

# **Discourse structures of Tetun Dili**

**an Austronesian language of Timor-Leste**

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# 1. Introduction

Tetun Dili is an Austronesian language spoken in Timor-Leste (East Timor), where it has been a lingua franca for centuries, and a co-official language along with Portuguese since independence in 2002. It is currently spoken as a home language by about a third of the population of just over a million, up from 7% only twenty years ago when Timorese voted for independence from Indonesia (Williams-van Klinken, Williams, & Brites da Silva, 2016).

All adult speakers of Tetun Dili are multilingual. Most Timorese have grown up speaking one of the vernacular languages, whether Austronesian or ‘Papuan’. The vast majority of adults went to school during the 24 years of Indonesian occupation (from 1975-1999), during which the language of schooling was Indonesian. The older elite were educated in Portuguese at the end of the long period of Portuguese rule. Since independence, the official languages for schooling have been Portuguese and Tetun. For more information on the complex historical and linguistic background of Tetun Dili, see Thomaz (1981, 2002) for the pre-independence period, and Williams-van Klinken and Hajek (2018a) for more recent developments.

The grammar of Tetun Dili to the level of the sentence has been described in several book-length publications (Hull, 2001, 2002a; Hull & Eccles, 2001; Williams-van Klinken, Hajek, & Nordlinger, 2002), and there are two sizeable Tetun-English dictionaries (Hull, 2002b; Williams-van Klinken, 2019)

This paper describes two general areas that were not adequately addressed in those grammars, and that come out of a study of discourse analysis (also known as “textlinguistics”).

The first is how language works beyond sentence level. For instance, how are stories structured, and how are participants referred to in a story?

The second is function within a text. For instance, the grammars mentioned above described the structure of relative clauses, but did not analyse what relative clauses are used for.

The goal of presenting this research is two-fold. Firstly, it is a contribution to an understanding of discourse structures in general. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first concentrated description of discourse-level features in any East Timorese language.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, much Tetun writing follows the discourse patterns of the languages in which the writers were educated, particularly Indonesian (Hajek & Williams-van Klinken, 2019; Williams-van Klinken & Hajek, 2018a, in preparation; Williams-van Klinken & Lucas, in preparation). Much translation similarly follows the discourse patterns of the source language, often English or Portuguese. The authors hope that this presentation of Tetun discourse features will help writers and translators to write more natural Tetun. Hence some sections include a sub-section titled “Implications for translation”, which compares Tetun with English, Portuguese and/or Indonesian.

This paper is based primarily on in-depth discourse analysis of a range of oral texts (listed in Appendix 4), mainly carried out during a period of intensive discourse study in 2012. This was supplemented by less intensive analysis of further texts, as well as by searches of the first author’s database of approximately 3.5 million words of written, oral and translated texts in diverse genres. Further input came from extensive experience in the authors’ own experience of writing, translating, and testing Tetun translations for comprehensibility, over a twenty year period. Nevertheless, this is a work in process, with many unanswered questions.

Examples given are from actual texts, and reflect the wide diversity of styles of speaking Tetun Dili.

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<sup>1</sup> There are however a number of sizeable grammars of East Timorese languages which may contain scattered notes on discourse features. These include grammars of the Papuan languages Bunak (Schapper, 2009), Makalero (Huber, 2011) and Makasae (Fogaça, 2015; Huber, 2008), and the Austronesian languages Naueti (Veloso, 2016) and Tetun Terik (van Klinken, 1999).

## 2. Types of texts

There are various types of text, distinguished according to purpose, including the following.

- **Narrative** texts tell a story, e.g. historical (true) stories, myths, and folktales.
- **Hortative** texts encourage the listeners or readers to do (or not do) certain things, that is, to change their behaviour, e.g. orders, many sermons, and “vote for us” speeches at political rallies.
- **Expository** texts aim to influence, defend or persuade people about an idea.
- **Procedural** texts explain how to do things. Procedural texts are not described in this paper.

## 3. Narrative structure

### 3.1. Overview

Cross-linguistically, narratives have the following basic elements in their plots (Longacre 1996 “The grammar of discourse”, cited in Longacre (2003, p. 4)). The most important elements are in bold.

1. Opening
2. **Setting**: This answers the questions “When?”, “Where?”, “Who?”, “What was happening?”
3. **Initial Event / Inciting Incident**: Something unexpected happens, which leads into the Major Problem. This gives the reason for telling the story.
4. Increasing Tension / Developing Conflict / Mounting Tension: Most Tetun Dili stories don’t have this.
5. **PEAK** (A story may have several Peaks in a row.)
  - a. **Major Problem / Climax**: This can be many problems or one big problem.
  - b. **Problem Solved / Denouement**.
6. Closing
7. Finish

See the texts in Appendix 1 for examples.

### 3.2. Opening and setting

In oral recordings when people have been asked to tell a story, it is common to start with the following:

**Introduction of the speaker.** (This is because we ask them to do so.)

**Introduction to the story (opening and setting):** The opening is often something like “I will/want to tell a story about ...”. This is followed by the setting. The setting tends to consist of the following:

- **Time**: For true stories, time is normally given. For non-factual stories such as jokes or folktales, it is a generic time phrase such as *iha loron ida* ‘one day’, *iha tempu ida* ‘one time’, *iha tempu uluk* ‘in past time’.
- **Main or initial character** is always mentioned.
- **Event or situation**.
- **Place**: commonly mentioned after the event, but can be before it.
- **Theme**.

- (1) *Hau iha istoria ida kona ba pastor ho haji.*  
1S have story one about pastor and haji  
‘I have a story about a priest and a haji.’ (Dete Luan, joke, 2012)

- (2) *Hau hakarak konta istoria ida, kona.ba malae feto ida,*  
 1S want tell story one about foreigner female one  
 ‘I want to tell a story, about a foreign woman,  
  
*nia hetan asidente kiik bainhira nia para nia motor iha Leader nia oin.*  
 3S get accident small when 3S stop 3S.POS motorbike at (place) POS front  
 who had a small problem when she parked her motorbike in front of Leader (supermarket).’ (Alex Cham, funny true story, 2012)

The setting may be followed by an **opener** to say that the story is starting:

- (3) *Istoria nee hanesan nee.*  
 story this like this  
 ‘This story is like this.’ (Alex Cham, funny story about a foreigner, 2012)
- (4) *Hau nia istoria mak nee.*  
 1S POS story FOCUS this  
 ‘This is my story.’

Here are some examples of settings within oral narratives.

- From a folktale about a monkey. It gives the title, a generic time phrase, names the two main characters, place, and situation.

- (5) *Iha istoria badak ida ho nia titulu “Lekirauk ho Lenuk”.*  
 exist story short one with 3S.POS title monkey and turtle  
 ‘There is a short story titled “Monkey and Turtle”.

*Iha loron ida, belun Leki ho belun Lenuk lao iha ai laran fuik maran.*  
 LOC day one friend Monkey and friend Turtle walked LOC plant inside wild dry  
 One day, friend Monkey and friend Turtle were walking in the dry bush.

*Iha momentu nebaa, tempu rai hamlaha ninian.*  
 LOC moment there time land hunger 3S.POS  
 At that time, there was a famine.

*Entaun sira mos iha hanoin ida, ...*  
 so 3P also have thought one  
 So they had an idea, ...’

- Story about a saint, by Natalino de Jesus. He introduces the name of the main character, his ultimate status as saint, and the fact that this character was dumb, an aspect important to the subsequent story.

- (6) *Hau hakarak konta istoria kona.ba santu ida, naran São João.Maria.Viene.*  
 1S want tell story about saint one name Saint (name)  
 ‘I want to tell a story about a saint, named Saint João Maria Viene.

*São João.Maria.Viene nee iha maun-alin nain hitu,*  
 Saint (name) this have older.brother-younger.sibling CLS:human seven  
 This Saint João Maria Viene had seven siblings,

*kompletu, mane hotu kedas.*  
 complete male all immediately  
 complete, every last one of them male.

*Iha sira nia familia, São João.Maria.Viene nee mak oan ba dala ikus.*  
 LOC 3P POS family Saint (name) this FOCUS child for time last  
 In their family, Saint João Maria Viene was the youngest child.

*Entre sira nain hitu nee, nia mak beik liu,*  
 between 3P CLS:human this 3S FOCUS stupid more  
 Of the seven of them, he was the dumbest -

*kompara ho nia maun-alin sira, sira nain neen seluk.*  
 compare with 3S.POS older.brother-younger.sibling 3P 3P CLS:human six other  
 compared to the other six.'

- True story about her own experience, by Jacinta Canossa Soares in 2012. She introduces the main characters (herself and one student), the time period, and the characteristics of the student that are important for the subsequent story.

(7) *Uluk hau hanorin iha eskola sekundaria,*  
 formerly 1S teach LOC school secondary  
 'When I used to teach in secondary school,

*hau iha estudante ida ke matenek, maibee baruk.*  
 1S have student one REL intelligent but lazy  
 I had a student who was intelligent but lazy.' (Text in Appendix 2a)

Written stories have the setting, but do not usually have the introductory statement or an opener.

In stories that occur within a hortatory or expository text, such as within a sermon, some have an **introductory statement**. A few add the point of the story at this point, others add it at the end.

(8) *Atu reforsa hau nia liafuan ida nee,*  
 IRR strengthen 1S POS word one this  
 'To back up my message,

*hau hakarak haforsa ho istoria badak ida nebee dehan ...*  
 1S want make-strong with story short one REL say  
 I want to support it with a short story which says ... ' (Teotonio)

(9) *Hau tenki konta istoria ida para justifika hau nia pernyataan ida nee.*  
 1S must tell story one to justify 1S POS statement one this  
 'I must tell a story to justify this statement of mine.' (Dr Lucas, graduation speech)

When a speaker moves from hortatory or expository text to narrative (not just using the narrative as an example), then the narrative starts with the Setting, that is, with time.

### 3.3. Initial event

This is often short, and usually starts with a time phrase.

### 3.4. Increasing Tension

Many stories appear not to have an Increasing Tension section.

### 3.5. Peak: Major Problem and Problem Solved

In most languages the peak and non-peak sections of a story have different linguistic characteristics. Some are natural consequences of the type of material covered in each section; for instance the setting in Tetun has more presentational clauses because that is where new major characters are generally introduced, and the



closing has a formulaic closing statement. However in most languages (Carla Bartsch pers. comm. 2013), there are also other differences. In Tetun, we have found no convincing differences.<sup>1</sup> The only possible differences noted to date are the prevalence of subordinate clauses and the type of quotes.

**Subordinate clauses:** Subordinate clauses are relatively uncommon in narrative. Nevertheless the last sentence before the Increasing Tension or Major Problem often (about half) have subordinate clauses, whether initial, medial or final. The first sentence of the Major Problem too often (about half) have an initial time clause. This may be to slow down the story at a point of major tension.

- (10) *Maibee iha tempu nebaa, tanba tia sira la hatene bahasa,*  
 but LOC time there because aunt DEF.PL not know Indonesian  
 ‘But at that time, because the women didn’t know Indonesian,  
  
*entaun sira rona “siap” hanesan “jijap”.*  
 so 3P hear ready.(Ind) like ?  
 they heard “are you ready” as “jijap” (From a funny story by Anabela Maia Santos, the last sentence before Increasing Tension.)
- (11) *Iha hotu kareta laran, ami tuur hein iha kareta laran nune, ...*  
 LOC all vehicle inside 1PE sit wait LOC vehicle inside like.this  
 ‘(When) we were all in the bus, we sat waiting like this in the bus, ... [The militia wouldn’t let us leave.] (From a recounting of 1999 violence, the first sentence of the Major Problem)

**Quotes:** Limited data suggests that in the Initial Event, direct quotes are preferred. In the Peak, both direct and indirect quotes occur, with no apparent preference, except that direct quotes are more likely at the actual point of resolving the problem.

### **Marking the peak of the peak**

Although the peak is not linguistically marked, the ‘peak’ (most exciting point) of both the Major Problem and of Problem Solved is marked. It nearly always involves some sort of repetition, such as a positive statement followed by a negative or negative by positive, or by chiasm (ABBA), tail-head repetition, paraphrase, or generic-specific.<sup>2</sup>

- (12) *Ema tau ai mesak bo-boot bo-boot deit, satan netik tiha luroon klaran nee,*  
 person put tree only RDP-big RDP-big just block complete already road middle this  
 ‘People had put a lot of large trees/wood on the road, blocking the middle of the road,  
  
*para kareta la bele halai lailais; kareta tenki lao neineik*  
 so vehicle not can run fast vehicle must walk slow  
 so that vehicles couldn’t travel fast, they had to go slowly  
  
*para sira bele halo buat ruma ba kareta.*  
 to 3P can do thing some to vehicle  
 so they could do something to the bus.’ (UNAMET, positive-negative in purpose clause in peak of Major Problem)

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<sup>1</sup> The majority of Tetun Dili speakers are not native speakers of that language. It is likely that speakers tell stories according to the discourse features of their native languages, and possible that these languages mark peak in different ways. To the best of our knowledge, there have been no discourse studies done of other Timorese languages which could help decide this issue.

<sup>2</sup> According to Levinsohn (2011a, p. 81), one way to mark a significant development is to background the previous event, for instance by putting it in a subordinate clause. This does not seem to be the case in Tetun, at least not for the peak of the Peak.

- (13) *Iha momentu nebaa nia apaa ho nia amaa, maun-alin sira*  
 LOC moment there 3S.POS dad and 3S.POS mum older.brother-younger.sibling DEF.PL  
 ‘At that time his father and mother, and his brothers

*la hataan, tanba nia beik beik iha momentu nebaa iha hakerek,*  
*not agree because 3S stupid stupid LOC moment there LOC write*  
 didn’t agree (for him to study as a priest), because he was dumb, at that time he was dumb in writing,

*no mos wainhira ema koalia akapta ba ema nia liafuan nee araska la halimar,*  
 and also when person speak catch to person 3S.POS word this difficult not play  
 and also when people spoke, it was really hard for him to catch on to their message,

*entaun ho razaun sira nee, nia apaa ho nia amaa,*  
 so with reason DEF.PL this 3S.POS dad and 3S.POS mum  
 so it was for these reasons that his father and mother

*maun-alin sira lakohi.*  
 older.brother-younger.sibling DEF.PL not.want  
 and his brothers refused (to let him go).’ (From story of Saint João Viane, using ABBA structure of Statement – Reason – Reason – Statement in peak of Major Problem)

Some Major Problem or Problem Solved peaks are direct quotes, for instance in one story where a teacher solves a problem through giving a warning to her student.

In two examples, the peak of the Major Problem or of the Problem Solved are introduced by a rhetorical question:

- (14) *Saida mak nia halo? Tanba nia hadomi nia laen nee,*  
 what FOC 3S do because 3S love 3S.POS husband this  
 ‘What did she do? Because she loved her husband,

*nia desidi atu la hakoi nia laen. Nia baa sosa jelu,*  
 3S decide IRR not bury 3S.POS husband 3S go buy ice  
 she decided to not bury him. She went and bought ice,

*hodi tau iha vidru atu loro-loron nia haree nia laen.*  
 to/and put LOC glass IRR RDP-day 3S see 3S.POS husband  
 and put (his body and the ice) in glass so that every day she could see him.’ (From a story with a message, by Teotonio)

Positive-negative and negative-positive sentence pairs are usually found just before the start (which is sometimes but not always the peak) of Major Problem, or just before the Final Resolution. (This is unlikely to be coincidence.)

### 3.6. Closing and Finish

When telling a story, half add a concluding formula such as: *Mak nee deit hau nia istoria.* ‘That’s all for my story’, or *Mak nee deit.* ‘That’s all.’

When telling a story within a hortatory or expository text, most finish with the point of the story. They do not finish with a concluding formula such as ‘That was the story.’ See the sample text in Appendix 1b.

- (15) *Nee ezemplu nebee simples katak: ita iha gaji so.ke antrian deit.*  
 this example REL simple say 1PI have wage only.if queue just  
 ‘That’s a simple example (to show) that: We only get our wages if we wait in line.’

### 3.7. Boundaries: Marking the start and end of sections

Speaking, just like writing, has sections and paragraphs. Sections include the ones mentioned above (Setting, Major Problem, Problem Solved). A narrative can also include a number of separate episodes, each with its own Setting and Peak. A new paragraph starts when there is a change of time, location, or major participants.

It is important that people recognise where sections and paragraphs start and finish, because people remember things in ‘chunks’. Without proper boundaries the story becomes just a series of many sentences, with no internal structure, and becomes too hard to interpret or remember.

In Tetun Dili, section breaks look the same as paragraph breaks. The two often coincide, but a section can start in the middle of a paragraph, and a section can consist of more than one paragraph.

Except for the initial section in a story, most sections start with a time expression (68%). This can be a prepositional phrase (e.g. *iha loron ida* ‘one day’), subordinate clause with *bainhira* ‘when’, a non-subordinating conjunction (e.g. *hafoin/depois* ‘then’) or adverbial expression (e.g. *aban fali* ‘next day’). Many of the time phrases are ‘points of departure’, linking this section or paragraph with the previous (e.g. *liu tiha fulan rua* ‘after two months’). However, some do not link it with what happened before, just starting a new phase of the story (e.g. *iha loron ida* ‘one day’).

Apart from time, new sections can start with a non-time conjunction (12%), a head-tail construction (7%, mostly from someone from the south coast), location (4%) or just start without any particular marker (i.e. juxtaposition, 4%).

New paragraphs seem to be marked in the same way as new sections. That is, they usually start with a time phrase, sometimes with a location or tail-head linkage, and sometimes with no specific marker at all.

There is nothing to mark the end of a section or paragraph.

### 3.8. Background information

The characteristics of a major character that are relevant throughout the story are often given in the Opening or Setting (e.g. Saint João was unintelligent, Esther was beautiful inside and out). However other background information is given when it is needed. Minor participants are normally not introduced in advance, so information about them is only given when needed. Introducing the background information before it is needed can turn the story from being about the major event to being about the background information.

- (16) *Kapolsek fila fali hosi desa ida naran Railaku.Leten*  
police.chief return back from village one name (name)  
‘The district police chief returned from a village named Railaku Leten

*(tanba kapolsek baa haree ema vota iha nebaa ka lae?)*  
because police.chief to see person vote LOC there or not  
(as he’d gone there to observe the voting, you know). (From UNAMET story in Initial Event. Putting the background information after the event keeps the focus on the police chief turning up, which was a threat to the narrator. If the narrator were to mention beforehand that the police chief went to Railaku Leten to see the voting, it would be like she were talking about what the police chief did that day, rather than talking about herself and his frightening arrival.)

- (17) *Votasaun hotu ho hotu, komesa kedan milisia mai haleu ami iha eskola.*  
voting finish and finish start immediately militia come surround 1PE LOC school  
‘As soon as the voting was finished, the militia started surrounding us at the school.

*Primeiru, milisia ninia boot - milisia nia komandan mak mai uluk.*  
first militia 3S.POS big – militia 3S.POS commandant FOCUS come first  
First of all, the militia’s boss – the militia’s commander came first.

*Lider milisi, ida naran Astro.Berto, ida naran Joaquim.*

lider militia one name (name) one name (name)

The militia leaders, one named Astro Berto, one named Joaquim.

*Sira nain rua mak mai ulu, koalial ba UNAMET, dehan hanesan nee, "..."*

3P CLS:human two FOCUS come first speak to (name) say like this

The two of them came first, and spoke to UNAMET, saying, "...". (From UNAMET story in Initial Event. The militia are introduced by name only after they appear in the story, and just before they start speaking.)

## 4. Participants

For a description in Tetun of how participants are introduced and referred to, see Williams-van Klinken and Lucas (2014).

### 4.1. Introducing participants and referring back to them

Tetun Dili has narratives have three types of participants: major, minor, and very minor.

#### *Major participants*

This is who the story is about.

Major characters are usually introduced using a presentational clause (iha ‘there is’) or as subject, object of preposition, or left-dislocated subject. They start acting as soon as they are introduced.

The information given for the major character in a true story is usually their category (esp. male or female, and age category, e.g. *labarik* ‘child’), often place of origin, often name, and often a very brief summary of the story (e.g. ‘a foreign woman who had an incident when she parked her bike in front of Leader shop’), or a relevant aspect of their character (e.g. Esther was a Jewish orphan adopted by her cousin Modikai, and she was beautiful inside and out).

(18) *Hau hakarak konta istoria kona.ba santu ida, naran São João Maria Viane.*

I want tell story about saint one name Saint (name)

‘I want to tell a story about a saint, named Saint João Maria Viane.’

(19) *Iha tempu nebaa, iha tia ida, naran Martinha Pinto.*

LOC time there exist aunt one name (name)

‘At that time there was an ‘auntie’ (uneducated woman) named Martinho Pinto.’ (From a funny story by Anabela Maia Santos)

(20) *Iha loron ida, amu ho pak haji, sira nain rua baa vizita fatin ida, ...*

LOC day one priest and mr haji 3P CLS:human two go visit place one

‘One day, a priest and a haji, they two went to visit a place, ...’ (From a joke by Dete Luan)

Subsequent mentions usually use the character’s role or status plus *nee* ‘this’, their name plus *nee*, or the pronoun *nia* ‘3S’. Noun phrases are preferred to *nia* in the following situations:

- To distinguish characters, for instance to distinguish the various UN staff in (21).
- When starting a new paragraph (usually).
- When switching from background to foreground, or foreground to background within a narrative.
- When referring to minor characters (see below).

It is possible to vary the way in which a person is referred to, both for major and minor characters, highlighting the aspect that is important at that point in the story. For instance, queen Esther is referred to as Ester throughout, but as *nia prima* ‘his cousin’ when Modikai can’t talk with her as he used to, and *liurai feto* ‘queen’ or *liurai feto Ester* ‘queen Ester’ when she functions in her queenly role. In written texts, authors tend to be less expressive, using just the one NP throughout, such as their title.

#### Personal names

Names are not often used in stories. When they are used, they are usually preceded by a title (e.g. *maun* ‘older brother’, *amu* ‘priest’). Based on limited analysis, names are more likely to be used when:

- the exact identity is important, and the name is needed for this.

- to distinguish individuals who have no distinct titles, such as the foreigners in this example.

(21) *Ami ema rua-nulu, ami hela hotu nonook iha uma laran nebaa,*  
 1PE person two-tens 1PE stay all quiet LOC house inside there  
 ‘The twenty of us all stayed silently inside that house,

*hamutuk ho malae UNAMET, ida naran José, ida naran Gabriel, ida naran Robert,*  
 together with foreigner UNAMET one name (name) one name (name) one name (name)  
 together with three foreigners (working for) UNAMET, one named Jose, one named Gabriel, one named Robert.

*Senhor Jose nee mak aruma surat tahan ho kaixa sira nee.*  
 Mr Jose this FOCUS tidy paper sheet and box DEF.PL this  
 Mr Jose tidied up the papers and the (ballot) boxes.

*Senhor Gabriel, komu tauk, nia tuur tiha iha lidun oan ida para nia reza.*  
 Mr (name) because afraid 3S sit PERF LOC corner small one so.that 3S pray  
 Mr Gabriel, as he was afraid, sat in a corner and prayed.’

- For senior Timorese people, the name is not usually used, even with a title, unless one is being very explicit (e.g. for news reports), or very formal (e.g. *sua eselensia Primeiru Ministru Mari Alkatiri* ‘his excellency the prime minister Mari Alkatiri’).

## Pronouns

*Nia* is used mainly for the participant that is the primary actor within that section of the story; it is not used for minor participants (within that part of the story) or for very minor participants. This can be seen in the text in Appendix 1a (written by an exceptionally good author), where the student as the main character is sometimes referred to as *nia*, but the teacher as the secondary character is either referred to by a noun phrase, or left as an omitted argument, but never identified as *nia*.

Some people seem to avoid using *nia* for very high-status participants, preferring to use their title..

## Zero (omitted arguments)

Arguments can be omitted in Tetun Dili. However this strategy is used very little unless the grammar either demands or encourages it. It is used for both major and minor characters. Reasons for omitting arguments include the following:

The speaker/author does not consider the identity important, or doesn’t wish to reveal it. Normally the category of person being talked about can be guessed from context.

(22) *Amu lulik haruka Ø lori ankor.*  
 priest sacred order take anchor  
 ‘The priest ordered (someone – presumably sailors) to raise the anchor.’

When there is a repeated verb, the subject is not repeated. This includes head-tail constructions, contraction-amplification as in (23), and repeated verbs to show a repeated action.

(23) *Depois hau halai sai, Ø halai mai Korem.*  
 Then 1S run out run come military.command.  
 ‘Then I ran out, ran here to the Indonesian provincial military command.’

When there is a series of predicates with a shared subject, separated by comma intonation or ‘and’, the non-initial subject can be omitted. It seems the subject is particularly likely to be omitted if these actions are frightening.

- (24) *Iha nebaa, sira komesa kanta, Ø hananu, Ø reza, Ø halo buat bara-barak.*  
 LOC there 3P start sing sing pray do thing REDUP-many  
 ‘There they started to sing – to sing, pray and do many (such) things.’
- (25) *Depois iha ema halai nafatin, Ø halai Ø halai, Ø duni malu, Ø baku malu.*  
 then exist person run continue run run chase RECIP hit RECIP  
 ‘There were people running on, running and running, chasing each other, hitting each other.’ [Note:  
 When the speaker was asked to tell the story again slowly and logically, most of the subjects were  
 specified.]

When ‘... *tiha*’ is used to start a new paragraph, showing a logical consequence of the previous paragraph, the subject is normally zero.

- (26) *Ø Rona tiha informasaun husi Haman, liurai hamriik hodi hasai ninia kadeli*  
 hear PERF information from Haman king stand to/and remove 3S.POS ring  
 ‘[Haman told the king that the Jews didn’t obey the king’s laws, and should all be killed, and that  
 he would give the king money for being able to do so.] Having heard the information from Haman,  
 the king stood and removed his ring...’

Various serial verb constructions require that the subject of the non-initial verb not be specified, e.g. *lori mai hemu* ‘carry come drink’.

### Removal from the stage

Characters are not explicitly removed from the stage. The speaker simply stops mentioning them.

### Minor participants

Minor participants are identified participants, who usually appear part-way through the story, do something, and then drop out of the story again.

Minor characters are normally introduced in the grammatical slot that suits their semantic role in that sentence; that is, as subject if actor, and as object if undergoer, as object of preposition, or as possessor. They are rarely introduced using a presentational clause. Longer subjects are often left-dislocated.

The usual information given for minor characters is their position or status (e.g. *atan* ‘slave’, *amu bispu* ‘bishop’, *malae* ‘foreigner’) or their relation to an existing character (e.g. *nia apaa* ‘his father’) or to the speaker (e.g. *hau nia kolega* ‘my friend’). Sometimes the name is given as well, especially if the person is quite important or has a relationship with the speaker (e.g. *hau nia profesor ida naran Jacob* ‘my teacher named Jacob’). Additional information can be added in a prepositional phrase or relative clause.

- (27) *Iha odamatan ida-idak, ema nebee hein iha odamatan nee, hatais hena mutin.*  
 LOC door each person REL wait LOC door this wear cloth white  
 ‘At each of the doors, the person guarding the door was dressed in white.’
- (28) *Ester ho nia feto maluk barak nebee bonita, furak hanesan mos nia,*  
 Ester and 3S.POS woman colleague many REL pretty beautiful like also 3S  
 ‘Ester and many of her fellow women who were also pretty and lovely like her,  
  
*hanesan mos nia, sira baa hasoru liurai*  
 like also 3S they go meet king  
 they went to meet the king.’

Like major characters, minor characters can be referred to in various ways throughout a story. Sometimes a longer description is used for the initial mention, and a shorter term afterwards (e.g. *mana ida badak oan loos* ‘a very short older.sister’, followed later by *mana nee* ‘this older.sister’). However minor characters are more likely to be referred to in the same way throughout (e.g. *mestra* ‘teacher’, *kapolsek* ‘police chief’).

It is possible to refer to two participants by their mutual relationship to each other (e.g. ‘his wife’ and ‘her husband’). This particularly happens in dialogues (‘his wife said...’, ‘her husband said...’).

### Very minor participants

Very minor characters are just mentioned in passing, and are not identified. They are usually referred to only once; some are referred to again in the same sentence, and a few in the following sentence.

Very minor characters tend to be referred to in the grammatical slot that suits their role in the sentence, but are occasionally introduced by a presentational clause.

They are usually either referred to as *ema* ‘person’, or zero (mainly for people who were ordered to do something).

- (29) *Iha ema hakarak atu oho ita boot.*  
 exist person want IRR kill 2S.HON big  
 ‘There is someone who wants to kill you.’

- (30) *Entaun liurai haruka Ø huu karau dikur. ...*  
 So king order blow buffalo horn  
 ‘So the king ordered (someone/people/servants) to blow the buffalo horn...’

### 4.2. Switching between participants

When switching from participant A to B then back to A, one option is to refer to both by their role (e.g. *maun* ‘older brother’, *alin* ‘younger sibling’). Another is to use *nia nee* ‘3S this’ or *ema nee* ‘person this’ for the second reference to A.

- (31) *Iha estudu iha seminariu, amu konhese São João.Maria.Viane nee ema beik-teen,*  
 LOC study LOC seminary priest know Saint (name) this person stupid-one  
 ‘During his studies in the seminary, the priest recognised that this Saint João Maria Viane was an ignorant person,

*padre reitor mos foo hatene katak nia nee beik.*  
 priest rector also give know that 3S this stupid  
 the rector also told (people) that he (João) was ignorant.’ (Note. If the final clause were *nia beik* ‘3S stupid’, then the *nia* would have referred to the rector, not to Saint João.)

- (32) *Iha ema ruma mak dudu nia, ita kaer ema nee ita bele investiga.*  
 exist person some FOCUS push 3S 1PI catch person this 1PI can investigate  
 ‘There is someone who is pushing him (this child to do wrong). If we catch this person, we can investigate.’ (Note: *ema nee* is the person who pushed the child. If *nia* were used in the penultimate clause, it would refer to the child.)

### 4.3. Speaking about character

There are two constructions which are used for talking about a subject’s character as opposed to their actions.

The first has *nee* ‘this’ after the subject. For pronouns, *nee* can only be used for descriptions, not to introduce actions; e.g. one cannot say \**Nia nee lao* to mean ‘He walked.’) When the subject is *hau* ‘I’, examples to date tend to be of boasting.

- (33) *O, nia nee hanesan nee hanesan nee, nee ema la diak!*  
 oh 3S this like this like this this person not good  
 ‘Oh, he’s like this and this, this is not a good person!’



- (34) *O nee komik!*  
*2s this funny*  
 ‘You’re so funny!’
- (35) *Hau bele! Hau nee, maski ferik, maski lanu, kakutak sei joga bola nafatin!*  
 1s can 1s this although old.lady although drunk brain still play football continue  
 ‘I can so! Even though I’m an old lady, and even though I’m drunk, my brain still continues to play football!’

*Nee* is not just with pronominal subjects, but also with also used with nouns, even proper nouns and *Maromak* ‘God’. The function of *nee* can be illustrated by this pair of sentences:

- (36) *Maromak nee rona hau ka lae?*  
 God this hear 1s or not  
 ‘Is God a God who listens to me?’ (a question about God’s character)
- (37) *Maromak rona hau ka lae?*  
 God hear 1s or not  
 ‘Did/does God listen to me?’ (a question about what God’s actions)

A second construction used for talking about character (but not about actions) is to introduce the predicate with *ema ida nebee/ke* ‘person one REL’.

- (38) *José ema ida ke ativu foo kontribuisaun ba dame.*  
 (name) person one REL active give contribution to peace  
 ‘José is an active contributor to peace.’

## 5. Hortative texts

### 5.1. Structure of hortative texts

The standard format of hortative texts is as follows, with underlined steps being common:

- **Vocative** – Some people commonly start a hortatory paragraph with a vocative, others do not.

(39) *Povu Timor tomak, juventude Timor oan.*  
people Timor whole youth Timor child  
'All the people of Timor, Timorese youth' (Xanana Gusmão 2006)

- **Situation**, explaining the problem being addressed, often with a statement that this situation is bad.

(40) *Ho triste tebes mak hau akompanha ho rona kona.ba akontesimentu sira*  
with sad true FOCUS 1S accompany and hear about events DEF.PL  
'It is with great sadness that I've been following and hearing about the events

*nebee ikus nee mosu, liu-liu iha Dili laran... Hahalok nee sala teb-tebes, ...*  
REL end this appear RDP-more LOC (name) inside behaviour this wrong RDP-true  
which have been happening recently, especially in Dili... This behaviour is very wrong, ...' (Xanana Gusmão speech 2006)

- **Credentials** of the speaker: not normally included, but when it is, it precedes the hortatory.

(41) *Hau husu nudar komandante supremu forsas nian*  
1S ask as commander supreme forces 3S.POS  
'As supreme commander of the armed forces I ask

*atu reve atitude-s sira nee hodi hakmatek situasaun.*  
IRR review behaviour-PL DEF.PL this to/and calm situation  
(that you) review these behaviours and calm down the situation.' (Xanana Gusmão 2006)

- **Hortatory statement(s)**, sometimes including who it is addressed to (e.g. if there is a sequence of hortatory statements addressed to different people). If there is a conditional, it precedes the hortative.

(42) *Ita hotu tenki para ho ida nee. Polisia lalika – tuir Ingles*  
1PI all must stop with one this police shouldn't . follow English  
'We should all stop with this (behaviour). The police shouldn't be doing what English

*katak 'overacting' liu. ... Ikus liu hau apelu nafatin ba sira 591 atu tuur hakmatek.,*  
say overacting more final more 1S appeal continue to 3P IRR sit calm  
calls 'overacting'. ... Finally I continue to appeal to those 591 (disgruntled soldiers) to stay calm.

*tanba hau hatene laos imi mak provoka situasaun ida nee.*  
because 1S know not 2P FOCUS stir.up situation one this  
because I know you weren't the ones who stirred up this situation.' (Xanana Gusmão 2006)

- Occasionally a purpose clause precedes the main hortatory, at least in writing.

(43) *Atu bele rezolve kestaun projetu la iha kualidade husi aspetu planeamentu,*  
IRR can solve question project not have quality from aspect planning  
'To solve the issue of poor-quality projects from the point of view of planning,

*Luta Hamutuk sujere ba Governu atu ...*  
struggle together suggests to government IRR  
Luta Hamutuk (an NGO) suggests to the government that ...' (Luta Hamutuk written report.)

- **Reason / consequence / objective / details / result**, as in example (42).
- **Objectives for giving these instructions**. e.g. ‘It’s for your good.’
- **Hortative** – restate, or give a general hortative:

- (44) *Husu ba hotu-hotu, liu-liu ba joven sira, atu tuur hakmatek.*  
 ask to RDP-all RDP-more to youth DEF.PL IRR sit calm  
 ‘I ask everyone, especially the young people, to stay calm.’ (Xanana Gusmão 2006)

None of the hortatory texts we have looked at (e.g. an appeal by the president of the republic, by a teacher to a student, by a speaker during the 2006 security crisis, or sermons) are straight-out instructions. All have something to soften what is said, such as reasons, purpose (e.g. how the person will benefit from carrying out the instructions), ‘I ask’, or saying *ita* ‘we’ (so nominally including the speaker).

## 5.2. Positive instructions

The most common options for giving positive instructions are:

- **Verb phrase without a subject**: This is the most common option, and appears to be used by all levels of speaker. (Not all are short or urgent, some are advice on living.)

- (45) *Baa just*  
 go just  
 ‘Just go!’

- (46) *Mai ona Benilda!*  
 come already (name)  
 ‘Come (now) Benilda!’

- (47) *Maluk sira, kontinua ba oin!*  
 friend def.PL continue to front  
 ‘Friends, keep on going forward!’

- **Verb phrase with a subject**: The subject seems to be used for:

- *o*: It seems *o* is more likely for direct or urgent order, unless there is a softening word such as *lai* or *e*.

- (48) *O hein lai!*  
 2S wait first  
 ‘Wait a sec!’

- emphasising the subject, e.g. as there are different instructions for different groups, or to show who is included.

- (49) *Imi nain rua ajuda lai hau.*  
 2P CLS:human two help first 1S  
 ‘Can you two help me for a bit.’

Instructions can be strong, or made softer:

- **tenki ‘must’**. These are mostly strong statements of what must be done.

- (50) *Mais atu hakmatek, atu diak, primeiru ita tenki foo laran ba malu.*  
 but IRR peace IRR good first 1PI must give inside to recip  
 ‘But to have peace, to go well, firstly we must give our trust to one another.’

*Ita tenki foo neon ba malu, ita tenki hadomi malu.*  
 1PI must give mind to recip 1PI must love recip  
 'We must be open to one another, must love one another.'

- **presiza 'need to'**. These are mostly statements of what needs to be done. Not as strong as *tenki*.

(51) *Atu sai nudar sidadaun nebee diak, ita presiza respeita lei nebee iha.*  
 IRR become like citizen REL good 1PI need respect law REL exist  
 'To become a good citizen, we must respect the existing laws.'

- **Explicit request: (Hau) husu 'I ask'....** This seems to be by high-status people to those below them, e.g. the Prime Minister to the people, or a teacher to a student s/he is reprimanding. See example (44).

- **mai ita 'let's'** is used quite infrequently, mainly in formal contexts or by high-status people, to suggest doing something together.

(52) *Mai ita basa liman ba ita nia maluk.*  
 come 1PI clap hand for 1PI POS colleague  
 'Let's give our colleague a round of applause.'

- **Diak liu ...** 'better' gives a suggestion which the speaker presents as better than the alternatives (which may or may not be specified),

(53) *Diak liu ita nonook.*  
 good more 1PI quiet  
 'You'd better keep quiet!'

(54) *Diak liu lalika baa.*  
 good more shouldn't go  
 'It's better not to go.'

- **Bele 'can'** is common in requests, for example for information. Nearly all have a subject.

(55) *Ita boot bele esplika uitoan kona.ba EITI nee – nee signifika saida?*  
 2S.POL big can explain a.little about EITI this this mean what  
 'Could you please explain a bit about this EITI. What does it mean?'

- **Se bele karik 'if possible'**: In formal situations such as meetings, or to people of high status, suggestions can be introduced by *se bele karik* 'if it is perhaps possible'

(56) *Se bele karik, senhor husu informasaun tan hosi doutor sira.*  
 if can perhaps mister ask information more from doctor DEF.PL  
 '(I suggest) you ask the doctors for more information.'

- **Recommended action in the guise of a statement of what happens.** This is used by some high-status people.

(57) *Nee.duni, maluk sira, hirak nee mak ita buka atu kaer*  
 therefore friend DEF.PL these.specific this FOCUS 1PI seek IRR hold  
 'So, friends, these are the things which we hold fast to

*iha ita nia moris nudar ema sarani.*  
 LOC 1PI POS life as person Christian  
 in our lives as Christians.'

- *favor, favor ida, halo favor, halo favor ida* ‘please’. This is respectful, common in formal meetings, but also used sometimes in informal communication.

(58) *Refujiadu-s sira nebee mak hakarak fila ba uma, la bele baa nonook,*  
 refugee-PL DEF.PL REL FOCUS want return to house not can go quiet  
 ‘Those refugees who would like to return home, mustn’t go without speaking up,  
*favor ida hatoo ba responsavel sira dehan, “Ami atu fila ona.”*  
 favour one inform to person.in.charge DEF.PL say 1PE IRR return already  
 please tell the people in charge, “We are about to return.” (Police chief to internally displaced  
 people, 2007)

**There are some final particles that can be added to instructions or invitations:**

- *ba* ‘go, to (away from me)’: ‘you do it without me’

(59) *Maun sira tuur ba, hau fila ona.*  
 older.brother DEF.PL sit go 1S return already  
 ‘Brothers, you stay seated, I’m heading back.’

- *ga/ka* (question particle) is used in informal speech only, amongst friends or family. It is forceful, showing impatience when the speaker is repeating an earlier instruction.

(60) *La-lais uitoan ba ga!*  
 RDP-quick a.little go or  
 ‘Hurry up why don’t you!’

- *sa* is used in informal speech amongst equals. On a command, it aims to calm the other person down, while still showing that you are serious.

(61) *Kalma deit sa!*  
 calm just just  
 ‘Just settle down!’

- *e* is used informally for gentle requests or warnings.

(62) *Kuidadu e!*  
 careful TAG  
 ‘Be careful, won’t you!’

- *ona*, which normally marks anterior aspect, in commands and invitation means ‘do it now’, indicating that there is no room for delay or for negotiation.

(63) *Nonook ona!*  
 quiet already  
 ‘Shut up!’

- *tiha* normally marks perfective aspect. In requests it indicates ‘do it completely’. It treats that activity as if it has already happened.

(64) *Lori susubeen baa ha-manas tiha.*  
 bring milk go make-hot PERF  
 ‘Take this milk and heat it up.’

- **tiha deit** ‘just do it’ (lit. ‘PERFECTIVE just’). This is informal, a suggestion. It can be used when there appears to be no other alternative to the proposed course of action.

(65) *Ita lalika ba hanoin fali ida nee, husik liu tiha ba kotuk, tau tiha ba kotuk,*  
 1PI shouldn’t go think instead one this leave past PERF to back put perf to back  
 ‘We/you shouldn’t think like that, leave it in the past, put it behind you,

*haluha tiha deit hodi hanoin fali mak ida diak ba ita nia aan rasik*  
 forget PERF just to/and think again FOCUS one good for 1PI POS self own  
 just forget it and instead think about what is good for yourself.’

- **lai** ‘first, before doing something else’. It implies that once this activity has been done, the person can then go and do something else. *Lai* is a polite way to end invitations to eat or drink or have a rest. It is also common when asking someone to do something, so long as that activity won’t last too long. *Lai* comes after the verb or after the object.

(66) *Mai haan lai.*  
 come eat first  
 ‘Come and eat’ (Then you can do what you wanted to do...)

(67) *Ita haan lai, depois servisu fali.*  
 1PI eat first then work again  
 ‘We’ll eat, then work again.’

- **took** ‘have a go’: It often invites someone to ‘have a go’ at doing something.

(68) *Koko took.*  
 try have.a  
 ‘Have a try.’

### 5.3. Prohibitions

There are three options:

- **keta** also means ‘perhaps (esp. for negative things)’. In everyday speech it is used for suggesting, advising and forbidding.

(69) *Hei, hein lai ba! O keta anxi demais hau.*  
 hey wait first go 2S don’t hurry too.much 1S  
 ‘Hey, just wait a bit. Don’t hurry me too much.’

(70) *Keta oho ema.*  
 don’t kill person  
 ‘You shall not murder.’ (From the Tetun Commandments)

- **la bele** also means ‘can not, impossible’. Everyone uses this word. In everyday Tetun it is used to suggest and advise, as well as to strictly forbid. Liturgical Tetun uses *keta* rather than *la bele* to forbid, as in (70)

(71) *Konflitu nee normal, maibee bele buka dalan seluk atu rezolve,*  
 conflict this normal but can seek way other IRR solve  
 ‘Conflict is normal, but (we) can look for other ways to solve it,

*koalia di-diak ba malu. La bele uza violensia hanesan nee.*  
 speak RDP-good to RECIP not can use violence like this  
 to talk properly with each other. Don’t use violence like this.’

- *lalika(n)* is mainly used by adults to adults, to suggest, advise, and warn, but not strictly forbid. It is softer than *keta* and *la bele*, as shown by the fact that it can occur with *Diak liu* ‘it’s better’.

- (72) *Diak liu    lalika    baa, baku malu nee baku malu duni!*  
 good more shouldn’t go back recip this bash recip indeed  
 ‘You’d better not go (to where the fighting is), as bashups really are bashups!’
- (73) *Keta tauk! Mai deit! Lalika tauk. La presiza tauk, lalika tauk ema ida ...*  
*don’t afraid come just shouldn’t afraid not need afraid shouldn’t afraid person one*  
 ‘Don’t be afraid! Just come! You shouldn’t be afraid. No need to be afraid, you shouldn’t be afraid of anyone (here). (Security officer talking to people during the 2006 security crisis, assuring those who have done no wrong that they shouldn’t be afraid.)

## 6. Expository texts

Expository texts contain two main types of information: the Main Point and Supporting Information. Some types of Supporting Information occurs in fixed positions, while others is variable. Examples can be seen in Appendix 3.

**Supporting information** includes:

- before the main point: **background** information, **foil** (a false statement which makes the final true statement stronger)
- after the main point: **examples**
- before or after the main point: **reasons, purpose, consequence, definitions, source of information.** (This needs more research.)

There are three orders of presenting the Main Point and the Supporting information

- **Main Point – Supporting.** Supporting = definitions, reasons, purpose, consequences, examples.
- **Main Point – Supporting – Main Point**
- **Supporting – Main Point.** This seems to be quite rare, at least for extended arguments. A short example is presented in Appendix 3d. Normally listeners already have an idea as to what the conclusion will be, for instance because they know the speaker's views already, or because it has been stated or hinted at earlier.

## 7. Information structure

### 7.1. Theme

The **theme** of a text is what it is about. In a narrative, the theme line is the events in chronological order. Anything else is background, e.g. flashbacks, information about participants or about the location in which the events occur. It is important that readers can tell what is thematic (foregrounded) and what is background, otherwise they cannot follow the logic of the text.

### 7.2. Topic, comment, and point of departure

Most main clauses consist of a **topic** and **comment**. The topic is usually the subject, and has either already been mentioned or can easily be related to something that has already been mentioned. (Note that the topic of a clause is not necessarily the same as the topic of the whole paragraph or the whole text.) The comment gives information about the topic, and usually includes new information.

A **point of departure** gives a setting (e.g. time, location) at the beginning of the sentence. It provides a setting for what follows, but also links the sentence to what came before (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 40).

In the following example, the point of departure is *loron ida* 'one day'. It shows that this event is related to the previous one by a change in time, and provides the time setting for the following event. The topic is 'Modikai', a character who has been mentioned already. The comment is 'was sitting at the main gate of the palace.' This is new information.

- (74) *Iha loron ida Modikai tuur hela iha odamatan boot palasiu nian.*  
LOC day one (name) sit PROG LOC door big palace 3S.POS  
'One day Modikai was sitting at the main gate of the palace.'

### 7.3. Keeping track of the topic

Usually, the subject is the topic of the clause.

However it is also possible to put another noun phrase initially, as the topic. This can be a fronted object, a left-dislocated subject or object, or another noun phrase topic. These will be dealt with in turn.



## Object fronting

The default constituent order in a clause is subject-verb-object. However objects can be fronted, for two main purposes (Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002, pp. 53-54).

1. **Contrast** this entity with others which have been either explicitly mentioned or are implicit in the context. The fronted object is often marked with *mak*.

- (75) *Ami kompriende balu-balu, barak mak ami la kompriende.*  
1PE understand RDP-some much FOCUS 1PE not understand  
'We understood some bits, (but) most (of it) we didn't understand.'
- (76) *Mais kuandu ba dalan loos; dalan sala nee hau mos lakoi.*  
*but if to way right way wrong this 1S also not.want*  
'But only if it is on the right way; if it is wrong, I would refuse.'

2. **Keep this noun phrase as the topic.** Often the noun phrase is marked as definite by *nee*.

- (77) *Ami halai, ami lori kuda ida. Ami lori kuda, ami (hanesan) hahaan la iha,*  
1PE run 1PE bring horse one 1PE bring horse 1PE like food not have  
'When we fled, we took a horse. We took a horse, and when like we had no food,
- kuda nee ami baa troka fali hahaan.*  
horse this 1PE go swap instead food  
we took this horse and traded it for food.
- (78) *Maibee hau nia prinsipiu nee, hau lakoi hanorin labarik ho kasar -*  
*but 1S POS principle this 1S not.want teach child with harsh*  
'But my principle is, I don't want to raise my children harshly –
- terlalu kasar hau lakoi. Baku ka, hakilar ka, tolok. Nee hau lakoi.*  
too harsh 1S not.want hit or shout or swear this 1S not.want  
I don't want to be too harsh. I don't want to hit them, or shout, or swear at them.'

It seems there is a third function for object fronting not mentioned in that grammar:

3. **"whatever someone wants/does..."**.

- (79) *Buat saida mak imi halo mai hau, hau la haluha.*  
thing whatever FOCUS 1PI do to me 1S not forget  
'I won't forget all that you have done for me.'

Putting an indefinite noun phrase like this first, means that the sentence keeps its chronological order. For instance, in example (79) above, 'you have done things for me' come first in time, and after that 'I won't forget it'.

## Left-dislocation

Sometimes there is a noun phrase before the start of the main clause, which is co-referential with another noun phrase within the sentence; that is, both refer to the same entity. This is called **left-dislocation**.

Usually, the noun phrase is co-referential with the subject. In narratives, most left-dislocation on subjects is associated with a switch in the character being talked about, either introducing a new minor character, or re-introducing a character after a short break. The left-dislocated subject usually follows a point of departure such as a time phrase, and is usually long. However length alone doesn't seem enough to justify using left-dislocation.

- (80) *I depois hau ho hau nia oan fetu ida ami nain rua mai iha Delta nee.*  
 and then 1S and 1S POS child female one 1PE CLS:human two come LOC (place) this  
 ‘Then I and one of my daughters – we two came here to Delta.’ (The previous clause talked about the whole group, now the speaker is talking about just herself and her daughter.)

- (81) *Entaun Ester ho nia fetu maluk sira nee, sira baa ...*  
 so (name) and 3S.POS female fellow DEF.PL this 3P go  
 ‘Then Ester and the other women went ...’ (after a few clauses talking about someone else)

Left-dislocation also occurs on objects. (However we don’t have enough data to know what the function of this is.)

- (82) *Iha tempu nebaa iha mos ema ida nebee importante iha palasiu governu,*  
 LOC time there exist also person one REL important LOC palace government  
 ‘At that time there was also a person who was important in the government offices,

*nia naran Haman. Ema nee ema hotu-hotu iha tempu nebaa,*  
 3S name (name) person this person RDP-all LOC time there  
 his name was Haman. This person, everyone at that time

*bainhira hasoru nia, sira sempre hakruuk ba nia.*  
 when meet 3S 3P always bow to him  
 whenever they met him, they always bowed to him.’ (This introduces a new person Haman. It uses both left-dislocation on the subject ‘everyone’ and on the object ‘him’.)

#### 7.4. Topic noun phrase

There are also topic noun phrases which are neither subjects nor objects, nor co-referential with subjects or objects. Such a noun phrase gives the context for the rest of the sentence.

- (83) *Ami ema rua-nulu nee, mane sanulu resin hitu, fetu ami nain tolu deit.*  
 1PE person two-tens this male ten extra seven female 1PE CLS:human three just  
 ‘(Of) the twenty of us, 17 were men, and there were only three of us women.’

#### 7.5. Order of old and new information within a sentence

Cross-linguistically, established (known) information is presented before new information, insofar as the grammar of the language allows this. This is the “Principle of natural information flow” (Comrie 1989, cited in Levinsohn (2011a, p. 53)). The following examples illustrate this, with new information underlined.

- (84) *Horiseik Mario baa Viqueque.*  
 yesterday (name) go (place)  
 ‘Yesterday Mario went to Viqueque.’

- (85) *Mario baa Viqueque horiseik.*  
 (name) go (place) yesterday  
 ‘Mario went to Viqueque yesterday.’

#### The focus marker mak

New information can be placed initially, but in this case a marker is needed so that the listener or reader knows that this is new. In Tetun the main marker for this is *mak* (described in Williams-van Klinken et al. (2002, pp. 69-70)).

*Mak* is used with initial question words and initial answers to questions, to show that this initial constituent is asking for or presenting new information.

(86) *See mak bele ajuda? - Mario mak bele.*  
 who FOCUS can help – (name) FOCUS can  
 ‘Who can help?’ - ‘Mario can.’

(87) *Mario baa Viqueque orsida ka?*  
 (name) go (place) later.today or  
 ‘Will Mario go to Viqueque later today?’

*Lae, bainrua foin nia baa. / Lae, nia baa bainrua.*  
 no day.after.tomorrow only 3S go no 3S go day.after.tomorrow  
 ‘No, he’s not going until the day after tomorrow. (Here *foin* functions muck like *mak*)) / No, he’s going tomorrow.’

About a quarter of relative clauses include *mak*; here it shows that the referent is known and specific.

(88) *buat nebee nia halo*  
 think REL 3S do  
 ‘thing(s) which he does’

(89) *buat nebee mak nia halo*  
 think REL FOCUS 3S do  
 ‘those thing(s) which he does’

Outside of questions and answers and relative clauses, *mak* is usually contrastive. Sometimes it contrasts with other referents specified in the context. Otherwise it often contrasts with ‘everyone else’.

(90) *Laos ema seluk, prezidenti Lu.Olo mak lori bandeira ida nee*  
 not person other president (name) FOCUS bring flag one this  
 ‘It wasn’t anyone else. It was president Lu Olo who brought this flag

*husi foho, mai too iha vila.*  
 from mountain come reach LOC town  
 from the hills here to the town.’

(91) *Nia mak matenek liu.*  
 3S FOCUS smart more  
 ‘She is the smartest.’ (i.e. compared to everyone else in the group being talked about)

*Mak* also joins two clauses, to show that the first must happen before the second happens.

(92) *Nia moras mak mate ka?*  
 3S sick FOCUS die or  
 ‘Did she die of disease?’ (lit. ‘Was she sick and only then died?’)

### **Implications for translation**

English and Portuguese do not have an equivalent for *mak*, and Indonesian does not have such an expression in relative clauses, so it is easy to underuse it in translations.

## **7.6. Information load**

It is important to give information at a rate at which people can absorb it. This can partially be measured by the amount of ‘bits’ of new information per clause.

In narratives, most clauses have one bit of new information, two is also common, some have three, and few have four. Clauses with three or more bits of new information are usually in the first sentence of a paragraph,

in part as these often begin with a time expression. In the following example, old information is underlined, / separates new information, and the number of ‘bits’ of new information is in brackets at the end of the line.

(93) *Nunee, too dadeer rai lora, / aviaun elikopteru / baa (3)*  
 so until morning land day plane helicopter go  
 ‘So, when it was morning, a helicopter went to try to land on the airstrip (this is the first mention of the helicopter)

*atu tuun / iha kampu aviasaun (2)*  
 IRR descend LOC field aviation

*para atu tula kaixa kotak suara sira nee mai. (1)*  
 so IRR carry box box vote DEF.PL this come  
 to transport the ballot boxes here. (the ballot boxes have already been mentioned, and are not new information)

*Nee.duni, aviaun semo ba-mai ba-mai, (1)*  
 therefore plane fly go-come go-come  
 So, the plane flew to and fro, to and fro,

*obrigada aviaun tenki baa tuun iha mota laran, (1)*  
 forced plane must go descend LOC river inside  
 and was then forced to land in the river bed.’

Newspaper reporting has a much higher information load per clause, with an average of about two bits of new information. Some clauses in newspapers have five or more bits of new information. The following example presents the title and name of the information source, the newspaper it was given to, the location and city in which the information was given, and the day and date.

(94) *Kestaun nee hatoo husi deputadu Adriano.do.Nascimento, ba STL*  
 issue this pass.on from parliamentarian (name) to (newspaper.name)  
 ‘This issue was explained by parliamentarian Adriano do Nascimento to the STL newspaper

*iha PN, Dili, Sesta (25/01/2019) ...*  
 LOC National.Parliament (place) Friday (date)  
 in Parliament House, Dili, on Friday 25/1/2019.’

### ***Information load before the subject slot***

Before the subject slot there can be:

- Nothing – common
- One constituent: connector, subordinate clause, prepositional phrase (e.g. time, reason), topic NP – common
- Two constituents – quite common
- Three constituents is uncommon.

### **Implications for translation**

Sometimes information load needs to be slowed down, especially for texts that will be heard orally and not just read. Options include:

- Splitting clauses.
- Repetition, with added information in the second clause.

- 95)      *Mana,      ami bele ajuda ka? Ami bele ajuda ho    ita      nia motor?*  
older.sister 1PE can help or 1PE can help with 2S.POL POS motorbike  
'Sister, can we help? Can we help with your motorbike?'

### 7.7. Event line versus background

Although it is important to distinguish event line from background information, we have found no special constructions or words to do this, only means that are common to many languages. For instance:

- Initial subordinate clauses normally present known information, so don't bring the story line forward.
- Nominal clauses and presenatational clauses by their very nature don't show action; e.g. *Nia liurai*. 'He was king'.
- Relative clauses
- Clauses marked as having occurred in the past relative to the story line, e.g. *Nia mate tiha ona*. 'He had already died.'

## 8. Quotes

### 8.1. Introducing direct quotes

Quotes are handled very differently in oral than written texts. In oral texts, quote margins necessarily precede the quote. In written texts, the vast majority follow the quote, and many even have the speaking verb before the subject (e.g. “....” said he.), on the pattern of Indonesian, despite Tetun having a strong subject-verb pattern. The written structures are discussed in Williams-van Klinken and Hajek (2018a, 2018b), but since they are not accepted in oral language, and not suitable for common-language translations, the following is based entirely on oral texts.

The vast majority of direct quotes are introduced by a quote margin. The options are:

- A **verb of speaking** with its arguments: This is the most common, e.g. *dehan* ‘say’, *hateten* ‘say’, *hakilar* ‘shout’, *siak* ‘tell off’

(96) *Hau nafatin reza, “Maromak tulun hau...”*  
1S continue pray God help 1S  
‘I kept praying, “God help me...”’

(97) *Entaun iha nebaa, nia hasee nia kolega, “Hai! Bondia belun Leki....”*  
so LOC there 3S greet 3S.POS friend Hey good.morning friend (name)  
‘So there, he greeted his friend, “Hey! Good morning friend Leki. [How are you?]”’

- A **verb of speaking** followed by *dehan* ‘say’: This is common. Some verbs require this (e.g. *koalia* ‘speak’, *foo hatene* ‘inform’). (Perhaps *dehan* is marginally preferred after an addressee phrase?).

(98) *Hau reza fali dehan, “Maromak tulun hau...”*  
1S pray again say God help 1S  
‘I prayed again saying, “God help me...”’

- A **verb of speaking plus *hanesan nee*** ‘like this’. Some *hanesan nee* are typical rather than actual speeches, as in (99). However some are actual speeches by individuals. This is the formula for exactly quoting a written source (e.g. laws or the Bible). It is used in both formal and informal contexts.

(99) *Sira dehan hanesan nee: “Maun Joven ba Kristu ka?”*  
3P say like this older.brother Youth for Christ or  
They said, “Are you (from) Youth for Christ?” (From Aleixo, talk on prayer. This was given as a typical conversation at a conference.)

*“Sin, Joven ba Kristu.”*  
yes youth for Christ  
“Yes,. Youth for Christ.”

(100) *Iha moto seminariu nian, Seminariu Minor Balide sira hakerek hanesan nee: “Se não ...”*  
LOC motto seminary 3S.POS seminary major (place) 3P write like this if not  
In the motto of the seminary, the Junior Seminary in Balide writes this: “If not ...” (quoting in Portuguese.)

- A **verb of speaking plus *nunee*** ‘like this’. This is uncommon.

(101) *Versikulu ida hateten nunee: “Presidente Republika, maka xefi estadu, ...”*  
verse one say like.this President Republic FOCUS head state  
‘One verse says this: “The President of the Republic is the head of state, ...”’ (Presidential candidate, quoting the the constitution)

- **A verb of speaking + *hodi dehan*** ‘to/and said’. This appears to be mainly used in liturgical Tetun.

(102) *Haman baa husu atan sira iha palasiu hodi dehan, “Ema ida nebee sempre tuur...”*  
 (name) go ask slave DEF.PL LOC palace to/and say person one REL always sit  
 Haman went and asked the slaves in the palace saying, “This person who always sits [in front of the palace – Who is he?]” (Ester story)

- **No quote margin:** Quotes without quote margins often start with a word that clearly marks the beginning of the quote, such as an exclamation, a vocative, a question word, *Sin* ‘yes’ or *Lae* ‘no’. This strategy is used both for actual quotes and ‘quotes’ of one’s thoughts. It also occurs in reported conversations (see next section).

(103) *Dala ruma mos ita agradese nee araska la halimar.*  
 times some also 1PI thank this difficult no play  
 ‘Sometimes too we find it really hard to give thanks.’

*“He! Hau ida be boot ida hanesan nee*  
*hey 1S one REL big one like this*  
 ‘Hey! I’m so great

*mak hau foo fali agradese ba o, mak lae duni.”*  
 FOCUS 1S give instead thanks to 2S FOCUS not indeed  
 that there’s no way I’m going to give thanks to you!”

## 8.2. Change of speaker in reported conversation

When there is a change of speaker in a reported conversation, the options are:

- **A short quote margin.** This is can be without a linker, or be introduced by ‘then’ (e.g. *depois, hafoin*), ‘after that’ (*hotu, hotu tiha*), *entaun* ‘so’, or rarely *maibee* ‘but’.

(104) *Sira nain rua mak mai uluk koaliala ba UNAMET, dehan hanesan nee:*  
 3P CLS:human two FOCUS come first talk to UNAMET say like this  
 ‘These two were the first to come and talk with UNAMET (the United Nations body overseeing the 1999 referendum on independence), saying,

*“UNAMET la netral.”*  
 UNAMET not neutral  
 “UNAMET isn’t neutral.”

*Hafoin malae husu ba sira, “Tansaa mak UNAMET la netral?”*  
 then foreigner ask to 3P why FOCUS UNAMET not neutral  
 Then the foreigner asked them, “Why (do you say) UNAMET isn’t neutral?”

*Sira dehan, “UNAMET la netral tanba hili deit membru CNRT mak servisu ...”*  
 3P say UNAMET not neutral because choose only member CNRT FOCUS work  
 They said, “UNAMET isn’t neutral because it only chooses members of CNRT (the pro-independence organisation) to work [together with them...]”

*Hafoin sira dehan, “Buktinya hanesan sira nebee mak agora dadauk ...”*  
 then 3P say evidence like 3P REL FOCUS now currently  
 Then they said, “The evidence is those (UNAMET staff) who are right now [in the house...]. (Just before Major Problem)

- (105) *Hau husu ba ema nebee hamriik iha hau nia oin, "Sira halo saida iha nee?"*  
 1S ask to person REL stand LOC 1S POS face 3P do what LOC this  
 'I asked the person who was standing in front of me, "What re they doing here?"'

*Entaun ema nee hataan mai hau hanesan nee: "Sira nee adora Maromak ..."*  
 so person this answer come 1S like this 3P this worship God  
 Then they answered me like this: "These people worship God day and night [day and night...]."

- **No linker and no quote margin.** The quotes just follow one another. This is not common in our texts. Examples involve short question-answer turns, as in the extended dialogue in the Problem Solved section of the text in Appendix 1b.

### 8.3. Introducing indirect quotes

Common options are:

- **A verb of ordering** plus Object + What they are ordered to do:

- (106) *Hafoin iha nee, bolu ami hotu, haruka ami sae kareta.*  
 then LOC this call 1PE all order 1PE ascend vehicle  
 'Then (they) called all of us, and ordered us to get into the vehicles.' (UNAMET)

- **A verb of speaking plus *katak* or *dehan katak*.** If there is a comma, it follows *katak*. (*Katak* is used for direct quotes only in the speech of Tetun Terik influenced people.)

- (107) *Politiku sira buka ohin lora hatudu mai hau katak*  
 politician DEF.PL seek today day show come 1S that  
 'The politicians these days are seeking to accuse me

*hau mak hahuu problema sira nee.*  
 1S FOCUS start problem DEF.PL this  
 saying it is I who started these problems. (Xanana)

- ***Tuir* SPEAKER *katak*** (This seems a popular construction in the media, but not elsewhere.)

- (108) *Tuir prokurador jeral Longuinhos.Monteiro katak*  
 follow prosecutor general (name) that  
 'According to the prosecutor general Longuinhos Monteiro,
- iha lora sanulu resin haat fulan Janeiru tinan oin mai ...*  
 LOC day ten extra four month January year face come  
 on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January next year, ...' (TVTL news)

- **Refer to hearing the previous words.** This is uncommon.

- (109) *Bainhira rona tiha lia menon husi liurai Ester,*  
 when hear PERF word message from monarch (name)  
 'When he heard this message from queen Ester,
- (110) *Modikai hataan hodi dehan katak, keta halo nia nonook deit hanesan nee, ...*  
 (name) answer to/and say that lest do 3S quiet just like this  
 Modiai answered that if he were to just stay quiet like this ...' (Ester)

### 8.4. Showing how someone spoke

There are limited options for showing how someone spoke.

- There are some words of speaking that show the type of speaking, such as: *hakilar* 'shout, scream', *tolok* 'swear', *bis-bisu* 'whisper', *husu boot* 'urge' (but a rare term), *hahii* 'praise'...



- There are some ways to modify a verb of speaking: *loos/sala* ‘truth/wrong’, *moos/la moos* ‘clearly/not clearly’, *di-diak* ‘properly’, *arbiru* ‘arbitrarily’, *mamar* ‘softy, gently’, *lalais* ‘fast’, *neineik* ‘slowly, softly’ (a serious ambiguity), *makaas* ‘roughly, loudly’. It might be possible to add *liafuan kroat* ‘sharp words’ and other types of words. (In Bible translation we repeatedly use *ho lian makaas* ‘with a loud voice’, which seems correct but no such expression occurs in our texts.
- Sometimes an initial exclamation or vocative can set the tone of a quotation: e.g. *dehan* “*Aii!*” ‘say “Ow!”’

### **Implicaitons for translation**

When the source text distinguishes ways of speaking but Tetun speakers don’t, how much should we force the issue? The terms we frequently miss in Bible translation are ‘urge’, ‘beg’, and ‘shout’ (without an association with screaming).

### **8.5. A quote margin within a speech**

Occasionally a single speaker’s speech is interrupted, with a quote margin in the middle. The limited data suggests this might be if:<sup>1</sup>

- **This is a point of major tension** (3 examples, including the last line of (104))
- **There is a change in speech act**, e.g. from order to question, or giving information to request (2 textual examples). When people are asked to retell a Biblical story, they also sometimes insert a quote margin between a rhetorical question and its answer, or between a story and its conclusion or application (such as in some parables of Jesus).

(111) ... *malae* ... *sira* *hateten*, “*Agora ita hotu prepara para ita hotu-hotu baa Dili.*”  
 foreigner ... DEF.PL say now 1PI all prepare to 1PI RDP-all go (city)  
 ‘The foreigners said, “Now we’ll all prepare to all go to Dili.”’

*Husu* *ba* *ami* *katak*, “*Imi atu baa Dili ka, imi hakarak baa nebee?*”  
 ask to 1PE that 2P IRR go (city) or 2P want go where  
 (They they) asked us, “Do you want to go to Dili, or where do you want to go?” (UNAMET, an order followed by a question)

- **Between successive stories by the same person.** When people are asked to retell several of Jesus’ parables in a row, they sometimes add a quote margin between the stories.

### **Implications for translation**

Sometimes it is appropriate to repeat a quote margin even when the source text does not do so, to help readers understand the structure of the text. We tend to repeat quote margins at the start of a new section (i.e. before a new story or major topic), and between a parable and its explanation or application.

### **8.6. Choice between direct and indirect speech**

**Direct speech** is more lively and more direct than indirect speech.<sup>1</sup> In Tetun direct speech is preferred for:

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<sup>1</sup> According to Levinsohn (2011a, p. 114), cross-linguistically quote margins within a speech are used with the following functions..

- “to mark the introduction of a new point within the same reported speech
- to slow down the discourse immediately preceding a key assertion”

We have only noticed this withing the specific instances mentioned in this section.

- Reported conversation
- To be lively, funny, have impact.
- Evidence: news reports, defending oneself

**Indirect speech** is preferred for:

- short reported orders (at least when they aren't dramatic)
- the summary of a message. This includes a summary of what the speaker said earlier (e.g. *Ohin hau dehan katak...* 'Just now I said that...'), what the other person in a conversation said earlier (e.g. *Senhor dehan katak...* 'You (sir) said that...'), or what a third person has said.
- background information. (To date no direct speech has been found in backgrounded sections.)

**Length of quotes:** Direct speeches can be quite long (e.g. up to 12 clauses). However indirect speech is normally short, with just one or two clauses; indirect quotes longer than this are rare.

**A switch between direct and indirect speech** by the same speaker: Limited evidence suggests this can occur when there is a change in time, speech act (e.g. narrative to question), or type of message (e.g. general law to my situation).

(112) *Ester hatoo fila fali lia menon ba Modikai katak, "Tha palasiu nee nia laran*  
(name) pass.on back again word message to (name) say LOC palace this POS inside  
'Ester sent a message back to Modikai saying, "Here in the palace

*iha lei ida nebee katak, ... hau sei mate."*

exist law one REL say 1S will die

there is a law [that if I approach the king without his invitation and without his acceptance], I will die."

*Ester mos hatoo ba Modikai katak, durante fulan ida liurai la bolu nia.*

(name) also pass.on to (name) that during month one king not call 3S

Ester also sent word to Modikai that the king hadn't called for her in a month.' (Ester narrative. General information about the law is in a direct quote, the specific application to herself is indirect.)

## 8.7. Giving emphasise to a following quote

To show that a following statement, order or quote is important, one option is to precede it with something like 'Listen'.

- (*O*) *rona lai!* (18 examples in oral texts)
- *Rona mai* (no examples)
- *Rona di-diak ?* (1 example from a nun Madre Guilhermina who is liturgically influenced.)
- *O sei tilun didiak hodi rona hau koaliala. O nia apaa nee, ... ami nain tolu nee maun ho alin.* (1 example from BibiBulak)
- *Hanoin di-diak!* (no examples in oral texts)

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<sup>1</sup> When people hear a Biblical story and are immediately asked to retell it, they often retell direct quotes as indirect quotes. Is this because they fear mis-quoting? Or because they master the story well enough yet to tell it back in a lively way?

Political leaders sometimes say *Hau hatete (ba ...)* ‘I say (to you)’ in speeches before an important point, such as a warning, promise, or appeal (5 oral examples). (So it is appropriate to translate Jesus’ ‘I say to you’ literally.)

### 8.8. Who gets quoted?

Almost all quotes in the stories analysed are either by a main character, or to a main character.

Limited evidence suggests a person of high status might be more likely to be quoted directly than someone of lower status, even if the lower status person is a more major participant in the story. The main evidence for this is that in Teotonio’s story of a woman who doesn’t want to bury her dead husband (in Appendix 1b), the woman is clearly the main character. But when she asks advice of an ‘uncle’, her words are indirect, and his reply is in direct speech.

### 8.9. In which sections of a narrative are quotes used?

Based on limited data, there seems to be a significant preference for using direct speech in the Initial Event (8 direct, 1 indirect example) and at the point when the problem is actually solved (3 direct, no indirect). Both direct and indirect speech occur in the Major Problem and Problem Solved sections of a narrative perhaps with preference for direct quotes. (See example in Appendix 1a.)

### 8.10. A quote within a quote

It is rare to have a quote within a quote in oral texts or in texts written in an oral style.

There are a few examples to date are of **a direct quote including an indirect quote**, and indeed this often works in translation.

(113) *Entaun iha loron ida nia feen husu ba nia nune:*  
so LOC day one 3S.POS wife ask to 3S like.this  
‘So one day his wife asked him,

*”Tebes ka lae hau rona hosi ema dehan o hola fali feto seluk.*  
true or not 1S hear from person say 2S take instead woman other

“Is it true or not? I hear people say that you have taken a mistress.” (Olinda Lucas, written story)

Sira *dehan*, “UNAMET la netral tanba hili deit membru CNRT mak servisu hamutuk ho UNAMET. Tanba saa mak la hili mos membru nebee mak kona ba otonomi nian mai servisu hamutuk ho malae? Tanba ida nee mak ami *dehan katak* UNAMET la netral.”

There is one example of a **direct quote including a direct quote**, in the Problem Solved section of the story in Appendix 1b.

Apart from direct quotes including indirect ones, attempts to put quotes within quotes are often of dubious acceptability. (As is usual in linguistics, \* indicates unacceptable, ? indicates uncertainty as to whether this sentence is acceptable.).

- A direct quote including a direct quote: \**Profeta Isaias dehan, “Nai Maromak dehan, ‘Hau mak halo ...’*”  
‘The prophet Isaiah said, “The Lord God said, “I am the one who does...”’
- An indirect quote including a direct quote: \**Apaa dehan hau tenki foo hatene Pedro dehan “O tenki mai ona.”* ‘Dad said I must tell Pedro, “You have to come now.”
- An indirect quote including an indirect quote: ?*Apaa haruka hau baa bolu amaa atu mai iha uma.* ‘Dad sent me to go and call mum to come home.’

## **Implications for translation**

In the Bible, there is often a quote within a quote, and sometimes even a quote within a quote within a quote, for instance when a person quotes a prophet who in turn quotes God.

There seem to be a few instances in which a quote within a quote works well, despite it being uncommon in oral texts. In particular, if the first quote is long, for instance a whole parable that Jesus told, then it works well to have quotes within that story.

It often helps if one of the quotes is introduced by *nunee* or *hanesan nee* ‘like this’. We are not clear on the reasons for this.

Sometimes a direct quote is better translated as indirect. For instance, when the second direct quote uses the first person (“I” or “we”), it is often a problem, as it is then not clear which of the two speakers is being talked about. In this case, the direct quote is usually better off translated as an indirect quote.

### **8.11. Giving a word in another language, or a technical term**

Sometimes a speaker wants to use a word from another language within Tetun, or a technical term which they think the listeners might not know. In this case, the main options are:

- **LANGUAGE *dehan* (or rarely *hatete*) ‘say’:**

- (114) *Ita bele uza ona iha Bahasa.Indonesia dehan "SD" ka, "SMP" ka,*  
1PI can use already LOC Indonesian say SD or SMP or  
‘Can we already use (Tetun) in what Indonesian calls “SD” (primary school) or “SMP” (junior high school)

*"SMA" ka, universidade?"*

SMA or university

or “SMA” (senior high school) or university?’

- **LANGUAGE *karik dehan* ‘perhaps say’:**

- (115) *Entaun ami defende prinsipiu katak, tenki iha politika de –*  
so 1PE defend principle that must have policy of  
‘So we defend the principle that, there must be a policy of –

*Bahasa karik dehan “bebas visa” nee..*

Indonesian perhaps say free visa this

what Indonesian calls “free visas”.’

- **LANGUAGE *karik* ‘perhaps’:**

- (116) *O mos bele dehan Bahasa karik “bintang kelas”.*  
2S also can say Indonesian perhaps star class  
‘You are also it could be said what Indonesian calls “dux of the class”.’

- A minority use the above options but add *ho* or *iha* before the language name. *Iha* appears to be translationese, but some find it acceptable.

- (117) *... sidadaun nebee ho lian Indonezia dehan “masa bodoh”.*  
citizen REL with language Indonesia say period stupid  
‘... a citizen that in Indonesian is called “indifferent”’ (Feto Konflitu 2006)

- Some use *bolu* ‘call to introduce a term. This is translationese, and isn’t readily accepted.

(118) *ami baa kee ema nia forai - amendoin - Portuges bolu 'amendoin' - forai.*  
 1PE go dig person POS peanut peanut Portuguese call peanut peanut  
 ‘Sometimes we would go and dig up people’s peanuts – peanuts (Port) – Portuguese call them  
 ‘peanuts’ (Port) – peanuts (Tetun).

- Sometimes a new expression is introduced by *buat ida* ‘this thing’:

(119) *Ami halao ami nia organizaun iha nebaa, hanesan baibain,*  
 1PE carry.out 1PE POS organisation LOC there like usual  
 ‘We ran our organisation there, as usual,

*foo (hanesan) buat ida alfabetizasaun ba povu sira iha nebaa.*  
 give like thing one literacy.training to people DEF.PL LOC there  
 giving (like) literacy training to the people there.’ (Text from 2000, when the Portuguese loan  
*alfabetizasaun* was not yet widely known.)

## 9. Vocatives

### 9.1. Functions of vocatives

In speech (including reported direct speech), vocatives often occur at the beginning of a turn. One of their functions in reported speech is to show a change of speaker.

A vocative can stand alone or with an exclamation, to call attention, e.g. *Pedro!*; *Bondia Pedro!* ‘Good morning Pedro!’

Vocatives occur with exhortations and requests of all kinds.

- **Request:**

- (120) *Belun Leki husu, “Belun Lenuk, hau la hatene nani.*  
friend monkey ask friend turtle 1S not know swim  
‘Friend Monkey asked, “Friend Lenuk, I don’t know how to swim.’

*Se karik wainhira ita mout karik o bele ajuda hau?”*  
if perhaps when 1PE sink perhaps 2S can help 1S  
‘If we should sink, could you help me?’” (This example shows that it is the function of the entire turn that is important. Here the first sentence is information, but the point of the talk is that he is asking for help. From folktale Monkey and Turtle.)

- **Suggestion:**

- (121) *Atina, mai ita lao tiha.*  
(name) come 1PI walk PERF  
‘Atina, let’s go for a walk.’

- **Greetings and invitations:**

- (122) ... *nia hasee nia kolega, “Hai! Bondia belun Leki. Diak ka lae?”*  
. 3S greet 3S.POS friend hey good.morning friend monkey good or not  
‘... he greeted his friend, “Hey! Good morning friend Monkey. How are you?”’ (From folktale Monkey and Turtle.)

- (123) *“Haii! Belun Lenuk mai liu, .... Mai tuur, .... Ita boot presiza buat ruma karik!”*  
hey friend monkey come pass ... come sit ... 2S.hon big need thing some perhaps  
‘Haii! Friend Turtle, come on, ... Come and sit. Do you need anything?’”

- **Correction:**

- (124) ... *“Aleixo! Se Hau terus ba o, tanba saa o la terus oitooan mai Hau?”*  
. (name) if 1S suffer for 2S because what 2S not suffer a.little come 1S  
‘[Jesus wrote a letter to me saying, “Aleixo! Since I have suffered for you, why won’t you suffer a little for Me?”’ (Here the vocative personalises the correction.)

- **Thanks:**

- (125) *Obrigada, senhor.*  
thanks.FEM sir  
‘Thank you sir.’

- **Self-defence?** One parliamentarian started three paragraphs of self-defence with *senhor sekretariu* ‘mister secretary’.

In hortative texts, some speakers use a vocative at the start of almost every paragraph, while others seldom use them. They are very seldom used within paragraphs, except occasionally to introduce an instruction.

Vocatives do not introduce information statements, narratives, descriptions or procedures. Therefore, if a statement starts with a vocative, readers/hearers will expect it to develop into an exhortation or request, or interpret it as such. For instance, if one were to start a sentence with *José, iha nee salariu \$250* ‘José, here the salary is \$250 (per month’, you would expect this to be followed by something like ‘So don’t come and work here if you want a bigger salary’, or ‘So don’t expect people who work here to make a big donation.’ The following examples illustrate this.

- (126) *Iha lora ida nia husu ba nia apaa, nia hatete nune:*  
 LOC day one 3S ask to 3S.POS dad 3S say like.this  
 ‘One day he asked his father, he said:

*“Apaa, hau hakarak sai padre.”*

dad 1S want become priest

“Dad, I want to become a priest.” (Natalino de Jesus; the son is hereby asking his father’s permission to join the priesthood.)

- (127) *Nia dehan, “Apaa, Fretilin manaan ona.”*  
 3S say dad (party) win already  
 ‘He said, “Dad, Fretilin has won (the civil war against UDT).”’ (In this way the speaker was hereby warning his father to destroy their UDT party paraphernalia.)

Speeches often start with a vocative, which can range from a single addressee to a long list of dignitaries..

- (128) *Prezidente AMP nia politika...*  
 president (coalition) POS policy  
 ‘President, the AMP’s policies...’

- (129) *Sua eselensia senhor prezidente du parlamentu nasional, distintus deputadus,*  
 your excellency mister president of parliament national honoured-PL parliamentarian-PL  
 ‘Your excellency the president of the national parliament, honoured members of parliament,  
  
*kolegas membrus governu, povu Timor Leste tomak, povu doben Timor Leste.*  
 friend-PL member-PL government people Timor east whole people beloved Timor east  
 fellow members of the government, all the people of Timor-Leste, the beloved people of Timor-Leste.

*Uluk.nanain..*

firstly

First of all, ...’

Occasionally formal speeches finish with a vocative.

- (130) *Obrigadu, senhor prezidente.*  
 thanks,masc mister president  
 ‘Thank you, mister president.’

In expositions, as in narratives, when a speaker changes from giving information to issuing a request, invitation, or concluding thanks, the new paragraph can start with a vocative.

There can also be a vocative before the concluding statement of a speech (at least in parliamentary debates), as in the paragraph introducing the main point in the text in Appendix 3c.<sup>1</sup>

## 9.2. Position in sentence

Vocatives are usually towards the beginning of a sentence, but can follow some constituents (listed below). Where there is a choice of position, an initial vocative calls attention, for instance because a person is some distance away, or has turned to leave. It can thus be more urgent, and less polite. Vocatives can follow:

- **Exclamations and greetings:**

- (131) *Bondia                Marta. / Marta! Bondia!*  
 good.morning (name) (name) good.morning  
 ‘Good morning Marta.’ / ‘Marta! Good morning!’ (calling from a distance)

- **Certain words** which can introduce a new paragraph or a new turn in dialogue normally precede the vocative.
  - *tanba nee, neebie, tanba nee mak* ‘therefore’: introduce a new paragraph.
  - *maibee* ‘but’
  - *OK* ‘OK’, *diak* ‘good, OK’: introduce a new turn.

- **Short invitations, commands, corrections or replies:**

- (132) *Mai lai alin.                / Alin.                mai lai!*  
 come first younger.sibling younger.sibling come first  
 ‘Please come, little brother.’ / ‘Little brother, come here!’ (calling from a distance, or in anger)

- (133) *Diak liu nune, senhor. / Senhor, diak liu nune!*  
 good more like.this mister / mister good more like.this  
 ‘How about we do this, sir.’ (a suggestion) / ‘Sir, it would be better like this!’ (forceful)

- **Replies to questions or instructions from more a senior person:**

- (134) *Mestri: Imi bainhira mak ezame?*  
 teacher 2P when FOCUS exam  
 Teacher: ‘When do you have your exam?’
- (135) *Alunu: Semana oin, mestri.*  
 Student: week front teacher  
 Student: ‘Next week, teacher.’ (In this case, the vocative cannot be initial: \**Mestri, semana oin*. Putting it initially would mean the student was trying to get the teacher’s attention, not just answering a question.)
- (136) *Diak, senhora.*  
 OK madam  
 ‘OK, madam.’

- **obrigadu ‘thank’, deskulpa ‘sorry’:**

- (137) *Obrigada, senhor. / Senhor, obrigada.*  
 thanks.FEM mister mister thanks.FEM  
 ‘Thank you sir.’ (standard polite thanks) / ‘Sir, thank you.’ (e.g. if the person is walking away)

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<sup>1</sup> According to Levinsohn (2011b, p. 86), “Some languages move the vocative from its default position and use it as a spacer to give prominence to what follows. Just using a vocative may also highlight what follows.” It is not clear whether Tetun does this.



### 9.3. Repeated vocatives

Vocatives can be repeated (e.g. *Marta, Marta!*):

- to get a person's attention, for instance if the person isn't listening, or the situation is urgent
- to humiliate someone: e.g. *Mira* (upward intonation) *Mira* (downward intonation).

#### **Implication for translation**

In the Bible, names are sometimes repeated for other reasons. e.g. Jesus said, "Martha Martha" when he was gently rebuking her. Consider carefully whether to repeat the vocative in translation.

## 10. Repetition and parallelism

Repetition and parallelism are very common and very important in traditional Tetun Terik story-telling, and even more so in traditional poetry. In Tetun Dili, some speakers use a lot of repetition and parallelism, while others use very little. There is perhaps slightly more repetition in the Initial Event part of a narrative, but the difference is not convincing.

### **Repetition: Structures**

- **Chiasm:** The initial segment is repeated or paraphrased at the end. According to Levinsohn (2011b, p. 97), “chiastic structures may imply that the material concerned forms a unit”; this is true in Tetun too. Most chiasms seem to be Statement – Reason – Statement, where the Statement is an important one, as in example (13).
- **Negative-Positive or Positive-Negative:** State the same or similar idea in two ways, one positive, the other negative. Tetun seems to use both orders equally. In narratives, most such pairs seem to be just before the start of the Major Problem, or just before the Final Resolution in the Problem Solved section. When joining clauses, negative-positive is slightly more common than positive-negative, but there is no clear preference.

(138) *Nunee hau dehan, “Hau la bosok, hau koalia lia loos.”*  
 so 1S say 1S not lie 1S speak work true  
 ‘So I said, “I’m not lying, I’m telling the truth.”’ (Negative-Positive)

(139) *Afinal, ema hotu-hotu mate, laos hau nia laen deit.*  
 turns.out person RDP-all die not 1S POS husband just  
 ‘It turns out everyone dies, not just my husband.’ (Positive-Negative)

- **Paraphrase** – saying the same idea in a different way.

(140) ... *iha familia nee, la iha membrus ida mak mate tiha ona.*  
 LOC family this not exist member one FOCUS die PERF already  
 ‘In this family, not one member has died yet.

*Desde avoo too fali beioan sira sei kompletu,*  
 since grandparent reach again grandchild 3P still complete  
 From the grandparents down to the grandchildren, they are still complete.

*seidauk iha ida mak mate.”*  
 not.yet exist one FOCUS die  
 not one has died yet.’

- **Generic-Specific** – a general statement, with specific examples. Generic-Specific is quite common, e.g. (21). However we have found no examples of Specific-Generic.
- **Contraction-Amplification or Amplification-Contraction** - The “amplification” phrase or clause repeats the information in the “contraction” phrase or clause and gives some additional information. One function is probably to reduce the amount of new information per clause, by introducing some in the first clause, and adding more in the second clause, as in (95).

(141) *Depois hau husu; hau husu ba ema nebee hamriik iha hau nia oin, “Sira...”*  
 then 1S ask 1S ask to person REL stand LOC 1S POS front  
 ‘Then I asked – I asked the person standing in front of me, “[What are they doing here?]”’

Contraction seems to be uncommon. The following example of contraction is in a form of tail-head construction.

- (142) *Sira la bele foo sai sira nia identidade nudar ema Judeu.*  
 3P not can give exit 3P POS identity as person Jew  
 ‘They couldn’t reveal their identity as Jews.’

*Bainhira sira foo sai sira nia identidade, ida nee perigozu ba sira nia moris loro-loron.*  
 when 3P give exit 3P POS identity one this dangerous for 3P POS life RDP-day  
 If they were to reveal their identity, this would be dangerous for their everyday life.’ (Ester story)

- **Tail-head:** Repeat part of the last clause (the ‘tail’) of a sentence as the beginning of the next sentence (the ‘head’). The repetition usually includes at least the verb, and sometimes has *tiha* to show the previous action is finished. This is very common in Tetun Terik, and some speakers use it in Tetun Dili, but it is rare in writing.

- (143) *Depois kalan fali, hau baa haan. Haan tiha, baa toba.*  
 then night again 1S go eat eat PERF go sleep  
 ‘Then when it is evening again, I go and eat. Having eaten, I go and sleep.’

Some head-tail is used at the start of a new section of the story or a peak event, thus providing linkage and slowing down the story (limited evidence)

- (144) *Maibee bainhira mana nee foo nia motor ba sira atu hadia,*  
 but when older.sister this give 3S.POS motorbike to 3P to repair  
 ‘But when the lady gave her motorbike to them to repair,

*bainhira sira hadia, sira hadia diak tiha, sira lori halai malae nee nia motor.*  
 when 3P repair 3P repair good PERF 3P take run foreigner this POS motorbike  
 when they repaired it, they’d fixed it, they ran off with the foreigner’s motorbike. (Last clause is Peak of Major Problem; repetition slows down the action before this peak.)

- **Consequence of the preceding – event.** This is a variant of tail-head, in which the ‘tail’ (sentence ending) of the first sentence is not repeated, but instead a restatement or a consequence of it is stated as a point of departure linking the preceding event with the following one. There are several sub-types of this.

- **Travel – arrive (by same actor):**

- (145) ... *hau lori kilat halai sai husi mota oan ida,*  
 1S bring gun run exit from river child one  
 ‘I carried a gun (and) ran out of a creek,

- (146) *hau too tiha leten nebaa sira la bele baa ona, sira fila fali.*  
 1S reach PERF top there 3P not can go already 3P return again  
 (and) when I reached to top there, they couldn’t go any further, (and) they went back.’

- **Give – receive:** In the first sentence, one actor speaks, orders, or gives, while in the start of the subsequent sentence, another actor hears, obeys or receives. Like tail-head constructions, this seems to be uncommon, mainly used by Tetun-Terik influenced speakers.

- (147) *Bainhira rona tiha lia menon husi liurai Ester, Modikai hataan hodi dehan katak, ...*  
 when hear PERF word message from monarch Ester (name) answer to/and say that  
 ‘When Modikai heard the message from queen Ester, he replied saying, ...

- **Restate a previous finished action** (usually without aspect marking) after an interruption, **before continuing with the event line.**

(148) *Ikus mai liurai nia matan no nia laran monu ba iha Ester.*  
 final come kind POS eye and POS inside fall to LOC (name)  
 ‘In the end, the king’s eyes and his heart fell for Ester.

*Tanba nia laran monu ba iha Ester, entaun bolu Ester atu baa hasoru nia,*  
 because 3S.POS inside fall to LOC (name) so call (name) IRR go meet 3S  
 [Tail repeated as reason:] Because his heart fell for Ester, he called her to go and meet him,

*atu baa hasoru nia, baa hasoru liurai,*  
 IRR go meet 3S go meet king  
 [Repetition:] to go and meet him, to meet the king,

*atu sai hanesan liurai feto hodi troka liurai feto ida nebee uluk.*  
 IRR become like king female to/and replace king female one REL former  
 to become queen and replace the former queen.

*Situasaun iha palasiu governu, wainhira liurai la bolu ema ida,*  
 situation LOC palace government when king not call person one  
 [Background explanation:] The situation in government house was that, if the king didn’t call someone

*la foo autorizasaun atu feto ida baa hasoru nia, entaun ema la baa hasoru nia.*  
 not give permission IRR female one go meet 3S so person not go meet 3S  
 (if he) didn’t give a woman permission to go and meet him, then nobody would go and meet him.

*Maibee wainhira liurai nia matan monu ba iha Ester, nia bolu kedas Ester.*  
 but when king POS eye fall to LOC (name) 3S call immediately (name)  
 [Return to event line:] But when the king’s eyes fell for Ester, he immediately called her.’

- **Repeated actions:** Repeating a verb (or *nunee nunee, hanesan nee hanesan nee* ‘like this like this’) shows that the action continues over time.

(149) *Sira lao. Lao lao, lao lao – baa, hotu-hotu servisu diak.*  
 3P walk walk walk walk walk go RDP-all work well  
 ‘They walked. (They) walked and walked and walked, going, (and saw that) everything was going well.’ (From a story of a boss devil checking on all the junior throughout a region.)

- **Exact repetition:** This occurs occasionally in speech, but not in writing.

### **Parallelism: Structures**

Parallel constructions are common in hortatory texts, and occur in narrative too. In Tetun parallelism, the first part of the construction is repeated, while the second is varied.

Repetition need not be exact; for instance one part may include a possessor, while the other has none.

In the part with variation, there can be:

- near-synonyms; e.g. *iha palasiu liurai nian, iha liurai nia kadunan* ‘in the palace of the king, in the king’s palace (using a different term)
- terms which are from the same area of ideas; e.g. *esperansa – grasa* ‘hope – grace’ in (150)
- opposites or complementary ideas of some sort; *ohin – aban* ‘today – tomorrow’ in (151).

Parallel clauses are mostly just juxtaposed, without any linker. Parallel noun phrases can be separated by *no* ‘and’.

Common patterns for parallelism are:

- **Repeat Subject-Verb:**

- (150) *Natal ida nee lori esperansa, Natal ida nee lori grasa,*  
 Christmas one this bring hope Christmas one this bring grace  
 ‘This Christmas brings hope. This Christmas brings grace.’

*Natal ida nee halo ema buka malu...*  
 Christmas one this bring make person seek recip  
 This Christmas makes people seek each other...’ (Christmas message)

- **Repeat Verb or Preposition:**

- (151) *Hau katuas ona, mate ohin mate aban, laos problema ba ita nia rai-n.*  
 1S old.man already die today die tomorrow not problem for 1PI POS nation-GEN  
 ‘I’m an old man, (whether) I die today (or) die tomorrow, it’s not a problem for our nation.’  
 (National leader)

- **Repeat Subject:**

- (152) *Nai Maromak deit mak loke ita nia fuan,*  
 Lord God only FOCUS open 1PI POS heart  
 ‘It is only the Lord God who opens our hearts,’

*Nai Maromak deit mak hanoin ita nia lutu bo-boot sira.*  
 Lord God only FOCUS think 1PI POS struggle RDP-big DEF.PL  
 It is only the Lord God who remembers our great struggles.’ (Madre Guilhermina)

- **Repeat noun phrase head, with parallel modifiers** (Adjective or Relative clause, perhaps partially repeated)

- (153) ... *nebee fiar iha Maromak boot,*  
 ... REL believe LOC God big  
 ‘... who believe in the great God’

*Maromak domin nain, Maromak perdua nain, Maromak ita Nain no Maksoin.*  
 God love lord God forgive lord God 1PI Lord and Saviour  
 God the Lord of Love, God the Lord of forgiveness, God our Lord and Saviour.’ (Madre Guilhermina)

Parallel structures can be quite complex:

- (154) *Se funsionariu ida mak koruptu karik,*  
 if public.servant one FOCUS corrupt perhaps  
 ‘If a public servant is corrupt,’

*se nia loromonu, laos katak ema hotu loromonu mak koruptu.*  
 if 3S west not mean person all west FOCUS corrupt  
 if s/he is from the east, this doesn’t mean everyone from the west is corrupt.

*Se ema lorosae ida mak manaan lotaria katak manaan tender ruma*  
 if person east one FOCUS win lottery mean win tender some  
 If perhaps it is a person from the east who wins the lottery, that is wins some tender or other

*hodi hadia estrada karik, laos katak lorosae tomak mak atu riku.*  
 to/and repair road perhaps not mean east whole FOCUS IRR rich  
 to repair the roads, that doesn't mean it is the whole east that gets rich.' (National leader)

If a short and a long item are in parallel, the long one is last.

### ***Functions of repetition and parallelism***

The frequency of repetition and parallelism vary greatly with speaker and genre. It seems those influence by Tetun Terik (and liturgical Tetun) use more repetition than other speakers, and liturgical Tetun uses much more parallelism. The functions of both are not yet clear, but include the following:<sup>1</sup>

- They tie the text together.
- Repetition is more common before the peak of the peak, functioning to slow down the action.
- Tail-head sometimes starts a new section.
- Parallelism slows down a hortatory text, and makes it sound poetic. It is perhaps also a means of emphasis.

### **Implications for translations**

Some source texts (e.g. some of the apostle Paul's writing) use more repetition than is normal in Tetun. This can actually be confusing for readers.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Levinsohn (2011a, pp. 47, 63, 86), functions of repetition include:

- tail-head with perfective heads: slowing down before climactic material
- tail-head with imperfective heads: precede a significant development, such as the introduction of a major participant
- tail-head with completive heads: in procedural texts introduce the next step, in narratives mark a new episode.
- tail-head as a resumptive device following statements on a different theme.
- some forms of repetition are for emphasis

## 11. Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are sentences which have the form of a question, but are not used to ask a question. In Tetun these are used with the following functions:<sup>1</sup>

- **To introduce a reason** that is important to the story, through a “why” question. This is a true question, but is answered by the speaker or writer themselves.

(155) *Ami hein, too fali lokraik tuku rua mos, ami la hetan kareta, tanba saa?*  
1PE wait until again afternoon o'clock two also 1PE not get vehicle because what  
'We waited. Even by 2pm we had still not gotten a vehicle. Why?

*Kareta UNAMET nian mak lalin duni ema - pengungsi sira tuun mai.*  
vehicle UNAMET 3S.POS FOCUS ferry indeed people – refugee DEF.PL descend down  
The UNAMET vehicles were indeed ferrying people – the refugees down (from the mountains).  
[But the UNAMET vehicles were small, and there were thousands of people.] (UNAMET)

- **To introduce an important character or problem.**

(156) *Entaun, sira baa hasoru, see mak tuun uluk?*  
so 3P go meet who descend first  
'So, they went to meet (the Portuguese boat). Who disembarked first?

*Padre Antonio.Tavares tuun uluk.*  
priest (name) descend first  
It was Padre Antonio Tavares who disembarked first.' (Padre Antonio is one of the main characters in this story.)

- **To criticise.** This usually involves a yes-no question or *nusaa* 'how come'.

(157) *“Ema beik hanesan o nee atu sai padre?”*  
person stupid like 2S this IRR become priest  
“‘Would someone as stupid as you become a priest?!’”

**To give background knowledge that the hearer is assumed to know**, or at least recognise, through *tanba ... ka lae* 'because ... isn't it', as in example (16).

- **To introduce a strong opposite statement**, with the question followed by the answer. This is quite uncommon.

(158) *Depois pas, ita see mak lakohi pas? Ema hot-hotu hakarak pas!*  
then peace 1PI who FOCUS not.want peace person RDP-all want peace  
'And then peace. Who of us doesn't want peace? We all want peace!' (This rare example is followed by the answer.)

(159) *Ita halo ida nee atu ema gaba ita ka? Lae!*  
1PI do one this IRR person praise 1PI or no  
'Are we doing this so that people praise us? No!' (invented example)

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<sup>1</sup> According to Levinsohn rhetorical questions cross-linguistically can be used to introduce an unexpected event (2011a, p. 63), to rebuke someone for inappropriate behaviour (2011b, p. 83), to highlight propositions using a question that is immediately answered by the speaker (2011b, p. 86), or to introduce a new theme or a new aspect of a them (2011b, p. 99).

## Implications for translation

In the New Testament, rhetorical questions are used for the following functions, some of which are not expressed using rhetorical questions in Tetun.

New Testament (quoted from SIL International (1999))	Tetun options
1. to <b>emphasize that which is obviously positive or negative</b>	Tetun rarely uses rhetorical questions for this.
a. to <b>emphasize as positive</b> (i.e. the question expects a positive answer) Mat 6:25 Is not life more than food, and the body more than clothing? = Surely life is more than food, and the body more than clothing!	Translate as a positive statement, or a question followed by a strong <i>Laos nune!</i> 'Not like.that!'
b. to <b>emphasize as negative</b> (i.e. the question expects a negative answer) Luke 9:25 For what does it profit a man ... = For it doesn't profit a man at all ...	Translate as a negative statement, or as a question followed by <i>Lae! 'No!'</i>
2. to <b>specify a particular condition</b> under which something applies  1Cor 7:27 Are you bound to a wife? Do not seek to be free. = If you are bound to a wife, do not seek to be free.	Tetun doesn't use rhetorical questions for this. Use a conditional.
3. to <b>introduce a new subject</b> or new aspect of the same subject  Mat 11:16 But to what shall I compare this generation? = I will tell you what this generation is like.	This works for Tetun too.
4. to <b>express surprise</b>  Mat 13:54 ... they were amazed. "Where did this man get this wisdom and these miraculous powers?" they asked. =... they were amazed, saying, "Wow! We wonder where this man could have gotten this wisdom and these miraculous powers."	This often works in Tetun, so long as it can be interpreted as a true question.
5. to <b>exhort or rebuke someone</b>	
a. to <b>exhort</b> (or make positive judgment) Rom 3:8 And why not do evil that good may come? = We should do evil that good may come.	Tetun can use <i>diak liu</i> 'it's better' to show this is a suggestion.
b. to <b>rebuke</b> (or make negative judgment). Mat 7:3 Why do you see the speck that is in your brother's eye, but do not ... = You ought/should not note the speck in your brother's eye and overlook the ... John 18:21 Why do you ask me? = You shouldn't/Don't ask me.	This works for Tetun, especially using <i>Nusaa mak...?</i> 'How come...?' Sometimes can add final <i>mak nee</i> (lit. FOCUS this): e.g. <i>O halo saida mak nee?! 'What on earth are you doing?!'</i>
6. to <b>express uncertainty</b>  Mat 6:31 ... saying, "What shall we wear ..." = saying, "We wonder/do not know what we shall wear ..."	This works in Tetun, as a genuine question.



New Testament (quoted from SIL International (1999))	Tetun options
7. to make a command  1Cor 4:21 What do you wish? Shall I come to you with ... = Choose whether I shall come to with a rod or with ...	Can use a question as a genuine question, or use an imperative: e.g. <i>Imi hili deit</i> . 'You just choose.'
8. to <b>confirm what is thought</b>  Mat 26:22 Surely not I? = You couldn't be referring to me! (or could you?)	This doesn't work in Tetun. One option is to use a statement, followed by the tag <i>loos ka lae?</i> 'true or not?'

## 12. Modifiers in noun phrases

The structure and order of modifiers in noun phrases are described in Williams-van Klinken et al. (2002).

A significant challenge for translators is that the functions of descriptive modifiers (adjectives and relative clauses) in Tetun are much more restricted than in the source languages we translate from.

	Relative clause	Adjective
Restrictive	first or subsequent mention; usually not contrastive	common in compounds, is contrastive.
Give relevant characteristic of new character	usually not contrastive	(I doubt it, the relative clause focuses on the characteristic.)
Describe in predicate	long-term characteristic, modifies predicate NP	characteristic now; <u>is</u> the predicate; common
Describe object NP	acrolectal	normal, implies contrast
Recapitulate info relevant at this point	uncommon	(I doubt it, the relative clause focuses on the characteristic.)
New info	new, acrolectal	new, acrolectal
Reason for thanks	new, formal	no
On plural pronouns: who is included	new, usually not contrastive	contrastive

### 12.1. Relative clauses

For more detail on the structure of relative clauses see Williams-van Klinken et al. (2002, pp. 115-117).

#### **Relativisers**

The most common relativiser is the default *nebee*. Alternatives are the Portuguese-influenced *ke* (used only for non-specific NPs), *nebee ke* and liturgical *be*.

There is usually no relative clause marker before *naran* 'name', and before 'body-good' expressions such as *laran diak* 'kind' (which are in this respect like adjectives). Relative clauses modifying the argument of presentational *iha* 'there is' often have no relative clause marker (e.g. (29)), but can do, as in (164). The vast majority of other relative clauses have an explicit marker.

#### **The focus marker *mak* in relative clauses**

About a quarter of relative clauses with *nebee* in oral texts also have the focus marker *mak*. There are no relative clauses with *ke mak* or *be mak* in the corpus, and it doesn't seem possible.

*nebee mak* indicates nouns that the referent is specific – e.g. *kilat nebee mak iha ema sivil nia liman* indicates all guns that are in civilian hands, whereas without *mak*, it indicates any guns in civilian hands (with no interest in quantity).

### **Definiteness marking of relative clauses**

Relative clauses rarely (less than 2%) co-occur with *nee* ‘this’, even though this is common in Fehan Tetun Terik). The exception is relative clauses introduced by *be*, which usually have *nee*.

### **Multiple relative clauses**

In spoken Tetun, it is rare to have two relative clauses modify the one noun, or to have a relative clause within another relative clause.

### **Grammatical function of modified NP within a larger clause**

It seems that a NP with any grammatical function in a clause (or at least in a main clause) can in principle be modified by a relative clause. Common positions for NPs modified by relative clauses are:

- Argument of presentational clause
- Object – post-verbal or fronted
- Subject – often left-dislocated as in (160), but not always. In all left-dislocated subject examples, the subject is clearly the point of departure for what follows. The speaker is drawing attention to the subject, then stating or asking something about it.
- Object of preposition
- Topic

### **Discourse function of relative clauses in natural Tetun Dili texts**

Relative clauses in Tetun Dili have quite restricted functions. Data and examples in this section will be spelled out in more detail in Williams-van Klinken and Lucas (in preparation). The following are found in natural texts:

1. **Restrict / Identify:** Many relative clauses in Tetun are restrictive, modifying a generic noun (e.g. *ema* ‘person’, *fatin* ‘place’, *buat* ‘thing’, or *tempu* ‘time’) to identify a referent. This can be done on first reference, and again on subsequent reference. In narratives, the vast majority of such relative clauses identify props or very minor participants rather than major participants.

Although they are restrictive, there is not usually a contrast to any other particular potential referent. For instance, *atan nebee* ‘(the) slave who ...’ does not imply there are also other slaves in the story, although there may be. As is normally the case in restrictive relative clauses cross-linguistically (Givón, 1993, p. 108), the information is usually familiar, known, or readily accessible to the hearer, rather than being totally new information.

- (160) *Ema ida nebee sempre tuur iha palasiu nia oin, nia nee see?*  
 person one REL always sit LOC palace POS front 3S this who  
 ‘Who is the person who always sits in front of the palace?’ (Ester narrative)

2. **Describe:** Descriptive relative clauses too normally modify a generic noun (e.g. *ema* ‘person’, *grupu* ‘group’, *atan* ‘slave’). These too do not imply a contrast with other potential referents. There are three types of description.
  - a. **Describe a long-term characteristic of an already-introduced character.** The character is referred to in the subject of the main clause, and the relative clause modifies a generic noun in the predicate. This construction is common in descriptions of people. The description is often a single adjective, but can also be a clause.

(161) *Ester feto ida nebee bonita no furak.*  
 Ester woman one REL pretty and beautiful  
 ‘Ester was a very beautiful woman.’ (Recounting Esther story, 2007)

(162) *N ema ida nebee lohi povu tuun-sae*  
 (name) person one REL deceive people ascend-descend  
 ‘N is a person who continually deceives the people ‘

*iha rai liur no mos rai laran.*  
 LOC land inside and also land outside  
 both within the country and overseas.’ (Defamatory political flyer, 2007)

- b. **Give information on characters when they are first introduced**, this information being relevant to their subsequent role in the story. Unlike purely restrictive relative clauses, this is new information. It is typically used to introduce major or minor characters, but not the major character, nor characters that are so minor as to be props.

(163) *Iha mos ema ida nebee importante iha palasiu governu, nia naran Haman.*  
 LOC already person one REL important LOC palace government 3S name Haman  
 ‘There was also a person who was important in government house, his name was Haman.’  
 (Recounting Esther story, 2007)

(164) *Iha nebaa, iha ilha ida nebee ke iha ai.fuan barak.*  
 LOC there exist island one REL REL have fruit much  
 ‘There is an island which has lots of fruit.’ (A folktale, 2007. The speaker is tempting his friend to go to the island by describing its attractions.)

- c. **Give a usually brief description of a NP within the predicate**, such as an object NP. These are found primarily in non-narrative texts, by acrolectal speakers. The relative clause appears to give prominence to the description, and makes the description something that is not inherent.

(165) *Ita hakarak dezvoltimentu ida nebee harmoniozu.*  
 1PI want development one REL harmonious  
 ‘We want development which is harmonious,

*i dezvoltimentu ida nebee justu ba povu TL tomak.*  
 and development one REL just for people TL whole  
 and development which is just for all the people of East Timor. (This was said after ‘development’ had been under discussion for a while.)

(166) *Sira baa haree iha nebaa iha tahu, tahu nebee ke mahar teb-tebes.*  
 3P go see LOC there exist mud mud REL REL thick RDP-true  
 ‘They went and looked there, and there was mud – very thick mud.’ (The thickness of the mud was crucial to the story. From a folktale about monkey and turtle)

3. **Recapitulate**: Restate known information about a known referent which is relevant at this point in the narrative, for instance in the conclusion. In this case, the head noun is often a non-generic noun, and has a referent which is uniquely identifiable without the relative clause (e.g. *liurai* ‘king’ in a story which has only one king). Recapitulative relative clauses are relatively uncommon.

(167) *Iha oras nee kedas, senhora nee nia oan nebee diabu tama iha laran diak fali.*  
 LOC hour this immediate madam this POS child REL demon enter LOC inside good again  
 ‘That very hour, the woman’s child who had had a demon in her was cured.’ (Recounting a gospel story.)

## Additional functions through language contact

There are three sub-types of descriptive relative clauses that are not found in informal oral texts, but are common in writing and in acrolectal formal speech. It is likely that these came about through language contact.

1. **Give new information about a known character or entity**, usually without a comma. The information tends to be something that the speaker may judge to be relevant or useful at that particular point, but somewhat backgrounded. This type of relative clause constitutes up to 90% of relative clauses in some written stories.

(168) *"Kona.ba saida amaa?", Julieta nebee sente duvida husu.*  
about what mum (name) REL feel doubtful ask  
‘“What about, mum?”, asked Julieta, who was feeling doubtful.’ (Written story *La iha rohan*, 2017.  
Note that the final quote margin is another contact-induced feature common in written Tetun.)

(169) ... *arguidu M, nebee mai akompanha hosi ninia advogadu.*  
... accused.MASC (name) REL come accompany from 3S.POS lawyer  
‘... the accused, M, who came accompanied by his lawyer.’ (Newspaper STL 2007)

2. **State what someone has done as a reason for giving them thanks**. This is common in formal expressions of thanks, such as during ceremonies or conferences. This construction is a direct translation from Indonesian. Note that this construction is used for thanks, but not for giving the reason for loving, hating or cursing someone. Presumably this is because only thanks is done in formal speeches.

(170) *Obrigada ba Efi nebee hatoo kansaun ida nee.*  
thanks to (name) REL pass.on song one this  
‘Thanks to Efi for offering us this song.’ (Radio presenter)

3. **Show who is included in a plural pronoun**. The description focuses on the relevant characteristic of the group, and is usually not contrastive with other groups, though it can be. This occurs in hortatory and argument texts, mainly by acrolectal speakers.

(171) *Imi nebee ameasa nee, imi sei foin sae.*  
2P REL threaten this 2P still just rise  
‘You who threaten (me), you are still young.’ (Presidential speech, 2006)

## Implications for translation

Many relative clauses in source texts cannot be translated effectively into Tetun as relative clauses. This includes relative clauses with the following functions:

- **To present background information**. e.g. ‘God, who searches the heart’, ‘Dr John, who taught me in first year’.
- **To continue the action**. e.g. ‘I told the secret to my girlfriend, who told it to her father.’ These can be translated using something like *depois* ‘then’.
- **To give a comment or opinion**. e.g. ‘Mr Jones, who was an excellent Prime Minister, ...’ These need to be translated as a separate sentence.

These cannot be translated as relative clauses in Tetun. Similarly, the “new” functions mentioned in the preceding section cannot normally be translated as relative clauses if translators are aiming at natural Tetun discourse and texts which people can readily understand. There are however often no good alternatives to literal translation, which is presumably why relative clauses have become so popular for these functions in written and formal Tetun. The options are:

- Translate the relative clause as a subordinate clause. It is however often difficult to know how to relate this clause to the main clause.

- Translate the relative clause as a separate sentence. This often breaks the flow of the argument, and turns background information into an assertion.

### **Frequency of relative clauses in texts**

Relative clauses are quite frequent in Tetun, though the frequency varies greatly from text to text. As a percentage of the total number of clauses, relative clauses in our analysed texts range from 6% (in a talk on prayer) to 27% (in a speech by the president and in a retelling of the story of Ester, a foreign story with lots of foreign concepts).

In writing the frequency can get much higher. Indeed a written speech from the Prime Minister had 6 relative clauses in 5 sentences.

## **12.2. Adjectives**

Adjectives are mostly used:

- **as heads of predicates**, to give information or opinions:

(172) *Agora mina karu.*  
now oil/petrol expensive  
'Currently petrol is expensive'

(173) *Imajen oan nee kapaas teb-tebes.*  
image child this beautiful RDP-true  
'This little illustration is really beautiful.'

- **as attributes when first mentioning something within a predicate:**

(174) *Sira tenki selu taxa boot.*  
3P must pay tax big  
'They must pay high taxes'

- **as modifier in a compound**, in any grammatical or discourse situation that allows that compound, e.g. *ema boot* (lit. person big) 'high-status person'. These are restrictive adjectives. That is, using a gradable adjective in a compound implies that the opposite also exists; for instance, *diabu aat* 'bad devil' would imply that 'good devils' also exist.

There are several restrictions on adjectives compared to adjectives in English and Portuguese. Firstly, very few subjects are modified by adjectives (unless they are compounds). The few examples all involve an explicit or implicit **contrast**, e.g. *estudante foun* 'new students' implying that *estudante tuan* 'old students' also exist.

(175) *Depois, sira troka tiha presidente nee, presidente foun nee hakarak foo liberdade*  
then 3P replace PERF president this president new this want give liberty  
'Then, they (Indonesia) replaced the president, and the new president wanted to give freedom  
  
*ba Timor hotu.*  
to (nation) all  
to all of Timor.'

(176) *Ida kiik nee tinan hira?*  
one small this year how.many  
'How old is this little one (the youngest child)?'

Secondly, adjectives cannot be used attributively to give a comment or extra information on an already identified or unique referent (e.g. 'my kind husband', 'her expensive clothes'). There are two exceptions, both probably the result of language contact:

- Speakers who are heavily influenced by Portuguese or English do do this, though still only in predicate position, e.g. *Maromak boot* ‘great God’ in (153).
- A few adjectives can readily be used as commentary in formal situations. To date we have identified only these two:
  - *doben* ‘beloved’: e.g. *Hau nia oan doben* ‘my beloved child’. Nearly all instances are by high-status people in formal situations such as in radio presentations, and in speeches.
  - *kmanek/diak* ‘good’, especially in the expression *Iha dadeer kmanek ida nee* ‘on this beautiful morning’. This too is used in formal situations only.

### **Implications for translation**

Sometimes the source text uses attributive adjectives to give information on a known referent (e.g. ‘her expensive car’), to recapitulate an important characteristic (e.g. ‘the mighty God’), or to give an opinion (e.g. ‘his nasty boss’). There appear to be two options for translating these, each with its downsides:

- Use a separate clause, with the adjective in the predicates, e.g. *Nia xefi laran aat* ‘His boss is nasty.’ Adding a clause like this often breaks the flow of the paragraph, and turns background information (‘his nasty boss’) into information that is asserted.
- Translate literally, with the adjective as an attributive adjectives. This works if the expression can be accepted as a compound. For instance, many pastors accept *Maromak Moris* (lit. ‘God live’) ‘the living God’ as a name for God. However this is not a Tetun function for adjectives outside of compounds, and is confusing to readers. It also suggests that other referents with an opposite quality also exist. e.g. *labarik kiik* ‘small child’ suggests that bigger children also exist. Often the source text does not imply this at all, e.g. ‘the living God’ does not suggest that there is also a dead God!

### **12.3. Apposition**

In apposition, there are two consecutive noun phrases with the same reference. This occurs mainly in the following contexts:

- **relationship noun + name:**

(177) *Nia haree nia primu Modikai.*  
 3S see 3S.POS cousin.MASC (name)  
 ‘She saw her cousin Modikai.’ (From Ester)

- **position noun + name:**

(178) *Amu Bispu dioseze Dili nian, Amu Don Carlos*  
 priest bishop diocese (city) 3S.POS priest sir (name)  
 ‘the bishop of Dili, Father Carlos’

- ***hau* ‘I’ plus the name**, when a radio announcer signs on or signs off:

(179) *Husi estuidiu Radio Timor Leste Caicoli Dili hau Deti.da.Silva hasees aan*  
 from studio radio Timor East (suburb) (city) 1S (name) divert self  
 ‘From the studio of Radio Timor-Leste in Caicoli, Dili, I, Deti da Silva, step aside

*husi ita boot sira nia futar tilun.*  
 from 2S.POL big DEF.PL POS honourable ear  
 from your honourable ears.’

- A plural pronoun plus a noun phrase showing the category that is included, such as gender, marital status, or stage of life), sometimes in contrast to another group.

(180) *Imi fetu ho labarik imi bele rende ba.*  
 3P woman and child 2P can surrender go  
 ‘You women and children, you can surrender.’

*Mais mane-mane forti-forti la bele rende.*  
 but RDP-man RDP-strong not can surrender  
 But the strong men can’t surrender.’

(181) *Ita boot sira hotu hakilar mai ami deputadu sira*  
 2S.POL big DEF.PL all shout come 1PE parliamentarian DEF.PL  
 ‘You all shout at us members of parliament.’

The texts include a few examples of a NP which is then **explained further** in a following NP. This seems to be normal Tetun but not common, and probably only occurs in final position in the clause.

(182) *Maibee ita uza Tetun Dili: Tetun nebee kahur ona ho liafuan Portuges nian,*  
 but 1PI use Tetun (city) Tetun REL mix already with word Portuguese POS  
 ‘But we use Tetun Dili: Tetun which is mixed with Portuguese words

*Tetun nebee kahur ona ho liafuan Indonezia nian, ho liafuan selu-seluk tan,*  
 Tetun REL mix already with word Indonesia POS and word RDP-other as.well  
 Tetun mixed with Indonesian words, and with other words/languages as well -

*Ingles ninian ka, ema barak mak kompriende.*  
 English POS or person many FOCUS understand  
 English ones or (whatever); most people can understand (this Tetun).

Outside of these contexts, apposition is very rare.

### **Implications for translation**

Apposition in the source languages for translation is often used for functions that Tetun does not use it for. In particular, it is common for giving to have non-restrictive apposition, where the second NP gives additional information on an already-unique referent; e.g. ‘Canada, a beautiful country’; ‘God my Saviour’, ‘Zechariah, the father of John’.

The challenges in translating these are the same as those in translating relative clauses and adjectives. Again, if the apposition can be interpreted as a compound, then it sometimes works; e.g. *Maromak Kbiit Nain* (lit. God power lord) ‘God Almighty’.

### 13. Comparisons: metaphors and similes

There are three ways of comparing one thing to another:

- **simile:** A is like B. Most Tetun comparisons are similes, using *hanesan* or *nudar*.

(183) *Nia haan hanesan fahi.*  
3S eat like pig  
'He eats like a pig.'

- **implicit metaphor:** Use a metaphor, but don't explicitly say what it refers to. e.g. 'Go tell that fox ...' (Jesus referring to King Herod, Luke 13:32)
- **explicit metaphor:** A is B. Tetun does not normally use this. e.g. 'He's a chicken' (*tauk-teen*).

In Tetun, the entity being talked about is mentioned first, before it is compared to something else.

(184) *Ema balu dehan, "Maromak nee hanesan kios. Hau kuandu presiza sampo, hau baa,*  
person some say God this like kiosk 1S when need shampoo 1S go  
'Some people say, "God is like a kiosk. When I need shampoo, I go,  
  
*maibee kuandu hau la presiza, hau la baa."*  
but when 1S not need 1S not go  
but when I don't need (any), I don't go.'" (Aleixo on prayer)

#### Implications for translation

Many metaphors need to be translated as similes, using *hanesan*, sometimes with a verb to show the basis of the comparison. e.g. 'He's a pig!' *Nia haan hanesan fahi*.

In many of the source languages for translation into Tetun, either order is possible:

- **Topic first:** 'He makes my feet like the feet of a deer.' (Ps 18:33)
- **Comparison first:** 'As the deer pants for streams of water, so my soul pants for you my God.' (Ps 42:1)

When the source puts the comparison first, Tetun normally needs to put the comparison last.

In addition to changing the structure of metaphors and similes, there are challenges in translating many of them meaningfully across cultures. For a discussion of translating these into Tetun, see Williams-van Klinken, Catharina. 2019. 'Tradusaun ba lian Tetun.' [www.tetundit.tl](http://www.tetundit.tl)).



## 14. Clause connectors

### 14.1. Frequency of explicit clause connectors

The percentage of clauses that start with a connector ranges from 21-47% (average 34%) in 7 oral texts. The lowest are in an informal teaching about prayer, and a narrative about the speaker's experiences in UNAMET. The highest are a recounting of the Biblical story of Ester and a speech to parliament about the budget.

In writing, connectors are far more common. The percentage of clauses that start with a connector ranges from 42-71% (average 58%) in 5 written texts, reaching 95% in another written text read to parliament about the budget (which has lots of relative clauses and *i* 'and').

About 1/3 of clauses in hortative texts start with a connector. In hortative texts, 'and' and 'then' are rare, except within narrative portions of these texts.

### 14.2. Factual, counter-factual and possible

English distinguishes between factual (true), counter-factual (not true) and possible situations in conditionals and in concessive ('although') clauses. e.g.

‘Although Barak Obama has been president of the USA, ...’ (true)

‘Even if Marito Gonçalves becomes president of the USA, ...’ (unknown)

‘Even if Marito Gonçalves were president of the USA, ...’ (untrue)

Tetun does not provide any way to reliably make this distinction.

#### **Implications for translation**

If it is important for readers to know whether a condition is true or not, then it may need to be stated as a statement first, before being repeated as a condition or concession.

*Barak Obama uluk prezidente EU. Maski nune, ...*

‘Barak Obama used to be president of the US. Nevertheless, ... (true)

*Maski Marito Gonçalves sai prezidente EU mos, ...*

‘Although/Even.if Marito Gonçalves became/becomes president of the US, ... (unknown)

*Marito Gonçalves laos prezidente EU. Se nia prezidente karik, ...*

‘Marito Gonçalves wasn’t/isn’t president of the US. If he is president perhaps, ... (untrue)

### 14.3. Time

#### ***Position of time***

Time phrases or clauses can be placed initially or finally. When the time is a setting for what follows, it is placed initially. When it is new information, it is final.

#### ***Telling events out of chronological order***

Events are normally told in chronological order. e.g. *Hau orsida baa Baucau, depois baa liu Lospalos*. e.g. ‘I’m going to Baucau soon, then I’ll go on to Lospalos’.

There are however a number of ways of placing events out of chronological order. Sometimes two or even three signals are used to show this. In the following examples, the first event time-wise is underlined, the markers are in bold. Note that even with such markers, we have found less skilled readers confused as to the order of events when they are not chronological.

- (185) *Molok hare nee atu kuda ita tenki fokit uluk hare oan nebee ita kari tiha ona.*  
 before rice this IRR plant 1PI must uproot first rice child REL 1PI plant PERF already  
 ‘Before we plant rice, we have to first pull up the rice seedlings which we had scattered.’

Options for marking non-chronological order include the following:

- *ona* or *tiha ona* to show that an event was completed earlier.

- (186) *Ami halai sae too Dare nebaa. Molokuku neen, ami iha hotu ona Dare.*  
 1PE run ascend reach Dare there before o'clock six 1PE LOC all already (place)  
 ‘We fled up to Dare. Before six o'clock, we were all in Dare’ (UNAMET)

- **molok / antes** ‘before’. The clauses joined by these conjunctions can occur in either order. However the most common order is *Molok A, B*, that is, non-chronological order. This order is mostly used for immediate plans, especially stating what will be done before closing a meeting or a radio program.

- (187) *Tuir mai antes ami husik imi hotu, iha tan tips ida.*  
 follow come before 1PE leave 2P all have in.addition tip one  
 ‘Next, before we leave you all, we have a tip/advice.’ (Radio Kafe Lokraik)

This order can also be used for general statements on what must happen.

- (188) *Molok atu kondena ema ida, tenki iha evidensia.*  
 before IRR condemn person one must exist evidence  
 ‘Before condemning someone, there must be evidence.’

It also be used in narratives for telling events out of chronological order, but this is not common.

- (189) *Antes atu harii NGO ida nee, hau haree liu ba planu dezewolvimentu nasional.*  
 before IRR set.up NGO one this 1S see pass to plan development national  
 ‘Before setting up this NGO, I had a look at the national development plan.’

- **seidauk** ‘not yet’, often accompanied by *ona*, *tiha* or *ona* in the other clause to show it has happened already.

- (190) *Ami fila mai ami seidauk too Kablaki mai, inimigu baa hasoru kaer ami.*  
 1PE return come 1PE not.yet reach (mountain) come enemy go meet catch 1PE  
 ‘We returned (and) hadn’t yet reached Mt Kablaki, (when) the enemy went and met us and arrested us.’

- (191) ... *seidauk servisu kanek ona!*  
 not.yet work injure already  
 ‘Even before you work you’re already injured!’

- Mention an earlier time or place, e.g. *uluk* ‘formerly’.

- (192) *Ami baa, para loos iha markas UNAMET.*  
 1PE go stop right LOC HQ UNAMET  
 ‘We went, and stopped right at the UNAMET headquarters.’

*Iha dalan ba, hau nia laran nee susar tebe-tebes.*  
 LOC way go 1S POS inside this hard RDP-true  
 ‘On the way there, I was very distressed.’ (UNAMET)

- **Final reason clauses** can also introduce earlier background material:

(193) *Ami hahuu iha Laga baa too iha Lalenu nebaa. Hodi bolu hotu-hotu tanba saa?*  
 1PE start LOC (place) go until LOC (place) there to/and call RDP-all because what  
 ‘We started in Laga and went as far as Lalenu, to call everyone. What for?’

*Tanba Laikana ho kompanhia rua baa hotu rende.*  
 because (name) and company two went all surrender  
 [To the past:] Because Lakana and two companies had all gone and surrendered.

*I nufin ita boot hatene? Mate hotu. Mate hotu.*  
 and in.end 2S.POL big know die all die all  
 And in the end do you know (what happened)? (They) all died. All died.

*Neebe problema funu nee agora nee ita konta hanesan buat diak.*  
 so problem war this now this 1PI talk like thing good  
 [Back to present] So, these days we talk about this problem of war as if it is something good. [We tell stories and all laugh. But it’s not like that!]

- **No markers**, just logic to know what happened first and what happened last.

(194) *Paulo.Batista nee nia aman uluk iha nebaa, hau mai mos iha uma.*  
 (name) this POS father formerly LOC there 1S come also LOC house  
 ‘This Paulo Batista’s father used to live there (in Dili), I also went there.’

*Nia baa halo gerilha iha Angola. Halo gerilha lae, ...*  
 3S go do guerilla.warfare LOC Angola do guerilla.warfare no  
 He went and did guerilla warfare in Angola. Not guerilla warfare, [he used to be with the Portuguese army in Angola.]’

#### 14.4. Condition ‘if’

The condition clause is nearly always expressed before the main clause; this is to be expected, as the condition expresses something that must occur first, before the main clause happens. The very few cases in which the condition clause occurs last, are of conditions that have already been stated earlier, for instance in a chiasm.

(195) *Nee.duni maluk sira,*  
 therefore friend DEF.PL  
 ‘Therefore, friends

*ho pas, ho unidade, ho toleransia mak ita bele hakat ba dalan demokrasia.*  
 with peace with unity with tolerance FOCUS 1PI can step to way democracy  
 it is with peace, with unity, and tolerance that we can travel the way of democracy.

*Demokrasia nunka sei moris se la iha pas, la iha unidade, se la iha toleransia.*  
 democracy never will live if not have peace not have unity if not have tolerance  
 Democracy will never live if we don’t have peace, don’t have unity, if we don’t have tolerance.  
 (This has a chiasmic structure of Condition – Main – Main - Condition, as well as positive-negative rephrasing. From a Mass in 2001)

There are several ways of marking condition.

### **se ‘if’**

In everyday speech, the most common conditional is the Portuguese loan *se*. In the vast majority of cases, *se* is used as a condition for a general statement, for which the truth of the condition is uncertain.

- (196) *Entaun, se iha osan uitoan, koko atu sosa serveja...*  
so if have money a.little try IRR buy beer  
‘So, if you have some money, try to buy some beer (for your foreign guests)...’ (unknown truth value, general statement)

Very occasionally, it is used for a counter-factual (i.e. when the condition is known to not be true). In that case, the immediately preceding context shows that the condition isn’t true.

- (197) *Bainhira ita manaan funu, laos hodi matenek sira mesak deit mak manaan funu.*  
when 1PI win war not with smart DEF.PL alone just FOCUS win war  
‘When we won the war, it wasn’t just with the educated people alone that we won the war.’

*Maibee ita manaan funu hodi beik, hodi matenek, hodi ferik ka hodi katuas,*  
but 1PI win war with stupid with smart with old.woman or with old.man  
But we won the war with uneducated people, with educated people, with old women or with old men.

*sira hotu maka ita manaan funu.*  
3P all FOCUS 1PI win war  
It was with all of them that we won the war.

*Se hau senti katak hodi deit matenek sira, keta funu nee ita la manaan karik.*  
if 1S feel that with only smart DEF.PL lest war this 1PI not win perhaps  
‘If I felt that (it) was just with the educated people, then perhaps we wouldn’t have won the war.’

We have found no good examples of a factual conditional, that is, a condition which is known to be true. The only example is the common expression *Se hanesan nee* ‘in that case’. Even that often allows for some doubt.

- (198) *Jorge: Mas hau iha liur deit, hau la tama .*  
(name) but 1S LOC outside just 1S not enter  
‘Jorge: But I was only outside, I didn’t go in.’

*Xefi Juventude: Se hanesan nee, se bele karik o lori ami too deit iha fatin.*  
boss youth if like this if can perhaps 2S bring 1PE until just LOC place  
Youth leader: In that case, could you please bring us to the spot.’

After a conditional clause, the main clause is sometimes introduced by *entaun* ‘so’ or the focus marker *maka/mak..*

- (199) *Se ita baa iha markas UNAMET, entaun kala ita sei moris.*  
if 1PI go LOC HQ UNAMET so perhaps 1PI will live  
‘If we go to the UNAMET headquarters, perhaps we’ll live.’

*Maibee se ita baa iha Polres, mak ita bele mate hotu.*  
but if 1PI go LOC police.station then 1PI can die all  
But if we go to the (Indonesian) police station, we could all die.’ (UNAMET)

The information in a *se* clause can be old information (e.g. mentioned in the preceding sentence) or new information.

### ***karik* ‘perhaps’**

*karik* ‘perhaps’, used to be clause-final, but now also occurs clause-initially. *Karik* is especially common in liturgical Tetun.

Final *karik* can readily be used for conditions that are known to be true:

- (200) A: *Semana oin hau atu baa vizita familia iha Australia.*  
. week front 1S IRR go visit family in Australia  
‘A: Next week I’m going to visit family in Australia.

B: *Baa karik, foo kumprimentus ...*  
. go perhaps give greetings  
B: When you go, give our greetings...’

About 15% of conditional clauses with *se* have *karik* as well. This seems to be used only when it isn’t known whether the condition is true.

### ***kuandu* ‘when, whenever, if’**

*Kuandu* is mainly used for future or generic situations, to mean ‘when, whenever’, although it can also be used for events that occurred in the past. It thus overlaps with *bainhira* ‘when’ and also with *se* ‘if’. When it is used for a condition, there is still an interest in time as well.

- (201) *Kuandu la rega, duut namlaik.*  
when not water grass wither  
‘If/when grass isn’t watered, it withers.’

### ***Juxtaposition***

The conditional clause can also be marked only by intonation, with no conditional word. This is good Tetun, but since it relies on intonation, it should be used with caution in writing.

- (202) *Foo hatene antes, ita sei prepara diak liu tan,*  
give know before 1PI will prepare good more on.top  
‘(If they) inform us (of their visit) beforehand, we can prepare better,
- maibee se mai derepent, pasiensia, ita foo buat nebee ita bele ba sira.*  
*but if come suddenly patience 1PI give thing REL 1PI can to 3P*  
but if they come unexpectedly, we just have to give them what we can.’

## **14.5. Concession ‘although’**

There are a number of ways of expressing concession (‘although’).

### ***mos* ‘also’**

An initial concession clause can be marked by a clause-final *mos* ‘also’. The clause can be known to be true, for instance in historical narratives, as in (203). It can also be supposition (not known to be true), but it cannot be counter-factual.

- (203) *tribunal desidi dehan la iha sala mos, sira dehan sala nafatin.*  
court decide say not have wrong also 3P say wrong continue  
‘Even though the court declared (me) not guilty, they still accuse me.’

- (204) *Ema husu ajuda mos nia la hatene.*  
 person ask help also 3S not know  
 ‘Even when people ask (him) for help, he doesn’t pay heed.’

*Mos* occasionally co-occurs with *bele*, especially in the standard expression: *bele halo nusaa mos* ‘no matter what’.

### ***maski* ‘although’**

Concession clauses introduced by *maski* ‘although’ normally precede the main clause, though they can follow the subject or topic. The *maski* clause can additionally be marked as concessional by *bele* or final *mos*, and the following main clause often starts with *maibee*.

- (205) *Sira dehan maski udan oinsaa mos, ami tenki.ser hela iha nee nafatin.*  
 3S say although rain how also 1PE must stay LOC this continue  
 ‘They said no matter how much it rains, we must keep living here.’ (The wet season was approaching, so rain could be expected.)
- (206) *Ba ema nebee la hatene Ingles, maski nia iha esperiensia,*  
 for person REL not know English although 3S have experience  
 ‘For a person who doesn’t know English, even if he has experience,
- nia bele halo buat ida nee, mais komu nia la hatene Ingles,*  
 3S can do thing one this but because 3S not know English  
 (and) can do this thing (work), but because he doesn’t know English
- nia la bele tuur iha nee, nia sai sekuriti, nia sai kondutor.*  
 3S not can sit LOC this 3S become security 3S become driver  
 he can’t sit here. He becomes a security guard, or becomes a driver.’

Final *maski* clauses are mainly found in journalistic writing.

- (207) *Maibee kleur ka la-lais uitoan ka barak, governu komesa loke matan*  
 but long or RDP-quick a.little or much government start open eye  
 ‘But whether it’s a long time or a bit faster, a little or a lot, the government is opening its eyes
- hodi haree no foo tulun maski la sufisiente ba sira nia moris.*  
 to/and see and give help although not sufficient for 3S POS life  
 to see and give assistance, even though it isn’t enough for their (the people’s) needs.’ (TVTL 2007)

It is quite common to state the main point both before and after the ‘although’ clause.

- (208) *Problema nee mosu beibeik, maski sira halo juramentu,*  
 problem this appear often although 3P make oath  
 ‘This problem keeps coming up, even though they have sworn an oath,
- deklarasau bar-barak maibee problema mosu nafatin.*  
 declaration RDP-many but problem appear continue  
 (and) made many varied declarations, but the problem keeps coming up.’

The information in a *maski* clause is nearly always ‘new’, in the sense of not having been stated recently. However most are obvious from general knowledge, or from inference from previous talk or from the situation (e.g. ‘although I am a woman’), that is, the information is not ‘brand new’.

The information in a *maski* clause can be believed to be true, or can be just a possibility, but cannot be counterfactual.

- (209) *Maski hau husu, nia la foo.*  
although 1S ask 3S not give  
'Although I asked he didn't give it to me.' / 'Even if I were to ask, he wouldn't give it to me.'

*Maski* is used much more commonly in writing than in speaking (only 12% of examples being oral).

### ***biar* 'although'**

*Biar* is much less common than *maski*; it is used mainly (perhaps 75%) in writing and translation, oral use is mainly in formal contexts. It seems to be native Tetun, but because Indonesian has the same conjunction, many people wonder whether it is Indonesian and tend to avoid it.

As with *maski*, in oral use the concession clause is always initial, but in writing and translation is sometimes final. Initial *biar* clauses sometimes have *bele* or clause-final *mos* as well. It is used for factual concessions and for possibilities, but apparently not for counterfactual.

- (210) *Biar kleur, ita sei ukun aan.*  
although long 1PI will rule self  
'Even if it takes a long time, we will gain independence.'

### **Other options for expressing concession**

The Portuguese loans *mezmu*, *mezmuke*, *embora* are sometimes used to express 'although' by speakers and writers strongly influenced by Portuguese.

## **14.6. Coordination: 'and'**

Tetun Dili has five ways of translating 'and', namely *i*, *ho*, *no*, *hodi* and juxtaposition.

- *i* coordinates primarily clauses and sentences, as well as Portuguese numerals. It overlaps a lot with *no*; the differences are discussed below.
- *ho* coordinates primarily noun phrases and adjectives.
- *hodi* links verb phrases, and indicates not that the second is a purpose that was achieved. It is thus sometimes best translated as 'to', and sometimes 'and'. It isn't discussed further below.

- (211) *Tuur hodi koalia.*  
Sit to/and talk  
'Sit and talk' (i.e. sit in order to talk, and really do talk)

- Juxtaposition.

### ***i* 'and'**

The coordinator *i* is very common (over 3000 examples in oral texts), and seems to be used by all speakers and in all contexts. About 20% start new sentences.

It is used to indicate:

- **A subsequent step:** 'and then'

- (212) *Ami baa iha Segunda, Tersa, Kuarta, Kinta, Sesta, i hotu iha Sabdu.*  
1PE go LOC Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday and finish LOC Saturday  
'We went Monday to Friday, and finished on Saturday.'

- **Consequence:** ‘and so’

- (213) *Maibee xofer sira mos berani tebe-tebes, i sira sees kareta lai-lais.*  
 but driver DEF.PL also brave RDP-true and 3P deviate vehicle RDP-quick  
 ‘But the drivers were also very brave, and they quickly moved the vehicles aside.’ (UNAMET)

- **List:**

- (214) ... *ita tenki harii ita nia rai-n, harii ita nia comunidade, harii ita nia bairu,*  
 1PI must build 1PI POS nation-gen build 1PI POS community build 1PI POS suburb  
 ‘We must build our nation, build our community, build our suburb,  
  
*i badinas servisu.*  
 and diligent work  
 and work hard.’ (Priest at reconciliation mass, 2007)

- **Positive and negative:**

- (215) *Buka loos iha nebee, i la loos nee mak ida nebee.*  
 seek right LOC where and not right this FOCUS one where  
 ‘We seek which is right, and which is wrong.’

- **Link two separate ideas:**

- (216) *Tuir mai ita sei asisti hamutuk programa teatru,*  
 follow come 1PI will watch together program theatre  
 ‘Next we will together watch theatrical performances,  
  
*i programa rua nee koalia hanesan deit kona.ba oinsaa rezolve konflitu.*  
 and program two this speak same just about how resolve conflict  
 and the two programs speak the same about how to resolve conflict.’ (Bibi Bulak)

- **Link parallel constructions** when they aren’t synonymous.

- (217) *Ida nebaa sai, i ida nee sai*  
 one there exit and one this exit  
 ‘That one there went out, and so did this one here.’

However when two parallel constructions have the same or similar meanings, a coordinator is not normally used, as in (150).

- **In Portuguese numbers:** e.g. *setenta i novi* (lit. seventy and nine) ‘79’

### **no ‘and’**

*No* is used mainly in formal situations, by high-status people, and in liturgical language.

It mainly coordinates NPs, just like *ho*: e.g. *inan no aman* ‘mother and father’, *susar no terus* ‘hardship and suffering’.

It also commonly coordinates adjectives, prepositional phrases and verb phrases.

- (218) *Ida nee fasil no simples tebes.*  
 one this easy and simple true  
 ‘This is easy and very simple’



- (219) *Kuda no ha-buras mentalidade soberania,*  
 plant and make-grow mentality sovereignty  
 ‘Plant and enrich a mentality of sovereignty

*iha instituisaun estado nian, no iha sociedade nia laran.*  
 LOC institution state 3S.POS and LOC society POS inside  
 within state institutions and within the society.’ (Lasama 2007)

Sometimes *no* coordinates clauses.

- (220) *Sira sei la hetan rezultadu diak, no sira sei sai jerasaun nebee gagal.*  
 3P will not get result good and 3P will become generation REL fail  
 ‘They won’t get good results, and they will become a generation which fails.’

Only rarely does it coordinates sentences (about 3% of oral examples).

### **Comparison of ‘i’ and ‘no’**

The two coordinators *i* and *no* overlap a lot:

- Both show quite a weak semantic relationship.
- Almost all examples of clause connection with ‘i/no’ are interchangeable.

There are also some differences:

- Usage: ‘no’ is more formal.
- Some people use both in the same story, some use only *i*.
- Some expressions strongly prefer the one:
  - *i depois* ‘and then’ (both Portuguese loans)
  - *no mos* ‘and also’ (both native Tetun words)
- Structure: At the beginning of a sentence, *I* is much more common than *No*. (The reason is not clear.)

### **14.7. Reason**

There are a number of options for expressing reason. The most common by far is *tanba* ‘because’.

#### ***tanba* ‘because’**

*tanba* ‘because’ is extremely common (2643 examples in oral texts alone; 2-8% of clauses in 4 texts start with *tanba*).

#### **Main – Reason**

Most reason clauses come after the main clause. *Tanba* usually introduces a clause giving the (background) reason for the immediately preceding clause (which can be mainline Event, Background explanation....)

- (221) *Sira la baa servisu tanba sira tauk.*  
 3P not go work because 3P afraid  
 ‘They didn’t go to work because they were afraid.’

However it can also give the reason for asking an immediately previous question or making a preceding request.

- (222) *“Ema ida nebee sempre tuur iha palasiu nia oin, nia nee see?”*  
 person one REL always sit LOC palace LOC front 3S this who  
 ‘(Haman asked) “Who is this person who always sits in front of the palace?”

*Tanba nia ema ida nebee nunka hakarak atu hakruuk mai hau.*”  
 because 3S person one REL never want IRR bow come 1S  
 (I’m asking) Because he is someone who is never willing to bow to me.”

In final place, the reason is usually new information, but can also be information that has come up earlier in the text (e.g. if restated after a paragraph).

The new information can be from the past, so presenting information in non-chronological order, as illustrated in (193).

*Tanba* usually links two clauses, or two sentences. It does not link paragraphs. Most reasons introduced by *tanba* consist of a single clause, while some consist of two clauses. The exception is when *tanba* starts a new sentence, in which case it sometimes introduces up to three clauses.

Very occasionally (about 1% of examples), final reason with *tanba* introduces a noun phrase. In this case it is usually known information. When the noun phrase is not old information, its relationship to the main clause is easily misunderstood. For instance, in the invented sentence *Pedro mate tanba José*, it is not clear what José’s involvement in Pedro’s death was. Did he kill him? Or did someone confuse the two and kill Pedro by mistake instead of José? Or did Pedro die to save José? (This is of relevance when translating ‘Christ died for us.’)

### Reason - Main

Reason can also precede the main clause, or fit between the subject and predicate as in (224). In this case the reason is always ‘old’, known information. The reason can be either a noun phrase or a clause.

When reason is a noun phrase, it is usually expressed as *Tanba (ida) nee* (lit. because one this), and the information it refers to has usually been mentioned in the preceding paragraph. This allows the ‘reason’ to first be presented as potentially mainline information, before being also presented as a reason for something.

- (223) ... *liurai ida nee nia sempre hela deit iha palasiu liurai nian.*  
 king one this 3S always stay just LOC palace king POS  
 ‘[This king wasn’t like other kings;] he always stayed within the palace.

*Tanba ida nee, buat nebee Haman hatoo ba nia, nia simu hotu deit*  
 become one this thing REL Haman pass.on to 3S 3S accept all just  
 Because of this, he just accepted whatever Haman told him, [because he believed that Haman was someone he could trust.]’ (Ester)

When the reason is a clause, the main clause is usually introduced by a word meaning ‘so’ (e.g. *entaun*). The reason clause can either restate information already given in the immediately preceding clause or paragraph or even further back, or represent generally known, though not yet mentioned, information (6 examples so far).

- (224) *Entaun populasau sira tanba trauma ho forsa Australia, sira nervozu,*  
 so population DEF.PL because trauma with troops Australia 3P irritated  
 ‘So, because the people were traumatised by the Australian troops, they got angry’ (Much earlier the speaker had stated that people had ‘trauma’ with Australian soldiers.)

- (225) *tanba tia sira la hatene bahasa, entaun sira rona ‘siap’ hanesan ‘jijap’.*  
 because aunt DEF.PL not know Indonesian so 3P hear ready as ..  
 ‘Because the rural ladies didn’t know Indonesian, they heard ‘siap’ (‘ready’ in Indonesian) as ‘jijap’ (‘snake meat’ in the speaker’s language Bunak)’ (It is general knowledge that rural woman of that period didn’t usually understand Indonesian.)

When reasons are long and potentially new, they can be expressed as separate sentences, then the conclusion can be introduced by *tanba nee (mak)* ‘it is because of this that ...’ (lit. because this FOCUS). This occurs in hortatory, expository and narrative texts. Usually the reasons and conclusion are all in the same paragraph, but sometimes the conclusion starts a new paragraph, as in the text in Appendix 3c.

### **Other alternatives to express reason**

Although *tanba* ‘because’ is by far the most common way of introducing reason in everyday Tetun, there are other options:

- ***tan*** ‘because’ appears to function exactly like *tanba*, but to be much less common and more restricted in register and speakers. It is common in liturgical Tetun, and in the speech of some people influenced by Tetun Terik; however some speakers from other districts use it as well.
- **Question ‘why’ plus answer**, to introduce an important reason, as illustrated in section 11.
- **Juxtaposition** (no linker), illustrated in the final clause of (226). This is found occasionally in hortative and expository texts, but to date we have not noted it in narratives. Limited data suggests one motivation for juxtaposition is to avoid too many *tanba* ‘because’ in close proximity.
- **Chiasm** (or ‘inclusio’), with a statement repeated before and after the reason (Statement – Reason – Reason – Statement), as in the first two clauses of 226).

(226) *O kiak tanba o nia aman, ofere se ninia vida atu liberta povu.*  
 2S poor because 2S POS father offer 3S.POS life IRR liberate the.people  
 (Statement-Reason) ‘You are poor because your father gave his life to liberate the people.’

*Tanba ida nee mak o hodi kiak.*  
 because one this FOCUS 2S carry poor  
 (Reason-Statement) That’s why you are poor.

*Nee.duni o bele kiak mos la iha buat ida,*  
 therefore 2S can poor also not exist thing one  
 (Consequence) Therefore even though you are poor, it’s OK,

*aban-bainrua estadu sei tau matan nafatin ba o.*  
 tomorrow-day.after.tomorrow state will put eye continue to 2S  
 (Reason) (because) in future the government will continue to look after you.’

- ***basaa*** (lit. for what), is largely restricted to liturgical Tetun and some writing. It can introduce a clause or a sentence, apparently always following the main clause. Like final *tanba*, it can introduce new information.
- ***purke*** ‘because’ (from Portuguese *porque*). This is used mainly by heavily Portuguese-influenced speakers and writers. Like *basaa*, it can introduce a clause or sentence, following the main clause, often with new information.
- ***komu*** ‘as, since’ (from Portuguese *como* ‘as, since’), primarily used by Portuguese-influenced speakers in formal non-liturgical situations, whether oral or written. Clauses introduced by *komu* can precede the main clause as in the second line of (206206), or follow the subject of the main clause, as in the last clause of (21). Initial *komu* clauses usually contain old (previously mentioned) information, or information that is otherwise generally known or inferable, but appear to be able to contain new (though not surprising) information as well. Unlike other reason clauses, *komu* clauses do not occur after the main clause.
- ***kan*** ‘after all, because as you know’ (from Indonesian) is used by some speakers in informal oral Tetun.

## Sequence of reason clauses

Sequences of reason clauses seem to be quite common. When there is a main clause followed by two successive reason clauses, there are several possible relationships between these three clauses. In sequences of reason clauses, some use different words for ‘because’, as in (227), while others repeat the same word, as in (228).

- **Main because A because B: both clauses give reasons for the main statement.**

(227) *iha nebaa ema terus barak, tanba moras, hahaan la iha,*  
LOC there person suffer much because sick food not have  
‘There people suffered a lot, due to illness, lack of food,

*tan susar, familia haketak malu.*  
because difficult family separate RECIPIENT  
(and) because of hardship, and families being separated.’

- **Main because A because B: B gives the reason for A**, i.e. the final clause gives the reason behind something in the first reason.

(228) *Hau la baa, tanba hau hakarak tuur iha oin*  
1S not go because 1S want sit LOC front  
‘I didn’t go (on that bus) because I wanted to sit in front,

*tanba tuur iha oin nee too la-lais.*  
because sit LOC front this arrive RDP-fast  
because sitting in front gets you there faster.

*Neebee kareta ida mai hau mos lakohi.*  
so vehicle one come 1S also not.want  
So even when a bus came, I didn’t want (to get on).’ (Aleixo, a joke)

- **A because B, because C: C is in parallel with B, giving a similar reason.**

(229) *Hirak nee hotu tanba Maromak nia planu,*  
these.specific this all because God POS plan  
‘All these things (happened) because of God’s plan,

*tanba Maromak hakarak hatudu nia Aan iha ema lubun boot ida.*  
because God want show 3S.POS self LOC person group big one  
because God wanted to show Himself to many people.’

## Implications for translation

- Ensure that new information is not put in an initial reason clause.
- *Tanba* links sentences or clauses, not paragraphs. To give a reason for a whole preceding paragraph, it might be necessary to summarise it first. e.g. *Nee hotu tanba ...* ‘This all (happened) because...’
- The New Testament often uses a linker (γὰρ) translated into English as ‘for’; this can indicate a causal or reason, but it is often rather a distant relationship. Tetun does not have a term like this. It can only occasionally be translated as *tanba*, often just by juxtaposing clauses.

## 14.8. Result

There are several connectors that introduce result. These have overlapping meanings, and are often considered to be synonyms, but are used in quite different contexts.

### *entaun* ‘so’

*Entaun* has a wide range of uses. It can introduce a clause, sentence or paragraph. It seems to be used by all adult speakers, in all genres. There are two overall uses, to introduce a result, and to signal some sort of break in the material.

- **Introduce a Result:**

- **Introduce the Response to a situation**, in narratives. (*Nunee* and *nee duni* have the same meaning but are used mainly in exhortation not narrative.) This includes a response to a feeling, obeying an order, and responding to a problem. Some speakers also use it to introduce a reply to a preceding speaker (e.g. *Entaun nia hataan...* ‘So he replied’).

- (230) *Ami rona fali dehan katak, ema milisi sei mai asalta too nemai.*  
1PE hear again say that person militia will come attack until here  
‘We then heard say that militia were going to attack up to here (where we were).’

*Entaun ami sai hosi gruta nee, ami baa fali.*  
so 1PE exit from grotto this 1PE go again  
so we left the grotto, and kept going.’

- **Introduce Result in a Reason-Result sequence**, as in (225)
- **Introduce Result in Condition-Result sequence**, as in (192).

- (231) *Se la baa eskola, entaun ropa foer tenki fasi.*  
if not go school then clothes dirty must wash  
‘If you don’t go to school, then you have to do the washing.’

- **Signal some sort of break in the material.** These can, but need not, involve some sort of result or conclusion from what precedes. For instance, in the text in Appendix 2a. *Entaun* introduces switches in text type to a summary, a definition, a reanalysis of the situation, and a hortative. Some specific types of breaks marked are the following:

- **Mark the transition from background to event-line.** In the following example, the speaker in a dream sees a building. She then describes it, giving background information. *Entaun* marks a return to the event line.

- (232) *Iha nebaa hau mos haree hanesan uma boot ida: uma boot teb-tebes, ...*  
LOC there 1S also see like house big one house big RDP-true  
‘There I also saw like a building: a huge building, [with many doors. Then at each of the doors, the person guiding that door was dressed in white, like a long white robe. People who went in through those doors could not come out again.]’

*Entaun hau nia kolega, nia lao uluk tama iha odamatan nee.*  
so 1S POS friend 3S walk ahead enter LOC door this  
(Back to event line) Then my friend, she walked ahead (of me) in through the door.’ (Olinda Lucas, dream)

- **Start the ‘finishing formula’ at the end of a story.** (There are other variants without *entaun*.)

- (233) *Entaun mak nee deit, hau nia istoria.*  
so FOCUS this only 1S POS story  
‘So, that’s all for my story.’

- **Introduce a restatement.** Both the original and the restatement can be several sentences long.
- **Start a new speaking turn.** Indeed 13% of examples in the oral database start a new speaking turn. Some are restatements of what others have said, and some are conclusions, as in (234). In most cases, however, the word seems to function primarily to mark the start of the turn, as in (235), with other functions being as yet unclear.

(234) *Entaun la hatene*  
 so not know  
 (After being told his responses to a riddle were all wrong.) ‘In that case I don’t know.’ (Riddle telling session)

(235) *Entaun agora imi siik fali hau nian e.*  
 so now 2P guess in.turn 1S POS tag  
 (After another speaker had finished their riddle.) ‘So you you guess my (riddle), hey?’ (Riddle telling session)

### ***tanba nee mak* ‘that’s why’**

*Tanba nee (mak)* ‘because.of this (FOCUS)’ usually starts a new sentence or paragraph. The preceding reasons can be as long as several sentences or even several paragraphs, and the following result too can be long.

It occurs in narrative, hortatory and expository texts, to link reasons for an action and the action taken in response. The action can be past (e.g. in narrative texts), present (explaining present action), or future (e.g. ‘therefore you should...’).

It is similarly used for linking reasons with the conclusion based on those reasons, for instance in the parliamentary debate in text in Appendix 3c, where the conclusion specifies how the party will respond to the current budget proposal, or in (226) where the speaker gives reasons for the listeners’ poverty.

We have found no examples in which *tanba nee mak* is used for impersonal logical conclusions that don’t involve any action, e.g. ‘Therefore the earth is round.’

Many examples of *Tanba nee mak* do not appear to really link reason and conclusion. Many seem to provide a jumping off point for starting a new paragraph.

### ***nee duni* ‘therefore’**

*Nee duni* (also commonly spelled *neduni*) usually starts a new sentence (over 60%) or clause within a paragraph. It usually joins 1-2 sentences before with a sentence after. It appears to be used in a range of registers, by a wide range of adults.

*Nee duni* occurs mainly in hortatives. The preceding sentences identify a situation, and *nee duni* introduces the response, as in (226). Most are future (e.g. ‘So don’t worry’) or present (e.g. ‘So I ask that...’) or general (e.g. ‘That’s why we discipline our kids when they are young’). More rarely it is used in narrative to recount a past response to a situation (e.g. a driver obeyed a command); for such narrative responses, *entaun* is much more common.

### ***nunee* ‘so, in this way’**

Clause-initial *nunee* has three uses: ‘so’, ‘in this way’, and (rarely) ‘so it continued’. It always starts a new sentence.

- **so:** In this use, *nunee* typically link about 1-4 clauses before *nunee* with a similar length after, with more than one clause being common. It is less than half as common as sentence-initial *Nee duni*.

It links **a preceding statement of fact, with *nunee* introducing the active response by someone** (e.g. ‘So I thank’, ‘So I invite’, ‘So you must do’). This includes hortatives and narratives.

- (236) ... *ita lakohi rezultadu agora, la signifika ita la hetan nia rezultadu.*  
... 1PI not.want result now not mean 1PI not get 3S.POS result  
‘[Beloved Radio Timor Kmanek listeners,] if we don’t want results now, that doesn’t mean we won’t get results.’

*Tanba ita sei hetan duni nia rezultadu iha tempu naruk.*  
because 1PI will get indeed 3S.POS result LOC time long  
Because we will indeed get results in the long term..

*Karik ema dehan “longu prazu”. Nunee, sai formador tenki pasiensia barak duni.*  
perhaps person say long period so become trainer must patience much indeed  
Perhaps people say ‘long term’ (in Portuguese). So to become a trainer, you really need a lot of patience.’

- **‘in this way’:** State an action before *nunee*, though which the intended resulting action after the *nunee* can come about. Often the clause immediately after *nunee* contains *bele* ‘can’.

- (237) *Maibee ita tenki haree klean oitoan.*  
but 1PI must see deep a.little  
‘But we must look a bit deeper.

*Nunee ita bele hadomi Maromak nee diak liu tan.*  
so 1PI can love God this good more in.addition  
In this way we can (come to) love God even better.’ (Prayer)

- **‘so it continued’:** A few speakers use *nunee* initially to show that the action or situation of the preceding clause continues on. Most examples introduce a new paragraph.

- (238) *Kalan nee mos milisia baa hafuhu nafatin ami.*  
night this also militia go spy.on continue 1PE  
‘That night the militia went and kept observing us (from a hidden position).

*Nunee, too dadeer rai loron, aviaun elikopteru baa atu tuun iha kampu aviasaun, ...*  
like.this until morning land day plane helicopter go descend LOC field aviation  
It went on like this until morning, (and then) a helicopter went and landed on the airstrip...’

### ***neebe* ‘so’**

This connector is common in speaking, by all sorts of speakers (including children), with falling intonation. In writing it is uncommon, people disagree how to spell it, and some find it hard to read. It almost always starts a new sentence, linking the previous sentence(s) (or even up to three paragraphs) with a following sentence or paragraph.

*Neebe* has two main functions. Often it fulfils both functions at once, but it seems to also be able to fulfil just one of these functions.

Most instances of *neebe* to signal a change in the speech act or the type of information being given, for instance from a general statement to a statement which applies the principle to one's own situation, from narrative to a general statement, from a statement to concluding thanks, or from background information to foreground narrative, or from past to the present topic, as in the last line in (193)

- (239) ... *Neebe* hau hanoin ida nee, pozisaun mak nee, presidente, ita boot tetu ba!  
 . so 1S think one this position FOCUS this president 2S.POL big weigh go  
 (A paragraph on the party's proposal.) So this is what I think, (our) position is this. President, you weigh it up!'

A second function of *neebe* is to introduce a result of a preceding statement. This tends to be a request or command, but can also be a subsequent action, as in the last clause of (228).

## 15. Summary of old/new order for subordinate clauses

The following table summarises strong preferences for the position of old and new information.

Before the main clause	After the main clause	Comment
Reason: Old (usually an NP)	Reason clause: New	Keeps the main point first, but sometimes gives non-chronological order.
	Reason NP (rare): Old	If this were new information, it would be hard to know in what sense this NP were a 'reason'
<i>komu</i> 'since, as': New but not surprising		
Condition: New	Condition (rare): Old	Keeps chronological order.
Concession: New but not surprising	Concession (journalistic): New	
Purpose (journalistic)	Purpose: New	
	Result: New	This keeps chronological order.



## Appendix 1. Narrative texts

In the sample texts, the English translation is quite literal. Paragraph breaks are shown by horizontal lines.

### Appendix 1a. Written narrative: A student loses his spectacles

This is a true story written by Anabela Maia Santos. It has already been published in Williams-van Klinken, Ribeiro, and Tilman (2016, pp. 34-35).

Since this story beautifully illustrates means of referring to major and minor characters, the various characters are marked with different types of underlining. The main character is the 'old.man' student.

Narrative segment	Text	English translation
SETTING	<p>Tinan liu ba, <u>malae katuas ida</u> tuir kursu iha DIT. Nia matan haree letra la moos ona, entaun <u>nia</u> uza oklu atu lee ho diak.</p> <p>Bainhira too iha oras deskansa, estudante hotu-hotu tenki sai hosi klase ba liur. Balu hemu bee, balu koalia halimar ho kolega balu tenki selu osan kursu. Depois sira tama fali ba klase atu kontinua aprende Tetun.</p>	<p>Last year, <u>an/one old.man foreigner</u> attended the (Tetun language) course at DIT (Dili Institute of Technology). His eyes didn't see letters clearly any more, so <u>he</u> used spectacles to read well.</p> <p>When (it) had reached rest time, all the students had to leave the classroom to (go) outside. Some drank water, some talked in.chatting and some friends had to pay (the) course money. Then they went back to class to continue learning Tetun.</p>
INITIAL EVENT	Bainhira <u>mestra</u> hatete ba estudante sira dehan, "Loke livru, pajina 13",	When (the) <u>female.teacher</u> looked at the students saying, "Open (the) book, page 13",
MAJOR PROBLEM	<u>estudante katuas nee</u> konfuzau loos. <u>Nia</u> hasai sasaan hotu hosi nia pasta laran, atu buka nia oklu. <u>Nia</u> husu ba <u>nja kolega nebee tuur besik nja</u> dehan, "Ita haree hau nia oklu ka?"	<u>the old.man student</u> was very confused. <u>He</u> removed all (the) things from inside his bag, to look for his spectacles. <u>He</u> asked <u>his friend who sat near him</u> saying, "Have you seen my spectacles?"
	<u>Nia kolega nee</u> dehan, "Aii, hau la hetan. Karik ita haluha iha fatin seluk."	<u>This his friend</u> said, "Ah, I haven't seen (it). Perhaps you forgot (it) in another place."
	<u>Estudante katuas nee</u> husu ba <u>mestra</u> , "Mestra, ita haree hau nia oklu ka?" <u>Mestra</u> hataan, "La hetan maun, karik ohin ita selu osan kursu mak haluha iha nebaa."	<u>The old.man student</u> asked (the) <u>female.teacher</u> , "Female.teacher, have you seen my spectacles?" (The) <u>female.teacher</u> replied, "I haven't seen (it) brother, perhaps earlier (when) you paid (the) course money you forgot (it) there."
	Entaun <u>estudante katuas nee</u> sai hosi klase ba fatin nebee ohin nia selu osan ba. <u>Nia</u> husu ba <u>mestra nebee ohin simu nia osan</u> dehan, "Mestra, ohin hau selu osan, karik hau nia oklu rai hela iha ita nia meza nee."	So <u>the old.man student</u> went out of the classroom to the place where earlier he paid (the) money. <u>He</u> asked (the) <u>female.teacher who earlier received his money</u> saying, "Female.teacher, earlier I paid money, perhaps my spectacles (I) laid on this your desk."
	<u>Mestra nee</u> hataan, "Hau la hatene, ohin hau la haree oklu ida iha nee."	<u>The female.teacher</u> replied, "I don't know, earlier I didn't see any spectacles here."

Narrative segment	Text	English translation
	<p><u>Estudante katuas nee</u> konfuzau<sup>n</sup> loos, Ø la hatene rai nia oklu iha nebee.</p> <p><u>Nia haree mana ida badak oan loos</u> lao hakbesik ba <u>nia</u>. <u>Katuas nee</u> hakruuk oituan hodi husu ba <u>mana nee</u>, “Ita haree hau nia oklu ka?”</p>	<p><u>The old.man student</u> was very confused, Ø didn’t know where (he) had put his spectacles.</p> <p>He saw <u>an older.sister (who was) very short</u> walk towards <u>him</u>. <u>The old.man</u> bent over a bit to ask <u>this older.sister</u>, “Have you seen my spectacles?”</p>
PROBLEM SOLVED	<p>Tanba <u>mana nee</u> badak oan, hateke sae ba <u>estudante katuas nee</u> dehan, “Sin, hau haree. Oklu mak iha ita niaulun leten nee.”</p>	<p>Because <u>the older.sister</u> was short, (she) looked up at <u>the old.man student</u> saying, “Yes, I see (them). The spectacles are on top of your head.”</p>
CLOSING	<p><u>Estudante nee</u> kaer ba niaulun, Ø kaer kona nia oklu,</p> <p>depois <u>nia</u> hamnasa loos ho kontenti.</p>	<p><u>The student</u> touched his head, Ø touching his spectacles,</p> <p>then <u>he</u> laughed a lot with happiness.</p>

## Appendix 1b. Oral illustration: Everyone must die

By Teotonio do Carmo, leader of Youth for Christ, speaking at a Youth for Christ conference in Baucau on 14<sup>th</sup> September 2013. This story is used as an illustration within a longer talk.

Narrative segment	Tetun	English translation
OPENING	Atu reforsa hau nia liafuan ida nee, hau hakarak haforsa ho istoria badak ida nebee dehan:	To reinforce my message, I'd like to reinforce it with a short story which says:
SETTING: main character situation  INITIAL EVENT	Iha <u>senhora ida</u> , ho <u>nia kaben</u> ,  sira moris iha uma kain ida, sira moris hadomi malu loos. Iha lora ida <u>nia laen</u> nee tenki mate.  I bainhira <u>nia laen</u> nee mate, nee mak hanesan problema boot ida ba <u>nia</u> . I <u>nia</u> stress nee luar biasa.	There was a woman, and her spouse,  they lived in a household, they lived truly loving one another. One day this her husband had to die.  And when her husband died, this was like a big problem for her.  And she was extraordinarily stressed.
MAJOR PROBLEM	Saida mak <u>nia</u> halo?  Tanba <u>nia</u> hadomi <u>nia laen</u> nee, <u>nia</u> desidi atu la hakoi <u>nia laen</u> nee. <u>Nia</u> baa sosa jelu, hodi tau iha vidru atu loro-lora <u>nia</u> haree <u>nia laen</u> , <u>nia</u> hateke ba <u>nia laen</u> nee.	What did she do?  Because she loved this her husband. she decided not to bury this her husband. She went and bought ice, and put (it and his body) in glass so that every day she (could ) see her husband, she (could) look at this her husband.
PROBLEM SOLVED	Iha tempu ruma <u>nia</u> rona katak,  <u>nia</u> rona <u>tiu ida</u> , iha bairu nee, atu kura <u>nia laen</u> nee moris fali. Entaun <u>nia</u> baa iha <u>tiu nee</u> husu, atu se bele karik kura fali <u>nia laen</u> nee atu moris fali.	At that time she heard say  (there was) an uncle (i.e. a man), in this suburb, to cure this her husband (so he would) live again. So she went to this uncle (and) asked, that if possible (he) would cure this her husband again so (he would) live again.
	Entaun <u>tiu nee</u> dehan hanesan nee: "O hakarak o <u>nia laen</u> nee moris fali, hau foo tips ida ba o. O baa iha familia ida, o husu foos lata lima, maibee o tenki husu ba iha familia nee, 'Iha familia nee, la iha membrus ida mak mate tiha ona. Desde avoo too fali beioan sira sei kompletu, seidauk iha ida mak mate." I <u>nia</u> baa husu, nia hahuu hosi vizinyu, i <u>nia</u> husu hanesan nee: "Bele foo foos lata lima mai hau?"	So the uncle said like this: "(If) you want this your husband (to) live again, I'm giving you a tip. You go to a family, you ask five tins of rice, but you must ask this family,  'In this family, there are no members who have died. From grandparents right (down) to the grandchildren are still complete, there isn't yet one who has died." And she went (and) asked, she started from (her) neighbour, and she asked like this: "Can (you) give me five tins of rice?"

Narrative segment	Tetun	English translation
	"O, bele!"	(Neighbour:) "Oh, (I) can."
	"Maibee ita boot nia membrus ruma desde avoo mate tiha ona ka seidak?" "O... semana uluk nee hau nia tiu, hau nia tia nia kaben mate foin, nia kaben mane foin mate."	(Widow:) But have any members of your (family) from the grandparents on died, or not yet?"  (Neighbour:) "Oh, last week my uncle, my aunt's spouse just died, her male spouse just died."
	"O entaun nee la bele. Foos hau la simu."	(Widow:) Oh, then (I) can't. I won't accept the rice."
	Ø baa fali familia seluk, Ø baa fali familia seluk, Ø too iha distritu, sub distritu, hodi husu foos lata lima, maibee ho syarat ida ohin nee. Naran katak, membrus nee iha familia ida la mate. I <u>nia</u> la hetan foos, tanba membrus familia ida-idak nia membrus mate.	(She) went instead to another family, went to another family, as far as the district, sub-district, and asked for five tins of rice, but with the above-mentioned condition. So long as the members of the family, not one had died. And she got no rice, because the members of each family, its members had died.
FINAL RESOLUTION	<u>Nia</u> mai, <u>nia</u> baa hatete ba tiu nee, "Tiu, hau la hetan foos , maibee hau hetan solusaun ba hau nia frustrasaun. Afinal, ema hotu-hotu mate, laos hau nia laen deit."	She came,  she said to this uncle, "Uncle, I didn't get (any) rice, but I got a solution to my frustration.  It turns out, everyone dies, not just my husband."
	Ikus mai <u>nia</u> rela atu <u>nia</u> lori <u>nia kaben nee</u> baa hakoi tiha.	Eventually she consented for her to take this her spouse (and) went and buried (him).
CLOSING = meaning of the story	Setumpuk-tumpuknya masalah,  pasti ada, ada, adanya jalan.	Problems pile up,  certainly exist, exist, exist (a) way. (This final sentence is in Indonesian)
FINISH	Amen.	Amen.

## Appendix 2. Hortatory texts

### Appendix 2a. Disciplining a student

Jacinta Canossa Soares, teacher of Tetun to foreigners at Dili Institute of Technology, explaining on 12/1/2012 about how she exhorted a lazy student when she was a school teacher.

Hortative segment	Text	English translation
NARRATIVE SETTING	Uluk hau hanorin iha eskola sekundaria, hau iha estudante ida ke matenek maibee baruk. Entaun too loron ida hau halo hanesan konseling ba nia. Hau dehan ba nia,	I used to teach in a secondary school, (where) I had a student who was smart but lazy. So one day I did like counselling to him. I said to him,
SITUATION: Praise  Problem  Praise	<p>“Tuir hau haree, durante hau hanorin iha nee, o iha duni kapasidade atu aprende, se kompara ho o nia kolega sira seluk, o mos bele dehan bahasa karik ‘bintang kelas’.</p> <p>Maibee hau la hatene tanba saa mak o baruk. I dala ruma iha servisu ruma, o la halo.</p> <p>Maibee realidade too ezame o nia nilai diak. O nia valor ezame nee o hetan kiik ona mak tujuh, i boot bele sepuluh bulat.”</p>	<p>“According to (what) I see, while I’ve been teaching here, you indeed have (the) capacity to learn, if compared to your other schoolmates, you also (it) could be said are (what) Indonesian (calls) ‘star of the class’ (i.e. dux).</p> <p>But I don’t know why you are lazy. And sometimes (when) there is some homework, you don’t do (it).</p> <p>But in reality (when) it get to exams your results are good. Your exam results, you get at least seven, and at most can be a round ten.</p>
SUMMARY in narrative	Entaun hau mos akui katak, ema nee matenek, labarik nee matenek maibee baruk.	So I also agreed that, this person was smart, this child was smart but lazy.
HORTATIVE + PURPOSE	<p>“ Diak liu ba o mak o tenki halakon hahalok ida baruk-teen nee!</p> <p>Para bele hatudu ba o nia maluk sira seluk katak o nee ema matenek ida.</p>	<p>“It would be better for you that you must get rid of this lazy behaviour.</p> <p>To be able to show your other friends that you are an smart person.</p>
HORTATIVE + REASON	<p>Tau aan di-diak hanesan mane,</p> <p>i ema mane nee iha tanggung jawab nebee boot, se kompara ho feto. Feto, nia atu eskola matenek ka la matenek, aban-bainrua mane ida kaben ho nia, nia dependente liu ba mane.</p>	<p>Act appropriately as a male (lit. ‘put self well like male’),</p> <p>and males have responsibility which is large, if compared to females. (A) female, (if) she goes to school (regardless of whether she) is smart or not smart, in future a man marries her, she depends mainly on the man.</p>
SITUATION (repeated) + HORTATIVE	Maibee se o iha kakutak nebee diak, oinsaa o la uza para hadia o nia moris nee ba oin, la bele baruk demais, halo tuir regra eskola nian,	<p>But if you have a brain which is good,</p> <p>how (come) you don’t use it to improve your life for the future, don’t be too lazy, follow the school rules,</p>

Hortative segment	Text	English translation
+ PURPOSE	para buat sira nee ajuda o atu – bahasa karik dehan, ‘Iha tanggung jawab.’	so that these things help you to – (what) Indonesian (calls) have responsibility’.
+ DEFINITION	Entaun tangung jawab laos deit ho osan, haree ho valor osan, maibee tanggung jawab husi kedan ita nia uma laran. Buat kiik-kiik deit mos ita sente hanesan iha responsabilidade ba buat nee.	So responsibility is not just with money, looking at the value of money, but responsibility is right from our home. Even little things we feel we have responsibility for them.
HORTATIVE	La bele hanesan husik hela deit, orsida profesora sira koalia, o la rona, o anggap enteng, seolah-olah o atu hatudu katak o matenek: ‘Tanba saa mak hau tenki rona sira?’	Don’t like just leave (things) be, when your teachers talk, you don’t listen, you consider (them) trivial, as if you want to show you are smart: ‘Why do I have to listen to them?’
SITUATION (reanalysed)	Entaun husi ida nee hatudu katak, maski o matenek, maibee tuir lo-loos o beik, tanba o nia buat ida respeitu nee la iha, la menghargai ema seluk, la konsidera ema seluk katak, ema nee bele sai hanesan o nia mata dalan, karik nia bele halo buat nebee diak ba o hanesan o nia orientador sira ka, mestre sira, profesor sira. Nee dala ruma sira koalia-koalia, siak-siak o mos, nee tanba hakarak atu ba o nia diak.	So this shows that, although you are smart, but in actual fact you are stupid, because you don’t have respect (lit. ‘your thing respect not exist’), don’t value other people, don’t consider of other people that this person could become like your guide, perhaps s/he can do something good for you like your supervisors, or teachers, lecturers. Even though sometimes they talk and talk, tell you off and tell you off, this is because (they) want your good.
OBJECTIVE of this talk.	Se aban-bainrua o eskola boot tiha, o tuur iha parlametu nebaa, imposivel o atu mai dehan; ‘O! Hau nia mestre uluk maka nee, be hau tenki foo netik buat ruma ba sira ka?’ La iha! Entaun buat sira nee koalia nee para atu hadia o nia moris ba aban-bainrua.	If in future you have higher education, you are sitting over there in the parliament, it’s impossible that (you) would come (to me) saying, ‘Oh! This is my former teacher so I must at least give them something?’ No way!  So (I) spoke these things to improve your life for the future.
HORTATIVE  + CONSEQUENCE of not obeying	Entaun hau hakarak husu buat ida ba o: Se bele karik o muda o nia hahalok, ou se lae, se o baruk demais, diak liu maka too hau nia lisaun, o lalika tama.	So I want to ask you something: If possible, change your behaviour,  or else, if you are too lazy, it would be better that (when it) comes to my lesson, you don’t come in.
+ REASON for consequence	Tanba o hatene katak o matenek ona, o estuda deit iha uma. Too ezame deit maka o bele mai.”	Because you know that you are smart, (if) you just study at home. (When it comes) to the exam then you can come.”
CLOSE narrative	Hau hanoin hanesan nee deit.	I think that’s all.

## Appendix 2b. Hortatory text within a sermon

The following is a hortatory segment within a sermon by Padre Angelo Salsinha, from Ermera, at a Youth for Christ Conference in Baucau in 2013. The theme of the conference was “Jesus Expo”.

Hortative segment	Text	Translation
VOCATIVE	Maibee rona di-diak joven sira!	But listen carefully young people!
SITUATION	Maromak diak i nafatin, laos ekspu mamuk.	God is good and forever, not just an empty ‘expo’.
HORTATORY	Tenki ekspu ida nee, tenki o kompriende iha o ninia vida. O kompriende iha o nia moris. O kompriende iha o nia fuan.	Because this expo, you must understand in your life. You (must) understand in your living. You (must) understand in your heart.
CONSEQUENCE  REASONS for CONSEQUENCE	Tanba nee mak ita nia brand, ita nia ekspu la sai iha televizaun, la hakerek iha expanduk bo-boot, la tau iha koran, la hakerek iha buat oi-oin. Tanba ekspu ita nian, hakerek iha o nia fuan, hakerek iha o nia laran. Tanba Maromak ida nebee mai, laos mai hakerek buat maten. Maibee hakerek iha o nia vida. Hakerek iha o nia moris.	Because of this our brand, our expo doesn’t get shown on television, isn’t written on large banners, isn’t put in the newspaper, isn’t written on all sorts of things. Because our expo is written on our hearts, written on our insides. Because the God who is coming doesn’t come writing lifeless things. But (He) writes in your life. He writes in your living.
HORTATIVE	Tanba nee tenki ema pesoal, tenki kompriende Nia pesoal, iha o nia vida, o nia moris.	Because of this persons must understand Him personally, in your life, in your living.

## Appendix 3. Expository texts

### Appendix 3a. Written exposition: Government projects must have quality

This is part of a text written by Merício Akara for Luta Hamutuk in 2014. It retains the original spelling.

Segment	Text	Translation
MAIN POINT REASONS	Projetu tenke iha kualidade di'ak, tanba kualker projetu infraestrutura ne'ebé mak finansia husi Orsamentu Jerál Estadu, ne'e presiza konsidera nu'udar investimentu ba longu prazu,	Projects must be of good quality, because any infrastructure project which is financed by the General State Budget, must be considered as an investment for the long term, which can create conditions to fulfil the people's social and economic needs.
DEFINITION	ne'ebé mak bele kria kondisaun hodi fasilita povu nia nesesidade sosial no ekonomia. Projetu ne'ebé mak iha kualidade la'ós de'it projetu ne'ebé implementa tuir padraun tékniku no dura ba tempu naruk, maibé kualidade projetu ruma bele sukat moos husi oinsa planeamentu projetu ruma bele responde nesesidade no prioridade povu (responsivu), la'ós kria projetu tanba iha interesse ruma.	A project which is of good quality isn't just a project which is implemented according to technical standards and which endures for a long time, but the quality of a project must also be measured how project planning can answer the needs and priorities of the people (responsive), not creating projects because of some interests or other.

### Appendix 3b. Oral recounted exposition: Why make an idol

Padre Angelo Salsinha, in a sermon at the Jesus Expo conference of Youth for Christ in 2013, gives the Israelite's arguments for making golden calf idol.

Here their arguments precede the conclusion (that they must make a 'god' themselves), but this conclusion has already been previewed in the situation, where the speaker said they indeed made an idol.

Segment	Text	Translation
NARRATIVE SITUATION (introduces main point)	... Ohin imi rona, sira halo karau oan ida hafoin sira hakniak iha nia oin, hasae sakrifisiu ba nia hodi dehan, "Israel, o nia maromak sira mak nee." Ema kria rasik nia maromak.	... Just now we heard, they (the Israelites) made a calf then they knelt before it, raising sacrifices to it and saying, "Israel, this is your god." People created their own god.
REASONS WITH EXAMPLES	Tanba Maromak ida roha- laek nee nia kaer la hetan. Nia atu kaer, i ema nee presiza buat ruma nia tenki kaer. Bee ruma karik, nia tenki kaer nia hemu. Hahaan ruma karik, nia kaer, nia haan. Ida nee mak nia kompriende.	Because he (people) couldn't hold on to the eternal God. He wanted to hold on (to God), and the people needed something to hold on to. If (in the case of) water, he must hold (on to it and) drink. If food, he holds, he eats. This is what he understands.
MAIN POINT (conclusion)	"Vida ida rohan-laek be hau mehi deit nee, diak liu hau halo rasik hau nia maromak."	This eternal life that I'm just dreaming of, it's better if I make my own god."



### Appendix 3c. Oral exposition: Discussion of the budget

Aniceto Guterres, speaking on behalf of the Fretilin party, in the debate on the National Budget in parliament in 2011.

Segment	Text	English translation
VOCATIVE + SITUATION	Prezidente, AMP nia politika atu halo deve, nee politika ita boot AMP sira ninian. Maibee kuandu atu selu, nee laos AMP mak selu, anaunser AMP sira nee sei dura too korenta anus, nee bele selu. Tanba aban-bainrua divida nee ita nia jerasaun sira tuir mai mak selu, i nee muintu mais ita sira nee mak sei selu.	President, AMP (a coalition of parties)'s policies are to go into debt, this is a major policy of AMP. But when (it is time) to pay, it's not AMP that will pay, unless AMP lasts for forty years (the period of the proposed debt), only then would they) pay. Because in future it is the following generations who will pay this debt, and even more we here will pay.
VOCATIVE + MAIN POINT (general)  + REASONS	Tanba nee, senhor presidente, en termus bankada, en termus partidu, Fretilin la kontra politika nee, maibee kontra halo divida iha ultimu mandatu governu nee ninian, i ultimu mandatu ultima legislatura ida nee ninian. Nee mak kontra,  tanba nee kompromete governu sira mai. Tuir loos governu sei mai, la kleur tan, fulan rua-tolu tan governu nenee hotu ona. Agora ita hakarak kompromete kedas, korenta i tres milhoens ita aprova hotu ona, hakarak aumenta tan. Proposta nee, ita boot sira bele fundamenta halo nusaa ba mos nia sentidu nee atu aumenta tan divida, halo sentu i seitenta milhoens. Ita boot sira bele esplika, maibee nia sentidu mak nee.	For this reason, mister president, in terms of (political) benches, in terms of parties, Fretilin doesn't oppose this policy, but opposes taking out debt in the final period of the government, and the final period of this legislature. That's what we oppose,  because this promises future governments. A future government should come soon, in two or three months this government will be finished. Now we want to promise: we have already approved 43 million dollars, (and) want to increase it even more. No matter how you present this proposal, it comes down to increasing the debt to 170 million (dollars). You can explain, but that's what it means.
VOCATIVE + MAIN POINT (detailed)  CLOSE + VOCATIVE	Tanba nee, senhor presidente, ita boot sira bele kontinua diskusaun nee, bele halo votasaun ba! Fretilin - bankada Fretilin la partisipa iha votsaun ida nee. I hodi hatete katak, lei orsamentu ida nee sei la regula Fretilin ba aban-bainrua. Obrigadu senhor presidente.	Because of that, mister president, you can continue this discussion, (and) can vote! Fretilin – the Fretilin bench won't participate in this vote. And (I) say that, this budget law will not control Fretilin in future.  Thank you, mister president.

### Appendix 3d. Oral exposition with final conclusion: Why bother praying

This imagined argument is from a talk by Aleixo do Rosario Pereira on prayer at a youth conference in 2011.

Segment	Tetun	Translation
REASONS	Dala ruma dehan hanesan nee, "lih be, hau reza beibeik, hau reza beibeik mos hanesan deit, nia rezultadu la iha.	Sometimes (we) say this, "Hey, I keep praying. (But) even (when) I keep praying it's all the same, there are no results.
CONCLUSION	Diak liu la reza."	It's better (I) don't pray."

## Appendix 4. List of main texts used in this discourse analysis

These are all oral texts, by fluent adult speakers of Tetun Dili, all tertiary educated and/or in leadership positions.

Author	District	Year	Type	Topic	Words
Julieta dos Reis	Ermera	2000	Narrative	Her experiences with UNAMET during the 1999 referendum.	2900
Simeão Brites Seixas	Dili	2007	Narrative	Retelling of the Biblical story of Esther	2100
Olinda Lucas	Lospalos	2012	Narrative	Two dreams she had	340
Anabela Maia Santos	Bobonaro	2012	Narrative	A funny story	500
Bernadete Luan	Liquiça	2012	Narrative	A friend's experience	200
Bernadete Luan	Liquiça	2012	Narrative	A joke	200
Antonio da Costa	Same	2006	Narrative	A saint story	400
Natalino Dias de Jesus	Same	2012	Narrative	A saint story	550
Alexandre Fernandes Cham	Dili	2012	Narrative	A funny incident in his suburb	550
Teotonio do Carmo	Ainaro	2013	Narrative	Story told as an illustration within a talk	50
Atai		2006	Narrative	Folktale 'Monkey and Turtle'	1800
Various parliamentarians		2013	Debate	Parliamentary debate on the national budget	5500
Xanana Gusmão and Mauk Moruk	Manatuto, Baucau	2013	Debate	Debate on what happened in 1983-84	4600
Aleixo do Rosario Pereira	Baucau	2011	Hortatory	Teaching on prayer at a youth conference	1600
Angelo Salsinha	Ermera	2013	Hortatory	Sermon at youth conference	1700
Xanana Gusmão	Manatuto	2006	Hortatory	Message from the President of the Republic to the people	950
Lucas da Costa	Ermera	2011	Hortatory	Graduation speech by university rector	950
Guilhermina Marçal	Same	2006	Hortatory	Christmas message by senior nun	1400
Jacinta Canossa Soares	Dili	2012	Narrative + hortatory	How she spoke to a smart but lazy student	450
Acacio Cardoso	Covalima	2006	Explanatory	How to welcome guests	400
José Ramos Horta	Dili	2011	Speech	Presidential speech for independence day	2400

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