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A unified English term that best reflect the people, the culture, and other things from Madagascar: ‘*Malagasy*’ instead of ‘*Madagascan*’

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Abstract

Two words, *Malagasy* and *Madagascan*, have emerged in the literature as an English term to refer to the people, the culture, and other animate and inanimate objects from Madagascar, the choice of which has left room for confusions for users. This article has two aims: (1) understanding the sources of such confusions, and (2) subsequently proposing a unified English term (noun and adjective) that will avoid further misperceptions in written and verbal communications accounting for Madagascar. The results from investigating the Web of Science, from historical documents, and from viewpoints from online survey combine to suggest that the term ‘*Malagasy*’ must have unintentionally been substituted by the term ‘*Madagascan*’ from the earliest documented usage until now. These two words have been used interchangeably, and the usage has never been applied consistently. This could have been influenced by the simple assumption that ‘*Madagascan*’ is an intuitive form, derivative of Madagascar. However, ‘*Malagasy*’ is an irregular word and is unique to Madagascar, thus its usage as a word qualifier for different objects, animals, plants, and the people of Madagascar in the English language would suffice.

KEYWORDS: Malagasy; Madagascan; Madagascar; terminology misconception.

1. Introduction

Over the last century, Madagascar has become a subject of important scientific interests because of its unique biodiversity, its geologic history, its geographic key position in the Indian Ocean, and its late human-landscape interactions (e.g., Hardyman, 1947; Myers et al., 2000; Ganzhon et al., 2001; Flannery, 2004; Goodman and Benstead, 2004; Collins, 2006; Robinson, 2004; Muldoon, 2008; Gommery et al., 2011; Raharimahefa, 2012; Dewar, 2014; Randrianaly et al., 2015; Voarintsoa et al., 2017). Beyond science, Madagascar has also a unique language that sparks interests among linguists and philosophers (e.g., Cousins, 1885; Vérin, P., 2001; Adeelar and Himmelmann, 2005; Howe, 2017; Woodling, 2017). The language shows close linkage to the Austronesian language family, including the languages of Polynesia (Dahl, 1951; Parker, 1883; Adeelar, 1989a–c; Adeelar, 1995, 2005; Adeelar and Himmelmann, 2005). When accounts of Madagascar were written, several terms have been used to describe the people, the culture, and other things (fauna, flora, other inanimate objects) from and associated to Madagascar. In English, the current language used in international communication, two terms “*Malagasy*” and “*Madagascan*”, have been interchangeably used as both a noun and an adjective to describe these. The words *Malagasy* and *Madagascan* were considered synonymous by some authors (e.g. Clark et al., 2005; Hurlles et al., 2005; Raxworthy et al., 2007). Others assume that these are distinct noun and adjective to describe inanimate and animate objects, respectively, and both terms have been used depending on the contexts. This leaves room for confusion among authors and reporters. Consequently, researchers, writers, scientists, and even natives from Madagascar are left with an inconsistent and sometimes conflicting choice of ‘*appropriate*’ terminology, which may have further been influenced by the English grammar rules and/or a diverse and scattered literature and medias.

As scientists, native to Madagascar and have worked on topics related to Madagascar, we have been asked which is the ‘appropriate/correct’ English noun and/or adjective used to describe the people, the culture, and other things from and associated to Madagascar: “*Malagasy*” or “*Madagascan*”? The questions have incited us to investigate the sources and the use of the two words in more details. We investigated in the literature and in other reliable sources possible explanations supporting the use of either one. We first conducted a thorough search on the Web of Science core database to understand how the two terms were used. We additionally documented old literatures (1800–1900s) to understand potential linkages between the history of Madagascar and the usage of these terms. Finally, we designed an online survey to help us gain a better understanding of how a lay audience would perceive the usage of these two terms. Using these information, we aim to propose a unified English term (noun and adjective) that best reflects the people, the culture, and other things from Madagascar, while these are being described/reported in written and oral communications. We additionally discuss the English grammatical rules while proposing the term. We hope that the results from this study and the proposition herein can avoid further contradictions and confusions.

2. Madagascar: a brief historical overview

2.1. The country and the people

Madagascar, with an area 584,041 square kilometers, is the fourth biggest island in the world, after Greenland, New Guinea, and Borneo. It is located ~500 km off eastern coast of Africa, in the southwestern region of the Indian Ocean.

Madagascar was inhabited by humans relatively late in the history, i.e., around 350–550 Common Era (CE)¹, and those early settlers were called *Vazimba*, who are described as shorter and smaller in stature than an average Malagasy person (e.g., Kent, 1970; Dahl, 1991). These *Vazimba* were speculated by scientists, archaeologists, and anthropologists as oceanic explorers and maritime traders from Africa and mostly Indonesia (Kent, 1970; Dahl, 1991; Thompson et al., 2011; Beaujard, 2003; Cox et al., 2012; Tyson, 2013), and they introduced new crops to places where they settled (e.g. Beaujard, 2011; Crowther, 2016). For later arrival, archaeological evidence suggests that Arab and Persian traders arrived around 700 CE, and Africans around 1000 CE. Madagascar hosts approximately 25 million people (CIA, 2018; IndexMundi, 2018), and the population is composed of highly diverse ethnic groups. The most abundant group (Merina and Sakalava) were proposed to represent the successive waves of Austronesian settlers in the first millennium of the common era (Hurles et al., 2005; Cox et al., 2012; Adeelar, 2009; Beaujard, 2003, 2011), the language of whom must have strongly influenced the national language of Madagascar (see Section 2.3 for details about the *Malagasy* Language).

2.2. Political and educational system

Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, most areas of Madagascar were ruled by a succession of native Merina Kingdoms (Buyers, 2001–2014), starting from queens *Rangita* (a name that literally means “kinky-haired”) and *Rafohy* (that means “short person”) in the early to mid-1500s (Bloch, unspecified year; Kent, 1970), followed by King Andriamanelo (1540-1575) (Buyers, 2001–2014) and King Ralambo (1575–1612). For a complete list of the sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the eighteenth century’s kings and queens of Madagascar, refer to Kent (1970) and Buyers (2001–2014).

Among those successive queens and kings of Madagascar, the kingdom of Radama I (also known as “Radama the Great”²), descendant of King Andrianampoinimerina (1782–1810), marked the beginning of the eighteenth century as the export of slaves was officially prohibited. King Radama I was very interested in education and in modernization of Madagascar, leading him to sign a Treaty of Friendship and Peace with Great Britain in 1817. He additionally encouraged the British Christian missionaries to establish schools in Madagascar, hence the literacy had taken roots over the island. Several young children and young men indeed benefited from the Christian missionary education (Howe 1938; Hesletine, 1971). When King Radama I authorized the London Missionary Society to settle on the island, this resulted in the

¹Other archaeological evidence suggests mid-Holocene settlement, around 4–5 thousand years before 1950 (Dewar, 2014)

² King Radama I was a very intellectual man with a great mind.

establishment of the first British printing shop in 1827. The Bible was the first printed and published book in the country's language in 1835, followed by the first vernacular press *Teny Soa* (meaning The Good Word) in 1866 (Gérard and Graham-White, 1973). Many more books were thereafter published, including specific books written for English missionaries that account for teaching the language and the culture of Madagascar (e.g., Griffiths, 1854; Cousins, 1894, 1896, 1898). Until then, little was known about Madagascar because most written literatures about it were scripted in Arabic (see for e.g., Griffiths, 1854, page 7; Gérard and Graham-White, 1973).

Madagascar had become and remained an internationally recognized independent country, despite the demise of the school system during the ruling of Queen Ranavalona I (1828–1861), until the French, led by Galliéni, conquered the country by force of arms in 1896 (Ambassade de France, 1960; Steinhauer, 2005). Madagascar was then a French colony between 1896 and 1958, during which indigenous people revolt to express nationalism, such as the bloody year of 1947. The “*loi-cadre*” in 1956, providing direct universal suffrage and greater participation of the Malagasy in the management of their own affairs, paved the way for the proclamation of the Malagasy Republic on October 14, 1958, followed by the proclamation of its independence on June 26, 1960. Since its independence, Madagascar has adopted the republican regime. Several educational reforms were also adopted, including the “*Malgachization*”³ curriculum in 1972 during the government of President Didier Ratsiraka (Razafimbelo, 2011; Rosnes, 2017), but it faced hostility among many schools and failed in 1990 (Razafimbelo, 2011).

2.3. *Language used in Madagascar*

Although this paper is not specific for linguistic studies, but instead a multidisciplinary approach in understanding the usage of either *Malagasy* or *Madagascan*, it is important to provide an informative overview about the language of Madagascar, *Malagasy*. The *Malagasy* language is a unique language (e.g., Griffiths, 1854; Cousins, 1894) and is related to the languages of Southeast Asia and Africa (e.g., Lombard et al., 1970; Adeelar, 1995, 2005). It is very close to the Austronesian language (Dahl, 1951; Adeelar, 1989a–c; Adeelar, 1995, 2005), specifically the Malayo-Polynesian language (Parker, 1883). It shares nearly 90% of its basic vocabulary with Maanyan, a language spoken in the Barito River region of Southern Borneo. It also contains some *Bantu*, a language spoken in East Africa (Dahl, 1988; Adeelar, 1995, 2005). Reports suggest that the ‘*Malagasy*’ language was inherited from oral communications, including *ohabolana* (proverbs), *kabary* (formal oratorical speeches), *angano* (folk-tales), and *hain-teny* (a variety of poems) (Gérard and Graham-White, 1973, and reference therein).

Documentation of ancient literatures suggest that the term ‘*Malagasy*’ and the ‘*Malagasy*’ language could have existed since the thirteenth century; but then, it was written using the Arabic scripts, called “*sorabe*” (literal meaning: “big writing”) (Cousins, 1894; Julien, 1929; Gérard and Graham-White, 1973; Dahl, 1983; Adeelar, 1995, 2005; Steinhauer, 2005).

³ The philosophy of *Malgachisation* is to make education more Malagasy in all aspects (e.g., Rosnes, 2017).

Those scripts, however, were relatively difficult to use, especially in written communications, leading King Radama I (1810–1828) of Madagascar to choose the Latin Alphabet over the Arabic scripts in the early 1820s, when the English missionaries brought literacy and introduced Christianity into the country (Cousins, 1894; Howe, 1938). Since then, the so-called ‘*Abidy Malagasy*’, *i.e.*, the alphabet used in Madagascar, was adopted (Parker, 1883; Richardson, 1885; Cousins, 1885, 1894; Howe, 1938; Hardyman, 1947). The ‘*Abidy Malagasy*’ is unique because it uses fewer letters (a total of 20 letters) than the Latin alphabet. Specifically, the consonants “c”, “q”, “w”, and “x” as well as the vowel “u” are absent (e.g. Parker, 1883; Cousins, 1894). In fact, ‘*Malagasy*’ is the language spoken everywhere in Madagascar (e.g. Ranaivoarison, 2015) with variable dialects depending on the ethnicity.

3. Methods

To better understand the extent to which confusions in the usage of *Malagasy* and *Madagascan* have begun, we analyzed scholarly articles from the Web Of Science (WOS) Core Collection search option and analytical tools (last accessed on March 2018). WOS Core Collection consists of current and retrospective coverage in sciences, social sciences, arts, and humanities since 1900, with over 12,000 highest impact journals worldwide, including Open Access journals and over 150,000 conference proceedings (Carloni and Tsenkulovsky, 2016; Clarivate Analytics, 2018a–b). We used the keywords ‘*Malagasy*’ and ‘*Madagascan*’ consecutively in the WOS search for topic. This approach allowed us to extract and analyze all core database mentioning ‘*Malagasy*’ and ‘*Madagascan*’ since 1900. The WOS has a built-in menu allowing users to analyze the searched data based on several parameters, including the year of publication, the authors, the research areas, and other relevant categories. The investigation specifically focused on the frequency of published documents as a function of time and of research areas. This allowed us to better understand how the term usage has developed through time, and how frequent they were used in each research area (Figs. 1–2).

In addition to the WOS Core Collection, we used the WOS All Database to investigate other documents published before 1900. We also investigated several historical reports on Madagascar, such as formal speeches by Kings and Queens of Madagascar, written communications, dictionaries and history books to better understand how the term *Malagasy* and *Madagascan* were used. Furthermore, we used other reliable online resources, such as websites with appropriate list of references and other citable resources, using Google Scholar (<https://scholar.google.com>) and internet archive (<https://archive.org>), to find other relevant documents prior to 1900. In all these searches, we specifically paid attention to the usage of the two terms, and we grouped our observation based on three main historical periods in Madagascar: (1) the pre-colonial (before 1896), (2) the colonial (1896–1960), and (3) the post-colonial (after 1960) (Fig. 1).

Finally, we designed an online survey (see supplementary documents) using Google Forms to have a general picture of how broader audience perceive the usage of *Malagasy* and/or

Madagascan in verbal and written communications. While survey results may be biased (e.g., Nulty, 2008), they offer invaluable information to help us understand some key reasons why misconceptions and confusions on the usage of these terms have existed. We designed very simple and straightforward questionnaires (multiple choice questions) to minimize the bias in participants’ responses, and we added open-ended questionnaires to evaluate such responses. We shared the survey questionnaires on public social media (Facebook and Twitter) as well as on social network for researchers (ResearchGate) to reach broader audience (see details in supplementary document). Furthermore, we invited randomly selected researchers, scientists and/or non-scientists, native and foreigners (with varying level of understanding of the *Malagasy* language and culture) to participate in the survey by sending them a courteous email. Participation in this survey was voluntary, and responses are kept anonymous. The survey was open between March 12 and May 01, 2018 and received a total of 139 responses. The survey respondents are relatively diverse in terms of nationality (see supplementary document) and in terms of occupation (researchers, non-researchers, scientists, consultants, Peace Corps Volunteers, professional magistrate).

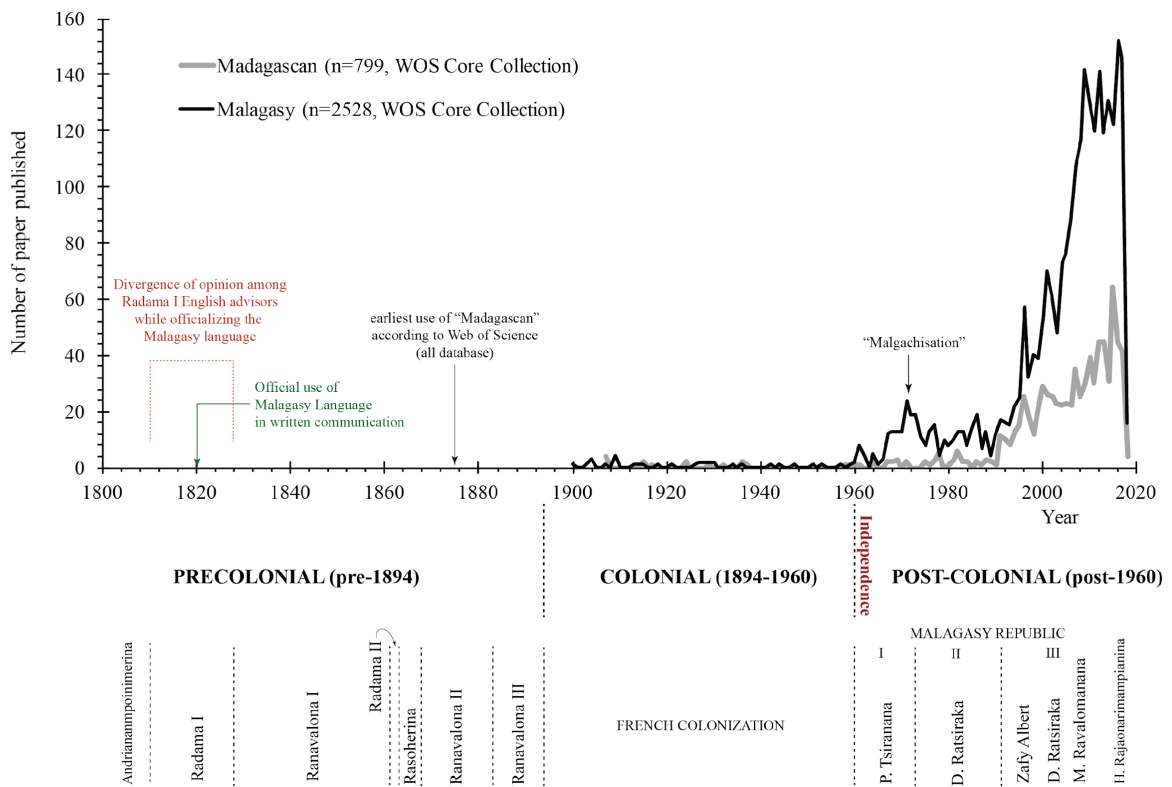


Figure 1: Time series showing the number of documents published since 1900 (WOS Core Collection data), and information prior to 1900, which were obtained from WOS All Database and other relevant 1800s literatures (e.g. Cousins, 1894; Howe, 1938). Relevant historic periods in Madagascar since 1800 (see Butler, 2017, and Section 2.2) are shown at the bottom of the figure to assess the development of the term usage through time. “*Malgachisation*” refers to the period when the education in Madagascar switched from French to a more Malagasy track.

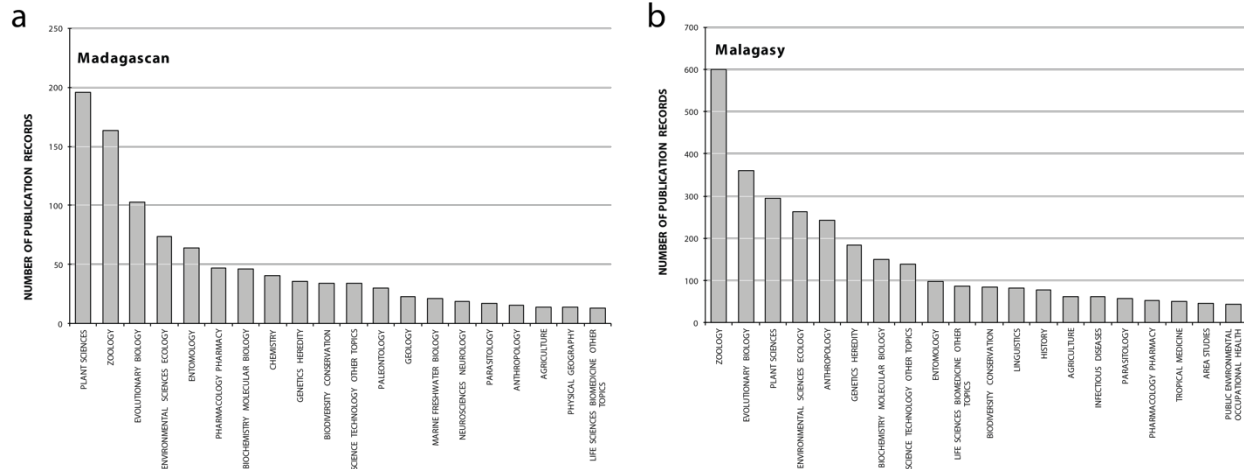


Figure 2: Histograms of published documents as a function of research areas (note the y-axis value difference). a) Research areas were arranged in descending order of abundance of published documents mentioning ‘*Madagascan*’. b) Research areas were arranged in descending order of abundance of published documents mentioning ‘*Malagasy*’. These histograms represent the top 20 research areas that frequently use each term. For an extended list, please see Supplementary document.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Historical review

Soon after the first westerners arrived in Madagascar (in the 1500s), several written literatures about the country emerged and reached the Western world. During the English missionary and the colonial periods (ca. 1800–1960), many of the written literatures published about Madagascar included educational books about the *Malagasy* language (e.g. Griffiths 1854; Parker, 1883 and references therein; Cousins, 1894 and reference therein; Cousins, 1896; Sixpence, 1896), informative compilations about the customs and culture of the country (e.g., Cousins, 1873, 1894, 1896), fiction and/or narrative books about Madagascar (e.g., Reeve and Grey, 1919; Gibbs, 1902; Gosse, 1924), and several bilingual dictionaries (e.g. Sewell., 1875; Richardson, 1885). Additional examples of such dictionaries are listed in Cousins (1894), including Megiserus (1609), Marsden (1638), Flacourt (1658); Challan (1773), de Forberville (1825-1816), but many of them are not easily accessible.

The earliest and most informative documents describing the *Malagasy* language, which reflects well the culture in Madagascar include “*A grammar of the Malagasy language in the Ankova dialect*” by David Griffiths (1854) and “*A concise introduction to the study of the Malagasy Language as spoken in Imerina*” by William Edward Cousins (1894). These books were specifically written to “help missionaries and others to obtain a fairly complete knowledge of the main features of the language, and to enable them to master its grammatical forms and leading principles that they may be able to ease to analyze the words they meet in conversation

or reading, and to use the language with freedom and accuracy” (Cousins, 1894, p.2). Complementing these books is the third edition English-Malagasy dictionary by James Richardson (1885), which clearly indicates that the term ‘*Malagasy*’ is a noun and adjective referring to people and things from Madagascar. We also observed that the word *Malagasy* was always the noun and adjective used by King Radama I when referring to the people, the culture, and things from Madagascar. For example, *Malagasy* language, *Malagasy* family, *Malagasy* people, *Malagasy* village, and so forth. In further written communications, such as governmental documents (e.g., Ambassade de France, 1960) or journal articles (e.g., Degiorgio, 1970) about Madagascar, the term *Malagasy* was used to refer to the people, the culture, and other things from Madagascar. For example, *Malagasy* Republic, *Malagasy* Constitution, *Malagasy* economy, *Malagasy* agriculture, *Malagasy* farms, and so forth. This word *Malagasy* has thenceforth been kept as an international noun and adjective while describing things from Madagascar, and it has been the most common noun and adjective used when written communications account for Madagascar (Fig. 1).

Our investigation of the old literatures suggests that the term *Madagascan* has no known clear origin. The earliest documented usage was around 1875 (Fig. 1), but its usage could start during the sovereignty of King Radama I (1810–1828), when the missionary from the United Kingdom introduced literacy and Christianity while settling in Madagascar. We suspect that the usage of the term *Madagascan* arose when King Radama I’s advisors disagreed on several aspects of the *Malagasy* literatures, including the spelling rules, while teaching the King on how to write and translate English documents into *Malagasy* (Howe, 1938; Steinhauer, 2005, p. 79). This influence is additionally reflected in some of the historical written documents (e.g. Gibbs, 1902) in which Malagasy was written as “Malagash” (e.g., young *Malagash* to indicate young *Malagasy*), and *Madagascan* was generally used to refer to the people of Madagascar (see for example Table 1). It is very common in the English language and associated grammatical rules to add the suffix “-an” to a noun that becomes an adjective when referring possession in regular words. For example, African refers to Africa, Indian refers to India, American refers to America, and so forth. This logic of word-building in the English language could have been the reason why the term ‘*Madagascan*’ was adopted (e.g., Mifflin, 2005), *i.e.*, Madagascar + ‘an’ = *Madagascan*. This word must have been unintentionally used by foreigners without much attention and consideration that the term “*Malagasy*” is an irregular word and unique to Madagascar, such as the case of *British* for Great Britain (instead of ‘*Britanian*’), *French* for France (instead of *Francese* or *Francian*), *Dutch* for Denmark, and so forth. For analogy, similar mistakes could be spotted if one considers irregular verbs in English. For example, the past simple and past participle of the verb ‘to begin’ are began and begun, respectively instead of began and begun, as opposed to the case of the regular verb ‘to start’, which becomes started and started.

There are indeed several historical books that use the term *Madagascan*, either as a noun or as an adjective. For example, Reeve and Grey (1919) used *Madagascan* to refer to the people of Madagascar. Gibbs (1902) used this word to refer both the people and things related to

Madagascar; and Gosse (1924) used it to indicate the island of Madagascar. Table 1 highlights some examples of the early usage of these words. We also noted that in some of these books, the proper *Malagasy* term was written as ‘*Malagash*’ (see for examples pages 264, 278, 280, and 321 of Gibbs, 1902). The intuitive English grammatical rules as briefly described above could have been the simple but also the principal reason why some non-natives and acquaintances to Madagascar have used and continue to use the term ‘*Madagascan*’ when referring to the people, the culture, and many other things from Madagascar. Consequently, the two terms *Malagasy* and *Madagascan* have been used. They have been recorded in the literature (journal articles, books, blogs, newspapers, reviews, etc.), and the confusion in the usage of either one has passively emerged.

Table 1: Selected sentences from historical books mentioning *Madagascan*.

Sample sentences	Referring to	References
“A successful pirate in the days of the <i>Madagascan</i> sea-rovers.”	Madagascar	Gosse (1924)
“At a motion from the Automaton a dark-skinned <i>Madagascan</i> stepped forward and lighted the five candles.”	People	Reeve and Grey (1919)
“The <i>Madagascan</i> servant of Balcom answered in the absence of his master.”	People	Reeve and Grey (1919)
“He was gorgeously clad in flowing silks and wore the princely cap with a button. At a glance his piercing eye took in every detail of the room. Then he went directly to the <i>Madagascan</i> , whose overbearing air of assurance immediately forsook him at the Chinaman's approach.”	People	Reeve and Grey (1919)
“The Hovas were a superior class of <i>Madagascan</i> people the rulers being men of education and ability, but not equal in quality or quantity to cope with the energy, wealth and military prowess of a power like France.”	People	Gibbs (1902)
“But I will not longer dwell on <i>Madagascan</i> peculiarities, many of which, as elsewhere, are not chastening.”	Customs and Culture	Gibbs (1902)
“...their catalogue of books devotional, literary and scientific; a dictionary, all of which have been edited and published in the <i>Madagascan</i> language, are among the golden contributions for civilization by the Catholics in this far-off island continent in the Indian seas.”	Language	Gibbs (1902)

4.2. Usage in the scientific world

An investigation of a list of 38,595 published documents mentioning Madagascar suggests that since ca. 1900, the word *Madagascan* has been mentioned in 799 published documents and the term *Malagasy* in 2528 published documents (WOS Core Collection, data as

of 03 March 2018). Those terms were found in several document types including journal articles, books, book reviews, reviews, book chapters, proceeding papers, editorial materials, news items, letters, corrections, and meeting abstracts. About 77% to 87% of these documents are journal articles. Some authors appear to infer in their published articles that *Malagasy* and *Madagascan* have similar meaning (see for example Sparks, 2001, 2004; Clark et al., 2005; Aschenbrenner, 2002, Harcourt and Wood, 2012; Bidaud et al., 2013, Raxworthy et al., 2007).

The usage of the terms *Malagasy* and *Madagascan* was found in less than 10 publications per year during and before the colonial periods (i.e. before 1960) (Fig. 1). After 1960, the year of Madagascar’s independence from France’s colonization, the number of documents published has significantly increased. This was related to the rise in education rate, the change in civilization, and most specifically Madagascar openness to receive researchers from all over the world, as reflected by the increased number of foreign authors. The major trend in term usage specifically began around 1990, but the usage of ‘*Malagasy*’ outcompetes that of ‘*Madagascan*’ between 1960 and 1990. After 1990, the trend of use for both terms increases significantly but the records suggest that the term ‘*Malagasy*’ remains the common used term.

Table 2: Examples of common words used in combination with either *Malagasy* or *Madagascan*. The “ ____ ” is a blank that could be filled with *Malagasy* or *Madagascan*. The number represents the number of articles, investigated from the WOS Core Collection, mentioning the terms.

	‘ <i>Madagascan</i> ’	‘ <i>Malagasy</i> ’
“ ____ ” birds	3	11
“ ____ ” children	9	24
“ ____ ” family	4	9
“ ____ ” region	43	214
“ ____ ” fauna	27	30
“ ____ ” flora	6	22
“ ____ ” language	0	12
“ ____ ” species	168	237
“ ____ ” lemurs	26	220
“ ____ ” plants	6	23
“ ____ ” dogs	1	0
“ ____ ” mammals	3	5

The terms *Madagascan* and *Malagasy* have been widely used in a variety of research areas. WOS Core Collection shows 122 research areas, 114 of which mentioned *Malagasy*, 74 mentioned the term *Madagascan*, and 74 mentioned both. The top research areas mentioning both terms include zoology, plant sciences, evolutionary biology, environmental sciences ecology, anthropology, and genetics heredity. Some examples of term compounds and their usage statistics are shown in Table 2. Combining information from review of historical documents (Section 4.1) and from WOS search results (Section 4.2), we conclude that the overall assumptions that *Malagasy* refers solely to the people and the culture of Madagascar and that ‘*Madagascan*’ specifically refers to inanimate objects from Madagascar (see also Section 4.3) have no clear evidence in the written communications. In fact, the results from our search indicate that *Malagasy* and *Madagascan* have been interchangeably used, often randomly, and their usage has never been consistent, hence the persistence of confusion.

4.3. Usage according to the public

Relevant responses from the online survey are presented in Fig. 3. Detailed responses are provided in the supplementary document. Out of the 139 participants, 52.5% are researchers and the remaining 47.5% identified themselves as students, peace corps volunteers, engineers, scientists, professional magistrates, freelancers, entrepreneurs, teachers, and regular participants. The majority of these participants self-identified as native English speakers (56.59%) and native Malagasy speakers (32.56%). The remaining 10.85% identified themselves as speakers of German, French, Spanish, Italian, Gujarati, Danish, Arabic, African, a mixture of Malagasy–English or Malagasy–French.

Of the 139 survey participants, 89.2% have written and/or read articles, blogs, essays, or other written communications about Madagascar, only 1.4% have not heard the term *Malagasy*, and 12% have not heard the term *Madagascan* (see details in the supplementary document). Their opinion on the English noun and adjective used to describe things from Madagascar is divided, but the majority have chosen the term *Malagasy* (79.9%). We also asked their opinion if *Madagascan* = *Malagasy* and 69.1% responded “No”, while 30.9 % said “Yes”.

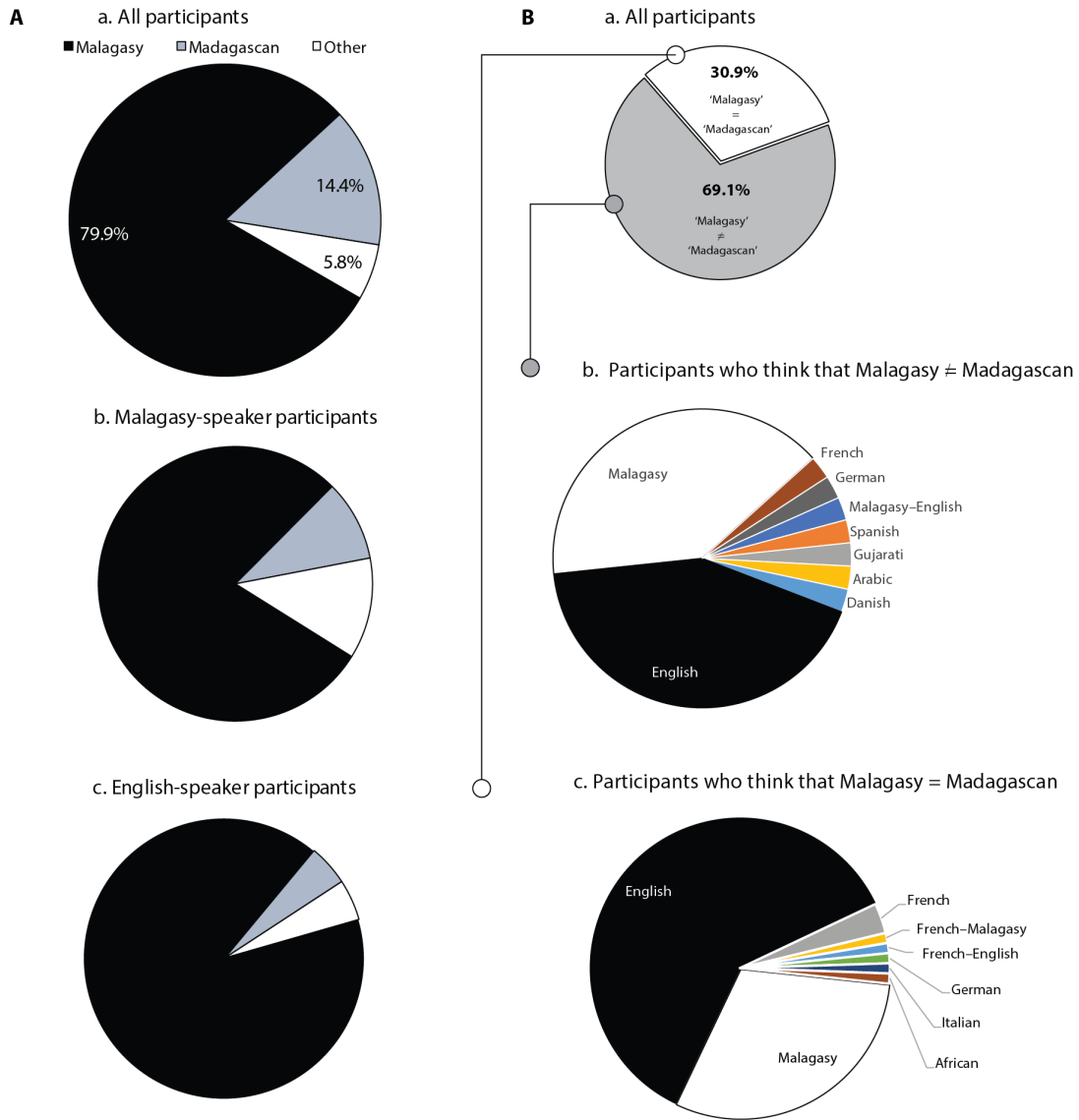


Figure 3: Relevant results from the online survey. A) Statistics on the survey participants' opinion on the choice of English noun and adjective (i.e., 'Malagasy', 'Madagascan', or other word) used to describe things from Madagascar. B) Statistics on the survey participants' opinion if 'Malagasy' = 'Madagascan'. (See supplementary document for details).

Detailed examination of the written responses for three open-ended questions no. 7, 9, and 11⁴ (see supplementary document) suggests that even for a general audience, regardless of their origin and mother tongue, confusions and misconceptions are evident. For those choosing the term *Madagascan*, supporting explanations mainly include grammatical logic, i.e., a derivative

⁴ Questions 7 and 8 asked survey participants to provide detailed responses on preceding question no. 6 (In your opinion, what is the English noun and adjective used to describe things from Madagascar?) and question no. 8 (Do you think that 'Madagascan' = 'Malagasy'?), respectively. Question no. 11 asked survey participants if they have additional comments regarding the usage of 'Malagasy' and 'Madagascan'.

from the word Madagascar as we explained earlier (Section 4.1) with additional mention that *Malagasy* is only used to describe the language, the culture, and people of Madagascar, and *Madagascan* is used for something else. Below are selected examples of explanations⁵:

“Madagascan just makes sense given the derivative Madagascar, and how we refer to many things from certain places. Example: People/places/things from Peru are referred to as Peruvian. It just feels like the natural adjective to use in this case.”

“By saying Madagascan, one can easily understand that we talk about people from Madagascar”

“I believe that “things” that will be dead objects, plants and animals will be Madagascan. Malagasy will only refer to culture and anything directly descending from the indigenous people there”

“I think English speakers are used to putting -an at the end of the word to make that change. It’s completely wrong in this case, as natives of Madagascar never call themselves Madagascan. They always call themselves Malagasy, and even laugh at Madagascan”

“... as I understand it, things from Madagascar are Madagascan, whereas the Malagasy are a group of people from Madagascar, such that it could be said that “Malagasy is a Madagascan language”, for instance.”

“I see more British people using Madagascan to refer to people and things from Madagascar compared to American people. Usually, I assume when I encounter Madagascan that it is written by someone not very familiar with the country and particularly the Malagasy language.”

“I’m French, so maybe off topic. To the best of my short knowledge, “Malagasy” is the name of the dominant language in Madagascar, and “Madagascan” means a native of Madagascar or a thing or being related to Madagascar. Consequently, it seems to me that one should use “Malagasy” when it comes to giving the Malagasy name of any entity whatsoever, and that one should use “Madagascan” when it comes to talking about any entity whatsoever (things, beings, institutions, culture(s), etc.) specifically related to Madagascar.”

For those choosing the term *Malagasy*, supporting explanations are the facts related to participants’ knowledge to and familiarity with the people, the culture, and the country itself. While referring to several of the examples provided in the participants’ answers, we infer that the word *Malagasy* is an irregular word (like British for Great Britain, French for France, Dutch for Denmark), rather than an intuitive form as one may suggest. Below are selected examples of explanations⁶:

“Malagasy people define themselves as Malagasy, its offensive and disrespectful to impose the western descriptor of Madagascan”

“...and the people are Malagasy not Madagascan. We speak English and we’re called English.”

“When I hear or see Madagascan, I feel that people are using an uneducated assumption that the word to describe people, culture, etc. are derived from the country they live in plus “-can” or “-ese” that is not a concrete rule and therefore there is no reason to follow that order. (For example, we aren’t required to call someone or something from Denmark as Denmarkese or Denmarkan, but we use the word Dutch). We should use Malagasy because that is what Malagasy people use to describe themselves.”

⁵ Original texts were edited for typos.

⁶ Original texts were edited for typos.

“To preface, I had no idea what to call people and things from Madagascar--I don't remember referring to them as "Madagascan", but it's possible I did. Ever since I was accepted to serve in the country, the only term I heard and read in blogs and articles was "Malagasy". But this is possibly because it is all I was attuned to hear and search for.”

“When I lived in Madagascar all of my Malagasy friends referred to people/plants/things as 'Malagasy' or just 'Gasy' (i.e. vita gasy; sakafo gasy, etc.)”

“Malagasy is the term Malagasy people use to describe not only themselves but all aspects of their culture. It should be used by outsiders in the same way.”

“In my experience, “Madagascan” tends to be used in ways that analytically distance the object of discussion from context. It is antiquated, “museum language” that makes me think of geology and armchair research and I very much associate it with both political and scientific colonialism, the perspective of an outside ‘expert’ looking in. I prefer to use “Malagasy” because, first and foremost, this is closer to how the people from Madagascar with whom I do research speak about themselves and things that are uniquely of Madagascar. In a small way, I hope that this can imply to the reader that Malagasy people have primary claim on defining their identities and the things that they value.”

“It is what the natives are using and it should stay that way. Madagascan sounds like something coming out of a lab.”

“Malagasy is the term used by the Malagasy people when they speak english, and it's the term used by those who have lived and worked in Madagascar.”

For participants who did not chose neither the word *Malagasy* nor the word *Madagascan*, but instead suggested that both words can be used, we noted that their explanations are based on modern facts. Examples of their explanations are provided below⁷:

“The use of Malagasy or Madagascar really depends on the context.”

“As a native English speaker I've only ever used the term "Malagasy", but I have seen the term Madagascan used to reference commercial products (vanilla, chocolate, sometimes textiles). I believe the term Madagascan is more recent and was created by people who didn't know the term "Malagasy" already existed. At the very minimum, Malagasy is what is used to refer to all anthropological concepts - people, language, history, culture (including food/cuisine).”

“Madagascan is more appropriate when referring to the (geographical) origin or location of something (e.g., species) / someone. Malagasy on the other hand refers to more cultural or ethnic issues. E.g., everyone living in Madagascar is Madagascan but not all of them are Malagasy.”

“In United States, they usually use Madagascan e.g., Vanilla from Madagascar= Madagascan vanilla but they should use Malagasy.”

“When living in Madagascar, I felt that people and things from Madagascar that were cultural or distinct to Madagascar were referred to as Malagasy. I've heard Madagascan in zoos, rarely, and only to refer to origin of animals.”

5. Conclusion

Literature reviews from historical records along with analysis of the WOS Core Collection and results from an online survey combine to suggest that the term *Malagasy* must have unintentionally been substituted by the term *Madagascan*. The substitution of the term *Malagasy* in several literatures could have been biased by three main factors: (1) the foreign adoption of the term *Madagascan* in the late 1800s–early 1900s, which could have influenced the succeeding

⁷ Original texts were edited for typos.

literatures reporting on animate and inanimate objects from Madagascar, (2) the belief that *Madagascan* is an intuitive form, derivative of Madagascar, rather than acknowledging that *Malagasy* is an irregular word and unique to Madagascar, and (3) the lack of understanding of the origin of the term *Malagasy* and its usage as a word qualifier for different objects, animals, plants, and most importantly the people of Madagascar. This lack of understanding and possibly the simple ignorance must have allowed the proliferation of the word *Madagascan*, particularly since *ca.* 1990. Its extensive usage must have been additionally biased by non-refereed media/online sources. Hence, the confusion has reached broader audience (see responses to survey). The increased attention and interest on Madagascar, as suggested by the increase in published documents about it, could significantly allow the proliferation of the term *Madagascan*, which is incorrect. Thus, the words *Malagasy* and *Madagascan* has been used inconsistently.

To avoid further confusions, we propose the usage of a unified English term, *Malagasy*, and suggest users to refrain using the word *Madagascan* in future communications, either written or oral. Although it may sound easy and logical to use, the term *Madagascan* does not reflect the people, the culture, and other objects from Madagascar. As some of the survey participants emphasize “...it is offensive and disrespectful to impose the western descriptor of *Madagascan*”. The term *Malagasy* is not simply a straightforward English-Malagasy translation but there is much meaning to it that relate to the history of Madagascar. We propose its usage because it respects the people in Madagascar and it represents well the island’s diverse cultures (Cousins, 1885; Richardson, 1885; Hardyman, 1947; see also supplementary document). The adjective ‘*Malagasy*’ could also suffice to refer anything from Madagascar (e.g., *Malagasy* art, *Malagasy* Republic, *Malagasy* food, *Malagasy* birds). In summary, a continuous usage of the term *Madagascan* would potentially enhance public confusion when referring things from Madagascar, and it could also negatively influence the usage of the term *Malagasy*, which is unique to Madagascar. We hope that the results from this study and the proposition herein can avoid further contradictions and confusions.

Acknowledgments

We thank many of our curious friends and colleagues who asked us questions about the usage of these two terms, ‘*Malagasy*’ and ‘*Madagascan*’, inciting us to investigate further on this topic beyond our own scientific research since 2016. The two year and a half research on this issue has led to more concrete and interesting results, hence reported in this paper. We additionally thank Penelope Howe for providing suggestions and feedback to an earlier version of our manuscript, inspiring us to conduct the online survey, valuable in this study. Finally, we would like to thank all the survey participants from all over the world, who voluntarily shared their honest thoughts and opinions to help us understand people’s perception on the usage of the terms ‘*Malagasy*’ and ‘*Madagascan*’.

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SUPPLEMENTARY DOCUMENTS

Supplementary document no. 1

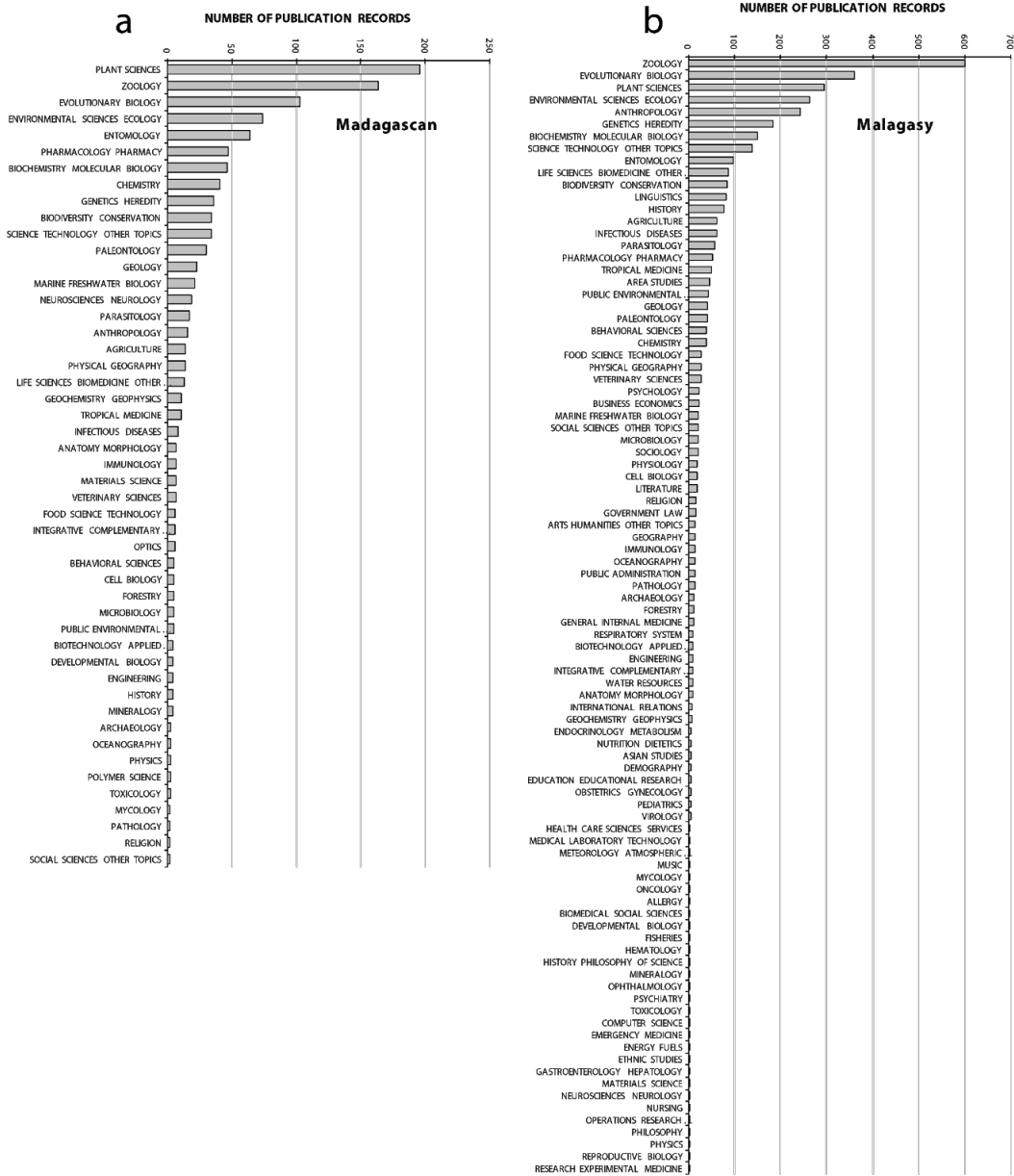


Figure S1: Extended version of the histograms of published documents as shown in Figure 2 of the main manuscript.

Supplementary document no. 2: Survey questionnaires

Madagascar- Malagasy survey questions

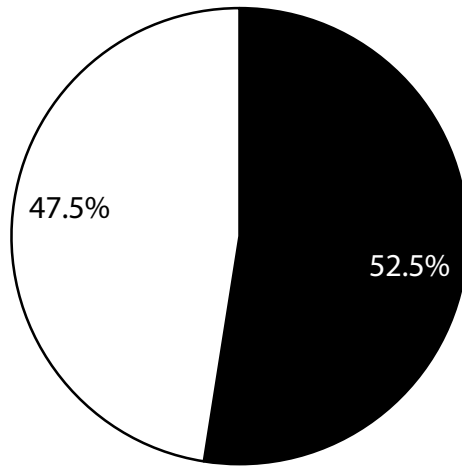
As native, scientists, and researchers from Madagascar, we have been asked by friends and members of the scientific community working on Madagascar which is the ‘appropriate/correct’ English noun and/or adjective used to describe things from Madagascar. Such questions have warned us that the terms “Madagascan” and “Malagasy” have been used interchangeably to refer to anything (people, culture, animals, plants, and other objects) from Madagascar. Sometimes, a terminology misconception could potentially lead to scientific and public confusion. We would like to better understand the source of confusion in the term usage, and thus we designed this survey. We greatly appreciate your participation in filling it to the best of your knowledge.

Disclaimer: This survey is completely anonymous and voluntary. It will only take approximately 5 to 10 minutes of your time. We will solely use the data collected from this survey as a sample data in our report. Such report will discuss people’s perception on the usage of the terms “Madagascan” and “Malagasy”. We thank you for your participation.

1. Are you a researcher?
 - Yes
 - No
2. If your answer to question no. 1 is “NO”, please indicate _____
3. Have you ever written/read an article, a blog, an essay, or something similar about Madagascar?
 - Yes
 - No
4. Have you heard of the term “Madagascan”?
 - Yes
 - No
5. Have you heard of the term “Malagasy”?
 - Yes
 - No
6. In your opinion, what is the English noun and adjective used to describe things from Madagascar?
 - Malagasy
 - Madagascan
 - Other: _____
7. Please explain your answer in question no. 6 _____
8. Do you think that ‘Madagascan’ = ‘Malagasy’?
 - Yes
 - No
9. Please explain your response to question no. 8 above: _____
10. What is your first language and/or mother tongue? (Optional)
 - _____
11. Do you have additional comments regarding the usage of “Malagasy” and “Madagascan”?

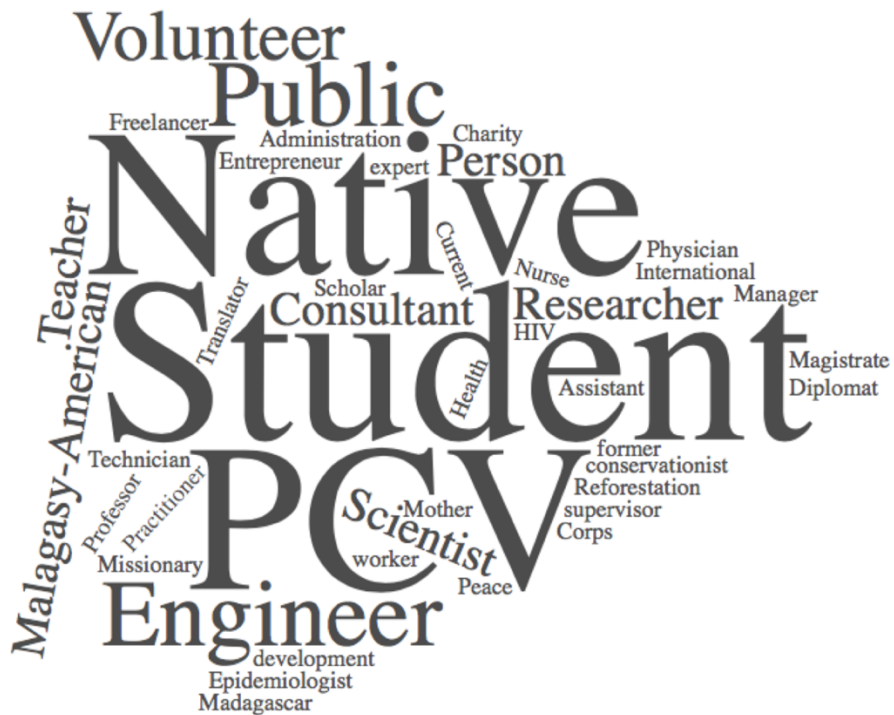
Supplementary document no. 3: Results from survey

1. Are you a researcher?



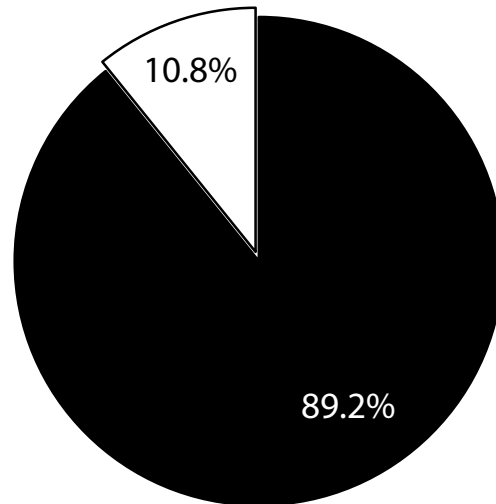
■ Researchers □ Non-Researchers

2. If you are not a researcher, please indicate your role in the box below (responses presented in word cloud):



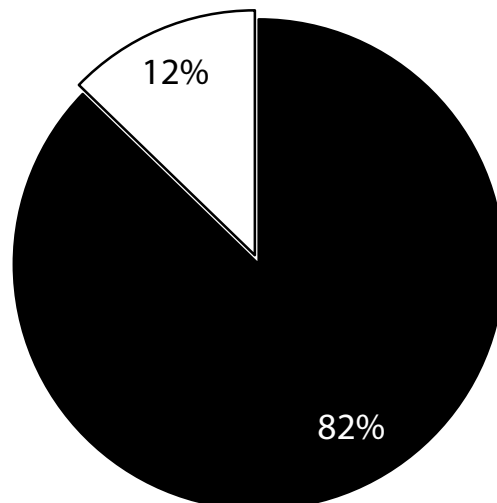
PCV = Peace Corp Volunteer; **Public** = participants identifying themselves as native of Madagascar or foreign just participating in the survey. **Volunteer** = participants who work as a volunteer at NGOs or other institutions.

3. Have you ever written/read an article, a blog, an essay, or something similar about Madagascar?



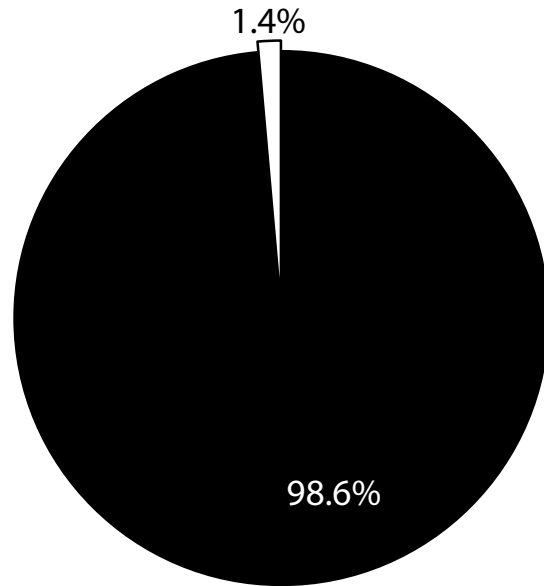
- Have written about Madagascar
- Have not written about Madagascar

4. Have you heard of the term “Madagascan”?



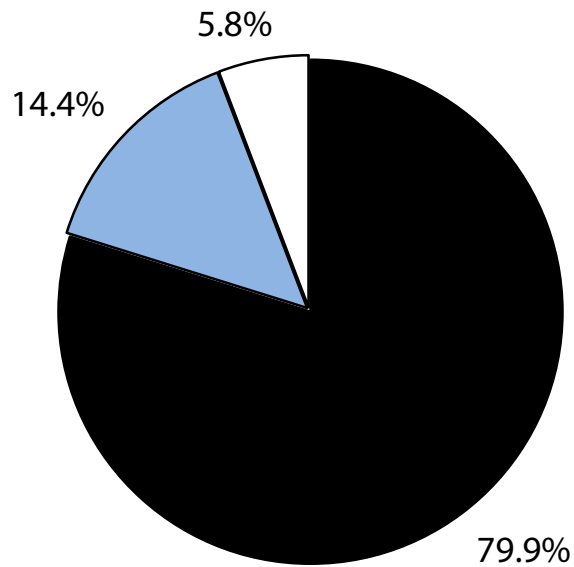
- Have heard the term Madagascan
- Have not heard the term Madagascan

5. Have you heard of the term “Malagasy”?



■ Have heard the term Malagasy
□ Have not heard the term Malagasy

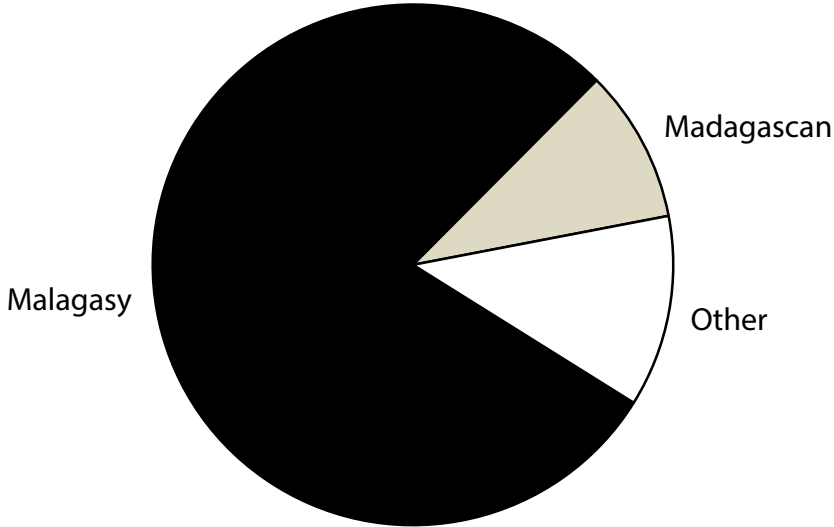
6. In your opinion, what is the English noun and adjective used to describe things from Madagascar?



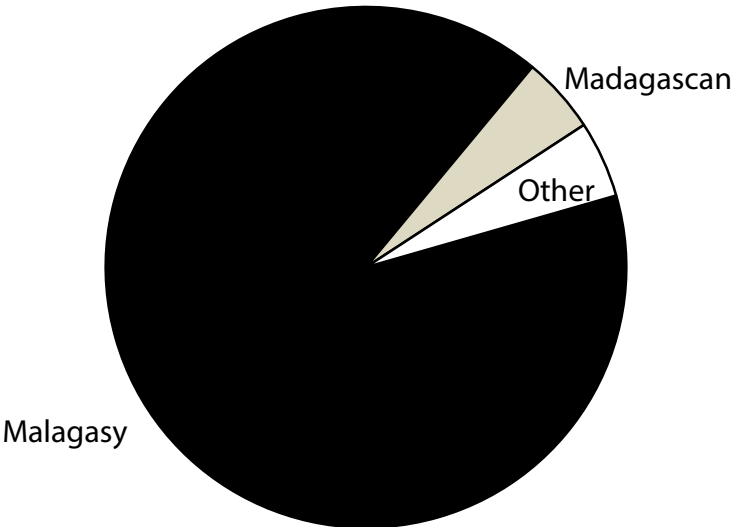
■ Malagasy ■ Madagascan □ Other

The following two figures show the results grouped by participants:

a. Malagasy-speaker participants



b. English-speaker participants



7. Please explain your answer in question no. 6 (provide examples if necessary)

The answers below are grouped following the choices provided in question 6 (Malagasy, Madagascan, or Other)

7.1. Respondents choosing the term MALAGASY

- *I haven't really thought about it, I have always been told it is Malagasy.*
- *Malagasy is the term used by Malagasy people and what I read in the dictionary. I think Madagascan is used by assuming that the term is related more to Madagascar without consulting the grammar standardly used, it is like saying French people should be Francenese or Francian. No linguistic background, just my opinion :)*
- *Because that is how true Malagasy describe things from Madagascar. Example: made in Madagascar = vita Malagasy*
- *Malagasy is the term used by Malagasy people and what I read in the dictionary. I think Madagascan is used by assuming that the term is related more to Madagascar without consulting the grammar standardly used, it is like saying French people should be Francenese or Francian. No linguistic background, just my opinion :)*
- *In my experience, "Madagascan" tends to be used in ways that analytically distance the object of discussion from context. It is antiquated, "museum language" that makes me think of geology and armchair research and I very much associate it with both political and scientific colonialism, the perspective of an outside 'expert' looking in. I prefer to use "Malagasy" because, first and foremost, this is closer to how the people from Madagascar with whom I do research speak about themselves and things that are uniquely of Madagascar. In a small way, I hope that this can imply to the reader that Malagasy people have primary claim on defining their identities and the things that they value.*
- *'Malagasy' is the term Malagasy people use to describe not only themselves but all aspects of their culture. It should be used by outsiders in the same way.*
- *It is what the natives are using and it should stay that way. Madagascan sounds like something coming out of a lab.*
- *Malagasy is the term used by the Malagasy people when they speak english, and it's the term used by those who have lived and worked in Madagascar*
- *I am from Madagascar, so this is how I grew up*
- *That's just the way it has been taught to me.*
- *Malagasy is the term used in Madagascar and in all formal texts I have encountered.*
- *I've heard / seen Malagasy more often than Madagascan.*
- *Malagasy is the correct term. I wouldn't call people from Poland "Polandan" but "Polish" because that's the correct term as well*
- *Malagasy is how people in Madagascar describe their own culture*
- *Malagasy is malagasy word and it is known and used by all people from Madagascar. For example: "zaza malagasy" (malagasy child) is used in Madagascar, instead of "zaza madagascan".*
- *This is the term that the Malagasy people always use to define this themselves.*
- *That is what we find in the dictionary*

- *For some reason I have always seen Madagascan as an offensive or altogether incorrect term for a person, place, or thing related to Madagascar.*
- .
- *People do not really use the term Madagascan. And I have never heard people in Madagascar use that term, however I saw this term on research paper or online so often.*
- *Malagasy people, Malagasy products, Malagasy cultures, Malagasy traditions*
- *I always learned Malagasy to describe the language and people and their relating culture*
- *Madagascan was used by researchers or otherwise who don't know and are not familiar with the language. It can also be explained by the lack of papers and publications both in English and Malagasy which may have perpetuated the wrong usage of « Madagascan ». Worth mentioning is the French translation "Malgache" used for over a long period but also now tend to disappear because it is badly perceived "Mal"=bad "gâche" =waste. Apart from the French term, only Malagasy is used in different languages though the spelling may differ.*
- *I think that it is mostly because in the malagasy language, the term "malagasy" is also used, whether as to call Madagascar's inhabitants or as to describe things, such as "asa tànana malagasy" (malagasy handcrafts") or "sakafo malagasy" (malagasy food).*
- *Because we have been always using this term*
- *Malagasy is the English noun and adjective used to describe things from Madagascar. Malagasy is the original name of the people and the official language of Madagascar. The word Malagasy is used officially all over the world.*
- *I am an American. I have only heard and seen the term Madagascan in England. I have never heard it while in Madagascar or from any native of Madagascar.*
- *Madagascan is not a word.*
- *I am only familiar with the use of this word in the context of botany, ie Malagasy flora*
- *I've never heard a person native to Madagascar use the term Madagascan!*
- *Malagasy seems to be an adjective derived from the Malagasy language, whereas Madagascan is derived from English. Since we are talking about Madagascar, it seems right and respectful to use the Malagasy word*
- *I don't actually have good justification for this...*
- *As a Malagasy, "Malagasy" sounds better in my ear*
- *I am Malagasy*
- *Malagasy (people, art, etc)*
- *I feel like I have heard people use the term Malagasy more often and it sounds better to me.*
- *I don't know for sure, but always thought that "Madagascan" was an invented English word but that the proper adjective is "Malagasy"*
- *This is the term I heard when I was there. I also think that it is more similar to the French word "Malgache"*
- *I think Madagascan is what people might say if they have never been there. But given my time there, reading and hearing the term, "gasy", I understood Malagasy to be the more appropriate form based on how the people of Madagascar use their language to describe themselves and their language.*

- *It is a Malagasy necklace. Today a Malagasy co-worker asked me: Is that Malagasy handicraft? I have never heard Madagascan -only Malagasy, e.g.: "That is Malagasy, You have become Malagasy (in response to my being late!) Do you like Malagasy food/people? etc. That is how we Malagasy people do things."*
- *I was taught that Malagasy is the correct terminology.*
- *Madagascan is used by formal Oxfordian English pinchnoses. Malagasy is used by people of there, from there, who have worked and live there, and respect the words used by people regarding their own country and do not think that the pompous self-presumption of English by native English speakers should trump what Madagascar's own citizens and scientists use to describe themselves. When I see someone use "Madagascan," I immediately discount the credibility and authenticity of any further messaging attached to the used of "Madagascan."*
- *Objects, things*
- *Malagasy is the term I heard while living there. I sometimes read Madagascan in articles (BBC perhaps?) and find it jarring.*
- *It is my understanding that this is the preferred term and more modern.*
- *I am MALAGASY.*
- *It sounds better*
- *In my memory, Malagasy has been used more often.*
- *I have been to Madagascar and this was the term I most often heard used.*
- *because the noun of country must be unchangeable everywhere we use it. Malagasy describe who we are. that's why, we have to respect it.*
- *The Malagasy people*
- *As it is how Malagasy people refer to themselves within Madagascar, I assumed it to be the correct term*
- *I have heard that that is the correct term.*
- *I think the culture, people, language, and food are Malagasy. The flora and fauna I would not describe as Malagasy.*
- *I may be a bit bias, because worked in Madagascar for a while... but for me everything would be "Malagasy"*
- *Convention- almost every article I have read uses Malagasy.*
- *Madagascan is only used by scholars. Everyone in Madagascar is used to using the term Malagasy. Eg: Malagasy art.*
- *Don't understand the question*
- *If there is a need for another noun or adjective, it would be Madagascarian, right?*
- *Malagasy is the native way of referring to people from Madagascar in the local language. Sometimes, other languages make up different names because it is hard for them to pronounce it correctly. An example of that is the French word "Malgache", which is simply a different way of saying Malagasy.*
- *Adjectival forms ending in -i are constructed in a similar manner based on demonyms. The language is also called Malagasy.*
- *Malagasy would be the actually correct term; Madagascan was used in the past (I consider it as a colonial expression).*
- *I never read/ heard Madagascan before*

- *I see the word Malagasy used in multiple ways: to describe the people, the language, and the things of Madagascar (e.g., the Malagasy people; Do you speak Malagasy?; Malagasy wildlife; Malagasy vanilla). In my extensive reading about Madagascar, I have encountered the term Madagascan infrequently. I see it more often in writings before, I guess, 1970. When I see it today, it's usually in a news article about Madagascar written for a general audience and written by someone who does not have expertise about Madagascar.*
- *Madagascan is not appropriate to describe things from Madagascar, it comes from so far in States and from people who never visit Madagascar. I remember when I was young in school nobody knows this word to define our originality. A logical word would be "malagasy", won't you?*
- *I've rarely read this word but it does effectively exist in some scientific articles*
- *This is the term Malagasys I know use.*
- *Malagasy is from two languages malay and gasy.*
- *We are Malagasy*
- *That was the word used by people around me (working group university)*
- *English noun can be madagascan, but according to the citizen science, this approach refer to the people's understanding. The people in Madagascar will never know the vocabulary "madagascan", but rather "malagasy" .*
- *Malagasy is the right word, as Used by native speaker from Madagascar*
- *Malagasy is the adjective used to relativize all products of madagascar*
- *I understood that Malagasy represents the people, the culture, and any arts from Madagascar. I learned in school that the English translation of Malagasy is Malagasy, and I have not heard of the other word until very recently.*
- *living in Madagascar, It is very common to use the "malagasy" term to describe things from our country. Why not to use it in all scientific domain?*
- *Reading news articles and peer reviewed journals*
- *That's how they always taught me.*
- *uniform across different language*
- *My personal view on this is that the word Malagasy seems to have the same root as the language spoken in the country. Though some countries like to anglicize or frenchify some country/city's names. E.g. Francophone people call the capital of China Pékin, anglosaxon tends to keep the word Beijing similar to the Chinese pronunciation of their characters.*
- *bruh*
- *Sounds better*
- *Malagasy sounds natural and common, so this is why I use it. Madagascan sounds so weird and unnative to me, but it is just my opinion.*
- *The Malagasy people I have met have told me the proper English descriptor is "Malagasy." I trust them.*
- *I do not think I have heard any of my Malagasy collaborators use the term Madagascar when speaking in English.*
- *Already widely used.*
- *Madagascan has always felt to me to be a lazy "Englishman's" answer to a word that already exists: Malagasy.*

- *When I lived in Madagascar all of my Malagasy friends referred to people/plants/things as 'Malagasy' or just 'gasy' (i.e. vita gasy; sakafo gasy, etc.)*
- *No one in Madagascar calls themselves Madagascan*
- *People in Madagascar call themselves “Gasy” and the French word is phonetically “Malagasch” so Malagasy makes more sense*
- *Malagasy is the term used by Malagasy natives to describe their own nationality, food, language, etc. The country name Madagascar doesn't even fit with the Malgasy language, as there is no "C" letter in Malagasy. I've never heard a Malagasy person use the adjective Madagascan, and see no reason to do so as an English speaker either.*
- *I lived in Madagascar for two years and I KNOW the proper verbiage.*
- *To preface, I had no idea what to call people and things from Madagascar--I don't remember referring to them as "Madagascan", but it's possible I did. Ever since I was accepted to serve in the country, the only term I heard and read in blogs and articles was "Malagasy". But this is possibly because it is all I was attuned to hear and search for.*
- *The people of Madagascar refer to themselves, their culture, and their language as Malagasy so I think it's most appropriate for the English term to reflect this.*
- *They call themselves the Malagasy people, what right do we have to take a naming convention to describe them? Only someone who has not been here would use Madagascan because that's what may sound proper, so it makes sense.*
- *Malagasy is commonly used in all circles whereas Madagascan is rarely heard*
- *I have only ever encountered the use of the adjective Malagasy. I have also heard Malagasy being used as a noun for the language used in Madagascar. This might be worth doing some historical linguistic research beyond a survey of current usage.*
- *Malagasy is the term the people of Madagascar use.*
- *When I hear or see Madagascan, I feel that people are using an uneducated assumption that the word to describe people, culture, etc. are derived from the country they live in plus “-can” or “-ese “ That is not a concrete rule and therefore there is no reason to follow that order. (For example, we aren't required to call someone or something from Denmark as Denmarkese or Denmarkan, but we use the word Dutch). We should use Malagasy because that is what Malagasy people use to describe themselves.*
- *Malagasy seems to be more proper due to their unique culture. Where as madagascan seems to be more influenced by a Arabian influence and in the minds of some less sofusticated.*
- *I am Malagasy so I know the correct word.*
- *Every English speaking malagasy person I know has only used the word Malagasy. The U.S. embassy and maps fast government use the word Malagasy.*
- *It just sounds better and the people are Malagasy not Madagascan. We speak English and we're called English.*
- *Because that the way it is .*
- *I've heard Malagasy refer to themselves in this way so I have always done so appropriately. This is mainly for the people though, I always refer the animals and objects as Madagascan, but usually animals by there given names*
- *Madagascan is an outdated Anglophone term that, to me, has colonialist/missionary connotations (similar to the term "Malgache" in French), and gives the impression that the speaker/author/company is unfamiliar with the proper terminology. Malagasy is the*

term used by actual Malagasy people and the Malagasy government, it is not difficult to pronounce in English, and therefore there is no reason why Anglophone speakers should continue to use "Madagascan."

- *The other answers are not familiar. And I think that foreigners should respect that "Malagasy" is the word we've chosen use and choose*
- *Word people of Madagascar choose (use to be flora and fauna "Madagascan," but no longer the case.*
- *I prefer to defer to the native speaker's inclination to use the term "Malagasy"*
- *Malagasy people define themselves as Malagasy, its offensive and disrespectful to impose the western descriptor of "Madagascan"*
- *This aligns with what people in Madagascar use to refer to themselves*
- *As a Malagasy, I do not identify myself when people use the word "Madagascan...But I do understand that it's either or...*

7.2. Respondents choosing the term MADAGASCAN

- *The people from Madagascar are often referred to as Madagascans*
- *Its the intuitive form.*
- *My (limited) understanding is that 'Malagasy' refers to some specific ethnic groups in Madagascar so, it doesn't seem appropriate to use that term to describe everyone and everything from Madagascar.*
- *I learned that Malagasy is used to refer to people (from you, xxxx), and I'm not sure about things but I know it's not Malagasy. Before I met you, though, I did not know about the word Malagasy. (Note: "xxx" indicates a specific name that we omitted for anonymity).*
- *we do not need to explain what is Malagasy. By saying Madagascan, one can easily understand that we talk about people from Madagascar*
- *Malagasy describes language*
- *Because Madagascan is more than logic as Malagasy*
- *I have heard the term Malagasy but did not know what it meant*
- *I mostly am involved with reptiles from Madagascar in the pet trade in the US which refers to those species as Madagascan. In other contexts, I have heard/read both words (including while visiting Madagascar)*
- *See Answer to Question 9 (Answer to 9 copied: My understanding is that Malagasy only applies to the people from Madagascar, not 'things')*
- *Madagascan just makes sense given the derivative Madagascar, and how we refer to many things from certain places. Example: People/places/things from Peru are referred to as Peruvian. It just feels like the natural adjective to use in this case. I'm also a bit naive as to where Malagasy is derived from, so that is partly what is swaying my answer.*
- *I'm not sure what you are specifically asking for here, but as I understand it, things from Madagascar are Madagascan, whereas the Malagasy are a group of people from Madagascar, such that it could be said that "Malagasy is a Madagascan language", for instance.*

- *I'm French, so maybe off topic. To the best of my short knowledge, "Malagasy" is the name of the dominant language in Madagascar, and "Madagascan" means a native of Madagascar or a thing or being related to Madagascar. Consequently, it seems to me that one should use "Malagasy" when it comes to giving the Malagasy name of any entity whatsoever, and that one should use "Madagascan" when it comes to talking about any entity whatsoever (things, beings, institutions, culture(s), etc.) specifically related to Madagascar.*
- *Because it is easy to pronounce for either the laziness or ignorance from English speaking people.*
- *I rarely see the term 'Madagascan' used, but to me this has always seemed like the appropriate term for something that comes from Madagascar. Malagasy is a language, and I always feel it odd to refer to things as being 'Malagasy'. However, my colleagues from Madagascar have always corrected me when I use the terms 'Madagascan', telling me to use the term 'Malagasy' instead to refer to all things (people, plants, objects, etc.) from Madagascar, so this is the term I have used in publications. I do think it is odd, but I happily defer to my colleagues on that one.*
- *I believe that "things" that will be dead objects, plants and animals will be Madagascan. Malagasy will only refer to culture and anything directly descending from the indigenous people there.*
- *I think English speakers are used to putting -an at the end of the word to make that change. It's completely wrong in this case, as natives of Madagascar never call themselves Madagascan. They always call themselves Malagasy, and even laugh at "Madagascan"*
- *I think Madagascan is more common for English speakers, but Malagasy can easily be substituted and is more appropriate.*
- *No specific explanation*
- *Madagascan describes things, but Malagasy describes people*

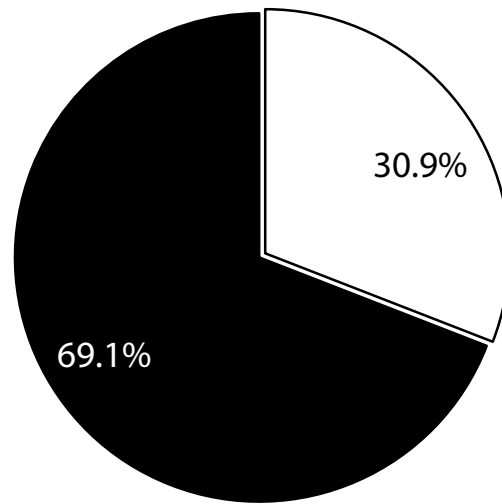
7.3. Respondents choosing OTHER

- *Both can be used. See 11 for details (Copied: The way I have been taught (which is consistent with dictionary definitions and institutions such as National Geographic) is that Malagasy refers to the people, culture and language, and objects derived from that culture such as art or food. Madagascan refers to inanimate, non-human, objects i.e. animals, rocks, weather.)*
- *In United States, they usually use Madagascan eg: Vanilla from Madagascar= Madagascan vanilla but they should use Malagasy*
- *it should be Madagascarian*
- *I see that the term madagascariensis is often use about new species found*
- *I think that it's good to say madagascariensis to describe thing or nouns from Madagascar*
- *The use of Malagasy or Madagascar really depends on the context (Refer to question 9 below; Copied: "Malagasy" and "Madagascan" are not synonymous, although very similar. "Madagascan" is more appropriate when referring to the (geographical) origin or location of something (e.g species) / someone. "Malagasy" on the other hand refers to*

more cultural or ethnic issues. E.g., everyone living in Madagascar is Madagascan but not all of them are Malagasy.)

- *When living in Madagascar, I felt that people and things from Madagascar that were cultural or distinct to Madagascar were referred to as Malagasy. I've heard Madagascan in zoos, rarely, and only to refer to origin of animals.*
- *As a native English speaker I've only ever used the term "Malagasy", but I have seen the term Madagascan used to reference commercial products (vanilla, chocolate, sometimes textiles). I believe the term Madagascan is more recent and was created by people who didn't know the term "Malagasy" already existed. At the very minimum, Malagasy is what is used to refer to all anthropological concepts - people, language, history, culture (including food/cuisine).*

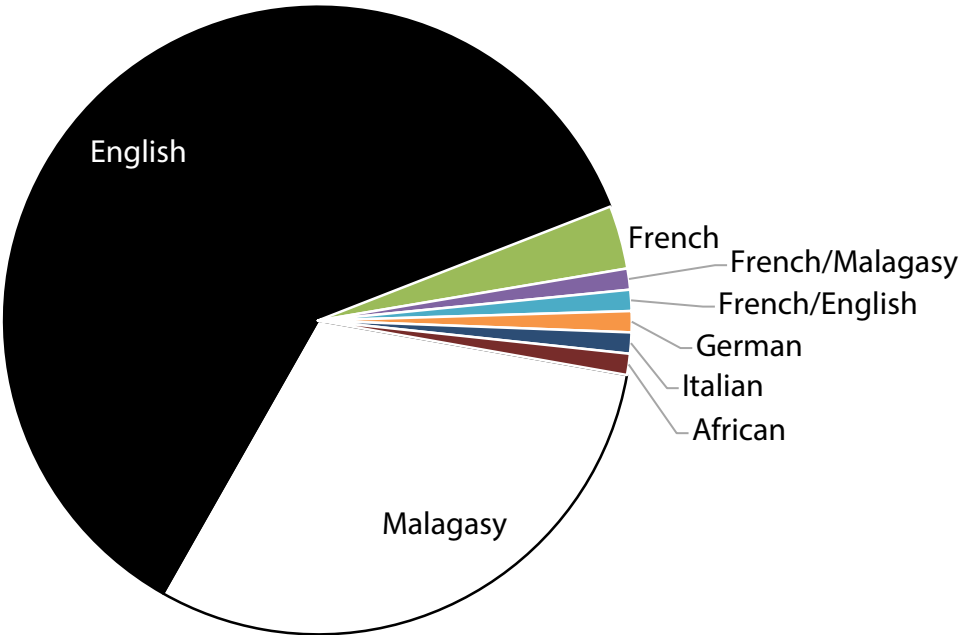
8. Do you think that 'Madagascan' = 'Malagasy'?



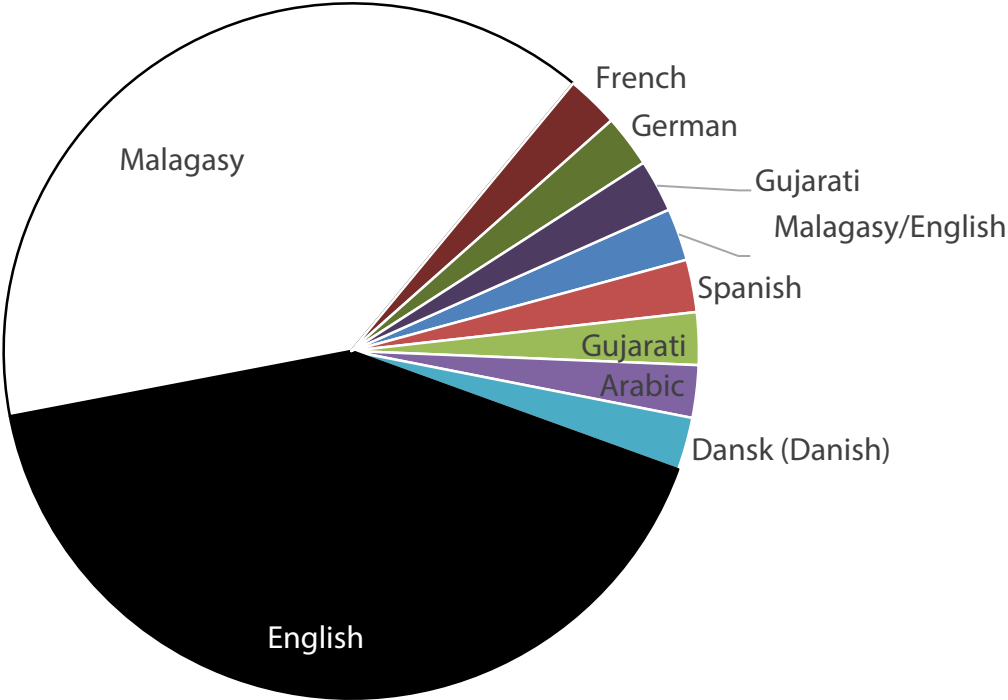
- Malagasy means Madagascan
- Malagasy does not mean Madagascan

In the following two figures, we show details about the participants' native language.

a. Participants who do not think that "Malagasy" = "Madagascan"



b. Participants who think that "Malagasy" = "Madagascan"



9. Please explain your answer in question no. 8 above

The answers below are grouped following the choice provided in question 8 (Yes or No to “Malagasy”=“Madagascan”)

9.1. Participants choosing “YES” (i.e., “Malagasy” = “Madagascan”)

- *I think the natives say Malagasy but foreigners use the other because it follows from how things or people from a particular nation are called by generating the word from the name of the country*
- *I understand it that way*
- *Malagasy is the Malagasy noun and adjective used to describe things from Madagascar.*
- *Now it makes sense!*
- *in most cases I have heard them interchangeably, and do not think of the two word as having different meanings/connotations*
- *Both seem okay for me as they both describe exactly the same thing.*
- *I think they are similar terms*
- *Yes, it's roughly synonymous but indicated that it's user has very limited knowledge of Madagascar and its people.*
- *They are the same but I still prefer to use Malagasy*
- *Non-Malagasy people use it synonymously with the adjective Malagasy*
- *To me, any time the word Madagascan is used, it is just someone trying to use the word Malagasy, but not knowing the right word*
- *I've heard some people say Madagascan, and I don't think it bothers me since Madagascan is an easier English word for non-native people.*
- *To me, it's just logical*
- *As mentioned earlier Madagascan was used by people who are not knowledgeable about the language but for sure it means Malagasy. They just need to be corrected.*
- *I think they are both adjectives. A co-author once said Malagasy is for people and Madagascan is for things (animals)... but I do not have a reference.*
- *Essentially yes, see Q.7 (Copied: Malagasy seems to be an adjective derived from the Malagasy language, whereas Madagascan is derived from English. Since we are talking about Madagascar, it seems right and respectful to use the Malagasy word)*
- *I always just assumed Madagascan was an inappropriate use of Malagasy.*
- *I've checked in the oxfords dictionary that they can be used interchangeably*
- *I've only heard Madagascan used a few times by those outside of Madagascar, but living there 6 years and for a decade or so before that - I only used/heard 'Malagasy'*
- *I think they are used to mean the same thing, as an adjective to describe people or things that pertain to Madagascar.*
- *They are used the same, but Malagasy is more correct to me*
- *I think they mean the same thing but I don't like Madagascan, doesn't sound right.*
- *I always have thought that they refer to the same thing, but Madagascan was an antiquated term and more "colonial" than Malagasy. Someone (westerner, not Malagasy)*

once told me that Madagascan = things, animals, plants and Malagasy = people & language, but I am not sure if this is correct.

- *It means the same thing, but Madagascan does not sound correct to me because I have never heard a Malagasy person or someone familiar with Madagascar refer to it as Madagascan*
- *I only indicate yes because I would assume it to be so if someone said "Madagascan".*
- *Again, I have just typically seen them used interchangeably.*
- *The two terms mean "from Madagascar".*
- *Is there a difference?*
- *I think that people use it with the same intention, yes. Therefore, I believe it is the same.*
- *I think 'Madagascan' is just a way of trying to construct an adjectival form or demonym for people/things from Madagascar by people who don't know what the autonym for people from Madagaskar (in Malagasy Madagasikara) is.*
- *While Madagascan was used exclusively in colonial times, it has now been replaced by Malagasy.*
- *I think there are just different ways saying Malagasy. Scientific people have the tendency to make things complicated may be?*
- *I found it everywhere when you choose the country and the language.*
- *Madagascan is a new expression for me. I think what should mean the same thing as Malagasy*
- *It's the same thing. This is a non-issue as both are known to refer to Madagascar. In fact, the word 'Malagasy' is less common.*
- *It means the same, just people have been taught differently I guess.*
- *Please see above.*
- *I hear them used interchangeably*
- *I think they are used interchangeably and this have come to mean the same thing*
- *I feel they portray the same meaning, just one isn't as technically accurate.*
- *If there was a "maybe?" option I would choose that. I think saying Madagascan is incorrect, but think most people would know what the speaker meant. Same as Argentinian vs. the correct Argentine, for example.*
- *For a cultural point of view, each culture has its own way of doing/describing things...So I do accept the usage of Madagascan*
- *It is from the name Madagascar*

9.2. Participants choosing "NO" (i.e., "Malagasy" ≠ "Madagascan")

- *I've never heard the word Malagasy and wouldn't know to associate it.*
- *My (limited) understanding is that 'Malagasy' refers to some specific ethnic groups in Madagascar and is therefore not synonymous with 'Madagascan.'*
- *Malagasy is used to refer to people*
- *Madagascan describes things, like people, plants, animals*
- *My understanding is that Malagasy only applies to the people from Madagacar, not 'things'*

- *As previously stated in my answer to question 7, I'm a bit naive as to where Malagasy is derived from.*
- *Again, I'm not sure that I understand what you are specifically asking for here, but if I understand correctly, Madagascan is a geographic term referring to anything from Madagascar, whereas Malagasy is a cultural term referring to a specific group of people from Madagascar. In other words, the Malagasy people and Malagasy culture can be described as both Malagasy and Madagascan, but plants and animals from Madagascar are Madagascan, not Malagasy.*
- *To the best of my short knowledge, "Malagasy" is the name of the dominant language in Madagascar, and "Madagascan" means a native of Madagascar or a thing or being related to Madagascar. Consequently, it seems to me that one should use "Malagasy" when it comes to giving the Malagasy name of any entity whatsoever, and that one should use "Madagascan" when it comes to talking about any entity whatsoever (things, beings, institutions, culture(s), etc.) specifically related to Madagascar.*
- *Malagasy is how the native wanted it to be called.*
- *To me, Malagasy is the language spoken by people from Madagascar; it is not interchangeable with Madagascan. However as noted above, my Malagasy colleagues prefer that I use 'Malagasy' universally to describe all things originating from Madagascar and I am happy to comply.*
- *Madagascan = from the land. Malagasy = from the people*
- *It's a word made up by non-native Malagasy speakers.*
- *Malagasy people use "Malagasy"*
- *same as above!*
- *No, Malagasy is what Malagasy is used to, Madagascan*
- *Malagasy means completely different compare to Madagascan. If you are a truly Malagasy then you will use the term Malagasy not Madagascan.*
- *No, Malagasy is what Malagasy is used to, Madagascan*
- *See answer to question 7. (Copied: In my experience, "Madagascan" tends to be used in ways that analytically distance the object of discussion from context. It is antiquated, "museum language" that makes me think of geology and armchair research and I very much associate it with both political and scientific colonialism, the perspective of an outside 'expert' looking in. I prefer to use "Malagasy" because, first and foremost, this is closer to how the people from Madagascar with whom I do research speak about themselves and things that are uniquely of Madagascar. In a small way, I hope that this can imply to the reader that Malagasy people have primary claim on defining their identities and the things that they value.)*
- *I have only seen 'Madagascan' used once - on a label for vanilla, being sold in a shop overseas. I imagine the company thought people would not know what 'Malagasy' meant and that the term 'Madagascan' would be more easily associated with Madagascar, by potential buyers.*
- *I've generally heard Malagasy as a term for the people, language, and culture of Madagascar, so I'd be hesitant to use it for plants, animals, or other things not related to human culture. I'm not sure what is the correct term for those things, but I might be more likely to use Madagascan there.*

- *Again, Malagasy is the correct term. Madagascan is just the term that people who doesn't know the correct term uses*
- *Again, Malagasy is the word that people from Madagascar use, we should honor that.*
- *Malagasy is the Malagasy word and the people of Madagascar have right to be called what they would like to be called. Madagascan is not a Malagasy word. No people who are from Madagascar use the word "Madagascan".*
- *So far as I can tell "Madagascan" is a term made up by someone not from Madagascar with no respect for what the people of the country use in the way of such an adjective. It would be like someone using a made up adjective "Britainese" instead of "British" - exactly the same in fact.*
- *Malagasy has always seemed to me as the correct word, I guess I assumed Madagascan had a negative or colonial connotation so I do not think they mean the same thing. I could be entirely wrong.*
- .
- *I am a Malagasy native living in the US. Whenever I have to explain about Madagascar, I always talk about Malagasy and never Madagascan to my American friends. For me Madagascan would never describe things, people and so on from Madagascar. It is just a term invented by foreigners.*
- *Too pedantic! Too scientific (maybe?)! Does not fully capture the true nature and spirit of [being] a Malagasy. Hardly identifies what anything truly "Malagasy" is.*
- *I'm not sure about this one. Are their people in Madagascar who do not identify as Malagasy but as another culture? Perhaps Malagasy should describe the language and culture but Madagascan should describe the physical country's attributes. For example, the Madagascan rainforests*
- *It may mean so, but not necessarily. My answer would be based on word formation in case the term "Madagascan" was invented to reflect more the country from which it came - Madagascar. Let us take the example of France and French. There is no specific link between the two words in terms of letters used (not unlike France and Français, but here we are talking about the English version), and still, France is used to call the country and French its inhabitants and to describe things from France. So if we refer to this example, the adjective we use to describe the things in a country does not necessarily need to be close to the noun of the country itself.*
- *Malagasy is the standard*
- *Madagascan is not an official name. People say Madagascan because they are not aware of the word "Malagasy." They think of the names "American," "European," and "Asian" so do the same thing with anything related to Madagascar. Just like for Japan, they call the people "Japanese," not "Japanian" or the people of Philippines "Filipinos," not "Filipianian."*
- *I don't think Madagascan is an accepted word, it may mean the same but it is not equal to Malagasy. Also, Malagasy sounds much like the Malagasy word for Malagasy, so it is preferable to Madagascar,*
- *Madagascan does not make sense.*
- *I would have selected "not sure" if it was an option.*
- *Madagascan is wrong*

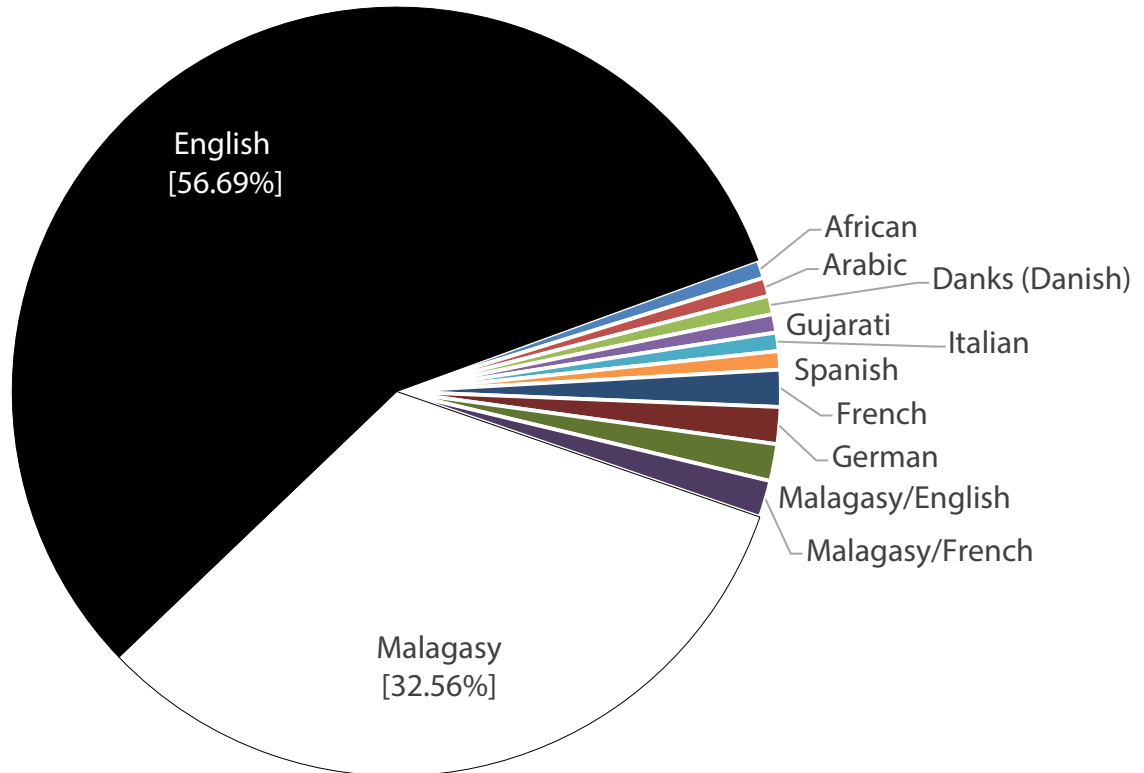
- *I feel like Madagascan is a term invented by people who haven't actually been to Madagascar before...I have no idea if that is true..just seems like that is where it maybe came from? I mean it does kind of make sense...it just sounds weird!*
- *See answer to number 7: I think Madagascan is what people might say if they have never been there. But given my time there, reading and hearing the term, "gasy", I understood Malagasy to be the more appropriate form based on how the people of Madagascar use their language to describe themselves and their language.*
- *I have never heard the term Madagascan spoken here and I have been here coming on two years! If I said this I am certain people would understand . . . but it is sort of like saying chips and fish instead of fish and chips! I also think that there is a pronunciation issue . . . most nouns end in vowel sounds and it seems to me that most nouns begin with plosives i.e: mbola, mpanaga -I would have to really think about that but I am certain about the vowel/schwa sounds is at the end of words -even verbs.*
- *I don't think Madagascan is a proper descriptor.*
- *See answer to #7 (Copied: Madagascan is used by formal Oxfordian English pinchnoses. Malagasy is used by people of there, from there, who have worked and live there, and respect the words used by people regarding their own country and do not think that the pompous self-presumption of English by native English speakers should trump what Madagascar's own citizens and scientists use to describe themselves. When I see someone use "Madagascan," I immediately discount the credibility and authenticity of any further messaging attached to the used of "Madagascan.")*
- *Madagascan applied to humans*
- *Because I am Malagasy and it is the only word that describes me.*
- *I don't like the name Madagascan*
- *I think Malagasy refers to the people who first inhabited Madagascar*
- *particularly for people I would use "Malagasy" -- perhaps for things, vanilla for example, I would use the term "Madagascan". I also had a roommate who had family from Madagascar and she would use the term "Malagash" (sp?)*
- *Because, this Noun is incomparable. It's ours*
- *It is not a made-up word.*
- *I have heard that "Madagascan" is incorrect. However, I'm not entirely sure why.*
- *Refer to 7. Malagasy or Gasy people do not refer to plants or animals as Malagasy, so I've never thought of things unrelated to people in Madagascar as Malagasy. (Copied: I think the culture, people, lanuage, and food are Malagasy. The flora and fauna I would not describe as Malagasy.)*
- *Why would it be Madagascan? I am curious to know.*
- *indeed I have no idea*
- *When I read the term Madagascan, I believe it refers to something Malagasy. However, I don't see them as equivalent terms. And I'm not exactly sure why that is. I think Madagascan is an outdated term; perhaps, a relict from colonial days?? But I don't have any data to support that thinking. And while I don't see the connotation of Madagascan as negative (unlike "Malgache" which I think is deemed derogatory by Malagasy people), I feel like it's not the right word.*
- *No idea.*
- *Madagascan sounds colonial and ignorant to me*

- *I never heard Madagascan ??????*
- *My real answer would be "not sure", never used Madagascan. I was told that the French version was not appreciated very much by the people I met. To them, it had a negative association (Malagache)*
- *We must refer to the original source.*
- *This is a new world for me*
- *They may sound similar, specifically for English speaker, but if you ask many natives from Madagascar or foreigners who know Madagascar and its culture better, only the term Malagasy is recognized and accepted.*
- *this term doesn't even exist in malagasy vocabulary.*
- *Frenchan = french*
- *I really like using the word "Malagasy", for me it's easier to say it as "madagascan". But I have to say I am Malagasy, it sounds easier for me as a malagasy to hear "malagasy"*
- *In the dictionary, both certainly mean the same, but I would not like Malagasy to equal Madagascan because it does not sound natural. It does not like you are familiar with Madagascar. I have a feeling there is a big gap between those who say Malagasy and Madagascan while referring the same thing. According to me, those who use "Malagasy" feel a certain connection with the country, whereas those who use "Madagascan" are not connected to Madagascar at all (no connection, not familiar with who we are as a country and as a people). Otherwise, they would use the common noun "Malagasy".*
- *I have never had a Malagasy person tell me that "Madagascan" is correct.*
- *Malagasy is more for cultural things. Madagascan is for geographical ones.*
- *I have seen the term Madagascan used, but I have never heard anyone say it in the 3.5yrs I lived in Madagascar, so I am not sure that it is the best way to describe people/things from Madagascar.*
- *I have never heard people say Madagascan except for Americans who have never been to Mada*
- *Madagascan isn't how a person from Madagascar would ID themselves*
- *I think use of the adjective Madagascan is a signifier that the speaker is not familiar with the country of Madagascar. Using the adjective Malagasy indicates to me a greater deal of knowledge and respect for the people, culture, food, etc.*
- *Madagascan sounds ignorant to me.*
- *I think Madagascan is the incorrect and unread (specifically about Madagascar) term*
- *If they call themselves something, and no one here has ever said Madagascan, I think that it only follows they should be called Malagasy.*
- *Madagascan is the colonial name / adjective used to describe things from Madagascar.*
- *Madagascan sounds broader than Malagasy for some reason.*
- *I'm pretty sure if you were to follow standard grammar rules, it would be "Madagascanian," but regardless, Malagasy is the descriptive word of Madagascar and nothing else is equal to it.*
- *They are essentially the same thing when you are talking to someone who is not educated correctly about the term Malagasy. In those moments, it's the responsibility for the educated person to correct the other person's use of the terminology.*

- *Again it seems to me Malagasy is more proper due to its closeness to the Malagasy people's name for themselves in teny gasy. Whereas Madagascan seems to have no connections to their culture or language.*
- *Answer in no. 7 above. (Copied: I am Malagasy so I know the correct word.)*
- *I believe that a similar (but also incorrect) comparison would be "French" and "Franciscan". They just aren't the same thing.*
- *I'm not sure how to explain this.*
- *Only known from people from Madagascar and who lived and speak and write English*
- *I think the people are Malagasy and objects such as vanilla are Madagascan*
- *I think that people use "Madagascan" in contexts where they mean "Malagasy," so in that sense these could be seen as equivalent. But as I wrote in no. 7, the connotations are very different. I have never heard anyone use "Madagascan" who has actually visited Madagascar or knows anything about the country. It's a term I only ever come across in 18th century British documents and contemporary Anglo products and news. Especially in the contemporary moment, it indicates to me that this person/company has not done their research and/or prefers expediency ("Madagascan" is more immediately recognizable to unfamiliar Anglophone audiences as relating to Madagascar) over accuracy and respect for Madagascar.*
- *I'm not used to the word Madagascan and never heard it.*
- *See my explanation in #7 (Word people of Madagascar choose (use to be flora and fauna "Madagascan," but no longer the case.)*
- *To me, "Madagascan" sounds like a non-native speaker trying to fit the name Madagascar into a convenient descriptor, but it just sounds clunky and insulting*
- *one is culturally appropriate and the other isn't*
- *I am not sure what you mean by this question. I think some people do use Madagascan incorrectly when they should be using Malagasy.*
- *See 11 for details (Copied: The way I have been taught (which is consistent with dictionary definitions and institutions such as National Geographic) is that Malagasy refers to the people, culture and language, and objects derived from that culture such as art or food. Madagascan refers to inanimate, non-human, objects i.e. animals, rocks, weather.)*
- *Malagasy=people from Madagascar. Madagascan is a new word for me that I don't know exactly the exact meaning*
- *it should remove the "r" at the end.*
- *I don't think so; it's different*
- *"Malagasy" and "Madagascan" are not synonymous, although very similar. "Madagascan" is more appropriate when referring to the (geographical) origin or location of something (e.g. species) / someone. "Malagasy" on the other hand refers to more cultural or ethnic issues. E.g., everyone living in Madagascar is Madagascan but not all of them are Malagasy.*
- *See Q. 7 (Copied: When living in Madagascar, I felt that people and things from Madagascar that were cultural or distinct to Madagascar were referred to as Malagasy. I've heard Madagascan in zoos, rarely, and only to refer to origin of animals.)*
- *See #7. (As a native English speaker I've only ever used the term "Malagasy", but I have seen the term Madagascan used to reference commercial products (vanilla, chocolate,*

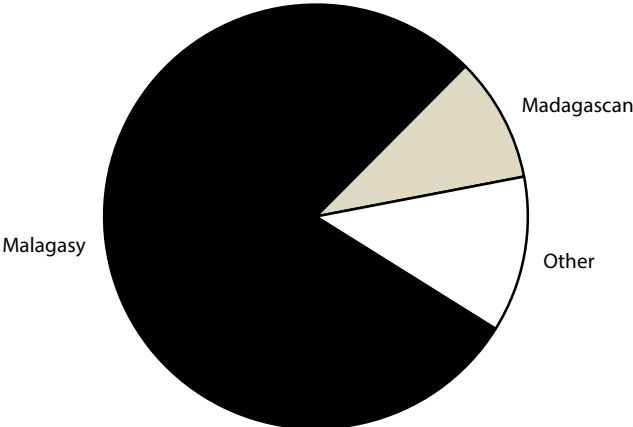
sometimes textiles). I believe the term Madagascan is more recent and was created by people who didn't know the term "Malagasy" already existed. At the very minimum, Malagasy is what is used to refer to all anthropological concepts - people, language, history, culture (including food/cuisine).

10. What is your first language and/or mother tongue? (Optional)

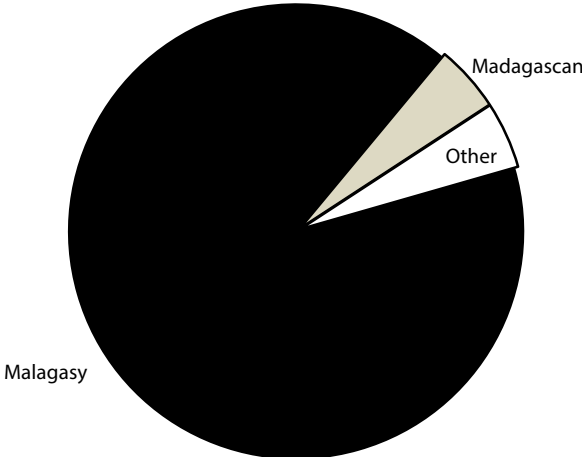


Below, we grouped the responses to question no. 6 (which is “In your opinion, what is the English noun and adjective used to describe things from Madagascar?”) as a function of the mother tongue of the survey participants. We mainly showed the two dominants group of participants (Malagasy speakers and English speakers)

Malagasy-speaker participants



English-speaker participants



11. Do you have additional constructive comments regarding the usage of “Malagasy” and “Madagascan”?

The answers below are grouped following the choice provided in questions 6 (Malagasy, Madagascan, or Other) and 8 (Yes or No to “Malagasy”=“Madagascan”)

11.1. Participants who chose “Madagascan” in question no. 6 and do not think that “Madagascan” = “Malagasy”

- *I assume following intuition is easier than enforcing an exception.*
- *People should be free to identify themselves. I'm unsure about the use of the term 'Madagascan' because it relies on English-language conventions. How do the people of Madagascar identify themselves? Is there a single national identity that everyone agrees upon? If so, the world should be using that, whatever it is.*
- *See answer to question 9 (Copied: My understanding is that Malagasy only applies to the people from Madagascar, not 'things')*
- *I think whatever adjective people of Madagascar are comfortable with using is the term that should be used. I think either one could easily be used, as long as there is a universal understanding of the proper term.*
- *I don't know if this distinction between "Malagasy" (dominant language) and "Madagascan" (being specifically related to Madagascar) was forged by the colonial era, but in the current state of Western usage it seems to me that this distinction is useful to be understood between people of different languages. If this is not relevant from the Malagasy/Madagascan standpoint, you will have to prove it and propose a coherent solution to the scientific community.*
- *Use the right way to say it and also adopt the other one to make it easy for everyone. For example Tamatave or Toamasina or Ariary and franc, it doesn't matter as long as it is understandable.*
- *It's a very interesting debate and I would love to hear back from you about the results of this survey.*
- *Madagascar and its wonderful people and diversity deserves to have terms referring to culture and nature. People should not try to box in anything with one wide term. Use both correctly*

11.2. Participants who chose “Madagascan” in question no. 6 and think that “Madagascan” = “Malagasy”

- *I think they are the same and convey the same information*
- *If we practice the English language, it's better to use Madagascan, but for Malagasy language, it's better to use Malagasy.*
- *Now that I know what it means, Malagasy seems a more appropriate term.*
- *I would love to know if one is preferred by the people of Madagascar!*
- *It is not a big deal as the important is to identify what we refer to, not the word itself. Both refer to things from Madagascar.*

11.3. Participants who chose “Malagasy” in question no. 6 and do not think that “Madagascan” = “Malagasy”

- *Please do not apply Madagascan on any of your work, it does not exist in Malagasy dictionary, instead apply the real word “Malagasy” like what I am doing.*
- *No*
- *I have worked in Madagascar for several periods over the past 3 years so I have had more exposure to the words 'Malagasy', 'Gasy', 'Malgache' etc than most people might!*
- *Educating people about the right term is important, especially in international stage, because people will be used to see the wrong term and the right term will just fade away as time goes by.*
- *As Malagasy, I prefer to be called "Malagasy" or something that my country possesses to be named "Malagasy" because it is a Malagasy word from Madagascar. No people who are from Madagascar use the word "Madagascan". It is like in the US, the people of US are called Americans, not United Staty (ended with "y") . I think the Americans or other people did not really know before how to call the people or things from Madagascar and they just use the same way how they are called and it is easier for them to use the word "Madagascan" (ended with "an") like the American (ended with "an" too). Also, "Malagasy" is unique and different. And being unique is good. Most countries around the world use the country name + "an" for a noun or adjective. For example: Australia > Australian, South Africa > south African, Algeria > Algerian, Hungary > Hungarian, Russia > Russian,*
- *We should use the term that Malagasy people think is correct.*
- *I completely support the people and research of Madagascar and I am now going to google to see if I can find out if these words really mean the same thing.*
- *I hope you could reverse the situation and could change this term Madagascan, because on my side, I already taught people especially Americans I met that we use Malagasy instead of Madagascan.*
- *"Madagascan": Archeology only;" Malagasy": everything else.*
- *I just would like to say that though the term "Madagascan" may sound good (just like a scientific noun) and that it has the advantage of reflecting the country's name, the usage of the term "Malagasy" should be kept and promoted for the simple reason that the same word is used in the Malagasy language. So it would really is as an homage to the Malagasy language.*
- *We have to be consistent with "Malagasy" in any language since changing the adjective may lead to other meanings*
- *I do not see how necessary the use of "Madagascan" is. People may use it because they are not aware of the existence of the word "Malagasy."*
- *Both words are preferable to Malgache, which I have also heard English speakers use.*
- *No - just very curious to find out the results of this survey!*
- *No. I can't wait to see the results!*
- *Why do you ask? Do you think that changing Malagasy to Madagascan is important? If so to whom? :) xxxxxx (Note “xxx”: identifying names were removed for anonymity of the survey responses)*
- *See comments to #7. (Copied: Madagascan is used by formal Oxfordian English pinchnoses. Malagasy is used by people of there, from there, who have worked and live*

there, and respect the words used by people regarding their own country and do not think that the pompous self-presumption of English by native English speakers should trump what Madagascar's own citizens and scientists use to describe themselves. When I see someone use "Madagascan," I immediately discount the credibility and authenticity of any further messaging attached to the used of "Madagascan.")

- *There's a whole other world out there. The world doesn't revolve around the West. If people cared to be educated, they wouldn't be confused that Malagasy is the right word.*
- *I think Malagasy is more correct*
- *Don't change how to write and pronounce "Malagasy", I'm pread of the noun of Malagasy*
- *Madagascan is a neologism invented to accomodate speakers who want to translate a term that needs no translation.*
- *I've seen "Madagascan" in non-science contexts, i.e. "Madagascan vanilla" as an ingredient, so I think there's probably additional work that needs to be done outside of the research community.*
- *No*
- *no*
- *No, but I very much would like to hear the results of this survey!*
- *None*
- *I think we should all use Malagasy but I think the reason we don't is that not many westerners are familiar enough with Madagascar to associate the terms Malagasy and Madagascar. It is easier for those people to guess what Madagascan means but I don't believe that is a good reason to use this made up term*
- *We never used Madagascan; it is a new word*
- *Firstly, "c" doesn't exist in the Malagasy alphabet, and Malagasy is the appropriate word to define something or someone that is from Madagascar.*
- *I wish that the use of Malagasy is emphasized, because Madagascan is just too imposing from foreigners countries in my view. Thank you for your effort!*
- *I think I said it all above. All the best!*
- *Ad above. I would suggest to use Malagasy dir people, languages, histories. Madagascan for strictly geographic and natural things. But Malagasy is already valido dir everything.*
- *I want to know if 'Madagascan' is an appropriate term--and if it's not I will help spread the word!*
- *For just aesthetic purposes, Malagasy sounds more natural and appealing than Madagascan.*
- *If Malagasy people call themselves Malagasy, and not "Madagascan", then the rest of the world should follow suit.*
- *Unlike other languages, for example French equals français. Madagascan is not the official English way to say Malagasy. If Malagasy is already commonly used, then why use another term.*
- *Follow what the people call themselves, don't just make up words to describe an already existing people.*
- *Don't conform to those who make rules that are not definite. Teach those who are not educated correctly what the right word is!*
- *More publicity about Madagascar would educate the mass about correct usage.*

- *I was unaware that anyone used of the word "Madagascan" except for my mother. When I asked her where she heard/read the term she told me that she thinks she "made it up". As she knows now that most people say "Malagasy" she thinks it was an easy home-made translation because it sounded like "American". That in itself is an interesting topic on it's own. Anyway, good luck on your research.*
- *Only that I am glad you are doing this survey! It bugs me so much every time I see "Madagascan," and I hope that someday it will be replaced by "Malagasy."*
- *I sing in Malagasy (since 1990). I also know some of dances. Have done workshops in Washington, Arizona, D.C., and Hawaii*
- *I see more British people using Madagascan to refer to people and things from Madagascar compared to American people. Usually, I assume when I encounter Madagascan that it is written by someone not very familiar with the country and particularly the Malagasy language.*

11.4. Participants who chose “Malagasy” in question no. 6 and think that “Madagascan” = “Malagasy”

- *I think we might differentiate the people from Madagascar and the adjective that qualifies things from Madagascar. Madagascan seems to be a good word for the adjective, and it makes more sense and easier to remember for non-native speakers. But when I think of the people, I would say keeping Malagasy is a good one.*
- *Only ‘Malagasy’ should be used!*
- *We have been using Malagasy for a long time and it has become our identity and I think it should not be interchangeable.*
- *I think Madagascan should be used in lieu of Malagasy. It makes more sense.*
- *We need to push the use of “Malagasy”.*
- *I always use Malagasy... but would change if Malagasy people want me to!*
- *Please let us know which is correct!*
- *I always use "Malagasy" and pronounce it "mal-a-GASH" as I've heard native Malagasy use the term. I would like to learn more about these terms and use the correct terminology preferred by the people of Madagascar.*
- *I think it would be useful to standardize the term for media and journal articles but am biased toward Malagasy.*
- *I think both are fine*
- *No.*
- *Malagasy is typically used to describe the language of Madagascar but Madagascan is not. I am curious as to which is correct or preferred for describing people or animals. I am also curious about the French equivalents. Malgache is also widely used to describe language, people, etc.*
- *No additional comments*
- *No, I don't*
- *No, but my personal preference is to use Malagasy.*
- *Enforcing the use of "unusual" adjectival forms or demonyms facilitates the understanding of underlying histories or languages compared to more "standard" ones. Keep using Malagasy.*

- *I really like using the word "Malagasy", for me it's easier to say it as "Madagascan". But I have to say I am Malagasy, it sounds easier for me as a Malagasy to hear "Malagasy"*
- *We can say they are both similar in sense.*
- *No*
- *No*
- *Malagasy for life.*
- *No, just correct the person speaking, or the writer if they are using the incorrect term. This probably happens a lot with lesser know/understood cultures.*
- *N/a*

11.4. Participants who chose "Other" in question no. 6 and do not think that "Madagascan" = "Malagasy"

- *The way I have been taught (which is consistent with dictionary definitions and institutions such as National Geographic) is that Malagasy refers to the people, culture and language, and objects derived from that culture such as art or food. Madagascan refers to inanimate, non-human, objects i.e. animals, rocks, weather.*
- *I am still confused about the word Madagascan*
- *the world Malagasy has 2 meanings. Malaysian came to Madagascar long time ago. the people in Madagascar were called Gasy. It's been said that these two races made what people from Madagascar are called Malagasy.*
- *Malagasy is used to call person who is sitting at Madagascar for example the nationality. And Madagascan maybe call to thing made in Madagascar*
- *We, Malagasy, should not take offence when people use the word Madagascan in social gathering. If not for linguistic or scientific correctness, the two words can be used interchangeably. I notice often that we tend to correct people about this issue. Many even go so far as to correct their interlocutor that it is pronounced Malagasy (gasy pronunciation) not Malagasie.*
- *I feel that they mean two different things.*
- *Honestly, I'd rather just use the term Malagasy for everything as I believe it is the correct way to refer to anything/anyone from Madagascar.*