

POSSESSIVE PRONOMINALIZATION AND THE SO-CALLED
PICTURE NOUNS IN EFIK

Okon E. Essien
University of Calabar, Calabar, Nigeria

This paper attempts to analyse possessive NP's within the general framework of pronominalization (from a basically Chomskian viewpoint). To decide how best to generate such NP's in the grammar of the Efik language, the analysis which derives such NP's from an embedded 'have' sentential source in a complex sentence is critically examined and on both semantic and syntactic grounds, this kind of analysis is rejected. It is then suggested that possessive NP's be directly generated in the base. Finally, the paper relates the so-called picture nouns to possessive pronominalization by adducing syntactic, semantic and tonal arguments to show that such nominals are in fact possessive rather than reflexive in nature.

1. Introduction

This paper¹ attempts to analyse possessive NP's within the general framework of Pronominalization and to relate the so-called picture nouns to such NP's. Our approach to Pronominalization is basically Chomskian. Within this theoretical framework, Pronominalization can roughly be defined as the process whereby an NP in a phrase marker is replaced by some pronominal form, provided:

- (i) such an NP bears a coreferential relation with some other NP in the phrase marker;

¹This paper is taken from Essien [1974a]. Tones are indicated as follows:

- ˆ High Tone
- ˆ Downstepped Tone
- ˘ Low Tone
- ˆ Rising Tone
- ˆ Falling Tone

- (ii) the NP does not violate those known constraints, e.g. Langacker's backward condition, with respect to the application of T in the phrase marker, where T stands for the necessary transformational rule;
- (iii) the phrase marker itself is of a certain configuration, e.g. reflexivization applies in a simplex.

2. Possessive Pronominalization

By Possessive Pronominalization, we mean the pronominalization process by which the pronominal forms $\grave{m}\grave{m}\grave{i}$ 'my', $f\grave{o}$ 'your', $\acute{e}s\grave{i}e$ 'his/her/its', $\grave{h}\grave{n}y\grave{i}\grave{n}$ 'our', $\grave{m}\grave{b}\grave{u}\grave{f}\grave{o}$ 'your (pl)', $\acute{r}\acute{m}\acute{o}$ 'their' are derived in cases where they have coreferent interpretations, as in (1):

- | | | | | | |
|--------|---|--|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) a. | $\grave{a}\grave{m}\grave{i}$ | $\acute{r}\acute{y}\grave{o}\grave{m}$ | $\grave{u}\grave{d}\acute{e}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ | $\grave{m}\grave{m}\grave{i}$ | 'I want my share' |
| | | ₁ | ₂ | | ₁ ₂ |
| b. | $\grave{a}\grave{f}\grave{o}$ | $\grave{o}\grave{y}\grave{o}\grave{m}$ | $\grave{u}\grave{d}\acute{e}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ | $f\grave{o}$ | 'you want your share' |
| c. | $\grave{e}\grave{n}y\acute{e}$ | $\acute{o}\grave{y}\grave{o}\grave{m}$ | $\grave{u}\grave{d}\acute{e}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ | $\acute{e}s\grave{i}e$ | 'he/she/it wants his/her/its share' |
| d. | $\grave{h}\grave{n}y\grave{i}\grave{n}$ | $\grave{i}\grave{y}\grave{o}\grave{m}$ | $\grave{u}\grave{d}\acute{e}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ | $\grave{h}\grave{n}y\grave{i}\grave{n}$ | 'we want our share(s)' |
| e. | $\grave{m}\grave{b}\grave{u}\grave{f}\grave{o}$ | $\acute{e}\grave{y}\grave{o}\grave{m}$ | $\grave{u}\grave{d}\acute{e}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ | $\grave{m}\grave{b}\grave{u}\grave{f}\grave{o}$ | 'you (pl) want your share(s)' |
| f. | $\acute{r}\acute{m}\acute{o}$ | $\acute{e}\grave{y}\grave{o}\grave{m}$ | $\grave{u}\grave{d}\acute{e}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ | $\acute{r}\acute{m}\acute{o}$ | 'they want their share(s)' |

It should be noted that except in the singular, where there are minor differences in form, the personal and the possessive pronouns are the same in form.

Strictly speaking, it is only the third person possessive pronouns ($\acute{e}s\grave{i}e$ and $\acute{r}\acute{m}\acute{o}$) which may be transformationally derived in the manner described in Section 5. The first and second person possessive pronouns, $\grave{m}\grave{m}\grave{i}$, $f\grave{i}$, $\grave{h}\grave{n}y\grave{i}\grave{n}$ and $\grave{m}\grave{b}\grave{u}\grave{f}\grave{o}$, characteristically occur in the base, or are derived by the Pronoun Conjunction Rule, as we shall see in Section 5.

3. Analysis of Possessive NP's

Within the standard transformational-generative theory, an English sentence such as (2a) is derived from a structure underlying (2b), which contains an embedded relative S:

- (2) a. This is my book.
- b. This is the book which I have.

We refer to this analysis as the "complex sentence" analysis. In Efik,

Perhaps the strongest case against the derivation of possessive NP's from complex sentences with an embedded relative S with *nyene* 'have' can be seen from the following examples. First consider (13):

- (13) a. *Éfflòng ényéné ímótò* 'Efflòng has a car'
 b. *Éfflòng ényéné ímótò ésìe* 'Efflòng has his own car'

where both *nyéné*, which, according to the complex sentence analysis, is supposed to be the source of possession, and a possessive pronoun (*esìe*) occur together. If *nyéné* is the source of possession, then (13b) should be paraphrasable as (14).

- (14) **Éfflòng ényéné ímótò émì ènyé ényéndédé*
 'Efflòng has a car which he (Efflòng) has'

The above example, (14), shows that although *nyéné* may be a source of possession, it is certainly not the case that all possessive cases are derived from the *nyéné* source.

Second, consider the following:

- (15) a. *Bássèy òkút ñwán éyèn fò* 'Bassey has seen your son's wife'
 1 2 3 4 _ _ _ _ 4 3 2

If the complex sentence analysis is correct, then (15a) should be paraphrased as (15b) and derived from the structure underlying this example:

- (15) b. **Bássèy òkút ñwán émì éyèn ényénédé émì àfò ènyénédé*
 'Bassey has seen the wife which the son has which you have'

Not only is (15b) ungrammatical but it is also semantically anomalous, since it means both the son and father have the same wife.

Third, the ungrammaticality of (16a) is significant:

- (16) a. **èkà Ìmé_i óyòm ènyé_i* 'Ime's mother wants him'

where *ènyé* refers to *Ìmé*. The ungrammaticality² of the above sentence is easily accounted for by the fact that as a simplex the structure underlying it does not qualify as a proper analysis for simple pronominalization,

²In some dialects (16a) seems to be grammatical. In such dialects, then, simple pronominalization is not limited to the complex. Even so, (16b) is clearly preferable to (16a) in such dialects.

which in Efik occurs only in complex and conjoined structures. If the structure underlying (16a) is a simple structure, then it cannot also be a complex structure at the same time. In other words, *èkà ìmé* 'Ime's mother' is not in fact derived from a sentential source. Incidentally, the way to save (16a) is not to pronominalize the object of the sentence, which is *ìme*, in the deep structure, as the grammaticality of (16b) shows.

(16) b. *èkà ìmé óyòm ìmé* 'Ime's mother wants Ime'

Finally, from a general linguistic point of view, Lyons [1968:391-95] has argued that an analysis which derives possessive phrases such as 'John's book' from an underlying source in which the possessor noun like 'John's' is the deep subject and the verb 'have' is a deep structure verb is incorrect:

"In most of the transformational accounts of English syntax so far published, it has been assumed that phrases like *John's book* are to be derived from an underlying structure in which the 'possessive' noun is the subject of the verb 'have': in other words, it is assumed that *have* is a deep structure verb (like *read*, etc.), which differs, however, from the majority of transitive verbs in that (in possessive sentences) it cannot undergo the passive transformation (**A book is had by John*). There are many reasons for believing that this account of the relationship between 'have' sentences and possessive phrases is incorrect" (p. 391).

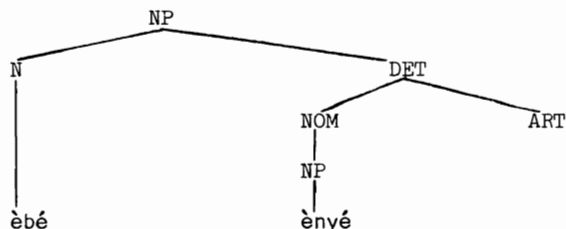
In our analysis 'have', or *nyene* in Efik, is in fact not a deep structure verb but is transformationally introduced.

Interestingly, Lyons has shown, in support of his position, that expressions such as 'John's' above is a kind of adjective. But an adjective is a noun modifier. Although in Efik expressions such as *ìme* in the phrase *èkà ìmé* 'Ime's mother' are not adjectival in function and syntax, they certainly act like a noun modifier, as we will show presently.

Enough has been given to show that there are very grave problems if one wishes to derive possessive sentences from complex sentences containing embedded relative clauses with *nyene*. The question then is, how best can they be derived? We think that possessive NP's should be derived in the base with the possessor NP as a constituent of the determiner system by the following expansion rules of the base:

- (i) NP → N DET
- (ii) DET → NOM ART
- (iii) NOM → NP

The possessor NP will be dominated by the NOM of the DET. Given a possessive NP like *èbé ésìe* 'her husband', the structure would look like the following:



The analysis of possessive NP's as part of the determiner is justified on both syntactic and semantic grounds. There are two kinds of noun modifiers in Efik, namely pre-nominal modifiers like quantifiers and Wh-question morphemes, and post-nominal modifiers like demonstratives, the definite article and numerals, which together constitute the determiner system. Observe, for example, that (17a) parallels (17b):

- (17) a. *éyén* { *òrò* } 'that/the' b. *éyén* { *Bàssey* } 'his/her/its'
 'child' { *émì* } 'this' 'child' { *ésìe* } 'our'
 { *ókò* } 'yonder' { *ñnyìn* }

It is not only in Efik that possessor NP's behave like nominal modifiers. In English, as shown above, Lyons has shown that NP's like 'John's' are adjectival in function in such phrases as 'John's book'. On the other hand, Postal [1966] has argued that elements such as 'my', 'our', 'him' in 'myself', 'ourselves', and 'himself' respectively "are of course articles, definite articles, in fact genitive type definite articles".

Semantically, the possessor NP, like the demonstrative or article, appears to definitize the NP in which it occurs. Thus, in (18), for example, where only definite NP's occur in the subject position, a possessive NP occurs as a subject.

- (18) a. *éyén* *Òkón* *ésìmà* *ńdítàŋ* *ídém* *éti* *éti*
 1 2 3 4 5 --
 'Okon's son likes to be very arrogant'
 1 2 5 --3,4--

- (18) b. $\underset{1}{\acute{e}y\acute{e}n}$ $\acute{o}r\acute{o}$ $\acute{e}s\acute{i}m\grave{a}$ $\acute{n}d\acute{i}t\grave{a}n$ $\acute{i}d\acute{e}m$ $\acute{e}t\acute{i}$ $\acute{e}t\acute{i}$
 'that child likes to be very arrogant'
 c. $\acute{A}t\acute{a}$ $\acute{e}s\acute{i}m\grave{a}$ $\acute{n}d\acute{i}t\grave{a}n$ $\acute{i}d\acute{e}m$ $\acute{e}t\acute{i}$ $\acute{e}t\acute{i}$
 'Ata likes to be very arrogant'
 d. * $\acute{e}y\grave{e}n$ $\acute{e}s\acute{i}m\grave{a}$ $\acute{n}d\acute{i}t\grave{a}n$ $\acute{i}d\acute{e}m$ $\acute{e}t\acute{i}$ $\acute{e}t\acute{i}$
 'a child likes to be very arrogant'

4. Compound Nominals

As we have seen above, a possessive NP is a complex NP, by which I mean an NP dominating another NP (or other NP's). There are some nominals which look like possessive NP's and we wish to examine whether they do in fact qualify as possessive cases. Consider the following examples:

- (19) a. $\underset{1}{\acute{e}t\acute{o}}$ $\underset{2}{\acute{h}w\grave{e}d}$ 'a stick for writing'
 b. $\underset{1}{\grave{o}k\rho\acute{o}k\acute{o}r\acute{o}}$ $\underset{2}{\acute{u}d\acute{i}a}$ 'a table for eating'
 c. $\underset{1}{\acute{u}f\grave{o}k}$ $\underset{2}{\acute{i}b\grave{o}k}$ 'a house for medicine'

Syntactically, the NP's in (19) look like possessive NP's: there is a preceding and a following nominal in each case, just as in the possessive case. However, as even the English glosses show, there is no basis for a possessive interpretation of these NP's, from a semantic point of view. These NP's characteristically involve instrumentality or purpose: thus $\acute{e}t\acute{o}$ $\acute{h}w\grave{e}d$ is 'a stick for writing' or 'a stick for the purpose of writing'. A possessive gloss like 'a book's stick' for $\acute{e}t\acute{o}$ $\acute{h}w\grave{e}d$ is clearly unacceptable. Similarly, an instrumental gloss for a possessive NP like $\acute{e}y\acute{e}n$ $\acute{B}\acute{a}ss\grave{e}y$ 'Basse'y's child' would be clearly unacceptable. Thus 'a child used for Basse'y' is clearly not a gloss for $\acute{e}y\acute{e}n$ $\acute{B}\acute{a}ss\grave{e}y$.

There are also syntactic differences between the NP's in (19) and possessive NP's. While the NP's in (19) may allow the plural morpheme $m\acute{m}\acute{e}$, some possessive NP's do not, as (20) and (21) respectively show.

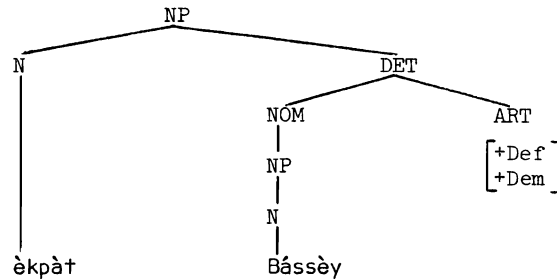
- (20) a. $\acute{m}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ $\acute{e}t\acute{o}$ $\acute{h}w\grave{e}d$ 'pens'
 b. $\acute{m}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ $\grave{o}k\rho\acute{o}k\acute{o}r\acute{o}$ $\acute{u}d\acute{i}a$ 'dining tables'
 c. $\acute{m}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ $\acute{u}f\grave{o}k$ $\acute{i}b\grave{o}k$ 'hospitals'

- (21) a. **nmè hwèd Òkón* 'Okon's books'
 b. *nmè èkpàt éyèn òrò* 'the boy's bags'
 c. *nmè bía ònyìn* 'our yams'

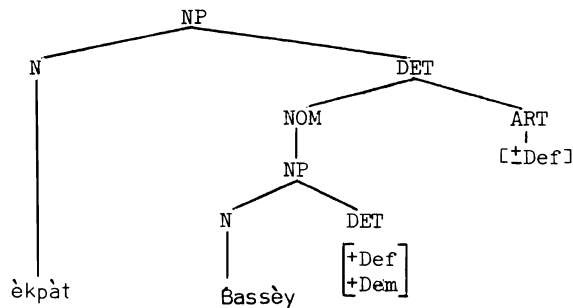
However, *nmè ètè nditò órò* 'the fathers of those children' and *nmè èbé íbàn órò* 'those women's husbands' are grammatical, where both NP's are [+Human]. It should be noted that in (21), although the possessors are human, the things possessed are inanimate.

Secondly, while a possessive NP like *èkpàt Bássèy émì* 'this bag belongs to Bassey' or 'the bag belonging to *this* Bassey' is structurally ambiguous, as the phrase markers in (22) show, an NP such as *étó hwèd émì* 'this pen' is not.

- (22) a.



- b.



(22a) underlies the interpretation 'this bag of Bassey', while (22b) underlies 'the/a bag of this Bassey'.

Therefore, such NP's as *étó hwèd*, *úfòk íbòk*, *òkpókóró údíà* are not possessive, though they look like such NP's in form. Rather one may regard them as such English compounds as 'night show', 'play group', 'baby sitter', etc. We suggest therefore that they be analysed as compounds.

We shall not attempt the analysis of compounds here. Langacker [1972:77] suggests that for such compounds as 'armchair', 'rattlesnake', etc. this rule will work:

"The meaning N_1 with N_2 can be expressed by a compound of the form N_2N_1 ."

In Efik, however, the meaning N_1 for N_2 can be expressed by a compound of the form N_1N_2 . For example, $\eta w\grave{e}d\ \acute{i}kw\grave{o}$ 'a book for songs' and $\acute{\eta}kp\acute{o}\ m\acute{b}r\acute{e}$ 'a thing for play'.

Finally, on the differences between possessive NP's and compounds, observe that the former are a "conjunction" of NP's, if I may be permitted to use this expression in a rather special sense, whereas the latter are a "conjunction" of N's. This follows from our observation that whereas NP's like $\acute{e}kp\grave{a}t\ B\acute{a}ss\grave{e}y\ \acute{e}m\grave{i}$ are structurally ambiguous, NP's like $\acute{u}f\acute{o}k\ \eta w\grave{e}d\ \acute{e}m\grave{i}$ 'this house for books', i.e. 'school' are not.

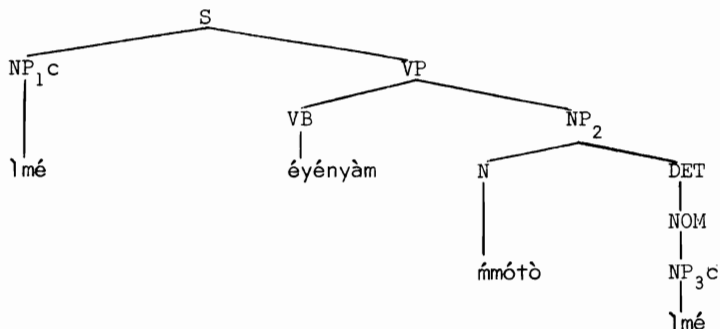
5. Formulation of Possessive Pronominalization

We shall now turn to the central concern of the paper, namely, the formulation of Possessive Pronominalization, which we shall sometimes refer to as the "possessive rule". Consider, for example, the simple sentence in (23):

(23) $\acute{i}m\acute{e}\ \acute{e}y\acute{e}ny\grave{a}m\ \acute{m}\acute{o}t\acute{o}\ \acute{e}s\acute{i}e$ 'Ime will sell his car'

(23) is structured as (24a), omitting the details:

(24) a.



The possessive rule will apply to a configuration like (24a) provided:

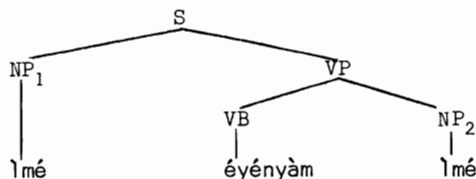
- (i) NP_1 and NP_3 are coreferential;
- (ii) NP_3 is immediately preceded by an N;

(iii) the N that immediately precedes NP₃ must be the head noun of the DET that dominates NP₃.

Let us suppose for the moment that the above conditions are not only necessary but also sufficient for the application of the possessive rule. But do these conditions guarantee that in a phrase marker like (24a) above, it is possessive pronominalization and not reflexivization that applies, since (24a) is after all a simplex? (Reflexivization is limited to the simplex in Efik).

We will answer this question by comparing a proper analysis for reflexivization, such as the phrase marker in (24b), with (24a).

(24) b.



Reflexivization will apply to (24b) if NP₁ and NP₂, which are subject and object respectively in a simplex, are coreferential. Doubtless, (24a) and (24b) are similar. But they also differ, in fact in a non-trivial way. Observe that in (24b), NP₂, which is identical with NP₁, is the object of the simplex (being immediately dominated by the VP), whereas in (24a), NP₃, which is identical with NP₁, is not the object of the simplex as such. It is only part of the object NP, NP₂ (which is immediately dominated by the VP). Clearly (24a) is not a proper analysis for reflexivization and the conditions for the application of the possessive rule seem to recognize this. So given the phrase marker such as (24a) and the conditions for the application of possessive pronominalization as spelled out above, reflexivization on such a phrase marker is ruled out. Observe that the conditions for possessive pronominalization make no mention of the simplex condition and although coreference is one of the conditions, it is not required that this hold between the subject and object in a phrase marker such as (24a). However, possessive pronominalization is blocked if the NP for this rule is part of the subject, as (25) shows.

- (25) a. *òkúk₁ ésĩe_{2c} ákábìat₃ Bássèy₄ íbùòt₁ 'his_{2c} money₁ made Bassey₄ arrogant'
 b. *éyén₁ ésĩe_{2c} ámă₃ ébìné₄ ètè_{5c} órò₆ 'his₂ son₁ joined the man'_{-3,4- 6 5}

Apparently the constraint on backward pronominalization is violated here. However, it does seem as if the constraint does not affect (26) below.

- (26) a. òkúk_c ésĩe_c ké Bássèy_c ákábìat 'it is his money that Bassey wasted'
 b. éyén_c ésĩe_c ké ètè_c órò ékébìné 'it is his son that the man joined'

The constraint is not in fact violated since (26a,b) derive from (27a, b):

- (27) a. Bássèy_c ákábìat òkúk_c ésĩe_c 'Bassey_c wasted his_c money'
 b. ètè_c órò ékébìné éyén_c ésĩe_c 'the man_c joined his son'

where the pronoun follows the antecedent, in obedience to the constraint. Even if (27) are not exact paraphrases of (26), there is no doubt that they are derived from the latter by a transformation that moves the object out of its normal position (Efik is a SVO language) to the position normally occupied by the deep subject, for topicalization.

In Efik it seems, therefore, that the constraint that does not permit a pronoun to precede the nominal to which it refers in a simplex is operative at the time the possessive rule is ready to apply. There is evidence, too, that this is also true of reflexivization, since (28a) is grammatical and yet the reflexive pronoun clearly precedes the NP Bassey to which it refers.

- (28) a. ídém_c ésĩe_c ké Bássèy_c ótùk 'Bassey has cheated himself'

As in (26), the reflexive pronoun ídém_c ésĩe_c must have been moved to the front from its object position (at which time it obeyed the constraint), by the topicalization transformation, as it seems clear from (28b), from which (28a) is derived.

- (28) b. Bássèy_c ótùk ídém_c ésĩe_c 'Bassey has cheated himself'

If the constraint on examples such as (26), where the following NP in each case is [-Pro], is operative at the time the possessive pronominalization is ready to apply, it is not operative at all if the following NP is itself a pronoun as (29) are perfectly grammatical.

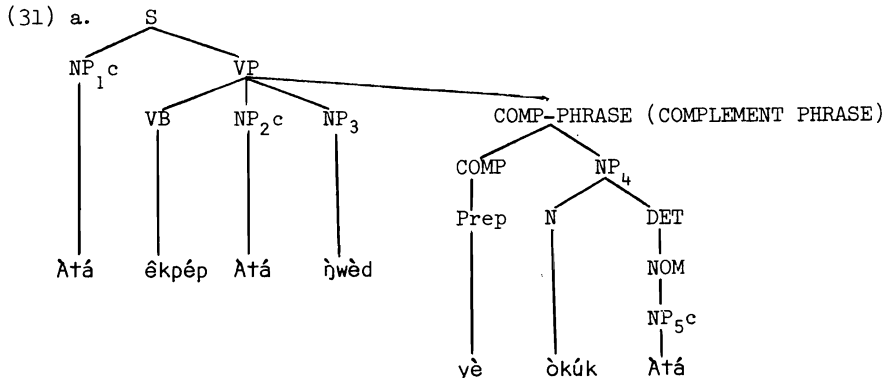
- (29) a. *étè m̀ òyòm mí* 'my father wants me'
 b. *èbé f̀ò ámbà f̀í* 'your husband loves you'
 c. *éyén ésíē ókòt̀ ènyé* 'his son has called him'

Let us return to the application of the possessive transformation, having seen the sort of configuration on which it operates and the conditions on which it operates. Given the phrase marker (24a) and the fulfillment of the conditions for possessive pronominalization, the rule will apply marking the feature [+Pro] and [+Pos] (Possessive) on the NP which is dominated by DET. If this NP is already [+Pro], the rule will simply mark [+Pos]. In the case of (24a), the NP will later be realized as *ésíē*. In this way, (23) will be generated.

Next, let us take an example which involves both possessive pronominalization and reflexivization. Let us consider (30).

- (30) *Átá èkpé́p ídém ésíē ìwèd̀ yè òkúk ésíē*
 'Ata has put himself through school with his money'

Underlying (30) is (31a).



(31a) is a proper analysis for both reflexivization and possessive pronominalization. The question is, which of these two rules precedes the other? We suggest the rules be applied cyclically and that possessive pronominalization precede reflexivization, since the latter will not have to look back to embedded sentences in a complex structure. The application of possessive pronominalization generates (31b).

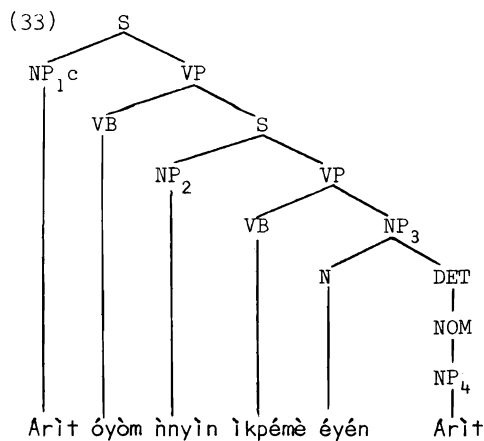
- (31) b. *Átá èkpé́p Átá ìwèd̀̀ yè òkúk ésíē*
 'Ata has put Ata through school with his money'

When reflexivization applies, (30) is generated.

So far we have been looking at possessive pronominalization in a simplex. Now, consider (32), which is a complex.

(32) Árit òyòm ònyìn ìkpémè éyén ésìe 'Arit wants us to mind her baby'
 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 5 4

Underlying (32) is (33), omitting details:



(33) fulfills all the conditions for the application of the possessive rule:

- (i) there are two coreferent NP's (NP₁ and NP₄);
- (ii) one of the coreferent NP's, NP₄, is immediately preceded by an N and dominated by a DET;
- (iii) the N that immediately precedes NP₄ is a left sister of the DET that dominates the same NP.

(33), therefore, is a proper analysis for possessive pronominalization and when the rule applies, (32) is generated. So possessive pronominalization applies in both simplexes and complexes, provided, of course, the necessary conditions are met.

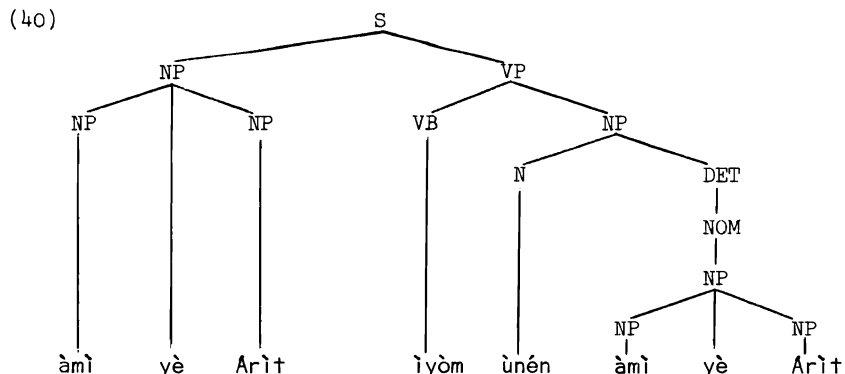
Backward possessive pronominalization is not permissible even in environments where backward simple pronominalization is allowed. Thus (34) is ungrammatical.

(34) *èdíekè éyén ésìq édídé, òyésìan Bássèy 'if his son comes, I will tell Bassey'
 1 2 3 4 5 1 3 2 4 5 5

In fact, it seems to be the case that backward possessive pronominalization

The details of the Pronoun Conjunction Rule are discussed in Essien [1974a:158-60]. The point to note here is that certain conjunctions involving pronouns (and other non-pronominal NP's) can be reduced to single pronouns. The reduction is optional in some cases and obligatory in others.

Let us return to the examples in (38) and let us consider (38a) in particular. This sentence is derived from (40), omitting details.



The Pronoun Conjunction Rule will apply to (40) obligatorily deriving ònyìn from àmì yè Arìt, which forms part of the object of the S. In this way, (38a) is derived. àmì yè Arìt as the subject of the sentence can be optionally collapsed to derive ònyìn, thus deriving (41):

(41) ònyìn ìyòm ùnén ònyìn 'we want our right(s)'

6. Possessive Pronominalization and the So-Called Picture Nouns

In English, the sentences such as (42) are considered as reflexive sentences.

- (42) a. John saw a picture of himself
 b. Mary told a story about herself

Some attempts have been made to analyse 'himself' and 'herself' in the above sentences within the general framework of reflexivization. Thus Jackendoff [1968:14f, 1975:135] suggests that the \bar{N} analysis of Chomsky [1970] would offer a solution to the derivation of the reflexives connected with nominals like 'picture' and 'story', which have come to be known as "picture nouns".

In Efik, however, we want to say that the forms connected with the so-called picture nouns are not in fact reflexive pronouns derived as a result of reflexivization but lexical items generated in the base in possessive positions. There are a number of reasons for our analysis. First, although there are sentences like (43), there are also sentences like (44).

- (43) a. àmì ìmmékút òdìsè ídèm òmì 'I have seen a picture of myself'
 1 2 3 4 5 1 — 2 — 3 5 4
- b. ènyé éyétíŋ òbùk ídèm ésíe 'he will tell the story of himself'
 1 2 3 4 5 1 — 2 — 3 5 4
- (44) a. àmì ìmmékút òdìsè ídèm fò 'I have seen a picture of yourself'
 1 2 3 4 1 2 2 1
- b. ènyé éyétíŋ òbùk ídèm mì 'he will tell the story of myself'

where ídèm fò and àmì are not coreferential in (44a) and ídèm òmì and ènyé are not coreferential in (44b). Surely the sentences in (44) do not qualify as reflexive sentences in our definition (cf. p.131, Section 5) and ídèm fò and ídèm òmì in these examples cannot therefore be regarded as reflexive pronouns. If so, we ought to look at similar forms in (43) with suspicion, even though they may happen to be coreferential with the subjects of the sentences. For if the forms in (43) were truly reflexive pronouns, then (44) ought to be ungrammatical, where these forms and the subjects of the sentences are not coreferential.

Secondly, whereas the formatives òmì , ésíe , etc. can be optionally deleted in a reflexive sentence without a change in meaning (cf. Essien [1974b]), as (45) show, the possessive forms in (43) cannot be deleted, as the ungrammaticality of (46) show.

- (45) a. ènyé ánàm ídèm ésíe 'he is harming himself'
 1 2 3 4 1 — 2 — — — 4 3
- b. ènyé ánàm ídèm 'he is harming himself'
- (46) a. *àmì ìmmékút òdìsè ídèm 'I have seen a picture of myself'
- b. *ènyé éyétíŋ òbùk ídèm 'he will tell the story of himself'

Thirdly, on the other hand, the deletion of ídèm in (45a), for example, which is a reflexive sentence results in one interpretation, while the deletion of ídem in (43) and (44) results in a different interpretation of the sentences, as (47), (48) and (49) which correspond to (45a), (43) and (44) respectively show.

- (47) ènyé ànàm ésíe 'he is doing his'
- (48) a. àmì òmékùt òdísé òmì 'I have seen my picture'
 b. ènyé éyétìḡ òbùk ésíe 'he will tell his story'
- (49) a. àmì òmékùt òdísé fò 'I have seen your picture'
 b. ènyé éyétìḡ òbùk òmì 'he will tell my story'

Notice in particular that the effects of the deletion of *ídèm* in (43) and (44) are the same. Semantically, (43) and (44) are different from (48) and (49), respectively. For example, in (43a), *òdísé ídèm òmì* means 'a picture of myself' or ('of my person'), whereas *òdísé òmì* in (48a) means 'the picture that I own' (not necessarily of myself or my person). In addition, whereas *òdísé* in (43a) is indefinite, *òdísé* in (48a) is definite. Similarly in (44a), *òdísé ídèm fò* is interpreted as 'a picture of yourself' (or 'your person'), whereas in (49a) *òdísé fò* means 'the picture belonging to you' (not necessarily of yourself or your person). Again *òdísé* in (44a) is indefinite while *òdísé* in (49a) is definite.

Fourthly, as a lexical item of the nominal class, *ídèm* in (43) can be preceded or followed by a nominal modifier, like any nominal in the language, but *ídèm* as part of a reflexive pronoun does not allow any modifiers, as (50) and (51), respectively, show.

- (50) a. àmì òmékùt òdísé èdíyě ídèm òmì 'I have seen a picture of my pretty
 1 self'
 b. ènyé éyétìḡ òbùk ídèm ésíe órò 'he will tell a story of that self
 1 of his'
- (51) a. *àmì òményàḡà èdíyě ídèm òmì³ 'I have helped my pretty self'
 b. *Bássèy ówòt ídèm ésíe órò 'Bassey has killed that self of his'

In addition, the reflexive-like forms in (43) are freely used with non-picture nouns, as these examples show.

- (52) a. ḡyòm òkúk ídèm òmì 'I want my personal money'
 1 2 3 4 -- 1 -- 4 3 2

³àmì òmékùt èdíyě ídèm òmì ké úkútísó 'I have seen my pretty body in the mirror' is grammatical. But here *ídèm* means 'body', not 'self'.

- (52) b. $\text{Átá ídígé éyén ídèm fò}$
 'Ata is not your begotten child (i.e. is adopted) '
 c. $\underset{1}{\text{ńkpó}} \underset{2}{\text{órò}} \underset{3}{\text{ídígé}} \underset{4}{\text{mbùbèhé}} \underset{5}{\text{ídèm}} \underset{6}{\text{ésìe}}$
 'that thing is not his personal affair'
 $\underset{2}{\quad} \underset{1}{\quad} \text{—} \underset{3}{\quad} \text{—} \underset{6}{\quad} \underset{5}{\quad} \underset{4}{\quad}$

where reflexive interpretations are highly improbable. Clearly ídèm ńmì , ídèm fò and ídèm ésìe in (52) are possessive in form and meaning. This interpretation of the reflexive-like forms in (52) is clearly applicable to the same forms in (43) and explains the grammaticality of (44), where these elements are not coreferential with the subjects of the sentences.

Finally, the tone pattern on ídèm indicates that ídèm is in fact a possessor nominal, much like ébbòt 'goat's' in the phrase ìsìm ébbòt 'a goat's tail' in (53c) below. It should be pointed out that in Efik, tones are used not only to distinguish lexical items but also to indicate certain syntactic relationships or functions. Now let us consider the following examples:

- (53) a. ènyó ñ étò 'a tree's top'
 b. èbé éyèn 'a daughter's husband'
 c. ìsìm ébbòt 'a goat's tail'

where the tones on étò , éyèn and ébbòt are high-low. "Inherent" tones on these lexical items are high-high, as (54) show.

- (54) a. étó 'a tree'
 b. éyén 'a daughter'
 c. ébbót 'a goat'

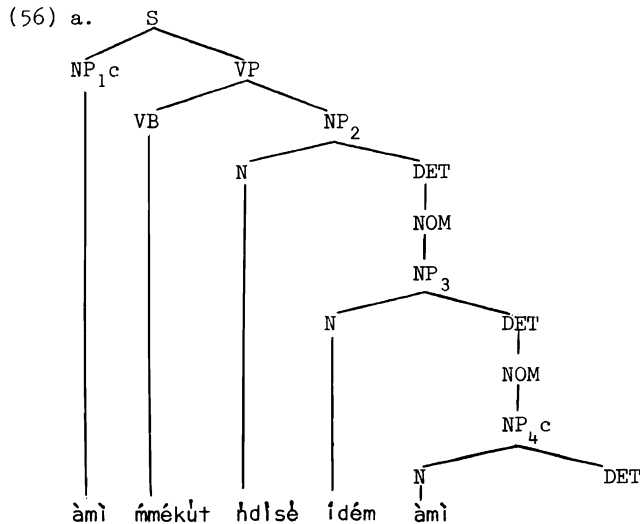
That is the tones on étó , éyén and ébbót are ordinarily high unless they are affected by some grammatical process or processes.

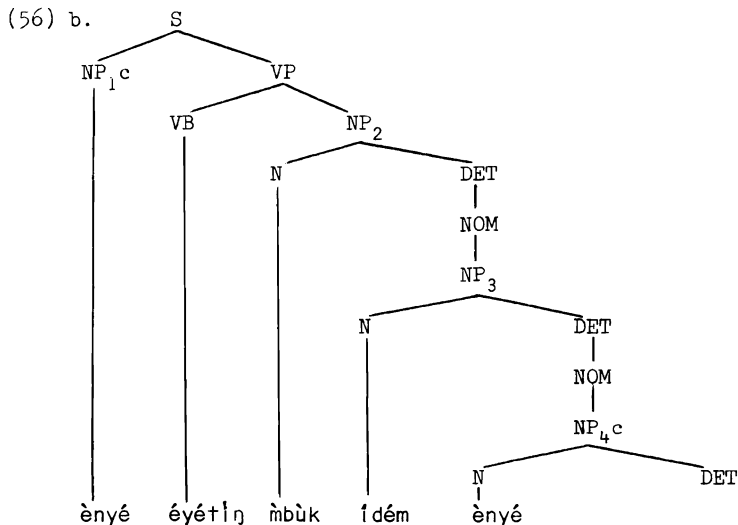
Now consider the tones on ídèm in (43) (and also (44)). They are exactly like the tones on étò , éyèn and ébbòt in (53), namely high-low (unless the high tone is slightly lowered by a preceding downstepped high as in (43a)). "Inherent" tones on the lexical item ídèm 'body' or 'self' are high-high, as these examples show.

- (55) a. ídém òmì ísòṅké 'my body/self is not well (i.e. I'm not well)'
 1 2 3 2 1 - - 3 - -
 b. àdà órò édéhé ídém ákàhà 'that lad is very dirty in the body'
 1 2 3 4 5 2 1 5 3 4

Like the "inherent" tones on *étó*, *ébót* and *éyén*, the "inherent" tones on *ídém* can be affected by some grammatical processes. Note that the tone pattern on *ídém* in the reflexive sentences such as those in (30) and (45) indicates a different grammatical relationship from that indicated by the tone pattern on *ídém* as a possessor nominal in (43) and (44).

The syntactic, semantic and the tonal arguments given above strongly support our analysis of the sentences in (43) as possessive rather than reflexive sentences. The difference between (43) and ordinary possessive sentences such as those in (1) in Section 1 is that the possessive sentences in (43) have two possessor NP's namely *ídém* and a personal pronoun whereas those in (1) have only one possessor NP, namely the personal pronoun. Accordingly, (43) are derived from (56), omitting the details.





As (56a) and (56b) are proper analyses for possessive pronominalization, the rule will apply in the two structures deriving (43a) and (43b) respectively.

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