Externally and internally headed relative clauses in Marori

I Wayan Arka

Linguistics, CHL-CAP, ANU
Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language (CoEDL), ANU
Udayana University

Funded by ARC Discovery Grant
(DP110100307, the SNG project)
Outline

• Introduction:
  – some background & the main points
• An overview of Marori morphosyntax
• Relative Clauses in Marori:
  – preliminaries and basic facts
    (marking, types, and relativised grammatical relations)
• Analysis & Discussion
  – the internal structure EHRC/IHRCs
  – LFG analysis
• Conclusion
Background: Marori

Marori, 20 km east of Merauke, West Papua Indonesia

26 July 2016

Relative clauses in Marori
The main points ...

• Marori is perhaps unusual:
  – it has almost all the RC types one system: 
    external and internally headed RCs, single and double headed RCs, pre and post head RCs, 
    headed and headless RCs, attached vs. detached RCs

• All GFs can be relativised

• Intriguing properties of IHRCs in Marori
  – agreement & ambiguity in IHRCs
  – semantic constraints due to the restrictive type, responsible for disambiguation in the IHRC type
An overview of Marori morphosyntax
Marori morphosyntax: an overview (1)

• Clausal word order:
  head final, relatively free word-order:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP}^* (=i) & , & \text{[PREF:U-V.Root- SUFF:A]}_V \\
\text{ARG}(=U)/\text{PRED} & & \text{(inflected)}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) 

\(a)\) 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{DP}_{\text{ARG}} & \quad \text{V}_{\text{INFL}}
\end{array}
\]

\(b)\) 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{DP}_{\text{ARG}} & \quad \text{DP}_{\text{PRED}} & \quad \text{V}_{\text{INFL}}
\end{array}
\]

\(c)\) 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP}_{\text{RC}} \\
\text{XP} & \quad \text{C'} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{S}
\end{array}
\]
Argument flagging & agreement (1)

• Clitic =i marks the P/U role

(3)  
a. pa=ka=i kara ku-nggo  
soon=2SG=U sick 2SG-AUX.3NPL.FUT  
‘You will be sick.’

b. tat, tamba kwon k-imb-ra-f  
grandfather already misquito 2SG-bite-PL-3.NrPST.PERF  
(“you”) OBJ SUBJ  
‘Granpa, you’re bitten by misquitos.’(Klali-klaliWilhelms21122011.013:00:04:04.980-00:04:06.390)
Argument flagging & agreement (2)

- Agentive NPs cannot be marked by =i:

\[
(4) \quad na \ (*=i) \ fis \quad kund-ra-mon
\]

1SG yesterday run-PL-1NPL.DUR.PST
‘I was running yesterday.’

- ARG-verb agreement with GENDER agreement for 3SG object

\[
(5) \quad na \ tefye-ben \ menjun \ awo=i \ paya-ke
\]

1SG see.3SG.M.O-1SG.NrPST small.SG kangaroo=U forest-LOC
‘I saw a small (male) kangaroo in the forest yesterday.’

\[
tafya-bon
\]

see.~3SG.M.O-1SG.NrPST /a/
‘non.3SG.M.O’
Nominal structures in Marori

• RCs are part of nominal structures (NPs/DPs)

(6)  
   a. DP  →  NP, D.
   b. NP  →  PossP, NUM, XP:ADJUNCT, N.

(7)  
       D    Thomas   POSS   house     big    BE.3NPL.PRES
       Thomas   POSS   house   D     big    BE.3NPL.PRES

‘That house of Thomas is big.’

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN MARORI

• Definition of RCs
• RC markers in Marori
• RC Types in Marori
• Constraints in IHRCs
Defining Relative Clauses

• **Definition**
  ... a *subordinate clause* which *delimits the reference of an NP* by specifying the *role* of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC (Andrews, 2007)

• **Examples**: English RCs

  (8) *The soldier* [*who ___ fired the shot*] *was suspended until completion of the Military Police investigation.*

• **Salient RC properties**:  
  – **Structure & marking**: externally/internally headed?  
  – **Strategy to encode dependency**: gapping? pron copy?  
  – **Semantics**: restrictive or not?
Marking RCs in Marori

- RCs can come with or without a relativiser
- RC Markers are the same forms used as the proximal demonstratives: *kefi/kei/ki, kemnde, keme*

![Diagram showing relativisers and entities in Marori]

**Figure 1**

26 July 2016

Relative clauses in Marori
Pronouns vs. Relativisers

- *k*- ‘PROX’; only associated with the third person forms: *Kefi/ki* (<*k-efi*); *kemnde* (<*k-emnde*)

- *Keme* has a slightly different distribution: more flexible than *kefi/kemnde*, not constrained by PERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>NSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>na</em></td>
<td><em>nie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
<td><em>kie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>efi</em></td>
<td><em>emnde</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Free pronouns in Marori
Examples: EHRCs

• Relativisation of POSS related to G/R argument:

(9) Efi purfam_i [keme fis [__i nam nuron=i] duet
DET person REL yesterday POSS wife=U money
ncomo-bon ]RC nggaku umam
give.3SG.F-1SG.NrPST here come.3SG

‘The person whose wife I gave money yesterday has come here.’
Marori & RC Typology: structural properties

Marori shows different RC types on the basis of ‘headedness’.

Relative Clauses (RCs)

- Headed RCs
- Headless RCs (‘free relatives’)

**the N head present?**

**In how many positions?**

- Single-headed RCs
- Double-headed RCs

**Where?**

- Externally-headed RCs
- Internally-headed RCs

**Relative order?**

- Pre-head RCs (prenominal RCs)
- Post-head RCs (postnominal RCs)

**Correlatives**

Figure 2

Relative clauses in Marori
Externally Headed RCs

• A RC can appear inside its DP as in (a), or it can be detached from its head noun as in (b):

(10) a. [Efi purfam [keme fis nam nuron=i duet
DET person REL yesterday POSS wife=U money

njomo-bon]_{RC}^{DP} nggaku umam
3SG.F.give-1SG.NrPST here come.3SG.NrPST
‘The person whose wife I gave money yesterday has come here.’

b. Efi purfam nam nuron nggaku umam
DET person POSS wife=U here come.3SG

keme fis duet njomo-bon
REL yesterday money 3SG.F.give-1SG.NrPST
‘The person whose wife I gave money yesterday has come here.’
Internally headed RCs

• An IHRC may give rise to ambiguity (if out of context): the relativised NP can be either the <patient> (reading (a) or the <instrument> participant of the IHRC (reading (b)):

(11)  

| Keme na   | njaj=i | samagau | ngge    | termē-ben | IHRC  |
| REL       | 1SG    | bench=U | club    |           |       |
| tamba     | keiwei | nggu-f  |         |           |       |
| PERF      | damaged | 3SG.M.U.AUX-NrPST |

a) ‘The [traditional] bench that I hit with the club is damaged.’
b) ‘The club with which I hit the [traditional] bench is damaged.’
More examples, with a Relativiser: from natural texts

(12) \[ Mbe \, ki \, k-anep \, bak \, ku-du \, kuye -m \]
exist this REL-big.SG outside LOC-EMPH stay -NrPST
‘this, the big one, stays outside (on the ground)’
(AnepWopowiMarkus15082012.012: 00:00:47.370-00:00:50.970)

\[ Kemnde \, keme \, kakak \, tanambadu \, ruma-m \]
DET.PL REL elder.sibling just.now plant-3NrPST
‘These are the ones that your elder sister just planted.’
(PaskalisBerkebun161222011.024: 00:03:51.270-00:03:55.860)
RCs without a relativiser

• The relativiser can be dropped, giving rise to an IHRC:

(13) a. Koro [keme na ife-ben]_{EHRC} tamba kundo-f
dog REL 1SG see-1.NrPST PERF run-NrPST
   ‘The dog that I saw ran off.’

   b. [Koro — na ife-ben]_{IHRC} tamba kundo-f
      dog 1SG see-1.NrPST PERF run-NrPST
      ‘The dog that I saw ran off.’
The position of the relativiser

- The relativiser cannot come clause-finally:

(14) a. Efi njaj [fis keme=na kufa-mon] ....
    DEF bench yesterday REL=1SG sleep-1SG.NrPST.DUR
    ‘The bench on which I slept yesterday …’

    b. Efi njaj [keme=na fis kufa-mon] ....
    DEF bench REL=1SG yesterday sleep-1SG.NrPST.DUR
    ‘The bench on which I slept yesterday….’

    c. * Efi njaj [na fis kufa-mon keme] ....
    DEF bench 1SG yesterday sleep-1SG.NrPST.DUR REL
    ‘The bench on which I slept yesterday….’
DP with a RC

• D can appear to the left or right of the NP complement

(15)

DP

D NP

N CP\_RC

C S

efi ujif keme na ndon-du
the.SG bird REL 1SG 3SG.F.bring.here-1SG.MPRES

‘that bird I brought here’

26 July 2016

Relative clauses in Marori
Headless RCs

• Headless RCs are often found in natural texts, where the copula verb is also often dropped:

   (16)  kefi      sa      reme,        tentara
         REL.3NPL  PART  stand.3PRES  soldier
   ‘The one who is standing is a soldier.’
   (KunjunganKePNG.113: 00:08:21.970-00:08:24.990)

   kemnde   keme   kakak   tanambadu  ruma-m.
   3PL      REL    elder.sibling  just.now  3NSG.U.plant-3NPL.NrPST
   ‘These are the ones that your elder sister just planted.’
   (PaskalisBerkebun16122011.024:00:03:51.270-00:03:55.860)
RELATIVISATION OF DIFFERENT ROLES:

Arguments, non-arguments/adjuncts and possessors can be relativised in Marori
Subject relativisation

(17)  kefi   sa   kei   kuye   bab
       REL   PART   REL   sit.3NPL.PRES   uncle
       ‘This one, the one who is sitting, is the uncle’
       (KunjunganKePNG.057: 00:04:34.630-00:04:38.330)

(18)   efi   moipur   ki-kwundo-f   tamba   soron
       that   child   REL-   run-NrPST   PERF   fall.NrPST
       ‘The child who just ran away already fell off.’

(19)   efi   purfam   kefi   fis   ujif   ndon,   tamba   yaba   nggu-f
       DET   person   REL   yesterday   bird   bring   PERF   die   AUX.3SG.M-NrPST
       ‘The person who brought (the) birds yesterday has died.’
Object relativisation

• Relativisation of the monotransitive O

(20) korya tanamba meyi fa di=kofri-mon
food now meat with soon=consume-1PL.FUT
‘now we are to eat food with meat.’

bosik meyi fa keme kasama-bon
pig meat with REL kill-1PL.NrPST
‘with the meat of the pig which just killed.’

(BerburuEsebyus.022-23: 00:02:22.090-00:02:29.690)

(21) Ka ka=pame mimi ramje [keme ka nggwofi tew kengge tou-f].
2 2IMP-DET.2PROX water boil REL 2SG there well from take-NrPST
‘You boil the water that you took from that well.’
Three-place predicates (1)

• Relativisation of the ditransitive T

(22) efe iwag-on keme irin njime-fi
DET girl-PST REL father give.3SG.M.O-RmPST
‘That was the girl that the father gave to him’
(Tete dan nene.072: 00:04:17.680-00:04:20.030)
Three-place predicates (2)

• Relativisation of the G/R argument

(23) a. John duet=i eyiew-nda-m efi purfam na
    John money =U search-AUX-2/3NPL.NrPST that person DAT
    ‘John searched money for the person.’

    b. efi purfam [kefī=na John duet=i eyiw-nda-m ] nggaku umam
    that person REL=DAT John money search-AUX-2/3NPL.NrPST there come
    ‘The person who John searched the money for came there.’
Three-place predicates (3): Loc-Goal

• Relativisation of the G:loc

(24)  a. John fis mara=i sour=ku monjo-f
      John yesterday stone=U house=LOC throw-3NPL.NrPST
      ‘John threw a stone to the house yesterday.’

          that house=part REL John stone =U throw-3NPL.NrPST PERF damaged AUX-NrPST
          'The house to which John threw a stone has been damaged.'
Relativisation of Locative Oblique

(25) a. Na fis njaj ke/uyowe kufa-mon
   1SG yesterday bench LOC/ON sleep-1SG.DUR.NrPST
   ‘I slept on the bench.’

b. Efi njaj [fis keme=na kufamon] tamba rafonngin
   DET bench yesterday REL=1SG sleep-1SG.DUR.NrPST PERF broken
   ‘The bench on which I slept yesterday is already broken.’

c. Efi njaj [fis keke=na kufamon] tamba rafonngin
   DET bench yesterday REL=1SG sleep-1SG.DUR.NrPST PERF broken
   ‘The bench where I slept yesterday is already broken.’
Relativisation of Oblique-adjunct

- Locatives

(26)  a. Na kar=i sawra-mon uluad=ku
     1SG kind.of.yam=U fill.in-1NPL NrPST basket=LOC
     ‘I filled the yam into the basket.’

     b. efi uluad keme=na kar=i sawra-mon tamba torownie-f
        this basket REL=1SG kind.of.yam =U fill.in-1NPL NrPST PERF full -PST
        ‘The basket into which I filled the yam has been full.’

     c. efi uluad koku=na kar=i sawra-mon tamba torownie-f
        this basket REL=1SG kind.of.yam =U fill.in-1NPL NrPST PERF full -PST
        ‘The basket into which I filled the yam has been full.’

     d. *efi uluad keke=na kar=i sawra-mon tamba torownie-f.
Relativisation of source adjuncts

• Source

(27) a. Na fis daka efi tew kengge taura-mon.
   1SG yesterday water this well from take-DUR-1NPL.NrPST
   ‘I was taking water from the well yesterday.’

b. Efi tew kengge na daka taura-mon tamba syer nggu-f.
   that well from 1SG water take-DUR-1NPL.PST PERF dry AUX-NrPST
   ‘The well from which I was taking water was dry.’
Relativisation of Instrument Adjunct

(28)  

a. Na sendok ngge korya kafra-mon.  
   1SG spoon with food consume-1SG.NrPST  
   ‘I ate (the) food with the spoon.’

b. Sendok keme na ngge kaframon tamba kobyangguf  
   spoon REL 1SG with consume-1SG.NrPST already missing AUX.NrPST  
   ‘The spoon that I ate (the) food with was missing.’
Relativisation of POSS

(29) a. Efi purfam nam bosik yaba nggu-f
    DET person POSS pig die AUX-3NPL.NrPST
    ‘The person’s pig died.’

b. Efi purfam [kefi nam bosik yaba nggu-f] Johni naw te
    that person REL.SG POSS pig dead AUX-3NPL.NrPST John name BE.3NPL.PRES
    ‘The person whose pig died is John.’
Analysis & discussion:

• The internal structure of nominals with EHRCs/IHRC

• LFG analysis to capture:
  (i) (dis)ambiguity & related agreement
  (ii) RC typology & definiteness constraints
The internal structure of RCs: EHRCs

• What’s the precise internal structure of RCs in Marori?
• A relative clause is structurally a CP with an adjunct before the relativiser part of the RC

(30)

```
DP
  /   \
D    NP
  /\
N   CP^RC
     /\
    NP C'
       /\
      C S

Efí njaj fis keme na kufamon
DET bench yesterday REL 1SG sleep-1SG.DUR.NrPST

‘The table on which I slept yesterday’
```
**The internal structure of RCs: IHRCs (1)**

- An IHRC has the same nominal (DP) as the EHRC, except a non-branching matrix NP/DP:

  (31) a. DP
      |  
      NP
      |  
      CP_{RC}
  C       S
  keme   na   njaj   kufamon
  REL 1SG bench sleep-1SG.DUR.NrPST
  ‘The bench on which I slept.’

b. DP
   |  
   CP
   C       S
   keme   na   njaj   kufamon

26 July 2016  Relative clauses in Marori 36
The internal structure of RCs: IHRCs (2)

- D can appear externally in the matrix nominal structure:

(32)
Headless RCs

• When it’s headless, it is unclear whether we have an EHRC or IHRC:

```
(33)
```

```
DP
  \---
  CP
    \--
    C
    \|
    S
      \|
      |  keme  na  ndon-du
       REL  1SG  3SG.F.bring-1SG.MPRES
       ‘that one which I brought here’
```

D
IHRCs & LFG:
agreement & (dis)ambiguity (1)

• Recall that IHRCs in Marori may lead to ambiguity:

(34) \[Keme \text{ na } njaj=i \text{ samagau } ngge \text{ term}e-ben\]_{\text{IHRC}}

\begin{align*}
\text{REL} & \ 1\text{SG} & \text{bench=U} & \text{club} & \text{with} & \ 3\text{SG.U.M.hit-1SG.NrPST} \\
\text{tamba} & \ \text{keiwei} & \text{nggu-f} & \text{PERF} & \text{damaged} & \ 3\text{SG.M.U.AUX-NrPST} \\
\end{align*}

a) ‘The bench that I hit with the club was damaged.’
b) ‘The club with which I hit the bench was damaged.’
LFG analysis (1)

- **Lexical entries**: the entry of the relativiser:

(35)  

a. *keme*  
C  
(↑GF INDEX)= [ ]α  
((↑GF PRED)= ’pro’)  
(↑TYPE)=relative  
(↑GF )=(↑FOCUS)

b. *kefi*  
C  
(↑GF INDEX)= [SG]α  
((↑GF PRED)= ’pro’)  
(↑TYPE)=relative  
(↑GF )=(↑FOCUS)

- **C-str annotations**:  
We have to ensure that agreement is imposed and that matrix DP can select/share the right semantic content of the relativised NP.

26 July 2016

Relative clauses in Marori
LFG analysis (2)

• Partial annotated c-str of sentence (34)

(36)

DP
(↑SUBJ)= ↓

CP
↓∈(↑ADJUNCT)
((↑PRED)= (↑ADJUNCT GF PRED))
(↑INDEX)= (↑ADJUNCT GF INDEX)

C
|  
S
|  
keme
(↑GF INDEX)=α
(↑PRED)= ‘bench’ (↑PRED)= ‘club’ with
((↑GF preds)= ‘pro’)
(↑INDEX)=[3SG]j (↑INDEX)=[3SG]k
(↑TYPE)=relative

njaj=i

samagau

ngge

terme-ben
(↑PRED)= ‘hit<(↑SUBJ) ↑OBJ)>>’
((↑SUBJ PRED)= ‘pro’)
(↑SUBJ INDEX)= [1SG]
((↑OBJ PRED)= ‘pro’)
(↑OBJ INDEX)= [3SG,M]
LFG analysis (3)

- F-str of sentence (34), reading (a)

(37)
Semantic constraints & IHRC typology

• Three semantic types of RCs (Grosu 2012).
  – (a) restrictive,
  – (b) appositive and
  – (c) maximalising

(38)

a. At the party, I saw only [[three boys [who had beards]_{RC}^N]_NP  (restrictive)

b. At the party, I saw only [[three boys, [who had beards]_{RC}^N]_NP  (appositive)
   (Grosu 2012:452, ex. (6))

c. Suddenly I noticed [the three books [that there were on your desk]_{RC} (maximalising)
   (i.e. ‘there were exactly three books on your desk and I suddenly noticed them’) (Grosu 2012: 453)
Marori IHRCs: Restrictive

• IHRCs in Marori are basically restrictive relatives; i.e., with non-specific indefinite force
  – not presupposing a definite/specific denotation at the matrix level
    • although it can appear with an overt D at the matrix level (cf. example (32)), other quantifiers
  – allowing IHRC stacking
  – unique/definite NPs or NPs with quantification requiring definiteness import resist relativisation in IHRC
Indefinite Relativised NP: IHRC

(39)

\[
Ka\ einda\ [kefi\ meipur\ di\ nie=fi\ kuye-den]_{IHRC}
\]

2SG 3.search.2NPL REL child.SG FUT 1NSG=with stay-1DU.PRES

‘You look for a child who wants to stay together with me.’
Quantifiers & Overt D: definite NPs

(40) \[
\left[ [\text{keme na fis ujif ndon-du}]_{\text{RC}} \right]_{\text{NP}} efi \\
\text{REL 1SG yesterday bird 3SG.F bring.here-1SG.PRES that} \\
tamba yaba nggwo-f \\
\text{already dead AUX3SG.F-NrPST}
\]

‘The female bird that I brought here yesterday already died.’

(41) \[
\left[ [\text{keme na fis ujif keindu}]_{\text{HRC}} \right]_{\text{HRC}} \underline{usindu} \\
\text{REL 1SG yesterday bird 3.bring.PL all} \\
tamba yaba nggorforof. \\
\text{PERF dead AUX.3PL.NrPST}
\]

‘All the birds that I brought here yesterday already died.’
RC stacking

(42) a. \( Na \ fîs \ purfam=i \ eyewnda-mon \)
1SG  yesterday  person=U  3.look.for-1SG.NrPST

\([kefi \ koro \ imbirif \quad [kefi \ kundof]]\)
REL  dog  bite-NrPST  REL  run-3NrPST

‘I was looking for (the/a) person [that the dog bit [that ran away.]].’

b. \( Na \ fîs \ eyew=nda-mon \)
1SG  yesterday  eye=3.AUX-1SG.NrPST

\([kefi \ koro \ purfam=i \ imbirif \quad [kefi \ kundo-f]]\)
REL  dog  person=U  bite-NrPST  REL  run-3NrPST

‘Yesterday I was looking for (the/a) person [that dog bit [that ran away]].’
Disambiguation (1)

• The restrictiveness of IHRC in Marori is perhaps responsible for the intriguing definiteness constraint which disambiguates the reading in this sentence:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kemde} & \quad \text{usindu} & \quad \text{meninggon}=i & \quad \text{purfam} & \quad \text{paar}_{\text{IHRC}} \\
\text{REL} & \quad \text{all} & \quad \text{child.PL=U} & \quad \text{person} & \quad \text{money} \\
\text{njemba-b} & \quad \text{tamba} & \quad \text{sra-f} \\
\text{3.give-3PL.NrPST} & \quad \text{already} & \quad \text{go.PL-NrPST} \\
i) & \quad \text{‘The people who gave money to all the children already went away.’} \\
ii) & \quad \text{‘All the children who were given money by the people already went away.’}
\end{align*}
\]
Disambiguation (2)

(44)

[Keme Markus bosik =i ife -f]_{IHRC} tamba kundo -f
REL Markus pig =U 3SG.M.see-3NPL.NrPST PERF run-3SG.NrPST

i) ‘The pig that Markus saw ran off.’
ii) * ‘Markus who saw the pig ran off.’
Relativisation of a pronoun: Double-headed RC

(45) a. * Na keme bosik=i ife-ben tamba kundo-bon
   1SG REL pig=U 3SG.M.see-1SG.NrPST PERF run-1SG.NrPST
   a) NOT FOR ‘I who saw the pig ran off’
   b) NOT FOR ‘The pig which I saw ran off.’

b. * keme na bosik=i ife-ben tamba kundo-bon
   1SG REL pig=U 3SG.M.see-1SG.NrPST PERF run-1SG.NrPST

c. Na keme bosik=i ife-ben tamba=na kundo-bon
   1SG REL pig=U 3SG.M.see-1SG.NrPST PERF=1SG run-1SG.NrPST
   ‘I who saw the pig (I) ran off’

d. keme na bosik=i ife-ben tamba=na kundo-bon
   REL 1SG pig=U 3SG.M.see-1SG.NrPST PERF=1SG run-1SG.NrPST
   ‘I who saw the pig (I) ran off’
Summary & Conclusions

• Marori is perhaps unusual as far as its relative clause typology (RCs) is concerned. It has almost all of the relative clause types.

• The complexity of RCs in Marori (e.g. agreement and ambiguity in IHRCs) can be captured in LFG in a straightforward way.

• IHRCs in Marori are of the restrictive type
  – This semantic property appears to be responsible for the salient and intriguing definiteness constraint of IHRCs in this language.
• The RC facts in Marori and the proposed analysis
  – contribution to the empirical basis for the typological and theoretical study of RCs
  – contribution to the study of RCs in Papuan languages

• Further studies
  – Textual distribution of different types of RCs in Maori in actual/real texts
  – Discontinuous post-verbal RCs are preferred, but why? Any relation with the head final OV languages
Takwerte

Terima kasih

Thank You!