

Types of yes-no questions in Paciran Javanese

Through research on Peranakan Javanese, Cole et al. (2008) describe one strategy to form a yes-no question: auxiliary fronting. While this strategy is explored in depth, additional types of yes-no questions are not identified or investigated. This paper provides the first description of the different types of yes-no question constructions in Javanese, focusing on the dialect spoken in Paciran, East Java. I show that there are four main types: (1) intonation, (2) auxiliary fronting, (3) with the particle *opo*, and (4) with the particle *toh*. Further, I show that some combinations of the strategies auxiliary fronting and with the particles *opo* or *toh* are allowed, revealing differences in which auxiliaries may front. Finally, I show that not all combinations pertaining to the position of the particle *toh* with other strategies are allowed.

The four main types are illustrated in (1)-(4). Intonation, as in (1), acts on a basic declarative clause structure (SVO; e.g. Robson 1992) and involves rising intonation clause-finally, similar to English. Auxiliary fronting in Javanese involves subject-auxiliary inversion, (2). Only a subset of auxiliaries are able to front which interestingly correspond to the group of syntactically *lower* auxiliaries given their strict relative order. This partition has been shown for Peranakan Javanese (Cole et al. 2008) as well as in Paciran Javanese, illustrated in Table 1. A third strategy to form a yes-no question involves the use of the particle *opo*. This particle must only occur once in the clause, but can occur on the surface to the left of the subject, as shown in (3), or to the right of the subject. A fourth main strategy involves the use of a different particle, *toh*, which often occurs with negation, as in (4). I show that this particle like *opo* can only occur once per clause. Further, *toh* has greater syntactic freedom in that it can occur after any constituent except for the subject. I argue that this constraint follows from the fact that subjects are topics in Javanese and therefore cannot be focused (Cole et al. 2002). I discuss that the different placements of *toh* result in different narrow focus of the question; evidence for such narrow focus is given via answer types that are permitted.

In addition these four main strategies to form a yes-no question in Javanese, I illustrate that some combinations are allowed. For example, auxiliary fronting plus the particle *opo* as well as auxiliary fronting plus the particle *toh* are permitted. These combined strategies, despite the use of different particles, share a number of the same properties. Specifically, in addition to allowing the class of low auxiliaries as with plain auxiliary fronting (cf. Table 1), with the particle *opo* or *toh* I show that two additional auxiliaries may front in Paciran Javanese: *lagek* 'PROG' (see (5)) and *kudu* 'DEONT.ROOT'. In Paciran Javanese, these particles also allow multiple auxiliaries to front, as in (6); without, only one auxiliary can front. Such differences between plain auxiliary fronting and that with a particle such as *opo* was not noted for Peranakan Javanese (Cole et al. 2008). Another combination permitted in Javanese is the combined strategies of auxiliary fronting, plus both particles, *opo* and *toh*, demonstrated in (7).

When both *opo* and *toh* particles co-occur in a yes-no question in Javanese, there is a constraint on the position of *toh*. That is, *toh* can never be clause final with the presence of *opo*, shown in (8)a. Instead, their co-occurrence is permitted as long as *toh* is non-clause final, (8)b. I speculate that this restriction is due to the fact that the grammar only allows for one typing per clause (e.g. Cheng 1997), similar to English **Will Jordan go to the party, right?*, where both auxiliary fronting and the tag *right* have double-typed the clause as a yes-no question.

- (1) pak Khoim iso ngomong boso inggris? **INTONATION**
Mr. Khoim CIRC.POSS AV.talk language English
'Does Pak Khoim speak English?'
- (2) **oleh** aku mangan sego goreng iki? **AUXILIARY FRONTING**
DEONT.POSS 1SG AV.eat rice fried DEM
'May I eat that fried rice?'
- (3) **opo** mbak Nunung ape masak kuwe? **WITH THE PARTICLE *opo***
what Miss Nunung FUT cook cake
'Will Miss Nunung bake a cake?'
- (4) Titis kepingin iso jahit **toh (gak)**? **WITH THE PARTICLE *toh***
Titis KE-want CIRC.POSS sew PRT NEG
'Does Titis want to be able to sew or not?'

Table 1. Two classes of auxiliaries in Paciran Javanese based on plain auxiliary fronting

HIGH AUXILIARIES		LOW AUXILIARIES	
<i>wes</i> 'PERF'	<i>kudu</i> 'DEONT.ROOT'	<i>tau</i> 'EXP.PERF'	<i>oleh</i> 'DEONT.POSS'
<i>lagek</i> 'PROG'	<i>ape</i> 'FUT'		<i>iso</i> 'CIRC.POSS'

- (5) Context offered: *Kapan Siti dolan karo Dewi? wes suwi toh?* (When is Siti playing with Dewi? Has it been long?)
opo lagek Siti dolan karo Dewi?
PRT PROG Siti visit with Dewi
'Is Siti just playing with Dewi?'
- (6) **opo tau oleh** Yeni reng Jakarta?
PRT EXP.PERF DEONT.POSS Yeni at Jakarta
'Was Yeni once allowed to go to Jakarta?'
- (7) **opo tau oleh toh** Yeni reng Jakarta?
PRT EXP.PERF DEONT.POSS PRT Yeni at Jakarta
'Was Yeni once allowed to go to Jakarta?'
- (8) a. * **opo** bapak-mu tau gelem sinau boso inggris **toh**?
what father-your EXP.PERF willing study language English PRT
(‘Is your father ever willing to study English?’)
b. Offered:
opo bapakmu tau gelem **toh** sinau boso inggris?
what father-your EXP.PERF willing PRT study language English
'Is your father ever willing to study English?'

REFERENCES: Cheng, L. 1997. *On the typology of wh-questions*. New York: Garland.
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