Grammar of Lexical Parallelism

LEXICAL PARALLELISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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Glosses

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
ART	Article
DEM	Demonstrative
FEM	Feminine
LINK	Linker
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
OBJ	Object
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
RED	Reduplication
SEQ	Sequential
SG	Singular
VEB	Verbalizer
VOC	Vocative

1 Introduction

This thesis researches the grammar of parallelism. Parallelism is a feature that is very common in the languages of the world. It is found in the oral traditions all over the world, from South America to China, and from Finland and Russia to Southeast Asia. Linguistically, all these traditions have one thing in common: the dual structuring of words, lines, phrases and/or paragraphs in their ritual texts. The specific features of parallelism can vary greatly between languages, but the dual structuring is the core feature that appears everywhere. In this thesis, the focus lies on parallelism in two languages: Fataluku (ISO 639-3 ddg) and Rotinese (ISO 639-3 txq) (see Section 2). In some analyses, also Kambera (ISO 639-3 xbr) and Leti (ISO 639-3 lti) are added to the comparison.

1.1 Definition of Parallelism

The definitions that are given about parallelism in the literature show this variation as well. The researcher who is often mentioned as the first to research parallelism in Biblical Hebrew is Robert Lowth, who defined it as: “The correspondence of one verse, or line, with another [...]. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it, in sense; or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction; these I call parallel lines; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms” (Lowth 1848: iv). This definition is based on Biblical Hebrew, where parallelism occurs in adjacent lines. This is shown in Example (1) below, where the semantics of the two adjacent lines show that they belong in a parallel.

(1) [Biblical Hebrew]

מִי-לִי בַשָּׁמָיִם;	Whom have I in heaven but Thee?
וְעִמְּךָ, לֹא-חָפַצְתִּי בָאָרֶץ.	And beside Thee I desire none upon earth.
	Psalm 73:25

A second researcher who worked on Biblical Hebrew gave a slightly different definition: “…[parallelism] is a correspondence of one thing with another. Parallelism promotes the perception of a relationship between the element of which parallelism is composed, and this relationship is one of correspondence.” (Berlin 2008: 2). She does not mention the “lines” or “verses”, but she does mention that the relationship between the terms in both lines, is “one of correspondence”. This is not yet very specific, although it makes clear that the two terms are not chosen at random. To find a definition in another area, before moving on to Southeast Asia, there is Roman Jakobson, who studied parallelism in Russian. He takes a more linguistic angle, when he writes: “Pervasive parallelism inevitably activates all the levels of language – the distinctive features, inherent and prosodic, the morphologic and syntactic categories and forms, the lexical units and their semantic classes in both their convergences and divergences acquire an autonomous poetic value” (Jakobson 1966: 423). He also acknowledges the power of the use of parallelism when he cites Boodberg: “[...] parallelism is not merely a stylistic device of formularistic syntactical duplication; it is intended to achieve a result reminiscent of binocular vision, the superimposition of two syntactical images in order to endow them with solidity and depth, the repetition of the pattern having the effect of binding together syntagms that appear at first rather loosely align” (Boodberg 1954, in Jakobson 1966: 402). A researcher of parallelism in Southeast Asia, James Fox, focuses his definition more on the context in which parallelism is used: “Parallelism describes the common tendency to resort to the pairing of words and phrases to provide emphasis, authority or significance to an expression of ideas." (Fox 2014: 3). These three definitions all mention different features of parallelism, which can be summarized by the following definition:

> Parallelism is "the pairing of corresponding words or phrases or even harmony of sounds, corresponding in both semantics and morphology to create an emphasized message. This can be done to indicate sacredness, importance [or] authority [...]. Therefore, it is frequently used as a feature of poetry or in a higher register of a language" (Mourik 2020a: 4)

1.2 Different Types of Parallelism

1.2.1 Grammatical Parallelism

When looking at the linguistic structure of texts with parallelism, different types of parallelism can be distinguished. Often, three kinds are distinguished: grammatical, semantic, and lexical parallelism. Grammatical parallelism refers to the tendency of parallel lines to occur in the same syntactic order, with the same morphological marking. An example of this, from Rotinese, is shown below in Example (2), where the syntactic order of both lines is SVO, and the same morphological marking for 3SG is used in both lines.

(2) [Rotinese]

De neni ne'u Londa Lusi//Ma neni ne'u Batu Bela

de	n-eni	n-eu	Londa Lusi	// ma	n-eni	n-eu	Batu Bela
then	3SG-carry	3SG-go	name	// and	3SG-carry	3SG-go	name
	S	V	O		S'	V'	O'

'Then she carries (them) to Londa Lusi // And she carries (them) to Batu Bela'
(RTD 5.194, spelling adapted)

1.2.2 Semantic Parallelism

Semantic parallelism is concerned with the relationship between the two words in a parallel pair. There are three general relationships that should be mentioned here: synonymous, antithetic and synthetic. These three categories originate from one of the earliest sources about parallelism, namely from Robert Lowth, in 1815 (Williams 1991: 13). These three categories will be illustrated by examples from Rotinese (Mourik 2020b: 17) in Table 1 and Example (3) below:

Synonymous			**Synthetic**		
hu'a//silu	'dawn//morning'	(4.061)	*kou//fupa*	'bow//blowpipe'	(4.043)
dulu//langa	'east//head'	(3.007)	*nasu//idu*	'cheeks//nose'	(4.045)
eno//dala	'path//road'	(7.004)	*bii//manu*	'goat//cock'	(6.001)
mon//fu'a	'plain//field'	(5.045)	*lu//pinu*	'tears//snot'	(4.020)

Table 1: Semantic Parallelism in Rotinese (Mourik 2020b: 17)

(3) [Rotinese]

Antithetic

Fo dale be na asa	//	A: What pleases you, buy it
Ma pela be na pedan		A': and what displeases you, put it back (RTD 4.123)

1.2.3 Lexical Parallelism

The third type of parallelism is the most important in this thesis: lexical parallelism. Lexical parallelism is concerned with categorizing the words in parallel pairs into intelligible categories. The focus lies on nouns (see Section 4). A category can be described as an abstract unit, consisting of two levels. An example of such a category is man//woman, which contains words that fit the general description of the group, such as brother, sister, uncle, aunt, father, mother, etc. A lexical parallel consists of two words that fit into such a category. These categories are discussed extensively in Section 4.

1.3 History of Research

Lexical parallelism is already mentioned by Robert Lowth in his definition of parallelism: "The correspondence of one verse, or line, with another, I call parallelism. *When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it,* equivalent, or contrasted with it, in sense; or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction; these I call parallel lines; and the *words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms*" (Lowth 1848: iv, emphasis by author). However, he has not discussed lexical parallelism in his work, but he acknowledged it as a part of parallelism. Lexical parallelism is studied for Biblical Hebrew, and the results of that research are diverse. The research into this topic is mainly focused on how words combine to form lexical pairs. The common conception is that the lexical pairs are formed based on "normal linguistic association" (Berlin 2008: 68). On the other hand, one of the claims is that there is no such process: "The psychotherapeutic exercise of free association reveals, if it is not obvious, that any single word in a language can be paired with another" (O'Connor 1980: 196). This definition of lexical parallelism indicates that parallel pairs simply come to exist, and no 'rules' are needed to form them. Another researcher of Biblical Hebrew understands that lexical pairs that might seem unexpected in a modern western perspective do not have to be unexpected in the culture in question (Watters 1976: 75). This claim is indeed important to keep in mind. Although lexical parallelism in Southeast Asia is still in use today, as opposed to lexical parallelism in Biblical Hebrew, cultural differences may cloud one's vision when looking for categories. It is important to keep an open mind and be alert for categories that might not fit one's own view on life.

Parallelism is also well-known in the languages of The Americas. However, so far, I have not been able to find an in-depth description of lexical parallelism, although some come very close. There is, for example, a publication by Norman (1980) who describes clearly that the order of "stock pairs" (often occurring parallel pairs, i.e. lexical pairs) is "in most cases invariant" (1980: 392), but the next step in the analysis, the identification of the categories, misses. In this area too, more in-depth research is needed to learn about categories in lexical parallelism.

This thesis discusses lexical parallelism from a linguistic perspective. The angle in which parallelism is researched so far is mainly literary and/or anthropological in nature. In the case of Biblical Hebrew, the research is done from a theological perspective. However, there is much to say about the linguistics of parallelism. This angle is very valuable, and can tell a lot about a language, and how it is used within a community. How are language and culture influenced by the use of parallelism? How does a performer know what is a parallel pair, and what is not? These are questions that are central in this thesis.

1.4 Hypotheses and Research Questions

The central theme in this thesis is the research into the linguistics of lexical parallelism in Fataluku and Rotinese, with a specific focus on the order of words within parallel pairs. A hypothesis coined by Aone van Engelenhoven (personal communication) is that the order of the words is determined by culture, where the culturally dominant term always stands in first position of a lexical pair. This hypothesis has led to two hypotheses that will be tested in this thesis.

The first hypothesis, the one coined by Aone van Engelenhoven, is that the order of the words is determined by culture. The original 'grammatical slot hypothesis' states that the two positions in a lexical parallel word pair are grammatical slots, in which the first slot is occupied by the word with cultural dominance, and the second slot is occupied by the parallel word. However, this hypothesis needs to be updated. As the second hypothesis shows, the position of the culturally dominant word differs for different languages. The upgraded hypothesis is that the two positions in a lexical parallel word pair are grammatical slots, in which one of the slots is occupied by the word with cultural dominance, and the other slot is occupied by the parallel word. Depending on being a P1- or a P2-Language (see below), the most important term stands in first or in second position, respectively. For this hypothesis to be true, 80% of parallel pairs must occur in the culturally expected order (see Section 1.5). The research question that follows from this hypothesis is: Is there a strict order (≥80% pairs in strict order) for lexical parallels, and can this be explained by culture? This hypothesis is tested in Section 4 for two languages: Fataluku and Rotinese.

The second hypothesis states that languages differ in the position in which they place their culturally most dominant word in a parallel pair. Depending on the language, this can be the first or the second position. This is a distinction that is not made before. According to this model, languages that place the culturally most important word in first position are called P1-Languages (place 1), and languages that place this word in second position are called P2-Languages (place 2). In this thesis, this division is tested for four languages, to find out whether it is a distinction that is valid. This is discussed in Section 5. The research question that follows from this hypothesis is: Is there a difference in the basic order languages present their lexical parallel?

If these hypotheses are true, this would mean that these are common features in lexical parallelism in the languages in the Timor region. If the slots are filled based on rules, this means that there are grammatical rules determining the order of the parallel pairs. The publications by Van Engelenhoven (1997; 2010) only mention some categories. By using larger databases and more literature, the hypothesis can be tested for more categories. By using the numbers in the databases (see Section 1.5), it can be tested whether these lexical pairs are as lexical as claimed by looking at parallel pairs that occur in both orders, and, if there are any, the mechanics that allow variation in the order. A last option is that there is simply no lexical parallelism for a specific semantic group, in a specific language.

1.5 Methodology

To find out whether the hypotheses are true or false, two extensive databases containing lexical parallelism for both Fataluku and Rotinese are used for the analysis. The lexical parallels in these databases come from different existing sources, which makes this corpus-based research. This research is a quantitative analysis of the data. By comparing the lexical parallels in the two languages and making statistical analyses, the hypotheses can be tested. However, there is the question of when the hypotheses can be considered true. For the first hypothesis, this needs some more specification. Is the hypothesis true when 100% of all parallel pairs occur in a strict order? Or is some variation allowed? Keeping a 100% limit does not seem fit, for the texts that are used, in most cases, are transcribed versions of 'real-life performances' (this is, not recorded in isolated elicitation sessions in which the speakers can correct themselves). So, it seems plausible to add some room for error in the analysis. Therefore, the bar for the hypothesis to be true, is set on 80% of the lexical word pairs being in the same order, unless the variation can be explained by context or else. The workflow in this thesis is comparable to that in my bachelor's thesis (Mourik 2020b), where I also made basic statistical analyses of parallelism.

The databases used for the analysis are made in a similar format. For easy reference, the databases are called FPD 'Fataluku Parallel Database', and RPD 'Rotinese Parallel Database' (this in contrast to the 'old' database, mentioned below, called the RTD 'Rotinese Text Database'). The FPD was started by Aone van Engelenhoven and upgraded by me during my student-assistantship. This upgrade made the database more workable, and easier to go through. During the process of writing this thesis, I upgraded the RTD, set up during my bachelor's thesis, into the RPD, in the same format as the FPD. The databases contain parallel pairs, and for each pair it is indicated how often they occur in the sources. For each parallel pair, the source is given. Below, in Figure 1 and Figure 2, a preview of the RTD is shown. The FPD has the exact same layout. The first three columns in Figure 1 simply give the words in the parallel, each parallel pair is added twice in the database, once for every word of the parallel pair. The third and fourth column give the (grammatical) glosses, when applicable. The next column gives the part of speech for both words. For this thesis, the nouns are most important (see Section 4), but for the sake of completion, other parts of speech are also added in the database. The eighth column indicates whether the parallel pair is simplex or complex (morphology, phrases, etc.). The translation column gives the English translation of the parallel pair. Figure 2 shows the numbers in which the parallel pairs occur. When a pair occurs in both orders, such as the pair *kale // pule* vs. *pule // kale* 'kernel // grain', 'grain // kernel', respectively, the first column (called 'reversed?') has a yes, and Excel automatically colors the cell green. When a parallel pair occurs in only one order, only the columns ord1, 1nar, and 1poet can be filled. When a parallel pair occurs in both orders, also the columns ord2, 2nar, and 2poet can be filled. In these cases, the 1 refers to the parallel pair in that line, the 2 refers to the reversed parallel. In this way, for each parallel it is easily visible how often they occur in both orders. The columns end with a column for notes and the sources. All columns can be filtered and sorted to easily find lexical pairs with specific characteristics.

LEXa	LEXb	Lex.Par1//2	Gloss1	Gloss2	POS1	POS2	sim/c	Trans1	Trans2	Translation
pinu	lu	lu//pinu	tears	snot	n	n	sim	tears	snot	tears//snot
poe	nii	poe//nii	shrimp	crab	n	n	com	shrimp	crab	shrimp//crab
poe-oe	masala	poe-oe//masala	shrimp in the	yet still			com	shrimp in th	yet still	shrimp in the water,
pou	sidi	pou//sidi	sarong	cloth	n	n	sim	sarong	cloth	sarong//cloth
pua	no	no//pua	shoot	sprout	n	n	sim	shoot	sprout	shoot//sprout
pua	malu	pua//malu	areca nut	betel nut	n	n	sim	areca nut	betel nut	areca nut//betel nut
Pua Kene	No Kene	Pua Kene//No Kene	Pua Kene	No Kene	name	name	sim	Pua Kene	No Kene	Pua Kene//No Kene
pule	kale	kale//pule	kernel	grain	n	n	sim	kernel	grain	kernel//grain
pule	kale	pule//kale	grain	kernel	n	n	sim	grain	kernel	grain//kernel
Putu Koe	Le Mako	Putu//Le Mako	Putu Koe	Le Mako	name	name	sim	Putu Koe	Le Mako	Putu//Le Mako
Resik anan	Lenak anan	Lenak anan//Resik ana	Lenak's child	Resik's child	n	n	com	Lenak's chil	Resik's child	Lenak's child//Resik
sadi	hu	hu//sadi	but	only	adv	adv	sim	but	only	but//only
sadu	nupu	nupu//sadu	coconut	areca nut	n	n	sim	coconut	areca nut	coconut//areca nut

Figure 1: Rotinese Database - First Columns

Re	ord1	ord2	1nar	1poet	2nar	2poet	Notes	Source
x	6	0	0	6	0	0		4,16; 4,20; 4,45;
x	1	0	0	1	0	0	with morphol	5,18
x	1	0	0	1	0	0	lexpar?	4,60
x	2	0	0	2	0	0		5,51; 5,52
x	9	0	0	9	0	0	with morphol	5,2; 5,10; 5,11;
x	1	0	0	1	0	0		5,53
x	1	0	0	1	0	0		5,119
yes	15	5	0	15	0	5		5,33; 5,47; 5,64;
yes	6	15	0	6	0	15		5,26; 5,42; 5,58;
x	1	0	0	1	0	0		5,110
x	1	0	0	1	0	0	3,2 multiple li	3,2
x	1	0	0	1	0	0		6,2
x	9	0	0	9	0	0		5,2; 5,10; 5,11;

Figure 2: Rotinese Database - Last Columns

The text analysis for Rotinese is based on all seven texts (see Table 2) in the 'old' Rotinese database, called the RTD 'Rotinese Text Database'. When using lines from this database, they are referred to by the numbers used in the Excel file. Each parallel was assigned a number, each line of a parallel a letter (e.g. 2a//2b). In this way, all lines and parallels are coded and can easily be traced down. Examples taken from the database are numbered accordingly. So, parallel pair 25 from text 4 is labeled (RTD 4.025).

Text	Source
1	(Fox 2014: 325)
2	(Fox 2014: 224a)
3	(Fox 2014: 224b)
4	(Fox 1988: 190–201)
5	(Fox 2014: 419–431)
6	(Fox 1989: 74)
7	(Fox 1988: 164)

Table 2: Sources from the RTD

For the analysis for Fataluku I used one text, called 'Lord of the Golden Cloth', an unpublished text that was given to me by Aone van Engelenhoven. This text is elicited, transcribed, and analyzed by Filipe da Costa Meneses as part of his (unpublished) bachelor's thesis in 1997 (Costa Meneses 1997). The text is used as analyzed by him, although sometimes it is unclear how he got to his analysis. For example, his decisions on the parallel lines do not always fit the definition of parallelism. Ideally, this text would be reanalyzed, with specific attention for the analysis of parallel lines. 'The Lord of the Golden Cloth' is a ritual text that is 848 lines long and contains a lot of parallelism. Referring to this text is done by LGC, referring to a specific line is done by (LGC [line-number])

These texts are used to describe the general structure of parallelism, and to find out about the mechanisms in the ordering of the lexical parallels. When referring to parallel pairs, especially the numbers of occurrence of parallel pairs, this refers to the databases, and no reference is given. The specific source can be found in the databases.

1.6 Relevance

Oral tradition in Southeast Asia is mostly studied from an anthropological perspective. There are a multitude of publications about the contexts in which the ritual speech is used. Although this is very valuable information, it does not shed light on the linguistics of the texts. That is what this thesis will add. This thesis will make a connection between the linguistics (structure of the text) and the culture (social context of the community). By combining linguistics and anthropology, the structure and use of parallelism in oral tradition in Southeast Asia will become clearer. The link between culture and language can be made visible, and a stronger theoretical framework can be set up. By using the different perspectives in this research, general tendencies can be found and described.

There are also several publications describing (lexical) parallelism in languages. However, most publications only describe parallelism in one language, while making use of their own theoretical framework and terminology. It would be extremely valuable to have a clear terminology, and a strict theoretical framework. This would make future research more compatible among different authors. In this thesis, a strict terminology is used (see Section 1.7). This thesis will compare parallelism in two (sometimes four) languages, with literature from even more languages. By combining the knowledge in different languages from different language families, a theoretical framework can be made, based on the features that are employed in these languages. This comparative approach will make a start in writing a grammar of lexical parallelism, a typology of the feature.

A first start with comparative research into lexical parallelism was made by Aone van Engelenhoven (2010), where the order of lexical parallels in Fataluku, Leti and Rotinese is compared. This is also the publication in which the hypothesis, that is central in this thesis, is first mentioned and tested. This thesis will provide a more in-depth study into this hypothesis, the (fixed) word order in parallelism. The publication by Van Engelenhoven does not provide in-depth research into the hypothesis for these languages. By focusing on two languages with extensive databases containing parallel pairs, a more in depth-analysis can be made.

Another point of relevance in this thesis is that this research focuses on ordering and categorizing language. This might shed light on how the human brain categorizes the world in different kinds of cultures. Different cultures categorize the world differently, and by analyzing this process of categorization the differences between cultures will become clearer, which will lead to a better understanding of the world. More clarity is needed in this field, for within the literature about parallelism there are claims that the first member of a parallel pair is the most important one (Van Engelenhoven 2010; Van Engelenhoven 1997), as well as claims that the second member is most important (Asplund 2017: 20; Van Engelenhoven 2020: 16).

1.7 Terminology

At this stage in the research into the linguistics of (lexical) parallelism, there is not yet a determined terminology. However, to be clear about what is discussed, a strict terminology with clear definitions is needed. In my bachelor's thesis (Mourik 2020b), I set up a consistent terminology. Here, I will copy this, so that the terminology in both theses is the same.
In the literature, the terminology regarding parallelism is ambiguous. Because of the confusing nature of the terms, the terms below will be used consistently. When citing literature with a different terminology, I will provide the terminology used in this thesis between [square brackets].

Parallelism	The linguistic feature of pairing sentences to form a ritual text is called **parallelism**. This term will be used to indicate the general feature.

Line *parallel line*	A **line** is the element that makes half the parallel. The first line of a parallel is indicated by a capital letter (A), the second line, the **parallel line**, is indicated by a capital letter with an apostrophe (A'). A single line is indicated by (S)
Parallel	A **parallel** is what Fox calls a "dyadic set" (Fox 1971: 230), two *lines* that form a poetic entity, indicated with two slashes in between: (A // A')
Ordering	An **ordering** is a sequence of lines. Parallels can be stretched out over a wider range, with a combination of multiplicity of first lines, with the parallel lines following (A // B // C // A' B' C').
Parallel pair	A **parallel pair** is a word pair in a *parallel* that is in grammatical structure a word pair, but not lexically. All words (except conjunctions) standing underneath each other in a parallel are parallel pairs. This is also the general term, when the lexicality of the parallel pair is not (yet) determined.
Lexical pair	A **Lexical pair** is a word pair in a *parallel* that is lexically determined. They are considered the head of the *parallel*.
Collocation	**Collocations** are the interactions of elements within the same *line*. The elements in a *line* form a grammatical unity, but not all elements add to the poetic structure. This is strongly connected to *lexical pairs*, which form the head of the *parallels*.

In this thesis, some new terms are used as well. They are explained below:

P1-Language	Languages that place the culturally most important term in the first slot of a lexical pair
P2-Language	Languages that place the culturally most important term in the second slot of a lexical pair
RTD	Rotinese Text Database (see Methodology)
FPD	Fataluku Parallel Database (see Methodology)
RPD	Rotinese Parallel Database (see Methodology)
LGC	Lord of the Golden Cloth (see Methodology)
Category	A group with a general two-level semantic opposition, related to the dual opposition of masculinity and femininity (male // female). Parallel pairs fit into one of these general categories (see Section 4).

1.8 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis consists of multiple sections, each discussing their own topic. Section 2 discusses the language and culture of Fataluku and Rotinese, to provide background information to help understand parallelism. Section 3 discusses the general structure of parallelism in Fataluku and Rotinese. Understanding the general structure of parallels is necessary to understand parallelism. Different structures are discussed: Syntax and Morphology (Section 3.1), and Parallel Pairs (Section 3.2). Section 4 discusses the first hypothesis and research question: the categories. This section is subdivided into a Literature Review (Section 4.1) and an Analysis (Section 4.2). Section 5 discusses the second hypothesis and research question: the P1- and P2-Languages. This section is also subdivided into a Literature Review (Section 5.1) and an Analysis (Section 5.2). This thesis ends with a Discussion (Section 6) and a Conclusion (Section 7).

2 Fataluku and Rotinese – Language and Culture

The analysis in this thesis is made based on two languages: Fataluku and Rotinese. Fataluku (ISO 639-3 ddg) is a Non-Austronesian (Papuan) Timor-Alor-Pantar language. There are about 48.400 speakers. The language is considered vigorous. It is spoken in the Lautém district of Timor-Leste (better known as East Timor) (Eberhard et al. 2022). The Lautém district is in the easternmost tip of Timor-Leste, as is shown in the map below. Fataluku is a P2-patrilineal culture language (Viegas 2018: 182). Rotinese (ISO 639-3 txq) is an Austronesian language. It is divided into seven distinct dialects, with a total speaker amount of 116.000. The language is considered vigorous (Mourik 2020b: 5; Eberhard et al. 2022). It is spoken on Roti Island, as is also shown in the map below. The map is made by combining the locations given by the Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2021) into one map. Rotinese is a P1-patrilineal culture language (Fox 2014: 184). The combination of these languages is very interesting. Although the languages are relatively close geographically, there are some important differences. The languages belong to different language families, which raises the question how parallelism is spread through the area. It goes beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss this, but further research should be done to find out about the historical connections of parallelism in Southeast Asia. The importance of this fact is also pointed out by Van Engelenhoven, who states that "parallelism supersedes the language-specific plane" (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 244). For now, parallelism is considered an areal feature. Both languages are patrilineal, but the order in parallelism is reversed (see Section 5). This section discusses the languages and the cultures.

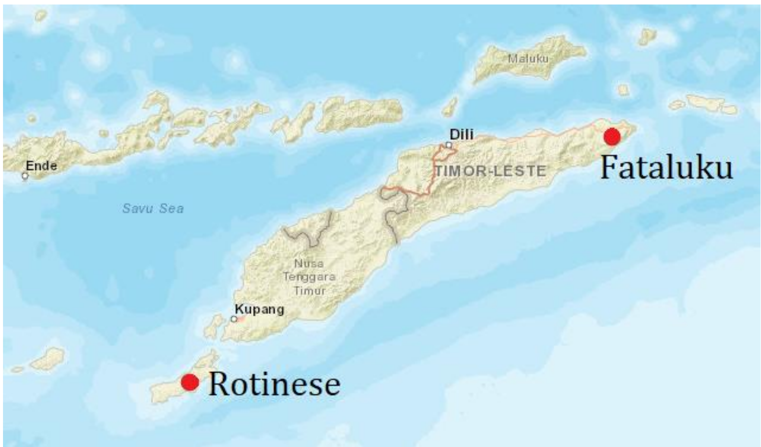


Figure 3: Map of Fataluku and Rotinese

2.1 Language Information

It goes beyond the scope of this thesis to give an overview of the grammar of both languages. For an overview of Fataluku grammar, see (Van Engelenhoven & Huber 2020), for an overview of Rotinese grammar, see (Mourik 2020b; Jonker 1915; Fox & Grimes 1995). Important grammatical features of the language are mentioned when needed in the analysis in Section 3. Some sociolinguistic features of the languages are shared here, to provide background information.

2.1.1 Fataluku

Timor-Leste became politically independent in 2002. At this point, the sixteen local languages were made national languages by the Timor-Leste government (Taylor-Leech 2009: 1; Conceição Savio et al. 2012: 355; Van Engelenhoven 2006: 110). Tetun (lingua franca) and Portuguese (former colonial language) are the co-official languages. Indonesian and English are used as working languages (Taylor-Leech 2009: 1). Most people in Timor-Leste speak at least three languages: their native language, Tetun (the lingua franca) and Indonesian (Van Engelenhoven 2006: 348). Although Fataluku is considered vigorous, the vast majority of the speakers is bilingual with Tetun, and it is possible that a switch to Tetun will take place in the future (Van Engelenhoven & Huber 2020: 347). Fataluku is an endangered oral language, the language is well-known to speakers over 40 years old. The monolingual speakers are mostly over 40 years old (Conceição Savio et al. 2012: 357). In conclusion, Fataluku speakers are literate, but not in Fataluku. This means that the ritual texts are not written down but stored in the memories of the speakers.

2.1.2 Rotinese

The sociolinguistic information about Rotinese is not so extensive. The Rotinese are literate in Malay, due to Christianity and a Bible translation into Malay. Education on Roti is also in Malay. After this, Rotinese remained to be the oral language (Fox 1983: 15). Roti became independent from their neighboring state, Termanu, in 1772 (Fox 1989: 71), after which literacy was not only for the elite, but became available for the entire society (Fox 1983: 22). However, this concerns literacy in Malay, not in Rotinese. For Rotinese, it is the oral tradition that is most important, over literacy. The Rotinese value speaking well, and verbal activities over all others. A standardized version of Malay for writing, and no "single standard form of spoken Rotinese" have led the Rotinese to believe that only Malay is to be written, while dialectal and ritual language best remains oral Rotinese (Fox 1983: 22). The conclusion on Rotinese literacy levels is similar to those of Fataluku: they are literate, but in a different language than Rotinese.

2.2 Culture

This section discusses some key features of the Fataluku and Rotinese culture. For both cultures, the subsistence patterns are given, whether the languages are patrilineal or matrilineal, and their religion.

2.2.1 Fataluku

Most people in Timor-Leste live in rural areas and draw their livelihood from subsistence agriculture (Narciso et al. 2012: 4). They are poor with a low standard of living. The agriculture includes land for staple food crops, cash crops, livestock and fish ponds (Henriques et al. 2011: 3, 6). The most important food crops are coffee, maize, rice, cassava, beans, peas, peanuts, coconut, candlenut, cocoa, vanilla, sisal, fruits (banana, papaya, orange, mangoes, pineapple, tangerine, avocado, water melon), vegetables (sweet potatoes, yams, tomatoes, onions, pumpkins, cucumber, chu-chu), the most important foods are maize and cassava, coffee and rice are grown as a cash crop (Henriques et al. 2011: 13). Some examples of these crops are also found in the FPD, they are shown below.

paiah // mu'u	'mango // banana'
mu'u // apa	'banana // sugarcane'
ale // cele	'rice // maize'
ote // cele	'bean // maize'
tua // ale	'toddy palm // rice'
sei // can-aku	'bean // basil'

sei // fofonu	'bean // wild bean'
tau // fofonu	'pumpkin // wild bean'
tau // ote	'pumpkin // bean'
pua // vata	'areca // coconut'
vata // tua	'coconut // toddy palm'
upa // vata	'sugarcane // coconut'
lahu // sepu	'onion // pumpkin'

Fataluku is a patrilineal culture. Ancestrality is a matter of belonging to the same clan (*ratu*). These clans are patrilineal descent groups. Women are excluded from most matters. For example, they are not allowed to be in direct communication with the ancestors (Viegas 2018: 182).
Fataluku religion is a mixture of traditional features and Catholicism. They live up to the religious doctrines of Catholicism, but the practical involvement in religious activities is directed towards maintaining and addressing issues surrounding ancestral sacrifice and the spiritual domain (McWilliam 2008: 15). The mass conversion to Catholicism in Lautém is recent. The first Catholic Mission was only established in 1947. Many people also converted to Catholicism during the Indonesian period in which it was obligatory to affiliate with one of the five recognized world religions. The Church was seen by many as an institutional refuge from Indonesian military intimidation (McWilliam 2008: 21).

2.2.2 Rotinese

The main source of income in Rotinese economy is the tapping of toddy palms (*Borassus flabellifer*). The juice that is taken from this tree is made into gin, their most important product. Roti Island is a region of increasing aridity, there is not much to cultivate there except toddy palms (Fox 2014: 130; Fox 1983: 21). That the toddy palm is important is also reflected in parallelism. Below are some parallel pairs containing the toddy palm. Interestingly, the term for toddy is always in second position.

mane // feto	'male toddy // female toddy'	(RTD 4.109)
dae // tua	'earth // toddy'	(Fox 2014: 88)
hade // tua-oe	'uncooked rice // toddy juice	(Fox 2014: 122)
lano // popi	'feather plume // toddy-leaf garland'	(Fox 2014: 124)
nanamo // tua	'nanamo plant // toddy palm'	(Fox 2014: 125)
ai // tua	'tree // toddy palm'	(Fox 2014: 358)

Rotinese is, just like Fataluku, a patrilineal culture. Or, as Fox (2014: 184) prefers: patronymically. He does not explain any further how this is expressed in culture. There are, however, genealogy chants that tell of the marriages of multiple generations, that are all in the male line. (Fox 2014: 226). People have ancestral names, generally referring to a line of male predecessors (Fox 2014: 298). Nowadays, Rotinese is a Christian culture. The spread of Christianity was gradual, but eventually complete. The Christian tradition has been on the Island for so long, that ritual texts came to existence telling of Biblical tales, such as the tale about the origin of death text, telling the tale of Adam and Eve (Fox 1983). Most Rotinese have joined their traditional believes with those of Christianity. They see evidence of a kind of ancestral perception of Biblical occurrences in their origin myths and chants (Fox 1983: 22).

2.3 Oral Traditions

This section discusses the oral tradition regarding parallelism. Both languages are discussed separately, but the same topics are discussed for both. These topics include the genre in which parallelism occurs, the context (location, occasion) in which the texts are used, the way of reciting, and by whom, and what the consequences are of making mistakes in the recitation of a ritual text.

2.3.1 Fataluku

In an earlier paper, I described the Fataluku oral traditions (Mourik 2021a). Fataluku oral traditions are divided into two types. The first type is the spoken type, subdivided into two parts: *rata lolo* (stories of the past) and *no lolo* (stories of ancient). *Rata lolo* are story-telling events, typically told by elderly people. The *rata lolo* are spoken texts in prose in colloquial speech and interrupted by sung breaks containing lexical parallelism. The *no lolo* are narratives that are composed of lexical parallelism completely (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 243; 2012: 4). The *no lolo* are described by Van Engelenhoven as "war of words", because of the way these narrations are performed. A performer needs to express the narration as fast as possible, otherwise he, or the audience, might get hurt. A *no lolo* performance is characterized by an aggressive and rapid recitation of the narration (Van Engelenhoven 2012: 77). In this thesis the focus lies on the *no lolo* kind of narratives, for they contain the most lexical parallelism.

The second type of oral tradition are the sung oral traditions: *vaihoho* (sung poems), and *mamanu* (chanted cliches). The cliches are said to have sacral or medical power. These sayings are usually proverbs that illustrate a history. The cliches can be in a language that is not Fataluku, but, for example, Makuva. This is an Austronesian language that is only still spoken in ritual speech, but there are no first language speakers remaining (Van Engelenhoven 2012: 74; 76). Speakers do not understand the words of the cliché, but they still understand what it means by the context in which the cliché is used (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 243; Mourik 2021a: 2).

Fataluku Oral Traditions		
spoken type	*rata lolo*	(stories of the past)
	no lolo	(stories of ancient)
sung type	*vaihoho*	(sung poems)
	mamanu	(chanted cliches)

Table 3: Fataluku Oral Tradition

In this thesis there is a focus on the *no lolo* type of oral tradition, the storytelling. More specific, there is a focus on one narration: The Lord of the Golden Cloth (LGC) (Costa Meneses 1997). Storytelling events are described by Aone van Engelenhoven (2020, 10-15). His findings are summarized here. The contexts for storytelling are shown in Figure 4. The outer dotted line indicates a private space, where only some specially assigned people can join. There is a direct and exclusive discourse relationship with the storyteller. The inner box indicates the public space, where everyone can join. The grey bar crossing the image gives the genres that fall within the scale. As illustrated, both ends of the scale fall in the private space, which makes the scale circular (Van Engelenhoven 2020: 10–15; Mourik 2021a: 2).

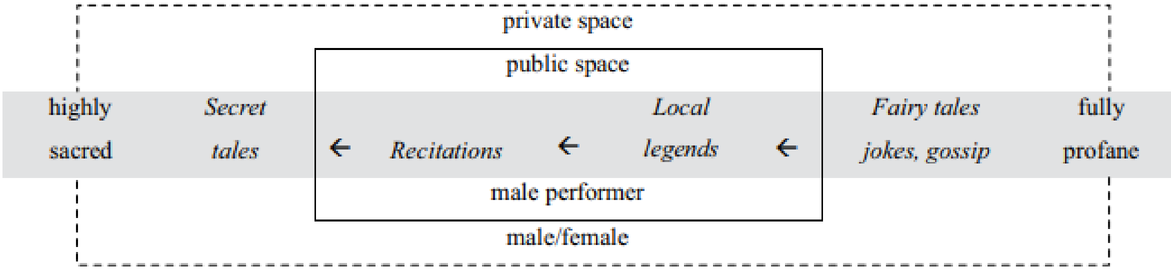


Figure 4: Storytelling setting in Southwest Maluku and Lautém (Van Engelenhoven 2020: 11)

The performer in the public space is typically male: the Fataluku people believe that only men can tell these stories, because the words are considered very powerful. In the private space, the performer may be a man or a woman, depending on who is available, as well as on the topic and the audience (Van Engelenhoven 2020: 12).

Performances in the public space are controlled by the audience. The performer is picked by the audience, as well as the performance he must perform. When a performer does not feel qualified enough, he can ask someone else to perform. As shown above, there are two kinds of storytelling events: the *rata lolo* and the *no lolo*. When the audience chooses the *rata lolo*, the audience is free to interrupt the story, and to adjust or redirect the story. When the audience chooses a *no lolo*, interruptions are believed to have a direct negative impact on the audience or the performer. This also means that the performer must finish a performance. Just in case he might not be able to finish, each storytelling event has up to three back-up performers. When a *no lolo* is performed, the performer must use the appropriate amount of parallelism, and pay attention to other characteristics of lexical parallelism. The people believe that mistakes have consequences, so the performer must know about all the rules and apply them correctly. Knowledge about these characteristics is of the utmost importance for performers (Van Engelenhoven 2020: 13; Mourik 2021a: 6).

2.3.2 Rotinese

Rotinese has two speech domains, daily speech, and ritual speech. Within the ritual speech, there are the *bini* 'poems, chants', which contain parallelism. The ritual domain also contains songs, but songs can also appear outside the ritual speech, while the *bini* by definition fall within the ritual speech. The Rotinese consider the ritual speech a different language, "the language of the ancestors", but linguistically it a poetic style of Rotinese. Short *bini* can either be recited or sung, while long *bini* are publicly chanted (Fox 1971: 220).

Ritual speech in Rotinese is used on all formal occasions when people come together. Fox gives the occasions in which the *binis* can be used: "There exist [...] standard *bini* for greeting strangers, for bidding farewell, for making requests to superiors, for all the crucial stages of courtship, for initiating or facilitating bridewealth negotiations, for the installation of a Lord, at hair-cutting rituals, for house building ceremonies, formerly at the annual *hus* feasts, for weddings, and particularly for funerals." (Fox 1971: 220). The funeral chants are most elaborate, with different chants for different kinds of people, from noble to commoner, from man to woman, from young to old. These chants can be chanted to praise the deceased, or danced in a circle-dance with a leader and surrounding chorus (Fox 1971: 221). A minimal ceremonial context involves giving toddy gin, which they call 'water of words', to the guest (Fox 2014: 91).

The use of ritual language is not restricted to social class or sex. Both men and women have knowledge of ritual language. Some parts of marriage ceremonies are reserved for women. Young people also have knowledge of ritual speech and can recite some shirt *bini* and songs. However, not everyone is a master of ritual speech. Those who are, usually male elders, are called *manahelo* 'chanters' (Fox 1971: 222).

Ritual texts must be recited correctly, when a chanter changes even a minor thing in the recitation and deviates from the proper sequence, it is considered a serious and dangerous fault in performance (Fox 1988: 21). Fox (1983: 22) writes about flaws in a recitation of the Adam and Eve tale. In this case, there were no consequences, and most of the listeners did not seem to be bothered by these flaws. It would be interesting to learn why it is not considered dangerous is this situation.

There is a lot more to say about these cultures, for they have a rich history, with a lot of influences from other cultures (e.g. colonialism). However, it will surpass the goal of this thesis to discuss the entire history in detail.

3 Structure

This section discusses the general linguistic structure of parallelism in Fataluku and Rotinese. The order in which the languages are discussed is the same for each subsection: first Fataluku, then Rotinese. For each example it is indicated from which language it is taken, to prevent confusion. The data for Fataluku are based on the LGC text. The FPD is filled with parallel pairs gathered over the years, both prose and poetry, which could have led to skewed data. By focusing on one source of poetry, a better comparison can be made between Fataluku and Rotinese.

Parts of the analysis are based on a subset of the texts, which is a representative portion of the LGC text. The first 212 lines (25% of the total number of lines) of the LGC text were analyzed, and the first 212 lines of the RTD. In this way, the number of lines is equal, which makes the comparison easier to understand. When a part of the database is used for the analysis, it is mentioned in the text.

This section first discusses the Syntax and Morphology of parallels, subdivided into a discussion about Omission (Section 3.1.1), Extra Elements (Section 3.1.2), Single Lines (Section 3.1.3), Units (Section 3.1.4), and Orderings (Section 3.1.5). The second part of this section discusses the structure of Parallel Pairs (Section 3.2), subdivided into a discussion of the representation of the different Parts of Speech (Section 3.23.2.1), Verbs (Section 3.2.2), Names (Section 3.2.3), and the Number of Parallel Pairs in a parallel (Section 3.2.4).

3.1 Syntax and Morphology

As shown in the Introduction, lines in a parallel pair are usually similar in syntactic structure. Example (4) shows the default structure for Fataluku, where the glosses show that each element in the first line is copied into the second line, only the nouns differ: *ira // tahi* 'water // sea'. The word order and morphological marking in both lines is identical. The example from the Introduction from Rotinese is repeated here, in Example (5). This example shows that each element of the second line corresponds with the elements in the first line. Both lines have the same word order and the same morphological marking.

(4) [Fataluku] – Default structure

Una hai la'a ira koleve // Una hai la'a tahi koleve

un	hai	la'a	ira	kolev-ne	// un	hai	la'a	tahi	kolev-ne
one	PERF	go	water	embrace-VEB	one	PERF	go	sea	embrace-VEB
S			O	V	S'			O'	V'

'One went to embrace the water // One went to embrace the sea' (LGC 040)

(5) [Rotinese] – Default structure

De neni ne'u Londa Lusi// Ma neni ne'u Batu Bela

de	n-eni	n-eu	Londa Lusi	// ma	n-eni	n-eu	Batu Bela
then	3SG-carry	3SG-go	name	// and	3SG-carry	3SG-go	name
	S	V	O		S'	V'	O'

'Then she carries (them) to Londa Lusi // And she carries (them) to Batu Bela' (RTD 5.194, spelling adapted)

The similarity of syntactic structure is further supported by the fact that in the RTD, no instances of a 3SG-pronoun being combined with a nominal referent are found. This pair always occurs as *ana* // *ana* '3SG // 3SG', or the second *ana* is omitted in the second line of a parallel. This is not unexpected, for the two lines form one semantic unit. Changing the referent would lead to a change in semantics.

3.1.1 Omission

Not all parallel lines are similar in syntactic structure. There are some exceptions. An element that does not belong to a parallel word pair may be omitted from the second line, as long as its sense is understood (Fox 1971: 237). This is shown for Fataluku in Example (6) below, where only the first line contains *eni it* 'this is [the one]'. Omission is optional, this is shown in Example (7), where both lines of the parallel contain *eni it*. Omission for Rotinese is shown in Examples (8) and (9) below, where in Example (8) *ana* only occurs in the first line. It is clear from the first line that the subject has not changed, so *ana* can be omitted. For Rotinese, omission is also optional. This is shown in Example (9), where *ana* '3SG' occurs in both lines. Verbs can also be omitted from the second line, as shown below in Example (10).

(6) [Fataluku] – Omission

Eni it e nia mari kakan ine // E tulua kakan ine

eni	i-tu	e	n-ia	mari	kaka-nu	i-ne	//
that	DEM-SEQ	2SG	LINK-foot	print	older.sibling-NOM	DEM-VEB	
		e	tulia		kaka-nu	i-ne	
		2SG	trail		older.sibling-NOM	DEM-VEB	

'There is your oldest footprint // *There is* your oldest trail' (LGC 457, omitted items in *cursive*, adapted)

(7) [Fataluku] – No omission

Eni it e kaka lafai // Eni it e pal lafai

eni	i-tu	e	kaka	lafai	//	eni	i-tu	e	pal	lafai
that	DEM-SEQ	2SG	older.sibling	big		that	DEM-SEQ	2SG	father	big

'This is your big brother // This is your big father' (LGC 017)

(8) [Rotinese] – Omission

Boe ma ana ifa-na nupu non // Ma ko'o-na sadu puan.

boe	ma	ana	ifa-na	nupu	no-n	//
then	and	3SG	carry-3SG.OBJ	coconut	shoot-3SG.POSS	
		S	V	O		
ma			ko'o-na	sadu	pua-n	
and			embrace-3SG.OBJ	areca.nut	sprout-3SG.POSS	
		[S]'	V'	O'		

'So she cradles the coconut shoot // And *she* embraces the areca nut sprout' (RTD 5.011, omitted item in *cursive*)

(9) [Rotinese] – No omission

Boe ma ana ifa-na nupu non // Ma ana ko'o-na sadu puan

boe	ma	ana	ifa-na	nupu	no-n	//
then	and	3SG	carry-3SG.OBJ	coconut	shoot-3SG.POSS	
		S	V	O		
ma		ana	ko'o-na	sadu	pua-n	
and		3SG	embrace-3SG.OBJ	areca.nut	sprout-3SG.POSS	
		S'	V'	O'		

'So she cradles the coconut shoot // And she embraces the areca nut sprout' (RTD 5.54)

(10) [Rotinese] – Omission of the verb

Nae: 'Bo Manu Kama-e, // Do bo Tepa Nilu-e'

n-ae	'Bo	Manu Kama-e	// [n-ae]	do	bo	Tepa Nilu-e
3SG-say	oh	name-VOC	//	or	oh	name-VOC

'She says: 'Oh Manu Kamu // Oh Tepa Nilu' (RTD 4.79)

Omission is very common in parallelism, both for Fataluku and Rotinese. To find out how common exactly, the first 25% of the LGC text (212 lines) and the first 212 lines of the RTD were analyzed to calculate the number of parallels in which omission occurs. Omission always occurs in the second line. Table 4 shows the number of lines with and without omission for the first 212 lines of the LGC text and the RTD. Most lines do not have omitted elements. This fits the definition of parallelism, where two lines form one semantic unit. Although omitting elements does not change the semantics of a parallel, it does change the structure of a parallel. By omitting elements, the structure of the text becomes uneven, therefore, it seems that omission is not preferred.

	Fataluku		**Rotinese**	
Parallels with omission	47	22.2%	28	13.3%
Parallels without omission	164	77.3%	182	86.7%
Single Lines	1	0.5%		

Table 4: Omission in the First 212 Lines of LGC and RTD

3.1.2 Extra Elements

In some instances, one of the parallel lines has an extra element, which falls outside the parallel structure. Example (11) shows an example of an uneven parallel for Fataluku. In this example, there is no possibility to analyze the last part, *catan lafai ine* 'this (is a) big sign' as being omitted in the first line, for it is a complete clause, added to finish the parallel.

(11) [Fataluku] – Extra element

Pui fo'e ine // Hau fo'e ine, catan lafai ine

pui	fo'e	i-ne	// hau	fo'e	i-ne,	[catan	lafai	i-ne	]
mist	plain	DEM-VEB	vapor	plain	DEM-VEB	[sign	big	DEM-VEB	]

'This plain of mist // this plain of vapor, this (is a) big sign.' (LGC 155)

An example of extra elements for Rotinese is shown in Example (12), where the last part of the second line, *nata ma nae* 'she answers and says', falls outside the parallel structure of the text. This example also shows that, although two names are given in the parallel, the subject marking on the verbs is singular. There is only one scenario, but because this text is poetry, the genre requires two lines. Lide Mudak and Adi Sole are the same person, called by different names. If the subject would have been plural, the subject marking would be *l-* (3PL). It would also be possible to analyze this as omission of the verb in the first line, but, because Rotinese is a P1-Language, the first line is considered the most important one. It then seems unlikely to omit a part of the first line but leave it in the second line.

(12) [Rotinese] – Extra element

Boe ma inak ia Lide Mudak // Ma fetok ia Adi Sole nata ma nae:

boe	ma	inak	ia	Lide Mudak	//				
then	and	woman	this	name					

ma	fetok	ia	Adi Sole	[n-ata	ma	n-ae:	]
and	woman	this	name	[3SG-answer	and	3SG-say	]

'So this woman, Lide Mudak // And this girl, Adi Sole, answers and says: ...' (RTD 4.072)

This example is better illustrated below. The structure of this example is similar to the structure in Example (19) below. It shows that the *nata ma nae* is necessary to form a unit and connect the parallel with the following parallel, but it does not fit in the default structure of parallelism.

Boe ma inak ia Lide Mudak *Ma fetok ia Adi Sole*		
	nata ma nae:	
		'Au ina ndele-lima-ku'u-tak *Ma au fete liti-ei-tak'*
So this woman, Lide Mudak And this girl, Adi Sole		
	answers and says:	
		'I am a woman without a ring on her finger, And I am a girl without copper on her legs.'

(RTD 4.072-4.073)

Example (13) shows an extra part at the start of a parallel. This parallel is interesting, because, unlike Example (12), this line seems to be about two women, which is specified with the extra phrase before the parallel starts. That these lines are about two women is also shown a few lines later, shown in Example (14), where the subject marking is *ala* 'they'.

(13) [Rotinese] – Extra element

Inak dua, esa nade Lide Muda // Ma esa nade Adi Sole

[inak	dua]	esa	n-ade	Lide Muda	//	ma	esa	n-ade	Adi Sole
[woman	two]	one	3SG-named	name		and	one	3SG-named	name

'Two women, one called Lide Muda // And one called Adi Sole' (RTD 4.047)

(14) [Rotinese] – Plural marking

Ala lo tuluk Tepa Nilu // Ma ala sipo le'ak Manu Kama

ala	lo	tuluk	Tepa Nilu	//	ma	ala	sipo	le'ak	Manu Kama
3PL	offer	shove	name		and	3PL	take.to	tug	name

'They offer things with a shove to Tepa Nilu // And they take things with a tug to Manu Kama' (RTD 4.053)

3.1.3 Single Lines

Another possible diversion from the default two-lined structure occurs when two parallel words occur in one line, without a second line. This is shown for Fataluku in Example (15), where *lahu // sepu* 'onion // pumpkin' forms a parallel pair within the same line. The original text gives a parallel line for this line, but it is completely different in structure and semantics. This can only be analyzed as a mistake in the original analysis of the text. The parallel line is added between [brackets] to show the discrepancy between the two lines. It is clear that those lines do not form one parallel pair.

(15) [Fataluku] – Single line

Lahu na sepun ine // [*Ratu eni kou-nu ine*].

lahu	na	sepu	na	i-ne	//	[ratu	eni	kou-nu	i-ne	]
onion	LOC	pumpkin	LOC	DEM-VEB	//	[nobility	that	dark-NOM	DEM-VEB	]

'It is in onions and pumpkins // [The dark king is here].' (LGC 036)

Examples for Rotinese are given in Examples (16) and (17), where both lines form a parallel set within one line. These lines are valid lines in parallelism, with a structure A // A'. Fox (1971: 239) states: "The fact that these single lines are acceptable demonstrates that parallel line structure is not primary in Rotinese. It is the product of composition in terms of dyadic sets." However, in Section 3.1 it was stated that the genre requires two lines to form a poetic unit. The fact that more two-lined default parallels occur than A // A' parallels shows that the two-lined structure is an important feature of parallelism. If the basis of parallelism would have been parallel pairs, the division of these two kinds of representation would be more even.

(16) [Rotinese] – Single line

De losan ma ndukun

de	losa-n	//	ma	nduku-n
then	approach-3SG.OBJ		and	reach-3SG.OBJ

'She approaches her and reaches her' (Fox 1971: 239)

(17) [Rotinese] – Single line

De ana ifa do ko'o nenin

de	ana	ifa	//	do	ko'o	n-eni-n
then	3SG	cradle		or	embrace	3SG-carry-3SG.OBJ

'Then she cradles or embraces and carries it' (RTD 5.095)

3.1.4 Units

Parallel lines can also be broken up into multiple parallels, that eventually form one semantic unit. This is shown for Fataluku in Example (18), and for Rotinese in Example (19), where the two parallels together form one complete utterance. The second line in Rotinese also shows omission of the verb, as mentioned above.

(18) [Fataluku] – Multiple sets, one unit

A laite nara // A kecule nara

ana	la'it-ne	nara	// a	kecul	eni	nara	
1SG	old.FEM-VEB	if	1SG	great-grandparent	that	if	

'My grandmother may // My great-grandparent may' (LGC 006)

A lau pitin ara hin la'a // A lau karas ara hin la'a

ana	lau	piti-nu	ara	hin	la'a	// ana	lau	karas	ara	hin	la'a
1SG	cloth	white-NOM	base	POS	go	// 1SG	cloth	yellow	base	POS	go

'Go to the trunk of my white cloth // Go to the trunk of my yellow cloth' (LGC 006)

(19) [Rotinese] – Multiple sets, one unit

Inak esa nade Lo Luli // Ma fetok esa nade Kala Palu

inak	esa	n-ade	Lo Luli	// ma	fetok	esa	n-ade	Kala Palu
woman	one	3SG-be.named	name	and	girl	one	3-SG-be.named	name

'A woman named Lo Luli // And a girl named Kala Palu' (RTD 4.78)

Nae: 'Bo Manu Kama-e, // Do bo Tepa Nilu-e'

n-ae	'Bo	Manu Kama-e	// [n-ae]	do	bo	Tepa Nilu-e
3SG-say	oh	name-VOC	//	or	oh	name-VOC

'She says: 'Oh Manu Kamu // Oh Tepa Nilu' (RTD 4.79)

These examples are better presented as shown below. In this way the successive character of the lines is clearly visible.

My grandmother may // My great-grandfather may		
	go to the trunk of my white cloth // go to the trunk of my yellow cloth (LGC 006)	

A woman named Lo Luli // and a girl named Kala Palu		
	She says:	
		Oh Manu Kama // Oh Tepa Nilu (RTD 4.78/4.79)

These examples show that grammatical and prosodic units can take up more than one parallel. For Rotinese, there is even a prosodic unit taking up three parallels (Mourik 2020b: 13–14). This example is given below in (20):

(20) [Rotinese]

De inak i'a Kona Kek	// A: The woman Kona Kek
ma fetok i'a Leli Deak	A': and the girl Leli Deak
tinga hene ne'u lain	B: steps and ascends on board
do laba ka'e ne'u ata	B': mounts and climbs on top
ma'i de peda esa ngga'o esa	C: there, she puts one thing back, takes another
ma ho'i esa nggali esa	C': and picks up one thing, tosses back another.
	(Mourik 2020b: 14; RTD 4.124-4.126)

3.1.5 Orderings

The default in parallelism is two adjacent lines with identical structure. The sections above already discussed some ways in which parallels can differ from this default. This section discusses the orderings of lines. Not all lines occur in a set, and not all lines have their second line immediately following.

The Fataluku orderings in the LGC text are not strictly analyzed. Single lines are attached to parallel lines, even when there is no connection between them. In the analysis for this thesis, based on the first 212 lines of the LGC text (25% of the total lines), these unrelated single lines are reanalyzed and counted as separate from the parallel they are attached to in the text. This means that the total number of lines does not sum up to 212, but a little higher. The results are shown in Table 5 below.

	Number of lines		**Occurrences (orderings)**	**Percentage**
Default	2	A // A'	185	84.9%
Non-Default			33	15.1%
	1	Single lines	31	14.1%
	2	AA' // BB'	1	0.5%
	3	3 lines	1	0.5%
Total			218	

Table 5: Orderings in Fataluku - First 212 lines of the LGC text

Examples of the non-default orderings are shown below. It is hard to show single lines because they only prove to be single in context. Example (21) shows two parallels from the FPD. The LGC text combined the first two lines into one parallel, and the second two lines into one parallel, while, clearly, the parallel is in the two lines in the middle. The first line and the last line in this example are not parallel with the preceding and following parallels, respectively, so, these are two single lines.

(21) [Fataluku] – Single Line

Ratu ca'u hafa i ne	S: With the name of the chief's clan
Hai me ratu ca'u hafa tava ta'a	// A: Mention chief's clan with it
Hai me ratu malai tava ta'a	A': Mention king's clan with it
Po ratu ca'u hafa ratu malai	S: But the clan's chief is the clan's king
	(LGC 080-081, translation adapted)

(22) [Fataluku] – AA' // BB'

Tana ho Pairara ta mau // A: AA' ***Tana*** and ***Pairara*** come
Soru ho Pairara ta mau A': BB' ***Soru*** and ***Pairara*** come
(LGC 186)

(Bold elements form a within-line parallel, cursive elements form parallel pair)

(23) [Fataluku] – 3 lines

Salan va'are i // A: The mistake visited
Pocon va'are i // A': The foolishness visited
Kail va'are i A'':The sin visited
(LGC 029)

An analysis of the Rotinese orderings was already made in Mourik (2020b: 14), those numbers are used here again, but, different examples are given here. The numbers in Table 6 refer to lines and occurrences. In the reanalysis for this paper, the ordering AA' // BB' was found, which was not mentioned in Mourik (2020b: 14). This ordering is added to the table.

	Number of lines		**Occurrences (Orderings)**	**Percentage**
Default	2	A // A'	369	93.4%
Non-Default	1	A	3	0.7%
	2	AA' // BB'	1	0.3%
	4		17	4.3%
		ABA'B'	15	3.8%
		ABB'A'	1	0.3%
		ABB'A', combined with AA'BB'	1	0.3%
	6	ABCA'B'C'	4	1%
	8	ABCDA'B'C'D'	1	0.3%
Total			**395**	

Table 6: Orderings in Rotinese, from RTD and Mourik (2020b: 14)

The non-default orderings in Rotinese in most cases show a different creative ordering. The following examples illustrate some of these orderings.

(24) [Rotinese] – ABA'B'

Oe No Dain biin // A: The goat of Oe No from Dai
Na bii ma-pau henuk // B: The goat has a yellow-necklaced beard
Ma Kedi Poi Selan manun A': And the cock of Kedi Poi from Sela
Na manun ma-koa lilok B': The cock has gold-stranded tailfeathers
(RTD 6.1)

(25) [Rotinese] – ABCA'B'C'

Dote Dai Lenak anan	// A: Dote Dai Lenak's child
Soku ina Dila Dote	// B: They lift the woman Dila Dote
Neu tu touk Bula Kai	// C: To go to marry the man Bula Kai
Leo na, Teti So Resik anan,	A': Similarly, Teti So Resik's child
Lali fetok Fafo Teti	B': They carry the girl Fafo Teti
Neu sao taek Ledo Horo	C': To go to wed the boy Ledo Horo.
	(RTD 3.2)

(26) [Rotinese] – AA' // BB'

Te boe ma ala ke te'i	// A: AA': But then they **cut** and **divide** the *meat*
Ida ala sode ndui	A': BB': And they **spoon** and **scoop** the *food*
	(RTD 4.099)

(Bold elements form a within-line parallel, cursive elements form a parallel pair)

(27) [Rotinese] – 1 line

De ana ifa do ko'o nenin	S: Then she cradles or embraces and carries it
	(RTD 5.095)

(28) [Rotinese] – ABB'A', combined with ABA'B'

Hu boko-na dadi	// A: The *bending stalks* **arise**
Ma kale dua-na tola	// B: And the *two kernels* **appear**
Ma pule telu-na dadi	// A'/B': The *three grains* **arise**
Ma do bela-na moli	A'/B': And the *heavy leaves* **appear**
	(RTD 5.164)

(Bold elements form the ABA'B' ordering, cursive elements form the ABB'A' ordering)

3.2 Parallel Pairs

3.2.1 Parts of Speech

Parallel pairs can be made with words from different Parts of Speech. However, a single parallel pair can only contain words from the same Part of Speech. Nouns combine with nouns, verbs with verbs, etc. This thesis focuses on lexical parallelism in nouns, but parallelism affects other Parts of Speech as well. Not all word classes occur in the same quantities. This section gives examples of parallel pairs in different word classes, and their relative occurrences in percentages. The numbers for Fataluku are based on the LGC text in the FPD. The numbers for Rotinese are taken from the RPD. The numbers are given in Table 7 and Table 8 below. The first two columns give the numbers for the occurrence of each Part of Speech by looking at *unique* parallel pairs, while the last two columns also take into consideration the number of times each parallel pair occurs in the data, and thus gives the number of *total* occurrences. By calculating both these numbers, it becomes clear which Parts of Speech are used relatively often in ritual texts, while also showing their total appearance in the database. Both tables are ordered by the number of *total* occurrences.

Fataluku

Nouns	*tua // pala*	'toddy palm // garden'
Verbs	*vakile // palise*	'to dive // to swim'
Adjectives	*nof-ana // var-ana*	'deceased // ill'
Postpositions	*ara // lefe*	'down // under'
Adverbs	*hetu // cata*	'all // together'

Table 7 gives the percentages of each of the word classes. This table is an updated version of the one in (Mourik 2021a: 7). The FPD database has been further analyzed since this paper, which has led to more precise results.

	Unique parallel pairs			*Total parallel pairs*	
	Occurrences	**Percentage**		**Occurrences**	**Percentage**
Nouns	151	40.4%		944	70.4%
Names	179	48.0%		256	19.1%
Verbs	19	5.2%		54	4.0%
Adjectives	5	1.3%		18	1.4%
Postpositions	5	1.3%		18	1.4%
Adverbs	2	0.6%		4	0.3%
Non-analyzed	12	3.2%		46	3.4%
Total	**373**			**1340**	

Table 7: Percentage of unique parallel pairs in different PoS in the FPD

Rotinese

Nouns	*ina // feto*	'woman // girl'
Verbs	*ifa // ko'o*	'to cradle // to embrace'
Adjectives	*manuni // manda*	'certain // particular'
Prepositions	*no // no*	'with // with'
Adverbs	*malole // mandak*	'good // proper'

	Unique parallel pairs			*Total parallel pairs*	
	Occurrences	**Percentage**		**Occurrences**	**Percentage**
Nouns	123	30.3%		428	35.6%
Verbs	124	30.5%		340	28.3%
Names	93	22.9%		182	15.2%
Other	24	5.9%		118	9.8%
Adverbs	12	3.0%		49	4.1%
Adjectives	10	2.5%		16	1.3%
Prepositions	6	1.5%		36	3.0%
Non-analyzed	14	3.4%		32	2.7%
Total	406			1201	

Table 8: Percentage of unique parallel pairs in different PoS in the RPD

The group 'other' consists of parallel pairs that do not seem to play a role in parallelism, but they are function words to fill up the sentence. These categories are conjunctions, demonstratives, exclamations, negation, possessives, question words and temporal words. Most pairs in these categories occur only once. All parallel pairs with prepositions in the RPD are built of twice the same lexeme, for example *no // no* 'with // with'. This is not unexpected. The semantics of both lines of a parallel are similar, a change of spacial relation would change this similarity.

3.2.1.1 Conjunctions

The only word group that is frequently used, but does not form parallel pairs are conjunctions. They combine freely to connect sentences to form prosodic units. They are free in occurrence, and they combine with other conjunctions without restrictions. They can also occur in only one line of a parallel (Mourik 2020b: 12). There are no conjunctions added in the FPD. The conjunctions in the RTD and RPD were analyzed for a part of the database. The combinations that occur in these texts are shown in Table 9 below.

Conjunction		**Combines with:**			
boe // 'too'	1 // 2	boe (1x) 'too'	do (1x) 'or'	ma do (1x) 'and or'	
boe ma // 'then'	1	do (11x) 'or'	ma (15x) 'and'		
da // 'then'	1	ma (1x) 'and'			
de // 'then'	1 // 2	de (1x) 'then'	do (9x) 'or'	ma (30x) 'and'	ma do (3x) 'and or'
do // 'or'	1 // 2	do (1x) 'or'	ma (10x) 'and'		
ma // 'and	1 // 2	ma (15x) 'and'			
ma do // 'and or'	1 // 2	ma (1x) 'and'			
te // 'but'	1	ma (1x) 'and'	ma do (2x) 'and or'		

Table 9: Conjunctions in Two Texts in the RTD and RPD

All 216 lines of Text 5 in the RTD were checked for occurrences of conjunctions. This gave the following results, given in parallels:

- 0 conjunctions 8 parallels
- 1 conjunction 112 parallels (all of them in the second line)
- 2 conjunctions 96 parallels.

These results combined show that there seem to be some preferences in the use of conjunctions in parallelism, for example, some conjunctions only occur in the first line, and not in the second. However, this could be a matter of semantics: *te* 'but' expresses contrast, which should not occur in the second line of a parallel, for they express a similar semantic message. *Da* and *boe ma* 'then' have a progressing temporal semantics, which also does not typically occur in the second line of a parallel. Five out of eight conjunctions can combine with itself, three out of eight only occur in combination with another conjunction. A larger body of text could change this number.
Most parallels contain conjunctions. Of the eight parallels that do not contain conjunctions, most of them are single lines. Interestingly, of the parallels with only one conjunction in them, all of them occur in the second line. There is no parallel with a conjunction in the first line, without a

conjunction in the second line. This is another piece of evidence that parallels are units, for they are glued together by conjunctions to form prosodic units.

3.2.2 Verbs

An interesting difference between the numbers in Table 7 and Table 8 is the number of verbs that is used in parallels. The FPD has 54 verbal parallel pairs in total, the RTD 340. To find out what the reason for this difference is, further analysis was done. This analysis is based on the first 212 lines of the LGC text (25% of the total number of lines) and 212 lines of the RTD. This analysis shows that verbal parallel pairs in Fataluku parallels are often made with the same lexeme, whereas for Rotinese parallels different lexemes are used. This is shown in Table 10 below, which shows that verbs in Fataluku parallels are most often expressed by the same lexeme (62.6%), or they do not have a verb (35.5%), and verbs in Rotinese parallels are most often expressed by a different lexeme (51.4%). Not all parallels have verbs, for some parallels consist of noun phrases or non-verbal clauses, which also shows that the focus in parallelism lies on nouns.

	Fataluku		**Rotinese**	
Same Lexeme	132	62.6%	46	20.9%
Different Lexeme	4	1.9%	113	51.4%
No Verb (non-verbal clause, or noun phrase)	75	35.5%	61	27.7%

Table 10: Number of Verbs in Fataluku and Rotinese Parallels

The following examples show the different possibilities for both languages, given in the same order as in the table.

(29) [Fataluku] – Same Lexeme
Una hai la'a tua koleve // Una hai la'a pala koleve
un hai la'a tua **kolev-ne** //
one PERF go toddy.palm **embrace-VEB**

un hai la'a pala **kolev-ne**
one PERF go garden **embrace-VEB**
'One went to embrace the wine // One went to embrace the garden' (LGC 041)

(30) [Fataluku] – Different Lexeme
Susuke hin la'a // Vavahir-e hin la'a
su-suk-ne hin la'a // **va-vahir-ne** hin la'a
RED-bow-VEB POS go **RED-fold-VEB** POS go
'Go to where they bow // Go to where they fold' (LGC 010)

(31) [Fataluku] – No Verb
Eni it e ia mari ocava // Eni it e cululia ocava
eni i-tu e ia mari ocava // eni i-tu e culuila ocava
that DEM-SEQ 2SG foot print lord that DEM-SEQ 2SG trail lord
'This is the lord of the path // This is the lord of the trail' (LGC 111)

(32) [Rotinese] – Same Lexeme

Boe ma la-lelak Manu Kama // Ma la-lelak Tepa Nilu

boe	ma	**la-lelak**	Manu Kama	//	ma	**la-lelak**	Tepa Nilu
then	and	**3PL-recognize**	name		and	**3PL-recognize**	name

'They recognize Manu Kama // They recognize Tepa Nilu' (RTD 4.096)

(33) [Rotinese] – Different Lexeme

De ana tunga inan Kona Kek // Ma ana afi te'on Leli Deak

de	ana	**tunga**	ina-n	Kona Kek	//
then	3SG	**search.for**	mother-3SG.POSS	name	

ma	ana	**afi**	te'o-n	Leli Deak
and	3SG	**look.for**	aunt-3SG.POSS	name

'He searches for his mother, Kona Kek // And he looks for his aunt, Leli Deak' (RTD4.142)

(34) [Rotinese] – No verb

Te au ina ndeli-lima-ku'u-tak // Ma au feto liti-ei-tak

te	au	ina	ndeli	lima-ku'u	tak	//	ma	au	feto	liti	ei	tak
for	1SG	woman	ring	arm-finger	NEG		and	1SG	girl	copper	leg	NEG

'For I am a woman without a ring on her finger // And I am a girl without copper on her legs' (RTD 4.040)

3.2.3 Names

Names are left out of the analysis in this thesis; however, it is interesting to see how often they occur in the databases and texts. The numbers from Fataluku are taken from the FPD, in combination with a separate database containing the data about names. The two counts are done by different people, so the method of counting differed. Both databases include parallel pairs from different word classes. It appeared that names were not counted as parallel pairs for Fataluku. The numbers about names in Fataluku were extracted from a subsequent database, sent to me by Aone van Engelenhoven during my student-assistantship. Names take up 23% of the LGC text (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 247). For Rotinese, both numbers are known. 17% of the listed parallel pairs are names (Mourik 2020b: 8), and all occurrences of names in the texts added up lead to 15% of the text being parallels containing names. I consider names as parallel pairs on the same level as nominal parallel pairs, for they fulfill the same syntactic roles in a sentence. By extracting the parallel pairs in the LGC text, both names and other, the column for Fataluku could be filled. The method of counting is in this way similar for both languages.

Fataluku		**Rotinese**	
FPD + Names Database	LGC	Database	Texts
15.1%	23%	17%	15%
179 pairs	252 pairs	141 pairs	364 pairs

Table 11: Names in the Databases and texts

This raises the question, if names are so well-represented in the data, why are they left out of the analysis? This has to do with the complexity of the names. Names have their own mechanism in parallelism, and clarity about the use of names can probably only be achieved through direct elicitation. Names have a genealogical function, they give information about who a person is, who their ancestors are, where they come from, and more. The order in which names are given could obey to categories, but they might also be ordered chronologically, or in a near-far order, according to where the story takes place. Analyzing names would be a very interesting endeavor, but the many layers that are carried within names make it an endeavor that requires a lot of additional knowledge about the language and the history. This makes that the analysis of names must be left out of this thesis, but further research could lead to interesting mechanisms regarding the functions and roles of names in parallelism.

3.2.4 Number of Parallel Pairs

Parallel lines can have different numbers of parallel pairs in them. These numbers are given below in Table 12. The numbers from Rotinese are taken from (Mourik 2020b: 12), based on the RTD. These numbers give an idea of the difference between the number of parallel pairs in Fataluku and Rotinese. The table shows that for Fataluku, most parallels contain only one parallel pair, whereas for Rotinese, most parallels contain three parallel pairs. An explanation for this difference is that in the Fataluku parallels, verbs are often simply repeated in the same form (see Section 3.2.2), and are therefore not added into the FPD, whereas for Rotinese, a different verb is used.

	Fataluku		**Rotinese**	
0	88	10.3%	-	
1	720	84.9%	1	0.5%
2	37	4.4%	70	38.8%
3	3	0.4%	87	47.6%
4	-		23	12.6%
5	-		1	0.5%
	848		**182**	

Table 12: Number of Parallel Pairs in a Parallel

The following examples illustrate different numbers of parallel pairs in parallels, both from Fataluku and Rotinese. Parallels with zero parallels are by definition impossible, they only occur in single lines.

(35) [Fataluku] – 1 parallel pair

Tua a neven jete // Pala a neven jete

tua	a	n-even	jet-ne	// pala	a	n-even	jet-ne
toddy.palm	ART	LINK-up.till	fall-VEB	garden	ART	LINK-up.till	fall-VEB
1				1’			

‘Where the toddy palm gets // Where the garden gets’ (LGC 075, glosses adapted)

(36) [Rotinese] – 2 parallel pairs

Boe ma hu-bokona tola // Do belana dadi

boe	ma	hu.boko-na	tola	// do	bela-na	dadi
then	and	bending.stalks-3SG.OBJ	appear	or	heavy.leaves-3SG.OBJ	arise
		1	2		1’	2’

‘Then the bending stalks appear // Or the heavy leaves arise’ (RTD 5.099)

(37) [Rotinese] – 3 parallel pairs

Kale dua-na lesu // Ma pule telu-na dadi

kale	dua-na	lesu	//	ma	pule	telu-na	dadi
kernel	two-3SG.POSS	come.forth		and	grain	three-3SG.POSS	arise
1	2	3			1’	2’	3’

‘The two kernels come forth // The three grains arise’ (RTD 5.115)

(38) [Rotinese] – 4 parallel pairs

Boe ma nae: ‘Au lu mata sanga inang // Ma au pinu idu afi te’ong‘.

boe	ma	n-ae	au	lu	mata	sanga	ina-ng	//
then	and	3SG-say	1SG	tears	eye	seek	mother-1SG.POSS	
				1	2	3	4	
	ma		au	pinu	idu	afi	te’o-ng	
	and		1SG	snot	nose	look.for	aunt-1SG.POSS	
				1’	2’	3’	4’	

‘So he says: ‘The tears in my eyes seek my mother // The snot of my nose looks for my aunt’.’ (RTD 4.185)

4 Categories

This section discusses the first hypothesis and research question, which are repeated here: the two positions in a lexical parallel word pair are grammatical slots, in which one of the slots is occupied by the word with cultural dominance, and the other slot is occupied by the parallel word. Depending on being a P1- or a P2-Language, the most important term stands in first or in second position, respectively. The research question that follows from this hypothesis is: Is there a strict order (≥80% pairs in strict order) for lexical parallels, and can this be explained by culture? The expectation is that lexical parallels in Fataluku follow the order of female // male, for Fataluku is a P2-patrilineal culture language. For Rotinese being P1-patrilineal culture language, the expected order in lexical parallels is male // female. The lexical parallels in the LGC text in the FPD and RPD are compared to the categories given in the literature.

As it seems, parallelism consists of a collection of categories. Categories are groups with a general two-level semantic opposition. Parallel pairs fit into one of these general categories. The basis of the categories seems to be a basic distinction in masculinity and femininity. This is a simple dual opposition of the two human sexes. There are quite some categories found in the literature, which are connected to masculinity and femininity (Forth 1981: 416). However, no research has been done on the absolute number of lexical pairs occurring in these categories, and their order. This basic dual opposition between male and female also explains why lexical parallelism is concerned with nouns, and not with verbs. The basis of lexical parallelism is an opposition between nominal referents. Another reason why parallelism is concerned with nouns is that nouns have a referent in the non-linguistic reality, they can easily be conceptualized. Verbs, however, need a nominal referent to be perceptible. In other words, verbs need a nominal referent to show their meaning. This means that nouns are at the basis of linguistic perception, which is why this thesis focusses on nouns. Parallelism in verbs is shortly discussed in Section 3.2.2 above, but further research is needed to learn more about the functions and roles of verbs in lexical parallelism. That verbs behave differently from nouns in parallelism is visible in parallel texts, where the nouns appear in more fixed orders and combinations than verbs. According to Fox (Fox 1971: 239), the order of a parallel pair is irrelevant, but he refers to verbs when making this claim. In Example (39) below this example is shown. The verbs in these two lines are indeed reversed, but the nouns are in the same order.

(39) [Rotinese] – Verbs in Parallelism

boe-te tetema lapu seluk	// A: the **hawk** *takes wing* once more
ma balapua la bai.	A': and the **eagle** *flies* again.
boe-te tetema la seluk	// A: the **hawk** *flies* again
ma balapua lapu bai.	A': and the **eagle** *takes wing* again.
	(Fox 1971: 239, slashes and letters added)

That verbs are not the basis of lexical parallelism can also be shown with different examples from the RTD, also mentioned in (Mourik 2020b: 21). In the following examples, in which the verbs *dadi* 'to arise', *tola* 'to appear', *lesu* 'to come forth' and *moli* 'to appear' are used synonymously and are combined without restriction in parallel pairs and used throughout the sentences, while the lexical pair *bela* // *hu-boko* 'heavy leaves // bending stalks' is consistently used in these examples. This shows that verbal parallelism is not lexically determined, but nominal parallelism is. There are no examples in the LGC text in the FPD and the RPD with different verbs but similar nouns. There is less variation in the combination of nouns than there is for verbs.

(40)	*ma do belana dadi* *ma hu-bokona tola*	//	A: And the **heavy leaves** *arise* A': and the **bending stalks** *appear* (RTD 5.059)
(41)	*do belena lesu* *ma hu-bokona moli*	//	A: Or the **heavy leaves** *come forth* A': and the **bending stalks** *appear* (RTD 5.065)
(42)	*de do belana lesu* *ma hu-bokona dadi*	//	A: Then the **heavy leaves** *come forth* A': and the **bending stalks** *arise* (RTD 5.123)
(43)	*de do belana dadi* *ma hu-bokona lesu*	//	A: Then the **heavy leaves** *arise* A': and the **bending stalks** *come forth* (RTD 5.142)

The content of this section is perfectly summarized by Jakobson (1966: 399), when he wrote: "[The] poetic patterns where certain similarities between successive verbal sequences are compulsory or enjoy a high preference appear to be widespread in the languages of the world, and they are particularly gratifying both for the study of poetic language and for linguistic analysis in general. *Such traditional types of canonic parallelism offer us an insight into the various forms of relationship among the different aspects of language and answer the pertinent question: what kindred grammatical or phonological categories may function as equivalent within the given pattern? We can infer that such categories share a common denominator in the linguistic code of the respective speech community.*" (Jakobson 1966: 399, emphasis by author).

This section begins with a literature review (Section 4.1), which discusses the categories found in different languages in the area. These categories are combined in one table in Section 4.1.1.3. This section also discusses Reversed Orders (Section 4.1.2), and Rules Other than Categories (Section 4.1.3). Section 4.2 is the analysis of Fataluku and Rotinese nominal parallel pairs, both for pairs that fit into categories (Section 4.2.1), as well as synonymous pairs (Section 4.2.2) and reversed pairs (Section 4.2.3).

4.1 Literature Review

In this section, categories are always mentioned in the order male // female, unless specifically mentioned otherwise. Always using the same order will keep this section as clear as possible. Only languages in Southeast Asia are used in this section, except for a short introduction of Chinese.

4.1.1 Categories in Languages

A well-known culture with categories is Chinese. In an earlier (unpublished) paper, I wrote about the categories in Classical Chinese, which are also represented in parallelism (Mourik 2021b). The Chinese cosmology is divided into two basic categories: yin and yang. Yin is the receptive force, and yang is the active force. These two categories contain everything in Chinese culture. Yin is considered negative, feminine, passive, earthly, north-facing shade, and disorder. Yang is the opposite: positive, masculine, active, celestial, south-facing brightness, and order (Hsieh 1959: 9; Feuchtwang 2016: 177; Mourik 2021b: 1–2). Although the Chinese cosmological opposition in yin and yang is very well known, it will not be discussed further in this thesis. The remainder of this section focuses on categories in languages in Southeast Asia. Fox (2014: 190–191) has described that “In eastern Indonesia the most important and recurrent complementary categories reflect a common Austronesian derivation and a historically shared inheritance of similar metaphors for living.” The categories that he mentions are shown below. Unfortunately, he does not give examples for these categories, nor languages in which the categories occur.

Directional/Spatial
- North // South
- East // West
- Inside // Outside
- Back // Front
- Right // Left
- Upward // Downward

Color
- White // Black
- Red-gold // Blue-green

Bodyparts
- Head // Tail
- Head // Buttock

Person/gender
- Elder // Younger
- Male // Female

Botanical
- Unripe // Ripe
- Trunk // Tip
- Planted // Harvested

Qualities
- Cool // Hot
- Bland // Bitter

The following sections discuss the categories in Fataluku, Rotinese and Leti in Section 4.1.1.1, and Rindi, a dialect of Kambera, in Section 4.1.1.2. All categories that are found are combined in Table 14, in Section 4.1.1.3. This section also provides further discussion of the categories found in the table.

4.1.1.1 Fataluku, Rotinese, Leti

The first linguistic research into the categories in lexical parallelism was done by Van Engelenhoven (1997; 2010), where he distinguishes some categories in Leti (1997), and in Leti, Fataluku and Rotinese (2010). These categories are shown in Table 13 below.

	Fataluku (P2-patrilineal)	**Leti** (P1-matrilineal)	**Rotinese** (P1-patrilineal)
Lexical pairs related to size (small // big)			
areca nut // coconut	*pua // vata* 'areca nut // coconut'	*pua // nura* 'areca nut // coconut'	*nupu // puan* 'coconut // areca nut'
proa // ship	*peleku // loiasu* 'proa // ship'	*loi // spou* 'proa // ship'	*baluk // tonak* 'ship // proa'
Lexical pairs related to sex (male // female)			
man // woman	*tupuru // nami* 'woman // man'	*püata // müani* 'woman // man'	*mane // feto* 'man // woman'
father // mother	*nalu // palu* 'mother // father'	*ina // ama* 'mother // father'	*aman // inan* 'father // mother'
sun // moon	*uru // vacu* 'moon // sun'	*vunu // lèra* 'Pleiads // sun'	*ledo // bulan* 'sun // moon'
Lexical pairs related to direction (land // sea)			
land // sea	*mu'a // tahi* 'land // sea'	*lïòra // rïaa* 'sea // land'	*tasi // dae* 'sea // land'
island // land	*palisana // tahi* 'island // sea'	*nusa // rai* 'island // land'	*ingu // nusa* 'land // island'
water // seawater	*ira // tahi* 'fresh water // seawater'	*üèra // taski* 'fresh water // seawater'	*liun // sain* 'ocean // sea'

Table 13: Categories in Van Engelenhoven (2010)

Van Engelenhoven (2010) distinguishes three categories: size (big // small), sex (male // female), and direction (land // sea), the first categories made for parallelism. Van Engelenhoven (2020: 16) has called these categories "a culturally defined dualistic FORCE schema", where the most important term carries more power than the associated term. So, for Fataluku, the language he analyses in this publication, he writes that "the entities that are smaller, younger or female are considered less powerful than the opposite bigger, older or male entities." (2020: 16). This is a first major step in the linguistic research of categories in parallelism.

James Fox mentions some categories as well, specifically for Rotinese. He does not call them categories, but rather "dual oppositions" (Fox 1971: 247), or "operators" (Fox 2009). The categories he mentions are given below (Fox 1971: 247; 2014: 191; 193; 194):

	Masculine	**// Feminine**
-	Sun	// Moon
-	Sky	// Earth
-	Land	// Water
-	East	// West
-	South	// North
-	Right	// Left
-	Male	// Female
-	Elder	// Younger
-	Red	// Green

- Odd // Even
- Betel fruit // Areca nut
- Head // Tail
- Inside // Outside

Fox does not seem to be certain about his opinion about the categories in lexical parallelism. He contradicts himself on two levels. He does not value these categories so much, when he writes: “An even longer selection of such oppositions would, however, hardly do justice to the parallelism of ritual language. To do this would require a list of all dyadic sets, a column of several thousand units. Furthermore, an emphasis on a limited number of these sets renders rigid and static what is, in fact, a flexible system of symbolic classification.” (Fox 1971: 247). Here he claims at the same time that a longer list of oppositions is not needed, while “an emphasis on a limited number of sets renders rigid and static what is, in fact, a flexible system...” (Fox 1971: 247). At the same time, he is not sure about the value of the categories. In 1971, he wrote: “Dyadic sets are essentially neutral pairs; one element in a set is not 'superior' to another element and either element may proceed the other in expression.” (Fox 1971: 247), but in 2014 he seems to have changed his opinion, when he wrote: “All of the [...] recursive complements that I have mentioned are [...] distinguished in an asymmetric fashion, although not all are as consciously justified: male is ‘superior’ to female, inside to outside, head to tail, red-gold to blue-green” (Fox 2014: 193). I would argue that a longer list, indeed a column of several thousand parallel pairs, would lead to a clearer categorization of parallel pairs, where the ‘superior’ categories become clear. It seems that Fox agrees with this: “Extra linguistic evaluations are required to transform the elements of dyadic sets into the elements of a dual cosmology.” (Fox 1971: 247).

4.1.1.2 Rindi

For Rindi, the categories are mentioned in an anthropological source (Forth 1981). The focus of this source is not on the categories, but on the rituals. But by thorough searching, many categories were found throughout the book. The categories in Rindi form a complex system, where, depending on context and specifications, a word can be associated both with masculinity and femininity. Some of the categories are shown in Figure 5 below, where the bridewealth system of Rindi is illustrated. Forth (1981: 416) states that “the Rindi ‘male’ and ‘female’ might ultimately represent the simple fact of duality itself.”

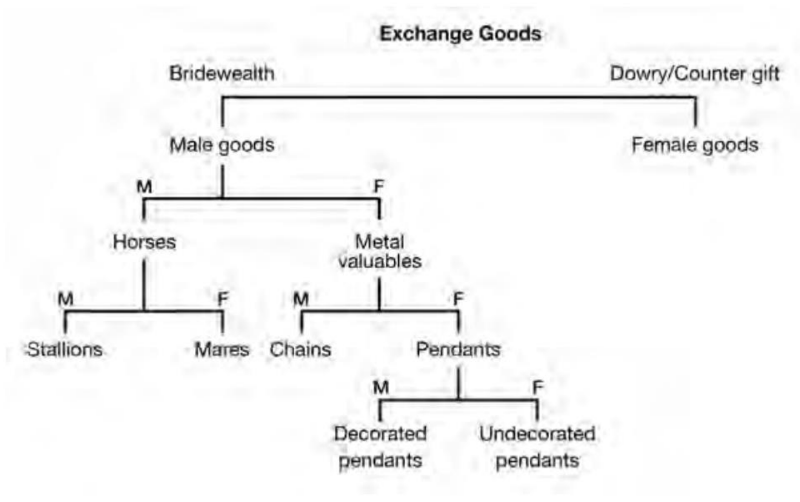


Figure 5: Categories of Masculinity and Femininity in Rindi (Fox 2014: 192)

The categories from Forth (1981) are listed here, with the page numbers given between (parentheses):

	Masculine	// Feminine	
-	Long	// Round	(360)
	Metal chains	// Metal pendants	(360)
-	Front	// Back	(44)
-	High	// Low	(44)
	High tide	// Low tide	(144)
-	Head	// Tail	(54)
-	Right	// Left	(44)
-	Outside	// Inside	(108)
	Dog	// Pig	(284)
	Buffalo	// Pig	(433)
	Horse	// Chicken	(433)
-	Hot	// Cool	(44)
-	Living	// Dead	(205)
-	Spiritual	// Temporal	(44)
-	Elder	// Younger	(96)
-	Day	// Night	(116)
-	Sky	// Earth	(68)
-	Even	// Odd	(135)
-	Horse	// Metal	(360)
-	Stallion	// Mare	(360)

These categories show the complexity of categories in Rindi. Although metal is considered feminine, there is a further subdivision into metal chains, which are masculine, and metal pendants, which are feminine. This subdivision fits into the long // round category. The same goes for horses, which are typically male. When a further subdivision is made, stallions are considered masculine, and mares are considered feminine, for obvious reasons. The categorization of animals is also a subclassification of another category. Dogs, buffalo, and horses are masculine animals, belonging to the 'outside', they join in travels, or are further away from home in the fields. The opposites, pigs and chickens, are animals that stay close to home, the 'inside'.

Although Forth (1981) gives a lot of categories associated with masculinity and femininity, he does not clearly state the order in which the words occur. In the one example he mentions the order differently than the other example. Asplund (2017: 6–7) has a reference to Forth (1988: 314–315) when he writes: "In Kambera, the order of parallel terms is free to some extent, but for many pairs a fixed order is generally followed, which accords with the Sumbanese idea that one term of the pair can be identified as female and the other as male. The female term comes first and the male second, but there are exceptions" (see also Section 5.1). Forth (1981) is not consistent in the division of the categories. On page 44 he mentions that the masculine category is inside, while the feminine category is outside. However, later on, for example on page 105 and 108, the categories are reversed. On these later pages he relates the outside to the hotness of the field, and the inside to the coolness of the house. This must then be the correct categorization.

4.1.1.3 Categories in the literature

Although the dyadic distinctions are very common in the oral tradition of Southeast Asia, there is no overarching anthropological description. There is a comparative study into two communities on the Babar Islands (Southwest Moluccas), that describes some categories for both communities (Van Dijk & De Jonge 1990). Forth (1981) mentions on different places in his book categories that are associated with masculinity and femininity for Rindi, a dialect of Kambera. Fox (1971) also mentions categories for Rotinese, and some Rotinese categories are described in Mourik (2020b). Nolan (2010; 2019) and Klokke (1994) give some categories for Ngaju Dayak. Van Engelenhoven (1997; 2010) describes categories for Fataluku, Leti and Rotinese. All these categories are listed in Table 14 below. The table does not contain the pair male // female, for this is self-evident, for the table is based on masculine and feminine features, the fundamental opposition in parallelism. This table is based on languages in Southeast Asia only.

Masculine Features	**Feminine Features**	**Language**		**Source**
Shapes				
Wood	Stone	Luang Marsela	P1-M ?-P	(Van Dijk & De Jonge 1990: 4)
Long Metal chains	Round Metal pendants	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 360)
Betel nut	Areca nut	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 2014: 191)
Big	Small	Leti Fataluku Rotinese	P1-M P2-P P1-P	(Van Engelenhoven 2010: 244; Van Engelenhoven 1997: 5)
Directions				
Front	Back	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 44)
High High tide	Low Low tide	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 44) (Forth 1981: 144)
Head	Tail	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 2014: 193)
		Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 54)
Not high	High	Leti	P1-M	(Van Engelenhoven 1997: 5)
Right	Left	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 44)
		Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 1971: 247)
East	West	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 1971: 247)
South	North	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 2014: 194)
Outside	Inside	Ngaju Dayak	-	(Nolan 2010: 5; 2019: 84)
		Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 108)
Inside	Outside	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 2014: 193)
Qualities				
Hot	Cool	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 44)
		Ngaju Dayak	-	(Nolan 2010: 5)
Living	Dead	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 205)
Spiritual	Temporal	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 44)
Temporal				
Elder	Younger	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 96)

		Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 1971: 247; Mourik 2020b: 19)
		Fataluku	P2-P	(Van Engelenhoven 2020: 16)
Natural Phenomena				
Sun	Moon	Leti Fataluku Rotinese	P1-M P2-P P1-P	(Van Engelenhoven 2010: 245)
Day	Night	Ngaju Dayak	-	(Nolan 2010: 5)
		Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 116)
Sky	Earth	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 68)
		Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 1971: 247)
Land	Island	Leti Rotinese	P1-M P1-P	(Van Engelenhoven 2010: 245–246)
Land	Sea	Leti Rotinese	P1-M P1-P	(Van Engelenhoven 2010: 245; Van Engelenhoven 1997: 5)
Land	Water	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 1971: 247)
Upperworld	Underworld	Ngaju Dayak	-	(Klokke 1994: 68)
Colors				
White	Red	Ngaju Dayak	-	(Klokke 1994: 68)
White	Black	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 1973: 356)
Red	Green Blue/green/ yellow	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 1971: 247) (Fox 1973: 356)
Red-Gold	Blue-Green	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 2014: 193)
Numerals				
Even	Odd	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 135)
Odd	Even	Rotinese	P1-P	(Fox 1971: 247)
Animals				
Dog	Pig	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 284)
Buffalo	Pig	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 433)
Horse	Chicken	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 433)
Horse	Metal	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 360)
Stallion	Mare	Rindi (Kambera)	P2-P	(Forth 1981: 360)

Table 14: Categories in the Literature (P1 = P1-Language, P2 = P2-Language, M = matrilineal, P = patrilineal, - = neither)

Ngaju Dayak is said to be neither patrilineal nor matrilineal (Thomson 2000: 32; Haug 2017: 36), therefore, the table does not indicate whether Ngaju Dayak is matrilineal or patrilineal, nor the P1-P2-Language distinction. More research into Ngaju Dayak parallelism could shed light on the culture of the Ngaju Dayak.

Categories are linked to real-world distinctions in the cultures of languages. Sometimes, this leads to categories that are linked to masculinity and femininity in the reversed order. For example, the Ngaju Dayak link 'outside' to masculinity, and 'inside' to femininity, because women stay in and around the house, and men go out to work on the fields to work and hunt (Nolan 2010: 5; Nolan 2019: 184). However, the Rotinese link 'inside' to masculinity, and 'outside' to femininity, for it is the men who go inside the political domain, which is forbidden territory for women (Fox 2014: 196). Another category that occurs in both orders is odd // even and even // odd. However, in Mourik (2020b: 19–20), I have shown that for Rotinese this order is not consistently found in the RTD, but that numerals occur freer than this restriction. For Rindi, Forth (1981: 135) gives in a footnote a situation in which the order of the numerals is reversed, to odd // even. It appears that numerals are not a reliable category in the literature. An explanation could be that numerals are not linked to masculinity and femininity but have their own mechanisms of combining and ordering. More research is needed to learn about the role and function of numerals in parallelism.

One category seems to give some discussion. This is the pair betel fruit // areca nut. According to Van Engelenhoven (2010: 244), this lexical pair falls into the category small // big, while Forth (1981: 360) places it into the category of long // round, because of the "slender betel fruit and round areca nuts". It is possible that some parallel pairs fall within multiple categories, and that should not be a problem. It becomes interesting when a parallel pair can fall within two categories, but the individual words then fall into the opposite category.

Most categories are linked to masculinity and femininity, although the link might not always be clear. In an elaborate category system, it is important to have intelligible categories, of which the division is clear. Especially since the right citation of the texts are of the greatest importance (Forth 1988: 21; Van Engelenhoven 2020: 13; Mourik 2021a: 6), it is plausible to believe that the categories are in some way logical. For example, the category high // low can be explained by the fact that men are typically taller than women. The pair long // round refers to the shape of sexual organs. The sun is related to masculinity, and so is the east and south. The moon is related to femininity, and also the remaining cardinal points, west and north. Some categories are clearly related, such as high // low and head // tail. Although the system is very elaborate, there often are clear connections between the categories and their ultimate referents, masculinity and femininity.

4.1.2 Reversed Orders

These categories mentioned above might give the impression that parallel pairs always occur in the same order. As will become clear in Section 4.2, this is not the case. This is also found in the literature, where Fox (2014: 193–194) calls this 'category reversal'. He mentions multiple occasions in Rotinese parallelism where the order can be reversed. For example, on the funeral of someone who died a 'bad death' (Fox 1973: 352). Another context for category reversal is the Dutch colonial period, which is seen as a time of partial reversal of the proper cosmic order (2014: 193–194). So, parallel pairs can be reversed in order when speakers experience their world as being 'reversed', when their sense of cosmic order is disturbed.

Another context for the use of reversed parallel pairs are chiasms (Mourik 2020b: 15). A chiasm is a poetic instrument that contains a repetition with a reversed word order (A // A' + A' // A). These chiasms occur in the RTD when the same lexical pair occurs in two adjacent parallels. This is not obligatory. The chiasms occur at important places in the text, where the text changes topic, or when the text turns to its final event. Example (44) is taken from Mourik (2020b: 15), Example (45) shows adjacent parallels without chiasm. More on chiasms can be found in Section 4.2.3.4.

(44)	*Ana pale mane fe inan*	// A: He taps male toddies for his **mother**
	Ma lenu feto fe te'on	A': and saps female toddies for his **aunt**
	Fe te'on Kona Kek	// A': to give to his **aunt**, Kona Kek
	Ma fe inan Leli De'ak	A: and give to his **mother**, Leli Deak
		(Mourik 2020b: 15; RTD 4.109-4.110)

(45)	*Boe ma nae: 'Au lu matasanga inang*	// A: So he says: 'The tears in my eyes seek my **Mother'**
	Ma au pinu idu afi te'ong	A': and the snot of my nose looks for my **aunt**
	Sanga inang Silu Lilok	// A: Seeks my **mother**, Silu Lilok
	Ma aft te'ong Huka Besik	A': And looks for my **aunt**, Huka Besik'
		(RTD 4.081-4.082)

4.1.3 Rules other than Categories

Parallelism is not only based on categories. There are two other mechanisms that play a role. These are parallel pairs where one member has a strict position (Section 4.1.3.1), and phonological rules (Section 4.1.3.2).

4.1.3.1 Strict Positions

Some parallel pairs are ordered based on a strict position for a specific word. One member of a parallel always occurs in the same position of a parallel pair, regardless of the word it is combined with. This is shown in the literature for Fataluku, Rotinese and Leti

Fataluku

The Fataluku lexical pair *ili* // *mai* 'mountain // eagle' might seem random, for there seems to be no relationship between the two terms. This pair might belong to the category low // high. But, when looking at other pairs with these words, it appears that *ili* 'mountain' is always in first position, whereas *mai* 'eagle' is always in second position. Examples are given below, taken from Van Engelenhoven (2020: 17). In some of these pairs, there might also be a category that determines the order, for example *kikinu* // *mai* 'mouse // eagle' might be determined by the category small // big. But despite the pairs that might fall into categories, it is striking that in all these examples *ili* 'mountain' and *mai* 'eagle' always occur in the first and second slot, respectively.

***ili* 'mountain'**		***mai* 'eagle'**	
ili // *apa*	'mountain // mountain'	*ci-ara* // *mai*	'k.o. tree // eagle'
ili // *calu*	'mountain // ancestor'	*ili* // *mai*	'mountain // eagle'
ili // *foe*	'mountain // plain'	*pere* // *mai*	'k.o. snake // eagle'
ili // *mai*	'mountain // eagle'	*olo* // *mai*	'bird // eagle'
ili // *pere*	'mountain // ridge'	*kikinu* // *mai*	'mouse // eagle'

Other examples of words that are typically placed in the same position are *ira* 'water' and *pala* 'garden'. The combination of these two terms occurs once in the FPD, but in parallel pairs containing these words, *ira* 'water' always occurs in first position, and *pala* 'garden' always occurs in second position. The examples are shown below (Van Engelenhoven 2020: 17), where it is shown that the pair *ira* // *aca* 'water // fire' occurs in both orders, for unknown reasons. The pair *macenu* // *ira* 'food // water' can also not be explained. The pair *lakute* // *ira* 'to drip // to water' can be explained by the category size: small // big, where dripping refers to small drips of water, and where watering refers to a larger stream of water. The word *le* 'house' occurs in combination with both *ira* 'water' and *pala* 'garden'. This shows that the strict position of *ira* 'water' and *pala* 'garden' is stronger than the order of the word *le* 'house'.

***ira* 'water'**		***pala* 'garden'**	
ira // aca	'water // fire'	*hamua // pala*	'soil // garden'
ira // le	'water // house'	*ia-mari // pala*	'footprint // garden'
ira // pala	'water // garden'	*ira // pala*	'water // garden'
ira // tahi	'water // sea'	*lau // pala*	'cloth // garden'
ira // tua	'water // toddy palm'	*le // pala*	house // garden'
ira // veru	'water // river'	*leku // pala*	'yard // garden'
aca // ira	'fire-wood // water'	*tua // pala*	'toddy palm // garden'
macenu // ira	'food // water'		
lakute // ira	'to drip // to water'		

Another striking observation is that in both *ili // mai* 'mountain // eagle' and *ira // pala* 'water // garden', the word with a high vowel [i] occurs strictly in first position (*ili* 'mountain' and *ira* 'water'), whereas the word with a low vowel [a] occurs strictly in second position (*mai* 'eagle' and *pala* 'garden'). This is not mentioned by Van Engelenhoven. There appear to be some phonological rules for synonymous pairs in Fataluku, see Section 4.2.2.1.

Rotinese and Rindi

Some words in Rotinese and Rindi parallel pairs also seem to have a strict position. This is compared by Fox (2014: 88), where he states that Rindi *tana* 'tree' and Rotinese *dae* 'tree' always occur in first position. He lists the terms with which they combine, for both Rindi (taken from Forth (1988)) and Rotinese. These parallel pairs are shown below. These parallel pairs show that Rotinese and Rindi share some parallel pairs. An addition is that *dae* in Rotinese not only means 'tree', but it is also used as a directional indicating 'below', which is why it can combine with other directional and locational words. Fox translated these pairs with 'tree' as well, in the examples below, the translation is adapted.

Rindi		**Rotinese**	
tana // ai	'tree // wood'	*dae // ai*	'tree // wood'
tana // wai	'tree // water'	*dae // oe*	'tree // water'
tana // watu	'tree // stone'	*dae // batu*	'tree // stone'
tana // awangu	'tree // sky'	*dae // lai(n)*	'tree // sky'
tana // rumba	'tree // grass'	*dae // tua*	'tree // toddy palm'
tana // luku	'tree // river'		
tana // pindu	'tree // gate'	*dae // dale*	'below // inside'
tana // paraingu	'tree // domain'	*dae // de'a*	'below // outside'
		dae // dulu	'below // east'

Leti

There is not as much information about strict orders in Leti, but Van Engelenhoven (1997: 4) gives two words that occur in strict position, *uera* 'water' and *wawi* 'pig'. The examples he gives are shown here below. For the examples with *wawi* 'pig', it is again interesting to see that the words with a high vowel [i] stand in first position, while the word with a low vowel [a] occurs in second position.

uera // watu	'water // stone'	*pipi // wawi*	'goat // pig'
uera // waresra	'water // provision'	*siwi // wawi*	'chicken // pig'
uera // tali	'water // rope'	*asu // wawi*	'dog // pig'

In both Fataluku and Leti, 'water' occurs strictly in the first position of a parallel pair. For Rotinese, this is 'tree'. It is interesting to see that all languages combine 'prototypical natural elements', such as Fataluku *ira // aca* 'water // fire', Leti *uera // watu* 'water // stone', and Rotinese and Rindi share four such pairs, the pairs from Rotinese are given here: *dae // ai* 'tree // wood', *dae // oe* 'tree // water', *dae // batu* 'tree // stone', and *dae // lai(n)* 'tree // sky'. This might be as Fox suggests: "Rindi and Rote share a common set of ritual associations that link 'earth', 'water', 'stone' and 'tree'." (Fox 2014: 88).

4.1.3.2 Phonology

Verbal parallel pairs in Leti seem to obey to another rule as well, namely a phonological rule. Items with stressed high vowels precede items with stressed nonhigh vowels and items with stressed front vowels precede those with stressed non-front vowels, according to the following hierarchy: i < u < e < o < a (Van Engelenhoven 1997: 6). Van Engelenhoven illustrates this use by means of the verb *-tóli* 'to see':

n-kili // n-tóli	'he looks back // he sees'
n-tóli // n-tákra	'he sees // he looks (at)'
n-léésa // n-tóli	'he reads // he sees'

These examples show that indeed i < e < o < a. The semantics of the verbs are related, which makes it unlikely that the order is determined by semantics. Verbs are not considered a part of lexical parallelism (i.e. they do not fall into semantic categories), but in Leti they seem to follow their own set of rules. More research into other languages is needed to find out whether this is a mechanism that is active in more languages. In the analysis (section 4.2), it will be tested by which rules Fataluku and Rotinese lexical pairs are formed.

4.1.4 Lexical Pairs – Combined Meanings

Binomial pairs are in the basis similar to parallel pairs. Both consist of two words or short phrases, usually indicating a related meaning. Binominal pairs are specified into two categories of coordinated compounds (co-compounds): hyperonymic co-compounds and hyponymic co-compounds (Arcodia 2018). These two categories are shortened to Hyper and Hypo. Hypers are compounds of which the meaning of the two parts is more general than the words it consists of. The meaning of Hypos is more specific than the meaning of the two parts. The distinction is claimed to be based on semantics. Hypers typically express natural coordination between two items that often occur together, and that form conceptual units. Hypos typically express accidental coordination, between elements that do not typically occur together, and do not necessarily have a close semantic relationship. (Wälchli 2005: 5; Arcodia 2018: 1198). Examples of the two kinds are given below:

(46) [Vietnamese] – Hyperonymic
chim-muông
bird-beast
'animals'
(Nguyen 1997:66, in Arcodia 2018: 1222)

(47) [Modern Greek] – Hyponymic
Sinthésis *tragoudistís*
songwriter-M.NOM.SG singer-M.NOM.SG
'singer-songwriter'
(Manolessou & Tsolakidis 2009: 25, in Arcodia 2018: 1199)

The goal of the paper by Arcodia is to find areal patterns of mainly Hyper languages and Hypo languages, where the focus lies on the most productive, most tight kind of forming nominal compounds. For some languages this is done by means of Hypers, for other languages, by means of Hypos. What is important here, is that, although the Timor region is not in the sample, all languages from the Southeast Asia-Oceania sample are Hyper-languages (Arcodia 2018: 1224). If lexical pairs are fundamentally similar to nominal compounds, it is expected that lexical pairs behave as Hypers. The categories are based on an oppositional relationship, where the one item is semantically opposite of the other. For example, 'male' is the natural opposite of 'female', and 'east' is the natural opposite of 'west' (see Section 4.1.1.3). This fits the definition of the Hypers, that, as mentioned above, typically express natural coordination between two items that often occur together, and that form conceptual units (Wälchli 2005: 5; Arcodia 2018: 1198). This is found in the literature about Rotinese, where Fox (2014: 233) explains how the concept of the orphan and the widow is combined into one concept: 'the bereaved'. This corresponds to the Hyper in Example (46). The orphan // widow pair is shown in the same representation in Example (48).

(48) [Rotinese] – Hyperonymic
ana-mak // *falu-ina*
orphan // widow
'bereaved'

Unfortunately, this is the only instance in the literature where one general definition of the two parts is given. However, it seems plausible that more pairs have such a general definition. For example, the Rotinese pair *ama* // *ina* 'father // mother' could very well have a general definition of 'parents'. It is impossible to make such claims with the data available. Elicitation and speaker intuitions could lead to more general definitions of these Hypers. The general definitions fit in the idea of parallelism, where two lines are combined to form one semantic message. This is illustrated below by means of a short passage from the RTD, where in line 7, the father dies, and in line 11, the mother dies. After this, the boy is an *ana-ma* // *falu-ina* 'orphan // widow' (line 13), which does not fit the gender of the boy, but the general definition of 'bereaved' does fit. In line 14, it says that he misses and lacks a father // mother, which in the general definition would mean 'parents'. At this point, there is not enough data to make claims about the Hypers, but further research could lead to interesting general definitions, summarizing each of the opposites of the categories involved.

07. *Te hu Kama Lai Ledo lalo*	// A: But Kama Lai of the Sun dies [father]
Ma Nilu Neo Bulan sapu.	A': And Nilu Neo of the Moon perishes. [father]
08. *De sapu ela Manu Kama*	// A: He dies leaving Manu Kama
Ma lalo ela Tepa Nilu,	A': And he perishes leaving Tepa Nilu,
09. *Ela Tepa Nilu no inan*	// A: Leaving Tepa Nilu with his mother
Ma ela Manu Kama no te'on	A': And leaving Manu Kama with his aunt
10. *De malole-a so*	// A: This was good
Do mandak-a so.	A': Or this was proper.
11. *Te hu neu ma Silu Lilo ana lalo,*	// A: But then Silu Lilo, she dies, [mother]
Ma Huka Besi ana sapu.	A': And Huka Besi, she perishes. [mother]
12. *De sapu ela Manu Kama*	// A: She dies leaving Manu Kama
Ma lalo ela Tepa Nilu.	A': And she perishes leaving Tepa Nilu.
13. *De ana-ma Manu Kama*	// A: An **orphan** is Manu Kama
Ma falu-ina Tepa Nilu.	A': And a **widow** is Tepa Nilu.
14. *Ana sala ama-na bai,*	// A: He lacks a **father** too,
Ma singo ina-na bai,	A': He misses a **mother** too,
15. *Sala to'o-na bai,*	// A: Lacks a mother's brother too,
Ma singo te'o-na bai.	A': And misses a father's sister too.
	(RTD 4.011-4.015)

These Hyper constructions also show that, although the meaning of two pairs in a parallel are often opposites, they can refer to one referent. This is not unexpected, for the opposites belong to one semantic category. Both a father and a mother are parents, both an orphan and a widow are bereaved. The opposition is on a scale of one semantic concept, which makes it possible to have a combined meaning.

Arcodia (2018: 1202) gives some background on fixity of the order in co-compounds, of which he states that: "The fixity of order in co-compounds is generally motivated by lexicalization/ conventionalization, or by pragmatic reasons. There are often general preferences for a specific order of constituents" (Wälchli 2005: 103–104). However, he does not give any information regarding the position of the most important constituent (as discussed in Section 5).

4.2 Analysis

This section analyses the parallel pairs in Fataluku and Rotinese. The first step in this analysis is to categorize the parallel pairs in the database, and label them as 'fits into category' and 'synonymous' The Categories are discussed in Section 4.2.1, the Synonymous Pairs in 4.2.2. The order of discussion in this section is also first Fataluku, then Rotinese.

For Fataluku, 119 pairs were analyzed. 83 pairs fit into categories, and 36 pairs are synonymous. For Rotinese, 109 pairs were analyzed, of which 76 fit into categories, and 33 pairs are synonymous. Not all pairs occur in the tables. The pairs that are not included in the table cannot be categorized into one of the categories that occur in the literature. They also do not seem to fit into intelligible categories. Further research and a larger dataset should lead to a conclusion about these classes.

Although it is not the convention in academic work, all numbers in this section will be presented with numbers (1-10), rather than with spelled out numbers (one-ten). This allows the reader to quickly identify the numbers and find the numbers s/he is looking for.

4.2.1 Pairs in Categories

This section discusses the parallel pairs that fit into the categories found in the literature, with the addition of some categories found in the databases. The categories are discussed for Fataluku in Section 4.2.1.1, the discussion for Rotinese is in Section 4.2.1.2. Section 4.2.1.3 summarizes the findings regarding the first hypothesis. Section 4.2.1.4 discusses the Scale of Categories.

The observant reader might notice that the layout and framework in this section is quite similar for both languages. This is done on purpose. By aligning the text for the two languages, reading and understanding this text will be easier, for the analysis can be confusing sometimes, with the preferred orders for the languages reversed and a lot of separate analyses combined in two sections.

4.2.1.1 Fataluku

The analysis for Fataluku is made with the parallel pairs from the FPD, taken from the LGC text. The parallel pairs in Fataluku are harder to categorize than the parallel pairs in Rotinese. They appear to combine more freely, without an obvious semantic relationship. This is one of the biggest struggles in this research. The analysis is based on translation and corpus research only, for there is no access to speaker intuitions of an L1-speaker. This also means that, although the pairs are analyzed as thoroughly as possible, there still is a chance that a pair is categorized wrongly.

Most of the nominal pairs could be analyzed. A total of 119 pairs was analyzed, of which 83 pairs fit into categories. The table contains 75 parallel pairs. The pairs that are not included in the table cannot be categorized into one of the categories that occur in the literature, and they contain only 1 pair for each category.

The categories, together with their members, are shown in Table 15. The table gives the parallel pairs that fit into each of the categories. The table is ordered from biggest category to smallest category, and the expected order is given first. Within each category, the parallel pairs are ordered by their occurrence, given in the column on the right.

Category	**Fataluku Pair**	**Translation**	**Occur-rences**
Small // Big 15x	*tua // pala*	‘toddy palm // garden’	49 (1R)
	lau // pa’a	‘cloth // bag’	11
	sorotu // lepuru	‘letter // book’	4
	lesu // lau	‘handkerchief // cloth’	2
	hah(al’)asa // namu-namu	‘buds // garbage’	2
	mu’a // horo	‘soil // gravel’	2
	pua // vata	‘areca // coconut’	1
	hikaru // hupila	‘knife // sickle’	1
	iniku // pouku	‘sand // gravel’	1

	sikiru // apa *lau // pala* *lau // apa* *n-asa // namu-namu* *kaicava // lalamu* *lahu // sepu*	'fairy ring // mountain' 'cloth // garden' 'cloth // mountain' 'leaf // garbage' 'kusambi // jambu' 'onion // pumpkin' **Total**	1 1 1 1 1 1 **79**
Big // Small 2x	*kui-kui // vani* *kurusu // pacu*	'kind of bird // bee' 'cross//candle' **Total**	3 1 **4**
Water // Land 10x	*varuku // fetilu* *loho // tari* *loho // taru* *loho // pere* *varuku // fetulu* *ira // oco* *ira // pala* *ira // tua* *ira o'o // le o'o* *meti // tua*	'buoy // fence' 'corral // hedge' 'corral // fence' 'corral // mountain' 'buoy // sign' 'water // orchard' 'water // garden' 'water // toddy palm' 'water mouth // house mouth' 'tide // toddy palm' **Total**	2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 **11**
Land // Water 4x	*sere // mata* *ili // mai* *mu'a // tahi* *marak // varuk*	'coast // ocean' 'mountain // eagle' 'land // sea' 'mark // buoy' **Total**	2 2 1 1 **6**
Female // Male 7x	*uru // vacu* *aru-aru // ava-ava* *la'ite // kecule* *nalu // palu* *jeu // moco* *tupuru // nai* *leren // moco*	'moon // sun' 'vaginas // penises' 'old woman//great grandparent' 'mother // father' 'wife // child' 'woman // lord' 'sister // child' **Total**	5 4 1 (7R) 1 1 1 1 **14**
Low // High 7x	*ara // pata* *ia // tana* *hama ara // tapelu* *pere // mai* *tana // mani* *mu'a // oto* *veru // sakuru*	'base // trunk' 'foot // hand' 'banyan's base // twig' 'snake // eagle' 'hand // neck' 'soil // forest' 'river // well' **Total**	5 2 2 1 1 1 1 **13**
High // Low 2x	*tua // mu'a* *ratu // paca*	'toddy palm // soil' 'nobility // commoner' **Total**	4 4 **8**
Round // Long	*pere varu // leu asa*	'sea hibiscus // basket leaf'	1

3x	*kara // moto*	'fig // sugarcane' **Total**	1 **2**
Long // Round 1x	*aca // ha'i*	'wood // kemiri' **Total**	1 **1**
General // Specific 4x	*ira // tahi* *aca // tani* *nami // ratu* *alivana // o'or-ana*	'water // sea' 'wood // branch' 'man // noble' 'place // discussion house' **Total**	22 1 1 1 **25**
Specific // General 1x	*moko // ma'aru*	'child // human' **Total**	1 **1**
Younger // Elder 3x	*kaka // palu* *noko // kaka* *vaianu // painu*	'older brother // father' 'younger sibling//older sibling' 'brother-in-law//parent-in-law' **Total**	25 8 3 **36**
Elder // Younger 5x	*ca'u hafa // malai* *calu // palu* *kecule // la'ite* *hitu // fotu* *calu // mocu*	'chief // king' 'ancestor // father' 'great grandparent//old woman' 'sword // rifle' 'ancestor // child' **Total**	25 15 7 (1R) 1 1 **49**
Location // People 3x	*le // moco* *le // ratu* *mu'a // ratu*	'house // child' 'house // nobility' 'earth // nobility' **Total**	1 1 1 **3**
Back // Front 1x	*uta // valiku*	'backward // side' **Total**	1 **1**
Front // Back 2x	*vahinu // moru* *cipi // hula*	'teeth // molar' 'tip // end' **Total**	1 1 **2**
Land // Sky 1x	*ili // mai*	'mountain // eagle' **Total**	2 **2**
Sky // Land 1x	*olo // aca*	'bird // chicken' **Total**	1 **1**
Cool // Hot 1x	*ira // aca*	'water // fire' **Total**	1 **1**
Left // Right 1x	*velika // tenenu*	'left // right' **Total**	1 **1**
Liquid // Solid 1x	*iri // aku*	'urine // excrements' **Total**	1 **1**
x // x+1 1x	*noko // amarua*	'younger sibling // twin' **Total**	1 **1**

Table 15: Categories and their Members in Fataluku. R = number of reversed pairs

Table 15 contains more categories than are described in the literature for Fataluku. The literature gives the categories female // male, small // big, land // sea, younger // elder and moon // sun for Fataluku (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 244–245; 2020: 16). However, the parallel pairs from the database fall into more categories, described for other languages, most of them related to spatial relations. There is the category low // high, which is described for Rindi and Leti (Forth 1981: 44; Van Engelenhoven 1997: 5), the category long // round, described for Rindi (Forth 1981: 360), the category left // right, as described for Rindi and Rotinese (Forth 1981: 44; Fox 1971: 247). The last spatial category is back // front, as described for Rindi (Forth 1981: 44). Other categories are land // sky, which is described for Rindi and Rotinese (Forth 1981: 68; Fox 1971: 247), and cool // hot, as described for Rindi and Ngaju Dayak (Forth 1981: 44; Nolan 2010: 5). Another category is the numeral category. There is one example that fits in this category, and the order is simply x // x+1. This rule might not be related to masculinity or femininity, for it is simply a sequence of numbers. Therefore, this category is not in the table, although it is also described for Rotinese (Fox 1971: 232; Mourik 2020b: 19), see also section 4.2.1.2. Then there are 3 more categories that are not mentioned in the literature at all, but that do have an oppositional semantic relationship, or have a larger number of parallel pairs in them. These 3 categories are general // specific, location // people and liquid // solid. The category liquid // solid could be related to the category water // land, which is also an opposition between liquid and solid.

A category that deserves further discussion is the elder // younger category. Some of the pairs in this category might simply give a chronological order, which is not related to a male // female distinction. Examples are *ca'u hafa* // *malai* 'chief // king' (see also below), *hitu* // *fotu* 'sword // rifle'. The pairs that are found in the category younger // elder all refer to specific persons, probably persons in the real world, living persons. The pairs referring to people in the elder // younger category are either dead (ancestors), generalized (chief, king), or living (father, great-grandparent/great-grandchild, old woman, child). More research is needed to find out whether a further subdivision is needed for these categories. The pair *kecule* // *la'ite* 'great-grandparent // old woman' is interesting. *Kecule* means both 'great-grandparent' and 'great-grandchild', for kinship terms for elder and younger generations, in equal distance from 'ego' have the same label in Fataluku (Van Engelenhoven, pc). However, closer analysis of the text has not led to a clearer view of the use of this pair. The translation of the text may not give the right translation for this pair (Van Engelenhoven, pc). This would mean that *kecule* // *la'ite* 'great-grandparent, great-grandchild // old woman' could also fit into the category of younger // elder. However, the LGC text gives the translation of 'great-grandparent'. At this point it is not possible to find out whether this translation is right.

Another category that deserves some further discussion is general // specific. As is shown in both Table 15 and Table 17, the preferred order for both Fataluku and Rotinese is general // specific. An explanation for this is that this category is not related to masculinity and femininity. It is common for languages that have binomial compounds to place the more general term in first position, followed by the specific term (Morgan & Levy 2016: 389). This category might behave like the numeral category, which is also not linked to masculinity and femininity.

The observant reader might notice that the pair *tua* // *pala* 'toddy palm // garden' has 1 occurrence of the reversed order *pala* // *tua* 'garden // toddy palm. This pair is not mentioned in the table, for this reversed pair can be explained by the structure of the LGC text (see Section 4.2.3.4 and 4.2.3.4).

For many of the pairs that occur in the unexpected order, there does not seem to be an explanation. However, for some there might be one. There is for example the pair *kurusu* // *pacu* 'cross //

candle', a parallel pair referring to Christianity, with *kurusu* clearly as a loan from Portuguese *cruz* 'cross'. This is a parallel pair introduced after the colonialization of the region, which may have had an influence on parallelism. Another pair that may have had a colonial influence like this is *ca'u hafa* // *malai* 'chief // king'. This pair is more questionable, for the traditional forms of power in the region are not clear. Kings seem to be a new invention, a description made up by European colonizers, in an attempt to understand the political system of the region (Hägerdal 2012: sec. Chiefs or Kings?). However, chiefs are considered more traditional, and fit the description of 'leader of a clan'.

Now that the categories and their members are analyzed, the hypothesis can be tested for Fataluku. This is done in Table 16 below. The categories are given in both orders, with the total occurrences of parallel pairs (the rightmost column in Table 15). The percentages are calculated for each category, as well as for the total. The percentages for the dominant order of each category are given in bold. The calculation is done twice: once with the categories that match the literature, and once with the new categories. This division is made because it is not certain what the cultural dominant order is for these categories. However, since the order of these pairs is so strict, one can assume that the order fits the cultural framework.

Expected Order	**Nr.**	**Perc.**	**Reversed Order**	**Nr.**	**Perc.**	**According to Hypothesis?**
Small // Big	79	**95.2%**	Big // Small	4	4.8%	Yes
Water // Land	11	**64.7%**	Land // Water	6	35.3%	No
Female // Male	14	**100%**				Yes
Low // High	13	**62.0%**	High // Low	8	38.0%	No
Round // Long	2	**66.7%**	Long // Round	1	33.3%	No
Younger // Elder	36	42.4%	Elder // Younger	49	**57.6%**	No
Back // Front	1	33.3%	Front // Back	2	**66.7%**	No
Land // Sky	2	50%	Sky // Land	1	50%	No
Cool // Hot	1	**100%**				Yes
Left // Right	1	**100%**				Yes
					Total No	**6**
					Total Yes	**4**
Total	**160**	**69.3%**		**71**	**30.7%**	**NO**
New Categories						
General // Specific	25	**96.2%**	Specific // General	1	3.8%	
Location // People	3	**100%**				
Liquid // Solid	1	**100%**				
x // x+1	1	**100%**				
Total	**190**	**72.5%**		**72**	**27.5%**	**NO**

Table 16: Testing the Hypothesis - Fataluku Categories

Table 16 shows that the hypothesis is not true for Fataluku. Although 11 out of 14 categories (78.6%) have the largest number of parallel pairs in the expected order, the limit of 80% is not met. 8 out of 14 categories have 80% or more parallel pairs in the preferred order. Although the hypothesis is not true for Fataluku, there is a strong tendency for parallel pairs to obey the expected order of the categories.

It is remarkable how many pairs could be added into the categories that are described for different languages in the area. There are 83 parallel pairs that fit into categories. 65 out of 76 parallels that are added in the table fit into one of the categories from the literature. 11 parallels fit in new categories. That leaves only 7 pairs that could not be categorized into these intelligible semantic oppositional categories. In total, 91.6% of the parallel pairs in the LGC text in the FPD fit into categories.

4.2.1.2 Rotinese

The analysis for Rotinese is based on the parallel pairs in the RPD. A lot of parallel pairs in Rotinese occur in both orders. Most reversed pairs can be explained by the structure of the text and will be counted as if they were non-reversed pairs. This is discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.3 below.

Most of the nominal pairs could be analyzed. A total of 109 pairs was analyzed, of which 77 pairs fit into categories. The table contains 72 parallel pairs, of which 8 pairs are reversed pairs counted as non-reversed. The pairs that are not included in the table cannot be categorized into one of the categories that occur in the literature, and they contain only 1 pair for each category.

The categories, together with their members, are shown in Table 17. The table gives the parallel pairs that fit into each of the categories. The table is ordered from biggest category to smallest category, and the expected order is given first. Within each category, the parallel pairs are ordered by their occurrence, given in the column on the right.

Category	**Rotinese Pair**	**Translation**	**Occur-rences**
Big // Small 7x	*pule // kale* *koa // nggia* *balu // tona* *hako // kima* *lu'ak // lolok* *bii // manu* *la // uli*	'grain // kernel' 'friarbird // green parrot' 'ship // perahu' 'feeding trough // clamshell' 'rice basket // bowl' 'goat // cock' 'sail // rudder' **Total**	6 (15R) 6 5 2 1 1 1 **22**
Small // Big 8x	*kale // pule* *nupu // sadu* *manum // bafin* *poe // nii* *fulik // so'ek* *lisu // boa* *betek // bak* *nesuk // batu*	'kernel // grain' 'coconut // areca nut' 'chicken // pigs' 'shrimp // crab' 'fulik-marbles // coconut-shell' 'tuft // fruit' 'millet // lung' 'rice // mortar' **Total**	15 (6R) 9 1 1 1 1 1 1 **30**
Long // Round 6x	*hu boko // bela* *boa // piko*	'bending stalks // heavy leaves' 'boa-tree // piko-tree'	11 (11R) 3

	doli // lutu	'rice // millet'	2
	hade // bete	'rice // millet'	1
	ene // nafu	'fish line // hook'	1
	tadu-hade // nggolo-bete	'rice-village // millet-spot'	1
		Total	**19**
Round // Long	*bela // hu boko*	'heavy leaves // bending stalks'	11 (11R)
6x	*kou // fupa*	'bow // blowpipe'	2
	boa // kaitio	'bidara-fruit // kaitio-[leaves]'	1
	pua // malu	'areca nut // betel nut'	1
	boa // ai	'cotton // barbed spear'	1
	kola // tuku	'ear-rings // oars'	1
		Total	**17**
High // Low	*lu // pinu*	'tears // snot'	6
6x	*pau // koa*	'beard // tailfeather'	4
	lesu // nggoti	'throat // rear'	2
	lima-ku'u // ei	'finger // leg'	2
	mata // idu	'eye // nose'	2
	langa // lima	'head // arm'	1 (2R)
		Total	**17**
Low // High	*ei // lima*	'leg // arm'	4
4x	*lima // langa*	'arm // head'	2 (1R)
	alun // langa	'shoulder // head'	1
	na'u // telan	'grass // underbrush'	1
		Total	**8**
Male // Female	*Ledo // Bulan*	'Sun // Moon'	5 (2R)
4x	*ama // ina*	'father // mother'	1
	to'o // te'o	'mother's brother // father's	1
		sister'	1
	mane // feto	'male toddy // female toddy'	**8**
		Total	
Female // Male	*Bulan // Ledo*	'Moon // Sun'	2 (5R)
2x	*leno // pena*	'dance // music' (Fox 2014: 96)	1
		Total	**3**
Close // Further	ina // te'o	'mother // aunt'	22
2x	ama // to'o	'father // uncle'	1
		Total	**23**
Further // Close	*nasu // idu*	'cheek // nose'	1
1x		**Total**	**1**
General // Specific	*fai // ledo*	'day // daytime'	9 (1R)
3x	*hani // usu*	'animals // stock'	1
	fan // don	'time // period'	1
		Total	**11**
Specific // General	*dale // tei*	'heart // inner being'	4
3x	*te // ida*	'meat // food'	1
	ledo // fai	'daytime // day'	1 (9R)
		Total	**6**

Land // Water 2x	*dae // oe* *namo // meti*	'land // water' 'harbor // tide' **Total**	5 1 **6**
Water // Land 2x	*tasi-oe // pepesi-la* *meti // namo*	'sea-water // strike-land' 'tide // harbor' **Total**	1 1 **2**
Elder // Younger 2x	*ina // feto* *tou // tae*	'woman // girl' 'man // boy' **Total**	67 2 **69**
Younger // Elder 1x	*ana-ma // falu-ina*	'orphan // widow' **Total**	16 **16**
Outside // Inside 1x	*kapa // bi'i*	'buffalo-skin // goat-skin' **Total**	1 **1**
Day // Night 2x	*bolo // fati* *fai // leda*	'evening // night' 'daytime // suntime' **Total**	1 1 **2**
Land // People 1x	*ingu // leo*	'land // clan' **Total**	1 **1**
Human // Animal 1x	*ei // lida*	'leg // wing' **Total**	2 **2**
Solid // Liquid 1x	*kedo // oda*	'rice // syrup' **Total**	1 **1**
Red // green 1x	*pila // modo*	'red // green' **Total**	1 **1**

Table 17: Categories and their Members in Rotinese. R = number of reversed pairs

Table 17 contains more categories than are described in the literature for Rotinese. Some categories are described for other languages, and some categories appear to be new. The categories that match the literature for Rotinese are betel // areca (which fits both long // round and male // female) (Fox 2014: 191; Forth 1981: 360; Van Engelenhoven 2020: 16), big // small (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 244), inside // outside, but only in the reversed order (Fox 2014: 193), sun // moon (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 245), elder // younger (Fox 1971: 247; Mourik 2020b: 19), land // water (Fox 1971: 247), and red // green (Fox 1971: 247). Not all categories that are found in the literature are found in this analysis. This shows that, although the databases are relatively large, a larger corpus will lead to more categories. The categories that are not mentioned are sky // earth, odd // even, right // left, east // west (Fox 1971: 247), head // tail, south // north (Fox 2014: 193–194), land // sea and land // island (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 245–246). Categories that are found for Rotinese that are only described for other languages are high // low and day // night, as described for Rindi (Forth 1981: 44; 144; 116). New categories that are not described in the literature for any other languages are land // people (compare Fataluku place // people), human // animal, solid // liquid (compare Fataluku liquid // solid), specific // general (compare Fataluku general // specific), and close // further (of relationships).

A category that does not occur in the database, but was analyzed in Mourik (2020b: 19–20), is the numeral category. As was already mentioned for numerals in Fataluku, this category is not related to masculinity and femininity, for it is a sequence of numbers. Numerals are categorized separately in the RPD. All occurrences of numeral parallel pairs are shown below:

Numeral Pair	**Translation**	**Occ.**	**Category**
esa // esa	'one // one'	10	Synonymous
esa // dua	'one // two'	2	x // x+1
dua // telu	'two // three'	22	x // x+1
sio // falu	'nine // eight'	2	x // x-1
dua(-o)-dua // telu(-o)-telu	'two by two // three by three'	2	x // x+1

Fox gives two rules for numerals: odd // even (Fox 1971: 247), and x // x+1 (Fox 1971: 232). However, these examples show that both rules have counterexamples. The odd // even is overruled by *dua // telu* 'two // three', the x // x+1 is overruled by *sio // falu* 'nine // eight'. Numerals in Rotinese parallelism occur more freely in parallelism than described by Fox.

Now that the categories and their members are analyzed, the hypothesis can be tested for Rotinese. This is done in Table 18 below. The categories are given in both orders, with the total occurrences of parallel pairs (the rightmost column in Table 17). The percentages are calculated for each category, as well as for the total. The percentages for the dominant order of each category are given in bold. The calculation is done twice: once with the categories that match the literature, and once with the new categories. This division is made because it is not certain what the cultural dominant order is for these categories. However, since the order of these pairs is relatively strict, one can assume that the order fits the cultural framework.

Expected Order	**Nr.**	**Perc.**	**Reversed Order**	**Nr.**	**Perc.**	**According to Hypothesis?**
Big // Small	22	42.3%	Small // Big	30	**57.7%**	No
Long // Round	19	**52.8%**	Round // Long	17	47.2%	No
High // Low	17	**68%**	Low // High	8	32%	No
Male // Female	8	**72.7%**	Female // Male	3	27.3%	No
Close // Further	23	**95.8%**	Further // Close	1	4.2%	Yes
Land // Water	6	**75%**	Water // Land	2	25%	No
Elder // Younger	16	**94.1%**	Younger // Elder	1	5.9%	Yes
Outside // Inside	1	**100%**				Yes
Day // Night	2	**100%**				Yes
Red // Green	1	**100%**			**Total No**	**6**
					Total Yes	**4**
Total	**115**	**65.0%**		**62**	**35.0%**	**NO**
New Categories						
General // Specific	11	**64.7%**	Specific // General	6	35.3%	
Land // People	1	**100%**				
Human // Animal	1	**100%**				
Solid // Liquid	1	**100%**				
Total	**129**	**65.5%**		**68**	**34.5%**	**NO**

Table 18: Testing the Hypothesis - Rotinese Categories

Table 18 shows that the hypothesis is not true for Rotinese. Although 13 out of 14 categories (92.9%) have the largest number of parallel pairs in the expected order, the limit of 80% is not met. 8 out of 14 categories have 80% or more parallel pairs in the expected order. Although the hypothesis is not true for Rotinese, there is a strong tendency for parallel pairs to obey the expected order of the categories.

It is remarkable how many pairs could be added into the categories that are described for different languages in the area. There are 77 parallel pairs that fit into categories. 52 out of 64 parallels that are added in the table fit into one of the categories from the literature. 12 parallels fit in new categories. That leaves only 13 pairs that could not be categorized into these intelligible semantic oppositional categories. In total, 83.1% of the parallel pairs in the RPD fit into categories.

4.2.1.3 Conclusion – Hypothesis 1

The use of categories is very similar for both languages. Both languages share 9 categories from the literature. Fataluku has 5 categories that Rotinese does not have, Rotinese has 4 categories that Fataluku does not have. These categories are shown in Table 19 below.

Fataluku	**Rotinese**
Shared Categories	
Categories from Literature	
Small // Big	Big // Small
Water // Land	Land // Water
Female // Male	Male // Female
Low // High	High // Low
Round // Long	Long // Round
Younger // Elder	Elder // Younger
New Categories	
General // Specific	Specific // General
Location // People	Land // People
Solid // Liquid	Solid // Liquid
Language-Specific Categories	
Back // Front	Close // Further
Land // Sky	Outside // Inside
Cool // Hot	Day // Night
Left // Right	Human // Animal
x // x+1	

Table 19: Categories in Fataluku and Rotinese

In the Methodology, the limit for the hypothesis to be true was set on 80%. This number is not based on methodology from other research but based on my own estimation. The hypothesis is true when 80% of parallel pairs in Fataluku or Rotinese occur in the expected order (see Section 1.5). As the sections above have shown, this level has not been reached. Fataluku has 72.5% of pairs in the expected order, Rotinese 65.3%. Therefore, the hypothesis is not true. However, these percentages show a strong tendency of obeying the preferred order of the categories.
There are some other strong tendencies regarding the order of parallel pairs in both languages. A first tendency is for parallel pairs to fit into categories. For Fataluku, 91.6% of parallel pairs in the LGC text in the FPD fit into categories. For Rotinese, 83.1% of parallel pairs in the RPD fit into

categories, regardless of the order. By looking at the order of parallel pairs within categories, a second tendency appears. This tendency regards the categories that have the largest number of parallels. For Fataluku, 11 out of 14 categories (78.6%) have most parallel pairs in the expected order (see Table 16). For Rotinese, this number is even larger: 13 out of 14 categories (92.9%) have most parallel pairs in the expected order (see Table 18). This means that parallelism has a strong tendency to place parallel pairs within the categories, with a preference for a certain order, dependent on being a P1- or P2-Language.

Although the original hypothesis is not true, the percentages in Table 20 undeniably show strong preferences of parallel pairs to fit into categories, and another, although weaker, preference of pairs to obey the expected order of the language.

	Parallel Pairs in Expected Order	**Categories in Expected Order**	**Parallel Pairs that fit into Categories**
Fataluku	72.5%	78.6%	91.6%
Rotinese	65.3%	92.9%	83.1%

Table 20: Concluding Percentages Hypothesis 2

4.2.1.4 Scale of Categories

By taking a closer look at the division of the orders in the different categories, it becomes clear that some categories have a stricter word order than other categories. Table 21 shows the categories in the expected order, in order of occurrence.

Fataluku	**Perc.**	**Nr.**		**Rotinese**	**Perc.**	**Nr.**
Female // Male	100%	14		Day // Night	100%	2
Cool // Hot	100%	1		Outside // Inside	100%	1
Left // Right	100%	1		Red // Green	100%	1
Location // People	100%	1		Land // People	100%	1
Liquid // Solid	100%	1		Solid // Liquid	100%	1
x // x+1	100%	1		Human // Animal	100%	1
General // Specific	96.2%	25		Close // Further	95.8%	23
Small // Big	95.1%	78		Elder // Younger	94.1%	16
Round // Long	75%	3		Male // Female	72.7%	8
Water // Land	64.7%	11		Land // Water	75%	5
Low // High	62.0%	13		High // Low	68%	17
Younger // Elder	42.4%	36		General // Specific	64.7%	11
Back // Front	33.3%	1		Long // Round	52.8%	19
				Big // Small	42.3%	22

Table 21: Scale of Categories

The table shows that most categories with 100% of the pairs in the same order contain only one pair. Therefore, these cells are marked grey, for one pair in a category is not enough for a comparison. However, it is striking that the Fataluku category female // male has all pairs in this order. However, it might not be that striking when considering the basis of the categories: a dual opposition between masculinity and femininity. This category is a prototypical opposition, and the pairs within this category are therefore easily classified as one or the other. This also explains why the Rotinese category of male // female has 72.7% of the pairs in the expected order. Two of the pairs categorized in this group do not refer to people, but to entities referring to them: *Ledo // Bulan* 'sun // moon', and *leno // pena* 'dance // music'. These pairs are less prototypical, and therefore easier to be reversed. Leaving these pairs out of the category would also lead to a perfect 100% of pairs occurring in the right order.

Fataluku and Rotinese speakers seem to have different prototypical pairs. Where Fataluku has in 95.1% of pairs the expected order for small // big, Rotinese big // small only has 42.3%. The same is true for Fataluku round // long (75%) and Rotinese long // round (52.8%). The other way around, Rotinese elder // younger has 94.1% of pairs in this category in the expected order, while this is only 42.4% for Fataluku. As it seems, not all categories have the same level of prototypicality, and this differs for the languages. It would be interesting to find out what causes these differences.

4.2.2 Synonymous Pairs

This section discusses the synonymous pairs in the FPD and RPD. These are pairs that show no semantic opposition, but simply give two semantically (almost) equal terms with different lexemes. For Fataluku, there are 38 synonymous pairs, for Rotinese, there are 33.

4.2.2.1 Fataluku

In the LGC text in the FPD 38 pairs were analyzed as synonymous. These are pairs that describe the same referent with different words. Examples are *ca'u taka // sape* 'hat // cap', and *pu // taru* 'rattan // liana'. Closer examination of these pairs has not led to strict rules regarding the order of these pairs, although only one pair occurs in both orders. The mechanisms regarding the placement of the words in synonymous pairs is not clear yet. There seem to be some preferences in the ordering, although none of them can be considered strict rules. One of these preferences is phonology. There is a preference to place words with certain vowels in certain position. The analysis is based on the stressed vowels. Fataluku words have stress on the first syllable, when the word is in a longer stretch of speech (Van Engelenhoven & Huber 2020: 356). There is a preference for a low vowel [a] in second position. 52 out of 74 pairs have an [a] in the second word. [a], when not followed by [a], only occurs in first position eight times. The high vowel [i] only occurs in first position. Other vowels do not show such strong preferences, but there seems to be a preference for this vowel order: i < u < o < e < a, although there are quite some counterexamples. Examples are shown below.

(49) [Fataluku] – i < u (4x, reversed 0x)
ia-mari // tulia 'foot-print // trail'
ia-mari // cululia 'foot-print // trail'

(50) [Fataluku] – i < a (6x, reversed 0x)
cicika // fafaku 'shoulder // shoulder'
ili // apa 'mountain // mountain'

(51) [Fataluku] – u < o (4x, reversed 2x)
lukunu // hoponu 'speech // message'
huhu // hoku 'mud // mud'

(52) [Fataluku] – e < a (4x, reversed 4x)
pesi // tara ‘metal // steel’
lesunu // pacanu ‘charity // granting’

Another preference, although it is a minor one, concerns the length of words. When a word is not equal in the number of syllables, the longer word occurs in 22 cases in first position, and in 6 cases in second position. More on the mechanisms regarding the word order in synonymous pairs is a topic for further research.

4.2.2.2 Rotinese

There are 33 synonymous pairs in the RPD. These synonymous pairs in Rotinese do not show any obvious rules regarding their order. Vowels and consonants combine with one another freely and in any order. Most words have the same length, and when this is not the case, the division of shortest word in first or second position in perfectly even.

4.2.3 Reversed Pairs

The analysis of reversed pairs is made with the same selection as the analysis of the categories. This means that there are 119 pairs for Fataluku, and 109 pairs for Rotinese. First, the statistics for both languages are discussed, and after this, some reasons for reversal are discussed. Explaining the reversed order of these pairs is often difficult, for I have no inside knowledge about these specific mechanisms in parallelism. However, some tendencies become clear in this analysis.

4.2.3.1 Fataluku

In the LGC text in the FPD, there are only 3 pairs that occur in both orders. These pairs are shown here. The first 2 pairs are pairs that fit into categories, the last pair is a synonymous pair, in a broader sense of synonyms.

Fataluku Pair	**Translation**	**Occurrences**
Kecule // la’ite	‘great-grandparent // old woman’	7
La’ite // kecule	‘old woman // great-grandparent’	1
Tua // pala	‘toddy palm // garden’	49
Pala // tua	‘garden // toddy palm’	1
Akanu // acaru	‘slave // witch’	1
Acaru // akanu	‘witch // slave’	1

Table 22: Reversed Pairs - Fataluku

The second pair can be explained by a general tendency, the chiasm. This pair is discussed in 4.2.3.4 below. One pair that is not discussed there is *akanu // acaru* ‘slave // witch’. This pair is analyzed as synonymous, for both terms indicate a minority class in society. This might also be the reason that this pair can be reversed. Because there is no hierarchical order, the order of the words cannot be determined by any category. Besides this, the phonological and syllable rules for Fataluku synonyms also do not apply here, for both words have an [a] as stressed vowel, and both words have the same number of syllables. The other pair, *kecule // la’ite* ‘great-grandparent // old woman’, with one reversal, is shortly discussed in Section 4.2.1.1.

4.2.3.2 Rotinese

The RPD has 19 pairs that can be reversed. These pairs are listed here, in the order that occurs most often, or when the number of occurrences is equal, the pair is given in alphabetical order. The list is divided into two parts: reversable pairs that fall into categories, and reversable synonymous pairs.

Rotinese Pair	Translation	Occur-rence	Occurrence Reversed	Reason for Reversal
Categories				
ina // feto	'woman // girl'	46	21	4x New Topic 17x Chiasm
ina // te'o	'mother // aunt'	21	1	Chiasm
kale // pule	'kernel // grain'	15	6	-
bela // hu boko	'heavy leaves // bending stalks'	11	11	-
fai // ledo	'day // daytime'	9	1	-
koa // nggia	'friarbird // green parrot'	5	1	Chiasm
Bulan // Ledo	'moon // sun'	4	3	2x Combined with Male names
balu // tona	'ship // perahu'	4	1	New Topic
dae // oe	'land // water'	4	1	Chronology
ei // lima	'arm // leg'	2	2	Chiasm
langa // lima	'arm // head'	2	1	-
hako // kima	'feeding trough // clamshell'	1	1	Chiasm
Synonyms				
dulu // langa	'east // head'	6	1	-
silu // hu'a	'morning // dawn'	4	1	-
mo // fu'a	'plain // field'	3	2	-
dala // eno	'road // path'	2	2	-
bina // ndenu	'dry fields // gardens'	2	1	-
labu // meko	'drum // gong'	1	1	-
metin // namo	'harbor // tide'	1	1	-

Table 23: Reversed Pairs - Rotinese

For most of the reversed pairs that fit into categories, there is an explanation. The explanation is given in the rightmost column. The introduction of a new topic is discussed below in Section 4.2.3.3, the chiasms are discussed in Section 4.2.3.4.

The pair *bulan // ledo* 'moon // sun' is used twice in combination with masculine names. This is not an explanation for why the order is reversed, but it is interesting that the feminine moon can combine with a masculine name. One of these instances is shown below:

(53) [Rotinese] – Reversal *ledo // bulan*

Bonggi heni touk,	// A: She gives birth to the **man**,
Niru Neo Bulan	A': Niru Neo of the **Moon**
Ma lae heni taek,	// A: And she brings forth the **boy**
Kama Lae Ledo.	A': Kama Lae of the **Sun**.
	(RTD 3.3)

The one exception in the category land // water is the pair *oe* // *dae* 'water // land'. This reversal can be explained when looking at the parallel it is taken from. This parallel, and the two preceding parallels, are shown here. It shows that 'she' is planting the shoot // sprout. By planting, it is usual to first pour water in the ground, before you cover it with earth. This pair shows a chronology of gardening, rather than a reversal of the category land // water.

(54) [Rotinese] – Reversal *dae* // *oe*

De ana ifa-na nupu nok	// A: She cradles the coconut shoot
Do ana ko'o-na sadu puak.	A': Or she embraces the areca nut sprout.
Ana lutu kiun	// A: She places stones around them
Ma ana pa'a feon	A': And she fences them all around
Ana toli oen	// A: She pours **water** on them
Ma ana fu'a daen	A': And she covers them with **earth**
	(RTD 5.022-5.024)

4.2.3.3 Introduction New Topic

In Rotinese parallelism, the first mentioning of a parallel pair in a text or a new section of the text may lead to a reversal of a parallel pair. Text 5 in the RTD contains 18 sections, all of which start with the people involved. In all cases, this is a pair of *ina* // *feto* 'woman // girl'. The first section, that is, the first line of text 5, starts with the reversed *feto* // *ina* 'girl // woman', as an indication of the first use of the pair. Only 3 sections start with the default *ina* // *feto* 'woman // girl' order, of which 2 are chiasms in the order A // A' + A' // A. The remaining 15 sections start with *feto* // *ina* 'girl // woman'. 5 sections start with only a reversed pair. 10 sections start with a chiasm with the reversed order first, in the order A' // A + A // A'. Reversal of a pair with the first mentioning also happens for *tona* // *balu* 'perahu // ship'. This pair occurs only three times in the RTD, in a span of four parallels (RTD 4.115-4.118), in which only the first one shows this reversed order. Reversing pairs, that is, saying it 'wrong', could be a mechanism of catching the attention of the listener that something new is happening.

4.2.3.4 Chiasms

A chiasm is a poetic instrument that contains a repetition with a reversed word order (A // A' + A' // A). There are examples of chiasms in the texts that show reversed word order when two lexical pairs are in adjacent parallels (Mourik 2020b: 15). There is only one chiasm in the FPD, the pair *tua* // *pala* 'toddy palm // garden' occurs 49 times in this order, but only once in the order *pala* // *tua* 'garden // toddy palm'. This one reversed pair occurs in a parallel following the default order. These two lines are shown below:

(55) [Fataluku] – A // A' + A' // A

Tua ocava enii	// A: This is the lord of the **toddy palm**
Pala ocava enii	A': This is the lord of the **garden**.
Hai me pala uku mohove	// A': They took them through all the **gardens**
Hai me tua uku mohove	A: They took them through all the **toddy palms**
	(LGC 421-422, translation corrected)

Rotinese parallelism contains a lot more chiasms. As shown in Table 24, 26 chiasmic structures occur in the RTD. The order is not only A // A' + A' // A, but also A' // A + A // A'. There are even larger constructions with multiple chiasms following each other. The different structures are shown in Table 24 below. Some examples are given underneath the table.

Structure	Number
A // A’ + A’ // A	9
A’ // A + A // A’	12
A // A’ + A’ // A + A’ // A	1
A’ // A + A // A’ + A’ // A	1
A // A’ + A’ // A + A // A’ + A’ // A	1
A’ // A + A // A’ + A // A’ + A’ // A	1
A’ // A + A // A’ + A’ // A + A // A’	1

Table 24: Chiasms in Rotinese

(56) [Rotinese] – A // A’ + A’ // A

Mu asa fe-ng-au koa halak	//	A: Go buy for me the **friarbird’s** voice,
Do tadi fe-ng-au nggia dasik		A’: Or get for me the green **parrot’s** whistle,
Fo ela au a-hala nggia halak	//	A’: So that I may give voice to the **parrot’s** voice
Ma au a-dasi koa dasik		A: And I may sing to the green **friarbird’s** song.
		(RTD 4.036-4.037)

(57) [Rotinese] - A’ // A + A // A’ + A’ // A

Boe ma besak-a fetok bei Londa Lusi la	//	A’: Now the **girls** still at Londa Lusi
Ma inak-a bei Batu Bela la		A: And the **women** still at Bata Bela
Inak bei Tua Nae la	//	A: The **women** still at Tua Nae
Ma fetok bei Selu Beba la		A’: And the **girls** still at Selu Beba
Fetok bei Huni Hopo la	//	A’: The **girls** still at Huni Hopo
Inak bei Tefu Mafo la		A: The **women** still at Tefu Mafo
		(RTD 5.188-5.190)

(58) [Rotinese] - A’ // A + A // A’ + A // A’ + A’ // A

Boe ma besaka feto bei Pia Ketu la	//	A’: Now the **girls** still at Pia Ketu
Do inak bei Faka Ladi la		A: Or the **women** still at Fata Ladi
Inak bei Pila Sue la	//	A: The **women** still at Pila Sue
Do fetok bei Nggeo Deta la		A’: The **girls** still at Nggeo Deta
Inak bei Lona Fa la	//	A: The **women** still at Lona Fa
Ma fetok bei Feo Ue la		A’: And the **girls** still at Feo Ue
Fetok-a Latu Lope	//	A’: The **girl**, Latu Lope
Do inak-a Meni Holo		A: or the **woman**, Meni Holo
		(RTD 5.135-5.138)

5 P1-Languages and P2-Languages

This section discusses the second hypothesis and research question, which are repeated here. The second hypothesis states that languages differ in the position in which they place their culturally most dominant word in a parallel pair. Depending on the language, this can be the first or the second position. This is a distinction that is not made before. According to this model, languages that place the culturally most important word in first position are called P1-Languages (place 1), and languages that place this word in second position are called P2-Languages (place 2). The research question that follows from this hypothesis is: Is there a difference in the basic order languages present their lexical parallel?

As stated in Section 1.4, the grammatical slot hypothesis, as coined by Aone van Engelenhoven, must be adapted, because languages differ in the way they organize their parallel pairs. A distinction needs to be made between languages that place their culturally most important term in first position, and languages that place their culturally most important term in second position. This resulted in the P1- and P2-Languages Hypothesis. This distinction has not been made before, and new terminology had to be set up for this. The terminology for this distinction is as follows: languages that place the most important term in first position are called P1-Languages, and languages that place the most important term in second position are called P2-Languages, based on a division in patrilineal and matrilineal cultures. This is called the P1-P2-Model. It came to no surprise that this distinction has not been made before, for research in this setup is new. No one has researched parallelism from this comparative perspective before. There is more research about the categories in which lexical pairs belong (see Section 4), but the next step in the analysis, finding the underlying grammatical order within parallel pairs is new.

This section discusses the P1- and P2-Languages, first with a literature review in Section 5.1, followed by an analysis in Section 5.2. This analysis is done by means of four languages: Kambera, Rotinese, Fataluku and Leti. These languages are geographically close to each other, all in the Timor Region. This is shown in Figure 6 below, which shows the locations given by the Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2021), combined into one map. Section 5.2.1 introduces the P1-P2-Model, and Section 5.2.2 summarizes the findings for the P1-P2-Model.

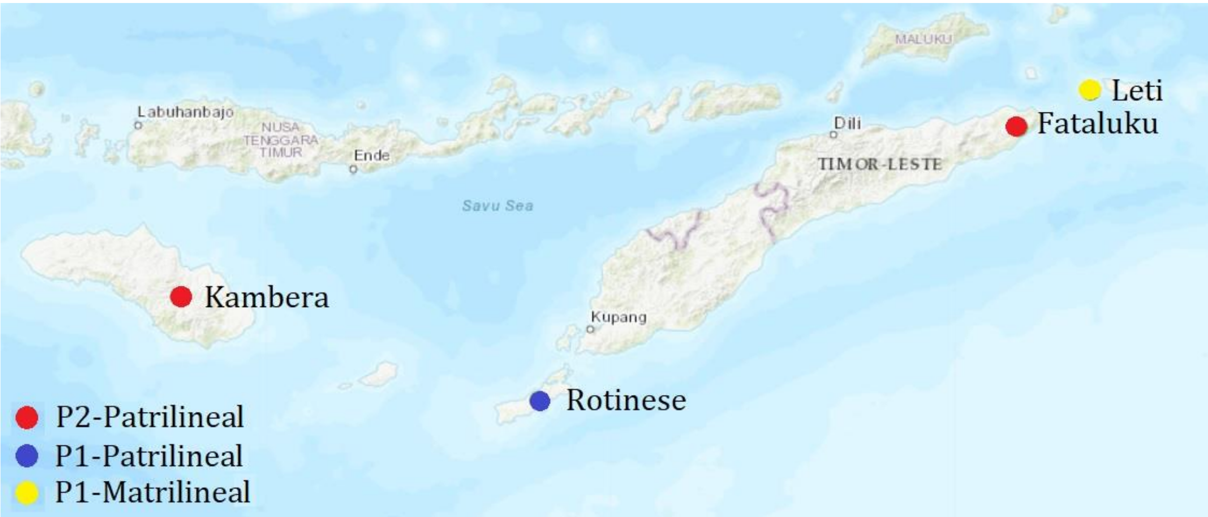


Figure 6: Map of Kambera, Rotinese, Fataluku, and Leti

5.1 Literature Review

It is mentioned for Kambera that the most important term stands in second position. Asplund (2017: 6–7) has a reference to Forth (1988: 314–315) when he writes: "In Kambera, the order of parallel terms is free to some extent, but for many pairs a fixed order is generally followed, which accords with the Sumbanese idea that one term of the pair can be identified as female and the other as male. The female term comes first and the male second, but there are exceptions.". However, the reference to Forth does not give the order female // male. Luckily, in his following sentence, the 'superiority' is indicated: "... the superior element comes second when components of a pair are mentioned." (Needham 1987: 190, in Asplund 2017: 7). Later in his publication on Kambera parallelism, he gives an example of Lolina being a P2-Language, to strengthen his point about Kambera. In Lolina, there is a parallel pair *kedu* // *wawi* 'monkey // pig'. Although the context makes clear that the line is about pigs, the monkey is added as a dummy parallel term (Rothe 2004: 96, in Asplund 2017: 20). Kambera being a patrilineal culture, one would expect the masculine term to be the most important one. By placing it in second position, Kambera is a P2-Language. Van Engelenhoven (2020: 16) writes about the FORCE of parallel pairs in Fataluku, where he mentions that the term in second position refers to something more powerful than the term in first position. Interestingly, no claims are made in the literature about the P1-Languages (Rotinese and Leti) about the position of the culturally most dominant term, but, as shown in the following section, there is sufficient reason to believe that this is the case.

5.2 Analysis

As is discussed in section 4, the categories in which lexical parallels can be placed are based on a distinction in the sexes: male and female. As discussed in Section 4.2.1.4, the parallel pairs referring to people of both sexes, the order of female // male and male // female in Fataluku and Rotinese, respectively, is 100% strict, because of its prototypicality. This means that in researching the order of lexical parallels, looking at the order of male and female gives information about the placement of all categories in a language. Therefore, this section focuses on the lexical pair woman // man vs. man // woman, in four languages: Kambera, Rotinese, Fataluku and Leti. Table 25 shows some grammatical and cultural features of the languages.

The examples in the table can be explained by a division in P1- and P2-Languages. Leti is a matrilineal culture language, whereas Fataluku, Rotinese and Kambera are patrilineal culture languages. This explains the difference in the word order between these languages, where the culturally most dominant term occurs in first position for Leti and Rotinese, and in second position for Fataluku and Kambera. This means that, although the word order is different, the parallel pairs are actually the same. They contain the words for the two sexes, with the culturally dominant term in P1 or P2. Because Leti is a matrilineal P1-Language, the first slot is occupied by *püata* 'woman'. Rotinese is a patrilineal P1-Language, so the first slot is occupied by *mane* 'man'. Fataluku is a patrilineal P2- Language, so the last slot is occupied by *nami* 'man', and lastly, Kambera is also a patrilineal P2- Language, so the last slot is occupied by *mini* 'man'.

Language	**Kambera**	**Rotinese**	**Fataluku**	**Leti**
Family	Austronesian	Austronesian	Non-Austronesian	Austronesian
P1/P2	P2	P1	P2	P1
Matri- or Patrilineal	Patrilineal (Sumba Foundation 2016)	Patrilineal (Fox 2014: 184)	Patrilineal (Viegas 2018: 182)	Matrilineal (Van Engelenhoven 1997: 15)
Default order	female // male	male // female	female // male	female // male
Example	*kawini // mini* 'woman// man' (Asplund 2017: 20)	*mane // feto* 'man // woman' (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 245)	*tupuru // nami* 'woman // man' (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 245)	*püata // müani* 'woman // man' (Van Engelenhoven 2010: 245)
Headedness	Head-initial (Klamer 2011: 92)	Head-initial (Jonker 1915: 281)	Head-initial (Van Engelenhoven & Huber 2020: 375–376)	Head-initial (Van Engelenhoven 2004: 175)
Word order	SVO (Klamer 2011)	SVO (Fox & Grimes 1995: 615)	SOV (Van Engelenhoven & Huber 2020)	SVO (Van Engelenhoven 2004: 209)

Table 25: Grammatical and Cultural Features of Kambera, Rotinese, Fataluku and Leti

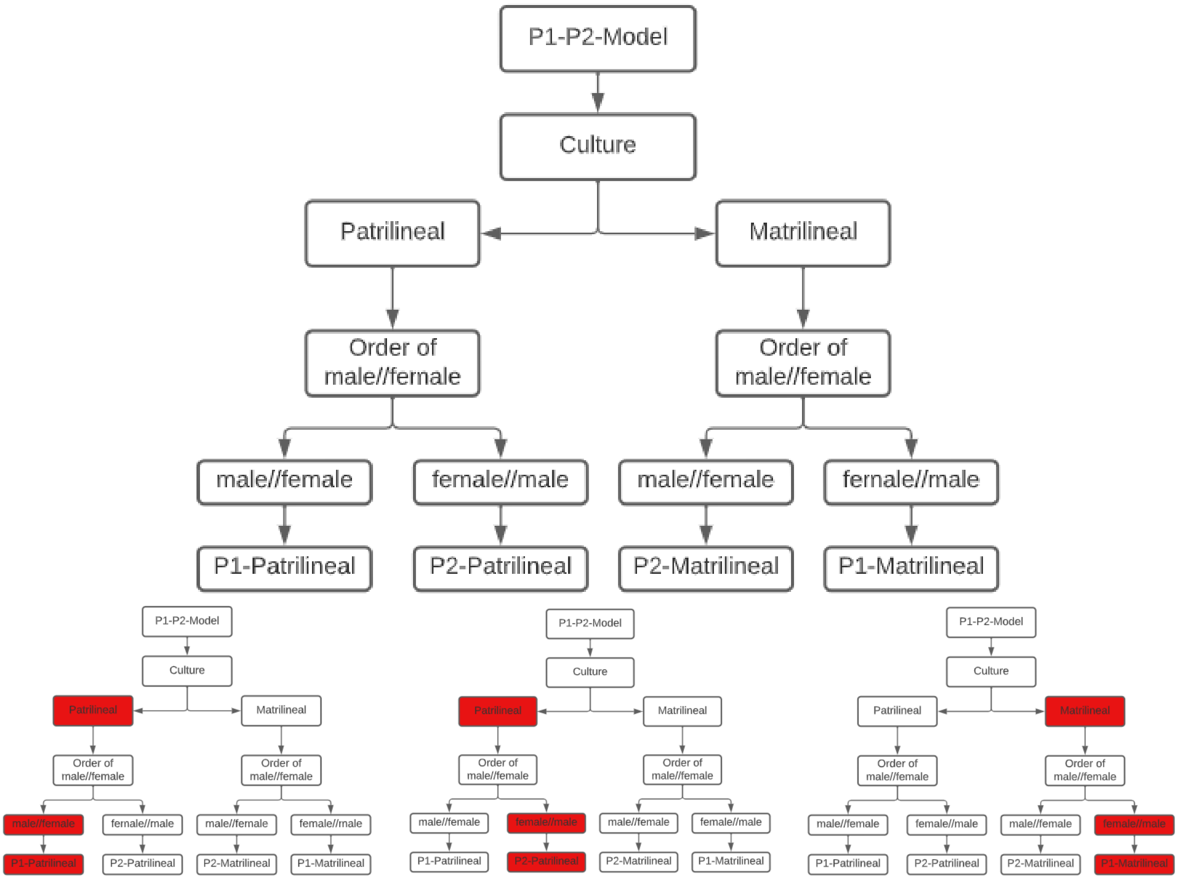
At first sight it seems that the lexical parallels differ for the languages, but by taking a closer look at the position of the most important term, and adding culture to the analysis, all four lexical parallels fit in one of the following lines of the P1-P2-Model:

P1-Languages		*Slot 1*	*Slot 2*	
		most relevant	*related item*	
Leti	Matrilineal	*püata*	*müani*	'woman // man'
Rotinese	Patrilineal	*mane*	*feto*	'man // woman'
P2-Languages		*Slot 1*	*Slot 2*	
		related item	*most relevant*	
Fataluku	Patrilineal	*tupuru*	*nami*	'woman // man'
Sumba	Patrilineal	*kawini*	*mini*	'woman // man'

Table 26: The P1-P2-Model

5.2.1 P1-P2-Model

The order of male // female shown in Table 26, and the relatively strict orders of parallel pairs within semantic categories (see Section 4) show that the order of parallel pairs is not random. Parallel pairs are not made by simply putting two words together, they must follow some rules. This indicates that the two slots of a parallel pair are indeed grammatical slots, as coined by Aone van Engelenhoven (see Section 1), that dictate which words can be placed within these slots. The slots are filled with the general semantic oppositions that form the categories (Section 4), in the same order as the male // female opposition. Parallel pairs can fill these slots according to the categories they fit into. To find out what the default order is of parallel pairs in a language, there is a simple flowchart that can be followed. As shown in Section 4, the basis of the categories is an opposition between male // female. The order of this pair is 100% strict for both Fataluku and Rotinese (see Section 4.2.1.4). For all four languages in this analysis, the matrilineality or patrilineality of the cultures match with the placement of the culturally most dominant term (see Table 25). By knowing these two features and following the Flowchart in Figure 7 below, one can find out where a language fits within the P1-P2-Model. The three little flowcharts at the bottom of Figure 7 show the route for the four languages discussed in this section.



P1-Patrilineal: Rotinese

P2-Patrilineal: Kambera and Fataluku

P1-Matrilineal: Leti

Figure 7: P1-P2-Model - Flowchart

Following this flowchart leads to the grammatical rules regarding the parallel pairs. The order of newly formed parallel pairs is predictable, based on where the language stands in the P1-P2-Model. This explains why so many pairs that occur only once, still follow the order of the categories that are linked to the two grammatical slots. These parallel pairs are linked to the categories semantically. These single occurrences are based on what Berlin (2008: 68) calls “normal linguistic association”, by which the order is dictated by the grammatical slots. This also explains why words can occur both in the first and second slot, for their position is determined by the category they fit into. For example, in Rotinese (P1-Patrilineal) there is the pair *ama // ina* ‘father // mother’, which obeys the category male // female. However, *ina* can also occur in first position, as in *ina // feto* ‘woman, mother // girl’, which obeys the category elder // younger. These grammatical slots and the categories that they contain are shown for Fataluku and Rotinese in Table 27 below.

P2-P – Fataluku			
SLOT 1 – Feminine		**SLOT 2 – Masculine**	
Semantic category	**Related Parallel**	**Semantic category**	**Related Parallel**
Female	*aru-aru* ‘vaginas’	Male	*ava-ava* ‘penises’
Low	*ia* ‘foot’	High	*tana* ‘hand’
Younger	*kaka* ‘older brother’	Elder	*palu* ‘father’
Round	*kara* ‘fig’	Long	*moto* ‘sugarcane’
Small	*lahu* ‘onion’	Big	*sepu* ‘pumpkin
P1-P – Rotinese			
SLOT 1 – Masculine		**SLOT 2 – Feminine**	
Semantic category	**Related Parallel**	**Semantic category**	**Related Parallel**
Male	*ama* ‘father’	Female	*ina* ‘mother’
High	*langa* ‘head’	Low	*lima* ‘arm’
Elder	*ina* ‘woman’	Younger	*feto* ‘girl’
Long	*doli* ‘rice’	Round	*lutu* ‘millet’
Big	*balu* ‘ship’	Small	*tona* ‘perahu’

Table 27: Grammatical Slots in Fataluku and Rotinese in the P1-P2-Model

In conclusion, it appears that the use of categories within the two slots is determined by grammatical rules: the P1- P2-Language distinction, together with a basic order of male // female or female // male, depending on being a patrilineal or matrilineal culture language, respectively. These two factors combined form the P1-P2-Model. Fox (2014: 4) describes the “common use of recurrent, parallel phrasing” as “canonical parallelism”, but it appears that it is rather the grammatical slots and the categories that make parallelism “canonical”. What Fox calls canonical parallelism are the parallel pairs that occur often within the categories, the semantically overt pairs, that are closely connected to the semantics of the oppositions of the categories, such as father // mother. The pairs that occur only once or twice also fit within the categories. Therefore, I would claim that the real canonical elements of parallelism are not the parallel pairs that occur most often, but the grammatical slots and the categories which contain the parallel pairs, the P1-P2-Model. This model allows for free forming of new parallel pairs, as long as they obey to the model.

The question remains why not all pairs obey these grammatical slots. As shown in Section 4.2.1.3, the hypothesis regarding the word order of parallel pairs, in which 80% of the parallel pairs obey the culturally dominant word order, is false for both languages. Further research is needed to find out how the parallel pairs that do not obey the P1-P2-Model can be classified within the model.

5.2.2 Conclusion – Hypothesis 2

The research question central in this section was: Is there a difference in the basic order languages present their lexical parallel? The P1-P2-Model shows that there is a distinction in the way languages organize their parallel pairs. The P1-Languages place the most dominant term in first position, the P2-Languages place the most dominant term in second position. The most dominant term is determined by the culture. For all four languages (Kambera, Rotinese, Fataluku, Leti), the most important term corresponds to the patrilineality or matrilineality in society (see Table 25). This shows that hypothesis 2 is true, languages do differ in the way they organize their parallels, and the position of the culturally dominant word.

The strict positioning of male // female or female // male in Fataluku and Rotinese, respectively, indicates that parallel pairs are not formed at random but based on grammatical rules. These rules are the P1-P2-Language distinction, and the culturally dominant term, based on the dual opposition between male and female: the P1-P2-Model. This leads to the grammatical slots as described in Section 5.2.1, where, depending on being a P1- or a P2-Language, the culturally most dominant term in placed in first or second position, respectively. The two grammatical slots contain the two opposites of the categories, in concordance with the P1-P2-Model. This model explains why 91.6% of Fataluku parallel pairs fit into categories, and 83.1% of Rotinese parallel pairs fit into categories (in either order) (see Section 4.2.1.3). The canonicality of parallelism lies not in the number of occurrences of single parallel pairs, as stated by Fox (2014: 4), but rather in the grammatical slots, demanding the placement of the categories according to P1-P2-Model. This model also explains why pairs with single occurrences obey the order of the categories, and why words can occur in both positions of a parallel pair. The rules are not based on the lexemes, but on the slots within a parallel pair. These slots are then filled with the categories according to the P1-P2-Model.

6 Discussion

The original idea for this thesis was to compare languages in the Timor region, to see if parallelism behaves similarly in the different languages. This would have led to a broad view of parallelism in the area. However, the direction of the thesis changed a little early in the process, to a smaller research area, with a focus on a deeper, more thorough analysis of parallelism. This change of direction had multiple reasons. A first reason is that there are already some descriptions of parallelism in the area, albeit not comparative. Putting those descriptions together into a typological overview would have been interesting, but it would not have led to a lot of new information. But by diving deeper into the available data for Fataluku and Rotinese, new features of parallelism were found, and the P1-P2-Model could be set up. This model can help in broadening the research area, to find out if this model works for other languages as well. A second, more practical reason, is that a lot of texts that contain parallelism are found in old paper books, that may or may not have been digitized. These digitized texts are based on scans, and by copying the data, a lot of errors occur. Letters are scanned as different letters, or even as numbers, or skipped altogether. Text analysis is a time-consuming task, time that is not available in one semester of thesis writing. This shows that the correct and elaborate elicitation and digitation of texts is of the utmost importance for an efficient workflow in this kind of research. There is no databank that contains texts ready for analysis. The process of making a large databank with a lot of texts is a task that requires a lot of time and patience. However, such a large online databank would be a very helpful tool for future research.

Another issue in this research is my lack of first language knowledge. This is a major downside of doing corpus research. The only thing to use and trust is the data collected by others. Analysis beyond the data cannot be done, and it is not possible to ask a first language speaker about their intuitions. For example, it would be interesting to learn more about the Hyper compound constructions (see Section 4.1.4) and their combined meanings, but based on the data available, no further analysis could be made. However, corpus research also has major upsides. There is a vast body of data readily available (on paper or online), so no elicitation, transcription, translation, and glossing is needed. By relying on the thoroughness of other researchers, a lot more data becomes available.

The most important issue in this thesis was the methodology. Since this is the first research done in this manner, there is no set methodology to use. This means I had to set up my own methodology. I believe that most of the methodology worked well for this research, but it proved to be difficult to find a well-suited percentage for the number of parallel pairs to occur in a certain order. This bar was set at 80%, but as Section 4.2 shows, the languages do not reach this level. However, there are undeniable tendencies in the languages, both in the order of parallel pairs, as well as in other levels, and other facets than were thought of beforehand. This means that the first hypothesis is 'false', while, if, with the right foreknowledge, a better hypothesis could have been formulated. This is something to take along to further research. This thesis has shown some of the mechanisms of combining parallel pairs in parallelism, and further research can make use of this thesis to formulate more specific and fitting hypotheses.

In my bachelor's thesis, I already learnt how to make linguistic analyses from anthropological data. In this thesis, this knowledge has grown substantially. The information is available, but the combination of information that is needed has not been combined before. By consulting multiple sources, the information can be found, each source adding a piece of information to the puzzle, ultimately forming the picture that lies before you now. By combining these snippets of information in the anthropological and linguistic sources, I could analyze parallelism from a linguistic perspective. Where I found it a difficult challenge in my bachelor's thesis, I noticed that for this thesis, I became really enthusiastic searching for this one little piece of information. This is a good summary of how writing this thesis has been: a very exiting rollercoaster, flying from one analysis to the other to eventually finding the answers I wanted, to be able to form a clearer picture of parallelism than there was before.

6.1 Topics for Further Research

Although many topics have been discussed in this thesis, many questions remain as well. These are questions that will have to wait until further research. Because of the rich history of the Timor region, parallelism has had to deal with a lot of different influences. For example: colonialization, Christianity, (il)literacy, and language change/shift. All these factors could have had a major influence on parallelism. For example, the parallelism used in the Bible translation could have led to new and different parallel pairs, and how people deal with those pairs in their ritual speech. Or, since Lautém is becoming more and more Tetun speaking (see Section 2.1.1), what will happen to Fataluku parallelism? Will it be translated into Tetun? Will it disappear? Will people use it in Fataluku, but lose the meaning of the texts? This leads to another topic for further research, barely touched upon in this thesis: the historical linguistic situation of parallelism. It seems likely that parallelism has spread through the area together with the spread of the languages. Many languages in the area make use of parallelism, albeit in different forms and with different rules. Further research into more languages might make it possible to make a historical reconstruction of the spread of parallelism in the different languages in the area.

Also, within the research into parallelism in Fataluku and Rotinese, there are topics that need to be analyzed further. Verbs in parallelism are shortly discussed in Section 3.2.2, but the roles and functions of verbs in parallelism are not clear at this stage. As mentioned in Section 3.2.3, names have their own mechanisms in parallelism, and further research is needed to find out about the way they are combined, and what rules play a role in the combination of names.

Hyper compound constructions (see Section 4.1.4) have a combined meaning for the two words of a binominal pair. However, only one example could be found in the literature. To assume that other word pairs have such a combined meaning as well is an easy thought, but there is no proof for such assumptions. Further research by means of elicitation and first language speaker intuitions will shed light on the Hypers in Rotinese parallelism, as well as in other languages.

Within the categories, there are also topics for further research. One topic is the categories that newly appeared in the analysis and have only one (or a few) members. A larger dataset will lead to more clarity about these categories, and how valid they are. Two categories that also need further research are the numeral category and the color category. The dataset did not contain enough instances of both categories to draw any conclusions on them. The analysis of the numerals in Rotinese have shown that there does not seem to be a rule for ordering the numerals. However, more instances from a larger dataset could lead to clearer rules regarding the numerals.

The analysis of the synonymous pairs has led to some tendencies regarding the order in Fataluku, but no tendencies were found for Rotinese. What is most surprising about this, is that the synonymous pairs rarely occur in the reversed order, which is not expected if there are no rules or tendencies regarding the order. A more thorough analysis of these synonymous pairs could lead to more clarity about these synonymous pairs.

The P1-P2-Model explains why most parallel pairs obey the grammatical rules dictated by the model. However, there also are many pairs that do not strictly obey the rules. Some pairs do not fit into categories, and for some pairs, the default order is reversed. At this point, it is unclear why these pairs do not adhere to the P1-P2-Model, and further research is needed to find out about the mechanisms of the combination and order of these parallel pairs. Another major topic for further research is using the P1-P2-Model in the analysis of parallelism in other languages, to see whether this model works for those languages as well.

7 Conclusion

This thesis has researched the grammar of parallelism in Southeast Asia. More specifically, parallelism in two languages was researched, Fataluku and Rotinese. This combination of languages is interesting, for Fataluku is a Non-Austronesian language, while Rotinese is an Austronesian language (see Section 2). What is also interesting is that Fataluku is a P2-Language, while Rotinese is a P1-Language (see Section 5). The languages differ on these two levels, which made the comparison of the language even more exiting. Some analyses were made with the use of two extra languages: Kambera and Leti.

Two hypotheses and research questions were researched in this thesis. They are repeated here:

1. *Hypothesis 1*: Word order: The two positions in a lexical parallel word pair are grammatical slots, in which one of the slots is occupied by the word with cultural dominance, and the other slot is occupied by the parallel word. Depending on being a P1- or a P2-Language, the most important term stands in first or in second position, respectively.
   Research Question: Is there a strict order (≥80% pairs in strict order) for lexical parallels, and can this be explained by culture?
2. *Hypothesis 2*: P1- and P2-Languages: Languages differ in the position in which they place their culturally most dominant word in a parallel pair. Depending on the language, this can be the first or the second position. Languages that place the culturally most important word in first position are called P1-Languages (place 1), and languages that place this word in second position are called P2-Languages (place 2).
   Research Question: Is there a difference in the basic order languages present their lexical parallel?

In this conclusion, the findings regarding these two hypotheses are summarized in Section 7.1 and Section 7.2, with references to the relevant sections. After this, Section 7.3 summarizes some other topics as well.

7.1 Hypothesis 1: Word Order

The first hypothesis was tested with parallel pairs from the LGC text in the FPD and the parallel pairs from the RPD. All pairs in both languages were categorized as 'fits into categories' or 'synonymous'. Some pairs could not be analyzed due to unclear translations. All pairs that fit into categories were assigned to a category, in the order in which they occur. The categories were given in both orders, with the expected orders grouped together, and the unexpected orders grouped together. The totals of the two groups were then added up, and percentages were calculated. This led to the conclusion that hypothesis 2 is false, for both Fataluku and Rotinese, because less than 80% of the parallel pairs occurred in the expected order (see Table 16 and Table 18, see also Table 20 below). However, some strong tendencies were found here. Table 20 from Section 4.2.1.3 is repeated here.

	Parallel Pairs in Expected Order	Categories in Expected Order	Parallel Pairs that fit into Categories
Fataluku	72.5%	78.6%	91.6%
Rotinese	65.3%	92.9%	83.1%

Table 20 (repeated): Concluding Percentages Hypothesis 2

The 'Parallel Pairs in Expected Order' gives the percentages of *parallel pairs* from the LGC text in the FPD and RPD that occur in expected order. These percentages are based on all parallel pairs in the databases, including the number of occurrences of individual pairs. These percentages show what the hypothesis is about: parallel pairs in the expected order. The bar of 80 % is not met here, so the hypothesis is not true. However, the percentages are still high enough to speak of a tendency of pairs to occur in the expected order. The 'Categories in Expected Order' gives the *categories* that have the largest number of pairs in the expected order. So, for Fataluku, the category female // male contains more parallel pairs than the reversed category male // female (which is empty), while for Rotinese, this is the other way around. The percentages of the categories with the largest number of members in the expected order show that the categories are clearly important in parallelism, and that the expected order within a category is often dominant. The 'Parallel Pairs that fit into Categories' gives the percentages of parallel pairs that could be placed into categories. These percentages also show the overwhelming importance and presence of the categories. So, to summarize, hypothesis 2 is false, but there are strong tendencies regarding the order of parallel pairs and the use of categories in parallelism. As an answer to the research question, there are strong tendencies in parallelism to obey to categories and to occur in the culturally expected order.

The synonymous word pairs show a great difference between Fataluku and Rotinese. In Fataluku, there are strong tendencies for synonymous pairs to obey phonological rules, following the hierarchy i < u < o < e < a. Another tendency is the length of words, where the longest word tends to occur in first position. For Rotinese, however, no such tendencies were found. Rotinese shows greater creativity in the structuring of word pairs. Where the LGC text in the FPD only has three parallel pairs that occur once in the reversed order, Rotinese has 19 different pairs, where some pairs occur in the reversed order multiple times. Most reversals can be explained by two mechanisms: the introduction of a new topic (Section 4.2.3.3) and chiasms (Section 4.2.3.4).

7.2 Hypothesis 2: P1- and P2-Languages

Hypothesis 2 was tested in Section 5, based on an analysis of four languages in the Timor region: Kambera, Rotinese, Fataluku and Leti. Kambera and Fataluku are P2-Languages, Rotinese and Leti are P1-Languages. Kambera, Rotinese and Fataluku are patrilineal culture languages, Leti is a matrilineal culture language. This has led to the following distinction:

- Kambera: P2-Patrilineal
- Rotinese: P1-Patrilineal
- Fataluku: P2-Patrilineal
- Leti: P1-Matrilineal

There seems to be a division in the position in which languages place their culturally most important term. This hypothesis is true, and to answer the research question for hypothesis 2: There is a difference in the basic order languages present their lexical parallels.

This distinction in the placement of the culturally most dominant term can be explained by the P1-P2-Model. P1-Languages place the most dominant term in first position, the P2-Languages place the most dominant term in second position. The most dominant term is determined by the culture. For all four languages (Kambera, Rotinese, Fataluku, Leti), the most important term corresponds to the patrilineality or matrilineality in society (see Table 25).

Section 4.2.1.4 has shown that the word order of prototypical parallel pairs in the category female // male for Fataluku, and male // female for Rotinese is strict. This means that the dual opposition into the sexes is a valid start for comparing the positioning of words in parallel pairs. It also shows that the parallel pairs at not formed at random, but that they are based on grammatical rules. The two positions in a parallel pair are indeed grammatical slots, as coined by Van Engelenhoven (see Section 1). The P1-P2-Model is based on two rules (see also the flowchart in Figure 7)

1. Matrilineal/Patrilineal: Being a matrilineal or a patrilineal culture determines which word is considered culturally most dominant.
2. P1-P2-Language: Being a P1- or a P2-Language determines in which position the culturally most dominant term is placed.

When the position of a language in the P1-P2-Model is known, the word pairs that can occupy the two grammatical slots within the parallel pair become predictable, based on the order of the categories. The canonicality of parallelism is not the number of occurrences of single parallel pairs, as stated by Fox (2014: 4), but rather in the P1-P2-Model with the (relatively) strict positions of the culturally dominant terms. This model explains why 91.6% of Fataluku parallel pairs fit into categories, and 83.1% of Rotinese parallel pairs fit into categories (in either order) (see Section 4.2.1.3). This model also explains why pairs with single occurrences obey the order of the categories, and why words can occur in both positions of the parallel pair. The rules are not based on the lexemes, but on the slots within a parallel pair. These slots are then filled with the categories according to the P1-P2-Model.

7.3 Other Topics

Besides the hypotheses, other topics are discussed in this thesis. Section 3 discusses the default structure of parallelism, where diversions from the default are listed. The default of parallelism is two adjacent lines with the same syntactic structure, the same morphological marking, and each word has a counterpart in the second line. However, not all lines follow the default template. Words can be omitted (Section 3.1.1), or extra words can be added (Section 3.1.2). Some lines do not have an adjacent line but are single lines (Section 3.1.3). There are also deviations in the structuring of lines in a parallel. It occurs that parallel lines are broken into multiple units to form one linguistic unit (Section 3.1.4). Some parallels are structured in a ABA'B' structure, where another parallel intervenes the first parallel (Section 3.1.5). It appears that all Parts of Speech can form combinations within parallelism, except for conjunctions (Section 3.2.1). Verbs and names are not thoroughly discussed in this paper, but they are shortly introduced in Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, respectively.

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