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## Morphological derivation and stress shift in the Tandroy dialect of Malagasy

The present study focuses on morphological aspects of the Tandroy dialect of Malagasy,<sup>1</sup> including the stress shift that accompanies all morphological operations.

The data analyzed in this study are primarily drawn from 8 months of field research that I conducted in Madagascar since 2006.<sup>2</sup> The primary aim of that field research as well as my main research focus is to describe the Tandroy dialect.

In this paper, we first discuss the basic syllable structures of Tandroy, which has an open syllable structure. Then, *weak final syllables* must be considered, because it is a crucial factor of Malagasy in word-formation, and it also determines the position of stress in the words. The word-final syllables, *-ke*, *-tse*, and *-ñe*, which we describe here as *weak final syllables*, as they are traditionally called, are characteristics of the Malagasy language. Weak final syllables, which themselves have no meaning, play an important role in word-formation, distinction of the word from the same root, word coinage. Sometimes words with different weak final syllables, e.g., *vizañe* «tired» and *vizake* «tired», have the same meaning, while these syllables usually serve to create a word from a homonym root.

Most of the words are stressed on the penultimate syllable and the words with weak final syllables are stressed on antepenultimate syllable. Stress is phonemic, and the position distinguishes the meaning although its minimal pair is rarely found.

The rules of the stress system of this language can be summarized as follows:

- (1) Stress is generally put on the penultimate syllable.
- (2) If the word has a weak final syllable, the stress is put on the penultimate syllable, if we do not count the weak final syllable, it is put on an antepenultimate position.
- (3) Morphological operations also change the position of stress. For example, if the imperative marker *-o* is added to a word that has already *-o* in a word-final position, the word-final syllable of the root is omitted and stress is shifted one syllable to right. Also, when the passive form *-e* is added to the root, the stress is shifted to the right.

In this paper we examine (i) the morphological derivation and function of *weak final syllables*, then (ii) the syllable structure and stress system.

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