

Cross-dialectal variation of Javanese particles in yes-no questions

A number of particles in Javanese are described as having a specific role in yes-no questions: *apa* signals a yes-no question; *ta* invites agreement or requests an answer; *y(h)a* requests affirmation or rejection; *rak* invites affirmation (see (1)) (e.g., Arps et al. 2000; Wedhawati et al. 2006; Robson 2014). Beyond these brief descriptions—which focus on Standard Javanese, little is currently known about their exact function or their interaction with each other. In this paper, we document and further describe the syntactic-semantic role of particles used in yes-no questions from a dialectal comparative perspective with data from varieties spoken in Semarang (Central Java); Yogyakarta (DIY); and in the Lamongan Regency (East Java). Given that Javanese has rich cross-dialectal variation (e.g. Hatley 1984; Hoogervorst 2010), this perspective allows us to deepen the investigation into syntax-semantic aspects of these particles. After first identifying the types of particles used in the different dialects of Javanese under investigation, we focus on (i) their interaction and (ii) the status of whether the particles *opo/toh* + *NEG* can be considered tag questions or the combination of two sentence-final particles.

First, across all varieties investigated, we find that sentence-initial *apa/opo*, sentence-final *ta* (*to* in Semarang and Lamongan) and sentence-final *ya* (*iyoyo* in Semarang and Lamongan Regency) are employed in the sense described for Standard Javanese. In addition to broad focus in sentence-final position, we show that *ta/to(h)* in all dialects can signal narrow focus of the constituent it follows, which has not been documented before; see (2). We also show that *ta/to(h)* can only signal narrow focus of the external argument if it is the focus of the subject, lending further support that the external argument has topic properties in Javanese (cf. Cole et al. 2002). In Semarang and Yogyakarta, *rak* is used (and can co-occur with sentence-final *to* when non-final; see (1b)), while in Lamongan Regency, *rak* is not used, nor is the negation *gak*. Instead, *to(h)* (plus negation *gak*) is overwhelmingly used in Lamongan Regency. We also show that Semarang Javanese possesses a unique particle *ndak*, which can occur sentence-initially, introducing the predicate, or sentence-finally as *ndak-an*; see (3).

Second, concerning their interaction, we propose that the (non-)co-occurrence of particles follows Cheng's (1997) Clause-Typing hypothesis, in which a clause can have one and only one type. As shown in (4), while *opo* and sentence-final *ta/to(h)* are ungrammatical, when *ta/to(h)* indicates narrow focus, the co-occurrence is possible. In the first case, we suggest that since both particles signal a yes-no question with broad focus (and carry no additional semantics), it violates the Clause-Typing hypothesis. Other combinations, such as *rak* plus *ta* (e.g. (1b)), are licit because these particles both serve to indicate additional semantics. Additional interactions, such as with *rak iya*, *iya toh* are discussed.

Third, we discuss and compare the use of *apa ora / pora* in Yogyakarta; *opo/po rak* in Semarang; and *toh gak* in the Lamongan Regency. We argue that this combination is best analyzed as a tag question (with potentially an ellided complement, as in Sailor 2012) instead of two sentence-final particles. First, the tag must have reversed polarity than that in the main clause, (4a); and second, the tag is sensitive to viewpoint aspect; speakers use the negative element of *wis* 'already' (and not plain negation) when *wis* is used in the main clause, (4b). We propose that use of *apa/opo* vs. *toh*, while different, achieve the same semantic function: *apa/opo* 'what' and *toh*, which we propose derives from *utowo* 'or', evoke alternatives of a set of propositions. This would still be true whether both *opo* and *toh* are now simply question focus markers ('Q'). We will also present acoustic data in support of the hypothesis that these are tag questions, where there is a larger pause with these than with other sentence-final particles.

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- (1) a. *Apa bukuné wis diwaca?* ‘Apakah bukunya sudah dibaca?’ (Wedhawati et al. 2006:464)
 b. *Adhimu **rak** wis lulus, **ta**?* ‘Adikmu kan sudah lulus kan?’ (Wedhawati et al. 2006:411)
 c. *Mengko nèng nggonku, **yha**?* ‘Nanti ke tempat saya, ya?’ (Wedhawati et al. 2006:410)
- (2) *Pak Muftah (*toh) iso (toh) nyonggoh (toh) watu sing gedhe (toh)?*
 Mr. Muftah Q CIRC.POS Q AV.lift Q rock REL big Q
 ‘Can Mr. Muftah lift the big rock?’ (Lamongan Regency; Paciran Javanese)
- (3) a. (***Ndak** wong-e mrene (ndak an)?* (Semarang Javanese)
 PRT person-DEF AV.come.here PRT-AN
 ‘Didn’t that person come over?’
 b. *Mie ayam kuwi **ndak** enak?*
 noodle chicken DEM PRT delicious
 ‘Doesn’t that chicken noodle dish taste good?’
- (4) a. ****Opo** bapak-mu tau gelem sinau boso inggris **toh**?* (Paciran Javanese)
 Q father-your EXP.PRF willing study language English Q
 ‘Is your father ever willing to study English?’
 b. ***Opo** bapak-mu tau gelem **toh** sinau boso inggris?*
 Q father-your EXP.PRF willing Q study language English
 ‘Is your father ever willing to study English?’
- (5) a. *Cak Walid **gak** ape ngelangi **toh** (***gak**)?* (Paciran Javanese)
 Mr. Walid NEG PROSP AV.swim Q NEG
 ‘Mr. Walid is not going swimming, *(isn’t he)?’
 b. *Bu Siti **wes** motong rambut-e Kana **toh** durung?*
 Mrs. Siti already AV.cut hair-DEF Kana Q not.yet
 ‘Mrs. Siti already cut Kana’s hair, hasn’t she?’

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