# THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM OF OḌUAL[*]


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This paper discusses the pronominal system of Oḍual, 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 Oḍual 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 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.


## 1.    Introduction.


Ọnu Oḍual [ɔnu odúɔ́l] (*The Oḍual Language*), often shortened to Oḍual [óɗúɔ́l] is a largely under-studied Central Delta language spoken by the Oḍual community in Abua-Odual Local Government Area of Rivers State of Nigeria. The Oḍual community is divided into three major groups, Aḍibaam [ɔ́ɗíbɔ́ɔm], Arughunya [aruɣuɲa] and Aḅureni [əɓuréni] groups. The Aḍibaam group comprises Ạdada

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[adáda], Ẹmelego [ɛmɛ́lɛgɔ], Ogboloma [ogbolomə] and Ọkolomade [ɔkɔlɔ-məde]; the Ạrughunya group comprises Ekunuga [ekúnúgə], Ạnyu [aɲʋ], Ẹmaari-kpoko [ɛmaáŕkpɔkɔ], Obeḍum [obeɗúm] and Odau [ɔdáʋ], while the Ạbureni group comprises Ạkani [akanɪ] Amuruto [amʋrʋtɔ] and Ẹmago-Kụgbo [ɛmagɔ́kʋgbɔ́ɔ] (cf. Gardner et al. 1974 and Comson 1987). Comson (1987: viii), citing the Rivers State of Nigeria Ministry of Economic Development and Planning (1983), puts the population of Oḍual at 30,028.[1]

The Oḍual 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, Ibeleḅiri, 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). Oḍual is not spoken by all the communities that make up the Oḍual Clan. The communities that do not speak Oḍual are those that belong to the Aḅureni group. These communities speak Kụgbo, a Delta Cross language that is coordinate with Oḍual (Comson 1987: xii). In addition to Oḍual, some speakers in the Aḍibaam group also understand and speak Abuan, Kụgbo, Nembe, Kalabari and Ogbia (Kolo Creek), some speakers in the Ạrughunya group also understand and speak Ogbia, while some speakers in the Aḅureni group also understand and speak Ogbia, Nembe and Kalabari. Speakers of the Oḍual Language call themselves *Ịkpetemonu Oḍual* [ɪkpɛtɛmɔnʋ odúəl], meaning 'speakers of the Oḍual language.' A speaker of this language is called *Ọkpetemonu Oḍual* [ɔkpɛtɛmɔnʋ odúəl].

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

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

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[1]  Information about how many people speak Oḍual 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, ʊ, u/, while ten are double[3] oral vowels /ii, ɪɪ, ee, ɛɛ, aa, əə, ɔɔ, oo, ʊʊ, 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 | ʊ, ʊʊ |
| e, ee | o, oo | ɛ, ɛɛ | ɔ, ɔɔ |
| | ə, əə | | a, aa |

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[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', \**ɛkpom*, *əəbədi* 'iguana' \**aabədi* and [-ATR] *odʊ́ŋʷɛ* 'hornbill (long-tailed)', \**ɔdʊ́ŋʷɛ̣*, *ɔɔdɔrɔnú* '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 'ẹ' (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*[5] 'trouble' and *əle-kɛ́* '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-

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[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 (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 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 | 1st | áámí   | 'I'          |
|          | 2nd | á⁺ná   | 'you'        |
|          | 3rd | odí    | 's/he/it'    |
|          |     |        |              |
| Plural   | 1st | ezirə́ | 'we' (incl.) |
|          |     | ézə́ə́r | 'we' (excl.) |
|          | 2nd | eenə́  | 'you'        |
|          | 3rd | 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 | nɔ́ə | -rú[6] | 'I have come.' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 1sgS | 1sg.PRES PERF | -come |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | ána | nɔ́ə | -rú | 'You (sg.) have come.' |
|  | 2sgS | 2sg.PRES PERF | -come |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | odí | nɔ́ə | -rú | 'He has come.' |
|  | 3sgS | 3sg.PRES PERF | -come |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | ezirə́ | nóo | -rú | 'We (incl.) have come.' |
|  | 1plS | 1pl.PRES PERF | -come |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | ezəər | nóo | -rú | 'We (excl) have come.' |
|  | 1plS | 1pl.PRES PERF | -come |  |

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[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 *nɔɔ-* is associated with first person, second person and third person singular subject; the form *noo-* 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 *nɔɔ-*, *noo-* and *nee-* occur with verb stem that contain [+ATR] vowels, while the forms *naa-*, *nɔɔ-* and *nɛɛ-* 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 *nɔɔ-* 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.

| eenə́ | née | -rú | 'You (pl.) have come.' |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2plS | 2pl.PRES PERF | -come | |

| eedɪ́ | 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$^{st}$ | áámɪ́ | 'me' |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 2$^{nd}$ | á⁺ná | 'you' |
| | 3$^{rd}$ | odɪ́ | 'her/him/it' |
| | | | |
| Plural | 1$^{st}$ | ezirə́ | 'us' (incl.) |
| | | ézə́ər | 'us' (excl.) |
| | 2$^{nd}$ | eenə́ | 'you' |
| | 3$^{rd}$ | eedɪ́ | 'them' |

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

(2)
| odɪ́ | tə́ | -péléɣi | áámɪ́ | 'He will call me.' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3sgS | 3sg.FUT | -call | me | |

| aamɪ | tə́ | -péléɣɪ́ | á⁺ná | 'I will call you (sg.).' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sgS | 1sg.FUT | -call | you | |

| aamɪ | tə́ | -péléɣi | odɪ́ | 'I will call him.' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sgS | 1sg.FUT | -call | him | |

| ána | tə́ | -péléɣi | ézə́ə́r | 'You (sg.) will call us.' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2sgS | 2sg.FUT | -call | us | |

| ezirə́ | tó | -péléɣi | eedí | 'We (incl.) will call them.' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1plS | 1pl.PST | -see | them | |

| ezəər | tó | -péléɣi | eenə́ | '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)
| iβó | odí | ə | -βeleɣí | aamɪ | aamɪ | tə́ | -túu | -ní |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| if | 3sgS | 3sg.PST | -call | 1sgO | 1sgS | 1sg.FUT | -come | -CERT |

'If he calls me, I will come.'

| iβó | aamɪ | ə | -βeleɣí | ána | ána | tə́ | -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 Oḍual is by the use of possessive pronouns (cf. Tsunoda 1997: 17). These pronouns follow the possessed noun or possessee. Possessive constructions in Oḍual 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꜋mə́* '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<sup>st</sup> | áámí | 'my' |
| | 2<sup>nd</sup> | ónú⁺mə́ | 'your' |
| | 3<sup>rd</sup> | ódí | 'her/his/its' |
| | | | |
| Plural | 1<sup>st</sup> | ézír⁺ə́ | 'our' (incl.) |
| | | ézə́ə́r | 'our' (excl.) |
| | 2<sup>nd</sup> | eé⁺nə́ | 'your' |
| | 3<sup>rd</sup> | eédí | 'their' |

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

(4)   ɔβɛrɛɛr      amí                       'my book'
       book         1sg.POSS

       ɔβɛrɛɛr      onú⁺mə́                   'your (sg.) book'
       book         2sg.POSS

       ɔβɛrɛɛr      ezí ⁺rə́                  'our (incl.) book'
       book         1pl.POSS

       ɔβɛrɛɛr      ezə́ə́r                    'our (excl.) book'
       book         1pl.POSS

       ɔβɛrɛɛr      eé⁺nə́                    'your (pl.) book'
       book         2pl.POSS

       ɔβɛrɛɛr      ódí                       'his book'
       book         3sg.POSS

       ɔβɛrɛɛr      eédí                      'their book'
       book         2pl.POSS

A look at example (4) reveals that the form of the possessive pronoun re-
ferring to first person singular is altered both segmentally and tonally. Specifi-
cally, it is observed that one of the identical vowels gets deleted and the tone pat-
tern 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) | ɔβɛrɛɛr | oóβo | olo | amí | 'This book is mine.' |
|-----|---------|------|-----|-----|----------------------|
|     | book    | sg.PROX | POSS | 1sg.POSS | |
|     | ɔβɛrɛɛr | oóβo | olo | onú⁺mə́ | 'This book is yours (sg.).' |
|     | book    | sg.PROX | POSS | 2sg.POSS | |
|     | ɔβɛrɛɛr | oóβo | olo | ódí | 'This book is his.' |
|     | book    | sg.PROX | POSS | 3sg.POSS | |
|     | ɔβɛrɛɛr | oóβo | olo | ezí⁺rə́ | 'This book is ours (incl.).' |
|     | book    | sg.PROX | POSS | 1pl.POSS | |
|     | ɔβɛrɛɛr | oóβo | olo | ezə́ə́r | 'This book is ours (excl.).' |
|     | book    | sg.PROX | POSS | 1pl.POSS | |
|     | ɔβɛrɛɛr | oóβo | olo | (e)é⁺nə́ | 'This book is yours (pl.).' |
|     | book    | sg.PROX | POSS | 2pl.POSS | |
|     | ɔβɛrɛɛr | oóβo | olo | eédí | 'This book is theirs' |
|     | book    | sg.PROX | POSS | 3pl.POSS | |

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

## Table 5:    Summary of Oḍual Personal Pronouns

|        |       | Subject | Object | Possessive |
|--------|-------|---------|--------|------------|
| Sg.    | 1st   | áámí 'I' | áámí 'me' | áámí 'my' |
|        | 2nd   | áˈná 'you' | áˈná 'you' | ónúˈmə́ 'your' |
|        | 3rd   | odí 's/he/it' | odí 'her/him/it' | ódí 'her/his/its' |
|        |       |         |        |            |
| Pl.    | 1st   | ezirə́ 'we' (incl.) | ezirə́ 'us' (incl.) | ézírˈə́ 'our' (incl.) |
|        |       | ézə́ə́r 'we' (excl.) | ézə́ə́r 'us' (excl.) | ézə́ə́r 'our' (excl.) |
|        | 2nd   | eenə́ 'you' | eenə́ 'you' | eéˈnə́ 'your' |
|        | 3rd   | 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     amí                  'myself'
     self       1sg.POSS

     ələər     onúˈmə́             'yourself'
     self       2sg.POSS

     ələər     ódí                  'himself/herself'
     self       3sg.POSS

     əsiləər    ezíˈrə́             'ourselves' (incl.)
     selves     1pl.POSS

     əsiləər    ezə́ə́r              'ourselves' (excl.)
     selves     1pl.POSS

     əsiləər    eéˈnə́             'yourselves'
     selves     2pl.POSS

     əsiləər    eédí                 'themselves'
     selves     3pl.POSS

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

(7) aamı  ʊ   -mɔ́ɣɔn  m  -ələər  amí
   1sgS  1sg.PST -hear    OM -self   1sg.POSS
   'I heard myself.'

   ána  ʊ́    -mɔ́ɣɔn  m  -ələər  onú⁺mɔ́
   2sgS  2sg.PST -hear    OM -self   2sg.POSS
   'You heard yourself.'

   odí  á    -mɔ́ɣɔn  m  -ələər  ódí
   3sgS  3sg.PST -hear    OM -self   3sg.POSS
   'He heard himself.'

   ezirə́  ʊ́   -mɔ́ɣɔn  m  -əsiləər[7]  ezí⁺rə́
   1plS  1pl.PST -hear    OM -selves   1pl.POSS
   'We (incl.) heard ourselves.'

   ezəər  ʊ   -mɔ́ɣɔn  m  -əsiləər  ezə́ər
   1plS  1pl.PST -hear    OM -selves   1pl.POSS
   'We (excl.) heard ourselves.'

   eenə́  í   -mɔ́ɣɔn  m  -əsiləər  eé⁺nə́
   2plS  2pl.PST -hear    OM -selves   2pl.POSS
   'You heard yourselves.'

   eedí  í   -mɔ́ɣɔn  m  -əsiləər  eédí
   3plS  3pl.PST -hear    OM -selves   3pl.POSS
   'They heard themselves.'

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[7] Oḍual 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 *ə́-lə́ər* 'body/self' (sg.) and *əsí-lə́ər* 'bodies/selves' (pl.) have a singular and a plural form marked by alternating prefixes. The difference between the singular *ə́-lə́ər* 'body' and plural *əsí-lə́ər* '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 *ə́-lə́ər* 'body/self' with a singular possessive pronoun is used when a singular antecedent is involved, while the form *əsí-lə́ər* '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 *əsilərr* 'selves' to reflect the number of discourse participants.

**3.2.1. Interrogative pronouns**. Six interrogative pronouns can be identified in Oḍual. 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**

| | |
|---|---|
| okərə́ | 'who/which/whose' |
| ééɣe | 'what' |
| oɗíɣen | 'where/which'[8] |
| okərəméen | 'when'[9] |
| ebumééɣe | 'why' |
| ɛ́kɔ | 'how' |

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

| (8) | okərə́ | ə́əj | | 'Who?' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | which | person | | |
| | | | | |
| | okərə́ | ɔ́βɛrɛɛr | | 'Which book?' |
| | which | book | | |
| | | | | |
| | ɔβɛrɛɛr | ókə́rə́ | ə́əj | 'Whose book?' |
| | book | which | person | |

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

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[8] The form *oɗíɣen* cannot be used to mean 'whose.'

[9] The form *okərəméen* is a combination of *okərə́* 'which' and *əmen* 'time.'

(9)  ezirə́    ú        -mɪɪn     eeɣe                      'What did we (incl.) see?'
     1plS      1pl.PST  -see      what

     eeɣé      βó    odí    á        -mí m                   'What did he see?'
     what      FOC   3sgS   3sg.PST  -see

     odíɣen    βó    ɔβɛrɛɛr   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       tə́        -tu     m   -okərəméen            '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 de-
termined. 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
*okərəméen* '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

      ɛkɔ́        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
Oḍual, as seen in Table 7. These pronouns very often require the speaker to indi-
cate 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 pro-
nouns '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 *iiβə́* 'these' (referring respectively to one or
more than entity that is/are close to the speaker), and two distal demonstratives,
*opó* 'that' and *ipə́* '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 *iiβə́* 'these' and *ipə́* 'those.'

| Table 7: | Forms of Demonstrative Pronouns |
|----------|-------------|
| ooβó | 'this' |
| opó | 'that' |
| iiβə́ | 'these' |
| ipə́ | '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 trimo-
raic 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        oóβó                'this house'
      house      sg.PROX

      ərutu      iíβə                'these houses'
      houses     pl.PROX

      out        ópó                 'that house'
      house      sg.DIST

      ərutu      ípə                 'those houses'
      houses     pl.DIST

Demonstratives agree in number with nouns in noun + demonstrative construc-
tions. In these constructions, demonstratives follow the nouns they modify.

Let us consider example (12), where demonstrative pronouns occur in sentence-initial position.

(12)   ooβó      ɔβɛrɛɛr   amí                 'This is my book.'
        sg.PROX   book        1sg.POSS

        ooβó      ɔβɛrɛɛr   onú⁺mə́          'This is your (sg.) book.'
        sg.PROX   book        2sg.POSS

        ooβó      ɔβɛrɛɛr   ezí⁺rə́           'This is our (incl.) book.'
        sg.PROX   book        1pl.POSS

        ooβó      ɔβɛrɛɛr   ezə́ə́r           'This is our (excl.) book.'
        sg.PROX   book        1pl.POSS

        ooβó      ɔβɛrɛɛr   eé⁺nə́           'This is your (pl.) book.'
        sg.PROX   book        2pl.POSS

        ooβó      ɔβɛrɛɛr   ódí              'This is his book.'
        sg.PROX   book        3sg.POSS

        ooβó      ɔβɛrɛɛr   eé 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 Oḍual 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)  oɲíín     ə́ˈə́j                    'someone'
      one       person

      ə́ə́j       oló                      'nobody'
      person    none

      oló    m    -éˈsí                   'nowhere'
      none   OM   -place

      kə-ə́ə́j        kə-ə́ˈə́j            'everybody'
      every-person  every-person

      késí          késí                 'everywhere'
      kə-ésí        kə-ésí
      every-place   every-place

In (13) *oɲíín ə́ˈə́j* expresses an affirmative meaning, making a personal reference; *ə́ə́j oló* and *oló m-éˈsí* express a negative meaning, making a personal and non-personal reference respectively, while *kə-ə́ə́j kə-ə́ˈə́j* 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)  eḍiɣotu    á      -míín    ə́ˈə́bə́dí          '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-

nouns to other constituents in the noun phrase (NP), since many of these pro-
nouns are modifiers.

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

(15)   o-reɲ      oβo                                    'the tree'
       tree       the

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

(16)   o-boóɓí     ɔ́əj                                   '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 lan-
guages seen in (14)

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

(17)   a.  ɔβɛɾɛɛr     eédí                              'their book'
           book        2pl.POSS

       b.  ɔβɛɾɛɛr     oóβo      olo       amí     'This book is mine.'
           book        sg.PROX   POSS      1sg.POSS

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)   aamɪ   u        -mɔ́ɣɔn   m    -ələər  amí        'I heard myself.'
       1sgS   1sg.PST  -hear     OM   -self   1sg.POSS

Two observations can be made about (18). First, the reflexive pronoun follows
the verb thereby conforming to the basic word order. Second, the possessive pro-
noun 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                                'this house'
          house     sg.PROX

      b.  ooβó      ɔβɛrɛɛr    amí                      'This is my book.'
          sg.PROX   book       1sg.POSS

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.  okərə́    ə́əj                                'who?'
          which    person

      b.  ɔβɛrɛɛr   ókə́rə́   ə́əj                       'whose book?'
          book      which    person

The semantics of *okərə́* 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 *ə́əj*, 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 *ɔβɛrɛɛr* '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.

(21)  ezirə́    ú        -mɪɪn      eeɣe                    'What did we (incl.) see?'
      1plS     1pl.PST -see        what

      eeɣé   βó    ezirə́    ú        -mɪ́ɪn              'What did we (incl.) see?'
      what   FOC   1plS     1pl.PST  see

      ána    ná        -va      m    -odíɣen              'Which do you want?'
      2sgS   2sg.PRES -want     OM   -which

      odíɣen  βó    ána    ná        -va                 'Which do you want'
      which   FOC   2sgS   2sg.PRES -want

      odí    tə́       -tu      m    -okərə́méen          'When will he come?'
      3sgS   3sg.FUT  come     OM   -when

      okərə́méen  βó    odí    tə́       -tu             'When will he come'
      when       FOC   3sgS   3sg.FUT -come

A general remark that can be made regarding the interrogative pronouns such as *ééɣe* 'what', *odíɣen* 'which', *okərə́méen* 'when' and objects in Oḍual 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)  oɲiín    ə́⁺ə́j                              'someone'
      one      person

      ə́ə́j     oló                                'nobody'
      person  none

      oló     m    -é⁺sí                          '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 Givon's typological prediction that word order in NPs should reflect the basic word order in simple clauses.

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

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