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**INITIAL AND FINAL ADVERBIAL CONSTITUENTS  
IN META' NARRATIVE TEXT**

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## THE FUNCTION OF INITIAL AND FINAL ADVERBIAL CONSTITUENTS IN META' NARRATIVE TEXT

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### 1. Introduction

Meta' is a Momo language of the Western Grassfields of Cameroon. In this language, in which the normal sentence order is SVO, constituents sometimes precede the subject. Adverbials, in the form of a clause or a single adverb, do this. Except for some single word adverbs which are closely bound to the verb and precede it, adverbial constituents generally follow the main verb. This paper gives examples of adverbial constituents preceding and following the verb, showing that the different sentence positions reflect difference of function of the constituents concerned. The terms preposed and postposed are also used for sentence initial and sentence final position without reference to any particular syntactic theory.

The present analysis is based on two Meta' narrative texts.

Text 1 is the story of a trader and a farmer. The trader attempts to upset the social balance by becoming self-dependent through planting his own maize. The farmer outwits him by giving him boiled seed, the trader awaiting the germination of his seed in vain.

Text 2 recounts the story of a lazy man called Minang. Seeing other people making group savings contributions, he joins them. However, in keeping with his character, he first borrows the money to make his own contributions. Being less speedy to pay back than to borrow, he annoys his friend Fokum who has lent him the necessary brass rods. Fokum outwits him by taking Minang's gun in exchange for the brass rods. That a debtor will finally suffer loss is the moral of the story.

When the initial adverbials cause a divergence from the normal SVO sentence order, it may be seen that they signal points of thematic discontinuity in the text, occurring in initial position in the new paragraph or thematic episode. They provide the time or situation

setting for the following paragraph, although this may be very indefinitely specified. They contain little information of importance.

Initial focussed constituents with an adverbial function, which occur in sentences which are the climax of their paragraph adverbials may also be observed in these texts.

Final adverbials, in contrast, usually contain information which is important to the sentence. It is new information. The final position may be accounted for by the tendency to shift heavy constituents to the end of a sentence and to reserve the final position for the most important new information.

Some post-posed adverbials do not conform to this rule. They contain text-recoverable information and are to be seen in sentences in which the main clause constitutes a climax in the plot as a whole. Adding no new information themselves, they serve rather to set off or highlight the important information contained in the main clause, linking it back in to what has gone before.

## 2. Initial adverbial constituents

One of the ways in which coherence is maintained in a narrative is to order it into conveniently rememberable episodes which enable the listener or reader to follow the story easily (Tomlin, 1987). These episodes are reflected in the paragraph structure of a written text. Each paragraph has a main theme and is so ordered that the listener or reader is able to follow this theme.

Givon (1990) speaks of the four main strands of thematic coherence in discourse as referent continuity, temporal continuity, locational continuity and action continuity. A change of referent, time, place or action constitutes then a discontinuity in the theme. This again is reflected in the paragraph structure. The paragraph breaks are made at points of thematic discontinuity (Levinsohn 1992). These points of discontinuity are often signalled by an initial adverbial constituent, which is sometimes referred to as a point of departure of its sentence and for the paragraph. Examples of this may be seen in Meta' narrative.

The two texts which are the subject of this analysis contain 25 examples of fronted adverbial constituents. 16 of these are temporal

clauses and on nine occasions it is a single adverb. Of the 16 temporal clauses, 14 are associated with a major thematic juncture (Givon 1990: 847). The eight examples of a single preposed adverb may be regarded as occurring at lesser thematic breaks which are not exploited as points of departure.

## 2.1 Initial Adverbials at Points of Thematic Juncture.

All the 14 adverbial clauses connected with a point of thematic discontinuity in this corpus of narrative text provide a temporal setting for the sentence of which they are part and for the following discourse. The eight instances of an initial single adverb at points of potential discontinuity might be regarded as having a conjunctive function rather than being a point of departure.

### 2.1.1 Adverbial Clauses

A preposed adverbial clause in Text 1 sets the point in time for its sentence and potentially for the following sentences of the paragraph.

Example 1. Text 1.4

èní sí éní émò'c wèd ìwín nò'.

*It being a certain day, the trader  
leaves (home)....*

Sentences 1 to 3 have introduced the two main participants in the story, the trader and the farmer, in this way providing a background for the beginning of the action in sentence 4 (Example 1,) above. The initial adverbial clause specifies a particular, although unnamed, point in time at which the action of the story begins. With this clause, we move from general past time to a particular moment in the past. The initial adverbial serves as a temporal setting for the fourth sentence and potentially for those following. This process, however, is eventually interrupted by another point of departure or another device for signalling the beginning of a new paragraph.

The second text gives a further example of this.

Example 2. Text 2.17.

Nyùm nì isíg ɪ fá kyé'á kà, Fòkùm  
nyè nò....

*When it was light, Fokum left  
quietly...*

Fokum had sought out an expert to help him solve his problem of getting Minang to return the borrowed brass rods. Now, on the following morning, he begins on a course of action to outwit his wily former friend.

The introductory temporal clause 'when it was light' sets a new time for the action, the following day. The adverbial offers little information of itself. It signals discontinuity in the narrative. The preceding paragraph ended on the previous night. The temporal expression, typical of the narrative genre, is more a device to signal the discontinuity, to usher in a new episode, in which Fokum, after all the frustration of trying vainly to reach the elusive Minang, has at last decided upon a way to track him down.

The next example, (Sentence 27 of Text 2), combines temporal progression with what Longacre has called (Longacre, 1968:1. 8-9) tail-head linkage, to provide a point of departure for the new sentence and to link the last paragraph with the new one. There is no new information given in this clause. It is primarily a syntactic device to introduce a new phase of action. The fronting catches the attention of the reader/listener.

Levinsohn (1992) speaks of the bi-directional pragmatic function of the initial adverbial clause. Ramsey (1987) makes the same point in her description of *if* and *when* clauses in Japanese narrative. The initial adverbial points forward to the paragraph it initiates and backwards to the previous paragraph or to an even earlier point in the narrative. Givon (1990) speaks of the adverbial in this position as having a bridging function. In this instance, such a bridging function may be seen in the repetition of the main information of the previous sentence to be used as a point of departure for the new paragraph.

Example 3. Text 2.27.

Nyùm nì ə Fòkùm cùbì ɪgùn ətān ənē,  
bón kwò mbé ɪ nyì...

*When Fokum sat on the chair like  
that, the little children came in....*

Fokum has reached Minang's compound, grasps the fact that the debtor has hidden himself in the house, and quietly sits down to await further developments. The final sentence of the previous paragraph ends with his sitting down on a chair. In the sentence now under discussion, this information which was important, new information to the previous sentence, has been brought forward to constitute a point in time at which the events of the whole following paragraph begin.

In each of the three above examples the adverbial clauses carry little semantic load. Even in the example of tail-head linkage, the information which in the context of sentence 26 had been important, new, information, is merely a repetition in the context of sentence 27. Yet the adverbial clause is important for an understanding of the relationship of the following sentences to what has gone before, and at the same time for emphasising the thematic break in the action.

### 2.1.2 Single Word Adverb

On nine occasions in this body of text an initial single word adverb is to be found. This is always the adverb *ənē* which in this position is glossed as 'then'. It may be regarded as a lower level discourse marker than the initial full adverbial clause. It does not occur in this text corpus at the major thematic breaks. It is to be noted however, that there are potential thematic breaks present where it does occur, and although these do not constitute paragraph breaks, they are potential divisions which the narrator has chosen not to exploit. It might also be regarded as a conjunction, and in so doing, its bridging function rather than its function as a minor point of departure is being emphasised. Of the nine occurrences, five of them are associated with a change of participant, two are associated with a time change or progression and two with the initiation of an action. *ənē* may also be used between coordinate clauses.

In Text 2 there is a temporal break between sentences 9 and 10. Minang had promised to repay his debt on the main market day. He didn't do this, and so, on the following day (*kò'ɔ*), Fokum goes in search of him.

Example 4. Text 2.10.

ənē, ɪtú'ú cīg əni ə kɔ'ɔ

*Then, day dawns on the day of kɔ'ɔ*

The paragraph comprised of sentences 9 to 13 is concerned with Fokum's search and waiting for Minang. It starts after the missed appointment on the market day of Tad, continues into the following day, kɔ'ɔ and into many subsequent days in which he is searching for Minang in vain. It would have been possible for the narrator to make a major temporal thematic break at this point. He chooses however not to do so, choosing rather the lower level developmental marker to bridge this discontinuity. The adverbial brings the action forward, but the main topic of the paragraph, the waiting in vain for the return of the brass rods, is maintained.

The same device may be used when there is a change of participant as in Example 5.

Fokam has arrived unexpectedly at Minang's compound. Minang saw him coming and has hidden himself in the house.

Example 5. Text 2.21

ənē Fòkùm ye'e pè rī əyɪ...

*Then, Fokum arrives...*

Within the paragraph, from sentence 20 to sentence 25, there is a participant switch in each sentence, necessitated by the conversational exchange which is central to the paragraph. The sentence initial ənē (as well as other devices) is used to achieve continuity, despite the discontinuity introduced by the change in participant. The chosen theme of the paragraph (Sentence 20 to 26) is Minang's hiding of himself and the attendant circumstances. The major thematic discontinuities are marked by a preposed adverbial clause in sentence 20, followed by another in sentence 27. Despite the participant switches, the unity of this paragraph is maintained by the use of a definite marker within the noun phrases and the proper name of a previously named participant. The conversational exchange itself preserves unity, with the semantic continuity of the verb phrases 'say', 'follow say', 'hear'.

There is a participant switch between sentences 44 and 45. Sentence 45 is the final sentence of the body of the story.

Example 6. Text 2.45

ənē, Fokùm be'ì ìwūd wé...

*Then, Fòkùm carries the gun away...*

Fokum had appropriated the gun and Minang was helpless, because it was loaded. Then, finally, Fokum carried the gun away for ever. The fronted adverb bridges this minor thematic discontinuity of a change of participant (with its potential of being accompanied by an adverbial point of departure and being the beginning of a new paragraph), without slowing up the speed of the narrative too much. This is the final sentence of the story. The whole development from the discovery of Minang in hiding, the subsequent unsatisfactory discussion of the debt and then Fokum's appropriation of the gun, is kept together by various devices which bridge discontinuities without slowing down the story or disrupting the unity of the whole conceptual paragraph.

In telling the story, the narrator has ordered his material into episodes. There are a number of breaks in the thematic unity of time and action in the course of the story. Some of these are emphasised by the preposing of an adverbial clause. This captures the attention of the listener for the following conceptual paragraph, while others have been marked in a less conspicuous, less interruptive manner. ənē is used in this way. There is an iconicity of ənē in relation to the full adverbial clause in the preposed position. The size of the construction as compared to the conceptual discontinuity which these devices are used to signal.

a full adverbial clause is in ratio to its importance as a device to signal discontinuity and to bridge this in the text.

## 2.2 Initial Adverbial Constituents Without Thematic Juncture

In two instances, fronted adverbial constituents are not associated with a thematic juncture. They occur in sentences which are final in their paragraphs and which constitute a climax in that paragraph and in the plot. From the material at hand it might be said that they signal a coming juncture. Both examples have the structure of an existential complementising constructions proposition with an adverbial function in the sentence as a whole.

Following is one of these examples:



Example 7. Text 2.13

iní jím í mèí ní wí ə wòè kàbè ə  
Mìnàn rəkān.

*days all only that he goes looking  
for Minang in vain.*

The paragraph tells of Fokam's vain attempt to find Minang. Sentence 13 both summarises the preceding sentences, being the climax of the paragraph, and is also of importance in the plot as a whole. There is no break in the thematic continuity between sentences 12 and 13.

The preposed constituents fill the same semantic function as the single adverb *mèí only*. The information contained in them is recoverable from the preceding text, but the adverbial component expresses contrast.

The same process may be seen to be at work in the following example. The initial complementising construction is, in this instance, the main clause of its sentence.

Example 8. Text 2.6

à yí ìghēm ìjím í mèí ní wí ə cò'è

*It is only at all times that he is  
borrowing...*

The lazy man Minang had started to save money as other people did, by paying in regular contributions in a group, but contrary to what was expected, he was borrowing money to do so.

Levinsohn (1992) speaks of the significance of a fronted main clause, maintaining that it denotes a point of importance in the narrative plot. This is the case in the present instance. The main problem in the story is being cited. The sentence forms a climax in its paragraph. There is no thematic discontinuity between sentences nos. 5 and 6.

The initial adverbial clause adds to the drama of the sentence. It draws attention to the fact that the action is contrary to expectation. The most important new information is in the subordinate clause, but this initial main clause also has important content. It signals that the coming information is contrary to

expectation. It is in fact the importance of this semantic content which has caused the constituents to be fronted.

### 3. Final adverbial constructions

There are 19 examples of adverbial constituents which follow the verb of a main clause in the texts under consideration.

It was found that these constituents have one of two functions. They may carry new information which is important to the sentence, or consist of text-recoverable information which gives them a wider function in the narrative, serving to highlight the main clause in this way. Of the former type 15 examples are present in the two texts under consideration, and of the latter, four examples.

#### 3.1 Adverbials conveying information important to the sentence

Where the information carried by the adverbial constituents is important to the sentence, this information may be classified as new information. The end of the sentence is the most usual position for this type of information. Sentence 3 in the first text illustrates the use of an adverbial clause of purpose to convey new information in the sentence.

##### Example 9. T1.3

èní sɛ̀ əni ə m̀ò'ɔ̀, wəd ÷ ÷wɛ̀n nɔ̀ ÷  
wò ÷ zɔ̀n tɛ̀jɛ̀ tɛ̀ əmbɛ̀ ə wəd ÷ mbɛ̀ŋ.

*one day, the trader leaves (home) to  
buy food from the farmer*

This sentence initiates the story action. The fact contained in the postposed adverbial clause evolves as the problem of the story. It was just this going to buy food from the farmer that irked the trader and led him to try to change the economic order in his village. The sentence illustrates increasing communicative dynamism from sentence initial to sentence final position. Both the main clause and the adverbial clause of purpose carry new information, but the most significant information is in the sentence final adverbial clause.

A further example of an adverbial clause of purpose containing the most important sentence information may be seen in the following example from sentence 4 of Text 1.

Example 10. T.1.4

èné sī éní ácérá, wàd ì mbēŋ bē nō,  
 ƒ wò ì zōn ƒghì ì iwīn tƒ émbī ē wā  
 wē.

*On another day the farmer leaves  
 (home) to go to buy things from the  
 trader.*

Each part of the sentences 3 and 4 is parallel to the corresponding part of the other. As the trader goes to buy food from the farmer, so the farmer buys necessary goods from the trader. This harmonious economic arrangement rules the material circumstances of the lives of the two men.

In the following example it is a causal adverbial that is part of the new information of the sentence.

Example 11. Text 2.44

Mīnàng ƒ sƒ tēm nēŋ, cā í énu ē nī  
 wī ghè mbè' ìcī nī iwīd wé ì nyò'ò  
 éjei.

*Minang then stands and looks,  
 nothing he can do, because the gun  
 had been loaded.*

Fokum had taken the gun in payment for his lent and unrepaid brass rods.

The only old information in this sentence is expressed in the proper name Minang, which has a referential cohesive function in the paragraph, being last mentioned by name in sentence 39, and in sentence 40 with a pronoun. The conversation carried on in this paragraph (extending from sentence 36 to sentence 45). Everything else is new information, the final adverbial carrying the most significant information, being the climax of the sentence itself.

The same function may be observed in the following example.

Example 12. Text 2.16.

Fòkùm ....ce wò í ....ƒ tūm tí ngàn  
 mbī tēngàn.

*Fokum... passes and goes... to shoot  
 his tale with the doctor.*

Except for the referential subject, Fokum, everything in this sentence is new information. The final adverbial clause of purpose carries the most important information in the sentence.

A final single adverb may also express information of crucial importance to the sentence, and in this way giving dramatic emphasis. Text two gives an example of this.

Example 13. Text 2.9.

à ní sí íkwiri tād, Fòkùm wòm Mìnàn  
rəkān.

*When it is the evening of Tad, Fokum  
waited for Minang, in vain.*

New information is held in the clause 'Fokum waited for Minang in vain'. The final adverbial expresses the important information that Minang did not keep to the arrangement, again an informational high point in the sentence.

Example 14. T.2.10

ənē itú'u cīg əni ə kɔ'ɔ

*then, it dawns on the day of kɔ'ɔ*

In this main clause the adverbial expression is of importance to the sentence. It is not possible to put this expression initially. It would have then left *it dawns* as the only important (new) information. In this context, the information of what the day is, is new and important to the sentence.

### 3.2 Final adverbials conveying text-recoverable information.

An exception to the rule that final adverbials carry new, important information in the sentence is to be seen in the following examples. The information contained in these examples is text-recoverable. Together with the main clause they constitute a sentence of prime importance in the plot. The high point of the sentence itself may be seen in the main clause. The adverbial heightens the drama of the sentence by tying it in to the preceding context. The information they carry in this function is less important. It is old information, text recoverable.

This may be seen in the following example:

## Example 15. Text 1.11

Wəd ÷ mbēŋ wē nŋ kywɨ ze, t̄iə zwi  
bōŋ nà' əmbɨ ə wəd ÷ ÷wɨn wē.

*The farmer takes the maize, boils  
and kills it, before giving it to the  
trader.*

The farmer gave the trader corn for seed as he had been asked, but before he gave it, he boiled it. The final adverbial contains no new information. It was already planned that the corn should be given to the trader. In fact it has text reference function here. One might speak of 'tail linkage' to the previous text. Sentence 11 precedes the final sentence in the story. The main clause contains the important, new information. The sentence is of importance to the plot as a whole, the adverbial being an essential part of the plot information.

The same process takes place in the following example from Text 2.

## Example 16. Text 2.6

à yɨ ÷ghēm ÷jim ÷ mèi nɨ wɨ ə cò'ɨ  
÷kòb cò'ɨ bōŋ ÷ mā ÷ còb.

*Only, at all times, borrowing before  
throwing his contribution.*

The lazy Minang started to save like others, but he borrowed money before paying in his contribution. Sentence 6 constitutes a climax in the first part of the story plot. The important new information is in the main clause, the information in the final adverbial being old, text recoverable information, but again the adverbial accentuates the drama, adds emphasis. It could not be dispensed with in the sentence in this function.

#### 4. Conclusion

Initial adverbials are associated with a thematic discontinuity in Meta'. They signal the discontinuity, breaking the story into paragraphs which are easy to remember as units, and also perform a bridging function, linking the new paragraph to the previous one, mostly in a temporal sense in this corpus.

It may be seen that the size of an initial single adverbial stands in iconic relationship to a full adverbial clause in this position. Where a thematic break or point of discontinuity occurs, which the

story teller does not wish to emphasise, rather keeping paragraph unity around another theme, a single adverb performs the necessary bridging function. It preserves the continuity rather than signalling and emphasising the discontinuity.

Initial adverbials which are not associated with a thematic discontinuity contribute to a sentence which is final in the paragraph and constitutes a climax to it.

Final adverbials convey new information which is important to the sentence. Their final position is due to the tendency for heavier elements to be put at the end of a sentence and the principle of communicative dynamism, which assigns important new information to as far right in the sentence as the grammar allows.

Exceptions to the above are found in the text. These are final adverbial clauses which carry, not important, new, information, but convey text recoverable information. Such constituents, together with the main clause constitute a point of climax or importance in the plot as a whole.

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## TEXT 1

## The Trader and the Farmer.

1. Bèd mò'c nya'a cubi əwán míbē.  
*people some P2 remain PP3p two.*

(There were once two men)

2. Wī fíbì yī ə wād ÷ iwīn.  
*PP3s one is CC man of market.*

(One of them is a trader)

3. Awī yī ə wād niè fà'è mbēŋ.  
*other is a man who-HAB work-HAB farm.*

(The other is a farmer)

4. əní sí əní əmò'c wəd ÷ iwīn nò' ÷ wò ÷ zōn tījīg tī  
*when DEV.day some, man of market leaves to go to buy food from*  
 əmbī ə wād ÷ mbēŋ.  
*of CC man of farm.*

(One day, the trader left home to go to buy food from the farmer.)

5. əní sí əní əcéró, wəd ÷ mbēŋ bē nò' ÷ wò ÷ zōn  
*when DEV day another man of farm also leaves to go to buy*

īghì ÷ iwīn tī əmbī ə wād wē.  
*things of market from of CC man ART.*

(On another day, the farmer also left home to buy things from the trader.)



6. Zē nya'a wīri pè ənī ə nyūmè mò'ɔ inyód ī tɔ  
 PP3s P2 again reach at CC time some, body CC pain

əmbī ə wəd ī ɪwīn wò imbè ɪcī nī wī nyò'ə yè'ə zōnə  
 of CC man of market DEM., because way that he P2-HAB be-HAB buy-HAB

tìjìg ɪghəm ɪjìm.  
 food times all.

(There came a time that the trader's body ached because of the way he was always buying food.)

7. ənē wī ghā nī zìə bīri bī kōn tī rìjìg bə.  
 Then PP3s say that PP3sI will also plant his food also.

(Then he said that he would also plant his own food)

8. ənī sī ənī əmò'ɔ, wəd ɪ ɪwīn wī nò' wò ghà  
 When DEV day some, man of market PP3s leaves go say

əmbī ə wəd ɪ mbēŋ nī wī na' kywī ngwəd tē  
 of CC man of farm that PP3s give corn seed allow

wò kɔŋ bə.  
 go plant also.

(One day, the trader left to go and ask the farmer to give him seed so that he could go and plant also.)

9. Wəd ɪ ɪwīn ghī ənē wò tēm əbən bə nī'.  
 man of market do so go clear farm also till.

(The trader did this and went and cleared and tilled his farm.)

10. Wī nī ə nī' mààntì, wī sī ^ kī wò bìiri  
 PP3s when CC till finish PP3s DEV go demand

kywī ngwəd zē rī əmbī ə wəd ɪ mbēŋ.  
 maize seed ART from of CC man of farm.

(When he finishes tilling he goes and asks the farmer for the maize seed.)

11. Wəd ÷ mbēŋ wē n̄ŋ kywɪ ze t̄ə zwɪ  
*man of farm ART take maize ART boil-HAB kill*

bōŋ na' əmbɪ ə wəd ÷ ÷wɪn wē.  
*before give of CC man of market.ART*

(The farmer takes the maize, boils and kills it before giving it to the trader)

12. Wəd ÷ ÷wɪn wē wō kɔn kywɪ zē s̄ə n̄ŋə  
*man of market ART go plant corn ART DEV-HAB observe-HAB*

ni z̄ ÷ gwéd cəɪ z̄ ÷ gwèrɪ kò'a.  
*that PP3s germinate, not PP3s germinate at all.*

(The trader goes and plants the corn, constantly watching to see that it has germinated, and it does not germinate at all.)

## TEXT 2

Why it isn't good to be a debtor.

1. ənû ē njo ē rikò bòn í.  
matter CC debt CC neg. good it.  
  
(It is not good to be a debtor / in debt)
2. Wèd mənwē mó'c nya'a əngū, ikúm mэд í yí Mìnàn.  
person ancient some P2, there name his CC is Minang.  
  
(There was once a person called Minang)
3. Mìnàn í wē yí ē nya'a ígwéd í ndòn.  
Minang CC ART is CC P2 lazy-person of horns.  
  
(Minang was a prime example of a lazy person).
4. Wì nya'a nam í íwí, gywǎ mbí bón míbē,  
He P2 marry his wife, deliver his children two,  
  
àyí'ā bón mbé í nya'a kírí éwən mbí kwò.  
but, children ART CC P2 still 3PP3p these small.  
  
(He had married and had two children, but the children were still small.)
5. əne, Mìnàn í wē ní zǎ ícǐ í ní ə bəd ə mà'è  
Then, Minang CC ART later see how CC which CC people CC throw-HAB,  
  
còb, ní bə wò nyǎ í còb bə.  
contribution later also go enter he contribution too.  
  
(Then, Minang later sees how people are putting in contributions, and later also goes to put in his own contribution).
6. Á yí ighám ìjim í mèí ní wí ə còè ìkòb  
But times all CC only that he is borrowing money

có'í bōŋ ɸ mā' ɪ còb.  
*borrow before to throw his contribution.*

(But he always borrows money before making his contribution)

7. À ní sí éní é mò'ɔ, Mìnàŋ ɸ wò ɸ ŋā còb,  
*it later DEV day CC some, Minang CC go LOC. inside contribution,*

pè cò' ndəŋ rībē rɸ əmbɸ Fòkùm ní nya'a ɸsā'  
*reach borrow brass-rods two from of Fokum who P2 friend*

ɸ mād mā' ɸ còb əŋgú.  
*of his, throw he contribution there.*

(On some later day, Minang goes to the contribution (meeting), and on arriving borrows two brass -rods from his friend Fokum and makes his contribution.)

8. Wì cò' ndəŋ té éné, kà' ní, tə bɸrɸ  
*He borrow brass ART like that, promise that 3PPs1 will*

sɸ wì ndəŋ té ɪkwirɸ tàd.  
*then return brass rods ART evening Tad.*

(He borrows the brass rods like that, and promises that he will return them on Tad (market day)).

9. À ní sí ɸkwirɸ tàd, Fòkùm wòm Mìnàŋ rəkān.  
*It when DEV evening Tad, Fokum wait Minang in-vain.*

(On the evening of Tad, Fokum waits for Minang in vain.)

10. ənē, ɪtú'ú ɸ cɸg əni ə kɔ'ɔ, Fòkùm sɸ əkwɸ Mìnàŋ,  
*Then, light CC dawn day of Kɔ'ɔ, Fokum goes-early home of Minang,*

pè wì rɸ zé ɪ éméð é nēb.  
*reaches 3PPs NEG. see he him LOC house.*

(Then, light dawns on the day of Kɔ'ɔ, and Fokam goes early to the home of Minang, but on arriving he did not find him in the house)

11. wì pè kòrì àmēí bón kwò mbé émbī Mìnàṅ ə nāb.  
*He reach meet only children little ART for Minang LOC house.*

(He arrives and finds only Minang's little children in the house.)

12. Fòkùm wòm, wòm wòm, sǎ ɪcǔ, cè nò' wò í.  
*Fokum waits, waits waits, suck mouth, pass leave go he.*

(Fokum waits and waits and waits, then disgusted, he leaves.)

13. ɪnì ɪjìm ɪ mèí nì wì ə wòè kàbè ə Mìnàṅ rəkān.  
*Days all CC only which he is going looking O.M.Minang in-vain.*

(Only, every day he goes looking for Minang, in vain.)

14. À ní sí éní á mò'ɔ, Fòkùm sǎ əkwì Mìnàṅ,  
*It when DEV day CC some, Fokum goes-early home Minang,*

pè Mìnàṅ ɪ fə jwì wò ɪ ghanè kàbè  
*reach Minang CC ASP come-out go to go about-HAB look-HAB*

mbī mìnò' ɪ yì wò í ənɪ ə kwèm mò'ɔ nì mbī ka' ɪ.  
*his wine to come go he for OM dance some which they promise it.*

(One day, Fokum goes early to Minang's compound and on arriving finds Minang has already left to go to look for wine for a promised dance.)

15. Fòkùm pè kəb əméd éné, ghà əmbī ə bɔn mэд nì,  
*Fokum reach look him like that, say to OM children his that*

tə fə kə əméd rəkān w ɔ' í əkwì nī.  
*he ASP seek him in-vain go he home his.*

(Fokum arrives, looks for him like that, and tells his children that he has looked for him in vain, then goes home.)

16. Fòkùm ghī əné, ce wò í əkwì ə wəd cərə  
*Fokum do so pass go he home of person other*

ĩ tũm tí ngàn mbĩ tɔngàn.  
to shoot his conversation with man/expert/doctor.

(Fokum does this, then passes along to the home of another person to tell his grievances to an expert.)

17. Nyũm ni isĩg ĩ fá kyé'á kà, Fòkũm nyě' nò',  
Time which places CC ASP dawn strong, Fokum gently leaves

kó bændĩè wòè ǎwō ǎkwĩ Mĩnàng.  
begin returns-HAB goes-HAB there home Minang.

(When it was quite light, Fokum quietly leaves, and starts to return to the home of Minang.)

18. Wĩ ní sĩè wo ĩ pè ǎkwĩ Mĩnàng ĩ mà' ìghá rĩ ǎ,  
He when DEV-HAB go to reach compound Minang, CC throw eye from LOC

nǎb zǎ ǎméd, ǎnē, cǎi ícĩ ǎ wĩ jwĩ ĩ wò ĩ nǎmbĩ.  
house see him, then no way that he come- out to go to hide.

(When he reached Minangs compound, Minang saw him from the house and had no way out to go to hide.)

19. ǎnē, Mĩnàng ĩ sũngĩ é ǎtén cǎ ǎtũ ǎbà' ǎ njĩm mbũ'u,  
Then Minang CC shift his chair send head bed LOC behind wall,

cũbĩ í ĩgũn, ǎnē, nǎmbĩ í ǎwō ǎtũ ǎbà'.  
sit he on-top then hide he there head bed.

(Then, Minang shifts his chair to the head of the bed, behind the wall, sits on it and hides himself there at the head of the bed.)

20. Wĩ ní ǎ nǎmbĩ í ǎnē, wĩ ghā ǎmbĩ mbĩ bón ni  
He, having hid he like that, he tell to his children that

wàd mò'ò mĩ yè'e, mbĩ ghà ĩ bō ni, cǎi ǎwĩ é nǎb.  
person some if come, they say to him that not me in house.

(Having hid himself like that, he tells the children that if any comes, they should say that he is not in the house.)y

21. ənē, fòkùm yè'e pè rī əyī, bìirī ə Mìnàṅ  
*So Fokum come arrive from- there ask O.M Minang*

əmbī ə bɔn mbé.  
*to O.M. children ART.*

(So Fokam arrives and questions the children.)

22. Wàn fìbì ghā nī: "Bàbò wē í átū əbà".  
*Child one say that "Papa is he head bed.*

(One child says "Papa is at the head of the bed.)

23. Cəí əméd é nəb."  
*not he in house."*

(He is not in the house.)

24. ɪwīn bèèni ghà nī: "Bàbò ə kə' ghà nī:  
*The-other follow say that: "Baba CC PI say that*

cəí əwí é nəb".  
*not he in house"*

(The other says "Papa said he is not in the house")

25. Fòkùm zū ənē, kyèrī nī Mìnàṅ  
*Fokum hear like-that know that Minang*

ī wē í é nəb, ə nəmbì.  
*CC is he LOC house, at hiding.*

(Fokum hears this and knows that Minang is hiding in the house.)

26. Wì zù ɪnŭ mbē ī nī ə bɔn mbé ī gha ənē,  
*He hears matters ART CC which O.M. children ART CC say like-that*

nyī ə nəb, sùn ètén, cùbì ɪgùn.  
*enter LOC house, drag chair, sit on-top.*

(He hears what the children say, goes into the house, pulls a chair up and sits down.)

27. Nyùm ni ə Fòkùm cùbì ɪgùn-ətən ənē, bón kwò mbé  
*Time which O.M. Fokum sit on chair like-that, children little ART*  
 ɪ nyi ē nāb, cè wò kó dɛngɪ ətū ɛbà'.  
*CC enter LOC house, pass go begin peep head bed*

(When Fokam sits on the chair like that, the little children go into the house, and begin to peep at the head of the bed.)

28. Mbī mə dɛngiə wɪrə kyéə rənjimə, mbə'  
*They continually peep-HAB again run backwards, because*  
 ə mbā' mɪməd ni ghəm ɛbō' mɪməd.  
*CC father their might later punish them.*

(They continually peep and then run away in case their father should later punish them)

29. ənē, Fòkùm nyě' kəm í éghò ɛ tō sàɪ',  
*Then, Fokum gently stay he quiet for a while -*  
 wɪ sūngɪ é ətén wò ɛbà ri ətū ɛbà'.  
*he shift his chair go side from head bed.*

(Then Fokam stays quiet for a while and shifts his chair to the side of the head of the bed.)

30. Wɪ ní sí éngú, wɪ ghā wɪ í ə :  
*He while DEV there, he say, he that -*  
 Kə sɪ tə nɛŋ ni Mɪnàŋ ɛ wa tɛ minô ɪ kwəm ,  
*"Let - PP1sl look whether Minang CC perhaps keep wine for dance*  
 ətū ɛbà tə gəŋ bəə nɔə, wɪ ye yè'e ə'.  
*head bed, PP1 put-little be-HAB drink-HAB, he come come Q?"*

( While there, he says, "Let me look and see if Minang keeps the wine for the dance at the head of the bed, (so that) I take a little and drink until he comes.)

31. Wɪ ghəm ənē, cà ɛbó ətū ɛbà' kó mɔm ɪsɪŋɪ.



*He speak so, send hand head bed begin search places.*

(He said this and put his hand under the bed to begin searching.)

32. Wí ní mòm ənē, wí cē kùndí ìwu əmbí Mìnàŋ.  
*He while search like-that, he pass touch leg for Minang.*

(While searching like this, he touches Minang's leg.)

33. ənē, Mìnàŋ ɪ gád rí ɪgùn ətən, zwì rí:  
*Then Minang CC shake from on-top chair, breath so:*

Fəəm! ənē ghà wí í ə "Bón mbô ɪ kɪə nà'ə ngə'  
*Feem, then said he him: children these CC QM giving trouble*

yě ní tē nírə gweně ní tē ní ní íkyè'í à'  
*what while PP11 want sleep when PP11 pass night awake Q.*

(Then Minang shook on his chair, breathed 'Feem', then said "why are these children bothering me when I want to sleep after I have spent the night awake\_)

34. ənē, Fòkùm kɪ wìrɪ í ə: À yí ə zì ə  
*So Fokum quickly answers he "It is OM self me.*

(So Fokum quickly answered, "It is me".)

35. Tə nírə kəbə ní, mbə' à kə' nòn ətón mìnò' əmò'ɔ  
*I am-about searching that perhaps you P1 kept bottom wine some*

ətū əbà' tə bəə cùpɪə ə'  
*head bed PP1 be-HAB sipping(HAB) Q*

(I am searching about, to see if you perhaps keep a remainder of wine at the head of the bed that I could be sipping\_)

36. Nyùm ní Mìnàŋ ɪ zu ɪngám, à yí wí Fòkùm,  
*Time which Minang CC hear voice, it is that Fokum*

Mìnàŋ ɛ̄ jwɛ̄ rɛ̄ ɛ̄wɔ̄ ɛ̄tū ɛ̄bà', cè cùbɛ̄ ɛ̄ʌsɪ̄, :  
*Minang CC come-out from there head bed, pass sit down*

ghà wɛ̄ í ɛ̄ : "ŋgwɛ̄nɛ̄ zɛ̄ɛ̄ nà'è ŋgɛ̄' ɛ̄ nɪ̄."  
*say, he him: "Sleep is (HAB)give-HABtrouble to me."*

(When Minang hears that it is Fokam's voice, he comes out from the head of the bed, sits down, and says "Sleeplessness is bothering me.)

37. Fòkùm bɛ̄ ghà ɛ̄ bɔ̄ nɪ̄, à yɛ̄ tɛ̄ yé'ɛ̄  
*Fokum also say to him that, it is PP11 come*

ɛ̄ nɪ̄ŋ tɪ̄ ndəŋ tɛ̄ rɪ̄bɛ̄.  
*to receive my brass ART two.*

(Fokum says to him that he has come to collect his two brass rods.)

38. Mɛ̄ nàŋ ɛ̄ nɪ̄rɔ̄ ghàè nɪ̄: Tɛ̄ bɪ̄rɪ̄ sɛ̄ nà' ɛ̄ nɛ̄b ;  
*Minang CC tries say-HAB that PP1s1 will DEV give LOC house :*

còb ɛ̄nɛ̄ Fòkùm ghà nɪ̄, kɪ̄ tɛ̄ zu í ɛ̄nɛ̄ kò'a.  
*contribution, then Fokum say that can't PP1s1 hear him so at-all.*

(Minang said that he would return them at the contribution house, but Fokam says he would not hear of this.)

39. Mìnàŋ ɛ̄ zū ɛ̄nɛ̄ ghà ɛ̄mbɛ̄ Fòkùm nɪ̄, kà'a nɔ̄.  
*Minang CC hears like-this says to Fokum that, never debt .*

í zɛ̄ɛ̄ nùnɛ̄  
*it is-HAB get-old*

(Minang hears this and says to Fokam that a debt never gets old.)

40. Tɛ̄ nɪ̄ mɛ̄ bèrɛ̄ ndəŋ tɛ̄, tɛ̄ kɪ̄ nà'è.  
*He FUT if have brass ART PP1s1 then give-HAB.*

(If he has the brass rods in the future, he will give them.)

41. ənē, Fòkùm zù ənú zē ə ni Mìnàŋ ɸ ghàɪ,  
Then Fokum hear matter ART CC which Minang CC say it,

fɪŋ məd bə.  
heart his bad

(Then Fokam's heart becomes angry when Minang says this)

42. Wɪ wɪ əbó ətū əba', bùm ɪwɪd ɪ mbàŋ rɪ əŋgū,  
He send hand head bed, take dane-gun from there,

ghà əmbɪ Mìnàŋ ni, tə bɪrɪ nɪŋ ɪwɪd wé  
say to Minang that he will take gun ART .

ɪgwɪ tɪ ndəŋ té rɪbē.s  
replace his brass rods ART two

(He puts his hand under the bed, takes the dane gun, and says to Minang that he will take the gun for the brass rods.)

43. Wɪ ghəm ənē, jwɪ ɪsɪg mbɪ ɪwɪd wé, .  
He speak so, come outside with gun ART,

zəb ə mbə' kó wō í  
lays LOC shoulder, begin go he.

(He says this, comes outside with the gun, lays it on his shoulder and begins to go.)

44. Mìnàŋ ɸ sɪ təm nèŋ, cəɪ ənú ə ni,  
Minang CC then stand look, no matter CC which

wɪ ghə ə mbə' ɪcɪ ni ɪwɪd wé ɪ nyò'ò əjəɪ.  
he can-do because way that gun ART CC P2 loaded.

(Minang then just stands and looks, unable to do anything because the was loaded)

45. əne, Fòkùm bē'ɪ ɪwɪd wé wò jɪg ɪghəm mō'.  
Then Fokum carry gun ART go eat time one.

(Then Fokum carries the gun away for ever.)

46. A yī ētón é nī zī rīkò bòn í ǐ nyī njo.  
*It is reason CC which it NEG good he to enter debt.*

(That is the reason why it is not good to be a debtor.)