



- (3) eé, **ní-igo** a-go-ák-a ó-mo-piirá.  
 Yes FOC-so 1SM-15-hit-FV AUG-3-ball  
 'Yes, she did hit the ball.' [níigo strategy, Gusii]<sup>1</sup>
- (4) Ee **nabo** ba-teb-a **igo**.  
 Yes truth 2SM-say-FV so  
 'True, it is what they said.'  
 [particle/periphrasis, Gusii, Bosire & Machogu 2013:618 [dictionary example]]
- (5) **N'úúamá** mwánkí útíríku.  
 ni û-mma mw-anki û-ti-rî=ku  
 COP 14-truth 3-power 3SM-NEG-be=17  
 'It's true/indeed, there is no power.' [periphrasis, Kĩtharaka]
- (6) Did the gorillas sing for you?  
**N'ámazim'** zó záátwéshongorera.  
 Ni a-ma-zima z-o z-aa-tw-eshongor-er-a  
 COP AUG-6-truth 10-CM 10-N.PST-2PL.OM-sing-APPL-FV  
 'It is true they have sung for us.' [periphrasis, Rukiga]
- (7) Engagi zó **nangwá** záátwéshongorera.  
 e-n-gagi z-o nangwa z-aa-tw-eshongor-er-a  
 AUG-10-gorilla 10-CM truly 10SM-N.PST-1PL.OM-sing-APPL-FV  
 'It is true. The gorillas have sung for us.' [particle, Rukiga]
- (8) (Are you sure the visitors are in the house?)  
 a. **Ku** barimu o-mu n-ju  
 DM 2PL.SM-be-18 AUG-18 9-house  
 'I am certain that they (the visitors) are in the house.'
- b. **Buzima** ba-ri-mu o-mu n-ju  
 DM 2PL.SM-be-18 AUG-18 9-house  
 'Truly they (the visitors) are in the house.' [particle, Rukiga]
- (9) (I don't believe he went to Malawi.)  
 A-a-buuk-ire **nalooli**.  
 1SM-PST-go-PFV truly  
 'He really went!' [particle, Kinyakyusa]
- (10) Ego **ni vyo** umukózi aratéemye.  
 ego ni bi-ó u-mu-kózi a-ra-téemb-ye.  
 yes COP 8-PRO AUG-1-cook 1SM-DJ-fell.down  
 'Yes, that's true the cook fell down.' [periphrasis, Kirundi]

<sup>1</sup> *Níigo* takes the literal meaning of 'is so' here but is also used for VP focus.

(11) A: Maria didn't cook beans.

B: She did cook beans.

A: No she didn't.

B: Ohaápéya, **mí kohoóna!**

o-o-apey-a mi ki-o-oon-a  
1SM-PFV.DJ-cook-FV 1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-PFV.DJ-see-FV

'She did cook, I saw it!'

[periphrasis, Makhuwa]

(12) **Seértú/ekhweelí** a-rín-óóth-a  
certainly/9.truth.PL 2SM-HAB-lie-FV

'She certainly lies.'

'It is true she lies.'

[particle/periphrasis, Makhuwa]

(13) The giraffes are greeting someone!

**Ahí ntí:só** tíhohlu tingémuxoweti mû:nhu

a-hi ntiso ti-hohlu ti-nga-mu-xowet-l mu-nhu  
NEG-COP truth 10-giraffes 10SM-POT-greet-NEG 1-person

'It's not true giraffes can greet people.'

[periphrasis, Changana]

(14) I don't believe there's no water.

(Ngu) **Ditshu:re**, mati ma-gum-ile.

P true 6.water 6SM-finish-PFV

'It is true, there's no water.'

[particle/periphrasis, Copi]

### Unmarked verb form

Unmarked verb form = just the verb without information structure-related marking. This is not applicable for the languages/tenses that have a conjoint/disjoint alternation or *ni*-marking, as they force a choice between marked verb forms.

(15) a. Bánε Maliá a-bá-aka na mändíngə wó mánífə eé?  
is.it 1.Maria 1SM-be-DUR with 6.bottle ASSOC.6 6.water Q  
'Does Maria have a bottle of water?'

b. έε, a-bá-aka na mändíngə wó mánif.  
yes 1SM-be-DUR with 6.bottle ASSOC.6 6.water  
'Yes, she does have a bottle of water.'

[unmarked V, Tunen]

(16) (Did we give the presents to Shania and Hamida?)

έε, tɔka búəbu índi.

έε tɔ-ka búəbə índiə  
yes 1PL.SM-PAST3 PRON.2 give

'Yes, we did give them them.'

[unmarked V, Tunen]

- (17) a. Ndé ka-ká-bvúúr-í we mi-pará ni?  
 1.PRN NEG-1SM.PST-return-PST 2SG.PRN 4-money NEG  
 'He did not return you the money?'
- b. Ndé á-bvúúr-i me mi-pará.  
 1.PRN 1SM.PST-return-PST 1SG.PRN 4-money  
 'He did return me the money' [unmarked V, Teke]

For Gusii, the unmarked verb form is not applicable in basic tenses due to *ni*-marking in basic tenses forcing a choice of marked verb form. We have no data for tenses without the *ni*-alternation.

For Kĩtharaka, the unmarked verb form is not applicable in basic tenses due to *ni*-marking in basic tenses forcing a choice of marked verb form. In other tenses, an unmarked verb form is possible with a verum interpretation:

- (18) (Why are you still sitted and I have instructed you to sweep the compound?)  
 Ng'ûcíáta.  
 ni-kû-ciat-a  
 1SG-PRS-sweep-FV  
 'I have indeed swept!' [unmarked V, Kĩtharaka]

- (19) A: The cook has finally come.  
 B: No he didn't come.  
 A: Yáyiizire.  
 a-á-ij-ire  
 1SM-N.PST-come-PFV  
 'He came. / He did come.' [unmarked V, Rukiga]

- (20) Yona isn't coming today.  
 Mma ikwiisa.  
 mma i-ku-is-a  
 no/true 1SM-PRS-come-FV  
 'No, he IS coming.' [unmarked V, Kinyakyusa]

For Kirundi, the unmarked verb form is not applicable in basic tenses due to the conjoint/disjoint alternation forcing the choice of a marked V form. We have no data testing whether an unmarked verb form is possible for verum interpretation in other tenses.

For Makuwa, the unmarked verb form is not applicable in basic tenses due to the conjoint/disjoint alternation forcing the choice of a marked V form. In other tenses, an unmarked verb form is possible with a verum interpretation:

- (21) Why don't you eat dark shima (made from cassava)?  
 Mí ki-'nní-c' eshímá y-oóríppa (tántú eshímá y-oóttéela).  
 1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-HAB-eat 9.shima 9-dark as 9.shima 9-light  
 'Me, I do eat dark shima (just as light shima).' [unmarked V, Makuwa]

(22) Nothing fell of the bicycle.

Yíwí:le michu:mu.

yi-w-ile mi-chumu

4SM-fall-PFV.DJ 4-things

'Things fell.'

'Things did fall.'

[unmarked V, Changana]

For Copi, no unmarked V form is possible in the present tense due to the conjoint/disjoint alternation forcing the choice of a marked V form. We have no data testing whether an unmarked verb form is possible for verum interpretation in other tenses.

### Morphologically marked verb form

A verb form which in the conjugation indicates information structure, for example the conjoint/disjoint verb forms or the ni- prefix on the verb.

For Tunen and Teke, no marked verb form is possible due to the lack of morphological marking on the verb for any information structural purposes, meaning that this strategy is not applicable.

(23) (Falsehood: The girl didn't cook the beans.)

Ó-mo-íséké ni-á-iyegete chí-nyeende.

AUG-1-girl FOC-1SM-cook.PFV 10-bean

'The girl DID cook beans.'

[ni-form, Gusii]

(24) ee, ngoákaare (omopiira).

ee ni-ko-ak-a-a-re o-mo-piira.

yes FOC-15-hit-FV-1SM-be AUG-3-ball

'Yes, he is hitting the ball.'

[ni-form, Gusii]

(25) Did Muthoni sell the beans?

Ntíménya íkû aláíríre mboóco índí ímbíye #(n)'áárééndíríe mpeémpe.

n-ti-meny-a ni ku a-ra-ir-ire m-booco

1SG.SM-NEG-know-FV FOC where 1SM-YPST-take-PFV 10-beans

índí ni m-bíye ni a-ra-eend-ir-i-e m-pempe

but FOC 1SG.SM-know FOC 1SM-YPST-sell-PFV-IC-FV 10-maize

'I don't know where she took the beans but I know she sold the maize.'

[ni-form, Kĩĩtharaka]

For Rukiga and Kinyakyusa, no marked verb form is possible due to the lack of morphological marking on the verb for any information structural purposes.

(26) Q: Nooné murí aya magúme, abashíingaántahe hári icó baáfashije?

A: Abashíingantaáhe kóko baárafáshije.

nooné mu-rí a-a ma-gúme a-ba-shíingantaáhe

ha-ø-ri

QW 18LOC 6-DEM<sub>a</sub> 6-crisis AUG-2-traditional.councillor

16SM-PRS-be



### Predicate doubling

The occurrence of the same predicate twice, once inflected and once non-finite. There are different subtypes, including topic doubling and nominalisation doubling.

Predicate doubling is not possible at all in Tunen, or Gusii, and therefore is not found for verum. For Teke, predicate doubling is not felicitous in a verum context:

- (31) He did not return the money?  
#Ndé me mi-pará kí-bvúúrá ká-bvúur-i.  
1.PRN 1SG.PRN 4-money INF-return 1SM.PST-return-PST  
'He did return me the money.' [topic doubling, Teke]
- (32) (Someone is doubting whether the teachers danced.)  
kûiná (arímú) í baíníré!  
kû-ina a-rimû ni ba-in-ire  
15-dance 2-teacher FOC 2SM-dance-PFV  
'The teachers/they did dance!' [topic doubling, Kîtharaka]
- (33) (Mother doubts whether I have eaten.)  
Yéég' ó-ku-rya n-áá-ry-a. [topic doubling, Rukiga]  
yes AUG-15-eat-FV 1SM-N.PST-eat-FV  
'Yes, I have truly eaten.'
- (34) Father told us to sweep when he left; now he comes back and we are sitting watching tv; he says 'why are you lazy watching tv and haven't swept?  
Ukupaagira ko tupaagiire!  
u-ku-pyagila ko tu-pyagil-ile  
AUG-15-sweep 15.PRO 1PL.SM-sweep-PFV  
'We did sweep!' [topic doubling, Kinyakyusa]
- (35) (Have you eaten a snake?)  
Yeemwe n-aa-ra-rii-ye bu-ry-e. [nominalisation doubling, Kirundi]  
DP 1SG.SM-PST-DJ-eat-PFV 14-eat-SBJV  
'Sure, I've really eaten (it)!'
- (36) You think I don't run.  
Kwiruka ndiiruka.  
ku-iruka ni-ra-iruk-a  
15-run 1SG.SM-DJ-run-FV  
'I do run!' [topic doubling, Kirundi]
- (37) Don't you know how to swim?  
Orámpeléla, kináárapeléla.  
o-rampelela ki-naa-rampelel-a  
15-swim 1SG.SM-PRS.DJ-swim-FV  
'I do know how to swim.' [topic doubling, Makuwa]

Changana does not have predicate doubling in verum contexts.

(38) You are not eating the cake that I bought. It'll go bad.

Kudya hâ:dyá.

ku-dya hi-a-dy-a

15-eat 1PL.SM-DJ-eat-FV

'We ARE eating (it).'

[topic doubling, Copi]

### Dislocation

Occurrence of an otherwise postverbal element in a left-peripheral or right-peripheral position, typically so that the verb is final.

No examples in data for Tunen, Teke, or Gusii.

(39) (You're accused of not bathing the child, which was one of your tasks.)

**Ka-ană**, i tû-ka-thaamb-iir-i-e.

12-child FOC 1PL.SM-12OM-wash-PFV-IC-FV

'The child, we did bathe him/her.'

[dislocation, Kĩtharaka]

(40) (I don't think Jane cooked posho today)

a. Jeini a-ka-hunga y-aa-ka-teek-a

1.Jane AUG-12-posho 1SG.SM-N.PST-12OM-cook-FV

'Jane cooked posho today (I am certain about that).'

b. a-ka-hunga Jeini y-aa-ka-teek-a

AUG-12-posho 1.Jane 1SG.SM-N.PST-12OM-cook

'Jane cooked posho today (I am certain about that).'

[dislocation, Rukiga]

(41) (Did you say that the visitors brought bananas?)

a. (eego) a-ba-gyenyi e-mi-nekye b-aa-gi-reet-a

(yes) AUG-2-visitor AUG-4-banana 2PL.SM-N.PST-4OM-bring-FV

(It is true), the visitors brought bananas.

b. (eego) e-mi-nekye a-ba-gyenyi b-aa-gi-reet-a

(yes) AUG-4-banana AUG-2-visitor 2PL.SM-N.PST-4OM-bring-FV

(It is true), the visitors brought bananas.

[dislocation, Rukiga]

(42) A: You move along the path until you find a butterfly.

B: Ikolokotwa ndiagile.

i-kolokotwa n-li-ag-ile

AUG-5.butterfly 1SG.SM-5OM-find-PFV

'I found the butterfly.'

[dislocation, Kinyakyusa]

Comparison: Left dislocation is also used to have interrogative as sole postverbal constituent (non-verum use):

(43) Amafumbi ikupijja bulebule?

a-ma-fumbi i-ku-pij-a bulebule?

AUG-6-egg 1SM-PRS-cook-FV how

'How does she cook eggs?'

[Kinyakyusa]

(44) Masiko didn't write the letter.

Ni vyó, ikeéte yaráryanditse.

ni bi-ó i-keéte a-á-ra-ri-andik-ye

COP 8-PRO 5-letter 1SM-PST-DJ-5OM-write-PFV

'It's true, she did write the letter.'

[periphrasis, dislocation, marked form; Kirundi]

(45) Various animals have tried to get to the other side of the lake, but now came Lion, and he said:

Ki-nró-tuph-ak-á; nrátthy' úulé mí ki-náá-lápúw-a.

1SG.SM-FUT-jump-dur-FV 3.lagoon 3.DEM.DIST 1sg.PRO 1SG.SM-PRS.DJ-CROSS-FV

'I will jump; that lagoon I jump (over it).'

[dislocation, Makhuwa]

(46) K-oo-váríhel-a (, eveéla).

1SG.SM-PFV.DJ-light-FV 9-candle

'I did light a candle.' (answer to Why didn't you light a candle)

'I lit a candle.' (answer to what did you do with the candle?) [dislocation, Makhuwa]

(47) These beans, did Maria eat them?

Anísvítí:ví á féijáu mara a mpu:nga áji:le.

a-ni-svi-tiv-l a feijao mara a mpunga a-j-ile

NEG-1SG.SM-8OM-know-NEG A beans but A 3.rice 1SM-eat-PFV.DJ

'I don't know about the beans, but the rice she did eat.'

[dislocation, Changana]

(48) A mother told her daughters to wash the dishes. When she arrives at home she asks: Did they wash the dishes? Someone else answers:

Maparatu nikatidzivi, kambe sipu:ni vakuwute.

ma-paratu ni-ka-ti-dziv-l kambe si-puni va-kuwul-ile

6-dish 1SG.SM-NEG-know-FV but 7-spoon 1PL.SM-wash-PFV

'I don't know about the plates, but the spoons they washed.'

[dislocation, Copi]

### Doubling object marking

Doubling object marking is when the object marker occurs in the same domain as the coreferent object NP.

Tunen and Teke do not have object markers, and therefore cannot have this strategy. For Gusii and Kĩtharaka, we do not have the relevant data.

(49) Daani yáázyózy' esaati.

Daani y-áá-zí-ozya                    **e-saati**  
1.Dan 1SM-N.PST-10OM-wash AUG-10.shirt  
'Dan CERTAINLY washed the shirts.'

[double object marking, Rukiga]

(50) (In doubt whether we greeted the visitors)

Tukábáramusy' ábagyenyi.  
Tu-ka-**ba**-ramusya                    **a-ba-gyenyi**  
1PL.SM-F.PST-2OM-greet AUG-2-visitor  
'We DID greet the visitors.'

[double object marking, Rukiga]

(51) (The promise was made; it is not a rumour, the government will build the Maziba bridge)

Gávument' eryárwómbek' órutindó rwa Maziba.  
Gávumentí e-rya-**ru**-ombeka    **o-ru-tindo**    **ru-a**    **Maziba**  
9.government 9-FUT-11OM-build-FV AUG-11-bridge 11-CONN Maziba  
'It is TRUE that the government will build the Maziba bridge.'

[double object marking, Rukiga]

Object marking doubling is not applicable for Kinyakyusa due to the languages allowing object doubling in general (while for languages coded Y like Rukiga, object marking doubling is generally disallowed but is allowed for verum and mirative readings).

For Kirundi, we do not have the relevant data.

Object marking doubling is not applicable for Makhuwa due to the language allowing object doubling in general.

For Changana, we do not have the relevant data.

(52) Did you greet your mother, when you arrived?

I:na, nimulosi:le mame.  
ina ni-mu-los-ile                    mame  
yes 1SG.SM-10M-greet-PFV 1mother  
'Yes, I greeted her.'

[double object marking, Copi]

## Combination of strategies

Strategies may be combined, as in the examples below.

(53) Masiko didn't write the letter.

Ni vyó, ikeéte yaráryanditse.

**ni**      **bi-ó**    **i-keéte**      a-á-ra-ri-andik-ye

COP      8-PRO    5-letter      1SM-PST-DJ-5OM-writePFV

'It's true, she did write the letter.'      [periphrasis+dislocation+disjoint Kirundi]

(54) (I doubt whether Kate swept the house)

**Kate**    **e-n-ju**      **ku**    y-aa-gi-kondoor-a!

1.Kate    AUG-9-HOUSE    DM    9SM-N.PST-9OM-sweep-FV

'I am certain that Kate swept the house.'

/ 'She DID sweep the house.'      [particle+dislocation, Rukiga]

**Contact us** for any further questions about the data:

[e.j.kerr@hum.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:e.j.kerr@hum.leidenuniv.nl)

[g.j.van.der.val@hum.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:g.j.van.der.val@hum.leidenuniv.nl)