ON THE HISTORY OF MALAGASY TERMS FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

Introduction

This paper is a preliminary investigation into the origins of Malagasy (henceforth MLG) body-part terms. The questions that I am interested in are, where do these terms come from, and how do their distribution and the phonological developments they exhibit add to our insight into dialect divisions. The vocabulary that I am concerned with includes external and internal parts of the human body as well as terms for name, hair and substances that are excreted. It does not include terms for bodily movements.

MLG is an Austronesian language spoken on Madagascar. Genetically it belongs to the Southeast Barito (henceforth SEB) subgroup of Malayo-Polynesian, which in turn forms a main branch within the Austronesian language family. SEB languages are spoken on the south-eastern

1 I am very pleased to dedicate this paper to Sasha Ogloblin, a very special friend of mine whom I have always admired for his great erudition and his enormous tolerance, sense of humour and wisdom. I wrote the paper as a Principal Fellow in the Asia Institute, University of Melbourne, and as a guest lecturer in the Institute of Linguistics at the University of Cologne. I collected part of the data between 2015 and 2018 during fieldwork in Madagascar, which was supported by a Discovery Grant (DP120100390) from the Australian Research Council. I would like to thank my language consultants in Madagascar and in Kalimantan (Indonesia) (see appendix) for their assistance and patience in providing linguistic data from their respective dialects. I would also like to thank Laurie Reid for valuable feedback. Any errors in the current version are my own responsibility.
shores of the Barito River in the South and Central Kalimantan provinces of southern Borneo (Indonesia). MLG is supposed to hail from southern Borneo and, together with the SEB languages in Borneo (Ma’ananyan, Samihim, Dusun Witu, Dusun Malang, Bayan), to have evolved from a hypothetical stock language, Proto Southeast-Barito (henceforth PSEB). Among the SEB languages in Borneo, Ma’ananyan has the most speakers and is the best documented language. Therefore, I will often use examples from Ma’ananyan to illustrate that a particular MLG body-part term has cognates in other SEB languages.

Dahl’s (1951), in his extensive study of the relationship between MLG and Ma’ananyan, included a section (pp 299-304) on the development of body-part terms in these two languages. It clearly shows that many of these terms derive from Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP). It also points out Bantu influence as well as the effects of awkward homonymies (homonymies fâcheuses) and other irregular developments. However, this work fails to recognize a crucial factor in the historical interpretation of body-part terms. The Malayo-Polynesian vocabulary in MLG not only consists of words that are regularly inherited from PMP but also includes vocabulary borrowed from other Asian languages. The vocabulary in question is mainly from Malay but occasionally also from Javanese and South Sulawesi languages. (It also includes several Sanskrit loanwords which were borrowed indirectly via Malay and Javanese). Moreover, many body-part terms that are borrowed from Malay appear to be metaphorically related to their Malay source words rather than deriving from a dedicated Malay body-part term.

The current paper takes these distinctions into consideration. It also makes use of more recent data and a more advanced insight into the linguistic variety in Madagascar and southern Borneo than were available to Dahl before 1951.

The data in this paper are based on fieldwork notes, standard and dialect dictionaries, and vocabulary lists. Apart from my own fieldwork, my

2 A cognate is a word which is related to a word in another language through common inheritance. In contrast, a loanword is related to a word in another language through linguistic borrowing.

3 Tom Hoogervorst points out that many loanwords in Indonesian languages and Malagasy that are usually considered to originate from Sanskrit were actually not borrowed from that language but from Middle-Indian, even if they ultimately derive from Sanskrit (Hoogervorst 2013).

4 I made three short fieldwork trips to the cities of Majunga, Antananarivo and Fianarantsoa in Madagascar (between 2015 and 2018), and six short trips to Southeast Barito speaking regions in Central and South Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo, between 2010 and 2018).

Insights into the spread of MLG body-part terms are based on Gueunier, Rasoamalalavo and Raharinjahary (1992) and (more sporadically) Serva and Petroni (2011). The former is a detailed overview of the geographical spread of 36 MLG body-part terms and a discussion of their meanings. It is meant to become part of a linguistic and ethnographic atlas. In contrast to the present study, it is not primarily historically oriented. The latter shows the spread of 200 basic vocabulary items in 22 MLG locations, including 20 body-part terms.

In the following treatment of body-part terms I sometimes address irregular sound changes that are particular to individual terms. However, I an overview to Table 1 of the regular changes that have taken place between PMP and MLG, and between lending languages and MLG. MLG varieties and dialect areas that I discuss are listed in Table 2 together with their main sources and abbreviations. Reference works that I have used for other languages in the paper are Guthrie (1970) for Bantu languages, Pigeaud (1938) for Javanese, Gonda (1973) for Sanskrit, and Wilkinson (1959) for Malay.

Table 1. Sound-correspondences between PMP and MLG (Merina dialect)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto Malayo-Polynesian</th>
<th>Merina MLG (in inherited vocabulary)</th>
<th>Merina MLG (in borrowed vocabulary)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-as, *-ah</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-a (sometimes -i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-a, *-aR, *-al</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-a, -atră, -ană</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e; a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e (last syllable)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-aw</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-iv, *-ey</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-ay</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-uy</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>v,b</td>
<td>v, b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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I use the following conventions in the list above:

| “-“ | no MLG inherited words were found with a reflex of the PMP phoneme in question |
| “-i“, “-p“, “-t“ etc.: | the sound in question occurs at the end of a word |
| “-w“, “-l“, “-i“ etc.: | the sound in question occurs in the middle of a word |
| “Ø“: | the corresponding PMP phoneme was lost |
| “Ø-“/-Ø“: | the corresponding PMP phoneme was lost at the beginning/end of a word |

All Austronesian languages under discussion belong to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. Therefore, I mostly use PMP etyma rather than Proto Austronesian ones as historical reference points, as the former are more transparently related to SEB languages (including MLG dialects) and therefore easier to interpret.

Malagasy has many varieties. Whether they should be considered dialects rather than languages in their own right is a matter of debate. While it is true that there is a large extent of mutual intelligibility between varieties, there are also some (like Tandroy) that differ considerably from the other ones. In what follows I will use the term ‘dialect’ for all MLG varieties. I do so for the sake of easiness, without claiming a particular status for the variety in question. Numbers of MLG dialects mentioned in the literature vary substantially (e.g. 22 in Rasoloson and Rubino [2011]) and 12 in Simmons and Fennig [2018]), and an exact number cannot be given because their counting depends on many considerations. Moreover, neither the number of dialects nor their names are linguistically informed. Dialects are often named after their region, so that one variety may have two names if it is spoken on either side of a regional border. Conversely, two separate dialects within one region may go by the same name and not be distinguished at all. Another factor is that dialects in the same area often have important features in common so that it makes sense to distinguish some broad dialect regions. Broadly speaking, the North, Centre, East, South and West of Madagascar are more or less distinct dialect areas. However, further research is needed to establish whether eastern dialects form a single group or should be divided into a north- and south-eastern group. From an overall perspective, at this preliminary stage the evidence seems to favour a genetic classification of western and southern dialects into one primary branch of MLG, and all other dialects into another (Adelaar 2013).

For the sake of this historical study, I classify MLG body-part terms into eight main categories:
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1. Terms directly inherited from PMP
2. Terms inherited from PSEB
3. Terms that seem to be uniquely MLG
4. Terms borrowed from Malay and other Asian languages
5. Malay loanwords having undergone metaphorical or other drastic semantic changes
6. Terms due to the avoidance of an awkward homonymy
7. Bantu loanwords
8. Ambiguous forms

I will discuss these categories in sections 1 to 8. In section 9 I treat the polite registers that exist in some of the southern and south-western dialects, and I end with concluding remarks in section 10.

Table 2. Malagasy dialects/dialect areas and their abbreviations and sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialects and dialect areas</th>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
<th>Source (unless indicated otherwise in the text)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central MLG</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Adelaar (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East MLG</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North MLG</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South MLG</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West MLG</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bara MLG (West MLG)</td>
<td>BAR</td>
<td>Eli (1988)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betsileo MLG (Central MLG)</td>
<td>BTL</td>
<td>Adelaar (fieldnotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betsimisaraka MLG (East MLG)</td>
<td>BTM</td>
<td>Serva and Petroni (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comorian Malagasy</td>
<td>Comorian MLG</td>
<td>Gueunier (1986)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusun Witu</td>
<td>Dusun Witu</td>
<td>Adelaar (fieldnotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma’anany</td>
<td>MNY</td>
<td>Adelaar (fieldnotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malagasy</td>
<td>MLG</td>
<td>Abinal and Malzac (1988)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merina MLG (Central MLG)</td>
<td>MRN</td>
<td>Abinal and Malzac (1988)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Sakalava (Tanalava region)</td>
<td>N-SKL</td>
<td>Adelaar (fieldnotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto Malagasy</td>
<td>PMLG</td>
<td>Dahl (1951), Adelaar (to appear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto Malayo-Polynesian</td>
<td>PMP</td>
<td>Blust (online)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto South East Barito</td>
<td>PSEB</td>
<td>Hudson (1967), Dahl (1977), Adelaar (work in progress)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto West Malayo-Polynesian</td>
<td>PWMP</td>
<td>Blust (online)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samihim</td>
<td>Samihim</td>
<td>Adelaar (fieldnotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Sakalava MLG (West MLG)</td>
<td>S-SKL</td>
<td>Gueunier (unpublished)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East Barito (Borneo)</td>
<td>SEB</td>
<td>Hudson (1967), Dahl (1977)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sihanaka MLG (Central MLG)</td>
<td>SIH</td>
<td>Serva and Petroni (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taimoro</td>
<td>TMR</td>
<td>Adelaar (fieldnotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tandroy MLG (South MLG)</td>
<td>TDR</td>
<td>Adelaar (fieldnotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tankarana MLG (North MLG)</td>
<td>TKR</td>
<td>Adelaar (fieldnotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambahaoaka MLG (East MLG)</td>
<td>TBH</td>
<td>Serva and Petroni (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanala MLG (Central MLG)</td>
<td>TNL</td>
<td>Beaujard (1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanosy MLG (East MLG)</td>
<td>TNS</td>
<td>Adelaar (fieldnotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vezo MLG (West MLG)</td>
<td>VEZ</td>
<td>Poirot (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorimo MLG (East MLG)</td>
<td>VRM</td>
<td>Ruud (1955)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zafisoro MLG (West MLG)</td>
<td>ZFS</td>
<td>Serva and Petroni (2011)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most of the entries below I first give etyma from earlier language stages (Proto Austronesian, PMP (PWMP), PSEB) and sometimes e-
dence from Ma’anyan, Malay or another non-MLG language before presenting the actual body-part terms from MLG dialects. These etyma and other language evidence are added for the sake of comparison. In Section 1 they show that the MLG terms are descended from Proto Austronesian, PMP or PWMP and reflect the etyma reconstructed for these protolanguages. In other sections they are used contrastively to show that the body-part terms in question are not inherited from a higher protolanguage but are inherited from PSEB (Section 2), are apparently unique to MLG (Section 3), are borrowed from Malay or another Asian language (Section 4 and 5), or are ambiguous as to origin (Section 8).

In some cases the phonological developments from PMP to SEB and on to the various MLG dialects yield identical results as what might have happened in the case of borrowing from Malay or another Malayo-Polynesian language, and there is no way of telling whether the resulting MLG form is inherited or borrowed. For instance, MLG fifi ‘cheek’ could be regularly inherited from PMP *pipi ‘cheek’, but it could also have been borrowed from Malay (compare Malay pipi ‘cheek’). I treat these cases as if they are regularly inherited from PMP unless there is phonological evidence that can be used to disambiguate their history.

My spelling of Malagasy words and sounds largely follows the official spelling, except for ‘o’ which is written as u, final ‘y’ which is written as i, and the indication of stress on words of more than one syllable. Moreover, final vowels sometimes obtain a brève sign and are written as ā, ĭ, or ŭ. My reasons for this are that both ‘i’ and ‘y’ stand for the same phoneme, the pronunciation of orthographic ‘o’ is closer to [u] than to [o], some final vowels are whispered, and Malagasy stress is contrastive. The Tanosy and Taimoro dialects of Malagasy make a contrast between post-alveolar and dental sibilants, which I write as s and S respectively. I spell Ma’anyan, Malay and Javanese words according to their official spelling except for the mute ‘e’ (schwa), which I write as ǝ, and the velar nasal, which I write as ŋ. However, I write personal names and toponyms in their original spelling.

1. Terms regularly inherited from PMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body, trunk</th>
<th>PMP *batan ‘tree trunk, stem of a plant; body; corpse; self; main course of a river’ [...] (abbreviated) &gt; PMLG *wataŋ ‘body’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; MRN vatanā, N-SKL vātanā, BAR, TDR vātanē, TMR vata-tēna (see below), TNS, VEZ vāta, Old MLG (Dez 1981) vatanā, (Ferrand 1904:86) vātanē idem’, VRM vātan ‘body; self’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>PMP *tuqalan ‘condylosous bone; bone of fauna exclusive of fish’ &gt; PMLG taulaN ‘bone’ &gt; MRN, BTL taulanē, TDR taulanē, S-SKL, TMR tōlaŋa, TNS tōlā, VEZ taul ‘id.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone marrow</td>
<td>PMP *hutak ‘brain, marrow’ Betsileo ūtekā ‘marrow’ (Dahl 51:300) (Note TDR ūtekē ‘vagina’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast</td>
<td>PMP <em>nunuh ‘female breast’ &gt; PMLG</em> nunu ‘breast; nipple’ &gt; MRN, BAR, TDR, TNS, VEZ, TKR mūnu, N-SKL nōnu ‘id.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheek</td>
<td>PMP *pipi ‘cheeks, temples’ &gt; PMLG *fifi ‘check’ &gt; BAR, TMR, TKR, TDR, TNS, VEZ fifi ‘cheek’ (MRN takūlakā)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bile</th>
<th>PMP *qapaju gall, gall bladder, bile’ &gt; PMLG *af eru ‘id’</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; MRN, TNL, TKR, TMR, TDR, VEZ af eru ‘id’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>PMP *daRaq ‘blood; to bleed; menstruate’ PSEB *raa ‘blood’ &gt; Ma’anyan, Dusun Witu, Samihim ira’; Dusun Malang raha’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PMLG *raa ‘blood’ &gt; MRN, BTL, BTM, SKL, TMR, BTH ra, Old MLG ra (Adelaar 2019; Ferrand 1904) ‘id.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NB: Dahl (1951:302) explained Ma’anyan, Dusun Witu, Samihim ira’ as the result of a back formation from mi-ra ‘to bleed’ (*mi-ra’ &gt; *mira’ &gt; *m(i)-ira’ &gt; m-ira &gt; ira’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Corpse PMP *patay, PSEB *patey ‘corpse’, cf. Ma’anyan ka-patet ‘to kill’
> PMLG* fate ‘corpse; death’ (*fatey- when suffixed)
> MRN, TMR, BAR, N-SKL, TNS *fâti ‘id.’, TDR fâte, VEZ fâte, fâti ‘id.’

Ear PMP *taliŋa1, *tanjila ‘ear’
> PMLG *taliɲe ‘ear’
> BTM, TBH, ZFS, TMR tadìŋi

Excrement PMP *taliŋa1, *taŋila ‘ear’
> PMLG *taliɲe ‘ear’
> MRN, BAR, N-SKL, TNS fàti ‘id.’, TDR fàte, VEZ fàte, fàti ‘id.’

Finger PMP *t<an>uzuq ‘index finger’
> PWMP *pa-nuzuq ‘index finger’, PWMP *tu-tuzuq ‘pointer, index finger’
> PMLG *tundru ‘finger’
> MRN, BAR, N-SKL, TNS *fanùndru, VEZ *tùndru, VEZ *tùndru ‘index finger’

Heart PMP *pusuq ‘heart of a person or an animal; purple heart-shaped inflorescence of a banana’
> PMLG *fuu ‘heart, interior’ > all dialects fu, Old MLG (Adelaar 2019; Ferrand 1904:90) fu ‘heart, interior’

Intestines PMP *t<in>aqi ‘small intestine’
> PMLG* tinai > MRN, BTL tinâi, TDR tinâi(ŋê), TMR tinâi, TNS tinâi, VEZ tinâi, tinâi ‘intestines’

Life, breathing PMLG *aîn ‘life, breathing’ > BAR, âi, N-SKL ainjì, TDR âi(ñê) (Rajaonarimanana and Fee 1996), VEZ âi, âe ‘id.’, MRN âinâ ‘life, vigor, effort’, BTL mi-âinâ, TNS mi-âi ‘to breathe, blow air’

Liver PMP *qatay ‘liver; seat of the emotions […]’
> PMLG *ate > TDR âte, VEZ âti, âte, other dialects âti ‘1) liver; 2) interior’

Molar tooth Molar tooth PMP*ba Raŋaŋ ‘molar tooth’ (OJV wəhaŋ ‘idem’) PMLG*wayaŋ ‘molar’ > MRN vázanâ, BAR, TNS, VEZ váza, TMR, N-SKL vázanâjâ, TDR váza(ŋê) ‘idem’; compare also TNS vaza/kūhu (see ‘Nail’)

Mouth PMP *baŋbaŋ ‘mouth, opening; speak, say’
> PMLG *wawa ‘mouth’ > all dialects vâva

Nail PMP *kuhkuh ‘claw, talon, fingernail’
> MRN hiha, Rusun Witu kuku’, Rusun Malang, Samihim kuku ‘idem’ PMLG *huhu ‘fingernail’ > MRN, BAR, TDR, VEZ hūhu, VRM vayankûu, TMR, TNS vaza/kūhu ‘nail’ (*wayaŋ ‘molar’ [see above] + *huhu)

Name PMP *apajàn ‘name’
> PMLG*ajaran ‘name’ > MRN, BTL, TMR anâranâ, BAR, TNS, VEZ ajâra, TDR ajâraŋe, N-SKL anâranâŋ, VRM anâranâ ‘idem’

Navel: PMP *pusaj ‘navel, umbilicus; mid-point or center of something’
> PMLG* fueT ‘navel, centre’(cf. Ma’anyan puhet ‘navel, centre’)
> MRN fûttrâ, N-SKL, fuîtsî, TNS fûSi, ‘navel, centre’, TDR fuîtsî ‘navel, centre’, part of umbilical cord saved after birth’, VEZ fuîtsî ‘navel, centre; umbilical cord’

Nerve, muscle, tendon PMP *uRat blood vessel, blood vein; muscle; nerve; sinew; tendon; fiber; vein of a leaf; grain of wood; strand (of thread, rope); fishing line; root’
> PMLG* (h?)uya T ‘nerve, muscle, tendon’ > MRN hîzatrâ, ûzatrâ, TMR ēzatrâ, BARhîzatsî, TKR ēzatrâ, TDR ēzatsî, TNS hîzatsî, VEZ hîzatsî, ûzatsî ‘idem’ (occurrence of initial h in these forms remains unexplained)

Nose PMP *ijuN ‘nose’
> PMLG* (h?)uya T ‘nerve, muscle, tendon’ > MRN, BTL ūrunâ, ūruŋa, TKR ūruŋa, BAR, BTL, TNS, VEZ ūru, TDR ūru(ŋê) ‘id.’
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Palm, sole
PMP *palaj 'palm of hand, sole of foot'

Pus
PMP *nanaq ‘pus’
> PMLG *nana ‘pus’
> MRN, BAR, TMR, N-SKL, TDR, TNS, VEZ nàna ‘idem’

Saliva
PMP *ibař ‘saliva in the mouth; drool; desire, crave, lust for’
> PSEB *iwey > PMLG *iwe ‘saliva’ > MRN ivi, TDR ive, TNS ranu/n/ivi, TMR ranu/n/ivi (*ranu ‘water’ + *.N- (linker) + *iwey) ‘saliva’

Shoulder
PMP *qabaRa ‘shoulder; carry on the shoulder’
> MRN avài ‘shoulder’, N-SKL avei, TKR ave ‘shoulder’, TNL avâhi ‘shoulder; shoulder blade’ (not in BAR, S-SKL, TDR, or VEZ)

Skin
PMP *kulit ‘skin; hide; rind; bark’
> PMLG *hulit ‘skin; bark; leather’ > MRN, BTL hùditră, BAR hùlitsĭ, TDR, VEZ hùlitsĕ, TNS hùliSĭ, hùdiSĭ ‘idem’

Spittle
PMP *ludaq ‘saliva; to spit’
PMLG *rura ‘saliva’ > MRN rùra ‘id.’, BAR, VEZ-rùra ‘saliva; spittle’, TDR, TNS man-drùra ‘to spit’

Sweat
PWMP *linjat (attested in Philippines in Bontok and I-sneg) ‘sweat, perspiration’
PMLG *lìnjet ‘sweat’ > MRN dinirà̌, BAR lińjèśi, dinjèśi, TMR, N-SKL dinjirà, VEZ lińjès, VRM dinijira (MRN influence?) ‘idem’, > N-SKL diņjèr-iņjè ‘to sweat, sweating’;
NB: Rajaonarimanana and Fee (1996) list TDR lińjèśi but in Andromasy’s variety (and in TNS) the term for ‘sweat’ is fàna (this word has the meaning ‘heat’ in other dialects)

Thigh
PMP *paqà ‘thigh’
> PMLG *fee > MRN, N-SKL, BAR, S-SKL, TNS, TDR, VEZ fe ‘thigh’

Tongue
PMP *dilaq (Proto Austronesian *zilaq) ‘tongue’
> PMLG *lèla ‘tongue’ > all dialects lèla ‘tongue’

Tooth
PMP *(n, ng, l) ipen ‘tooth’
> PMLG *nife[n?] ‘tooth’
> TDR nife, MRN, TNL, TBR, BAR, TKR, TNS nìfi ‘idem’

Vomit
PMP *luaq ‘spit out (food, substances alien to the body), to spew’
PMLG *lua ‘1) vomit; 2) payment’ > MRN, TNL, BAR lua ‘id.’, TMR, TKN lua ‘vomit’, VEZ lua-lua ‘idem’, TDR lua ‘vomit’; man-dìa ‘1) to vomit; 2) to pay’

Whiskers
PWMP *bauk ‘whiskers’
> PMLG *wauk ‘idem’
> MRN vàukă ‘whiskers’, BAR vàukĭ, TDR vàukă ‘beard’

Inherited from PMP but with change in form or meaning:

Beard
PMP *kumis ‘beard’; PWMP *sumit ‘moustache’
PMLG *sumuT ‘hair on face’ > MRN sùmutră, TDR sùmutsë (Rajaonarimanana and Fee 1996) ‘goatee’, TNL sùmutră, TMR sùmutră, BAR sùmutsi, VEZ sùmutsë ‘beard’;
NB: the change from *i to u in proximity of another u is very frequent in MLG.

Hair (any)
PMP *buhek ‘head hair’;
PMP *bulu body hair; fur; feather; down; floss on plant stems; color; type, kind’
> PMLG *wulu ‘any hair; feather’ > all current dialects válù ‘idem’, TMR vulundùha ‘hair on head’, TKN vulundôha, BTL vulundôha ‘hair on head’

Leg
PMP *bities ‘lower leg; calf of leg’, PWMP *butiqes ‘calf of leg’
> TDR *witi ‘lower leg’ > N-SKL, TDR wìti ‘leg’
NB: *witi is related to *wua-witi ‘Calf of leg’ (see below)
2. Terms regularly inherited from Southeast Barito (SEB)

Armpit

No Proto Austronesian or PMP etymon; Ma’anyan kel-ek ‘armpit’
MLG *kelek ‘armpit’ > MRN, TMR, TNL hêlikâ, TKR sêlikî, N-SKL ëlikî, BAR hêlikë, VEZ hêlikê, TDR hilekê ‘idem’

Body

PMP *təŋaq ‘middle’ (as *təŋah in Dempwolff 1938) PSEB *teŋa ‘body; self’ > PMLG *teŋa ‘idem’ > MRN tèna, TMR tênabody’, vata-têna ‘full body’, VEZ têna-têna ‘1) body; 2) self’, TNL têga ‘1) body; 2) self; 3) centre, interior’, BAR têga ‘1) body; 2) one, oneself’, TDR têja ‘body’

Human being

PMP *tau ‘person, human being’
PMP *qulu ‘head; upriver’ > ? pre-SEB *ulu-an ‘(residing in) upriver area’ > PSEB *ulun (originally an exonym?) ‘person, human being’ > PMLG *ulun ‘person, human being’ > MRN ulûnâ, BTL, BAR, TMR, TNS, S-SKL, VEZ ûlu, N-SKL ûluû, VRM ulu, Old MLG ulunâ, ulun, ulu ‘id.’ (no reflex in TDR)

Kidney area

PSEB *wuni’an ‘kidneys? bladder? groin, lower belly?’ > MNY wan’ian, wan’ian ‘bladder’
> PMLG *wanian ‘lower belly, groin; kidneys’

Knuckle

Ma’anyan wanei (D1951) ‘limb, articulation’
PMLG *wani ‘part between knuckles or joints’
> MRN, TMR vâni ‘part between knuckles or joints’, vanini ‘id.’ (-ni ‘3rd person singular genitive pronoun’), TNL vâni ‘node (in grasses)’

Penis

PMP *qutin ‘penis’
Ma’anyan latak ‘testicle’
PMLG *latak’? (part of) male sexual organ’; MRN laâtakë, BAR lâtakî, VEZ lâtakê ‘penis’, SKL (Dahl 51) lâtakë ‘scrotum’, TDR laâtakë ‘penis’; (Rajaonarimanana and Fee 1998) ‘testicles; male organ in general’

Snot

PMP *piŋ(ə)qut; *piŋus; *idus ‘snot’
Ma’anyan leleu ‘id.’ (Kamus Saku [2013] + Adelaar fieldnotes)
PMLG *lelu > MRN, BTL, vûzûnâ, TMR vûzûjî, N-SKL vûzûjû, BAR, TNS, VEZ vûcu, TDR vûzû(ñô) ‘idem’

Throat

PWMP *karunukuj, *tôlan(an) ‘throat’
PSEB *eaw ‘voice; throat’ > Ma’anyan eau ‘voice’; to speak’ BAR, TDR, VEZ fû ‘throat; sound; voice’

Urine

PMP *hiq, *miqmiq ‘urine; urinate’
Ma’anyan amini ‘urine’
PMLG *amani ‘id.’ > MRN, BAR, TDR, TNS, VEZ amâni ‘id.’
### 3. Terms that seem to be uniquely MLG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anus</strong></td>
<td>TMR, S-SKL vùdi ‘id.’, BAR vùli back part or lower part of an animal or thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Belly</strong></td>
<td>TDR, VEZ vùli ‘base, ass, posterior’ *kibu ‘belly’ &gt; TBH, MRN, SHN, TMR, BTM Mahanoro, BTM Fenoarivo Est, SKL Majunga, SKL Maintirano, SKL Ambanja, TKR Vohemar (Serva and Petroni 2011) kìbu ‘id.’ Both of these terms have a limited regional spread and do not yield an etymon at the PMLG level; formally, *kibu points to a Bantu origin, although its source language remains unidentified. Its initial syllable seems to be the Bantu classifying prefix No 7, which forms nouns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blood</strong></td>
<td>MLG dialects have two words for ‘blood’: ra occurs in eastern and central dialects and derives from PMP *daraq (see above); liu is northern, western and southern MLG (including TNS; TKR has liu, li). Speculatively, the use of a different term for blood in particularly the western and southern dialects may have been caused by the fact that they already had a form ra meaning ‘branch’ and is a regular reflex of PMP *daqan. The word *ra referring to ‘blood’ may have been replaced by liu to avoid a homonymic clash with ra ‘branch’. The form liu has a wider distribution in Madagascar but has the meaning of ‘cleanliness, purity’ as reflected in MRN diù ‘id.’, TNL ma-diù ‘clean, pure’, BAR diù, liu ‘1) cleanliness, purity; 2) blood’, TKR ‘blood’, TMH liu ‘blood’, VEZ liu ‘1) cleanliness, purity; 2) blood’. Some dialects combine both meanings: BAR diù, liu TDR liu ‘blood’, ma-liu ‘clean, pure’. It remains unclear whether this combination is an independent way in which the semantics of this word has developed, or it is the result of influence (for instance, from Standard MLG/MRN).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brain</strong></td>
<td>PMP *hutök ‘brain, marrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human being</strong></td>
<td>PMP *tau ‘person, human being’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lip</strong></td>
<td>Proto Austronesian *biRbiR ‘lip’, PMP *bibìR ‘lower lip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lung</strong></td>
<td>Proto Austronesian *baraq ‘lung’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Knee</strong></td>
<td>TMR tsupùku; southern and western MLG ùngutsè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marrow</strong></td>
<td>TMR sùka ‘id.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Navel</strong></td>
<td>TMR kùbu ‘id.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Penis</strong></td>
<td>PMP *utin; Malay butuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thigh</strong></td>
<td>PMP paqa ‘thigh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Throat</strong></td>
<td>PWMP *karunjùn ‘throat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Private part</strong></td>
<td>PMLG *furi ‘private part, orifice’ &gt; MRN, N-SKL, TKR fùri ‘vagina’, BAR, TDR, TNS, VEZ, VRM fùri ‘anus’, bottom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Terms borrowed from Malay and other Asian languages

**Arm**
- Malay sanđi, sandi ‘joint; articulation’ < Sanskrit samdhi ‘idem’
- PMLG *sanDi ‘arm; joint’ > MRN, BAR sändri, TMR sāndri [çāndri], TNL sāndri tāŋa, VEZ sāndji ‘arm’, TDR sāndri (Rajaonarimanana and Fee 1996) ‘body’, N-MLG sāndri ‘arm; the body in general’

**Back**
- PMP *likud ‘back’ (see also *balakan, *talikud (Old MLG talutuku), PMLG lambusiN); P-South Sulawesi *boko(t?) ‘back (the body-part)’ (Mills 1975)
- PMLG *wuku > ‘the back of something’ > MRN, TNL vùhu ‘idem’, i-vùhu ‘behind’, BAR, VEZ vùhu ‘the back; the reverse or outside of something’, TDR am-bùhu ‘behind, at the back’, (PMLG *wuku is a South Sulawesi loanword (Adelaar 1995); its MLG reflexes are locatives not used as body-part terms)

**Calf of the leg**
- PMP *buaq ni bitiás ‘calf of leg’
- > Malay buah bātis ‘calf of leg’
- > MRN, TNL vuavìtsi, BAR vuavìtsi, vuavìtiti, TMR vōvì ‘Sti ‘id’. This set is probably derived from Malay buah bātis as it lacks a reflex of the MLG genitive linker *-ŋi-, and other SEB languages lack compounds with *buaq, see Ma’anían yisīs, Samihim bīsīh ‘calf of leg’

**Chest**
- PWMP *dahdah (Proto Austronesian *daSdāS) ‘chest’
- > PWMP *tratra ‘chest’ > MRN, BAR, N-SKL, TDR (Rajaonarimanana and Fee 1996), VRM rātra ‘chest (body-part)’, VEZ tsātsa ‘idem’. This term is borrowed from Malay: word-initially and between vowels, the retroflex tr signals borrowing and stands for a *d in the lending language (Adelaar 1989:13)

**Chin**
- Ma’anían ra’aŋ
- MLG sāukā, TMR sāukā TKR, N-SKL sōkā ‘chin’ [çā‘kā], TNS, BAR, TNS sūmakī, TDR sūmatsē ‘id.’

Forehead
- PWMP *kaniŋ, *kiniŋ ‘eyebrow’
- Banjar Malay kaniŋ ‘eyebrow’
- > PMLG *handriŋ ‘forehead’ > MRN hāndrini, BAR, TNS hāndri, TDR hāndri(jē), N-SKL hāndriŋij, an-driŋij, VEZ hānje, hānji, Old MLG (Ferrand 1904:91) hāndriŋ ‘idem’. Note that the MLG forms developed an epenthetic dr between nasals in the final syllable. The penultimate a in *handriŋ shows that this term was borrowed from Banjar Malay, as the latter has a, whereas other Malay dialects have a corresponding schwa. In contrast, compare Ma’anían kiniŋ ‘eyebrow’ (Stokhof and Almanar 1986)

Gum; tooth
- PMP *(n, ng, l) ipen ‘tooth’ (no reconstruction for ‘gum of teeth’)
- Malay gigi ‘tooth’
- > PMLG *hihi ‘tooth; gum of teeth’ > TNL hi, hi ‘gums’, N-SKL hi (jī, hijī) ‘teeth; gums’, VEZ hiji ‘flake’, MSK, SKL (Ambanja) hi ‘tooth’. *hihi was borrowed from Malay, see Adelaar (1989)

Hand
- PWMP *qa-lima ‘hand’
- > PMLG *taŋan ‘hand’ > MRN, BTL, TNL, TMR tānānā, TKR tāŋāŋ, BAR, TNS, VEZ tāŋa, TDR tāŋaŋ(jē) ‘hand’, N-SKL tāŋāŋ ‘arm’, Old MLG (Ferrand 1904:89) fu-ta-ŋaŋ ‘forearm’ (< *futut ‘source, base etc.’ + *taŋan ‘hand’). Forms corresponding to Malay tānān are limited to languages that have long been in contact with Malay.

Heel
- PWMP *tumid ‘heel’
- Malay tumit ‘heel’
- > PMLG *taŋan ‘hand’ > MRN, BTL, TNL, TMR tānānā, TKR tāŋāŋ, BAR, TNS, VEZ tāŋa, TDR tāŋaŋ(jē) ‘hand’, N-SKL tāŋāŋ ‘arm’, Old MLG (Ferrand 1904:89) fu-ta-ŋaŋ ‘forearm’ (< *futut ‘source, base etc.’ + *taŋan ‘hand’). Forms corresponding to Malay tānān are limited to languages that have long been in contact with Malay.

Chin Ma’anían ra’aŋ
- MLG sāukā, TMR sāukā TKR, N-SKL sōkā ‘chin’ [çā‘kā], TNS, BAR, TNS sūmakī, TDR sūmatsē ‘id.’
5. Malay loanwords having undergone a metaphorical or other semantic change

Back

PMLG *lambusiN 'back (body-part)'
> MRN, BTL lamùsínă, TNL lamúsína, lamúsína, TMR lamùsisíni, BAR, S-SKL, VEZ lamûsí, TDR lamûsîsi(një) 'back', N-SKL lamûsisíni, lamûsisíni, TNS lamûsí 'id.' PMLG *lambusiN must have been borrowed from Sumatran Malay (cf. Minangkabau Malay lambusî 'shoulder of a cow', or from Old Javanese (cf. lamûsír) 'back, piece of meat from the back'); compare also Sundanese (West Java) lam(b)usîr 'shoulder, rib of a slaughtering animal'. These reflexes probably derive from a compound consisting of Malay or Javanese lambûn 'side, flank' and a (syncopated) form of Malay (or Old Javanese) sisir 'side, edge'. Incidentally, lambûn could be analysed further as *lambu 'bovine' + ŋ (a linker connecting parts of a noun phrase). None of the Barito languages have a related form (Adelaar 1989:12).

Ear

PMP *taliŋal, tanjila 'ear' > PMLG *taliŋe 'id.'
MRN, BTL tsiﬁnä, TNL tsiﬁnî, tsîﬁ, BAR, TNS, VEZ sîﬁ, N-SKL sîﬁnî, TDR sîﬁ(në)'ear': in Adelaar (1989:12) I trace tsiﬁnä back to Malay cupînj 'torn piece of something', also occurring in the compound cupînj hiduŋ 'nose' and cupînj taliŋa'earlobe'. Other forms corresponding to tsiﬁnä and cupînj are found in Sumatran languages only. They all seem to be borrowed from Malay.
Other SEB languages have sîlu (Ma'anyan) and kîliöne (Dusun Malang), which are unrelated to tsiﬁnä.

Finger

PMP *buq ni lima 'finger', *taŋan 'finger, toe'.
MRN rantsan-tànană, TNS raSa-tàna 'finger' (tànana, tânha 'hand'), MRN rantsan-tümûktû 'toe' (tìngûtrû, tûmbûk 'leg, foot'); rantsanà (/ râSa/) derives from Malay râcan 'pole, pointed stick, vertical stake'; compare also TDR rambutànàjë 'id.' (râmbu 'tail').

Foot

Proto Austronesian *waqay, *qaqay 'leg, foot'.
Blust (online) has no PMP reconstruction for leg or foot in general (only for parts of the leg) Ma'anyan pe'e 'leg, foot'. *tumbuk 'foot' predominantly has reflexes in South MLG dialects: TNS, TSK, ZFS, MS, S-SKL tûmbûkí, TDR, VEZ, MHF tûmbûkë; however compare also BTL which is Central MLG and has tûm-bukă 'foot'. In Merina, which is Central MLG, tûmbûkâ has the meanings of 'stamping' and 'beginning'. *tumbuk is ultimately derived from Malay tumbuk 'to pound (e.g. rice), thumb'.

NB. A cognate set with a more general spread is MRN, TBH, SHN, BTM Mahanoro, SKL Majungà tûngûtrû, SKL Maintirano tûngûtsë, BAR tûngûtsë, TKR, N-SKL tûngûtrû, TMR tûngûtrî, TMH, BTM Fenoarivo East hûngûtrû. Some of its members miss initial *t or have ch instead, which makes them phonemically identical with S-SKL hûngûtsë, BAR, TDR, VEZ hûngûtsë 'knee'. It is not clear whether all the members of this set are in-
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Head Hair

PMP *buhək ‘id’.
Most MLG dialects use viulu (see above) or a compound based on this word such as BTL vuru-n-dûha, TKR vuru-n-dôha, both literally meaning ‘hair of head’. However, the Betsimisaraka dialect of Mahanoro and the Tambahoaka dialect of Mananjari both have rândraŋă ‘head hair’. Forms corresponding to rândraŋă do exist in other dialects but their meaning is ‘plait, plaited hair’. This word derives from Malay dandaŋ ‘rope of more than one strand’.

Leg

(for PMP and Ma’anyan, see ‘Foot’ (above). MRN, N-SKL, TBH, BTL, SIH, TDR, MHF, S-SKL ränju, BAR, SKL (Mantiriano), ZFS, TNS rândru ‘leg’, VEZ ränju ‘leg, calf of leg’. Reflexes of ränju/rândru are found all over Madagascar except in the Northern dialects. The source of this term seems to be Malay ranjaw ‘caltrop’.

Loins

MRN valàhană ‘loins’. Dempwolff (1938) reconstructed a PMP etymon* balakaŋ ‘back’. Blust (online) has PWMP *balakaŋ ‘hip’ and Wolff (2010) has *balakaŋ / *balakehaŋ ‘pelvic region’, all at a Post-PMP level. Blust (online) has misgivings about the originality of this etymon. Adelaar (1989:12) rejects *balakaŋ as an false etymon based on loanwords and argues that the source of valàhană is Malay bolakāŋ ‘(lower part of the) back’.

Nape of Neck


Shoulder

PMP *qabanë ‘shoulder’.
MRN sîrûkâ, TMR sîrûkâ, S-SKL sîrûkê, sîrûkâ, BAR, TNS sîrûkî ‘shoulder’, TDR, VEZ sîrûkê ‘shoulder’, TNL sîrûkâ ‘shoulder; spoon, ladle made of a longoza or banana leaf’. Note that TNL sîrûkâ and VEZ sîrûkê also occur in verbal derivations denoting the use of a spade. The semantic connection between ‘shoulder’ and ‘spade’ is also known from other languages, compare Latin spatula ‘spade’ and French épaule, Italian spalla ‘shoulder’. Sû rûkâ and its cognates must be borrowed as MLG s is originally a loan phoneme. A Malay source is possible although not straightforward because of the d in Malay sodok, codok ‘spade’. (A possible scenario is that sodok, codok was borrowed into MLG before the SEB change from *d to r had run its course, implying that the borrowing happened at a very early stage.

Vulva

MRN has tsingi ‘mountain peak’. Other dialects have this word with different meanings, e.g N-SKL, TKR, TMH, Comorian MLG tingî ‘vagina’, North MLG (Velonandro) tingî, tenji ‘vulva’, TNL tsingî ‘top’, tingi ‘vagina’, TDR mi-tingî ‘to choose the best’, VEZ mi-tinge ‘to choose, prefer’. The tsingi and tingî variants are cognates but differ in historical status. Tsingi is originally Central (and East?) MLG: in dialects outside the Central MLG region it is a loan word and probably borrowed from MRN. In contrast, tingî only occurs in southern, western and northern dialects, where it is more inherited and has acquired divergent meanings. Discounting the meaning ‘vagina’ which is probably an
imprecise designation of ‘vulva’, the semantic notion that these cognates have in common is that of ‘elevation’: choosing the best is choosing the highest standard. The vulva is the high part of the female sexual organ (compare the Latin terms mons veneris and mons pubis, compounds based on mons ‘mountain’). However, whatever the status of these cognates within the Malagasy context, at the PMLG level their ancestral form *tiŋgi must have been borrowed, as -ŋg-clusters in MLG are not in herited; *tiŋgi reflects an original Malay tiŋgi ‘high’ herited; *tiŋgi reflects an original Malay tingi ‘high’ (Adelaar 1989).

Waist
Malay taŋkay ‘stalk, haulm, stem’.
PMLG *taheyaŋ ‘side, waist’ > MRN tehèzană, BAR and VEZ tahèza, TNS tehèza, Old MLG (Ferrand 1904:91) tahèzaŋ ‘id.’; TKR, N-SKL tehèzană ‘back’. This word derives from a root *takay and a (locative) suffix *-an. (tahèzaŋă with the meaning ‘back’ together with viti ‘lower leg’ are evidence supporting a northern MLG dialect group consisting of TMH, TKR, N-SKL and some BTM northern subdialects).

Table 3
List of Malagasy body-part terms metaphorically related to their Malay source word

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malagasy</th>
<th>Ma’anyan</th>
<th>Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lamùsină ‘back’ (MRN)</td>
<td>wadiŋ</td>
<td>lambusir ‘shoulder of beef’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsùfină ‘ear’ (MRN)</td>
<td>silu</td>
<td>cupiŋ ‘lobe (of ear); nostril’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rànju ‘leg’ (MRN)</td>
<td>pe’e</td>
<td>ranjaw ‘caltrop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rântsană ‘finger; toe’ (MRN)</td>
<td>kiŋkinj</td>
<td>rancaŋ ‘pointed upwards; vertical stake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>håtukă ‘neck’ (MRN)</td>
<td>diuŋ</td>
<td>katoʔ ‘a cord to attach the hilt of a weapon and its sheath to prevent it from falling out’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Forms due to the avoidance of unfortunate homonymy (“Homonymie fâcheuse”)

Eye
All dialects have màsu ‘eye’, a word which Dahl (1988) traced to Bantu (compare, for instance, the Swahili plural form ma-cho ‘eyes’). He argued that regular sound changes would have caused PMP *mata ‘eye’ to evolve into *mati, which would be identical with an already existing MLG word of that shape meaning ‘dead’, an ominous concept. In order to avoid an awkward homonomic clash with màti ‘dead’, *mati ‘eye’ was replaced with a Bantu term.

Head
Apart from Masikoro, all MLG dialects have lùha ‘head’, the history of which remains a mystery. A possible although speculative explanation is that it developed through reduction and subsequent re-analysis of an original compound *ulu *kapala borrowed from Malay. The re-analysis may have been motivated by the typically West Indonesian tendency towards a disyllabic root structure in the early history of MLG, as follows:
PMLG *ulu ‘head’ + (Old) Malay *kapala ‘skull; head’ > *ulukapala > *(ə)luha > *(ə)luhafalɛ > *lawafalɛ > modern MLG lùha ‘head’.

The re-analysed second half *fala would eventually become *fali or *fali (depending on dialect) as a result of (1) the tendency to reduce ante-penultimate vowels (which as a rule precede the stressed syllable), and (2) the heightening of word-final *a to ɛ. These are both regular sound changes in MLG phonological history. Note that in lùha, final *a was not raised to ɛ, indicating that it was originally not final. The resulting form *falu /*fali would have become similar in form to MLG fâli (‘taboo’, which developed from an earlier *fali) and is identical to its dialectal variants fâli, fål (same meaning). Conceivably, this would
have led to a homonymic clash with the southern, western dialects which have *fali or fâle, and possibly also with the central, eastern and northern ones which had *fali at an earlier point in history.

A similar line of developments is seen in luhâlikä ‘knee’ (with a variant form luhaliträ in the old “Sorabe” texts written in Arabic script [Ferrand 1904]). This word derives from lîha ‘head’ and PMLG *aleP ‘knee’ (Dahl 1951). The latter is a reflex of PMP *qaleb ‘knee’, and luhâlikä is created analogous to PMP *qulu ni qaləb (->*qulu ‘head’ + *ni (possessive marker) + *qaləb ‘knee’).

Its development must have been as follows:

• PMLG *luha + *aleP > *əlu-hali(C) ‘knee cap’ > MRN luhâlikä, TKR, N-SKL luhâlikî, Sorabe literature luhâliträ ‘knee’.
• NB: PMP *ulu has been reconstructed as a general term for ‘head’ (with the associated meanings ‘top part; leader, chief; headwaters; handle of a bladed element; prow of a boat; first, first-born’, Blust [online]). Reflexes in MLG only occur in derivations; they have acquired a locative meaning and no longer refer to the body-part, compare a-ulu (Ferrand 1904) ‘first’, MRN n-ta-ulu ‘the ancestors’, MRN ulû-anâ, BAR ulû-a’ in front, facing.

7. Bantu loanwords

The Bantu origin of màsu ‘eye’ and (possibly) kìbu ‘belly’ were already treated above. The term for ‘flesh’ is ultimately borrowed from Bantu:

Flesh

Common Bantu *nökù ‘flesh’; compare Comorian, Swahili m-nofu ‘idem’
PMLG *nuifu (Ø,T) > MRN, TMR, TNL, VEZ nifû, BAR nifû, nîfutsê, TDR nîfutsê, also (Rajaonarimananana and Fee 1996) nifû, nîfutsê, VEZ nifû, nîfutsê, N-SKL nôfutrû, Comorian MLG (Kiantalaotse dialect) nôfutsê ‘flesh’, TNS nîfuSi ‘muscle’.

There are more Bantu body-part terms but they are limited to local dialects (see also Ambiguous forms (8) below).

8. Ambiguous forms

Elbow

PMP *siku ‘elbow’ > Ma’anyan hiku ‘idem’
MRN, TNL, VEZ, TDR kihu, BAR kihu-kihu, TMR, N-SKL kiu ‘idem’. These forms are irregular in showing initial k, as *s became Ø in MLG. (i.e. their expected form should be *ihu). Speculatively, kihu may derive from PMP *siku through metathesis of *s and *k and furthermore have obtained its current initial k through association with the Bantu nominal prefix ki- (which also seems to have occurred in kibu [see above], kitsuke, kirândra, [below]).

Other possible Bantu forms are the word for ‘nail’ and ‘lower leg’ in some dialects, although I was not able to trace their source language:

Skin SHN angûzu, SKL (Ambanja) angûzi
Nail Common Bantu *-kûp- ‘scrape’
> TKR angôfi ‘nail’, Comorian MLG angôfu ‘nail’
Lower leg TDR kitsukê ‘id.’ (Rajaonarimananana and Fee 1996) ‘calf of leg’
Lung TKR tsikàfuni ‘lung of the zebu’ (tsi- may be deriving from the palatalised variant *chi- of the Bantu ki- prefix (?))
Shin TKR, N-SKL kirândra ‘id.’

Polite register

Alongside their usual body-part terms, the S-SKL, BAR and TDR dialects in the South and Southwest of Madagascar also have a series of body-part terms that are marked for respect. Both series are included in Gueunier (unpublished), Rajaomanana and Fee (1996) and Elli (1988). (However, Serva and Petroni (2011) only list the respectful terms for body-parts in their TDR wordlist).
Table 4. Polite body-part terms in Tandroy

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>common</th>
<th>polite</th>
<th>derived from</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anus</td>
<td>fûri</td>
<td>fiam-besâranè</td>
<td>‘place to sit on (? )’, miambèsatsé ‘sit down, take a seat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belly</td>
<td>trûkè</td>
<td>fisaflaŋè</td>
<td>fi-safû-anè ‘carressing’; misàfu ‘to caress’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ear</td>
<td>sùfi(ñè)</td>
<td>ravembia</td>
<td>‘via leaf’, rave (ñè) ‘leaf’ + N (ligature) + via (/vìha) ‘plant with large leaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>màsu</td>
<td>fihaìnu</td>
<td>(!) ‘the listener, thing to listen with’, mihainu ‘to listen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot, leg</td>
<td>tùmbukè</td>
<td>fandia</td>
<td>‘thing to set foot with, to tread with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>tàŋa(ñè)</td>
<td>fi-tà ‘to hold with’, mi-tà(ñè) ‘to hold, keep’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>lùha (a)Nãne, aŋambûne</td>
<td>&lt; aŋambû ‘top of it’</td>
<td>&lt; aŋ-ambû ‘at the top of it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head hair</td>
<td>vûlu</td>
<td>marùi mårù ‘many’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>fû</td>
<td>arûfu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lip</td>
<td>sùńĩ</td>
<td>fivimbi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>vàva</td>
<td>falie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>anjâranè</td>
<td>tahinàranè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>urù(ñè)</td>
<td>fi-antsùanè</td>
<td>‘the sniffer, the sniffer’, mi-antsù(ñè) ‘to sniff, smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penis</td>
<td>làtakè, vûtu</td>
<td>flahiaŋè</td>
<td>fi-làhi-anè ‘manhood’ &lt; làhi ‘male’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private parts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>fiheńraranè</td>
<td>hênatsé, fi-heńrar-anè lit. ‘shame’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saliva</td>
<td>ive</td>
<td>rànu-palìe</td>
<td>rànú + -N- + falie (lit. ‘water of mouth’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>lèla</td>
<td>famèle</td>
<td>‘twisting / wrapping device’; mamèlekè ‘to twist, to wrap, to make stumble’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 gives an overview of polite body-part terms and their counterparts in TDR. Many polite terms are morphologically and semantically fairly transparent. They are often derived with the nominal prefixes faN- and fi- and denote an instrumental noun, e.g. fan-dìa ‘thing to set foot with’ (i.e. ‘foot’), fi-rà ‘the holder, thing to hold with’ (‘hand’). Some others are derived with the circumfixes faN-(root)-anè or fi-(root)-anè which normally denote nouns with a locative meaning, e.g. fi-antsùan-anè ‘place to sit on’ (‘anus, buttocks’), fi-antsùn-anè ‘sniffer (?) object where the sniffing or smelling takes place (?)’ ( = ‘nose’). Other cases again are less straightforward in their derivation but still semantically transparent, e.g. marùi ‘hair’, which one would immediately associate with mårù ‘many’ even in the ending -i cannot be explained (there is no suffix *-i in MLG). Finally, some polite terms represent transparent metaphors, e.g. ravembia (râve(ñè) + -N- + /vìha) ‘leaf of vìha plant’ refers to ‘ear’, and ambune ‘top-of-it’ refers to ‘head’.

Arirànu ‘urine’ literally means ‘throwing away water’, a metaphor rather similar to Malay / Indonesian məm-buaŋ air literally ‘to throw away water’ but with the implication of relieving oneself.

Polite body-part terms generally concern visible part of the body: the only exception in my data is arùfu ‘heart’. Note that fihaìnu ‘eye’ is derived from hainu, a root basically carrying the meaning of ‘listening’ (mi-hainu ‘to listen’), and not ‘seeing’.

The polite registers are not limited to body-part terms: in TDR they also include some verbs (watch, bathe, sleep, sit down, go) and even stative verbs (angry/sad) and nouns (house, spouse). There is much overlap between the TDR, S-SKL and BAR polite terms. The data listed in the BAR dictionary are more limited and include fizi, fizà ‘ear’ (neutral: sîfì), fàneti, fìzerì, fìzzà ‘eye’ (neutral: màsu), fàndia ‘foot (n. tùmbuki), fàndàmbi ‘hand’, (n. tàna), ambùni, ìtè ‘head’ (n. lùha), mårù ‘head hair’ (n. vûlu), ambêlikì ‘tongue’ (n. lèla), fàntsìkì ‘tooth’ (n. nîfi, hì), and fàntsù, sambài ‘nose’ (n. irdû).
It remains to be investigated if - and to what extent – the TDR, S-SKL and BAR polite terms have a common origin, and how they are used in their respective societies. Another fascinating aspect involving the TDR, S-SKL and BAR polite registers that needs to be investigated is their possible connection to similar polite registers in Javanese and other languages in western Indonesia. While the structure of Javanese polite registers is more complex and based on different kinds of source vocabulary (using altered roots and loanwords), the basic principle underlying these polite terms is the same, namely paying respect to people who are older or higher in rank. This in conjunction with the fact that the Javanese language and culture had an important influence on the Asian ancestors of the Malagasy (prior to and even after their migrations to East Africa) would justify an investigation into the relation between Malagasy and Javanese polite registers.

9. Discussion of the data

How does the MLG data fit into a more general typology of body-part terms?

Part of the morphological complexity reflected in the MLG dialects are due to processes that took place before PMLG came into being, as in terms like tsinài ‘intestin’ (< PMP t<in>aqi, derived from *taqi ‘faeces’ through infixation of <in>), Sorabe MLG talitukaï ‘back’ (< PMP *(ta-)likud) and MLG tadiji ‘ear’ (< *taliña). Terms like these should be analysed at the Proto Austronesian and PMP levels: they were inherited in the current MLG dialects but their derivational history is older. The same applies to MLG ūlunâ ‘human being’, which must derive from a pre-SEB form *ulu-an ‘(residing in) upriver area’ (< SEB *ulu ‘head’ + locative suffix *-an). It also applies to originally Malay compounds like lamisínâ and vuavitsi. Other morphologically complex forms must have come about in the early history of MLG itself and tell something about the way Malagasy people used to conceptualise the human body. They include vuru-n-dìâha/vulu-n-dìâha ‘hair of head’, atidìâha ‘brains’, ranîsan-tànânâ or rambû-tânâ ‘finger’, luha-lìkâ and luha-lìtrâ ‘knee’ (a calque based on *qulu *qâleb constructions in Borneo), fela-tànânâ ‘palm of hand’, fala-di ‘sole of foot’, vau-tànânâ ‘shoulder’, vazan-kìhu ‘fingernail’ (< vâzanâ ‘molar’ + hìhu ‘nail’), and ru-nilînu ‘milk’. (The polite terms discussed in Section 9 are also contribute to a better understanding of this conceptualisation).

Wilkins (1996) is concerned with directionality in semantic change. On the basis of evidence from native Australian languages, he argues that in the realm of visible body parts, semantic shifts from part to whole happen relatively frequently whereas shifts from the whole to a part are exceptional. This tendency needs further testing on a large sample of genetically different languages throughout the world before Wilkins’ observation can claim linguistic universality. However, in the current data it does find support in the change from Proto Austronesian *beties and PWMP *butiqes (and also PSEB *witih ‘calf of leg’) to N-SKL and TKR vîti ‘leg’, provided the former had the meaning ‘calf of leg’, which is one of the meanings reconstructed by Blust.

However, while Blust (online) reconstructs Proto Austronesian *beties ‘calf of leg’, PMP *bities ‘lower leg; calf of leg’ and PWMP *butiqes ‘calf of leg’, in a note to the PMP *bities entry he also speculates that its original meaning may have been ‘lower leg’, which then shifted to ‘calf of leg’ in part of the daughter languages because the calf is “perceptually the most salient part of the lower leg”. If his speculation is correct it would mean that N-SKL, TKR vîti ‘leg’ essentially kept its meaning. It would also mean that the part to whole shift proposed by Wilkins does not apply to PMP *bities. Here we are confronted with two contrastive principles of semantic change: the part to whole principle versus a semantic specialisation principle favouring the change from a whole to its most salient part.

Do the distribution and phonological developments of body-part terms add to our insight into dialect divisions? They do, but the matter is not as straightforward as the question might suggest. A history of at least 1,300 years of population expansion, internal migrations, wars, slave raids, foreign influences and a strong centrifugal control from local centres on surrounding regions in different parts of the country and at different periods has created a dialect situation which is rather difficult to handle from a classificatory viewpoint. Another problem is of a more methodological linguistic nature. While there are dialects that at first sight look different from dialects elsewhere on the island and seem to form a subgroup, the evidence to prove this point is not always critical because it consists of retentions rather than innovations. Retentions are features that are inherited from a common ancestral language such as PMP or PSB and are therefor not unique to a group of languages assumed to form a subgroup, whereas innovations are features that are common and unique to the members of that group. This is typical for dialects in the South and West of Madagascar: while they seem unique in various ways, many of
the features they have in common also turn up in other dialects or even in SEB languages in Borneo (Adelaar 2013). Ultimately, retentions cannot be used to make a subgrouping argument. Nevertheless, bearing these caveats in mind, and in conjunction with insights obtained from earlier work on dialect classification, it is sometimes possible to find a red thread in the seemingly chaotic distribution of the various terms. Body-part terms like tumbuki ‘foot’ and (h)ìŋgutse are very helpful evidence. Tumbuki is semantically innovative as its meaning contrasts with that of ‘beginning’ or ‘stamping’ in other MLG dialects. As a term for ‘knee’ (h)ìŋgutse is innovative in that it replaced a previous compound based on *qulu [later, *luha] ‘head’ + *qaləb ‘knee’). Moreover, both terms fit into a specific taxonomic sub-system: in BAR, S-SKL, TDR and VEZ the lower limb is divided into four parts: *fee ‘thigh’, *ungut ‘knee’, *ranju ‘lower leg’ and *tumbuk ‘foot’. Other dialects do not share this specific terminology. Also useful for classificatory purposes are viti ‘lower leg’ and tahézaŋa ‘back’: the combination of their form and meaning is not shared in terms for lower leg and knee elsewhere in Madagascar, which makes them diagnostic of a northern MLG subgroup including TKR, TMH, N-SKLV and various northern BTM subdialects.

On the other hand, a term like *liu is problematic and typical of the often evasive nature of subgrouping evidence. The *li sequence in this word is a retention, as southern and western MLG dialects reflect PMP *li sequences as lì (Adelaar 2013) whereas MRN and other Central and often Eastern dialects have a corresponding di. That means that phonologically it provides no evidence. However, semantically the word is innovative, as it shifted its meaning from ‘cleanliness’ and ‘purity’ to ‘blood’, replacing an earlier *raa which goes back to PMP *daRaQ ‘blood’. Then again, it cannot be used as critical evidence for specifically southern and western MLG dialect subgroup because it also occurs in north MLG dialects, compare TKR liu or lì, N-SKLV, TMH liu ‘blood’.

10. Concluding remarks

1. The history of MLG body-parts clearly does not support the (still upheld) idea that body-part terms are particularly resistant to replacement. However, by the same token it is also noticeable that many body-part terms do reflect PMP and PSEB.

2. Equally noticeable is the paucity of body-part terms of Bantu provenance. They do occur but they are mostly found in individual dialects, and the only one well-represented across MLG dialects is the ubiquitous màsu ‘eye’.

3. Various body-part terms seem to be based on Malay words that are used metaphorically, sometimes with a negative connotation. How should this category be explained? Does it provide a clue for the social relations that existed between the early Malagasy and Malays? This requires further investigation.

4. Body-part terms in the taboo sphere are stable members within that sphere but tend to be semantically imprecise, which may be a consequence of the lack of information usually surrounding taboo issues. This is also the case cross-linguistically: shifts between ‘buttocks’ and ‘genitals’ are also observed across Malay dialects and even in European languages (compare Indonesian pantat ‘buttocks’ with Minangkabau pante?, or Dutch kont ‘buttocks’ with its cognates in English and Afrikaans). There are also various pars pro toto shifts within the sphere of female and male private body parts. These shifts are also observed in MLG.

5. The source of *liu ‘head’ remains unclear. A possible but speculative explanation is that it developed from a compound *ulu ‘head’ + (Old-Malay) *kapala ‘head; skull’) through lexical re-analysis and subsequent syllable reduction.

6. Terms belonging to the polite registers in TDR, BAR (and S-SKL) are semantically or morphologically transparent. They partly agree cross-dialectally.

7. Although the picture provided by MLG body-part terms is not exactly clear-cut, reflexes of terms such as *(h)ungut ‘knee’ and *tumbuk ‘foot’ support a primary subgroup of South and Southwest MLG dialects. In the same way, reflexes of *witi ‘lower leg’ and *taheyaŋ ‘back’ are diagnostic of a primary subgroup of northern MLG dialects.

8. This paper is a preliminary study of body-part terms in MLG. I collected the data as part of an investigation into the lexical history of MLG, and my aims were primarily historical. While I also deal with the semantic structure of body-part terms, this was not my primary aim and remains an underdeveloped aspect of the investigation. A proper semantic study of MLG body-part taxonomy and MLG conceptualisations of the body would have required a different approach to data elicitation (cf. Wilkins 1996, Enfield et al. 2006). It would no doubt have yielded many valuable additional results. I hope to conduct such a study in the future.
APPENDIX

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Samihim: Bu Kristina, 22 yrs (2018), from Kampung-Mangka, Kalimantan Selatan; Tata’ Hery (John Hery Mart Stepanus), 19 yrs (2018) from Balai Mea; Tata’ Harju, 23 yrs (2018) from Betung; all three are students at the Sekolah Teologi Tinggi (Protestant Theological Training College, Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan) and hailing from Kota Baru Regency (north-east part of Kalimantan Selatan).

REFERENCE LIST