

# On definiteness and topic markers in Malagasy Sign Language (TTM)

## マダガスカル手話(TTM)の定性標識およびトピック標識について

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Key words: Malagasy Sign Language (TTM), descriptive linguistics, sign language linguistics, syntax, definiteness marker, topic marker, functional sentence perspectives (FSP)

キーワード： マダガスカル手話(TTM)、記述言語学、手話言語学、統語論、定性標識、主題標識、トピック標識、FSP (機能的文展望)



## English summary

Malagasy Sign Language (TTM) has imported the definite article from spoken/written Malagasy between the beginning of my fieldwork in 2004 and 2018. Nevertheless, this is not an obligatory marker of definiteness (definite article) but an arbitrary marker of definiteness (definite particle) in TTM. When the definite particle is represented by the labels NY, I, and ILAY, it is placed at the beginning of the NP. When the definite particle is represented by IO, it is usually placed at the end of the NP.

Moreover, definite NP or topics can be marked by non-manual markers (NMM). Finally in paired clauses of contrasted topics, only the topic in the first clause is marked by topic NMM.

## 日本語要旨

マダガスカル手話(TTM)は 2004 年の私の最初の臨地調査と 2018 年の間に、音声・書記マダガスカル語から定冠詞を受け入れた。とは言ってもそれは、定性の義務的な標識(定冠詞)ではなく、定性の任意的な標識(定不変化詞)である。定不変化詞は、ラベル NY、I、ILAY で表わされるが、その場合、名詞句の初頭に置かれる。定不変化詞がラベル IO で表わされる場合は、通常、名詞句の末尾に置かれる。

さらには、定名詞句あるいはトピックは、非手指標識(NMM)で表されることがある。また、対比トピックを含む節のペアがある場合、1つ目の節の対比トピックのみがトピックの非手指標識を持つ。

## Introduction

In this paper, I will discuss issues surrounding definite particle NY in Malagasy Sign Language (TTM<sup>1)</sup>). I started my fieldwork on TTM in Madagascar in August 2004. I have visited Madagascar every August ever since. In earlier years of my fieldwork, I was not much aware of the definite particle NY in TTM. Several years after my first visit, my language consultant M<sup>me</sup> Raobelina Nivo Haingo Holy Tiana Eva<sup>2)</sup> (hereafter M<sup>me</sup> Eva) informed me that there were a couple of manual expressions for NY which are supposed to correspond to spoken/written Malagasy definite article *ny* (the). (The two forms are shown in the section 2.1.) For many years after that, I put the NYS aside since I thought it was not a part of TTM but a part of Manually-Coded Malagasy (MCM) or Signed Malagasy until I realized it was time to consider some characteristics of MCM parts of broadly defined TTM or extended TTM (Minoura 2018a, section 1.2. this paper). Unlike Japanese Sign Language (JSL) or American Sign Language (ASL),

TTM does not have a register with minimal influence from spoken/written Malagasy which can be used for all the informal-to-formal occasions. The deaf people move freely between the TTM with minimal influence from spoken/written Malagasy (or TTM proper) and MCM. The TTM proper and MCM form a kind of a language continuum (or register continuum). They usually use TTM proper when conversing with each other, but in a more formal setting like giving a speech, they get closer to MCM. The NY shows up more in MCM and less in TTM proper.

Section 1. is preliminary remarks and section 2. is examination of my data.

### 1. Preliminary remarks to this paper

Before going into the main discussion of the definite particle NY, I will make remarks on how data are shown (1.1.) and on extended TTM (1.2.).

#### 1.1. A note on TTM representation and glossing in this paper

The data is taken from my fieldnote from my fieldwork in Antananarivo, August 2018 with my language consultant M<sup>me</sup> Eva unless otherwise noted. M<sup>me</sup> Eva would jot down sentences on notebooks using Malagasy words. She was always aware that the sentences should be in TTM of the deaf people but not in written Malagasy. (But in recent years she is comfortable with herself to fluctuate between TTM proper and MCM because, I suppose, she is confident enough that I can sort out which sentence is TTM proper and which sentence is MCM). Although the sentences have been written using Malagasy words, many of the sentences are ungrammatical according to the written Malagasy grammar. (MCM can get quite close to written Malagasy and be grammatical in written Malagasy; TTM proper less so.) After writing several pages, M<sup>me</sup> Eva would sign the sentences to my video camera, with which I would record her signing. Later I would go over the video recording while looking at the notebooks with M<sup>me</sup> Eva's writing. That is to say that I added words, erased words, changed word orders, and/or made other corrections since sometimes M<sup>me</sup> Eva did not sign exactly in the same way as she had written in the notebooks.

In this paper, the data are represented in five lines like in Minoura (2010: 184) and in my newer papers. Instead of trying to transform all of M<sup>me</sup> Eva's writings into the lines of 'labels' just like I did in Minoura (2008), I am showing M<sup>me</sup> Eva's writings and labels separately just like I did in Minoura (2010, 2012, 2014, 2018a, 2018b). This way, linguistically untrained Malagasy people, both deaf and hearing, can read the first line and can partially know what is talked about.

(1) h-ank-any	Behoririka	izy ←	what M <sup>me</sup> Eva has written
FUT-go-there	PN	(s)he ←	the glosses of the written words
MANKANY	BEHORIRIKA	IX3 ←	labels of TTM signs
go.there	PN	(s)he ←	the glosses of the TTM signs

‘(s)he will go to Behoririka’ (Minoura 2010:184)

The line 1 represents what M<sup>me</sup> Eva has written with its glosses in the line 2. The line 3 represents the labels to the signs<sup>3)</sup> and the line 4 represents the glosses to the labels of the signs. I tried to make one-to-one correspondences between the labels and the signs, but this effort has not been completed, i.e. there are some many-to-one and one-to-many correspondences between the (manual) signs and the labels left. It is inevitable for now as spoken/written Malagasy and TTM have different categorization in their lexicons and in their grammars.

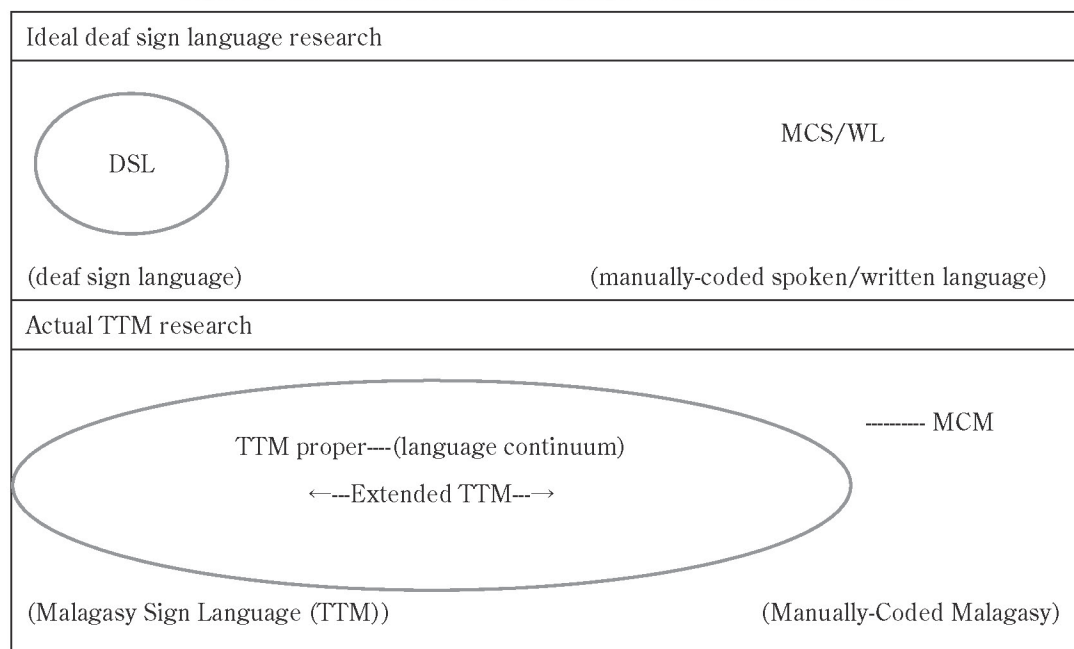
Moreover, the examples below may look like representing a “sentence,” but sentences are yet to be defined in TTM. We can more easily spot clauses with a predicate as its head. Most of the seeming “sentences” below consist of a clause, but some may consist of more than one clause. When a “sentence” consist of more than one clause, the relationships between the clauses may or may not be marked by a conjunction-like sign (some of the conjoining particles can be seen in Minoura 2010).

## 1.2. A note on (extended) TTM

As discussed in Minoura (2018a), I am not dealing with TTM proper when I write TTM. TTM proper can be a deaf sign language in Madagascar with minimal influence from spoken/written Malagasy. But in this paper, I am dealing with extended TTM, which encompasses TTM proper and registers of TTM having more influence from spoken/written Malagasy along the language continuum between TTM proper and Manually-Coded Malagasy (MCM). I call extended TTM just TTM hereafter. This point is very important for this paper because the definite particle NY shows up more when the register nears the MCM end of the aforementioned language continuum. Nonetheless NY itself is not a marker which signals the “sentence’s” departure from the TTM proper register.



Figure 1. The extent of deaf sign language research (Minoura 2018a)



## 2. Examples of the definiteness markers NY etc.

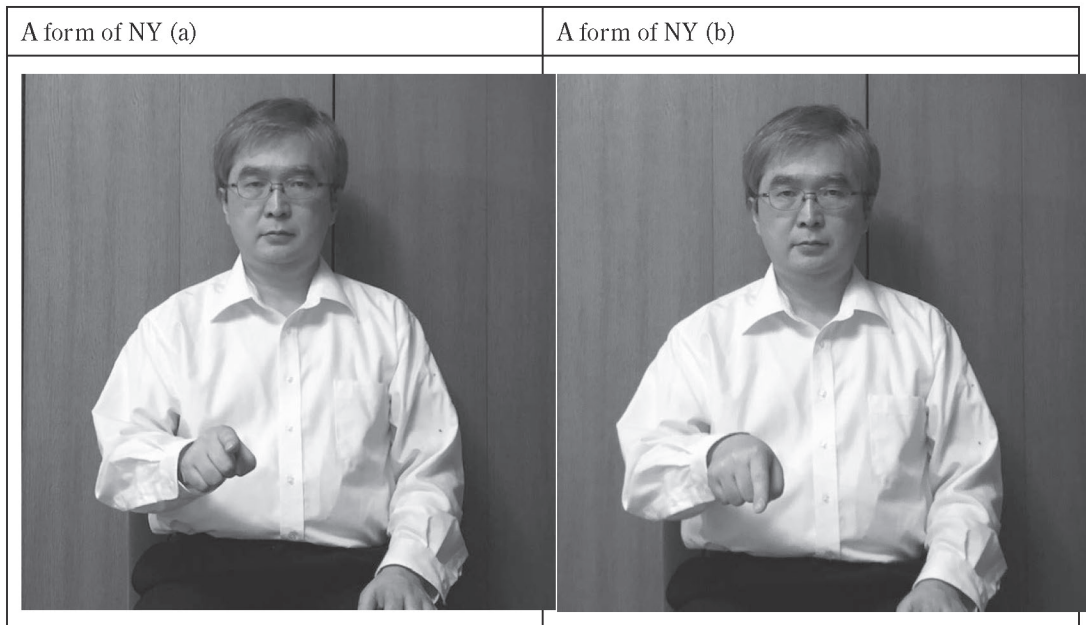
The definite particle NY in TTM is not a typical definite article which obligatorily marks definiteness but is a definite particle which more or less arbitrarily marks definiteness and/or topicality. I will also discuss definite particles I (2.3.) and ILAY (2.4.), which may be after all the same thing as NY. I will also discuss topic marker IO (2.5.), which is related to NY in some ways but behaves syntactically differently from NY. Finally, I discuss topics marked by non-manual markers (NMM, 2.6.) and contrastive topics (2.7.).

### 2.1. Introduction of NY and NY2 into TTM

In my earlier years of fieldwork starting in 2004, I was not aware of the existence of the definite particle NY. It might have existed, but it might also have not existed. Generally speaking, borrowing of grammatical particles from spoken/written Malagasy into TTM is an ongoing process. E.g. precautional clause marker SAO (lest, or precaution nominalization marker, Minoura 2010: 216-218) did not have a manual expression but was only mouthed<sup>4)</sup> in 2010. The SAO got a manual expression in later years, which is the same as OHATRA (if, conditional clause marker or condition nominalization marker, Minoura 2010: 205-207).

At some point between 2004 and 2018, M<sup>me</sup> Eva told me that the deaf Malagasies use two different signs for NY: here represented as NY and NY2. At that time, I did not pay much attention to this information as I thought the introduction of the definite article/particle would be in the register closer to manually-coded Malagasy (MCM). At that time, I still wanted only to seek TTM proper less contaminated with spoken/written Malagasy.

Figure 2. Two forms of the definite particle NY



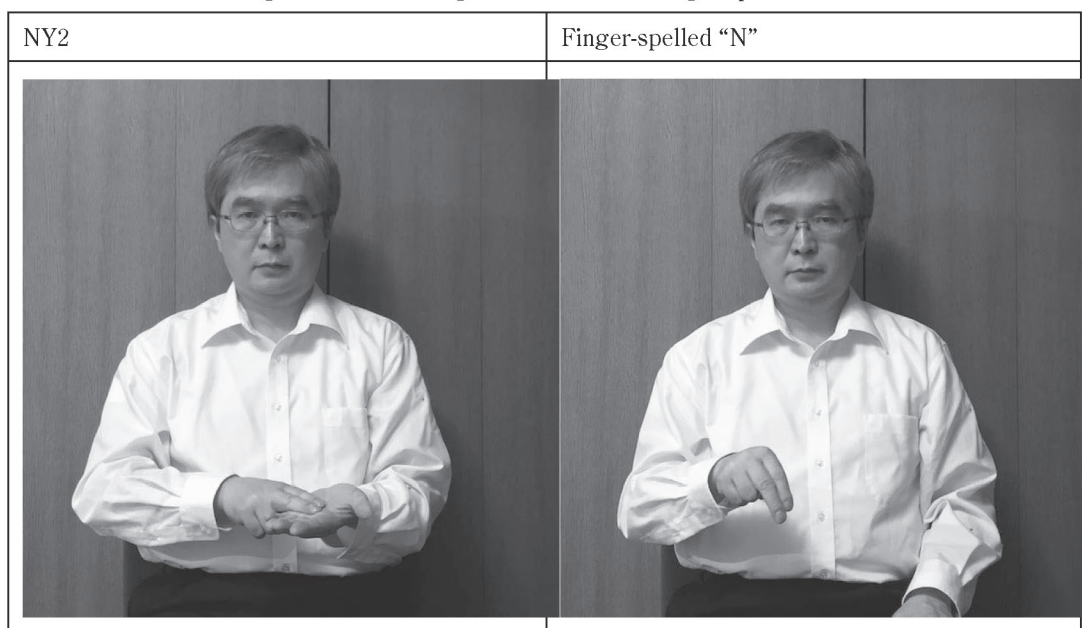
NY in figure 2 have two possibly discernible forms. Both of them point at a neutral space in front of the signer. Pointing signs with an extended index finger used as demonstratives and pronouns (Both of which are represented as IX in this paper) have deictic power. Many instances of IX are accompanied by eyegaze (EG) directed toward the space which the index finger also point at. E.g. for a distal IX, both the index finger and the EG are directed toward a space far away from the signer; for a proximal IX, both the index finger and the EG are directed toward the space right in front of the signer. On the other hand, NY does not have deictic power but has anaphoric power. NY refers to an aforementioned entity in the discourse. For this paper, I consider NY (a) and NY (b) the same grammatical item with free allophonic instantiation as to the orientation of the index finger. But NY (b) can possibly have some deictic power (somewhat away from proximal) if it is accompanied by an appropriate EG. For the moment, I will not look into the

distinction in this paper but treat them as the same NY.

I have been aware of the non-deictic and anaphoric IO (cf. section 2.5.) and NY pointing at a neutral space in my earlier papers (e.g. Minoura 2017: 41 and elsewhere), but this view was reinforced by Wilcox (2018) and a personal communication with him following his lecture.

M<sup>me</sup> Eva informed me also that there was another sign borrowed from spoken/written Malagasy *ny* (the), here represented as NY2. NY2 is expressed by a finger-spelled “N” of the dominant hand (H1) touching the palm of the non-dominant hand (H2).

Figure 3. NY2 having derived from the finger-spelled “N”



## 2.2. The emergence and the historical selection of NY in TTM

By historical selection, NY survived and NY2 went obsolete. When I was not thinking in terms of the language continuum between TTM proper and manually-coded Malagasy (MCM) (1.2.) yet, I was thinking that NY was a topic delayer. I thought NY moved the topic, which is typically placed in the beginning of a clause in TTM, toward the end of the clause as an antitopic (or *postrhème*)<sup>3</sup>.

In Minoura (2012), I described clause-final antitopics (or *postrhèmes*), which I called afterthought themes in the paper. But the clause-final antitopics did not have a NY in front of the NP yet in the year 2012. In Minoura (2014), I have an instance of I (cf. section 2.3.) and I wrote in

the footnote (Minoura 2014: 9, fn. 10): “The definite article is not obligatory in TTM. It is an influence from written/spoken Malagasy. It shows up in registers nearing written/spoken Malagasy.” In Minoura (2017), I noticed an instance of NY, which M<sup>me</sup> Eva did not write down but signed and I wrote: “... the NY (the) is an influence from the Malagasy register.” To sum up, even clause-final antitopics did not have a NY in 2012. In later years, the use of NY has increased. In 2018, NY is everywhere, but it is not an obligatory definiteness marker unlike in spoken/written Malagasy.

I will look at some examples from my fieldwork in 2018.

(2)	man-apaka	mofo	amina	antsy	ma-ranitra
	NV <sup>6)</sup> -cut	bread	OBL	knife	NV-sharp
	MANAPAKA	MOFO	AMINA	ANTSY	MARANITRA
	cut	bread	OBL	knife	sharp
	ny	vehivavy			
	the	woman			
	NY	VEHIVAVY			
	DEF	woman			
	‘the woman cuts bread with a sharp knife’				

In (2), the clause-final antitopic is preceded by the definite particle NY. The definite particle NY for clause-final antitopic was absent in Minoura (2012), but it is now quite stable. Verb-initial or VOS/VPA<sup>7)</sup> word order seems quite rare among better know sign languages, but it is possible in TTM when the register nears the MCM end of the language continuum (section 1.2.).

(3)	n-i-tondra	vata	t-any	an-tsena	ny	lehilahy
	PST-NV-carry.PS	box	PST-there	market	the	man
	MITONDRA	VATA	ANY	TSENA	NY	LEHILAHY
	carry	box	there	market	DEF	man
	‘the man carried a box to the market’					

The example (3) is like (2) in that it is of the verb-initial or the VOS order with a clause-final antitopic preceded by NY.

(4)	ny	zazalahy	dia	mi-hinana	voankazo
	the	boy	TOP	NV-eat	fruit
	NY	ZAZALAHY	DIA	MIHINANA	VOANKAZO
	DEF	boy	TOP	eat	fruit
	'the boy eats fruits'				

The clause-initial NY ZAZALAHY (the boy) is made topic by the definite particle NY and by the topic particle following the phrase DIA (TOP). I described DIA (TOP) for the first time in Minoura (2018a: 176-178). Before August 2017, I was not aware of the clause-initial topic-marking DIA and probably it is quite a new member in the TTM grammar<sup>8)</sup>. In spoken/written Malagasy, *dia* marks contrastive topic, but in TTM, it is probably just a topic marker.

### 2.3. Possibly a different definite particle I

In this section, I will take a look at the definite particle I.

(5)	No-vono-in	=dRabe	i	Rasoa
	PST-beat.with.fist-ABV	=PN	DEF	PN
	MAMONO.INV	R-B <sup>9)</sup>	I	R-S
	beat.with.fist.INV	PN	DEF	PN
	'Rabe beat Rasoa with his fist'			




In (5), the personal name Rasoa is preceded by a definite particle I. It is sort of an awkward situation. In spoken/written Malagasy, *i* precedes a personal name and some kinship terms like *mama* (mom) and *dada* (dad), but the *i* does not appear before names starting with prefixes *Ra-* and *Andria-*. The different treatment of personal names starting with *Ra-* and *Andria-* and other personal names probably does not extend to TTM. M<sup>m</sup>e Eva wrote an *i* in front of *Rasoa* starting with *Ra-* in her notebook, but when she signed toward my videocamera, she signed with the manual expression identical with NY (DEF) and she did not mouthe. When a deaf TTM signer mouthes, the mouthing can possibly be different between *ny* and *i*, but when looking at the



manual expression I (DEF) seems no different from NY (DEF). Therefore I (DEF) is probably not a separate item from NY (DEF) in the TTM grammar.

Moreover, the *mamono/vonoina* (NV/ABV) can mean ‘kill’ and ‘beat with fist’ in spoken/written Malagasy, but the two meanings correspond to different signs in TTM. In this example (5), the inverse form MAMONO.INV is chosen probably because M<sup>me</sup> Eva holds more empathy toward the object RASOA than the actor RABE. Minoura (2013) describes direct/inverse opposition in Japanese Sign Language (JSL). The details can be different between JSL and TTM, but the overall mechanism is similar. Moreover, the direct/inverse opposition do not directly correspond to nominative voice/absolute voice opposition in spoken/written Malagasy.

Figure 4. MAMONO (kill, beat with fist)

MAMONO (kill)	
	
MAMONO (beat with fist, DIR)	MAMONO (beat with fist, INV)
	

## 2.4. Possibly another different definite particle ILAY

There is another possibly different definite particle ILAY.

(6) Mi-tondra      kamiao              ilay              lehilahy

NV-drive	truck	DEF	man
MITONDRA	KAMIAO	ILAY	LEHILAHY
drive	truck	DEF	man

‘the man drives a truck’

*Ilay* in spoken/written Malagasy marks anaphoricity. But in (6), *ILAY* has the same manual expression as *NY* (DEF). The mouthing *ilay* was not observed in this example. So probably it is not a separate item from *NY* (DEF) in the TTM grammar.

## 2.5. The use of another definite particle *IO*

There is another definite particle *IO*. The manual expression of *IO* (DEF) is identical with that of *NY* (DEF). But its syntactic behavior is different from that of *NY* (DEF). *IO* (DEF) follows the NP whereas *NY* (DEF) precedes the NP. Moreover, the behavior of *IO* (DEF) is different from the demonstrative *io* in spoken/written Malagasy. In spoken/written Malagasy, it sandwiches the NP when used with an NP just like in *io vazaha io* (that foreigner that meaning “that foreigner”); cf. also (10) below.

(7) sambo	kely	io	n-i-vadika
boat	little	that	PST-NV-overturned
<u>TOP</u>			
SAMBO	KELY	IO	MIVADIKA
boat	little	DEF	be.overturned

‘the little boat was overturned’

The syntactic properties of this example (7) are totally foreign to spoken/written Malagasy. They probably locate themselves, therefore, toward the extreme end of TTM on the TTM-MCM language continuum (cf. figure 1). Moreover, the TOP marking in the gloss shows non-manual markers (NMM) marking topicality which extends over the whole SAMBO KELY IO. The topic NMM mainly involves eyebrow raising. The example (7) has both *IO* (DEF) and the NMM, but we will see more examples only with the NMM but without *IO* (DEF, in section 2.6.).

Let us look at another example (8)

- (8) toaka      ma-hery    io;            ambony            %  
 rum          NV-strong- DEF;      above            percent  
 TOAKA      MAHERY    IO;            AMBONY            %  
 rum          strong      DEF;          above            percent  
 ‘the rum is strong; it has a high percentage of alcohol’

The first half of (8) has seemingly the same structure as the first half of (7) in the formula “NOUN ADJ IO”, but it translates better as “the rum is strong” than as “the strong rum” or as “that is a strong rum”. If the first translation seems the best, then one has to say that it has a split NP<sup>10</sup> as the topic, i.e. the nominal part TOAKA is at the clause-beginning topic position and the definite particle IO is at the clause-final antitopic position.

A split NP as the topic can be seen in the following example (9) too.

- (9) serivieta      mbola    ma-ndo    io  
 napkin          still      NV-wet    DEF  
 SERIVIETA    MBOLA    MANDO    IO  
 napkin          still      wet        DEF  
 ‘the napkin is still wet’

In this example (9) too, the nominal part of the NP is at the beginning of the clause whereas the definite particle is at the end of the clause. The two parts of the topical split NP sandwiches the predicate<sup>11</sup>. The split NP like this can be observed often in TTM but is totally foreign to spoken/written Malagasy.

The next examples (10) approaches more toward the MCM end of the language continuum (figure 1); it probably can pass as a spoken/written Malagasy clause/sentence.

- (10) tsy          ampy          siramamy                    io          kafe          io  
 Not          enough      sugar                            that      coffee      that  
 TSY.AMPY                            SIRAMAMY                    IO          KAFE          IO  
 not.enough                            sugar                            DEF      coffee      DEF  
 ‘the coffee does not have enough suger’

The two IOs (DEF) sandwich KAFE and the whole topic IO KAFE IO is located at the end of the clause. This is very MCM-like.

(11)	mi-ankin-	drindrina	ny	angady	
	NV-lean	wall	DEF	spade	
	MIANKINA	RINDRINA		ANGADY	IO
	lean	wall		spade	DEF
	'the spade is leaning against the wall'				

In the example (11), Mme Eva wrote *ny* in front of *angady*, but when I was video-recording, she used IO following the ANGADY instead. The phrase ANGADY IO is placed at the end of the clause and this is different from (7) and is more MCM-like, but the ANGADY IO order is more TTM-like.

(12)	endrika	tsara	lovia	ireo <sup>12)</sup>
	face	good	plate	those
	ENDRIKA	TSARA	LOVIA	IREO
	face	good	plate	DEF.PL
	'those/the plates are beautiful'			

The example (12) is a clause/sentence with two subjects. The outer subject is LOVIA IREO (plate those/the) while its predicate being ENDRIKA TSARA (face good). The inner subject is ENDRIKA (face) while its predicate being TSARA (good). Inferring from spoken/written Malagasy, IREO should be the plural form of IO. Then it may not be the plural of definite IO (DEF) but of demonstrative IO (that). In that case, IREO is not anaphoric but is deictic and the fingertip of the index finger may be pointing toward the actual or imagined plates. Generally speaking, the plural form of the pointing IX or IO is indicated by the circular movement of the fingertip.

## 2.6. Topics marked by NMM

TTM also has clauses with topics marked by NMM (non-manual markers). The NMM which mainly marks the topicality in TTM is eyebrow raising.



(13) Rabe     saka     man-afina  
 PN     cat     NV-hide  
TOP  
 R-B     SAKA     MANAFINA  
 PN     cat     hide  
 ‘Rabe hides a/the cat’

In (13), the topicality is marked by eyebrow raising like in (7). But unlike in (7), it does not have the definite particle IO (DEF) at the end of the topic.

(14) rano     izahay     manana     daholo  
 Water     we     have     all  
TOP  
 RANO     IX1.PL     MANANA     DAHOLO  
 Water     we     have     all  
 ‘we all have water, lit. as for water, we all have (it)’

In all of the earlier examples (2-13), the topics are the actors. In (14), the topic is the object or the patient.

(15) Rabe     fiara     vaovao     tsara     endrika  
 PN     car     new     good     face  
TOP  
 R-B     FIARA     VAOVAO     TSARA     ENDRIKA  
 PN     car     new     good     face  
 ‘Rabe’s new car is good-looking, lit. as for Rabe, the new car is good-looking’

The topic in (15) is the possessor. In TTM, genitive-noun word order can be both GN and NG. In the same way (qualifying-)adjective-noun order can be both AN and NA. I am yet to determine the factors determining the word order in question, but at the moment, it seems like GN and AN word order can be more readily found in the clause-initial topic position while NG and NA word

order can be found in the rest of the clauses.

This example (15) can also be described as having three subjects; i.e. the outer subject is RABE with its predicate FIARA VAOVAO TSARA ENDRIKA (car new good face), the middle subject is FIARA VAOVAO (car new) with its predicate TSARA ENDRIKA (good face), the inner subject is ENDRIKA (face) with its predicate TSARA (good). Three-subjected clause is probably possible because the “middle” predicate is a lexicalized compound TSARA ENDRIKA (good face = good-looking). Cf. the example of the opposite word order ENDRIKA TSARA (face good = good-looking) at the beginning of the clause (12).

## 2.7. Contrastive topics

In this section, I would like to show some paired clauses with contrastive topics.

(16)	ianao	miantso;	izy	tsy	mamaly
	you	summon;	(s)he	not	answer
	<u>TOP</u>				
	IX2	MIANTSO;	IX3	TSY	MAMALY
	You	summon;	(s)he	not	answer
	'you call on her/him; (s)he does not answer'				

The example (16) consists of two clauses, both of which begin with a contrastive topic. What can be remarkable about this example (16) is that the contrastive topic in the first clause is marked with the topic NMM (eyebrow raising), but the contrastive topic in the second clause is not marked with such NMM. I recorded several of such pairs in August 2018.

In Minoura (2012), I have a couple of examples with two clauses with contrastive topics. But in that year, what I recorded had a clause-initial topic in the first clause and a clause-final antitopic in the second clause. I am not sure about the NMM, but my guess is that the clause-initial topic had the topic NMM (eyebrow raising) while the clause-final antitopic did not have such NMM.

(17)	man-dre	mi-teny	vava;
	NV-hear	NV-talk	mouth;
	MANDREMITENY	VAVA;	
	heary	talk	mouth;

tsy	azo	ma-renina
NEG	get	NV-deaf
TSY	AZO	MARENINA
NEG	get	deaf

'hearing people talk with their mouths; deaf people do not understand'  
(Minoura 2012: 193)

In both (16, 17), the first clause has a clause-initial topic marked by the topic NMM while the second clause has a clause-initial topic (16) and a clause-final antitopic (17), both of which are not marked by topic NMM.

#### Conclusion

Malagasy Sign Language (TTM) has imported the definite article from spoken/written Malagasy between the beginning of my fieldwork in 2004 and 2018. Nevertheless, this is not an obligatory marker of definiteness (definite article) but an arbitrary marker of definiteness (definite particle) in TTM. When the definite particle is represented by the labels NY (2.1., 2.2.), I (2.3.), and ILAY (2.4.), it is placed at the beginning of the NP. When the definite particle is represented by IO (2.5.), it is usually placed at the end of the NP.

Moreover, definite NP or topics can be marked by non-manual markers (NMM, 2.6.). Finally in paired clauses of contrasted topics, only the topic in the first clause is marked by topic NMM (2.7.).

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## Notes

- 1) The abbreviations are: · (affix boundary), = (clitic boundary), 1 (first person), 2 (second person), 3 (third person), A (agent), ABV (absolute voice), ADJ (adjective), ASL (American Sign Language), CV (circumstantial voice), DEF (definite), EG (eyegaze), FSP (functional sentence perspective), FUT (future), H1 (dominant hand), H2 (non-dominant hand), IX (indexing), JSL (Japanese Sign Language), MCM (Manually-Coded Malagasy), NMM (non-manual marker), NV (nominative voice), OBL (oblique), P (patient), PL (plural), PN (personal/place name), PST (past), S (intransitive subject), TOP (topic), TTM (Malagasy Sign Language, Tenin'ny Tanana Malagasy).
- 2) Malagasy personal names traditionally are not divided into given names and family names. Mme Eva's name does not contain a family name strictly speaking. But when she wants to have her name look like a given name plus a family name, she writes Eva Raobelina. On the other hand, in recent years, some Malagasy families share a family name within a family.
- 3) The labels are written with all capitals.
- 4) Mouthing is movement of mouth as if to pronounce the corresponding word in spoken language. Its auditory effect can be silent, audible but not understandable as a word in the spoken language, or audible and understandable in the spoken language. Movement of mouth includes mouthing and other mouth gestures.
- 5) Chafe (1976) calls the clause-final topics, antitopics. Morel & Danon-Boileau (2000) call them postrhèmes.
- 6) Spoken/written-Malagasy voices in this paper are: nominative voice (NV), absolute voice (ABV), and circumstantial voice (CV). These correspond to active voice (voix actif), passive voice (voix passif), and relative voice (voix relative) in Rajemisa Raolison (1969) and elsewhere. In NV, S or A takes the unmarked case, which acts as nominative case. In ABV, S or P takes the unmarked case, which acts as

absolutive case. In CV, an adjunct take the unmarked case where possible. For S, A, P, (T, and R), refer to Haspelmath (2011) and Minoura (2014). These three voices in spoken/written Malagasy are not reflected in TTM. Instead, TTM has direct/inverse opposition (Minoura (2013) just like in JSL. CV is not coded in TTM except for some very rare cases by the inverse form (Minoura 2018: 161-162).

- 7) P and A of VPA stand for patient ( $\neq$  object) and agent ( $\neq$  transitive subject).
- 8) Mme Eva seems quite keen on the (diachronic) changes in TTM. Every August, I can spot many changes in her signing. She seems to very actively adopt the changes in TTM when the language community adopts changes in TTM.
- 9) In the examples, Mme Eva uses two finger-spelled letters for personal names. In the reality, each Malagasy deaf person has a name sign. In Supalla's (1997) terms, they are almost always descriptive name signs but not arbitrary name signs which include the handshape of the finger-spelled initial letter of the name in spoken/written language.
- 10) If you are a stricter syntactician, you can call it a DP (determiner phrase) instead of an NP.
- 11) If you are a theoretical syntactician, you probably want to claim that the topic NP (or DP) generates itself at the end of the clause and the whole thing except the IO (DEF) moves toward the beginning of the clause by left dislocation whereas the IO (DEF) remains in situ.
- 12) Its corresponding spoken/written Malagasy sentence probably is 'tsara endrika ireo lovia ireo (good face those plate those)'.