THE RECAPITULATING PRONOUNS IN KUTEB
ROBERT KOOPS AND JOHN T. BENDOR-SAMUEL

1. INTRODUCTION

Are Kuteb verbs possessed like nouns? This article describes a set of pronouns which occur after the verb in Kuteb 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." 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 Kuteb there are the following sets of pronoun forms:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ame</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m/me</td>
<td>anám</td>
<td>m/me</td>
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<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>afu</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>náfu</td>
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<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>wú</td>
<td>náwú</td>
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<td>wu</td>
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<td>ati</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>nátí</td>
<td>anáti</td>
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<td>2PL</td>
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<td>ní</td>
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<td>3PL</td>
<td>abá</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>nábá</td>
<td>anábá</td>
<td>ba</td>
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<tr>
<td>3INAN</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>náyi</td>
<td>anáyi</td>
<td>yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2. This article arises from the field work of Robert and Esther Koops (Sudan United Mission), who have lived in the Kuteb area for approximately three years in the period 1967-71. In studying this feature of Kuteb, 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 G3-934 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 Kuteb, in his study "Jukun of Wukari and Jukum of Takum" mimeographed in 1969 and recently issued 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 nominal system as this lies outside the scope of this article.

5. Kuteb 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 /m/ to distinguish it from syllable-final m); mid /i/; high /i/; low-high glide /i/; mid-high glide /i/; high-low glide /i/
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), å
hortative (hor), å

and all these occur immediately preceding the verb.

Examples:
Audu bá íré. ‘Audu came yesterday.’
Audu come yesterday

Audu ú bá ucwé. ‘Audu will come tomorrow.’
Audu fut come tomorrow

Awú kú bá tiníne. ‘He is coming now.’
he inc come now

Sé wā bá tawé. ‘When he comes.’
until he sub come before

Sé wā ci yi titíbyáŋ. ‘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 ri bási awú nā ú bá íréb. ‘Ali said he’d come in the evening.’ Elic
Ali say clause part. he s.p. fut come evening

Ú kú táng básiUMBæ wū nā cWū pū7 wū. ‘He thought the child had died.’
he inc think cl. part. child the s.p. die per he

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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.
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Kisi a tá kunűn fu, . . . "If there is a wizard in your house . . ."
wizard con beat house your DE124

Islm yi tì atì a tó m tág pū tì . . . 'After we have finished hoeing . . .' TC5
after it that we con hoe finish per we

F a tò mām pū fu utong yi . . . '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' Û nde mām pū wū wände. 'He finished working.'
he do finish per he work

num 'tire' Ā rī rī num pū bā. 'They talked until tired.'
they say say tire per they

pāng 'too much' Afu ndub pāng fu ijweg. 'You are too proud.'
you swell too much you body

Particles which function as auxiliaries are:

ra 'violently' Mpyer ra pū m awū risū kūtē. 'I beheaded him long ago.'
I cut per I him head before

tā 'change of state' Mbub tā tāgba! 'Open the window!'
open window

fē 'do completely' Ti ka fob fē Jos. 'We went all the way to Jos.'
we go reach Jos

cī 'close or cover' Ī cwin cī ufu kusog. '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. pū 'PERFECTIVE'

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

(a) action completed in the immediate present,

(b) action completed in contrast to other actions still going on or which have not yet taken place, and

(c) a present state in contrast to a previous one.

pū 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 ën ikën fu bâ pû m.  
I take things your come I  
Anî tam pû ni kô.  
you hide you ?

(b) A rû ka fôb pû bâ kutûr bârâ,  
they go go reach they bush cl.p.  
abâ kan âtsô kan kutûr.  
they divide recip divide bush  
F a tôt mâm pû fu utong yi,  
you can cook finish you soup the  
u shwu yi ti kindob, ...  
you thin it with oil.

(c) Utên jîm pû wû tínine.  
area cool it now  
Ámbyi byâg pû yi.  
water hot it

4.2. NEGATIVE CLAUSES

Negation in Kuteb is realized as follows: The negative particle bë 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:

Anî nde fôb ni wûnde wûne bë.  
you do reach you work this not  
Kûkwên tâ wû té wûnde âtàng bë.  
priest be he with work there not  
îyâ' wû rû' wû bë.  
mother his go she not  
U sî wû unde ti tînyang bë.  
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:

Icwû ri bâsì, â nà nyâ'ng bâ ci cvûcwo.  
'Leopard said they should dip (some leopard say clause they s.p. dip) they again again honey for him) again.' FG9

part
Anyisù a bá rū kasim té bā iyā' bā . . . 'If the children go back with their children con come go back with they mother their mother . . .' DA340

. . . ande nā ú byi'nn bā kufa tīrī. . . people s.p. fut play they harp then

Ti rū' tī tīrī. 'We're leaving.'

we go we then

Rū' fu ikēn 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:

pyir 'refuse'
shaen 'object to'

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

Examples:

Ū pyir wū tī ū bā. 'He refused to come.'
he refuse he that he come

Ukwe Ali shaen wū aiy bā, aser nā undā ne kō pāng yi. 'Chief Ali objected to it, saying the bride price was too high.'
Chief Ali object he it cl.p. money of woman this much too it

Ufanggō rwēn pāng wū. 'It is too far away.'
road far too it

4.5. ACCOMPANIMENT AND BENEFATIVE

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 pū and the recapitulating pronoun, it is found that na and té usually follow the verb nucleus and are themselves immediately followed by pū 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 ná m afu wúci bê.
I take to I you food not
or
M sa wúci ná m afu bê.
I take food to I you not
M som té m afu bê.
I sit with I you not

'I have taken food to you.'
'I have 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:
Awū ri irá té imbô ri bâ.
he say word with chimp say cl. part.
Ú sa wúci na imbô, ri bâ.
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 kutúkû.
I take axe cut tree
M jëb ujî yîr mbawèn.
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:
Fxën irá ti m té fu kûri ne.
hear word which I with you inc say this
Ani té bâ si bá té átsô kó.
'you with them down come with recip.'
Unde ti té ni ri si aye.
man who with you say is who?

'Listen to what I'm telling you.' DE181
'Did you (pl) come down together with them?'

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:

\[\text{Ū ri té m té.} \quad \text{'He told me.'} \]
he say with me with

\[\text{Ā wen wū wén.} \quad \text{'They killed him.'} \]
y they kill him kill

Thirdly, the normal structure is for the verb nucleus to be followed by either pū- 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:

\[\text{M yēr wēn m awū bē.} \quad \text{'I did not sacrifice him.'} \quad \text{Elic} \]
I cut kill I him not

\[\text{M som té m awū bē.} \quad \text{'I did not sit with him.'} \quad \text{Elic} \]
I sit with I him not

\[\text{M se rū' m afu bē.} \quad \text{'I did not ignore you.'} \quad \text{Elic} \]
I look go I you not

\[\text{M sa nā m afu bē.} \quad \text{'I did not give it to you.'} \quad \text{Elic} \]
I take to I you not

Fourthly, both na and té have been found with the incomplete aspect marker ku.
Examples:

\[\text{Abā kū sa irā Rimam kū té ti kū ri...} \quad \text{‘They were telling us about Christianity.’} \]
they inc take matter God inc with us inc say DA64

\[\text{M kū bē kū na fu kutsinkén wūne...} \quad \text{‘I am writing you this letter.’} \]
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 adverbal phrases.

Examples:

\[\text{Ū shā ámyí kitu na bā.} \quad \text{‘He sought palm wine for them.’} \]
he seek water palm to them

\[\text{Ū ri irā té imbō ri bā...} \quad \text{‘He told the chimp...’} \quad \text{DC271} \]
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 adverbal 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 incompletive aspect marker kú.

Examples:
Usháén usín ná kyáng kú yén kú pú wú. ‘Dry season is approaching.’
season dry s.p. walk inc finish inc it
Ame kyáng kú yén 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 pâng 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone of verb</th>
<th>nde ‘do’</th>
<th>tu ‘find’</th>
<th>tô ‘cook’</th>
<th>wên ‘kill’</th>
<th>mbé ‘receive’</th>
<th>sú ‘carry’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>å ndé bá bê.</td>
<td>å tū bá bê.</td>
<td>å tô bá bê.</td>
<td>å wên bá bê.</td>
<td>å mbé bá bê.</td>
<td>å sú bá bê.</td>
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</table>
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 iswér. ‘Snails are taboo to them.’ DE8o
snail inc do them taboo

Ā nde wū forō. ‘They disciplined him.’ DA323
they do him punishment

Ā kú ye unde wū kū 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 ti ‘our yams’
ubûr 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 | umbæ ‘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 | ubûr ‘hat’ | ukwe ‘chief’ | ubûr ukwe
mid | uti ‘spear’ | | uti’ ukwe
high | uwá ‘wife’ | | uwá ukwe
low | rikae ‘axe’ | undá ‘woman’ | rikae undá
mid | risū ‘head’ | | risū undá
high | usú ‘load’ | | usú undá
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:

Asi ti f a mbyé fu kusog ná birki.
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 cäng m ucin m ti bén ayib.
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

Mrú m. ‘I’m going (leaving) (in contrast to you, for you aren’t going anywhere).’
I go I

Abité ti tàng bási ã ná sí bá ricwú tã tsó uyinn bá.
Fathers our think clp. 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 kúnn me anárh ti unzu Apyikum.
I call I mine with mouth Jukum

‘I call mine (dogs) with Jukum 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.

Iwën ná aróm kú tixi ti iwën ná andá.
marks of men inc differ from marks of women

‘Men’s facial markings differ from those of women.’ DH21
Yi sî yi kutsinkén nà asër úkweti utên nábâ atáng bë.
It is it paper of money chief of area there not
'It wasn't the tax receipt of their country.' NA30
A kú tâ ibyê nábâ tî 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:
Wânde nà kûkwên rükwen, abâ té andá pâng átsö.
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.
Kukûnn tî urôm ri bâ, âpûpwen si anânh, ribên si anânh.
chicken male say c.p. sky is mine earth is mine
'The cock said, "Heaven is mine and earth is mine."' FG32

Anânh sî kû bâbâ tînë ne ahât.
mine descend inc come now thus
'Mine (children) are just coming down now.' DB37
Pênsir wûne si anâ ayê. Si anâ 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 anâ seems to be used rather than the tone link. In such a case, the anâ may be repeated or the final syllable of anâ 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:
Kûkwên rükwen si pâsto nà andë tî apxîn.
priest mountain is pastor of men of spirits
'The mountain priest is the pagans' pastor.' NC8

Àyê tî kû ye kirën nà andë tî Kunun rû ka na bâ?
who rel inc take food of men of house go go to them
'Those 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 bâ anâwû isim.
'Mr Smith came later.' NA
Mr Smith come his back

Uwá kisung kû kûb anâwû ibyê titînyang.
wife rabbit inc eat hers meat good
Uwá kîmû kû kûb anâwû ibyê kurûkûm.
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 anāfu uwōg wūne, mū rū anām ubāén rukwen.
you go yours place this I fit go mine side hill
‘You go this way. I’ll skirt the hill.’ OF16

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

Ame a sēr risēr, m sēr anā kūkwām. M bōm ribōm, m bōm anā ukān.
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:

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun ‘ Noun</td>
<td>Noun nah Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb anā Noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, pū
d. negation
c. certain verbs and one auxiliary
d. possessed action or state
e. possessive constructions

Clauses which include the particle pū (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 pū is not comparable to the other aspect markers is brought out in several
respects. The aspect markers all occur before the main verb while pū is the only particle occurring
after the verb. pū 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.