

Appendix to talk *Indirect truth marking in 10 Bantu languages*

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Overview of strategies in truth focus contexts

	periphrasis /particle	unmarked V	predicate doubling	dislocation	marked V	OM + object
Tunen (A44)	(1)	(17)(18)	N/A	?	N/A	N/A
Teke (B77)	(2)	(19)	- (25)	-	N/A	N/A
Gusii (JE42)	(4)	?	N/A	?	(44)(45)	?
Kĩĩtharaka (E54)	(5)	(20)	(26)	(34)	(46)-(48)	?
Rukiga (JE14)	(6)-(9)	(21)	(27)	(34)(36)	N/A	(56)-(58)
Kinyakyusa (M31)	(10)	(22)	(28)	(37)(38)	N/A	N/A
Kirundi (JD61)	(11)	?	(29)(30)	(39)	(49)	?
Makhuwa (P31)	(12)(13)	(23)	(32)	(41)(40)	(50)	N/A
Changana (S53)	(14)	?	-	(42)	(51)	?
Copi (S61)	(16)	?	(33)	(43)	(54)(55)	? (59)

Table 1. Overview of truth strategies in BaSIS language sample.

Key: - = absent (for verum), N/A = not applicable, ? = no data, example numbers = present (hyperlinks to the relevant examples)

Source of data

The data, unless otherwise stated, are from fieldwork conducted under the NWO Bantu Syntax and Information Structure ([BaSIS](#)) project, involving recording of elicitation sessions, recording of natural speech, and supplementary judgements from the native-speaker project members.

Lexical strategies: Periphrasis/particle

One word or a description to express or emphasise the truth of the statement.

- (1) ɔ **taka**, Nóa á-ndo na [periphrasis, Tunen]
 PREP truth Noah 1SM-PRS be.sick
 ‘Truly, Noah is sick.’
- (2) **Ngânwa** ndé ká-wí me mi-pará.
 9.truth 1.PRN 1SM.PST-give.PST 1SG.PRO 4-money
 ‘It is true that he gave me the money.’ [particle, Teke]
- (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]¹

¹ *Níigo* takes the literal meaning of ‘is so’ here but is also used for VP focus.

- (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'ûûmá** mwánkí ûtíríku.
 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, Kĩĩtharaka]
- (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. **Bu-zima** ba-ri-mu o-mu n-ju
 14-DM 2PL.SM-be-18 AUG-18 9-house
 'Truly they (the visitors) are in the house.'
 [particle, Rukiga]
- (9) A: Hoona omuri egi nyungu harimu amaizi?
 Hoona o-mu-ri e-gi n-yungu ha-ri-mu a-ma-izi
 DM AUG-18-be DEM-9.PROX 9-pot 16SM-be-18 AUG-6-water
 'Is there water in this pot?' (I doubt whether there is water in this pot.)
- B: **Ma-zima** ga-ri-mu.
 6-DM 6SM-be-18
 'There is (water).'
- Int: 'I am sure there is water in this pot.'
 [particle, Rukiga]
- (10) I don't believe he went to Malawi.
 A-a-buuk-ire **nalooli**.
 1SM-PST-go-PFV truly
 'He really went!'
 [particle, Kinyakyusa]

- (11) 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]
- (12) 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]
- (13) **Seértú/ekhweelí** a-ńń-óóth-a
 certainly/9.truth.PL 2SM-HAB-lie-FV
 'She certainly lies.'
 'It is true she lies.'
 [particle/periphrasis, Makhuwa]
- (14) 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]
- (15) A: They are not fighting.
 B: **Wahé:mba**; vô:lwa!
 w-a-hemb-a va-o-lw-a
 2SG.SM-DJ-lie-FV 2SM-EXCL-fight-FV
 'You're lying, they are fighting.'
 [periphrasis, Changana]
- (16) 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. Note that the unmarked verb form is also used in other contexts, such as thetics or VP focus.

- (17) a. Báñe 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. *ée, 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]

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

ée, tɔka búəbu índi.
ée tɔ-ka búəbə índiə
 yes 1PL.SM-PST3 PRO.2 give
 'Yes, we did give them them.' [unmarked V, Tunen]

(19) 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-bvúur-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 Kĩĩtharaka, 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:

(20) Why are you still sitted if I have instructed you to sweep the compound?

Ng'úciáta.
ni-kú-ciat-a
 1SG-PRS-sweep-FV
 'I have indeed swept!' [unmarked V, Kĩĩtharaka]

(21) 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]

(22) 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, Copi, and Changana, 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.

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

- (23) 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, Makhuwa]

Compare the use of the habitual in term focus context:

- (24) Which animals can be found here?
 Tsi-ńńí-phwany-an-éy-á enámá ts-íníceéne, ntokó epúrī akhólē
 10SM-HAB-find-RECP-STAT-FV 10.animals 10-much like 10.goats 2-monkeys
 'Many animals can be found, like goats, monkeys, ...'

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. Note that topic doubling is simply the topicalisation of an infinitive (see also under dislocation), and predicate doubling is also used with the interpretations of a contrastive topic, intensification, and depreciation.

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:

- (25) He did not return the money?
 #Ndé me mi-pará kí-bvúúra ká-bvúur-i.
 1.PRN 1SG.PRN 4-money INF-return 1SM.PST-return-PST
 int. 'He did return me the money.' [topic doubling, Teke]

For Changana we do not have data on predicate doubling in verum contexts.

The other languages in our sample all show (some type of) predicate doubling in verum contexts.

- (26) Someone is doubting whether the teachers danced.
 kûiná (arímú) í baííníré!
 kû-ina a-rimû ni ba-in-ire
 15-dance 2-teacher FOC 2SM-dance-PFV
 'The teachers/they did dance!' [topic doubling, Kĩĩtharaka]

- (27) Mother doubts whether I have eaten.
 Yéég' **ó-ku-rya** n-áá-ry-a.
 yes AUG-15-eat-FV 1SM-N.PST-eat-FV
 'Yes, I have truly eaten.' [topic doubling, Rukiga]
- (28) 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?
 Ukupyaagira ko tupyaagiire!
 u-ku-pyagila ko tu-pyagil-ile
 AUG-15-sweep 15.PRO 1PL.SM-sweep-PFV
 'We did sweep!' [topic doubling, Kinyakyusa]
- (29) Have you eaten a snake?
 Yeemwe n-aa-ra-rii-ye **bu-ry-e.**
 DP 1SG.SM-PST-DJ-eat-PFV 14-eat-SBJV
 'Sure, I've really eaten (it)!' [nominalisation doubling, Kirundi]
- (30) 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]

Compare to the use of predicate doubling as contrastive topics, with focus on the object:

- (31) In a restaurant, when asked what you want to order.
 (U)kuryá, ndya inyama, kunywá nywa ifanta.
 u-ku-ryá N-rí-a i-nyama ku-nywá N-nyó-a i-fanta
 AUG-15-eat 1SG.SM-eat-FV AUG-10.meat 15-drink 1SG.SM-drink-FV AUG-9.fanta
 'For eating, I eat meat, for drinking, I drink fanta.'
- (32) Don't you know how to swim?
 Orámpeléla, kináárampeléla.
 o-rampelela ki-naa-rampelel-a
 15-swim 1SG.SM-PRS.DJ-swim-FV
 'I do know how to swim.' [topic doubling, Makhuwa]
- (33) 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. Note that dislocation of terms also happens to mark them as a topic, and to evacuate the verb phrase to focus other terms.

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

(34) 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]

(35) 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]

(36) 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]

(37) 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]

Compare how left dislocation is also used to have the interrogative as sole postverbal constituent (non-verum use), i.e. evacuation movement:

(38) 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]

(39) 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]

(40) 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]

(41) 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]

(42) These beans, did Maria eat them?

Anísvítí:ví á féjáu 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]

(43) 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 vakuwu:te.
 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]

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. Note that these verb forms are also used in other contexts, for example when the verb is clause-final, or with state-of-affairs focus.

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.

Gusii and Kĩĩtharaka use the prefix *ni-* on the verb in verum contexts.

(44) The girl didn't cook the beans.

Ó-mo-íséké ni-á-iyetege chí-nyeende.
 AUG-1-girl FOC-1SM-cook.PFV 10-bean
 'The girl DID cook beans.' [ni-form, Gusii]

(45) Is the man hitting the ball?

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]

- (46) Did Muthoni sell the beans?
 Ntíménya íkû aláíríre mboóócó 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-biye **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]

Compare the use of the ni-form in a simple affirmative (no truth focus) and in athetic sentence (default agreement inversion):

- (47) Íkaririkana n'yatûmirwe kûgĩira mwanki i nkáángá.
 î-ka-ririkan-a **ni**-î-a-tu-m-ir-w-e kû-gĩir-a mû-anki
 9SM-SUBS-remember-FV COP-9SM-PST-send-APP-PASS-FV 15-take-FV 3-fire
 ni n-kaanga
 COP 9-guineafowl
 'He remembers he had been told to collect fire by Guinea fowl.'
 [ni-form, Kĩĩtharaka]

- (48) Reporting on what happened yesterday.
 Í kûrátûûbágá twaána.
ni kû-ra-tûûb-ag-a tû-ana
 FOC 17SM-YPST-jump-HAB-FV 13-children
 'The children were jumping.'
 [ni-form, Kĩĩtharaka]

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

Kirundi, Makhuwa, Changana, and Copi have the conjoint/disjoint alternation in basic tenses, where the conjoint verb form indicates that the focus follows the verb, and the disjoint verb form may be used in verum contexts (among others).

- (49) Q: Nooné murí aya magúme, abashíingaántahe hári icó baáfashije?
 A: Abashíingantaáhe kóko baárafáshije.
 nooné murí a-a ma-gúme a-ba-shíingantaáhe ha-ø-ri
 Q 18LOC 6-DEM_a 6-crisis AUG-2-traditional.councillor 16SM-PRS-be
 i-ki-ó ba-á-fásh-ye^H
 AUG-7-REF 2SM-REM.PST-help-PFV.REL
 a-ba-shíingaántahe [kóko ba-á-ra-fásh-ye]^{FOC}
 AUG-2-traditional.councillor obviously 2SM-REM.PST-DJ-help-PFV
 Q: 'Was there anything during that crisis in which the traditional councillors helped?'
 A: 'The traditional councillors DID OBVIOUSLY HELP.' (*Mushingantahe*, peace, 2000s)
 [marked V, Kirundi, Nshemezimana & Bostoen 2017: 409]

- (50) a. Maríá **ohaápéy'** ekútte.
 Maria o-o-apey-a ekutte
 1.Maria 1SM-PFV.DJ-cook-FV 10.beans
 'Maria did cook beans.' [disjoint form, Makhuwa]

compare the conjoint verb form with postverbal focus:

- b. Maríá **aapenyé** ekutté.
 Maria o-apey-ale ekutte
 1.Maria 1SM-cook-PFV.CJ 10.beans
 'Maria cooked (the) beans.' (answer to 'What did Maria cook?')
 #'Maria did cook (the) beans.' (not as reply to 'Maria didn't cook the beans')

- (51) a. Are the girls bringing me two eggs?
Tánítisélá mátanzá mámbi:re.
 ti-a-ni-tis-el-a ma-tanza ma-mbire
 10SM-DJ-1SG.SM-bring-APPL-FV 6-eggs 2-two
 'They are bringing me two eggs.' [disjoint form, Changana]

Compare the conjoint verb form with postverbal focus:

- b. (Tintombi) **tínítisélá** ts'éná mátanzá mámbi:re.
 ti-ntombi ti-ni-tis-el-a ntsena ma-tanza ma-mbire
 10-girls 10SM-1SG.SM-bring-APPL-FV only 6-eggs 2-two
 'The girls are bringing me only two eggs.'

Compare to the use of the disjoint form in a simple affirmative statement and in athetic sentence with subject inversion:

- (52) **Nalává** khû:lu kúpéndlá yi:ndlu.
 ni-a-lav-a khulu ku-pendla yindlu
 1SG.SM-DJ-want-FV hundred 15-paint 9.house
 'I want/need a hundred to paint the house.' [disjoint form, Changana]

- (53) **Yi-á:-ná** mpfû:la
 9SM-DJ-with 9.rain
 'It's raining.' [disjoint form, Changana]

- (54) (She didn't eat matapa.)
 E:né **á-dy-í:te** (matha:pa).
 yes 1SM-eat-PFV 6.mathapa
 'Yes, she ate/did eat (mathapa).' [marked V, Copi]

- (55) a. You don't draw water. /Are you doing what I told you?
 A:thú **háré:ká** mâ:ti.
 athu hi-a-rek-a mati
 1PL.PRO1PL.SM-DJ-draw-FV 6.water
 'We do draw water.' [disjoint form, Copi]

Compare the conjoint verb form with postverbal focus, not accepted in this context:

- b. #Athú **hìreká** mâ:tí.
 athu hi-rek-a mati
 1PL.PRO 1PL.SM-draw-FV 6.water
 ‘We are drawing water.’

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.

- (56) 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.’ [doubling object marking, Rukiga]

- (57) 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.’ [doubling object marking, Rukiga]

- (58) 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.’ [doubling object marking, Rukiga]

Object marking doubling is not applicable for Kinyakyusa and Makuwa due to the language’s 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 and Changana, we do not have the relevant data.

The data for Copi object marking are unclear at this point, as it is not entirely clear what factors determine doubling.

- (59) Did you greet your mother, when you arrived?
 I:na, nimulosi:le mame.
 ina ni-mu-los-ile mame
 yes 1SG.SM-1OM-greet-PFV 1mother
 ‘Yes, I greeted her.’ [double object marking, Copi]

Combination of strategies

Strategies may be combined, as in the examples below.

- (60) 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+disjoint Kirundi]

- (61) (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]

Cinyungwe enclitic =di

Data from Crisófia Langa da Câmara, with gratitude.

- (62) A: He didn't arrive.

B: Ndikukuuza, afikadi!

(Ndi-ku-ku-wuz-a) a-fik-a=di

1SG.SM-PRS-2SG.OM-say-FV 1SM-arrive-FV=VERUM

'I'm telling you, he did arrive!'

- (63) You hear that a colleague usually goes to a bar and sings there. You are sceptical and decide to go and find out. You enter, hear her sing, and say:

Mwaaná-yí a-niimb-á=di!

1.child-1.DEM.PROX 1SM-PRS-sing-FV=VERUM

'She can really sing, and surprisingly good too!'

- (64) We are going far, becoming tired.

A: Ti-m-fik-a lini?

1PL.SM-PRS-arrive-FV when

'When will we arrive?' (Are we there yet?)

B: Ku-fika, t-a-fik-a(=di).

15-arrive 1PL.SM-PST-arrive-FV=VERUM

'To arrive we arrived.' (predicate doubling + =di)

A: Aah, t-a-fik-a=di.

'Indeed I see we have indeed arrived.'

- (65) A: W-a-dy-a?

2SG.SM-PST-eat-FV

'Have you eaten?'

B: Nd-a-dy-a(*=di).
 1SG.SM-PST-eat-FV=VERUM
 'I have eaten.'

Contact

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Abbreviations and symbols

Numbers refer to noun classes unless followed by SG or PL, in which case they refer to persons. High tones are indicated by an acute accent; low tones are generally left unmarked but are sometimes marked as a grave accent.

*	ungrammatical example		
#	infelicitous example in given context		
?	questionable acceptability		
A	Changanga determiner (unclear function)	PRO	independent pronoun
		PROX	proximal
APPL	applicative	Q	question marker
CJ	conjoint	PST	past tense
CONN	connective	REL	relative
COP	copula	SBJV	subjunctive
DEM	demonstrative	SM	subject marker
DM	discourse marker	YPST	yesterday past
DIST	distal		
DJ	disjoint		
DUR	durative		
FOC	focus		
FUT	future		
FV	final vowel		
HAB	habitual		
INF	infinitive		
IPFV	imperfective		
LOC	locative		
NEG	negation		
N.PST	near past		
OM	object marker		
P	preposition		
PASS	passive		
PFV	perfective		
POSS	possessive		
PRS	present		