

Appendix to poster Contrastive Topic and Predicate Doubling in Bantu

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Predicate doubling: The occurrence of the same predicate twice, once inflected and once non-finite. We only address Topic Doubling, which involves topicalisation of an infinitive, followed by a clause in which the same predicate occurs in inflected form. Other types are Cleft Doubling and In situ Doubling (see Güldemann & Fiedler to appear).

The description and data in this appendix come from manuscripts on the expression of information structure in the respective languages, written as part of the [BaSIS project](#). The authors of each are indicated. The following languages are covered here (hyperlinks):

1. Rukiga (JE14)
2. Kirundi (JD62)
3. Kĩĩtharaka (E54)
4. Copi (S61)
5. Makhuwa (P31)
6. Kinyakyusa (M31)

Abbreviations and symbols

References

Rukiga (JE14)

Allen Asimwe & Jenneke van der Wal

The topic doubling construction can be used in a range of contexts with varying interpretations. A prototypical interpretation contrasts the topical infinitive with another action. The contrastive interpretation is made explicit in (1) by the following negative clause.

- (1) (The Hare has been very lazy while the other animals worked on the field and discovered that their crops went missing. The Hare could say:)
- Okukóra kwé, tinaákora, konka ninzá kurya.
o-ku-kora ku-o ti-n-a-kora kwonka ni-n-zá ku-rya
AUG-15-work 15-CM NEG-1SG.SM-work but PROG-1SG.SM-go 15-eat
'I've not worked, but I will eat.'

The contrastive interpretation is inherent to the strategy, as becomes evident from example (2): even if nothing else is said, it is clear that eating is contrasted to something else.

- (2) (You are visiting someone and have only been given food. When you're asked how it is, you can say this and the host will know that you expected something else too, for example a drink.)
 Okúryá náárya...
 o-ku-rya n-a-rya
 AUG-15-eat 1SG.SM-N.PST-eat
 'Eating I did...'

This predicate doubling construction can be used to express truth focus, as in (3). The contrast here is with the negative value of not having done the action.

- (3) (Have you spread the sorghum? - You want to emphasise that you have sowed enough seeds because the other person cannot see the seeds)
 Okugutéera náágutéera.
 o-ku-gu-teera n-a-gu-teer-a
 AUG-15-3OM-beat 1SG.SM-N.PST-3OM-beat-FV
 'I (did) scatter them.'

Apart from the contrastive and verum reading, the interpretation can also be what Meeussen (1967) called 'concessive' (Jerro & Van der Wal's depreciative), as in (4), and it can be intensive/to a high degree, as in (5).

- (4) O-ku-támbura kw-étw-á-támbur-a...
 AUG-INF-walk 15-CM 1PL.SM-N.PST-walk-FV
 'Although we walked... (I don't know whether we'll ever arrive).'

- (5) (You're telling somebody that you really played football, you've done it with a passion. You have maybe not done anything else than playing football.)
 Okutéér' ómupíira gwé náágutééra.¹
 o-ku-teera o-mu-piira gu-o n-a-gu-teera.
 AUG-15-beat AUG-3-ball 3-CM 1SG.SM-N.PST-3OM-beat
 'I really played football.'

That these interpretations are fully context-dependent can be seen in (6): the sentence is the same, also in terms of prosody, but the possible interpretations are many.

- (6) O-ku-hínga tu-hing-íre.
 AUG-INF-dig 1PL.SM-dig-PFV

situation 1: Did you really plough?
 'We actually ploughed.'

[truth]

situation 2: We were expected to dig and feed the animals
 'Digging we did (but we didn't feed the animals).'

[contrast]

¹ Note that the contrastive marker here modifies and agrees with the object in class 3, not the infinitive.

situation 3: It's planting season but there is no rain.

'We (went ahead and) ploughed anyway...'

[depreciative]

situation 4: We were expected to plough half the field but did all of it.

'We really ploughed a lot!'

[intensive]

Note that topic doubling is not used to express state-of-affairs focus or VP focus – the interpretation is one of verum when these interpretations were assessed, as in (7) and (8).

(7) (Can you dig? E.g. when you want to give somebody a job, or test them;

Not as an answer to #What are you doing?)

Okuhînga nimpînga.

o-ku-hinga ni-n-hing-a

AUG-15-dig PROG-1SG.SM-dig-FV

'I can dig (but...).'

(8) (Two pictures of Lydia washing and ironing the sheets; 'Did she wash the sheets?')

(Yeégó, kónka) n' ókuzígororá azigorwîre.

yeego kwonka na o-ku-zi-gorora a-zi-goror-ire

yes but and AUG-15-10OM-iron 1SM-10OM-iron-PFV

'(Yes, but) she ironed them too.'

#'(No), she ironed them.'

The left-peripheral infinitive can be marked by contrastive topic marker *kwo/kwe*:

(9) Okuhînga kwé nimpînga.

o-ku-hinga ku-o ni-n-hing-a

AUG-15-dig 15-CM PROG-1SG.SM-dig-FV

'For the case of digging, I can dig.'/'Digging I can do...'

For transitive predicates, when the object is included in the infinitive, the interpretation is still one of the above-mentioned; illustrated in (10) for a contrast on different actions.

(10) (There is one task left to do, which is mingling karo; the others will get the water or do the weeding. Now you volunteer to do the last task.)²

[O-kú-góyá a-ká-ró] tu-ryá-ka-góya.

AUG-15-stir AUG-12-millet.bread 1PL.SM-FUT-12OM-stir

'Mingling karo, we will do it.'

² 'Mingle' is Ugandan English for stirring and preparing thick porridge-like substances.

When the object follows the inflected verb, however, the most natural interpretation is that of object focus, as indicated in the preceding question in (11).

- (11) Q: What will you mingle?
 O-ku-góyá tu-ryá-góy-á a-ká-ro.
 AUG-15-stir 1PL.SM-FUT-stir-FV AUG-12-millet.bread
 '(As for mingling,) We will mingle karo.'

Kirundi (JD62)

Ernest Nshemezimana & Jenneke van der Wal

For intransitive verbs, the interpretation can be truth focus as in (12), implied contrast with another action/verb as in (13), as well as concessive/depreciative and intensive/excessive, both illustrated in (14).

- (12) Kwiruka ndiiruka.
 ku-iruka N-ra-iruk-a
 15-run 1SG.SM-DJ-run-FV
 'I do run!' (you might think I don't)
- (13) Inka, kuzigaburira naazigaburiye.
 i-n-ka ku-zi-gabur-ir-a N-a-zi-gabur-ir-ye
 AUG-10-cow 15-10OM-feed-APPL-FV 1SG.SM-PST-10OM-feed-APPL-PFV
 'I did feed the cows.' (implying that the other task of cleaning the house is not done)
- (14) Kwandika uraanditse.
 ku-andika u-ø-ra-andik-ye
 15-write 2SG.SM-DJ-write-PFV
 'You have really written a lot!' (You expected a page and s/he has written 5)
 'At least you have written (something).' (The answers on a student's exam are not good enough)

For a transitive verb, the object can either follow the infinitive, or the inflected verb. In the former case (15), the scope is the VP and the interpretation is truth focus or concessive; in the latter case (16), the focus is on the object.

- (15) Kurya imboga (kó), ndazirya, ariko
 ku-ri-a i-n-boga ku-ó ni-ra-zi-ri-a ariko...
 15-eat-FV AUG-10-vegetable 15-CM 1SG.SM-DJ-10OM-eat-FV but
 'Even though I eat vegetables, ...'
 'I do eat vegetables, but... (it doesn't help)'
- (16) (In a restaurant, when asked what you want to order.)
 (U)kuryá, ndya inyama, kunywa 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.'

The infinitival phrase can be marked the contrastive topic marker *ko*. The particle seems to foreground the concessive meaning, as in (17), or an exclamative flavour.

(17) A: I need to lose weight. B: Maybe if you do sport?

A: Kugira ikarashishi kó ndayigira.

ku-gira i-karashishi ku-ó N-ra-i-gir-a
 15-do AUG-9.sport 15-CM 1SG.SM-DJ-9OM-do-FV
 'Even if I do sports (I don't lose weight).'

Kĩĩtharaka (E54)

Patrick Kanampiu & Jenneke van der Wal

The interpretation of topic doubling in Kĩĩtharaka depends on the arguments in the sentence: when an object is present following the inflected verb, the focus is typically on the object or the VP (18), and when followed by a subject cleft, the focus is the subject as in (19) and (20).

(18) (Someone insisting on catching of goats)

Kû-gwáátá n-tí-gwaat-a m-búri.
 15-catch 1SG.SM-NEG-catch-FV 9-goat
 'I won't catch a goat (but maybe something else).'

(19) (Who is swimming?)

Kû-butîrá í mw-aáná á-kû-butîr-a.
 15-swim FOC 1-child 1SM-PRS-swim-FV
 'Swimming, it's the child who is swimming.'

(20) (How will they manage to graze the cows and all those sheep?)

Kû-rííthi-a ba-káá-rííthi-a ng'-oóndu, ng'-óómbě ba-káá-thaik-a.
 15-graze-FV 2SM-FUT-graze-FV 10-sheep 10-cows 2SM-tie-FV
 'They will graze the sheep; the cows they will tie.'

When there is no other constituent, the focus is on the truth value:

(21) 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!'

Two possible additional flavours of interpretation are possible: concessive/depreciative and intensive reading:

- (22) (I saw you weeded quite a large portion!)
 Kû-rímá í tû-rím-iré.
 15-dig FOC 1PL.SM-dig-PFV
 'We weeded, but...'
 'Although we weeded...' (it's useless, the weeds will come back soon)
- (21) (How have I performed?)
 kûííná ûkûíína
 kû-iina û-kû-iin-a
 15-sing 2SG.SM-sing-FV
 'You have sung, but...'
- (22) (How can one kill a chicken?)
 Kw-íítá, nwá w-íít-e, índî î-tí-kwa rûa.
 15-strangle can 2SG.SM-strangle-SBJV but 9SM-NEG-die-FV soon
 'Well, you can strangle it, but it doesn't die quickly.'
- (23) (I liked your game, you really played!)
 Gû-céethă i tû-ceeth-iré,
 15-play FOC 1PL.SM-play-PFV
 îndî n-gúkúm-án-o y-á-tû-túúny-a gî-kóómbé.
 but 9-corrupt-RECP-NMLZ 9SM-PST-1PL.OM-snatch-FV 7-cup
 'We did play well, but corruption snatched the cup from us.'

These additional aspects of interpretation are not encoded in the semantics but pragmatics, as they can vary with the context and examples can hence be ambiguous:

- (24) Kûííná n' áííniré bai!
 kû-iina ni a-iin-ire bai
 15-sing FOC 1SM-sing-PFV friend
 high degree: 'Boy did she sing!' (we never knew she had such a good voice)
 concessive: 'Well at least she sang...' (try to see the positive side)

Note that the construction can involve different predicates:

- (25) (Do you do sports? What kind of sporting activities do you do?)
 Gû-ceetha, i-mb-ug-ag-i-a.
 15-do.sports FOC-1SG.SM-run-HAB-IC-FV
 'As for sports, I run.'

Copi (S61)

Nelsa Nhantumbo & Jenneke van der Wal

In topic doubling, the infinitive precedes the inflected form of the same verb, as in (26).

- (26) Kudya hâ:dyá.
ku-dya hi-a-dy-a
15-eat 1PL.SM-DJ-eat-FV
'We're eating.'

A contrast with an alternative predicate is implied, and can be made explicit, as illustrated in (27). Example (28) shows the same contrast with a transitive predicate when both verb and object are preposed.

- (27) (You meet someone on the street and you don't even greet - s/he asks whether you're annoyed)
Niyákwâ:ta max kujaaha nijáhi:le.
ni-ya-kwat-a max ku-jaaha ni-jah-ile
1SG.SM-NEG-be.angry-FV but 15-hurry 1SG.SM-hurry-PFV
'I'm not angry, but I am in a hurry.'

- (28) (You were left at home with tasks of washing (clothes) and cooking beans. When mum comes home and sees you sitting, she is annoyed: you didn't do anything, you're just sitting here watching television!)
Niyákuwû:la kámbe [kubhika tifeijáu] nibhíkî:le.
ni-ya-kuwul-a kambe ku-bhika ti-feijau ni-bhik-ile
1SG.SM-NEG-wash-FV but 15-cook 10-beans 1SG.SM-cook-PFV
1. 'I didn't wash, but I cooked the beans.'
2. 'I didn't wash, but I did cook the beans.'

The object can also follow the inflected verb; probably with object focus:

- (29) Kubhika nibhíkî:le tifeijau.
ku-bhika ni-bhik-ile ti-feijau
15-cook 1SG.SM-cook-PFV 10-beans
'I cooked the beans.'

Topic doubling can in the right context also have a depreciative meaning, as illustrated in (30). It is not known at this stage whether an intensive reading is also possible in Copi.

- (30) (You're talking with your friends and someone else is further away; he comes towards you and you change the topic of conversation and he asks why you're laughing at him, but you say no, we're just happy.)
Kuseka hasê:ka.
ku-seka hi-a-sek-a
15-laugh 1PL.SM-DJ-laugh-FV
'We're just laughing.'

Makhuwa (P31)

Jenneke van der Wal

The topical infinitival predicate can be just the verb, or the verb plus object.

- (31) (Did you get water?)
Oríká (maátsi) kooríkă.
o-rika maatsi ki-o-rik-a
15-draw 6.water 1SG.SM-PFV.DJ-draw-FV
'I did (already) draw water.'

Although the infinitive functions as a topic here, the interpretation of the whole construction is typically that of truth focus, as can be deduced from the contexts for use in (31) and (32). The infinitive can also be interpreted as a contrastive topic, contrasting it with a different action, as in (33).

- (32) (Don't you know how to swim?)
O-rámpelela, ki-náá-rampeléla.
15-swim 1SG.SM-PRS.DJ-swim-FV
'I do know how to swim.'

- (33) (Hey, are you even listening to me?)
Wiúwá, kińniúwá, só kinááhítthúna owáákhúla.
o-iwwa ki-nni-iww-a so ki-naa-hi-tthun-a o-aakhula
15-hear 1SG.SM-HAB-hear-FV just 1SG.SM-PRS.DJ?-NEG-want-FV 15-reply
'I am hearing you, it's just that I'm not wanting to reply.'

As expected with a truth focus interpretation, the disjoint verb form is used in predicate doubling (see Van der Wal 2011 on the alternation in Makhuwa). This is the only option when the verb is final, of course, but even when it is not, the conjoint form is not acceptable, as shown in (34).

- (34) (You're ill and they want to know whether you have already eaten something.)
a. Ócá, kihoóca eshíma.
o-ca ki-o-c-a eshima
15-eat-FV 1SG.SM-PFV.DJ-eat-FV 9.shima
'I ate shima.'
- b. #Ócá, kicaalé eshimá.
o-c-a ki-c-ale eshima
15-eat-FV 1SG.SM-eat-PFV.CJ 9.shima
int. 'I ate/did eat shima.'

Predicate doubling with a conjoint verb is not preferred, but accepted only in a context that clearly indicates focus on the postverbal object, as in (35).

- (35) (What did you eat?)
 Ócá kicaal' éshimá; owúryá kiwunryé maatsí.
 o-ca ki-c-ale eshima o-wurya ki-wury-ale maatsi
 15-eat 1SG.SM-eat-PFV.CJ 9.shima 15-drink 1SG.SM-drink-PFV.CJ 6.water
 'As for eating I ate shima, as for drinking I drank water.'

Predicate doubling is most natural when a discussion has been going on and a point needs to be made, as illustrated by the contexts for (36).

- (36) Olívíya kinúúlívíya / koolívíya.
 o-liv-iy-a ki-nuu-liv-iy-a / ki-o-liv-iy-a
 15-pay-PASS-FV 1SG.SM-PFV.PERS-pay-pass-FV / 1SG.SM-PFV.DJ-pay-PASS-FV
 'I was paid.'
 *Not as answer to 'Where did you get that money?'
 After a discussion about being paid or not.

The depreciative interpretation found for other languages is also found in Makhuwa, as illustrated in (37) and (38), but the intensive reading is not.

- (37) O-ttíkh-á ni-náá-ttíkh-a, masi
 15-throw 1PL.SM-PRS.DJ-throw-FV but
 kha-ni-'n-tsuwel-á feto ni-náá-kanyári.
 NEG-1PL.SM-PRS-know-FV if 1PL.SM-PRS.DJ-win-FV
 'We played, but we don't know if we'll win.'
- (38) (If you want to loose weight, maybe you should run.)
 O-tthyáwá ki-náá-tthyáw-a masi nki-'m-vúkuwa.
 15-run 1SG.SM-PRS.DJ-run-FV but NEG.1SG.SM-PRS-diminish-FV
 'I do run, but I'm not getting slimmer.'

Kinyakyusa (M31)

Amani Lusekelo & Jenneke van der Wal

Topic doubling is common in Kinyakyusa. The infinitive can also be derived in locative class 16, as shown in (40).

- (39) (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?')
 Ukupyaagiira ko tupaagiire!
 u-ku-pyagîla ko tu-pyagîl-ile
 AUG-15-sweep 15.PRO 1PL.SM-sweep-PFV
 'We did sweep!'
- (40) Pakujoba tukujoba
 pa-ku-jobatu-ku-job-a
 16-15-say 1PL.SM-PRS-say-FV
 'As for talking, we talk.'

The interpretation of topic doubling depends largely on the context. A first interpretation is that of truth focus, as illustrated in (39) above. Second, we find an intensive reading, where the action described in the predicate is carried out above expectation, as in (41) and (42). The unexpectedness can be reinforced by the exclamation *mwé*, suggesting a mirative interpretation.

(41) (Context: Speaker astonished by good state of the house)

Mwé ukujeenga ajeengire!
 mwe u-ku-jenga a-jeeng-ile
 EXCL AUG-15-build 1SM-build-PFV
 'He built!' (a special house)'

(42) (Context: From Mbeya to Kiwira takes 10 hours to walk but someone arrives in 6 hours, which is extraordinary)

Mwé, ukweenda umwaana eendire!
 mwe u-ku-enda u-mu-ana a-end-ile
 EXCL AUG-15-walk AUG-1-child 1SM-walk-PFV
 'The child (really) walked!'

A depreciative reading is also possible, and note that in these examples the inflected predicate may actually be different from the infinitive, suggesting that the infinitive is truly a separate topic phrase.

(43) Pakulima po alimire (lelo asengenyé).

pa-ku-lima po a-lim-ile lelo a-seng-any-ile
 16-15-cultivate 16.PRO 1SM-cultivate-PFV but 1SM-weed.sloppily-PEJ-PFV
 'As for cultivation, he did cultivate but badly.'

(44) Pakusona umweenda ko/po asonile lelo asonenie.

pa-ku-sona u-mu-eenda ko/po a-son-ile lelo a-son-any-ile
 16-15-sew AUG-3-dress 15.PRO/16.PRO 1SM-tailoring-PFV but 1SM-sew-PEJ-PFV
 'As for the sewing, the tailor sewed the dress but he did so badly.'

As illustrated in various examples, the topic marker *po/ko* may be added.

Abbreviations and symbols

Numbers refer to noun classes unless followed by SG or PL, in which case they refer to persons. Infinitives are in class 15. High tones are indicated by an acute accent; low tones are generally left unmarked.

- * ungrammatical example
- # infelicitous example in given context
- ? questionable acceptability

APPL	applicative	N.PST	near past
CJ	conjoint	OM	object marker
CONN	connective	P	preposition
COP	copula	PASS	passive
DEM	demonstrative	PEJ	pejorative
DM	discourse marker	PFV	perfective
DIST	distal	POSS	possessive
DJ	disjoint	PRS	present
DUR	durative	PRO	independent pronoun
FOC	focus	PROX	proximal
FUT	future	Q	question marker
FV	final vowel	PST	past tense
HAB	habitual	REL	relative
INF	infinitive	SBJV	subjunctive
IPFV	imperfective	SM	subject marker
LOC	locative	YPST	yesterday past
NEG	negation		

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