This chapter presents an analysis of one of the Engenni texts which forms part of the corpus of material on which the foregoing analysis has been based. The text is a traditional folk-tale. It has been chosen because it illustrates a wide variety of different constructions, despite quite a lot of repetition which is characteristic of a folk-tale.

There is a high proportion of speech material in the text. Most of the quotations are indirect. Direct quotations occur as follows:

Sentences 11-12. In a dialogue between pig and tortoise, pig's speech is direct, and tortoise's speech is indirect (see Section 3.3.2).

Sentences 31-48. Almost all quotations are direct, as this is the climax of the story.

The text does not have the customary introduction or conclusion of a folk tale (Section 3.1) since there was no audience present at the time that it was recorded.

The first half of the text is analysed at all ranks; the second half (starting with sentence 26) at clause and sentence rank only. In the first half, the text is set out as follows:

- line 1 The text with phrase and clause boundaries. Phrase boundaries are shown by a single line /, clause boundaries by a double line //. Clause boundaries are marked only within the sentence. Elsewhere clause and sentence boundaries coincide.
- line 2 A word-for-word English translation.
- line 3 Details of the class and, where relevant, the subclass and/or type of each word.
- *line 4 Details of any rankshifted units functioning at phrase rank. (Two lines if necessary.)
 - line 5 Details of the class and, where relevant, the subclass and/or type of each phrase. Phrase and clause boundaries are repeated on this line.
 - line 6 Analysis of the clause giving its type and also the demarcative features, as these are frequently relevant to the analysis of the sentence.
- *line 7 Details of any rankshifted sentences functioning at clause rank.
 - line 8 Details of the type and, where relevant, the subtype of the sentence.

*Lines 4 and 7 are omitted when not relevant. Underlining is used to show the extent of rankshifted units. Capital letters are used for line 8.

In the second half of the text, lines 3-5 are omitted. Rankshifted clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

To save congestion in the analysis, the favourite class/type of each unit is not described in full. Therefore unless otherwise stated: Nouns are of class A (General) and type 1 (Simple); verbs are of class A; the NP is simple and of type 1 (noun as Head); the \underline{VP} is of class A; the nominal clause is of type 1 (Declarative); the verbal clause or verbal clause string is of type 1 (Declarative), positive, indicative, in the aorist tense, and with neutral primary and secondary aspect.

The chapter ends with a free translation of the text followed by a full list of abbreviations used in the analysis, together with others used in earlier chapters. When a sequence of abbreviations is used they are to be understood as follows:

Adj:2 Adjective of type 2

NPs:2 Nominal phrase of type 2 functioning as subject

NomC1:2c Nominal clause of type 2, subtype C

Single capital letters, e.g., A, B, refer to the class of the unit, and numerals, e.g., 1, 2, to the type of the unit. A letter following a numeral, e.g., 2c, refers to the subtype of the unit.

1. àlibò / ana oyà. 2. opilopo / ka edèì kunamu tortoise one of-laziness seq person making farm pig Nn Nn Nn:2c part Nn Adi:2 Nn GenCon GerunCon NP NP NP NP:5 NomC1:2 NomC1:2 SIMPLE SENTENCE SIMPLE SENTENCE

3. ka ò / í kunu bhue / ûkwô akà nàà èdhya. seq he seq make keep farm of-corn and уат part Pr part TrVb TrVb Nn Nn Prep Nn NP:6 GenCon

NPs:2 / VPcomp / NPo VbC1

SIMPLE SENTENCE

4. èbhùrù / í yi / akie anàmù. 5. ka ìnùmù avii a seg famine sea come town of-animal seg thing one even part Nn part TrVb Nn part Nn Nn Num rf GenCon

GenCon

NPs VP NPo NPs ext:1

VbC1 continued

on next line

SIMPLE SENTENCE

```
na àlibò nàà imemìnì ei sì dhià ó / mo. which tortoise and children his will eat it is-not
part Nn Prep Nn:3 Pr part TrVb Pr Vb:B
                 RelCon
NPs ext:1 cont. from previous line
                                                 / VP:B
                                             VbC1:nea
SIMPLE SENTENCE
6.
    ka alibò / í vio / omini eì / ta //
    seq tortoise seq send child his go
part Nn part TrVb Nn Pr IntrVb
       NPs / VP / NPo / VP //
                        VbCl string
ga opilopó / kye / i̯ / akà gbệ nàà èdhyà gbệ //
so-that pig should-give him corn little and yam little part Nn:2 Ditr:Vb Pr Nn Adj:1 Prep Nn Adj:1
               / VP / NPo<sup>1</sup>/
                                       NPo^2
     NPs
                    VbCl:subj
           rs Sentence: 1 continued on next line
ka oki / sì kpé / n' udhè.
seq he will pay on next-day part Pr part IntrVb Prep Nn
 NPs:2 / VP / AP:1
       VbCl:fut
```

rs Sentence continued from line above COMPLEX SENTENCE: 11 (Purpose)

The occurrence of the reflexive form oki as the third person singular pronoun shows that the final clause is dependent upon the particle qa (Section 10.3.2).

7. ka opilopô / í bhue-enia / kye / ì / akà nàà èdhya nà. seq pig seq then give him corn and yam the part Nn:2 part TrVb-Nn:B DitrVb Pr Nn Prep Nn rf / VP / AP:2/ VP /NPo¹/ NPo² VbCl string

SIMPLE SENTENCE

ka o / te / udhè // 8. seq it reach next-day part Pr STrVb Nn NPs:2 / VP / NPo // VbC1:des

```
ka opilopô / í tà // ga àlibó / kpe / ì / enùmà ì
seq pig seq go that tortoise should-pay him money his
part Nn:2 part IntrVb part Nn DitrVb Pr Nn Pr
NPs / VP // NPs / VP /NPo¹ / NPo²
                VbCl:subj
rs Sentence: 11 (Purpose)
          VbC1
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5a Temporal
9. ka oʻ/tà náte//ka àlibò/í gu kye/ì//
   seq he go to reach seq tortoise seq promise give him
   Vb Vb
   NPs:2 / VPcomp // NPs
                                     / VPcomp
                                                       / NPo //
        VbC1:des
                                          VbCl
                  rs Sentence: 5a Temporal
ga ò / tế ni / udhè // ga ợ / lẹ tà.
sp it reach cpl next-day sp he again should-go part Pr TrVb part Nn part Pr PreVb IntrVb
part Pr TrVb part Nn part Pr PreVb I
NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs:2 / VP
        VbCl:cpl
                                        VbC1:subj
                rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)
10. ka o / te / udhè // opilopó / tà ná te //
   seq it reach next-day pig go to reach
    part Pr TrVb Nn
                              Nn IntrVb PreVb IntrVb
    NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp //
            VbC1:des
                                    VbCl:des
                   rs Sentence: 5a Temporal
ka àlibò / vye // ga ache ì / wu nù.
seq tortoise cry sp relative his die cpl part Nn IntrVb part Nn Pr IntrVb part NPs / VP // NPs / VP
                              Nn Pr IntrVb part
                             NPs /
VbCl:cpl
           / VP //
        VbC1
rs Sentence continued
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)
11. ka opilopô / î wo kye / ì // ga kaò // nà vyệ
   seq pig seq say give him sp sorry do-not cry
   part Nn:2 part IntrVb TrVb Pr part excl part IntrVb
        NPs / VPcomp /NPo// - // VP
                                    MarCl VbCl:neg imp
            VPC1
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)
```

Change to direct quotation in the speech material is shown by the

occurrence of the imperative clause.

```
ò / te nì / udhè // ka mi / nà yìa //
12.
     VbCl:cpl VbCl:des inc
                              rs Sentence: 5f (Temporal)
ka bhù / kpe me / osa nà ò 13. àlibò / me.
seq you pay me due the indeed tortoise agree part Pr DitrVb PostVb Nn rf rf Nn IntrVb NPs:2 / VP / NPo NPs / VP
NPs:2 / VP / NPo
              VbC1
                                                   VbC1
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Co-ordinate) SIMPLE SENTENCE
Continuation of direct quotation is shown by the occurrence of
the first person pronoun.
14. ka o / te / ow-awiè // opilopo / tà ná te //
seq it reach next-morning pig go to reach
part Pr TrVb Nn:5 Nn:2 IntrVb PreVb IntrVb
NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp //
              VbCl:des
                                            VhCl:des
ka àlibò / bidha nì 15. ka ò / í bhinè // ga tènè àlibò. seq tortoise travel cpl seq he seq ask sp where-is tort.

part Nn IntrVb part part IntrVb part QuInt Nn NPs / VP VbCl:cpl VbCl NomCl:2c

COMPLEX SENTENCE: COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)
  5a Temporal
     ka imemînî ậlibò / wei // ga ậlibo / nà bịdha.
16.
     seq children of-tortoise say sp tortoise inc travel part Nn:3 \underline{\text{Nn}} IntrVb part Nn part IntrVb
                     GenCon
                          / VP // NPs / VP
              NPs
                     VbC1
                                            VbCl:des inc
     COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)
     àlibò / ta nì / ekya / ya.
17.
     tortoise go cpl foreign-place is
        Nn TrVb part Nn Vb:B
IPs / VP / NPo / VP
                    VbCl string
      SIMPLE SENTENCE
```

```
18.
     ka opilopô / j pà // o / nò gbe.
    seq pig seq leave he inc go-home part Nn:2 part IntrVb Pr part IntrVb
    part Nn:2 part IntrVb rr Part NPs / VP //NPs:2/ VP VbC1:des i
                            VbCl:des inc
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Immediate Action)
19. o / te / ow-awiè // ka alibo / giri dhuu / ekya na / yia
    it reach next-morning seg tor. return follow foreign the come
    VbCl string:des
       VbC1:des
        rs Sentence: 5a (Temporal) continued on next line
// ka ò / í bhue-enia / wo kye / omini eì //
  seq he seq then say give child his part Pr part TrVb-Nn:B IntrVb TrVb Nn:3 Pr
  NPs / VP / AP / VPcomp / NPo //
                VbC1 string
                  rs Sentence continued from line above
ga opilopô / yi nì / n' udhè // ga o / sì vyé / syinùmù.
sp pig come cpl on next-day sp he will cry very-much
part Nn IntrVb part Prep Nn part Pr part IntrVb Adv:1
NPs / VP / AP:1 // NPs:2 / VP / AP:3
                                        VbC1:fut
         VbC1:cp1
               rs Sentence: 5f (Temporal)
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)
This complex sentence consists of two rankshifted sentences, the
first of which has three clauses and the second two clauses.
20. o / sì túkpa kye / j. 21. o / sì wéià // ga o / wùru / ìvo
    he will scold give him he will say sp it do how Pr part IntrVb TrVb Pr Pr part IntrVb part Pr TrVb Int
    NPs:2/ VPcomp / NPo:2 NPs:2/ VP // NPs:2/ VP / NPo
                                  VbCl:fut VbCl:des
             VbC1:fut
    SIMPLE SENTENCE
// na okí / kpe / j / osà. 22. o / sì vúma karesè.
  that he not-pay him debt
                                       he will vex make-strong
part Pr DitrVb Pr Nn
// NPs:2 / VP /NPo<sup>1</sup> / NPo<sup>2</sup>
                                       Pr part IntrVb IntrVb
                                     NPs:2/
                                              VPcomp
                                            VbC1:fut
          VbCl:neq
     rs Sentence: 10 (Relative)
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)
                                      SIMPLE SENTENCE
```

```
23. ka o / rii nì / ênià // ka omini ei / kirese / i / lại //
    seq it pass cpl thus seq child his should- him turn-
                                               turn
                                                           over
    part Pr Intr part Nn:B part Nn:3 Pr TrVb Pr
                                                         TrVb
              ۷Ь
    Nps:2/
            VP / NPo // NPs / VP / NPo:2/ VP //
               VbCl:cpl VbCl string: subj
                  rs Sentence: 5f (Temporal)
ka oʻ/ tou / akà / nyonì //
seq he should-take corn put
part Pr TrVb Nn TrVb NPs:2 / VP / NPo / VP //
   VbCl string:subj
ka oʻ/ za gbeˈ/ n'êgìle na opilopo sì yía nà.
seq he stay grind at time that pig will come the part Pr IntrVb TrVb Prep Nn part Nn:2 part IntrVb rf
                                      Re1Con
NPs:2 / VPcomp /
                              AΡ
            VbC1:subi
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Co-ordinate)
24. ka opilopô / yì í te nì // ka ó / mọni mọni / ẹì. seq pig come to reach cpl seq he not-see not-see him part Nn:2 IntrVb PreVb IntrVb part part Pr TrVb TrVb Pr
             / VPcomp // NPs:2 / VP /NPo:2
      NPs
              VbC1:cp1
                                              VbCl:neg rep
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5f (Temporal)
25.
     ka omini eí / wei // ga òki / bịdha ya.
     seq child his should-say sp he travel is part Nn:3 Pr IntrVb part Pr IntrVb Vb:B NPs / VP // NPs:2 / VPcomp:B
           VbCl:subj
                                      VbCl
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)
26. àdhe bhùe-enía kirese wịì // ka opilopô í kwà // ọ nò ta.
     day then repeat dawn seq pig seq start he inc go
               VbC1:des
                                       VbCl VbCl:des inc
                                           rs Sentence: 7
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5a (Temporal)
27. opilopo tà ná te //
       pig go to reach
```

seq child of-tortoise do cpl how tortoise say give him the VbCl:aor cpl COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5a (Temporal)

ka omìnì ậlibò wuru nu idhiàna [ạlibó wo kye i] nà.

VbC1:des

- 28. ò tou ni akà tou sise nyoni bhue ni n'ogbo âlibò // he take cpl corn take place put keep cpl on back of-tortoise VbCl string:cpl
- ka ọ nộ zà gbẹ. 29. ka opilopố í bhinè // ga tènè àlibò. seq he inc stay grind seq pig seq ask sp where tor.

 VbCl: des inc VbCl NomCl:2C
 COMPLEX SENTENCE: COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report) 1 (Co-ordinate)
- 30. omînî âlibò wei // ga âlibo nà bìdha. child of-tortoise say sp tortoise inc travel VbC1 VbC1:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

- 31. ka ò í bhue-enia bhò // àlibò àna oyà. seq he so then scold tortoise one of-laziness VbCl NomCl:1b COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)
- 32. ìnùmù âvù a ó mọni wuru. 33. ạlibo ì kpé mẹ ọsà mẹ. thing one any he not-able do tortoise will pay me due my VbCl:neg (NPo is frontshifted) VbCl:fut SIMPLE SENTENCE

The change to direct quotation in speech material is shown by the occurrence of first person forms.

34. o ta èdho n'ínyâ. 35. ka o nò bo ènià nà // he go where on today seq he inc scold thus the VbCl:inter nfut VbCl:des inc

SIMPLE SENTENCE

ka ò í bhue-enia swai dhọu ugyò [na omìnì âlibò nà tòu seq he seq then carry take stone which child of-tor. inc take (NPo includes RelCon)

VbCl string (continued on next line)

gbe aka] nà tọu sự tựvaì. 36. ka ạlibò bhue-enia bhaa grind corn the take throw lose seq tortoise then return VbC1 (cont. on next line)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5b (Temporal)

dhuu esyimu yì [na á tuvai dhe i nà]. follow back come which they lose finish him the (RelCon attributive to esyimu. The RelCon usually immediately follows its antecedent.)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

37. o yì í te // ka ò í bhue-enia weì // mị sì kpệ wọ ọsa he come to reach seq he so then say I will pay you due

VbCl:des VbCl VbCl:fut (cont.

rs Sentence: 5a on next line)

wo n'inyâ. 38. enyi 39. me àdhidhè you on today yes I rich-man MarCl:2 NomCl:1b COMPLEX SENTENCE: SIMPLE SENTENCE

6a (Report)

40. mì tou nì enuma mè tou dyi bhue nì n'uvômù ugyò. I take cpl money my take store keep cpl in inside stone VbCl string: cpl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

41. ò bhue-enià bhine omìnì eì // ga tènè ugyò nà. he then ask child his sp where stone the NomCl:2c VbC1

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

42. ò í weì // ga opilopo nà vùma. 43. o nò tùkpà ku wò. he so say sp pig inc vex he inc upbraid give you VbCl VbCl:des inc VbCl:des inc COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report) SIMPLE SENTENCE

44. ka ò í pa dhọu ugyo nà tọu sự tựvaì. seq he then lift take stone the take throw lose VbCl string: aor

SIMPLE SENTENCE

45. àlibò tyi // òkì wu nù. 46. opilopo. tortoise shout he die cpl pig
VbCl VbCl:cpl MarCl:1
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report) SIMPLE S SIMPLE SENTENCE

47. gwa ná wa syle me ugyò mè. right! go-to search bring me stone theVbCl string: imp

SIMPLE SENTENCE

48. èsyià ka èsyì [na mì dyi bhue nì enùmà mè]. place seq place which I store keep cpl money my NomCl:1b (RelCon as attributive of 2nd NP)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

49. ka opilopô í kwà // o nò tà ná wà. 50. ò wa ugyò nà. seq pig seq start he inc go to search he search stone the VbC1 VbC1:des inc VbC1
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Immediate Action) SIMPLE SENTENCE

51. 6 i moni. 52. ò wa wa ugyo nà. 53. 6 i moni. he again not-see he search stone the he again not-VbCl:neg VbCl:rep
SIMPLE SENTENCE SIMPLE SENTENCE VbCl:neg see SIMPLE SENTENCE

54. opilopô kwa // ọ nộ ta ná ko êgwè ọmù ẹì // pig start he inc go to call people of-house his VbC1:des inc

î yi i dhuu ei wà. 55. ị nà wa nà // they should— to follow him search they inc search the come VbC1:subj VbC1:des inc

rs Sentence: 11

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Immediate action)

ka àlibò nàà omìnì eì ya n' êsyìmù // i nà zà gbèìa. seq tortoise and child his are at back they inc stay laugh VbC1:des inc VbC1

rs Sentence: 5

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5b (Temporal)

56. į nà zà gbệi opilopo. they inc stay laugh pig VbC1:des inc

SIMPLE SENTENCE

57. ạtye edèì gẹni edèì // ị nà gbệì bhùe. each person look person they inclaugh keep VbC1 VbCl:des inc COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Immediate action)

58. ka òsà âlibo nà nàà opilopo nà í dhuu êsyià riì. seg debt of-tor. the and pig the so follow there pass

SIMPLE SENTENCE

59. ka àlibò í weì // ga opilopô tụ-vại nì enùmà ì. seq tortoise seq say that pig lose cpl money his VbC1:cpl VbC1

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Speech)

60. ó dhuu ênià yià // òkì á i kpe opilopo osa ì. it follow thus come he too again not-pay pig due his VbCl:ref VbCl:neg COMPLEX SENTENCE: 8 (Reason)

Free Translation

The numbers of the corresponding sentences in the text are given in parentheses at the beginning of each sentence.

- (1) Tortoise was a lazy person; (2) pig was a farmer.
 (3) Pig had made a farm of corn and yams. (4) Then famine came to the animals' town. (5) There was nothing for tortoise and his children to eat. (6) So tortoise sent his child in order that pig should give him a little corn and a few yams and he would pay the next day. (7) Pig then gave him the corn and yams. (8) When the next day came, pig went with the intention that tortoise should pay him his money. (9) When he arrived, tortoise persuaded him to come again the following day.
- (10) The next day when pig arrived, tortoise cried that a relative of his had died. (11) So pig said to him, "I'm sorry, don't cry. (12) I will come tomorrow and you can pay me your debt." (13) Tortoise agreed.
- (14) The next morning when pig arrived, tortoise had travelled. (15) So pig asked where tortoise was. (16) Tortoise's children said that tortoise was travelling. (17) He was away in foreign parts. (18) So pig set off for home.
- (19) The next morning when tortoise returned from foreign parts, he told his child that when pig came the next day, he would create a big scene. (20) He would scold him. (21) He would ask why he (tortoise) wouldn't pay him what was owing. (22) He would rant a lot. (23) Because of this, his child should turn him over and put corn on him and should be grinding at the time that pig would come. (24) When pig came he would not see him at all. (25) His child should say that he (tortoise) was travelling.
- (26) When day dawned pig set off. (27) When he arrived, tortoise's child had done what tortoise told him. (28) He had taken some corn and put it on tortoise's back and was grinding. (29) Then pig asked where tortoise was. (30) Tortoise's child said that tortoise was travelling. (31) Pig then scolded, saying, "Tortoise is a lazybones. (32) There is nothing he can do. (33) Tortoise will pay me what he owes me. (34) Where did he go today?" (35) As he was scolding like this, he picked up the stone on which tortoise's child was grinding the corn and threw it away.
- (36) Tortoise came back from behind where he had been thrown away. (37) When he came he said, "I will pay you what I owe today. (38) Yes, I will. (39) I'm a rich man. (40) I have taken my money and kept it inside a stone." (41) Then he asked his child where the stone was. (42) The child said, "Pig was angry. (43) He was scolding you. (44) Then he picked up the stone and threw it away." (45) Tortoise shouted that he was ruined. (46) "Pig! (47) Now then, go and look for my stone and bring it to me. (48) That is where I have kept my money."
- (49) So pig set off to go and look. (50) He looked for the stone, (51) but he didn't find it again. (52) He looked and looked for the stone, (53) but he didn't find it again. (54) Pig set off to go and call his family to come and search with him.

(55) As they were searching, tortoise and his child were in the background laughing. (56) They were laughing at pig. (57) They looked at each other and kept laughing. (58) So pig's and tortoise's debts were equalised. (59) Tortoise said that pig had thrown away his money. (60) Therefore he wouldn't any more pay pig what he owed him.

The following list includes all the abbreviations used in the analysis of the preceding text, together with others used in earlier chapters.

Adj	Adjective	NomC1	Nominal clause
Adv	Adverb	Nn	Noun
aor	Aorist tense	NP	Nominal phrase
AP	Adverbial phrase	NPext	Extended nominal phrase
cp1	Completive aspect	NPo	Nominal phrase object
decl	Declarative	Num	Numeral
def	Definitive particle	part	Particle
Dem	Demonstrative	pos	Positive
des	Descriptive tense	Poss	Possessive
DitrVb	Ditransitive verb	PostVb	Postverbal
emp	Emphatic particle	Pr	Pronoun
excl	Exclamation	Prep	Preposition
foc	Focus aspect	PreVb	Preverbal
fut	Future tense	QuInt	Question introducer
GenCon	Genitive construct	QuTer	Question terminal
GerunCon	Gerundive construct	ref	Referential tense
imp	Imperative	rep	Repetitive secondary
inc	Incompletive aspect		aspect
ind	Indicative	rf	Reinforcer
Int	Interrogative	Re1Con	Relative construct
inter	Interrogative clause	rs	Rankshifted
IntMod	Interrogative modifier	subj	Subjunctive
inten	Intensive secondary	Sen	Sentence
	aspect	TrVb	Transitive verb
IntrVb	Intransitive verb	Vb	Verb
LocCon	Locative construct	VbAdj	Verbal adjective
MarC1	Marginal clause	VbC1	Verbal clause
neg	Negative	V P	Verbal phrase
nfut	Nonfuture	VPcomp	Compound verbal phrase

Thomas, Elaine. 1978. *A grammatical description of the Engenni language*. Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics, 60. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington. viii, 191 p.