The Formation and Syntax of Contractions in Kiswahili with Special Emphasis on Noun-possessive Combination

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Abstract
Kiswahili contractions may be formed in various ways with a free-standing content word, a number figure or different word combinations with varying reducing degrees, sometimes becoming monosyllabic, with only a vowel or vowel-consonant combination. Most contractions are attached to host words to form permissible combinations. These attachments exhibit behaviour that implies that they are joined to the preceding or succeeding form in the lexicon, as affixes do (e.g. -yo *from* **yako** *'your/yours' is joined to* **baba** *'father' to form* **babayo** *'your father'). Paradoxically, though, they behave syntactically like a group of clitics, created from two distinct constituents. This paper examines the behaviour of Kiswahili possessives in combining with nouns to form contractions. It looks at how Kiswahili speakers decide on choosing the appropriate combinatorial partners to form an appropriate and permissible contraction. Drawing on morphosyntactic cliticisation approach, the paper also examines the syntax of Kiswahili contractions.*

Keywords: *Kiswahili contractions, noun-possessive combination, syntax*

Introduction
Kiswahili uses contractions as a brevity, time-saving, and speech connectivity device. It is, thus, not unusual to hear speakers say:
1. (a) *Babangu* (instead of *baba yangu* 'my father').
   (b) *Mwanao* (instead of *mwana wako* 'your son/child').
   (c) *Jinale* (instead of *jina lake* 'his/her/its name').
   (d) *Kakayo* (instead of *kaka yako* 'your brother').

To the contrary, the same speakers do not say:
2. (a) *Bintingu* to mean my daughter.
   (b) *Mpenzingu* to mean my love(r).
   (c) *Shemejinu* to mean your (pl.) sister/brother in law.
   (d) *Mwalimutu* to mean our teacher.

The present paper examines how contractions are generally formed in Kiswahili and special reference is made to noun + possessive (henceforth NPos) contractions. The aim is to find out what processes are involved in

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the formation and why certain contractions in general, and NPos combinations in particular, are allowed but not others. Two questions are answered. First, is Kiswahili NPos contraction formation a morphosyntactic process of cliticisation with clear rules or a lexicalisation phenomenon resulting from a complex diachronic process? Secondly, why don't Kiswahili speakers use constructions like those in 2(a)-(d), while they accept those in 1(a)-(d)? The paper further examines the syntactic behaviour of the contractions resulting from NPos combinations given the controversy surrounding the syntax of contractions as noted by Spencer (1991), Wescoat (2005), and Spencer and Luís (2012), who argue that, while contractions are traditionally regarded to behave syntactically like a group of clitics, some contractions seem to be incompatible with this view.

Justification and Methodology
Contractions have been given a blind eye in Kiswahili scholarship. Despite the fact that they are part and parcel of daily communication, little attention has been devoted to their study. Surprisingly, they even do not have a Kiswahili name and are non-existent in many Kiswahili grammars (see, for example, Mfaume, 1984; Mohamed, 1986; Mdee, 1988; Massamba et al., 1999). It is the view of this paper that they deserve a scholarly analysis in order to identify the governing principles of how they are formed, how their permissibility is determined, and how they behave syntactically in view of providing a scientific guide to Kiswahili teachers and learners.

The data for the paper were solicited from three types of sources. First, secondary sources were consulted. The researcher employed literature research to identify authentic Kiswahili contractions that speakers of the language use in real context. Although this method may seem ineffective given that contractions are common in spoken and non-formal language but usually avoided, even prohibited, in written discourse, some literature is rich in contractions. One can, for example, find such contractions as *nami* 'with me', *asema* 'says', *babangu* 'my father', *mwanawe* 'his/her son/child' and much more in such religious texts as *Misale ya Waumini* 'Believers Missal' and The Holy Bible. Literary texts, especially poems, are also rich in contractions.

Secondly, the data obtained from literature were complimented with another set of data generated through introspection since the researcher is also a Kiswahili speaker and a linguist. Thirdly, to establish which contractions were permissible and which ones were not, the researcher presented a list of contractions generated from literature and introspection to 20 (twenty) Kiswahili speakers and asked them to identify which ones were permissible and which ones were not. The participants were further

asked to provide some more examples of permissible and impermissible contractions.

Definition of Key Terms and Theoretical Framework

The central term driving the present paper is contraction. Mohammed (2001:20) defines contraction as "a fusing of a sequence of forms so that they appear like a single form" and provides such examples as *wa+enzi = wenzi* 'partners; companions' and *wa+ana = wana* 'sons', inter alia.

Mohammed looks at the concept from a process point of view. One may, however, wish to foreground the product of that process and conceptualise contraction as a shortened form of a number figure, a word or group of words, with missing letter(s) or number(s). In this paper, it is the second sense that is used. Whereas the missing letters or numbers are usually marked by an apostrophe in English language and contractions can be made up of one or more contractional clitics (e.g. don't; shouldn't've), this is rare in Kiswahili because most contractions do not bear apostrophes.

As its analytical tool and theoretical framework, this paper adopts morphosyntactic cliticisation approach complemented by phonological analysis. This revolves around the idea of formation of complex words by attaching 'little words' resembling a full word, but which are incapable of standing on their own, but have to 'lean on' neighbouring or host (main) words, instead (Katamba, 1989; Spencer, 1991; Spencer & Luís, 2012). These little words are called clitics and their attachment to their host words, in case of NPos contractions, is governed by phonological rules and the interplay between morphological and syntactic principles.

Formation, Permissibility and Impermissibility of Kiswahili Contractions

Kiswahili contractions can be formed in various ways. However, not all word categories can be used in the process.

Formation, Permissibility and Impermissibility of Kiswahili Contractions in General

The first way through which a Kiswahili contraction can be formed is by omitting a sound or more from a free-standing word (i.e. one that does not need to attach to a host word) or a number or more from a number figure as in data 4. However, as data 3(a)-(c) and 5(a)-(c) illustrate, this process is applicable to open word categories only.

3. (a) *Nitakuona* 'I will see you' drops '*i*' and becomes *ntakuona.*
    (b) *Ninakula* 'I am eating' drops '*ni*' and becomes '*nakula*' or drops '*ni*' and '*ku*' to become *nala.*
    (c) *Mimi* 'I' drops '*mi*' and becomes *mi.*

4.   *Mwaka 1995* 'the year 1995' can drop '*19* and become *mwaka 95*, with or without an apostrophe (*95* or *'95*).

5.   (a)   *Na* 'and/with' drops none of its sounds to become any contraction.

   (b)   *Kwa* 'for/by/with' drops none of its sounds to become any contraction.

   (c)   *Oyee*! 'Hurrah!' drops none of its sounds to become any contraction.

It is, therefore, impermissible to contract words from closed word categories as stand-alone words. Even under open word categories, adverbs, adjectives and interjections are not contracted as such. Only numbers referring to years and main verbs can be contracted. More examples may include *ninasema*→*nasema* 'I say/I am saying', *ninakuja*→*naja* 'I come/I am coming'; *anakula*→*ala* 's/he eats/s/he is eating'; *mnajua*→*mwajua* 'you (pl.) know'; *tukaenda*→*tukenda* 'We went'; *amelala*→*kalala* 's/he is asleep/sleeping'; *tumeshasema*→*tushasema* 'We have already said'; *nilikwishawaona*→*nshawaona* 'I have/had already seen them', *wataenda* → *watenda* 'they will go'; *wataenda* 'they will go'→*kwenda* 'to go'.

The processes involved in the formation of contractions exemplified above are either morphological or morphophonological. A contracted word is formed by deleting or inserting one or more sounds with or without phonological adjustments to the adjacent sounds. When the deletion involves a phonological process, the adjacent sounds that are phonologically adjusted are glidised, palatalised, fricativised and some cases involve vowel harmony.

To begin with deletion without phonological adjustments, some phonological and morphological factors of the verb in question such as its syllabic character (is it mono or multisyllabic?), personality of concordial agreement marker (is it in first, second or third person?), number (is it in singular or plural form), tense (is it in present, past or future tense?), affirmativity or negativity (is it affirmative or negative?) as well as the noun class of its subject prefix have to be considered.

For example, contraction of multisyllabic affirmative present tense verbs in first person singular and second person singular, as well as plural, involve deletion of the adjoining parts of the subject prefix and tense marker (e.g. *ninasema*→~~*ni*~~*nasema*→*nasema*   'I   say/I   am   saying'; *anaweza*→~~*ana*~~*weza*→*aweza* 's/he is capable'). This also applies to verbs with   subject   prefix   markers   from   classes   5,   6   (e.g.

linaelea→~~*linaelea*~~→*laelea* 'it (thing e.g. a buoy) floats/it is floating'; *yanaelea*→~~*yanaelea*~~→*yaelea* 'they (things e.g. buoys) float/they are floating'), 10 (e.g. *zinauzwa*→~~*zinauza*~~→*zauzwa* 'they (e.g. houses) are sold/they (e.g. houses) are being sold'), 15 (e.g. *yanasumbua*→~~*yanasumbua*~~→*yasumbua* 'they (e.g. diseases) bother'/'they (e.g. diseases) are bothering') and 16 (e.g. *panatulia*→~~*panatulia*~~→*patulia* 'it (a place) gets calm'/'it (a place) is getting calm').

In monosyllabic verbs, in addition to the adjoining parts of the subject prefix and tense marker, the infinitive morpheme {ku} is also omitted (e.g. *ninakula*→~~*ninakula*~~→*nala* 'I eat/I am eating'; *wanakunywa*→~~*wanakunywa*~~→*wanywa* 'they drink/they are drinking' etc). No contractions are formed out of negative verbs.

With regard to deletion with phonological adjustments, the above mentioned phonological and morphological factors should also be borne in mind. Contraction of multisyllabic affirmative present tense verbs in first person plural and second person singular, as well as verbs with subject prefix markers from classes 3, 11, 13, 14 and 18, involve deletion of the nasal consonant /n/ in the tense marker and glidisation of the subject prefix vowel /u/ (e.g. *tunaona* →~~*tunaona*~~ →*twaona* 'We see/We are seeing'; *unapenda* →~~*unapenda*~~ →*wapenda* 'you (sg.) like/love'; *kunavutia* →~~*kunavutia*~~ →*kwavutia* 'it (e.g. singing) is attractive'; *kunatisha*→~~*kunatisha*~~→*kwatisha* 'it (a place there or yonder) is scary'). This also applies to verbs with subject prefix markers from classes 4 and 9. However, instead of /u/, the subject prefix vowel that is glidised is /i/ (e.g. *inaungua*→~~*inaungua*~~→*yaungua* 'they (e.g. trees) burn/ they (e.g. trees) are burning'; *inaungua*→~~*inaungua*~~→*yaungua* 'it (e.g. a house) burns/it (e.g. a house) is burning'). In monosyllabic verbs, in addition to the nasal consonant in the tense marker, the infinitive morpheme {ku} is also omitted (e.g. *tunakula*→~~*tunakula*~~→*twala* 'We eat/We are eating').

Palatalisation and fricativisation take place in verbs with subject prefix markers from classes 7 and 8 respectively whereby '*ki*' becomes '*ch*' and '*vi*' becomes '*vy*' respectively (e.g. *kinaungua*→~~*kinaungua*~~→*chaungua* 'it (e.g. a chair) burns/it (e.g. a chair) is burning'; *vinaungua*→~~*vinaungua*~~→*vyaungua* 'they (e.g. chairs) burn/they (e.g. chairs) are burning').

Again, verbs in future tense '*-ta*' and those in narrative tense '*-ka*' drop the sound /a/ in front of the tense marker as a result of vowel harmony. The sound is dropped when it comes into contact with mid vowel /e/ (e.g. *tukaenda* →~~*tukaenda*~~ →*tukenda* 'We went'; *wataelewa* →~~*wataelewa*~~ →

watelewa 'they will understand'). The contractions of this nature, however, are largely dialectical. No contractions are formed out of negative verbs.

With regard to insertion, verbs in past tense and perfect tense aspect insert a morpheme '*sha*' or '*isha*' or '*kwisha*' between the tense/aspect marker '*li/me*' and the verb before the tense marker to emphasise completeness of an action or activity, after which the portions '*i*', '*kwi*' and the tense marker are deleted to contract (e.g. *tumeshasema* →*tumeshasema* →*tushasema* 'We have already said'; *nilikwishawaona* →*nilikwishawaona* →*nshawaona* 'I have/had already seen them'), or the subject prefix '*a*' and the perfective '*me*' are dropped and replaced by a verbal prefix '*ka*' (e.g. *ameshasema* →*ameshasema* →*kashasema* 's/he has already said'). Again, verbs in present tense, second person plural, and those with class 17 subject prefix drop the nasal consonant in the tense marker, after which vowel /u/ is inserted and glidised (e.g. *mnaimba* →*mnaimba* →*maimba* →*muaimba* →*mwaimba* 'you (pl.) sing/you (pl.) are singing; *mnatulia* →*mnatulia* →*matulia* →*muatulia* →*mwatulia* 'it (inside.) gets calm/it (inside) is getting calm).

Another way of forming Kiswahili contractions involves omission plus combination. A sound or more or even a word can be omitted from a word or series of words and the resulting form is combined with another word or series of words to form a single word. For example:
6. *Mama* 'mother' drops '*ma*' and combines with *mkubwa* 'big/elder' to form *mamkubwa* 'maternal aunt; elder sister to one's mother'.
7. *Baba* 'father' drops '*a*' and *yangu* 'my/mine' drops '*y*' and the two combine to form *babangu* 'my father'.
8. *Kuma ya mama yake* 'his/her mother's cunt' drops '*ya*' after the first word, one '*ma*' from *mama* and '*ak*' from *yake* and becomes *kumamaye* 'his/her mother's cunt'.
9. (a)   *Mimi* 'I/me' drops '*mi*' and combines with *na* to form *nami* 'with me'.
    (b)   *Wewe* 'you (sg.)' drops '*we*' and combines with *na* to form *nawe* 'with you (sg.)'.
    (c)   *Yeye* 's/he/him/her' drops '*ye*' and combines with *na* to form *naye* 'with him/her'.
    (d)   *Sisi* 'we/us' drops '*si*' and combines with *na* to form *nasi* 'with us'.
    (e)   *Nyinyi* 'you (pl.) drops '*nyi*' and combines with *na* to form *nanyi* 'with you (pl.)'.
    (f)   *Wao* 'they/them' drops '*wa*' and combines with *na* to form *nao* 'with them'.

More or less like the first one, this way is mostly applicable to open word categories, particularly nouns and adjectives as well as to pronouns and possessives, because it is only conjunction cum preposition *na* 'and/with' under closed word categories that can form contractions by combining with contracted pronouns (see data 9(a)-(f) above). Nouns are also not contracted as stand-alone words. They do so by combining either with other nouns (e.g. *baba* 'father' + *watoto* 'children/kids'→*bawatoto* 'father of kids'; *kaka* 'brother' + Masika 'someone's proper name meaning rainy season'→*kaMasika* 'brother Masika) or with words from other categories such as adjective (e.g. *baba* 'father' + *mkubwa* 'big'→*bamkubwa* 'elder paternal uncle; elder brother to one's father'; *bwana* 'mister' + *mdogo* 'small'→*bwamdogo* 'mister small, to mean someone's juniour') and possessives (e.g. *mwana* 'son/child' + *wangu* 'my/mine'→*mwanangu* 'my son/child'). Of these combinations, NPos is the most productive combination in Kiswahili, hence the quest for the present paper's special emphasis on NPos contractions.

Formation, Permissibility and Impermissibility of NPos Kiswahili Contractions

The participants asked to identify permissible and impermissible contractions did identify a sufficient number of permissible and impermissible NPos contractions. They also provided some more data of permissible and impermissible NPos contractions. The data were classified into eight groups, with regard to their noun classes (see Appendix). Under each class, the data with final vowel /a/ are presented first, followed by those ending in /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ respectively. The permissible contractions are unmarked, while the impermissible ones are indicated with an asterisk and the doubtful ones with a question mark at the beginning.

The data reveal four major findings. First, quite a variety of nouns can form contractions with possessives. Secondly, there are various ways through which NPos contractions can be formed. Thirdly, there are possessives that are more productive than others. And finally, the formation of NPos contractions is predictable and is governed by clear morphosyntactic and phonological principles.

To begin with which nouns can form contractions with possessives, opinion among scholars is divided. Some argue that the purview is limited to terms of relationship (Kamusi Project, 2015; SALAMA, 2015), also known as kinship terms (Peace Corps Tanzania, 1998:44) or family-relation names (SALAMA, 2015). Others maintain that pronouns and other nouns are also useful (see Quizlet, 2015). However, it is not clear how pronouns can be useful in NPos contraction formation.

It is true that kinship terms are commonly used in formation of NPos contractions and many permissible contractions can be formed through this combination (e.g. *babangu* 'my father'; *babako* 'your father', *babayo* 'your father', *babazo* 'your fathers'; *babake* 'his/her father', *babaye* 'his/her father', *babaze* 'his/her fathers'; *babetu* 'our father'; *babenu* 'yourr father'; *mwanangu* 'my son/child', *wanangu* 'my sons/children'; *mwanao* 'your son/child', *wanao* 'your sons/children'; *mwanawe* 'his/her son/child'; *wanawe* 'his/her sons/children'; *mwanetu* 'our son/child'; *wanetu* 'our sons/children', *mjukuuwe* 'his/her grand child', *wajukuuze* 'his/her grand children' etc (for more examples, see data 1 under Appendix).

However, SALAMA and Kamusi Project's contention is questionable for two reasons. First, not all kinship terms can form NPos contractions with every possessive. For instance, although formed through NPos combination, the following contractions are impermissible in Kiswahili: **mjukuungu, *mjukangu, *wajukuuungu; *wajukangu; *mjukuuko, *mjukako; *mjukuuke, *mjukake;*wajuuke; *wajukake, *babutu, *wifinu, *mtotonu* and **mketu*, inter alia. This is because kinship terms like *babu* 'grandfather', *binti* 'daughter', *shangazi* 'paternal aunt', *wifi* 'sister in law' (used by women only), *mke* 'wife', *mtoto* 'child' and many more others that do not end in /a/ are not compatible with the possessives *-angu* 'my/mine', *-etu* 'our/ours', *-enu* 'your/yours' and *-ao* 'their/theirs'. They can operate freely only with '*-ako*' and '*-ake*'. As such, such kinship terms are more selective than their counterparts ending in /a/. The pattern is, therefore, that terms ending in /a/ such as *mama* 'mother', *baba* 'father', *kaka* 'brother', *dada* 'sister', *nyanya* 'grandmother', inter alia, can combine with every possessive (*-angu*, *-ake*, *-ako*, *-etu*, *-enu* and *-ao*) to form NPos contractions, while those ending in vowel other than /a/ operate with '*-ako*' and '*ake*' only.

Secondly, there is a plethora of evidence showing that, apart from kinship terms, there are other nouns that can form NPos contractions. These include:
10.   Proper nouns:?*Dodomaye* 'his/her Dodoma', *?Kenyayo* 'your Kenya', **Masanjangu* 'my Masanja' etc.
11.   Common nouns: *kitabucho* 'your book', *harufuye* 'his/her/its smell', *mtuwe* 'his/her person' etc.
12.   Concrete nouns: *simuzo* 'your phones', *garile* 'his/her car', *majiyo* 'your (sg.) water'etc.
13.   Abstrcact nouns: *mawazoyo* 'you ideas/thoughts', *wemao* 'your (sg.) goodness/kindness' etc.
14.   Countable and uncountable nouns:

(a) **Shambangu* 'my farm'/*mashambangu* 'my farms', *kitandacho/vitandavyo* 'your bed(s)', *garile/magariye* 'his/her car(s)', *kalamuyo/kalamuzo* 'your (sg.) pen(s)' etc.

(b) *Moshiwe* 'its smoke', *hewaye* 'its air', *harufuyo* 'your smell'

15. Collective nouns: jeshilo 'your (sg.) army' *jeshinu 'your (pl.) army', timuyo/timuzo 'your team(s)' etc.

The data in 10-15 speak against the contention that NPos contractions cannot be formed out of nouns other than kinship terms. Data 1 through 8 in the Appendix also prove this fact. Therefore, NPos contractions can be formed out of a plethora of nouns; concrete and abstract nouns, singular and plural nous, countable and uncountable nouns, collective and individual nouns and nouns from all noun classes. The only exception seems to be proper nouns and those in class 15 (e.g. *kuimba* 'singing', *kupenda* 'loving').

The data show two clear patterns of NPos forms. The first one is N + -*angu*, -*ake*, -*ako*, -*etu*, -*enu* and –*ao*, which applies to nouns ending in /a/. However, under this pattern, kinship terms enjoy more flexibility than others as shown in data 16. The second pattern is N + -*ake* and –*ako*, which is applicable to nouns ending in vowels other than /a/ as exemplified in data 17.

16. N+-*angu*, -*ake*, -*ako*, -*etu*, -*enu* and -*ao* pattern

S/N	Noun	Gloss	N+-angu	N+-ako	N+-ake	N+-etu	N+-enu	N+-ao
(i)	Baba	father(s)	babangu	babako; babayo; babazo	babake; babaye; babaze	Babetu (sg.)	Babenu (sg.)	babao(sg.)
(ii)	Mama	mother(s)	mamangu	mamako; mamayo; mamazo	mamake; mamaye; mamaze	mametu(sg.)	Mamenu (sg.)	mamao(sg.)
(iii)	Dada	sister(s)	dadangu	dadako; dadayo; dadazo	dadake; dadaye; dadaze	dadetu(sg.)	Dadenu (sg.)	dadao(sg.)
(iv)	Mwana Wana	child children	mwanangu wanangu	mwanao; wanao	mwanaw; wanawe	mwanetu; wanetu	mwanenu; wanenu	*mwanao *wanao
(v)	Nyanya	grandma(s)	nyanyangu	nyanyako; nyanyayo; nyanyazo	nyanyaye; nyanyaze	nyanyetu	nyanyenu	nyanyao
(vi)	Nyumba	house(s)	nyumbangu	nyumbako; nyumbayo; nyumbazo	nyumbake; nyumbaye; nyumbaze	nyumbetu(sg.)	nyumbenu(sg.)	nyumbao(sg.)
(vii)	Kamba	rope(s)	kambangu	kambako; kambayo; kambazo	kambake; kambaye; kambaze	?kambetu	?kambenu(sg.)	kambao(sg.)
(viii)	Familia	family(ies)	familiangu	familiayo familiazo	familiaye; familiaze	*familietu(sg.)	*familienu	familiao(sg.)

(ix)	Unyoya Manyoya	feather; quil; hair strand feathers; quils; hair strands	*unyoyangu; *manyoyangu	unyoya(w)o manyoyayo	unyoyawe; manyoyaye	*unyoyatu; *unyoyetu *manyoyatu; *manyoyetu	*unyoyenu *manyoyenu	*unyoyao *manyoyao
(x)	Ubua Mabua	straw, stubble straws, stubbles	*ubuangu; *mabuangu	ubua(w)o; mabuayo	ubuawe; mabuaye	*ubuatu; *ubuetu *mabuatu; *mabuetu	*ubuanu *ubuenu *mabuani *mabuenu	*ubuao *mabuao
(xi)	Pigo Mapigo	blow blows	*pigongu; *pigangu *mapigongu *mapigangu	*pigoko; *pigako; pigolo; *mapigoko; *mapigako; mapigoyo	*pigoke; *pigake; pigole; *mapigoke; *mapigake; mapigoye	*pigotu; *pigetu *mapigotu; *mapigetu	*pigonu; *pigenu *mapigonu; *mapigenu	*pigoo; *pigao *mapigoo; *mapigao

17.   N+ *-ake* and *-ako* pattern

S/N	Noun	Gloss	N+-angu	N+-ako	N+-ake	N+-etu	N+-enu	N+-ao
	Mume Waume	husband husbands	*mumengu *mumangu *waumengu *waumangu	mumeo; waumezo	mumewe; waumewe waumeze	?mumetu; *waumetu	?mumenu; ?waumenu	*mume(w)o; *waume(w)o
	Mke Wake	wife wives	*mkengu *mkangu *wakengu *wakangu	mkeo wakeo; wakezo	mkewe; wakewe; wakeze	?mketu; ?waketu	?mkenu; ?wakenu	*mke(w)o; *wake(w)o
	Bibi	grandma(s)	*bibingu *bibangu	bibiyo; bibizo	bibiye; bibize	*bibetu	*bibenu	?bibio
	Mpenzi Wapenzi	love(r) lovers	*mpenzingu *wapenzingu	mpenzio; wapenzio	mpenziwe; wapenziwe	*mpenzitu *wapenzitu	?mpenzinu ?wapenzinu	?mpenzi(w)o ?wapenzi(w)o
	Mti Miti	tree trees	*mtingu; *mtangu *mitingu *mitangu	mti(w)o; mitiyo	mtiwe mtiye	*mtitu; *mtetu *mititu; *mitetu	*mtinu; *mtenu *mitinu; *mitenu	*mtio; *mtao *mitio; *mitao
	Mzigo Mizigo	luggage	*mzigongu; *mzigangu *mizigongu *mizigangu	mzigowo; mizigoyo	mzigowe; mizigoye	*mzigotu; *mzigetu *mizigotu; *mizigetu	*mzigonu; *mzigenu *mizigonu; *mizigenu	*mzigoo; *mzigao *mizigoo; *mizigao

Regarding how NPos contractions are formed, the data indicate that the words involved in the formation are subjected to a morphosyntactic process of cliticisation. In this process, a complex word is formed by attaching a clitic to a fully independent word. As noted earlier, clitics are 'little words' resembling a full word but which are incapable of standing on their own, but have to 'lean on' neighbouring or host (main) words, instead (Katamba, 1989; Spencer, 1991; Spencer & Luís, 2012). Given that possessives are capable of standing on their own, they are first cliticised before they are attached to a host word to form NPos contractions.

There are two ways through which possessives are cliticised. Either the adjoining portions of the relevant noun and the possessive or the mid-portion of the possessive are eliminated after which they are fused with the

host words. The reducing degrees of cliticisation vary. At times, the cliticised word becomes monosyllabic with only a single vowel (*wako* 'your/yours' becomes *'-o'* as in *mwana* 'son/child'+*wako* = *mwanao* 'your son/child') or with a vowel-consonant combination (*yake* 'his/her/hers' becomes *'-ye'* or *'-ke'* as in *mama* 'mother' + *yake* = *mamaye*/*mamake* 'his/her mother').

However, before elimination is effected, the noun in question first determines the concordial agreement of the possessive (e.g. *mwenzi **wangu***; *baba **yangu***; *gari **lake***; *nyumba **yako*** etc). When the host word and the clitic are fused, they make one form which is realised phonologically as a single word identified by one stress at the penultimate syllabe. The new combination may have the stress on a different syllable or on the original syllable of one of the two words.

The question whether one should eliminate adjoining portions of the contracting words or mid-portion of the possessive is determined by morphological and phonological criteria. First, when the process involves nouns in class 1 ending in /a/, preferably kinship terms, the adjoining portions of the contracting words are eliminated. Thus, *mwenza wangu* 'my partner/companion' becomes *mwenzangu* after the adjoining parts have been struck off as in 18 (more examples in 19):

18.   **mwenza wangu ➔ mwenz(a̶ w̶)angu➔ mwenzangu**

19.   NPos contractions resulting from omission of adjoining portions in singular form

S/N.	Possessive "-*angu*" as "my" or "mine"
(i)	*mwenza̶ w̶angu* becomes *mwenz**angu***
(ii)	*mwana̶ w̶angu* becomes *mwan**angu***
(iii)	*mama̶ ̶yangu* becomes *mam**angu***
(iv)	*baba̶ ̶yangu* becomes *bab**angu***
(v)	*kaka̶ ̶yangu* becomes *kak**angu***
(vi)	*dada̶ ̶yangu* becomes *dad**angu***
(vii)	*mjomba̶ ̶yangu* becomes *mjomb**angu***
(viii)	*nyanya̶ ̶yangu* becomes *nyany**angu***
(ix)	*mpendwa̶ w̶angu* becomes ?*mpendw**angu***
(x)	*msichana̶ w̶angu* becomes ?*msichan**angu***
	Possessive "-*ako*" as "your" or "yours" (singular)
(xi)	*mwenza̶ w̶ako* becomes *mwenz**ako***
(xii)	*mwana̶ w̶ako* becomes ?*mwan**ako***
(xiii)	*mama̶ ̶yako* becomes *mam**ako***
(xiv)	*baba̶ ̶yako* becomes *bab**ako***

(xv)	*kak~~a yak~~o* becomes *kak**ako***
(xvi)	*dad~~a yak~~o* becomes *dad**ako***
(xvii)	*mjomb~~a yak~~o* becomes *mjomb**ako***
(xviii)	*nyany~~a yak~~o* becomes *nyany**ako***
(xix)	*mpend~~wa wak~~o* becomes ?*mpendw**ako***
(xx)	*msichan~~a wak~~o* becomes ?*msichan**ako***
	Possessive "*-ake*" as "his/her" or "his/hers"
(xxi)	*mwenz~~a wak~~e* becomes *mwenz**ake***
(xxii)	*mwan~~a wak~~e* becomes *mwan**ake***
(xxiii)	*mam~~a yak~~e* becomes ?*mam**ake***
(xxiv)	*bab~~a yak~~e* becomes *bab**ake***
(xxv)	*kak~~a yak~~e* becomes *kak**ake***
(xxvi)	*dad~~a yak~~e* becomes *dad**ake***
(xxvii)	*mjomb~~a yak~~e* becomes *mjomb**ake***
(xxviii)	*nyany~~a yak~~e* becomes *nyany**ake***
(xxix)	*mpend~~wa wak~~e* becomes ?*mpendw**ake***
(xxx)	*msichan~~a wak~~e* becomes ?*msichan**ake***

This pattern also applies to the plural possessives "**-etu**" as "**our**" or "**ours**", "**-enu**" as "**your**" or "**yours**" (plural) and "**-ao**" as "**their**" or "**theirs**".

While those nouns in 19 that take '*w*' as their subject prefix can be pluralised (prefix not affected) and combined with possessives to form permissible contractions, those that take '*y*' (which canges into '*z*' in plural) cannot. Thus:

20.   NPos Contractions Resulting from Omission of Adjoining Portions in Plural Form

S/N.	Possessive "*-angu*" as "my" or "mine"
(i)	*wenz~~a wan~~gu* becomes *wenz**angu***
(ii)	*wan~~a wan~~gu* becomes *wan**angu***
(iii)	*mam~~a zan~~gu* becomes **mam**angu***
(iv)	*bab~~a zan~~gu* becomes **bab**angu***
(v)	*kak~~a zan~~gu* becomes **kak**angu***
(vi)	*dad~~a zan~~gu* becomes **dad**angu***
(vii)	*wajomb~~a zan~~gu* becomes **wajomb**angu***
(viii)	*nyany~~a zan~~gu* becomes **nyany**angu***
(ix)	*wapend~~wa wan~~gu* becomes ?*wapendw**angu***
(x)	*wasichan~~a wan~~gu* becomes ?*wasichan**angu***
	Possessive "*-ako*" as "your" or "yours" (singular)
(xi)	*wenz~~a wak~~o* becomes *wenz**ako***
(xii)	*wan~~a wak~~o* becomes ?*wan**ako***

(xiii)	*mama zako* becomes *mamako
(xiv)	*baba zako* becomes *babako
(xv)	*kaka zako* becomes *kakako
(xvi)	*dada zako* becomes *dadako
(xvii)	*wajomba zako* becomes *wajombako
(xviii)	*nyanya zako* becomes *nyanyako
(xix)	*wapendwa wako* becomes ?*wapendwako*
(xx)	*wasichana wako* becomes ?*wasichanako*
	Possessive "*-ake*" as "his/her" or "his/hers"
(xxi)	*wenza wake* becomes *wenzake*
(xxii)	*wana wake* becomes *wanake
(xxiii)	*mama zake* becomes ?*mamake*
(xxiv)	*baba zake* becomes *babake
(xxv)	*kaka zake* becomes *kakake
(xxvi)	*dada zake* becomes *dadake*
(xxvii)	*mjomba zake* becomes *mjombake*
(xxviii)	*nyanya zake* becomes *nyanyake*
(xxix)	*wapendwa wake* becomes ?*wapendwake*
(xxx)	*wasichana wake* becomes ?*wasichanake*

Although it may seem clear from the examples in 19 that the formation of NPos contractions in Kiswahili is straight forward, two things may be worth noting here. First, not all nouns ending in /a/ can be used to produce similar results. For instance, eliminating the adjoining portions of *mwana* 'son/child' + *wako* 'your/yours (sg.)'➔*mwana wako* yields a contraction ?*mwanako* whose existence in Kiswahili is doubtful because the common one is *mwanao*. In this contraction, the voiceless velar sound /k/, which is maintained throughout examples 19(*xiii*) to (*xviii*), is lost. This also applies to such words as *mpwao* 'your nephew/niece', *mchumbao* 'your fiancé/fiancée', and *mshengao* 'your intermediary/go-between', inter alia. Secondly, as illustrated in 20, kinship terms without noun class prefixes, or other nouns with or without noun class prefixes, especially those taking '*-y*' as their subject prefix, either make contractions in plural forms which are exactly the same as those in their singular forms, or make unacceptable ones in both singular and plural forms as further examplified in 21.

21.   NPos Combinations that Yield Ambiguous and/or Unacceptable Contractions

No.	Singular	Plural
Possessive "-*angu*" as "my" or "mine"		
(i)	*baba ~~ya~~ngu* becomes *bab**angu***	*baba ~~za~~ngu* becomes **bab**angu***
(ii)	*mama ~~ya~~ngu* becomes *mam**angu***	*mama ~~za~~ngu* becomes **mam**angu***
(iii)	*kaka ~~ya~~ngu* becomes *kak**angu***	*kaka ~~za~~ngu* becomes **kak**angu***
(iv)	*wi~~fi~~ ~~ya~~ngu* becomes **wif**angu***	*mawi~~fi~~ ~~za~~ngu* becomes **mawif**angu***
Possessive "-*ako*" as "your" or "yours" (singular)		
(v)	*m~~ti~~ ~~wa~~ko* becomes **mt**ako***	*mi~~ti~~ ~~ya~~ko* becomes **mit**ako***
(vi)	*mkon~~o~~ ~~wa~~ko* becomes **mkon**ako***	*mikon~~o~~ ~~ya~~ko* becomes **mikon**ako***
(vii)	*kidev~~u~~ ~~cha~~ko* becomes **kidev**ako***	*videv~~u~~ ~~vya~~ko* becomes **videv**ako***
(viii)	*pomb~~e~~ ~~ya~~ko* becomes **pomb**ako***	*pomb~~e~~ ~~za~~ko* becomes **pomb**ako***
Possessive "-*ake*" as "his/her" or "his/hers"		
(ix)	*redi~~o~~ ~~ya~~ke* becomes **red**ake***	*redi~~o~~ ~~za~~ke* becomes **red**ake***
(x)	*shog~~a~~ ~~ya~~ke* becomes *shog**ake***	*shog~~a~~ ~~za~~ke* becomes *shog**ake***
(xi)	*kasor~~o~~ ~~ye~~tu* becomes **kasor**etu***	*kasor~~o~~ ~~ze~~tu* becomes **kasor**etu***
(xii)	*b~~ei~~ ~~ya~~ke* becomes **be**ake***	*b~~ei~~ ~~za~~ke* becomes **be**ake***
Possessive "-*etu*" as "our" or "ours"		
(xiii)	*chumb~~a~~ ~~che~~tu* becomes **chumb**etu***	*vyumb~~a~~ ~~vye~~tu* becomes **vyumb**etu***
(xiv)	*tabi~~a~~ ~~ye~~tu* becomes **tabi**etu***	*tabi~~a~~ ~~ze~~tu* becomes **tabi**etu***
(xv)	*upend~~o~~ ~~we~~tu* becomes **upend**etu***	*not applicable*
Possessive "-*enu*" as "your" or "yours" (plural)		
(xvi)	*ndug~~u~~ ~~ye~~nu* becomes **ndug**enu***	*ndug~~u~~ ~~ze~~nu* becomes **ndug**enu***
(xvii)	*mtot~~o~~ ~~we~~nu* becomes **mtot**enu***	*watot~~o~~ ~~we~~nu* becomes **watot**enu***
(xviii)	*zuli~~a~~ ~~le~~nu* becomes **zuli**enu***	*mazuli~~a~~ ~~ye~~nu* becomes **mazuli**enu***

	Possessive "-ao" as "their" or "theirs"	
(xix)	*unywele wao* becomes *unywelao*	*nywele zao* becomes *nywelao*
(xx)	*upepo wao* becomes *upepao*	*pepo zao* becomes *pepao*

The discrepancies noted in 20 and 21 call for a plausible explanation as to how Kiswahili speakers face this challenge. This is where elimination of the mid-portion of the possessive involved in the contraction formation comes in. This strategy applies to nouns ending in vowels other than /a/ and those that take 'y' as their subject prefix (which changes into 'z' in plural) in boths singular and plural. It should be noted that the possessives involved are '-ako' and '-ake' only. Thus, *gari lako* 'your (sg.) car/vehicle' becomes *garilo* after deletion of the mid-portion of the possessive as in 22 (more examples in 23):

22. **gari lako ➔ gari l(a k)o ➔ garilo**

23. NPos contractions resulting from omission of the mid-portion of the possessive

No.	Singular	Plural
	Possessive "-angu" as "my" or "mine"	
(i)	*mdogo wangu* becomes *mdogowgu*	*wadogo zangu* becomes *wadogozgu*
(ii)	*mama yangu* becomes *mamaygu*	*mama zangu* becomes *mamazgu*
	Possessive "-ako" as "your" or "yours" (singular)	
(iii)	*mgogoro wako* becomes *mgogorowo*	*mgogoro yako* becomes *migogoroyo*
(iv)	*ndugu yako* becomes *nduguyo*	*ndugu zako* becomes *nduguzo*
(v)	*baba yako* becomes *babayo*	*baba zako* becomes *babazo*
(vi)	*utete wako* becomes *utetewo*	*matete yako* becomes *mateteyo*
	Possessive "-ake" as "his/her" or "his/hers"	
(vii)	*mke wake* becomes *mkewe*	*wakez ake* becomes *wakeze*
(viii)	*chumba chake* becomes *chumbache*	*vyumba vyake* becomes *vyumbavye*
	Possessive "-etu" as "our" or "ours"	
(ix)	*nyumba yetu* becomes *nyumbayu*	*nyumba zetu* becomes *nyumbazu*
(x)	*sanduku letu* becomes *sandukulu*	*masanduku yetu* becomes *masandukuyu*

Possessive "*-enu*" as "your" or "yours" (plural)		
(xi)	*ukuta* ~~we~~*nu* becomes *ukutawu	*kuta* ~~ze~~*nu* becomes *kutazu
(xii)	*msukule* ~~wenu~~ becomes *msukulewu	*misukule* ~~yenu~~ becomes *misukuleyu
Possessive "*-ao*" as "their" or "theirs"		
(xiii)	*shindano* ~~la~~*o* becomes *shindanolo*	*mashindano* ~~ya~~*o* becomes *mashindanoyo*[2]

From data 23, it is obvious that omission of the mid-portion of the possessive caters for two possessives only, namely '*-ako*' and '*-ake*'. Further, some contractions formed through deletion of the mid-portion of the possessive, mostly '*-ako*', also lose the noun class prefix of the possessive in question. For instance, *mwana w(~~ak~~)o* 'your son/child' contracts to *mwanawo* and then loses the prefix '*w*' before '*o*', leaving *mwanao*. The same also applies to *mkeo* 'your (sg.) wife', *mumeo* 'your (sg.) husband', *mpenzio* 'your (sg.) love(r)', *mwenzio* 'your (sg.) partner/companion', *mchumbao* 'your (sg.) fiancé/fiancée', *mshengao* 'your (sg.) intermediary/go-between', *mpwao* 'your (sg.) nephew/niece', *mpangajio* 'your (sg.) tenant', *mkateo* 'your (sg.) bread', *mzukao* 'your (sg.) ghost/spirit' etc (see Appendix for more examples).

Regarding the productivity of possessives, the data show that singular possessives are more productive than their plural counterparts. The data further indicate that, of the singular possessives, '*-ako*' and '*-ake*' are the most productive (see data 23 and Appendix). They can form contractions with any noun, except those in classes 16, 17 and 18 (PA, MU and KU).

Finally, the morphosyntactic and phological principles that govern the formation of NPos contractions in Kiswahili lie in elimination of the adjoining portions of the noun and the possessive involved or the mid-portion of the possessive involved as determined by the final vowel of the nouns in question. When the process involves nouns in class 1 ending in /a/, as noted earlier, the adjoining portions of the contracting words are eliminated. However, when it involves nouns ending in such vowels as /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ and those that take '*y*' as their subject prefix (which changes into '*z*' in plural), in boths singular and plural, the target of elimination becomes the mid-portions, and the possessives involved are only '*-ako*' and '*-ake*'.

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[2] This is acceptable, but translates into **your** (instead of **their**) competition.

Utility and Syntax of Kiswahili Contractions

There is a general consensus that the common usage of contractions is in speech and colloquial forms of writing (Heidinger, 1984:88; Bybee, 2007:11). Bybee (2007:11) points out that many contractions, exceptions and oddities in language are a result of extremely high frequency of use. Frequent use of a given word leads to, inter alia, its phonological and morphological reduction (Bybee, 2007:11). For example, Kiswahili speakers would tend to reduce words like *mimi* 'I', *mama* 'mother' and *wako* 'your/yours (sg.)' because they are used frequently, but not words like *tini* 'notes', *tapo* 'school of thought', or *dama* 'draughts', which are not frequent, even though the two sets of words are phonologically similar. Frequent use of a word makes people tired of saying it over and over again. As such, there are such contractions as can't, don't, I'll, you'd, etc., because people get tired of saying "cannot", "do not", "I will", etc., over and over again. Since people do converse more than they write, contractions are commonly used in spoken language.

Likewise, common contractions in Kiswahili are a result of their frequent use. That is why forms like *mwanangu, babake, babaye,* etc., may tempt one to regard them as lexical items in their own right, having come into existence via frequent use, while forms like *msichanake*, *mashambake*, etc., seem doubtful because they are not used frequently. While it is true that contractions are commonly used in spoken discourse, there are some which are also not strange in written Kiswahili. For instance, it is not strange to come by contactions such as '*baadaye*' 'afterwards' instead of '*baada yake*', '*na-*' instead of '*nina*' as in '*naendelea kudai kuwa …*' instead of '*ninaendelea kudai kuwa …*' 'I go on claiming that …'. Additionally, kinship terms like *mwenziwe*, *mkewe*, *mumewe* and *mwanawe* are also not strange to come by in written texts.

Denzer-King (2007) argues that contractions have little or nothing to do with syntax or morphology. However, when one examines the data in this paper, it becomes obvious that contractions do have syntactic behaviours. For instance, the data indicate that Kiswahili words that do not form contractions as stand-alone words but, as combination of more than one word, **may contract only when they are adjacent**. Thus, '*na*' and '*mimi*' cannot combine to form a contraction in this context: **na** *aliingia* **mimi** *nikimwona* 'and s/he entered while I was seeing him/her'. However, because of adjacency, contraction is possible in *aliingia* **na mimi** *pia nikamwona* 's/he entered and I saw him/her': '*aliingia* **nami** *pia nikamwona*'. Similarly, **mama** *na* **watoto** 'mother and children/kids' cannot contract because of the interruption by '*na*'. When '*mama*' and '*watoto*' are adjacent as in *mama watoto*, it is possible to contract into **mawatoto** 'mother of children/kids'. Likewise, **kaka** *aliye* **wangu** 'the brother who is

mine' cannot yield **_kakangu_** 'my brother' because of the interruption by *aliye* 'who is'. What then are the syntactic behaviours of Kiswahili NPos contractions?

Kiswahili NPos Contractions as Clitics

There is no any study known to the present researcher on the treatment of Kiswahili contractions as clitics. On the other hand, English contractions, especially auxiliary contractions, have been "routinely treated as clitics" (Wescoat, 2005:1). Representing this view are Zwicky (1977) and Zwicky and Pullum (1983). Zwicky, for example, treats auxiliary contractions in English as "members of the class of *simple clitics*" (Wescoat, 2005:1, emphasis in the original), which comprise "cases where a free morpheme, when unaccented, may be phonologically subordinated to a neighboring word" (Zwicky, 1977:5). What Zwicky means is that a contraction corresponds to the free form, and the contracted form only arises in places where the full form could have occurred. For example:
24.   (a) I**'ll** come.
        (b) I **will** come.

Therefore, English auxiliary contractions are clitics because they are syntactically free but phonologically bound to other forms in the lexicon (Katamba, 1989; Wescoat, 2005; Spencer & Luís, 2012). This means that when they are not yet contracted and attached to the host word(s), they are realised as independent words. But when they contract and join the host word(s), the two are realised a single word.

In Kiswahili, possessive contractions which are attached to the preceding or succeeding lexical item behave syntactically in similar ways as the English auxiliary contractions–as clitics realised phonologically as single words. Before they are contracted and attached to the host word(s), they are realised as independent words with their independent stress. But after contraction and attachment to the host word(s), the two (host word + possessive contraction) are realised a single word with only one stress at the penultimate syllable. Likewise, the contracted forms only arise in places where the full form could have occurred as in 25.
25.   (a) *Mke **wake** ni mrembo* 'His wife is beautiful'.
        (b) *Mke**we** ni mrembo* 'His wife is beautiful'.

Lexicalist Counteranalyses to the Contractions as Clitics View

While Kiswahili and English contractions behave syntactically as clitics, there have been counterarguments that some English auxiliary contractions seem to be incompatible with the contractions as clitics view (see, for example, Spencer, 1991:383). To that effect, there have also been proposals that contractions should be seen as affixes, based on selection

(contractions select restrictively the hosts to which they attach) and morphophonological idiosyncrasies criteria (Wescoat, 2005:2). For instance, Sadler (1998) has proposed a treatment of the "pairings of pronouns with nonsyllabic auxiliary contractions as *tense-marked pronouns* (D)" (Wescoat, 2005:5, emphasis in the original), as in 26a (figure 1). Bender and Sag (2001) have proposed to incorporate the pronoun into the auxiliary (V), which in turn combines with a base-form VP to yield a saturated sentence that does not require a subject NP, as in 26b (figure 1). Since selection and morphophonological idiosyncrasies are lexical issues (Wescoat, 2005:4), analyses that adopt this view have been called lexicalist.

26.

Fig. 1 An example of lexicalist analyses of English auxiliary contractions (adopted from Wescoat, 2005:5)

Legend
IP = Inflectional phrase
S = Saturated sentence
I' = I-bar (an X-bar level in X-bar syntax that allows further expansion to include complements, adjuncts and recursion)
DP = Tense-marked pronoun phrase
D = Tense-marked pronoun
VP = Verb phrase
V = Verb

The lexicalist analyses are, however, not without problems. Wescoat, for example, notes that these approaches render difficulties in prediction of the syntax of contractions. Wescoat cites coordination as an example, highlighting that "coordination fails to apply to the hypothesized affixed word" (Wescoat, 2005:5), as in 27.

27.　　***You're** and **I'm** helping.

In Kiswahili, there are no instances where coordination fails to apply to the NPos contractions as it can be seen in 28.

28.   (a) *Utakwenda na* **mkeo** *na* **mwanawe** 'You will go with your wife and her son/child'.
       (b) **Usingiziwe** *na* **ndotoze** *ni liwazo kwake* 'Her/his sleep and dreams are a comfort to her/him'.
       (c) **Babangu** *na* **mamangu** *ni walimu* 'My father and my mother are teachers'.

Considering Zwicky and Pullum's (1983:504) observation that "syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but cannot affect clitic groups," the view that contractions are a group of clitics stands out to hold much more water than the lexicalist approaches.

Conclusion

The present paper set out to (i) investigate how Kiswahili speakers decide on choosing the appropriate combinatorial partners to form appropriate and permissible contractions, (ii) explore the contraction-formation procedures and (iii) examine the syntactic behaviour of Kiswahili contractions with special emphasis on noun-possessive combination. Five major findings have been highlighted: (i) noun-possessive combination in the formation of Kiswahili contractions is not limited to kinship terms since a range of nouns can be used to form NPos contractions; (ii) Kiswahili NPos contractions can be formed through omission of the adjoining portions of the words involved or of the mid-portion of the possessive in question, the processes which are governed by phonological and morphosyntactic principles; (iii) singular possessives tend to be more productive than their plural counterparts and, among them, '-*ako*' and '-*ake*' are the most productive; (iv) the formation of NPos contractions is predictable and is governed by morphosyntactic and phological principles such as cliticisation and vowel harmony; and (v) morphosyntactic cliticisation approach affords best and successful analysis of contractions as clitics. These are just some of the issues. More ground needs to be covered. For instance, research is needed to determine what guides the speakers in alternating between *babake* and *babaye*. When does the speaker choose to use *babake* and when does s/he choose to use *babaye*, given that the two mean exactly the same thing?

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Appendix

Permissible and Impermissible Noun-possessive Contractions

1.   M-/WA- class

7	Example noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1stpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2ndpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rdpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1stppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2ndppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rdppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(vii)	Baba	father(s)	babangu	babako; babayo; babazo	babake; babaye; babaze	babetu(sg.)	babenu(sg.)	babao(sg.)
(viii)	Mama	mother(s)	mamangu	mamako; mamayo; mamazo	mamake; mamaye; mamaze	mametu(sg.)	mamenu(sg.)	mamao(sg.)
(ix)	Dada	sister(s)	dadangu	dadako; dadayo; dadazo	dadake; dadaye; dadaze	dadetu(sg.)	dadenu(sg.)	dadao(sg.)
(x)	Mwana Wana	child children	mwanangu wanangu	?mwanako; mwana(w)o; wana(w)o	?mwanake; mwanawe; wanawe	mwanetu; wanetu	mwanenu; wanenu	*mwanao *wanao
(xi)	Nyanya	grandma(s)	nyanyangu	nyanyako; nyanyayo; nyanyazo	nyanyaye; nyanyaze	nyanyetu	nyanyenu	nyanyao
(xii)	Mume Waume	husband husbands	*mumengu *mumangu *waumengu *waumangu	*mumeko; mumeo; ?wameo; ?wamezo; waumezo	*mumeke; mumewe; ?wamewe; waumewe waumeze	?mumetu; *waumetu	?mumenu; ?waumenu	*mume(w)o; *waume(w)o
(xiii)	Mke Wake	wife wives	*mkengu *mkangu *wakengu *wakangu	*mkeko; mkeo *wakeko; ?wakeo; wakezo	*mkeke; mkewe; wakewe; wakeze	?mketu; ?waketu	?mkenu; ?wakenu	*mke(w)o; *wake(w)o
(xiv)	Bibi	grandma(s)	*bibingu *bibangu	*bibiko; bibiyo; bibizo	*bibike; bibiye; bibize	*bibetu	*bibenu	?bibio
(xv)	Mpenzi Wapenzi	love(r) lovers	*mpenzingu *wapenzingu	*mpenziko mpenzio; wapenzio	*mpenzike mpenziwe; wapenziwe	*mpenzitu *wapenzitu	?mpenzinu ?wapenzinu	?mpenzi(w)o ?wapenzi(w)o
(xvi)	Mwenza/ Mwenzi Wenza/ Wenzi	partner; companion; partners; companions	mwenzangu *mwenzingu wenzangu *wenzingu	mwenzako; wenzako; mwenzio; wenzio	mwenzake; wenzake; mwenziwe; mwenzie; wenziwe; wenzie	mwenzetu; wenzetu	mwenzenu; wenzenu	mwenzao; wenzao
(xvii)	Mpangaji Wapang aji	tenant	*mpangajingu *mpagajangu	*mpangajiko;mpangajio; wapangajio	*mpangajike;mpangajiwe; wapangajiwe	*mpangajitu * wapangajitu	*mpangajinu * wapangajinu	?mpangaji(w)o?wapangaji(w)o
(xviii)	Somo	namesake(s); initiation instructor(s)	*somongu *somangu	*somoko; somoyo; somozo	*somoke; somoye; somoze	?sometu	?somenu	*somo(w)o
(xix)	Babu	grandfather(s)	*babungu	*babuko; babuyo; babuzo	*babuke; babuye; babuze	*babutu	*babunu	*babuo
(xx)	Mjukuu Wajukuu	grandchild grandchildren	*mjukuungu *mjukangu *wajukuungu *wajukangu	*mjukuuko; *mjukako; mjukuuyo wajukuuzo	*mjukuuke; *mjukake; mjukuuye *wajukuuke; *wajukake; wajukuuze	*mjuketu; *wajuketu	*mjukuunu; *wajukuunu	?mjukuu(w)o; *wajukuu(w)o

2.   M-/MI- class

S/No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1ˢᵗpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2ⁿᵈpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3ʳᵈpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1ˢᵗppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2ⁿᵈppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3ʳᵈppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(xxi)	*Mtima* *Mitima*	heart hearts	*mtimangu;* *mitimangu*	*mtimako;* *mtima(w)o;* *mitimayo*	*mtimake;* *mtimawe;* *mitimaye*	*?mtimetu* *?mitimetu*	*?mtimenu* *?mitimenu*	*mtimao* *mitimao*
(xxii)	*Mpera* *Mipera*	guava tree guava trees	*mperangu;* *miperangu*	*?mperako;* *mpera(w)o;* *miperayo*	*?mperake;* *mperawe;* *miperaye*	*?mperetu;* *?miperetu*	*?mperenu;* *?miperenu*	*?mperao* *?miperao*
(xxiii)	*Mzuka* *Mizuka*	ghost/spirit ghosts/spirits	*mzukangu;* *mizukangu*	*mzukako;* *mzuka(w)o;* *mizukayo*	*?mzukake;* *mzukawe;* *mizukaye*	*?mzuketu* *?mizuketu*	*?mzukenu* *?mizukenu*	*?mzukao* *?mizukao*
(xxiv)	*Msukule* *Misukule*	- -	**msukulengu;* **msukulangu* **misukulengu;* **misukulangu*	**msukuleko;* **msukulako* **misukuleko;* **misukulako* *msukule(wo)* *misukuleyo*	**msukuleke;* **msukulake* **misukuleke;* **misukulake* *msukulewe* *misukuleye*	*?msukuletu* *?misukuletu*	*?msukulenu* *?misukulenu*	*?msukulao;* *msukuleo* *?misukulao;* *misukuleo*
(xxv)	*Mkate* *Mikate*	bread	**mkatengu;* **mkatangu* **mikatengu* **mikatangu*	**mkateko;* **mkatako;* *mkate(w)o;* **mikateko;* **mikatako;* *mikateyo*	**mkateke;* **mkatake;* *mkatewe* **mikateke;* **mikatake;* *mikateye*	*mkatetu* *mikatetu*	*mkatenu* *mikatenu*	*?mkateo* **mkatao* *mikateo*
(xxvi)	*Mkunde* *Mikunde*	cowpea plant cowpea plants	**mkundengu* **mkundangu* **mikundengu* **mikundangu*	**mkundeko;* **mkundako;* *mkunde(w)o;* **mikundeko;* **mikundako;* *mikundeyo*	**mkundeke;* **mkundake;* *mkundewe;* **mikundeke;* **mikundake;* *mikundeye*	*mkundetu;* *mikundetu*	*mkundenu;* *mikundenu*	*?mkundeo;* **mkundao* *mikundeo*
(xxvii)	*Mti* *Miti*	tree trees	**mtingu;* **mtangu* **mitingu* **mitangu*	**mtiko;* **mtako;* *mti(w)o;* **mitiko;* **mitako; mitiyo*	**mtike; *mtake;* *mtiwe; *mitike;* **mitake; mitiye*	**mtitu; *mtetu* **mititu; *mitetu*	**mtinu; *mtenu* **mitinu; *mitenu*	**mtio; *mtao* **mitio; *mitao*
(xxviii)	*Mzigo* *Mizigo*	luggage	**mzigongu;* **mzigangu* **mizigongu* **mizigangu*	**mzigoko;* **mzigako;* *mzigo(w)o;* **mizigoko;* **mizigako;* *mizigoyo*	**mzigoke;* **mzigake;* *mzigowe;* **mizigoke;* **mizigake;* *mizigoye*	**mzigotu;* **mzigetu* **mizigotu;* **mizigetu*	**mzigonu;* **mzigenu* **mizigonu;* **mizigenu*	**mzigoo;* **mzigao* **mizigoo;* **mizigao*
(xxix)	*Mtindo* *Mitindo*	style styles	**mtindongu;* **mtindangu* **mitindongu* **mitindangu*	**mtindoko;* **mtindako;* *mtindowo;* **mitindoko;* **mitindako;* *mitindoyo*	**mtindoke;* **mtindake;* *mtindowe;* **mitindoke;* **mitindake;* *mitindoye*	**mtindotu;* **mtindetu;* **mitindotu;* **mitindetu;*	**mtindonu;* **mtindenu;* **mitindonu;* **mitindenu*	**mtindoo;* **mtindao* **mitindoo;* **mitindao*
(xxx)	*Mgogoro* *Migogoro*	conflict conflicts	**mgogorongu;* **mgogorangu* **migogorongu* **migogorangu*	**mgogoroko;* **mgogorako;* *mgogorowo;* **migogoroko;* **migogorako;* *migogoroyo*	**mgogoroke;* **mgogorake;* *mgogorowe;* **migogoroke;* **migogorake;* *migogoroye*	**mgogorotu;* **mgogoretu* **migogorotu;* **migogoretu*	**mgogoronu;* **mgogorenu* **migogoronu;* **migogorenu*	**mgogoroo;* **mgogorao* **migogoroo;* **migogorao*
(xxxi)	*Mkufu* *Mikufu*	chain chains	**mkufungu;* **mkufangu* **mikufungu* **mikufangu*	**mkufuko;* **mkufako;* *mkufu(w)o;* **mikufuko;* **mikufako;* *mikufuyo*	**mkufuke;* **mkufake;* *mkufuwe;* **mikufuke;* **mikufake;* *mikufuye*	**mkufutu;* **mkufetu* **mikufutu;* **mikufetu*	**mkufunu;* **mkufenu* **mikufunu;* **mikufenu*	**mkufuo;* *?mkufao* **mikufuo;* *?mikufao*
(xxxii)	*Mkungu* *Mikungu*	bunch (e.g. of banana) bunches	**mkungungu;* **mkungangu* **mikungungu* **mikungangu*	**mkunguko;* **mkungako;* *mkungu(w)o;* **mikunguko;* **mikungako;* *mikunguyo*	**mkunguke;* **mkungake;* *mkunguwe;* **mikunguke;* **mikungake;* *mikunguye*	**mkungutu;* **mkungetu* **mikungutu;* **mikungetu*	**mkungunu;* **mkungenu* **mikungunu;* **mikungenu*	*?mkunguo;* *?mkungao* *?mikunguo;* *?mikungao*

3. JI-/MA- class

S/No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(xii)	*Jina Majina*	name names	*?jinangu; majinangu*	*?jinako; jinalo majinangu; majinayo*	*?jinake; jinale majinake; majinaye*	**jinatu; *jinetu *majinatu; majinetu*	**jinanu; *jinenu *majinanu; majinenu*	**jinao majinao*
(xiii)	*Shamba Mashamba*	farm farms	*?shambangu mashambangu*	*?shambako; shambalo mashambayo*	*?shambake; shambale mashambaye*	**shambatu; *shambetu; *mashambatu mashambetu*	**shambanu; *shambenu; *mashambanu mashambenu*	*?shambao mashambao*
(xiv)	*Duka Maduka*	shop/store shops/stores	*?dukangu; madukangu*	*?dukako; dukalo; madukayo*	*?dukake; dukale; madukaye*	**dukatu; *duketu; *madukatu maduketu*	**dukanu; *dukenu; *madukanu madukenu*	*?dukao madukao*
(xv)	*Teke Mateke*	kick kicks	**tekengu; *tekangu *matekengu *matekangu*	**tekeko; *tekako; tekelo *matekeko; ?matekako matekeyo*	**tekeke; *tekeke; tekele *matekeke; ?matekake matekeye*	**teketu ?mateketu*	**tekenu ?matekenu*	**tekao; *tekeo ?matekao; matekeo*
(xvi)	*Macheche*	restlessness	**machechengu; machechangu*	**machecheko; machechako; machecheyo*	**machecheke; machechake; machecheye*	*machechetu*	*machechenu*	*?machecheo machechao*
(xvii)	*Ini Maini*	liver livers	**iningu; *inangu *mainingu; *mainangu*	**iniko; *inako; inilo; *mainiko; *mainako; mainiyo*	**inike; *inake; inile; *mainike; *mainake; mainiye*	**initu; *inetu *mainitu; *mainetu*	**ininu; *inenu *maininu; *mainenu*	**inio; *inao *mainao; mainio*
(xviii)	*Wimbi Mawimbi*	wave waves	**wimbingu; *wimbangu *mawimbingu *mawimbangu*	**wimbiko; *wimbako; wimbilo; *mawimbiko; *mawimbako; mawimbiyo*	**wimbike; *wimbake; wimbile *mawimbike; *mawimbake; mawimbiye*	**wimbitu; *wimbetu *mawimbitu; *mawibetu*	**wimbinu; *wimbetu *mawimbinu; *mawimbenu*	*?wimbio; *wimbao ?mawimbio; *mawimbao*
(xix)	*Pigo Mapigo*	blow blows	**pigongu; *pigangu *mapigongu *mapigangu*	**pigoko; *pigako; pigolo; *mapigoko; *mapigako; mapigoyo*	**pigoke; *pigake; pigole; *mapigoke; *mapigake; mapigoye*	**pigotu; *pigetu *mapigotu; *mapigetu*	**pigonu; *pigenu *mapigonu; *mapigenu*	**pigoo; *pigao *mapigoo; *mapigao*
(xx)	*Lengo Malengo*	objective objectives	**lengongu; *lengangu *malengongu *malengangu*	**lengoko; *lengako; lengolo; *malengoko; *malengako; malengoyo*	**lengoke; *lengake; lengole; *malengoke; *malengake; malengoye*	**lengotu; *lengetu; *malengotu; *malengetu;*	**lengonu; *lengenu *malengonu; *malengenu*	**lengoo; *lengao *malengoo; *malengao*
(xxi)	*Lopoo Malopoo*	offprint offprints	**lopoongu; *lopoangu *malopoongu *malopoangu*	**lopooko; *lopoako; lopoolo; *malopooko; *malopoako; malopooyo*	**lopooke; *lopoake; lopoole; *malopooke; *malopoake; malopooye*	**lopootu; *lopoetu *malopootu; ?malopoetu*	**lopoonu; *lopoenu *malopoonu; ?malopoenu*	**lopooo; ?lopoao *malopooo; ?malopoao*
(xxii)	*Dau Madau*	dhow dhows	**daungu; *mkufangu *madaungu *mikufangu*	**dauko; daulo; *madauko; madauyo*	**dauke; daule *madauke; madauye*	**dautu; *madautu*	**daunu; *madaunu*	*?dauo ?madauo*
(xxiii)	*Maajabu*	wonders	**maajabungu; *maajabangu*	**maajabuko; *maajabako; maajabuyo*	**maajabuke; *maajabake; maajabuye*	**maajabutu; *maajabetu*	**maajabunu; *maajabenu*	*?maajabuo; *maajabao*

4. KI-/VI- class

S/No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1stpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2ndpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rdpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1stppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2ndppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rdppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(i)	*Kina* *Vina*	rhyme rhymes	*kinangu; *vinangu	*kinako; kinacho; *vinako; vinavyo	*kinake; kinache; *vinake; vinavye	*kinatu; *kinetu *vinatu; *vinetu	*kinanu; *kinenu *vinanu; *vinenu	*kinao *vinao
(ii)	*Kinaa*	satisfaction	*kinaangu	*kinaako; kinaacho	*kinaake; kinaache	*kinaatu; *kinaetu	*kinaanu; *kinaenu	*kinaao
(iii)	*Kitanda* *Vitanda*	bed beds	*kitandangu; *vitandangu	*kitandako; kitandacho; *vitandako; vitandavyo	*kitandake; kitandache; *vitandake; vitandavye	*kitandatu; *kitandetu *vitandatu; *vitandetu	*kitandanu; *kitandenu *vitandanu; *vitandenu	*kitandao *vitandao
(iv)	*Kipengee* *Vipengee*	component components	*kipengeengu; *kipengangu *vipengeengu *vipengangu	*kipengeeko; *kipengako; kipengeecho; *vipengeeko; *vipengako; vipengeevyo	*kipengeeke; *kipengake; kipengeeche; *vipengeeke; *vipengake; vipengeevye	*kipengeetu; *kipengatu; *vipengeetu; *vipengatu	*kipengeenu; *kipenganu; *vipengeenu; *vipenganu	*kipengeeo; *kipengao; *vipengeeo; *vipengao
(v)	*Kibwebwe* *Vibwebwe*	girdle girdles	*kibwewengu; *kibwebwangu *vibwewengu *vibwebwangu	*kibweweko; *kibwebwako; kibwewecho *vibweweko; *vibwebwako; vibwewevyo	*kibweweke; *kibwebwake; kibweweche *vibweweke; *vibwebwake; vibwewevye	*kibwewetu; *kibwebwatu *vibwewetu; *vibwebwatu	*kibwewenu; *kibwebwanu *vibwewenu; *vibwebwanu	*kibweweo; *kibwebwao; *vibweweo; *vibwebwao
(vi)	*Kialamize* *Vialamize*	signifier signifiers	*kialamizengu; *kialamizangu *vialamizengu *vialamizangu	*kialamizeko; *kialamizako; kialamizecho *vialamizeko; *vialamizako; vialamizevyo	*kialamizeke; *kialamizake; kialamizeche *vialamizeke; *vialamizake; vialamizevye	*kialamizetu; *kialamizatu *vialamizetu; *vialamizatu	*kialamizenu; *kialamizanu *vialamizenu; *vialamizanu	*kialamizeo; *kialamizao; *vialamizeo; *vialamizao
(vii)	*Kiburi* *Viburi*	arrogance or sturbonness	*kiburingu; *kiburangu *viburingu *viburangu	*kiburako; kiburicho *viburiko; *viburako; ?viburivyo	*kiburike; kiburiche *viburike; *viburake; ?viburivye	*kiburitu; *kiburetu *viburitu; *viburetu	*kiburinu; *kiburenu *viburinu; *viburenu	*kiburio; *kiburao *viburio; *viburao
(viii)	*Kipepeo* *Vipepeo*	hand-fan hand-fans	*kipepeongu; *kipepeangu *vipepeongu *vipepeangu	*kipepeoko; *kipepeako; kipepeocho *vipepeoko; *vipepeako; vipepeovyo	*kipepeoke; *kipepeake; kipepeoche *vipepeoke; *vipepeake; vipepeovye	*kipepeotu; *kipepeatu *vipepeotu; *vipepeatu	*kipepeonu; *kipepeanu *vipepeonu; *vipepeanu	*kipepeoo; *kipepeao *vipepeoo; *vipepeao
(ix)	*Kipeto* *Vipeto*	parcel parcels	*kipetongu; *kipetangu *vipetongu *vipetangu	*kipetoko; *kipetako; kipetocho *vipetoko; *vipetako; vipetovyo	*kipetoke; *kipetake; kipetoche *vipetoke; *vipetake; vipetovye	*kipetotu; *kipetatu *vipetotu; *vipetatu	*kipetonu; *kipetanu *vipetonu; *vipetanu	*kipetoo; *kipetao *vipetoo; *vipetao
(x)	*Kiango* *Viango*	wall-hook wall-hooks	*kiangongu; *kiangangu *viangongu *viangangu	*kiangoko; *kiangako; kiangocho *viangoko; *viangako; viangovyo	*kiangoke; *kiangake; kiangoche *viangoke; *viangake; viangovye	*kiangotu; *kiangatu *viangotu; *viangatu	*kiangonu; *kianganu *viangonu; *vianganu	*kiangoo; *kiangao *viangoo; *viangao
(xi)	*Kifuku* *Vifuku*	rain season rain seasons	*kifukungu; *kifukangu *vifukungu *vifukangu	*kifukuko; *kifukako; ?kifukucho; *vifukuko; *vifukako; ?vifukuvyo	*kifukuke; *kifukake; kifukuche; *vifukuke; *vifukake; vifukuvye	*kifukutu; *kifuketu *vifukutu; *vifuketu	*kifukunu; *kifukenu *vifukunu; *vifukenu	*kifukuo; *kifukao *vifukuo; ?vifukao
(xii)	*Kitunguu* *Vitunguu*	onion onions	*kitunguungu; *kitungangu *vitunguungu *vitungangu	*kitunguuko; *kitungako; kitunguucho *vitunguuko; *vitungako; vitunguuvyo	*kitunguuke; *kitungake; kitunguuche *vitunguuke; *vitungake; vitunguuvye	*kitunguutu; *kitungetu *vitunguutu; *vitungetu	*kitunguunu; *kitungenu *vitunguunu; *vitungenu	*kitunguuo; *kitunguao *vitunguuo; *vitungwao

5. N-/N- class

S/No	Example noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(xxxiii)	*Nyumba*	house(s)	*nyumbangu*	*nyumbako; nyumbayo; nyumbazo*	*nyumbake; nyumbaye; nyumbaze*	*nyumbetu(sg.)*	*nyumbenu(sg.)*	*nyumbao(sg.)*
(xxxiv)	*Kamba*	rope(s)	*kambangu*	*kambako; kambayo; kambazo*	*kambake; kambaye; kambaze*	*?kambetu*	*?kambenu(sg.)*	*kambao(sg.)*
(xxxv)	*Familia*	family(ies)	*familiangu*	*?familiako; familiayo familiazo*	*?familiake; familiaye; familiaze*	**familietu(sg.)*	**familienu*	*familiao(sg.)*
(xxxvi)	*Maabara*	laboratory(ies)	**maabarangu*	*?maabarako; maabarayo maabarazo*	*?maabarake; maabaraye; maabaraze*	*?maabaretu*	*?maabarenu*	*?maabarao*
(xxxvii)	*Kengele*	bell(s)	**kengelengu*	**kengeleko; kengeleyo kengelezo*	**kengeleke kengeleye; kengeleze*	*?kengeletu*	*?kengelenu*	*?kengeleo *kengelao*
(xxxviii)	*Baraste*	speedway(s)	**barastengu *barastangu*	**barasteko; barasteyo barastezo*	**barasteke; barasteye barasteze*	*?barastetu*	*?barastenu*	**barasteo; ?barastao*
(xxxix)	*Sherehe*	celebration(s)	**sherehengu *sherehangu*	**shereheko; shereheyo sherehezo*	**shereheke; shereheye shereheze*	*?sherehetu*	*?sherehenu*	**shereheo; *sherehewo *sherehao*
(xl)	*Akili*	intelligence/intellect	**akilingu *akilangu*	**akiliko; *akilako; akiliyo; akilizo*	**akilike; *akilake; akiliye; akilize*	**akilitu; *akiletu*	**akilinu; *akilenu*	**akilio; *akilao*
(xli)	*Ajali*	accident(s)	**ajalingu; *ajalangu*	**ajaliko; *ajalako; ajaliyo; ajalizo*	**ajalike; *ajalake ajaliye; ajalize*	**ajalitu; *ajaletu*	**ajalinu *ajalenu*	**ajalio *ajalao*
(xlii)	*Bei*	price(s)	**beingu*	**beiko; beiyo*	**beike; beiye beize*	**beitu; *beetu; *betu*	**beinu; *beenu; *benu*	*?beio; *beao*
(xliii)	*Sahani*	plate(s)	**sahaningu; *sahanangu*	**sahaniko; *sahanako; sahaniyo sahanizo*	**sahanike; *sahanake; sahaniye sahanize*	**sahanitu; *sahanetu*	**sahaninu; *sahanenu*	**sahanio; *sahanao*
(xliv)	*Simu*	phone(s)	**simungu; *simangu*	**simuko; *simako; simuyo simuzo*	**simuke; *simake; simuye simuze*	**simutu; *simetu*	**simunu; *simenu*	**simuo; *simao*
(xlv)	*Siku*	day(s)	**sikungu; *sikangu*	**sikuko; *sikako; sikuyo sikuzo*	**sikuke; *sikake; sikuye sikuze*	**sikutu; *siketu*	**sikunu; *sikenu*	**sikuo; *sikao*
(xlvi)	*Pingu*	handcuff(s)	**pingungu; *pingangu*	**pinguko; *pingako; pinguyo pinguzo*	**pinguke; *pingake; pinguye pinguze*	**pingutu; *pingetu*	**pingunu; *pingenu*	**pinguo; *pingao*
(xlvii)	*Hukumu*	judgement(s)	**hukumungu *hukumangu*	**hukumuko; *hukumako; hukumuyo hukumuzo*	**hukumuke; *hukumake; hukumuye hukumuze*	**hukumutu; *hukumetu*	**hukumunu; *hukumenu*	*?hukumuo; *hukumao*

6.   U-/N- (Ø-)

S/ No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1stpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2ndpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rdpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1stppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2ndppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rdppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(i)	*Uga Nyuga*	field fields	?*ugangu* *nyugangu*	*ugako;* *uga(w)o* *nyugako;* *nyugazo*	*ugake;* *ugawe* *nyugake;* *nyugaze*	*ugatu;* *ugetu* *nyugatu;* *nyugetu*	*uganu;* *ugenu* *nyuganu;* *nyugenu*	?*ugao* ?*nyugao*
(ii)	*Ua Nyua*	fence fences	?*uangu* *nyuangu*	*uako;* *ua(w)o* *nyuako;* *nyuazo*	*uake;* *uawe* *nyuake;* *nyuaze*	*uatu;* *uetu* *nyuatu;* *nyuetu*	*uanu;* *uenu* *nyuanu;* *nyuenu*	?*uao* ?*nyuao*
(iii)	*Ukuta Kuta*	wall walls	?*ukutangu* *kutangu*	*ukutako;* *ukuta(w)o* *kutako;* *kutazo*	*ukutake;* *ukutawe* *kutake;* *kutaze*	*ukutatu;* *ukutetu* *kutatu;* *kutetu*	*ukutanu;* *ukutenu* *kutanu;* *kutenu*	?*ukutao* ?*kutao*
(iv)	*Wembe Nyembe*	razor blade razor blades	*wembengu;* *wembangu* *nyembengu* *nyembangu*	*wembeko;* *wembako;* *wembe(w)o* *nyembeko;* *nyembako;* *nyembezo*	*wembeke;* *wembake;* *wembewe* *nyembeke;* *nyembake;* *nyembeze*	*wembetu;* *nyembetu*	*wembenu* *nyembenu*	*wembeo;* *wembao* *nyembeo;* *nyembao*
(v)	*Uele Ndwele*	diseas deases	*uelengu;* *uelangu* *ndwelengu* ?*ndwelangu*	*ueleko;* *uelako;* *uele(w)o* *ndweleko;* *ndwelako;* *ndwelezo*	*ueleke;* *uelake;* *uelewe* *ndweleke;* *ndwelake;* *ndweleze*	*ueletu;* *ndweletu*	*uelenu* ?*ndwelenu*	*ueleo;* *uelao* *ndweleo;* *ndwelao*
(vi)	*Ukosi Kosi*	collar collars	*ukosingu;* *ukosangu* *kosingu* *kosangu*	*ukosiko;* *ukosako;* *ukosi(w)o* *kosiko;* *kosako;* *kosizo*	*ukosike;* *ukosake;* *ukosiwe* *kosike;* *kosake;* *kosize*	*ukositu;* *ukosetu* *kositu;* *kosetu*	*ukosinu;* *ukosenu* *kosinu;* *kosenu*	*ukosio;* *ukosao* *kosio;* *kosao*
(vii)	*Ubeti Beti*	stanza stanzas	*ubetingu;* *ubetangu* *betingu* *betangu*	*ubetiko;* *ubetako;* *ubeti(w)o* *betiko;* *betako;* *betizo*	*ubetike;* *ubetake;* *ubetiwe* *betike;* *betake;* *betize*	*ubetitu;* *ubetetu* *betitu;* *betetu*	*ubetinu;* *ubetenu* *betinu;* *betenu*	*ubetio;* *ubetao* *betio;* *betao*
(viii)	*Ubano Mbano*	clip clips	*ubanongu;* *ubanangu* *mbanongu* *mbanangu*	*ubanoko;* *ubanako;* *ubano(w)o* *mbanoko;* *mbanako;* *mbanozo*	*ubanoke;* *ubanake;* *ubanowe* *mbanoke;* *mbanake;* *mbanoze*	*ubanotu;* *ubanetu* *mbanotu* *mbanetu*	*ubanonu;* *ubanenu* *mbanonu* *mbanenu*	*ubanoo;* *ubanao* *mbanoo;* *mbanao*
(ix)	*Ukoo Koo*	clan; kinship clans; kinships	*ukoongu;* *ukoangu* *koongu* *koangu*	*ukooko;* *ukoako;* *ukoo(w)o* *kooko;* *koako;* *koozo*	*ukooke;* *ukoake;* *ukoowe* *kooke;* *koake;* *kooze*	*ukootu;* *ukoetu* *kootu;* *koetu*	*ukoonu;* *ukoenu* *koonu;* *koenu*	*ukooo;* *ukoao* *kooo;* *koao*
(x)	*Ubeleko Mbeleko*	baby's sling baby's slings	*ubelekongu;* *ubelekangu* *mbelekongu* *mbelekangu*	*ubelekoko;* *ubelekako;* *ubeleko(w)o* *mbelekoko;* *mbelekako;* *mbelekozo*	*ubelekoke;* *ubelekake;* *ubelekowe* *mbelekoke;* *mbelekake;* *mbelekoze*	*ubelekotu;* *ubeleketu* *mbelekotu* *mbeleketu*	*ubelekonu;* *ubelekenu* *mbelekonu* *mbelekenu*	*ubelekoo;* *ubelekao* *mbelekoo;* *mbelekao*
(xi)	*Ukindu Kindu*	wild-date-palm leaf	*ukindungu;* *ukindangu*	*ukinduko;* *ukindako;*	*ukinduke;* *ukindake;*	*ukindutu;* *ukindetu*	*ukindunu* *ukindenu*	*ukinduo;* *ukindao*

		wild-date-palm leaves	*kindungu *kindangu	ukindu(w)o *kinduko; *kindako; kinduzo	ukinduwe *kinduke; *kindake; kinduze	*kindutu *kindetu	*kindunu *kindenu	*kinduo; *kindao
(xii)	*Ubavu Mbavu*	rib ribs	*ubavungu; *ubavangu *mbavungu *mbavangu	*ubavuko; *ubavako; ubavu(w)o *mbavuko; *mbavako; mbavuzo	*ubavuke; *ubavake; ubavuwe *mbavuke; *mbavake; mbavuze	*ubavutu; *ubavetu *mbavutu *mbavetu	*ubavunu *ubavenu *mbavunu *mbavenu	*ubavuo; *ubavao *mbavuo; *mbavao

7. U-/MA- Class

S/No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1stpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2ndpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rdpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1stppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2ndppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rdppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(xlviii)	*Unyoya Manyoya*	feather; quil; hair strand feathers; quils; hair strands	*unyoyangu; *manyoyangu	*unyoyako; unyoya(w)o; *manyoyako; manyoyayo	*unyoyake; unyoyawe; *manyoyake; manyoyaye	*unyoyatu; *unyoyetu *manyoyatu; *manyoyetu	*unyoyenu *manyoyenu	*unyoyao *manyoyao
(xlix)	*Ubua Mabua*	straw, stubble straws, stubbles	*ubuangu; *mabuangu	*ubuako; ubua(w)o; *mabuako; mabuayo	*ubuake; ubuawe; *mabuake; mabuaye	*ubuatu; *ubuetu *mabuatu; *mabuetu	*ubuanu *ubuenu *mabuani *mabuenu	*ubuao *mabuao
(l)	*Ugonjwa Magonjwa*	ailment ailments	ugonjwangu; magonjwangu	ugonjwako; ugonjwa(w)o; magonjwako; magonjwayo	ugonjwake; ugonjwawe; magonjwake; magonjwaye	*ugonjwatu; *ugonjwetu *magonjwatu; ?magonjwetu	*ugonjwanu *ugonjwenu *magonjwani *magonjwenu	*ugonjwao *magonjwao
(li)	*Utete Matete*	reed reeds	*utetengu; *utetangu *matetengu *matetangu	*uteteko; *utetako; utete(w)o *mateteko; *matetako; mateteyo	*uteteke; *utetake; utetewe *mateteke; *matetake; mateteye	*utetetu; *matetetu	*utetenu; *matetenu	*uteteo; *utetao *mateteo; *matetao
(lii)	*Ushuzi Mashuzi*	farting; flatulation	*kiburingu; *kiburangu *viburingu *viburangu	*kiburiko; *kiburako; kiburicho *viburiko; *viburako; ?viburivyo	*kiburike; *kiburake; kiburiche *viburike; *viburake; ?viburivye	*kiburitu; *kiburetu *viburitu; *viburetu	*kiburinu; *kiburenu *viburinu; *viburenu	*kiburio; *kiburao *viburio; *viburao
(liii)	*Ulezi Malezi*	upbringing	*ulezingu; *ulezangu *malezingu *malezangu	*uleziko; *ulezako; ulezi(w)o *maleziko; *malezako; maleziyo	*ulezike; *ulezake; uleziwe *malezike; *malezake; maleziye	*ulezitu; *ulezetu *malezitu; *malezetu	*ulezinu; *ulezenu *malezinu; *malezenu	*ulezio; *ulezao *malezio; *malezao
(liv)	*Ugunduzi Magunduzi*	discovery discoveries	*ugunduzingu; *ugunduzangu *magunduzingu *magunduzangu	*ugunduziko; *ugunduzako; ugunduzi(w)o *magunduziko;*magagunduzakomagunduziyo	*ugunduzike; *ugunduzake; ugunduziwe *magunduzike;*magunduzakemagunduziye	*ugunduzitu; *ugunduzetu *magunduzitu; *magunduzetu	*ugunduzinu; *ugunduzenu *magunduzinu; *magunduzenu	*ugunduzio; *ugunduzao *magunduzio; *magunduzao
(lv)	*Wango Mawango*	computation; counting	*wangongu; *wangangu *mawangongu *mawangangu	*wangoko; *wangako; wango(w)o *mawangoko; *mawangako; mawangoyo	*wangoke; *wangake; wangowe *mawangoke; *mawangake; mawangoye	*wangotu; *wangetu *mawangotu; *mawangetu	*wangonu; *wangenu *mawangonu; *mawangenu	*wangoo; *wangao *mawangoo; *mawangao
(lvi)	*Wano Mawano*	magic stick; arrow shaft magic sticks; arrow shafts	*wanongu; *wanangu *mawanongu *mawanangu	*wanoko; *wanako; wano(w)o *mawanoko; *mawanako; mawanoyo	*wanoke; *wanake; wanowe *mawanoke; *mawanake; mawanoye	*wanotu; *wanetu *mawanotu; *mawanetu	*wanonu; *wanenu *mawanonu; *mawanenu	*wanoo; *wanao *mawanoo; *mawanao

8.   KU- Class

S/No	Example noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1stpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2ndpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rdpsg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1stppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2ndppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rdppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(i)	*Kuimba*	singing	*?kuimbangu*	*?kuimbako; *kuimbakwo; *kuimbayo*	**kuimbake; *kuimbakwe; *kuimbaye*	**kuimbetu*	**kuimbenu*	**kuimbao*
(ii)	*Kusoma*	reading; studying	*?kusomangu*	*?kusomako; *kusomakwo *kusomayo*	**kusomake; *kusomakwe; *kusomaye*	**kusometu*	**kusomenu*	**kusomao*
(iii)	*Kulala*	sleeping	*?kulalangu*	**kulalako; *kulalakwo; *kulalayo*	**kulalake; *kulalakwe; *kulalaye*	**kulaletu*	**kulalenu*	**kulalao*
(iv)	*Kubalehe*	reaching adolescence	**kubalehengu*	*?kubaleheko *kubalehekwo*	**kubaleheke; *kubalehekwe*	**kubalehetu*	*kubalehenu*	**kubaleheo*
(v)	*Kusamehe*	forgiving	**kusamehengu*	**kusameheko, *kusamehekwo*	**kusameheke; *kusamehekwe*	**kusamehetu*	**kusamehenu*	**kusameheo*
(vi)	*Kustarehe*	being confortabl; li luxuriously	**kustarehengu*	**kustareheko; *kustarehekwo*	**kustareheke; *kustarehekwe*	**kustarehetu*	**kustarehenu*	**kustareheo*
(vii)	*Kusubiri*	waiting	**kusubiringu*	**kusubiriko; *kusubirikwo*	**kusubirike; *kusubirikwe*	**kusubiritu*	**kusubirinu*	**kusubirio*
(viii)	*Kuhubiri*	preaching	**kuhubiringu*	**kuhubiriko; *kuhubirikwo*	**kuhubirike; *kuhubirikwe*	**kuhubiritu*	**kuhubirinu*	**kuhubirio*
(ix)	*Kutabiri*	forecasting	**kutabiringu*	**kutabiriko; *kutabirikwo*	**kutabirike; *kutabirikwe*	**kutabiritu*	**kutabirinu*	**kutabirio*
(x)	*Kwenda kombo*	going astray	**kwenda kombongu; *kwenda kombangu*	**kwenda komboko; *kwenda kombokwo*	**kwenda komboke; *kwenda kombokwe*	**kwenda kombotu; *kwenda kombetu*	**kwenda kombonu; *kwenda kombenu*	**kwenda komboo; *kwenda kombao*
(xi)	*Kuangua kicheko*	bursting into laughter	**kuangua kichekongu; *kuangua kichekangu*	**kuangua kichekoko; *kuangua kichekwo*	**kuangua kichekoke; *kuangua kichekwe*	**kuangua kichekotu; *kuangua kicheketu*	**kuangua kichekonu; *kuangua kichekenu*	**kuangua kichekoo; *kuangua kichekao*
(xii)	*Kupiga punyeto*	musturbating	**kupiga punyetongu*	**kupiga punyetoko; *kupiga punyetokwo*	**kupiga punyetoke; *kupiga punyetokwe*	**kupiga punyetotu *kupiga punyetetu*	**kupiga punyetonu; *kupiga punyetenu*	**kupiga punyetoo; *kupiga punyetao*
(xiii)	*Kutubu*	repenting	**kutubungu*	*?kutubuko; *kutubukwo*	**kutubuke; *kutubukwe*	**kutubutu*	**kutubunu *kutubenu*	**kutubuo *kutubao*
(xiv)	*Kutibu*	treating	**kutibungu*	*?kutibuko; *kutibukwo*	**kutibuke; *kutibukwe*	**kutibutu*	**kutibunu *kutibenu*	**kutibuo *kutibao*
(xv)	*Kuadhibu*	punishing	**kuadhibungu*	**kuadhibuko; *kuadhibukwo*	**kuadhibuke; *kuadhibukwe*	**kuadhibutu*	**kuadhibunu *kuadhibenu*	**kuadhibuo *kuadhibao*