

THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM OF OḐUAL*

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This paper discusses the pronominal system of OḐual, 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 OḐual 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 OḐual 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.

OḐu OḐual [ɔnu oḐúəl] (*The OḐual Language*), often shortened to OḐual [óḐúól] is a largely under-studied Central Delta language spoken by the OḐual community in Abua-OḐual Local Government Area of Rivers State of Nigeria. The OḐual community is divided into three major groups, Aḏibaam [áḏíbáəm], Aṛughunya [aruyɥna] and Aḑureni [əḑurəni] groups. The Aḏibaam group comprises Aḑada

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[adáda], Emelego [emélegɔ], Ogboloma [ogbolomə] and Òkolomade [ɔ̀kɔ̀lɔ̀-
mæde]; the Arughunya group comprises Ekunuga [ekúnúgə], Anyu [aɲu], Emaari-
kpoko [emaárikpɔ̀kɔ̀], Obedum [obedúm] and Odau [ɔ̀dáu], while the Àbureni
group comprises Akani [akani] Amuruto [amurɔ̀tɔ̀] and Èmago-Kuꞑbo
[emagɔ̀kugbɔ̀ɔ̀] (cf. Gardner et al. 1974 and Comson 1987). Comson (1987: viii),
citing the Rivers State of Nigeria Ministry of Economic Development and Plan-
ning (1983), puts the population of Oꞑual at 30,028.¹

The Oꞑual 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, Ibeleḡiri, 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). Oꞑual is not spoken by all the communities that make up the Oꞑual Clan. The communities that do not speak Oꞑual are those that belong to the Àbureni group. These communities speak Kuꞑbo, a Delta Cross language that is coordinate with Oꞑual (Comson 1987: xii). In addition to Oꞑual, some speakers in the Aḡibaam group also understand and speak Abuan, Kuꞑbo, Nembe, Kalabari and Ogbia (Kolo Creek), some speakers in the Arughunya group also understand and speak Ogbia, while some speakers in the Àbureni group also understand and speak Ogbia, Nembe and Kalabari. Speakers of the Oꞑual Language call themselves *ikpetemonu Oꞑual* [ikpɛtɛmɔ̀nu oꞑúəl], meaning ‘speakers of the Oꞑual language.’ A speaker of this language is called *Okpetemonu Oꞑual* [ɔ̀kpɛtɛmɔ̀nu oꞑúəl].

Oꞑual is coordinate with other Central Delta languages such as Abuan, Kugbo, Mini, Obulom, Ogbia, Ogbogolo and Ogbronuagum (Faraclas 1989: 381). These languages with which Oꞑual 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 Oꞑual is Comson (1987), which provides a detailed description of the phonology of this language. Other materials on Oꞑual include Gardner et al. (1974), Gardner (1975), Kari (2006) and Madumere (2006).

The paper discusses the pronominal system of Oꞑual. 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 Oꞑual, which is the distinction between inclusive and

¹ Information about how many people speak Oꞑual 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 Oḍual 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 Oḍual.²

Oḍual has twenty phonemic vowels (Comson 1987). Of this number, ten are single oral vowels /i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ə, ɔ, o, u, u/, while ten are double³ oral vowels /ii, ɪɪ, ee, ɛɛ, aa, əə, ɔɔ, oo, uu, uu/. These vowels are further divided into two sets, expanded [+ATR]⁴ and non-expanded [-ATR].

Table 1: Phonemic Vowels

+ATR		-ATR	
i, ii	u, uu	ɪ, ɪɪ	u, uu
e, ee	o, oo	ɛ, ɛɛ	ɔ, ɔɔ
	ə, əə		a, aa

² We present the vowel system of Oḍual 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 Oḍual word *ééná* ‘you (pl.)’, for instance, is analyzed as two syllables consisting of three moras *é.é.ná*, while the word *ezirá* ‘we (incl.)’ is analyzed as consisting of three syllables and three moras *e.zi.rá*. 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, 3sgS = third person singular subject, 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 = pluriactional, 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 Oḍual as in [+ATR] *ekpom* ‘heart’, **ekpom*, *əbədi* ‘iguana’ **aabədi* and [-ATR] *odú^hŋ^wé* ‘hornbill (long-tailed)’, **ɔdú^hŋ^wé*, *ɔdɔrɔnú* ‘lip’, **oodɔrɔnú*. 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’ (ɛ) (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-kpé^s* ‘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 Oḍual. These subsets are personal, reflexive, interrogative, demonstrative, and indefinite pronouns. We shall discuss them one by one.

3.1. Personal pronouns. Oḍual 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). Oḍual does not make any gender distinction in its pronominal system.

There is a three-way person distinction in Oḍual 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 Oḍual, 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 (´[↓]´) 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 Oḍual 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 2: Forms of Subject Pronouns

Singular	1 st	áámí	‘I’
	2 nd	á‘ná	‘you’
	3 rd	odí	‘s/he/it’
Plural	1 st	eziré	‘we’ (incl.)
		ézéár	‘we’ (excl.)
	2 nd	eená	‘you’
	3 rd	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)	aamɪ	nǎǎ	-rú ⁶	‘I have come.’
	1sgS	1sg.PRES PERF	-come	
	ána	nǎǎ	-rú	‘You (sg.) have come.’
	2sgS	2sg.PRES PERF	-come	
	odí	nǎǎ	-rú	‘He has come.’
	3sgS	3sg.PRES PERF	-come	
	ezirǎ	nóo	-rú	‘We (incl.) have come.’
	1plS	1pl.PRES PERF	-come	
	ezǎər	nóo	-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 *nǎǎ-* is associated with first person, second person and third person singular subject; the form *nóo-* 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 *nǎǎ-*, *nóo-* and *nee-* occur with verb stem that contain [+ATR] vowels, while the forms *naa-*, *nɔɔ-* 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 Ođual 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 *nǎǎ-* 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.

eenǎ	née	-rú	‘You (pl.) have come.’
2plS	2pl.PRES PERF	-come	
eedí	née	-rú	‘They have come.’
3plS	3pl.PRES PERF	-come	

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 3: Forms of Object Pronouns

Singular	1 st	áámí	‘me’
	2 nd	á ^h ná	‘you’
	3 rd	odí	‘her/him/it’
Plural	1 st	ezirǎ	‘us’ (incl.)
		ézǎǎr	‘us’ (excl.)
	2 nd	eenǎ	‘you’
	3 rd	eedí	‘them’

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

(2)	odí	tǎ	-péléyi	áámí	‘He will call me.’
	3sgS	3sg.FUT	-call	me	
	aamr	tǎ	-péléyi	á ^h ná	‘I will call you (sg).’
	1sgS	1sg.FUT	-call	you	
	aamr	tǎ	-péléyi	odí	‘I will call him.’
	1sgS	1sg.FUT	-call	him	

ána	tó	-péléyi	ézээр	‘You (sg.) will call us.’
2sgS	2sg.FUT	-call	us	
eziré	tó	-péléyi	eedí	‘We (incl.) will call them.’
1plS	1pl.PST	-see	them	
ezээр	tó	-péléyi	eené	‘We (excl.) will call you (pl.).’
1plS	1pl.FUT	-call	you	

Example (3) shows the variations in the tone patterns of the first and second person singular object pronouns in conditional constructions:

(3)	ibó	odí	ə	-βeleyí	aamɪ	aamɪ	tá	-túu	-ní
	if	3sgS	3sg.PST	-call	1sgO	1sgS	1sg.FUT	-come	-CERT
	‘If he calls me, I will come.’								
	ibó	aamɪ	ə	-βeleyí	ána	ána	tá	-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 Oḍal is by the use of possessive pronouns (cf. Tsunoda 1997: 17). These pronouns follow the possessed noun or possessee. Possessive constructions in Oḍal 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^hmá* ‘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

Singular	1 st	áámí	‘my’
	2 nd	ónú+má	‘your’
	3 rd	ódí	‘her/his/its’
Plural	1 st	ézír+á	‘our’ (incl.)
		ézáár	‘our’ (excl.)
	2 nd	eé+ná	‘your’
	3 rd	eédí	‘their’

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

(4)	ᵛβερεεε	amí	‘my book’
	book	1sg.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεε	ónú+má	‘your (sg.) book’
	book	2sg.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεε	ezi+rá	‘our (incl.) book’
	book	1pl.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεε	ezáár	‘our (excl.) book’
	book	1pl.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεε	eé+ná	‘your (pl.) book’
	book	2pl.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεε	ódí	‘his book’
	book	3sg.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεε	eédí	‘their book’
	book	2pl.POSS	

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:

(5)	ᵛβερεεᵛ	οόβo	olo	amí	‘This book is mine.’
	book	sg.PROX	POSS	1sg.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεᵛ	οόβo	olo	onú ^h má	‘This book is yours (sg.).’
	book	sg.PROX	POSS	2sg.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεᵛ	οόβo	olo	ódí	‘This book is his.’
	book	sg.PROX	POSS	3sg.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεᵛ	οόβo	olo	ezi ^h rá	‘This book is ours (incl.).’
	book	sg.PROX	POSS	1pl.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεᵛ	οόβo	olo	ezáar	‘This book is ours (excl.).’
	book	sg.PROX	POSS	1pl.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεᵛ	οόβo	olo	(e)é ^h ná	‘This book is yours (pl.).’
	book	sg.PROX	POSS	2pl.POSS	
	ᵛβερεεᵛ	οόβo	olo	eédí	‘This book is theirs’
	book	sg.PROX	POSS	3pl.POSS	

A summary of the forms of personal pronouns in Oḍal is given in Table 5.

Table 5: Summary of Oḍual Personal Pronouns

		<i>Subject</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Possessive</i>
Sg.	1 st	áámí ‘I’	áámí ‘me’	áámí ‘my’
	2 nd	á‘ná ‘you’	á‘ná ‘you’	ónú‘má ‘your’
	3 rd	odí ‘s/he/it’	odí ‘her/him/it’	ódí ‘her/his/its’
Pl.	1 st	ezirá ‘we’ (incl.)	ezirá ‘us’ (incl.)	ézír‘á ‘our’ (incl.)
		ézóór ‘we’ (excl.)	ézóór ‘us’ (excl.)	ézóór ‘our’ (excl.)
	2 nd	eená ‘you’	eená ‘you’	eé‘ná ‘your’
	3 rd	eedí ‘they’	eedí ‘them’	eédí ‘their’

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

(6)	ələər self	amí 1sg.POSS	‘myself’
	ələər self	onú‘má 2sg.POSS	‘yourself’
	ələər self	ódí 3sg.POSS	‘himself/herself’
	əsiləər selves	ezi ‘rá 1pl.POSS	‘ourselves’ (incl.)
	əsiləər selves	ezóór 1pl.POSS	‘ourselves’ (excl.)
	əsiləər selves	eé‘ná 2pl.POSS	‘yourselves’
	əsiləər selves	eédí 3pl.POSS	‘themselves’

Example (7) illustrates how the noun + possessive pronoun combination expresses reflexivity in a sentence:

(7) aamí u -móγon m -ələər amí
 1sgS 1sg.PST -hear OM -self 1sg.POSS
 ‘I heard myself.’

ána ú -móγon m -ələər onú‘má
 2sgS 2sg.PST -hear OM -self 2sg.POSS
 ‘You heard yourself.’

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

eziré ú -móγon m -əsíləər⁷ ezí ‘rǎ
 1plS 1pl.PST -hear OM -selves 1pl.POSS
 ‘We (incl.) heard ourselves.’

ezəər u -móγon m -əsíləər ezǎər
 1plS 1pl.PST -hear OM -selves 1pl.POSS
 ‘We (excl.) heard ourselves.’

eenó í -móγon m -əsíləər eé‘nǎ
 2plS 2pl.PST -hear OM -selves 2pl.POSS
 ‘You heard yourselves.’

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

⁷ Oḡual 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 *á-lǎər* ‘body/self’ (sg.) and *ási-lǎər* ‘bodies/selves’ (pl.) have a singular and a plural form marked by alternating prefixes. The difference between the singular *á-lǎər* ‘body’ and plural *ási-lǎər* ‘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 *á-lǎər* ‘body/self’ with a singular possessive pronoun is used when a singular antecedent is involved, while the form *ási-lǎər* ‘bodies/selves’ with a plural possessive pronoun is used when a plural antecedent is involved.

In reflexives constructions with a plural subject, the noun *əɫəɾ* ‘selves’ changes its form to *əsiləɾ* ‘selves’ to reflect the number of discourse participants.

3.2.1. Interrogative pronouns. Six interrogative pronouns can be identified in Ođual. 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

okəɾə	‘who/which/whose’
ééɣe	‘what’
ođíɣen	‘where/which’ ⁸
okəɾáméen	‘when’ ⁹
ebumééɣe	‘why’
ékə	‘how’

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

(8)	okəɾə	əj	‘Who?’	
	which	person		
	okəɾə	əβéɾeɾ	‘Which book?’	
	which	book		
	əβeɾeɾ	ókəɾə	əj	‘Whose book?’
	book	which	person	

When *okəɾə* 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 *okəɾə* always refers to an entity that has human attributes. Consider the interrogative pronouns in (9).

⁸ The form *ođíɣen* cannot be used to mean ‘whose.’

⁹ The form *okəɾáméen* is a combination of *okəɾə* ‘which’ and *əmen* ‘time.’

- (9) eziró ú -miiin eeɣe ‘What did we (incl.) see?’
 1plS 1pl.PST -see what
- eeɣé βó odí á -míim ‘What did he see?’
 what FOC 3sgS 3sg.PST -see
- odíɣen βó oβeɣeɣ oβo ‘Where is the book?’
 where FOC book DEF
- ána ná -va m -odíɣen ‘Which do you want?’
 2sgS 2sg.PRES -want OM -which
- odí tó -tu m -okəɾáméen ‘When will he come?’
 3sgS 3sg.FUT come OM -when

The interrogative pronoun *ééɣe* ‘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 *odíɣen* ‘where/which’ and *okəɾáméen* ‘when’ occur post-verbally, they are preceded by the object marker *m-*.

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

- (10) ebumééɣe ká áná le ‘Why are you eating?’
 why be 2sgS eat
- eeɣé ká áná le ‘Why are you eating?’
 why be 2sgS eat
- ekó odí ‘How is he?’
 how 3sgO

The forms *ebumééɣe* and *eeɣé* in (10) can be used interchangeably to mean ‘why.’

3.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns. There are four demonstrative pronouns in Oɖual, 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-

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 Oḍual are divided into two proximal demonstratives, *ooβó* ‘this’ and *iiβá* ‘these’ (referring respectively to one or more than entity that is/are close to the speaker), and two distal demonstratives, *opó* ‘that’ and *ipá* ‘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 *iiβá* ‘these’ and *ipá* ‘those.’

Table 7: Forms of Demonstrative Pronouns

<i>ooβó</i>	‘this’
<i>opó</i>	‘that’
<i>iiβá</i>	‘these’
<i>ipá</i>	‘those’

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	<i>oóβó</i>	‘this house’
	house	sg.PROX	
	<i>ərutu</i>	<i>ííβá</i>	‘these houses’
	houses	pl.PROX	
	out	<i>ópó</i>	‘that house’
	house	sg.DIST	
	<i>ərutu</i>	<i>ípá</i>	‘those houses’
	houses	pl.DIST	

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)	οοβό	αβερεε	αμί	‘This is my book.’
	sg.PROX	book	1sg.POSS	
	οοβό	αβερεε	ονύ‘μά	‘This is your (sg.) book.’
	sg.PROX	book	2sg.POSS	
	οοβό	αβερεε	εζί ‘ρά	‘This is our (incl.) book.’
	sg.PROX	book	1pl.POSS	
	οοβό	αβερεε	εζάέρ	‘This is our (excl.) book.’
	sg.PROX	book	1pl.POSS	
	οοβό	αβερεε	εέ ‘νά	‘This is your (pl.) book.’
	sg.PROX	book	2pl.POSS	
	οοβό	αβερεε	όδί	‘This is his book.’
	sg.PROX	book	3sg.POSS	
	οοβό	αβερεε	εέ δί	‘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 Oḡal are mostly compound in nature. In other words, they involve more than one morpheme, as in (13). Some indefinite pronouns are cases of reduplication:

(13)	<i>oḗiĩn</i>	<i>á'áj</i>		'someone'
	one	person		
	<i>ááj</i>	<i>oló</i>		'nobody'
	person	none		
	<i>oló</i>	<i>m -é'sí</i>		'nowhere'
	none	OM -place		
	<i>kə-ááj</i>	<i>kə-á'áj</i>		'everybody'
	every-person	every-person		
	<i>késí</i>	<i>késí</i>		'everywhere'
	<i>kə-ésí</i>	<i>kə-ésí</i>		
	every-place	every-place		

In (13) *oḗiĩn á'áj* expresses an affirmative meaning, making a personal reference; *ááj oló* and *oló m-é'sí* express a negative meaning, making a personal and non-personal reference respectively, while *kə-ááj kə-á'áj* and *késí késí* express a universal meaning, referring to human beings and locations respectively (cf. Ndimele 1996: 55f).

4. Word Order.

Oḍual 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)	<i>eḍiyotu</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>-míĩn</i>	<i>á'ábádí</i>	'Eḍighotu saw an iguana.'
	Eḍighotu	PAST	-see	iguana	
	S	V		O	

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

4.1. Order of Pronouns. In this subsection, we shall discuss the order of pronouns in Oḍual in relation to other words in the context of the basic word order in simple clauses. Specifically, we shall discuss the relative position of Oḍual pro-

- (21) ezirǎ ú -mim eeye ‘What did we (incl.) see?’
 1plS 1pl.PST -see what
- eeyé βó ezirǎ ú -mim ‘What did we (incl.) see?’
 what FOC 1plS 1pl.PST see
- ána ná -va m -odíyen ‘Which do you want?’
 2sgS 2sg.PRES -want OM -which
- odíyen βó ána ná -va ‘Which do you want’
 which FOC 2sgS 2sg.PRES -want
- odí tǎ -tu m -okǎrǎméen ‘When will he come?’
 3sgS 3sg.FUT come OM -when
- okǎrǎméen βó odí tǎ -tu ‘When will he come’
 when FOC 3sgS 3sg.FUT -come

A general remark that can be made regarding the interrogative pronouns such as *ééye* ‘what’, *odíyen* ‘which’, *okǎrǎméen* ‘when’ and objects in Oɖal 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:

- (22) opiín éʼǎj ‘someone’
 one person
- ǎǎj oló ‘nobody’
 person none
- oló m -éʼsí ‘nowhere’
 none OM -place

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.¹⁰

From the preceding discussion of the pronominal system of Oḍual it is observed that Oḍual 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 Oḍual 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 Oḍual. One of the notable observations made is that Oḍual 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 Oḍual 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 Oḍual 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 Oḍual lends support to Givón’s typological prediction that word order in NPs should reflect the basic word order in simple clauses.

¹⁰I do not have additional data to say more than this about indefinite pronouns.

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