

The V and CV augment and exhaustivity in Kinyakyusa

Abstract

In addition to the stem and noun prefix, the structure of nouns in Bantu languages may contain an augment. This augment typically is a vowel, but some languages show a CV augment. Interestingly, the Bantu language Kinyakyusa shows both a V and a CV prefix on nouns, both of which have been analysed as augments (De Blois 1970). In this short paper we clarify the formal and functional properties of the ‘CV augment’ in Kinyakyusa. First we show that it does not behave like the V augment, but is a separate marker that is attached to the noun phrase. Second, we specify the previous analyses of the CV marker that describe it as ‘emphatic’ (De Blois 1970, Persohn 2020): On the basis of a range of focus tests, we argue that the CV marker functions as a marker of exhaustivity.

Keywords: augment, definiteness, focus, exhaustivity, Bantu

1. Introduction

The contribution of this short paper concerns the function of the linguistic materials that appear before the noun class prefix in the internal structure of nouns in Kinyakyusa. While nouns of almost all Bantu languages bear (overt or covert) noun class prefixes, nouns in some Bantu languages in eastern and southern Africa (e.g. Dzamba, Kagulu, Luguru, Lubukusu, Luganda, Nata, Rukiga, Xhosa and Zulu) contain pre-prefixes referred to as the augment (see Asimwe 2014; Bokamba 1971; De Dreu 2008; Gambarage 2019; Hyman & Katamba 1993; Petzell & Kühn 2017; Visser 2008; Wasike 2007). In many languages, the augment takes the shape V, exemplified in (1), but some languages (also) show CV augments, as in (2).

- (1) **A**-ba-ishiki ni-ba-kund-a e-bi-muri.
 AUG-2-girl PROG-2SM-like-FV AUG-8-flower
 ‘Girls like flowers.’ (Rukiga, Asimwe 2014: 7)

- (2) a. **ba**-ba-ana
 AUG-2-child
 ‘children’
 b. **ku**-mu-saala
 AUG-3-tree
 ‘tree’ (Lubukusu, Wasike 2007: 239)

In some Bantu languages the CV augment is the standard augment, such as Lubukusu (2), but in others we find both the V and CV augment (see De Blois 1970; Lusekelo 2009; Meeussen 1967; Mwangoka & Voorhoeve 1960; Persohn 2020; Van de Velde 2019). Kinyakyusa¹ is one of those special languages. Nouns in Kinyakyusa typically have a V augment, an initial vowel preceding the noun class prefix (glossed as AUG). The examples in (3) show the augment in the shapes *u-* and *a-*.

- (3) a. **u**-mu-ndu²
 AUG-1-person
 ‘a/the person’

¹ Guthrie code M31, iso nny, spoken in south-west Tanzania by approximately 1,2 million people (Ethnologue).

² Data in this paper come from fieldwork in Kiwira, November 2020, with three Kinyakyusa speakers, making use of the BaSIS methodology (<https://bantusyntaxinformationstructure.com/methodology/>). While other Kinyakyusa variants have 7 contrastive vowels, the variant spoken in Kiwira does not make a phonological

b. a-ma-bifu

AUG-6-banana
'(the) bananas'

c. (Context: An answer to the question: 'Is Frida holding a banana?')

Mma a-ka-kol-a a-ma-bifu a-kol-ile u-mu-embe.
no 1SM-NEG-catch-FV AUG-6.banana 1SM-catch-PFV AUG-1-mango
'No, she is not holding a banana, she is holding a mango.'

Interestingly, in addition to the V augment, Kinyakyusa also features what has been called a CV augment (glossed as the noun class number for now). The examples in (4) show the CV prefixes *ju-*, *ga-*, and *fi-*.

(4) a. ju-mu-ndu
1-1-person
'only a person'

b. ga-ma-bifu
6-6-banana
'only bananas'

c. (Is he washing cups and plates?)
ikusuka fifikombe
/i-ku-suk-a fi-fi-kombe/
1SM-PRS-wash-FV 8-8-cup
'He is washing only the cups.'

Both the V and CV augment occur across noun classes 1 to 15 (Table 1).

<i>noun class</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>CV</i>	<i>prox. dem.</i>	<i>translation</i>
1	u-mu-ndu	ju-mu-ndu	uju	person
2	a-ba-ndu	ba-ba-ndu	aba	people
3	u-m-piki	gu-m-piki	ugu	tree
4	i-mi-piki	gi-mi-piki	igi	trees
5	i-(l)i-bifu	li-li-bifu	ili	banana
6	a-ma-bifu	ga-ma-bifu	aga	bananas
7	i-ki-kota	ki-ki-kota	iki	chair
8	i-fi-kota	fi-fi-kota	ifi	chairs
9	i-m-bene	ji-m-bene	iji	goat
10	i-m-bene	si-m-bene	isi	goats
11	u-lu-kama	lu-lu-kama	ulu	milk
12	a-ka-pango	ka-ka-pango	aka	story
13	u-tu-pango	tu-tu-pango	utu	stories
14	u-bu-bine	bu-bu-bine	ubu	illness

distinction between /i/ and /u/, as far as we could determine. The latter distinction is mostly absent in speech, and although two of our speakers did produce the former distinction, they did not differentiate them meaningfully. We therefore represent five vowels only. Similarly, we write {l} for the tap sound that is variably more like [l] or [r], but not phonemically distinguished.

15	u-ku-jooba	ku-ku-jooba	uku	to talk
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Table 1 Shapes of nouns in Kinyakyusa noun classes and the similarity with demonstratives

Locative classes 16 to 18 do not bear a V augment, but the CV augment can be used with locative nouns (Table 2). This pattern has implications to the analysis of the functions of the CV augment in the language.

noun class	V	CV	prox. dem.	translation
16	_-pa-kaaja	pa-pa-kaaja	apa	at home
17	_-ku-kaaja	ku-ku-kaaja	kuno ³	to home
18	_-mu-ndeko	mu-mu-ndeko	muno	in the pot

Table 2 Occurrence of CV marker on locative nouns in Kinyakyusa

Why would Kinyakyusa show two augments? In languages where CV is the standard form of the augment (e.g. Lubukusu), this is thought to be a retained form from Proto-Bantu, which was reconstructed as having a CV augment (Meeussen 1967). However, not all CV augments in current languages are reflexes of the reconstructed form. Instead, the development from demonstrative to augment is a recurring process, as Van de Velde (2019: 255) points out: “Indications for the renewal of augments can also be found in languages with two paradigms of augments, one of which typically has a CV-shape and the other a V-shape. This can be found in Safwa M25, Kinga G65 and Nyakyusa M31, where the CV-augment is claimed to have a special ‘emphatic’ use (De Blois 1970: 98)”.

The use of the CV augment for an emphatic interpretation is available in the literature for Kinyakyusa (De Blois 1971; Lusekelo 2009; Mwangoka & Voorhoeve 1960; Persohn 2020: 44). For instance, Mwangoka & Voorhoeve (1960) characterise the use of the CV augment in Kinyakyusa as follows: “A noun with structure PP-PN-noun stem can be translated by ‘only...’”, where PP stands for pre-prefix, another term for augment, and PN for the nominal prefix. To illustrate the meaning, they give the example “*gamaheelu* (only abusive language, nothing but abusive words)” (Mwangoka & Voorhoeve 1960: part III p.6). However, the role played by the CV augment as a sort of emphatic marker has not received in-depth attention, and the notion of ‘emphasis’ is in need of further precision. Inspired by Van der Wal and Namyalo’s (2016) argument that the augment in Luganda marks exclusive focus, we therefore investigate the role of focus and exhaustivity in this paper. To this end, we use the analytical tools for testing focus within the theory of information structure.

Our aim in this paper is to clarify the status of the CV augment in Kinyakyusa, specifically answering the following two research questions:

- A. Is the CV marker an augment?
- B. What is the interpretation of the CV marker?

After discussing the distribution of the V augment in section 2, we will conclude in section 3 that the CV marker is *not* an augment but a marker that precedes the V augment. Section 4 confirms Mwangoka & Voorhoeve’s characterisation of the CV marker as translated by ‘only’: we claim on the basis of a range of focus tests that the CV marker functions as an exhaustive marker. In section 5 we consider whether the CV marker can be likened to ‘restrictive’ morphology in Oceanic languages. Section 6 concludes.

³ The proximal demonstratives in classes 17 and 18 deviate from the pattern in taking the *-no* form. We assume that the regular forms *uku* and *umu* used to exist as well.

2. Function and structural position of the V augment

We first present the distribution of the V augment, in order to be able to compare the CV marker to it. The V augment has been analysed to be a determiner in other Bantu languages (see De Dreu 2008, Visser 2008, Ndayiragije et al. 2012, Gambarage 2013, 2019 for specific languages, and Halpert to appear for an overview). We propose the same for the V augment in Kinyakyusa, on the basis of indirect and direct evidence. The indirect evidence shows that the augment is absent in those environments where we would expect an NP rather than a DP. The direct evidence hides in a small corner of optionality in questions, where the presence of the augment brings about a specific or definite interpretation. We present each in turn.

The V augment is present on Kinyakyusa nouns in most environments. This means it can be characterised as a ‘default-present’ language (Van de Velde 2019), where the absence of the augment can be characterised more easily than its presence (see Van de Velde 2019 on default-present vs. default-absent languages). In Kinyakyusa, the V augment occurs on the noun as a subject, for example, but also on postverbal objects in both negative and affirmative clauses, as shown in (1c) above. The V augment is obligatorily absent, however, in the following six environments:

1) The V augment cannot be present on the basic noun in a locative derivation, where the locative prefix must be adjacent to the basic prefix, without intervening augment, as shown in (5)b and (6)b.

- (5) a. i-ki-tala
AUG-7-bed
‘a/the bed’
- b. pa-(*i-)ki-tala
16-AUG-7-bed
‘on a/the bed’
- (6) a. i-sefulilo
AUG-9.pan
‘a/the pan’
- b. mu-(*i-)sefulilo
18-AUG-9-pan
‘in a/the pan’

2) After a connective *-a* ‘of’, the V augment is disallowed, as illustrated in (7)b and (8)b.

- (7) a. u-n-kiikulu
AUG-1-woman
- b. i-ki-lundi ky-a (*u-)n-kiikulu
AUG-7-leg 7-CONN AUG-1-woman
‘a/the leg of a woman.’
- (8) a. i-ki-su
AUG-7-land

- b. u-n-kulumba gw-a (*i-)ki-su
 AUG-1-big 1-CONN AUG-7-land
 'president'

3) On the second noun of a compound, the V augment is disallowed, as illustrated in (9) and (10).

- (9) u-n-swila-(*a-)ba-pina
 AUG-1-attend-AUG-2-orphan
 'who attends to orphans' / 'type of potato'

- (10) u-m-tenga-(*u-)mojo
 AUG-1-make.bed-3.soul
 'peaceful person'

4) After *kukuti* 'every' which is described as a pre-determiner element that always precedes the lexical noun in the noun phrase structure (Lusekelo 2009):

- (11) Kukuti (*u)mwaana abuukege kusukulu.
 /kukuti u-mu-ana a-buuk-ag-e ku-sukulu/
 every AUG-1-child 1SM-go-HAB-SBJV 17-9.school
 'Every child should go to school.'

- (12) Kukuti (*i)kisyeesye iki naagoonjile naakiiganile.
 /kukuti i-ki-syeesye iki n-a-noonj-ile n-a-kii-gan-ile/
 every AUG-7-cake 7.DEM.PROX 1SG.SM-PST-taste-PFV 1SG.SM-PST-7OM-like-PFV
 'Every cake that I tasted, I liked.'

5) In the context of an interrogative word *-liku* 'which', the V augment is disallowed, as illustrated in (13).

- (13) Ukolile (*i)kinyamaana kiliku?
 /u-kol-ile i-ki-nyamaana ki-liku
 2SG.SM-catch-PFV AUG-7-animal 7-which
 'Which animal have you caught?'

6) For vocatives that are proper nouns, the V augment is disallowed. Example (14)b and (15) illustrate vocative contexts:

- (14) a. a-ba-ana
 AUG-2-children

- b. Mwe (*a)baana amwiise!
 /mwe a-ba-ana a-mu-is-e/
 2PL.PRO AUG-2-child FUT-2PL.SM-come-SBJV
 'Hey, you children, come!'

- (15) (*u)Sekela, iisa!
 /u-Sekela iisa/
 AUG-Sekela come.IMP
 'Sekela, come!'⁴

7) In nominal predication the augment is absent on the predicative noun, whether the interpretation is predicational (no extra marking, (16)) or specificational (identificational copula in *-o* in addition to absence of augment, (17)):

- (16) a. i-ki-tenge
 AUG-7-wrap
 'a/the wrap'
- b. I-ki-o (*i-)ki-tenge.
 AUG-7-DEM.MED AUG-7-wrap
 'That is a wrap.'

- (17) Context: There are a man and a woman and you don't know who of them is the teacher.
 You ask 'Who is the teacher?')
 Unkiikulu jo manyisi.
 /n-kiikulu jo (*u-)m-manyisi/
 AUG-1-woman 1.ID.COP AUG-1-teacher
 'The woman is the teacher.'

In all these environments we would indeed expect an NP instead of a DP with a determiner (see Longobardi 1994 on DP arguments vs. NP non-arguments); the most straightforward way to account for this is to assume that the V augment is a determiner in D.

Unlike some other Bantu languages (see Halpert 2015 for Zulu, Carstens & Mletshe 2016 for Xhosa, Gambarage 2013, 2019 for Nata, Hyman & Katamba 1993 and Progovac 1993 for Luganda), the V augment in Kinyakyusa cannot be omitted in the scope of negation:⁵

- (18) Umwana akanwire *(u)lukama.
 /u-mu-ana a-ka-nw-ire u-lu-kama/
 AUG-1-child 1SM-NEG-drink-PAUG-1 1-milk
 'The child didn't drink (any/the) milk.'
- (19) Ngambona *(u)mundu najuumo.
 /n-ka-m-bon-a u-mu-ndu na-ju-mo/
 1SG.SM-NEG-1OM-see-FV AUG-1-person and-1-one
 'I didn't see anyone.'

⁴ Augments may appear on proper names as well in this dialect, though they are not systematically used. When used as a vocative the augment is obligatorily absent.

⁵ This also argues against an analysis of the Kinyakyusa V augment as a marker of (belief of) assertion, as Gambarage (2013, 2019) proposes for Nata. Nominal predication showing no optionality in Kinyakyusa, and the consistent use of augments on modifiers also depart from the analysis proposed for Nata.

The only environment in which there is a choice between the presence and absence of the V augment is in questions. This small corner of optionality shows further evidence for the augment as a determiner: when the augment is present in polarity questions, the resulting reading is definite/familiar, whereas its absence results in an indefinite or general interpretation (comparable to noun incorporation like ‘clothes-washing’), as illustrated in (20) and (21).

- (20) a. The parent knows that the child is allergic to milk, and when coming home sees that the child is sick, asking:

Umwaana anwile lukama? [-AUG]

/u-mu-ana a-nw-ile lu-kama/

AUG-1-child 1SM-drink-PFV 11-milk

'Has the child drunk (any) milk?'

*'Has the child drunk the milk?'

- b. The parent leaves the child with other people and leaves milk for the child there as well, then they come back and ask:

Umwaana anwile ulukama? [+AUG]

/u-mu-ana a-nw-ire u-lu-kama/

AUG-1-child 1SM-drink-PFV AUG-11-milk

*'Has the child drunk (any) milk?'

'Has the child drunk the milk?'

- (21) a. Usukile myeenda? [-AUG]

/u-suk-ile mi-enda/

2SG.SM-wash-PFV 4-clothes

*'Did you wash my/the clothes?'

'Did you do the laundry?'

- b. Usukile imyeenda? [+AUG]

/u-suk-ile i-mi-enda/

2SG.SM-wash-PFV AUG-4-clothes

'Did you wash my/the clothes?'

*'Did you do the laundry?'

In wh-questions, the presence of the augment is associated with specificity due to a presupposition of existence, whereas the absence is interpreted as an open question. The former in (22)b cannot be answered by ‘nobody’ and is uttered when it is clear that you saw a group of people walking by and identification is requested, whereas the latter in (22)a can be answered by ‘nobody’ and can felicitously be uttered even if it is uncertain whether anyone was seen.

- (22) a. Ubabweene baani? [-AUG]

/u-ba-bon-ile ba-ani/

2SG.SM-2OM-see-PFV 2-who

'Who(pl) did you see?' (if anyone)

- b. Ubabweene abaani? [+AUG]
 /u-ba-bon-ile a-ba-ani/
 2SG.SM-2OM-see-PFV AUG-2-who
 'Who(pl) did you see?' (please identify)

We take the foregoing as indirect and direct evidence that the V augment in Kinyakyusa functions as a determiner. However, this does not mean that the presence of the augment necessarily contributes a definite meaning, as AUG-NP_x-stem (what we may call 'bare nouns') can have a definite or indefinite, and specific or non-specific meaning, as in (23) and (24). To express indefinite specificity, the numeral *-mo* 'one' can be added, as in (23)a.

- (23) a. I heard that someone was at the door but cannot point out who.

Umundu isiilepo.

/u-mu-ndu i-is-ile=po/
 AUG-1-person 1SM-come-PFV=16
 'Someone has come.'

- b. **Umundu jumo** isiilepo (looli ngamu jake niibiibwe).

/u-mu-ndu ju-mo i-is-ile=po looli n-gamu j-ake n-ibw-ile/
 1SG.SM-
 AUG-1-person 1-one 1SM-come-PFV=16 but 9-name 9-POSS.1 forget-PFV
 'Someone has come (but his name I forgot).'

- (24) Unyambala jula atile "linga siku **umundu** linga ikukubuula gwinogonengepo".

/u-nyambala ju-la a-ti-ile linga siku
 AUG-1.man 1-DEM.DIST 1SM-say-PFV COND 9.day

u-mu-ndu linga i-ku-ku-buul-a gw-inogon-ang-e=po/
 AUG-1-person COND 1SM-PRS-2SG.OM-tell-FV 2SG.SM-think-?-SBJV=16
 'That man said: "if during another day someone tells you something, you must think".'

In summary, the augment is not associated with definiteness, but still shows evidence of being a (weak) determiner. We leave the exact interpretational impact of the V augment for further research, and here proceed to consider the CV marker and compare its behaviour to the V augment.

3. CV is not an augment

The initial prefix on the noun can also have the CV shape, as illustrated again in (25).

- (25) Nsopile gweene gumunyu.

/n-sop-ile gw-eene **gu**-mu-nyu/
 1SG.SM-throw-PFV 3-only EXH-3-salt
 'I put only salt.'

Despite its being called a CV augment, we argue that the CV morpheme is not in fact an augment but a separate morpheme (which we show to be an exhaustivity marker in section 4). We leave aside whether this marker is an independent morpheme, a proclitic, or a prefix, and

instead refer to it as the ‘CV marker’. Anticipating the argumentation in section 4, we gloss it as EXH (for exhaustive) and mark it in boldface in the examples.

Although the CV marker seems to replace the V augment, we think it is better to analyse it as a marker *preceding* the V augment. An informal but important hint at the separation of the CV marker in two parts (CV+Aug) is the fact that speakers may write it separately from the augmented noun. Furthermore, when asked to pronounce a word very clearly, speakers may separate the prefixes into two (e.g. *ji ingaramu* ‘only the lion’), and at times the prefixes appear long, e.g. *ba-a-ba-ana* ‘EXH-AUG-2-children’ was pronounced [baabaana] rather than [babaana]. This was not consistent, but is still indicative of the CV marker being a separate morpheme and preceding the V augment.

More formal evidence is found in the inability to coordinate two nouns with the CV marker (26)a, which is predicted to be possible if it were a parallel to the V augment. Instead, the CV marker precedes the whole conjoined DP, as in (26)b.

(26) a. *[CV-NP_x-stem + CV-NP_x-stem]

*Bikuula **gamapapaju** na **fifinansi** (itoolo).

/bi-ku-ul-a ga-ma-papaju na fi-fi-nanasi (itoolo)/

2SM-PRS-buy-FV EXH-6-papaya and EXH-8-pineapple only

int. 'They (only) bought papayas and pineapples.'

b. CV-[V-NP_x-stem + V-NP_x-stem]

Bikuula **gamapapaju** n' ifinansi (itoolo/fyeene).

/bi-ku-ul-a ga-ma-papaju na i-fi-nanasi itoolo/fi-ene/

2SM-PRS-buy-FV EXH-6-papaya and AUG-8-pineapple only/8-only

'They only bought papayas and pineapples.'

Locatives and adjectives also show that the V augment and the CV marker behave differently. Locatives never take an augment, but can take a CV marker, as shown in (27) and (28) (see also Table 2 above).

(27) Ngubikapo (*a)pamwoto.

/n-ku-bik-a=po a-pa-moto/

1SG.SM-PRS-place-FV=16 AUG-16-3.fire

'I place (it) on fire(place).'

(28) Ubiibi ikuliinda **papakaaja**.

/u-biibi i-ku-liind-a pa-pa-ka-aja/

AUG-1.grandmother 1SM-PRS-stay-FV EXH-16-12-home

'Grandma only stays at home.'

The opposite is true for adnominal adjectives, which can take a V augment (29)a, but not a CV marker (29)b. This is also where the Kinyakyusa CV marker differs from the Lubukusu CV augment, as the latter may also occur on adjectives (e.g. *ba-ba-ndu baa-bofu* ‘big people’ and *ku-mu-sala ku-mu-bofu* ‘big tree’, Wasike 2018: 330). Pronominal adjectives can of course take a CV marker, because they function as DPs, as in (29)c.

(29) a. Anwire **jisooda** inywaamu.

/a-nw-ire ji-sooda i-nywaamu/
 1SM-drink-PFV EXH-9.soda AUG-9.big
 'He drank the big soda.'

- b. *Anwire **ji**sooda **ji**nywaamu.

/a-nw-ire ji-sooda ji-nywamu/
 1SM-drink-PFV EXH-9.soda EXH-9.big
 'He drank the big soda.'

- c. Anwire **ji**nywaamu.

/a-nw-ire ji-nywamu
 1SM-drink-PFV EXH-9.big
 'He drank only the big one.'

For completeness sake, we mention that a likely origin of the CV marker is the proximal demonstrative (Heine & Reh 1984: 271, Heine et al. 1993: 67, Diessel 1999, Givón 1984), see also Table 1 above. The incompatibility of the CV marker with demonstratives, as shown in (30), indicates that the CV marker has not grammaticalised as far as the V augment (assuming that this too developed from a demonstrative), and that the CV marker can hence not be seen as a determiner.

- (30) a. ***li**gauni lila
 /li-i-gauni li-la/
 EXH-5-gown 5-DEM.DIST
 int. 'that (very) gown' / 'only that gown'
- b. iigauni lila
 /i-i-gauni li-la/
 AUG-5-gown 5-DEM.DIST
 'that gown'
- c. ***ji**falasi iji
 /ji-falasi iji/
 EXH-9.horse 9-DEM.PROX
 int. 'this (very) horse' / 'only this horse'
- d. ifalasi iji
 i-falasi iji/
 AUG-9.horse 9-DEM.PROX
 'this horse'

From the evidence in this section, we deduce that the CV marker is not an augment, but instead that it is a marker that precedes the whole DP, forming the structure CV-(AUG-NP_x-stem).

To complete the overview of the formal properties of the CV marker, we note that the presence of the CV marker is not sensitive to grammatical role or position: Subjects, objects,

and adverbs can all appear with the CV marker. It occurs with object nouns in the postverbal position (31),⁶ with subject nouns in preverbal (32)b and postverbal position (22)a, and with adverbs in sentence initial or final position (33).

(31) There was chai, water, soda, but...

Umwaana anwile **lulukama**.

/u-mu-ana a-nw-ile ru-ru-kama/

AUG-1-child 1SM-drink-PFV EXH-11-milk

'The child has drunk only (the) milk.'

(32) a. Jikiindile **ji**ngalamu.

/ji-kiind-ile ji-ngalamu/

9SM-pass-PFV EXH-9.lion

'Only the lion passed.'

b. **Ji**ngalamu jikiindile.

/ji-ngalamu ji-kiind-ile/

EXH-9.lion 9SM-pass-PFV

'Only the lion passed.'

(33) {**Kikilaabo**} tukwa kumala ukulima n' uukubyaala{**kikilaabo**}.

/ki-ki-laabo tu-ku-a ku-mala u-ku-lima na

EXH-7-tomorrow 1PL.SM-PRS-go.FV 15-finish AUG-15-cultivate and

u-ku-byaala ki-ki-laabo/

AUG-15-plant EXH-7-tomorrow

'We will cultivate and plant tomorrow in only one day.'

Having established formal status of the CV marker as a marker preceding the (possibly augmented) noun, we now turn to its function.

4. Function of the CV marker

As mentioned above, Mwangoka & Voorhoeve (1960) translate nouns with a CV marker as 'only', and in this section we confirm and consolidate their analysis. If the CV marker is present, the resulting interpretation is exhaustive focus on the noun, which may project to the larger phrase. Exhaustivity entails that the marked constituent triggers a set of alternatives (following Rooth's 1985, 1992, 1996 Alternative Semantics) and excludes these alternatives (see Kenesei 1986 on exhaustive identification, and many after him). The exhaustive interpretation of nouns with the CV marker can be seen in the following nine tests, drawn from Van der Wal (2016) and references therein.

First, the context and co-text provided by the speakers indicates that alternatives must be present for the CV noun. The spontaneous follow-up in (34) shows a contrast, and the failed attempt at an additive continuation in (35) shows that the alternatives must be excluded.

⁶ Objects cannot be focused preverbally except in a cleft construction.

- (34) Abakangale batweele **ffitwalo** (indalama bakatwala).
 /a-ba-kangale ba-twal-ile fi-fi-twalo i-ndalama ba-ka-twal-a/
 AUG-2-elder 2SM-bring-PFV EXH-8-lugg AUG-10.money 2SM-NEG-bring-FV
 'The elders brought only the luggage. (They did not bring money.)'
- (35) Anwile **jinywaamu #n'** iinaandi.
 /a-nw-ire ji-nwamu na i-nandi/
 1SM-drink-PFV EXH-9.big and AUG-9.small
 'He drank (only) the big one #and also the small one.'

The context for the predicate doubling construction in (36), where the infinitive takes a CV marker, also indicates exclusion of one of the supposed tasks. Additionally, the translation provided by the speakers frequently included Swahili *tu* or English 'only'.

- (36) Context: He was supposed to cook and sweep.
 Apijile **kukupiija**.
 /a-piij-ile ku-ku-piija/
 1SM-cook-PFV EXH-15-cook
 'He only cooked.'

A second argument showing the exhaustivity of the CV marker is the compatibility with the focus-sensitive particle 'only', but not with the focus-sensitive particles 'also' and 'even'. If the CV marker expresses exhaustivity, we expect it to be compatible with modification by exhaustive particle 'only', as borne out in (37) and (38).

- (37) Uulile (kyeene) **kikitala**.
 /u-ul-ile ki-eene ki-ki-tala/
 1SM-buy-PFV 7-only EXH-7-bed
 'S/he bought only the bed.'
- (38) Ampele mweene **junnandi**.
 /a-m-p-ile mu-eene ju-n-nandi/
 1SM-1OM-give-PFV 1-only EXH-1-young
 'S/he has given (it) only (to) the young one.'

On the other hand, we predict the CV prefix to be incompatible with the scalar particle *-ope* 'even' and the additive particle *na* 'also/even', considering the inclusive nature of the particles: if even the least likely on the scale is true, then no alternatives can be excluded. This is also borne out, as shown in (39) and (40).

- (39) Context: Robert does not like cabbage.
 *Lobati aliile na **jikabiki**.
 /lobati a-li-ile na ji-kabiki/
 1.Robert 1SM-eat-PFV and EXH-9.cabbage
 int. 'Robert ate even/also cabbage.'

- (40) (*Boope) **babaana** baliile.
 /ba-ope ba-ba-ana ba-li-ile/
 2-even EXH-2-child 2SM-eat-PFV
 int. '(Even) Only the children have eaten.'

Third, the CV marker is not accepted with universal quantifiers like 'every' and 'all', as shown in (41)a. This is again because no alternatives can be excluded with these quantifiers, thus being incompatible with the exhaustive CV marker which requires exclusion of alternatives.

- (41) a. *Ipyana aagoonjile **ffisyeesye** fyoosa.
 /Ipyana a-a-goobj-ile fi-fi-syeesye fi-osa/
 1.Ipyana 1SM-PST-taste-PFV EXH-8-baked.good 8-all
 int. 'Ipyana tasted all the cakes.'

However, exclusion of alternatives becomes possible when subsets can be created using a restrictive relative clause, as in (41)b, or if the whole set is contrasted to another set, as in (42). These examples therefore allow the presence of a CV marker.

- b. Ipyana aagoonjile **ffisyeesye** (fyoosa/fyeene) ifi atendekeisy unna.
 /Ipyana a-a-goobj-ile fi-fi-syeesye fi-osa/fi-ene
 1.Ipyana 1SM-PST-taste-PFV EXH-8-baked.good 8-all/8-only

 ifi a-teendekesy-ile u-n-na/
 8.DEM.PROX 1SM-bake-PFV AUG-1-mother
 'Ipyana tasted all/only the cakes that her mother baked.'

- (42) **Babaandu** boosa bikutuujja.
 /ba-ba-ndu ba-osa bi-ku-tuuj-a/
 EXH-2-person 2-all 2SM-PRS-breathe-FV
 #'All people breathe.'
 'Only all humans breathe.' (follow-up reaction: "But cows breathe too!")

Fourth, for the same reason of inclusivity, the CV marker is not accepted with non-specific indefinites – instead the word *umundu* 'person' with the CV marker must be interpreted as a generic 'human being', as in (43). Under our hypothesis, the CV marker necessarily triggers and excludes alternatives, which is only possible if *umundu* is interpreted as generic, because this allows for the exclusion of other species, and not if it is interpreted as indefinite (including anyone). See (23) above for the indefinite use of *umundu*.

- (43) Context: You visit a national park, expecting to see trees, people, different animals, but instead...
 Numbweene **jumundu**.
 /n-m-bon-ile ju-mu-ndu/
 1SG.SM-1OM-see-PFV EXH-1-person
 'I saw only a person/human.'
 *'I saw someone.'

Fifth, idioms and cognate objects are “unfocussable” as they have no referential meaning and therefore cannot trigger alternatives. We thus predict them to be incompatible with the CV marker. At first sight, the acceptance of (44)-(46) seems to contradict this prediction, as the idiomatic object can have a CV marker. However, if we look at the context, we see that a contrast is indicated with other *actions* and not with other *objects*. This means that the given sentences are interpreted with the exclusion on the level of the verb phrase, and the set of alternatives is formed for the whole idiom in the case of (44), and the whole action in the case of the cognate objects in (45) and (46), and just not the object.

- (44) Context: As soon as he gets up in the morning, he drinks, and straight from work he goes to the bar.

Ikukoma **gamiisi**.

/i-ku-kom-a ga-ma-isi/

1SM-PRS-hit-FV EXH-6-water

'He is only hitting water.'

'He is only getting drunk.'

- (45) Context: The calves stay at home and need to be fed, and the larger cattle are taken out to graze. Gwamaka is not interested in feeding the cows at home, he only goes out to do the herding.

Gwamaka ikutiima **guntiimo**.

/Gwamaka i-ku-tiim-a gu-n-tiimo/

1.Gwamaka 1SM-PRS-graze-FV EXH-3-grazing

'Gwamaka only grazed (the cows).'

- (46) Context: Why are you being so quiet?

Ngwiinogona **sinyiinogono**.

/n-ku-inogon-a si-ny-iinogono/

1SG.SM-PRS-think-FV EXH-10-thought

'I'm only thinking thoughts.'

A sixth test involves the focussing of a numeral. The meaning of numerals has been taken to have an underspecified interpretation either as the exact amount, or as a lower boundary ‘at least this amount’ (Horn 1972, Levinson 2000). However, in exhaustive focus, numerals lose their upward entailing quality and refer only to the exact quantity, because other amounts are excluded. In Kinyakyusa, a numeral in a DP with a CV marker is interpreted as the exact amount, as illustrated by the infelicity of the follow-up ‘maybe more’ in (47) and (48)a. This forms evidence for the exhaustive interpretation, especially when compared to the use with the V augment in (48)b, where a continuation ‘maybe more’ is felicitous.

- (47) Bahati ikukaba **ji** milioni jimo kukiinja.

/Bahati i-ku-kab-a ji-milioni ji-mo ku-ki-inja/

1.Bahati 1SM-PRS-get-FV EXH-9.milioni 9-one 17-7-year

'Bahati earns (exactly) one million a year.'

- (48) a. **Si**-nguku ntandatu syo isyi syalyusigwe (#pamo n'

Bule Mose asukile isyati?
 /bule Mose a-suk-ile i-syati/
 Q 1.Mose 1SM-PRS-wash-PFV AUG-10.shirt
 'Did Moses wash shirts?'

b. Eena Mose asukile isyati palikimo n' amagolore.

/eena Mose a-suk-ile i-syati pa-li-kimo na a-ma-golore/
 yes 1.Mose 1SM-PRS-wash-PFV AUG-10.shirt 16-be-one and AUG-6-sheet
 'Yes. Moses washed shirts together with sheets.'

In summary, there is overwhelming evidence that exhaustivity is an inherent aspect of meaning of the CV marker. The co-text and context indicate that alternatives are present and excluded, and other tests for focus and specifically for exhaustivity indicate the same for objects with the CV marker, as summarised in Table 3.

	CV	V
Focus particle only	OK	OK
Focus particle even	*	OK
Universal quantifier	* (unless restricted)	OK
Non-specific indefinite	* (instead generic)	OK
Idioms and cognate objects	* (unless VP)	OK
Numerals	Exact reading	Lower boundary
Negation	Targets exhaustivity	Targets truth
Answer yes to incomplete question	*	OK

Table 3 Overview of tests for focus and exhaustivity

We therefore propose that the CV marker should be analysed as a marker of exhaustive focus.

5. Marking exhaustivity on the noun

We have shown that (what was thought of as) the CV augment in Kinyakyusa by De Blois (1970), in supposed variation with the V augment, is actually not an augment at all, and should rather be analysed as a marker of exhaustivity, thereby answering the two research question for this paper. This is interesting, because (exhaustive) focus is in Bantu typically expressed by marking in the *clause* rather than on the *noun*. Clausal focus can be expressed for example in the use of clefts or focus constructions with a dedicated position. These are exemplified in (52)-(54), where the focused referent is underlined and a morphological marker of focus is in boldface. In Kĩtharaka (52), we see the focus marker *ni* marking a clause-initial focused referent (see Abels & Muriundi 2008); Aghem (53) is famous for its Immediate After Verb focus position (but note that it is not just the Immediate After Verb position that indicates focus, but the shape of the noun too: *ké-bé* vs. *bé-kó*); in Kituba (54), the focus marker (derived from the word for 'person') follows a clause-initial focused referent (see also the overview of focus positions and morphological marking in Gibson et al. 2017). These are only some examples of the wide variety of strategies to express focus in the Bantu languages (see e.g. Morimoto & Yoneda to appear).

- (52) Kĩtharaka (Kanampiu & Van der Wal database)
 Ndeera Kayûgû [**i** mwanki ûrĩire].
 n-leer-a Kayûgû ni mu-anki û-rĩ-ire

1SG.SM-tell-FV 1.Hare FOC 3-fire 3SM-eat-PFV
 ‘I told Hare [it’s the fire that ate (the guinea fowl)].’

(53) Aghem (Hyman 1979: 56, 59)

a. M̃ m̃ô z̃ì k̃í-bé̃ ↓né.
 I PST₁ ate fufu today
 ‘I ate fufu today.’

b. M̃ m̃ô z̃ì ↓né̃ bé-kó.
 I PST₁ ate today fufu
 ‘I ate fufu today.’

(54) Kituba (Van der Wal & Maniacky 2015: 2)

Pusu **muntu** me kudya mbisi.
 cat FOC PRF eat fish
 ‘It’s the cat that has eaten the fish.’

Marking exhaustivity on the noun itself is rarer or perhaps just less described for Bantu languages. Hyman & Katamba (1993) show that the *absence* of the augment in Luganda (plus associated tonal consequences) leads to a focus interpretation, which Van der Wal & Namyalo (2016) show to be exclusivity – the test with indefinites serves here to illustrate:

(55) Luganda (Van der Wal & Namyalo 2016: 19)

a. N-á-kúbyé o-mu-ntu.
 1SG.SM-PST-hit.PERF AUG-1-person
 ‘I beat someone.’

b. N-á-kúbyé _-mu-ntú, si kkapa.
 1SG.SM-PST-hit.PERF _-1-person NEG.COP 9.cat
 ‘I beat a person, not a cat.’

But even in Luganda, augmentless nouns are restricted to the position after the verb (vP internal; Van der Wal & Namyalo 2016). In contrast, nouns with the CV marker in Kinyakyusa are relatively free in their sentence position, as seen in (31)-(33) above for different syntactic roles and positions, as well as (48)a for a reverse pseudocleft construction. A question that remains to be studied in this respect is how the CV marker interacts with other markers of information structure in Kinyakyusa, especially with clausal marking of information structure (clefts, word order variation).

Looking beyond Bantu, Bastian Persohn (p.c.) suggests that the CV marker is remarkably similar to the restrictive or limitative markers in Oceanic and Austronesian languages. These markers are mostly enclitics or suffixes, as illustrated in (56) and (57).

(56) Rapa Nui (Polynesian, Kieviet 2017: 267)

'Ite pō nō te ika nei ana hī.
 at ART night just ART fish PROX IRR to.fish
 ‘Only at night this fish can be fished.’

(57) Nungon (Papuan, Sarvasy 2017: 379)

[Ibaa opmou]=**ho** ne-i-ha-k.
 leech small=FOC 1SG.O-bite-PRS.SG-3SG
 ‘(It is) a little leech (that) has bitten me.’

The difference between the CV marker and these restrictive markers is that the latter can also be used with verbs, and it is used with other functions – Schultze-Bernd (2002) presents a wonderful overview of the various functions associated with the restrictive clitic in Australian languages. For one of the languages, Gurindji, she cites McConvell (1983) as identifying the following interpretations (Schultze-Bernd 2002: 242): “‘only’ (on noun phrases), ‘indeed, precisely; right there’ (e.g. with locative phrases), ‘even’, ‘intensive’, ‘still’, and ‘all the time’.” The examples in (58) illustrate the readings ‘only’ and ‘still’.

(58) Gurindji (Australian, McConvell 1983: 17, 20; via Schultze-Bernd 2002: 242)

- a. Ngayi-ny=**parni** ngu=yi nyila-ma kujingka-ma.
 1SG-DAT=**CLITIC** AUX=1SG.OBJ DEM-TOP song.cycle-TOP
 ‘That song cycle belongs to me only.’
- b. Ngu=ngku parik wanyja-ni makin-ta=**rni**.
 AUX=2SG.OBJ leave.behind leave-PST asleep-LOC=**CLITIC**
 ‘He left you (still) asleep.’

Such multifunctionality we have not found for the Kinyakyusa CV marker, and a question is whether a description as ‘non-scalar restrictive marker’ (McConvell 1983, Schultze-Bernd 2002) is specific enough for our purposes. On the one hand, we find Persohn (2020: 44) describing the CV marker as “express[ing] an emphatic notion translatable along the lines of ‘just X; the very X’”, which is in line with the proposed origin and/or current underspecified status of the Austro/Oceanic restrictive markers as ‘emphatic assertion of identity’ (Schultze-Bernd 2002, König 1991). On the other hand, the clear exhaustive semantics we found argue for a narrower label as ‘exhaustivity marker’.

6. Conclusion

We started this paper with two research questions about the status of the CV marker:

- A. Is the CV marker an augment?
 B. What is the interpretation of the CV marker?

In order to answer these questions, we first described the form and function of the V augment in Kinyakyusa. We cautiously argue that the V augment in Kinyakyusa functions as a determiner, given that it is present when nouns function as arguments, but not when they function as predicates. In addition, the V prefix is absent in locative derivation, after the connective *-a* ‘of’, in the second noun of a compound, after the element *kukuti* ‘every’, with the interrogative word *-liku* ‘which’, and for vocatives. Although the augment does not express definiteness, in the context of polar questions we do find that the presence of the augment brings a definite/familiar meaning, as opposed to the indefinite interpretation in the absence of the augment.

In contrast with the V augment, we show that the CV marker is dissimilar to the features of the V augment in four properties: the CV marker cannot participate in coordination of two nouns, while the V augment does; locatives never take an augment, but can take a CV marker; adnominal adjectives can take the V augment but not the CV marker; and demonstratives modify a noun with the V augment but not the CV marker. We also noted that the presence of the CV marker is not sensitive to grammatical role or position: Subjects,

objects, and adverbs can all appear with the CV marker. This answers research question A negatively: the CV marker is not an augment.

Instead, and answering research question B, we propose that the CV marker is a marker of exhaustive focus, given its consistently exhaustive behaviour in the eight diagnostics we tested.

As already mentioned, further research within Kinyakyusa should reveal how this marker interacts with other strategies for the expression of information structure; a formal analysis of the position of the exhaustive marker in the left periphery of the DP will also provide further insight into the structure of the language as well as the structural aspects of information structure.

Symbols and abbreviations

Numbers refer to noun classes, or to persons when followed by SG or PL.

APPL	applicative
ART	article
AUG	augment
CAUS	causative
COND	conditional
CONN	connective
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
FOC	focus
FV	final vowel
int.	intended reading
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
NPx	noun prefix
OM	object marker
PASS	passive
PERF	perfect
PFV	perfective
POSS	possessive
PRO	independent pronoun
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
Q	question particle
PST	past tense
SBJV	subjunctive
SM	subject marker
TOP	topic marker

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