Uncommon two orders of NUM, ADJ and N in Sri Lanka Malay

In the relative order of ADJ, NUM and N within the NP, the ADJ is said to always be closer to the noun than the numeral (Greenberg 1963, Hawkins 1983, Rijkhoff 2002), especially for prenominal modification. This talk presents a close analysis of the Sri Lanka Malay NP, where the order ADJ NUM N is one of the basic patterns. This is analyzed as an appositional structure.

Previous research on Sri Lanka Malay (SLM) has concentrated on S, VP and PP, all of which were found to be left-branching (SOV, postpositions)(Adelaar 1991, Smith et al. 2004, Slomanson 2007, Ansaldo 2008). This contrasts sharply with virtually all other varieties of Malay, which are right-branching (SVO, prepositions)(Adelaar 2005). The NP has received comparably little attention, but a tendency towards the general left-branching structure (ADJ N, GEN N, etc) in simple NPs (consisting of a head noun and one modifier) has been observed. This talk discusses the structure of more complex NPs with multiple modifiers. The order of constituents in the SLM NP is given in (1):

(1)	$\operatorname{RELC} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \operatorname{DE} \\ \operatorname{PO} \end{array} \right.$	SS)	QUANT	$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{NUM} \\ \text{ADJ} \\ \text{INDEF}_1 \end{array}\right)$	N INDEF $_2$ Noun \langle	(NUM ADJ INDEF)	PL
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This is to be read as follows: Items to the left can precede items to the right. Items vertically aligned can follow or precede each other. We will focus on the order of NUM (or INDEF) and ADJ. We can observe that INDEF can precede ADJ (see example (2)) or that ADJ can precede INDEF as in example (3). NUM was only found following ADJ (4 & 5).

(2)	INDEF go	e kumpulan od association association.'	(3)	kiccil hatthu seksa small INDEF proble 'A small problem.'	em	
(4)	*X Y NUM AD		(5)	mlaayu thigapulutu Malay 37	<i>uju baasa</i> language	aadaexist

not attested.

This goes against Greenberg's universal 20 and Hawkins's (1983) reformulation thereof. It furthermore violates Rijkhoff's (2002) principle of noun-adjective adjacency. Rijkhoff's sample contains some languages which have minor orders violating his principle. He offers as an explanation that in some cases the adjective will be appositional to the noun instead of being an integral part of the NP. This appositional analysis can succesfully be applied to the SLM data and fits well with other NP phenomena, such as possible heads, pluralization and case marking. This talk will conclude that the appositional nature of the noun phrase arose because of the general change from a right-branching language to a left-branching language. This change has already been completed for S, VP and PP, but not for NP, and while the NP is in limbo between leftheadedness and rightheadedness, the functions of head and modifier are not clearly distinguished, giving rise to the appositive structure we encouter.

'There are 37 Malay languages [in the world].'

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