

THE RECAPITULATING PRONOUNS IN KUTEB

ROBERT KOOPS AND JOHN T. BENDOR-SAMUEL

1. INTRODUCTION

Are Kutéb¹ verbs possessed like nouns? This article² describes a set of pronouns which occur after the verb in Kutéb but which refer to the subject of the sentence. At first glance these pronouns appear to be simply a redundant statement of the noun or pronoun subject. They are, however, found to be parallel in form and function to the possessive pronouns which occur with nouns.

These pronouns are here termed "recapitulating pronouns."³

A brief outline of the pronoun sets and verb phrase is given before the details of the occurrence of the reduplicating pronouns.

2. THE PRONOUN SETS

In Kutéb there are the following sets of pronoun forms:⁴

	indep.	subj.	object and poss.	emph. poss.	nominali- zed poss.	recapitu- lating	elided
1sg	ame ⁵	m	m/me	nám	anám	m/me	m
2sg	afu	fu	fu	náfu	anáfu	fu	f
3sg	awū	ū	wū	náwū	anáwū	wu	w
1pl	atī	tī	tī	nátī	anátī	ti	t
2pl	anī	nī	nī	nánī	anánī	ni	n
3pl	abā	ā	bā	nábā	anábā	ba	b
3inan	ayī	yī/ī	yī	náyī	anáyī	yī	y

¹ Kutéb is a language spoken by 30,000 people in southern Wukari Division, Benue-Plateau State, Nigeria. Kutéb is a member of the Jukunoid sub-branch of the Benue-Congo branch of Niger-Congo. Cf. Greenberg, *LANGUAGES OF AFRICA* (1966), p. 9.

² This article arises from the field work of Robert and Esther Koops (Sudan United Mission), who have lived in the Kutéb area for approximately three years in the period 1967-71. In studying this feature of Kutéb, extensive use has been made of a concordance giving occurrences of all morphemes in 150 pages of text materials. This concordance was provided through the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, sponsored by Grant G5-934 of the National Science Foundation.

The analysis presented in this article has been worked out by Robert Koops and John Bendor-Samuel (Summer Institute of Linguistics) and the article written jointly.

³ W. E. Welmers uses the term "recapitulating pronoun" for a rather similar phenomenon found in the Jukun language which is closely related to Kutéb, in his study "Jukun of Wukari and Jukun of Takum" mimeographed in 1949 and recently reissued by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1968. Welmers gives examples of the recapitulating pronouns but does not spell out in detail the conditions under which they are used.

⁴ It would, of course, be possible to set up base pronoun forms and to derive the various sets from these by rules, e.g., the emphatic possessive pronouns could be derived from the object/possessive set by applying a rule such as CV → náCV. For the purposes of this article, however, a visual display presents the data in a more immediate manner, and it is not intended that this should be regarded as a full statement of the pronominal system as this lies outside the scope of this article.

⁵ Kutéb forms in this article are written phonemically. Tone is marked as follows: low, unmarked except on syllabic m when it occurs as a suffix (in which case it is marked /m̩/ to distinguish it from syllable-final m); mid /-/; high /'/; low-high glide /-'/; mid-high glide /-'/; high-low glide /^/

The independent forms are often used in subject position in slow speech. In object position the independent forms are used when a recapitulating pronoun precedes the object pronoun. The nominalized possessive forms of the pronoun occur as independent pronouns showing possession. See Section 8.3 for discussion and examples.

It will be noticed that the recapitulating pronouns are identical in form to the possessive pronouns.

3. VERB PHRASE

In order to understand the function of the recapitulating pronouns it is necessary to outline briefly the structure of the verb phrase.

Verbal constructions in Kuteb range from simple one-verb clauses to complex verb series of several different structural types. Whatever the complexity of the verbal construction, however, there is always a main verb, which can be diagrammed as follows:

(subordinating particle)	(aspect marker)	Main Verb	(Auxiliary)
There are four (optional) aspect markers,		future (fut),	ú
		incompletive (inc),	kú
		subjunctive (sub),	â
		hortative (hor),	ã

and all these occur immediately preceding the verb.

Examples:

Audu bá iré.	'Audu came yesterday.'
Audu come yesterday	
Audu ú bá ucwē.	'Audu will come tomorrow.'
Audu fut come tomorrow	
Awū kú bá tīnīne.	'He is coming now.'
he inc come now	
Sé w â bá tawē.	'When he comes.'
until he sub come before	
Sé w ā cī yī titibyāg.	'He should eat it hot.'
let he hor eat it hot	

In addition, two (optional) subordinating particles (s.p.) precede this set of aspect markers: *a*, the conditional/temporal particle (con), and *nā*, which is used in reported speech and in clauses expressing intention or desire.

Examples:

Ali rī bāsi	awū nā ú bá iréb.	'Ali said he'd come in the evening.' Elic
Ali say clause part.	he s.p. fut come evening	
Ū kú táng bāsi	umbae wū nā cwū pú ⁷ wū.	'He thought the child had died.'
he inc think cl. part.	child the s.p. die per he	

⁶ Where reference numbers are given, examples are taken from the texts used in the concordance project. Other examples are from personal observation. Occasional examples have been elicited in the course of language study, and these are labelled "elicited".

⁷ See section 4.1.

Kisī a tá kunūnn fu, . . .	'If there is a wizard in your house . . .'
wizard con beat house your	DE124
Isīm yī tī atī a tōm tág pú tī . . .	'After we have finished hoeing . . .'
after it that we con hoe finish per we	TC5
F a tō mām pú fu utong yī . . .	'When you have cooked the soup . . .'
you con cook finish per you soup the	SP46

Following the main verb of the phrase frequently an auxiliary (Aux) occurs. Auxiliaries may be verbs or particles, and they qualify the action of the verb. Some of the auxiliary verbs occurring are:

mām 'finish'	Ū nde mām pú wū wānde.	'He finished working.'
	he do finish per he work	
num 'tire'	Ā rī rī num pú bā.	'They talked until tired.'
	they say say tire per they	
pāng 'too much'	Afu ndub pā'ng fu ijwē.	'You are too proud.'
	you swell too much you body	

Particles which function as auxiliaries are:

ra 'violently'	Mpyerra pú m awū risū kutē.	'I beheaded him long ago.'
	I cut per I him head before	
tā 'change of state'	Mbub tā tága!	'Open the window!'
	open window	
fé 'do completely'	Ti ka fob fé Jos.	'We went all the way to Jos.'
	we go reach Jos	
cī 'close or cover'	Ū cwinñ cī ufu kusóg.	'He closed the door.'
	he close door house	

For convenience, the verb together with any auxiliary is termed the "verb nucleus" throughout the rest of this article.

4. OCCURRENCES OF THE RECAPITULATING PRONOUNS

The recapitulating pronouns occur as follows.

4.1. pú 'PERFECTIVE'

The verb nucleus may be followed by the particle pú, followed in turn by a recapitulating pronoun. The usage of pú seems difficult to define, but it serves mainly to indicate,

- action completed in the immediate present,
- action completed in contrast to other actions still going on or which have not yet taken place, and
- a present state in contrast to a previous one.

pú is found in all types of clauses but has so far not been found co-occurring with the aspect markers, nor in negative clauses.

Examples:

- (a) M pū ikén fu bá pú m. 'I have brought your things.' FL50
 I take things your come I
 Anī tam pú nī kó. 'Have you hidden?' PS152
 you hide you ?
- (b) Ā rū ka fob pú bā kutúr bārā, 'When they have reached the bush, they divide
 they go go reach they bush cl.p. the bush amongst themselves.' DF16
 abā kan átsō kan kutúr.
 they divide recip divide bush
 F a tō mām pú fu utong yī, 'When you have cooked the soup, you thin it
 you con cook finish you soup the with oil. . . ' SP46
 u shwu yī tí kindob. . .
 you thin it with oil
- (c) Utēn jīm pú wū tīnīne. 'The country is peaceful now.' DA375
 area cool it now
 Ámbyī byāg pú yī. 'The water is hot.'
 water hot it

4.2. NEGATIVE CLAUSES

Negation in Kuteb is realized as follows: The negative particle *bē* occurs at the end of the clause concerned; the verb nucleus is followed immediately by a recapitulating pronoun. The full range of clause types and aspect markers is found to occur with negative.

Examples:

- Anī nde fōb nī wānde wūne bē. 'You are not able to do this work.'
 you do reach you work this not
- Kúkwén tá wū té wānde atáng bē. 'The priest has nothing to do with it.' DC89
 priest be he with work there not
- Íyā' wū rū' wū bē. 'His mother did not go.' FN23
 mother his go she not
- Ū sī wū unde tī tīnyang bē. 'He is not a good man.'
 he is he man with goodness not

4.3. CONTRASTIVE

The recapitulating pronouns also occur quite frequently in non-negative and non-completive clauses. These clauses may be marked by future, incomplete, conditional or hortative aspect markers, and there seems to be no restriction as to occurrence with clause types. The function of the recapitulating pronouns in this occurrence is discussed in detail in section 7.

Examples:

- lcwu rī bāsi, ā nā nyā'ng bā cī cwúcwō. 'Leopard said they should dip (some
 leopard say clause they s.p. dip they again again honey for him) again.' FG9
 part

Anyisū a bá rū kasim té bā íyā' bā . . .	'If the children go back with their mother. . .'	DA340
children con come go back with they mother their		
... ande nā ú byí'nn bā kufa tírī.	'... people are to play the harp now.'	DC46
people s.p. fut play they harp then		
Tí rū' tí tírī.	'We're leaving.'	
we go we then		
Rū' fu ikén fu!	'Get out of here!'	
go you thing your		

4.4. SPECIFIC MORPHEMES

It is noticeable that with certain verbs the recapitulating pronouns occur much more often than with other verbs. Again, there seem to be no restrictions on the occurrence of these verbs in all types of clauses and with all the aspect markers.

These verbs appear to have in common a semantic element of negation. They are:

pyír	'refuse'
shaen	'object to'

The recapitulating pronoun always occurs with the auxiliary *pāng* which has the meaning 'too much.'

Examples:

Ū pyír wū tí ū bá.	'He refused to come.'	DA326
he refuse he that he come		
Ukwe Ali shæn wū ayí bā, aser ná undá ne kō pā'ng yī.	'Chief Ali objected to it, saying the bride price was too high.'	DA46
Chief Ali object he it cl.p. money of woman this much too it		
Ufanggó rwēn pā'ng wū.	'It is too far away.'	DD13
road far too it		

4.5. ACCOMPANIMENT AND BENEFACTIVE

It will be seen already that the recapitulating pronoun normally follows the verb nucleus. With two constructions, however, this is not the case. These are two relator-axis phrases expressing beneficiary object and accompaniment.

The beneficiary phrase consists of the particle *na* followed by the noun or pronoun concerned. The accompaniment phrase consists of the particle *té* followed by the noun or pronoun. These phrases most frequently occur immediately after the verb nucleus and before the object.

When such phrases occur together with the particle *pú* and the recapitulating pronoun, it is found that *na* and *té* usually follow the verb nucleus and are themselves immediately followed by *pú* and the recapitulating pronoun. The noun or pronoun associated with *na* and *té* follows the recapitulating pronoun and precedes any direct object of the main verb. In negative clauses similarly, *na* and *té* immediately follow the verb nucleus and are themselves immediately followed by the recapitulating pronoun. This pattern is parallel to the normal pattern of indirect objects preceding direct objects.

Examples:

M sa na pú m afu wúci.

I take to per I you food

or

M sa wúci na pú m afu.

I take food to per I you

M som té pú m afu.

I sit with per I you

M sa nã m afu wúci bẽ.

I take to I you food not

or

M sa wúci nã m afu bẽ.

I take food to I you not

M som té m afu bẽ.

I sit with I you not

'I have taken food to you.'

'I have sat with you.'

'I haven't taken food to you.'

'I have not sat with you.'

There are strong indications that the benefactive (*na*) and accompaniment (*té*) particles are verbal elements, either verb or auxiliary.

First of all, *na* and *té* appear to function as verbs in constructions that could be analyzed as serial constructions.

Examples:

Awũ rĩ irá té imbô rĩ bã. . .

he say word with chimp say cl. part.

Ū sa wúci na imbô, rĩ bã. . .

he take food to chimp say cl.p.

'He said to the chimp . . .' DC271

'He gave the chimp food, saying . . .' Elic

Compare with:

M sa rikae pyer kutúkũ.

I take axe cut tree

M jãb ují yĩr mbawén.

I buy rope tie goat

'I took an axe and cut down a tree.'

'I bought a rope and tied up the goat.' Elic

An alternate position for *té* and its object is before the verb nucleus. This also parallels certain serial constructions. *Na* plus its object, however, is not found in this position.

Examples:

Fxẽn irá tĩ m té fu kú rĩ ne.

hear word which I with you inc say this

Anĩ té bã sĩ bá té átsõ kó.

you with them down come with recip. ?

Unde tĩ té nĩ rĩ sĩ ayẽ.

man who with you say is who?

'Listen to what I'm telling you.' DE181

'Did you (pl) come down together with them?'

'Who told you?' FN 111

In all of these cases, *na* and *té* could be considered verbs meaning 'give to' and 'be with' respectively.

Secondly, *té* patterns with other verbs and auxiliaries in being reduplicated after an object.

Examples:

Ū rī *té* m *té*. 'He told me.'

he say with me with

Ā wēn wū wēn. 'They killed him.'

they kill him kill

Thirdly, the normal structure is for the verb nucleus to be followed by either *pú* + recapitulating pronoun

or just the recapitulating pronoun

or an object

or zero (in the case of intransitive verbs).

If *té* and *na* are interpreted as verbs or auxiliaries, this pattern is maintained. Compare the following:

M yēr wē'n m awū bē. 'I did not sacrifice him.' Elic

I cut kill I him not

M som *té* m awū bē. 'I did not sit with him.' Elic

I sit with I him not

M sē rū' m afu bē. 'I did not ignore you.' Elic

I look go I you not

M sa nă m afu bē. 'I did not give it to you.' Elic

I take to I you not

Fourthly, both *na* and *té* have been found with the incompletive aspect marker *ku*.

Examples:

Abā kú sa irá Rimam kú *té* tī kú rī. . . 'They were telling us about Christianity.'
they inc take matter God inc with us inc say DA64

M kú bē kú na fu kutsinkén wūne. . . 'I am writing you this letter.'
I inc write inc to you letter this

It should be pointed out that both the benefactive and the accompaniment phrases can also occur after the object, the normal position for adverbial phrases.

Examples:

Ū shā ámbyi kitu na bā. 'He sought palm wine for them.'

he seek water palm to them

Ū rī irá *té* imbô rī bā. . . 'He told the chimp. . .' DC271

he say word with chimp say c.p.

Viewing these particles historically, one might suspect that *na* and *té* are in the process of moving from a free status as verbs to the more restricted status of the verbal auxiliary, and from there to what is now a preposition-like role in ordinary adverbial phrases.

Perhaps the function of *na* and *té* sheds some light on the status of *pú*. On the one hand, *pú* does not function like the aspect markers.

- (a) It occurs after the verb, while all the aspect markers occur before the verb.
- (b) *pú* never co-occurs with the negative particle. All the aspect markers occur with negative.
- (c) *pú* may occur with the incomplete aspect marker *kú*.

Examples:

Ushén usin nā kyang kú yǎn kú pú wū. 'Dry season is approaching.'
 season dry s.p. walk inc finish inc it

Ame kyang kú yǎn kú pú m. 'I am approaching.' Elic
 I walk inc finish inc I

On the other hand *pú* clearly belongs to the verbal system and does not function like the prepositions found in adverbial phrases. If *pú*, too, was originally a verb, this would account for the occurrence of the pronouns after it.

4.6. SUMMARY OF OCCURRENCES

In summary, it may be stated that the recapitulating pronoun must occur with certain constructions, i.e.,

1. whenever the perfective *pú* occurs in the verb phrase
2. whenever negation occurs
3. whenever the auxiliary *pāng* occurs.

The recapitulating pronoun *may* occur with other constructions. There seem to be no restrictions as far as verb phrases or clause structure is concerned. It is, however, noticeable that with two verbs there is a strong tendency for the recapitulating pronoun to occur.

5. TONAL JUNCTURE

As outlined above, the recapitulating pronoun may follow the verb nucleus immediately. It is in this position that a fascinating tone phenomenon can be observed: low tone verbs take on a low-high glide, mid tone verbs take on a mid-high glide, while high tone verbs remain unchanged. One might postulate a tone morpheme /' / between the verb and a recapitulating pronoun. It is this tonal feature which suggests that the "recapitulating" pronoun is more than a redundant marker of the subject noun or pronoun. No tone link is heard after the particle *pú* because, like high tone verbs, *pú* remains unchanged before recapitulating pronouns.

Examples:

tone of verb			'They did not _____ it.'
low	nde	'do'	Ā ndě bā bē.
	tu	'find'	Ā tǔ bā bē.
mid	tō	'cook'	Ā tō' bā bē.
	wēn	'kill'	Ā wē'n bā bē.
high	mbé	'receive'	Ā mbé bā bē.
	sú	'carry'	Ā sú bā bē.

It should be pointed out that, in contrast to the possessive and recapitulating pronouns, no tone juncture ever accompanies object or indirect object pronouns. The tone juncture is clearly a feature of the recapitulating pronoun.

Examples:

Kushwág . . . kú nde bā íswér.	'Snails are taboo to them.' DE80
snail inc do them taboo	
Ā nde wū forō.	'They disciplined him.' DA323
they do him punishment	
Ā kú ye unde wū kú byinn wū kumbáb.	'They catch the man and whip him.'
they inc catch man the inc beat him whip	

6. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

It is a general rule that modifiers in Kuteb follow the object modified. Possessive pronouns and nouns fall under this rule. For example,

uwá m	'my wife'	icír tī	'our yams'
ubūr Ali	'Ali's hat'	icír Dauda	'Dauda's yams'

The possessive relationship is shown not only by the order of the possessor and possessed but in most cases by a definite tone juncture. If the possessor is a pronoun, the pattern is simple: nouns having final syllables with low and mid tone are marked by glides to high tone before a possessive pronoun, while a final high tone remains unchanged.

Examples:

stem tone			'my _____'	'his _____'
low	umbae	'child'	umbæ m	umbæ wū
mid	risū	'head'	risū' m	risū' wū
high	uwá	'wife'	uwá m	uwá wū

In constructions where the possessor is a noun, there is the same high tone juncture. These constructions are complicated by extensive tone perturbation operating on the prefixes of the possessor nouns. It should be noted, however, that irrespective of the tone perturbation associated with the possessor nouns, the mid-high and the low-high glides on the final syllables of the possessed nouns are still always recognizable. For example,

stem tone	possessed item	possessor	
low	ubur 'hat'	ukwe 'chief'	ubūr úkwe
mid	utī 'spear'		utī' úkwe
high	uwá 'wife'		uwá úkwe
low	rikæ 'axe'	undá 'woman'	rikæ ūndá
mid	risū 'head'		risū' ūndá
high	usú 'load'		usú ūndá

7. COMPARISON OF THE RECAPITULATING PRONOUNS AND THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

It has been shown that the recapitulating pronouns are accompanied by a tonal pattern which links them with the previous verb or particle in precisely the same way in which possessive pronouns are linked with nouns and nominal constructions.

The recapitulating and possessive pronouns are similar not only in form but also in function. This can be seen when we consider the many occurrences of recapitulating pronouns in non-negative and non-perfective clauses. Consider the following:

A si tí f a mbyě fu kusóg ná biríki. . .

If is that you if build you house of brick . . .

'If you build your house of brick (in contrast to those building houses of mud). . .' DC158

M kú cǎng m ucín m tí bén ayíb.

I inc walk I walk my with ripe eyes

'I am walking/acting cleverly (in contrast to others, who have been caught by spirits).' DC126

M rú' m. 'I'm going (leaving) (in contrast to you, for you aren't going anywhere).'

I go I

Abítě' tí táng bāsi ā nā sǐ bā ricwú tā tsō uyínn bá.

fathers our think cl.p. they s.p. are they ghosts who mount sea come

'Our forefathers thought that they (Europeans) were ghosts who came up out of the sea (rather than ordinary people).' DA62

Ame kú'nn me anám tí unzu Apyíkum.

I call I mine with mouth Jukun

'I call mine (dogs) with Jukun names (in contrast to others, who call their dogs with Kuteb names).' DF40

In each of these examples, there is a definite contrast between the action or state of the subject(s) or item(s) and that of another. The action or state in this sense "belongs to" a person or item. The action is contrasted to another action by virtue of its possession, i.e., it is an action done by or a state belonging to a specific subject. Often, quite clearly, unilateral action on the part of the subject is involved.

8. ná POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

Fairly frequently in Kuteb texts possession is shown by the particle ná between the possessed item and the possessor. The possessive construction with the high tone possessive marker described above appears to be an alternative form of ná possessive construction. The full ná form seems to be used quite often in ordinary possessive constructions and always with emphatic possessive constructions. The following examples illustrate contexts in which ná always occurs.

8.1. When attention is fixed on the owner. (Note that with the pronouns, the emphatic possessive forms are used, which all include ná.

lwæn ná aróm kú txí tí iwæn ná andá.

marks of men inc differ from marks of women

'Men's facial markings differ from those of women.' DH21

Yi sǐ yi kutsinkén ná asě́r úkwe tǐ utěn nábā atáng bē.

it is it paper of money chief of area their there not

'It wasn't the tax receipt of *their* country.' NA₃₀

A kú tā ibyē nábā tǐ rubú.

they inc shoot meat their with arrow

'They shoot *their* game with bow and arrow.' DF₉₉

8.2. When a topic is being introduced:

Wánde ná kúkwen rukwen, abā té andá pāng átsō.

work of priest mountain they with women equal together

'The work of the mountain priest—they are equal with women.' NC₁

8.3. In situations requiring a nominalized possessive construction. In these cases ná is preceded by a nominalizing prefix a- and followed by a pronoun or a nominal construction, whether a simple noun, interrogative (who) or noun phrase.

Kukunn tǐ uróm rī bā, apúpwen si anám, ribén si anám.

chicken male say c.p. sky is mine earth is mine

'The cock said, "Heaven is mine and earth is mine."' FG₃₂

Anám sǐ kú bá bá tǐnē ne ahán.

mine descend inc come now thus

'Mine (children) are just coming down now.' DB₃₇

Pénsir wūne si aná áyē. Si aná Bala.

pencil this is of who? is of Bala

'Whose pencil is this? It is Bala's.'

8.4. In possessive constructions when the speaker can't think of the possessor immediately, the form aná seems to be used rather than the tone link. In such a case, the aná may be repeated or the final syllable of aná may be lengthened until the object is brought to mind.

8.5. The more general possessive constructions are also marked by ná from time to time.

Examples:

Kúkwen rukwen si pásto ná ande tǐ apxín.

priest mountain is pastor of men of spirits

'The mountain priest is the pagans' pastor.' NC₈

Áyē tǐ kú ye kiræn ná ande tǐ kununn rū ka na bā?

who rel inc take food of men of house go go to them

'Who take the family's food to them?' TB₂₀

9. ná POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION WITH VERBS

In Kuteb the independent possessive pronouns may occasionally occur immediately after the verb. Their position in the clause in which they occur is in every way comparable to that of the recapitulating pronouns. These pronouns are the full emphatic pronominal forms. Sentences like the following occur:

Malam Smit bá anáwū isím.

Mr Smith come his back

'Mr Smith came later.' NA

Uwá kisung kú kūb anáwū ibyē titínyang.

wife rabbit inc eat hers meat good

Uwá kimú kú kūb anáwū ibyē kurúkūm.

wife fox inc eat hers meat toad.

'The rabbit's wife was eating good meat, but the fox's wife was eating toad meat.' FG115

Afu rū anáfu uwōg wūne, m ú rū anám ubén rukwen.

you go yours place this I fut go mine side hill

'You go this way. I'll skirt the hill.' OF16

Similarly the nominalized possessive construction, aná + noun, can occur immediately after the verb, qualifying the verb, as in

Ame a sēr risēr, m sēr aná kúkwām. M bōm ribōm, m bōm aná ukæn.

I if grow growth I grow of banana I strong strength I strong of iroko

'(From children's song) If I grow, I grow like a banana tree. If I'm strong, I'm strong like the iroko tree.'

One could draw the following parallels:

Noun ' Poss. Pron.	Noun ná Poss. Pron.
Noun ' Noun	Noun ná Noun
Verb ' Recap. Pron.	Verb aná Recap. Pron.
—	Verb aná Noun

10. SYSTEM OF CONTRAST

It would seem that Kuteb has a system of contrast which is realized through the recapitulated pronouns and the possessive pronouns.

This system of contrast operates whenever the following occur:

1. the perfective particle, pú
2. negation
3. certain verbs and one auxiliary
4. possessed action or state
5. possessive constructions

Clauses which include the particle pú (perfective) may be said to be contrasted in that there is apparently a contrast between an action that has recently been completed and all other actions or states. The fact that pú is not comparable to the other aspect markers is brought out in several respects. The aspect markers all occur before the main verb while pú is the only particle occurring after the verb. pú never co-occurs with the negative particle. This is very unusual since normally negation occurs with all aspect particles.

Negative sentences can be considered to be in contrast to all positive statements, and it is not hard therefore to see why the system of contrast operates with them.

In the case of the specific verbs and the auxiliary again the contrastive element is seen in the semantic role they play.

In sentences which are marked by the recapitulating pronoun apart from these there definitely seems to be contrast between the action or state being specified by "possession" and other actions and states.

With regard to all possessive constructions, it is possible to regard possessed items as being in contrast with non-possessed items. The statement of possession does in fact specify an item and so marks contrast with other unspecified items.

So, Kuteb verbs can be possessed.