This paper discusses the pronominal system of Odual, which has five subsets of pronouns: personal, reflexive, interrogative, demonstrative, and indefinite. A noteworthy feature of the system is the distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural personal pronouns. Reflexivity is marked by a noun meaning ‘self’ plus a possessive pronoun, the noun varying in form depending on the singularity or plurality of the antecedent. It is noted that tense/aspect markers in Odual show limited agreement for person and number, and in some cases they do not have distinct forms to reflect the differences in the forms of pronouns occasioned by differences in person and number. Also noted is the fact that the basic word order in Odual simple clauses is SVO, and that word order in NPs to a large extent is typologically consistent with the basic word order, as many of the pronouns that function as modifiers follow the noun they modify.

1. Introduction.

Ọnu Odual [ọnu ọdụọl] (The Odual Language), often shortened to Odual [ọdụọl] is a largely under-studied Central Delta language spoken by the Odual community in Abua-Odual Local Government Area of Rivers State of Nigeria. The Odual community is divided into three major groups, A dịbaam [a dịbaam], Arughunya [arugunya] and Aburyeni [aburyeni] groups. The A dịbaam group comprises Ađada

* I am immensely grateful to Mr. Isaiah Edighotu, a native speaker of the Adibaam [a dịbaam] dialect of Odual, for providing the data needed for this paper, and for sharing his knowledge of Odual with me. I am also grateful to David Odden and an anonymous SAL reviewer for their detailed and insightful comments, which have helped to improve the quality of this paper. I accept responsibility for any errors that remain.
The Odual Clan is bounded in the east by Abua villages of Ogbema, Arukwo, Ogbogolo, in the west by Oloibiri, Amurukeni in Ogbia (in Bayelsa State of Nigeria), in the north by Oruma, Ibelebiri, Kolo (also in Ogbia), and in the south by Nembe town of Oluasiri, Bassambiri, Ekpoma, Ogbolomabiri (also in Bayelsa State of Nigeria), etc. (Comson 1987: vii). Odual is not spoken by all the communities that make up the Odual Clan. The communities that do not speak Odual are those that belong to the Abureni group. These communities speak Kugbo, a Delta Cross language that is coordinate with Odual (Comson 1987: xii). In addition to Odual, some speakers in the Ahibaam group also understand and speak Abuan, Kugbo, Nembe, Kalabari and Ogbia (Kolo Creek), some speakers in the Arughunya group also understand and speak Ogbia, while some speakers in the Abureni group also understand and speak Ogbia, Nembe and Kalabari. Speakers of the Odual Language call themselves Ikpetemonu Odual [ikpetemonu odual], meaning ‘speakers of the Odual language.’ A speaker of this language is called Okpetemonu Odual [okpetemonu odual].

Odual is coordinate with other Central Delta languages such as Abuan, Kugbo, Mini, Obulom, Ogbia, Ogbogolo and Ogbronuagum (Faraclas 1989: 381). These languages with which Odual is coordinate are also spoken in Rivers State of Nigeria, except Ogbia, which is spoken in Bayelsa State of Nigeria. There is a dearth of scholarly linguistic literature on these languages in comparison with languages such as Degema, Kalabari, Obolo, and Izon. The major linguistic study on Odual is Comson (1987), which provides a detailed description of the phonology of this language. Other materials on Odual include Gardner et al. (1974), Gardner (1975), Kari (2006) and Madumere (2006).

The paper discusses the pronominal system of Odual. It recognizes and discusses five subsets of pronouns: personal, reflexive, interrogative, demonstrative, and indefinite pronouns. The paper also discusses one of the interesting features of the pronominal system of Odual, which is the distinction between inclusive and

---

1 Information about how many people speak Odual in what villages is not available at the time of writing this paper.
exclusive first person plural personal pronouns. The inclusive/exclusive distinction is overtly expressed in the forms of the first person plural pronouns. The paper also discusses word order in Odua and examines how the order of the various pronouns reflects or diverges from the basic word order in simple clauses.

2. **The Vowel System of Odua.**

Odua has twenty phonemic vowels (Comson 1987). Of this number, ten are single oral vowels /i/, /I, e, ε, ι, σ, ο, u, w/, while ten are double oral vowels /ii, ii, ee, εε, αα, ιι, οο, uυ, uu/. These vowels are further divided into two sets, expanded [+ATR] and non-expanded [-ATR].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Phonemic Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ATR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e, ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o, oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε, εε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ, οο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ι, ιι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, aa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 We present the vowel system of Odua because of the phenomenon of vowel harmony, which is crucial in the selection of the correct forms of tense/aspect markers attached to the verb, for instance. There is no consonant harmony in the language.

3 Double oral vowels are analyzed in this work as single syllables consisting of two moras. The Odua word ééná ‘you (pl.)’, for instance, is analyzed as two syllables consisting of three moras éé.ná, while the word eziró ‘we (incl.)’ is analyzed as consisting of three syllables and three moras e.zi.ró. Mutaka & Tamanji (2000: 82) remark that “Although African languages are not known for a highly developed metrical structure, the notion of mora is still useful in accounting for example for the association of tone or the lengthening of a vowel.”

4 The following abbreviations are used in this paper: 1sg. = first person singular, 1sgO = first person singular object, 1sgS = first person singular subject, 2sg. = second person singular, 2sgO = second person singular object, 2sgS = second person subject, 3sg. = third person singular, 3sgO = third person singular object, 1pl. = first person plural, 1plS = first person plural subject, 2pl. = second person plural, 2plS = second person plural subject, 3pl. third person plural, 3plS = third person plural subject, ATR = advanced tongue root, C = consonant, CERT = certainty, DIST = distal demonstrative, EXCL/excl. = exclusive, FOC = focus marker, FUT = future, INCL/incl. = inclusive, NP = noun phrase, O = object, OM = object marker, PST = past, PLUR = pluriational, POSS = possessive, PRES PERF = present perfect, pl. = plural, PROX = proximal demonstrative, S = subject, sg. = singular, V = vowel/verb.
The two sets of vowels do not co-occur in simple words in Odual as in [+ATR] ekpom ‘heart’, *ekpom, œbədi ‘iguana’ *aabədi and [-ATR] odóŋwé ‘hornbill (long-tailed)’, *odóŋwé, œdɔrnó ‘lip’, *oodɔrnó. The starred forms are deviant forms because they consist of vowels drawn from both sets. There are, however, a few exceptional cases to which this widespread rule does not apply. Gardner et al. (1974: 9) note that, “there are a limited number of words, most of which contain the vowel ‘e’ (e) (and (e)) in which both heavy [+ATR] and light [-ATR] vowels occur together so that there is no vowel harmony” (parentheses and brackets mine). The words áráá-kpé5 ‘trouble’ and əle-ké ‘leg’ are illustrative examples.

3. Pronouns.

Pronouns substitute for nouns and noun phrases. Five subsets of pronouns can be recognized in Odual. These subsets are personal, reflexive, interrogative, demonstrative, and indefinite pronouns. We shall discuss them one by one.

3.1. Personal pronouns. Odual distinguishes three types of personal pronouns, depending on the position and function of these pronouns in a sentence. The three types of personal pronouns are subject, object, and possessive pronouns. These pronouns encode in themselves grammatical categories such as person, number and case (cf. Ndimele 1996, Deterding & Poedjosoedarmo 2001, and Börjars & Burridge 2001). Odual does not make any gender distinction in its pronominal system.

There is a three-way person distinction in Odual personal pronouns. The language distinguishes first person, second person and third person. First person is used by the speaker to refer to himself or to a group which the speaker is a part of. Second person is used to refer to the hearer or to a group which the hearer is a part of. Third person is used to refer to person(s) or thing(s) excluding the speaker and hearer (cf. Lyons 1968: 276). Givón (1984: 354) uses the term ‘non-

---

5 There are two basic tones in Odual, low and high, plus a downstep. In this paper only the high and the downstep are marked. The high tone is marked (´), while the downstep is marked (ó‘ó) with an arrow pointing downwards between two high-toned moras. In general, the low tone is not marked for the sake of convenience. In this paper, tone is not marked in proper names. The Odual data in the paper are transcribed using phonetic symbols that have IPA values. The description is eclectic, meaning that the analysis adopted is not based on any particular linguistic theory.
participant’ to refer to the ‘third’ person. In respect of number in personal pronouns, the language distinguishes between singular and plural. Whereas singular refers to the concept of one, plural refers to the concept of more than one. The language also distinguishes three cases in personal pronouns. These are the subjective or nominative, objective or accusative and possessive or genitive cases.

An interesting and distinguishing feature of the pronominal system, especially as regards personal pronouns, is the distinction the language makes between inclusive and exclusive first person plural. This distinction, according to Givón (1984: 354), “...pertains to the hearer’s inclusion in or exclusion from, the referential scope of ‘we’, either dual or plural. ‘We-INCL’ is thus ‘we, including you,’ and ‘we-EXCL’ is thus ‘we, excluding you’” (cf. Lyons 1968: 277). The inclusive/exclusive distinction is overtly expressed in the forms of first person plural pronouns. The reason for the overt distinction in the forms of the first person plural pronouns is well expressed by Givón. According to him, “...inclusion/exclusion are not directly predictable from the speaker and hearer, they are potentially ambiguous in the speech situation, and it is thus only natural that they may require overt specification (‘marking’)” (Givón 1984: 355).

3.1.1. Subject pronouns. Subject pronouns occur before the verb, and function as the subject of a sentence. When these pronouns are pronounced in isolation, they have the forms given in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Forms of Subject Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áámí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á’ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Plural**                        |
| 1<sup>st</sup>                   |
| eziré                          | ‘we’ (incl.)                   |
| 2<sup>nd</sup>                   |
| ézóór                          | ‘we’ (excl.)                   |
| 3<sup>rd</sup>                   |
| eenó                           | ‘you’                          |
| eedí                           | ‘they’                         |

Tonally, the first person singular and first person plural exclusive subject pronouns have a high tone pattern, i.e. all moras are high toned; the third person singular, first person plural inclusive and second and third person plural have the same tone pattern — low-high, while the second person singular subject pronoun has a high-downstepped-high tone pattern. Segmentally, all subject pronouns begin with a vowel. Whereas the first person singular, first person plural (inclusive
and exclusive) and second and third person plural are trimoraic, the second and third person singular forms of these pronouns are bimoraic.

It is observed in (1) that all subject pronouns maintain their inherent tone patterns in sentences, except the ones that refer to first and second person singular and first person plural exclusive:

(1) aam|  nó| -rú  ‘I have come.’
  1sgS  1sg.PRES PERF -come

ána  nó| -rú  ‘You (sg.) have come.’
  2sgS  2sg.PRES PERF -come

ódí  nó| -rú  ‘He has come.’
  3sgS  3sg.PRES PERF -come

ezi|ó  nó| -rú  ‘We (incl.) have come.’
  1plS  1pl.PRES PERF -come

ez|ó|  nó| -rú  ‘We (excl) have come.’
  1plS  1pl.PRES PERF -come

---

6 The form of the present perfect marker is \(nVV^-\), which varies according to the number and person of the subject of the sentence. It is observed that the form \(náa\)- is associated with first person, second person and third person singular subject; the form \(nöo\)- is associated with first person (inclusive/exclusive) plural subject, while \(nee\)- is associated with second and third person plural subject. These forms are further determined by the quality of the vowel in the verb stem. The forms \(náa\)-, \(nöo\)- and \(nee\)- occur with verb stem that contain [+ATR] vowels, while the forms \(naa\)-, \(nöö\)- and \(nee\)- occur with verb stems that contain [-ATR] vowels.

Forms of other tense/aspect markers behave in a similar way. Tense/aspect markers in Odual show limited agreement for person and number, given that they do not have distinct forms to reflect the differences in the forms of pronouns occasioned by differences in person and number. For example, the form \(náa\)- in (1) is associated not only with first person singular subject but also with second person and third person singular subject. Similarly, the form \(nee\)- is associated not only with second person plural subject but also with third person plural subject. This lack of formal differences in the form of \(nee\)- associated with the first, second and third person singular, for instance, is a possible source of ambiguity among these person distinctions in the event of the dropping of the substantive subject in finite declarative sentences.
Example (1) illustrates the use of these pronouns in subject position.

### 3.1.2. Object pronouns.

Object pronouns occur after the verb, and function as the object of a sentence. These pronouns, in their isolation forms, are identical with their subject counterparts both segmentally and tonally. Object pronouns are also consistent in their tone patterns when they are used in a sentence, except that in certain grammatical contexts the tone patterns of the ones that refer to first and second person singular tend to vary. The forms of object pronouns are given in Table 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Forms of Object Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (2) illustrates the use of these pronouns in object position:

(2) odí tó -péléyi áámí ‘He will call me.’
3sgS 3sg.FUT -call me

aamí tó -péléyi á‘ná ‘I will call you (sg.).’
1sgS 1sg.FUT -call you

aamí tó -péléyi odí ‘I will call him.’
1sgS 1sg.FUT -call him
Example (3) shows the variations in the tone patterns of the first and second person singular object pronouns in conditional constructions:

(3) iβó oðí ə -βeleγí aamí aamí tó -túu -ní
if 3sgS 3sg.PST -call 1sgO 1sgS 1sg.FUT -come -CERT
‘If he calls me, I will come.’

iβó aamí ə -βeleγí áná áná tó -túu -ní
if 1sgS 1sg.PST -call 2sgO 2sgS 2sg.FUT -come -CERT
‘If I call you (sg.), you will come’

In (3), the tone of first person singular is low on all moras, while that of the second person singular is high on the first mora but low on the second mora.

3.1.3. Possessive pronouns. One of the ways of expressing the idea of ownership in Odual is by the use of possessive pronouns (cf. Tsunoda 1997: 17). These pronouns follow the possessed noun or possessee. Possessive constructions in Odual are verbless constructions. Possessive pronouns, except the one that refers to second person singular, are like their subject and object counterparts with respect to their segmental composition, but the form that refers to second person singular is ónú‘má ‘your’. Tonally, the forms referring to third person singular, first person plural inclusive and second and third person plural are somewhat different from their subject and object counterparts. The third person singular has a high-high tone pattern; the first person plural inclusive has a high-high-downstepped-high tone pattern; the second person plural has a low-high-downstepped-high tone pattern, while the third person plural has a low-high-high tone pattern. The forms of object pronouns are given in Table 4.
Table 4: Forms of Possessive Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>áámí</td>
<td>éüziró</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>onú'mó</td>
<td>ézáór</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ódí</td>
<td>éé'nó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>éédí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (4) illustrates the use of these pronouns in possessive noun phrases:

(4) ọbẹ́ẹ́ẹ́r amí  
book 1sg.POSS  ‘my book’

ọbẹ́ẹ́ẹ́r onú'mó  
book 2sg.POSS  ‘your (sg.) book’

ọbẹ́ẹ́ẹ́r ezí 'ró  
book 1pl.POSS  ‘our (incl.) book’

ọbẹ́ẹ́ẹ́r ézáór  
book 1pl.POSS  ‘our (excl.) book’

ọbẹ́ẹ́ẹ́r éé'nó  
book 2pl.POSS  ‘your (pl.) book’

ọbẹ́ẹ́ẹ́r ódí  
book 3sg.POSS  ‘his book’

ọbẹ́ẹ́ẹ́r éédí  
book 2pl.POSS  ‘their book’

A look at example (4) reveals that the form of the possessive pronoun referring to first person singular is altered both segmentally and tonally. Specifically, it is observed that one of the identical vowels gets deleted and the tone pattern gets changed from high-high-high to low-high. It is also observed that the
initial high tone of the second person singular pronoun and that of the first, second and third person plural pronouns gets deleted in genitive constructions.

The possessive forms in (4) are the forms used as determiners. When these possessives are used as nominals, they are preceded by the morpheme *olo*, meaning belonging to, as (5) shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>book</th>
<th>sg.PROX</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>lsg.POSS</th>
<th>‘This book is mine.’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oβeere</td>
<td>oóβo</td>
<td>olo</td>
<td>amí</td>
<td>‘This book is yours (sg.).’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oβeere</td>
<td>oóβo</td>
<td>olo</td>
<td>onú’mó</td>
<td>‘This book is his.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oβeere</td>
<td>oóβo</td>
<td>olo</td>
<td>ódí</td>
<td>‘This book is ours (incl.).’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oβeere</td>
<td>oóβo</td>
<td>olo</td>
<td>ezí ‘rá</td>
<td>‘This book is ours (excl.).’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oβeere</td>
<td>oóβo</td>
<td>olo</td>
<td>ezáór</td>
<td>‘This book is yours (pl.).’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oβeere</td>
<td>oóβo</td>
<td>olo</td>
<td>(e)é’né</td>
<td>‘This book is theirs’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A summary of the forms of personal pronouns in Oq’ual is given in Table 5.
Table 5: Summary of Oqâul Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>áámí ‘I’</td>
<td>áámí ‘me’</td>
<td>áámí ‘my’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>á’tá ‘you’</td>
<td>á’tá ‘you’</td>
<td>ónú‘má ‘your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ódí ‘s/he/it’</td>
<td>ódí ‘her/him/it’</td>
<td>ódí ‘her/his/its’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ezír ‘we’ (incl.)</td>
<td>ezír ‘us’ (incl.)</td>
<td>ézír‘’ our (incl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ezír ‘we’ (excl.)</td>
<td>ézír ‘us’ (excl.)</td>
<td>ézír‘’ our (excl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>een ‘you’</td>
<td>een ‘you’</td>
<td>eé‘ná ‘your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>eedi ‘they’</td>
<td>eedi ‘them’</td>
<td>eedi ‘their’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2. Reflexive pronouns. Reflexivity in Oqâul is expressed by a genitive construction which involves a combination of a noun alóar ‘self’ and any of the possessive pronouns discussed in 3.1.3. The pronouns always follow the noun as (6) shows:

(6) alóar amí ‘myself’

self 1sg.POSS

alóar onú‘má ‘yourself’

self 2sg.POSS

alóar ódí ‘himself/herself’

self 3sg.POSS

osilóar ezí ‘ró ‘ourselves’ (incl.)

selves 1pl.POSS

osilóar ezé‘r ‘ourselves’ (excl.)

selves 1pl.POSS

osilóar ée‘ná ‘yourselves’

selves 2pl.POSS

osilóar eédí ‘themselves’

selves 3pl.POSS
Example (7) illustrates how the noun + possessive pronoun combination expresses reflexivity in a sentence:

(7) aamí ți -mọyan m -ọlaar amí
1sgS 1sg.PST -hear OM -self 1sg.POSS
‘I heard myself.’

ána ți -mọyan m -ọlaar onú'mó
2sgS 2sg.PST -hear OM -self 2sg.POSS
‘You heard yourself.’

odí á -mọyan m -ọlaar ódí
3sgS 3sg.PST -hear OM -self 3sg.POSS
‘He heard himself.’

eziró ți -mọyan m -ọsilọor⁷ ezí ‘ró
1plS 1pl.PST -hear OM -selves 1pl.POSS
‘We (incl.) heard ourselves.’

ezọor ți -mọyan m -ọsilọor ezọór
1plS 1pl.PST -hear OM -selves 1pl.POSS
‘We (excl.) heard ourselves.’

eenó í -mọyan m -ọsilọor eé’nó
2plS 2pl.PST -hear OM -selves 2pl.POSS
‘You heard yourselves.’

eedí í -mọyan m -ọsilọor eédí
3plS 3pl.PST -hear OM -selves 3pl.POSS
‘They heard themselves.’

⁷ Oọual is a noun class language. This means that nouns are classified into genders on the basis of semantically determined (singular, plural and single class) prefixes attached to the noun stem. For this reason, many nouns such as ọ-łọar ‘body/self’ (sg.) and ọsi-łọar ‘bodies/selves’ (pl.) have a singular and a plural form marked by alternating prefixes. The difference between the singular ọ-łọar ‘body’ and plural ọsi-łọar ‘bodies’ (pl.) in these examples results from the fact as an anaphor, the noun + possessive pronoun changes its form to reflect the antecedent. The form ọ-łọar ‘body/self’ with a singular possessive pronoun is used when a singular antecedent is involved, while the form ọsi-łọar ‘bodies/selves’ with a plural possessive pronoun is used when a plural antecedent is involved.
In reflexives constructions with a plural subject, the noun ələər ‘selves’ changes its form to əsiləər ‘selves’ to reflect the number of discourse participants.

3.2.1. Interrogative pronouns. Six interrogative pronouns can be identified in Oqval. These pronouns, unlike the personal pronouns, do not encode in themselves the grammatical categories of person, number or case. Some of these pronouns, however, change their tones in grammatical contexts. The forms (and meanings) of these pronouns, as given in Table 6, are the forms they take when they are said in isolation.

Table 6: Forms of Interrogative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>okərə</td>
<td>‘who/which/whose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ééye</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ədiyen</td>
<td>‘where/which’&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okərəméen</td>
<td>‘when’&lt;sup&gt;9&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebumeéye</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əko</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (8) - (10) illustrate the use of these pronouns in grammatical contexts:

(8) okərə əəj               ‘Who?’
   which person

(9) okərə əbərəər
   which book

(10) əbərəər okərə əəj       ‘Whose book?’
    book which person

When okərə has the meaning ‘who’ or ‘which’, it precedes the noun it questions, as in (8) but when it has the meaning ‘whose’ it is sandwiched between two nouns. In this position, the noun that follows okərə always refers to an entity that has human attributes. Consider the interrogative pronouns in (9).

<sup>8</sup> The form ədiyen cannot be used to mean ‘whose.’
<sup>9</sup> The form okərəméen is a combination of okərə ‘which’ and amen ‘time.’
The interrogative pronoun ééye ‘what’ in (9) can occur in both sentence-initial and sentence-final positions. The tone pattern of this pronoun is contextually determined. In sentence-final position, the tone pattern of the pronoun is low on all moras, whereas in sentence-initial position the pronoun has an overall low-high tone pattern. When the interrogative pronouns odýen ‘where/which’ and okæróméen ‘when’ occur post-verbally, they are preceded by the object marker m-.

Finally, let us consider the interrogative pronouns in (10):

(10) ebumééye ká áná le ‘Why are you eating?’
    why be 2sgS eat

eeyé ká áná le ‘Why are you eating?’
    why be 2sgS eat

ekö odí ‘How is he?’
    how 3sgO

The forms ebumééye and eeyé in (10) can be used interchangeably to mean ‘why.’

3.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns. There are four demonstrative pronouns in Odual, as seen in Table 7. These pronouns very often require the speaker to indicate the relative position or location of an entity or entities by pointing to the en-
The Pronominal System of Odual

tity or entities. According to Börjars & Burridge (2001:59), demonstrative pronouns ‘typically have to do with the orientational features of language’.

The four demonstrative pronouns in Odual are divided into two proximal demonstratives, ooβó ‘this’ and iiβó ‘these’ (referring respectively to one or more than entity that is/are close to the speaker), and two distal demonstratives, opó ‘that’ and ipó ‘those’ (referring respectively to one or more than one entity that is/are far from the speaker). These demonstrative pronouns intersect with number, singular and plural. The singular demonstratives are ooβó ‘this’ and opó ‘that’, while the plural demonstratives are iiβó ‘these’ and ipó ‘those.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Forms of Demonstrative Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ooβó</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opó</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iiβó</td>
<td>‘these’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipó</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In isolation, demonstrative pronouns have an overall low-high tone pattern. This tone pattern is, however, not maintained when demonstratives co-occur with other words. Segmentally, proximal demonstratives are similar, as both are trimoraic and begin with a sequence of two identical vowel prefixes oo- and ii-, while the distal demonstratives are also similar, as both are bimoraic and begin with single vowel prefixes o- and i-. Example (11) illustrates demonstrative pronouns in noun phrases:

(11) out ooβó house sg.PROX ‘this house’
    erutu iiβó houses pl.PROX ‘these houses’
    out opó house sg.DIST ‘that house’
    erutu ipó houses pl.DIST ‘those houses’

Demonstratives agree in number with nouns in noun + demonstrative constructions. In these constructions, demonstratives follow the nouns they modify.
Let us consider example (12), where demonstrative pronouns occur in sentence-initial position.

(12) oọβó ọβereer amí ‘This is my book.’
    sg.PROX book 1sg.POSS

ooβó ọβereer onú’amó ‘This is your (sg.) book.’
    sg.PROX book 2sg.POSS

ooβó ọβereer ezi‘ró ‘This is our (incl.) book.’
    sg.PROX book 1pl.POSS

ooβó ọβereer eze‘r ‘This is our (excl.) book.’
    sg.PROX book 1pl.POSS

ooβó ọβereer ee‘nó ‘This is your (pl.) book.’
    sg.PROX book 2pl.POSS

ooβó ọβereer ódí ‘This is his book.’
    sg.PROX book 3sg.POSS

ooβó ọβereer ee’dí ‘This is their book.’
    sg.PROX book 3pl.POSS

When demonstratives occur in sentence-initial position, they function no longer as determiners but as independent demonstratives, capable of serving as the subject of the sentence. In sentence-initial position, demonstratives retain their inherent tones.

3.2.3. **Indefinite pronouns.** Indefinite pronouns in Odual are mostly compound in nature. In other words, they involve more than one morpheme, as in (13). Some indefinite pronouns are cases of reduplication:
The Pronominal System of Odual

(13) ोपृिन ोटोज ‘someone’
one person

ोजोलो ‘nobody’
person none

ोलो म -ेट्सि ‘nowhere’
none OM -place

केदोज केदोटोज ‘everybody’
every-person every-person

केसि केसि ‘everywhere’
every-place every-place

In (13) ोपृिन ोटोज expresses an affirmative meaning, making a personal reference; ोजोलो and औलो म-ेट्सि express a negative meaning, making a personal and non-personal reference respectively, while केदोज केदोटोज and केसि केसि express a universal meaning, referring to human beings and locations respectively (cf. Ndimlele 1996: 55f).

4. Word Order.

Odual has a basic subject-verb-object (SVO) word order in simple clauses. In this word order, the subject is followed by the verb, which in turn is followed by the object, as seen in (14):

(14) एदीघोतु एमि ओटोजबोदि ‘Edighotu saw an iguana.’
Edighotu PAST -see iguana
S V O

The SVO word order in Odual is consistent with the basic word order in Cross River languages (cf. Faracles 1989: 329).

4.1. Order of Pronouns. In this subsection, we shall discuss the order of pronouns in Odual in relation to other words in the context of the basic word order in simple clauses. Specifically, we shall discuss the relative position of Odual pro-
nouns to other constituents in the noun phrase (NP), since many of these pronouns are modifiers.

Let us consider the following NP constructions: in (15), the article follows the noun in the noun-article construction.

(15) o-reŋ oβo
     tree the

‘the tree’

In (16), however, the modifier precedes the noun in the modifier-noun construction.

(16) o-boóŋí ˈɔəj
     beautiful man/person

‘beautiful man/person’

The pattern observed in (16) is an exception to the typological, basic word order, as it deviates from the head-initial nature of constructions expected of SVO languages seen in (14)

Let us consider the position of pronominal modifiers in (17):

(17) a. ɔβɛɛɛɛɛ ɛédi
     book 2pl.POSS

‘their book’

b. ɔβɛɛɛɛɛ oβo olo amí
     book sg.PROX POSS 1sg.POSS

‘This book is mine.’

In (17a), the possessive pronoun follows the modified noun. This is typologically consistent with the basic word order in simple clauses in the language. In verbless constructions featuring a demonstrative and a possessive pronoun, such as (17b), the possessive follows the demonstrative pronoun.

Consider the reflexive construction in (18).

(18) aami ʊ -mɔγɔn m -ɔɛɛr amí
     1sgS 1sg.PST -hear OM -self 1sg.POSS

‘I heard myself.’

Two observations can be made about (18). First, the reflexive pronoun follows the verb thereby conforming to the basic word order. Second, the possessive pronoun that combines with the noun to form the reflexive follows the noun. This is so because the reflexive itself is a genitive construction, like (17a).
Furthermore, let us consider the position of the demonstrative pronoun in relation to the noun in (19).

(19) a. otu  oóβó
    house  sg.PROX
    ‘this house’

b. oóβó  ɔβɛɛɛɛɛ  amí
    sg.PROX  book  1sg.POSS
    ‘This is my book.’

Demonstrative pronouns follow the modified noun in the noun-demonstrative construction, like possessives in (19a). This is consistent with the basic word order in simple clauses. The word order in which demonstrative pronouns precede the noun, as in (19b), is not basic. Such non-basic word order occurs as a result of some degree of prominence given to the demonstrative. Demonstratives that precede the noun are emphatic and function as subject/topic, since there is a correlation between initial/subject position and communicative prominence.

Let us consider interrogative pronouns with regard to word order in the NP and then with regard to the basic SVO word order in simple clauses:

(20) a. ɔkɔrό  õəj
    which  person
    ‘who?’

b. ɔβɛɛɛɛɛ  ɔkɔrό  õəj
    book  which  person
    ‘whose book?’

The semantics of ɔkɔrό determines its position relative to the noun it questions. It is observed that when the pronoun questions the identity of someone, it precedes the noun it questions but when the pronoun seeks to establish the ownership of something, together with the noun õəj, it follows the noun it questions. What this means is that (20b) is consistent with the word order in the NP, which to a large extent is a reflection of the basic word order in the simple clause, whereas (20a) is not. However, if we reason that the interrogative pronoun and the following noun in (20a) constitute a single unit, on the basis of the fact that they both occur after the noun ɔβɛɛɛɛɛ ‘book’ in (20b), then there will be no case of inconsistency of (20a) with the word order in the NP and by extension with the basic word order in the minimal clause.

Now, let us consider the other interrogative pronouns.
A general remark that can be made regarding the interrogative pronouns such as eeye ‘what’, odíyen ‘which’, okøróméen ‘when’ and objects in Ojïual is that they can optionally be moved to the front of the sentence. The occurrence of these pronouns in sentence-initial position serves a discourse function. When they are fronted, they are followed by the focus marker βó.

Finally, let us consider indefinite pronouns:

Indefinite pronouns are themselves phrases with varying word orders. The word order in the pronoun meaning ‘someone’ is that of numeral + noun, where the numeral precedes the noun. The word order in the pronoun meaning ‘nobody’ is that of noun + (negative) pronoun, where the pronoun follows the noun. The word
order in the pronoun meaning ‘nowhere’ is that of (negative) pronoun + noun, where the pronoun precedes the noun. Of these varying word orders, it is only the one in the pronoun meaning ‘nobody’ that is consistent with the basic word order.\footnote{I do not have additional data to say more than this about indefinite pronouns.}

From the preceding discussion of the pronominal system of Ojąal it is observed that O ámbal is, to a large extent, typologically consistent in the sense that most of its pronouns follow the modified noun in NP constructions, which in turn are consistent with the basic SVO word order in simple clauses in the language. According to Givón (1984: 189), “...if it [a language:EK] has the order VERB-OBJECT (VO) in simple clauses, it should have the order NOUN-MODIFIER (N-M) in noun phrases”. The O ámbal case supports Givón’s typological prediction as regards consistency in word order in NPs with the basic word order in simple clauses in a given language.

5. Conclusion.

We have examined the pronominal system of O ámbal. One of the notable observations made is that O ámbal maintains an inclusive/exclusive distinction in its pronominal system - a distinction that is overtly expressed in the forms of first person plural personal pronouns. It is further observed that personal pronouns are to a large extent similar in their segmental and tonal composition. Reflexivity is observed to be marked by a combination of the noun meaning ‘self’ and a possessive pronoun. The noun meaning ‘self’ varies in form depending on the singularity or plurality of the antecedent, while the possessive pronoun varies based on the number and person feature of the antecedent. It is also noted that tense/aspect markers in O ámbal show partial agreement for person and number, given that in some cases they do not have distinct forms that reflect the differences in the forms of pronouns occasioned by differences in person and number. Furthermore, it is established that the basic word order in O ámbal simple clauses is SVO, and that word order in NPs to a large extent is typologically consistent with the basic word order, as many of the pronouns that function as modifiers follow the noun they modify. The positional relationship of pronouns with other elements in the NP in O ámbal lends support to Givón’s typological prediction that word order in NPs should reflect the basic word order in simple clauses.
References


Dept. of Linguistics & Communication Studies
Faculty of Humanities
University of Port Harcourt
P.M.B. 5323, Port Harcourt Nigeria
eekari99@yahoo.com

[received January 15, 2007
accepted February 27, 2007]