

The structure of Javanese and Madurese DPs

Javanese and Madurese DPs display a great deal of fluidity in the order of constituents. The number of possible permutations of elements makes description difficult and a coherent analysis seem nearly impossible in a deterministic theory such as that underpinning the minimalist program. The present paper attempts to account for some of them, showing that making use of some proposals in the literature allows some inroads into an account. Perhaps more importantly, the data from both languages require treating some adjectival modifiers as head-adjoined to the noun they modify, providing some empirical support for existing proposals in the general linguistic literature.

Among the word order ‘options’ allowed in the languages are the following:

- a. Numerals can both precede and follow a head noun (1).
- b. Quantifiers can both precede and follow a head noun (2).
- c. Prepositional modifiers of a noun can both precede and follow a deictic demonstrative (3).
- d. Most adnominal modifiers can occur as the predicate in a relative clause modifier (4).
- e. Adjectival modifiers can either precede or follow a possessor (5).

In our analysis, we assume a right-branching structure in which the DP can include functional heads of Poss(ession), Num(ber), and Dem(onstrative) in which the elements, when present, occupy the Spec position of the relevant functional projection. Various Merge and Move operations are required in the derivation of the DP, but key among these is the adjunction of the noun to the D head. While complications can ensue, for the most part the data can be accounted for under the assumptions made.

After showing the basic outline of the analysis of Javanese and Madurese DPs, we turn to the behavior of adjectival modifiers. While adjectival modifiers can either precede or follow a possessor (5), there are important restrictions. First, conjoined adjectives may not occur before the possessor but must follow. Thus, only (6a) is grammatical; (6b) is not. Second, adjectives preceding the possessor cannot take degree modifiers. Again, (7a), in which the modified adjective follows the possessor is grammatical, while (7b), in which it precedes, is not. These facts point to an analysis of pre-possessor adjectives not as phrases but as X° adjuncts to the N head. We thus propose the analysis in (8) for the noun-adjective combination *koceng koros* ‘skinny cat’. Just such an analysis has been proposed on various occasions for prenominal adjectives in English, including Stowell 1981, Sadler & Arnold 1994, and Baker 2003. The Javanese and Madurese data thus provide new evidence in support of such an analysis.

Data (Madurese only)

- (1) Guru-na a-berri' buku dha' kabbi mored/ mored kabbi.
teacher-DEF AV-give book to all student/student all
'The teacher gave books to all the students.'
- (2) Hasan ngerem paket ka tello' kanca rowa/kanca tello' rowa.
H AV.send package to 3 friend that /friend 3 that
'Hasan sent a package to those three friends.'
- (3) Siti kennal kana' dhari Kamal juwa/kana' juwa dhari Kamal.
S know child from K that /child that from K
'Siti knows that boy from Kamal.'
- (4) a. Mored rowa se penter nerros-sagi dha' sakolaan se lebbi tenggi.
student that REL smart AV.continue-AGI to school REL more high
'Those smart students are going to university.'
b. Siti kennal kana' juwa se dhari Kamal.
S know child that REL from K
'Siti knows that boy from Kamal.'
- (5) Sengko' mareksa koceng celleng koros-sa Atin/koceng-nga Atin celleng koros.
I AV.examine cat black skinny-DEF A /cat-DEF A black skinny
'I examined Atin's skinny black cat.'
- (6) a. Koceng-nga Atin se koros ban lapar ngekke' tang juko'.
cat-DEF A REL skinny and hungry AV.steal my fish
'Atin's skinny and hungry cat stole my fish.'
b.* Koceng koros ban lapar-ra Atin ngekke' tang juko'.
cat skinny and hungry-DEF A AV.steal my fish
- (7) a. Koceng-nga Atin se koros gellu lo' tedhung.
cat-DEF A REL skinny too not sleep
'Atin's too skinny cat is not asleep.'
b.* Koceng koros gellu-na Atin lo' tedhung.
cat skinny too-DEF A not sleep
- (8) [_N [_N koceng] [_A koros]]

References

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