

A morphosyntactic and semantic description of augment in Kipangwa

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Abstract

This paper describes the morphosyntactic and semantic meaning of augments in Kipangwa (G64), the pre-prefix that precedes the noun. The main objective was to describe the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the augment in the Kipangwa. The study was conducted in Ludewa District of Njombe Region in Tanzania. With regard to the research approach, the study employed a qualitative approach. The data for this study were collected through the text collection method. Using this method, the researchers collected sentences with NPs from 18 informants and three storybooks in Kipangwa. These informants were sampled through snowball sampling, while the storybooks in Kipangwa were purposefully sampled. The study reveals that there are augments in Kipangwa, specifically in vowel forms. It also exposes that syntactic and semantic factors mainly trigger the occurrence of augments in Kipangwa nouns. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that the specificity and topicality of the noun can influence the function of the augment in Kipangwa. Finally, the study recommends further research into other aspects of augments in Kipangwa.

Keywords: *augment, Bantu, Kipangwa, noun class prefix, noun phrase*

Introduction

This paper presents the morphosyntactic and semantic description of augment (pre-prefix or the initial vowel) in Kipangwa, a Bantu language spoken in Ludewa District of Njombe Region in Tanzania. This study was conducted in Milo, Mavala, and Mapogoro villages in Ludewa District to investigate the augment in Kipangwa. The study was motivated by the fact that, in Kipangwa, studies on nominal morphology are sparse, particularly, on the augment. Studies conducted in other Bantu languages (De Blois, 1970; Petzell, 2003; Goodness, 2013; Gambarage, 2019; Van de Velde, 2019; Ström & Miestamo, 2020) have contributed to our understanding of the augment. These scholars commonly reveal that the augment appears before the noun class prefix and the nominal stem. Despite this similarity in the position of augment, studies reveal that augment's form, occurrence, and function vary across Bantu languages.

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Furthermore, studies have shown no consensus on what triggers the occurrence of augment in Bantu languages. It is unclear whether the manifestation of augment is motivated by morphology, syntax, phonology, semantics, or pragmatic factors. The literature reveals another discrepancy regarding the function of augment in Bantu languages, specifically whether it exhibits definiteness, referentiality, specificity, or topicality. This study considers these variations as a point of departure, and addresses three questions about the augment: (1) What is the shape of the augment in the Kipangwa NP? (2) What triggers the occurrence of augment in the Kipangwa noun? (3) What is the function of augment in the Kipangwa noun?

The Kipangwa language

Kipangwa is a Bantu language spoken in the Kipengere Range on the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa, in the Ludewa District of Njombe Region. It is located in the southwestern highlands part of Tanzania. In Guthrie's (1967/71)⁴ classification of Bantu languages, Kipangwa is classified as G64 in Zone G group 60. Other languages in this group are Sangu (G61), Hehe (G62), Bena (G63), Kinga (G65), Wanji (G66), and Kisi (G67), which are the closest languages to Kipangwa. The Languages of Tanzania Project (LOT, 2009:2) estimates 95,134 speakers of Kipangwa. Kipangwa is presently used by all generations for verbal communication in informal domains and, in particular, at the family level.

The Structure of Kipangwa

This part gives an overview of the structure of Kipangwa, specifically focusing on phonological aspects, i.e. vowels, consonants and syllables used in Kipangwa. These aspects are important in this study because they are segments of the Kipangwa noun.

Phonology of Kipangwa

Vowels

Kipangwa has a five-vowel system⁵. All five vowels occur as short and long vowels. Long vowels appear in a sequence of two identical vowels. Figure 1 shows the vowel inventory in Kipangwa.

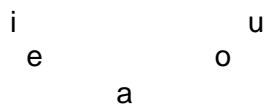


Figure 1. The vowel inventory of Kipangwa

The vowels /i, e / are front and unrounded, /u, o/ are back and rounded, and /a/ is central and unrounded.

Vowel length

Kipangwa features vowels that are both short and long. They can originate from phonological processes like vowel coalescence and glide formation, or they can be specified lexically. In Kipangwa, the vowel length is distinctive and has a specific role. The minimal pairs in (1) show lexical functions of vowel length, and the minimal pairs in (2) demonstrate that vowel length is grammatically distinctive.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------------------|-----|------------------|-------------|
| (1) | a. <i>ukhutama</i> | 'to cry bitterly' | vs. | <i>ukhutaama</i> | 'to sit' |
| | b. <i>ukhupeta</i> | 'to cut' | vs. | <i>ukhupeeta</i> | 'to sift' |
| (2) | a. <i>achovile</i> | 's/he has said' | vs. | <i>aachovile</i> | 's/he said' |

⁴ The reference system developed by Malcolm Guthrie, which refers to Bantu languages by a combination of a letter (zone) labelled in capital letters, was based on geographical and typological criteria.

⁵ A similar system has been noted for the neighbouring language, Bena G63 (Morrison, 2011).

b. *vadimile* 'they have fallen' vs. *vaadimile* 'they fell'

Consonants

The Kipangwa consonant inventory consists of 23 phonemes, as summarised in Table 1. Where an orthographic representation differs from its IPA symbol, the latter is given in brackets. The consonant inventory includes plosives (stops), nasals, fricatives, prenasalized, and approximants.

Table 1

The consonant inventory of Kipangwa

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d	c j	k g	
Nasal	m		n	ɲ [ny]	ŋ [ng']	
Fricative		f v	s		kh [x]	h
Prenasalized	mb		nd		nj	
Approximant	w		l		y	

The prenasalised consonants are made by nasal and plosive consonants and do not have a single or recognised symbol in IPA. For that reason, they are represented as they are written in Kipangwa orthography, as illustrated in example (3).

- (3)a. bilabial [mb] as in *mboka* 'vegetable'
 b. alveolar [nd] as in *ndibulo* 'arrow'
 c. palatal [nj] as in *nyanja* 'sea'

Syllable Structure of Kipangwa

Syllables in Kipangwa can be one of the structures illustrated in (4) below.

- (4) V *u.mu.nu* 'person'
 VV *a.a.to.vi.le* 'S/he hit'
 CV *i.fi.nu* 'things'
 CVV *a.vaa.na* 'children'
 CCV *i.khi.ta.bu.* 'book'
 NCV *i.mbu.lu.ku.tu* 'ear'
 NCVV *u.lu.te.ngaa.no* 'division'
 NGV *u.mwa.na* 'child'
 NCGV *i.ndwe.lo* 'window'

The possible syllable structures are subject to various distributional limitations: the syllables with long vowels VV, CVV, NCV, NCVV and NCGV do not occur word-final position. VV is restricted to the word initial position. V occurs in all word positions; however, it can occur in the word medial position due to the morphophonological process. NGV can occur in initial or final positions.

Tone of Kipangwa

Kipangwa is not a tonal language different from many Bantu languages (Hyman, 1976; Kisseberth & Odden, 2003). Instead, Kipangwa features a regular penultimate accent. This characteristic is also observed in the neighbouring language, Vwanji G66 (Eaton, 2019). In Kipangwa, stress is realised on the penultimate syllable of a word. However, words are frequently put together as a prosodic entity in the sense that the penultimate syllable of the rightmost word receives more pronounced stress as in (5) and (6).

- (5) *avanu* 'ava

a - va - na a - va
 AUG-2- children AUG-PROX.DEM
 'these children'

(6) *ifideko 'fyangu*
 i -fi - deko fi-angu
 AUG-8-chairs 8-2PL POSS.
 'my chairs'

In (5) and (6), the penultimate syllables of demonstrative 'ava 'these' and that of possessive 'fyangu 'my' receive the more pronounced stress. However, in this paper, no further attempt is made to mark stress in examples in order to maintain consistency with the data found in written texts.

Previous Linguistics Research

Previous literature on Kipangwa reveals a dearth of linguistic research on the language. Studies on Kipangwa can be traced far back to the 19th century with the work of Johnston (1919), who provided a word list and a brief grammatical sketch of Kipangwa in *A comparative study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages*. Stirnimann (1983) conducted another study, delving into Kipangwa grammar in his book *Praktische Grammatik der Pangwa-Sprache (SW-Tansania): Indaki cha luchovo lwa vaPangwa*. Studies that deal with more specific aspects of Kipangwa grammar include Mbawala's (2011) study on verb extensions in Kipangwa: their occurrence and co-occurrence constraints. Riegg's (2021) study on tense and aspect in Kipangwa. Mtega's (2023) work on the syntactic structure of verb phrase in Kipangwa. Regarding the social aspects of language use, Haule (2014) discusses the language shift from ethnic community languages to Kiswahili. She reports that the use of the Kipangwa language is diminishing due to the dominant use of Kiswahili.

The Augment in Bantu Languages

The literature shows that the augment is a morpheme that is attached to the noun class prefix in some Bantu languages (De Blois, 1970; Maho, 1999; Alcock, 2000; Katamba, 2003; Goodness, 2013; Gambarage, 2019). The Bantu languages that can take augments on their nouns are Kagulu (Petzell, 2003), Otjiherero (Kavari & Marten, 2009), Bena (Morrison, 2011), Shinyiha (Goodness, 2013), and Nata (Gambarage, 2019). This entails that not all Bantu languages include augments in their nouns. For example, Kiswahili, Chichewa, and Samatengo (Katamba, 2003; Maho, 1999; Ndomba, 2006) do not take augments.

Studies show that in most Bantu languages, the augment appears in the form of a vowel, like in Kagulu (Petzell, 2003), Bena (Morrison, 2011), Zulu (Halpert, 2012), Shinyiha (Goodness, 2013), SuNdala varieties (Mtenje-Mkochi, 2018), and Nguni (Ström & Miestamo, 2020). However, in other Bantu languages, it occurs as a consonant plus a vowel, such as in Bukusu (Maho, 1999), SuNdala varieties (Mtenje-Mkochi, 2018), and Nata (Gambarage, 2019). In addition, studies show that the augment agrees in shape with the vowel of the noun class prefix in many Bantu languages such as Bena (Morrison, 2011), Shinyiha (Goodness, 2013), and Nata (Gambarage, 2019), as illustrated by the Shinyiha example in (7) and (8).

(7) *u - mu -ntu*
 Aug-Cl.1-person
 'person'
 (8) *a - va - ntu*
 Aug-Cl.2-people
 'people' (Goodness, 2013:35)

In (7) and (8), the augments are identical to the vowels of the noun class prefixes; for instance, in (7), the augment *u-* agrees in shape with the vowel of the noun class prefix (Cl.1) *m-u*. However, in other Bantu languages, such as Otjiherero (Kavari & Marten, 2009) and Cilambya (Mtenje-Mkochi, 2018), there is no vowel harmony between the augment and the vowel of the class prefix. Kavari and Marten (2009) argue that in Otjiherero, the shape of the augment can be *o-* or *e-*, which is not motivated by the phonetic characteristics of the vowel in the noun class prefix. In this respect, the form of the augment is always *o-* for all noun classes except for class 5, where the form is *e-*. The example of the Otjiherero augment realisation is illustrated in (9) and (10).

(9) *o - m- eva*
Aug-6-water
'water'

(10) *e-Ø-zumo*
Aug-5-stomach
'stomach' (Kavari & Marten, 2009, p. 14)

In (9) and (10), the shape of augment is *o-* or *e-*, and there is no vowel harmony between the augment and the vowel of the noun class prefix.

In addition, the literature shows that in many Bantu languages, such as SuNdala varieties (Mtenje-Mkochi, 2018), and Nguni languages (Ström & Miestamo, 2020), the augment appears in all noun classes, except in locative classes 16, 17, and 18. Contrary to this, the augments in Swati appear only in the noun class prefixes consisting of a nasal. Ziervogel (1952), as cited in Ström and Miestamo (2020), shows that the shape of the augment in Swati is *u-*, *i-*, or *e-*, and together with the noun class prefix, it is realised as follows: 1 (*u-mu-*), 3 (*u-mu-*), 4 (*i-mi-*), 6 (*e-ma-*), and 9 (*i-N-*).

Further, studies show that numerous factors appear to influence the occurrence of augments on nouns in the NPs across Bantu languages. However, generally, these studies show that the presence or absence of augment on the nouns in the NPs is due to morphological, syntactic, and semantic factors (De Blois, 1970; Petzell, 2003; Halpert, 2012; Gambarage, 2019). For instance, Petzell (2003) observed that syntactic and semantic factors condition the appearance of augment in Kagulu NPs, whereas syntactic and semantic properties license the occurrence of augment in Nguni languages (Ström & Miestamo, 2020). Moreover, Visser (2008) argues that the augment in isiXhosa is due to syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, while Goodness (2013) postulates that in Shinyiha, the occurrence of an augment on a noun in the NPs is conditioned by syntactic factors. Further, Van de Velde (2019) claims that the most widespread factor for the presence or absence of augment in Bantu languages is syntactic environments. Literature also shows that, besides nouns, the augment in Bantu languages such as Shinyiha, Bena, and Otjiherero (Kavari & Marten, 2009; Morrison, 2011; Goodness, 2013) can occur in other lexical categories such as adjectives and numerals within the NPs. Moreover, in other Bantu languages, such as Eton (Van de Velde, 2014) the augment appears as a relative marker. In this language, the augment appears on the restrictive relative clause when it modifies the head noun in the NP.

Furthermore, studies in various languages (Petzell, 2003; Mojapelo, 2007; Van de Velde, 2014; Gambarage, 2019; Ström & Miestamo, 2020) demonstrate the complexity of the augment's functions on nouns in the NP. For example, Van de Velde's (2014) study on the Eton language shows that augment is a construct marker in relative clauses. Other Bantuists claim that the augment denotes the specificity of nouns in the NPs (Petzell, 2003; Mojapelo, 2007; Visser, 2008; Asiimwe, 2014), while others signify the definiteness of nouns in the NPs (Alcock, 2000;

Rijkhoff & Seibt, 2005; Zerbian & Krifka, 2008). Some scholars argue that the function of augment is to express the referentiality of the noun in NPs (Morrison, 2011; Ström & Miestamo, 2020), and others assert that augment is sometimes used by speakers to differentiate their language from that of neighbouring communities (Petzell & Kühl, 2017). From the preceding review on the augment in Bantu languages, it is evident that the augment has received significant scholarly attention in the literature. Studies reveal that the shape, occurrence, and functions of augment vary from language to language. It has been hard to find differences in the syntax or semantic/pragmatic of augment in Bantu languages (Van de Velde, 2005, 2019; Halpert, 2012; Goodness, 2013; Ström & Miestamo, 2020). These variations have triggered the researchers to examine the augment as a part of the noun and see its shape, occurrence, and functions in the Kipangwa NP to contribute to the existing knowledge.

Theoretical Framework

This study used the Lexical Integrity Principle (LIP) as modified by Bresnan & Mchombo (1995) for Bantu languages. LIP reveals that words are built out of different structural elements and according to different principles of composition. This means that words are morphologically defined in terms of fixed lexical and sub-lexical categories, namely, stems and affixes. As a result, the three morphological constituents of words can combine to form words with different principles of composition. In Kipangwa, for instance, a noun, *umudala* 'woman' has *u-* affix (augment), *mu-* affix (noun class prefix), and *-dala* - stem which combine to form the noun *umudala* 'woman.'

Methodology

This study sought to describe the augment in Kipangwa NPs. The study used a descriptive research design to collect and analyse Kipangwa augments in a natural setting, the contexts in which the language is used. The data for this paper were collected through a text collection method that involved both spoken and written texts in Kipangwa. This method enabled the collection of authentic and natural Kipangwa sentences with NPs. The collection of the data from spoken texts involved 18 Kipangwa native speakers (9 males and 9 females) who were able to tell stories and folklore in Kipangwa. These informants were obtained in the study area through the snowball sampling technique. To apply this technique, at the beginning of the data collection, the researchers involved the village chairperson and explained the characteristics of informants needed, i.e., they should be competent in Kipangwa language and experts in Kipangwa culture, including oral traditions. The chairperson then nominated and introduced the researchers to the first informant, who provided the stories in Kipangwa. After the session, the researchers asked the informant to appoint further people who were competent in Kipangwa and able to narrate Kipangwa traditional stories. This process continued until there was sufficient information, or saturation, in terms of the information being sought. The collection of spoken texts was an essential method for data collection, as it allowed the collection of speeches from native speakers of Kipangwa. The researchers collected these data by using a digital voice recorder.

Moreover, to supplement the primary data collected from the spoken texts, the researchers collected data from the written texts in Kipangwa. The texts found were *Ikhitabu isha Luti* 'The Book of Ruth' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017), *Ikhitabu isha Yona* 'The Book of Jonah' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017), *Yeesu Ichabikwa* 'The Baptism of Jesus' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2018). The researchers read the texts and extracted the sentences with NPs to generate findings.

The collected data were analysed by inductive and deductive thematic methods. Inductively, codes and themes were developed from raw data, while deductively, themes were drawn from existing theoretical frameworks that guided the descriptions of the morphosyntactic and semantic features of augments in Kipangwa.

Findings

The data reveal that the augments in Kipangwa not only occur on nouns but also in other syntactic categories such as demonstratives and adjectives. The occurrence of augments in these syntactic categories is triggered by syntactic and semantic factors. Further, the findings reveal that the function of augments in Kipangwa is to indicate specificity or topicality depending on the environment in which the augment is used. The next sections present these findings in detail.

Kipangwa Noun Class System and the Morphology of Augment

The findings show that Kipangwa nouns comprise a noun stem and one or two bound prefixes. The morphological structure of the Kipangwa noun is (augment)⁶+ noun class prefix + noun stem. This means Kipangwa has three class prefixes: the augment, the noun class prefix, and the agreement class prefix. The noun class prefixes appear in nouns as well as in noun modifiers in the NP.

Since generally augments occur on nouns, the study attempted to devise a sketch of the Kipangwa noun class system. This noun class system was established based on the morphology of the noun (i.e., the form of the noun class prefix) and syntax (i.e. concordial agreement). The study established that Kipangwa has an articulated noun class system, distinguishing 18 classes. Many nouns are allotted to two classes, one in the singular and the other in the plural. The pairing is 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11/10, and 12/13. Classes 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 have no pairings. Table 2 below presents the distribution of augments in the noun class system in Kipangwa.

Table 2

The distribution of augments in the noun class system in Kipangwa

Class	Augment	Noun Class Prefix	Examples	Gloss
1	u-	mu-	<i>u-mu-nu</i>	'person'
1a	u-	∅	<i>u-nyina</i>	'mother'
2	a-	va-	<i>a-vanu</i>	'people'
2a	a-	vaa-	<i>a-va-nyina</i>	'mothers'
3	u-	mu-	<i>u-mu-bihi</i>	'tree'
4	i-	mi-	<i>i-mi-bihi</i>	'trees'
5	i-	li-	<i>i-li-khang'a</i>	'egg'
6	a-	ma-	<i>a-ma-khang'a</i>	'eggs'
7	i-	khi-	<i>i-khi-dekho</i>	'chair'
8	i-	fi-	<i>i-fi-dekho</i>	'chairs'
9	i-	N-/∅-	<i>i-senga</i>	'cow'
10	i-	N-/∅-	<i>i-senga</i>	'cows'
11	u-	lu-	<i>u-lu-bumba</i>	'wall'
12	a-	kha-	<i>a-kha-na</i>	'child'(diminutive)

⁶ Augment is an option

13	u-	tu-	<i>u-tu-ana</i>	'children'(diminutive)
14	u-	vu-	<i>u-vu-nofu</i>	'goodness'
15	u-	khu-	<i>u-khu-kenda</i>	'walk'
16	a-	pa-	<i>pa-nyumba</i>	'at the home'
17	u-	khu-	<i>khu-nyumba</i>	'at the house'
18	u-	mu-	<i>u-mu-nyumba</i>	'in the house'

The distribution of augments in Table 2 shows that the augments *i-*, *u-*, or *a-* are distributed in all noun classes. The augment *i-* occurs in classes 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10, as shown in the following examples: *i-mi-bihi* 'trees' class 4, *i-li-khang'a* 'egg class 5, *i-khi-deko* 'chair' class 7, *i-fi-deko* 'chairs' class 8, *i-senga* 'cow' class 9, *i-senga* 'cows' class 10. The augment *u-* is found in classes 1, 2a, 3, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18 as in the following examples: *u-mu-nu* 'person' class 1, *a-vanyina* 'mothers' class 2a, *u-mu-bihi* 'tree' class 3, *u-lu-bumba* 'wall' class 11, *u-tu-ana* 'small children' class 13, *u-vu-nofu* 'goodness' class 14, *u-khu-lima* 'to cultivate' class 15, *u-khu-nyumba* 'to the house' class 17, *u-mu-nyumba* 'in the house' class 18. The augment *a-* is found in classes 2, 2a, 6, 12, and 16, like in: *a-va-nu* 'people' class 2, *a-va-nyina* 'mothers' class 2a, *a-ma-khang'a* 'eggs' class 6, *a-kha-na* 'small child' class 12, and *a-pa-hala* 'at the farm' class 16.

Occurrence of Augment in Kipangwa NPs

The findings show that in Kipangwa, augments in NPs occur not only on head nouns but also in syntactic categories like demonstrative, adjective, numeral, and associative. The findings also show that Kipangwa augments occur in the form of a single vowel *i-*, *u-* or *a-* (Table 1). The data for this study attest that the syntactic and semantic environments trigger the presence or absence of these augments in Kipangwa NP. However, the study has found that syntactic environment is a notable feature for the presence or absence of augments in the NP. First, the Kipangwa augment agrees with the vowel of the noun class prefix of the head noun in the NP, as illustrated in (11), (12), and (13).

(11) *avanu vanofu*
a-va-nu va-nofu
AUG-2-people 2-good
'good people'

(12) *imibihhi mitali*
i-mi-bihhi mi-tali
AUG-4- tree 4-tall
'tall trees'

(13) *ulubumba lwangu*
u-lu-bumba lu-angu
AUG-11-wall 11-mine
'my wall'

In examples (11), (12), and (13), the augments *i-*, *u-*, and *a-* agree with the noun class prefixes of head nouns, that is, *mi-*, *lu-*, and *va-*, respectively. The findings also show that for Class 9 and 10, whose class markers have a nasal feature /N/, the augment slot is occupied by the vowel /i/ as shown in examples (14) and (15).

- (14) *imene ndebe*
 i-mene ndebe
 AUG-9-goat 9.small
 'small goat'
- (15) *imene njolofu*
 i-mene njolofu
 AUG-10-goat 10.many
 'many goats'

The findings also show that another syntactic environment that triggers the presence of augments in the NP in Kipangwa is the agreement of augments found in head nouns with the ones that appear on adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, and associative, as presented hereunder. The findings demonstrate that the augment on adjectives agrees with the augment on the head noun in the NP. Examples (16) and (17) illustrate this phenomenon.

- (16) *umwana umdebe ichile*
 u-mu-ana u - m- debe i - ch - ile
 AUG-1-child AUG -1-small SM1 - come-PERF - PFV
 'A small child has come.'
- (17) *amabihi amakomi kabinile*
 a-ma-bihi a - ma-komi ka - bin - ile
 AUG-6-tree AUG-6-big SM6-fall-PERF-PFV
 'The big trees have fallen.'

In (16), the augment *u-* of the adjective *u-mdebe* 'small' agrees with that of the head noun *u-mwana* in the NP. Likewise, in (17), the augment *a-* on the adjective *a-makomi* 'big' concurs with that of the head noun *a-mabihi* 'trees' in the NP.

The findings also show that the augments that occur on nouns agree with those found in Kipangwa demonstratives. However, the study found that not all demonstratives can take an augment. There are three types of demonstratives in Kipangwa. These types are proximal, medial, and distal demonstratives. The findings show that the proximal and medial demonstratives can take augments, which are embedded in the structure of these demonstratives. Table 3 gives more illustrations.

Table 3
Demonstrative concords

Class	Augment	Noun Class Prefix	Demonstratives		
			Proximal This	Medial That 1	Distal That 2
1	u-	mu-	u-yu	u-yo	yula
1a	u-	∅	u-yu	u-yo	yula
2	a -	va -	a-va	a-vo	vala
2a	a-	vaa-	a-va	a-vo	vala
3	u-	mu-	u-ku	u-ku	uko
4	i-	mi-	i-yi	i-yi	yila
5	i-	li-	i-li	i-lyo	lila

6	a-	ma-	a-kha	a-kho	kala
7	i-	khi-	i-khi	i-sho	khila
8	i-	fi-	i-fi	i-fyo	fila
9	i-	N-/Ø-	i-yi	i-yo	yila
10	i-	N-/Ø-	i-chi	i-cho	chila
11	u-	lu-	u-lu	u-lo	lula
12	a-	kha-	a-kha	a-kho	khala
13	u-	tu-	u-tu	u-to	tula
14	u-	vu-	u-vu	u-vo	lula
15	u-	khu-	u-khu	u-kho	khula
16	a-	pa-	a-pa	a-po	pala
17	u-	khu-	u-khu	u-kho	khula
18	u-	mu-	u-mu	u-mo	mula

The findings in Table 3 above show that the augments that occur on the proximal and medial demonstratives agree with those that appear on nouns as illustrated in (18) and (19).

(18) *umdimi uyu*

u-m-dimi u-yu
 AUG-1-boy AUG-PROX DEM
 'this boy'

(19) *isude icho*

i-sude i-cho
 AUG-10-rabbit AUG-MED DEM
 'those rabbit'

In (18), the noun class prefix *u-* that occurs on the proximal demonstrative *uyu* 'this' agrees with the augment of the head noun *umdimi* 'boy' in the NP. Similarly, in (19), the noun class prefix *i-* in the medial demonstrative *icho* 'those' agrees with the augment of the head noun *isude* 'rabbit' in the NP.

Moreover, the study's findings reveal that in Kipangwa NP, the augment of the head noun agrees with that of the associative, as illustrated in (20) and (21).

(20) *ikhitabu isha Luti*

i-khi-tabu i - sha - a Luti
 AUG-7-book AUG- 7-ASS. Luti
 'the Book of Ruth'

(21) *ifideko ifya vakenji*

i - fi - deko i - fi - a va - kenji
 AUG-8-chair AUG- 8 -ASS. 2- guest
 'the chairs of guests'

In (20) and (21), the associative *isha* and *ifya* 'of' occurred with the augment *i-* which agrees with the augments of the head nouns *ikhitabu* 'chair' and *ifideko* 'chairs', respectively.

Further, the findings attest that the augment that appears on numerals agrees with the augment of the head noun, which it modifies as shown in (22) and (23).

- (22) *avadimi avatai*
 a - va- dimi a - va-tai
 AUG-2-boy AUG- 2- four
 'four boys'

- (23) *avadala avadatu*
 a - va-dala a - va - datu
 AUG-2-woman AUG-2-three
 'three women'

In (22) and (23), the augment *a-* that occurs on the *avatai* 'four' and *avadatu* 'three' numerals agrees with the augments of the head nouns *avadimi* 'boys' and *avadala* 'women', respectively. Furthermore, the findings show that in Kipangwa, the augment is an obligatory element in an NP of the declarative sentence, as illustrated in (24) and (25).

- (24) *umwana vangu ahekile*
 u-mu-ana va-ngu a - hek -ile
 AUG-1-child 1-mine SM1-go- PFV
 'My child has gone.'

- (25) *avanu vahele*
 a-va-nu va - hel - e
 AUG-2-people SM2-go-PERF - FV
 'People have gone.'

In (24) and (25), the augments *u-* and *a-* have appeared on the nouns *mwana* 'child' and *vanu* 'people', respectively, because, in Kipangwa, the head noun in the declarative sentence must take augment.

The findings also show that Kipangwa augment occurs when the relative clause in the NP modifies the head noun, as shown in (26) and (27).

- (26) *ilihala lyendalimile livele linofu*
 i - li-hala li-e - nda- lim - ile li - vel - e li -nofu
 AUG-5-farm REL- SM1-cultivate - PFV SM1-be - FV 5-good
 'The farm that I cultivated is good.'

- (27) *umunu yeilima khusolokho*
 u-munu ye- i - lim - a khu - solokho
 Aug-1-person REL-SM1-cultivate-FV 17 - solokho
 'A person who cultivates at Solokho.'

In (26) and (27), the nouns *ilihala* 'farm' and *umunu* 'a name of a person' have occurred with the augments *i-* and *u-* because the relative clauses have modified them.

Moreover, the study's findings show that Kipangwa augment can be marked on proper names. Examples (28) and (29) illustrate this fact.

- (28) *uElimeleki umkosi va Nahomi*
 u-Elimeleki u - m- kosi v-a Nahomi
 AUG-Elimeleki AUG-1-husband 1-ASS. Nahomi
 'Elimeleki the husband of Nahomi'

- (29) *uDavudi avelee mu khipelela*

u-Davudi a - vele mu- khi- pelela
 Aug-Davudi SM1- be 18- 7- village
 'David is in the village.'

In (28) and (29), the proper nouns *Elimeleki* and *Davudi* have occurred with an augment *u-* respectively.

The study's findings reveal that the augment also occurs on nouns borrowed from Kiswahili. For example, *inyumba* 'house', *amadaftari* 'exercise books', *umpera* 'guava tree', etc. The augment is used in the borrowed noun to customise the noun in the Kipangwa language system.

Non-occurrence of the Augment in Kipangwa Nouns

The study's findings show that several syntactic and semantic environments in Kipangwa require the head noun to drop its augment. The findings demonstrate that the omission of the augment of the following noun occurs when the demonstrative occurs in a pre-nominal position, as illustrated in (30) and (31).

- (30) *uyu mufwasi vangu*
 u-yu mu -fwasi va - ngu
 AUG-_{PROX}DEM 1-follower 1-1SG.Poss
 'this my follower'
- (31) *avo vafwasi vangu*
 a-vo va-fwasi va - ngu
 AUG-_{MED}DEM 2 - follower 2-1SG.POSS
 'those my followers'

In (30) and (31), the nouns *mufwasi* 'follower' and *vafwasi* 'followers' drop augments because they have been preceded by the proximal demonstrative *uyu* 'this' and the medial demonstrative *avo* 'those' in the NP, respectively. Bantu uses both the demonstrative and the augment for definite referents, which is why the nouns dropped the augments (Van de Velde, 2005). Therefore, the NPs drop the augments because they are semantically incompatible with a preceding demonstrative.

The findings also reveal that the augment is not preferred on the head nouns preceded by the distributive *khila* 'each or every' in the NP, as illustrated in (32) and (33).

- (32) *khila munu* 'every person'
 (33) *khila khivuta* 'every place'

In (32) and (33), the nouns *munu* 'person' and *khivuta* 'place' lack augments when following the distributive determiner *khila* 'every or each', respectively, because they share the semantic feature of specificity.

The findings further show that Kipangwa augment does not occur on the head noun preceding an absolute pronoun, as demonstrated in (34) and (35).

- (34) *uhwewe vadimi*
 uhwewe va - dimi
 1PI.Pron. 2-boy
 'we boys'
- (35) *unyenye vadala*
 unyenye va - dala

2PI.Pron 2- woman
'you women'

Examples in (34) and (35) show that the head nouns *vadimi* 'boys' and *vadala* 'women' dropped the augments because they have been preceded by the pronouns that emphasise the specific referents.

Functions of the Kipangwa Augment in NPs

The study findings show that the role of Kipangwa augments in NP is to indicate specificity or topicality depending on the contexts in which the augment is used. We present each of these functions below.

Specificity

The findings reveal that Kipangwa augment encodes specificity. The specificity in Kipangwa NP can be realised in the context when the noun is potentially recognised by both the speaker and the hearer, as demonstrated in (36) and (37).

- (36) *inyumba ye wichenga ibinile*
i-nyumba ye wi - cheng - a i - bin - ile
AUG-9.house REL-SM2-build-PRES-FV SM9- fall- PERF-PFV
'The house that you are building has fallen.'
- (37) *umwana vakho ichile*
u-mu-ana va-kho i - ch - ile
AUG-1-child 1-2SG.POSS. SM1-come- PFV
'Your child has come.'

In (36) and (37), the augmented nouns *inyumba* 'house' and *umwana* 'child' are recognised by both the speaker and hearer.

The findings also show that in Kipangwa, the associative construction in the NP may use the augment to mark the specificity of the NP, as illustrated in (38) and (39).

- (38) *isenga icha John*
i-senga i - ch - a John
AUG-9-cow AUG-9- ASS. John
'the cows of John'
- (39) *ifyana ifya libwa lyangu*
i - fi - ana i - fi - a li - bwa li - angu
AUG-8-sibling AUG-8-ASS. 5-dog 5-1SG.Poss
'the siblings of my dog'

In (38) and (39), the use of augments on associative constructions specifies that objects *isenga* 'cow' *ifyana* 'small siblings' *ikhideko* 'chair' belong to a person named 'John', and *libwa* 'a big dog' belongs to me and not another entity.

Further, the findings reveal that in Kipangwa, the use of augments on adjectives in the NP specifies the referent. Consider the examples in (40) and (41).

- (40) *umhinja umdebe ichile*
u-m-hinja u - m - debe i - ch - ile
AUG- 1-girl AUG-1-small SM1- come -PERF- PFV
'The little girl has come.'
- (41) *umunu umtali afwele*
u-mu-nu u- m- tali a - fu - ele

AUG-1-person AUG-1-tall SM1-die-PERF -PFV
 'A tall person has died.'

The examples in (40) and (41) show that the augments on the adjectives *umdebe* 'small/little' and *umtali* 'tall' indicate the specificity of the NP's referents. On the other hand, the findings show that the noun that is not marked with an augment in the NP is a non-specific noun, as illustrated in (39) and (40).

(42) *mwana va khuMilo*
 mu-ana v- a khu -Milo
 1-child 1-ASS. 18-Milo
 'A child of (belongs to) Milo'

(43) *munu ikhina ngoma*
 mu-nu i - khin - a ngoma
 1-person SM1-play-PRES- FV 9.traditional dance
 'A person is playing a traditional dance.'

In (40) and (41), the augmentless nouns *mwana* 'child' and *munu* 'person' are non-specific because there are no specific referents the speaker refers to.

Topicality

The findings also show that in Kipangwa, the syntactic categories that occur in a sentence-initial position that the NP also occupies occur with an augment. Therefore, these categories are topicalized, and they depict emphasis as illustrated in (44) and (45).

(44) *uhwewe vapangwa twihuma khuludewa*
 u- hwewe va- pangwa twi-hum - a khu-ludewa
 AUG-1SG.Pron. 2- pangwa people SM2-come-PRES- FV 17 -Ludewa
 'We, pangwa people are coming from Ludewa.'

(45) *unyenye valongo vangu mvele vafuchi*
 u- nyenye va- longo va-ngu m-vele va- fuchi
 AUG- 2PL.Pron. 2- relative 2-1SG.POSS. SM2-be 2- kind
 'You, my relatives are kind.'

In examples (44) and (45), *uhwewe* 'we' (plural) and *unyenye* 'you' (plural), respectively, point to the head nouns *vapangwa* and *valongovangu*, respectively. Besides functioning as personal pronouns in the examples above, these elements also denote topicality.

The findings also demonstrate that in Kipangwa, the verbal noun must take an augment when fronted in the NP, as shown in (46) and (47).

(46) *ukhulima sikhunofu*
 u-khu-lim-a si - khu -nofu
 AUG-15-cultivate -FV NEG-15-good
 'To cultivate is not good.'

(47) *ukhunyila sindikhela*
 u- khu -nyil -a si -ndi -khel - a
 AUG-15-run-FV NEG-1SG-like -FV
 'I do not like running.'

In (46) and (47), the verbal nouns *ukhulima* 'cultivating' and *ukhunyila* 'running' take augment because they are in the initial positions.

Furthermore, the findings reveal that an associative construction must contain the augment when it serves as a topic (i.e., when it is fronted), as illustrated in (48).

- (48) *ifya vanu mulekhake*
 i-fi-a va- nu mu-lekh-ake
 AUG-8-ASS. 2-people SM2-leave-IPFV
 Lit: 'Things of other people should not be touched/ should be left.'

The example in (48) shows that the associative construction occurs with the augment because it serves as a topic.

Discussion

According to the data presented in the preceding sections, Kipangwa augments, as in some Bantu languages such as Bena, Swati, and Nata (Morrison, 2011; Gambarage, 2019; Ström & Miestamo, 2020), occur generally in nouns, and they can also be found in other syntactic categories in the NP. The findings reveal the presence of augments in Kipangwa's adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, and associatives. This finding is similar to Katamba (2003), who pointed out that the augment is also present in adjectives and numerals in Ganda. However, in other Bantu languages, such as Rukiga, the augments appear in adjectives, possessives, and quantifiers (Asiimwe, 2014). Kagulu augments appear on determiners, numerals, and adjectives (Petzell, 2003).

As noted earlier, the form of Kipangwa augments consists of a single vowel that is *i-*, *u-*, or *a-* based on vowel harmony. These vowels are similar to the vowel of the corresponding noun class prefixes. This finding concurs with other Bantu languages, such as Southern Ndebele, Xhosa, Zulu, Shinyiha, and Kagulu (Goodness, 2013; Petzell, 2003; Ström & Miestamo, 2020). However, this finding is contrary to other Bantu languages such as Ekegusii, Bukusu, Kinga, Sundala varieties, and Nata (Choti, 2022; De Blois, 1970; Gambarage, 2019; Maho, 1999; Mtenje-Mkochi, 2018) in that the augments occur in the form of consonant plus vowel (CV).

Concerning the occurrence of augments, the findings reveal that the presence or absence of augments in Kipangwa NP is triggered by syntactic environments. This finding concurs with the observations made by Van de Velde (2019) that the syntactic context is the most widespread conditioning factor for the presence or absence of the augment. This argument is also supported by the findings from other Bantu languages, such as Luganda, Kagulu, Nguni, Shinyiha, and Nata (Hyman & Katamba, 1993; Petzell, 2003; Goodness, 2013; Gambarage, 2019; Ström & Miestamo, 2020). However, Visser (2008) argues that the augment in isiXhosa is due to syntax, semantics, and pragmatics factors.

Further, the analysis of this study shows that in Bantu languages, it is possible for the proper noun to carry an augment, as evidenced in Kipangwa. This result is contrary to Van de Velde (2019), who claimed that in Bantu languages, proper nouns lack augments because they are inherently referential.

Lastly, the study reveals that pragmatically, Kipangwa augments express specificity and topicality in the NP. This finding concurs with Petzell (2003), who found that in Kagulu, the augments denote specificity, topicality, deixis, and focality. Bantu languages like Ganda and Runyankore-Rukiga also report using augments to encode specificity (Asiimwe, 2014; Katamba, 2003). However, the literature shows that in other Bantu languages, such as Runyankore-Lukiga, Ekengusii, and Haya, the augment expresses a definite interpretation (Asiimwe, 2019; Choti, 2022).

Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued that augments in Kipangwa not only occur on nouns but also in other syntactic categories such as adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, and associatives in the NP. In addition, the findings demonstrate that proper names in Kipangwa occur with augments, contrary to other Bantu languages, which do not. The findings also reveal that the Kipangwa augment does not occur in every noun phrase construction like in other cited Bantu languages. Its appearance in the NP is not mandatory. It depends on the meaning and function the sentence wants to convey. In relation to this, the findings reveal that the augment in Kipangwa NP mainly denotes specificity and topicality. The study recommends further research into other aspects of augments.

List of Abbreviations

1SG	First Person Singular
2SG	Second Person Singular
AUG	Augment
APPL	Applicative
ASS	Associative
CL	Noun Class
DEM	Demonstrative
FV	Final Vowel
IPFV	Imperfective
NC	Noun Class
NEG	Negation
NP	Noun Phrase
PERF	Perfect Tense
PFV	Perfective
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present Tense
REL	Relative Clause
SM	Subject Marker

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