The structure of Indonesian and Javanese DPs and N-Adj adjunction

Javanese DPs display a wide range of possibilities in the ordering of their constituents. Some of their possibilities are the following:

a. Prepositional modifiers of a noun can both precede and follow a deictic demonstrative.
b. Most adnominal modifiers can occur as the predicate in a relative clause modifier.
c. Adjectival modifiers can either precede or follow a possessor.

The number of options available makes determining a syntactic structure for these difficult, especially in a feature-driven theory such as the Minimalist Program. This task does become somewhat easier, however, when Indonesian is considered as well. Being related to Javanese, it is unsurprising that the two languages share several distributional properties within their DPs. What is particularly interesting, however, is that constituents within Indonesian DPs are far more constrained with regard to their relative orders. A comparison of the two languages then will help pinpoint their shared structures. It is the aim of this paper to determine this structure. Additionally, data from the two languages reveal the need to treat some adjectival modifiers as being head-adjoined to the noun which they modify.

The most interesting similarity between the two languages is their placement of adjectives. Adjectives may either follow *or* precede possessors (1)&(2). In fact, they are the only constituents in the DP other than the N with may precede possessors. Additionally, there are important restrictions regarding when an adjective may or may not precede a possessor. Specifically, conjoined adjectives can follow but may not precede them in either language (3a), nor may adjectives with degree modifiers (3b). These restrictions point to an analysis of pre-possessor adjectives not as full phrases, but as X° adjuncts to the N head (4). 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 Indonesian data thus provide new evidence in support of such an analysis.

This paper proposes an analysis of a right-branching structure for both Indonesian and Javanese which features several functional heads, namely Poss(essor), Num(ber) and Dem(onstrative), whose specifier positions may be occupied by relevant constituents. 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.

(*Javanese data*)

(1)   Hasan tuku {kucing-é **Atin** soklat / kucing soklat-é   **Atin**}.
          H   buy   cat-DEF   A   brown cat   brown-DEF A
          'Hasan bought Atin's brown cat.'

(*Indonesian data*)

(2)   Murid {pintar **Siti** / **Siti** yang pintar} membaca bukumu.
          student smart S   S   REL smart   AV.read   book-1POSS
          'Siti's smart student read your book.'

(3)   a. Murid {**Siti** yang cantik   dan pintar / *cantik   dan pintar **Siti**} membaca
             student S   REL beautiful and smart   beautiful and smart S   AV.read
             bukumu.
             book-1POSS
             'Siti's beautiful smart student read your book.'
      b. Murid {**Siti** yang pintar sekali / *pintar sekali **Siti**} membaca bukumu.
             student S   REL smart very   smart very S   AV.read   book-1POSS
             'Siti's very smart student read your book.'

(4)   N°   [N [N kucing] [Adj soklat]]
            / \
         N° Adj°

References

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