaking world, and that includes the overwhelming majority of Austronesian specialists, only rarely read materials in languages other than English, as we shall see, there are quite likely other compelling reasons why the author's publications in comparative and historical Austronesian linguistics have been rarely referred to. While the data collected and the breadth of the author's reach is quite impressive, this book is in most respects very much in left field in Austronesian linguistics. The author has clearly been involved in research on comparative Austronesian linguistics for several decades, but has done this largely on his own and with little engagement with wider work in the field. His reading of its scholarly literature appears very partial. He jumps upon what will support his claims, but ignores most things that contradict them. There is little or no true argumentation. The exposition is essentially an iteration of bold claims, with no true rigorous argumentation to back them up. The text is littered with "coulds" and "mays." Although reconstruction of the prehistory of Austronesian languages necessarily works with unattested forms, the standards of argumentation expected are still higher than mere possibilities (although it needs to be admitted that these textual laxities could simply be an artifact of translation).

Further, his use of the comparative method and its central and indispensable law of regularity of sound change are lax indeed. Irregular consonantal correspondences are brushed aside with nary a comment, and vowels seem to count for nothing. Floating morphemes with slippery, almost ghost-like, meanings proliferate. His conclusions are sweeping and, if found to be true, would require a complete rethink of everything we know about the prehistory and grouping of Austronesian languages. Given such profound implications, we would demand a much higher burden of proof and solid argumentation. And all of this is not helped by the extremely terse writing and dense presentation of the book; it will take a very dedicated scholar of comparative Austronesian linguistics to wade through it.

But beyond all these negative comments, Lemaréchal does highlight some very important data and brings up some central and as yet unaddressed questions in comparative Austronesian linguistics, and for this we are all in his debt. He has compiled the data, so that now these questions can be researched, and researched rigorously. In a way, he has raised a ques-